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Vijayanagara as Reflected Through its Numismatics

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Abstract

Vijayanagara an out-and-out an economic state which ushered broad outlay of trade and commerce, production and manufacture for overseas markets. Its coinage had played definitely a greater role in tremendous economic activity that went on not just in India, but also across the continent. Its cities were bustling with traders and merchandise for several countries of Europe and Africa. The soundness of their economy depended on a stable currency system. The present paper discusses the aspects relating to the coinage of Vijayanagara Empire and we could enumerate from these coins about their administration. Its currency system is a wonderful source for the study of its over-all activities of administration, social needs, religious preferences, vibrant trade and commerce and traditional agriculture and irrigation

Key words : *Empire, Administration, Numismatics, Currency, trade, commerce, routes, revenue, land-grants, mint, commercial, brisk, travellers, aesthetic, fineness, abundant, flourishing, gadyana, Kasu, Varaha, Honnu, panam, Pardai, enforcement,*

Foundation of Vijayanagara Empire in a.d.1336 is an epoch in the History of South India. It was one of the great empires founded and ruled for three hundred years, and was widely extended over peninsular India. It stood as a bulwark against the recurring invasions from the Northern India. The rule Vijayanagara is the most enthralling period for military exploits, daring conquests, spread of a sound administration. Numismatics is an important source for the study of history. At any given time, the coins in circulation can throw lot of light on then prevalent situation. The currency in usage can attribute to the economic condition and growth of commercial activities.

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The coins themselves are the source of information to look into the coinage of Vijayanagara. They are found abundantly, and found with specific details of purpose, name of the reigning monarch etc. The inscriptions are the other sources. Epigraphs issued in different languages, and for varied purposes, contain valuable information on the coins.¹

Vijayanagara rulers issued a number of coins of different denominations of gold, silver and copper.² Vijayanagara ruler showed utmost concern towards issuance of standard coins.³ Known for their fine taste for iconographic details, they highlighted their coins with several motifs of Gods, Goddesses animals and symbols.⁴ They reflect on the administrative efficiency, and proclaim their efforts in mobilizing and patronizing trade and commerce.

The vastness of the Empire, brisk trade activities that went on, and affluent condition of the Empire attracts a student of numismatics, how they administered their currency system, other related issues are the curious factors for study. The usage of currency became widespread, though barter existed in rural areas. But the government preferred money transaction in all its activities. The coins were of different metals, denominations, and issued for varied purposes. The Vijayanagara rulers strictly adhered to the economic policy of curtailing token currency and use of debased currency. Vijayanagara visited by travelers, ambassadors from different parts of the world, who vouch for the efficient currency system of the Vijayanagara. They refer to the existence of a separate department of mints and use of good techniques. While discussing the Vijayanagara coins A.V. Narasimhamurthy, an authority of Vijayanagara coins says that Vijayanagara ruler probably followed the coinage of the Hoysalas rather than the Kakatiyas.

Their writing supports the view about the location of mints in different parts of the country. The mints were spread in different parts of the Empire may be for security, or strategically reasons. Abdur Razak is of the opinion that for collection of taxes, as well as disbursement of the money needed for administrative needs. The mints were located at Gandikota, Tirupati, Adoni (Advani), Penukonda, Mangalore, Karakur, Gutti, Nellore, Madurai etc.⁵ Most important observation is that these coins were named after the place they were minted like Barakuru Gadyana, Mangaluru gadyana (the provincial capitals in the west coast).⁶ The writing of Barbosa refers to the coin *Pardao* being minted in certain cities, like Tadapatri, Tirupati, Adoni etc.. The coin *honnu* minted in these places is called as Tadapatri honnu, advani honnu, Gutti honnu etc. the lower denominations minted in these places.⁷

Types of Coins: *Varaha*, *Pagoda*, and *Gadyana* were gold coins. Devaraya 2nd issued gold coin '*Pratapa*' which is half of the *Varaha*, quarter *Varaha*. There were different variations among gold coins as mentioned earlier. Epigraphs mention the coins like *pon*, *chinna* (gold), *madahaga*, *visa*, *bele*, *ruka* and *kasu*.

Surprisingly there were fewer silver coins. Silver coin was '*Tara*', which are found in lesser number. One *Tara* was equal to three *jittals*. Widespread usage of jittal or copper coins shows that it was in usage among the commoners for their buying and selling.

The kings issued gold coins with the deities on obverse and the name of the reigning monarch in the reverse. Abdur Razak, was in all praise for the coins of Devaraya-II with embossed elephants.

Krishnadevaraya, the greatest among them all has issued a number of high quality coins. His successors issued fewer gold coins and more of copper coins, reflecting on the decline of the fortunes of the Empire, after the battle of Talikote.

Though they continued the same currency system as of the Hoysalas, he observes that there were marked improvements from the technical and artistic points.⁸

Along with gold coins Vijayanagara rulers issued copper coins. Copper coins were mostly in usage in rural areas. As per a general observation the revenues were paid in copper coins as the gold coins were mostly used for external and internal trade, the commoners hardly possessed gold coins. The Kings donated gold coins to the Brahmanas and others.

The coins and inscriptions would reveal different matters; relating to mint, symbols, metals, their values and other related issues like the purpose of the issuance of a particular coin etc.

Though a number of gold coins were in circulation, most preferred coin was Gadyana. Gadyana was in circulation throughout the Empire and widely used for administrative purposes. Along with Varaha, Gadyana was the most preferred gold coin of the time. Payment of the tax, revenue was through gadayana and Varaha. They were of equal weight and value. Gadyana preferably used for internal transactions, payment of tax, dues, gift in cash to temples and brahmanas. For ceremonial functions like, upanayana, marriages, temple-offerings, gifts etc, Varaha was used. It seems there was no hard and fast distinction in use of both these coins for revenue, social, administrative and religious transactions.⁹ The gold *Gadyanas*, *varahas* and *honnu* which weighed 52, 26, and 13 grains in gold had lower denominations like: *Katti gadyana*, *kati varaha*, *kati hon*, or *kati hana*. Usually it is of one-fourth of the coin referred. Besides there were coins weighing still lower denomination called *ardha kati*. Along with these coins there were *Dodda gadyana* and *Chikka gadyana* meaning big and small *gadyanas* but their exact weight is not known.¹⁰

There were substantial sources of revenue from taxing commercial activities. Taxes on trade, professions, tax on the profits of the merchants and traders. Industrial productions; at finishing stage and on their net profit were taxed. One of the peculiar systems was the multiple tax system. It was to derive more income. It seems the burden of taxation on peasants was more and burdensome. They paid not just the land revenue, but also transit duties on commodities, cattle. In all these matters, the coinage was predominant. Government opened its treasuries and mints for issuing coins for circulation and for collecting the taxes. Not to face the problem of deficiency of coins in any part of the empire, the mints were located in different regions. Decentralizing mints was with the purpose of smooth flow of coins, though, it is highly risky to have decentralization of coinage It may lead to lopsided growth

of the economy, which will deprive the people of the benefits of good administration. The Government looked into this aspect. The major problem in having mints in different places was maintaining uniformity in issuance of standard coins. Notwithstanding few commemoratives, generally the coins issued throughout the empire are of uniform in size and value.

Empire had a separate department of mint. Administrators of the department took great care to over-see the supply of precious metals for minting, avoidance of tampering, misuse of coins and easy flow of currency.

Widespread administrative liabilities, trade, and commerce the need was to have perfect and strong currency system. Vijayanagara rulers' utmost attention was drawn towards issuance of coins and to maintain the standard, finesse which needed full proof of aberrations misuse and debasement. Brisk foreign trade the empire had necessitated a strong currency system. Though they followed the currency system of the Hoyslas, they showed keen interest in maintaining finesse and standard of the coins that needed acceptance over-seas, bring much aspired prosperity in trade.

The wealthy nature of the Empire, affluence exhibited in numerous ways was the result of careful administration of their coinage and currency system, had brought best out of their currency system as per their administrative and economic needs. Vijayanagara rulers exhibited high aesthetic sense and iconographic details in their coins. Coins reveal finest way of depicting their iconographic details of the gods and goddesses, animals and mythical bird '*Ghandabherunda*'.

Extension of the Empire over Southern parts of India and its stretch to the seas made Vijayanagara, purely a commercial entity. Their sound currency system was the basis for their success in economic field. The Vijayanagar rulers stood to their challenges and glory by having a well –established coinage. It is also true that it goes beyond doubt as A.V. Narasimhamurthy says that 'the advent of Vijayanagara Empire, a new dimension was added to the coinage of Karnakata'.¹¹

Successful implementation of its coinage and proper execution, and administration provided for a wider scope for the expansion of the trade. Both internal and external trade flourished. Accumulation of fabulous wealth, glorious display of its imperial strength depended on its coinage and currency well utilized for bettering the economic opportunities not just in main land India but in far-off towns and cities of Europe and Asia.

The concern of the emperors was always towards nurturing their resources. Krishnadevaraya in his book '*Amuktamalyada*' writes : "A king should improve the harbours of his country and so encourage its commerce that horses, elephants, precious gems, sandalwood, pearls and other articles are freely imported. He should arrange that the foreign sailors who land in his country on account of storms, illness and exhaustion are looked after in a manner suitable to their nationalities. Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses be attached to you by providing them with daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. The articles will never go to your enemies".¹²

Above quoted writing reflected on the sound economic policy followed by Emperors of Vijayanagara. The Interest shown towards augmentation of agriculture, trade and Commerce it was strongly reflected in its sound coinage and affluence of the country. Ironically, it is this affluence and competition for markets with its northern neighbours; the Bahamans and the Shahis brought its abrupt downfall in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D.

To conclude, the Empire known for its fabulous wealth and extensive and brisk trade and commerce attracted travelers, merchants from everywhere. Its markets were crowded with traders of far-off nations. The main attributes for this commercial success was its sound currency system in specific, and good administration adding to its eternal glory.

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2

Treasure of Wisdom : Vikramshila Mahavihara

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Abstract

University education owes its existence in Ancient India to Buddhism. As such the Universities of Taxila, Nalanda, Oduntपुर (Biharshrif), and Vikramshila were established to impart education in Buddhist Philosophy in particular and in various other branches of knowledge as well. It is clear that the Buddhist Universities of Bihar were not only the centers of education, but they were also important centers for the propagation of Indian culture and art in other countries. Vikramshila, soon developed into an international Centre for the diffusion of Tantrik Buddhism and Indian culture in general.

In fact, Vikramshila was the cultural Centre and focal point of Buddhist learning in the country where scholars from different parts assembled to disseminate knowledge and exchange thoughts on culture. It represented the cultural tradition of the country as a whole.

The University of Vikramshila (Vikramshila Mahavihara) was founded by the 2nd king of Pala Dynasty Dharmapala in the latter part of the 8th century A.D.¹ It prospered for about four centuries before it collapsed in the beginning of the 13th century A.D. It was situated on a hill on the right bank of river Ganga. Antichak of Kahalgau (Bhagalpur, Dist. Bihar) is a Pala site which has been identified with ancient Vikramshila Mahavihara site. The exact date of its erection is yet a mystery.² Tentatively we can assign it to the last quarter of the 8th Century and first quarter of the 9th Century A.D. It was surrounded on all sides by a rampart on a boundary wall. Though alignment of a compact area is projected in the Cadastral map of Antichak, the traces of a fortress, mentioned by *Lama Taranath* and *Pandita Sumati Srijana*.³

Initial excavation was conducted by Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, from the year 1960 to 1969, and thereafter the

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site had been excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) in the year 1972 to 1982.

The question as to the actual name of the university “Vikramshila” remains unsettled as yet. Tibetan sources provide that the name is spelt as “*Nam gnom - nan -tshul*”, which means neither rock nor stone but conveys the sense of a strong moral conduct or ‘Sila’. “*Vikramshila*” signified strong moral conduct. In one of the Manuscripts, we have “*Srimad-Vikramshila-Deva Vihara*” and was possibly named after its founder, Dhammapala, whose *viruda* was ‘*Vikramshila*’. He was a man of strong moral conduct and was capable of subduing his natural disposition strongly. The high standard of morality maintained by the authorities, staff and alumni of the University might also have influenced in making it known by the name of “*Vikramshila*”. According to Aloka Chattopadhyaya, this name was chosen for glorifying it as a centre of strong moral discipline.⁴ It was internationally known for its high moral character where the teachers set an ideal for others.

A good description of the university is left to us by the Tibetan emissary *Nag-Toho*.⁵ He gives us an interesting picture of the general design and form of the building. He has stated that the University had six colleges and had a central hall called the *Hall of Science* whose six gates were open to the six Colleges.⁶ It had six gates which opened on its six colleges, each having one hundred and eight professors. There was also a large open space in between the six colleges which could hold an assembly of 8000 persons.⁷ What might have been the students strength of the University? During the period of king Rampala when *Abhanyankara Gupta* was its head there were 160 Professors and 1000 students at Vikramshila. There was a *Dharmashala* at the gate outside the wall of the University, where strangers arriving late after the closing of the gate were sheltered.⁸

Taranath speaks that the monastery had six gates each of which was looked after by a *DwaraPandita*. He says *PrajnaParamita* was the incharge of Southern gate, *Ratnakara Shanti* (Santipa) of the Eastern, *Vagisvara Kriti* of the Western gate, *Naropa* of the Northern gate, *RatnaVajra* of the first central gate and *JanaSrimitra* (Jnanasrimitra) of the second central gate.⁹ It is interesting to note that like the present day convocations, we find degrees and titles being given to the Vikramshila students by the reigning kings.¹⁰ Tibetan authorities inform us that *Jetari* and *RatnaVajra* had received degrees at the hands of king Mahipala and Nayapala respectively.¹¹ The illustrious *Dipankara* was a student of *acharya Jetari* at Vikramshila.¹²

We get from Taranath,¹³ a detailed account of the management of the Vikramshila University. On the pattern of Senate or Academic Council of modern universities it was managed by a board of eminent professors presided over by the High Priest. The Head of the University (Vice-Chancellor) used to be assisted by two councils, one academic and other administrative. The academic council consisting of eminent teachers used to regulate admission, determine courses and assign work to different teachers. Sometimes we find men like *Dipankara Srijnana* and *Abhayakara Gupta* working in both the Universities. The administrative council

was in-charge of the general administration. Construction and repairs of buildings, distribution of food, clothes and medicine, allotment of rooms in hostels and assignments of monastic work fell within its purview.¹⁴

In fact Vikramshila was the cultural centre and focal point of Buddhist learning in the country where scholars from different parts assembled to disseminate knowledge and exchange thoughts on culture. It represented the cultural tradition of the country as a whole. Vikramshila and was the last connecting link between Nalanda and Vikramshila and a contemporary of Abhayakar Gupta.¹⁵

The works of teachers like *Buddha Jnanapada*, *Vairochan*, *Jetari*, *RatnaVajra*, *Ratnakar Shanti*, *Naropa*, *Rahul Bhadra*, *JnanasriMitra*, *VidyaKokila*, *Sitakara*, *Kamal Shila*, *KalyanaRaksita*, *Abhayakar Gupta*, *DipankarSrijanaAtisa* and others are available even today mostly in Tibetan translation. Their works not only acted as inspiration for others but also attracted scholars from abroad. They wrote on Buddhist philosophy and logic, tantracult power and various other subjects. *VajraDatta* composed a book of poems known as '*LokeswaraSataka*'. *RatnaRaksita* was the famous TantraCharya of Vikramshila. *AtisaSrijanaDipankara* was a prolific writer who is credited with more than two hundred works including a few poems in early vernacular entitled "*SukhadaKhaparityaGadristi*". Atisa was a brilliant star who illuminated not only in India but also shone over such distant lands as Ceylon and Sumatra in the South-east and Tibet in the North where he is still worshipped as an incarnation of Buddha. It was on account of the emence of those teachers that the students of this University were respected in the country, abroad and shone in all walks of life. According to Tibetan annals, some Buddhist Bhiksus during Nayapala's reign proceeded to *SuvarnaDwipa* for education.¹⁶

The courses of study were perhaps less comprehensive at Vikramshila than at Nalanda. Although various subjects such as Philosophy, Medicine, Literature, Logic, Yoga, Astronomy, Tantra, Grammar etc., were taught at Vikramshila much importance was given on the teaching of Tantra Buddhism.¹⁷ Unfortunately there is no information about the duration or gradation of the course at Vikramshila, but it is quite likely that it was more systematically organized here than at any other Centre of ancient Indian education. For, unlike any other monastic college, we find diplomas and titles being given to the Vikramshila students at the end of their course by the reigning king of the country.¹⁸ On the walls of the University were painted images of Panditas eminent for their learning and character.¹⁹

Theology was compulsory for all. Other subjects of curriculum included *HetuVidya*, *SabdaVidya*, *ChikitsaVidya*, *Kosa*, *Vibhasa*, *Philosophy*, *Logic*, *Tantra*, *Magic*, *Samkhya*, *AdhyatmVidya*, *SilpasthanaVidya* and other allied subjects. Buddhism, with all its ramification, formed the course of studies. It was also religious Centre and Buddhism, by that time, had acquired many faced characters in which Tantra had before the storm in the sense that it made the path clear for the way out of Buddhism in India.²⁰

The University of Vikramshila was an important Centre of *Tantric Buddhism*. In its hay-day, it was one of the leading centers of Tantric studies in the contemporary

world. Though primarily a Buddhist institution, it taught many secular subjects and attracted large number of students from Tibet and other parts of India, Bangladesh and South-east-Asia. It fulfilled the requirements of a true University where a great portion of time was spent in mental discussion and students were to develop cultural side of their knowledge without any let or hindrance.

The tantric base of the University is further attested by the writings of Taranath who mentions two Buddhist schools in particular - Vikramshila, *PrajnaParamita* was the most important part of the study. *ManjuSrikirti* was great *VajraCharya* and *Lila Vajra*, a great Tantric, delivered many sermons on *Tantrayana*. The founder of the University, Dharmapala, is said to have filled all directions with the *PrajnaParamita* and *SriguhyaSamaja*. *RatnaVajra* was the famous tantric teacher at the University. *RatnaRaksit* was a noted tantric and was described as the Tantra-Charya of Vikramshila. The two were equally adept in occult (secret) power. Though *Guhyasamaj* predominated, the following were extensively preached - *Samaja*, *Buddha Samuyoga*, *Chanraguhyatilaka* and *Manjusrikrodha*. During the reign of Mahipala, *Pito* introduced *Kala Charka Tantra*. He spread its teaching and practice. *Jetari*, who had learnt *Guhyasamaja* at the feet of his father, was a great tantric acharya of the University and so was *VagiswaraKriti* who built eight centres of *Prajna Paramita*, four *Guhyasamaja* and one each for three other forms of Tantra. He went to Nepal and preached Tantrayana. As a tantric, *AtisaDipankara* is known as *GuhyajnaVajra*. Various tantric texts were prepared here and some of them are yet available in Tibetan translation, the list of which has been prepared by the late Maha Pandita Rahul Sankrityyana himself. *Guhyasamaja*, *Chakrasamvara*, *Hevajra*, *Kala Chakra* were important here. It appears that the University was by and large, tantra-oriented and it degenerated into gross sensualism and outward formalism after the departure of Atisa and thereby paved the way for its ruin in course of time.²¹

There was pronounced development in the field of literature during the Pala's reign. The Buddhist University at Nalanda and Vikramshila of this state were the main centers for the progress of this cause. *Sanskrit* was adopted by the Buddhists as the medium of their literature. But it has been found that the common people used popular dialects, as we find the *Siddhas* who flourished during this period preaching in *Apbhramsa* or simply *Bhasha*, born of the *Sanskrit-Pali-Prakrta* hybrid composition.²² The Vikramshila University had a brilliant library.²³ J.N. Sammadar writes that "the royal university of Vikramshila satisfied the dictum of Carlyle that a true university is a collection of books".²⁴

We are still not very sure about the causes that led to the disappearance of this royal university of international importance from the scene of history. The struggle between the Buddhist Tantrics and non-Buddhist became sharper day by day. An element of hatred and vengeance seems to be prominent in the minds of the non-Buddhists. Religious rivalry was, of course, one of the fundamental causes of the decline. Buddhism also came under the baneful influence of superstition, magic and blind faith and *PrajnaKaraksita's* offering of *Chakrasamvara* to repel the invading Turks is a living examples. Taranath says that most of the Yogi followers

of Goraksa, driven by the greed of money became the followers of Ishwar and they were not opposed even to the Turuskas. The Senas of Bengal appear to have taken advantage of the fortified character of the University, converted into a fortress and stationed some troops.²⁵

These centers of culture came to be destroyed by a combination of many factors *Viz.* the trunks, the local population and the local feudal chieftains. The rigidity of *Varna Shrama* and theory of pollut on and untouchability, exclusive isolationism, utter disregard of original Buddhist teaching, lack of proper education, the degeneration of cultural values and withdrawal of royal support combined and contributed to the disintegration of such an organized Centre of Buddhist learning. The parasites inside the campus ruled the roost.

The monastic establishment of Nalanda, Odantapuri (Biharsharif) and Vikramshila greatly flourished in the Pala period. Of these, Nalanda, established in the time of Kumar Gupta I (415-455 A.D., Gupta Period) continued receiving the patronage of the Pala kings, when several of the monasteries and temples were rebuilt and embellished (decorate & beautify).²⁶ Gupta period was peaceful and it was called golden age. Pala kings were engaged in *tripartite struggle* with Rastrakuta, and Gurjara-Pratihara. In the period of transition Pala kings made an University and they also patronage the Nalanda University. So, Vikramshila was more important than Nalanda. Two important offshoots of Buddhism in the shape of the two great Universities at Nalanda and Vikramshila - both in Bihar - may be reckoned as the two greatest Universities in India. Their reputation as seats of learning was not confined to India but spread almost all over Asia. Their contribution to the intellectual development of India and the expansion of Indian culture to Central Asia, China, Tibet, Korea, Japan and South-East Asia, including East Indies, cannot be over-estimated. The scholars who assembled in these two Universities shed lustre on the whole of India. (B.P.S.p-594-595)

It may be truly said that these two were the only Universities in ancient India, if we take the word in the real sense. Taxila is famed as a much older institution, but we have no evidence to show that it was an organisedcentre of education in which large number of students gathered to learn diverse subjects from a body of learned teachers - all together forming a corporate body. In Taxila we hear of eminent individual teachers in particular subjects attracting students from far and near, but there is nothing to show that different teachers and students formed a body corporate with a permanent organization. There were also educational institutions attached to individual temples, particularly in South India, but they correspond to colleges rather than Universities.²⁷

The true type of Universities illustrated by those in Nalanda and Vikramshila are distinct contribution of Bihar to Indian culture. Thus it is clear that the Vikramshila Mahavihara was not only the Centre of education, but they were also important Centre for the propagation of Indian culture and art in other countries.

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3

Crop Rotation and Irrigational Work in North India In The Gupta And Post-Gupta Period (From AD 320 To 750)

*Seema Pehal

Abstract

It is needless to emphasis that the first thing of importance in agriculture is soil.¹ Voelcker in 1893 and Leather in 1898 classified Indian soil into four major types i.e. the Indo-Gangetic alluvium, the black cotton or regur soils, the red soils and the laterite soils.² Different type of soil in India was utilized properly in the Gupta and post-Gupta period through crop rotation and better irrigation techniques. The Amarakoœa classifies fields fit for different kinds of important crops, such as wheat, rice, barley, sesamum and pulses.³ In Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa, there is a reference to the rishis utilizing land for the purpose of cultivation and produced different kinds of corn for their own maintenance in the fields adjoining their asramas.⁴

Literary and archaeological references throw light on the surplus production, through crop rotation. A number of crops were grown during Gupta and post-Gupta period such as rice, wheat, barley, peas, lentil, pulses, spices and vegetables.⁵ In the *Ritusamahara* Kalidasa talks about various crops sown and reap according to seasons i.e. paddy,⁶ barley and sugarcane. References to the land granted with *bali* and *charu*⁷ in the Gupta and post-Gupta inscription are the best example of surplus production of rice, barley and pulses and crop rotation. From ancient period to this day pulses are prominent in the crop rotation and crop mixtures practiced by the farmers.⁸ Similar surplus offerings were prevalent in south India also in that period.⁹

In the same way Amarismha in the *Amarakoœa* mentions oil made from mustard seeds, black and white sesamum, linseed and ingudi.¹⁰ Sesamum and

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mustard are the best example of crop rotation and mixing techniques used in north India. Sesamum is sown in early season followed by other crops¹¹ and mustard is suitable for sowing mixed with wheat because of tall growth and compact branching.¹² Lands and villages granted with oil for burning lamps in the Gupta and post-Gupta period shows surplus production,¹³ The existence of the guild of oil-men (*tailika-sreni*), referred to in Indor copper plate inscription of Skandagupta, the year 146 (AD 465-66) shows the importance of oil industry.¹⁴

Varahamihira mentions varieties of rice and countries of rice production.¹⁵ Bana in the *Haræacarita* refers to the land full of corn heaps and adorned with rice crops.¹⁶ There is a reference to the rice fields with tanks (*tatak*, for irrigation) in Salem plates of Ganga Sripurusha: Saka 693 (AD 771).¹⁷ Similarly Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasovarmmadeva (undated),¹⁸ in the two Salankayana charters from Kanukolu (in first plates of Nandivarman I, Year 14)¹⁹ and the Mundesvari inscription of Udayasena, The Harsha year 30,²⁰ throw light on surplus production of rice.

Similarly sugarcane is the best example of using and importing high variety of seeds to increase sugarcane cultivation in that period. Bana mentions fields full of Pundra sugarcane in the *Harsacarita*.²¹ Further there is a reference to the fields of sugarcane in the *Ritusamhara*.²² According to Hiuen-Tsang in Kiau-Shang-Mi (Kausambi) sugarcane is cultivated in plenty.²³ This shows that cultivation of sugarcane was encouraged which resulted in the growth of sugar making industry in the north India.²⁴

Apart from harvesting of cereals the cultivation of vegetables was also practiced. There is a reference to the land suitable for betel-nut, plantain trees, pepper and syamaka (a kind of corn) in the Salem plates of Ganga Sripurusha: Saka 693 (AD 771).²⁵ Later *Amarakosa* mentions cucumber, betel, betel-leaves, onion, garlic, pumpkin and gourd.²⁶ With the same technique of crop rotation many new varieties of sugar-cane, betel leaves and arecanuts were introduced also in south-India during that period.²⁷

Success of agriculture, which is the main source of income (from ancient period to present day) in India, depends principally on the monsoon rains.²⁸ In monsoon climate irrigational works play a major role in the production process. Archaeological and literary evidence support that various measures were taken by the Gupta and post-Gupta kings and their feudatories to increase production through improved technology. The use of rivers was used for irrigating fields is referred to in the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa.²⁹ Similarly in Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, the year 136, 137, and 138 (AD 457-58),³⁰ there is a reference to Sudarsana lake. It mentions that the king Skandagupta restored the Sudarœana lake and also built an embankment, so that water could be utilized for irrigation.

Crops like rice require an abundant supply of water for growth.³¹ Literary and archaeological references of that period support surplus production of rice through improved technology. Reference to the rice fields with tanks (*tatak*) in Salem plates of Ganga Sripurusha: Saka 693 (AD 771) suggests increase in rice

production with irrigational support.³² Reference to the nine varieties of rice in the *Brhatsmhitā*³³ further shows surplus production of rice.

The excavation of tanks is considered a popular form of public service in the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana a work of 4th century AD.³⁴ Archaeological and literary references further support agricultural settlements in less fertile area where agricultural activities were carried on with the help of irrigational techniques in the form of wells, reservoirs and canals. There is a reference to the construction of series of water wheels for irrigation by the king Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kasmira.³⁵ There is a reference to the *rhat* and *bawri* two types of well used for irrigating fields.³⁶ In the second Damodar copper-plate inscription of Kumargupta (AD 448-49),³⁷ there is a reference to the gift of land (measuring 5 *dronas*), with *hatta*³⁸ and *panak*, in the *bhukti* of Pundravardhana. These references support the continuous use of Persian wheel (*rhatò*) for irrigation in north India in the Gupta and post-Gupta period.³⁹

There is a reference to the construction of wells and tanks in the inscriptions and literary sources. There is a reference to the different types of wells (*vapi*), tanks (*tadaga*), drinking wells (*odupana*) and long pools (*dirghika*) in Gangdhar Stone Inscription of Visvarman, the year 480 (AD 423-24), with in the city located on the banks of the Gargara.⁴⁰ Fa-Hian talks about the construction of clean water well.⁴¹ While talking about the tower of Ramagrama, Fa-Hian mentions that, “by the side of the *vihara* is a tank.”⁴² Bana while referring to Ujjayini mentions *kupa*, *prapa*, *setu*, *jalghati* as important parts of planned city or *vastu-sthana*.⁴³ Even Hiuen-Tsang gives references to the tanks and reservoirs.⁴⁴ In the inscriptions of the Pallava of late seventh century there is a reference to the construction of channels for feeding tanks from nearby rivers for irrigation.⁴⁵

The Mandisor Inscription of Malava Samvat 524 (AD 467-68),⁴⁶ mentions Dattabhata appointed as commander-in-chief, by the king Govindagupta, who dug a well full of water as deep as those of the ocean. In Mandisor Fragmentary Inscription of Gauri (c. AD 490-500),⁴⁷ there is a reference to the excavation of a tank by *Maharaja* Gauri, during the reign of the king Adityavardhana. In Charter of Vishnushena, samvat 649 (592 AD), there is a reference to the *prapapuraka-gopalah* (such person who fill cisterns with water in a place for watering cattle or supplying water to travelers).⁴⁸ In Talagunda pillar inscription of Kakusthavarman, there is a reference to the construction of great tank (*tadakam*), a reservoir for the supply of abundant water to the city.⁴⁹ There is a reference to the construction of *kupa* and *prapa*, in Mandisor inscription of Malava samvat 524.⁵⁰ In Lunsadi plates of Siladitya II, Gupta samvat 350 (AD 669-70),⁵¹ there is a reference to the pond (*vapi*) located at the eastern border of the village. Again there is a reference to a small pond (*tadaga*) and drinking well to the west of the village (*grama-nipana-kupaka*). In the Aphasad stone inscription of Adityasena dated 7th century AD⁵² and in Mandar hill rock inscriptions of Adityasena⁵³ there is a reference to the construction of tanks by the queen Konadevi. In Maliya copper plate inscription,⁵⁴ there is a reference to grant of village Dombhigrama with *vapi* (an irrigation-well)

with an area of twenty-eight *padavartas*. In the same inscription there is a reference to the land of the cultivator Botaka with an irrigation-well. In the two Palitana plates of Dhruvasena I, Valabhi samvat 206 and 210 (AD 525-26 and 529),⁵⁵ there is a reference of *brahmadeya* grant of the village Madkana with an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen *padavartas*. In Palitana plates of Simhaditya, the year 255 (AD 574)⁵⁶ there is a reference to the grant of a field with a pond in the village Darbhachara. Again in Palitana plates of Dharasena II, Gupta samvat 252 (AD 571)⁵⁷ there is a reference to the pond (*vapi*) and a tank (*tataka*).

The excavation reports also reveal various types of wells in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Excavation at Sanghol (Dist. Ludhiana, Punjab) revealed a circular well-like structure of 6.35m.diameter and 92 cm. width, of the Gupta period.⁵⁸ Similarly in period III (between 1st to 6th centuries AD) at Eran (Dist.Sagar, M.P.) ring-wells were noticed.⁵⁹ During excavation at Rajghat (Dist. Varanasi, U.P.), excavators found a massive circular structure, dated to *circa* 4th-5th century AD. This structure was a well preserved brick-lined well with inner diameter measuring 2.35m.and outer as 7.76m.⁶⁰ The well was constructed on the edge of the habitation. Excavation at Mahet (Dist. Bharaich, Bihar) revealed two community wells and two ring-wells of the Gupta period.⁶¹ These wells were used for drinking and irrigating adjoining areas. The measures were taken to make them watertight so that water does not get waste.

The advance farming methods i.e. technology of irrigation and seasonal regulation of the cultivation process definitely led to agrarian expansion and urban growth in India.⁶² Land was granted as *agraharas* and *brahmadeyas* to people. These new settlement in the form of *agraharas* and *brahmadeyas* ensured agrarian expansion and organized distribution of surplus production. In most of the Gupta and post-Gupta inscriptions *aprahata-khila*⁶³ and *khila*⁶⁴ (uncultivated land) were granted, with *vapra* (pond)⁶⁵ used for irrigation and *koshtikas* (store- rooms)⁶⁶ to store surplus produce. This clearly shows the interest and efforts of the authorities to encourage cultivation of barren and arid land.⁶⁷ This resulted in the better production, which consequently gave impetus to trade and urbanization.

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67. Recent researches throw much light on the agrarian expansion and growth of urban centres in India. James Heitzman, B.D.Chattopadhyaya, R.Champakalakshmi, Renu Thakur and Amita Ray while working on various regions and time period prove that agricultural expansion and intensification is often necessary pre-condition to change in which improved technology played important role in the form of better manure, seeds, irrigation techniques etc.

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4

Origin of Memorial Stones In Himachal Pradesh

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Abstract

The idea of the commemorating the dead can be traced to the most primitive societies of the yore. In Himachal Pradesh, the tradition of erection memorial stone, or memorials to dead, remained in vogue in Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Kullu and other princely states. Memorial stones in this part of the country are called Baselas, Muhras, Naun, Panihara, etc.

Key words : Barselas, Memorial stones, Naun, water sources

The stone monuments are called megaliths; the morphology of the word ‘megalith’ comes from the Greek word ‘megathos’ – referring to the large scale and lithol meaning the material i.e. stone. Thus megalith literally means ‘built of large stones’. But all the monuments erected of a big stone are not megalith. The term has a restricted usage and is applied only to a particular class of monuments or structure, which are built of large stone and have some sepulchral, commemorative or ritualistic association except the hero or memorial stones. In other words, the megalith usually refer to the burials made of large stones in graveyards away from the habitation area.¹

There is however appreciable archaeological evidence relating to the memorial pillars. It has been found from the excavation at Kausambi one of the most considerable ancient sites in Uttar Pradesh that the Buddhist monks of about the first century relics being buried in the earthen pots in floors adjoining small stupas. Such a pillar was called *yasti* in Sanskrit or *lasti* in *Prakrit*. A reference to *Yasti* as a memorial pillar occurs in a copper plate written in Kharoshiti. The *yasti* mentioned in this inscription was evidently put in the shaft below the place where the copper plate was found. Sten Kolnow does not take the word *yasti* to mean a memorial pillar and he states that it was raised by Nagabhatta himself. The stone are called

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Lasti in the *Prakrit* inscription. According to R.D. Bannerjee *lasti* here means a funerary monument erected by the following person named in the inscription. All above *lasti* are funerary monuments and were probably intended to commemorate the dead. Most of them died a natural death except possibly one whose death may have taken place during the course of some struggle or fight; probably to save a friend.² The above examples show that the tradition of raising memorial pillars or monuments did not exist in Western Punjab, Saurashtra and Kucch when the Sakas were governing. Some of these memorials were in goodness of women though Vedic text do not prescribe any funerary monuments to them as already seen. Elsewhere in Nagarjunikonda in Andhra Pradesh memorial pillars called *Cayastambhas* have been found. Paleographical these inscriptions can be assigned in the 2nd and 3rd cent A.D. and they are thus contemporaneous with the *lastis* of Western Punjab, Saurashtra and Kuch referred to above. Here instead of the word *lasti* we have there the expression *cayastambha* literally meaning shadow pillar. This suggests an idea that it was meant to represent the shadow or effigy of the deceased, recollected of his memory in more visible form. The memorial character of the pillar is more appropriately depicted by the term *cayastamba* than by *yasti*, last or *chayastamba* were raised as memorials to the dead in the early centuries of the Christian era not only in the western Punjab Saurashtra and Kucch but as far as south as the Andhra country. The memorial were raised in the memory or the honour of those who either died under natural circumstances or on a battle field. The person commemorated were monks, royal personages and commoners. As seen earlier the Vedic practice restricted the erection of a pillar (*sthuna*) at the site where the ashes or bone relics were buried only for those who were entitled to this honour and had set up the sacred fire. Those women *sudras* or commoners of the low caste and ascetics were shut out for the purpose. The archaeological evidence shows that women and ascetics did have memorials in their honour.³

The orthodox Hindu practice on the disposal of the relics have been firmly based on the Vedic prescriptions and it has been considered more meritorious to dispose of the relics, the ashes and charred bones into the sacred waters of rivers or pool especially at holy places of pilgrimage. The practice of election of mound with an attached post or *sthuna* or pillars as referred to in the Satapha Brahmana lays an exception rather than a rule and seems to have usually disfavoured.⁴

It has been seen earlier that wooden posts or *sthunas* were also erected along with mounds by Aryans as well as the Asuras or easterners in the Vedic times. In the pre Buddhist burial mounds at Nandan gardh have retrieved traces of the wooden post. The Buddhists obviously inherited this practice. The mound as well as the posts in the Centre perhaps projecting above the mounds. With the process of time during the days of Ashoka Maurya wood was probably recovered by stone as a more durable material and then it assumed the form of an huge monolithic pillar standing not in the Centre of the mound but detached from it as an imposing memorial to the relics of the divine dead. The Ashoka monolithic pillar was in the nature of a memorial to the divine personality and noble preaching's

of the Buddha. It is in this monolithic pillar that we have to look for the origin of the later memorial stones of India.⁵

The study of origin of the memorial stones in Himachal Pradesh leads us to the *shila patas* of the ancient yaksha shrines for they have the same rectangular formats and were placed on a raised platform under the shade of the tree and without the railing entrance or the door.⁶ According to Dr. Herman Goetz “railings around the sacred places have long been discarded since the victory of orthodox Hinduism. Yet they have not completely disappeared for the lotus rosettes filled in with divine animal and human figures which are so familiar to us from the Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodhgaya continued to be used in the memorial stones.” The coins of Audambara found so numerous in the region also reveal the same motifs and are reminiscent of the memorial stones placed on the platform under the shade of the trees. Such platforms are known as *TALAS* in this region. Tala here signifies storey.⁷

According to Art historian Herman Goetz, during the Gupta period the country east of Ravi river was successfully controlled by the Imperial Guptas, the Muakharis Pushyabhutis (Harshvardhana) and Yashodharman of Kannauj. However by the middle of 6th century the Sulikas a people from Central Asia associated with Gurjaras overran Northwestern India but was defeated by the *Mau-ka-haris* and founded the vassal king of Brahmapura which extended from Kumaon to the Chenab. Its first capital was at Taleshwar in Kumaon but thereafter Meruverama the scion of another Sulika dynasty founded another Brahmapura (Bharmour).⁸

It is to the Shulika Gurjara character that the fountain stone slabs of Chamba are traced. The social remains of Shulika Gurjara invasion are the ranas and the rathis and part of the Thakurs the local aristocracy of the Punjab Himalayas older than the Rajputs and are the authors of the memorial stones so abundantly, found in these parts of the region. The linguistic remnant is the western pahari dialect closely related to Gurjari, religious remains have been the curious cults of medieval Churah, of Varuna as god of heaven, long forgotten in Classical Hindu Art and reduced to a minor dikpala, the river goddesses. The salient features of these Silika Gurjara style are the plait work ornament found in the fountain stone slabs, also palmettos, and the hammer shaped double volutes, the tree of life and the soul birds, also the gods horsemen and women in costume traceable on several Scythian primitive figures of the donor reliefs. Even the orthodox Hindu gods are represented in local costume Salhi.⁹

However the fact remains that these Rajput states were established in the medieval period in the distant places like the foothills of north west Himalayas by the Rajput families migrating from their parental states of Rajasthan under the threat of the Muslim invasions. These Rajput families continued to adhere to the ritual of raising memorial stones for their deceased ancestors like the parental states of Rajasthan.¹⁰

In Himachal Pradesh, the tradition of erection memorial stone, as memorials to dead, remained in vogue in Chamba, Mandi, Suket, Kullu and some other princely states. According to the History of Punjab Hill States, it was considered as a royal

privilege and customary to construct stone pillars or tomb stones in the memory of the dead. Memorial stones in this part of the country are called *Barselas*, *Muhras*, *Naun*, *Panihars*, *baturdas*, *pitrs*, *paap* etc.. The Chamba State Gazetteer terms them *Dhaji*. In public life, any dead of significance like gift of personal property, construction of water source or a temple, or a water body could entitle oneself for honour.¹¹ The great act relating to the memory or glorification of ancestors was considered of great religious merit or *Punya*. The commemoration of dead hero was a common practice in ancient days.¹² It is human nature to remember the parted soul and to commemorate them in whatever means possible. This may remember and cherishes the memory of the departed members of the family and desires to go to the places or erect a sort of memorial. So that he is able to remember that the time and date and episode leading to his death. It is but natural that his wishes them a permanent place and another psychological factor which might have led to the commission of the memorial stones was the fear that the parted soul may become a ghost and disturbing him in case the spirit are not appeased during the ritual and function occurring in the family by raising memorial stones. They could offer them food and sprinkle water on them after death.¹³

The earliest example of erection of memorials in honour of deceased come from Chamba and dates back to 10th century AD. In Chamba however the traditions of memorial stones seems to have been followed by the local chieftains, the Ranas and Thakurs even before the advent of the royal clan the founder of which was Raja Sahil Varman. No memorial seems to have been raised by the King. While however the local Ranas and Chieftains continue with the tradition of commemorating the dead. This factor makes Chamba stand apart from the rest of the region of the North West Himalaya. Where the tradition of raising memorial stone was even followed by the kings as seems to be the case in Kullu, Mandi, Suket, Lahul-Spiti etc. Where a large number of memorial stones have been noticed and even referred to the European travelers.¹⁴

According to Stella Kramrisch "this non iconic art of early fountains stone slabs 'however harbour variegated devices along which the intertwined band of serpent origin is of considerable interest - - - the predilection for the pattern with other and other figure if at all subsequent to it is preserved in the fountain stone slabs of Chamba even at this date with the conservation of the hills.'¹⁵

Up to the 12th century there is no evidence of the existence of memorial stone at Jagat Sukh erstwhile capital of Kullu. It is only in the 17th century in the region of Raja Visudhpal that the capital was shifted Nagar and we find the abundant evidence of the tradition of Memorial stones. Various travelers and archaeologist notice the Naggar stones of whom mention may be made here to Vogel Francke, Chet wood and Randhawa. Harcourt did not identify them by any name.¹⁶

Harcourt who visited Kullu and counted 141 stone slabs located near the Nagar. The mention of the several king stones also makes referred to the Raja of Kullu who committed suicide. In his travelogues he also speaks of the tradition of Sati on the basis of large number of concubine and the satis portrait in these king

stones. However he does not mention of any inscribed memorial stones of Kullu.¹⁷

On the contrary it is in Mandi that the barselas are invariably inscribed so that there is hardly a barsela where the memorial stone is unidentified. Earliest barsela of Mandi dates back to 13th – 14th century A.D. While the latest memorial stone is of King Bhavani Sen who died in A.D. 1912. The barselas of Mandi which are fully visible are all of a later period. These slabs are embedded in the earth for stability.¹⁸ The top most panel contains chief male figure or either side of whom are two chauri bearers. In some cases, the chief male figure unaccompanied. The second panel contains the figure of the chief queen or queens, generally seated. On the either side are two female attendants bearing cameras. The panel below these contains standing or seated female figures or concubines. Generally a large number of female are depicted, the largest being thirty. An except to this are the slabs of the Triloknath temple, which do not depict more than two females.¹⁹ The female figures in one of the seven slabs are in dancing posture. Both male and female figures below wear ornaments. Though this is common in medieval times, some of the male figures are without ornament. As is the case with the Nagar stones, they may commemorate the death of the rulers who died as recluses after renouncing their throne.²⁰

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5

Pitrs Worship

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Abstract

The worship of pitrs in Chamba affords an interesting story to tell. The objective of this paper is to draw the details of myth, story and other facts related to the pitrs. Such facts are culled from all available sources i.e. the historical facts, oral traditions, literature and other relevant evidences. It is not intended here to present a meticulous account of the pitrs in Indian tradition, but the present study is confined only to discuss the pitr worship in Chamba.

Before its merger in Indian Union in 1948 as a newly formed district of Himachal, the erstwhile Chamba State (Brahmapura Kingdom, 6th century AD) in Ravi Valley was a small world in itself. In Chamba, an adage still speaks of *pitrs* as: '*Je devta ni dinda se pitr dinda*' meaning there by: 'Which gods don't grant, it is bestowed by the *pitrs*'. Literally *pitr* means 'father'. It also has the meaning of ancestors, but the *pitrah* is used for a man's three immediate deceased ancestors or ancient ancestors of the human race and were supposed to dwell in a separate world, i.e. *pitraloka*. The people of this hilly region regard their *pitrs* as *devatas*, the divine beings, who are locally called *jathere* (*jathera*), the elder or ancestors of the clan (family).

1. Commemorative Memorials : The people venerate their *pitrs* and its merit gain is obtained by the various rites, rituals and usual practices which are carried in their names. The erecting of fountain stone slab in the name of *pitrs* was a common practice with the aristocracy of Chamba hills. Other common forms to commemorate the *pitrs* are:

- i) Erecting a stone or wooden board, on which is carved a rough effigy of the deceased by the side of a spring or in the compound of a village temple.
- ii) Constructing a *chabutra* or *atala* (*tala*), a square raised platform, in the centre of it planted a *pipal* or any shady tree, was a common feature in Chamba hills.
- iii) Raising a round circular stone column with a rough figure of deceased, called *dhaj*, near the village is a popular custom in Pangi valley.
- iv) To build a *naun*, *panihar* or cistern in the name of departed person.

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There is a belief in the hills that the soul (spirit) of a person, who dies issueless, creates problem in the family. Toward off his evil designs a stone tablet carved with a crude figure of the dead is kept at the water fountain or at the temple complex. At times, an amulet embossed with the effigy of the deceased on a small rectangular or a triangular plaque of silver are worn around the neck by the kith and kin of the dead. These stone tablets and amulets are known by the name of *auttur* in local dialect. The word *auttur* is derived from the Sanskrit word 'aputtara', a person without issue. Special offerings are made to them on *amavasya* and *puranima* and on important household functions. These *auttur*s are elevated by the hill folk to the position of folk-deities as *auttur-devata*.

2. Institution of *Sraddha* : The ancestors, the *pitrs*, are also venerated during *sraddha* (feast of dead), which is a very ancient institution and all the Hindus have retained it up to the present day. The word *sraddha* is an act of faith or veneration in honour of the *pitrs* and later become the systematic brahmanic ritual. It also provides an opportunity to remember one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. *Sraddha* is a funeral sacrifice, but it also signifies offerings to the ancestors of an individual or mankind and always forms a part of a religious ceremony. So, it is the worship of *pitrs* by means of *sraddha*.

3. Classification of *Sraddhas* : (i) Immediate *Sraddhas* : The funeral *sraddhas* are performed at the death in home and at crematorium by the son, offering *pinda* (ball of rice) to the spirit of a departed person. The ritual of *pitryali* or daily *sraddha* is done for ten consecutive days by offering a *pinda* and the food to the dead. During these ten days, it is believed, that, the soul of a dead is released by the *mrtu* (the personification of death) intended to furnish a new body, bit by bit, from toe to head with all its limbs and organs which is completed on the tenth day, the day of performing *daspindi* (ten *pindas*). It is believed that the ritual of *daspindi* gives strength and sustains this new body. During these days, at dusk, the earthen lamp is lighted, to appease the Yama, at the crossroad in the immediate vicinity of the house. This ritual is called *Yamadip dan*. It is believed, that, Yama will provide light to the dead person in the *pitryana*, the southern path of the *pitrs*, to reach the *pitrloka*, until their *karman* (funerary rites) completed on the twelfth/thirteenth day. By lighting of lamps one can also free himself of all the debts of his ancestors. The *sraddhas* performed on the eleventh, twelfth or thirteenth days after death called *brsotsarg sraddha* (*kariya*) in which a special rite, *mokti chhedan*, the rite of reunion with the ancestors is performed. Through this ritual the deceased reunite with his three immediate ancestors—father/mother, parental grandfather/grandmother and great-grandfather/great-grandmother. As such, it raised the dead from the world of *prets* to *pitrloka*, where he/she joins his departed ancestors. By means of these two *sraddhas* the *prets* are released, that is the ghosts became elevated to the rank of *pitrs*. In *sastras*, the cremation and funerary rites are mentioned as an essential order, without which reunion of the dead person with his ancestors could not be affected. The *pindas* offered, during these twelve/thirteen days of mourning, are intended to foster the deceased and to assist in the building of the body which his soul may form. The Brahmanas are invited for the *sraddhas* and after its performance on the twelfth/thirteenth day, the *suddhi-karan*,

the purification of the family members and relatives, is done by taking *charnamrt* (holy water) of the deity.

(ii) Intermediate Sraddhas : The *masak sraddhas* (*mahini*) are performed once in a month, on the *tithi* (day) of the death of the person, for one full year and *sanmas* (*chhmahini*) after the sixth month of the death. The *puranavdik* (*varsik=barh*), annual *sraddha*, is performed after one year of the death of a person, and the *chaturavdik sraddha* (*chauvarsior chobarkhi*) after four years of the death and it is believed that after this *sraddha* the soul of *pitr* is purified and became *pitr-devata*. They are now entitled to share in a *parvana* rite, the ancestor worship popularly known as *sraddha*, which is generally considered, in Hindu, as obligatory. Brahmanas were invited during this period of four years. The different classes of brahmanas are mentioned in Dharmasashtras.

After *chaturavdik sraddha* ceremony, the *sudda-sraddha* is performed annually on two occasions, first on the *tithi*, the day of death and second during *pitrpakasha* observed for consecutive sixteen days during the dark half of the month of *Asuj-Kartik* (September-October). The last day of the series, *amavasya* (*avans*), falls on the dark night of the month. It is the conjunction of Sun and Moon and is known *Mahalaya*. Every day of this fortnight is considered as sacred and the ritual of *sraddha* is performed daily as offerings to the *pitrs*. During these two weeks the spirits of *pitrs* leave their abode at *pitrloka* and come to our world, *martuloka*, to receive their *bhaga* (share), offerings, worship and tribute, from their descendants.

4. Kaka (Crow) : The crow, bird of death, stated to be representing the spirit of dead and is offered the *bhaga* (share) of food during the performance of *sraddhas*. His share is thrown on the roof of the house saying *Ka, Ka, Ka* and after the water is offered. If the food is eaten by the crow, then the *pitrs* are supposed to be satisfied. It is also believed, that, crow carries this food to *pitrloka* for *pitrs*. Willam Crooke writes: "It has been suggested that this belief is due to the widespread theory that the crow lives a thousand years, truly 'many-wintered', and never dies of disease but as the result of accident or violence. But the funeral appearance of the bird and its habit of frequenting houses, burial places, and cremation grounds are probably at the root of the matter, and suggest its identification with the spirits of the dead."¹ Referring *Ancestor Worship*, where in Baudhayana has written that, the *pitrs* assume the form of a bird. Margaret and Stutley write: "The spirits of the dead are linked to birds, as in ancient Egypt and elsewhere. In India they are said to be always looking down to earth and by analogy this led to the custom of feeding birds during the performance of funerary rites."²

5. Svan (Dog) : The *svan*, dog, also receives his *bhaga* from the *sraddhas*, which is kept during the performance of the ritual, in the courtyard or outside the house to be eaten by him. This *bhaga* is considered as the token of gratitude for accompanying the soul of a dead person during the entire journey to enter the *Yamaloka*. According to Hindu mythology the dog is always associated with Yama, and his realm is guarded by two brindled hounds. Lord Indra disguised himself as a beggar is accompanied by a dog. Rudra is called *Svapati*, the lord of dogs and in

the form of Bhairava is attended by a dog. So, the dog is believed to be the guide escorting the soul of deceased to enter the Yama's kingdom.

6. Other Practices Related to Sraddhas : For peace of mind and welfare in the family, the head of the household, after bathing, daily offer handful of water (*tarpana*) to the *devas*, the *rsis* and his *pitrs*. The first day of the month of *Bhadon* (*Bhadrpada*, August-September) is dedicated to the *pitrs* and is observed as *Patrodu-ri-sangrand* (*sankrant*). During the morning hours the *pitrs* are appeased by offering the *patrodu*, a kind of seasonal edible prepared of the leaves of *Kachalu* (*Arun Colocasia*) plant and *luchis* with libation of water. The ritual of *Kandar-dip-dan* is also performed by burning *diyakanari* a row of burning wicks placed in the five small depressions made in a stone slab measuring 2"x6". The wicks made of cotton which are soaked in sweet oil are also librated with water in the name of the *pitrs*, to be lighted at night for the full month of *Bhadon*. This rite is considered as an invitation for summoning the *pitrs* to attend the fortnight of *pitr-paksha* falls in the month of *Asuj* (September-October). The ladies and children of the household at night (dusk) lit the *diyakanari* regularly for complete one month. This indicates that it provide light on the path to be travelled by the *pitrs* from the *Pitrloka* to the *Bhurloka* (earth). *Pitrs* usually propitiated before or at the starting of all the domestic ceremonies in the household, are believed to guard the celebrations as father, who are greatly respected by Hindus and are regarded as deified. During these ceremonies the ladies of the household prepare *pakwans* (fried food prepared of wheat flour) and are offered to the *pitrs* while burning a lamp, waving incense and pouring an oblation of water in their name. Then this *pakwan* is given to the son of a married daughter of the family. A significant ritual, called *svastivachan*, the benedictory ritual, is performed before the marriage ceremony for appeasing the *pitrs*. Literally *svastivachan* means—chanting of benedictory *mantras*. This ritual is very meaningful, because of, if any mishap befalls on the family during marriage, the wedding should not be abandoned. *Dharmasastra* recommends, that, the “*sraddhas* are likewise performed on other occasions also and notably at the celebration of any marriage ceremony.”³

The first day of the month of *Baisakh* (April-May), the Hindu New Year's day, is celebrated as *Baisakhi* or *Basoa*. The day is also termed, as *Mekh* (*mesa*) *sankranti*, *Samuat-saradi* and *visnu-chaitraishu*. In Chamba town, people take bath in the river Ravi, following down the town. In the household of Chamba the two pitchers (*ghadas Ghat*) filled with water are placed on a grain especially the rice strewn on the floor pasted with cow dung. A small bunch of the stalks of black grams and seasonal fruits are also kept along with the pitchers. Separately in succession these pitchers are worshipped and liberated as *pitr-ghat-dan* in the name of *pitrs*. In the other parts of the country the grains especially *sattu* (meal of parched gram) and pitchers full of water are given to the *Brahmanas* for the benefit of *pitrs*.

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6

An Outline of Buddhist Economic Theory and Systems

*Tamanna

Abstract

An original Buddhist community is founded on the right livelihood of each member, while a righteous leader has a role to facilitate stability and order in society. Right livelihood can be conducted through the attainment of material wellbeing and mental development. Material wealth should be used to alleviate physical suffering while an attitude of non-attachment to wealth is essential for the elimination of unfulfilled desires. A Non-attachment people are associated with three Karmic actions: righteous acquisition of wealth, contentment in consumption, and generosity towards others. The goal of Unitary Buddhist societies for each individual to live high quality of life while striving towards liberation. The state and the Sangha are important Buddhist institutions in formulating well-ordered prosperous and harmonious conditions in a mutually dependent society. Based on the voluntary spirit of Buddhism, a condition of sharing common property in a community must be established through public consent, nor coercion or suppression from the ruling class. Until that form of ideal community is reached, private property plays a major role in Buddhist economic activities, such as production, consumption and giving. Without private production in an ordinary society, there is no means for the lay people to practice righteous actions based on their own understanding of the teachings. The present paper aimed to understand that how to develop a theoretical framework for Buddhist Economics from the Fundamental Buddhist principles; and to explore the basic features of Buddhist economic system

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livelihood can be conducted through the attainment of material well being and mental development. Material wealth should be used to alleviate physical suffering while an attitude of non-attachment to wealth is essential for the elimination of unfulfilled desires. A Non-attachment people are associated with three Karmic actions: righteous acquisition of wealth, contentment in consumption, and generosity towards others. The goal of Unitary Buddhist societies for each individual to live high quality of life while striving towards liberation. The state and the Sangha are important Buddhist institutions in formulating well-ordered prosperous and harmonious conditions in a mutually dependent society. The answer based on the study is that common property involves the practice of absolute Non-attachment in an ideal setting. Based on the voluntary spirit of Buddhism, a condition of sharing common property in a community must be established through public consent, nor coercion or suppression from the ruling class. Until that form of ideal community is reached, private property plays a major role in Buddhist economic activities, such as production, consumption and giving. Without private production in an ordinary society, there is no means for the lay people to practice righteous actions based on their own understanding of the teachings.

- (1) How to develop theoretical framework for Buddhist Economics from the Fundamental Buddhist principles.
- (2) Explore basic features of Buddhist economic system.

Buddhist economics can be defined as the study of managing material well being from the perspective of Buddhist philosophy. The Buddhist principle of right livelihood forms the basic for Buddhist economics given that right livelihood is the fifth factor of the Noble Eightfold path it must be understood with a holistic system of Buddhist practices. Economic activities can not be analyzed in isolation from other activities.

The positive part of Buddhist economic theory is postulated from the First and Second Noble Truths which outline the Buddhist holistic view of the world. The positive theory consists of three fundamental axioms:

1. The Non-self-axioms state that all economic phenomena are a combination of interacting conditional factors.
2. The impermanency axioms states that all conditional factors are ever changing through the process of interaction.
3. The unsatisfactionness axioms states that economic activities an attempt to eliminate unsatisfactoiness that has arisen from clinging to ever changing phenomena.

The principles of Economic activities : The Normative parts of Buddhist economic theory aims at finding an effective way to allocate limited resources in order to achieve a Buddhist goal of life. A Normative theory is constructed based on the concept of right livelihood has three characteristics (1) It is based on the right view, (2) It is consistent with the Buddhist ethical system; and (3) It leads to both material well being and material development. Thus the goal based on the Buddhist view of economic phenomena as the positive theory. The effective means for achieving that goal is derived from the four noble truths which form the basis of Buddhist

ethical principles. The means in the normative theory is Buddhist ethical constraints on making economic action choices. At the individual level, the goal of economic activities is to effectively eliminate un-satisfactoriness subject to internal and external constraints within the dynamic and interdependent system; while eventually leading to the ultimate goal, enlightenment. The effectiveness of any action is measured by how effectively it ends the present unsatisfactoriness without causing new unsatisfactoriness to oneself and/or others. In turn, the goal at the society level is to provide favourable external conditions, which can assist its members to reach their individual Buddhist goal. Favorable, in the sense that the external conditional factors can facilitate both an effective and to un-satisfactoriness and a cultivation of mental development. Based on the Buddhist teachings, the normative theory first suggests a criterion for selecting the cost effective action among all available action choices. To assist an agent in choosing the cost-effective action and moving towards enlightenment, the theory also recommends a set of principles of actions. Based on the roots of wholesome actions that one conducive to both, the cost effective actions and enlightenment, a set of Buddhist ethical constraints on action is derived.

There are four principles:

1. Responsibility, having confidence in the law of Karma.
2. Harmlessness, abstaining from all unwholesome actions.
3. Generosity, conducting wholesome actions based on loving-kindness and Generosity.
4. Discernment, purifying the mind to deepen an understanding of the unsatisfactoriness.

Conclusion: The basic theoretical framework for Buddhist economics comprises two parts: Positive and Normative. The positive theory consists of three fundamental axioms that characterize the properties of economic phenomena: Non-self, impermanency and un-satisfactoriness. The axioms characterize the Buddhist economic systems as complex, ever-changing and interconnected. They also describe human nature as being ignorant, while predicting that any action by an ignorant economic agent has the potential to cause instability in the system. The Normative part consists of the criterion of cost effectiveness and Buddhist principles of actions. The Criterion of cost effectiveness and Buddhist principles are guidelines to encourage actions that effectively and un-satisfactoriness in the present and progress toward enlightenment in the long run. Recognizing ignorance as the root of the problem, policy implications in a Buddhist economy should be directed towards enhancing the individuals' knowledge about the dynamic and interdependency of interactions within the system.

A skill way to utilize wealth consistent with Buddhist principle is called balance livelihood. There are two aspects of balanced livelihood (1) Not spending more than one earns, and (2) Not clinging to what one possesses. The first aspect is based on the principle of responsibility and imposes a debtlessness constraint on spending wealth by emphasizing a balance between one's expenditures within some specified time and period considering the interdependency of the Buddhist economic

system, responsibility in consumption implies, moderation in consumption. The second aspect is based on is to practice an attitude of non-clinging towards wealth. It emphasizes the utilization of wealth to achieve a balance between material and mental well-being. In a Buddhist economy of establishing economic institutions is to provide favorable external conditional factors related to material well being that can assist its members too effectively and un-satisfactoriness and eventually reach the Buddhist goal of enlightenment. In a Buddhist economy, the conditions of any economic institution should be in accordance with the Buddhist principles of actions. That is the conditions should be favorable for right livelihood, sustainable wealth maintenance and balanced livelihood, with in an independent systems and over a long time horizon. A concept of Buddhist socialism classifies here the major role of Sangha in society is to be an example of a peaceful way of life that has arisen from the practice of a Non-attachment to wealth. The framework aims to enable us to understand how Buddhism views the world especially economic phenomena and human nature. I would close the article with enlightening Phrases from the Dhammapada (The Man who is Awake).

*Hard it is to be born,
Hard it is to live
Harder still to hear of the way,
And hard to rise, follow and awake.*

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7

The Splendid Monument of Indo-Islamic Architectural Glory in Medieval Bundelkhand : Jahangir Mahal of Orcha

* Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

Abstract

An ambition personality, who ascended to the Pinnacle of Rajput Power in Mughal -dominated Hindustan, Bir Singh Deo was the seventh of eight sons born to the third Orcha ruler Madhukar Shah Bundela (1554-1592). The style of architecture that developed under Bir Singh Deo was Unprecedented within the Orcha Kingdom for its fusion of local building traditions with architectural and decorative styles called from other sources.

This paper reflect the architectural characteristic of Jahangir Mahal and also reflect the role of Politics in stylistic formation and iconography, especially the political alliance between Bir Singh Deo and Jahangir and the changes in architect and decorative feature that it engendered during the Bundela dynast's reign.

I

The building traditions of the Indian subcontinent date back to at least the 2nd millennium B.C. India has traditionally been primarily religious. The earliest Indian building where Buddhist and Hindu temples made of wood and then brick. By the 4th century BC, stone had become popular, and successive cultures acquired great skill in carving and construction. Large stupas where built, along with cave temple and monasteries carved out of solid rock.

The Gupta period (4th-6th century AD) saw the rapid development of temple architecture, often decorated with bands of elaborate carving. Northern India's most characteristic structure, a temple with a heavily decorated tower, reached its stylistic height in the 7th-11th century. The extension of Islam into India in the 11 th-12th

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century introduced typical Muslim (11 architectural forms (e.g. the dome and pointed arch) and decoration. Such maser works as the Taj Orchha (25°20'N; 78°42' E) A Village of Prithvipur Tahsil, Orchha is situated on the Betwa river at a distance of about 13 km. from Tahsil headquarters. It is 15km. from Jhansi (U.P.) Orchha is linked by rail on Jhansi-Manikpur section of the Central Railway.¹

Orchha was the capital town of the State. It was founded by Maharaja Rudra Pratap in 1531 A.D. In 1783, Maharaja Vikramjit removed the capital to Tikamgarh since then Orchha has rapidly fallen in to decay. The name Orchha of Ondchha is traditionally derived from the scoffing remark of a Rajput chief who on visiting the site selected for the capital town. On an island in the Betwa which has been surrounded by a battlemented wall, now sadly dilapidated and approached by a causeway over a fine bridge of fourteen arches, stands a huge palace fort mainly the work of Maharaja BirSingh Dev. It consists of several, connected buildings constructed at different times. The finest of these are the Raj Mandir and Jahangir Mahal.² The river Betwa here breaks through seven channel called the Satdhara, of which the origin is poetically ascribed to seven of the Orchha Chief in honour of whose achievements they are supposed to have started flowing - (The first channel was caused to flow by Diman Arjun, the second by he who slow the Mughals, the third by Pratap Rudra, the fourth by Bharti Chand, the fifth by Pancham, the, sixth by Madhur(kar) Shah and the last by Rai Dulha).³ Orchha is Famous religious Centre of Hindus. It is known for its religious and cultural heritage.

II

The Bundela Style of architecture and decoration in the most dazzling and innovative period, the reign of Raja Bir Singh Deo Bundela, a prolific Patron of architecture who ruled over the Orcha Kingdom from 1605-1627. It focuses on Palatine and sacred building as well as architectural decoration sponsored by the Bundela ruler, not only at his seat in Orcha, but also at other rites within and beyond the erstwhile Orcha Kingdom.



Sophisticated and ambitions the style that developed under Bir Singh Deo was Unprecedented within the Orcha Kingdom for its fusion of local building traditions with architectural and decorative styles culled from other sources. These include the productions of previous regional Sultanate and Rajput courts, especially the early 16th century. Tomer dynasty court at Gwalior, as well as those of the

Mughal Empire during the 16th century and early 19th century reigns of the emperors Akbar and Jahangir. The hybrid style that emerged under Bir Singh Deo and the Sheer Scale of building that went on in his reign was unique to the period.⁴ The role of politics in stylistic formation and iconography, especially the political alliance between Bir Singh Deo and Jahangir and the changes in architecture and decoration that it engendered during the Bundela dynasty reign. Similar processes of adaptation from imperial sources were taking place at other Rajput courts enjoying strong alliances with the Mughals in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. To that end that century, compare visual developments in early 17th century Orcha with those at Kachhawaha dynasty Amber and Hada dynasty, Bundi, two courts that assimilated aspects of imperial visual culture while the stylistic shifts that took place at Orcha under Bir Singh Deo can be attributed to a number of factors, such as his great wealth, the Bundela court's access to a higher level of builders and artisans, and contemporary developments in Hindustani architectural styles, some of these factors are linked to political considerations.⁵

Orcha had an important connection to the earlier cultural production of the Rajput Tomar dynasty court at Gwalior. Tomars were a relatively prestigious dynasty. After the Tomars, next great Rajput capital in that reign would be Orcha, founded just 13 years after Gwalior's fall.⁶ Gwalior's palatine architectural and decoration were among the influences on building in Bir Singh Deo reign from the design of the Jahangir Mahals domed towers to the tiles work and murals upon its walls and the motifs of carved royal elephants making its entranceway.⁷ In the period surrounding Bir Singh Deo reign at Orcha, the Rajput courts of Amber and Bundi were active artistic centers. The paintings of Jahangir Mahal and their iconographic and stylistic features, explore their relationship to painted material at other courts, and discern what distinguishes them from productions.⁸

Jahangir Palace-Built in the seventeenth century by the Orchha ruler, Raja Bir Singh,⁹ this imperial palace is a majestic structure. It speaks out loud the friendship between Vir Singh and Emperor Jahangir. Their friendship dated back to the times when they were not even monarchs. Vir Singh built this palace in the honor of his great friend Jahangir. This was a tribute to their friendship.¹⁰



The palace has 5 stories. It also houses around 8 pavilions. The façade of the palace is decorated with numerous geometric patterns and various paintings of peacocks and flowers. On the 3rd floor, there is a court where the Orchha ruler used to meet his subjects. This court is raised above the superimposed arcades. There is a broad gallery that overlooks it. A reddish brown colored cornice that runs along its periphery bound the court.¹¹

An elegant 17th century mansion, Jahangir Mahal in Orchha is a remarkable structure. ... A three storied building, which is a harmonious blend of Indo-Islamic architecture, with hanging balconies, topped domes, marvelous sculptures, delicate Chatri and trellis, Jahangir Palace presents a superb architectural grandeur.¹² Bir Singh, before becoming the Maharaja, possessed the Badaoni fief, which is located in between Gwalior and Orchha. During that time, the relationship between Emperor Akbar and Jahangir was getting bitter due to Anarkali. Salim alias Jahangir revolted against his father Akbar and the latter decided to suppress the rebellion. Bir Singh thought of helping his dear friend Jahangir. After Akbar died, Jahangir thought of repaying the favor of Bir Singh by giving the charge of Bundelkhand to him. In 1606, Bir built the Jahangir Mahal to honor his friend.¹³ The imperial palace was built on the lines of Akbar's Hamam Saras in the Agra City. It is a representative of Bundela School of Architecture. This five-storeyed palace has 8 pavilions. On the third floor, there used to be a court attended by the Orchha rulers where they met their subjects. The court is elevated over overlying cloisters with a broad gallery overlooking it. A reddish-brown cornice encircles the court.

