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About the Editor

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava was born and brought up in Madhya Pradesh. He is Post Graduate in History and Sociology and Ph.D in History.

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava used his intensive study on Malwa. His excellent research contribution promoted new ideas and thoughts in various aspect. He has done remarkable job in research projects and research publication.

Ø Dr. Vinay Shrivastava has done successfully two Minor Research Projects from U.G.C., C.R.O. Bhopal in 2002 and 2004.

Ø He has done successfully two Major Research Projects on Malwa sponsored from UGC, New Delhi.

1. His first Major Research Project entitled. “ A Study & Documentation of Historical Monuments in Malwa” was completed in 2007 (2005-2007).
2. His second Major Research Project entitled. “Irrigation Works & other Water Works in Malwa (1100- 1800 AD)” was completed in 2011. (2009-2011).

His intensive field and Research work is accepted by UGC and Govt. of India and established him as an eminent scholar and historian in Central India.

Ø Ministry of Culture, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh has awarded “Swadheanta fellowship to Dr. Vinay Shrivastava in 2008. His research work, “Neemuch Jile me Swatantrata Andolan (1857-1947) ka Itihas, was accepted by the Govt. of MP for publication.

His published research works/books are:-

1. Malwa Me afeem Krishi Ka Itihas (2007)
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4. Bharat Me Rajya: Utpatti or Vikas (2008) (CO–Author Asha Shrivastava)
5. Madhya Kaleen Malwa (Edited) (2009)
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Research Papers and Seminars:-

1. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava has participated in more than 55 National Seminars and 6 International Seminars and presented his research papers.
2. His 43 research papers have published in various National & International journals.

Organized National Seminars/Work shops:-

1. Dr. Vinay has organized 3 National Seminars & 2 work shops, 4 work shops for students in Career Guidance Cell (UGC) in Neemuch and Panna.

Award & Honour:-

1. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava has been awarded 'Special Service Medal' by Rotary District 7390 Pennsylvania, USA in 2002.
2. He has got the opportunity to present his research paper in University of York, University of Pennsylvania (USA), Pens State University (USA), Dickinson College, York & Herisburg Area Community College (USA), during his Visit to USA, Under Group Study Exchange Programme, Sponsored by Rotary International. His Research Work was appreciated and awarded by these institutions.
3. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava was awarded. 'Research Link Award' for outstanding Contribution in Research field of Central India.
4. He was awarded 'Best Speaker of India' at National University level in 1986, 1987 & 1989, by the President of India.

Research Journal:-

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava is the editor of newly launched Peer Reviewed Journal.- "Central India Journal of Historical and Archaeological Research". Many Historians of the Country is associated with this Journal.

At Present:-

1. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava is Working as Professor of History & NCC officer in Govt. P.G. College, Panna.
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4. Life Member of Indian Adult Association, New Delhi.
5. Member of GSE Team, Represented India & Visited USA in 2002.
6. Member of Rotary Dist. 3040 & Neemuch Rotary club.

Comments About CIJHAR

I love seeing all the beautiful archaeological and historical photos and articles on CIJHAR. Some day I hope to visit them. Congrats on the Journal.

-Liz Nash, New York, U.S.A.

Congratulations, Dr.Vinay. May its circulation grow, rise and expand. I have gone through all the articles of this journal. It is really of high standard and reflects new thoughts on historical approach.

-Pratik S., Nayanyong Technological University, Singapore (Asia)

Its a great vision of colours through the three issues, vibrantly describing the lines of history. We are thankful to the Editor, Dr. Vinay Shrivastav to give opportunity to young scholars to pen their historical experiences.

-Gouri Dey, Darjeeling

The Journal CIJHAR being published in a language other than English, encompasses on the various types of historical research, the events of those years which, illuminate new ways of thinking about the historical significance of that momentous time. The Journal provides an integrated forum for the presentation of original research articles and thought-provoking reviews to generate innovative ideas in historical research. It is indispensable for Professors, Historians and Research Scholars. To be successful takes not only excellent academic knowledge and judgement, but also understanding of how to maximize the potential of a journal.

-Dr. S. Mujahid Khan, Hosakote, Bangalore-Rural

The presentation of the volumes of CIJHAR is very interesting. This is a great effort by CIJHAR team. The journal incorporates highly focused articles covering various aspects of HISTORY and is like “filling whole sea in one pitcher”. Thus, truly establishing its credibility in the field of HISTORY in CENTRAL INDIA, and that too in a short span of time. This journal is a right way to present new thoughts and fact-full research articles. This is a laudable effort by the whole team of CIJHAR. I wish the team ALL THE BEST for upcoming publications of the JOURNAL.

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Congratulations on the successful launching of the Journal. I had gone through the online version of the Journal. I will try to do the needful for its regular publication. My association will be there. All the Best.

-Dr. Mukesh Kumar, Bodh Gaya, Bihar

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-Dr. Anjan Saikia, Jorhat, Assam

I

The Begari and Bhagela Systems in the Telangana

Dr. G. Arun Kumar

In Telangana the British Indian type of agrarian economy¹ was introduced in 1850's. The new agrarian reforms in Telangana could not bring any conspicuous changes in the life pattern of the peasants. In Telangana these changes brought about emergence of new social classes.² These social classes did not bring any change in the life of Telangana Countryside. In fact these restrictions prevented the leaders from taking up socio-political problems.³ The purpose of this paper is to highlight the social implications of Begari⁴ and Bhagela⁵ systems which existed in Telangana prior to the armed struggle.

Bagari or Vetti was a system in which it was compulsory for the oppressed people to do Agricultural and domestic work of the landlords without fixed working hours or fixed wages.⁶ There are divergent opinions on the payment⁷ for these people.

Agrarian - Background

Like in early medieval times in India, where the peasant held inferior rights while the landlords held superior rights⁸ in the same piece of land, in Telangana a similar pattern of differential rights were introduced in Hyderabad by its rulers. In the second half of nineteenth century Sir Salar Jung, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State without disturbing the Feudal Lords' dominance introduce Diwani System⁹ in place of *surbust* system a kind of revenue farming which brought into existence several new landlord classes like Deshmukhs and Despandeys in addition to Feudal Lords into the system. In the case of state's grants of villages, unlimited powers and rights were given to the intermediaries or beneficiaries,¹⁰ on actual cultivators. The motive behind the sanctioning of land grants was to extend the areas of cultivation through private efforts.¹¹ During the Muslim period the state land grantees were allowed to get the labour of others for their livelihood in their granted lands. In addition to it most of the royal Charters demanded the peasants to follow the orders of the grantees.¹² These orders were concerned

with not only to the payment of taxes related to production, but also to the means and processes of production.¹³ Tenurial rights over a number of villages was vested in one person had led to vast concentration of landed power which in turn prompted them to indulge in different kinds excess causing misery to the local population.¹⁴ According to Mare Bloch the relationship between the serf and his Lord depended upon the personal dependency.¹⁵ Land Lord generally a combination of money lender and village official normally enjoyed unlimited privileges including services of service castes, he tended to get these services free owing to his power and position,¹⁶ such exploitation and legitimized by Vetti¹⁷ system under which landlord could force a family from among his customary retainers to cultivate his land and to do one job or the other, whether domestic, agricultural or official as an obligation to the master.¹⁸ In the opinion of Harbans Mukhia the existence of Serfdom in India was incidental; while labour was used for other than agricultural and domestic purpose like the construction of forts, repair of roads, carting of goods of the king's officials etc., there is meager evidence of its use for agricultural production.¹⁹ R.S. Sharma stated evidences about the village headman might compel peasant women not only to work in his fields but also as domestic labour.²⁰ D.N. Jha also mentioned about taking the peasant women's forced labour for agricultural and domestic purpose.²¹ Vetti or forced labour organized in the mountain regions or backward regions which did not have too many peasants to run the local economy, and forced to spread to the developed regions.²² Under the Asaf Jahi Rule Feudalism extended to the grass roots in Hyderabad²³ in which all sections of the people participated in Vetti.

Vetti System

According to the investigations²⁴ conducted by Kesava Iyengar,²⁵ two kinds of Vetti Madigas in almost every Village of the dominions and little objection can be taken to their terms they get balutha contribution at harvest time by the ryots at so much per plough. But the other variety of Vetti exercised is a general levy on all the villagers and the ostensible justification in such cases appears to be that the ancestors of the concerned raja enjoyed this privilege on the ancestors of the families oppressed at present.²⁶

Vetti Cuts Across Social Base

As a result of the thinking of the feudal lords in taking Vetti as ancestral right the Nizam Government did not want to take the responsibility for the existence of Vetti in the State²⁷ and put the blame on the previous dynasties. Vetti or forced labour²⁸ was not dependent on the caste system as even the Brahmins were not spared from it and had to send pickles and leaf-plates²⁹ to the gadi.³⁰ The poor people had to be given chicken. This Vetti is not

confined to feudal lords, and official's even peons and the persons who will be thinking to earn peon job in future were also taken this Vetti.³¹ It seems that Vetti was rather different in that it was raised generally from all the rest of the villagers who were not sufficiently wealthy and influenced to resist the landlords demands.³² In taking Vetti the feudal lords were very cruel. For instance Visunuru Deshmukh Rama Chandra Reddy,³³ who was one of the most cruel land lords of the period forced a woman who had delivered just three days ago to do Vetti in his fields, he did not leave the woman even to feed her child, consequently the baby died.³⁴

Vetty Instrument of Economic Exploitation

Taking all these things into an account it can be proved that Vetti was in the form of economic exploitation and mainly used for the agricultural purposes. Above all these things the most inhuman thing which existed in Telangana as in the form of Vetti was keeping the slave girls and sending them with their bride daughters.³⁵ The duty of these slave girls was to act as concubines of the landlords; they had to meet the sexual desires of the guests of the landlords.³⁶ In brief he exercised a good bit of real sovereignty, subordinating every person and every process to the supreme purpose of his maximum net income.³⁷ Till recent times poor tenants belonging to lower castes were forced to do work in the landlords lands on low wages, peasants were compelled to plough the land of the landlords and do different kinds of jobs for the sake of the landlords which known as the hari or Beggary in the whole Gangatic basin.³⁸

There are divergent opinions on wages for Vettis. Some scholars are of the opinion that wages were paid for forced labour³⁹ but they were low. Some are in the opinion of nominal wages were there on paper but in practice even that nominal wages were not paid.⁴⁰ Some are in the opinion that Vetti means compulsory free labour to do Agricultural or domestic work of the landlords.⁴¹ Digambara Rao Bindu, Secretary of the Maharashtra Conference issued a circular to the district branches of the conference to observe the Begar week from December 25th, 1941. In this circular he used the words 'forced and unpaid labour' for the H.E.H. Nizam's firman on the abolition of Beggary.⁴² He further says that the orders and firman are not to take Vetti and emphasizes why this forced labour for nothing, when the official receives his bhatta.⁴³

The State and the bureaucracy with its feudal ideology had obstructed the emergence to importance of the social forces that had emerged with the commercialization of the economy.⁴⁴ Because under the land week guarantees the villages not only suffered from loss of traditional agrarian rights but also from subinfeudation and subleasing, eviction from the

land leading to insecure of tenancy rights, imposition of forced labour levy of additional taxes and forcible attachment to the ground.⁴⁵ When the Central Government was strong under the Mughals the Jagirdars and other guarantees were given only usufructuary rights and not ownership rights on land.⁴⁶

Bhagela also another form of exploitation in Telangana.. The position of bhagela in the Telangana area was worse than the serf, "To sell into slavery is a criminal offence in Hyderabad State but there is no doubt that in remote places farm labourers still sometimes sell their children to their employers and sometimes bind themselves to work for a certain number of years and even for a life time in return for money given to defray marriage expenses and little girls are sometimes bartered for food, clothes and sandals".⁴⁷

The Bhagela system is much worse than the serf system because in the case of a serf the master has the responsibility of feeding the serf, which it was so not in the case of a Bhagela, the terms of agreement contain a clause to the effect that if a Bhagela fails to repay the loan in his life time, his son would fulfill the contract in the same capacity.⁴⁸ Many writers⁴⁹ stated in their works the reasons for the debt of the bhagelas invariably untouchables, and oppressed were the marriages with their families in the premises of eth landlords. Another interesting thing is that the Bhagelas had to purchase his provisions from the shops of the landlord's agents and the amount was deducted at the time of harvest out of dues to the Bhagela.⁵⁰

The annual average wage of a Bhagela in Warangal Suba in 1939-37 standing at 34.7 remained the lowest, falling less by 100% to the highest average obtained in Aurangabad Suba standing at 68.05 and by nearly 50% to the State average remaining at 50.5%.⁵¹ the inability of the Bhagelas to get freed from the hereditary debt burden with these low wages they owed invariably to their masters and the weak bargaining power of the rural proletariat due to their poverty and ignorance, to fight against the unilateral fixing of wage rates by landlords.⁵²

The main features of Bhagela system are:

1. Payment of remuneration is 607 the year in kind, if paid monthly, calculation is at a lower rate.
2. Service is whole time and includes any and every sort of work.
3. Change from one master to another master is considered immoral and the master of an absconding Bhagela thinks that he has got the legal right of compelling him to return to service under him.
4. Generally some debt is due from the Bhagela to the master and on this debt.

5. The master is looked upon having the right to punish, starve or confine the Bhagela for any offence of commission or omission.
6. There is no written agreement of any sort.⁵³

The convention is that if a Bhagela wants to leave the service of his master, he should pay back the debt due from him together with interest on that from the time it was borrowed.⁵⁴

If we carefully examine these two systems both were in the form of economic exploitation. This Vetti or Bagari is used by landlords and all other feudal nobles to show their dominance and to retain their grip over the society. For Bhagela system there are certain morals like the change master being considered immoral. In both, they used force. These two practices continued till the armed struggle; however these practices were abolished in the subsequent period.

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2. These were Jagirdars, Marketers, Inamdars, Hanjardars in Jagir areas created by Nizam's Govt., in Diwani area absentee landlords, tenants, individual owners came into existing.
3. From 1930 onwards it is popularly called as Andhra Mahasabha This Mahasabha called as 'Sangham' by the people.
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2

A Historical Perspective of the Early Foundations of the Archaeological Survey of India (upto 1900 A.D)

II

Dr. Naveen Vashishta

Contd. from Vol. 1 No. 3

1.16 Examination of temples in Kashmir by Lieutenant Cole- In 1868 A.D. *H.H. Cole* was appointed to conduct a survey in the North-West Provinces and Punjab. He examined the principal ancient temples of Kashmir and afterwards surveyed the ancient buildings near Mathura. In 1869 A.D. he went to Bombay to make arrangements for casting one of the great stone gateways of Sanchi stupa.

1.17 Dr. Forbes Watson's report- In 1869 A.D. *Dr. Forbes Watson* of India office drew a valuable report on the different means of illustrating the archaic architecture of India, using photographs, drawings, plans, and sections, models, moulds, and casts.

1.18 Steps taken by Government of Conserve ancient structure- In 1867 A.D. public interest in the conservation of ancient monuments was aroused. The Government of India forwarded a circular to the local governments, expressing their sense of the desirability of conserving ancient architecture and other works of art in India, and photographing them. The interest shown by the Government in the preservation and illustration of ancient monuments was encouraging. But it was necessary to conduct researches in a systematic way with a definite plan.

1.19 Report of Mr. Boswell - In 1870 A.D., *Mr. Boswell*, the collector of Kistna district, submitted a report on the archaeological remains in his district to the Madras Government. It comprises descriptions of natural caves, cromlechs and stone circles, Buddhist topes and temples etc. His account of the cave near Bezvada almost certainly identifies that place with the capital city visited by *Hsuan Tsang*.

1.20 Survey by General Cunningham - In 1871 A.D. *General Cunningham* surveyed the two great capitals of Mughal Empire, Delhi and Agra with Messrs. *J.D. Bugler* and *A.C. Carlyle*. In 1872 A.D. *Mr. Carlyle* was deputed to Rajputana and *Mr. Bugler* to Bundelkhand, while *Cunningham* visited Mathura, Bodh Gaya, Gaur and other cities. In 1873-74 A.D. he traversed the western half of Central Provinces and visited Bharhut stupa. He also inspected fortress of Singorgarh, Buddhist caves at Bhandak and temples at Markandi. From 1874-1877 A.D. he made tours in Bundelkhand and Malwa and there he visited many monolith capitals and other remains of the time of *Asoka* and various specimens of Gupta architecture. He visited Khajuraho, Sanchi stupa, temple at Deogarh during his survey. During 1874-76 A.D. *Mr. Carlyle* conducted survey in Central Doab and Gorakhpur. In Doab he found a copper plate inscription of king *Skandagupta*.

In 1879 A.D. *Cunningham* toured in Bihar and Bengal from Patna to Sonargaon. His visited Bodh Gaya from where he got two dated inscriptions, one fixing the accession of *Dharmapala*, the second prince of Pala dynasty of Bengal in 831 A.D.

During 1880-81 A.D. *Cunningham* toured north and south Bihar. He visited Buddhist holy places described by the Chinese pilgrims. The raised promenade along which Buddha took exercise was identified, as well as the *Vajrasan*, or famous "diamond throne", on which Buddha was said to have sat under the Bodhi tree.

In the season 1881-82 A.D. *General Cunningham* visited Central Provinces and explored the old cities of Rajim, Arang, and Sirpur the last of which he believes to have been the ancient capital of the country of Maha-Kosala or Chhattisgarh, as it is now called.

The season 1882-83 A.D. was taken up with the survey of Eastern Rajputana. *Cunningham* visited the battle field of Khanwa, where *Babur* defeated great Hindu prince *Rana Sang ram Singh*. He also found a Baoli built by *Babur*.

During 1883-85 A.D. *Cunningham* toured Bundelkhand and Rewa where he visited great forts of Kalanjara and Ajaygarh, the strong holds of Chandelles of Mahoba and their religious capital of Khajuraho which is famous for temples. Two important inscriptions were also found. In 1885 A.D. *General Cunningham* resigned his post as Director General of the Archaeological Survey. He appointed *John Marshall* as Director General, who formulated definite principles on methodological archaeology and the conservation of archaeological sights. The Monument Act was passed, and quite a number of Indians were appointed to high positions conducting surveys.¹²

I.21 Survey by Dr. Burgess - Under *Dr. Burgess* much attention had been devoted to the great monuments of Agra, Jaunpur, Delhi, Lahore etc. At Jaunpur *Mr. E.W. Smith* conducted a very careful survey in 1886 and 1887 A.D. The report on "The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur," with notes on Zafarabad, Sahet-Mahet, and other places in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh", appeared in 1889 A.D. In 1885-86 A.D., *Mr. Beglar* made a tour in Bengal but his report was unsatisfactory. *Mr. Garrick* in 1888-89 A.D. made a tour through northern Bengal and obtained impressions of two sets of Pillar Edicts of *Asoka*.

Mr. Rodgers in 1886 A.D. surveyed Nurpur, Jallandhar, Ambala and Hisser districts, making drawings and impressions of inscriptions.

I.22 Difficulties with Archaeological Surveys- Archaeology have greatly suffered in India because of appropriation by private persons of such antiquities as come to light from time to time. Sculptures, rings, coins, seals, gems and other remains were occasionally carried off by officers of Government for their friends and to present to distinguished visitors and tourists, or to decorate their houses and gardens.

(a) Western India - In 1871 A.D. proposals were made for the preparation of complete work on the rock-cut temples of Western India and *Dr. Burgess* was made in charge of these operations. His first season's work lay in Belgaum and Kaladgi districts in South Maratha country. The second report dealt with Kathiawar and Cutch. One of the most interesting of *Mr. Burgess's* researches was the discovery of specimens of coins of local Kshatrapa kings of Saurashtra and their imperial Gupta successors. *Mr. Edward Thomas*, the well known numismatist undertook the arrangement and classification of coins. At Junagadh, there was a rich mine of buried antiquities, and rock inscription. The Buddhist caves also form another feature of interest in Kathiawar. The third report of Archaeological Survey of Western India described the principal remains examined in 1875-76 A.D. in the Nizam territories.

(b) Southern India- *Mr. R. Sewell* was deputed to prepare lists of the monumental antiquities and inscriptions in the Southern Presidency for the purpose of preparing the way for a detailed survey. These lists were published in 1882 A.D.

In 1875 A.D., *Mr. Sewell* explored at Amravati, Bezwada, Undavilli and other places. Bezwada was a place of historical importance. It was once the capital city of small kingdom of Vengi. The temples of Undavilli were surveyed. In 1881 A.D. the Superintendence of the Madras Archaeological Survey was given to *Dr. Burgess*. He devoted his first season to the survey of remains around Bezwada, Amravati and Jaggayyapeta stupas, the Jaugada

and Dhauli inscriptions of Asoka and a visit to the Khandagiri and Udaygiri caves. The season of 1882-83 A.D. was devoted to temples in the Madura district such as the temple of Rameshwaram. In 1883 A.D. Mr. *Rea* surveyed in detail the remains of caves and temples at Mamallapuram. In 1884 A.D. he engaged himself on the extensive remains of old Hindu capital Hampi or Vijyanagar. In 1885 A.D. he made an extensive survey of old Palava temples at Kanchipuram. *James Fergusson* (1808-86 A.D.) was an enthusiastic devotee of art, especially architecture, and he published a large number of artistic and scientific works which have been mentioned earlier.

1.23 Archaeology and the Empire - According to Professor Nayanjot Lahiri, the affiliations of archaeology with the British administration of India were close and influenced, at various levels, the ways in which different groups of people perceived it, in relation to themselves and others. The first is that self-conscious, systematic surveys of sites and antiquities for the purpose of reconstructing India's historical past were closely connected with the British need to collect and order information about their subjects in newly acquired territories. These surveys became part of the East India Company's system of governance and resource mapping under *Lord Wellesley* (1798-1805 A.D), gaining in momentum after the capture of Sri Rangapattana in 1799 A.D, which practically completed the British conquest of India south of the Vindhya mountains. It was this political context, an unequal relationship of force, that allowed all kinds of British officials, to treat sub continental sites as an easy hunting ground for antiquities.¹³ *Alexander Cunningham* (1814-93) is an example of this. That he regarded his field of interest as a mine which would be very rewarding if he carries them home.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the bulk of his collection that included a large number of Gandharan Buddhist sculptures from northwest India was lost in 1887 A.D in a shipwreck. The withdrawal of Cunningham's field surveys in 1866 A.D and the shift towards the documentation of Indian architectural and art remains shows the correlation.

Similarly, Viceroy *Lord Curzon* (1899-1905 A.D), developed an agenda regarding India's historic architecture. Apart from his own deep interest in monuments, this was shaped by the social context in England and by the need to make imperial governance appear more 'enlightened'. Historic buildings that had been plundered or converted into dingy, governmental spaces, such as those in the forts at Delhi, Lahore and Agra which had been built in the zenith of the Mughal empire (1526-1700 AD), were encountered by *Curzon* across much of India and proved to be an embarrassing reminder of 'a century of British vandalism and crime'.

It is unlikely that archaeology was looked upon as an intellectual pursuit concerned with unraveling India's material past by the average Indian who

happened to come in contact with its propagators. Instead, archaeologists were generally regarded as persons who were part of the British Sarkar or government. We can also see the way in which the monuments and artifacts were merged with the domain of government from the fact that they were the agency to which various appeals concerning such issues were directed. On the contrary, religious structures of all kinds were documented, measured, studied and conserved as a part of the general archaeological policy of the British government. As a result, a very real fear came to be increasingly expressed about archaeological work being a government strategy for encroaching into the religion.¹⁵

It is doubtful that Indians perceived any distinction between antiquity collectors and archaeologists. Both took away antiquities, including objects of worship, and paid money for them. Several images were removed to museums which were under active worship. These ranged from Pala Buddhist statues from Bishenpur in Bihar to Kushana images from shrines in Mathura. Yet, they were involved in preserving their material past or those parts of it that gave them a sense of identity, as good rulers and as devout worshippers.¹⁶

1.24 Use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in Archaeology- Archaeology, as a spatial discipline, has used GIS in a variety of ways. At the simplest level, GIS has found applications as database management for archaeological records, with the added benefit of being able to create instant maps. It has been implemented in cultural resource management contexts, where archaeological site locations are predicted using statistical models based on previously identified site locations.

1.25 Archaeological Ethics in India- Archaeological ethics refers to a number of moral issues raised through the study of the material past. The archaeologists are bound to conduct their investigations to a high standard and observe intellectual property laws, Health and Safety regulations and other legal obligations. Professional bodies in the field require that their members work towards the preservation and management of archaeological resources, treat human remains with dignity and also usually encourage outreach activities. While such considerations are fundamental to a pursuit, they are unfortunately coming rather late to the field. Questions regarding ethics have only arisen since the UNESCO accords in the 1970's began to protect world culture.¹⁷

The Babri Mosque was reopened to Hindu worshippers in 1986 and a foundation stone for the future Ram temple was laid near it in 1989. In 1990 nearly seven hundred *kar sevaks* (volunteers) caused considerable damage to the disputed structure demanding the rebuilding of Ram temple. As a solution to the deepened crisis some of India's archaeologists and historians

suggested that the ASI, the government agency in charge of archaeology and heritage preservation, classify the 462 year old Babri Mosque as a protected historical monument but the ASI took no action.¹⁸

1.26 Present scenario-The ASI administers 3650 monuments and archaeological sites and remains of national importance.¹⁹The important sites excavated recently include Harsh-ka-Tila at Thanesar in Haryana exposing a cultural sequence from the Kush an period to medieval periods. The ASI is also involved in academic activities. Archaeological endeavors of the Survey extended beyond the frontiers of the sub-continent and have excelled in all its expeditions in Afghanistan, Nepal, Egypt, Cambodia, Bahrain, Maldives, Bhutan, Vietnam, Myanmar and Angola. Besides, under the Cultural Exchange Programme the scholars and experts of ASI are regularly visiting countries abroad.²⁰

Conclusion- To sum up this long discussion about the tremendous progress and advancements that have been made in the field of archaeological survey, it can still be stated that we have not yet reached the ultimate in this field. The horizon is forever receding away from the adventurous souls, beckoning them to continue with their efforts to explore more and more the unknown.

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3

Opium- As a significant source of revenue in Princely State of Malwa

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

The Mughal emperor Akbar captured Malwa in 1562 A.D. and made it a Subah (Province) of his empire. The Malwa Subah existed from 1568 A.D. to 1743 A.D.¹ Malwa was well-known for its Opium at least since the 16th century.² Rajput troops fighting for the Mughals introduce the habit of taking Opium to Assam. Opium was given daily to Raj put soldiers (1620s-1670s).³ It would appear that the Opium sold as 'Cambay- Opium' at markets along the west coast in the 16th and 17th centuries was in fact the produce of Malwa.⁴ In 16th century Opium was a considerable source of revenue to successive governments.⁵

It was not until the 15th century that residents of Persia and India began consuming Opium mixtures as a purely recreational euphoric, a practice that made Opium a major item in an expanding intra-Asian trade. Indeed, under the reign of Akbar (1556-1605A.D.) the Mughal state of North India relied upon Opium land as a significant source of revenue. Although cultivation covered the whole Mughal Empire, it was concentrated in two main areas up river from Calcutta along the Ganges valley for Bengal Opium and up country from Bombay in the west for Malwa Opium.⁶

After 1818 A.D. the British organized the numerous princely States of Central India into the Central India Agency. The Malwa Agency was a division of Central India, with an area of 23,100 km² (8,900 sq.mt) and a population of 1,054,753 in 1901. It comprised the states of Dewas (Senior and Junior branch), Jaora, Ratlam, Sitamou and Sailana, together with a large part of Gwalior, parts of Indore and Tonk, and about 35 small states and holdings. Political power was exercised from Neemuch.⁷

The region of Malwa is predominantly agricultural. Malwa is one of the world's major Opium producers. Opium is the inspissated juice extracted from the capsules of the Poppy plant, which is grown in many parts of Europe, Turkey and India. The most important areas of manufacture in India are- 1. The district of the united province of Agra and Oudh lying alongside

the Gang tic Valley and North of it the produce of which is termed ‘Bengal Opium’ and- 2. Various native states in Central India and Rajputana, such as Indore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Mewar and Baroda. The produce of which is termed ‘Malwa Opium’.⁸

Narsinghgarh State- The State of *Narsinghgarh* is one of the mediatized and guaranteed chief ships of the Central India Agency under the Political Agent on Bhopal lying in the division of Malwa known as Umatwara. The chief town of Narsinghgarh which is the capital of the State. The only important sources of miscellaneous revenue are the “*Sayar*” duties and Excise or “*Abkari*.” For customs arrangements the State is divided into 32 Nakas or circles, each “*Naka*” being under a “*Nakedar*” who has generally from 12 to 15 villages in his charge. It is his duty to visit these villages daily and see that no dutiable articles escape duty, and to pay his collection to the “*Chabutra*” or circles office to which he is attached every month. There are two *Chabutras* in the States, one at Khujner, and the other at Narsinghgarh.⁹

A Nakadar at each *Chabutra* supervises the work of the Nakadars under him and receives their monthly accounts, while the muhatamim of “*Sayar*” is in charge of the whole department. One acre will produce six seers (twelve lbs) of chick. The *Chick* or crude Opium produced is weighed by a weigh man in the presence of the “*Patel*” and “*Patwari*”, the amount being registered and reported by the latter to the “*Tehsildar*” and muhatamin of “*Sayar*” before it is exported.¹⁰

The average number of gunny bags of Opium (each containing 100 seers) exported from the State, every is estimated at about 450, the gross average value being about rupees 2, 40,000/-. The State Levies an export duty on crude Opium at the rate of Rs.1-7-6 per *dhari* of 5 seers including the “*biai*” or weighing tax. The proceeds average Rs.10.000/- per annum. An important duty of Rs. twelve per “*dhari*” is also levied.¹¹

The amount exported between 1890 –1900 averaged 1,200 maunds a year, the actual figures being for 1900-01,912 maunds, 1901-02,1087 maunds,1902-03, 1,347 maunds,1903-04, 848 maunds,1904-05 ,299 maunds ,1905-06,583 maunds and 1906-07 ,1024 maunds.About 30 maunds are consumed locally. The cultivation of Opium and the is popular both with the State cultivator.¹²

Rajgarh State- Poppy is extensively grown in the State. All *Chicks* is collected by the *Durbar* and sold to merchants who export it to Indore and Bhopal, where it is made into Opium. A duty is levied of Rs.1 per *dhari* (10lbs) weight and 3 pies as *biai* of weighing tax on every rupee worth sold. The revenue from this source is about Rs.15000/- a year.¹³

Dhār State- In the 10th Centuries, Dhār was one of the chief seats of leaning in India, and many Hindu and Jain scholars flourished at the court of the

Parmara Rajas. Of hands industries in the State the only important one is the manufacture of Opium, which gives employment to a large class of people. The system of manufacture is that usually followed in Malwa.¹⁴

The *Chick* collected from the poppy plants is received from the cultivator soaked in linseed oil to prevent its drying. This composition is kept for about six weeks in bags of double sheeting in a dark room until the oil drains off. In the beginning of the rains, the bags are emptied into large copper vessels called *chak* in which it is pressed and kneaded, after which it is again kneaded in a succession of flat Copper pans called *Parats* till of sufficient consistency to be made into balls. Each ball weighs about 40 tolas (16 ozs). The ball is then dipped into some waste Opium liquor called *Rubba* or *jethapani* and covered with pieces of dried poppy leaves. It is then placed on the *Pathria*, a shelf or rack, also covered with poppy leaf to dry. The balls are thus freed of all superfluous oil. After about a month the cakes are cut open and re-made so as to allow the interior portion to dry and the whole to become of uniform consistency. Opium before sale is tasted by being boiled with water for 10 minutes, the solution being filtered through a triple thickness of blotting paper; if it passes clear it is good, if it leaves sediment on the paper or in the vessel, it is not accepted. An Inferior Opium called *Rubba* is extracted from the old bags by boiling them. The residual solution, after the boiling is over, is the *jethapani* mentioned above. This liquid is collected by soaking cloths in it which, when dried, bear a residuum of Opium. The process is called *Jhob*. The *Rubba* Opium sales mostly in the Punjab.¹⁵

Revenue- The chief source of revenue from Opium are the import and export duties levied upon the drug in its different forms. No land tax is charged, as although all poppy growing land is irrigated, the rates for irrigated land are fixed according to the nature of soil and the mode of irrigation, irrespective of the crops to be grown upon it, the cultivator being at liberty to grow poppy or any other crop he wishes. The average annual revenue during the first decade ending 1890 was Rs.20,234 in the next decade it was Rs.12,171. In the succeeding three years it was Rs.5,799(1901), Rs.5,579-8-9(1902) and Rs.10,865-6-5(1903).¹⁶

Duties on Opium- A transit duty of eight annas is levied on every “*dhari*” or five seers of crude Opium, when it leaves a village or town. Several classes of export duty are also levied.¹⁷

1. Export of manufactured Opium to Bombay or other British districts-
 - (a) The duty is fixed at Rs.20 per chest, containing 66 seers of “*battis*” (balls) with the addition of 1 anna and 9 Pies to cover State expenses.
 - (b) On *Rubba* Opium it is levied at Rs.7-8 per chest weighing 66 seers.
2. Export to other Native States-

- (a) A duty of Rs.2-8 is taken on every "dhari" of crude Opium.
- (b) A duty of Rs.3 on every "dhari" of manufactured or *batti* (ball) Opium.¹⁸

3. **Import duty**- This is the same as the export duty specified in the section, but hardly any instances occur of Opium being imported into the State.¹⁹

Indore State- The excise revenue in the State is derived from the manufacture and sale of Opium, hemp drugs and intoxicating liquors. The first of these was until lately, the most important of the three, and this, for the reason that for more than a century past the poppy had been grown in the State for the manufacture of Opium for export to China and other countries, as well as, for home consumption.

Formerly ,however ,owing to the vicissitudes of war and the consequent unsettled conditions prevailing-round on the that account, there could be no continuity of purpose and no certainly of return, with the result that poppy cultivation languished for several decades after the Treaty of Mandsoe.²⁰ But with the advent of Peaceful conditions after 1843,owing to the introduction of a stable administration and the gradual extension of irrigation from the numerous tanks and wells constructed by Maharaja Tukoji Rao (second),trade in Opium soon attained considerable importance, especially so, as the restricted poppy cultivation in British India at the time meant more of that in the Indian States for the next three or four decades. From 1880, however, owing to increased cultivation of the poppy in China and Persia, as also to the accumulated stock of Opium here consequent on over production in the past, and to a succession of unfavorable seasons, the trade in Opium slowly declined, the more so, as the cultivation, production and distribution of Opium had come to be regulated by the state to meet the altered conditions.²¹

In fact, under the circular of 1900 though the cultivation of poppy remained un-restricted, yet, the cultivator was bound to sell all the poppy juice to an Indore subject or to a "Tipdar" or "Ijaredar" of the State within a prescribed time ,reserving only a reasonable quantity for his own use. Further restrictions were also imposed on the movement of Opium within the State and on its export, a local "Mahal" duty being levied on the former and a State export duty on the latter. A definite system of transit passed and cash security (called *Hadap*) was likewise introduced and a check was thereby maintained both on smuggling and the irresponsible handling of Opium by unauthorized persons.²²

In 1904 licenses were for the first time issued for the manufacture of Opium \$ a duty of Rs. 0/- was charged for every such license, possession of Opium over a prescribed quantity the manufacture of the drug without a license being altogether prohibited. From the same date, monopoly of manufacturing "Rabba"²³ was also abolished and a license system for its

manufacture was introduced, the fee charged being Rs.200/-per year. The right to vend Opium throughout the State was sold yearly by auction to a contractor. It fetched about Rs.13, 000/-per annum. The retail price of Opium was 5 *tolas* per rupee.²⁴

In 1907 the Government of India having entered into an agreement with China gradually to restrict the export of Indian Opium, the right of unlimited export to that country came to be curtailed ,which seriously affected the Malwa Opium market, the number of chests to be exported from the whole of Malwa during 1908 being fixed at 15,100/-and at 12,100/-during 1910. Meanwhile, the Government of India had appointed a committee to visit Malwa to go into this question in consultation with the Opium producing States and the dealers there ,with the result that greater latitude was allowed them and a larger ,though gradually diminishing ,number of chests was fixed for export during the three succeeding years. As a measure of future policy, therefore, the State in 1910 decided to curtail Opium production by restricting the cultivation of poppy to the two districts of Rampura-Bhanpura²⁵ and Indore, and, as a partial set off against the heavy loss resulting to the State from the curtailment in foreign export, to revise its Opium tariff by raising the export duty on crude Opium to Rs.7/-per “*dhari*” (5 seers), and on manufactured Opium to Rs.110/-per chest. In 1912, as a further step, poppy cultivation was restricted to but 1,200 acres in the Manasa Pargana of the Rampura-Bhanpura district or just sufficient to grow the stuff required for local consumption only. But the Government of India having entered into a new agreement with the State in 1917 annually to purchase 500 chests of crude Opium for the next 5 year, (the price paid to cultivator being fixed at Rs.9 per seer at 70 consistency), there was again gradual expansion in poppy cultivation throughout Rampura –Bhanpura district (except the pargana of Nandwai) and later on the Mahidpur district as well.²⁶

About 1920; however there was an *ad interim* revision of the said agreement that forthwith raised the price paid to the cultivator from Rs.9to Rs. 15 per seer at 70 consistencies and also augmented the quantity of Opium to be provided by the State by more than 50 p.c. A State factory on up-to-date lines was established in 1920 at Indore for Opium manufacture under the supervision of the commissioner of Opium and *Abkari*. Moreover ,to suit the spirit of the times, an Opium law²⁷ was also enacted in 1922 with a view to removed the existing anomalies, to control the production ,manufacture,export,import and transport of Opium, and to regulate its movement through-out the State.

The aforesaid agreement for the supply of crude Opium to the Government of India by this State was renewed in April 1923 for a further period of six years, ending 30th September, 1928 on certain conditions.(subject to termination in

any intervening year by notice to be given by either party not later than the 31st of March of that year). The principal terms thereof being that:-

1. The State would arrange to place under poppy cultivation an area sufficient to produce yearly as nearly as possible 140,000 lbs. (approximately 1750 maunds) of crude Opium of consistency 70 (for an equivalent amount of Opium of higher or lower consistency), and deliver to the Government the produce of the same at the then existing rate of Rs.15 per seer provided that, should the price paid to the cultivator in the United Provinces at any time be increased or reduced, the price paid to the State will also be correspondingly affected.²⁸
2. The cultivation in question will be entirely confined to the main block of the Rampura-Bhanpura District, including Sunel, Zirapur and Machalpur pargana. It was further provided that the Agent to the Governor General in Central India was to be kept duly informed, from time to time, of the acreage allotted to and actually placed under poppy ion ,and the cultivation ,and the anticipated outturn every year, as also of any serious damage to the crop from hail, frost ,blight or any other cause.²⁹

Subject to these conditions the Government of India undertook to purchase the whole produce of the areas mentioned above, whether it be more or less than the quantity actually stipulated for. But in the event of considerable variations in quantity, the State, as far as might be possible, was to adjust the cultivation for the following year in such manner as may be necessary in order to secure the required reduction or increase.³⁰

This agreement continued unaltered for a year, but in consideration of the falling prices, the Government of India in the following year decided to reduce the price paid to the State in Central India and Rajputana, which produced Opium for Government, from Rs.15 to Rs.13 a seer for Opium of consistency 70, and from Rs.16 to Rs.14 per seer for entirely oil-free Opium, with effect from the season of 1924-25.³¹

These ups and downs into the Opium trade and the consequent rise and fall in the bazaar price of Opium promoted a spirit of speculation in the Indian Opium market, which, in its turn brought into vogue a new form of business in this time called *Satta* or time bargains which soon became the favorite hobby of traders in Indore residency and elsewhere.³²

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4

Forest Satyagraha: An Unforgotten Saga in Junglemahal

Dr. Partha Dutta

Introduction

The Jungle Mahals, comprising the thanas of Binpur, Gorbeta, Gopiballavpur, Jhargral and Salboni, were thickly forested and infertile area about to 1,827 sq. miles in the north and west of Midnapore district. The area was mainly inhabited by the adivasis – Santals, Bhumija and Kurmi (Mahato) – with a substantial minority of low-caste Hindus – Bagdi, Goala and Sadgope – in the southern parts of the region.

Before entering into the above discussion, a brief historiographical approach to be cited. K. Sivaramkrishnan in his pioneering work, has made an interesting picture regarding the changing pattern of culture and politics of the forest and forest-people and he regards as ‘zone of anomaly’.¹ In its early phase, Indian environmental history focused on the impact of colonial natural resource management, particularly the forests, and British rule was identified as marking a watershed in the ecological history of India.²

Ranabir Samaddar gives an unusual account of territoriality - a full length study of the jungle mahals, which reveals the crucial role memory plays in shaping the politics and identity of a collectivity.³ A few scholars have stressed on the one hand, the numerous peasant and tribal revolts in the late-19th and early-20th centuries, well before ‘modern’ nationalism had penetrated into the countryside, which elaborately studied in A.R. Desai’s *Peasant Struggle in India* (Delhi 1978), and on the other hand, the relative autonomy of peasant participation in later movements bearing the imprimatur of Congress.⁴

Another significant works regarding the forestry and social protests are to be cited, Sumit Sarkar’s ‘*Primitive Rebellion and Modern Nationalism: A Note on Forest Satyagraha in the Non-Cooperation and Civil-Disobedience Movements*’, in K.N. Panikkar, ed. *National and Left Movements in India* (Delhi 1980); Biswamoy Pati’s ‘*Peasants, Tribal’s and the National Movement in Orissa (1921 – 26)*’, *Social Scientist*, no. 122, July 1983; Ramachandra Guha’s ‘*Forestry and Social Protest in British*

Kumauni, C. 1893 – 1921, Subaltern Studies IV, Sixth Impression 2008; Swapan Dasgupta's *Adivasi Politics in Midnapore, C. 1760 – 1924*, Subaltern Studies IV; D.A. Low's ed. *Congress and the Raj* London 1977; and David Baker's *A serious Time: Forest Satyagraha in Madhya Pradesh, 1930*, Indian Economic and Social History Review, 21:1, 1984. Mahasweta Devi presented her writings on tribal movement in different manner. The severe exploitation and control over their traditional rights instigated them to make resistance and their discontents and resistance had been depicted by Mahasweta Devi through her writings, as *'Aranyer Adhikar'* (1977); *'Chotti Munda ebang Tar Tir'* (1980) etc.

