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Islam and Sufism in Java Island: A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

To the recent time, Sufism still exists as a cultural aspect of Muslim society in Java. This owns a long historical process since the spread of Islam religion in the Indonesian Archipelago. Since the 7th century, Islam rose in Java carried out by the merchant classes from Arabic, but after the 13th century, the spreading of Islam was practiced by Gujarati traders. In Hindu-Buddhist tradition, the group belonged to the Vaishya caste class. The traders in the later development settled and then spread Islam, followed by the missionary interpreters from the Campa and the Middle East. The next phase of Islam began to develop rapidly in the 15th and 16th centuries, one of which was carried out by a group of community preachers or "the holy teacher" called WaliSongo (nine holy teachers). Their daily practices developed a pattern of Islamic preaching strategies by synthesizing Islamic Sharia with the local Javanese cultural values and traditions. Most of the Islamic missionary interpreters were followers of the tarekat. Tarekat is a method or a way for someone who believes in the Islamic teachings, which aims to reach God (wushul) through a series of long and hard stages, especially in terms of purification of the soul (tazkiyatunnafs). Tarekat followers had spiritual teachers

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who were often referred to as murshids. They taught the esoteric Islamic tradition through Islamic universities, which they founded, then later were called pesantren, and their students were called santri. Thus, the values of Sufism began to develop rapidly in Java, which mostly had a base in Islam boarding schools located in the north of Java. This study wants to analyze the historical processes as well as the network patterns and strategies for the spread of Islamic teachings in the Javanese Sufi style. Furthermore, this study also wants to analyze how the relationship between Sufism practices and local Javanese traditional values was established at that time.

Keywords: *Islam, Sufism, traders, spread, interpreters, preachers, holy teacher, followers.*

A. Introduction

Historically, the development of the entry of Islam in Indonesia cannot be denied, which is initially carried out by the traders. Several historical records show that since 7th century, a group of Islamic traders abroad, such as Gujarat, entered Indonesia. They built small villages during the reign of Sriwijaya Kingdom. The Muslim communities not only became traders, but they also carried out a mission to spread Islam. This could be understood because culturally, the Islamisation process through trades had been established since the initial recognition. Thus, it could be seen from the figure of Prophet Muhammad, who was trained in trading goods from his adolescence. Khatidjah bin Khuwailid who was a merchant, was secretly interested in Prophet Muhammad's trading skills, and she married him and had a daughter named Fatimah Azzahra. Several historical records show that more than one-third of wealth in Mecca belonged to Siti Khatidjah at that time.

The process of spreading agama Islam through trading tended to be firm in Java. The discovery of Fatimah Binti Maimun tomb in Loran Gresik, which was estimated in the eleventh century, became the first record of Islam entrance in Java. The results of archeology and history studies showed that Fatimah binti Maimun was an Islam trader who was believed to come from the Middle East. This was due to the fact that in the 11th century, the trading networks among several countries, namely India, Middle East, Persia, Turkey, Campa, and Indonesia, had been established. This also showed that Java, especially Gresik, had become a center of international trading. During the reign of the Majapahit Kingdom, Gresik became one of the main ports crowded with international ships, mainly Arab, Persia dan India. Hence, starting from the Gresik port, the flow of international trade began to develop rapidly. Historically, the first phase of Muslim traders entering Java was carried out by Fatimah Binti Maimun, and the following stage was followed by the other traders from various countries, especially those whose majority were Muslims. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Islam began to develop rapidly in Java and then followed by the current of Muslim traders, especially from the Middle

East, China, Campa, and India. They later settled and married the indigenous people. Thus, this proves that many Muslim Javanese whose occupation were entrepreneurs. In addition, this also shows that the international Muslim trading networks had been established firmly. They not only developed economic power but also carried out a mission to spread Islam. Furthermore, from the economic aspect, some of the Muslim Javanese entrepreneurs and traders had a high social status and bargaining position in front of the other international traders, such as China, India, Persia and the Middle East (De Graaf dan Pigeaud, 2001; De Graaf, et al., 2004).

Based on the historical findings and studies, most Muslim traders who entered Java became entrepreneurs and missionaries. For instance, the Islam traders not only settled and traded goods in Java, but many of them married the indigenous women, so their wives and children would convert to Islam. In short, through the trading networks, the mission to spread Islam could be entered in peace, so transformation and conversion from the former religion, Hindu-Buddhist to Islam, occurred (Atmadja, 2010; Azinar, 2011; Birsyada, 2016). Therefore, this is in line with the theory of Islam entrance in Java. One of them was through the trading activities and marriage between the Muslim traders and the indigenous people.

B. Charismatic Figures and Cultural Dialogue

One of Islam developments in Java was influenced by the figures and charisma of the preachers who were able to combine Islamic values and the local culture of Javanese society. The most well-known preachers through the cultural approach were Sunan Kalijogo, Sunan Bonang, and Sunan Gunungjati. They used *wayang kulit* (leather puppets) as media, and the story was adapted from India, such as Ramayana and Mahabarata. Additionally, they also used the song *tembang macapat* (Javanese songs) and wrote several Suluk, which contained the *tasawuf* teachings. Some foreign preachers carried out the Sufism values, and they also had different expertise such as medicine and governance. Syekh Jumadil Kubro, Syekh Ibrahim Samarakandi, and Syekh Maulana Ishaq were considered the pioneer of spiritual teachers in Java in the early 14th century.

According to the historical records, these three scholars came from Samarkand, now known as Southern Russia. Before they arrived in Java, they visited and spread Islam in Campa; then, they continued their journey to Java. Wali Songo later followed the tradition of Islamic ideas and practiced from these three figures. The study by Mas'ud (2009:9) explained that the Islam missionaries or preachers, such as Wali Songo succeeded in combining Islamic values and the local tradition of Javanese society. The Universal Islamic values were flexibly acculturated and adapted to Javanese Islam, so Islam could be indigenized. The Muslim preachers took compromise and acculturation because Islam could be more accessible to accept by the indigenous people than the purification applied in Arab (Simuh, 1995; Azra, 2004).

The views regarding the success of Islam preaching in Java due to its cultural approach were also confirmed by Kayam (1989) and Maarif (2009). They explained

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that Islam succeeded in developing Indonesia, especially Java, due to its characteristics: flexible, adaptable, and dialogic. It entered the life of Javanese society through penetration Pacificque. For example, SunanKalijogo held a cultural dialogue in his preaching using WayangKulit (the puppets) accompanied by gamelan. In addition, WaliSongo also created many Javanese songs and poets named *macapat* related to the Islamic concepts. The performance of WayangKulit was adapted from Hindu tradition such as Ramayanana, Krisnayana and Mahabarata. Thus, the indigenous people were closer and based on the old religious values as believed in Hindu.

In line with the views above, the studies from Ricklefs (1994), Hurgronje (1973), and Qurtuby (2003) also confirmed that after they arrived in Java, many Islam traders, Islam teachers, and international professional preachers settled and married with the indigenous people, so the indigenous women would follow their husbands' religion, Islam. The marriage automatically changed their status and social attribute, that was Muslim. By marrying the locals, this was easier to conduct Islamisation in the local areas that they lived which were harmonized by the local tradition of Javanese society systematically (Ali and Efendi, 1986:30). The successful Islamisation through marriage could be called a family factor considered a definite cause of the religious conversion. They were wealthy Muslim traders and entrepreneurs who could easily encourage their families to convert to Islam. Hence, theoretically, the influences of power, leadership, or the strength of political capitals belonging to the Muslim rulers could significantly contribute to the religious conversion in society (Atmadja, 2010). According to the explanation above, it can be concluded that the Islam teachers and Islam traders had firm social capitals during the Islamisation process in Java. The Muslim preachers and traders understood Islam, but they also had qualified finance which was used as significant capital in spreading Islam for Javanese society.

The peaceful preaching models and strategies through cultural aspects then were redeveloped by WaliSongo, which was adaptable and no compulsion in converting to Islam according to Al-Qur'an An-Nahl 12: "Invite (human) to the path of Your Lord through wisdom, good words, and discussion with the good ones. Truly He knows more about anyone who is lost from His path, and He also knows more about the people who are guided." In addition, Qur'an Al- Hujuraat 13 mentioned, "O Mankind, We indeed create you from a man and a woman and make you into nations and tribes to know each other. Surely the noblest one among you is the most devoted one. Allah surely knows everything."

From the 11th century to the 16th century, Muslim trading networks in Java developed rapidly. In contrast, in the 17th century, the trading tradition, primarily Muslim society, started to fall due to the economic and political condition of Sultan Agung in Java which applied the economic centralization policy. He forbade his people to trade across the sea and closed all ports from northern Java (Reid, 2004; Lombard, 2000). The closing of international trading access encouraged the indigenous people and the nobles no longer interested in being traders. International

ports in the northern part of Java which were initially being transit points for the international ships, had to be closed. Consequently, many Javanese people changed their jobs from being traders to farmers.

Trading tradition in Javanese society fell sharply due to the arrival of the western to Java, especially the Dutch. During the Dutch colonization, the trading tradition changed into farming tradition. The Dutch colonial government exploited political domination and its power towards the Javanese people by compelling them to plant the competitive plantation crops yang for the international market (Suhartono, 1989; Wasino, 2008). Concerning this, Nakamura (1983) explained that the massive job transformation in the Javanese society from being traders to farmers increasingly occurred after Diponegoro War in 1825-1830. The Dutch government was bankrupt because its treasures were used to pay Java War. Thus, they exploited people by implementing 'the forced cultivation' by Governor-General Van Den Bosch.

Consequently, the economic change occurred in four Javanese kingdoms, namely Kasunanan Surakarta, Mangkunegaran, Kasultanan Yogyakarta and Pakualaman. This implied that the regional economy of these kingdoms started to change after Diponegoro War due to several elements. First, deeper penetration of European plants (values then sugarcane plantation), (b) the development of transportation network through trains and ports in the northern part of Java, such as Semarang and Surabaya, (c) the rapid population growth between 1830-1900 (Nakamura, 1983). In the 19th century, the Dutch government carried out massive exploitation of the local plants traded and being only commodities sold to Europe. Clifford Geertz named the negative impact from this exploitation as 'agricultural involution'. Tesa in Geertz was then refuted by Wasino (2008), who argued that 'agricultural involution' did not occur in all areas in Java. This was proved by the regions belonging to Mangkunegaran municipality in Java were prosperous because the agricultural sectors were managed to provide sufficient needs for all people. Mangkunegoro IV was one of the central figures behind the success story above. He was known as a king with high business and modern minds (Wasino, 2008; Wasino, 2012; Birsyada, 2016). Mangkunegaran broke down the old Javanese traditions, but he also revived the trading tradition of the Javanese society, which had initially declined at that time.

C. Sufism Tradition in Java

Culturally, it could not be denied that the development of Sufism thoughts in Java had a powerful relationship with Sufism thoughts in the Middle East, Persia, and India. These thoughts were influenced by *tarekat* Qadariyah sect from Syekh Abdul Qadir Jaelani and *tasawuf* from Imam Abu Hamid Muhammad Al Ghazali ath-Thusiasy-Syafii. Even though in the following development, several tarekat sects such as Sadzaliyah, Khalwatiyah, Syatariyah, and Samaniyyah were carried out by tarekat preachers that were sourced by the Middle East. One of tasawuf books which became references for Sufi followers was *BidayatulHidayah* and *Ihya'*

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Ulumuddin by Syekh Imam Al-Ghazali. Other books were Al- Hikam book by Syekh Ibnu Athoillah As-Sukandari, Futuhat Al-Makiyyah and Fusus Al-Hikam by Syekh Akbar Ibnu Al-Araby. The primary purpose of learning *tasawuf* was the soul purification "*tazkiyatunnafs*", so humans could meet a God "wushul." The people who carried out the practice were called Sufi. Al-Qur'an explained that in Al'Ala verses 14-15, which meant "Surely the lucky people were those who cleanse themselves (with faith). And they remember their God's name, then pray."

The students (Salik) were mainly guided by the spiritual teachers, "murshid", to take extended learning and challenging practice in various levels (*maqom*). Due to achieving soul purification: *maqam taubat*, *maqam 'wara'*, *maqam 'zuhud'*, '*maqam fakir*', '*maqam sabar*', '*maqam tawakkal*' and '*maqam ridha*'. In studying and practicing *tasawuf*, the students learned and stayed for a long time in pesantren (Islamic boarding houses), where the spiritual teachers taught. Additionally, the newcomer scholars from other countries came to Java to be preachers, and most of them were Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Sunni) followers.

Historically, the development of Sufism in Indonesia, especially in Java, was influenced by the Indonesian scholar networks in the 17th and 18th centuries who articulated Islam teachings with the local values during Islamisation (Azra, 2004). These scholars strongly influenced the Javanese society related to the scholar networks in the Middle East (Azra, 2004; Sokheh, 2011; Aziz, 2013). Furthermore, if traced historically, the Sufism thoughts in Java in the fifth century were also practiced by Islam preachers, such as WaliSongo, especially in Java, Sunan Kalijogo. The Javanese mystical traditions were taught from Sufism and then became a distinguishing feature of Islam in Java and the Middle East, especially Morocco (Geertz, 1971). Thus, according to several historians, the development of *tasawuf* in Java was carried out by the spiritual teachers who were more applied to Sufism. Drewes (1983:341), for example, assumed that the spiritual teachers established the Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) and taught Islamic doctrines which were esoteric. The esoteric Islam then formed a principle about Javanese Sufism, and in practice, it introduced mystical thoughts (Geertz, 1971; Simuh, 2002).

During the first period of Islam development in Java, the cultural preaching carried out by WaliSongo adopted *tasawuf* values and then was adapted to Javanese cultural ethics (Geertz, 1971; Birsyada, 2016). Therefore, through this process, the Islam thoughts in Java encountered indigeneity (*pribumisasi*). Culturally, the development of Sufism in Indonesia was influenced by the Islam scholar networks, which were able to construct a unity between Islam and local values through Islamisation or, mainly, *santrinisasi* (be a Muslim student) (Azra, 2004; Azra, 2013). The charismatic scholars who had an authority towards Islam interpretations in Java had a relationship with the scholar networks in the Middle East. These scholars had been influenced and carried out various Sufism practices. Hence, Islam thoughts and *tasawuf* could be quickly internalize to their students everywhere, especially Java. In short, charismatic scholars' power was significant and integrated to the internalization of Sufism values in Indonesia.

According to Azra (2013), Islamisation in Java was influenced by the cultural construction of pesantren. The mystical and syncretic synthesis characteristics were more highlighted in the early period of Islamisation. Sultan Agung, who asked for the title Khalifatullah Zillullah fil Ardhi from Mecca, could be shown the syncretic one. However, on the other hand, he still affirmed to believe the astral creatures, such as Nyai Roro Kidul, the ruler of the southern sea, and other supernatural animals. Even in the Grebeg Maulud and Selametan traditions, syncretic values of Islam teachings and Kejawen were still extreme (Rickelfs, 2001; Woodward, 2004; Kersten, 2013).

With regard to the description above, Howell (2001) argued that Sufi tradition in the world was a development of a sharia-based Muslim society. Meanwhile, Geertz (1971) stated that the thoughts of Sufism tradition in Indonesia, especially Java in the 15th century had been practiced by Islam preachers such as Wali Songo, especially Sunan Kalijogo. Sufism tradition in Java then became a distinguished style of Islam in Java and Middle East, especially Middle East. Based on Sulanam (2013), Sufism tradition and Islam mystical teachings in Indonesia were much influenced by tarekat networks from Middle East such as: Syatariyah, Syadzaliyah, Qadariyah, Sammaniyah, Khalwatiyyah and Naqshabandiyyah. Meanwhile, in Java, Sufism tradition since 15th century was dominated by Javanese mystical teachings, for instance, Sunan Kalijogo practiced *topo*, *laku* which actually meant *tafakkur* and *i'tikaf* in order to get closer to God.

According to Steenbrink (2013), the relationship pattern between Islam and other believers such as Hindu-Buddhist in Java had been created since Majapahit era. This was harmonious, so this was reasonable if cultural acculturation existed in both religions, even in the religious values. Tasawuf thoughts then developed rapidly from the 17th to 19th century. It only grew in the coastal santri group, but it also in the priyayi (noble) group of the royal family in Java. This is due to the fact that the royal family studied not only the government system and literature, but they also learned Islam when they were young from their teachers who studied tasawuf.

The implication of developing tasawuf thoughts in Java was the prominent style of mystical Islam rather than the shariah Islam. Mystification was an objectification by the preachers, so the doctrine values of Islam were able to articulate with the local wisdom as its external factor. Then, the anthropologists often called it 'syncretism'. The historical journey showed that the objectification process and internalization of Sufism values in practice were not only carried out by the preachers, in this case santri (the Muslim students) who were in the pesantren tradition in Java. Priyayi, or the high Javanese aristocratic class, also reconstructed the Sufism values and thoughts with the local cultural values. In the 19th century, KGPAA Mangkunegoro IV was a Javanese aristocrat who succeeded in constructing the Javanese Sufism tradition through Javanese literature. The results might be seen from the literature written by KGPAA. Mangkunegoro IV, one of them was *Serat Wedatama*. Sufism spirit of Mangkunegoro IV could be seen through

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Catur Sembah teachings, namely SembahRogo, SembahKalbu, SembahJiwo and SembahRoso which contained Javanese Sufism values (Sulistyo, 2016; Birsyada, et al, 2017).

Why was *KGPAA*. Mangkunegoro IV considered as one of the Javanese aristocratic figures who succeeded in constructing Javanese Sufism thoughts? This was due to the fact that culturally, the aristocratic family tradition in Java had been obeyed a rule that the aristocratic descendant or trah had been confirmed by a tradition as a noble class (priyayi), or this was categorized Ksatria caste based on Hindu-Buddhist social castes. Hence, the Javanese aristocrats were considered taboo if their occupations were traders at that time and taught Islam which was outside the Javanese traditions (Wasino, 2014; Birsyada, 2016; Birsyada, et al, 2017). Furthermore, if their descendants were correlated to the kinship relations, especially the royal family (Kartodirdjo, dkk, 1987:7), the implication of social attributes could not extremely be acceptable by custom if someone who had a nobility status, especially from the royal family, shifted his job as a trader or an Islam teacher. The priyayi (nobles) position as the royal elites who decided to be a preacher deviated certainly from their social role as Javanese nobles.

Based on Kuntowijoyo (1991), cultures that developed in the Javanese nobility (kepriyaiyan) tradition was a patron and client tradition, which was the relationship between a master and his servant. Priyayi in the Javanese tradition, was in a superior position while kawula and abdidalem as his superordinates. However, in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Javanese nobles (priyayi) had been cornered due to one factor, religion political power. This position caused the royal elites to face the might of lower classes, scholars, and pesantren along the northern coast of Java (Joebagio, 2012). Finally, the incident of GegerPecinan had to force Sri Pakubuwono II to divide his territories with the Dutch colonial government and the Sultanate Yogyakarta and then ended in Giyanti agreement (Ricklefs, 1974; Remmelink, 1990; Joebagio, 2015). This incident then led to the Diponegoro War, and the position of the Javanese elites and their family was suffered by the lower classes which santri, priyayi and abangan joined forces against the colonial power and its allies.

Whereas Javanese tradition highlighted the patterns of kinship relationship and lineage (Soekanto, 2004; Koentjaraningrat, 2007). Even the kinship relationship between priyayi and the royal family could be intensified when they were in the centre of elite circles as a centre of micro and macrocosm (Soeratman, 1989). Hence, the palace was decorated as grand as possible to show a great impression and luxury (Pamberton, 2003) through a series of annual rituals such as SedekahBumi and GerebegMaulud (Woodward, 2004).

Practically, the Javanese Sufism thoughts also could be found in the classical Javanese literatures such as Serat Ling Lung by SunanKalijogo, SulukMalangsumirang by SunanGeseng, Babad Tanah Jawi by Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwonoke-III, kitab Al Ary Al-Muwahidin by SyekhMutamakinKajen, SeratWulang Reh by Sri Pakubuwonoke-IV, SeratWiridHidayatJati by R.Ng. Ronggowarsito, SeratWedatama by KGPAA. Sri Mangkunegoroke-IV and

BabadJakaTingkir by Sri Pakubuwonoke-VI. For example, Babad Tanah Jawi, BabadJakaTingkir, Serat Siti Jenar, and WiridHidayatJati were written by the authors to show the symbiotic relationship between Sufi and Kejawen thoughts, that was ManunggalingKawuloGusti (Simuh, 1988; Resi, 2007; Birsyada, 2016). Javanese Sufism values depicted in the story of Babad Tanah Jawi seemed magical, sacred, and mystical. Javanese Sufism based on the historical records more accommodated the Islamic mystical tradition as a manifestation of Indonesians towards Islam teachings carried out by the scholars who were believed in tasawuf (Simuh, 1995; Azra, 2004).

From various teachings, the most substantial Javanese Sufism teaching was called ManunggalingKawulo Lan Gusti (Laksono, 1985; Jatmiko, 2005; Resi, 2007; Birsyada, 2016). From the historical roots, *ManggunalingKawulo* and *Gusti* were influenced by *tarekat* tradition in the Middle East sourced from Syekh Akbar Ibnu Al Araby and Syekh Abu Abdullah Husain bin Mansur al-Hallaj. They developed a theoretical concept of *wihdatulwujud* or unity between servants and God. The controversial figure, Wali, who created this concept in Java was Syekh Siti Jenar. Meanwhile, Sufism teaching from KGPA. Mangkunegoro IV was seen from the theology perspective; it tended to show tasawuf education by Imam Al-Ghazali. These teachings could be seen from SeratWedatama which taught teachings called CaturSembah namely SembahRogo, SembahKalbu, SembahJiwo and SembahRoso (Mangkunegara IV, 1926; Ardhani, 1988; Birsyada, et, al, 2017). Several anthropologists often named the adaptation process of Islamic and Javanese values syncretism (Rickelfs, 2001; Woodward, 2004; Kersten, 2013). Moreover, some anthropologists also believed that syncretism was created due to the attitudes and ethics of Javanese society, which were open and flexible in accepting new cultures from outside Indonesia. These perspectives theoretically could be understood because through the socio-historical process, Islam in Java had been much mixed with the local tradition, especially in the mystical things from k Hindu-Buddhist influence (Geertz, 1983; Rickelfs, 1994; Hurgonje, 1973; Qurtuby, 2003; Ali dan Efendi, 1986:30; Wertheim, 1999: 155).

During the 19th century, the scholars' internalization of Sufism values was conducted through literature media or 'the yellow books' that they wrote. This could be understood because, in 1884, various books written by the Middle East scholars in Arabic were massively printed in Mecca. Some books were also published in Malay. The development of printing books was related to the internationalization of Islam reform through literacy. The progress of literacy was followed by the scholars in Java who wrote a number of books themed *tasawuf*. Sunarwoto (2008), for example, studied the influence of Syakh Abd- Al Hamid Kudus's thoughts in the traditional Javanepesantren (Islamic boarding schools).

According to Sunarwoto (2008), Syakh Abd-alHamid 1863-1915 wrote approximately 20 books in Arabic as a guide to the Islam students in Mecca, and some were about *ushulfiqh*, ethics, *tasawuf*, *fiqh*, Arabian poems, hagiography. These books also became references for the traditional pesantren (Islamic boarding houses) in Java until now. In addition, to create networks with the scholars in Java,

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Syakh Abd-Al Hamid Kudus also created networks with several scholars and students in the Middle East. These networks were with Hijaz and Hadramaut scholars. Syakh Abd- Al Hamid finally believed in *tarekat* Sammaniyyah sect.

Whereas in the study by Sokheh (2011), In'amuhazzidin (2012), and Aziz (2013), the results showed that the internationalization of Sufism values in Java was through several books by Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang 1820-1903 in Javanese and Arab *Pegon* fonts. Kiai Saleh Darat Semarang had 14 books. One of them themed tasawuf was Matan Al-Hikam which was the third summary of Al- Hikam book by Ibn Atho'ilahAssukandari, and Munjiyat book, which was the excerpt of Ihya'Ulumuddin book by Imam Al-Ghazali Chapter III and IV. Tasawuf books by Kiai Saleh Darat became references to pesantrensalaraf in Java until now. According to the description above, this could be concluded that tawasawuf tradition, which developed at that time, was sourced from Imam Al- Ghazali and Ibn Atho'ilahAssukandari's thoughts. In addition to Kyai Saleh Darat, there were two crucial Javanese scholars in spreading Sufism traditions, namely Syekh Muhammad Kholil bin Abdul Latif bin HamimBangkala Al-Maduri from Madura and Syekh Imam Nawawi Al-Bantani from Banten. Two of his students later will become great scholars as to the founders of an Islamic organization in Indonesia, namely Kyai Hasyim Asyari, who established the *Nahdhatul Ulama* organization, and Kyai Ahmad Dahlan, who established the *Muhammadiyah* organization.

D. Conclusion

Based on the explanations above, several things can be summarized: First, Islam first entered Indonesia in the 7th century through trading activities in Sriwijaya. Islam entered Java in the 11th century by trading, and one example was in Gresik, East Java. This might be proved by the site of tombs Fatimah Binti Maimun in Leran Gresik. Several traders who entered and traded in Java came from foreign countries, such as India, Middle East, Turkey, Persia dan China. They not only sold goods, but they also spread Islam. They settled and married the indigenous people, so their descents followed the teachings of Islam. In the 14th century, several preachers from the Samarakand area were central figures in spreading Islam in Java, such as SyekhJumadiKubro, Syekh Maulana Ishaq, and Syekh Ibrahim Asmaraqandi. Their preaching then was continued by the charismatic figures, namely WaliSongo, through a cultural approach. Some of them were the followers of tarekat, such as tarekat Qadariah from Syekh Abdul Qadir Al-Jaelani. In addition to spreading Islam, they also applythe doctrine of tasawuf teachings, which most of them were initially from tasawuf Imam Al-Ghozali. The acculturation concept between Islam values and local Javanese tradition carried out by WaliSongo developed rapidly, especially in the northern coast of Java. The pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) centers that they were established were spread in various areas, such as Ampel Surabaya, Gresik, Tuban, Demak, Kudus, and Cirebon.

Secondly, the rapid development of Islam believers in Java was supported by the preacher networks who had relations with the scholars in the Middle East.

Regarding to some tarekat, Sufism developed in Java were Qadariyah, Khalwatiyah, Sammaniyah, Naqsabandiyah, Sadzaliyah and Syatariyah. Several references of the Middle East Scholars who Sufism followers believed in Java were Syekh Imam Al-Ghazali, Syekh Abdul Qadir Al-Jaelani, Syekh Ibnu Athoillah Assukandari, Syekh Ibnu Al-Araby, Syekh Imam Al-Hallaj, Syekh Imam As-Sadzali. Hence, it could be explained that Islam teachings developed in Java were influenced by Sufism doctrines and education, then adapted to the values and traditions of local people who were adaptable and flexible.

Thirdly, spreading Islam and Sufism thought in Java was also carried out by the aristocratic nobles. Some of them were Sri Mangkunegoro IV, Sri Pakubuwono IV, Rng. Ronggowarsito, Sultan Hamengkubuwono III. The media used were *Mocopat* songs, Serat and Suluk. In the 19th century, the Sufism tradition in Java continued to develop rapidly. Many scholars in Java studied in the Middle East then came back to Java to form Sufism basis in the pesantren (Islamic boarding houses) they established. Some of them were Syakh Abd-Al Hamid from Kudus, Syekh Saleh bin Umar from Semarang, Syekh Muhammad Kholil from Bangkalan Madura and Syekh Imam Nawawi Al- Bantani from Banten.

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2.

A Short Account of Nine-Domed Mosques of Bengal

*Khoundkar Alamgir

Abstract

It is true that Bengal had an architectural heritage before the Muslims came in the sub-continent. But after the conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji Bengal architecture became cosmopolitan and innovative. The Muslim immigrants brought many new forms, techniques and traits in architecture. A blending of Islamic and indigenous elements has been found. There are two types of architecture in Sultanate or Pre-Mughal Bengal: Religious and Civil. In this article only one category of religious buildings will be discussed. It is nine-domed mosques. These are multi-unit square type buildings. No example of such buildings has been found in Bengal prior to the Muslim period.¹ Though multiplication of single unit plan of temples has been suggested as its origin, extraneous influence has also been accepted.²

This type of mosques is considered to be Friday congregational mosques.³ Earliest example of its kind is found in the western side of Adina mosque at Hazrat Pandua, West Bengal, India.⁴ It has been considered by some scholars as a tomb and others as a chamber leading to the Ladies' Gallery inside the mosque. Any nine domed mosque in West Bengal, India is yet to be found. In this paper a comparative study will be attempted to show different architectural methods, styles and other features.

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1. Kasba Allahr Masjid at Gaurnadi, Barisal, mid. 15th century

Fig. 1 Facade of Kasba mosque, Gaurnadi, Gournadi, Baris

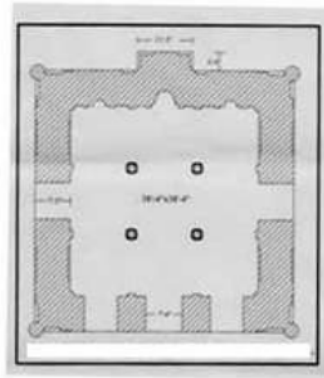


Fig. 2 Ground Plan of Kasba Mosque, (Courtesy: Department of Archaeology, Government of Bangladesh)

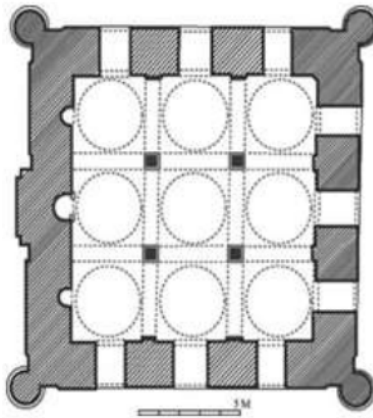
Barisal (Photo: author) This nine-domed square mosque of Sabi Khan was built in mid. 15th century in the Khan Jahani style. A. H. Dani states that though the mosque was built in the 15th century, a nearby road was built by Sabi Khan in early 16th century.⁵ It is situated in the village of Kasba, mauza Bara Kasba, Upazila Gaurnadi, District Barisal. It stands on the Barisal-Dhaka highway 3.5 km to the north of Gaurnadi Upazila head quarters. It has four round turrets at the four corners of it. The central *mihrab* is projected westward. It has three doorways on the east and one each on the north and south. It has a curved cornice on four sides. Terracotta floral, leafage and geometric designs are found in the spandrels and at the top of the arches. In the interior of the mosque there are four free-standing stone pillars carrying pointed arches and domes above them. There is only one semicircular *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall in the interior and the places of two *mihrabs*

on either side are filled with blind walls. It has been mentioned that it resembles Masjidkur Mosque at Khulna. There is a tank on the east of the mosque. This mosque is enclosed by a low boundary wall with pillars and iron grilles atop.

2. Masjidkur Mosque at Khulna, mid. 15th century



Fig. 3 General View of Masjidkur Mosque at Fig.



4 Ground Plan of Masjidkur Mosque at Khulna, mid. 15th century
(Copyright Banglapedia: Khulna, (mid. 15th century))

This mosque is situated in the village of Masjidkur, P.O. Amadi, Koyra Upazila, District Khulna. It is on the bank of the river Kabodak. It had defensive arrangements and probably some secular buildings nearby.⁶ This is a nine domed square mosque with three entrances each on the north, south and east sides i.e. it has nine entrances in all. There are four round slightly tapering towers at the four corners and they have four round horizontal bands on each of them. A curved cornice is found at the top of the four sides. Considering the style of this mosque it may be conjectured that it was built in the 15th century and is of Khan Jahani style. Originally this mosque was covered with rich terracottas. J. Westland says, "... the walls show in several places the same little circlets traced on the brick which are used to ornament the large

structure near Bagherhat (Bagerhat)”.⁷ There are four free-standing stone pillars in the interior carrying pointed arches and nine domes above them. This mosque recalls the similar characteristic features of the ShaitGunbad mosque at Bagerhat and it is contemporary to that mosque. S. M. Hasan mentions that Kasba mosque, Barisal resembles this mosque in all details and plan.⁸

3. Nine-Domed Mosque at Bagerhat, mid. 15th century



Fig.5 Facade of Nine-Domed Mosque,

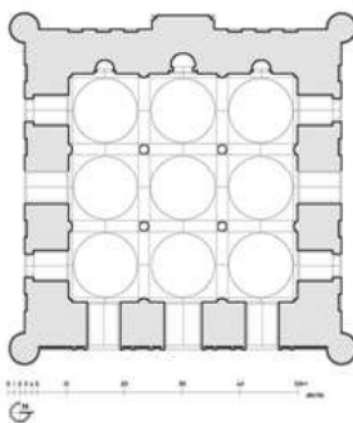


Fig. 6 Ground Plan of Nine Domed Mosque, Bagerhat (15th century A.D.)
(Courtesy: A. S. Mostaque Ahmed)

Bagerhat, Bangladesh, 15th Century A.D

This square mosque of the 15th century is located in mauza Thakurdighi, C.S. Plot no. 31 and in the village of Dighirpur, Shait Gunbad Union Parishad, Bagerhat Upazila and in the District of Bagerhat. It has three openings each on the north, south and east sides. It is covered by nine hemispherical domes. There are three

semicircular terracotta *mihirabs* in the *qibla* wall. The central *mihrab* is larger and is projected to the west. There are four round turrets with bands at regular intervals at the four corners of the mosque. The curved cornice at the top of the four walls of this mosque is very prominent. Muhammad Abdul Bari observes, "Below the lower cornice band runs a thin recessed panel ornamented with a frieze of half mat-patterns of Persian derivation".⁹ This mosque measures 49'-9" X 49'-6½" externally without the corner towers.

Muhammad Abdul Bari further observes,

These recessed panels rise almost up to the lower cornice band and with somewhat in engrailed pointed top. This engrailed pointed top is an unusual feature in Bengal architecture and may be compared with the similar wall recesses of the north domed chamber of the *Masjid-i-Jami* at Isfahan (1088) and of the *Hydariya madrasah* at Qazvin (early 12th century). This may be taken as an example of Persian influence on Bengal architecture.¹⁰

There were lozenge designs at the apex of the arches and rosettes at the spandrels.

4. Satoir mosque, Boalmari, Faridpur (A.D. 1493-1517):¹¹



Fig. 8 Satoir Shahi mosque, Boalmari,



Fig. 9 Eastern facade of Laldighi mosque, Rangpur, late 17th /early 18th century

Faridpur. View from the south.

(Courtesy: M. Ataur Rahman, Regional Director,
Department of Archaeology, Dhaka)

This nine-domed square mosque is situated in Satoir Bazar, Boalmari Upazila, district Faridpur. It is 6 km north of Boalmari Upazila head-quarter on the Faridpur-Boalmari road. It was built during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1517). In spite of the renovation work and a two-storeyed structure on its east this mosque has not lost its importance. This was an abandoned mosque. But it was traced at the beginning of the 20th century and repaired by the local people. It has not yet been protected by the department of Archaeology, Government of Bangladesh. This mosque measures 17.8m square externally and 13.8m square internally. Originally it was entered by three openings each on the north, south and east. But at present there are windows on the north and south sides. Domes of this mosque are carried by four octagonal stone pillars in the interior and twelve pilasters in the walls. Beneath the four corners of each there are pendentives formed of bricks placed edgewise and cornerwise alternately in horizontal courses. Some of the pendentives are plastered. There are three *mihhrabs* in the *qibla* wall. The central *mihhrab* is larger than the *mihhrabs* on the north and south. These *mihhrabs* were bordered by rectangular frames. At present the frame of the central *mihhrab* is plain. The *mihhrabs* have horizontal rows of terracotta designs above them.

Two mosques of Mughal period may be described below:

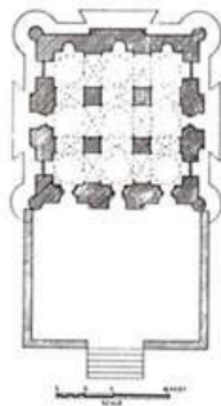
5. Laldighi Mosque, Rangpur (Late 17th century/early 18th century):¹²

(Figs.9-10)

This nine domed square mosque is situated near Mugacha Bazar under Badarganj Upazila of Rangpur district. The mosque stands on the western bank of a large tank. It is built on the western half of a masonry plinth. The plinth area is 3' feet high and it measures 56' eastwest X 33' northsouth. The mosque proper is a square of about 31'-3" externally and 22'-6" internally. The whole is placed within an enclosure wall with a renovated gateway on the east. The plinth area on the east was used as an open court like other Mughal mosques of Bengal. The interior has nine square bays with a dome on each of them. These domes are supported by four brick pillars. Beneath the four corners of the domes there are Bengal pendentives formed by bricks placed edgewise and cornerwise in alternate horizontal courses. There are three *mihhrabs* in the *qibla* wall in the interior corresponding the entrances on the east. There are three openings each on the north, south and east of the mosque. One opening each on the north and south is used as entrances and two openings each on these sides are used as windows with brick grilles. All the *mihhrabs* and entrances have multi-cusped arched facing. But the windows are plain. Above each of the five doorways of this mosque is a semi-dome similar to Persian *iwans*. Middle portions each on the north, south and east are projected to the outside. These frontons are flanked by slender turrets. These turrets rise above the parapets.

This mosque was built by one Iwar Khan whose identity has not yet been ascertained. It was probably built in the latter half of the seventeenth century or first half of the eighteenth century. A. B. M. Husain and M. A. Bari consider this mosque to be the solitary example of a nine-domed mosque of the Mughal period. But other scholars mention Dharampur mosque, Naogaon to be another example of the Mughal period.

6. Dharampur Mosque, Naogaon (A.D. 1699-1700?):¹³



This nine domed square mosque is situated in the village of Dharampur, Upazila Niamatpur, district Naogaon. Another building nearby has been mentioned as a kutchery of the Mughal period for collecting taxes.¹⁴ This mosque measures 43' northsouth X 40' eastwest externally and 37' northsouth X 34' eastwest internally.¹⁵ It has three doorways on the west and one doorway each on the north and south. Four square brick pillars in the interior carried nine domes atop. But at present it has no dome. It has been learnt that these domes fell in c. 1980. It has four octagonal corner towers at the four corners with cupolas atop. It has three *mihirabs* in the interior but the side *mihirabs* are not so prominent. The mosque gives a two storeyed view from outside. This mosque is plastered both in the inside and outside. It has panels and hut-roof decorations on the walls. It has been learnt that it had four inscriptions fixed on it. Mosharaf Hossain of the department of Archaeology took three of them to Paharpur Archaeological Museum (accession nos. 791-93). But those have been transferred to Khulna Divisional Museum, department of Archaeology afterwards. (Accession nos. 82, 83 and 84). The remaining one gives the date of construction as A.D. 1699-1700.¹⁶ At present the mosque contains no inscription. In plan and decoration this is an exceptional mosque of Bengal and hence deserves much attention.

Conclusion: After the Sultanate period two examples of nine domed mosques of the Mughal period have been found. But this plan continued in Mughal tomb architecture and in Hindu temples of Bengal. Muhammad Abdul Bari observes, “In plan and other details nine domed mosque resembles the square nine domed mausoleum of Sikandar Shah beside the Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, the first known example of the style in Bengal”. A. S. M. Ahmed observes, “The Haji Piyada mosque at Balkh and the Sharif Tabataba shrine at Cairo resemble closely the nine domed mosques in Bengal. Haji Piyada mosque, also known as Masjid-i-Tarikh, is the oldest nine-domed mosque of Islam.

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3.

China's Interests In Central Asian Energy Resources

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Abstract

China's economic advancement is significant in current world scenario. On the other hand, Central Asia has emerged as one of the most prominent energy supplying states located in the geographical proximity of China. The study intends to highlight the significance of Central Asian energy resources, the kind of policy China has adopted to penetrate in the region. China focused on establishing problem free stable relations with all five states during the first decade of their establishment as independent states. In the first decade of new century, China is seen to have executed its energy policy in Central Asia and the study will analyze the policy steps taken by them and their success level.

Key words : Central Asian E-nergy, China's Economic Boom.

Introduction

China shares long history with the Central Asian region. The region is marked with rich cultural exchanges and trade relations throughout the history but it was only after the disintegration of the Soviet Union when for the first time independent, equal and mutually beneficial relations between China and Central Asian newly

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independent states started. The close cooperation emerged in 1990s is establishing sound foundations during the decade and boomed in 21 st century. Today, China has emerged as one of the most powerful states in the world, despite this status its dependence on Central Asian states regarding their hydrocarbon resources and geostrategic location is significant in contemporary global politics. China shares its borders with three Central Asian states, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and its longest border of 1700 kilometres, is with Kazakhstan. The significance of Central Asia for China was acknowledged and expressed by General Liu Yazhou of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) in the words that, "Central Asia is the thickest piece of cake given to modern Chinese by the heavens."

China proclaims that its relations with Central Asia are based not only on joint problems and mutual interests but also in the fear of external intervention and domination. (Swanstrom, 2005) The analysts in the field emphasize on the argument that the major driving force behind China's enduring relations with Central Asia is Chinese need for energy security.

China's Advancement in the Region during First Decade of Independent Establishment (1991-2000) : The establishment of independent states of Central Asia was an event of profound interest as China shares borders with three of five Central Asian states. But in the beginning Beijing, like Russia, was not prepared to create any sphere of influence to gain its national interests. Moreover, Chinese leadership did not give any gesture that they are in competitive relationship with Russia. However, China keenly observed United States and other western countries expanding economic presence in the region and the resultant implications they could produce over China's future engagement in the region. China's advancement in all the states was rather slow and steady; they were more concerned about preparing grounds for future extended and lasting cooperation.

The formation of Central Asian states raised security concerns in China by increased demand of separate state by Uyghur and other Turkic Muslims who lived in the bordering states of China. In early 1990s those separatist groups enjoyed strong support by Kazakh and Kyrgyz nationalists groups but that was sharply curtailed by the governments of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan after they were pressured strongly by Chinese government to do so. China strongly imposed that all the separatist Uyghur groups are terrorists and they were blamed for 1997 bombings in Urmachi. After that incident all Central Asian governments began to agree with Chinese claim and none of their leaders wanted armed groups living on their soil. (Olcott, 2005: PP. 62-63)

Another important development was the formation of Shanghai Five in 1996 by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The organization today is called Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) but at that time it was formed for the purpose of confidence-building measures and the demarcation of Sino-Soviet border. The states with China were involved in tough negotiations through 1998, as the result of complex procedure Kazakhstan China borders was completed in 1999 while Kyrgyz-Chinese border was not finalized until May 2002. (Olcott,

2005: PP. 63-64)

In terms of energy sector, Chinese government is seemed to have calculated their long term interests in the region. In 1997, Chinese National Petroleum Company (CNPC) won tender and 60 percent stake in two oil fields in Kazakhstan. They also committed to build a \$ 9.6 billion pipeline but later on the project was scaled down to less than \$ 200 million in 2001. (Olcott, 2005: P. 65) From that time on, China's role in the Central Asian energy sector has increased steadily.

Both Central Asia and China shared a common interest of shifting transit trade routes away from Russia and for this purpose China was always ready to allow Central Asian states to use their highways, railroads system and ports. Throughout 1990s highway connections between China and Central Asia remained under discussion and several proposals were put into practice. For example, in 1995 a four party trade agreement was signed between China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Pakistan that also include the upgrades of Karakorum Highway. Similarly in 1996 another upgrade design was launched to make highway functional throughout the year. In February 1998, an automobile agreement was signed between China, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, intending to complete upgrades on highway by October 1998. In September 1998 Tajikistan president opened a 54 kilometers broad-gauge railway that will link up with Karakoram Highway. (Olcott, 2005: PP. 65-66)

Therefore, in the beginning from transport to any other areas of cooperation, China's relation with Central Asian states was laying in the foundation for future closer ties. China adopted the wait and see attitude giving time to Central Asian states in order to improve their economic conditions before involving in any sort of extended role in the region's geopolitics.

China's Energy Security : The 1973 oil crisis disturbed the balance at global level, it created huge economical and political instability in all the major oil importing states. At that time International Energy Agency was established for the very first time and that defined the concept of energy security in terms of oil supply and oil prices. Since that time the world scenario has changed dramatically, new markets have emerged and fluctuation in oil prices is unpredictable and rapid. (Zhang, 2011) As far as China is concerned, energy security was not the primary agenda for several decades. That was until 1990s that the state's major energy resource was coal due to which economic development was very weak. China's oil self sufficiency ended in 1993, when it started importing oil for its domestic consumption but that was much later in 1990s when the vital importance of the concept of energy security came to their grip. Following the rapid economic growth, China's energy consumption reached to record heights in small duration of time. In 2008, China became second largest consumer of oil after USA and third largest importer of oil in the world. (Zhang, 2011)

Currently, China imports fifty percent of its total oil consumption from foreign sources and its major import source is Middle East. This huge consumption and import ratio has made energy security a major concern for today's China. China

has its own 20.4 billion barrel of domestic proved oil reserves which is only 1.2 percent of world's total reserves while it is facing serious problems of lack of sufficient strategic petroleum reserves, severe pollution conditions, rising domestic energy prices, fluctuations in global energy prices and shortages of electricity and water. (Lee, 2012) In the light of these challenges, Chinese national oil companies began to fill these gaps in domestic oil demands from global oil markets in 1997 and they reached a peak after 2001 when China acceded to WTO. (Zhang, 2011)

Later on the global financial crisis has not only increased China's demand for imported energy resources but this also increased the trend of outward foreign direct investment in energy sector. Due to this trend International Energy Agency has predicted that there will be 60 to 70 percent increase in China's foreign energy demand by the year 2015. (Lee, 2012) In the light of these predictions, analysts raise questions like whether China's rapid growth is economically, socially and politically sustainable or if China's energy demand will displace other countries energy needs and exhaust global energy resources. Therefore, one can reach on conclusion that as a major consumer in today's globalized world in which domestic policies are inseparable from foreign policies; China's energy security policy will have significant impact on global politics among states. (Zhang, 2011)

The Development History of China's Oil Industry

Phase 1: 1978 - 1992 Self-reliance and self-sufficiency are the key objectives of energy policy. The National Development and Reform Commission is founded and placed in charge of the energy sector. State owned enterprises can access limited foreign markets.

Phase 2: 1993-1999 Production of oil can no longer meet domestic demand. Government starts to conduct reform to increase competitiveness of the State-owned enterprises SOEs. Enterprises start to seek oil in foreign markets.

Phase 3: 2000- 2008 "Go global" starts to become the main slogan and government encourages firms to go abroad. China's accession to WTO further increases domestic business competition. State-owned enterprises and private firms expand their business worldwide.

Phase 4: 2008-present "Go abroad and buy," is the response to the financial turmoil that began in 2008, and hastened China's investment expansion at the global level. China's investment in resource and energy sectors has increased dramatically.

Source: Zhang, J. (2011). China's energy security: Prospects, challenges, and opportunities. The Brookings Institution, Retrieved from http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2011/7/china_energy_zhang/07_china_energy_zhang_paper.pdf

China's Pursuit of Central Asian Energy Resources : China's demand for energy resources has naturally driven it towards Central Asian region. The geographical proximity of many states with China has made them most convenient

options for importing crude oil and gas. The region was no longer part of Soviet Russia and far from the influence of U.S. military presence, strong enough to counter China's massive land power. Another important factor that makes Central Asian energy most appealing for China is no need of across ocean transportation. Strait of Hormuz and Strait of Malacca are two major routes for energy transportation throughout the world but for China energy supply through both straits is vulnerable due to potential maritime interference by U.S. and Indian navies while transportation through bordering states like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan is the secure most path China can ever get. However, China's quest for energy resources in Central Asia has not gone unnoticed. In fact, U.S. and Russian analysts have observed the situation with concern as their firms have purchased entire fields of gas and oil for exclusive use. (Blank, 2006)

At the same time when China was planning to fulfil its own energy needs, there are many other states in the world that were experiencing increased oil demands to fulfil their own economic development. This scenario created an obvious environment of competition among major energy hungry states as the region is most important to control due to its producer and transit region status. China, on its part started heavy investment in energy sector in the beginning of new century; Kazakhstan in this regard gave China most positive and friendly environment to invest. Some of China's most prominent initial investments in Central Asian energy resources were when China National Petroleum Company bought oil fields of worth \$5 billion in Kazakhstan. Moreover, various construction agreements of worth \$9 billion were finalized with Kazakhstan. On March 12, 2003, China Petroleum Corporation (Sinopec Corp.) paid \$615 million to British Gas for a stake in an oil and gas field in Kazakhstan and just four days before this deal China's third largest oil company CNOOC bought 8.33% of the British Gas North Caspian Sea Project in same amount. In the following years China Petroleum Corporation invested another \$4 billion in Kazakhstan's oil industry. (Swanstrom, 2005) The trend clearly indicated China's determination of acquiring Central Asian energy resources.

As far as natural gas is concerned, China is making profound progress in Turkmenistan. In just two and a half year China National Petroleum Company (CNPC) built 2200 km Central Asia Gas Pipeline that starts from Bagtiyyarlik concession in north Turkmenistan passes through Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and ends in China's Xinjiang. (Roberts, 2001) The pipeline was important enough for China that president Hu Jintao went to Karakum desert of Turkmenistan in 2009 to turn symbolic wheel opening the initial 1100 miles pipeline there. Estimates say that if everything goes well at production end, the pipeline will be able to reach its maximum capacity of 40 billion cubic meters per year by 2014. (Roberts, 2001) While Turkmenistan has signed contract to transport gas to China for next 30 years. By this way China has literally grasped the license to develop South Yolotan gas fields one of top three gas fields in the world. (Wong, 2011)

According to Commerce Ministry, statistics indicate that trade between China and five Central Asian states started from \$527 million in 1992 and its was total

\$25 billion in 2009 and the current estimates are even higher. As of most recently in June 2012 summit of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation SCO, China discloses its greatest ambitions of maintaining deeper economic presence in the region by the pledge of infusing loan of \$10 billion in various projects. This step clearly indicates China's desire of remaining main economic partner in Central Asia, more particularly in energy and transit spars. This is evident that over the post-Soviet decade China has got strong hold on Central Asian energy sector. For example, as of today Chinese companies hold a third of Kazakhstan's total energy resources. Moreover, China has also announced an up gradation of Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-China pipeline in November 2011, aiming to achieve 65 billion cubic meters capacity per year. (Shustov, 2012) China's infiltration in the region is getting deeper every next day, another example is of Tajikistan whose current reliance on China has reached a critical level as 40% of its sovereign debt of \$2.1b (33.4 of the national GDP) are the money owed to the Export-Import Bank of China. With the recent deals coming through, the share of Beijing in Tajikistan's indebtedness is going to rise to 70%. (Shustov, 2012) The current figures of their presence in the region show that China is in the most convenient position to gain benefits of region's resources and strategic location.

The inauguration of natural gas pipeline by Chinese premier marked China's dominant influence in the region. The project explained China's successful foreign policy and its growing ties with neighbouring states. It was stated by the president of Turkmenistan, Kurbanguly Berdimukhamedov that "This project has not only commercial or economic value. It is also political. China through its wise and farsighted policy has become one of the key guarantors of global security." (Kucera, 2010)

Up till now China has secured enormous share of Central Asian hydrocarbon resources and this level of advancement is seen with concern by both United States and Russia. This has been recently acknowledged by President Obama's Eurasian energy envoy Richard Morningstar in congressional hearing, he state that, "It's hard for us to compete with China in some of, particularly countries that are little more insular." He further added that, "It's easy for Turkmenistan to make a deal with China, when China can come and say, Hey we are going to write check for X amount of money, and we are going to build a pipeline and furthermore we are going to lend you money so that you can explore and we will be paid back in gas that you ultimately deliver to us." You know that it's not a hard deal to accept and we can't compete in that way. (Kucera, 2010)

Conclusion

China has deep rooted interests in Central Asia. History and geographical proximity make century's old relationship between all Central Asian states and China, as of today it is explained as thickest piece of cake for modern China. So for the statement is proving itself true as China's advancement and economic success in the region is remarkable. Throughout the first decade China's involvement in the region was

steady and directed to lesser strategic aspects. China's primary focus was on the issues like demarcation of borders between newly independent states, and they made sure that new governments are playing constructive role in shutting down support networks of rebellious Uyghurs in China that have anti-Chinese agendas. They extended regional cooperation by the formation of Shanghai Cooperation

Organization. While in the beginning of new century the focus was narrowed down to gain energy security from the region. They endure slowly and successfully and the end of second decade established China as most important and powerful contender of Central Asian energy resources. The opening of Turkmenistan - China pipeline gave China tremendous footing on region's resources, this way China has successfully secured major portion of resources flow towards east and major percentage is now booked for China thus, reducing the share of other major parties interested in region's resources.

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4. Concept of Economic Management In The Arthasastra of Kautilya

*Dr. Md Asrarul Haque

Abstract

Early Indian Economic thought is a field still practically untitled. Our knowledge regarding the contribution and role of a great thinker like Kautilya had obtained for him his due position among the economists of the world.¹ The Arthauâstra a work of importance has been attributed to Kautilya. He was a thinker and a powerful statesman. He was a great economist of his times. We glean from the Arthauâstra(hereafter as AÆ) about the various economic measures related to the welfare of the people of the state. Here it is interesting to note about the observations of Kautilya that “in the happiness of his subjects lies the king’s happiness; in their welfare his welfare. He shall not consider as good only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects”.²

For clear comprehension of Kautilya’s economic thought and apply them judiciously to the present economic scenario, we have to be aware of the essential characteristics of the core content of the AÆ. It speaks of every significant features of early Indian economy, such as, agriculture, mining accomplished by state and private sectors as well as by joint enterprises. Industries and forestry, transport, trade and commerce, taxation, wages, allowance, salaries, social security, replenishment of treasury during emergencies, provision for uniform weights and measurement, fixation of percentage of interest, regularization of market commodities etc.³ Kautilya maintains that if state passes through a deep economic crisis, in that

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situation the king should direct superintendent of the temples to collect the property, money, gold, silvers of the temples and deposit them in the state treasury.⁴ He further tells us that “a person cannot acquire and maintain wealth, who possessed deep faith in astrology”. It is stated that “wealth will pass away from the childish man who constantly consults the stars; for wealth what will the stars do”. Men without wealth do not attain their objects even with hundreds of efforts; objects are secured through objects, as elephants are through elephants set to catch them”.⁵ Thus Kautilya advised the king not to adopt such religious beliefs which put hurdle in the execution of his important programmes and he should not hesitate to prescribe for the deposition of the wealth and property of temples in the state treasury during the grave economic emergency.

Kautilya also points out that concerted efforts of the state are essential to attain growth with stability in the field of state agricultural production. It is further stated that for enriching the state treasury, abundance of harvest was considered absolutely essential. In fact, the attainment of maximum agricultural production was considered as basic requirement for the welfare of the subject and strengthening the state. The *ACE* prescribes that the state should bear in mind the settlement of the agricultural region, which had settled before, or which had not been settled before, by bringing in people from foreign lands or by shifting the overflow of population from his own country.⁶ It also describes that in newly settled villages, agricultural operations were carried through after preparing the waste land. It states that such land worth of cultivation should be settled permanently, and economic burden should not be put on peasants, who cultivated waste land, but they should be provided with cattle and seeds to colonise waste land. It was also kept in mind that local markets were to be founded for the sale of agricultural produces and variation of fertility was to be considered while fixing the taxes on peasantry.⁷ The productivity of piece of land was dependent not merely on its soil, irritability and cultivability, but on its quality of extension, size, situation and accessibility. The *ACE* speaks of certain penalties if some body abstract agricultural operation.

The *ACE* reveals that “unprepared lands shall not be taken away from those who are preparing cultivation”.⁸ The peasant should be provided relief by the state during the famine and other calamities, and they should be provided seeds and provision.⁹ The *ACE* further speaks of exemption from the payment of grain tax for years together, when they had contributed to improvement of infrastructure, such as the construction of new tanks, lakes, roads, etc., repairing neglected or ruined works of similar nature, taxes were remitted for years, for extending or restoring water sources, over-grown with weeds.¹⁰ It speaks volumes about proper arrangement for weight and measures for market places so that peasants could obtain reasonable price of their surplus yield.

Moreover, it also prescribes reasonable relief to debtors, who, due to circumstances over which they had no control, were unable to pay interest over period during which the disability on inability least, Kautilya argued that for non-

Concept of Economic Management In The Arthashastra of Kautilya 31

accumulation of debts were minority of the debtors, illness, stay in the teacher's house (to complete education), engaged in a sacrifice lasting for a considered period and bankrupting or extreme physical infirmity and widow, etc.¹¹

Furthermore, Kautilya insists on a full and flowing treasury for the state by appropriating a large portion of the state revenue for the creation of a reserve fund or treasury, which was not to be touched except on occasion of a grave calamity.¹²

Thus policy of Kautilya on economics is quite understandable when one considers the unstable political condition of the time demanding constant preparedness for war because of constant danger from neighboring state.

Here, it is noteworthy that Kautilya categorizes three types of goals such as spiritual goals, material well-being and sensual pleasure, but he advocated that material well-being alone is supreme, spiritual goals, and sensual pleasure depend on material well-being. Thus, he states, it is wealth not stars, that leads to achievement of any kind.

Bernhard Breloer is of the view that Kautilya an economic planning was necessitated by the very circumstances and factors presented in early India occasioned by climate and nature.¹³ He further argues that there is no trace of such a planned economy in European theories until recent time.¹⁴ His extensive work on Kautilyan planned economy can be negated from the standpoint of modern economics. Kautilya presented virtually as an anticipator of economic planning. This is a serious proposition and eminently opens to challenge and negation. Breloer had been trained in Marxist tradition and ideology, and influenced by Russian and Marxist ethos and ideas. Thus it is inevitable that he would want to compare and trace the idea of Russian planned economy model with that of early Indian Economy (the Mauryan times). The economic planning was indeed in sense such a simple, elementary and human category that almost every individual even of the most primitive times may be said to be an economic planner in so far as he makes provisions for the future.

An analytical survey of *Arthashastra* tells us that some of the Kautilya's economic thought keep relevance in the present day economic scenario. It emphasized to pay proper attention for afforestation. It advocated the adoption of monoculture of some valuable trees species to enrich the forest the monoculture of some valuable trees species to enrich the forest reserve of the country. The *Arthashastra* prescribed for the proper maintenance of recreational forest. Wildlife protection was given due importance, chief credit and marketing was prescribed in order to accelerate the tempo of economic growth. Kautilya suggest the maximum irrigation facility in farming to attain growth with stability, and was in favour of regularized marketing system in the field of agricultural production. Kautilya paid supreme importance to the maintenance of rich treasury, which favorably affected entire activities of the state. In his opinion the augmentation of the treasury depends mainly on abundance of harvest, opulence of industrial production, prosperity of trade and commerce as well as on good economic management. The

Arthashastra prescribed that the dependents of deceased employees of the state, must provided maintenances for those economic security measures adopted by the state keep relevance in the present time.

It was suggested that state must run a diversified economic activity, efficiently, prudently and profitably. The kings were advised to be ever active in the management of economic policy because the root of wealth was economic activity and inactivity brings material distress. Without any active state economic policy, both current prosperity and future gains are destroyed. Thus state should be active in managing the economy because source of material wealth is economic activity. Without it natural well-being is not possible. And kings were advised to maintain a diversified economy, within the limits of the technology available at that time. It is very clearly depicted in *Arthashastra* that *artha* has a much wider significance than merely 'wealth'. The material well-being of an individual was a part of it. As *Arthashastra* in its concluding part depicted that the source of the livelihood of human being is wealth which is both the territory of the state and its inhabitants who may follow a variety of profession. Thus it is the sacred duty of government of a state/nation to maintain the material well-being of the nation and its people.

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5. Constructive Geo Materials Used in Historical Monuments of Medieval Bundelkhand

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Abstract

Building material is any material, which is used for construction purpose. Many naturally occurring substances such as clay, rocks, sand and wood even twigs and leaves, have been used to construct building. Apart from naturally occurring materials many man-made products are in use, some more and some less synthetic.

India possesses a wide spectrum of dimensional stones that include granite, marble, sandstone limestone, state and quartzite spread out all over the country. India is also amongst the largest producer of raw stone material and the sector is acute developed and vibrant in the south as well as in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Bundelkhand in Central India. The present paper reflects the construction Geo material used in historical buildings in medieval Bundelkhand

I

Bundelkhand has been rich in natural resources and geologically. Therefore, the building materials used in architecture have been available in abundance here. Various types of mineral material are readily available in Bundelkhand. The main reason for this is the volcanoes that occurred thousands of millions of years ago in this region.¹ The material used for the architecture include granite, red stone, dolomite, silica, and other types of minerals found naturally in the land here. Therefore, abundant use of the following construction materials can be seen in the historical buildings of Bundelkhand.²

Bundelkhand is a geographical and cultural region and also a mountain range in central and north India. The hilly region is now divided between the states of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, with the larger portion lying in the latter state.³

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Highest peak of Bundelkhand Plateau *Sidhababa hills* (1172 m) constitute the highest peak. The plateau of Rewa and Panna. This is also known as Vindhyan Plateau and lies to the northeast of the Bundelkhand Plateau. The maximum height of the Plateau is 750 m.

The territories of Bundelkhand show a well-marked correspondence between their physical and geological features, a characteristic of all regions that have long been subjected to the simple action of denudation.⁴

Two main formation are met with, which divide Bundelkhand into very different region; one, lying chiefly in the north, consists of a low-lying granitic pl the other in the south of a more elevated tract, in which sedimentary rocks specially sandstones, predominate.⁵

The formations met with in Bundelkhand are-⁶

1. Archaeon.
2. Bijawar.
3. Vindhyan.
4. Lameta
5. Deccan Trap.
6. Laterite.
7. Recent and sub-recent alluvial soil and calcareous tufa.

The oldest formation(1) consist of Bundelkhand gneiss; the Vindhyan rocks form the southern uplands, while the Bijawars(2) intervene between it and the gneiss.⁷ Deccan Trap is met with in the Baxwaho tahsil, and in a few isolated patebes south west of Panna, where it is associated with Laterite (6). Over the whole southern region, Laterite is widely spread, either in compact masses or in flat-topped hills, or as nodules disseminated through the surface soil; occasionally the proportion is so large as to convert the soil into a lateritic gravel.⁸ Alluvium (7) is found in all the border valleys, merging into the gangetic alluvium. The calcareous tufa which are found in river gorges constitute in important formation.⁹

The Bundelkhand gneiss is a typical coarse grained granite consisting of quartz, felspar, (orthoclase chiefly), and hornblende. It is the presence of orthoclase in large, cleavable pink crystals that gives this rock its characteristic appearance. The quartz is a whitish or bluish grey and translucent ; the hornblende is dark in color.¹⁰

The abrupt wall-like ridges of quartz, which traverses the granitic region are a conspicuous feature: that strike north east. The other characteristic of this region is the succession of linear dykes of igneous ridges. They appear to represent a period of volcanic activity contemporaneous with the Bijawar system.¹¹

Similar dykes occur in Southern India associated with diamond –bearing tracts, and may have some genetic relation to these precious stones.¹² Near the Patthar Chouki, on the road from Panna to Shahghat, a series of thin- bedded, faintly-banded quartzose rocks occur, which has hitherto been classed as of the Bijawar system, but which is more probably of the Aravalli class.¹³

The outcrop of sedimentary rocks round Bijawar, of which a considerable portion lies in the state, has been dealt with in detail by *Mr. Medlicott*.¹⁴ These rocks contain a considerable amount of hematite. Owing to the disturbance which these rocks have undergone, the Vindhya rests upon them quite un-conformably.¹⁵

The Vindhya are well represented. Of the lower Vindhya, the Semri division is well exposed in an outcrop at the waterfall at Patther Chouki on the road from Shahghat to Panna.¹⁶ The lowest member of this series is a harsh sandstone often conglomeratic, which rests on the rocks referred to above as being in all probability of the Aravalli series.¹⁷ Above the harsh sandstone is a hard siliceous cherty rock, like and indurated shale, rather than a sandstone overlaid by an indurated quartzitic sandstone, which forms the ledge from which the waterfall tumbles.¹⁸ Other rocks of this formation are the Palkua shales, which are remarkable for a dense black color, that has caused them to be mistaken for coal. In the Valley of the Baghain and Rani a green quartzitic sandstone is found, intensely hard and of a greenish color.¹⁹ Good exposures of Palkua shales occur between Pather Chouki and Bakchor Chouki. Above the shale's lie the Tirowan limestones, which are exposed in the valley of the Barano River.²⁰

The upper Vindhya have been fully dealt with *Mr. Mallet*. These consist of massive beds of first class building stone of fine and even grain, especially well developed in the upper *Kaimur* and Upper Bhandar series.²¹ While the main features are remarkably constant, the subsidiary rocks exhibit considerable local differences. The most interesting of these rocks are the *Kaimur* conglomerates in which the diamonds are found.²²

In the neighborhood of *Baxwaha* only, are volcanic rocks of the Deccan Trap period, met with in any quantity, though the masses of laterite further east shew the large area over which this formation once spread.²³

Below the Trap the Lametas are found, consisting of loose sandstone; remnants of this formation lie round Panna and large masses at Baxwaha.

In the Laterite hills south –west of Panna typical bauxites occur, but could not be profitably worked for aluminum.²⁴

Of recent formations true alluvium exists only in the river beds. Calcareous tufa are deposited by water holding carbonate of lime in solution, and form large masses near waterfalls and other places where evaporation is rapid. The limestone in such formation is of great purity.²⁵

The most important mineral deposit is that of diamonds dealt with elsewhere. Besides these gems, however, the Kaimurs afford some of the finest buildstone in India.²⁶ The color varies from white to pale yellow. At *Khajuraho* it has been used in the old temples. The quarry from which this stone was obtained appears to have been situated in the Jhinna pahar.²⁷

The understanding of medieval India is dependent on various dimensions of the past and the study of medieval structure contributes as one of the major sources of the understanding of the medieval era.²⁸

In India's history dating back to 3200 B.C. has been influenced considerable by the deposition, development and use of stones and other construction materials.²⁹ Dimension stones have also left deep imprints on the architectural heritage of the country.³⁰ Innumerable temples, forts and palaces of ancient India civilization have been carved out of locally available stones. The Taj Mahal at Agra was constructed from India Marble.³¹ Some of the rock-cut structures include Khajuraho temple, Elephanta caves etc. Ancient Buddhist monuments like the *Sanchi Stupa* of third century B.C. have also been carved out of stone.³²

The contemporary writing of the period does not give much information about the technological aspects of building construction. Either they are silent about the building constructed or give the description of the buildings without going into details of their uses or explaining the functionality of the structures. In later history writing, from some sources directly provide information about construction which helps in reconstructing the technology of construction. The author of the *Hidayat-ul-Quwaid* gave the qualifications that were deemed necessary for an efficient *Mir-i-Imarat*.³³ He was required to be aware of the art of construction and also possess a sound knowledge of arithmetic. He was also required to have some technological knowledge as well. Thus he was supposed to know the number of bricks that were needed to construct a house of a certain size, the method of preparing the mortar and the relative quantities of its ingredients.³⁴ Some travelers have also given the information regarding the building construction. They have come to India between the 11th to 13th centuries also made observation about building construction and gave a description of a constructed structure or at times talked about technology of construction.

Ibn- Battuta remarked about the technology and raw materials used in the construction of *Qutb- Minar*, *Quwwat-ul-Mosque* the Iron Pillar in the Sahn of the Mosque and the Shamsi tank.³⁵ European travelers also remarked about the structure, technology and raw materials used in the construction. Palsart noted the white Plaster on the walls of the house and wrote- "They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum and sugar into a thin paste. After the walls are plastered with lime, they apply this paste and rub it with well designed trowels until it is dry shines like alabaster or can even be used as a looking glass."³⁶ *white stones, admirably squared and firmly*

Ibn Batuta also accounted, the cathedral mosque, walls, roof and paving are all constructed of white stones, admirably squared and firmly cement with lead. He remarked seven metals. (Haft-fush) seven metals used a construction of a column. He also remarked a red stone, white marbles, gold and idols brass as a construction materials.³⁷ *Mirat-I-Ahmadi* also accounted for the white stone and lime made out of it. It was used for plaster as well as in stucco work for the walls, fine edifices pleasure house and mausoleum. He wrote about lime looking like a glass after fine polishing.³⁸ Bernier gave a description of the buildings, fortresses and noted the construction of royal edifices which were suited to the climate. He wrote; the streets

of the habitations of Mansabdars, or petty omrahs, officers of justice, rich merchants and others. He remarked the houses built entirely of brick or stone and several are made only of clay and straw, they are airy and pleasant. The clay walls are covered with a fine white lime.³⁹ Other travelers like *Tavernier, Thevenot and Barbosa* referred to structures and construction enabling us to relate it to the usage of different technologies in the structure.⁴⁰ *Abul Fazl* who provided regulations for house building and detailed information's about the raw materials, method of making mortar, plaster, coloring the structure etc. He wrote about the employment of different kinds of people in construction and their wages. He wrote about the construction of Villas, Saria's and imposing towers which afforded excellent protection against cold and rain and provided for the comfort of the princesses travelers and the asylum of poor strangers.⁴¹ Some details of important raw materials uses as a construction of historical buildings of Bundelkhand.

Stone⁴²-Stone in history and Heritage- India , the own country is not only famous for its rich spiritual, cultural heritage and tradition but also for its marvelous historic and heritage sites comprising of facts, temples, mosques and monuments created by the Shiplaps with a conglomerate architect skills and vastu-shilp knowledge. The world famous historic monuments like *Taj Mahal, Hoshangshah Ka Makbara, Baj Bahadur Mahal, Rani Rupmati Mahal, Khajuraho Temples*⁴³ and thousands of other famous historical monuments and sites are the proven record of Indian architecture skill and the magic of Indian stones.⁴⁴

The god gifted India the extensive and decorative stones like Marble, Granite sandstone, limestone, state, Quartzite etc. We are exploring, quarrying, dressing and shaping the stones for ages. The tradition of exploring and shaping in India is turned more systematic and refined from using chisels in ancient time to mechanize and leader in our stone quarrying, mining, shaping and carving tradition.⁴⁵

The tradition of exploring and stone carving - Shilps chiseled the stones and gave them the shape of statues for worship, carved the columns and pillars and delivered them for *ornamentation of temple and places. The stone carving of Khajuraho, Dilwara and Ranakpur* are still a magical architectural wonder.⁴⁶

Bengal Style- The most important features of the Bengal Style of architecture were the use of pointed arches on pillars, Hindus decorative designs and adaptation of Hindu architecture to Islamic art.⁴⁷

The building in Malwa has their own distinct style and occupies a respectable place among the architectural style of prominence during this period.

Temple builders used bricks, sandstone, laterite (Red Clay) and wood as their materials. The ruins that remain are of brick, sand stone and late rite.⁴⁸

Brick- The earliest temples were made mainly of brick good examples are the temple.. Decorations were usually carved into stucco applied to the brick rather than into the brick itself.⁴⁹

Sand Stone- The only stone used by Khajuraho buildings was Sandstone from the quarries of Panna, sand stone only gradually came into use and at first

was used for particular elements as door frames. The tenth century temple of Khajuraho is the first temple to be constructed more or less entirely from sand stone.⁵⁰

Most of the temples at Khajuraho confirm to a basic unity of design with the exception of the *Chauth-Yogini*, (Swati Mitra, *Op. Cit*; P-66) Brahma⁵¹ and Lalguon Mahadeve temples,⁵² which are constructed either wholly or largely of granite, all Khajuraho temples are built of a fine grained Sand Stone, in Varying Shades of buff pink or pale yellow, brought from the quarries of Panna at the east bank of the Ken river.⁵³

Laterite-⁵⁴ Red Clay - Khajuraho builders use laterite, ⁵⁵ (a clay that is soft when taken from the grimed but the hardens when exposed to the sun, for foundations and other hidden parts of buildings. Because the surface of laterite is uneven, it was not suitable for decorative, carvings, unless first dressed with stucco. Laterite was more commonly used in the central India provinces. ⁵⁶

Palaces- Ditiya Palace-There are now ever, some twenty or thirty similar royal residence in central India all of which have points of interest and beauty but in between three examples are in Bundelkhand.⁵⁷ That at Ditiya **Govind Mahal** in Bundelkhand is a large block of building over hindered yards square.⁵⁸ It was built about the beginning of the seventeenth century by Bir Singh Deva * the Bundela chief of Urcha(***Bir Singh** was employed by Jahangir in 1602 to waylay and kill the famous Abul-i-Fazl, when returning to Akbae's court. His tomb is Urcha and is an enormous structure.)⁵⁹ It is built by Granite and red sand-stone and is raised on a vaulted terrace about fourty ft. in height.