A large line of elephant brackets flanks the entrance of the majestic monument. The front portion of the Jahangir Palace is beautifully decorated with many geometric patterns and paintings of flowers and peacocks.¹⁴



The palace also served as the residence of Raja Madhukar Shah's queen and therefore, is also known as 'Rani Mahal'. Her room is adorned with mural paintings related to Hindu Mythology. This three storied palace has beautiful balconies, domes, terraces and an embellished gateway. The front walls are decorated with turquoise tiles and on either side of the entrance is a stone elephants with hanging bells. Traverse up carefully through the stairs that are without any railings to reach the top floor of the palace to capture the panoramic, bird's eye view of the nearby Betwa river.¹⁵



The entrance of the Jahangir Mahal, Orchha is marked by an artistic and traditional gateway. The front wall of the structure faces to the east and is covered with turquoise tiles. Jahangir Mahal is a three storied structure that is marked by stylishly hanging balconies, porches, and apartments. Like other Palaces in Orchha the Jahangir Mahal, Orchha has and

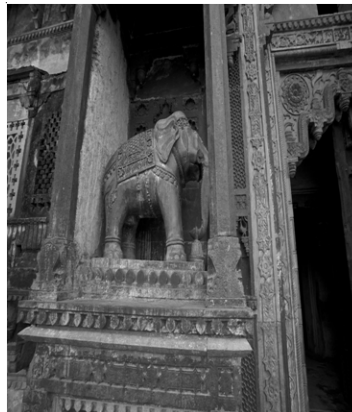


a number of domes that are shaped like onion. These domes cover the central courtyard of the palace.¹⁶

The entrance gate from this palace, which was earlier the main gate and which has carved ornamentation, leads to the royal baths and then to an elegant small dwelling unit built within a garden in typical Mughal architectural style; this had been built exclusively for Rai Praveen, the female escort of the Raja Indrajit; her large-size portrait in a revealing and seductive attire adorns hall in this Mahal. She was a poet and musician. The building is a double storied structure built with bricks, rising to the height of the trees in the well-tended garden called Anand Mahal. The garden is laid out with octagonal flower beds and has good network of water supply. There are niches in the Mahal which permit natural light to the main hall and smaller rooms.¹⁷



It is said that Emperor Akbar (r. 1556 - 1605) who was enamored by Praveen's beauty had taken her to his palace in Agra to be his courtesan. But Parveen, who wanted to get out of the situation, composed a Gazal or a couplet which stated her status as an already used woman not fit for an emperor, which enabled her to get release from Akbar's court and return to Orchha.¹⁸



There are fourteen Chattries or memorials to the rulers of Orchha grouped along the kanchan Ghat of the river Betwa. The 14 Chattries¹⁹ were constructed as a mark of respect for the imperial blue blood of the mighty rulers of Bundelkhand dynasty. Build in Indo-Mughal style, these three story buildings are open to all sides and have nicely designed tops - domes or pinnacles. Most of the cenotaph is in a single compound with similar plans.²⁰

Architecture-This palace was built by Raja Bir Singh Deo-1 in between years 1605 to 1626. It was made in honor of Mughal emperor Jahangir. During that time Bundela rulers of Orchha maintains good relationship with Mughals. Here entire palace is constructed around a square shaped courtyard with side of 67.6 meter each. It is a three storied palace built mainly with red and yellow sandstone and have 136 rooms decorated with wall paintings. Being constructed to resemble the good relationship of Bundelas (Hindus) with Mughals (Muslims) here we can identify the confluence of both Hindu and Islamic architectures like in domes, rooms, entrance gates, terraces,

corridors. It is a Percy-brown monuments covering a square of 220 feet side and rising into an immense rectangular mass supporting 8 graceful domes. It encompasses all qualities that is expected in a medieval castle. Palace is built on the bank of Betwa river with surrounding of green forest offering picturesque and romantic surrounding view. Presence of elephant images and painting inside rooms gives a touch of Hindu architecture in building. Behind palace there is a camel stable. Although whole building is dedicated to Jahangir and Raja Bir Singh Deo friendship but when Jahangir came here, he stayed here for just one night.²¹



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8

The Status of Agriculture in Medieval India as depicted in Guru Granth Sahib

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Abstract

The central idea in the hymns of the Gurus and the Saints poets is to convey their spiritual ideas to the society. There is not any list of good or bad occupations in the Gurbani but through the practical ideology it exemplifies the real picture of society by the different occupations of human beings. The text of the Guru Granth Sahib gives us ample information about the main features of contemporary agricultural conditions. The peasants or the cultivators were the backbone of medieval Indian economy. He tilled the soil, work hard throughout the year, yet lived utter poverty and hardship as is evident from the number of couplets in Guru Granth Sahib. The purpose of this paper is to study the Guru Granth Sahib in the context of agriculture viz., how some of the hymns throw flood of light on farming, farmers, types of land, crops, sources of irrigation, land revenue of that time.

Key words : *GGS and Adi Granth-* Guru Granth Sahib, **Sanjar-** land which contains every type of minerals and maximum sources of irrigation, **Kallar-** soil which lacked of fertility and sources of irrigation, **Rahats or Arhats-** persian wheels commonly used to fetch the water from wells.

Guru Granth Sahib is the first and most important original and contemporary source for the lives of the first five Gurus and of the ninth Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur. Several incidents in their lives are reflected in their compositions which are incorporated into this sacred volume. Arnold Toynbee has rightly stated, "The Adi Granth is remarkable for several reasons. Of all known religious scriptures this book is most venerated. It means more to the Sikh than even Qur'an to the Muslims, Bible to the Christians and Torah to Jews."¹ The compositions reflect the

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social, religious, political and economic atmosphere of those days and the views of the Gurus regarding prevailing social customs, religious rites, political and economic conditions in the country. The purpose of this paper is to study the Guru Granth Sahib in the context of agriculture viz., how some of the hymns throw flood of light on farming, farmers, types of land, crops, sources of irrigation, land revenue of that time.

Land- The India's superiority in the field of agriculture was, mainly due to the fertility of land. More than 3/4th of the population lived in villages and was closely connected with land directly or indirectly. The modern parlance '*Dabb ke Wahh and Rajj ke Kha*' beautifully exemplifies the condition of land which prevailed in medieval times. Although the maximum parts of the country were fertile enough but some of the parts were barren. As an authentic and contemporary source of history Guru Granth Sahib illustrates the real picture of Indian agriculture during the medieval period. The micro study of Guru Granth Sahib gives us a lot of information about the types of land which were prevailed at those times. There are hymns in the Gurbani which narrate that the land in medieval India was mostly of two types (i) Fertile (ii) Barren.

Fertile Land: This type of land was contained every type of minerals which were useful for the crops. The land was strong enough to produce all crops for the whole year. It is also called *sanjar* in Punjabi language due to the availability of maximum sources of irrigation including both natural and artificial.

*Make thy mind the ploughman good deed the farming,
Modesty the water and thy body the field. Let Lord's
Name be thy seed contentment the earth-crusher and
garb of humility thy fence.*² (GGS, p. 595)

Guru Amar Das in his Bani compared the human mind with a fertile land which was ready to produce anything which he wanted to grow.

*The True Guru is the field of balanced life.
He, whom the Lord makes love it;
sow the Name therein;
the Name springs up and in the Name he remains merged.*³ (GGS, p. 947)

According to Guru Amar Das the quality of fertile land used for agriculture and other human activities typically arises from the practices. Basically, the efforts make the soil more fertile to supply the plants nutrients.

*Everybody is the Lord God's field.
God himself causes the crop of God's Grace.
The perverse person loses even his capital.
Everyone cultivates for his own good.
God causes that field to germinate which he likes.
The disciple of the Guru, sows God's elixir and
Obtains God's Nectarean Name, as the ambrosial fruit.*⁴ (GGS, p. 304)

Barren Land: This type of soil was lacked of fertility and sources of irrigation. This land was not able to grow the crops like as the fertile land because it contained the salt in excess. Due to the maximum salt it was called *kallar* in Punjabi words. Some of areas of this land have had some sources of irrigation in the form of seasonal rains but due to the lack of fertility and excessiveness of salt this type of land was only able to grow some types of grass only. The same examples we find in the Bani of Guru Ram Das who says the production of barren land is not good as the effort of a farmer is concerned.⁵

*Taking a barren field, man sows false hood therein;
Therefore he shall gather all falsehood in his thrashing floor.⁶ (GGS, p. 981)*

Sources of Irrigation: The dominance of agriculture in medieval India was, due to the fertility of land. The rainfall was mostly adequate in most parts of India. The crops were mainly depended upon the rain as well as on wells for irrigation. In various regions of the country, many provincial and central dynasties had constructed the canals for artificial irrigation. Otherwise, the wells and tanks were the main sources of artificial irrigation. The Persian-Wheels were popular in those times to fetch the water from wells with the help of clay pots which were commonly fastened to a rope. Guru Nanak explains the use of Rahats or Arhats in his Bani.

*Just as the buckets hung on the chain of the Persian
wheel rotate, emptying one and filling the other.
So is this play of the Lord. He acts as is His wondrous glory.⁷ (GGS, p. 1329)*

*Make God thy well, string to its chains the buckets of
His Name and yoke thy mind as an ox therto.
Irrigate, thou with Nectar and fill the small plots therewith.
Then shalt thou belong to the Gardener.⁸ (GGS, p.1171)*

A large part of cultivation throughout the country mainly depended upon the rain. A normal rainfall was a great boon to the cultivators, as their livelihood and prosperity depended upon it. If it was scanty, it resulted in a draught which caused scarcity, misery and distress. The farmers generally waited for rainy season, Sawan and Bhadon on which their livelihood and state's share of revenue were depended. There was a general shortage or scarcity of rain in 1596. As Guru Nanak was himself in the profession of peasantry understood the significance of rain.

*By Thine order the month of Sawan has come.
I have yoked the plough of Truth.
I began to sow the Name in this hope that
God, by His beneficence, will cause to yield heaps of corn.⁹ (GGS, p. 73)*

*The uniformy-raining month of Sawan
Has come Meditate thou on the Lord's Name,
by the Guru's grace.
All trouble, hunger and woe end,*

*When the rain falls in torrents.
The entire earth becomes green, the seed
Germinates and there appear the corn-heaps.¹⁰ (GGS, p.1250)*

Crops: The medieval Indian cultivation was famous for the numerous foodstuffs. There are some hymns of Gurbani which illustrate farming products of that time like wheat, rice, vegetables, cotton, oilseeds, sugarcane, butter, curd, ghee which were used by the people of medieval India.

*Bless thou me with the rice of continency and chastity,
the wheat of compassion and the leafy
plate of Thy meditation, O Lord.
Bless Thou me with the milk of good deeds
and the clarified butter of contentment.
Such are the alms, I ask of Thee, O Lord.¹¹ (GGS, p.1329)*

The peasants were aware of some types of fruits and pulses like mung, moth (both pulses), amb (mango), *khanjoor* (dates) and *angoor* (grapes) etc.

*There is a famine of truth, falsehood
Prevails and the blackness of the Dark age
Has made men demons.
They, who have sown the seed of the Name have
Departed with honour.
How can the broken seed sprout now?¹² (GGS, p. 468)*

*Where I do become a cuckoo, and live
on a mango-tree, I would still meditate
on my Master's Word.
I would then, easily meet my Spouse,
Whose sight and beauty is unsurpassed.¹³ (GGS, p.157)*

The method of the pressing oilseeds (*ghani*) through the oil was produced and the procedure of making unrefined sugar (*gur*) from the sugarcane is beautifully explained in Gurbani.

*Thou practice deception in secret.
But Lord, the Inner-knower knows all.
When the Righteous judge takes thy account,
Thou shalt be pressed like sesame in an oil-press.¹⁴ (GGS, p. 546)*

*See, that the sugarcane is sheared.
After cleansing and chopping off its plumes,
Its feet are bound to form it into bundles.
Placing it in between the wooden rollers of the
Press, they crush and award its punishment.
Extracting the juice, they put it in the
Cauldron and it grows as it burns.¹⁵ (GGS, p.143)*

Methodology: The method of cultivation in those times was not dissimilar from the present but it was not simple and undeveloped. The wooden plough, the toothed harrow, the leveling beam, spades and sickles were the popular equipment's used by the farmers in their fields. The Indian peasants moreover familiar to use the seed drill, a late came in European agriculture and in the case of some crops like cotton, employed even dibbing. We have very little information on the types of manures and fertilizers used by peasants. It appears that the peasants generally used animal dung, the supply of which was abundant as per capita cattle was larger than at present. Guru Nanak explains the methods of a farmer in his Bani.

*The True Lord Himself is all wise and
forgets not. He is a great husbandman.
He first prepares the mind ground and then
gives (sows) the seed of the True Name.¹⁶ (GGS, p.19)*

The peasants knew intensive ploughing as well as rotation of crops, rising to crops annually (*Kharif* and *Rabi*) and even three in some areas. Gurbani appreciates the hard work of a farmer and explains the importance of cultivation and re-cultivation of the land.

*Make both lust and wrath thy
Hand-hoes and therewith loosen thy farm,
O brother.
The more thou hoist, the more the peace, thou shalt
Obtain. The deeds done can be effaced not.¹⁷ (GGS, p.1171)*

*Through the Guru, tracker, I have found the tracks of those,
Who had destroyed my crop.
Thou, O Spouse, hast put a fence and
the field shall no longer be laid waste, O Nanak.¹⁸ (GGS, p. 521)*

Land Revenue: As India was mainly an agrarian country, the major portion of the population was engaged in agriculture. They produced sufficient to meet their own needs and requirements of the state's share of land revenue. The land revenue was the chief source of income. Apart from the land revenue many other taxes in the form of water tax, cattle tax and grazing taxes etc. were imposed by the state government. The *people* had to pay duties on buffaloes, goats and other animals. The Saint poet Bhagat Ravidas explains such types of taxes in his Bani.

*There is no fear of tax of goods there.
Neither awe, nor error, nor dread nor decline is there.¹⁹ (GGS, p. 345)*

The peasantry of those times suffered from huge taxes on the one hand and exploited by the government officials on the other. There are many references in Guru Granth Sahib about these officials like *Diwan* (tax collector), *Shiqdar*²⁰ and *Patwari*.

*Of the one body fortress,
are the five rulers and all the five demand revenue.
I have cultivated no one's land.
To make such a payment is indeed painful.
O God's people, the village accountant
Ever tortures me.
Raising my arms aloft, I complained to my Guru
And he did save me. Pause.
The nine surveyors and the ten judges go
on tour and allow not the subjects to live in peace.
They measure not with a full tape and talk much bribe.²¹ (GGS, p. 793)*

Guru Nanak writes : The deer, the hawks and the officials (*Shiqdars*) are called clever and learned. They trap their own caste, but hereafter they will find no refuge. The chiefs (landlords) are like tigers and their revenue officials are like dogs. Their servants inflict wounds with their nails and like curs lick up the blood and bile of the poor subjects and where men are to be judged at God's court. The noses of these unworthy persons will be chopped off.²²

The central idea in the hymns of the Gurus and the Saints poets is to convey their spiritual ideas to the society. There is not any list of good or bad occupations in the Gurbani but through the practical ideology it exemplifies the real picture of society by the different occupations of human beings. The text of the Guru Granth Sahib gives us ample information about the main features of contemporary agricultural conditions. The peasants or the cultivators were the backbone of medieval Indian economy. He tilled the soil, work hard throughout the year, yet lived utter poverty and hardship as is evident from the number of couplets in Guru Granth Sahib.

*The cultivator, longingly and heartily takes to husbandry.
He yokes the plough and puts in effort,
That his sons and daughters may eat.²³ (GGS, p. 166)*

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9

KHULASA- As the Mystical Scripture of the Pranami Dharma of the Sindhi Hindus.

* Dr. Asha Shrivastava

Abstract

Mahamati Pran Nath was related to Sindh through his mother. His mother and Guru Devchandra Maharaj (1581-1655) belong to Sindh province. Pran Nath was very much influenced by his mother and Guru. He travelled throughout India and four other countries including present Pakistan, Oman, Iraq and Iran to spread the ideals of religious harmony and interfaith of different religion.

Khulasa is the seventh among the fourteen books of the Kulzam Swaroop, the Scripture of the Pranami religion. It was revealed to Swami Pran Nath (1618-1694 A.D.), the founder of this religion. 'Khulasa' is Arabic word which means inner meaning, essence or the basis of spirituality. It is the findings of the Vedas and the Koran. Mahamati Pran Nath discusses and explains in depth the meaning of the Semitic literature with special emphasis on Koran. There is a detailed reference to Islam because Mahamati Pran Nath ji went to Arabia on a mission and stayed there for four years. In the verses of the medieval Saints a very few references about Islam are given. But in the Khulasa theology and vocabulary which are purely Islamic.

The main theme of this paper in short, a detailed explanation of Islamic theology and tradition by Mahamati Pran Nath ji for his countryman both Hindus and Muslims, and understand the basics and come to terms with each other and stop the inter-religion conflict. This Paper also reflects the ritual fusion of Islamic Grantha through Kulzam Saroop. The heading of some sections are- Koran Ka Khulasa, Khulasa giro Deen ka, Khulasa meyaraj ka, Khulasa Islam ka, Bhisat Sifaayat ka Bevara, Hak ki Surat roohon ki bine dekhaye, noor tajalla ki pahchan, Jahoor

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nama Kitab, Koran ki kahun, soorat meejan ki etc. This clearly shows that Pran Nath ji was well versed in the most sub line form of Islam not only in its pure essence but also expressions in its own language.

A few verses from these cited above show that Pran Nath ji was a master of the Islamic thoughts and the traditional which he gathered from his stay in Arab Countries and travelling widely in India. In this book Khulasa the resolutions of Islamic religion and their unexplained intended meanings have been revealed by Mahamati Pran Nath. A perfect and unbiased of interpretation for overcoming the ignorance and fear, if any of the followers of both Hindus and Muslim faith in understanding the messages given in the religious scriptures of both these religion has been provided here.

The epithet of Khulasa descended to Mahamati (Around 1686 A.D.) in the city of Panna, the capital of Bundelkhand region in central India. Maharaja Chhatrasal was the ruler of Panna during this period. The book consists of 18 section and 1020 verses. The basic purpose here is to educate both Hindu and Muslim communities about the similarities in the contents of their religious books and to inspire them to make sincere efforts to unite the religions of the word and create an atmosphere of brother hood among all.

Mahamati Pran Nath through the medium of his book Khulasa has presented the true and comprehensive of the religion to the hard line followers of Islam.

Khulasa explained the Islamic faith in very simple manner among the followers of both Sindhi Hindus and Muslims understanding and stop the inter religion conflicts. At present this scripture Khulasa is ritually, very useful and meaning full for both religions.

Key words : *Ali-* Forth Caliph, *Angel-* is a spiritual creature, created of the substance of light by God for the service of Mankind, *Azazil-* is one of the most important angels of heaven, *Azrael* is the angel of death who is set in authority over men , *Bhagwat* – is one of the eighteenth Puran of Indian Thought. *Hadis-* are the book of records of tradition going back to Prophet Mohammed sahib; *Haqiqat-* is the eternal truth that everyone has to seek his own way, *Imam Mehedee-* is the coming of the second Christ with the last Day of Judgment, *Kayamat-* is the dooms day, *Lahut-* is the word of Supreme God head. *Mahamati-* is Supreme divine wisdom. *Michael-* is the invisible, sexless, celestial energy; *Param Dham-* is the Supreme heaven. *Ruh-* is the higher soul in man. *Satan-* is the minister of God, *Semitic-* Religious are those religion which have been founded on the authority of the Scriptures. *Kateb-* in Arabic language for religious books are called *Ketab*, *Momines-* In Koran those

who love God and are always prepare to sacrifices themselves. The supreme souls have also been called Momines.

I

Nijanand Sampradaya¹ is a community that believes in the supreme truth God "Raj Ji. Pran Nath ji is also considered as the "last Imam Mehndi" by Muslim and "Bidh Nishkalon Avatar "by Hindus.

The founder of the Sect, Shri Dev-chandra Maharaj (1581-1655), Was born in Sindh province in Umarkot Village.² Devchandra ji undertook the work of giving concrete shape and from to find a new stream of religion called Nijanand Sampradaya. He settled down in Jamnagar where from he explained Veda Vedantic knowledge and Bhagwatam in simple language intelligible to lay persons irrespective of social class and religious differences and awaken them to their real self with the help of divine Knowledge called "**Tartam**".³ His followers later come to be known as Sundersaths or Pranami.⁴

II

The credit of spreading the Pranami religious to his dearest disciple and Successor, Mahamati Pran Nath ji (Mehraj Thakur 1618-1694 A.D.).⁵ Who was the son of Keshav Thakar, Diwan of Jamnagar. He traveled throughout India and four Arab countries, ⁶ including Present Pakistan, Oman, Iraq and Iran to spread the idea of religious harmony and inter faith understanding the vision of Tartam professes. Through him was revealed the divine knowledge later compiled as the holy "Kuljam Saroop" in six languages- Gujarati, Sindhi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi and also words of many other prevalent Languages. His work called *Kuljam Swaroop* a.k.a. *Tartam Sagar* is worshipped unlike the idols in shree Krishna Pranami temple worldwide. Among other notables Mahatma Gandhi's mother Putli Bai, Belonged to Pranami sect.⁷ Gandhi in his book my experiments with truth mentions about this sect- "Pranami is a sect deriving the best of both the Quran and Gita, in search of one goal"-God.⁸

III

Kuljam Swaroop Vani⁹ – This Compilation of 14 books consists the revelation of the Vedic Scripture Quteb (Semitic Scriptures- Quran, Torah, Psalms of David and Bible) as well as the description of the Supreme Abode Param Dham that Muslims call Arshe Azim (Lahoot) and the Christians call the Supreme heaven. Due to this Compilation having divine Knowledge the followers of Shree Krishna Pranami faith worship this holy book as the Lord himself. Tartam sagar includes 18,758 verses. It is a collection of Mahamati Pran Nath's Bani's or teachings. It was published in 1965 for the first time. The collection of fourteen books is Raas, Prakash, Shadritu. Kalash, Sanandh, Kirantan, Khulasa, Khilwat, PariKrama, Sagar, Shingar, Sindhi Bani, Marfat Sagar, and Kayamatnama.¹⁰

Mahamati Pran Nath laid the foundation of a world religion. It is hoped that the followers of all religious will give due regards to the religious Scriptures of those who hold different faiths.

They will find good points in others and the mutual enmity will be destroyed. The man will love the man and religious persecution will come to an end. The teachings of Mahamati are a becomes light for the world of today.¹¹

In the verses of Medieval Saints a very few references about Islam are given. But in the Khulasa we find theology and Vocabulary which are purely Islamic. A Hindu Saint is correctly interpreting the Islamic theology for his countrymen, both Hindus and Muslims, so that they may understand the basics and come to terms with each other and stop the inter-religion conflicts.

IV

The 'KHULASA'¹² is the book of 'Kuljam Saroop' the scripture of Krishna Pranamies and was revealed to Mahamati Pran Nath, the founder of this faith. This Scripture is also known as the 'Tartam Sager' because it discusses about different cults, creeds, beliefs and doctrines, not only in their separate from but also in their mixed and blended way.

'KHULASA' means clarification of the subject matter it being entirely complete. It contains 18 sections and 1020 verses.¹³ Its language is Hindi, but Persian and Arab terms are used at appropriate places. It was revealed to Swami Pran Nath during Samvat 1738 – 1743.¹⁴

V

For the propagation of this religion swami Pran Nath reached Ram Nagar at the time Purdal Khan and Sheikh Khidar, the emissaries of Aurangzeb come to meet him.¹⁵ He explained to them about the common points contained in the Koran and Puranas.¹⁶ He said, 'All scriptures point towards one supreme power.' There are differences in language and Expressions. Khuda, God and Brahma refer to the same Lord. The Hindus and the Muslims are the Children of the same Lord; but without understanding the true importance of the faith

Jo Kuch kahyaa keteb ne, soi kehya Ved/

*Dou vendee c sahib, per ladat bina paaye bhed/*¹⁷ Section 12/ 42

In the Koran and other Semitic texts heaven is called **Malkoot**¹⁸, the imperishable lord as **Noor Jalal**¹⁹, and the Super Lord as **Noor Jamal**. Likewise the superior souls are knock as **momins**²⁰, the middle level souls as **angels**²¹, the abode the imperishable as **sadartul muntaha**, the supreme Abod **Aras Azeem**²², Shyam ji as **Rooh Allah**²³, Krishna as **Mohammad** Brahma as **Mekaeil**, Vishnu as **Ajajeel**²⁴ and Mahesh as **Izraeli**. The story of Vasudeva given in **Bhagvat** tallies with the story of **Nooh**, the prophet. The amorous act of **Govardhan** and **yogmaya** find this parallel in the kohtoor storm and the boat and garden episode. Thus there are only difference in names and language but the message is the same.²⁵

'Aik khuda(brahma),Haque Mohammad(aadesh),

har jaate pooje ghar naao/

So Duniya mein ya bina,koi nehi kit kaao/

sab jaate naam jude dhere, aur sab ka khaband aik/

*sab ko bandgi yaahi ki, peeche lede bin paaye vivak/*²⁶

*jude jude naamen Gaavahin, jude jude Bhekh Anek/
Jin koi jhagado Aap Mein, Dhani Sabon kaa Ek*||²⁷

They sing the glory of God by different names and they clothe themselves in diverse form. Do not quarrel therefore, over the issue of Divinity who is the Lord supreme for one and all.

Another beauty of these books is that Islamic terminology is referred to herein detail. The Islamic vocabulary used in the titles of various sections as well as in the verses in the Khulasa show that Pran Nathji was well grounded in the Islamic thought and its language. The headlines of some section²⁸ are-*Kuran ka Khulasa, Khulasa Giro-Deen ka, Khulasa Meyaraj ka, Khulasa Islam ka, Bhisai Sifaayat ka Bevara, Hak ki surai, Roohon ki Bine Dekhaya, Noor, Noor Tajalla ki pechchan, Jahoor Nama Kitab, Koran ki kahun, Soorat Meejan ki etc.*²⁹

Similar is the case with terminology. A few words are mentioned here-*momin (the supreme souls), chaude Rooh Alla (Shyama) Landune (Brahm gyan), baka(Akand), gyan, ilam, Ablees, Saitan, Phirastedevta, tauheed, Dajjal, kayamt, Mahedee, Hajrat, Mehboob, dargah, kalaam, murdaar, nisbat, Sariyat, Masook, Khavid Phajar, lailat Kadar, Paigambar, Kafar, Jabreil, nabee, hauj Kausar, Asarafeel, Nazee etc.*³⁰ This terminology has been repeatedly employed in the Khulasa. This clearly shows that Pran Nathji was well versed in the most sublime form of Islam not only in its pure essence but also expressions in its own language.³¹ A few verses, taken from the Khulasa, make the above points more clear.

*“Choude tabak hosee kayam, en nuktae ilam hukum !
Haq Aras Vahedat mein, rosan din Khasam !”*³²

All the people of the fourteen regions will be liberated as a result of this supreme Knowledge, Tartam.

The Lord resides in his abode. The darkness of ignorance is destroyed and light has dawned. Khulasa.

*Naasoot upper Lo Jannat, Asman saat mein malkoot/
Hewa Julamat, Tin Par Noor Bakaa jabroot”*||³³

From this world seven regions above is the heaven. Above that is the region of the formless. Above that is the abode of the creator Akshar Brahma.

*“Jab mohe hadi sudh dai, Paya la ila tab !
Nor makan nooratajalla, Pai ars haqiqut sab!”*³⁴

When the guru's teaching made me internally aware .I understood about the beyond. I could comprehend about the formless entity and the supreme Lord .Thus all spiritual matter come to my knowledge.

*“Our naam dhar ya haq ka, bachoon bechgoon!
Kahe haq ko soorat nehi, besbi benimoon !”*³⁵

The Muslims call him by the name of without qualities and absolute. He has no form. He is without any Parallel.

A few verses from these cited above show that Pran Nath ji was a master of the Islamic thoughts and the traditions which he gathered from his stay in Arab countries and travelling widely in India.

Various angels, lesser divinities and evil forces find repeated mentioned while moving on the spiritual journey leading to the abode of the supreme Lord. The names of various regions (Stages) on way to the mansion of the Lord have also been elucidated. He knew that all messengers come from the same source of light and preach the same message to the quarreling and suffering humanity. That is why he was quite emphatic in stating that Mohammad also incarnated himself in Devchandra ji the Guru of Mahamati Pran Nath ji. There is difference in terminology and the names due to the change of place and environments, but the focus is the same i.e. Love, Peace, and mutuality. In short a detailed explanation of Islamic theology and traditions by Swami Pran Nath ji is the main theme of this Book Khulasa.³⁶ The epithet of Khulasa descended to Mahamati (Around 1686 A.D.) In the city of Panna, the capital of Bundelkhand region in Central India.³⁷ The basic purpose here is to educate both Hindu and Muslim communities about the similarities in the contents of their religious books and to inspire them to make sincere efforts to unite the religious books and to inspire them to make sincere efforts to unite the religions and create an atmosphere of brotherhood among all.³⁸ A very clear evidence of its effect in this connection is visible in the city of Panna. The behavior and attitude of Muslims residing here is such that even now while carrying the *Tajias* on the occasion of festival *Moharram* the Muslim bow their hands and dance before Pran Nath temple while passing through this street.³⁹

Mahamati Pran Nath through the medium of his book Khulasa and Sanandh has presented the true and comprehensive picture of the religion to the hardline followers of Islam.⁴⁰ Hazarat Muhammad in accordance with the predictions of the Koran was to incarnate as Imam Mehedee, in this third appearance in this world. This happened in the form of Mahamati Pran ji.

*"Main Khai grah the kadh ke, le dare doongi khaad
Chota jabh kere jorawari, kahe hame hot Sebaab. 41*

That I have come to this world by the order of the Almighty who will himself appear at the end, the Day of Judgment. The talk of the last day signifies that the end of enmity and rivalry will take place then.

Mahamati has given meaningful illustrations of the verity of terms used in the Koran. '**Vuju**'⁴² means *purification*, five times of **Namaz**⁴³ illustrate *remembering Allah/God* while sitting, getting up, sleeping, eating and drinking in all our action. **Sunnat**⁴⁴ is explained as *control* and *restraint* over our organs of sense and perception, **Tasbeeh**⁴⁵ (rosary/chain of pearls) depicts the importance of remembering God in every breath to overcome the tendency of lurking of mind. He further explained that real **Shariyat**⁴⁶ tells us about *remembering vocally* or by means of other body organs the name of Allah. Always keeping in mind the name of Allah is **Tareekat** and **Hakeekat**⁴⁷ (reality) is attaining nearness to Him by prayer

being said directly from the soul (Atma) itself.⁴⁸ Another important aspect described in *Koran* and *Hadis* is *kayamat*-the Day of Judgment. It is believed that on this last day a deluge will submerge everything in it. On this day all souls will be awakened from graves and Imam Mehedee as the Judge will provide justice to them according to their deeds. Mahamati has given a spiritual meaning to this. According to him on this day souls will be awakened in their real form, get purified and God will appear and reward the souls so that they can go back to their original home (heavens) and enjoy the Lord's bliss. In *Hadis* there are several other signs of *kayamat* mentioned. It says coming of a one eyed creature (Satan) looking like human but with all characteristics of an animal, who will be annihilated by Imam Mehedee. Mahamati's version is that this is none else but human mind itself. The Lord will provide all the spiritual knowledge and the souls will get freedom from the clutches of Satan. It is also stated that sun will rise in the west but without light. This is the symbol of western civilization without spiritualism. Another is birth of Rooh Allah on this earth. This is coming up of Devchandra with Tartam, the integral knowledge. All such signs have been explained on the basis of spiritual knowledge in the books *Khulasa*⁴⁹ and *Marphat Sagar*.⁵⁰

He further insisted that *Kalma*⁵¹ (mantra) should be uttered from the core of the heart and not by tongue only. *Zakaat*⁵² means sacrificing one's own self and Haj is the visit to the Abode by the soul. The fasting during the sacred month of Ramzan⁵³ is the admiring of the splendour of the Allah and Mohammad for the right cause. The religious cult should aim at rising above the body and mind to unite the soul with him. Conversion of religion in no way leads to any improvement in the character of an individual or for achieving virtues and merits. In this connection Mahamati has said-

*'Aik khaai Greah te kaadh ke, Le daare doozi khaad/
Chota jabeh kere Jorabari, kehe heme ht sebaab||'*⁵⁴

That I have come to this world by the order of the almighty that will himself appear at the end, the Day of Judgment. The talk of the last day signifies the end of enmity and rivalry will take place then.

By forcing any one to convert from one religion or community to another will mean only a change in name but the nature, beliefs and thought of mind and heart can alter by the unity of self with almighty. For such a cause the name, caste or appearance has very little significance.

Mahamati stayed in Arab countries for almost four years and had a good knowledge about the people, language, customs and literature of that region. On hearing the call for prayer from the mosque he had instantly concluded that the words *La illa illallah* agree perfectly with his understanding of the supreme power of the universe. The reciters (Mullahs) had not paid any attention to the inner voice of their consciousness and true meaning of these terms. In *Kalma* (Muslim

Mantra) "La" stands for the existence of this word with perishable nature (Kshar). (Illa) depicts the imperishable power (Akshar). That creates runs and

destroys millions of universes in a moment. Beyond “La “and “illa” is illullah which represents the supreme lord (Akshrateet). This very significant and important information aroused great interest in Mahamati for undertaking in-depth study of Koran and related Muslim literature.⁵⁵

At that time Aurangzeb was ruling over the thrown of Delhi and Many other parts of India. His mission was to convert forcibly pupil of other faith to Islam. To have an encounter with Aurangzeb to make him understand the true message of Koran along with that of Gita and other Hindu literature, Mahamati came to conclusion that a parallel study of both the religions is necessary, as this would enable him to put forward a plausible argument before the ruler to convince him. Of the similarities of the two faith. The efforts of Mahamati resulted in four invaluable books namely Sanandh, Khulasa, Marphat Sagar and Kayamatnama wherein the real and pertinent explanation of the Koranic teachings come before this world. It became the firm view of Mahamati the message of all the religions is the same preaching worship of one God.⁵⁶

Mahamati has also stated that the play created by the will of the supreme Lord and the separation of celestial souls from him and each other is also due to his will. By his command Sad guru Devchandra and Mahamati Pran Nath come in this world to awaken these souls. The spiritual information contained in Vedas and Semitic books is also in accordance with his will. This knowledge is solely responsible for awakening the souls in different countries and speaking variety of languages. The connection of the souls with worldly affairs is also due to his command.⁵⁷

*“Ek Khuda (Brahma), Haqe Mahmod (Aadesh), har Jaate Pooje Ghar Naaoo/
So Duniya me ya bina, koi Nehi kit kaao//
Sab Jaate naam Jude hgare, aur sab ka Khaband ek/
Sab ko bandgi yaahi ki, Peeche Lede bin paaye vivah//”⁵⁸*

Removal of enmity, rivalry, hostility and malice among of the various religious must come to an end.

Mahamati Pran Nath considers Koran as an extremely important document as there are many hints which point towards the dawn of awakening (Jagni Lila). In particular in Sura Brooj and Sure –al-Fajra the incarnation of Imam Mehedee in 11th and 12th century after Mohammad etc.⁵⁹ are godly message which were understood and interpreted by Mahamati. On this basis the appearance of Devchandra and Pran Nath is foretold along with their lives and philosophies and their efforts to awaken souls in the world. Their preaching is applicable universally. The celestial souls can recognize the message irrespective of its language and attain the spiritual Joy. Mahamati has shown them the direct path to unite themselves with the supreme Lord.⁶⁰

Mahamati Pran Nath worked hard for uniting the people and ending the strife in the name of God and religion. He talked to them in their own language giving examples from their own religious books. Mahamati knew several languages such

as Gujarati, Hindi, Sindhi, Urdu and Arabic. The verses came out from him in almost all the languages. It must have been the real task with his disciples to note them down in the true form, but now we know that Mahamati himself pursued those verses and had them compiled in the form of fourteen books.

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10

Royal Costumes of the Qutb Shahi Rulers in Golconda

* Sujata H. Gaurkhede

Abstract

Qutb Shahi dynasty spanned 171 years in the history of South India. This research paper written on the Qutb Shahi costumes, to promote the study and preservation of costumes, to study the material culture, related to history of costumes with help from various documented sources.

This paper gives us an insight into clothing worn then and has been crucial in forming the image and adornment of the rulers. The role played by the poets, painters, architect, artists drawings of historical works, travelers travelogue, illustrated manuscripts that has survived showing costumes are note worthy. Chroniclers and historiographers memories remain remarkable and detail of costumes, accessories, and lifestyle of the Qutub Shahi Rulers.

The Royal Costumes of Golconda : The Golconda, Qutub Shahi Rulers their superiority from the rest of the populace. In the palace of Ibrahim Qutub Shah there was separate suite called the jama-khana where the royal robes were stored. In another suite worked there were tailors and embroiders were and making of the royal robes. Shahi Rulers were graceful and splendid, indicating their superiority from the rest of the populace. The Qutb Shahs had rich and varied background of traditions. Different civilization and races influenced their culture. Ethnically the Qutub Shahs were Iranian, thus they imbibed Iranian culture and civilization.¹ Their costumes reflect the Personalized look. Every invading ruler brought with them their own garments and retained them, modified them to suit the climatic conditions. The miniature paintings patronized by the Sultans are a rich informant for the study of royal clothing of Southern and Central India. The way it varied from the style that were evolving in the North Indian Mughal Court. Majority of men wore the Jama for the top garment, pajama was the fitted pant with gathers,

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Farji was a coat like garment worn on the Jama, and the patka was the belt tied at the waist. Draping of shawls was regular to make the outfit look graceful. Following are the description of the garments.

Jama: The most common and striking garment worn by men in India during the Islamic period was the Jama (also Jamah) a Persian word variously meaning robe, gown or coat. It was most often made of fine and transparent white fabric. The Jama came into conformity with certain detail such as; it was generally knee-length and overlapped at the front with the inside and outside flaps tied under the left and right arm with fabric cords or ties of different lengths.² The sleeve had extra long length that gave the look of a bracelet cuff when gathered at the wrist. The sleeves were either set-in around armhole or T-cut straight across the bodice. The bodice of the Jama was fastened and fitted with tie cords & attached to a skirt that formed into a wide bell shape.

There were various styles of Jama, transparent, plain or even pleated, at times densely gathered with circular hem or with handkerchief hem. Jama had undergone several variations in design details, fit and length. Hindus and Muslim tied the Jama differently during the time of Akbar. By the study of paintings, the Jama seemed to be unlined; under the Jama men wore a tunic-like undergarment known as kutra. The under tunic could either have either long or short sleeves.

Paijama: wore a form of Beneath the Jama, men wore a form of trousers called the churidar paijamas. The silhouette of the churidar was full around the hips with a tapered close fit from the knee to the ankles. The leg hemline was excessively long; the extra length gathered like stacks of bangles, churi thus called the churidar paijama. In most of the paintings, the churidar paijamas was shown as plain or with striped fabrics. In several art-works, it appears to be quite wide-cut and full, which was perhaps was tied by casing and drawstring. Thus, many styles were adapted, modified, standardized in the court for Jama and paijama befittingly.

Farji: A sleeveless jacket or outer garment worn over Jama, called Sadri. In Persian, it was known as Mirzai, is long loose with open cuffs, worn over another garment, which at times was quilted. Farji was a simple over garment, with short or three quarter length sleeve, which was open in the center front. The farji was thus conformed like a coat over a jama or an angrakha. Thus in the Qutb Shahi courts the farji was dressed up with exquisite borders or was made with various printed fabrics. Another outer garment seen in the paintings in the Persian-English dictionary is the fatuhi, i.e. also a sleeveless jacket often quilted with cotton wool filling.

Patka: A waist-belt made of two to three meters of fabric was often plain or bejeweled generally referred to as patka. This waistband, sash or cummerbund cinched around the waist. It was mostly opulent and ornamented with extended sashes, which sashayed from the belt. The Jama, angrakha or the dhoti cinched with this sash. The patka had intricate placement of complex woven patterns, delicate motifs, interesting color schemes, and the end panels are with dual borders with

fringes. The collocation of a light and a dense weave in a patka made it unique in style.³ The patka was one of the most intricate and complex textile. It had the most malleable, cotton weft area that wrapped several times around the waist, where as the ornamental, metal-woven end panels draped heavily on the front, until the knees. It was either floor-length or could be shorter. The patka often carried the weapons.

Shawl: At the courts of the Deccan paintings from late 17th century Golconda bear proof to some of the finest detailed paintings of the Kashmir shawl termed as shoulder-mantel. Several portraits of Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II, ruler of Bijapur from 1580 to 1627, show him with enormous shoulder-mantles in both geometric and floral patterns. The drape and the bulk of the material as rendered by the artist is portrayed as Pashmina, woolen shawls rather than silk and cotton. The mantel thus rendered cajoling soft, warm, light but also with good fall and drape.⁴ Extending the area of speculation, could it be that the fashion for colour-matched shawls, patkas, and conjecturing turbans with coordinated designs that the portraits reveal, indicates the possibilities of these items woven of the same material. There is also a mention of the cross-cultural currents between the Mughal courts and those of the Deccan. It seems possible that some of the shoulder-mantels then worn by the Bijapur, Golconda rulers and nobility in the 16th and early 17th centuries ought to be made in Kashmir.

The Golconda rulers style of their costumes they specially adopted from Iran, from North India it was the Mughal and before there were Afghan and Lodhi around the waist and striped pyjamas with turban. Their shoulder mantel is with floral borders thrown over the shoulders.⁵ Sometimes the stole had borders of brocade and its texture is so fine and translucent that the jama and pyjama is shown through it.

Accessories: Golconda rulers adapted Turbans of various shapes with a broad embroidered sarpech keeping the folds in place and golden belts around the waist used, whose buckles were studded with jewels.⁶ Muhammad Quli Qutb the 5th ruler of reign, his dressing style had changed. He seems to have discontinued the usage of the Turkish robe and adopted Deccani style – loose jama of lines instead of woolen coats. He also adopted Deccani turban instead of Turkish samura cap.⁷ He wore jewels and bracelets of gems on his arm.

Then, the period of Abdullah Qutb Shah in 17th century he also adopted few Mughal costumes. Thus, jama-nima and Mughal turban came into vogue. The rulers as well as the nobility adopted them. Thus the nature of society of Golconda Kingdom was multiracial; various types of costumes were popular.

Conclusion- In this way the purpose of this research paper the costumes of the Qutb Shahi rulers of Golconda, observation of their wore costumes style in court. Style lines and details of jama, of length, fit, cut, textiles used were prints integrated and stylized with motifs and rich colours. Today, in modern age is still prevalent clothing for casual as well as eveningwear. The overall look of the sultans was quite regal, yet majestic and masculine. The emulated royal

clothing styles then worn by men, but now worn by both, men and women. Many variations are use as fashion cycles in modern age. For example of this is Jama silhouette of Anarkali kurta endures, in modern age. Anarkali style which got most popular was ankle length kurta and sometimes as floor length gown. The most important apparel, the farji, influenced by ethnic and cultural ties became their identification, such a allover style the Qutb Shahi rulers adapted, which represented their distinctive look.

Comparative reanalysis of garments shows, that the height of elaborateness in adornment of luxurious look was graced by rulers of Qutb Shahi dynasty. The imaginative mix of old-fashioned grandeur of clothing style is a treat to the authentic, traditional and artistic style which becomes the style mark of the Quli Qutb Shahi Rulers.

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11

Carnival of Holi in Lahore Darbar

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Abstract

The Lion of Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was not only the greatest man. Because of his extraordinary qualities as a fighter, conqueror and an empire builder, Maharaja Ranjit Singh is often compared with Napoleon Bonaparte, Bismarck and Akbar. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was wise enough to understand that the Sikhs constituted minority in the total population of the Punjab and therefore, it was necessary for him to conciliate the other communities of the region. For this purpose he adopted liberal policies towards all religions and treated them with magnanimity. He established a secular state in which all the subjects, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were treated alike. People of all religions equally reciprocated his warm interest in their religions. Their religious beliefs and practices were fully respected by the state and they had unstinted freedom to carry on their worship in any way they liked. He and his royal court gladly participated in festivals of all, even those festivals which were strictly religious festivals. Festivals like Dussehra, Diwali, Lohri, Maghi, Baisakhi, Basant Nauroz, Muharram, Id-ul-fitr, Id-ul-zuha and Shab-i-barat were celebrated with splendor and gaiety. The pomp and pageantry of the Lahore darbâr was fully displayed during the celebration of festivals. This article is an attempt to describe the glamour of Lahore darbâr during the celebration of Holi festival.

Holi is the most colourful and hilarious festival, which is observed on the full moon day of the month of *phalgun* (February- March). It is a festival of colours.¹ Bingley identifies *holi* with *dola yatra* or the rocking of the image of Krishna which was celebrated especially in Hindustan and the Punjab, as a kind of Hindu carnival.² *Holi* also signified the triumph of good over evil, illustrated through the ageless story of Prahlad³ who was a devout worshipper of Lord Vishnu, and survived all the attempts made on his life by his father Hiranyakashipu. When all methods

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of killing him failed, his wicked aunt Holika, believing herself immune to death by fire, leaped into a blazing furnace built for Prahlad's destruction. But Holika perished. The *holi* festival was believed to celebrate Holika's extermination symbolizing evil. The festival was also thought to symbolize the burning of mythological 'old year' since Lord Vishnu created the world on the day following *holi* full moon.⁴ This festival was marked by joyful singing, hilarious dancing and sprinkling of coloured powder and water. During the *holi* revelers, young and old, moved around the streets and bazars in groups throwing coloured water or rubbing red powder on everyone they met in the way. The boys danced in the streets and inhabitants of houses sprinkled the red powder, used squirts and played practical jokes. Towards the close of the festival, in the night of the full moon, a bonfire was lit.⁵ *Holi* was the occasion when people could reverse existing norms with impunity, the verbal and visual signs of social status were freely violated when social inferiors threw colour on their superiors.⁶

In Lahore Darbar *holi* was celebrated with splendour and grandeur. Maharaja Ranjit Singh could celebrate *holi* wherever he wished to but usually it was celebrated in Amritsar or Lahore. The preparations for *holi* were started many days before. Royal orders were issued to the *kardars* of Amritsar and Lahore for preparations of Lac dye and other requisites for *holi* and emphasized that it was a matter to be treated as urgent.⁷ The nobles and *kardars* were also ordered for its preparations. In 1831, Misr Beli Ram was ordered to prepare all the requisites of *holi* like syringes of gold and silver and other things and show them to the Maharaja because the *holi* days were drawing very near.⁸ For the preparation of celebrations enough money was granted. In 1830, a letter was issued to Hazari Badan, *kardar* of Amritsar for rupees 2,500 for the lac dye.⁹ The level of celebrations can be understood from the amount allocated for this purpose. In 1832, Misr Beli Ram was ordered to give Raja Hira Singh rupees 500 every day in order to meet the expenses in connection with the *holi* celebrations.¹⁰ The staff in-charge of flooring was ordered to arrange artistically white carpets for the celebration of the *holi*.¹¹

Maharaja Ranjit Singh held a grand Darbar on this occasion. All the chiefs, associates, *vakils*, Sardars and others were invited to participate in the *holi* festival.¹² They presented *nazars* to the Maharaja according to their ranks and status and in return received *khillats*.¹³ The Maharaja played *holi* with his courtiers and others. Huge quantities of coloured powder and syringes of gold and silver were supplied to all chiefs and nobles. Baron Charles Hugel, narrates the celebration of *holi* at Lahore in March, 1836, as follows:

"A quantity of singhara meal dyed yellow, green, red and blue mixed up with little pieces of gold and silver tinsel, a number of large pots of water dyed with the same colours and little water-engines being set near. Everyone appears in white garments, and the festival commences by the dancing girls sitting down, and breaking forth into a song in honour of the feast. The baskets of coloured meal are then introduced and thin glass balls full of singhara powder, are distributed to the assembly which they throw on each other and being broken with the slightest force

discharge their contents on the white dresses, and stain them. Like all games of this description, these being gently, but soon assume a rougher aspect, each player seizing as many balls as he can, and flinging them at one another, when the glass balls are exhausted, they take the coloured meal, first, as much as the fingers can hold then by handfuls, and at last they empty the baskets over each other's heads, covering the whole person. The dirtiest part of the entertainment consists in the sprinkling with coloured waters".¹⁴

Another interesting account of the celebrations of the *holi* was given by Sir Henry Fane, the British commander in-chief who witnessed *holi* at Lahore in 1837. He states:

"Ranjit Singh was seated surrounded by his court and the guard of pretty Amazons, some thirty or forty in number, armed with bows and arrows, which they drew the moment the British party made its entry. In front of everyone were small baskets filled with small brittle balls containing red powder. Large bowls of thick yellow saffron stood alongside. As soon as guests were seated, the Maharaja took a large butter-boat kind of article, filled it up with saffron and poured it on my (Henry Fane) bald head; while at the same time, the prime minister rubbed him over with gold and silver leaf, mixed with red powder. The Maharaja himself seemed to enjoy the fun as anyone, while the courtiers threw balls of saffron and red powder on each other, although few of them aimed at him personally. The battle raged for more than an hour".¹⁵

Maharaja Ranjit Singh riding on an elephant also visited the interior of Lahore or of Amritsar whichever the case may be. The Maharaja, in 1826, turned his attention to have a round through the town of Lahore. He entered through the door of the mosque Roshni gate and went near the *haveli* of Raja Dhian Singh via Said Mitha and then passed by the *haveli* of prince, and then, passing through Shahalmi gate, Taxali and Moti bazar, went into the fort in comfort and ease.¹⁶ He also played *holi* with the common people.¹⁷ The people felt very happy to see the Maharaja and found the 'aprons of their expectations filled with many kinds of favours'.¹⁸

At about the third quarter of the day, the Maharaja inspected parade ground. The platoons stood in lines on the right and left and the game of Lac-dye was enjoyed.¹⁹ At night, dancing girls performed dance. Expert musicians beat the drum of joy and triumph and received large sums of money as reward.²⁰ In 1832, rupees 1,000 were given by way of reward to the dancing girls.²¹ A discharge of cannons in honour of the *holi* took place.²² The Maharaja also took security measures to keep peace during *holi* festival. He issued strict instructions to keep a vigilant watch and announce that disturbers of peace would be severely dealt with.²³

The next day of *holi* was celebrated by the Sikhs at Anandpur Sahib called *hola mohalla*. The transformation of *hola mohalla* from *holi* was first initiated by Guru Gobind Singh. Instead of the *holi* festival being an occasion for colour splashing, the tenth Guru transformed it into an arena for training in warfare and gave it the masculine name of *hola mohalla*.²⁴ It was marked by mock fighting's, military exercises, contests in swordsmanship, archery, wrestling and *gatka*

(fencing). A large fair of *hola mohalla* was held at Anandpur Sahib and it was symbolic of martial arts valour and bravery.²⁵ In the afternoon of the second day, the devotees brought standards from their shrines. They were carried to the neighbouring stream, singing hymns and playing on musical instruments. The procession of worshippers clustering round their respective standards moved slowly accepting offerings and bestowing blessings on the devotees. Many *nihangs*, mounted on horses, rushed wildly about, frantically gesticulating and shouting and posing themselves as defenders of their standard against a supposed foe.²⁶ In 1835, a worth obedience order was issued to Chet Singh commandant to go at once to Anandpur and control the situation there because the *holi* was drawing near and the Maharaja did not want any disturbance and untoward incident to happen.²⁷

The magnificent life at the Lahore *Darbar*, so painstakingly **INTRODUCED** and maintained by Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not come to a halt at his death. The successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh also celebrated *holi* with great enthusiasm.²⁸ In 1840, both Maharaja Kharak Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh engaged themselves in merrymaking and enjoyment. All the clerks, *vakils*, *khidmatgars*, commandants and other officers of platoons and troops of horsemen secured everlasting felicity by presenting gifts.²⁹ The game of Lac dye was enjoyed accompanied by festivities and music of dancing girls.³⁰

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a benign ruler and always cared for the welfare of his subjects irrespective of their caste or creed. He had full faith in the broad based harmony and cooperation with which the Hindus and the Muslims lived and maintained peace and prosperity. All contemporary historical sources talk about the grandeur of the Lahore *Darbar* and have recorded countless occasions where the Maharaja emphatically ordered his courtiers and troops to pay special attention toward merriments of festivals. He was skillful in utilizing these festivals to inculcate a sense of loyalty among nobles and vassals towards his person and the family.

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12

Rajmahal : An Urban Centre of Seventeenth Century

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Abstract

Many urban centers flourished in medieval Bihar. Among them Rajmahal emerged as an important urban Centre on the eastern coast of India. Its location on the right bank of river Ganga provided it with rich fertile soil for the production of various crops. So, an attempt has been made in this paper to explain how the rich geography, temperate climate, importance as a capital city, connection with both overseas route and overland route helped it to grow into a flourishing urban centre of seventeenth century.

Rajmahal was an important urban centre of seventeenth century. It occupied a prominent position in the economic history of 17th century northern India. The city occupied an eminent position owing to its temperate climate and geographical locations as well as connections with major urban centers and trading posts. The city is located south-west of Murshidabad (Bengal) and in the north-eastern corner of Santhal Parganas (Jharkhand). It is situated on the right bank of Ganga on the skirts of Rajmahal hills. During the early 17th century Rajmahal¹ was the capital city of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and came up as a commercial emporium and busy city flocked by the Asiatic and European merchants.

According to Nizam-ud-din Ahmad during the close of the 16th century, there were 120 large cities and 3200 townships in Akbar's empire.² A number of studies on the urban history on such centers have been made by the scholars. But no such study has been left by the scholars to express this important aspect of 17th century Bengal and Bihar except passing references in the works of Sarkar³, Habib⁴, Stewart⁵, Raychoudhari⁶, and others. It is accidental that Rajmahal as trade and urban centre does not occur in Tabakat-i-Nasiri, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh', Habib's The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707, and in Anirudha Ray's

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‘Urbanization of Medieval Bengal C.A.D. 1200 to C.A.D. 1600, published by PIHC, Warrangle, 1993. However, Habib’s Atlas⁷ carries trade routes of Rajmahal and also the names of trading posts, which is compared to the modern maps of Rennell⁸(1773) and Buchanan⁹(1810-1811) and to the foreign accounts of Bernier¹⁰ (1656-68), Tavernier¹¹ (1666), Marshall¹²(1671) and others. In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the continuity and survival of trade and urban pattern of Rajmahal, gleaned from fresh archaeological, Persian, numismatics and English evidences.

Abul Fazl talks of Rajmahal as ‘strong refuse’ and ‘strong position, saved from the effects of accidents’, where the inhabitants remained in security, safe from any attack and records 133.17 Mughal revenue dams which Rajmahal yielded.¹³ Sultan Sulaiman Kararani transferred the capital of Bengal from Gaur to Tanda in 1565. Man Singh¹⁴ became the subedar of Bengal in 1594 and transferred the capital from Tanda to Rajmahal on 7th November 1595 and named it Akbarnagar. In this period intense struggle was going on between the Mughals and the Afghans and the semi-independent zamindars. Islam Khan the next Subedar transferred the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca in 1610. Then during the period of the new subedar Shah Suja, who desired a dry climate, the capital was shifted to Rajmahal. Rajmahal was at a strategic point where it could easily communicate with northern parts of the empire. Rajmahal during Shah Suja (1639-1660), when Orissa was added (1642) to it, got hooked to international mercantile system with the arrival of European and Asian economic interests on the mouths of rivers Ganga, Bhagirathi and Bay of Bengal.

Rajmahal grew as a big capital city of Bengal, owing to its geographical features, physical landscape and political stability of the 17th century. From north, the city was protected by the Ganga, from southwards, it was guarded by the Rajmahal Hills, and from westward (between the river Ganga and Rajmahal Hills), by a ‘strong fort’ of Garhi, better known as the fort of Teliagarhi.¹⁵ On account of geographical location, the site was not quite exposed from all sides and remained safe anchorage. The landscape between the river Ganga and the Rajmahal Hills consists of plain fertile soil and the climate is much healthier than that of Tanda and Gaur.

The city of Rajmahal was connected with both overseas route of the river Ganga which ferried goods west to east and overland route which runs parallel the southern Gangetic banks of Bihar, Jharkhand and Bengal. Manucci (c. 1659) referred to Rajmahal the only communicating channel. Bernier¹⁶, (c. 1668) adds an endless number of channels, made to convenience of merchandise¹⁷. Marshall (c. 1676) found the Ganga at Rajmahal was very broad, which was divided into several small rivers.¹⁸ These accounts are easily located at the modern maps of Rennell¹⁹(1773) and Habib’s Atlas²⁰, based on the Mughal period information. On Habib’s Atlas, it is shown as main navigation channel for tonnage of larger boats/ships. The ship building, textiles, and indigo manufacturing were the main industries.

The area of Rajmahal consisted of three kinds of land, viz., the Gangetic alluvial fertile strip of soil between the river Ganga and Rajmahal hills, the

inundated lowland (Diara), and vast hilly and jungle tracts , which had wasteland , and was inhabited mostly by the tribals, e.g. Paharias , Shangars , Santals , who were all engaged in agriculture and mining. Because of its physical features the first group had a very suitable climate, which made the soil between Ganga and the hills very fertile. The soil was rich in production of paddy, sugarcane, indigo, tobacco and bamboos according to Abul Fazl.²¹ The lowland was under the rain water and flood of river Ganga and was suitable for hemp production and paddy with longer stalk. Various crops like paddy, sugarcane, cottontail , maize , barbette, sanwan , carrot , radish, moong, pan, wheat ,Barley , mustard, khesari, onion ,garlic ,ginger , melon, water –melon were grown in different seasons in Rajmahal. James Browne mentions production of honey, honey- wax, tasar silk in Rajmahal hills. An early 18th century document shows the production of various trees and herbs in the hills of Rajmahal like Mahua, Sal, Gulr,Kadamb, Babul, and Tulsi.

In the 17th centuries Rajmahal was a major sector of urban employments of craftsmen, blacksmiths, potters, gilders and the artisans of various skills. The recent excavations of sites of Teliagarhi, Samdadn Sakrogarh (Sahibganj) which yielded silver coins, fragments of amphorae, discs, glazed Persian porcelain, toys, copper and iron spears and others - all pointers to Rajmahal, contact with outside world. Foster reports (1668-69) the gold, silver and copper coins of Rajmahal.²² The silver and copper mines of Kharagpur²³(Sarkar Munger, Subah Bihar) was at work since the early 17th century. It was on the way of high road connecting Rajmahal. It indicates, there was surely influx of copper and silver plates in the markets of Rajmahal. The silver gold diamond of Arakan enticed the merchants and the traders of Tatta (Pakistan) passing over Allahabad, Varanasi, Patna, Munger and Rajmahal travelled to Assam. The coins of Rajmahal found in the hoards of Assam²⁴and in the treasury of Sahibganj district²⁵ (Jharkhand) reveal the movement of the caravans to the Rajmahal port and Assam passing through the 'high road'. The silver of Assam had already been tapped the Portuguese merchants at western import of the metal no longer sufficed to meet the greatly increased demands for currency at Rajmahal. During the years (1661-85) Kasimbazar was an important mart of silver and gold. The Dutch merchants buy gold and silver plates in the markets of Kasimbazar and taken them to Rajmahal to be coined. The cost of coinage at Rajmahal was lower than other minting places of Mughal India²⁶. The price of silver rose and fell according to its batta system.

The above discussion shows that Rajmahal emerged as a major urban and during the early 17th century because of huge amount of crop production which was result of fertile soil and suitable climate, trade and commercial activity which flourished in the city owing to its connection with both overseas and overland route. Merchants from throughout the world like from Asia, Europe and the native ones flocked the city for trade in various products, making the city a magnificent, vibrant and thriving urban Centre of seventeenth century.

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13

Sikhs Initiatives in Freedom Struggle In Punjab

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Abstract

The Indus Civilisation marks the onset history of Punjab. The region has been invaded and ruled by many different emperors and races including the Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Afghans and Mongols. Sikh religion took its birth towards the end of the 15th century and its founder, Guru Nanak (1469-1539) was a contemporary of the Lodhi Sultans (Bahlol 1450-88), Sikandar (1488-1517) and Ibrahim (1517-1526) and of the first two Mughal Emperors, Babar (1526-30) and Humayun.¹ A particular form of Sikh ethnic identity was codified by the 10th Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, on the Baisakhi Day in April, 1699. In a large gathering at Anandpur Sahib, Gobind Singh initiated the order of the Khalsa.²

The British Empire took control and annexed Punjab in 1849 after two Anglo Sikh Wars. In 1901, the total population of Punjab was 26,880,217 and the number of Sikhs was 2,130,987 accounting for 13.9 percent of the total population. It was observed that Sikhs seemed to have made a marked advancement in 1891 possibility at the expense of the Hindus who showed an increase of only 2.4%.³ The census of India in 2001 recorded a Sikh population of 19.2 million. They counted for 1.87% of the total population of the country. The number of Sikhs outside India is estimated between 1.6 and 2.0 million of the mean figure of 1.8 million. The Sikh population the world over can be placed at 21 million at the beginning of the present century.⁴

In 1902, to accommodate all the Sikh leaders and synchronise their activities, the Chief Khalsa Diwan was established Arjan Singh Bagarianwala was made the founder President and Sunder Singh Majithia was its secretary. The Chief Khalsa Diwan followed the complete protocol of plans for Sikh educational schemes. The Chief Khalsa Diwan attended to the plans for Sikh educational schemes

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methodically. The annual educational conference was also organised. It laid the foundation of Khalsa College Amritsar in 1890 on a vast tract of land with a magnificent architectural construction. Other Sikh colleges and schools were also set up by it.⁵ In 1909, another milestone was achieved when Sikh marriages were made legalised by Anand Karaj ceremony which demanded no further formalities. This act acknowledged the separate Sikh identity and personal law. Hindu personal laws were not applicable to Sikhs as not being a part of Hinduism. In October 1908, Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha had introduced the Anand Karaj Bill in the legislative council which was passed in 1909 and became law.

The moral obligation of the British Government to solve the problems of the Sikhs and to keep them happy and satisfied. They appealed to the Viceroy to intervene in this matter and asked the Canadian government to permit their entry. In elections of Provincial legislators council under the act of 1909 the Sikhs requested for a similar concession for them while Sikh candidates were completely muscled out by their rivals from other communities.⁶ The Political alliance between the Indian National Congress and Muslim League, concluded at Lucknow in 1916, impelled the Sikh leaders to strive harder for separate representation. Indian national Congress claimed that it represented all the Indians, irrespective of their racial and religious affection was questioned by the Khalsa advocate. The leaders began to feel that the Congress had been formed to protect the interest of Hindus.⁷

In February 1907, Maharaja Ripudaman Singh of Nabha intervened in the case of Sikh Granthi of the 14th Sikh regiment who had been unfairly dismissed because he did not salute an English officer as the never deeply engrossed in the attendance of the holy Granth. The Jaito firing caused the greatest sensation in the country. On 25 February 1924 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved in the legislative assembly the adjournment of the house to discuss the Jaito affair. But the motion was not allowed by the Home Member. Sikh members, Jodh Singh and Narain Singh, made an unsuccessful attempt to discuss the issue in the Punjab legislative council. The Akali agitation at Jaito received the support of Central Sikh League and other organizations.⁸

In 1913, Sikh faced another setback when the outer wall of the Rakabganj Gurdwara in Delhi was dismantled to construct a road through its estate to the Vice regal lodge. When the Sikhs came to know of the demolation of the wall they sent telegrams, petitions and memorandum to the Viceroy, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, the Commander in chief and the Commissioner of Delhi. The Sikh Review was launched in Delhi., with Sardul Singh Caveeeshar as its editor, to inform Sikh opinion on Sikh interests. However, Sunder Singh Majithia and the Chief Khalsa Diwan tried to support and accommodate the Government. In the Sikh Education Conference held at Jalandhar in April 1914, a Sikh leader from Layallpur was not allowed to raise the Rakabganj issue. Protest meetings were held in several places as much against the Government. The Rkabganj agitation began to gain momentum when the war broke out in September. The agitation was shelved but only to be taken up after the war.⁹

Baba Gurdit Singh (a Sikh gentleman of village Sarhali, District Amritsar who had established a good business in Malaysia as contractor), heard from the Sikhs in Canada that the immigration laws of the Canada Government against India had been suspended, and that the country offered very good prospects for the people of enterprising spirit. In January 1914, Baba reached Hong Kong where he found number of Indians willing very much to go to Canada and on march 24, 1914 Baba Gurdit Singh chartered a Ship named kama Gata maru from a small Japanese concern named Shieni Kishen, for six months, against a payment of Rs. 1100/- per month, and named it Guru Nanak Jehaj and prepared for Canada. At first about 500 emigrants offered to travel in the steamer from Hong Kong.¹⁰

In August 1917, the Secretary of State for India Edwin Samuel Montagu, declared the announcement of responsible government. When Montague visited India that autumn, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, ruler of Patiala, met him on behalf of the Sikhs. a deputation of the Sikh leaders also awaited upon the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, on 22 November 1917 and pressed their claim to one-third representation in council of Punjab. The alteration or the amendment was rivalled by both Muslim and Hindu and lost its existence. India was brought forward by the members who were not Sikhs. In the memorandum which they prepared on behalf of the community, government was urged to carry out the assurance given to the Sikhs in the Montagu Chelmsford report. When the Sikhs protested, Sunder Singh Majithia was taken as a co-opted member for the Punjab, but their demand for one-third of the total number of non official seats held by Indians in Punjab, 7 out of 67 non official seats in the Assembly of India and 4 seats in Council of States for the Sikh Community remained largely unfulfilled.¹¹

Lord Selborne regretted that they did not have the benefit of these contradictions while formulating their references and promised to take up the case again with his counter parts on the joint parliamentary committee, but ultimately nothing responsive came out and deputations returned disappointed. Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha against the black Rowlatt Act found a popular support in Punjab. His arrest on 8 April 1919, at Palwal on way to Punjab, evoked widespread demonstration to crush which O'Dwyer, the Punjab Governor, let loose a reign of terror under the army general, Dyer, Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar on 13 April, 1919, the Baisakhi day which proved a turning point in the history not only of Punjab but also of India.¹²

The SGPC and Akali Dal even today form the central core of modern "Sikh Political System" in Punjab.¹³ It is corporate body with 175 members, out of which 140 are directly elected in popular elections from an exclusively Sikh electorate every five years.¹⁴ The Akali Dal views religion and politics as being inseparable and espouse the notion that Sikhs should act as separate and unified political unity.¹⁵ Akali Dal holds their goal of "creating such an environment, where in the manifestation of national aspirations and nationality of the Sikh Panth may find complete realisation."¹⁶ Akali Dal competes in "secular" and democratic political system of Punjab as well as India appealed to the various

producer classes in Punjab, especially big and small farmers.¹⁷ The Gadar Party, unlike other movements, was organised outside India by Indian emigrants. A few important Sikh leader from Punjab (Kartar Singh Sarabha, Karam Singh Cheema, Lala Hardy, Jawala Singh, Sohan Singh Bhakana, Wasakha Singh etc) entered Canada and America and founded the Hindustan Gadar Party with its Head office in San Francisco.¹⁸

If the British by granting separate electorate to the Muslims and the Sikhs had taken religion into politics, Gandhi was known taking politics into religion.¹⁹ In August 1922, the government arrested few Sikhs, thus standing in their way to manage the Gurdwara at Guru Ka Bagh resulting of which a pitched battle was waged between Sikhs and the government. The Sikhs of course were non violent sufferers while the government was oppressive. Similarly, A Shahidi Jatha at Jaito in 1924 was mercilessly fired at causing 300 casualties out of which about 100 persons died. This agitation organised to oppose Simon Commission by Lala Lajpat Rai in 1928. The Congress and the Akalis or the Hindus and Sikhs worked hand to hand for the major purpose of the freedom of the country.²⁰ Kartar Singh Sarabha was a prominent figure among the revolutionaries who were to lead an armed rebellion with the help of sympathetic army units stationed in different cantonments. The operations was raised by Rash Bihari Bose on February 19 but it was leaked and timely action taken by the government resulting of which some two dozen other Sikhs were sentenced to death for offences connected with Gadar movement by Civil and Military courts.²¹

In 1928 Huge Punjab Crowd greeted Simon Commission with shouts “Go Back” and waving black flag. Lala Laj Patrai the lion of Punjab fell murdered with Police lathi charge ordered by Saunders. The dying leader prophesied that “each blow on my body would prove a nail driven into the coffin of the British Empire in India”.²²

Sikhs suffered another setback at the time of partition when 40% of them had abandon their homes and had to migrate to West Punjab. The sacred shrines and fertile land were left behind unattended. Thousands and thousand of Sikhs and Hindus had died during Partion. The interests of Hindus and the Sikhs were ignored by the government. The incident on firing on Gurdwara Sis Ganj, Delhi, on May 6, 1930 by the police in relation to Congress workers hit bullets to Sri Gruru Granth Sahib caused widespread resentment among the Sikhs.²³ Sikhs contribution to Civil Disobedience headed by Duni Chand a Congress leader from Punjab, resulting of which 7000 volunteers convicted in Punjab out of which 3000 were Sikhs. But this was not sufficient in Placate the Congress warlords to shed their policy of duplicity towards them.²⁴

The demand was more seriously placed before the Cripps’ Mission in 1942. Sir Stafford Cripps had been sent by British parliament to assess the plausibility of independence for India. Also the British were prepared for separate State. But the Sikh leader was not agreed. The division of the country was being done on the numerical strength. There were only three tehsils in British Punjab where the Sikh in majority.²⁵

Guru Ka Bagh (The garden of the Guru) was a small shrine 13 Kms. from Amritsar where the tree planted to provide firewood to Gurdwara Kitchen. In the first week of August in 1921, Udasi Mahant who accepted baptism lodged a complaint that Akali leaders were cutting timber for Gurdwara land. Akali leader held a meeting; the police dispersed the meeting and arrested the leaders. The SGPC took the challenge. Jathas of 100 Akali each were formed. Sir Edward MacLagan arrived at Guru Ka Bagh on 13 September. By then, 5605 Akalis had been arrested, and 936 were hospitalised. It was 2nd decisive battle won.²⁶

Not all Sikhs accepted the cult of non-violence which SGPC had adopted. The behaviour of police at Guru Ka Bagh creates many terrorist who are drawn from Gadar party or some soldiers on leave. Master Mota Singh and Havaldar Major Kishen was prominent name among them. They form Babbers and accumulate arms from Army arsenals and North West frontier Province. The Punjab CID did not have much difficulty in infiltrating the Babbars.²⁷

On September 1939, Great Britain declared war on Nazi Germany. The viceroy issued a proclamation to the same effect on behalf of India. The Chief Khalsa Diwan declared their support for Britain. Congress Sikh followed their line. Mr. Jinnah assured Sikhs not to fear. According to Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, "If you want due share in economic and administrative fields as the partners in common concern then that Punjab will not Pakistan, but just Punjab land of five rivers."²⁸

In July 1941 Lord Linlithgow announced the expansion of Council. Two Sikhs were nominated. On July 10 1944 Rajagopalachari published his "formula" that if Muslim League supported the demand for immediate independence, a commission would be appointed to demarcate those contiguous districts in North West of India, where Muslims majority was maximum. Mahatma Gandhi agreed with him. After the meeting which was held on August 20, 1944 Sikh leaders criticized Gandhi and Rajagopalachari. Master Tara Singh stated for the first time for separate nation. And demanded a Sikh independent Sovereign State'. On May 07, 1945, Nazi Germany laid down arms. The Japanese were retreating on all fronts. The Government of India made another attempt to win over, for this invited Indian leader including Master Tara Singh.²⁹ The Sikh Gurdwara Act of 25 July, 1925 made the Sikh custodians of their places of worship though they had to pay heavy price for it. The Sikhs did prove, however, that they not only had the courage to lay down their lives in battle, but they also had the courage to take on, unarmed and unflinching the armed might of the state.³⁰

In short we can say that Sikh contributed a lot in freedom Struggle of Punjab, cleansing of Gurdwaras. The names of thousands of Sikhs should be written in golden letters as far as history of India's independence is concerned.

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14

Tanks in Chandrapur District : A Historical Analysis

*Dr. D. S. Kadhao

Abstract

Presently, the country is facing problems like unemployment, growing debts, water shortage, farmer's suicide and various kinds of anti-national movements. Ultimately, these problems affect State and National economy, creating additional burden on the State and National treasury.

One of the ways to contribute to the resolution these issues is by reviving and restructuring the traditional tanks. This way, it may be possible to revive the dying trend of self-dependence and sense of responsibility among people. This will not only strengthen the rural economy but also reduce the additional burden on the government machinery and treasury. The present paper intended to reflect on this need.