In this context, an attempt to be made to review the forest *satyagraha*. The destitution and isolation of the tribal people turned into sheer anger and that expression found in the form of revolts. The most significant outburst was the *Forest Satyagraha* in Midnapore in 1923.

Forests and State Control

The advent of the British in India, forests became a significant subject in the colonial economy. The main objective of the British territorial expansion was to bring the forests extensively under cultivation.⁵ After the coming of the British's, their social and economic condition rather day-to-day deteriorated instead of their development. The company instituted severe exploitation by raising revenues upon the tribes. It may be interesting to trace how forest policy evolved through the ages.⁶ Colonial authorities were much eager to do something for their betterment or to keep up their self-interests and according to Ribbentrop, that period be regarded as the period of forest conservancy and forest management.⁷

With the growing demand of timber, the British took initiative to the potentiality of India's forests as a source of revenue. Forest-resources were destroyed to meet the demand of railway industry and a huge number of trees were felled down.⁸ Gradually, these powers were extended to forests that had belonged to private individuals.⁹

After the Forest Act was passed in 1878, the colonial government started to bring more and more areas under reserve forests and built up a system for systematic harvesting of forests based on working plants. This ensured that no part of the forest was devoid of vegetative cover.¹⁰ With the increasing demand to meet the commercialization of forests, a vast area of jungles were gradually converted to 'reserved forests'. Thus, 14,000 sq. miles of State forest in 1878 hiked to 56,000 sq. miles of 'reserved forests'.¹¹

Captain Hurst, referred to the Tenancy Act of 1885 – conversion of villages into a revenue survey mouzaz: '... a tract of country has only lately come under cultivation, or been reclaimed from jungle lands, ... it therefore becomes necessary to "make" villages, so that the advantages

of the Tenancy Act may eventually have full scope'.¹² Beyond the revenue units, the land including trees, forests, rivers, all the nature's gift to had to be subjected to such a conversion through these settlement operation.¹³ So, it is clear from the above citation that 'villages had to be made, created and recreated, not as social solidarities, but as revenue units'. R. Samaddar observed the dilemma between changes – dilemma between custom and contract.¹⁴ Then the Government gradually increased its control over the forests and the forest department and this absolute domination was strengthened from periodically to regulate people's fundamental rights over forestlands and its production. For this purpose, the Government of India passed another Act in 1927.¹⁵

Agrarian Crisis and Growth of Tensions

In the Collector's Report of 1871, Revenue Survey for the years 1870 – 75, Survey and Settlement Operation of 1911 – 17 by A.K. Jameson, showed how the jungle areas were covered with forests that were cleared and put under cultivation.¹⁶ The forests in these region were duly dominated by the local zamindars up to the last of the 18th century. As early as the beginning of the 19th century, the 'mandali system' came into existence. These 'mandals' in Midnapore were mainly found in the western tract of jungle. They appeared in Midnapore after the zamindars granted to a substantial riot a tract of waste or fallow land to be brought under cultivation.¹⁷ The jungle zamindars tried to lay their control over all the waste and fallow lands. In this regard, a struggle started between mandals and zamindars. As a result, by the early 20th century, the mandali system totally collapsed. As Jameson observed in Midnapore Settlement Report of 1919, 'Mandals exist only in those areas where the aboriginal and semi-original tribes of Santal, Bhumija, Mahato sets are or were recently the bulk of the population, and among these tribes the patriarchal village community under the regime of the 'mandali system' was evolved though it has now broken down to a large extent.¹⁸ This social unsolidarity and inherent complexities of the social structure of the then jungle tracts of Midnapore, with the gradual disintegration of 'mandali system' caused a number of popular movements within the tribal area.¹⁹

The Government proclamation pointed out the ground realities, particularly commercial interests, underlay the justifications of scientific forestry that were pronounced for forest-preservation. According to O'Malley, 'Unfortunately, the Kol seems unable to grasp the fact that the forest was made for any purpose other than to be destroyed, and its timber wasted wholesale'²⁰ Thus the traditional forest activities, not being conducted for earning profit, were termed wasteful, while the destruction of large areas of forest for the sake of timber- trade was a commercially profitable venture and hence denoted a gainful utilization of

forest resources.²¹ By the beginning of the 20th century, dramatic changes had taken place in the agrarian economy of the Jungle Mahals. The value of forest-lands highly raised due to the development of transport system of the forest-resources, specially timber-assets, to the distant places by the construction of railways.

Following the citation of McAlpin's report, we may concentrate to stress upon the political character of the crisis. And the Survey and Settlement Operations, it underpinned the political nature of the crisis – an all round crisis, we find a picture of total breakdown – of the structure of authority in a village, of mental assurance, a livelihood, of simple avenues of redressal of grievances; a crisis in legitimacy of power, a crisis to which peasants responded both as a community and class, in short, as peasants.²² The dislocation of the Indian economy during 1914 – 18 affected Midnapore adversely. The price of cloth was between twice and thrice its pre-War level due to 'the seemingly insatiable military demand' and profiteering by the mill-owners and trade.²³

The Forest Satyagraha

In Jamboni, amidst a traditional community setting marked by the presence of the raja, the mandals, the peasants dependant on forest and land and a communitarian contract, we find the formal establishment of a graded structure of private property in land and commercialization of forest. Whereas, according to Maulavi Ekramuddin's Report, we may find the legal and bureaucratic protection of tenants and small peasants. These two crucial features marked the milieu of agrarian unrest in Jungle Mahals.²⁴

The unrest had a lot to do with the particular type of political authority that the landlord exercised in Jamboni. Tension was inevitable as the survey and settlement broke down the traditional construction of village solidarities living in the Jugle Mahal through the ages.²⁵ In the breakdown of law and order and in the peasants' submissions in the courts of law regarding the challenge to authority, Samaddar finds a sense of 'lost prosperity' as well as 'current misery'.²⁶ Increase of rent, resumption of land, imposition of forest tax – overall economic pressure and the breakdown of essential roles went hand in hand. Unrest in Jamboni was thus both an agrarian crisis as well as a calamity in the moral order.²⁷ In Garbeta Thana its incidence was so great that descendants of the adivasi settlers who had cleared the lands were left in no more than a handful of villages.²⁸

A particular phenomenon of the colonial economy that contributed significantly to growing indebtedness, land alienation and the destruction of traditional agrarian relations was the increasing burden of rent.²⁹ In many ways, during the British rule, tribal-land alienation was started: as through

zamindari system (in Midnapore, for example, *Midnapore Zamindari Company*) and vastly through the construction of railways. The transformation in adivasi consciousness was closely linked to their immediate experience and their own understanding of the process of change. What distinguished the colonial encounter from other historical experiences was the presence of the notorious dike.³⁰ According to Dasgupta, the adivadi politics in Midnapore was ‘an autonomous mobilization of this particular section of the subaltern. Adivasi insurgency belonged on the whole to another domain of politics’. The agrarian nature of adivasi politics, with its own independent sphere as apart from constitutional politics of those days, is clear, as he remarks, ‘Their collective responses and changing consciousness constitute a central concern for my history of the region’.³¹

The outbreak of Jungle Mahal in 1923, was no doubtedly, got the fuel by the instigation by Pratap Chandra Dhabal Dev of Dhalbhum, and the agrarian trouble was fanned by the Non-Cooperation activists like Saijalananda Sen., Murari Mohan Roar.. So, it is rightly to be mentioned that the role of Non-Cooperation movement had a great impact upon the Forest Satyagraha.³² In May, 1921, the Congress organized a meeting of 700 santhalss in anti-alcohol propaganda; in July, 1921, Sailajananda Sen. led a demonstration of 200 Santhal women – both Sailajananda Sen. and Murari Mohan Roy propagated the ‘boycott’ of foreign goods.³³

It was, no doubt, a consequence of the ‘tribal awakening’ – the great tribal consciousness had been expressed through the pioneering Santhal Rebellion in 1855 and then one another great appearance was, of course, the Munda Revolt in 1895. In the early phase, there was no protest-opposition against the British rule – was only the *anti-dike* sentiments. But it was the Birsite achievement to identify the British as their enemy for the restoring the tribal-identity over all.³⁴

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5

Ritual Paradox of a Tribe of Sub-Himalaya: An aspect of Tamang Tribe

Sudash Lama

1. Introduction

The paper is a sincere attempt to bring the history and culture of Tamang ethnic tribal community into the mainstream history of Indian people and Culture. The Indian history is full of various cultural groups and their manners, belief systems along with religious practises, these customs of various ethnic groups has been passed through a very tough period of changes, assimilation and acculturation. The Sub-Himalayan¹ region of Indian Sub-Continent is largely populated by various ethnic tribal communities including Tamang, these groups has their own heritage of religious practises, social rites and customs which makes them, culturally different from the rest of tribal groups. But the trend of modernization and assimilation is not totally detached to these communities.

The Tamang are ethnically offspring of Tibetan-Mongoloid² group and speak the speech of Tibetan-Burmese family are supposed to be the hail from Tibet in middle of 7th century A.D³ on mere similarity of meaning of term 'Tamang' with the Tibetan dictionary, but modern research has been explored that Tamang were the dweller of the frontiers of Indo-Nepal-Tibet and their habitation is mostly in high cold region of Himalaya particularly in India (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri & North East) and Nepal. The society of Tamang is based on cross cousin marriage system and patricians⁴ segments, apart from that it has various social institutions like *Temba*, *Bonpo*, *Lama*⁵ which carries social-cultural customs, beliefs, and manners and impart orally to the new generation. The Tamang has also very rich ethnographically identified songs, dances, musical instrument and paintings which represented the Tamang culture in whole. Tamang are primitively adherents of animism and shamanism which is called Bon religion but with the passes of time inclined towards Buddhism with the advent of Lamaism by Guru Padmasamvawa⁶. They accepted the Buddhism but can not give up the Bon religion, so we find duality in belief of Tamang in respect of religious ideology. The multi religious element is also seen in their practises of ceremonies like birth,

marriage and death ritual. The birth and marriage is performed according to the traditional customs and death ritual is observed according to the Buddhist ritual. The Tamang has been greatly influenced by the other culture and has assimilated in many ways, same time acculturation is also reflected in their social behaviour.

The Tamang are by nature primitive because they believe in shamanism⁷ and their system of healing which shows animistic form of belief but instead of that influence of Buddhism has great role in their social behaviour and customs, which superseded earlier customs and manners but not in totality.

Many social anthropologist, sociologist and eminent ethnic writer like Pars ram Tamang (samvat 2041:127), David Holmberg (reprint 2005:51), Santbir Lama (pakhrin) (1983:43), Rudrasing Tamang (2004:49) has extensively discussed about the social rites and customs of Tamang. They all come to the consensus that *Temba* is the main pillar and preserver of the prevailing Tamang rite and customs. According to the Pars ram Tamang (samvat 2041:127) "the human centered activities is performed by ethnic ancestral tradition is called rites, which help the human being to be socialized". According to the Rudrasing Tamang (2004:19) "the ethnic cultural identity can not be explain only by the religion neither it can direct the elements of social rites and customs". The Tamang society has its basic social institution of various philosophical concept in the form of *Tamba*, *Bon po* and *Lama* (Buddhist priest), who are actually giving continuity to the social customs of Tamang community. The *Temba* play an important role in the conveying the rites and customs of Tamang, whereas *Bon po* and *Lama* are secondary in respect of this culture. The role of *Temba* is decisive in most of rites and sometime it acts as subordinate the other. The role of *Lama* is indispensable only in death ritual where *Temba* use to assist the *Lama* with his vast knowledge of ancestral culture and tradition.

The role of *Bon po* in Tamang society is vanishing but they were integral part of Tamang social, ritual and customs of primitive society, and due to the increasing influence of Buddhism, the role of *Temba* as conveyor of social rite and customs also narrowing down" (Rudrasing Tamang 2004:133). The *Temba* is the most important social institution of Tamang society, whereas *Bon po* and *Lama* is related with religious belief. But the coordinative role of all these social institution is the pillar of belief and customs. The Tamang has retained the cultural values from time immemorial and they are also able to keep intake the rites and rituals of their ethnic community which reflected their independent identity and existence. Considering, the importance of values and symbols of culture as the basic element of Tamang tradition in which *Temba*, *Bon po* and *Lama's* has indispensable role as the preserver and conveyor. In this paper the researcher's attempt is to analyze

the role of these social institutions by making detailed study of rites and customs prevalent in Tamang society under three broad sections like; Birth Ritual (*Janma Sanskar*), Ceremonial Ritual (*karma Sanskar*), and Death Ritual (*Mrityu Sanskar*).

2. Rites or Rituals

The whole human life has been divided into three categories according to the rituals and practice related from birth to death. These are as follows:

2.1 *Janma Sanskar* or *Thapsang Thui* (Birth ritual)

The Tamang society being patriarchal in its social structure, are very liberal towards women, and their position in the society are highly esteemed. The act of conceived called '*Fo Puiba*' in Tamang dialect, and from the day of pregnancy women were very cared by the other members of the family. They were given ample rest and healthy foods but they have certain restriction as precaution measure for the unborn child like restriction on hard work, climbing of trees, and steep and also others which may cause problem.

The Tamang use to perform the purification ceremony or *Nwaran* (*Thapsang Thui*) after three days of child birth. But with convenience people do the ceremony even on eleven and thirteen days. This is the socio-religious ceremony of Tamang, which is usually done by Lama on the invitation of the householder by offering *Shogun* which is called "*Dipchyang Pong*". The purification ceremony is followed by the *Namkaran* or giving of name to the infant as a symbol of acceptance in the Kula or clan of father. The priest Lama uttering the mantra out of '*Chi*' (religious text related with birth ritual) use to give the '*Name*' to the infant after observing the year of birth (*Lho*), nature and category (*Kham*) according to the Tibetan calendar of Buddhism. The role of *Bon po* also not negligible because some Tamang still use to performed the *Nwaran* or purification ceremony by inviting *Bon po*. Sometime, the father of new born child gives the name to his baby, and *Bon po* do the purification of *kula* and family members while Lama performed the *puja* according to the Buddhist tradition. This reflects the amalgamation of different social institution having difference in opinion and ideology comes in one point to preserve and to continue the rite and customs of the community.

2.2 Ceremonial Rituals

Under this category we find the ceremony after the *Nwaran* (name giving ceremony) and up to death.

2.2.1 *Pasni* (*Kan Kwaba*)

The ceremony of birth ritual (*Nwaran* or *Thapsang Thui*) is the process of socialization through personal identity, and nationality in general.

According to the religious tradition and belief nobody gets the name and clan from the day of birth but only with the purification and name giving ceremony after certain day's child is welcome in the family and society as well. The birth ritual is followed by the process of habituating the child into the environment of self survival by taking the stable food, which is called *Pasni* or '*Kan kwaba*' in Tamang dialect. This ceremony generally observed on five months for girl child and six months for male child. The social institution like *Temba*, *Bon po* and Lama is not necessary in this ceremony it can be observed by the parents of child with the presence of maternal uncle and elderly person of the family.

The *Kan kwaba* is followed by the offering of rice to the infant by the father with the help of beak of starling bird; if it is not available then rice is offered by the spoon of silver. This is the belief that such ceremony will make the child sweet spoken like starling bird. The rest of the family member offer *Tika* and bless the child by giving gifts and ceremony is ended with the serving of food, liquor, and local rice bears '*Jar*' to the relatives and guest.

2.2.2 *Chewer* or Tonsure ceremony⁸ (*Tapchey*)

The *Chewer* is another *karma sanskar* prevalent in Tamang community, which is observed on very uneven of three, five or seven birth year of male child. This ceremony is being observed as the hair cutting ceremony of the son child. The *Chewer* has social as well as religious significance in Tamang community, if the ceremony is performed by the Lama according to the Buddhist tradition, then it will be called the *Tapchey* means formal introduction into the Buddhist monasticism, which followed by the teaching and preaching of Buddhist philosophy and doctrine to the child.

Chewer being a part of the Tamang social rites and customs, it includes many people from either social or religious ambience to conclude it as grant success according to the tradition. This *karma sanskar* is the process of socialization by making responsible and liable to the norms, values, ethics and customs of the society.

The role of maternal uncle or *Aaseng*⁹ in hair cutting ceremony is essential, because traditionally uncle will cut the hair of nephew for the first time, and *Aaseng* is also responsible to bring the necessary item of the ceremony along with special gifts. Maternal uncle in Tamang society is highly respected and *Chewer* will not be performed if he is unavailable. Generally, the *Chewer* is conducted by the maternal uncle and family members but role of *Temba* is also important, because most of the *Aaseng* do not know the rites and rituals so *Temba* use to direct and supervise the uncle in the ceremony.

The role of Lama is according to the religious point view is necessary, because the ceremony is performed by the uncle and *Temba* on the auspicious

date selected by the Lama according to the Tibetan calendar. However, there are identical ceremony called *Tap chewy* which is also a hair cutting ceremony but according to the law of Buddhism. This is the symbol of entry into the Buddhist monasticism by following the norms and principle of the religion. Apart from the role of *Aaseng*, *Temba* and *Lama* there are sisters and in-laws who also played important role in the ceremony. The sisters collect the hair before falling in the ground and wrapped into white cloth while in-laws takes the charge of internal management of convenience to the guests and relatives.

2.2.3 *Syama Pinba* (Dress giving ceremony)

The Tamang observed the *Chewer* of son child to make conscious about his social responsibility and liabilities of the society. The another ceremony called *Syama pinba*, in which parents offer *Ghaghara* (*Guenon choli*) like womanly dress to their daughter in auspicious day selected by the Lama on odd birth year of child started from nine to eleven. Earlier Tamang use to weave the cloth themselves for their family, and by observing the *Syama pinba*, offer the dress to their daughter symbolizing the marital age, just like *chewer* where boy child has attained the age, to bear the social responsibility, and *syama pinba* is also a symbolic ceremony that reflects marriageable stage of girl child. However this *guenon choli* ceremony is not popularly prevalent among the Tamang.

To be Continued in the next Issue of Journal

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6

Colonializing the British Indian Army (A case study of Haryana from 1858 to 1918)

Dr. Atul Yadav

The Uprising of 1857 stands as one of the great turning points in Indian history, perhaps as much for its impact upon the British as its impact on the development of Indian nationalism. It was estimated that about 39,000 Indian sepoys remained loyal to the British Crown through the uprising, an equal number were disarmed or had deserted, and 70,000 joined the uprising at one time or another¹. Had all of them mutinied at the same time the British² rule in India would have come to an end 90 years earlier.

The Peel Commission³ was appointed to examine the military (organization of army) in India after the uprising of 1857. The Commission recommended that “the native Army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment.”⁴ The recommendations applied primarily to the Bengal Army. The composition advocated by the Punjab Committee was adopted in the Bengal Army (which included the Punjab Frontier Force). The latter development had serious repercussions: without prospect of active duty, service in Bombay and Madras became increasingly unattractive to the able officer, and the quality of their units slowly declined.⁵

The principles laid down in 1859 were reaffirmed in 1879 by the high-level Eden Commission appointed to examine the problems of the army in India.⁶ Both the Peel Commission in 1859 and the Eden Commission in 1879 based their recommendations on the premise that no major foreign expeditions were likely, and that the main problem was internal security. Army policy was not altered even after the second Afghan war and only after the Russian scare of 1885 was the Eden Commission’s assumption that 60,000 men were the maximum necessary under any circumstances⁷ was shattered.

The Burma War of 1887-1889, followed the Russian scare and was used by many to prove the low fighting value of various classes, especially those from Madras. As external conflict grew more probable, and internal security

problems lessened, newer notions of military efficiency took precedence over considerations of balance and the social composition of the military.⁸

In a series of major reforms the entire base of recruitment was transformed from a “territorial” to a “racial” and “caste” basis. First, the system of linked battalions was revived. One battalion of a group was equipped for war, while other battalions supplied it with recruits.⁹

In 1887 each group of three battalions was given a regimental center, further stabilizing the system. But in 1892 this system was superseded by another one belonging to a different school of thought: the “class” recruiting center¹⁰. The earlier reforms of 1859, 1879, and even afterwards, were based on territorial recruiting (with the few exceptions of Sikhs and Gurkhas regiments), fixed depots, and periodical tours of local service for internal security purposes.¹¹ Kitchener, the C-in-C of the Indian Army (1904–1909) had taken steps to gear up the military machine in India with a view to meet any eventuality that might arise either in India or in Europe. The result was that when the War broke out in Europe, India was better prepared from the British point of view to playing its role than any other Dominion or Colony.¹²

Percival Spear has remarked that ‘the First World War forms the portal through which India entered the stage of the modern world’¹³. The insatiable demand of the war for manpower necessitated changes in its recruiting policy and organization. Besides, the massive involvement of the Indian Army in the war, the war gave a new turn to the national movement in the country.¹⁴ At the outset of the First World War in 1914 the Indian Army consisted of two branches-Combatants and Non-Combatants. The strength of the combatant troops of the Indian Army on August 1, 1914 was 155, 423 men including about 15,000 British officers, while the strength in the Non-Combatant branch was 45,660 men.¹⁵

Besides, there was a military force known as the Imperial Service Troops, raised and maintained by the rulers of the different Indian States. The Imperial Service Troops were trained under the guidance of the British officers called ‘military advisers’. The total strength of these forces was 22,479 men.¹⁶

Whenever Britain was at War as the proceeding decades had shown, India in some sense was also at War. While Indian soldiers had been sent overseas before 1914 for imperial purposes. The main purpose of the Indian Army had been to assure civil peace within India and to protect India’s frontiers.¹⁷ The outbreak of the World War-I and Britain joining it sent a thrill of enthusiasm all over the Punjab including Haryana.¹⁸ The excitement expressed itself in the form of display of loyalty towards the British Raj¹⁹ and prayed for victory to their arms. Political and social organizations like

the Hindu Mahasabha and Congress on behalf of the Hindus, the Anjuman-i-Islamia and Muslim League on behalf of the Muslims, the Chief Khalsa Diwan on behalf of the Sikhs and many community organizations vied with one another in passing resolutions of loyalty.²⁰

The Punjab (including Haryana) entered the war, thus, with great excitement and an outburst of splendid loyalty to the British Government. Since Haryana was mostly rural and the main vocation of the people was agriculture, the Britishers were popular because of the Land Alienation Act of 1901²¹ which had bestowed not only economic benefits but even social distinction upon them.

From the government point of view, the object of this measure was to place restrictions on the transfer of land with a view to checking its alienation from the agricultural to the non-agricultural classes.²² The legislation was to protect the Zamindar²³ against the money-lenders.

Ostensibly the Act was intended to protect the cultivator from the clutches of the money-lender. In fact, it was a clever move on the part of the Government to serve its own political ends. **Firstly**, it wanted to eliminate the influence of the money-lender, the backbone of the middle class. **Secondly**, it sought to create a wedge between the money-lender and the cultivator by dividing the two as agriculturist and non-agriculturist. **Thirdly**, a new class of agriculturist money-lender emerged on whose loyalty the Government could bank upon and which could prove a bulwark against the educated middle-class, the main section of the society agitating through the Congress against the British regime. **Fourthly**, it would minimize the importance of the lawyers.²⁴

By the end of the 19th century, the Punjab had replaced north-central India, Bombay and Madras as the main recruiting ground for the British Indian Army supplying more than half the combatants for the entire force (Table 1.1 and 1.2). Rather, the military labour market in Punjab—the numbers and types of soldiers who were recruited and the localities from which they were drawn—was an extremely limited one; in 1900, out of a total male population of 11,255,986, just over 50,000 were in direct military service.²⁵ In 1897, when the military authorities had virtually ceased recruiting from elsewhere but the north, the total annual intake of Punjabi recruits in the army was estimated at no more than 4,500.²⁶ This restriction was imposed essentially by the “martial class” doctrine, which was already at its most influential stage by the turn of the 19th century. All other groups and classes of Punjabis that did not fall in the categories designated as martial classes were automatically excluded.²⁷

Table 1.1
Number of Indian Infantry Units²⁸

Year	Gurkhas	North-Central	North-West (Punjab and NWFP)	Bombay	Madras
1862	5	26	38	20	40
1885	13	20	31	26	32
1892	15	15	34	26	25
1914	20	15	57	18	11

Table 1.2
Recruiting of Punjabis, 1858-1910²⁹

Year	No. of Punjabis in the Army	Percentage of Punjabis in the Army	Percentage increase on 1858
1858	22,790	32.7	
1880	38,538	27	+69
1890	44,940	30	+97
1900	65,820	50.6	+188
1910	93,295	53.7	+309

Prior to 1914, the recruitment in the Indian Army was based on the Martial Races Theory. This theory was introduced by Lord Roberts, who served as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from 1885-1893. According to him, the long years of peace and the security and prosperity attending it in certain areas had a softening and deteriorating effect on the people living in those areas and they had lost fighting qualities³⁰. General Sir O'Moore Creagh, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army from 1909-1914, agreed with the martial race theory, though he gave a different justification for it. According to him, people in the hot and flat regions were timid and unwar like while people in the cold (during winters) and hilly regions were warlike.³¹

The restriction was imposed essentially by the "Martial Race" doctrine, which was already at its most influential stage by the turn of the 19th century. Very specific sub-divisions went into the definition of a "Martial Race" and many regiments narrowed their selection to include only recruits from particular sub-castes, clans, tribes and localities.³² It is clear that the districts with old military connections did the best. In this connection Rao Bahadur Lal Chand of Rohtak said in the Legislative Council on 24 April

1918, "If we consider the recruiting services my native district troops...there is nothing more remarkable than the sustained ardor and enthusiasm which have been displayed by the Jat class of South-East".³³ The prominent leaders whose services towards the war efforts in Haryana were commended and rewarded by the Government were Sir Chhotu Ram, Rao Bahadur Ch. Lal Chand and Pandit Parbhu Dayal of Rohtak; Rao Bahadur Balbir Singh of Rampura (Gurgaon); Ch. Lajpat Rai, Pundit Janki Prasad and Rai Bahadur Seth Sukh Lal of Hisar and Ch. Bans Gopal of Karnal.³⁴ The entry of Romania into the war had apparently only added to the commitments the end of war was not in sight, and the well-known recruiting grounds of the Punjab were beginning to show signs of exhaustion.³⁵

In view of this, in 1917, a new system of recruitment was introduced. The 'Class system' of recruitment was replaced by the 'Territorial system' of recruitment. All over India seventy-five new classes

(21 in Punjab, table 1.3) were declared eligible for recruitment in the Army.³⁶ Still recruitment was to be restricted to the recruitment of agriculturist communities.³⁷ In each province, a Provincial Recruiting Board³⁸ was established to co-ordinate the working of the Divisional Recruiting Officers in the province.

Table 1.3
List of New Classes Recruited During World-War I³⁹

Province — Punjab and Delhi		
Class	Unit	
	Attached to	Absorbed in
1. Arains	2-55 th Rifles 1-129 th Baluchis	2-129 th Pioneers
2. Baltis	----	106 th Pioneers
3. Bauria Sikhs	----	2-35 th Sikhs
4. Bishnois	----	2-69 th Punjabis
5. Gaur Brahmin	1-9 th and 2-3 rd Brahmana (Several other units take them)	----
6. Dogra Jats	38 th Dogras	----
7. Heris	----	2-48 th Pioneers 2-128 th Pioneers
8. Hindu Aroras	222 nd Punjabis	----
9. Jagirdars of Ambala	2-55 th Rifles	----
10. Kambohs	2-55 th Rifles	----
11. Kanets	----	Various Units

12. Mahatam Sikhs	----	2-35 th Sikhs
13. Mussallis	----	2-81 st Pioneers
14. Niazi Pathans	----	2-21 st Punjabis
15. Punjabi Brahmans	----	37 th Dogras
16. Punjabi Hindus	----	2-26 th Punjabis
17. Punjabi Christians	----	71 st Punjabis
18. Pathans of Chhach	----	2-54 th Sikhs
19. Rors	2-12 th Pioneers	----
20. Sainis	1-21 st Punjabis	----
	2-55 th Rifles	
21. S.W.Punjabi Musalmans	Various Units	----

The Provincial Recruiting Board held its first meeting on 14th July, 1917 and at once set itself the task of popularizing the army among those who hitherto had no part in it, and increasing its attractions for those who were already in it. The Board undertook the very important task of assessing the amount of man-power which the province as a whole, and each district individually, might reasonably be expected to contribute, and thus to attempt for the first time to adjust the burden of war equitably over all classes.⁴⁰ Each district was given a 'quota' up to which it was exhorted to work'.

In April 1918, the British Prime Minister sent a despairing "S.O.S." call, and many prepared themselves for the worst. A War Conference was summoned by His Excellency the Viceroy at Delhi from April 27 to 29, 1918. The object of the conference was to invite the cooperation of all classes in measures concerning the successful prosecution of the War, with special reference to man-power and the development of Indian resources.⁴¹ It was announced that the annual offering of recruits will be increased from one lakh to two, and that it would not shirk from introducing conscription, if the men could not be got in any other way.⁴²

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7

Role of Bihu Songs : Political Mobilization of Peasantry through Ryot Sabha

Dr. Anjan Saikia

‘Music, when soft voices die, vibrates in the memory.’ We can adopt these lines of Shelley to say that Music, when slogan shouting ends, lingers in the memory, and has the power to sustain hope in the minds of people when effective action against the oppressor seems difficult to organize.¹ The Music played a significant role in the freedom struggle against the Colonial rule. It is a matter of fact that the folk songs (Music) which form part of the cultural tradition of a people or a community act as a major supplement to traditional historical sources and help us immensely to get an inside view of certain historical events where the common people played the major or pivotal role.² For such, narratives of ten tell of protest ‘in a manner that reflects the ideological stance of their audience.’³ Assam has had a strong and vibrant tradition of folk songs and rhymes in the form of *Bia-Naam*, *Hussari*, *Bihu* songs, *Aii Naam* etc. which has been expressing itself over the ages as the spontaneous expression of the life spirit of a people.

In the light of the above discourses, this paper intends to study the importance of song particularly *Bihu* songs in mobilizing the *Ryot Sabah*, a popular peasant organization of the Brahmaputra Valley against the existing British imperialism. The study is based on some empirical sources.

Before starting the importance of *Bihu* songs, a few discussion is necessary regarding the emergence of the *Ryot Sabah*, a popular peasant organization in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam in the pre-independence period. Noteworthy that, the penetration of the British and their new economic policy not only seriously hit the Assamese agrarian peasantry, but also created strong resentment, as elsewhere in India. As a result, since 1860s, there occurred many peasant uprisings in the Brahmaputra Valley in connection with the enhancement of land revenue in the places of Phulaguri at Nagaon, Mangaldoi, Lasima and Ranga.⁴ The *Raij Mel*, a militant organization of the peasantry during this period, played a very important part in organizing these aforesaid revolts against the Colonial British Government.⁵ But, with the beginning of the 20th Century, peasant struggle

took a new turn. At this time, the nature and outlook of the peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley underwent a great change. According to many Scholars, they gave up the militant and violent path of agitation and began to adopt what can be termed as a constitutional path of agitation based on ideas of liberal democracy.⁶ The *Raij Meals* began to lose their grip over the peasantry and its place was occupied by the *Ryot Sabah*, a popular organization of the peasantry of the Brahmaputra Valley in particular and Assam in general.

However, so far as the organization of the *Ryot Sabah* was concerned, *Bihu* songs and *Bihu* dance too played a remarkable role in political mobilization of the *Ryot Sabha*. A good number of *Bihu* songs were composed and sung in order to raise consciousness among the peasantry against the evil effect of the Opium. These were popular *Bihu* songs like the following which expressed this rising awareness:

'Kani Bhang ere De / Swarajloi Dhon De / Swarajor jujate / Gandhi Joi Ani De.'

("Give up taking opium, Give your money for the Swaraj. In the battle of for swaraj, bring Victory for Gandhi").⁷

Similarly, we see the following extracts highlight the importance given to Swadeshi,

'Gunguni Jatare / Pajikata Solare, / Swaraj Je Labo Lage, / Hate Kota Sutare'

("With humming Spinning wheel, with fine spindle, Swaraj is to be obtained by hand spun yarn").⁸

Likewise,

'Motilal Neherur Sat Khalapia / Karenghar Kolile Dan, / Dhesore Karane Dehaku Bilale / Pale Goi Swargot Sthan'

(The seven stories Kareng of Motilal Nehru was donated. The body was sacrificed for the Country and then reached a place in heaven).⁹

The Detroit economic condition was found in the following *Bihu* song which was expressed by the peasantry of Tengakhat,

'Desore Dangoriyai / fatekot Asegoi / desot lagise ran / hiyat jalise / bejaror agoni / jihetu Napore mon / Dukhiryar gharat / khaboloi Natoni / pindhabor Kapur nai / desore abastha / vabi mor deuta / sakut Tupani nai / ga-dhui uthi / aitak khujilu / Bihur Kapur saj, / suda jopa meli / aitai kondile / palu monote laj.'

("The leaders of the country are all in the prison, there is battle in the country, the fire of sadness burns in the hearts. The mind does not rest anywhere. There is scarcity of food in the home of the poor, there are no cloth to wear. When I think of the country, sleep remains away from my eyes, after bathing I asked my mother for *Bihu* dress, My mother opened the empty bamboo basket and wept, I got ashamed in mind").¹⁰

In order to inculcate and infuse more national sentiment among the peasantry, we find the following expression in the Bihu song,

“Aji Bihut Gogona Nalage / Bajise Ronor veri / Aha saji-kasi pranare logori / Badhu Akatar jori.”

(“We don’t need gogener, a small kind instrument made of bamboo, in this Bihu, as there is blowing of trumpet for war, comes prepared my friend so dear to my heart, let’s us tie the thread of unity”).¹¹

In a same manner, the peasantry of Borhulla gathered to celebrate Bihu, but their Bihu songs were filled up patriotic consciousness particularly an awareness of the plight of peasants. Their Bihu song expressed that sentiment:

“Harak pani kori o’ mur kisak bhai / tejak pani kori o’ mur kisak bhai / sali toli korilu mati / o’ mur kisak bhai / aru nathaku sai / akata gohibor hol / Sulani dhanot o’ mur kisak / jamidar sarkare o’ mur kisak bhai / melile boliya hati / o’ mur kisak bhai / aru nathaku sai / akota gohibor hol.”

(“O my farmer friend, the field for sali cultivation has been prepared, leaving no stone untouched, o’ my farmer friend, there is no time to wait and ponder now ! It is high time to unite. O’ my farmer friend! The govt. of the Zaminder has let the wild elephant loose on the golden paddy field. O’ my farmer friend! We should not tolerate any more, it is time to unite and protest”).¹²

Likewise, in order to establish communal harmony among the different castes of the peasantry, we see the following Bihu song expressed the sentiment:

“Dhudor ali bondhale / kune o’ lahari tumia ami / asilu milere / tumar mon bongile kune / tumaloi saute / japana diute / bindhile aghaya hule / tumar mone gole / muru mone gole / kariba kalita kule”.

(“This is the song of a lover sung before his sweet heart. He described that ones Dhudor Ali was constructed by the peasant workers irrespective of caste and community. Likewise, Bihu husari is also organized by all caste and community. He belongs to different community and his sweet heart belong to Kalita caste. Their Bihu is symbol of unity and integrity. Hence, Kalita or any other caste is not a problem making a conjugal life”).¹³

In fact, mobilization of the peasantry through Bihu and its songs, had three importance features. First, the membership and involvement of the rural masses increased in the *Ryot Sabah’s*. Secondly, the Bihu songs which were sung in the movement exposed the strong bitter sentiments and protest against the colonial government. The Third, but not less important fact was that the Bihu played an important part in mobilizing a strong

democratic front and integrity that emerged from the rural areas of the Brahmaputra Valley through the *Ryot Sabah*. From that point of view, we may draw that the Bihu songs were able to establish strong integrity among the rural masses through the *Ryot Sabah* which later on contributed solid integration in the freedom struggle against the British government. Indeed, the Bihu songs decidedly help us to have a more comprehensive view of the events in Assam history in the freedom struggle.

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8

Revisiting Historiography to the Menace of Communalism in Modern India

Dr. Rajesh Kumar Nayak

The menace of communalism in the colonial era had an adverse impact on the smooth progress of nationalist struggle in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The Cambridge school of historians is of the view that communalism in India was not a new phenomenon; it had existed even during the pre-British rule. Anil Seal, who belongs to the Cambridge school, writes, 'In so shapeless, so jumbled a bundle of societies, there were not two nations, there was not one nation and there was no nation at all. What was India – A graveyard of old nationalities and the mother of new nationalism struggling to be born?'¹ The composition of Indian society and history provide these writers with a past replete with groups defined by caste, religion and other such primordial loyalties, with mutual relationship these groups, seen as shaping their politics, communalism is seen as a phenomenon that existed since time immemorial because it provided the only means for the pluralities or religious groups to interact as well as counteract with each other. Therefore, they conclude that phenomenon of communalism is not modern at all; it always existed.²

Bayle also suggests that several conflicts that occurred between 1770 and 1850 had a very close resemblance with the communal riots that took place during the late 19th and 20th centuries³ He put forward the argument that the ideologies and institutions of the pre-colonial period contributed to the formation of communal bent of mind. The latter was to be the sustainer of a Hindu high culture; it was the platform from which an assertive Hindu revivalism was carried into national politics.⁴ Another scholar of Cambridge framework argued that ideology of Muslim separateness did not flow out of the objective differences between Hindus and Muslims but out of the use made of those differences through a considerable process of symbol selection. It was also not the consequence of the objective circumstances of Muslims in Uttar Pradesh who were better placed than Hindus in urbanization, literacy, English education, social communication and government employment.⁵ Francis Robinson also arrived at the similar conclusion as he also argued that the threat of backwardness rather

than the backwardness itself encouraged the Uttar Pradesh Muslims to organize themselves separately.⁶ Francis Robinson, however, felt that it underestimated the influence of Hindu and Muslim revivalism and greatly underestimated the influence of the colonial state.⁷

According to Bipan Chandra, one of the chief representatives of this school communalism in modern period marked a sharp break with the politics of ancient, medieval or pre- 1857 periods ⁸ situating communalism within the overarching colonial contexts. This school strongly refutes the notion that communalism was part of India's hoary past that existed for centuries. Even before partition and India's independence, W C Smith produced the most rigorous and insightful work on the rise and growth of communalism in India.⁹ In one of the most significant post independence works, A R Desai tried to understand communalism through an analysis of the Indian social structure as it evolved in the wake of colonial rule and its impact on socio-political fabric. It was also the form within which the struggle of the professional classes' different communities over posts and seats carried on."¹⁰ It has been aptly argued that modernization of Muslim community as heralded by Sir Syed Ahmad was not the modernization of the whole community; it resulted in the superficial modernization of the upper class Muslims. Bipan Chandra condemns this argument and says that by assigning the blame or the original sin to the opposite communalism, a sort of backdoor justification is sought for one's own communalism or the communalism one is studying or supporting.¹¹ Communalism was a major weapon of political, social and economic reaction in the modern period that has to be fought on all fronts and given no quarter.¹² He views communalism as a 'belief that because a group of people follow a particular religion, they have, as a result, common social, political and economic interests.....each religious community constitutes a homogeneous entity and even a distinct society in itself.'¹³

Further, he describes communalism as 'false consciousness' as it gives out a reality in a distorted form. This inadequacy is manifested by the failure to develop a strong national consciousness, and clear linguistic-cultural and class identities.¹⁴ During the freedom movement if communalism was a false consciousness then by the same token nationalism can be described as true consciousness. It was historically valid at the moment as it provided a real solution to a real problem- national liberation against colonial domination.¹⁵ Randhir Singh, however, criticizes this perspective of false consciousness and interprets it as failure to theorize communalism, and for legitimizing state.¹⁶ He castigates Bipan Chandra for providing an alibi to the ruling class for its failures. He concludes that the concept cannot explain why these barriers exist and why they remain so powerful which is surely a theoretical pre-requisite for removing them in practice.¹⁷

Tracing the growth of communalism in India, Vanaik identifies the Indian Renaissance of the nineteenth century as the chief culprit since it was embedded in strong Hindu symbols. He concludes that latter prior to their emergence, went through a period of secularization, where as the Indian state- a product of the culmination of national movement, inherited the pre-dominantly religious color which had marked the national movement.¹⁸ He also pointed out that Indian civil society also never underwent a process of secularization.¹⁹ Ashgar Ali Engineer, a renowned Scholar-cum-activist for communal amity, is convinced of the incorrigible nature of communal conflicts, and seems a bit resigned to the fact. His logic is that 'final solution is too complex to easily yield to any solution. We can, however, certainly try to reduce it.'²⁰ Historians like Gyan Pandey and Partha Chatterjee advocate for the adoption of an altered periodization of history from three phases to two phases- pre-modern and modern phases. They Endeavour to restore 'agency' to the voices which have remained suppressed due to modernist and liberal historiographical practices. Partha Chatterjee, one of the prominent representatives of this genre, argues that communalism was the 'nationalist discourse' premise on the same modernist framework as communalism and defined a particular kind of politics as communalism.²¹

Gyanendra Pandey, making an improvisation, puts forward the argument that the nationalist elite- the super ordinate classes- propagated this construction of categories through what he describes as nationalist politics. He links the Indian elites, also nationalists, to colonial power and knowledge by arguing that they have collaborated with the colonial power in imposing knowledge on the Indian society.²² He describes communalism as a form of colonial knowledge. The concept stands for puerile and the primitive – all that colonialism never was; paradoxically nationalists did more than anyone else to propagate its use.²³ Communalism was important because it was not nationalism; it was anti-thesis of nationalism. Communalism was, in common with colonialism, the other of nationalism, its opposite, its chief adversary, and hence a necessary part of the story of nation building in India.²⁴ Farzana Sheikh, while analyzing the communal tangle in the pre-independent India concludes that in making political choices Indian Muslims were constrained by values derived from their Islamic background. Such political values- irrespective of the weight of other factors like the interests of particular Muslim groups or the influence of imperial policies- played a part in Muslim separatism.²⁵

Exposition of Communalism in Pre-Independent India

Until 1980s, historians like Anil Seal, Paul Brass, Francis Robinson, Chris Bely, Harold Gould, Gyanendra Pandey and Zoya Hassan explored the heartland of the United Provinces describing it as the heartland of Hindu

and Muslim revivalist movements. Study on the subject of Hindu-Muslim relation and communalism for the state of Bihar is few and far between. Only one notable contribution in this regard has come from Papiya Ghosh.²⁶ She argues that two development determined the course of communalism – first the colonial government’s drive to catalogue the sacred, profane and established custom with regard to religious observance, which in the nineteenth century set off claims and counter claims about Hindu and Muslim community rights and publicizing of those set of rights. Secondly, there was a noticeable expansion of both Hindu and Muslim festivals around the 1920s in terms of scale of participation, which in turn was the result of the development of the sense of community feeling occurring on account of revivalist movements amongst Hindus and Muslims.²⁷ Electoral politics, especially of the 1940s, contributed to a transformation of the Congress’ identity into a “Hindu party” in Bihar.²⁸ Coupled with this was the Congress’ close association with the landlords, which acted as a drawbridge between divisive politics and the landed interests. She also shows how even the insignificant efforts of the Congress ministry *vis-a-vis* land reforms alienated it from the Muslim League over the 1938-39 period.²⁹ Hitendra Patel³⁰ delves into the problem of communalism from 1870 to 1930. He gives an account of the rise of Hindu communalism in Bihar in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and its relationship with the nationalist ideology, through the activities of the intelligentsia. Then there is an unpublished thesis of Akhilesh Kumar on the subject of communalism in Bihar. Akhilesh has tried to situate the occurrences of communal conflagrations in the socio-economic context, but there has been inadequate and insufficient description and analysis of the riots that took place in the aftermath of Direct Action (16 August, 1946) and the Great Calcutta Killings and massacre of Hindus at Noakhali-Tipperah.³¹

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9

Gandhi and the Concept of Non-Violence

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During British colonial regime there was no end to the sufferings of Indian people. 'The cause of freedom was either professed by the Indian National Congress or by a few insignificant groups of self-sacrificing young men.'¹ The post-mutiny struggle against the Raj began in the later half of the nineteenth century but it was confined in the certain regions only like Maharashtra, Bengal and Punjab alone where local organizations like Abhinav Bharat, Anusheelan Samiti comprising few self-sacrificing young men who believed that assassinations of some British officers will force them to leave India. Besides, such militant organization there was Indian National Congress founded in 1885, which also was restricted to 'the elite, visible and superficial layer of society.'² Its members were mostly big businessmen, traders, landholders and the emerging middle class. These common people living mostly in the villages of India were far away from the national consciousness among the aristocratic members of the Indian National Congress. Apart from this, the Indian National Congress was also the victim of the difference of ideology within itself regarding 'means' and 'end' of the protest popularly designated as 'moderates' and 'radicals'. In fact, it was lacking 'the unity of direction and leadership.'³ Moreover, the common agenda of all the pre-Gandhi nationalists was the transfer of power and the absence of 'the vision beyond political independence'⁴ for India was removed only after the entry of Gandhi in the Indian political scene.

