

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
Haryana History Congress
5th Session

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25th-26th December, 2020

Editors

Dr. Sajjan Kumar
Dr. Jagdish Parshad
Dr. Mahender Singh



Haryana History Congress
2021

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PREFACE

The current coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic has affected educational systems worldwide, leading to the near-total closures of schools, colleges and universities. Follows the protocol of COVID-19, the Executive Committee of Haryana History Congress decided to make this session via online (virtual session).

The present proceeding contains selected papers of the 5th Virtual Annual Conference of Haryana History Congress under the theme “Any aspect related to History and Culture of Haryana” held on December 25-26, 2020. The National Conference, which was organized by Haryana History Congress online via-Google Meet platform.

The Congress has accepted more than 60 abstracts. After an initial review of the submitted abstracts, more than 50 papers were presented at the two days virtual conference. Finally, after a peer review process, 31 papers and 2 summaries were accepted for publication in the 5th Virtual Conference Proceeding. The published papers have passed the process of improvement accommodating the discussion during the conference as well as editing by the editors.

On behalf of Haryana History Congress, I grateful to our General President (for 5th Virtual Session), Prof. Vijay Kumar, Former Vice Chancellor, Chaudhary Devi Lal University (CDLU), Sirsa and now presently, Professor in Department of History and Archaeology, Maharshi Dayanand University (MDU), Rohtak (Haryana) for accepting the invitation and giving their valuable time, and very thanks for his wonderful and knowledgeable presidential address on inaugural session.

I am very grateful to renowned scholars Dr. Akshat Kaushik, Senior

Assistant Archaeologist, Chandigarh Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Chandigarh for preside the Ancient Section and for sectional presidential address with his topic “*Kabhi Sirsa Kabhi Nirsra : An Idiomatic Expression of the Archaeo-historical Investigation at Sirsa*”; Sh. Brajendra Kumar Singhal, Eminent scholar for preside the Medieval Section and for sectional presidential address with his topic “संत नितानन्द से मेरा परिचय”; and Dr. U.V. Singh, former Head of the Department, Department of History, Sanatan Dharma College Ambala, (Haryana) for preside the Modern Section and for sectional presidential address, for accepting the invitation and making very interesting and meaningful the fifth virtual session.

I am also thankful to Prof. S.M. Azizuddin Husain, former HoD, Department of History, Jamia Milia Islamia University, New Delhi, now presently, Senior Academic Fellow of ICHR, New Delhi for delivering his valuable valedictory address.

The topics that have been covered in the conference include: art history, settlements, archaeology, sultanate and mughal history, inscriptions, economic and various aspects of modern history of Haryana, architecture, and gender etc. I really congratulate to the team of Haryana History Congress to make a successful academic session of 5th virtual conference.

I sincerely thanks to Dr. Jai Pal Singh, Dr. Mahender Singh Bagi, Dr. Umashankar for their beautiful co-operation and chaired the various sessions. I appreciate and thanks to our technical team members Sh. Anil Yadav, convener of the technical team, and young research scholars Mr. Abhishek, Mr. Harsh Dev Tomar and Aakash Gupta all are from Dept. of History, University of Delhi for providing excellent technical facilities or online platform for making successful the virtual conference.

I am very much thankful to our President, Dr. Yashvir Singh, Vice President, Dr. Rajesh Kumar, Joint Sectary, Dr. Atul Yadav, Treasurer, Sh. Anil Yadav and our respected EC members Dr. Jagdish Parshad, Dr. Mahender Singh, Dr. Vijay Kumar, Dr. Mahender Singh Bagi and others for their cooperation and providing many types of support to organize the virtual conference. And my special thanks to Ms. Supriya Dhanda, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Aggarwal College Ballabgarh for her wonderful and unforgettable anchoring in inaugural and valedictory sessions in the conference.

I would like to thanks all the editors for giving their precious time, efforts in editing and reviewing the papers for the proceeding. I am also grateful to Sh. Puneet for his co-operation in composing, layout setting and provide the proceeding in timely.

Finally, I would like to thanks to all of the participants and organising team members who have dedicated their constant support and countless time to make successful the virtual conference.

New Delhi.
November 1, 2021

Dr. Sajjan Kumar
General Secretary

Presidential Address : Ancient Section

‘Kabhi Sirsa Kabhi Nirsa’

An Idiomatic Expression of the Archaeo-historical Investigation at Sirsa

*Dr. Akshat Kumar Kaushik

Sirsa town is located to the south-west of Haryana state. It is said to be one of the oldest places of North India and its ancient name was *Sairishaka*, which finds mention in *Mahabharata*, Panini’s *Ashatadhyayi* and *Divyavadan*. There are a number of legends about the origin of the name of the town. Similarly, several idioms are very common among the locals about the Sirsa town. One such idiom prevalent in the region is “*Kabhi Sirsa Kabhi Nirsa*” which refers to the fluctuating fortunes of the ancient city which swayed between affluence and ruin over the centuries.

This paper is an attempt to analyse the said idiom in context of the archeo historical investigations in the light of recent excavations at Theed Mound Sirsa (archaeological site) and previous explorations in Sirsa District.

Historical Background

Literary overview - The name of the district is derived from its headquarter Sirsa. It is said to be one of the oldest places of North India and its ancient name was *Sairishaka*, which finds mention in *Mahabharata*, Panini’s *Ashatadhyayi* and *Divyavadan*. In *Mahabharata*,¹ *Sairishaka* is described as being taken by Nakula in his conquest of the western quarter. It must have been a flourishing city in the 5th century BCE as it has been mentioned by

* Senior Assistant Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Chandigarh Circle.

Panini.²

There are a number of legends about the origin of the name of the town. As mentioned earlier, its ancient name was *Sairishaka* and from that it seems to have been corrupted to Sirsa. According to local tradition, an unknown king named Saras founded the town in 7th century CE and built a fort.³ According to another tradition, the name has its origin from the sacred river Sarasvati which once flowed near it. During medieval period, the town was known as Sarsuti. It has been mentioned as Sarsuti by a number of medieval historians. The derivation of name Sirsa, is also attributed to the abundance of *siris* trees [Albizia lebbek (Benth)] in the neighborhood of Sirsa which seems quite plausible for it finds some corroboration also in Panini and his commentator. In ancient period, Sirsa was also known as Sirsapattan.⁴

Antiquity of the region – Antiquity of the District goes back to the Pre-Harappan Period. Remains of the Late Siswal Culture are found from Bani (near Haryana-Rajasthan). It was followed by the Late Harappan Culture (1700-1500 BCE) whose pottery has been discovered at Jodhkan⁵ (24 kilometres east of Sirsa). Subsequently PGW culture flourished in a large area of the District, some of the important PGW sites⁶ are Jodhkan, Rania, Himayun, Khera, Nakora, Kariwali and Bani. During Early Historical Period, although not a single site belong to Northern Black Polished Ware has so far been found in the district but the discovery of Asokan pillars from adjacent places like Fatehabad and Hisar, may possibly suggest its inclusion also in the Mauryan empire. On the basis of some numismatic and epigraphic evidence, few terracotta figurines and the discovery of Rangmahal ware of the Kushana period (1st - 4th century CE) from a number of sites⁷ - Bajeka, Bhaudin, Moju Khera, Sikanderpur, Sirsa and Suchan, it is evident that the region also came under the influence of the Kushana,⁸ Yaudheya and the Guptas. Kushana antiquities⁹ includes coins, crude imitations of coin-types of Vasudeva - I and figurine moulds of a lady and another of a seated male deity holding attributes in his four hands. Some Yaudheya copper coins¹⁰ bearing the legend *Yaudheya Ganasya Jayah*, are also found from Sirsa in association of the Kushana Coins. Subsequently, the region came under the sway of Guptas and Pushyabhutis of Thanesar. A stone slab containing an inscription¹¹ in Sanskrit verse assignable to about 5th/6th century CE was discovered at Sirsa. It contains a eulogy of a king whose name is entirely lost along with the

major portion of the composition. During the time of Muhammadan invasion, the region was conquered by the Masud who was the successor of the Sultan Mahmud. Masud appointed his son Majdud¹² as governor of the region from Hansi to Indus including the region of the Sirsa. Later on, the region of Sirsa came under the control of Tomaras of Delhi. This fact can be corroborated by the finding of the coins of the Tomara rulers Sallaksanapala (978-1008 CE), Anangapala (1049-1097 CE) and Mahipala (1103-1128 CE). These findings along with some inscriptional data (Palam Baoli Inscription¹³ and Delhi Museum Inscription¹⁴) suggest that the region was recaptured by the Tomaras from Ghaznavid occupation. The Tomaras soon lost their hold over the region to the Chahamanas of Rajasthan who lost the region to the Muslim rule after the defeat of Prithviraja III in the second battle of Taraori (1192 CE). According to Hasan Nizami, Prithviraja, who joined the battle late, tried to escape but was recognised, pursued and finally captured in the neighbourhood of Sarsuti¹⁵ (Sirsa). During Sultanat period, Kutubuddin Aibak established a military outpost at Sirsa.¹⁶ During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51 CE), Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller from Tangiers travelled through the district (1341 CE). He has given a very interesting description of Sirsa. He says "It is large and abounds with rice which they carry hence to Delhi."¹⁷ Firuz Shah¹⁸ who succeeded Muhammad Tughlaq, founded the town of Firozabad near Rania in 1360 CE and had drawn a canal from the Ghaggar, passing by the walls of Sarsuti (Sirsa) to this city. During 1398 CE Sirsa town was plundered by the Taimur.¹⁹

During the Mughal period, at the time of Sher Shah Suri, ruler of Bikaner, Rao Kalian Singh,²⁰ was driven out of his state by the Chief of Jodhpur. The displaced king, made Sirsa his headquarter for some time. Thereafter, area governed by the Mughal ruler till the Britishers occupied the region.

Excavations at The mound Sirsa

The mound (29°31'31.62" N, 75°01'14.67" E) is located in the south-western corner of the present town Sirsa. It was declared as site of national importance by the Archaeological Survey of India. The site was occupied by the encroachers from a long period and a case (COCF No. 1824 for 2012) is pending in the Hon'ble High Court Punjab & Haryana for removal of

encroachments. During the hearing, Hon'ble High Court instructed to State Government Haryana to remove encroachments from the site. Following which, out of 85 acres of land, 31.5 acres of land has been freed from encroachment and handed over to A.S.I Chandigarh Circle, till the writing of this article. Hon'ble High Court also issued directions to Archaeological Survey of India for carrying out excavations at the site. In pursuance of the order of the Hon'ble High Court of Punjab & Haryana, excavations were started with the following objectives-

1. To ascertain the antiquity of site.
2. To understand the nature of the mound.

To fulfill these objective excavations and scrapping of the mound was undertaken in several trenches which revealed numerous antiquarians remains ranging from Sunga-Kushana Period to Mughal period. An intensive survey of the mound revealed existence of several mud bricks and burnt brick walls raised throughout the height of the mound in all marginal sections which indicates that both types of bricks were used over a period of time. Remnants of the bastions (small and large size), of mud bricks (laid in mud mortar) were also noticed in southern and north-western periphery of the mound which were the indicators of the mud brick fortification wall. To know the nature of mound which is also described as a fort in several literary evidences, scrapping of the mound were undertaken in north-western and south-eastern part of the mound while excavations were conducted inside and outside of the fortification wall in northwestern part of the mound.

However for this study, archaeo –literary evidences from Gupta period onwards are more valuable and will be discussed broadly.

Gupta Pd. at the site is marked with several burnt bricks and mud bricks structural activities (Plate 1). A hearth / *Chullah* was found from this level. It was made of mud bricks (arranged in brick on edge position) which were burnt during firing activities. A thick layer of mud mixed with husk was applied over the *chulha* and in surrounding ground level. Over the mud plaster of ground, a thin layer of lime was provided. Several pot sherds were recovered from this working level. Another important discovery of this period is occurrence of multiple floor levels which denotes different habitational phases of this period. A huge platform having approx 27 brick courses of mud bricks were also recovered from this level. An intact globular pot and

fragments of a cylindrical vase (fragments arranged in its original shape) are found from one of the floor levels. One of the most important finding of this period was, a burnt clay mould of Mahisasurmardini besides several other antiquities are found from this period.



