

# I

## A Reappraisal of the Emerging Monuments & Other Structural Remains of District Muzaffarnagar (UP)

### I

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District Muzaffarnagar is roughly rectangular in shape and lies between Lat. 29° 11' N and 29° 43' N and Long 77° 04' E and 78° 07' E. It is situated in the western part of the Uttar Pradesh in the *doab* of the Ganga and the Yamuna between the districts of Saharanpur on the north and Meerut on the south. Karnal of Haryana state on the west and Bijnor on the east make its western and eastern boundaries, respectively. The district covers 98 kms. east to west while north to south about 58 kms. The average length and breadth are about 84 kms. and 50 kms. respectively. According to 1981 District Gazetteer<sup>1</sup> of India the district covers an area of about 4,176.01 sq. kms. The district is subject to the fluvial action of the Ganga and the Yamuna, giving rise to frequent changes in its area. The district does not have any forests.

The district with its headquarters at Muzaffarnagar is divided into the following hierarchy of administrative units. At present the district is divided into four *tehsils* (sub-divisions) viz. Muzaffarnagar, Kairana, Budhana and Jansath, each head quarter a *tehsil* of the same name. Each *tehsil* is further divided into blocks (*vikas-khand*) as per details below:

1. Muzaffarnagar - Muzaffarnagar, Charthawal, Baghra & Pukazi,
2. Kairana - Kairana, Thana Bhawan, Un & Shamli,
3. Budhana - Budhana, Kandhala & Shahpur,
4. Jansath - Jansath, Morna & Khatauli.

The urban area of the district consists of eighteen towns, out of which 5 are administered by Municipal Board and remaining 13 by Town Area Committees. The district thus, has four *tehsils* and fourteen blocks<sup>2</sup>.

In 1981, the density of the population of the district was 545 per sq. km., as compared to 377 per sq. km. of the state. The density of the population was dense because of high soil fertility. The district had a place of importance in the state for good harvest of wheat, sugarcane and potato, since it is one of the districts located in the *doab* of the rivers the Ganga and the Yamuna. The high fertility of *doab* is a natural marvel<sup>3</sup>.

The area under study (district Muzaffarnagar) is rich in structural remains mostly of Sultanate period and that of Mughals too. Large number monuments such as forts (*qilas*), temples, mosques, graves, tombs, *baolis*, wells, residential houses, tanks etc., had been seen during the course of exploration by the author. Development block-wise brief account of these along with photographs where necessary to display is given below:

### 1. Alipura

The village Alipura lies towards north-west of the Charthawal block headquarters as well as the district head-quarters. It is about 15 km. away from the Charthawal block on the right side of the Charthawal-Thana Bhawan road.

A Well on the outskirts of the village is a well. It is badly damaged and now densely covered with trees and shrubs. Brick-bats are also lying scattered along with some wedge-shaped bricks (30 x 22/17 x 6 cms), having key marks which possibly are the marks on the bricks specifically used in making wells. As the size indicates, these bricks appear to belong to Kushana period.

### 2. Charthawal

This village is situated towards north-east of the district headquarters, at a distance of about 17 km. on Muzaffarnagar-Thana Bhawan road. Charthawal, the headquarters of *pargana* as well as development block of the same name, lies in 29°33' N and 77°36' E.

There are two ancient temples, one dating back to Jahangir's time and other is about 500 years old. The place was the headquarters of the *Amil*. It is an old village and is mentioned in the *Ain*. A medieval temple (*Thakurduwara*), a Jain temple and remains of seven residential buildings

within an enclosure with some other architectural remains were noticed during the course of our survey.

**Temple - (Thakurdwara)** A temple dedicated to Shri Rama, popularly known as '*Thakurdwara*' bears an inscription in Urdu, Hindi and English about its restorations in V.S. 1967 (=1910 A.D.). The English version of reads as follows: "The old Hindu temple built in the time of Emperor Jahangir and repaired in the time of Pt. Jawala Prasad Collector, with the efforts of M. Mustaffa Ahmad Siddiqui, Dy. Collector". The temple complex (75 x 70 m), made of *lakhauri* bricks (12 x 7 x 3 cms.), stands on a low plinth, and has twin *Shikhara* structures and an adjoining building. Some additions and alternations were done at a later date. On the left side there is a square plinth (1.10 x 1.10 cms.), having a staircase of five steps on it. There are two foot prints which are worshipped as the foot prints of Lord Rama.

**Temple - Adjacent** to the *Thakurdwara*, there is a *Shikhara* type Jain temple made of similar type of *lakhauri* bricks. However, the temple has been repaired and plastered by the villagers. The marble image of Jain *Tirthankaras* appears to belong to late medieval period.

### 3. Kotesra

This village is about 26 km. away towards north-west of the district headquarters. Following architectural remains are found there.

**Fort** - In the southern part of the village, there is an old dilapidated brick-fort, belonging to some old Saiyid family, which housed residential buildings of the local rulers. However, these have been badly damaged, except the portions of corner towers and Cupolas.<sup>4</sup> the bricks generally measure 12 x 7 x 3 cms.

**Temple** - In the same village there is a *Shikhara* type Jain temple, which contains some marble images of *Tirthankaras*. The temple is made of *lakhauri* bricks and appears almost 200 years old (?).

### 4. Kasyara

The village Kasyara lies towards east of the Charthawal block headquarters at a distance of about 6 km. on the right side of the Charthawal-Chhapar road.

**Navagazapir** - There is a tomb made of *lakhauri* bricks of an unknown Muslim saint locally known as *Navagazapir*. It is located in the outskirts

of the village on roadside. Since it has been thickly plastered, it is difficult to determine its age. Beside the *Navagazapir* there is another *mazar* of some unknown person but well preserved.

### 5. Kalyana

The village Kalyana is situated towards south-east of the Charthawal block headquarters at a distance of about 6 km.

**A Building Complex** There is an ancient mound in the village on the top of which there is a building complex. Originally the building was made of *lakhauri* bricks, but later on bricks of larger size were used for repairs, possibly during the British period.

### 6. Khanjahanpur

The village Khanjahanpur is situated on the south-east border of the Charthawal block headquarters at a distance of about 10 km. on Muzaffarnagar-Charthawal road.

**A Temple** A temple lies just on the right side of the aforesaid road after crossing the Kali Nadi Bridge. There is an ancient mound, popularly known as *Dallo Devata ka Teela*. Some stone images, like those of *Ganesha*, *Shiva*, have been unearthed from here and all of them are housed in a newly constructed temple. People of adjoining area come every Thursday to offer *pooja*.

### 7. Malira

This place is about 10 kms. away from Muzaffarnagar city on Muzaffarnagar-Saharanpur road.

**Bridge** This is only existing bridge dating back to the Mughal period in the district. It is popularly known as '*Bawandari-ka-pul*' (bridge having 52 recesses for water flow). Muzaffarnagar-Saharanpur road passes through it.

### 8. Naimu

The village Naimu stands on the right bank of the Hindon Nadi which also forms its eastern boundary. The village is on the right side of the Charthawal-Thana-Bhawan road after crossing the Hindon Nadi at a distance of about 8 km.

There is an ancient mound which is known as *Saiyidon ka Khera*. Some interesting stone sculptures have been unearthed from there and adjoining areas. All these are housed in a newly constructed temple.

**Varahraja** - A recently built temple houses a very interesting image of Varahraja (incarnation of *Varaha*) found long back in the village Niamu while digging the foundation of a house. It is alleged that there is an inscription on the reverse part of the image. However, the same cannot be seen at present as the image has been fixed against a wall of the temple the back part of it is not visible. The image measures 1.3 x 0.80 m. It is made of one slab in red sandstone. Lord Varaha is shown within a beautifully carved niche in standing pose and trampling the demon and holding Goddess *Earth* above in his raised left hand. The image wears traditional ornaments.

**Shiva-Parvati** Apart from this there is other images such as of Shiva-Parvati (70 x 38 cms.) in which the Goddess is sitting on the thighs of the Lord *Shiva*.

**Balrama** There is a beautiful image of Balram (30 x 20 cms.) in standing pose holding a *musala* and plough in his right and left hand, respectively. All images may belong to early medieval period.

#### 9. Rasulpur

The village Rasulpur stands on the right bank of the Kali Nadi, which also forms its eastern boundary. It is situated towards east of the Charthwal block head-quarters at a distance of about 2.5 km.

**Well** - There is a big well in the village made of *lakhauri* bricks. The diameter of the well is approximately 2.6 m. The thickness of its wall is 50 cms. and depth up to the water level is 6 m. Though there is an inscription in the well, but could not be deciphered

#### 10. Amirnagar

The village is at a distance of about 2.5 km. from the Baghra block headquarters towards north.

**Temples** There are two *Shikhara* style temples in this village, each being square in shape (6 x 6 m.). Both the temples stand on a high plinth and are made of *lakhauri* bricks. They may belong to late medieval period.

## 11. Baghra

The village, lies at a latitude of 29°28' N and longitude of 77°35' E. The name of the *pargana* owes its name to the village, which is also the headquarters of a block. It is about 11 km west of Muzaffarnagar near the bifurcation of Muzaffarnagar-Kairana and Muzaffarnagar-Shamli roads.

The village has antiquities and, according to local tradition, was held by Prithvi Raj, the great Chauhan ruler of the kingdom of Delhi in the twelfth century. The name of the village is said to have been derived from one Raja Bagh, but nothing is known about his personage. The village has a *Mahal* dating back to the period of Akbar. The village has several residential buildings made of *lakhauri* bricks. It is said that the royal physician (*Hakim*) of Jahangir, Sheikh Hasan was the resident of this village. The village is said to have been enclosed within a wall but now there is no trace of it except a damaged gate.

In the small town of Baghra, there are several dilapidated buildings of historical interest and *havelis* of local merchants in *Baniyon ka Mohalla*. The *haveli* of Lala Uggarsen in molded bricks with terracotta ornamentation was found to be of architectural interest. Its multifold arched entrance gate and projecting balconies, supported on ornamental stone brackets, add elegance to the structure. A triple storied house of Sita-Ram in the same locality is also noticeable.<sup>5</sup>

**Satia** - There are eighteen commemorative plinths known as *Satis* in the village. These are secondary burials of such ladies, who burnt themselves at the pyre of their husbands. Some of them are octagonal in shape with inverted lotus at the top. A few of them also bear paintings forming geometrical patterns on the ceilings.

**Baradwari** - Adjacent to the *Satis* there is a flat roofed structure having eight open gates, where probably '*havan*' was performed. The structure stands on 1.5 m high plinth. There are many temples of *lakhauri* bricks adjacent to the above structure. However, images are modern.

**Tank** Very close to Baradwari there is a tank having a staircase of 10 steps. The area of it is approximately 60x 60 m.

**Bawandwari** - There is another interesting building of *lakhauri* bricks known as *Bawandwari* i.e. a building with 52 gates. It is a double storied building which has a *tah-khana* i.e. underground cell, and a well. The

building was frequently repaired and, therefore, modern bricks have also been used in it. Village Pradhan occupies it. The building appears to date back to medieval period.

**Temple** Adjacent to the main road there is a recently built small temple of Shakumbhari Devi. The temple appears to have been built on site of an old temple.

**Temple** Within the premises of the above Shakumbhari Devi Temple there is a Shiva temple with two *Shikharas*, made of *lakhauri* bricks. It is regularly repaired and, therefore, well preserved. The temple also appears to have been built during the medieval period.

**Thakurdwara** - Another interesting building of the village is a beautiful small temple of Lord Ram. The temple is note-worthy for its beautiful paintings on the walls and the ceiling. The paintings, mainly in red and blue, generally include floral motifs, stylized geometrical patterns and miniature portraits.

## 12. Haidernagar

This place is about 15 km. away from the district headquarters towards west and it is towards south of the Baghra block headquarters, at a distance of about 1.5 km.

**A Temple** A *Shikhara* type of temple of Lord *Shiva* made of *lakhauri* bricks, houses *Shivalingam* and some images in marble.

**Garahi** - Remains of some big residential buildings, popularly known as *Garahi*, is also made of *lakhauri* bricks. People live in the habitable portion of the building.

## 13. Jasoi

It lies towards west of the Baghra block headquarters at a distance of about 17 km on the right side of the Muzaffarnagar-Shamli road.

**Temple** - A Jain temple, probably dating back to medieval period houses five marble images of Jain *Tirthankaras*. The temple had four-sided conical *Shikhara* and an attached building complex.

**A Well/Mosque** Opposite to a residential building complex there is a well having a diameter of 1.8 m. The diameter of the enclosing plinth, repaired recently is 3.8 m. Adjacent to the well is a mosque made of *lakhauri* bricks. It has been restored, plastered and white washed by the village people.

**A Building Complex** Near the mosque there is a double-storied complex made of *lakhauri* bricks belonging to some Saiyids. On the inner side of a gate is a painting, which probably belongs to medieval period.

#### 14. Bilaspur

The village is situated on Muzaffarnagar-Jauli road at a distance of about 5 kms. from district headquarters towards south-east.

**Dilapidated Buildings** - Antiquarian remains of this village, include dilapidated building of some old Saiyid family, said to have connection with the Saiyids of Bihari, a village situated at a distance of about 20 km. from there. An abandoned residential building has a *tah-khana* (underground cell). The buildings are made of *lakhauri* bricks and appear to belong to eighteenth century.

**Dai Ka Maqbara** - In the village mentioned above, there is a *maqbara* known as '*Dai Ka Maqubara*'. It stands almost on the outskirts of the village. The area of the *maqbara* is approximately 17 x 15 x 22 m. It is also made of *lakhauri* bricks with use of lime-mortar. The size of the brick is 12 x 7 x 3 cms. A little ahead of the *Dai ka Maqbara*, there is a deep well made of *lakhauri* bricks of similar size, having a diameter of 3 m. with circular wall. The water level of the well is about 5.3 m. It is about 1 m high from the ground level. It is now densely covered with trees on all the sides.

#### 15. Bhandura

This village is on Muzaffarnagar-Bijnor road at a distance of about 12 km. from district headquarters towards the east.

**Temple** A *Shivalingam*, unearthed from this village, has been installed in a newly constructed temple.

#### 16. Bahadurpur

This village is situated at a distance of about 11 kms. from District headquarters towards south-east on Muzaffarnagar-Jansath road. The architectural remains in this village include mosques, wells and remains of a residential building.

**Garhi Sadat** - There is a big house complex, locally known as *Garhi Sadat*. It is alleged that this building originally had four big gates on all the four sides. However, now only southern gate partially damaged can be seen there. It is also said that there was a wall enclosure around this complex.

However, there is no trace of it now. The building must have been the original *haveli* of Saiyids. Now a Muslim family resides in the habitable part of the building. There is a mosque attached to this building complex. It is also made of *lakhauri* bricks. It is decorated with some geometrical motifs.

### 17. Bihari

It is 13 kms south-east away from the district headquarters. It is southern most village of the tarsal Muzaffarnagar, where boundaries of Budhana and Jansath *tahsil* meet. People associate this village with the *Mahabharata* period. According to a tradition sometime in past a local king had put his wife (*Bahu*) at stake in gambling and lost her and because of this incident the village was nick named as '*Babu-hari*'. The present name '*Bihari*' is a corrupt version of *Babu-hari*.

**An Old Pond** There is a small pond in the village which is alleged to belong to the *Mahabharata* period. However, there is no evidence to prove its antiquity.

**Building Complex** There are many well-preserved residential buildings including a female apartment. It is alleged that these have been built by *Khankhan-i-Khanjahan*, a minister in the court of *Shahjahan*.

**Mosque** There is also a mosque of same period, which is built on 2.40 m. high plinth. In the vicinity of the mosque and the building complex there are several wells of the same period, made of *lakhauri* bricks.

**Temple** Another significant building of this village is a Jain temple having a *Shikhara*. Twelve images of Jain *Tirthankaras* are installed here. One of them belongs to V.S. 1410. All these are in white marble.

**Maqbaras** - On the outskirts of the village there are four *maqbaras* (tombs) having domes. Two of them are in good state of preservation, while the other two have been damaged partially. These *maqbaras* are locally called as *Chandani*, *Andheri*, *Kalluwala* and *Navanewala*. However, nothing is known authentically about them. They appear to be about 300 years old.

### 18. Dhandhera

This village is about 6 kms. away from the district headquarters on Muzaffarnagar-Jauli road towards south-east of the village Bisalpur.

**Navagazapur** - In this village there is a grave popularly known as *Navagazapur* of some unknown Muslim saint. It is made of *lakhauri* bricks which have been covered with plaster by villagers. Though it is difficult to determine the date of the grave, it may belong to late medieval period. People come here from neighbourhood for *ziarat* (pilgrimage).

### 19. Jaroda

It is situated towards south of the Muzaffarnagar block headquarter on the right side of the Muzaffarnagar-Meerut road at a distance of about 7 kms. The village is also known as Jaroda-Panda. However, here ruins of the structural remains can be seen in the thickly populated area of the village.

**Quila Marathas** It is alleged that here was a big fort of the Marathas. However, there does not exist any trace of it. The only structural remains of it, is a big room of *lakhauri* bricks, measuring 6.5 x 4 x 1.5 cms. The structure was destroyed due to brick robbing on large scale by the villagers. The building come up from these bricks can be seen in the village. Of late, a Muslim *Zamindar* Liyaqut Ali made his residential quarter here.

**Mir Ki Garhi** - A little ahead from the Quila of Marathas, there is a residential building of similar bricks known as '*Mir ki Garhi*'. Now a village family resides in it.

**Mazar of Gauri Shah** At a distance of about one km. from the Garhi on the outskirts of the village, there is a grave known as '*Mazar of Gauri Shah*'. Since it is thickly plastered its nature could not be determined.

### 20. Muzaffarnagar (City)

Muzaffarnagar, the headquarters of the district and *tehsil*, lies in Latitude 29°28' N and Longitude 77°41'E near the left bank of the river Kali.

Muzaffarnagar stands on the site of an old town known as Sarwat during the days of Akbar. Along with other parts of the district Sarwat was given as a *Jagir* to Muzaffar Khan, a *Barha* Saiyid, by Shahjahan. Muzaffar Khan laid the foundation of a new town on the site of the old one, which was completed by his son Abdul Mansur, who named it after his father. Before the advent of the British in 1803, it was a part of the *doab* under the sway of Daulat Rao Sindhia, though the payment of the *Chauth* (revenue) assessed from this town by the Marathas was not always very

regular. In 1826, Muzaffarnagar was converted into a regular district with the town as its headquarters.

**Temples** There are a few temples and mosques in the city. However, only one of them, a temple, is noteworthy for its structural beauty. The main *Shikhara* type temple is flanked on either side by two other temples made in same style, though smaller in size and height. The central temple is of Krishna that on right side of Shiva, housing a *Lingam* and *Nandi* and that on left side of Ram. In front of Shri Ram's temple, close to boundary wall is another *Shikhara* temple of Shri Hanumana, comparatively smaller in size, obviously, is a later addition. The former three temples are built on a 1 m high plinth, measuring 80 x 80 m. The temples are made of red sandstone and are nicely planned. Decorative carvings in different parts of the temples, particularly at entrances and *garbhagrihas* are noteworthy. This temple may be 150 years old. It is the biggest temple of the town.

**Mosque** Reference may also be made to the main mosque of the town. Its dome can be seen from a distance. The whole structure is now surrounded by shops and other buildings. The structural features indicate that it was probably built in the later part of the Mughul period.

## 21. Ratheri

This village is on Muzaffarnagar-Roorkee road at a distance of about 4 kms. towards north-east from the district headquarters.

**Building Complex** There are some residential buildings of Barha Saiyids in this village made of *lakhauri* bricks. It is alleged that their ancestors originally belonged to Bilaspur, from where they had settled down here. There is a well inside on the left side of the gate, having a diameter of about 2 m. Now it is out of use. The structures appear to belong to Mughal period.

## 22. Sarwat

This village is hardly at a distance of about 2.5 kms. from the district headquarters on Muzaffarnagar-Roorkee road towards north. Sarwat was the old name of the district.

**Mastan Shah's Mazar** - This *mazar* is on the elevated area of the village. Since it is thickly plastered nothing definitely can be determined about it. The *mazar* is within a four-walled boundary. People come here for *ziarat* (pilgrimage) from nearby villages. Adjacent to the above mentioned *mazar*

there is a well of *lakhauri* bricks. Its diameter is 2.40 m., including the thickness of the circular wall. It bears an inscription, which lies beyond the range of visibility.

### 23. Shernagar

This village, which is considerably important from the architectural point of view, is situated towards south-east of the district headquarters at a distance of about 6 km. on Muzaffarnagar-Jansath road.

**Sati ka Khera** - Towards the north of the village, there is a mound locally known as 'Sati ka Khera' (mound of Sati), covering an area of about 100 x 100 m. It is about 2.5 m. high from the ground level. On the top of mound there is a brick-work in somewhat geometrical pattern, being commemorative remains of some *Sati*. The size of the bricks used is 9 x 7 x 4 cms. Quite close to it, there is a temple of Lord Shiva. It enshrines a *Shivalingam*, recovered by the villagers some time back while tilling the fields. The *Lingam* has some scratch marks probably of a plough.

**A Pond** There is a pond close to the above mentioned temple. A local tradition links it to the Mahabharata period. It is said that the tank once had a staircase.

**Wells** Attached to the above Shiva temple there is a well of *lakhauri* bricks having a diameter of about 1.8 m. The thickness of the well is 0.6 m. Its terrace is octagonal in shape. There is a Persian inscription inside the well and beyond the range of vision.

There are few more wells belonging to the medieval period. They are more or less of similar type as one described above. One of them had an inscription which is now housed in the Government Museum, Muzaffarnagar. Its contents are given below with English translation: "Allah the Great". It was during the reign of Shahjahan, that in accordance with an earlier request Syed Khan Jahan got built this well at the place of his residence. "God, please, look after, that, it may not demolish in flood. Dated 1054 A.H."

**Tomb of Sher Ali** - On the outskirts of the village there is a tomb (*maqbara*) of Sher Ali, after whom the village got its name. It is made of *lakhauri* bricks and is in good state of preservation. The tomb has arches and a minaret, one each of the four sides, and a big dome in the centre. Besides his grave the tomb houses three those of his wives. A separate tomb (*maqbara*) was

built in the village, which is now totally damaged. There are two other tombs (*maqbaras*) locally known as 'Saiyidon ka Maqbara' (tomb of Saiyids). Across the road, adjacent to the Tombs of Saiyids, there is another well, having a diameter of about 2.5 m. Both wells are made of *lakhauri* bricks. The latter well bears an inscription but was inaccessible. Attached to the *maqbara* of Sher Ali, there is a well, having the diameter of about 2.5 m., which is fully covered with trees and shrubs.

#### 24. Sujadu

This village lies towards south of the district headquarters at a distance of about 4 kms. Here is a mound on the bank of the *Kali Nadi*. On the top of the mound there is a grave, locally known as 'Gupha-ke-pir'. It is thickly plastered and, therefore, it is difficult to determine its age.

#### 25. Sandhaoli

This village Sandhaoli is at a distance of about 5 km. from district headquarters, almost towards south, on Muzaffarnagar-Meerut road.

**Buildings Complex** Here is a residential building complex, which probably belonged to the brother of Wahelna's Diwan. The building covers a considerable area within a walled boundary, each corner of which originally had a minaret (*burj*). However, only one of them now survives. The boundary wall has been destroyed and the main building damaged considerably. However, a Saiyid family now resides in the existing portion of it. Within the boundary of the house complex there is a mosque, built on a high plinth. It has a double dome.

**Wells** Not far away from it there is also a *lakhauri* well having a diameter of about 1.6 m. There is another *lakhauri* well of the same period, having a diameter of about 2.4 m. Its wall is 60 cms. thick and its top are about 80 cms. high from the ground level.

**A Mazar** - On the outskirts of the village there are five graves. Four of them are within an enclosure. Under these graves are buried the family members of Diwan's brother, referred to above.

#### 26. Wahelna

The village Wahelna is situated at a latitude 29°28'N and longitude 77°43'E from the district headquarters. It is alleged that the village was earlier known as Varah Nagar. It is considerably important from architectural point of view.

This ancient place is known for its group of ancient temples. An idol of Lord Parshwa Nath, believed to be 2500 years old, according to local people, has also been unearthed here. It was perhaps an important Jain centre as is evident from the fact that a religious fair, known as Jain *Uchhas*, is held every year on 2nd of October. The Jains from all parts of the country come to join the fair. The place might have been an old Saiyid habitation at one time, as it has ruins of an old fort credited to the Saiyids.

**Building Complex (Darwaja)** -At a distance of about 1.5 kms. from the main road a narrow metalled road leads to a building complex, commonly known as 'Darwaja' because of its high entrance. This is a magnificent residential building, which covers an area of about 300 x 200 m. It had four gates. Except the eastern gate, which is totally gone, the ruins of other three gates can still be seen. The distance between southern and northern gates is approximately 120 m. between these above two gates there is a well, having a diameter of about 1.6 m., excluding the thickness of wall. However, its outer face is octagonal in shape. It also has a *pucca* terrace around it. Its two stone pillars, which possibly supported the *pully*, used to draw.

The main building lies at a distance of about 85 m. from the western gate. The western gate is approximately 16 m. high and 8.5 m. wide. On either side of the gate is a platform, probably used by the guards. The upper part of the gate is decorated with paintings in Mughal style. A passage made of *lakhauri* bricks pass through the gate.

The architectural remains of the building, which appears to be a royal residence, is quite impressive and artistic. It is alleged that originally it was constructed by Sher Shah Suri, who later on gifted it to one of his Diwans. The building includes *Diwan-e-Khas*, *Diwan-i-Aam*, *Janan-Khana* (ladies' apartment) as well as an *Imambara*, etc.

**A Mosque** Attached to this building on southern side there is a mosque, also made of *lakhauri* bricks. Its entrance has an inscription and a crescent with two stars on either side.

**Muqbara** - At a little distance from the above building, towards the south, there is a tomb (*maqbara*), having an enclosure on all the sides. It is alleged that the Diwan, referred to above, who got this building constructed, was buried here after his death. The *maqbara* is in bad state of preservation.

**Temple** Out of two important temples of the village, one belongs to the Jain sect. It is alleged that the idol of *Parshwanath*, was unearthed sometime back on the same spot, where the newly constructed marble temple now stands. The idol is in sitting-posture in *dhyannudra* under a canopy of snake-hoods.

**Temple** Not far away from the Jain temple, there is a Shiva temple which has been restored and plastered by the villagers. A *Shivalingam* and *Nandi* of late period are installed here. Its ceiling has paintings in red and blue colours, depicting male and female figurines as well as geometrical patterns.

#### 27. Basera

The village Basera lies in 29°33'N and 77°51'E. It is situated towards north-east of the district headquarters at a distance of about 27 km.

The village has the remains of a ruined fortress, said to have been built by the Saiyids, about 400 years ago. It came into the possession of the Gujar Rani of Landhaura after the decline of the Saiyids, and is since known as *Landhaura wali Rani Ki Garhi*.

**Building Complex** There is a double-storied residential building complex (75 x 75) in the village, having an impressive entrance made of red sandstone and bears interesting decorative carvings. Besides several rooms and other apartments, the ground floor of the building has a big hall. The building is made of *lakhauri* bricks and appears to belong to late Mughal period.

**Temples** There are two almost identical Shiva temples on either side of a road. Both the temples are made of *lakhauri* bricks and each enshrines a *Shivalingam* and a *Nandi* image outside the temple.

#### 28. Barla

The village Barla is situated about 19 km. north-west of Muzaffarnagar by the side of Meerut-Dehradun highway, Barla lies in 29°37'N. and 77°47'E. Raja Ram of Landhaura, a Gujar chief, is said to have held this village as a part of his estate before it came into the possession of the Saiyids.

To be Continued in the next Issue of Journal

## 2

### Communalism, Liberalism vis-a-vis Secularism– An Analysis of Indian Nationalism

*Prof. Abha R. Pal*

Indian Nationalism was the product of Liberalism vis-à-vis communalism. Secularism, However, was the offspring of Indian Nationalism.

**Secularism** – The concept of secularism as a political philosophy emerged in the movement for Independence of the nation at the dawn of the twentieth century. Taking thread from Liberalism, a philosophy of affirmation of human freedom, the ideology of secular nationalism developed which sought the inclusion of people of all religions in the struggle for Independence. The secular nationalism had to battle against both the Hindu nationalism and the Islamic theory of two nations;<sup>1</sup> and the independence came with partition of India and formation of Pakistan on communal basis. Even then, the Independent India was successful in overcoming the tide of communalism and to establish itself as a secular state. The concept of a secular state in India as it has evolved through the freedom movement, the period after independence and formation of Indian Republic has a specific feature i.e religious liberty along with the co-existence and plurality of religious communities and multiple cultures not as static communities but as active and dynamic communities involving the movement of changing the social structure and building a new society based on the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice- the four features of the basic concept of liberalism.<sup>2</sup>

The declaration of religious liberty, as a fundamental civil right of every citizen while maintaining the diversity of our religions and cultural plurism paved way for different religious communities in the development

of Indian nation hood, India has never accepted the principle of a wall of separation between different religious communities although, in colonial India, the British policy of offering communal electorate and reservations and safeguards to Muslims, Christians and the Depressed classes meant to alienate them permanently from the major Hindu community and this build up minority communalism. It is for this very reason that there was a constant opposition to it by the nationalists. By offering fundamental rights to individual persons irrespective of religion India aimed at delinking separate political right from religious communities without endangering their religious rights.<sup>3</sup> Historically speaking the traditional Hindu idea of toleration and philosophical vision of ultimate unity contributes to the basic idea of secularism in Indian mind. The Ashoka's Rock edict Xb. XII also speaks of the toleration of different "Dharmas". As a matter of fact the concept of secularism in India has developed through various stages, through ups and downs, through conciliation and confrontation through liberalism and separatism and through communalism and nationalism.