Gandhi firmly believed in the philosophy of 'truth' and 'non-violence', the twin ideals upon which he had invented his invincible weapon of 'Satyagraha' in South Africa. 'His truth was not GOD but a human society, devoid of war, violence and exploitation. The way to achieve this truth was non-violence or *Ahimsa*. To the followers of this path, he subscribed the title of *Satyagrahi*.'⁵ Gandhi introduced the non-violence as the means for people of India to achieve the goal of political freedom. He elucidated his concept of 'non-violence' in following words: "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brutes....I have therefore ventured

to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For *satyagrah* and its offshoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering.”⁶ Gandhi admitted and elaborated the impact of various individuals and philosophies which had contributed in shaping his concept of ‘non-violence’. He acknowledged that he followed an ancient ideal, which he also read, “...in the teaching of all the greatest teachers of the world – Zoroaster, Mahavir, Daniel, Jesus, Mohammed, Nanak and a host of others.”⁷

Besides the influence of religion and spirituality on his concept of non-violence, he was also influenced by certain individuals and philosophers like Tolstoy, Thoreau, and Ruskin whose works had profound impact upon Gandhi’s philosophy of ‘non-violence’, which helped him also to invent a weapon like *Satyagrah* in his struggle against injustices of British colonial government. Gandhi’s concept of non-violence, was ‘an amalgam of key Gandhi an (*sic* Gandhi’s) concepts like Truth, love and self-suffering.”⁸

The concept of truth and love got a significant place in Gandhi’s philosophy after his encounter with Raychandbhai, a jeweller and businessman, who had a quest for self –knowledge and *dharma* in human life. His commitment towards non-violence, which was not only restricted to the slaughter of the animals and was extended to the welfare of all the humanity, influenced Gandhi. He advocated that no change in the individual can be permanent if it has not transformed by truth and love.⁹ Later Gandhi emphasised on the need of these two major elements which could help the transformation of individuals as he said that, “You cannot inject new ideas into a man’s head by chopping it off: neither will you infuse a new spirit into his heart by piercing it with a dagger.”¹⁰ Gandhi found non-violence as the only means which could be universally valid and applicable to reach the end as it would never distort the end.¹¹

Gandhi emphasised that he believed in the dynamism of man. Hence, instead of defending the inactive form of non-violence by any means, he presented and elaborated the positive and active aspect of the idea of non-violence. Consequently he explained the concept of non-violence in following words: “*Ahimsa* is not the crude thing it had been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *ahimsa*, it is its least expression.”¹²

Gandhi had experimented in South Africa with the idea of non-violence and *satyagrah* to get justice for the Indians including indentured labours. In India he used *Satyagraha* against local issues of Champaran, Ahmadabad and Kheda in 1917 and 1918, which demonstrated invincibility of his newly invented weapon to his countrymen. The British Government provided

that opportunity by presenting the Rowlett Bills in 1919, curtailing the civil liberties of the Indians in the name of curbing the terrorist menace. In 1919, Gandhi wrote regarding the Rowlett Bill which had been brought right after the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms that: "If the Rowlett Bills were passed into law, the reforms, whatever their value, would be absolutely worthless. It was absurd to find on one side the enlargement of the powers of the public and on the other, to put unbearable restraints on their powers."¹³

When the British Government passed the Rowlett Bills into Act, Gandhi outlined a programme of action to oppose the legislation by *satyagrah* and on 6th April, 1919, "the whole of India from one end to the other, towns as well as the villages, observed a complete *hurtle*."¹⁴ Encouraged by the Rowlett *satyagrah*, Gandhi wrote about the aim of the *satyagrah* as to, "... place before the public the principle of truth and non-violence as far as possible and when we are sure that these principles have been grasped, we will again break the law civilly."¹⁵ Despite the explained philosophy of non-violence given by Gandhi, it was a great task to convey the exact nature which Gandhi wanted to be followed by the people. Gandhi admonished his followers in following words: " We have been throwing stones,we have obstructed tram ears by putting obstructs in the way. This is not *satyagrah*. We have demanded the release of about fifty men who had been arrested for the deeds of violence. But our duty is chiefly to get ourselves arrested.if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned."¹⁶

Despite the atrocities of the British Government, Gandhi decided to follow a plan of action which would compel the British Government to take notice of the demand of the Indian people. For uniting Hindus and Muslims, Gandhi supported the *Khilafat* movement. In a meeting of the movement he introduced the idea of 'non-cooperation' with the British Government in these words:

"Non-cooperation is the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when cooperation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religions sentiments. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Muslims mean a matter of life and death."¹⁷ Gandhi concluded the manifesto with a stern warning against the negative means that: "The cause is doomed if anger, hatred, ill-will, recklessness and finally violence are to reign supreme. My goal is friendship with world and I can combine the greatest love with the greatest opposition to wrong."¹⁸

Gandhi presented the resolution on non-cooperation in September, 1920 which was accepted by both, the *Khilafat* conference and the Indian

National Congress. The non-cooperation movement began and its progress depended upon the 'level of discipline and organisation achieved' and non-violence was to be its fundamental basis.¹⁹ Gandhi at one place had observed the need and importance of the non-cooperation movement in these words:

"I consider non-cooperation to be such a powerful and pure instrument, that if it is enforced in an earnest spirit. They would have learnt the value of discipline, self control, joint action, non-violence, organisation and everything else that goes to make a nation great and good, and not merely great."²⁰ To convince the masses for accepting a mean based on non-violent philosophy to attain major goals which would compel the British Imperial Government to consider their demands, was not an easy thing. Throwing light on the importance of non-violence Gandhi elaborated it in these words that: "observation and experiments shows that man yields to love more naturally than to violence. Since the practice of *ahimsa* requires as well as brings a radical change in man."²¹ Gandhi called it 'soul force'.

Gandhi untiringly and ceaselessly explained the non-violent nature of the non-cooperation movement through his speeches delivered on various occasions and through the editorials written by him in the newspapers. He defined the non-cooperation and presented its value in following words: "Non-cooperation in the sense used by me, must be non-violent and therefore neither punitive nor vindictive nor based on malice, ill-will or hatred."²² Gandhi emphasised that the movement of non-cooperation was nothing but an attempt to isolate the brute force of British from all the trappings under which it is hidden and to show that brute force by itself cannot for one single moment hold India.²³ Responding to the Government communiqué on non-cooperation, Gandhi's dignified reply was, "till.... clear repentance comes,... so far as I can read the national mind, non-violent non-cooperation will and must remain the creed of the nation."²⁴

The non-cooperation movement made considerable impact all over the nation. Thus Gandhi enhanced the objectives of the struggle. At the annual session of Congress at Nagpur, the congress under the leadership of Gandhi, accepted a new objective for the national struggle, 'the attainment of *swaraj* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means'.²⁵ The Congress decided a time frame for programme of action for non-cooperation movement. A meeting of All India Congress Committee held at Bezwada on March 31, 1921, laid down a definite programme of action to be completed before June 30, 1921.²⁶

The non-cooperation movement advanced in 1921 and the advancement was not only in the form of enthusiastic development of this movement but in the accompanying rising forms of mass struggle in all parts of the country.

Encouraged by the success of the non-cooperation movement which had deprived the British authorities of their sleep, Mahatma Gandhi took the momentous decision of taking the ongoing movement one step ahead by introducing mass civil disobedience. On February 1, 1922, Mahatma Gandhi addressed a letter to the viceroy which was published in the press on February 4, 1922, in which he announced his intention, failing certain concessions on the part of the Government, to resort to aggressive civil disobedience at Bardoli within seven day's time.²⁷

The whole programme, however, collapsed in a few days with the tragic incident of *chauri-chaura*. Scarcely had Mahatma Gandhi's rejoinder to the Government been despatched, when the newspapers conveyed the news of the tragedy of *chauri-chaura*, a village in Gorakhpur district of U.P., where a mob of 2,000 men, headed by several hundreds of Congress volunteers, after being fired upon by the police, set fire to the *thane*, burning alive twenty one policemen on the spot.²⁸

Gandhi was perturbed by the violence. He was greatly concerned about the indiscipline in the country and the mounting wave of violence in thought and words. Thus the Congress abandoned the movement on February 12, 1922. Gandhi was criticised on taking back the movement which was otherwise running successfully. On this, Gandhi had clarified his viewpoint in these words: "if the things had not suspended, we could have been leading not a non-violent struggle but essentially a violent struggle."²⁹

Gandhi realised that the people had not understood the philosophy of suffering and again emphasised the self control which the person practising non-violence needs. Non-violence is no way dependent upon the ability of the opponents. The success or failure in exercising non-violence is solely depended on the individual itself. Gandhi was a firm believer of non-violence. Gandhi adopted the non-violent mean to achieve the goal and was not ready to compromise on that even on the price of abandoning a movement which had disturbed the British Government. Gandhi advocated the means which was peaceful in manner yet effective.

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10

Cold War Politics And Stockholm Environment Treaty 1972 : A Historical Analysis

II

Dr. Subhash Balhara

Contd. from Vol. 1 No. 3

IV. Political Tensions at The Conference

Clearly, the substantive complexity of international politics in the 1970s arises from the fact that while older issues of national security and international military stability remain very much in existence, other concerns that were very peripheral or, for some issues, non-existent have become urgent. Urgency has followed partly from growing human welfare needs in a deteriorating world resource environment, partly from the entrance of the less developed countries into world politics and the persistence and ominousness of their demands, and partly from the twenty years' neglect from 1945 to 1965 when the world was preoccupied with the cold war and awed by the spectra of nuclear doom.⁴⁴ There were three positions in the American Discussion on cold war strategy. On one side, a school most effectively represented by Walter Lippmann was of opinion that United States should limit its commitments to the defense of areas direct importance to its own security. On the other hand, second group sought the military alliances with only anti-communist governments everywhere, regardless of whether the government were popular and stable or whether the people felt threatened by communist attack. In the middle, concept followed under presidents Truman and Kennedy was to accept the worldwide nature of the conflict with the communist powers, by giving military backing only to political viable governments that requested it against a genuine threat.⁴⁵

The United States and other Western European countries debated principle 21 of the Declaration with developing nations, which simply states:

“States have, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their

own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other states or of other areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.”⁴⁶

The root cause of this confrontation in conference was inherent in the suspicion among the imperialistic powers. This political involvement of America in South East Asia created strong resentment in China and Soviet Union.⁴⁷

Consequently the Chinese delegation confronted with United States during the Stockholm Conference. The leader of the Chinese delegation (Mr. Ke) called upon the conference leaders to strongly condemn the United States for their wanton bombings and shelling, use of chemical weapons, massacre of the people, destruction of human lives, annihilation of plants and animals and pollution of the environment and demanded that principle 21, a principle establishing a state’s sovereign right to exploit resources as they see fit, should be rewritten to include the following :

“In order to protect mankind and the Human Environment, it is imperative to firmly prohibit the use and thoroughly destroy the inhuman biological and chemical weapons which seriously pollute and damage the environment.⁴⁸ Because China was very anxious of U.S. hegemonic attitudes about the drafting of Human Environment Declaration. China’s inability to fully participate in earlier preparations, however, created tension between China and the USA during the adoption of the prepared Conference Declaration.⁴⁹ Delegates, from developing and developed countries alike, expressed concern and disappointment that the conference had not scheduled debate over issues such as population, pesticides, and fertilizers, development of super-sonic aircrafts, natural disasters, differences and difficulties of agricultural countries in comparison to urban countries, and the international exchange of scientific and technological information regarding to the environment and development. These issues included international conflicts, the suppression of human rights, apartheid, nuclear testing, and the proliferation of armaments. Delegates also made reference to the conflicts in Indo-China, the middle-east and South Africa.⁵⁰

V. Maurice Strong’s efforts to control the political damage

The Conference Secretariat faced political externality related to the East-West divide and its resulting cold war politics. As the process moved forward, national interests became more engaged and political sensitivities increased.⁵¹ In these circumstances, Maurice Strong had to work hard to maintain some sense of global unity in the conference and skillfully tried to ease the cold war tensions between the conflicting nations. He tried to forge

a compromise, "even by meeting with the East German Foreign Minister in Cuba, but to no avail."⁵²

Poland's unexpected attendance at the conference raised hopes that the Russians would also attend. But when Soviet representatives did not attend the opening ceremonies of the conference, Strong minimized the effect of the boycott by briefing Soviet representatives of the Conference events after the close of the meetings each day. He announced at the first plenary meeting of the Conference that he "hoped that the reasons for the absence from the conference of some countries which had played such an important role in the preparatory process – reasons which were not related to environmental issues – would soon be resolved, and that those countries would be actively involved in dealing with the tasks presented by the problems of the Human Environment."⁵³ Swedish Prime Minister, Alof Palme, suggested at the pre-conference dinner on June 4th, 1972, that East Germany "should be admitted [to the UNs] in the not too distant future."⁵⁴ The United States Secretary of State's William P. Rogers stated, "an environmental agreement signed by the United States and the Soviet Union on May 23, 1972 during President Nixon's visit to Moscow was an encouraging indication that the Soviet Union shared with America a belief in the importance of environmental control and that it was regrettable that the "Soviet Union and a number of its allies have apparently decided, for political reasons, not to join the conference."⁵⁵

The achievements of the first two years of discussion in the United Nations were of vital importance for subsequent efforts which led up to the Stockholm Conference in June 1972.⁵⁶ The early accomplishments gained their real significance when Maurice Strong became the Secretary-General of the Conference in September 1970 and visited more than 90 developing countries in 1971 to stimulate an active interest at their national levels in the preparations for the conference.⁵⁷ Maurice Strong in his concluding speech said, "By far the major part of the burden of environmental management falls, however upon national governments operating as sovereign national states. This may be more in accord with political reality than with environmental reality."⁵⁸

Conclusion

The outcome of the conference was the adoption of a declaration of principles concerning the global environment, an Action Plan composed of some 109 recommendations of specific activities to be undertaken by the governments and international agencies, and a resolution asking the General Assembly to establish a Governing Council for environmental programmes, a small secretariat and an Environment Fund financed by

voluntary contributions.⁵⁹ Although this conference laid the foundation of modern international environmental law and the Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment was unanimously adopted, albeit largely not binding, however, the conference failed to proclaim an explicit human right to environment. This document only shows the concern of the international community for environmental matters and, more importantly, set the agenda and framework for future discussions and initiatives.⁶⁰ In their preliminary report, a 27-nation committee emphasized their political priorities : “The very nature of environmental problems – that is to say, their intricate interdependence – is such as to require political choices.”⁶¹

America was facing many national and international political issues in 1972. Therefore, it considered the Stockholm Conference as an opportunity to establish United States leadership in the United Nations in this new endeavor of environmental organization because national and international political struggle, tensions, negotiations and war plagued the globe that year and yet were all inter-related as issues where America, led by Nixon administration, sought to lead the world as negotiator democracy builder and an economic and military super power.⁶²

There was a remarkable lack of divisiveness, once the conference began, on most issues under consideration because the Soviet Union and the Eastern block did not attend the conference on the issue of East Germany.⁶³

But 114 of the 132 member countries of the United Nations were there, and the sessions were distinguished by what the New York Times called, “ground well of unanimity.”⁶⁴ There were, however, some dissenting voices from the third world countries especially China, India and Brazil against the imperialistic political interference of America in Asia especially. Developing countries emphasized that their priority was development.

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consistently applied his overall formula : *'The Process is The Policy.'* He managed to deflect a challenge at the third session of the preparatory committee in Sept. 1971 when Brazil and U.K. requested a clarification of the competence of the Secretary General of the Conference with different motives. Brazil felt that too little had been done to satisfy the interests of the developing countries, while the UK was motivated by its restrictive attitude towards the entire process. Consequently Strong agreed to widen the scope of the foreseen consultations with governments on the Draft Action Plan.

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II

Epics Writings in Early Medieval India (c. 7th Century to 12th Century AD)

Inder Jeet Ranga

The earliest writings that have come down to us in Sanskrit, the Rig-Vedic hymns are in the form of poetry. The epic has been no exception and many scholars have tried to show the germs of the epic can be found in the Samvada hymns, the dialogue between Pururavas and Urvashi.¹ The oldest form of prose is also found in Sanskrit, Vedic literature the Brahmans Sanskrit rhetoricians also regard prose as one of the divisions of Kavya. According to them Kavya is divided into three parts- Gadya, Padua and Mishra.²

Writing of epics begins from the Adikavi Balmiki. We have two great epics the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The features of epics may be divided into two parts-essential and non-essential. The plot (Vastu), the hero (netri) and the sentiments (rasa) are essential characteristics to compose an epic. The non-essential characteristics of an epic are following. They require

1. It should begin with a benediction, salutation or statement of facts,
2. Chapters /sections should be in sarga,
3. The number of cantos should not less than eight and not exceed thirty and cantos may be small or large.
4. That there should be descriptions of sunrise, sunset, pools, garden, moon, night, marriage, sports, forest, darkness, hunting, etc.

Vishvanatha his Sahityadarpana mentions the characteristics of epic in detail.³

Works of Epics

Bharavi, writer of an epic named Kiratarjuniya, who was a friend of king Kubjavisnu vardhana (c 608) the founder of the eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi.⁴ Bharavi's name is mentioned along with great poet Kalidasa in the famous Aihole inscription (AD 634) of Pulakeshin II. This epic, in eighteen cantos, is based on the Mahabharata. Though Bharavi is not as great as

Kalidasa but he was outstanding poet, who left behind in a great mark in the field of literature. In Indian manuals of poetics, his name always remains among the greatest poets.

According to Indian tradition as a contemporary of Kalidasa, Kumaradasa whose epic Janakiharana is based on the Ramayana. It is believed that Kumaradasa was the king of Ceylon (517-26 AD) who might have been a friend of Kalidasa. Finally, he was probably earlier than Magha who seems to echo a verse of his.⁵ Rajshekhar mentions him as a poet of remarkable talent. This epic is in twenty-five cantos. The poet describes all the incidents of Rama's life in a sweet and simple life. Kumaradasa was not only a poet but also a great grammarian whose reputation made him immortal throughout the ages.

Bhatti, the author of Ravanvadha (The Slay of Ravana) or Bhatikavya, was a court poet of Shridharasena, king of Vallabhi in the seventh century A.D.. He is certainly earlier than Magha and was known to Bhamaha.⁶ He has been identified with Bhartrihari who died in 651AD by some commentators. This epic is based on story of Rama's life in twenty-two cantos. Indian always held Bhattikavya as a work of poetry in high estimation and include in among their classical poetical works, and infect it fully deserve the name of a 'Mahakavya'.⁷ On the same lines, not much later Bhatti, Bhauma or Bhaumika or Bhima, a Kashmirian poet of considerable merit, composed the Ravanarjuniya or Arjunaravaniya. This poem narrates the story of Arjuna Kartavirya and Ravana is twenty-seven cantos.

Magha, son of Dattakasavasraya, grandson of Suprabhadeva, was a meritorious poet, perhaps after Bharavi. Anandavardhana, the great rhetorician (c 850 AD) mentions him. Perhaps Suprabhadeva grandfather of Magha, was a minister of a king whose name was Varamlata or Varmalakhya etc. We have an inscription of one king Varmalata of 625 AD. So that Magha may be placed in the latter half of the seventh century AD.⁸ Magha wrote the Shishupalavadha, or "Death of Shishupal" a work of great literary value in twenty cantos based on a legend of the Mahabharata. Magha imitates Bharavi. So he has been compared with Bharavi. Magha's theme is borrowed like that of Bharavi from the Mahabharata, but while Bharavi magnifies Shiv, Magha does Vishnu⁹. In the manuals of poetics, this epic is quoted very frequently and the Indian scholar of poetics held him in high esteem.

Shivasvamin, a Kashmirian Buddhist, during the reign of king Avantivarmana of Kashmir in the ninth century AD, has given us an epic named Kapphana-bhyudaya in twenty cantos. This is based on a tale in the Avadana-shataka. . He was the prodigious author of seven mahakavyas, several plays, songs and eleven hundred thousand hymns on Siva.¹⁰

Kashmirian poet named Rajanaka Ratnakara, son of Amritabhanu whose epic *Haravijaya* or *Victory of Shiva*, in fifty cantos, is based on the slaying of the demon *Andhaka* by *Shiva*. *Ratnakara* tell us that he wrote *Harvijaya* under the patronage of Prince *Chippade Jayapida* and we learn from *Kalhana* that he was prominent under *Avantivarmana*, who began his reign in 855 AD¹¹ another work of *Ratnakara* is *Vakroktipanchshika* and *Dhvanigathapanjika*.

Another Kashmirian *Abhinanda*, son of *Jay anta Bhatta*, the logician who wrote *Kadambari-kathasara* in the ninth century AD. It describes in eight cantos the story of *Bana's Kadambari*. He refers to *Rajashekhara* as a contemporary. In Bengal at that time under the patronage of *Pala King* probably *Dharmapala*, is the author of *Ramacharita* also named *Abhinanda* son of *Shatananda*. This long epic is in thirty-six cantos.

Kashmir in the eleventh century AD produced a writer named *Kshemendra*. He wrote two great epics, *Ramayanamanjari* and *Bharatamanjari*. But *Dasaavtar-charitram*, which is not strictly a *Mahakavya* nor a religious poem, describe the ten incarnations of *Vishnu*. *Kshemendra* surnamed *Vyasadasa*, was the son of *Prakashendra*. His literary activities extended also to the period of *Kalasha*, son and successor of *Ananta*.¹²

Kashmir again produced an interesting writer named *Mankha*. He was a pupil of *Ruyyaka* of the twelfth century AD. He wrote *Shrikanthacharita* in twenty five cantos, based on the tale of the destruction of the demon *Tripura* by *Shiv*. This epic possessing some historical interest as an assembly of learned men, held under the patronage of the poet's brother *Alankara*, a minister of *Jayasimha* of Kashmir (1127-1150 AD) this epic is written in a highly ornate style.

An interesting and characteristic figure of the latest stage of classical *kavya* is *Shriharsha's Naisadha-charita* or *Naisadhiya-charita* is twenty-two long cantos. He probably flourished under *Jayachandra* and *Vijayachandra* of *Kanauji* in the latter half of the twelfth century AD. Because *Jayachandra* was defeated by *Muhammad Ghauri* in 1194 A.D.¹³

The story of *Nala* and *Damyanti* is the central theme of this *Kavya*. This work is counted as the fifth *panch-mahakavya*.¹⁴ This is the outstanding work of this period. According to Indian tradition, *Shriharsha's* name is placed with *Kalidasa*, *Bharavi* and *Magha*. He is also author of other works including the *Khandana-Khandakhadya*. He was a great scholar of different systems of Indian philosophy and possessed a unique command over grammar, rhetoric and lexicon.

Some Jain writers have written some *Mahakavya*. They describe the Jain legends in poetic garb, as also for historical and biographical accounts.

Among the Jain epics may be mentioned the Harivanshapurana, written by the Digambara Jain Jinasena, disciple of Virasena of the eight century AD. This epic is in sixty-six cantos, describing the story of the Mahabharata in a Jinistic setting. It contains very valueable information of historical importance. It mentions the names of the contemporary rulers of the period (composed in 783 AD).¹⁵

Jinasena, disciple of Kirtisena, has given us Parshvabhyudaya, probably in the ninth century AD. He has incorporated the entire text of Kalidasa's Meghduta while relating the story of Pashravnatha. Padamapurana is written by Ravisena in 678 AD, containing a glorification of the first Tirthankara Rishabh. Yashodharacharita of Kanakasena Vadiraja, a resident of Dravida country in the last of the tenth century AD or first quarter of the eleventh century AD. This epic is in four cantos, describing the legend of king Yashodhara. Another work of the same name written by Manikya Suri belongs probably to the eleventh century. It represents the work of a Svetambara Jain of Gujrat, as opposed to the Digambara version of Vadiraja, but both are independent.¹⁶

Another Tamil Jain Odayadeva Vadibhasimha (eleventh century AD) composed the Kshtra-chudamani Viranandin wrote the Chabdraprabhacharita in 978 AD. Asaga wrote the Vardhamana-charita or the Mahavira-charita or the Sanmitra-charita in the tenth century AD. This is the long epic in eighteen cantos. Lolimbaraja (c 1100 AD) wrote his Harivilasa in five cantos. He describes the Krishna legend.

Superior in merit and extent is the work of Hema Chandra (1088-1172) named Trishashti-Shalakapurusa-charita, describes in ten cantos, handles the lives of the sixty three best men of Jain faith, the twenty four Jinas, twelve Chakravartins, nine Vasudevas, nine Baladevas and nine Visnudvisas.¹⁷ This epic is long, in simple language. Hemachandra is known as the Kalikalarvajna (the know-all of the Kaliyuga).¹⁸ Harichandra of unknown date, author of the Dharmasharmabhyudaya, in twenty-one cantos devoting the life of Dharamanatha, the fifteen Jain Tirthankara. Neminirvana is an epic in fifteen cantos by the writer on poetics Vagbhatta probably in the twelfth century AD. This epic is deals with Neminatha's life.

A large number of Sanskrit epics were written in Early Medieval India (c.7th century to 12th century AD). Bharavi was an outstanding scholar, who left behind a great mark on the field of literature. Bhatti's work inspired and served as a torch bearer of others including Magha. Magha, was a great scholar of that time who had complete control and mastery over the language. Many Kashmirian scholars Shivasmin, Rajanaka Ratnakar, Abhinanda, Kshemendra and Mankha etc played a very important role to

construct the history of India by their writings. Jain Scholars wrote some epics. Hemachandra was the very important among them as historical point of view. Some epics were written in the praise of their patronage. These are the great sources to construct the history of India.

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12

Christian Culture in Odisha: A Study on Some Aspects

Dr. Sadananda Nayak

Religion is a strong force for social unity of man.¹ Many religious ceremonies and social customs have taken common shape all over India.² India is regarded as the land of varied caste, creed, colour, religion and culture in general and Odisha in particular. D.D. Kosambi has rightly attributed that Indian society developed mostly by religious transformations.³ Religion and culture cannot be separated in a land, which claims to celebrate thirteen festivals in twelve months.⁴ Odisha has a unique distinction of acting as a confluence of many diverse faiths like Brahmanism, Jainism, Vaishnavism, Islam, Christianity and Nath Dharma.⁵

All cultures are made up of social institutions which represent cultural values, norms and sanctions built around some major human needs.⁶ Odisha is healthy with her cultural life of people of different religion. Odisha was occupied by the British in 1803⁷ this provided support and inspiration to the missionaries to come to Odisha on a mission, For the propagation of Christianity, Missionaries reached Cuttack on 12th February 1822.⁸ The end of this journey marked the beginning of the Odisha mission.⁹ The missionaries established mission stations in different parts of Odisha during the 19th century. Stations were Bal sore(1827), Berhampur(1837), Sambalpur(1836), Ganjam(1840), Pipli(1849), Padripali, Russelkunda(1861), Khandstan, Loisingha(1893), Telanpali(1897) and Ashka(1899).¹⁰

On the end of 20th century, it is seen that every nook and corner of Odisha there are mission stations. These were located at Peyton Sahi, Makarbag, Tulisipur, Stewart Patna, Sidheswar Sahi and Kesharpur.¹¹ When the inmates (boys & girls) of the missionary orphanages reached their youth and were ready to like independently the necessity arose to rehabilitate them. With this intention these villages were established.¹² . Four such colonies were christianpoor, Khundittar, Bhogerpoor and Choga.¹³ In the tributary Mahal of Athagarh, three more Christian villages like Parbatia, Kaptikiri and Arakhatanagar also grew up.¹⁴ A missionaries sub-station was opened at Jajpur which was subsequently closed and re-opened.¹⁵ Christian villages

were established in different places like Anugul, Puri, Banapur, Taloda, Bal sore, Santipur, Berhampur, Ganjam, Parlakhumundi, Sambalpur, Koraput, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj.¹⁶

The Christian society is developed in this Christian villages¹⁷ and in these villages division in the name of caste was not observed. The evils of a caste-ridden society familiar to Hindus was absent in these dwellings.¹⁸ Christian villages became the new cultural training centers of the Christian population in Odisha. The Lutheran, Roman Catholics, Protestants and Baptist propagated Gospel deep into the remote corners of Odisha. The Christian people of Odisha bounded within the new social order known as Christianity.¹⁹ Family is the primary basic institution of Christian society like other societies of mankind. The progress of Christianity can be measured by the state of families and their standard of living,²⁰ and these families were running with the understanding of husband and wife.

Marriage: Marriage, which was thus considered as the foundation of the family and of a stable social order, was held in great esteem by the Church.²¹ Christian marriage was often described as a great social institution. For an example of this conflict we need not look further than divorce problems.²²

The Christians of Odisha are different denominations of Roman Catholic, Baptist, protestant, Lutheran particularly in large scale. Christianity says that, "if the husband is the head, the wife is the heart and as he occupies the chief place in governing affairs of the family, so she occupies the chief place in love".²³ Christians have never, in the whole history of the church, been allowed to have more than one wife at a time. The death of one of the partners brings to an end to marriage bond and obligation. The surviving party is allowed to remarry.²⁴ Since it signifies and communicates grace, marriage between baptized persons is true sacrament of the new covenant.²⁵ Negotiation is still the dominant form of marriage. In negotiation marriage sometimes the consent of the boy and girl is ignored but this is prime necessity among the Christian of all denominations in Odisha.²⁶

After the fully consent of both girl's and boy's along with both families, a date is fixed for negotiation. After getting consent, pastor prepare note and reads it before the members. In that meeting, date of marriage also is fixed;²⁷ before hitherto get any complain against their marriage on e weeks of marriage, pastor or priest declare the names before the villagers. Names of bride and groom declared on three consecutive Sundays.²⁸ The consent of both bride groom and bride is essential for the validity of Christian marriage. At times, the marriage proposal and arrangements are made by the parents, otherwise the marriage is invalid.²⁹

A marriage is fittingly celebrated in a church, but in accordance with local customs. The Holy mass or prayer begins with entrance procession and the penitential rite. After the Gospel, the pastor or the priest gives a homily drawn from the sacred texts.³⁰In his homily the pastor or priest reminds the bridegroom and the bride of the holiness of the sacrament. Thus use of any form of contraception, in vitro fertilization or birth control besides natural family planning is a grave offense against the sanctity of marriage and ultimately against God.³¹

In the church, pastor or priest requests to all to stand up, including the bride and bridegroom, the priest addresses them. The groom ties “Mangle Sutra” to the bride, after the promise. Wedding rings are also exchanged as the signs of marriage later. Sindur or vermilion also put on the forehead of bride by the groom and on the neck of the groom by the bride; it is seen in liberal Christian marriage in Odisha. After the vows the priest or the pastor declares them as the husband and the wife to the church and gives benediction.

Divorce is strictly prohibited among the Christians. Among the Christians of all denominations in Odisha do not prefer divorce. And whoever divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery against her, and if she divorces her husband and marries another she commits adultery.³² Widow Remarriage is practiced among the Christians of all denomination in Odisha but it is very rare. Family planning is discouraged by the section of missionaries. Voluntary stoppage of birth is considered a sin which goes against the principles of Christianity.³³ In Odisha, among the Christian of all denominations dowry is unknown. While interview was taken, Mr. M.B. Chauhan, pastor, CNI (Church of North India) on Christian marriage and its related matters, he comprehensively viewed that there is no dowry system prevailing in Christianity.³⁴

Christians of various denominations of Odisha observe birth pollution in general three days but some places it is seen third days to 11 days.³⁵ Parents of baby with consult of pastor or father fix the day and date of name giving ceremony. Most of the Christians bear different names by single person.³⁶ In Christianity the sacrament of admission to the church symbolized by the pouring or sprinkling of holy water on the head or by immersion of water. The action takes place according to the rituals. Besides Roman Catholics, other Christians follow equal method to baptize the believers. With the gathering of Christians, pastors immersing in the water says: “I baptize you in the name of the father, and of the son and of the Holy Spirit”.³⁷

Christians practice funeral ceremony according to certain religious rites and rituals. First of all, all the relatives of the dead persons after having

informed assembled in the house. The pastor begins with some quotation from the Bible along with some sad song from the text. After the prayer pastor or father consoles everyone and asks to prepare the coffin box on which the dead is to be carried to the church or to the graveyard... Then the dead body is put into the coffin and is carried towards the church... Again they assembled in the family of the dead for pray for the dead and consolation for their family.³⁸

Whatever may be the goal of the missionaries while coming to Odisha but in due course of time they significantly contributed to the rise of special class in society as Christians where marriage is given due respect and to no divorce system in Christianity. The emergence of a new social order and culture is often attributed to the establishment of Churches and spread of Christian culture in Odisha. Obviously the new adopted culture of the Christians is more distinctly identified as the Church culture or Christian culture.

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13

Some New evidences of Neolithic Culture around Kakharua Valley in North-Central Orissa

Rajendra Dehuri

Introduction

In the process of cultural evolution, the Neolithic stage is characterized by the emergence of incipient food production and sedentary way of life. Albeit, the work on Orissa Neolithic culture after the attention was drawn by Paramananda Acharya in the year 1923-24 with the occurrence of Celt in his native village Baidipur in the Mayurbhanja district (Acharya 1923-24)¹. Subsequently R.D. Banarji (1930)² and E.C. Workman Jar (1949)³ reported some more implements from the region. A small scale excavation at Kuchai and recognize various pattern? of Neolithic by Thapar (1965)⁴ high light the material culture and subsistence economy. For the first time R.N. Dash (1987)⁵ exclusively dealt with Neolithic culture and typo-technological analysis. In intensive exploration by P.K. Behera (1992)⁶ elaborate the Neolithic workshop and pattern of exchange, supply of prehistoric artifacts in respect to trade in the area. In recent years reveals neo-chalcolithic sites in Golbai by Sinha (1993)⁷ and Gopalpur by Ker(1995-96)⁸ explain the importance of coastal plain of Orissa.

With this above concept of Neolithic in Orissa, the present attempt is made here to discuss Neolithic culture of the Kakharua valley which cover in the district of Keonjhar and Angul in Orissa primarily on the basis of author survey during the year 2001- 2004. Hence, the major objective is to locate Neolithic culture evidences and co-relate with the central Orissa and North Orissa, due to centrally location of the region. It is close to our area and is a tributary to the Mankara area of study and its Geomorphology (2001 Base, Das, Mahanta-264).⁹ Geologically the area is characterized by axial high land flanked by intermediate uplands¹⁰. The Brahmani and Baitarani uplands developed over granites and granitic gneiss. The general height of this upland varies between 300-400 MSL. The author has undertaken an extensive archaeological exploration around the Kakharua valley. There are two sections of the river Kakharua has also been studied to understand the nature of sites.

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To locate the site, Topographic map help in respect to determine the geological phenomena of the region through which one could reach the site,. The random surveys of this region locate and collected some artifacts for analytical study. There are 19 sites representing Neolithic in nature and 269 specimens have been collected. These Neolithic sites are divided into four categories, such as the sites of foot hill, the site of piedmont area, the site of river bank area and the site of foothill cum river bank area.

Table 1
Site wise distribution of Neolithic artifacts

Name of the Neolithic implements.														
Sl. No	Name of the site	Axe	Adze	Chisel	Shoulder Axe	Bar Celt	Unfinished Axe	Broken Axe	N. Blank	N. Flake	Ring Stone	Dimple mark stone	Total	%
1	Atanaka Reserve forest (ARF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3	1.11
2	Baisnavadar (BND)	20	6	1	-	-	-	5	-	22	2	-	56	20.81
3	Bisriguda (BSG)	19	6	-	-	-	-	9	2	25	-	-	61	22.67
4	Bijagotha Hatapada (BHP)	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	55	-	-	61	22.67
5	Bankadar (BKD)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	0.74
6	Gopapur mundasahi (GMS)	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	11	-	-	13	4.83
7	Jalanda Hatapada (JHP)	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	1.85
8	Jalanda Munda Sahi (JMS)	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.74
9	Khalinala (KLN)	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	1.11
10	kadamdar (KDD)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.37
11	Karadapal-I (KDP-I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.37
12	Kamparkala (KPK)	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	1.48
13	Kakharua protection forest (KPF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	34	-	-	36	13.38
14	Rugudidiha (RGD)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	6	2.23
15	Rajamunda (RMD)	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1.11
16	Rado diha (RDH)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.37

17	Sorbeda Dautasala (SBD)	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	4	1.48
18	Sorbeda kudur (SBK)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.74
19	Tentulimula Gaiguthani (TMG)	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.85
TOTAL		53	16	12	1	2	2	18	6	153	4	2	269	
PERCENTAGE		19.7	5.94	4.46	0.37	0.7	0.74	6.69	2.23	56.87	1.48	0.74	99.96	

The above table indicates the site wise distribution of Neolithic artifacts in which axe, adze, broken axe chisel and Neolithic flakes are occur in high frequency. The site Baisnavadar, Bisriguda, and Bijagotha Hatapada has been collected a large amount of Neolithic flakes along with axe, adze and chisel. These artifacts are basically flaked and chipped variety.

It is also interesting aspect that the high frequency occurrence of Neolithic flake has associated with factory site. This is evident from the Bijagotha hatapada site from which a large number of Neolithic flakes and chips have been exposed in natural erosion rain gully. The other important feature of Khakharua valley Neolithic is the scanty representation of the ring stone, and reported ring stone from Baisnavadar site are broken and respectively small in nature.