Introduction: Chandrapur is an ancient district of Maharashtra state. The district was earlier known as Chanda and now Chandrapur. Gond King ruled here from 9th century till 1751. In 1854 Nagpur province together with Chandrapur was annexed to the British Empire. The district became a part of the state of Maharashtra since its creation in May 1960.¹

Agriculture was and is the mainstay of livelihood for the people. It supplies the basic necessities of life like food, but also the raw materials to feed the industries in the district. About 82.08% of the total working population is dependent on land.² Thus, the economy of the people as well as the district is dependent upon agriculture and land revenue. Soil and climatic conditions being the prime factors for the agricultural production, it structures and controls the cropping pattern. In the Chandrapur district both the soil and climate decides the fate of agriculture. Keeping these factors in view, cultivation of rice was more suitable than any other crop. Thus, rice was the staple crop.³ But rice and other crops required regular and adequate irrigation. Without such type of irrigation paddy and other crops could not sustain. Due to absence of major schemes and sources of irrigation, agriculture was invariably

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dependent on monsoon. Monsoon has far reaching economic consequences. The agricultural operations and future of the crops depend upon the crops of monsoon and its quantity in the district. It significantly affected the economy of the district. But the irregular and inadequate rains damaged and yielded poor crops which affected not only the whole economy of the district but also the state. Government was facing food shortages and water scarcity hence could not spend much on social welfare schemes. This was noticed by the then Gond rulers, mainly Hir-Shah. He issued a declaration (firman) stating that one who brought new land under the plough by clearing the forest would be granted a Sanad as the Zamindar of that piece of land and would be raised to the status of Nobelman. He also declared that "Any One constructing a tank would be rewarded with as much land as could be watered by the tank."⁴ These incentives had their results soon. Many tanks were constructed and nearly 4,405 square miles lands were covered by this tanks.⁵ Hir Shah constructed a tank, at Junona, six miles to the east of Chandrapur for the use of poor farmers. He personally toured and inspected whether the new incentives he had offered were properly utilized.⁶ The committee constituted by the govt. of Maharashtra to study Ex- Malguzari Tanks in Eastern Vidharbha Stated that, Once, the Gond king had gone to Kashi, where he experienced the skill of these people in the field of water management. He invited them to construct tanks in his state. The Kohali people accepted the invitation. They came here and constructed many tanks in the district".⁷ Due to initiative taken by the kings, so many tanks were constructed during the region of Gond King, who under the system of tukum grants, allowed each builder of a tank to hold the land irrigated by that tank rent-free for a term of years. As per district Gazetteer the most of the tanks in the district, were constructed by the Kohalis, a caste apparently of Dravidian origin and perhaps akin to the Madia Gonds.⁸

Dr. Shashi Agrawal in her article on Ex-Malguzari tanks expressed similar view. She stated that "most of the tanks in the district were constructed by the Kohali community people same 250 to 300 years ago. Kohali community people were known and were famous as best engineers of that time. These Kohali community people had built the tanks, canals for paddy and fisheries".⁹ But the committee constituted by the Govt. of Maharashtra to study Ex Malguzari tanks in Eastern Vidharbha added that "Along with Kohali community people, other people from different communities played important role in the construction of tanks in the area".¹⁰ About construction knowledge and Skill, A.J. Lawrence who published Revenue settlement report noted that "*It is wonderful that broken tanks are so seldom met with, and that an uneducated and unskilled people have laws. The water escapes and waste weirs, insufficient and weak though they sometimes are the shape of the embankment, the discharge gate for irrigation; all show that planned and carried out these great works, were men of no common character and energy.*" He also added that "In southern India, where tanks are perhaps even more numerous than in the lake area, they are all built by government, but here (Nagpur Province) beyond temporary assistance or countenance no aid was asked, or if asked not granted. The people trusted to themselves, and with their own right hand worked their deliverance. In an eastern country, where the lesson

of self-help is so seldom learnt, this independence and their success in these great works rebounds to the honor of the Korih (Kohali) race".¹¹ A.J. Lawrence's statement is confirmed by the District Gazetteer, which mentioned that "Although they succeeded in irrigation land from those tanks they could not make provisions of good waste weirs. However, in those days the Kohali Malguzars were more alert in keeping their tanks in effective working order for good cultivation of rice and cane. The Kohali also exhibited a wonderful skill in arranging distributive channels and taking out levels. But it was what curious that only a small portion of the men who had unparalleled proficiency in the construction of the tanks were rewarded with privileged tenure".¹² According to the agricultural returns for 1906-07, the total area under irrigation in the district amounted to 50,109,434 hectares of which 47,914,822 hectares were irrigated from tanks. Thus main sources of irrigation were the large lakes usually known as tanks and the ponds as Boris. In 1906-07 there were about 1,500 large tanks and some 4,000 Boris in the district. The best tanks in the district were usually found at the base of the hills in the garbori parganas, and in the adjoining tracts of the Chandrapur and Warora Tahsil, Ghot, Rajgarh and Amgaon had also several very fine tanks. In Garbori almost every village had large high level tanks capable of irrigation an area up to 121.406 hectors and this Paragana at that time was so studded with these reservoirs, that it was called the Lake District.¹³ As far as irrigation is concerned Gunjewahi was the best protected Paragana. Besides Mul, Keljhar, Talodhi, Garbori, Ghot and Wairagarh following in that order. Almost all the tanks in the District except those in Sironcha Tahsil were fully utilized for irrigation Purpose. The Sironcha Tahsil once had a number of Good tanks, but most of them were neglected and ultimately became useless for the irrigation purpose.

Conclusion: Thus, the Gond rulers realized a strong need to create additional and permanent sources of assured irrigation so that it leads to sustainable agriculture and revenue system. Ample source of irrigation would not only promise good crops, but also support provision of drinking water, fishery and other supplementary occupation. Out of this awareness the then rulers and people took initiative to build as many tanks as possible wherever they found suitable spots to store water. While the rulers provided every help and encouragement for the same, the common population also actively engaged in tanks building without depending on the rulers. The common public was not at the forefront of building tanks, they also looked after the maintenance and management of these tanks. Thus, the government had to shoulder only a small part of the responsibility. The reliable water supply led to considerate increase in agricultural production and earned regular revenue for the government. Since the government could rely on assured income, it was possible to spend as per budgets, thus reducing the uncertainty in the state finances, resulting in the improvement of economic status of rural population, creation of additional means of livelihood and abundant supply of food and water. However, during the British rule, the ownership of the tanks gradually shifted to the local Malguzars and involvement of people reduced. This led to a precedent that any public welfare work must be done by the state or landlords alone. Eventually, the State became entirely responsible for the maintenance and management of tanks,

which was beyond its resources and capacity. In the result, slowly the maintenance work got neglected, making many tanks less useful or totally useless. Growing urbanization and human settlements around tanks also led to the death of some tanks. Water available for irrigation constantly decreased, ground water table went deeper, and there was an overall shortage of water. In a forest covered district like Chandrapur, even the wildlife faced serious problems of water shortage. Moreover, many occupation and activities based on tanks were lost, adding to further unemployment. As crops failed year after year, as farmers went on filing up loans and as the overall situation became worst, there was a growing discontent among rural population against the prevalent system. This situation was conducive to the growth of revolutionary movements like fatalism, to which the poor unemployed farmers were attracted. In short, the rural economy became very weak, creating additional burden on the state treasury. As a solution to these problems and to strengthen the rural economy, it is necessary to actively support agriculture and agro-based occupations. One fundamental requirement for the same is the provision of reliable and sustainable irrigation. Problems like unemployment, growing debts or water shortage can be addressed by reviving and restricting the traditional tanks, it is also very important to increase the public participation in the maintenance and management of the tanks. In this way it may be possible to revive the dying trend of self-dependence and sense of responsibility among people. This will not only strengthen the rural economy but also considerably reduce the load on the government machinery and treasury. The present paper has attempted to reflect on this need.

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15

Developments in the Deccan Politics after Aurangzeb (1707-1719)

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Abstract

The Deccan had always been an important possession for the Mughals. Jadunath Sarkar calls the Mughal expansion into the Deccan as 'a sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperors'. Thus Deccan occupied an important place in the History of Mughal Empire in India from the very beginning. Aurangzeb who had spent the last days of his life in the Deccan to consolidate his conquests which were endangered by his son prince Akbar who rebelled against his father and take shelter in the Deccan. The aim of the paper is to highlight the struggle of the nobility after the death of Aurangzeb, up to 1719. Thus it is an study of the political developments from 1707-1719 A.D.

Key words: Deccan, Bahadur Shah, Aurangzeb, Shakarkheda

Aurangzeb died on March 3, 1707, in his encampment at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan after almost more than two decades of struggle with the fugitive prince Akbar and to settle the affairs with the Marathas. He has left a written will in which he tried to divide the empire between his three living sons. But the usual war of succession, which was so long delayed, broke out almost immediately among Prince Azam Shah, Muazzam and Muhammad Kam Baksh.¹ At a place just north of Lahore, Muazzam declared his accession to the throne and took the title of 'Bahadur Shah'.² One most important point to be stressed here is the hesitation of the two main groups of leading nobles Irani³ and Turani⁴ at the Imperial Capital, to participate in the civil war. This indicates that the interests of both the groups were already centered not in the capital but in the Deccan itself. The Subedari of the Deccan therefore assumed great importance as a prize possession for the nobles. Whether the ruler was Azam, Muazzam, Kam Baksh, Azimushan, Jahandar, Farrukh

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Siyar or any other prince, the Subedari of the Deccan was coveted by the Chief Minister, Zulfiqar Khan, Minim Khan, Syed Husain Ali Khan, Nizam-ul-Mulk and other. Disgusted with the rulers at Delhi, they sought refuge in Deccan.⁵

In a battle fought Kam Baksh was wounded and died shortly.⁶ Bahadur Shah after his accession offered the viceroyalty of Deccan to his son Prince Azimush-Shan but he refused and finally it was conferred on Zulfiqar Khan, with full powers and authority in all matters pertaining to the revenue and administration of the Deccan⁷ He was allowed to remain at the capital and to combine his appointment with his previous post of *Mir Bakshi*. Zulfiqar Khan's associate Daud Khan Panni was allowed to remain in the Deccan as his deputy with a higher *mansab* of 7000/5000 with the governorship of Bijapur. Berar and Aurangabad and was permitted to make Aurangabad his headquarters.⁸ By virtue of holding two such important posts Zulfiqar became one of the most powerful nobles in the empire. Munim Khan, the *Wazir* realized that with such multiplicity of offices Zulfiqar Khan was leading for something more than the subedari. He therefore wanted to minimize his power as far as possible. He argued that the province of Burhanpur (Khandesh) and more than half of Berar, known as *painghat* did not form a part of the Deccan at all, and that these subahs should be included in the provinces dependent on Delhi. But Bahadur Shah did not accept these changes and allowed the previous arrangements to continue.⁹ Thus Zulfiqar Khan remained the viceroy of the Deccan with sole authority over its affairs.¹⁰ There is no doubt that the delegation of large powers to the viceroy of the Deccan, or to his deputy was an administrative necessity, but in the background of the growing feebleness of the central government made the nobles ambitious to secure the post. Along with the posts of *Wazir* and *Mir Bakshi*, the post of the viceroy of Deccan became one of the Chief Prizes in the struggle between parties and factions at the court.¹¹ Zulfiqar Khan presented an application before the emperor for the grant of the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* for the six subhas of the Deccan to Shahu on the condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land. At the same time Munim Khan presented Yadukesh the *wakil* of Tara Bai, praying for a *Farman* in the name of her son, Shivaji II. She asked only for a *Sardeshmukhi*, *Chauth* was not discussed and also offered to suppress other insurgents and to restore order in the country. In the end Bahadur Shah ordered that *Sanads* for *Sardeshmukhi* be given in compliance with the requests of both Munim Khan and Zulfiqar Khan.¹² In other words, he refused to recognize Shahu as the rightful Maratha King. Zulfiqar Khan who was a man of wide experience and well aware of the Maratha character and politics felt that this is the suitable time for a bold and far reaching re-orientation of policy in the Deccan with the objective of making Marathas partners. In 1710, a large band of Marathas entered the Suba of Bijapur and moved in the director of Ahmadnagar the governor Rustam Khan Bijapuri was not able to control the Marathas.¹³

With the efforts of Daud Khan Panni towards the end of 1710 Rao Rambha Nimbalkar joined the Mughals and was awarded with the *mansab* of 7000/6000. Paima Raj Sindhia, Chandrasen Jadhav also joined hands with Mughals in 1711.¹⁴ It seems that about this time Daud Khan entered into a private Pact with Shahu.

According to which the *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan was promised to Shahu, but it was not collected by the Maratha agents but by Daud Khan's deputy, Hiranman who would pay it to the Marathas. No written confirmation of this agreement was given to Marathas.¹⁵ But the agreement failed to bring peace to the Deccan, in fact it gave birth to infinity of bickering and troubles, which always ended in some blood the hands of the Marathas, stretched everywhere, their agents appeared in all places according to usage and levied *Chauth*.¹⁶ Thus it appears that Bahadur Shah was unable to formulate a clear cut and decisive policy in the Deccan. Confusion and lawlessness prevailed. After the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712, struggle started amongst the sons of the emperor, Rafi-ush-Shah, Jahan Shah, Jahandar and Azim-ush-shan. Jahandar Shah was able to succeed to the imperial throne after defeating Rafi-ush-Shah and Jahan Shah. During the rule of Jahandar Shah, Zulfiqar Khan exercised almost uncontrolled authority and his father Asad Khan continued as *Wakil-i-Mutlaq*.¹⁷ Zulfiqar Khan became *Wazir*, and he also retained the viceroyalty of the Deccan which he continued to govern through his deputy, Daud Khan, granted with the *mansab* of 10000/10000, and the title of *Yar-i-Wafadar* (faithful Friend).¹⁸

Farrukh Siyar, the second son of Azim-ush-Shan, proclaimed himself Emperor at Patna with the help of the Syed brothers, Syed Husain Ali, Governor of Bihar and his brother Syed Abdullah Khan, Governor of Allahabad.¹⁹ The battle was fought among the claimants of the throne on 10 January 1713; Jahandar was imprisoned and then put to death on the orders of Farrukh Siyar who proclaimed himself Emperor.²⁰ This was followed by the execution of Zulfiqar Khan.²¹ In view of the neutrality of the *Turani* nobles under Chin Qilich Khan the son of Ghaziuddin Khan, the new emperor conferred upon him the viceroyalty of the Deccan with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Fateh Jang.²² The arrangement made by Daud Khan Panni when he was the deputy of governor Zulfiqar Khan with Shahu was not accepted by Nizam-ul-Mulk. Daud Khan was transferred to Gujarat.²³ During his short stay in the Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to restore the prosperity of the viceroyalty "by strict economy and the management of the finances as well by reorganizing the revenue system which had become corrupt and iniquitous. But in April 1715 he was replaced by Husain Ali Khan as the viceroy of the Deccan.²⁴ Nizam-ul-Mulk Chin Qilich Khan was posted as the *Faujdar* of Moradabad.²⁵ The relation between the emperor and the Syed brothers were very much strained from the very beginning. To buttress himself against all eventualities, Husain Ali opened negotiations with Balaji Vishwanath, the *Peshwa*. The latter demanded the recognition of Shahu's succession to Shivaji's Kingdom, the right of levying *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* on the six provinces of the Deccan.²⁶ The emperor sent a letter to Daud Khan to take over the governorship of Khandesh and to march on the Deccan to destroy Husain Ali Khan's power. He also instigated Shahu to help Daud Khan in his efforts. As a result Daud Khan and Syed Husain Ali met in a deadly combat near Burhanpur on 6 September 1715, when Daud Khan was killed and Husain Ali Khan became viceroy of the Deccan without an opposition.²⁷ Husain Ali Khan appointed his nephew Alim Ali Khan as his representative in the

Deccan during his absence. In the meantime Farrukh siyar had been deposed, blinded and killed, there came about a change in the policy of the Syeds towards Nizam-ul-Mulk. He was offered the *Subah* of Malwa, because he would have no scope in that province to bid for power. When Nizam-ul-Mulk left Delhi in 1719, he had taken away his whole family with him and the army which he had consisting mainly of the Mughals.²⁸ The Nizam found the condition of the Suba in a state of confusion and the constant Maratha invasions made the province lawless and the internal security was threatened. He thus tried to develop the military power to counter with the problem.²⁹

Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted the offer at that time on condition that he was not to be removed or transferred to any other province.³⁰ But he was recalled on the plea that it was necessary in the interest of the Deccan that Husain Ali Khan should also have the charge of Malwa in addition to the Deccan. Niam-ul-Mulk was now asked to choose any one of the four provinces, Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan and Burhanpur. Since it was the breach of the agreement entered upon between them, the apprehended worse consequences were ready to come.³¹ The Syed brothers sent Alam Ali Khan and Dilawar Ali Khan to check the advances of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who marched straight for the Narmada. In the battle that was fought near Khandwa Dilawar Ali Khan was struck by a bullet and killed.³² The news of the death of Dilawar Ali Khan created panic and consternation in the minds of the Syed brothers who were now greatly concerned over the safety of their families. They now tried to appease Nizam-ul-Mulk by bestowing on him the viceroyalty of the Deccan. "Accept my congratulations", wrote Husain Ali Khan "Alim Ali Khan my adopted son and my family propose to return to this country. Kindly furnish them with an escort and see that they are not molested on the way."³³ But Alam Ali Khan was preparing for the final action. He mounted his elephant, and taking his place in the centre with an army of about 16,000 he attacked Nizam-ul-Mulk. The battle was fought ending in Alam Ali Khan's death and complete victory of Nizam-ul-Mulk.³⁴ Thus after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, there was constant struggle among the nobles for the control of the viceroyalty of Deccan. This shows the importance of Deccan during the period, the reason it seems that all the nobles were aware of the declining authority of the centre and they had better chance for their independence in the Deccan which seems too far from the centre that the situation at the Court left no time for the Emperor to look into the matters of Deccan. And this will be proved advantageous to the nobles as there will be no central involvement and they will build their fortunes in the Deccan.

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16

Western Role in the Rwandan Genocide***Ashutosh Singh****Abstract**

The article seeks to trace the role of the Western Powers and the International community at large if failing to prevent the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. The UN forces on the ground gave enough indications of an impending genocide yet their warnings were repeatedly ignored as part of a larger policy on the part of world powers. This article seeks to understand the reasons behind such inaction which allowed the one of the biggest genocide in human history and makes extensive use of primary sources such as UN documents and declassified official US Government documents.

Key words : Western, Role, Rwanda Genocide

Introduction : The role of France and other western powers in the Rwandan Genocide of 1994 has been a source of controversy and debate; both within and beyond France and Rwanda. France actively supported the Hutu-led government of Juvénal Habyarimana against the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front, which since 1990 had been engaged in a conflict intended to restore the rights of Rwandan Tutsis both within Rwanda and exiled in neighboring countries following over four decades of anti-Tutsi violence. France provided arms and military training to Habyarimana's youth militias, the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi, which were among the government's primary means to operationalise the genocide following the assassination of Juvénal Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira on 6th April, 1994.¹ The French intervention of two parachute companies, explained as an attempt to protect its own nationals, actually blocked the RPF advance on the capital Kigali. In contrast, the government of Belgium, the former colonial power, cut all support to the Habyarimana regime, which viewed the action as abandonment. Thwarted by the French, the RPF suffered a humiliating retreat back into the Virunga Mountains along the border. After the demoralizing death of Major-General Fred Rwigyema, the collapse of the RPF was prevented through the

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leadership of Paul Kagame. The RPF thus managed to retain control of a sliver of land in the north, from which it continued to launch raids.² However, the RPF invasion, which displaced approximately 600,000 people into crowded internally displaced person camps, also radicalized the Hutu populace. The Tutsi civilians in Rwanda, roughly were accused of secretly aiding the RPF invaders.³ Anti-Tutsi propaganda was spread through the publication *Kangura*, a forerunner to the *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, which was created immediately after the invasion.⁴

UNOMUR and UNAMIR : A number of ceasefire agreements were signed by the RPF and government, including one signed on 22 July 1992 in Arusha, Tanzania that resulted in the Organization of African Unity (OAU) establishing a 50-member Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I) led by Nigerian General Ekundayo Opaleye.⁵ The negotiations for a peace settlement continued in Arusha, interrupted by a massive RPF offensive in early February 1993. Rwanda continued to allege Ugandan support for the RPF, which both the RPF and Uganda duly denied, but resulting in both countries sending letters to President of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) requesting that military observers be deployed along the border to verify that military supplies were not crossing. In the meantime, talks in Arusha had reconvened on 16 March 1993, resulting in the signing of the Arusha Accords, a comprehensive agreement to create a power-sharing government, on the fourth of August. Both the RPF and Rwandan government requested UN assistance in implementing the agreement. In early August 1993, NMOG I was enlarged and replaced by NMOG II, consisting of about 130 members, in preparation for an expected UN-led peacekeeping force.⁶ In October 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 872 (1993), established another international force, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), to help the parties implement the agreement, monitor its implementation and support the transitional Government.⁷ The reason that Belgium quickly withdrew its peacekeepers under the command of UNAMIR was that 10 Belgian members of 2nd Commando Battalion, of the Belgian Paracommando Regiment were murdered in cold blood⁸ along with Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana on April 6th, 1994; the same fateful day that Habyarimana's plane was shot down and the genocide began in Rwanda. These troops were murdered after handing over their weapons to Rwandan government troops. They were advised to do so by their battalion commander who was unclear on the legal issues with authorizing them to defend themselves, even though they had already been under fire for approximately two hours.⁹ This confusion over legal protocols typified the response of UNAMIR to the escalating chaos. The mission's vague mandate, created under Chapter VI of the UN Charter was unclear about the right to use force, particularly in defense of civilians.¹⁰ The mission's original intention was to oversee the implementation of the Arusha peace agreement. However, by the time of the genocide, the peace agreement was completely irrelevant and UNAMIR was legally powerless.¹¹ Frightened by the deaths of their soldiers and aware of the international embarrassment the United States suffered in Mogadishu, Somalia after the civil war there claimed the lives of several US troops in the Battle of Mogadishu, the Belgian government quickly called for the withdrawal of the Belgian contingent of UNAMIR. The critical ground situation and almost panicky withdrawal of Belgian troops was

vividly described by a fax from Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, a Cameroonian peacekeeper in charge of UNAMIR forces to Kofi Annan in New York.¹² After the withdrawal of other nations' contingents, UNAMIR was left with 270 soldiers supported by less than 200 local authorities. Lieutenant-General Dallaire, despite orders to withdraw from Kigali, refused to abandon the country to the genocide, and remained to lead what forces remained.¹³ On 17th May 1994, Security Council increased the number of authorised troops to 5,500 and expanded UNAMIR's mandate to include following additional responsibilities: "(a) To contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, including through the establishment and maintenance, where feasible, of secure humanitarian areas; (b) To provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations".¹⁴

Ignoring an impending Genocide : During the months prior to the Rwandan genocide, General Roméo Dallaire, commander of the U.N. Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), warned the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) that Hutu extremists were planning a campaign to exterminate Tutsis. In a now famous cable to New York on January 11th, 1994, which DPKO authorized him to share with the U.S., French and Belgian Embassies, General Dallaire asked for authority to search for and seize the caches of machetes and other weapons that had been shipped into Rwanda for the Hutu militias, the Interahamwe.¹⁵ Iqbal Riza, deputy to then Undersecretary General for Peacekeeping Kofi Annan, in a letter signed by Annan, denied him permission to act, as exceeding UNAMIR's mandate, and instructed him instead to take the information to the Rwandan government, many of whose members were planning the genocide. DPKO's refusal to authorize action was confirmed on 14th January, 1994 by Secretary General Boutros-Ghali himself.¹⁶ General Dallaire's early warning of genocide was corroborated by the assassinations and further trial massacres of January to March 1994, which were also reported in cables to the U.S. State and Defense Departments.¹⁷ On January 21-22, UNAMIR seized a planeload of Belgian arms (shipped on a French plane) purchased by the Rwandan Armed Forces, which were then kept in joint UNAMIR/ Rwandan government custody.¹⁸ At the request of DPKO, Dallaire provided confirmation of arms shipments and was finally authorized by the DPKO on 3rd February, 1994 to "assist the government of Rwanda" in recovering illegal arms.¹⁹ In mid-February, the Rwandan Minister of Defense requested landing authorization for three planes carrying arms, but General Dallaire refused. On February 27, General Dallaire repeated his request to DPKO for authorization to seize the caches of weapons the Interahamwe militias had hidden all over Rwanda.²⁰ (General Dallaire had sent a Senegalese UNAMIR soldier to see some of the arms caches with his own eyes).²¹ But U.N. authorities, including his direct superior, Canadian General Maurice Baril, again refused, referring privately to General Dallaire as a 'cowboy'.²² Belgium explicitly warned the U.N. Secretary General of impending genocide on February 25, 1994, but Belgium's plea for a stronger U.N. peacekeeping force was rebuffed by members of the U.N. Security Council, particularly the U.S. and the United Kingdom.²³

The U.N. did not wait to intervene in Rwanda until the beginning of the genocide. Acting under Chapter VI of the U.N. Charter, the U.N. Department of

Peacekeeping Operations had deployed 2,539 U.N. Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) troops to Rwanda by April 6, 1994.²⁴ It is claimed by Dr Alan Kuperman in his book 'The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention' that U.N. Peacekeepers were too lightly armed to deter the Rwandan genocidaires who he says numbered 100,000, including the heavily armed Presidential Guard.²⁵ He agrees with General Dallaire that UNAMIR needed heavier weapons, full deployment of its 2548 authorized troops plus an equal number of reinforcements, all of them well-trained and well-supplied, with a clear mandate giving them authority to forcefully stop killing. That could have been written into U.N. Security Council resolution 872 that created UNAMIR. But the U.S. and U.K. had opposed a robust mandate with the 4,500 troops recommended by General Dallaire because it would have been too 'expensive'.²⁶ Declassified US intelligence reports clearly indicate that the US was fully aware of the Tutsi backed RPF's advance into Rwandese territory and the ground situation.²⁷ In fact the attitude of the major world powers towards the Rwandan crisis can be summed up in the following excerpt from Allan Thomas' book, 'The Media and the Rwanda Genocide':

"A representative of one major power came to me within the first weeks of the genocide and said quite clearly that, after doing an assessment, they had decided that they were not going to come and stop the carnage. There were bodies all over. We were already burning bodies with diesel fuel, because of the fear of disease, the smell and the wild dogs. This representative said, 'You know, this country is of no strategic value. Geographically, it provides us nothing. It's not even worth putting a radar station here. Economically it's nothing, because there are no strategic resources, only tea and coffee, and the bottom is falling out of those markets.' This person said, 'In fact what there's too much of here is people. Well, we're not going to come because of people.' In quantifying that, he went on to say that his government could only reconsider its decision not to intervene if for every one of its soldiers either killed or injured, there would be an equivalent of 85,000 dead Rwandans."²⁸ When the genocide began, policy makers in Washington and at the U.N. believed that UNAMIR forces lacked the strength to arrest the spread of the conflagration, and they refused to consider sending in their own troops. In U.S. government parlance, that was a "non-starter." When that word was used, it really meant, "We don't want to think about it."²⁹ It is the product of what social scientists have called "groupthink."³⁰ Those who dissent are afraid to step forward to challenge the group assumptions. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose,³¹ National Security Council Peacekeeping Advisor Susan Rice, and International Organizations Deputy Assistant Secretary George Ward³² had all agreed that UNAMIR could not fulfill its mandate and should be withdrawn.³³ They did not consider changing UNAMIR's mandate because they assumed that troop-contributors had only committed to a peacekeeping operation, not an operation to stop genocide. No one suggested asking the troop-contributors if they would stay. No one suggested sending in U.S. troops. The U.N. Security Council's earlier failure, because of U.S. and U.K. reluctance, to send a strong UNAMIR force created the self-fulfilling prophecy that nothing effective could be done.

Conclusion : Thus, in the U.N. Security Council, the U.S. took an active stance against keeping the UNAMIR troops in Rwanda. Declassified US Department of

State documents from Arlene Render to Pru Bushnell clearly indicate the US stance.³⁴ Ambassador Karl Inderfurth announced that position on 15th April, 1994 in “Informals” which were closed meetings of the Security Council, with the representative of the genocidal Rwandan regime present.³⁵ Ambassador Inderfurth’s announcement of U.S. policy had fatal consequences. The next day, the Rwandan Interim Government met, and knowing it could now act with impunity, decided to extend the genocide to Southern Rwanda.³⁶ What finally stopped the genocide was the victory by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which took Kigali on July 4th and declared a ceasefire on July 18th. From July 14th to 16th, a million refugees streamed into Zaire, the fastest migration of people in history. Refugee camps quickly fell under the control of the Hutu Interahamwe. The RPF committed its own atrocities, such as the massacre of at least 1000 Hutu holdouts at Kibeho.³⁷ The camps were not emptied until the 1997 invasion of Zaire by Rwanda, Uganda, and Laurent Kabila. During their march to Kinshasa, Kabila’s troops and the Rwandan Patriotic Army committed more genocidal massacres against Hutu refugees in the Kivus, south of Kisangani, and at Mbandaka. The war that then ensued in the Democratic Republic of the Congo ever since has since cost over two million lives.³⁸

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17

Historical Gurdwaras in Pakistan Punjab (1850-1950) : A Brief Study

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Abstract

This study of the Gurdwaras is a basic starting point or base line to attempt an identification of the Sikh sacred places and variation therein. This paper will cover only the Punjab region and it will also put light on the efforts were done by SGPC for taking the possession of the gurdwaras which were left in Pakistan after partition.

Key words : Bilateral, Gurdwaras, Legends, Religious, Regional,

The present paper attempts to identify the number, location and the distribution of Sikh Gurudwaras during the mid 19th to mid 20th century and the stand of the S.G.P.C towards these Gurdwaras. This study will cover only the Punjab region of Pakistan and it will include the fourteen districts of the Punjab namely Lahore, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujaranwala, Shiekupura, Gujarat, Attock, Jhelum, Shahpur, Montgomery, Jhang, Multan, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi the areas which formed part of Pakistan in 1947.¹ The paper is divided into three sections, the first section deals with the number, location and distribution of Gurudwaras in the mid 19th century and changes in this pattern in the mid 20th century, the second section deals with some of the historical Gurudwaras and the last section with the stand of the S.G.P.C towards these Gurudwaras.

I

In the mid 19th century, twenty eight (28) sacred places of the Sikhs can be identified in the area. At the district level, the number of Sikh sacred places ranged from one to six in each district. The Gujaranwala district had the maximum number of sacred places, six i.e 21%, followed by Attock five i.e 17%, Sialkot four i.e 14%, Lahore three i.e 10%, Gurdaspur, Gujarat and Shahpur two each i.e 7% each, Shiekupura, Montgomery and Jhang had only one Gurdwara each i.e 3% each. There was no Sikh sacred place recorded in the District Gazetteers of Multan, Lyallpur and

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Rawalpindi districts.² In the mid 19th century, the maximum numbers of sacred places were located in the north-eastern of this Punjab like Gujranwala six, Attock five and Sialkot four. The **number** of sacred places was less than four in eastern Punjab like Lahore three and Gurdaspur two. But this number was average in the central parts of the region like Shahapur two and Jhang, Jhelum and Montgomery with only one sacred place each. By the mid 20th century this position had changed. In 1949, the Gurdwara Gazette records the number of gurdwaras in the same areas as one hundred seventy eight (178) sacred places. This was a tremendous jump of 53% in the number of Sikh sacred places. At the district level too, there was a change in the number and location of these shrines. The Gurudwaras ranged from one to thirty-six in the districts. The Lahore district had the maximum number of Gurudwaras thirty six i.e 20%, followed by Gujranwala twenty nine i.e 16%, Sialkot twenty seven i.e 15%, Shahpur seventeen i.e 9%, Shiekupura thirteen i.e 7%, Montgomery twelve i.e 6%, Rawalpindi ten i.e 5%, Gujarat nine i.e 5%, Attock eight i.e 4%, Jhelum seven i.e 3%, Gurdaspur four i.e 2%, Lyallpur three i.e 1%, Jhang two i.e also 1% and Multan had only one i.e 0%. There was an increase in the number of Sikh Gurudwaras in Lahore from 10% to 20%, followed by Shiekupura 3% to 7%, Montgomery 3% to 6%, Shahpur 7% to 9% and Sialkot 14% to 15%. Besides this there was one, three and ten Sikh Gurudwaras emerged in Multan, Lyallpur and Rawalpindi districts respectively. The Jhang and Jhelum had the same number of sacred places at both points of time. On the other hand, the decline was noted in a few districts like in Gujranwala from 21% to 16% followed by Attock 17% to 4%, showed a major decrease Gurdaspur from 7% to 4% and Gujarat 7% to 5%. There was not any link between the number, location of Gurudwaras and the Sikh population. For example, the Lahore district had the maximum number of thirty six Gurdwara, though the Sikh population was there only 16%. There was also a major change in the Sialkot district which had twenty seven Sikh Gurudwaras, the third and highest number of sacred places although the Sikh population in this district was only 8%. The Gurdapur and Lyallpur district had less than five sacred places each, while the Sikh population in these was above 15% at that time. The Sikh population in these districts was an average but the number of sacred places was less than many others districts.

It is evident that the Sikh Gurudwaras were unevenly distributed in the region. There was a major change in the number and location of sacred places in the mid 19th to mid 20th century. In the mid 20th century one hundred fifty (150) i.e 84% new Gurdwara had emerged while all the older twenty eight (28) i.e 15% Sikh shrines also continued to exist even after partition. The partition had left a deep impact on Sikh shrines and the political and social environment was also changed as well after partition. The number of Sikh Gurudwaras declined because of the mass movement of Sikhs to east Punjab after partition.

II

The S.G.P.C divided the Gurudwaras into four categories in 1949. The first category was of the three major Gurudwaras namely Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, Gurdwara Dehra Sahib, Gurdwara Panja Sahib, the second group included those

Gurdwara which came under the S.G.P.C and the scheduled Gurudwaras under the Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925, while the third category included the Gurdwara Sri Darbar Sahib Kartarpur, in tehsil Garhshankar of district Lahore and the fourth category dealt with the other historical Gurudwaras which were managed by the local Gurudwaras committees.³ Out of all these, the four Gurudwaras are recognized as major Gurudwaras, which are regularly venerated by the Sikh community on the eve of *gurpurb* or eve related to historical events. These four major Gurdwara are Gurdwara Nankana Sahib, Gurdwara Dehra Sahib, Gurdwara Panja Sahib and Gurdwara Sri Darbar Sahib Kartarpur. The Gurdwara Nankana Sahib is the birth place of Guru Nanak Dev and it is most important for Sikhs like Mecca for Muslims, Jerusalem for the Jews and the Vatican for the Roman Catholics. A huge number of people gathered here on the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak Dev in the month of November every year. Besides this, there were other Gurdwara inside the Nankana Sahib complex namely Gurdwara Bal Lila Sahib,⁴ Gurdwara Sri Tamboo Sahib,⁵ Gurdwara Kiara Sahib⁶ and Gurdwara Sri Mal Ji Sahib.⁷

The second major historical Gurdwara is the Gurdwara Panja Sahib which is related with a 'miracle' of Guru Nanak Dev. At this place, Guru Nanak Dev is believed to have stopped the rock with his hand which was thrown on him and his accompanied Mardana by the Muslim faqir Wali Kandhar. The imprint or symbol of his hand was left out on the rock; by this Wali Kandhar recognized and accepted the enlightenment and power of Guru Nanak. The People come here on the Baisakhi day when a monthly long fair is also held. From 1850 to 1920 this Gurdwara was under Bhai Ishar Singh under the colonial government, but in 1920 the S.G.P.C took over the management of this place. The annual income of this Gurdwara was Rs. 1,25,000 in 1920. The foundation stone of the *sarovar* at this Gurdwara was laid down by Tikka Yadwinder Singh. A British U.K. Sikh person, Sardar Dittu Singh granted Rs. 50,000 and another person Seth Moti Ram Hajro granted Rs. 10,000 as a donation to this Gurdwara in 1978.⁸

The third major Gurdwara is Gurdwara Dehra Sahib and this place is related with the martyrdom of the fifth Guru Arjan Dev. A big fair is held here every year on the martyrdom day and it is also called 'Jhor Mela.' The other two Gurudwaras namely birth place of Guru Ramdas and Gurdwara Shahidganj Singhian are also adjoining with Gurdwara Dehra Sahib.⁹ The fourth Gurdwara, Gurdwara Sri Darbar Sahib Kartarpur was a significant because Guru Nanak died here and he was cremated here. A gurdwara was later constructed at this.¹⁰

III

The S.G.P.C played a very significant role in the management of these Sikh Gurudwaras in West Punjab after 1920. Before the partition, all Gurudwaras in West Punjab were under the S.G.P.C and they supervised the management of these Gurudwaras. The Gurdwara Sri Darbar Sahib Kartarpur is situated in the tehsil Sakargarh on the bank of Ravi River and it is just one mile away from the boundary of east Punjab. The east Punjab government was demanded that by changing the boundary the Pakistan government should assign this land to east Punjab and should

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also take possession of the equivalent land from the other side of east Punjab. But the Pakistan government did not accept the demand of east Punjab government. After partition the Waqf Board of Pakistan took over the management of these Gurudwaras in 1965. The S.G.P.C has listed the Gurudwaras and according to this list there were one hundred and seventy eight (178) Gurudwaras which were left in Pakistan.¹¹ The S.G.P.C claimed that there was huge lands attached to these Gurudwaras, the total land is 255486 *kanal* and the total value of this land is Rs. 11,62,00,000, (eleven crore and sixty two lac) all of which was being used by the Waqf Board.¹²

The S.G.P.C demanded many times that the Waqf Board assign the management of all these Gurdwara to S.G.P.C but the Pakistan government has denied all their claims. The S.G.P.C held a convention at its office on 29-1-1951 about the possession of the Gurudwaras in Pakistan.¹³ They also wrote and sent telegrams to the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan and Foreign Minister for the safety and restoration of these Sikh shrines. A member of the S.G.P.C also raised the question in the Lok Sabha in March in 1966 that the Waqf Board was utilizing the entire money of these shrines for its personal purpose and was not spending anything to restore the deteriorated condition of these Gurudwaras. In July 1972 some *sewadars* were sent to Pakistan by the S.G.P.C for the upkeep and maintenance of these Gurudwaras and the whole expenditure of these *sewadars* were borne by the S.G.P.C, nothing was paid by the Waqaf Board. The Waqf Board set up an Indo-Pakistan Joint Committee under the Pant-Mirza agreement for the issue of utilization of this money, but no solutions could be found.¹⁴ The President of the S.G.P.C Mahinder Singh 'Giani' met with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1972 and demanded that the Indian Government should seriously consider the issue of the Gurudwaras in Pakistan in the Simla Conference which was to be held from 28 June to 2 July, 1972. In these five days however, the Indian government did not focus on any of the issues of the gurdwaras in west Punjab.¹⁵

The S.G.P.C again held a meeting on 30-3-1974 for these issues. They once again sent a telegram to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Foreign Minister Sardar Swarn Singh, Home Minister Sardar Gurdial Singh, the speaker of Lok Sabha and Secretary of Foreign Department for the consideration of these issues. They demanded that the Indian government end the 27-year long wait of Sikh community for taking back the management of these Gurudwaras.¹⁶ Till today nothing has happened in this connection. Nowadays, the links of S.G.P.C with these Gurdwara is only through the *jathas*¹⁷ which go to these major Gurudwaras on specific day like Basiakhi, Diwali and on the eve of *gurpurbs* or related with any historical event. With the permission of the Pakistan government the number of *jathas* has been increasing day by day and the number of Sikh gurdwaras in Punjab is increasing considerable. After 1947 to commemorate the 'Loss' of these shrines a prayer/*ardas* was added in Guru Granth Sahib for complete and open access to all those Sikh Shines which were left in Pakistan.(*Khulla didar darshan*).

To conclude, it is evident that the number, location and distribution of these Gurudwaras had changed with the passage of time. The first feature of this change was in the total number of Sikh sacred places. There were twenty eight (28) sacred places in the late 19th century but this had increased to one seventy eight (178) i.e 535% by the mid 20th century. The second feature was the change in the location and distribution of Gurudwaras at the district level. The district namely Lahore, Jhelum, Montgomery, Shiekupura, Jhang, Gujarnwala, Sialkot and Gujarat had the maximum number while the Attock and Shahpur had the decreased number of Gurudwaras during the mid 19th to mid 20th century. The third feature of change was that some new Gurudwaras built in some districts like Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Hazara, Kohat, Peshwar and Sargodha with the passage of time. The fourth feature was that the management of these Gurudwaras took under his control by Waqf Board after 1965. Despite the vast effort of the S.G.P.C until present, these Sikh shrines remained 'lost' to the Sikh community. (*Vichohoda*)

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17. A Jatha is an armed body of Sikhs. They have existed in Sikh tradition since the beginning of the Khalsa (Sikh Community) in 1699 CE.

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18

Political Structure And Power Relations In Pre Modern Kerala : The Vengunadu Swarupam

*Sandhya S.

Abstract

The period from 12th to the 16th century in Kerala history remains a new social, economic and political condition, which was entirely different from that of the ancient times. Political authority in medieval Kerala (after the fall of Perumals of Makotai in 1124) was based on the organizations of small territorial units called nadus which were later assumed into autonomous political entities called Swarupams.¹ They emerged with the rise of new agrarian community and habitation centers.² Vengunadu Swarupam was one of the well-known swarupam in medieval Kerala.

Keywords : Vengunad Swarupam, Ariyittuvazhcha, Nambidi, Kuruvazhcha, Nadu, Cartier, Antarala jati,

Origin of the term *swarupam* is obscure.³ But the origin of the *swarupam* began from the *nadu* division, which had an ancient origin. The *nadu* divisions were developed into *swarupams* in medieval period.⁴ These *swarupams* were known by the location and of the ruling joint family.⁵ Thus the term *swarupam* indicates the autonomous region controlled by the secular authority of the ruling joint family and often the term applicable to both the family and the region controlled by them.⁶ They practiced *Kuruvalcha* (the existence of the senior & junior positions of the chief)⁷ The *swarupam* began to formulate political ideologies for legitimizing their power, and to conduct anointment rituals like *ariyittuvalcha*⁸ with the support of the Brahmanas.

Vengunadu Swarupam- Vengunadu consists of five desams which included Kollengode, Vattekkad, Vadavannur, Elavanchery and Paylore.⁹ However, Vengunadu under Nambidis believed to be extended their domination over the

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regions like Vadakannyapuram, Pokkunni, Anamaari, Chemmanampati, Chappakkad, Vattekkad, Kilakkemury, Padinjaremary, Valiya chella and Cherapuram.¹⁰

Political Structure and Power Relations- Though newly emerged; the political structure and power relations in Vengunadu *Swarupam* had the same peculiarities that were visible in the *nadus* in the medieval period. The rulers of Vengunadu *Swarupam* were called as Vengunadu Nambidis. Like the other Naduvazhis of the period the Vengunadu rulers utilized political ideologies to legitimize their power through claiming ritual sovereignty.¹¹ According to Keralolpathy¹² Parshurama selected 36000 Brahmanas from different *gramas* and confers on them the right to arms for protecting their land themselves. Vengunadu *nambidi* was one among them. From there onwards he ruled his region. This curious group of fighting Brahmanas were identified by Veluthat¹³ as '*cattirar*', the military trainers. K.V.Krishna Ayyar observes that, Vengunad nambidis were belong to the family of 'Peruvenda Mukkil Kizhakke Nambidi', who were the *naduvazhis* of Ponnani,¹⁴ whereas, Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurikkal said that, it was 'Cheruvalli Achanmar' who were the rulers of Vengunadu before the coming of Unnichunda Nambiar.¹⁵ The rulers of Vengunad did not possess any kind of succession rules by their own. The Irijalakuda Yogam was the decision making authority.¹⁶

Bahmanical hegemony over the polity and society was another significant feature of the Vengunadu *Swarupam*. The political structure during that period was in a pyramidal one and the Brahmanas had captured the apex of the feudal pyramid.¹⁷ They were privileged conduct festival like *ariyittuvazhcha*. The next community was 'Nambudiri'.¹⁸ William Logan described Vengunadu as the principal Nambudiri *grama*.¹⁹ Nairs were the next sections who were mostly related with military posts.²⁰ Another section was '*kudi*', who dealt with the military,²¹ belongs to lower caste.²² The Vengunad society also consisted of various people like Mannadiars, Tamils and Chettis, black smiths, gold smiths, carpenter, etc.

Vengunadu Nambidis were actually belonging to an intermediary caste called '*Antarala Jathi*' who's stood between the Brahmanas and sudras. They could not wear the sacred thread of Brahmanas. But declared themselves as *Kshatriya Varna* and claimed the lineage of *Surya Vamsa* for which they adopted royal titles like Varma, Veera Ravi, etc. Thus they were also acted as the *Uralars* of Kachamkurissi temple. To legitimize political power they conducted *Ariyittuvazhcha* and received 12 prerogative privileges that made them superior. The feudal mode of production existed, the caste segmented society into different strata with varying powers.²³ The Nambidi was the owner of all lands of Vengunadu *Swarupam* and he gave it people for lease. The military leadership of the Nambidis was evident from their charismatic leadership in the Naduvattam battle with Zamorin.²⁴

After Zamorin's occupation of Vengunadu in 15th century the Nambidis became the feudatories of the Zamorins of Calicut. By the Zamorin's conquest, Vengunad *swarupam* was ruled by Valiya Nambidi and he was assisted by Ilaya nambidi. The Vengunad Nambidi was cordial with Zamorin. The historical

background that led to the occupation of Vengunadu by Zamorin was described by K. P. Patmanabhamenon.²⁵ Zamorin conquered Vengunadu in 15th century and appointed Nambidi as its ruler. Then onwards Nambidi became loyal to Zamorin. By 17th Century, due to the absence of male heirs, the rule of Vengunadu was carried out by Cheruveli Achanmar.²⁶ Their friendly relationship with Kochi provoked Zamorin who adopted a new nambidi from the family of Peruvenda Mukkil Kilakke Nambidi at Panniyur. The Peruvenda Mukkil Kilakke Nambidi family ruled Vengunadu for a long period of time. But alter they were controlled by the British. Under the British rule they became mere the Uralas of Kachamkurrissi temple.²⁷

Conclusion- It could be concluded that Vanguard *Swarupam* emerged from the vestiges of the socio-political chaos created after the decline of the Second Cera Empire. Although the exact period of its origin was in obscure we can assume that it took the form a *Swarupam* by the second half of the 14th century. As the political structure and power relations in the late medieval Kerala were mainly footed on the land based socio-economic system no *Swarupam* that existed in Kerala during that period could claim the regional uniqueness. It is found that the political structure and power relations in Vengunadu *Swarupam* had the same peculiarities that were visible in the *nadus* in the medieval period. Like the other Naduvazhis the Vengunadu Nambidis also formulated many ideologies to legitimize their power and conducted anointment rituals and ceremonies under the auspicious of the Brahmanas. The political structure of the *Swarupam* was in pyramidal form based on the feudal mode of production and the power relations were highly complex due to the caste hierarchies and multiplicities of the functionary groups. The land based power structure and relations in Vengunadu *Swarupam* began to shake its foundations by the 17th Century due to the lack of male heirs in the family and culminated by the Land Reform Acts introduced during the ministry of E.M.S Namboodiripad after 1957 which made loss of their hereditary properties.

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19

Awakening of Karnataka Women by Mahatma Gandhiji in Freedom Struggle

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Abstract

The freedom movement of India and its annals are unforgettable chapters in the history of not only India but of the whole world. None in the globe have ever fought with non-violence people movement with such a long struggle. It is ever remembering and thrilling and it deserves it to be written in the golden letters.

In the freedom struggle so many women fought against assaults, injustice of the British rules and bestowed their battle to protect their land, language and liberty. Many women participated in mob movements and faced lathi charges and even bullets. In the struggle their endurance towards sorrows and sadness, while sacrificing their life of kith and kins in the movements. Through it is named as non-violence but violent activities of the British took lives of many Indians of all cast and creeds. In the Indian history of freedom fight, there is a specific contribution of Karnataka women in bringing reforms from old purogami traditions their skill of collectivity, sacrifice are even seen and remembered respectfully.

Before the commencement of Gandhian era, few bold mettlesome women fought against British unlawful suppressive ruling by wielding swords in their hand and they defeated British Sepoys also. Though it was to save guard their tiny dynasties the principle was to oppose British for their un-laws seized their internal administrative powers. During Gandhian period non-violence, sacrifice, fasting, protests women also joined men in these and at last the mighty British rulers quitted the Indian soil.

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The Reactionaries by adopting the new themes tried to help women community which was exposed to certain social restriction. In those days in the society there were infant killings, early marriages, 'Sati' customs prevailed. Some social reforms like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Paramahansa were in the eminent among others who tried to eradicate those misfortune traditions and customs. They thought to educate the women and the society; education is essential. Education gives a person to think about right and wrong, truth and untruth. They established many school for education of women. They opened heritages for widows, social service society Bhagin Samaj and so on in many parts of the country. As preference was given to women to learn; many of them put their interest though in some villages or some community sending girls to school was not traditional. Women despite of their delicate structure they are having profound mental; moral and divine ordain mental power as observed by Gandhiji. Telling truth, non-violence, non-cooperation, tax refusal, use of mother land products, use of charaka and production of own spun khadi – all were just things made for women with their nature. Gandhiji normally gave inspiration for those uses, but also asked to involve in the freedom movements.

We can divide the women freedom fighters into three things. The first one, from the villages came forward in group wise or community wise. Though these women were innocent; but they were aware of current affairs on hearings and headings. Those women were ready to sacrifice for the service of the Nation. The second women group consists of local leaders; especially from towns and cities. They were from middle class families and educated and capable of bringing together many to the organization. The third women group consists of more clever and intelligent they stood at par with the gents national leaders. In Karnataka state women have paid their own achievements in various fields of the society during freedom fight period. Many women from rich and cultural family heeded to the inspirative words of Mahatma Gandhi and rushed in to freedom movements. In respect to village women they were taught to establish health care centers and first aid centers in the villages. They were also guided to take care of hygiene and cleanliness in the villages. Women were taught by equality and removing untouchability in the society. Gandhi named these communities as 'Harijans' means God Children. Many social women centers were opened in many places. In Hubli, Bhagini Mandal, in Hangal Rastreen girl school, in Gadag Mahila Association, in Haveri Bhagini Mandal, in Dharward Vanita Samaj and Mahila Samaj, in Kumta Mahila Mandal, in Mangalore Mahila Sabha, in Garag Mahila Mandal, like this so many women centers were opened in northern parts of Karnataka.¹

The notable women activists in Karnataka were **Kamaladevi Chattopaddyaya**. By the impact of the impressive works done by Kaarnad Sadashiv Ray, she also plunged into the freedom fight movements. She contested for legislative council in 1926 and she was imprisoned as a women leader by British Government for the reason; she was provoking women even jail for confidence and courage.² Another name of freedom fighter was **Krishnabai Panjekar** from Honnavar. She had lost her husband before six months of their wedding. She

indulged herself in the freedom fight. She was jailed in Yarwad jail during 1932 under the plea that she did provoking speeches against British. She was kept for six months in jail and fine of Rs.300 was levied on her. She then worked as President of Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee. Then on her satyagraha she was imprisoned during 1941 for six months; then in quit India movement kept under jail for a rigorous imprisonment.³ Another notable lady from Kundapur was **Umabai kundapur**, she was born in Bombay during 1892. She was married in 1923 to Doctor Hardekar of Hubli. They had established Bhagini Mandal, and did recognizable services in Hindustani Seva Dal. She also participated in salt agitation during 1930 and again experienced jail days..⁴ Like Umabai another women who plunged into freedom fight was **Nagamma Patil**. She threw out her Legislative membership and in the freedom movement her exemplary working done was establishment of Baalakashram for Harijan girls. All students of this Ashram while were on slogan shouting for freedom; some of them namely Gangoo Belawadi, Leela Janati, other eight were caught by police and kept for three months in jail life.⁵ **Yashodamma Dasappa** was eminent women fighting from old Mysore province. She was married to H C Dasappa during 1926; then during quit India movement she was under jail. She was the main women behind Kasturba Trust. She worked in Wardha Seva Ashram and Gandhi Ashram.⁶

Bellari Siddamma was another dedicated woman for freedom fight. She joined forest satyagraha wherein S Nijalingappa was also in this satyagraha. They were behind bars for 18 months, they were caught during flag hoisting done at Shivpur during 1938 and under police act 70(A) & 73 section they were imprisoned for 25 days. Bellari Siddamma along with Nagaratnamma Hiremath were imprisoned during 1938 Turuvanur Satyagraha.⁷

K Kamaxamma was another women freedom fighter inspired by Gandhi speeches. She was visiting many places in Bangalore like Seshadripuram, Malleswaram, Srirampuram, Nagappa block by walk and teaching Hindi free of cost, with the interest to understand national leaders Hindi speeches. She was blessed by Mahatma Gandhi giving her certificate for Rashtrabhasa.⁸

From Karnataka, Gadag district another women came to light was **Shantala Kurtakote**. She established Gandhi Peace Sangha and worked for it. She gave training to volunteers in 1924 all India Congress Conference held in Belgaum by the instigation of Dr. Hazdekar and Umabai Kundapur. She was secretary for all India Women Parishath and solving the women problems during freedom fight.⁹ Disciplined sepoy M N Jois's wife **Subbamma Jois** from Srisi, lead against Tax collection and telling not to pay tax to the public. She canvassed for it in Siddapur, Ankola and many important cities in north canara district. She was caught by the police, while she was delivering speeches in Tigani and imprisoned. But father in law of Subbamma not allowed his son and daughter in law to enter his house as they were returned from jail. Then they continued to stay in ashram. During 1938 she did flag hoisting at Subbamma Kere in Mysore and again was jailed on Shivpur Sathyagraha.¹⁰ In 1934 Gandhi had been to Karnataka for Harijan upliftment

programme, a lady called as **Mahadevi Tai** met Gandhiji and then she went to Vardha Ashram. Subsequently she shifted to Vinobha's Ashram and stayed there for 47 years and was personal secretary of Vinobha Bhave.¹¹

M R Laxmamma, member of Mysore state Parishath entered in the freedom struggle movements from 1945 to 1947. Some Muslim ladies also participated in the freedom struggle as mentioned by Govindmurthy Desai in his book on "Dharward District Swatantrta Sangram". Jimbavva Kunni from peer Muslim society, who was impressed by Dr. Huilgol Narayan and participated in ban of foreign goods and while she was holding Indian flag and shouting for freedom. She was arrested by police and jailed for a year.¹² Many women freedom fighters participated in Swadeshi Chaluvali, no Tax agitation, non-cooperation movements, salt Satyagraha. Quit India movement, ban on liquor shops agitation and so many risky disparative movements and advising school college students to quit school to protest against British rule. Ladies were insisting to wear khadi cloths. In south Canara district, Girijabai, Ambabai Kilwadi, Manoramabai Naik, Ambabai Pai were among various participants of Indian freedom fight. Belavalli Sitabai, Venkuba, Parvati Laxmibai Padake, Fakiravva Hampihole were from Bijapur district and Laxmibai Sohani, Shantabai Koppal from Belgaum district, from Dharward district there were Vimala Gulawadi Hemalatha Shirolkar, Vidhyadhare, M R Laxmamma, Gouramma w/o Sardar Venkatramayya and others joined this struggle. Many college girl students flag hoisted in the court and were arrested on 23-10-1942 at Dharward court. Like this lady students from Mysore and Belgaum participated in 1942 Easanoor agitation – Halamma – Parvatamma – Kamalabai Vinekar (Gadag), Basavva Gouder, Shantabai Betageri women participated in freedom fight. At Guledgudd a dare lady called Fakiravva, hoisted flag in the office of the town Municipal Council and was arrested and imprisoned.¹³ Nagavva of Naganoon gave blow on face of a constable who booted Gandhi's photo while seizing their house. She was arrested and jailed.

At the beginning women use to participate in Prabhath Pheri – flag hoisting and processions then after they stepped down to struggle movements. During 1924 Belgaum All India Congress Comittee, there were more than 150 women Sevalal volunteers and made easy entrance of women to attend it. There was a separate wing for ladies in Seva Dal. On ban of local politicians by the British, the secret printing process worked in publishing news, materials and handouts in Sirsi, Siddapur, Belgaum and other places ladies took interest to deliver these papers, this was especially seen during quit India movement of 1942.

On 28th September 1942 there arose conflict between public and police at Isoor Agitation and one Tahsildar and a constable were killed by the mob. Police arrested 43 people and charge sheeted and court gave Black water punishment for life to Halamma – Parvatamma and Siddamma and five others were hanged to death. During freedom struggle the men were fully engaged where as women in the house took responsibility of running the family, it was an indirect help and cooperation responsibility shown by the women. In this process many Ladies and their sons were beaten by the police also.

After the death of Kasturbha Gandhi during 1944, a national level committee was formed to raise funds to erect a memorial called **Kasturabha Trust** in which during those days one core of rupees were collected. Mahatma Gandhi told to use this fund for the benefit of down trodden, weaker section women. Sucheta Krupalani was the secretary and Gandhi was its chairman. To uplift the poverty from villages many programs were chalked out and acted accordingly. Women were targeted to spun Khadi, to weave, to cut and stitch clothes. Villages were made to use their own products. Many maternity houses were opened, there was a thrust given to girls to attend schools and educate themselves for benefit of society and country. Training centers were opened in villages nearby Arsikere by the help of Yashodamma Dasappa to educate women folk and bringing awareness of freedom.¹⁴ However women in the form of Mother or a Wife or a Daughter she stood powerfully behind a man in his freedom fight and was main inspiration under impact of Gandhi. In the Indian history of freedom fight, there is a specific contribution of Karnataka women in bringing reforms from old purogami traditions their skill of collectivity, sacrifice are even seen and remembered respectfully.

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20

The Ics of British Origin : A Study of the Socio- Educational Background

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Abstract

British India was governed by a bureaucratic form of government. The aristocratic participation was never been notable among the civil servants and it displayed essentially a middle class character that possessed desired educational acumen. Though middle class in origin they aspired to live a life of the aristocrats which created an inherent aloofness and lack of sensitivity in the system.

Introduction-British India, had been for all practical purposes governed under a bureaucratic form of government, in other words civil services. At the top of the hierarchy stood what had come to be known as the Indian civil service, consisting little over thousand officers forming a *corps d'elite*, once described by Lloyd George as the Steel- frame of Indian administration. This service, for a major portion of British rule in India, constituted both the 'Government' and the 'Administration' or 'both the policy framing and the executive body'. ¹ The members of the Indian civil service posted in the district throughout the country exercised a general superintendence and control over the whole field of administration; while there compeers at the headquarters of the provinces or at Calcutta or Delhi and Simla controlled the policy of administration.

Social Background Of The Civilians-In the Victorian era, there was a tendency to regard anyone who shipped off to India, no matter how promising or how talented as somehow inferior and not acceptable in the circles of the aristocrats. The aristocracy has assumed a responsibility for India with reluctance and disinterest.²

Members of the legal and business professions also viewed India with much disfavor and distaste. As a result the government found it difficult to enlist successful English lawyers or fiscal experts for the legal and financial memberships of the

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viceroys' Executive Council.³ In actual practice, Statistics revealed that aristocratic representation (those recruits whose fathers were peers or gentry) had never been notable in the Indian civil service, even when patronage was in vogue. In the earlier years the sons of clergymen and army officers seemed to be pre-dominant; a fair number were the sons of merchants; but the ICS itself never produced any large number of candidates.⁴ As time went on, the field of recruitment widened; even in the early years there was striking variety of candidature. In four lists between 1859-1879 'fathers' included an upholsterer, a miller, a butcher, a draper, a druggist, an underwriter, and several tailors, ironmongers and clerks.⁵ J.S Mill observed in 1852 that the ICS had always displayed essentially a middle class character.⁶ Though of middle class origin, the civilians had an aspiration and a tendency to imitate the distasteful habits of the aristocracy. They were by no means pacific.

Warfare was the simplest route of distinction, profit and incidentally aristocratic titles. Englishmen came to India, not to exemplify the supposed middle class virtues, but to acquire supposed aristocratic vices.⁷ Consequently, the English created for them in India a social world intended to be as much like life in England as possible. It was a society dedicated to keep alive the memory of English life in England, hence inclined to foster feelings of self-pity and dissatisfaction with the imperfect replica-which was all that was possible under Indian conditions. Contained within the simple fact that such a life was possible, remote from Indians in the midst of India, was an indication of the change which had taken place in Britain's imperial position. British India had become a settled fact, and employment in India had become a career to which one was nominally to devote all his active years. The reconciliation to Indian residence as a permanent condition was facilitated by the discovery of the hill stations. The pleasure of hill station life was equally attractive to non-official Englishmen. A new society of hill dwelling estate managing Englishmen had developed.⁸ One result of the changed condition of British residence in India was an increase in the number of English women. The English women's presence in India exemplified the more settled conditions of British rule. The presumed gentility of their women folk was a part of the British pretence of aristocratic status.⁹ Englishmen used to come to India to make money, and the objective of obtaining money had usually been a rise in social status. The first merchant adventurers made vast fortunes in a brief span of years and returned to England with the ambition to move in aristocratic circles. The sons of the middle class who accepted positions in India in the 19th century were equally attracted by the lure of a large income. But the attraction had now become a large salary rather than the prospect of unlimited fortune, and entailed a career long commitment to life in India. The salary was not so large as to stir ambition of savings enough in short order to return to England with the means to lead like an aristocrat. The ambition of using India as an avenue of advancement in the English social scale was not lost sight of; it was simply transplanted to Indian soil. Virtually Indian career turned Englishmen into "instant aristocrats".¹⁰ The passion for gentility was prevalent even among the middle or lower middle classes of Europeans in India, every one of whom considered him a 'sahib' or 'gentleman'.¹¹ No collector's wife will wear an

article of Indian manufacture and all her furniture, even to her carpets must be of English make.¹²

The 'nabobs' who had returned immensely wealthy from India had been able to buy their way into society, as well as into parliament. British- Indian aristocrats who ultimately turned to a ruling caste¹³ had nothing more substantial to support their ruling claims than pretence.¹⁴ Their aristocratic posture was not transferable, they could live like aristocrats in India, but they could not live like aristocrats in England.¹⁵

The transformation of the middle class character of the civil service into pretension- aristocracy found its origin in the nature of British imperialism. British imperialism precisely because it was characterized by rigorous social exclusiveness.¹⁶ In the 18th century when English merchant adventurers scavenging on the dying Mughal Empire, contended that they should be judged according to oriental custom, they were judged in England by very different standard. The assumption in England even at that time was that Englishmen in India were not simply independent predators but were essentially Englishmen, whose conduct was proper concern of other Englishmen. The English nabobs did not dispute the contention; in fact they created the political issue of their conduct themselves by their insistence on recognition in England for their achievement in India. The most important characteristic of British administration was its impersonality which produced a lack of sensitiveness to the feelings of the people and to new currents of thoughts and desires.¹⁷ It bred a race of administrators who were accused of conscious aloofness. Indian politicians had often complained though British officials worked jealously for the country they did not love or understand its people.

Educational Background Of The Civilians- The lowly social image of Indian service reflected on the recruitment of young men of desired educational background for the Indian civil service. Many writers of British Indian history were convinced with the notion that Indian career was highly popular among university students in Great Britain, and that as a consequence, the competitive examination system emerged as a replacement for the patronage of the East India Company in 1855, which guaranteed a superior body of highly efficient administrators for British India.¹⁸ The fact was however, that the civil service commissioner themselves had voiced dissatisfaction with the caliber of recruits as early as 1858, only four years after the establishment of the competitive system. A substantial number of candidates and recruits did not hold a bachelor degree from Oxford or Cambridge Universities, as originally desired and a surprising portion of the candidates did ever attend any university a phenomenon that became increasingly evident in later competitions.¹⁹ Among those talented university men who came forward in the early years of competition, several after passing successfully found it more to their advantage to throw-up their Indian career and Indian prospect and remained at home. In 1866, in the examination result, competition failed to attract not only graduates but even university students.²⁰

There was a proportionate decline of university representation between 1855

and 1874.²¹ The two great universities of Oxford and Cambridge fell from a position of predominance to one of the minimal significance, while the position gained by Irish university youths and the non-university products of London tutors, commonly called 'Crammers' remained relatively high.²² In 1864, Sir Charles Wood, one of those responsible for the shifting from patronage to competition, noted with disgust the unsatisfactory type of persons he thought were succeeding in examinations.²³ The more able university students simply declined to compete, and therefore non-university crammers had a more than even chance of success and increasingly demonstrated in the examination results. Lord Salisbury reforms of 1876 made university attendance compulsory for two years, a period not sufficient for the attainment of a degree. There had been an improvement to the situation caused by the pre-1876 decline of university recruits, but excessively low number of competitors under the new scheme revealed an enigmatic counter demanding weakness. In January 1875, competition for the ICS was combined with examination for the first class clerk ships in the home civil service. Using the Home civil service as magnet, the Indian office hoped to attract a large number of promising university men to a consideration of an Indian career. The upturn was in itself ironically a measure of ICS unpopularity since it revealed that the magnetism of the Home service was the only meaningful reason for the new volume of the candidates.

Conclusion- Thus the lowly socio-educational profile of the civilians made the viceroys to form derogatory valuation of the ICS. Lord Lytton, who wrote most unkind remarks about covenanted civilians, confided to Sir Fitzjames Stephen that he had formed the lowest estimate of the ability of these men. Stephen replied with amazing statement that "your greatest difficulty in India will be having to do first rate work with 2nd, 3rd and 4th rate tools" with others of his social class, Stephen apprehended that increasing number of the competition – men among the higher ranks of the service would weaken its efficiency and competency, since 19 civilians in 20 were the most common place and the least dignified of the second and third class Englishmen.

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21

The Coming of The Cow And Descending Doom of Hori

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Abstract

This article attempts to bring out series of happenings woven around the dream of Hori to have a cow. Hori the protagonist of the novel Godan, written by Munshi Premchand in 1936 was happy to find a cow and was undone by the same. Series of calamities befall over him. The cow unsettled his life. The poisoning of the cow by his brother, arrival of police inspector, his brother leaving home for repentance, his son Gobar's affair with Jhunia, a lower class girl and the pregnant Jhunia coming to his home are covered in this narrative. We have interpreted the narrative as it appears in Godan.

Key words : Cow, Cow as a property and respectability, Stratagem of everyday life, Bailiff, Vengeance of nature, Debt trap mechanism, Community, Village headman, Kinship, Jealousy, Brawl, Poisoning of the cow, Thanedaar, Colonial State, Bribe, Rent, Subalternity,

The coming of the cow had immersed Hori in crowding thoughts- The questions, where to fix up the trough, sharing of the milk, appeared before his eyes as a sequel to domestic worry and anxieties. Zamindar's bailiff's puffed cheeks and itching palms for nazarana subjected to even more critical scrutiny.

Finally, the cow arrived, marking a red-letter day in the village. The entire village thronged to his place, revealing the communitarian pattern of living. The cow was subjected to admiration by all. Hori wanted to bask in the respectability and wanted others to point out "there, that is Hori Mehto's house!"

The absence of his own brother on this joyous occasion lacerated Hori's heart deeply. He proceeded to Hira's house. His brothers were whispering in ears that Hori had usurped a part of their property from the joint account of the family.

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It pained him. Agitated he quickly went to untie the cow. In an act of kind of attributing reasoning to the animal he was determined to return the cow to Bhola. Dhaniasnatched away the halter. Knowing the issue she quickly rushed to Hira's house. Fearful of a fight he could not check himself any longer. He stood tense. Dhanias was soon losing the villagers' sympathy. Their judgment was imbued with a sense of providing justice in favor of the weaker party. Seeing villagers in his favor Hira got bold. A scurrilous word from his side then allowed the balance to turn in Dhanias's favor. His going to the extreme invited Hori's intervention to neutralize the fight. She gave a violent push to Hira, who threatened her of shoe—hitting. She wanted her son Gobar's help. Hori then dragged Dhanias away.

The stock of straw had depleted. Peasants looked towards the sky for clouds to bless showers. Finally the first drop of the season fell on village. With ploughs they happily rushed to their fields. But the zamindar's "farman" stood as a stumbling block in their way. No one was allowed to till the land for the autumn crop unless the arrear was paid. The peasant's natural sense informed them of the unjustness of the order. They pleaded with bailiff, but alas! Nothing happened. This was the order of the master who in turn was the slave of the colonial state. Tis incongruence between the rent collection structure and lack of money compelled them to knock the door of the money lender. ¹ Mangru Saha's days were on ascendancy. Hemp, wheat were the commodities he traded in, at the time of harvesting, when the prices sink low in the markets leaving the rainy seasons as always a lean period for the peasants. The debt trap mechanism also mediated from above. Zingru Singh was the agent of a prosperous city "Mahajan". Hori was already indebted to other moneylenders. To knock at the door of fat squat, dark Zingru Singh was the only alternative left to him. The circle of exploitation beginning with the vengeance of nature attended by zamindar's deployment of power was thus completed with moneylender's oppression.² Zingru Singh had an eye on Hori's cow. Hori assured him that he had no trinket whatsoever in the house. Zingru then came to the moot point and suggested to sell his cow at. Hori at first laughed but then was convinced. Hori convinced Dhanias too. The cow's black and eloquent eyes seemed to be filled with tears. "Tell me why do you want to sell me? I put up with my lot without a murmur." Thus went monologue in himself, but it was a dialogue of a certain kind. The affinity and tender feeling of a peasant towards a cow made this possible. He receded. "If God wills sugarcane flourishes this year he would discharge all his debt". Dhanias looked at Hori with pride. Hori went to see Shobha. He talked about the financial difficulties. Raisaheb's latest 'farman' was the centre of their attack. Hori while returning late saw Hira Standing near the cow. He was overwhelmed by emotion and enthusiasm at the pretended warm gesture of his brother.

Evil omen fell on Hori's life. The cow was frothing at her mouth, with her belly swollen and legs stiff. Dhanias beat her head in despair. Hori went to fetch the self-appointed veterinary, Pandit Datadin. The symptoms showed the cow died of poison. The villagers collected at Hori's door with a sad look. They would hack the head of the beastly culprit if they could lay their hands on him. To Hori, Hira

was the suspect, but it was his duty to save his brother from the wrath of the villagers so he kept it to himself. Inadvertently he told this to Dhania in the night, Dhania fumed. She then brought the colonial punitive apparatus into play, which disciplines and punishes the culprit. The dreadful wall of prison symbolic of the punitive moral code which avenges upon a socially condemned act really brought in her an overpowering moral indignation.³

Things started blowing up in the morning. Hori's overflowing paternal affection could smoothly wash away the grievous and bitter causality of his life but not of Dhania. She was not to be tight lipped or pacified. Hori was beating her down on her every attempt of bringing out Hira's complicity in last night's episode. Dhania then asked Hori to swear by his son that he had not seen Hira standing near the cow. Hori swore with trembling hand. She then invoked the help of God to bring her out of the crisis, villagers opinion started veering in Dhania's favour and they had no doubt that Hira had poisoned the cow. Dhania then succeeded with Datadin's help in revealing Hire's escape "from his house with Lota, a string and staff possibly to atone for his sin with a dip in the holy waters of the Ganges. Datadin vindicated his prophetic moralizing "even if the police does not bring Hira to book, the "dharma" would not let him go unpunished" revealing for us the dictates of dharma in peasant's life.⁴ The arrival of the police inspector had dropped the last nail in the coffin. Encounter with him was much like that of an idea of the plenipotentiary prowess of the colonial state.⁵ First time in life Hori was summoned before him. He receded in a tortoise fashion at the very sight. He suspected no one, he said. The cow died her natural death. Dhania, however, was not hesitant in telling Hira's name. A search of Hira's house was then ordered by the police inspector. The very word "search" clamored like a thunder in Hori's ear. It meant the loss of the respectability of the family of which he was the head. It meant also the defilement of the hallowed precincts of his house.