Urcha Palace- The one other palace Jahangir palace it belongs to the Bundelkhand state of *Urcha*, but is of a much more varied outline than that at Ditiya and with its domes and gateways makes up as picturesque, a combination as can well be found anywhere built by the same Raja.⁶⁰ Tiles work also points out on these Bundela structures. The use of tiles at the Jahangir Mahal is more experimental and varied than at the *Govind- Mahal*. In this, the tile- mosaic crenellation and cross motifs above are joined by an unusual frieze of animal and avian imagery below.⁶¹

Conclusion- The purpose of history is to tell about the past. The method of telling about the past changes as the idea of the past and history changes. The structures standing on the surface are very strong evidences of the past and need to be analyzed and explained from different angles. They not only carry the past within themselves but carry the contemporary knowledge of the past which is also indicative of the nature of the then society.

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6. Trial and Punishments During Vijayanagara Period

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Abstract

Secular law in India varied widely from region to region and from ruler to ruler. Court systems for civil and criminal matters were essential features of many ruling dynasties of mediaeval India. Excellent secular code system existed under the Vijayanagara rulers giving way to the current common law system. Law has been defined as a body of rules of action or conduct prescribed by a controlling authority and having binding legal force. That, which must be obeyed and followed by citizens subject to sanctions are legal consequences, is a law. ¹ Law in India has evolved from religious prescription to the current constitutional and legal system; we have today, a traversing through secular legal systems and the common law.

India has a recorded legal history starting from the Vedic ages and some sort of civil law system may have been in place during the Bronze Age and Indus valley civilization. Law as a matter of religious prescriptions and philosophical discourse has an illustrious history in India. Emanating from the Vedas, the Upanishads and other religious texts, it was a fertile field enriched by practitioners from different Hindu philosophical schools and later by Jains and Buddhists.

Keywords: Vijayanagara, trials, punishment, Judicial, Krishnadevaraya.

Introduction:

The legal treatise, of the Vijayanagara Empire, was formulated by Saint Vidyaranya. Based on it, the judicial system of the Vijayanagara Empire functioned well not

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only in the Imperial but also in the provincial level, especially in Tamil country. The Crimes against the state was dealt with deadly punishment. The main aim of the punishment was to establish law and order.

The king was the supreme authority in the matter of Justice. His verdict was final and irrevocable. The subjects of the kingdom, in case of injustice, could submit a petition either to the king or to the Prime Minister. Judgment was delivered as per the merits of the petition. Hindu law and tradition was the basis of law. Trial by jury was in practice. Criminal justice was very severe and harsh. The Nayakas and Gaundas were given authority to settle cases in their jurisdictions.

Law in the initial stages was largely canon law or sacred law to which civil law was subordinated. The Hindu society was divided into a number of castes, sub-caste and other sectarian groups. Each of these segmented groups had its own set of unwritten laws in the form of customs and traditions. Briefly, the Hindu Law was not derived from legislation. It was originally derived from the "mitakshara" of Vijnanesvara, and Parasaramadhaviyam etc, and later interpreted, without changing the customary laws. The King was not the lawmaker, but he was only the enforcer of the law.

It is well known, that Liberty cannot exist without law. Liberty without law leads to Anarchy, and law without liberty to tyranny. Unbridled freedom, freedom not regulated in the interest of society, will affect social solidarity adversely. Hence it is necessary to regulate the unrestrained exercise of Liberty. Those, that transgress the healthy limits of freedom, those that do not obey the laws of the land which coerce, the members of the society in the interest of the general well-being, have to be made to obey them by force, if necessary by punishment. Hence the absolute necessity of punishment is felt by the government. The importance of punishment as a means for maintaining social solidarity and security was stressed by the medieval Hindu-law givers.

Danda or the just infliction of punishment according to the smritis and well-established law was considered to be one of the essential duties of the king. Krishnadevaraya, Basavaraja and Ramchandrapant Amatya have all brought into relief the importance of the administration of Justice.¹

In civil cases, the judicial procedure consisted in arbitration², in the examination of the evidence, documents and statements of witnesses.³ In trials by ordeals such as dipping the hands of the accused into a pot of boiling ghee⁴ and in trials by jury.⁵ We may note a few details about some of these methods. An inscription belonging to the Sira Taluk of the Tumkur district constrains the rules laid down regarding the judicial procedure in certain cases. The king lays down, "if a caste dispute arises in the country, they will summon the parties before them and advise them. And, as they have the power of punishment, the parties must act according to the advice given. This proceeding is to be free of cost to them."⁶ An interesting instance of the ordeal, of ghee, is recorded in an epigraph coming from the Mysore state. According to it, there was a dispute between the barbers and washer men on

the one hand and the potters on the other, regarding the claims of the latter, trying on the upper cloth. The first party denied this right of the potters but the latter insisted on this right and won the dispute by undergoing the order of dipping their hands into the boiling ghee before the god Divyalingeswara in Harnahall.⁷

Nicolo-Di-Conti, who visited Vijayanagara in 1420 AD, speaks of three kinds of ordeals that were employed in the judicial procedure in Vijayanagara in trying criminal cases. The litigants were asked to undergo the ordeal after swearing if there was no evidence of the witnesses forthcoming. There were three kinds of ordeals. In the first ordeal, the litigant after taking the oath of Innocence before a deity, licks a piece of red hot iron with his tongue. In the second ordeal, after taking the oath the litigant walks a few steps before the deity holding a red hot iron plate in his hand. The third ordeal was the ordeal of ghee, according to Nicolo-Di-Conti, was the most common of all. A pot of boiling ghee was placed before the deity. The accused dips his two fingers into the boiling ghee after swearing that he is innocent and immediately his fingers were wrapped with cloth and a seal was stamped on it, to ensure that it would not be removed till the prescribed time limit was over. On the third day, the covering was removed. In all these cases, if the accused was found injured or hurt after the ordeal he was declared guilty, if not he was acquitted of the crime.⁸

Various kinds of punishments were inflicted on the convicts ranging from fines to executions.⁹ The severity of punishment was not always proportionate to the gravity of the crime. From an inscription of Rangiyam in the Pudukkottai state, we learn that the rate of fine for an assault in that area was 5 panams if the victim was a male, and 10 panams if the victim was a female.¹⁰ An inscription of Basrur dated 1444-45 AD in South Kanara gives us to understand that the punishment even for murders was comparatively light as the accused who were merchants were asked to atone for the murder of two men by gifting a Honnu for every ten Honnus earned by them.¹¹

But the punishments were often severe. Nuniz has recorded the different kinds of punishments which according to modern ideas, seem to be very severe. Theft, even if a small one, was punished by cutting off a foot and a hand of the convict, and if a serious one, he was hanged to death by means of a hook under his chin. The same punishment was awarded to a man for outraging the honour of a respectable woman or a virgin. For murders and some other crimes, the heads of the guilty were cut off in the market place. Nobles, guilty of treason were impaled alive on a wooden slab thrust through the belly. The punishment of killing a victim by causing an elephant to tear him to pieces was also prescribed at times.¹² Nuniz says, that the victims were also trampled to death under the foot of an elephant, or killed by its knees, trunks and tusks.¹³ Imprisonment, exile, blinding, torture and confiscation of lands, were some other punishments mentioned in the records.

Krishnadevaraya merely imprisoned and blinded his minister Saluva Timma and his sons, instead of executing them, as was done normally, for murdering his

young son Tirumala. But, here the crime was not proved, and they were imprisoned only on suspicion. They were not tried at all by a regular court of law, where the relevant law would have been applied to their case, but the king of his own accord penalized them. An interesting feature of capital punishment was that the prisoners who were sentenced to capital punishment were offered as victims on the altar of sacrifice, which the king was told necessary for propitiating certain gods who, it was feared would create obstacles in the successful completion of some important undertakings such as the irrigation works.¹⁴

It appears from the Amuktamalyada that sometimes there was a miscarriage of justice under Vijayanagara. The king on some occasions handed over the culprits to his guards, without punishing them immediately, although their guilt had been already proved. If the convicts under the charge of the Guards escaped somehow, the guards would bring some others in their place and then punish them. The possibility of escape of the culprits from the custody of the guards due to the corruption of the guards themselves may not be precluded.¹⁵

Under Vijayanagara there were two kinds of police forces **one maintained by the state and the other by the people**. The police force maintained by the state was stationed at the provincial and district levels, and also in big towns and cities, whereas that in the rural areas it was largely maintained by the people who remunerated their services by grants of lands, by the payment of perquisites and the salaries, payable both in-kind and cash. The provincial governors, the prefects of the towns, and the Kavalgars as well as the Talavars in the villages were themselves **held responsible for the detection of the crime**. If they failed to produce the culprits, they were themselves penalized. All this seems to have had a salutary effect on the state. It seems to have gone a long way in maintaining peace and security in the Empire. Regarding this Duarte Barbosa has remarked "great equity and Justice is observed to all not only by the rulers but by the people one to another.

The highest court was situated at the capital and exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction in the whole of the Empire. Besides The Emperor who acted as a chief justice, the judicial bench consisted of a Pradvivaka or a Puisne Judge, and Sabhyas or Assessors who were generally two in number. Other members of the judicial staff were the Lekhaka on the bench clerk, the Ganaka or the accountant and the Sandhyapala or the court bailiff. The Lekhaka recorded the oral evidence produced by the litigants, the Ganaka calculated the amounts involved in lawsuits and the Sandhyapala produce the litigants and the witnesses before the court and maintain order and discipline in the court. The king could appoint his representative styled Pratinidhi to preside over the court.

Conclusion:

From the records, we know that the emperor was the chief justice of the Empire. Thus to ensure peace and tranquility in the empire laws were enforced and trials were conducted.

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7.

Some Approaches of The Relation Between Paintings and Dance with Special References to Malwa

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Abstract

The relationship between painting and dance can be investigated on many levels through a variety of approaches. The texts belonging to the period between the 5th and 14th centuries must have emerged as a result of a flourishing tradition of 'painting'. The survival of Indian painting over a period of many centuries provides invaluable source material for reconstructing a history of dance in different periods and in diverse regions of India. The Indian arts with dance find of Bhimbetka, the pottery designs of Navadatoli to the murals of Bagh, Sittanavasal, Brhadesvara, Leepakshi and Chidombaram. Some of the materials especially from some Moghul and Jain Illuminated manuscripts.

At the outset, however, it must be clearly stated that in spite of the identical objectives of evoking a 'rasa' and presenting dominant state of being (bhavas) through the limbs of the human body (angas and upangas) there is a real autonomy of each artistic genre determined and governed by the medium of expression. This is the artistic focal point which makes literature primarily a verbal expression and dance a kinetic expression, sculpture a plastic expression and music a system of sounds etc. This accounts for the sculptor's and the painter's capturing movement of the human body in certain ways. In the case of painting the materials at our command cover a vast span of many centuries of Indian civilization. It extends from the prehistorically period to the twentieth century. In spite of this immense sweep, there are many gaps which make it difficult to present a picture of continuous development. A great deal more about mural painting between 2nd century B.C. and the 10th or 11th century A.D. the evidences for the development of dance forms are scanty and often fragmentary.¹

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There is then a gap of about two centuries between the late mural traditional and the growth of several schools of miniature paintings from the 15th century onwards begins the prolific and multi faceted activity in miniature painting which extends to all parts of India. The evidence that these schools present is massive and valuable and cannot be considered as being restricted to the court art of the elite. Once it was believed that the continuity of the Indian mural traditional was broken and these were little or no relationship between the miniature painting and what had preceded it. But current researches brought out facts to the contrary, that several schools and sub-schools of Indian painting reflect simultaneous development of the mural and the miniature their continuity and graduate transformation, and also the assimilation of foreign influences which led to the emergence of new styles.²

The development in Indian painting in relation to dance and drama during the pre-bharat and the post -bharat period.³ Predating all theoretical and technical formulations on either painting or dance is the overpowering evidence of the early man's preoccupation with the human body in beautiful moments of rhythmic movements, dance has been recognized at once as the most primitive and the most sophisticated of the arts by both art historians and anthropologists. Evidence relating to early man's involvement with movement and dance is not exclusive to India or Asia. It is universal. The human figures in many of these caves painting are movements of dance.

In Malwa context the few but significant survivals of cave paintings which to this early phase have been Hoshangabad and in about fifty shelters in Mahadeo hills lying around Pachmarhi. Beside their sites of Singhanpur and Kabra Pahar, formerly Part of Rajgarh State. Hoshangabad town established by Hoshangabad and Rajgarh is most important town in medieval age. Since 1972 have been going on in the important site of Bhimbetka which lies between obaidullonganj and Barkheda in Madhya Pradesh. During the last five years a few more sites in the same hill range Shahganj Ghat, Amargarh, near Naganpur and Chuna pani, South of Bhimbetka.⁵ In this cave fascinating records of hunting, battle scenes, birds and animals, human relationship, totems of ritual and fertility and finally a love for music and dance. These caves discovered by Wakankar. The impression that these painting had the dual purpose of fulfilling man's innate before or after the hunt. Therefore the dance and the painting were directly related to life function. This phenomenon is still evident in the artistic expressions of the societies of hunters and cultivators. Art and function or work are not dissociated from each others, they are aspects of the same life concerns.⁶

The few example of Malwa painting where paintings are related of tribal and folk traditions of Indian dance. Firstly the rock cut paintings of Hoshangabad Contain No scenes which are perhaps directly related to music and dance, there are many revolve around the hunt. The four figures are in formation suggestive of the dance. In the first figure there is only a limited elevation from the ground and the knee of one leg lifted to the waist. The second figure is more suggestive of movement and the torso is in a state of tension. The other two figures comprise the

second pair and this time the position of the lower limbs is reserved. The knee of one leg is bent and the foot of this leg very clearly holds the weight of the body the other leg is free to move in space. In one, this free leg is extended back and is held at the level of the knee in order it is extended backward with greater force and the foot is almost at the level of the hips. The torso is pushed forward to provide the balance. It will be observed that these figures exhibit a remarkable understanding of the laws of movement in the act of shooting an arrow, perhaps this awareness gave lies to a whole series of movements in the formalized language of dance. These entire movements draw their inspiration from the use of bows and arrows and other weapons⁷ of great significance are the masked human figures from Bhimbetka.⁸ The domestic scenes from Bhimbetka present another fascinating picture. One drawing has been identified as an amorous couple. This is a remarkable example of a highly developed sense of movement in the one figure the elevated leg of one figure which is supposed by the flexed leg of the other. But this figure does not present us with an evidence of such couple-dancing- Indian art present an almost unbroken continuum of such couples in the mayhem.⁹ During the Gupta age prosperity raised the slandered of living developed test for luxury and interest in literature, music, dancing, painting and sculpture created favorable atmosphere for the fine arts. The wall paintings at Bagh reflect such different aspects of life. The art developed there is noted for elegance, sweetness of expression, rhythmical composition, skilful technique and spiritual yearning.¹⁰

The subject illustrated is clearly as Jataka or Avadana yet to be identified. In one painting scene as printed her presents a mirthful Lallisalasya, a folk dance in ring keeping time with little wooden stick. Two in the group of damsels play the hand-drum or hudukka and the third plays the small sized cymbals or kamsyatalas. The coiffure and colorful dress of these damsels and particularly most interesting for the study of Bhil life and Bhil culture of the age.¹¹ They are happier than in Ajanta for they are of tribal origin. The scene is full of a strange rhythmic vitality, vibrant with joy, its sensuous appeal redolent of the spirit of the period.¹² In one scene painted of two groups of female singers this figure famous for redolent of the spirit of the period. In one group seven female dance surrounded of the dancer (total 8 dances) dancing women wearing long sleeved tight shirts, these dancers keeping time with little wooden sticks one dancer's damsels play the hand drum and another three women playing Magira. These dancers either wearing full sleeved choli or upper part of moody is magate.¹³ In second group one dancers surrounded by six singers women. The hair of dancers is very long. She is wearing tight kurta and thin Pyzama. One singer damsels play the mradanga, and another two singers playing two small mangera and another three dancers playing little wooden stick. The dress of second groups some to first group. These images find in the Bagh/ Balkh region at Barwani (Malwa).¹⁴

In the Mandu on the death of Muhammad Khalji I his son Ghiyath Shah succeeded to the throne of Malwa along with the above mentioned cultural heritage of the sultanate, which he very wishfully further enriched through his own ideas and institutions. He organized a new college for fine arts and home science mostly

comprising of his seraglio at one time 15000 in number to train them in the faculty of music, dancing, embroidery, tailoring, cooking, hotel management, preparing fine drinks and recipes and several other subject which today we may boast of modern origin. Those college situated in Dhavalgraha (today five starred building adjacent Champa- Baori human complex) which was the resident of king Ghiyath Shah these was an Antahpur Chitranshala of fine art and home-science.

In this background there should be no two opinions about the fact that there were two school of art of paintings at Mandu during the sultanate of Malwa. One school representing traditional traits of the art of painting as exhibited in the documents of Kulpasutra (1439), Kalka- katha (1440), Bhagwati sutra and Uttaradhyayana sutra refined and blended with shiraj school in Nimathnama and the other developed at Asharfi Mahal during the political vicissitudes the shresthis of Mandu when come in wider commercial and cultural contact with those of Delhi, Jaunpur and Mewar, new influences thematic as well as stylistic began creeping at Mandu paving the way for preparation of work like of Bhagwat-Purana, Chandayana and Chaurapanchisika where the free exchange exhibiting loans on both sides are clearly visible!¹⁵ The decline of the sultanate under Mahmud Khalji II and followed by the advent of the suris served a death blow to this flourishing school of arts. Baz Bahadur continued enriching the dance and music faculties here. Most of the artists of Mandu School with the merger of Malwa sultanate with the Mughals in AD 1561 joined the grand studio of Mir Samad at Agra and Rajasthan. They carried with them the lovely memories of Malwa their artistic performances by fusion!¹⁶ If we have trace the history of this dancer and have shown the connection between Mrgavati dancer and dancer of Malwa who ultimately found a place in Akbar's court!¹⁷ The variation is provided by the Mragavati dancer with the multiple skirt. We have seen the inclusion of this multiple skrit dancer in the Adi- Purana (1500) and have traced her development to two different milieus. In one, she enters the court and becomes the sophisticated court dancer of the Akbar-Nemaha and in the other her stance and costume continue outside the court milieu. It is this second development which we shall peruse in several school of Rajasthan painting. The motif appears innumerable times as in the Raga-Vasanta and the dancing Krishna in the sub school of Mewar, Malwa and Bundi etc.¹⁸ From the point of view of Music and dance, we witness a multifaceted picture. There are the Malwa dancers in the Mughal courts; alongside are the last vestiges of the Kalpasutra marginal figures in the Mewar and in the rasa dance scenes of the Gita-Govind manuscript.¹⁹ A lime of continuity can be traced between the Adipurana, Mrgavati, the dancers from Baz-Bahadur harem and the Naladavadanti rasa of the L.D. institute. It will be recalled that along with the Jaina themes there were 15th century paintings based on the vasanta- vilasa and Balagopalastuti!²⁰ In the portrayed of dancers and dance-Costumes, it is strongly rimiscent of some marginal figures of Kalpasutra and the Devasana-pado. A style of painting and dance which had a close resemblance to the western Indian vaisnava paintings and the Kalpasutra marginal dancers.²¹ Mrgavati paintings both the dancers of these paintings and of all other folios where the dance scenes are portrayed invariably were tight pyjamae and

over it a plated short skirt. Over the skirt hang many triangular sashes. A short choli is worn on top and transparent Odhani is worn by each of them. The skirt of the dancer is not identified with the multiple skirt of the mravati dancer or the dancer of Baz-Bahadur's harem who travelled to Akber's court.²² The Mewar school proper appears with its finally dated Ragamala paintings of A.D. 1605.²³

What the Mewar painter began with (a rich and interacting tradition of literature, painting, music and dance in the 17th century) was perfected by others in Rajasthan and elsewhere by the end of the 18th century. This can be seen in other paintings of the theme in many schools from Malwa, Bikaner and Bundi.²⁴ But Vasanta is not the only raga which is visualized in verdurous bloom and spring time sky. Many Rajasthani and Malwa paintings of several sub-schools portraying these ranges also have a Krishna or some other figure dancing in the ardhmandali to the accompaniment of a mrdanga (Pakhavaj), a daph, a manjiri or sometimes a shehnai.²⁵ The Ramayana and the Ramcharitmanas were equally popular. Several series of painting on the Ramayana appeared during the period; they were related to and influenced by the Ramlila Nataka which also came into existence some time in the last 16th century. In 17th century a number of troupes were performing the Ramlila sequentially as a cycle of plays in different parts of India. The another type of dramatic performance called the Jhanki where each scene was sequentially presented almost like a tableaux in a frame. The Ramlila nataka and Jhanki appear to have greatly influenced the compositional pattern of the paintings of each theme from Malwa and Rajasthan. The technique is specially followed in Malwa paintings where each episode is framed in a rectangular area.²⁶ It is clear the relationship between painting and dance found in Stone Age. The survival of Indian painting over a period of many centuries provides invaluable source material for reconstructing a history of dance in different periods and in diverse regions of India.

In Central India excavations at various ancient sites on the river Chambal, Kali-Sindh, Betwa, Kshipra, Kanh- Saraswati and Narmada have revealed a new world of Potter's art projecting life and culture pattern of the people of Chalcolithic period. Recent excavation at village Chichali on the Narmada in Nimar region, district Khargone where the painted pottery pieces depict dance scenes of a social or community festival moment in a simple way with the help of lines and strokes. It looks like a community dancing in joyful mood, excavation of Navadatoli and Nagda where found dancing figures on pottery. During the Gupta age groups of dancers and musicians from the wall painting of Bagh caves. In Malwa painting back to city from caves to palm-leaf and paper. The most popular specimen of this type is Kalpasutra patem found in Rajasthan painting in 16th and 17th century. In medieval age Mandu was a most important place in Malwa. When Ghiyath Shah succeeded to the throne of Malwa, he organized a new College for fine arts, where was given a training of dancing, music and painting. This College produced many dancers. But the point of view of music and dance we witness a multifaceted picture. There are the Malwa dancer in the Mughal courts alongside are the last vestiges of the Kalpasutra marginal figures in the Mewar and in the rasa dance scenes of the

Gita govinda manuscript. A line of continuity can be traced between the “Adi Purana”, mrgavati the dancers from Baz- Bahadur’s harm.

In 17th century “Vasanta Raga “ the scene of Krishna-dance many Malwa painting of several sub school, portraying these ragas also have a Krishna or some other in the figure dancing in the ardhmandali to the accompaniment of mrdanga, a daph, a manjira. In the late 16th century the Ramlila Nataka and Jhanki appear to have greatly influenced the compositional pattern of the paintings of such theme from Malwa and Rajasthan. Beside these dance and music scenes there is another category of paintings which are based on Ramayana, Mahabharat and Shakuntala in some closely related are the paintings based on historical romances like “Laurika-Chanda”, “Dhola-Maru” and “Prithviraj Chauhan’ etc. These themes were popular in the theatre in forms ranging from the “Macha” of Malwa. In Rajasthan, Malwa, Jaunpur and other centers there was an active dialogue between the artistic patronized by the courts and those outside. The Lila Nataka and rasa forms were the Shared cultural heritage of both the milieus.

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8. Hunting: A Favourite Pastime of The Tughlaq Sultans and Nobles

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Abstract:

Little information is available about the social and cultural life of the Delhi Sultanate because of the paucity of relevant evidence contained in the primary sources. The sources for the Tughlaq period contained scattered glimpses which throw significant light on the interest of Tughlaq Sultans and their nobles in the game of hunting. Zia Barani, Ibn Battuta, Isami and Afif gave interesting information about the organization and working of hunting department, hunting fields, hunting animals and many other details about the game. The Tughlaq Sultans (1325-1398 A.D.) and their nobility lived a very luxurious life on account of their ranks and positions as well as their financial stability. Games and amusements are a vital part of their social life. They took repose from the tiresome life and enjoyed leisure. The work of the state demanded quite a good amount of strain upon them. Thus, some sort of diversion from daily routine was necessary. Games and sports of different nature (indoor and outdoor) were played by them for the amusement and relaxation. Accordingly, hunting as the favourite outdoor sport and the most popular source of aristocratic entertainment was a source of recreation and amusement for them. Therefore, it was encouraged by the Tughlaqid Sultans and their nobles. It was a source of great pleasure, exercise and delight to them. Almost every Tughlaqid Sultan and their nobles were fond of hunting. They spent much time over it. Thus an attempt has been made in this paper to highlight the interest of Tughlaq Sultans and their nobles in the game of hunting and to throw significant light on the working and organization of hunting department, hunting fields, hunting animals, tactics of hunting through encircling the hunting area and the hunting party.

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Key words: *Amir-i-Shikâr, Sirat-i-Firuzshahi, Amir-i-Shikâr, Bahelias, Mahawat, Onager/Wild ass, Deer, wild buffalo, lion, elephant, fish.*

Games and amusements played a vital role in social life of the Tughlaqid Sultans and their nobles. However, to relax from the tiresome work of the state, the Sultan and nobles involved themselves in both outdoor and indoor games and sports. Accordingly, hunting (ÖÇÑ) was the most popular source of aristocratic entertainment, recreation and amusement for them. It also worked as a source of exercise and military training. Thus, every Tughlaqid Sultans and their nobles were fond of hunting.

Reserved forests for Hunting:

Evidences are scanty to explore the reserved forests for hunting during the Tughlaqid period. However, it has been mentioned that the forests of Salora and Khizrabad, 90 kos from Delhi, were reserved for hunting from here Sultan Firoz Shah found a stone pillar near the village Tobra.¹ The other reserved forests for hunting of wild ass/*GorKhur* were Dipalpur and Sarsuti. The Sultan used to pitch the hunting camps between Abohar and Sarsuti to hunt the Onager.² Barani also mentions the area of Hansi and Sarsuti reserved for hunting.³ The forest area in the environs of Delhi was also reserved for hunting where Sultan Firoz Shah engaged himself in hunting in his return journey from Lakhnauti and Jajnagar.⁴ Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq visited Lahore for hunting.⁵ Deers, antelopes and wild asses were found in abundance in the regions of Badaun and Aonla. Most of these animals have their habitat there due to dense forest, grass and water. The nearest place from the capital Delhi was Badaun which was a desolate place thus served the purpose of hunting.⁶

Similarly the forest of Jajnagar (Orrisa) had large number of animals. Sultan Firoz Shah captured sheep at subsequent halts.⁷ Elephants were found in abundance in the forest of Jajnagar.⁸ Similarly the forest area at Thatta was reserved for hunting wolves.⁹ On his return from Lakhnauti, Sultan Firoz proceeded towards Daulatabad for hunting.¹⁰

Different varieties of animals were hunted and the trained animals (like hunt birds, elephants, etc.) were used for trapping the hunt. While the tiger or lynx were used for hunting the animals. Sometimes animals like lions were trapped through the net even the elephants were also used to hunt them!¹¹ All sorts of animals like lions, tigers, wild cats, hawks, hunt birds, fleet horses and royal white falcons were hunted.¹² *Gawazan* (elk) and *Kotah* (a quadruped with spotted back and horns like a deer), wild beasts: ferocious tigers and lions,¹³ cranes or herons (*Kulang*),¹⁴ deers (*aahu*), antelopes and onagers or wild asses (*nilgao*),¹⁵ elephants,¹⁶ birds, falcons (*baaz*), wild beasts,¹⁷ wolves¹⁸ fishes¹⁹ and wild buffaloes²⁰ were hunted.²¹

Hunting equipment and provisions:

Almost all the Tughlaqid nobles Khans, Maliks and Amirs accompanied Sultan during his hunting campaigns. We get important references, regarding the nobles,

who participated enthusiastically in the hunting expeditions of Sultan with all necessary requirements.²² In all hunting expeditions they used to carry their tents and canopies and a big crowd of porters and attendants.²³ Even some of the Khans and Maliks would carry provisions of food and drink. Thus they carried water on the camels, horses and some would engage water carriers.²⁴ Ibn Battuta mentions a hunting party which was equipped with all necessities. All the nobles carried their own tents. A distinction of colour was made between the royal tent and that of the nobles. Labourers were hired to carry the tents. Then another group of people called *kahars* were engaged in order to carry the kitchen utensils. Apart from these *farrash* (people who pitched and carpeted the tent enclosure and loaded the camels) and torch bearers, who ran in front were hired. These people formed an essential part of the hunting party.²⁵

According to Isami once the Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq went out for hunting expedition along with all his great nobles. The nobles who accompanied the Sultan were Nasiruddin (who came from Lakhnauti), Tatar Khan, Malik Safdar, Malik Hoshang, Lala Bahadur, Lala Karana, *Sar-i-dawatdar* of Sultan, and other officials like Malik Shadi Satia, Malik Maqbul, Malik Naib Barbak, Malik Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Malik Daulat Shah Butmari and Malik Taghi.²⁶ Thus, important nobles and the court officials used to accompany in hunting campaigns.

The nobles and other officials who accompanied Sultan during his hunting campaigns were equipped with all necessities and participated in it with great zeal. Ibn Battuta, who accompanied Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq during his hunting campaign, describes that he went along with the Sultan with all requirements according to the tradition of the period. He brought with him his own *Sarâcha* or tent. As a prescribed norm, no one was allowed to pitch his tent before the royal tent. The tents of the nobles and high officials were white in colour, embroidered with blue, while Sultan's tent was red in colour. Ibn Battuta also referred to a *Siwân*,²⁷ another kind of tent, and *Kahars* to carry him in a *dulâ* (palanquin), *farrâshes* (to erect the tents and furnish it with carpets etc.) and *dawadâwiya* to walk ahead of him carrying torches at night. With all these necessities and enthusiasm, the Wazir, grand *Qâzi*, leading amirs and other honourable joined the Sultan in hunting expedition. The nobles Imad-ul-Mulk and Malik Daulat Shah were accompanied the Sultan in the hunting campaign. Other nobles were Malik Sabih and Nasiruddin Muthhar al-Awhari.²⁸ All these were with their ceremonial honours such as standards, drums, bugles, flutes and other *marâtibs*. Wherever the procession was encamped, Sultan invited chosen one to take food with him.²⁹

All the hunt-birds and animals were put under the charge of slaves and for every bird and animal, two to three slaves were appointed. The keepers of these animals rode horses when accompanying the Sultan in hunting excursions. Nearly forty five standards (flags) of hunt also accompanied the Sultan. One vestibule, royal tent, sleeping tents and a white cupola, being Firoz Shah's special insignia, also followed the Sultan's hunting campaign. Contingent of troops, princess, *Khans*

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and *Maliks* accompanied the Sultan during these excursions. Besides, two peacock spans invented by Tughlaq Shah were posted to the right and left wings of the royal troops. The custodians of hunt-animals and hunt-birds were posted to the left and right of these peacock spans during the march for the hunt.³⁰

Hunting Department:

The Tughlaq Sultans established a well organized hunting department. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had recruited 10,000 falconers who trained the birds for hawking; 300 beaters to create the hunting atmosphere; and 3000 dealers in articles for hawking.³¹ Sultan Firoz Shah had a separate department for hunting which according to Barani was far more active than any other previous Sultan.³² Malik Dilan was the Chief of hunting department, called *Amir-i-Shikâr*, while Malik Khizr Bahram was his deputy (*naib*). These officials were included in the category of nobles. The minor officers for the care and keeping of royal falcons and other hunting animals and birds, were *Arizan-i-Shikar*, *Khassa-daran*, and *Mihtarân* respectively. The other staff of *Shikra-dars* carried the animals and birds on the day of hunting. All kinds of hunting animals and birds- elephants, hounds, trained leopards, lynxes, falcons and hawks were collected in large numbers.³³

Sultan Firoz were named one of his stables as hunting stable. It contained one thousand two hundred horses. Besides *Amir-i-Shikar*, there were *Fauj-dars* and *Bazigars* of hunt. These nobles and officials worked hard to maintain the hunting establishment.³⁴

Hunting hobby of the Sultans and nobles:

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq used to go on hunting excursions in a leisure time. His successor Sultan Firuz Shah was known for his deep interest and passion for hunting.³⁵ Barani records the deep interest of Sultan Firuz Shah in hunting and informs that while the previous Sultans used to hunt the birds with the help of falcons for four months in winter, but Sultan Firuz hunted lions, wild beasts and birds round the year.³⁶

The anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* referred that in his early life Firoz Shah hunted a large number of *Gawazan* (elk) and *Kotah*. Seeing this his foster-mother (*Daya*) made a provoking observation and said: "The killing of such species of games did not reflect much excellence nor was it an occasion for boasting or glorying for the son of the deceased *SipahSalar*, Nasiruddin Rajab, who never vaunted even when he killed hundreds of wild beasts including the ferocious tigers and lions. When he found a pack of lions he rushed upon them alone and drove them off."³⁷

It is further mentioned that once a *Farman* was received from Sultan Alauddin by Tughlaq Shah to the effect that reports had been received that *SipahSalar* Nasiruddin Rajab was in the habit of killing a large number of lions and he is said to have possessed death-dealing invisible arrows (*SahmulGhaib*) and that Prince Khizr Khan was extremely desirous of having the tails of the killed

lions which might be frequently dispatched to the imperial metropolis. This was taken by Tughlaq Shah as an indirect admonition and threat. Anonymous author informs us that once the deceased Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq rode out on a hunting expedition, but the sun was in the sign of Taurus (*Saur*) and the wind was very hot. While returning the Sultan saw some cranes or herons (*Kulang*) flying in the air and he asked his cousin, Firoz, to go and look after them.³⁸

Shams Siraj Afif refers to the hunting hobby of Sultan Firuz Shah in much detail.³⁹ Special attention was paid by the Sultan to erect a ring of hunters encircling the hunt. It was prepared carefully and was dismantled after hunting. Sometimes it continued for seven or eight days.⁴⁰ During this encircling, horsemen with young and swift-horses were ordered to accompany the Sultan. Numerous animals were encircled from morning to evening and were hunted at night.⁴¹

Firoz Shah possessed remarkable skill and expert knowledge of birds and animals and their peculiarities. Anonymous author of *Sirat-i-Firozshahi* mentions that during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah there was a favourite *Shahbaz* (royal falcon) of Prince Firoz which had been stolen by an unkind fellow who had failed in his duty as a custodian. The Sultan was in the habit of enquiring about his cousin's passions for hunting. One day a newly-acquired falcon was brought to the court and the Sultan made enquiries about it. Prince Firoz said that this was his favourite bird which had been stolen some years back. The Sultan expressed his surprise at his cousin's claim who recognized it after such a long time, but was convinced after a demonstration at which the bird flew to the hands of Firoz.⁴² Afif also mentions that several times Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq referred to the character and activities of his cousin Firoz.⁴³

Hunt of the Onager/Wild ass:

Onagers found in India in the forests located between Dipalpur and Sarsuti in a waterless place. The animal would cover the distance of 80 *kos* for quenching thirst. Onager was hunted only in the summer season. The Sultan along with his nobles who carried provisions and water on camels and horses, began the journey for the game after the *Asr* (afternoon prayer), travel the whole night and reach the forest next day around *Zuhr* (early afternoon prayer). Reaching the forest, the hunting rings would be erected covering an area of fifteen *kos*. With slow and steady marches, the hunt area would be closed to about four *kos*, bringing numerous Onagers within the hunting circle. The Sultan then and hunt the encircled animals.⁴⁴

Deer and Antelopes Hunting:

These animals were found in abundance in the neighbouring regions of Badaun and Aonla. Thus every year Sultan Firoz Shah proceeded from Firozabad to the reserved forests in the neighbourhood of Badaun and hunted innumerable animals. Afif was always along with the Sultan as other nobles and officials. The Sultan went into forests and directed the hunting officials to form the hunting circle. A high-spot was chosen for the stay of Sultan and the horsemen were ordered to go

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down the hunting circle. Nobles enthusiastically participated in the hunting circle. Malik NaibBarbak, a prominent noble of the Sultan, was posted to lead the horsemen towards the hunting circle from one direction, while the horsemen were led by Malik Imad-ul-Mulk from other direction. Behind these *Amirs*, royal standards were also stationed. Thereupon Afif says that each horseman was separately permitted to advance. The hunting lines were drawn by the troops and behind them marched the chiefs of respective contingents. The selected slave contingents had one standard after every hundred slaves; they too advanced for the game. Then the officials of the royal stable along with the horse also ordered to march in the direction of encirclement. Then hunting elephants were released. If the circle was too large, then the horsemen preceded the elephants. After the two hunting standards had occupied their respective position, fire was put on to cause heavy smoke that showed the completion of encirclement. Sultan then commanded horsemen to go near the circle carefully so that the animals could not get out of the hunting ring. Subsequently, the hunting ring was narrowed down and the horsemen folded themselves in three lines successively, the horsemen used to stand so close to one another that one could see the other. The encirclement covered the area over three to four *kos*. Then, with the end of the night and coming of the dawn, a very close circle of tents, similar to hunting circle was created. In that way, there were hunting circle, circle of tents, and another circle of wooden structures in front of circle of tents. Thus, the encirclement was accomplished with all the arrangements accordingly. The animals like lions, wolves and tigers were found out besides paying attention to other animals within the circle. Sultan chased them primarily and all the chiefs helped him with great caution along with their archers. The chiefs of all the horsemen were directed by the Sultan to remain alert in their respective position. Thus, they remained alert in their respective positions along with their archers. Thousands of animals were captured during this encirclement. Sultan rode and chased animals everyday along with horsemen (numbering five to six hundred), princes, Khans, and Maliks. Then, Sultan entered the hunting circle and chased the animals. Afif, the author of *Tarikh-i-FiruzShahi* was along with the Sultan. Thus, he says that whenever the animal was hunted with arrow by the Sultan, it was handed over to the *Amir* who slaughtered them. The Sultan remained busy in the pursuit of the game for a week. When the Sultan decided to dismantle the encirclement, fire or burning arrows were thrown into the hunting circle. At this moment, the drums and clarions were beaten. After hearing the beating of drums, troopers entered the hunting circle and chased the remaining animals.⁴⁵ After hunting, the hunting ring was immediately dismantled and it was again created whenever Sultan decided to hunt.

Hunt of the Wild Buffaloes:

To hunt the wild buffaloes found in excessive number, the hunting ring was created. As usual, the hunting ring was dismantled because the wild buffaloes could not be kept for long in the ring on account of their vigour. Every year hunting expedition

took place and three to four hunting circles were created for the purpose. Wild buffaloes were hunted with trained tiger or lynx. Nearly twelve thousand animal hunters (*bahelias*) accompanied the Sultan, who carried net for capturing wild buffaloes. Some of the animal hunters were armed with iron javelins rode the buffaloes.⁴⁶

Lions Hunting:

To trap a lion in the forest, *bahelias* gathered their buffaloes together and stood upon their backs. The he-buffaloes locked their horns together and encircled the lion. *Bahelias* (animal hunters) pushed their javelins into the back of the encircled lions and killed them. Sometimes, the Sultan directed that large nets be thrown from all the four directions over the lions. The elephants were brought to walk over the nets, pressing them till the lions were captured. Sometimes, the Sultan ordered that elephants be put on to fight the lions. While the fight was on, the Sultan shot the lions himself. The hunted lions were later on tamed and were arrayed in front of the royal court, half of them on the right side and the other to the left side.⁴⁷

Elephants Hunting:

Afif gives details regarding the hunting of elephants by Sultan Firuz Shah accompanied with Malikis, Khans, courtiers and army men. The forest was surrounded by nobles and army men from all the four sides. It was known that elephants were located about fifteen *kos* inside the forest. A circle of wood was raised all along the forest camp and all the ground was sealed with mud leaving two exit routes. Sultan inspected this wooden circle every day. Few blood-thirsty elephants and their *Mahawats* (drivers) were ordered to enter the forest from one side, while the drum beaters were sent into the forest from another side to make excessive noise. When the troopers beat the drums loudly, the wild elephants reached at the end of forest near the wooden circle. Elephants ran from one end to the other till they were badly exhausted within a few days. During this chase, no fodder was made available to elephants. The brave *Mahawats* (elephant drivers) jumped over the backs of elephants and tamed them. Thus the elephants were hunted down and captured.⁴⁸

Fish Hunting:

Sultan Firoz ordered that big nets be spread in the river to catch the fish. There is no doubt that Sultan spent a lot of time and energy in such sport and it is impossible to find another example like him amongst the previous Sultans.⁴⁹

Likewise the Sultan had got prepared two huge iron cauldrons capable of cooking ten wolves in one round. One can estimate the quantity of other prey that could be cooked in these cauldrons. Two iron stands, having ten wheels each, were manufactured to transport these cauldrons. Both these cauldrons and their stands

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were driven by one hundred and twenty palanquin bearers during the royal hunting excursion to cook the meat of the hunted animals.⁵⁰

It was, perhaps, because of Sultan's deep interest in hunting that the nobles not only participated with great zeal, but also enjoyed great position and ranks in the hunting department. Available evidences, however, not only shed light upon the existing fauna rather explain the environmental condition of the period.

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9.

Sainthood and Kingship Safaviyya Sufi's and Sovereign during the Mughal Empire

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Abstract

Studies on proper moral conduct in the Islamic world have often been analyzed in terms of social limitations, adhering to hierarchies, asserting authority, and conflicting political interests. This article examines the intertwined literary and political processes that moulded the texts of Mughal sovereignty and shaped the lives of Mughal sovereigns. In historical terms it considers the lives of Babur; this article follows an unconventional and less trodden path through Safavid political history, Iranian Sufism and the Persian epic tradition. By doing so, it reveals new, less intuitive perspectives on the cultures that produced these texts and their protagonists. Specifically, it shows how Babur's work and others like it were not only products of new literary tastes and reading practices but also participated in the making of new institutions of kingship and sainthood that evolved together in Mughal India and Safavid Iran over the sixteenth century.

Key words : Sufism, Safavid , Mughals , Shai's, Timurids.

This article demonstrates that Sufi instructional manuals written by scholars emphasized proper moral conduct (adab) primarily to prepare Sufi disciples for the ultimate return to the divine. It was a theology that taught the spiritual aspirant to master the intricacies of cultivating a compassionate heart, to embody perfectly the knowledge from God, and to surrender completely the self in order to meet the creator with real practical knowledge. The conjuncture of kingship and sainthood was a product of recent historical development. It first took roots in and spread from the geographical territories of Iran and Central Asia that have been ravaged

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by the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. In their wake a new socio-political order took shape, in which the growing networks of Sufi Orders and Sufi Shrines playing a significant and constitutive role. There was hardly an aspect of public and private lives in the eastern Islamic land that remain untouched by these institutions of "mysticism" and network of "devotion" the lives of kings were no exception. Thus, in the post-Mongol centuries, the institutions of kingship became locked in a mimetic embrace with the institution of sainthood.

Indeed in the early modern India and Iran, royal and saintly families intermarried and patronized one another. Sufi tutors educated princes, and scions of saints served as imperial generals. Queens were sent to homes of mystics to give birth, and saintly shrines were constructed inside palace walls. Admittedly from the pious and the well-worn perspectives of Islamic law and political theory, the phenomenon of the Muslim kings transmuting into saints and messiahs venerated by the courtiers and worshipped by the soldiers. These Saints and Holy men often made a bid for both political power and spiritual supremacy. Indeed Timurid Iran and Central Asia has been called a "messianic age" full of activists Sufi.

The institution of Muslim kingship itself has received little analytical attention. There exists an extensive and useful literature on Islamic political thought, but it mainly treats the topic of kingship in the mold of intellectual history. The self-authored memoir of Babur (d. 1530), founder of the Mughal (Timurid) dynasty in India, has become arguably the most accessible and readable prose text of its milieu. Partly this has to do with the uniqueness of the text, a rare early example of a first person narrative that evokes, in the words of Stephen Dale, 'universally recognizable human emotions'.¹ It is significant that the dreams in the Baburnama have to do with Naqshbandi Sufis, for one, these saintly visions and prophecies set Babur apart as someone with a noble and worthy soul.

In the Post-Mongol centuries, between 1300 and 1500, Sufism evolved from being a personal form of piety to a major social and political phenomenon across Asia centred on the cult of Sufi saints.² This process, however, was not limited to the sphere of religion; it also left its mark on the political institutions and literary conceptions of kingship.³ The ancient Persian maxim that prophets and kings are twins a common refrain in classical works of royal advice literature must be modified for Babur's milieu where sainthood had taken the place of Prophet Hood.

If prophecy had been about 'law', sainthood was about 'love'. To see how this new Trope was used to re-imagine sovereignty, let us briefly examine a work on the lives of saints and sovereigns written in sixteenth-century Timurid Herat. The book is aptly titled *Majlis al-'Ushshaq*, or the 'Assembly of Lovers'.⁴

The biographical descriptions are less historical, however, and more hagiographic and panegyric. The book begins with a preamble on mystical love as epitomized by the Quranic pair, Yusuf and Zulaykha (Joseph and Potiphar's wife), a staple theme of Persian mystical poetry. Then it narrates the life of the sixth Shi'i Imam Ja'far Sadiq (d. 765), an author of much renown not only for Shi'is but also for Muslim mystics of all persuasions interested in esoteric lore and occult

knowledge. From there it proceeds on to the lives of famous Sufi masters, altogether 54 of them, ending with the leading lights of the Naqshbandi order such as the previously mentioned Khwaja Ahrar and his hagiographer, the mystical poet Jami (d. 1492), whose shrine is in Herat. After the Sufi's of history come the prophet-emperors of the great Persian epics, beginning with the iconic Mahmud of Ghazni (d. 1030) and ending with the last Timurid ruler of Herat, Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 1506), Babur's uncle and the patron of the work.

The Safavid 'Lion of God'

That the selves of sixteenth-century saints and kings, and the texts recounting their lives, were forged in the same historical kiln is also evident in the case of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, a contemporary of Babur, Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–1524). After defeating the Uzbeks in 1510, the Safavid shah became the victor of Herat and, indeed, of all Iran. Barely in his teens, Shah Isma'il began his conquering career in 1501 in northwestern Iran. By the end of the decade, he had also brought eastern Iran and Afghanistan under his sway and launched an assault on Transoxania. Today the Safavid shah is remembered as the ruler who imposed Twelver Shi'ism on the Sunni population of Iran. But this image is only partially accurate. Shah Isma'il is better understood as the leader of a messianic order rooted in the Safavid Sufi shrine in Ardabil. His devotee soldiers saw him not as a bringer of Shi'ism but as the harbinger of the ultimate righteous order—as the mahdi (the guided one or messiah), a manifestation of Ali sent down to earth to enact the final millennium. With his rise to power, Shah Isma'il became both the king and the saint of Iran. To join the court of this Sufi king, one had to become his devotee.⁵

Babur described how one of his Timurid cousins, a son of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, had become 'a devotee (murid) of Shah Isma'il' and 'died astray in that heresy (batalat o gumrahi) in Astarabad'.⁶ This Safavid 'heresy' would have fit neatly in Kamaluddin's 'Assembly of Lovers'. Safavid court ceremonies involved Sufi initiation rites in which courtiers were ritually and painfully beaten with a stick as they lay prostrate in front of the sovereign so they could become one with him, lovers of the beloved.⁷ Moreover, the symbol of having been included in Shah Isma'il's 'assembly' was the red headgear marking a Safavid devotee.⁸ It is for this reason that Safavid soldiers were known as the red-heads or Qizilbash. Babur did not mention any of this in the Baburnama. Indeed, how could he? For it would entail admitting to the world that he too had become a devotee of the Safavid monarch.

Babur's own cousin, Mirza Haydar Dughlat, reported that the Sunni populace of Samarqand was shocked to see Babur displaying his allegiance to the Safavid Shah by wearing the red 'taj' of the Qizilbash.⁹ Inconveniently for us but fortunately for Babur, the account of the year in which this happened is missing from the Baburnama, the second and largest 'crack' in the text that spans the years 1508 to 1519. In these 'missing' years, Babur and the Timurids witnessed a major enactment

of sovereignty in which sainthood and kingship merged together in the person of the Safavid shah.

Unlike Babur, Shah Isma'il did not leave behind a self-authored memoir or diary from his early days. But he did compose rousing poetry, it is believed, under the enigmatic pen name Khata'i or Sinner.¹⁰ Written in the Azeri dialect of Turkish, the poetry of Khata'i is known less for its literary merits and more for its apocalyptic message:

The beautiful warriors are unleashed
On their heads is the crown of the dynasty
This is the mahdi's time
To the cyclical world the eternal light has come¹¹

Such verse was used in Safavid propaganda to recruit from among the Turkmen tribes of northwestern Iran and eastern Anatolia. The Safavid missionary organization (da'wa) became established in these regions when, under Shah Isma'il's father and grandfather, the Sufi order took a militant and messianic turn. This organization consisted of a series of deputies (khalifas) of the Sufi shaykh, managed by a powerful chief deputy (khalifat al-khulafa).¹² As the Safavid mission spread, Khata'i's poetry became widely adopted as devotional literature in different Turkish-speaking Sufi communities and Alid sects in the region, many of whom were known for a deep or 'exaggerated' (ghulat) devotion to Ali as a locus of divinity.¹³

This was an Ali not of history but of the oral storytelling tradition. Praised at times to the point of divinization, he was portrayed in popular epics as the one who had brought order to the world wielding his double-pointed sword Zulfi qar and riding his indefatigable mule Duldul given to him by the Prophet.¹⁴ A key belief of 'exaggerated' Alid traditions was the transmigration of the soul (tanasukh), which held that great figures of the past were reborn in present and future cycles of time.¹⁵ Thus when in his poems Khata'i declared himself to be the Divine Truth (haqq), Ali, Jesus, the twelve Shi'i Imams, the assertion was more than metaphorical. Not limiting himself to Arab Islamic figures, Shah Isma'il also claimed to be an embodiment of the great warriors and emperors of the pre-Islamic Iranian past: 'I am Faridun, Khusraw, Jamshid, and Zakhak; I am Zal's son (i.e., Rustam) and Alexander'.¹⁶

When Herat fell to the Safavids, the Qizilbash put the city's religious luminaries to the sword, extracted treasure from its notables via torture, desecrated the shrines of Naqshbandi Sufis, and on pain of death forced people to publicly rebuke the first three caliphs of Islam usurpers of Ali's sovereignty in Qizilbash eyes.¹⁷ Despite such Safavid oppression, These litterateurs and artists now offered their services to Shah Isma'il. Thus as Timurid princes were submitting themselves to the Safavid's Sufi discipline, the latter began to fashion themselves as the legatees of Timur. This mimesis between the saintly and the royal was to have a lasting impact on both Mughal India and Safavid Iran.

Conclusion : It is difficult to separate the lives of sixteenth-century kings from the texts of their lives. It was, instead, an effort to highlight the process in a new mode of writing, imagining and embodying sovereignty. In order to see this process at work, however, we must explore the larger cultural imagination of the time sustained by a variety of literary forms, oral traditions and commemorative practices surrounding the lives of sovereigns. Besides using the conventional historical method, which begins by taking the 'epic' and 'hagiographic' out of the 'historic', we must also devise ways to examine how these different modes of narration came together to inform sixteenth-century conceptions of the past and present. For, as was presented here, the heroic epic and the saintly hagiography often preceded history. Indeed, the former informed the latter by shaping the lives of kings as well as the stories told about them. Put differently, royal chronicles were more than a panegyric record of courtly events; these texts narrated the efforts of kings to live up to the ideals of the epics—both in person and as memories.

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10. The Position of Royal Women (Hoysala Period)

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Abstract

The position and status of women is considered to be an index of the level, of cultural well. as well. A healthy society is that in which more and more women take part in more and more political and cultural activities., it is not known if such parameters could be applied to the early medieval period in general and Hoysala period in particular. Our sources, however, enforce certain limitation, Epigraphs, whether they are viragals or danasanas or others, they do not highlight the role of women incidentally they contain references to women of the period. Even in this case they have a bias towards the wives of royalty, wives of the ministers and other officials. Thus very rarely do we get references to women of the lower strata of the society.¹

Other queens are also described as proficient in fine arts². Princess Hariyaladevi (wife of Kumaraballala) is called a Sarasvati³ in fine arts. Another queen Bammaladevi was a governed of Asandi 500 and Nigund 300, as evidenced by an inscription of 1138 from HAranaHalli.⁴ She was very adept in taming the horses, and prepare them for battles and was good in asvasala. She was the head of an asvasala(horse stable) and under her worked Anantapala who was a sahini. This clearly shows that Bammaladevi should have had formal education in administration as well as asavastra. Another queen Bammaladevi, wife of Balla was also an administrator as she is described as ruling from Dvarasamudra in one of her inscriptions. She was even entitled to the position of Mahamandalesvari⁵. This information is provided by an inscription of the time of Ballala II, dated 1184 A.D. The parents Chandayya and Mallidevi express happiness over the birth of their daughter Somavve and go to the extent of calling her kuladipike. Such instances

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are rare during the period. Even the birth of Santaladevi is considered as a 'prasada' from DhanneSvara⁶. That instead of cursing their fate for the birth of a daughter, her parents considered it a 'punya'! This also speaks volumes for the position of daughters. We do not hear of any discrimination against the daughters once they are born.

Most of the queens of the Hoysalas were highly educated, particularly in the fields of fine arts like music, dance and literature. Santaladevi is referred to as vagdevi in education. Her proficiency in fine arts is well known. Many inscriptions praise her knowledge of music and dance. Epigraphs have choicest phrases to describe the proficiency of Santale in the fields of dance and music. They are: gitavadyanrityasutradhare; sakalakalagamaniine;

vivekaykaBrihaspati, sangitasangataSarasvati;
sangitavidya" Sarasvati; vichitratanartanapravartana

Umadevi, another queen of Ballala is perhaps the most distinguished administrator who took active part in the political affairs. The inscription from Kanakatti dated 1209 A.D., gives a graphic description of the personality of Umadevi. She was administrator of Magare 300⁷. Another queen Ketladevi is known to have taken great interest in financial matters as well as giving advice to the merchants⁸.

The wives of many of the Hoysala generals and ministers were also well educated. The famous general Gangaraja's wife Lakshmale is described as pandite in an inscription from Sravapabelagola of the time of Vishnuvardhana, dated 1121 A.D.⁹ Gangarasi wife of MahamandalesvaraEdavarideva is referred to as 'equal to Sarasvati in all arts' (bahukalapannate Sarasvatigene). Mandalik'a Ballideva's wife is described as sakalakalaSarasvati and gitavadyanritya pravine¹⁰ Mallideva had a wife Sitadevi. She was well versed in fine arts. An inscription from Sira describes her as sravya kavyadivyagitavadyanrityadividya pravine and kavigama ki vadivagmivaitalika pathakadi Jana paritusthe¹¹. Thus she was a scholar, poet, gamaki and good speaker in addition to proficiency in music, dance and playing instruments. Mahamandalesvara Gangs Fermadi's wife Bachaladevi was also an accomplished artist. Her titles include pratipakshagayakaganamana parikhandane¹². From all these evidences it becomes clear that queens, princesses and daughters of high officials were given good education, with particular reference to fine arts and literature.

While selecting the bride or the bridegroom, the status of the family, weighed more than others. There are epigraphical references to the marriage of Hoysala princes and princesses. Invariably the marriages took place between two royal dynasties. This might have been done for political and diplomatic considerations also because matrimonial alliance provided help in times of war by enemies. Narasimha II gave his daughter in marriage to CholaRajaraja III. In the absence of contemporary ruling families, the next best for matrimonial alliance was samantas, mahamandalikas and ministers. This can be illustrated with some examples.

Santaladevi belonged to a family of heggades on her father's side and belonged to another equally faithful and sincere subordinate's family. Naturally Vishnuvardhana's parents selected this prestigious family. Likewise Vishnuvardhana's daughter Hariyaladevi was married to Mahasamanta Singadeva¹³. Bammaladevi, one of the queens of Ballala II was the daughter of Mokhari Lakshya who was a mahapasayita and administrator of Hulikal.¹⁴ Another queen Umadevi was the daughter of Kesavayya who was a heggade and rajadhyaksha under Ballala II. ¹⁵ The epigraphs have not furnished the parentage of some Hoysala queens. For example Vishnuvardhana's queen Lakshmi's parentage has not been described. Whether this silence suggests that she was from an ordinary family cannot be said with certainty.

It is quite interesting to know that an inscription of Vishnuvardhana from Bella dated 1136 A.D.,¹⁶ refers to the marriage of Mahapradhana Istitiyanna, whom Vishnuvardhana treated as his own son. He performed the upanayana for the boy and later when the boy was fifteen years old performed his marriage with the daughter of his commander-in-chief. Even the marriage ceremony is described here; "Vishnuvardhana himself lifted up the golden kalasa and pouring water on his hand gave away the virgin thus providing him with a marriage of unimagined happiness."¹⁷

Kanyadana was done by pouring water over the hand from a kalasa. When the above boy was fifteen years, naturally the girl must have been about ten or twelve years at the time of the marriage and this can definitely be termed balyavivaha. Kanyadana is also referred to in another inscription from Belurtaluk, belonging to the time of Ballala I and dated 1101 A.D.¹⁸ It refers to kanyadana along with other creamlike godana, bhadana, aharadana etc. That kanyadana was considered a sacred duty is evidenced by an inscription from Basral of the time of Narasimha II, dated 1234 AD.¹⁹ Hariharadandanayaka is praised as the performer of various & Das including kanyadana. This was also responsible for the parents to perform kanyadana to get punya in addition to fulfilling the family obligation.

Hoysala queens did not lag behind in building Saiva temples also. Santale built the Ramesvara temple in 1116 A.D.,²⁰ and also Dharmesvara temple at Santigrama. Jakkiyabbe established Santalesvara and Boppesvara temples.²¹ Rajaladevi contributed greatly to the Bommalesvara temple.²² Madaladevi built the Tuvvaesvara²³ temple. Gujjaladevi's attendants built the Siva temples at Bacchalli²⁴ Balur and Karigunda. Bommala's mother Sommayve built the Amaresvara temple at Attigondanahalli.²⁵ Abhinavaketaladevi was associated with Ballala II in constructing the Kedaranatha temple at Dvarasamudra. This shows the great interest taken by the Hoysala queens in temple building activity.

The above sketch of the position of the women during the Hoysala period shows that it is a continuation of the traditional pattern of living some local variations as necessitated by the local circumstances and the Administration, Architect, Fine Arts skill of the royal women and other official women.

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11. Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826 : A Rethink

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Abstract

The Kingdoms of Manipur and Burma had been interacting in different ways since their very inception of their state formation. By end of 15th Century A.D., the sovereignty of TammuKampat (Khampat) was transferred to Manipur as its share of their war-spoils. As a matter of fact, it had been under the possession of Manipur; however, the Burmese invaded Manipur after the death of Pamheiba Garibniwaj. They massacred a large number of Manipuris and rendered the country desolate. It is known as the Burmese Reign of Terror. Gambheer Singh liberated Manipur with the help of English by the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826. TammuKampat (Kabaw Valley) became the bone of contention. The cession of Kabaw Valley formed the watershed in the political history of Manipur with the appointment of Lieutenant Gordon as the First Political Agency, Manipur in 1835.

In the days of Kyamba, the Raja of Manipur, Khikkhomba alias Soohoongkhum, the Raja of Pong state with his capital at Magaung, was in alliance. The Raja of Pong state transferred the sovereignty of TammuKampat (Khampat) Valley - the Kabaw valley to Manipur as its share of their combined war spoils in the later part of 15th century i.e. in 1475.¹ In the course of subsequent wars between them, Kabaw valley fell into the hands of either the one who ever won the battle as the case may be. In 1714, Pamheiba was the Raja of Manipur. He adopted Hinduism and changed his name to Garibaniwaz. Kabaw valley was in the possession of him after whose death the Burmese invaded Manipur massacred a large number of Manipuris and rendered the country desolate.²

The First Anglo – Burmese war (1824 – 6) was one of the results in the conquest of Assam and part of the Burmese coast pushed the bounds of British influence beyond the limits of India proper.³ It took place (24th February, 1824)

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immediately after the new Governor-General, Lord Amherst arrived (1st August, 1823)⁴. India, at his arrival was a great British empire where opponents after opponents had been destroyed, and where new John Bull had settled down as a great sovereign ruler with an unchallengeable authority and an unconquerable might.⁵

As already cited, it became a regular feature that the two immediate states, Manipur and Burma had been in wars. In 1762 (14th September) Manipur established a formal relationship⁶ with the English Company by signing a treaty between HaridasGossain, the Vakil of Bhagyachandra alias Jai Singh, the king of Manipur, on behalf of his Highness and Harry Verelst, Chief of Chittagong factory on behalf of the East India Company. It was a significant development in the history of Manipur and British as well though the earlier might not surrender sovereignty to the latter.

Bhagyachandra abdicated his throne in 1798. All those who succeeded him ascended the throne one after another in the coming years except Marjit who brought instability due to fratricidal conflicts among the ambitious royal princes. This led the Burmese conquest of Manipur completed in 1819, known in the history of Manipur as *ChahiTaretKhuntakpa*- the Burmese Reign of Terror; the Seven Year Devastation, 1819 – 26. The period signified the high – watermark of Burmese domination over Manipur⁷ and was that it had ever faced a national catastrophe.⁸ During this period, the following kings of Manipur (1) Yumjaotaba (1820), (2) Gambhir Singh (1821), (3) Jadu Singh (1822), (4) Raghau Singh (1823) and (5) Bhadra Singh (1824-25) ruled Manipur.⁹ The liberation of Manipur from Burma was accomplished by Gambhir Singh and his men with the assistance of the British.¹⁰

On the 24th February, 1826 the Burmese concluded a treaty,¹¹ the terms were dictated by Campbell¹² provided for the payment of a crore of rupees as war indemnity by the king of Ava and agreed upon, the absolute surrender of the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, abstention of the Burmese interference of any kind in Assam, Cachar and Jantia, their recognition of Manipur as independent state, and also concluded a commercial treaty upon the principles of reciprocal advantages with the admission of a British resident at Ava,¹³ Burmese envoy being allowed to come to Calcutta.

However, in the Treaty, no mention was made of Kabaw valley which after the war remained in possession of Manipur and from that time formed a continual source of contention between the King of Burma and the Raja of Manipur.¹⁴ Accordingly, the Burmese king agreed to give to the English company the province of Arakan and Tenasserim. Burmese forces were to be withdrawn from Assam and Cachar. They also recognized the independence of Manipur.¹⁵

The British government which represented the Raja of Manipur, Gambheer Singh in the negotiation following the Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826 took the KabawValley as part of ancient Manipur and therefore failed to incorporate in the said treaty any provision relating to it except to mention that, "*With regard to Munnipore, it is stipulated that should Gymbheer Singh desire to return to that*

country, he shall be recognized by the king of Ava as Rajah thereof''¹⁶ as signed on February 24, 1826 between Archibald Campbell, T.C. Robertson and Hy. D. Chads, on behalf of Manipur on the one hand and Largeen Meonja, Woonghee and Shwagum Woon, Atawoon, on behalf of Burma on the other. The above quoted clause of the Treaty of Yandaboo was not stipulated as part of Articles of the treaty which conveniently gave room for protest that led to the loss of Kabaw valley to Burma. The points of dispute were that –

- (i) as appointed by the Supreme Government of British India, Major Grant and Captain Pemberton as Commissioners for the purpose, they proceeded on Friday the 9th February, 1828 to meet their counterparts of Burma on the bank of Ningthi river;
- (ii) not being happy with the contention of the Government of British India that Kabaw Valley was part of ancient Manipur, the Burmese Commissioners failed to attend the proposed meeting to settle the boundary issue convened at Ningthee river bank with a view to availing the same;
- (iii) on the ground that the season had already far advanced for the work of demarcating the land and that the same be postponed for the next year;
- (iv) the parties agreed to meet next year in 1829 wherein the Burmese Commissioners falsely argued that the Ningthee river and the Chindwin river were two different rivers and that the Ningthee was a river flowing to the West of the Kabaw valley. This contention was sent to Calcutta supported by a fabricated map;
- (v) the British India Government sent it to the two British Commissioners in Manipur for verification and report with the instruction that in the event of the map found fabricated with falsehood, it had to be challenged in the proposed meeting in 1829;
- (vi) the British Commissioner in Manipur gave their reports proving that the Ningthee river and the Chindwin river were one and the same flowing to the west of the disputed valley with a copy thereof to the Resident at Ava;
- (vii) the Burmese Commissioners sensing the difficult situation to be faced in the 1829 meeting attempted to evade the same for the second time on the pretext that they were busy to collect the remaining part of the war indemnity and celebration of festival; and
- (viii) under instructions of the Supreme. Major Grant and Captain Pemberton proceeded to Ningthee and fixed the boundary of Manipur including the territories conquered by Gambheer Singh.

Accordingly, the Burmese were invited to a meeting fixed for January, 1830¹⁷ with a clear notification to the effect that in the event of failure to attend the said meeting, the boundary would be fixed permanently in their absence.

By November 1829,¹⁸ the Burmese shifted their ground. For the first time, they admitted that Gambheer Singh re-conquered the Kabaw Valley; but began to plea that his occupation of it was not provided in the Treaty. It must also be mentioned

that in the meeting of January 1830, the Burmese admitted that their map was wrong. Notwithstanding, the British Commissioners fixed the boundary¹⁹ as in the previous year despite Burmese reluctance. According to the Palace Chronicles of Manipur, the British officers left the Capital of Manipur for Ningthee on Friday 7 of Wagching (January) 1830 and returned there from on Tuesday 23 Phairen (February) 1830 after fixing the Ningthee as the boundary.²⁰

But the Burmese refused to consent to the renunciation of the territory on the ground that though the Kabaw Valley –

“... had at various period been in possession of Manipur”, no Manipuri princes had “... ever exercised authority in it.”²¹

The Burmese also produced documentary evidence showing that at different times they overran certain portions of the territory on the eastern and the western banks of Ningthee. The Burmese stood firm and no amount of efforts to prevail upon them as advanced by Major Burney, the Permanent Resident at Ava and Captain Pemberton, the British Commissioner, could convince them. Major Burney reported on December 15, 1830 that despite concessions offered to the Burmese, the King of Ava “... felt the loss of a single foot of land as a diminution of his own conscience and power.”²² Major Burney in his report on the subject matter further said that despite his best efforts to bring about an amicable settlement of the issue in May, 1831 questioned the purpose of establishment of his office at Ava if no proper settlement could be achieved. Writing on the same vein in April 1832, the Government of British India was stunned to receive his contention that as per Burmese history and other authenticated proofs, Kabaw Valley belonged to the Burmese during the last 800 years.²³ Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, remarked that though no definite opinion could be formed on the matter and though he still held the view that Kabaw Valley belonged to Gambheer Singh with Ningthee river as the boundary,²⁴ in consideration of the humiliation of their pride and their power possibly, if not extinguished, reduced remarkably, he thought “... it be both generous and expedient to grant them this gratification”. Based on this remark, the final orders as contained in their letter addressed to the Resident of Ava on March 16, 1833²⁵ with instructions to the two British Commissioner in November 1833 was issued on January 9, 1834 that compelled the Burmese to sign the Agreement which had four clauses to make over Kabaw Valley to the Woondouk, Mahamengyan Raja and Tsaradangee Ni Myoogyawthoo, Commissioners appointed by the King of Ava, the towns of Tammoo, Khambat, Samjok and all other villages in the Kabaw Valley, signed by F.J. Grant, Captain and R.B. Pemberton, Capt., Commissioners, Sunmyachil Ghaut, Ningthee River and Woondouk Moha, Mengau Rajah.

This was followed by another agreement by which Manipur was given compensation for the loss of Kabaw Valley signed on January 25, 1834,²⁶ according to which “... the Supreme Government was to grant a monthly stipend of five hundred Sicca rupees to the Raja of Manipur, to commence from the ninth day of January one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, the date at which the transfer of Kabaw took place as shown in the agreement mutually signed by the British and Burmese Commissioners”.

The compensation was paid regularly by the East India Company till 1858 when the Crown assumed direct administration of British India,²⁷ taking at the same time the responsibility of to honour all commitments of the East India Company as contained in the proclamation of November 1, 1858 of Queen Victoria as announced by Lord Canning at a Durbar at Allahbad which said, "We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we took for the like observance on their part".

Avoidance of another war with Burma was the main consideration for which the Kabaw Valley was lost to Burma as expressed by the Governor-General "... and the admission of the Burmese into the Valley may tend to much more collision with the Manipuris, but with our superior power a better or worse military boundary is of no consequence whatever and these boundary disputes if arising can lead to no war."²⁸

Yet, frictions with Burma did not cease with the transfer within 18 years, the second Burmese war broke out. Major Burney was blamed for this for pleading transfer of Kabaw Valley to Burma. Sir James Johnstone²⁹ was quoted to have observed on the issue as given below, "As is always the case, though we had carried all before us in the war, we began to display great weakness afterwards. We had an agent, Colonel Burney at Ava and the Burmese who were not disposed to be at all friendly, constantly tried to impress on him the fact that all difficulties and disputes would be at an end if we cede the Kabaw Valley to them, that territory belonging to our ally Ghambheer Singh of Manipur...".

Moreover, Desai³⁰ squarely blamed Major Burney, Resident at Ava for the loss of Kabaw Valley, saying that – "another principle in Burney's policy was that his own government should always show highhandedness in official dealing with Ava but as Resident he would stop and obtain for the King petty privileges and concessions. It was thus that the Kabaw Valley was returned to Baghidaw. But for Burney it would never have been transferred from Manipur to Burma. This was no petty concession. The King did not permit Burney to play the role of permanent intermediary."

It is also interesting to note that in defense of the complete silence of Ghambheer Singh on the issue contended Kabaw³¹; The Government of Manipur was not given any chance for refuting the points raised by the Burmese and Major Burney. The government of India simply informed both the governments of their decision. It had asserted its unilateral right to fix the boundary and not to allow the Burmese to interfere"

Lord William Bentinck was equally held responsible for transfer of Kabaw valley to Burma. It was a coincidence that while he was the Governor-General, Major Burney was the Agent at Ava. The official Reports on the Kabaw Valley situation were only for eye-wash³². In actual field, the situation deteriorated which prompted Lord William Bentinck to take a policy decision on 7th February 1835

that led to the appointment of Lieutenant Gourdon as the first Political Agent, Manipur with which British administration in Manipur introduced.

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12.

Traditional Pottery Culture in Colonial Assam Some Issue in technological Change

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Abstract

It is intended to analyze on traditional pottery culture and technological change in Colonial Assam is an important topic in the pace of modern. In fact, it is a universal phenomenon that by which starts the first civilization. Pottery making is age-old traditional occupation from the time of human civilization. In the first part of the topic has hold a brief background and ingredient source of the for of a civilization and also reflects of traditional knowledge. It throws light on the food habits of the people; their religious and social customs and also technological advancement attain by the people even their economic conditions. In second it will show the formation professions homogeneity in Assam that particularly those caste groups relating to pottery work but basically two groups i.e., Kumar and Hira are the main caste among all to manufacture pottery. So the study of pottery without reference to its social context remains unrealistic or unfruitful. In this paper an attempt has been made to depict the established a link between the traditional pottery and its technological change with special reference to rural employment of Assam. The study is depending on the particular pottery making methods and socio-economic pursuit in recent period. The outcome of the paper is to be field research on the Kumar people in upper Assam and try to examine the present status of the crafts and artisans, technique of pottery production and rural employment. The study is to conclude some shortcomings as well as positive measures are drawn at the end to survive the craft.