Plate 1: Remains of Gupta period



Plate 2: Plaque moulds (right) and its impression (left), Gupta period.

Rajput period is characterized by a stone inscription (Plate 3) of the time of Bhoja²¹ the Pratihara ruler was found from Sirsa mound which is presently lying at Lahore Museum. It is of much value from the view point of religious history of the region. It records the construction of a temple of Siva by burnt brick and stone slabs by Nilakantha, a saint of Pasupata sect at

Sirsa. It gives us information that at least for five generations the Pashupata sect flourished here during the 8th and the 9th centuries CE.

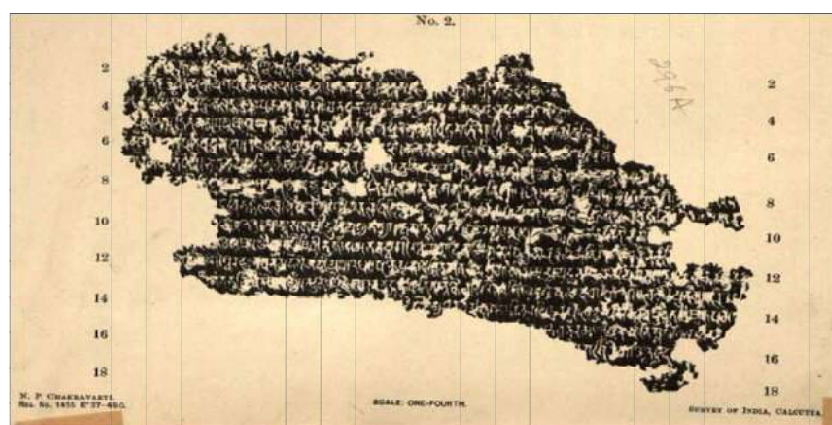


Plate 3: Rajput Period Inscription

Several fragments of sculpture and architecture fragments are found from Theed mound Sirsa. Most of them are found as surface finds while some are revealed through excavations from Rajput deposit.



Plate 4: Fragment of sculpture



Plate 5: Fragment of sculpture



Plate 6 & 7: Part of Pillars



Plate 8: Part of Pillar



Plate 9: Fragment of a Shivalinga

Plate 10: *Pranala*

Plate 11: Fragment of a Shivalinga

Details of the stone fragments are as follows –

- Plate 4 – Pedestal of a sculpture carved with floral motifs, probably Rajput period.
- Plate 5 – Fragment of a sculpture, probably Rajput period.
- Plate 6-8 Part of pillar showing *ghata-pallava* motif, Rajput period.
- Plate 9– Fragment of architecture member depicting a yugal figure, *Kirtimukha* is depicted on the lower portion while a *chaitya* arch motif is adorned on the top.
- Plate 10 – Fragment of a *pranala*, Rajput period.
- Plate 11 – Fragment of a Shivalinga, defaced on one side, probably Rajput period.

All these archaeological and epigraphical evidences suggest that the region

was flourished till the Rajput period however in the late phase of Rajput period/Early Sultanat period, the region faced several invasions and natural calamity which is also reflected from contemporary literary sources.

According to *Tarikh-i-Subuktageen* (by Al Baihaki²² (10th-11th century CE) –Sultan Masud (who was the successor of the Sultan Mahmud Gajnavi, took the route of Sarsuti, situated among the hills of Kashmir, the garrison of which fort being intimidated, sent messengers to the king, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Masud felt disposed to listen to the proposals, until he understood that some Muhammadan merchants, having been seen by the garrison, were then captives in the place. He accordingly broke up the conference and besieged the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with sugar canes from the adjacent plantations. This being done, he caused scaling-ladders to be applied to the walls; and the fort, after a bloody contest, was taken. The garrison, without distinction, was put to the sword, except the women and children, who were carried off by the soldiers as slaves. The king, moreover, commanded that a part of the spoil should be given to the Muhammadans who had been prisoners in Sarsuti, and who had formerly lost their effects. This year is also recorded by Indian historians as remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the world, especially in Persia and India, in which entire provinces were depopulated. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence, which swept many thousands from the face of the earth for in less than one month forty thousand persons died in Ispahan alone. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*²³ (1260 CE) speaks of Sarasvati as a fort that surrendered to the Muslims. Firishta (16th Century) too speaks of it as a fort captured by the Muslims soon after the battle of Tarain. Ibn Batuta puts it down as a place on the route from Abohar to Delhi. So the place meant is most probably Sirsa, which we found actually mentioned as Sarasvati in the *Karmachandra vamsot kirtana k akavya* of Jayasoma.²⁴

Masud appointed his son Majdud²⁵ as governor of the region from Hansi to Indus including the region of the Sirsa. Later on, the region of Sirsa came under the control of Tomaras of Delhi. This fact can be corroborated by the finding of the coins of the Tomara rulers Sallaksanapala (978-1008 CE), Anangapala (1049-1097 CE) and Mahipala (1103-1128 CE). These findings along with some inscriptional data (Palam Baoli

Inscription²⁶ and Delhi Museum Inscription²⁷) suggest that the region was recaptured by the Tomaras from Ghaznavid occupation. The Tomaras soon lost their hold over the region to the Chahamanas of Rajasthan who lost the region to the Muslim rule after the defeat of Prithviraja III in the second battle of Taraori (1192 CE). According to Hasan Nizami, Prithviraja, who joined the battle late, tried to escape but was recognised, pursued and finally captured in the neighbourhood of Sarsuti²⁸ (Sirsa).

During the period of Chahamanas of Shakambhari (6th-12th century CE), with the expansion of the Sapadalaksa kingdom²⁹ (The core territory of the Chahamanas was located in present-day Rajasthan. It was known as Sapadalaksha.) important frontier forts like Hansi, Samana, Kohram, Sarasvati and Tabarhind, were taken under control. The forts had to be carefully manned and now and then further strengthened on account of the ever-present menace of Muslim invasions from the north-west. Not often we find them put under the ruler's most trusted relations; Hansi, for instance, was under Prithviraja II's uncle, Kilhana, and a few years later under Hariraja, the younger brother of Prithviraja III.

During the period of Chahaman dynasty, Tabarhindah, Asika (Hansi), Sunam, Sarasvati (Sirsa), and Kohram owed their importance to being places of defence and refuge on the route from north-western India to Ajayameru.

During Sultanat period, Kutubuddin Aibak established a military outpost at Sirsa.³⁰ At the time of Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-51 CE), Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller from Tangiers travelled through the district (1341 CE). He has given a very interesting description of Sirsa. He says "It is large and abounds with rice which they carry hence to Delhi."³¹ Firuz Shah³² who succeeded Muhammad Tughlaq, founded the town of Firozabad near Rania in 1360 CE and had drawn a canal from the Ghaggar, passing by the walls of Sarsuti (Sirsa) to this city. During 1398 CE Sirsa town was plundered by the Taimur.³³ According to *Malfujat -e- Tamuri*³⁴ (autobiography of Timur) when Taimur proceeded to the town of Sarsuti. The inhabitants of this town were for the most part infidels and kept pigs, whose flesh they ate. On hearing of the approach of Timur they took to flight. A detachment was sent in pursuit, which overtook them and put many of them to the sword, and plundered the property which they had carried off. The detachment returned safe to camp with its plunder, all

except Adi' I Farrash who was killed in the fight. Timur rested one day at Sarsuti and on the following day marched eighteen kos to Fatehabad where he encamped.

Literary references suggest fluctuating fortunes of Sirsa which is further validated by the contemporary archaeological data which suggest that deposits of Late phase of Rajput / Early Sultanat period yielded numerous evidences of destructions / invasion (for. eg. Deposit of thick ash, repair of fortification wall, charred/burnt material, repair of damaged structure etc.) Details of which are as under-

Excavations revealed, a deposit of a thick ashy layer (1.87 Mtr thick) from the deposits of Late phase of Rajput/Early Sultanat period. Few terracotta missiles (projectiles) were found from this deposit. Below the ashy deposit, a 15 cm thick deposit of potsherds was encountered. Further excavations, revealed evidences of a fallen brick wall which was made of reused burnt bricks of Kushana & Gupta Period. The bricks were in very fragile condition. Size of bricks were 25x19x5 cm, 29x21x3, 17x15x5, 25x18x4, 33x23x5 cm. Originally the wall was running in north-east and south-west direction. Thickness of the fallen brick deposit (which also denotes the thickness of the wall in its original (standing) position) was 1.10 meter approx. Maximum exposed expansion of the bricks in the plan (which denotes the maximum exposed height of the wall) was 4 meters. A terracotta missile/projectile (same as were found in southeastern part of fortification wall during scrapping) was found embedded in the fallen wall. Size of these terracotta missiles was like a small football (12 cm diameter). Contemporary deposits witnessed large scale burning activities.

An entrance, was pierced in the fallen brick wall. Width of the exposed portion of entrance was 206 cm. Remains of a brick on edge floor (laid in lime mortar) were found in eastern side of entrance however it seems, originally it was provided on either side of entrance. Traces of a mud brick floor coated with lime plaster were found in front of the entrance. A decorated miniature pot was found embedded on the floor. Two post holes were also found on this floor which were oriented in east-west direction, parallel to the fallen wall, at a distance of 180 cm from the fallen wall. These postholes were separated from each other by a distance of 154 cm. Diameter of these post holes was 12 cm each. Traces of burnt wood were found in one of the

post holes. It seems a structure of perishable material was erected in front of the brick wall, it was supported by the wooden logs which were fixed in these post holes. During later phase, super structure was set to fire and half burnt wooden logs were fell down, traces of which are found in the form of a charcoal layer. All these facts suggest that the site had faced severe destruction during the late phase of Rajput period. It is further strengthened by the fact that several fragments of charred and uncharred bones were found from this level. Occurrence of terracotta ball /missiles from this level, particularly one of them was found embedded on fallen brick wall suggest that these terracotta missiles were used during attack.

In the southeastern part of the fortification wall hordes of terracotta ball (of the size of small football) were stored in the fortification wall. It seems that terracotta balls were stored at the top of the fortification wall, to use them as missiles³⁵ (projectiles) against the enemy approaching towards the fort.³⁶ There are several references in the contemporary literature about the use of stone throwing machines during the attack.³⁷ During later period, a thick layer of dump was deposited over the wall, above which a cell like structure (probably guard cell) was constructed over the dump. It (Guard cell) was made of burnt bricks laid in mud mortar. Two walls of this cell, oriented in eastern and southern direction, were partly exposed.

Original / initial construction date of the fortification wall could not be ascertained due to limited nature of excavations however various archaeological evidences testify the literary evidences of the existence of a fort during the Rajput period onwards.

In the north-western side of fortification wall, a layer of ash was present above the mud brick courses which was continuing throughout the site and indicate large-scale burning activity at the site. Originally, fortification wall was made on box pattern where box shaped gaps were left in the wall which were filled with earth. These arrangements were made for strengthening of the fortification wall. Traces of lime plaster were also noticed in the side walls of the box. Two such boxes were noticed. Box I was 3 mtr. long and 1.27 mtr. high while box II was 155 cm long and 150 cm high. Evidence of providing of a buttress wall to support the fortification wall were also found. Difference in the masonry of the buttress wall and fortification wall was clearly visible, as the bricks of buttress wall were laid in thin mortar while

thick mud mortar was provided in the fortification wall. It seems buttress wall was provided in later phase as masonry of the buttress wall resembled with the structural activities found above the thick layer of ash and charcoal which represent the different constructional phase wherein the fort was repaired after heavy fire.