We begin the story from liberalism which grew and developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in India.

#### **Liberalism :-**

In the history of ideas liberalism has presented two faces. It has been a philosophy of revolt as well as an affirmation of human freedom. It was a revolt against the restrictions and privileges of feudalism. It placed individual at the center of its philosophy and emphasized his ability to reason out social arrangements and sort things out for himself and thus revolting against feudal interests. Not only this, it was a revolt against the dogma and authority of the church. It rejected the medieval claim that "Truth" was revealed. It went back to that Greek idea that "Truth" had to be discovered through the methods of science. Since truth had to be discovered it became necessary to protest against institutions and individuals claiming possession of final truths. Moreover, it led to the belief that religion can be discussed with open and free mind and therefore, there was no scope for religious staunchness and fundamentalism which leads to socio-religious tensions and subsequently to communalism. Liberalism thus stands for liberation of society and individual from irrational restraints. It was primarily a social and political philosophy and later developed into economic fields too.<sup>4</sup>

So far as Liberalism in Indian context is concerned, it is not a new phenomenon in India's social and cultural vocabulary. In fact, our ancient texts are replete with words bearing the same connotations. Political Liberalism of the modern times, however, come to India from the west and was the byproduct of British rule. Indian Liberalism was a creed which struck roots in this country in the nineteenth century, mainly among educated classes and emphasized a spirit of tolerance and freedom from narrow sectarianism and parochial ideas resulting from age old customs and prejudices.<sup>5</sup> It will not be an exaggeration to say that in India liberalism come like a breath of fresh air so necessary for the revitalization of a moribund social order entrusted with thick layers of lifeless excrescences which had distorted the true meaning of our civilization<sup>6</sup>

#### **Nationalism :-**

Indian nationalism is the product of Liberalism. Nationalism is itself a movement of a various classes and religious groups comprising a nation attempting to remove all economic, political, social and cultural obstacles which impede the realization of their aspirations. Besides, it is also a movement of classes and groups to fill positive social, economic, political and cultural contents in these aspirations.<sup>7</sup>

The western concept of liberty, equality and democracy, by and large, affected Indian nationalism in the early phase. English education not only enabled Indians to absorb the western ideas, it also provided them with new and powerful means to inter regional, inter-linguistic solidarity. The English education brought India into contact with European movements working for national regeneration. As a matter of fact, India's response to western influences was two folds : Response and Revulsion, while on the one hand the political concepts struck sympathetic chords in the hearts of nationalists, the cultural influences produced a revulsion against the west. The revolt of 1857 and the socio-religious reform movements of the nineteenth century were India's response to these influences-aggressive and defensive respectively.

We, hereby agree that Indian liberalism was nevertheless, a product of the western impact of Indian minds and contributed to Indian nationalism and its constitutional and political development. So profound, indeed has been this influence that the history of Indian nationalism and constitutional development coincides with liberalism until the First world

war. Liberal leaders Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendranath Baneja were staunch nationalists. They had their own ideologies, their own methods and goals. Their motto was “Co-operate when we can, criticize when we must.”<sup>8</sup> They belonged to the intellectual class who made the first beginning in the field of political activity and focussed public attention on problems of society and government. They aroused the awakening of intelligentsia and forged bond of unity among them from where it later percolated among the masses. The liberals, without doubt, had no mass appeal. As a matter of fact, they had always entertained a certain apprehension of an unentertained revolt of the masses and sensed the dangers of a mass movement. Thought they certainly had the concern for the masses and the weaker sections, their approach was basically one of the elitist and paternal. They firmly believed that the contemporary Indian masses were not fit or ready to take part in the political activity of that time. This character of nationalism got transformed with the advent of Mahatma Gandhi who adopted the policy of direct action and charted out programmes of mass movement.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Communalism :-**

With growing nationalism and the rebellion of 1857, communalism enters the Indian political scene. Opposing Hindus to Muslims became the cornerstone of the British colonial policy. It was the direct reaction of 1857 when differences of religions had not interfered with the sense of national unity which was so strikingly demonstrated in the Great Rebellion. W.W. Hunter’s “The Indian Musalmans” presented the Muslims as a homogeneous backward community with the element of “commonness” with Christians and Christianity. The pro-Muslims attitude and policy led to the constant tensions between Hindus and Muslims. Communalism was thus a large scale popular movement which formed a part of an alternative stream of politics. It was anti-nationalist and betrayed the loyalist, pro-colonial tendencies.<sup>10</sup> The emergence of communalism almost simultaneously with nationalism was the real threat to the national unity and integrity as well as to the anti imperialistic movement. From the 1880s efforts were being made to keep the Muslims from joining the broad national movement.<sup>11</sup> To combat this, efforts were being made to bring about national unity almost with the formation of the Indian National Congress. At its Allahabad session in 1888, the

Congress passed a resolution stating “no subject shall be passed for discussions by the subjects committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates as a body object, unanimously or nearly unanimously.”<sup>12</sup>

On one hand the nationalist efforts to unity were in progress and on the other the imperialist interests of divide and rule continued. The attitude of British rulers towards them was that of an indulgent parent. The very essence of Morley-Minto politics in the first decade of the twentieth century reveals the growing shrewdness of British mind. Their aim was to win over the support of the Muslims to the imperial cause and to sow the seeds of discord between the two major communities, The Hindus and the Muslims with a view to dividing and weakening Indian nationalism. The unofficial Englishmen in India never hesitated to say openly, ‘If Hindus and Muslims united, where should we be?’<sup>13</sup> The formation of Muslim league, the Garden party and the Morley Minto Reforms are the manifestations of the calculated, Sinister policy of growing and developing separatist communalism on the fertile land of Indian nationalism in the first decade. The policy of Muslim favour was more than apparent- in the Reform Act of 1909 Muslims were given even more than they had bargained for. Their position was parodied in a Calcutta paper “The Empire” analogous to “The Charge of the Light Brigade” in the famous verse slightly altered :

“Moslems to right of them  
Moslems to left of them  
Moslems behind them  
Volleyed and thundered.”<sup>14</sup>

Once separate electorate was introduced and implemented, communal politics continued to grow and vitiate public life. The British imperialism had succeeded in turning the tables on the efforts of the Congress by bringing in a new force to counteract nationalism. They had divided Indian people and achieved thereby the greatest victory for the British Empire in the twentieth century. The “Dragons Teeth”<sup>15</sup> had been sown and the bitter harvest came in form of partition of India. Indian nationalism was thus seriously weekend and threatened by communalism.

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# 3

## Indian Scale of Weight in Malwa Opium

Related With Weight Scale of Mughal Empire

*Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, Panna (M.P.)*

Malwa was one of the most important provinces of India in ancient times, and its influence on Indian culture has been profound physically, culturally and politically. Malwa covers an area of about 47,460 K.M. and comprises of District Dhar, Jhabua, Ratlam, Dewas, Indore, Ujjain, Mandsaur, Sehore, Shajapur, Raisen and Vidisha.<sup>1</sup>

In Mughal period subah of Malwa divided into different zones which were called sarkars. According to Abul fazal, Malwa subah included different sarkars:

1. Sarkar of Ujjain have 10 Mahals.
2. Sarkar of Hindia have 22 Mahals.
3. Sarkar of Kotri have 09 Mahals.
4. Sarkar of Sarangpur have 23 Mahals.
5. Sarkar of Bijagarh have 32 Mahals.
6. Sarkar of Gagron have 11 Mahals.
7. Sarkar of Raisen, Asapuri & Chanderi have 6 Mahals.
8. Sarkar of Mandu have 12 Mahals.<sup>2</sup>

Malwa is situated in the second climate. Its length from the extreme point of Garha (Mandla) to Banswarah is 245 kos. Its breadth from Chanderi to Nandurbar is 230 Kos. To the east lies Bandhun (Rewa); to the North Narwar to the south Baglanah; to the west Gujarat and Ajmer. Its principle rivers are the Narmada, the Sipra, the Kali Sindh, the Betwa

and the Godi. (The Godi is a tributary of the Narmada and wheat, poppy, sugarcane, mangoes, melons and grapes are the main harvests of the subah.<sup>3</sup>

S.N.	Ujjain			Raisen & C.		Mandu & C D J <sup>4</sup>	
	M.	D.	J.	D.	J.		
Poppy	4.5	5	20	127	15	-	-

Opium is an important crop in the world economy. Opium poppy is cultivated for the production of Opium and for the poppy seeds. Poppy cultivation for Opium has been carried on in Italy, Greece and Asia minor since antiquity. The spread of its cultivation arrived Asia by Arabs. At present opium poppy is cultivated mainly in India, Turkey and USSR. It is also grown to a small extent in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Japan.<sup>5</sup>

Cultivation of poppy for Opium in India began in early 16<sup>th</sup> century, which was a considerable source of revenue to successive Governments. Opium was freely sold an intoxicant within the country and exported for the same purpose to the far eastern counties particularly China. China was big market for Indian opium, which resulted into the high increase of cultivation area under opium poppy in the early part of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> Importance of Opium for the Indian Economy the British Indian Empire and ultimately, for the global economy of the nineteenth century. Much scholarly attention has been directed at the Opium trade to China.<sup>7</sup>

The customary Indian scale of weights for bulk, 40 sers=1 Man, was used almost exclusively through out the Mughal Empire.<sup>8</sup>

The ser in Hindustan, says Abul Fazal, used formerly to be equal to the weight of either 18 dams or 22. From the beginning of Akbar's region however, the current standard ser was 28 dams in weights, but it was raised to 30 dams by the emperor some time before the A'in was written.<sup>9</sup>

The weight to the dam in terms of the tola scale is given elsewhere in the same work<sup>10</sup> and the weight of the latter unit has been determined fairly precisely on the basis of numismatic and other evidence<sup>11</sup>

The dam, accordingly, should have weighed 322.7 grains, so that the man based on the ser of 28 dams was equal to about 51.63 lb. avoirdupois (23.44 kg), and that of 30 dams to the ser called Akbar-shahi or Akbari- to about 52.32 lb (25.11 kg.) The value for the latter man in European sources seems to approximate to the same figure.<sup>12</sup>

On his accession Jahangir promulgated a new man (man-i-jahangiri) based upon the ser of 36 dams. He withdrew it in avoirdupois or a little earlier than the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year, but restored it finally during that year.<sup>13</sup> In terms of avoirdupois weights the new unit must have been equal to about 66.38 lb, or about 30.14kg.<sup>14</sup> Shahjahan, in his turn, established a new man, raising its weight so that the ser equaled 40 dams in weight. The date when it was established does not appear in our sources, but the first references to it are found in Dutch and English Commercial literature in 1634 and 1635. Assuming that the dam weight correctly represented its real ratio with the 'Man-i-Akbari-an' assumption fortified by the definite testimony of a contemporary manual the Man-i-Shahjahani should have been equal to about 73.75 lb avoirdupois (33.48kg).<sup>15</sup>

There seems good reason to believe that Aurangzeb did not introduce a new man of his own, in so far as this might imply a change in absolute weight.<sup>16</sup>

It seems that the Man-i-Akbari had come very near to being the single universal unit of weight in the markets of the central regions of the empire. It is not clear in what line of trade precisely the Man-I Jahangiri was used.<sup>17</sup> In the mughal Dakhin the Man-I Jahangiri was certainly in use at Burhanpur in 1622, when the English sold their lead by it.<sup>18</sup> However, the Man-i-Akbari seems to have out lasted it even here, for in an official inventory of the royal stores, at the fort of Daulatabad.<sup>19</sup>

The Man-i-Shahjahani is used for quantities at the end of the list, comprising some edible materials betelnut, poppy-seed, bhang and bajri-grains and a cauldron.<sup>20</sup> In a document of c-1638, however, the Man-i-Shahjahani is used for reckoning the quantities of salpher, charcoal and saltpeter as well.<sup>21</sup>

#### Weights used in European Sources-

Since European weights are quite often used in the European authorities, their values must also be borne in mind. The English factors always used the avoirdupois ("English" or haberdepoiz") weights, while the unit used by the Dutch was the Amsterdam pound equal to 0.494 kg. or prach cally 1.09 lb. avdp.<sup>22</sup> Moreland says that the, "French liver of the period was slightly less than the Datch pound".<sup>23</sup> Which suggests a value much less than the assigned to it by Ball.<sup>24</sup> But, as has been discussed in a foot note in connexion with the value for the Man-i-Shahjahani given by Tavernier and Thevenot, it would seem that even Moreland's rate is too high for the

liver these two French travelers were using. The Portuguese used the 'quintal' or 'kintal' of about 130 lb. avdp.<sup>25</sup> and the 'arratel' of 1.01lb.<sup>26</sup>

The chief Indian unit of weight bore the name man, now familiar as maund. All of those which we are concerned contained 40 ser, but the weight of the ser differed widely.

From Akbar's time onward the maunds of the Mogul Empire had what may be called a scientific basis, the ser being fixed at the weight of a certain number of the copper coins called dam. Akbar's own ser contained 30 dam. The Akbari maund, therefore represented the weight of 1200 dam (each of about 324 grains), or about 55 ½ lb, and can be thought of as half a hundred weight, but the English factors usually took it at 55 lb, and perhaps this was correct in practice, as the sellers weights may have been based on slightly worn coins. The Dutch took it at 50 of their pounds, giving 54-1/2 lb avoirdupois. <sup>27</sup>The Principal Maunds in use in India may thus be tabulate as follows :-<sup>28</sup>

Name	Approximate weight in lbs		Weight of ser in Dams	Current	Period
	Avior dupois	Dutch			
Akbari	55	50	30	North India	Up to 1619
Jahangiri	66	60	36	North India	From 1620 to about 1634, but in Bengal upto 1642 or latter
Shahjahan (or double maund)	74	67	40	North India	
Gujrat old	33	60	18	Gujrat	From about 1634
Gujrat New	37	30-1/2		South India	Until 1634-35
Southers	26	34-1/2		& East Coast	From 1635-36
	(±1)	24(±1)	20		Throughout our period.

Opium was grown almost every where in Mughal empire, but especially in Malwa and Bihar.<sup>29</sup>

The weight used in the trade of opium during 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> century in central provinces in India was atmost similar the weight used in Mughal Empire such as mund,<sup>30</sup> seers, dhari and, European weight like lb. The weight used from 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century in Malwa are mentioned.

1. Akbari ser is equal to 28 dams, to 30 dams 322.7 grains, 51.63 lb & 23.44 kg.
2. Man-i-Jahangiri is equal to 36 dams, 66.38 lb. & 30.14kg.
3. Man-i-Shahjahani is equal to 40 dams, 74 lb.
4. 1 dhari = 5 ser.
5. 1 Man = 40 ser.
6. 1 ser = 16 chhatank
7. 1 Quintal = 2.5 Man
8. 1 Hecter = 5 Bigha
9. 1 Acre = 2.5 Hact
10. lbs = poundl

The weight & scales used in different states of Malwa for opium trade are being understand by the following examples.

(1) In Jaora state of Malwa during 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> century an export duty of 14-6-6 per maund is levied on Malhargarh and sanjit, crude Opium and on any Opium allowed to be exported from other parts of Jaora territory under special permission. An export duty on manufactured ball opium is levied at the rate of 2-2-5 per dhari of 5 seers. Duty on manufactured ball opium prepared from crude opium imported from places with in 100 kos. (200 miles) distant from the state is levied at Rs 0-5-1-1/2 per dhari and duty on crude opium imported from places above 100 kos distant at Rs. 0-10-6-1/2 per dhari. Opium taken to the Government scales for export is subject to duty at the following rates per chests.

(1) On a chest of 140 lbs weight of ball opium of Jaora produces the duty of Rs. 30-0-9.

(2) On a chest of crude opium of foreign produce from a place under 100 kos the duty is Rs. 13-4-0 and from a place over 100 kos distant rs. 9-4-0.<sup>31</sup>

A duty of 14 anna 6pies is levied per maund of opium sold locally, from both vender and purchaser.<sup>32</sup>

In Sitamou state of Malwa the average area under poppy is now 4,300 acres. From 22 to 30 rupees an acer are paid for such land, a return of ten seers of chik or crude opium being obtained of every acre sown. The actual amount exported in the last five. Years has been 1900-01, 127 maund 1901-02, 556 maunds. 1902-03, 332; 1903-04, 581; 1904-05, 460. About 100 maunds pass through state territory each year and pay transit duties.<sup>33</sup>

S. No.	Year	Quantity exported in Maunds	Quantity passing in transit, in Maunds
1	1901	127-0-12	73-32-8
2	1902	556-16-0	119-12-8
3	1903	332-1-0	101-5-8
4	1904	581-8-0	88-19-0
5	1905	460-32-8	147-22-0

A duty of Rs. 11-10 per Maund is levied on all crude opium exported from the state and on ball opium Rs. 13-4 per muand of Rs. 24-13 per chest (140lbs). A transit duty on all kinds of opium assign through the state is levied at the rate of Rs. 1-10 per maund provided; it does not break bulk. The amount of crude opium and of the manufactured article exported in the last five years is given below.<sup>34</sup>

In Dhar state of Malwa. A transit duty of eight anna is levied on every 'dhari' or five 'seers' of crude opium, when-if leaves a village or town. Several classes of export duty are also levied.<sup>35</sup>

**(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 balls with the addition of 1 anna and 9 pies to cover scale expenses.

(b) On rabba opium it is levied at Rs.7-8 per chest weighing 66 seers.

**(2) Export to other Native states<sup>36</sup>**

(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 batto (ball) opium.

Poppy is extensively grown in the Rajgarh state of Malwa. The area sown and the amount of chik exported since 1895 are given blow.<sup>37</sup>

S.No.	Year	Acreage	Export in Maund
1	1895	4,185	601
2	1896	4,127	677
3	1897	3,885	957
4	1898	9,753	1,341
5	1899	3,239	1,386
6	1900	927	1,224
7	1901	4,390	1,89
8	1902	3,392	9,86
9	1903	5,443	7,68
10	1904	6,387	1,137
11	1905	6,482	392
12	1906	6,812	1198

A Duty is levied of Rs. 1 per dhari (10lbs) weight and 3 pies as biai or weighing tax on every rupees worth sold. The revenue from this source is about Rs.15000/- a year.

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## 4

### Quit Kashmir Movement : A Saga of Struggle towards the establishment of Responsible Government

*Dr. Sharda Sharma*

With the establishment of dogra rule in the state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846, a stable government with brave and enlightened rulers was set up. The dogra rulers began to administer the state efficiently and made headway towards progress. A process of reforms in almost every field viz. education, land, judiciary, taxation and government services was started. The judicial system received its first attention during Gulab Singh's time.<sup>1</sup> It is true that his methods of judicial administration were crude and primitive<sup>2</sup>, but it is also true that he was successful in suppressing crime. Ranbir Singh went a step further and divided the administration of justice into various departments i.e., Daftar nizamat, Daftar Diwani and Daftar Jangi.<sup>3</sup> However, the most important step taken by Ranbir Singh was the establishment of Adalat-ul-Alia in 1877, to improve the functioning of judicial system.<sup>4</sup> Another step was the introduction of a Penal code. Pratap Singh further improved the judicial system by introducing new Criminal Procedure Code and Civil Procedure Code. He also opened large number of courts in important towns and cities of the state; but the major step was the passing of High Court Regulation in 1921.<sup>5</sup> However, it was in the time of Hari Singh that a full fledged High Court consisting of a Chief Justice and two other Judges was established in 1928. This step did away with many abuses in the judiciary and with this rule of law was established.<sup>6</sup>

To improve the economic life of the people, the dogra rulers examined the existing taxation system and abolished some taxes and suppressed

evil practices connected with them. Muslim Marriage tax (Nikah) and Begar were abolished, Rationing of rice was introduced.<sup>7</sup> However, these steps could not satisfy the Muslim masses of the state who criticized the rulers on one ground or the other. They failed to realize that the Mughals and Afghans had harassed and oppressed them much more, whereas, the dogra rulers had tried to provide them solace by introducing various reforms and making the administration sound and efficient. The Muslim masses on their part started condemning the dogra rulers as corrupt and inefficient. All this deteriorated the relations between the Hindus and Muslims on the one hand, and between the ruler and his subjects on the other.

Maharaja Hari Singh who ascended the throne in 1925 announced a number of concessions under the 'Raj Tilak Boons'. He tried to assuage the feelings of different communities, particularly the Muslims and declared that his government would strictly adhere to a policy of equal protection and remedy any discrimination that any of the community in the state suffered.<sup>8</sup> But this could not restore the Muslims their trust in the dogra administrations. However, another important step taken by Hari Singh was the passing of Agriculturist Relief Regulation on 14<sup>th</sup> May 1926<sup>9</sup> to save the cultivators from the clutches of money lenders and provide relief to the peasantry. Next year State Subject Definition Notification was issued on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1927.<sup>10</sup> This notification prevented the outsiders from getting government jobs as well as purchasing any immovable property within the territory of the state. To safeguard the rights of the Hindu as well as Muslim subjects in matters of employment, Maharaja had taken these steps. By this time Maharaja had also started giving preference to his Muslim subjects in case of government services. For example, in 1933, in Judicial department only, there were 8 Muslim gazetted Officers and 43 non gazetted officers. This number increased to 14 gazetted and 94 non-gazetted officers.<sup>11</sup> Hari Singh always realized that, "The prime function of any government is the maintenance of law and order and the administration of Justice between the State and its citizens."<sup>12</sup> Even the British Indian authorities admitted that the state judiciary was virtually as efficient or impartial as that of the provinces towards the beginning of second quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The constitution of Praja Sabha under Regulation No. I of 1934 A.D. whereby a legislative Assembly known as Praja Sabha was set up<sup>13</sup>, was

another important milestone of Hari Singh's rule. Purpose was to associate the people with the law making bodies of the state. Five years later on 11 Feb, 1939, Hari Singh promulgated the Jammu and Kashmir Constitution Act 14 of 1936 (1939 A.D.).<sup>14</sup> This was done to attain the ideal of active cooperation between the executive and legislature of the state, as a measure of good governance.<sup>15</sup> However, the Muslims were not happy with what had been done by Hari Singh. They were never content with what was given to them. It seemed as if they were determined to snatch all the powers from Hari Singh on the pretext of establishment of responsible government in the state. It is very interesting to note that the British who were indirectly backing the Muslims also sometimes opposed this attitude of the Muslims towards the state administration. This is evident from the remarks of J.B.Wood, the Resident in Jammu and Kashmir on the demand of the Muslims in the memorandum of 1924 presented to Lord Reading. He expressed the opinion that the memorandum contained some obvious misstatements and exaggerations. He remarked that according to his information, there were no such grievances on the part of memorialists as would justify them in making representation to the government.<sup>16</sup> All this shows that the Muslim leadership wanted to defame the ruler in the eyes of the ignorant masses of the state and thereby change the political climate in the state.

The Year 1935 witnessed a struggle for Responsible government in the State under the aegis of Muslim Conference when protest meetings, procession and hartals all over the state became the order of the day. On 7 May 1936, the working committee of the Muslim Conference met and passed a resolution asking the people to observe Responsible Government Day throughout the state. Hence forward Responsible government day was celebrated almost all over the state every year on 8<sup>th</sup> May. But this, movement failed to attract the minorities. Ultimately, the Muslim leadership headed by Sheikh Abdullah changed the name and constitution of 'All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference' to that of All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference" to get the support and membership of all sections of society including Hindus.

Hari Singh had been watching this situation with restraint. On the other hand, In India, the Muslims under M.A. Jinnah demanded on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940, Pakistan and advocated two-Nations theory. This had its impact on the state politics and new fascination for Muslim community. Thereafter it became difficult for Maharaja Hari Singh to pacify the

Muslims. Still in order to win their confidence, he issued a proclamation in 1944. According to this proclamation, Praja Sabha was to nominate a panel of six members, (3 to be Muslims). Out of these six, two were to be appointed as ministers. These ministers were to hold portfolios determined by the ruler<sup>17</sup> (Hari Singh). These two ministers one from each province were Mirza Afzal beg of National Conference from Kashmir province and Wazir Ganga Ram from Jammu.<sup>18</sup> These two ministers took their seats on 19<sup>th</sup> October 1944. Mirza Afzal Beg was allocated the portfolio of Public Works and Municipality, where as Ganga Ram was entrusted with the responsibility of Education. Herein lay the genises of Quit Kashmir Movement because here the state govt. did commit a wrong by not providing the ministers with necessary staff which they required to carry on the administration. Besides, the Prime-Minister desired them to act as a part of official block, a desire which was sure to cause annoyance. At the same time no sphere of administrative operation was demarcated for the two ministers, nor were they constituted into a separate structure of political instruments vested with authority defined by statutes.<sup>19</sup> At the same time above said restrictions imposed on them deprived the two ministers of their right to vote on the floor of the sabha.<sup>20</sup> However, the Maharaja was anxious to win over the Muslim leadership of the valley, and he did tried to conciliate, the Muslim minister, a representative of National Conference by allowing him powers and facilities as he desired. Hari Singh even went to the extent of amending the constitution to allow the ministers, the right to retain their representative position in the sabha and their right to vote.<sup>21</sup> Still the two ministers were vested with little authority. In fact, the ultimate power with regard to policy decisions continued to be exercised by Maharaja and his council of ministers.<sup>22</sup> Besides these two ministers had to operate through home secretariat. Mirza Afzal Beg tried his best to persuade the Prime Minister Mr. R.C. Kak to allow him independence of action and provide separate secretarial staff for his ministry but failed.<sup>23</sup>

In 1945 differences again cropped up when Pt. R.C.Kak informed Beg that he would expect the two ministers to vote in favour of every official measure that come pup before the sabha. At the same time the ministers were to desist themselves from expressing against any official motion in the sabha.<sup>24</sup> However, Mirza Afzal Beg, the National Conference nominee in the council did not agree to submit to any official decision which was contrary to the primary purposes, the conference sought to achieve.<sup>25</sup>

Under these circumstances Afzal Beg offered to resign and requested to be relieved of his office. On 19<sup>th</sup> March 1946 his resignation was accepted.<sup>26</sup> After this, the vacant position was offered to Mian Ahmad Yar another leader of national Conference in the Praja Sabha. This appointment added fuel to fire and worsened the already strained relations.<sup>27</sup> Stormy protests and demonstrations against the government were organised all over the state.<sup>28</sup> During the course of these protest meetings Sheikh Abdullah criticised the policy of Hari Singh of associating the non official members of the legislature with the task of administration. he also started delivering inflammatory speeches at various places educating the people about the treaty of Amritsar.<sup>29</sup> First speech was delivered at Dhanji Bhai Adda compound Srinagar, where he declared that, with the end of British rule in India, the rulers of princely states were also to leave the administration.<sup>30</sup> This marked the beginning of Quit Kashmir Movement.

Another speech was delivered at Zaina Kadal Srinagar. During the course of speech he said, "We will collect 75 lakhs of rupees, rupee one from each of us and give it to Maharaja and take back Kashmir."<sup>31</sup> Sheikh Abdullah visited a large number of towns in the valley and delivered inflammatory speeches. Everywhere he said, "the descendants of Gulab Singh had no right to rule the people of Kashmir. It is your duty to tell the people and invite them to attain the freedom from the dogra rule even at the cost of your health and wealth."<sup>32</sup> he declared more than once, "We won't take rest so long as we don't end the dogra rule and that I would take revenge from the descendants of Gulab Singh."<sup>33</sup>

Here after, he raised the most dangerous slogan of Quit Kashmir. Explaining it he said, "the tyranny of dogras lacerated our souls. The Kashmiris are the most handsome people. Yet the most wretched looking. It is time for action. To end your poverty-you must fight slavery and enter the field of Jihad as soldiers.... Sovereignty is not the birth right of a ruler. Every man, women and child will shout, 'Quit Kashmir'.... I ask for a plebiscite on this question."<sup>34</sup>

It is, however, important to note that slogan of "Quit Kashmir" raised by Sheikh Abdullah was not his own. He had borrowed this slogan from Mahatama Gandhi who had launched Quit India Movement in August 1942. Whereas the 'Quit India' movement was launched against the British to free India from their clutches, the 'Quit Kashmir' movement was aimed

at ousting the dogra ruler. As soon as Pt. Jawahar lal Nehru came to know of this situation he invited Abdullah to Delhi. Abdullah held discussions with his party workers on 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1946 and the next day left for Delhi via Rawalpindi.<sup>35</sup> However, he was arrested at Muzzafarabad under the Defence of India Rules and was brought to Garhi. Next morning he was taken to Srinagar and kept in Badamibagh cantonment.<sup>36</sup> The news of his arrest spread like wild fire. Everywhere there were protests, meetings and processions. Along with Sheikh Abdullah, Sardar Budh Singh, Shyam Lal Saraf, Pt. Kashyap Bandhu, Durga Prasad Dar and Janki Nath Zutshi were also arrested. Gulam Mohi-ud-Din Karra went underground and directed the movement. Gulam Mohammad Sadiq and Bakshi Gulam Mohammad went to Lahore to evade arrest to direct the movement.

Maharaja on his part issued a press communique which read as : “Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and many of his followers have been arrested following a series of speeches delivered by him and members of his party during the last two weeks. In these speeches people were invited to destroy the existing government, to repudiate allegiance to his Highness and force him to Quit Kashmir. Unmentionable abuses were heaped upon the person of His Highness and the members of ruling family.”<sup>37</sup>

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, who had all along supported Sheikh Abdullah, on hearing about his arrest was enraged. He sent telegrams to Hari Singh to release Abdullah, but Hari Singh did not agree.