Table 2

Eco-zone and Component wise distribution of Neolithic of Kakharua Valley

Artefacts	Typology	Eco zone wise distribution				Total	
		Foot hill	Piedmont	River bank	River bank cum foot hill	No	Percentage
Celt Component	Axe	3	4	46	-	53	20.15%
	Adze	1	1	14	-	16	6.08%
	Chisel	2	-	4	6	12	4.57%
	Chisel	2	-	1	-	1	0.38%
	Shoulder Axe	-	-	1	-	1	0.38%
	Bar Celt	-	2	-	-	2	0.76%
	Unfinished / Intermediate Axe	-	-	2	-	2	0.76%
	Broken Axe	-	4	14	-	18	6.85%
	N. blank	3	-	3	-	6	2.28%
	N. flake	34	6	113	-	153	58.17%
Total		43	17	197	6	263	100.00%
Pebble component	Ring stone	-	2	2	-	4	66.67%
	Dimple-mark Hammer stone	-	-	2	-	2	33.33%
Total No			2	4		6	100.00%

The above table show that the Eco-zone wise distribution of lithic implements of the Kakharua valley survey. These division or category are represent on the basis of collection i.e. implement collected from foot hill are or site designated as foot hill site implements collected from river bank site treated as river bank site etc.

Out of 661 (including microlithic tool) lithic implements, 269 are belonging to Neolithic period and Neolithic flake occur in high frequency, and due to it concentration on a small area with primary aspect the sites identified as manufacturing unit. Next to the Neolithic flakes the axe is dominant one. Another interesting aspect of these eco-zonal distribution find with that the river bank site have been collected large number of tools where as the river bank cum foot hill site has occurred very less amount tools.

Table 3
Raw Material Distribution of Neolithic

No	Tool type	Dolorite	Diorite	Sand stone	Iron ore	Quartzite	Sandy lime stone?	Total
1	Axe	45	7	-	-	-	1	53
2	Adze	16	-	-	-	-	-	16
3	Chisel	11	1	-	-	-	-	12
4	Broken Axe	17	1	-	-	-	-	18
5	Shoulder Axe	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
6	N. Blank	6	-	-	-	-	-	6
7	N. flake	153	-	-	-	-	-	153
8	Ring stone	-	-	2	1	1	-	4
9	Dimple mark Hammer stone	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
10	Unfinished Axe	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
	Total	253 (94.05%)	9 (3.34%)	2 (0.74%)	1 (0.37%)	3 (1.11%)	1 (0.37%)	269 (99.98%)

The above table describe about the raw material distribution of Neolithic tool types. The total collection of 269 artifacts, of which 253 are of dolerite variety, 9 specimens of diorite, 2 specimens of sand stone, 1 no. specimen of iron ore, 3 Nos. specimen of quartzite and 1 no. specimen of sandy lime stone type. The explorations on Kakharua valley have revealed evidences of manufacturing activities. The material is close attached with Bajpur¹¹, Telkoi¹², Bonaigarh¹³ cultural assemblages because of the sites are fall in the same region. There is very limited excavation in this region, so it is difficult to determine the age belongs to and its association. However the Barudih cultural complex dated around 1100 BC (Agrawal 1984)¹⁴ and the metal age site Sankerjang, which is close to Kakharua valley dated to early 1st millennium BC.¹⁵

The overall collection of paleo-artifacts and studies of the assemblage in the valley high lights the settlement and the large scale of tool manufacturing activities on the wide range of area could have approach the workshop and trade network. The metric analysis reveals that a number of Celt component tool represent triangular in size, chipped body without any grinding and polishing with sharp cutting edge.

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14

Land Revenue System of Kangra under Sikh Rule

Vinay Sharma

Sikh Revenue System in Kangra

With the establishment of the Sikh rule in the Punjab, the older and firmly established Mughal system had continued to persist in essence.¹ The areas that Ranjit Singh had conquered were extensive.² During this period the mountain chiefs owed allegiance to Ranjit Singh. However, they still remained outside the direct rule of the Lahore government. Rajput rulers formed the ruling class of this area and followed by the landowning Thakurs.³ The Girths and Kanet agriculturists, the pastoral Gaddis and Gujars, the Khatri and Bania traders, the professional Brahmans and several categories of artisans and craftsmen, formed the large part of the hill population.⁴

It has been argued that the average *ta'alluqa* or *pargana* under Sikh rule was much smaller in size than an average *pargana* that had existed under the Mughals.⁵ The *tappa* was a sub-division of the *pargana* or *ta'alluqa*. Indu Banga mention that according to Ahmad Shah (*Tarikh*) also refers to some *tappa* headquarters in the Kangra hills and also across the river Sutlej.⁶ Under the Sikhs the *pargana* was divided into *tappas*, and in each *tappa* a *chaudhari* was appointed.⁷ Even with regard to the revenue functionaries we find a clear division of functions. The official incharge of a province was usually the *nazim*. For the Kangra area, Desa Singh Majithia and his son Lena Singh acted as *nazims* for a long period of more than thirty years. The most important duty of the *nazim* was to maintain law and order and regularly remit revenue installments to the central royal treasury.⁸ Several officials called *kardars* assisted the *nazim*. *Kardars* were appointed by the ruler and had no fixed tenure.⁹ No *kardar* was permitted to remain posted in one place for a very long time. The *qanungo* was an official who was the best informed about the area of cultivation, the local revenue rates and revenue receipts. He was also familiar with the practices of the *ta'alluqa* or the *pargana*. Under the Mughals, the *qanungo* was usually paid two per cent of the revenue collected from the area under his jurisdiction. Under Sikh rule, however, he was either allowed a percentage of the collections or paid cash at Rs.30 a month.¹⁰

Indu Banga has argued that of all the methods of assessment *batai* or crop-sharing was the most prevalent.¹¹ On the other hand, *kankut*, (appraising the standing crop) was only marginally less popular than *batai*. In some places it was even more prominent. She has, however, pointed out that even in *batai* and *kankut* areas, *zabt* was the method of the assessment. This involved, as was the case in Mughals times, fixed cash rates for unit area of crops on the basis of periodic measurement.¹² Importantly, there was considerable difference in the rates of assessment in different regions of the Sikh kingdom. The revenue rate under *batai* and *kankut* varied from one-third to one-half of the produce for the unirrigated and from one-fourth to one-sixth of the produce for irrigated areas in most of the former Mughal *suba* of Lahore.¹³ A fixed share of the produce was taken from the cultivators by the Sikhs. Sometimes the revenues of the villages and even of larger tracts were given out by the government for fixed amounts to revenue farmers. In such cases the revenue farmers and also those who held large *jagirs* were expected to negotiate directly with the cultivators.¹⁴ This custom of leasing out entire village or several villages was quite common under Sikh rule. In the Jalandhar Doab that adjoined Kangra the unit of assessment was usually the village.¹⁵ Considering that animal husbandry was an important source of income for farmers, the tax on pasture lands was an important source of revenue for the state. Grazing tax, locally known as *tirmi* was collected both in the plains as well as the hills.¹⁶ Measured in unit area, the income from pastures was much smaller than the income obtained from cultivated land. Despite this, however, the amount of grazing tax collected from different areas was quite considerable. An example, through from outside our area of study, illustrates the case quite well. The nomadic pastoral tribes grazing their animals on the banks of the Chenab, 'paid Rs. 50,000 a year as *tirmi* on 20,000 buffaloes, 10,000 cows, 10,000 sheep and 4,000 camels.'¹⁷

Apart from revenue or taxes that the Sikhs collected, there was some land that was exempted from taxation. The terms used for religious or *dharmarth* grants in the order of the Sikh rulers were *mu'af* and *waguzar* that was, exempt from the payment of revenues. It may be relevant to mention that the land thus granted was usually denoted in *ghumaons* and *kanals*.¹⁸

We may also mention that an important contribution was made by Diwan Sawan Mal of the Lahore administration. He facilitated the sinking and repair of wells by providing favorable leases. The land irrigated by a well was taxed a fixed cash rate per *bigha*. The land was measured at harvest time and the tax was collected when the crop ripened. In a keeping with earlier practice, new cultivated land was taxed at a low rate. He further noted that the appropriations of this system had convinced the British to follow it in one way or another.¹⁹

At the time that the area was ceded to the British, Lena Singh Majithia was the Sikh *nazim*. Since the *nazim* did not reside permanently in the area he appointed his agents in important places and entrusted them with its management. The *nazim*, himself, only made one annual visit from Majithia to check the accounts and address pending administrative issues. Under the *nazim* two subordinate *sardars* held office and they were more in the nature of his personal followers rather than state officials. One of these subordinates was deputed in his place whenever the *nazim* was unable to come himself.²⁰ The collection of revenue, disbursement of salaries, administrative expenses and other matters were all carried out under the authority of the *nazim*. Unlike a large number of administrators of that period, we learn from Barnes, report that Lena Singh had made a favourable impression on the people he governed. Barnes writes, 'He was a mild and lenient governor, his periodical visits were not made the pretence for oppressing and plundering the people, he maintained a friendly and generous intercourse with the deposed hill chiefs, and contributed by his conciliatory manners to alleviate their fallen position.' Barnes further says that, 'at the same time he is held in favourable recollection by the peasantry.'²¹

At the next administrative level, every *pargana* was under the charge of a *kardar*. According to Barnes the *kardars* were appointed by the *nazim*. These officials do not seem to have been paid a fixed salary. The *kardar* was expected to collect the land revenue, to meet all the establishment cost and then deposit the surplus balance into the *nazim*'s treasury at the end of year. As compensation for his efforts the *kardar* received a variable personal salary ranging from Rs.700 to Rs.1,000 a year from the state. Each *kardar* was usually assisted by a writer or assistant and twenty or thirty sepoys. His primary responsibilities were to maintain peace and security in his area and to collect the revenue.²² The latter duty was apparently the most important. Because of the immense powers they exercised, the *kardars* were often seen as inconsiderate and oppressive.²³ Barnes, while summarizing the functions of the *kardar* writes that, 'his daily routine of duty was to provide for the proper cultivation of the land, to encourage the flagging husbandman and to replace if possible, the deserter. His energies were entirely directed towards extending the agricultural resources of the district, and the problem of his life was to maintain cultivation at the highest possible level, and at the same time to keep the cultivator at the lowest point of depression.'²⁴ In keeping with the traditional role of the state, even the Sikh rulers encouraged cultivation by providing *takavi* loans to the peasantry.²⁵ Barnes observed that in the fertile and well-irrigated area of Kangra, the revenue had always been collected in kind. He suggests that it was because of the certainty of the agricultural production that the government chose to levy the tax in kind instead to cash. It was for

that reason that a fixed quantity of the produce was collected from the peasants at each harvest even in the long period preceding Sikh rule.²⁶ The Sikh, therefore, did not subvert this system.

Apart from the tax levied directly on the direct agricultural produce, there were several other cesses that went by the name of *banwaziri*. These were in the nature of forest levies. Under the local rulers the *banwaziri* was collected by a different set of officials. The Sikh government however, farmed out the task of *banwaziri* collection of the *pargana* or of many *taluqas* to a revenue farmer. This revenue farmer was often the *kardar* himself. *Banwaziri* consisted of taxes paid by shopkeepers or artisans, who lived on the local rulers' land and got timber and firewood from the forests. They grazed their cows and goats on his waste. Theoretically, therefore, the Raja's right to demand such taxes was based more upon his position as the landowner rather than as head of the state.²⁷

Conclusion

Thus, we see that the Sikh administration, by and large, built their revenue system on the foundations of the system that had existed earlier. It seems, however, that they attempted to introduce a greater element of cash taxation wherever possible, as it was easier to carry out cash from the area. One of the remarkable aspects of the Sikh revenue administration was that it was able to penetrate even to the relatively remote regions of the mountains. It is also quite likely that as far as the ordinary hill peasant was concerned the revenue demand was not strikingly higher than the amount that was earlier extracted by the local ruler in the form of produce, cash and *beggars*. For the hill rulers, however, the Sikh conquest meant that they now had less surplus available with them apart from the fact that they were now subjected to the political control of the Lahore government.

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4. *Ibid*; p.2.
5. *Ibid*; p.68.
6. *Ibid*; p.69. Irfan Habib does not mention *tappa* as a fiscal unit in the Mughal time. But this word is used in a *farman* of Jahangir.

7. Sucha Singh Gill, 'Revenue Administration of the Sikhs', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 15, No-33 (Aug.16,1980), p.1393.
 8. Indu Banga, *op.cit.*, pp.71-72. According to the Lawrence, the *nazim* was required to punctually send the revenue collected from the territory under his charge.
 9. *Ibid*; p. 76. Baden Powell tells us in his second volume that, when the Sikh government was strong the *Khalisa* territory was portioned out in to large districts with governors (called *nazim*) over each; and smaller divisions of territory-usually one or more of the old '*taluqas*'- a *Kardar* or district officer was appointed, with minor officials (*chaudhari*) over '*tappa*' or groups of villages, under him.
 10. *Ibid*; p.82.
 11. *Ibid*; p.88. *Batai* was prevalent in most of the Jalandhar Doab and the region across the Sutlej.
 12. *Ibid*; pp.89-90.
 13. *Ibid*; p.91.
 14. J.M.Douie, *The Punjab Settlement Manual*, (4th ed.), Punjab Govt. Chandigarh, 1930, p.20.
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 16. *Ibid*; p.106. Although *gao-shumari* or census of the cattle and *kah-charai* or grazing tax, were both known in the Mughal time, it was Swan Mal under Ranjit Singh, who developed *tirni* as an important source of income to the state. The spontaneous jungle products in the Kangra hills, such as grass, herbs and trees, were treated as a distinct source of income and were grouped under the name of '*banwaziri*' which as the same implies, was the control exercised by the state directly or by the agency of farmers over the wastes and forests of the district.
 17. *Ibid*; pp.106-107.
 18. *Ibid*; pp.148-52. The Mughal documents, the unit of area generally mentioned in *bigha*, which consists of 2 *kanals*. A *ghumaon* consisted of 4 *bighas*.
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 24. G.C.Barnes, *op.cit.*, p. 50.
 25. Inderjeet Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.17.
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15

Tipu Sultan's Embassy to France*Dr. S. Mujahid Khan*

"I fear, my friend, that Tipu's memory will live long after the world has ceased to remember you and me." ... Duke of Wellington.

Eighteenth century studies assume significance in the context of the current debate on the quantitative accretion of capitalist characteristics in Indian feudal society in the immediate pre-colonial period. In this regard, the conditions in Mysore and for that matter, in South India during the days of Haider and Tipu have to be examined afresh from the standpoints of social and economic history. This paper is an attempt to delineate further avenues of research on the basis of evidence offered by French sources relating to an embassy sent by Tipu to Paris.

The sole entry for the year 1788 among "the great moment in the palace of Versailles" is "audience to the ambassadors of Tipu Sahib."¹ Thomas Jefferson who was the U.S. ambassador in Paris from August 1784 to September 1789 reported that the pomp was unusual and the presence numerous at Versailles for the occasion.² Contemporary French artists shared the excitement in Paris that made Tipu's ambassadors the talk of the town and produced canvases which challenge the disparaging remarks about the embassy made by Bowring.³ In the cabinet Des Estampes of the Bibliotheque National in Paris is found a contemporary engraving depicting a section of the hall of mirrors at Versailles, where the ambassadors were received by Louis XVI. An artist at the manufacture Royale de Sèvres has painted an impressive canvas with the three ambassadors in the St. Cloud Gardens attracting large Parisian crowds. Tipu's embassy had been depicted on Porcelain vases which are found preserved in the Museum Carnavalet in Paris.⁴ Madame Vigil Lebrun who was Marie Antoinette's court painter was commanded to paint portraits of 'Dervish Khan' and 'Akbar Ally Khan' the latter with his son. Both portraits were shown at the Salon of 1789 where Houdon's bust of Jefferson was first exhibited.⁵

Part of the significance of the embassy lies in the fact that, it stayed in different parts of France during the formative months of the French Revolution. Documents relating to it which are mostly found in the

Archives Nationales in Paris throw path finding light to studies that seek to compare and contrast 18th century south Indian economic levels and technological skills. The Embassy set sail for Pondicherry on 21st July 1787 in a French Royal Ship named 'L Aurora' captained by Pierre Monneron and landed at the southern French port of Toulon on 9th June 1788 after a voyage of ten months and nineteen days.⁶ In a letter written to Governor Cossigny at Pondicherry on 13th December 1786. Tipu had named three ambassadors and earmarked 400 retainers to accompany them but the French at Pondicherry knew that their resources would be sorely stretched in the attempt to ship such a large contingent of Indian to France. They succeeded in restricting the retinue of forty three.⁷ Three of whom unfortunately never reached France having taken fatally ill with scurvy enroot.⁸

The names, ranks and duties of each member of the retinue have been listed in a letter dated 5-08-1788 by De Lau nay, who was one of the secretaries of Louis XVI at the time.⁹ These duties suffice to indicate that the retinue included three Christians and at least five Hindus. The Christians were Cesar, Halle and Agar all of whom functioned as interpreters having Indo-Portuguese background, Pierre Monneron, the captain of "L Aurora" laid down detailed instruction to his crew about the food to be served on board, insisting that there should be separate kitchens for cooking beef and pork.¹⁰ Some names like Chandou, Chekov, Mouton, and Rogue in the reunite list were probably Malaya leas. Some of the Hindus are given the rank of 'Sheik' and vested with responsibilities of trust.

The ambassadors and their accomplishments are generously eulogized by the French documents of the period.¹¹ Mohamed Dervish Khan, descended from the Sayyids, grandson of the "Intendant-General of Dost Ali Khan, son of Haidar's trusted courtier, was just 40 years old but claimed precedence by virtue of his lineage. Akbar Ali Khan, 70 years old, savant, diplomat and poet was credited with six volumes of history and poetry in Persian, ranked second in the delegation. However Mohammed Ousman Khan was easily most impressive of the three and he was also their spokesman.¹² Madame de Tesse, in a breathless note to Thomas Jefferson, has recorded that the queen had not thought fit to excuse her from the royal audience to Tipu's ambassadors at Versailles.¹³ The Queen expressed her desire to meet Mohammed Ousman Khan through one of her chambers maids.¹³ The gallant Khan sent her a personal reply in Persian.¹⁴ The detailed protocol of procedure for the reception of the ambassadors at Versailles on 10-06-1788 expressly stipulated that the Queen would be incognito and that no compliments would be paid to her by the ambassadors. "*La reine etant presentee incognito, les ambassadeurs ne deviant ni la voir ni la salver.*¹⁵ The royal instructions for the Turkish ambassadors Zaid Effendi in 1742 which were to serve

as model for the reception to Tipu's envoys did not provide for such a black out of the queen.¹⁶ Louis XVI apparently did not desire a public exposure of his queen's soft corner for Mohammed Ousman Khan.

Two young men, a nephew of Mohammed Ousman Khan and a son of Akbar Ali Khan are found included in the ambassadorial party. Both of them, though without any foreign schooling were quite at ease with the French language, one of the King's secretaries, La Luzerne, is found instructing M Russian, the official French interpreter attached to a the envoys, to bring along with him Ousman Khan's nephew and Akbar's Ali Son for a private audience with the king since they understood and spoke French quite well.¹⁷

The total expenditure incurred by the Government of France on the ambassadors and their suite of their voyage to and stay in France from 17-06-1788 to 05-11-1788 appears to have touched 11/2 million livres¹⁸ or a little more than 6 lacs of rupees. The break-up of the expenses in some details is tabulated based on available records.¹⁹

	Livres	Sols	Seniers
Stay at Pondicherry & Voyage to Toulon	259,648	3	1
From Toulon to Paris	238,027 96,630	5 15	6 0
Stay in Paris	137,003 240,559	4 11	6 2
From Paris to Brest & at Brest	37,600 290,133	14 10	3 7
From Brest to Pondicherry	61,521 104,311	5 4	7 11
Presents for Tipu	28,273 30,000	10 0	0 0

These expenses must have been much more than the total of 151,764 Livres here shown since French officials and soldiers placed on duty in attendance to the ambassadors and the public receptions in the major centers of the country have not been here taken into account by the available records. Those of Louis XVI's ministers who were in charge of departments other than the Marine and colonies repeatedly grumbled against apparently unjustified was of public funds by the critics had to fall silent when told that 19 lacs of rupees taken as a loan from Tipu by the French Governors at Pondicherry had generously been written off by the sultan in 1789.²⁰

The gifts of exchanged by the two sovereigns offer weighty evidence on the technological skills of the two kingdoms in the final decades of the 18th century. The French presents were carpets, porcelain, vases, crockery, cutlery and clocks.²¹ Tipu organized his embassy to Louis XVI because of

his increasing doubts and reservations about the policies and officers of the French at a Pondicherry. He was particularly critical of Busy, whose negotiations with the British to end the second Mysore war smacked of disloyalty, he had given instructions to his ambassadors to denounce Busy even in the formal audience with the French ruler.²²

In 1786 and 1787 Tipu wrote frequently of the French governors at Pondicherry in friendly terms.²³ Even when his treatment of French Jesuits in Mysore was creating discord.²⁴ In these letters he asked for supplies of sulphur, reading glasses, clocks, and European flower and plant seeds. He also asked for experts in mortars, bombs and cannons, welders and turners, and jewelers, physicians and surgeons.²⁵ With official French help, his ambassadors entered into agreements with the categories of experts that the sultan asked for. Tipu's consistent view was that none of these French workers including the surgeon Bara was any asset to him since their skills and abilities were not superior to those available locally.²⁶ British historians have invariably represented Tipu as a French minion in India.²⁷

The envoys and their retinue travelled through most of France's southern and western provinces on their way to Versailles. On their return journey they sailed from the western port of Brest which they reached after a circuitous route that touched Etampes, Tours and Lorient. On 30th September 1788, orders were issued to the commander-in-chief of the forces of the interior to ensure that crowds did not turn unruly on the route of the ambassadors.²⁸ Ironically enough, on the retinue of the ambassadors and some French soldiers at a place called Mayenne. The Mysoreans refused to travel on that day because of the festival Id-ul-Fitr.²⁹

The visit of Tipu's envoys and their forty strong retinue however was not the earliest or the most significant from south India to Bourbon France. The researcher's attention should in fact be riveted on the fairly large group of 52, composed of 14 weavers and 38 spinners who appeared to have been taken to France on royal orders by the admirable Baillie de Suffren in May 1785.³⁰ They were reported as staying in Nantes by October 1787.³¹ Their names, age and sex detailed in one common passport made out at Marcella on 30-09-1785, the oldest of them was 60 years and the youngest three months. They were not taken to France as slaves but as craftsmen who could convey their skills to French textile workers. They stayed in cities which later turned out to be the great textile centres of France.

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16

Trade of Agricultural Crops during Keladi Period

Dr. Gangamma H.R.

In Pre-modern Karnataka, Agricultural economic system was the backbone to its development. Keladi State was divided as Malnad, Coastal area and plain areas. The main agricultural products of Keladi state were; Paddy, Areca nut, cord mom, beetle leaves, plantain. For purchasing these goods, Portuguese, Arabs and in 17 and 18 century Dutch, British and French people had inner trade conflict among themselves. The chief yielding place of cord mom was, Shimoga, Sagar and Gerusoppa and other places. Instead of that the inner provinces became storage places and trade centres.”¹

Agricultural product market canters of Shimoga and Sagara had trade relation with 15 other cities in Karnataka and other outside cities also. From there, rice, cord mom, clove, Dalchini was exported. These 15 cities which were imported goods from Keladi Kingdom are as follows.

“1) Walajpet 2) Kambadapet 3) Tadipatri 4) Kuddappa 5) Kadlebalu 6) Khandamuru 7) Kadmalpete 8) Nagaragere 9) Molkalmuru 10) Raidurga 11) Baravakonda 12) Banganahalli 13) Khajipet 14) Jamal 15) Bellary.”² Keladi state was spread upper region of the hill and downside of the hill.

In the reign of Queen Chennammaji Bidanur was the famous commercial centre, rice was exported to Arabia through the ship. Many cities of inner land of the Keladi rulers were important commercial places; they are Shimoga, Araga, Chennagiri, Honnali, Kumsi, Anandapura, Sagara and Many others. Along with land tax they generated revenue from levying the agricultural goods. During Keladi ruler's trade class and agriculture class people were transporting their goods over bullock carts or on the back of the oxen, while carrying they had to give levy. Collected levy from the goods coming to the market and Mandi was the responsibility of tax officer or levy officer. For collected levy there were many toll canters had been built.

1. Toll centres over the lower region of the hill:Kodiyala, Uppinangadi, Beltangadi, Barigudi, Bantwala, Baiduru.
2. Toll canters above the hill region: Yakkeridurga, Vasudhare, Sakkarepattana, Keladi.³

Likewise toll collection place had been built at main places in Keladi Nayaka's rule. Bullock cart which passing through these toll canters has to pay tolls.⁴

"An inscription of Queen Chennammaji reveals the facts that trade of agricultural crops were very important."⁵ The inscription refers agricultural trade between coastal and forest prone Malnad region. According this inscription Rice, Ragi, Coconut and other goods have been exported to the other parts of the state and Keladi Kings were collecting levy. And an order was issued by the authority to wave off the toll or levy of the five bullock carts loaded agricultural products for Viswanathapura agrahara and left them without checking."⁶ Again the inscription reveals that, levy was implied on such agricultural products and bullock's tax was implemented by the government for these bullocks during such goods. Keladi Nayaka's honored the religious centers through waving the tax on their bullocks. For instance: Durgada Thiemann who was building a Matha at Bhadrapura and Veerabhadranayaka waved off the tax on his bullocks."⁷ When the tax was relaxed by the government over the number of bullocks also mentioned. For example: Inscription reveals the fact that Chennammaji waved off 25 bullocks tax while Mahamahattina matha was built.⁸ The tax or toll was collected by an officer called 'Manara'.⁹ Keladi Nayaka's were collecting levy by the agricultural class, every minute detail of the levy collected by them on each crop is found in the inscriptions. Levied agricultural products are as follows:

1) Rice 2) Paddy 3) Salt 4) Tamarind 5) Cereals 6) Fodder 7) Oil 8) Ghee 9) Jaggery 10) Coconut 11) Tobacco 12) Dates 13) Ingu 14) Jeera 15) Onion 16) Garlic 17) Turmeric 18) Ginger 19) Beetle nut 20) Cardamom."¹⁰

On the above said items, they were charged levy as, Birad, Nerehore, Vara, Manvari, Vanchane, Vatti, Lancha, Horaniri, Hastari, Tara and Saryaita. But the great ruler Shivappa Nayaka banned many tax among them and made trade free from the burden of tax.¹¹ Peasants had to pay levy on above mentioned goods. In 1664 A.D an inscription of Chennagiri reveals the details of Road tax. The road tax which was collected submitted religious canters.¹²

Komatiga's community was the important class in the trade community. They were the prominent trade places. It is very well known that, there was a good relation between Balehonnuru and Komatagaru.¹³ Along with Banagiga community Jains were also carrying out trade in those days. For ex: An inscription of 1608 AD has a reference of Jaina trade man Bommanna shetty.¹⁴ Instead of Jains all these who were involved in agricultural products trade were called in a common name as Mahanada Shetty's.¹⁵ In the inscription various information's are available pertaining to the Shetty's. Among them many nations, places, inner land and Mahanadu Shetty's¹⁶ Multiple ways,

north, east places, inner land and other who were loading with horizontal ropes are called Mahanada Shetties all¹⁷. Like this different kind of trade was carried out. Many names of Shetties are seen in the inscription.¹⁸ In Keladi society Saraswat's were the prominent trade people. They were dwelling at coastal regions only, they migrated from Goa. Huge number of Saraswata's is found in Venupura. The same Venupura later on called as Nagara.¹⁹ Most of Virashaiwa trade community was dwelling at, Sagara, Shimoga, Honnali, Keladi and Nagara.. Keladi state was forefront in agricultural resources as well as agricultural commercial field also. After the decline of Vijayanagara dynasty, from 16th century to 18th century Keladi state which predominantly dominated in agricultural crops trade in south India. The major crop of Keladi, beetle nut, coconut, rice and cord mom were the main cause for the foreign businessmen to conflict each other. Many foreigners came forward to have trade relation with Keladi Kings.²⁰

Fair's play predominant role in the trade of Keladi Kings. There is no much information's are found in the inscriptions regarding the fair. In weekend fair's goods grown at local along with items came from other places also included. Farmers use to carry their crops to sell at fair and they purchase whatever things they need. Pitrodallawelly expressed his views a fair which he was seen as: "Today Sunday a fair at Sagara. Friday there is fair at Ikkeri, A huge crowd gathered in the Fair. But except eatables and clothings no other things had come."²¹ Along with fairs Keladi Nayakas had build market places for business. For the smooth transaction and trading of the agricultural crops grown by the farmers they build market places in the city. Ikkeri had a paddy market. Probably that market helped Farmers surrounded at Sagara. That market was the place to collect beetle nut, Cord mom, beetle leaves.²² Araga had a market. There was heavy charged on the loaded carts coming over there. Durgada Thiemann builds a Maha Mahattina and Veerabhadra Nayaka waved off the bullock cart tax.²³ Shimoga, Sagara and Gerusoppe were the main canters of growing cord mom. And the place which stored that from inner land and market it.²⁴ Like Vijayanagara, Bidanur was the Kingdom and business centre; it had a market for different items to be sell. These markets are called, Somavarpet, Chinivarpet, Gujaripet, Dubaripet and many other names were found. Chikkapete was a business place; it had many streets.²⁵ Venkatappa Nayaka built a main trade market at Bhuvanagiridurga.²⁶

Like the Keladi Nayaka's administration had different geographic region, different climatic conditions like Malnad, coastal and plain regions. Hence, they were growing different crops according to the regional differences. Those kinds of the crops were sold to the entire nation and even of origin land also. The main revenue of the government was the tax and toll collected on the agricultural product.

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17

The Cultural Life in Northern India as Depicted in *Si-Yu-Ki*

Dr. Vijay Kumar

“Si-yu-Ki” the title stands for the Buddhist Record of the Western World¹ is, infact, a description of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller. He came in India during the time of king Harshavardhan. The purpose of his visit to India is revealed from a letter written by him in Khotan to the king of his country after the accomplishment of his visit.² It discloses that he wanted to see all the religious places such as Vihāras, Saṅghārāmas, Pillars, etc. which were attributed to Buddha’s life. Further, being dissatisfied with the Chinese translations of the sacred books of Buddhism he wanted to procure these books in their original language, and to learn the true meaning of their obtrusive doctrines from orthodox pundits (philosophers) in India.³ Hiuen Tsang spent fourteen years of his life from A.D. 630-44 in India as a Buddhist pilgrim. The description made by Hiuen Tsang which was known in ancient time by Western World.” It happened so as to the Chinese people (in ancient time) the geographical position of India laid in western direction as their traders came in India through western direction of their country. That is why English and French historians while translating Hiuen Tsang’s description wrote with an unaltered title as “Buddhist Record of the Western World”.⁴

The complete title of the book is *Ta-T’ang Hsi-Yu-Chi* which means “Record of the Western Lands of the Great Tang period.” By the use of the qualifying term “Great T’ang” means the dynasty (A.D. 618-907) under whose reign the treatise was composed. It is significant to note that this particular work is distinguished from other works bearing the same general name. For example, there is another treatise quoted or designated with the title *Hsi-Yu-Chi* which also means “Records of the Western Lands”.⁵ Earlier the material collected and composed by Hiuen-Tsang was to be translated in Chinese language by the distinguished scholars and several learned monks appointed by the Chinese emperor. He submitted his first draft to emperor in 646 A.D. but the book as we have it now was not actually completed until 648 A.D. In its present form the work was compiled under the imperial

command by Hiuen Tsang, a doctor of the three Pitakas, and edited by Pine Ki, a shaman of the *Ta-t sung-Chi* temple.⁶

The culture, as rightly defined in the *Longman Dictionary of English Language*, is the pattern of human behaviour and its products that include thought, speech, action, institution and artefacts and that is taught to or is adopted by successive generation.⁷ As the Chinese traveler-scholar throws a welcome light on almost all such aspects a modest attempt has been made in this article to draw a picture of north Indian Culture from the research material recovered from his treatise popularly called as *Su-Yu-Ki*.

Food and Drink: While telling about food habits Hiuen Tsang informs that before and after meal people wash their feet, hands and mouth.⁸ The earthen wares were thrown away after use but the utensils of gold, silver and copper were properly cleansed.⁹ And about the daily food items Hiuen Tsang informs that the most usual items include milk, butter, cream, soft sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed and all sorts of cakes made of corn. With respect to edible herbs and plants, the name include ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkin. It is added that the people like fruits also such as date, chestnut, the loquat, the persimmon, the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot, the grapes, pomegranates and sweet orange.¹⁰

The Chinese traveller tells about non-vegetarian food also saying that fish, mutton, gazelle and deer generally fresh and sometimes salted are eaten. But the flesh of the ox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, all the hairy kind was forbidden. Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated; they live outside the walls and are seldom seen among men.¹¹ Adding to the cereals he says that there is an unusual sort of rice grown here.¹² He further adds that people make cake of sown rice in food.¹³ Besides, they also eat biscuits and (or, made of) parched corn-flour.¹⁴

About the drinks the traveler says that the different kinds of wine and liquor are consumed by the people. The juice of the grapes and sugar-cane, popular among the Kahattiyas and the Vaiśyas are found of strong fermented drinks. Hiuen Tsang informs that people fall sick if they drink in copper cups.¹⁵ So far as the clothes are concerned he tells that people generally prefer white clothes and do not show much interest in colorful clothes.¹⁶ However, the people belonging to elite class wear colorful and costly clothes.¹⁷

Traditions and Customs: The *Si-Yu-Ki* talks about various traditions and customs also prevalent in Indian masses based on the notion of good and evil. Interestingly, the merchants, follow certain symptoms while arranging their prices as they come and go, fall in with the signs afforded by the spirits.¹⁸

Hiuen Tsang talks about the prevalence of traditions also by which the people sacrificed their lives in order to ensure their heaven life after death. He tells about a holy river named *Fo-shwui*, the river of religious merit, the people can wash away their countless sins, by plunging into its water. If a man dies and his bones are cast into the river, he cannot fall into an evil way; whilst he is carried by its waters and forgotten by men.¹⁹ The *Si-Yu-Ki* testifies that the hundreds and thousands of people travel a long way from distant quarters and reach the banks of Gangs in order to plunge in its holy water.²⁰ He came across some customs also practiced by the people of this country.. By bathing in this holy water (they, the people, say) all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed.. He further notes that for seven days the heaven seekers continuously abstain from food, and afterwards end their lives.²¹

In regard to death mourning, *Si-Yu-Ki* gleans that those who attend the funeral of dead person raise lamentable cries and weep together. In doing so they even rend their garments and loosen their hair. In Addition three methods were in practiced (1) cremation-wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; (2) by water- the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned; (3) by desertion- the body is cast into some forest-wild, to be devoured by beasts. Furthermore, that in a house where there has been a death there is no eating allowed; but after the funeral they resume their usual (habits). Surprisingly the traveler scholar also says that there are no anniversaries (of the death) observed.²² Hiuen Tsang further talks about some customs related to paying regard and respect When someone is at a distance he usually bows low; but when he comes near it is customary for him to kiss the feet and rub the ankles of other whom he wants to pay regard and respect.²³

About religious customs prevalent in India the traveller-scholar says that the little stupas are made from the paste of powdered scented up to the height of about six or seven inches. Thereafter, some written extract from a *sutra* is placed in them. The people call these stupas as *dharma sariras*²⁴ (*fa-shi-li*).

Festivals: Beside social customs, *Si-Yu-Ki* gives information about the religious festivals also which were celebrated among the followers of Buddhism. Every year at the autumnal equinox, during ten days, the priests assemble from all over the country in this place.²⁵ On the six-fast days three relics are presented with offering on each of the six fast-days by the assembly of lay and cleric believers.²⁶ It is further added that every year during the three months in which long fasts are observed, and during the six-fast-days of each month, the priests resort to these various stupas and pay mutual compliments.²⁷

Art and Architecture: Hiuen Tsang throws light on the art and architecture also. From his description we come to know that in architecture the figure of Buddha and Hindu deities such as Indra, Brahma, Sun God and Lord-shiva, etc. were installed.

Figure of Buddha: The figures of Buddha were sculptured in different shapes such as standing, lying and sitting. When the full rays of the sun fall on it they shine in brilliant gold color and as the light decreases the hues of the stone seem to assume a reddish blue colour.²⁸ Some of such figures were cast of gold and silver, the other of native copper.²⁹ These figures ornamented with rare jewels were of brass casting.³⁰ Buddha's similar figures were also carved out of sandal wood above which a stone canopy³¹ was attached. The sculpture of Buddha holds a lotus flower in his hand.³² The standing figure of Saky Buddha is sculptured of metallic stone.³³ Hiuen Tsang focuses light on more Buddha's figures in different shapes. He writes that by the side of a great Saṅghārāmas in this valley of Ta-li there is a figure of a Bodhisattva carved out of wood. Golden in color and very dazzling in appearance this figure seems to show that Buddha possessed a secret spiritual power.³⁴ He highlights on the high skills of idol making also. It is said that the image of Buddha's adorned statue is as great and dignified as if Buddha look really alive in it.³⁵

The sculptured Hindu Gods: Hiuen Tsang writes about Hindu Gods also in his description. He says that the statue of the God Mahesvara cast from native copper is somewhat, less than 100 feet high.³⁶ The image of the Sun-God is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems.³⁷ A unique stone image of Buddha is also brought to light by him with a statement that on either side of this there is a ladder with the figures of Brahma and Shankar, just as they appear when first rising to accompany Buddha in his descent.³⁸

Stūpas: The stupas which were religious graves in Buddhism were constructed with stones and brick. The Chinese traveler himself saw different stūpas in Srinagar, Mathura, Kanauji, Koshambi, Kusinagar and Kapilvastu, etc. It is informed that the foundations of stupas are broad and the building high and adorned with all sorts of carved work and with previous substances.³⁹ While describing about a stupa he tells it was built by king Aśoka. It is about 60 feet high, by the side of it there is a stone pillar with a record engraved on it relating to the foundation of the stupa. The pillar is about 50 feet high and on the top there is a figure of an elephant.⁴⁰

Vihāra : Writing about Vihāras i.e. the monastery (earlier developed in rock cut caves) the traveller-scholar says that these are placed in the connected succession of metal rings (circles) with bells suspended in the air; below there are constructed storey above storey, from the bottom of the top. They

are surrounded by railing, the doors, windows, the pillars, beams and in the intervals highly decorated.⁴¹ He describes the architecture of a vihāra in the east of Bodhi-tree. The description adds that it is about 160 or 170 feet high. The building is constructed of blue tiles (bricks) covered with chunam (burnt stone, lime), all the niches in the different storey's hold golden figures. They are made of white silver and are about 10 feet high.⁴² The foundation of vihāra is wide and lofty, and ornamented with rare sculptures. On the four faces of the tower there are sculptured figures of the saints, Devas and Buddha's in separate compartments.⁴³ The vihāras which are 100 feet in height stand on the foundation of stone and the walls of bricks. In the middle there are statues of Buddha highly decorated with silver, the other of native copper.⁴⁴

Saṅghārāma: Hiuen-Tsang says that these are constructed with extraordinary skill. .. There are various storied chambers of different height and shape, towards the east, the royal throne also faces the east.⁴⁵ It is added, in the same context, that king Shiladitya has got constructed a big Saṅghārāma on the bank of the Gags river along with a bastion of 100 feet in height.⁴⁶

Pillars: The pillars as revealed by *Si-Yu-Ki* are carved in very decorated shapes.⁴⁷ The towers and balconies are wonderfully carved and constructed and rise up imposingly above the building.⁴⁸

Temple: While throwing light on the architecture of Hindu temple Hiuen-Tsang says that the temples of Sun God and Mahesvara are built of a blue stone of great lustre, and are ornamented with various elegant sculptures. In the length and breadth they correspond with the Vihāras⁴⁹ of Buddha.

Paintings: Hiuen Tsang describes different paintings also in his description. As per his version these painting were drawn in vihāras and were related to Buddha's life. At the south-east angles of the city there is a Vihāra with a figure of the royal prince riding a white and high prancing horse has been shown. This was the place where he left the city. Besides, there is another Vihāra in which we come across respective figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a sraman.⁵⁰ Then there is a great brick Vihāra, in which a figure of the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata appears. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this Vihāra there is a stūpa built by king Aśoka; although in a ruinous state, yet it is same 200 feet in height. Before it there is a stone pillar which records the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata; on its inscription, though no date, year or month recorded so far.⁵¹

Town and Building: Hiuen Tsang while writing about the towns and villages tells that each one has inner gates; the walls are wide and high; the streets and lanes are tortuous and the road winding. The thoroughfares are

dirty and the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. The houses are surrounded by low walls, and form the suburbs. The earth being soft and muddy, the walls of the towns are mostly built of brick or tiles. The towers on the walls are constructed of wood or bamboo.⁵² The traveler-scholar further describes a second storeyed pavilion in which Manorhita, a master of s̄astras, composed the Vibasha S̄astra.⁵³

In regard to habitations Hiuen Tsang notices that the people live in their own colonies. But those engaged in low professions such as butchers, fishermen, public performers, executions and scavengers have separate habitations marked off by a discriminative sign.⁵⁴ It is stated that they live in their own colonies and have to beat sticks when entering into the village or town for cleansing filth and one who touches them by mistake has to take bath and wash his clothes in order to purify himself.⁵⁵

Amusement: Hiuen Tsang highlights on different types of amusement enjoyed by the people. He even praises the people of Khotan country in this regard. It is said that this country is renowned for its music; the men love the songs and the dance.⁵⁶ At the time of worshipping Gods, they beat drums and sing songs.⁵⁷ He also talks about the kings who led all the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers some of whom rode on the elephants along with sounding drums and blowing horns as well as playing on flutes and horns at the occasion.⁵⁸

Different Sects: *Si-Yu-Ki* also gleans that a number of religious sects were followed by people during 7th cent. A.D. Among them the Hindu sect, Boddha and Jain sects were prominent ones. An emphasis is also laid with a statement that Boddha religion is true law.⁵⁹ He calls Hindu religion is less believed and so was the case with the people who dwell in temples.⁶⁰ It is further said that in all the three prominent sects much reverence is given toward Buddhism.⁶¹

Giving more description about Buddhism the visitor-scholar also writes about the followings of both sub-sects viz. greater and little vehicles (*Mahayānā* and *Hināyanā*). In regards to the little vehicle, he describes about Sarvastivadas and Samaitya schools whereas in regard to the schools of greater vehicle he discloses about the followings of Sathvir and lokotarvadi etc. ... And in Saivism also the devotees are easily seen who cover themselves with ashes, and some of them make chaplets of bones, and wear as crown on their heads.⁶²

About the life style of the followers of Jainism *Si-Yu-Ki* gleans that the laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha. They hail from different classes, opt their rules and frame their precepts accordingly. The great ones are called Bhikshus; the younger are

called Sramaneras. In their ceremonies and modes of life they have little twist of hair on their heads and they go half naked. Moreover, what clothes they chance to wear are white. Such are the slight differences which distinguish them from others. The figure of their sacred maser, they stealthily class with that of Tathāgata; it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same.⁶³

Apart from their routine life Hiuen Tsang gives some indications about the religious traits also of different sects. It is stated that the different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different sects have their separate masters, and in various directions aim at one end. There are eighteen active schools of religious nature and each claiming pre-eminence. . Moreover, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, according to their fraternity.⁶⁴

In the summing-up it may fairly be said that apart from the flourishing Hindu culture a good number of people were also living with Buddhist mode of life as well as with practices of some semi brahmanical sects. Though both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food/drinks were partaken but the majority of people were fond of vegetarian food items. The people belonging to lowest stratum depended mainly on animals' and bird's flesh and were not allowed to have socio-cultural intercourse with upper strata of society. The wine and other alcoholic drinks were consumed by the both elite and lower class people. The Indian masses being traditional in thinking practiced various social customs and usages based on the notions of evil and good.