Plate 12 & 13: Section showing evidence of destructions at Thed mound

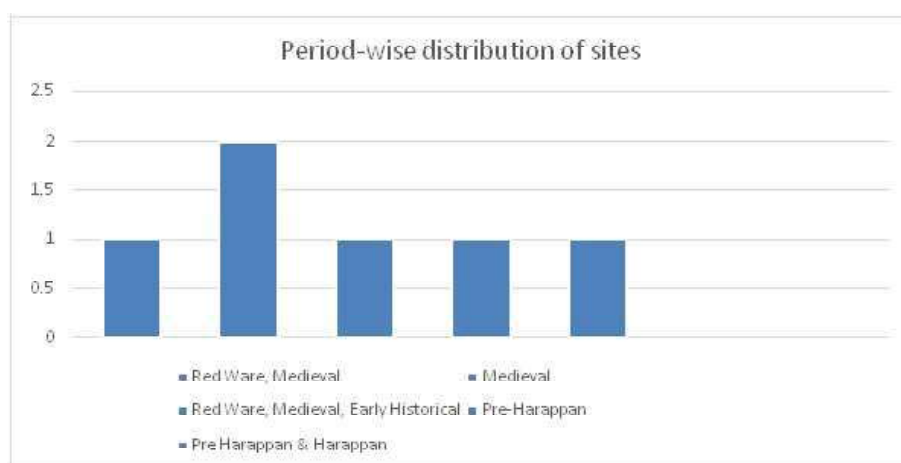
Analysis from Exploration Data –

After independence several explorations were conducted in the area to identify antiquarian remains.

Shri Suraj Bhan of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Kurukshetra explored the old beds of Saraswati and Drishadwati rivers, falling in District Ambala, Hisar, Jind, and Karnal right up to the Rajasthan border.³⁸ In the course of his survey, he discovered several archaeological sites, ranging from the Pre-Harappan Culture to the Medieval period however exact provenance of these site is not mentioned therefore only 6 well known sites could be associated with the Sirsa District.

Period-wise details of these sites are as under-

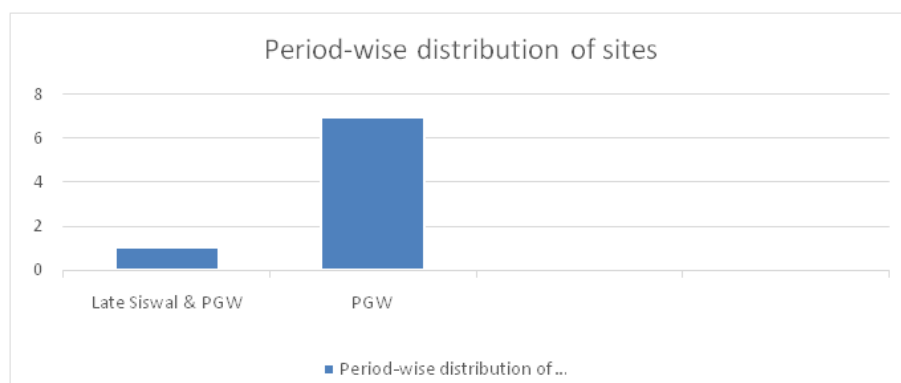
Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1	Red Ware, Medieval	1
2	Medieval	2
3	Red Ware, Medieval, Early Historical	1
4	Pre-Harappan	1
6	Pre Harappan & Harappan	1



Further explorations by Sh. Suraj Bhan³⁹ in the area revealed 8 no. archaeological sites out of which 7 sites were of PGW period while at one site remains of Late Siswal Culture and PGW Culture were noticed.

Period-wise details of these sites are as under-

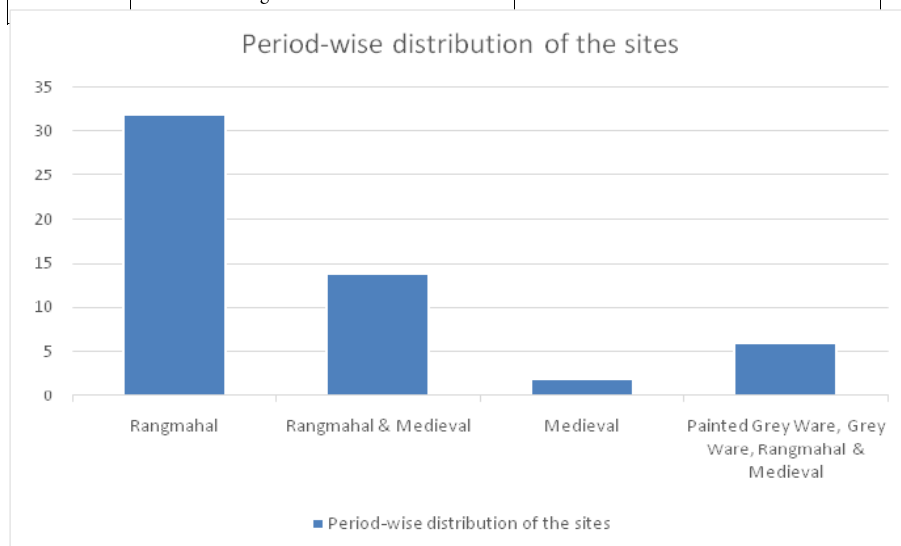
Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1	Late Siswal & PGW	1
2	PGW	7



The Explorations Branch of the Survey, under Shri B. K. Thapar, assisted by Shri S. P. Jain and Shri K. N. Dikshit undertook exploration of the Ghaggar valley in Tahsil Sirsa.⁴⁰ During exploration 54 archaeological sites were discovered.

Period-wise distribution of the sites are as under -

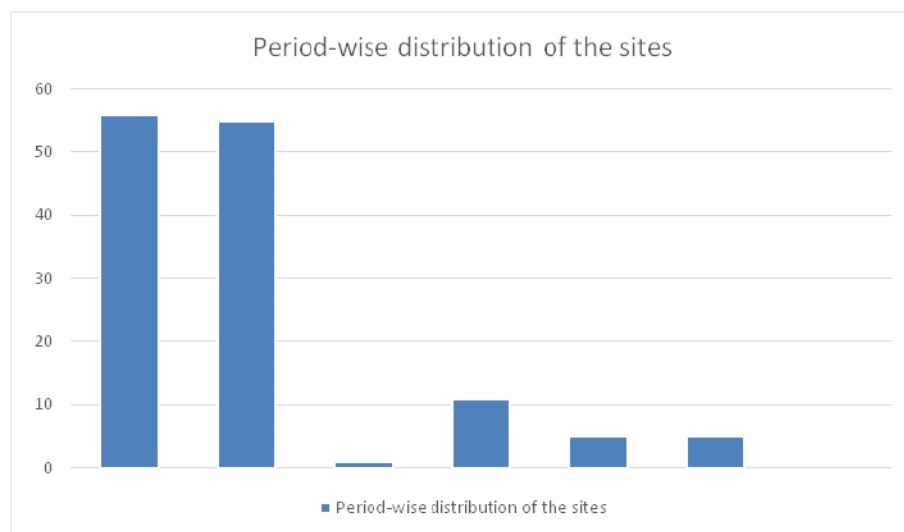
Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1	Rangmahal	32
2	Rangmahal& Medieval	14
3	Medieval	2
4	Painted Grey Ware, Grey Ware, Rangmahal& Medieval	6



The Department of Archaeology, Government of Haryana, located historical remains⁴¹ at Bagwala, Bahudeen, Chhoti Dhani, Manju Khera, Mahinder-ki-Shani, Monali, Narela Khera, Putelidaha, Sikandarpur and Titnakhera.

Sh. Dhoop Singh and Chanderpal Singh of Deptt of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana, discovered 134 sites in the course of village to village survey in District Sirsa.⁴²

Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1.	Rangmahal	56
2.	Medieval	55
3.	Harappan, PGW & Rangmahal	1
4.	Early Historical	11
5.	Rangmahal & Medieval	5
6.	Early Historical & Medieval	5
7.	Late Harappan & Rangmahal	1



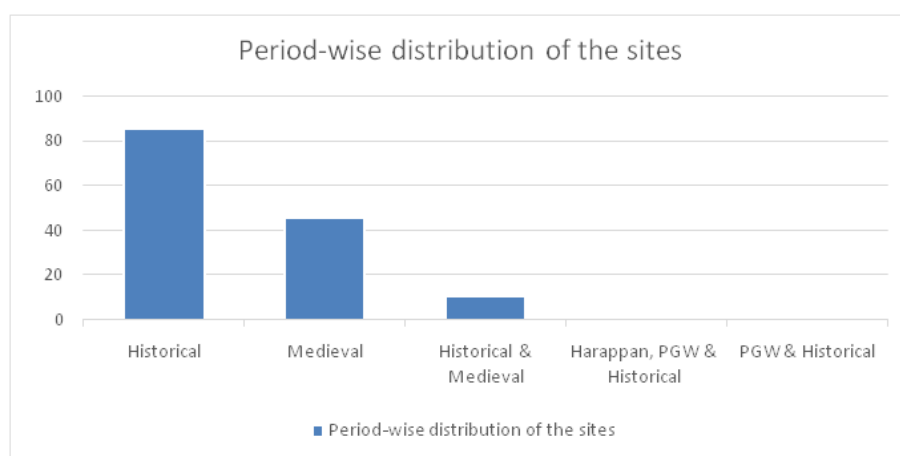
Period-wise distribution of the sites are as under -

A beautiful image of eight-handed Mahishasurmardini⁴³ made of buff sandstone has been collected by the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Government of Haryana.

Sh. Dhoop Singh and Chander Pal Singh of the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana explored⁴⁴ the villages in Tehsils Dabawali

and Sirsa of District Headquarter Sirsa. All together 145 sites were

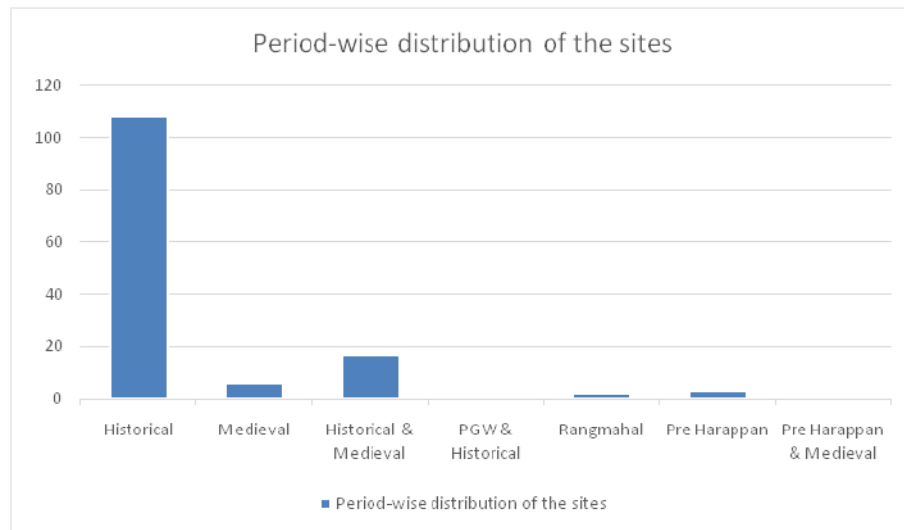
Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1.	Historical	86
2.	Medieval	46
3.	Historical & Medieval	11
4.	Harappan, PGW & Historical	1
5.	PGW & Historical	1



explored:-

Period-wise distribution of the sites are as under -

Sr. No.	Period	No. of site
1.	Historical	108
2.	Medieval	6
3.	Historical & Medieval	17
4.	PGW & Historical	1
5.	Rangmahal	2
6.	Pre Harappan	3
7.	Pre Harappan & Medieval	1