He than decided to come to Kashmir. Hari Singh warned him not to come to Kashmir. Jawahar Lal than went to Rawalpindi and met Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and other leaders of National Conference. It was here that a decision was taken to go to Kashmir, knowing fully well that Nehru's entry into Kashmir had been banned.<sup>38</sup> Nehru on his way to Kashmir was arrested alongwith his colleagues.<sup>39</sup> Later on , however, restrictions on his entry into Kashmir was removed and he reached Kashmir on 24 July 1946.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, in Kashmir on hearing the news of Abdullah's arrest, thousands of armed men boomed up and down in the bazaars of Srinagar and the city was put under martial law.<sup>41</sup> Even Mujahid Manzil the headquarter of National Conference was guarded by soldiers,. All the bridges were occupied by military on both sides and none was allowed to cross them,. Nobody walked in the streets and there was complete hartal throughout the city.<sup>42</sup> The youth kept the flames of fight burning for many

weeks. During the day hide and seek was played between the police and the people, but during the night every home and hamlet, every nook and corner re sounded with people's slogan Kashmir Ko Chod Do, Sher-i-Kashmir Ki Jai.<sup>43</sup>

Sheikh Abdullah along with his colleagues was tried under section 124-A Ranbir Penal Code. The Defence of Abdullah was carried on by a famous congress leader and barrister of outstanding abilities, Mr. Asif Ali.<sup>44</sup> During the course of his trial, he admitted having demanded 'Responsible Government'. In his defense statement before the court Abdullah said, "I hold ... the fundamental rights of all men and women to live and act as free human beings, make laws, fashion their political, social and economic fabric so that they may advance the cause of human freedom and progress, are inherent and cannot be denied, though they may be suppressed for a while. I hold that sovereignty resides in the people, and all relationships, political, social and economic derive authority from the collective will of the people".<sup>45</sup>

In the meanwhile, changes of far reaching importance were taking place in Indian sub-continent. India was going to get freedom in August 1947 but after its division into India and Pakistan. The princely states had to accede to any of the two dominions of India and Pakistan. The ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State Maharaja Hari Singh was in a fix to decide the issue of accession.

In the meanwhile Pakistan engineered tribal raids on Kashmir,. Hari Singh's forces could not cope with the situation. Left with no option, Hari Singh sought help of Government of India. Government of India agreed to help but demanded on the one hand, accession of J&K State to India and on the other, release of Abdullah. Maharaja agreed to both these demands. In this way, Jammu and Kashmir state acceded to Indian Union and simultaneously S.M. Abdullah was released on 19 th September 1947.<sup>46</sup> and was made head of Emergency administration at the time of tribal invasion of the state,. Quit Kashmir movement however, subsided Sheikh Abdullah later on assumed reigns of administration and created such circumstances that forced Hari Singh to leave the state never to return again. National Conference won and dogra rule came to an end.

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# 5

## Buddhist Art- Source of Cultural Integration

*Dr. Asha Shrivastava*

Buddhism art has generally been studied from the view points of iconography and aesthetics. Efforts have been made to trace the evolution and gradual development of various facets of art in this provinces. The growth of Malwa architecture, sculpture painting and performing arts in various regions of the Malwa and the impact of these arts in several other countries of Asia have been studied from different angles.

Buddhism existed in Malwa right from the days of Buddha himself down to the early medieval period. All through these ages, it proved to be a great cultural force in this history of this region and in comparison with other regions, it enriched Indian culture to a greater extent to different ways.

Here an endeavour has been made to examine the role of Malwa fine arts in national integration. It may be pointed out that six chief factors have mainly been responsible for cultural integration of the country. These are-1. Geography 2. Philosophy 3. Socio-Economic field 4. Polity 5. Language and Literature and 6. Fine Arts.

These six can be called sadanga or the six limbs of Malwa culture. They made their definite contribution to the achievement of cultural integration. Their concept and implication can be discussed here one by one.

**1. Geography-** Location of Malwa and its physical features have endowed this land with some special qualities. Which were responsible for the creation of a distinct culture. The migration the Malwa from their original home on the Ravi in the Punjab to the S.E. Rajasthan and its occupation by them from the second century B.C. to the forth century A.D. is confirmed by the discovery of colns at uniyara and inscription.<sup>1</sup>

The mountains, rivers, forests, trees and all the flora and fauna. Associated with them were regarded as living beings. A number of Buddhist spots, particularly on hillocks and banks of rivers and ponds were regarded as sacred places. Literature and fine arts developed at such centres. Mention among these may be made of Ujjain, Vidisa, Maheswar, Sanchi, Sonari, Bhojpur, Gyaspur, Rajpur, Mandasor etc. These and several other Buddhist sacred places were regarded as sacred to all the religions and were visited by large number of people. They paved the way for emotion as integration.

**2. Philosophy and Religion-** During the Mauryan period the great Buddhist Mauryan emperor Ashoka preached 'Dhamma' for the material and spiritual welfare of the masses. The 'Dhamma' which he preached was mainly confined to the ethical and not to the dogmatic side of religion.

For the propagation of his Dhamma, he erected 'Stupas' sent Dhammamahamatras<sup>2</sup> inland and abroad started Shammatras<sup>3</sup> introduced religious performance<sup>4</sup> and over and above all, engraved edicts on the faces of rocks and pillars.

The monastic establishments in the form of the Vedic-Asramas and the Jain and Buddhist Sanghas were responsible for creating an atmosphere of tolerance and goodwill among various faiths of the country.

In Malwa, the Dhamma<sup>5</sup> propagated by Ashoka came to be followed for certain by different people. Many Brahmins and Kshatriyas, possibly adopted it. It seems that the merchant classes round about Vidisa professed it owing to the influence of Ashoka's Buddhist wife Devi<sup>6</sup>. Who was a daughter of the 'sethi' of Vidisa.

The pitiable condition of the Sudras pained the sensitive soul of Ashoka. With a view to avert the despicable position of the Sudras, he taught the people to behave seemly towards them. The Sudras, finding in Ashoka their saviour must have embraced his Dhamma that was Buddhism.

The condition of Sudras in Buddha's time was miserable. They were treated not only as untouchables but unseeables<sup>7</sup>. Buddha however treated them humanly and allowed them to join the Sangha. He did not mind even taking food at the hands of Chunda<sup>8</sup> a Smith and Upali<sup>9</sup> the Sudra from Kapilvastu was one of Buddha's dear disciples because in Buddhism period in India (Malwa) evolved a broad based philosophical outlook.

Truth, non violence renunciation and goodwill to each other were the cardinal points of Indian philosophy.

**3. Socio-economic Field-** The varnasrama dharma based on the theory of karma was the backbone of Indian society. 'Sadacara' was the pivot of your social and economic set up. Like the religious monastic establishment's economic guides took the care of agriculture industry and trade.<sup>10</sup>

Buddhism was prevalent among the people of industrial classes, official classes and vanijas of vanikas (Marchants).

From the inscriptions at Sanchi the sotikas (weavers) like Damaka<sup>11</sup> the Karmikas (Workmen) like atha (Artha)<sup>12</sup> and those of pamchangar<sup>13</sup> contributed to the erection of a rail-pillar and a pillar.

Official classes people is evident from a number of Sanchi inscription. The 'Lekhakasa' (Scribe)<sup>14</sup> Subahita the Rajalipikara (royal scribe)<sup>15</sup>. Utra (Uttara) the Rajuka (Surveyor or revenue settlement officer)<sup>16</sup> etc.

**4. Polity-** The chief pivot on which the state administrative system moved was the ideal of amity between the ruler and the ruled 'Raja-Praja ranjanat' (A king is for the welfare of the people) was the aim of the state.

Kautilya definitely stated that no religion should be declared by a king as the religion of the state. The four basic requirements of an ideal kingdom were the religion of the state. The four basic requirements of an ideal kingdom were-

1. Independence and integration
2. Economic self-sufficiency
3. Justice to all social grades
4. Advancement of learning, art and culture
5. Language and literature

The ideals of education both for men and women are elaborately stated in ancient texts, Brahmanical Buddhist and Jaina. The ideals aimed at an all round development of students. For integration of the country the idea of one language was conceived by Indian thinkers in different areas of the country.

The contribution of Buddhism to language and literature is remarkable. The original Buddhist literature was written in 'Pali' which had its origin in Malwa region<sup>17</sup>.

The names of the early authors who wrote the original works in Avanti are not known to us. Their language indicates that they were composed here. The Sanskrit texts which to a greater extent correspond to the book of Pali canon were probably based on the same source. Besides many scholars like Bunabhadra, Dharmakritayassas, Uppunya, Paramanthe, Nalandayassas and Vinitaruchi translated a number of books into Chinese and thus spread Buddhism abroad. The aim of the development of language and literature is unity of the country. In course of time 'Pali' and Sanskrit language were given the status of national script and national language respectively. The credit for initiating this can be given to Emperor Ashoka of the Maurya dynasty.

#### **5. Fine Arts- The History of Fine Arts in Malwa furnishes an interesting panorama-**

In a big country like India, having different geographical features and climate in different regions, the ideas of free thinking and free expression, through various media including fine arts was remarkable indeed. At the same time, there was strong sense of emotional integration throughout the country. It was mainly due to the concept of one country and of one assimilative culture among the inhabitants of the great land. The followers of the Buddhists, the Jains and those following other faiths lived peacefully side by side in villages and towns. The example of Buddhist arts in Malwa associated with various faiths discovered in Bagha caves in Shar, Sanchi, Vidisa, Bharhut, Amaravati and also relics in round found from Gandhara and several other places of India.<sup>18</sup>

Buddhism being largely graphic gave birth to painting. The Buddhist paintings found at Bagha in Malwa are in sufficient quantity to indicate the prolific nature of the Buddhist School of painting. Which expresses the deeper and fundamental reality upon which all creeds and rituals are based and which hardly echoes the disparagement of life. The painting at Bagha leads one to think of emotional discipline and detached vision transcending the ephemerality of day to day life. The assurance and delicacy of lines, brilliance of colours and richness of expression in the paintings at Bagha as also at Ajanta seem to have captured in themselves the best tradition of

the art of Renaissance at home and set up tradition which travelled far off countries.<sup>19</sup>

The role of Buddhism art was to enable the mind and soul and hence an integration between ethics and aesthetics was sought for through the media of different fine arts.

The role of Buddhism fine art towards integration of the country is significant indeed. As regards themes, technique, ornamentation and symbology, certain common feature are noticed in the fine arts of the entire country irrespective of religious differences. The themes were the epics the jatakas and various folk lares.<sup>20</sup>

The Buddhist Jataka stories are richly carved in the world famous stupa of Boro-bidur and in the temples of Burma. The folk culture played an important role in this respect.

Art, thus played a significant role towards consolidation and aesthetic integration of the country and abroad.

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## 6

### The Discontented Peasantry and Political Hierarchy of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Rajputana: Building Roads to Consequent Frustration:

*With Special Reference to The Great Uprising of 1857*

*Dr. Meghna Sharma*

The study of peasantry, equated with rural society as a whole,<sup>1</sup> has become a fascinating theme of contemporary historiography. Prof. Irfan Habib takes the peasant to mean a person who undertakes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements, and using the labour of his family.<sup>2</sup>

According to Raymond Firth the peasant category includes, also the various forms of labour and agriculture-based artisans who are associated in one way or the other with the community of tillers.<sup>3</sup> It goes on to say that “*of all the countries in the non-Socialist world, India has the largest peasantry and the most deep rooted social obstacles to agricultural development.*”<sup>4</sup>

As Andre Beteille wrote about the Indian villages, “*the distinctions between the different grades in the agrarian hierarchy were at one level structural and it would be quite misleading to view all their members as peasants, comparable to so many potatoes in a sack of potatoes.*”<sup>5</sup>

#### **The Agrarian Dissatisfaction and Pathetic Peasantry: Internal Dissensions, and British Interference in Rajputana**

James Tod who was a Lieut. Col. in the army spent his whole life traveling and then writing about Rajasthan in his work “*The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*”. Thomas Duer Broughton, who too was a Captain posted at the court of Scindia as a Commander of the Escort of the Resident

of Gwalior got published his work under the title "*Letters Written From a Maharatta Camp During the Year 1809.*"<sup>6</sup> Both have described the economic conditions of peasants, the land and revenue system, the oppressions perpetrated by the zamindars and the money lenders. Broughton does not appear to be as sore about the conditions of the peasants as we find Tod.<sup>7</sup>

Tod often came in clash with the British authorities over the problems of the peasants. Besides these two writers who traveled in the nineteenth century, the studies by Hennery Maine and B. H. Baden Powell stand out as land marks.<sup>8</sup> Broughton described the wretched condition of the Indian peasants. He wrote that the peasant women even sold their infants for a paltry sum of two rupees. In his own words "*I have often seen women and children employed in picking out the undigested grains of corn from the dung of the different animals.....*"<sup>9</sup>

The peasants' misery was further aggravated by the subdivisions of the land. The holdings were divided into pieces of land which frustrated the peasants and led to many conflicts, hunger and poverty.<sup>10</sup> The cultivators (peasants) in the Jagir villages of Marwar, as in those of the Khalsa, were grouped into two classes—Bapidars and Gair bapidars. Bapidars possessed occupancy rights. Bapidari (inherited from Bap or father) was invariably granted by the Jagirdar or the ruler.<sup>11</sup> Gair Bapidars were merely tenants at will. They were provided with Kachha Patta with the seal of the Assistant Settlement Officer.<sup>12</sup>

Tod talks of the agrarian laws that they were against the interest of the peasants. In the small township of Murlah the community had increased in numbers and the subdivision of the land continued. This led to a ferocious combat. He says "*when the wives of the combatants who were slain ascended the funeral pile and to prevent a similar catastrophe, imprecated a curse on whosoever from that day shall cultivate a field in Murlah. Since then the land has been in absolute sterility.*"<sup>13</sup>

The revenue system too was faulty. Tod described the role of middlemen in Kota of Rajasthan, as he (Collector) could exact as much revenue as he desired. He writes:

*"And there was no control to exaction beyond the conscience of this constituted attorney of each township, either for the assessment or collection and when the regent cared not for the means so that the supplies were abundant, nothing but ruin could ensue to the ryot."*<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, the landlords and their agents exploited the cultivator. The Patels were collecting the revenue. The Patels were the Direct Officers of the Crown, and exacted the maximum from the ryot.<sup>15</sup> Another middleman was *Bohara* who supplied the peasants with oxen and seeds and enjoyed maximum profits.<sup>16</sup>

During 19<sup>th</sup> century opium<sup>17</sup> was an important article of which also found its way from India to China. The East India Company had already acquired monopoly over poppy cultivation in Bengal presidency. It bought the juice at a fixed price which was then sent to Calcutta where it was auctioned to the purchasers who carried it to china.<sup>18</sup>

The Malwa opium, produced in southern parts of Rajputana, was considered of better quality than Bengal opium and, therefore, started competing successfully in the china markets with British opium produced in Bengal. Hence, the East India Company, apprehending a danger to its monopoly, endeavoured to stop or to restrict the cultivation of Malwa opium and fetter the opium producing states with certain conditions and secure its monopoly over the Malwa opium.<sup>19</sup>

East India Company concluded Protective Alliances<sup>20</sup> with various Rajputana States. The object could be achieved by three fold measures *Firstly*, by preventing the exportation of opium by sea through any hands but their own. *Secondly*, by restricting the cultivation of opium plant in Malwa and Rajputana lest too great a quantity supply and *thirdly* by converting the monopoly of the Malwa opium as much possible to their pecuniary advantage by fixing the price arbitrarily.<sup>21</sup>

On July 31<sup>st</sup> 1825, a treaty with Kota state was also concluded<sup>22</sup> which was ratified<sup>23</sup> by the Governor General on September 23, 1825. It stipulated that opium produced in Kota territories would not be exported and than in Kota 4000 Maunds of it would be delivered to the hon'ble Company @Rs. 30/- Per Punsari (5 Seers). A supplementary treaty comprising nine articles was soon after concluded, with Kota State.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the arrangements prescribed by the treaty were destructive to the cultivators, to the traders, and also to the government, as the state suffered an annual deficit of Rs. 32,801/- due to treaty obligations on account of the expenditure incurred in excess of value and compensation received in lieu of the drug from The East India Company.<sup>25</sup>

Reacting to this situation created by the restrictive measures, C. T. Metcalf, the Resident at Delhi, wrote to the deputy Secretary to the government in the political Deptt. on January 9, 1827<sup>26</sup> thus:

*“We injure the cultivators by a forced reduction of prices. We injure him further by a forced diminution of cultivation. We injure the trader by the prohibition of exportation. We prevent the return of Asiatic and European commerce to which this profitable exportation led. We injure the capitalist by destroying the means of employing his capital.....we injure the sovereign by all the injuries which we inflict on his people and further by the destruction of his independent sovereignty in his own dominions through the introduction of our administration in its most odious shape.....if not relinquished, it would be recorded against us in History, as the most unwarrantable act of our whole Indian government.”<sup>27</sup>*

#### **British Treaties of 1818 A.D With Princely States of Rajasthan: Contemporary Scene of Political Upheavals and Feudal Revolts**

After their release from Mughal domination, the Rajput principalities, suffering from internal weaknesses and dissensions as well as from external aggression, could not retain their independence but were driven to seek protection from expanding British imperialism, during the tenure of Lord Hastings (1813-23).<sup>28</sup>

The prejudices and infirmities of the prince, the depressed conditions of the court, the general distress, disunion and anarchy prevailing throughout the principality, the insolence and refractory spirit of the *Thakurs*, widespread corruption and inefficiency among the officers of the state were some of the maladies from which the Rajput states in general suffered at that time.<sup>29</sup>

The then Rajput rulers were found to be nearly incapable of handling their affairs.<sup>30</sup> It was under such circumstances that C. T. Metcalfe, the Resident at Delhi who belonged to the “Welleslyian School”, prepared a scheme of protective treaties.<sup>31</sup> They were directed in 1813 that Jaipur should be taken under protection if an opportunity afforded.<sup>32</sup> Sir David Ochterlony, with his “*approved diplomatic and military experience, judgment and ability*”, was appointed Resident in Rajputana and Commissioner-General for the affairs of the Rajput states (1818). To his duties was added the conduct of political relations with the western Rajput states such as Marwar and Jaisalmer.<sup>33</sup>

The states of Karauli (Nov. 1817)<sup>34</sup> and Kota (December 26 1817)<sup>35</sup> signed the treaties. The treaties with the states of Jodhpur (January 6, 1818),<sup>36</sup> Mewar (January 13, 1818),<sup>37</sup> Bundi (February, 1818), Kishangarh and Bikaner (march, 1818) were concluded subsequently. Early in March, 1818, James Tod arrived in Mewar as the first British Political Agent there.<sup>38</sup> Japiur state<sup>39</sup> accepted the treaty on April 2, 1818.<sup>40</sup> Banswara (September, 1818),<sup>41</sup> and Dungarpur (December, 1818) also came to the British fold.<sup>42</sup> Sirohi, concluded in 1823 the treaty of alliance with the company, which had been put off because of the pretensions of Jodhpur to suzerainty over the former.<sup>43</sup>

The relations with the new paramount power were determined only in part by the words of the treaties which linked them with the East India Company.<sup>44</sup> The political needs of the paramount contributed to the development of a political system of which the foundations were laid in the days of Lord Hastings.<sup>45</sup>

In general the treaties involved the exchange of British protection and security for subordinate co-operation and the payment of tribute or military service or both, they not only gave the British government full control over the political relations of the Indian states with each other and with foreign states<sup>46</sup> Further, though the treaties professed to have been concluded to promote perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests between the contracting states, the underlying fundamental principle was the subordination of the rights and interests of the princely states of Rajputana to those of the paramount power.<sup>47</sup>

As a modern writer aptly points out, "*the spirit of the age and the basic features of foreign ruler were altogether inconsistent with the full survival of the old order in Rajasthan.*"<sup>48</sup>

The establishment of British protectorate over Rajputana states, Sirohi in particular, from 1823-1833, was in the form of advice for consolidation of the authority of the Rao for the suppression of outlawing Jagirdars<sup>49</sup> prevention of inter state depredations<sup>50</sup> and improvement of the administrations in particular.<sup>51</sup>

Captain Spiers was authorized to manage the state affairs and the Jagirdars or the Thakurs found himself too weak to fulfilling the financial demand for the purpose of raising an irregular corps for the state to end the insubordination of the tribes,<sup>52</sup> the central authority being weak during

1823-1905.<sup>53</sup> The main causes<sup>54</sup> of the outlawry or dissatisfaction of the *Jagirdars* were:

- (i) There were no definite rules and regulations regarding the '*Rajhaq*' (fief tax),
- (ii) No rules to govern succession if a *Jagirdar* died without male issue. It was at the sweet will of the ruler to permit adoption or declare the fief as *Khalsa*,
- (iii) Border boundaries of different *Jagirs* were not clearly defined.

After the treaty of 1823 Rao Sheo Singh sent joint forces<sup>55</sup> of the state and the British against Thakur Raj Singh of Nibaj, the great grandson of Rao Lakha. He submitted on April 29, 1824, acknowledged the supremacy of Sirohi state and signed an agreement<sup>56</sup>. The relations were cordial uptill 1840. On the death of Thakur Ranjee of Girwar<sup>57</sup> Thakur Raj Singh seized Girwar.<sup>58</sup> But on the persuasion of the political superintendent he gave up of all claims to Girwar<sup>59</sup> which was declared as *Khalsa*.<sup>60</sup>

Another feudality<sup>61</sup> of Lakhawat sect was Thakur Khem Singh of Rohua.<sup>62</sup> who threw off the allegiance of the former and accepted the supremacy of Palanpur and signed an agreement in 1817 and 1818 A.D to pay half of the revenue of Rohua, Verman, Vagda, Raipur, Vadvaj etc. to the Palanpur state.<sup>63</sup>

Spiers, the Political Agent of Sirohi and Col Mill, the Political Agent of Palanpur were appointed to settle the dispute.<sup>64</sup> The Thakur first declined to pay the tribute to Sirohi State.<sup>65</sup> but after a short resistance, surrendered.<sup>66</sup>

The dispute between Sirohi State and Thakur Nathu Singh of Bhattana<sup>67</sup> started over the assignment of the deserted village of Beejwa, in the year 1848-49.<sup>68</sup> The *Jagir* of Bhattana was confiscated. The news of their trial was communicated to all the chiefs of Rajputana with the warning that all those who without reason went into outlawry and committed deeds of violence, would lose their estates. If any person gave shelter to the outlaws he or she would be fined Rupees one thousand.<sup>69</sup>

Similarly, the *Jagir* of Jogapura in the Thikana of Rewara<sup>70</sup> was declared *Khalsa*, after the death of Thakur Ajeet Singh, without a male issue.<sup>71</sup>

### **Bhil Discontentment: Resultant Policy of the Feudal Lords and Interference of the British (1818-1857)**

In the medieval ages a sufficient number of Hindus and *Bohras* had settled in the areas of the Bhils as traders, moneylenders and agriculturists. The Bhils also came in contact with the local officials. The Bhils were forced to work as labourers in the fields of Rajputs and Brahmins. The Bhil and Girasia chiefs disregarded the authority of the Maharana of Mewar over them,<sup>72</sup> and did not obey the orders of their overlords.<sup>73</sup>

The treaties of 1818 A.D, led to serious discontentment among the Bhils who resorted to revolts after short intervals.<sup>74</sup> The feudal chiefs realized several levies<sup>75</sup> from their subjects including the Bhils. On the advice of Colonel Tod the Maharana called the nobles of Mewar to Udaipur, and drafted a '*Kaulnama*'.<sup>76</sup> The nobles were asked to renounce all undue taxes, desist from taking part in the depredations,<sup>77</sup> stop cases of plunder and theft in their areas, expel such outsiders who were creating disturbances, protect the traders and reduce the strength of mercenary soldiers.<sup>78</sup>

Colonel Spiers proposed (1838)<sup>79</sup>, the formation of a Bhil Corps.<sup>80</sup> After a long correspondence between the Political Agent Mewar, A. G.G in Rajputana and the Governor General in Council, the proposal of the formation of the Bhil Corps, was approved in 1841, with Kherwara as the headquarters and a branch at Kotra in 1844.<sup>81</sup> The outbreaks of Bhils from 1821 to 1823, 1825 to 1828 and 1836 to 1841 were the most serious among them, during the revolt of 1857-58 the Mewar Bhil Corps performed their duties faithfully for the ruling power. Tantiya tope was aided by only two Bhil chiefs of the region,<sup>82</sup>

### **The Amalgamation of Discontent and its Transformation into a Greater Mode of Demonstration (1857): Special Reference-The Aftermath of the Great Uprising**

The outbreak of the uprising took place on May 28, 1857 at Nasirabad military camp and covering regions like Neemuch, Ajmer, Devali, Auwah, Dhaulpur and Kota, came to an end when Tantiya Tope, fell into the hands of the British in January 1859 A.D.<sup>83</sup> Maharaja Takht Singh, of Jodhpur<sup>84</sup>, Maharaja Ram Singh (1835-80) of Jaipur State,<sup>85</sup> Maharana Swaroop Singh of Mewar placed their troops at the disposal of the British political agent and issued orders to his chiefs and district officers to extend every help to the British.<sup>86</sup>

Maharaja Sardar Singh of Bikaner had from the commencement of the outbreak of 1857, actively exhibited the most loyal friendship and devotion to the British government and warmly cooperated with them in the field maharaja personally took the field being the only prince in Rajasthan to do so.<sup>87</sup>

Where the rulers of the princely states of Rajasthan sided the British, the lower officials and military men were on the other side. In Kota State, the army men who contributed with their lives leading the battalions during the uprising of 1857 were, Abbas Beg Mirza, Lala Jaydayal Bhatnagar, Gul Mohammed, Heera Singh, Kaamdar Khan, Mehrab Khan, Mohammed Khan, and Roshan Beg etc.<sup>88</sup>

Nabi Sher Khan, who was posted in Kota State Artillery, took charge of the weapons under him. On Oct. 15, 1857 the mutineers attacked the agency house of Kota and Maharao tried to save the life of Agent Major Burton. At that time, Nabi Sher Khan and Sardar Ali helped the mutineers and went against the Maharao.

Similarly, Jiyalaal, the Chief Patel of Nimbaheda (Chittorgarh) organized the battalion and refused to follow the orders of captain. C. L. Showers, to suppress the uprising. Another Chief Patel, Tarachand offered sever resistance to the armies of col. Jackson in September 1857. After the British acquired complete control over the region, Tarachand was shot by canon.

Shaktidaan Thakur, the younger brother of the *Jagidaar* of Asab (Jodhpur), and Bhaironsingh Jodha, the *Jagirdaar* of Gerao (Jodhpur), fought against Captain Lawrence and fell into the hands of the British at Auwah.<sup>89</sup>

The end of mutiny marked the beginning of a new era in relationship of Indian states with the British government. Apart from the Queen's Proclamation and The Act of 1858, which solemnly declared that the existing rights, prerogatives and dignity of the princes would be maintained,<sup>90</sup> the British government in recognition of the '*distinguished*', '*valuable*' services and '*loyal co-operation*', granted to the princes, confiscated titles and territories of the insurgent, remitted their debts and tributes, bestowed honours, and decorations of distinction and offered rewards.<sup>91</sup>

The Proclamation of 1858 read, "*we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions.....we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native*

*Princes as our own.....*"<sup>92</sup> 'Sanads' were granted to remove mistrust and suspicion and 'to reassure and knit the native sovereigns to the paramount power.'<sup>93</sup>

The princes did not realize at that time that those Sanads which were regarded as '*as act of grace*' carried with them the obligation to follow a 'sound policy' of which '*loyalty to the crown*' was the prime criterion.<sup>94</sup>

The British government had accorded the privilege of a salute of 17 guns to the rulers of Mewar, Marwar, Jaipur and Bikaner.<sup>95</sup> Thus the 'Crown' entered into the politics of India.<sup>96</sup>

In 1862, Canning declared in Durbar that '*the Crown of England stood forward the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in all India and was for the first time brought face to face with its feudatories.*'<sup>97</sup>

In the words of Pannikar, the effect of these durbars was to reduce '*the independent States to complete sub-ordination and to the status of allegiance.*'<sup>98</sup>

The next five decades were occupied with the task of evolving a machinery for controlling the states. The states were isolated from British India in the same manner as India as a whole was isolated from the rest of Asia.<sup>99</sup>

After the uprising, necessity for the improved means of communication was felt strongly and the British government decided to construct three roads<sup>100</sup> namely :

- (i) Agra to Ahmedabd,
- (ii) Neemuch to Ahmedabad,
- (iii) Ajmer to Neemuch.

In July 1869, three Chiefs of Rajputana, namely Kishangarh, Sirohi and Tonk, were requested to contribute their share for the construction of roads. The proposed road from Agra to Ahmedabad was a section of the grand trunk Road. It covered 454 miles out of which 301 miles passed through the Rajputana states.<sup>101</sup>

The construction of railways in the various states after the uprising, was as a result of well conceived British policy of extension of trunk lines for the mobilization of military power and materials for military purposes. Important British stations like Delhi and Agra were aimed to be connected with other important military stations through Bombay, Baroda and Central India's Rajputana-Malwa Railway.<sup>102</sup>

The introduction of the railway system in the princely states was designed keeping in view the co-ordination of general network of communication through traffic and maintenance of postal system, as it lacked before and had contributed upto an extent towards the outbreak of the uprising.<sup>103</sup>

In 1865, the Government of India proposed for the concessions for land for railway purposes and a letter was sent to all the Chiefs of Rajputana by the Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana.<sup>104</sup>

On account of its importance due to the needs of the military, the paramount power wanted an overall control of the railways. This policy alarmed the Rajput states very much.<sup>105</sup>

Thus, it could be said that the policy after the uprising of 1857 had been to establish the paramountacy of the crown and make the princes accept it as the sovereign power for all.