Apart from various customs and traditions the people celebrated various festivals also. In art and architecture both Hindu and Buddhist style of masonry works carried on in sculpting of figures of Hindu deities, Buddha, Vihāras, Saṅghārāmas, temples and pillars, etc. as testified by *Si-Yu-Ki*. The figures and pillars were specially decorated with jewelry. Besides, numerous paintings as revealed by *Si-Yu-Ki*, also highlight on the various aspects of rich culture flourishing in the then northern India. Both sects of Buddhism, Hinduism, the sects of Vaisnavism, Saivism and the followings of local and tribal gods and goddesses within indigenous tribal people were in vogue. All such developments favorably tended to the growth of compact culture in north India wherein people were living with different modes of life, religious beliefs and traditions.

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18

Inscriptions on Chinese Porcelain Finds in India

Aprajita Sharma

Introduction: Chinese porcelain, a fine white ceramic, is famous for its glaze, beauty and hardness since ancient times. Porcelain, defined by the word *t'zū* (high fired ware), was originated during the Tang period (618-906 CE) as a fine grained pottery in the form of white porcelain. The porcelain was prepared out of two main ingredients, *kaolin* (white clay) and *pai-tun-tzū* (felspathic material derived from decayed granite).¹

Porcelain reached India in about 10th century CE which is attested by the earliest evidence of Huizhou celadon bottle discovered in Setter, Madurai in 1992.² The trade of porcelain scaled new heights during the 11th-12th century CE as it was the time when three major dynasties were interacting with each other economically i.e. the Song in China, the Chola in south India and the Fatimid's in Egypt.³ A Chinese text of 12th century CE has described that the ships of that time used to carry bulk of ceramics from China: 'The greatest part of the cargo consists of pottery, the small pieces packed in the larger, till there is not a crevice left'.⁴ During the Yuan dynasty (1260-1368 CE), the export of porcelain doubled when one of its varieties known as blue-and-white porcelain became extensively popular it was used in the palaces of the kings.⁵

Chinese Porcelain in Literature: In Indian context, literary references about the export of porcelain from China prove that its demand was especially high. In 8th-9th centuries, the travels of Arab merchants to China increased when Mohammedan colonies settled in Canton and other seaport towns of China.⁶ During the same period, Suleiman, an Arab traveller visited China. His account says, "They have in China a very fine clay with which they make vases which are as transparent as glass; water is seen through them. These vases are made of clay".⁷ *Daoyi zhi lue*, a Chinese record compiled by Wang Dayan in 1349 CE gives details of Indo-China trade links and export of a wide variety of commodities including Chinese porcelain from China to India.⁸ The account of Al-beruni named *Al-Jumahir fi Ma'rifat al-Jawahir* or Book on Precious Stones was compiled in the early 11th century CE.⁹ His account also stated that the best Chinese vessels were those of

apricot colour, of fine texture and made of sharp clay which was stretched by pounding and their price was as high as ten dinars.¹⁰ Marco Polo, a Venetian traveller, commenced his journey from Venice in around 1271 CE. His account mentioned trade connections between India and China and export of goods from China to the Malabar Coast of India through huge Chinese junks.¹¹ The 14th century record of Ibn Battuta has talked about porcelain entering India from China in large quantities. He has specifically mentioned in his record that he ate meat cooked in ghee, onions and green ginger in large porcelain dishes while travelling from Multan to Delhi.¹² The mention of Chinese porcelain have also been noticed in the illustrations of *Babarnama*. The use of porcelain dishes and bowls in green and blue-and-white colours are shown for serving royal dishes specifically Kebabs.¹³

Types of Inscriptions: The tradition of painting inscriptions on porcelain was started in the Tang period; however, its use was restricted to selective pieces. Chinese inscriptions on porcelain were rarely found prior to Yuan period. The Chinese inscriptions were made either by painting in blue under the glaze or by using a stamp seal. The dishes and bowls of porcelain generally bear inscriptions inside the foot-ring of the base. The other large forms such as vases, jars, ewers, etc. bear inscriptions on the neck portion.

a) **Chinese Marks/ Inscriptions** - Different types of Chinese inscriptions were found on porcelain which can be divided in four parts-

- 1) **Reign or Dynastic Inscriptions-** The common practice of inscribing official reign marks came in vogue between 1426-1435 CE when Hsuan-te of Ming Dynasty was ruling over China. The dynastic inscriptions are generally found in four to six Chinese characters. The inscription with four characters represents the name of the dynasty or the period. In case, the first two characters are showing a dynastic name then the last character will either be *chih* or *ts'ao*, where the first character means 'made to imperial order' and the second meaning manufactured.¹⁴
 - 2) **Cyclical Inscriptions-** The cyclical inscriptions denote one year within a recurring sixty years cycle.¹⁵
 - 3) **Complimentary Inscriptions-** complimentary inscriptions(16th century) generally consist of complimentary phrases such as good wishes, hall-marks, etc. 'good wishes' phrases of four to six characters were inscribed on porcelain, while in the Qing period, the hall-marks often in one or two characters became more popular.¹⁶
 - 4) **Pictorial Marks-** Pictorial marks of plants, animals and birds are commonly found on the porcelain of 16th-17th century CE.¹⁷
- b) **Non-Chinese Marks/ Inscription** - The non-Chinese inscriptions in

Arabic, Tibetan, Lantsa, etc. have also been found on porcelain. The Arabic marking in the form of drilled inscriptions have largely been noticed on porcelain. Some of these marks have verbal sense but there are certain other marks with no meaning.¹⁸

Inscriptions and Marks on Chinese Porcelain in India: Chinese porcelain has been evidenced from 20 states of India covering over a 100 archaeological sites. A large number of inscriptions in both Chinese and non-Chinese scripts are noticed on these finds of Chinese porcelain. Amongst these, some important inscriptions are noticed from the archaeological sites of Champaner in Gujarat, Fatehpur Sikri in Uttar Pradesh, Golconda Fort in Andhra Pradesh, Kotla Firozshah complex and Purana Qila in Delhi and St. Augustine's Church in Old Goa.

The Chinese inscriptions on porcelain were executed in their country of origin while the non-Chinese inscriptions specifically Arabic inscriptions were mainly executed by the owner of the porcelain piece. One of the noteworthy examples of non-Chinese inscription on porcelain is from the Kotla Firozshah complex in Delhi. It is pertinent to mention that the hoard of Chinese porcelain from Kotla Firozshah complex is the largest collection of porcelain in Asia. The site was accidentally discovered in 1960 while preparing a rose garden by the Garden Branch of ASI.¹⁹ The porcelain collection of Kotla Firozshah shows that over 50 pieces are inscribed with drilled inscription in Arabic. These inscriptions are in *naskh* characters.²⁰ Most of them reads as *maḥabbat-e khās* which means 'the royal kitchen' *bābat-e māl-e kārkhānah maḥabbat-e khās* i.e. 'property from the workshop of the royal kitchen' and *sād* which means 'the piece is an acceptable object for the use in royal kitchen'.²¹

Champaner in Gujarat is another important archaeological site where potsherds of porcelain bearing non-Chinese inscriptions besides both Chinese have been reported.²² It is the only site in India where characters in lantsa script on porcelain are found. Amongst the two porcelain potsherds bearing lantsa characters found at Champaner, the first one has four lantsa characters and the second has three characters. These would probably be forming a Buddhist mantra but it could not be deciphered as rest of the characters are missing. On the first potsherd, amongst the four characters, the first character from the left looks incomplete as the potsherd is broken but rest of the three characters are complete. Underneath these characters, only a *chandrabindu* is visible. On the second potsherd only three characters are visible amongst which the first from the left is partially missing.

Purana Qila is an important archaeological site where porcelain was evidenced bearing inscriptions in Chinese. The site was excavated in 1968.²³

A blue-and-white porcelain dish was found here having a drilled inscription which looks like a rounded 'w'. Another broken bowl of blue-and-white porcelain from the same site bears a painted inscription of six Chinese characters both inside and on the base.

Another broken potsherd of a bowl reported here has a painted scene from a Chinese verse along with an inscription in Chinese. The inscription on the potsherd is the last paragraph of a Song period's poem "Former Ode on the Red-cliff" written by Su Shi Song. Fatehpur Sikri is another noteworthy site where, a good number of porcelain pieces bearing dynastic inscriptions have been noticed. A Chinese inscription of six characters found on a base portion of porcelain bowl found from Fatehpur Sikri reads as "made in reign of great Ming Xuande" (1426-1435). Most of the porcelain finds of Fatehpur Sikri belongs to the Ming period. Two bowls and one dish found at Golconda fort bears a commemoration inscription "*fu gui jia qi*" with some variations in style. This inscription reads as "fine vessel for wealth and honour" which is datable to 16th-17th century CE. There is another dish of blue-and-white porcelain bearing an inscription of six Chinese characters on its base which reads as "*da ming wanly nian zhi*" i.e. "made in the Wanly period of the great Ming dynasty" (1573-1619 CE). The site along with parts of Old Goa were extensively surveyed from 1990 to 1999.^{24 25 26}

Conclusion: There are a number of archaeological sites in India which have reported large quantities of Chinese porcelain bearing inscriptions. Most are still un-deciphered as the inscriptions are partially missing. But porcelain cannot be dated alone on the basis of inscription found on it. It is not compulsory that all the dynastic inscriptions on porcelain state the actual period of its production. It has been noticed that a Ming period inscription can also be found on the porcelain of Qing period. Inscriptions of Xuande and Chenghua era were the most frequently found on the later wares. The authenticity of porcelain pieces is always based on the material, decoration, style and peculiarities associated with the particular type of ceramic ware, and not in the first instance on the inscription, which should be considered last in any attempt to assess a find of porcelain.

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19

Women and Their Rights within the Framework of Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Perspective

Satwant Singh Rissam

Introduction

Human Rights are universal which used to belong to individuals by virtue of their being human based on the notion of their personal dignity and worth. The idea of human rights appeared in some early Christian writer's works reflected in the Magna Carta, 1215.¹ Though the concept of human rights is considered to be very old, but it got thrust only after the adoption of United Nations Charter² and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.³ However in many societies women are not enjoying these rights properly and the reason for the denial is gender inequality, direct and indirect discrimination, coercion and moreover violence faced by the women.

United Nations and Rights of Women

The United Nations has been playing a very important role for the preservation of women rights as it is clearly provided under the principles of non discrimination set forth in the Charter. The Preamble of the United Nations Organization also talks about the preservation of rights of men and women. Further, Article 1 of the Charter⁴ aims to promote and encourage the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms irrespective of any distinction made on the basis of race, sex, language or religion. Even the principle of non discrimination is applied through article⁵ of the Charter which states; "*the United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs*". United Nations established the Commission on the Status of Women⁶ which furthered the working of United Nations in its objective to bring equality for the women in all spheres of their life which in turn played a tremendous role in protecting the rights of women by providing them their dignity by bringing them under the framework of the United Nations and its various laws pertaining to human rights. Besides the Charter of the United Nations, even the Universal Declaration of Human

Rights⁷ has been a step in which the rights of women are protected. Even article⁸ of the declaration states, “*all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.*”

Furthermore article⁹ states, “*everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the declaration, without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or the status.*” The adoption of international covenant¹⁰ relating to civil and political rights by the United Nations also reflected a picture which emphasized that human rights of women should be protected without any distinction. The covenant in this regard also provided that all the parties should ensure that the individuals in their territories and under their jurisdiction be provided with all the rights prescribed in the covenant. Interestingly the UN also adopted another covenant¹¹ in the year 1966 which contained provisions for protecting economic, social and cultural rights of all humans. In addition to it, article¹² of the covenant clearly provides that equality between men and women should be ensured during the protection of economic, social and cultural rights. Even the provisions of the convention,¹³ has ensured that the discrimination made with working women should be removed and a sense of equality be created. Another convention¹⁴ adopted by the United Nations with the object of the ensuring that the discrimination meted out to women in political field be stopped, so that it can help them to grow politically and to live a dignified life in the society. Some of important provisions in order to eliminate discrimination against women can also be found in the Declaration of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women,¹⁵ which again gives a reference to the efforts taken by the United Nations at the global level over the years to protect the women’s rights. Accordingly a conference¹⁶ is considered as one of the main turning points in women’s rights for the first time as in the conference it was recognized that the gender based violence against women in, public as well as in private life, is an issue of great concern. In this context the subsequent UN conferences and regional meetings especially the Fourth World Conference on Women¹⁷ concluded that issues critical for the future well being of the women of the world in terms of resource development, protection of environment, establishment of peace, improvements of health and education.

Women’s Rights vis-a-vis Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): An Analysis

Women’s rights refer to those rights that have been recognized by the global community and protected by international legal instruments for improving the conditions of the women. This concept of women’s rights has opened the way for women around the world to ask hard questions

about the official inattention and general indifference to the widespread discrimination and violence that women experience in their everyday life. Basically women's ability to enjoy rights and freedom got seriously effected because of discrimination made with them just because of their gender as compared with the treatment with men in the society. The efforts for protecting the women rights started with the formation of United Nations Charter, 1945 and later coming into being of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and also the covenant relating to civil and political rights¹⁸ as well as economic social and cultural rights.¹⁹ But the greatest milestone for the protection of women's rights was the adoption of Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women²⁰ (CEDAW) by the United Nations General Assembly.

Pertinently this Convention is considered as a systematic and most important step taken to fight for the rights of the women around the world. The convention clearly provides that women be given rights equal to those of men without any discrimination. One of the important aspects of the convention is that it not only addresses the states, but also the private sphere where the most serious violations of women's rights take place. It is clearly evident in the article²¹ where states are urged '*to modify the social and cultural patterns of the men and women*'. Furthermore, this provision promotes to establish the '*common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children*'.²² The matters dealt under the convention are not just related with rights and discrimination but also with regard to the exploitation of the women. Besides this, even under article 7 of the convention, it is provided that '*discrimination against women in political as well as in public life of the country*' should also be stopped.

Moreover it also protects the women and ensures that no discrimination is done to her just because of her nationality. Actually the steps taken would not have been successful had the rights of women in the field of education,²³ employment²⁴ and healthcare²⁵ would not have been protected but this drawback is not their in the convention as all these areas concerning women's life are also covered to provide her a decent living. Accordingly for the furtherance of rights of women, protection mechanism also exists under the convention as periodical reports have to be submitted by the state parties stating the development done in their respective countries. The purpose of having these reports is to analyze the progress made by the state parties in implementing the convention which is done by the committee²⁶ established under the convention.

In addition to the convention an *optional protocol*²⁷ of Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) has also been adopted in order to make the rights of women more secured. Under

the optional protocol²⁸ an '*individual complaint procedure*' has been established under which individuals and group of women gets a right to complain about the violations of the convention. It also enables the committee to go for *enquiries* whenever any grave or systematic abuse of women's human rights are said to exist in the countries which are party to the protocol. Under this protocol the parties have to explain their conduct in cases where violation of women's right exist and are also bound to provide remedy to the complainants.

Protection of Women Rights: Indian Scenario

By the time the Constitution of India was drafted the demand for equality between men and women was fully recognized. The UN Charter during that time was the first ever international agreement to proclaim gender equality a fundamental human right. In this endeavour the Indian Constitution makes specific mention of equality between the sexes in articles²⁹ which prohibits discrimination against women and also makes room for effective action. The directive principles of state policy contained in Part IV of the Constitution directs the state to protect human rights of women including *right to equal pay for equal work, the right to health and work in hygienic conditions, right concerning maternity benefits* etc. There are various laws and provisions in the country which are enacted to help the cause of women and to defend women's rights. Although all laws are not gender specific, but the provisions of law affecting women have been reviewed periodically and amendments are carried out to keep pace with the emerging requirements in the country e.g. *the Employees State Insurance Act, 1948, the Plantation Labour Act, 1951, the Family Courts Act, 1954, the Special Marriage Act, 1954, the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, the Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act 1956, the Maternity Benefit Act 1961, the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971, the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act 1976, the Equal Remuneration Act 1976, the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006, the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act 1983, the Factories (Amendment) Act 1986, the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986, the Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act 1987, the Domestic Violence Act 2005* are all enactments.

Besides, even the Indian judiciary has been the greatest protector of women rights and has used such international norms for interpreting fundamental rights expressly guaranteed in the Constitution which embodies the basic concept of gender equality in all the spheres of human's activity i.e. the Supreme Court of India incorporated Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW) principles in *Vishakha v State of Rajasthan*.³⁰ Similarly in *Masilamani Mudaliar Case*³¹ on the question of property rights of women under Hindu Succession Act, the Hon'ble Supreme Court stated that "*by virtue of the Protection of*

Human Rights Act, the principles embodied in CEDAW and the concomitant right to development became integral parts of the Indian Constitution". Thereafter in the case of *Mary Roy*³² the trial court challenged the discriminatory provisions of Travancore Christian Succession Act for equal succession rights as the law put an upper limit of Rs. 5000 on the inheritance of the daughter, leaving the entire estate to the son. Actually the Act was repealed, but it was done on the ground of the Indian Succession Act rather than subjecting the discriminatory provisions to the test of equality. Further even in *Madhu Kishwar v State of Bihar*³³ challenging a tribal law dis-entitling tribal women from inheriting land as being discriminatory the court observed the discriminatory provisions and ruled out that women could assert a right of occupation against male inheritors.

Conclusion

All societies around the world believe that human rights are essential for social, economic and fundamental growth of humans. To these problems of women, even though the world community has put in lot of efforts by making assessment about their problems and by spreading awareness but still we have not achieved what is required. Hence all these violations are done solely or primarily because of their sex. In this context, United Nations along with its agencies have done so much for the rights of women by urging its member states to implement all the laws which prevent violation of women rights, same has been the position of women in India as many laws for the protection of women rights are there but still the women is not as equal as men. The Indian judiciary has also defended and worked for the upliftment of women rights but more needs to be done.

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20

Dokhana - A Traditional Dress of the Bodos, an Ethnic Tribe of Assam

Gouri Dey

Bodo an ethnic tribe of Assam considered to be the real son of the soils and are the earliest settlers of Brahmaputra valley with their distinct culture of their own. Even the rivers of Assam and the Epics like Ramayana and the Mahabharata strongly support the evidence of settling down of the bodos in this valley. Though Bodos in the Brahmaputra valley intermixed with the Assamese people but still they have preserved their language and traditional social and religious beliefs and practices and even their dresses and dress designing.¹

Designing is a plan to make or work out a plan for devise, it is a decorative or artistic work. It is as a process can take many forms depending upon the object being designed and the individual or individuals participating; it is a composition in art referred to the planning and arrangement of form and color in two-or-three dimensional work. Design is the human power to conceive, plan, and release products that serve human beings in the accomplishment of any individual or collective purpose. The traditional dress of bodo women is the *Dokhana*, a thing of pride to all the Bodo people. This oblong sized garment measuring about 1 ½ x3 meters is woven by the Bodo girls themselves. Although it is difficult to say for certain about the source of the word '*dokhona*', it may have its origin in or at least a link with the Buddhist word '*drubkha*' by which the Tibetan/Bhutia women's dress is known. The skill of weaving comes naturally to a Bodo girl. In fact, a bodo girl is known in the society by her weaving skill of *dokhana*. Before selecting a bride the parents of a boy usually procure information about the skill of the would-be bride of weaving. Mere knowledge of making a cloth` wouldn't do, She must be able to weave varieties of embroideries, flowers, patterns, etc.

A sensitive ear from a distance wouldn't fail to catch the indicating note of regular strikes by a Bodo maiden's expert hands at the loom. The different types of clothes worn by the Bodos are, *Dokhana* (Women's dress for covering the whole body), *Jumgra* (Chadar or scarf of woman), *Gamosha* (Clothes for covering the lower part of the body by man and sometimes used in bath

), *Phali* or *Rumal* (Handkerchief). Traditionally Bodo men folk used to wear female garment called *Gamsha* (*Gamosha* in Assamese) to cover the body from waist down to the knee. There was no use of shirt in the past days. They only used a type of cloth known as *Jumgra* and a small cloth on the shoulder during the winter and summer season respectively. But now-a-days they put on modern dresses available in the market.²

Like other Indo-Mongoloid groups in India the Bodos have been jealously guarding the skill of thread spinning and weaving. The Bodos first entered the North-Eastern India through the Patkai hills to do silk trade. It is noteworthy that the Bodos after their arrival in the plains of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Nepal gave up their itinerant nature, including the silk trade and settled down in these places to become an agricultural community. They, however, couldn't give up weaving and thread making, because they couldn't afford to lose this skill at a time when cloth was scarce. When thread was found available in the market, they gave up spinning thread except for ere shawl. Ere shawl is made from the cocoon of caterpillars. It is famous as winter clothe. It is soft, handy and has got high quality of heat resistance. Its popularity is not confined amongst the Bodo people alone. People of other communities also use this dress item with great admiration. It is also used by old people as a status symbol or as a token of respect. Bodo girls wear a shoulder scarf known as '*pasra*' along with the *dokhana*. This complimentary piece put on as a protection or the chest from cold weather as well as an ornament. Man's aesthetic sense is the resultant development of his effort to meet the basic necessity of life. For this reason aesthetic sense differs from community to community. The Bodo girls adopted a dress, which became handy for them while living in plains. The dresses of Bodo women are a distinguishable feature of Bodo culture. A man can identify bodo women folk by seeing the dresses of her. Bodo woman wears her "*Dokhana*" covering the body from the chest down to the ankle. Its length and breadth is made in such a way that it can be tied one round at a time in the waist. *Dokhona* is made of varied colors and "*Agor*" or (*Phul* in Assamese). The *Dokhna* without *Agor* or *Phul* is called "*Salamatha*" or *Matha Dokhona Thaosi* ("Pure *Dokhona*) is generally meant for use of bride, Boirathi (Woman receptionist of bride and bridegroom in Bodo marriage) and "*Doudini*" (A dancing woman in *Kherai* puja, a religious festival of the bodos) or during the festivals or other ceremonies. The favourite colours of the Bodos are generally *Gamo* (Yellow), *Gothang* (Green), and *Bathogang* (Colour of parrot's feathers).³

Taking into account the present *dokhona* may not have to share the fate of some traditional dresses of other communities. With the emergence of weaving centers and the sale of better quality threads in the market the *dokhona* is already commercialized and its quality much improved. The

demand of modern living especially educational pursuit has snatched away the time of the Bodo girls from their handlooms. The school going girls and government job employees are now dependent on commercial production.⁴

There will be great commercial prospect for *dokhana*, if it can be popularized amongst the girls outside the Bodo community. People in Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and other North Eastern States are attracted to the *Dokhona*. Through *dokhana* one can learn some basic skill as is required in wearing a sari. Large scale production is one way to market promotion is one way to keep this beautiful Bodo traditional attire going in time to come.⁵

Now-a-days they do not want to stick to their old style and fashion. They use various types of threads or yarns for Dokhana to suit their use. Sometimes Bodo women are also found wearing other Indian dresses like Saris, Churidars etc. especially in town. But the people in the Bodo society are still attached to their roots and are found wearing their traditional dress in every occasion or in any religious function.⁶

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21

Mahatma Gandhi's Peace Mission to Kashmir*Annu Bala*

The British Indian Empire comprised of the provinces, directly ruled by the British administration and around six hundred Indian states of varying sizes ruled under British supremacy, by the native rulers.¹ Provinces whereas Direct rule on the entire country was considered unwieldy and costly so British Parliament supported the existence of the native states. The supremacy of the crown over the states extended not only to defence and foreign affairs but also to maintenance of peace and order throughout India.²

The state government imposed a ban on the outside speakers and it was on frivolous grounds that they turned out of the state.³ The people of the state suffered unemployment because western educated men from the neighbouring Punjab and other places had been appointed in large numbers to posts in the administration.⁴ About 150 students went to Gujranwala to attend a conference of students convened by Lala Lajpat Rai to induce the students to join the non cooperation movement.⁵ The news of Gandhi ji's arrest spread like wild fire in Jammu, Srinagar and other towns. The authorities looked helplessly on reflecting perhaps upon their long sustained but futile efforts to muzzle the people's voice and to suppress popular discontent and urge for freedom.⁶ The princely states not joining the All India Federation created distress among the people who wanted democracy should prevail in all the states. During this period this movement gained momentum, though the rulers were successful in suppressing the movement in many states yet in other states they had to come to terms.⁷

The Muslim League predominant leadership of which belonged to the feudal class of India and was patronised by many Nawabs, could not go far enough with the Kashmir movement against the ruler and the feudal order. In general it adopted a policy of non interference in the affairs of the princely states.⁸ The vacuum created by passive and later hostile attitude of the Muslim League to the Kashmir movements was readily and more effectively filled by the stalwarts of the National leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul

Ghaffar Khan. Contrary to the friendly attitude of the Muslim league towards the princes, the Congress sponsored the All India states people's Conference in 1927 "with a view of attaining responsible government in the Indian states under the aegis of their rulers".⁹ During the Tripura session of the Indian National Congress on 10-12th March, 1939 under the President ship of Subash Chandra Bose, it was decided to maintain closer cooperation between the Congress and the All India states People Conference "to devise ways and means of bringing the people of Indian states and British India closer to each other".¹⁰

This session was attended by leadership of Jammu and Kashmir which included Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Pundit kashyap Bandhu, Pundit Prem Nath Bazaz and Maulana Saied Masoodi. In fact the Congress strategy with regard to the political movement in the states was given the final shape at Tripura.¹¹ Whereas the All India State's people Conference, on its part, in its Ludhiana session had already resolved that the people's struggle should be in a close cooperation under the guidance of the Congress or any sub-Committee that the Congress might form for this purpose.¹² On 11th July, 1939 the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference changed its name to the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and amended its Constitution that all such people who wished to participate in political struggle might easily become members of the Conference irrespective of their Caste, creed or religion.¹³

Further the resolution adopted by Lahore session of Muslim League on 23rd March, 1940 for the division of India and creation of a separate Independent state for the Muslims of India to be known as Pakistan had profound effect on the political movements in the state.¹⁴ So when Jinnah reached Kashmir in 1944 he was "shocked to see the condition of the people in the state" and advised that the Muslim there should join him under one flag and on one platform.¹⁵ The Indian national Congress, led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru had wooed Sheikh Abdullah as he was one of the few Muslim leaders in British India to oppose Jinnah, as he believed in secularism. Freedom movement in Jammu and Kashmir gained fresh momentum with the famous Quit India Movement. In this context Sheikh Abdullah said that "I raised the slogan of Quit Kashmir and led a powerful mass movement which in its character and content was similar to quit India movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi".¹⁶

Further the Congress working Committee decided on 23rd September, 1946 to send a deputation to enquire into the reports of repression of civil liberties and tempering with votes in the state Assembly elections. So an emissary of the Nawab of Bhopal met Gandhi ji on 16th October, 1946 was sent to persuade him against implementing the resolution of the Congress

working Committee. Gandhi ji warned him that the feeling against the Kashmir authorities was so strong that if resistance (to enquiry) was pressed too far, it might cause “not merely the possible loss of throne to the present Maharaja but even the disappearance of the state as a unit”.¹⁷ Gandhi ji reiterated his stand during his visit to the state in the first week of August, 1947 when a deputation asked him at Jammu whether Kashmir should join Indian Union or Pakistan, he answered, “that should be decided by the will of the Kashmir’s”. Writing from Rawalpindi, where he went from Jammu, to Nehru, he said “I studied the Amritsar Treaty properly called SALE DEED. I presume it lapsed on the 15th August instant. To whom does the state revert? Does it not go to the people?”¹⁸ I have always maintained, Gandhi ji affirmed in one of his prayer meetings at Delhi, “that the real rulers of all the states were their people”. The people of Kashmir, he continued, “without any coercion or show of force from within or without must by themselves decide the issue”.¹⁹

All India Congress Committee met at Delhi on 15th June, 1947 and strongly condemned the Balkanisation of the country. Mr M.K. Gandhi appealed to the princes to join either of the two dominions while speaking about independence of the states.²⁰ Gandhi ji visited Srinagar before 15th August, 1947 and urged the Maharaja Hari Singh to ascertain the wishes of his people, to take his people into confidence and to align himself rather than against them in the political turmoil that was engulfing the country.²¹

This visit of Gandhi ji proved comforting to the harassed people. He was impressed with the communal harmony that prevailed in the state and said that in India which had become dark all around, Kashmir was the only hope. Speaking at Wah (Pakistan) on his return in August, 1947, he said in a prayer meeting that in large gatherings that he saw, “It was very difficult for me to know whether it was predominantly Muslim or Hindu”.²² Mahatma Gandhi had talks with the Maharaja but they produced no substantial results. The Maharaja remained undecided. He gave a non committal reply to Gandhi ji who returned to India without much satisfaction.²³ Mahatma Gandhi’s visit was still being talked of in the homes and streets of Srinagar.²⁴ Thus Mahatma Gandhi supported the freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir and declared in August 1947 that Kashmir was free to join India or Pakistan in accordance with the will of the people.²⁵

The Indian political leaders took no steps to obtain Kashmir’s accession and in line with their general approach wanted the people of Kashmir to decide whether to link their fate with India or Pakistan. In this they were supported by M.K. Gandhi.²⁶ However on 22nd October, 1947, this state was attacked by the Tribal raiders from Pakistan. So pressed by circumstances Maharaja Hari Singh signed the “Instrument of Accession” in favour of

Indian union and thus the state of Jammu and Kashmir became a part and parcel of India.²⁷

This decision was bolstered by its approval by M.K. Gandhi who told Nehru that there should be no submission to evil in Kashmir and that the raiders had to be driven out.²⁸ Regarding the tribal invasion, M.K. Gandhi stated that a rebel army composed of Afridis and the like, ably officered, was advancing towards Srinagar, burning and looting villages along the route. That must save the situation to the extent of growing confidence to the Kashmiris. Such heroic defence will in fact the whole of the India and we will forget that the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs were ever enemies.²⁹

Further Mahatma Gandhi stated that I am amazed to see that the Government of Pakistan disputes the veracity of the union's representations to the United Nations Organisation and they charge that Pakistan has a hand in the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders. It will bring both the dominions under the sway of a third power for amity and goodwill..... the understanding should however be genuine to harbour internal hatred may be even worse than war.³⁰ Pakistan will eventually find that by encouraging the raiders, she has let loose a demon which would devour Pakistan itself.³¹ Mahatma Gandhi valued the right of Muslim leaders more than that of a Hindu Raja to decide the future of the state. He created the strong emotional bond between the people of Kashmir and himself and thus with the rest of the country by a single statement in which he hoped that Kashmir would be beacon of light to the benighted sub continent.³²

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22

Chhotu Ram- A Saviour of Peasantry*Parveen Kumar*

The peasantry constituted the backbone of the nation. Chhotu Ram succeeded in awakening peasantry for their educational, social, economic and political upliftment. The erstwhile Punjab consist an area of 148610 square miles in 1941. The province being a land locked region, had no natural sea port.¹ The purpose of this paper is to highlight the efforts of Chhotu Ram for the upliftment of peasantry.

Peasantry's scenario in the Erstwhile Punjab

The major portion of Punjab is of plains and contains a deep alluvial soil that is considered fertile in the world for agriculture as it is full of essential mineral constituents.² In this respect the province was singularly blessed and its agriculturists were more fortunate than those of any other parts of India.³ Because of British Government's wrong taxation policy the agriculturist had to bear higher incidence of taxes vis-a-vis urbanites (money lenders and non agriculturists) while the income level was just the reverse. High rate of land revenue and frequent occurrence of famines⁴ excessive litigation⁵, Uncertainty of animal life and high cattle mortality⁶, complicated and costly legal system⁷, extravagance on the occasion of marriages and social customs⁸, small land holdings, illiteracy, ignorance, corruption etc compelled the peasantry to borrow money from the money-lenders who acted like a veritable Shylock made the life of peasantry was miserable. Rural people had the least part in spending of the revenue collected from them as most of that was spent on urbanities.⁹

Table 1.1¹⁰

Table 1.1 tells volumes about the land holdings of the peasants.. Punjab, which seems to have been inarched out by nature as a prosperous agriculture region of India, was incidentally the most indebted province as well.¹¹

The process of depriving of debtors of the means of their livelihood in execution decrees was recognized neither in law nor in practice.¹² Every year three of four crore rupees were being spent on litigation alone.¹³ The ratio of money-lenders of Punjab province was four times higher than

the country¹⁴. As a result the peasants' total debt in the province was Rs 55 crore in 1918 and it rose to 140 crore in 1930.¹⁵ The Indebtedness of the Punjab peasants' was out of proportion of its percentage of population in the country. British Punjab had only 7% of the population of British India, but its share of debt exceeded 15% of the total debt.¹⁶ The presence of a high volume at agricultural indebtedness, which was unfortunately for the most part unproductive, checked the improvement in all directions and constituted one of the most serious problems for agricultural economy in Punjab.¹⁷ Land Revenue policy of British of exploitation and Moneylenders were responsible for this indebtedness The Table clearly shows the picture:

Table 1.2

Total Land Revenue in Rupees.¹⁸

Years	Land Revenue (in crores)	Years	Land Revenue (in crores)
1925-26	5.21	1931-32	4.87
1927-28	5.21	1932-33	4.84
1929-30	5.24	1933-34	5.13
1930-31	4.64	1934-35	4.95

Table 1.3

“Net income per acre of the cultivators of various districts, if the whole land had belonged to them”¹⁹

Districts	Net Income								
	1928-29			1929-30			1930-31		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Layallpur	53	14	3	44	6	7	11	14	11
Montgornery	42	11	7	32	0	9	9	1	8
Amritsar	64	5	5	27	12	0	7	15	2
Rohtak	31	0	0	18	0	3	13	1	5
Jullunder	38	12	0	23	13	6	11	12	9
Hoshiarpur	20	7	4	31	7	7	20	10	4
Ludhiana	21	3	3	12	4	4	3	7	2

Above tables shows that, despite the fall in prices of agriculture commodities during the great economic depression, the land revenue remains unchanged. In 1937 out of total income of province government (Rs. 11.70 Crore), 9 crore came from the peasantry. This shows that the burden of state expenditure mainly fell on the shoulders of the peasantry.²⁰

Chhotu Ram as a champion of Peasants

Sir Chhotu Ram's role in Punjab Politics during his political career was significantly determined by his emergence as a peasant leader. First he joined congress and was appointed as president of district Congress in 1916.²¹ He said, "for the non payment of land revenue, however small, the farmer could be deprived of all his land and in the auction those would be purchased just on nominal price by the members of money lending classes."²² In his ideology, the cementing force between different sections of the peasantry was economic interests and not religion.²³ For the awakening of the Zamindars, (a Zamindar is a person who derives the main portion of his income from land)²⁴ he wrote a long series of 17 articles under the titles "Thagi ke Bazaar Ki Sair" and "Bechara Zamindar." For agriculturists he usually quoted a line from Iqbal:-

"Khamosi guftgu hai, baizabani hai zaban meri"²⁵

As an Agriculture minister (28 Sept. 1924 to Dec. 1926) no extraordinary work was done for peasantry by him. But his achievements in social, economical and agrarian spheres were considerable.²⁶ However, he was offered the post of Primeminister of Kashmir State. He refused it. Chhotu Ram often used to say "I am not prepared to give up my life-long principles for any material gains and honours."²⁷ To enhance the facilities of education, he worked under a well thought-out plan. He enacted the Punjab Primary Education Act 1926 and 1940 and got half fee and full fee concessions in schools for agriculturists and the scheduled caste pupils respectively.²⁸ As a minister of Agriculture, Chhotu Ram took up the Mandi Hydro Electric Project which was successfully implicated in spite of objections from various quarters.²⁹ In 1928, 1930 and 1931 he also acted as nominated member and chairman at legislative council. During 1928-31 he was a member of Standing Committee on Finance.³⁰ Chhotu Ram became Development Minister of Punjab and was later converted to Revenue Minister in 1941. Being an active member of council he got enacted various Agrarian laws:

1. **The Punjab Regulation of the Accounts Act of 1930** - Under this act, moneylenders were required to maintain their accounts in the prescribed form and furnishing of six monthly statements in respect of loans to the debtors. Violating the provisions of this act would amount to the loss at interest wholly or in part and also of the cost of suits.³¹
2. **The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act VII of 1934** - This bill made provision that the interest on loan could not exceed the principal. It saved the debtors from a loan of about Rs. 200 lacs.³² However Chhotu Ram was not satisfied with the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act 1934 because some of the vital clauses were dropped by the local Government.

3. **The Punjab Debtor Protection Act II of 1936** - The Act drafted and piloted by non official member of the council. Chhotu Ram, on March 31, 1936 and was passed on April 16, 1936.³³ This act checked the attachment of the execution of a court decree of the land on which a farmer and his family survives.

4. **The Punjab Registration of Money Lenders Act III of 1938** - The registration and license could be cancelled for reasons clearly stated in section 6 of the act.³⁴ Chhotu Ram supported the act as “The registration of Money-lenders Act, will do immense good to poor debtors by crippling money-lenders in the matter at their willy dishonest tricks.” This measurement was not aimed at honest moneylenders but against those dishonest and unscrupulous people who thrived on the blood of poor peasants and workers including deprived classes.³⁵

5. **The Punjab Restitution of Mortgaged lands Act IV of 1938** - The important measure of Chhotu Ram was in the direction of releasing the peasants’ mortgaged lands. To check this he got the Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act IV of 1938 enacted.³⁶ The Act benefited 3.65lakhs mortgages and immediately took possession at 8.35 acres at land which had been mortgaged for a mere 4.13 lakhs.³⁷

6. **The Punjab Agricultural Produce Market Act of IX 1939** - This Act was aimed at putting an end to the existing malpractices in the *Mandies*.³⁸ In support of the act, Chhotu Ram said, “I may point out that if the Zamindars begin to get even two Annas in a Rupee more than do now for their produce, the total additional income which will accure to those people who are engaged in agriculture whether they are Zamindars, Tenants or Partners of agricultural labourers, will be no less than 10 crore, for agricultural produce of all sorts worth 80 crore of Rupees is sold in every year by agriculturists.”³⁹

7. **The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness (Amendment) Act XII of 1940** - Under this Act, Debt Conciliation Boards were constituted at District Headquarter for settling debts of long standing duration in order to save both the creditors and debtors from litigation and such cases were not allowed to be taken to civil courts. By 1942 loans worth Rupees 1400 lac were settled at an interest of 7.5% per annum for secured loan and 12.5% for unsecured loan.⁴⁰

8. **The Punjab Weights, And Measurement Act XII of 1941** - This Act aimed at ensuring proper weights and measure in the markets and *mandies*.⁴¹.. At the end of a public speech Chhotu Ram used to say “The Bania who under weights is sucking the blood of the farmers. To protect them from his clunches and to struggle for their economic and social improvement is my endeavour.”⁴² This Act, besides other things, provided for the maintenance

Size of Holdings	Holdings		Area	
	Number of owners	Percentage of the total	Estimated nos. of Acres cultivated	Percentage of total area cultivated
Below 1 Acres	625400	17.9	313000	1.0
Between 1-3 Acres	908400	25.5	1268000	4.4
Between 3-5 Acres	520000	14.9	1935000	6.6
Between 5-10 Acres	630600	18.0	4400000	15.1
Between 10-15 Acres	288300	8.2	3353000	11.5
Between 15-20 Acres	150100	4.3	2444000	8.4
Between 20-25 Acres	94000	2.7	1967000	6.8
Between 25-50 Acres	168700	4.8	5887000	20.4
50 Acres and above	120900	3.3	7452000	25.7

of standard weights and measures.⁴³

Other Acts - In order to divide the burden of taxation equally between peasantry and traders, the Punjab General Sales Tax Act 1941 was passed by which imposed tax on the sale of goods in towns and cities. The Punjab Sugarcane Commandment Act 1943⁴⁴ was enacted. Thus, we can say that due to Chhotu Ram and Unionist Party's efforts the condition of peasantry rose up and thus by 1942 the Punjab Cultivator has become the lowest land rate payer in the whole country.⁴⁵

Irrigation Facilities - In his efforts to make the agriculturists self sufficient,

Chhotu Ram gave practical shape to the Kharif Canals Extension Scheme (1940)⁴⁶. Two nonparallel canals, one each for Rohtak and Hissar districts (1941-42) were dug.⁴⁷ A division was instituted (during 1943-44) for finding irrigational possibilities in the western parts at the province.⁴⁸ New schemes of tubewell irrigation and lift irrigation from Western Jamna canal were taken in hand.⁴⁹ The Bhakra Hydro Electric Project was instituted in 1939. By 1944 Chhotu Ram had obtained clearance from the ruler of Bilashpur and the Government of Sind.⁵⁰ On 8 January, 1945 in Shakti Bhawan (Lahore). Chhotu Ram signed the Bhakra Dam Scheme as Revenue Minister. This was his last signature of life, the next day he breathed last.⁵¹ Chhotu Ram thundered in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, "There are some people who say that I am suffering from a mania of helping the Zamindars, and that I am the enemy of the urban people. No one knows the plight of the Zamindars as much as I do. I love them passionately and want earnestly to help them."⁵² Thus Chhotu Ram was a great peasant leader and a man of the masses.