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Key words: Bewildering pottery technology, Re-expedite the special professional community Search opportunity in employment generation, Road ahead to survive

Pottery is the first craft which brought a change in human life and compelled it to stop for mobility from one place to another for which this topic has been brought in ubiquitous form. It is an interesting phenomenon for bringing civilization amongst human beings comprehensively in the entire universe. Since early melting earthen wares created as subsistence of people and only one monopoly source of property for cooking, preserving and providing new better goods and services. Looking into the functioning of different technological changes in the pace of modern day, it is brought in this discourse to revitalize the issues of traditional pottery culture. In the light of experience of environmental degradation from the chemical field and to survive a class of professional communities in their livelihood measures, the researcher has chosen this topic to focus the barriers, for reviving such a major culture particularly in Assam and India in general. In fact, pottery is a very powerful tool for producing, generating, redistributing of human culture which help in the permanent settlement and cooperation among the societies. Developing the sprite of pottery among the young generation with new technological implementation has become vital who will form the dent of substituent economy. Before going to discuss about the modern technology and its changes in the traditional pottery culture, it can be remembered to the European colonialism from the end of 15th century. Various stages are passed for development of pottery technology and the workers seemed from different communities of the World, but later on these workers formed the dent of homogeneity within the profession of pottery culture. With change like globalization, deregulation and open completion and technological change taking place where professional society has faced a tremendous challenge in their life.

It is tried to focus a few global discourse some foremost communities living in different parts of the World. Pottery making culture flourished from the ancient period to gradually it came to light in the modern age. The invention and development of pottery is a reflection of social, economic and environmental conditions, many of which are still poorly understood and a significant indicator of a society's cultural development. Even in England and France who entered in India had brought the experience of craft technology from their home country and expedited those to Assam. How some of the synoptic objectives are stated as to respect own profession, respect and reward own artisans. Demonstrate constructive criticism to own professional workers, to offer appropriate technology, to be polite for profession without complexity and superiority, to develop the 'Service first, profit later' mentally instead of the opposite. As a professional artisan, its stable existence is possible if the workforce is motivated and encouraged, and only if users are satisfied. By opening an important and useful enterprise is to channelize potentiality of the youth of the state for the benefit of the society. Constant

monitoring of the targeted market and competitive product is needed to use of advance technology instead of traditional.

Though unlike the North East region of India, in Assam too, the plain people produced very good qualities of pottery tools than the hill people. Even, according to the archaeological evidence, pottery first appeared during the era of Paleolithic art in East Asia (China, Japan), before eventually spreading to the Middle East and the Mediterranean basin during the Neolithic period, thousands of years later. The categorization of pottery throws light on the food habits; their religious and social customs and also technological advancement attained by the people even their economic conditions. It also provides a more satisfactory basis for interpreting historical archaeology or history as such. So the study of pottery without reference to its social context remains unrealistic or unfruitful. The production of pottery involves mainly the recognition of clay, manufacturing process, designs and decoration, firing and socio-cultural bearing in which the pot is manufactured, distributed and used. It is obvious that Neolithic revolution along with agriculture and sedentary way of life. In historical context, Pottery provides some of the most useful data on chronology, site to site relationship ritual and dietary practices, the economic relationship of production and exchange and many other aspects of cultural behaviour.

It has been observed on importance of pottery culture that it is more environmental and ecological fact for which widely acquired the attention during the last decades. Pottery as a process has been a subject of concern not only to the academic historian but to a great extent; it has become a theme for major interest of the demographers, socio-economic planners, administrators as well as policy formulators. In the less developed or developing countries, pottery has been considered not only as an index of economic development but also an important factor for sustainable livelihood of the Kumar peoples i.e., social and natural patterns of environment. Pottery is a process of social change and it has triggered changes in the internal as well as external society of the countries, states and districts. In the advent of 20th and 21st centuries some prominent historians and scholars are very interested to acquire new knowledge on the pottery culture and they tried to formulate new theories for producing high qualities of pot making and designed as utmost scientific method. As a global process, pottery has been investigated from multiple dimensions and in the sense of socio-economic condition has been changing the occupational structure of the pot making caste in Assam during the last few decades. In short, it can be mentioned to study the racial compositions of land and people, to provide guidance for running the unit profitably, to assess on pottery culture as a way of socio-economic formation, to observe basic structure, challenges in change, skill in production of pottery industry, to study about the stages of pottery industry in colonial period, to highlight the system of production of the pottery industry, to study strength and weakness of the pottery industry etc.

It is obvious that pottery is regarded as a key indicator of change and development leading to transformation in economic, social and cultural lives of

the people of Assam. Pottery culture is conceptually assumed to consist of three components viz, demographic, economic and social. The social and economic factors are important but demographic factor is crucial one. On the other hand pottery culture is one of the changing concepts of our day to day life. Pottery and Kumar's are two side of a coin and both are also inseparable in their origin. Among all field of study, the researcher found lots of negative and positive factors behind the development of pottery particularly on the region. The pottery culture has been adversely affected by ecology, economy, and socio-cultural system of our environment. Thus, as the result of gradual process and slow growth of production, it has breakdown the traditional values and behaviour pattern of the people among the Kumar. In spite of having several problems, the study will help mostly in unorganized sector, the information gap due to lack of transport and other communication network, large quantities of goods produced any regard to quality, infrastructural in case of proper raw materials, lack of publicity, literacy and skill in marketing, no attempts to introduce innovations and improvements in traditional designs, lack of Capital, Lack of Market Research etc. Marketing is a problem for all the potteries issue. Therefore, this work would be emphasized on the study of the various conditions like Socio-economic and political familiar of the Kumar Communities in Assam.

Review of Literature:

For general understanding of the concept of traditional pottery culture and technological change, we may refer to article '*Small European Entrepreneur*' by Jeremy Boissevain (1997) regarding self-confidence, achievement orientation, perseverance and resourcefulness in entrepreneurship mode. Sometimes, entrepreneur has been considered as a quality which can acquire by an individual and is a function of various factors psychological, socio-cultural, economic, Information & Technological etc. It can be stated that the books of M.K. Pal, K.C. Gupta, H.N. Bose, Kenneth Clark, M. Nagar hold the picture of gradual technology in pottery manufacturing. These works set the trend of study in socio-economic and cultural formations from the beginning of human civilization. In North-East India a useful reminder vitalized by H.D. Sankhalia, S.K. Mirmira and few other important works on Assam have been done by prominent historian like, H.K. Barpujari, S.L. Baruah so and so in this field of study. Radically, most of the pragmatic suppositions are extended by writers of native to apprehend the topic. The majority of Assamese castes is heterogeneous in origin and open to infiltration and still contains large population in process of conversion on professional works. The recent scholars like Bhakta Das, the inscription like Nidhanpur grant (II.130-1) refers to Kumbhakara-garta or pit where from the pottery-makers used together their materials for wheel as well as in the Kumali grant. Proof of the existence of such art is shown by some specimens with designs on them discovered from Tezpur, Dah Parbatia. Some of the Souvenir of All Assam Kumar Sanmilon, Assam, District

Committee of Darrang '*Bonti*' and communally writing of different contributors and suggestion are found there. Methodology is an important part of any kind of the systematic study i.e. research. Methodologies adopted in the present work are obviously historical and analytical. The study is based on the primary and secondary data. Primary data are collected by personally visiting the study area. Data are collected on the basis of sampling which related to the topic of the research. The secondary data have been collected from the sources like books, magazines, journals, official documents, libraries and other related sources of the topic.

Pottery in Colonial Period

The British administration who had come after Ahom period in Assam, a well organized craft technology was introduced than in any other parts of India. They kept a few traditional and existing processes, which for bold engineering skill and a wonderful contempt of difficulties deserve to rank with the work of old. Along with pottery crafts the boat making technology which served the twin purposes for preventing substitute income has brought in focus during the time. New technologies and growth of new perspective give us to find a scientific resolution on the pottery culture, which focused its manifold dimensions. Pottery culture is considered both as independent and dependent condition. In the context of developing countries, it is treated as very powerful independent phenomena. In 1953, the state government established the Khadi & Village Industries Board, Assam has taken some scheme for modernization of pottery industry in the state. In 1996-97 a total of 2170 pottery industry were in Assam, the total employment in this industry was 25736 in the 1993-94 against 23,369 in 1992-93 in Assam. In the year 2001 census, in 1999-2000, there were 2186 working centres and total employment was 25,777 and pottery industry gradually developed in the State. The pottery industry is spread all the side and corner of the state and there is ample potential for its modernization, expansion and growth of small industry in Assam.

Presently, disguising of the professional communities in their own culture in one of the major cause to its downward and as a researcher, it is observed some of the organizations, those constantly organizing the specific community to harbinger and generate from modern technological beliefs. We may refer here only few point for upgrading the pottery culture those faced a lots of financial problem to continuing their life old craft industry. Not only this, but some other problems are also drawn succinctly as such-effects of globalization and modernization, Government's initiatives to preserve the culture etc. At Gotanagar, Guwahati one of the spot verification has been completed and found the centre of '*Kumarjyoti Udyog*'. Instead wheel turn pottery crafted by potters from neighbouring Dhubri, Sylhet are sold. Including Sualkuchi, different areas of lower Brahmaputra valley, the Kumar people not only done pottery work, but they turned into weaver. The tendency towards specialization in pottery is mainly because of the economic advantage of skilled workmanship and specialized tools and the fact that potter's clay is not found everywhere. Most of the people of Majuli are practiced the clay and fuel making clay work along the trade

route by Brahmaputra with connective rivers. Moreover, Dibrugarh, Sadiya, Saikhowa Ghat and Lakhimpur, Dhemaji etc. of upper Assam are an important market centre for indigenous earthenware as water pitcher, flower pots and the ordinary cooking pot directly sold their wares in different big market by sheltering the boats.

As an important phase of development in Assam for traditional crafts along with pottery, the British administration encouraged many potters to extend high quality production. But during the time the potters' villages are situated in the peripheral area and their indoctrination could not help them either surviving or high class pottery with local clays. The chapter has focused mainly communication impact, export-import management, and impact of Swadeshi movement, manufacturing tools or items during the British period. They didn't directly pressure to development of the pottery technology. The road communication, modern boat making practice, to analyze on the manufacturing method of the colonial pottery, impact of transportation, impact of new industrial tools have also been discussed. Moreover, the impact on indigenous pottery culture, decoration of vessel, preparation of clay, utility and design, marketing and better commodity to change for environment have taken to attempt for discuss. The topic defines equilibrium between indigenous and trans-migratory culture later on the study of pottery and the culture associated with kumar.

Major Findings

Most of the kumar people are living in the riverine areas of the Brahmaputra valley. Due to erosion and natural calamities were the responsible causes to shifting their procession to other place.

They are very indoctrination in nature. They never want to leave the old tradition in production of pottery crafts. Instead of it the potters were expediting their own hereditary culture yet the new industrialization gave some important impact to their clay work.

Before commencement of colonial period in Assam the Ahom royal class supported the various handicrafts in particular pottery work. They classified these communities as five different categories i.e, Rajagharia, Bilatiya, Satriya, Devaliya and Rajahua.

Reference has been available that in the innovation of Neo-Vaishnavite religion by Srimanta Sankardeva in case of introduction of various musical instruments such as Khol, Midang, Dhol etc. were made by the kumar potters.

Due to the Bhakti religion (preaching), the people used earthenware to worship for the salvation from chaotic mind.

The kumar people are used to manufacturing of different articles for cooking, preserving goods, keeping water, floor threshing wall painting etc.

The waterways was mostly used by the potters because the safety of earthenware. On the other hand during this period of the study the road communication system was very poor, therefore the potters of the region

had preferred boat to trade and business.

Due to negligence of the government policy and system the potter people has not received any good support and also no land preservation method. Global marketing is very much necessary to sale and buy the pottery goods, building facilities to the potters to open the workshop and kiln as well as other local products.

This is a humble effort to study the time and area in this discourse. The pottery industry in the state has great potentialities and holds out a promising future, assuring a prosperous life for the pottery workers particularly for Kumar potters in Assam. It is believed that the pottery has provided the need based remedial measures and above major findings is taken for positive action for the future development of the pottery crafts. But the researcher's work is certainly a gateway for the future researchers and policy makers. The findings of the work would lead the concerned people up to the pace of recent time. Finally, the colonial rule in Assam is an important to sustain the pottery crafts along with other crafts.

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13.

Surendra Sai and Resistance Movement In Western Odisha

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Abstract

The resistance movement led by Surendra Sai of Sambalpur against British imperialism is a landmark in the history of freedom struggle of Odisha. Surendra Sai popularly known as Surendra, was born in the Chauhan family of Rajpur Khinda¹. He is remembered for his courage in resisting the exploitation of British rule and their injustice. He is one of the valiant sons of the soil who sacrificed his life fighting against the British and died in obscurity. He not only started a political revolution by taking effective steps to improve the social and economic status of the people of lower classes. Surendra Sai symbolizes unity between tribal and non-tribal culture.² Odisha remained under the rule of Afghans, Moghuls and the Marathas. The Odia people suffered much hardship, oppression and exploitation during this period. Thus the struggle of the Odias under the British rule is a continuation of the same against the Muslims and the Marathas.

Further, I want to draw the attention of the scholars that the nineteenth century history of Odisha reveals that it was a period of great political unrest. Several political revolutions were started against the British rule among which the Sepoy mutiny of 1857 in national level, Paik rebellion of 1817 at Khurda, Ghumsur disturbances, uprising of Nayagarh, Bhuiyan revolt of Keonjhar and Adivasi revolt of Kalahandi stands for the most. It was the national political consciousness against an alien rule that found expressions in the rebellions. Among these revolutions the struggle of Chauhan Veer Surendra Sai was a unique movement in the history of Sambalpur as well as western Odisha.

If we look back to the previous history of Sambalpur it is known from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta in the fourth century A.D. that

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Samudragupta defeated king Mahendra of Koshala which at that time comprised the present district of Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur, later on Koshala remained under the Sarabhapuriyas and the Panduvamsis. Great kings like Janmejaya 1st of Somavansi Dynasty consolidated and extended the territory of Kosala in the later part of ninth century A.D. During the last part of the Somavansi rule Sambalpur was occupied by the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Gangas occupied this region and it was kept under a Ganga Governor. The middle of the fourteenth century was a critical period for the Gangas and it was exploited by Ramaidev, a scion of Chauhan Rajput family who led the foundation of Chauhan rule in western Odisha. Balaram Dev founded the Chauhan kingdom and after a policy of war and conquest it grew into a large and powerful kingdom. Another great king of this dynasty Baliar Singh, the fifth Raja of Sambalpur further extended the territory. Taking the weakness of later Chauhan rules Sambalpur was occupied by Marathas and at last it came under the British Suzerainty in 1817.³

After the death of Maharaj Sai in 1827 A.D. the British Government installed Rani Mohan Kumari (The widow queen) in the throne of Sambalpur. The widow queen ruled over Sambalpur from 1827 A.D. to 1833 A.D. She was weak and inefficient. Never in the history of Chauhan rule of Sambalpur, a woman had been raised to the throne. That was done against the local customs and dynastic principle. Consequently disturbances broke out immediately. So, it was a critical time in the history of Sambalpur. The British government, knowingly did not give the throne to the real claimant, Surendra Sai. Another factor was Surendra Sai will never be a puppet in the hands of British like queen, Mohan Kumari. But the British Government knew every situation and find out another person to be the king of Sambalpur.⁴

The second. Claimant to the throne of Sambalpur was the young Zamindar Gobind Singh of Jharsuguda. He belonged to the generation of Haribansh Lal, the third son of Chhatra Sai. Gobind Singh became the worst enemy of Surendra Sai because he knew that Surendra Sai was a claimant for the throne of Sambalpur. So, he became envious with the popular support of people to Surendra Sai. Later on he rendered his support to Surendra Sai in several battle fields.⁵ The third claimant was Raja Narayan Singh who was an old and inefficient Zamindar of Barpali. He has really not established his claim but the British Government promoted him to claim the throne of Sambalpur. Another factor is he was a bodyguard of Rani Mohan Kumari for some time. On that ground, Rani Mohan Kumari like the Zamindar Narayan Singh. Another thing is the queen had the power in her hand so, she gave the proposal for the installation of Raja Narayan Singh to the British in the throne of Sambalpur. Her proposal was accepted by the British authority but revolt was not controlled rather it spread to the hilly areas of Sambalpur. Raja Narayan Singh has no interest to sit on the throne of Sambalpur but the desire and wishes of queen forced him to continue as the ruler. But within no time he knew that the throne of Sambalpur was not a bed of roses for him. After he became the

ruler, the widow queen Mohan Kumari was awarded a sum of rupees Six Hundred per month and send to Cuttack and then to Khurdha .⁶

Before Surendra Sai, Several tribal chiefs had already confronted with the rule of Rani Mohan Kumari. Her harsh measures against the people became unpopular. The land revenues were enhanced. Especially the Gonds and Binjhal suffered much by her policy. They were discontented and ultimately revolted against her authority. Among them Abdhut Singh, the tribal chief of Besaikela in Padampur, Govinda Singh of Jharsuguda were most important. The resistance movement initiated by those leaders took the shape of a full scale war with the advent of Surendra Sai. In the inaccessible area of Sambalpur Surendra Sai waged a sustained war by guerilla tactics. He collected the support of tribal people and tribal rulers.⁷

Surendra Sai had six brothers, namely Udant Sai, Dhruba Sai, Ujalla Sai, Chhabila, Jajjala and Medini Sai. All of them took active part in the rebellion. They enlisted the support of likeminded Zamindars and Gountias for organized the rebellion against the British. Gonds rose in arms under Balabhadra Singh Deo who was thrown out from his Zamindari of Lakhanpur and subsequently killed by the sepoys of Raja Narayan Singh.

The only follower of Surendra Sai was Durjaya Singh, the Zamindar of Rampur near Jharsuguda. As an act of revenge, Surendra Sai and his brothers destroyed the fort of Rampur and killed both the father and son of Durjaya Singh. The British Government act immediately and arrested Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta Sai with their uncle Balaram Singh. They were finally sent to Hazaribagh jail as life prisoners in 1840. Balaram Sai died in the jail, Surendra Sai spent long seventeen years in the jail waiting for an opportunity to resort his battle. ⁸

Maharaja Narayan Singh died issueless in the year 1849 and his widow queen Mukhyapan Devi assumed the reins of Government and ruled for some time. But Lord Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse policy was came into force on 1849 and Sambalpur was a victim of the policy. But the case of Sambalpur was different from other native states. The Raja of Sambalpur had not proposed for an adoption rather he wished to take possession of his principality of the British Government. Accordingly Mr Crawford, the agent of the Governor General issued proclamation that the state had lapsed to the British Government and sent two native officials Munsii Prasanna Lal and Rai Rup Singh to take over the Raja's paper and to dispose up petty cases etc. Mr. Crawford himself arrived at Sambalpur with a regiment of the Ramgarh battalion in December 1849, bringing with him Dr. J. Kedanhead the latter officer was in the charge of the district as principal Assistant with Rup Singh as "Native Assistant and Narayan Singh's widow queen Mukshyapan Devi was sent up to Cuttack with a pension of Rs. 100/- per month."⁹

The British Government followed a harsh and oppressive policy towards the people as well as the Zamindars of Sambalpur from 1849 to 1854. They did not follow a conciliatory policy towards the Zamindars and the people. The land revenue

was enhanced five times and they made settlement two times, rent free Jagirs were abolished. Among the people of Sambalpur wide scale discontentment was seen. It is revealed from a record that the amount paid by the state as annual tribute previous to 1849 was Rs.8,800 where as that amount rose to Rs. 74,000 in 1854. From the revenue collection only Rs.25,000 are expended in the cost of collection and the payment of establishment, including a European officer.

The Brahmins were a nucleus parts of the society were also dissatisfied and went a body to Ranchi for appeal without however obtaining any redress. In the year 1854 a second settlement was made on equally indiscriminate principles where the alignments of all villages being again raised by one fourth. The result was an enormous rise in the revenue obtained by the Government. Therefore, it was not at all surprising to find that many Zamindars and common people supported the revolt of Surendra Sai against the British in 1857.¹⁰

The second phase of Surendra Sai's war against the British began in 1857 A.D. Veer Surendra Sai after being released from Hazaribagh jail heralded a new phase of confrontation with British by coming back to Sambalpur in July 1857, to inspire and give leadership to his old associates for the cause of freedom was ever burning in their memory. His revolution was an integral part of the historic revolution of 1857. In spite of his regional significance his revolution cannot be dissociated from its national character and the history of Indian Revolution of 1857 will remain imperfect and incomplete without taking into account the role of Veer Surendra Sai in their great national upheaval.¹¹

Soon after their release from jail, Surendra Sai and Udant Sai entered into Sambalpur. By the middle of September they entered the town of Sambalpur with a force of 1,400 or 1,600 men. He established contact with Captain R.T. Leigh, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Sambalpur and desired for remission of his terms of imprisonment. He also made a representation to the Government to be recognized as the Raja of Sambalpur. Captain Leigh promised to bring the matter to the notice of the government, But at the same time he ordered that surendra Sai should disperse his followers. He should stay at Sambalpur till the decision of the Government was known. Udant Sai was permitted to reside in their native village of khinda, a little distance off from Sambalpur. Capt. T.E. Dalton, Commissioner of Chhotanagpur recommended to the Government for commuting the sentenced of Surendra Sai and his brother Udanta Sai on the condition that both of them should reside either at Cuttack or Ranchi. However he was not prepared to raise the issue of his recognition as the Raja of Sambalpur.¹²

In the meanwhile, G.F. Cockburn had sent troops from Cuttack in anticipation of troubles at Sambalpur. He was not in favour of showing any mercy to Surendra Sai and even suggested for his deportation. Surendra Sai was treated like a political prisoner and his residence was closely guarded. Naturally he became suspicious of the intension of the government. and ultimately fled to Khinda on 31st October 1857 to join his brother with this began the second phase of his revolt against the British

Raj. The armed forces at Sambalpur had been strengthened by the arrival of two companies of the 40th Madras native infantry under Captain Knocker. Lieutenant Hadow of the Madras Artillery, who arrived at Cuttack with some light mountain guns was also asked to reach Sambalpur by forced marches, and to take part in an expedition which Captain Knocker undertook against Khinda and Kolabira. It was anticipated that both Surendra Sai and his brother would be found at their native place, Khinda, and they would be easily arrested. But both of them escaped to the dense Jungle and they could not be traced. At Kolabira the British forces also failed to find the rebels. They destroyed the house of the Gountia of Kolabira, who was one of the principal Supporters of Surendra Sai .¹³

Having assured popular support and the militia organized by the different Zamindars Surendra Sai heralded the banner of defiance against the British authority in early August 1857, by organizing five strategic posts, two on the road from Sambalpur to Nagpur, two on the road from Ranchi to Hajaribag and one on the road from Sambalpur to Cuttack and stationed himself at Debrigarh with sizeable force at his command. As per description given by warloo the strategic points were having high and thick walls with boulders hanging on the trees in the entry path. In fact some of the boulders used by Surendra Sai of different size and shapes are still found in the Dr. N.K. Sahu, Museum, Sambalpur University. It was wonder that a man without formal education and bereft of modern arms and immunizations could organize so strong a base that it baffled the British soldiers. It is indeed an example of powerful organization, super vigilance and electrifying leadership.¹⁴

The vigorous encounters at Jujomura on 19th November 1857 resulting with the death of Dr. Moore, the battle at Kudopali, the battle at Singora created ripples in the rank and file of British forces forcing the authority to strengthen the military base involving battalions from every quarter.¹⁵ The death of Woodbridge at the hands of Janardhan Singh at Pahadsirgida on 12th February 1858, heightened the prestige of rebels who divided themselves into groups to organize guerilla fight at different strategic places. Meanwhile Capt. Foster replacing Captain Leigh created a hide and seek situation between the rebels and British forces adjusting to cope with the changing situation. The situation that came after joining Foster was marked by fiendish cruelty of the British who after suppressing the revolution in other parts of India boasted of superiority of power and on the other hand the revenge and retaliation of the rebels who resorted strictly to guerilla fighting.¹⁶

The revolution in Sambalpur from April 1858 was more severe and methodical and ultimately mighty British forces have to bow down before it. The policy of Foster was to isolate Surendra Sai from the support and sympathy of the feudatory chiefs and Zamindars which according to him will cripple his resources and strength. He further stated a policy of coercion and terror as deterrent measures for those who supported or were suspected to have support for the rebels. The Sambalpur jail having capacity for less than 100 prisoners accommodated about 300 convicts and many innocent persons were put to torture on mere suspicion.¹⁷ It was during

this period Veer Surendra Sai with the close support of a few trusted Zamindars entered into understanding with the state of Rewa, Pendra, Surguja in the adjoining of central provinces and stationed himself in the Manikagarh hill fort. Surendra Sai's new strategy was not to fight the British force directly but to attack the supporters of British and to smash them in order to terrify and discourage such supporters and collected sustenance and resources for his troops. He was not afraid of encountering the British forces and build up huge defenses to meet any eventuality. He instructed his followers not to march from place to place in large number but move in groups of two or three to avoid notice of the enemies and not have an occasion for a big clash. By this way he thwarted the various moves by the deputy commissioner or Raipur Sambalpur to apprehend him. The situation was so perplexing for the British authority that Capt. Foster in spite of his, military planning and iron administration found himself helpless and was unable to control the vigour of the revolution. His policy of coercion and terror proved ineffective and he had to quit Sambalpur discredited and utterly dejected in April 1861 giving way to Major H.B Impey as his successor. The appointment of Major Impey Deputy Commissioner marked a turning point in the history of Sambalpur. The large piles of arms and ammunition was futile and nothing positive was achieved. He was forced to follow a policy of conciliation and pardon to set right the shimmering condition in Sambalpur and entered into negotiation with rebels. After availing positive response from R.N Shore, Commissioner of Cuttack, he issued a proclamation on 24th September 1861 to free the rebels confined in the jails of Cuttack and Sambalpur. Attempts were made to ascertain where about of Surendra Sai. After having submission of Udanta Sai and others, that affected the surrender of Surendra Sai along with strong followers Gajaraj Singh, Khageswar Deo, Fate Singh, Kunjal Singh assuring them with pardon and sanction of pension for maintainance. Lord Elgin in his letter dated 22nd November 1862 reported to secretary of state for India that Surendra Sai "Sambalpur Rebel" had surrendered.¹⁸

The Great Revolt of 1857 had been suppressed elsewhere in India by 1858. But in the district of Sambalpur it had continued till 1862. The secretary to the chief Commissioner, central province, rightly pointed to the Govt. of India-"The Sambalpur district was perhaps the very last district in the country, where the disturbances of 1857 were finally stamped out".¹⁹

His Brothers Udwant Sai and Medini Sai were also captured from a different place. It was not possible to prove that Surendra Sai was preparing to rise against the Government, and J.S. Campbell, the judicial Commissioner, remarked that Surendra was involved in dacoities. In spite of the strong verdict of the Judicial Commissioner, Surendra Sai and his six others were detained at Nagpur under Regulation III of 1818.²⁰ The British Govt. declared that Surendra was a traitor. Sai was captured by the British. The treacherous person of Khulia Dayanidhi Meher played a treacherous role against Surendra Sai. All the seven prisoners were taken to the fort of Asirgarh in January-June, 1866. His detention was subject of controversy between

the British administration and judiciary and on analysis it was found that the case, trial and detention of Surendra was illegal. However, he continued to stay in Asirgarh jail till his last breath.²¹

Many historians put Veer Surendra Sai Parallel with Napoleon Bonaparte of French Revolution of 1789. The heroic achievement of Sunder Sai and his uncommon sacrifice for the cause of his people have few parallels in history. His role in shaping the cause of the Revolution of 1857 and 1858 in the hilly tracts of Western Odisha was highly inspiring. The British became formidable power in the world after the victory of Crimean war (A war in Crimea between Russia and a group of nations including England, France, Turkey and Sardinia, (1853-1856) and their success in crushing the revolution in India in 1858. Veer Surendra Sai carried on an uncompromising war against the forces of imperialism till 1862. These four years were the momentous period for the last phase of the Indian revolution and Surendra Sai was the torch bearer. The aim of Surendra Sai was to drive the British from Sambalpur. But the great hero spent the last part of his life like Napoleon in saint Helena. Thus by passing of time Veer Surendra Sai lives in his glory as a great Martyr. He fought almost single handed against the most formidable forces of imperialism, staking all that was near and dear to him and suffered untold miseries all through his life.²²

In retrospect it is visualized that the patriotism and heroism exhibited by Veer Surendra Sai is unparalleled in the history of freedom movement of India.

He was not only a great revolutionist but also an inspiring leader. The name of Surendra Sai, who fought an epic struggle against the British rule, should have been recorded in golden letters in the history of India's struggle for independence but he is yet to get the right place because of our ignorance and carelessness. The fearless warrior Surendra Sai had spent 37 years of his life in prison and had fought relentlessly against the Britishers for 20 years i.e. between 1827 and 1840 in the first phase and between 1857 and 1864 in the second phase but had never bowed down his head before the enemies. It is time now that we should give proper respect and reverence to the valiant warrior.²³

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14. Political and Administrative Changes During Creation of Ambala Division

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on the administrative and political restructuring of Punjab after the very significant historical development of the Annexation of Punjab by the British and the gradual decline of Sikh power in the last vestiges of Sikh rule. This is done with the motive of studying the changes and transitions in the political and administrative set up which led to the creation of Ambala Division.

Keywords – Division, Cis-Satluj, Darbar, Administration, Region

The objective of the paper is equally to study the political and administrative imperatives that led to the creation of the Ambala Division. Finally, it is also the objective of the paper to observe and account for the changing cartography of the Ambala Division after its creation.

The Commissioner of the Cis-Satluj states had been appointed at Ambala before 1849. Ambala also acted as the Headquarters of the Division, which comprised of the area which lay between the British north-west of Jamuna frontier and the river Satluj.

As a result of the political changes which took place in the first few decades of the 19th century and as an indirect corollary of the British policy of curtailment of powers inherited by the independent rulers, the picture of Cis-Satluj states had undergone a change. The first and second Sikh Wars had put the loyalty of Sikh Chiefs towards the British to test and most of them had been found wanting except for the Chiefs of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Chhachhrauli (Kalsia), Raikot and Buria.¹ By 1849, most of the Chiefs were either deprived of their territory or were deprived of their powers and lost all civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction. It can be argued that this period marked the formal transition of administration of the Cis-Satluj States to the British.

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In the Second Anglo-Sikh War the British scored a decisive victory and on March 12, 1849 the Sikhs surrendered and laid down their arms. The Sikh Darbar was held at Lahore on 29 March, 1849, in which Maharaja Daleep Singh and the council of Regency conceded accession to the East India Company, which led to the complete annexation of Punjab during the regime of Lord Dalhousie.² All the terms of annexation were settled with Maharaja Daleep Singh.³

Khilnani explains the annexation in the following words: "The death of Ranjit Singh proved disastrous for the Sikh State. The disruptive forces gained momentum and progressively hastened the dissolution of the Sikh kingdom. The English always eager to profit by internal dissensions in neighboring territory set in motion unscrupulous diplomacy and finally annexed the land of five rivers in 1849".⁴

Sir Henry Elliot, the Foreign Secretary, held a Darbar at Lahore for the formal proclamation of the decision of the Government of India about the annexation. The motives for the annexation had pronounced economic as well as political dimensions.⁵

As per *Ambala District Gazetteer* and *Punjab State Gazetteer*, the Cis-Satluj States were placed on the same footing as the other Commissionerships. Just like the other Commissionerships it was placed under the superintendence of the Board of Administration at Lahore. It was at this time that the colonial government made "Ambala the Headquarter of a district and Division under the newly formed Punjab Administration".⁶ The separate offices of Sessions Judge and Commissioner were permanently allocated to five districts, namely, Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Thanesar and Shimla.⁷

Dalhousie established the 'Board of Administration' in the Punjab at Lahore in March 1849, with the power to communicate directly with the Governor General.⁸ This Board of Administration was formed to cater to the administrative needs of the newly annexed territories and constituted the supreme administrative body which subsumed under it all the other major organs and political, civil and financial control. For the proper administration of the province a Board of Administration was set up under Sir Henry Lawrence as President, Mr. John Lawrence and Mr. Charles Mansel as the heads of Revenue and Judicial Department respectively.⁹ Henry Lawrence returned as resident and opposed annexation; but Governor-General Dalhousie was determined, and in April 1849 he ratified the treaty in which Dalip Singh conceded sovereignty to the British for a pension.¹⁰

An important historical source, *History of India under the Company and the Crown*, however mentions that in the beginning administration was entrusted to a board of three commissioners. According to the book, Henry Lawrence was the President of the board and his brother John Lawrence and Charles E. Mansell were members. Within a period of three years, law and order was restored in the province. This was ensured through disarming the people and construction of fortresses along the frontier. Means of communication and transport were developed. New codes of criminal and civil procedure were laid down.¹¹

Though Hindi speaking region of Punjab had come under the British rule in 1803, no significant improvement was made in the general condition of the people.

When the Punjab was given the status of an Indian Province in 1859, Sir John Lawrence became its first Lieutenant Governor.¹² At this time Ambala, Ferozepur, Thanesar, Ludhiana & Simla fell under the Commissioner & Superintendent Cis-Satluj states.¹³

There is evidence that the Ambala Division was created between 13-8-1863 and 20-11-1863. This can be ascertained on the basis of the testimony that letter No. 504 dated 25-11-1863 from the Secretary to Government is addressed to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division. On the other hand letter no. 371 dated 13-8-1863 was the last one addressed to the Commissioner and Superintendent Cis-Satluj States.¹⁴ In 1862, Thanesar district was broken. Two years after this, in 1864 Sirsa district was also broken.¹⁵ However, under the Commissioner & Superintendent of the newly formed Ambala Division, it is evident that the Ambala, Ludhiana & Simla were the only three districts in the Division. This is borne out by the letters dated 20-5-1864 to 15-2-1864.¹⁶

Parganas of Shahbad, Ladwa and a part of Thanesar were brought under Ambala and were constituted into Pipli Tehsil. In 1866, Pehowa Pargana from Karnal was transferred to Pipli Tehsil of Ambala.

In 1899, Kalka-cum-Kurari estates and Kasauli and later in 1916, Sanawar were transferred from Simla district to Ambala district.¹⁷ In 1886 Ambala Division was merged into Delhi Division. "Ambala was till 1886 the headquarters of a separate Division containing Ludhiana & Simla."¹⁸ It was only in 1911 when the capital of India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, the Ambala Division once more became the headquarters of a Division. Kalka, Kurali, Sanawar were added to Ambala district from Simla district.¹⁹ After the Coronation Durbar in 1911, Delhi proper and a portion of Delhi district ceased to be a part of Punjab. The districts of Punjab were grouped into five Divisions. One of the Divisions was Ambala Division, which consisted of the districts of Ambala, Simla, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon. The position remained so till 1947, the year of the partition of the India.

It can be summed up that Ambala was developed with the passage of time as a Division and many changes in its administration occurred till 1947. After the annexation of the Punjab in 1849, the Cis-Satluj States Commissionership, were placed under the Board of Administration. The Chiefs of various estates were either deprived of their territory or were deprived of their powers and reduced to the position of the jagirdars entitled only to collect revenues assigned to them in perpetuity subject to the doctrine of lapse. A commissioner who was appointed in place of the Political Agent, Ambala, looked after the districts of Ludhiana, Ambala and Simla.²⁰ By the Governor-General's proclamation of March 1849, Punjab became a part of the British Empire in India. The administration of this newly conquered territory was entrusted to a board of administration consisting of three commissioners. Within a period of three years law and order was restored in the province new codes of criminal and civil procedure were drawn up.²¹

In 1858, the areas beyond Jamuna, that is areas of Meerut and Agra Divisions were separated and made a part of United Province of Agra and Oudh. The new province which covered the districts of Shimla, Ambala, Hissar, Karnal, Rohtak, Gurgaon and Delhi was known as Delhi province.²²

The Ambala Division was created in 1863 as per the letter no. 371 dated 13-8-1863. In 1884, Commissioner of Ambala, came under the charge of Commissioner of Delhi Division, as the Ambala Division cease to exist. Ambala was till 1886 the headquarters of a separate Division containing Ludhiana & Simla.²³

After the Coronation Durbar in 1911, Delhi proper and a portion of Delhi district ceased to be a part of Punjab. The districts of Punjab were grouped into five Divisions. One of the Divisions was Ambala Division, which consisted of the districts of Ambala, Simla, Karnal, Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon. The position remained so till 1947.

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15.

Demographic and Occupational Changes Among the Namdhari Sikhs of District Kapurthala

*Anuradha Paul

Abstract

District Kapurthala has 7, 54, and 521 inhabitants out of these 4, 48,654 are Sikh i.e. 59.46% of population. The Namdhari Sikhs also have their share, but they are a minority community in district.

Key words : *Namdhari-Sikhs of district Kapurthala, Demography, Migration, Occupation, other means of livelihood.*

Our sample survey of two hundred -Namdhari families of this district show that their population is less than half percentage (i.e. 0.41%) These two hundred families comprise 117 Namdhari Sikhs; 587 male and 530 female. Approximately, they comprise 53.5% Jats, 41.5% Ramgarhias and 5% other castes like khatri, Arora, Kamboj, Mehra, Nai, saini. The Jats are in majority in rural areas where as Ramgarhias in the urban centers. This paper analyzes the Demographic and occupational changes of Namdhari-Sikhs of district Kapurthala.

Present demographic position of the Namdhari Sikhs in this region is not a result of natural population growth since the inception of Namdhari Movement in the middle of 19th century.

Similarly, in the early 20th century, a small number of Sikh peasants and artisans responded to the propagation of Namdhari-Movement. Only five is said to have lived in this state before partition of India.

Fauja Singh Bajwa in his book, *Kuka Movement: An Important Phase in Punjab Role in India's Struggle for Freedom*², W.H. Macleod in his article, *The Kukas: A millenarian sect of the Punjab*³, M.C. Ahluwalia in his book *Land Marks in Sikh History: Fully Researched and Documented History 1699-1947* talks about the economic factor responsible to increase the number of Namdhari Sikhs. Why not the Sikh peasants and artisans of this erst while state did responded to the

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Namdhari-Movement? This question becomes more relevant when we notice that Sikh peasants and artisans of the adjoining district like Amritsar, and Jalandhar responded in thousands. Above all, the economic condition of these peasants and artisans was not far better as compared to them. In the wake of this background two primary factors can be cited for the lukewarm attitude of these Sikhs. First of all adjoining districts were under the direct British rule where as Kapurthala a Native state. Moreover, Sikh rulers of this state were loyal to the British rule, while Namdhari Sikhs comforted with the raj the rulers of this state supported the raj.⁴

Furthermore, Namdhari Gurus and leader did not made serious efforts to propagate their mission in this erst-while state perhaps only on one or two occasion the Namdhari Guru undertook tours over here before partition.

Government policy about the settlement of Sikh refugees mainly in Jalandhar division changed the demographic structure of this erst while state too.⁵

Our sample survey shows that a larger number of Namdhari families (146) i.e. 75% of the total interviewed families migrated from the west Punjab and eventually settled in the rural and urban areas. Approximately 60% of these migrant families came from Sialkot district alone and 7% from Lahore district very small number of these families also came from Sheikhupure, Lyallpur and Gujranwala districts. Only five families are such who had migrated from Pakistan but about the places they did not responded.

Namdhari Sikhs in urban centers

Kapurthala: At present, we could identify fourteen Namdhari families in Kapurthala: twelve belonging to Jat and one each to Ramgarhia and Khatri. Six Namdhari Jats were actually allotted land squares in the village of Ajnala tehsil, district Amritsar. After dispose off these holding initially they bought land in Hoshiarpur than in Kapurthala district. When the Jurisdiction of Municipal Corporation expanded the household of these Namdhari Jats come under its Jurisdiction. Along with their ancestral occupation one or two members of such families are either doing a service or gone abroad or running a work shop. Five Namdhari Jat families are migrated from far off villages two from village Nihalgarh, Nadala Blook, for their Job and to impart better education to their children; two from Busowal, tehsil Sultanpur Lodhi, for better living standard and business opportunities. They are well off agriculturists and operate their agricultural activities from here along with their business one of these is money lender. One migrant family is of daily worker but did not respond his where about. Remaining Jat family is native of Kapurthala and doing own business.

All these families show keen interest in modern and technical education. Out of these 54 Namdhari Sikhs 6 are post graduate among them one also has done JBT and 15 are graduate it include also the 3 B.Ed and one 'ETT', 14 are +2 where as other are either tenth or under metric 19 are still students and studying in different classes.



Sole Ramgarhia family is of Pradhan Swarn Singh Matharu, He started daily wage work as lathe machine operator. During 1958-62 he shuttled between his village Bhano langa and Kapurthala for job. In 1962 he started his own work on small scale and settle down here permanently. At present he has established big manufacturing unit but did not show any interest in education.

The only tonk Kshatria family also had shifted from village Bhano Langa for Government job. Being last posting station, after retirement, he settles down here. They did not show any interest in education both his sons are doing manual job.

Hussainpur: The establishment of integral Rail Coach Factory has transformed demography of erst while village Hussainpur. We could locate only two Namdhari Sikhs over here. One family is of native. In early twentieth century ancestor of this family get Government job in Railways and shifted to Lucknow. Some 18 years back his son, present family head immigrated to this place. Other family, after partition gets allotment in Ludhiana, when Rail coach factory was established for job he shifted here. It is said that head of this family is descendent of fourth Sikh Guru. Both these Ramgarhia families comprise 7 members and showing interest in education.

Bhulath: This town has distinction of having twenty seven Namdhari families 15 Ramgarhias, 11 Jat and one Khatri. Twenty two families came from Sialkot alone as far as four Ramgarhias and Khatri from Lahore. The Namdhari Jat got allotment at village Miranpur. Their sepidar Ramgarhias also came along with them and settled down at the same village. They were thoroughly marooned by the drastic floods of 1955. The Namdhari Guru Partap Singh came to their rescue. He persuaded the then Deputy Commissioner of Kapurthala district to allot plots for house hold. The Deputy Commissioner responded sympathetically and allotted six Marla plots to all these Namdhari families: Jat as well as Ramgarhias. These Namdhari Jats continued their ancestral calling of agriculture as their fields were not far from Bhulath.

The Ramgarhias too carried out their ancestral occupation but not as sepidar. At present 13 families are working as carpenters and masons. Two families own workshops of wood work. Majority of these Ramgarhias and Jat remained under metric only 7 Ramgarhias and 3 Jat could get graduation degree. Only Namdhari Khatri family runs its retail shop. They shifted here because of property dispute among collaterals about allotted land in Amritsar. They too are not good in acquiring modern and technical education.

Sultanpur Lodhi: There are only three Namdhari families that too come from Sialkot (Pakistan). Owing good financial condition they shifted over here, from Busawal some two km. away, for better life style and business opportunity. They are agriculturist and operate their land holding from here. All these Namdhari Sikhs are well educated one of them after retirement is engaged in agriculture, one own transport as well as is N.R.I.; one has multi business he is travel agent, agriculturist and commission agent too.

Phagwara: Forty three Namdhari Sikhs of Phagwara town comprise 38 Ramgarhias, 4 Jat and one Nai family. Only two families came from Lahore and Sialkot. Where as 28 families came from nearby village of district Jalandhar for earning their livelihood. Interestingly 18 Ramgarhia families belongs Chaana sub caste and are collaterals. Eight families have migrated from Nawanshahar, three each from Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana. Only one Ramgarhia family is native of Hadiabad part of Phagwara city. At present only 5 families are carrying on their ancestral occupation of carpentry; 13 Namdhari Ramgarhia families have their own medium small scale workshop; 3 families are engaged in different kinds of business; 3 families own garage, 3 families each has other mechanic, 5 families own transport out of these; 3 families are also doing other works. Two families have two members each in private concern (starch and chemicals industry). One family is of car dealer, one family has marble sale and purchase business. Remaining one family is working as Granthi in Namdhari Dharamshala.

They have shown keen interest in acquiring modern professional education those born after partition are literate and have acquired work proficiency. Two youngsters of this town for higher education had gone to abroad in just 2 years.

Namdhari Sikhs in Rural Area- In the rural area out of 110 Namdhari families 76 came from Jats and 27 from the Ramgarhias. There are handful families which belong to Kambojs, Arora, Khatri, Mehra and Saini caste. In terms of percentage Jats comprise 69.09%; Ramgarhias 24.55% and other 6.36%.

Migration-Out of 110 Namdhari-families eighty three came from Sialkot and seven from Lahore. Nine families have migrated from Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Nawanshahar to their present places due to different reasons.

Namdhari Agriculturists - Majority of the Namdhari agriculturist come from lower middle order of the peasantry the size of their land holding vary from 5 to 8 acres of land. The number of families owning more than 10 acres of land is less than two dozens out of 110 families.

Since majority of the Namdhari Jat families are marginal agriculturist. Like their counter parts, they also explored alternative sources of income Migration to abroad be an additional source of income. Twenty two Namdhari families depend upon remittance from N.R.I's, and from agriculture as one or two family members had migrated to abroad, among them four families are solely dependent on remittance.

Sample survey data show that 25 families are solely dependent on agriculture. One family head is engaged in multi business he is at a time an agriculturist, a commission agent, dairy farmer and got remittance from N.R.I. family members. Three families are engaged in agriculture one among them got remittance from N.R.I. and all these three families also get pension as the family head had retired from government job. One family head resigned from the government job and engaged in agriculture and dairy farming with three other families. One family owing to small size landholding to obtain riches had abandoned the ancestral



occupation and totally engaged him in dairy farming. Three family heads had abandoned their ancestral occupation, as owing good educational qualification, are doing government job and solely dependent on their salaries. One another family is doing government job and also persist his ancestral occupation i.e. agriculture. Facing sever and long illness and young children one family is solely dependent on agriculture. One family has his own flour mill and other own car and uses it as a taxi. Three Namdhari families are doing daily wage work. In Mithra (Kapurthala –Block) the whole Namdhari community comprises ten families and made a collective adventure to operate a fleet of buses.

Namdhari Ramgarhias- In the rural area, the Namdhari Ramgarhias comprise less than half of the Namdhari Jats. Unlike Jats, Namdhari Ramgarhias are not found in most of the villages. Majority of these families are still engage in the ancestral occupation of iron-smithy and carpentry. Some of these have opened their workshop for the household artifact and agricultural implements. Namdhari of Nadala and chachoki are economically well off former own two shellars. They are contractors and timber merchant too where as the later own manufacturing units. One Namdhari Ramgarhia is doing service in a private firm because he had not obtained higher or technical education.

To improve their economic status they have no hesitation to divert from their ancestral calling.

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16. Socio-Cultural Supremacy of The Bengali Bhadralok and the Challenges of The Gait Circular

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Abstract

British dominion was first established in Bengal. Calcutta was the heartland of British commercial activities and the first capital of British India. Naturally Western education first introduced in Bengal. The fruits of the Western education were first enjoyed by the Hindus. The Muslims remained indifferent to it for a long time as the British in many cases captured power by defeating a Muslim Nawab. However, the Western education created a new section among the Hindu Bengalis namely the bhadralok. The bhadralok or the elites of Bengali Society emerged as a renter class who enjoyed intermediary tenurial rights which excluded the vast majority of Bengali Muslims and lower caste Hindus from the benefits of land ownership and the particular privileges it provided. They acquired western education. This 'modern' intelligentsia was drawn mainly from the middle and lower strata of 'rent receiving hierarchy'. They considered Western education as an avenue for advancement under the British government. Some were recruited into the bureaucracy through whom the British ruled Bengal.

Key Words: - Hindu Bhadralok, Anti-imperialism, Economic Nationalism, Divide and Rule Policy, Caste discriminations, The Namasudra movement, Swadeshi movement, The Morley-Minto Reform Act, Census Report, The Gait Circular

It is true however that only the lower levels of administrative posts were

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assigned to the Indians. Although they established themselves in Calcutta and district towns, the Western educated *bhadralok* retained strong ties with the countryside.¹ Unlike Britain, an industrial revolution did not take place in Bengal. As a result there was no class struggle between the *bhadralok* and the 'old aristocracy'. But there was bitter hostility between the *bhadralok* and lower orders² which created complexity in Bengal's history during the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. In this regard, one of the greatest challenges from the British government came in the shape of Gait Circular during the first decade of the twentieth century.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Hindu *bhadralok* of Bengal had a favourable outlook towards the British government and western culture. A section of the western educated Brahmos,³ Hindus and converted Christians emulated western education, manners, etiquettes and style of living and considered it a symbol of social status. Even the women of their families were not excluded from it.⁴ But the situation began to change after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. After the Mutiny the rule of East India Company was abolished and the direct rule of the British government was established in India. The experience of the mutiny had prevented them from taking any initiatives towards the social and educational reform. However, their outlook towards Indian remained discriminatory as before. They considered the Indian as inferior to the British in the fields of education, politics, and economy everywhere. In the political field the Hindu *bhadralok* of Bengal grew increasingly disillusioned with the parliamentary system of government from the last half of the nineteenth century. The racial discrimination and arrogance of the colonial masters, unfair treatment in matters of pay and promotion, the partition of Bengal and the University bill of Lord Curzon made the Hindu *bhadralok* angry.⁵

However Political disappointment and grievances affected directly only a limited section- the urban educated middle class *bhadralok*. Economic distress added to the fires of political frustration and racial injustice. Tough competition with the British in trade, commerce and plantations and the favourable outlook of the government to the Europeans in these matters also disheartened the Bengalis. The Bengali entrepreneur had to face many hindrances too. Their scope for borrowing from the informal credit market where the Marwaris reigned was limited.⁶ The British rulers provided undue advantages to English Businessmen to the detriment of Indian interests. They were also not willing to provide higher technical education to equip Indians for industry and Business simply because the British Government wanted to keep India as a perpetual market for English trade.⁷ All these factors produced a kind of 'economic nationalism' in Bengal. Monomohan Basu (1831-1912), one of the famous dramatists and stage managers of nineteenth century Bengal, for example, completely rejected the opinion that the British had made tremendous improvements in India by introducing railways and other developments. Rather the British rule brought with it poverty and miseries for India. This economic nationalism brought the Bengali *bhadralok* closer to anti-

imperialism in the nineteenth century.⁸

The British Government also did not remain keep quiet. The British government knew that if Hindus could be crippled and divided, India's national strength would be weakened considerably. The next largest community namely the Muslims, who had earlier failed to take the fullest advantage of western education, could be gradually won by the government.⁹ The partiality of the British government towards the Muslim community as a part of their imperial policy and the gradually decreasing rate of job opportunities of the Hindu *bhadrakalok* also made them despondent.

In order to break the unity of the Hindu community, the British rulers also exploited the various divisions among the Hindus. In this regard mention may be made of the All India Census of 1881. It raised questions about the inclusion of different hill tribes and lower caste people within the fold of Hindu community. Superintendent Drysdale observed in this regard:

*'...many of the more bigoted high caste Hindoos employed as census enumerators or supervisors objected to record such as low persons as of the Hindu religion. This was illustrated by numerous instances brought to my notice of such persons having been recorded as of the Dher, Mang or Chandal religion by mere repetition of their caste in the column for religion. Possibly some in their humility and ignorance may not even have claimed to be of the Hindoo religion. More probably they were not even asked.'*¹⁰

The result of this observation was that the low caste Hindus began to distinguish themselves from upper caste Hindus. The low caste mobilization towards the end of the nineteenth century threw serious challenges to the high caste leadership. Particularly, the *Namasudras* who were the largest single Hindu caste group as well as the majority of the Hindu agricultural population in eastern Bengal resided in the areas of Bakarganj, Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna, Dacca, Mymensingh, Narail, Magura,¹¹ demanded a share in the economic resources and political power as a result of their changed economic position during the second half of the nineteenth century and thereby challenged to the existing socio-economic system.¹²

The real challenge towards the socio-cultural supremacy of the Bengali *bhadrakalok* came in the shape of the Gait Circular. The Gait Circular of 1910, which appeared before the Census Report of 1911, was a step forward in this regard. E. A. Gait was the Census Commissioner. He passed a circular proposing five 'tests' to define the exact position of certain communities occupying at present, in the opinion of the official, 'an extensive debatable ground'. This involved a questionnaire, which exacerbated the problem of the legitimacy of high caste middle class Hindus' claim to be the representatives of all sections within the Hindu society including the oppressed groups. These questions were - 1) did the members of the caste or tribe worship the Great Hindu Gods? 2) Were they allowed to enter Hindu temples to make offerings at the shrine? 3) Would good Brahmins act as their

priests? 4) Would degraded Brahmins do so? In what case were they recognized by persons outside the caste or were they Brahmins only in name? 5) Would clean castes take water from them? 6) Did they cause pollution (a) by touch (b) by proximity?¹³

These questioners posed serious threat to the Hindu *bhadralok*'s dominance in society during this period. The *Namasudra* Movement started challenging their dominance from the late nineteenth century. During the Swadeshi period, although leaders like Ambika Charan Mazumdar and Aswini Kumar Dutta were able to enlist some support of the *Namasudras* in areas like Faridpur, Bakharganj, on the whole the *Namasudras* remained aloof from the Swadeshi movement. This is because they identified the Swadeshi movement as the movement of high caste Hindu zamindars, whom the *Namasudra* peasants hated. The Morley-Minto Reform Act, by conceding the demand of the Muslim community for separate representation, had stimulated similar aspirations for separate electorates in the minds of many social groups including the *Namasudras*. The Gait Circular further enhanced their aspirations by proposing that the depressed classes would be enumerated separately in the coming census.¹⁴ In July 1912 a *Namasudra* delegation met Lord Carmichael, the then Governor of Bengal, and requested him to extend this stipulation to the members of their community as well.¹⁵

The response of the Hindu *bhadralok* was instant. U. N. Mukherji, Lt. Colonel of the Indian Medical Service and the son-in-law of Surendra Nath Banerjee, in his *Hinduism and the Coming Census* (1911) had strongly objected to the stratification among Hindus on religious grounds or on the basis of untouchability. This booklet and Ramananda Chatterjee's, editor of *The Modern Review*, the *Modern Review* challenged the Gait Circular on the grounds that although the Negroes in some parts of America were not permitted to worship in the same church with the white people, they were still considered as Christian. Then why should Hinduism be conflated with temple entry or worship of greater or lesser gods. Besides, service to God by good or degraded Brahmins was a social question not a religious problem. It was an exclusive concern of Hindu society. Moreover, there were no fixed rules about cleanliness or untouchability in Hindu society. In Bengal no Brahmin who went to a Chamar (shoe-maker) to order a pair of shoes considered himself polluted by his touch when he had his foot measured. Similarly, no Brahmin considered himself polluted by the touch of his tailor, generally a Muslim, or perhaps, a man belonging to some 'unclean caste'.¹⁶ *The Modern Review* even went to the extent of claiming that Brahmins and other high caste Hindus had never denied the 'Untouchable' castes the title of 'Hindus'. Rather it accepted into its fold anyone who called himself a Hindu.¹⁷ *The Daily Hitavadi* also made a similar statement.¹⁸ *The Sanjivani* and *Bangavasi* made much the same kind of claim.¹⁹

However, the Gait Circular was withdrawn because of Hindu agitation and protest. But this Circular and the Census of 1911 proved to be an eye-opener for the Hindus. It became clear that the upper caste Hindus had denied human dignity

to the lower caste people. With the example of the Legislative Council and the demands of special privileges by the Muslims based on their numerical strength²⁰ before them, the Hindu *bhadraklok* realized that unless the plight of the “untouchables” or the “depressed classes” was ameliorated, they would be at disadvantage. Therefore, they described the condition of the “depressed class” as a ‘standing blot’ on the Hindu social organization, which needed to be removed if they (the Hindu *bhadraklok*) were really desirous of securing the efficiency of their social organism.²¹

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17. Emergence of Cultural Conflict between North Bengal and South Bengal During the First Half of the Twentieth Century

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Abstract:

The Zamindars' society of this region had formed few intellectual organizations with the help of local and external intellectuals for the cultivation of literature and culture of North Bengal. In this case, among the intellectual organizations of North Bengal 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Varendra Research Society' were worth mentioning. After the establishment of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' (1905) and 'The Varendra Research Society' (1910),² there was created a cultural conflict between North Bengal and South Bengal. In this context the question arises how, after the foundation of two intellectual organizations, a kind of cultural conflict was created? Its exact explanation is much needed. Because its discussion has been neglected for so long by the intellectual society, even no one has shown interest in this regard. So in this article I shall try to focus on it.

Key Words: Conflict, Parishad, Society, Rangapur, Cultural, Bangiya, Varendra.

The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad and Cultural Conflict:

The first district branch of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' (Bengal Literary Council) was 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' (Rangpur Literary Council).³ Now the question arises why 'The Rangpur Sahitya Parishad' was formed by 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'? The main objectives of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' were the exaction of the historical places of North Bengal and some portion of Assam,

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research on the Bengali language and literature, print and reprint of books, magazines and collection of manuscripts, collection and publication of important information of ancient famous families of Rangpur, biography and autobiography of notable persons, collection and preservation of ancient inscriptions, relics, architectures and sculptures; moreover, to encourage for the cultivation of Bengali language and literature.⁴ For the preservation of historical elements which were collected by 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' a museum was needed. So after few days Rangapur museum was established by the officials of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'. Which was established in 1914.⁵ After the formation of this museum, many notable persons like Shri Mrityunjay Raychoudhury, District Magistrate J.N. Gupta, Padmanath Vidyabinada, Sheikh Shah Abdulla, Moulavi Mohammad Ali, Vinada Bihari Ray, Manmath Nag, Basanta Kumari Paul, Upendranath Chatterjee, Madhusudhan Adhikari, Neelmani Mukherjee etc had donated huge amount of historical elements to the museum.⁶ The historical elements donated by them are ancient Greek currency, Goddess made of brass, a farman of Nasim-Ul-Mulaq Kashem Khan Bahadur, silver and copper coins, various stone fragments, various types of ancient manuscripts and books etc.⁷ The purpose for which 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' was formed was largely successful.

But after the establishment of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad', there created a cultural conflict between 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'. But the question arises here, how the cultural conflict between North Bengal and South Bengal started centering on 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'?

Basically some reasons for this conflicts were: 1) The indifferent attitude of the prominent persons who were associated with different activities of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' like Rakhal Das Banerjee, Radhakumud Mukherjee, Panchanan Banerjee, Upendranath Chatterjee etc.⁸ Because they did not show their interest for publishing an article in the 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad Patrika', that was the mouthpiece of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'. The mouthpiece was a quarterly magazine.⁹ The officials of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' could not take in a good way. But 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' was the first district branch of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'. Nevertheless, the intellectuals associated with 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' were reluctant to publish writings on the mouthpiece of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'. They were regular published their writings in the mouthpiece of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'. The name of the mouthpiece was 'The Bengal Academy of Literature'.¹⁰ Later renamed 'Bangiya Sahitya Patrika'.¹¹ Thus an environment of conflict was created between both of Parishad.

2) Despite the indifferent of the officials of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' in this regard, the intellectuals of North Bengal started publishing their writings in 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad Patrika'. Historian Akshay Kumar Moitreyia, Jadunath Sarkar, (Rajshahi), Padmnath Bhattacharya Bidyavinad (Assam), Panchanan Sarkar (Coochbehar), Abdul Ali etc were notable in this

matter.¹² As a result, both the value and reputation of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' increased as a branch of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'. For which officials of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' did not take it in a good way.

3) The officials of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' as a main branch, demanded to sent the preserved items of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' in their own museum in Calcutta. But the authority of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' rejected this proposal. That is why; an atmosphere of opposition was created between both.

4) From the beginning of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan' (Bengal Literary Conference) only one annual conference was held in Rajshahi and that was introduced by 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'. It was the one and only conference of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' in North Bengal. Which was held in 1909.¹³ But on the advice of Rabindranath Tagore the conferences of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' were to be held in different parts of Bengal.¹⁴ So anger was created among the officials of the 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'. In this way, the cultural conflict started between 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad'.

5) 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' wanted that 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' would always depend on it as a branch. But the opposite picture had been seen. So the officials of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' did not like the wide spread activity of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' as a branch organization.¹⁵ Thus an atmosphere of cultural conflict between two Parishad was also created.

6) The officials of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' were no less responsible for the conflict between 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad'. Because in the beginning, the officials of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' used the word 'Branch Organization' in all its activities out of respect to the main organization. But later, for the activities of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad', its officials somehow stopped using the term 'Branch Organization'.¹⁶ Here the arrogant mentality of the officials of 'Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' can be identified. It was not possible for the main organization to accept it at all. As a result, an atmosphere of conflict between the two was created.

7) 'Uttarbanga Sahitya Sammilan' (North Bengal Literary Conference) was introduced by the officials of 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' and total ten annual conferences were held in different places of North Bengal like Rangpur, Bagura, Gouripur (Assam), Malda, Guwahati (Assam), Dinajpur, Pabna, Rajshahi.¹⁷ But the question arises here, for what purpose 'The Rangapur Sahitya Parishad' organized 'Uttarbanga Sahitya Sammilan'? For which a conflict was created between both Parishad. The reasons of this conflict were: a) In 1914, both of them decided to hold the conference at the same time¹⁸ and b) The negligent attitude of the officials of 'Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan' towards 'Uttarbanga Sahitya Sammilan'. From the conflict it was cleared that the 'Uttarbanga Sahitya Sammilan' is no less than the 'Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan' in any cases. Moreover, there were also many other reasons for the conflict between the both Parishad. It is clear that if

'The Rangpur Sahitya Parishad' had not developed then the atmosphere of conflict in cultural field would not have been possible. W

The Varendra Research Society and cultural conflict:

'The Varendra Research Society' was established in Rajshahi with the sincere efforts of three eminent persons like Akshay Kumar Maitreya, Kamar Sharat Kumar Ray and Ramaprashad Chanda.¹⁹ But the question arises why this society was established in Rajshahi? This is because 'The Varendra Research Society' was established in Rajshahi to collect many unknown ancient history of Varendra region cum all the North Bengal. The society collected the archives at its own endeavour and expense, basically with the expectation that it would focus on the new history of North Bengal. This society had achieved so much success in the history of Varendra region that it was not possible for any nongovernment organization. And the Society was also published various types of books on the ancient history of Varendra region.²⁰ 'The Varendra Research Society' has progressed so much in almost every aspect of collection and publication of the essential books of ancient history of Bengal that it was not possible for any other organization or University of Bengal to show it.

The collections of the society increased so much that a museum was very needed to preserve the collected things. After few days 'Varendra Research Museum' was formed. But how the cultural conflict started centering on 'The Varendra Research Society'? When the society achieved success in fulfilling its purpose, then the conflict began with 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Asiatic Society' of Calcutta, because the Society arranged to store many ancient archaeological sources and statues in their own museum. The authorities of 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Asiatic Society' claimed that 'The Varendra Research Society's collection and preserved valuable statues, coins, books etc should be submitted to 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Asiatic Society'. But the Society did not agree to it.²¹ Thus the conflict reached to the final stage. Therefore it is clear that 'The Varendra Research Society' had collected such data that were very important to 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Asiatic Society'. However an attempt has been made to explain the conflict in this article.

Conclusion:

At the end it can be said that if there were no such intellectual organizations like 'The Rangpur Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Varendra Research Society' in North Bengal, on the one hand many history of North Bengal would remain unknown till then, on the other hand, no cultural conflict in North Bengal could be seen with 'The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad' and 'The Asiatic Society'. However, it can be said without any doubt that if India was not divided, it would be difficult to estimate the level of this cultural conflict among these organizations.

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18. Pragmatism in Gandhi's Ideology

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Abstract

Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi the famous name in political world is Mahatma of India, and a mass leader for British India, is having different shades in personal and professional life. Leadership and authority in political parties is a complex phenomenon. The authority of party leaders is derived from their ability to control and regulate both sorts of resources. Gandhi became a mass leader to that extent that we teach a specific time period in his name as Modern Indian History (1919-1942) as Gandhian Era. His ideology was relevant and acceptable before Independence as per the need of hour. But later on as well i.e. after 1947 too India worked on his philosophy and till date we find his perception floating in different spheres of life.

Gandhi's personality and deep concern for people, his wide range of activities, his ideological commitments and the potential of his Satyagrah technique for political action undoubtedly attracted a hard core of followers who could be deployed in political campaigns and decision making processes¹.

As a matter of fact Gandhi fulfilled cravings for a source of authority, a sense of purpose and new world vision through his immense personal magnetism- deep concern for the minutest details of the lives of his associates, as well as his personal convictions. This aspect of Gandhi's leader follower relationship is evident not just in the lives of religious devotees but of level headed businessmen and politicians with careers to make. Many contemporaries believed that he was having a charisma to pull the people together due to his public image. His life style and reputations one who gained strength through abandonment of desire and self-restraint, evocation of a strong strand in Hindu thought, made him popular and sought after leader.²

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Gandhi's ideology is not only coming up with submission, pleadings, and surrender followed by Ahimsa but he was a visionary who knew that it is difficult for people of India to fight with Britishers for various reasons such as, lack of resources, giving up on self-confidence and no unity. He knew it very well that in absence of unanimous approach they won't be able to stand in front of Britishers and thus the 1857 will repeat it.

This was the story of before independence. When we observe the ideology of Gandhi after independence we come across different organizations inspired by them. Many or rather almost have a display of his pictures or quotes but hardly these are followed by people working in those organizations. May be we can say that only ethical parameter is avoided, but yes if we look the other way round his diplomatic ideologies are used worldwide. If you are weak in front of enemy don't fight, rather make them weak by destroying their work culture, their economy, their traditions and so on. (Major movements like Non Cooperation & Civil Disobedience Movement) are example to this). Try to get a place inside the opposition (advocating of constitutional developments by joining the moderates). Exactly the same is done by the people of today. Be it politicians, businessmen, social workers, service class, students, laymen, and what not everyone is looking for short cut diplomatic move, so that they can earn maximum within minimum work.

Gandhi was too mesmerized by himself, despite his oft-repeated protestations that he was not a visionary and that he was "prone to many weaknesses". That is both the gall and the honesty of the man: while he acknowledged that he was frail and vain like any other man, he got away with idiosyncrasies, foolish projects, unilateral decisions and political manipulation that allowed him to exercise enormous power and influence circumventing democratic processes.³ With all due regards to the sentiments of many, in writing history we generally have a debate over the authenticity of literary references as human beings are full of weaknesses (as claimed by Gandhi in his Autobiography) in which self-praise and becoming great by acceptance of flaws is very natural, so he could also be judged on same parameter. And thus many information and philosophies could be said, to be written for the purpose of self-praise, placing a question mark on the authenticity of his words.

Whether there is a need to adopt Gandhi's ideas in daily practices in ever changing and fast moving world, is a big question. We need to understand certain things like, need to introspect self, firm determination, strong will power and courage, as in absence of all this no concrete result will be possible. The significance and utility of Gandhi's ideas can be perceived even in today's time by following the above mentioned criteria. We need to know that the Gandhian ideology has not lost its relevance in the present era. It is more pertinent for today's world.

It is assumed that the solutions to the problems are to be traced from philosophy and no doubt that for years philosophy of Gandhi is admired and suggested not only by Indians but worldwide. Gandhi's visions form the very base on which a

new generation of decision makers must adapt, in order to compete on the global level. If the energy of the youth can receive honest and selfless motivation and direction from the experienced, then India can surely earn back the title of the "Golden Bird." Gandhi's vision should not be lost in religious, political and emotional fervors. It must be reorganized and reconstructed for a brighter and logical future.⁴

Ahimsa is the crux of Gandhi's ideas. Therefore, adoption of non-violent means is compulsory in the world of Gandhi. Gandhism calls one to Truth; it appeals to accept the real state of affairs, and without relinquishing self-respect, it urges readiness to compromise. There is no room for destruction of evil-doers. It expects end of evil not of the evil doer. It promotes a win-win situation for all the parties concerned, and not only for one party in dispute.⁵

Thus, we can come up with the interpretation that according to him the world will be back to Ram Rajya, and the fact is it will never be. If we start hating only the evil there is no need of punishments and no need of prisons rather we need the reformatory centers. In a world where the people become intolerant on very minor issues, where the work is done by bribe, where education could be purchased I personally feel that the above mentioned policy of Gandhi won't work. He had viewed education as an integrated approach to all round personality development. He was emphatic about the difference between learning and true education, knowledge and actual wisdom and between literacy and the real lessons that we learn from life, but again ideologies are good to read but when it comes to practice them they appear as burden.

Time to time many words spoken by him became quotes some examples are: "Each of us must be the change we wish to see in this world"; "An eye for an eye makes the whole world blind"; "The future depends on what we do in the present"; "Earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not every man's greed"; and "Truth alone will endure, all the rest will be swept away before the tide of time." Again all these philosophies were a part of practical life of Indian philosophy since ages in direct or indirect means, so giving a credit solely to Gandhi is not justified. But yes all these are quite relevant in curtail of selfish world we live in, these can develop empathy and thus can fight caste differences, religious differences, class differences making India or world a better place to live in.

Gandhi's teachings are valid today, when people are trying to find solutions to the rampant greed, widespread violence, and runaway consumptive style of living. Gandhi's gospel of non-violence makes immense sense, as in the name of retaliation, violence and hatred are being perpetrated today. In such a scenario motivating people to follow ahimsa is not easy but yes the examples of known personality had always interest masses. Not only this, but he has been proved as a leader of masses⁶ resulting in the impact on practical life. It was the unique non-violent movement under his leadership that earned for India freedom from the colonial rule. In spearheading the campaign against the alien rule, Gandhi adopted

the innovative techniques of Non-cooperation, Civil disobedience and social transformation, which had several exemplary features, and have been followed by different unions and social/ public welfare groups of Independent India.

The Gandhian technique of mobilizing people has been successfully employed by many oppressed societies around the world under the leadership of people like Martin Luther King in the United States, Nelson Mandela in South Africa, and now Aung San Sun Kyi in Myanmar, which is an eloquent testimony to the continuing relevance of Mahatma Gandhi⁷. We can't deny his efforts to the development of Independent India, the diplomatic role played by him is still continued. Political parties, business groups and social setups everyone is taking inspiration from his life and life living techniques. What more to say even the entertainment industry is not an exception to this we have many serious and many lighter note movies on his life and philosophy. Because he is the one who is praised by many for an idealistic approach so we hardly touched the other side of his personality. The political and social concern of Gandhi came up with the term 'Harijan', to give respect to the lower castes of Indian society. But the experiment had not stopped there, while framing the constitution they have been considered for reservation to bring them to the mainstream of society. Thus the importance of his ideology has been proved.