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## Historical Perspective of Women's Status in Medieval Age

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**Abstract:** *It is often said that the status of women is the best way to understand a civilization, its progress and the shortcomings. The status of women in any civilization shows the stage of evolution at which, the civilization has arrived. In the vedic age, women enjoyed a privileged status, in no way less than men. But post vedic era saw the deterioration in the status of women in the society and with the establishment of Muslim rule in India things became even more tragic. Medieval India was not the women's age. Within a short time, women who once mingled freely in society, found themselves barricaded in their own homes so as to prevent Muslims from abducting them.*

The progressive nature of a civilization is reflected into the status of women in the society. The term 'status' includes not only personal and proprietary rights but also duties, liabilities and disabilities. In the case of a Indian woman, it means her personal rights, proprietary rights, her duties, liabilities and disabilities vis-a-vis the society and her family members. One of several factors that justify the greatness of India's ancient culture is the honorable place granted to women. The Indian civilization has produced great women ranging from Brahmavadinis (lady Rishi) to states woman, from ideal wife to warrior queen. Hindu mythology witnesses that the status of Hindu woman during the vedic period was honorable & respectable. In ancient India, women did not veil their faces and they enjoyed considerable amount of freedom in society. But repeated attacks on Hindu India by foreigners through centuries changed the situation.

India has seen many wars, victories, defeats, invasions. But the invasions by fanatical Muslims saw a downward trend in its social and

cultural heritage. Unlike previous invaders, these new ones respected no known norms of war or treatment of captured towns. The religious zealots from Afghanistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Arabia etc were interested in conversion as well as loot and had no respect for anyone! The women of India, till this time were free to move around as men were. Due to the heat of the land, they wore few clothes and much jewellery. The Muslim invasions put paid to this. The Muslims were keen to abduct as many women as they could to satisfy their lust and propagate their brand of "religion" along with their illegitimate progeny from these slaves.

The killing of men and enslaving of women and children was standard practice in Islamic conquests. Thus when Mohammed bin Qasim conquered the lower Indus basin in A.D. 712, he entered Multan and, according to the Chach-Nama, "6,000 warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependents were taken as slaves."<sup>1</sup> This is why Rajput women took to immolating themselves en masse to save their honor in the face of the imminent entry of victorious Muslim armies, eg. 8,000 women immolated themselves during Akbar's capture of Chittorgarh in 1568 (whereas this most enlightened among Muslim rulers also killed 30,000 non-combatants).

During the Sultanate period, condition of women starts deteriorating as compare to earlier period. Dependence of women on their husbands, or other male relatives, was a prominent feature of social life among the Hindus as well as the Muslims at that time. But they enjoyed a position of respect and were expected to observe strict fidelity in their conjugal life. The culture of the women varied according to the classes to which they belonged. While the ordinary village women remained absorbed in their domestic duties, some belonging to the upper class cultivated arts and science. Rupamati and Padmavati are the good example of educated ladies. But the social evils like Purdah System came into force, Child marriage was prevalent, evil system of Devdasis was also one of the bad practices prevalent at that time. In which beautiful unmarried girls were kept into temples as they are married to God.<sup>2</sup>

In Hindus Lack of education, early marriage, non-existence of employment opportunities, absence of absolute property rights were main causes of inequality of sex in the socio-economic field. Incidence of female infanticide and custom of Sati could be witnessed. According to Ibn-batuta, a sort of permit had to be procured from sultan of delhi before the

burning of a widow.<sup>3</sup> Though we have evidences of women taking part in politics of that time. Sultana Razia was the only woman ruler of sultanate period. But inspite of having all the qualities of a good ruler she cannot succeed, only because she was a lady.<sup>4</sup> In the field of education we find les number of educated women in this period as compared to mughal period.

In the Mughal period also condition of women was remain pitiabile. practices like Sati, child marriage and dowry system were prominent at that time. Akbar tried to regulate social usages in such a way as to make the consent of both the bride and the bridegroom, and the permission of the parents, necessary for the marriage contracts. He also sought to check marriage before puberty by either party, marriages between near relatives, acceptance of high dowries, and polygamy. But his attempts do not seem to have been effective in practice.<sup>5</sup> Girls were to get married before puberty; the age of 8 was regarded as ideal. Early marriage was followed by early maternity, which increased mortality among women. The widow's life was a miserable one and she could not marry. She even had no property right. The birth of a female child was treated as a measure of condolence. Ibn Batuta has referred to the inheritance of the properties of a dead man by his sister's son. Divorce and love marriages were also in vogue. Within a short time, women who once mingled freely in society, found themselves barricaded in their own homes so as to prevent Muslims from abducting them. The women came to be regarded as of the same status as the Sudras. Slowly women have lost their rights in social field and left with nothing in their hands.<sup>6</sup> They were covered head to toe in layers of clothing, though not as oppressive as their Muslim counterparts, it was far more oppressive then it had ever been before. The practice of "Sati" amongst Rajput women also came into being at this time, reflecting on the only honourable solution to being captured, raped and enslaved by the enemy. As the Muslim power became more entrenched in Northern India, the rights and freedoms of Hindu men and women became more restricted." During such aggressions, and also when India was under foreign occupation, the honor and chastity of women often became the casualties. There have been numerous cases when Hindu women killed themselves rather than yield to indignities inflicted by the aggressors. As a result, Hindu society became more protective about its women. The freedom of women was curtailed. To protect themselves Hindu women started to cover their faces with veils and started to stay home. Their participation in social events was greatly restricted."<sup>7</sup>

The Islamic rulers basically imposed the rules from their scriptures (Quoran and Hadith) in this newly conquered society in India. Purdah was enforced on both Muslim and non-Muslim population, since it is a basic idea of Islam. In parts of India there were women called 'asuryampashya', meaning women who did not even see the sun! In order to protect women from the aggressors' eyes, purdah was used as well. But Purdah system was limited to rich and sophisticated people only.<sup>8</sup> This continued till late 18th century, even today we see our grand mothers or mothers are still putting on the 'ghunghat' or veil. "Some social scientists have very rightly described the Mediaval era as the dark age for women. By end of this era women no longer enjoyed the freedom of the earlier times, and even within the family as unit, their importance became nil. The pages of the history of this age are, figuratively speaking, black in color, due to oppression meted out at this time."<sup>9</sup>

Medieval India was not women's age. This was a period when the idea that women were unfit for freedom and deserved no independence was propagated. Rigorous restrictive regulations were imposed on woman, stating it to be in the interest of preserving her chastity and honour. Child marriages were popular; girls were married even before they learned to speak. The purdah system became very rigid and women were forbidden to visit the holy shrines. Sati practice made widow's life miserable. "During this period when the atmosphere was so vitiated that even the horrid acts of female infanticide had to be performed for self-preservation, when even the marriage had to be performed secretly at the dead hours of night (In Bengal and some other states marriage is performed only at night till today). Lest the new bride on way to her new home may be abducted en route."<sup>10</sup> Mughal emperors like Akbar, Jahangir and Aurangzeb tried to prohibit the practice of Sati but it could not be suppressed. We see that during the Mughal period the honoured position of women deteriorated further and the saints and poets of this age, for example, Kabir, Dadu, Tulsi etc. denounced women as the root cause of the fall of the man. For some strange reason, both women and untouchable castes were compared to drums. But in spite of all the adversities some women excelled in the fields of politics, literature, education and religion. Razia Sultana became the only woman monarch to have ever ruled Delhi. The Gond queen Durgavati ruled for fifteen years, before she lost her life in a battle with Mughal emperor Akbar's general Asaf Khan in 1564. Chand Bibi defended Ahmednagar against the mighty Forces of Akbar. Nurjahan's role as the

power behind Jahangir's throne is well known in the annals of history. The Mughal princess Jahanara and Zebunnisa were well known poetesses of that time. Shivaji's mother Jijabai also known for her extra ordinary skill as a warrior and an administrator. Thus we see that the political authorities of women witnessed a new dawn in the Mughal period. But this does not mean that status of women as a whole was in a better condition in mughal Period. Later during the Bhakti movement, the position of women became a bit stable due to the contribution of some of the renowned female figures. Shortly after the Bhakti movement, Guru Nanak, the first sikh guru preached the message of equality between men and women.

Slowly the practices from the medieval ages which were forced on the Hindu society became norm and tradition. These problems related with women resulted in changed mindset of people. Now they began to consider a girl as misery and a burden, which has to be shielded from the eyes of intruders and needs extra care. Whereas a boy child will not need such extra care and instead will be helpful as an earning hand. Thus a vicious circle started in which women was at the receiving end. Immoral male social (Hindu) leaders and people with vested interest came up with many oppressing 'laws' especially for the women. The society which once gave women the highest position called women 'the gateway to the hell', they made satee almost compulsory, widows could not marry, men of lower castes became un-touchable. As Swami Vivekananda had noted: Our religion became a 'kitchen religion' and Hinduism became 'Don't touchism'! Women in other professions other than their 'home-making' duties were rare to be found. There was a complete devaluation of their roles, which were, confined to specific areas-the kitchen and the bedroom and to stereotype gender roles. Opportunities for self-development were not only denied to women, these were not even within the realm of social consciousness.<sup>11</sup>

The plight of women in medieval India and at the starting of modern India can be summed up in the words of great poet Rabindranath Tagore: "O Lord Why have you not given woman the right to conquer her destiny? Why does she have to wait head bowed, By the roadside, Waiting with tired patience, Hoping for a miracle in the morrow?"<sup>12</sup>

Even today in some Islamic countries women are not allowed to go out freely. The conservative regimes of Iran and Pakistan, for example,

have withdrawn the liberties given to women folk by the previous liberal governments. Even in India the Muslim women are far more backward than their Hindu, Christian and Sikh counterparts. The sight of Muslim women walking with long 'Burkas' (veils) on their person is not very rare. The women are, as a matter of fact, regarded as captive and saleable commodities in Muslim families. One man is allowed to have so many wives with the easiest provision of divorce. The husband can divorce a wife just by saying 'I divorce you' under the provision of Muslim laws. This is what the emperors did hundred years back and the men are doing it even now in almost all Islamic countries. Even in this last phase of the twentieth century rich and prosperous men of Islamic countries keep scores of wives in their harems. It was natural outcome of the Muslim subjugation of India that woman was relegated to a plaything of man, an ornament to decorate the drawing room. Serving, knitting, painting and music were her pastimes and cooking and cleaning her business.

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## 8

### “Looking Beyond History”:

### “A Bibliographical Review of the Empire of the Steppes”

*Dr. Jayant S. Joshi*

Researches on the growth and development of Central Asia are not new, however there is paucity of literature when compared to the researches in Europe and America. Although, there is no dearth of literature on the central Asia during the medieval times as can be found from the writing of many travellers and voyagers who travelled through this region between 13<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. These writing were diverse providing a glimpse of the society, economy, polity, art, architecture, trade and commerce of the different part of the region. They were an important source of information in reconstructing the history of the period during when it was written. These writings gave a lucid detail of several urban and trading centres and their cultures along with a comparative analysis of the period. However, these accounts do not fit the ambit of serious researches or a broader perspective of history and its related field, as they were in most of the cases a general account of the people and the society.

With the dawn of Industrial Revolution and subsequently Imperialism the region become hotbed as the European powers e.g. France, England and Russia competed amongst themselves to bring it under their hegemony. However, with the British conquest of India, England became more interested in containing Russian expansion towards India. Thus started a “great game” that saw both England and Russia trying to establish their influence among the *khanates* of the region. Taking advantage of the British policy of containment the Russian incorporated into their Empire most of the Central Asia by the 1860s and 1870s. The

region was subsequently developed as a supplier of cotton to mills in Russia<sup>1</sup>. Under the Russian hegemony this region remained under developed, although their literature covering history, culture and folk remained rich and vibrant. Consequently, the nineteenth century saw many accounts by the tradesman, merchants and official of the British government who were sent to Central Asia to try and influence the ruling elite of the region. Though they failed to influence the ruling elites, still these people wrote some articulate details of the region. These accounts were an important piece of statistical and geographical information and had nearly all the other details of a particular region. They covered culture, society, trade and commerce and security. These accounts were helpful in reconstructing a larger picture of the 'Khanates' and paved the way for formulating future policy for the British. (Burnes Alexander 1834, William Andrew 1838 & 1882, Wolfe, Abbot Capt. James 1843, Rev. Joseph 1852, Atkinson Thomas 1858, Vambery Arminius 1863 & 1868, Wood Captain John 1872, O'Donovan Edmond 1882, Schuyler Eugene 1885, Landsdell Henry 1885, Stewart Col. Charles 1911, Curtis W.E. 1911 and Fell E. Nelson 1916).

After the Communist take over in 1917 the Russian government blocked the field researches by western researchers. During the Soviet occupation of the region, not much research work in this area was done except that the Soviets supported researchers published works related to the history and culture. These works were an important piece of statistical and geographical information and had nearly all the other details of a particular region. They were useful to the officials, and latter on to the researchers and academicians who used it as one of the tools for studies on various aspects of the region. On the other hand there was substantial decline in regional studies by western researchers, yet there were quite a few studies which looked like 'detective stories or great puzzles'. These studies were based on published accounts, archival records, government documents, traveller's diaries and official noting. Here it is pertinent to note that in 1921 an English translation of 'Baburnama' gave a detailed account of the region, its culture, its people and their social and religious customs. It was first hand account of 'Babur' the Mughal ruler who had an eye on the minutest details. This opened avenues for the other researchers who were keen to work on Central Asia and its history. Most of the researchers made Iran and Afghanistan their base and used the field experience to 'convey a sense of macrobiotic interrelations among the various cultural

and social features of the region’. However, one of the major flaws with most of these studies was that although these accounts included a clear historical dynamics, yet they suffered from a less complicated trepidation that interrelate parts of culture. (Marriot J.A.R. 1917, Beveridge A. S. 1921, Krist Gustav 1938, Barthold W. 1927 and 1945, Churchill R.P. 1939, Bakushinsky A.V. 1943, Phillip K. Hilti 1946 and Maclean Fitzory 1949)

After the Second World war Central Asian society experienced rapid changes in its cultural, economic and political spheres. The major catalyst of this was the ‘process of changes’ that had been ‘not only an effective co-ordinate of economic activities of growing proportion of population within contours of functional interdependence, but also gradual increase in the scale of society itself’. The changes brought rapid increase in demographic contours of Central Asians, their persistent refusal to migrate, either to large cities, or labour deficient Russian mainland and Siberia and allusion of increasing ethnic and cultural consciousness and competition with Russians for superior level jobs. This process of change also resulted in rapid development in terms of both the number and size of township and a “thorough suffusion of economic values and Institutions far beyond the morphological limits of the region” (Vreeland H.H. 1954, Pierce Richard A. 1960, Sukhareva O.A. 1960, Wheeler Lt. Col. G.E. 1962, Jelavich B. 1964).

Over the past several years there has been progress both in historical and anthropological approach which led to the better understanding of the Central Asia. There were also many ethnographic and sociological reports by Russian and Western scholars. (William Medlin et. al. 1971, Stephen and Ethel Dunn 1974). Additionally, there were also numerous detail studies on Central Asian ethnic groups dealing with the cultural and social mosaic of the region. (Bacon Elizabeth 1958 & 1966, William Irons, 1975, and Barfield Thomas J, 1980). Many aspects of Central Asian culture have been demonstrated by studies elsewhere of institutions such as traditional ethno psychiatry and shamanism, urban and market organization, agricultural organization, nomadism and religion. These studies were pioneer in many ways as they tried to dealt with the introduction of private property paving the way for control of tribal lands, redistribution of agricultural land to farmers in debt, problems faced by the governments to control nomads by force and the ‘governments rediscovery of nomadism as an efficient pastoral strategy, subordination

of peripheral regions to the financial centres initially by commercial exchange rates and subsequently by burden of cash taxation and expansion of industrial crops at the expense of local food production, use of women's liberation as a means of destroying local self-government and political alliance structures, use of linguistic policies to reduce regional autonomy, increase of Islamic identification and propaganda as a counter to centralizing secular and alien control as well as use of ethnicity as a dynamic categorization derived from adaptation to geographic and cultural identities. Simultaneously, in several other studies the Russian academicians have debated about whether the nineteenth century Russian domination of Central Asia was simple colonialism, or whether the Russian hegemony should be seen as progressive; a lifting of backward neighbours and preparation for contemporary Soviet socialism (Lambton's Ann 1953, Rakowska-Harmstone, Teresa 1970 Safinejad Javad 1977, Azrel J and Burg Steven 1978, Hopkirk, Peter 1984, Rumer, Boris 1989, Keller, Shoshana 1992, Glenn, John 1999, Keller, Shoshana 2001).

In the last decade of the twentieth century, the Central Asian countries were thrust by their new independence into the quagmire of international politics. Following years of isolation and ill prepared for the sudden attention they drew from regional and international actors, they faced the daunting challenge of balancing various, often contradictory, interests, concerns, and pressures. How could they develop foreign policies that would best meet their security and economic interests, given the inherent ambiguities and contradictions of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), as well as Russia's efforts to reestablish and consolidate its influence in the region? In addition, independence had made Central Asia vulnerable to the political dynamics of the Middle East and South Asian regions, including their intra- and interstate conflicts such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Iran-U.S. dispute. Moreover, economic challenges of the post-independence period have been no less formidable. The dismantling of the Soviet economic, financial, and trade structures have caused a precipitous decline of industrial and agricultural production, high rates of unemployment, and failing living standards. The process of reform and progress toward a market economy have been uneven and, for the average citizen, agonizing. Regional and international rivalries have delayed the exploitation of some of the most profitable natural resources such as oil and gas. The lack of adequate physical, legal,

and financial infrastructure has delayed the flow of investment capital. Yet, some progress has been made toward rectifying these deficiencies.

Thus, presented with the rare opportunity of fostering beneficial affiliation with the Central Asian countries the world rushing to the region for bilateral and strategic relationships, trade and commerce and there was surge in the writings about the region. These writings covered many areas like culture, history, politics, sociology, anthropology, health, economics and foreign policy. While being helpful in understanding the history, ethnography, sociology and anthropology of the central Asian countries these writings had been instrumental in providing insight into the complexities of culture and society also. In short the Central Asian region’s process of transition to newer world structure and the patterns of regional and international relations would be the focal point of future studies and researches. In this we may also add the regions of China bordering these countries having the same type of ecology and culture as this region.

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## 9

### Trade and Trade Routes of North-West Frontier of India Under the Kushana

*Arjun Singh*

Phenomena of trade are very ancient; and we met with reference to buying and selling, and exchange of goods and price<sup>1</sup> from the Harappan period. India was connected by a network of roads from early times. But as centralization advanced, it was found necessary to lay out vast roads in all directions linking up the various parts of the empire both strategically and commercially.<sup>2</sup>

Trade and commerce can flourish only if a region is well connected with the places of commercial interest.<sup>3</sup> Routes play an important role in flourishing the regional culture within the country, as well as outside the country i.e. foreign. After the establishment of the Kushana kingdom, the Geo-political situation of the Kushana Empire makes the north-western region of the country, the meeting points of the three civilizations i.e. China, India and West Asia.<sup>4</sup> The advent of the Kushana with their full control over the Indus valley, Gandhara and Turkistan safeguard and the major routes of communication, the north western route from Gandhara to the middle east through Bacteria and to China through Turkistan and also the western route from Kandhar through Persia to the Mediterian Sea port. A brick trade was carried on the regions between Ganga, The Indus, The Euphrates, The Oxus and the Mediterranean, Caspian and Black-Sea.<sup>5</sup> Kushana Kingdom comprised whole of north Afghanistan, and its beyond.<sup>6</sup> It touched, in the north and North-East of Chinese and in the West the Roman Empire. Under the Kushana, the country once again politically united, after Mauryas, kings and common followed religion of their own choice, trade and commerce and art and crafts flourished under the patronage of Kushana Kings.<sup>7</sup> Indian carried on a flourishing trade

with foreign countries, especially with Roman Empire, in the first century and the second century A.D. and Kushana Empire had a great share in it. The principal articles of commerce were precious stones, cotton and Silk cloth, timber, aromatics, herbs cereals, sugar and spices among the export, and gold, silver, copper, tin, glass and wine among the imports.<sup>8</sup> The balance of trade was India's favors, and led to the import of gold on a large scale and to an extensive issue of gold coinage by Wema Kadphises and his successors- Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva.<sup>9</sup>

From very early times important trade routes passed through the Kashmir to the West. These are also known as the Silk routes during the first few century of the Christian era. These routes were also used by the Buddhist monk for the spread of Buddhist culture and thought to the states of Eastern Turkistan to China. Trade was facilitated by Kushana conquests which opened up to the overland route to commerce between India and the Roman Empire. Trade in Central Asia had previously been mainly incidental and subject to attack of many savage tribes.

The existence of unified power in Bactria, the Kabul valley under the Kushana made it possible for a regular trade to be carried on between the Euphrates and the Ganga.<sup>10</sup> The peace treaty which was frequently engaged in warfare was not broken for a half century<sup>11</sup> and proved beneficial for this purpose.

The discovery of the existence of monsoon (Etesian) winds blowing regularly across the Indian Ocean by Hippalus in 47 A.D.<sup>12</sup> about which people had previously only a very vague idea, and the Kushana control over the port of Barygaza (Broach) on the West coast and over Baribaricum gave an impetus to the trade. The evidence on trade is supplied by the Avadans, the Mahavastu, the Avadinasataka, and the Divyavadana, all which had been compiled by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>13</sup> The Mahavastu refers to Kapilvastu as "a favorite resort of merchants and center of busy trade" and to the community of the tradesmen with their president as their head at Rajagriha.

The Brahmanical legal texts also contain trade regulations. The Manusmriti provides regulations regarding the sale without ownership, recession of sale and purchase, adulteration of commodities and so on. Similar regulations also occur in the law books of the Yajnavalkya and Vishnu. Some of the inscriptions of the Kushan period refer to person like superintending engineer (Navakarmikah), actors (Sailakah), perfumer

(Gandhika), goldsmith (Suvarnakaran), big merchants (Sethi), leader of caravans (Sarthavaha), servant or priest, cloth makers (Pravarika) and so on.<sup>14</sup>

More clear and consolidated evidence bearing on Indian foreign trade in the early centuries of the Christian era is found in the works of the classical Greco-Roman writers, some of whom visited India. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea<sup>15</sup> (A.D.60), the Natural history of Pliny (A.D.77)<sup>16</sup>. Ptolemy's Geography (middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.)<sup>17</sup> and Geography of Starbo<sup>18</sup>, throw valuable light on the ports and towns of Western and Southern India, the items of export and import, the embassies sent to the Western world as well as the routes followed by the merchants and the sailors. The details given in these works are corroborated by Indian literature and archaeological material.

Thus both literary and archaeological sources indicate India's flourishing trade during the early centuries of the Christian era.<sup>19</sup> However, the Indian sources, as compared to the Greek and Latin are deficient in many ways. There is hardly any indigenous work which discusses elaborately the trade routes, important ports and trading centers and the articles of trade. This lacuna is on account of the fact that the Indian literature of the period under discussion was religious in nature and mainly speaks of the merchant community which made large number of donations to different religious orders. In fact there is no Indian literary work comparable to the Periplus or the Natural History or Ptolemy's Geography.<sup>20</sup>

The available data gives a fair idea about the commercial activities of the Indian merchants. It appears that the merchants traversed the whole of India from North to South and East to West and even traded with the Roman world in the West and the Chinese empire in the east. They carried on business with the Central Asian and the Chinese people through land routes and with the Mediterranean world through water routes.<sup>21</sup>

Along the commercial activities, the missionaries traveled with good will and faith to other centers. The Buddhist activity was revitalized in Egypt, Asia, and through Khotan, Buddhist traveled to China.<sup>22</sup> The regional culture had spread through these routes, in the surrounding region, in art, crafts, architecture and sculpture.

From the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the Kushanas controlled the three main stretch of the great “Silk road”.<sup>23</sup> The first road of the two Seas, the Caspian and Euxina, 2<sup>nd</sup>ly the road which through passed Meru, Hecatomphylos, and Ecbatana, crossed the Euphrates and reached Mediterranean ports, 3<sup>rd</sup>ly, the Maritime route between Indian and Red Sea.<sup>24</sup> More advantageous from the commercial point of view, was the Silk route, which passed through the Kushana dominions of Central Asia and connected it with China and the Western Asian provinces of the Roman Empire. It was through this route that bulk of the Chinese Silk passed on to the Roman world, and the Kushana might have extracted much money from the caravans passing through this route. The result was that North-West India, under the Kushana, became the main center of trade and commerce of the whole contemporary world leading to the enormous increase of Roman gold in the country as attested by discovery of numerous Roman gold coins of this time in India. The gold currency of the Kushana with its legends is in Greek which was the *Lingua Franca* of the time.<sup>25</sup>

Another important factor which helped the growth of trade was the use of coined money on large scale during the period, especially in North-Western India. The credit for this goes to the Kushanas who issued a large number of gold coins for the first time in India. Goods, such as silk, spices, grains etc. were exported to the Roman Empire, and for its imports, it paid in gold.<sup>26</sup> The Roman historian Pliny, talks about the drains of gold it caused to Rome<sup>27</sup>.

The Indian Literature and to some extent archaeological material help us in giving an outline of inland trade of India during the early centuries of Christian era.<sup>28</sup> The term *Vanika*, *Sarthavaha* and *Sethi* noticed in the Kushana inscription imply that there were different classes of merchants. The word *Vanika* was probably used for these pottery merchants who were interested in their shops, situated in a market or wherever there was possibly of sale. The *Sethi* had greater interest in trade and they may be compared to the wholesale dealers of the modern times. The *Sarthavaha* were a different class of merchants who moved from one place to selling and purchasing merchandise. They generally moved in group (*Sartha*) and their leader was known as *Sarthavaha*.<sup>29</sup>

For flourishing trade at a particular place, the importance of trade route is too much. Because caravans carrying goods for export as well as imports

requires a safe and smooth transit, when we look at North-West Frontier from this point of view, then we find that it had succeeded in developing its trade based economy, to some extent, because of its geographical location which provided it an access to different trade routes.<sup>30</sup>

The following are the trade routes of the Kushana.

### 1. Silk Trade Route

The most important of the overland routes was the Silk Road, connecting with the Mediterranean through Asia and India via Bactria.<sup>31</sup> Since much of the Chinese silk was carried astride this route emanating from China; it came to be known as the Silk Road. The existence of this route was made possible by the occupation of a greater part of Eurasia by the four powerful and prosperous contemporary empires: the Roman Empire in the West, China in the East, Kushana Empire extending from Aral Sea to the Indus and the Ganges, and the Parthian Empire in the middle.<sup>32</sup> Although there was constant rivalry between these powers for the control of the route, it seems that the Kushana managed to have some agreement with the Chinese and the Roman empires. A further evidence of the understanding between the Chinese, Roman and Kushana Empire may be deduced from the fact that the Roman traders maintained direct commercial relation with India through the Indus which was under the Kushana control that the Chinese Silk, as the *Periplus* (64, inform), was brought to Barygaza by land through Bactria over which the Kushana held their sway. Since all the transcontinental routes converged at Bactria, the Kushana profited much from the Silk trade. The Kushana traded directly with China and Rome and compelled the Parthian to purchase this silk from them.

The Silk route, covering, a distance of nearly 4,350 miles<sup>33</sup> from the Eastern terminus to Seleucia or Ctesiphon, started from Loyang and passing through Changan (Sian) Lanchow, Muwei (Longchow) Changyeh, Yamen, the Jade gate, Anshi, Tunhwang and Tsierra (Asmiraca) reached Lop Nor. From Lanchow a branch route moved towards the Bay of Bengal passing through Sikkim, while the main route, moving onwards from Lop Nor reached Kashgar. Actually from Lop Nor two sub-routes moved respectively towards the North and the South of the Takla Makan desert until they were united at Kashgar. Moving further westward one could reach the "Stone Tower", Bactra (Balkh and Merv).<sup>34</sup> From the

Indian point of view Bactra and Merv were the most important trading centers. From Batra, route passing through the Hindukush reached Begram (Afghanistan), Taxila and connected other inland routes. The Silk Road thus connected China Central Asia, Parthia and the Roman world with India. The ancient routes passing through Central Asia and the connecting the ancient civilization of the West and East. The two old Silk routes, the Southern one was at An-Shi (Anshi) and passed through cultural centers as Tunhuwang, Miran, Charchen, Niya, Khotan and Kashgar touching on the way.<sup>35</sup> India in general and Kashmir in particular were connected with the Southern silk trade route by three routes. Two of them passed through the Gilgit and Yasin valley up to Tashkurghan and joined the Kashgar route there.<sup>36</sup> The third one reached Khotan through Ladakh; from there it proceeded to Yarkand and Kashgar.<sup>37</sup>

Ladakh was also connected with Tibet<sup>38</sup> from where it proceeded to Khotan and further to Yarkand and Kashgarh. But it was less used since travel on it was long and arduous still it places like Khalatse were known as trade centre during the time of Kushanas.<sup>39</sup> On the West, it was connected with Kapisa and even with Balkh in Taxila and Und. Many of Buddhist monks of Kashmir went to China through these routes. We find references to the use of Chinese Silk from the indigenous literary works of the region, both of the early and early medieval periods. The earliest reference to the wearing of silk cloth is found in the Nilmatapurana.<sup>40</sup> Damodera Gupta in his Kuthanimatha makes mention of garments fashioned from cotton (Karpasa) and China silk (Cinambera)<sup>41</sup>. This China silk enjoyed great popularity in the region since the early times and its widespread use continued over a long period of time. Description of various types worn by the people is found in Ksemendra's works like Samaymatrka, Desopadesa and Narmamala where we find reference to Cinavastra.<sup>42</sup> The large scale use of the Chinese Silk shows that Silk was regularly imported from China in large quantities. The name Silk Route which denotes the route linking China with several countries of Asia and Europe goes on to prove that China was the sole exporter of the silk.