The headman too thought the arrival of police inspector an impingement of village moral order. Anxious to avert the impending shame Hori was unconcerned about the amount of the bribe. He pleaded with Datadin to save him from this crisis. Even if he failed to discharge the debt Gobar would be there to take care of it. Hori then moved to placate the police inspector with a small bribe. But Dhania throttled his attempt. Rupees, tinkled down on the ground. She also snapped few words at the police inspector who was trying to accuse her. "I have seen enough of your intelligence and justice", Dhania as always offered a counter-weight. Her intemperate acrimony assailed at the flash-point (veracity of the authenticity) of the propriety of the colonial law and justice. The tarred faces of the headmen and the police inspector show the crevices in the hegemonic control of the colonial state. "Going to the jail would not bring Swaraj", said Dhaniya. It shows the popular perception of 'Swaraj. It also indicates how the village headmen were using 'Swaraj in their own favor by forging link with leaders in city.⁶

The village headmen had to oblige the police inspector. The glaring threat of clamping them into jail for six months led them to yield to his pressure. Their lamenting utterances further show their helplessness.⁷

Hira's disappearance brought a new burden on Hori's shoulder. He had to take care of Punia's field and her complaints and consequent censure in the village. In the meantime, Dhanias's prestige got enhanced in the village. The authority of the police inspector was so much hated in the village that they were interested in seeing his authority breaking down. The "myth of Bhawani" came to their help. Dhanias's encounter with police inspector was taken in similar vein. The powerlessness and hopelessness of the common people before the authority of the colonial state, invoked the intervention of the supernatural power, who bequeaths his or her power on someone with messianic affect, to overcome the condition of their subalternity.⁸ Crisis in domestic life brings kith and kin, even husband and wife together. Hori and Dhanias came closer with Hori severely affected by Malaria.

As a characteristic emblem of poverty lying in the hutment by the patch of peas in Punia's field. Hori got absorbed in thought about a torn blanket which kept him in company for so long. He could not recall a single day when after paying rent and interest he was left with any money shows the process of impoverishment of the peasant.⁹ Jingles of bangles gave him a ridiculous sense of Pateshwari's daughter or Pundit's wife, poking at Peas, betraying their debased sense of morality. To his utter surprise it was Dhanias informing him about the ominous arrival of Jhunias in their house. Hori got infuriated. Dhanias took words from him, asked him not to be harsh, to her pitiful state. In his ageing imagination, Hori could still see a tender-hearted girl in Dhanias who entered his life 25 years ago. Jhunias's fear and foreboding vanished with this new found shelter and Dhanias's promised assurance to save her from the scowling faces led her to fall at Dhanias's feet. She passionately hugged her.

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22

Administrative Divisions of Ancient Karnataka

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Abstract

It is well known that the political divisions played an important role in the Ancient and Medieval history of the Deccan. In fact, the divisions were also one of the outstanding administrative units in Karnataka. It was mainly because of its strategic location that the rulers of various dynasties in Karnataka had tried to bring political divisions under their control. Thus right from the early Chalukya's down to the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire in 16th century, its position as the Capital remained undisturbed. The divisions were at their height of glory particularly under the Rastrakutas and the latter Chalukyas.

Thus we find that in almost every field of activity the political divisions have left an indelible foot print in the history of Karnataka in general and North Karnataka in Particular. It is quite well known that all these years much emphasis was laid on the study of the history of the dynasties of South India which have contributed much to the political, Social and Cultural growth of India such as the Chalukyas of Badami, the Pallavas of Kanchi, the Cholas of Tranjore, the Rastrakutas of Malakheda, the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Kalachuries, Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Yadavas of Devagiri etc., and there about the Kadamas of Hangal, Kadambas of Nurumbad, Banas, Nolambas, Chalukyas of Vemulavada, etc., In fact, considerable research work has been done regarding the history of most of these dynasties. But the minor feudatory dynasties which also contributed much to the cultural growth of the country did not attract the attention of the scholars, though some material has been published here and above.

Political Divisions :- The Ancient and Medieval history of Karnataka mention the divisions are below Gangavadi-9600, Palasige -12000, Banavasi-12000, Tarddewadi – 1000, Panungal-500, Kopananagar -1200, (Eradarunuru),

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Belugali -500, Jambukhandi-70, Kisukadau-70, Basavuru-140, Belvola-300, Puligere-300, Nurumbaada-100, Rattapalli-70, Nagarkhanda-70, Perbal-70, Belahuge-70, Hosanadu-70, Palambi-70, Yadavolalu-70, Yadaajohage-70, Kondaratti-70, Bagale-70, Medavuru-70, Kuduvannaganda-70, Ittige-30, Kundavar-30, Nariyangal-20, Bennevuru-12, Binnavur-12, Honnavarti-12, Nidagundige-12, Yalambi-20,

About the Previous work:- However, it is to be accepted that very little work has been done about different administrative divisions which in their own way made a significant contributions to the history of nation. This work will be help us to know the growth of South Indian culture as a whole in other words, the need of the hour is a shift from the macro level study of history to the micro level, of course some scholars have worked on these divisions. There were many such divisions in ancient Karnataka which have been hardly studied by the scholars. One such division which played, a unique role in the political, religious and cultural history at Karnataka and Contributed considerably to the enrichment of Karnataka culture, but it would be futile to search for details about the history and culture of the divisions in these various works

Many scholars who wrote the history of Karnataka like P.B. Desai, M.V.Krishnarao, Suryanath Kamat, Ramakrishna, H.,V. Shirinivamurthy given mainly dynastic account some scholars like S.R Shetty Banavasi Nadu, A.K. Shashtri worked on sringeri, S.K.Koppa, Taraddavadinadu, Bhojaraja Patil, Nagarakhanda 70, C.S Hasabi, Puligerenadu,V.G. Shantapurmath Panungal-500, has worked on these divisions.

Thus a perusal of these works so that in none of them to other divisions itself is the central theme. They restrict themselves to a particular aspect of study like political economic, Social, educational, etc. This is so in spite of the fact that a lot of information is available for such a study in the form of epigraphs, literature and art An interesting feature of these divisions is that the influential role the two religions, viz Saivism and Jainism (for ex Ekantad Ramayya sculpture in Abbalurur fight against Jainism) played in the society of that time. Through Vaishnava religion was prevailing, it was never a leading religion in these divisions, in spite of the fact that many Brahmins held key positions in the administration.

Further because of its strategic geographical position. It was inevitable that Banavasi-12000, nadu along with other divisions like Gangavadi come under the influence at almost all the suzerain dynastic of Karnataka. It also interesting to note that most of the time. All of the division was under the control of either the crown prince, i.e., Yuvaraj, Mahamandaleshwar, Mandaleshwar (Mandaladhipati) Sarvadhikari, Mahapasyita, Senadhipati, Mahapradhana, Purikar Nagaradhisha, Dandanayakam, Manevergade, Dakshinaraya, Rayadandadhikari, Vragamunda, Nalagamunda or a close relatives of the sovereign king, which indirectly demonstrates the importance the rulers attached to central Government. However, in the last phase of the later Chalukya rule, due to certain inevitable circumstances, the administration of the division was handed over to their trusted feudatories. A comprehensive study

of the feudatory families of these divisions has not so far been attempted by any scholar, though some scholars like B.R Gopal have treated some individual families and places of historical importance in a general way. Hence, an attempt is made here, to fill the void. The political scene kept changing, throughout the period under study because of the changes in the Imperial dynasties. But social and religious institutions continued to flourish unabated, art and architecture received impetus and language and literature blossomed. An attempt is made here to study all these aspects as far as these divisions are concerned, utilizing all the available materials, especially epigraphs, temples, and sculpture of these divisions.

Political history of the Divisions:- The political history of the division like many other divisions of Karnataka start from the Mauryan period i.e., Ashokan period. Even though, no traces of Ashokan period have been noticed so far in these divisions. The Satavahanas were succeeded by the early Kadambas, who ruled for about 200 years from 325 A.D to 540 A.D. The epigraphs of the Kadamba period have already been found Banavasi-12000 in North Canara District. All these various facts definitely indicate that the division was under the control of the early Kadambas. The early Kadamba Dynasty was overpowered by the Chalukyas in about 540 A.D establishing the Chalukya Power at Vatapi. Several rulers ruled over these divisions, the study of the division informs certain clues from the records. The Chalukyas were succeeded by their feudatories, the Rastrakutas. The earliest Epigraph of the Rastrakuta period extant in these divisions like Govinda-III. By the last quarter of 10th Century A.D, the Rastrakutas were ousted from power by their feudatory Tailappa-II of the later Chalukya family. A large number of inscriptions belonging to the period of the Chalukyas of Kalyana have been either found in these divisions. Due to the repeated insurrections of the feudatories and their high ambitions to become independent, associated with the inability of Tailappa-II to prevent the down fall of his dynasty, the Chalukyas were very soon ousted from power by their own feudatory in 1162 A.D.

The Seunas, generally known as the Yadavas of Devagiri, like the Hoysalas, must have started their career as the feudatories, first of the Rastrakutas and later of the Later Chalukyas. They gained strength and prominence only after the down fall of their over lords i.e., the Chalukyas. Like the seunas, the Hoysalas also rose to power on the ruins of the later Chalukya and Kalachuri Kingdoms. The only difference between them was that the seunas ruled over the Northern territories of Karnataka, the Hoysalas were the masters of the Southern Parts of Karnataka the Vijayanagar founders, sangama brothers, were earlier the feudatories of the Hoysalas. For the sake of administrative convenience and to rule efficiently and effectively, the sovereign dynasties divided the Kingdom/empire into a number of administrative units- Mandala, Vishaya, Desha, Nadu, and placed them under trusted feudatories / officers, Usually these feudatories were known as Mahamandaleshwaras, Mahasamanlas, etc., Though most of the times these Mahamandaleshwaras were subordinate rulers belonging to other families or vamshas, sometimes the over lords used to appoint their own sons, brothers, or their kith and kin to these offices. An

administrative unit. , which was looked upon as very significant by almost all the sovereign powers, right from the Badami Chalukyas to the Vijayanagar rulers. Like the Sendrakas, the Alupas, Punnatas , Gurjaras, Pratiharas, were also the feudatories of the Badami Chalukyas and others with whom matrimonial alliance was concluded. It is well known fact that for the administrative convenience, the country was divided in to several units like Nadu, Desha, Kampana, Mandala etc., Even Kuntaladesha was divided into various divisions like Banavasi desha, Panungal, Puligere, Belvola, Kundi Naddu, Toragale, Kelavadi, Kisukad, Bagadage, and Tarddavadi etc., The divisions which were named after the capital places were Banavasidesha, Puligerenadu, Tarddavadi, Toragale etc., Those that were named after the dynasties of the areas were Gangawadi, Sindawadi, Nolambawadi etc., The divisions that were named after the topographic features were kisukadu(Redland) Belvola, (fertile land), Kisuvolal (Black land) etc., Another system of naming these administrative units which was commonly followed in Karnataka, was suffixing the numbers along with the names of places like Banavasi-12000, Palasiga-12000, Kopananagar-1200, Panungal-500, Basauru-140, Belvola-300, Puligere -300, Nagarakhand-70 Rattapalli-70 etc., But the different opinion about the numbers mentioned indicate the revenue income of the divisions OR the number stands for the population of the division OR the figure indicate the estates OR the numbers of villages in the administrative divisions. Of the various opinions of the scholars, the opinion of J.F.Fleet appears to be acceptable, because many inscriptions mention the names of several administrative units as well as the villages located in these units several scholars have worked earlier on the particular division and are able to identify some villages and sub divisions located in it. Therefore in the present article an attempt is made to identify more precisely the area of division. The Contemporary inscriptions in the division under study both published and unpublished provide comprehensive information regarding the various political and cultural activities. All these divisions some are big and some are small administrative units has made a unique contribution to the enrichment as well as the enlargement of the history of Karnataka.

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23

Princely Mysore and the Imperial power – power sharing -Mysore treaty-1913.

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Abstract

Mysore Treaty of 1913 has far reaching consequences on both the state and the imperial government. The treaty was an attempt to revise the conditions under already existent Instrument of Transfer(1881). Passage of time and changing conditions forced the state of Mysore to plead for liberalizing few aspects of the Instrument of Transfer. Payment of heavy subsidy, which proved detrimental for the economic progress of the state. Good relationship existed between them led to signing of the new Treaty replacing the Instrument of Transfer.

Key words: *Treaty, subordinate, consequence, progress, development, support obedience Imperial power, vassal, relations, facility.*

End of the Sepoy Mutiny in November 1858, brought a new set of administrative mechanisms to India. East India Company a trading concern had given little semblance of an imperial power. It was frequently guided, reprimanded, even penalized to see that it will not tarnish the image of England as a land of progressive ideals and concerned with wellbeing of all. The Mother of Constitutional Democracy, it helped the company to develop constitutionalism in India. Taking over the Direct Rule in 1858 was a milestone in the relationship between the princely governments and the imperial government. Transition of power from Company to Imperial government in 1858 was a turnaround for both the Queen's government and its Indian citizenry. Multiple responsibilities of a government having democratic institutions at home had little option than providing same facilities to the dependent states. One such institution that grew in India as an effect of the British rule was the Federalism. Federalism obviously led to the problem of inter-state relations. How the Imperial government tended its subordinates, vassal states etc. Mysore Treaty of 1913 is an example of the inter-

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state relationship in changing scenario affected both the Imperial government and the dependent states.

Mysore as ruled by Tippu Sultan was vast and had included far-reaching areas up to Malabar, and Satyamangala Ghats, and he extended his territories over Nizams territory and the Maratha areas. Defeat of Tippu in 1799 and the partition of his kingdom among the allies the English, Marathas and the Nizam. A part of the kingdom handed over to the Wodeyar on Definite treaty conditions, bestowing the kingdom perpetually under Subsidiary Alliance Treaty. This article brings-forth few of the incidents in relationship between the Imperial government and Princely Mysore. The period under study directly relates to the efforts of the Diwan Visvesvaraya and Maharaja Krishna raja Wodeyar-IV to gain some more authority over the state.

In 1858, Mysore under the direct rule of the Company administered by the Commissioners' as the State was taken-over by the Company in 1831 on the pretext of misrule. Many argued that it was a great injustice meted out to the Maharaja and relentless effort on the part of the Maharaja and his supporters: both Indians and English supporters raised the question of giving back the kingdom to the king.¹

Mysore Question. Maharaja who had lost his authority over his kingdom utilized all connections to make the English to realize the state in 1800 was given in perpetuity to the Wodeyars, and taking away the authority was an injustice meted out to him.² Assumption of full power by the British opened new vistas for the subordinate states. M.K.Varadarajan aptly pointed about the change in the policies of treating the subsidiary states and Imperial government. "The assumption of the government of India by the Crown was indeed a godsend to the States. . . . The new regime was inaugurated by the Crown with an unequivocal declaration to maintain the integrity of the States and to perpetuate their dynasties."³

Rendition treaty of 1881 clearly defined the relationship between an Imperial Government and a subordinate State. As of now, there was no threat of external aggression, or internal disturbances of large scale the Imperial Government gave considerable liberality to the State. 1858's Queen's Proclamation had promised that there would be no more wars of aggression or annexation. Then onwards when the British Government declared its intention of giving back the kingdom to Wodeyar the modalities worked out.

Changing conditions in Imperial Government as well as the involvement of Princely Mysore in numerous developmental works. By 1912 the state was far ahead of other princely governments in Hydel power, gold mining, and Industrial growth to plead for the revision of the treaty between the State of Mysore and the Imperial government. It strongly felt the need for more resources, more authority to deal with the demands of rapidly changing world. A step forward cannot be checked, but lack of resources, impending Imperial hegemony kept the state in dire condition of need to progress and desire to share power with the Imperial Government was the major thrust for demand for a new treaty.

The political reforms of 1909 (Minto-Morley Reforms) giving political rights

to the people, led to realization of more ambitious plans among the Princely government. Mysore did not lag behind. To an extent it was far ahead of other princely states and even the British Presidencies, as it established Mysore Representative Assembly in 1881, Further in 1907 it went ahead and established Mysore Legislative Council; a law making body.

Background of the 1913 Treaty: Mysore as a Princely existence had cordial relationship with the Imperial government. Subsidies were paid in time and either Dewans or the Rajas had any intention of over-stepping their limitations. Payment of Subsidy was hurting its economic needs. However, the kings never grumbled against it. The bitter memory of the Nagar insurrection and taking over the administration by the Company was still fresh in the minds of the people of the state. Thus duty-bound Maharajas and the Dewan's were very cautious while dealing with the Imperial government. The good conduct of the State, strict adherence to Treaty regulations might have brought lenient attitude of the Viceroy's towards Mysore. It was expressed through their visits to the state, considering states demands favorably, preferential treatment to the state were the major factor that embolden the administrators for requesting the revision of the Treaty of 1881. Because of the Treaty, the state was not to have direct contact with other states and countries outside India, not to import arms, ammunition, and to utilize its iron ore and other resources.

Another major issue before the princely administration was burden of subsidy. Unfortunately, in 1881 the annual subsidy was enhanced by 10.5 lakhs. Now that state had to pay 35lakhs annually.⁴ It was an impossible task, as the state was under a severe famine.(payment of subsidy was postponed for few years). Through Rendition Treaty Yearly payment of 35 lakhs of rupees was draining its precious resource.⁵ Starting from 1900 the state had implemented several ambitious plans.⁶ In 1912, the State had invited one of its illustrious sons Sir.M.Visvesvarayya to be its Dewan. Sir.M.V. as he was famously known, was the Chief Engineer of the State, planned several irrigational works including harnessing Cauvery. Later assumption of authority as the Diwan forced him to realize the limitations of the state's authority over its natural resources. Ambitious plans of industrialization developing agriculture required more authority over its natural resources.

Cavery was a major issue since of sharing water between Madras Presidency and Mysore. In 1892 the Madras Governor had influenced the treaty signed between the states.⁷ It was a case of injustice meted out to a subordinate state(The problem still persist between Karnataka and Tamilnadu). Sir.M.V. intended to harness Cavery water for irrigating lands by building a dam across Cavery. There existed a threat of renewal of the problem. Sir M.V. intended to gain the support of the British Government to utilize the water as right of an upper riparian state.⁸

Gaining more rights over its natural resources and reduction of annual subsidy were the major demands of the State. Sir. M.V. wished to have liberal regulations over industrial production and to have direct trade contacts with trading concerns. The cordial relationship that existed between this duty bound state and the Imperial

government made the atmosphere suitable for revision of rigid treaty conditions that existed between them. The Imperial government was aware of the moving conditions and decided to look into liberalizing few of the conditions that were part of the Rendition Treaty.

The Mysore Treaty-1913: The government of the Maharaja utilized the presence of the Viceroy and Governor-General Lord Hardinge in Mysore on a state visit. The Vice regal visits to the state attracted much attention towards its administrative and economic needs.

On his visit to the state in November 1913, during the State Banquet given to him on 6th November the Viceroy Hardinge declared that the existing Instrument of Transfer will be replaced by a new treaty between the British Government and the Maharaja.⁹ The Treaty as such formally replaced the then existed Instrument of Transfer (1881).

Most of the provisions of the treaty were quite different from the old one. As Instrument of Transfer had stricter regulations and even a threat of resumption of power by the Imperial Government in case of the State failing in its duties.¹⁰ The 1913 Treaty limited the powers of the Governor-General over the state as it contained in the article 22 of the Instrument of Transfer. Due to passage of time and its own European obligations, the threat of resumption was not there as Imperial government did not interfere in the internal affairs of the states. The treaty completely removed the clauses relating to Article 23 of the Instrument of Transfer, which threatened the resumption of power.¹¹ This was an exceptional case where the Imperial government on its own promising the state that it will not interfere in its affairs except in the case of threat to internal security. The Instrument of Transfer was lopsided. The Maharaja in 1881 hardly had any right of bargaining in the table. Now the state had expressed its apprehensions and ambitious plans to the Imperial government for its forward-march. 1913 Treaty Article 21 replaced this provision of 1881 giving more power to the state. Though the Article 21 (1913) puts Mysore almost in an autonomous position, it was not the case as seen in future developments.¹²

Remission of or reduction of the subsidy was the major demand of the state, but the Imperial government was reluctant to that. Somehow, Sir.M.V. was able to reduce the burden of ten lakhs for few years, and saved that precious amount to the state added to the benefit of the state.

The treaty was formally inaugurated in Mysore from 26th November 1913. On the part of Mysore government Maharaja Krishnaraj Wodeyar IV signed the treaty. On behalf of the Imperial government Sir Hugh Daly, who was the Resident for Mysore signed the treaty on behalf of the Governor General, who later ratified it.¹³

Effects on Mysore. The Treaty having several liberal provisions enabled the far-sighted Dewan to herald several new developmental projects and forged friendly alliances with other states. He embarked upon prestigious commercial and industrial projects. These progressive activities continued for five or six years.

Though the Treaty promised non-interference in the internal issues of the state, it was not the case, as Sir.M.V. Had to face severe restrictions in few of the issues. Dewan Mirza Ismail faced limitations when he tried to have an automobile unit near Mysore.

Declaration of the First World War in 1914-19, automatically curtailed all the powers of the subordinate states, limiting their autonomy as there was emergency situation. The state still had limitations while implimenting its policies.

Unfortunately, the Treaty did not give freehand to the state in relating to utilization of the waters of river Cavery. Sir.M.V. went ahead with his plan of construction of a dam across the river, it was completed in 1933. But till now the litigation between the states of Tamilnadu and Karnataka trouble the relationship between them, mainly due to over handedness of the Imperial government in 1894.

Rapid industrialization of the state during the Dewanship of Sir.M.V. was mainly due to the far sighted policies of the Diwan as well as clever tackling of the Imperial government. His demand for more power to the state was accepted, as he had a vision of progress and development

Otherwise the treaty was a milestone in defining the inter-state relations as well as relationship between the state and imperial government. The Treaty did give more power, and many other princes felt that the Imperial government treated Mysore favourably.

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24

Anti-Fascist Writings and Movements of the Bengalis 1930s and 1940s

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Abstract

The decades of 1930 and 1940 were very significant in world history. During this time Fascism took its most brutal shape. But the intellectuals all over the world started protest movements against fascism and imperialism. The Bengali Marxist also did not remain aloof from these protest movements. They also began to take an anti-fascist stand from the 1930s. At first their activities were limited to the intellectual field. But later they organised the Bengal branch of the League against Fascism and War. Here it should also be mentioned that some Non-Marxists such as Rabindranath Tagore, Buddhadev Basu etc. also joined in this movement against Fascism. In this essay we shall take up the issue of how the Bengali Marxists protested against the brutality of fascism through their writings and ultimately how they organised movements against this imperial force.

Key words : (1) Fascist (2) Imperialist (3) The League against Fascism and War (4) The Friends of Soviet Union (5) People's war (6) Progressive Writer's movement (7) The Anti Fascist Writers' and Artists' Association

Fascism took its most brutal shape in the 1930s and in the first half of 1940s. The great economic depression at the end of 1920s destabilized the economies of all the countries of the world. Unemployment, poverty, deflation were rampant. This depression again sapped the vitality of democratic institutions of many countries and engendered another phase of higher imperialism. Hitler and Nazi party's rise to power in Germany in 1933 was a consequence of this depression. While the democratic countries like the United States of America adopted 'New Deal' policy

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of its president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the fascist countries like Italy, Germany and Japan adopted imperialist expansion as a solution to the problem of depression. The Bengali Marxists also began to take an anti-fascist stand from the 1930s. At first their activities were limited to the intellectual field. But later they organised the Bengal branch of the League against Fascism and War. In this essay we shall take up the issue of how the Bengali Marxists protested against the brutality of fascism through their writings and ultimately how they organised movements against this imperial force.

Rajani Palm Dutt (1896-1974), Manabendra Nath Roy (1887-1954), Saumyendra Nath Tagore (1910-1974), three prominent Marxist leaders of Bengal, had portrayed the real nature and character of fascism and Nazism. Dutt contended that Fascism was a dictatorship of the right and an anti-parliamentarian movement. The 'Completed Fascist Dictatorship' suppressed all other parties, organizations, independent working class organizations and established a reign of terror and a totalitarian state.¹ Fascism offered no solution of a possible stable organization to replace the existing society in dissolution. On the contrary, Fascism carried forward all the contradictions of existing society.² But Dutt also made it clear that their enemies were not the German, Italian or Japanese peoples, but the fascist rulers of these nations, who for their own ends had involved the masses in war and whose rule imposed heavy sufferings upon them.³ Like R.P. Dutt, Manabendra Nath Roy also believed that the fascist movement had set up the dictatorship of the bourgeois to prevent mass revolutionary forces and it found its ideological justification of 'bloody dictatorship' in ultra-Spiritualism, neo-Metaphysic and Mysticism of Bergson and neo-Hegelian schools of thought.⁴ In the same line Saumyendra Nath Tagore also considered Fascism a new way of Democracy and Liberalism to protect Capitalism by violent methods from Communism. He even condemned some of the Bengalis such as Promotho Nath Roy, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, and Subhas Chandra Bose for their pro-fascist outlook.⁵ Even the rise of the Nazi party in Germany was a result of the middle class crisis. Hitler had no sympathy for India's independence. Hitler knew that the success of his aggressive foreign policy depended on the good will of Britain. He also knew the strategic value of India for British imperialism. So in order to get the sympathy of the British diplomats, Hitler expressed his desire for perpetual British rule on the racially inferior Indian people.⁶

Saumyendra Nath was right that a section of the Bengalis was sympathetic towards the Fascist states. But it is also true that while a section among the Bengalis found some positive elements in Fascism, other section continually opposed it. This section included not only the Marxists but also non-Marxists. But their opposition against Fascism only took an organised form after 1935. In 1935 the Communist International adopted the policy of presenting a united front against Fascism. In the same year Romain Rolland, Gorky, Barbusse etc organised 'Progressive Writer's Association' in Paris. They wanted to inform ordinary people about the danger of an impending war. They also advised the writers of all countries

about their moral responsibilities and asked them to forge mass contacts. Mulk Raj Anand, Sajjad Zahir, Hirendranath Mukhopadhyaya etc were influenced by their advice and formed the 'Progressive Writer's Association' in India (10th April, 1936).⁷ This association also attracted the non-communists. This association confined his struggle not only to Fascism but also extended its scope to imperialism as well.⁸ However before the establishment of the Progressive Writer's Association, Saumyendra Nath Tagore established a branch of the 'Anti Fascist and Anti War League' or 'League Against Fascism and War' in Bengal in 1934. Its aim was to fight against both Fascism and imperialism.⁹

The Marxist cultural movement got a severe jolt after the signing of the Russo-German pact of 1939. Subhas Bose's appearance in Germany revived the old sentiment of utilising the help that might be received from the enemy of the enemy. A political confusion regarding war, Fascism and the way to achieve independence of India created a rift in the leftist movement. The repression left loose by the British Government. This also immobilized the active workers who were either imprisoned or had to go underground. But after events like the attack on Soviet Union by Hitler on 22nd June 1941, Japanese entry into the war, the fall of Singapore and Burma, the situation began to change in India. In Bengal, "The Friends of Soviet Union" was formed.¹⁰ important intellectuals and communist leaders such as Hirendranath Mukhopadhyaya, Snehangsukantya Acharya, Joyti Basu, Radharaman Mitra, and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Nath Dutta etc signed a declaration in support of Soviet Union's victory. Even Rabindranath Tagore expressed his support for this organization. Through this association, the Progressive Writer's movement revived once again.¹¹ The strategy of the communist party also changed on account of Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia. The communist party now declared the war as the 'people's war'. As a result the British Government withdrew its prohibition on the communist party. From then the communist party worked to spread the anti-fascist consciousness into every sphere of people's lives.¹²

At this critical juncture of anti-fascist struggle Somen Chandra, a young writer of Dacca was murdered by pro-fascist elements on 8th March 1942. This murdered perturbed the artists and intellectuals of all parties of Bengal. As a result all the humanist writers and intellectuals found a common line of opposition to Fascism.¹³ On 28th March, 1942 a conference of anti-fascist writers was organised under the president ship of Ramananda Chatterjee. In this conference 'The Anti Fascist Writers' and Artists' Association' came into existence. This Association appealed to all sections of people to combat jointly the menace of Fascism. Tarashankar Bondopadhyay, Manik Bondopadhyay, Sudhindranath Dutta, Sajanikanta Das, Buddhadev Basu, Amiya Chakraborty, Pratiba Basu etc joined this association.¹⁴ Bengali women also did not remain aloof from the anti-fascist movements. From 1936 onwards they were actively participating in Progressive cultural movement. Some important women workers of the period were Latika Das, Kanak Dasgupta, Santi Sarkar, Ela Reed, Suniti Choudhary,

Kamala Das, Manikuntala Sen, Kalpana Dutta etc. In 1938-39, 'All Bengal Girl Students Association' was formed. Kanak Dasgupta was appointed its secretary. To face the war situation, 'Women Self-protection Association' was formed in April 1942 in Calcutta.¹⁵ Women were also given training in first-aid and fighting with sticks after the devastating attack of Japan on the eastern frontier of India. Women volunteer groups were formed. Women were given training as to how to combat air raids¹⁶

However, after the end of the Second World War the Progressive Cultural movement started to decline. Congress leaders after being realising from jail started labeling the communists as treacherous to India's cause. But even after the end of the war, the anti-fascist writings did not stop. Gopal Halder wrote one article in the pages of '*Parichai*', a Marxist literary journal, entitled 'Ganatantr Natun Abhijan' (New adventure of democracy), where he expressed the opinion that imperialist forces had emerged as a result of the expansion of Capitalism. It was also due to the failure of the workers and peasant revolution that Nazism came into power. But the workers themselves raised their consciousness and started their war against Nazism to preserve their independence. In this movement the Soviet Union played an active role.¹⁷ In another article entitled 'Judhanter Dandya' (Conflicts after the War) published in '*Parichai*' he also declared that India's war for independence had not ended with the end of war. India's internal fight against communism and imperialism would not be end with the end of the war.¹⁸

Therefore, the Progressive Cultural Movement played a crucial role in the anti-fascist struggle. But after Hitler's attack on Soviet Russia, national conditions did not get much important to them and from this time their activities became a part of the British war effort.¹⁹ Many communists, such as Hemanga Biswas, themselves agreed with this fact. It is also true that during the phase of people's war, the communists were not able to link the anti-fascist struggle with the ant-imperialist struggle. They opposed the Quit India movement of 1942. They also humiliated the patriotism of Subhas Chandra Bose. Although P.C.Joshi in his pamphlet entitled '*Communistder Jabab*' (Reply of the Communist) published from Calcutta on 1946) tried to give some reasons in favour of the communists, that does not exonerate them altogether from these charges. They even connived with the British responsibility for the creation of famine in Bengal on 1943-44. But it should also be admitted at the same time that the Progressive Writers' and Artists' Association had an internationalist outlooks. They understood that it needed to defeat Fascism first, otherwise India's independence would remain a remote question. The communists were also eager for India's independence as was evident from the songs, poetry and other writings of the period of the people's war. But for them political independence meant the liberty of the common people from social, economic and moral bondage. These factors have to be kept in mind while assessing the role of the Communists in the struggle for independence.

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25

Capital Punishment in India from Antiquity to Modern Times : A History

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Abstract

The word Capital is derived from a Latin word Capitalismeaning head of a man and beheading was called capital punishment. Meaning of the word capital punishment is to separate someone from his life. In human history this punishment was given mostly to hardened criminals, murderers, rebels, war criminals, rapists, convicts of blaspheme, atheists, convicts of adultery and convicts of treason. Capital punishment is also known as death penalty by hanging, execution by beheading or sentence of death by many other means such as poisoning, drowning in water, slicing body parts, crushing under elephant's feet, injecting fatal drugs or electrocution. However, all kinds of death penalties are commonly known as capital punishment. Since pre-historic times to modern times the philosophy, ideas and modes of perpetrating capital punishment has been transforming. In this regard Indian society during pre-colonial times remained an exception that the idea of capital punishment was mostly determined on the basis of the caste by birth.

Since time immemorial many kinds of ideas were used in perpetrating the sentence death but it is beheading which ultimately found the term capital punishment and beheading remained one of the most popular kinds of capital punishment. The settlement of disputes was often terminated in the capital punishments in the ancient tribal societies. During pre-historic times the perpetrator of the crime was considered a tribal or a member of a particular tribe bound by its own custom and tradition and not an individual bound by the law of the land. Elaborations of tribal arbitration of feuds included peace settlement often done in a religious context and compensation system. Compensation was based on the

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concept of exchange of cattle, slave and brides or grooms. Settlement rules could allow for animal blood to replace human blood, but in some cases transfers of property was also considered. During ancient times in almost all kinds of societies the sentence of capital punishment was given for innumerable kinds of crimes. It was given for petty crimes like theft, political crimes like rebellion and religious crimes like blasphemy and atheism also. Later, that system was adopted and given recognition by the growing institution of court and criminal justice also. Severe historical penalties included breaking at wheel, boiling to death, flying, slow slicing, disembowelment, crucifixion, impalement, crushing, stoning, execution by burning, dismemberment, sawing, decapitation, scalping, neck-lacing or blowing from a gun.

During ancient India, Hindu society and its institution and beliefs gradually developed and a definite shape was given to them. Many important beliefs and doctrines of today are deep-rooted in the ancient Hindu ideology. In order to understand properly the ancient judicial system of India it is of vital importance to consider briefly important factors: the social institutions in ancient India, political system and institution and religion and religious philosophy.

Ancient India

The caste system emerged in ancient India as unique and one of the most rigid social systems ever developed in any part of the world. A caste was a social group consisting solely of persons born in it. Whole society was divided into four main castes. The four castes were *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas* and *Shudras* with precisely and clearly defined rules pertaining to their lawful activities and functions, which dominated all social activities. The *Brahmins* were considered to be at the highest pedestal of caste hierarchy. *Kshatriyas* were the nobles and warriors and to this caste rulers of various states and kingdoms mostly belonged. The *Vaisyas* included the class of merchants and traders. The *Sudras* were those who performed menial jobs and ranked lowest in the caste hierarchy. The caste was determined by birth. The members of the three upper classes namely *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaisyas* were the elite of Hindu society. Caste determined the pattern of the life amongst Hindus relating to their status, living, marriage, profession and social obligations. Two systems of family law namely *Mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga* were the basis of civil law.¹ The political system and institution were varied and complex in ancient India. India was divided into various independent states including some monarchies and the rest were tribal republics. In tribal kingdoms which contained tribal units and villages, the king was assisted by a court of the elders of the tribal and by the village headman. Trial by ordeal was a method to determine the guilt of a person. The ancient Indian society which was largely dominated by religion and faith in God considered the trial by ordeal as a valid method of proof. Some important types of ordeals which were commonly adopted may be stated as follows: these ordeals were: ordeal of balance, ordeal of Fire, ordeal of water, ordeal of poison, ordeal of lot, ordeal of rice-grains and ordeal of fountain. There were many

kinds of death punishments recommended in the Hindu scriptures. It included killing by arrows for theft of arms.²Kautilya recommended *Chitravadh* or painful death for killing in quarrel; and painless death in the case of death of wounded person.³ And who committed murder in quarrel was inflicted painful capital punishment. In medieval India burning on funeral pyre was also found.

Manu recommended capital punishment for theft of elephants, horses and chariot from King's armory and temples.⁴Manu and Vyasboth has recommended death sentence for theft of women and precious metals. Crucifixion has been recommended for making anyone hostage and also for theft of elephants and horses. Vyas suggested killing by burning iron rod for theft of women. Manu suggested death penalty for perforators in King's treasury and armory, and in temples or thieves of horses and elephants.⁵Brihaspati also suggested crucifixion for night perforators. Yagyavalka, Manu and Vishnudharmasutra recommended death penalty for habitual pickpockets.⁶Hindu religious scriptures classified the kinds of thefts and recommended different kinds of punishments for different kinds of thefts and ultimately recommended death penalty for crossing the defined limit. For example thieves of 4 pan were punished for fine of thirty six pan, 48 pan for 5 pan, hundred pan for ten, two hundred for twenty pan, five hundred pan for thirty pan, one thousand pan for forty pan and death penalty for theft of fifty pan. The sellers of meat were also sentenced to punishment of death penalty.

Caste consideration played an important role in the appointment of the chief judge and other judges. The ancient judicial system mention that preferably a Brahmin must be appointed a chief judge or judge. In order of preference next came Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. But in no case was a Sudra appointed a judge. Women were not allowed to hold the office of a judge.⁷ Gautama,⁸ Manu, Yajnavalkya, prescribe that a Kshatriya or a Vaisya abusing or defaming a Brahmin was to be punished respectively with a fine of 100 panas and 150 panas. A Sudra was punished by corporal punishment (cutting off the tongue). Manu proscribed death penalty for Brahmins in general. Exile from state was recommended for such crimes.⁹

Hindu religious scriptures recommended different punishments for different castes. For example Manu, Kautilya, Narada, Yagyavalka and Katyayan have defined *sahas* or courage as an act performed forcibly even in the presence of state officials, security men or others. According to Narada *Sahas* word originates from force.¹⁰ There were four kinds of *Sahas*- *Manushyamaran*, *Chaurya* (Theft), *Pardarabhimarshan*(snatching wife of someone else) and *Parushya*. Use of force was considered more liable than theft. Narada and Brihaspati have classified *Sahas* into three classes- *PrathamSahas* (destruction, abuse etc.), *MadhyamSahas* (destruction of clothes, food, drinks and pots), and *UttamSahas* (killing by weapon, and poison, use of force with other's women and inflicting pain to living creatures). The most prominent crimes considered under *Sahas* were dacoity, murder and forcible rape. Brihaspati recommended that in place of punishment of fine the murderers should be given death penalty. But Manu recommended punishment of exile to Brahmin murderers in place of capital punishment. Death penalty should

be given to non-Brahmins for murders committed with intention and knowledge. Manu also recommended death penalty for camouflaged imposition of law and order or recalcitrance towards state institutions, lady-killer or child-killer or killers of Brahmins. Baudhayan, Brihaspati and Vyas have recommended multiple kinds of death penalty for Kshatriya, Vaisya and Shudra killers of Brahmins. The killers of their own caste or of lower castes were to be punished by the King in accordance with the gravity of the crime. Kautilya has recommended as per ancient scriptures innumerable kinds of painful death penalty. But he also mentioned that in the case of non-cruel murders only pure (painless) death penalty should be inflicted.

Medieval Era

Medieval times witnessed many other kinds of barbaric inflictions of death penalties. Crushing by elephant was one of the most popular tradition of capital punishment in Mughal India. Medieval period marks the beginning of a new era in the legal history of India. The Islamic rulers followed the principles of equality for men and they had no faith in the graded or sanctified inequality of Hindus caste system. The Islamic law was based on the conception of the legal sovereignty of the *Shara* or Islamic law. The judicial system of India during the Medieval period may be divided and studied under two separate periods—the Sultanate of Delhi and the Mughal period. In Mediaeval India the Sultan being head of the state was the supreme authority to administer justice in his Kingdom. The administration of justice was one of the important functions of the Sultan which was actually done in his name in three capacities. *Dewan-a-Qaza* (arbitrator), *Diwan-e-Mazalim* (as head of bureaucracy), and *Diwan-e-Siyasat* (as commander-in-chief of forces). The courts were required to seek his prior approval before awarding the Capital punishment.¹¹ All the Sultans and Mughal Emperors followed the Islamic law or *Shara* during the medieval period. The *Shara* is based on the principles enumerated by the *Quran* under the Islamic criminal law, which was mostly based on their religious text and any violation of religious law, was an offence against the state. Islam provides that the state belongs to Allah, the Supreme Being and the Quran is the proclamation of Allah. Therefore it was the primary duty of all Muslim rulers to punish the criminals in accordance with the dictates of religious text and maintain law and order. Offences against individuals were also punishable as they infringed private rights. Three forms of punishments, as recognized by the Islamic law were “*Hadd*” “*Tazir*” and “*Qisas*”. *Hadd* provided a fixed punishment as laid down in *Shara*, the Islamic law for crimes like theft, robbery, whoredom (*Zina*), apostasy (*Ijtidad*), defamation (*Itteham-e-Zina*) and drunkenness (*Shurb*). The crimes like counterfeiting coins, gambling, causing injury and minor theft under “*Tazir*” the courts exercised their discretion in awarding suitable punishment to the criminals. “*Qisas*” or blood-fine was imposed in cases relating to homicide. It was a sort of blood-money paid by the man who killed another man if the murderer was convicted but not sentenced to death for his offence.¹²

British India

The legacy of capital punishment inherited from the ancient Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic period is more socio-religious than political. The political institutions built by Hindus during the period of their ascendancy in ancient days¹³ and by the Muslims when they wielded the political power have become a thing of the past. The foundation of indirect British rule in India through East India Company in 1757 prompted them to build a new constitutional structure in accordance with their own experience in England to suit their political ends in India. For the first time civil and criminal laws were codified incorporating an innovated kind of criminal justice based solely upon political considerations. The foremost basis of all those codifications was safeguard of colonial regime and firm foundation of British sovereignty. In 1834 a committee under the headship of Lord Macaulay was formed to codify the penal laws to replace the evolutionary and customary laws prevailing since centuries in the different parts of India. It recommended stringent laws proclaiming death penalty for many crimes considered to be threatening for the British regime in India or the sovereignty of the East India Company.

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26

Swadeshi Movement In Punjab And Industrial Activities

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Abstract

It was by the close of the nineteenth century that the government began to take direct interest in the industrial development of India. Accordingly, a separate department of commerce and industry was set up in 1905 at the center. Following the lead of Central Government, some provincial governments also began to take interest in the industrial development of their respective provinces. It was around the same time in 1905 that the Swadeshi Movement was launched in India by the Indian political leaders which was an organized movement for economic and industrial autonomy and advocated preference for Indian products as against foreign goods.

Key words : Swadeshi . Punjab, Industry, Ambala , division

The Swadeshi Movement definitely contributed a lot in terms of promoting Indian investment in industrial activities and in starting industrial activity under Indian management. Between 1900 and 1914, the number of textile mills increased from 194 to 264. During the same period the number of jute mills grew from 36 to 64. However, as a direct consequence of Morley's Dispatch of 1909, the separate Department of Commerce and Industry was abolished. Under these conditions, industrial development remained slow and slight till the outbreak of the First World War. The War proved an eye-opener in many respects. It brought about a vivid consciousness of the danger of dependence on foreign supplies even for the common necessities of life . It may be underlined that even the important needs of the Indian army were not fulfilled. In accordance with the shift in the orientation of the government of India, Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to examine the possibilities of industrial growth and report submitted in 1918 urged the government to play an active part in country's industrial development through the promotion of industrial education and research,

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organization of technical and scientific services, separation of industrial department, arranging of industrial finances, preservation of cottage industries etc.¹ These recommendations were accepted in principle by the government but little could be done immediately owing to the disruption and instability caused by the war and post-war conditions. Further, the new policy was also to be coordinated with the political (Montagu-Chelmsford) reforms of 1919. After the Reform Act of 1919 was passed industries became a provincial subject. But unfortunately, the Punjab unlike other provinces of India, was ill-equipped financially and technically for the onerous task of industrial development. It was only after the abandonment of the old policy of *laissez-faire* and the adoption of the policy of discriminating protection by government of India in 1923, that a new era of industrial development began in the province.¹ The Ambala Division remained industrially backward. Its manufactures were few and unimportant. The only important industries before 1883-84 were darri (carpet) manufacturing at Ambala and brass-ware manufacturing at Jagadhri.² Large-scale industry could not be developed in the Ambala Division till 1920.³ The scientific instruments industry also grew in Ambala. In 1923-24, there were two units manufacturing scientific apparatuses and furniture for schools. Besides, Ambala district had three steam flour-mills, two at Ambala cantonment and one at Ambala City. Saltpeter was extracted in a village near Ambala City. The process was simple. The impregnated earth was washed with water and the salt solutions so obtained were evaporated in the sun.⁴ Taking a broader view it can be said that the only industry which grew during this period was the cotton ginning, pressing, spinning and weaving industry. The progress of factory industry before the annexation of the Punjab was slow due to foreign competition. The tendency of the indigenous industries and arts in Punjab was to decline and some of them did actually decline under the British rule.⁵ As far as the Ambala Division is concerned the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the initiation and steady growth of cotton, woollen, silk, carpet, embroidery, fibrous manufactures, wood manufactures, leather, gold and silver works, iron and steel industries, brass and copper manufactures, pottery and glass manufactures.⁶

Cotton Industry : Cotton industry was founded in every area of the Ambala Division. In the year 1891, the weaving community was engaged in the production of two types of cloth i.e. coarse and fine fibers. 329,107 men and 97,158 women were kept for the preparation of coarse cloth mainly woven by the local system. This industry gave employment to a large number of people. The most prominent Centre of the manufacture of this fabric was Ludhiana but it began to suffer materially when the British started importing their cloth goods in the country.⁷ The cotton industry of the Ambala Division was a major domestic industry during this period. It will be in place to cite a comment of Lockwood Kipling, the onetime principle of Mayo school of Art, Lahore. "The Punjab has never been famous for very fine cotton manufacturer and the Punjab Muslins of Rohtak are probably the best produced in the province".⁸ The art of manufacturing fine muslins was once extensively carried on at Rohtak which, at that period of its history, became a flourishing centre for this industry. Mukherji also records Rohtak as the only place where fine muslins were then woven in the province.⁹ Long clothes called *khes* were made of machine-spun yarn with a few silk threads in warp. The lungi or Pagri consisted of long strips of cloth worn by

men round the head. Beautiful khesi along with cotton rugs and dories were turned out in Ambala. Ludhiana had suffered materially from the competition of imported piece-goods. The biggest difficulty faced by the local cotton industry was in the form of competition from products of the British industry. Imperfect and rough products could not compete with European goods produced by mechanical art. An analysis of the development of industries in the Ambala Division during the period 1849-1947 brings out some important findings. Firstly, districts of Ambala Division were poor in mineral resources like coal, iron and oil. Secondly, they lacked in industrial capital and entrepreneurships. Thirdly, skilled and unskilled laborers were not available in a good number due to social conditions. The province, which was at a considerable distance from the main rail tracks could also not export the manufactured goods in large quantity to other parts of the empire due to heavy charges. The result of all these was one-sided economic development where industry produced goods for consumption by the local people.

Before the annexation by the British, the Ambala Division had small scale industries which produced and supplied goods for the general needs of the people. The main objective of the British behind the annexation was to acquire raw material for their home industries as well as he turned the province into the purchaser and consumer of their products. In real terms, the industrial process began only after the first World War in the early 1920s when the decision of boycott of foreign goods was taken by the Indian National Congress under the auspices of Non-Cooperation Movement. By 1939, many small scale industries had been opened at Ambala primarily to meet war needs. The Punjab State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Act was passed in 1940. As a result of it, the scope of assistance to industries under the Act was considerably enlarged. It can still be argued that the government's policy for the promotion of industries in the Ambala Division was not genuinely development oriented but aimed at serving its colonial interests. The progress of industries in Ambala Division was deliberately kept at a slow pace under the British rule. Conclusively there were no large scale industries worth mentioning in the Ambala Division right till 1947. The local small scale industry was losing relevance as a result of the policies of the colonial rules. Except for a few attempts at industrial policy regulation little was done to promote large scale industry.

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27

Skill Development and Training Program: An Agent for Economic Empowerment Among Tribal Women in Manipur.

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Abstract

In this present world, equality, upliftment, development and empowerment of women are some of important areas which focused which are targeted to translate into action. Of course, modernity and tradition can and cannot go together always according time and situation.

Custom and culture of society particularly, that of tribal appear to be equity basis, however, women are not included in the real sense. They have been deprived in different ways including the economic sphere. So, in order to create an environment of economic security which is one of the ladder to upliftment process, it is the need of the hour to conduct programme of awareness and sensitization on skill development and training with maximum participation of them along with other who are supposed to take part in it.

Key words : *custom, women, equality, security, development, holistic.*

Custom refers to the totality of socially acquired behavior pattern which are supported by tradition and generally exhibited by members of society. For indicating, this sense the more current expressions are culture and traditional, one area of anthropology in which expression custom still has currency is the comparative analysis of legal and political systems in which it is distinguished from law. Custom is supported only by psychological constraints, when the individual violates the customs. In contrast, laws have the additional coercive support of specific individuals or groups who have an institutionally vested charge to enforce conformity.¹ The concepts of customs and tribe seem to go together. 'Tribe' is a group of families who have a feeling of community through occupying a territory and following similar customs. 'Tribe and Tribal' are

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convenient terms for indicating that a people still follow custom, rather than law.² If we go through anthropological literatures we find more than 150 definitions of tribes, save contradicting each other and others tallying one in way or the other. The most acceptable and standardized definition may be the definition that³ that tribe as small in scale restricted to the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possessing morality, religion and world view of corresponding dimensions. They execute a reliable economy of design and have compactness and self-sufficiency. They have unity and coherence of their own values that are ultimately related to social institution. They are extremely ethnocentric. The main criteria for definition of 'custom' and 'tribe' therefore, are homogeneity, self-sufficiency, cultural and customarily rigidity and ethnocentricity. Custom must not be unreasonable, immoral and contrary to public policy and law. Interpretation of custom should have doctrine of justice, equity and good conscience without which it cannot be enforced because; it is bad on the test of morality, reasonableness and public policy. An instance in this regard may be recalled when the Punjab Laws Act, 1872 was enacted which clearly stipulated that custom must not be contrary to law. Custom is a fact, which must be proved by authoritative pronouncements or by instances in which it has followed, or by some evidence. It cannot be established dialectic⁴ or extended by logical deduction or analogy.⁵ Whereas, culture is that comprise whole which include knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society, says Tylor⁶, so said Malinawiski⁷ that culture is the handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieves his end, and in like manner Mazumdar⁸ propounds culture as the sum total of human achievements, material as well as non-material, capable of transmission by tradition and communication, vertically as well as horizontally. Culture gives meaning to our relationship with other as it forms our subjective identity. It therefore enters into the process of social change in many forms at different levels. It defines the quality of social change as its indicator. Certain characteristics of culture that may briefly be given as follows:-

- i) That culture is an acquired quality learned through socialization, habits and thoughts;
- ii) That it is social and not individual heritage, a social product which is shared by most members of the groups;
- iii) That culture is idealistic, embodying the ideas and norms of a group, a sum total of the ideal patterns and norms of behavior of a group;
- iv) That it is the total social heritage that enters with the past which endures because it lives in culture passing from one generation to another through traditions and customs;
- v) That it fulfills those ethical and social needs of the groups which are ends in themselves;
- vi) That it is an integrated system, its various parts being integrated with each other and any new element introduced is also integrated; and
- vii) That language being the chief vehicle of culture, living not only in the present but also in the past and future, it transmits what was learnt in the past and enables further to transmit the accumulated wisdom;

Thus custom and culture provide convenient mechanism through which the

webs of social relationships can be understood in their correct perspective. Significance of custom in particular manifestation a decisive role played in safeguarding social norms and institutions promising maintenance of their sanctity as inherited wisdom in cultural identity. However, customary laws, relating, though they are portrayed in an egalitarian form of society, but women are deprived from their due shares. The woman is said to be the pivot of the family and the basic unit of psychological change in any society. She is one of the first socializing agents for new generations and the psychic factors in all cultures and civilizations. Her role and status in society play a very significant part in moulding the social systems including the family and family relationship. In this context, it is worthy to note the UN Directives,

- I) Universal Declaration of Human Rights Art I “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” Art.2. “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status”.
- II) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Protecting women's human rights at all times and advancing substantive gender equality. Guarantees women equal rights with men in many spheres of their life, including education, employment, health care, political participation, nationality and marriage. Further, women are not empowered unless and until they inherit immovable property and participate in decision making process. To ensure equitable, proportional and meaningful participation of women at all levels of decision making and conflict transformation and peace building process- to formulate and reverse by identifying existing policies and laws promoting women. There has to be stronger political will particularly from men in position regarding women's participation, equality and justice. As a matter of fact, giving importance and support to be accorded by political parties to gender issues. And in its accomplishment, there should be increased in no. of women's participation at all levels of political parties. Women and children's Issues to be addressed by political parties manifesto. A change in the mindset of the masses is needed. Education is a vital weapon to eradicate these social evils. Male participation is essential. Constraints and restraints preventing women's access to education have to be co-interacted by removing all the stereotypes maintained in the text, curriculum and syllabi. Opportunities have to be provided to enable the women who have traditionally marginalized.⁹ Therefore, syllabus and curriculum in schools have to register the presence of women in society and also to break the stereotype through text.¹⁰ Despite the winds of change brought about by modernization, Christianity and science and technology, traditionalism is still deeply in the dynamics of system of marriage.¹¹ However, liberalization, privatization and globalization, democratic set up traditional norms have somehow impacted the ethnic groups. However, decision makers in matters of community like inter-ethnic conflict crisis management, social sanction, and so forth, the customary laws prevalent among the ethnic group though portrayed as egalitarian socio-economic structures, are discriminatory when it comes to women's right.¹² To reiterate the customary laws of tribals are not justifiably manifested. They are inhuman and deprived women in many ways. Democratizing all elements in culture and everything will be a way to

uplift these women. Even today, women are in a man's world and they are second class citizens in our society.

To create Awareness Among Women - There is an urgent need to create awareness among the public in general and women in particular of the social ills of the society.¹³ No amount of government help can really achieve the desired results, unless the women change themselves.¹⁴ The urge to liberate themselves to fight against the social ills, should come from within. This requires proper education about their rights and duties. The voluntary organizations should make every effort to create awareness among women.¹⁵

Advocacy Skill Development Training - Capacity development Program-Training should be provided by all the organs of the state making women to get opportunities of capacity building. Knowledge, skills and perspective of common women must be gradually increased. There will be no systematic documentation that is readily available on the different trainings conducted by Governmental and non-governmental bodies. Various programs such as consultative, workshop, sensitization/awareness, campaign advocacy, debate, discussion, interaction should be provided to increase women's participation making level starting from the family level. Such programs must be completely without the stereotypes maintained in child rearing practices, toys and clothing. Media advertisements, stories, movies and others should be transmitted through electronic media regarding articles, columns published and direct discussion relating to the subject matter should be published and telecast also in the print and electronic media by different responsible bodies not always by NGOs, and women groups with participants comprising of leaders of tribes, clan, community, cultural organization, religious, chiefs, social activists, CSO, intellectual, academicians, media, politician and all walks of life. Women need more than promises. Moreover, legal equality¹⁶ has enabled some women to hold dignified positions. But legal equality is not all that is sufficient. The recognition of women as free individuals their male counterparts without prejudice of any sort both in the domestic and public domains will be the only hallmark of perfect equality.¹⁷ Nowadays, a majority of women are in the unorganized sector.¹⁸ Their employment in this sector consists of self-employment in petty trade, food processing or in family units of traditional occupations or manufacturing establishment. Industries where the number of women are high are cane work, coir products, silk worm rearing, jam and jelly making, tobacco processing, etc. in agricultural field they get seasonal employment in planting, harvesting, etc., in the nearby villages. In addition to this, they have to collect fuel fodder and water for the family consumption. Women are forced into unorganized sectors because of illiteracy, low technical skills, restricted mobility due to family obligation and so on.¹⁹

Policy making for women involves the usual formal or informal channels of planning as in the case of other areas of national development, which concern government. The formal channels are the legislative, the executive, political and bureaucratic and the Planning commission. The informal and very influential groups of policy making are the political parties and non-governmental organizations. Mira Seth²⁰ has maintained that for obvious reasons, it is difficult to come across a statement on policy for women. The Department of Woman and Child Development had made a draft policy. Development has made a draft policy statement on women after the Beijing

Conference held in 1995, but approval to the statement has not yet been finalized. The policy has to be ascertained and assessed through the intentions of succeeding governments as enunciated in their legislative and plan programmes.²¹ The perspective plan for women is an efforts at a long term overall policy for Indian women (in general and Manipur in particulars) guided by those constitutional principles and directives relevant to the development process. It is linked to the national targets determined for the end of the century in respect of certain basic indicators especially of health, education and employment. The plant views women not as the weaker segment of society or as passive beneficiaries of the development process, but as a source of unique strength for reacting national goals.²²It aims at economic development and integration of women into mainstream of the economy and equity and social justice for all women. Holistic and Perspective Development of women. It is pertinent to reconsider that has been maintained by Laxmi.²³ “Poverty is a consequence as well as a cause of several factors that limit life. The obstinacy of this self-perpetuating cycle needs to be broken before its groups can be loosened and overcome in the measurable future.....in socio-economic life. The process of intergenerational (intergender, transgender) improvement, which is what development planning about has to ascend these steps in an unbroken sequences”. And at present, we know the gravity of the paradigm of HIV infected and distressed widow - the conflict victims.

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28

Koel Karo Movement: Indigenous People's Struggle for their Life, Culture and Identity

*Supriya Sonali

Abstract

In 1955, when Jharkhand, an eastern India state was carved out of the state of Bihar in 2000. The Koel-Karo Hydroelectric project was conceptualized, by the Bihar state Electricity Board. By 1972-73, the project report had been prepared, and Land acquisition began.

The intention was to generate 710 Megawatts of electricity. This democratic struggle against a hydro electrical project had been one of the most sustained struggles for identity, justice and place a struggle that has contributed hope and inspiration to a wide cross section of people's struggle throughout India and beyond.

Key words : Indigenous, Sarna, Sarandiri, Hydroelectric Project, Koel-Karo, Koel Jan Sangharsh Samiti.

Introduction: The Koel-Karo Hydroelectric Project : The Koel-Karo area is around 80 Kilometers Southern and a lower elevation to Ranchi. The project area falls with the Singhbhum, Ranchi and Gumla district. It is the heart of "Munda Area" that the twin rivers, Koel and Karo flows. According to the detailed project report (DPR) prepared in 1973. The aim is to generate 710 Megawatt of power through a series of constructions spread over three districts. The project envisages damming the South Koel river at Basia, near Majikhera and Tetra villages in Gumla district, and the north Karo river near Lohajimi village in the Torpa block of Ranchi district.¹

1. The Movement: The protest against Koel-Karo graduated into a movement against the Dam and the consequent displacement of Local people in the construction work in the year 1973-74.² The villagers were troubled by the corruption pervading the process of acquisition, and united against cheating in the measurement of land, in payment of compensation and giving jobs. The people began mobilizing and

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two organizations were formed: the Jan Sanjyojan Samiti in the Koro area and the Jan Sangarsh Samiti in the Koel area. By 1976, the two resistance organization united to form the "Koel-Karo Jan Sangathan (KKJS)". Finally involved into a strong united organization under the leadership of Moses Guria as the chairperson and Halim Kujur as the General Secretary. There had been reports by many villages of poor survey work and destruction of crops during surveys, leading to a general demand that survey work be entrusted to locals, not outsiders. In 1977-78, this culminated in a significant agitation, the "Kam Roko Andolan".³ In 1980, the project was assigned to the National Hydroelectric Power Co-operation (NHPC).⁴ The government sent in armed forces to the area in July 1984 to secure the area, but they were resisted by the villagers.⁵ In 1985, the Government of Bihar announced that it would build two model villages, meant as rehabilitation villages and then the villagers were free to choose if the new habitation was suitable; however the government never fulfilled its promise. However, near a decade later activity intensified when the government of Bihar announced that the then Prime Minister of India, Narsimbha Rao would lay the foundation stone of the Dam of 5th of July 1995. The announcement was met with strong apposition in the area.⁶ The KKJS decided strengthen the mobilization and announced that this date would be observed as the "Sankalp Divas".⁷ Ultimately Chief Minister of Bihar failed to attend his scheduled appointment in the Koel-Karo area on 5th of July.⁸ The events of 1st and 2nd February 2001 were a tragic point in the history of the Koel-Karo movement. On the First of February, the O.C. of Tapkara OP, Shri R.N. Singh and Akshay Kumar of Rania Thana, along with 20-25 armed policemen and two police vehicles were patrolling the area allegedly against MCC activities Amrit Gurtia of Gutuhatu village and Larentus Guria of Derang village, on ex-military men were beaten up by the patrolling police. ⁹KKJS decided to take immediate steps to deal with the situation. In response to this people decided to hold a peaceful sit in at the same site.¹⁰ Over 5000 people had gathered in front of the police station to present their demands, but simultaneous Lathi charge and firing by the police was done in which 7 Adivasis and one Muslim were dead. A panel of the Indian people's Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights (IPT) chaired by Shri Rajinder Sachar (Retd. Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court and former president of PUCL) was constituted. This tribunal held public hearings at Ranchi and Tapkara on 1st and 2nd November, 2001. The findings and recommendation of the Tribunal strongly opposed the project.¹¹

1.1 Closing the Koel Karo Project : On August 29, 2003, Arjun Munda, The Chief Minister of Jharkhand announced that the Koel Karo Project has been scrapped. The reason stated was financial difficulty and exorbitant rise in the project costs and estimates, since the initial formulation of the project. Following this momentous announcement, on February 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 2004 the KKJS organized a large programme at the Tapkara Martyrodom site and February 3rd was declared as Vijay Diwas. On July 21st, 2010, the governor finally completed the closing of the Koel Karo Project.¹²

The 'Shaheed Sthal' – a memorial to the martyrs of the Tapkara firing (courtesy : Shripad Dharmadhikary)



2. Reason behind the struggle and success of the movement : The project that was conceived in the year 1973 was totally unviable. The unviability is not only on the ground

of economic factor but the social, cultural and environmental loss.

2.1 Economic Unviability : The capital cost of the project in 1980 was 444.67 crores, revised to 1364-38 crores in 1991. The estimated cost in 1998 was 2840-68 crores. By the year 2010 was supposed to increase up to 4000 crores. This just the estimate of capital cost, the operating cost would similarly be proportionally at a very high order consequently, the 1998 estimate for the sale price for a unit of electricity generated by the project was a staggering Rs. 5.79; one may well imagine that it was likely to climb to around the Rs. 10, that too if the project was completed at the earliest, by 2010. In any case, West-Bengal, Orissa and the Damodar Valley Corporation have already backed out of the project, which means the entire burden for the cost effective utilization had to be borne by the state of Jharkhand.¹³

2.2 Estimate regarding submergence of land and displacement : There was no reliable estimate of the number of villages to be submerged by the reservoirs or displaced by construction of the channel and power production units nor was there any reliable estimate of the number of families/persons to be displaced or affected by the project. Such as, according to DPR of 1973, 125 villages and KKJS, 256 villages.

2.3 Issues in Rehabilitations : In 1985, the government of Bihar announced that it would build two model villages, meant as rehabilitation villages and then the villagers were free to choose if the new habitation was suitable, however, the government never fulfilled its promise.¹⁴ The continued possession of the lands is essential to the cultural and even physical survival of indigenous people, while talking with Dayamani Barla who lives in Ranchi and has been at the forefront of the struggle about rehabilitation at the front she said, "the government says that those, getting displaced will be compensated and rehabilitated but the question is what will the government and the companies compensate for ? can they rehabilitate our pure air, forests, rivers, waterfall, our languages, culture, Sarna-Sasandri, our identity and our history ? No, that is absolutely impossible for us and is just not land but the heritage of our ancestors who cleared the forests and made the land worth living and cultivations.¹⁵

2.4 Environment and Ecological issues : The indigenous modes of natural resources utilization were sensitive to the limits to which there resources could be used. In the pre-colonial indigenous economic processes, the lands of utilization of natural resources were generally not significant enough to result in drastic environmental problems. There were useful social norms for environmentally safe resources utilization and people protests against destructive resource uses.¹⁶

**The Karo dam site
at Lohajimi
(Jeevan Kuruvilla)**

The Koel-Koro area is a picturesque combination of hillock rivulets and a richly diverse biomass, both natural and cultivated. There are a large treats of pristine forest



falling within the submergence zone. There is a predominant use of indigenous varieties of seeds for paddy and other crops, during traditional agriculture practices. The use of fertilizers and pesticides was also reported to be minimal. Execution of any project will result in destruction of rare bio-diversity, flora and fauna.¹⁷

2.5 Socio-Economic, Cultural and Religious Issues : Tribal's land should refer as traditional territories rather than simply to land. This includes all the things pertaining to the lands themselves, including waters, the sub-soil, air space, all the occupants of plant and animal life and all the resources relevant to the land.¹⁸ The traditional land base holds important symbolic and emotional meaning for them as the repository for ancestral remains, clan origin sites and other sacred features. Such as Sarna, Sasandiri, important to their culture as well as religious system. Their society culture, religions, identity and their very existence are intimately linked to the land they hold. To separate the indigenous people from their land is tantamount to tearing them apart from their life-giving source.¹⁹ The two dams proposed for the project would have submerged not only villages, but also sources of livelihood and sites of historical significance estimated about 152 Sarnas (sacred groves) and 300 sasandiris (burial sites). Land is not simply a factor of production as for other peoples but a source of spirituality as well.²⁰

2.6 Past experiences of others multipurpose - project : The movement got inputs from experience of displacement and losses from other projects such as Kutku and Subarnrekha - Multipurpose Project (SMP). The displaced of Kutku were given meager compensation and no serious efforts were made for their rehabilitation, as only 16 families have been settled at the ideal rehabilitation centre of Kutku named Madra village. The experience of SMP has been abandoned completely by the project official and the erstwhile Bihar Government on the pretext of lack of funds. However, the government has started selling the Dam water to Tesco and the industries located in Jamshedpur. Which fetches crores of rupees. On the other hand, the government has been making attempts for quite some time to sell the fishing rights to outside inviting tenders much against the assignment of the fishing rights to displace through a co-operative as per the initial project on Rehabilitation.²¹

Conclusion : The way the Munda leadership here has handed the movement is a storey by itself. The leadership is extremely conscious of the long drawn struggle for land and forest that has marked the history of the Jharkhand religions. It has been experienced that there is a very little difference between British colonial masters and the government of independent India. The movement was very organized and

non-violent. They are all aware of the laws to protect alienation of their land, which their ancestor earned after great sacrifices. The most important one is the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act. It prevents non-tribals from purchasing tribal land in the Chhotanagpur plateau. They provided a critique to mainstream definitions of culture and to communally civil social state relations and asserted that collective action can nurture communally solitarily and cultural and political affirmation.

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29

Age- Old, Traditional hymn singing is Breathing its last

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Abstract

Hymn singing has been an integral part of culture in the adjoining districts of Himachal Pradesh such as Hamirpur, Bilaspur, Kangra, Mandi and Una but where this art has lost now— none knows. But hope is there in little extent. Some existence of hymn singing can also be listening in certain places in Hamirpur and Bilaspur. Hymn singing is usually organize during the night in which different two groups used to sit in front of each other and the gathering sit around them with desire of knowledge, fun and music. Whole of the night the contents of ancient epics Ramayana, Mahabharata, Vedas, Puranas were sung with very interest and devotion. Different questions were asked to other group from the hidden episodes of ancient epics and Puranas in musical manner. The old age, traditional hymn singing that is also known as “Bhajan” singing in local language but unfortunately this cultural, intellectual, spiritual and mythological singing at present is breathing its last in the queen of hills. The present generation doesn’t even know the name of this traditional singing. This paper is based on primary as well as secondary sources with the objective 1) to study the cultural tradition of hymn singing. 2) to aware people about old age, traditional of hymn singing 3) to give some suggestions to recovers the hymn singing in present and future .

Key words : Traditional, Hymn singing, Bhajan, Ancient, Culture

Introduction- Himachal Pradesh has a very interesting history as far as the local deities of the state are concerned. People have always been curious to know about the characteristics and behavior of various deities worshiped in different parts of Himachal. The state is the land of numerous pilgrimage centers and several

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Hindu temples are located in Himachal Pradesh. Himachal Pradesh –the land of Gods, famous by the name ‘DevBhumi’ in India as well as all over the world. This state is said to be protected and sheltered by the power of numerous local deities. These deities possess some peculiar personality traits and have their own individual entity. Every region in Himachal Pradesh believes in a distinct deity and divinity. All the faith of the local people is vested in these local gods called ‘Devta’ in the regional language. Himachal Pradesh is an almost completely mountainous state especially in Northern India. And no doubt Himachal Pradesh is one of the few states that have the people of Himachal Pradesh have a rich culture which is very much apparent in their day to day lives a land of dances and culture. The culture of Himachal Pradesh is different from the other states of India. Its dance forms are varied and some are quite complicated. The dance and music of the state is mainly religion-oriented where gods are invoked during the festivals by singing and dancing. This practice has continued since ancient times. Reflecting unity in diversity, Himachal Pradesh is a land where the **different religions** are followed and **different languages** are spoken. The beauty of the culture of Himachal Pradesh lies in its simplicity. The most commonly spoken languages in Himachal Pradesh are Hindi, Pahari, Kangri, Bilaspuri and Kinnauri. The local Fairs **and local Festivals** of Himachal Pradesh have their own unique attraction. Showcasing the rich cultural heritage of Himachal Pradesh, the fairs and festivals of the Himachal Pradesh are worth participating. During the festive season, the people of Himachal Pradesh wear colorful dresses and adorn themselves with elegant jewelry also.

Himachal Pradesh has a very fascinating antiquity as far as the local singing of the state are concerned. Hymn singing has been an integral part of culture in the adjoining districts of Himachal Pradesh such as Hamirpur, Bilaspur, Kangra, Mandi and Una districts but where this art has lost now—— none knows. But hope is there in little extent. Some existence of hymn singing can also be listening in certain places in Hamirpur and Bilaspur districts even today. The present generation doesn’t even know the name of this traditional singing. Hymn singing has been originated in ancient times. At some time these traditional hymn singers used to bridge all the hearts of the each community but where they have lost in the present crowd. No one knows. It happened so rapidly that the present society could not know about traditional hymn singing.

Scene of traditional hymn singing:

When the master of the hymn group shot one query after another in a singing style, the master of the other hymn group was stunned. All the interested and courageous villagers of hymns and the devotee listeners of hymns were also stunned; many questions arose in their minds and there was only praise for the master of the hymn group on their tongues.

When one comments, “Now the other group will forget their hymns.” The villagers were divided in to two groups like hymn singers and this process of hymns and comments continued throughout the night and villagers kept enjoying.”

This was one of the scenes of the old age, traditional hymn singing that is also known as “Bhajan” singing and singers are called ‘Bhajani’ in local language but unfortunately this cultural, intellectual, spiritual and mythological singing at present is breathing its last in the queen of hills.