How relevant is Mahatma Gandhi in the 21st century? As many as 46 eminent Indians from various fields were asked this question by Raghunath Mashelkar, the internationally acclaimed scientist, and their responses are presented in his book. Mashelkar himself has this to say about it: "... not just a mere collection of thoughts. Collectively, it is the road map, or the way of life; it is the anchor for a youngster in search of inspiration." "Gandhian Engineering" is a concept enunciated by Mashelkar in a talk he delivered in Australia in April 2008. Later then, in July 2010, it was further refined and redefined as "Gandhian Innovation," and published in the Harvard Business Review as an article, authored jointly by him and C.K. Prahalad. The crux of it is how to generate "more, from less, for more people"⁸

In India, economic development has been mostly confined to the urban conglomerates. In the process, the rural India that comprises 700 million people has been given short shrift. Gandhiji's philosophy of inclusive growth is fundamental to the building of a resurgent rural India. He believed in production by the masses rather than in mass production, a distinctive feature of the industrial revolution. It is surprising, even paradoxical, that these days Gandhian philosophy should find increasing expression through the most modern technology. Now, it is possible to establish small-scale and medium-scale factories in smaller towns and remote corners of the country, the new system of establishing startups also is an extension to his thought, thanks to the phenomenal innovations in communication and information technologies, which opened the gates for the young generation for becoming self-dependent. New technologies have brought in widespread and low-cost electronic and internet connectivity that enables instantaneous contact between

industrial units, startups etc. and the sellers and consumers of their products. Location and logistics are no more a limitation or constraint for the development and growth of economy.

To quote Sam Pitroda, "While the twenty-first century has been defined by globalization, free markets, privatization, liberalization, etc. it has also been marked by violence, extremism, inequity, poverty, and disparity. Amidst all this, if one poses the question of relevance of Gandhi to our age, one is struck by an astounding need for him for our times. Gandhi's ideals... and leadership hold an extremely relevant moral and social mirror to our society." Thus, the Gandhian model and the modern economy seem to be getting closer to each other. Gandhi did not belong to an era, or an age. He belongs to the humanity for eternity⁹.

All the elements of his constructive program such as, eradication of untouchability, cow protection, emancipation of women, non-violence and prohibition etc. were suggested by almost all Hindu saints in yester years and these remain the agenda of today as well. In fine it could be said that, there might be many flaws in Gandhi's personality, but even those are relevant today. With reference to his ideology and political model many changes have been brought to social, political, and economic spheres of independent India. Diplomatic philosophies are the need of hour and Gandhi was too good in that. Establishment of NGOs, emergence of literary works based on his economic and political model, constitution advocating egalitarianism and many more are such glimpses of his relevance in today's scenario.

In fine, it could be said that the model of strategy and prudence given by Gandhi has been taken by the diplomacy and democracy of India very well. Still people talk about his ethical parameters in majority. The need is that we need to research on the pragmatic approach of his philosophy and ideology, opening up many dimension discussion in future.

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19. A Historical Study of The Administration of Justice In Colonial India: An Overview

***Dr. Srinwanti Mukhopadhyay**

Abstract :

The system of law and justice and the machinery to administer them are perhaps the most valuable legacies that the British have left behind in India. Though India had an efficient judicial system in ancient times, yet it was not uniform. The British laid the foundations of a new system of dispensing justice through a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. The British also introduced the modern concept of the rule of law.

Key Words- Law, Justice, civil and criminal courts, Rule of law

Introduction- The institution of administration of justice in any society is the outcome of an evolutionary process. In the Indian society, the institutions of administration of justice have been growing and developing slowly and steadily in course of time. From the ancient period the process of judicial administration had evolved from a simple to a complicated one. But the fact remains that the institutions of judicial administration were as indispensable a part of ancient Indian society as they are today.

Administration Of Justice In Ancient And Medieval India: The Back-drop

The descriptions of the judicial administration of ancient India are well contained in the ancient law books called Dharmasutras and Smritis which together with commentaries are called Dharmasastras.¹ Other text that deal with the administration of justice were Kautilya's Arthashastra, Manusmriti, Naradasmriti, Brihaspatismriti and the epic like Ramayana and Mahabharata. During the Mauryas there were separate courts called Kantakasodhana² that would investigate cases of robbery,

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adultery and forgery. There was also reference of functionaries such as Dandadhaksyas, Dharmasthiyas etc. There is also mention of minor courts in the villages.

In medieval period sultan being the head of the administration was the supreme authority to administer justice in his kingdom. The administration of justice was one of the important functions of the sultan which was done in his name in three capacities. As arbitrator in the disputes of his subjects he dispensed justice through the Diwan-e-Qaza, as head of the bureaucracy justice was administered by Diwan-i-Mazalim, as commander in chief of forces through his military commander who constituted Diwan-i-Siyasat to try the rebels of those charged with high treasons.³ A systematic classification and gradation of the courts existed at the seat of the capital in provinces, districts, parganas and villages.⁴ During the Mughal Period religious code and moral injunction were held at high esteem. The Muslim criminal law administered by the qazis was divided into two portions. A portion of Islamic canon law which dealt with religious infringement was applied to Muslims such as drinking etc. Another portion of the Islamic criminal law which punished the act which constituted crimes in the estimation of all nations was applied to Muslims and non Muslims like adultery, theft, assaults etc.⁵

Administration of Justice: The Colonial Chapter

The administration of justice under the British rule in India was a result of the fusion of two different systems, English and indigenous.

The British period in India date back to the establishment of the East India Company under a Charter granted by the British Sovereign to the merchants of England. The Company had occupied certain areas in India which came to be known as Company's factories. These factory establishments later on became the nurseries of the English law, which in course of time brought about tremendous influence over the laws and the system of administration of justice in the whole of sub-continent. The influence of English Law on Indian legal system was largely due to the fall of Muslim rule. They gradually brought their laws and the sovereignty of their own state over Indians.⁶

In the early days of East India Company, the Charter of Charles II, which transferred the Island of Madras to the company required the company to pass laws "consonant to reason, and not repugnant or contrary to the English laws. In 1669 a direction was issued which provided for establishing a method for due proceedings. According to this direction the administration of criminal justice was to be done by a judge appointed by the governor and Council and all trials were to be by a Jury of twelve Englishmen. In 1726 was created the Mayor's courts in the Presidency Towns of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. Each Court consisted of a Mayor and Nine Aldermen with power to try all civil suits. The Governor and five senior members of Governor's Council were made Justices of Peace and they were authorized to hold quarter sessions for the trial and punishment of all offences except treason. The Mayor's Courts applied the Common Law and

the Statute law of England as they stood in 1726. Following this was formed the Regulating Act, 1773 which established the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta in 1773.⁷ It consisted of a Chief Justice and three other Judges. The Court had jurisdiction in civil, criminal, ecclesiastical, admiralty and equity matters over the inhabitants of Calcutta and over the British subjects in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.⁸ There was provision for appeals from the decisions of the Court to the King-in-Council, but the Mayor's Courts at Madras and Bombay continued till 1787 when they were replaced by the Recorder's Courts. Each Recorder's Court consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Recorder appointed by His Majesty. In 1801 the Recorder's Court at Madras was abolished and a Supreme Court was established. Similarly in 1823 the Recorder's Court at Bombay was replaced by a Supreme Court. These Supreme Courts functioned till 1861. It is to be noted that the Indian judicial system during this period consisted of two systems of Courts; the Supreme Court in the Presidency towns and the Sadr Courts in the provinces. The latter Courts were established by the East India Company in 1772 in each of the district of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

The British laid the foundations of a new system of dispensing justice through a hierarchy of civil and criminal courts. The system, started by Warren Hastings, was in fact stabilized by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. In each district, a Diwani Adalat, or a civil court, was established and presided over by a district judge who belonged to the civil service. Appeals from the district court lay first to four provincial courts of civil appeal and then finally to the Sadar Diwani Adalat. Below the District court were Registrars' Courts, headed by Europeans and a number of Sub-ordinate courts headed by Indian Judges known as "Munsifs and Amins".⁹ The civil courts applied the customary law that had prevailed in any area or among the section of the people of any locality. The jurisdiction of each of the civil courts depended on the money value of suits. The munsif had a primary jurisdiction in all disputes of not more than Rs 300 in value, the Sadr Amin between Rs 300 to 1000 and Principal Sadr Amin above 1000.¹⁰ The principal Sadr Amins also heard and determined appeals referred to them by the Zillah judges from the decisions of Munsifs and Sadr Amins. The jurisdiction of Zillah and city judges became unlimited in the districts where provincial courts of appeal were abolished.¹¹ Under the Bombay code of 1827 the chief justice of the Sadr Diwani Adalat was to be a member of the council.¹² In Bombay the Assistant Judges were subordinate to the Zillah judge. Some of them were Senior Assistant Judges while others Junior Assistant Judges.¹³

The chief court for the administration of criminal justice was the Sadr Nizamat Adalat in Bengal and Sadar Faujdari Adalat in Madras and Bombay.¹⁴ In all the three presidencies it was composed of the same judges as the Sadr Diwani Adalat. It exercised a general control over the criminal administration and had no original jurisdiction. Its appellate jurisdiction was limited to appeals from the decisions of sessions judge in judicial trial. In Bombay the whole of the territories were divided into three circuits to each of which one of the judges was appointed by the governor in council annually to visit as judicial commissioner to supervise the work of the

sessions judge.¹⁵ In Bengal the original jurisdiction of the session's judge was restricted to persons committed by the Magistrate to the trial at the sessions. The crimes for which the Magistrate by law bound to commit prisoners for such a trial included treason, robbery, arson, as well as serious cases of burglary and theft. His appellate jurisdiction on the other hand extended to all sentences and orders passed in judicial trials by the magistrates or the subordinates.¹⁶ In Madras the crimes and offences for which persons were committed for trial at the sessions were similar to those of Bengal, but the committing officers were a subordinate judge of the covenanted service or the principal Sadr Amins.¹⁷

The codification of law constituted one of the most important achievement of the company's judicial administration towards the last 25 years of its rule in India. The British established a new system of law through the processes of enactment and codification of old laws. The traditional system of justice in India was largely based on customary law.¹⁸ Though they continued to observe customary law in general the British gradually evolved a new system of laws. The direction originated probably in correspondence which took place in between Sir Charles Metcalf and court of Bengal in 1829.¹⁹ They introduced regulations, codified the existing laws and often systematized and modernized them through judicial interpretations. The Charter Act of 1833 conferred law-making power on the Governor-General-in-Council. In 1833 the Government appointed a law commission headed by Lord Macaulay to codify Indian laws and eventually it resulted in the Indian Penal Code "the western-derived codes of civil and criminal procedures"²⁰ and other codes of laws. Provisions were made to apply these laws uniformly all over the country and they were enforced by a uniform system of courts. Thus it may be said that India became 'judicially unified'.²¹

A few minor reforms were effected in the judiciary by the Governor-General Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and Lord William Bentinck. Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General, effected separation of judicial from revenue functions. However, Lord Cornwallis, his successor, reunited the judicial and revenue functions. He also abolished the Fauzdari Adalats in the districts and established Circuit Courts. He reorganized the entire judicial system by creating 'an ascending hierarchy' of Courts with provision for appeal. Lord William Bentinck also reorganized the judicial system. The Provincial Courts were abolished and Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit were appointed. Later on, the judicial functions of the Commissioner were transferred to the civil judges.

By the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, the Supreme Courts in the Presidency towns and the Courts established in the Provinces by the Company were integrated.²² The Act also empowered the Crown to establish High Courts at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. After the establishment of these High Courts, the Supreme Court and Sadr Courts were abolished and their judges became the judges of the new Courts. In addition to these seven High Courts, there was a Chief Court in Oudh and Judicial Commissioner's Courts in the North-West Frontier Province and in Sindh.

The jurisdiction of the High Courts included every field of judicial adjudication within the province. Every High Court served as a Court of appeal, reference and revision from all the subordinate Courts in the province. It also had powers of superintendence over all the Courts for the time being subject to its appellate jurisdiction. The Highest Court of appeal was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. There was no Court to hear any appeal from any High Court. Finally, the Federal Court of India was established by the Government of India Act, 1935.²³ The Federal Court came into being in October 1937, six months after the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy and functioned only for a little over a decade. But the Court provided the balance and poise essential for the proper functioning of a federal structure and endeavored to uphold individual liberty and freedom of speech even in the absence of guaranteed Fundamental Rights. It may be noted that the pioneering work of the Federal Court in the field of civil liberties convinced the people of our country of the necessity of incorporating a list of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution.

But after the outbreak of the Second World War, the Governor- General declared under Section 102 of the Government of India Act, 1935 that a state of grave emergency had arisen by which the security of India was threatened. The Defence of India Act enacted in 1939. It was during this period of emergency that the Courts were called upon to afford relief to the aggrieved and oppressed citizens. Only a comparatively small number of cases on civil liberties were heard by the Federal Court, because of the limited jurisdiction of the Court. Moreover, since the Government of India Act, 1935 had not incorporated a list of Fundamental Rights, it was very difficult for cases involving civil liberties to get into the Federal Court of appeal. However, the British Rule of almost two hundred years, particularly the English model of the adjudicatory process, had the effect of formalizing the procedure. The effect was that the poor man found it difficult to enter the portals of the court and the rich man was able to use the legal process as an instrument of harassment of his poor adversary.²⁴

The British also introduced the modern concept of the rule of law. This meant that their administration was to be carried out at least in theory in obedience to laws, which clearly defined the rights, privileges, and obligations of the subjects and not according to the caprice or personal discretion of the ruler. Under the British rule, the administration was largely carried on according to laws as interpreted by courts. To add to the Indian legal system under the British was based on the concept of equality before law which means that in the eyes of law all men are equal. However, there was one exception to the principle of equality before law. The Europeans and their descendants had separate courts and even separate laws. In criminal cases they were tried only by European Judges.

In practice, there emerged another type of drawback. Justice became quite expensive as court fees had to be paid, lawyers engaged and the expenses of witnesses had to be met. Law suits were dragged on for years. Moreover, widespread

corruption in the ranks of police and rest of administrative machinery led to the denial of justice.²⁵ Thus while the new judicial system marked a great step forward in so far as it was based on the laudable principles of rule of law, humane man-made laws, it was a retrograde step in some other respects.

Conclusion- The British rule of almost two hundred years, and particularly the British model of the adjudicatory process, had the effect of formalizing the procedure. Technicalities were introduced into the judicial process. Litigation turned out to be costly on account of the fees of lawyers and courts. It also became time consuming. The net effect is that the poor man finds it difficult to enter the portals of the court and the rich man is able to use the legal process as an instrument of harassing his poor adversary. Even after so many years of independence, the colonial legacy still affects the administration of justice.

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20.

Bhai Randhir Singh- his Contributions as a Freedom Fighter

***Dr. Krishan Gopal**

Abstract

Bhai Randhir Singh, a personality with ideology full of passion, fervour and zeal was born on 7th July 1878, at a small village Narangwal, Distt. Ludhiana in the house of mother Smt. Punjab Kaur and his father Sh. Natha Singh, an honourable judge at Nabha Courts. He was previously known by the name of Basant Singh. In 1896 he completed his F.A. from Government College, Lahore. But later he discontinued his education in B.A., came back after feeling detached with worldly affairs and got more interested towards spiritualism. In 1902, he was joined as naib tehsildar at Samarala tehsil and inspired by his father he developed his interest in Bani and Naam simran. In 1903, in a ceremony of Amrit Sanchar at a village Bakarpur near Phillaur, Basant Singh was converted to Bhai Randhir Singh.

Although Bhai Randhir Singh got many chances to serve in government jobs but he was more inclined and excited towards getting freedom for his country from clutches of slavery. In 1914, in an order to straighten the road for Viceroy, the wall of Gurudwara Rakabganj at Delhi was broken. The Sikh sangthans (Sikh Associations) raised their voice against this act and Bhai sahib conducted a big religious conference for this act on Baisakhi day of 1914 at Patti (in Punjab state). In this they demanded for reconstruction of the wall by the government. A first telegram was sent to the Viceroy from Tat Khalsa in which they complained against the demolition of the wall. Bhai sahib worked for awakening and making aware in 'Gurudwara Sudhaar Lehar' (a social movement). He was a leader in this movement, who raised question against the character of Gurudwara Mahents. He was especially involved in making Gurudwara Katalgarh of Chamkaur Sahib free from the influence of Mahents. Although it was a initiation of 'Gurudwara Sudhaar

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Lehar,' soon the other followers came into this movement in large strength and they made Gurudwaras free from the Mahents influence. Later on the same Lehar transformed itself into the freedom struggle for the country. The Punjabis who were staying abroad started returning back to the country in order to free their motherland from this slavery. At that time a ship named 'Kamagatamaru' when came to the port of BazBaj at Calcutta (now Kolkata), many Punjabies passengers were attacked to death. The extremist (known as Gadders) who started for freedom struggle came in contact with Bhai Sahib in 1914. Bhai Nidhan Singh Chugha, Gandha Singh Kacharbhan, Uttam Singh Haans, Isher Singh Dhudhike and Kartar Singh Sarabha used to meet with him for the same cause. Finally all freedom fighters at various cantonments along with Indian soldiers (army men) planned for mutiny and revolt for country's freedom.

When Bhai Randhir Singh along with his team came to overpower Ferozepur Cantonment, the informer Kirpal Singh leaked the information to the government. This lead the government to submit the weapons by Indian soldiers to their British counterparts and failure in planning for the movement. The British government declared orders for the arrest of Bhai Sahib. He was convicted for the conspiracy and mutiny against the British government under which the orders for acquiring his property and lifetime imprisonment were passed against him. Bhai sahib was known for this, that he never appealed for the acquisition of his property.

As accused for the case of Lahore Conspiracy 2, Bhai sahib was arrested in May' 1915 and kept in various jails such as Multan Jail, Hazari Bagh Jail, Rajmandri jail and Nagpur Jail where he had to face tortures till October' 1930. He was on fast for 40 days many times in order to maintain the purity to eat food and sanctity as per religious norms. He was made free in later in October' 1930 and was welcomed by people. After his released from jail, Kirtan Mandles (a religious norm for the praise of God) were started. From the year 1931 to 1961 Bhai Sahib spent his time participating and invloving in Kirtan Mandles and Akhand Paths (a religious ceremonies). He was highly praised by Shri Akal Takht (a religious authority) for his determination, selfless service to Shri Guru Granth Sahib and society at large. From Takht Shri Kesgarh Sahib (a religious place) he was praised as 'Your Ghal yatra is accepted' by a religious authority. He was also honoured in many religious ceremonies thereafter by religious management societies. He passed away on April 16th, 1961 after 31 years of his time he spent in contribution to religion. Bhai Randhir Singh was a great devotee who devoted his whole life for his country and his religion.

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21.
Kine Protection and Proscribed Islamic
News Papers in Bombay City:
1936-1945

*Krishna Gaikwad

Abstract

This paper does not intend to hurt the feelings of any religion. The Kine (Cow)- Protection Movement was launched during the colonial period in India in general and in Bombay Presidency in particular. This paper traces the prevalence of beef eating, cow worship and the activities of Cow Protection Movement. It then describes the interaction of Muslim newspapers in Bombay. But finding these writings provocative to communal tension, the Bombay Government proscribed these papers. These papers gave details of the writings against the Cow Protection movement. The paper also reveals the content of the writings of papers on the activities of cow-protection organizations and the role should be played by the Bombay Government and the Bombay Police. Though the writings of these Islamic papers seem provocative, they too advised what police and government should follow to avoid any kind of dissensions among the Hindus and the Muslims during the Bakr Id festival and control the law-and-order situations. The paper is mostly based on the Archival Files from the Bombay Archives and some secondary sources.

Key Words: Kine, Proscribed, Bakr Id, Pancgavya, Milching cattle.

The question arises in the mind whether Hindus were not sacrificing cows and other animals? Were they not consuming beef prior to the worshipping of cow? There have been lots many sources by lots many scholars of Ancient Indian History¹ and so on who have interpreted Vedic texts which revealed the custom of

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Sacrifice and beef eating. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has elaborated that the Hindus had been killing the cows and consuming the beef even after the Vedic and the period of Brahmanas. For this he has cited the example of 'Kutadanta Sutta' which explains how a Brahman named Kutadanta was preached sarcastically by Buddha against cow killing in the Yajnas and Kutadanta admits it and resolves to give up these Yajnas and follow the Buddha.²

In Islam we know that beef is eaten regularly and on the occasion of their festivals, like Bakri Id it is consumed in large number and hence, the cow-slaughter executed in large number. But the Hindu People started the anti kine-killing movements to prevent this. They established their Cow-Protection Societies and organized so many kinds of Programmes. They raised funds, organized lectures, played dramas, purchased those cows to be slaughtered, opened Goshalas, provided fodders for them, funded to the people who did not afford the fodders of the cattle, made petitions, honoured the people from Muslim Community who stopped kine-killing etc.

According to Hindu mythological tradition cow is one of the highly revered animals which possess all the 33 crores of mythological Gods and Goddesses. But the holiness of the cow is elusive. Veneration of the cow increased during medieval times when the rate of cow slaughter increased phenomenally. It is also believed that Muslim sacrifice of cows during Bakri Id also led to an increase in cow veneration among Hindus.³ It is believed that it has existence of God into it. Therefore, cow is worshipped even today not for its benefits but for its Godly existence. The "five products of the cow" (*Pancgavya*)—milk, curd, butter, urine and dung—were all of great purifying potency, especially when combined in a single mixture. Despite her sanctity, there was no cow-goddess, nor any temple in her honour.⁴

Then the question appears why this Panchgavya is not utilized to cure the diseases such as cancer, heart ailments, diabetes, brain tumors and certain endemic and pandemic diseases? Why the children are administered the Vaccines of BCG, Rubella, Polio, and so on? Why our so called dignitaries believing cow a goddess had to travel abroad for further treatment of their ailments? The holiness of the cow is elusive. Nevertheless, the veneration of this animal came to be viewed as a characteristic trait of the modern day non-existent monolithic 'Hinduism' bandied about by the Hindutva forces.⁵

One of the **Strictly Confidential** précis of E.C. COX, the Superintendent of Police, in Charge of Special Branch mentioned that the "Society for the Preservation of Cows and Buffaloes was established on 28th July, 1887 under the Presidentship of Hon. Sir Dinshawji Manekji Petit, Knight at its address 33, Elphinstone Circle, Bombay.⁶ It had two Secretaries and four Treasurers. Mr. Damodar Thakersey who was one of the founders of S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai was Patron and Treasurer of the Society.⁷

They organized multiple activities for the protection of kine. The members of Shikarpur-A Goshala, besides exerting themselves in other way to prevent kine-

killing, engaged to petition the Queen-Empress and the Governor General once a year to prohibit the practice.⁸

The Cow-Protection Movement in Bombay City had to file petitions to the British government. They asked the Bombay Municipal Corporation to pass the bill to ban the Cow slaughter and protested it in the forms of lectures, dramas, opening goshalas, raising funds, issuing pamphlets etc. But the response of the Muslims to such an activities has been reflected in the contemporary Muslim Press is worth studying.

In 1888, a High Court in Allahabad ruled that cows are not “sacred” animals as defined in section 295 of the Code and Muslims could not be held accountable for slaughtering them.⁹ The cow protection movement was the movement that demanded end of cow slaughter in British India.¹⁰ Slaughter of cows was carried under a license granted by the local Municipality or the local body. According to one G.R., “General Principle should be followed by all experienced officers throughout the country- is to maintain existing custom and while respecting the religious observances of Muhammadans, to secure Hindus against wanton injury to their feelings by Musalmans or other in the exercise by the latter of their right to slaughter kine for food or sacrifice.”¹¹

Gandhiji wrote in Harijan that mother cow is in many ways better than the mother who gives us birth. Our mother gives us milk for a couple of years and expects us to serve her, but cow mother expects only grass and grain.¹²

On 28 November, 1936 Urdu posters appealing to Muslims not to remain quiet while the sabha mandap was built were put up in Wazir Building, Bhendi Bazar.¹³ B.M.C. approached government with request that legislation may be undertaken to empower local bodies in the Presidency to frame regulations of slaughter of animals within their respective limits of jurisdiction.¹⁴

In February, 1936 Mr.A.N.Surve proposed to move an amendment to empower Municipalities with sanction of Government to frame by-laws for the regulation and restriction of slaughter of animals especially plough and milk producing animals. But the Government of India refused this Bill and vice versa.¹⁵

Reaction of the Islamic Newspapers against the Cow Protection Movement

The provocative writings of the Islamic Press were the reaction to the Cow protection movement and its activities. Hence, The Chief Presidency Magistrate in consultation with the Home Minister issued orders on 18 April, 1938, under Section 144 of the Cr.P.C. directing five newspapers to abstain from publishing any news or comments related to promote hatred or enmity between two communities. These were the Roznama, Al Hilal, Khilafat, Sadaqat, Insaf and Prabha.¹⁶

Roznama-e Khilafat, dated 20th January, 1939 writes,

- 1) Mr. Gandhi at Bardoli chalked out a scheme for the cow-slaughter and music before mosques. But to be presented before Congress Working Committee for

approval.

- 2) Irresponsible people are always on the lookout for an opportunity to create mischief and Bakri-Id affords them a golden opportunity and they consider it a religious obligation to get undue advantage out of it.
- 3) Provincial Governments should issue forthwith clear and definite instructions and should not be confined to the police. For instance, the cow meant for slaughter should not be taken out in the form of a procession, it should not be slaughtered publicly, the beef should not be carried exposed, no one should interfere if the cow is being carried ordinarily; no Hindu should go near the premises where the cow is being slaughtered unexposed to the public eye.
- 4) The Government should warn the police that they would be taken to task if there was any disturbance in their respective circles and that officers concerned would be considered unfit because the duty of the police is not only to arrest the offenders after any occurrence but they should also trace out those whose are out to create mischief so that the evil may be nipped in the bud.¹⁷ But the Government refused to consider the suggestion of 'Roznama-e-Khilafat' and ordered to file the papers.¹⁸

The Chief Secretary to Government of Patna, R.E. Russell, sent letters to all the Provincial Governments (excluding the Govt. of Bengal and Assam) about how the policy regarding cow-sacrifice and the music before the mosques was followed by them because the issue was as crucial as it creates communal riots.¹⁹ It was not only the Muslims but the beef was a popular food for the British living in India as well.²⁰

The Government of Bombay referred the G.R.No.6836 dated 31 Oct, 1939 mentioned above, that 'policy in regard to the slaughteror others in the exercise of their right to slaughter kine.' The Government of Bombay replied that there cannot be any modification in the policy.²¹

Another confidential letter by J.M.Sladen, Secretary to Government of Bombay dated 24/03/1939 was sent to the Government of Bihar and he also repeated the provisions of the Act of 1893 as per the G.R.No.6836.²²

The Insaf: Dated 23 March, 1939, this newspaper writes critically that it is but natural that majority community always dominates the minorities even today. These kinds of thoughts were written by this newspaper as follows:

- 1) The majority community wants to establish supremacy over the minority and secret and open tussles are thus going on between the cultures of the two communities.
- 2) As there is Congress in power, there is no end to the discontent among minority community.
- 3) The rights (religious) of the Muslims being trampled underfoot for trivial reasons.
- 4) Muslim League agitated but to no avail.

- 5) Last Monday B.M.C. passed the resolution restricting the slaughter of cows aged 8 years.²³ Thus a body of communalism has been suppressing the feelings of the Muslims.

The Hilal: Dated 6th April, 1939, in this newspaper Mr. Ali Bahadur Khan writes that the milching cattle are equally significant for the Muslims.

- 1) The right time for the agitation against the resolution of B.M.C. to increase the age of sacrificial cattle to 8 years is misused.
- 2) Mr. Jhabwalas Bill enacted into law.
- 3) This question should better be left to the good sense and discretion of the Musalmans who too after all attach importance to milk and curd as well as the flesh.²⁴

Roznama-e-Khilafat: On 3rd April, 1939 Mr. Yusufi writes provokingly that the religious rights of the Muslims are deliberately violated and they will not tolerate such kinds of bills or restrictions on them. He gave certain suggestions to the Congress Ministry in following manner.

- 1) The Resolution in B.M.C. about prohibiting slaughter of milch animals below 8 years is nothing but it is to stop cow-slaughter.
- 2) Musalman community can never tolerate this restriction on any ground.
- 3) The Musalmans have a right to slaughter cattle of 2 years and camels of 7 years.
- 4) Even from economic view-point this resolution is paltry and pernicious in the extreme, and the former government had admitted the fact in the course of a formal reply.
- 5) It requested B.M.C. Ministry not to allow the majority to suppress the feelings and the religious traditions of a minority community.²⁵

A Special Branch of the Bombay City Police gives an account of the public meeting held on 12th April, 1939 was attended by 5000 persons which passed resolution that authorized the Jamiat-e- Khuddam-e Khilafat to select a deputation of 12 members from all the meat-eating communities of Bombay to wait upon government to represent the point of view of the meat-eating communities and warning the govt. of the evil consequences of the proposed legislation.²⁶

According to Special Branch, "under the auspices of the Primary Muslim League (E Ward), a public meeting of the Musalmans of Bombay was held on April 15th 1939 at Gosht Bazaar, Madanpura and was attended by 25000 Musalmans. Maulana Mohammad Irfan, the President alleged the Congress governments of destroying Islamic Culture. He quoted the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Prophet in support of his argument that Muslims must muster strong whenever there was any interference with their religious rights.

It passed the following resolution that the Musalmans of Bombay are ready to sacrifice their all for maintaining their religious rights.²⁷

The Iqbal: Dated 30th November, 1939, the 'Iqbal' refers to the resolution passed at the conference of the Akhil Bharat Gopalak Sangh held in Bombay the other day and observes:

"Such an appeal for stopping of cow slaughter, which is frequently made, reminds us that there are still in India people without any sense and judgment who have the habit of talking nonsense, and by such actions they carry on their ominous attempts of spoiling to some extent the cause of India's unity and the good relations existing between the different communities in India. Besides, the number of the cows slaughtered in India is insufficient in comparison with the total no. of cattle in India. This country has a prominent place among the countries owning cattle but the no. of cattle slaughtered here is not as great as that in other countries. This clearly shows that the charges leveled in connection with cow slaughter and the clamours raised against it are divorced from facts and are merely based on bigotry, mischief making and Communalism.²⁸

Inqilab-e-Nau: Dated 28th March, 1943, It writes, —"from the manner in which the Byculla Go Sevak Samiti (Cow Protection Committee) has passed a resolution (for the protection of cows) with a view to getting the same accepted by Bombay Corporation, it appears that some people derive pleasure only when they see the Hindus and the Muslims engaged in a deadly conflict. If the said resolution is accepted, the result would be that the Muslims would regard it as interference with their religious matters.It will be good neither to the country nor to the community. It is equally the duty of Government to safeguard the rights of the Muslims just as it is its duty to respect the feelings of the Hindus.²⁹

The Inqilab-e- Jadil: dated 26th December, 1943, this paper writes, "The order of the Government is extremely improper, unstatesmanly and obnoxious. The first consequence of it will be that there will be a rise in the price of meat. It is also likely to affect adversely the sale of animals for Id sacrifices. This order appears to be the result of endeavors made by certain Hindus in Bombay for stopping Cow-Slaughter. We request Government to revise its policy.³⁰

Conclusion: The Press in all the historical times plays an important role to provoke or pacify the religious feelings of the masses. It is noteworthy how cow sacrificed in the Yajnas became the worshipped animal. It is very significant to study that whenever Islamic festivals are celebrated, Hindus always try to cry against the cow slaughter. To reply these movements, Islamic Newspapers wrote against them and promoted their Bakr Id festival. The Hindu outfits of Cow Protection in Bombay started complaining against the Muslim festivals and the slaughter of the cows on the occasion. In Bombay City the Muslim newspapers also wrote provocative as well advisory reports in their newspapers. But Government proscribed those newspapers based on their contents. These archival material has not been published anywhere till date. Press towards the Cow-Protection Movement and the Bill passed by the B.M.C. was provocative. It led to the Communal riots. Therefore, to avoid such kind of communal tension among our co-residents the

Press may be of the Hindus or Muslims, must abstain from igniting the communal riots.

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22.

**Orunodoi Verses Assam Bilasini :
Beginning of a Trend of Literary Competition
between the Christian Missions and Vaishnavite
Satras in the 19th Century Assam**

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Abstract

In 1829 when David Scott, the commissioner of Assam, gave permission to the missionaries to enter into Assam, the Christian missionaries started activities in the province of Assam and ran hand in hand with the British. The British felt that they could use missions as a civilizing ally. The first News paper they produced in Assamese language was Orunodoi. Similarly the British also did not want to antagonize the local Assamese people. So they always kept good relations with the Neo-vaishnavite Satras the most popular religious organizations of Assam. These Satras produced another magazine Assam Bilasini to counter missionary Orunodoi. The competition continued for long. Result was far reaching as the missionaries were compelled to move their activities towards initiative tribal people of the hills and the Vaishnavite Satras towards the plains of Assam.

Key words : Satra, Missionary, Assam Bilasini.

Since 1793 the propagation of Christianity in India became a hot topic of political debates in England. When the charter Act of 1793 was being debated, an attempt was made in and outside the British parliament to include in it a clause regarding imparting religious and moral education among the Indians and therefore sending missionaries and teachers to India.¹ But this clause could not, however, be finally passed by the parliament in 1793 due to the opposition of the British East

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India Company administrators. For many strategic reasons they did not want to encourage the Christian missionaries to work in the Indian field. H.H. Dodwell rightly observed that probably the company comprehended that "... in the matter of religion the natives of India were peculiarly sensitive.

..... That "any interference with the religion of the natives would eventually insure the total destruction of the British power". On no account should missionaries be employed or maintained by the government. They might go to India as they had gone heretofore or under new restrictions; they might preach, translate and teach at their own risk; but no sanction should be given by government to their proceedings, and no attempt should be made to tie the hands of government from restraining their activities".²

But the company's authority could not maintain their stand for a long time and was compelled to bow down in front of the severe pressure of the missionary organizations in the home country and finally permitted the evangelists to promote Christianity in India. The charter Act 1813 allowed the advent of the English and the American missionaries to India. Eventually Assam was also brought under their target area. In the mean time the British Government in Assam also saw the remarkable missionary activity in Tamil country as well as in nearest Bengal throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In 1829 David Scott, the commissioner of Assam, easily gave permission to the missionaries to start their activities in Assam. The Assam Government, along with its counterpart in Calcutta also felt that they could use missions as a civilizing ally. For the sake of progress of India co-operation between them was indispensable.³ The missionaries immediately took the opportunity with a hope of future prospect to open their way to China to spread Christianity among the Shans of Upper Burma and Southern China. In fact they named this mission as "Mission to Shans."⁴ Result was within a short time Nathan Brown and Oliver T. Cutter reached Sadiya, a remote place of eastern part of Assam province on 23rd March 1836.⁵ But due to many difficulties, and at the invitation of Francis Jenkins, they were revised the mission midway and stationed at Sadiya. Captain Jenkins himself wrote to Mr. Trevelyan "... No attention of mine should of course be wanting to make the place comfortable to any missionaries, and I will be willing to contribute my mite to their establishment. You may mention, that I will subscribe 1000 rupees, if a family is settled as a Mission at Sadiya, and who have had a press at work for six months I will be happy to double the sum, if I remain in charge of the province..."⁶ In later years too he donated some more amounts to the mission which was gratefully acknowledged in the Journal of Brown (August 31, 1841) "Received from Capt. Jenkins a donation of 500 rupees for the benefit of the mission. This sum he has given annually since the mission was established, and he has informed us of his intention to continue it so long as he remains in charge of the province."⁷ Mr. Brodie, Principal Assistant to the Commissioner donated rupees 300 for the same object.⁸ The missionaries also delighted with this help from government officers and recognized them as the warm friends of the mission.

"Brown and Cutter have submitted to the Board, at the suggestion of the Commissioner, Capt. Jenkins, a proposition to connect a farming establishments with the mission, 'for the double purpose of relieving the missionaries from embarrassments in providing the common necessities of life, by which they are now much impeded in their appropriate work; and also improving the temporal condition of the natives, by teaching them the useful arts and introducing the culture of foreign plants'. Such an establishment in the charge of competent persons, would, in a short time, support itself, and, in various ways, doubtless, prove a valuable auxiliary to the mission".⁹

Thus the British administrative machinery and the Christian missionary activity of the province of Assam ran hand in hand. The British, as much as possible, encouraged the missionaries to go into the hill population while on the other hand "British administrative policies discouraged further sanskritization and for the most part encouraged the maintenance of their distinct tribal identities".¹⁰ Possibly the British wanted a divide between the hill and plain people and perhaps they tried to restrict the activities of the Neo- Vaishnavite Satras within the plain areas. Like the Christian missionaries the Satras also were on good terms with the British administration. But they could not acknowledge the status which had been availed by the new Christian missionary organizations. Obviously an undeclared competition between the two had emerged. As a result while the missionaries published the *Orunodoi*¹¹ the Satra started publishing *Assam Bilasini*¹² (1871-1883). While the missionaries published other religious pamphlets like *Dipti*, the Satras published *Chandrodaya*, *Assam Tara*, *Assam Dipak*.¹³ The newly emerging Assamese intelligentsia like Lambodar Borah, Padmahas Goswami etc. came forward to write in these papers. Though the papers were short lived they had a positive impact upon the masses. It is to be remembered that in the beginning of the early seventies of the nineteenth century publication of a monthly *Assam Bilasini* and that too from a religious institution like Auniati Satra had tremendous social significance. In the earlier chapter it has already been discussed that Dattadev Gossain, the Satradhikar of Auniati Satra was fascinated with Bengali language and literature. He was a regular reader of Bengali books and news papers. But even then he decided to publish *Assam Bilasini* in Assamese instead of Bengali language. It is important to be noted that the paper came out at a time when Assamese language was re-established as an official language after a long 36 years of exile.¹⁴ Majority of the writers were no doubt Hindu Vaishnavite but it had left some space for a Brahmo writer like Padmahas Goswami as well as a Muslim writer like Sheikh Farauddin.¹⁵ Though the paper did not last for a very long period but the competitive attitude of the satra against the missionary agenda, initiated by it had a profound effect upon the history of Assam in the years to come. The paper stopped circulation in 1883. It was also significant that after discontinuation of the paper the press machine which was lying idle in the Satra, the satradhikar did not hesitate to hand it over to Krishna Kanta Bhattacharya, a government official of Jorhat Court. This time the paper had changed its earlier character. It took special care to safeguard

the Assamese language and culture and supported various issues of Home Rule and Non Cooperation Movement too. At one stage whole pages of the paper were covered with the news items related to the nationalist movements and encouraged people to raise voice against the foreign rulers.¹⁶ Because of this anti-government and pro-congress character, the British took repressive measures¹⁷ to stop the voice of the paper and finally in 1825 due to severe financial strain the paper closed its publication. A similar press was established in Barpeta in 1910 by Narayan Mishra, son of Gobinda Mishra, the satradhikar of Barpeta Satra. The name of the press was "Sastra Prakas Press."¹⁸ The name itself indicates its nature where publications were mostly religious in nature. Some of the important publications were— Akhyata Chandrika, Borgeet, Prasanga Pranali, Mala Prakas, Niminabasiddha Sangbad, Dhatu Rupawali, some Sanskrit Grammars etc.¹⁹ But the press stopped working after few years. Later on this same press was re-used by Ambikagiri Rai Choudhry for publishing 'Chetana', a prominent magazine of patriotic nature motivating the people to devote their life for the motherland.²⁰ The trend of publication of magazines of religious nature did not end here. In the next decade, Asom Pradipika, a monthly journal was published in 1920 under the patronage of Naradev Goswami of Dakshinpat Satra. The satradhikar offered seven hundred rupees for the publication of Pradipika which appeared from Dibrugarh. Tara Prasad Chaliha was one of the patrons of this paper and Rajanikanta Bardoloi, a firm and very loyal disciple of Dakshinpat Satra was the editor of the paper. It was purely a religious journal and devoted to the cause of the religious teachings of Damodardeva, a contemporary of Sankardeva, who was also a pioneer of the Satra movement of Assam. Thus the satras started a print movement in Assam against the missionary activity. While the Christian Missionaries restricted only to Orunodoi and Dipti the satras extended from Bilasini to Pradipika. The satras wanted more and more Hinduisation against Christianity as well as more and more Sanskrit against missionary English. As result while Auniati Satradhikar offered scholarship for good marks in Sanskrit language²¹ in the Entrance Examination the Barpeta Satradhikar family published Sanskrit grammar at a very low price and distributed the same among the Sanskrit learners.²² To compete with the missionaries they established schools and short time training camps of religious nature in the tribal areas and not only spread their religion but also trained the people with many kinds of handicrafts and acquainted them with improved methods of agriculture. Thus the Neo-vaishnavite Satras controlled the society economically and intellectually, and motivated the people to fight in a changing situation.

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23.

Identification of Materials of Wall Paintings Plaster in Jaipur Region

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Abstract

Dhundhar, a region of traditions governed from post medieval times by Rajputs. The state of Amber and Jaipur witnesses the earliest wall paintings dated to be 16th century. Lime and its products are one of the ancient materials and have been used since long time in history of civilization and India and Rajasthan where Jaipur as a capital is situated showed vital development of lime paintings during the reign. Lime mortar which is defined as Fresco- Bunuo in wall paintings customarily executed on semi wet plaster where colours gets soaked deeply into plaster. The major additives in Plaster is often silica sand, stone aggregates, slaked lime, coarse aggregate, pozzolanic additives, hair reinforcement and water. This paper is an attempt to map the composition of plaster used as surface for wall paintings and aim to study materials in the area using acid digestion as main technique.

Key Words- Wall paintings, sieve analysis, lime plaster, fresco bunuo, Rajasthan,

Historical Background

Rajasthan is divided into many geographical regions and Dhundhar is one of them. Dhundhar is an area in the western state of India, Rajasthan. It is also known as the Jaipur region because it includes the districts of Jaipur, Dausa, Sawai Madhopur and Tonk. It also consists of the northern part of the Karauli district. Located in the east central portion of Rajasthan it is surrounded by the Aravali range on the northwest, Ajmer in the west, Mewar region in the southwest, Hadoti region in the south and Alwar, Bharatpur and Karauli districts in the east. The southern and

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central portions of Dhundhar lie in the basin of the Banas River and its tributaries, including the Dhund River from which the region gets its name. The northern portion of the region is drained by the Ban Ganga River which originates in the Jaipur district which joins the Yamuna in Uttar Pradesh. The Dhundhar region was ruled by the Meena kings and later on the region was governed by the Kachwaha dynasty from the 11th century. The Kachwaha kingdom had their first capital at Dausa then Amber which is now known as Jaipur. Jaipur is the first planned city of the country and is known as the Pink city. The wall paintings developed in the region in early 16th century with Mughal Rajput friendship. The paintings in this region are influenced by Jaipur School and said to be highly developed form of wall paintings in Rajasthan. The plasters in this region is said to be commonly made from mixture of lime and sand, sand and clay and combination of clay, lime and sand. In general, sand is most variable in its characteristic and varies in composition. The basic chemistry application of acid digestion and sieving can be used to identify variety of material in plaster of painting.



Sampling

Samples collected from miscellaneous sites in the Dhundhar state may appear to be very similar. Analysis of various mortar samples can help to differentiate in composition of material present in them. It is often found out that the mortar mixture used at one period in the construction of building may differ considerably from that used in some other period of the history. The sites chosen for sample collection were situated in different geographical locations and all the monuments/ temples from where samples were taken must have different cultural values. All the samples were taken out from the deteriorated wall. The adhesion can be seen on wall plaster and detachment of wall paintings is clearly visible. Most the samples were taken from unimportant part of the painting so that painting still can be saved if tried by art conservators or stake holders. Several visits were made to Rajasthan before sample collection to assure that we get right samples from the monument. Plaster

specimens were removed only decorative, non-pictorial border are inconspicuous locations, or from areas decay had progressed so far that the painted surface had been entirely lost. Sample of few milligrams were sufficient most of the measurements, and the sample taken were correspondingly bigger. How in order that their structure could be exam microscopically some complete fragment border plaster was removed.

Method of Study

(Cliver, 1974)The analysis of various mortar samples can then help to differentiate, though not date such period of construction. By analysing and dividing mortar samples into its various components it is possible to differentiate one sample of mortar into another. Method of study will be through acid digestion method. The samples were very similar in appearance as colour of lime plaster samples was Buff coloured sample with substantial percentage of light brownish grains, moderately sorted, medium to fine grained, sub angular to angular aggregate with binder. (Teutonico et al., 1993)The outer appearance of lime plaster is alike but there is wide variety of difference in material observed after acid digestion.

Most mortars contain lime which is calcium or magnesium and both soluble in HCL. The sample was ground to coarse powder, weighted and placed in glass container to which HCL is added (1:1) with distilled water. (Böke et al., 2006) The sample was stirred well. Digestion time taken was medium for this sample which indicates likely presence of lime in mortar. Collect the residue and dried in heat lamp. Once it gets fully dried weight the residue, after that add lots of water stir the solution. Pass the dried solution through sieves to get size of aggregates.

Result & Discussion

IS SIEVE	Wt retained (gms)	Cumulative weight retained (gms)	Percentage retained	Cumulative percentage retained	Cumulative percentage Passing	Comment
10mm	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	The insoluble aggregate after acid digestion falls under grading zone III of IS: 383-1970 with Fineness Modulus = 2.09
4.75mm	0.90	0.90	7.40	7.40	92.60	
2.36mm	0.94	1.84	7.73	15.13	84.87	
1.18mm	1.94	3.78	15.98	31.11	68.89	
600µm	0.81	4.59	6.68	37.79	62.21	
300µm	1.48	6.07	12.15	49.93	50.07	
150µm	2.21	8.28	18.17	68.10	31.90	
75µm	2.18	10.46	17.96	86.07	13.93	
<75 including finer residue	1.69					

Sample No.1 of Tonk Road, Sunheri Masjid, Rajasthan

IS SIEVE	Wt retained (gms)	Cumulative weight retained (gms)	Percentage retained	Cumulative percentage retained	Cumulative percentage Passing	Comment
10mm	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	100.000	The insoluble aggregate after acid digestion falls under grading zone III of IS: 383-1970 with Fineness Modulus =1.35
4.75mm	0.095	0.095	0.704	0.704	99.296	
2.36mm	0.404	0.499	2.995	3.700	96.300	
1.18mm	0.422	0.921	3.129	6.828	93.172	
600µm	0.428	1.349	3.173	10.001	89.999	
300µm	4.373	5.722	32.421	42.423	57.577	
150µm	4.005	9.727	29.693	72.116	27.884	
75µm	2.070	11.797	15.347	87.463	12.537	
<75 including finer residue	1.74					

Sample No.2 of Dausa, Rajasthan

IS SIEVE	Wt retained (gms)	Cumulative weight retained (gms)	Percentage retained	Cumulative percentage retained	Cumulative percentage Passing	Comment
10mm	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	The insoluble aggregate after acid digestion falls under grading zone III of IS: 383-1970 with Fineness Modulus = 1.067
4.75mm	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	
2.36mm	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	
1.18mm	0.04	0.04	0.28	0.28	99.72	
600µm	0.04	0.08	0.29	0.57	99.43	
300µm	2.40	2.48	17.92	18.49	81.51	
150µm	9.23	11.70	68.87	87.36	12.64	
75µm	1.44	13.15	10.76	98.12	1.88	
<75 including finer residue	0.25					

Sample No. 3 of Galta Ji, Rajasthan

IS SIEVE	Wt retained (gms)	Cumulative weight retained (gms)	Percentage retained	Cumulative percentage retained	Cumulative percentage Passing	Comment
10mm	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	The insoluble aggregate after acid digestion falls under grading zone IV of IS: 383-1970 with Fineness Modulus = 1.39
4.75mm	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	
2.36mm	0.000	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00	
1.18mm	0.126	0.13	1.38	1.38	98.62	
600µm	0.720	0.85	7.91	9.29	90.71	
300µm	3.624	4.47	39.81	49.10	50.90	
150µm	2.743	7.21	30.13	79.24	20.76	
75µm	1.337	8.55	14.69	93.93	6.07	
<75 including finer residue	0.580					

Sample No.4 of Baman ke Baas, Rajasthan

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Brown coloured residue indicates presence of medium to fine sand.(England, 2012) (Ashurst and Ashurst, 1988) Dark brown coloured residue indicates the absence of surkhi & as such, the binder viz. lime is inferred to be hydraulic. Brown coloured residue along with light brown coloured crushed grains indicates the presence of surkhi & as such, the binder viz. lime is inferred to be hydraulic. The filter type used for sieving is Whatman with grade of 40.

Constituents of Analysis Samples

<i>MATERIAL</i>	<i>Wt. No.1</i>	<i>Wt.No.2</i>	<i>Wt.No.3</i>	<i>Wt.No.4</i>	<i>COMMENTS</i>
A: DRY WEIGHT OF ANALYSIS SAMPLE	25.00	25.00	25.00	25.00	Before Acid Digestion
B: DRY WEIGHT OF ALL INSOLUBLE MATERIAL	12.152	13.488	13.397	9.103	Before Sieving
E: (A-B) DRY WEIGHT OF LIME	12.84	11.512	11.603	15.897	After Acid Digestion

Proportion of Analysis Sample

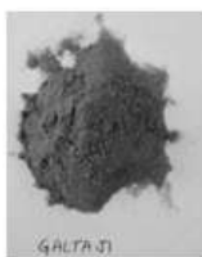
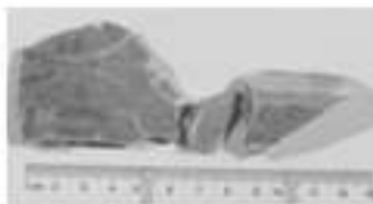
LIME : AGGREGATE RATIO	WEIGHT
SAMPLE 1	1:0.946
SAMPLE 2	1:1.17
SAMPLE 3	1:1.15
SAMPLE 4	1:0.572

Discussion

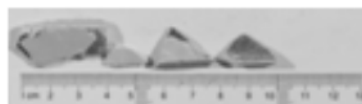
The samples will yield the percentage composition by weight of the mortar plus calcium percentage of the mortar.(England, 2012)A sample from sand and sometimes the clay is made available for analysis and comparison with other sample. It is probably correct to say that lime aggregate ration for all the samples varies drastically.(Cliver, 1974) The grain size of brick and aggregate is also varied. (Allen, 2015)It is quite interesting to know that in the sample of Baman ke Baas and Galtaji brick powder is not found as aggregate.

Conclusion

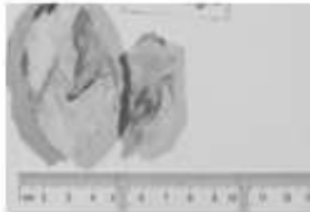
There is no said Technique related to use of Lime aggregate ratio in lime plaster paintings. Artists have used all the available material according to strength and flexibility needed at that time. It is also important to notify that use of river sand is also there as well as brick dust. But the deterioration in thesesites are different according to choice of material used by artist that time which is area of further study.



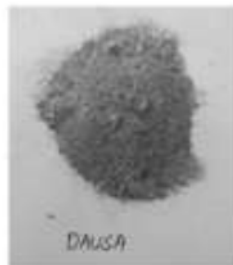
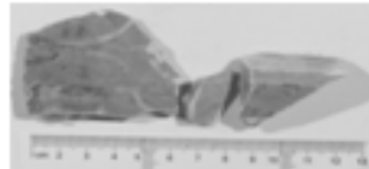
Galtaji, Rajasthan



Tonk Road, Rajasthan



Baman Ke Baas, Rajasthan



Dausa, Rajasthan

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24.

Documenting Glass Plate Negatives; A Case Study From Cultural Archives, IGNCA

***Ms. Gunjan Verma**

Abstract

The Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts situated at New Delhi is one of the premier organizations having various divisions working towards the dissemination and preservation of Indian Art and Culture since 1986 through exhibition, research, workshop, and publication and outreach activities.

Under its Kalanidhi division comes the Cultural Archives which acquires and preserves the collection on themes like sculpture painting, photography and audio-visual material. One of the important collections housed in the Archives is of famous 19th century photographer Raja Deen Dayal. His collection comprises more than 3000 glass plate negatives, studio registers, his studio props, equipment, and few photographic prints. In 1989, it was possible for IGNCA to acquire such a unique and huge collection of Raja Deen Dayal's negatives from his family because of the efforts of Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Trustee IGNCA.

During his lifetime, Deen Dayal took and documented photographs of princely rulers and their tours, monuments, royal hunt and visits, military manoeuvres, weddings and religious ceremonies, sports, weekly *darbars* and zenana that are an important source of social, political and archaeological history.

Deen Dayal (1844-1905) was born in Sardhana, a small town near Meerut in Uttar Pradesh. He studied Surveying at Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee. Appointed as a Draughtsman and Head Estimator in Indore at Public Works Department of the Central India Agency in 1866, it seems that Deen Dayal was interested in photography and acquainted with the importance of documentation. He travelled a lot documenting archaeological heritage of Central India with the British; who were surveying, mapping and documenting Indian states through

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visuals and measurements to create an archive so that they can extend their control on Indian states.

Sir Henry Daly (Agent to the Governor General in the Central Indian States) was aware of his interest in photography and encouraged him to take photographs of Lord Northbrook in 1875, as well as the Prince of Wales in 1876 (Luther, 2003, p.80). Deen Dayal accompanied Sir Lepel Griffin on his tour of Bundelkhand as an architectural photographer in 1882-83 and his 89 images appeared in his book, *Famous Monuments of Central India*. (Pinney, 1997, p.83) The Nizam VI of Hyderabad appointed him as his court photographer in the year 1884 after he presented to the Nizam the photographs of him taking salute of his troops. Deen Dayal was conferred the title of 'Raja Musavvir Jung' (Bold Warrior of Photography) in 1894 (Worswick, 1982, p.19). Deen Dayal firm received the royal warrant as official photographer to Queen Victoria and Edward VII in 1897. The honorific titles given to Deen Dayal during his lifetime were used by him on his letter head and studio cabinet cards to speak about the status and privilege he was enjoying because of his photographic skills.

Deen Dayal also appointed a British lady Mrs. Kenny-Levick for zenana studio which he opened for taking photographs of the female in Secunderabad. (Worswick, 1980, p.20). It is difficult to tell how many photographs were taken in this studio as the record for the same was not found. The original negative would have been either deposited with the sitter or destroyed. (Dewan and Hutton, 2013, p.31).

Deen Dayal opened three studios at Indore (in 1870's-1880's), Secunderabad (1889), and in Bombay (1897). (Dewan and Hutton, 2013, 220-221.).

Gutman (1982, p.ix) listed Deen Dayal firm in four different ways according to the period in which the firm operated and to suggest the different organisation for each.

1. The year 1876-1880, Deen Dayal himself was the primary operator.
2. The year 1880-1894, the firm known as 'Lala Deen Dayal and Sons'. During these two years his two sons Gyan Chand and Dharam Chand were significant operators.
3. The year 1894-1906, the firm known as 'Raja Deen Dayal and Sons'. Title Raja was conferred on Deen Dayal by Nizam VI of Hyderabad.
4. The year 1905 ca-1915, the firm continues to be known as 'Raja Deen Dayal and Sons'. Gyan Chand continues to be the operator of the firm.

He used over 200 lenses, many developed in collaboration with Ross, Marion and Dahlmeyer, the first two principal lens manufactured in England, the later in Germany. All sold to the subcontinent. He used these lenses to photograph in ways that others, including Europeans did not. Some lenses were made with a 24" focal length, creating an enormously heavy lens that Deen Dayal's bearers carried out in the field for him. Most of them were fixed at f 8 exposure, an exposure normally used outdoors on a sunny day in a temperate climate. (Gutman, 1982, p.105). Some of his original lenses and his large format bellows camera are in the Cultural Archives, IGNC.

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The collection of glass plate negatives acquired by IGNCA in 1989 has different sizes of negatives approximately- 12"x 15", 10"x 12", 6" x 8", 4" x 6" and 3"x 4".

Glass plate negatives are of two types- Collodion glass plate negatives and Gelatin dry plate negatives. In the beginning of his career as a photographer, Deen Dayal worked with Wet Glass Plate Negatives and later switched to Dry Plate. Wet glass plate negatives used after pouring liquid collodion that sensitized the plate, loaded in the camera when the glass is still wet for exposure. It is a single image plate process thus resulting in production of multiple prints on paper. Dry glass plate negative sensitized in the factory before they come in the photographer's hand and can be stored for long periods. (Ripley, 1991, p.123)

Documentation by the Photographer- Deen Dayal started documenting and cataloguing his own photographs by assigning them a unique number found on his glass plate negatives and mentioned in his studio registers. —His studio registers mention details about each photograph taken by the Deen Dayal Studio- the negative number (can be seen on his glass plate negatives), negative size, name of the person or monument, and whether the image has been ordered or rejected by the client. This helped in identifying and dating the images. The studio registers started mentioning the name of the operator after the opening of the Bombay Studio in 1896 (Dewan and Hutton, 2013, p. 29). He started giving number to his negatives from 1878 (Dewan and Hutton, 2013, p.38).

When the Cultural Archives acquired the collection, at that time, there was no technology and the documentation work carried out manually. The author is extremely thankful to the Archivist for sharing the details on the documentation methods adopted for this particular collection, which are interesting.

(a) **Accessioning of Original Glass Plate Negatives-** The original glass plate negatives were accompanied with their contact prints bearing original number of glass plate negative (on the side of contact print one can see original number written in white). As accession number cannot be written directly on the glass plate negative, a unique method was adopted to accession them.

Accession number is given to the contact prints bearing the original number first and then matched with the original glass plate and accession number along with the size of the glass plate negative was written on the cover. As facility of digitization was not available at that time, this is the only best possible way to assign numbers to the negatives. Many of his glass plate negatives have a number on glass plate along with his signature or initials showing how he changed his signatures over a period. One can see name of Deen Dayal as 'D.D.', 'D.DIYAL' and 'DEEN DAYAL,' along with the negative number appearing on some of his glass plate negatives. On one of his glass plate negative (NBJ-0120, Original number-3027 showing Eastern Gate Pillar details at Sanchi has an impression of his stamp? On left side- 'LALA DEEN DIYAL-INDORE, C.I) with his initials 'D.D.' in white ink.

This shows Deen Dayal expertise and dedication in documenting his work.

The studio furniture from the Collection have two negative storage cupboards with cabinets made of teakwood —one numbered year wise from 1870-1970 and

the other mentioning the name of the place (Bombay) and people (Nizam) in which glass plate negatives were stored .

(b) **Accessioning of Contact Prints of Glass Plate Negatives-** From the glass plate negatives, by contact method on paper, the positive prints were made exactly of the size of glass plate negative and mounted in the handmade albums. The positive prints accessioned and original glass plate number written at the back of the photograph. Accession number of the glass plate negative and the photographic print given by IGNCA written just below each photograph mounted in the album.

(c) **Cataloguing the Collection-** For cataloguing the collection, the photographic prints printed from the original negatives were divided into several categories like- Nobles and Notables, Nizam, Social Group, Festivals and Parade, Places of archaeological interest, military, sports etc. The catalogue cards were prepared mentioning theme, title, original number (found on glass plate negative and studio register), description, accession number (of both glass plate negative and photographic print given by IGNCA), date, place, number of the similar picture available in the collection and a contact print of the photograph of 120 mm pasted on the catalogue card. Accession register was also prepared giving the details of the photographs.

The studio register from the collection covering the time period from 1889-1913 mentions important details about the photographs taken by Deen Dayal or other operators in his studio. The details like negative number, size of the photograph ordered, name of the subject, date, distinguishing mark, name of the operator and number of copies ordered mentioned in the register. These studio registers do not mention details of all the glass plate negatives acquired by IGNCA from their heirs, but of other photographs as well taken by Deen Dayal in his lifetime. Whatever information was available about the glass plate negatives in the studio register acquired by IGNCA transferred from the registers to the catalogue cards. Deen Dayal took several photographs of the same subject or sitter, glass plate negatives not necessarily numbered in the manner the photographs taken and the same is apparent from the entries in the studio register. Glass Plate negative number NBJ - 2145, Original number-4889 in Cultural Archives, IGNCA showing Deen Dayal with staff photographers P.A. Herzog and P.Higgins has a different photographer's reference number of the same photograph in the collection of Peabody Essex Museum, Photographer reference number given is 11889 (Dewan and Hutton, 2013, p.34); an albumen print (pH 81.73). This highlights the point that the negative number entered in the studio register were not numbered in the manner the photographs taken. It is quite possible that Deen Dayal must have taken several photographs of the same and the entry of the negatives in the register done later.

Gutman (1982, p.105) found that Deen Dayal's studio was visited by many Indians and a register from 1891 from his studio suggests that 30 out of 46 entries in the register were Indian.

(d) **Digitization of the Collection-** The photographic prints mounted in the album digitized. The photographic contact prints scanned on high resolution and a

database created. Low-resolution files with title and accession number developed for the research scholars. The excel file mentioning the accession number (of both glass plate negative and modern photographic print), title, original glass plate negative number and the album number, the page number of the album on which a particular photograph can be found is given. A computerized list pasted outside the album mentioning the accession number of glass plate negative, title of the photograph, accession number of the photograph and a note mentioning the description of photographs taken from the Studio register. In the past many scholars, students and museum professionals doing research visited the archives to access the collection for academic purpose and sometimes from various organizations, the photographs from the collection requested. In order to ensure that the information provided is accurate and for in house research; additions and updates made to the existing list from time to time through research and information provided by the scholars and erudite users. The albumen and silver gelatin photographic prints of Deen Dayal present in libraries, archives, museums and academic institutions in India and abroad are helpful in identifying many images present in the collection. The British Library, The Alkazi Foundation of Photography, Andhra Pradesh State Archives and Research Institute, Royal Ontario Museum, Peabody Essex Museum and Cleveland Museum of Art, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, Duke University Libraries, Museum of Asiatic Art and Asian Art Museum are the organizations having photographic prints or albums of Deen Dayal. Many of his original glass plate negatives and photographs must be there with private collectors. Some of his prints and glass-plate negatives are also found in the collection of Chowmahalla Palace (Dewan, and Hutton, 2013, p.32).

Some of these organizations have identical prints of Deen Dayal because the studio was producing many prints and albums for selling and to present it to the dignitaries, which is a way of documenting the visit, and later on donated to the museums or sold. IGNCA is fortunate to acquire the original glass plates of Deen Dayal whose photographic prints are available in the museum and archives in India and abroad.

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25.

Case Study of Local Identities at Ramban District in Jammu Province In Respective of Oral Tradition

*Jeevan Singh

Abstract:

The present paper is an attempt to provide a case study of Ramban District in Jammu Region in respective of oral tradition. This region has been also witnessing its popularity and is evident through various literacy as well as Archaeological sources, .i.e Ancient Stone statue of Horses at Gool, Ancient bowalies where images of Nagas or Snake engraved on stones, native dialect i.e, Rambani, Pogali, Sangaldani, Siraji etc. The people also performs various types of festivals like Mela, Kud, Jagrata on their Kul Deveta, folklore like Naath, Swagah, Setheni etc. and folkdance i.e Thali Dance is famous in Ramban. When their crop is ripening the people of villages perform celebration like Kameri, Lateri etc. and invited people from neighborhood for harvesting their crops.

The present paper is an endeavour to provide a case study of Ramban District in Jammu Region in respective of oral tradition.

Key Point: Bowalis, Talab, Nath, Swagah, Shethni, Shiksha, Gora Gali, Jagratra, Kud, Chella, Thali Dance, Kameri, Lateri, Been, Gajpat Kila.

The region of Jammu has been also witnessing its popularity from an early period and is evident through various literacy as well as archaeological sources. Folklore and folktales were also prevalent in Jammu region since primitive times onwards, to even present Modern age.

Also in most of the areas of Jammu Region, natural water reservoirs (talabs) stone are bearing installed on their bank bearing caved lines images of snake or

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nagas. Moreover, some large *baolies* have shrines and temples, built in their vicinity or even on the skirt of a *baolies*, making an integral part of temple, *Baolies* are thus found in large number in almost all part of Jammu territory.

Baolies: In the region of Jammu, most of the *baolies* in use contained stone slabs bearing images of snake coiled in concentric circles or represented by a wavy line¹. The other important Nagas *baolies* in the plain of Jammu which contains the relief of coiled serpent in the *Paap Nashi Baolis* of Sudhmahdev.²

Rani ka Talab³ at Batote: It is believed that these *talab* in constructed around 100years ago. It is another artistic specialty of those times.

As far as Ramban district is concern different languages spoken in the hilly areas. The name of villages and their spoken languages are change every 10 kms e.g In Banihal, Pogal, Ukhral etc people mostly spoken Pogali language and Ramban, Rajgharh, Batote people spoke Siraji Language. And people resided in west of Chenab(Akshni)River like Gandhri, Sangaldan and Gool villages people spokes modified form of pahari nature of Dogri language. But here is some area like Bhimdasa, Kalimasta and Ghagra here people spoke mixture of Sanskrit Kashmiri known as Khashki language. And here Kahmiri spoken by Muslim and Gogri spoken by the Gujjar tribe almost all areas of Ramban District.

Regional Song: Different types of song singing by the people on different occasion like during marriage ceremony people sing a traditional song like *Nath*, *Swagah*, *Shethni*, *Shiksha*, etc.

When people construct their houses a large number of people gather from surrounding villages wooden cut from forest and after cutting the big piece of wood carried by people on their shoulders and singing a song *Zor sce bolo Haesso* and these big pice of wood called as *kaddi* which is used as a beam in the wall of kacha house. The whole process from cutting to install at their home by local people called it *kathayti*⁴.

Kud: It is the dance of the hilly region of Jammu province. Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Ramban are known for their Kud Dances. The word Kud dance means *Mela* and is celebrated once in a year.⁵ This is a basically a ritual dance performed in honor of Kul devatas. It is a kind of thank giving ritual dance performed mostly during nights. Peoples of all ages and sexes participates in this dance form which is accompanied by musical instruments used during the dance like Narsinga dhol⁶ flute and dhrums. It is the rhythm of music that directs the movements of all participants⁷.

In the Ramban region people performed, in last day of marriage ceremony when all the participants of relatives of bride dance in circular form at their roof of house. They also dance the sword of bride (dhullah) and Turban of bride. They believed that without dancing of *Kud* dance the marriage of their son is incomplete. Also some place of Ramban Region people performed *Thali* dance.

Kheed: It was a dancing practice prevlent in the hilly region of Pogal, Ukhral, Neera, Palli, Jhatgalli, Dhandrath, Chaba and Rajgarh . By the opinion of ancestors

peoples gather at their Kul Deveta or Devasthan/temple. The *chella* or pujari of the particular devata whole night perform *jatra* or dancing with hold on trident in their hands in the name of Shiva, or other Kuldevta like Rja Mandlik, Raja Kaliver, Baba Lakhru, Baba Nayalan etc.

Dancing is the oldest and liveliest of the all arts. Man in all countries and in all times have expressed their feeling in rhythm and body movements. The dance is the language of the body. It draws people together in their thought and feelings. A dancer can communicate any subject and idea to his audience. His movement may interpret religious history or belief or they may interpret things in our everyday life.

The dance is performed on special occasions like the advent of springs season, the harvest time when the peasant feel joy at the fruit of their labour or weeding of some important person. The dances or accompanied by drums and flutes.

Kameri: When the sowing of paddy cultivation the people of Neera singing a song Ruhakli (Sirazi Language).

Lateri: When gross was ripe a group of people gather in one house and threshing the grass and singing a song like Chaan⁸ along with dhol and Been. In the area of west of Chenab river people gather from the neighbourhood and cutting the grass along with *beein*⁹ and beats of dhol(Drums), these practice is still continue from ancient time onwards.

Mudaan Ceremony: In the region of Ramban zila infant baby have attaining the age of 1 year or 3 year the family of that infant performed function in their home for cutting of hair ceremony. In the area of Neera and Rajgarh, maternal (Grandfather)Nanaji family came with Dhol Band Baja Been (Musical Instrument) and flute celebrate function at infant house¹⁰. And some area like Dandhrat if baby born the mother of that baby sacrifices Goat to their Kul Deveta. It was think that this is all through the mercy of God and that is why they performed that ceremony. And in the area of Sangaldan Gool, Gandhri etc the Mother's Brother (Mamuji) of the child cut first hair of the Child. People also sacrifices Goat at their Devatas after a boy child born, and also give Gold, silver and iron Tika or *ladia*¹¹ to their Kul Devta like Raja Madlik in the area of Ramban. It is believed that if one has not given these to their Kul Devata these could not save their life. This practice still continues from generation to generation.

Chobarsi: It was performed when the family members died after completing his four years. All the people of that village invited in their home and organized functions. In that functions huge amount of dishes were prepare for the guest. Important dishes like Babroo, Khemeera,¹² Ambal,¹³ both sweet and sour i.e Ambal.

Jag: It was another type of practice which is performed by the native people by once a year or some people organized every 4th year. A Brahmin or panditji invited by that family at their home and he is performing havan(Yaag) and pooja for God and after completing Yaag all the invited people give lunch and serve all types of food like Sweet Rice mix with milk people called it Kheer and others food items to their guest (*Mehman*).

Every hilly region has its own history and natural beauty which attracts people from other area for from or visiting. Gool Sangaldan is situated in the lap of middle Himalayas. This place is believed that once visited by travelers, Suffis and sanits. Gool and Sangaldan has been the center of attraction since centuries because of stone art rare of its kind at water streams, Baowlis Devsthan and other religious sites. Name of places having Sanskrit connotation, folk tales and folklores gather from local people also provide influence of primitive civilization on Gool. *Ghora Gali* also known as Dhing Kote is one such place in Gool where Hundreds of Stone horses are found with a unique and appealing look. Every stone horse has riders which have been carved abd chiseled so artistically. The rider sits on saddles with stabbing weapons in one side of their waist. They are also seen in traditional dress with arrow and bows in hands. It is believed that stone sculpture are curved in the times of Pandvas who happened to have passed through this place. Apart from Ghora Ghali , stone horses and art on stones can also be seen at Thanna Movevkote, Kalyari Mata, Seiya Baggi, Bisha Gali, Bajoni, Kalimasta, Jabad, Dheeda, Ind and other far off places. At Balras Salballa we can witness artistic designs carved or engraved on huge stone.

During the reign of Jalal-ud - din Mohd Akbar's Bhatal region¹⁴ which includes present day Sangaldan, Barakund , Dheeda, Ind, Chachwa, Seripura, Thatharka, Famrote, Mahakund, Kalimasta, Bhimdasa, Dalwah, Gundi, Dharam was also granted to Jai Pal as jagir and thus all adjoining areas remained in the possession of decendants of Jai Pal.

Another engraved stones at the site of Ahadwah Tehsil district Ramban which are considered oldest in the history of mankind in this Panchyat. Every plank of stones is engraved with the images of men with horses or elephants. These are considered as old as the 5th to 10th century BC where so many antiquity are found as old pottery broken, demolished houses, old walls of stones and ancient or primitive lands. Some people believed that it is of the time of Ahd Singh and some says that it is before the era and carved stones with the pictures of horses and elephants¹⁵.

Shaldan Bowali¹⁶ at village Palli : It is belived that the ancestors of Chib family , two brothers of chib family one is construct these Bowali and other have make path from village to these bowalis. It is believed that it was constructed about 150 years ago. Images of Ganesha were engraved on stones. The plateform of these bowalis are square in nature and there is stairs from bottom to top.

Gajpat Kila (Fort): It is situated on left bank of Chenab on the top of hill. It is constructed by Maharaja Gulab Singh the Dogra Rules of Jammu and and Kashmir. It is believed that Maharaja Touch the stone with idol of Kali Mata temple at Bagah Bhau Jammu and these stone or idol installed in this fort and it is famous form the name of Kali Mata temple from that time onwards¹⁷. People of all around the Jammu province visited here for worship. And now in present day the beautiful newly constructed Baghliar Hydro electricity Dam were seen from that fort. It was another important identities of the Ramban district.

Conclusion: Some of Historical evidence found in this region e.g., the Ancient Stone sculpture at Gora Gali in Gool people called them it was made by Pandava during their Agyatwas period of Mahabharata. During the reign of Jalal - ud- Mohammed Akbar's reign Native ruler Jai Pal held Jagir of Battal area, which shows this area have some historical connectivity. In this articles iam trying to show how the oral tradition is helpful for writing a case study of District Ramban during contemporary period..