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23

Technique of manufacturing of Kushana Coins

Dr. Ashok Kumar

Kushana coins, made of gold and copper, were quite profuse and extensively available throughout their dominion. These silver coins are mostly found in North Afghanistan and Indus region.¹ The Kushana did not introduce a regular silver coinage for the whole of empire and did not object to the circulation of non-Kushana silver coins in silver coins using areas of their empire.² The gold and copper coins of the Imperial Kushanas were struck in a range of distinct denominations which formed a clear and logical monetary system. There were at least two methods of manufacturing coins prevalent in Kushana period. In modern terminology they are respectively called (I) Die-striking, (II) casting and droplet technique.³

(I) Die-striking:

About the technique of striking coins from dies nothing can be learnt from the dies themselves because not a single die of ancient India coins has come to light so far; only die struck coins themselves and some literary references throw light on it.⁴ In the Christian era this method became very popular. It was used in ancient Greece also. Dr. Charles Seltman describes it thus: "An artist or craftsman would carve an intaglio design on a thick disk of bronze; this was the obverse die which fitted into a pit sunk in the top face of an anvil. On the lower end of a square faced bronze punch the man next carved another intaglio design this was the reverse die."⁵

As regards the origin of the various techniques of manufacturing coins, it is obvious that the question of the origin of the techniques of die-striking and casting, which were used to manufacture the oldest Indian coins now available is intimately connected with the problem of the origin of the Indian coinage itself. James Prinsep advocated foreign origin for this system. Smith differentiated between single die and double die systems and maintained that final adoption of the double die systems was undoubtedly due to Greek and Roman influence.⁶ But Bhandarkar rightly asks if Indians develop this technique themselves gradually why should it at all be presumed that they depend on foreign influence for taking the final step.⁷ Thomas also believed that all the advances in this technique were effected before the advent of the

Greeks.⁸ However, many Indian scholars including S.K. Chakraborty have supported the theory of foreign influence.⁹

Our literary sources also throw some light on the methods of manufacturing coins in ancient India. The Paninian sutra *rupadahats prasamsayoryap* gives the word *ahata* for striking or punching. Therefore, following V.S. Agarwal, scholars generally take the word *ahata* to indicate punch-marked coins. The *kasika*, commenting on the Sutra of Panini, even includes die-struck coins in the category of *ahata*. But as pointed out by V.S. Pathak¹⁰ it was a legitimate mistake for when the *kasika* was composed the PMC had gone out of vogue and the author of the *kasika* could have gone astray by calling a die struck coin such as *dinara* an *ahatamudra*. Inscriptions refer to *tanka sala* (mint house) and *tankasala* (the department of Minting coins).¹¹

Kautilya uses the term *tanka* in the sense of an implement for punching coins. He lays down that a watchful eye should be kept on those who frequently purchase *bimba tanka* which obviously means *tanka* for punching or stamping *bimba* or designs. The *kasika* indicates a later process when *tanka*, the punch, had transformed itself into a die. The process of manufacturing coins has been described in the *Arthashastra*. In this work Kautilya gives a list of things, that were used in a counterfeiter's (*Kutarupakarakas*) atelier. Obviously the same things must have been used in the state mints. They are: various kinds of metals (*loha*), alkalis (*kshara*), charcoal (*angara*), bellow (*bhastra*), clapper (*sandasa*), hammer (*mushtika*), anvil (*adhikarni*), crucibles (*musha*) and dies with designs (*bimba 'tanka'*).¹²

(II) Casting:

Cast coins were manufactured by passing molten metal into moulds of clay or metal. Archaeological evidence suggests that in India the use of both punching and casting seems to indicate that the cast technique was in use even earlier than the punching technique.¹³ The moulds for casting of coins were made of burnt clay or of hard metal. Only one metal mould of bronze has been discovered from Eran though clay moulds have been found in a fairly large number from several sites. Instead of punching several symbols by separate dies, a single model was prepared where all the symbols were put together. From the model, moulds were then made and molten metal was poured into them to cast coins.

Technique of Casting Coins

According to Upendra Thakur¹⁴ who has also studied the methods of manufacturing coins in ancient India in detail, the moulds show that several techniques of casting coins were employed in this century. The technique, known from the coin moulds of the Yaudheyas found from Rohtak, was the

most complex one. From the crater the molten metal went into a central shaft like canal and from there into the separate coin sockets by separate channels radiating into them from the shaft. After the metal was poured and then, cooled, the mould was broken and coin separated.¹⁵ Another technique of casting coins is revealed by the complex multiple coin moulds found from Mathura, Sisupalagarh and Kondapur. A third technique of casting coins is revealed by the moulds found at Sunet, Kasi, Nalanda, Sanchi, and Khokhrakot. The moulds were found containing single discs of the coins of the Yaudheyas, Kushanas, Guptas etc.

(III) Droplet Technique:

Droplet technique was in vogue right from the time when punch marked coins were made. A.N. Lahiri has discussed this technique in his paper. In the Later Kushana period also this technique was employed and in this metal of specified weight in semi molten state was dropped and then the die was struck.¹⁶

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अकबर की धार्मिक नीति और जैन संतों का प्रभाव

डॉ. दिग्विजय भटनागर

अकबर का जन्म साधारण परिस्थितियों में अमरकोट के राजा वीरसाल के यहाँ 15 अक्टूबर 1542 ई. को हुआ।¹ अबुल फजल ने अकबर के जन्म और उससे पूर्व की अभूतपूर्व घटनाओं का उल्लेख किया है।² अकबर में यह विश्वास अंकुरित होने लगा कि सभी वर्गों और धर्मों की प्रजा की निःस्वार्थ सेवा से बढ़कर ईश्वर को प्रसन्न करने का कोई मार्ग नहीं है। इस आध्यात्मिक चेतना और भावना से समन्वयवादी, समदर्शिता और उदारता पूर्ण कुशल धार्मिक नीति का जन्म हुआ और वह सत्य एवं ज्ञान की खोज में विभिन्न धर्म गुरु आचार्यों, मोलवियों, शेखों के सम्पर्क में आया।³ अपने राज्य के प्रारम्भिक वर्षों में अकबर ने सर्वप्रथम अपने 20वें जन्मदिन को एक नवीन आदेश प्रसारित कर युद्धबन्दियों को गुलाम बनाने, बलपूर्वक इस्लाम स्वीकार कराने की मनाही कर दी गयी।⁴ अकबर ने समस्त हिन्दुओं और जैन तीर्थों पर लगाये तीर्थकर (कर्मी) 1563 ई. को समाप्त कर दिया तथा अपमानजनक जजिया कर की समाप्ति की घोषणा 15 मार्च 1564 ई. को की।⁵ उसने राजपूत राजाओं के साथ वैवाहिक सम्बंध स्थापित कर उन्हें मुगल दरबार में उच्च पदों पर नियुक्ति देकर सुलह-कुल की नीति को अपनाया।⁶

अकबर बादशाह ने फतेहपुर सीकरी में इबादतखानों की स्थापना करके भिन्न-भिन्न धर्मों के विद्वानों को आमंत्रित करना प्रारम्भ किया। सर्वप्रथम उसने इस्लाम के सिद्धांतों का प्रमाणिक ज्ञान प्राप्त करने के लिए 1555 ई. से 1574 ई. तक सुन्नी धर्म के मुल्ला शेख अब्दुन्नी और मखदमू-उल-मुल्क अब्दुल्ला सुल्तानपुरी की शागिर्दी में रहा।⁷ किंतु वे उसकी जिज्ञासाओं पर खरे नहीं उतरें अतः 3 अक्टूबर 1578 ई. को इबादत खाने के द्वार सभी संतों और धर्मों के लिए खोल दिये गये।⁸ इबादत खाने में हिंदु, जैन, पारसी और ईसाई विद्वान अपने धार्मिक सिद्धांतों की व्याख्या करते थे तथा अपने धर्म पर लगाये गये आक्षेपों का तर्क संगत उत्तर देते थे।⁹

अपने शासन काल के प्रारम्भ मे 1568 ई. के पूर्व अकबर आगरा के जैनियों और जैन मुनियों के सम्पर्क के आया था। बुद्धिसागर प्रथम जैन मुनि थे जो अकबर के दरबार मे आये थे।¹⁰ इसी समय जैन धर्म के एक अन्य विद्वान परम सुन्दर से भी अकबर का परिचय हुआ था। परमसुन्दर जी तपोगच्छ जैन सम्प्रदाय के विद्वान मुनि थे। लेकिन श्वेताम्बर सम्प्रदाय के जैन मुनियों और यतियों से अकबर का सम्पर्क इबादतखाने में धार्मिक वाद-विवाद के समय हुआ।¹¹ अबुल फजल ने आईने-अकबरी में 3 जैन विद्वानों के नामों का उल्लेख किया है आचार्य श्री हरि विजय सूरी, विजय सेन सूरी और भानुचंद्र उपाध्याय।

जैन मुनि हरिविजय सूरी का प्रथम जैन शिष्ट मण्डल (1583-1585 ई.):

हरिविजय सूरी मध्य युग के सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध जैनाचार्य थे। अपनी प्रतिभा और विद्वता से तपोगच्छ समुदाय के प्रमुख प्राचार्य बन गये। अकबर ने ऐसे महापुरुष से मिलने हेतु गुजरात के तत्कालिन मुगल सूबेदार शिहाबुद्दीन अहमद खाँ को ये आदेश भेजा की वह हरिविजय सूरी को फतेहपुर सीकरी भेजे।¹² निमंत्रण प्राप्त होने पर मुनि हरिविजय ने अहमदाबाद के श्रावक संघ से विचार विमर्श कर एवं जैन धर्म के हितार्थ अकबर के दरबार में सीकरी जाना स्वीकार कर लिया।¹³ उनके साथ उनके दो शिष्य भानुचन्द्र और विजयसेन सूरी भी थे। उन्होंने पैदल यात्रा प्रारम्भ की।¹⁴ मार्ग में गाँवों और नगरों में उपदेश देते हुए हरिविजय सूरी 67 जैन मुनियों के साथ 7 जून 1583 को आगरा पहुँचे यहाँ उनका शाही स्वागत किया गया। पहले ही दर्शन में अकबर मुनि हरिविजय सूरी से बहुत प्रभावित हुए। अकबर हरिविजय सूरी के आगाध ज्ञान, गंभीर चिंतन, अलौकिक व्यक्तित्व एवं चरित्र तथा साधु स्वभाव से इतना अधिक प्रभावित हुआ कि उसने उन्हें 'जगतगुरु' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया और अबुल फजल उन्हें मुगल दरबार के तत्कालीन प्रथम श्रेष्ठ 21 विद्वानों में मानता था।¹⁵

अकबर ने हरिविजय सूरी से प्रभावित होकर अनेक बंदियों को मुक्त कर दिया। पिंजरो में बंद पक्षियों को छोड़ दिया था।¹⁶ इस प्रकार जैन मुनि हरिविजय सूरी ने समय-समय पर बादशाह से निवेदन कर कई ऐसे फरमान जारी करवाये जिसमें अहिंसा और जीव हत्याओं को रोकने के शासकीय आदेश निकाले गये थे। (फरमान नं. 1, 2, 3) गुजरात, सौराष्ट्र में हिन्दुओं और जैनियों पर जजिया और तीर्थ यात्रा कर को समाप्त करने वाले पहले के शाही आदेश की पुष्टि की गई। इन फरमानों में इस बात पर बल दिया गया कि कुछ निश्चित दिनों में जहाँ जैन निवास करते हो, पशुवध निषिद्ध कर दिया गया।¹⁷

जैन मुनि शांतिचन्द्र उपाध्याय का अकबर से सम्पर्क:

1585 ई. में आचार्य हरिविजय सूरी गुजरात की ओर विहार के समय अपने शिष्य शांतिचंद्र और भानुचन्द्र को मुगल दरबार में छोड़ गये। शांतिचन्द्र जी ने बादशाह का ध्यान कुरान शरीफ की उन आयतों की ओर आकर्षित किया जिनका अभिप्राय था हर जीव पर दया करो। कुरान शरीफ में स्पष्ट लिखा है कि खुदा तक न गोश्त पहुँचता है और न खून, बल्कि उस तक तुम्हारी परहेजगारी पहुँचती है।¹⁸ जब शान्तिचन्द्र ने अकबर से विदा ली तब उनके आग्रह पर एक फरमान निकाला जिसमें जजिया कर की समाप्ति की और वर्ष में लगभग छः माह के लिए पशुवध निषिद्ध कर दिया गया था।¹⁹

जैन मुनि भानुचन्द्र उपाध्याय और सिद्धचंद्र जी का अकबर से सम्पर्क:

अकबर बादशाह से घनिष्ठता के कारण मुगल दरबार में भानुचन्द्र का प्रभाव अधिक हो गया। अबुल फजल ने उसे इबादतखाने के पांचवीं श्रेणी का विद्वान माना था।²⁰ अकबर ने हरिविजय सूरी के नाम दो फरमान प्रथम 16 नवम्बर 1590 का और दूसरा 1592 ई. में जारी किये। इनके द्वारा जैन समाज को शासन की ओर से कुछ विशेष सुविधाएं प्रदान की गयी थी। 1590 ई. के फरमान में गुजरात के सूबेदार को यह आदेश दिया गया कि उस राज्य में किसी को भी जैन मंदिरों में हस्तेक्षेप न करने दिया जाये, 1592 ई. के फरमान के अनुसार मालवा, गुजरात, लाहौर, मुल्तान, बंगाल तथा कुछ अन्य प्रान्तों के सूबेदारों को यह आदेश दिया गया कि सिद्धाचल, गिरनार, तरंग, केसरियानाथ तथा आबू, गुजरात और राजगिरि बिहार में जैनियों को सौंप दिया जाये।²¹ इसी प्रकार संस्कृत और फारसी के विद्वान सिद्धचन्द्र जी ने अपने प्रभाव से आगरा में बन रहे जैन मंदिर की सुरक्षा का आदेश बादशाह अकबर से प्राप्त किया था तथा गुजरात में हो रहे पशुवध के अत्याचार से लोगों को मुक्त करवाया।²²

आचार्य विजयसेन सूरी का अकबर से सम्पर्क:

जब हरिविजय सूरी ने फतेहपुर सीकरी से बिहार किया था तो बादशाह के अनुरोध पर उन्होंने विजयसेन सूरी को दरबार में भेजने का वचन दिया था। विजयसेन सूरी 1593 ई. में बादशाह के पास लाहौर पहुँचे। विजयसेन सूरी की विद्वता और विचारों से ईष्या करने वाले पंडितों ने बादशाह को विजयसेन सूरी के विरुद्ध भड़काने का अथाह प्रयास किया किन्तु विजयसेन सूरी के व्यक्तित्व के प्रभाव के कारण बादशाह पर इस साजिश का कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा।²³ विजयसेन सूरी के प्रभाव से गाय, भैंस, घोड़ा, ऊँट के माँस के प्रयोग का भी निषेध मिलता है। जगद्गुरु हीर में भी वर्णन मिलता

है कि बादशाह ने मृत मनुष्य का दृव्य कर के रूप में लेना निषेध कर दिया था। (फरमान नं. 4)

श्री जिन जितेन्द्र सूरी का द्वितीय जैन शिष्टमण्डल (1592—1593 ई.):

जैन आचार्य जिनचन्द्र सूरी खतगच्छ सम्प्रदाय के प्रमुख आचार्य थे। सन् 1591 ई. में अकबर ने लाहौर में जिन जितेन्द्र सूरी की प्रशंसा सुनी तो उन्हें दरबार में आमंत्रित किया गया। 1592 ई. में जिनचन्द्र सूरी गुजरात के खम्भात नगर से पैदल भ्रमण करते हुए लाहौर पहुँचे। जिनचन्द्र सूरी की गहन विद्वता और अध्ययनशीलता से प्रभावित होकर 23 फरवरी 1593 ई. को उन्हें 'युगप्रधान' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया गया।²⁴ जिनचन्द्र सूरी ने बादशाह अकबर से कहा कि बादशाह को सदैव उदारवृत्ति, निर्मल हृदय और पवित्र रहना चाहिए। इस उपदेश पर बादशाह ने जीव हिंसा हेतु अभय दान का शाही फरमान जारी किया।²⁵ (फरमान नं. 5)

जैन धर्म के प्रचारक मुनियों का अकबर पर प्रभाव:

अकबर जैन संतो और जैन धर्म के अनुयायियों के सम्पर्क में 1568 ई. से ही रहा। अकबर जैनियों के कर्मवाद, सत्य और अहिंसा के सिद्धांत से काफी प्रभावित था। 1585 ई. के बाद अकबर ने अपना मांसाहारी भोजन सीमित कर दिया और शनैः शनैः बिल्कुल छोड़ दिया। अंत में तो उसने मांस का उपभोग पूर्ण रूप से ही छोड़ने के इरादे से कई उपवासों को धीरे-धीरे वर्ष में 6 माह से अधिक बढ़ाता जाता था।²⁶ अबुलफजल का विचार है कि सम्राट अकबर ने प्रत्येक सौर माह के पहले दिन, रविवार, चन्द्र और सूर्य ग्रहण, दो उपवासों के बीच के दिन, रजब माह में, सोमवार, फरवर्दिन दिन के पूरे माह और अपने जन्म के माह अवान में मांसाहार का सेवन नहीं करता है। ये उपवास पवित्र मन्तव्यों से रखे जाते थे और प्रतिवर्ष कम से कम 5 दिन के उपवास और बढ़ा दिये जाते थे।²⁷ अकबर ने ऐसे अनेक आदेश प्रसारित किये जिनसे जैन धर्म का प्रभाव उस पर स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होता है। अकबर ने एक आदेश चूहों को हानि न पहुँचाने के लिए प्रसारित किया था, दूसरा बैलों के पालन से सम्बंधित था। तीसरे आदेशों में विशेष ऋतु में वनों में तेंदूएँ को पकड़ा, उसका शिकार करना निषेध था, चौथे आदेश में खरगोश का आखेट और उसका मांस भक्षण निषिद्ध था, पाँचवें आदेश में कुछ विशेष दिनों में मछलियों को न मारने के लिए कहा गया था, छठे आदेश में कुछ विशेष तिथियों में सर्पों को चोट न पहुँचाने के लिए कहा गया था। सातवें आदेश में अश्वों के मारने और उनके मांस को न खाने के लिए कहा गया था। आठवें आदेश में भेड़ का वध निषिद्ध कर दिया गया था, नवें आदेश में बंदरों का शिकार निषिद्ध था और बंदरों को मुक्त करने के हुक्म दिया

गया था। दसवें आदेश में मुर्गों को मारना निषेध और ग्याहरवें आदेश में सूअरों का आखेट बंद कर दिया था।

इन आदेशों के अलावा चान्द्र वर्ष के प्रतिमाह में कुछ विशेष अच्छे कार्य करने के आदेश भी अकबर ने प्रसारित किये थे जैसे प्रथम माह में जीव हिंसा न करना, चतुर्थ माह में स्वच्छता से रहकर भोग विलास विरक्त रहना व इन्द्रिय सुख में लिप्त न रहना, पांचवे माह में चमकीले भड़कीले परिधान धारण न करना, छठे माह में चमड़े की वस्तुओं का उपभोग न करना, सातवे माह में लोकोपकार तथा जनकल्याण के कार्य करना, आठवे माह में उत्पीडन से बचना, नवें माह में दरिद्रों, निस्सहायों को भोजन और वस्त्र दान में देना, दसवें माह में प्रतिदिन ईश्वर के नाम का सहस्र बार स्मरण करना, ग्यारहवे माह में प्रथम रात्रि को जागरण करना, और अन्य धर्मों अनुयायियों के प्रति जनकल्याण के कार्य करने की भावना रखना और बारहवें माह में सार्वजनिक कार्यों हेतु भवन निर्माण करना। ये आदेश सम्राट द्वारा दिये जाने वाले निर्देशक सिद्धांत के समान थे जिनका अनिवार्य रूप से व्यवहार में पालन होता था।²⁸ जैन धर्म के प्रभाव से अकबर ने निश्चित रूप से साम्राज्य में जीव हिंसा को कम करने का भरसक प्रयास किया था। रोग मुक्ति पर अकबर ने जैन मुनियों को 500 गायदान देने का आदेश दिया।²⁹ विदेशी यात्री पुर्तगाली पीलहारों ने अपने 1595 ई. वृत्तांत में पुर्तगाल के बादशाह को भेजे गये पत्र में लिखा है कि अकबर जैन धर्म का अनुयायी हो गया है। मद्य, मांस और धुतक्रीड़ा को निषेध की आज्ञा उसने प्रचारित कर रखी है।³⁰

निष्कर्षतः अकबर ने जैन धर्म के संतों और आचार्यों के प्रभाव के कारण धर्म, समाज और राजनीति में संतुलन स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया। जीव और प्रकृति के प्रति सम्मान की भावना ने अकबर को समकालीन परम्पराओं के विपरीत व्यवहार करने का साहस दिया और युगीन पुरुष के रूप में स्थापित किया गया था।

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मेवाड़ में जनानी ड्योढ़ी व उसकी व्यवस्था

डॉ. सुशीला शक्तावत

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि पूर्व में पर्दा प्रथा मेवाड़ में नहीं थी। रानियों सक्रिय रूप से सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक आयोजन में शरीक होती थी। युद्धकाल में आंतरिक व्यवस्था सुचारू रूप से चलाने में सहयोग देती थी। राज्याभिषेक के समय महाराणा के साथ राजगद्दी पर बैठती थी।¹ राजपुरोहित एवं अन्य वरिष्ठ सरदारों के साथ आवश्यक मंत्रणा एवं निती निर्धारण करती थी।²

मध्यकाल में मुगल प्रभाव से सुरक्षा संबंधी कारणों से रानियों के लिये अलग महल एवं व्यवस्था का विकास होने लगा। इसे जनानी ड्योढ़ी, रनिवास एवं रावला आदि नामों से जाना जाने लगा। यह रावला सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक कार्यों के प्रमुख केन्द्र के रूप में विकसित हुआ। रानियों के लिये निजी सुविधायुक्त कक्ष निर्मित हुए।

चौमुखा— रावले के चौक में एक चबूतरे पर चौमुखा बना हुआ है, इसका निर्माण संवत् 1678 में महाराणा कर्णसिंह ने करवाया था। प्रातःकालीन सभा, उत्सव, भेंट यहा होती थी। जनाना दरीखाना यही लगता था।

आसरा— यह रावले के पूर्वी भाग में स्थित लम्बा बरामदा है जिसे महाराणा कर्णसिंह ने संवत् 1678 में बनवाया था। सांयकालीन सभा, उत्सव, भेंट के कार्यक्रम इस स्थान पर होते थे।

रनिवास में पुरुष प्रवेश वर्जित था, कड़ी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था रहती थी। ड्योढ़ी के प्रवेश द्वार के अन्दर एक खाट पर ड्योढ़या ठाकर³ बैठे रहते थे, उनका काम जाने वालों पर निगरानी रखना था। जनानी ड्योढ़ी की सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था का दायित्व ड्योढ़ी के मेहता पर था। यह पद अत्यन्त विश्वसनीय एवं पुश्तैनी था। ड्योढ़ी के मुख्य द्वार पर इनकी बैठक थी।

जनानी ड्योढ़ी में प्रवेश करने के लिये सर्वप्रथम तोरण पोल द्वार आता है, उसके बाद एक चौक है, सामने की तरफ रसोड़े बने हुए हैं। बाँयी तरफ ड्योढ़ी का मुख्य द्वार है जहाँ ड्योढ़ी के मेहता बैठते थे। यहाँ फिर एक चौक है और सामने एक गलियारा है। जिसमे होकर ड्योढ़ी के मुख्य चौक

में प्रवेश किया जाता है। इस गलियारे के पश्चिमी भाग में एक मूंज की खाट पर 'ड्योढ़या ठाकर' बैठा करते थे। यह दायित्व राठौड़ वंश के एक परिवार विशेष के पास रहा है, जिनके पास 'माताजी का खेड़ा' बेड़वास, फरारा, खाकरडा माचदा, डाबकुरा आदि गाँवों की जागीर रही है।

राठौड़ वंश के राव धाडाजी के दो पुत्र हुए। राव सुलका ने गढ़ खेडपाट पर शासन किया और दूसरे पुत्र राव हाथीजी ने हट्टूडगढ बसाया, जो नष्ट हो गया तब यह शाखा कँवला (ईडर राज्य) में चली गयी। इन हाथीजी की पुत्री राजकंवर का विवाह सीसोदा की राणा शाखा के लक्ष्मणसिंह के साथ हुआ। राणी राजकंवर के साथ जो परिवार साथ आया उसे 'रनिवास' पर सुरक्षा के लिये नियुक्त किया गया। महाराणा जवानसिंह ने संवत् 1892 में 'माताजी का खेड़ा गाँव' का पट्टा दिया।⁴ उदयपुर में इनकी चौबीस घंटे की नौकरी थी, इसलिये पास में बेड़वास गांव दे दिया गया।⁵ जनानी ड्यौढ़ी की व्यवस्था में 'मेहताजी' का स्थान सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण था।⁶ ड्यौढ़ी के मुख्य प्रवेश के द्वार पर वे उपस्थित रहते थे। यह दायित्व चौबीसो घंटे चलता था। रनिवास में कार्यरत समस्त बाइयों, परिचारिकाओं पर उसका नियंत्रण रहता था। मेहताजी एक ऐसा पद था, जिस पर महाराणा एवं रानियों का समान विश्वास होना आवश्यक था। आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि मेवाड़ का एक ही परिवार एक लम्बी अवधि से इस दायित्व का निर्वाह करता रहा है इस परिवार ने युद्धों में भाग लिया।⁷

वीर विनोद एवं ओझाजी के 'उदयपुर राज्य के इतिहास' में ड्यौढ़ी के मेहता घराने का उल्लेख नहीं हुआ है, जबकि मेवाड़ राजकुल के साथ इसका संबंध काफी घनिष्ट एवं पुराना रहा है। मेवाड़ के महाराणाओं का इस परिवार में अटूट विश्वास रहा है। महाराणा जब रनिवास में प्रवेश करते तो 'बदोबस्त' हो जाता था। प्रातः काल जब महाराणा के अपोढ़ी का समय होता तब मेहताजी, ड्योढ़या ठाकर, मोसल और ड्यौढ़ी का दरोगा उपस्थित रहते थे। उस वक्त के संवाद इस प्रकार होते थे।⁸

ताला खोल कर मेहताजी आवाज देते — "कूण है शा बाया म्हाँ"

महाराणा के निकट बायी कहती — "ठेरो शा"

अन्दर की व्यवस्था एवं रानी के कक्ष छोड़ते के बाद वह जोर से बोलती—“पधारो शा—पधारो शा” मेहताजी एवं दल के साथी आगे बढ़ने से पूर्व जोर से दो बार कहते—“ऑँवा—आई रिया हॉं।” मेहताजी एकलिंगजी के चित्र के दर्शन करवाते और ड्यौढ़ी का दरोगा छायादान करवाता था। यह सिसोदिया मेहता परिवार महाराणा के अंतरंग था। प्रत्येक रानी के अपने कामदार रहते थे, जो बाईयों⁹ के माध्यम से उनके निजी कार्य एवं

आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करते थे। चौमुखा एवं ओसारा की व्यवस्था के लिये 'बडारण' एवं महिला दरोगा रहती थी। रानी की निजी परिचारिकाओं के अलावा जनानी ड्यौढ़ी की सेविकाओं पर इनका नियंत्रण रहता था।

रानियों को प्रतिमाह निजी खर्च की बंधी हुई रकम मिलती थी। इनकी अपनी निजी संपत्ति (डायचा में प्राप्त) रखने का अधिकार था। महाराणा की तरफ से समय-समय पर भेंट उपहार प्राप्त होते थे। कई रानियों ने अपनी बचत से मंदिर, देवालाय, बनवाये एवं दान पुण्य किये थे। गणगौर पर ड्यौढ़ी की 25 डावडियों के लिये स्वर्ण आभूषण तथा 2 चंवर करने वाली 2 खवासणों एवं एक विशेष कुल 30 सेट आते थे। इनमें पाँवों में पहनने के आभूषण चांदी के होते थे।¹⁰

रानियों का दरबार ओसारे में लगता था, जहाँ गादी मोडे लगाये जाते थे। सामान्यतया या विशेष अवसरों पर राजपरिवार से संबंधित भाई बेटों (हवेली) के जनाना दादीसा, माँजीसा, लाडीसा या बहुजी दर्शन¹¹ करने आती थी। इस प्रकार राजपुरोहित, वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों, मेहता मुत्सदी की पत्नियों भी आती थी। रानियों अपने से आयु में बड़ी तथा रिश्ते में वरिष्ठता को आदर देते हुए 'पगेलागणा' से संबोधन करती थी एवं 'खुशी' पूछती थी। आने वाली वरिष्ठ महिलाएं आशीष देती एवं 'राजी' कहती थी। विशेष अवसरों पर नजर-नछरावल¹² होती, उस समय बडारण परम्परा के अनुसार 'रखवायो जावे' अथवा 'दूणो बक्षायो जावे' कहती थी। सामान्य अवसरों पर भी जो सरदार-उमराव प्रतिष्ठित घरानों के लोग मुजरा अर्ज करवाते, उनके लिये रानियों कुशल क्षेम पूछवाती और चांदी की डिब्बी में पानबीडी और शर्बत का गिलास भिजवाती थी। जनानी ड्यौढ़ी में सभी उत्सव, त्यौहार, पर्व परम्परानुसार मनाये जाते थे।

सुहागिन स्त्रियों वर्ष में बड़ी चौथ का व्रत रखती हैं एवं चन्द्र दर्शन के बाद पारणा करती हैं। मेवाड़ की स्त्रियाँ इस व्रत को श्रद्धापूर्वक करती थी। छोटी बड़ी तीज पर महाराणा एवं रानियों के साथ झूलने¹³ की परम्परा रही है। वे पाटखडी¹⁴ पर आमने-सामने रह घोड़िये¹⁵ लेकर झूले को गति देते हैं। इस महफिल में ढोलणियाँ, डावडिया व परिवार की अन्य स्त्रिया उपस्थित रहती हैं, एवं अवसर के अनुकूल गाना-बजाना करती हैं झूलते वक्त महाराणा का केश अंगोछा (पगडी) नीचे गिर जाती है तो वह नेग नगारची को जाता है। इस वक्त नछरावलें भी होती है। भारतीय परम्परा में पति-पत्नी आपस में एक दूसरे को नाम¹⁶ लेकर नहीं पुकारते हैं, परन्तु इन सावन के झूलों में हीन्दते¹⁷ हुए जोड़े को परिवार की स्त्रियाँ फूलों की कोमल छड़ी के प्रतीकात्मक प्रहार से एक दूसरे को नाम लेने को बाध्य करती हैं।

इसी तरह होली पर फाग खेलने की परम्परा थी। रानियों गहने पहन कर फाग खेलती थी। समस्त मांगलिक विधि विधान औसारे के चौपाड़ में सम्पन्न होते थे। रावले मे गमी (शोक) के समय के सिवाय प्रतिदिन ढोलणियों ढोलक पर पारम्परिक गीत गाती थी। रावले मे रंडियों का प्रवेश वर्जित था। कभी-कभी रानियों के समक्ष बाइयों डांडिया एवं घूमर नृत्य करती थी। रानियों के पीहर, हवेलियों के भाई-बेटे, आशिका लेकर आने वाले पुरोहित, गुंसाई जब रावले में जाते तो ड्यौढी का मेहता, ड्यौढया ठाकर व बडारण की शामलात रहती थी। रानियों के चँवर नहीं होते थे, परन्तु सोने-चांदी की छड़ी एवं गोटा रखने वाली बाइयों रहती थी। ड्यौढो में पॉव में सोना पहनना वर्जित था, बाद में जिन्हे सोना बक्षीस दिया गया वे पहन सकती थी। महाराणा भूपालसिंह के काल में उदारता आ गयी और सोना पहिनने की इजाजत दी जाने लगी। रानियों के साथ डायचे में जो दासियाँ आती थी वे उनकी मुख्य विश्वस्त सेविकाए होती थी। रानियों की समस्त दिनचर्या एवं सेवा सुश्रुषा का दायित्व इन्हीं पर रहता था। सासुजी की डायचवाल को 'याजी' कहा जाता था। महाराणा जनाना महल में पधारते अथवा रानी को मर्दाना महल में आमन्त्रित किया जाता, उस वक्त बंदोबस्त हो जाता था। चाबी मेहताजी के पास रहती थी। महाराणा के शयन के ढोल्ये (पलंग) के पाये स्वर्ण मंडित होते थे। ड्यौढी में बाइयों का काफी महत्व था और। इन्हें 5 मन मक्की, 5 मन जौ और 10 रू. वार्षिक मिलता था। इन्हें रोटिया अपने साथ लाना पड़ता था, सब्जियाँ दाल रसोड़े से मिलती थी। इनके ओसरे बँधे हुए थे। प्रत्येक का ओसरा तीसरे-चौथे दिन आता था।¹⁸

उपरोक्त स्थिति में जो बात स्पष्ट है, कि जनानी ड्यौढी का अस्तित्व था, और इसकी व्यवस्था और सुरक्षा के वैसे ही प्रबन्ध थे, जैसे कि उदयपुर में राजधानी स्थानान्तरित होने के बाद दिखायी देते हैं। इसका तर्क संगत प्रमाण यह है कि ड्यौढी का मेहता परिवार और ड्यौढया ठाकर की परम्परा बहुत पहले से चित्तौड़ में मौजूद थी और वही व्यवस्था उदयपुर में स्थानान्तरित हुई। यह परम्परा इतनी ठोस, विश्वसनीय एवं क्रियाशील थी, कि दुर्ग, शिविर एवं महल सभी जगह जनानी ड्यौढी के साथ रहती थी।

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7. मेहता मालदास एवं मेहता मौजीराम इसी परिवार से थे। जिन्होंने महाराणा भीमसिंह के काल में वि. संवत् 1844 में हडक्याखाल के युद्ध में वीरगति पायी थी। मालदास गली इन्हीं के नाम पर है। बड़वा देवपाल सिंह की पोथी (जिरोक्स) प्रताप शोध प्रतिष्ठान, उदयपुर में सुरक्षित है। पृ. 20, रावल राणाजी री वात प्रताप शोध प्रतिष्ठान, पृ. 6-7
8. मज्झमिका, प्रताप शोध प्रतिष्ठान, उदयपुर, अंक 31-32 सन् 1999, पृ. सं. 82
9. ड्यौढ़्या ठाकर के आगे द्वार के पास एक बाई बाहर के संदेश को अन्दर ले जाने के लिये बैठी रहती थी।
10. मज्झमिका, प्रताप शोध प्रतिष्ठान, उदयपुर, अंक 31-32 सन् 1999, पृ. सं. 75
11. मेवाड़ में उमरावों की ठकराणियों जनानी ड्यौढ़ी में सामान्यतया रानियों से मिलने नहीं जाती थी। प्रत्येक ठिकाने की राह-मरजाद थी, जिसका पालन जरूरी था। इस कारण इसके अपवाद हो सकते हैं परम्परा नहीं थी। गोगुन्दा की ख्यात में पृ. 110 पर उल्लेख है- सीरदार कवेला समेत उदेपुर वे तो चोफेरी होंवें।
12. ड्यौढ़ी में नछरावल मखमल की लाल पोटली में रख कर की जाती थी।
13. तीज के हीन्दे रंग बिरंगी सूती धागों से बनी हुई रस्सियों के होते थे।
14. पाटखडी-लकडी की बनी रस्सी में फंसा कर झूलने का साधन, जिस पर गंगा जमनी चांदी का पतरा मढा होता था।
15. घोड़िये-घुटनों के जोर से झूले को गति देना।
16. किसी भी शुभ प्रसंग, वार तेवार पर गीत गाने का कार्य चुनिन्दा बाइयों करती थी, जिन्हें 'दायों गीतारण्या कहा जाता था।
17. हीन्दते- झूलते हुए।
18. मज्झमिका, प्रताप शोध प्रतिष्ठान, उदयपुर, अंक 31-32 सन् 1999, पृ. सं. 77-78



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इलाहाबाद में स्वराज पार्टी की राजनीति (1923—1928)

डॉ. विनीता मिश्रा

स्वतन्त्रता के युग में इलाहाबाद हमेशा से ही राजनैतिक गतिविधियों का केन्द्र बिन्दु रहा। कांग्रेस की सहायक पार्टी स्वराज पार्टी का जन्म भी इलाहाबाद में हुआ। परिवर्तनवादी—अपरिवर्तनवादी दोनों के अन्दर परस्पर विरोधाभास चल रहा था लेकिन दोनों को समन्वयवादी नीति पर चलाने के लिये मौलाना अबुल कलाम आजाद महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभा रहे थे।¹ जबकि हिन्दू महासभा स्वराज पार्टी से पहले ही अपने पैर स्थानीय रूप से जमा चुकी थी इसका उदाहरण 1919 के म्यूनिसिपैलिटी चुनावों में दिया था। जिसमें हिन्दू महासभा ने एक मुस्लिम प्रत्याशी जहूर अहमद को चुनावों में उतारा था और वह भारी बहुमत से विजयी भी हुये थे।² इसके विपरीत स्वराज पार्टी का नई विचारधारा के साथ 1923 में उदय हो रहा था इसके सिद्धान्त हिन्दू महासभा से पूरी तरह से विपरीत थे।

26 और 27 फरवरी 1923 को इलाहाबाद में ऑल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी की बैठक हुई जिसमें स्वराज पार्टी का गठन हुआ और उसकी कार्य प्रणाली निर्धारित हुई।³ जिसमें मि० ऐने ने अपने सुझाव देते हुये कहा कि जो छोटी पार्टी है वह बड़ी पार्टी के साथ सामन्जस्य बनाते हुये कार्य करेगी तथा रचनात्मक और सामान्य मुद्दों पर समय—समय पर चर्चा करेगी।⁴ मालवीय जी ने बैठक में कहा कि यह अति आवश्यक है कि कौंसिल में भाग लेकर प्रत्येक सीट पर कब्जा करना चाहिये और परिषद के बाहर हर ओर से स्वराज प्राप्ति के लिये उपाय करना चाहिये।⁵ मालवीय जी ने अगला सुझाव दिया कि प्रत्येक कांग्रेसी चाहे वह जिस भी पार्टी का हो वह रचनात्मक कार्यों में सहयोग करेगा।⁶ मालवीय जी ने अगली बात कही कि जो बड़ी पार्टी है वह सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन कभी भी प्रारम्भ कर सकती है। जो बड़ी पार्टी है वह भी छोटी पार्टी के साथ व्यवस्थापिका सभा के चुनाव में भाग लेगी और इसके लिये बनारस या इलाहाबाद में विशेष मीटिंग बुलायेगी।⁷ मि० सी० आर० दास ने कहा कि यदि भविष्य में सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन वास्तविकता के अनुरूप रहा तो वह भी इसमें सहयोग देंगे।⁸ यह पहले से निर्धारित था

कि पार्टी का कार्य सरकारी कार्यों का विरोध करना होगा, पद ग्रहण करना नहीं इसीलिए जब 1923 में लार्ड लिटन ने सी०आर० दास को हस्तानान्तरित विभाग के शासन की जिम्मेदारी अपने ऊपर लेने को कहा अर्थात् मिनिस्ट्री बनाने को आमंत्रित किया, तो सी०आर०दास ने लिटन को लिख भेजा कि, मैं हस्तानान्तरित विभाग की जिम्मेदारी लेने में असमर्थ हूँ। हमारे दल ने विदेशी शासन का अन्त करने का निश्चय किया है।⁹ स्वराज पार्टी में आपसी मतभेदों के कारण उनकी आपसी शक्ति और प्रभाव कम होने लगा था रेस्पॉन्सिविस्ट तथा हिन्दू महासभा स्वराज पार्टी के लिये एक बड़ी समस्या बनने लगे। इलाहाबाद के राजनैतिक माहौल में इस प्रकार तत्वों के प्रवेश का मुख्य कारण साम्प्रदायिकता का उदय होना था। इस विषय में नेहरू जी ने लिखा;

I rushed back with other from Delhi to find out that the acute rioting was over but the aftermath in the shape of bad blood and court cases lasted a long.¹⁰