Objective of the study:

- 1) To study the cultural tradition of hymn singing in Himachal Pradesh.
- 2) To aware people about old age, traditional of hymn singing.
- 3) To give some suggestions to recovers the hymn singing in present and for the future generation.

Research methodology:

Keeping in view the present paper has discussed some information related to cultural hymn singing of Himachal Pradesh. This paper is based on primary as well as secondary sources. Focus group discussions were also done with hymn singers and with local people. Interview of some hymn singers were also done. Observation method is followed.

Characteristics of Hymn singing:

Hymn singing is usually organize during the night in which different two groups used to sit in front of each other and the gathering sit around them with desire of fun, knowledge, entertainment and music. Each group used to have two or three members. Each group used to have two or three members. Whole of the night the contents of ancient epics Ramayana, Mahabharata, Vedas and Puranas were sung with very interest and devotion in musical manner. Different questions were asked to other group from the hidden episodes of ancient epics and Puranas in a musical manner.

Traditional Instruments: Tamboora and Khartal

The master has a stringed musical instrument having taut strings known as ‘Tamboora’ which is used to produce very sweet low or high pitch sound. This instrument has been exiting since Ancient times. The master has another particular instrument called “Khartal” in his other hand which used to produce an enchanting effect in their music.



Traditional instruments:Dafli

Other member has a percussion musical instrument having stretched out membrane changing pitch and loudness of the sound produced known as 'Dafli' which is used to adjust the tune of their singing. The membrane is made to vibrate by striking it with the hand.

Traditional Instrument:Chimta

The third member used to have a musical instrument made of two metal strips joined at one end known as 'Chimta' which used to produce a very pleasant soothing music. The other groups were also similar equipped.

Beginning of Musical Contest

After the 'Aarti' song of God **Ganesha and Vishno** starts a musical contest full of knowledge and intensity. Whole of the night the contents of ancient epics Ramayana, Mahabharata, Vedas, Puranas were sung with very interest and devotion.

Beginning of 'ShabadNirmana'

Different questions were asked to other group from the hidden episode of ancient epics and Puranas in musical manner and the group which used to dominant on the basis of their knowledge and skill, the money rained on that group from the listener's side. The effects of kaam, Krodh, Moh, Lobh and Aehnkaar are presented in hymn form. This is called ShabadNirmana. Stories of different personality of ancient times are presented in musical manner.

Queries in musical manner

This all give the devotees of hymn a very different and unique type of experience and enjoying. Literate or illiterate, villager or citizen, everyone tries to solve queries produced within the singing of hymn with very attention.

Fight and competition of art and talent

This is the magical effect of hymn singing that any couldn't leave his or her seat even in winter nights. Hymn singing is also a type of contest and rivalry of art and talent among hymn singers groups and is just appreciating by listeners. Those who have ever heard hymns might stimulate for hymns but this must be true that person must be free from addiction of modern music.

Case study

Mast Ram- a Hymn singer from Hamirpur district becomes sad on remembering old days of this particular type of traditional and cultural singing. He says that we all three brothers were hymn singers but modern society of Himachal has forgotten our talent very fastly. He added that cable network has destroyed hymn singing also. Now cable network has reached in each and every home of every village of

Himachal Pradesh. People can get any type of entertainment in a few seconds. They don't need to go outside their home for entertainment. Who should throw their head for hymn in cold winter night? He also added that today's people like 'Jagrans' or 'jagratas' in very high pitched music and on DJ songs. No one wants to care about 'bhajans'.

Suggestion and Recommendation

Himachal's old age, traditional Hymn singing is disappearing day by day due to modern culture of filmy songs. Today youth is taking more interest in filmy songs. Need of the hour is that traditions singing should be more and more popularized in youth. I have some suggestions and Recommendation to popularize traditional Hymn singing

- Hymn singers should try to represent their art by taking help of electronic media like TV, radio, than hope our traditional art start to breathe again.
- Art and cultural department of Himachal government should take initiatives to popularize hymn singing.
- In school annual functions there should be some performances based on Hymn singing.
- There should be award ceremonies for Hymn singing's singers.
- There should be formation of folk clubs at every place in Himachal. So that young folk singers may be produced.
- At every state and district level functions there should be some performance on Hymn singing.
- In youth festivals of colleges and annual functions of schools some focus should be based on Hymn singing.
- Hymn singers should also take interest to transfer their art to new generation.

Conclusion

Himachal's folk and traditional Hymn singing is disappearing day by day. At some time this traditional hymn singers used to bridge all the hearts of the each community but where they have lost in the present crowd. No one knows. It happened so rapidly that the present society could not know about hymn singing. So, there is need of popularizing Hymn singing globally day by day.

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Study of Tribal Superstitions and, Myths in Odisha

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Abstract

Odisha is the homeland of sixty two tribal communities. Every dimension of their life, connected with religion, believes superstition, myths, festivals and rituals. The origin of the superstitions and beliefs of the tribal people can be traced to the fear of the environment. When they faced natural calamities, they considered these to be the manifestations of spirits i.e. like sunshine, rain and food crops. So myth developed among tribal to ask for rain, good crops and good health in their prayer. There were many superstitions of the Tribal people. However so long as these hill people remained isolated they developed their own manners of life without any interference from outsiders.

Key words : Tribal;Odisha;Superstition ;Myths

Odisha is the homeland of sixty two tribal communities among them thirteen are identified as primitive. They are always treated as an inseparable part of our civilization. Mountains, hills, dense forest, streams play an important role in their lives. Every dimension of their life, connected with religion, believes superstition, myths, festivals and rituals. The origin of the superstitions and beliefs of the tribal people can be traced to the fear of the environment. Men were afraid when he felt insecure, helpless and powerless. The tribal people had many queer myths. The tribal had to depend, for their living, on the power of nature and the Supreme Being. When they faced natural calamities, they considered these to be the manifestations of spirits i.e. like sunshine, rain and food crops.¹ So myth developed among tribal to ask for rain, good crops and good health in their prayer. There were many superstitions of the Tribal people like:

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They developed a myth that offering human sacrifice would bring rain. And the tears rolling down from the victim's eyes and the blood gushing forth from his wound would bring it about.² Bura Pennu was regarded as a Creator, who reduced the heat of the moon, created lightning by throwing his sacred thread into the sky and gave grain to men. He made the sky; the moon was his eldest daughter, and the stars were his children. The whole world was made from excreta of a swarm of ants.³ There was an interesting myth among the Khonds of koraput about how darkness came to the world. In the old days the sun in the form of a black cow used to go round and round the world during the night. Once a Khond tried to steal something and he caught the cow and took it home. After that there was nothing but darkness until he let it go. Thereafter if the Khonds saw a black cow at night, they used to leave it alone. Referring to the origin of the earthquakes, Khond myths of Ganjam says that whenever any God came out, and opened the door, the earth shook and when he went back and shut the door, the shaking stopped. This was what an earthquake was.⁴ There was a myth among the Khonds that after creating the world Bura Pennu turned his mind to the creation of animals and men. He made a small bit of scorpion's bone into a living leaf-scorpion and threw it into water, where upon all beings at once created.⁵ Another myth was that a Khond was born from the belly of a she goat.⁶ There was an interesting myth about the elephant's small tail and its inability to fly. When Mukman (S.C. Macpherson) Saheb ordered the Khonds to stop offering human sacrifice, his brother, Kirmal (John Campbell) Saheb heard about it and was very angry. He said to Mukman Sahib, Why have you stopped this practice? And there was a violent quarrel between them. Now Mukman Saheb had an elephant and Kirmal Saheb had a horse. The elephant had wings and used to fly about. One day Mukman Saheb called the Khonds and took them in hunting to Marigarh Hill, but Kirmal Saheb hid behind some bushes on the way, hoping to surprise his brother and kill him. But Mukman Saheb saw him in time, and the two brothers met and continued to quarrel. Kirmal Sahib drew his sword and cut off the wings of the brother's elephant and the great creature fell to the ground. Then he caught hold of his brother, but during the struggle Mukman Saheb managed to get free and jumped on to the horse and escaped. The Kirmal Saheb cut off the elephant's tail and wings and threw them away.⁷

The tribal people were very superstitious and timid and ready to offer sacrifice to every evil. To avert it.⁸ Fear of animals led to the development of superstitious beliefs, among them. If a child, catching a flock was killed by a tiger then they think that the deity had angry eyes on the house of the child belonged. The earth Goddess was believed to have manifested as a tiger and was propitiated immediately. The tribal people were in the habit of attributing to every unusual occurrence of the nature i.e. thunder, the drought, the murrain among cattle, the epidemic or the pestilence etc. To avert such evils or mitigating their rage, all manner of superstitious, usages had been practised.⁹ Fever, Cholera, Small-pox, Beriberi, Leprosy, Diarrhea, Dysentery, Rheumatism, Venereal Diseases, Ulcers, Malaria etc were the principal diseases among the tribals.¹⁰ They did not know that there was any physical cause

of diseases like germs or bacteria. They believed that all those were caused by the deities. Hence for the treatment they had to appease the deities by human sacrifices.¹¹ When Cholera broke out in a village, all males and females smeared their bodies from head to foot with pig's fat liquefied by heat, and continued to do so until a few days after the disappearance of this dreadful disease. During this period, they did not bath, lest the smell of the fat might be washed away.¹² F.Faweett describes a Khond tribal ceremony in which the ground under a tree was cleared in the form of a square; within they drew a circle of saffron turmeric charcoal, rice and some yellow powder as well as an egg or a small chicken. When a certain Khond tribe had an attack of fever caused by the evil spirit, a ceremony was performed. The Khonds used to keep Small pox away by placing thorns and brush wood in the paths leading to places decimated by the disease. They did it with a hope that the demon of the disease might not retrace its steps.¹³

In case of sickness the medicine man was summoned. He divined the cause of the disaster and prescribed the remedy, which was mostly an animal sacrifice made with offerings of grain and liquor. Every year, they used to perform a ceremony in June and worshiped Dharme Penu, the Goddess of Small-pox.¹⁴ Another superstition was practiced by the tribal was the periodic expulsion of the evils. They used to expel the devils at seed time. They worshiped Pitteri Penu, the God of increase the grain. On the first day, of the festival a car was made of a basket set upon a few sticks, tied upon the bamboo rollers for wheels. The priest used to take this car first to the house of the lineal head of the tripe, to which precedence was given in all ceremonies connected with agriculture. He received a little kind of each seed and some feathers, then took the car to all the houses in the village. Lastly, the car was conducted to a field, attended by all the young men who beat each other and struck the air violently with long sticks. The seed carried out was called the share of the evil spirits, spoilers of the seed. These were considered to be driven out with the car; and its contents were abandoned to them, they were held to have no excuse for interfering with the rest of the seed.¹⁵

Among the Kutia Khonds, when a women became pregnant, she had to observe many rigid taboos and constantly on the alert for inauspicious omens. If she looked a snake by accident, She was convinced that an evil spirit dangerous to the unborn child and now entered her. She run to the medicine man, he attempted to remove the evil spirit either by using an arrow as it were a tube to suck out the evil spirit from her womb, or by direct means. He expectorated into a leaf bowl and showed this to all those present, explaining that he had removed the evil spirit. The bowl was then taken away to a distant place and burnt.¹⁶ In Khond society, When a man died, the relatives, on their return from the funeral, left a plate of rice out on the road side at some distance from their house. If the rice disappeared by the next morning, it was a sign that the departed spirit would at some future time revisit the family. The ceremony was repeated every evening till the propitiatory sacrifice had been performed.¹⁷ The Khonds in some places were not to kill a tiger though it had proved itself a man-eater. The Khonds regarded the tiger with

reverence. 388 In the northern Maliahs, leopard was looked as a sacred beast. They used to object, to a dead leopard being carried through their villages.¹⁸

Jayaram Moodaliar: has recrded some superstitions “When a Kondh starts out on a shooting expedition, if he first meets an adult female, married or unmarried, he will return home, and asks a child to tell the female to keep out of his way. He will then make a fresh start, and, if he meets a female, will waive his hand to her as a sign that she must keep clear of him.¹⁹ Before, a party starts out for shooting, they warn the females not to come on their way. The Kondh believes that, if he sees a female, he will not come across animals in the jungle to shoot. If a woman is in her menses, her husband, brothers, and sons living under the same roof, will not go out shooting for the same reason. “A Kondh will not leave his village when a Jathra (festival) is being celebrated, lest the god Pennu should visit and wrath on him.

However so long as these hill people remained isolated they developed their own manners of life without any interference from outsiders. With the march of times and the development of means of communication and transport, even the most remote parts were made accessible for social development. Gradually, the tribal came in contact with the more civilized men of the plains, which brought a few changes in their social structure and paved the way for social development.²⁰

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गुप्त काल एवं हर्ष काल में सती प्रथा व पर्दा प्रथा

*डॉ. राजेन्द्र कुमार शर्मा

सारांश

गुप्त कालीन एवं हर्ष कालीन स्त्री समाज में सती प्रथा एवं पर्दा प्रथा विद्यमान थी सती प्रथा वह प्रथा है कि जब किसी स्त्री का पति युद्ध में मर जाता था तो उसकी मृतक लाश के साथ स्त्री को सती होना पड़ता था यह पर्दा सैनिक वर्ग में अधिक प्रचलित थी। 510 ई. के एरण सती सागर (म. प्रदेश) से ज्ञात होता है कि भानुगुप्त का सामन्त गोपराज हर्ष के साथ युद्ध में मारा गया था तथा उसकी पत्नी अपने पति के शव के साथ चिता (लाश) पर अनुगमिनी (सती) हो गई थी। हर्ष काल में यह प्रथा प्रचलित थी बाण के अनुसार रानी यशोमती ने सपने पति की मृत्यु से पूर्व अनुमरण (सती) होने का निश्चय कर लिया था राजा हर्ष के आंसू भी उसके निश्चय का टाल न सके। नगानन्द नाटक से पता चलता है कि जीवत वाहन की मृत्यु पर मातृवती पति के मुकुट सहित सती हो गई थी। पर्दा का उद्देश्य राज परिवारों की स्त्रियों को दूसरे राजाओं की नजर या कुदृष्टि से बचना भी था। पर्दा का अर्थ है कि वधू अपने से बड़े पुरुषों के सामने वस्त्र का अबगुठन करना। अभिज्ञान शकुन्तलम नाटक जानकारी मिलती है जब राजा दुष्यन्त की राजसभा में शुकन्तला गई थी तो उसने अपना मुँह आवरण से ढक लिया था हर्षचरित के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि हर्ष की बहन राज्यश्री विवाह के पूर्व अपने भावी पति गृह वर्मा के सम्मुख जाने पर उसने अपने मुँह पर लाल रंग का कपड़ा या वस्त्र डाल रखा था। बाण ने थानेसर की नारियों का सुन्दर वर्णन किया था कादम्बरी का पत्रलेख लाल रंग का घुंघट डाले हुए दिखाया गया जबकि साधारण परिवारों की स्त्रियाँ पर्दा कम करती थी और सामाजिक स्तर ऊँचा रहे।

गुप्तकालीन समाज में सती प्रथा प्रचलित थी तत्कालीन अभिलेख एवं शूदक, कालिदास द्वारा रचित नाटकों के अध्ययन से भी सती प्रथा के बारे में पर्याप्त जानकारी मिलती है।¹ स्मृतियों से ज्ञात होता है कि पत्नी को अपने मृत पति के साथ सती हो जाने का विधान किया

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है।² एरण जिला-सागर म. प्र.) का सती स्तंभ लेख जिसकी तिथि 510 ई है जिस में वर्णन है कि भानुगुप्त का सामान्त गोपराज हूणों के साथ युद्ध में मारा गया था तथा उसकी भार्या अपने पति के शव के साथ चिता पर अनुगमिनी (सती) हो गई थी।³ मृच्छकटिक नाटक से भी पता चलता है कि इस नाटक के दशवें अंक में घूता द्वारा अग्नि में प्रवेश करने का वर्णन मिलता है कि वह अपने पति के विषय में अमंगल सुनने से डरती थी इस प्रकार वात्स्यायन के द्वारा रचित ग्रंथ कामसूत्र से भी जानकारी मिलती है कि नर्तकियाँ अपने प्रेमिका के सती होने का झूठा आश्वासन दिया करती थी। कुछ स्मृतिकारों ने सती प्रथा पर बल नहीं दिया। यह विधवाओं की इच्छा पर छोड़ दिया कि या तो वे आत्मदाह करे या फिर संयम से प्रवित्र ब्रह्मचर्या जीवन व्यतीत करे उस मत के समर्थक⁴ स्मृतिकारों में वृहस्पति व पराशर आदि थे। यह प्रथा उत्तर भारत में कुछ सैनिक जातियों में बड़े पैमाने पर विद्यमान थी। उन्होंने विधवाओं को जलाकर मरने की प्रथा कायम की।

“गुप्तकाल एवं हर्षकाल में सती प्रथा व पर्दा प्रथा”

प्राचीन काल के समाज में सती प्रथा एवं पर्दा का प्रचलन था यह दोनों प्रथा स्त्री समाज में विद्यमान थी सती प्रथा का अर्थ है कि जब किसी स्त्री का पति लड़ाई वीरगति या मर जाता है तो वह स्त्री अपने पति की लाश के साथ अग्नि में जल जाती थी। पर्दा प्रथा जब कोई स्त्री अपने मुँह को छिपा लेती थी। यह प्रथा तीसरी शती ई से छठवी शती ई के काल के मध्य में सती प्रथा के बारे में पता चलता है। सती का अर्थ है कि पत्नी चिता में बैठकर मृत्यु को प्राप्त करती थी हिन्दू समाज में पति की मौत के बाद स्त्री के लिए दो प्रमुख कर्तव्य बताए गए हैं जिन में से किसी एक का विधवा के लिए अनुसरण करना जरूरी होता था उसके लिए यह कर्तव्य था कि वह पति के साथ सहमरण (सती होना) करे या ऐसा न करने पर दूसरा कर्तव्य यह था कि वह ब्रह्मचर्य का पालन करते हुए शेष जीवन व्यतीत करे। स्मृतिकारों ने स्त्रियों के लिए यह व्यवस्था इस लिए बनाई कि विधवा का चरित्र एक आचरण पवित्र रहे तथा समाज का नैतिक स्तर रहे बाद में यह प्रथा पूर्वी भारत एवं नेपाल के उच्च वर्गों के लोगों में प्रवेश कर गई नेपाल के राजा मानदेव पांचवी शती) के चांगुनारायण अभिलेख से उस प्रथा के बारे में उल्लेख मिलता है। चन्द्रगुप्त द्वितीय की पुत्री प्रभावती गुप्त विधवा थी उसने लम्बे समय तक अपने पुत्र की संरक्षिका के रूप में शासन का कार्य करती रही उस से प्रमाणित होता है कि गुप्त काल में यह प्रथा प्रचलित नहीं थी। यह प्रथा केवल कुछ सैनिक वर्गों के लोगों तक ही सीमित थी। हर्षवर्धन कालीन समाज में भी सती प्रथा के अस्तित्व के बारे में वर्णन मिलता है।⁵ बाण के अनुसार रानी यशोमती ने अपने पति की मृत्यु से पूर्व अनुमरण (सती) होने का निश्चय कर लिया था। राजा हर्ष कि आंसू भी उसके निश्चय को न टाल सके, वह पति के साथ सती हो गई थी। राज्य श्री भी जीवन से निराश होने पर अग्नि में प्रवेश करने के लिए तैयार थी किन्तु उस समय राजा हर्षवर्धन दिवाकर मित्र के साथ वहाँ पहुँचा गया।⁶ नागानन्द नाटक के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि जीवत वाहन की मृत्यु पर मातृवती पति के मुकुट सहित सती होना।⁷ कादम्बरी ग्रंथ से जानकारी मिलती है कि कादम्बरी का आत्मदाह एवं प्रभाकर वर्धन की अन्य रानियों का सती होना आदि वर्णन कादम्बरी में मिलता

है तत्कालीन समाज में जन साधारण लोगों में सती होने का प्रमाण नहीं मिलता। संभवतः इस प्रथा का प्रचलन क्षत्रिय वर्ग के लोगों में अधिक था।

पर्दा प्रथा : इस प्रथा का प्रारम्भ सर्वप्रथम ईसा की प्रथम शताब्दी के राज परिवारों में प्रारम्भ हुआ था। उस काल में रानियों का साधारण लोगों के सम्मुख आना-जाना उचित नहीं समझा जाता था। पर्दा करने का उद्देश्य राज परिवारों की स्त्रियों को दूसरे राजाओं की नजर या कुदृष्टि से बचना भी था। इस काल में क्षत्रिय वर्ण में राक्षस-विवाह का प्रचलन विशेष रूप से था। कभी-2 अन्य राजाओं का रानियों के रूप पर मोहित हो जाने से युद्ध के अवसर भी पैदा हो जाते थे। अतः पर्दा उस काल की कोई कुप्रथा न होकर आत्म-संरक्षण का उपाय माना जाता था।⁸

वैदिक कालीन साहित्य में नारियों के लिए पर्दे जैसे बन्धन की व्यवस्था नहीं थी, किन्तु गुप्त कालीन स्त्री समाज में यह प्रथा प्रचलित हो गई थी⁹ देवगढ़ का दशावतार मन्दिर जो गुप्त काल का है उसमें बनी हुई स्त्री मूर्तियों में पर्दा का चित्रण नहीं किया गया। गुप्त काल की स्त्री-मूर्तियों और अजन्ता एलोरा गुफाओं के चित्रों में अवगुठन का कहीं भी चित्रण नहीं किया गया। गुप्त काल के महान कवि कालिदास के ग्रन्थों में कतिपय प्रमाण यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि गुप्त काल में पर्दा एक प्रथा न होकर सामान्य धर्म था। कालिदास ने¹⁰ अवरोध एवं अन्तपुर आदि शब्दों का प्रयोग कृतियों में किया है जिस का शब्दार्थ है राजा का रानिवास। इन शब्दों का प्रयोग यह सिद्ध नहीं करता कि उस समय स्त्रियों पर्दे के अन्दर घर की चारदीवारी में बंद रहती थी। कालिदास ने अपने ग्रंथों में ऐसे वर्णन भी प्रस्तुत किये जिससे जनसाधारण के समक्ष स्त्रियों के नदी में स्नान करने का उल्लेख किया गया।¹¹ मृच्छकटिक नाटक के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि चारुदत्त की पत्नी के सामने बिना पर्दे के आने से ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उस समय पर्दे का प्रचलन कम था। गुप्तकाल में नारी को सुन्दरता का प्रतीक माना जाता था। वह पर्दे में अपनी सुन्दरता छिपाना नहीं चाहती थी। इसके अतिरिक्त कतिपय परदायुक्त उदाहरण भी तत्कालीन समाज में दिखाई देते हैं।¹² अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम् में पर्दे की प्रथा के बारे में वर्णन है। राजा दुष्यन्त की राजसभा में जब शकुन्तला गई थी तो उसने अपना मुँह आवरण में ढक लिया था। मृच्छकटिक नाटक से जानकारी मिलती है कि वधू बनते ही वसन्त सेना ने अपना मुँह पर्दे के पीछे कर लिया था परन्तु यहाँ पर विनम्रता के आधार पर पर्दे का वर्णन किया गया है विनम्रता स्त्रियों का सर्वप्रथम गुण समझा जाता था परन्तु कभी लज्जा का परित्याग भी करना पड़ता था।¹³ अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम् नाटक से ज्ञात होता है कि दुष्यन्त विवाह के बाद शकुन्तला को भूल जाता है तब गौतमी शकुन्तला को लज्जा का परित्याग कर घुंघट हटाने के लिए कहती है। इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि गुप्तकालीन समाज में स्त्रियाँ बिना पर्दा किए स्वतन्त्रापूर्वक घूम सकती थीं।¹⁴ वे विशिष्ट पुरुषों से बात कर सकती थी परन्तु अजनबी व्यक्तियों से अनर्थक वार्तालाप करने का अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं था हर्षकाल के स्त्री समाज में पर्दायुक्त एवं पर्दारहित उदाहरण देखने को मिलते हैं। समाज में उच्च वर्ण की स्त्री स्त्रियों ही पर्दा करती थीं।¹⁵ हर्षचरित नाटक के अध्ययन से जानकारी प्राप्त होती है कि राजकुमारी

राज्यश्री के विवाह के पूर्व अपने भावी पति गृहवर्मा को सम्मुख जाने पर उसने अपने मुँह पर लाल रंग का वस्त्र डाल रखा था। बाण ने थानेसर की नारियों का सुन्दर वर्णन किया। कादम्बरी का पत्रलेखा लाल रंग का घूँघट डाले हुए दिखाया गया। साधारण परिवारों की स्त्रियाँ पर्दा कम करती थी। हर्षवर्धन काल के समाज में पर्दारहित स्त्रियों के अनेक उदाहरण भी मिले हैं इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि पर्दा करना स्त्रियों के लिए अनिवार्य नहीं था यदि थोड़ी बहुत पर्दा-प्रथा जीवित रही भी होगी तो वह लज्जा वंश थी।¹⁶ कादम्बरी, महाश्वेता और उसकी सखियों को कही भी परदे में प्रदर्शित नहीं किया गया।¹⁷ नागानन्द से ज्ञात होता है कि कन्याओं को परदे की आवश्यकता नहीं थी, विवाह के बाद ही उसकी उपेक्षा की जाती थी। इसके अतिरिक्त¹⁸ चीनी यात्री हेनसांग के वर्णन से ज्ञात होता है कि राज्यश्री, जो हर्ष की बहिन थी, वह धर्मिक कार्यों के अतिरिक्त पुरुषों के साथ वाद-विवाद में भी भाग लेती थी। यशोमती अपने पति प्रभाकर वर्धन के साथ सार्वजनिक स्थलों पर विचरण करती थी। पति की बीमारी की अवस्था में वह पति के पास ही रहती थी। उस समय मंत्रीगण वहाँ आते-जाते रहते थे। सती होने से पूर्व यशोमती ने एक मंत्री से निःसंकोच बातें की तथा निर्देश भी दिये थे। हर्षचरित के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि गाँव की बालाएं जंगली फूलों से सुसज्जित होकर अन्य गाँवों में विचरण करती थी।

निष्कर्ष के रूप में कह सकते हैं कि गुप्तकालीन एवं हर्षकालीन स्त्री समाज में सती प्रथा, पर्दा प्रथा विद्यमान थी सती प्रथा जब किसी स्त्री का पति मर जाता था तो स्त्री को अपने मृतक पति की लाश के साथ जलाकर (सती) होना पड़ता था। पर्दा प्रथा स्त्री अपने से बड़ों के सामने जाने से पूर्व अपने चेहरे को छिपा लेती थी। गुप्तकालीन समाज में सती प्रथा का ऐतिहासिक उदाहरण मिलता है जब 510 ई. एरण जिला सागर, मध्यप्रदेश का सती स्तंभलेख जिसमें उल्लेख है कि भानुगुप्त का सामन्त गोपराज हूणो के साथ युद्ध में मारा गया था तथा उसकी भार्या अपने पति के शव के साथ चिता पर सती हो गई थी। वात्सयन के कामसूत्र से ज्ञात होता है कि नर्तीकियाँ अपने प्रेमियों को सती होने का झूठा आश्वासन दिया करती थी। हर्षचरित से विदित होता है कि रानी यशोमती ने अपने पति की मृत्यु से अनुमरण (सती) होने का निश्चय कर लिया था। हर्ष के आँसू भी उसके निश्चय को न टाल सके। वह पति के साथ सती हो गई थी। गुप्तकाल में पर्दाप्रथा विद्यमान थी वधू अपने से बड़े पुरुषों के सामने वस्त्र का अवगुठन करना यह प्रथा इस काल में एक प्रथा न होकर सामान्य धर्म था। कालिदास के काल के ग्रंथ में इस प्रथा का संकेत मिलता है। हर्षकाल को स्त्री समाज में पर्दायुक्त एवं पर्दारहित उदाहरण देखने को मिलते हैं। नागानन्द से जानकारी मिलती है कन्याओं को परदे की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। शादी के बाद ही उसकी उपेक्षा की जाती थी। राज्यश्री, जो हर्ष की बहिन थी, वह धर्मिक कार्यों के अतिरिक्त पुरुषों के साथ वाद-विवाद में भी भाग लेती थी। हर्ष कालीन समाज में नारियाँ पर्दे में नहीं रहती थी। क्या यह आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि उस काल के समाज में स्त्रियों को पर-पुरुषों से किसी प्रकार का भय नहीं था। वे स्वच्छतापूर्वक विचरण करती थी। इससे ज्ञात होता है कि उस काल में पर्दा प्रथा का प्रचलन कम था।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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हर्षकालीन 'बाणभट्ट की साहित्यिक रचना' में शिक्षा : एक अध्ययन

*पिंकी कुमारी

सारांश

भारतीय समाज में प्राचीनकाल से ही शिक्षा अथवा विद्या का स्वरूप अत्यन्त ज्ञानपरक व सुव्यवस्थित रहा है। हुएन्सांग के यात्रा वृत्तान्त में ब्राह्मणों की विद्वता और उनके शिक्षा देने के उत्साह की बहुत प्रशंसा की। उन्होंने ऐसे विद्यार्थियों का भी जिक्र किया है जो जीवन भर अध्ययन के लिए निर्धन रहकर सादा जीवन बिताते थे। शिक्षा की दिशा में मनुष्य का जीवन कर्म के अनुसार व्यवस्थित करने के लिए चार आश्रमों-ब्रह्मचर्य, गृहस्थ, वानप्रस्थ और संन्यास की व्यवस्था की गई। धर्मसूत्रों के इन चारों आश्रम का स्पष्ट वर्णन किया गया है। विष्णुपुराण के अनुसार ब्रह्मचारी, गृहस्थ, वानप्रस्थ और परिव्रात चार आश्रमी थे। अथर्ववेद में भी विद्या तथा शिक्षा के उद्देश्य और उसके परिणाम का उल्लेख किया है जिसमें श्रद्धा, मेधा, प्रज्ञा, धन, आयु और अमृतत्व को सन्निहित किया गया है। विदेशी यात्री हुएन्सांग के यात्रा वृत्तान्त में उल्लेख मिलता है कि सातवीं सदी में ब्राह्मण विद्यार्थी वेदों के साथ-साथ अठारह प्रकार की विद्याओं का भी अध्ययन करते थे।

हर्षकालीन समाज में शिक्षा और साहित्य का काफी विकास हुआ था। क्योंकि राजा हर्षवर्धन स्वयं ही एक उच्चकोटि का विद्वान् था। उन्होंने अनेक गुरुकुल, आश्रम एवं विहारों का निर्माण करवाया। इस काल में वाद-विवाद के भी प्रमाण मिलते हैं। इस काल के अन्तर्गत नालन्दा महाविहार महायान बौद्ध धर्म की शिक्षा का प्रधान केन्द्र बन गया था। आचार्य शीलभद्र यहाँ के कुलपति थे। बाणभट्ट की साहित्यिक रचना में उल्लेख मिलता है इस काल में गुरुकुलों, विहार और महाविद्यालयों का प्रसार बढ़ रहा था। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र, 'हर्षकालीन बाणभट्ट की साहित्यिक रचना में शिक्षा : एक अध्ययन' को लिखने का उद्देश्य हर्षकालीन समाज में शिक्षा के विकास के प्रचार-प्रसार पर प्रकाश डाला है।

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शिक्षा की ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि

वैदिक काल में अध्ययन का कार्य गुरुओं द्वारा किया जाता था। अथर्ववेद में भी विद्या के अध्ययन पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। उपनिषदों में भी उल्लेख मिलता है विद्यार्थी गुरु के पास आश्रम में जाते थे तथा कई घर पर ही शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। प्राचीन काल में शिक्षा प्रायः ब्राह्मण ही देते थे। जो वेदों एवं शास्त्रों को पढ़ता है, और शास्त्रों के अर्थ का सेवन करता है। वहीं वेदों का ज्ञाता होता है। उनके वचन पवित्र करने वाले होते हैं। शतपथब्राह्मण में कहा गया है कि स्वाध्यय और प्रवचन का अनुगमन करने से व्यक्ति का मन एकाग्र हो जाता है। फलस्वरूप वह स्वतंत्र हो जाता है। इससे उसे नित्य धन की प्राप्ति होती है, सुखद निद्रा आती है। उसकी इन्द्रियाँ संयमित हो जाती है। समाज के प्रति अपने उत्तरदायित्व का ब्राह्मण ज्ञान के माध्यम से पूर्ण करता है। इससे समाज में उसका आदर होता है, समाज उसे दान देता है और उसे सुरक्षा प्रदान करता है। जो लोग अनेक प्रकार की विद्याओं का अध्ययन करते हैं, वे देवताओं को प्रसन्न करते हैं तथा अपनी कामनाएँ पूर्ण करते हैं।¹ बौद्धकाल में भी शिक्षा का बहुत प्रभाव था इस काल में अनेक विश्वविद्यालयों की स्थापना हुई। बौद्ध विहार शिक्षा के केन्द्र थे, जिनमें भिक्षु अध्ययन का कार्य करते थे। ब्राह्मण और जैन साधु भी शिक्षा प्रदान करते थे। चीन, जापान तथा कई अन्य देश से विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए भारत में आते थे। शिक्षा से मनुष्य को जीवन सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तों और आचरणों को समझने में आसानी होती है। मनुष्य का शरीर और मन शिक्षा के माध्यम से ही परिष्कृत और पवित्र होता है। इसलिए ज्ञान को 'अप्रतिम' माना गया।² विद्या और ज्ञान की प्राप्ति से ही मनुष्य श्रेष्ठ और प्रतिष्ठित होता है। विद्या माता की तरह ही मनुष्य की रक्षा करती है। पिता के सदृश्य शुभ कार्य में सम्बुद्ध करती है। पत्नी के समान कल्पलता के सदृश प्रसन्नता प्रदान करती है। जीवन को समस्त लौकिक सुखों की प्राप्ति विद्या के माध्यम से ही सम्भव मानी गयी। विद्या से मोक्ष की प्राप्ति होती है। यही नहीं, ज्ञान से उसे शाश्वत की उपलब्धि भी होती है, अमरत्व और स्वर्ग की प्राप्ति भी उसी से होती है। मौर्यकाल में शिक्षा तथा साहित्य की काफी उन्नति हुई। मौर्यकाल में अशोक के शिलालेख तथा स्तम्भ लेख मौर्य साहित्य तथा शिक्षा में विशेष स्थान रखते हैं। इतिहासकार स्मिथ के अनुसार, "अशोक के अभिलेखों की शैली से अनुभव तथा प्रभाव का अभाव नहीं है। कई बातों में तो यह कुछ उपनिषदों की शैली में मिलती-जुलती है।"³ मौर्यकाल में शिक्षा और साहित्य का खूब विकास हुआ।

गुप्तकाल में भी शिक्षा का भी उचित प्रबन्ध था। पाटलिपुत्र, बनारस, मथुरा और उज्जैन आदि उस समय शिक्षा के प्रसिद्ध केन्द्र थे। उत्तरवर्ती गुप्तकाल में वल्लभी तथा नालन्दा उच्च शिक्षा के केन्द्र रहे हैं। उल्लेख मिलता है नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना कुमारगुप्त ने की थी, इसी काल में यह विश्वविद्यालय विश्वविख्यात बन गया। इसे 'भारतीय ऑक्सफोर्ड' माना जाता है। गुप्तकाल में भी शिक्षा का उच्च स्तर पर विकास हुआ। सातवीं शताब्दी ई. सन् और विशेषकर हर्षवर्धन के काल में भारत के इतिहास को जानने का एक महत्वपूर्ण साधन बाणभट्ट द्वारा रचित साहित्य मुख्य है। अनेक चीनी यात्री इस समय में भारतीय संस्कृति एवं धर्म का अध्ययन करने एवम् परिभ्रमण की अभिरुचि से भारतवर्ष आए थे। कुछ विद्वान स्वयं बौद्ध थे। अतः उनका महात्मा बुद्ध की पुण्य जन्मभूमि का दर्शन करने हेतु भारतवर्ष में आना नितान्त

स्वाभाविक था।⁴ हर्ष के समय में भारतवर्ष अपनी विद्या, ज्ञान और साहित्य के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। बाहर के लोग भी अपनी ज्ञान-पिपासा तृप्त करने के लिए इस देश में आते थे। वैदिक धर्मावलम्बियों और बौद्धों सभी में शिक्षा का काफी प्रचार था।⁵ ब्राह्मण उपाध्याय आचार्य और गुरु प्राचीन प्रथा के अनुसार गुरुकुलों में विद्यार्थियों को वेदों और शास्त्रों की निःशुल्क शिक्षा देते थे।⁶ चीनी यात्री हुएन्सांग के यात्रा वृत्तान्त में उल्लेख मिलता है उन्होंने पश्चिम में कपिश-गांधार से लेकर पूर्व में बंगाल और सुदूर दक्षिण तक अनेक बौद्ध विहार और संघाराम देखे जो उस काल में विद्या के प्रमुख केन्द्र थे। हर्ष राजकीय आय का चतुर्थांश भाग विद्या और कला को प्रश्रय देने में व्यय करता था। नालन्दा के महाविद्यालय को भी हर्ष प्रचुर सहायता प्रदान करता था।

चीनी यात्री हुएन्सांग के अनुसार विद्यार्थियों को प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा मन्दिरों में दी जाती थी जबकि उच्च शिक्षा को मठों में देने का प्रावधान था। नालन्दा, तक्षशिला तथा गया आदि उस समय के विश्व प्रसिद्ध विश्वविद्यालय थे। गया का विश्वविद्यालय धार्मिक शिक्षा के लिए और तक्षशिला का विश्वविद्यालय चिकित्साशास्त्र की शिक्षा के लिए प्रसिद्ध था। हर्षकालीन शिक्षा के केन्द्रों में नालन्दा का महाविहार सबसे अधिक प्रसिद्ध था। यह विहार प्रान्त के पटना जिले में राजगृह से आठ मील की दूरी पर आधुनिक बड़गाँव नाम के गाँव के पास स्थित था। इस शिक्षा के केन्द्र की स्थापना गुप्तशासक कुमारगुप्त ने की थी। यह विश्वविद्यालय भारत के लिए ही नहीं अपितु विश्व के लिए भी प्रसिद्ध विश्वविद्यालय था। कुमारगुप्त के सहयोग से नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय की ख्याति चारों ओर फैल गयी और देशीय तथा अन्तर्देशीय सभी तरह के छात्र यहाँ शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के उद्देश्य से आने लगे। विदेशी चीनी यात्री हुएन्सांग ने यहाँ पाँच वर्ष तक विश्वविद्यालय में अध्ययन किया था। उनके विवरण से जानकारी मिलती है इसमें 10000 विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। छह मंजिल के इस महान् विश्वविद्यालय में 8000 पढ़ने के कमरे थे, इसमें 1510 अध्यापक थे। इस विद्यालय में प्रवेश पाने हेतु विद्यार्थी को परीक्षा देनी पड़ी। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय में स्थायी रूप से अधिक समय तक रहकर धार्मिक ग्रन्थों का अध्ययन और संग्रह किया। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय का कुलपति शीलभद्र था। इस विश्वविद्यालय में दूर क्षेत्रों से विद्यार्थी शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के लिए आते थे। पढ़ाई के लिए मुख्य विषय-ज्योतिष, विज्ञान, तर्कशास्त्र, चिकित्सा, दर्शन, बौद्ध ग्रन्थ, ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ थे। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय के विषय में यहाँ की व्यवस्था, शिक्षकों एवं शिक्षार्थियों, शिक्षा पद्धति आदि का स्पष्ट ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है। यहाँ पर छह विद्यालयों के विशाल गगनचुम्बी भवन थे।

हुएन्सांग के अनुसार इस परीक्षा में केवल 20 प्रतिशत ही छात्र उत्तीर्ण होते थे। यहाँ के आचार्य चरित्र, विचारक, आचरण, विवेक और विद्वता में आदर्श और देवरूप थे। उनके रहने का ढंग ऋषियों का था। बाणभट्ट के अनुसार ब्राह्मण गुरु अपने शिष्यों को नियमित रूप से वेद, व्याकरण, मीमांसा आदि की शिक्षा देता था। गुरुकुलों में वेदों का निरन्तर पाठ हुआ करता था। अग्निहोत्र की क्रियाएँ होती थी। विश्वदेव को बलि दी जाती थी। विधिपूर्वक यज्ञ का सम्पादन करके, ब्राह्मण उपाध्याय ब्राह्मचारियों को पढ़ाने में संलग्न रहते थे। नालन्दा विश्वविद्यालय बौद्ध धर्म का प्रसिद्ध केन्द्र होते हुए भी इसमें सभी धर्मों की शिक्षा दी जाती थी। विश्वविद्यालय के नियम बहुत कठोर थे। अध्यापक विद्यार्थियों को परिश्रम से पढ़ाते थे। वाद-विवाद की पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता थी और इस काल में निपुण व्यक्तियों का सम्मान किया जाता था। इस सम्बन्ध में अलबेरूनी (11वीं शताब्दी) का इतिहासकार लिखता है, “विज्ञान और

साहित्य सामान्यतः अपरिसीम है। इस प्रकार से अपने ज्ञान के अनुसार उसके साहित्य को न समझ सका।⁷ अलबेरूनी ने ज्ञान-विज्ञान के विविध विषयों और विभिन्न ग्रन्थों का उल्लेख किया है। उसने चारों वेदों, अठारह पुराणों, बीस स्मृतियों, रामायण, महाभारत, गौड़-कृत ग्रंथ, पतंजलिग्रन्थ, कपिलकृत न्याय भाषा, जैमिनीकृत मीमांसा, बृहस्पतिकृत लोकायत, अगस्त्यकृत अगस्त्यमत, शर्ववर्मनकृतकांतव, शषिदेवभूत उग्रभूतिकृत शिष्याहितावृत्ति, वराहमिहिर, आर्यभट्ट आदि के विभिन्न विषयगत मतों और ग्रन्थों का उल्लेख किया है, जिनसे यह ज्ञात होता है कि तद्व्युगीन भारतीय समाज में अनेकानेक विषयों की शिक्षा दी जाती थी और वह शिक्षा बहुत अच्छी दी जाती थी।⁸ वेदों के अतिरिक्त धर्मशास्त्र, पुराण, ज्योतिष, व्याकरण, विज्ञान, भौतिक और रसायन आदि का भी अध्ययन अध्यापन पूर्वमध्ययुग में किया गया था। जैनेन्द्र, कातंत्र और हेमचन्द्र के व्याकरण के नवीन समुदाय का प्रभाव बढ़ गया था। 29 वेदों के अध्ययन के आधार पर ब्राह्मणों के पारिवारिक और वंशगत नाम रखे जाने लगे थे। जैसे द्विवेदी, त्रिवेदी और चतुर्वेदी।⁹ 'त्रिवेदी' को 'त्रिपाठी' भी कहते थे। वेदांग के अन्तर्गत शिक्षा, निरुक्त, छन्द, व्याकरण, कल्प और ज्योतिष का नियोजन किया जाता था। स्वयं अलबेरूनी ने अपनी पुस्तक में स्थान-स्थान पर विभिन्न भारतीय पुस्तकों से उद्धरण दिये हैं जिनसे स्पष्ट होता है कि उस काल में अनेक भारतीय विषयों की शिक्षा दी जाती थी। मीमांसा, सांख्य, चार्वाक सिद्धान्त आदि दर्शन शास्त्रों का अध्ययन भी उस काल में किया जाता था।¹⁰ बाणभट्ट ने अनुशासनहीन और उदण्ड छात्र के प्रति भी बहुत कुछ लिखा है। कभी-कभी आचार्य को ऐसे मन्द और अनुशासनहीन शिष्य मिल जाते थे जो उनके निर्देशों और शिक्षा को समुचित रूप में नहीं ग्रहण करते थे। उनमें से कुछ ऐसे भी थे जिनमें ज्ञान की पिपासा और ग्रहण करने की प्रवृत्ति का अभाव रहता था। मनु का यह निर्देश था कि आपात शिष्य को गुरु द्वारा शिक्षा दी जाती थी।¹¹ ऐसे कुछ छात्र को पाणिनी ने तीर्थध्वाक्षु तीर्थकाक की संज्ञा दी है। शिक्षा और ज्ञान में मन न लगाने वाले ऐसे अनुशासनहीन छात्र के लिए समय श्रम से हटा देता अथवा उनसे उपवास करवाता था। आचार्य द्वारा उदण्ड छात्र को प्रायः रज्जू अथवा छड़ी से दण्ड दिया जाता था। अध्ययन काल में छात्रों को छुट्टी भी मिलती थी। बौधायन और गौतम दोनों विचारकों ने अवकाश का निर्देश दिया है। मनु के अनुसार अस्थिर मौसम जैसे वर्षाकाल और आकस्मिक प्रकृति-प्रकोप होने के कारण तथा अन्य अनुपयुक्त समय में अनध्याय करना चाहिए।¹² ऐसा समय आचार्य और शिष्य के लिए अवकाश का समय होता है। हर्षवर्धन के काल में बाणभट्ट ने शिक्षण अवधि के बारे में भी बहुत कुछ लिखा है। छात्र प्रायः गुरु के आश्रम में 12-16 वर्ष तक निवास करके विभिन्न विषयों पर शिक्षा ग्रहण करता है।

बच्चों को बढ़ावा और शिक्षा देने के लिए पहले द्वादश अध्याय वाली पुस्तक पढ़ाई जाती थी। सात वर्ष अथवा इससे अधिक अवस्था होने पर 'पंचविधाओं' की शिक्षा होती थी। पहली विद्या 'शब्द विद्या' कहलाती थी। इसकी पुस्तकों में शब्दों के मेल का विवरण है और धातुओं की सूची रहती थी।¹³ दूसरी विद्या 'शिल्पस्थान विद्या' थी। इसकी पुस्तकों में कारीगरी और यंत्र बनाने की विद्या और यंग सिद्धान्तों और तिथिपत्र का वृत्तान्त था। तीसरी चिकित्सा विद्या थी। इसमें शरीर, रक्षा, गुप्त मंत्र, शल्य चिकित्सा और जड़ी-बुटियों का निर्देशन था। चौथी विद्या 'हेतु विद्या' कहलाती थी। इसका नाम कर्मानुसार रखा गया है। सत्य और असत्य का ज्ञान और अंत में शुद्ध और अशुद्ध का निदान इस विद्या द्वारा होता है। ब्राह्मण 'चार वेदों' की शिक्षा पाते थे। जिसमें ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, अथर्ववेद, सामवेद

आदि सभी धर्मों के साहित्य तथा दर्शन स्थान दिया गया था।¹⁴ पाणिनी ने दो प्रकार के छात्रों का संकेत किया है एक दण्डमाणव और दूसरे अन्तेवासी।

इस प्रकार कहा जा सकता है कि हर्ष के काल में शिक्षा का अत्यधिक विकास हुआ है क्योंकि हर्ष का राजकवि बाणभट्ट था जो अत्यधिक शिक्षित एवं ज्ञानी था और हर्षवर्धन स्वयं भी शिक्षित था। उसने शिक्षा के लिए अत्यधिक प्रचार-प्रसार किया। हर्षवर्धन अपने दरबार में शिक्षित एवं पढ़े-लिखे मनुष्यों को अत्यधिक सम्मानजनक स्थान प्रदान करता था। क्योंकि वह पढ़े-लिखों का बहुत सम्मान करता था। 'प्रियदर्शिका', 'नागानन्द', 'रत्नावली' ये तीन नाटक स्वयं हर्षवर्धन ने लिखे हैं। प्रियदर्शिका चार अंकों का नाटक है, जिसमें वत्सराज उदयन के अनुसार अन्तःपुर की 'प्रणयकथा' का वर्णन मिलता है। 'रत्नावली' में भी चार अंक हैं। बाणभट्ट हर्षवर्धन का दबारी कवि था जो बहुत शिक्षित और ज्ञानी था। उनकी कई रचनाएँ हैं। बाणभट्ट के महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ 'कादम्बरी' व 'हर्षचरित' है। वैसे तो बाणभट्ट ने 10 से भी अधिक रचनाएँ लिखी हैं। परन्तु महत्वपूर्ण 'कादम्बरी' व 'हर्षचरित' है। बाणभट्ट द्वारा रचित 'हर्षचरित' में हर्षवर्धन के काल की शासन-प्रणाली की जानकारी मिलती है, इसमें यह भी लिखा है कि हर्षवर्धन के काल में शिक्षा का अत्यधिक प्रचार हुआ। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हर्षकालीन समाज में बहुत अधिक विकास हुआ। हर्षकालीन समाज में बाणभट्ट की साहित्यिक रचना में शिक्षा अथवा विद्या अहम् केन्द्र बिन्दु रही है, जिससे हर्षकालीन समाज सभ्य बना और उन्नति की ओर अग्रसर हुआ।

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मिथिला में कर्नाट शासन (1097-1325) : एक विश्लेषण

*जितेन्द्र कुमार

सारांश

मिथिला में कर्नाट वंश का संस्थापक न्यान्यदेव को माना जाता है। इन्होंने 1097 ई में कर्नाट वंश का शासन स्थापित किया, वस्तुतः इनका शासनकाल मिथिला के इतिहास में स्वर्णयुग था। न्यान्यदेव के दो पुत्र थे, मल्लदेव और गंगदेव। मल्लदेव का एक अभिलेख भीठ भगवानपुर (दरभंगा) से उपलब्ध है जिसपर 'ऊँ श्री मल्लदेवस्य' उत्कीर्ण है। यद्यपि मल्लदेव प्रतापी था तथापि अपने भाई गंगदेव से उनका अच्छा सम्बन्ध नहीं था।

फलतः मिथिला दो भागों में विभक्त हो गया पूर्वी भाग का शासन मल्लदेव तथा पश्चिमी भाग का गंगदेव स्वामी बना। गंगदेव के बाद हरिसिंह देव राजा हुआ। उन्हें 'कर्नाट, वंशोद्भव शत्रुजेता हरिसिंह देव महाराज' कहा गया है। हरि सिंह देव ने मिथिला में कुलीन प्रथा को जन्म देकर इतिहास रचा। सबसे खास बात यह है कि संस्कृत का बड़ा ही विकास हुआ। साथ ही, ज्योतिरीश्वर ठाकुर 'वर्णरत्नाकर' की रचना हुई। संभवतः इसे मैथिली की प्रथम पुस्तक के रूप में स्थान प्राप्त है। इसके उपरान्त इसके उत्तराधिकारी नरसिंह देव (1188-1227 ई) था। 1227ई. में राम सिंह देव मिथिला का राजा हुआ। इसके काल में ही मुसलमानों का तिरहुत पर आक्रमण हुआ। लेकिन फिर भी 14वीं सदी तक मिथिला एक स्वतंत्र राज्य था।

मिथिला में स्वतंत्र सत्ता का उत्थान :- बिहार में मिथिला राज्य उत्थान पालवंश की समाप्ति के बाद 11वीं सदी में लगभग हुई चूँकि पालवंश के शासक रामपाल के शासनकाल में ही कर्नाट वंश के शासक अपनी सत्ता पर अधिकार करने में कर्नाट वंश के प्रथम सम्राट न्यान्यदेव ने मिथिला में स्वतंत्र राज्य की नींव रखी। राजा न्यान्यदेव 1097 से 1133 ई. तक राज्य किया-वे उद्भट डॉ. जयकान्त मिश्र का कथन है "ओ उद्भट यौद्धा, विलक्षण नीतिकुशल¹" एवं संगीत शास्त्रक महान प्रतिभावान् अधिकारी वेत्ता छलाह।² डॉ. राधाकृष्ण चौधरी ने भी कहा है

Note- Research Paper Received in December 2016 and Reviewed in January 2017

*प्रखंड, शिक्षक, उ. म. वि., मछवखड़ा, मधेपुरा (बिहार)

Since the days of Nanuadeva, Mithila has been an important centre of Music, Nanyadeva, is credited with having developed popular ragas and is believed to have been the inspirer of the Mithila School of Music which asswoned a new form after being influenced by Jayadeva.³

यही कारण है कि राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण से इसे मिथिला के इतिहास में स्वर्णयुग कहा जाता है। सर्वप्रथम, इसी समय वहाँ राज्य प्रणाली की स्थापना हुई तथा कला, साहित्य और मैथिली भाषा का विकास हुआ। साथ ही, यह सर्व विदित तथ्य है कि तुर्क आक्रमण से त्रस्त बौद्ध एवं अन्य विद्वान मिथिला एवं नेपाल में आ बसे। कर्नाट शासन काल (1097-1325) में मिथिला में मुसलमानों का प्रभाव पूर्णतः नहीं हो पाया था नान्यदेव मिथिला और नेपाल पर अपनी प्रभुता जमा रखी। बंगाल के सेन शासकों से युद्ध करने के लिए गहड़वाल से मधुर संबंध बनाये रखा। लेकिन फिर भी इतनी दूरदर्शिता के बावजूद भी विजयसेन से इन्हें हार को मुँह देखना पड़ा। इतिहासकार कौलेश्वर राय इसकी पुष्टि अपनी पुस्तक 'बिहार के इतिहास' में कुछ साक्ष्यों के आधार पर की है। विजयसेन के देवपाड़ा शिलालेख से पता चलता है कि विजयसेन और नान्यदेव के बीच संघर्ष हुआ था जिसमें नान्यदेव पराजित हुआ अपने दीर्घकालीन शासन में उसने पाल कलचुरि सेन और गहड़वाल के पारस्परिक संघर्षों के बीच अपनी दूरदर्शिता से अपने राज्य को सुरक्षित रखा। प्रारम्भ में वह सामंत था, किंतु बाद में स्वतंत्र हो गया। उसके मंत्रियों श्रीधर दास और रत्नदेव के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। श्रीधर दास महामांडलिक था। जिसका एक शिलालेख ऊँध राढ़ाढ़ी (दरभंगा) में मिलाई है। इसमें नान्यदेव की राजधानी आधुनिक नेपाल का सिमराँव थी।⁴

नान्यदेव के दो पुत्रों का उल्लेख मिलता है मल्लदेव और गंगदेव 1133 में नान्यदेव की मृत्यु के बाद उसका पुत्र गंगदेव शासक बना। लेकिन दोनों भाईयों के बीच मधुर सम्बन्ध नहीं था मैथिली अनुश्रुतियों से पता चलता है कि नान्यदेव की मृत्यु के बाद मिथिला दो भागों में बंट गया था पूर्वी भाग का मल्लदेव और पश्चिमी भाग का गंगदेव स्वामी बन गया। मल्लदेव का एक अभिलेख भीठ भगवानपुर (दरभंगा) से मिला है जिस पर 'ऊँ श्री मल्लदेवस्य' उत्कीर्ण है। गंगदेव शासन प्रणाली को सुसंगठित बनाया। राजस्व कर वसूलने के लिए राज्य को परगने में बाँटा, परगने का प्रधान चौधरी कहलाता था। तथा न्याय के लिए पंचायत की व्यवस्था की गई। गंगदेव गौड़ पर विजय प्राप्त की और 'गौड़ ध्वज उपाधि' से अलंकृत हुआ। गंगदेव के बाद उसका पुत्र नरसिंह देव मिथिला के सिंहासन पर बैठा, इसने लगभग 38 वर्षों तक शासन किया। इसके समय में नेपाल के साथ कुछ तनाव पैदा हुआ। 1227 ई. में रामसिंह देव मिथिला का राजा हुआ। इन्होंने 1276 तक मिथिला पर शासन किया। मंदिरों और तालाबों का निर्माण करवाया। इसके विषय में चौकीदार की नियुक्ति की गई एवं ग्राम पटवारी की भी नियुक्ति की गई। पटवारी का काम लेखापाल का था। इसके शासनकाल में तिब्बती बौद्ध साधु सह इतिहासकार धर्मस्वामी ने तिरहुत की यात्रा की। इनके अनुसार मुसलमानों ने उसके समय में मिथिला पर आक्रमण किया, लेकिन उसे सफलता न मिली। रामसिंह के बाद शक्ति सिंह उनका पुत्र शासक बना, लेकिन दूरदर्शी न होने के कारण शासन चलाने में सफल न रहे क्योंकि उसने रणथम्भौर के चौहान राजा हम्मीर के खिलाफ सुल्तान अल्लाउद्दीन की मदद की थी जिसके फलस्वरूप उसके प्रधानमंत्री चण्डेश्वर ठाकुर साथ मंत्रियों के साथ शासन संचालन किया। फिर भी इसके समय में ही

मुसलमान का बार-बार आक्रमण होता रहा लेकिन मुसलमान प्रभुत्व स्थापित करने में सफल न हो पाये।

शक्ति सिंह देव का उत्तराधिकारी प्रख्यात महाराजा हरसिंहदेव था जिसका शासन काल 1296-1324, माना जाता है। वह बड़ा ही प्रतापी शासक था। उसे कर्नाट 'वंशोदभव शत्रुजेता हरसिंह देव महाराज' कहा गया है। हरसिंह देव को नान्यदेव से भी अधिक प्रतिष्ठा मिली। मिथिला का चतुर्दिक विकास हुआ। एक नव-धार्मिक, सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक जीवन धारा देश में बनाया।⁵

इन्होंने कुलीन प्रथा की स्थापना कर मिथिला के बाह्यणों एवं कायस्थों को क्रमानुसार कई सामाजिक विभागों में बांट दिया। मिथिला का उच्च समाज कई उप वर्ण विभागों में बंट गया। साथ ही 1324-25 में दिल्ली सुल्तान गयासुद्दीन तुगलक द्वारा मिथिला पर आक्रमण किया गया हरसिंह देव को जंगल के रास्ते नेपाल में शरण मिला। उसने प्रभुत्व की स्थापना करते हुए नेपाल पर शासन किया।

इस तरह देखते हैं कि कर्नाट शासन काल में सांस्कृतिक एवं कलर का विकास हुआ नान्यदेव ने भारत नाट्य शास्त्र की रचना की। इसमें भावनाओं का प्रवाह है।⁶ इसके प्रधानमंत्री श्रीधर दास 'कर्णामृत' पुस्तक की रचना की। रामसिंह के प्रधानमंत्री चण्डेश्वर कुलचिंतामणि लिखा जो तत्कालीन मिथिला समाज का दर्पण है। श्रृंगार पर चर्चित पुस्तक ज्योतिरीश्वरकृत मैथिली में 'वर्णरत्नाकर' प्रसिद्ध है। इसके संदर्भ में डॉ. धीरेन्द्र नाथ मिश्र का कथन है कि 'वर्णरत्नाकर' में आठ गोट कल्लोल अछि जाहि में सा टा पूर्ण छैक ओ आठम अपूर्ण। सभक विषय-वस्तु, भिन्न भिन्न छैक। एहि में तत्कालीन मिथिलाक सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक, भौगोलिक और सांस्कृतिक विषय-वस्तु, वर्णन भेटैछ तऽ कोनो ठाम श्मशान वर्णन, कोनो ठाम नायिका वर्णन भेटैछ तऽ कोनो ठाम कुट्टनी (वेश्या) वर्णन, कोनो ठाम भोज वर्णन भेटैछ तऽ कोनो ठाम भट्टादि वर्णन, कोनो ठाम रात्रि वर्णन भेटैछ तऽ कोनो ठाम व्यवहारिक वर्णन।⁷

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बहुदेववाद में समाया एकेश्वरवाद

*डॉ. मोना

सारांश

चराचर जगत में एक ईश्वर की सत्ता ही अनेक रूपों में कार्य कर रही है साकार उपासना से लेकर निराकार उपासना के मूल में एक ही तथ्य है की परब्रह्म श्रेष्ठता का समुच्चय है उस के विभिन्न सदगुणों की सत्प्रवृत्तियों को हम अपनी श्रद्धा, विश्वास मान्यता के अनुसार चुनते हुए एक ही लक्ष्य पर चले, आदि पुरुष की अवधारणा जिन ऋषियों ने की उन्होंने एक ही विश्वधार के विभिन्न रूप दिए बहुदेववाद में एकेश्वरवाद का अर्थ है परमसत्ता की अनेक रूप रश्मियों में से उस एक सत्ता का दर्शन तथा देववाद की यथार्थता को स्वीकारना।

कुट शब्द : परब्रह्म, इष्ट, इश्वरीय सत्ता, उपास्य

वैदिक काल में 33 कोटि देवी-देवता हैं। वैदिक काल से पुराणों तक अवतारी लीलापुरुष एवं अनगिनत आराध्य इष्ट है वैदिक साहित्य के रचनाकाल में अनेक शताब्दियों का अंतराल है, इन देवताओं की संख्या तैंतीस कोटि बताई जाती है। कोटि शब्द के दो अर्थ किए जाते हैं (1) श्रेणी, (2) करोड़। तैंतीस प्रकार के तैंतीस जाति के देवता हैं। जाति, श्रेणी या कोटि शब्द बहुवचन के बोधक हैं। इससे समझा जाता है कि हर कोटि में अनेक देव और उन कोटियों में परमात्मा की विविध शक्तियां काम करती है। होंगे और तैंतीस कोटियों-श्रेणियों के देव तो सब मिलकर बहुत बड़ी संख्या में होंगे। कोटि शब्द का दूसरा अर्थ 'करोड़' है। उससे तैंतीस करोड़ देवताओं के अस्तित्व का पता चलता है। अनेक क्षेत्रों में काम करने वाला 33 शाक्तियों होती है।

देवतावाद पर सूक्ष्मरूप से विचार करने से प्रतीत होता है कि एक ही ईश्वर की अनेक शक्तियों के नाम अलग-अलग हैं और सब नामों को ही देवता कहते हैं। जैसे सूर्य की किरणों में सात रंग हैं, उन रंगों के हरा, पीला, लाल, नीला आदि अलग-अलग नाम हैं। हरी किरणें अल्ट्रावायलेट किरणें, एक्स किरणें, विल्डन किरणें आदि अनेक प्रकार की किरणें हैं। उनके कार्य और गुण अलग-अलग हैं। इतने पर भी वे एक सूर्य के अंश हैं। अनेक किरणें होने पर भी सूर्य एक ही रहता है। इसी प्रकार एक ही

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ईश्वर की अनेक शक्तियाँ अपने गुण-कर्म के अनुसार विविध देव नामों से पुकारी जाती है। मूलतः ईश्वर तो एक ही है। एकमात्र ईश्वर ही इस सृष्टि का निर्माता, पालनकर्ता और नाश करने वाला है। हमें अतिवाद से बचना चाहिए और देववाद के सिद्धांत के स्वरूप एवं उद्देश्य को गंभीरतापूर्वक समझने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। निश्चित रूप से इस सृष्टि का नियता एक ही परमेश्वर है। उसकी विभूतियों को देवी-देवता का नाम दिया गया है मनुष्य अपने विचार एवं साधना भी दृष्टि से उसकी शक्तियों को पृथक-पृथक देवताओं के रूप में मान लेता है। और उनकी विशेषता एवं उपयोगिता समझने के लिए रूपों का निर्माण किया गया है। उन्हें व्यक्ति स्तर के, एक दूसरे से भिन्न और स्वतंत्र सत्तासंपन्न मानना सर्वथा भ्रमपूर्ण है। “यह कहना उचित होगा कि कालांतर में (ईसवी सन् के आरंभ से) देवताओं की पूजा जिस रूप में की जाने लगी, वह प्रकार वैदिक साहित्य में नहीं मिलता। परंतु, ज्ञानप्राप्ति के लिए मनन तथा देवता का चिंतन आवश्यक था।”¹ परंतु जो स्वरूप मिलता है वह आध्यात्मिकता के लिए अनिवार्य था। ऐसी स्थिति में सम्पूर्ण साहित्य में वैदिक धर्म की एकरूपता के स्थान पर उनमें परिवर्तन भी दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं। ऋग्वेद में ही कहीं एकेश्वरवाद की रचना दिखाई पड़ती है तो कहीं वह बहुदेववाद की रचना दिखाई देती है। “ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों ने प्रकृति की अलौकिक एवं असीमित शक्तियों को दैवीय स्वरूप प्रदान किया। प्राकृतिक शक्तियों को आर्यों ने सृष्टि संचालन के प्रति उत्तरदायी माना तथा देवों को प्रकृति का अधिष्ठाता स्वीकारते हुए भौतिक जगत् की उत्पत्ति के लिए उनकी कामना की। ऐसा विदित होता है कि प्रारंभ में धर्म की प्रकृति बहुदेववादी थी।”² इस संबंध में ऋग्वेद का एक मंत्र हमारा चिंतन स्पष्ट करता है। ऋषि उसमें कहते हैं

**इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः ॥ ³**

अर्थात् उस एक को अनेक नामों से पुकारते हैं “ऋग्वैदिक जन प्रकृति की रहस्यमय शक्तियों से प्रभावित थे इन शक्तियों के जो प्रत्यक्ष लाभ हैं, वैदिक जनों ने उन्हें दिव्य स्वरूप प्रदान किया तथा उनकी देवता के रूप में स्तुति करने लगे, अनेक स्थलों पर तो जिस प्राकृतिक क्रिया का स्वरूप दिखाई देता है उसी प्राकृतिक क्रिया के रूप में उन देवों अराधना की गई है।”⁴ ‘एक सत्स्वरूप परमेश्वर को बुद्धिमान ज्ञानी लोग अनेक प्रकारों से, अनेक नामों से पुकारते हैं इन्द्र, मित्र वरुण, दिव्य, सुपर्ण, गरुत्मान इत्यादि नामों से याद करते हैं,’⁵ सारा वैदिक वाङ्मय इसी प्रकार की घोषणाओं से भरा है, जिसमें एक ही सद्घन, चिद्घन और आनन्दघन तत्त्व को मूलतः स्वीकार करके उसी के अनेक रूपों के रूप में ईश्वर को मान्यता दी गई है। विश्व के समस्त नाना प्रकार के रूपों में उसी एक का साक्षात्कार किया गया है। “जिस प्रकार नदियाँ अनेक मार्गों से बहती हुई समुद्र में जाकर विलीन हो जाती हैं और उनके नाम-रूप के भेद मिट जाते हैं, उसी प्रकार विद्वान अपनी-अपनी रुचि और अधिकार के अनुसार क्रमशः नाम-रूप सहित एक ही सत्य रूप परमात्मा में लीन होता हैं।”⁶ एक प्रकार से एकत्व में अनेकत्व तथा अनेकत्व में एकत्व, यह एक निराले प्रकार का दर्शन भारतीय संस्कृति का है, जो कही और देखने को नहीं मिलता। जब अधिकार-भेद से आराध्य रूप भी विविध हो जाते हैं तो दार्शनिक वैदिक काल को बहुदेववादी (पालीथीस्टिक) कहते हैं

विभिन्न देवताओं के रूप में ऋषियों ने परमेश्वर की विभिन्न शक्तिधाराओं की गुण रूप में चर्चा करके उनकी महिमा का बखान किया है। मैक्समूलर ने भी वेदों में हेनोथीइज्म या उपास्य श्रेष्ठतावाद का प्रतिपादन किया, जिसे बाद के अध्ययताओं ने अलग-अलग ढंग से समझकर उसकी व्याख्या की। एकं सद्बिप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति स्वर जितनी बार हमारे समक्ष गूँजता है, हर बार एक महान प्रेरणा व संजीवनी हमें मिलती है उस एक ईश्वरीय सत्ता के बारे में, जिसे विभिन्न संप्रदाय, विभिन्न मत अलग-अलग नामों से जानते हैं, पर वैदिक आधार पर वह एक ही है। भारतीय दर्शन में एक ही ईश्वर की कल्पना की गई है

**विवतश्चक्षुरुत विश्वतोमुखो-
विश्वतोबाहुरुत विश्वतस्यात् ।
सं पतत्रैर्द्यावाभूमी जनयन्देव एकः ।।⁷**

आचार्य यास्क ने 'देव' शब्द की निरुक्ति 'दा' द्युत, दीप, दिवु, इन धातुओं से की है, इसके अनुसार ज्ञान, प्रकाश, शांति, आनंद तथा सुख देने वाली सब वस्तुओं को देव कहा जाता है। 'देव' शब्द का अर्थ है दिव्य, श्रेष्ठ देने वाला, जो शक्तियाँ इस विशेषता से युक्त है वे देव कहलाती है यह दो भागों में विभक्त है, प्रथम प्रकृति की प्रभावशाली शक्तियों के रूप में दूसरी चेतनात्मक सद्भावना व सत्प्रवृत्ति के रूप में⁸ परमात्मा एक है उनकी विशिष्ट विभूतियों को ही देव नाम दिया गया है। निरुक्त में भी कहा गया है।

“महा भाग्याद् देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा स्तुयते”⁹

प्रकृति की वे शक्तियाँ जो सृष्टि संचालन में योगदान करती है उन्हें देवता भी कहा गया है तथा उनके विभाग भी किए हैं द्यौ स्थानीय, अंतरिक्ष स्थानीय व पृथ्वी स्थानीय कहा गया है इन का स्तवन अनेक स्थान पर हुआ चेतना क्षेत्र भी विचारधारा को भी देवता कहा गया है। जहां ऋग्वैदिक देवकुल में अनेक देवताओं को स्थान मिला है, “वहां ये सभी देवता प्राकृतिक शक्तियों के प्रतीक भी है। सूर्य, अग्नि, द्यौस, मरुत, वायु, और यहां तक कि इन्द्र, वरुण, मित्र विष्णु, रुद्र आदि भी प्राकृतिक शक्तियों से संबंधित हैं। कभी-कभी किसी विशेष प्राकृतिक शक्ति के गुणों को भी स्वतंत्र देवत्व प्रदान कर दिया जाता था। उदाहरणार्थ, सवितृ एवं विवस्वान मूलतः सूर्य के विशेषण थे किंतु बाद में स्वयं सूर्य देवता बना दिए गए।”¹⁰ यजुर्वेद में अग्नि, वायु, सूर्य, चंद्र, बसु, रुद्र, आदित्य, इंद्र इत्यादि को देव नाम से इसलिए पुकारा गया है, कि यह शब्द सत्यविद्या का ज्ञान करने वाले ब्रह्मनिष्ठ विद्वानों के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है। ज्ञान दान करने वाले वे देवता वस्तुओं के यथार्थ स्वरूप को कुहासे से निकालकर उसे प्रकाशवान बनाते हैं, अतः उन्हें देव कहा जाता है। ऋग्वेद में कहा गया है

**य एक एत् तमुशुहि कृष्टीनां विचर्षणिः ।
पतिर्जज्ञो व शक्रतुः ।।¹¹**

जो परमेश्वर एक है, तू उसी की स्तुति कर। वह परमपिता परमात्मा सब मनुष्यों की भली भाँति देखभाल करने वाला है। वही सुखवर्षक ज्ञान और कर्म वाला सारे जगत का स्वामी है।

**सहस्र भीर्शा पुरुष : सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् ।
स भूमिं विश्वतोव त्वा अत्यतिशुद्धशङ्कुलम् ।।¹²**

अथर्ववेद में उल्लिखित है कि 'वह सर्वव्यापक एक है, एक ही है। एक होकर वह सर्वव्यापक तथा प्राणी-अप्राणी सबको विशेष रूप से पूर्णतया देखने वाला है।'