Accordingly in the East a road lead to Toufan or Tibet, in the North there was a second pass leading up to Poliu or Balistan; and the third one which started from the Western gate and went to Kien-to-lo-Gandhara.<sup>43</sup>

From Tibet there was a trade route to Sinning Fuon the Chinese frontier. During the days of Kushana the Silk route had acquired a great significance because of the market at Rome.<sup>44</sup>

The town of Khalatse (near Leh) was situated on a trade route during the time of Kushana.<sup>45</sup> This route was important because it was the gateway which further led to the countries of Tibet and China through the present Jo-Ji-La- Pass. This route has been referred to by Ou-king.<sup>46</sup>

## 2. Grand Route

Kashmir's connection with other parts of the country is known to us, at least from the Mauryan days. The Maurya's rule over Afghanistan, etc, necessitated a road connecting Patliputra with that region. Thus we find reference to the Grand route from the accounts pertaining to Mauryan days. The terminus of the old Mauryan Royal road in the north-western frontier further branches off into two trade routes, one leads down the Indus to Minnagara the Capital of Indo-Scythian and further to its port of Barbaricum, and the second one joins the Caspayrene (Kashmir), Paropanisene (Sub-Hindukush) and Cabolitic (Kabul) countries by way of Poclais (Pushkalavati) to the famous emporium of Barygaza (Bhrigukacha)<sup>47</sup>.

The connection of the valley with the Grand route, we have references to many routes. For example, one route was through the gorge of Baramullah, Hazara Ursa, etc.<sup>48</sup> and other was through Sialkot, Jammu, and Akhnoor.<sup>49</sup> C.E.Bates also refers to the Sialkot-Srinagar route passing via Akhnoor and Rajouri.<sup>50</sup> While proceeding from Srinagar to Sialkot, one had to pass through Shupian, the Budil Pass and Akhnoor<sup>51</sup>. Probably Kushana also took the same route to other parts of the countries..

## 3. Salt Trade Route

It has been a prized commodity in Kashmir as it was to be attained from outside.<sup>52</sup> Kashmir was well connected with other parts of the country by many routes. This was due to the trade contacts between the different regions of India. The Pir-Panjal was the link for trade between Kashmir and Punjab. Ksemendra mentions a part of this route as Lavana Sarani.<sup>53</sup> This proves that the salt was brought to Kashmir from Punjab via this route.<sup>54</sup> Kalhana in his Rajatarangini also proves that salt was not available in the valley and that it had to be acquired mainly from Punjab and Ladakh and valley still continues to do so.<sup>55</sup> The salt range of Punjab, including Punjab of present day of Pakistan across the Indus, was an important source of salt for the valley. That trade as such and salt in particular, was in full swing, is amply proved by Rajatarangini. We have

reference to traders from different places coming and selling in Kashmir.<sup>56</sup> The salt was carried from Punjab via Jhelum and Bhimbar; this was known as the salt route through which commodities from the main land of India were carried to the valley.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4. Utterapatha Route

The Utterapatha route passed through the land of the five rivers and reached Mathura, the Eastern capital of the Kushana. Panini refers to article imported (Ahrata) by the Uttarapatha route designated as Auttarapathika.<sup>58</sup> The word also denoted to those who traveled along the Uttarapatha. According to Tarn, the Oxo Caspian trade-route from India to the West by the Oxus and the Caspian was called the northern route and is given twice by Strabo and once by Pliny<sup>59</sup>. On the Indian side this great commercial route was connected with Patliputra and ultimately extended to the mouth of the Ganges. Fortunately the Greeks have left a detailed account of stages traversed on this road. As Rawlinson writes: the first thing which struck Megasthenese on entering India, was the Royal Road from the frontier to Patliputra, down which the envoy must have traveled to the capital. It was constructed in eight stages, and ran from the frontier town of Peukelaotis (Skt. Puskalavati) to Taxila; from Taxila, across the Indus to the Jhelum; then to the Beas, near the spot where Alexander erected his altars. From here it went to the Sutlej; from the Sutlej to the Jamna; and from the Jamna, probably via Hastinapur, to Ganges. From the Ganges the road ran to a town called Rhodapha and Rhadopha to Kannauj.

Most of the towns of Utterpatha were either connected with each other by land or river routes from Gandhara to the lower reaches of the Ganges in Bihar. Of these cities Mathura, Kasaumbi, Sravasti, Patliputra and Vaishali had special significance as they were connected with the whole of India, through a number of feeder routes. Ujjaini seems to be an important center through which trade between the Kushana, the Ksatrapas and the Satavahanas was maintained.

#### 5. Route to Gilgit

The route to Gilgit from Srinagar after passing through the lovely valley beyond Bandipor ascends the Burzil Pass. In the time of Kushana period this route might have followed by the Yuechi tribe came to Kashmir region.<sup>60</sup>

## 6. The Exploration of the Imperial Mughal Route

The exploration of the Imperial Mughal route was conducted in 1985-86 by the Center of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University. The work was confined from Chingas to Thana Mandi covering a distance of 21 km. About half a km. above Chingas Sarai, and just a few yards below the present Jammu-Rajouri Highway, is the ruins of an ancient Boali.<sup>61</sup> The stone columns with massive side walls still exist. The presence of such remains around here again confirms the evidence that this hilly region was occupied even before the advent of Mughals. With the domination of such structural applications in the entire district of Rajouri, it is obvious that this hilly area as a whole was a seat of hectic activity on cultural, social and political front from very early times. Even during Kushana times, it happened to be the road from the then plain to the Valley of Kashmir. The red ware shreds of Kushana period represented by deep bowls with razor-edged rims and this sides tapering towards the bottom were found at a place known as Kheora, a village about 1.50 km. above Rajouri proper on Rajouri-Darhal link road. Hieun Tsang in seventh century A.D. who referred to the places through this areas mention that the hill state of Rajouri (modern Rajouri) and Parnotsa (Punch) were not independent but were subjected to Kashmir.

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# 10

## Agrarian Social Relations in Bihar under Permanent Settlement

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### Introduction

The British forced their entry in Bihar after their military triumph at the battle of Buxar in 1764 and with the subsequent grant of *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the British East India Company by the titular Mughal Emperor in 1765. The region then lay prostrate before the English trading company to bear the brunt of their apathetic administrative and financial rulings. The revenues of the Company were gained from six sources – Land Revenue, the Monopoly of Opium, the Monopoly of Salt, Stamps, Excise on spirit and intoxicating drugs, and Customs. But land revenue was by far the most considerable as well as the most important of all the sources. The early land revenue experiments paved the way for a more subtle and authoritarian measure to be adopted by the East India Company. After much debate on the nature, extent and scope of the revenue collection, Permanent Settlement came in vogue in 1793. It was introduced into the Bengal provinces to fulfill the dual purpose of introducing capitalism in agriculture and to ensure the siphoning off to the State of a certain portion of the agrarian surplus. This new phenomenon influenced the rural social structure more than any other single decision in the rural sector. It determined the course of development of the economy of Eastern India in general, and of the tenure relationships existing in land in particular for the next two centuries.<sup>1</sup>The present paper seeks to analyse the new Settlement in the light of the continuity and change in the agrarian society and the social relations in Bihar under Company's Regulations related to the sale of estates of the defaulters.

K. Marx wrote in 1853: "England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating - the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia." In his articles on India, Marx stressed the fact that the British were breaking up the village community, uprooting handicraft industry, and establishing private property in land - 'the great desideratum of Indian society'. He also expected irrigation and railways to have a significant effect on economic growth, and that industrialization would destroy the caste system: "Modern industry, resulting from the railway system, will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power."<sup>2</sup> Marx's assessment of the likely impact of British rule was reasonable enough in 1853 when it was written.

#### Colonial and Land Revenue Settlement

During the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the East India Company was facing a hard time due to the expenses of the Rohilla war, the Mysore wars, and the hostilities with the Marathas and the Mission to Nepal. In India the Company was hell-bent on making an Empire for which numerous wars being pursued and that too without England's economic help.<sup>3</sup> The Permanent Settlement was decided as the best source of certain revenue to build up British Dominion in India. At the same time the Company thought to get rid of the cumbersome job of handling the land revenue system every year or at best decennially. She wanted to give security of revenue for all future time to come by setting it permanently with the zamindars. The Permanent Settlement was enforced by a Proclamation on the March 22, 1793 whose Regulation I declared that no further demand could be made upon a zamindar for the increase of resources by increasing cultivation or by any other reasons than the *Jumma*, i.e. the Company's share which was fixed. Another important feature of the Regulation was that in future the landlords thus made, would have no right to make any claim for suspension or remission of revenues on account of drought, inundation or any other natural calamity.<sup>4</sup> But in event of any landholder, failing in the punctual discharge of the revenue a sale of the whole of the lands of the defaulter or such portion of them as may be sufficient to make good the arrear would invariably be taken place.<sup>5</sup> The regulation VIII of 1793 accounts for the following procedures for the realization of the arrears of land revenue while paying attention to recover the balances due from the estates of the zamindars -

- The issue and service of a written demand on the defaulter.
- Arrest and confinement of the defaulter.
- The deputation of *amins* for attachment of his estates.
- Sale of the estates with the sanction of the Governor-General - in - Council.
- Attachment and sale of the personal property of the defaulter, if any balance remained even after the sale of the estate.

As a result of these measures sale of land during the period 1765 -1772 and 1777 -1793 for the recovery of the revenue dues was a rare phenomenon.<sup>6</sup> The situation changed after 1793 when sale of land became a common feature.

The Permanent Settlement created private property in land where none was supposed to be existed before and then legally shielded the “newly created” landowners to enable them to collect their dues from the peasants to meet the revenue demand of the Company. In the process much emphasis was laid on the effective working of the system which ousted many idle zamindars and brought in their place moneyed urban people who assured timely payment of the revenue. As a result of the forced sale of the zamindari due to non-adherence to the *Sunset Law*<sup>7</sup>, the land market became operational in Bihar from 1793. According to the Regulation the zamindars had to grant *pattas* to the cultivators for the land they were tilling, however the peasants refused to take these on the pretext of some foul play that they would have to pay the amount even if the crop failed due to natural calamity in case they accepted the *pattas*. The Government was enforcing the sale law rigidly and so the zamindars demanded special powers for the realization of the rent from the peasants. The result was the Regulation VII of 1799 that assured zamindars of all possible help from the State in the realization of the revenue.<sup>2</sup> The landlords were thus empowered to attach the crops of their *ryots* for arrears and to delegate this power to their collecting officers i.e. the intermediaries.<sup>3</sup> This blank cheque to the zamindars along with the power to raise the land revenue proved quite injurious to the *ryots*. Since there was no effective check on the enhancement of rent by the zamindars, the pressure on the peasants went on increasing in the course of revenue collection. The traditional sympathetic landowners were replaced by profit - hunger capitalists from far off urbanites. On the other hand the

peasants were over – burdened in order to satisfy the greed of the absentee zamindars and their representatives, the intermediaries who actually had had the contact with the land.

Two theories arise out of the whole socio-economic and political scenario of Bihar after the implementation of the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency. One view holds the notion that the Permanent Settlement fundamentally altered the structure of the rural society and the Colonial rule transformed the basis of Bengal's society from status to contract resulting in the large-scale dislocation in the peasants' position due to continuous alienation in the form of distress sales of their lands. On the other hand, some believed that there occurred minimal change in the rural society as a result of the implementation of the new Settlement. According to them the large-scale dispossession of the peasantry by moneylenders and traders was reported during the famines and there had not existed any idyllic situation in the pre-British period.<sup>10</sup> They held the view that, ".....the transformation took place within the existing framework. Estates changed hands from one group of zamindars to another .....the brisk and sweeping sale of lands in the early years of the Permanent Settlement did nothing to cause a transfer of property from one class to another. On the contrary, this acted as a rationalizing process which gave land a wider lease than ever before by a more ample distribution within the class itself and by absorbing in land a certain amount of capital which might otherwise have flown into non-agrarian channels."<sup>11</sup>

Both these views suffered from the limitation of the over- simplistic explanation and extreme generalization of a complex situation. Neither the pre-British agrarian society presented an ideal condition nor did the Permanent Settlement produce 'no change' in the socio-economic fabric. There existed a complicated rural society prior to the British intervention which was in continuation of the medieval agrarian set-up where the zamindar wielded vast socio-economic as well as political powers. He was responsible for the revenue collection and the administration of the area for the term that pleased the ruler. However he was not invested with the proprietary rights of the land. The Permanent Settlement enhanced the powers of the landlords and made them the masters of the land. He exacted the rent/revenue on the rate fixed by the Govt. and reported the same to the higher authorities.

The system was introduced to lessen the economic burden on the Company. The most important feature of this act was the emphasis on the timely collection of the revenue in a rigid manner that often disgraced the zamindars. To win their confidence, physical coercion for the defaulters was done away with in 1794, but the sale rules were made more stringent which allowed sale at any time of the year. The punishment of imprisonment on failure to deposit the required sum continued up to 1799 when it was abolished by the Regulation VII. Around 1/3 to 1/2 of the landed property in Bengal Suba changed hands, but in Bihar it was not that much frequent and the magnitude was less in comparison to Bengal proper. Also in Bengal we notice that the main victims of the sale law were the big zamindars whereas in Bihar the big zamindars were not only able to retain their position but also sometimes bettered it, the only exception being the case of the Sheohar Raj in Champaran. Here the main losers of property were mostly the small landholders and the farmers. There were two dimensions of the land market thus created, in Bihar. The first was the fact when an estate was advertised for sale, the owner paid up the revenue at the last moment and prevented the sale. Secondly, the zamindars do away with the unproductive or non – productive parts of the estate by overburdening the latter areas and allowing them to fall in arrears. In case of joint ownership or the co-sharer he often left the estate to fall in the balance so that in case of market operation he could purchase it fraudulently. Zamindars also took advantage of the Regulation 44 of 1793 Settlement and the new purchaser was allowed to cancel the lease of the tenants granted by the earlier owner.<sup>12</sup>

By 1809 the number of sales due to arrears in the revenue payment by the landlords was declining in Bihar. In Shahabad and Patna - Gaya districts, the assessed land had not become a very saleable property up to 1812. One factor that lessened the magnitude of the sale despite the rise in land - price was the relief provided by the Government to the defaulters who were no longer threatened to their imprisonment or the punishment of physical torture. Apart from this land was auctioned only at the year-end in place of its monthly disposal. The problem of arrears in the revenue collection had its cause in the over-assessment of the revenue paying capacity of the estates. When the agriculture of a region was not in a proper state or was in a depressed state, such assessment as that made the working more difficult. This fact has been corroborated by the

Collector of Saran who described the condition of petty proprietors as 'worse fed and worse clad than the hired cooly' and reported that a considerable amount was lying due because of the over-assessment of the revenue and, so to ease out the pressure he had adopted a policy of accepting part payment, and for the rest, to rely up on the securities of the landlords.<sup>13</sup>

In the flood-prone areas such as in Bhagalpur, Purnea, Saran and Tirhut the early and severe commencement of the rains destroyed the great part of the gain as parts of villages and agricultural lands were washed away causing heavy destruction of crops, cattle and human life.<sup>14</sup> While the zamindars petitioned for remission on grounds of rain, they also used to collect the revenues of the following instalment earlier and paid the revenues thereby, thus, depriving the small peasantry of whatever they had for their sustenance as well as for the cultivation.<sup>15</sup> The burden of *abwabs* was also very high which resulted in the depression of the peasantry. Due to these factors the timely realization of the revenue was hampered and the estates of the zamindars were sold frequently. As a result rural indebtedness increased during this period. Extensiveness of rural indebtedness was also confirmed by the enquiries of the Grain department of Bengal conducted between 1794 and 1801. A Revenue and Judicial Officer Mr. Tytler toured the Bengal Province during 1810s and found that ".....the peasants and tradesmen, who are also cultivators of the land.....live from day to day, and nine-tenth of them are forced to borrow their daily food and corn to sow their lands, from the *mahajans*."<sup>16</sup>

However, the zamindars devised certain ways to retain effective control over the better part of their estates and as Bernard Cohn<sup>17</sup> has found in his study on the land control system in Benaras District, the landlords in Bihar succeeded in maintaining their hold over the profitable areas and as noted by the Collectors of Shahabad, got rid of the less profitable parts of their estates by furnishing false accounts regarding the productivity and the viability of revenue collection of that area.<sup>18</sup> The Collectors of Bihar reported that the zamindars obstructed the auction by raising the clan and caste ties between them and the peasantry. This was particularly true of the districts of Shahabad and Tirhut.<sup>19</sup> In Behar, Siris – Cotoomba, Saran and Bhagalpur the landlords lingered the sale of the estates and with the help of the local revenue officials overburdened that part to such an extent that the purchaser found it unmanageable. The zamindars alienated the

best parts of their estates as their *Khamar* lands for which they were obliged to pay little rent. In this way the land holding strata of the society continued to enjoy their socio-economic privileges even in the face of the sanctioned legal measures of dispossession.

There occurred no drastic change in the traditional hold of the landed-aristocracy, but the new Settlement stirred them to participate in the hitherto somnolent land market. The major landlords in Bihar responded in a different way than their counterparts in Bengal proper and succeeded in absorbing the shock of the Permanent Settlement even though they were inefficient in meeting the revenue demand of the Company. This shows their innate vitality to control the situation and to turn the tide in their own favour no matter how much it was going against the general interest of the peasantry. In serving their own interest they forgot the people as usual. The petty zamindars and the small farmers were ruined in the process. The stalwarts like the zamindars of Hatwa and Tikari came forward and played a major role in the purchase of the lands and profited a lot. The buyers were not only the zamindars. Many businessmen from Bengal and Bihar who had earlier acted as the bankers of the zamindars bought lands and controlled them through their agents. The *mahajans* or the *sahukars* were since long happened to be the creditors of the landlords and at times due to the bankruptcy of a landlord had absorbed the estate also. In Chayanpur, Shahabad Baidyanath, a banker from Patna became the chief proprietor while Sankar Lal of Arrah possessed a considerable piece of an estate in Purnea.<sup>20</sup> Baidnath also managed the estates of Purnea.<sup>21</sup>

The Company's rule frequented such happenings due to the need of quick credit and the occurrences of indebtedness, and they more often started controlling the zamindari property after buying them taking advantage of the auction of the land of the defaulters. This gave an impetus to the formation of the chain of the intermediaries working under them whose maintenance and earning apart from meeting the demands of the Company and the new land-holders further worsened the condition of the poor tenants. In Bihar we find people from far off places taking part in the sale. They used to maintain a regular managerial hierarchy under their control. Everywhere in the areas this phenomenon was in vogue. With the sale the top order was replaced which also affected the lower tenants. The control of zamindari by several individuals led to abuse, rack-renting

and desertion. However some of them found the new business quite antagonistic and taxing, and so they sold the land to their neighbouring local zamindars.<sup>22</sup>

### **Continuity and Change: An Assessment**

If one ponders on what the philosophy says on the enactment of law, it is found imperative on the law making body to consider the interest of the mass before introducing any change in the existing system.<sup>23</sup> Yet these acts were passed in India by the Company. In fact the reason is not away from the Indian social practices. The zamindari system was already entrenched in the rural society, the only difference lay in its magnitude and, the legal protection and power delegated to the landlords. In the new set-up the landlords were empowered with the right to raise and realize the rents in tune with the British interest and in the process they were made legally impregnable. They were free to use their power so long as it did not threaten the effective realization of the land revenue to meet the Govt.'s demand. Of course the inefficient zamindars were removed; the situation did not change much in terms of landlord-peasant relations. Their relations were not new or newly defined' however, extra-legal power had been in the play in some form or other for the deterioration in this regard. Even in the pre-British period and during the Mughal rule almost the same situation prevailed in agrarian relations. It was not an egalitarian society on the eve of the British occupation, rather it was a complicated one and so the British regulations, enforced from time to time in the rural framework, in the long run, sparked off signals of discord and disagreement due to continuing exploitation of the general people.

The whole process under the New Settlement did not alter the basic nature of the traditional agrarian society in Bihar. Of course, it brought about some changes in the upper level of management, the landed aristocracy survived and to a certain extent profited out of the economic confusion created by the Settlement. The petty landowners and the co-sharers of the joint estates along with the small farmers were the main sufferers of the new arrangement. Next, the Settlement did not put a check through any rule or regulation on the zamindars' habit of imposing a number of illegal taxes or cesses on the peasantry who reeled under the gruesome economic pressure. Thus the power of the zamindars increased at the cost of the poor hapless tenants. The old zamindari system did not

disappear, rather it moulded itself according to the new environment and sustained with the support of the Company. After the Permanent Settlement the social structure was substantially reformed at the top but only marginally modified at the bottom. The dominance of the privileged class and exploitation of the poor, thus continued, the change being in the socio-economic and legal powers it wielded and in the degree of oppression and suppression that consistently worked as the major factor in the occurrence of social tensions in Bihar. The colonial government made institutional changes in agriculture by transforming traditionally circumscribed property rights into something more closely resembling the unencumbered private property characteristic of Western capitalism.

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## *II*

### **Women's Self Sacrifice in the Ancient World and their Commemorative Monuments**

*Dr. Ameeta Singh*

Sati, the custom of burning widows alive with the bodies of their husbands, is not a phenomenon unique to India, if its function (and not merely its appearance) is taken into account. All over the world, in many societies where there is widespread belief in the continuation of an individual's position in the hereafter, the social and political order has been confirmed and strengthened by the provision of attendants for deceased persons: at their funerals, the deceased were followed, either voluntarily or involuntarily, by their subordinates, who were either killed or who killed themselves in public rituals. <sup>1</sup>

Historical accounts of such events are available from all parts of the world. These accounts are also supported by archaeological evidence. Many sacrificial sites have been discovered by archaeologists worldwide. George A. Reisner found in Kerma, hundreds of multiple burials in a single field of tombs.<sup>2</sup> All burials were arranged around a central corpse, prominent due to its position and outfitting. There are between one and twelve other corpses, mostly of women, predominantly young but also of children and babies. There are also many bigger tombs, some of which have several chambers. Reisner found up to 322 human skeletons in them. Since most of the tombs had already been plundered much earlier, he estimated that the original number of persons interred must have been between 50 and 400. On the basis of different kinds of evidence he believed he was justified in drawing the conclusion that all them had been interred at the same time. If this is true, one can state with almost absolute certainty that it was a site of mass sacrifice. Reisner<sup>3</sup> gave a name to these tombs - 'Sati-burials' (sati being the term used for widow burning in India).

Resner assumed that the big tombs contained the remains of the Egyptian governors of Sudan, their wives and children and the members of the court. This assumption is supported by further evidence, the arrangement and position of the dead shows that they were interred alive. Some women, for example, tried to save themselves by creeping under the resting place of their master or mistress. The positions of other skeletons also point to the fact that there was a struggle for survival in the grave<sup>4</sup>. The cemetery itself, contains thousands of burials. If the size and the number of sacrificed animal and human burials in a grave are indicative of wealth and power, the tomb holder of the largest grave on the site, must have been a very powerful person in Kerma.<sup>5</sup> The tomb is nearly 300 feet in diameter with between 300 and 400 human sacrificial burials.

During excavations in a large complex of tombs in Sumerian Ur in southern Mesopotamia, in 1927-28, the British archaeologist Leonard Woolley found sixteen tombs<sup>6</sup> which have become famous as the *Royal Tombs*. In contrast to the thousands of other tombs, these tombs contained between six to eighty skeletons, indicating multiple burials. The corpses in each tomb seem to have been interred at the same time. The smaller tombs consist of only one chamber. The corpses are arranged around a central figure. The other deceased are arranged around it in position that clearly indicates a menial status. In the bigger tombs, the central chamber contains only the main figure and two or three female servants and the rest of the dead lie in a large entrance hall. Most of the skeletons here are of women arranged in proper order. Expensive jewellery indicates persons of high rank. Some have musical instruments next to them. There are also skeletons of armed men and animal drivers. In addition, the remains of war chariots and the skeletons of oxen and chariot drivers were found. Everything that one imagines as being part of a personal retinue is gathered here. However, only a few tombs display this kind of extravagance.

In contrast to Kerma, the skeletons in Ur did not bear the marks of a death struggle or of physical violence. On the contrary, they lay in normal position and in a proper order, assuming that robbers had not disturbed the tomb. From this we can conclude that the inmates of the tombs were either already dead or at least unconscious when the tombs were closed. Near each of the deceased, Woolley found small bowls, which, he assumed, were drinking bowls, containing a poisonous or narcotic fluid. The victims, according to him, went into the tombs voluntarily, perhaps they sang and

played music before drinking the poison and then lay or sat down to die.<sup>7</sup> The remains of human sacrifices show that there prevailed a belief in several societies that the life and needs of the dead in the next world are more or less similar to those in this life<sup>8</sup>.

In India we have not found any grave or tomb which indicates that human sacrifice or dying with the dead was a custom prevalent in this country during the Indus Civilization. Some scholars suggest that the double burial of Lothal<sup>10</sup> is an example of Sati Burial but we can not say with authority because there are no other archaeological records available.

The custom of the sacrifice of the widow at the funeral of her husband was widely prevalent in ancient times. Many literary and archaeological evidences suggest that it was practised among the Gauls, the Goths, the Norwegians, the Celt, the Slaves and the Thracians<sup>11</sup> Herodotus gave a detailed description of widow immolation among the Thracian.<sup>12</sup> It was also quite common among the Scythians.<sup>13</sup>

A 10<sup>th</sup> century Arab Muslim writer named Ahmad Ibn Fadlan<sup>14</sup> produced a description of a funeral of a Scandinavian, probably Swedish, chieftain who was on an expedition on the eastern route. The account is a unique source on the ceremonies surrounding the Viking funeral<sup>15</sup>, of a chieftain. The dead chieftain was put in a temporary grave which was covered for ten days until they had sewn new clothes for him. One of his slave women volunteered to join him in the afterlife and she was guarded day and night, being given a great amount of intoxicating drinks while she sang happily. When the time had arrived for cremation, they pulled his long ship ashore and put it on a platform of wood, and they made a bed for the dead chieftain on the ship. Thereafter, an old woman referred to as the "Angel of Death" put cushions on the bed. She was responsible for the ritual.<sup>16</sup>

Then they disinterred the chieftain and gave him new clothes. In his grave, he received intoxicating drinks, fruits and a stringed instrument. The chieftain was put into his bed with all his weapons and grave offerings around him. Then they had two horses run themselves sweaty, cut them to pieces, and threw the meat into the ship. Finally, they sacrificed a hen and a cock. .... By using intoxicating drinks, they thought to put the thrall girl in an ecstatic trance that made her psychic and through the symbolic action with the door frame, she would then see into the realm of the dead. The same ritual also appears in the Icelandic short story *Völsa þáttr* where two

pagan Norwegian men lift the lady of the household over a door frame to help her look into the otherworld.<sup>17</sup> Thereafter, the thrall girl was taken away to the ship. She removed her bracelets and gave them to the old woman. Thereafter she removed her finger rings and gave them to the old woman's daughters, who had guarded her. Then they took her aboard the ship, but they did not allow her to enter the tent where the dead chieftain lay. The girl received several vessels of intoxicating drinks and she sang and bade her friends farewell. Two men grabbed her hands, and two men her wrists. The angel of death put a rope around her neck and while two men pulled the rope, the old woman stabbed the girl between her ribs with a knife. Thereafter, the relatives of the dead chieftain arrived with a burning torch and set the ship aflame. Afterwards, a round barrow was built over the ashes and in the centre of the mound they erected a staff of birch wood, where they carved the names of the dead chieftain and his king. Then they departed in their ships. Thralls could be sacrificed during a funeral so that they could serve their master in the next world.<sup>18</sup>

In an account of Greek History, we have found some vague evidences of following into death although it is remarkable because the earliest records about widow burning in India came from Greek authors, some admired and some criticized. Some literary and archaeological evidences contain records of this practice among ancient Greeks. Three archaeological sites Asine, Gonia and Zygouries produced evidence of dual burial. In Asine a dual burial contained a man about 40 years and a 30-40 years old woman and in Gonia we have found double burial which shows that the two persons interred together were husband and wife<sup>19</sup>. The most famous epic of Homer Iliad (23 song) pointed one incident of sacrifice on the death of Patroclus.<sup>20</sup> Another literary account records a story of a devoted wife Euadane who resolves to jump down from a rock into the burning pyre. She regards her death as a proud, glorious, heroic act, the focal point of which is the belief in a reunion with her husband.<sup>21</sup>

The ethnographic and historical sources on America and Africa<sup>22</sup> contain many accounts about following into death. Many early Spanish works, record human sacrifice in Central America. Peter Martyr writes in Espanola that the favorite wives as well as female servants were buried alive with dead chiefs. 17<sup>th</sup> century travelers mentioned the ill treatments of widows among the North American natives.<sup>23</sup>

A widow being almost burned to death, among the Talkotin Indians North America. Source; <http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/history/>

ArticlesinJournals.cfm Faculty Of Art History and Classics University of Albarta.<sup>24</sup>

Women immolation was also prevalent in Java and Bali .Many eyewitness accounts have been given by the Europeans. Pierre Duois a Dutch officer witnessed the royal funeral and described the ceremony in detail and mentioned that seven wives of the ruler committed self immolation.<sup>25</sup>

Ancient Chinese are also known to have made sacrifices of young men and women to river deities, and to have buried slaves alive with their owners upon death as part of a funeral service. This was especially prevalent during the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. During the warring state period, Ximen Bao of Wei demonstrated to the villagers that sacrifice to river deities was actually a ploy by crooked priests to pocket money. In Chinese lore, Ximen Bao is regarded as a folk hero who pointed out the absurdity of human sacrifice. The sacrifice of a high-ranking male's slaves, concubines or servants upon his death (called *Xun Zang* or more specifically *Sheng Xun*) was a more common form. The stated purpose was to provide companionship for the dead in the afterlife. In earlier times the victims were either killed or buried alive, while later they were usually forced to commit suicide. On Nurachi's death, his wife, Lady Abahai, and his two lesser consorts committed suicide.