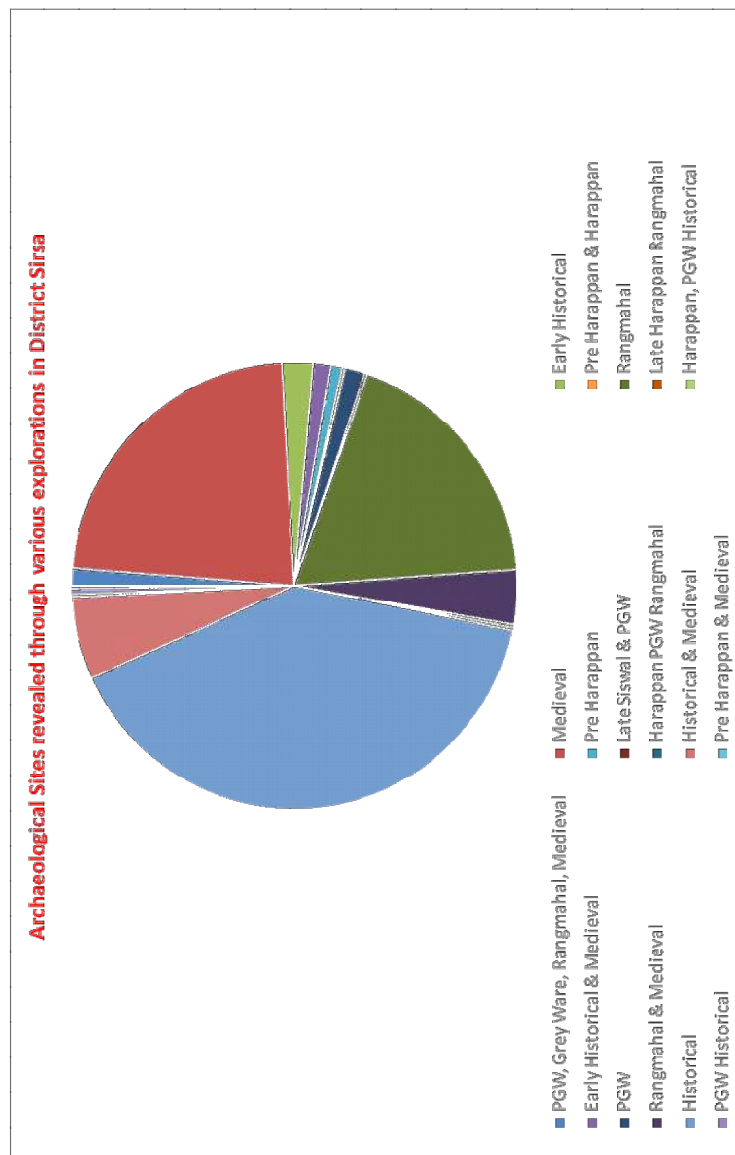
Recently Anju Bala from Kurukshetra University carried out some explorations⁴⁵ in District Sirsa which revealed 138 archaeological sites.

Period-wise distribution of the sites are as under -

Discussion - Study of the exploration data revealed several interesting facts about the development of settlements in District Sirsa during different periods however it is pertinent to mention here that the said data is not collected with the aim of study of settlement pattern in the region hence it lacks several important factual information of the sites. Since, the data is collected by the different people / agencies over a period of time, with their own methodology hence uniformity is missing, for example Early Historical, Rangmahal and Historical period sites are broadly put under the category of Historical Period by some of the scholars while others associates these sites with specific sub periods. Further there is possibility that some of the sites are repeatedly reported by the different explorer during their survey resulting in

Table 1 Showing number of the site with culturewise percentage

Period	Nos of sites	Percentage (%)
Historical	194	40
Medieval	111	22.88
Rangmahal	90	18.55
Historical & Medieval	29	5.97
Rangmahal& Medieval	19	3.91
Early Historical	11	2.26
PGW	7	1.44
PGW, Grey Ware, Rangmahal, Medieval	6	1.23
Early Historical, Medieval	6	1.23
Pre-Harappan	4	0.82
Pre-Harappan & Harappan	1	0.20
Late Siswal& PGW	1	0.20
Harappan, PGW, Rangmahal	1	0.20
Late Harappan, Rangmahal	1	0.20
Harappan, PGW, Historical	1	0.20
PGW & Historical	2	0.41
Pre Harappan & Medieval	1	0.20
total	485	



the repetition of the data. It is noteworthy to mention here that none of the survey claims that whole area of the District Sirsa have been covered.

Table 1 showing no. of sites and percentage during the different period

Total no. of explored site in Distt. Sirsa - 471

From the analysis of the data following inferences can be drawn-

1. Protohistoric sites are very few in the region. There were only 6 sites where Pre-Harappan deposits were found out of which only one site could be developed into mature Harappan phase while another one Pre-Harappan site witnessed a long hiatus and came to be reoccupied only during the medieval period.
2. Mature Harappan deposit was present at two sites however none of them could flourish in subsequent Late Harappan phase. Later on, PGW & Rangmahal culture developed at one of these site while PGW & Historical deposit found at another one.
3. Late Harappan deposit followed by Rangmahal culture at one site and Late Siswal culture succeeded by PGW was found at another.
4. PGW deposit was found at eighteen sites out of which 7 sites were uni-cultural and failed to flourish during subsequent period. At one site PGW was preceded by the Late Siswal Culture. Ten of these sites witnessed hiatus and could be developed during the Historical period out of which 6 sites continued into the Medieval period.
5. Historical period (including Early Historical, Rangmahal & Historical) flourished at maximum no. of sites i.e. 360 sites, out of which 295 sites were uni-cultural and prospered only in this period while 60 sites continued into the subsequent Medieval period.
6. All together 172 sites were found where medieval remains were present.

Conclusion

In the light of above facts, it is evident that the region was most prosperous during the Historical period while in the subsequent period, it faced severe invasions which is also evident from the contemporary literary sources. It seems that due to these invasions a number of historical sites vanished and out of 359 Historical sites only 61 sites could survive during subsequent Medieval period besides 98 new settlements also came into existence during the medieval period. This phenomenon can be attributed to displacement and diffusion theory which came about as result of frequent invasion and incursions that the region witnessed.

From the above facts, it is evident that the settlements in and around Sirsa flourished in different periods of history but could not sustain themselves in the subsequent period.

Since literary evidences for the period prior to the Rajput era is scarce one has to depend on the archaeological sources.

The nature of exploratory data is very broad (in time and space) while the proverb “*Kabhi Sirsa Kabhi Nirsa*” has comparatively limited spread (limited to the Sirsa town only).

However significance of the exploratory data cannot be undermined, as a town (in this case Sirsa) cannot survive in isolation without getting effected by its nearby settlements. Fortune of a town, also connected with its suburbs / hinterland settlements.

Excavation data from the Thed Mound Sirsa (which is located in the heart of the town) is crucial for this study. However due to limited nature of excavations, the data is available from the Gupta period onwards which validates the saying “*Kabhi Sirsa Kabhi Nirsa*”. Future excavations may throw more light on the significance of the proverb for the earlier periods in the region.

Reference

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3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, 1908, p. 45.
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13. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, Appendix, p. 34.
14. *Ibid.* p. 93.
15. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. II, p. 297.
16. *Sirsa District Gazetteer*, 1987, p. 28.

17. J. Wilson, *Final Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Sirsa District in the Punjab* p. 26.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* vol. III, p. 492.
20. J. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
21. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXI, p. 294.
22. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 58.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 297.
24. Dshratha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, p. 86.
25. *Tarikh-i-Firishtha*, Eng. tr. John. Briggs, Calcutta, 1910, p. 69.
26. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, Appendix, p. 34.
27. *Ibid.* p. 93.
28. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
29. Dshratha Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
30. *Sirsa District Gazetteer*, 1987, p. 28.
31. J. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 492.
34. *Ibid.*
35. J. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

36. Padamnabha, Kanhadade Prabandha, pp. 39 & 40. *Kanhadade Prabandha* written by Indian poet Padmanâbha during 1455, in a western Apabhramsha dialect. The book tells the story of Raval Kanhadade (Kanhadadeva) (1292-1311 CE), the Chahaman ruler of Jalore.) Mentioned that a large number of stone throwing machines (faraki), deadly and effective were installed at the fort of Samiyana (Siwana) near Barmer. Further it states, Large stones were taken up to the ramparts. On all sides, the Chauhana positioned on the walls good stone-throwing machines (Yantra).

In another instance, it mentioned that the Dhikulis were rushed to the upper part of the fort and positioned there. All set, now everybody at his appointed place began to keep watch during the night. At midnight the rockets (hawais) rained from the fort falling upon the enemy. So were the stone balls thrown by the Dhikulis from the fort: the elephants and horses which happened to come in their way perished instantly.

The balls (golas) of the colour of fire fired from the barrels (Nalai) came flying from the fort, breaking down the walls and reducing them to powder. The Sutrahara, taking good aim, fired the stones from the Magaravi machines (yantra); the balls came straight felling the trees, spreading destruction all around.

During describing attack on Jalor Fort it states that, "In the fort, there are a large number of stone-throwing machines (faraki), terribly quick and destructive. In the quarter for the troops, there is a crowd of doughty warriors. There are also dhikulis which throw heavy stones with great effect. There, upon the fort, are positioned a large number of machines and maghrabis which throw round heavy balls (gold).

At one place Bhimasah who was a Mahajan asked to Kannadadethat "Our Lord King, let not the enemy destroy our temples! 134 For eighteen years, I will supply Trapada, Gur balls which would serve as stone-balls for the dikulis. Sir, you get their efficacy confirmed, as well as the fact that they go twice the distance the stone-balls go.

They neither make a loud report nor do they rebound but hit the target full and hard. If, perchance, an enemy escapes its blow, well he may eat the bread with the Gur-cake, a lucky man that way!”

37. *Ibid.* p. 40, the projectors (throwing machine) were known as Dhikulis.
38. *Indian Archaeology, 1966-67 – A Review*, p. 13.
39. Suraj Bhan, *op.cit.*, 1975, p. 123.
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42. *Indian Archaeology 1983-84 – A Review*, pp. 29-33.
43. *Indian Archaeology 1985-86 – A Review*, p. 108.
44. *Indian Archaeology 1985-86 – A Review*, pp. 30-33.
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2

A Brief Report on Archaeological Explorations in Sonipat Tehsil

*Parveen Kumar

This paper brings an initial report of village-to-village survey of Sonipat Tehsil of Sonipat District, Haryana. One hundred and Eighteen archaeological sites were documented during the exploration in July and August 2018 and Revisited in February 2019. Out of them Seventy-eight new archaeological sites were documented in this survey. These archaeological sites belong to Early Harappan, Mature Harappan, Late Harappan, Historical and Medieval periods. In the Pottery noticed such as jars, vases, bowls, basins and handled pots/basins. In the miscellaneous Sling Ball, Terracotta Balls, Bangles, Wheels, Dabber, Terracotta beads and Semiprecious beads are found during the explorations.

Introduction

The study area lies in the south-eastern part of Haryana. The area is rich in archaeological remains and the fact it has been proved by the explorations conducted by various scholars. The credit for initiating archaeological field work goes to various researcher. Dr. Silak Ram carried out explorations for their Ph.D. work in Rohtak and Hisar District of Haryana and reported some sites, some sculptures and many more.¹ After that in 1975 Dr. Suraj Bhan,² Dr. Dutt,³ Mr. Surender Singh,⁴ and Dr. R.C. Thakran Carried out explorations in South-Eastern Haryana and reported some new Archaeological sites.⁵ With this archaeological background present researcher commence the

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village-to-village survey in Sonipat Tehsil, District Sonipat, Haryana (Table 1).

Methodology

- 1) The present researcher conducted a comprehensive survey from village-to-village in the study area.
- 2) A GPS Device (Garmin, GPSmap 60CSx) was used to record correct co-ordinates of the sites.
- 3) Pottery and other residues were sampled from the surface and exposed to suitable sections.
- 4) Based on detailed analysis of environmental conditions and ancient settlements, various categories such as regional centers, villages, industrial centers and camp sites have been identified. The main focus is on identifying sites and observing patterns of distribution of cultural remains in the area. The dating of the sites was determined based on the occurrence of clinical ceramic forms of ancient cultures. The size of the sites was estimated based on the area in which the cultural reserves were found.
- 5) Cultural material discovered from the survey and housed in different museums was analyzed and studied to address the problems.
- 6) The available published literature and survey reports including unpublished Thesis/dissertations were examined and their data was also included in this study. Following table 1 is the list of sites explored by researchers:

Table : 1 Showing explored sites along with geo-references, previous work and cultural sequence

Sr. No.	Site Name	Latitude	Longitude	Area (Ek)	Previous Work	Culture Sequence
1.	Aterna	28°53.55.0"	77°08'58.0"	5	New	His, Med.
2.	Aurangabad	28°56.16.0"	77°08'21.0"	5	New	His, Med.
3.	Badhkhalsa	28°54.48.6"	77°06'37.6"	2	New	His, Med.
4.	Bahera-1	28°53'09.0"	77°10'40.0"	4	New	His.
5.	Bahera-2	28°52'38.0"	77°11'26.0"	5	New	His, Med.
6.	Baiyanpur	28°57'55.0"	77°00'32.0"	3	New	Med.
7.	Bakhtawarpur	28°59.45.1"	77°00'41.9"	3	New	His, Med.
8.	Barota	28°54'42.0"	77°04'06.0"	10	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	PGW(GW), His (RW, NBPW).
9.	Barwashni-1	28°59'57.0"	76°57'21.0"	4	New	His, Med.
10.	Barwashni-2	29°00'21.9"	76°57'43.2"	6	R.C.Thakran	RW, Kusana, E.Med.
11.	Basaudi	29°00.11.0"	77°08'53.0"	2	New	His.