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1. S.D.S Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, vol-III Jay Kay Book House Jammu, 1997, P. 232.
2. Ashok Jherat, Folk Art of Duggar, Vol-II, P.32
3. It was constructed by the Maharaja of Chennai State. The Maharani of Channai Raja visiting here for bathing.
4. People of surrounding village gather carried this big piece of wood and installed at the wall of kucha house, and native of people called it Kathyati.
5. Waklu, Somnath, *The Rich Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi-1998, p.98.
6. It was made of wood and skin of goat and sheep. A center part of these wooden is empty and both the end have tightly binding with the skin of goat or sheep.
7. *ibid.*
8. Folk song
9. It made of clothes and in the inner part a cloth stich a bladder, in which air has filled with mouth of singer and 3 to 4 flute attached with it .Local people called it *beein* like a big flute.
10. Gurjeet Singh native of that Village give us oral information of that Mundan ceremony.
11. It is made up of Iron, Gold and silver. It was like a chain and install at the Gopurm of Devasthan.
12. It was made of wheat floor before making them it was kept in quilt for one night and next day they were fried in oil.
13. It is made of pumpkin with Tamarind (Emlu) and local people called it Ambal.
14. Story telling by the ancestors of that village about the origin of this Batal Area.
15. Ram Prashad Manhas local resident of that village give me information of that antiquity.
16. Local resident of Palli village give me information
17. Personally visiting at that Fort and after getting interview of people living around "Gajpath Fort".

26.

Traditional Healingknowledge of The Kol Tribe

*Dhaneshvar Prasad Marko

Abstract

*Presented research paper that has been shown their belief in traditional medical practice adopted among the Kol tribes living in **Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh** is still much higher than the modern medicine method. According to the study presented, at the present time, they not only believe in this traditional medical system, but they also encourage it in their community. In this study, his traditional medical knowledge is explained in detail.*

According to this tradition, they use traditional herbs along with many religious rituals in their traditional medical practice. The Kol tribal community believes that if a person is suffering from a disease, it is due to the wrath of the Goddess or the outbreak of an invisible power. That is, they consider white magic or black magic as the cause of all kinds of diseases and disasters.

In order to avoid such a situation, they perform many traditional religious rituals that often heal. That is why they have full faith and belief in this tradition and they also believe that it is a legacy given by our ancestors, which has received social recognition and which has both its utility and importance for them in the present times.

Keyword: Healing practices, Atra, Kol tribe, Religious ritual, Guniya, Ethno-Philosophy

Introduction: The traditional medicine method of Kol tribe living in Dindori district of Madhya Pradesh has a great influence in their whole life. Under this, the Kol community deeply considers traditional remedies related to any type of diseases and remains satisfied with it. Although they do not know how all this happens? But they certainly know and believe that through religious rituals and practices,

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they will be cured without any problem. Although modern treatments are also accepted by them, but their belief and expectation of healing is high in traditional medicine. Because over the years, they have been seen using this medical method from one generation to the next. Their ancestors have been doing the same and they are also committed to continue and enhance it for the coming generations.

It has been observed in the study that the fever which is called 'AtraaJwar' in the local language, they perform special religious rituals as a treatment. According to this, local tribal doctors, called 'Guniya' in their community, are said to be the cause of the disease, the outbreak of the Goddess, to calm them, they perform a variety of traditional religious rituals including tree worship.

In fact, this medical knowledge tradition of the Kol tribal should be understood from the point of view of 'Ethnophilosophy', rather than from a scientific perspective, because such traditions serve as a cultural element. It cannot be understood even by traditional philosophical method because the value of the knowledge of the tribals cannot be justified properly due to their cultural understanding being different from the basic beliefs of other societies. Their treatment method, which is controlled by their own innate beliefs and traditional knowledge, is very important in their culture and society of any kind of disease, whether physical or mental or social. This can be understood as their intuitive understanding from the point of view of 'ethnic philosophical thought' rather than just scientific ideas.

1.1 Traditional Knowledge : Traditional knowledge is known as community-specific and local knowledge, under this knowledge it includes the study of knowledge, practice and traditional activity innovation along with its subject area. This local knowledge is transmitted orally from one generation to another as traditional knowledge, which is possible due to community recognition.

Traditional knowledge has been developed as culturally recognized cultural practices in the local language in folklore, proverbs, idioms, folk tales etc. This knowledge ensures the direction of development of tribal community because it has the characteristic that it has full sense and respect for the processes of intuitive sense, common experience and collective interests. Traditional knowledge maintains a connection with nature along with the fulfillment of practical requirements. Because it combines cultural practices with itself, in particular, horticulture, agriculture, animal husbandry, health, environmental management, etc. are traditional knowledge that is based on local beliefs and its natural relationships.

1.2 Traditional healing : Traditional healing is a method of properly caring for health by a method that primarily follows the practices, knowledge, and beliefs in which therapeutic tree plants and mineral-based medicines prepared and used from traditional technology are used, be included. This knowledge is associated with cultural activities in the tribal community in which there is a close connection between traditional medical practice and culture. Even today, a mixture of herbs and spiritual healing can be seen in this medical practice.

1.3 Traditional medicinal knowledge : Traditional medicinal knowledge, factual knowledge of the properties of medicine and demonstration of its precise use can be seen as a coordinated form. It works according to the behavioral requirement among the local people in line with community recognition. It is used for the eradication of physical and mental diseases, which is made possible only by practical demonstration and observation of people. Physical, mental, and spiritual healing is done through this method whose process and effect is greatly influenced by the culture and beliefs of the tribe community. In 1979, Balasubrahmanyam stated that indigenous medicinal knowledge meets the health needs of most people in developing countries. Natural resources, products and biological value help to enrich tribal life and improve their nutritional level by using them as local food ingredients from the environment.

1.4 Puja as traditional healing : According to Hinduism, worship is known as the common worship method which is performed both collectively and individually. Worship can be done at any time and by anyone. However, there is also some specific affirmation-prohibition, such that at some specific time, season, Muhurta, etc., either worship is forbidden or worship is done in particular. Worship is not done in the event of impurity or death of a family member due to menstruation of women. Similarly, special worship is done in Amavas and Poornima or in special festivals etc. Pooja is equally prevalent in almost every Hindu household. Different gods and goddesses are also worshiped in different ways, depending on what the purpose of worshipping is? The puja is performed both in Kamya and Nishkamya.

Method of puja

There are many interpretations of the word 'Puja' in Hinduism, according to one interpretation, its two letters 'Pu' and 'Ja' - 'Pa' means 'Parayana' or Mantra or the constant repetition of the names of God and 'Ja'. It means 'Japa' or mantra or continuous mental recitation of the names of God. According to this, continuous chanting of the mantra of a deity achieves specific accomplishment. This form of 'puja' is a moderate way in which Hindus practice both remembrance and chanting of the deity's names by believers. According to the second interpretation, in 'Puja' rituals, Hindus offer both flowers and water to the deity. 'Pu' means 'Pushpam' or flower and 'Ja' means 'water' - that is, water and flowers with their names are offered to God during worship. This is called Panchopchar method.

Lastly, worship also has a mysterious dimension. According to this interpretation, worship means the form of worship in which we experience the experience of being born again or we awaken our inner soul. Here "Pu" means Purush means soul and "Ja" means "Janam", which means giving birth or awakening.

The worshiper sits in front of the idol with utmost reverence, love and a sense of self-surrender and finally he once again washes his feet formally with water. After that, the idol is bathed with water, milk, honey etc. Then they are touched

by combining various mantras mixed with various perfumes and fragrant pastes such as turmeric powder, sandalwood paste and ghee along with curd which is usually 'Samparyami'. Saying 'Which means 'it is presented by me, do it Lord God'. After taking a bath, the deity is offered beautiful new robes which are symbolically presented either in simple cotton thread or made of made-up garments. After she was relaxed in the new dress and honored with a high posture, the worshipers presented her to Pushpakam (flower), Falam (fruit), Gandham (sandalwood paste), Dhupam (incense), Deepam (light) and Prasad Is performed. Naivedyam (food), Jalam (water), Mantram (recitation of sacred shlokas) and Mantra-Pushpakam (a sacred flower) the purpose of all these processes and with devotional offerings and respectful prayers is that the gods instinctively enter the surroundings of the new house, experiencing a positive state.

Thus, worship in Hinduism is essentially a religious ritual and more indicative of the holy. Pooja is a method of communicating directly with God and expressing oneself with a spiritually and spiritually devotional spirit.

The Kol tribe

The Kol tribe is a tribe of the Munda group whose birth place has been reported to the Rewa state. It is spread in many states of India like Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra etc. Their population is widely spread in Rewa, Sidhi, Shahdol, Umaria, Anuppur, Mandla and Dindori districts of Madhya Pradesh, their population in Dindori district is above 33000. They consider themselves to be descendants of King Yayati. Yayati's younger son, whose name is Kolam, is derived from the name 'Kol'. They associate themselves with 'kolam'. Since they used to live in the jungles, for this reason his second name is Vanvasi. Their main occupation is agriculture as well as wages. They move from their place of residence to work for several months and adopt their living habits, traditions etc. but they do not give up their culture and knowledge tradition.

Discussion and conclusion

The traditional practices of the Kol community, such as medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, crafts, labor skills, customary law, religious belief and related rules that have been passed down from generation to generation, still retain it as their heritage. Have done. The method of medical knowledge tradition within the Kol community is still influential in the form of medicine. When any type of diseases occur in the community, they go to Gunia, who is a local doctor. Gunia has not only established the heritage of traditional knowledge in relation to diseases, but has been advancing it by treating diseases through traditional practices. Kol believes in all of this and believes that he is capable of curing all kinds of disasters and diseases. People who use traditional methods such as chanting hymns and rituals etc. with many different methods, for the treatment of any disease then, they collectively perform religious activities. For example, if any person bites a snake,

which they call 'Jagrabethna' in the local language, then they perform rituals to eliminate the effect of the snake venom with a mantra which is well known in the process.

Similarly, to overcome 'Atraa' fever, two women together cook food in front of the door and sing a song pronouncing the name of the person who has the disease and they also get cured. They sing and they believe that the disease has been cured. This entire process is a specific type of method. In the same way, they also guess the rain from their traditional knowledge. In this, they worship Lord Indra by placing water in 4 lamps of clay. They believe that the amount of water that it rains is actually due to the melting of the cloud under the influence of Indra Dev. In this way, the importance and use of traditional knowledge can be seen even today in the Kol community.

Ethno-Philosophy: The ethno-philosophical interpretation of the Kol Tribe's traditional medical knowledge is that this knowledge is based on social-reasoning and interaction between the tribe. Social-reasoning and conversation differ from personal-reasoning, whose legitimacy is determined by the collective impact on the community that is transferred from one generation to the next. Each element of this knowledge works as a complement to each other.

Traditional treatment is a kind of intuitive belief through which any type of disease can be cured. Wisdom and pure emotion are embedded in this intuitive consciousness. In this spontaneous knowledge, the cognate element is secondary, but the values of spontaneous consciousness are mainly.

Therefore, the traditional knowledge of the Kol tribe should be regulated and verified by ethno-philosophy beliefs rather than traditional classical philosophy.

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“मालवाचल का पुरातत्व महिदपुर के संदर्भ में”

*डॉ. प्रद्युम्न भट्ट

**डॉ. मनीषा भट्ट

सारांश:-

विन्यान श्रेणियों में चम्बल नदि से सिंचित मालवा के पठार प्राचीन भू-भाग है इसमें प्राग मानव का विचरण कोई चार लाख साल पहले शुरू हो चुका था, दरकी चट्टान गुफा के कप मार्क्स यह बताते हैं साथ ही चतुर्भुज नाला एवं चिबड़ नाला, रामकुण्ड, कथिरीया के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों में 30 हजार वर्ष पूर्व के कलात्मक चित्र विधिमान है। उज्जैन, कायथा, मनोटी, आवरा आदि प्राचीन ताम्रयुगीन बस्तीयां रही हैं जिनकी संस्कृति समृद्ध थी, उज्जैन के महाकाल वन से बाहर महतपुरम् जो वर्तमान में महिदपुर के नाम से जाना जाता है, डॉ. रहमान अली व साथियों की खोज ने प्रमाणित किया है कि यह ताम्रयुगीन बस्ती रहा है तभी से लेकर महिदपुर के साथ अनेक पौराणिक गाथाएँ जुड़ी हैं व 1817 दिसंबर में हुए युद्ध तक इसमें महिदपुर के संदर्भ में प्रकाश डाला गया है जो मालवा के पुरातत्व के संदर्भ में नवीन तथ्य प्रस्तुत कर रहा है।

नवमन्वन्तरो में भूगर्भिय हलचलों से टेथिस सागर में निर्मित महाद्वीपीय उत्प्लावन के साथ दक्षिण प्रायद्वीप से उत्तर में हिमालय के उदभव के दौरान सागर से उपर उठे तल, ज्वालामुखी प्रवहों, राख आदि के जमावों से बना प्राच्य भू भाग आज मालवा के पठार के नाम से जाना जाता है। ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से ई. पूर्व की सदियों में यह अवन्ति प्रदेश था जो विक्रम कालिदास के युग के बाद मालव प्रदेश के रूप में सुमान्य रूप से स्थापित हो चला है। डॉ. दशरथ शर्मा आदि विद्वान इसे 6वीं सदी से पहले ही मालव नाम से इस अंचल को उल्लेखित किया है। महाभारत काल में

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पंजाब की नदियों के तट पर वीर मल्लोई जाति जो धीरे धीरे समय के साथ टोंक बूंदी की राह उज्जयिनी वेग में आई तभी इस मल्लोई जाति के वीरो के नायक प्रमुख विक्रम से इसका मालवा नाम सार्थक प्रतीत होता है। इसी क्षेत्र में चंबल व सहायक नदियों का भाग शामिल है।¹

मालवा पठार विन्धान के सिक्ताश्म चट्टानों के अपदरन व चूना पत्थर, राख, ज्वालामुखीय उद्गारों से बना है। बहुत काल पूर्व में जब धरातल पर झीलों या निचली भूमि पर जलभराव होता था तब जलीय जीवों से परिपूर्ण क्षेत्र बना जाता, जब शुष्क समय आता तब झीलें सूख जाती। लोटखेड़ी में मिले समुद्री कछुओं के जीवाश्मों का पाया जाना इस तथ्य को पुष्ट करता है। धीरे धीरे हिम युग भी बीत गया तब प्राग मानव का विचरण इस मालव भूमि पर शुरू हो चुका था। रामापिथिकास को प्रथम द्विपाद चलन वाला प्राग मानव मान लेने में किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं है।²

संक्षेप में कहें तो आर्कियन व प्रोटोरोजक महाकल्पों में पृथ्वी जीवों से रहित थी। कैम्बीयन युग में अकशेरुकी प्राणी आये, आर्डोविशियन युग में प्रारंभिक शैवालों का प्रसार हुआ, डिवोनियन काल में उभयचरों का विकास हुआ। कार्बोनीफेरस युग में सरिसृपों, कच्छपों, नागों का आधिपत्य हुआ, जूरासिक युग में डायनासोर का युग बीता क्रिटेशियस युग में फूलवाले पौधे आये टर्चरी युग में स्तनियों का विकास हुआ क्वाटरनरी युग (अंतिम वैवश्वत मनवंतर में) आखिरी चरण में बुद्धिमान मानव धरा पर आया। कोई 10 लाख साल पूर्व से 5 लाख साल पूर्व में होमोसेपियंस बुद्धिमान मानव मालवा की धरा पर अवतरित हुआ। इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी स्थित दरकी चट्टान गुफा में मिले पेट्रोग्लिफ्स को डॉ. रावर्ट बेडनाटिक ने 60 हजार साल पूर्व से 2 लाख 60 हजार साल पूर्व का निरूपित किया है व नवीन खोजों के आधार पर 4 लाख प्राचीन है, जो मालवा के प्राग मानव द्वारा बनाये है। ये पेट्रोलिप्स दुनिया के वैज्ञानिकों के लिए अध्ययन की विषय सामग्री बन गये है।³

भारत के मानव सभ्यता के विकास के प्रथम युग को पाषाण युग कहा जाता है। इसी युग में मालवा पठार पर विचरण करने वाले प्राग मानव में प्रकृति के साथ अनुकूलन की दक्षता हासिल की ली थी। चम्बल घाटी क्षेत्र में, चम्बल, शिवना, क्षिप्रा, काली सिंध के किनारों से प्रापाण युगीन उपकरण बड़ी मात्रा में मिले है। मोड़ी, कंवला, सुजानपुरा, रेवालकी, चिब्वड़नाला, चतुर्भुजनाथ नाला, रामकंड, ताखाजी, हिंगलाजगढ़ क्षेत्र, डीकेन, आमद, गागरोन क्षेत्रों में पर्वतों, चट्टानों के शैलाश्रयों में प्राग मानव द्वारा उकेरे गये सुंदर चित्र मिले है। ये हमारी विश्व प्रसिद्ध धरोहर है। इनसे पृथ्वी पर मानव सभ्यता की लाखों वर्ष प्राचीन कहानी प्रदर्शित हो रही है। डॉ. वि श्री वाकणकर को भारत में शैलचित्र कला के पितामह के रूप में याद करते है। चित्रित शैलाश्रयों की खोज में डॉ. वाकणकर सा का विशिष्ट योगदान रहा है। आज चम्बल घाटी क्षेत्र में 700 से अधिक चित्रित शैलाश्रय खोजे जा चुके है।⁴

मध्यप्रदेश की प्राचीनतम नदियों में नर्मदा व चम्बल दो प्रमुख नदियों के नाम सम्मिलित है। चम्बल नदी घाटी की वीथिकाओं में प्राग मानव की उपस्थिति निर्विवाद रही है। इसी मानव ने पाषाणों के उपकरणों का निर्माण शुरू किया। प्रारंभ में बड़े आकार के कम सुडोल उपकरणों का

निर्माण हुआ। धीरे धीरे अनुभव, आवश्यकता व बुद्धि कौशल के विकास से सुडौल तेल धार वाले औजारों के निर्माण में मानव ने दक्षता हासिल कर ली थी। अनुमान है कि निडरथल मानव के पूर्व का मानव इस धरा पर अवश्य रहा है। दर की चट्टान गुफा में अशुलियन शैली के उपकरणों का निर्माण मालवा में प्रधानता से हुआ है। कोई एक से तीन लाख साल पहले तक प्राग मानव द्वारा निर्मित उपकरणों की खोज मालवा में बड़ी मात्रा में हुई है। सभी एन्थ्रोपोलोजिस्ट इस बात से सहमत हैं कि मालवा की धरती पर लम्बी बाहों वाले बलशाली मानव ने चौपट, हस्तकुठार, खोदक कर्तक जैसे उपकरणों का दक्षतापूर्वक उपयोग किया था। 30 हजार साल पहले हल्के व लघु (माइक्रोलिथ) उपकरणों का युग भी आया। इसी युग में शैलाश्रयों की दीवारों पर गेरू रंगों से अपनी स्मृतियों को चिरस्थायी बनाने की परम्परा की शुरुआत हुई। इसमें जीवन संघर्ष व प्रकृति में पाये जाने वाले जीवों के साथ संबंधों को, आत्मरक्षा, आमोद प्रमोद, पशुपालन व कृषि युग तक के चित्रों की लंबी कहानी देखने को मिलती है। निश्चित तौर पर कहा जा सकता है कि 30-40 हजार साल पहले कलात्मक गतिविधियों की जन्म हो चुका था। शतुर्मुख के कलात्मक अंडशल्कों की खोज भानपुरा अंचल में हुई, ये कार्बन डेटिंग से 38500 साल प्राचीन सिद्ध हुये हैं। स्पष्ट है 38500 साल पहले मालवा में शुष्क जलवायु भी रही होगी। चतुर्भुजनाथ नाले में विश्व प्रसिद्ध शेलचित्र वीथिका है वहां मध्याश्म व ताम्राश्म युगीन सभ्यता को दर्शाने वाले चित्रों की बहुलता है। ये चित्रावलियां तदयुगीन मानव के सामाजिक जीवन को भी दर्शाती हैं। गर्भवती मादा पशु, सामूहिक शिकार, नौकायन, कबिलों के युद्ध, धनुष बाण का सधा हुआ प्रयोग इस इन चित्रों में देख सकते हैं। चित्रों की सुडौलता आज के दक्ष चित्रकार को भी अचंभित कर देती है।¹⁵ चतुर्भुजनाथ नाले में एक स्त्री का बड़ा सा चित्र है जिसमें उसके पुष्ट उरोजों के साथ, घुटनों के बल अंगड़ाई लेते हुये बताया गया है। जिसे डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार ने मातृदेवी का चित्र माना है। यानि मातृदेवी व अन्य देवों की उपसना शुरू हो चुकी थी इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है।¹⁶

कंवला, मोड़ी, सुजानपुरा के चारागाहों के दृश्य शैलाश्रयों में मिलते हैं। दूर तक फैले चारागाहों के दृश्य इसी के बाद चम्बल घाटी के मालवा क्षेत्र में कृषि युग की शुरुआत हुई ऐसा विद्वानों का मानना है। नवाश्म व ताम्राश्म युग की शुरुआत मालव धरा पर आज से कोई 6 से 7 हजार वर्ष पूर्व हो चुकी थी। छोटी छोटी सामूहिक कबिला बस्तियां, यानि पुरियां बसने लगी थी। नदि तटों पर कृषि का आरंभिक विकास हो चुका था।¹⁷

क्षिप्रा, चम्बल, कालीसिंध, शिवना, रेतम के तटों पर छोटे छोटे नगर यानि पुरियों का अस्तित्व हो चुका था। जिसमें क्षिप्रा के किनारे अवन्तिकापुरी (उज्जैन), महिदपुर (महतपुरम), छोटी कालीसिंध गर्गदा के तट पर गर्गरा तटपुरम (गंगधार) उज्जैन के पूर्व में कपित्थ (कायथा) चम्बल के तट पर अर्परक शिवना तट पर आपरक (आवरा) (मोड़ी) मनोटी, शिवना तट पर दशपुरम (मन्दसौर) आदि की स्थापना ताम्रपाषाण युग की है। यह निर्विवाद हैं।¹⁸

अवन्तिकापुरी (उज्जैन):—यह कई बार अलग अलग स्थानों पर उत्खनन हुए। प्रथम बार 1938-39 में श्री मो. व. गद्रे के निर्देशन में उत्खनन हुआ। इसमें मौर्य युगीन अवशेष, मिट्टी के बने वलयकूप, वृहताकार मृदभांड, मुद्राएँ, मिट्टी के खिलौने, आहत सिक्के आदि प्राप्त हुए थे। इसी क्रम में वेश्या टेकरी, कुम्हार टेकरी, गढ़कालिका टीले का उत्खनन हुआ। संक्षेप में इन सभी

उत्खननों का निष्कर्ष हम लिख सकते हैं कि ईसा से पूर्व 1750 वर्ष पहले यहां विकसित नियोजित बस्ती व सामाजिक जीवन का अस्तित्व था। कालिदास विक्रम युग ईसा पूर्व पहली सदी आते आते यह उत्तर भारत के प्रमुख नगरों में अपना स्थान बना चुका था।

कायथा:— उज्जैन से कोई 20 किमी पूर्व में कालीसिंधु के तट पर स्थित नगर लिसका प्राचीन नाम कापित्य था, इसे वराहमिहिर की जन्म स्थली होने का गौरव प्राप्त है। यहां 2200 ईसा पूर्व से लेकर वर्तमान काल तक के इतिहास व सभ्यता का विकास हुआ। डॉ. वाकणकर ने इसी कायथा सभ्यता के नाम से प्रचारित किया है यहां ताम्राश्म युगीन बस्ती के प्रमाण मिले हैं।

नागदा:— इस संबंध में महाभारत युगीन नाग यज्ञ से जोड़ा जाता है। केन्द्रीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण के श्री एन.आर. बेनर्जी के निर्देशन में यहां 1955-56 में उत्खनन हुआ। लघु पाषाण उपकरण, मृद भांडों का अवशेष मिले हैं यह भी ताम्राश्म युगीन बस्ती रहा है। वर्तमान में औद्योगिक नगर है।

मनोटी:— यहां म.प्र. पुरातत्व विभाग के डॉ. एच.व्ही. त्रिवेदी निर्देशन में 1959-60 में उत्खनन हुआ। कायथा व नागदा प्रमाणों से मिलते जुलते अवशेष मिले हैं। यहाँ टोटीक्षर पात्र भी मिले हैं।

मोड़ी:— यहां पर 1958-59 में एक शैलाश्रय में उत्खनन हुआ जिसमें ताम्राश्म युगीन, नवाश्म युगीन सभ्यता के अवशेष मिले हैं।

आवरा:— चंदवासा से 6 मील पश्चिम में चंबल तट पर ताम्राश्म युगीन सभ्यता का गांव, इसका प्राचीन नाम आपरक (आवरा) था। 1960-61 में यहां डॉ. एच.व्ही. त्रिवेदी के निर्देशन में उत्खनन हुआ। यहां नवपाषाण व ताम्राश्म युगीन सभ्यता के अवशेष मिले हैं। इसे ईसा पूर्व 1500 वर्ष प्राचीन माना गया है।

इन्द्रगढ़:— रेवा के तट पर बसे प्राचीन नगर के अवशेष यहां मिले हैं। इसका प्राचीन नाम इन्द्रपुरी था। 1958-59 में यहां डॉ. वाकणकर ने उत्खनन कराया था। राष्ट्रकुट युग के अवशेष मिले हैं।

महिदपुर

महिदपुर की प्राचीनता असंदिग्ध है। डॉ. रहमान अली व साथियों द्वारा यहां की भस्म टेकरी पर उत्खनन विक्रम वि.वि. के तत्वावधान में किया गया। इससे ज्ञात होता है कि यह ताम्राश्म युगीन बस्ती अवश्य रहा है। लेकिन पुराणैतिहास जैसे महाभारत, स्कंदपुराण, ब्रह्मवर्तपुराण, विष्णुपुराण, गुरुङपुराण आदि से ऐसे संकेत मिलते हैं कि लोक में पल्लवित यह विश्वास सहन पुष्ट होता है कि द्वार युग में यह एक विकृत नगर था। इसके नाम से प्रकट होता है कि महल-बड़ा पुरम-नगर अर्थात् बड़ा नगर वृहद नगर, महल पुरम यानि महिदपुर, लोक में इसी विश्वास को यह प्रमाणों के साथ प्रकट कर रहा है। क्षिप्रा किनारे अवस्थित यह नगर अपनी प्राचीनता की सगर्व घोषणा कर रहा है।¹⁰

उज्जैन से महिदपुर की दूरी इंगोरिया होकर मात्र 35 किमी. यानि 22 मील (11 कोस) है। यही उज्जैन के पास सबसे बड़ा पुरम था जो आज भी अपने नाम को सार्थकता प्रदान कर रहा

है। लोक में आज भी यह विश्वास किया जाता है कि महाभारत युग के बाद, द्रोणपुत्र अश्वत्थामा की माथे की मणी को निकाल लिये जाने के बाद से चिरंजीवी अश्वत्थामा, महिदपुर में क्षिप्रा तट पर महाकाल वन से बाहर अपना प्रायश्चित्त करते हुए तपस्यारत है। अनेक भक्त व संत इस बावत अपने अनुभव व संस्मरण साझा करते रहते हैं।

अवस्थिति:—महाभारत स्कंद पुराण के अनुसार विन्ध्य पृष्ठ के परिपत्र से उपजी पुण्य सलिला क्षिप्रा के दक्षिण तट पर यह प्राचीन महतपुर वर्तमान महिदपुर, 23°29' उत्तरी अक्षांश तथा 75°46' पूर्वी देशांतर पर अवस्थित है। यहां उत्तर वाहिनी क्षिप्रा मोक्ष दायिनी व कल्याणकारिणी भी है। इसके तटों पर प्राचीन देवालयों की उपस्थिति इसे भव्यता तथा आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से दिव्यता प्रदान करती है। यहां का धूर्जटेश्वर मंदिर प्राचीन शिवालय है जिसका उल्लेख स्कंद पुराण में भी आता है। यह मंदिर महिदपुर को एक शिव नगरी तीर्थ के रूप में भी प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। यही से 9 किमी. दक्षिण में क्षिप्रा तट पर ही महिदपुर प्राच्य सीमा में आबद्ध नारायण नामक पवित्र तीर्थ स्थल इस नगर में पौराणिक महत्व को रेखांकित करता है। नारायण धाम पर कृष्ण सुदामा का उत्तर भारत का एक मात्र प्राचीन मंदिर स्थित है। कहा जाता है कि एक बार गुरु माता के कहने पर श्री कृष्ण व सुदामा जंगल में गुरुकुल की मर्यादा का पालन करते हुये अधिक हेतु समिधाएँ लेने वन में क्षिप्रा किनारे किनारे बढ़ते गये। घनघोर घटा छा गई। तीव्र वर्षा के कारण श्री कृष्ण सुदामा गुरुकुल में वापस नहीं लोट सके। रात्री में दोनों ने जो समिधाएँ (लकड़ी) एकत्र की थी उसकी मौलियां बनाकर पास पास खड़ी कर दी। रात्री भर मौलियों के सहारे बैठे रहे, अगले दिन प्रातः गुरुदेव सांदिपनी अपने शिष्यों के साथ कृष्ण सुदामा को खोजते वहां पहुंचे, गुरु व शिष्य दोनों के नैत्र सजल हो गये, गुरु ने दोनों को हृदय से लगा लिया। मौलियां वही रहने दी वही रखी मौलियां प्रभाव से आज तक हरे भरे दो गलबहियां करते वृक्ष शाखाओं के रूप में आज भी खड़ी हैं। मैंने स्वयं देखा है। इस प्रजाति के वृक्ष वहां वन में अब और नहीं हैं पूरे वन में इस विशिष्ट प्रजाति के ये दो पौधे नहीं हजारों वर्ष बाद भी श्री कृष्ण सुदामा की दिव्य अमर मित्रता के परिचायक रूप में विद्यमान हैं। वैसे ही हरे भरे सदाबहार रूप में हैं। यह चमत्कार महिदपुर व नारायणा के प्रति विशेष आस्था व सम्मान के प्रतीक हैं। लेकिन मैंने यह अनुभव किया व प्रत्यक्ष देखा कि नारायण से महिदपुर के बीच सड़क निर्माण के लिए बेतरतीब ढंग से मशीनों द्वारा मिट्टी उठाई जा रही है जिससे पुरातात्विक महत्व की सामग्रिया भी नष्ट हो रही हैं।¹¹

अब नवीन शोध के आधार पर यह प्रमाणित हो गया है कि विक्रम कालिदास का समय ईसा पूर्व प्रथम सदी रहा है। जिसका परोक्ष संबंध महिदपुर के पुरातत्व व इतिहास से रहा है।¹² मौर्य युग में अशोक को उज्जैन का प्रांतपाल नियुक्त किया गया था। उज्जैन में रहते हुये ही अशोक ने महेन्द्र व संघमित्रा को बौद्ध धर्म का प्रचार करने श्रीलंका आदि देशों में भेजा था, इन सब घटनाओं का महिदपुर साक्षी अवश्य रहा होगा।¹³ मौर्य टेकरी के उत्खनन से भी मौर्ययुगीन अवशेष सामने आये हैं स्पष्ट है मौर्य युग व बाद में भी महिदपुर का सांस्कृतिक वैभव अक्षुण्य रहा होगा। हमें स्मरण आता है गर्गरातपुरम् (गंगधार) का यहां के मौखरी नरेश ईशान वर्मा के

राज्याश्रय में रविशक्ति नामक विद्वान रहा जिसने हरहा प्रशस्ति की रचना की है जिसकी भाषा व शैली प्रशंसनीय है। क्षिप्रा के पावन तटों पर उज्जैन से महिदपुर व महिदपुर से क्षिप्रा तट तक जहां क्षिप्रा चम्बल से संगमित होती है, शिव को समर्पित अनेक देवालय हैं जो उस युग में वैष्णव धर्म के साथ साथ शैव धर्म के प्राधान्य को बताते हैं।¹⁴

संपूर्ण गुप्तकाल में उज्जयिनी जहां कनकावती कनकश्रृंगा के रूप में विख्यात रही, बड़े बड़े विद्वानों का समागम उज्जयिनी में होता रहा। बड़े बड़े बौद्ध व जैन आचार्यों, का औषध विद्या के वैद्यों का, स्थापत्य शिल्प के आचार्यों का संबंध सर्वज्ञात रहा है तो मात्र 11 कोस दूर रहे महतपुरम (महिदपुर) इन सबसे वंचित कैसे रह सकता था।¹⁵ विशिष्ट स्रोतों का अभाव में यह मानने का कोई कारण नहीं है कि मौर्य युग, गुप्त युग, मौखरी, गुर्जर प्रतिहार, परमार युग में महिदपुर अपने वैभव के शीर्ष पर नहीं रहा होगा स्पष्ट है महिदपुर लम्बे कालांतर में कला, साहित्य संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में महिदपुर लंबे कालांतर में कला, साहित्य संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में उज्जयिनी से अधिक नहीं तो कम भी नहीं रहा होगा।¹⁶

महिदपुर में संवत् 1344 वि के भव्य विष्णु मंदिर प्राचीन नाटकेश्वर महादेव मंदिर, नागेश्वर मंदिर, घूर्जटेश्वर मंदिर का उल्लेख है। लिस्ट ऑफ मान्युमेंट्स एंड म्युजिम इन्दौर में आया है। स्पष्ट है गुर्जर प्रतिहार-परमार काल में महिदपुर एक विकसित नगर के रूप में प्रगति पथ पर अग्रसर था।¹⁷

डॉ. रहमान अली, डॉ. अशोक त्रिवेदी व डॉ. धीरेन्द्र सोलंकी द्वारा कराये गये उत्खनन की रिपोर्ट चाल्को लिपिक साइट इन (उज्जैन) महिदपुर, शारदा पब्लिशिंग हाउस दिल्ली ने 2005 में प्रकाशित की है इसके अनुसार यहां मौर्ययुगीन व इसको पूर्व काल के मणके, चूड़ियों के टुकड़े मृदभांडों के अवशेष, लाल भूरे औपदार पात्र जिन पर कलात्मक डिजायन किये गये हैं, मिट्टी के कटोरे, सकोरे, चिकनी मिट्टी के पात्र, मिट्टी के दीपदान, कोटे, बर्तन को ढकने के लिए मिट्टी के ढक्कन टेराकोटा बुल, मिट्टी के खिलौने आदि मिले हैं। डॉ. रहमान अली के अनुसार ये 1400 से 1900 ईसा पूर्व की सामग्रियां हैं। यानि आज से 3400-3900 वर्ष पूर्व के अकाट्य प्रमाण प्राप्त हुये हैं। ये प्रमाण महिदपुर की प्राचीनता निर्विवाद रूप से प्रकट कर रहे हैं।¹⁸

सत्तनत काल में इल्तुनिश व अलाउद्दीन खिलजी के मालवा अभियानों का प्रभाव इस नगर पर भी अवश्य पड़ा होगा। मुगल काल में 1561 में जब मालवा अकबर के अधीन हुआ तब विकास की गति कैसी थी यह कहना कठिन है। जहांगीर की मांडू यात्रा के समय उज्जैन के क्षिप्रा तीर पर सन्यासी जदरूप की भेंट हुई थी उसकी स्मृतियां महिदपुर के मानस पर अवश्य रही होगी। मराठा काल में इस नगर के विकास को गति मिली। 20 जनवरी 1734 को पेशवा ने होल्कर को विशेष सम्मान देते हुये हरसोल, सांवेर, माकड़ोन आदि 9 गांव दिये थे उनमें महिदपुर भी शामिल था, ये गांव होल्कर की खासगी जागीर के अंतर्गत थे।

(रघुवीरसिंह)¹⁹ 1820 ई. में महिदपुर की आबादी में 348 घरों की बस्ती थी। यह परगना मुख्यालय था तब 213 गांव इसमें शामिल थे व कुल 139340 रुपये का राजस्व सालाना प्राप्त होता था। 1880 में यहां होल्कर की घुड़सवार पलटन का मुख्यालय रखा गया था। क्षिप्रा के ऊंचे

किनारों पर मराठा युग में दृढ़ किले का निर्माण हुआ था। 20 दिसंबर 1817 का प्रसिद्ध महिदपुर युद्ध इसी किले के बाहर क्षिप्रा तट पर लड़ा गया था। दीवारें मजबूत बनी थीं। पानीपत की तीसरी लड़ाई में 1761 ई. में मराठा शक्ति को बहुत बड़ी कीमत चुकानी पड़ी थी। 1766-1795 ई. के बीच महारानी अहिल्याबाई ने राज्य की कमान सम्हाली थी। मंदिरों का, घाटों का निर्माण व पुनरुद्धार का कार्य किया गया था। इन्हें खुब प्रशंसा मिली थी। बाद में 1798 से 1811 ई. के बीच यशवंतराव होल्कर प्रथम ने विजय अभियान जारी रखकर मालवा, मेवाड़, हाड़ौती, जयपुर, भरतपुर, दिल्ली व पंजाब तक अपनी विशेष पहचान कायम की थी। रणजीत सिंह से व झाला जालिमसिंह से मैत्री संबंध कायम किये थे। अपनी प्रतिभा का लोहा मनवाया था। भानपुरा को अपनी राजधानी बनाया, नावली में तोप निर्माण शाला खोली, हिंगलाजगढ़ को अपनी छावनी बनाया, कोई 60 हजार सैन्य बल का नेतृत्व किया था। ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी को भारत से बाहर खदेड़ने का संकल्प लिया था। कर्नल मानसन को खुब छकाया अंत में मात्र 35 वर्ष की वय में 28 अक्टुबर 1811 ई. को भानपुरा में इस परमवीर योद्धा ने अंतिम सांस ली। इसके पीछे अपने अल्पवयस्क पुत्र मल्हार राव (10 वर्ष) की संरक्षिका के रूप में यशवंत राव की वीरांगना स्त्री महारानी तुलसा बाई ने राज्य की बागडोर सम्भाली। कतिपय मराठा सरदारों व कुछ विख्यात घातियों को महारानी तुलसाबाई का बढ़ता प्रभाव पसंद नहीं था। शिन्दे ने महारानी तुलजाबाई के मार्ग में कठिनाईयां पैदा की, अंग्रेजों ने सारी शर्तें रखी, राज्य की आर्थिक हालत कमजोर हो गई थी। अल्पवयस्क पुत्र मल्हारराव को मार डालने के षड्यंत्र होने लगे। रानी समझपाती तब तक विश्वास घातियों ने राज्य की आर्थिक दशा को ध्वस्त कर दिया। अंग्रेजों की सेना से महिदपुर में भीषण युद्ध हुआ। 19 दिसंबर 1817 की शाम को होल्कर सेना के विश्वास घातियों ने महारानी तुलसाबाई को महिदपुर के किले में बंदी बना लिया। रातभर दोनों पक्षों में बहसे हुई व अंत में 20 दिसंबर 1817 को कड़ाके की शीत के समय प्रातःकाल बंदीगृह में महारानी तुलसाबाई को क्षिप्रा के तट पर लाया गया और विश्वास घातियों ने कायरों की तरह इस अभागी महिला वीरांगना का सिर धड़ से अलग कर दिया। रक्त रंजित अवशेष क्षिप्रा में विसर्जित हो गये। रानी स्वर्ग सिधार गई। हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में अपनी वीरता की छाप छोड़ते हुए इतिहास में अपना नाम अमर कर गई। इस युद्ध में 19 वर्षीय विधवा देवी भीमाबाई व अल्पवयस्क पुत्र मल्हारराव ने घूम घूमकर मराठा सैनिकों में उत्साह का संचार किया लेकिन अमीर खां व गफूर खां की पदलिप्सा ने इतिहास का रूख मोड़ दिया। विस्तृत विवेचना की जरूरत नहीं है। 21 दिसंबर 1817 को अंग्रेज कंपनी की सेना महिदपुर में क्षिप्रा के सामने मैदान में सर थामस हिजलोप के नेतृत्व में तोप खाने सहित जमा थी। इधर भीमाबाई व मल्हारराव (अल्पवयस्क) आंखों में प्रतिशोध की ज्वाला लिये, माता महारानी तुलसाबाई के निधन से शोक संतृप्त हो, बिलखते से हुए अपने सैनिकों को घूम घूमकर उत्साह बढ़ाते रहे, कहते रहे आप लोग हमारे परमवीर पिता महाराजा यशवंतराव की सेना के रणबांकुरे हो, उठाओ तलवारे और फिरंगी को धूल चटाओ बहुत करुणिक दृश्य था। होल्कर की सेना का नेतृत्व भीमाबाई (19वर्ष), मल्हारराव (10वर्ष), हरिराव होल्कर (22वर्ष) कर रहे थे। रोशन बेग के नेतृत्व में होल्कर की 63 तोपे गरज रही थी, एक समय ऐसा

लगा कि ब्रिटिश सेना के पांव उखड़ जावेगे लेकिन गफूर खां ने चाल चली व अंग्रेजों के साथ हो लिया, होल्कर की सेना से विश्वासघात किया युद्ध में होल्कर सेना की पराजय हुई। 06 जनवरी 1818 को मन्दसौर से संधि हुई के अनुसार होल्कर राज्य अंग्रेज कंपनी के अधीन प्रिसंली स्टेट बनकर रहा गया। सारी शक्तियां सेंट्रल इंडिया एजेंसी के पास चली गई।²⁰

हम यहां विरांगना देवी तुलसाबाई के अदम्य शौर्य व पराक्रम तथा राष्ट्र भक्ति के प्रति वंदित है। भीमाबाई ने 1857 के महासंग्राम से 30 वर्ष पहले ही महिदपुर की धरती पर महारानी झांसी लक्ष्मीबाई के लिये पुण्यपथ प्रशस्त कर दिया था। 1817 ई. में भीमाबाई मात्र 19 वर्ष की विधवा देवी ने अंग्रेजों को नाकों चने चबा दिये थे। विश्वास घातियों के कारण महिदपुर के युद्ध में भौतिक रूप से तुलसाबाई होल्कर के पक्ष में भले पराजय मिली हो लेकिन विरांगना ने इतिहासों में अपना नाम अमर कर दिया। अपना ही नहीं महिदपुर की पावन धरा पर यश की अमरागाथा लिख दी। 6 जनवरी 1818 को अंग्रेज कंपनी सरकार के साथ होल्कर की विवशता पूर्ण संधि हुई। अब 1818 में होल्कर राज्य में कंपनी सरकार सर्वोच्च सत्ता पर कायम हो गई।

यहां हम बीच में महिदपुर में हिन्दु मुस्लिम ऐक्य के सुफीवादी संतों व विचारकों को महिदपुर में देखते हैं। 16वीं से 18वीं सदी के बीच मन्दसौर से जावरा होकर मांडू जाने वाले अनेक सूफी संत महिदपुर होकर मांडू जाने का उल्लेख हम पाते हैं। व इसी बीच भक्ति के द्वारा ऊंच नीच को भुलाकर सामाजिक समरसता का ताना बाना भी यहां संतों व भक्तों ने तैयार किया इसका भी उल्लेख पाते हैं।

संक्षेप में कहें 1817 ई. में स्वतंत्रता व राष्ट्रप्रेम के जो बीज भीमाबाई व उनके सहयोगियों ने बोये थे। 1857 में अंकुरित हुए, पुष्पित हुए व पल्लवित हुए। डॉ. के.एल. श्रीवास्तव ने अपनी पीएच डी थिसिस में महिदपुर के योगदान का विस्तार से उल्लेख किया है। मालवाचल के ख्यातनाम लोक चिंतक डॉ. पूरन सहगल जी अपने शोध से 1857 के महासंग्राम में महिदपुर व मालवा के नायकों को यथेष्ट यश व मान दिया है। यहां के राष्ट्रप्रेमी हजारों नागरिकों ने प्रजामंडल आंदोलनों व भारत छोड़ो आंदोलन में भाग लेकर अपने देश प्रेम को अभिव्यक्त कर वन्दे भारत मातरम् को आकाश तक गूंजा दिया। गांधीयुग में यहां के स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों ने अपने प्रणप्रण से मातृभूमि के लिए सर्वस्व न्यौछावर कर दिया है। 15 अगस्त 1947 को आजादी के बाद स्वतंत्र भारत व गणतंत्र भारत में महिदपुर ने यहां के निवासियों ने नवचेतना को चरितार्थ किया है।

महिदपुर मालवाचल के पुरातत्व, इतिहास, संस्कृति, कला, स्थापत्य और साहित्य के क्षेत्र में दिव्य माणिक की तरह दीप्तमान हैं। अंत में यहां डॉ. आर.सी. ठाकुर सा. के प्रति वंदित हूं। इन्होंने एक कृषि की तरह महिदपुर के पुरातत्व व इतिहास को अपने शोध से गौरवान्वित किया है।

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28.

वैदिक राष्ट्रवाद : एक इतिहास परक अध्ययन

डॉ. सौरभ कुमार मिश्र

सारांश

वैदिक साहित्य भारत का प्राचीनतम साहित्य है। इसमें राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा धार्मिक जीवन से सम्बन्धित विचार मिलते हैं। वैदिक साहित्य में राजनीतिक इकाई के रूप में राज्य, साम्राज्य तथा राष्ट्र का उल्लेख मिलता है। इसमें राज्य और साम्राज्य क्रमशः छोटे और बड़े भूभाग हैं तथा राष्ट्र सांस्कृतिक रूप से जुड़े लोगों का समूह है। वर्तमान परिवेश में राष्ट्रवाद की अवधारणा एवं वैदिक साहित्य में प्रतिबिम्बित राष्ट्र के गठन की व्यवस्था को रेखांकित किया गया है।

सूचक शब्द-राष्ट्री देवी, राष्ट्र सभा, राष्ट्रभूत, राष्ट्रबल, राष्ट्र संवर्द्धन ।

ध्रुवं ते राजा वरुणो ध्रुवं देवो ब॥हस्पतिः ।

ध्रुवं त इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च राष्ट्रं धारयतां ध्रुवम् ।।

(ऋग्वेद-10,173,5 अथर्ववेद-6,88,2)

ऋग्वेद की इस ऋचा में ध्रुव ऋषि राज्ञेय स्तुति करते हुए कहते हैं कि इन्द्र, अग्नि, वरुण और ब॥हस्पति राष्ट्र को स्थिरता प्रदान करें। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में अग्नि अन्न के, इन्द्र बल के, वरुण साम्राज्य के तथा ब॥हस्पति ब्रह्मतेज के प्रदाता कहे गए हैं।¹ वैदिक साहित्य में ऋग्वेद², यजुर्वेद³, तैत्तिरीय संहिता⁴, मैत्रायणी संहिता⁵, अथर्ववेद⁶, ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण⁷, शतपथ ब्राह्मण⁸, तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण⁹, ताण्ड्य महाब्राह्मण¹⁰ आदि में राष्ट्र का उल्लेख अनेक स्थलों पर मिलता है। वैदिक साहित्य में वर्णित और प्रतिष्ठित राजनीति की इकाई कुल¹² अथवा परिवार थी। जिसका प्रमुख कुलपा¹³ कहा जाता था। अनेक कुल मिलकर ग्राम का निर्माण करते थे जिसका प्रमुख

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ग्रामणी¹⁴ कहा जाता था। ग्रामणी को राजा के निर्वाचन में भाग लेने का अधिकार था इसलिए उसे राजकृत¹⁵ कहा गया है। अनेक ग्राम मिलकर विश्व का निर्माण करते थे जिसका प्रमुख विशपति¹⁶ कहा जाता था। अनेक विश्व मिलकर जन का निर्माण करते थे जिसका प्रमुख राजा¹⁷ कहा जाता था। अनेक जनपदों से मिलकर राष्ट्र बनता था¹⁸। अथर्ववेद के विभिन्न सूक्तों में राष्ट्र संवर्द्धन¹⁹, राष्ट्र धारण²⁰, राष्ट्री देवी²¹, राष्ट्र सभा²², राष्ट्रभृत²³, राष्ट्रबल²⁴ आदि विषयों से सम्बन्धित विवरण मिलता है।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण²⁵ में राज्य, साम्राज्य और राष्ट्र का उल्लेख मिलता है। राज्य भूभाग है, साम्राज्य विस्तृत भूभाग है और राष्ट्र प्रजा है। अथर्ववेद²⁶ में ब्रह्मा तप का महत्त्व बताते हुए कहते हैं कि, सभी के कल्याण की कामना से आत्मज्ञानी ऋषिगण सृष्टि के आरम्भ से ही तप, दीक्षा आदि नियमों का पालन करने लगे। जिससे राष्ट्र में बल और ओज उत्पन्न हुआ इसलिए देवगण उस राष्ट्र को विनम्रता पूर्वक नमन करते हैं। ऋग्वेद²⁷ में त्रसदस्यु पौरुकुत्स्य हम क्षत्रिय में उत्पन्न सभी मनुष्यों के राजा हैं। हमारे राष्ट्र दो प्रकार के हैं। समस्त देवता हमारे यज्ञों की परिचर्या करते हैं। हम मानवों के भी शासक हैं। अथर्ववेद²⁸ में उल्लेख है कि राष्ट्र का भरण पोषण करने वाली शक्तियाँ सूर्य के चारों ओर घूमती हैं। ऋग्वेद²⁹ में वसिष्ठ ऋषि इन्द्र और वरुण की स्तुति करते हुए कहते हैं कि, तुम्हारा द्युलोक रूपी विशाल राष्ट्र सबको प्रसन्न करने वाला हो। अथर्ववेद³⁰ में वरुणमणि के माध्यम से राष्ट्रीय प्रेम, रक्षण सामर्थ्य, गौ आदि पशुओं की प्राप्ति और दीर्घायु स्थापना का उल्लेख मिलता है।

ऋग्वेद³¹ में उल्लेख है कि वरुण देव राष्ट्र के राजा के समान नदियों के रूप में अपने बल से सभी स्थलों पर गमन करने वाले हैं। अथर्ववेद³² के सत्यान तान्वीक्षण (सत्य असत्य की खोज) सूक्त में वरुण देव सर्वोच्च न्यायाधीश के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहा गया है कि—वरुण देव सभी कर्मों के ज्ञाता, गोपनीय विचारों के ज्ञाता, सम्पूर्ण विश्व में व्याप्त, अपने सहस्रों नेत्रों से भूमि के निरीक्षणकर्ता तथा मानवों के एक एक निमेष (पलक झपकना) की गणना में समर्थ हैं। पापी मानवों को बाँधने के लिए उनके पास उत्तम, मध्यम और अधम सात सात पाश हैं। वे पापी असत्यभाषियों को छिन्न भिन्न तथा सत्यभाषी पुण्यात्माओं को मुक्त करते हैं। देव और मानव दोनों से सम्बन्धित वरुण के प्रभाव में हैं। ऋग्वेद³³ में प्रार्थना की गई कि, मेरे आगमन से सभी राक्षस सामर्थ्य विहीन हो गए हैं। वरुण देव तुम भी प्रार्थना करो कि हे राजन्! सत्य को असत्य से पृथक् करके राष्ट्र का आधिपत्य स्वीकार करें।

शतपथ ब्राह्मण में राष्ट्र को श्री³⁴, सानाय्य³⁵ (दही और दूध) तथा अश्वमेध³⁶ बताते हुए कहा है कि, अश्वमेध श्री भी है और राष्ट्र भी अतः जो अश्व की रक्षा करते हैं वे राष्ट्र की रक्षा करते हैं। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण³⁷ में उल्लेख है कि, जो व्यक्ति राष्ट्र को प्रतिपादित करता है वह क्षत्रिय का ही प्रतिपादन करता है क्योंकि क्षत्रिय ही राष्ट्र है। इसी ब्राह्मण³⁸ में उल्लेख है कि जहाँ क्षत्र (क्रिया) शक्ति और ब्रह्म (ज्ञान) शक्ति के दिशा निर्देशन में कार्य करती है वह राष्ट्र समृद्ध होता है। शतपथ ब्राह्मण³⁹ में राजा को राष्ट्रभृत (राष्ट्र का पालक) तथा ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण⁴⁰ में पुरोहित को राष्ट्रगोप (राष्ट्र का रक्षक) कहा गया है। यजुर्वेद⁴¹ में उल्लेख है कि पुरोहितगण राष्ट्र में सदैव

जाग त रहें। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण¹² में उल्लेख है कि पुरोहित पाँच प्रकार की शक्तियों से युक्त वैश्वानर अग्नि ही है वह राजा को उसी प्रकार घेरे रहता है जैसे समुद्र पृथ्वी को। जिस राजा के राष्ट्र में धर्म अधर्म का ज्ञाता तथा राष्ट्र की रक्षा करने वाला ब्राह्मण पुरोहित होता है उसका राष्ट्र कभी अस्थिर होता है। इसी ब्राह्मण¹³ में उल्लेख है कि पुरोहित से युक्त राजा के समक्ष प्रजा, विश्व तथा राष्ट्र स्वयमेव झुकते हैं।

ऋग्वेद¹⁴ की वाक् ही अथर्ववेद¹⁵ की राष्ट्री देवी हैं। ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण¹⁶ में भी वाणी को ही राष्ट्री कहा गया है। यजुर्वेद में प्रजापति समृद्ध राष्ट्र के लिए ब्रह्मा की स्तुति करते हुए कहते हैं कि,

आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतामा राष्ट्रं राजन्यः शूरऽइशव्योऽतिव्याधी महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्री धेनुर्वीक्षनङ्गानाशुः सप्तिः पुरन्धिर्योषा जिष्णू रवेष्टः सभेयो युवास्य यजमानस्य वीरो जायतां निकामेनिकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलवत्यो नऽओषधयः पच्यतां योगक्षेमो नः कल्पताम् ।। (यजुर्वेद-22,23)

निष्कर्ष रूप से कह सकते हैं कि वैदिक साहित्य में राजनीतिक इकाई के रूप में राज्य, साम्राज्य तथा राष्ट्र का उल्लेख मिलता है। इसमें राज्य और साम्राज्य क्रमशः छोटे और बड़े भूभाग हैं तथा राष्ट्र सांस्कृतिक रूप से जुड़े लोगों का समूह है। वर्तमान परिवेश में राष्ट्रवाद की अवधारणा एवं वैदिक साहित्य में प्रतिबिम्बित राष्ट्र आज अनेक सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक भौगोलिक ताने बाने में बंधा हुआ है जो राजतंत्र से चलकर लोकतंत्र के रूप में आधुनिक राष्ट्र की भूमिका में हम सभी के सम्मुख है।

सन्दर्भ :

1. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-11,4,3.
2. ऋग्वेद-4,42,1; 7,34,1; 7,84,2; 10,109,3; 10,124,5.
3. यजुर्वेद-9,23; 20,8; 22,22.
4. तैत्तिरीय संहिता-1,6,10,3; 3,5,7,3; 5,7,4,4.
5. मैत्रायणी संहिता-3,3,7; 3,7,4; 4,6,3.
6. अथर्ववेद-10,3,12; 12,1,8; 13,1,35.
7. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-1,9; 7,22; 8,9; 8,25; 8,26.
8. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-6,7,3,7; 9,4,1,1; 11,2,7,17; 11,4,3,14; 13,1,6,3; 13,2,9,2.
9. तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण-1,2,1,13.
10. ताण्ड्य महाब्राह्मण-19,1,4.
11. छान्दोग्योपनिषद्-3,13,6.
12. ऋग्वेद-1,179,2.
13. ऋग्वेद-10,62,11.
14. अथर्ववेद-3,5,7.
15. ऋग्वेद-10,135,1.
16. ऋग्वेद-1,53,9.

17. अथर्ववेद-3,4,1.
18. अथर्ववेद-1,27.
19. अथर्ववेद-3,8.
20. अथर्ववेद-4,30.
21. अथर्ववेद-7,12.
22. अथर्ववेद-7,114.
23. अथर्ववेद-19,41.
24. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-11,4,3. यहाँ पर श्री देवी के दस गुणों के रूप में अन्न, राज्य, साम्राज्य, क्षत्र, बल, ब्रह्मवर्चस्, राष्ट्र, भग, पुष्टि तथा पशु का उल्लेख है। जिन्हें क्रमशः अग्नि, सोम, वरुण, मित्र, इन्द्र, बृहस्पति, पूषण, सरस्वती और त्वष्टा धारण करते हैं।
25. अथर्ववेद-19,41,1.
26. ऋग्वेद-4,42,1.
27. अथर्ववेद-13,1,35.
28. ऋग्वेद-7,84,2.
29. अथर्ववेद-10,3,12.
30. ऋग्वेद-7,34,11.
31. अथर्ववेद-4,16,6.
32. ऋग्वेद-10,124,5.
33. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-1,4,3,1-3.
34. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-1,4,3,1-3.
35. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-1,4,3,1-3.
36. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-7,22.
37. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-8,9.
38. शतपथ ब्राह्मण-9,4,1,1.
39. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-8,25.
40. यजुर्वेद-9,23.
41. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-8,25.
42. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-8,26.
43. ऋग्वेद-10,125.
44. अथर्ववेद-4,30.
45. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण-1,9.

29.

चम्बल बेसिन में प्रागु मानव के बौद्धिक व सांस्कृतिक विकासके प्रतिमान (पेट्रोग्लिप्स के संदर्भ में)

*डॉ. प्रद्युम्न भट्ट

सारांश:-

भानपुरा अंचल में (चम्बल बेसिन) इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी पर मिले पेट्रोग्लिप्स की प्राचीनता ने विश्व समुदाय को चौंका दिया है। ई.आई.पी. प्रोजेक्ट के तहत भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण, रॉक आर्ट सोसायटी ऑफ इण्डिया, व आस्ट्रेलियन रॉक आर्ट आर्गेनाइजेशन के अध्येताओं ने 2001 से 2006 के बीच अपने विस्तृत अध्ययन में पाया कि दरकी चट्टान गुफा के कप मार्क्स कोई 4 लाख साल पुराने हैं। यह शोध विश्व भर के पुरावेताओं के लिए अभी अध्ययन की नई सामग्री बन गई है। इसमें अभी निरंतर शोध की संभावनाएँ बनी हुई हैं।

प्रस्तावना:-विन्ध्यान उपत्यकाओं में, चम्बल बेसिन क्षेत्र में इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी अवस्थित है। यह मालवा पठार पर स्थित होकर प्राचीनतम चित्रित शैलाश्रयों से सम्पन्न है। अभी तक यह माना जा रहा था कि इस अंचल में स्थित शैलाश्रयों में प्राग मानव ने जो चित्र उकेरे हैं वे 30 हजार वर्ष तक प्राचीन हैं जो संभवतः भारत में कला के प्राचीनतम साक्ष्य हैं लेकिन 1992-93 में इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी व भानपुरा क्षेत्र में 15 अन्य स्थानों पर प्रागमानव के अति प्राचीन काल में कपमार्क्स, कठोर पाषाण दीवारों पर क्वार्टिजिट चट्टानों पर पत्थर के औजारों द्वारा उकेरे हैं उनका वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन जरूरी है। चम्बल बेसिन में निडंस्थल व रामापिथिकस के विचरण के प्रमाण पूर्व में खोजे जा चुके हैं। रॉक आर्ट का अब कई वि.वि. में अध्ययन होने लगा है।

भारत में शैलचित्र के अध्ययनों की शुरुआत आर्चिबाल्ड कार्लाइल से मानी जाती है लेकिन सर्वाधिक महत्व पूर्व व श्रम साध्य कार्य डॉ. व्ही. श्री वाकणकर द्वारा किया गया। डॉ. वाकणकर

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*सेवानिवृत्त प्राचार्य एवं इतिहासविद, पुरातत्त्ववेत्ता, भानपुरा जिला मंदसौर, मध्यप्रदेश

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को भारत में शैलचित्र कला के अध्ययन का पितामह कहा जाता है। चम्बल बेसिन व मालवा, सेंट्रल इंडिया व शैलकला के वैज्ञानिक पक्ष पर कार्य को डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार, डॉ. नारायण व्यास, डॉ. भारती श्रोत्रिय ने आगे बढ़ाया।

चम्बल नदी को विन्ध्यान श्रेणियों की छोटी छोटी जल धाराओं व सरिताओं ने उमड़ाव दिया। इन्ही विन्ध्यान श्रेणियों में प्रकृति के हरे भरे आंचल में लाखों सालों में हवा, पानी, के साथ सिक्ताष्म चूनामय कणों की क्रिया से बड़े बड़े शैलाश्रय बने, जिनकी संख्या चम्बल बेसिन में हजारों है। प्रागमानव की कीड़ा स्थली रहा यह क्षेत्र चम्बल बेसिन तब अचानक पुराविदों की दृष्टि में महत्वपूर्ण हो गया जब अगस्त 1992 में भानपुरा इतिहास परिषद के सदस्यों ने पास की पहाड़ी पर चंचला माता मंदिर के अवशेषों को लोगों को ले जाने से रोकने का कार्य किया। वर्षा होने के ठीक बाद जब हम पहाड़ी पर स्थित चंचला माता मंदिर पहुँचे तब मंदिर के बाहर विशाल बड़ी बड़ी चट्टानों पर कुछ कपनुमा कतारबद्ध रचनाओं में पानी भरा था। आस पास का पानी सूख गया था। आसपास देखा कि ऐसी एक लाइन या व्ही शेप दो लाईनों में कप मार्क्स बने थे। ये प्राकृतिक नहीं थे बल्कि मानव कृत थे, यह प्रथम खोज इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी पर 1992 में प्रद्युम्न भट्ट, रमेश पंचोली, वी.एल.अग्रवाल ने की। इसकी सूचना डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार को दी गई। उन्होंने आस्ट्रेलियन राक आर्ट विशेषज्ञ डॉ. बेडनारिक से विचार साझा किया व बताया कि यह महत्वपूर्ण स्थल है। हम इसके अध्ययन की विस्तृत योजना बनाते हैं। इसी दौरान आर के पंचोली ने पहाड़ी की ढलान पर एक गुफा देखी जिसमें पेट्रोग्लिप्स बने थे इसी को दर की चट्टान गुफा कहते हैं।²

इसमें 500 से अधिक पेट्रोग्लिप्स बने थे। कुछ समय बाद डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार आये व कहा कि इस प्रकार के कुछ कपमार्क्स भीम बेटका की आडोटोरियम केव में भी है। आस्ट्रेलिया व अजमेर में भी पेट्रोग्लिप्स पाये जाने की सूचना मिली है।³

भानपुरा स्थित इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी व दरकीचट्टान गुफा में इतनी बड़ी संख्या में कप मार्क्स की उपस्थिति ने विश्व समुदाय को चौंका दिया।

इससे पूर्व भानपुरा अंचल चिब्वड़नाला, रामकुण्ड, कथिरिया, गोलम्बा, चतुर्भुज नाला में चित्रित शैलाश्रयों की खोज हो चुकी थी। चतुर्भुज नाथ नाले की शैलचित्र वीथिका को विश्व की सबसे लम्बी रॉक आर्ट गैलरी होने का गौरव प्राप्त हुआ है। यहां के चित्रों को पुराविदों ने 30 हजार वर्ष पूर्व तक प्राचीन माना है। अब तक प्राग मानव के बुद्धि कौशल व सांस्कृतिक विकास के प्राचीन प्रमाण इन्ही शैलाश्रयों में खोजे जा रहे थे। अब इन पेट्रोग्लिप्स की खोज ने अध्ययन का रुख ही मोड़ दिया।

दरकीचट्टान गुफा*:—इन्द्रगढ़ पहाड़ी भानपुरा से 3 किमी उत्तर में है जिस पर पश्चिमाभिमुखी एक केव (गुफा) है यह क्षैतिज रूप से कोनिकल है। पहाड़ी के उपरी छोर पर दर की हुई चट्टानों के बीच बनी यह गुफा दरकी चट्टान गुफा के नाम से जानी जाती है। यानि फ्रैक्चर्ड रॉक से बनी केव। यह बाहर से लगभग आधार पर 4 मी. चौड़ी है व इसका अंतिम भाग मात्र 34 सेमी. चौड़ा है गुफा के द्वार क्षेत्र की उंचाई 7.4 मी. तक है। (इसकी वास्तविक अवस्थिति वैज्ञानिक कारणों

से नहीं दी जा रही है)

यह गुफा रेवा के तट पर ठीक पहाड़ी पर है जो घने जंगल में रही है व कोई 2 किमी. दूर से दिखाई देती है। एक हरी भरी वादी में जिसके सामने विस्तृत चरागाह, बगल में दोनो ओर सघन वन, नीचे की ओर सदानीरा रेवा का उमड़ाव इसे अतिविशिष्ट व सुन्दर मनोहारी बनाते है।¹⁵

अर्ली इंडियन पेट्रोग्लिफ प्रोजेक्ट (E.I.P) प्रोजेक्ट¹⁶ :-

डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार ने भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण से अनुमति लेकर भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण के नेतृत्व में रॉक आर्ट सोसायटी आफ इंडिया (रासी), आस्ट्रेलिया राक आर्ट एसोसिएशन व भानपुरा इतिहास परिषद के लॉजिस्टिक सपोर्ट पर इस प्रोजेक्ट को तैयार किया इस प्रोजेक्ट के टीम लीडर डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार रहे। सभी सदस्यों ने निरंतर कार्य कर 2001 से 2006 के बीच उत्खनन कराया, माइक्रो लेवल अध्ययन हुआ। 500 कम मार्क्स की डिटेल निकाली अलग अलग स्तरों पर उत्खनन में निकले उपकरणों, मृत्तिका नमूनों का अध्ययन किया। इसमें पुरापाषाण युग के उपकरण निचले स्तरों में मिले, मध्याह्न युगीन उपकरण उससे उपर मिले तथा बीच बीच गुफा की दीवारों से घिरे शिलाखंडों पर भी कप मार्क्स मिले, सभी का विस्तृत अध्ययन किया गया। डॉ. गिरिराज कुमार, डॉ. बेडनारिक ने गहन विश्लेषण के लिए आस्ट्रेलियन रॉक आर्ट वैज्ञानिकों की टीम की मदद ली। इसी बीच आगरा में संपन्न 2004, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सेमिनार से आये 10 देशों के विद्वानों ने भी प्रोजेक्ट स्थल का अध्ययन कर अपने विचार रखे।¹⁷

तिथि निर्धारण:—रॉक आर्ट के क्षेत्र में भारत अब तक हुए सबसे संवेदनशील प्रोजेक्ट पर तिथि निर्धारण आसान कार्य नहीं था। तिथि निर्धारण इन पेट्रोग्लिप्स की प्राचीनता का काल निर्धारण करने के लिए OSL ओ.एस.एल. डेटिंग यानि आप्टीकली स्टिमूलेटेड ल्यूमिनिसेंस विधि को अपनाया गया। आस्ट्रेलिया के वोलोगांग विश्व विद्यालय के प्रो. बर्ट रावर्ट की सेवाएँ ली गई। इन्होंने हाई रिजोल्यूशन गामा स्टेक्ट्रोमिटर का उपयोग भी किया गया। यूरेनियम थोरियम सीरीज के अंशों का क्रिस्टलों से आयु निर्धारण का कार्य किया। S.A.R. प्रोटोकाल को अपनाया। अगले ही चरण में क्रिस्टल के विषय में CAM सेंट्रल एज मॉडल, व MAM मिनिमम एज माडल का प्रयोग कर फोटान कार्टिंग सांख्यिकीय का प्रयोग कर नतीजे पर पहुँचे कि यूरोप की प्राचीनतम कला से यह तीन से लेकर 10 गुना तक प्राचीन है। स्पष्ट है फ्रांस की शूवेट केव की कला 38 हजार साल पुरानी है तो ये पेट्रोग्लिप्स 60 हजार साल से 2 लाख 60 हजार साल पूर्व तक प्राचीन है। विगत 2017 नवम्बर में डॉ. बेडनारिक पुनः यहां आये तब अध्ययन के बाद उन्होंने विस्मित होकर कहा कि इन पेट्रोग्लिप्स की वास्तविक उम्र चार लाख साल या इससे भी प्राचीन हो सकती है। यानि मनुष्य ने इस केव का उपयोग 4 लाख साल से 60 हजार साल पहले तक किया है।

निष्कर्ष:—भानपुरा क्षेत्र में इस शोध पत्र के लेखक डॉ. प्रद्युम्न भट्ट ने 15 से अधिक स्थानों पर पेट्रोग्लिप्स खोजे है।¹⁸ भानपुरा क्षेत्र के इन पेट्रोग्लिप्स ने नृवर्ष विज्ञानियों, पुरावेताओं व वैज्ञानिकों को अध्ययन व विचार के लिए नया मंच प्रदान किया है। ये कार्य प्ली स्टोसीन युग से होलोसीन युग तक जारी रहा है। बदलती पारिस्थितिकीय के संदर्भ में शोध की विराट संभावनाएँ

बनी है।⁹

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‘बुन्देलखण्ड का अस्तित्व एवं चंपतराय का बलिदान’
‘छत्रप्रकाश के विशेष संदर्भ में’

*डॉ. संजना शर्मा

सारांश:-

मध्यप्रदेश के इतिहास का राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर अतुलनीय योगदान रहा है, मध्यकालीन इतिहास, मुगल स्तर से संघर्ष एवं क्षेत्रीय स्तर पर अपनी अस्मिता के संघर्ष की गाथा कहता है, इसी कड़ी में बुन्देलखण्ड के बुन्देले भी वीरता, साहस एवं अपनी एक विशिष्ट सांस्कृतिक विरासत को लिए हुए इतिहास को समृद्ध बनाते हैं। बुन्देलखण्ड के या यूँ कहें कि भारत के प्राचीन एवं मध्यकाल के इतिहास में साक्षियों के प्रभावपूर्ण ढंग से प्रस्तुति में एक प्रयास की सदैव आवश्यकता रही है, ‘छत्रप्रकाश’ जिसका अंग्रेजी अनुवाद सर्वप्रथम ‘ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ दी बुन्देलाज़’ में बंगाल आर्मी के कैप्टन डब्ल्यू.आर. पारसन द्वारा 1828 ई. में किया था। बुन्देलखंड पृष्ठभूमि एवं छत्रसाल के इतिहास का प्रामाणिक स्रोत है। जिसे उनके दरबार के लाल कवि ने लिखा है।

बुन्देलखण्ड की पृष्ठभूमि :-

ओरछा राज्य की गद्दी स्थापित करने वाले रूद्रप्रताप के तीसरे पुत्र उदयजीत, चंपतराय के प्रपितामह थे।¹ बड़े पुत्र भारतीचंद ने ओरछा पर शासन किया। उदयजीत ने महोबा में अपनी जागीर स्थापित की।

भागवतराय रंगीले के चार में से एक पुत्र हुए चंपतराय, जिनकी बहादुरी के लिए लाल कवि लिखते हैं कि— “उनका चक्र और गदा इस तरह चलता था जैसे विष्णु भगवान का वरदान हो। शाहजहाँ ने दिल्ली का बादशाह बनते ही ओरछा के शासक राजा वीरसिंह देव बुंदेला के खजाने की जाँच करने का आदेश दिया और सैनिकों के साथ महोबा पर आक्रमण किया, जिसमें चंपतराय ने महोबा सूबे की रक्षा की।”

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जुत जुत मरे बैलवा, बुड़ बुड़ मरे किसान

चंपत भए सुजनवा, उड़ उड़ लागे खान। छत्रप्रकाश, पृ. 18

(मदगंजनसिंह द्वारा प्राप्त लोकगीत का अंश)