In China if a widow killed herself in order to follow her husband to heaven, her corpse was taken out in a great procession.<sup>26</sup> Widow self sacrifice in China was best documented in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Europeans, many local and regional records and inscriptions are also available to study. Many commemorative gates were erected in the honour of widows who killed themselves after the death of their husbands. One eyewitness account published in Charls Dickens.<sup>27</sup> "All the year around" with the title "Suttee in china."Jan 1861.<sup>28</sup>

"The Indian Suttee, or voluntary sacrifice of a living wife by burning on one pyre with the corpse of her husband, is abolished throughout the British dominions, and is supposed to be rare in the outlying provinces. The act of self immolation was often most determined. Of one widow it is said that she not only set at nought all admonitions to relent from her purpose, but 'that she put a finger into the fire and held it there for some time as a proof of fortitude; also, that she took up some of the fire with

one hand, to place it in the other, where she held it while she sprinkled incense on it to fumigate the attendant Brahmins. We have all heard of the custom of Suttee, while the existence of a similar practice in China is almost unknown in England, unknown even to many Englishmen in China who have resided there for years. Of such a scene of public self-immolation by a Chinese' widow, I, writing now at Foo-Chow-Foo in the month of January, 1861, was a few days ago an eye-witness.<sup>29</sup>

The Chinese Suttee, when it occurs, is the self-sacrifice of widows, who are also orphans and childless; who consider themselves useless, and, as it were, lost in the world; and who seek death, not only as a means to show their affection for the deceased husband, but of escape from the evils of a very wretched and isolated position. It is commonly a suicide of the desperate, put forth as a public and glorious act of devotion. Highly praised by Chinese moralists, both ancient and modern, many instances of this kind of solemn self-destruction are recorded in history and romance, though of late years, there has been scant resort to it in practice.<sup>30</sup>

There is a small book—uncivilly small—purporting to be the history of all the celebrated beauties of China. The work is arranged in divisions, each of which contains the lives of those ladies notorious for some particular virtue or vice, whether for chastity or its opposite, for heroism physical or moral, for kindly gratitude or cruel hate.<sup>31</sup> The woman whom the Chinese author thought entitled to the first place in esteem, was one whose story is as follows:

Her husband was a private soldier in the imperial army. On his return from service, away from his comrades, in a distant province, he was told by his wife how, during his absence, she had been annoyed by the persecutions of the officer of his regiment. The poor soldier sought then to revenge himself on the libertine by taking his life. He failed in the attempt, and military law claimed his own life as penalty for the attack on a superior. In vain he pleaded provocation; justice was inexorable, and, despite the intercessions of his friends, he was condemned to die. His loving wife, on seeing how sad a calamity her beauty had brought upon her unoffending spouse, determined that since she could not save him she would not survive him. She provided, therefore, for the welfare of her two children by selling them into the families of wealthy neighbors where she knew they would be well cared for. This done, she went to a rapid stream, and, casting herself in where the current was strongest, perished

.beneath the waters. Now followed her reward. The current, though so strong, refused to convey her body from the spot at which her act of piety had been performed, and there it was soon discovered by the passers-by, who reported to the district magistrate the miracle of a dead body lying unmoved on a running river. This officer, at once hastening to the riverside, took charge of the corpse. A statement was then laid before the higher authorities, and a further investigation made. The end of it was that the condemned soldier was pardoned, a public funeral was granted to the wife, and an arch, inscribed with the words "Ardently chaste," was erected to her honorable memory. Moreover, the children were returned to the arms of their father, and he, feeling the deep debt of gratitude which he owed to his virtuous partner, refrained for his whole life from contracting any other marriage, lest he should weaken the tender remembrance of one who had proved herself so faithful to his interests.<sup>32</sup>

This is one among many stories of the kind in Chinese literature. But, without any more reference to books, I will proceed to show how a sacrifice is managed in our own times, by relating the facts of the tragedy enacted before my own eyes in the neighborhood of Foo-Chow Foo.

The first notification I had of what was about to take place was the parading of a handsome wedding chair about that suburb of the provincial capital in which our foreign settlement is situated. The chair was accompanied by all the pomps and gaieties of a wedding—music, gay streamers, and so forth. There was, however, one thing most unusual in this procession. The occupant of the chair was exposed to public gaze, instead of being, as in weddings is invariably the case, closely screened. On making inquiry among our Chinese servants as to what this extraordinary departure from established customs might portend, I was informed that the lady was no bride, but a disconsolate widow, recently bereaved, who, finding herself unprovided for and unprotected, and having, moreover, neither father nor mother, son nor daughter, father-in-law nor mother-in-law, was determined upon following her husband to the unknown world, where she might serve and wait upon him as became his dutiful and loving wife. Having accordingly made known her intention to her friends, and having fixed the day for her departure, she was now taking leave of all she knew, and parading the streets as a pattern to her sex. The object of her death being to rejoin her husband, the ceremony

was a sort of wedding; she was arrayed and adorned as a bride, and seated in a wedding chair.<sup>33</sup>

I ascertained the time and place appointed for the closing ceremony, and on the morning of Wednesday, the 16<sup>th</sup> of January, proceeded, accompanied by two friends, to a spot some four miles distant from Nantae, the seat of the foreign settlement and southern suburb of Foo-Chow-Foo.

Everybody we passed appeared as well acquainted with the object of our journey as we ourselves were. As we approached the scene of action we found ourselves in a stream of people, chiefly women and girls, the greater part of whom were small footed, and were hobbling along leaning one against another for support, or assisting their tottering footsteps, by means of the shoulders of dutiful sons or brothers.

We arrived only just in time to see the chair of the victim carried on the ground, and herself ascend the scaffold which had been prepared for her. The chair was the bridal chair in which she had been carried about the streets; and the scaffold consisted of two stages, one raised a few feet from the ground, and the other about a foot higher. The whole was covered with a dark cloth canopy, supported by a framework of bamboos, within which was set a gallows of one very thick cross piece of bamboo, fastened at either end to a strong upright pole.

From this bamboo, under the canopy, and exactly in the middle of the scaffold, hung the fatal rope, covered with a red silk napkin; beneath it was set a chair, to enable the devotee to reach the noose. On the lower platform, was a table of choice meats and vegetables, at which she was to take her last meal in the land of the living. The table was surrounded by the woman's friends, dressed in holiday costumes, and wearing the red cap of Chinese officials. In former times it was the custom for two district magistrates to be in attendance on all these occasions; but since the higher authorities were hoaxed, some years ago, by a lady whose courage failed her at the last moment, they have refused to be present at such exhibitions, and now dispatch an inferior-officer to superintend the arrangements.

The scaffold was raised in the midst of a large expanse of fields, at the time lying fallow, and was surrounded by a crowd numbering some | thousands. Benches from which a better view could be had, were so much in demand, that we were obliged to pay a dollar (four and nine pence) before we could obtain one for myself and another for my companion ; I

use the singular number, because we had lost the third member of our party in the crowd.<sup>34</sup>

The chief actress in this extraordinary scene, appeared at first to be far less excited than any one in the vast concourse assembled. She was dressed in red bridal robes, richly embroidered with coloured silk, and her head was adorned with a handsome gilt coronet. Her decidedly plain face betrayed not the slightest emotion, and she sat down at the table with as much apparent good will as if it had been her bridal, rather than her funeral, feast. While she was eating, we made some inquiries among the crowd, and ascertained, in addition to the fact of her being childless, that she was twenty-five years of age, and that her only surviving relations were a brother in poor circumstances, and his infant child, her nephew. We were further informed that she had resided in a village which was pointed out to us at a little distance from the spot.

After the lapse of about half an hour, the poor woman having apparently satisfied her appetite, rose from her seat, and, still standing on the lower platform, addressed the surrounding crowd in a set speech, thanking them for their attendance, and explaining why she acted as she did. When she had finished speaking, she took from a bowl on the table, several handfuls of uncooked rice, which she scattered among the crowd, and eager was the scramble to get a few grains as her virtuous blessing. This done, she fondled her baby nephew, and bade an affectionate farewell to her brother, who stood by her on the scaffold; then, stepping upon the upper stage of the platform, she bowed gracefully to the surrounding multitude, and addressed to them a few last words. It struck me at this moment that she might be under the influence of opium, for her laughing countenance and rapid gestures were too highly excited, to be natural, except under the influence of some such stimulants. It is right to add, that the gaiety was clearly not assumed<sup>35</sup>.

She was helped to mount the high chair placed under the rope, but the rope proving to be still beyond her reach, her brother stepped forward and held her up in his arms, while she with her own hands passed the fatal noose over her head and adjusted the cruel slip knot to the back of her neck. The red silk napkin was then placed over her face, and a handkerchief fastened to her right hand. At a signal given by herself, her brother stepped back and left her suspended in mid air. She then, shaking her joined hands before her breast, "chin-chinned" the crowd: her own

weight causing her to turn round and round, so that persons on all sides received her parting salutations. The spectators had, up to the fatal moment, been laughing and chattering as if assembled at a village fair; but now there was perfect stillness, as every ear was strained and every eye intent. In two or three minutes the action of the bands, at first decided and regular, grew weaker and weaker, and finally ceased altogether; then followed a convulsive shudder of the tiny feet (not above three inches in length), and all was over.<sup>36</sup>

The body was allowed to remain suspended for about a quarter of an hour, when it was cut down and placed in a common covered palanquin, which was in waiting; the bridal chair having been removed. The rope which had been the instrument of death, was now cut into small pieces and distributed among the friends on the scaffold, all struggling violently to obtain a portion. The chair and the corpse were carried to a small temple about a hundred yards from the spot, followed by a terrific rush of people anxious to obtain another glimpse of the lifeless clay. My friend, who far somewhat skeptical of the reality of the transaction, forced his way into the temple, and witnessed the removal of the corpse from the chair. He returned, painfully satisfied that no deception had been practised: the poor girl's swollen and blackened face bearing unmistakable testimony to the manner of her death.

I have since been informed that had her mother-in-law been alive, she would have been in attendance, and that it would have been her duty to help in forcing the soul from its earthly tenement by grasping the feet of her daughter, and adding her strength to the weight already bearing on the rope.<sup>37</sup>

It is worthy of note that, although the greater part of those present were, as I have said, females, yet the only sense of pity or dread that I saw shown in any way, was on the part of one of three Canton women who stood near us, and 'whose dress and manner showed but too plainly 'the position they held in Poo-Chow. At the moment the victim was left to herself on the rope, this girl, unable to endure the sight, crouched on the ground, and buried her face in her handkerchief: while others, holding respected stations in society, were tearless and unmoved.

I have since heard that a costly funeral will be granted to the remains of the devotee, at the public expense; an arch will be erected to her memory,

as to the memory of the soldier's wife in the story, in order that the bright example of her virtue may be impressed upon others, and may receive the praise of future generations.<sup>38</sup>As to the real nature of this dreadful transaction, I cannot help looking upon it rather as an act of a determined suicide than as an instance of extraordinary and superstitious devotion. The woman was evidently in a low station of life, and on the death of her husband, was left absolutely destitute and unprotected. Her small feet would prevent her from gaining a living by field labour, or any work of a like nature, while her unprepossessing face left her no chance of being purchased into the harem of any man of wealth. In England, a country abounding with the rich and generous, and furnished with a poor-law, such a desolate condition would be bad enough; but in China, where the wounded deer is invariably either driven from the herd, or gored to death, it is far more miserable. The choice lay between abject life as a drudge, and triumphant death as a saint and the woman preferred the latter.

Another account in Hong Kong Daily, dated 20 Jan 1861 "——— This is the third instance of suicide of this sort, within as many weeks. The authorities are quite unable to prevent it, and a monument is invariably erected to the memory of the devoted widow."<sup>39</sup>

Accounts mentioned above have a few similarities with widow-burning in India. The widows of China and India went voluntarily to their death. The self killing took place in a ritualized manner, within the framework of a larger public ceremony. The circumstances clearly show that the intended goal is to reunite the deceased with his attendants in the next world or to gain sainthood.

To conclude the article we can say that the custom of women immolation was prevalent in many parts of the world. In scholarly works it is frequently said that sati was not an isolated custom but that similar rituals were to be found all over world in the course of History<sup>40</sup> and as Altekar <sup>41</sup>wrote, "The general prevalence of this custom among the primitive warlike tribes is not difficult to understand. Fighting races are very jealous of their women and often prefer to kill them, rather than take the risk of their going astray after their husband's death. There was also the general belief, that the warrior will require in his next life all those things that were near and dear to him in this existence. It was therefore as reasonable to bury his clothes, bows, arrows and horses as to inter his

wife. The wife is usually the dearest relation of a man, and the visitations of a chief's ghost were popularly attributed to his desire to be united with his quondam queen. Why not lessen these dreaded visitations by burning or burying her along with his remains ? This custom also made the life of the patriarch very safe; it practically eliminated all possibility of any one among his numerous mutually envious wives intriguing against his life. They all knew that even if successful, they had no chance of surviving him. They were, therefore all care and attention to see that no preventable accident intervened to shorten the husband's life.<sup>42</sup>

#### Reference

1. Fisch Jorg; : *Dying for the Dead: Sati in universal context*, Journal of World History, Vol. 16, no. 3, Sept. 2005 p. 1.
2. Kerma is situated about 1300 km south of the Nile delta as the crow flies, in what is today North Sudan.
3. Kerma culture is a prehistoric culture which flourished from around 2500 BCE to about 1520 BCE in what is now Sudan, centered at Kerma. It emerged as a major centre during the Middle Kingdom period of Ancient Egypt. In its latest phase, the Kingdom of Kerma forms, lasting from about 1700–1550 BCE, 2 Jan, N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice*. – Studies in the History and Anthropology of Religion Journal, Vol. 1, p, 135–155.
4. Shaw Ian, Robert Jameson, *A dictionary of archaeology*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, U.K., 1999, p. 332.
5. Adam Ashcroft; *The Ancient Egyptians by Kerma* p. 1, <http://www.theancientegyptians.com/Kerma.htm>
6. Lillian Helstad *Sacrifices in the Sumerian Culture* p. 1, <http://gallery.sjsu.edu/sacrifice/sumerians.html>
7. Ibid.
8. Archaeologists at the University of Pennsylvania reached that conclusion after conducting the first CT scans of two skulls from the 4,500-year-old cemetery. The cemetery, with 16 tombs grand in construction and rich in gold and jewels, was discovered in the 1920s. A sensation in 20th century archaeology, it revealed the splendor at the height of the Mesopotamian civilization. The recovery of about

2,000 burials attested to the practice of human sacrifice on a large scale. At or even before the demise of a king or queen, members of the court—handmaidens, warriors and others were put to death. Their bodies were usually arranged neatly, the women in elaborate headdress, the warriors with weapons at their side. Frank Harrist, Michelle H. *Ritual Human Sacrifice in Sumerian Ur*, p. 1, [archaeologica.org.com](http://archaeologica.org.com).

9. Rao S.R., Lothal: A Harrapan Port town, Archaeology Survey of India, 1985 ; Vol. I, New Delhi, p. 42-44.

10. (i) Herodotus refers a custom of following into the death in his account of the Thracians ,each men having many wives, at his death there is a great rivalry among his wives, an eager contention on their friend's part, prove which wife has best loved by her husband; and she to whom the honor adjudged is praised by men and women, and then slain over the tomb by her nearest of kin, and after slaying she is buried with the husband. The rest if the wives tale this sorely to heart, deeming themselves deeply dishonored. This account is similar to the Diodorus's account of Indian suttee custom.

(ii) Kane; History of Dharmshatra Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona , 1962, vol. I, p. 624.

11. Ibid.

12. Thomson ; *Suttee; A Historical and Philosophical Enquiry into Hindu Rite of Widow Burning*, Read Books, 2007, p. 34.

Tod wrote that, Herodotus says that the Scythians, at the burial of their kings, used to kill, embalm, and bury in the barrow fifty youths on fifty horses, along with the king's cup-bearer, cook, groom, lackey, messenger, and "one of his concubines. But there is only the slightest resemblance between this holocaust of an exception must be made for Rajasthan and adjacent territory, where male slaves were often burnt as well as female ones. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol. I*, M.N.Publishers New Delhi, 1983, p. 61-63.

Archaeological evidence of human sacrifice has been found in the Ukraine and in southern Russia called Kurgans. Most of the Kurgans contain several human skeletons along with the skeletons of horses, Jorg Fisch; *Immolating Women; A Global History of Widow Burning From Ancient Times to the Present*, Permanent Black, Oxford Press, Delhi 2005, p. 33.

13. Ibn Fadlan visited the king of the Volga-Bulgarians in the year 921-22. Fisch Jorg, *Immolating Women*, p. 44.
14. Viking literally means pirates. Excavated ship burials of the Viking age suggest that the deceased would carry on in after life as he had in his earthly life like jewelry, food, cloths, horse, ship, weapons, slave and even queen. Osberg ship mound constructed in 9<sup>th</sup> cent indicates that queen Asa joined his Lord. Patrick D. Harvey, *The Tokens of Esteem: An Essay in Ritual Inhumanity*, iuniverse Lincoln, 2002, p. 27.
15. Ahmad Ibn Fadlân, Richard Nelson Frye; *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia: a tenth-century traveler from Baghdad to the Volga river*, Markus Wiener Publishers, Princeton, 2005, pp. 67-69.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Hughes D. Dennis; *Human sacrifice in Ancient Greece*, Routledge, London 1991, p. 41.
19. Homer, *The Illiad* 23, 175-7 in Fisch Jorg; *Immolating Women*, p. 35.
20. *From this cliff's brow, For wifehood's glory,  
With spurning feet I dart, Down into your fire's heart  
To meet him, ne'er to part-Flames reddening o'er me,-  
To nestle to his side, In Cora's bowers a bride!  
O love, though thou has died, I'll not forsake thee.*  
*Euripides, supplices 1015-24* Fisch Jorg *Immolating Women*, p. 37.
21. Fisch Jorg, *Immolating Women: A Global History of Widow Burning*, Permanent black, 1998, pp. 76-121.
22. Widows are slaves to the relations of their deceased husbands.... They faced fire trails during the funeral (picture depicts the funeral scene). They are treated in cruel manner for two years. There after the relatives hold a feast and place the cremains in a box, that is put under a shed" erected for that purpose, in the center of the village. 'Caledonian Sutte?' *An Anatomy of Carrier Cremation Cruelty in the Historical Record.*" *BC Studies* 149 (Spring 2006): p. 6.

23. "Caledonian Suttee"? *An Anatomy of Carrier Cremation Cruelty in the Historical Record.* BC Studies 149 (Spring 2006): pp. 3-37.
24. Weinberger-Thomas; *Widow Burning in India*, pp. 1-5.
25. Altekar; *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*; Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi, 1959, p. 116.
26. Dickens Charles; *All the Years Around*, A weekly journal volume VI, 26 September to 8 March including no. 127 to No. 150, London, 1862, *Suttee in China*, 23 September 1861, pp. 5-7.
27. Summers James; *The Chinese and Japanese Repository of Facts and Events in Science, History, and Art relating to Asia* "Suttee in China by C.C. , Interpreter in her majesty's civil service in China" Vol. 1, July to June 1864 reprint of article published in Dickens's *All the year around* magazine pp. 457-461.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 457.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 460.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Fisch Jorg; *Immolating Women*, pp. 148-49.
39. Fisch Jorg; *Dying for the Dead: Sati in Universal Context*, article from *Journal of World History*, 1 sept. 2005, pp. 1-2.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Altekar; *Position of Women in Ancient India*, p. 116.

## Social Themes of Pahari Paintings–Special Reference to *Nayak and Nayika (18<sup>th</sup> century)*

*Dr. Yogita Kalgotra*

The art of painting has been a media of both expression and communication from the earliest known period of history just as Mughal painting was the main spring behind the Rajasthani schools, so also it was the same influence which led to the creation of *Pahari* Painting, the art of Rajput hill States of Punjab. *Pahar* means mountain and the expression *Pahari* is the generic name for the paintings done in the various hill States of the Punjab, whose rulers were great patrons of the arts in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>1</sup> This region is included in all thirty five States.<sup>2</sup>

The First group comprising barely one fifth of the entire region is known as Jammu. Lying at the north western and of the hills, it consisted of three parallel bands of States. First band includes six small states during medieval period. These are Lakhanpur, Jasrota, Samba, Tirikot, Dalpatpur and Jammu itself either adjoining or were near the plains. Second band included five States – Basholi, Bhadu, Mankot, Bandralta (Ramnagar) and Bhoti-lay twenty or more miles further in. Finally, the Third band, four states were Bhau, Chanehni, Bhadrawah and Kashtwar-laid deep in the mountains. Punch, though strictly speaking not in the area, laid west of Jammu beyond the river Tawi. The area was bounded on the north by the Tawi and the South by the Ravi.

A Second group was dominated by the vast state of Chamba and by its neighbour the equally impressive Kangra. It included ten states Nurpur, Guler, Kotla, Chamba, Siba, Datarpur, Kangra, Kutlehr, Jaswan and Bangahal.<sup>3</sup>

A Third group involved nine states excluding the Simla Hills and accounted for almost half of the total area. It comprised Kulu, Mandi, Suket, Bilaspur, Baghal, Hindur, Sirmur, Bashahr and Garhwal. Of these Kulu, Bashahr and Garhwal lay deepest in the mountains, their huge hills making a formidable frontier.

The introduction of painting in Jammu hills and the evolution of the various 'Dogra Kalams' are attributable to various factors which influenced the course of its history and culture. The people and rulers of these Dogra principalities experienced many upheavals and had to accommodate a number of influences which invaded their region from time to time and infiltrated its society. One such event was the infiltration of several Rajput ruling clans in Dogra hills. Probably, at the fall of Delhi, Ajmer and Mahoba, at the close of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Chauhans and Chandels were scattered over the face of Northern India. They had established petty principalities in the Himalayas from Jammu to Almora<sup>4</sup> and according to A.K. Coomaraswamy, this is exactly where local schools of Rajput painting have been maintained up to the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>. The statement implies the suggestion that these Rajput dynasties probably brought with them the art of painting from Rajasthan. There is little doubt that much before the miniature and mural painting proper there existed the tradition of wall painting as a folk art among the people of Jammu hills. Some of the remotest regions still retain that art which in its rustic form very much resembles the Basohli style which in its turn is closely similar to the Rajasthan-Gujarati style with a little variation of human features peculiar to the region.

Karl Khandalavala has also pointed out that the practice of fresco painting, as a form of decoration for palaces and buildings of several hill Rajas, preceded the growth of any schools of miniature paintings<sup>6</sup>. Most of the buildings, temples and edifices which contain wall paintings in Jammu region were raised by the rulers themselves or by their courtiers. Thus the art of painting in its real sense had its rise and fall in Jammu with the rise and fall of the fortunes of the ruling families of the Jammu hills. The history of painting in Jammu region was, therefore, closely related with the history of its ruling family, which patronized the art as one of the insignias of royalty.

In ancient times, the purpose of the wall paintings has mainly been the propagation of religion which to a great extent continued through the illustration of religious books and manuscripts preserved in the libraries and Jain Bhandaras. In Hindu view, religion is all pervading, encompassing the whole life activities of an individual as well as society. A similar object is to be seen in miniature paintings of Pahari school of painting where the divine is found mingled with the amorous aspect showing Radha as *Nayika* and Krishna as *Nayak*. Similarly the domestic bliss is found in the family groups of Shiva and Parvati along with their children and domesticated animals. Thus, the object of the miniature paintings seem to have been to impact religious as well as social themes. Miniature paintings of pahari schools depict a variety of themes, from doings of Gods and Kings to important episodes in the lives of men, scenes of valour and heroism, worship and devotion, lovers tryst and paintings, the holding of courts and the building of cities, all provided a list to painters. In the court of hill states, the innately hierarchal concept of India art asserted itself and the artist imbued each canvas he painted with significance extending beyond the purely visual content. Love, music and religion all combined to give earthly beings a supernatural aspect and to bring the Gods down to earth for the edification of models<sup>7</sup>.

Accordingly to Commaraswamy, Rajput painting is essentially an aristocratic folk art, appealing to all classes alike, static lyrical and inconceivable apart from the life it reflects<sup>8</sup>. Rajput painting is the counterpart of the vernacular literature of Hindustan<sup>9</sup>. “The central inspiration of Rajput painting is also Vaishnava”. Vernacular poetry and painting, music and popular drama are the various expressions of a common inspiration<sup>10</sup>. The subject matter of the Rajput painters is universal.

### I. Krishna Lila

The Vaishnava conception of *Krishna Lila* as contained in the *Bhagavata Purana* provided richest treasure of the romantic theme for painting. Krishna theme was the most popular with these painters. Strict seclusion of the womenfolk in the Rajput household was one of the reasons responsible for the popularity of the poetry of *Shingara-rasa* during this period. It is thus, rightly suggested by several scholars that the theme which preoccupied the Rajput patrons was, undoubtedly, love. The Vaishnava conception of *Krishna Lila* as contained in the *Bhagavata Purana* provided richest treasure of the romantic theme for painting.

In the paintings, Krishna as (*Nayak*) is constantly playing upon his bamboo flute, making music for surpassing sweetness, very often he stands beneath a *Kadamba tree* in the forest, while the cows are grazing. He is the charmer of all hearts (*manmohana*) and for his sake the milk-maids (*gopis*) disregard all conventions of social morality. Above all others, Radha (*Nayika*) and Radhika is his particular companion and darling.

The term *Raslila* literally “Passionplay” is applied to the sports of Krishna with the *Gopis*. The *Rasalila* – Krishna’s love relations with Radha and other *gopis* is based upon undying and eternal truth, the permanent relations between *Jiva* and *Ishwara*, soul and God. The heart of man is the seat of this *Lila*<sup>11</sup>. In popular Indian thought, the human soul and divine, all pervading primal being got personified in Radha (*Nayika*) and Krishna (*Nayak*) and this love play *Raslila* represented the eternal carnal longing of man. Krishna appears at all ages and in all possible *Nayika* (heroine) moods. The artist conceived not a Rama or a Krishna clad in a form of great antiquity unknown and un-understandable to him, but these Gods were to him almost his companions on earth living and moving exactly like those around him.

## II. Ragamala

The illustration which usually depicts the musical modes is called *ragamala* i.e. “garland of ragas”. “These are called ragas by Bharata and other sages by which the hearts of all beings in the three worlds are coloured and tuned”<sup>12</sup>. The word is derived from the Sanskrit root *ranga*, which means to dye or colour, to glow, or to arouse the feeling.

According to Indian concepts, the state of the soul is expressed by a series of sounds emanating from the throat. These, when produced by an expert, not only reflect the ultimate tensions in the Singer’s spirit but also evoke in the listener certain images, or rhythms and pictorial associations with his surroundings<sup>13</sup>.

In all, there are six ragas; *Bhairava*, *Malkaus*, *Hindola*, *Dipaka*, *Sri* and *Megha* (the masculine parent mode) and thirty variants known as *raginis* and further *ragaputras* and *ragaputris* (wives, sons and daughters respectively) of the principal ragas which are characterized as males<sup>14</sup>. Though the six ragas are the same everywhere but the *raginis* associated with them are very regional. In India, the Hindus divide the year into seasons and the day into six parts. Each season has its own *raga*.

The day is divided into six parts to each division its particular *raga* in the following manner:

<i>Bhairava</i>	04 a.m to 09 a.m
<i>Hindola</i>	09 a.m to 12 noon
<i>Megha</i>	12 noon to 04 p.m
<i>Sri</i>	04 p. m to 09 p.m
<i>Dipaka</i>	08 p.m to 12 night
<i>Malkaus</i>	12 night to 04 a.m

These *ragas* could only be sung at the scheduled time. *Dipaka raga* denotes the melody of the burning light. It is generally believed that if properly sung it is properly enough to burn the body of the performer and to cause lamps to be lit spontaneously<sup>15</sup>.

The most popular idioms used to depict *ragas* and *raginis* are:

<i>Bhairava</i>	indicated by the form of Siva, Bhairavi and was Siva- <i>puja</i> .
<i>Khombavati</i>	A Brahma <i>puja</i>
<i>Hindola</i>	As indicated in the name it was a swinging scene, the coming of the rainy season. The singers are usually Radha Krishna.
<i>Todi (Tori)</i>	A woman playing the vina. Deer are attracted by the music.
<i>Desakhya</i> or Nat	An acrobatic scene
<i>Dhansari</i>	A girl drawing portrait of a man, which she shows to the heroine who recognizes her beloved.
<i>Vasanta</i>	A dance, or the representation of the <i>Holi</i> festivities.
<i>Meghamalhare</i>	A dance of Krishna in heavy rain.
<i>Gujari</i>	A woman playing music to peacock
<i>Bibhasa</i>	A love scene – a man shooting a flower arrow from the bow of live.

These idioms were gradually standardized and stylized. Verses were composed to described the fervour or mood of each *ragas* and their derivatives. The artist in turn transformed these poetical description into visual images.

As the *ragini* associated with the *raga* different from place to place, their depiction is also different. In Rajasthan, *Asavari Ragini* is visualized as a young woman playing the snake-charmer's flute to bring down the snake from the sandalwood tree, in Kangra it is depicted as a Youngman woman seated on a low stool, smelling a flower, while an old women stands besides her holding jasmine flowers. In *pahari* painting, she sits on a carpet holding a pair of rabbits while her husband is shown in the background riding home<sup>16</sup>.

The Krishna cult also had an influence on *Ragamala* paintings and often the male figure in the *Raga* is Krishna himself. Pahari painters also produced large quantities of work on this theme. Pahari schools are much more subtle and restrained and have a dreamlike quality which is soothing to the eye but does not strike any chord in the viewer. They are exquisite creations of human ingenuity and provided a very rich and fascinating theme to the painters all over India.