तमिदं निगतं सहः स एश एक एकव द्र एक एव'¹³

सामवेद में भी वर्णित है कि "हे मनुष्यो ! तुम सब सरल भाव और आत्मिक बल से एक परमेश्वर की ओर उसका भजन करने के लिए आओ, जो समस्त मनुष्यों में एक ही अतिथि की तरह पूजनीय है, सनातन है। ज्ञान, कर्म, भक्ति आदि के सभी मार्ग उसी की ओर जाते हैं, वह निश्चय रूप से एक ही है।"¹⁴ छांदोग्योपनिषद् में **ओंकार एवेदम् सर्वम् गायत्री वा इदम् सर्वम्; प्राणो वा इदम् सर्वं भूतम्**¹⁵ तथा बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् में **एत् ब्रह्म एत्सर्वम् इदं सर्वं यदयमात्मा**¹⁶ की अभिव्यक्ति स्थान-स्थान पर आई है समग्र अध्ययन करने वाले विद्वानों ने एकस्वर से माना है कि वैदिक अध्यात्म एक ही परमेश्वर की सत्ता का वर्णन करता आया है। वैदिक धर्म एक ही परमसत्ता को मान्यता देता है। आराध्य सत्ता की परिभाषा वेदों में विभिन्न रूपों में की गई है। जो सब कुछ देखता है, पर स्वयं नहीं दिखाई देता, वह ब्रह्म हैं। उसके अनेकानेक गुण हैं, यह एकस्वर से कहा जा सकता है कि वैदिक काल के भारतीय उच्चकोटि के विद्वान थे व उनकी 'मोनोथीज्म' की मान्यता ही सर्वोपरि है; अर्थात् वे एकेश्वरवादी ही हैं। वेद मात्र एक ही आराध्य सत्ता की शिक्षा हमें देते हैं आर्षग्रंथों में भी उल्लेख है कि सभी प्राकृतिक नियमों के मूल में जड़तत्त्व और शक्ति के प्रत्येक अणु-परमाणु में ओत-प्रोत वही एक सत्ता विराजमान है; जिसके आदेश से वायु चलती है; अग्नि दहकती है; बादल बरसते हैं; मृत्यु पृथ्वी पर नाचती है। जिसके आदेश पर यह सब होता है। गीता में उल्लेखित है।

भयादस्याग्निस्तपति भयात्तपति सूर्यः ।

भयादिद्भश्च वायुश्च मृत्युर्धावति पंचमः ।।¹⁷

अर्थात् सव आप ही है "वायु, यम, अग्नि, वरुण, शशि, प्रजापति आदि आप ही है आपको बार-बार नमस्कार है।"¹⁸

अविभक्तमिव च भूतेशुविभक्तमिव च स्थितम्

अर्थात् वह विभाग रहित एक रूप से आकाश के सदृश परिपूर्ण होने पर भी चराचर, संपूर्ण भूतों में विभक्त-सा स्थित प्रतीत होता है एवं वह-एक ही है, उसकी शक्तिधाराएँ अनेक हैं।

ज्योतिशामपितज्योतिस्तमसः परमुच्यते ।

ज्ञानं ज्ञेयज्ञानगम्यंह दिसर्वस्य विष्ठितम् ।।¹⁹

'अधिकांश वैदिक देवता प्रकृति की विभिन्न शक्तियों के मानवीकरण के परिणाम है'²⁰ ब्रह्मा, विष्णु, महेश, इंद्र, अग्नि, यम, निऋति, वरुण, वायु, कुबेर, ईशान, पृथ्वी, द्यौ का समुदाय देवगणों का है, 'इन मान्यताओं के पिछे भाव यह है कि उपयोगी प्राणी एवं पदार्थ को देवमान्यता से सम्मानित किया गया है इस सम्मान का सर्वोपरि लाभ अपनी कृतज्ञ की भावना को जगाता है। इस का उद्देश्य अपनी कृतज्ञता को जगाना है'²¹ हमें वे दे कर अनुग्रहित कर रहे हैं इस लिये उनके प्रति हम कृतज्ञ रहे। जिन के सहयोग से हम जीवित रहते और आगे बढ़ते उन सबके प्रति हमें कृतज्ञ होना चाहिये। रूप साधनादि चुनने का अधिकार सबको दे दिया जो जिस मार्ग से चाहे, परमात्मा के रूप को माने, अंश को स्वीकार

करे उसका ध्यान करे। अंततः वह स्वरूप का ध्यान करे। आस्तिकतावादी तो बनेगा; यह चिंतन ऋषियों का रहा है। गुरु अपने शिष्य की रुचि व अधिकार के अनुसार उसे विभिन्न साधनों में से एक बताते आए हैं। निर्भर शिष्य पर करता है कि वह किस साधन का प्रयोग किस रूप में करके अपने को आराधय से एकाकार कर लेता है। एक ही गुरु के विभिन्न शिष्यों में कोई योगी, कोई ज्ञानमार्गी, कोई भक्त, कोई वैष्णव, कोई शैव, तथा कोई शाक्त कुछ भी बन सकता है। रुचि भेद के अनुसार इष्ट की आकृति बदल दी जाए तो मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रयोग यह नहीं बताता कि परमेश्वर भी ढेरों हो गए। विश्वभुवन का एक ही स्वामी-**एको विवस्य भुवनस्य राजा** बनाते हुए आर्शवाङ्मय मूल्यः बहुत्व में एकेश्वरवाद का ही प्रतिपादन करता आया है। अर्थात् इस समूची सृष्टि का कर्ता धर्ता हर्ता वह एक ही है। बहुदेव से एकेश्वरवाद भी अवधारणा समझने के लिये एक उदाहरण उल्लेखित है माता के कई बालक है एक बालक रोटी के लिये रसोई घर में है दूसरा माता से धुले हुए कपड़े मांग रहा है तीसरा रूपया लेने के लिये माता का बटुआ खोज रहा है तथा चौथा गोद में आने के लिए मचल रहा है यहा पर सभी अपनी अपनी इच्छा के अनुसार माता को पृथक-पृथक देख रहे हैं पर माता तो एक ही है हम अपने विचार व साधना की दृष्टि से अलग-अलग मान लेते हैं।

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मुगलकालीन भारत में कोतवाल की भूमिका एवं महत्व : ऐतिहासिक मीमांसा

*डॉ. ज्ञानेश्वर शामराव कडव

सारांश

आधुनिक भारत में कोतवाल नामक व्यक्ती का संबंध गांव-खेड़े से होता है। उसका कार्यक्षेत्र एवं जिम्मेदारीयां गांव तक मर्यादित होती है। स्वतंत्ररूप से कार्य करने के लिए, जरूरी अधिकार उसके पास नहीं हैं। लेकिन मध्ययुगीन भारत में कोतवाल नगर प्रशासन का प्रमुख अधिकारी होता था। उसको व्यापक जिम्मेदारियों का निर्वहन करना पड़ता था। इसमें उसके क्षेत्र में शांति और सुरक्षा की स्थिति बनाये रखने के अलावा विभिन्न सामाजिक घटकों में आपसी सौहार्द की भावना निर्माण करना, असामाजिक तत्वों को नियंत्रित करना शामिल था। राजधानी, सम्राट एवं राजपरिवार की सुरक्षा का भार भी उसके कंधों पर था। इसी वजह से कोतवाल पद को आत्यांतिक महत्वपूर्ण माना गया। वह सम्राट के सिधे संपर्क में होने के कारण साम्राज्य की नीति निर्धारित करने में तथा निर्णय प्रक्रिया में कोतवाल की भूमिका निर्णायक होती थी। इसके काफी प्रमाण तत्कालीन स्त्रोतों से मिलते हैं। अकबर एवं औरंगजेब जैसे सम्राटों ने जो सुधार या नये नियम करने का निर्णय किया, उसे अमल में लाने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल पर ही थी। इस तरह शासन व्यवस्था में कोतवाल पद अहम भूमिका अदा करता था। उसकी तुलना आधुनिक काल के जिल्हा अधिक्षक एवं पुलिस कमिश्नर से ही कि जा सकती है। कोतवाल पद का वास्तविक स्वरूप और भूमिका को उजागर करना यह शोध निबंध का उद्देश्य है।

मुगलकाल खंड में सभी महत्वपूर्ण नगरों में शासन के लिए कोतवाल की नियुक्ति की जाती थी। वह नगर पुलिस विभाग का अध्यक्ष, नगरपालिका का प्रशासक, फौजदारी के मुकदमों का न्यायाधिश होता था।¹

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परगनों के नगरों में कोतवाल-ए-परगना रहता था, जो साधारण अपराध का निर्णय करता था। इसके कार्य बड़े नगरों के कोतवाल समान थे।² जब सम्राट अथवा कोई बड़ा सुभेदार अपने निवास स्थान पर नहीं होता था, तो कोतवाल ही वहाँ शासन करता था। डॉ. बी.एस. भार्गव ने लिखा है “मुगल शासन काल में कस्बो अथवा नगरों में नगरपालिका और कुशल पुलिस प्रबंध की व्यवस्था थी। कोतवाल मुख्य अधिकारी होता था, जो जनता के जानमाल की हिफाजत करता था, दंगा-फसादों को दबाता था, अपराधों का पता लगाता था। सामाजिक कुरतियों को मिटाने का प्रयत्न करता था और लावारिस सम्पत्ति का उचित बन्दोबस्त करता था”।³ आईन-ए-अकबरी एवं डब्लु एच- मोरल्लण्ड ने कोतवाल के संबंध में जो विवरण दिया है उस के अनुसार कोतवाल सिर्फ नगर के पुलिस संगठन का प्रधान नहीं था। अपराध को रोकना और उसका पता करना उसका कर्तव्य था। और दण्ड देने का भी अधिकारी था। उसका सम्बन्ध नगर के दैनिक जीवन की प्रायः हर धोखाधड़ी वालों से रहता था और जब सम्राट शक्तिशाली होता था तो कोतवाल भी शक्तिशाली हो जाता था। कोतवाल नगर के किसी भी व्यक्ति के जीवन को सुखद या दुःखद/असहाय बना सकने की शक्ति रखता था। थेवनोट ने कोतवाल का वर्णन नगर को मुख्य अधिकारी और मुख्य न्यायाधिश के रूप में किया है।⁴ कोतवाल पद पर किस तरह के व्यक्ति की नियुक्ती होती थी, इस बारे में अबूल फजल लिखता है “इस पद के लिए योग्य पुरुष, बलवान, अनुभवी, चूस्त, गम्भीर, कुशाग्र बुद्धि, उदार हृदय होना चाहिए”। इसके अलावा सर यदुनाथ सरकार कहते हैं “दिल्ली में यह पद साधारणतया अंबीसीनियो अथवा निग्रो को दिया जाता था जो अपनी पाषाण हृदयता तथा यातना देने में कठोरता के लिए कुख्यात थे”।⁵

सरकार लिखते हैं “नियुक्ति सम्बन्धी सनद में कोतवाल को यह प्रेरित किया जाता है की वह इस बात का ध्यान रखे की उसके नगर में किसी प्रकार की चोरी न हो और वहाँ के लोग सुरक्षा का आनन्द लूटे और अपना-अपना व्यवसाय शान्तिपूर्वक करें। उसे काजी के लिखित आदेशों का पालन करना है। धन का अपहरण करनेवाले अपराधियों को जेल में रखने अथवा छोड़ने में उसे अपने स्वेच्छा से कार्य नहीं करना है। नगर में स्थित किसी घाट पर किसी प्रकार का कर न लगाने में उसे सावधानी बरतनी चाहिए। नाविकों को भी यात्रियों से उचित कर से अधिक वसूल करने से मना कर देना चाहिए और नियमोल्लंघन करने वाले व्यक्तियों तथा आततायियों को इन घाटों से पार उतारना बन्द कर देना चाहिए”।⁶

विद्याधर महाजन ने कोतवाल पद का स्वरूप स्पष्ट करते हुए लिखा है “कोतवाल नगर पुलिस का इंचार्ज था। उसे सड़कों और मकानों का रजिस्टर रखना पड़ता था। वह नगर को कई क्षेत्रों में बाँट देता था और अपने एक सहायक को उस क्षेत्र का सीधा चार्ज सौंप देता था। कोतवाल के पास जासूसों या खुफिया पुलिस की एक छोटी टुकड़ी होती थी। यदि वह चोरी गए माल को बरामद न कर सके तो उसे हर्जाना देना पड़ता था। वह मुद्रा की भी देखभाल करता था। वह स्थानिय मूल्यों को निश्चित करता था। वह नाप-तौल की भी जाँच करता था। उसे उन लोगों की सम्पत्ति का हिसाब रखना पड़ता था। जो बिना वसीयतनामा लिखे मर जाते थे। वह महिलाओं के प्रयोग के लिए कुओं और तालाबों की व्यवस्था करता था। वह घुड़सवारी करने

वाली औरतों को रोकता था। वो पशुओं के वध को रोकता था। वह गुलामों को रोकता था। वह बेईमान व्यापारियों को नगर में से निकालता था। वह कसाईयों, सफाई करनेवाले और शिकारियों को अलग स्थान देता था। तथ्य तो यह है कि उससे आशा की जाती थी कि, वह अपने क्षेत्र में रहनेवाले प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की प्रत्येक बात की जानकारी रखे”।⁷

आर्सेवादीलाल श्रीवास्तव लिखते हैं “विशेष महत्व के प्रत्येक नगर में कोतवाल नियुक्त किया जाता था, जो पुलिस कार्य के अतिरिक्त नगर प्रशासन की देखभाल भी करता था। कोतवाल की नियुक्ती केंद्र सरकार द्वारा होती थी और वह नगर में शान्ति और सुव्यवस्था स्थापनार्थ एक छोटे से सैनिक-दल का अध्यक्ष होता था। वह नगर रक्षकों को नियुक्त करता था और उन्हें नगर के भिन्न-भिन्न भागों में पहरा देने को तैनात करता था। कोतवाल ही सम्पूर्ण नगर को विभिन्न वार्डों (क्षेत्रों) में विभक्त करता था। और प्रत्येक वार्ड को अपने अधिनस्थ एक अधिकारी के प्रबन्ध में रख देता था।⁸

आईने अकबरी में लिखा है “प्रत्येक घर का उसे एक रजिस्टर रखना पड़ता था, सड़को की गूत लगानी पड़ती थी, नागरिकों से पारस्परिक सहयोग करने के लिए प्रतिज्ञाएँ करवानी पड़ती थी, और एक-दूसरे के सुख-दुख में शामिल होने के लिए उन्हें बाध्य किया जाता था”।⁹ इसप्रकार समाज में भाईचारा और मिलजुल की स्थिती निर्माण करने का काम कोतवाल को करना होता था।

इसके अलावा नगर की सफाई का प्रबन्ध करने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल की ही होती थी। सड़को पर कूड़ा-करकट तथा अन्य प्रकार की कोई गन्दगी नहीं रहने दी जाती थी। नगर के काहिल और निक्कम्मे लोगों को किसी न किसी काम में लगाना भी उसी का कर्तव्य था।¹⁰ कोतवाल के आपराधिक कर्तव्य के बारे में यदुनाथ सरकार लिखते हैं “कोतवाल का कर्तव्य था की, वह बन्दीगृह के बन्दीयों की गणना करे और उनके विरूद्ध लगाए गये अपराधों की सफाई भी प्राप्त करे और जिन लोगों को वह निर्दोष समझे, उनके विषय में उच्च अधिकारियों से उन्हें मुक्त कर दे। जो बन्दी निर्धन हो उनके विषय में भी उच्च अधिकारियों को सूचना दे और आदेशानुसार कार्यवाही करे। लेकिन जो अपराधी बन्दीगृह में ही रहने योग्य हो उनका विवरण फौजदार अदालत के अधिकारियों को भेजे और उनके हस्ताक्षरों से जो भी आज्ञा-पत्र प्राप्त हो उनका पालन करे। जो अपराधी मृत्युदण्ड के योग्य हो उनके लिए कोतवाल सम्बन्धित अधिकारियों द्वारा मुकदमे के दिन न्यायाधिश को उनका अपराध सविस्तार सुनाये और काजी के हस्ताक्षर सहित मृत्युदण्ड-पत्र प्राप्त करके दण्ड दे”।¹¹

ऐसा प्रतित होता है की, अकबर और औरंगजेब के काल में बादशाह ने जो नई निती या सुधार किए उस वजह से कोतवाल की जिम्मेदारियाँ एवं अधिकारों में भी परिवर्तन आया। अकबर के सामाजीक सुधारों को कार्यान्वित करने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल पर थी। इसके अलावा विदेशियों को रहने की सुविधाएँ प्रदान करना भी कोतवाल का ही कार्य था। इनके आने-जाने तथा इनकी गतिविधि पर पुरी निगरानी रखी जाती थी। अकबर ने सतिप्रथा पर प्रतिबंध लगाया था। इस प्रतिबंध का उल्लंघन न हो और सति जानेवाले स्त्री को रोकने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल पर थी। इसके अलावा भ्रूणहत्याओं को रोकने की जिम्मेदारी भी कोतवाल की ही थी।¹²

जहाँ तक औरंगजेब के शासनकाल का सम्बन्ध है, शराब बनाने पर रोक लगाना कोतवाल का कार्य था। इसके अलावा औरंगजेब बादशाह ने जिस बात को निषिद्ध माना और प्रतिबंधित किया उसका कड़ाई से पालन करने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल की ही थी। जो कुछ होता है, उन सब के बारे में वह जानकारी प्राप्त करता था। उसकी रिपोर्ट बादशाह को भेजनी होती थी।¹³

औरंगजेब के शासन काल के पश्चात विवाचक (नाप-तौल अधिकारी) का पद समाप्त हुआ। इस पद कि जो भी जिम्मेदारियाँ थी कोतवाल को पूरी करनी होती थी।¹⁴

उपरोक्त विवरणों के आधार पर हम कह सकते हैं की, कोतवाल के अधिकार व्यापक थे और जिम्मेदारियाँ भी बहुत थी। लेकिन विद्याधर महाजन कहते हैं “समकालीन लेखक हमें बताते हैं कि कोतवाल व्यावहारिक रूप में अपने दायित्व को कम करने या बचने का कोई न कोई तरीका खोज लेते थे। थैवनोट ने हमें बताया है कि, सुरत में उसकी यात्रा के दौरान एक आर्मेनिया वासी का सामान चुरा लिया गया था और वापिस नहीं मिला था, तो कोतवाल ने उसे पिड़ित करने की इतनी अधिक धमकी दी कि उसने अपनी शिकायत वापस ले ली। दूसरा मामला सेंध मारकर चोरी करने का था। जब कोतवाल चोरों का पता न लगा सका तो शिकायत करनेवाले को बहुत बेरहमी से पीटा गया और अन्त में उसे यह मानने को विवश किया गया कि उसके घर में सेंध लगाकर चोरी नहीं की गई। कोतवाल ने उससे उस छेद में बढ़ने को कहा जिसे चोरों ने उसके घर में घुसने के उद्देश्य से बनाया था और जब वह उसमें बढ़ न सका तो उसे झूठा ठहराया गया। ऐसे मामले प्रायः हुआ करते होंगे।¹⁵

निष्कर्ष : उपरोक्त विवरण से निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है की, सल्तनत काल की तुलना में मुगलकाल में कोतवाल के कार्यों में तथा जिम्मेदारियों में बढ़ोतरी हुई। सम्राट अकबर एवं औरंगजेब ने अपनी नीति के अनुसार विभिन्न सुधार किए। इन सुधारों को अमल में लाने की जिम्मेदारी कोतवाल को दी गयी। इन अतिरिक्त जिम्मेदारियों के वजह से कोतवाल के कार्यों का विस्तार हुआ। सल्तनत काल से कोतवाल को जो जिम्मेदारी निभानी पड़ती थी, वह जिम्मेदारियाँ मुगलकाल में भी पूरी करनी होती थी। इसके अलावा नई जिम्मेदारियों का भी निर्वहन उसे करना पड़ा।

सल्तनत कालीन कोतवाल की तुलना में मुगल कालीन कोतवाल दुर्बल एवं प्रभावहीन जान पड़ते हैं। सल्तनतकाल में कोतवाल पद पर आसीन व्यक्ती का सुल्तानपर काफी प्रभाव होता था, वैसा प्रभाव मुगलकाल में कोतवाल का नहीं रहा। अन्यथा जिस तरह कोतवाल अलाउलमुल्क ने अल्लाहाउद्दीन खिलजी को सही नीति अपनाने के लिए जरूरी सलाह एवं मार्गदर्शन किया, उसी तरह की सलाह कोतवाल ने औरंगजेब बादशाह को दिया होता तो शायद मुगल साम्राज्य एवं हिंदुस्तान का इतिहास अलग होता। कम-से-कम औरंगजेब असफल न होता। मुगल साम्राज्य का पतन इतने जल्दी शुरू नहीं होता।

अंत में कोतवाल की भूमिका से यह सबक वर्तमान के लिए यह हो सकता है की, महत्वपूर्ण पदों पर आसीन अधिकारी यदी प्रभावी ढंग से कार्य करते हैं और शासन प्रमुखों को उचित सलाह

एवं मार्गदर्शन करते हैं, तो निश्चित रूप में इससे देश का हित साध्य हो सकता है। यही प्रतीत करने के लिए यह शोध प्रबंध प्रस्तुत किया है।

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भारतीय संस्कारों के पाश्चात्य साधक : एक ऐतिहासिक विवेचन

*डॉ. चेतन राम पटेल

**श्री शरद सिंह ठाकुर

सारांश

विविधताओं का देश भारत सोलहवीं शताब्दी से ही अंग्रेज आगुन्तुको के आकर्षण का केन्द्र बना हुआ था। परन्तु उन दिनों उनकी दृष्टि साहित्य और संस्कृति से अधिक भारतीयों के बीच प्रचलित अंध-विश्वासों, रूढ़िग्रस्त आचार-विचारों तथा रहस्यात्मक धार्मिक भावनाओं पर केंद्रित थी। उनका सत्कालीन उद्देश्य ज्ञान संवर्द्धन की अपेक्षा कौतूहल का शमन था। उनकी धारणा के अनुसार भारतवर्ष साहित्यिक तथा सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ा हुआ देश था इस भ्रम को बढ़ाने में हमारी गोपन-वृत्ति ने भी बल दिया, जिससे शुद्ध होकर उन्होंने हमें रूढ़िप्रिय तथा हठकर्मों समझा यहां कि जनता की रहन सहन भी इतनी साधारण थी कि वह उन्हें प्रभावित न कर सकी फलस्वरूप उनके मन में हमारे प्रति अज्ञानता घर कर गई और मकाले जैसा सुबी पंडित भी हमारी साहित्यिक उपलब्धियों से अनभिज्ञ बना रहा। उसकी जानकारी में सारे भारत तथा अरब को मिला का कुल साहित्य एक अच्छी आलमारी से कम था।¹

परन्तु यह स्थिति अधिक दिनों तक टिकी न रह सकी और बढ़ते हुए सम्पर्क के कारण ज्ञान के प्रायः सभी क्षेत्रों में जिज्ञासामूलक शोध तथा अध्ययन की प्रवृत्ति अंग्रेजों में जगी। इसके फलस्वरूप जो निष्कर्ष उनके सामने आते गए उन पर चमत्कारिक प्रभाव पड़ा। जेम्स जीन्स के अनुसार जिस समय उनके पूर्वज परस्पर युद्धरत रहा करते थे, उस समय भारतीय दर्शन अपने चरम विकास पर था और काव्य कला तथा साहित्य की उन्नति उच्च शिखर पर थी।

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इस प्रकार हमें ऐसा लगता है कि उन दिनों उक्त दिशा में काम करने वालों के चार वर्ग थे। इनमें से पहला वर्ग कौतूहल का शमन करना चाहता था और दूसरा वर्ग अपनी जिज्ञासा द्वारा ज्ञान पिपासा को शान्त करना चाहता था। इसी प्रकार तीसरा वर्ग शासकीय सुविधा का ध्यान रखकर अध्ययन करता था। इसी प्रकार तीसरा वर्ग शासकीय सुविधा का ध्यान रखकर अध्ययन करता था। इनके अतिरिक्त एक महत्वपूर्ण वर्ग चौथा भी था जो ईसाई धर्म के प्रचार-प्रसार के लिए भारतीय समाज तथा संस्कृति की पूरी जानकारी प्राप्त कर लेना चाहता था। परन्तु प्रारम्भ में सुनियोजित अथवा सुसंगठित कार्य की अपेक्षा व्यक्तिगत रुचि के काम अधिक हुए²

इन प्रयत्नों का फल भी सदा एक जैसा नहीं रहा। प्रारम्भ में जिन बातों का केवल बाह्य परिचय संभव था बाद के प्रयत्नों द्वारा उनकी सीमा तथा क्षेत्र का भी पता लगा। इसी प्रकार जब वैज्ञानिक पद्धति द्वारा अध्ययन आम्भ हुआ तो उनके स्वरूप का दर्शन मिला। इसी पीढ़ी द्वारा पुरात्व विषयक कार्य का शुभारंभ हुआ। भाषा संबंधी अध्ययन का सूत्रपात बाद में हुआ। इस प्रकार सत्रहवीं शताब्दी के आरंभ से लेकर उन्सवीं शताब्दी के मध्य के बाद तक की रुचि अथवा जिज्ञासा-मूल शोध क्रम का परिचय मिल जाता है।

सन् 1651 में भारत विषयक एक पुस्तक डच भाषा में लिखी गई जिसका नाम ओपेन डोर टु हिडेन हीथेण्डम था, उसके लेखक का नाम अब्राहम रोज था। वह मद्रास के आस-पास कहीं रहा करता था इस पुस्तक का मुख्य विषय ब्रह्मणी की रीति-नीति तथा आचार-विचार से संबंध था। किन्तु इससे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण पुस्तक जॉन मार्शल की है जो सन् 1668 में लिखी गई थी, और जिसका नाम नोट्स एण्ड आब्जर्वेशन ऑन ईस्ट इण्डिया है। इसका लेखक बंगाल तथा पटना में रह चुका था और उसे हिन्दी, संस्कृत एवं बंगला भाषा का परिचय प्राप्त था। उसका अध्ययन जिज्ञासापूर्ण था।

फ्रांसीसी पर्यटकों में वर्नियर तथा टैवर्नियर के नाम महत्वपूर्ण हैं जिनका पर्यटन काल सन् 1671-77 के बीच का है इनकी कई सूचनाएँ बड़े काम की हैं। फिर भी जो विस्तृत सूचनाएँ सन् 1740 में ईसाई मिशनरी पेरीपांस द्वारा सुलभ हुई वह अपने समय की अमूल्य निधि है सन् 1756 में हालवेल द्वारा हिन्दू धर्म-ग्रंथों का संग्रह भी हुआ था जिनमें नागरी अक्षर में लिखे दो हिन्दी ग्रन्थ भी बतलाये जाते हैं। राबर्टस् हिनोबिलिबिस मृत्युकाल सन् 1756 द्वारा लिखिए एक फेंस पुस्तक भी ज्ञातव्य है जिसका प्रभाव कदाचित विख्यात दार्शनिक वाल्टेयर पर भी पड़ा था इसके पूर्व डेनमार्क की एक मिशनरी ने सन् 1750 में यजुर्वेद विषयक एक पुस्तक चीप कण्टेट्स एक पुस्तक हेन्स लीडेन ने तैयार की। किन्तु इसका उपयोग आस्ट्रीया के मिशनरी फ्रामावोला द्वारा हुआ यह 1775 से 90 तक मलाबार में रहा तथा इसने दो संस्कृति व्याकरण 1790 में रोम से प्रकाशित करवाये। इसके पूर्व 1767 में अर्थर कर्चर द्वारा अक्षर बोध कराने वाली एक पुस्तक चाइना इलस्ट्रेटा एम्सटर्डम से प्रकाशित हुई कर्चर की पुस्तक के कुछ वर्ष बाद थामस हाइड की पुस्तक हिस्टोरिया आहिलुडी थी परन्तु इसमें गहरी पैठ का अभाव था।³

ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इण्डिया कंपनी के कलकत्त स्थित फोर्ट विलियम किले के गवर्नर जनरल द्वारा कंपनी राज्य की शासन व्यवस्था सम्भल जाने के बाद भारतीय प्रणाली नियंत्रण के विधानों के क्रियान्वयन के लिए भारतीयों की मनः स्थितियों को समझना अंग्रेजों ने उचित समझा था।

भारतीय कानून की प्रथम पुस्तक 1776 में प्रकाशित हुई जो गर्वरनर जनरल वॉरेन हेस्टिंग की इस विषय में विशेष रुचि की थी। सन् 1798 में ग्लेडविन ने और एण्टल निसेलिनी को प्रस्तुत किया। इनके अतिरिक्त अन्य कई विद्वान इस प्रकार के अध्ययन में रुचि ले रहे थे। सन् 1784 में एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ बंगाल की स्थापना इसी प्रेरणा का परिणाम थी।⁴

जिसमें सर विलियम जोन्स एक महान शिक्षाविद् थे। संस्कृत भाषा का ज्ञान रखने वालों में सर्वप्रथम नाम चार्ल्स विल्किन्स का आता है जिसने भगवद्गीता का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद सांग ऑफ द एडोरेबिल वन नाम से किया था। उसने एक संस्कृत व्याकरण भी सन् 1808 में लिखा था। भारतीय शिला लेखों से परिचय प्राप्त करने वाला वह पहला अंग्रेजी विद्वान था। इसके कई अन्य अनुवाद ग्रन्थ भी हैं। विलियम जोन्स फोर्स विलियम का एक सब जज होकर सन् 1783 में भारत आया था, एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ बंगाल स्थापित करने का रेय उसी को है। उसने शाकुन्तल ऋतुसंहार, गीत गोविंद और मनुस्मृति का अनुवाद सन् 1789 से 94 के बीच किया के बीच किया। संस्कृत आदि आर्य परिवार की भाषाओं भी उसने तुलनात्मक अध्ययन किया। कोलबुक ने जो सन् 1772 में कलकत्ता आया था। ए डाइजस्ट ऑफ हिन्दू ला नामक पुस्तक लिखी जो सन् 1797-98 में प्रकाशित हुई सन् 1805 में उसने वेद विषयक ग्रन्थ लिखा। किरतार्जुनीय का अनुवाद उसने दे कम्बेट ऑफ द माउण्टेनियर नाम से किया। इसके अतिरिक्त उसने हितोपदेश तथा पाणिनीय व्याकरण का भी अनुवाद किया। उसने संस्कृत की पाण्डुलिपियों का एक संग्रह भी तैयार किया जो इण्डिया ऑफिस में सुरक्षित बतलायी जाती है। इसके बाद मानियर विलियम्स का नाम आता है जिसने कोश तैयार करने के साथ-साथ शकुन्तल का भी अनुवाद किया। फ्रेंच विद्वान डुपेरन द्वारा उपनिषद् का लैटिन अनुवाद पैरिस से उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ में प्रकाशित हुआ जिसका नाम ओपन खत रखा गया। इसी के द्वारा शापेन हावर जैसे विचारक प्रभावित हुए थे। युजिन बुर्नो ने उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भिक चार दशकों में वेद विषयक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया। इसके प्रमुख शिष्यों में रूडाल्फ ऑन द लिट्रेचर ऐंड हिस्ट्री ऑफ वेदन सन् 1846 में प्रकाशित हुई थी।⁵

सन! 1852 में बेवर ने हिस्ट्री ऑफ इंडियन ऑफ द इंडियन लिट्रेचर लिखा। जैन साहित्य से भी वह परिचित था। इसके साथ ही राय और बोटलिंग द्वारा संस्कृत का एक वृहत शब्दकोश सात खण्डों में प्रकाशित हुआ। बर्नार्ड की पुस्तक ऐसे आन पाली सन् 1826 में प्रकाशित हुआ। सन् 1843 से ही लासेन ने (इण्डियन ऐण्टिक्वेरी) का प्रकाशन प्रारंभ कर दिया था। सन् 1829-32 में जेम्स टॉड का महत्वपूर्ण इतिहास ग्रन्थ एनल्स ऐंड डेंटिक्विटी ऑफ राजस्थान प्रकाशित हुआ। इसी से प्रेरणा प्राप्त कर विसेंट स्मिथ ने भारतीय इतिहास विषयक ग्रन्थ लिखा जो तीन भागों में प्रकाशित हुआ। वेलेजेली की रुचि भी देशी भाषाओं के अध्ययन-अध्यापन की व्यवस्था की ओर झुकी और उसने ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी की चिन्ता न करके सन् 1800 में फोर्ट विलियम कॉलेज की स्थापना करा दी। यह कॉलेज हिन्दी भाषा और शैली की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण सिद्ध हुआ। इस प्रसंग में जॉन गिलक्राइस्ट, जॉन मोअट, विलियम टेलर तथा विलियम प्राइस के नाम स्मरणीय हैं। इनके सहायकों में हंटर तथा मैक्डूगल के भी नाम आदर पूर्वक लिये जाते हैं। यहां से कई हिन्दी पुस्तकों के सम्पादित संस्करण प्रकाशित हुए। लार्ड मिण्टो भी संस्कृत के

पुनरुज्जीवन में रूचि लेता था।¹⁶ इसके बाद गंभीर अध्ययन की ओर विदेशी विद्वानों का ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ। सन् 1860 में उसे सरकारी प्रश्रय तथा प्रोत्साहन मिला और आर्कियालजिकल सर्वे रिपोर्टों द्वारा नवीन तथ्यों का उद्घाटन होने लगा। संदर्भ में जेम्स जीन्स, स्टेन जॉन मार्शल आदि के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। सर जॉन मार्शल तथा उनके सहयोगी लोगों में भारत के दयाराम साहनी, माधवस्वरूप, वत्स तथा श्री जी आर दानी (जन्मे सरायपाली, जिला महासमुन्द छत्तीसगढ़) का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। (छत्तीसगढ़ शासन पुरातत्व एवं संस्कृति विभाग की स्मारिका 2012 की विवरणिका के अनुसार)

एडिनबरा के संस्कृत प्राध्यापक थियोडोर आफेक्ट ने सन् 1861-63 में सम्पूर्ण ऋग्वेद का प्रकाश रोमन लिपी में कराया इसमें संस्कृत साहित्य संबंधी मूल्यवान सूचनाएं प्रदान की। फलस्वरूप अंग्रेजी विद्वानों का ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ और वे इस ओर शोध कार्य करने में प्रवृत्त हुए। थीबो, ग्रिफिथ डॉ. बूलर, जे., मूर बर्सेज, पिर्शल, पिन्सेस, वेलेंटाइन और एडविन अर्नाल्ड आदि ऐसे ही विद्वान थे, जिन्होंने उल्लेखनीय कार्य किया।¹⁷ डॉ. थीबो का ब्रह्मसूत्र विषयक कार्य और ग्रिफिथ का वाल्मिकि रामायण वाला अंग्रेजी अनुवाद अपने-अपने ढंग के हैं। सन् 1882 में डब्लू राइट डेविड्स नेपाली टैक्स्ट सोसायटी के माध्यम से कार्य आरंभ किया। सन् 1907 में इसी प्रकार पेरिस निवासी मैरिननाट ने साढ़े आठ सौ जैन लेखों का संकलन किया था। देशी भाषाओं का अध्ययन भी कर्नल स्लीमैन ग्राडज आदि विद्वानों द्वारा अग्रसर हुआ। इस सन्दर्भ में बीम्स और केल्लेग के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं जिन्होंने व्याकरण ग्रन्थ प्रस्तुत किये। हार्नेली का काम इन सबसे आगे है। हिन्दी को उसने नेपाली मराठी, पंजाबी, बंगला, काश्मीरी और गुजराती की माँ बतलाया। उसकी पुस्तक ग्रामर ऑफ इण्डियन लैंग्वेजेन को पर्याप्त प्रसिद्धि मिली। हिन्दी के उद्भव को लेकर बड़ा मतभेद रहा करता था। कार्फर्ड, कॉडवेल, एण्डरसन आदि हिन्दी को स्वतंत्र भाषा मानते थे जो आर्यों के यहां आने के पूर्व से ही प्रचलित थी, किन्तु तासी और म्योर आदि ऐसे प्राकृत से प्रादुर्भूत बतलाते थे। उनके अनुसार संस्कृत भाषा आर्यों के साथ-साथ भारत में प्रविष्ट हुई और आगे चलकर इसने उसे अत्यधिक बीम्स और हार्नेली ने हिन्दी को उत्पत्ति संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत से बतलायी। बंगला को बीम्स हिन्दी को एक उपभाषा मैथिली का परिवर्तित रूप मानता था।¹⁸

सन् 1869 में चार्ल्स इलियट ने आल्ह खण्ड का सम्पादन कर प्रकाशित कराया। ग्राउज ने रामचरितमानस का सुसम्पादित संस्करण निकाला अर्नर तथा मैकडालन के प्रख्यात हैं ही तासी, तेस्तोरी तथा क्रियर्सन के भाषा और साहित्य विषयक शोधकार्य महत्व के हैं। इन्होंने ऐतिहासिक महत्व की सामाग्री प्रस्तुत की। रायल एशियाटिक सोसायटी से प्रकाशित भोजपुरी लोकगीत का संग्रह अपनी दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण है। तुलसीदास का साहित्यिक मूल्यांकन सर्वप्रथम ग्रियर्सन ने ही किया था।¹⁹ कजली आदि लोक प्रचलित गीतों का भी इसने अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया। सन् 1894 में डब्ल्यू कूक की पुस्तक ऐन एण्ट्रोडक्शन टू द पापुलर रेलिजन ऐण्ड फोकलोर ऑफ नार्थ इण्डिया प्रकाशित हुई। कूक ने इससे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य ट्राइब्स ऐण्ड कास्ट्स ऑफ नार्थ वेस्टर्न प्राविसेज ऐण्ड अवध लिखकर किया जिसका सन 1893 में प्रकाशन हुआ। इस दिशा में अन्य कई विद्यानुरागियों ने भारत के विभिन्न खण्डों पर कार्य किया। परन्तु यह विवरण अधूरा

ही रह जायेगा यदि कथसरितसागर के अनुवादक पेंजर का नाम छूट जाय। बी.जी. रेले ने भी द वैदिक गाड्स नामक पुस्तक लिखते रहते हैं। की थहापकिंस विल्सन फर्कुहर, ज्यूल, ब्लाख तथा विण्टर नित्त भी ऐसे ही विद्वान लेखक थे जिन्हें भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। ब्लूमफील्ड का भी नाम आदर पूर्वक लिया जाता है। टामस और श्रेडर के भी कार्य महत्वपूर्ण हैं। वेरियार एलविन का गोंड जाति विषयक कार्य भी स्थायी महत्व का है।¹⁰ फादर का मिल बुल्के और डॉ. बॉदविल के कार्यों द्वारा हमारा सांस्कृतिक भण्डार समृद्ध होता जा रहा है। इनके अतिरिक्त जाने कितने ज्ञात अज्ञात भारतीय संस्कृति के यूरोपीय साधक निरन्तर कार्य करते आ रहे हैं।¹¹

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1857 क्रांति की महान वीरांगना नर्तकी अजीजन बाई

*डॉ. संदीप श्रीवास्तव

सारांश

अजीजन कहने को तवायफ थी परंतु जब उसमें देश प्रेम उभरा तो नाना साहब पेशवा ने उन्हें बहन बनाया तथा अंग्रेज सेनापति हैवलाक के मुँह पर थूक कर अपने लिये तुरंत मौत की सजा तजवीज की। अजीजन ने ऐसी लोकप्रियता हासिल कर ली थी कि अंग्रेज तो अंग्रेज बल्कि हैवलाक भी दंग रह गया। जब अजीजन को गिरफ्तार किया गया तो हजारों की उत्तेजित भीड़ ने “अजीजन जिन्दाबाद” व “नाना साहब जिन्दाबाद” के नारे लगाये। हैवलाक एक नर्तकी की ऐसी लोकप्रियता देखकर दंग रह गया क्योंकि उसे जन विद्रोह का खतरा लगने लगा। हैवलाक ने अजीजन पर गंभीर आरोप लगाकर उसे विलियम कमेटी को सौंप दिया। कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में अजीजन को फांसी की सजा सुनाई गई। हैवलाक ने अजीजन से माफी मांगने को कहा लेकिन अजीजन ने हैवलाक को जबाब देते हुये कहा कि माफी कायर, गुनहगार मांगते हैं या अंग्रेज हो सकते हैं एक सच्चा भारतीय नहीं। गुनहगार तुम हो जिसने नाटक करके दो दिन तक मेरी शहादत को टालने का प्रयास किया। अजीजन ने कहा कि ये मुल्क हमारा है, अंग्रेज हत्यारे हैं, लुटेरे हैं, मासूमों और बेगुनाहों का कत्ल करके या उन्हें जिन्दा जला देने पर, या सरेआम औरतों की इज्जत लूटने पर तुम अंग्रेज अपने आप को बहादुर कहते हो। अंग्रेजों लानत है तुम पर, ऐसा कहते हुये अजीजन ने हैवलाक के सामने थूक दिया। हैवलाक को अजीजन की यह करतूत बहुत बुरी लगी। उसने एक सिपाही को इशारा किया और सिपाही ने अजीजन को हमेशा के लिये सुला दिया। जनता ने अपनी आवाज से आकाश में “देवी अजीजन जिन्दाबाद” से गुंजायमान कर दिया।

कूट शब्द : अजीजन, नानासाहब, तात्या टोपे, शम्सुद्दीन, अली खाँ, हमीदा बेगम, उमराव बेगम, हुसैन खाँ, हैवलाक, कानपुर, बिठूर, गंगा की रेत, हयात खाँ, नर्तकी, अंग्रेजी राज का नाश।

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1857 की क्रांति भारतीय इतिहास का एक महत्वपूर्ण अध्याय है। इस क्रांति ने 100 वर्षों से चले आ रहे ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के शासन को समाप्त कर दिया तथा अंग्रेजों को यह सोचने पर मजबूर कर दिया कि भारत में शासन अब शोषण और अत्याचार से नहीं बल्कि फूट डालो और शासन करो की नीति से संभव होगा। इस नीति को ही ध्यान में रखकर भारत में कंपनी राज्य समाप्त करके भारतीय शासन को ब्रिटिश क्राउन के अधीन कर दिया गया। 1857 के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में लाखों भारतीयों ने अपने प्राण न्यौछावर किये थे तथा हजारों लोग बेघर हो गये थे। 1857 का यह स्वतंत्रता संग्राम अंग्रेजों की कपट नीति के विरुद्ध एक भयंकर विस्फोट था।¹ भारत के इस प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में पुरुषों के साथ भारतीय महिलाओं ने घर की चाहरदीवारी को तोड़कर कंपनी के विरुद्ध संघर्ष किया और वीरगति को प्राप्त हुई। इस शहादत में झांसी की रानी लक्ष्मीबाई, अवध की बेगम हजरतमहल, बेगम जीनतमहल, नर्तकी अजीजन बाई, झलकारी बाई, महावीरी देवी, अवतिबाई आदि महान् वीरांगनाओं ने 1857 की क्रांति में न सिर्फ महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई बल्कि इनकी शहादत एक मील का पथर साबित हुई।² प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का जब-जब स्मरण किया जाएगा तो उसमें हमेशा अजीजन बाई का नाम अवश्य होगा। कानपुर के बिठूर के कुलीन परिवार में जन्मी अजीजन का बचपन, यौवन दर्दनाक था। बचपन में ही सखियों के साथ मेला देखने गयी इस बच्ची को छावनी के गोरे अंग्रेज उठा ले गये। गंगा पार करते समय दोनों सखियाँ गंगा में कूद गई। एक पहलवान ने दोनों में से एक को बचाकर, पैसे के लालच में मात्र 500 रुपये में कानपुर की मशहूर तावयफ हमीदा बेगम के हाथों सौंप दिया। लगभग 1830 में लखनऊ में हमीदा बेगम का बड़ा जलवा था। नाच-गाने व अपने हुस्न से उसने खूब दौलत व शौहरत कमाई थी। एक समय ऐसा भी आया कि अपने नाच गाने के पेशे को छोड़कर अपने तबलावादक हुसैन खाँ के साथ निकाह कर लिया और अपना पुराना मोहल्ला छोड़कर लखनऊ के ही दूसरे मोहल्ले में गुमनाम जिंदगी बिताने लगे।

लखनऊ के नबाव से हमीदा बेगम का नजदीकी घराना था। इन्हीं नबाव के यहाँ हयात खाँ ड्यूँदीदार थे। हयात खाँ का बेटा शम्सुद्दीन 6 साल का और अजीजन डेढ़ साल की। हयात खाँ की बेगम अजीजन की सुंदरता को देखकर अपने बेटे शम्सुद्दीन के लिए हाथ मांगकर बचपन में ही सगाई कर दी। समय ने कुछ ऐसा करवट बदला कि हमीदा बेगम की मृत्यु हो गई और हुसैन खाँ अंधे हो गये एवं दोनों परिवार एक-दूसरे से अलग हो गई। तबाही का कालचक्र अजीजन पर ऐसे पड़ा कि उसे तवायफ बनने की राह पर ढकेल दिया गया। हमीदा बेगम की बहन उमराव बेगम कानपुर की तवायफ थी। हमीदा के इंतकाल के बाद और अपने उम्र के चलते उसे धंधे चलाने के लिये अजीजन की याद आई। अजीजन के आने से उमराव के कोठे में जान आ गई। बस कमी थी उसके कोठे में आने वाले कद्दानों की। क्योंकि अंग्रेजों के दमन चक्र ने शौकीन मिजाज सेठों, व्यापारियों आदि लोगों पर शिकंजा कसा था। लेकिन उमराव ने अली खाँ को कद्दानों को लाने का काम सौंपा। उमराव ने अली खाँ से कहा “तुम जाकर अंग्रेजी सेना में भर्ती हो जाओ क्योंकि लूट का काफी पैसा वहाँ है, वे लोग कोठे की रौनक बढ़ा सकते हैं।” अली खाँ सेना में भर्ती होकर शिविरों में घूम-घूमकर अजीजन के हुस्न का बखान करने लगा। चंद महीनों में उमराव का कोठा आबाद हो गया। मार्च, 1857 तक कानपुर अंग्रेजी सेना का केन्द्र बन गया था। यहाँ का प्रमुख सेनापति हीलर था। जिसने टिक्का सिंह को सिपाही से सूबेदार बना दिया। घुड़सवार सैनिक शम्सुद्दीन को भी सूबेदारी सौंपी गयी। यह वही शम्सुद्दीन है जिसकी सगाई अजीजन से हुई थी। शम्सुद्दीन अक्सर अजीजन के कोठे पर जाया करता था। लेकिन

बचपन में की गई सगाई दोनों को नहीं मालूम थी। उमराव बेगम ने अपने फायदे के लिए दोनों से यह बात छिपाये रखी। अंग्रेजों का झाँसी, तंजौर, संतारा में दमन, लखनऊ में नबाव वाजिद अलीशाह को गद्दी से उतारना आदि घटनाएँ अंग्रेजों की रणनीति का हिस्सा थी। दूसरी तरफ अवध के नबावों का विद्रोह, बेगम हजरत महल का अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ विद्रोह, नानासाहब व तात्याटोपे द्वारा हिन्दूस्तानी सैनिकों को तोड़ना, गुप्त मंत्रणा आदि कार्य व घटनाएँ चल रही थी। नानासाहब ने लगभग-लगभग सभी महत्वपूर्ण सैनिकों को अपनी तरफ मिला लिया था लेकिन शम्सुद्दीन जैसा महत्वपूर्ण सैनिक अभी शामिल नहीं था। नानासाहब को जब पता चला कि शम्सुद्दीन अजीजन का प्रेमी है तो उन्होंने अजीजन की न सिर्फ मदद लेने का फैसला लिया बल्कि उन्हें बहन बनाया। अजीजन के कोठे पर नानासाहब, तात्याटोपे, अजीमुल्ला खाँ ने मंत्रणा की। अजीजन का क्रांतिकारियों के प्रति श्रद्धा थी, इसलिए उन्होंने नाना साहब व तात्याटोपे को वचन दिया कि वह शम्सुद्दीन को आपके पक्ष में लाने की सहायता करेगी। तात्याटोपे ने अजीजन को कहा “उन्हें मेरा यह खत देकर उनसे कहिएगा कि वतन को उनके फैसले का इंतजार है।”

जब शम्सुद्दीन कोठे पर आये तो अजीजन ने कहा “आप क्या है जो मैं आपसे प्रेम करूँगी आप तो अंग्रेज परस्त है और चांदी के चंद सिकके ही आपका ईमान है।” शम्सुद्दीन आग-बबूला हो गये तब अजीजन ने कहा कि एक तवायफ भी मोहब्बत कर सकती है और मेरी मोहब्बत बिक नहीं सकती। तब शम्सुद्दीन ने कहा कि तुम चाहती क्या हो। तब अजीजन ने कहा कि आप बगावत में शामिल होकर नानासाहब का साथ दें। अजीजन ने तुरंत तात्याटोपे का खत शम्सुद्दीन को सौंप दिया। पढ़कर रोने लगे तब अजीजन ने उन्हें गले से लगा लिया। 24 मई 1857 को ईद पड़ी। शम्सुद्दीन, अजीमुल्लाखाँ, तात्याटोपे आदि सभी महत्वपूर्ण सेनानियों ने मंत्रणा की। उस दिन अजीजन ने एक से बढ़कर एक इंकबाली गजलें सुनाई। तात्या ने उसे उपहार में सोने के कंगन भेंट करते हुए कहा, “अजीजन इस कंगन की लाज रखना” 4 जून 1857 की रात दो बजे अंग्रेजी सेना के हिन्दूस्तानी सैनिकों ने विद्रोह का शंखनाद कर दिया। शाम को घोषणा हो गयी “आज से कानपुर में श्रीमंत नाना साहब पेशवा का राज्य स्थापित हो गया है।” कानपुर की इस सफलता में अजीजन की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी। वह बेहद खुश थी। अली खाँ को लेकर थोड़ा दुख भी था। क्योंकि अली खाँ विद्रोहियों को चकमा देकर घर भाग आया था। अजीजन इस बात से नाराज थी। उमराव बेगम ने भी समझाया, लेकिन वह नहीं माना। एक तरफ अजीजन की जिद, तो दूसरी तरफ डरपोक औलाद का मोह। अंत में फैसला हुआ कि अली खाँ घर पर ही रहे। नाना साहब के कहने पर उसने सैकड़ों महिलाओं का जत्था तैयार किया। क्रांति में घायल लोगों की दवा, पानी, फल, मरहम पट्टी आदि देकर सेवा करती थी। अपनी इस सेवा से उसने 1857 के हजारों जख्मी सैनिकों को बचाया। 1857 की क्रांति जब कानपुर में फैली, तब अजीजन ने नाचरंग को त्याग दिया तथा कानपुर में क्रांतिकारियों का साथ दिया। उसने क्रांतिकारियों की गुप्त बैठकों में बढ़-चढ़कर हिस्सा लिया।⁹ अजीजन अपनी रेजिमेंट की विशेष पोशाक पहनती थी, जिस पर अनेक प्रकार के मेडल आदि उसके कंधों पर लगे रहते थे। अजीजन के पास एक तलवार और एक पिस्तौल सदैव रहती थी। अजीजन तथा उसकी टोली दिन में सिपाही के मर्दाने भेष में रहती थीं तथा रात में एक नाचने वाली का भेष बनाकर अंग्रेजों की छावनी में जाकर नाचती गाती और उनका भेद मालूम करती थी।¹⁰ इस दौरान नाना साहब के आदेशानुसार शम्सुद्दीन फतेहपुर चले गये। शम्सुद्दीन अंग्रेजों से युद्ध में मारे गये। अजीजन का जैसा सब कुछ खत्म हो गया। अंग्रेजी सेना ने कानपुर आकर बेबस जनता

पर अत्याचार किया। अजीजन ने पता लगाया कि नाना साहब बिठूर पहुँच रहे हैं तब अजीजन भी बिठूर के लिये चल पड़ी। रास्ते में जनता पर होने वाले अत्याचार को देखकर उसने तीन अंग्रेज सैनिकों को मार गिराया। इधर अंग्रेजों ने घोषणा करा दी “अजीजन जहाँ मिले उसे जिंदा या मुर्दा पकड़ लाओ।” अंग्रेजों ने बिठूर पर भी हमला कर दिया। उन्होंने नाना साहब की 13-14 साल की बेटी नैनी उर्फ मैना देवी को जिंदा जला दिया। अंग्रेजों की इस नीच हरकत से सब भौचक्के रह गए। नाना साहब, तात्या टोपे, अजीमुल्ला खाँ, अजीजन बाई आदि प्रमुख लोगों ने ठहरने की समस्या को लेकर गंगा की रेती में ही रात बिताने का निर्णय लिया। अगले दिन अंग्रेजों का कड़ा मुकाबला तात्याटोपे ने किया। इस संघर्ष में अजीजन ने भी भाग लिया। क्रांतिकारी लगभग पराजित हो गये थे। तात्याटोपे बुरी तरह जख्मी थे, अंग्रेजों ने उन्हें चारों तरफ घेर लिया था। इस बात को जानकर अजीजन ने घेरा तोड़कर तात्याटोपे के पास पहुँची और उनके टोपे की कलंगी अपने सिर पर लगा ली और कहा “वतन के वास्ते आप यहाँ से निकल जाइए।” अजीजन ने तात्याटोपे को सुरक्षित निकालकर अंग्रेजों से बहादुरी से जूझती रही। कानपुर में अंग्रेजों का कब्जा हो गया। उमराव बेगम का बेटा अली खाँ ने जनरल हैवलाक को अजीजन के ठिकाने का सुराग दे दिया। उमराव बेगम का मकान घेर लिया गया। हैवलाक ने अजीजन से उसके कार्यों के लिए माफी मांगने को कहा, परंतु राष्ट्रीयता की भावना के कारण अजीजन ने इंकार कर दिया और अंग्रेजों से कहा कि जिसके हृदय में देश प्रेम उमड़ रहा हो, राष्ट्रीयता भरी हो, वह विदेशियों के समक्ष कैसे घुटने टेक सकता है। उमराव के घर को बारूद से उड़ा दिया गया। अजीजन घर के तहखाने से निकलकर भागी तब जनरल हैवलाक के आदेश पर अजीजन का सुंदर शरीर गोलियों से छन्नी कर दिया गया और भारत माँ की लाडली महान वीरांगना सदैव के लिए भारत माँ की गोद में सो गयी।⁵ यहाँ उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है कि अजीजन को गोलियों से मारा गया या फाँसी की सजा सुनाई गई। जब अजीजन घर से निकलकर भागी तब हैवलाक के आदेश पर अजीजन को गिरफ्तार कर कानपुर ले जाया गया। जहाँ विलियम कमेटी ने उसे मौत की सजा सुनाई। जनरल हैवलाक ने उससे पूछा, “तुम्हारी अंतिम इच्छा?” तब अजीजन ने कहा “अंग्रेजी राज का नाश।”⁶ अजीजन की शहादत हमेशा अविस्मरणीय रहेगी। अजीजन कहने का तवायफ थी, परंतु जब उसमें देश-प्रेम उभरा तो नाना साहब पेशवा ने उन्हें बहन बनाया, तात्याटोपे ने निशानी के तौर पर कंगन दिया, शम्सुद्दीन ने अपनी पत्नी बनाया, तथा अंग्रेज सेनापति हैवलाक के मुँह पर तमाचा मारकर अपने लिए मौत की सजा तजवीज की और कहा अंग्रेजी राज का नाश। अजीजन ने वीरता और साहस का परिचय दिया। उनके त्याग और बलिदान के लिए यह भारतवर्ष सदैव ऋणी रहेगा।

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जन चेतना में गुरु घासीदास का योगदान : छत्तीसगढ़ के संदर्भ में

*पी. डी. सोनकर

सारांश

गुरु घासीदास के उपर्युक्त सातो उपदेश वस्तुतः सामाजिक संरचना के स्वस्थ और समुन्नत बनाने के नैतिक नियमावली ही है, जो तात्कालिक विषम परिस्थितियों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में उद्भूत प्रतीत होते हैं। इनमें कहीं भी जप-तप, विशिष्ट साधना-पद्धति, पूजा पाठ या कर्मकाण्ड करने का संकेत नहीं है, अपितु समाज में नवीन चेतना जागृत करने के नायाब और अनुपम सूत्र है। इन सातों उपदेशों के भावार्थ पर दृष्टिपात करें तो वे निम्नांकित रूप से उभरकर सामने आते हैं: 1. सत्य की आराधना-साधना ही ईश्वर की पूजा है। सत्य का आचरण हर हाल में मनुष्य को श्रेष्ठ बनाता है। गुरु घासीदास ने सत्य को ईश्वर माना है। सत्य के प्रति उनकी अनुभूति भले ही नवीन हो सकती है किन्तु सत्य की महिमा का गुणगान प्राचीन ग्रंथों में भी हुआ है।

अठारहवीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध में छत्तीसगढ़ की धरा पर अवतरित गुरु घासीदास महान युगप्रवर्तक सन्त थे। उनके चिन्तन और कार्य का व्यापक प्रभार छत्तीसगढ़ी समाज पर पड़ा। उन्होंने सन् 1820 ई. से 1850 ई. तक समाज सुधार आन्दोलन चलाया जो छत्तीसगढ़ के इतिहास में “सतनाम आन्दोलन” के रूप में दर्ज है। “आधुनिक युग में घासीदास एक सशक्त क्रान्तिदर्शी तथा आध्यात्मिक गुरु थे। वे राजा राममोहन राय से बहुत पहले नवजागरण का सन्देश लेकर अवतरित हुए थे। घासीदास उनमें से एक हैं, जिन्होंने छत्तीसगढ़ के भूमिदासों को जगाया और जाति प्रथा को समाप्त कर समतावादी समाज की रचना की।”¹

गुरु घासीदास का जन्म 18 दिसम्बर सन् 1756 ई. को तत्कालीन बिलासपुर जिले के ग्राम गिरौद में हुआ था। गुरु घासीदास की माता अमरौतिन और पिता मंहगूदास थे। वे मूलतः कृषि कार्य से सन्नद्ध थे, अर्थात् कृषक थे। यहाँ यह तथ्य भी ध्यातव्य है कि किसी महापुरुष या क्रान्तिकारी के व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व के अध्ययन क्रम में उनसे सम्बंधित देश काल और

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परिस्थितियों की विवेचना आवश्यक हो जाती है, यद्यपि ऐसे महापुरुष अपने जनहितकारी प्रदेय के माध्यम से सर्ववरेण्य हो जाते हैं और जाति, धर्म और स्थान की सीमाओं तक आबद्ध नहीं रह जाते हैं, तथापि उनके सामान्य मनुष्य से महान बनने की प्रक्रिया में जिन तत्वों या परिस्थितियों का विशिष्ट योग रहता है, उन्हें जानना-समझना भी समीचीन हो जाता है। इन्हीं के माध्यम से छत्तीसगढ़ की जन चेतना में गुरु घासीदास के योगदान को रेखांकित किया जा सकता है। अतः गुरु घासीदास के युग की राजकीय-प्रशासकीय, सामाजिक, धार्मिक और आर्थिक परिस्थितियों पर सिंहावलोकन भी आवश्यक है। “सन् 1741 ई. छत्तीसगढ़ के राजनीतिक इतिहास में परिवर्तन का काल माना जाता है इस समय तक हैहय शासन छत्तीसगढ़ में पतन की कगार पर पहुँच चुका था। केन्द्रीय-शक्ति का बहुत पहले से ही विघटन आरम्भ हो चुका था और अनेक छोटे-छोटे शासक राज्य की जड़ों को दिन-प्रतिदिन खोखला बना रहे थे। ऐसी स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर नागपुर के भोंसला शासक के सेनापति भास्कर पंत ने तीस हजार सैनिकों के साथ रतनपुर राज्य पर आक्रमण किया। उस समय यहाँ रघुनाथ सिंह का शासन था। उनकी अवस्था 60 वर्ष थी। वे अपने एकमात्र पुत्र की शोक से पीड़ित थे तथा युद्ध के लिए तनिक भी प्रस्तुत न थे। अतः उन्होंने भास्कर पंत के समक्ष आत्म-समर्पण कर दिया।”² छत्तीसगढ़ में मराठों का शासन सन् 1741 ई. से 1818 ई. तक रहा। इस अवधि में सन् 1760 के बाद से छत्तीसगढ़ में अंग्रेज यात्रियों का आगमन शुरू हो गया था। सन् 1790 ई. में फारेस्टर तथा सन् 1795 में कर्नल जे.टी. ब्लंट ने छत्तीसगढ़ का दौरा किया था। उन्होंने यहाँ की स्थितियों का उल्लेख अपने रिपोर्ट में किया था। उनके अनुसार यहाँ की राजकीय-प्रशासकीय व्यवस्था अच्छी नहीं थी। फारेस्टर के अनुसार “मराठे बहुत निर्दयी थे। वे छत्तीसगढ़ अंचल में बहुत बदनाम थे। धन के इतने लालची थे कि जो कोई ज्यादा बोली लगाता, उसे ही जमींदारी बेच देते थे।”³ छत्तीसगढ़ में गरीबी और बेबसी का यह आलम था कि कुछ समय बाद “सिक्कों का प्रचलन बिल्कुल ही समाप्त हो गया था। सभी लोग अपने ही परिश्रम से अपनी आजीविका चलाते थे। मराठों की सेना समय-समय पर उन पर कहर ढाती रहती थी। (कैप्टन जे.टी. ब्लंट 1795)”⁴ शासन-प्रशासन का प्रत्यक्ष-अप्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव समाज में अवश्य पड़ता है तथा तदनुरूप समाज का स्वरूप भी बनता-बिगड़ता रहता है। सन् 1818 ई. में सर एडमंड के बाद मेजर पी.वान. एग्नू छत्तीसगढ़ के प्रशासक (सुप्रिन्टेन्डेन्ट) नियुक्त हो कर आये। उन्होंने सर्वप्रथम 1820 ई. में जनगणना का कार्य सम्पन्न कराया तथा “अ रिपोर्ट आन द सुबा आर प्रोविन्स ऑफ छत्तीसगढ़” (गजेटियर) के रूप में एक प्रमाणिक दस्तावेज तैयार किया, जिसमें तत्कालीन छत्तीसगढ़ की राजनीतिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक, सामाजिक एवं शैक्षणिक स्थितियों का ब्यौरा दर्ज किया गया। उन परिस्थितियों के बारे में विस्तार से इस लघु आलेख में उल्लेख करना संभव नहीं है किन्तु सारांशतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि तत्कालीन छत्तीसगढ़ में धार्मिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक और शैक्षणिक स्थितियाँ छिन्न-भिन्न थी। “सच्ची धार्मिकता का नामो निशान तक नहीं रह गया था। धर्म के ठेकेदार धर्म छोड़ चुके थे। मठ-मंदिर महाजनी के अड्डे बने हुए थे। धर्म के नाम पर नरबलि जैसी कुप्रथा थी। किसी भी जाति का व्यक्ति या जनजाति का व्यक्ति निश्चित धनराशि जमा कराकर राजकोश से यज्ञोपवीत प्राप्त कर

लेता था और उसके धारण करने का हो जाता था।⁵

तत्कालीन समय में पूरा छत्तीसगढ़ का समाज जातियों एवं उपजातियों में बंटा हुआ था। यद्यपि उनमें उग्र वैमनस्यता की भावना नहीं थी तथापि ऊंच-नीच और छुआछूत का भाव-व्यवहार गहराई के साथ व्याप्त था। सभी जातियों में बहुविवाह के बाद भी दासी या रखैल रखने की प्रथा हर जाति में थी।⁶ यहाँ शिक्षा शून्य थी, जिसके कारण अंधविश्वास और जादूटोने का सर्वाधिक प्रचलन था। बहु विवाह के बाद भी दासी या रखैल रखने की प्रवृत्ति के कारण आपसी विवाद और संघर्ष की स्थितियाँ निर्मित होती रही होगी। इस बात से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता। कुल मिलाकर कहा जा सकता है कि वह पतनोन्मुख समाज था तथा नैतिकता निरंतर हासोन्मुखी होती जा रही थी। ऐसे आलम में गुरु घासीदास का श्रमवीर से सन्तवीर में रूपांतरण, छत्तीसगढ़ के लिए “भोर का तारा” बनकर आशा और विश्वास जागृत करने जैसा था। उनके इस रूपांतरण की प्रक्रिया में दो घटनाएँ विशेष महत्व रखती हैं। 1. उनके द्वारा जगन्नाथपुरी की तीर्थ यात्रा पर प्रस्थान एवं सारंगढ़ से ही ‘सतनाम’ का उच्चारण करते हुए वापस लौटना तथा 2. छातापहाड़ पर छः माह तक तपस्या करना। तपस्या के पश्चात् उन्हें दिव्य ज्ञान की अनुभूति होती है। तदनुसार वे जनचेता विकसित करने के अपने मुहिम में अग्रसर होते हैं। (चिशोल्म 1862 ई.) सबसे पहले उन्होंने आमजन के बीच सात उपदेशों को प्रस्तुत किया जो इस प्रकार हैं

1. सत्य ही ईश्वर है।
2. मांशाहार मत करो।
3. नशा पान मत करो।
4. पर स्त्री को माता मानो।
5. मूर्तिपूजा मत करो।
6. जाति-पाँति के प्रपंच में मत पड़ो।
7. दोपहर में खेत मत जोतो।

सा मा सत्योक्तिः परिपातु विश्वतो द्यावा च यत्र ततनन्नहानि च।

विश्वमन्यन्नि विषेत यदेजति विश्वहापो विरूवाहोदेति सूर्यः।।⁷

अर्थात् सत्य के सहारे आकाश, सारा संसार और उसके सम्पूर्ण प्राणी हैं, उसी से दिन निकलता, सूर्य उदय होता और जल प्रवाहित होता है, वही सत्य हमारे अन्तःकरण में भी ओत-प्रोत हो।

सत्यं च समताचैव दमष्चैव न संषयः।

अमात्सर्यक्षमाचैव छीस्तितीक्षाअनसूयता।।

त्यागो ध्यानमधार्यत्वं धृतिश्च सततंदया।

अहिंसा चैव राजेन्द्र सत्यकारास्त्रयोदश।।⁸

अर्थात् हेराजेन्द्र! इन्द्रिय-निग्रह, मत्सर का न होना, क्षमा, लज्जा, सहनशीलता, प्रियदर्शन, विषयासक्ति का त्याग, ईश्वर आराधना, सन्मार्ग का अनुसरण, अविचलित धैर्य और अहिंसा ये सभी सत्य के ही स्वरूप हैं। केवल सत्य बोलना ही सत्य नहीं कहा जा सकता।

आहुः सत्यं हि परमं धर्मः धर्म विदोजनाः ।

सत्यमेकवदं ब्रह्म सत्ये धर्मः प्रतिष्ठितः ।।

सत्यमेवाक्षयावेदाः सत्येनावाप्यते परम ।।⁹

अर्थात् सच्चे धर्मनिष्ठ, सत्य को सर्वश्रेष्ठ मानते हैं। सत्य से ज्ञान मिलता है, सत्य साक्षात् परमब्रह्म परमेश्वर है।

1. मांशाहार मत करो का तात्पर्य है जीवों की हत्या न करें। यह उस काल में प्रचलित बलिप्रथा को समाप्त करने का उपक्रम था जो पशुधन की रक्षा के लिए अनिवार्य हो गया था।
2. नशापान मत करो का अभिप्रेत यही था कि शराब, तम्बाकू आदि न केवल व्यक्ति के स्वास्थ्य के लिए हानिकारक हैं अपितु सामाजिक पर्यावरण को भी दूषित करता है जिसके कारण अपराधिक कृत्य होते हैं।
3. पर स्त्री को माता मानो। यह नारी को सम्मान और अधिकार प्रदान करने का संदेश है। उस काल में बहुविवाह, दासी एवं रखैल रखने की कुप्रवृत्ति चरम पर थी जो सजीव और संवेदनशील नारी को वस्तु की तरह उपभोग करने जैसा था। अतः उस कुप्रवृत्ति की समाप्ति अनिवार्य हो गई थी।
4. मूर्तिपूजा मत करो का अभिप्राय यह था कि भाग्यवादी बनकर अंधश्रद्धा की ओर मत बढ़ो बल्कि अपनी क्षमता पर विश्वास करके उसके माध्यम से समस्याओं का निराकरण करो।
5. जाति-पाति के प्रपंच में मत पड़ो अर्थात् सभी मनुष्य एक ही परमपिता की संतान हैं अतः कृतिम भेदभाव को मत पनपने दो। मनुष्य, मनुष्य में नफरत या दूरियां बढ़ाने के बजाय आत्मियता बढ़ाओ।
6. दोपहर में खेत मत जोतो के उपदेश देकर गुरु घासीदास ने पहली बार श्रमिकों तथा कृषि के प्रमुख उत्पादन-सहयोगी-पशुधन की सुरक्षा और समुचित देखभाल करने की ओर प्रेरित किया।

इस तरह गुरु घासीदास के उपदेश तत्कालीन समाज में नव जागृति के अमोघ सिद्धांत बनकर प्रस्तुत हुए। जिसके फलस्वरूप समाज में चमत्कारिक परिवर्तन प्रारंभ हो गया। “उस काल खण्ड के छत्तीसगढ़ के क्षितिज में घासीदास सुबह के तारे बनकर उदित हुए। धर्म के नाम पर फैली हुई कुप्रथाओं की निरर्थकता को उन्होंने सबसे पहले समझा और उन्हें दूर करने के लिए आजीवन प्रयत्न किया। इसीलिए रसेल तथा हीरालाल (प्रथम खण्ड 1916 पृष्ठ 307) ने उन्हें “महान सुधारक” माना है।”¹⁰ एक तथ्य की ओर मनीषियों का ध्यान केन्द्रित नहीं हो पाया था, वह था, छत्तीसगढ़ के युवकों द्वारा अधिक संख्या में सन्यास ग्रहण करना। उस काल में युवावर्ग गुरु गोरखनाथ के पंथ में दीक्षित हो जाते थे और घर-परिवार तथा खेती किसानों की ओर से विमुख हो जाते थे। गुरु घासीदास ने समझाया कि गृहस्थ आश्रम ही सबसे श्रेष्ठ हैं, ईश्वर की साधना-आराधना गृहस्थ बन कर भी भलिभांति की जा सकती है। इसके लिए घर-परिवार को त्यागने और अरण्यवासी अथवा पारिव्राजक बनने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। फलस्वरूप इस प्रवृत्ति

पर रोक लगी। “घासीदास ने व्यापक पैमाने पर धार्मिक तथा सामाजिक आन्दोलन प्रारंभ किया था। उनका विश्वास था कि भूखा पेट धर्म की समस्याओं को कभी समझ नहीं पाएगा। इसलिए सबसे पहले जीवन की प्राथमिक आवश्यकताओं पर उन्होंने बल दिया और लोगों को कृषि कार्य के लिए मोड़ा। लोगों ने उनके नेतृत्व में अपनी खोई हुई कृषि को पुनः प्राप्त किया और वे आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न होने लगे। उनकी गुलामी के बंधन कटने लगे। बेकारी की प्रथा का उन्होंने डटकर विरोध किया और लोग दलितों से बेगार कराने से डरने लगे।”¹¹