चंपतराय ने ही भेलसा सिरोंज धमौनी तक ओरछा का प्रभुत्व बनाए रखा, बुंदेलों को मुगलों ने आग के गोले की तरह घेर रखा था जिसे चंपतराय पार कर रहे थे।¹² उन्होंने सिरोंज (आगरा के मार्ग पर) भेलसा के मुगल फौजदारों को भगा दिया, उज्जैन के मुगल सूबेदार को आतंकित कर दिया था। धमौनी के दुर्ग (सागर से 29 मील उत्तर) को चंपतराय ने बहुत समय तक अपने प्रभाव में रखा।

चंपतराय द्वारा औरंगजेब को प्रदत्त सहायता :—

दिल्ली के बादशाह शाहजहाँ के चार शहजादे थे, अब समय आ गया था कि वह एक शहजादे को दिल्ली की गद्दी सौंप दें। दिल्ली में बादशाह पद की होड़ से चारों दिशाओं में ऐसी हलचल मची हुई थी। सेनाओं की ढालें तैयार हो गईं एवं सैनिक तैयारियाँ चल रही थी।

चंपतराय से राजकुमार शहजादे औरंगजेब ने संपर्क साधा वह जानता था कि चंपतराय वीर की सहायता के बिना वह सफल नहीं हो सकता है क्योंकि दक्षिण भारत से दिल्ली तक के मार्ग में चंपतराय की सहायता के बिना नहीं पहुँचा जा सकता था। इसलिए औरंगजेब ने चंपतराय को फरमान भेजा। चित्त सौ हित फरमान पठाए, चंपतिराइ सुनत सुख पाए। (अध्याय 4 पृ. 37 चौ. 12) औरंगाबाद से चलकर औरंगजेब दिल्ली जाते हुए अवन्ती (उज्जैन) पहुँचा, वहाँ से उसने चंपतराय को बुलावा भेजा। लगभग 23 मई 1653 ई. की बात है तब औरंगजेब उज्जैन से चलकर चम्बल नदी पार करने के लिये ग्वालियर में रुक गया था, तभी उसने चंपतराय को चंबल नदी पार कराने हेतु पत्र लिखा। वाक्यात आलमगिरी के अनुसार औरंगजेब ने सरदारों से इस मौके पर सलाह की। भयावर के जमींदार के सराय कुवारी के पास फौजों को चम्बल नदी पार करायी गई थी। 'दिलकुशा' से लेकर भीमसेन के अनुसार चंपतराय की मदद से ही औरंगजेब चंबल पार कर सका था। तत्कालीन यूरोपीय लेखकों से भी इसी तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है।¹³ (अध्याय 4 पृ. 39) शाही इतिहासकारों के लिए विद्रोही चंपतराय के सिर पर सेहरा बांधना संभव नहीं था।¹⁴ (औरंगजेब भाग 2 पृ. 28) इस स्थिति में चंपतराय के सहयोगी एवं सैनिकों ने संदेश देते हुए कहा कि यह तुम्हारे भाग्य की बात है कि औरंगजेब तुमसे मदद चाहते हैं। इसीलिए औरंगजेब की मदद करना उचित है एवं समय की मांग है।

तातै अब बड़ विलम न कीजै, चलि दिलीस को दरसन दीजै।

तौ लागि नौरंगसाह पखयों, तुरत बहादुर यो चलि आयो।।

औरंगजेब से मिलने बहादुर खाँ भी आ गया उसका वार्तालाप चंपतराय से हुआ। उसने चंपतराय से कहा कि—विलम्ब क्यों कर रहे हो, तुरन्त चलो, सैनिकों का जखेरा और पालकी तुम्हारे जाने के लिए तैयार हैं।

*अब यह हाजिर है असवारी, चढ़ी पालकी करो तैयारी।
चढ़ि पालकी पयानों कीन्हों, दरस प्रसन्न शाह कौ लीन्हों।।*

चंपतराय सभी दल-बल के साथ औरंगजेब से मिलने पहुँचा तो औरंगजेब अत्यधिक आनंदित हुआ। इसी अवसर के परिणाम स्वरूप बहादुर खाँ एवं अन्य सिपहसलारों को मनसब प्रदान किए गए और बहादुर खाँ एवं चंपतराय ने एक दूसरे से 'पगड़ी; का आदान-प्रदान किया और भाई बने (बहादुर खाँ का पूरा नाम मुजफ्फरतंग कोकलताश खानजहाँ बहादुर था। उसका पिता अबुल मयाली सैय्यद था। बहादुर खाँ की माँ को औरंगजेब को दूध पिलाने के लिये नियुक्त किया गया था अतः यह बादशाह औरंगजेब का धाय भाई था)।

*दारा पकरि पखननि लीन्हों, साह मुराद कैद में कीन्हों।¹⁶
धरती लोक दुहुन तै लूट्यो, नौरंगशाह तखत सुख लूट्यो।
बैठत तखत बजे संधान, चंपसिराइ साहमन मानें।
नौरंगसाह कश्पाकरि भारी, मन सब दीनौ दुदस हजारी।।
दुदस हजारी अथवा दुसह जारी - चंपतराय के हित में।*

औरंगजेब चतुर था, उसे पता था कि चंपतराय की बुद्धि की उसे आवश्यकता है। उसने कहा—“यह चंबल नदी मेरे मार्ग में आ रही है। इसे पार करने का मार्ग बताओ—क्या तुम्हें वह घाट पता है जो मुझे दारा का सामना करने के लिए शीघ्र पहुँचा दे? चंपतराय ने कहा मैं आपको चम्बल घाट भी पार करा दूँगा और नदी के पार यदि दाराशिकोह की सेना आ गई तो युद्ध में वह मुझसे जीत न सकेगा। तब औरंगजेब के आनंद की सीमा नहीं रही।¹⁷ औरंगजेब की फौज सकुशल चम्बल नदी के उस पार चंपतराय की सहायता से हो सकी। दाराशिकोह चम्बल के पार उसका सामना करने आ गया। दाराशिकोह की सेना में बहुत से राजपूत एवं हिन्दू नरेश भी शामिल थे, छत्रसाल हाड़ा जो बूंदी का शासक था वह दाराशिकोह का हरावल बना था, वीरगति को प्राप्त हुआ।

चंपतराय का यशोगान चारों दिशाओं में फैल गया। औरंगजेब युद्ध में विजयी होकर आगरा आ गया। औरंगजेब तखत पर बैठा चम्पतराय को बारह हजार का मनसब प्रदान किया (शायद काम निकालने के लिए उसने ऐसा किया अन्यथा इसका उल्लेख किसी ने नहीं किया)। भाई भतीजे बुन्देलखण्ड में ईर्ष्या की भवना से हिस्सा बांटा की बात करने लगे। चम्पतराय का विचार था के घमासान युद्ध के द्वारा तुर्कों से इसे प्राप्त किया है, अतः यह विवाद का विषय नहीं है।

सवारों और जात का मनसब दिया गया था। यह प्रश्न पशोपेश में डालता है। औरंगजेब वास्तविकता में 12 मनसब देने वाला व्यक्ति नहीं था। किंतु काम निकालने के लिए वह किसी को आसमान में चढ़ाने की चतुराई से चूकने वाला भी न था। उसने अपने भाई, पिता और सरदारों को धोखे और भुलावे में रखकर ही दिल्ली का सम्राज्य प्राप्त किया था। चंपतराय को फरमान लिखना या लिखने का वायदा करना उसकी कूटनीति का अंग रहा होगा।

लेकिन जब पूर्व से शाहशुजा ने चढ़ाई कर दी, गंगा और प्रयाग को पार करता हुआ वह औरंगजेब के पास पहुँचने की तैयारी करने लगा, तब औरंगजेब ने बहादुर खाँ को आदेश दिया

कि शाहशुजा का मुकाबला करो नहीं तो गर्दन काट दी जाएगी। युद्ध का सामना करो, यदि नहीं करोगे तो 'मनसब' घटा दिए जाएंगे, हुक्म का पालन नहीं हुआ तो सजा दी जाएगी। चंपतराय को औरंगजेब के व्यवहार से पीड़ा पहुँची। चंपतराय का मुगल सेवा के प्रति मन उखड़ गया और इसकी भनक आगरा तक पहुँच गई। सन् 1642 में जब पहाड़ सिंह को ओरछा की गद्दी मिली तभी इन्हे....1 हजारी मनसब दी गई होगी, इसने औरंगजेब का शुभकर्ण से मिलने न जाकर चंपतराय सुजानराय के पास पहुँचे। चंपतराय अपनी जोशपूर्ण सैनिक टुकड़ी लेकर भाण्डेर को अपने अधीन कर बैठे (भाण्डेर वर्तमान में मध्यप्रदेश में दतिया जिले के अधीन आता है)। भाण्डेर के बाद एरछ को भी चंपतराय ने अपने अधीन कर लिया। औरंगजेब के लिये यह एक चुनौति हो गई। औरंगजेब ने चंपतराय को पकड़ने का आदेश दिया। रानगिरी सागर से दूर देहर नदी के तट पर सागर से 29 मील और रहेली से 90 मील पर बसा है, जो कि एक जंगल है, से होते हुए चंपतराय जब निकल रहे थे, वहाँ शुभकर्ण के सैनिक चंपतराय का पीछा करते हुए पहुँच गए जिन्हें चौदहा कहा गया है। चौदहा से तात्पर्य है कि कोई सेना का सरदार होगा और उन्हीं में से किसी का बाण चंपतराय को लगा। इस बाण का घाव बहुत गहरा था उन्हें विश्राम की आवश्यकता थी इसलिये वे सुजानराय के पास 'वेदपुर' पहुँचे जहाँ उनके पुत्र छत्रसाल भी थे। आम लोगों में यह समाचार फैला कि दोनों भाई सम्मिलित रूप से विद्रोह करेंगे। सुजानराय तत्कालीन ओरछा नरेश सुजानसिंह को मध्यस्थ करके अब भी बादशाह के सामने झुकना चाहते थे। सुजानराय का कहना था कि हमें ओरछा राजा सुजान सिंह का साथ देना चाहिए अर्थात् मुगल के आगे झुकना चाहिये। अब हमें जंग से क्या मिलेगा।

औरंगजेब का परिवर्तित रूप :—

चंपतराय बादशाह के मनसब के नीचे नहीं रहना चाहते थे और अपनी जन्मभूमि की सेवा करना चाहते थे अतः चंपतराय ने कहा कि अब समय आ गया है हमें मुगलों को बताना होगा कि यह जमीन हमारी है। सुजानराय ने चंपतराय का साथ नहीं दिया। किन्तु शुभकर्ण मेदकर अपनी सेना के साथ चंपतराय की सेना में उपस्थित हुए और सामूगढ़ के युद्ध में बुन्देलों को मुगलों को लेकर (29 मई, 1658) युद्ध हुआ जिसमें सफलता प्राप्त हुई, बुन्देलों की विजय पताका फहराने लगी।¹⁸ बादशाह ने प्रस्ताव भेजा कि दक्षिण की ओर बुन्देले फौज लेकर रवाना हो जाएँ और नामदार खाँ को बुन्देलखण्ड में नियुक्त किया। चंपतराय के पुत्र रतनशाह ने नामदार खाँ से मिलकर चाल चली और चंपतराय समझ गए कि रतनशाह की लेखनी और करनी में अन्तर है और इसी समय चंपतराय ने बादशाह की (दया) हाजिरी छोड़ दी और ओरछे की ओर रूख किया। ओरछे की हिरदा रानी जो पहाड़ सिंह की विधवा थी मुगलों को वफादारी दिखाना चाहती थी। अतः उसने अपनी फौजें मुगल बादशाह की सेवा में भेज दीं

चंपतराय का बलिदान :—

ओरछा की हिरदा रानी के। डयंत्र से चंपतराय बुन्देला एवं मुगलों की सेना में युद्ध हुआ और ओरछा के बुन्देलों ने दगाबाजी दिखाई। फलस्वरूप सुरपुर की ठकुरानियों को दुश्मनों से बचने के

लिये अग्नि में प्रवेश करना पड़ा। सुजानराय वेदपुर के पश्चात विक्रम का तिलक किया गया। चम्पतराय यद्यपि फौज संगठित कर रहे थे किन्तु उनका स्वास्थ्य शिथिल होता जा रहा था। चंपतराय ओरछा राज्य की सीमा को छोड़कर सहरा की ओर रवाना हुए। सहरा का राजा इन्द्रमणि था। लेकिन बादशाह के अधीन था। चंपतराय ने बादशाह से साहसपूर्ण बात की और इन्द्रमणि कैद से छूटकर आ गया। इस प्रकार चंपतराय के नेक काम से सहरा का लाभ हुआ। चंपतराय लगभग 25 सवारों के साथ सहरा रवाना हुए। लगभग 16 कोस ही चले होंगे कि उनके घोड़े ने दम तोड़ दिया। तुर्कों ने नगाड़ों की ध्वनि सुनते ही युद्ध के लिए घेराव कर लिया। चंपतराय ने तुर्कों की आहट सुनते ही तीर तरकश पर चढ़ा दिया, तभी एक औघट ने आकर चंपतराय को घेर लिया। चंपतराय ने औघट को चारों खाने चित्त कर दिया। इसी समय इन्द्रमणि चम्पतराय की मदद के लिये आए और औघट का तीर उन्हें लगा। जब तक इन्द्रमणि युद्ध कर रहे थे चंपतराय धंधेरे की ओर रवाना हो गए क्योंकि उन्हें स्वास्थ्य लाभ के लिये एक ठिकाने की आवश्यकता थी। यहाँ वे अपने प्रियजनों के यहाँ सहारा लेना चाहते थे और तभी सहरा में इन्द्रमणि का उत्तराधिकारी साहब सिंह को घोषित कर दिया गया। धंधेरे से चंपतराय के पास खबर आई के वह 200 सवारों के साथ धंधेरे में पधारे। धंधेरे की ओर जाते हुए चंपतराय एवं उनकी पत्नी लालकुंवर जब रास्ते में थे तो वह समझ गए कि हमारे साथ धोखा हो रहा है।

लगभग 7 कोस तक चलने के बाद विश्वासघाती लोगों ने एक-दूसरे को इशारा किया।

सात कोस जौलों चलि आए, भए भगैलन के मन भाए।

आपुस माझ इसारत कीनी, कर उलधार सैहयी छीनी।।

अध्याय 6 पृ. 60 चौ. 1, 2

चंपतराय अस्वस्थ थे एवं उनसे मुकाबला करने की स्थिति में नहीं थे। ठाकुरानी लालकुंवरने यह देखा और भांप लिया कि मेरी पतिव्रता की रक्षा और सम्मान की चुनौति का समय आ गया है उन्होंने स्वयं को दुश्मनों के हाथों सौंपने के पहले पेट में कटार घोंप ली और अपने प्राण त्याग दिये।

बाग छुक्त पाई नहीं, चढ्यो मरन कौ चाउँ।

कपा कादयो पेर में, दयो घाउ पर घाउ।।

यह देखकर चंपतराय स्पष्ट रूप से समझ गए कि मेरे साथ धोखा हो रहा है और उन्होंने भी अपने उदर में कटार मार ली।

दै दै घाउ भरी ठकुरानों, चंपतिराइ दया तब जानी।

यह संसार तुच्छ निरधारयो, मारि कटारिन उदर बिदारयौ।।

अध्याय 6 पृ. 60

वृजभूषण कवि कहते हैं -

धन्य है चंपतराय तुमने बुन्देलों की लाज रखी,

लालकुंवर ठकुरानी भी धन्य हैं, जिन्होंने कुल की लाज रखी।

चंपतराय का इतिहास में योगदान :-

ऐसे चंपतराय धन्य हैं जिन्होंने बुन्देलों का नाम ऊँचा किया, धन्य है जिन्होंने निरबलों की रक्षा की एवं स्वयं को मुगलों के हाथों नहीं जाने दिया। सारे हृदयप्रेमी लोगों के मन में बस गए। चंपतराय की यह कुर्बानी धन्य है एवं चंपतराय की यह साहस शौर्य की गाथा बड़ी ही विस्मित कर देने वाली है। चंपतराय का सिर औरंगजेब की सेवा में 7 नवम्बर 1661 ई. को पहुँचाया गया था। आलमगीर नामा तथा सरकारकृत औरंगजेब में इसका उल्लेख है। छत्रसाल ने पत्र में उल्लेख किया है कि यह लड़ाई संवत् सतरा सौ अठारा की साल (1767 ई.) में भई।¹⁰

बुन्देलखण्ड राज्य के महोबा, धंधेरे, सहरा को अपेक्षित रूप से बचाए रखना चंपतराय की ही देन है। उनके इस संघर्ष को उनके पुत्र जो आगे जाकर महाराजा छत्रसाल के रूप में सामने आए जारी रखा। योग्य पिता की योग्य संतान मध्यप्रदेश के इतिहास में निश्चित रूप से बुन्देलखण्ड के अस्तित्व को बनाये रखने के लिये जानी जाएगी क्योंकि चम्पतराय में यदि जन्म भूमि एवं अपनी संस्कृति की रक्षा का भाव नहीं होता तो बुन्देलखण्ड आज नहीं होता।

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4. औरंगजेब, भाग 2 - जदुनाथ सरकार पृ. 28
5. छत्रप्रकाश अध्याय 2, पृ. 12 चौपाई 4-5
6. छत्रप्रकाश पृ. 50
7. आलमगीरी, पृ. 65
8. छत्रप्रकाश अध्याय 2, पृ. 12
9. छत्रप्रकाश अध्याय 3, पृ. 30
10. छत्रप्रकाश पृ. 60 अध्याय 6
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ग्वालियर रियासत में स्त्री शिक्षा के माध्यम से सामाजिक जागरण

*प्रो. संजय स्वर्णकार

सारांश:-

भारत में आधुनिक शिक्षा के विस्तार के परिणामस्वरूप इस देश में 19वीं-20वीं सदी में अनेक महापुरुषों ने सामाजिक - धार्मिक एवं राजनीतिक जागरण का कार्य किया। राजा राम मोहन राय, स्वामी दयानन्द, केशवचन्द्र सेन, ईश्वरचंद्र विद्यासागर, स्वामी विवेकानन्द, ज्योतिबा फुले, सावित्रीबाई फुले आदि ऐसे समाज सुधारक थे जिन्होंने महिलाओं से संबंधित कुरीतियों सती प्रथा, कन्या वध, बाल-विवाह तथा अन्य सामाजिक रूढ़ियों अस्पृश्यता, धार्मिक संकीर्णता आदि को खत्म करके परम्परागत समाज को एक नया रूप प्रदान करने का प्रयास किया। स्त्रियों को बराबरी का दर्जा दिलाने के लिये उन्होंने स्त्री शिक्षा पर बल दिया, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप देश के विभिन्न भागों में 19वीं सदी के अंतिम दौर में स्त्री शिक्षा का विकास प्रारंभ हुआ। ग्वालियर के शासकों ने भी अपने राज्य में आधुनिक शिक्षा को अपनाकर अपनी दूरदर्शिता का परिचय दिया। उन्होंने स्त्री शिक्षा के प्रति भी अपनी रुचि प्रदर्शित की और यहाँ की स्त्रियों ने शिक्षित होकर सामाजिक, आर्थिक, व्यावसायिक, धार्मिक, राजनीतिक क्षेत्रों में कुशलता प्राप्त की।

ग्वालियर की प्राचीनता के विशय में किसी तरह का कोई संदेह नहीं है। पंद्रह सौ वर्ष पुराना ग्वालियर दुर्ग ही इस हेतु एक पुख्ता प्रमाण है। पद्मावती एवं कुंतलपुरी का ग्वालियर के समीप स्थित होना भी इसे प्राचीन महत्व प्रदान करता है। भवभूति द्वारा अपने ग्रंथ मालती-माधव में पद्मावती का उल्लेख प्रचुरता से किया गया है।¹ यद्यपि इस क्षेत्र में स्त्री शिक्षा तो क्या शिक्षा

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ग्वालियर (म.प्र.)

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की व्यवस्था पर कोई विशेष उल्लेख अथवा संदर्भ प्राप्त नहीं होते हैं, तथापि ऐसा माना जा सकता है कि यहां शिक्षा का परंपरागत स्वरूप विद्यमान रहा होगा। मध्यकाल में तोमर राजा वीरसिंह देव (1398 ई.) ने शिक्षा के विकास में बहुत योगदान दिया था। इसके शिक्षित पुत्र वीरम देव ने प्रसिद्ध जैन साहित्यकार नयचंद्र सूरि (हम्मीर मदमर्दन) को आश्रय दिया था। स्वयंभू, गुणदत्त प्रगीत जैसे जैन साहित्यकार भी उसके दरबार में थे, जिससे प्रतीत होता है कि इस काल में शिक्षा एवं साहित्य को पर्याप्त महत्व मिला हुआ था।¹

तोमर शासकों के काल में निसंदेह ग्वालियर में शिक्षा एवं साहित्य का विकास हुआ था।² यही वह समय था जब ग्वालियर में इस्लामिक आधार पर शिक्षा व्यवस्था के प्रवेश के चिन्ह मिलते हैं। बाबर ने अपनी आत्मकथा बाबरनामा में ग्वालियर दुर्ग के लोदी प्रशासक रहीमदाद के मदरसे के निरीक्षण का उल्लेख किया है। इससे संकेत मिलता है कि ग्वालियर में इस्लामी शिक्षा के केंद्र मदरसे एवं मकतब स्थापित हो रहे थे।³ मुगलकाल में ग्वालियर में मोहम्मद गौस एवं तानसेन की उपस्थिति भी इस क्षेत्र में शिक्षा के विकास को दर्शाती थी। एक अन्य तथ्य उल्लेखनीय है कि कश्मीरी मुगल प्रशासक फकीरुल्लाहखां ने अपने ग्रंथ रागदर्पण में ग्वालियर को हिंदुस्तान का शिराज कहा है।⁴

ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी शासन के दौरान 1813 ई. में सर्वप्रथम शिक्षा के विकास के लिये एक लाख रुपये के प्रावधान के साथ उद्देश्य रखा गया कि भारतीय साहित्य के पुनरुत्थान एवं विकास के लिये तथा भारत के विद्वानों को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये एवं भारत स्थित ब्रिटिश राज्य क्षेत्रों के निवासियों में विज्ञान संबंधी ज्ञान के प्रसार के लिये प्रयास किया जाये।⁵

ब्रिटिश सरकार के इस निर्णय ने भारत में शिक्षा के विकास की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन किया और देशी राज्यों के शासकों को भी संकेत दिया कि शिक्षा की व्यवस्था राज्य का उत्तरदायित्व है। इसी उत्तरदायित्व को प्रदर्शित करते हुये ग्वालियर दरबार ने 1846 ई. में जनकगंज में एक आधुनिक शिक्षा के एक केंद्र की स्थापना लश्कर मदरसा के रूप में की, जिसमें मराठी, हिन्दी, उर्दू भाषाओं के अलावा वेद एवं ज्योतिष विषयों का अध्यापन प्रारंभ किया गया।⁶ ग्वालियर राज्य में वस्तुतः शिक्षा के विकास का क्रम यहीं से प्रारंभ होता है।⁷

सिंधिया शासक जयाजीराव (1843-1886 ई.) और उनके मंत्री दिनकर राव राजवाड़े के काल (1852-1859 ई.) में ग्वालियर राज्य में शिक्षा का तीव्र विकास हुआ। ग्वालियर राज्य में 1863 में सर माइकल फीलोज के अधीन शिक्षा विभाग का गठन हुआ, जिसके संचालन के लिये 26000 रुपये प्रतिवर्ष बजट का प्रावधान किया गया। अब लश्कर मदरसे में संस्कृत, न्याय, व्याकरण का भी अध्यापन प्रारंभ किया गया।⁸ किंतु हम यहां स्त्री शिक्षा के विकास को नगण्य देखते हैं।

1886 ई. में जयाजीराव की मृत्यु के बाद माधवराव सिंधिया द्वितीय कौंसिल ऑफ रीजेंसी (1886-1894 ई.) के अधीन शासक हुए। इस कौंसिल के सदस्य नवाब गुलाम अहमद अहमदी शिक्षा विभाग के प्रभारी थे।⁹ नवाब गुलाम अहमद अहमदी ने ही केनिंग कालेज, लखनऊ में कार्यरत विख्यात शिक्षाशास्त्री पं. प्राणनाथ को ग्वालियर राज्य में शिक्षा के विकास के लिये

ग्वालियर आमंत्रित किया तथा उन्हें मार्च, 1885 ई. में शिक्षा विभाग में नियुक्त कर दिया। पं. प्राणनाथ ने 10 जुलाई, 1887 को अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की। इस रिपोर्ट में लश्कर मदरसे को उच्च शाला (हाईस्कूल) के रूप में क्रमोन्नत करने की अनुशंसा की गई।¹¹

कौंसिल ऑफ रीजेंसी ने एज्युकेशन मेन्युअल बनाकर ग्वालियर राज्य को शिक्षा के दो सर्कलों में विभक्त कर दिया—उत्तरी वृत्त, इसमें ग्वालियर एवं ईसागढ़ शामिल किये गये; दक्षिणी वृत्त, इसमें समूचा मालवा प्रांत रखा गया। मेन्युअल में शालाओं चार स्तर रखे गये—निम्न प्राथमिक, उच्च प्राथमिक, ऍंग्लो-वर्नाक्युलर, उच्च शाला। इसके अतिरिक्त शिक्षा के विकास पर नजर रखने के लिये शिक्षा निरीक्षकों की नियुक्ति की गई। ग्वालियर नगर में छात्रावासों का निर्माण कराया गया। माधवराव सिंधिया द्वितीय के शासनकाल (1886-1925 ई.) में शिक्षा का तीव्र विकास हुआ। 1895 ई. में जे. डब्ल्यू. डी. जॉनस्टोन, आई.ई.एस. को शिक्षा महानिरीक्षक के रूप में नियुक्ति प्रदान की गई।¹²

शिक्षा विभाग ने ग्वालियर के अतिरिक्त राज्य के अन्य भागों में शिक्षा के प्रसार पर जोर दिया तथा बहुत छोटे गांवों में आत्मनिर्भर शालाओं की स्थापना को प्रोत्साहन दिया। इन शालाओं का संचालन स्थानीय पुजारियों को सौंपा गया। हालांकि इन शालाओं को स्थानीय जनता का सहयोग प्राप्त नहीं हुआ और 1906 ई. तक ये संस्थाएँ समाप्ति की ओर अग्रसर हो गईं।¹³ अब ग्वालियर राज्य में देशी भाषाओं की शिक्षा निशुल्क कर दी गई, जबकि अंग्रेजी भाषा के लिये नाममात्र का शुल्क रखा गया।¹⁴ राज्य में शिक्षा के विकास के लिये एक स्थायी निधि के प्रावधान का निर्णय लिया गया, जिसमें तीन-चौथाई भाग प्राथमिक शिक्षा के विकास पर और एक-चौथाई भाग विभिन्न शालाओं के विकास एवं योजनागत व्यय के लिये संरक्षित किया गया।

ग्वालियर राज्य के शासक शिक्षा के विषय में क्या सोचते थे और अपनी प्रजा से क्या अपेक्षा रखते थे? इसका संकेत हमें माधवराव सिंधिया द्वितीय द्वारा 22 अप्रैल, 1911 को विक्टोरिया कालेज में दिये गये भाषण के इस अंश से प्राप्त हो जाता है—“सफल शिक्षा की सारभूत विशेषता उचित भावनाओं की विकास करना है। ऐसी शिक्षा से संपन्न व्यक्ति अपने आपके प्रति, अपने देश के प्रति और उस शासन के प्रति, जिसने उसे शिक्षा दी हो, निष्ठावान होगा। वह अपनी प्रतिष्ठा अबाध रखते हुये, इस संसार में ससम्मान अपना कार्य करेगा। वह अपने जीवन को अपनी जाति की प्रगति और अपनी मातृभूमि के कल्याण के लिये अर्पित करेगा।”

1854 ई. में ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों एवं शिक्षाशास्त्रियों की यह धारणा कि—“स्त्री शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहित करने से पुरुषों की शिक्षा की अपेक्षा अधिक अनुपात में शिक्षा और जनता के नैतिक जीवन को प्रेरणा प्राप्त होगी” के आधार पर भारत में स्त्री शिक्षा को महत्व दिया जाने लगा। सावित्रीबाई फुले एवं ईश्वरचंद्र विद्यासागर जैसे विभिन्न शिक्षाशास्त्रियों ने भी स्त्री शिक्षा पर बल दिया। हालांकि ग्वालियर राज्य में स्त्री शिक्षा के बारे में 19वीं सदी के अंत में सोचा जा सका और इसका श्रेय पं. प्राणनाथ को जाता है, जिनकी रिपोर्ट के आधार पर ग्वालियर में अगस्त, 1898 ई. को प्रथम कन्या शाला की स्थापना जनकगंज में की गई। बाद में इसे स्थानांतरित करके

सरकारी पिछाड़ी (गोरखी के समीप) बाड़े के दूसरे भवन में संचालित किया गया।¹⁵ 18 नवंबर, 1898 को महारानी गर्ल्स स्कूल का उद्घाटन किया गया। 1898 ई. में ही मुरार में कन्या शाला की स्थापना की गई। इस प्रकार 1898 ई. का वर्ष ग्वालियर में स्त्री शिक्षा के विकास के लिये अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण वर्ष था।

ग्वालियर दरबार ने 1900-1901 ई. में स्त्री शिक्षा के विकास एवं उस पर निगाह रखने के लिये एक पृथक् महिला अधिकारी की नियुक्ति की गई, जिसे एज्यूकेशन सुपरिंटेंडेंट (शिक्षा अधीक्षिका) कहा गया। इस पद पर सर्वप्रथम मिस फ्लोरेंस होप टेस्का ने कार्यभार संभाला। इन्होंने ग्वालियर राज्य में बेहतर ढंग की शिक्षा व्यवस्था के लिये उत्तर-पश्चिम प्रांत से प्रशिक्षित शिक्षकों को आमंत्रित कर ग्वालियर के कन्या स्कूलों में उनकी नियुक्ति की।¹⁶

ग्वालियर राज्य की 1901-02 ई. की एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव रिपोर्ट हमें सूचित करती है कि स्त्री शिक्षा का ग्राफ अभी ऊपर नहीं आया था। अतः शिक्षा विभाग ने कन्या धर्मवर्द्धिनी सभा का सहयोग प्राप्त किया। छात्राओं को प्रोत्साहित करने के लिये प्रदर्शनियां लगाई गईं और हस्तशिल्प को बढ़ावा दिया गया ताकि छात्राएँ शिक्षित होकर स्वावलंबी हो सकें। 'मोलकरनी' (शाला की चतुर्थ श्रेणी कर्मचारी) को अपने क्षेत्र की बालिकाओं को शालाओं में प्रवेश के लिये प्रेरित करने के लिये प्रोत्साहन राशि का प्रावधान किया गया। साथ ही राजकीय कर्मचारियों को अपनी पत्नियों को शिक्षित करने का आदेश दिया गया।¹⁷

1902-03 ई. में ग्वालियर, मुरार एवं लश्कर की कन्या शालाओं में किंडर गार्डन (केजी) शिक्षा पद्धति प्रारंभ की गई, जिससे जनता को अपने बच्चों को छोटी आयु में ही शिक्षा प्रदान करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ। दरबार ने महारानी गर्ल्स स्कूल से संबद्ध एक विधवा प्रशिक्षण शाला, जो अध्यापिका शिक्षण शाला के नाम से जानी गई, की स्थापना की। इस शाला को सेवा सदन के रूप में एक स्वतंत्र संस्था का रूप प्रदान किया गया।

जुलाई, 1912 ई. में पं. प्राणनाथ को शिक्षा उपमहानिरीक्षक के रूप में नियुक्ति प्रदान की गई, उन्होंने इस पद पर रहते हुये स्त्री शिक्षा के लिये साठ हजार रुपये का बजट आबंटित कराये और ग्वालियर राज्य के प्रत्येक जिले में एक कन्या शाला की स्थापना का निर्णय लिया। जिन स्थानों पर पहले से कन्या शाला उपलब्ध हैं, उनके दर्जे को बढ़ाकर उच्चतर कन्या शाला किया गया।¹⁸

स्त्री शिक्षा के उन्नायक पं. प्राणनाथ को उनकी सेवाओं के उपलक्ष्य में 'सभा-भूषण' की उपाधि प्रदान की गई और उनके नाम पर एक बालिका छात्रावास का निर्माण किया गया।¹⁹ 1931 ई. में उपाधि पाठ्यक्रमों हेतु विक्टोरिया कालेज में बालिकाओं को प्रवेश की अनुमति दी गई।

1898 ई. से स्त्री शिक्षा के विकास के लिये ग्वालियर राज्य में प्रारंभ हुआ सफर हमें आंकड़ों के रूप में कुछ सकारात्मक संकेत देता है। ग्वालियर राज्य में 1911 ई. में जहां स्त्री साक्षरता का प्रतिशत 0.51 था, वहीं 1951 ई. में हम इसे 7.40 प्रतिशत पाते हैं। बीसवीं सदी के प्रारंभ में इस राज्य में एक हजार स्त्रियां भी शिक्षित नहीं थीं, 1951 ई. में शिक्षित स्त्रियों की

संख्या लगभग बीस हजार प्राप्त होती है। 1947 ई. में केवल ग्वालियर जिले में 27 प्राथमिक, 4 पूर्व माध्यमिक, 2 उच्च शालाएँ, 1 उपाधि महाविद्यालय संचालित थे। प्राथमिक शालाओं में 2711, माध्यमिक शालाओं में 658 और उपाधि महाविद्यालय में 73 छात्राएँ अध्ययनरत थीं।²⁰

सरकारी प्रयासों के अतिरिक्त समाज में मौजूद प्रगतिशील विचारधारा एवं शिक्षित लोगों के द्वारा भी स्त्री शिक्षा के विकास के लिये विशेष प्रयास किये जा रहे थे। इन्हीं प्रयासों के माध्यम से ग्वालियर में एक सामाजिक संस्था कन्या धर्मवर्द्धिनी सभा की 1898 ई. में स्थापना की गई। इस संगठन को बाद में सरकारी आश्रय प्राप्त हुआ। इस संस्था का मुख्य उद्देश्य स्त्री शिक्षा का विकास निर्धारित किया गया। कन्या धर्मवर्द्धिनी सभा ने सर्वप्रथम कम्पू कोठी में 1898 ई. में एक कन्या शाला की स्थापना की, जिसे बाद में नवंबर, 1915 ई. को महाराजकुमारी कमला राजे कन्या पाठशाला के रूप में नाम दिया गया। 1931-32 ई. में इस पाठशाला को उच्च शाला का दर्जा दिया गया, जो बढ़कर 1937 ई. में इंटरमीडियेट महाविद्यालय हो गया। 1939 ई. में इसे आगरा विश्वविद्यालय से संबद्धता प्राप्त हुई तथा बी.ए. की कक्षाएँ प्रारंभ की गईं। यहीं से इस संस्था का विकास दो शाखाओं में हुआ। एक शाखा महाराजकुमारी बालिका उच्च शाला के रूप में संचालित होती रही और जिसे बाद में पद्मा विद्यालय के नाम से जाना गया। जबकि दूसरी शाखा महाविद्यालयीन शिक्षा की ओर अग्रसर हुई, जिसे कमलाराजे कन्या महाविद्यालय के नाम से पहचान प्राप्त हुई।²¹

इस संस्था ने स्त्रियों में शिक्षा के प्रति जागरूकता उत्पन्न करने के लिये विद्वान लेखकों द्वारा लिखित पुस्तकों का प्रकाशन किया गया। शिक्षा के प्रति आकर्षण पैदा करने के दृष्टिकोण से बालिकाओं को पुरस्कार प्रदान किये जाने लगे। प्राथमिक परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण छात्रा को तीस रुपये तथा मैट्रिक परीक्षा में उत्तीर्ण छात्रा को पचास रुपये को पुरस्कार दिया जाता था। समाज में उपस्थित पर्दानशीं स्त्रियों को शिक्षा प्रदान करने के लिये इस संस्था ने गृह महिला शिक्षा योजना प्रारंभ की, जिसका संचालन स्थानीय शिक्षित महिलाएँ कर रही थीं। इसके अतिरिक्त एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण कार्य 'महिला' नामक एक त्रैमासिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन भी किया गया।²²

1906 ई. में शिक्षा प्रचारिणी सभा की स्थापना की गई। यह संस्था भी स्त्री शिक्षा के लिये कार्य कर रही थी। 1913 ई. में लश्कर में सरस्वती पुस्तकालय की स्थापना की गई। इस संस्था का मुख्य उद्देश्य हिन्दी के प्रचार के साथ-साथ देशी राज्यों में राष्ट्रीय जागरण का कार्य करना था। इस पुस्तकालय की कार्यपद्धति बड़ी विचित्र थी। बौद्धिकता एवं विधाध्ययन के आवरण के पीछे पुस्तकों के अम्बार की छाया में कुछ लोग देशी राज्यों से बाहर के समाचार-पत्रों में उनकी आंतरिक अवस्था के संबंध में लेख तथा संवाद भेजा करते थे। अपने आप में यह एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य इसलिये था कि ग्वालियर नरेश अपने राज्य की सीमा में किसी भी प्रकार के समाचार-पत्र के प्रकाशन के पक्ष में नहीं थे तथा न ही वे चाहते थे कि उनके राज्य की खबरें बाहर जायें।²³

गोपाल कृष्ण पौराणिक द्वारा महात्मा गांधी के रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम की प्रेरणा से पोहरी में अपनी समस्त निजी संपत्ति अर्पित कर 1921 ई. में पोहरी में एक राष्ट्रीय विद्यालय की स्थापना की गई। पोहरी के जागीरदार मालेजीराव नरसिंहराव शितोले इस संस्था को संदेह की दृष्टि से

देखते थे। बाद में उन्हें सद्बुद्धि आई और उन्होंने भी इस संस्था का सहयोग किया। इस विद्यालय में स्त्रियों को भी शिक्षा प्रदान करने की व्यवस्था की गई थी।²⁴

सार्वजनिक सभा द्वारा महिलाओं में जागृति के लिये विशेष प्रयत्न किये गये। क्रांतिदेवी इसकी सक्रिय कार्यकर्ता थी। उन्होंने 18 अक्टूबर, 1940 को मुरैना में हुये राष्ट्रीय महिला सम्मेलन में भाषण देते हुये कहा कि—आज से सभी महिलाओं को गरीब महिलाओं की सहायता, बुरी रूढ़ियों का परित्याग, देश सेवा में पुरुषों से किसी तरह पीछे न रहने का अपना पक्का निश्चय कर लेना चाहिये। नहीं तो देश की नाव डुबोने का कलंक आपके सिर पर आयेगा।²⁵ सन् 1930-31 ई. में श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई गिर्दे ने कांग्रेस के निर्णयानुसार विदेशी वस्तुओं के बहिष्कार के लिये एक संस्था गठित की थी किन्तु स्थानीय प्रशासन के दमन के कारण बहुत नहीं फैल सका।²⁶

प्रसिद्ध शिक्षाशास्त्री ओटावे का कथन है कि—“किसी भी समाज को सुसंस्कृत, सभ्य, आर्थिक रूप से सुदृढ़ बनाने के लिये तथा स्वार्थ एवं शोषण से अलगाव के लिये स्त्री शिक्षा बेहद आवश्यक है।”²⁷ सिंधिया शासक ये चाहते थे कि रियासत की बालिकायें संघमित्रा, लीलाबाई, अहिल्याबाई, मीराबाई आदि विदुशियों के आदर्शों पर चलें। अतः वे बालिकाओं का हर क्षेत्र में उत्थान देखना चाहते थे। बालिकाओं ने भी जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में प्रगति की। उन्होंने न सिर्फ देश के स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम में भाग लिया अपितु अपनी कुर्बानी देकर देश को आजादी दिलाकर अपना नाम अमर शहीदों की तरह रोशन भी कर दिया।

रजनी मिश्र, मंजू नागौरी, पुष्पा सिसौदिया, कादम्बरी आर्य आदि ऐसे नाम हैं, जिन्होंने ग्वालियर राज्य में अच्छी शिक्षा प्राप्त कर अपनी प्रतिभा को बढ़ाया तथा अपने कौशल से सामाजिक जागरण में अपना योगदान दिया। कविवर चंद्रिका प्रसाद मिश्रा ने अपने परिवार की कन्याओं को उचित शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराई।²⁸ रजनी मिश्र 1 अप्रैल, 1936 ई. को चंद्रिका प्रसाद मिश्र के घर जन्मीं। उन्हें परिवार में ही शिक्षा का वातावरण मिला, जिससे वे सुशिक्षित होकर एक ख्यातनाम कवयित्री हुईं। उन्होंने देशप्रेम पर आधारित कविताओं एवं गीतों की रचना करके तत्कालीन समाज को जागृत करने का प्रयास किया—

*क्यों भूल रहे हो सपनों में,
कवि आँख खोल देखो संभलों।*

ग्वालियर की स्त्रियों ने शिक्षा प्राप्त करके लगभग सभी क्षेत्रों में अपनी उपस्थिति दर्ज कराकर समाज का वर्शों पुराना यह मिथक तोड़ दिया कि स्त्रियाँ केवल चहारदीवारी की शोभा होती हैं। मनोरमा गोविला, जोकि गुना के उच्चतर माध्यमिक विद्यालय में प्रिंसिपल के पद पर रह चुकी हैं, रन्नों देवी, जो कि उसी विद्यालय की एक शिक्षिका थीं तथा रामेश्वरी गुप्ता, जो कि व्यक्तिगत रूप से बालिकाओं को शिक्षा देती थीं तथा मालती देवी, जो कि एक संगीत शिक्षिका थी आदि ऐसी स्त्रियों के कई उदाहरण हैं जिन्होंने न सिर्फ शिक्षा प्राप्त की, बल्कि उसका सदुपयोग जीविकोपार्जन में कर स्वावलंबन का आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया। साथ ही सामाजिक जागृति

में अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। इन्होंने अपने परिवार की बालिकाओं को उच्च शिक्षा दिलाने के प्रयास भी किये। इनके जैसी स्त्रियों से प्रेरणा प्राप्त कर इनके सम्पर्क में रहने वाली स्त्रियों ने भी स्त्री शिक्षा के महत्व को समझ कर अपनी बालिकाओं को शिक्षा दिलाई।²⁹

स्त्रियों को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिये तथा उन्हें रोजगार दिलाने के लिए गैर सरकारी प्रयासों के तहत प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रों की स्थापना की जा रही थी। इस दिशा में पहला प्रयास श्री तूहीराम राव जी ने किया, जिन्होंने 1886 ई. में लश्कर में एक महिला प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र की स्थापना की। इसका नाम राव महिला प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र रखा गया। यह एक निशुल्क प्रशिक्षण केंद्र था। इसमें जरूरतमंद महिलाओं को सूत कातना, अचार बनाना, कालीन बनाना, चटाई बनाना, रंगाई करना आदि का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता था। इसी क्रम में श्री भाऊ साहेब जी ने 1899 ई. में एक महिला प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र किला गेट में स्थापित किया। इसका नाम भाऊ महिला प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र रखा गया। उनकी इच्छा महिलाओं को रोजगार दिलाने तथा उनकी आर्थिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ करने की थी। यह भी निशुल्क था। इसमें जरूरतमंद महिलाओं को सिलाई करना, कढ़ाई करना, बुनाई करना, तगाई करना, कपड़ों की लुगदी से खिलौने बनाना, दरी बनाना आदि सिखाया जाता था। एक अन्य प्रयास नन्कू मराठा ने किया, इन्होंने 1906 ई. में मराठा महिला समिति के नाम से एक प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र की स्थापना हजीरा में की। इसे भी अन्य प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रों की भांति निशुल्क रखा गया था। इस प्रशिक्षण केन्द्र में स्त्रियों को बांस की खपच्चियों से पंखे बनाना, पीस बनाना, मिट्टी के खिलौने बनाना, रंगीन चॉक बनाना, कपड़े के झोले बनाना, कागज से बर्तन बनाना, बांस की डलिया बनाना आदि का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता था। इस प्रकार इन महिला समितिओं की स्थापना से महिलाओं के व्यवसायपरक शिक्षा लेने से परिवार की आर्थिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ हुई। स्त्रियों ने पुरुषों के साथ लगभग प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में साक्षेदारी की तथा ग्वालियर रियासत को अपने शिक्षित होने का अमूल्य योगदान प्रदान किया।³⁰

ऐसा ही एक उदाहरण स्व. साहूराम की पुत्री रैना देवी थी, जिन्होंने दरी बनाने का प्रशिक्षण लेकर इसे घरेलू उद्योग के रूप में शुरू किया तथा इसमें अन्य महिलाओं को भी शामिल किया। इसी प्रकार मथुरा देवी, जो कि एक बाल विधवा थीं, ने कपड़ों की लुगदी से खिलौने बनाने का प्रशिक्षण लेकर इसे एक घरेलू उद्योग के रूप में शुरू किया। राजदेवी नामक एक अन्य महिला ने संगीत की शिक्षा लेकर घर पर ही बालिकाओं को संगीत की शिक्षा देनी शुरू की।³¹

मुस्लिम समाज में स्त्री शिक्षा को शनैः-शनैः महत्व प्राप्त हो रहा था। हालांकि मुस्लिम बालिकायें घर की चहारदीवारी में ही शिक्षा प्राप्त कर रही थीं। गन्ना बेगम³² ने ग्वालियर में शिक्षा प्राप्त करके उनके यहाँ मुंशी (पत्र लेखक) की नौकरी की और सिक्ख वेश में गुनीसिंह नामक युवक बनकर वनवाड़ी नामक स्थान में वशों उनकी सेवा में रही। यह माधवराव सिंधिया को केवल राजनीतिक परामर्श ही नहीं देती थी अपितु संकटों व शङ्क्यों से महाराजा के जीवन की रक्षा भी करती थी।³³

एक अन्य मुस्लिम शिक्षित महिला उम्मा बेगम³⁴, गन्ना बेगम की प्रिय सखी थी जोकि न सिर्फ मर्दों के परिवेश में रहती थी अपितु उन्हीं की भांति शिकार खेलना, दरबार लगाना और

गन्ना बेगम को अपनी बेगम कहकर सम्बोधित करती थी। वह मनीसिंह नामक छद्म नाम से माधव राव सिंधिया के दरबार में भी रही। उसने गन्ना बेगम द्वारा रचित रचनाओं की बड़ी कद्रदार थी और उनके माध्यम से समाज में बदलाव चाहती थी।³⁵

निष्कर्ष :

ग्वालियर राज्य में स्त्रियों को शिक्षित करने के लिये सिंधिया शासकों ने स्वतंत्रतापूर्व अंतिम पचास वर्षों में अनेक कन्या विद्यालय खुलवाये। इन संस्थाओं में प्रारंभ में बालिकाओं का प्रवेश बहुत कम था, किंतु शनैः-शनैः प्रवेश में दर में वृद्धि हुई और उच्च वर्ग के साथ-साथ मध्यम वर्ग के परिवारों की कन्यायें भी इन शालाओं में जाकर विद्याध्ययन की ओर अग्रसर हुईं, जिसका प्रत्यक्ष परिणाम यह हुआ कि राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के इस दौर में पुरुषों के साथ-साथ कई स्थानों पर आन्दोलन में महिलाओं की भूमिका भी प्रमुख रही। स्त्रियों के शिक्षित होने से वे स्वतन्त्रता के महत्व को समझ सकीं और अन्य स्त्रियों को भी इसके विषय में जागरूक कर सकीं। वे जान सकीं कि जीवन को जीने के लिये स्वतन्त्रता प्रथम आवश्यकता है। अतः स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के लिये उन्होंने विभिन्न उपाय शुरू किये, जिससे रियासत में राष्ट्रीयता की भावना का विकास हुआ। उन्होंने शिक्षा प्राप्ति के माध्यम से न केवल स्वयं स्वावलंबी होकर अपने भविष्य को सुरक्षित किया अपितु समाज को मजबूती प्रदान करने का बीड़ा उठाया। एक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह है कि इस काल में जितनी भी महिलायें शिक्षित हुईं वे मूलतः गैर कृषि परिवारों से थीं और उन्होंने शिक्षा क्षेत्र को ही अपना रोजगार बनाया था। परिणामतः ये महिलायें घर और बाहर दोनों ही स्थानों पर लोगों को शिक्षित करने का कार्य कर रही थीं और सामाजिक उत्थान की तत्कालीन आवश्यकता में अपना योगदान दे रही थीं।

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स्वतन्त्रता संघर्षकालीन झालावाड़ के राष्ट्रवादी कवि : हरनाथ

*डॉ. प्रणव देव

सारांश

राजस्थान के स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष में जिन उत्कृष्ट उपादानों का उल्लेखनीय योगदान रहा है, उनमें स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष के लिए परमावश्यक सामाजिक जागरण की पहल करने वाले साहित्यकारों के सहयोग को विस्मृत नहीं किया जा सकता है। राष्ट्रवादी भावनाओं को समुष्ट करने के लिए आवश्यक पाथेय प्रदान करने वालों में झालावाड़ के राष्ट्रवादी साहित्यकारों का योगदान रेखांकित किये जाने का कार्य अभी शेष है। यहां के जिन साहित्यकारों के साहित्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना के तत्व मिलते हैं, उनमें कवीन्द्र हरनाथ अनति ख्यात रहे हैं। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में उनके बहुआयामी साहित्य में राष्ट्रीय चेतना की पड़ताल की गई है। यद्यपि कवीन्द्र हरनाथ राज्य आश्रय में पले एवं संरक्षित रस सिद्ध कवि थे, तथापि इस समय रीतिबद्ध साहित्य में काव्य चमत्कार एवं आश्रयदाताओं का यशोगान युग धर्म था। किन्तु कवीन्द्र ने राष्ट्रीय चेतना को अपने देश की दशा काव्य में प्रकट कर अमिट छाप छोड़ी है। उनका विपुल साहित्य हरनाथ ग्रन्थावली के रूप में प्राप्त है। राजस्थान साहित्य अकादमी (संगम) द्वारा प्रकाशित इस ग्रन्थावली में बीसवीं सदी के इतिहास लेखन के अनेक तत्व उपलब्ध हैं।

“झालावाड़ राज्य” राजस्थान की उन विशिष्ट प्रगतिशील रियासतों में से एक था जहाँ के राजराणाओं के प्रयासों के परिणामस्वरूप राज्य में पं. रामनारायण शर्मा, पं. गिरधर शर्मा नवरत्न के साथ-साथ पं. हरनाथ जैसे साहित्यकारों ने राष्ट्रवादी साहित्य रचकर स्वदेशी एवं राष्ट्रवादी विचारों का बहुविध प्रचार प्रसार किया।

मध्यप्रदेश के ग्वालियर राज्य जिला भिण्ड में ररी गांव में सन् 1896 ई. (संवत् 1953 में श्रा.कृ. तीज सोमवार) को राष्ट्रवादी कवि हरनाथ का जन्म पिता नववतदत्त एवं माता धनवन्ती

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के यहां हुआ था।¹² उत्तरप्रदेश के उरई (जालौन) में शिक्षित कवीन्द्र ने झालावाड़ आने से पहले ग्वालियर पन्ना रियासतों में भी अपनी सेवाएँ प्रदान की थी। हरनाथ ग्रन्थावली में उन्होंने स्वयं का छन्दबद्ध परिचय दिया है। ये सनाढ्य ब्राह्मण वंश के थे। बुन्देलखण्ड के प्रसिद्ध नगर उरई में इनके दादाजी द्वारा गुरु कवि कालीचरण जी महाराज के सान्निध्य में इनकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा की व्यवस्था की गई। ठिकानेदार राव लक्ष्मण सिंह जूदेव एवं ग्वालियर नरेश के बड़े भ्राता भैया सा. बलवंत सिंह की देखरेख में कवीन्द्र जी की शिक्षा एवं साहित्यिक यात्रा राष्ट्रवादी संस्कार ग्रहण करती हुई अपने गन्तव्य पर पहुंच गई। नरेश यादवेन्द्र सिंह जूदेव ने इन्हें राजकवि एवं कवीन्द्र की उपाधि देते हुए सम्मानस्वरूप जागीर भी प्रदान की। कालान्तर में पन्नानरेश से मतभेद होने के कारण राष्ट्रवादी कवि हरनाथजी झालावाड़ राज्य में आ गए। झालावाड़ नरेश ने राजकवि के रूप में सुवर्ण आभूषण प्रदान कर ताजमी सरदार के रूप में विशेष सम्मान दिया। हरनाथजी लम्बे समय तक पन्ना¹³ एवं झालावाड़ में राजकवि के रूप में सम्मानित रहे। स्वतंत्रता संघर्षकालीन समय एवं समाज के बदलते जीवन मूल्यों एवं स्वतंत्रता के साथ साथ लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों के उद्गाता होने के कारण इनकी राजपरिवारों से दूरी बढ़ती गई। राष्ट्रवादी रचनाओं के चलते स्वतंत्रभारत में वे वरिष्ठ कवि के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हुए। वि. संवत् 2027 तदनुसार 14 मई 1970 को पार्थिव शरीर त्यागकर यश शरीर से स्वतंत्रता संघर्षकालीन काव्य जगत में अमर एवं स्मरणीय हैं।

देश के साहित्यिक इतिहास में बीसवीं सदी हिन्दी काव्य अपने निर्माण काल में था। उस समय ब्रजभाषा ने हिन्दी की साहित्यिक भाषा के रूप में अपनी पहचान बनाये रखी। ब्रजभाषा में रीतिकाल के गहरे प्रभाव के होते हुए भी युग परिवर्तन के साथ राष्ट्रीयता एवं बलिदान के स्वर फूट रहे थे। यहां के प्रसिद्ध कवि, अनुवादक एवं हिन्दी साहित्य के जाज्वलमान नक्षत्र गिरधर शर्मा नवरत्न जी के स्वर में स्वर मिलाकर राष्ट्रवादी हरनाथ जी भारत के सपूतों को शक्तिरूपा आद्या शक्ति के उपासक बन बलवान होने का आह्वान किया-

मातृभूमि भारत के सबल सपूत सब।

शक्तिवन्त भक्त आदि शक्ति के पुजारी हो।

पं. हरनाथजी के साहित्यिक पालन पोषण का काल रीतिवद्ध साहित्य काल था। इस समय काव्यचमत्कार एवं आश्रयदाताओं के यशोगान को श्रेष्ठ काव्य की पहचान माना जाता था तथापि उन्होंने राष्ट्रीयभावना को अपने देश की दशा कविता में प्रकट कर देश प्रेम की अमिट छाप छोड़ी है। हरनाथजी की राष्ट्रीय भावना युक्त राष्ट्रवादी सोच एवं वीररस का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है, उनका विपुल साहित्य जो हरनाथ ग्रंथावली के रूप में प्राप्त है, राजस्थान साहित्य अकादमी (संगम) द्वारा सन् 1966 ई. में प्रकाशित की गई थी। इस 840 पृ. की बृहद् ग्रंथावली में पं. हरनाथ की छोटी बड़ी कुल 28 रचनाएँ हैं। यह ग्रन्थावली जहां ब्रजभाषा काव्यधारा को श्रेष्ठता प्रदान करती है, वहां ब्रह्मानन्द सहोदर रस के आस्वादन के लिए उत्कृष्ट काव्य की परिचायक होने के साथ साथ उनके राष्ट्रवादी काव्य का प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है।

पं. हरनाथ की वीरसयुक्त राष्ट्रवादी रचनायें

कवीन्द्र की उपाधि प्राप्त पं. हरनाथ वीरस के अनूठे कवि हैं, जिनके वीरसात्मक काव्य में राष्ट्र के प्रति स्वाभाविक प्रेम स्पष्ट झलकता है। स्वतंत्रता एवं अपनी रियासत की रक्षा करने वाले नायकों का पं. हरनाथ, काव्य के नायक के रूप में चित्रण करते हैं। ऐसे नायकों में झाला जालिमसिंह, अमरसिंह, जगतसिंह बुदेला, गुरुतेजबहादुर, गुरुगोविन्दसिंह, झांसी की रानी लक्ष्मीबाई, महाराणा प्रताप, शिवराज, छत्रसाल जैसे आदर्श वीरों का गुणगान वे वीरस के सुन्दर प्रयोग के साथ करते हैं। उन्होंने झाला जालिमसिंह के शौर्य एवं वीरता का वर्णन घनाक्षरी, मनहर छन्दों में किया है—⁴

चहुँ ओर सेनायें चढ़ी थीं जो विपक्षिन की,
प्रबल सपक्ष तिन्है कौन ठेक ठेलतो।
साम दाम दण्ड भेद नीति ही सो बेध-बेध
लैकर विरुद्ध कुछ कौन युद्ध पेलतो।।
भाषे, 'हरनाथ' हाथ राख केतु कीरत को,
कौन वरवीरन की सम्पत्ति सकेलतो।
कोटा कोट कूट कूट शत्रु कर देते चूर,
चो पै वीर जालिम न झालावार झेलतो।।

इसी प्रकार मनहर छन्द में अग्रलिखित पंक्तियाँ भी कवि को वीरस का सिद्धहस्त प्रमाणित करती है—

काट काट मुण्ड खण्ड पाट पाट देती भूमि,
धूम धूम धूमती पियासी रक्तपान की।
चूम चूम चाटती करेजे भेजे रेजे करि,
अरि अरि होती अरि अरि अभिमान की।।
लेके 'हरनाथ' साथ जुगतीनी जमातिन को,
खूब ही छाकाती थी अनोखी ओज आन की।
जोम भरी जंगन मैं जुलूम करती थी दौर,
जुल्फिकार जालिमों पै जालिम जवान की।।

विविध युद्धों के प्रसंगों के विशेष रूप से प्रताप पताका, शिवराज एवं छत्रसाल बावनी के अनेक स्थलों पर आलम्बन, उद्दीपन, अनुभाव एवं संचारियों की योजना से वीरस की निष्पत्ति सुन्दर बन पड़ी है—

जैसे अंकपकात आकाश धरनि धक पक हिप धुज्जत
दिशि दिग्गज दहलात शत्रु आपहि अप जुभझत।
रवि प्रचण्ड रथ रुकत झुकत खल दल उदण्ड मुण्ड
अस्त्र शस्त्र झंकार तुंग तोपन गरज हुव।

हरनाथ शेष कूरम कपत दृढ़ बराह दवि कसमसत।

शिवराज रंग रण रोषा भरा जल कपिपाण कटि में कसत।

(सिंह शिवराज)

इन नायकों के चरित्रचित्रण में वीररस के साथ रौद्र एवं वीभत्स रस भी सहयोगी के रूप में आए हैं। प्रायः रौद्ररस के स्थायीभाव क्रोध की अभिव्यक्ति युद्धकाल के सभी प्रसंगों में हुई है। युद्ध भूमि में भूत, भैरव, जोगिनी, बैताल, द्वारा रुधिर पान भोजन आदि के वर्णनों में वीभत्सरस की अभिव्यक्ति उल्लेखनीय है—

जोर जो जुगिनी जमातिनि जमाय जंग।

भोजन करायो, भूत भैरव बिताली को।

खेत खडक झारि “हरनाथ” निज हाथनि सो।

सौनित पिवायो मातु कालिका कपाली को।

बैरी बरजोरन सो वसुधा बचाई वीर,

कीन्हो यो प्रशंसनीय बंस अंसु मालिकों,

मरदमहेवा ने मलेच्छन के मुण्डन सो।

कियो बार वपिषभ भरायौ मुण्ड मालिको।

(छत्रसालबावनी)

राष्ट्रप्रेम की स्थापना के विविध वीररसपूर्ण प्रसंगों में कवि की भाषा, छन्द एवं अलंकार योजना पर असाधारण अधिकार है। ये प्रसंग प्राचीन संस्कृति के आदर्श स्वाभिमान, कर्तव्यपरायणता, त्याग, वीरता एवं संस्कृति के साथ साथ राष्ट्रप्रेम के उदगायक हैं। इनके समकालीन झालावाड़ के प्रसिद्ध कवि किंकर जी ने कवीन्द्र जी को आधुनिक युग का भूषण कहा है। पं. हरनाथ की छत्रसालबावनी के प्रसंग में किंकर जी ने काव्य में टिप्पणी इस प्रकार की है—

साचों छत्रसाल धर्मधारी छत्रसाल वीर,

उत ब्रजराज को सनेही सुख साज है।

आधुनिक भूषण कवीन्द्र हरनाथ इत

प्रतिभा महान गुण गौरव जहाज है।

राष्ट्रीय विकास के लिए आवश्यक सामाजिक जागरण की पहल करते हुए पं. हरनाथ ने उन महापुरुषों को अपनी कविता का मुख्य विषय बनाया, जो राष्ट्रहित में संघर्षशील रहे। भले ही उनके राष्ट्र की सीमाएँ उनकी रियासते ही थीं। आदर्श राष्ट्रीयचरित्रों की गुणगाथा में अनेक छन्द रचे हैं। अवतारीश्रीकृष्ण व राष्ट्रपिता गांधी के उदात्त चरित्र का तुलनात्मक विवरण देते हुए वे श्रद्धा से नत हैं—

उन अत्याचारी हने, क्रुद्ध शस्त्र बल जोर।

इन अत्याचारी हने, साति शस्त्र बलजोर।

वे मोहन छल कल बूढ़े, मोहन छल हीन।
उनमें निजकर चक्र लियो, ये कर चरखालीन।

राष्ट्रप्रेम से ओतप्रोत कवि जब सामाजिक आर्थिक एवं राजनैतिक रूप से समस्याग्रस्त अपने समय एवं समाज को देखता है तो उसका हृदय दीन-दुखियों के प्रति करुणा से द्रवित होकर माधवमुकुन्द से प्रार्थना करता है—

माधवमुकुन्द नंद नंद हे दया के सिंधु।
देव दीनबन्धु दशा देश की सुधारिये।

ब्रिटिश शासन से त्रस्त राष्ट्रवादी कवि का अन्तर्मन द्रवित हो जाता है वे तत्कालीन भाग्य विधाताओं को सम्बोधन देते हुए राष्ट्र की दीनदशा का करुण चित्रण करते हैं—

चाबी भाग्य भावी की हमारी हरनाथ हाथ
हावी ह्व रही है ह्यां हुकूमत विदेशी की।
समझ न आवे शरमावे हियो बार-बार
कैसी शोचनीय हा दशा है यह देश की।

राष्ट्रीय जागरण के उदगाता के रूप में वे सामाजिक विषमता वाली जाति व्यवस्था एवं सामाजिक भेदभाव समाप्त करने के लिए सगठित होकर शक्ति के पुजारी बनने का आह्वान करते हैं—

भाषै हरनाथ जान बहुमत भेद तुम्हें।
आते ठुकराते नित पश्चिमी प्रवासी है।
हाय अबहु तो एक शक्ति के पुजारी बनो।
एक स्वर बोलो हम भारत के निवासी हैं।

पं. हरनाथजी अपने काव्य के माध्यम से महाराणाप्रताप, रणजीतसिंह, शिवाजी, छत्रसाल जैसे आदर्श, प्रतापी, वीर महापुरुषों के अनुगामी होकर उन्नति के पथ पर बढ़ने की प्रेरणा देते हैं। स्वतंत्रता संघर्षकालीन राष्ट्रवादी कवि की विभिन्न राष्ट्रीयचेतनापरक कवितायें आज भी प्रासंगिक है।

‘हरनाथ हृदयतरंग’ नामक बृहद दोहावली में वे संस्कृत की शतक परम्परा हिन्दी की सतसई परम्परा से अग्रणी हैं। हजार से अधिक (1017) दोहों के कारण इस रचना को हरनाथ हृदयतरंग हजारा नाम से संबोधित किया गया। हृदयतरंग दोहा सहस्रावली में श्रृंगार, भक्ति, उपदेश, नीति, लोकज्ञान, वैराग्य सभी का अनूठा समन्वय है। पं. गदाधर भट्ट इसे विषय विविधता एवं प्रतिपादन की दृष्टि से भारतीय संस्कृति की दिशाबोधक पुस्तिका कहते हैं।¹⁰ दोहों में भाषा की समास शक्ति एवं कल्पना भावना की समाहार शक्ति बिहारी के समान दिखाई पड़ती है। हृदयतरंग में पं. हरनाथजी की बहुज्ञता, जीवन की यथार्थ अनुभूति, व्यवहार कौशल के दर्शन होते हैं। हृदयतरंग की निम्नपंक्तियां दृष्टव्य है—

महि मिट्टी पर आगिरी, मिट्टी के संग खेल।
 मिट्टी में मिल जायगो, कर मिट्टी सो मोल।। (नश्वरता)
 होत रहे जिहि देश में, सन्त सूर, सरदार।
 हाय होन लागे तहां, सूकर स्वान सियार। । (पश्चाताप)
 उझकति झिझकति झुकति पुनि, कर घूँघट पट टारि।
 खिरकी खिरकी में फिरत, थिरकी थिरकी नार।। (क्लासिता)
 चारु चित्र बिरचो चहत। चपल चंचला गात।
 चतुर चित्त चल चित्र सो, चित्रकार रहि जात।। (सौन्दर्य)

भक्तिमूलक रचनायें

भारतीय संस्कृति में गुरुवंदना के साथ ईशवंदना का विधान है। हरनाथजी ने इस परम्परा में अपने गुरुकालीचरणजी महाराज की सबसे पहले स्तुति की है। यहां यह उल्लेखनीय है कि बुन्देलखण्ड में कालीकवि के नाम से आपके गुरु आज भी विख्यात हैं। उपासना उपशीर्षकों से माँ सरस्वती, गणपति, शिव, भैरव, हनुमान आदि सभी देवी-देवताओं की भावपूर्ण प्रार्थना की है। भक्ति संबंधी छन्दों में उनकी असीम श्रद्धा, अनन्यता एवं आत्मनिवेदन का भाव व्यक्त होता है।

रीतियुक्त रचनायें

पं. हरनाथजी अपनी बात में कहते हैं “भारतीय काव्य शास्त्र की अक्षय परम्परा एवं कवि कौशल की रीति तथा अलंकरण में मैंने यह काव्य सृजन का प्रयास किया है।” उन्होंने इस रीतिपरम्परा के अनुसार सिद्ध आचार्य परम्परा में काव्यसृजन किया है। उनमें आचार्य एवं कवि दोनों के मिले जुले रूप के दर्शन होते हैं। हरनाथजी ने लक्षण उदाहरण देते हुए भिन्न-भिन्न छन्दों का सफल प्रयोग किया है। लक्षण में दोहा एवं उदाहरणों में सवैया की बहुलता बन पड़ी। उनका काव्य कौशल दृष्टव्य है—

आप न जानिये कौ कहाँ इति,
 बाल बिमाल अनूप रसाल की।
 नैन चलावत चोट करी फगुआ
 चाल चली हरनाथ भराल सी।
 पुरहिगी अभिलास कबहूँ जब
 लागहि वा प्रिय मोउर मालसी।

मायाजाल नामक काव्य में दोहा, कवित्त, सवैया, कुंडलियां एवं छप्पय में निबद्ध रचनायें हैं जिसमें 106 छन्द हैं। वर्ण्य विषय में संसार की असारता, काल की प्रबलता, माया की मोहकता एवं राम भजन की महत्ता का विवेचन है। सांसारिक माया के संबंध में कबीर की भाँति हरनाथजी का विचार है :-

माया प्रबल पिशाचिनी, जो नित सिरजत खात।
ज्यों पापिन निज सुतन को नागिन निगलन जात।
मृतक अभीरू, भीरू मृतक सनेह शत्रु।
हैरो 'हरनाथ' सर्व मृतक प्रसार है।

हरनाथ पदावली, इस राष्ट्रवादी कवि की हृदय की भावपूर्ण अभिव्यक्ति है। मुक्तक परम्परा में यह गीतिप्रधानकाव्य है। पदों में अनुभूति की सहजता, भावप्रवणता एवं संगीतात्मकता है। भक्तिपदों में वे सर्वप्रथम मां दुर्गा के रूप एवं महिमा का वर्णन करते हैं। मां के प्रति अनन्यता को वे इस प्रकार व्यक्त कर रहे हैं—

तुम बिन और न कोऊ हमारो।
अब हरनाथ जान सुत अपनी निज चरनन तरङ्गरो।

पं. हरनाथजी शास्त्रीयसंगीत के जानकार हैं। उनकी पदावली में विशेष रूप से दुर्गा, भैरव, भैरवी, कहरवा, काफी वागेश्वरी, केदार, भीम पलासी टोड़ी, पीलू, कल्याण, आसावरी, विहाग, जकरा, दीपचन्दी, रागों की प्रधानता है। वात्सल्य के भक्तकवि सूरदास की भांति हरनाथजी ने कूट पद भी सृजित किये हैं। जिनमें उनके पांडित्य के साथ काव्यकौशल के दर्शन होते हैं।

समासतः स्वतंत्रता संघर्षकालीन झालावाड़ के इस राजकवि के काव्य में राष्ट्रवादी स्वर के साथ साथ मानवीय भावों की अभिव्यक्ति बहुविध रूप से मुखरित अवश्य हुई है। उनका सम्पूर्ण काव्य ध्वनि, रस, अलंकार, भाषा, भाव सभी काव्यशास्त्रीय मानदंडों की ऊँचाइयाँ छू रहा है। जहाँ एक ओर उनके काव्य में राष्ट्रप्रेम से ओतप्रोत भावनाएँ तत्कालीन सामाजिक जागरण को पाथेय प्रदान कर रही थी, वहीं दूसरी ओर भक्तिमूलक रचनाओं की गेयता संगीतात्मकता, भावप्रवणता, सहृदयजन के हृदयतंत्री के तारों को झंकृत कर समूचे जीवन के सार के रूप में अध्यात्म की ओर ले जाती हुई प्रतीत होती है। बुन्देलखण्ड से जुड़े हुए क्षेत्र में जन्में इस कवि ने बचपन से अपने काव्य लेखन में स्वदेश प्रेम के संस्कार कालीकवि से जिस प्रकार प्राप्त की है, वह उसके भावी लेखन के मूलाधार बने। बुन्देलखण्ड के यशस्वी बुन्देला शासकों की पन्ना रियासत के साथ साथ हाड़ौती की इस झालावाड़ रियासत से जुड़ने के कारण उनकी काव्यदृष्टि राष्ट्रवाद से प्रभावित हुए बिना नहीं रह सकी। उन्होंने अपने समय तथा समाज की समस्याओं का सूक्ष्मावलोकन करते हुए उसके समाधान के रूप में राष्ट्रीय एकता के उदात्तभावों को पोषित करने का प्रयास किया। पन्ना छोड़ने के बाद भी पन्ना नरेश से उनके संबंध बने रहे। कालान्तर में पन्ना नरेश के युवराज और उत्तराधिकारी महाराजा श्री हरिश्चन्द्र जू देव ने आपको सम्मान स्वरूप सोने का कड़ा प्रदान किया। जिससे आपके व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व का सहज आभास किया जा सकता है। समासतः पं. हरनाथजी के साहित्य का ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से शोध अध्ययन की आवश्यकता से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता है।

संदर्भ एवं पाद टिप्पणी :