Sr. No.	Site Name	Latitude	Longitude	Area (Ek)	Previous Work	Culture Sequence
12.	Bhagru	28°59'50.2"	76°56'50.3"	7	Silak Ram, Suraj Bhan, R.C.Thakran	EH, LH, His.
13.	Bhatana Jaffrabad	29°03'54.0"	76°56'22.0"	7	New	His.
14.	Bhathgaon-1	29°00'05.1"	76°53'28.6"	7	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
15.	Bhathgaon-2	28°58'53.8"	76°53'42.0"	2	New	His.
16.	Bhathgaon-3	28°59'36.0"	76°54'24.3"	7	R.C.Thakran	LH, OCP, His.
17.	Bindroli-1	28°55'25.0"	77°01'40.0"	3	New	His.
18.	Bindroli-2	28°55'07.0"	77°00'29.0"	2	Silak Ram	His, Med.
19.	Bohla	29°05'03.0"	76°51'20.0"	8	R.C.Thakran	LH, PGW, His.
20.	Chatiya Olia	29°03'55.0"	76°58'53.0"	8	Dutt, Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	GW, His (RW).
21.	Chhatehra-1	28°54'32.0"	77°02'26.0"	4	New	His.
22.	Chhatehra-2	28°54'10.0"	77°02'11.0"	6	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
23.	Chitana-1	29°03'03.0"	76°56'07.0"	4	New	His, Med.
24.	Chitana-2	29°02'35.0"	76°56'09.0"	4	New	His, Med.
25.	Dahisara	28°51'47.0"	77°11'12.0"	12	New	His.
26.	Dhaturi	29°04'37.0"	77°04'27.0"	2	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	PGW, GW, His (RW).
27.	Dipalpur	28°59'17.0"	77°07'10.0"	3	New	Med.
28.	Dodua	29°05'45.4"	76°49'56.6"	4	R.C.Thakran	LH, GW, His.
29.	Dubheta	29°07'44.5"	76°52'04.0"	4	New	His.
30.	Firojpur Khadar	28°55'35.8"	77°06'25.3"	6	New	His.
31.	Garh Mirakpur	28°59'30.0"	77°10'13.0"	7	New	His.
32.	Garhi Bala	28°54'43.0"	76°59'43.0"	7	R.C.Thakran	LH, His (RW), E. Med.
33.	Garhi Hakikat	29°01'07.0"	76°53'51.0"	4	New	His, Med.
34.	Garhi Manajat	28°53'39.0"	77°03'23.0"	2	New	His.
35.	Halalpur	28°51'33.0"	76°59'58.0"	3	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	EH, LH, His, Med.
36.	Hansapur	28°54'16.0"	77°09'58.0"	6	New	LH, His.
37.	Hasamabad	28°58'29.0"	77°04'42.0"	4	New	Med.
38.	Harsana Kalan-1	28°56'43.3"	76°59'59.9"	3	R.C.Thakran	His(RW, Kusana).
39.	Harsana Kalan-2	28°57'06.0"	76°59'53.5"	4	R.C.Thakran	RW, Kusana, E.Med.
40.	Harsana Kalan-3	28°56'31.9"	77°00'45.3"	2	R.C.Thakran	LH, PGW.
41.	Harsana Kalan-4	28°56'42.8"	77°00'33.1"	2	R.C.Thakran	RW, Med.
42.	Holaheri	29°01'41.0"	76°55'58.0"	4	New	LMH, LH.
43.	Jajjal	28°58'30.0"	77°09'45.0"	6	New	His.
44.	Jamalpur	28°58'45.0"	76°59'21.5"	2	New	His.
45.	Janti Kalan	28°51'49.0"	77°09'55.0"	3	New	Med.
46.	Jetheri	28°55'33.0"	77°05'07.0"	3	New	Med.

Sr. No.	Site Name	Latitude	Longitude	Area (Ek)	Previous Work	Culture Sequence
47.	Jatwara	29°00'26.0"	76°59'00.0"	4	New	His, Med.
48.	Javahri-1	29°01'48.6"	77°00'41.6"	4	R.C.Thakran	PGW, His.
49.	Javahri-2	29°01'17.4"	77°00'44.7"	6	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
50.	Jhinjholi	28°50'47.5"	77°00'25.1"	7	R.C.Thakran	LH, His (RW), Med.
51.	Jhundpur	28°56'52.0"	77°11'14.0"	3	New	His, Med.
52.	Joshi Jaat	28°57'54.0"	77°04'27.4"	4	R.C.Thakran	RW, E.Med.
53.	Juan-1	29°03'22.0"	76°53'41.0"	6	New	LH, His.
54.	Juan-2	29°04'06.0"	76°53'41.0"	10	New	His, Med.
55.	Kakroi-1	28°57'38.3"	76°57'30.7"	3	R.C.Thakran	His (RW, Kusana), E. Med.
56.	Kakroi-2	28°57'28.7"	76°58'12.3"	2	New	His.
57.	Kami-1	29°03'25.8"	77°01'31.6"	4	New	His.
58.	Kami-2	29°04'22.2"	77°02'15.8"	3	R.C.Thakran	RW, E.Med.
59.	Khatar	28°52'25.0"	77°10'19.0"	6	New	His.
60.	Khewra-1	28°57'53.0"	77°07'24.0"	3	New	His, Med.
61.	Khewra-2	28°57'48.0"	77°07'40.0"	4	New	His, Med.
62.	Kilorad	29°01'38.0"	76°58'30.0"	15	New	His (RW, Gupta).
63.	Kisora	28°59'28.0"	77°05'30.0"	3	New	His.
64.	Krewari	29°02'52.0"	76°54'40.0"	2	New	His, Med.
65.	Kumaspur	29°00'12.0"	77°05'51.0"	7	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	GW, BSW, His (RW, NBPW).
66.	Kurar-1	29°03'07.0"	77°02'28.2"	7	R.C.Thakran	His, E. Med.
67.	Kurar-2	29°02'30.0"	77°01'49.9"	4	New	His, Med.
68.	Ladpur	28°54'55.0"	77°02'13.0"	5	New	Med.
69.	Lehrara-1	28°58'54.0"	77°00'58.0"	4	New	Med.
70.	Lehrara-2	28°58'25.6"	76°59'51.1"	4	S.Singh, R.C.Thakran	LH.
71.	Lehrara-3	28°58'19.2"	76°59'50.8"	3	R.C.Thakran	GW, RW, E.Med.
72.	Liwaspur-1	28°57'37.0"	77°05'04.0"	4	New	Med.
73.	Liwaspur-2	28°57'44.0"	77°04'56.0"	3	New	His.
74.	Luhari Tibba	29°00'33.7"	76°52'55.7"	2	New	His.
75.	Machhrola	29°02'13.0"	77°07'49.0"	2	New	His, Med.
76.	Mahipur	28°59'03.4"	76°50'24.5"	5	New	His (Kusana).
77.	Mahra	29°04'11.0"	76°56'06.0"	6	New	His.
78.	Malha Mazra	28°53'46.0"	77°02'23.0"	4	New	His.
79.	Mehlana	28°58'25.5"	76°57'07.9"	15	New	His.
80.	Mohana-1	29°01'16.0"	76°50'43.0"	2	New	His.
81.	Mohana-2	29°01'56.0"	76°52'19.0"	4	New	His, Med.
82.	Mohana-3	29°02'17.0"	76°51'02.0"	5	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
83.	Moi	29°07'13.7"	76°53'16.6"	6	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), Med.
84.	Mukimpur	29°00'10.4"	77°07'38.8"	3	New	His, Med.
85.	Mursidpur	28°59'20.1"	77°07'02.9"	5	New	His, Med.
86.	Murthal-1	29°04'01.0"	77°04'59.0"	3	New	His, Med.
87.	Murthal-2	29°02'18.0"	77°05'56.0"	3	R.C.Thakran	His (RW, Kusana), E.Med.
88.	Nahra-1	28°52'34.0"	77°00'57.0"	4	New	His.
89.	Nahra-2	28°52'35.0"	77°00'17.0"	3	New	His.
90.	Nahri-1	28°51'18.7"	77°02'18.3"	10	R.C.Thakran	LH, His (RW, Kusana), Med.

Sr. No.	Site Name	Latitude	Longitude	Area (Ek)	Previous Work	Culture Sequence
91.	Nahri-2	28°50'52.7"	77°02'43.0"	5	R.C.Thakran	RW, Kusana, E.Med.
92.	Naina Tatarpur	29°03'58.0"	76°52'25.0"	10	New	LH, His, Med.
93.	Nangal Khurd-1	29°00.53.0"	77°04'38.0"	3	R.C.Thakran	GW, His (RW).
94.	Nangal Khurd-2	29°01'29.0"	77°04'42.0"	3	New	His, Med.
95.	Nasirpur	28°55'54.0"	77°01'15.0"	4	New	His, Med.
96.	Palra	28°59.30.0"	77°09'19.0"	7	New	His.
97.	Pinana	29°03'45.0"	76°49'23.0"	4	New	His, Med.
98.	Pitampura	28°54.24.0"	77°05'31.0"	3	New	His.
99.	Pubsara	28°55.23.0"	77°10'24.0"	3	New	His.
100.	Rasoi	28°54.04.0"	77°06'38.0"	2	New	Med.
101.	Rathdhana	28°56'59.0"	77°04'00.0"	6	New	His.
102.	Reoli	29°00.44.0"	77°03'36.0"	3	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	GW, His (RW, NBPW).
103.	Rohat	28°55'57.0"	76°58'16.0"	2	New	Med.
104.	Rolad	29°06'11.0"	76°51'48.0"	4	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), Med.
105.	Saboli	28°53'32.0"	77°05'36.0"	3	New	Med.
106.	Salimsar mazra	28°59'53.6"	76°52'12.5"	4	New	Med.
107.	Seoli	28°55.56.0"	77°07'49.0"	6	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	His (RW) E.Med.
108.	Sersa	28°52.17.0"	77°09'17.0"	3	New	His, Med.
109.	Shahzadpur	29°02'30.0"	76°58'51.0"	3	R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
110.	Shandal kalan	29°03'43.0"	76°59'20.0"	3	Silak Ram, R.C.Thakran	His (RW), E. Med.
111.	Shandal Khurd	29°03'18.0"	76°58'56.0"	15	S.R.Phogat, R.C.Thakran	GW, His (RW).
112.	Sultanpur	28°58'24.0"	77°02'20.0"	3	New	His, Med.
113.	Tajpur	29°04.09.0"	77°06'44.0"	6	R.C.Thakran	His (RW) E.Med.
114.	Tharha	29°03'01.1"	77°00'26.7"	6	New	His.
115.	Tharu	29°02'01.1"	76°59'17.0"	3	New	His.
116.	Tihara Kalan-1	28°58'32.8"	76°55'15.8"	10	New	LH, His (Kusana).
117.	Tihara kalan-2	28°59'14.7"	76°55'25.6"	5	New	His.
118.	Uldaypur	29°01'39.0"	76°59'21.0"	4	New	Med.