नारी जाति की समस्याओं को सुलझाने की दिशा में उन्हें काफी सफलता मिली। नारी दोगम दर्जे से भी बदतर स्थिति में जीने के लिए विवश थी। “गुरु घासीदास छत्तीसगढ़ में नारी जाति के प्रथम उद्धारक थे। स्त्रियों को स्वाधीनता और कर्मठता का अधिकार स्त्रियों को मिले, इसके लिए वे जागरूक थे। ‘टोन्ही’ घोषित कर स्त्रियों के अपमान और उनके वध के खिलाफ घासीदास ने झंडा उठाया था। सती प्रथा को उन्होंने बंद करवाया। विधवा स्त्रियों के पुनर्विवाह का अधिकार उन्होंने दिलाया था। धार्मिक कार्यों में स्त्रियों की सहभागिता के लिए भी वे प्रयत्नशील थे। उन्हीं के कारण छत्तीसगढ़ में स्त्रियों को पुरुषों के समान बराबरी का अधिकार मिला था।”¹²

उनके द्वारा नरबलि को समाप्त करने के अनुश्रुति मूलक इतिहास भी जनसामान्य में प्रचलित रहे हैं। यह उल्लेख आता है कि उन्होंने बस्तर की प्रसिद्ध देवी दन्तेश्वरी के मंदिर में जारी नरबलि को समाप्त किया था। उन्होंने देवी को नरबलि न लेने के लिए प्रयास करके राजी कर लिया था।

हीवेट (1869 : 33) ने लिखा है कि सतनाम पंथ किसी भी वर्ग के लोगों का मतान्तरण कर सकता था। उन्होंने खुद यह पाया था कि “घासीदास के प्रभाव से अन्य जातियों के अनेक लोग सतनामी हो गए थे। इनमें अहीरों की संख्या सर्वाधिक थी। ऐसे मतान्तरण घासीदास के जीवनकाल में 1840 से 1850 के बीच सर्वाधिक हुए थे। यदि ऐसा न होता, यदि अन्य जातियों के लोग सतनाम पंथ में अधिक संख्या में दीक्षित न होते, तो रायपुर जिले में सतनामियों की संख्या इतनी अधिक कभी नहीं होती।”¹³ यह उद्धरण उनके बढ़ते प्रभाव को दर्शाने के लिए ही प्रस्तुत किया गया है। गुरु घासीदास के व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व पर यथार्थपरक विश्लेषण करने वाले अधिकारी विद्वान डॉ. दादूलाल जोशी लिखते हैं “गुरु घासीदास जी के समग्र जीवन दर्शन पर जब हम नजर डालते हैं तब उनका पूरा व्यक्तित्व एक क्रांतिकारी के रूप में उभरता है। वर्तमान में उनका संपूर्ण व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व एक सीमित दायरे में बंधकर रह गया है। पहले के लेखकों (अंग्रेज और भारतीय दोनों) ने तथा बाद के सतनामी समाज के लेखकों ने गुरु घासीदास को मात्र आध्यात्मिक गुरु के रूप में ही चित्रित कर दिया है फलस्वरूप उनके सम्पूर्ण व्यक्तित्व और कृतित्व पर आध्यात्मिकता का ऐसा पुट चढ़ा कि अब वह पूरी तरह से रूढ़ हो गया तथा आज से एक सौ नब्बे वर्षों पूर्व की गई उनकी अनुपम जनक्रांति की निष्पत्ति, सतनामी जाति, सतनामी संप्रदाय अथवा सतनाम पंथ के संबोधनों तक आकर ठहर गई है। किसी संत-महात्मा या क्रांतिकारी की पूरी क्रियाविधि एवं स्थापनाओं को एकपक्षीय नजरिये से देखना और उसे किसी

खास सांचे में फिट कर देना उस महापुरुष के साथ नाइसाफी तो होती ही है, इससे समाज को भी बहुत नुकसान होता है।”¹⁴ गुरु घासीदास के सातों उपदेशों के अतिरिक्त उनकी बयालिस रावटियाँ भी हैं, जो उनके द्वारा यात्राओं के दौरान समय-समय पर प्रस्तुत दार्शनिक वचन हैं। वे ऐसे सूत्र वाक्य हैं, जिनसे मनुष्य को श्रेष्ठ और उदात्त जीवन जीने की प्रेरणा मिलती है। निष्कर्षतः कहा जा सकता है कि गुरु घासीदास के द्वारा चलाये गये नवजागरण अभियान आज भी प्रासंगिक है। “गुरु घासीदास के जीवन का यह ‘मिशन’ था कि वे जाति, धर्म, लिंग, अर्थ या बौद्धिक धरातल पर मनुष्य से मनुष्य के भेद को दूर करें। उच्च या निम्न, धनी या निर्धन उनके लिए समाज रूप से सम्माननीय थे। आज के भारत के लिए घासीदास का आचरण केवल प्रासंगिक ही नहीं है, अपितु आज के सामाजिक तथा नैतिक ठहराव, अपकर्ष और संशयवाद के लिए वह एक वांछित विकल्प भी है। राष्ट्र-जीवन के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हम मानव मूल्यों को पुनः संरचित कर उन्हें सुदृढ़ बनाये। इसके लिए उपदेश के बजाय घासीदास के समान हमें उन मूल्यों को अपने जीवन में उतारना होगा।”¹⁵

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छत्तीसगढ़ के बस्तर उपांचल (सम्भाग) क्षेत्र की लोहार जाति का सामाजिक, आर्थिक, तथा सांस्कृतिक योगदान : एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

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सारांश

‘भारतीय इतिहास के आधुनिक युवा के आर्थिक प्रतिस्पर्धा एवं सामाजिक परम्परागत नैतिक मूल्यों के क्रमिक परिवर्तन के दौर में जनजातीय सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक संरचना का बड़ा महत्व रहा है। भारतवर्ष के जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में भारतीय सामाजिक संरचना के आधारभूत निर्माण तथा विकास में यथेष्ट योगदान दिया है। जिसमें बस्तर सम्भागीय क्षेत्र या छत्तीसगढ़ लोकांचल (अब छत्तीसगढ़ राज्य राजधानी रायपुरय अभी तक नवम्बर 2000 ई. से) का बस्तर वन्य पठार क्षेत्र भी सहभागी रहा है। जनजातीय, जिसमें मुरिया, माड़िया, हल्बा, भतरा, दोरला, धुरवा इत्यादि जनजातीय जातियों के अतिरिक्त कुम्हार, लोहार, मरार (माली), कलार, तेली, राउत (पधारिया) आदि अन्य वन्य कृषक सामुदायिक जातियां भी निवास करतीं हैं (अल्पसंख्यक) उनका प्रारंभिक स्वरूप जनजातीय रहा है। क्योंकि जनजातीय क्षेत्रों में हड़प्पा एवं वैदिक कालीन युग के उत्तरकालीन युग में ‘लौह चलाने’ तथा उपकरण बनाने की कला ‘जनजातीय समुदाय’ परिचित थे। मध्यकालीन युग में बस्तर क्षेत्रीय जनजातीय समुदाय जिनमें धुरवा तथा माड़िया में से ही सांस्कृतिक परिष्करण ‘एकल्युरेशन’ के फलस्वरूप असूर, लोहसूर या लोहार जैसी विशिष्ट जातियों या लौह धातु शिल्प जातियों का श्रेणियन विशिष्टकृत हुआ, आधुनिक कालीन युग जिसमें ब्रिटिश अधिसत्ता अधीन ‘बस्तर पठार’ (दण्डकारणीय वन्य पठार) की समन्त रियासतों एवं जमींदारियों के जनसमाज में ‘लौह शिल्प’ तथा ‘लौह उपकरण निर्माता’ लोहरा या लोहार जाति के कलाकौशल परम्परागत रीति-रिवाजों एवं जनजातीय लोक समाज की अभ्यांतरिक संस्कृति संरचना में समन्वित विकास की शैल: शैल: चेतना के उन्नयन एवं विकास में ऐतिहासिक योगदान दिया है।

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विशिष्ट शब्द जनजातीय संरचना- द्रविड़ समुदाय, जनजातियां, आंदोलन, सामाजिक समरसता, मत्स्याखेटक, मांझी, बिंझवार, सांस्कृतिक संगम, लौह शिल्पी (लोहार) भौगोलिक लोकांचल, चक्रकोट, दुर्गपति, प्रस्तगण, कांस्ययुगीन, अबूझमाड़, लोकतांत्रिक विकास, विलीनीकरण, सशक्तिकरण, महिला, आंगनबाड़ी, गांधीवाद, आंदोलन।

विश्व इतिहास में जनजातियों अथवा आदिवासियों की जीवन व्यवस्था सामाजिक संरचना तथा सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। भारत इतिहास के प्रारंभिक निर्माता द्रविड़ समुदाय या जनजातिय, जातियां रहीं हैं। आधुनिक युग के आर्थिक संघर्ष एवं नैतिकता के संपीडित योग में जनजातिय, सामाजिक समरसता एवं परम्परागत सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों का बड़ा महत्व रहा है। अतः प्राचीनकाल से लेकर आधुनिककाल या वर्तमान तक जनजातिय अथवा गोंड एवं अन्य सभी आदिम जनजातिय, जातियों तथा उनके सम्पर्क में रह रही, परस्कृत या हिन्दू सामाजिक शिल्प श्रेणिगत कही जाने वाली शीलदार (बस्तर शिल्पी) मत्स्याखेटक (मांझी) कंडरा, सूतशिल्पी (रेशे की छाल से वस्त्र बनाने वाला) लोक वाद्यक (गांडा) राऊत, लोहार शिल्पी (लोहारा) तथा मृदाशिल्पी (कुम्हार) आदि का भी भारतीय सामाजिक संरचना में सामान्यतः छत्तीसगढ़ लोकांचल के क्षेत्रीय इतिहास तथा बस्तर सम्भागीय उपांचल के विशिष्ट इतिहास में आधारभूत योगदान रहा है। भारत वर्ष 32 भौगोलिक लोकांचलिक क्षेत्रों में छत्तीसगढ़ भी प्राचीनकाल से लोकांचल रहा है। प्राचीनकाल में दक्षिण कौशल या आरण्य क्षेत्र था या मध्यकाल में सल्लनतों के रिकार्ड में दक्षिण गोंडवाना तथा उसी समय के साहित्य में दक्षिण कौशल ही था। आधुनिककाल भारत के इतिहास में छत्तीसगढ़ का इतिहास भी 1741 से प्रारम्भ होता है जो यह वर्तमान तक जारी है।¹ आधुनिक भारत के इतिहास के तीन चरण- एक ब्रिटिशकाल, दूसरा स्वतंत्रताकाल तीसरा स्वतंत्रता का उदयतनकाल (2000 से वर्तमान 2017 तक) यही काल छत्तीसगढ़ के आधुनिक कालीन इतिहास में लागू होता है। आधुनिक कालीन भारत के इतिहास में विशेषकर सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक इतिहास व राष्ट्रीय इतिहास के निर्माण में छत्तीसगढ़ की कृषक वर्गीय जातियों की भांति ही गोंड, हल्बा, कोरबा, बिंझवार आदि का बड़ा योगदान रहा है। छत्तीसगढ़ के प्रथम शहीद वीरनारायण सिंह बिंझवार जाति के थे।² बस्तर के भूमकाल विद्रोह के महानायक गुण्डाधुर धुरवा जनजाति के थे, इसी प्रकार मध्यप्रदेश के गणमण्डला की गोंड रानी दुर्गावती का इतिहास भारतीय इतिहास गौरमयी प्रतिरूप है।³

छत्तीसगढ़ लोकांचल या छत्तीसगढ़ राज्य के बस्तर का क्षेत्र प्राचीन मध्यकालीन तथा आधुनिक इतिहास में यहां की जनजातियों के सम्प्राय विशिष्ट जातियों जैसे- कोष्टा (वस्त्रकार) कुम्हार (राऊत), चरवाहे (लोहार) गांडा, माहरा, मांझी इत्यादि का सामुदायिक समन्वय सांस्कृतिक सम्मेलन, आंचलिक शिल्प, सामुदायिक चेतना के विकास तथा सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं में शिल्प तथा कलात्मकता के उच्च तथा मंडाई, मेला के आयोजन जीवनस्तर के निर्माण में इतिहासिक योगदान प्रतीत होता है। बस्तर का क्षेत्र छत्तीसगढ़ का दक्षिणी भाग है, जो प्राचीनकाल से आर्य, अनार्य संस्कृति का संगम स्थल रहा है। मध्यकालीन युग में यह जनजातीय एवं सम्प्रदाय विशिष्ट शिल्प जातियों का जिसमें कुम्हार, शिलदार, मांझी, गांडा, माहरा, कोष्टा, लोहार आदि का

कालजयी योगदान स्वयंसिद्ध रहा है। ऐसा माना जाता है कि मध्यकालीन युग में बस्तर का क्षेत्र चक्रकोट कहलाता था,⁴ यह चक्रकोट बारसूर के केन्द्र वाले नल, नाग युगीन गणपतियों के बाद वारंगल से आये चालकी काकतीयों के राजवंश का गण सामंती शासन था। मध्यकाल के अंतिम चरण में रतनपुर के कलचूरी राजाओं का राजवंश रतनपुर के केन्द्र में स्थापित था, चक्रकोट के (बारसूर) के दुर्गपति तथा उनके अधिनस्थ चक्रकोट बस्तर के बारह प्रस्तरगण, दुर्गपति, प्रस्तरगण, अधिनता में आते थे।⁵

ब्रिटिश ताज के अधीन बस्तर तथा कांकेर की सामंत राजकीय रियासतें 1856 से 1947 तक विद्यमान रहीं। सामंती शासन में जनसमाज एवं शिल्प समुदाय की सामुदायिक संरचना में बस्तर की लोहार शिल्प जातियों का असाधारण महत्व एवं योगदान रहा है। इनकी सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक एवं ऐतिहासिक भूमिका को अंचल की प्रसिद्ध प्रायः मुरिया, माड़िया, दोरला, हल्बा तथा भतरा से कादापि कम नहीं माना जा सकता है। प्रस्तुत शोध लेख में बस्तर में शांति एवं अहिंसा का प्रभाव प्राचीनकाल से रहा है, यहां सभी धर्मों के समाज का समान आदर रहा है और हिन्दू संस्कृति, बौद्ध संस्कृति, जैन संस्कृति, इस्लाम धर्म, सिक्ख धर्म, पारसी धर्म से यह धरा प्रभावित रही है। आदिवासी संस्कृति के समाजशास्त्री के लिये गौरव एवं भावनात्मक एकता यहां की उपलब्धि है। लोक दिवाली, दशहरा, होली आदि बड़े हिन्दू त्यौहारों के साथ-साथ हरियाली, नागपंचमी और पोला का त्यौहार भी विशेष उत्साह के साथ अपने कृषि सम्बन्धि औजारों की पूजा बैलों की दौड़ क्रीड़ा, कौतुक आदि के द्वारा मानते हैं। यहां के गोंड निःसेदह मूल निवासी हैं और अपने को रावणवंशी कहते हैं और जंगली देवता बूढ़ा या बड़ा देव को मानते हैं। यथार्थ में ब्रम्हणपंथ विरोधी पंथों का यहां विशेष प्रचार है। यहां के मुख्य जातियों में गोंड, रावत, सतनामी, तेली, ढीमर, कुर्मी, बनिया, मरहटे, केवट, पनका, गांडा, सबरा, हल्बा, कंजर, कलार, लोहार, कुम्हार, धोबी, कोष्टा, नाई, राजपूत, माहरा, घसिया, भतरा, बंजारा, झिंजवार, भुंजवा, कोरवा, मुशहार, धनुहार, बैरागी, गंसाई, ईसाई, मुस्लमान, माड़िया, मुरिया, परजा, गदबा, परसी, धाकड़, उड़िया ब्राम्हण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य आदि हैं।⁶

अंधविश्वास यहां आरण्यकांचल में विशेषरूप से प्राभावशील है। लोगों का जीवन सादा निश्चल है। छत्तीसगढ़ के लोगों की नैतिकता काफी ऊंची थी। प्राचीनकाल से बस्तर की जनजातियां अस्तित्व में रही हैं। जिनमें गोंड तथा उसकी छह प्रमुख शाखाएं राजगोंड, धुरगोंड, हल्बा, मुरिया, माड़िया, भतरा, दोरला इत्यादि के अतिरिक्त सम्प्राय गांडा, कोस्टा, मांझी राउत, केवट, कुम्हार, लोहार इत्यादि सभी आरम्भ में जनजातिय, जातियां ही रहीं हैं। भारतवर्ष में सभ्यता का आरंभ हड़प्पा सभ्यता कास्ययुगीन थी। हड़प्पा संस्कृति के युग में मध्यप्रदेश की नर्मदा घाटी की आदिम जनजाति संस्कृतिक के काल में बस्तर आरण्यक क्षेत्र में इंद्रावती, शबरी, नारंगी तथा महानदी उद्गम के किनारे जनजाति संस्कृति के अवशेषण प्रस्तर उपकरणों में मिलते हैं। इससे सिद्ध होता है कि बड़े डोंगर (कोण्डागांव) तथा गोटीटोला, चंदेली, (कांकेर जिला) की गुफाओं में आदिवासी आदिमानव के हथेली के चित्र इसका शाश्वत प्रमाण है। वैदिक युग में पश्चिम उत्तर भारत में आर्य कबीले योद्धा थे। वैदिक युग में अनार्य, आर्य संगम तथा कलांतर में हिन्दू राज्यों एवं साम्राज्यों के काल में बस्तर के क्षेत्र में आदिम जातियों जनजातियों तथा लोहार, मांझी, शिलदार, गांडा, कोस्टा तथा लोहार इत्यादि

शिल्प जातियों का स्वरूप जनजातिय ही था। सभ्यता के विकास के कार्यक्रम में लोह धातु का व्यापक उपक्रमों एवं आयुधों के रूप प्रचलन हुआ, स्वयंसिद्ध है कि बस्तर के जनजातिय लोहार, बस्तर के केशकाल, कोरापुट, बड़ेडोंगर, छोटे डोंगर, रावघाट, बचेली, कोन्टा, बीजापुर, भोपालपटनम्, अबूझमागड़, नारायणपुर इत्यादि क्षेत्रों के लोह निकाले आयुध बनाने तथा परम्परागत व जनजातिय उपकरण बनाने की विधि तथा कला से परिचित थे।⁷ मध्यकालीन भारत के इतिहास का युग सामंतवादी था, जिसमें आयुध किले नगरों के प्रवेश द्वार, फाटक तथा तीरकमान आखेटक तथा कृषि उपकरणों से लेकर समस्त उपकरण प्रायः लौह धातु के ही होते थे।⁸ मध्यकालीन युग में जमींदारी क्षेत्र थे। बस्तर का जनजातिय आबादी वाला निराला बस्तर का क्षेत्र लौह भण्डार से युक्त परम्परागत लौह शिल्प कार्यों में दक्ष एवं लोह उपकरण निर्माता शिल्प जातियों या लोहार जातियों के कलाकौशल के क्रियाकलापों का प्रमुख क्षेत्र था। अतः ब्रिटिश कालीन प्रशासन एवं अध्यक्षा श्री ग्रीकशन महोदय, ब्रेट महोदय तथा रसेल तथा हीरालाल महोदय इत्यादि के अतिरिक्त सर वेरियर एल्वीन ने भी बस्तर का लोहार (लोहारा) विशिष्ट जातियों का उद्गम जनजातिय गोंडों से ही माना जाता है। इसके पश्चात् वर्षिय आधुनिक लेखक जिनमें एम.एम.जोशी, राजा प्रवीरचन्द भंजदेव, ब्रह्मदेव शर्मा, हीरालाल शुल्क, विवेक दत्त झा, ठाकुर केदारनाथ, कृष्ण कुमार झा, रामकुमार बेहार तथा लाला जगदलपुरी ने भी इसका उद्गम जनजातिय तथा कालांतर में हिन्दू खेतीहर शिल्प जाति समुदाय के रूप में परिगणित किया है।⁹

लोहार विशिष्ट जाति की प्रमुख विशेषता एक युद्ध शिल्पी, लौह शिल्पी, धातु शिल्पी, प्रस्तरगण शिल्प कलाकार तथा सामुदायिक सौर्य शिल्प तथा धातु निर्माण कला के सिद्धहस्त जातियों में मानी जाती है। रियासती प्रशासनकाल तथा स्वतंत्रता पश्चात सामुदायिक लोकतांत्रिक विकास के उत्थानकारी युग में गांधीवादी रचनात्मक मूल्यों जैसे मध्यनिरोध, खादी चरखा आंदोलन तथा ठेकेदारों की वन्य कटाई के विरुद्ध वन्यरक्षा आंदोलन तथा रियासती किसान सभा के क्रियाकलापों में समय-समय पर अपनी स्थानीय भूमिका विशिष्ट रूप से निभाया¹⁰ व स्वतंत्रता पश्चात् के नवोदित इतिहास के लेखकों ने बस्तर ने जनजातियों के सम्प्राय लोहार विशिष्ट जाति के सामाजिक राजनैतिक पक्षों की व्याख्या का स्थान स्थान पर विवरण किया है। इसमें डॉ.रामकुमार बेहार, कृत्य बस्तर एक अध्ययन, हीरालाल शुल्क कृत्य प्राचीन बस्तर का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास, शांता शुक्ला कृत्य छत्तीसगढ़ का सामाजिक आर्थिक इतिहास तथा प्रेमचन्द्र अग्रवाल कृत्य ह्यूमन जाग्रफी ऑफ बस्तर तथा श्री मनीष राय यादव कृत्य इन्द्रावती इत्यादि।¹¹ स्वाधीनता पश्चात् रियासतों से विलीनीकरण से निर्मित बस्तर जिलों के सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृतिक विकास में तथा बस्तर के आर्थिक शिल्प व्यवसायिक उत्थान के निर्माण में बस्तर की लोहार जाति के योगदान को इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता, क्योंकि बस्तर जैसे जनजातिय शिल्प के सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक उत्थान में लौह उपकरण, लौह आयुध, लौह आभूषण एवं लौह निर्मित साजो सामान के निरंतर विकास में लोहार विशिष्ट जाति की बस्तर में परम्परागत गोदने सांप, बिछुओं का विष उतारने, नाट-नौटंकी के खेल-तमाशे, पक्षियों के करतब करवाने जनजातिय वैदकीय कार्यों में लोक परम्परागत सिद्धहस्त होते आये हैं। इन्होंने परम्परा में परिवर्तन के साथ-साथ आम, नींबू, कटहल, बेल का पारम्परिक तरीके से आचार बनाने तथा शहद व अन्य फलों के सूखे मेवों की विभिन्न प्रकार की खाद्य वस्तुएँ बनाने की कला में

पारंगत होते गये हैं। लोकतांत्रिक विकास के आधुनिक युग में लोहार जाति के बस्तरिया लोगों में आधुनिक कृषि उद्यान का तथा घड़वा शिल्प कला के कलात्मक वस्तुओं के निर्माण में विशेष रुचि बढ़ी है तथा बस्तर के लोकगीत एवं संगीत के लालित्यपूर्ण क्रिया कलाओं में इस समुदाय की स्त्रियों का सक्रिय भागीदारी परिलक्षित होती है। वर्तमान युग सामाजिक लोकतांत्रिक समानताओं के प्रयत्नों का जिसमें महिला सशक्तिकरण के प्रयत्न भी अनुकूल माने जाते हैं। जनजातिय बाहुल ग्रामीण विकास के स्थानीय परिवेश में लोहार जाति की स्त्रीयां अपनी परम्परागत प्रगतिशीलता के साथ ही ग्राम पंचायत, आश्रम, विद्यालय, स्वसहायता समूह तथा वन्य शिल्प उत्पादन के क्रियाकलापों में स्थानीय महिलाओं ने प्रेरक या मार्गदर्शक की सक्रिय भूमिका में होती है। बस्तर की आबादी में रियासतकालीन युग से लेकर आधुनिक युग तक मुस्लमानी धर्मावलम्बी समुदायों का भी इनमें ग्रामीण कस्बों की मुस्लमानी आबादी की सीमित रूप में धर्मान्तरित लोहारों की भी है, किन्तु इनके खानपान, वेशभूषा, सामाजिक लोक व्यवहार में धार्मिक-सांस्कृतिक समन्वय एवं भारतीयता की अखण्ड सामंजस्यता का सुखद प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है। बस्तर के ऐतिहासिक दशहरा पर्व में रथ निर्माण में स्थानीय लोहार जातियों का विशेष योगदान रहता है। रथ निर्माण में आधुनिक मशीनयंत्रों का उपयोग नहीं किया जाकर पारम्परिक साधारण औजारों के उपयोग से बनाया जाता है, लोहे के कार्य मूलतः रथ के चक्कों में ही किया जाता है।

निष्कर्ष : छत्तीसगढ़ लोकांचल की जनजातियों तथा अन्य खेतीहर सामुदायिक विशिष्ट शिल्प जातियों की भांति लोहार (लौह-धातु शिल्पी) विशिष्ट जाति का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। प्रायः मैदानी खेतीहर क्षेत्रों के अतिरिक्त जनजातिय आबादी प्रधान वन्य पठारी क्षेत्रों जिनमें बस्तर, सरगुजा तथा दुर्ग संभागीय क्षेत्र प्रमुख हैं। सभ्यता के विकास तथा स्थानीय सांस्कृतिक प्रगति लोहार (जिसे लोहार या लोहरा भी कहा जाता है) विशिष्ट जातियों का क्षेत्रीय लोकांचित विकास में यथेष्ट एवं ऐतिहासिक सुस्पष्ट होती है।

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ब्रिटिश कालीन भारतीय समाज में सती प्रथा एक अध्ययन

*डॉ. प्रीति बागडे

सारांश

सती का अर्थ सत्यवती है जो की पतिव्रता और चरित्रवती स्त्री है किन्तु एक विचित्र प्रक्रिया से जिसका अर्थ पतिव्रता स्त्रियों द्वारा अपने स्वामियों के मृत शरीरों के साथ जल जाने की प्रथा हो गया था। धर्म ग्रंथों ने चरित्रवती स्त्रियों के लिये अपने स्वामी की चिता पर जल मरना ही एक मात्र पुण्य कर्म ठहराया। स्वभावतः सैकड़ों स्त्रियाँ धर्म के नाम पर सती होने लगी। मुस्लिम काल में हिंदू स्त्रियाँ अपने आप को असुरक्षित समझती थी। अतः अपनी सम्मान की रक्षा के लिये सती होना श्रेयस्कर समझती थी। वेलेजेली के उत्तराधिकारी लॉर्ड मिंटो ने सती की प्रथा को रोकने का प्रयास किया। 12 जून 1823 में कंपनी के संचालको ने सती प्रथा के सम्बन्ध में जाँच के आदेश दिये थे और इस बात की और सन्केत किया। इस प्रथा का अन्त करने के लिये राजा राम मोहन राय तथा देवेन्द्रनाथ टैगोर आदि समाज सुधारको ने महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया, तथा इस प्रथा को अमानवीय बताते हुए गैर कानूनी घोषित करने की मांग की। गर्वनर जनरल बैन्टिक ने 47 वे रेगुलेशन के द्वारा 4 दिसम्बर 1829 ई. को बंगाल में सती प्रथा को गैरकानूनी घोषित कर दिया।

हिंदू संस्कृति के अनुसार सती के दो रूप होते थे, प्रथम सहमरण इसमें स्त्री मृत पति की चिता में ही जल जाती थी।¹ द्वितीय अनुमरण में पति की मृत्यु के बाद अनुगामिनी के रूप में जल जाती थी। सती शब्द सत् से बना है जिसका अर्थ सत्य है अर्थात् सती का अर्थ सत्यवती है जो की पतिव्रता और चरित्रवती स्त्री है किन्तु एक विचित्र प्रक्रिया से जिसका अर्थ पतिव्रता स्त्रियों द्वारा अपने स्वामियों के मृत शरीरों के साथ जल जाने की प्रथा हो गया था।² सती शब्द का उल्लेख पुराणों में उल्लिखित एक कथा में किया गया है। भगवान शिव की पत्नी का नाम सती था, जिन्हें देवी सती के नाम से पुकारा जाता था। देवी सती ने अपने पिता दक्ष द्वारा अपने पति भगवान शिव के तिरस्कार से व्यथित हो यज्ञ की अग्नि में कूदकर आत्मदाह कर लिया था। जबकि सती प्रथा में पति की मृत्यु

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के बाद पत्नी को सती बनाने के लिये जलती हुई चिता पर बैठने को मजबूर किया जाता है। महाभारत युग में माद्री का उसके पति पाण्डु की चिता पर सती होने का उल्लेख मिलता है। धर्म ग्रंथों ने चरित्रवती स्त्रियों के लिये अपने स्वामी की चिता पर जल मरना ही एक मात्र पुण्य कर्म ठहराया। स्वभावतः सैकड़ों स्त्रियाँ धर्म के नाम पर सती होने लगी। सिकन्दर के सैनिकों ने चौथी सदी में पंजाब में सती के चिन्ह देखे थे।⁵ सती प्रथा का प्रथम अभिलेखीय प्रमाण गुप्तकाल में मिलता है। 510 ई. के भानुगुप्त के एरण अभिलेख में यह साक्ष्य प्राप्त होता है। इस अभिलेख में महाराजा भानुगुप्त का वर्णन किया गया है, जिसके साथ युद्ध में गोपराज मौजूद था। लेख से पता चलता है कि गुप्त नरेश भानुगुप्त का सामन्त गोपराज हूणों के विरुद्ध युद्ध करता हुआ मारा गया। युद्ध के दौरान गोपराज वीरगती को प्राप्त हुआ जिसके बाद उसकी पत्नी ने सती होकर अपने प्राण त्याग दिये थे।

**“श्री भानुगुप्ते जगति प्रवीरो, राजा महान्यार्थसमोडति शूरः।
तेनाथ सार्द्धन्त्विह गोपराजो, मित्रानुगत्येन किलानुयातःइड
कश्त्वा च युद्धं सुमहत्प्रकाशं, स्वर्गगतो, दिव्य नरेन्द्रकल्पःइड
भक्तानुरक्ता च प्रिया च कान्ता, भार्यावलग्नानुगताग्निराशिम्बड।”**

(एरण अभिलेख)

राजपूत काल में सती का परिवर्तित स्वरूप जौहर के रूप में दिखाई देता है। प्रारंभ में सती प्रथा उच्च वर्ग तक ही सीमित थी किंतु कालान्तर में सभी वर्ग में इसका प्रचलन बढ़ने लगा। इब्नबतूता ने भी सतीप्रथा का वर्णन किया है। उसके अनुसार पति की मृत्यु के पश्चात् पत्नी का अपने आप को अग्नि में समर्पित करना प्रशंसनीय कार्य समझा जाता है। जब कोई विधवा अपने आप को अग्नि में समर्पित कर देती थी तो उसके घरवालों का सम्मान बढ़ जाता था और वह पति भक्ति के लिए प्रसिद्ध हो जाती थी। जो विधवा सती नहीं होती थी उसे मोटे वस्त्र धारण कर दुःखी जीवन व्यतीत करना पड़ता था। पति भक्ति के अभाव के कारण लोग उसे घृणा करते थे। जो स्त्रियाँ सती नहीं होना चाहती थी उन्हें सती होने के लिये मजबूर किया जाता था। उनकी इन्द्रियों को शिथिल करने के लिये अफीम तथा अन्य नशीले पदार्थ प्रयोग में लाये जाते थे। इसकी प्रभाव हीनता के लिये भीड़ का कोलाहल व ढोल के स्वर के साथ मंत्रोच्चारण भी सहायक होता था। मुस्लिम काल में हिंदू स्त्रियाँ अपने आप को असुरक्षित समझती थी। अतः अपनी सम्मान की रक्षा के लिये सती होना श्रेयस्कर समझती थी।⁴ कैप्टन स्लीमेन ने भारत में सती प्रथा का वर्णन किया है कि, स्नान करने के बाद स्त्री ने एक पान मांगा तथा उसे खा लिया वह शान्त तथा मुस्कान भरे मुख से आई, चिता के समीप पहुँची और अग्नि में समर्पित हो गई।⁵ भारत में अहिल्याबाई होलकर ने भी अपने राज्य में सती का अन्त किया था। सिक्खों के तीसरे गुरु अमरनाथ ने भी इस प्रथा का अन्त कराने में सफलता प्राप्त की।⁶ अकबर ने भी इस सम्बन्ध में कार्य किये और स्वयं जोधपुर जाकर वहाँ के राजा की पुत्रवधू के प्राण बचाये औरंगजेब ने तो सती के विरुद्ध आज्ञापत्र ही निकाल दिया। पेशवा बाजीराव ने सती के विरुद्ध कठोर कदम उठाये थे परंतु यह राज्य तक ही सीमित रहे।

ब्रिटिश सरकार ने लंबे समय तक निषेधात्मक कदम उठाने में हिचकिचाहट का प्रदर्शन अपनी धार्मिक अहस्तक्षेप की नीति के कारण किया। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने कलकत्ते की सीमा के भीतर

ही इसे चलने देना अस्वीकार करके कठोर कदम उठाये। मिशनरी विलियम ने कलकत्ते 30 मील के भीतर सर्वे किया तथा 1803 में 438 एवं 1804 में 300 तक सती होने की संख्या बताई और यह रिपोर्ट गवर्नर जनरल वेलेजेली को प्रेषित की थी।⁷ 1815 ई. के मध्य बंगाल में 864 स्त्रियाँ सती हुईं।⁸ जबकि 1827 ई. में केवल बंगाल में 700 से भी अधिक स्त्रियाँ इस अमानवीय प्रथा का शिकार हुईं।⁹ सरकार ने आरंभ में अपने अफसरों को हिदायत दी थी कि समझा बुझा कर सती होने वाली स्त्रियों को रोके किन्तु इसके आगे कोई भी कदम नहीं उठाये इसी कारण वारेन हेस्टिंग्स ने सती के अन्त हेतु हस्तक्षेप करने से इन्कार कर लिया था। वेलेजेली के उत्तराधिकारी लॉर्ड मिंटो ने सती की प्रथा को रोकने का प्रयास किया। 12 जून 1823 में कंपनी के संचालको ने सती प्रथा के सम्बन्ध में जाँच के आदेश दिये थे और इस बात की और सन्केत किया था कि, यदि इस प्रथा को गैरकानूनी घोषित कर दिया जाय। उत्तर में गवर्नर जनरल ने 3 दिसंबर 1823 को लिखा कि मैं सती को एक दिन में समाप्त कर सकता हूँ किन्तु भारतीय विद्रोह ना कर दे इसीलिए कठोर कदम उठाना ठीक नहीं होगा। अनुदार लोगों को यह भय था कि इन प्रथाओं अथवा अन्य धर्मिक रीतिरिवाजों में हस्तक्षेप करने से देश व्यापी विद्रोह उठ खड़े होंगे।¹⁰

कलकत्ते की सदर निजामत अदालत के हिन्दू पंडितों को अपने विश्वास में लेकर तथा उनके परामर्श से सरकार ने 1812 ई. में आदेश प्रसारित किये जिसके अनुसार नशीली वस्तुओं के प्रभाव में विधवाओं को सती होने से रोक दिया गया था।¹¹ 1815 एवं 1818 ई. में सती प्रथा से सम्बन्धित कुछ अन्य आदेश प्रसारित किये गये जिसके अनुसार कुछ श्रेणियों की विधवाओं को सती होने से मना कर दिया गया।¹² इसका परोक्ष प्रभाव यह हुआ कि अन्य श्रेणियों की विधवाओं को सती होने की सरकारी मान्यता मिल गई।¹³ अगस्त 1818 ई. में कलकत्ते के प्रतिष्ठित हिन्दूओं में सती प्रथा को अमानवीय माना। उन्होंने सरकार से यह आशा की कि वह भविष्य में इसे कम करने का प्रयास करे। इस प्रपत्र में सम्भवतः राजा राममोहन राय सम्मिलित नहीं थे। सरकार ने इस प्रथा का अन्त करने के लिये भारतीय मत के क्रमिक प्रबुद्धीकरण पर विश्वास करना ही अच्छा समझा। इसमें राजा राममोहन राय तथा देवेन्द्रनाथ टैगोर आदि समाज सुधारकों ने योगदान दिया, तथा इस प्रथा को अमानवीय बताते हुए गैर कानूनी घोषित करने की मांग की। प्रचलित सती प्रथा धर्म शास्त्र के विरुद्ध थी, इसलिये राजा राममोहन राय भी इसके विरुद्ध थे।¹⁴ राजा राममोहन राय ने घोषणा की कि, “सतियों के सभी दृष्टान्त शास्त्र के अनुसार और प्रभुद्ध राष्ट्रों के विचारों के अनुसार है।” राधाकान्त देव के नेतृत्व में कट्टर हिन्दूओं ने राजा राममोहन राय का घोर विरोध किया ब्रिटेन के अधिकारी इस तरह सतर्क थे, कि प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक जेम्स मिल ने भी बैंटिक को अधिनियम द्वारा सती प्रथा पर रोक न लगाने की सलाह दी। यहाँ तक की एल्फिन्स्टन जैसे उदारवादी एवं मानवीयता के भक्त ने भी इस प्रथा में हिन्दू विद्रोह के भय से हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया। किन्तु बैन्टिक ने किसी भय अथवा आशंका को अपने विचारों में घर न बनने दिया और निर्भिक उदारवादी गुणों-विचारों को अपनाकर जनता से प्रतिवैधात्मक कदम उठाकर हिन्दू समाज के एक बहुत बड़े कलंक का पक्षालन कर दिया। विद्रोह के भावी आशंका से भयाक्रान्त दुर्बल अलोचकों के प्रति बैन्टिक ने अपना मत इस प्रकार रखा, “बुद्धिमानी एवं स्वहित तो मुझे अपने पूर्वाधिकारियों के पदचिन्हों पर चलने की सलाह देते हैं। परंतु मनुष्यता के ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण मामले में वह मनुष्य अवश्य ही अपनी वर्तमान एवं भावी

प्रसन्नता के विषय में असावधान कहा जाएगा, जो ऐसी क्रूर एवं स्वार्थपूर्ण बातों को सुन सकेगा, यदि मैं इस महान उत्तरदायित्व को पूर्ण करने में झिझकूँगा तो मैं अनेक हत्याएँ करने के अपराध से कुछ ही कम अपराध का भागीदार होऊँगा।” विन्सेन्ट स्मिथ के अनुसार, “इस प्रथा को स्थानीय रूप से हिन्दू शासकों एवं यूरोपीय अफसरों ने रोकने की चेष्टा की थी परन्तु वास्तविक सुधार के लिए एक विशेष कानून की आवश्यकता थी बैन्टिक ने विस्तृत जानकारी तथा जाँच का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया उसने सती प्रथा पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाने के पूर्व विशेष रूप से दो प्रश्नों पर विचार किया। प्रथम तो यह कि क्या हिन्दू धर्म इस प्रथा की स्वीकृति देता है, और द्वितीय यह कि इस प्रथा पर सरकार ने रोक लगाई तो कितनी प्रबल प्रतिक्रिया होगी। सती प्रथा के सम्बन्ध में कुछ लोग सिद्ध करते हैं कि, हिन्दू धर्म में इस प्रथा का विधान है। परन्तु एक मत के अनुसार सती प्रथा केवल परंपरानुसार ही चल रही है। इस युग के प्रबल विचारक राजा राममोहन राय का भी यह कहना है कि हिन्दू धर्म सती प्रथा की अनुमति नहीं देता। उन्होंने स्पष्ट किया कि धर्म तो इसका विरोध करता है।¹⁵

गर्वनर जनरल लार्ड विलियम बैन्टिक ने 64 पदाधिकारियों से गोपनीय पत्र लिखकर सती के अन्त के विषय में इनकी राय मांगी थी। इन अधिकारियों को शासन का लम्बा अनुभव था और उनका मत समझने के बाद ही गर्वनर जनरल ने सती प्रथा के विरुद्ध कदम उठाये।¹⁶

बंगाल में सती प्रथा एक अध्ययन¹⁷

क्रमांक	वर्ष	सती होने वाली स्त्रियों की संख्या
1.	1815	378
2.	1816	442
3.	1817	707
4.	1818	439
5.	1819	650
6.	1820	598
7.	1821	593
8.	1822	583
9.	1823	575
10.	1824	572
11.	1825	539
12.	1826	518
13.	1827	443

ब्रिटीश अधिकारियों का सती प्रथा के प्रति दृष्टिकोण¹⁸

क्रमांक	सती	सैन्याधिकारी	असैन्याधिकारी
1.	अधिनियम द्वारा सती की समाप्ति के पक्ष में	24	8
2.	अधिनियम विरोधी किन्तु समाप्ति के पक्ष में	12	-

3.	सती प्रथा की समाप्ति के अप्रत्यक्ष तरीके के पक्ष में	8	7
4.	सती प्रथा की समाप्ति के विरोध में	5	-
	कुल मत	49	15

बैन्टिक ने गर्वनर जनरल का पद ग्रहण करने के एक वर्ष उपरांत ही 47 वे रेगुलेशन के द्वारा 4 दिसम्बर 1829 ई. को बंगाल में सती प्रथा को गैरकानूनी घोषित कर दिया। जिसके लिए फौजदारी अदालतें हत्या के आरोप में मृत्यु दण्ड तक दे सकती थी। प्रारंभ में यह कानून केवल बंगाल के लिए ही था, 1930 ई. तक इसे मद्रास और बम्बई में भी लागू किया गया। जिसका बहुत अधिक विरोध हुआ गर्वनर जनरल के पास हस्ताक्षर युक्त विरोध पत्र भेजे गये। इंग्लैण्ड स्थित अधिकारियों एवं किंग इन कॉन्सिल में अपील की गई परन्तु नये नियम को स्वीकार किया गया और सती प्रथा निश्चित रूप से समाप्त हुई। विलीयम बैन्टिक का दावा था कि, इस अधिनियम से हिन्दूओं को लाभ होगा अधिनियम द्वारा ब्रिटिश शासन को लाभ हुआ। वूल्जे हेग ने ठीक ही लिखा था कि, “सह कंपनी सरकार द्वारा भारत की सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक प्रथाओं में हस्तक्षेप करने का अत्यंत साहसिक कदम था।” ब्रिटिश सरकार कंपनी अधिकृत क्षेत्रों में ही सती प्रथा समाप्त करके संतुष्ट नहीं हुई वरन् उसने अन्य भारतीय रियासतों में भी इस प्रथा को समाप्त करने का प्रयास किया। 1850 ई. तक यह प्रथा लगभग समाप्त हो गयी थी। यदा कदा इसके उदाहरण बीसवी शताब्दी के अन्त तक मिलते हैं।

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पूर्व मध्यकालीन ग्रामीण समुदाय का सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य

*कविता

सारांश

उत्तर वैदिक काल से ही भारतीय समाज मुख्य रूप से चार वर्णों में विभाजित रहा था। इसी समय समाज में विभिन्न संस्थाएं वर्ण व्यवस्था, आश्रम व्यवस्था, परिवार, विवाह, संस्कार, शिक्षा तथा दास प्रथा आदि उत्पन्न हो गई थी। पूर्व मध्यकालीन में आए सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक परिवर्तन ने ग्रामीण समाज के सभी पहलुओं को प्रभावित किया। इसी समय ग्रामीण समाज में विभाजन एवं विघटन की प्रवृत्ति तेजी से दुष्टिगोचर होती है। लोगों में आचार-विचार की संकीर्णता, रूढ़िवादिता, परम्परावाद, अनुदारता, असहिष्णुता, संग्रह तथा संरक्षण की प्रवृत्ति अग्रसर थी। इसी समय राजनीतिक तथा आर्थिक परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप ग्रामीण समाज के ढाँचे में बदलाव आया, जिसमें सर्वाधिक विस्मयकारी परिवर्तन जातियों का प्रगुणन था। जिसने ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य तथा शूद्र सभी को प्रभावित किया।

इस समय कृषकों के रूप में शूद्रों का रूपान्तरण और वैश्यों के स्तर में शूद्र स्तर तक की गिरावट से भी वर्ण व्यवस्था में विशिष्ट परिवर्तन दिखायी देता है।¹ हिन्दू समाज में परम्परागत रूप से चार वर्ण-ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य एवं शूद्र थे। इसमें ब्राह्मणों का स्थान सबसे ऊँचा था। इन्हें राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक और धार्मिक अधिकार प्राप्त थे। हेनसांग ने भी अपने यात्रावृत्तांत में भारत को ब्रह्म देश कहा है। हिन्दू समाज में ब्राह्मणों को अनेक कर्तव्यों के साथ अनेक विशेषाधिकार भी प्राप्त थे। अलबेरूनी के अनुसार इस युग में ब्राह्मण अध्ययन, अध्यापन, दान देना-लेना, यज्ञ ज्ञापन आदि कार्यों के अतिरिक्त आपत्तिकाल में ये विभिन्न व्यवसायों जैसे : भू स्वामी, न्यायाधीश, सेनापति, व्यापारिक, कृषक, मंत्री आदि अपना सकता था। इसी संदर्भ में इतिहासकार बी. एन. एस. यादव ने ब्राह्मणों को दस उपवर्गों में विभाजित किया है। अलबेरूनी ने भी ब्राह्मणों के उपवर्गों का वर्णन मिलता है। इसी समय मुसलमानों के आने से

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ब्राह्मणों ने अपने रहन-सहन, खान-पान पर अनेक प्रतिबन्ध लगाये जो 'कलिवर्ज्य' कहलाते हैं। अर्थशास्त्र तथा कृत्यकल्पतः में ब्राह्मणों को अपराध के लिए प्राणदण्ड की अपेक्षा देश निकाला देने की बात की गई है। ये करों से भी मुक्त थे। इसी संदर्भ में ब्राह्मणों के छः कार्यों के अलावा आपत्तिकाल में भू-स्वामी, न्यायाधीश, सेनापति, मंत्री, कृषि व व्यापार कार्य भी कर सकते थे।²

हिन्दू समाज में दूसरा स्थान क्षत्रिय का था इन्हें भी समाज में कुछ विशेषाधिकार प्राप्त थे। परन्तु ब्राह्मणों से कम। स्मृतिकारों के अनुसार वेद पढ़ना, यज्ञ करवाना, पुराणों के अनुरूप आचरण करना, प्रजा पर शासन करना, एवं उनकी रक्षा उनका धर्म था। पूर्व मध्यकाल में राजनीतिक परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप क्षत्रिय वर्ण का लुप्त होना और उसके स्थान पर नए वर्ग के रूप में 'राजपूत' शब्द शासक वर्ग के पर्याय के रूप में मिलने लगता है। सामाजिक संदर्भ में 'राजपूत' शब्द संभवतः 'राजपूत' शब्द से अपरिचित थे। अतः इस बात पर विद्वानों में गहरा मतभेद है। सभी एकमत नहीं हो सके हैं कि राजपूत लोग प्राचीन क्षत्रिय वर्ग के वंशराज थे या नहीं। कर्नल टॉड, विन्सेंट स्थिम, विलियम कुक, भण्डाकर, वैद्य आदि इतिहासकार राजपूतों को विदेशी जाति से उत्पन्न मानते हैं। इसी संदर्भ में भारतीय साहित्य में इन्हें 'अग्निकुण्ड' से उत्पन्न बताया है। इस प्रकार कहा जा सकता है। कि कुछ विद्वान इन्हें विदेशी तथा कुछ विद्वान इन्हें भारतीय क्षत्रिय संतान मानते हैं। इब्नखुर्दाद्व ने क्षत्रियों को अनेक वर्गों में बांटा था। मनु और लक्ष्मीधर ने आपत्तिकाल में क्षत्रियों को कृषि कर्म, व्यापार-वाणिज्य कर सकते थे। परन्तु आपत्तिकाल में भी ये ब्राह्मण वृत्ति को नहीं अपना सकते थे। हेनसांग ने क्षत्रियों की कर्मनिष्ठता की भूरि-भूरि प्रशंसा की है।³ परम्परागत समाज में तीसरा स्थान वैश्य का था। गुप्तकाल में वैश्यों के कर्तव्यों में कर देना, कृषि करना, पशुपालन, व्यापार- वाणिज्य एवम् साहूकारी आदि बताए गए हैं। परन्तु पूर्वमध्यकाल में राजनीतिक, विकेन्द्रीकरण, नगरों के पतन, सामन्तवाद के उत्थान के कारण समकालीन स्मृतिकारों ने भी वैश्यों के कार्यों में कृषि, पशुपालन एवम् व्यापार उद्योग धन्धे व्यापार वाणिज्य का वर्णन किया है। परन्तु इतिहासकार अल्तेकर के अनुसार बौद्ध जैन तथा वैष्णव धर्मों के प्रतिपादित अहिंसा विद्वान के प्रभाव से वैश्यों ने सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा करने के लिए कृषि कर्म तथा पशुपालन को छोड़कर व्यापार को अपनी आजीविका का साधन बना लिया। लेकिन व्यापार-वाणिज्य की अवनति तथा कृषि एवम् पशुपालन पर आधृत ग्राम अर्थव्यवस्था के विकास से वैश्यों की सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थिति बिगड़ गई है। इसी कारण इस काल में वैश्य तथा शूद्रों की स्थिति में कोई विशेष अंतर नहीं रह गया। अलबेरूनी के यात्रा वृत्तांत से भी इस साक्ष्य का प्रमाण मिलता है। मेधातिथि तथा कुल्लूक के अनुसार वैश्य आपत्तिकाल में द्विजातियों की सेवा तथा जूठन आदि खायें बिना शूद्र वृत्ति से अपना जीवन यापन कर सकते हैं।⁴ इसी संदर्भ में वर्ण व्यवस्था तथा सामाजिक व्यवहार में शूद्र का स्थान चौथा था। समाज में शूद्रों की स्थिति अत्यन्त दयनीय थी। शूद्रों को सभी वर्गों की सेवा करनी पड़ती थी। परन्तु पूर्व मध्यकाल में राजनीतिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक परिवर्तन के परिणामस्वरूप शूद्रों की दशा पहले से अच्छी हो गई। अत्रिसंहिता में शूद्रों का कार्य वार्ता अर्थात् कृषि, पशुपालन, उद्योग धन्धे, व्यापार वाणिज्य आदि से अपनी आजीविका का निर्वाह कर सकते हैं। इन व्यवसायों के बाद शूद्रों की आर्थिक स्थिति में तो सुधार हो गया था, परन्तु समाज में उनकी स्थिति पहले जैसी ही रही। भविष्यपुराण में दो प्रकार के शूद्रों का वर्णन किया है सच्छूद्र तथा असच्छूद्र। इस प्रकार बारहवीं सदी के लेखक हेमचन्द्र ने भी दो प्रकार के शूद्रों का उल्लेख किया है। पहले पात्र्या शूद्र जो उच्चवर्ग के पात्रों में भोजन कर सकते थे। दूसरे अपात्र्या शूद्र जो उच्चवर्ग के पात्रों में भोजन नहीं कर सकते थे। इसी समय शूद्र वर्ण में जाटों का

उल्लेख भी मिलता है।¹ इस समय हिन्दू समाज में चार वर्णों के अतिरिक्त मिश्रित तथा अन्त्यज जातियों का वर्णन भी मिलता है। वैजयन्ती में 36 मिश्रित जातियों तथा सैकड़ों अन्य मिश्रित जातियों का उल्लेख है जैसे चाण्डाल, धोबी, चमार, निशाद, उग्र, शिकारी, भील, नर्तक, स्वर्णकार, सूत, चकी, मछुआ, पुलिंद, अम्बष्ठ, रजक, चर्मकार, डोम, नट, नाविक, कैवर्त, मगध, कुविन्द आदि थी। इस समय समाज में चाण्डालों, निवाद, डोम आदि को अछूत समझते थे।

प्राचीन काल की अपेक्षा इस समय में नारी की स्थिति में गिरावट आ गई थी, समकालीन साहित्य में उसे सभी अधिकारों से वंचित कर उसे स्वच्छता पद अनेक प्रकार के प्रतिबंध लगा दिए। यही कारण है नालंदा विश्वविद्यालय में एक छात्रा का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है। परन्तु इसकाल में स्त्रियाँ अनेक पदों पर नियुक्त होती थी। चालुक्य वंश की अनेक रानियाँ तथा महिलाएं साम्राज्य के प्रान्तों, जिलों अन्य स्थानों पर अधिकारी के रूप में कार्य करती थी। गुप्त काल की अपेक्षा पूर्वमध्यकाल में स्त्रियों को सम्पत्ति संबंधित अधिकार भी प्राप्त थे। विज्ञानेश्वर, जीमूतवाहन तथा स्मृतिचंद्रिका में स्त्री के सम्पत्ति सम्बन्धी अधिकार का विवेचन किया गया है। इनमें कहा गया है कि सम्पत्ति की अधिकारिणी होती है।² प्राचीनकाल की भाँति पूर्वमध्यकाल में भारतीय संस्कृति एवं धर्म का आधार गाँव ही था। मानसार से पता चलता है कि इस समय दो प्रकार के आवास थे अमीरों के लिए राजमहल, महल, कई मंजिले भवन तथा गरीबों के घर, झोपड़ी आदि थे। इसी प्रकार समाज में रहन-सहन व खान-पान और रीति-रिवाजों में भी अन्तर था। ऊँचे घराने के लोग ऐश्वर्य तथा शानों-शौकत से रहते थे। ऋतुओं के अनुसार वस्त्र तथा खान-पान करते थे। दूसरी और गरीब व्यक्ति के लिए रोटी ही सब कुछ थी। इस समय ग्रामवासी साधारण भोजन करते थे। ये ज्यादातर शाकाहारी थे। परन्तु समकालीन समाज में मांसाहारी भी थे। शाकाहारी लोग गेहूँ, जौ, चावल, दालें, घी/तेल, दूध, शहद, शाक व फल खाते थे तथा मांसाहारी लोग भेड़, बकरी, भैंस, सुअर आदि का मांस खाते थे। उच्च जाति में मांस तथा शराब पीने का प्रचलन था। श्रृंगारमंजरीकथा में ब्राह्मणों तथा स्त्रियों में भी शराब का प्रचलन बताया गया है। कल्हण कृत राजतरंगिणी के अनुसार कश्मीर में निर्धन व्यक्ति जौ खाकर पेट भरते थे। किन्तु कुछ राजा भी निर्धन व्यक्तियों का भोजन देने के लिए भोजन सत्रों का प्रबन्ध करते थे।³ इस समय गाँव में सूती, ऊनी तथा रेशमी वस्त्रों का प्रचलन था बाण भट्ट कृत हर्षचरित में अनेक प्रकार के वस्त्रों का प्रयोग किया है श्रौत, पुकूल, चोली, धोती आदि थे। अलबेरूनी ने कहा है कि साधारणतः पुरुष धोती, चादर धारण, पगड़ी, पाजामा आदि तथा स्त्रियाँ चोलक, चोली, साड़ी, लहंगा, ओढ़नी आदि पहनती थी। ये सीलें तथा बिना सीलें वस्त्र भी पहनते थे। गाँव के लोग साजन-श्रृंगार के बड़े शौकीन थे। स्त्री तथा पुरुष दोनों ही सोने, चांदी, ताँबे तथा हाथी दांत के तथा गरीब लोग लोहे के आभूषण पहनते थे। आभूषणों में कुण्डल, हार, माला, बाजुबंद, कड़े, अंगूठियाँ आदि थे। हेमचन्द्र के अनुसार तत्कालीन समाज में लोग जूते, चप्पलें आदि भी व्यापक रूप से प्रयोग करते थे। परन्तु गरीब लोग नंगे पैर भी रहते थे। समकालीन साहित्य तथा अभिलेखों के अनुसार प्राचीन काल की भाँति इस समय गाँव में अनेक त्यौहार, व्रत तथा उत्सव मनाए जाते थे। अलबेरूनी के अनुसार चैत्र पर्व (वंसतात्सव) हिण्डोली चैत्र, पवित्रक पर्व, शिवरात्रि, दुर्गापूजा, होली, मकर एवम् संक्रान्ति के अलावा तीर्थ स्थानों पर जाकर पूजा करना, वृक्षों, पशुओं, नदियों एवं खेतों की भी पूजा करते थे। ऐसे धार्मिक कार्यों के द्वारा पुण्य और परलोक की प्राप्ति के साथ-साथ भौतिक जीवन को भी मंगलमय बनाने की कामना के लिए किए जाती थी।⁴

भारतीय लोगों के जीवन में धर्म की महत्व पूर्ण भूमिका रही है। पूर्वमध्यकाल में भी ग्रामीण समुदाय में धर्म के अन्तर्गत अनेक देवी-देवता की पूजा और सम्प्रदायों की संख्या में अभूतपूर्व अभिवृद्धि हुई। ग्रामीण लोग अपने-अपने धर्म में निष्ठा एवम् विश्वास रखते थे। इस काल में बौद्ध धर्म का हास तथा पतन, जैन धर्म में शिथिलता तथा हिन्दू धर्म का पुनः आगमन तथा प्रसार का समय था। इस समय सभी धर्मों में मूर्तिपूजा, अवतारवाद मंदिरों का निर्माण, मूर्ति स्थापना, तंत्रमंत्र, कर्मकाण्ड और अंधविश्वास, तीर्थ स्थानों का भ्रमण तथा भक्ति मार्ग की प्रधानता आदि धार्मिक जीवन की विशेषताएं दिखाई देती हैं। समकालीन साहित्य में अनेक सम्प्रदायों का प्रचलन था। बौद्ध, जैन, शैव, वैष्णव, शाक्य व तंत्रवाद आदि थे। इसके अतिरिक्त गाँव में अनेक देवी- देवताओं की पूजा की जाती थी। ब्रह्म, सूर्य, वरुण, गणेश, इन्द्र, अग्नि, कार्तिक, यम मरुत, वामन, रामकृष्ण, कुलदेव तथा देवीओं में भगवती, सरस्वती, लक्ष्मी, पार्वती, सीता, दुर्गा, शक्ति, सप्तशती, भद्रकाली आदि की पूजा की जाती थी। इनकी पूजा अर्चना में धूप, दीपक, नैवेद्य, फूल आदि के साथ कर्मकाण्ड तथा आडम्बर द्वारा पूजा की जाती थी। इसी कर्मकाण्ड तथा अंधविश्वासों के कारण निम्न वर्ग के लोगों तथा स्त्रियों ने इस धर्म को अपनाया।¹ इस प्रकार उपर्युक्त विवरण से यह बात उभरकर सामने आती है कि पूर्वमध्यकाल ग्रामीण समुदाय में व्यापार का हास, सिक्कों की कमी, नगरों का पतन तथा शासकों एवम् सामन्तों द्वारा दिए गए धार्मिक तथा धर्मतर भू-अनदानों ने उत्तर भारत में पुनः ग्रामीण जीवन का विकास किया। इसी समय ग्रामीण जीवन में अनेक सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तन दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं। इसी सन्दर्भ में मुख्य रूप से परिवर्तन थे हिन्दू समाज चार वर्णों के अतिरिक्त मिश्रित अथवा अन्त्यज जातियों का उदय, मुसलमानों के आगमन से भारतीय जीवन शैली में परिवर्तन, नारी स्थिति में गिरावट एवम् ज्यादातर सम्प्रदायों में अंधविश्वासों, जादू-टोने का प्रचलन होगा।

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हरियाणा में आधुनिक शिक्षा का विकास

*मनीषा

सारांश

अठारहवीं शताब्दी के अंत में भारतीय समाज वस्तुतः सामंतवादी था जिसमें अनेक वर्ग और अनेक जातियाँ एवं जनजातियाँ निवास करती थी। भारतीय शासकों ने शिक्षा की जिम्मेदारी नहीं ली थी और न ही जनता की शिक्षा के लिए कोई व्यापक प्रयत्न ही किए थे। वे केवल उच्च शिक्षण संस्थाओं को, मुख्यतः धार्मिक आधारों पर, कुछ वित्तीय सहायता प्रदान करते थे। शिक्षा की औपचारिक संस्थाएँ अर्थात् विद्यालय स्थापित किए जाते थे जिनमें वे ही लोग प्रारंभिक शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। मुसलमानों की शिक्षा के लिए मदरसे थे। महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह है कि मुसलमानों द्वारा संचालित मदरसों में अनेक हिन्दू शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे, क्योंकि फारसी उस समय अदालती भाषा थी। विद्यालय मंदिरों या मस्जिदों में चलाए जाते थे।¹ वस्तुतः देश के अन्य क्षेत्रों की तरह ही हरियाणा प्रदेश में भी शिक्षा की परिभाषा भिन्न नहीं थी।

19वीं सदी के शुरू में स्कूलों की संख्या और प्रसार के संबंध में हमें शार्प द्वारा संपादित 'सरकारी रिकार्ड्स' से जो जानकारी प्राप्त होती है उससे इस कथन की पुष्टि होती है। शार्प कहते हैं: रोहतक, हिसार और गुड़गांव में हिन्दूओं के कुल 70 स्कूल थे, जिसमें 886 विद्यार्थी, 70 अध्यापकों द्वारा शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। मुसलमानों के यहाँ 27 स्कूल थे और उनमें 289 विद्यार्थी 24 अध्यापकों द्वारा शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। दिल्ली जिले में 247 स्कूल थे, जिनमें से अधिकतर दिल्ली शहर में स्थित थे। उपरी क्षेत्र में (करनाल, अंबाला आदि में) भी स्थिति निचले भागों जैसी ही थी। पानीपत नगर में 5-6 स्कूल थे, किंतु इनमें छात्रों की संख्या बहुत थोड़ी थी। करनाल यद्यपि 20,000 आदमी बसते थे, किन्तु वहाँ केवल एक स्कूल था। शेष भागों में 18 स्कूल थे जिनमें 227 विद्यार्थी शिक्षा पाते थे।²

इन विद्यालयों में शिक्षा या तो मुफ्त दी जाती थी या विद्यार्थी सब खर्च वहन करते थे। सरकार का यहाँ कोई सहयोग नहीं मिलता था। यहाँ अध्यापक मुख्यतः ब्राह्मण या मौलवी होते

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थे, जोकि स्कूलों को या तो अपने घर में या फिर मंदिर या मस्जिद में चलाते थे। सीमित ज्ञान, सीमित आय आदि के होने पर भी इन अध्यापकों की समाज में खूब इज्जत होती है। स्कूलों में पाठ्यक्रम अति साधारण होता था जोकि आम विद्यार्थी अधिक से अधिक चार पाँच साल में पूरा कर लेता था। स्कूल अध्यापकों की मर्जी के अनुसार 5-6 घंटें चलते थे। केवल थोड़े से पढ़ने-लिखने और हिसाब का ज्ञान हो जाए इतना ही पर्याप्त माना जाता था। 6 से 15 वर्ष तक का कोई भी व्यक्ति स्कूल में दाखिला ले सकता था। शैक्षणिक वर्ष भी तय नहीं था न ही परीक्षाएँ ली जाती थी। पढ़ाने के तरीके बड़े ही पुराने और अवैज्ञानिक थे। बच्चों घंटों बैठ, मेढ़क की तरह टरतिं हुए अपने पाठ रटते रहते थे।⁹

हिन्दी वर्णमाला की बाहर खड़ी को जोर-जोर से बोलकर गीतिका की तरह रटा जाता था।
उदाहरणार्थ

क क बडकै नामः क। काना इनी का।

**मार पछोड़ी कि, घुंटी वाली की। लोहरताम कु। बड़ेताम कू। एके लागी के,
दो लागी कै। काना बाती को। दुलहावड कनौ कौ। बिस्ते बिन्दी कं। कका दुपारसी
की दौ बिन्दी कः।⁴**

इस समय तक लगभग सम्पूर्ण भारत पर प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से ब्रितानी सत्ता सीपित हो चुकी थी स्वभाविक था कि अन्य पहलुओं के साथ-साथ शिक्षा की दिशा और दशा पर भी पाश्चात्य प्रभाव पड़ता था। राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व सीपित करने के लगभग आधी शताब्दी बाद तक ब्रिटिश शासकों ने पाश्चात्य शिक्षा और सभ्यता सीपित करने का कोई विशेष प्रयास नहीं किया। उस समय तक उनका उद्देश्य केवल कंपनी के शासन को स्थिरता प्रदान करना था।⁵ कंपनी भारत में अपने साम्राज्य को सुदृढ़ बनाने के लिए धार्मिक तटस्थता की नीति को महत्व देती थी, अतः 1813 तक वह मिशनरी कार्य करने वालों का भी विरोध कर रही थी।⁶ 1813 के चार्टर अधिनियम के अनुसार कंपनी पर पहली बार शिक्षा के प्रति सरकारी उत्तरदायित्व आया जिसके अनुसार प्रतिवर्ष शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिए एक लाख रुपये खर्च करने का प्रावधान था किन्तु इस अधिनियम के बावजूद शिक्षा के विकास पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा। 1823 में कलकत्ता में जनरल कमेटी ऑफ पब्लिक इन्स्ट्रक्शन का गठन किया गया। जिसे एक लाख रुपये के व्यय के विषय में निर्णय लेने का अधिकार था। परन्तु शीघ्र ही यह समिति ओरियंटलिस्ट और एंगलिसिस्ट दो समूहों में बट गई।⁷

शिक्षा का यह सूक्ष्म प्रभाव भी हरियाणा से कोषों दूर था लेकिन यहाँ भी एक ऐसा अफसर था जिसकी शिक्षा के विकास में गहरी दिलचस्पी थी जिसका नाम था विलियम फ्रेजर। वह यहाँ असिस्टेंट के पद पर नियुक्त था उसने 1816 में सोनीपत परगने के दो गाँवों में स्कूल खोले। इनमें 20-20 लड़के दाखिल हुए। 1820 में उसने तीसरा और 1823 में चौथा स्कूल भी खोल दिया। इन स्कूलों को चलाने के लिए फ्रेजर ने बड़ी दिलचस्पी नीति अपनाई थी। वह छात्र और उसके अभिभावकों को रिश्त देकर अपने स्कूल चलाता था। उसके यहाँ हर बच्चों को एक रुपया प्रति मास और उसके अभिभावकों को एक सेर आटा प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से दिया जाता था। इसका कारण था कि बच्चों किसान परिवार से सम्बन्धित थे जो कृषि कार्य में परिवार के साथ सहयोग

करते थे। अतः किसान उन्हें सामान्यतः स्कूल नहीं भेजता था। परन्तु एक रुपया प्रतिमास और एक सेर आटा प्रतिदिन का लोभ, उसे ऐसा करने के लिए बाध्य कर देता था। फ्रेजर के इन विद्यालयों में हिन्दी, उर्दू का पढ़ना लिखना और कुछ हिसाब-किताब भी सिखाया जाता था। वैसे फ्रेजर का उद्देश्य, केवल ऐसी शिक्षा देना नहीं था। वह यहाँ अंगरेजी, फारसी और विज्ञान की शिक्षा भी देना चाहता था। पर ऐसा करने के लिए उसके पास साधन नहीं थे। सन् 1823 में शिक्षा को नियंत्रित और उन्नत बनाने के लिए बनी कमेटी “जनरल कमेटी ऑफ पब्लिक इंस्ट्रक्शन” से भी फ्रेजर के कार्य को सहायता नहीं मिली। 29 नवम्बर 1823 को पब्लिक इंस्ट्रक्शन कमेटी के अधिकारियों ने फ्रेजर की योजना यह कहते हुए ठुकरा दी कि ‘यह हमारी नीति के विरुद्ध है’। फ्रेजर के ये विद्यालय धनाभाव से थोड़े समय बाद बंद हो गए।¹ 1823 में विलियम बेंटिक ने शिक्षा के विकास के लिए ठोस कदम उठाने की ठानी और मैकाले के नेतृत्व में कमेटी का गठन किया। 1835 में लार्ड मैकाले की कमेटी ने शिक्षा का माध्यम अंग्रेजी होने और पाश्चात्य शिक्षा पर बल दिया। किन्तु जब तक कि 1840 में शिक्षा प्रान्तीय विषय बन गया। इस क्षेत्र में कोई ठोस उन्नति नहीं हुई। इस समय तक हरियाणा उत्तर पश्चिम प्रांत के अन्तर्गत आ गया। प्रांत का लेफ्टि. गवर्नर जेम्स टामसन था। वह गाँवों तक शिक्षा पहुँचाना चाहता था। उसने देशज स्कूलों की स्थापना, सहयोग और जनता को इनका अधिक से अधिक उपयोग करने पर जोर दिया। लेफ्टिनेंट-गवर्नर के प्रयत्नों का परिणाम बड़ा अच्छा रहा और थोड़े अरसे में ही देशज स्कूलों की संख्या बढ़ गई। 1850 तक आते-आते पानीपत जिले में 416, हिसार में 587, दिल्ली में 386, रोहतक में 275 और गुड़गांव में 1230 स्कूल हो गए। सन् 1848 के बाद उनके प्रयत्नों से कुछ सरकारी स्कूल भी खुले, इन्हें तहसीलदारी स्कूल कहते थे। इन स्कूलों में भाषाओं के अध्ययन के अतिरिक्त गणित, बीज-गणित, ज्योमिति, इतिहास, भूगोल (भारत), अर्थशास्त्र, राजनीतिशास्त्र आदि का भी थोड़ा ज्ञान दिया जाता था। शिक्षा का माध्यम हिन्दी या उर्दू कुछ भी हो सकता था। तहसीलदारी स्कूलों की तरह ही इस समय कुछ कस्बा स्कूल भी खोले गए। कस्बे स्कूल शाहबाद, लाडवा, थानेसर, कैथल, सढौरा, सोनीपत, गुड़गांव, पलवल, पानीपत, हांसी, झज्जर, बहादुरगढ़ में खुले। इसी समय कई कस्बों में हाई स्कूल भी खोले गए, जैसे करनाल, रोहतक, भिवानी, रेवाड़ी, देहली, अम्बाला, जगाधरी। इसी तरह एक हलकाबंदी स्कूल योजना बनाई गई जिसके अनुसार प्रत्येक 10-20 गाँवों के मध्य एक स्कूल खोलने की तजबीज थी। यह योजना ठीक से क्रियान्वित भी नहीं हो पाई थी कि 1857 की क्रांति फूट पड़ी।¹