1. आधुनिक राजस्थान के इस प्रगतिशील राज्य में वर्तमान झालावाड़ जिला शामिल है। झालावाड़ राज्य राजपूताने की रियासतों में राजनैतिक परिस्थितिवश ब्रिटिश सन्धियों के परिणाम स्वरूप 8 अप्रैल ए सन् 1838 ई. अस्तित्व में आया। जिसके कुल 17 परगनों में से 14 परगने कोटा राज्य से एवं 3 परगने ब्रिटिश सरकार से मिले थे। इन परगनों के नाम क्रमशः चेचट, सुकेत, चौमहला, (मय गंगधार, डग, आवर एवं पचपहाड़), झालरापाटन, रीछवा,बकानी, दलहनपुर, कोटड़ा, भालता, सरड़ा, रटलाई, मनोहरथाना, फूलबड़ौद, चाचौरनी, काकूनी, छीपाबड़ौद, शाहाबाद और शेरगढ़ थे। इस रियासत की स्थापना के मूल में झाला जालिमसिंह था तथा राज्य के राजाओं में राजराणा मदनसिंह, पृथ्वीसिंह, जालिमसिंह द्वितीय भवानी सिंह, राजेन्द्र सिंह, हरिशचन्द्र थे। विस्तृत अध्ययन के लिए दृष्टव्य-एच.जे.मंगलानी-हिस्ट्री कल्चर एण्ड एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ऑफ झालावाड़ स्टेट जयपुर, सन् 1988 ई., श्रीमती नमिता व्यास का डॉ. प्रणवदेव के निर्देशन में पीएच.डी. उपाधि हेतु अप्रकाशित शोध प्रबन्ध “झालावाड़ राज्य का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास (सन् 1838-1947 ई.)” कोटा विश्वविद्यालय कोटा वर्ष 2006, श्री ललित शर्मा - झालावाड़ इतिहास, संस्कृति और पर्यटन, मालव लोक संस्कृति प्रतिष्ठान उज्जैन, 2010, डॉ.एस.आर.खान- झालावाड़ राज्य का इतिहास, आसफिया रिसर्च सेन्टर कोटा 2010 , श्री गदाधर भट्ट : सांस्कृतिक झालावाड़ , भट्ट प्रकाशन झालावाड़, 2004।
2. (अ) कवीन्द्र पं. हरनाथ ग्रन्थावली, राजस्थान साहित्य अकादमी (संगम) उदयपुर, 1966, पृ. 5 एवं 96
(ब) डॉ. एस.आर. खान : झालावाड़ राज्य का इतिहास, आसफिया रिसर्च सेन्टर कोटा, 2010, पृ. 183
3. आप पन्ना नरेश की हवेली के स्वामी थे जिसकी देखभाल आपके सुपुत्र मार्टण्ड शर्मा करते रहे हैं। हरनाथजी की रचनाओं को इंग्लैण्ड में मास्टर ऑफ आर्ट्स हिन्दी के पाठ्यक्रम में भी सम्मिलित किया जा चुका है। स्रोत ईतिजकपेववअमतलण्वतह
4. पं. हरनाथ : हरनाथ ग्रन्थावली, राजस्थान साहित्य अकादमी संगम, उदयपुर 1966, पृ. 474-75
5. गदाधर भट्ट : झालावाड़ का साहित्य वैभव, श्री द्वारकाधीश पुष्टि भक्ति सत्संग समिति, झालरापाटन 2012, पृ. 57
6. गदाधर भट्ट : सांस्कृतिक झालावाड़, भट्ट प्रकाशन झालावाड़ 2004, पृ. 60

गाँधी जी के रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम में बिहार की महिलाएँ

*कुमारी विनीता

सारांश:-

गाँधी जी के रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम आदर्श समाज निर्माण का साधन और साध्य है। उनका उद्देश्य एक समाज में व्याप्त बुराइयों को दूर करके एक नये आत्मनिर्भर बुराईरहित, सशक्त समानता के आधार पर टिका समाज का निर्माण करना था। और ये तभी संभव था, जब हिंसक जन आंदोलन न हो। उन्हें विश्वास था कि रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम समाज में व्याप्त कुरीतियों को दूर करने का अच्छा जरिया है। इसीलिए गाँधी जी ने भारत में आजादी के लड़ाई के दरम्यान रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम को साथ-साथ रखा इन्होंने इसका प्रयोग अहिंसात्मक अस्त्र की तरह किया।

उस समय भारतीय समाज में परदा प्रथा, बाल-विवाह, सती प्रथा, छुआछुत दजेह प्रथा जैसी कुरीतियाँ फैली हुई थी। जो समाज के विकास में अवरोधक बन कर खड़ी थी। गाँधी जी जानते थे बिना इस समस्याओं का समाधान किये भारत को आजादी नहीं मिल सकती है। इस कुरीति से सबसे ज्यादा भारत की महिला समाज पीड़ित थी। साथ ही साथ महिलाओं को इन सब से मुक्त कर आजादी की लड़ाई में उनका सहयोग भी प्राप्त करना था। इसलिए गाँधी जी ने रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम को चुना और आदर्श समाज बनाने की ठान ली।

स्वाधीनता संग्राम में प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से महिलाओं का योगदान प्रशंसनीय था। अहिंसा आन्दोलन होने के कारण महिलाएँ ने बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया था। तो गाँधी जी के इस रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम में वे पीछे कैसे रहती। वे जानती थी इन कार्यक्रमों से उनका ही विशेष रूप से उद्धार होता। चम्पारण सत्याग्रह के समय जब महात्मा

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गांधी ने बिहार की महिलाओं को सामाजिक कुरीतियों के प्रति सचेत किया और समाप्त करने पर जोर दिया। तब बिहार की कुछ विद्वान तथा उदार महिलाएँ उनकी सहयात्री बनी। और आगे की पक्ति में खड़ा होकर अन्य लोगों को जागरूक करने का प्रयास कि¹। जिसमें वे काफी हद तक सफल रही। काफी बड़ी संख्या में महिलाएँ आगे आयी और गांधी जी के रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम को सफल बनाने में अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दी।

विशिष्ट शब्द :- दरम्यान, भरसक, आश्वासन, आत्मनिर्भर, अस्पृश्यता, स्वावलम्बन

1920 ई. को भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में महात्मा गांधी ने रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम का प्रस्ताव रखा महिलाएँ भी योगदान दें। गाँधी जी के प्रयासों से देश के सभी भागों में व्याप्त जन आन्दोलन में आम भारतीय महिलाओं ने भाग लेना शुरू किया। बिहार की महिलाएँ अन्य प्रदेशों की महिलाएँ से पीछे कैसे होती उस समय अन्य प्रदेशों की तरह बिहार में भी अनेक सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ व्याप्त थी। जैसे परदा प्रथा।

गाँधी जी के प्रयास से 3 दिसम्बर 1920 ई. को पहली बार बाँकीपुर के साथ में 500 महिलाओं ने भाग लिये थे। सभी महिलाएँ परदा प्रथा को त्याग कर आयी थी श्रीमती उर्मिला देवी, श्रीमती सावित्री देवी, श्रीमती माधुरी देवी, विशेष कर दीप नारायण सिंह की पत्नी शीला सिंह ने परदा प्रथा का हटाने का भरसक प्रयास किया और महिलाओं को इस प्रथा से निकलकर आजादी के संघर्ष के स्वयंसेविका के रूप में कार्य करने के लिए प्रेरित किया।²

12 दिसम्बर 1921 को पटना में “पटना महिला संघ” की कार्यकारिणी राजस्त्रीय बैठक हुई जिसमें परदा प्रथा का विरोध किया गया। 1921-22 ई. में मुजफ्फरपुर में अमला मुखर्जी ने परदा प्रथा के विरोध का एक मजबूत आधार प्रदान किया।

1928 ई. तक प्रदेश के विभिन्न भागों में परदा विरोधी जोरदार अभियान चला। बिहार का ऐसा कोई भी शहर नहीं होगा जिसमें इसका आयोजन न किया गया हो। अनेक महिलाएँ इस प्रथा को त्यागकर कांग्रेस की सेवा करने लगी। चम्पारण जिले की श्रीमती रामप्यारी देवी ने परदा प्रथा को तोड़कर समाज सुधार का अनुकरणीय आदर्श प्रस्तुत की। इन स्त्रियों ने घर-घर जाकर स्त्रियों को प्रोत्साहन दिया कि वे इस कुरीति को मिटाने में सहयोग प्रदान करें।³ इतने जोरदार अभियान के कारण 1935 ई. में परदा विरोधी आन्दोलन में जागृति आई। सैकड़ों महिलाओं ने स्वतंत्रता के आन्दोलनों में खुल कर भाग लिया और आन्दोलन को सफल होने में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।

खादी आन्दोलन -

रामचंद्र शुक्ल ने जब गांधी जी को चम्पारण की स्थिति से अवगत करवाते हुए चम्पारण आने का न्योता दिया तब गांधी जी ने देखा कि जो किसान उनसे मिलने आये हैं उनकी हालत बहुत ही खराब थी तथा उनके वस्त्र भी फटे-पुराने थे। अपने आश्वासन के मुताबिक जब गांधी जी चम्पारण पहुँचे तब उन्होंने देखा कि वहाँ की स्थिति तो और भी खराब है, कई महिलाएँ ऐसी थी

कि उनके पास कपड़े नहीं थे। जिनके कारण वे घर से बाहर नहीं निकलती थी। इससे व्यथित होकर गांधी ने चंपारण से वापस आकर स्वयं सेवकों ने चरखे से वस्त्र बनाने के लिए प्रेरित किया, धीरे धीरे यह एक आन्दोलन का रूप ले लिया। बिहार भी इस आन्दोलन में प्रभावित हुआ। राज्य के 11 जिले में 48 भण्डार खोले गये, जहाँ रुई और चरखे की व्यवस्था की गयी। 1921 ई. में छोटानागपुर की सरला देवी ने अनेक जिलों में जा जाकर खदूदर और चरखा का प्रचार-प्रसार की। श्रीमती सावित्री देवी ने पटना जिले का दौरा किया। सीतामढ़ी में श्रीमती रामतुनक देवी ने खादी के प्रचार - प्रसार को आगे बढ़ाया।

1922 ई. में मुजफ्फरपुर की महिलाओं ने, जिसमें श्रीमती लीला सिंह ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई थी। लोगों से अपील की, कि वे स्वदेशी वस्त्रों को अपनाये विदेशी वस्त्रों का विरोध करें। श्रीमती शफी तथा शारदा कुमारी ने बड़े बड़े राजघराने जाकर महिलाओं को सुत करना सिखाया तथा खदूदर को अपनो के लिए प्रेरित किया।

1928 ई. के कलकता अधिवेशन में खदूदर और चरखा के प्रचार के लिए प्रस्ताव पास हुआ। बिहार में भी इसका जमकर प्रचार प्रसार हुआ। हजारीबाग में सरस्वती देवी ने इस कार्य को सफल पूर्वक संचालित किया।⁵

1930 ई. में मुजफ्फरपुर की एक महिलाएँ, दरभंगा की रामतुनक देवी, दानापुर की सुश्री रमाबाई, हजारीबाग की श्रीमती सरस्वती देवी, संथाल परगना की श्रीमती साधना देवी इन सभी महिलाएँ ने खादी आन्दोलन को सफल बनाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। हजारीबाग की श्रीमती सरस्वती देवी तो ब्रिटिश सरकार ने गिरफ्तार भी कर लिया महिलाओं ने अदम्य साहस के कारण 1933 ई. में स्वदेशी वस्तुओं के निर्माण और विक्री करने के लिए बिहार में बिहार स्वदेशी संघ की स्थापना हुई। इस संघ की सदस्य मुजफ्फरपुर की श्रीमती रामतुनक देवी और श्रीमती एम.एम. चौधरी बनी। इस आन्दोलन को और विकसित करने के लिए 1940 में पाना में महिला चरखा क्लास खुला। जल्द ही इसकी अनेक शाखा हजारीबाग और बेतिया में खुली। महिला चरखा क्लास की सफलता के कारण संस्था की संस्थापिका श्रीमती प्रभावती देवी को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। 1944 ई. के बाद खादी आन्दोलन को अहिंसक समाज की रचना के साधन के रूप में माना जाने लगा। इसीलिए दरभंगा के पुसा जिले में गांधी स्मारक विधि की स्थापना की गयी, जिसमें महिलाओं की जीवन कला सिलाई-बुनाई, पढ़ना-लिखना, आदि सिखाये जाने लगा।⁶ अनेक महिला कार्यकर्ताओं ने इसमें बहुत सहयोग प्रदान की। इस खादी आन्दोलन के कारण महिला का आत्मविश्वास आने लगा। महिलाएँ परदा त्यागकर खाली आन्दोलन में जुट कर आत्मनिर्भर होने लगी।

अस्पृश्यता निवारण :-

अस्पृश्यता सम्पूर्ण मानव जाति का एक भयंकर कलंक है। एक समाज दुसरे समाज के व्यक्ति को देय दृष्टि से देखता है, ऐसे समाज में समानता कभी नहीं हो सकती न ही ऐसा समाज विकास कर सकता है। गांधी जी ये बात अच्छी तरह से जानते थे तभी तो उन्होने कहा कि यह मानव

जाति का सबसे बड़ा अपमान है सभी सवर्णों को इसका प्रायश्चित्त धर्म समझकर प्रत्येक अछूत भाई-बहन को गले लगाएं। गाँधी जी के आह्वान पर बिहार ने भी अधूतों द्वारा आन्दोलन में हिस्सा लिया।⁷ और 1932 ई. में अस्पृश्यता विरोधी लीग की स्थापना की, जिसकी अन्य कई प्रांतों में शाखाएं खोली गयीं। जब गांधी जी बिहार दौरे पर आये तो बहुत सारी महिलाओं ने बिना संकोच के हरिजन फंड में अपने बहुमूल्य गहने दान कर दिये। 1934 ई. में जब बिहार में भूकम्प आया तब श्रीमती भगवती देवी, श्रीमती किसुननी देवी, श्रीमती प्रभावती देवी, गाँधी जी के साथ दौरा की। इस दौरे के दौरान वे हरिजन बस्तियाँ में गयीं। और उन्हें काफी मदद की। भागलपुर की श्रीमती शारदा देवी, हजारीबाग की सरस्वती देवी, सावित्री देवी, इन सबका अछूतों द्वारा कार्यक्रम को सफल बनाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी। सुन्दरी देवी ने पटना में हरिजन स्कूल खोला तो चन्द्रावती देवी ने घर-घर जाकर हरिजनों को अच्छी शिक्षा देने का प्रयास किया।

साम्प्रदायिक एकता :-

अंग्रेजों द्वारा हिन्दू-मुस्लिम में फुट डालने के कारण भारत में अनेक दंगे होना प्रारम्भ हो गया था। बिहार में भी 1934 ई. में हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगे हुए। हजारीबाग में रामनवमी के दिन हिंसक झड़प हुई। श्रीमती सरस्वती देवी आगे बढ़ी और हिंसा को रोकने का प्रयत्न की। महिला चरखा समिति की मंत्री श्रीमती सावित्री देवी तथा अन्य कार्यकर्ताओं के साथ गांधी जी को सहयोग प्रदान की और साम्प्रदायिक एकता बनाए रखने का प्रयास की। ये महिलाएं घर-घर जाकर लोगों को समझाती थी कि हिन्दू और मुस्लिम दोनों भाई-भाई हैं। वे आपस में एकता बनाए रखें। दंगा के समय हुए हिंसा से पीड़ित लोगों को दिन रात सेवा की।⁸ श्रीमती सुन्दरी देवी ने अनेक प्रांत दौरे किये। और शारणार्थियों के लिए काफी सामान जुटाकर मदद की। यह अभियान महिलाओं के लिए बहुत ही कठिन था। फिर भी हमारे बिहार की वीर महिलाएँ जैसे सरस्वती देवी, चन्द्रावती देवी, श्रीमती हमीदा, नईम आदि ने साहसपूर्वक इस कार्य में अपना योगदान दिया।

महा निषेध :-

बिहार की महिलाओं ने शराब बंद करने का मुहिम चलाया। शराब की दुकानों में धरना दिया। वे सभी शराब की दुकान का घेराव करते थे लोगों को शराब लेने से मना करते थे। इस अभियान में श्रीमती विध्यावासिनी देवी श्रीमती हसन इमाम, सुश्री सूफी तथा श्रीमती चन्द्रावती देवी, शारदा देवी जैसी अनेक महिलाओं ने भाग लिया। जिसमें वे गंभीर रूप से घायल हुईं। जेल गयीं, विभिन्न प्रकार के अत्याचार सहन की। फिर भी अपने कार्य पर अडिग रही।⁹

गृह उद्योग :-

गांधी जी ने महिलाओं को आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिए गृह उद्योग बनाने पर जोर दिया। उनका कहना था कि इसमें गरीब तथा असहाय महिला आत्मनिर्भर होगी। गांधी जी के इस कार्य में बिहार में स्थापित चरखा क्लास ने सहयोग प्रदान किया। अनेक शाखाएं खोली तथा महिलाओं

को स्वावलम्ब बनाने में सहयोग प्रदान किया। इन महिलाओं ने प्रियवंदा देवी, बेतिया की पार्वती देवी, हजारीबाग की भुवनेश्वरी देवी प्रमुख थी। ये महिला कार्यकर्ता धूम-धूमकर प्रचार-प्रसार करती थी तथा उन्हें आत्मनिर्भर बनने के सहयोग प्रदान करती थी।

दहेज प्रथा :-

दहेज प्रथा समाज के लिए एक अभिशाप है। यह एक कुप्रथा है। यह कुप्रथा अंग्रेजी शासन में जड़ जमा लिया थी, जिसमें मध्यम वर्ग ज्यादा पीड़ित थे, गांधी जी ने इसकी काफी निन्दा की थी, जिससे लोगो में जागृति आने ली थी। प्यारे लाल आन्दोलन, जातीय महासभा बिहार छात्र संघ अखिल भारतीय श्रद्धानन्द मेमोरियल ट्रस्ट ने इसका जोरदार विरोध किया था। 1929 ई. में बिहारी महिलाओं का एक सम्मेलन हुआ था। जिसमें लोगो से अनुरोध किया गया कि वे दहेजहीन विवाह करें।¹⁰ 1931 ई. में दुसरा सम्मेलन हुआ जिसमें श्रीमती दुर्गा प्रसाद, सुश्री दाम, श्रीमती जायसवाल, श्रीमती त्रिपाठी, तथा रामावतार शर्मा ने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका भिई और कड़े शब्दों से दहेज प्रथा की निन्दा की। इन सभी महिलाओं के प्रयास से बिहार में बिना तिलक का विवाह होना शुरू हुआ। जयप्रकाश नारायण श्री कन्हैया जी सहाय, पिता राजेन्द्र प्रसाद आदि अनेक लोगो ने बिना दहेज के शादी किया। 4 मई 1938 ई. विधान सभा में श्री सुखलाल सिंह के प्रयासों से गैर सरकारी दहेज प्रतिरोधक विधेयक पारित हुए। इस विधेयक को पास करवाने में महिलाओं का योगदान को कभी भूलाए नहीं जा सकता।

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*डॉ. अर्चना द्विवेदी

सारांश

भू-मण्डलीकृत 21 वीं शताब्दी के समाज की शैक्षिक व्यवस्था का मूलाधार स्वतन्त्रता, समानता एवम् न्याय का आदर्श जिन शिक्षाविदों के चिन्तन में खोजा जा सकता है, उनमें डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का शैक्षिक चिन्तन उल्लेखनीय है। किसी भी समाज को सशक्त बनाने के लिए शिक्षा एवं कानून यह दो महत्वपूर्ण साधन के रूप में सभी चिन्तकों द्वारा स्वीकार किये गये हैं। सौभाग्य से डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर शिक्षाविद के साथ-साथ कानूनविद भी थे। वे आधुनिक युग के उन विरले महापुरुषों में से एक थे, जिन्होंने सदियों पहले स्थापित समाज व्यवस्था एवम् वैचारिकी की ना तो अधीनता स्वीकार की और न ही समझौता किया। समाज की इस रूढ़िवादी परम्परागत शक्ति के विरुद्ध जीवन पर्यन्त संघर्ष किया। तत्कालीन सामाजिक विषमताओं, कुरूपियों, का डॉ. अम्बेडकर के शैक्षिक चिन्तन पर गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा।

संकेताक्षर - भूमण्डलीकृत, मूलाधार, रूढ़िवादी, तिरस्कार, दुर्लक्ष्य, दार्शनिक, सम्प्रेरणा, अनुत्पादक, मीमान्सा

महाराष्ट्र में पेशवाओं की शासन व्यवस्था में अछूतों (महारों) की स्थिति बहुत दयनीय थी। शायद आज की पीढ़ी यह विश्वास ना करे, कि उस समय अछूतों के गले में हाण्डी तथा पीठ के पीछे झाड़ू बांधकर चलना पड़ता था। जिससे अगर अछूत को थूँकना पड़े तो हाण्डी में थूँके सड़क पर नहीं थूँके और पीछे बंधा हुआ झाड़ू उसके पद चिन्हों को मिटाता जाये, ताकि सवर्ण लोग उन पर चलकर अपवित्र/छूत न हो जाये। सामाजिक विषमताओं के ऐसे वातावरण में डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने रामजी सकपाल एवं भीमाबाई की 14 वीं संतान के रूप में 14 अप्रैल 1891 को जन्म लिया। उनके पिता के नौ बच्चों की मृत्यु हो चुकी थी।¹ जीवित सन्तानों में तीन पुत्र बालाराम,

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आनन्दराव तथा भीमराव थे, तथा दो पुत्रियाँ मंजुला और तुलसी थी। उनका बचपन अनेक समस्याओं, सामाजिक विषमताओं और कठोर अनुभवों से गुजरा। 6 वर्ष की आयु में ही माँ का साया उठ जाने से उन्हें माँ की ममता और वात्सल्य प्रेम से वंचित होना पड़ा। डॉ. अम्बेडकर के पिता ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी की सेना से सेवानिवृत्त होने के पश्चात् मऊ से महाराष्ट्र के कोकण जिले के गाँव दापोली में आकर बस गये। दापोली में ही अम्बेडकर ने अपने बड़े भाई के साथ प्राईमरी स्कूल में प्रवेश ले लिया। स्कूली शिक्षा में जहाँ बालक अम्बेडकर को समानता, भ्रातृत्वभाव और उच्च आदर्शों की शिक्षा मिलनी चाहिए थी वहीं उन्हें अपनी स्कूली शिक्षा में छुआछूत, भेदभाव और ऊँच-नीच का वातावरण भोगना पड़ा। जिसका मार्मिक वर्णन बाबूराव वागुल ने अपनी पुस्तक “अम्बेडकर भारत” में किया है। स्कूल के सभी बच्चे डेस्को पर बैठकर पढ़ते थे लेकिन आनन्दराव और भीमराव को जमीन पर बैठकर पढ़ना पड़ता था। उन्हें जब प्यास लगती थी तो वे दूसरे लड़कों का मुँह ताकते थे, उन्हें पानी का नल छूने की इजाजत नहीं थी। अम्बेडकर ने अपने संस्मरणों में अपने स्कूली जीवन के कष्टों का लेखा-जोखा दिया है—“मेरे स्कूल में एक मराठा जाति की स्त्री नौकरी करती थी वह स्वयं अशिक्षित व छुआछूत को बहुत मानती थी। मुझे छूने से हमेशा बचती रहती थी। मुझे याद है कि एक दिन बहुत प्यास लगी थी, नल को छूने की मुझे अनुमति नहीं थी, मैंने मास्टर जी को कहा कि मुझे प्यास लगी, मुझे पीने का पानी चाहिए। उन्होंने चपरासी को नल खोलने के आदेश दिये, तब मुझे पानी मिला।” इसी प्रकार उनके जीवन की अनेक घटनाएँ छुआछूत से संबंधित थी। जिनका उन्हें सामना करना पड़ता था।¹ उनके इस प्रारम्भिक शैक्षिक जीवन से लेकर के ऐलिफिंस्टन हाई स्कूल बम्बई, कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालय अमेरिका, लन्दन स्कूल ऑफ इकोनॉमिक्स एण्ड पॉलिटिकल साइन्स के वातावरण का उनके सामाजिक-शैक्षिक चिन्तन पर गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा। अत्यन्त विषम परिस्थितियों में तिरस्कार और अपमान के बावजूद डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने अपनी शिक्षा को जारी रखा था क्योंकि उन्हें महात्मा ज्योतिबा फुले का शिक्षा की महत्ता के बारे में वह विचार याद था कि एक शिक्षा के दुर्लक्ष्य का क्या परिणाम हुआ—शिक्षा के बिना सोचने की योग्यता गई, सोचने की योग्यता के अभाव में कोई नीति नहीं बन सकी नीति के अभाव में आगे नहीं बढ़ पाये, इसके कारण हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था गड़बड़ा गई और धन की कमी के कारण शूद्र समाज की दुर्दशा हुई। इतना भारी नुकसान केवल शिक्षा नहीं मिलने के कारण हुआ। बाबासाहब ने अमरीका और ब्रिटेन के विश्वविद्यालयों से जो उच्चशिक्षा प्राप्त की, उसका तथा वहाँ की लोकतान्त्रिक परम्पराओं और व्यवस्थाओं ने उनके शैक्षिक चिन्तन को मानवतावादी आधार प्रदान करने में सहायता की। तत्कालीन समय में तथाकथित अछूतवर्ग के लिये अकल्पनीय और स्वघोषित उच्चवर्ग के लिए स्पृहणीय, ऐसी उच्चशिक्षा से बाबासाहब ने स्वयं को विभूषित किया था। शिक्षा समाज के उद्धार का प्रमुख आधार है यह विचार उन्हें विद्यार्थी जीवन में ही समझ में आ गया था। एम.ए., एम. एससी, पीएच.डी, डी.एलसी, बार-एट-लॉ जैसी उच्चशिक्षा बाबासाहब ने क्यों प्राप्त की? इसका उल्लेख उन्होंने मार्च 1924 की बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभा के कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक में करते हुए अपना जीवन लक्ष्य प्रकट किया था। “दलितवर्ग के चहुँमुखी विकास को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए मैं पूर्ण निष्ठा के साथ अत्यन्त कठोर परिश्रम करूँगा। इसी कार्य के लिए मैंने इतना ज्ञान अर्जित

किया है। मैं निश्चित रूप में अपनी प्रज्ञा-शक्ति का उपयोग अपने परिवार या अपनी जाति तक सीमित करने वाला नहीं हूँ। मैं इसे सम्पूर्ण दलितवर्ग के लाभ के लिए, उनके सामाजिक आन्दोलन की स्थापना एवं संघर्ष के लिए अर्पित कर दूँगा।” बाबासाहब ने शिक्षा के महत्व पर समय-समय पर अपने विचार व्यक्त किये थे। वे कहते थे कि शिक्षा मनुष्य को शक्ति का मुकुट पहनाती है। ब्रिटिश दार्शनिक बेकन के यह शब्द वे बार-बार उद्धृत करते थे उनका विचार था कि “शिक्षा शेरनी का दूध है, जो भी पीयेगा वह अपने अधिकारों के लिए गुर्राएगा उन्होंने शिक्षा को सामाजिक अन्याय और आर्थिक शोषण से मुक्ति का हथियार बताया। प्रायः वे कहते थे कि—शिक्षा के बिना आपकी गुलामी और दरिद्रता दूर नहीं हो सकती। अभिभावकों को वे निर्देशित करते हैं कि अपने बालकों को शिक्षा प्रदान कर आप उनका भाग्य बदल सकते हैं। उन माता-पिता और पशुओं में कोई अन्तर नहीं जो अपनी संतान को अपने से अच्छी स्थिति में देखने की इच्छा नहीं रखते वे पुनः कहते हैं—यह विचार त्याग दें कि अभिभावक शिशु को जन्म देते हैं, भवितव्य नहीं। शिक्षा के उद्देश्य को लोक कल्याण के रूप में परिभाषित करते हुए डॉ. अम्बेडकर का कहना था कि लोगों में नैतिकता और सामाजिकता की भावना विकसित करना शिक्षा का प्रमुख उद्देश्य है। सिद्धार्थ कॉलेज के विद्यार्थियों को एक बार सम्बोधित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था “एक जीवन जिसमें प्रवाह नहीं, एक जीवन जिसमें उत्साह नहीं, जिसमें विद्यार्जन नहीं अथवा जिसमें प्रयत्न और परिश्रम नहीं वह निरर्थक है।

मनुष्य को उत्कर्ष का अभिलाषी होना चाहिए। अभिलाषा एक प्रोत्साहन है, सम्प्रेरण है जो आदमी को आगे बढ़ाने और पुरुषार्थ करने की ओर ले जाता है।” बाबासाहब ने अपने शैक्षिक चिन्तन में समतावादी समाज केन्द्रित शिक्षा और मूल्यपरक शिक्षा पर बल दिया है। जिसके माध्यम से वे अपने सामाजिक चिन्तन के लक्ष्य स्वतन्त्रता समानता और भ्रातृत्व को प्राप्त करना चाहते थे। यदि किसी व्यक्ति की शिक्षा विपन्न के कल्याण के प्रति अहितकर है तो वह व्यक्ति समाज के लिए अभिशाप है। उनका यह कथन शिक्षा के समाजोन्मुख होने का संकेत करता है। शिक्षा व्यक्तिगत जीवन की पूर्ति का साधन नहीं है, इसका विनियोग समाज के कल्याण में होना चाहिए। वे एक बार कहते हैं—अपने गरीब एवं अशिक्षित भाईयों की सेवा करना प्रत्येक शिक्षित का प्रथम कर्तव्य है। बड़े अधिकार के पद पाते ही यह शिक्षित भाई अपने अशिक्षित भाईयों को भूल जाते हैं। यदि इन बहुजन अशिक्षित भाईयों की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया तो समाज का पतन निश्चित है।

शिक्षा के अर्थशास्त्र एवं वित्तीय प्रबन्धन पर विचार व्यक्त करते हुए बाबासाहब कहते हैं कि किसी भी राष्ट्र में शिक्षा पर व्यय प्रथमतः अनुत्पादक व्यय मानकर कटौती की जाती है तो उस राष्ट्र का पतन होता है। बम्बई प्रान्तीय विधान परिषद में 18 मार्च 1927 को स्कूली शिक्षा के बारे में बोलते हुए उन्होंने व्यंग्यपूर्ण शैली में कहा था—शराब पर प्रति व्यक्ति राजस्व कर के बराबर तो शिक्षा पर प्रति व्यक्ति खर्च करेंगे? अभी भी शिक्षा पर व्यय बहुत कम किया जाता है। जबकि बाबासाहब ने अपने राजनैतिक दल के घोषणा पत्र में अनिवार्य एवं निःशुल्क शिक्षा को शामिल किया हुआ था।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का विचार था कि सरकार द्वारा शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिए पर्याप्त सुविधाएँ और साधन उपलब्ध कराने चाहिए। दलितवर्गों को शिक्षा की समुचित अवसर प्रदान करने के लिए उन्होंने सम्पूर्ण शिक्षा व्यवस्था में इन वर्गों के छात्रों के लिए स्थानों का एक निश्चित प्रतिशत आरक्षित करने की मांग की। अपने जीवन लक्ष्य के अनुरूप दलित उत्थान आन्दोलन खड़ा करने के लिए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने इसकी सिद्धि के लिए एक मन्त्र का उद्घोष किया—**शिक्षित बनो, संगठित रहो, संघर्ष करो**। बाबासाहब के समय में सर्वाधिक अशिक्षित वर्ग दलित समाज था। किन्तु क्या सदैव से ऐसा ही था। ब्रिटिश भारत आये और परम्परागत शिक्षा व्यवस्था नष्ट हुई। गाँधी जी ने 20 अक्टूबर 1931 को लन्दन की रॉयल इन्स्टीट्यूट ऑफ इंटरनेशनल अफेयर्स के तत्वाधान में चेथम हाऊस में आयोजित व्याख्यान में कहा था—विगत 50-100 वर्षों में भारत में साक्षरता का अत्यन्त हास हुआ है और इसके लिए अंग्रेज ही जिम्मेदार हैं।.....अंग्रेज जब भारत में आए तब उन्होंने यहाँ की स्थिति को यथावत स्वीकार करने के स्थान पर उसका उन्मूलन करना शुरू किया। उन्होंने मिट्टी कुरेदी, जड़ों को कुरेद कर बाहर निकाला, और फिर उन्हें खुला ही छोड़ दिया। परिणाम यह हुआ कि शिक्षा का वह रमणीय वृक्ष नष्ट हो गया।” यह रमणीय वृक्ष नष्ट कैसे हुआ? डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने इसकी कारण मीमान्सा करते हुए बम्बई प्रेसीडेन्सी के बोर्ड ऑफ एजुकेशन के 1850-51 ई. के प्रतिवेदन तथा कोर्ट ऑफ डायरेक्टर्स डिस्पेच का उल्लेख किया। इसके अनुसार ब्रिटिश सरकार ने जानबूझकर यह निर्णय लिया कि शिक्षा को उच्चवर्ग तक ही सीमित रखा जाए। “यदि शिक्षा और सभ्यता केवल छोटी जातियों को उपलब्ध कराई जाये, तो इससे केवल विक्षोभ पैदा होगा, जिसके पहले शिकार विदेशी होंगे।” (कोर्ट ऑफ डायरेक्टर्स डिस्पेच, पैरा-14) डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने अपने शैक्षिक चिन्तन को साकार करने के लिए बम्बई में अन्त्यज संघ की स्थापना की। इसका मूल उद्देश्य अछूतों की सेवा करना था। यह संघ चन्दा इकट्ठा करके अछूत बच्चों की शिक्षा में खर्च करता था। लोगों में शिक्षा के प्रति आकर्षण पैदा करना, शिक्षार्थियों को छात्रावास की सुविधा प्रदान करना, दलितों की बस्तियों में वाचनालय खोलना आदि इस संघ के प्रमुख कार्य थे। इसी प्रकार 20 जुलाई 1924 को जिस बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभा की स्थापना की थी, उस संस्था के घोषित उद्देश्यों में छात्रावास खोलकर दलितवर्ग में शिक्षा का प्रचार एवं प्रसार करना, सामुदायिक केन्द्र, अध्ययन मण्डल, क्रीडा केन्द्र, विद्या केन्द्र, औद्योगिक तथा कृषि प्रशिक्षण विद्यालय स्थापित कर दलितों की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार करना, पुस्तकालय एवं वाचनालय खोलकर सभ्यता का प्रसार प्रमुख थे। कालान्तर में अगस्त 1928 में जब इस संस्था का नाम दलित जाति शिक्षा समिति किया गया तो इसने शिक्षा के प्रसार के लिए अनेक कार्य किये। पिपुल्स एजुकेशन सोसायटी के माध्यम से 1950 को औरंगाबाद में मिलिन्द महाविद्यालय तथा 20 जून 1946 को बम्बई में सिद्धार्थ महाविद्यालय जैसी संस्थाओं की स्थापना की जो आज भी शिक्षा जगत में अपनी पहचान बनाकर सकुशल संचालित हो रही है।

डॉ. अम्बेडकर का शैक्षिक चिन्तन अफ्रीका, एशिया महाद्वीप के भारत जैसे विकासशील देशों के साथ-साथ दुनिया के समस्त पिछड़ी जाति समाजों के लिए विकास का पथ प्रशस्त करता है। उन्होंने देश के शिक्षा तन्त्र हेतु जो सुझाव दिये वो अनुकरणीय हैं। भारतीय संविधान के

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निर्माण के समय डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने नीति निर्देशक तत्वों में यह शामिल किया कि सरकार 14 वर्ष तक के बालक-बालिकाओं के लिए अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क शिक्षण की व्यवस्था करे, आज शिक्षा का अधिकार (आर.टी.ई) इसी का सुफल है। प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा की सतर्कता और निगरानी के बारे में बाबासाहब को सदैव चिन्ता रहती थी। बोम्बे लेजिस्लेटिव काउंसिल में शिक्षा के लिए अनुदान विधेयक पर बहस करते हुए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने कहा “वर्तमान प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा का दायित्व उनको दिया गया है जिनके पास शिक्षा के महत्व को समझने का ज्ञान नहीं दलितवर्गों की शिक्षा में उपेक्षा ना हो, सरकार किसी निरीक्षण एजेंसी को सीधे अपने नियन्त्रण में नियुक्त करे, इसी प्रकार माध्यमिक शिक्षा के गठन एवं संचालन पर भी बाबासाहब ने विचार व्यक्त किये थे। उच्चशिक्षा के संबंध में उनका मानना था कि यह व्यक्ति को उन्नत, उत्कृष्ट और स्वाभिमानी जीवन जीने हेतु प्रेरित करती है। विश्वविद्यालय का मुख्य कार्य अध्ययन और शोध है। महाविद्यालय और विश्वविद्यालय के शिक्षकों के बीच सौहार्दपूर्ण सम्बन्ध हो तथा महाविद्यालयों का आर्थिक नियन्त्रण विश्वविद्यालयों के पास हो। उनका मानना था कि विश्वविद्यालय का कार्य केवल परीक्षाएँ आयोजित करना और डिग्रियाँ बांटना नहीं है अपितु विश्वविद्यालय को शिक्षा का सामाजीकरण भी करना है। उन्होंने सफल शिक्षकों के तीन गुण बताये—1. आकर्षक व्यक्तित्व तथा वेशभूषा और व्यवहार में सौम्यता हो। 2. अपने विषय पर अधिकार हो। 3. विषय को आकर्षक एवं सरल ढंग से प्रस्तुत करने की कला हो। बम्बई के गर्वनमेंट लॉ कॉलेज के प्राचार्य के रूप में कार्य करते हुए प्राप्त अनुभव के आधार पर उन्होंने संस्था प्रधान के दो अनिवार्य गुण बताये—1. प्रशासनिक क्षमता व सूझबूझ 2. गम्भीर विद्वता।

स्त्री शिक्षा के प्रति अम्बेडकर का दृष्टिकोण बहुत स्पष्ट था इतना ही नहीं वे शिक्षा को महिला सशक्तिकरण का सबल साधन मानते थे। स्मृतियों और अन्य शास्त्रों की इस आधार पर भी कटु आलोचना करते थे कि उन्होंने समाज में स्त्रियों की स्वतन्त्र भूमिका पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाये हैं। मनुस्मृति के इस दृष्टिकोण को कि बाल्यकाल में स्त्रियों की रक्षा पिता करे, यौवन में पति व वृद्धावस्था में पुत्र करे तथा स्त्रियों को स्वतन्त्रता प्रदान नहीं की जानी चाहिए। अम्बेडकर ने स्त्रियों के प्रति मन स्मृति के इस विचार को अन्याय का प्रमुख स्रोत माना। उनका विचार था कि महिलाओं को शिक्षा व अन्य सामाजिक-राजनैतिक क्षेत्रों में पुरुषों के समान ही अवसर प्राप्त होने चाहिए वे हिन्दू परिवार प्रणाली में स्त्रियों को पुरुषों के अधीनस्थ और उन पर निर्भर समझे जाने की प्रवृत्ति के विरोधी थे। हिन्दू समाज में सम्पत्ति के उत्तराधिकार, निःसन्तान होने पर किसी पुत्र या पुत्री को गोद लेने, पुनर्विवाह आदि प्रसंगों में महिलाओं के साथ भेदभाव किया जाता था। अम्बेडकर ने स्त्रियों के प्रति इस भेदभाव का अन्त किया जाना आवश्यक समझा। पारिवारिक और सामाजिक जीवन में महिलाओं की स्थिति में सुधार के लिए डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने 5 फरवरी सन् 1951 को संसद में हिन्दू कोड बिल प्रस्तुत किया। इसमें महिलाओं को पुरुषों के बराबर पैतृक सम्पत्ति में अधिकार दिये जाने की बात की थी। तत्कालीन सांसदों ने इसका खुलकर विरोध किया और यह बिल उस समय पास न हो सका। अतः डॉ. अम्बेडकर ने 27 सितम्बर 1951 को केन्द्रीय कानून मंत्री पद से इस्तीफा दे दिया।¹ कोलम्बिया से अपने परिजन को लिखे पत्र में उन्होंने

शेक्सपीयर की पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत करने के पश्चात् लिखा था—“हमारी प्रगति पुरुष शिक्षा के साथ-साथ स्त्री शिक्षा को गति देने से अत्यन्त त्वरित होगी। इसलिए आपका लक्ष्य अपने निकट सम्पर्क वाले लोगों में शिक्षा के विचार को प्रबोधित करना है”। अनिवार्य एवं निःशुल्क शिक्षा, स्त्री शिक्षा, शिक्षा के लिए स्वतन्त्र नियामक तन्त्र की स्थापना उनके शैक्षिक चिन्तन का मूलाधार प्रतीत होते हैं।

समासतः डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर का शैक्षिक चिन्तन दुनिया के भारत जैसे विकासशील देशों के लिए आज भी प्रासंगिक है। उनकी शिक्षा सम्बन्धी सोच का फलक अत्यन्त व्यापक है। जिसमें मानवतावादी समाज के सम्पूर्ण कल्याण एवं सामाजिक न्याय के अनेक सूत्र छिपे हुए हैं। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उनके शैक्षिक चिन्तन को लागू करते हुए समाज के अन्तिम अन्त्यज व्यक्ति तक शिक्षा की अलख को जगाया जाये।

सन्दर्भ एवं पाद टिप्पणी :

1. (अ) हरदान हर्ष : डॉ. भीमराव अम्बेडकर, जीवन और दर्शन, पंचशील प्रकाशन जयपुर, द्वितीय संस्करण, 2015 पृ. 02
 - (ब) डॉ. मधुकर श्याम चतुर्वेदी एवं : प्रमुख भारतीय राजनीतिक विचारक, कॉलेज बुक हाऊस, चौड़ा डॉ. इनाक्षी चतुर्वेदी रास्ता जयपुर, 18 वां संस्करण, 2017 पृ. 409
 - (स) डॉ. पुरुषोत्तम नागर : आधुनिक भारतीय सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक चिन्तन, राजस्थान हिन्दी ग्रंथ अकादमी जयपुर, पंचम संस्करण, 1994, पृ. 675
 - (द) डॉ. अमरेश्वर अवस्थी एवं : आधुनिक भारतीय सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक चिन्तन, रिसर्च डॉ. राम कुमार अवस्थी पब्लिकेशन्स जयपुर, 2000 पृ. 589
 2. (अ) धनंजय कीर, डॉ. अम्बेडकर : लाईफ एण्ड मिशन, पोपुलर प्रकाशन बम्बई, 1990, पृ. 250
 - (ब) डी.आर. जाटव : डॉ. अम्बेडकर व्यक्तित्व एवं कृतित्व, समता साहित्य सदन जयपुर, 1993, पृ. 05
 3. (अ) डॉ. पुरुषोत्तम नागर : आधुनिक भारतीय सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक चिन्तन, राजस्थान हिन्दी ग्रंथ अकादमी जयपुर, पंचम संस्करण, 1994, पृ. 677
 - (ब) बाबासाहेब डॉ. अम्बेडकर- सम्पूर्ण बांडमय खण्ड-1, भारत सरकार नई दिल्ली, 1993, पृ. 71
- अ डॉ. अम्बेडकर के चिन्तन को समझने के लिए उनकी कास्ट्स इन इण्डिया (1917), स्मॉल होल्डिंग्स इन इण्डिया एण्ड देअर रेमेडीज (1918), द प्रॉब्लम ऑफ द रूपी (1923), द इवॉल्यूशन ऑफ प्राविंसियल फाइनेन्स इन ब्रिटिश इण्डिया (1925), एनिहिलेशन ऑफ कास्ट (1937), फेडरेशन वर्सेज फ्रीडम (1939), मि. गांधी एण्ड द इमैन्सीपेशन ऑफ द अण्टचेबिल्स (1943), रानाडे, गांधी एण्ड जिन्ना (1943), थॉट्स ऑन पाकिस्तान (1940), व्हॉट कांग्रेस एण्ड गांधी हैव इन टू द अण्टचेबिल्स (1945), हू वर द शूद्राज? (1946), स्टेट्स (1955), और द बुद्ध एण्ड हिज धम्म (1957)। को समझना जरूरी है। इनके अतिरिक्त महाराष्ट्र सरकार ने अंग्रेजी में एक से बारह भागों तक ‘डॉ. बाबासाहेब : रायटिंग्स एण्ड स्पीचेज’ ग्रन्थमाला (1979-1993) प्रकाशित की है। उनमें डॉ. अम्बेडकर के दुर्लभ भाषण, लेख, अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थ, पत्र-व्यवहार आदि सम्मिलित हैं, जो उनके मानववादी चिन्तन सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, नैतिक, आर्थिक और धार्मिक विचारों को अभिव्यक्त करते हैं।

35.

औपनिवेशिक काल में भारतीय इतिहास लेखन का राष्ट्रवादी आयाम और चुनौतियाँ

*डॉ. हंसा व्यास

सारांश:-

लाल बहादुर वर्मा के इस कथन से मैं सहमत हूँ कि “न केवल इतिहास जनता को केन्द्र बनाकर लिखा जाये बल्कि जनता के लिये भी लिखा जाये।”

हम जानते हैं इतिहास की व्याख्या समसामयिक समाज तथा इतिहासकार की वैचारिक अवधारणाओं से संबंधित होती है। शायद यही वजह होती है कि इतिहास जड़वत होने के बजाय सदैव बहते पानी की तरह परिवर्तनशील रहता है। इस परिवर्तनशीलता का दृष्टिकोण अलग-अलग रहता है। एक तरफ समय के साथ-साथ नई घटनायें घटती रहती हैं और इतिहास का हिस्सा बनती है तो दूसरी ओर पुरानी घटनाओं की भी नई-नई व्याख्याएँ नये इतिहासकारों द्वारा नवीन स्रोतों के आधार पर नई रुचियों एवं बदलते हुए अनुभव के आधार पर की जा सकती है।

औपनिवेशिक काल में आधुनिक भारतीय इतिहास लेखन का प्रारंभ आम तौर पर 18वीं शताब्दी से माना जाता है। समय के इस कालखण्ड में भारत आने वाले यात्रियों, व्यापारियों एवं सैनिकों के साथ-साथ भारतीय मनीषियों ने भी भारत के विषय में बहुत कुछ लिखा। 18-19वीं शताब्दी में यदि हम भारतीय क्षितिज में फैली विचारधारा को देखें तो निम्न प्रवृत्तियाँ दिखाई देती हैं।

1. साम्राज्यवादी
2. फूट डालो राज करो की नीति।
3. सवैधानिक परिवर्तन

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4. सत्ता हस्तांतरण
5. रजवाड़ों से संबंध
6. आर्थिक शोषण
7. पुर्नजागरण आन्दोलन
8. जनांदोलन
9. क्रान्तिकारी गतिविधियां
10. राष्ट्रवादी विचारधारा
11. वामपंथ
12. साम्प्रदायिकता
13. अलगाववादी
14. मार्क्सवादी, आदि

उपरोक्त प्रवृत्तियों में से हम यहां राष्ट्रवादी प्रवृत्ति और इतिहास लेखन की बात करेंगे। हम यह भी विचार करेंगे कि समय के इस कालखण्ड में राष्ट्रवादी विचारधारा के सामने कितनी चुनौतियां थी। हम इन तथ्यों का विश्लेषण करें उससे पहले हमें एक राष्ट्र की अवधारणा को देखना होगा। हम जानते हैं देश एक भौगोलिक व राजनैतिक इकाई होता है और जब इसी इकाई में देशभक्ति की भावना आध्यात्मिक धरातल पर नैतिकता व सदभावना के साथ विकसित होती है तो देश राष्ट्र बनने की राह पर चलने लगता है। भारत के एक राष्ट्र होने के आधार वेदों से ही दिखाई देते हैं। अथर्ववेद में राष्ट्रवाद की सुन्दर अवधारणा दिखाई देती है।

“अहं राष्ट्रे स्यामि वर्गे निजी भूयांसमुत्तम” अथर्ववेद का भूमि सूक्त वेदों का राष्ट्रगीत है। देश यदि शरीर है तो राष्ट्र उसकी आत्मा। यही वजह रही कि एक लम्बे समय तक अंग्रेजों के राज के बावजूद भारत टूटा नहीं, बिखरा नहीं, हाँ लेखन के सामने चुनौतियां अवश्य रही।

मुख्य रूप से तीन चुनौतियाँ रही।

साम्राज्यवादीता

वर्गभेद

संप्रदायवाद

लेकिन इन तीनों चुनौतियों के बावजूद राष्ट्रवादी लेखन औपनिवेशिक कालखण्ड में अपनी उपस्थिति दर्ज कराता रहा।

पहले हम साम्राज्य वादी चुनौती को देखे कि किस तरह अंग्रेजों ने उपनिवेशवाद की सीढ़ी पर चढ़कर भारत को साम्राज्यवाद का शिकार बना दिया। भारत के औपनिवेशिक काल की शुरुआत भारत में यूरोपीय शक्तियों के आगमन तथा औपनिवेशिक विस्तार के साथ मानी जा सकती है। इस औपनिवेशिक स्थिति का समय के इस कालखण्ड के इतिहास-लेखन पर भी गहरा असर पड़ा। ब्रिटिश प्रशासन की प्रेरणा से अंग्रेज प्रशासकों और विजेताओं को केन्द्र बिन्दु बनाकर इस काल का इतिहास लिखा गया। प्लासी की लड़ाई को भारतीय इतिहास में एक महत्वपूर्ण विभाजक रेखा के रूप में देखा जा सकता है। इस लड़ाई के साथ ही ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी का युग

शुरू हो गया। साम्राज्यवादी लेखकों की मूल अवधारणाओं की इस प्रकार व्याख्या की जा सकती है - (1) भारत आधुनिक परिभाषा वाला राष्ट्र होने के बजाय मात्र अलग-थलग जातियों, धर्मों और कबीलों का देश है, (2) ऐसी हालत में वह स्वयं अपना शासन संभालने के काबिल नहीं था, (3) देवयोग से अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान में आए और उन्होंने अपनी जातीय श्रेष्ठता के आधार पर यह देश जीता और यहां आधुनिक प्रशासन-व्यवस्था स्थापित की। एडवर्ड टॉमसन जैसे इतिहासकारों ने यह माना कि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद निहित स्वार्थों के लिए बनाया गया परंतु साथ ही इस बात पर भी जोर दिया कि इससे भारत का चतुर्मुखी विकास भी हुआ है, (4) दोनों ही प्रकार के इतिहासकार यह मान कर चले कि भारत में शांति बनाए रखने संप्रदायों के बीच इन्साफ करने तथा भारतीय किसानों के अभिभावक के बतौर काम करने के लिए अंग्रेजों का शासन जरूरी है। एल्फ्रेड लॉयल जैसे लेखकों ने यह भी प्रमाणित करने का प्रयास किया कि अंग्रेजी शासन धीरे-धीरे हिंदुस्तानियों को अपना खुद का राज्य चलाने के लिए तैयार कर रहा है। टॉमसन और गैरेट ने अपनी किताब दि राइज ऐंड फुलफिलमेंट ऑफ ब्रिटिश रूल इन इंडिया में इसी प्रक्रिया को अंग्रेजी व्यवस्था में फुलफिलमेंट या परितोष का नाम दिया तथा अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से स्वाधीनता के उद्देश्यों को स्वीकृति प्रदान की।

दूसरी ओर अंग्रेज सरकार का प्रशासनिक दृष्टिकोण काफी समय तक यही बना रहा कि हिंदुस्तान का तथाकथित राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन वास्तव “माइक्रोस्कोपिक माइनोरिटी” या पढ़े-लिखे अल्पसंख्यकों का स्वार्थी एवं गैर जिम्मेदाराना जमघट है जिसने अंग्रेजों द्वारा दी गई रियायतों का अनैतिक लाभ उठाने एवं जनता को ब्रिटेन के सुप्रशासन के विरुद्ध भड़काने का बार-बार प्रयास किया है। इतिहास की पाश्चात्य दृष्टि ने इन साम्राज्यवादी पूर्वग्रहों का स्वयं पर्दाफाश कर दिया है।

भारतीय इतिहासकार—

आधुनिक शैली का इतिहास लेखन धीरे-धीरे ही उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी में हिंदुस्तान में पनपा जिसमें धार्मिक तथा सामंतवादी पद्यशैली के स्थान पर तथ्यों को सप्रमाण एवं क्रमबद्ध तरीके से प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया गया। इस तरह के प्रारंभिक प्रयोगों में कुछ अंग्रेज प्रशासकों एवं विद्वानों जैसे वारेन हेस्टिंग्स, एल्फिन्स्टन, सर विलियम जोन्स इत्यादि का योगदान एवं प्रोत्साहन महत्वपूर्ण था। शायद इसीलिए भारतीयों द्वारा लिखे गए आधुनिक शैली के पहले इतिहास-ग्रंथ कलकत्ता और बंबई जैसे शहरों से ही प्रकाशित हुए। इनमें राम बसु का राजा प्रतापादित्य चरित् (1801) शेर अली अफसोस का ऐराइश-ए-महफिल (1805) तथा मृत्युंजय विद्यालंकार का राजधानी (1808) एवं गोविंद नारायण मडगांवकर की पुस्तक मुंबईच वर्णन उल्लेखनीय है। इसके अलावा पाश्चात्य शिक्षा के हिंदुस्तान में आने के साथ अंग्रेजी की इतिहास पुस्तकों का भी भारतीय भाषाओं में अनुवाद तेजी से हुआ। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में महाराष्ट्र, बंगाल, मद्रास तथा उत्तर भारत में कई धर्म और समाज-सुधारक हुए जिन्होंने प्राचीन एवं समसामयिक इतिहास के विषयों को भी अपनी चर्चाओं में उठाया। इस तरह अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से राममोहन राय,

विद्यासागर, विवियन डेरोजियो, सैयद अहमद खां तथा गोपाल हरी देशमुख - जैसे विद्वानों एवं सुधारकों ने आधुनिक शिक्षा तथा पत्रकारिता के विकास में योगदान किया। इससे आगे चलकर गद्य-लेखन विशेषकर इतिहास-लेखन का मार्ग भी प्रशस्त हुआ।

उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य तक आते-आते आधुनिक भारतीय इतिहास न केवल अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होने लगा था बल्कि उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध आवाज भी उठाने लगा था। अठारह सौ सत्तावन के विद्रोह के बाद भारत के बुद्धिजीवियों में साम्राज्यवाद विरोधी भावना और तीव्र हुई तथा महाराष्ट्र में के.बी. फड़के, बंगाल में केदारनाथ दत्त एवं रजनीकांत गुप्त तथा उत्तर भारत में सर सैयद अहमद खां ने हिंदुस्तान के प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम को केन्द्र बिंदु बना कर अलग-अलग ग्रंथ लिखे। इसी के साथ साम्राज्यवादी इतिहास लेखन की अवधारणाओं और उद्देश्यों की व्यवस्थित आलोचना तथा खंडन करने का बीड़ा भी कई भारतीय इतिहासकारों ने उठाया। अठारह सौ सड़सठ में नीलकंठ कीर्तने ने पूना यंगमैन्स एसोसिएशन में ग्रांट उफ की पुस्तक मराठों का इतिहास की तीक्ष्ण समीक्षा की। इसी प्रकार विष्णु शास्त्री चिपलुंकर ने निबंधमाला में अपने लेखों द्वारा जेम्स मिल तथा टॉमस मेकॉले के दुराग्रहों का पर्दाफाश किया परंतु विदेशी हुकूमत के खिलाफ अपने देश का स्वतंत्र इतिहास-लेखन स्वयं विकसित करने की मांग पर सबसे ज्यादा बल दिया बंकिम चन्द्र चट्टोपाध्याय ने। उन्होंने स्वयं तो साहित्य की सेवा की ही पर साथ-साथ कई इतिहासकारों को अपनी पत्रिका “ऐतिहासिक चित्र” के माध्यम से लिखने के लिए प्रेरित भी किया।

वास्तव में उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम दो दशक भारत के इतिहास-लेखन के लिए अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण थे। जिस तरह अठ्ठाहवीं शताब्दी के अंत में एशियाटिक सोसायटी की खोजों ने इतिहासकार मैक्स म्यूलर तथा थियोसौफिकल सोसायटी के प्रचार ने भारत के ऐतिहासिक गौरव को पुनर्खांकित कर जनमानस में एक नया उत्साह पैदा किया। इसका असर आधुनिक भारत के इतिहास-लेखन पर भी पड़ा। कई नई ऐतिहासिक पत्रिकाओं का प्रकाशन आरंभ हुआ तथा विशिष्ट ऐतिहासिक शोध के लिए अलग से संस्थाएँ खोली गईं। इनमें बंकिम चंद्र द्वारा संपादित ऐतिहासिक चित्र (1899) तथा के.एन. सेन द्वारा निकाली गई श्रृंखला काव्येतिहासिक संग्रह (1878) एवं राजशाही की ‘वरेन्द्र शोध संस्था’ (1910) और पूना का भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडल (1910) विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय हैं। इन सबसे भारतीय इतिहास लेखन की गुणवत्ता एवं प्रामाणिकता के विकास में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान मिला। महाराष्ट्र के आर.डी. भंडारकर तथा बंगाल के कृष्ण प्रसन्न सेन ने भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास को तथा अलीगढ़ के शिवली नूमानी एवं दिल्ली के जकाउल्लाह खां ने मध्यकालीन इतिहास को मूल स्रोतों के आधार पर लिखने की परंपरा आगे बढ़ाई। परंतु मूल स्रोतों पर आधारित प्रामाणिक इतिहास लिखने का सर्वाधिक प्रयास इन दिनों आधुनिक भारत के इतिहासकारों ने किया। महाराष्ट्र में वी.के. राजवाड़े तथा डी.बी. परसनीस ने मराठों का इतिहास लिखा जबकि बंगाल में अक्षय कुमार मित्र की किताब सिराजुद्दौला इस चलन का प्रतीक थी। हिंदी भाषा में भी आधुनिक इतिहास-लेखन को उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम दशकों में बढ़ावा मिला। भारतेंदु हरिश्चन्द्र को आधुनिक हिंदी साहित्य का जनक माना जाता है।

उन्होंने अपने नाटकों जैसे भारत दुर्दशा (1880) तथा भारत जननी (1881) में परोक्ष रूप से अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य के अंदरूनी हालातों पर प्रकाश डाला। इसके अतिरिक्त उनकी हरिशचन्द्र नामक पत्रिका में ऐतिहासिक लेख लगातार प्रकाशित होते रहे। अठारह सौ तिरानवे में 'काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा' की स्थापना के साथ ही हिंदी में ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथों के प्रकाशन को नया बढ़ावा मिला। लेकिन सांप्रदायिक दृष्टिकोण भी इतिहास-लेखन में इस समय अधिक झलकने लगा।

उधर अंग्रेजी में भी उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के अंत में भारतीय इतिहासकारों ने महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ लिखे। महाराष्ट्र में महादेव गोविंद रानाडे ने मराठों के उत्थान का विश्लेषण किया। पंजाब के जज मुहम्मद लतीफ ने अठारह सौ इक्कासी में हिस्ट्री ऑफ दि पंजाब के नाम से अपनी पुस्तक प्रकाशित कराई, जबकि बंगाल में बिपिन चन्द्र पाल तथा सुरेन्द्र नाथ बनर्जी ने समसामयिक राजनीति पर लिखा।² इसी दौरान भारत के इतिहास-लेखन में एक अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण प्रयोग हुआ जो आने वाले वर्षों में न केवल ऐतिहासिक, बल्कि राजनीतिक दृष्टिकोण से भी काफी महत्वपूर्ण रहा। यह प्रयोग था आधुनिक भारत के आर्थिक शोषण के इतिहास का। दादाभाई नौरोजी की पुस्तक पावर्टी एंड अनब्रिटिश रूल इन इंडिया (1901) तथा आर.सी. दत्त की इकोनामिक हिस्ट्री ऑफ इंडिया (दो खंड 1901, 1903) इसी महत्वपूर्ण श्रृंखला की प्रथम कड़ियां थी जिन्होंने भारत के साम्राज्यवादी शोषण के आर्थिक पहलू का ब्योरा पेश किया तथा विशेषकर भारत से राष्ट्रीय पूंजी के लगातार पलायन को प्रमाणित कर भारतीय राष्ट्रीय संघर्ष का एक बहुत महत्वपूर्ण आधार भी प्रस्तुत किया। इस शोध में अंग्रेज इतिहासकार विलियम डिंग्बी की पुस्तक प्रॉस्पेरस ब्रिटिश एंड इंडिया (1901) जातीयता एवं राष्ट्रीयता से ऊपर उठने वाली एक रोचक प्रस्तुति थी।

बीसवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्द्ध में आधुनिक भारत का इतिहास-लेखन और परिपक्व बना तथा समसामयिक अंतरराष्ट्रीय मापदंडों के अनुकूल माना जाने लगा। इस समय के इतिहासकार, जैसे जी.एस. सरदेसाई, जदुनाथ सरकार, सुलेमान नदवी, जी.एस. ओझा, के.पी. पदमनाभ मेनन, सी. एस. श्रीनिवासाचारी, के.एम. परिकर इत्यादि की आधुनिक भारत के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर लिखी गई रचनाएँ आज भी इतिहास के छात्रों द्वारा अधिकृत ग्रंथों के रूप में पढ़ी जाती हैं।

परंतु जो विषय ऐतिहासिक शोध के दृष्टिकोण से सर्वाधिक महत्व का प्रमाणित होने लगा था वह था हिंदुस्तान का आजादी का संघर्ष। प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध के बाद भारत का स्वतंत्रता संग्राम व्यापक रूप ले चुका था और धीरे-धीरे इसका असर आधुनिक भारत के इतिहास-लेखन पर भी पड़ा। जहां एक ओर इस आंदोलन का श्रृंखलाबद्ध और विस्तृत इतिहास लिखने के प्रयास शुरू हुए वहीं दूसरी ओर इस संग्राम की दिशा को निर्धारित करने के लिए विरोधी राजनीतिक विचारधाराओं में टकराव भी सामने आया। एक विचारधारा यह थी जो स्वाधीनता संग्राम को विफल देखनी चाहती थी और अंग्रेजी शासन हिंदुस्तान में काफी समय तक बरकरार रखना चाहती थी। फलस्वरूप इस विचारधारा के इतिहासकारों, जैसे वी.चिरोल तथा लॉवेट ने हिंदुस्तान को एक राष्ट्र के रूप में अस्वीकार करके हमारे स्वाधीनता संग्राम को स्वार्थी उच्च-वर्गों की सत्ता हथियाने की चाल बताया। दूसरी ओर राष्ट्रवादी इतिहास लेखन था जो हिंदुस्तान को आजाद राष्ट्र के रूप में देखना चाहता था। अतः इस नजरिए के लेखक यह मान कर चले कि भारतीय

संस्कृति में राष्ट्रीयता का आधार हमेशा से था और इसी आधार को लेकर औपनिवेशिक शोषण के खिलाफ सभी भारतीयों का एक हो जाना स्वाभाविक था। आर.सी. मजूमदार, पट्टाभि सीतारमैया तथा लोकप्रिय लेखकों में सुंदरलाल इसी राष्ट्रवादी लेखन के महत्वपूर्ण प्रतिनिधि रहे हैं। इस परंपरा से कुछ हट कर एम.एन. राय तथा आर.पी. दत्त जैसे मार्क्सवादी इतिहासकारों की पहली पीढ़ी थी जो यह मानती थी कि केवल हिंदुस्तान को अंग्रेजों से मुक्त करा देना ही काफी नहीं है, बल्कि आजादी के साथ-साथ सामाजिक परिवर्तन (बराबरी की दिशा में) भी जरूरी है। अतः मार्क्सवादी इतिहासकारों ने सांस्कृतिक एकता से ज्यादा जोर वर्ग-भेद और शोषण पर दिया तथा इस अंतर्विरोध को नजरअंदाज करने पर गांधीवादी राष्ट्रवाद की तीक्ष्ण आलोचना की। इन सब इतिहास परंपराओं से अलग सांप्रदायिक लेखन की धारा थी जो आजाद हिंदुस्तान का सांप्रदायिक आधार पर पुनर्गठन चाहती थी। इस विचारधारा के लेखकों ने धर्म को ही व्यक्ति और राष्ट्र का मूल आधार माना।¹ अलग-अलग दृष्टिकोणों से वी.डी. सावरकर तथा हाशिम फरीदाबादी इस परंपरा के प्रमुख प्रतिनिधि माने जा सकते हैं।² देखा जाये तो राष्ट्रवादी इतिहास लेखन का शुभारंभ साम्राज्यवादी इतिहास लेखन के प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप होता है। इसका तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि भारत में इसके पूर्व राष्ट्रीय भावना का अभाव था, राष्ट्रीय भावना तो थी, पर उसका परिवेश आज जैसा न था। फिर भी इससे संदेह नहीं कि आज का राष्ट्रवाद अतीत की आधारशिला पर उपजी एक वैचारिक प्रक्रिया है, जो समय के साथ प्रवाहमान होता अपना आकार ग्रहण कर रहा है। यदि हम व्यापक रूप में देखे तो पायेंगे कि भारतीय उप-महाद्वीप (अखण्ड भारत) में एक सांस्कृतिक एकजुटता पुरातन काल से थी, जिनके अवशेष यत्र-तत्र बिखरे हुये मिलते हैं। पर आज की राष्ट्रीय परिभाषा के अनुरूप न थी। भारत वर्ष के इस सांस्कृतिक एकजुटता को सबसे गहरी चोट हिंदू सभ्यता व मुस्लिम सभ्यता ने पहुंचाई है। हिंदू सभ्यता और मुस्लिम सभ्यता का विभेद परक शब्द सर्वप्रथम जेम्स मिल ने अपनी पुस्तक 'हिस्ट्री ऑफ ब्रिटिश इण्डिया' में व्यक्त किया। यह शब्द भारतीय इतिहास का काल विभाजक ही नहीं, सभ्यता विभाजक भी बना और आगे चलकर यही विचार हिन्दू-मुस्लिम द्विराष्ट्र सिद्धांत का जनक बना। इसी से हुए देश के टुकड़े।

यहां पर हिन्दू शब्द का अर्थ काल एवं सभ्यता विभाजक के संदर्भ में विचारणीय है। हमारे पश्चिमोत्तरी क्षेत्र में बहने वाली सिंधु (सिन्धु) को हिन्दू नाम पारसियों ने दिया। अरबों ने फारस (ईरान) को अधिकृत कर लिया। इन अरबों ने परम्परा से प्राप्त हिन्दू शब्द भारत के लिए प्रयुक्त किया। धीरे-धीरे यह हिन्दू शब्द भारत का पर्याय बन गया, पर प्राचीन भारत (5वीं सदी ई) में यह हिन्दू शब्द नहीं था। उल्लेखनीय है कि भारत संबंधी यह हिन्दू शब्द इस्लाम पूर्व के स्रोतों में नहीं मिलता।³ धर्म कभी राष्ट्र नहीं बन सकता, इसीलिए तो रोमिला थापर लिखती हैं कि धार्मिक जमातें अपने आप में राष्ट्र नहीं होतीं, लेकिन इस दलील पर गंभीरता से विचार नहीं किया गया। मेरी समझ में भारतीय इतिहास की जमीनी व्याख्या से भारत के एकीकृत राष्ट्रवाद को सही रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है। खेद है कि भारतीय इतिहास की इस जमीनी व्याख्या पर किसी ने ध्यान नहीं दिया, भारतवर्ष के सही इतिहास को उजागर करने के लिए इस धर्म, जाति व वर्ग

से परे उसके इतिहास की जमीनी व्याख्या एवं लेखन होना चाहिए। इससे सम्यक राष्ट्रीयता का विकास होगा और भारत के जन-जन का सही इतिहास सामने आ सकेगा। भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप (अखण्ड भारत) के किसी भी कोने में बसने वाला, यहां का चाहे आदिम जन हो या बाहर से किसी भी रूप में आकर यहां बस गया हो। वे सबके सब, धर्म जाति व वर्ग से परे इस माटी की संतान हैं। कोई छोटा हो या बड़ा, पिछड़ा दलित हो या सवर्ण सबका हक बराबर का है। धर्म, जाति, भाषा, क्षेत्र आदि से परे सबके सब बराबर हैं। सभी इस माटी की उपज हैं और सब के सब राष्ट्रीय हैं। हां इस जमीन पर रहने वाला, यदि इससे ममत्व नहीं रखता तो वह जरूर अराष्ट्रीय है। मेरी दृष्टि में राष्ट्र एक सांस्कृतिक इकाई है, न कि धार्मिक इकाई। धर्म राष्ट्र का एक तत्व हो सकता है, जैसा कि संस्कृति का एक तत्व धर्म भी है। पर बहुल धर्मी भारतवर्ष के लिए यह तत्व महत्व का नहीं। अगर धर्म को भारतीय राष्ट्र से जोड़ा जायेगा तो हम साम्प्रदायिक हो जायेंगे और साम्प्रदायिक इतिहास लेखन कभी भी भारतीय इतिहास के यथार्थ को नहीं प्रस्तुत कर सकता।

उल्लेखनीय है कि जेम्स मिल ने 'हिन्दू सभ्यता' और 'मुस्लिम सभ्यता' के नाम से हमारे भारतीय इतिहास की जो साम्प्रदायिक व्याख्या की थी, उससे भारतवर्ष के सही इतिहास को कभी प्रस्तुत नहीं किया जा सकता। राधाकुमुद मुखर्जी ने 'हिंदू सभ्यता' नाम से पुस्तक लिखी। "राष्ट्रवादी इतिहासकारों की सब से बड़ी कमजोरी यह थी कि उन्होंने मिल के काल-विभाजन को चुनौती दी। इसका विरोध न करने का मूल कारण यह लगता है कि प्राचीन हिन्दू काल का गौरव मण्डन करना और मुस्लिम काल को पतन का काल मानना। इसी विभेद से ब्रिटिश सत्ता को यहां पैर जमाना सुगम हो गया।" इस संदर्भ में यह महत्वपूर्ण है कि "इस शताब्दी (20वीं शती) के तीसरे दशक में भारत के राजनीतिक जीवन में मुस्लिम अलगाववाद जारी होने से यह विभाजन (काल विभाजन) और भी मजबूत हो गया। मुसलमानों का आगमन हिन्दू सत्ता के पतन की व्याख्या करने के लिए सुगम आधार था और इसके लिए अधिक बौद्धिक श्रम की जरूरत नहीं थी। यह मान लिया गया कि 'मुस्लिम काल' पतन का काल था जिसकी अपनी खामियों के लाजिमी नतीजे के तौर पर ब्रिटिश सत्ता का आगमन हुआ। इसी तरह यह दलील भी दी गई कि मुस्लिम काल में दो राष्ट्रों-हिंदू और मुस्लिम का विकास हुआ, जिसकी आधुनिक राष्ट्रीय राज्यों के अनुरूप एकमात्र तर्क सिद्ध परिणित यही हो सकती थी कि यह उप-महाद्वीप एक हिंदू प्रधान और एक मुस्लिम प्रधान राज्य में विभाजित हो जाये। यह विभाजन एक जिन्दे इंसान का विभाजन था, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप अत्यधिक खून-खराबा हुआ। कितनों की बलि चढ़ गई, पर अर्थ कुछ न निकला।

सच तो यह है कि यह बंट्टा हुआ 'राष्ट्र' भारतीय इतिहास की एक अस्थायी व्यवस्था लगती है, जो हिन्दू व मुस्लिम सम्प्रदायवादियों के सोच की परिणति थी। इसका अंतिम हल इसके एकत्व में है, विभाजन में नहीं। तभी सही मायने में सम्यक भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद मुखर हो सकेगा। पर इसके लिए साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव की आवश्यकता है। इतिहास के यथार्थ को समझने की आवश्यकता है। भारत की इस सरजमीं पर रहने वाला हर व्यक्ति भारत को अपना मानें। इससे भारतीय

राष्ट्रवाद सम्यक दिशा में आगे बढ़ सकेगा और यही राष्ट्रपरक दृष्टि भारतीय इतिहास के लेखन को सही दिशा में ले जा सकेगी। साम्प्रदायिकता से परे राष्ट्र के चिंतन एवं लेखन से ही भारतवर्ष का सही राष्ट्रीय इतिहास लिखा जा सकेगा। इसमें भारतवर्ष के जन-जन का इतिहास रोपा जा सकेगा।⁶