### III. *Nayak Nayika*

The *Nayika-bheda*, or the subject dealing with types of women in love, generally eight in number, was also a popular theme with the Pahari. In this the painter illustrated the romantic love, the love at first sight, which sprouts from physical attraction and evolves into spiritual love. Hindi writers classify the heroes (*nayakas*) and heroines (*nayikas*) of literature in many different ways. The eight heroines are as follows<sup>17</sup>:

<i>Svadhinapatita</i>	“she who dominates her husband”. In the miniature the woman is depicted with <i>nayak</i> , hero massaging or washing her feet or putting the vermilion mark on her forehead.
<i>Itka or Utkanthita</i>	one who expects and yearns for her lord
<i>Vasakashayya or Sjjika</i>	one who expects her lord to return from a journey, and waits with the bed prepared.
<i>Abhisamdhits</i>	one who repulses her lord, but repents when it is
<i>Or Kalahanterita</i>	too late
<i>Khandita</i>	one whose lord has stayed away from home all the night, when he returns in the morning she rebukes him bitterly.

<i>Proshits-patika or</i>	one whose lord does not return from abroad on the
<i>Porshita-preyasi</i>	appointed day.
<i>Vipralabdha</i>	one who keeps appointment, but night passes without her lord coming.
<i>Abhisarika</i>	one who goes out to seek her lord
	The <i>Nayak</i> , or hero can be categorized into following types.
<i>Pati</i>	husband
<i>Upapati</i>	the paramour as Krishna is with Radha
<i>Vaisika</i>	the ladies man well acquainted with the ways of women.
<i>Satha</i>	the false and heartless lovers
<i>Manisatha</i>	the false lover enraged at the rejection of his false protestations.
<i>Dharista</i>	the hero who has neither shame nor pity.

Often the *nayak* is depicted as Krishna himself and *nayika* as Radha. Another classification of *Nayikas* are of three types: *Svakiya*, loving her own lord: *parakiya*, loving another man; and *Samanya*, i.e. impartial. In illustrating *Nayak-Nayika bheda* and *Ragamalas* the *Pahari* artist mostly shown the *Svakiya*<sup>18</sup>. Indian society believes in the chaste and spontaneous love of women for her husband which takes roots when they are married and grows and flourishes with the growth of mutual intimacy and oneness. The family atmosphere with all its small hindrances and delicate problems strengthens the bonds of love.

The Ragamala theme became intertwined with the *nayak-nayika* theme and this resulted in painting that could be depictions of either. The *basakasayya nayika*, for instance, who prepares the bed for her lover, is hardly distinguishable from the *Kakubha Ragini*, who hold two garlands for her returning lover.

#### IV. Gita Govinda

The great Sanskrit love poem, *Gita Govinda* written into the 12 century by Jayadeva had achieved wide popularity throughout India and has also been translated into colour and line by the artists. It was a complete set of

colourful illustrations of the *Gita Govinda* and was painted in the year 1730 A.D. It contains songs of the Herdsmen recounting the loves of Radha (*nayika*) and Krishna (*nayak*) their temporary entanglement and ultimate reconciliation.

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## महाराणा कुम्भा का संगीत के क्षेत्र में योगदान

**डॉ. सुशीला शक्तावत**

कला संस्कृति के महान उन्नायक महाराणा कुम्भा का जन्म 1417 ई. में मेवाड़ के देवगढ़ के समीप मदारिया दूर्ग में हुआ था।<sup>1</sup> कुम्भा का 1433 से 1468 तक 35 वर्षों का एकछत्र राज्य मेवाड़ के इतिहास का महत्त्वपूर्ण समृद्धशाली समय था।<sup>2</sup>

संगीत सनातन काल से चली आ रही शाश्वत, सार्वभौम और सर्वसुखदायक कला है। संगीत मर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा कृत संगीतराज ग्रंथ में संगीत की परिभाषा के विषय में उल्लेख हैं 'गायन, वादन और नृत्य इन तीनों कलाओं के मेल को संगीत कहते हैं।<sup>3</sup> महाराणा कुम्भा ने संगीत में गीत का महत्त्व वाद्य व नृत्य की तुलना में अधिक बताया है क्योंकि गीत में पाठ्य अंश का अतिरिक्त समावेश होता है।<sup>4</sup> गीत विभिन्न प्रकार के गायनों का एक व्यापक नाम है। जिसके लिये वेदों में "साम" संज्ञा का प्रयोग हुआ है।<sup>5</sup> वस्तुतः वह मन का रंजन करने वाले स्वर संदर्भ को गीत कहते हैं।

"सामवेद" संगीत का मूल वेद है। जिसकी महत्ता में स्वयं भगवान श्री कृष्ण ने कहा है—"वेदानां सामवेदोऽस्मि" संगीत के षड्ज आदि सातों स्वर वेदों के बीज मंत्र "ओंकार" के ही अन्तर्विभाग है। लय, ताल, स्वर सभी इनमें समाहित है।<sup>6</sup>

संगीत मानव के लिए प्रकृति का मनोरम उपहार है। संसार की कलाओं में सर्व शिरोमणि स्थान संगीत कला को प्राप्त है। इतिहास साक्षी है कि चेतन ही नहीं, जड़ पत्थर एवं श्यामलमेघ तक संगीत के प्रभाव से मोम बनकर पिघल उठते हैं। तात्पर्य यह है कि जड़ व चेतन दोनों पर संगीत प्रभावशाली है।<sup>7</sup>

उपयोगिता की दृष्टि से संगीत का क्षेत्र मनोरंजन से लेकर मोक्ष तक विस्तृत है। संगीत आध्यात्म की प्राप्ति का साधन है। आज के वैज्ञानिक युग के संदर्भ में संगीत का महत्त्व स्वर चिकित्सा, आयुर्वेद, मनोविज्ञान, वनस्पतिशास्त्र एवं उद्योगों के विस्तृत क्षेत्र तक पहुँच चुका है।<sup>9</sup>

मेवाड़ में संगीत का उद्भव— मेवाड़ की आहड़ सभ्यता के उत्खनन में नर्तकी की मृण्मयी मूर्ति एवं 1800 ईसा पूर्व के रेखांकित मृदभाण्ड पर डमरु की आकृति में अंकित चित्र प्राप्त हुआ है।<sup>10</sup> जो मेवाड़ में संगीत की सुदीर्घ परम्परा के द्योतक है। अनुमानतः मेवाड़ का लोक समुदाय सभ्यता के आदि काल से ही संगीत व नृत्य में लीन रहा होगा। कालान्तर में सभ्यता के विकास के साथ ही मेवाड़ में संगीत का विकास होता रहा।

प्रदिक संगीत के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित भारत के प्राचीनतम संगीत के अनेक लक्षण मेवाड़ के परम्परागत संगीत में अद्यावधि सुरक्षित है। मेवाड़ की भील जाति के संगीत में वैदिक संगीत की ही भांति अल्प स्वरों का प्रयोग, संक्षिप्त शब्द चयन, स्वरों की पुनरावृत्ति जैसी अनेक विशेषताएं आज भी विद्यमान हैं।<sup>10</sup> महाराणा कुम्भा के काल में भील जाति विशिष्ट रूप में प्रसिद्ध हो चुकी थी। कुम्भा द्वारा निर्मित कीर्तिस्तम्भ में भी “भील्लः” की मूर्ति बनी है।<sup>11</sup> मादल, इकतारा, रावणहत्था, पूंगी और डुगडुगी जैसे मेवाड़ के लोकवाद्यों में क्रमशः वैदिक कालीन— मृदंग, वीणा, बंशी और डमरु का स्वरूप देखा जा सकता है। अतः स्पष्ट है कि संगीताचार्य महाराणा कुम्भा की जन्म स्थली ‘मेवाड़ प्रदेश’ में संगीत की परम्परा विद्यमान थी। संगीताचार्य महाराणा कुम्भा की कार्यस्थली मेवाड़ प्रदेश के भौगोलिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं राजनैतिक परिवेश ने संगीत के विकास का सदैव अनुकूल परिस्थितियां प्रदान की।

इसलिए यहां संगीत के विकास को उत्तरोत्तर नई दिशाएं प्राप्त होती रही हैं।<sup>12</sup>

मेवाड़ के सांस्कृतिक केन्द्रों में नागद्राह (नागदा) माध्यमिका (नगरी) आघाटपुर (आयड़), चित्रकूट (चित्तौड़), महानाल (मेनाल), जगत, कुम्भलगढ़, कैलाशपुरी आदि प्रमुख हैं। इन केन्द्रों से संगीत साधना के प्रचुर प्रमाण—स्मारकों, चित्रावशेषों, मूर्तियों व शिलालेखों में उपलब्ध होते हैं।<sup>13</sup> महाराणा कुम्भा द्वारा रचित नाटक ग्रंथ का उल्लेख मेवाड़ के सांस्कृतिक केन्द्र चित्तौड़गढ़ के शिलालेखों<sup>14</sup> में उपलब्ध है जो संगीत का महत्त्वपूर्ण उदाहरण है।

मेवाड़ की सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि में यहां के धार्मिक परिवेश ने संगीत को पर्याप्त विकास प्रदान किया। स्वयं महाराणा कुम्भा ने शैव धर्म से सम्बन्धित काव्य “एकलिंगमाहात्म्य” का प्रणयन किया जिसमें विभिन्न रागों व तालों के साथ गाई जाने वाली देवताओं की स्तुतियां उसके राग-वर्णन अध्याय में संग्रहीत है।<sup>15</sup>

“संगीतराज” ग्रंथ संगीत मर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा के संगीत शास्त्रीय तलस्पर्शी गहन ज्ञान का परिचायक ग्रंथ हैं।<sup>16</sup> संगीत के क्षेत्र में महाराणा कुम्भा की अक्षयकीर्ति का मुख्य आधार संगीत राज ग्रंथ माना जाता है। इस ग्रंथ में कुम्भा ने संगीत शास्त्र के परम्परागत विषयों का नवीन सन्निवेश और पाठ्यान्तर्गत विषयों को ग्रहण किया है तथा इसे बाह्य प्रभाव से सुरक्षित रखा है। कुम्भा ने अपने काल में उपलब्ध समग्र संगीत विषयक साहित्य शास्त्रीय अध्ययन करके तत्कालीन लक्ष्य या प्रचार को ध्यान में रखते हुए इस ग्रंथ में आलोचनात्मक दृष्टिकोण अपनाया है। इन सभी कारणों से इस ग्रंथ के आधार पर संगीतशास्त्रीय मर्म के ज्ञाता संगीतमर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा की गणना युगप्रतिनिधि भारतीय संगीताचार्य के रूप में की जाती है।

संगीतराज ग्रंथ पांच कोशों में विभक्त किया गया है। प्रत्येक कोश चार-चार उल्लेखों में तथा प्रत्येक उल्लास पुनः चार-चार परीक्षणों में विभक्त हैं। सम्पूर्ण ग्रंथ में केवल पद्यों की संख्या 16,000 श्लोक है जो 32 अक्षरों के है। सम्पूर्ण ग्रंथ में केवल पद्यों की संख्या ही 10,000 हैं।<sup>17</sup> समूचा ग्रंथ 5 रत्नकोश, 20 उल्लास एवं 80 परीक्षणों में विभक्त किया गया है।<sup>18</sup> संगीतराज के कोशों में पाठ्यरत्नकोश सबसे लघुतम है और गीतरत्नकोश सबसे बड़ा है।<sup>19</sup> इस ग्रंथ में कुम्भा ने अपने काल में उपलब्ध समग्र संगीत विषयक साहित्य का शास्त्रीय अध्ययन करके तत्कालीन लक्ष्य या प्रचार को ध्यान में रखते हुए आलोचनात्मक दृष्टिकोण अपनाया है।

### संगीतराज के ‘पाठ्यरत्नकोश’ का महत्त्व

पाठ्यरत्नकोश अंश में मूलतः गीत के पाठ्यअंश पर विचार किया गया है। इसलिये इसमें संगीत के साथ व्याकरण, छन्द, अंलकार, साहित्य आदि विषयों का समावेश हुआ है। संगीत के अन्तर्गत गीत में पाठ्य का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है।<sup>20</sup> इसकी सम्पूर्ण विषयवस्तु को चार उल्लासों में विभक्त किया गया है। तथा पुनः प्रत्येक उल्लास को चार-चार परीक्षणों में

विभक्त करते हुए अत्यन्त वैज्ञानिक तरीके से नामकरण किया गया है। पादरत्नकोश में सर्वाधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण इसमें वर्णित संगीत के पूर्व आचार्यों का नामोल्लेख है। जिनके प्रति कुम्भा ने कृतज्ञता का भाव समर्पित करते हुए उन्हें स्वीकार किया है। कुम्भा ने सम्पूर्ण संगीतराज ग्रंथ में इन आचार्यों सहित लगभग 40 आचार्यों के मतों को विभिन्न प्रसंगों में उल्लेखित किया है। जिनके ग्रंथ आज तक अनुपलब्ध है।<sup>21</sup>

### संगीतराज के गीतरत्नकोश का महत्त्व

विषय विस्तार की दृष्टि से गीतरत्नकोश संगीतराज का सबसे बड़ा भाग है। जो संगीत के शास्त्रीय पक्ष से सीधा सम्बन्ध रखता है। गीतरत्नकोश में कुम्भा ने संगीत के उत्स नाद तत्व से लेकर श्रुति, स्वर, ग्राम, मूर्च्छना, तान, वर्ण, अंलकार, जाति, राग एवं प्रबंध आदी विषयों पर विस्तृत शास्त्रार्थ किया है।<sup>22</sup> गीतरत्नकोश में संगीत रत्नाकर के स्वराध्याय, रागाध्याय, प्रकीर्णकाध्याय और प्रबन्धाध्याय इन चारों अध्यायों की विषय वस्तु का समावेश है। किन्तु प्रत्येक प्रकरण संगीत रत्नाकर की अपेक्षा अधिक विस्तृत है।<sup>23</sup> कुम्भा द्वारा संगीतराज के गीतरत्नकोश में वर्णित राग वर्गीकरण अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रंथों की तुलना में विशद है। गीतरत्नकोश में कुम्भा ने रागों का मानवीकरण करते हुए उन्हें लगभग 30 देशी रागों के ध्यान चित्र शब्दों के माध्यम से वर्णित किया है।<sup>24</sup> जो परवर्ती काल में राग माला चित्रों के रूप में संगीत की अमूल्य धरोहर बनकर विकसित हुए। राग ध्यान के सम्बन्ध में पहला उपलब्ध संगीत ग्रंथ 'संगीतोपनिषत्सार' हैं जिसमें कुम्भा के रागध्यान में विलक्षण समानता है।<sup>25</sup> कुम्भा ने संगीत के वाग्गेयकारों का उत्तम, मध्यम और अधम श्रेणी भेद से उनके लक्षणों का विस्तार से वर्णन किया है। गीतरत्नकोश में कुम्भा ने इस संदर्भ में पहले गायन के गुणों की विस्तार से चर्चा की है। तत्पश्चात् गायन के 25 दोषों यथा काकी, सूत्करी आदि को लक्षण सहित वर्णित किया है।<sup>26</sup> कुम्भा के अनुसार गायको के 25 दोषों को औषधि द्वारा कण्ठ शुद्धि से अथवा कण्ठ साधना से परिष्कृत करना चाहिये—

“गायकानामिमे दोषा, लक्षिताः पञ्चविंशतिः।

गेयस्य कण्ठसाध्यत्वात्, तद्विशुद्ध्यर्थमौषधम्।।<sup>27</sup>

कुम्भा ने कण्ठ परिकृष्टि के लिये पथ्यापथ्य और ऐसी अनेक औषधियों के सेवन का निर्देश दिया है जो किसी भी प्राचीन साहित्य में एक स्थान पर उद्धृत नहीं मिलते हैं। लेखक के अनुसार गायक यदि अपथ्य पदार्थों का सेवन नहीं करे तो उनमें दोष नहीं आ सकते हैं। कुम्भा ने अपथ्य पदार्थों की वर्जनाओं का उल्लेख करते हुए कहा है—

“गायनो वर्जयेत् क्षारमन्त्रं पर्युषितं कर्हिचित्”<sup>28</sup>

अर्थात् गायक को क्षारयुक्त अन्न, बासी अन्न नहीं खाना चाहिए इसी भांति ज्वार, जौ आदि अन्न तथा कड़वे भोजन और भैंस के दूध आदि भारी भोजन तथा कफ उत्पन्न करने वाले पदार्थों का भी सेवन नहीं करना चाहिए। कुम्भा ने कण्ठ शुद्धि के औषधि का निर्देश देते हुए कहा है—

“प्रत्यषे मधुना साकं चूर्णमाहौषधो लिहेत।

रात्रौ सलवणं चापि भक्षयेत् त्रिफलां सुधीः।।<sup>29</sup>

अर्थात् “प्रातःकाल मधु (शहद) में सोंठ का चूर्ण मिलाकर चाटे। रात्रि में भी त्रिफला चूर्ण में नमक मिलाकर खावे तथा रात्रि में हृदयस्थल और कण्ठ पर खैर (खदिर) का चूर्ण मला जावे। ताम्बूलपत्र (पान का पता) के साथ मोथा पुनर्नवा (साठी) के पत्र तथा सुपारी मिलाकर खाने से कण्ठ किन्नरियों के गौरव को प्राप्त कराने वाला हो जाता है।<sup>30</sup>

कुम्भा का लेख है— “हेमन्ते शिशिरे प्रभातसमये ग्रीष्मै नित्यं सरस्वत्यहो”<sup>31</sup> तदनुसार हेमन्त और शिशिर ऋतुओं में प्रातःकाल में, ग्रीष्मऋतु में प्रदोषकाल में, वसंत ऋतु में आधीरात में तथा वर्षा ऋतु में मध्याह्न काल में और शरद ऋतु में तीनों ही कालों में नित्यप्रति नियत समय पर सरस्वती (संगीत की अधिष्ठात्री देवी) सुकवियों के सानिध्य में आती है।

### संगीतराज के वाद्यरत्न कोश का महत्त्व

संगीतराज का वाद्यरत्न कोश अप्रकाशित होने से इसका संगीत शास्त्रीय महत्त्व गौण होकर रह गया है। वाद्यरत्न कोश की उपलब्ध प्रति<sup>32</sup> में तत्, अवनध, गन और सुषिर चतुर्विध वाद्यों का तालों एवं रागों के साथ विस्तृत वर्णन उपलब्ध होता है जो भारतीय वाद्यों के विकासात्मक इतिहास का महत्त्वपूर्ण ज्ञातव्य है। मेवाड़ में प्रचलित लोक वाद्य रावणहत्था का नामोल्लेख भी इसमें मिलता है।<sup>33</sup> विभिन्न वाद्यों के लक्षण, वाद्य गुण—दोष एवं वादक के गुण—दोष सभी विषयों पर कुम्भा ने गहन ज्ञान उद्भाषित किया है। जब

कभी इस अंश का प्रकाशन होगा भारतीय संगीत के वाद्य ग्रंथों में यह विशिष्ट स्थान का अधिकारी होगा।

### संगीतराज के नृत्य रत्न कोश का महत्त्व

संगीतराज का नृत्यरत्न कोश महाराणा कुम्भा के नृत्य शास्त्र के ज्ञाता होने का परिचायक अंश हैं। नृत्य रत्नकोश में कुम्भा ने विभिन्न ग्रंथों से संकलन सामग्री जुटाते हुए भी ग्रंथ की समग्रता में एक अद्भुत मौलिकता में प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयत्न किया है। नृत्य रत्न कोश की विस्तृत सामग्री को चार उल्लासों में तथा प्रत्येक उल्लास को चार परीक्षणों में विभक्त किया गया है। नृत्य रत्न कोष के प्रारम्भ में कुम्भा ने नृत्य की महिमा का वर्णन करते हुए कहा है पाठ्यादि (नाट्य) के उपयोगार्थ ही नृत्य का प्रणयन किया गया है, क्योंकि नृत्य के बिना सभी कुछ निर्जीव आभासित होता है। नाट्य का अति आवश्यक अंग होने के कारण नृत्य की प्रपंचना की जाती है।<sup>34</sup> इस ग्रंथ में नृत्य में प्रयुक्त होने वाले सभी अंग, प्रत्यांग एवं उपागों की सूक्ष्मतम क्रियाओं को भेद एवं उपभेदों के साथ वर्णित किया गया है। नृत्य के विविध प्रकारों, नृत्य की सूक्ष्मतम मुद्राओं एवं भाव-भंगमियों को विस्तार से समझाया गया है। नाट्य शाला के निर्माण से लेकर सभा सान्निवेश, नाट्यवेश तथा नट-नटनियों के प्रवेश तक का विस्तृत वर्णन नृत्य रत्न कोश में मिलता है।<sup>35</sup> जिससे स्पष्ट है कि कुम्भा केवल शास्त्री पक्ष के ज्ञाता नहीं थे वरन् प्रयोग अथवा क्रियात्मक पक्ष के भी समान ज्ञाता थे।

### संगीतराज के रस रत्न कोश का महत्त्व

रस रत्नकोश में अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से संगीत को गीत, वाद्य एवं नृत्य के स्थूल क्षेत्र से ऊपर रस के दिव्य धरातल पर प्रतिष्ठित किया है। जो संगीत अथवा किसी भी कला का लक्ष्य अथवा अन्तिम परिणिति माना गया है। कुम्भा ने काव्य शास्त्र दृष्टिकोण से रस परम्परा के प्राचीन आचार्यों के मतोद्धरण से रस स्वरूप रस निष्पत्ति, रसाश्रय, रस संख्या आदि विषयों की तार्किक विवेचना करते हुए स्वमत का प्रतिपादन किया है।<sup>36</sup>

**गीतगोविन्द की रसिकप्रिया टीका**— महाराणा कुम्भा ने स्वतंत्र रूप से संगीत ग्रंथ लेखन के साथ ही संगीत के पूर्व आचार्यों के संगीत सम्बन्धी ग्रंथों पर टीकालेखन का कार्य भी किया। इस टीका में निरूपित राग-रागिनियों का विवरण, ताल एवं लय सम्बन्धी उल्लेख, नृत्य से सम्बन्धित नायक-नायिका भेद आदि विषयक विवरण, संगीतशास्त्र की महत्त्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि हैं।<sup>37</sup> गीत

गोविन्द की रसिकप्रिया टीका में संगीत शास्त्रीय निरूपण धर्म और दर्शन की पृष्ठभूमि पर आसीन है। इससे उसका महत्त्व और भी बढ़ गया है।

राज प्राच्य विद्या प्रतिष्ठान उदयपुर से प्राप्त महाराणा कुम्भाकृत गीत गोविन्द की रसिकप्रिया टीका की हस्तलिखित प्रति<sup>38</sup> में निर्णया सागर प्रेस बम्बई से प्रकाशित संस्करण की अपेक्षा कुछ अतिरिक्त राग-रागिनियों एवं तालों के अतिरिक्त पाठ भी उपलब्ध होते हैं। यथा दशम के सर्ग के प्रारम्भ में 'मध्यमादि रागेण गीयते, वर्ण यति ताले' का उल्लेख मिलता है। महाराणा कुम्भा द्वारा निर्धारित गीतगोविन्द की राग-रागिनियों काव्यगत विषयों एवं संगीत की दृष्टि से सर्वथा उपयुक्त हैं।<sup>39</sup> कुम्भा ने इस टीका को जनमानस तक पहुंचाने के उद्देश्य से गीतगोविन्द टीका का मेवाडी प्रणयन भी किया था।<sup>40</sup>

**सूड प्रबन्ध**— महाराणा कुम्भा कृत सूड प्रबन्ध ग्रंथ गीतगोविन्द का संगीतात्मक प्रकरण है अतएव संगीत की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। गीत गोविन्द के पदों की राग व ताल सम्बन्धी संगीतात्मक विवेचना के लिये कुम्भा द्वारा इस ग्रंथ की रचना की गयी। रचना अधिक बड़ी नहीं है। प्राप्त प्रति में केवल 6 पन्नों में गीतगोविन्द का संगीतात्मक विवेचन सूड प्रबन्ध के रूप में है, किन्तु इस संक्षिप्त संगीत प्रकरण में ताल एवं लय से सम्बन्धित महत्त्वपूर्ण उल्लेख मिलता है। साथ ही इस प्रति के बोधि पट पर आलाप टिप्पणी भी लिखी मिलती है जिसका संगीत विषयक महत्त्व है। सूड प्रबन्ध की अन्तिम प्रशस्ति में प्रतिताल, एकताल, चतुर्मातृका, मठताल, यतिताल आदि तालों का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>41</sup>

**चण्डीशतक वृत्ति**— कुम्भा चण्डीशतक वृत्ति महाराणा कुम्भा को संगीत के वाग्गेयकार के रूप के प्रत्येक पद्य के प्रत्येक पद की व्याकरणात्मक भाषायी एवं काव्य शास्त्रीय दृष्टि से व्याख्या करके समझाया है।<sup>42</sup>

**कामराज रतिसार ग्रंथ**— महाराणा कुम्भा कृत कामराजरतिसार ग्रंथ में संगीत विषयक महत्त्वपूर्ण उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं। यह ग्रंथ कुम्भा के संगीत शास्त्रीय व्यक्तित्व को प्रमाणित करने वाला महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ है।<sup>43</sup>

### **संगीतरत्नाकर टीका, संगीतक्रमदीपिका, संगीतमीमांसा**

संगीत ग्रंथों पर टीकालेखन की परम्परा में महाराणा कुम्भा ने संगीत रत्नाकर पर संगीतक्रमदीपिका, संगीत रत्नाकर एवं संगीत मीमांसा नामक

टीकाएँ लिखकर संगीत शास्त्रीय परम्परा का निर्वाह किया।<sup>44</sup> परवर्ती टीकाकारों को भूमिका प्रदान की, इस दृष्टि से कुम्भाकृत उपरोक्त टीका साहित्य का महत्त्व संगीत जगत में अक्षुण्ण है।

**वाद्य प्रबन्ध—** कुम्भा कृत वाद्य प्रबन्ध ग्रंथ का उल्लेख मात्र ही प्राप्त होता है। इस ग्रंथ में भारतीय वाद्यों सम्बन्धी विवरण महत्त्वपूर्ण रहा होगा क्योंकि संगीतराज के वाद्यपत्रों का तालों के साथ उल्लेख किया है। उन्होंने अनेक प्रकार की वीणाओं का विवरण भी दिया है।<sup>45</sup>

**नाटकराज एवं नाटक ग्रंथ—** महाराणा कुम्भाकालीन शिलालेखों एवं ग्रंथों में कुम्भा द्वारा 'नाटकराज' नामक ग्रंथ एवं देशी भाषा में चार नाटक रचनाएं करने का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>46</sup> यद्यपि ये ग्रंथ उपलब्धियों हैं, किन्तु नाटक व संगीत का अन्तः सम्बन्ध परोक्ष रूप से महाराणा कुम्भा के संगीतशास्त्रीय ज्ञान का परिचायक है।

**समीक्षात्मक दृष्टिकोण—** संगीत मर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा की संगीत विषयक सामग्री के आधार पर कुम्भा के संगीत शास्त्रिय ज्ञान गरिमा के सैद्धान्तिक एवं प्रायोगिक दोनों ही पहलुओं पर किसी भी दशा में संदेह नहीं किया जा सकता है। कुम्भा के महलों के पास वादिभशाला होने का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>47</sup> जहाँ वह गा बजाकर संगीत की साधना करते थे। कुम्भा वीणा बजाने में अति निपुण थे। कीर्ति स्तम्भ प्रशस्ति में उल्लेख है —

“सकल कविनृपाली मौलिमाणक्यरोचिर्मधुररणित वीणावाद्य वैशद्यबिंदुः

मधुकर कुल लीलहारि रसाली जयति जयति कुम्भो भूरिशौर्याशुमाली”।

**महाराणा नाट्य शास्त्र व नृत्य शास्त्र के ज्ञाता थे—** कुम्भा ने विषम राजनेतिक परिस्थितियों को आत्मसात करके अपने कृतित्व से संगीत जगत को अमूल्य योगदान दिया। जिसके लिये भारतीय संगीत उनका सदैव ऋणी रहेगा।

**महाराणा कुम्भा कालीन कला में संगीत के तत्त्व—** महाराणा कुम्भा को संगीत कला में विशेष अनुरक्ति थी। महाराणा का प्रोत्साहान एवं संरक्षण प्राप्त कर तत्कालीन कलाकारों ने भी महाराणा के संगीतमय भावनाओं को शिल्प स्थापत्य आदि में तराशने का विशेष प्रयत्न किया है।

**चित्तौड़गढ़ दुर्ग में संगीत के तत्त्व—** चित्तौड़गढ़ दुर्ग में कुम्भा कालीन स्थापत्य स्मारकों में यहां कि देव प्रासाद यथा कुम्भ स्वामी का मन्दिर,

श्रृंगार चंवरी, महावीर जैन मन्दिर, सतबीर देवरी तथा कुम्भा कालीन राज प्रासाद संगीत की दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण है।

**कीर्तिस्तम्भ का संगीत विषयक महत्त्व—** चित्तौड़गढ़ का कीर्ति स्तम्भ भारतीय संगीत की अनमोल धरोहर है। इसका निर्माण कार्य 1496 से 1516 विक्रमी तक माना जाता है। यद्यपि इसका समाप्ति विक्रम सम्वत् 1505 माघ सूदी 10 को हो गई थी। विशुद्ध संगीत शास्त्री दृष्टिकोण से संगीत की एक भव्य चित्रशाला है। जो महाराणा कुम्भा के गहन संगीत शास्त्रीय ज्ञान का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है। इस स्तम्भ की विविध मंजिलों में उकेरी गई नर्तकियों और नर्तकों की सूक्ष्म भाव-भंगिमाएं, नृत्य मुद्राएं तथा पत्थरों पर तराशे गये वाद्य यंत्र वीणा, भेरी, मृदंग, पणव, झांझ, करताल आदि का अंकन संगीत जगत की महत्त्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि है।

कुम्भलगढ़ की यज्ञवेदि के मुख्य छत पर बासुरी, वीणा एवं शंख जैसे संगीतात्मक वाद्यों से अलंकृत मूर्तियां आज भी विद्यमान हैं। कुम्भलगढ़ देव प्रसादों में भी संगीत विषयक प्रचुर सामग्री उपलब्ध होती है। जो कुम्भाकालीन संगीत के पवित्रतात्मक स्वरूप को उजागर करती है।