Note : EH= Early Harappan, MH= Mature Harappan, LH=Late Harappan, PGW=Painted Grey Ware, GW=Grey Ware, Hist=Historical, Med=Medieval, RW = Red ware, E.Med. = Easy Medieval

Table 2 : Showing number of sites of different periods

S.no	Period	No of Sites
1	Early Harappan	02
2	Mature Harappan	01
3	Late Harappan	15
4	PGW	12
5	Historical	95
6	Medieval	65

The study area is very rich in archaeological forums. The antiquity of this area can be traced back to proto-historic times. Archaeological explorations have revealed that the earliest settlers in the regions belong to Early Harappan culture.

Early Harappan period

Archaeological explorations have revealed that the first settlers in the area of study belong to Early Harappan culture (Sothi-Siswal culture). It is the initial period of the urban phase. Only two sites i.e., Halalpur & Baghru of this period have been explored in the area under present study (Table 1 & 2). Both sites have been reported already by R.C. Thakran⁷ and Silak Ram.⁸ The ceramic groups have related with the Sothi-Siswal pottery. The main shapes in this assemblage are jars, vases, bowls, basins and handled pots/basins. There are differences in size but the formal features are more or less the similar, and in the entire ceramic assemblage of Sothi-Siswal bi-chrome sherds are only one or two pieces.

Sothi-Siswal pottery was usually thrown on slow wheel; the rim and neck portion are finished by smoothening with rotation whereas the body portion is finished without rotation as striations and finger impressions of smoothening and scraping are seen on the surface irregular. Usually, the pottery wall usually has a different thickness. The ring base loop-handled pots are very popular.⁹

Mature Harappan period

The next phase in the history of the region was marked by the emergence of the Mature Harappan. Only one site (Holaheri) has yielded remains of Mature Harappan period (Table 1 & 2). The site has been reported first time by me. Only a few classical Harappan shards were recovered from the surface. In this culture usually sherds alike to Ganeshwar-Jodhpura pottery finds but on the single site Holaheri the researcher couldn't find classical Harappan shapes on the surface of the sites such as perforated jar, long stem dish-on-stand, beakers, painted jars, nail headed bowls and basins. As per earlier explorations report by some researcher we can conclude that as we move south of the study area quantity of classical Harappan pottery reduces.

Late Harappan Period

The next cultural phase in the proto-history of this region is distinguished by the Late Harappan culture or degenerate phase of Mature Harappans. fifteen sites yielded the remains of this phase (Table 1&2). The classical Harappan shapes like goblets, perforated jars and classical Harappan paintings fell out of use but some shapes such as beakers, nail headed bowls, dish-on-stands with long stems etc. continue with modifications. The common pottery types are dish-on-stands with ribbed junctions, dish-on-stands with broad and short stands, vases with projected undercut rims, jars with wide and narrow mouths, globular vases with flanged rims, beakers without-turned rims and flasks treated with fine red slip. Out of total 15 Late Harappan sites, five were occupied for the first time by researcher, one site of the Mature Harappan period was preferred by the late Harappan peoples in absence of excavation it is difficult to say that whether there is a cultural break between the Harappans and Late Harappans.

Painted Grey Ware Period

During the proto historic period, the last phase is characterized by the advent of the PGW people. The explorations yielded 12 PGW sites (Table 1&2). The excavation at Sinauli,¹⁰ Bhagwanpura and Madina¹¹ threw light on the relationship between the late Harappan and PGW people in the region. Because not a single PGW site has been excavated in the Sonapat district.

Historical and Medieval period

In the fifth phase, the region enters the historical phase, and the period can be allocated between 600 BCE. to 1200 CE Total Ninety-five sites of this period were explored (Table 1&2). The number of sites indicated that the after 600 BCE the area under present study was thickly populated as compare to proto-historic period. Common shapes of historical pottery were represented by bowls with incurved rim, carinated cooking *handis*, vases, spouted vases, basins, lid, incense burner. Pottery of later Kushana and Gupta period is less painted as compare to the pottery of Rangmahal, Naurangabad¹² and Kokhrakot¹³ were the regional centers during the historical period. Both areas are located very near to the study area.

In the next phase total Sixty-five sites of medieval period were explored during the survey (Table 1&2). Main shapes include sharp edged bowls, vases, pots etc. a few sherds of glazed ware were also collected during the explorations.

The researchers conducted extensive village-to-village survey in the region and recorded sites with the help of GPS, besides size of settlements and other vital information. This has helped us to correct the earlier recording of sites and their size.

During the survey it was noticed that most of the archaeological sites are either converted into the agriculture fields or the deposits are removed for development purposes. The situation is very grim because in a few years it will be very difficult for the archaeologists to support any site for excavation. Even today it is very hard to support an intact mound. Recently some scholars surveyed various parts of Haryana addressing this problem. Hence the present study has its own importance as the sites are now recorded for posterity which may not exist in future. Future researchers shall have data on which they can easily bank upon.

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3

Recent Archaeological Explorations in and around Chang Village, District Bhiwani, Haryana

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The major and important aims and objectives are to understanding the Harappan settlement in and around the village Chang. And it was necessary to focus on tracing the cultural sequences as well as settlement pattern of the sites based on archeological evidences. The authors are focusing on inter relationship between each other and discussed with excavated Harappan sites in this region.

Location and about village Chang

The Chang village is situated about 15 km to north-east of the district headquarter of city Bhiwani and 12 km to south-west of Tehsil Meham on state highway (16A) Bhiwani-Meham road (Map 1). It belongs to Hisar Division. The total geographical area of village is approximately 3000 hectares.¹ As per 2019 status, Chang village comes under Bawani Khera assembly & Hisar parliamentary constituency.² Positioned in rural area of Bhiwani district of Haryana. Agriculture and animal husbandry are the main professions of residents of Chang. It was subdivided in two Gram Panchayats e.i. Dhani Chang (Chhoti Chang) and Chang.

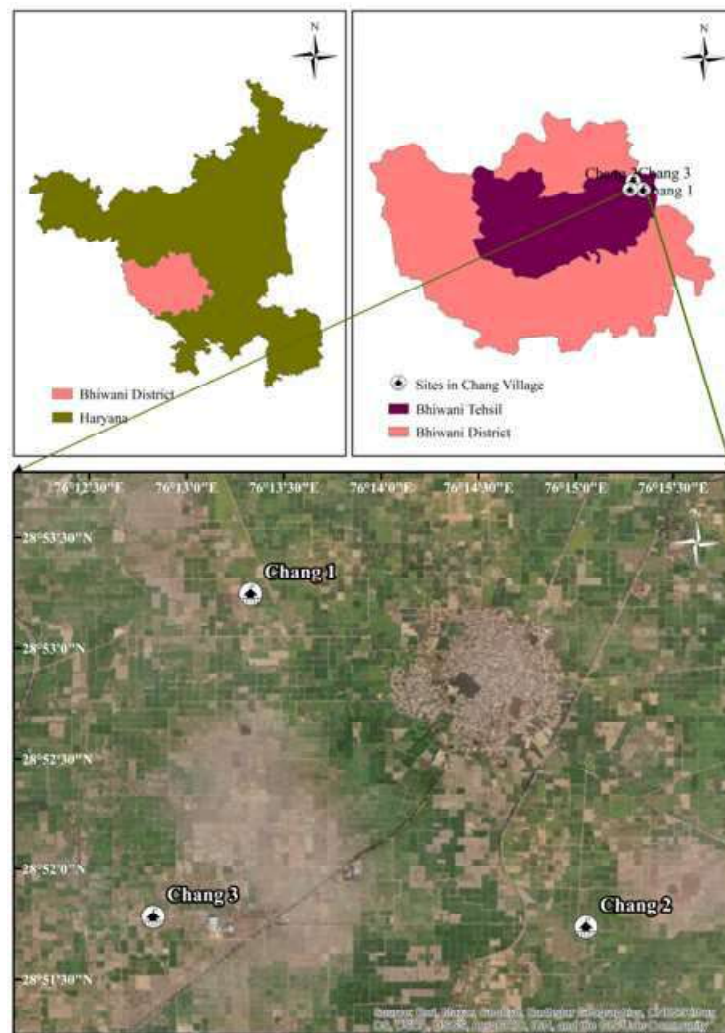
The famous and important excavated Harappan site Mitathal is situated about 6 km to west direction of the village Chang. In and around village Chang there are three Harappan sites namely Chang-1, Chang-2, and Chang-3. (Map 1). Earlier scholars have been divided these sites in four Harappan

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sites,³ but in recent explorations we found there are three sites not four. Earlier scholars have recognized there are two separates' sites Chang-1 and Chang-2 situated on Chang-Mitathal and Chang-Badesara roads. Both sites are parts of each other not separate sites because there is no gap between these sites. The all three sites are Harappan in nature from Early to Late phase and vicinity of the alluvial plain.



Map 1: Showing the Harappan sites in village Chang

Earlier Research Work

The earliest archaeological explorations were conducted in this area by Suraj Bhan⁴ when he was excavating the famous Harappan site Mitathal in the year 1967-68. Later on, the area was explored by Silalak Ram.⁵ After 20 years of Silak Ram, in 1992 and 2010 a young scholar Mr. Suresh Siwach during his M. Phil⁶ and Ph.D.⁷ courses was explored the area. Mr. Surender⁸ during his M. Phil course and Mr. Narender Parmar⁹ were explored the district Bhiwani for his M. Phil and Ph. D research works. The above explorers have been given the archaeological sites information of Chang village. But they did not explain the detail analysis about the sites. Here we have to try to give more information about the sites such as location, total area, cultural sequence, present condition, inter relationship between each other and comparison with excavated Harappan sites in this region etc.

Aims and Objectives

The authors have visited to the all three sites in many times, because the Chang is the native village of Dr. Vijay Kumar (who is also one author of this paper). Therefore, it is a natural question to know the history of the village. This is one thing, but the major and important another aims and objectives are to understanding the Harappan settlements in the area. And it was necessary to focus on tracing the cultural sequences of these sites based on archeological materials. Looking at the way agricultural activities are going on here present, it seems that no archaeological remains of any kind will be found in the coming time. Therefore, it has become necessary that these Harappan sites are properly documented and described.

Location of the sites and Cultural Sequence

Chang-1: (28°53'14.00" N, 76°13'19.18" E)

The site Chang-1 is situated about 1.7 km west of the village, on the Chang-Mitathal and Chang-Badesara link roads. It falls in the fields of Naseeb, Rajesh, Rajender, Dharma, Jale Singh, Surajbhan, Gautam, Silu, Bablu, Maman, and Jaiveer Namberdar. It measures approximately 25 hectares and about 4 metre in height but presently levelled the site for agricultural activities. Few parts are intact of the site. It contains the ceramic assemblage of the Early Harappan and Mature Harappan without any confusion but Late Harappan phase is very doubtful on the site. Earlier researchers Mr. Suresh

and Narender¹⁰ mention their work here these are the two separate sites, one is situated on the Mitathal-Chang link road and another situated on Badesara-Chang roads. An intensive and extensive survey carried out by authors at the site Chang-1, and found there is one site, not separate two sites. The fragments of terracotta and faience bangle were collected from the site.

Chang-2 (28°51'44.56" N, 76°15'40.25" E)

Another archaeological site is located about 2.5 kms south-east of the village, on the Chang-Rewari village link road (Plate 1). The whole site has been levelled to the ground and it used for cultivation. The owner of the fields are Shri Ram s/o Sh. Amar Datta, Ishwar s/o Sh. Amar Datta and Bagwanti w/o Sh. Laxman Das. The potteries are scattered in area of 5-6 acre. The ceramic assemblage of the Early Harappan, Mature Harappan and Late Harappan cultures were found during explorations. Some fragments of terracotta and faience bangle were recovered from the site.



Plate 1: General view of site Chang- 2

Chang-3 (28°51'48.35" N, 76°12'50.21" E)

The Harappan site Chang- 3 is located about 2.5 kms south-west of the village. A *kachcha* way about 1.5 km right side from the Chang to Bhiwani road leads to the site (Plate 2). The surrounding area of the site is called *Kheriyan wala Khet*. It falls in the fields of Bijender, Kanwar Pal, Jai Singh, Madan, Ramchander and Dhoop singh. It measures approximately 12

hectares. The whole site has been levelled to the ground and it used for cultivation but few intact parts are visible on the site. The ceramic assemblages of the Early to Late Harappan cultures were collected during the explorations. The fragments of terracotta and faience bangle, terracotta wheel, one fragment of copper bangle and one unidentified copper piece are recovered from here.