1924 का वर्ष इलाहाबाद में साम्प्रदायिक दंगों का वर्ष था। अक्टूबर हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दोनों ही कौमों के त्यौहारों का महीना था। इलाहाबाद के मुसलमान लगातार मस्जिद के सामने संगीत बजाने को लेकर हिन्दुओं का विरोध कर रहे थे और 7 अक्टूबर को सब्जी मंडी में लूट पाट प्रारम्भ हो गई। जिसके कारण नगर में कर्फ्यू लगा दिया गया।¹¹ लगभग 200 व्यक्तियों की गिरफ्तारी हुई जिसमें हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दोनों ही शामिल थे। परन्तु जो रिपोर्ट कमिश्नर ने दी उससे ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा था कि इन सब घटनाओं के लिये हिन्दू समाज और हिन्दू महासभा दोनों ही उत्तरदायी हैं। यह रिपोर्ट हिन्दू समाज व हिन्दू महासभा दोनों को ही क्रोधित व बदनाम करने वाली थी जबकि दोनों ही पक्षों के लोग मारे गये थे।¹² स्वराज पार्टी के सिद्धांतों की हार होती प्रतीत हो रही थी। यह ऐसा काल था जहाँ पर स्वराजी किसी पर भी भरोसा नहीं कर रहे थे। सीतला सहाय और कुछ गिने चुने नेता ही इनके साथ थे।¹³ स्वराज पार्टी के सदस्य चाहते थे कि हिन्दू महासभा उनके नियन्त्रण में आ जाय। हिन्दू महासभा में प्रवेश के लिये स्वराज पार्टी ने इलाहाबाद की तहसीलों में 780 सदस्य बनाये थे।¹⁴ स्वराजियों ने हिन्दू महासभा के अन्दर मतभेद उत्पन्न करने की अत्यधिक कोशिश की परन्तु वह सफल नहीं रहें। अतः महासभा में ऐसे किसी भी सदस्य को प्रवेश नहीं करने दिया गया जो कांग्रेसियों को अपना मत दे सकते थे।¹⁵ राजनीतिक कूटनीति के इस युद्ध में इलाहाबाद के रेस्पॉन्सिविस्ट भी सम्मिलित थे। दल के प्रमुख व्यक्तियों में ठाकुर नर्मदाप्रसाद सिंह उल्लेखनीय थे। ठाकुर नर्मदाप्रसाद सिंह भी कांग्रेसी व्यक्तियों को अपने वर्ग में मिलाने के लिये

प्रयत्नशील थे। सीतला सहाय ने अपने पत्र में स्वराज पार्टी की इस हानि के मूल कारण की ओर संकेत किया था।

“I am afraid this is the situation in more than one place in U.P. and time has come when we should go out and create confidence in workers and help them financially if necessary----- there are some who are delighted to work for the Hindu-Mahasabha simply because we cannot provide for them.”¹⁶

सैद्धान्तिकता तथा नैतिकता के पतनोन्मुख होने के कारण चुनाव प्रचार में वैयक्तिक तथा धर्म के नाम पर अशोभनीय टिप्पणियाँ विरोधी दलों के भाषणों में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त कर रहे थे। पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू के इस पत्र में उनकी अगाध निराशा तथा मानसिक विवशता प्रकट हुई है। वे कहते हैं—

“It was simply beyond me to meet the kind of propaganda started against me under the auspices of Malviya Lala Gang. Publically I was denounced as an anti-Hindu and pro-Mohammadan but privately almost every individual voter was told that I was beef eater in league with the Mohammadans to legalize cow slaughter in public places in all times. Communal hatred and heavy bribing of voters was the order of the day. I am thoroughly disgusted and am now seriously thinking of retiring from public life.”¹⁷

ऐसी दुरवस्था में जब साइमन कमीशन की नियुक्ति की सूचना प्राप्त हुई तब पंडित मोतीलाल ने कहा था—

“We are settling to the condition of 20 years ago. I think there can be no greater mistake for the country than appointment of a Royal Commission on reforms at this juncture.”¹⁸

इलाहाबाद की श्वास को प्राण देने का कार्य इसी साइमन कमीशन द्वारा संपादित हुआ। मद्रास के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता के सम्बन्ध में प्रस्ताव पारित हुआ। साइमन कमीशन का बहिष्कार करने का निर्णय लेने के साथ भारत के लिये संविधान रचना के ध्येय से एक सर्वदलीय सम्मेलन की भी घोषणा हुई। यह निर्णय पुनर्जागरण का प्रतीक था। इसके फलस्वरूप 1928 राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोण से जागरूक बना। दो विपरीत धारायें इलाहाबाद में बह रही थीं दोनों के ही अन्दर अपने को श्रेष्ठ साबित करने की प्रतिस्पर्धा थी।

इलाहाबाद के राजनैतिक वातावरण में 1924 के बाद जो साम्प्रदायिकता की हवा चली वह थमने का नाम नहीं ले रही थी। हिन्दू महासभा को यहाँ की जनता समझती थी उसकी विचार धारा भी पारम्परिक थी जबकि स्वराज

पार्टी नई पार्टी थी। इसका मुख्य सिद्धान्त सरकार के काम में अडगां लगाना था। जबकि हिन्दू महासभा कही से भी व्यवस्थापिकाओं में सम्मिलित नहीं थी। दोनो के ही विरोधाभास के लिये यह महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दु था। दोनो ही पार्टियाँ श्रेष्ठता को साबित करने के लिये राजनैतिक आदर्शों की बलि चढ़ाने में पीछे नहीं थी। इस बीच 1928 में साइमन कमीशन ने देश के राजनैतिकों को एकता के सूत्र में बाँधने का कार्य किया। यह राष्ट्रपिता के आदर्शों को पुर्नस्थापित करने के लिए आवश्यक था।

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उत्तर पश्चिमी मालवांचल में शैलोत्कीर्ण बौद्ध गुफाएँ एवं भारतीय संस्कृति

डॉ. प्रद्युम्नकुमार भट्ट

महात्मा बुद्ध के विचार और दर्शन का प्रभाव भारत ही नहीं भारत के बाहर मध्य एशिया दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया और अन्य स्थानों पर भी व्यापक रूप से पड़ा।¹ सम्राट अशोक ने अपने जीवन के उत्तरार्द्ध में जीवन का शेष समय बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार-प्रसार में लगाया इसी काल में भारत में भारत के बाहर बौद्ध वास्तुकला के प्रतीक गुफाएँ चैत्य और विहार निर्मित होने लगे।² अवंती क्षेत्र का उत्तरी पश्चिमी भू-भाग जिसे हम छठी शताब्दी के आसपास अवंती मालवा के रूप में जानने लगे उसी भू-भाग में भौगोलिक दृष्टि से लेटराइट शैल निर्मित पहाड़ियों की श्रृंखला है।³ इन पहाड़ियों की तलहटियों में लावा और डेकनट्रेप फैंला है जो रसायनिक दृष्टि से हिमेटाइट का बाहुल्य लिये है इस पहाड़ी में शैलोत्कीर्ण मानव निर्मित गुफाओं की श्रृंखला स्थापित हुई।⁴ शैलोत्कीर्ण बौद्ध गुफाओं का निर्माण 5वीं 6ठीं सदी से शुरू होकर 8वीं 9वीं सदी तक चला। स्थापत्य कला के विकास की दृष्टि से इसका आरंभिक स्वरूप हमें आगर के पास गुफा बर्ड़ा से शुरू होकर डग, कोलवी, विनायगा, हथियागौड़, पोला डोंगर, खेजडिया भूप, व धमरार (धर्मराजेश्वर) के चदंनगिरि विहार तक विकसित होता दिखाई देता है।⁵ 5वीं से 8वीं सदी के बीच भारत में निर्मित बौद्ध गुफाओं में मालवांचल क्षेत्र की बौद्ध गुफाओं में हम हीनयान व महायान शाखाओं से सम्बंधित प्रतिमानों व लक्षण विधानों को मुखर होता देखते हैं।⁶

उपयुक्त उल्लेखित स्थलों में आगर के गुफा बर्ड़ा में लेटराइट पहाड़ी पर प्राकृतिक झील के पास पूर्वाभिमुख पाँच गुफाएँ हैं।⁷ यही से राजस्थान के वर्तमान झालावाड़ जिले में फैंली लेटराइट पहाड़ी में शैलोत्कीर्ण, कलात्मक बौद्ध गुफाएँ क्रमशः कला का विकसित रूप लिये दिखाई देती हैं।⁸ भौगोलिक दृष्टि से यह पहाड़ी क्षेत्र जिसके एक ओर में खेजडिया भूप की 28 गुफाएँ अच्छी हालत में विद्यमान हैं तथा दाहिनी ओर में पोला डोंगर की गुफा श्रृंखलाएँ हैं। अश्व नाला कृति पहाड़ी पर शताधिक शैलोत्कीर्ण गुफाएँ

है।⁹ इस शोध पत्र में कोलवी, हाथियागौड़, विनायगा, खेजडिया भूप तक बौद्ध गुफाओं के सम्बन्ध में उल्लेख समीचीन है।¹⁰

कोलवी

वर्तमान में झालावाड़ जिले की सीमा में अवस्थित कोलवी ग्राम दिल्ली मुम्बई रेलमार्ग के चौमहला स्टेशन से 30 कि.मी.दूर अवस्थित है।¹¹ कोलवी ग्राम की पहाड़ी पर छोटी बड़ी 90 गुफाएँ थी जिनमें बुद्ध की प्रतिमाएँ उत्कीर्ण है। सभागार के बाहर 14 फिट ऊँची आकर्षक बुध प्रतिमा बौद्ध धर्म के आध्यात्मिक संदेश को प्रसारित कर रही है। बुद्ध को उकेरने की मालवा शैली ही उत्तर पश्चिमी भारत के पहाड़ों पर प्रयुक्त हुई है। इस शैली का उद्भव मालवा के कोलवी में प्रथमतः देखने को मिलता है।¹² गुफा क्रं. 1 में स्तूप के पृष्ठ में कक्ष है। गुफा क्रं. 2 में विशाल स्तूप लगभग 9 मीटर ऊँचा है। यह सबसे बड़ा स्तूप है। कोलवी गुफा को प्रकाश में लाने का श्रेय कर्नल इम्पी को दिया जाता है। इन्होंने 1853ई0 में इसकी खोज की व 1864ई0 में जनरल कनिघम ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में विस्तार से इनका उल्लेख किया है।¹³ 9 वी 10 वी सदी के बाद बौद्ध धर्म के मालवा से बिदा होते युग में ये गुफाएँ नाथ समप्रदाय के कौलमत के प्रचारको की आश्रय स्थली के रूप में प्रयुक्त की जाने लगी थी।¹⁴

हाथियागौड़—कोलवी से 6 कि.मी. दक्षिण पश्चिम में आठ बौद्ध गुफाओं का समूह है।¹⁵ समीप की चट्टान पर स्तूप उकेरा गया है। ये गुफाएँ हीनयान मत से सम्बन्धित मानी जाती है। यहाँ बुद्ध की प्रतिमा नहीं है। 15 फुट लम्बी 13 फिट चौड़ी व 26 फिट ऊँची गुफा की छत अर्द्ध वृत्ताकार शैली में उकेरी गई है। स्तंभ चौकोर है। सादगी पूर्ण हैं। प्राचीन समय में इन पर प्लास्टर का लेप था।¹⁶

विनायगा—इस की अवस्थिति कोलवी के पास पूर्वी पहाड़ी पर है। विनायगा गुफाओं की खोज 1922—23 में भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण विभाग के तकनीकी सहायक अधिकारी द्वारा की गई है। यहाँ 21 गुफाएँ है।¹⁷ यहाँ की गुफाएँ चौकोर उकेरी गई है। गुफाओं में स्तूप व बुद्ध की सुन्दर प्रतिमाएँ है। गवाक्ष सुन्दर है। भिक्षुओं के लिए उपासना स्थल, बड़ा चौकोर कक्ष है। ये कलात्मक गुफाएँ मालवांचल के बौद्ध भिक्षुओं के जीवन दर्शन को अभिव्यक्त करती है। ये गुफाएँ हीनयान व महामान सम्प्रदायों के बीच समन्वय को दर्शाती है। इनका निर्माण दशपुर जनपद के औलिकर नरेशों द्वारा कराया गया। कनिघम का मत है¹⁸ कि इनका निर्माण ऐलोरा गुफाओं के बाद हुआ लेकिन यह सत्यप्रतीत नहीं होता। ऐलोरा गुफाओं का निर्माण राष्ट्रकूट नरेश कृष्णराज द्वारा कराया गया जबकि मालवा में इन बौद्ध गुफाओं का निर्माण

राष्ट्रकूट नरेश नन्नप के कार्यकाल से पूर्व सम्पन्न हो चुका था। बौद्ध गुफा मन्दिर निर्माण की कला में जो उत्कृष्टता ऐलोरा में पाते हैं उसका आरम्भ मालवा की इन्हीं गुफाओं में हुआ है।¹⁹

खेजडिया भोप-मन्दसौर जिले के सुवासरा रेलवे स्टेशन से पूर्व में 16 कि. मी. दूर लेटराइट पहाड़ी पर 28 गुफाएँ अर्द्धवृत्ताकार पहाड़ी पर उकेरी गई हैं। ये ज्यादातर एक मंजिला हैं। इन गुफाओं में आले बने हैं भिक्षुओं के लिए विश्राम हेतु तल्प बने हैं। दो गुफाओं में स्तूप की आकृतियाँ निर्मित हैं। खेजडिया भोप की गुफाएँ हीनयान सम्प्रदाय के भिक्षुओं की साधना स्थली रही।

धर्मराजेश्वर-दिल्ली मुम्बई रेलमार्ग पर शामगढ़ रेलवे स्टेशन (जिला मन्दसौर) से 24 कि.मी. दूर पश्चिम में चंदवासा ग्राम के पास लेटराइट पहाड़ी पर शैलोत्कीर्ण गुफा समूह विद्यमान है।²⁰ लगभग 5वीं से 8वीं सदी के बीच इन गुफाओं का निर्माण प्रभाकर वर्मा के कार्यकाल में दशपुर जनपद में शुरू हुआ जो राष्ट्रकूट नन्नप के कार्यकाल के बाद तक जारी रहा। इसे लोक में धमराड़ यानि धम्मराट अर्थात् धर्मराज्य यानि धर्मराजेश्वर के नाम से पहचाना जाता है।²¹ यहाँ स्थित विहार को चन्दनगिरि विहार कहा जाता था। कर्नल जेम्सटॉड ने दिसम्बर 1821 में प्रथम बार यहाँ की यात्रा के बाद अपने प्रसिद्ध ग्रंथ एनल्स0 में धर्मराजेश्वर का उल्लेख किया।²² अलेक्जेंडर कनिंघम ने इसके महत्त्व से परिचित कराया। कर्नल टॉड ने यहाँ 200 से अधिक गुफाओं का जिक्र किया है।²³ डॉ. आनंद कुमार स्वामी, धर्मराजेश्वर मंदिर को नागर शैली का सजीव उदाहरण मानते हैं। इसका निर्माणकाल 8वीं सदी लगभग निर्धारित किया गया है।²⁴ मालवांचल में अवस्थित इन शैलोत्कीर्ण गुफा संरचनाओं में बुद्ध के जीवन के विविध पक्षों को दर्शाया गया। यह अनुपम व विलक्षण है।²⁵

स्थापत्य की दृष्टि से मालवांचल का यह शिल्प वैभव अजंता ऐलोरा की कला का पूर्वगामी है। उत्तर पश्चिमी मालवांचल में आगर के गुफा बर्डा से लेकर डग कोलवी हाथियागौड़ विनायगा, पोलाडोंगर खेजडियाभूप नाहरमगरा, गणेशमगरा व धमराड़ (धर्मराजेश्वर) तक लेटराइट शैल की पहाड़ी 5वीं से 8वीं सदी तक मालवा में बौद्ध धर्म साधना के वैज्ञानिक इतिहास को आज भी जीवंत और प्रासंगिक बनाये हुए है। भारतीय संस्कृति के प्राचीन बौद्ध युगीन आदर्श को चरितार्थ कर रही है।

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जंगल सत्याग्रह

डॉ. कंचन चांडक

मध्यप्रांत व बरार में सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन के अंतर्गत जंगल सत्याग्रह अधिक महत्व रखता है। यह आंदोलन जुलाई 1930 से आरंभ होकर दिसम्बर 1930 के बीच सर्वाधिक अवधि तक चलने वाला आंदोलन था। इनमें गोंड और कोरबेस प्रमुख थे। वस्तुतः आंदोलन का प्रमुख मुद्दा वनोपज और जंगल के उपयोग पर प्रतिबंध से संबंधित था, क्योंकि जंगल कानून के अनुसार जनजातियों एवं मूल निवासियों को अब लाइसेंस प्राप्त करने के पश्चात् ही जंगल में प्रवेश एवं उपयोग कर सकते थे। मूल निवासी इस व्यवस्था को स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहते थे फलस्वरूप जंगल कानून का उल्लंघन अनिवार्य हो गया और जगह – जगह जंगल सत्याग्रह करने जंगल कानून तोड़ा गया।¹ अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की 9 मार्च 1930 को अहमदाबाद में संपन्न हुई बैठक के बाद सेठ गोविंददास, पंडित रविशंकर शुक्ल, पंडित द्वारकाप्रसाद मिश्र, महात्मा गांधी से मिले और उनसे जंगल सत्याग्रह के विषय में सलाह मांगी। गांधी जी ने पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू से आवश्यक निर्देश लेने को कहा। पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू ने स्थिति का जायजा स्वयं लेने के बाद जंगल कानून तोड़ने की अनुमति दे दी।²

सिवनी का ऐतिहासिक जंगल सत्याग्रह—सिवनी क्षेत्र का एक छोटा सा कस्बा उगली भी जंगल सत्याग्रह के दौरान प्रसिद्ध रहा। सीमेन नामक अंग्रेज तब सिवनी का डिप्टी कमिश्नर और पैरी पुलिस कप्तान थे। उगली में भी इमरत कतिया, श्री कुंदन भोई, श्री गुहाजी, श्री गंगाराम, श्री ढोली, श्री दलवी हल्वा आदि लोगों ने सत्याग्रह यातनाएं सही थीं।³ सन् 1930 के इस आंदोलन के दौरान जिले के बरघाट, टुरिया, शिकारा, आदेगांव, कुरुई, घूमा आदि अन्य ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जहां जंगल सत्याग्रह का व्यापक प्रसार हुआ। सिवनी के सराहीरी, जैतपुर, बड़गौर आदि ऐसे उल्लेखनीय ग्राम हैं।⁴

टुरिया – खम्बा का जंगल सत्याग्रह—इस टुरिया जंगल सत्याग्रह के कारण सिवनी जिले का नाम 'जंगल सत्याग्रह' में ऊंचा रहा।⁵ खबासा ग्राम के श्री रामप्रसादजी जायसवाल के घर पर रात्रि में एक मीटिंग हुई इसमें आस पास

के ग्रामीण लोगों ने भाग लिया और जंगल सत्याग्रह आरंभ करने का निर्णय लिया गया लेकिन इस क्षेत्र में पुलिस अधिकारी बेरहमी से पेश आए।⁶

सिवनी — इस सत्याग्रह का नेता टुरिया ग्राम का ही निवासी मूका लुहीर था। सत्याग्रह के पूर्व खवासा के श्री 'रामप्रसाद' तथा 'मूका लुहार' ने जोश भरे भाषण देकर आसपास के ग्रामों के निवासियों को सत्याग्रह के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया इसके साथ मूका लुहार और उसके साथियों ने अंग्रेज शासन को नोटिस देकर उन्हें सूचित कर दिया कि वे 9 अक्टूबर 1930 को टुरिया सरकारी जंगल में घास सत्याग्रह करेंगे।⁷ इसकी सूचना चारों ओर फैल गई और आस — पास के गांवों में बड़ी संख्या में स्त्री — पुरुष तथा बच्चे प्रातः काल से ही टुरिया में यह दृश्य देखने को उपस्थित हुए चारों ओर अपूर्व उत्साह छाया था।⁸

जैसे ही सत्याग्रह प्रारंभ हुआ भीड़ आगे बढ़ी पुलिस ने उनके साथ अभद्रता का व्यवहार किया जिससे जनता उत्तेजित हो उठी। तत्कालीन डिप्टी कमिश्नर सीमेन ने पहले ही से भोले — भोले आदिवासियों को राष्ट्रीय जन आंदोलनों में भाग लेने का मजा चखाने के लिए पुलिस इंस्पेक्टर सदरउद्दीन को आदेश दिया था।⁹ इसलिए मूका लुहार और उनके साथियों द्वारा पूर्व निर्धारित कार्यक्रम के अनुसार टुरिया नाले के पास 9 अक्टूबर 1930 को घास काटकर सत्याग्रह प्रारंभ किए जाते ही मूका लुहार को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया और जहां पुलिस के जवान ठहरे हुए थे वहां पहुंचाया गया। ये सभी पूर्णतः अहिंसक थे किन्तु रिजर्व इंस्पेक्टर तो ऐसे अवसर की तलाश में ही था कि जब वह डिप्टी कमिश्नर का आदेश कार्यान्वित कर सकें।¹⁰ अकारण और बिना चेतावनी दिए उसने वहां एकत्रित जनसमूह पर गोली चलाने का आदेश दिया जिससे एक सत्याग्रही ग्रामीण महिला उसी स्थान पर शहीद हो गई तथा दो अन्य महिलाएं और एक अन्य पुरुष आहत हुए उन्हें सिवनी अस्पताल में पहुंचाया गया और वहां उनकी मृत्यु हो गयी और तीस लोग घायल हो गए। इस प्रकार सत्याग्रह के अमर शहीदों के नाम इस प्रकार हैं:—

1. गुड्डे बाई साकिन (खामपीढ), 2. श्रीमती रेनीबाई साकिन (खम्बा),
3. श्रीमती देशोंबाई साकिन (भीलंवा), 4. बिरझू भाई साकिन (मुरझोड)।

इन चारों लोगो की लाश इनके परिवार वालो को नहीं दी गई।^{11A+B+C}

चार निर्दोष व्यक्तियों की जान लेने के बाद भी सतुष्ट न रहकर सीमेन ने गांव के 180 व्यक्तियों पर मुकद्मा चलाने का आदेश दे दिया। जंगल सत्याग्रह के दौरान टुरिया खंबा ग्राम से आदिवासी गिरफ्तार किए गए उनके नाम इस प्रकार हैं — सर्वश्री आनंदी गोंड, उज्जर गोंड, गुलसी गंगा, जैसिंग

धादु नुखिया, पुनिया हल्वा, बधिया, बराती गोंड, मुकियां थे। गोली से घायल लोगों में बाख्या, सीताराम एवं सखाराम लुहार आदि थे।¹²

सिवनी के प्रसिद्ध वकील श्री प्रभाकर जी जटार ने अधिकारियों की बर्बताओं को उजागर करने की दृष्टि से उन गांव वालों का बचाव करने का निश्चय किया। उनके प्रबल आग्रह पर सिवनी के एक और कानूनविद् श्री नितेन्द्रनाथ शील भी मुकदमें में पैरवी करने को खड़े हुए। इसी पैरवी के फलस्वरूप श्री एन0 एन0 शील सदैव के लिए राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में सम्मिलित हो गए।^{13+A} श्री एन0 एन0 शील को अदालत ने मुकदमें के समय संबंधित कागजात देखते समय उनके बीच में एक बंद लिफाफा दिखा। श्री एन0 एन0 शील के जोर देने पर अन्ततः वह लिफाफा श्री शील को खोल कर दिखाया गया उसमें सीमेन का वही पत्र था, जिसमें गांव वालों को सबक सिखाने (Teach them a lesson) की हिदायत दी गई स्पष्ट था कि इंस्पेक्टर सदरउद्दीन ने अपने बचाव के लिए वह पत्र संभालकर रखा था। पत्र का पता लगने पर अदालत में सनसनी फैल गई। डिप्टी कमिश्नर की उपस्थिति से घबराकर वकीलों ने उस पत्र की अधिकृत प्रति के लिए अर्जी लगाई।

पत्र की नकल मिलते ही श्री प्रभाकरराव जटार एवं एन0 एन0 शील ने नागपुर जाकर बड़े वकीलों से परामर्श किया। अब वकीलों ने मुकदमें को सिवनी से स्थानांतरण करने हेतु उच्च न्यायालय में आवेदन दिया। उच्च न्यायालय में मुकदमें का स्थानांतरण तो नहीं हुआ किन्तु स्थिति की गंभीरता और विरोध को देखते हुए शासन ने सीमेन का सिवनी से स्थानांतरण कर दिया।¹⁴

सीमेन ने क्रूर अमानवीय कार्यों से त्रस्त सिवनी जिले के निवासियों में अत्यंत हर्ष की लहर दौड़ गई। टुरिया – खंबा के शहीदों के कारण ही जंगल सत्याग्रह में सिवनी जिले का नाम सबसे ऊपर रहा। टुरिया गांव के पटेल श्री सीतारामजी, सत्याग्रह के नेता मूका लुहार एवं अन्य सत्याग्रहियों को महाकौशल प्रांतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी की ओर से उनके त्याग एवं देशभक्ति के लिए ताम्रपत्र भेंट किए गए।^{15+A}

सिवनी जिले के इस एतिहासिक जंगल सत्याग्रह में बड़ी संख्या में सत्याग्रहियों ने भाग लिया था परन्तु जिन्हें पुलिस यातनाएं, अर्थदण्ड और कारावास से दणित किया गया उनका विवरण निम्नानुसार है:-

1. श्री आनन्दी पिता श्री स्वरूप- जंगल सत्याग्रह में 4 माह का कारावास।
2. श्री अब्दुल रहीम खां पिता शकूर खां – जंगल सत्याग्रह में 6 माह का कारावास।

3. श्री आनंदी पिता श्री चौधरी गोंड खंभा निवासी – 50 रूप का अर्थदण्ड एवं 6 माह का कारावास।
4. श्री अमरू पिता श्री कमलू निवासी बड़ागौर – 4 माह का कारावास।
5. श्री इमरत पिता श्री मंगली निवासी उगलीवाड़ा – 3 माह का कारावास।
6. श्री अमरू पिता श्री गोवध निवासी बड़ागौर – 4 माह का कारावास।
7. श्री सितकुर पिता श्री सुखिया निवासी उगली कान्हीवाड़ा – 3 माह का कारावास।
8. श्री सीताराम पिता श्री मल्हारराव निवासी ग्राम नाचनवाड़ी उगली – सिवनी तथा छिन्दवाड़ा में 3 माह का कारावास।
9. श्री सुभान गोंड पिता श्री जगमन निवासी ग्राम कुरुई – 4 माह का कारावास।
10. श्री सुरेशी पिता श्री नबल – जंगल सत्याग्रह में गोली से घायल 20 दिन का कारावास।
11. श्री हीरालाल पिता श्री गुदमा निवासी ग्राम खवासा – 4 माह का कारावास।
12. श्री होल्या पिता श्री गोविंद निवासी ग्राम मकादेही – 3 माह का कारावास।
13. श्री हन्सू पिता श्री रामप्रसाद पवार निवासी ग्राम सोनवार– 3 माह का कारावास।¹⁶

इसके अलावा अनेक ऐसे सत्याग्रही भी थे, जिन्होंने आंदोलन में तन मन धन से सक्रिय भाग लिया और वे स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की सूची में रखे गए हैं उनमें श्री इन्दर गोंड, श्री उज्जर लोधी, श्री गयाप्रसाद, श्री मल्ली गोंड, श्री गोकुलप्रसाद, श्री गोमा, श्री चमरा भोई, श्री चैतू, श्री छतरसिंह, श्री छुट्टू ढीमर, श्री छोटुराम जी हरिजन, श्रीमती जगनी (सहू) गोंड, श्री जुम्मन भोई, श्री ताराचंद ईसाई, श्री तंतु पवार, श्री तुकाराम, श्री तोडेलाल अवधियां, श्री नत्थू गोंड, श्री नत्थूलाल नारंद, श्री नन्हेलाल अग्रवाल, श्री पूनाराम सुनार, श्रीमती पन्जाजी (पत्नी श्री मन्नु निवासी मलारा) श्री बहीलाल धोबी, श्री बसोड़ी, श्री बाख्या, श्री बुक्का भोई, श्री बुछिया, श्री बुद्धीलाल पिता श्री मनीराम, श्री मानकलाल सुनार, श्री मुकासी, श्री मुहम्मद बशीर खां, श्री रहमान खां श्री रामदयाल प्रमुख थे। जंगल सत्याग्रह का यह विवरण दो महत्वपूर्ण तथ्यों पर प्रकाश डालता है:-

प्रथम – यह सिवनी जिले का पहला सामूहिक जन आंदोलन था जिसमें ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लोगों विशेषकर निर्धन व आदिवासियों ने बड़ी संख्या में भाग लिया तथा शहीद हुए।

द्वितीय – जंगल सत्याग्रह ने जिले के गांव – गांव में जागृति उत्पन्न कर दी जिसके फलस्वरूप हर व्यक्ति के मन में स्वराज्य प्राप्ति तक हुए सभी आंदोलनों के प्रति उत्साह रहा।

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बस्तर में महान मुक्ति संग्राम (1856 ई. से 1860 ई.)

डिश्वर नाथ खुटे

बस्तर रियासत छत्तीसगढ़ प्रभाग (मध्यप्रांत) की प्रमुख रियासत थी। यह रियासत 17° 46' से 20° 14' उत्तरी अक्षांश और 80° 45' से 82° 1' पूर्वी देशांश के मध्य 13062 वर्गमील क्षेत्र में विद्यमान था।¹ बस्तर रियासत के उत्तर में कांकेर रियासत एवं रायपुर जिला पूर्व में रायपुर एवं आंध्र, दक्षिण में भद्राचलम ताल्लुका और पश्चिम में चांदा जिला एवं हैदराबाद का निजाम राज्य विद्यमान था।² रियासत की उत्तर से दक्षिण की लंबाई 180 मील एवं पूर्व से पश्चिम तक 125 मील चौड़ाई थी।³ यह रियासत छ.ग. की सभी 14 रियासतों में सबसे बड़ा था, जिसकी राजधानी जगदलपुर थी।⁴ बस्तर रियासत के अंतर्गत जगदलपुर के चारों ओर स्थित सात परगने, इन्द्रावती नदी के उत्तर में स्थित अठारहगढ़ और दक्षिण-पश्चिम में स्थित बारह जमींदारियां आती थी। जगदलपुर के आस-पास स्थित सात परगनों में ही प्रायः बस्तर से बाहर के आए लोग बसे थे।⁵

बस्तर मुख्यतः आदिवासी बहुल अंचल रहा है। बस्तर रियासत की जनजातियों में गोड, मुरिया, माड़िया, भतरा, हल्बा आदि शामिल हैं। बस्तर अपनी वन संपदा एवं खनिज संपदा के लिये चर्चित रहा है।⁶ भारतीय स्वाधीनता संग्राम में बस्तर के आदिवासी विद्रोहों की एक लंबी परंपरा तथा निर्णायक भूमिका रहीं हैं। भारतीय स्वाधीनता संग्राम में अंग्रेजों के शोषण चक्र से निजात पाने हेतु बस्तर के आदिवासियों, राजपरिवार के सदस्यों और जमींदारों ने विद्रोह का शंखनाद किया था।⁷

डॉ. हीरा लाल शुक्ल के अनुसार — “बस्तर की आदिवासी जनता ने गांधीजी के आगमन के पूर्व ही ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के खिलाफ दस बार सशस्त्र संघर्ष किया। उनका यह आंदोलन 1774 ई. से ही आरंभ हो गया था। भारतीय इतिहास में उनकी उपेक्षा हुई है।”⁸ भारतीय जनता की गुलामी और शोषण के खिलाफ संघर्ष में बस्तर विद्रोह सांझी विरासत का ही एक भाग है।⁹ सन् 1857 की क्रांति की पूर्व बेला में बस्तर के वीरों ने स्वतंत्रता में अपनी अगाध निष्ठा का साहसिक परिचय दिया। सन् 1854 में नागपुर के

भोंसलों के अंग्रेजी कंपनी के अधीन आने से बस्तर राज्य भी भोंसलों के प्रति निष्ठा के कारण अंग्रेजों के अधिकार क्षेत्र में आ गया। सन् 1855 में ब्रिटिश सरकार के देशी रियासतों के रूतबे के संबंध में कुछ जांच पड़ताल की। इसका फल यह हुआ कि पुरानी सनदें स्वीकार कर ली गयी तथा भैरमदेव को शासन का अधिकार दे दिया।¹⁰

बस्तर का कंपनी सरकार के अधीन आना बस्तर में दोहरी शासन प्रणाली की शुरुआत थी। बस्तरियों ने इस दोहरी शासन प्रणाली को पसंद नहीं किया। कंपनी सरकार ने औपनिवेशिक हितों के लिहाज से बस्तर में राज-काज को नये सांचे में ढालना चाहा। यह सब न तो राजा भैरमदेव को रास आया, न दीवान दलगंजन सिंह को और न ही बस्तर वासियों को। कुछ ही महीनों में बस्तर अशांत हो गया।¹¹ अधिकारियों ने स्थिति को गलत ढंग से नियंत्रित किया, इसलिये विद्रोह के लम्बे इतिहास से जुड़े हुए यहां के लोगो ने हथियार उठा लिये।

मार्च 1856 के अंत तक दक्षिण बस्तर में आंदोलन तीव्र गति पर था। 50 वर्गमील क्षेत्र में फैले लिंगागिरि तालुक की इस निर्णायक फैलाव में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी। इस तालुक के तालुकेदार को इलियट ने धर्मारव रहा है, जबकि ग्लसफर्ड के अनुसार – वह धुर्वाराव के नाम से जाना जाता था। तालुकेदार धुर्वाराव को कहीं से कुछ परवाना मिला और उसने अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ युद्ध का बिगुल बजा दिया। बस्तर के इतिहास में इसे महान मुक्ति संग्राम कहा जाता है। उसने बस्तर के राजा भैरमदेव से भी निवेदन किया कि वह भी गैर कानूनी अंग्रेज-सरकार के खिलाफ विद्रोह कर दें। भैरमदेव तो वैसा नहीं कर सके, किन्तु विद्रोहियों के प्रति उनके मन में सहानुभूति हुई तथा उनकी मदद भी की।¹² सीमावर्ती अरपल्ली (चांदा जिला) के जमींदारों व्यंकटराव और बाबूराव ने जब विद्रोह कर दिया तो अंग्रेजी सेना से उनकी रक्षा का भार भैरमदेव ने वहन किया। यह भी अफवाह फैली थी कि राजा भैरमदेव अस्त्र-शस्त्र एकत्र कर रहे हैं और पूरी तरह से अंग्रेजों से लड़ने के मुद्रा में हैं।¹³

भैरमदेव तो खुलकर सामने नहीं आए किन्तु धुर्वाराव के नेतृत्व में उसकी तालुका की जनता में अंग्रेजी सरकार के प्रति 1856 में विद्रोह कर दिया। विद्रोहियों ने गांव को लूटा और माल से लदी बैल गाड़ियों पर कब्जा किया।¹⁴ दक्षिण बस्तर में इलियट की सरकारी सेना तथा तेलंगा माड़ियों (दोर्लाओं) के बीच अनेक संघर्ष हुए। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण संघर्ष 3 मार्च 1856 को चिंतलनार में हुआ। अपने 3000 साथियों के साथ धुर्वाराव अंग्रेजी सेना पर टूट पड़े। विद्रोह को दबाने के लिये भोपालपट्टनम का जमींदार अंग्रेजी सेना के साथ था। वह जमींदार घायल हुआ तथा भोपालपट्टनम

का एक सरकारी कर्मचारी मारा गया। 460 माड़िया औरतों और बच्चों को बंदी बनाया गया, जिनमें धुर्वाराव के पत्नी और बच्चे भी थे। धुर्वाराव को पकड़कर फांसी दे दी गई। उसके तालुका को छीनकर पुरस्कार स्वरूप भोपालपट्टनम के जमींदार को दे दिया गया।¹⁵

यादोराव भोपालपट्टनम के जमींदार के पुत्र थे जो कि धुर्वाराव का सच्चा मित्र था। अपने मित्र को फांसी की सजा सुनकर वह विचलित हो गया। उसने अपने पिता से बदला लेने और कंपनी सरकार को मजा चखाने का प्रण लिया तथा उसने भी विद्रोह कर दिया। यादोराव ने 2000 दोर्ला लोगो की सेना संगठित कर धनुष बाण उठा लिये। यादोराव के पिता ने अपने पुत्र व जनता का साथ नहीं दिया। उसने ब्रिटिश सरकार के आदेश पर अपने पुत्र यादोराव को बंदी बनाया तथा 1860 ई. में भोपालपट्टनम में उसे फांसी दे दी।¹⁶

मार्च 1856 ई तक केप्टन डब्ल्यू.एच. क्रिक्टन सावधान थे कि इनकी गतिविधियां न बढ़ पाएं किन्तु उसके बाद दोनो ने ब्रिटिश ठिकानों पर ६ जुआधार हमले किए। राजगढ़ परगना को लूट लिया। बाबूराव तथा व्यंकटराव ने खुले तौर पर ब्रिटिश सरकार के प्रति विद्रोह घोषित कर दिया।¹⁷ उन्होने रोहिल्ला गोंडों की एक सम्मिलित सेना बनाई तथा अनेको बार अंग्रेजी सेना का डटकर मुकाबला किया। अहीरी की जमींदारीन लक्ष्मीबाई उस समय ब्रिटिश सरकार से मिली हुई थी। कैप्टेन क्रिक्टन के पीटर को आदिवासी के भेष में लक्ष्मीबाई के पास भेजा तथा उसे पत्र दे दिया। अब विद्रोहियों को दोहरी मोर्चाबंदी से जूझना था। धीरे-धीरे उनके पांव उखड़ते गए। लक्ष्मीबाई के कपट जाल से बाबूराव पकड़ा गया, उसे तत्काल चांदा भेज दिया गया जहां 21 अक्टूबर 1858 को उसे फांसी दे दी गयी।¹⁸

व्यंकटराव अपने मित्र यादोराव की सहायता से बस्तर भाग गया और यहां पुनः उसने विद्रोही गतिविधियां प्रारंभ की। वह राजा भैरमदेव के राजमहल में छिपा हुआ था। वह राजा को अपना हितैषी मानता था किन्तु उसी राजा ने अप्रैल 1860 मे उसे उस समय गिरफ्तार करा दिया, जब दोर्ला विद्रोह मे कंपनी सरकार उससे जवाब-तलब कर रही थी। व्यंकटराव को फांसी दे दी गई और इस प्रकार व्यंकटराव की शहादत के साथ ही महान मुक्ति संग्राम की लपटें बस्तर में शांत हो गयी।¹⁹

यह बस्तर के लिये गौरव का विषय है कि स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के इस काल खण्ड में वीरप्रसू बस्तर के चार सपूतों – धुर्वाराव, यादोराव, बाबूराव और व्यंकटराव ने स्वतंत्रता के महायज्ञ में अपनी जीवनाहुति दी।

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मध्यप्रदेश के भिण्ड जिले के प्रमुख शिव मंदिर

डॉ. राजीव मिश्रा

डॉ. कुंजा मिश्रा

भिण्ड जिला भारतवर्ष के मध्यवर्ती राज्य मध्यप्रदेश के उत्तर पश्चिम में स्थित है। किंवदन्ती है कि वियावान में विभाण्डक ऋषि का आश्रम था। तपोनिधि विभाण्डक ने यहीं समाधि ली थी। कालान्तर में विभाण्डक का नाम बिगड़ते बिगड़ते 'भाण्डव', 'भाण्डी' और 'भिण्डी' पड़ गया और इन्हीं के नाम पर बाद में बसावटे हुई और स्थान का नाम भिण्ड पड़ गया।'

1. वनखण्डेश्वर मंदिर, भिण्ड:— भिण्ड नगर के मध्य विशाल भू भाग पर बने ऐतिहासिक तालाब "गौरी सरोवर" इसके चतुर्दिश खड़ी मन्दिरों की अनवरत श्रृंखलाएँ एवं यत्र—तत्र बिखरी पड़ी दुर्लभ मूर्तियाँ अनगिनत रहस्यों के पट खोलती नजर आती है। गौरी सरोवर के चतुर्दिक और मध्य में निर्मित प्राचीन देवाल्यों में स्थापित मूर्तियों और उनकी शिल्पकला को देखा जाये तो अत्यंत दुर्लभ और उत्कृष्ट शिल्प—विविधता को प्रदर्शित करती है। ईंटों और चूने के मसाले से जोड़कर बनाई गई दीवारें अपनी कला का नमूना प्रस्तुत करती है। इसके आस—पास पड़ी अनेक दुर्लभ प्रतिमाएँ हैं, उनमें से प्रमुख है भिण्ड जिले का ख्याति प्राप्त वनखण्डेश्वर मन्दिर, लक्ष्मीनारायण मन्दिर, अर्धनारीश्वर मन्दिर और पशुपतिनाथ मन्दिर। सरोवर के उत्तरी किनारे पर वनखण्डेश्वर मन्दिर जिले का सर्वाधिक ख्याति प्राप्त मन्दिर है।'

'परमालरासो' के अनुसार दिल्ली के चौहान वंशीय शासक पृथ्वीराज चौहान और महोबा के बनाफर ऊदल—मलखान के बीच छिड़ी जंग के दौरान यहाँ का विशाल वनखण्ड उनकी सेना का पड़ाव स्थल था। 50x50 वर्ग फुट के बीचोंबीच में एक छोटी सी कोठरीनुमा कमरा है बस उसी में भगवान शिव की स्थापना है। शिवलिंग का शिखर भाग गोल चिकना है। इसी कोठे के ऊपर एक नागर शैली में मठ बना हुआ है। उत्तरी भारत में जितने भी मठ बने हुए हैं बस उसी शैली में वनखण्डेश्वर का मठ है। मन्दिर के प्रवेश द्वार के बाद ही दो दालानों की ड्योढ़ियाँ हैं! दृष्टव्य है मन्दिर में पहले मात्र एक ही छोटी सी स्तूपनुमा कोठरी थी और इसी