कुम्भा के काल में अनेक भव्य एवं कलात्मक देवालयों का निर्माण हुआ। जो तत्कालीन संगीत परम्परा के महत्त्वपूर्ण पोषक स्थल थे। कुम्भा कालीन रणकपुर जैन मन्दिर के सुन्दर तक्षण विद्वान में संगीत को धर्म और दर्शन के दिव्य धरातल पर प्रतिष्ठित किया गया है। एकलिंग देवालय में कुम्भा द्वारा निर्मित कुम्भ मण्डप परिसर में पौराणिक आख्यानों के अभिप्राय सम्बद्ध मूर्तियों का संगीत की दृष्टि से विशेष महत्त्व है।

कला संरक्षण महाराणा कुम्भा कला का सम्मान करने वाले सच्चे कला साधक थे। उन्होंने मेवाड़ में विद्यमान संगीत और साहित्य की महत्ती परम्परा का निर्वहन अपने मौलिक सज्जन से तो किया ही साथ ही विद्वान कलाकारों को प्रोत्साहान अथवा राज्याश्रय प्रदान कर उसे और भी पल्लवित किया। ग्रंथों और प्रशस्तियों में कुम्भा कालीन अध्ययन शाला, नाट्य शाला, वादिभशाला, गंदर्भशाला एवं सृजनरत कवि मण्डली का उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है।

महाराणा कुम्भा की संगीतविषयक सम्पूर्ण उपलब्धियों के शोधपूर्ण अध्ययन के बाद इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा जा सकता है कि संगीतशास्त्रीय तलस्पर्शी गहन ज्ञान के ज्ञाता संगीतमर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा देश के महान

संगीतज्ञ थे तथा कुम्भा का काल संगीतविद्या के वैभव की दृष्टि से भारतीय संगीत का महत्त्वपूर्ण समय था। विदेशी आक्रमणों के संक्रमण काल में राज्यरक्षा एवं विस्तार करते हुए स्वयं संगीतसाहित्यादि का सृजन करना साथ ही कवि-कविदों और कलाकारों को इस कार्य के लिये प्रोत्साहान एवं आश्रय प्रदान करना निस्संदेह ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व की घटना है। इसी से संगीतशास्त्रीय मर्म के ज्ञाता संगीतमर्मज्ञ महाराणा कुम्भा का स्थान समकालीन संगीतसाहित्यजगत में महत्त्वपूर्ण होने के साथ सर्वोच्च भी है।

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## 14

### छत्रसाल द्वारा पन्ना के बुन्देला साम्राज्य की स्थापना

डॉ. बी.के. श्रीवास्तव

शिवाजी से भेंट कर एवं उनसे मुगलों के विरुद्ध बुन्देलखण्ड में स्वाधीनता संघर्ष छेड़ने की प्रेरणा लेकर छत्रसाल 1671 ई. में बुन्देलखण्ड लौट कर आए। छत्रसाल ने दतिया नरेश शुभकरण एवं ओरछा नरेश सुजानसिंह से मुगल विरोधी संघर्ष में शामिल होने की गुहार की। ये दोनों राजी नहीं हुए। छत्रसाल अपने ज्येष्ठ भ्राता रतनशाह से मिले मगर उन्होंने भी उनका सहयोग नहीं दिया।

इसी बीच जहाँ चाह वहाँ राह की कहावत एक बार पुनः चरितार्थ हुई। औरंगजेब ने 9 अप्रैल 1669 को हिन्दुओं के मन्दिरों को तोड़-फोड़ कर नष्ट करने का एक आदेश जारी किया। इस आदेश के पालन हेतु फिदाई खाँ ओरछा के मंदिरों को नष्ट करने बढ़ा। बुन्देलों ने धुर्मगद के नेतृत्व में फिदाई खाँ का डट कर मुकाबला किया और उसे पीछे खदेड़ दिया।<sup>1</sup> इस घटना के समय ओरछा नरेश सुजानसिंह दक्षिण में थे। उन्हें अब अपनी गलती का अहसास हुआ। उन्होंने छत्रसाल से भेंटकर उन्हें सहयोग का आश्वासन दिया।<sup>2</sup>

सुजानसिंह के आश्वासन से छत्रसाल के हौसले में वृद्धि हुई। वे अपने चचेरे भाई बलदाऊ से मिले। उन्होंने सहयोग करना स्वीकार किया। इसके बाद छत्रसाल के भाई अंगद भी सहयोग हेतु आए। इसी बीच छत्रसाल के बचपन का साथी महाबली तेली उनसे मिला। उसके पास धरोहर के रूप में कुछ पैतृक सम्पत्ति थी जो उसने छत्रसाल को वापस कर दी। इससे छत्रसाल ने 30 घुड़सवार एवं 300 पैदल की छोटी सी सेना तैयार की। इस तरह 1671 में छत्रसाल ने मुगलों के विरुद्ध स्वाधीनता संग्राम का बिगुल फूंक दिया। आस-पास के प्रदेशों को लूट कर तथा चौथ वसूलकर अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाना छत्रसाल ने अपना उद्देश्य निर्धारित किया।<sup>3</sup>

छत्रसाल की प्रारंभिक सेना में राजे-रजवाड़ों के स्थान पर तेली, बारी, मुसलमान एवं मनिहारी आदि निम्न जातियों के लोगों का बाहुल्य था। छत्रसाल ने सबसे पहला आक्रमण अपने माता-पिता को आत्महत्या के लिए मजबूर करने वाले धन्धेरोँ पर किया। धन्धेरोँ ने आत्म समर्पण कर दिया। धन्धेरोँ ने छत्रसाल से अपनी कन्या का विवाह कर मित्रता की।<sup>4</sup> केशरीसिंह धन्धेरा अपनी सेना सहित छत्रसाल के साथ हो गया।<sup>5</sup>

छत्रसाल ने सिरोंज पर आक्रमण किया एवं वहाँ के मुगल अधिकारियों को परास्त किया। धामोनी के पास स्थित चन्द्रपुर को लूटा। मैहर पर आक्रमण किया। 1672 में धामोनी के फौजदार खालिक को रानगिर में परास्त किया। सागर के दक्षिण पश्चिम में स्थित बांसा में वहाँ के बहादुर जागीरदार केशवराय दांगी को परास्त कर उसका सिर काट लिया।<sup>6</sup> इसके पश्चात् छत्रसाल ने सागर पर अधिकार कर लिया।

औरंगजेब ने 1673 में रूहुल्ला खाँ को धामोनी का फौजदार नियुक्त किया। छत्रसाल के दमन के लिए रूहुल्ला खाँ के साथ 22 सरदार भेजे। ओरछा दतिया एवं चन्देरी के बुन्देला नरेशों को भी आदेश दिया कि वे छत्रसाल के दमन में रूहुल्ला खाँ का साथ दें। छत्रसाल इस समय गढ़ाकोटा में थे उन्हें घेर लिया गया। छत्रसाल अत्यन्त बहादुरी से लड़ा। रूहुल्ला खाँ को पीछे लौटना पड़ा।<sup>7</sup>

अब छत्रसाल के हौंसले में आशातीत वृद्धि हुई। इसके पश्चात् छत्रसाल ने शिवपुरी के पास स्थित नरवर पर आक्रमण किया। 1673 में ओरछा के राजा सुजानसिंह की मृत्यु हो गई। उनके स्थान पर इन्द्रमणि ओरछा के राजा बने। इन्द्रमणि ने छत्रसाल के विरुद्ध मुगलों का साथ दिया। छत्रसाल ने अब ओरछा राज्य के प्रदेशों पर आक्रमण किया।<sup>8</sup>

### राजधानी पन्ना एवं साम्राज्य विस्तार

1675 में छत्रसाल ने पन्ना पर आक्रमण कर वहाँ के गौड़ राजा को परास्त किया। पन्ना पर अधिकार कर पन्ना को अपने साम्राज्य की राजधानी बनाया। मरु महोबा<sup>9</sup> को छत्रसाल ने अपनी सैनिक छावनी बनाया। छत्रसाल ने अब सागर प्रदेश के पथरिया, दमोह, पर अधिपत्य जमा लिया।

अब छत्रसाल के बहादुरी का डंका दूर-दूर तक बजने लगा। छत्रसाल के भाई अंगद एवं रतनशाह उनके साथ हो गए। अन्य संबंधी जामशाह,

पृथ्वीराज, अमरदीवान, कटेरा एवं शाहगढ़ के जमींदार सभी छत्रसाल के झण्डे तले आ गए।<sup>10</sup> समस्त बुन्देलखण्ड के लगभग सत्तर छोटे-बड़े जागीरदार एवं सरदार छत्रसाल के सहयोगार्थ आ गए।<sup>11</sup>

1675 में ओरछा नरेश इन्द्रमणि की मृत्यु हो गई उनके स्थान पर उनका पुत्र जसवन्त सिंह ओरछा का राजा बना। सितम्बर 1678 में जसवन्तसिंह ने मुगलों की ओर से छत्रसाल के विरुद्ध सैन्य अभियान का नेतृत्व किया। दतिया एवं चन्देरी के बुन्देला राजाओं ने उसका सहयोग किया। छत्रसाल विचलित नहीं हुए निरन्तर संघर्ष करते रहे। धामोनी के मुगल फौजदारों को तो छत्रसाल ने कई बार परास्त किया। 1680 के अन्त तक छत्रसाल ने खिमलासा, गिरधल्ला को लूटा।<sup>12</sup>

औरंगजेब ने इखलासा खाँ को धामोनी का फौजदार नियुक्त किया। इसने छत्रसाल को मुगल अधीनता स्वीकार करने बाध्य किया। 1681 में छत्रसाल मुगलसेना के साथ दक्षिण भी गए।<sup>13</sup> मगर लौटकर फिर मुगलों के विरुद्ध हो गए। 1682 में धामोनी पर जोरदार आक्रमण किया। बाद में राजगढ़ एवं नरसिंहगढ़ पर अधिकार कर लिया। उसके बाद कालिंजर पर धावा बोला।<sup>14</sup>

औरंगजेब ने शमशेर खाँ को धामोनी का फौजदार नियुक्त किया। छत्रसाल ने एक बार पुनः मुगल अधीनता स्वीकार कर ली। 30 अक्टूबर 1682 को शाही दरबार में उपस्थित हुए और सम्राट को 18 अशर्फिया नजर की। छत्रसाल दो माह से अधिक दक्षिण में खाँजहां की सेना में रहे। छत्रसाल का मनसब 5 सदी जात एवं 400 सवार किया। 17 दिसम्बर 1682 को उसमें 50 सवार और बढ़ा दिए।<sup>15</sup>

छत्रसाल की अनुपस्थिति में धामोनी के फौजदार ने निकटवर्ती प्रदेशों को बुन्देला आधिपत्य से मुक्त कराने का प्रयास किया। जब छत्रसाल को यह पता चला तो उन्होंने पुनः मुगलों के विरुद्ध संघर्ष छेड़ दिया। छत्रसाल ने राठ, पनवारी, मुगावली, मुस्कटा आदि पर अधिकार जमा लिया। उन्होंने उज्जैन एवं भेलसा तक अपने प्रभाव क्षेत्र का विस्तार किया।<sup>16</sup>

### **छत्रसाल को राजा की उपाधि**

शेर अफगान के नेतृत्व में मुगलों ने छत्रसाल से कड़ा संघर्ष किया। इस संघर्ष में कभी शेर अफगान तो कभी छत्रसाल का पलड़ा भारी रहा। इसके

पश्चात् फिरोजजंग ने मुगल सेना की कमान संभाली। नवम्बर-दिसम्बर 1706 में छत्रसाल ने फिरोज जंग के माध्यम से औरंगजेब से क्षमा याचना की। फिरोज जंग के आग्रह पर औरंगजेब ने 1 जनवरी 1707 को छत्रसाल को राजा की उपाधि के साथ 4000 का मनसब दिया। छत्रसाल के पुत्र हिरदेशाह एवं पदमसिंह को क्रमशः 1 हजार 5 सदीजात, 1000 सवार एवं 1 हजार 5 सदी जात और 500 के मनसब दिए।<sup>17</sup> इसके बाद छत्रसाल औरंगजेब की मृत्यु 20 फरवरी 1707 ई. तक शाही दरबार में रहे। बाद में वापस बुन्देलखण्ड आ गए।

### छत्रसाल की बुन्देलखण्ड में सर्वोपरि स्थिति

औरंगजेब द्वारा राजा की उपाधि एवं चार हजारी मनसब देने से छत्रसाल ने मुगल विरोधी संघर्ष बन्द कर दिया। छोटी सी जागीर महेबा के जागीरदार चम्पतराय के महान पुत्र छत्रसाल ने अपनी योग्यता एवं बाहुबल से राजा की उपाधि प्राप्त कर ली। अब छत्रसाल ओरछा के उदोतसिंह के समान ही पन्ना के राजा थे। इस समय बुन्देलखण्ड स्थित पन्ना, ओरछा, दतिया एवं देवरी के राजाओं की मनसब के हिसाब से स्थिति निम्नानुसार थी –

रियासत	राजा	मनसब	
		जात	सवार
पन्ना	छत्रसाल	4000	—
ओरछा	उदोत सिंह	3500	1600
चन्देरी	दुर्जन सिंह	1000	1000
दतिया	दलपतराव	3000	3000

उक्त सारणी से स्पष्ट है कि छत्रसाल की स्थिति अब बुन्देलखण्ड में सर्वोपरि थी। ओरछा, दतिया एवं चन्देरी के राजा मुगल समर्थक होते हुए भी छत्रसाल से पीछे चले गए। औरंगजेब की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके उत्तराधिकारियों के समय भी छत्रसाल ने अपनी सर्वोच्चता को बनाए रखा। छत्रसाल ने चातुर्य से काम लिया। वे यथासंभव औरंगजेब के पुत्रों के उत्तराधिकार संघर्षों से पृथक ही रहे।

### छत्रसाल एवं औरंगजेब के उत्तराधिकारी

#### 1. छत्रसाल एवं बहादुरशाह (1707-1712 ई.)

20 फरवरी 1707 को औरंगजेब की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके पुत्रों में उत्तराधिकार का संघर्ष हुआ। छत्रसाल के साम्राज्य की दक्षिण-पश्चिमी सीमाएं मालवा सूबे के एकदम पास थी। मालवा शहजादा आजम के अधीन था। शहजादा आजम ने अहमदनगर में स्वयं को सम्राट घोषित कर दिया। छत्रसाल ने उसका समर्थन किया। उधर आजम के विरोधी शहजादे बहादुरशाह ने भी छत्रसाल से सहायता मांगी। जाजरू के युद्ध (8 जून 1707) के पश्चात् छत्रसाल ने बहादुरशाह का पक्ष लेने में ही भलाई समझी। बहादुरशाह ने उन्हें दरबार में बुलाया। छत्रसाल ने स्वयं दरबार न जाकर अपने पुत्रों को वहाँ भेजा। बहादुरशाह ने प्रसन्न होकर 2 जुलाई 1708 को छत्रसाल को राजा की उपाधि 5000 जात और 4000 सवार का मनसब दिया।<sup>18</sup> छत्रसाल ने दरबार में उपस्थित होकर सम्राट बहादुर शाह को 100 अशरफी, एक हजार रूपए, 5 छोटी बन्दूके एवं एक तलवार भेंट की। सम्राट प्रसन्न हुआ और छत्रसाल को एक हाथी, तलवार एवं खिलअत देकर सम्मानित किया। छत्रसाल ने भी कई बार बहादुरशाह को नजराने दिये। सम्राट ने भी विभिन्न वस्तुएं देकर छत्रसाल का मान बढ़ाया।

सिखों के विरुद्ध लोहागढ़ के घेरे में छत्रसाल ने मुगलों की ओर से लड़ते हुए अपूर्व पराक्रम का परिचय दिया। इस प्रकार बहादुर शाह से छत्रसाल के संबंध मधुर बने रहे।<sup>19</sup>

## 2. छत्रसाल एवं फरूखसियर (1713-1719ई.)

17 फरवरी 1772 को मुगलसम्राट बहादुरशाह की मृत्यु हो गई। उत्तराधिकार संघर्ष में फरूखसियर विजयी हुआ। छत्रसाल ने उसे अपनी सेवाएँ समर्पित की। प्रसन्न होकर फरूखसियर ने 27 अप्रैल 1713 को छत्रसाल को 5 हजार जात एवं 4 हजार सवार का मनसब दिया।<sup>20</sup> 12 जून 1713 को पुनः एक विशेष खिलअत, जड़ाऊ, तलवार एवं हाथी देकर छत्रसाल को सम्मानित किया गया। 10 फरवरी 1714 को छत्रसाल का मनसब बढ़कार 6 हजार जात एवं 4000 सवार कर दिया गया।<sup>21</sup>

मालवा में मराठों एवं अफगानों ने विद्रोह कर दिया। इनके विद्रोह के दमन हेतु सवाई जयसिंह के नेतृत्व में गए अभियान में छत्रसाल ने जयसिंह का सहयोग किया। इस अभियान में छत्रसाल ने अत्यन्त बहादुरी का परिचय देते हुए अफगान एवं मराठों के विद्रोह का दमन किया। इस प्रकार छत्रसाल मुगल सम्राट फरूखसियर के प्रिय एवं वफादार बने रहे।

### छत्रसाल एवं मुहम्मदशाह (1719–1748ई.)

फर्रुखसियर सयैद बन्धुओं (हुसैनअली एवं सयैद अब्दुल्ला) की मदद से सम्राट बना था। धीरे-धीरे फर्रुखसियर ने उनके चंगुल से मुक्त होने का प्रयास किया। अतः सैयद बन्धुओं ने 18 फरवरी 1719 को फर्रुखसियर को पदच्युत कर दिया। फर्रुखसियर के पश्चात् 7 माह की अल्पावधि में रफीउद्दरजात एवं रफीउददौला सम्राट बने। इनके पश्चात् सैयद बन्धुओं ने 18 सितम्बर 1719 को मुहम्मदशाह को मुगल सम्राट बनाया।<sup>22</sup>

राजा सवाई जयसिंह की सहानुभूति फर्रुखसियर के प्रति थी। अतः वे मुहम्मदशाह को पसन्द नहीं करते थे। चूंकि छत्रसाल भी जयसिंह का कट्टर समर्थक था अतः उनके संबंध में भी नये मुगल बादशाह मुहम्मदशाह से अच्छे नहीं रहे।<sup>23</sup> इसके बावजूद छत्रसाल ने मुहम्मदशाह को सम्राट बनने पर बधाई संदेश भेजा। सम्राट ने भी 29 अप्रैल 1720 को छत्रसाल को एक जड़ी हुई कटार एवं हाथी भेंट किया।<sup>24</sup> इलाहाबाद के सूबेदार मुहम्मद खाँ वंगश के कारण छत्रसाल के मुहम्मदशाह से अच्छे संबंध अधिक दिनों तक नहीं रहे।

### मुगल सम्राटों द्वारा छत्रसाल को उपाधि व भेंट

सम्राट	मनसब		सम्मान	दिनांक
	जात	सवार		
औरगजेब (1658–1708ई.)	4000		राजा की उपाधि	1 जनवरी 1707
बहादुरशाह (1707–1712ई.)	5000	4000	राजा की उपाधि	2 जुलाई 1708
			एक हाथी, तलवार खिलअत, जड़ाऊ जमधर	2 अप्रैल 1710
फर्रुखसियर (1713–1719ई.)	5000	4000	खिलअत, जड़ाऊ, तलवार हाथी	27 अप्रैल 1713 12 जून 1713
			6000	4000
मुहम्मदशाह (1719–1748ई.)			जड़ाऊ जमधर (छोटी कटार) एक हाथी	29 अप्रैल, 1770

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि महान बुन्देला चम्पतराय का पुत्र छत्रसाल एक महान पिता का महान पुत्र साबित हुआ। उसने शिवाजी से गुरु मंत्र प्राप्त कर बुन्देलखण्ड में स्वाधीनता संग्राम का शंखनाद किया। शून्य से आरंभ कर वे शिखर पर पहुंच गए। पन्ना को राजधानी बनाकर एक वृहत बुन्देला साम्राज्य स्थापित किया। वे निरंतर मुगलों से संघर्ष करते रहे। जब भी थक जाते थे तो ऊर्जा प्राप्ति हेतु मुगल सेना में चले जाते थे। बाद में पुनः संघर्ष आरंभ कर देते थे। कूटनीतिक चातुर्य का परिचय देते हुए उन्होंने अपने प्रबल विरोधी मुगलो से ही राजा की उपाधि एवं उच्च मनसब प्राप्त किया। दतिया, ओरछा, एवं चन्देरी के राजा मुगलों का सहयोग कर उतना अधिक मनसब प्राप्त नहीं कर सके जितना कि छत्रसाल ने मुगलों का विरोध कर प्राप्त कर लिया। इस प्रकार छत्रसाल ने अपनी कूटनीति, दूरदर्शिता योग्यता एवं बहादुरी के बल पर एक महान बुन्देला साम्राज्य की स्थापना की।

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13. वही, पृ. 38.
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15. वही, पृ. 40.
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## पुस्तक समीक्षा

**प्रो० अशोक कुमार सिंह**

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डा० विनय श्रीवास्तव, *मालवा के प्रमुख ऐतिहासिक मन्दिर एवं छत्रियाँ*, प्रकाशक—चिराग प्रकाशन, उदयपुर, 2008, पृष्ठ संख्या— भूमिका + प्राक्कथन + 197; 30 स्तम्भ, व 12 छत्री : मूल्य 350 रुपये।

‘भर्तृहरि व भोज’ एवं ‘कालिदास व भारवि’ की कर्मभूमि मालवा प्रदेश का एक गौरवशाली इतिहास रहा है। दुर्बल राजनैतिक सत्ता के काल में भी इसके सांस्कृतिक इतिहास का निर्माण काल चलता रहा है। यही कारण है कि सम्पूर्ण मालवा अंचल अपनी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर के लिए विख्यात रहा है। मालवा अंचल में ज्ञात-अज्ञात और बहुत कुछ निरन्तर लुप्त होते जा रहे सांस्कृतिक धरोहर को सहेजने की इच्छा मालवा भूमि के कर्मपुत्र डा० विनय श्रीवास्तव के मन में उठी। उन्होंने इस इच्छा की पूर्ति हेतु विश्वविद्यालय अनुदान आयोग नई दिल्ली की वृहद् शोध परियोजनान्तर्गत “मालवा के ऐतिहासिक स्मारकों का अध्ययन एवं दस्तावेजीकरण” विषय को चुना।

किसी आँचलिक इतिहास के सांस्कृतिक पक्ष पर शोध करना एक दुरूह कार्य है क्योंकि इसे किसी ग्रन्थागार या अभिलेखागार में बैठकर नहीं किया जा सकता है। विनय श्रीवास्तव ने इस दुरूह कार्य को करने का निर्णय लिया। सुप्रसिद्ध पुरातत्ववेत्ता, खोजी एवं ‘आर्क्योलॉजिकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया’ की दर्जनों रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत करने वाले ए० कनिंघम तथा मालवा अंचल के खोजी व श्री वाकणकर की शोध तकनीक से उत्प्रेरित होकर ही लेखक ने अपनी शोध परियोजना हेतु ‘भ्रमण, सर्वेक्षण एवं दस्तावेजीकरण’ शोध

तकनीक को अपनाया है जिसके परिणाम सर्वदा सार्थक एवं नये तथ्य के प्रकटीकरण के रूप में आते रहते हैं। यही प्रतिफल लेखक की वृहद शोध परियोजना के अन्तर्गत लिखित *मालवा के प्रमुख ऐतिहासिक दुर्ग* और *मालवा के प्रमुख ऐतिहासिक मन्दिर एवं छत्रियाँ* शीर्षक युक्त दो अलग-अलग पुस्तकों में दृष्टिगोचर होती है।

मालवा के महानतम इतिहासकार महाराजकुमार डा० रघुबीर सिंह के यशस्वी शिष्य एवं श्री नटनागर शोध संस्थान सीतामरु मन्दसौर के उपनिदेशक डा० मनोहर सिंह राणावत ने उक्त दोनों पुस्तकों की भूमिका लिखकर पुस्तकों की महत्ता बढ़ा दी है।

*मालवा के प्रमुख ऐतिहासिक दुर्ग* सम्बन्धी पुस्तक के प्रथम एवं द्वितीय अध्याय में क्रमशः मालवा की भौगोलिक स्थिति और मालवा में स्थापत्यकला पर संक्षेप में प्रकाश डाला गया है। तदनन्तर अध्याय तीन से अध्याय बारह के दस अध्यायों में मालवा के कुल बारह जिलों—धार, गुना, मन्दसौर, नीमच, रतलाम, खण्डवा, खरगोन, रायसेन, विदिशा, इन्दौर, उज्जैन, एवं राजगढ़ जिलों में स्थित सुप्रसिद्ध एवं ज्ञात दुर्गों सहित कम विख्यात तथा अनेकानेक विस्मृत दुर्गों का उल्लेख किया गया है। प्रत्येक दुर्ग के साथ उसकी भौगोलिक स्थिति, निर्माण—काल एवं निर्माता, संक्षिप्त इतिहास एवं वास्तुशास्त्रीय विशेषताओं का भी उल्लेख होने से सम्बन्धित दुर्ग के सभी पक्षों की जानकारी पाठकों को हो जाती है। इसके साथ ही विशाल एवं चर्चित दुर्गों के अन्दर सुप्रसिद्ध भवनों का भी उल्लेख होने से दुर्गों की आन्तरिक स्थिति से भी पाठक अवगत हो जाते हैं।

वर्षों पूर्व साहित्य संस्थान उदयपुर द्वारा राजस्थान के दुर्ग से सम्बन्धित *शोध पत्रिका* के विशेषांक एवं राजस्थान के दुर्ग सम्बन्धित पुस्तक की कड़ी में यह पुस्तक स्वतः जुड़ जाती है। इस प्रकार सामान्यतया उपेक्षित इस भूभाग स्थित दुर्गों से जिज्ञासु पाठक एवं शोधार्थी अवश्य ही लाभान्वित होंगे।

विनय श्रीवास्तव की पुस्तक *मालवा के ऐतिहासिक मन्दिर एवं छत्रियाँ* पूर्व समीक्षित पुस्तक की ही कड़ी है। लेखक ने पुस्तक को तेरह अध्यायों में विभाजित किया है। प्रथम अध्याय मालवा के इतिहास से सम्बन्धित स्रोत सामग्री पर केन्द्रित है और द्वितीय अध्याय मालवा की भौगोलिक एवं राजनीतिक स्थिति पर प्रकाश डालती है। तदनन्तर लेखक मुख्य विषय पर

आते हुए अध्याय तीन से लेकर अध्याय बारह के कुल दस अध्यायों में मालवा अंचल के ग्यारह जिलों में स्थित प्रमुख ऐतिहासिक मन्दिरों से सम्बन्धित भौगोलिक स्थिति, निर्माण काल व निर्माता एवं वास्तुशास्त्रीय विवेचन करता है। यद्यपि लेखक ने प्रत्येक अध्याय के शीर्षक में 'प्रमुख' ऐतिहासिक मन्दिर शब्द का प्रयोग किया है किन्तु सम्बन्धित अध्यायों के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि लेखक ने न केवल 'प्रमुख' वरन् सभी ज्ञात एवं वर्तमान ऐतिहासिक मन्दिरों की जानकारी इन अध्यायों में दी है।

पुस्तक का अध्याय तेरह विशेष महत्वपूर्ण है। अभी तक ज्ञात किसी भी लेखक ने 'छतरियों' से सम्बन्धित अलग पुस्तक-लेखन नहीं किया है। देशी रियासतों से सम्बन्धित प्रमुख प्रान्तों से दूरस्थ स्थान के पाठक तो मृतक के दाह-संस्कार स्थल पर निर्मित स्मारक छतरियों से भिन्न भी नहीं होते हैं। इस प्रकार लेखक ने अपनी पुस्तक के माध्यम से उन पाठकों से 'छतरी' सम्बन्धी बहुमूल्य जानकारी उपलब्ध करा दी है। आशा और विश्वास है कि इस पुस्तक के शीर्षक व वर्ण्यविषय से उत्साहित होकर राजस्थान के भी शोधार्थी इस विषय पर अवश्य ही पुस्तक लेखन का कार्य करेंगे। यह अध्याय नई सूचनाओं से युक्त है।

दोनों ग्रन्थ के अन्त में सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची दी गई है, जो शोधार्थियों के लिये लाभदायक होगी। अनेकानेक रंगीन चित्रों से सुसज्जित दोनों पुस्तक की छपाई, साज-सज्जा एवं कलेवर उत्तम कोटि का है। दोनों पुस्तकों का मूल्य भी उचित ही है।

अन्त में *मालवा के ऐतिहासिक मन्दिर एवं छत्रियाँ* शीर्षक की पुस्तक के आन्तरिक भाग में 'छत्रियाँ' के लिए 'छतरियाँ' शीर्षक अथवा अध्याय तेरह में कहीं छत्री, कहीं छतरी शब्द का प्रयोग खटकता है। लेखक को पाद टिप्पणियों के सन्दर्भ में अपनी पहली पुस्तक की भूलों को दुहराने से अवश्य बचना चाहिए। महत्वपूर्ण पुस्तक में पाद टिप्पणियों के सम्बन्ध में मानकों पर अवश्य ध्यान दिना जाना चाहिए। इस प्रकार कुछ लघु त्रुटियों के उपरान्त भी मालवा भूभाग से सम्बन्धित दो अलग-अलग पुस्तक लेखन के लिए लेखक बधाई का पात्र है। आशा है, विद्वत-जगत में इन पुस्तकों की सराहना की जायेगी।

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