1858 में पंजाब के लोक निदेशक द्वारा विद्यालयों की शिक्षा के स्तर में सुधार और छः गाँवों के बीच विद्यालय स्थापित करने की योजना बनाई। परिणामस्वरूप प्राथमिक शिक्षा में सुधार हुआ। अम्बाला में प्रत्येक 10 मील पर एक स्कूल, करनाल और गुड़गांव में 15 मील पर एक और रोहतक में 18 मील पर एक स्कूल स्थापित हो गया। हिसार में सबसे कम 49 वर्गमील पर एक स्कूल था। फिर भी हिसार में सबसे अधिक नए स्कूल खुले। 1880 में जहाँ एक स्कूल था 1900 में बढ़कर 105 हो गए। करनाल में इसी समयावधि में 42 से बढ़कर 203 हो गए। रोहतक जिले में यह वृद्धि कम रही जहाँ 40 से बढ़कर केवल 98 ही हो पाए। स्त्री शिक्षा अत्यधिक दयनीय थी। अम्बाला और करनाल में 1900 तक के चार-चार स्कूल लड़कियों के थे जबकि 1870 में यह संख्या 9 और 10 थी जोकि छात्रा अभाव के कारण बन्द हो गए। गुड़गांव, रोहतक में स्थित कुछ

बेहतर थी। यहाँ आर्य समाज के प्रचार के कारण ऐसा था, लेकिन सभी विद्यालय प्राइमरी स्तर के थे। 1900 तक हरियाणा में लड़कियों का एक भी मिडिल या हाईस्कूल नहीं था।¹⁰

शिक्षा के विकास के लिए आधारभूत ढांचे को विकसित करने में फंड की आवश्यकता थी जिसे उपलब्ध कराने की जिम्मेदारी डिस्ट्रीक्ट बोर्ड, सरकार पर थी। इसके अतिरिक्त फीस से भी धन एकत्र होता था। किन्तु सामान्यतः डिस्ट्रीक्ट बोर्ड शिक्षा के लिए निर्धारित राशि नहीं खर्च करता था। डिस्ट्रीक्ट बोर्ड उन क्षेत्रों में ज्यादा राशि खर्च करते जहाँ जनता में उनका नाम हो।¹¹

School in Haryana¹²

Districts	Population	No. of High School	No. of A.V. Middle School	No. of Primary School
Ambala	422428	9	3	92
Karnal	828726	7	2	144
Gurgaon	682003	4	-	188
Rohtak	772272	7	4	219
Hisar	816810	4	1	184
	3522239	31	10	827

उच्च शिक्षा की स्थिति तो और भी अधिक खराब थी। यहाँ 1927 से पहले कोई कॉलेज नहीं था। जो थोड़े से विद्यार्थी उच्च शिक्षा लेना चाहते थे वे दिल्ली या फिर लाहौर जाते थे।¹³ दिल्ली में कैम्ब्रिज मिशन ने 1864 में सेंट स्टीफंस कॉलेज खोल दिया था। थोड़े समय पश्चात सरकार ने भी दिल्ली में कॉलेज खोल दिया। पर नए कॉलेज खुलने से एक कठिनाई पैदा हो गई। दो कॉलेजों के लिए छात्रों की कमी हो गई। इस समस्या का हल सेंट-स्टीफंस कॉलेज का दिल्ली कॉलेज में विलय करके निकाला गया। उच्च शिक्षा स्नातक स्तर की थी। मैट्रिक परीक्षा पास करने पर छात्र को 4 वर्ष कॉलेज में स्नातक बनने के लिए रहना पड़ता था। छात्र अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी, फारसी, इतिहास, भूगोल, हिसाब आदि विषय ले सकते थे। 1899 में स्नातन धर्म सभा ने हिन्दू कॉलेज खोल दिया। सरकार ने अम्बाला और दिल्ली में दो अध्यापक ट्रेनिंग स्कूल भी खोल दिए।¹⁴

बीसवी सदी में सौभाग्यवश स्थिति में कुछ सुधार हुआ। पहले की अपेक्षा सरकारी बजट में शिक्षा पर कुछ अधिक पैसा रखा जाने लगा। प्राइमरी शिक्षा में अधिक उन्नति हुई। 1886 से गाँवों में जो जमींदारी स्कूल चले आ रहे थे उनका स्थान देहाती स्कूलों ने ले लिया। जिनका पाठ्यक्रम अच्छा था विशेषतः फारसी हटाकर हिसाब पर बल देना अधिक उपयोगी था। 1919 के भारत सरकार अधिनियम के अनुसार पंजाब सरकार ने पंजाब प्राइमरी शिक्षा अधिनियम 7 पास करके प्रारंभिक शिक्षा की अनिवार्यता पर बल दिया। यह योजना सर्वप्रथम 1922 में परीक्षण के तौर पर रोहतक के 6 स्कूलों पर लागू की गई। 1937 के चुनावों के पश्चात् जब पहली बार अन्य प्रांतों की तरह यहाँ भी यूनियनिस्ट पार्टी की उत्तरदायी सरकार बनी जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र का

विशेष ध्यान रखती थी। चौ. बोधूराम के मंत्री बनने पर यहाँ बहुत सारे नए स्कूल खुले। 1940 के बाद हरियाणा क्षेत्र में पंजाब से अधिक स्कूल खुले। स्वतन्त्रता के बाद शिक्षा का और विस्तार हुआ। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना के दौरान लगभग 100 प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई जबकि दूसरी योजना के दौरान 105 प्रतिशत वृद्धि रही।¹⁵

उच्च शिक्षा आलोच्य समय में, उच्च शिक्षा में भी तेजी से बदलाव आए 1927 से पूर्व यहाँ कोई कॉलेज नहीं था। 1927 में इंटरमीडिएट तक के लिए रोहतक में पहला कॉलेज बना। बी.ए. तक की पूर्ण कक्षाओं के वाला पहला कॉलेज 1938 में अम्बाला में खुला-एस.ए.जैन कॉलेज। इसके बाद रोहतक में ऑल इंडिया जाट हीरोज मेमोरियल कॉलेज, वैश्य कॉलेज, भिवानी में वैश्य कॉलेज, रेवाड़ी में अहीर कॉलेज स्थापित हुए। इस प्रकार स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति तक यहाँ 6 कॉलेज ही थे।¹⁶ जोकि 1966 तक आते-आते 40 हो गए जिसमें 9 कॉलेज लड़कियों के ही थे। सन् 1956 में यहाँ पहला विश्वविद्यालय कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय बना। पहले यह संस्कृत के लिए था बाद में 1961 में इसे आम विश्वविद्यालयों की तरह बहुसंकाय बना दिया। 1966 तक आयुर्विज्ञान, इंजीनियरिंग, पशु आयुर्विज्ञान तकनीकी, डेरीविज्ञान का एक-एक और कृषि के दो कॉलेज बन चुके थे। किन्तु हरियाणा शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अभी भी पिछड़ा हुआ था। 1966 में मात्र 20 प्रतिशत लोग साक्षर थे।¹⁷ हरियाणा अलग राज्य बनने के बाद शिक्षा के विकास में तेजी आई। जैसे की निम्न तालिका से स्पष्ट होता है।

Table – II¹⁸

	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73
Primary	4446	4346	4279	4274	4216	4412	4812
Middle	735	747	768	770	777	781	781
High/Higher Secondary	597	713	783	853	970	1072	1092
College	43	47	57	62	78	94	99

इसी प्रकार शिक्षा पर व्यय में भी वृद्धि हुई जोकि 1968-69 में 13.58 प्रतिशत था। 1973-73 में बढ़कर 20.68 प्रतिशत हो गया।¹⁹ 21वीं सदी में प्रवेश करते-करते हरियाणा में शिक्षा का स्तर और विस्तार काफी बढ़ गया। 2001-02 में हरियाणा में 11,013 प्राथमिक स्कूल, 1918 मिडिल स्कूल, 3023 हाई स्कूल और 1301 उच्च माध्यमिक स्कूल स्थापित हो चुके थे साथ ही चार विश्वविद्यालय और 214 कॉलेज शिक्षा प्रदान कर रहे हैं।²⁰ वर्तमान में निजी क्षेत्र की भागीदारी बहुत तेजी से बढ़ी है जिससे उच्च शिक्षा का प्रसार तेजी से हुआ है वर्तमान में हरियाणा में उच्च शिक्षा प्रदान कर रहे हैं। निजी स्कूल भी तेजी से बढ़े हैं और इनमें बच्चों की संख्या की दृष्टि से देखा जाए तो ये सरकारी स्कूलों से भी आगे निकल गये हैं। वर्तमान में रोजगार परक शिक्षा का महत्व है। इसलिए तकनीकी और आयुर्विज्ञान शिक्षा का तेजी से विस्तार हुआ है जो हरियाणा को प्रगति के पथ पर ले जाएगा। चार केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय 12 स्टेट विश्वविद्यालय 24 डीम्ड विश्वविद्यालय और 19 निजी विश्वविद्यालय हैं।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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भील क्रान्ति के प्रणेता : श्री मोतीलाल तेजावत

*हरीश राव

सारांश

आज के भद्र समाज और आधुनिक सभ्यता से दूर राजस्थान के पहाड़ी इलाकों में बसने वाले वनवासी भील जिसे आदिवासी कहा जाता है। उनकी स्थिति जमींदार, जागीरदार, रियासती राजाओं के जुल्मों सितम से दयनीय रही है। अबोध भोले भील आदिवासी जनता में चेतना जगाने का श्रेय श्री मोती लाल तेजावत को जाता है। मोतीलाल तेजावत ने राजस्थान के मेवाड़ इलाके में (शिरोही, बाँसवाडा, डुंगरपुर) इलाकों में बसने वाले हजारों आदिवासीओं को इन जमींदार, जागीरदार, शासकों के शोषण से मुक्त कराने का काम किया, और इन वनवासी जाति के लोगों को मुख्य प्रवाह में सम्मिलित करने का कार्य किया। आजादी से पूर्व राजस्थान के दक्षिणी आंचल में बसने वाली आदिवासी प्रजा पर देशी शासकों का राज था। वे अपनी सत्ता जमींदार, जागीरदार की मदद से चलाते थे। और ये रियासतें अंग्रेज हुकूमत से आधी थी। इस तरह से देखा जाय तो इन प्रजा पर शोषण करने वालों की क्रम बद्ध एक शृंखला थी। और ये सब आदिवासी प्रजा पर नाना प्रकार के जुल्म करते थे। मोतीलाल तेजावत ने भीलों पर हो रहे अत्याचार और जुल्मों सितम को देखा तो उनका दिल द्रवित हों गया उन्होंने भीलों को संगठित करने का प्रयास किया और उनके अन्दर एकता लाने के लिये 'एकी' आन्दोलन जगाया और गुलामी से मुक्त कराया।

विशेष शब्द : जमींदार, जागीरदार, रियासत, एकी, भील

राजस्थान के दक्षिणांचल में आदिवासी (भील) लोग रहते थे। आधुनिक सभ्यता के प्रभाव से दूर इन भोले-भाले ग्रामीण लोगों की स्थिति सदा-सर्वदा दयनीय रही है। मेवाड़ और अन्य रियासतों के किसान और आदिवासी जो सदियों से उत्पीड़न, शोषण और उपेक्षा के शिकार थे, उनमें चेतना

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जागृत करने का श्रेय श्री मोतीलाल तेजावत को है। सन् 1921-22 में तेजावत जी के नेतृत्व में हुआ 'भील आन्दोलन' अपनी व्यापकता, रचनात्मकता और अहिंसा की दृष्टि से बेमिसाल था।

जन्म, बाल्यकाल एवं शिक्षा : उदयपुर जिले की फलासिया तहसील के कोल्हारी ग्राम में देशभक्त भील नेता श्री मोतीलाल तेजावत का जन्म ईस्वी सन् 1886 और विक्रम संवत् 1944 की ज्येष्ठ शुक्ला प्रतिपदा को ओसवाल कुल में हुआ। उनके पिता का नाम नन्दलाल तथा माता का नाम केसर बाई था। हिन्दी, उर्दू और गुजराती तीनों भाषाओं का आपको अच्छा ज्ञान था।¹

भील आन्दोलन और तेजावत जी का नेतृत्व : 1921 मई तक भील आन्दोलन का प्रसार मेवाड़ के प्रत्येक गाँव में हो गया। भीलों ने झाड़ोल, कोल्हारी, मगरा आदि जागीरों के पंचों को सूचित किया कि वे लाग-बाग और कोई भी लागत नहीं देंगे और जब तक उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं होता वे बेगार नहीं करेंगे।² ऐसी परिस्थितियों में भाग्यवश उन्हें तेजावत जी का नेतृत्व प्राप्त हुआ। मोतीलाल तेजावत ने आन्दोलन की बागडोर अपने हाथ में लेते ही घोषणा की जागीर को किसी भी प्रकार का कर भुगतान न किया जावे।³ 13 जुलाई 1921 को जवास के कामदार ने गाँव के गमेतियों से लगान वसूली के लिए सिपाहियों को भेजा तो गमेतियों ने लगान देने से मना कर दिया और कहा कि वे तभी लगान देंगे, जब महाराणा फतहसिंह जी खालसा भीलों की शिकायतों की सुनवायी करेंगे।⁴ भोमट क्षेत्र के सभी भीलों ने लगान अदा करने और बेगार करने से इनकार कर दिया। अप्रिय घटना के भय से महाराणा ने कुछ रियायतों की घोषणा की किन्तु जागीरदारों ने किसी भी रियायत पर अमल नहीं किया। अतः तेजावत जी के नेतृत्व में आन्दोलन झाड़ोल, कोल्हारी और मादड़ी जागीरों में फैल गया⁵ तेजावत को भीलों को भड़काने के आरोप में झाड़ोल के ठाकुर ने 19 अगस्त 1921 को गिरफ्तार कर लिया, किन्तु उसी समय वहाँ असन्तुष्ट भीलों की भारी भीड़ जमा हो गई, अतः तेजावत जी को रिहा करना पड़ा।⁶ इस प्रकार समस्त भोमट क्षेत्र में तेजावत जी का गहरा प्रभाव व्याप्त हो गया और उनके नेतृत्व में भीलों का संगठन दिन प्रतिदिन सशक्त बनता गया।

“एकी” आन्दोलन और तेजावत जी : चित्तौड़गढ़ जिले के मातृकुण्डिया नामक स्थल पर वैसाख पूर्णिमा 1921 में तेजावत जी ने एकी नामक आन्दोलन का श्री गणेश किया। इस धार्मिक मेले में लगभग एक लाख किसान एकत्रित हुए। तेजावत अपने सहयोगियों सहित जब मेले में सम्मिलित हुए तो किसानों में क्रान्ति का ज्वर उमड़ पड़ा।⁷ यहीं पर तेजावत जी द्वारा किसान-भील समूह के सामने घोषणा की गयी कि जब तक हमारी न्यायसंगत बातें महाराणा मेवाड़ के समक्ष पेश नहीं होगी, कोई भी कृषक लगान का भुगतान नहीं करेगा। जो कोई भरेगा या गाँव का पटेल भरवायेगा, उसे धर्म और एकलिंग जी पूगेगा।⁸ निश्चय के पर्व मेवाड़ के हर गाँव में पहुँचाये गये। जिसके परिणामस्वरूप झाड़ोल के निकट फलासिया गाँव में एक बैठक आयोजित की गई। तेजावत ने वस्तु स्थिति स्पष्ट कर सब में “एकी” करवाई।⁹ इसी वर्ष जेठ माह में बदराणा की बैठक में “एकी” का निश्चय पुनः दोहराया गया। तेजावत के नेतृत्व में एक हजार से अधिक लोगों ने आगे की रणनीति तैयार की। आषाढ़ वदी एकम के दिन की इस बैठक में मेवाड़ मगरे के सभी लोगों ने उदयपुर में एकत्रित हो अपने ऊपर हो रहे जुल्म और अत्याचारों की शिकायत महाराणा से करने का निश्चय किया। फलतः तेजावत के नेतृत्व में 8000 भील और किसान महाराणा के महलों के सूरज

गोखड़े की ओर पिछोला झील की पाल पर एकत्रित हो गये।¹⁰ सभी ने विस्तार से अपने कष्टों का विवरण दिया। उनकी इन शिकायतों को तीन दिन में तेजावत जी ने “मेवाड़ की पुकार” शीर्षक से एक पुस्तक के रूप में आबद्ध किया। जब महाराणा को भीलों के एकत्रित होने की सूचना मिली तो उन्होंने महलों से बाहर निकलना बन्द कर दिया। तेजावत को पुलिस अफसर समझाने लगे, यहाँ तक की उन्हें अनेक प्रकार के प्रलोभन भी दिये गये किन्तु सब प्रयास व्यर्थ सिद्ध हुए।¹¹ जब भरसक प्रयासों के पश्चात् भी महाराणा से सम्पर्क नहीं हो सका, तब तेजावत ने ब्रिटिश रेजिडेंट से मिलकर समस्त शिकायतें उन्हें बताने का निश्चय किया। जब यह बात महाराणा को ज्ञात हुई तो मोतीलाल तेजावत को महलों में बुलाया गया। तेजावत ने “मेवाड़ की पुकार” में संकलित समस्त शिकायतें महाराणा के सम्मुख रखी। महाराणा ने तुरन्त बेगार बन्द करने और अनुचित लागतें उठा लेने की घोषणा की। महाराणा ने 21 में 3 मांगे अस्वीकृत कर दी जो वन सम्पदा, बैठ-बेगार और सुअरों से सम्बन्धित थी।¹² जगदीश जी के मन्दिर पर खड़े होकर तेजावत जी ने घोषणा की कि ये शेष तीनों मांगे जो अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण हैं, मेवाड़ की जनता ने तय किया है कि इनको वो अपने अधिकार से स्वीकार करती है।¹³ जनता ने निर्णय लिया कि वह इन मांगों से सम्बन्धित आदेशों का पालन नहीं करेगी। “एकी” आन्दोलन की सफलता से भीलों और किसानों में अपूर्व उत्साह जागृत हुआ। किन्तु तीन अस्वीकृत माँगों को लेकर जनता और शासन के मध्य सदा विवाद होने की आशंका विद्यमान रही। तेजावत जी ने अपनी विजय का सन्देश गाँव-गाँव में सभाएं आयोजित कर पहुँचाया। मेवाड़ और अन्य रियासतों में बिखरी हुई भील जनता को एक कर तेजावत ने एक महान कार्य सम्पन्न किया। उनके द्वारा प्रारम्भ “एकी आन्दोलन” एक ऐसा जन आन्दोलन था जिसने भविष्य के व्यापक संघर्ष की पृष्ठभूमि प्रशस्त की।

मेवाड़ के पंचों की घोषणा : जब महाराणा ने तीन मांगे-जंगल से लकड़ी काटने, बीड़ से घास काटने और फलों को नुकसान पहुँचाने वाले सुअरों को मारने को स्वीकृत न कर मेवाड़ के पंचों पर छोड़ दिया तो पंचों द्वारा घोषणा की गई। श्री जी हुजूर के आदेश से जो लागतें कमेटी के सामने छोड़ी गई वे सही हैं और बन्द हैं। घास की, जंगलों और सुअरों की रखत मेवाड़ के पंचों ने छोड़ी है। मेवाड़ के पंचों का दर्जा राणाजी से कम नहीं है, तो सुअरों को मारों और घास का बीड़ा उपयोग में लो। कोई पूछे तो पंचों का नाम बताना।¹⁴

“एकी” आन्दोलन का विस्तार : महाराणा फतेहसिंह द्वारा दी गई रियायतों से मेवाड़ के मैदानी क्षेत्र के किसान तो सन्तुष्ट हो गये किन्तु भील अभी इस समझौते से असन्तुष्ट थे। अब भील आन्दोलन मेवाड़ की सीमाओं को पार कर ईडर राज्य में प्रवेश कर गया।¹⁵ समय के साथ यह आन्दोलन सिरौही, दांता, पालनपुर, विजयनगर आदि रियासतों की जनता में फैल गया।¹⁶ तेजावत ने आन्दोलन को व्यापक बनाने के उद्देश्य से विजयनगर के निकट तिमड़ा में एक भील सम्मेलन आयोजित किया। इसमें हजारों की संख्या में भीलों ने भाग लिया। सम्मेलन में जब किसानों की समस्याओं पर विचार चल रहा था उसी समय मेवाड़ राज्य की मिलेट्री और अन्य रियासतों की पुलिस ने वहाँ पहुँचकर उन्हें घेर लिया। पिंजरे में फसे पक्षियों की तरह भोले-भाले भीलों को राज्य सेनाओं और पुलिस ने गोलियों से भून दिया। इस तरह हत्याकाण्ड में लगभग 1200 व्यक्ति शहीद हो गये।¹⁷ इस घटनाक्रम में तेजावत जी के पांव में गोली लगी। भील आपको सुरक्षित स्थान पर उठा ले गये जहाँ आठ वर्ष तक वे अज्ञातवास में रहे।¹⁸ मोतीलाल तेजावत को

भील जनता अपना मसीहा मानने लगी। गाँव-गाँव में तेजावत के गीत गाए जाने लगे और एकी आन्दोलन का प्रसार लोकगीतों के माध्यम से होने लगा।¹⁹

मोतीलाल तेजावत और महात्मा गाँधी : इस समय सिरोंही आन्दोलन अपने पूर्ण वेग पर था। स्थान-स्थान पर भील गरासियों की सभाएं आयोजित हो रही थी। तेजावत के नेतृत्व में उनकी एकता अभेद हो चुकी थी। रियासती प्रशासन समझौते का प्रयास कर रहा था। इस अवसर पर पण्डित मदन मोहन मालवीय के सुपुत्र रमाकान्त मालवीय राज्य के दीवान थे। उन्होंने तार के माध्यम से गाँधी जी को सूचित किया कि तेजावत और पथिक, उपद्रव ग्रस्त क्षेत्रों में महत्वपूर्ण कार्य कर रहे हैं इन क्षेत्रों में रक्तपात रोकने का श्रेय उन्हीं को है। गाँधीजी का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त करने के लिए तेजावत द्वारा उन्हें एक पत्र लिखा गया, “मैं सत्याग्रह का कार्य करता हूँ। जिस तरह आपके पीछे सारा हिन्दूस्तान चलता है मेरे पीछे भील गरासिया चल रहे हैं। ये शान्ति प्रिय सत्याग्रह है परन्तु मेरी अरज न तो राज सुनता है और न ही अंग्रेज। आप ही मेरे सहायक हैं आप कोई प्रचारक भेंजे।”²⁰ गाँधी जी की ओर से उनका प्रतिनिधि मणिलाल कोठारी सिरोंही पहुँचा। उसने ए.जी.जी हालैण्ड को आपसी बातचीत के लिए तैयार कर लिया। किन्तु राजपूताना एजेन्सी ने पुनः अपने वचन का पालन नहीं किया और 8 मई 1922 को भूला और बलौहिया नामक दो भीलों ने गाँवों में आग लगा दी।²¹ साथ ही रोहरा तहसील के शान्तिपूर्ण भीलों पर पुलिस द्वारा गोलियाँ चलाई गई।²² इस प्रकार मणिलाल कोठारी के सभी प्रयास विफल रहे और तेजावत ने ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों के समक्ष स्पष्ट किया कि उसने कोई अपराध नहीं किया है। भीलों की सामाजिक और धार्मिक स्थिति में सुधार लाने के लिए किये गये प्रयास अपराध नहीं कहे जा सकते हैं।²³ तेजावत की महात्मा गाँधी के आश्रम में जाने की अनुमति गवर्नर जनरल ने अस्वीकृत कर दी और उनके सहयोगियों को गिरफ्तार करना शुरू कर दिया।

गाँधीजी के आदेश से आत्म समर्पण : भील आन्दोलन की समस्त सूचना गाँधीजी को मणिलाल कोठारी अहमदाबाद वालों से प्राप्त होती रहती थी। अतः गाँधी जी के आदेशानुसार 3 जून 1929 को ईडर रियासत के खेड़-ब्रह्मा गाँव में तेजावत ने स्वयं को गिरफ्तार करवाया।²⁴ 31 जुलाई, 1929 को उन्हें मेवाड़ राज्य को सौंप दिया गया। जिला मजिस्ट्रेट गिर्वा ने उन्हें दस वर्ष की कठोर सजा सुनाई। तेजावत को 7 वर्ष; 6 अगस्त 1929 से 23 अप्रैल 1936 तक बिना अपराध सिद्ध किये केन्द्रीय कारागृह उदयपुर में बंदी बनाया गया।²⁵ सन् 1935 के नवम्बर माह में मणिलाल कोठारी ने तेजावत को जेल से मुक्त करवाने के प्रयत्न किये। फलतः 16 अप्रैल 1936 को उन्हें सशर्त रिहा किया गया कि वे कभी गैर-कानूनी कार्यों में संलग्न नहीं होंगे और बिना पूर्व अनुमति के मेवाड़ राज्य से बाहर नहीं जायेंगे। उनकी गतिविधियों पर नजर रखी गई और 23 अप्रैल 1936 को वे जेल से रिहा हो गये।²⁶

मातृभूमि की बलिवेदी पर सर्वस्व न्यौछावर : मोतीलाल तेजावत देश के उन मुड़ी भर आजादी के दीवानों में से थे जिन्होंने मातृभूमि की बलिवेदी पर अपना सर्वस्व स्वाहा कर दिया और आदिवासी जनता के उत्थान के लिए मौत की परवाह न कर शासन से संघर्ष किया। सेवा में अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन समर्पित कर देने वाले श्री तेजावत आजादी की नींव के वो पत्थर हैं जिस पर हमारे देश की स्वतन्त्रता की भव्य इमारत खड़ी है। इस कर्मठ भील नेता ने अपने जीवन का हर कण और क्षण आदिवासी जाति की सेवा में अर्पित कर दिया।²⁷ 5 दिसम्बर 1963 को यह

आदिवासी जाति का मसीहा, अपना समस्त जीवन त्याग और तपस्या के साथ इस जाति के लिये अर्पित करता हुआ संसार से चल बसा।²⁸ इस शोधपत्र को तैयार करने में मेरे मार्गदर्शक डॉ. अजातशत्रु राणावत, पेसिफिक विश्वविद्यालय, उदयपुर की सहायता के लिये मैं उनका सदैव आभारी रहूंगा।

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चम्पारण सत्याग्रह के समय समाचार-पत्रों की भूमिका

*संजीत कुमार

सारांश

बिहार के उत्तर-पश्चिम में स्थित चम्पारण वह क्षेत्र है, जहाँ सर्वप्रथम सत्याग्रह की नींव 1917 में गाँधी जी के नेतृत्व में पड़ी। गाँधी जी राजकुमार शुक्ला नामक व्यक्ति के अनुरोध पर चम्पारण आए और किसानों की दुःख भरी गाथा सुने। ब्रिटिश शासक वहाँ के किसानों पर तिनकठिया नाम की व्यवस्था लाद दी थी।¹ इस व्यवस्था के अंतर्गत किसानों के लिए यह अनिवार्य कर दिया गया था कि वे अपनी जमीन के प्रति बीघा खेत में 3 कट्ठे पर नील की खेती अवश्य करें। इससे नीलहों को ज्यादा लाभ होता था और किसान शोषित हो रहे थे। यदि किसी किसान के द्वारा नील की खेती करने से इनकार किया जाता तो वे उस पर तरह-तरह के जुल्म करते थे। इस प्रकार वस्तुतः यह प्रथा किसानों को गुलामी में जकड़ देने वाली थी, जिससे आमरण मुक्ति नहीं मिल पाती थी। सीधे-सादे किसानों पर गोरे नीलहों का अत्याचार इतना ज्यादा था जिसकी कल्पना मात्र से रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। वास्तव में इंग्लंड पहुँचने वाला नील का हर बक्सा रैयतों के खून से सना होता था। जिसकी स्पष्ट अभिव्यक्ति सर्वप्रथम दीनबन्धु मित्र लिखित बांग्ला नाटक **‘नील-दर्पण’** में की गई।²

इन कारणों से आम जनता में असंतोष व्याप्त हो जाना और आक्रोश उबलना अस्वाभाविक नहीं कहा जा सकता। तत्कालीन पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने नीलहों के अत्याचार से त्रस्त प्रजावर्ग के असंतोष और आक्रोश को जन-सामान्य तक पहुँचाने का काम किया।³ **‘स्टेट्समैन’**, **‘प्रताप’**, **‘बिहारी’**, **‘अमृत बाजार पत्रिका’**, **‘भारत-मित्र’**, **‘हितवादी’**, **‘हिन्द-केशरी’**, **‘अभ्युदय’**, **‘मिथिला मिहिर’** और **‘पाटलिपुत्र’** ने अपने अग्रलेखों तथा निबंधों में रैयतों की दिनानुदिन बिगड़ती दशा पर गहरी चिंता व्यक्त की, यद्यपि इस जुर्म में कई पत्र बंद कर दिए गए और कई पर राजद्रोह का मुकदमा भी चलाया गया।⁴ बिहार के प्रमुख समाचार-पत्र **‘बिहारी’** में सम्पादक, बाबू महेश्वर प्रसाद ने 1913 में एक निबंध प्रकाशित किए जिसमें निलहे साहबों तथा उनके कर्मचारियों के अत्याचारों की कड़े शब्दों में भर्त्सना की गई थी एवं स्थिति में सुधार लाने की माँग की गई थी।⁵ कलकत्ता की **‘अमृत**

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बाजार पत्रिका में प्रान्तीय सरकार के 18 जनवरी 1915 के एक आदेश पर जबर्दस्त विरोध प्रकट किया गया था।⁶ इसके अन्तर्गत चम्पारण के धनहा थाना के कुछ गाँवों में अतिरिक्त पुलिस पदस्थापित किये जाने की व्यवस्था थी। कलकत्ता के दैनिक **‘भारत-मित्र’** के कई अंकों में लेजिस्लेटिव कौंसिल में ब्रजकिशोर बाबू के प्रश्नों के सरकार के द्वारा टालमटोल भरे हुए जवाब देने पर असंतोष प्रकट किया गया एवं स्वतंत्र जाँच की माँग की गई। **‘मिथिला मिहिर’** ने स्थिति को गम्भीर बताते हुए 3 जनवरी 1915 के अपने अंक में कड़ा विरोध प्रकट किया एवं अविलम्ब स्वतंत्र जाँच की माँग की जिसमें रैयतों का दुःख दूर हो सके।⁷ **‘पाटलिपुत्र’** ने जाँच-कार्य में अड़ंगा लगाने की आलोचना की। **‘बिहारी’** ने इस झूठी अफवाह पर रोष व्यक्त किया और **‘मिथिला मिहिर’** ने मानवता के निष्ठावान सेवक पर झूठे आरोप लगाने की निंदा की। 29 नवम्बर 1914 के **‘प्रताप’** में एक दुखीदय के छदम नाम से सम्वाददाता का इस संदर्भ में एक निबंध प्रकाशित हुआ। इसमें चम्पारण के निलहे को यूरोपीय प्रबंधकों द्वारा इस इलाके के किसानों एवं रैयतों पर किये गए घोर अत्याचार के विरुद्ध शिकायत की गई थी।⁸ इलाहाबाद के **‘अभ्युदय’** के 15 दिसम्बर, 1914 के अंक में इस पत्र को ज्यों-का-त्यों छापा गया। मुजफ्फरपुर से प्रकाशित होने वाला **‘सत्ययुग’** के सम्पादक, पाण्डे जगन्नाथ प्रसाद से इस मामले को उठाने का अनुरोध किया गया था।⁹ **‘पाटलिपुत्र’** और **‘पटना एक्सप्रेस’** में भी चम्पारण के नील संबंधी मामलों को प्रकाशित कर अंग्रेजी सरकार की जड़े खोदने का काम कर रही थी।¹⁰ उसने अंग्रेजी सरकार पर जाँच-कार्य में अड़ंगा लगाने की आलोचना की। चम्पारण में आए दिन होनेवाली वारदातों की खबरें नागपुर के **‘हिन्दू केशरी’** और कलकत्ता के **‘हितवर्ता’** में प्रकाशित हुई हैं। यदि इनकी प्रतियाँ किन्हीं सज्जन के पास हों तो उन्हें भी कृपया भेजी जाएँ।¹¹ इस प्रकार महात्मा गाँधी ने राष्ट्रीय जागरण की जिस चेतना को किसानों के मन में भरने का संकल्प चंपारण यात्रा में लिया था, पत्रों ने उसे जनता तक पहुँचाने की जवाबदेही बखूबी पूरा की। असंतुष्ट जनता में राष्ट्रीय जागरण की उत्साह भरने हेतु उन सबों ने अप्रतिम कुशलता का परिचय दिया।

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कुमाऊनी लोककला एवं लोकविश्वास में नागप्रभाव

*डॉ. अवनीन्द्र कुमार जोशी

सारांश

उत्तराखंड के कुमाऊं अंचल के लोकधर्म, लोकसंस्कृति, लोककला एवं लोकविश्वासों में नाग संस्कृति का स्पष्ट प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर होता है। कुमाऊं अंचल के विभिन्न स्थानों पर नाग मंदिर अस्तित्व में हैं तथा यहाँ विभिन्न स्थानों का नामकरण भी नागों के नाम पर होना पाया जाता है। बेडीनाग, फ्रणीनाग, धौलीनाग, वासुकीनाग, पिंगलीनाग, कालीनाग, मूलनाग, कर्कोटकनाग कुमाऊं अंचल के ऐसे नागदेवता हैं जिनपर स्थानीय लोकविश्वास प्रबल रूप में दिखाई देता है। कुमाऊनी लोकमानस के धार्मिक-सामाजिक जनजीवन पर इन नाग देवताओं और उनसे जुड़ी परम्पराओं तथा विश्वासों का प्रभाव यहाँ आयोजित होने वाले नाग मेलों में, लोक साहित्य के अंतर्गत विद्यमान धार्मिक स्तुतियों में, नाग मंदिरों में आयोजित होने वाले धार्मिक कृत्यों में परिलक्षित होता है। इस शोध पत्र के अंतर्गत उत्तराखंड के कुमाऊं अंचल के लोक जीवन में नाग प्रभाव को विवेचित किया गया है।

मानव सभ्यता के प्रारम्भ से ही नागों का धर्म एवं मानव आस्था में एक विशेष स्थान रहा है। प्रकृति-पूजक मानव ने भी नागों पर अपनी आस्था व्यक्त की जिसका प्रमाण मानव निर्मित पुरातन आकृतियों, चित्रों, मुहरों या सीलों पर नाग-अंकन के रूप में तथा साहित्यिक साधनों के अंतर्गत नाग विवरणों के तौर पर प्राप्त होता है। नागों के प्रति मानव का यह जुड़ाव लोक कलाओं में पाए जाने वाले नाग अंकन से भी प्रकट होता है। यह अंकन विश्व के विभिन्न भागों में विभिन्न रूपों में प्राप्त होता है। भारतीय समाज और धर्म में नागों का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है। पुराणों एवं महाभारत में भी नागों के सम्बन्ध में विस्तृत जानकारीयाँ उपलब्ध हैं। भारतीय इतिहास में नाग-वंश के शासकों का अस्तित्व रहा। प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख का उद्देश्य उत्तराखंड के कुमाऊं अंचल की लोक कला में नाग अंकन की कतिपय विशिष्टताओं को उद्घाटित करना है।

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उत्तराखंड के कुमाऊ अंचल में लोक-धर्म, लोक-संस्कृति तथा लोक-कला में नाग प्रभाव स्पष्ट तौर पर दृष्टिगोचर होता है। कुमाऊ अंचल में नाग देवों के रूप में कालियनाग, मूलनाग, फ्रणीनाग, धौलीनाग, वासुकीनाग, सुन्धरीनाग, पिंगलीनाग, बेणीनाग, खरिहरीनाग, धूमरीनाग, कर्कोटकनाग आदि का पूजन स्थानीय जनमानस द्वारा वर्तमान में भी सम्पूर्ण आस्थापूर्वक संपन्न किया जाना इस क्षेत्र में धार्मिक तौर पर नाग प्रभाव की व्यापकता को दर्शाता है। प्राचीनकाल से ही नागपूजा ने कला एवं संस्कृति को विविध रूपों में प्रभावित किया।¹ कुमाऊ अंचल में प्रचलित नागपूजा ने भी स्थानीय लोककला को प्रभावित किया। अल्मोड़ा के निकट जागेश्वर मंदिर समूह में मंदिरों की दीवारों पर बड़ी संख्या में मानव आकृतियों के शीर्षों पर फण आकृति के शीर्षाभरणों का उत्कीर्णन है।² कुमाऊ की प्राचीन राजधानी चम्पावत के चम्पावती मंदिर में विभिन्न जीवों की रक्षा करते हुए नाग का उत्कीर्णन लोककला का उत्कृष्ट नमूना है।³ अल्मोड़ा स्थित नन्दादेवी मन्दिर में भी नागों की आकृतियाँ स्पष्ट दिखाई देती हैं जिससे प्रतीत होता है कि उक्त मंदिर के निर्माता कुमाऊ के चन्द्रवंशीय नरेश नागपूजक थे और नाग संस्कृति से प्रभावित थे। मूलनाग मंदिर में धरमोदास की मूर्ति विद्यमान है जिसके बारे में यह जनविश्वास है कि यह नाग देवताओं को प्रसन्न करने के लिए ढोल-नगाड़े बजाने का कार्य करता है।⁴ बंजैण मंदिर के भीतर तमाम नाग आकृतियाँ उत्कीर्ण मिलती हैं। जनविश्वास है कि फ्रणीनाग, धौलीनाग एवं मूलनाग मंदिरों के निकट पेड़ों में बने हुए कोठर (खोह) नाग देवों का निवास हैं। इन कोठरों का पूजन देव आवास के रूप में किया जाना नाग देवों के प्रति जनसामान्य की अगाध आस्था का परिचायक है। जनविश्वास यह भी है कि विविध नागदेव विविध प्रजाति के वृक्षों में रहा करते थे। उदाहरणार्थ फ्रणीनाग दुदिल नामक जबकि धौलीनाग बांज के कोठर में रहा करते थे। कोठरों को अत्यधिक पवित्र स्वीकार करते हुए इनकी पूजा की जाती है और इनकी पवित्रता का विशेष ख्याल किया जाता है। प्राकृतिक रूप से पेड़ों पर बने हुए इन कोठरों का जहाँ लोकधर्म की दृष्टि से महत्त्व है, वहीं प्रकृति और पर्यावरण के लिए यह लोकविश्वास वृक्ष पातन रोकने के लिए भी नियंत्रक रहा है।⁵

बेरीनाग के निकट खितौली ग्राम में निर्मित मूलनाग मंदिर के प्रवेश द्वार के मध्य अत्यधिक सुंदर नाग आकृति बनाई गयी है जिसका मुख मंदिर आगंतुकों की ओर है। इसी प्रकार भीमताल की पहाड़ी पर बने कर्कोटकनाग मंदिर में धातु से निर्मित नाग भी सुन्दरता की दृष्टि से विशिष्ट है। इस फनधारी नाग द्वारा शक्ति को घेरे हुए दर्शाया गया है। अल्मोड़ा के पास स्थित श्री गंगनाथ मंदिर में पाषाण पर उत्कीर्ण नाग आकृति भव्य तथा मनोरम है। इसमें नागराज को विशाल शिला पर लेटी हुई मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है। त्रिमुखी तीन फनों वाले नागराज को आकर्षक रंगों से सज्जित किया गया है।

गंगोलीहाट के निकट पाताल भुवनेश्वर स्थित प्राकृतिक गुफा की भीतरी दीवारों पर शेषनाग की अतिआकर्षक आकृति है जिसमें शेषनाग का फन, दन्त, विषग्रन्थि सहित पूरा शरीर दर्शाया गया है। इसमें शेषनाग की रीढ़ की हड्डियाँ, जो कि जमीन पर बनी हैं, गुफा में भ्रमण करने वाले लोगों को फिसलने से बचाती हैं।⁶ पाताल भुवनेश्वर गुफा में वासुकीनाग एवं तक्षकनाग का भी अंकन है। इस गुफा में जितनी भी आकृतियाँ प्राप्त हैं वे मानव निर्मित न होकर प्राकृतिक रूप

से पाषाण शिलाओं पर उभरी हैं, जिनका सम्बन्ध लोकविश्वासों द्वारा नागों से जोड़ा गया है। पाताल भुवनेश्वर से जुड़े वृद्ध भुवनेश्वर मंदिर पर भी नाग प्रभाव देखने को मिलता है।

कुमाऊं अंचल के पारम्परिक भवनों में भी खिडकियों और दरवाजों की मेहराबों पर नागों की आकृतियाँ अंकित मिलती हैं। यह भी कुमाऊनी लोकसंस्कृति और लोकविश्वास पर नागों के प्रभाव का परिचायक है। लोकविश्वास के अनुसार खिडकियों और दरवाजों पर नागों का अंकन घर की सुरक्षा कवच के तौर पर स्वीकार किया जाता है। अल्मोड़ा और पिथौरागढ़ जिलों में लकड़ी से अलंकृत अनेक घरों में प्रवेशद्वार की शहतीर पर नाग अंकन से की गयी पट्टिका सज्जा मिलती हैं।⁷ नागपंचमी पर्व पर घरों की दहलीजों पर कुमाऊनी महिलाओं द्वारा सज्जित किये जाने वाले ऐपणों (अल्पनाओं) के अंतर्गत भी नाग प्रभाव स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है। कुमाऊं में पीपल के पेड़ों के निकट, झरनों के निकट तथा नौलों में भी नाग आकृतियों का अंकन मिलता है। देवालियों तथा नौलों में शेषनाग शैल्या पर विराजमान भगवान् विष्णु की मूर्तियाँ कुमाऊं अंचल में बहुतायत से देखने को मिलती हैं। चन्दकालीन नौलों के गर्भगृहों की दीवारों में निर्मित पीठिकाओं पर भी शेषनाग पर आसीन जलशयन मुद्रा में भगवान् विष्णु का अंकन कई जगहों पर मिलता है। यह कुमाऊनी लोककला में नाग प्रभाव का परिचायक है।⁸

कुमाऊनी लोकसाहित्य की एक विशिष्टता यह है कि यहाँ के लोकगीतों में श्रीकृष्ण को नागराज माना गया है। कुमाऊनी लोकगीतों में यत्र-तत्र नाग देवों का वर्णन मिलता है। कुमाऊं के जागरों एवं गाथाओं में बड़ाऊँ तथा बरडगाड़ के क्षेत्रियों में प्रचलित नाग देवताओं वेणीनाग, कालियनाग, धौलीनाग से सम्बंधित लोकगीत महत्वपूर्ण हैं। रमोला नामक कुमाऊं की लोकगाथा में नायक सिदुआ द्वारा वासुकीनाग की कन्या बिजोमती से विवाह करने का प्रसंग प्राप्त होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त कुमाऊं के लोकजीवन में नाग देवताओं से जुड़ी अनेक लोककथाएँ प्रचलित हैं। इन लोककथाओं के अंतर्गत नाग देवताओं को मानवरूप एवं सर्परूप दोनों ही रूपों में वर्णित किया गया है। मानवरूप में नागों के प्रति श्रद्धा और सर्परूप में नागों के प्रति भय का भाव इन लोककथाओं के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्त किया गया है। कुमाऊं के लोकजीवन में नाग देवताओं से सम्बंधित इन लोककथाओं का यदि हम क्षेत्रवार वर्गीकरण करें तो यह तथ्य प्रकट होता है कि पिथौरागढ़ की पुंगराऊँ पट्टी में कालियनाग, सुन्धरीनाग, धूमरीनाग और अठउंगलियनाग की कथाएँ, पिथौरागढ़ के बेरीनाग और कांडेकिरीली क्षेत्र में वेणीनाग और पिंगलीनाग की कथाएँ, बागेश्वर जनपद में धौलीनाग, मूलनाग और फ्रणीनाग की कथाएँ तथा नैनीताल जनपद में कर्कोटकनाग की कथाएँ लोकजीवन में आज भी उतनी ही जीवंत हैं जितनी कि अतीत में थीं।⁹

कुमाऊनी जनसमुदाय की नागों पर आस्था और विश्वास होने के ऐतिहासिक और सांस्कृतिक-धार्मिक कारण रहे हैं। सदियों से चला आ रहा यह आस्था और विश्वास आज भी उतना ही दृढ़ है जितना कि पहले था। लोककला और लोकसंस्कृति के अंतर्गत नागों से जुड़ी इन विशिष्टताओं से स्पष्ट है कि कुमाऊनी लोककला एवं लोकविश्वास में नागप्रभाव आज भी साफ तौर पर विद्यमान है।

कुमाऊं के बागेश्वर जिले में अवस्थित श्री धौलीनाग (धवलनाग) मंदिर प्रवेशद्वार पट्टिका



श्री धौलीनाग (धवलनाग) मंदिर

श्री फ़णीनाग मंदिर के कलात्मक शिखर



श्री फ़णीनाग मंदिर का प्रवेशद्वार



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नेपाल संविधान और माओवादी गतिविधियाँ

*शोभा कुमारी

सारांश

सन् 1990-91 में नेपाल का नया संविधान बना। यह नया संविधान नेपाल का पांचवां संविधान था। इससे पूर्व 1948 में पहला, 1951 में दूसरा, 1959 में तीसरा, 1962 में चौथा (पार्टी विहीन पंचायती लोकतंत्र) बन चुका था। इस नये संविधान में बहुदलीय लोकतंत्र को स्वीकार किया गया। नेपाल के नये सरकार और राजनीतिक व्यवस्था पर नजर डालने के पूर्व इस संविधान की प्रमुख विशेषताओं पर एक नजर डालना महत्वपूर्ण है।

सन् 1990 में बनाये गये नये संविधान ने नेपाल की संप्रभुता नेपाल की जनता में निहित की गयी थी। संविधान के अनुच्छेद (3) में कहा गया कि नेपाल की संप्रभुता नेपाल की जनता में वास करती है। इस प्रकार अनुच्छेद 4(1) में घोषणा की गयी कि “नेपाल एक बहुजातीय, बहुभाषी लोकतांत्रिक, स्वतंत्र, संप्रभुता सम्पन्न संवैधानिक राजतंत्रात्मक व्यवस्था से युक्त हिन्दू राष्ट्र है।” इसमें “बहुभाषी” और “बहुजातीय” शब्द नेपाल के विभिन्न भागों में रहने वाले विभिन्न जातीय और भाषीय समूह का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं। चूंकि नेपाल को हिन्दू राष्ट्र घोषित किया गया था इसलिए इसमें इन भाषायी और जातीय समूह की भी उपस्थिति दिखलाना जरूरी हो गया था अतः इन शब्दों को अनुच्छेद 4 (1) में स्थान दिया गया। भारत और नेपाल 1 जुलाई 1990 तक व्यापार तथा पारगमन के क्षेत्र में द्विपक्षीय संबंधों पर व्यापक चर्चा होने तक 1 अप्रैल 1987 की स्थिति बहाल करने पर सहमत हो गये। उल्लेखनीय है कि 23 मार्च 1989 को दोनों देशों के बीच व्यापार और पारगमन संधि समाप्त होने के बाद विवाद पैदा हो गया था, जिसके कारण भारत-नेपाल सीमा से होने वाले व्यापार को बहुत नियंत्रित कर दिया गया। दोनों देशों के बीच पहले की तरह व्यापार और पारगमन शुरू करने पर सहमति हुई। पहले नेपाल द्वारा चीन से हथियारों के आयात से भारत व नेपाल के बीच तनाव पैदा हो गया था। लेकिन भट्टराई ने चीन से हथियारों के आयात की तीसरी और अन्तिम खेप रोक दी। उल्लेखनीय है कि 1947 से 1987 तक नेपाल-भारत से अपनी आवश्यकता की लगभग पूरी हथियार, बारूद खरीदता रहा किन्तु 1988 में उसने ए.के. 47 गन सहित बड़ी मात्रा में चीनी हथियार खरीदे। भट्टराई ने कहा कि चीनी हथियार खरीद का

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निर्णय पिछली सरकार का था किन्तु चीन ने जिस कीमत पर हथियार दिये। उसकी तुलना में भारतीय हथियारों की कीमत पाँच गुणी तक अधिक थी। उन्होंने कहा कि अगर भारत हमें उचित कीमत पर हथियार देगा तो हम उससे ही खरीदना पसंद करेंगे। नेपाल इस बात के लिए भी राजी हो गया कि नेपाल में भारतीय मुद्रा पर जो प्रतिबंध लगाये गये उन्हें समाप्त कर दिया जायेगा। इसके साथ नेपाल में भारतीय माल पर जो अतिरिक्त कस्टम ड्यूटी लगाई जानी थी उसे समाप्त कर दिया जायेगा। भारतीय माल के मुकाबले किसी अन्य तीसरे देश के माल पर करों(जंगमे) में अतिरिक्त सुविधा नहीं दी जायेगी। भारतीय मार्ग पर कस्टम ड्यूटी लगाने के लिए कारखाने के मूल्य को आधार माना जायेगा। इसी प्रकार जून 1991 में भारत ने नेपाल को नेपाल में उत्पादित सभी अतिरिक्त बिजली खरीदने का वादा किया। इसी संदर्भ में नेपाल के साथ एक संधि की गयी जिसमें निजी क्षेत्र को भी बढ़ावा दिया गया ताकि वे जिसमें निजी क्षेत्र को भी बढ़ावा दिया गया ताकि वे विद्युत उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में आगे आयें। उत्पादन मानक तय करने का अधिकार संबंधित दोनों सरकारों के पास रहा। सरकारी स्तर पर इस तरह के प्रयासों को टैक्स माफी, ऋण गारंटी आदि के द्वारा समर्थन देने की बात की गयी। इन प्रावधानों ने एक नयी आशा जगायी। नेपाल के मझौले और बड़े हाईड्रोपावर प्रोजेक्ट में निवेश हेतु विदेशी निवेशकों की दिलचस्पी बढ़ी। इस तरह की दिलचस्पी बढ़ने का एक कारण यह भी था कि भारत में सभी उत्पादित ऊर्जा को खरीद लेने की गारंटी दी थी। नेपाल में संवैधानिक और बहुदलीय लोकतंत्र की स्थापना को एक दशक से अधिक हो चुके थे पर इस व्यवस्था की नींव गहरी हीं जम पायी थी। अस्थिर सरकारों, जल्द होते चुनावों और राजनैतिक भ्रष्ट वातावरण ने नेपाली राजनैतिक जीवन को मजबूत होने ही नहीं दिया। नये महाराज ज्ञानेन्द्र ने इस स्थिति का फायदा उठाकर राजतंत्र को पुनः मजबूत कराना चाहा। इन प्रयासों में वे शासन सूत्र अपनी हाथों में समेटने की हड़बड़ी दिखाते रहे। उन्होंने राजनैतिक दलों को एक-दूसरे के विरुद्ध प्रयोग करने की नीति जारी रखी। ताजपोशी के चार सालों में हीं उन्होंने चार-चार सरकारों को बर्खास्त कर दिया। राजनैतिक शङ्क्यों का खेल चरम पर पहुँच चुका था। नये राजा के इस मनमानेपन के खिलाफ जनता में असंतोष लगातार बढ़ता ही जा रहा था जो अप्रैल-मई 2006 में चरम में पहुँच गया जिसके आगे अंततः राजसत्ता की हार हुई। असफल राजनैतिक प्रयोगों तथा राजसत्ता और लोकतंत्रवादियों के बची संघर्ष के लंबे दौर ने नेपाली जनजीवन को बुरी तरह प्रभावित किया। अभावों, गरीबी और असुरक्षा के बीच नेपाल में माओवादी आंदोलन को लगातार प्रश्रय मिला और लगातार बढ़ता गया। महाराज वीरेन्द्र की हत्या के बाद राजसत्ता का जनता के मन में जो सम्मान और चमत्कारिक छवि थी वह भी टूट गयी। नये राजा की अदूरदर्शी नीति और भ्रष्ट राजनीतिक व्यक्तियों ने भी जनता के बीच माओवादियों को फलने-फूलने का मौका दिया।

नेपाल के अंदर इस राजनैतिक टकराव और बढ़ती माओवादी हिंसात्मक गतिविधि ने भारत-नेपाल संबंध को काफी प्रभावित किया है। माओवादी नेपाल में भारतीय मूल के व्यापारियों पर हमला, फिरौती, धमकी जैसी गतिविधियों में लिप्त रहे हैं। नेपाली जनता का एवं नेपाली राजनीतिज्ञों का समर्थन हासिल करने के उद्देश्य से वे नेपाल के अराजक और पिछड़ेपन का कारण भारत और उसकी नीतियों को मानते हैं। परिणामस्वरूप नेपाली जनमानस को उत्तेजित कर अपनी हिंसात्मक और विद्रोही गतिविधियाँ घनिष्ट संबंध भारतीय माओवादियों से भी है। और इनके माध्यम से ये भारतीय सुरक्षा पर भी गंभीर खतरा पैदा किया है। नेपाल में जारी अराजक गतिविधियों के बीच ये नेपाली प्रशासन और सेना में अपनी जगह सुनिश्चित करने के प्रयास में काफी सफल भी रहे हैं। राजतंत्र की समाप्ति के बाद नेपाल में शुरू हुए

प्रयोगात्मक शासन व्यवस्था में ये हिंसा छोड़कर सरकार में शामिल भी हुए हैं। पर सेना में माओवादी लड़ाकों की भर्ती, विदेश नीति, मधेशी समस्या और आपसी फूट के कारण इनकी दशा और दिशा कुछ भटक सी गयी है। अच्छी बात केवल यह है कि तात्कालिक तौर पर ही सही ये माओवाद हिंसात्मक गतिविधियों से अलग रह रहे हैं। सन् 2000 के बाद विश्व व्यवस्था में आतंकवाद अपने सर्वाधिक वीभत्स रूप में आया। सन् 2000 के बाद विश्व के लगभग सभी देशों के आपसी संबंधों में आतंकवाद उन्मूलन एक निर्धारक विषय हो गया है। आतंकवाद को विश्व शांति के ऊपर एक खतरे के रूप में देखा जा रहा है। विश्व के अधिकांश देश इससे पीड़ित हैं। एशिया में यह खतरा सबसे अधिक है। भारत इस आतंकवाद से सर्वाधिक त्रस्त रहा है। अमेरिका पर आतंकी हमले के बाद से इसके उद्गम क्षेत्रों पर सर्वाधिक ध्यान केन्द्रित किया जा रहा है। भारत के पड़ोस में मौजूद पाकिस्तान, अफगानिस्तान में इसके प्रमुख केन्द्र रहे हैं। अफगानिस्तान में मौजूद तालिबान प्रशासन तो खुल कर इस्लामिक जेहाद का नारा लगाता था। इसी आतंकवाद के सफाये के सवाल पर विश्व ने पिछले कुछ वर्षों में अफगानिस्तान और इराक के युद्ध जैसे दो बड़े युद्धों को देखा है। भारत के वैदेशिक नीति निर्धारकों ने आतंकवाद के उन्मूलन को अपनी प्राथमिक सूची में रखा गया है क्योंकि आज यह भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए गंभीर खतरा है। 1999 में काठमांडू से भारत आ रहे इंडियन एयरलाइन्स के एक विमान का अपहरण कर लिया गया था और यात्रियों को बंधक बनाकर भारत से कुछ कुख्यात आतंकवादियों को छुड़ाया गया था। इस घटना के बाद सुरक्षा के मुद्दे पर भारत ने नेपाल से कड़ा विरोध जताया था और नेपाल से अपने वायु यातायात को रोक दिया था जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप नेपाली अर्थव्यवस्था की रीढ़ समझी जानेवाली पर्यटन उद्योग की कमर ही टूट गयी थी। इसी तरह सुरक्षा के मुद्दे पर नेपाल पर दबाव बनाने के लिए शिखर बैठक के आयोजन को भी विलम्बित किया गया।

भारत को नेपाल की अस्थिरता से सबसे बड़ा खतरा, अपनी सुरक्षा संबंधी मुद्दे को लेकर है क्योंकि राजनैतिक अस्थिरता राजनैतिक असंतोष को जन्म देती है और यही असंतोष आतंकवाद के लिए संजीवनी का काम करता है। दुर्भाग्य से भारत के लगभग सभी पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों यथा- पाकिस्तान, नेपाल, बांग्लादेश, श्रीलंका आदि में कमोवेश ऐसी ही स्थिति विद्यमान है। इन सबमें नेपाल का विशिष्ट महत्व है क्योंकि वह भारत के साथ लंबी खुली सीमा बनाता है। इसके अलावा नदियाँ जो उत्तरी भारतीय मैदान की प्राकृतिक संसाधन हैं, नेपाल होकर ही आती हैं। भारत ने नेपाल में जारी राजनैतिक अशांति को समाप्त करने के लिए अपने राजदूतों और शीर्ष स्तर पर संपर्कों के माध्यम से भी प्रयास करता रहा है। पर नये नरेश ने इतिहास से कोई सबक नहीं लिया। उल्टे वह नेपाल में बहुदलीय लोकतंत्र और माओवादी समस्या को भारत से जोड़कर देखते रहे और भारत के प्रति दुराग्रह पालते रहे। इसी कारण से वे भारत के खिलाफ चीनी कार्ड भी खेलना शुरू किया। सन् 2003, 2004 में वे चीन के साथ गोपनीय रूप से हथियार सौदा भी किया।¹ यह सीधे तौर पर भारत के साथ जताये गये पारदर्शितापूर्ण समझौते और विश्वास को तोड़ने का उपाय था। इन सभी कारणों से इस दौर में नेपाल-भारत संबंधों में गिरावट भी आयी। नरेश श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र ने नेपाल के आन्तरिक राजनीति का ठीक से मूल्यांकन नहीं किया। इसके अलावा वे इस क्षेत्र में भारत के प्रभाव को कम करके आंका और चीन की शक्ति पर अधिक भरोसा कर लिया। इन्हीं कारणों से नरेश ने फरवरी 2005 में चुनी गयी सरकार को बर्खास्त कर सारी सत्ता अपने हाथों में ले ली। आठ माह पुरानी शेरबहादुर देउबा सरकार बर्खास्त कर दी गयी। नरेश के इस कदम का तीव्र विरोध हुआ। नरेश ने तुरंत आपातकाल कानून का सहारा लिया। नागरिक स्वतंत्रता छीन

ली गयी। संचार सेवाओं को ठप कर दिया गया।¹ सारे महत्वपूर्ण राजनीतिज्ञ लोगों को नजरबंद कर दिया गया। नरेश ने अपने कार्यवाही के लिए प्रशासनिक भ्रष्टाचार और माओवादी समस्या पर नियंत्रण को कारण बताया।² राजा के इन कदमों पर जनता ने राजनीतिक दलों के विरोध को अपना समर्थन दिया। राजा पर लोकतंत्र की बहाली के लिए विश्व के अनेक देशों के साथ भारत ने भी गंभीर दबाव बनाया।³ भारतीय प्रधानमंत्री श्री मनमोहन सिंह ने अपने विशेष दूत के तौर पर भारतीय सांस्कृतिक संबंध परिषद् के अध्यक्ष कर्ण सिंह और विदेश सचिव श्याम सरन को काठमांडो भेजकर नेपाल में हालात संभालने की पहल की। इस पहल का सकारात्मक परिणाम सामने आया।⁴ 25 अप्रैल 2006 को सातों दलों के गठबंधन ने 83 वर्षीय गिरिजा प्रसाद कोईराला को सर्वसम्मति से नेपाल का मनोनित प्रधानमंत्री चुना। नई सरकार के सामने सबसे बड़ी चुनौती भ्रष्ट प्रशासन, अवरूद्ध आर्थिक विकास के साथ-साथ माओवादी हिंसात्मक गतिविधियों पर नियंत्रण पाना था। राजनैतिक दलों के पूर्व की गलतियों से सबक लेते हुए इस बार राजा के संवैधानिक अधिकारों में काफी कटौती कर दी। जनवरी 2007 में नरेश को मात्र संवैधानिक प्रमुख की हैसियत में ला दिया गया।⁵ पर जनता की इच्छा तो राजतंत्र के पूर्ण उन्मूलन कर संवैधानिक लोकतंत्र की स्थापना की थी जिसके प्रमुख भी निर्वाचित प्रतिनिधि हो। इसी क्रम में आगे बढ़ते हुए सरकार ने माओवादियों से भी बातचीत कर उन्हें हिंसा छोड़कर राजनैतिक समाधान के लिए राजी कर लिया। 15 जनवरी 2007 को अंतरिम संविधान की घोषणा के साथ ही संसद में माओवादियों के प्रवेश का रास्ता साफ हो गया। नेपाली सरकार की इस दिशा में राजी करने में भारत का बहुत बड़ा योगदान था। भारतीय राजनयिक के अलावा ट्रेक-2 राजनीति के तहत सीताराम येचुरी और डी. पी. त्रिपाठी को भी इस कार्य में लगाया गया था। माओवादियों के अलावा इस संक्रमण काल में नेपाल के समक्ष एक और समस्या मधेशी समस्या भी उभर कर सामने आयी। नेपाल में मधेश जाति के अंतर्गत वे वर्ग आते हैं जो मूल रूप से भारतीय हैं और व्यापार, प्रवास, निवेश, आदि के कारण नेपाल में बस गये और कालांतर में नेपाल का ही हिस्सा हो गये।⁶

नेपाल के अंदर इनके साथ राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक क्षेत्र में दोयम दर्जे का व्यवहार किया जाता रहा था। अपने इन अधिकारों के कारण ये जातियाँ नये गठबंधन अंतरिम सरकार के सामने इन सभी चुनौतियों को साथ लेकर चलने और इनके समाधान का रास्ता तलाशने की चुनौती है। इन विविधताओं के बीच गठबंधन अंतरिम सरकार की चुनौतियाँ भी कम नहीं हैं और इनके बीच सर्वानुमति बना पाने में मिल रही देरी ही नेपाल की राजनीतिक अस्थिरता को बढ़ावा दे रही है।

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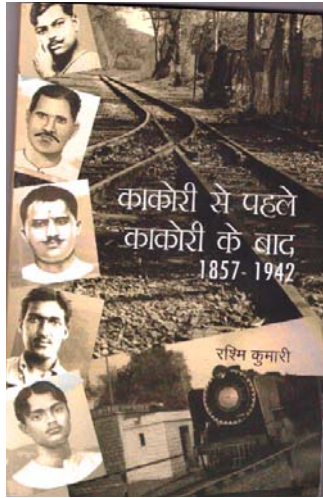


Book Review

काकोरी से पहले काकोरी के बाद (1857-1942)

डॉ. विनय श्रीवास्तव

काकोरी से पहले काकोरी के बाद (1857-1942), डॉ. रश्मि कुमारी नेशनल बुक ट्रस्ट, इण्डिया, नई दिल्ली, 2017, रु. 175, पृष्ठ-156।



नेशनल बुक ट्रस्ट, इण्डिया द्वारा 2017 में प्रकाशित डॉ. रश्मि कुमारी की पुस्तक “काकोरी से पहले काकोरी के बाद (1857-1942)”, भारत के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन के इतिहास को अपनी समग्रता में प्रस्तुत करती हैं। जैसा कि पुस्तक के नाम से स्पष्ट है, यह पुस्तक काकोरी काण्ड को केन्द्र में रखकर उसके पहले तथा उसके के बाद के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन पर प्रकाश डालती हैं। भारत के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन के इतिहास लेखन में डॉ. रश्मि कुमारी एक जाना माना नाम है। इसके पूर्व सन् 2013 में नेशनल बुक ट्रस्ट, इण्डिया ने ही आपकी चर्चित पुस्तक “1857: का महान विद्रोह व मौलवी अहमद उल्लाह शाह” को हिन्दी व अंग्रेजी में प्रकाशित किया हैं। 2016 में नट्राज प्रकाशन नई दिल्ली ने अभी हाल ही में आपकी पुस्तक, “भारत का क्रान्तिकारी

आन्दोलन व शाहजहांपुर” को प्रकाशित किया है। इतने अल्प आयु में भारत के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन के इतिहास के विभिन्न पक्षों पर अपनी कलम चलाकर रश्मि कुमारी ने एक परिपक्व इतिहाकार होने का साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत किया है।

चार अध्यायों और दो परिशिष्टों में विभाजित यह पुस्तक न केवल काकोरी ट्रेन डकैती का इतिहास परक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत करती है बल्कि 1857 से काकोरी तक तथा काकोरी से 1942 के भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन तक के इतिहास को एक सूत्र में पिरोने का काम भी करती है। इसका पहला अध्याय, “काकोरी से पहले (1857-1925)”, 1857 के विद्रोह, अनुशीलन समिति, युगान्तर, किंग्सफोर्ड की हत्या, अलीपुर खड्ग्यन्त्र केस, विदेशों में क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन, गदर आन्दोलन, सयुक्त प्रांत में क्रान्तिकारी गतिविधियां, मैनपुरी खड्ग्यन्त्र केस तथा हिन्दूस्तान रिपब्लिकन एसोशियसन (एच.आर.ए) के निर्माण तक पर एक संक्षिप्त परन्तु वस्तुपरक दृष्टि

डालती है। लेखिका ने 1857 से लेकर 1925 तक के क्रान्तिकारी इतिहास को विचारधारत्मक विश्लेषण के आधार पर विभिन्न आयामों में प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है। आपके विचार से यह सैन्यवादी राष्ट्रवाद का दौर था जिसका मूल्य उद्देश्य भारत से ब्रिटिश राज को समाप्त करना था। इस दौर के नवयुवकों और उनके गुप्त संगठनों का विश्वास था कि चंद अंग्रेज अधिकारियों की हत्या कर वे भारत से अंग्रेजी राज को पलायन करने पर मजबूर कर सकते थे। यह अत्यन्त ही दुसाहसी व आत्मबलिदानी नवयुवकों के साहस और बलिदान का दौर था, लेकिन इनको यह नहीं पता था कि अंग्रेजों के भारत से जाने के बाद वह किस प्रकार के भारत का निर्माण करेंगे। उनकी समस्त गतिविधियाँ हिन्दू धर्म के आदर्शों पर आधारित थी। इसमें विदेशों में चलने वाला गदर आन्दोलन थोड़ा अपवाद था क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने उद्देश्यों में स्पष्ट कर दिया था कि भारत से अंग्रेजों को भगाने के बाद वे भारत में राजतंत्र को जारी नहीं रखेंगे तथा यहां एक गणतन्त्र की स्थापना करेंगे। सयुक्त राज्य भारत नामक इस गणतन्त्र में वे राष्ट्रपति प्रणाली वाली सरकार की स्थापना करने वाले थे। गदर आन्दोलन प्रथम विश्व युद्ध तक चला, जिसके बाद भारत के राजनैतिक पटल पर महात्मा गांधी का उदय हुआ। गांधी के सत्य और अहिंसा पर आधारित आन्दोलनों ने 1919-1922 तक सैन्यवादी राष्ट्रवाद के प्रति नवयुवकों का आकर्षण पूरी तरह समाप्त कर दिया था। 1922 के चौरी-चौरा काण्ड से उत्पन्न निराशा ने एक बार फिर उन नवयुवकों को सैन्यवादी राष्ट्रवाद की ओर आकर्षित करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। इस नये दौर का चरित्र पहले दौर से पूरी तरह अलग था। इसी बीच प्रथम विश्व युद्ध के दौरान 1917 में रूस में सोवियत क्रान्ति हो चुकी थी, जिसका प्रभाव इस नये दौर के नवयुवकों पर भी पड़ा। इसका स्पष्ट उदाहरण उत्तरी भारत में बनने वाले एच.आर.ए. नामक गुप्त संगठन के संविधान से मिल जाता है। इसके संविधान पर मार्क्सवाद का प्रभाव दिखने लगता है। यह वहीं संगठन है जिसने काकोरी ट्रेन डकैती को अंजाम दिया था।

इसका दूसरा अध्याय काकोरी काण्ड (1925-1927) पूरी तरह काकोरी ट्रेन डकैती काण्ड पर केन्द्रित है। 9 अगस्त 1925 की शाम को एच.आर.ए. के सदस्यों ने लखनऊ के निकट काकोरी स्टेशन के पास 8 डाउन ट्रेन में आ रहे सरकारी खजाने को लूट लिया। इस ट्रेन डकैती ने पूरे भारत में तहलका मचा दिया, जिसे ब्रिटिश सरकार ने एक चुनौती के रूप में लिया। पूरे देश में गिरफ्तारियों का दौर प्रारम्भ हो गया। सभी को लखनऊ लाया गया और 10 महीनों तक उन पर मुकदमा चलता रहा। 6 अप्रैल 1927 को इस मुकदमे का निर्णय आया, जिसमें रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल, राजेन्द्र लाहिणी, रोशन सिंह तथा अशफाक उल्लाह खान को फाँसी की सजा सुनाई गई। शेष अभियुक्तों को कालेपानी तथा कारावासों की सजा सुनाई गई। राजेन्द्र लाहिणी को गोंडा जेल में 17 दिसम्बर को, रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल गोरखपुर जेल में 19 दिसम्बर को, ठाकुर रोशन सिंह इलाहाबाद जेल में 19 दिसम्बर को तथा उसी दिन अशफाक उल्लाह खां को फैजाबाद जेल में फाँसी दे दी गई। यह पूरा अध्याय काकोरी केस के फाइल, निर्णय की फाइल तथा अभिलेखागार के दस्तावेजों से प्राप्त प्राथमिक स्रोतों के तथ्यों पर आधारित है।

लेखिका ने इसके तीसरे अध्याय में काकोरी के शहीदों का चरित्र चित्रण प्रस्तुत किया है। रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल जैसे कट्टर आर्यसमाजी तथा अशफाक उल्लाह खां जैसे कट्टर मुसलमान को उनकी शायरी ने इतना निकट ला दिया था कि वे दोनों मिलकर उस समय की साम्प्रदायिक समस्या का मुकाबला करने लगे। इस पुस्तक का अन्तिम अध्याय काकोरी काण्ड के बाद प्रारम्भ होने वाले परिपक्व क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन का चरित्र चित्रण है। इसमें एच.आर.ए. का एच.एच.आर.ए. बनना तथा भारत के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन का मार्क्सवादी, लेनिनवादी तथा समाजवादी स्वरूप ग्रहण करना, भगत सिंह, राजगुरु तथा चंद्रशेखर आजाद द्वारा अंग्रेज पुलिस अधिकारी साडर्स की हत्या करना, भगत सिंह तथा बटुकेश्वर दत्त द्वारा असेम्बली में बम फ्रंकना, लाहौर खड्ग्यन्त्र मुकदमा चलना, भगत सिंह, सुखदेव तथा राजगुरु को फाँसी की सजा तथा आजाद का इन्काउन्टर आदि सम्मिलित हैं। लेखिका ने इस अध्याय में गांधी के नमक आन्दोलन तथा भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन को भी सम्मिलित किया है। पुस्तक के अंत में ठाकुर रोशन सिंह के पत्रों, काकोरी क्रान्तिकारियों की गजलों तथा प्राथमिक तथा द्वितीय संन्दर्भों का विवरण दिया गया है।

पुस्तक की भाषा सुबोध व सुगम्य हैं तथा इतिहास लेखन की दृष्टि से यह पुस्तक विवराणात्मक होने के साथ-साथ विश्लेषणात्मक भी है। लेखिका ने विश्लेषण की जो शैली अपनायी है वह इतिहासकारों व विद्वतजनों के साथ-साथ आम पाठकों के लिए भी सुगम्य है। भारत के क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन में रुचि रखने वाले समस्त प्रकार के पाठकों के लिए यह एक आवश्यक रचना कही जा सकती है।

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