में शिवलिंग की स्थापना हुई थी। इस मन्दिर का निर्माण सम्भवतः पृथ्वीराज चौहान (सन् 1191-92 ई.) द्वारा बारहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में हुआ। मन्दिर में लगे शिलालेख से ज्ञात होता है कि इस किले में तैनात सूबेदार शंकर पाण्डे ने यहाँ की पुरासम्पदा और वनखण्डेश्वर मन्दिर के निर्माण में खासी दिलचस्पी दिखाई थी। उनके कार्यकाल में इस मन्दिर में नक्काशीदार तथा कलात्मक भित्ति चित्रावली, भव्य इमारत का निर्माण करवाया गया था। सिंधिया शासकों के कार्यकाल में भी इस मन्दिर की प्रतिष्ठा में काफी कुछ इजाफा हुआ। इस ऐतिहासिक तथा मुख्य मन्दिर के अलावा गौरी सरोवर के इर्द-गिर्द प्रमुख मूर्तियों की खोज की गई है। इनमें से एक महादेव पुत्र गणेश की भव्य तथा आकर्षक आदमकद प्रतिमा लक्ष्मीनारायण मन्दिर में है। यह मन्दिर एक गहरे तलघर में कैद है। इस प्रतिमा का पत्थर एक ही है जो लगभग साढ़े चार फुट ऊँचा है, प्रतिमा यद्यपि खण्ड-खण्ड हो गई है। गौरी सरोवर के दक्षिणी किनारे पर निर्मित शिवालय में पत्थर का एक 'लहर शिवलिंग' को सामान्य गोल शिवलिंग समझने में हलका सा भ्रम पैदा हो जाता है परन्तु यदि हम शिवालय की पिछली दीवाल की तरफ से देखें तो शिवजी के अर्धनारीश्वर रूप का शिल्प उत्कीर्ण दिखाई देता है। यह दुर्लभ त्रिमूर्ति शिवलिंग है।³

2. बोresh्वर मंदिर, बोresh्वर:- पुरातात्विक दृष्टि से बोresh्वर का शिव मंदिर गुप्तकालीन भग्नावशेष पर बना दृष्टिगोचर होता है। ग्राम बोresh्वर तहसील अटेर से भिण्ड-फूफ-अटेर मार्ग पर 21 कि.मी. की दूरी पर मुख्य मार्ग से दक्षिण की ओर तीन किलो मीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है। यहाँ नौवीं-दसवीं शताब्दी का गुर्जर प्रतिहारकालीन भवन शिव मन्दिर गुप्तकालीन मन्दिर के भग्नावशेषों पर स्थित है, मन्दिर चार फुट ऊँचे चबूतरे पर निर्मित है। मन्दिर के गृह में बड़े आकार का शिवलिंग व नन्दी स्थापित है। नागर शैली में बने इस मन्दिर की बनावट अपने में एक विशिष्टता लिए हुए है। पंचरथी आधार पर बने इस मन्दिर की दीवारें शिखर तक शनैः शनैः झुकती चली गई हैं। रथ के कोणों से शिखर तक किसी प्रकार का अवरोध नहीं है। शिखर के ऊपर कलश स्थापित है। दोनों ओर दण्डधारी द्वारपालों की प्रतिमाओं का अंकन है।⁴ मन्दिर की द्वार पट्टी पर मिथुन आकृतियों का अंकन और द्वार के सन्दल के मध्य में गरुण आसीन विष्णु की आकृति तथा आसपास गन्धर्वों का अंकन है। यह शिव मन्दिर गुप्तकालीन मन्दिरों के भग्नावशेषों पर निर्मित है जिसके अवशेष वर्तमान में शिव मन्दिर में लगे हुए। मन्दिरों के शिखर यद्यपि लम्बे हैं पर वे दृढ़ता से भूमि पर आधारित हैं। मन्दिर के उत्तर में एक पुराना तालाब है जिसमें प्रतिवर्ष भादों कृष्ण छट (मोरछट) को नवविवाहित युगलों के मौर मौरी विसर्जित किये जाते हैं।⁵

3. देवेश्वर मंदिर, पाण्डरी:—भिण्ड जिला मुख्यालय से भिण्ड लहार मार्ग पर 15 कि.मी. की दूरी पर ऊमरी ग्राम है। इसी ग्राम के दक्षिणी भाग में गाँव से दो फर्लांग दूर पर एक विशाल शिव मंदिर बना हुआ है। मन्दिर का परकोटा 250ग250 वर्गफुट है। इस परकोटा के भीतरी और मध्य में बहुत बड़ा कोठा है जो दुपट है, इस कोठे के अन्दर करीब चार फुट ऊँचा तामियाँ रंग का शिवलिंग है, और इसी शिवलिंग के पास माँ पार्वती और गणेश की भी प्रतिमाएँ है।⁶ मंदिर के ऊपर इन्डो आर्यन शैली में बना विशाल मठ और शिखर पर सुन्दर कलश है। मन्दिर के सामने ही बड़ा सा चबूतरा है जहाँ नन्दी विराजमान है। मन्दिर के चारों ओर अन्य देवी देवताओं की भग्नावस्था में पड़ी असंख्य मूर्तियाँ है। एक शिलालेख था जो काल के थपेड़ों से जीर्णशीर्ण होकर गिर गया है। कछवायों ने मेवों को परास्त कर इस गाँव पर कब्जा किया है तबसे यहाँ कछवाए ठाकुर ही निवास कर रहे हैं।⁷

संदर्भ

1. विख्यात पत्रकार श्री देवश्रीमालीजी से भेंटवार्तानुसार।
2. डॉ. एम.डी. मिश्रा के आलेखानुसार, आलेख नई दुनिया ग्वालियर दिनांक 07.02.1995 में प्रकाशित।
3. डॉ. एस.एस. कटारे के लेख—गौरी सरोवर साप्ताहिक पत्रिका भिण्ड में प्रकाशित अंक अगस्त 1997।
4. वीरेन्द्र पाण्डेय, प्रभारी जिला संग्रहालय भिण्ड के शोध पत्र के अनुसार, भिण्ड की आवाज साप्ताहिक पत्रिका भिण्ड अंक जून 1998
5. डॉ. श्रीमती कल्पना भदौरिया के आलेखानुसार—दैनिक उद्गार भिण्ड जिला विकास विशेषांक 1993 पृ. 67
6. जनश्रुति एवं लोकमतानुसार तथा भोजराज सिंह कुशवाह ग्राम पाण्डरी की डायरी से उद्धृत।
7. पं. बाँकेबिहारी मिश्र और पुजारी पं. कालीचरण की डायरी के आधार पर।



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भविष्यपुराण में वर्णित सूर्य संदर्भों का अवलोकन

खगेश नाथ गर्ग

सूर्य शब्द 'स' धातु से बना है इसका अर्थ है 'गतौ यस्मात् परा नास्ति' अर्थात् जिसके प्रकाश के समान अन्यन्तम प्रकाश इस भूतल पर नहीं है उसे सूर्य कहते हैं। भविष्य पुराण के चार पर्व हैं—1. ब्राह्म पर्व, 2. मध्यम पर्व, 3. प्रतिसर्ग पर्व, 4. उत्तर पर्व।

ब्रह्म पर्व के 42 वें अध्याय से सूर्य सन्दर्भ प्रारम्भ होता है और 140 अध्याय तक चलता है। इस विशाल अन्तराल में सूर्य संबंधी विविध ज्ञातव्य विशय है। जिनमें प्रमुख है— सूर्य देव के नित्यार्चन, नैमित्तिकार्चन और व्रतोधापन, विधान, व्रतफल, माघादि, ज्येष्ठादि, आश्विनादि चार-चार महीनों में सूर्य पूजा का विधान, रथ सप्तमी का फल, सूर्य रथ का वर्णन, रथ के साथ के देवताओं का वर्णन, उदय अस्त का भेद, सर्व ऋतुओं में उनका वर्णन, रथ यात्रा का पूर्ण विवरण, रथ यात्रा का फल, राजा शतानीक की सूर्य स्तुति उपवास विधि, सूर्य देव का परब्रह्म में वर्णन, सिद्धार्थ सप्तमी का विधान, सूर्य नारायण का स्रोत, साम्ब को दुर्वासा का श्राप, 12 आदित्यकारों का कथन, जया जयन्ती सप्तमी, मार्तण्ड सप्तमी, साम्ब कृत सूर्याराधन, देव का एक विंशति नामात्मक स्त्रोत, साम्ब को चन्द्रभागा नदी से सूर्य प्रतिमा की प्राप्ति, मंत्र और फल, सूर्य मण्डल का वर्णन, तथा 177 स्त्रोतों का प्रसिद्ध आदित्य-हृदय स्तोत्र एवं ब्रह्म कृत सूर्य स्तुति।' वस्तुतः इसके कुछ अंश साम्बपुराण में भी आ गए हैं।

वासुदेव ने साम्ब से कहा—समस्त देवता कही भी प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण के द्वारा उपलब्ध नहीं होते। अनुमान और आगमों द्वारा सहस्र-2 देवताओं का अस्तित्व सिद्ध होता है। तब साम्ब ने कहा— जो देवता प्रत्यक्ष रूप से नेत्रों को दिखे और अभीष्ट प्रदान करने वाला हो उसी देवता के सम्बन्ध में आप उपदेश करे। तब भगवान् वासुदेव ने कहा प्रत्यक्ष देवता तो भगवान् सूर्य हैं। कृतादि लक्षणों वाला यह काल भी साक्षात् दिवाकर ही कहा जाता है। जितने भी ग्रह, नक्षत्रगण, वसुगण, अश्विनीकुमार, वायु, अनल, शशुक्र, प्रजापति, नग-नाग, नदियाँ, समस्त समुद्र, सम्पूर्ण चराचर, अखिल भूतों का समुदाय

इन सभी का कारण एवं उत्पत्तिकर्ता एक मात्र सूर्य देव ही है। भविष्य पुराण में कृष्ण ने कहा है कि जो विद्वान व्यक्ति आकाश मण्डल में स्थित सूर्य देव को अपनी वृद्धि के द्वारा अपनी देह में व्यवस्थित देखता है, वस्तुतः वही देखता है।² भविष्य पुराण में वर्णित है कि राजा मान्धाता ने अपने कुलगुरु वशिष्ठ से सूर्यव्रत के बारे में पूछा था कि जो सन्तानहीन है, रोगपीड़ित है निर्धनी है। उनको सूर्यव्रत किस प्रकार करना चाहिए। इस प्रकार वशिष्ठ जी ने सूर्य व्रत का वर्णन किया है। जिससे व्रती का पाप निश्चय ही नष्ट हो जाता है तथा उसे सन्तान प्राप्ति होती है, निर्धनी धनी हो जाता है, रोगी निरोगी हो जाता है।³ भविष्यपुराण में नारद ने सूर्य देव के विराट रूप का वर्णन किया है।

भविष्य पुराण में ब्रह्मा ने कहा है कि रविवार के दिन निराहार रहकर श्राद्ध करने से साधक निरोग रहता है। इस दिन आदित्य हृदय⁴ जप करने से सर्वकामना पूर्ण होती है तथा अन्त काल में सूर्यलोक की प्राप्ति होती है। अन्त में ब्रह्मा जी ने सौर धर्म का वर्णन किया है।⁵ सूर्य से ही प्राणियों की उत्पत्ति होती है और ये ही प्राणियों के प्राण है— “प्राणप्रजानामुदेत्येश सूर्य”।

संदर्भ

1. ब्रह्म पर्व, भविष्यपुराण
2. मानव शरीर में जो अष्टचक्र रीढ़ की पोली हड्डी में स्थित है। उनमें से नीचे से तीसरे चक्र मणिपूर चक्र में सूर्य केन्द्र कहा जाता है और दोनों ध्रुवों के बीच जो आज्ञाचक्र है वहाँ पर ध्यान किया जाता है — इसी तथ्य को आकाश स्थित सूर्य को अपने शरीर के भीतर देखना कहा जाता है।
 1. स्वामी ब्रह्मज्ञानम् लिखित योग ग्रन्थ कुण्डलिनी जागरण कुण्डलिनी योग रिसर्च इन्स्टीट्यूट, चौक लखनऊ द्वारा प्रकाशित।
 2. स्वामी सत्यानन्द द्वारा लिखित कुण्डलिनी तंत्र, मुंगेर द्वारा प्रकाशित।
 3. अष्टाचक्र नव द्वारा देवानामपूर अयोध्या —अथर्ववेद
 4. योग कुण्डलयुपनिशद्।
3. तमोन्धाय हिमन्धाय षत्रुघायामितात्मने।
कृतन्धाय देवाय ज्योतिशां पतये नमः।।
वाल्मीकि रामायण, युद्धकाण्ड।
4. आदित्य हृदय दो है। एक तो वाल्मीकि रामायण में अगस्त्य ऋषि ने भगवान को उपदेश दिया था जिसे जपकर भगवान राम ने अद्वितीय योद्धा भुवन विजयी रावण का वध किया था। दूसरा आदित्य हृदय भगवान श्री कृष्ण ने अर्जुन से कहा था, जिसमें 177 श्लोक है तथा उसमें आदित्य की एकता ब्रह्मा, विश्णु, महेश से कही गई है भविष्य पुराण में इसी आदित्य हृदय से मन्तव्य है।
5. उत्तर पर्व, भविष्यपुराण।

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प्राचीन युग के देशी या देशज शब्दों का इतिहास : एक अध्ययन

डॉ. अमित शुक्ल

आधुनिकतम् खोजों के आधार पर उपलब्ध देशी या देशज की परम्परा का प्राचीनतम् उल्लेख भरत के नाट्य शास्त्र में मिलता है—¹

*त्रिविध तच्चविशेषं, नाट्ययौगे समासतः
स्थान शब्देविभ्रष्ट देशीमत मथापि वा।*

पाणिनि ने देश शब्द का व्यवहार प्रान्त के अर्थ में ही किया है। महाभारत में देशी भाषा शब्द का प्रयोग हुआ है तो सम्भवतः जन-भाषा के लिए है। उस काल में प्रचलित अनेक भाषाओं के संदर्भ में देश भाषा शब्द का प्रयोग है—

*नाना चर्म मृगहिन्ना, नाना भाषाश्चभासताः
कुशला देश भाषास्तु अल्पतोऽन्योन्यमीस्वतः।।*

वात्सायन के काम सूत्र में भी देशी शब्द का प्रयोग मिलता है पर वह भी प्रान्त अर्थ के लिये ही प्रयुक्त है—

*सुस्ते कर्णमूलेषु, यत्पदेशीय भास्या
दम्पत्योजस्पितुं मन्दं मन्मस्यं तद्विददुधाः।*

‘विष्णुधमोतर’ में कहा गया है कि देशी में जो विभिन्न प्रकार के भाषिक अपभ्रष्ट रूप पाए जाते हैं, उन्हें लक्षण के द्वारा नहीं बताया जा सकता पर यहाँ भी देश या देशी का संबंध प्रान्त अर्थ में ही किया गया है, विशेषण के अर्थ में देशी शब्द का प्रयोग सबसे पहले भरत ने ही किया। उन्होंने अपने नाट्य शास्त्र में लोक भाषा के लिए देश भाषा शब्द का प्रयोग किया। नाट्यशास्त्र के टीकाकार अभिनव गुप्त ने इस संदर्भ में लिखा है—²

*भाषा संस्कृतापभ्रंशः भाषापभ्रशन्तु विभाषासा
तदैव एव गृह्य वासिनां प्रावृत वासिनां च।*

अर्थात् संस्कृत का अपभ्रंश भाषा है और भाषा का भी अपभ्रंश विभाषा है। यही लोक भाषा देश की विभिन्नता से कुछ पारम्परिक वैषम्य रखती थी, इसी कारण इसे देश भाषा भी कहा जाता था।

वैयाकरणों की दृष्टि—प्राचीन वैयाकरणों में से रुद्रट ने देशी शब्द का प्रयोग भाषागत उन शब्दों के लिए किया है जिनकी व्युत्पत्ति प्रकृति, प्रत्यय के विचार के आधार पर न हो सके और जो अपनी रूढ़ि न रखते हों, रुद्रट ने ऐसे शब्दों के बहिष्कार की सम्मति दी है—

*‘प्रकृति प्रत्यय मूला व्युत्पत्तिवित्त यस्य देशस्य
तन्मन्हादि वयंचन रूढिरिति न संस्कृते रूपयते।*

नागेश भट्ट ने देशी या देश्य शब्द का प्रयोग उत्तर, दक्षिण, पूर्व एवं पश्चिम दिशाओं में पड़ने वाले भूखण्डों के लिए किया है।

*‘देशः प्राग्दाक्षिणः प्राच्य उदीच्यः
पश्चिमोत्तर उत्पभरेण दक्षिंतः*

दृगाचार्य ने भी अपनी टीका में उदिप्य आदि शब्द के आगे देशज का प्रयोग उन अर्थ में किया है जिसमें नागेश भट्ट ने किया है। *अलंकारिको की दृष्टि—संस्कृत में अलंकारिकों ने अपभ्रंश का प्रयोग भाषा—विशेष के लिए किया है* भामह ने छठी शताब्दी में अपभ्रंश को काव्योपयोगी देशी भाषा माना।

*‘शब्दायों सख्तो काव्यं गद्यं पर्थ च रुढिधा।
संस्कृत प्राकृत चान्धदपभ्रंश इति त्रिधा।*

सातवीं शताब्दी में दण्डी ने अपभ्रंश को मिलाकर वांगमय के चार भेद माने और प्राकृत के क्रम को बताते हुए देशी अपभ्रंश को ही माना—

तदभवस्तत्समयो देशी सतयनने प्राकृतः वमः

राजशेखर ने अपभ्रंश का प्रयोग देश विशेष में बोली जाने वाली देशी भाषा के लिए किया है—

*‘शब्दायों ते शरीरं संस्कृतं मूर्खं प्राकृतं बातु।
जघन पभ्रंशः पैशावं पादौ डरौ मिश्रम्।*

रुद्रट ने नवीं शती में अपने काव्यलंकार में काव्य को दो भागों में बांटकर भाषा के आधार पर छः भाग किए हैं और देश विशेष के आधार पर अपभ्रंश की चर्चा की है—³

*भाषाभेद निमित्तः प्रौढा भेदो स्य संभवित।
प्राकृत संस्कृत मागध पिशाच भाषास्त, शैसेनीय षण्डो त्र
भृस्मिदो देश विशेषापभ्रंशः*

नभिसाधु ने 11 वीं शताब्दी में काव्यालंकास्वत में अपभ्रंश को एक प्रकार से प्राकृत का भेद ही माना है वह देशी भाषा कहा है—

*तथा प्राकृतमेवापभ्रंश सावान्धरूप नागरामीर ग्राम्यावमेदेन।
मियोक्ता तन्निरासार्य मुक्तं भुरिमेद इति। कुतोदेश विशेषतस्य
चलवाणं लोकादेव समयगवसेपस्।*

वांग्यभट्ट ने भी अपभ्रंश को देश में बोली जाने वाली भाषा स्वीकार किया है—*अपभ्रंशस्तुः यच्छुद्र ततदेशेषुभाषितम्।*

हेमचन्द्र का देशी नाम माला—हेमचन्द्र ही ऐसे आचार्य हैं जिनका अध्ययन 'देशज' शब्दों की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण और प्रामाणिक कहा जा सकता है। उनकी पुस्तक 'देशी नाम माला (रयणावली) प्राकृत अपभ्रंश के देशज शब्दों का कोष है। इस ग्रन्थ का पता बूलर ने लगाया और इसी के आधार पर पिशेल ने देशज शब्दों का भाषा वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया। कुछ हस्तलिपियों में देशी नाम माला मिलता है। स्वयं लेखक ने अपने ग्रन्थ में देशी सदसंगर्ही नाम दिया है जो उपयुक्त भी है।

*पासेस देसीपस्मिल पल्लविय हुबहलाडलरेण '।
विभिन्नस्य देशी सद संगली वण्णवम सुगऔ।*

'देशी नाम माला' का रचनाकाल विद्वानों ने 11वीं शताब्दी स्वीकार किया है। पिशेल ने ग्रन्थ का रचनाकाल 11 वीं शताब्दी का मध्य माना है। हरिबल्लभ भायणी ने इसके रचनाकाल के विषय में लिखा है—हेमचन्द्र का रयणावली (देशी शब्द संग्रह या देश नाम माला) 1045, 1050, ई. में लिखी गई है। वास्तव में हेमचन्द्र का उद्देश्य भाषा शास्त्रीय देशज शब्दों का कोश रचने का नहीं था, वे तो संस्कृत के बाद लोक भाषा में दृष्टि से हुए परिवर्तित शब्दों और उसके देशी रूपों का संग्रह करना चाहते थे। *अमृतराय* ने देशीनाममाला में आर्य ही नहीं बल्कि अरबी एवं फारसी के शब्दों का भी संधान किया है। हेमचन्द्र के दृष्टिकोण को स्पष्ट करते हुए *पिशेल* ने लिखा है—हेमचन्द्र ने चलते ढंग से यह बात नहीं दी कि उसका ग्रन्थ मौलिक है और उसमें प्राचीन ग्रन्थों से कोई सामग्री नहीं ली गई है। *हेमचन्द्र* ने अपने ग्रन्थ में यह स्पष्ट करने की कोशिश की है कि वे किस प्रकार के शब्दों को देशी मानते हैं और इसीलिए विशिष्ट प्रकार के शब्दों को ही उन्होंने इस ग्रन्थ में संकलित किया है। देशी या देशज शब्दों के इतिहास में *हेमचन्द्र* का कार्य ऐतिहासिक और महत्वपूर्ण है। *हेमचन्द्र* ने भी जाने अनजाने अपने या सिद्धान्तों का अनेक बार उल्लंघन किया है।

धनपाल की पाइबेलच्छीनाममाला—धनपाल का उल्लेख हेमचन्द्र ने किया है। धनपाल प्राकृत के कोशकार हैं। धनपाल की पाइबेलच्छी नाममाला का रचनाकाल सन् 972 ई. है। जिस समय मालवराज ने मान्यखेट पर आक्रमण किया था, उस समय धनपाल ने अपनी छोटी बहन सुन्दरी को पढ़ाने के लिए धारा नगरी में लिखा—

विक्रम वालस्स गए अरुणलीसुरा ने सत्साम 15
 मालव नरिंद धाढाए लुहिए मन्नवेडाम 11
 धारानगरीए धाराट्टिएण भग्गेचवाए अछावज्जे।
 वज्जे वणिट्टड वहि पारिए सुन्दरी नाम धिज्जाए 11

धनपाल ने देशी भाषा के तत्कालीन शब्द कोश का परिचय कराने के लिए इस ग्रन्थ की रचना की। पाइबेलच्छी में 279 श्लोक हैं जिसमें से पहला श्लोक मंगलाचरण का है, अंतिम चार पुस्तक निर्माण प्रक्रिया से सम्बन्धित हैं। एक से उन्तीस तक के श्लोकों में एक-एक पद के पर्यायवाची शब्द हैं, 20 से 94 तक के श्लोकों में ये पर्यायवाची शब्द एक-एक पद में हैं 94 से 202 तक श्लोकों में आधे पद आए हैं और 202 तक श्लोकों में आधे पद आए हैं और 203 से 275 तक छोटे हुए शब्द हैं जो एक पदीय के अधिक से अधिक आधे पद में आए हैं। पाइबेलच्छी अत्यंत छोटा कोश है, अन्य कोशों के अनुपलब्धि के कारण इसका ऐतिहासिक महत्व है। रामानुज स्वामी ने लिखा है कि धनपाल ने अपनी पाइबेलच्छी को देशीशास्त्र कहा है और उसमें (तत्सम, तदभवादि) सभी प्रकार के शब्दों को भर दिया है।⁶ देशज शब्द के विषय में प्राचीन भारतीय विद्वानों, वैयाकरणों और अलंकारिकों तथा प्राकृत के कोशकारों के मतों का विश्लेषण करने से निष्कर्ष रूप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि संस्कृत के आचार्यों की अपेक्षा प्राकृत के आचार्यों ने देशज पर अधिक विस्तार से विचार किया है।

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मध्यकालीन समाज और संत साहित्य एक विवेचना (तुलसीदास के विशेष संदर्भ में)

डॉ. विष्णु प्रसाद शर्मा

मध्यकाल में भारत पर तुर्कों का शासन था। तुर्क शासकों ने उच्चवर्ण एवं निम्नवर्ण में विभाजित भारतीय समाज की नब्ज को पकड़कर उपेक्षित निम्नवर्ण को इस्लाम धर्म की ओर आकृष्ट किया। जिससे लोग इस्लाम धर्म ग्रहण करने लगे। प्राचीन वैदिक धर्म में बहुदेववाद, मूर्तिपूजा, कर्मकाण्ड, पुरोहितवाद की कट्टरता ने लोगों को इस्लाम धर्म की ओर धकेल दिया। ऐसे में मरणासन्न भारतीय संस्कृति में प्राण फूंकने का कार्य शंकराचार्य ने किया। परन्तु शंकराचार्य का अद्वैतवाद अपनी कठोरता के कारण जनसामान्य के लिए अग्राह्य रहा। इसका कारण रहा ज्ञान पर विशेष बल देना। आगे के संतों ने भक्ति को आधार बनाकर धर्म और समाज में आई विकृतियों को दूर करने की अलख जगाई। भक्ति में भी दो विचार धाराएं उत्पन्न हो गईं—सगुण एवं निर्गुण।

हिन्दी साहित्य के विद्वान निर्गुण उपासक भक्तों को संत की संज्ञा देते हैं, परन्तु सगुण उपासकों को इस श्रेणी में नहीं रखते हैं। इसलिए संतकाव्य में कबीरदास, दादूदयाल, रैदास, सुन्दर दास का साहित्य तो सम्मिलित किया जाता है। यह स्वीकार है कि निर्गुण उपासक भक्तों ने समाज एवं धर्म में आई जड़ता को तोड़कर संकीर्णता से व्यापकता की ओर अग्रसर किया। उन्होंने समाज में व्याप्त बुराईयों को उजागर करके दूर करने के अनेक प्रयास किये। जिन्हें आगे बढ़ाने का श्रेय तुलसीदास को जाता है। उन्होंने सामाजिक अभियांत्रिकी का सूत्र अपनाते हुए न केवल समाज को एकता के सूत्र में ही पिरोया अपितु सगुण, निर्गुण वैष्णव, शैव, शाक्त, संत, दुर्जन आदि में भी समन्वय स्थापित करने का कार्य किया।

वृहत हिन्दी कोश में संत शब्द का अर्थ 'विरक्त'¹ बतलाया गया है। लोक भारती प्रामाणिक हिन्दी कोश संत का अर्थ साधु, सन्यासी, ईश्वर भक्त² बतलाता है। भारतीय संस्कृति कोश में उल्लिखित है कि संतमत का अर्थ है वह मत जिसमें उसके अनुयायी ने सत् रूपी परमतत्व का

अनुभव कर लिया हो और जो ऊपर उठकर इस परमतत्व के अनुरूप बन गया हो।³ हिन्दी साहित्य कोश भाग-1 के अनुसार संतकाव्य के अन्तर्गत रखी जानेवाली रचनाओं को भावप्रधान कहा जा सकता है, क्योंकि उनके रचयिताओं का ध्यान जितना भाव सौन्दर्य की ओर जाता दिख पड़ता है, उतना उनके शब्द एवं शैली में चमत्कार लाने की ओर दिया गया नहीं जान पड़ता है।⁴ डॉ. हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी ने लिखा है तुलसीदास कवि थे भक्त थे, पंडित सुधारक थे, लोकनायक और भविष्य के सृष्टा थे इन रूपों में उनका कोई भी रूप किसी से घटकर नहीं था।⁵ ग्रियर्सन के अनुसार तुलसीदास का रामचरित मानस तो उतना ही लोकप्रिय है जितना इंग्लैण्ड में बाइबिल।⁶ डॉ. ताराचंद के अनुसार तुलसीदास जी निरंतर प्रवाहित पर्वतीय जल स्रोत है, वे अपनी कृतियों से दुःख संतप्त मानव समाज की तृष्णा को शांत करते हैं।⁷ तुलसीदास भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रवक्ता भर ही नहीं हैं, वे उसके संशोधक और निर्माता भी हैं। जो मूल रूप से एक सन्त और महात्मा है। तुलसी के मानस का देश के हृदय पर जो व्यापक प्रभाव पड़ा उसका एक महत्वपूर्ण कारण था— उनके व्यक्तित्व तथा कृतित्व में संत एवं कवि का सम्मिलन।⁸ राम के चरित्र को निमित्त बनाकर तुलसीदास ने रामचरित मानस में उस सब ज्ञान को सरल भाषा में लिख दिया है, जो वेद-शास्त्र में विद्यमान है। उपनिषदों का अध्यात्मवाद, दर्शनों का तत्त्वचिन्तन और पुराणों की गाथाएँ— ये सब रामचरितमानस में उपलब्ध हैं, और वे भी ऐसी सरल भाषा में जिसे कि सर्वथा निरक्षर व्यक्ति भी सुगमता के साथ समझ सकता है।⁹ साम्प्रदायिक संघर्षों को मिटाने, समाज को संगठित करने, भारतीय संस्कृति को बचाने, भारतीय जनमानस में आत्मविश्वास जगाने और राष्ट्रीय अस्मिता को उद्बुद्ध करने के लिए उन्होंने जो वैचारिक क्रांति की उसका ऐतिहासिक महत्व है।¹⁰ जातिवादियों को चुनौती देते हुए वे कहते हैं।

धूत कहौ, अवधूत कहौ, रजपूत कहौ, जुलहा कहौ कोरु।

काहू की बेटी सो बेटा व ब्याहब, काहू की जाति बिगार न सोरु।

तुलसी सरनाम गुलाम है राम को, जाको रूचै सो कहै कछु ओरु।

मांगि के खैबो, मसीत को सोइबो, लेबे को एक न देबे को दोरु।¹¹

कवितावली के इस छंद में उनके समूचे जीवन का संघर्ष चित्रित है। तुलसी ने परम्परागत भारतीय समाज— व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत ही अपने युग की समस्याओं का समाधान प्राप्त करने की चेष्टा की है।¹² बालकाण्ड के प्रथम सोपान में संत एवं दुष्ट लोगों का बंदन करते हुए कहा है—

बंदौ संत समान चित, हित अनहित नहीं कोई।

बहुरि बंदि खलगन सति भाएँ। जे बिन काज दाहिनेहु बाएँ।

तुलसीदास न विशुद्ध निर्गुणवादी हैं, न विशुद्ध सगुणवादी
अगुन सगुन दूर्ई ब्रह्म सरूपा। अकथ अगाध अनादि अनूपा।।¹³

निष्कर्षतः कहा जा सकता है कि तुलसीदास ने समकालिन परिदृश्य को समझते हुए सर्वप्रथम समाज में व्याप्त बुराईयों को दूर करने के लिए आदर्श के रूप में राम के चरित्र को प्रस्तुत किया। तुलसीदास ने न केवल सामाजिक समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान आकृष्ट किया अपितु समाधन प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास भी किया। अतः तुलसीदास के साहित्य को संत साहित्य में समाहित किया जाना चाहिए जिससे हिन्दी विषय के शोधार्थी इसका मंथन करके सार तत्व को समाज के समक्ष जिससे समाज लाभान्वित हो सके। और हिन्दी साहित्य को एक नई दिशा देकर प्राचीन परम्पराओं को तोड़कर एक नवीन आयाम स्थापित किया जा सकता है।

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Book Review

UTTAR BANGER ITIHAS O SANSKRITI (BENGALI)

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Recently a book named 'UTTAR BANGER ITIHAS O SANSKRITI (BENGALI), Vol- I, edited by Narendra Nath Ray and Binay Barman, has been published by Chhaya Publication, Kolkata. In this book nine researching articles have been served in print for inquisitive readers. Amongst them three are in English, and six in Bengali. Binay Barman has edited the historical articles, and Narendra Nath Ray edited the cultural articles. This book claims to be an extraordinary creation, if we make a comparative study with all other books published in recent times. Most of the articles bear a close natural touch of soil by which the writers have made them enlivened. At first we may mention of Dr. Rajib Nandi's article 'Dialectics of Nature and Culture: An Overview of Identity Politics and People Movement in the Dooars of West Bengal'. The writer has depicted here a scenic beauty of dooars suited with the agricultural development and flourishing woods. He also efficiently depicted the mental evolution of people of the soil, how, in an effect of refugee problem occurred after partition of Bengal, they move towards thinking of solution, and make movement thereby. We find many new materials from his writing. In the article of Dr. Dwijen Bhakat, the influence of Vaishnavism of Sankar Dev has been dealt with in which the cultural uniformity of the lower Assam and present North Bengal is clearly shown. In the article of Dr. Narendra Nath Ray we find a scholarly mention of local deity and folk culture of North Bengal which would have been more rich if he had included the Rajbangshi folk culture of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling. The article of Prof. Binay Barman 'Panchan Barmar Samaj Bhabna' is a special production in this book. I do not believe that such a valuable depiction, rich with information, on Panchanan's social reformation, has ever made. We know from his article that Panchan's Kshatriya Bank is the first 'farmers' Bank' in India. The article is praiseworthy enough. The article of Bedodyuti Barman is another informative production that claims originality in the process of historical research of ethnicity and genealogy. This is the first time we see a methodological touch in dealing with the evolution of Rajbangshi s. The article of Ranjit Barman is appropriate on present perspective. Tanay Mandal wielded his pen skillfully at the beginning of dealing with the influence of folk song in folk treatment, but he somewhat failed to draw conclusion. Abhijit Barman draws our attention to his article attempted with new idea. In the article of Kartik Barman sufficient materials have not been arranged. With all these valuable ornaments of knowledge the book has been decorated well for which, we, no doubt, shall ever try to find it out from our collections for reference while in search of history of North Bengal. It, indeed, will be a piece of pride for all.

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Birth of Darjeeling as a Hill Station*Mrs. Bhawna Rai*

Part I

Geography or physical feature has a direct connection with the history of a place. The particular landscape, climate, location, etc. have directly or indirectly affected the course of history. This article focuses on the history of the birth of Darjeeling as a hill station in the first half of the nineteenth century. 'Hill stations were seasonally variable settlements in the cooler elevations of the highlands where the British sought rest and recreation. The sites were in most cases inhabited by relatively few native peoples, though local rajas often held claim to the land. Formal transfer or sale or subterfuge was an essential preliminary to the development of hill stations'.¹ The preferred altitude for such a site was about 6,000 feet to 7,500 feet barring the Matheran which has an elevation of 2,500 feet only, and the altitude of Darjeeling raises from 5970 feet (at Lebong) to 7886 feet (at Katapahar). The reasons behind the foundation of such hill stations were mainly an escape from the scorching summer heat of the plains to which the Britishers were unfamiliar; to avoid malarial mosquitoes and where the convalescent European soldiers could recover. The great outbreak of cholera of 1817-'21 was one of the important reasons for the birth of hill stations as sanatoria. Almost all the hill stations of India came under the possession of the English Company by 1828. There was Simla for Delhi and Government of India with extensions at Landour, Mussories and Almora; Bombay had Mahabaleswar and Poona, and Madras has developed Ootacamund in the Nilgiri hills. Only Calcutta, the chief city of British India had nowhere to go during the hot weather. Even the establishment of Cherapunji as a hill station after the acquisition of Assam in 1824 was not successful due to excessive rainfall of more than five hundred inches per annum. Mitchell, author of 'The Indian Hill-Station' (p.87), has proposed the following five categories of Indian hill stations: the official multi-functional hill station, the private multi-functional hill station, the single-purpose hill station, the minor hill station and the satellite hill station. Among the stations that fall in the first category are Simla, Darjeeling, Naini Tal and Ootacamund: they were government headquarters as well as social, recreational, and educational centres for the British.²

The Anglo-Nepal war of 1814-16, the defeat of the kingdom of Nepal and the signing of the Treaty of Sugauli on 4th March, 1816 opened the door to the Himalayas. The Nepal Durbar ceded certain important hill territories such as Almorah (5,510 ft), Mussoories (6,600 ft), Naini Tal (6,407 ft) and Simla (7,075 ft). The Nepal Durbar also accepted British arbitration in all her differences with Sikkim. In 1817 the English Company signed the Treaty of Titaliya and restored the whole of the country between Mechi and the Tista. Again Article III of the Treaty states 'that he (Sikkimputtee Raja) will refer to the arbitration of the government any dispute or question that may arise between his subjects and those of Nepal or any other neighbouring state and to abide by the decision of the British government.'³

Ten years after a dispute arose on the Sikkim and Nepal frontier regarding 'Antu' and as per the terms of the treaty, two British officers - Captain Lloyd and J.W. Grant, the Commercial Resident at Malda were sent to settle the dispute. It was during this journey that the two officers happened to pass through Darjeeling and were captivated by its geographical beauty and position. From a report 'Dorjeling' by H.V. Bayley, 1838 (p.iii), dated the 18th June 1829, in which Lloyd claims to have been the only European who ever visited the place, for six days in February 1829, and "was immediately struck with its being well adapted for the purpose of a sanitarium". He seems to have been a little apprehensive of the rigours of winter but he added, "should the climate prove too cold, Ging, which is below it, and to which there is very easy access, would remedy the evil." On all grounds, he strongly urged the importance of securing possession of the place, and, in particular, pointed out its advantages as a centre which would engross all the trade of the country, and as a position of great strategical importance commanding the entrance into Nepal and Bhutan.⁴ At the same time, Grant also insisted the numerous advantages promised by the establishment of a sanitarium at Darjeeling. He also impressed Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, by advocating its occupation for military purpose that is as the key pass into Nepal territory.

In response to the above proposal Lord Bentinck sent Capt. Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor-General in the company of Mr. Grant to Darjeeling to examine the possibility of the place for a sanitarium, since the English government in Bengal was in need of one such hill stations. In June 1830, several reports were positive reports about healthy climate of Darjeeling were received. Lord Bentinck was eager to open communication with the Rajah of Sikkim and in his Minute of June 17th 1830, he says: "Mr. Smith, the Magistrate of Rungpore, may be directed to communicate to the Rajah of Sikkim the desire of the British Government to establish a Sanitarium at Darjeeling, and if the Rajah is willing to give his consent, to ascertain

the terms upon which the arrangement would be most satisfactory.....”⁵ But the proposal was opposed by Sir C. Metcalfe who had two objectives to it. The main one was that it would rouse the jealousy of the Sikkim Rajah, and might involve us in disputes with him. In 1833, when Lord William Bentinck forwarded the proposal for the second time, it was again opposed by Sir Metcalf. He referred to the minute dated 19th June 1830 and quoted from Hamilton Hindostan to show the importance that was attached to Darjeeling both by the people of Sikkim and by the Goorkhas.⁶ At last in 1835 the Court of Directors approved the project of establishing a sanitarium at Darjeeling on the ground that it might prove valuable depot for the temporary reception of European recruits, and even a permanent cantonment for a European regiment. On 23rd January 1835 the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council were conveyed to Major Lloyd to proceed and obtain ‘an interview with the Rajah of Sikkim and procure cession of Darjeeling to the British Government if that desirable object can be accomplished without any great sacrifice’. ‘His Lordship-in-Council sanctions your offering to the Rajah such equivalent either in land or money as you may deem receivable, and it would be satisfactory to learn your views as regards this point previously to your entering on the negotiation if these can be communicated without causing any delay in the attainment of the object’. ‘You will course take particular pains to make the Rajah understand that the superiority of the climate of Darjeeling and its consequent fitness for a sanitarium are the only reasons which induce us to wish for its possession’.⁷

While all the above process was going on in Bengal; on the other side, Kummoo Pradhan (Rummoo Purdhan), the zamindar of Morung along with some discontented subjects of the hill country and Kazis were creating problem to the Rajah of Sikkim. Kummoo had absconded with two years revenue and they were intending to give over Morung to Nepal. Thus, the way was itself opened and to sort out the matter between Sikkim and Nepal Lloyd was sent on 8th February 1835. On 19th February Lloyd presented the formal request in the following manner : “I have received orders from the Governor-General to obtain an interview with the Sikkim Rajah and request him to cede to the British Government in exchange for land in the plains or for a sum of money that part of the hills lying south of the Great Rungeet river, east of the Balasun Kuhail and little Rungeet Rivers and west of the Mahanunda and Runno Rivers, and fully to explain to the Sikkim Rajah that this cession is required only on account of the cold climate that the servants of my Government who become unwell may by the coolness of the air and water of that place recover their health. As they are natives of a cold climate when they become ill they cannot recover while they remain in the hot climate of the plain. I therefore request the Rajah will be pleased to give me a definite answers on the subject.”⁸

Next day the Rajah put forward his requests and asked for an extension of the western boundary of Sikkim; he demanded to handover kummoo Pradhan and some Lepcha chiefs who had been seized by the British Government and lastly, requested for Dabgong. On 25th February 1835, the Rajah in Durbar delivered a paper to Lloyd with a special paragraph on Darjeeling. “....Also if from friendship Dabgong from Ahma (?) Diggee north be given to me, then my Dewan will deliver to Major Lloyd the grant and agreement under my red seal of Durgeeling that he may erect houses there which I have given in charge of the said Dewan to be so delivered, dated 1891, 19th Maug (25th February,1835).⁹

On 26 February, Lloyd began his return to the plains. ‘The Rajah delivered to his officers whom he appointed to accompany me a paper purporting to be a grant of Darjeeling to be given to me as soon as his request should be compiled with.’¹⁰

To Be Continued in the next issue...

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