भारतवर्ष के किसी जन को छोड़कर या उनका अवमूल्यन कर हम सही मायने में भारत के राष्ट्रवाद को परिभाषित नहीं कर सकते। देखा जाये तो आज की परिभाषा में भारत की राष्ट्रपरक दृष्टि अधिक पुरानी नहीं है। पर इसका यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि भारतवर्ष में राष्ट्रीय भावना थी ही नहीं। आज की परिभाषा में राष्ट्रीय भावना का विकास आधुनिक काल में हुआ, इसीलिए सुरेन्द्रनाथ बनर्जी व लोकमान्य तिलक जैसे राष्ट्रवादी नेताओं ने इसे समझाते हुए कहा था - “भारत अभी राष्ट्र का रूप ले रहा है।” इस कथन में सच्चाई है भारतवर्ष अभी भी राष्ट्र का रूप ले रहा है।

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*डॉ. रीना

सारांश

महिलाओं के प्रति गांधीजी के सकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण का एक महत्वपूर्ण पहलू यह है कि वे महिलाओं को पुरुषों के मुकाबले अधिक सुदृढ़ मानते थे। वे नारी को अबला कहने के भी सख्त खिलाफ थे। उनकी यह धारणा उनके आचरण, लेखों तथा व्याख्यानों में अनेक बार प्रकट हुई। इस सन्दर्भ में गांधी जी का यह वक्तव्य उल्लेखनीय है कि “उन्हें अबला पुकारना महिलाओं की आंतरिक शक्ति को दुत्कारना है। यदि हम इतिहास पर नजर डालें तो हमें उनकी वीरता की कई मिसालें मिलेंगी। यदि महिलाएं देश की गरिमा बढ़ाने का संकल्प कर लें तो कुछ ही महीनों में वे अपनी आध्यात्मिक अनुभूति के बल पर देश का रूप बदल सकती हैं।”

यह निःसंकोच कहा जा सकता है कि महिला-अधिकारों के सम्बन्ध में आज जो अनुकूल वातावरण हमें दिखाई दे रहा है, उसकी नींव बापू ने अरसा पहले रख दी थी। गांधी जो यद्यपि सम्पूर्ण मानवजाति के प्रति सम्मान भाव रखते थे तथापि महिलाओं के प्रति सम्मान व आदर का भाव कहीं गहरा था। संपूर्ण स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन के दौरान उन्होंने अनेक महिलाओं को न सिर्फ आन्दोलन में भाग लेने हेतु प्रेरित किया अपितु उन्हें नेतृत्व हेतु भी अवसर प्रदान किया।

प्रस्तुत आलेख द्वारा न सिर्फ महिलाओं के प्रति महात्मा के विचारों को रखने की कोशिश की गई है साथ ही वर्तमान समय में उनके विचारों की प्रासंगिकता पर भी प्रकाश डाला गया है।

गाँधी जी स्त्रियों को दक्षिण अफ्रीका में सर्वप्रथम 1913 में सार्वजनिक प्रदर्शनी में उतारा था और भारतीय स्त्रीत्व की भारी राजनीतिक क्षमता का एहसास किया था।¹ भारत-वापसी के बाद 1919 के रौलट सत्याग्रह में उन्होंने महिलाओं को राष्ट्रीय अभियान में भाग लेने को पुनः आमंत्रित किया, लेकिन इस दिशा में कोई सार्थक पहल हो उससे पहले ही उसे वापस ले लिया गया। 1921 में जब असहयोग आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ तो गाँधी ने महिलाओं के लिए शुरुआत में

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एक सीमित भूमिका बतलाई, अर्थात् बहिष्कार और स्वदेशी के अभियान में लेकिन महिलाओं ने अपने लिए और भी सक्रिय भूमिका का दावा किया। नवम्बर 1921 में एक हजार स्त्रियों के प्रदर्शन ने प्रिंस ऑफ वेल्स का स्वागत किया। पुनः बंगाल के नेता चितरंजन दास की पत्नी बसंती देवी उनकी बहन उर्मिला देवी और भतीजी सुनीति देवी ने दिसम्बर में कलकत्ता की सड़कों पर खुले आम प्रदर्शन में भाग देकर देश को स्तब्ध कर दिया। गांधीजी को उनकी शारीरिक सुरक्षा और मर्यादा की चिंता थी, पर उन्होंने इस कदम का अनुमोदन किया। देश के दूसरे भागों में भी ऐसे ही प्रदर्शन हुए और उनमें केवल सम्मानित मध्यमवर्गीय परिवारों की स्त्रियों ने ही भाग नहीं लिया, देखने में लगता हथा कि गांधी का आह्वान अब हाशिये पर पड़ी स्त्रियों तक, जैसे वेश्याओं और देवदासियों तक, भी पहुँच रहा था, हलाँकि स्वयं गांधी उनको शामिल करने के प्रति बहुत उत्सुक नहीं थे।¹²

इसके दरवाजे वास्तव में सविनय अवज्ञा आन्दोलन के दौरान ही खुले। जब रास्ते में उन्होंने जिन सभाओं को सम्बोधित किया, उनमें हजारों स्त्रियाँ शामिल हुईं और आन्दोलन ने जब सचमुच जोर पकड़ा, तो दूसरी हजार स्त्रियों ने भी नमक के गैर-कानूनी उत्पादन में, विदेशी कपड़ों और शराब की दुकानों पर धरनों में और जुलूसों में भाग लिया।¹³

जो प्रवृत्ति 1930 के दशक में शुरू हुई थी, वह 1940 के दशक में भी जारी रही, जब सार्वजनिक जीवन में स्त्रियों की सक्रिय भूमिका को समाज में स्वीकृति मिली। यह समझना कठिन नहीं है कि स्त्रियों ने गांधी जी अपील का प्रत्युत्तर क्यों दिया, जिसने राष्ट्र के प्रति स्त्रियों की सेवा को उनके धार्मिक कर्तव्य का अंग बना दिया। उनके अहिंसा सम्बन्धी आग्रह और स्त्री सत्याग्रहियों की एक सम्मानित छवि की रक्षा पर उनके जोर ने स्त्री-सुलभ व्यवहार के प्रति सुस्वीकृत मापदंडों का हनन नहीं किया और इसलिए पुरुष उस भरोसे से भरे हुए रहे कि उनकी स्त्रियाँ गांधी के हाथों में सुरक्षित रहेंगी।¹⁴

यदि हम बिहार के विशेष संदर्भ में गांधी की ऐतिहासिक भूमिका का विश्लेषण करते हैं तो यह पाते हैं कि यहाँ भी उनके स्त्रियों के प्रति पवित्र भाव पल्लवित, पुष्पित व विकसित हुए जिसने स्त्रियों के व्यक्तित्व को गढ़ने में विशेष भूमिका निभाई। उन्होंने इस बात पर बल दिया कि लिंग के बजाय वैयक्तिक आत्मा की भूमिका अधिक प्रबल होती है। धर्मग्रंथों में लिखी सारी चीजें दैव वाणी नहीं हैं तथा उनमें भटकाव व त्रुटियों का होना सहज संभाव्य है।¹⁵

स्त्रियों के पुनरुत्थान के संदर्भ में गांधी का यह कथन आज भी प्रासंगिक व उल्लेखनीय है कि जिस रूढ़ि और कानून के बनाने में स्त्री का कोई हाथ नहीं था और जिसके लिए सिर्फ पुरुष ही जिम्मेदार हैं, उस कानून और रूढ़ि के जुल्मों ने स्त्री को लगातार कुचला है। अहिंसा की नींव पर रचे गए जीवन की योजना में जितना और जैसा अधिकार पुरुष को अपने भविष्य की रचना का है, उतना और वैसा ही अधिकार स्त्री को भी अपना भविष्य तय करने का है। लेकिन अहिंसक समाज की व्यवस्था में जो अधिकार मिलते हैं, वे किसी न किसी कर्तव्य या धर्म के पालन से प्राप्त होते हैं। इसलिए यह भी मानना चाहिए कि सामाजिक आचार-व्यवहार के नियम स्त्री और पुरुष दोनों आपस में मिलकर और राजी-खुशी से तय करें। इन नियमों का पालन करने

के लिए बाहर की किसी सत्ता या हुकूमत की जबरदस्ती काम न देगी। स्त्रियों के साथ अपने व्यवहार और बरताव में पुरुषों ने इस सत्य को पूरी तरह पहचाना नहीं है। स्त्री को अपना मित्र या साथी मानने के बदले पुरुष ने अपने को उसका स्वामी माना है। कांग्रेसवालों का यह खास हक है कि वे हिन्दुस्तान की स्त्रियों को उनकी इस गिरी हुई हालत से हाथ पकड़कर ऊपर उठावें। पुराने जमाने का गुलाम नहीं जानता था कि उसे आजाद होना है, या कि वह आजाद हो सकता है। औरतों की हालत भी आज कुछ ऐसी ही है। जब उस गुलाम को आजादी मिली तो कुछ समय तक उसे ऐसा मालूम हुआ, मानो उसका सहारा ही जाता रहा। औरतों को यह सिखाया गया है कि वे अपने को पुरुषों की दासी समझें इसलिए कांग्रेस वालों का यह फर्ज है कि वे स्त्रियों को उनकी मौलिक स्थिति का पूरा बोध करावें और उन्हें इस तरह की तालीम दें, जिससे वे जीवन में पुरुषों के साथ बराबरी के दर्जे से हाथ बँटाने लायक बनें।⁶

गांधी जी ने चाहे वह स्त्री-पुरुष समानता की बात हो, विवाह संस्कार, परदा प्रथा अथवा दहेज-प्रथा का प्रश्न हो उन्होंने सदैव स्त्रियों के अधिकारों के पक्ष में अपनी राय रखी। यंग इंडिया में उल्लिखित है, कि “स्त्रियों के अधिकारों के सवाल पर मैं किसी तरह का समझौता स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता। मेरी राय में उन पर ऐसा कोई कानूनी प्रतिबंध नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिए, जो पुरुषों पर न लगया हो। पुत्रों व कन्याओं में किसी तरह का भेद नहीं होना चाहिए। उसके साथ पूरी समानता का व्यवहार होना चाहिए।” “यदि हम स्त्री-पुरुष के सम्बन्धों के सवाल को स्वस्थ और शुद्ध मन से देखें और अपने को भावी पीढ़ियों के कल्याण का ट्रस्टी मानें, तो आज उस क्षेत्र में जो दुःख नजर आते हैं, उनमें से अधिकांश दुःख टाले जा सकते हैं।”⁷

दहेज जैसी कुप्रथा के विषय में मानना था कि यह प्रथा नष्ट होनी चाहिए। विवाह लड़के-लड़की के माता-पिता द्वारा पैसे ले-देकर किया हुआ सौदा नहीं होना चाहिए। इस प्रथा का जाति-प्रथा से गहरा सम्बन्ध है जब तक चुनाव का क्षेत्र अमुक जाति के इने-गिने लड़कों या लड़कियों तक ही मर्यादित रहेगा तब तक यह प्रथा भी रहेगी, भले इसके खिलाफ जो भी कहा जाए। यदि उस बुराई का उच्छेद करना हो तो लड़कियों को या लड़का को या उनके माता-पिता को जाति के बन्धन तोड़ने पड़ेंगे। इस सबका मतलब है चरित्र की ऐसी शिक्षा जो देश के युवकों और युवतियों के मानस में आमूल परिवर्तन कर दे।⁸

इसके अतिरिक्त विधवा-पुनर्विवाह, तलाक, स्त्रियों के शील की रक्षा, स्त्रियों की शिक्षा, सह-शिक्षा जैसे संवेदनशील विषयों पर भी हमेशा सकारात्मक विचार गांधी ने समाज के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किए। उनकी सकारात्मक सोच के कारण ही इतने वर्षों पश्चात् भी गांधी के विचार इतने प्रासंगिक व महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

उनकी संवेदनीलता का परिचय इसी बात से लगता है जब बिहार में आरा में बाल विधवा को देखकर वो रो पड़े थे। 28 जनवरी, 1927 को आरा शहर के एक कार्यक्रम में सात वर्षीय बाल विधवा को देख महात्मा रो पड़े थे। उन्होंने कहा कि इस वनिता आश्रम को देखकर मुझे जितना आनन्द हुआ, उतना ही दुःख हुआ। दाता के लिए मन में आदर पैदा हुआ और मकान की शांति इत्यादि देखकर आनंद हुआ, परन्तु सात वर्ष की विधवा को देखकर दुःख हुआ। संचालकों से मेरी

प्रार्थना है कि ऐसी बालाओं को विधवा न समझें। ऐसा समझने में धर्म नहीं, अधर्म है।¹⁰

अन्ततः यह कहा जा सकता है कि महिला सशक्तिकरण हेतु आज भारत में जितने प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं उन सबके सूत्रधार महात्मा गांधी ही थे। गांधी जी ने स्त्रियों को देश की लड़ाई के साथ जोड़कर साथ ही आश्रम में उनको समान हक व स्वतंत्रता प्रदान कर एक मिसाल कायम की। महिला सशक्तिकरण का प्रश्न विश्व के बुद्धिजीवियों, समाज सुधारकों एवं नेताओं के लिए चिंतन का विषय रहा है। इसके सम्बन्ध में महिलावादियों की परिभाषा अत्यंत उपयुक्त प्रतीत होती है कि सशक्तिकरण से अभिप्राय व्यक्ति अपने हितों के प्रति जागरूक हो तथा निर्णय लेने की प्रक्रिया विस्तारित हो। इसे गांधी जी ने न सिर्फ सैद्धांतिक रूप से रखा बल्कि व्यवहार में भी उसे कर दिखाया। सत्य व अहिंसा की नींव पर निर्मित नवीन विश्व-व्यवस्था की योजना में जितना व जैसा अधिकार पुरुष को अपने भविष्य की रचना का है। उतना और वैसा ही अधिकार स्त्री को भी अपना भविष्य तय करने का है।¹¹

बापू व बा के ये वक्तव्य हमें प्रेरित करने हेतु काफी है कि “मेरी पत्नी के प्रति अपनी भावना का वर्णन यदि मैं कर सकूँ, तो ही हिन्दू धर्म के प्रति अपनी भावना का वर्णन मैं कर सकता हूँ। मेरी पत्नी मेरे अंतर को जिस प्रकार हिलाती है, उस प्रकार दुनिया की दूसरी कोई भी स्त्री उसे नहीं हिला सकती। उसके लिए ममता के एक अटूट बन्धन की भावना दिन-रात मेरे अंतर में जाग्रत रहती है।” (बापू के वक्तव्य)¹²

“मुझे जैसा पति मिला है वैसा तो दुनिया में किसी भी स्त्री को नहीं मिला होगा। मेरे पति के कारण ही मैं सारे जगत में पूजी जाती हूँ।”¹³

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बटुकेश्वर दत्त : एक गुमनाम क्रांतिकारी

*कुमारी विनीता

सारांश :-

*शहीदों की चिताओं पर जुड़ेंगे हर बरस मेले
वतन पर मरने वाले का यही बाकी निशां होगा।*

ये पंक्ति सुनते ही हमारे जेहन में ऐसे क्रांतिकारी याद आते हैं, जिन्होंने बिना किसी अफसोस के अपने प्राण मात भूमि की बंदी पर हंसते हंसते अर्पण किया। जिसकी गाथा हमें सर्वत्र सुनायी जाती है, कि किस तरह देश के इन सपूतों ने अपनी जान की चिन्ता न करते हुए अपना सर्वस्व त्याग दिये। किन्तु इन नायकों में कुछ नायक ऐसे भी थे, जिन्होंने अपनी तथा अपने परिवार की बिना परवाह किये स्वतंत्रता के सभी आंदोलनों में एक महत्वपूर्ण किरदार निभाये और जब देश आजाद हुआ तो हाशिए पर चले गये। कुछ लोगों का इन क्रांतिकारियों पर ध्यान भी गया तो इनहोंने इन्हे महत्वपूर्ण क्रांतिकारियों के श्रेणी में नहीं शामिल कर दो चार, लाइन में लिख कर इनकी जिन्दगी और स्मृतियों की पूर्ण रूप से उपेक्षा की गई।

ऐसे ही एक नायक बटुकेश्वर दत्त थे, जिन्होंने छात्र जीवन में ही आंदोलन में हिस्सा लेना शुरू कर दिया था और एक दिन आवेश में आकर प्राचार्य के कक्ष के छत पर जाकर झण्डा फहरा दिया। आजादी के इस मतवाले ने अनेक ऐसे कार्य किये जिनसे इनकी गिनती प्रमुख क्रांतिकारियों से होने लगा, तभी तो इन्हे असेम्बली में बम भेकने जैसे कार्य दिये गये, जिनका निर्वाह इन्होंने बहुत ही मेहनत और ईमानदारी से किया।¹ जेल गये सजा काटी, शोषित हुए जब इनके साथी को फांसी की सजा और इन्हे उम्रकैद की सजा मिली तो दुःखी होकर ये प्रलाप करने लगे कि भगवान ने इनके साथ ऐसा अन्याय क्यों किया। इन्हे काला पानी की सजा हुई, जहाँ इनको असाध्य रोग हो गया, फिर भी इन्होंने खुद की परवाह किए सिर्फ और सिर्फ देश के बारे में

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सोचा।

जब देश आजाद हुआ, तो इन्होंने गुमनामी की जीवन स्वीकार किया। भारत सरकार ने इनकी उपेक्षा की, जिनका न तो इन्होंने शिकायत की और न ही अपने कामों का मुआवजा मांगा। हाँ माँगा तो बस इतना कि जब इनकी मृत्यु हो तो अंतिम संस्कार वहाँ किया जाय जहाँ इनके प्यारे साथियों का अंतिम संस्कार हुआ है।

विशिष्ट शब्द :- आवेग, सक्रिय, विपाक्त, दरम्यान, विप्लवी, निश्चल

बटुकेश्वर दत्त का जन्म कानपुर में हुआ था। इनकी माता का नाम कामिनी देवी था और इनके पिता का नाम गोठूठा बिहारी दत्त था। मुख्य रूप से इनके पिता पश्चिम बंगाल के वर्धमान जिला के खंडाघोष थानांतर्गत ओझांडी गांव से आते थे जो कानपुर आकर बस गये थे। तथा रेलवे में एक कर्मचारी के पद पर प्रतिष्ठित थे। बटुकेश्वर दत्त चार भाई बहने थे तथा ये मध्यम वर्ग से सम्बन्धित थे। इनकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा कानपुर में ही हुआ था। जब वे आठवी कक्षा में पढ़ते थे, तभी उनके मन में देश-प्रेम की भावना जागृत हुई थी। पहले स्वयं अपने बस्ते में क्रांतिकारियों द्वारा दिए गए सूचना को रखकर इधर-उधर पहुँचाते थे। बाद में इनक कार्यों को छोटे-छोटे बच्चों से करवाने लगे थे।¹

देश-प्रेम के इन्ही छोटे-छोटे कार्य करने के दरम्यान इनकी मुलाकात विप्लवी नेपालेश्वर बनर्जी उर्फ नेपाली बाबू से हुई। नेपाली बाबू इनके जज्बे से अत्याधिक प्रभावित हुए और इन्होंने ठाना कि इस हीरा को अच्छे से तराशना है। इसलिए बटुकेश्वर दत्त को गौरिबाल्डी और मैजिनी की राष्ट्र प्रेम की पुस्तके पढ़ने को दिया तथा आजादी के लिए किए गये कार्यों को गुर सिखाने लगे। इनकी मुलाकात शर्चींद्र नाथ सान्याल, सुरेश भट्टाचार्य, सुरेन्द्रनाथ पांडेय, विजय कुमार सिन्हा आदि क्रांतिकारियों से करवाया। 1924 में इनकी मुलाकात भगत सिंह से हुआ।

भारतीय कम्यूनिष्ट पार्टी की स्थापना 1925 ई. में हुई, जिसका पहला अखिल भारतीय सम्मेलन कानपुर में हुआ। जिसमें बटुकेश्वर दत्त भी शामिल हुए, इसे प्रभावित होकर इन्होंने जिम्नास्टिक क्लब सती चौरा धार में स्थापित किया तथा हस्तलिखित क्रांति पत्रिका निकालना प्रारम्भ किए, इस कार्य में उनका सहयोग विजय कुमार सिन्हा, संतोष कुमार मुखर्जी एवं अक्षय कुमार घोष ने दिए। प्राचार्य के छत पर झण्डा फहरा दिए, जिसे वे सब की नजर में आ गये और अब उनकी गिनती जोशिले क्रांतिकारियों में होने लगी।

5 फरवरी 1922 ई. में चौरा-चौरा कांड होने के बाद गांधी जी ने असहयोग आन्दोलन की समाप्ति की घोषणा की और जनता को कहा कि वो आन्दोलन को रोक कर स्वयं को रचनात्मक कार्यों के लिए खुद को प्रस्तुत करें। बहुत सारे क्रांतिकारियों जिन्हें गाँधी जी से बहुत आशा थी, उनकी आशाओं पर पानी फिर गया गांधी जी का विरोध किया और अपने उद्देश्य को पाने के लिए नये मांगे की खोज करने लगे। उन्हें समझ आ गया कि हड़ताल असहयोग या शक्ति नीति से कुछ नहीं हो सकता। इसी निराशा जनक माहौल में उन्हें साम्यवादी नीति ने आकर्षित किया। इन क्रांतिकारियों को लगने लगा कि इस समस्या का निराकरण सिर्फ साम्यवाद में है।

भारतीय नवयुवकों का इस तरह साम्यवाद के प्रति झुकाव में अंग्रेज डर गये। अंग्रेज

सरकार बिल्कुल नहीं चाहते थे कि भारत का मजदूर और कम्यूनिष्ट आन्दोलन का सम्बन्ध अन्तराष्ट्रीय आंदोलन से हो। इसी लिए ब्रिटिश सरकार ने पब्लिक सेफ्टी बिल हिटली कमीशन ट्रेड, डिस्पूट्स एक्ट जैसे कानून पास किये, जिसके अन्तर्गत जो भी व्यक्ति सामाजवाद की बात करेगा या फिर भी आन्दोलन करेगा उसे सख्त से सख्त सजा दी जायेगी। इसी कानून के तहत मेरठ षडयंत्र मामले हुआ जिसमें 31 श्रमिक नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया, जिसमें तीन ब्रिटिश भी थे। इस केस में 27 अभियुक्तों को बहुत ही कड़ी सजा मिली जिससे श्रमिक आंदोलन पर नकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ा।

ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वारा पास किए गए इन कानूनों से क्रांतिकारी बहुत ही नाखुश थे, और उन्होंने सरकार को सबक सिखाने की ठानी। इस समय तक हिन्दुस्तान सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिकन एसोसिएशन के सदस्यों ने बम बनाने की कला में पारंगत हासिल कर ली थी। फ्रांस के चैम्बर ऑफ डेपुटीज के घटना से प्रभावित होकर उन्होंने भी यही कार्य करने के लिए भगत सिंह सुखदेव और बटुकेश्वर दत्त को चुना। बटुकेश्वर दत्त बहुत बहुत खुश हुए, उन्होंने अपने मित्रों से कहा ये मेरे लिए बहुत ही सौभाग्य की बात है।

असेम्बली में बम फेंकना कोई छोटी मोटी बात नहीं थी। सीधा उस संगठनिक शक्ति को चुनौती देना था। जिसका डंका आधी दुनिया में चलता है। 8 अप्रैल 1929 ई. को पब्लिक सेफ्टी बिल पास होना था, बहुत ही सावधानी पूर्वक ये तीनों क्रांतिकारी असेम्बली पहुँचे और जैसे ही बिल पेश होना शुरू हुआ। खाली बेंचों की तरफ बम फेंक दिया। बम फेंकने के बाद परचे फेंके, साम्राज्यवाद का नाश हो, इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद का नारा लगाना शुरू किया। वे चाहते तो वहाँ से भाग सकते थे, परन्तु उन्होंने ऐसा न किया और अपनी गिरफ्तारी होने दी। भगत सिंह को चांदनी चौक और बटुकेश्वर दत्त को कोतवाली थाना में बन्द कर दिया गया।⁹

असेम्बली कांड से अंग्रेज चौखला गए, उन्हें समझ ही नहीं आ रहा था कि इन क्रांतिकारियों के दिमाग में ये बातें कैसे आई। इसे जानने के लिए एक खबरी को भेजा, जिसका नाम तसधुन हुसैन था। तसधुन हुसैन बटुकेश्वर दत्त के पास गया और अपने लच्छेदार बातों से उन्हें फंसाना चाहा। बटुकेश्वर दत्त उनके चाल में न आये। तसधुन हुसैन को उल्टा पैर वापस आना पड़ा। अब अंग्रेज सरकार खिन्न होकर बर्बरतापूर्वक व्यवहार करना शुरू किया उन्हें घटिया खाता दिया गया, मारा पीटा जाने लगा। जिसके विरोध में बटुकेश्वर दत्त ने भूख हड़ताल प्रारम्भ किये, ऐसा करने वाला वे पहला क्रांतिकारी थे।

भगत सिंह, सुखदेव, बटुकेश्वर दत्त तथा अन्य क्रांतिकारी जो इस कांड में संलिप्त थे, उन्हें सजा देने के लिए ट्रिब्यूनल का गठन किया गया। जिसमें भगतसिंह, राजगुरु और सुखदेव को फांसी की सजा सुनायी गयी और बटुकेश्वर दत्त को काले पानी की। बटुकेश्वर दत्त को दुःख हुआ और उन्होंने भगत सिंह को चिट्ठी लिखी कि ये सौभाग्य मुझे क्यों नहीं प्राप्त हुआ। भगत सिंह ने कहा कि “आप ऐसे आपा न खोये दुनिया को दिखाइए कि क्रांतिकारी अपने आदर्शों के मर ही न सकते बल्कि जीवित रहकर भी जेल के अंधेरे कोठरी में हर प्रकार का अत्याचार खुशी-खुशी सहन भी कर सकता है। दत्त साहब ने ऐसा ही किया। काले पानी की सजा काटी, जहाँ उन्हें

असाध्य रोग हो गया। जिसके कारण उन्हें बाकेपुर केन्द्रीय कारागार पटना लाया गया और 1938 में उन्हें मुक्त कर दिया गया।⁴

बीमारी से उबरने के पश्चात बटुकेश्वर दत्त पुनः आजादी की लड़ाई में सक्रिय हो गये। इसी सिलसिले में कई क्रांतिकारी जैसे यशपाल, योगेशचन्द्र चटर्जी, बलदेव सिंह, रामदुलारे त्रिवेदी, राजकुमार सिन्हा, मो० यूनूस से मुलाकात हुई। 1939 के कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में उन्होंने भाग लिया, जहाँ उनकी मुलाकात मन्मथनाथ गुप्त हुआ, और अपने कार्यों को अंजाम देने के लिए ये और भी सक्रिय हो गये।⁵ 1942 ई. में गांधी जी के आह्वान पर जब भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन की शुरुआत हुई तो बटुकेश्वर दत्त अंग्रेजों के सामने आजादी में भाग न लेने का वादा टुकराकर कुद पड़े। परिणाम स्वरूप उन्हें फिर से गिरफ्तार करके मोतीहारी तथा मजुफ्फरपुर जेल में बन्द कर दिया गया। जेल में ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों द्वारा प्रताड़ना देने के कारण ये बहुत बुरी तरह से बीमार पड़ गये, जिसके कारण इन्हें देवघर में इनके घर में नजरबंद कर दिया गया। बाद में जब भारत आजाद हुआ, तब इनको रिहा कर दिया गया।⁶

बटुकेश्वर दत्त के जीवन का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण उद्देश्य पुरा हो गया, तब जाकर उन्होंने ग. हस्थ जीवन में अपना पाव, रखा जो बहुत ही कष्टदायक रहा। सदा ही इनके सामने आर्थिक दुर्दशा बनी रही, इस कमी को पुरा करने के लिए कभी सिंगार कम्पनी में एजेंट का पद लिया तो कभी टूरिस्ट गाइड बनकर किया कहा जाता है कि एक बार बसों के लिए परमिट माँगने पर वहाँ के कमीशनर ने स्वतंत्रता सेनानी होने का प्रमाण माँगा। अपमानित होकर बटुकेश्वर दत्त वहाँ से चले गये। इस घटना का जब पता डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को चला तब उन्होंने उनसे माफी माँगी। बटुकेश्वर दत्त सहज ही उस कमीशनर को माफ कर दिये।⁷

बटुकेश्वर दत्त को भारत सरकार ने किसी भी प्रकार का सम्मान नहीं दिया, न ही उन्होंने इसे पाने का प्रयास किया, हाँ इतना जरूर हुआ कि बिहार के राज्यपाल अनंत शंयनम आयोगर के स्नेह के कारण 1963 ई. में बिहार विधान परिषद के सदस्य के रूप में मनोनयन हुआ, जहाँ वे 3 अक्टूबर 1963 से 6 मई 1964 ई. तक रहे। विधान परिषद के सदस्य रहते हुए बटुकेश्वर दत्त कभी भी कोई सुविधा का लाभ नहीं उठाए, उन्होंने तो आवाज तक का उपयोग भी नहीं किया। एक सादगी के साथ जीवन गुजारते चले गये। 1964 ई. में दत्त साहेब बीमार पड़े आर्थिक स्थिति खराब होने के कारण परिवार वाले ने पटना के सरकारी अस्पताल में उन्हें भर्ती करवाया, जहाँ उनका उपचार दवा से नहीं हुआ। इस स्थिति को देख कर इनके परम मित्र चमनलाल ने एक मार्मिक लेख लिखा कि जिस व्यक्ति ने देश को स्वतंत्र कराने के लिए प्राणों की बाजी लगा दी और फाँसी में बाल-बाल बचा, वह आज नितांत दयनीय स्थिति में अस्पताल में पड़ा एड़िया रगड़ रहा है और उसे पूछने वाला कोई नहीं है।⁸

इस लेख के बाद सत्ता के गलियारे में हलचल हुई। तात्कालीन केन्द्रीय ग. हमंत्री गुलजारी लाल नंदा और पंजाब के मंत्री भीमलाल सच्चा ने बटुकेश्वर दत्त से मुलाकात की। इनकी स्थिति देखकर भीम लाल सच्चा ने बिहार सरकार को लिखा कि वे अगर बटुकेश्वर दत्त का इलाज करने में अक्षम है तो उन्हें मेरे सुपद कर दें। तब जाकर बिहार सरकार की नींद खुली, और उनके इलाज

की ओर ध्यान दिया परन्तु स्थिति काफी खराब हो चुकी थी। बटुकेश्वर दत्त को दिल्ली लाया गया, जहाँ उन्होंने पत्रकारों से कहा कि कभी नहीं सोचा था कि जिस दिल्ली में उन्होंने बम फेंका, वहाँ उन्हें अपाहिज के भांति लाया जाएगा।⁹

बटुकेश्वर दत्त को सफदरगंज अस्पताल में भर्ती किया। जहाँ उन्हें पता चला कि वे कैंसर रोग से पीड़ित हैं, और उनके जीवन में कुछ ही दिन शेष हैं बहुत सारे बड़े नेता उनसे मिलने आये, जिसमें पंजाब के मुख्यमंत्री रामकिशन भी थे, इन्होंने बटुकेश्वर दत्त ने उनकी इच्छा पूँछी तो उन्होंने बड़े ही निश्चलपूर्ण भाव से कहा कि अगर आप मेरे इच्छा की पूर्ति ही करना चाहते हैं तो इतना उपकार कीजिए कि मेरा अंतिम संस्कार वहाँ करने का प्रबंध कीजिए जहाँ पर मेरे मित्र भगतसिंह की समाधि है।

धीरे-धीरे उनकी स्थिति और भी बिगड़ती चली गयी और 17 जुलाई को वे कोमा में चले गये। 20 जुलाई 1965 को बटुकेश्वर दत्त की मृत्यु हो गई।

भारत सरकार ने महान स्वतंत्रता सेनानी की इच्छा को सम्मान करते हुए भारत पाक सीमा के करीब हुसैनीवाला में भगतसिंह, राजगुरु, और सुखदेव के समाधि के पास उनका अंतिम संस्कार किया।

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38.

श्री 1008 बन्जैण देव कुमाऊँनी लोकमान्यताओं के सन्दर्भ में

*श्रीमती हेमलता

**डॉ. अक्कीन्द्र कुमर जोशी

सारांश :-

उत्तराखण्ड के बागेश्वर जिले में कपकोट विकासखण्ड में पिण्डारी ग्लेशियर की ओर जाने वाले मार्ग में शिखर नामक पर्वत पर भगवान मूलनारायण का मन्दिर है जिन्हें भगवान श्री कृष्ण का स्थानीय स्वरूप माना जाता है जिन्होंने त्रेता युग में लोक कल्याण के लिए मूलनारायण का रूप धारण किया। उनके दो पुत्र हुए जिनमें भगवान नौलिंग का मन्दिर सनगाड़ (बागेश्वर) तथा पचार (बागेश्वर) में और भगवान बन्जैण का मन्दिर बनार (बागेश्वर) में अवस्थित है।



ग्राम- बनार, यहाँ बन्जैण देवता का मन्दिर है।

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बन्जैण मन्दिर, ग्राम- बनार, जिला- बागेश्वर

कुमाऊँ के लोक देवता श्री 1008 बन्जैण देव लोक कल्याणकारी माने जाते हैं। राज्य उत्तराखण्ड के बागेश्वर जनपद स्थित विकास खण्ड कपकोट के अन्तर्गत बनार नामक स्थान पर श्री बन्जैण देव का सुन्दर एवं आकर्षक मन्दिर बना है। यह मन्दिर बाँज के वृक्षों से घिरा हुआ है। मन्दिर के समीपवर्ती वन क्षेत्र में बाँज के अतिरिक्त बुर्राँश, काफल आदि वृक्षों की बहुलता है। झाड़ियों एवं लघु वनस्पतियाँ भी यहाँ देखी जा सकती हैं। इस सघन, वन क्षेत्र में वन्य जीव यथा- तेंदुए, भालू, तीतर, जंगली सूअर आदि की अधिकता है।²

इस मन्दिर के पौराणिक महत्व पर प्रकाश डालने वाली विभिन्न किंवदन्तियाँ स्थानीय क्षेत्र में प्रचलित हैं। लोकमान्यता के अनुसार बन्जैण देव का जन्म शिखर पर्वत पर हुआ। उनके पिता श्री मूलनारायण एवं माता सारिंगा को माना गया है। पौराणिक मान्यताओं के अनुसार भगवान बन्जैण का जन्म बाँज के वृक्षों के नीचे हुआ। चूँकि बाँज वृक्षों के समूह युक्त स्थान को कुमाऊँ में 'बन्जाणी' कहा जाता है। अतः इसी शब्द के अपभ्रंश रूप के अनुसार उन्हें बन्जैण नाम दिया गया। अन्य लोकमान्यता के अनुसार 'ऐण' शब्द उन्हें स्वयं के पिता से मिला क्योंकि भगवान मूलनारायण का कुमाऊँ में प्रचलित अन्य नाम 'मुवैण' भी है। कुमाऊँ के एक अन्य लोक देवता भगवान नौलिंग, बन्जैण देव के भ्राता माने गये हैं।³

भगवान बन्जैण को प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा, शस्त्र विद्या आदि का बोध उनके पिता भगवान मूलनारायण जी द्वारा घर पर ही कराया गया। गुरु गोरखनाथ जी के संरक्षण में उन्होंने चौदह विद्याओं में दक्षता प्राप्त की। काशी में विद्याध्ययन पूर्ण करने के पश्चात् भगवान बन्जैण भ्राता नौलिंग के साथ शिखर लौट आये। कुछ समय पश्चात् वे अपने भ्राता के साथ पुनः गुरु गोरखनाथ के आश्रम हरिद्वार पहुँचे। यहाँ दोनों भाईयों द्वारा कठिन तप किया गया। मान्यता है कि दोनों भाईयों द्वारा किये गये बारह वर्ष के कठोर तप से गुरु गोरखनाथ अति प्रसन्न हुए। उन्होंने दोनों भाईयों की चमत्कारी शक्तियों से परिपूर्ण 'वसुन्धरा गोरख-हिंगा' प्रदान किया।⁴ इस प्रकार दोनों भाई चौदह विद्याओं के ज्ञाता होने के साथ-साथ महाप्रतापी वीर योद्धा भी बन चुके थे। उन्होंने स्वयं द्वारा अर्जित शक्तियों का प्रयोग सदैव जनकल्याणार्थ किया तथा कुमाऊँ के लोकदेवता कहलाये।

भगवान मूलनारायण जी द्वारा अपने पुत्र बन्जैण को भनार क्षेत्र की रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गयी। पिता की आज्ञानुसार बन्जैण देव शिखर से भनार क्षेत्र (3 किमी० ढलान, सघन वन एवं पाशाण खण्डों से युक्त) में प्रवेश किया। इस क्षेत्र में चनौला नामक ब्राह्मण का आतंक फैला हुआ था। चनौला, विभिन्न प्रकार की तान्त्रिक विद्याओं एवं काला जादू आदि का ज्ञाता था। स्वयं द्वारा अर्जित इन्हीं शक्तियों का दुरुपयोग कर उसने क्षेत्रवासियों को भ्रमित एवं आतंकित किया हुआ था। भगवान बन्जैण ने क्षेत्र में प्रवेश कर सर्वप्रथम गुप्त रूप से चनौला की गतिविधियों पर नजर रखी उन्होंने देखा कि वह एक ऊँचे स्थान से क्षेत्रवासियों को सम्बोधित कर विभिन्न प्रकार की धार्मिक गतिविधियों से अवगत कराया था।

यथा- आज फलाना दिन है, फलाने के लिए अशुभ है, फलां-फलां की यात्रा न करें, वरना अशुभ होगा आदि। यह झूठी बातें बनाकर जनता का शोषण करता था तथा अपनी मंत्र विद्या द्वारा लोगों को आपस में लड़ाने का काम भी करता था। भगवान बन्जैण जो स्वयं चौदह विद्याओं के ज्ञाता थे। उन्होंने क्षेत्रीय जनता को भ्रमित होने से बचाने हेतु सही जानकारी देने का प्रयास किया। उन्होंने एक ऊँचे स्थान, जिसे क्षेत्रवासी झलुवा ढूँड़ा कहते हैं, से आवाजें देकर स्थानीय जनों को सत्य से अवगत कराना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। इस प्रकार वे शोषित एवं पीड़ित जनों के कष्टों को दूर करने लगे। उस ब्राह्मण ने जनता को विभिन्न प्रकार से आतंकित करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। वह लोगों से जबरन पैसे, गहने एवं अन्य कीमती सामान तथा उनके जानवरों को ऐंठ लेता था। उसकी बात न मानने वालों को वह स्वयं की तंत्र विद्या का प्रयोग कर मौत के घाट उतार देता था। इस प्रकार सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र में चनौला ब्राह्मण के कुकृत्यों से जनता अत्यधिक दुःखी थी।

भगवान बन्जैण क्षेत्रीय जनता को इस विपत्ति से मुक्ति दिलाने हेतु प्रयासरत थे, इस बात की जानकारी चनौला ब्राह्मण को मिल गयी, यद्यपि अभी तक उसने भगवान बन्जैण को देखा नहीं था। उसे यह पता था कि झलुवा ढूँड़ा नामक स्थान से कोई ऊँची आवाज में लोगों को उचित दिशा-निर्देश देता था। अतः उसने उसी स्थान को नष्ट करने की योजना बनायी। उसने सम्बन्धित वन क्षेत्र को अग्नि की प्रबल ज्वाला में झोंक दिया। आग को तीव्र गति से फैलाने हेतु उस ब्राह्मण ने धूप एवं सूखे का समय चुना था। झलुवा ढूँड़ा के समीप समस्त क्षेत्र अग्नि से दहक का जंगल में वनस्पति एवं छोटे-छोटे वन्य जीव सभी जलने लगे। अचानक आयी हुई, इस विपत्ति का सामना करने हेतु बन्जैण देव ने स्वयं के पिता श्री मूलनारायण भगवान का आह्वान किया। पिता की आज्ञानुसार वे पक्षी का रूप धारण कर पास के पानी से भरे हुए नौले की ओर उड़ने लगे किन्तु मार्ग में ही चनौला द्वारा देख लिये गये। उसने नौले में विशाक्त जड़ों से तैयार किये गये विश को डाल दिया। लोक मान्यता के अनुसार भगवान बन्जैण ने नौले में प्रवेश कर, चनौला को भ्रमित करते हेतु कच्छप रूप धारण कर लिया, किन्तु तीव्र विश के प्रभाव से स्वयं को बचा न सके एवं मूर्छित होने लगे, ऐसी परिस्थिति में उन्होंने स्वयं की बुआ माता हिवाल नन्दा का स्मरण किया। माता हिवाल नन्दा का एक विशेष गण जिसका नाम धर्मियां दास था, ने मूर्छित पड़े हुए बन्जैण जी के शरीर से सम्पूर्ण विश उतार दिया साथ ही उस नौले के जल को भी विशरहित कर दिया गया। इस प्रकार बन्जैण जी के प्राणों की रक्षा हुई।⁹

चनौला ब्राह्मण ने बन्जैण जी को समाप्त करने हेतु पुनः प्रयास किया। उसने एक तीक्ष्ण संहारक बाण का निर्माण किया तथा बन्जैण जी का वध करने हेतु उन्हीं के क्षेत्र (सिमार) की ओर भेजा। भगवान बन्जैण पूर्व से ही सावधान थे। संहारक बाण को आते हुए देख उन्होंने सिमार (भनार) क्षेत्र के चारों ओर सुरक्षा कवच बना दिया। उन्होंने मिट्टी अभिमन्त्रित कर बाण की दिशा विपरीत कर दी। इसलिए वह संहारक बाण बन्जैण जी के बजाय चनौला को लगा। इस प्रकार उसकी जीवन लीला समाप्त हो गई। चनौला ब्राह्मण की मृत्यु से सम्पूर्ण भनार क्षेत्र में खुशी की लहर दौड़ गयी। समस्त क्षेत्रवासी भगवान बन्जैण की जय-जयकार करते हुए भनार के सिमार नामक स्थान पर पहुँचे। उन्होंने भगवान बन्जैण से सदा के लिए इसी स्थान पर निवास करने का आग्रह किया। क्षेत्रवासियों के अनुसार वर्तमान में स्थापित बन्जैण मन्दिर उसी स्थान पर है, जहाँ पर बन्जैण जी द्वारा चनौला का वध किया गया था।

स्थानीय जनता की स्वयं के लोक देवता श्री बन्जैण देव के प्रति गहन आस्था क्षेत्र में गाये जाने लोकगीतों में स्पष्ट प्रतिबिम्बित होती है-

मूल नारायण ज्यूँ सुत हे बन्जैण देवा हो....2
 हमरी सुध ना बिसरया विनती करनौ हो....2
 तुमरि जनता छू यौ भनारा यौ बना-काना हो।
 छत्र-छाया में तुरि सब जन खग कौ प्राणा हो।
 बन्जैण थाना में आकर जैलै आपण पीड़ा सुनाई हो-
 इनुं देवूँ लै सुनि लै विनती दुख पीड़ा दूर भगाई हो-
 बन्जैण नौलिंग ज्यूँ कुमौं की भूमि तुमलै सँवारी हो-
 दिव्य प्रताप लै तुमरौ सब दुःख विपति हारी हो-
 मूल नारायण ज्यूँ सुत....

उपरोक्त पक्तियों में कहा गया है कि हे मूलनारायण जी के सुत बन्जैण देवता। आप सदैव हमारी सुध लीजियेगा। हम सभी भनारवासी तथा समस्त वन प्रदेश आपकी छत्र-छाया में सुरक्षित हैं। जो भी मनुष्य बन्जैण मन्दिर में आकर स्वयं की पीड़ा को व्यक्त करते हैं, बन्जैण देव की असीम कृपा से उनकी विपत्ति का नाश होता है। हे भगवान बन्जैण एवं नौलिंग देव। कुमाऊँ की भूमि आपके ही दिव्य प्रताप से प्रकाशित है एवं अपने यहाँ के निवासियों की पीड़ा एवं कष्टों का निवारण किया है।

मन्दिर के पुजारी श्री धामी जी के साक्षात्कार से ज्ञात होता है कि जिस दिन भगवान बन्जैण द्वारा ब्राह्मण चनौला का वध किया गया उस दिन कार्तिक मास के शुक्ल पक्ष की त्रयोदशी थी। इस तिथि को बन्जैण मन्दिर भनार में प्रतिवर्ष मेला लगता है। इस दो दिवसीय मेले का विशेष महत्व है। धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं आर्थिक दृष्टि से यह मेला अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। कार्तिक मास में लगने वाले इस मेले में कुमाऊँ के पारम्परिक वाद्य यन्त्रों ढोल, दमऊ, झाँझर आदि की मधुर ध्वनि सम्पूर्ण वातावरण को दिव्यता प्रदान करती है। ढोल, दमऊ व झाँझर की ध्वनि के साथ देव डांगर अवतरण एवं सायंकालीन पूजा धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक महत्ता को स्पष्ट करते हैं। कुमाऊँनी

नृत्य झोड़ा तथा चौचरी एवं न्योली गायन भी इस अवसर पर किये जाने वाली प्रमुख गतिविधियों में सम्मिलित है। इस प्रकार मन्दिर का पौराणिक, धार्मिक, साँस्कृतिक महत्व समान रूप से दृष्टिगोचर होता है। क्षेत्रवासियों की भगवान बन्जैण पर गहन आस्था एवं विश्वास को दर्शाने वाला यह लोक गीत-

“भनारै की रक्षक है बन्जैण देवा,
तेरी सदा हो जयकारा।
चौदह विद्याओं क् ज्ञाता देवा,
परतापी छिन दयावाना।
मिलि-जुली आब करूलौ,
हम सब तेरी सेवा....हो॥॥
भनारै की रक्षक ॥॥॥॥॥
अब तुमरि छाया में हम,
सब हैईगिया खुशहाला।
दिनै रया सदा हे प्रमु तुम,
ज्ञान, शक्ति कौ मेला....हो॥॥
भनारै को रक्षण बन्जैण देवा हो....।”

उपरोक्त पंक्तियों में कहा गया है कि हे भनार के रक्षक बन्जैण देव। आपकी सदैव जय-जयकार हो। चौदह विद्याओं के ज्ञाता एवं महाप्रतापी देव हम सब मिल-जुलकर आपकी सेवा करेंगे। आपकी कृपा से हम सब खुशहाल हैं। हे देव! आप हमें सदैव ज्ञान एवं शक्ति का आशीष देते रहियेगा।

मन्दिर के प्राचीन स्वरूप के सम्बन्ध में बुजुण क्षेत्रवासियों ने बताया कि यह लघु थान के रूप में स्थापित था। क्षेत्रवासी यहाँ पूजा-अर्चना करने जाया करते थे। सन् 1995 में दुग नाकुरी पट्टी (जनपद- बागेश्वर) ग्राम- पचार में जन्मे महान सन्त बद्रीनारायण दास जी ने भनार के बन्जैण मन्दिर का जीर्णोद्धार कार्य प्रारम्भ करवाया किन्तु इसी दौरान हृदयाघात के कारण उनका देहावसान हो गया। उनके देहावसान के पश्चात् क्षेत्रीय जनता के सहयोग से मन्दिर का निर्माण कार्य पूरा कराया गया। क्षेत्रीय गाँवों जैसे- भनार महरोड़ी, महरगाड़ी, दशौली, कराला, सिमगढ़ी आदि से लोगों ने इस कार्य में अनुपम सहयोग प्रदान किया तथा एक सुन्दर मन्दिर का निर्माण सम्भव हो पाया।⁸

यह मन्दिर दिव्य एवं आकर्षक प्रतीत होता है। मन्दिर के प्रांगण से मुख्य द्वार को जोड़ने वाली अर्द्धवृत्त चाकर सीढ़ियाँ एवं कपकोट भराड़ी शामा मार्ग से मन्दिर में पहुँचने पर मन्दिर का प्रथम प्रवेश द्वार जिसमें दो विशाल हाथी स्वयं के अग्रपादों को एक-दूसरे से मिलाते हुए एवं स्वयं की सूँड़ों द्वारा एक कलश को उठाये हुए दिखाये गये हैं, अति मनमोहक एवं आकर्षक प्रतीत होते हैं। यहाँ धर्मशाला एवं भोजनशाला का भी निर्माण किया गया है। हाथी द्वार के समीप एक ढोली (ढोल लिया हुआ व्यक्ति) की प्रतिमा स्थापित है।⁹ लोकमान्यता के अनुसार यह भगवान बन्जैण

का दास-धर्मियाँ दास है, जिसने संकट काल में बन्जैण जी का विष ढोल की लकड़ी से झाड़ा था, जब-चनौला ब्राह्मण द्वारा नौले में तीक्ष्ण विष डाला दिया गया था।

प्रतिवर्ष कार्तिक मास की त्रयोदशी एवं चतुर्दशी को प्रसिद्ध 'शिखर भनार' मेले का आयोजन किया जाता है। गणमान्य व्यक्तियों एवं जन प्रतिनिधियों द्वारा इस माघ मेले का शुभारम्भ किया जाता है। सन् 2017 में श्री भगत सिंह कोश्यारी जी ने मेले का शुभारम्भ करते हुए इस मेले को विभिन्न परम्पराओं का समेकित स्वरूप बताया गया। उन्होंने क्षेत्रवासियों से स्वयं की संस्कृति एवं वन्य सम्पदा को संरक्षित करने की अपील की। इस मेले में दानपुर एक नाकुरी दोनों ही पट्टियों से लोगों ने अधिकाधिक संख्या में प्रतिभाग किया। इसी प्रकार यह मेला प्रतिवर्ष क्षेत्रवासियों हेतु साँस्कृतिक एकता एवं धार्मिक भावनाओं के अनुपम समन्वय का संदेश लेकर आता है तथा सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्रीय जनता को एकाकार होने का अवसर प्रदान करता है।

मन्दिर के प्रबन्धन हेतु कमेटी गठित की गयी है। कमेटी द्वारा मन्दिर में होने वाली धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों, मेले के आयोजन की तैयारी स्वच्छता आदि का समुचित प्रबन्धन किया जाता है। मन्दिर की देखभाल एवं उचित व्यवस्थायें बनाये रखना कमेटी का उत्तरदायित्व है।

सन्दर्भ सूची :

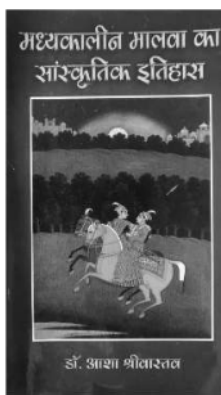
1. अमर उजाला, 26 नवम्बर 2012
2. क्षेत्र भ्रमण से प्राप्त जानकारी
3. स्थानीय निवासियों के साक्षात्कार से प्राप्त जानकारी।
4. श्री चन्द्र सिंह कार्की कृत "श्री 1008 नौलिंग- बन्जैण अवतार कथा" में उल्लिखित।
5. श्री उमेश राठौर कृत "कुमाऊँ के तीन नरैण, नौलिंग बन्जैण भुवैण" में उल्लिखित।
6. क्षेत्रीय निवासियों के साक्षात्कार पर आधारित।
7. क्षेत्रीय निवासियों के साक्षात्कार पर आधारित।
8. पुजारी श्री धामी जी के साक्षात्कार पर आधारित।
9. क्षेत्र भ्रमण पर आधारित जानकारी।

Book Review

मध्यकालीन मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास- डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का उत्कृष्ट शोध ग्रंथ

*डॉ. विनय श्रीवास्तव

लेखिका- डॉक्टर आशा श्रीवास्तव; ग्रंथ का नाम-मध्यकालीन मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास;
प्रकाशक ओरिजिनल्स दिल्ली; मूल्य-995; कुल पृष्ठ-408; ISBN : 818454115-5



प्राचीन काल से ही मालवा का उल्लेख पुराणों एवं महाकाव्यों में पाया जाता है। देश के इतिहास में सामरिक दृष्टि से मालवा का अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है। मालवा भारत के मध्य में स्थित एक पठार है जो कि विंध्याचल की श्रेणियों से घिरा हुआ है। मालवा के पश्चिम में गुजरात और पूर्व में बुंदेलखंड तथा गोंडवाना राज्य स्थित है। यह सीमाएं मध्य काल से चली आ रही हैं। यद्यपि विभिन्न शासकों के समय इसकी राजनीतिक सीमाओं में संकुचन एवं प्रसार होता रहा है। दिल्ली सल्तनत के अधीन होने के बाद मालवा का राजनीतिक एवं सामाजिक महत्व बढ़ गया। मालवा को दक्षिण का द्वार भी कहा गया। अतः दक्षिण अभियान के लिए मालवा को विजित करना अनिवार्य हो गया, साथ ही आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृतिक रूप से समृद्ध शाली होने के कारण भी यह दिल्ली शासकों के लिए आकर्षण का केंद्र बना रहा। दिल्ली शासकों ने मालवा में जो प्रांतपति नियुक्त किए थे, वह अत्यंत बुद्धिमान एवं राजनीतिक कुशलता में दक्ष थे। परिणाम स्वरूप उन्होंने मालवा को सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं राजनीतिक रूप से प्रबल बनाया एवं देश के बाहर तक इसकी लोकप्रियता को पहुंचाया। मालवा में स्वतंत्र सत्ता स्थापित होने के बाद मालवा के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक जीवन में नवीन परिवर्तन हुए। होशंगशाह ने सुलहकुल की नीति का पालन करते हुए हिंदुओं के प्रति सम्मान प्रकट किया, तथा उन्हें प्रशासन में महत्वपूर्ण पद दिए। परिणाम स्वरूप मालवा में हिंदू-मुस्लिम सद्भाव की उत्पत्ति हुई। इस सद्भाव का प्रभाव यहां की सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक स्थिति पर दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

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मध्यकाल में मालवा के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास पर प्रामाणिक और विस्तृत जानकारी का सर्वथा अभाव रहा है। यद्यपि कुछ शोध कार्य हुए हैं परंतु समग्र रूप से एक विस्तृत ग्रंथ की कमी हमेशा से महसूस की जाती रही है।

मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास तथा मालवा की सांस्कृतिक धरोहर एवं सामाजिक स्थिति के दिग्दर्शन में डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का शोध प्रबंध मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास इस दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण और शोध पूर्ण ग्रंथ है, जो उनकी अटूट साधना, अथक परिश्रम और लगन का परिणाम है। डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का यह शोध प्रबंध प्रख्यात इतिहासकार एवं श्री नटनगर शोध संस्थान के निदेशक डॉ. मनोहर सिंह राणावत के निर्देशन में पूर्ण हुआ है। इस पुस्तक में डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव ने विभिन्न समकालीन स्रोतों यात्रियों के विवरणों एवं लोक साहित्य से विस्तृत सामग्री एकत्रित की है। पुरातात्विक सामग्रियों यथा मूर्तियों स्तंभों एवं पांडुलिपियों का विवरणात्मक अध्ययन कर मध्यकालीन मालवा की सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक स्थिति को प्रस्तुत किया गया है। मध्यकाल में मालवा की राजनैतिक स्थिति को प्रस्तुत करने वाले अनेक ग्रंथ संकलित हैं, परंतु सामाजिक स्थिति एवं सांस्कृतिक स्थिति को प्रस्तुत करने वाले ग्रंथों का अभाव है। ऐसे में यह कृति शोधकर्ताओं एवं भारतीय इतिहास एवं संस्कृति के जिज्ञासुओं के लिए विशेष उपादेय होगी।

इस ग्रंथ की भूमिका में प्रख्यात इतिहासकार एवं डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव के गुरुवर डॉ. मनोहर सिंह राणावत ने लिखा है कि— “डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का शोध प्रबंध **मध्यकालीन मालवा के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास** के कतिपय अनछुए पहलुओं को प्राथमिक स्रोतों के माध्यम से उजागर कर एक दुर्लभ ग्रंथ के रूप में प्रकाशित किया है। राजा भोज के उपरान्त मालवा के राजनीतिक इतिहास की तो विस्तृत विवेचना हमें कई ग्रंथों में मिलती है। परंतु सामाजिक जीवन के कई पहलू जैसे स्त्रियों की दशा, वेशभूषा पहनावा परंपराएं, तीज त्यौहार, धार्मिक स्थिति, इसी प्रकार सांस्कृतिक जीवन के कई पहलू जैसे लोक नृत्य, लोकनाट्य, चित्रकला की विवेचना, सूफी धर्म, लोकगीत, लोकोक्तियां इत्यादि, एवं हिंदू मुस्लिम संस्कृति से उत्पन्न साझी संस्कृति का उल्लेख हमें एक रूप स्थिति से किसी ग्रंथ में नहीं मिलता। इन सभी बिंदुओं पर डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव द्वारा विस्तृत अध्ययन किया गया है एवं मध्यकालीन स्रोतों जैसे चित्रकला, तथा मूर्ति कला का विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन द्वारा मध्यकालीन मालवा की सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक स्थिति को स्पष्ट करने का सराहनीय प्रयास किया गया है। इस शोध ग्रंथ में डॉक्टर आशा श्रीवास्तव द्वारा प्राथमिक स्रोतों का अनुवाद, मध्यकालीन मालवा की चित्रकला, मूर्तिकला, समकालीन यात्रियों के विवरण गैजेटियर, समकालीन ग्रंथों एवं अन्य सहायक स्रोतों का उपयोग किया गया है।”

प्रस्तुत ग्रंथ मध्यकालीन मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास में सल्तनत कालीन एवं मुगलकालीन मालवा के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास पर डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव द्वारा किया गया शोध कार्य उनकी एक महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि है। मूल स्रोतों पर आधारित डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का यह शोध ग्रंथ निश्चित है विद्यार्थियों एवं शोधकर्ताओं के लिए अत्यंत उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा।

इस ग्रंथ को आठ मुख्य अध्याय में विभाजित किया गया है। प्रस्तुत शोध प्रबंध में तत्कालीन शासकों के समय मालवा की सामाजिक स्थिति एवं सांस्कृतिक स्थिति का वर्णन किया गया है एवं यह बताने का प्रयास किया गया है कि, सल्तनत काल एवं मुगल काल में हिंदुओं एवं मुस्लिमों की सामाजिक स्थिति, जाति व्यवस्था, धार्मिक आचार-विचार, विवाह परंपराएं, स्त्रियों की सामाजिक और आर्थिक दशा, स्थापत्य कला, मूर्तिकला, चित्रकला, साहित्य, लोकगीत, लोक नृत्य, नाटक, सूफी संत इत्यादि की स्थिति पहले क्या थी, एवं मुस्लिम शासकों के आगमन के बाद उन में क्या परिवर्तन आए? प्रस्तुत शोध अध्ययन से यह जानकारी भी मिलती है, कि संपूर्ण भारत, जहां हिंदू मुस्लिम वैमनस्य फैला हुआ था, वहीं मालवा में हिंदू मुस्लिम सद्भाव के परिणाम स्वरूप मालवा का विकास, एवं समय अपने चरमोत्कर्ष पर था। यह तत्कालीन शासकों की नीतियों का ही परिणाम था कि हिंदुओं ने मुसलमानों एवं मुसलमानों ने हिंदुओं की कई सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परंपराओं को ज्यों का त्यों अपनाया तथा कुछ क्षेत्रों में आपसी रूपांतरण के फलस्वरूप एक नई तकनीक को बाहर लाए।

शोध प्रबंध के प्रथम अध्याय में मालवा की भौगोलिक पृष्ठभूमि जलवायु एवं आक्रमणकारियों के लिए मालवा के आकर्षण का केंद्र यहां की भौगोलिक स्थिति रही। इस अध्याय में सभी मध्यकालीन शासकों द्वारा भौगोलिक सीमाओं में किए गए परिवर्तनों का भी उल्लेख मिलता है।

अध्याय द्वितीय में मध्यकाल में मालवा में हुए राजनीतिक परिवर्तनों को स्पष्ट किया गया है। विभिन्न शासकों ने अपने राज्य की सीमाओं को बनाए रखने के लिए एक विस्तार के लिए क्या कूटनीतिक चालों को अपनाया, उसका विस्तृत विवरण इस अध्याय में किया गया है।

‘अध्याय तृतीय-इस अध्याय में सल्तनत कालीन मालवा की सामाजिक स्थिति का वर्णन किया गया है। इस अध्याय के अंतर्गत सात उपाध्याय हैं, जो संपूर्ण सल्तनत काल में मालवा की सामाजिक स्थिति के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डालते हैं। इस अध्याय में जाति व्यवस्था, हिंदुओं की दशा, विवाह परंपराएं, अन्य परंपराएं एवं तीज त्यौहार, प्रमुख व्यंजन, परंपरागत खेल, पहनावा, तथा वेशभूषा एवं संस्कारों का उल्लेख है।

अध्याय चतुर्थ-इस अध्याय में मालवा की सल्तनत कालीन सांस्कृतिक स्थिति का वर्णन किया गया है। इस अध्याय में छह उप अध्याय हैं, जो कि मालवा की स्थापत्य कला, मूर्तिकला, धार्मिक स्थिति, साहित्य, चित्रकला एवं प्रमुख सूफी संतों का वर्णन करते हैं।

अध्याय पांचवां इस अध्याय में मुगलकालीन मालवा की सामाजिक स्थिति का वर्णन है। इस अध्याय को चार उप अध्यायों में विभाजित किया गया है। यह उप अध्याय हैं, हिंदुओं की सामाजिक दशा, स्त्रियों की दशा, परंपराएं एवं तीज त्यौहार तथा पहनावा। यह सभी उप अध्याय मुगलकालीन सामाजिक दशा के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डालते हैं।

अध्याय षष्ठम में मुगलकालीन सांस्कृतिक स्थिति का उल्लेख किया गया है। इस अध्याय में आठ उप अध्याय हैं जो कि मुगलकालीन मालवा की स्थापत्य कला चित्रकला, मूर्तिकला, धार्मिक स्थिति, प्रमुख सूफी संत, मालवा के लोकगीत, कहावतें, लोक नृत्य इत्यादि का वर्णन करते हैं।

अध्याय सप्तम में मध्यकालीन मालवा की मुस्लिम संस्कृति का हिंदुओं पर क्या प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर हुआ, उसका वर्णन किया गया है। किस प्रकार तत्कालीन शासकों की नीतियों से दोनों धर्मों में सद्भाव बढ़ा एवं उन्होंने किस प्रकार एक दूसरे की सामाजिक परंपराओं एवं सांस्कृतिक परंपराओं को अपनाया एवं मालवा के विकास में अपना योगदान दिया। यह अध्याय अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है क्योंकि यह मध्यकाल में मालवा में हिंदू मुस्लिम संस्कृति के विभिन्न पहलुओं के सम्मिश्रण के उदाहरणों का वर्णन करता है।।

अध्याय अष्टम-यह अंतिम अध्याय शोध निष्कर्ष एवं उप संहार का है जिसमें समस्त शोध का सारांश तथा शोध निष्कर्ष का वर्णन किया गया है।

प्रस्तुत शोध प्रबंध में प्रामाणिक एवं तथ्य पूर्ण सामग्री के आधार पर अध्यायों को वर्णित किया गया है। इस ग्रंथ की रचना में लेखिका डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का पूरा प्रयास रहा है कि हर विषय पर प्रामाणिक जानकारी उपलब्ध हो सके। अपने इस उद्देश्य की पूर्ति हेतु उन्होंने समकालीन प्राथमिक स्रोतों के अनुवादों एवं दिवतीय स्रोतों तथा लोक साहित्य का प्रयोग किया गया है। इस कार्य में प्रयुक्त प्राथमिक स्रोत सामग्री प्रमुख रूप से श्री नट नागर शोध संस्थान सीतामऊ, कावेरी शोध संस्थान उज्जैन, विक्रम विश्वविद्यालय उज्जैन, जिला पुरातत्व विभाग मांडू एवं संग्रहालय मंदसौर, इंदौर, भानपुरा, धार, देवास, विदिशा में संग्रहित स्रोतों से एकत्र की गई है। इसके साथ ही लेखिका द्वारा स्वयं का व्यापक एवं गहन सर्वेक्षण तथा पुरातात्विक स्थलों का भ्रमण एवं शोध निष्कर्ष को कभी सहारा लिया गया है। इस महत्वपूर्ण शोध ग्रंथ में लेखिका डॉक्टर आशा श्रीवास्तव ने पांडुलिपियों, चित्रों एवं स्थानीय परंपराओं के साथ ही, ऐतिहासिक परंपराओं का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन कर निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किए हैं। सामाजिक स्थिति के अध्ययन के लिए शोध सामग्री का नितांत अभाव होने से लेखिका के द्वारा तत्कालीन चित्रों एवं मूर्तियों में वर्णित वेशभूषा तथा दैनिक कार्य, पहनावा, एवं परंपराओं को आधार बनाकर अपने निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किए हैं, जो कि सर्वथा एक मौलिक कार्य होने के साथ ही नवीन शोध कर्ताओं के लिए प्रेरणा स्रोत भी है।

डॉ. आशा श्रीवास्तव का शोध ग्रंथ मध्यकालीन मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास दरअसल मूल प्राथमिक स्रोतों एवं अन्य सहायक स्रोतों से युक्त एक प्रामाणिक एवं सारगर्भित शोध ग्रंथ बन सका है। इस शोध कार्य में लेखिका डॉक्टर आशा श्रीवास्तव को भारतीय इतिहास अनुसंधान परिषद नई दिल्ली की जूनियर रिसर्च फेलोशिप मिली जिसकी वित्तीय सहायता से इस ग्रंथ का प्रकाशन ओरिजिनल्स, दिल्ली द्वारा किया गया।

मध्यकालीन मालवा का सांस्कृतिक इतिहास कुछ स्तरीय शुद्ध कार्य कर उसे पुस्तक के रूप में प्रकाशित करने पर डॉक्टर आशा श्रीवास्तव निसंदेह बधाई की हकदार हैं। इतिहास जगत की ओर से उन्हें हार्दिक साधुवाद एवं सद्भावनाएं।

Book Review
The Heritage Management of Historical
Inheritance in Medieval India – A Pioneer Work
of Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

*Dr. Naushaba Shaikh

Author : Ed. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, Book Name : The Heritage Management of Historical Inheritance in Medieval India, Publisher : Radha Publications, New Delhi; Price : 395; Page : 127; ISBN : 978-81-7487-889-2



The Heritage Management of Historical Inheritance in Medieval India, is a compilation of works undertaken by the society in Medieval India for sustainability life. Historian scholars, through their research work on Medieval Indian society's contribution in different areas of developmental work, have contributed to this compilation. The book is edited by **Dr. Vinay Shrivastava** who is currently serving in Department of History, Chhatrasal Govt. Post Graduate College, Panna, Madhya Pradesh, as a professor of History. This Book is published by **Radha Publication and Vidya Career Research Foundation, Panna.**

It is proven that the environment greatly affects our behavior and outlook to life. Great ideas perceived and eventually realized by mankind are to a great extent, influenced by the surrounding environment. This is the origin of creativity of man from society, environment ecology and nature. The book has many articles on different and divergent themes of India.

This book consists of seventeen chapters by different authors. The first chapter entitled, "Water Conservation and Heritage management through step well in Medieval Malwa" is a contribution of Dr. Vinay Shrivastava. He has laid stress that water is indeed a vital component for us. This work gives an overview on the practices followed in water conservation and management by the various rulers of Malwa (Central India). The types of architecture they used for this purpose is also discussed, which depicts their social customs.

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The second chapter, 'Advent of sufi saints and establishment of sufi shrines at Jammu', is a contribution from Dr. Sharda Sharma, which gives us the details about the sufi shrines in Jammu region and their architecture. These places served as community kitchen (langer), promoting intercommunity interaction, sharing thoughts which helped in communal harmony.

The third chapter of the book, 'Cultural and Traditional Background of the Gangtes with special reference to Dress and Costume' by Dr. Priyadarshni M. Gangte, gives an insight of the different dress and costumes of the gangtes (one of the tribes in Indias North-east). The chapter describes the various hues and shades of colour that adorn the weaves of a fabric showcase. It is not only an essence of an integral garment to clothe oneself, but also an aesthetic artwork which reflects the rich cultural heritage of a community.

The fourth chapter, 'The Hampi World Heritage Site-An Introspective from Art History', by Dr. Priya Thakur, throws light on the famous Hampi World Heritage sites. This is a Dravidian style architecture characterized by its greater fullness and vivid range of themes. The art is marked with a clear sense of freedom and fluency towards the expression of aesthetic aspirations of the sculptors.

The fifth chapter titled, 'Cultural-Heritage of Kulpsutra Paintings and its Cultural Management Theories' by Dr. Asha Shrivastava, talks about the importance of management of heritage and its relevance in our present. How the gain merchants and contemporary rulers reprinted the dead paintings of Kulpsutra and brought a new form of fusion painting in Indian and Persian Art is discussed.

The sixth chapter titled 'Giani Gian Singh on Minor Sikh Religions Denomination of Punjab' an article by Sarita Rana, describes the works of Giani Gian Singh, who wrote the history of Sikhs in Gurumukhi without any royal patronage. He wrote both in poetry as well as prose style.

The seventh article titled, 'Temple-Centered Brahmanical Settlements and The Social Change in South India: During the Early Medieval period', is written by Dr. Subhash Balhara. The author explains that South India offers the most interesting and complex forms of development of the culture mosaic that is known as Hinduism.

The eighth chapter, 'Historical Development of Anandpur Sahib: A Sikh Pilgrim City' by Dr. Rita P. Bhambhi, throws light on Anandpur 'Holy City of Bliss' in the state of Punjab.

The ninth chapter of the book, 'The Tughlaq Sultans as Builder And Preservationist with special Reference to Cities' by Dr. Asha Kiran, describes the architectural works of the Tughlaq dynasty. The Tughlaq Sultans were great builders of cities.

The tenth chapter titled, 'Matunga and Marubai Temple. Ancient to The Present Times', is a contribution by Dr. Ravinder Kaur Cheema. Matunga and the Marubai Temple today stand alive to exhibit the history from the epic age to the present time carrying the history as legacy of the past.

The eleventh chapter 'Contribution of Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi to preserve and Publish the Rajasthani Historical Literary Heritage', a research by Dr. Vikram Singh Amarawat, brings to light the efforts of Nagori Pracharini Sabha in publishing different works of literary and historical importance under different series in Rajasthani Literature.

The twelfth chapter, 'Historical Inheritance of Music and Dance: Contribution of Sultanate Nobility', contributed by Fazeela Shahnawaz, explains that Indian music is one of the oldest musical traditions of the world. The Medieval period infused new tradition in Indian music by the sultans and nobles.

Chapter thirteen, 'Contribution of Khusran to Music', by Dr. Aparna Sharma, elaborates the contribution of Khusran towards music and his inventions in Music.

'Medieval forts of Kathua District' contributed by Dr. Arjun Singh forms the fourteenth chapter of the book. The author highlights the Kathua region of Jammu for its rich culture and Architecture.

The fifteenth chapter titled, 'Bijamandal An Excavated Mound, Khajuraho (Documentation, Condition Assessment and Preventive Conservation Module)', is a contribution of Dr. Vinay Kumar Roy. The author describes the new excavations in Khajuraho.

The sixteenth chapter, 'Akbar Palace: Historical Monument in Ajmer', is the research work of Dr. Lata Agrawal. The writer describes about the Palace in detail.

The last chapter, 'Folk Literature and Dalit History; a Cultural Contextual Analysis of Transformation' a research work of Udaya Kumar P, shows the historical circumstances which led to social formations.

The concept of having a compilation of developmental activities undertaken in Medieval Indian society is a unique idea and hence by far one of the very few books giving such comprehensive records. The editor and the authors have done justice to the title of the book, by providing comprehensive information on various areas of development undertaken in Medieval India. This book shall prove to be useful for students, teachers and Research Scholars interested in the Heritage Management of Historical Inheritance.



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