Plate 2: General view of site Chang- 3

Pottery

Pot-sherds have been collected from surface to all sites ranging from Early Harappan, Mature Harappan and Late Harappan. Perforated typical Harappan pottery recovered from the sites (Plate 3 & 4).

Early Harappan Pottery: - A large number of pot- sherds are found of the culture from all sites.

Mature Harappan Pottery: - Pottery of this period are represented by black on red ware. The main shapes are storage jars, dish on stand, dish on bowls, vases, bowls, medium and miniature pots etc. The sherds are well fired and well levigated.

Late Harappan Pottery: - few sherds are found of the late phase of Harappan i.e., dull small globular pots, bedded rim pots, medium and small pots etc.



Plate 3: Black on red ware and incision ware



Plate 4: Various shapes and perforated pottery

Stone objects

Few stone objects have been found on surface belonging to Mature Harappan phase. Two unidentified objects and one small ball are collected from the sites (Plate 5). These objects are mainly of quartzite mix with sandstone. Most probably it seems that the source of stone material for Harappans of this area was used at Tosham or Kaliyana hills stone.



Plate 5: Stone objects

Faience bangles and bead

Faience was an important semi-precious material used by the Harappans as well as at Chang's Harappan people also. The faience bangle's fragments have been collected from all sites of village Chang and one beautiful faience segmented bead found from Chang-1 (Plate 6).

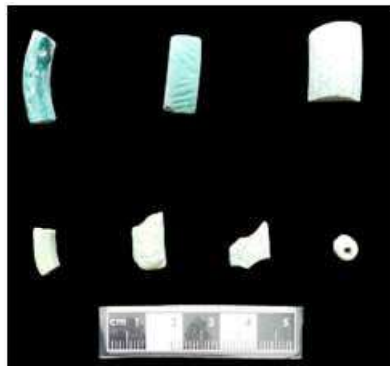


Plate 6: Faience bangle's fragments and bead

Stratigraphy of the sites

Stratigraphy is the study of stratification of the cultural deposit layer by layer of the site. At site Chang-1, the owners of the fields have been levelled the cultural deposit for agricultural purposes. But few remaining parts of the site are visible in section. Around 10-12 feet section can be seen on the site Chang-1 (Plate 7). The section is showing two phases of the Harappans, Early and

Mature Harappan, a long mud bricks wall with 13-14 courses is clearly visible in the section. A good amount of pot-sherds of Early and Mature phase of Harappan are present in the section. An intensive and extensive survey of the site Chang-3 revealed existence of several mud bricks walls and platforms are noticed at the site.



Plate 7: Stratigraphy at site Chang-1

Terracotta bangle fragments and cakes

Terracotta bangle: - Terracotta bangles were the jewelry of the Harappan, from many sites have reported the terracotta bangle. Here from the Chang's sites few terracotta bangle fragments are collected. Some bangle fragments are decorated with colours and incision work, thin, thick and segmented bangles fragments collected from the sites (Plate 8).



Plate 8: Fragments of Terracotta bangle

Terracotta cake: - The terracotta cakes (triangular, circular and flat shapes) and mushtikas have been found from almost all Harappan site (Plate 9). At village Chang sites, a large amount of different type of shapes such as triangular,

circular (idly shape) and flat shapes have been collected and seen in section on site Chang-1 and Chang-3, and few mushtika's fragments have also been collected from the sites. They are not well fired and well levigated. There are many views to identify the objects. These objects appear to have been used in many different ways depending on their shape and size. The flat triangular and circular shaped cakes may have been heated and used for baking small triangular or circular shaped flat bread. The round and irregular shaped nodules have been found in cooking hearths and at the mouth of pottery kilns where they served as heat baffles.¹¹ Mushtikas and its common associate, the triangular terracotta cakes have been believed to be part of 'fire altars'.¹²



Plate 9: Terracotta cakes

Two Excavated Harappan Sites in the region

Two major excavations have been carried out in the region, the famous Harappan site Mitathal¹³ is situated about 6 kms to west direction of the village Chang and second one Maneharu¹⁴ is situated about 30 kms to south direction of the village Chang.

About Mitathal: - The Mitathal excavation provided a proper Harappan cultural sequence in the region. The site occupies an area of about 25 acres consisting of two mounds. Excavations at Mitathal brought to light three cultural sequences such as Period-I (Late Siswal culture), Period-IIA (Harappan culture) and Period-IIB (Late Harappan culture). At Mitathal, the Early Harappan culture continues up to Mature Harappan period without any stratigraphic break.

From the Period-I ceramic assemblages are similar to the late Siswal tradition and broadly divided into red, buff and grey types. Besides the wheel made pottery, a few crude handmade shreds are also found in the period. The main shapes include perforated jar, dish, beaker and vase with pointed base. A limited number of painted designs are found, generally horizontal band located at rim, neck and shoulder portions. In addition, some shreds are found with incised decoration. Only single fragment of copper bangle, six fragments of terracotta bangles, one terracotta bead and few terracotta cakes are recovered from this period.

The classical phase of the Harappan Civilization (Mature Harappan) was indicated at the site by the presence of well-planned mud-brick structures, beads of carnelian, faience, steatite and terracotta, toy-cart wheels, wheeled toys, sling balls, discs with tapering ends, marbles and triangular cakes of terracotta as well as stone objects such as balls, hammer stones, saddle querns and mullers, and cubical stone weights.

At Mitathal-II B period is belong to the Late Harappan, and noticed from this phase- mud wall, A number of circular and cylindrical shape pits with chaff mixed clay, beaker, perforated jar and dish with nail headed rim. A good number of antiquities were recovered from the period including stone, semiprecious stone, paste, shell, metal and terracotta objects. The important findings are beads of agate, carnelian, faience, steatite, bone, terracotta and bangle of faience, terracotta, shall, copper.

About Manehrhu: - The cultural deposition of the site Manehrhu was around 2 metres and divided into two Harappan periods such as Early Harappan and Mature Harappan.¹⁵ From Early phase noticed such as mud brick structures, dish-on-stand, dish, bowls, basins, vases, miniature pots are the major types of ceramics and a unique micro steatite bead hoard has been exposed from the early Harappan level. Mature Harappan period was the last phase of the site. Mud brick structures, dish-on-stand with nail headed rim, beakers, perforated jars become popular with the previous ceramic assemblages are collected. The biconical barrel-shaped long carnelian bead, wheel shaped, steatite beads, parallel sided long chert blade, barrel shaped and bi-conical faience beads, terracotta triangular cakes and terracotta cart wheels are the main findings of this period.

Discussion and Conclusions

The archaeological investigations in and around the village Chang have thrown light on the wealth of information related to Harappan settlements. The investigation of three Harappan settlements in the village clearly showing that it was favourable conditions for the Harappans for habitation in the region. This region witnessed the emergence of settled life from the Early Harappan period. Bhan suggests that the earliest settlement were settled from the period (Sothi-Siswal) continue to Late Harappan. Mitathal was a biggest Harappan settlement witnessed of Harappan settlement in that region. It is representative of all Harappan levels from early to late. And another important excavated Harappan site Manheru was occupied by the Harappans from early to mature phases. Both excavations are clearly showing that the Harappan people were totally depended on the mud brick structures for living purpose. They have used well fired ceramic assemblages, various types of ornaments, agricultural system, standard technology, trade and communication for long distance.

Acknowledgement

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Some New Copper Hoards from Northern India : An Archaeological Study

*Dr. Jagdish Parshad

The discovery of copper hoards has a turning point in bringing about an innovative change in the living pattern of human beings. The earliest features of urban life in the Indian subcontinent are indebted to the Harappan legacy, who were skilled in making implements of copper and its alloys. Apart from Harappans, some other cultures have also flourished in Indian Subcontinent¹ such as Chalcolithic Culture and Copper Hoards Culture. The Copper Hoards Culture theory is still an unresolved issue and a matter of debate among archaeologists and historians. The distinct and unique tool typology of Copper Hoards from northern India especially - Rajasthan, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab is noteworthy in comparison to its counterpart in Gangetic Valley. Anthropomorphs, khurpis, harpoons, axes, celts, bangles, rings, etc. are the main characteristics of copper hoards found in the majority of this region.

The research paper have explored the some new copper hoards from Northern India within that context an attempt to highlight the contribution in archaeological perspective.

In September 2019, Acharya Virjanand Devkarani came into my office at Kurukshetra and shown me some photographs of the copper hoards objects and said that 'I have collected these photographs from different part of Northern India'. I wanted to publish a book on these materials but could not yet. Firstly, the photographs were given to Dr. D.V. Sharma, former Regional Director, Archaeological Survey of India, but he didn't prepare any kind of research on these artifacts. In a depressed mood, he said to me, prepare a research paper on this material as soon as earliest.² It

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was a very difficult task for me because I had never worked on copper hoards, earlier. However, I have accepted the challenge and started study the earlier work conducted on copper hoards in India. I have consulted my colleagues and seniors those who have worked on the concern subject.

The cultures in which copper tools, as well as stone tools, are practiced are often called copper-stone cultures. In the Indian subcontinent, copper-stones cultures are also known as village cultures. As a result of the explorations and excavations in the field of Indian archeology in the last three-four decades, many copper-stone cultures have received information about it. The Copper Hoard and OCP Cultures were urban cultures found around the second millennium BCE, and these cultures reveal a great deal about their ways of living. In India, especially Northern Indian archaeology copper hoards have a very important role play. The first time, in 1822 copper hoards were found at Bithur in Kanpur District (U.P.).³ It was B.B. Lal who for the first time suggested the possible association of Ochre Coloured Ware and the Copper Hoards. Although not universally accepted, these metallic remains are now, accepted by an ever - increasing number of scholars who are in agreement that they form a complete assemblage along with the Ochre Coloured Pottery.⁴

The discovery of these hoards, with over four hundred copper hoards housed in the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar, were collected by Swami Omanand Saraswati and Virjanand Devkarani such as harpoons, anthropomorphs, bars, chisels, flat axes, celts, rings, strips, and swords etc. Analyses prove that these implements are made of copper, not bronze. Recent discoveries in this region are shedding light on the people who made these objects and spreading their culture.

Some recent findings of copper hoards and copper objects in the past few decades in Northern India have brought a remarkable change in the conventional opinion of archaeologists and historians. Descriptions of the Copper Hoards in the early archaeological literature reflect a preoccupation with the origins of ancient people rather than with their culture and economy. Moreover, such simplistic explanations of function and affiliation of artifacts are based ultimately on accidentally preserved stray finds, an insubstantial base to support the weighty historical conclusions the objects have inspired.

In the purview of the ancient copper metallurgical sites of this region

lies in its vicinity, the possibilities of untapped potential in the form of new copper hoard sites cannot be ignored. Paul Yule is quite certain that the lack of any signs of use on the swords, celts, spearheads, harpoons, or anthropomorphs suggests that these objects were made for ritualistic purposes. Mostly, the copper hoards were found far away from habitation areas. Over the years more copper weapons and tools have come to light in peasants' fields, often during agricultural work, or sometimes in local scrap metal markets. The rock paintings of the Chitrakoot area show that people wielding harpoons and copper celts were used. In these paintings, some foot soldiers and horse riders wielding harpoons. This indicates that these horse riders and foot soldiers are associated with the people of OCP culture. The horse riders wielding harpoons indicate that OCP people were using horses for their war machinery.⁵

It is necessary to bring all these things in this study because there are many weapons which were also discussed in Haryana and adjoining area. Numerous classifications of weapons based on their characteristics, mode of operation, and functions have come to notice. In Sanskrit literature, *Auṣanasa Dhanurveda*, *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, *Vaijayanti Kosh*, and *Shabdakalpadruma Kosh* have emphasized the names, uses, symptoms of these weapons.⁶

The ancient Indian people used short-range weapons were swords, shields, maces, battle-axes, spears, and daggers. The most common and effective weapon was the sword and *Khanda* a double-edged broad and long sword. These weapons depended upon fully physical force, personal valour, and frontal attacks. This was the reasons how many warriors were killed in just 18 days of war during *Mahabharata* at Kurukshetra? Although, during that time, the civilization was not so advanced.⁷

In 1994-95, Chaudhary Sultan Singh, now a resident of Shalimar Bagh, New Delhi, found copper hoards artifacts, from his farm, in Sewari ki Dhani, in Farrukhnagar Tehsil, District Gurugram. It is located 35 kms towards west from District headquarters Gurugram and 15 kms from Farrukhnagar, and situated in the Sahabi river bed. These were – ten strips, two hundred rings of different size, four swords, and two celts (Plate 1). The picture was first time published in 1999 by Virjanand Devkarani.⁸

Three harpoons, two flat celt, one chisel, and some rings were found

from Mahendergarh and Rewari district and now housed in the Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar (Plate 2).



Plate 1: Swords, Rings, Strips, and Celts



Plate 2: Harpoon, Axe, and Rings

In 2008, a well was found while leveling the field by the farmer, named Rishipal son of Mahabir Singh of Kulasi village in Bahadurgarh tehsil, Jhajjar District. He has found an axe, weighing 250 grams, and four rings, weighing some 80 grams to 100 grams, respectively, near the well (Plate 3).

The therio-anthropomorph⁹ of Kheri Gujjar¹⁰ has since raised an enormous amount of speculation on the origins of the Brahmi script, the decipherment of the Harappan script, the relationship between the Harappans and the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, and much more (Plate IV). Many of the symbols seen here look like Brahmi letters and yet some of them are Harappan signs seen on Mature Harappan seals, sealings, and other artifacts. There have been tentative attempts at reading what this says, though most are inconclusive and others too far-fetched to reproduce here.¹¹

Madarpur village is located in Thakurdwara block in Muradabad District of Uttar Pradesh state. It is located 48 kms towards North from District headquarters Moradabad and 5 kms from Thakurdwara. Near the village of Madarpur Thakurdwara, a man dug mud from an old mound and used to supply this soil for the people. While digging the soil, he obtained 31 copper hoards in the form of small anthropomorphus, measurement 16 cm x 19 cm, 21.5 cm x 25.5 cm, 23.5 cm x 27 cm, and 24.5 cm x 28 cm. After conducting an inspection, it is known that such an achievement has been

made for the first time from this site.¹² Virjanand Devakarni had received photographs of thirteen anthropomorphic figures from that person (Plate 5).



Plate 3: Rings and Axe of Kulasi



Plate 4: Anthropomorph in Kheri-Gujjar



Plate 5: Anthropomorphic in Madarpur

There has also been much speculation about the copper anthropomorphs. Some experts believe that they are ritual objects or representations of a deity. Some believe they are early representations of the Vedic deity Indra or even representations of his weapon the *vajra* or thunderbolt.

Some speculate that they represent the Hindu deity Vishnu as he is typically shown with arms akimbo. Some historians are of the view that the anthropomorphs recovered from Copper Hoards are ritual objects reminiscent of Shani cult images worshipped in Northern India. However, there was also speculation that they were weapons meant to be sharpened along the upper edges, held by the leg, and hurled at enemies.



Plate 6: Shouldered Axe and Harpoons



Plate 7: Flat Celts

Gurukul Museum, Jhajjar housed more than four hundred copper hoards from northern regions of India. In Haryana, Rewari,¹³ Dadri, Sewari, Mittathal, Rakhigarhi, Narnaund, Bhiwani, Kulasi, Hansi, Sugh and Satnali have also recovered so many of these copper hoards. More copper hoard objects have been reported as coming from the town of Rewari than from any other place. Yet Rewari lies outside the doab heartland. Swami Omanand Saraswati and Virjanand Devakarni had obtained metal artifacts from local inhabitants who reportedly find them during agricultural operations and who bring them to Rewari for sale.¹⁴

Ambala,¹⁵ a fragment of anthropomorph was acquired for Kanya Gurukul Museum, Narela now at present Gurukul Jhajjar. Bhiwani¹⁶ and Dadari¹⁷ have also acquired axes for Kanya Gurukul Museum, Narela. Over the last 50 years axes, axe-ingots, a bar, and harpoons have also been acquired from Hansi by Swami Omanand Saraswati.¹⁸ Mitathal lies 10 kms northwest of Bhiwani and 118 kms northwest of Delhi. The site is located about 1.5 kms to the west of the village and is reachable by the cart path. Having obtained a battered harpoon and a bangle, both allegedly from here, Swami Omanand Saraswati tested the site, hoping to shed light on the Copper Hoard problem. In 1968, Surajbhan also conducted excavations here.¹⁹

Use of Copper Hoards

Copper hoards previously were known principally from various points in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. However, a systematic survey initiated in 1980 of all prehistoric Indian metal objects has given us a far more thorough and representative sampling, not only from these two but from others as well. In this region, several hundred metal objects have now come to light. There, over the last forty years, axes, swords, rings, and harpoons have been found from the region.

Although these hoard objects show some general resemblance to more readily dated metals artifacts *Gangetic doabs*, unfortunately, most of the hoard have come from archaeological explorations that could be updated unequivocally. Over the years more copper weapons and tools have come to light in the peasants' fields, often during agriculture work i.e. plough, level, and digging the fields etc. A lack of information on the geomorphology of the findspots hinders a determination of whether as their name implies, anciently deposited in the banks of streams or occurred in the regular association. Most of these objects were found from explorations. Therefore, we can't analysis the stratigraphy of the sites or the deposits. Some copper hoards have been bought from the scrap metal market or by the ragman. The question arises here that what are the uses of these copper objects at that time.

The material which has come to light in this region, however, is mostly of Maurya, Sunga, Kushan and Gupta period. But in the last few years, several weapons made of *Ashtadhatu* have been found here, which the Archaeologist has considered being the remnants of the Copper-era culture. Many types of weapons - including anthropomorphus, flattened axe which is without hole; wide chisel; long, thin and wide mouth chisel; barbed spear, etc. have been found here. In the scriptures like *Manasollas*, *Oshanus Dhanurveda* and *Yashastilak Champumahakavya*, etc. such weapons are *Parshu*, *Kuthar*, *Bhalla*, *Kshupra* (Axe), *Kunt*= *Ketakipatra* (Harpoon), *Kut* (Chisel) *Kartari* (Antena Sword), *Shool*, *Katak*, *Tomar*, *Bhindipal*, *Shakti*, *Heti*, *Pras*, *Mudgar*, *Asi*, *Gada*, *Musal*, *Dhanush-bana*, *Chakra* and *Vajra*, etc. name found.²⁰

Source of Copper

The Indus people brought copper from mines of Khetri (Rajasthan) and may be from Singbhum (Jharkhand). But in northern Haryana region, most probably, people brought from Khetri. Metal workers of this age used two types of techniques for making weapons and implements- Mould casting and cutting metal sheets.²¹ Eight to twelve percent tin was mixed with copper to make the tools of bronze.²² Metalsmiths were aware of the technique of smelting metal into mould and afterward striking it firmly with a hammer to provide proper shape to implements and they were also aware of the lost wax process. The knives, arrows, and other thin weapons and implements were made by cutting metal sheets.²³ They had also the knowledge of the technique of joint metal sheets with a mixture of bronze.²⁴ The Indus people made rivet hole into the tang of weapons and fitted them into a handle.

These people used the casting technique for making axe, celt, strip, sword, dagger, spear, and other weapons into mould, and then after cooling it struck with a hammer to give it a proper shape. Copper hoard weapons and implements were made of pure copper. These were made by casting in open or closed moulds or by cutting metal sheets.²⁵ Some techniques of copper hoard people match with the techniques of the Indus people.

In the Indian Protohistoric cultures to late OCP culture, weapons and implements have played an important role in the war, hunting, agriculture, trade, industry, and the development of technology. The metallurgy of these cultures has paved the way for further development in the later phases. We are making progress; its credit goes to the progress of science and technology used for weapons and implements. These cultures nurtured technical progress in their lap for hundreds of years.²⁶

Conclusions

The Protohistoric people in Northern India were advanced in using copper technology. They were quite aware of different processes like melting, annealing, close mould casting, use of lathe or cutting machine, etc. The copper objects from Northern India are quite distinct in tool typology which reflects regional taste. The choppers found at several places in Rajasthan, Haryana & Punjab are yet unknown to Doab. While the anthropomorphic figures and lugged celts from Doab are conspicuous by their absence in

Rajasthan. Besides, the harpoons from Haryana are the same as Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Technologically, the coppersmiths of this region excelled every bench-mark in processing copper but the issues like assigning any date to Copper Hoards Culture or why they are found in caches, and why we fail to find some concrete habitational evidence with this culture are questions that remain unanswerable. It may be concluded from the present study that the metal-smiths of this particular region were conversant with forging of copper, wire drawing, and annealing. Subsequently, they learned the technology of alloying and bronze making. The people of this region were agriculturists. Their copper tool kits were meager.

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Representation of Forest and Forest People in Ancient Haryana with Special Reference to Harsa-carita

*Pooja Kumari

The text under consideration is *Harsa-carita* of *Banabhatta* originally written during the 7th century in Sanskrit prose form and then translated in English during 19th century by western Indologist. The text covers the geographical area of *Madhyadesa*. Bana shows a clear dichotomy between different habitation zones and its residents. Four types of zones are discussed; first one is capital city Sathaneswar, which is the residence of king Harsa, who is seen as the upholder of *dharma-varna* norms. However, the term Dharma itself is very ambiguous and flexible. Second, Agrahara villages whose residents are morally superior and engaged in sacrificial rituals, teaching-learning activities. Third is *Srikanta*, which is depicted as an agriculture-based zone. Last or forth is the forest zone which is historically considered as the polluted and dangerous place which is not abided by Dharma laws. The ecological approach is very important to understand the sociological as well as political processes. Forest has been the earliest residing place for mankind but from the Neolithic period onwards with the emergence of settled life and agriculture; the idea of *Grama* also emerged. The time when *Grama* become a separate unit the perception towards forest also changed. It looked like a place of danger and wilderness. However, this perception was not static but changed with the socio-economic and political scenario. *Grama* and *Vana* are two spatial regions that represent two different social and cultural units sometimes they are complementary to each other and at the same time contradictory.

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Ecological and environmental approach is very important to looking at the sociological as well as political processes. Forest has been the earliest residing place for mankind but from Neolithic period onwards with the emergence of settled life and agriculture the idea of *Grama* also emerged. The time when *Grama* become a separate unit the perception towards forest also changed, and now it looked as a place of danger and wilderness. However, this perception was not static but changed with the socio-economic and political scenario. *Grama* and *Vana* are two spatial regions which represent two different social and cultural units sometimes they are complementary to each other and at the same time contradictory. Sontheimer was the first who traced the dichotomy between these two zones in *Samgam* literature beyond the ecological conception. Other historians like Charles Malamound, Romila Thapar, Aloka Prashar Sen etc. worked on the idea of *Grama* and *vana* on the basis of primary texts. It is mainly a text-based study where I am going to discuss the representation of forest and its inhabitants in *Harsa- Carita* of *Banabhatta* with special reference to Ancient Haryana region. Here the term 'Ancient' denote the time from beginning of writing to the end of 12th century CE. Before going to the main argument first it is necessary to understand the geographical area which we are going to study.

The term 'Haryana' first occurred in 1328 CE in Delhi Museum inscription and similar term '*Hariyanka*' in Palam Baoli inscription 1280 CE. The *Kumarikhanda* of *Skanda Purana* which was composed in 9th and 10th century CE used the term *Hariyala* or *Haripala* for Haryana. The area covered by present Haryana was variously known in ancient times as Uttravedi, Brahmavedi, Brahmavarta, Brahmarshheedesha, Kurudesha, Kurukshetra, Kurujungla etc.¹ However, the term Haryana itself has a late origin but the antiquity of the region it covers has never been questioned. Various Archaeological as well as literary sources reveals a lot of prehistoric and protohistoric sites within its boundaries. Haryana was important center for Vedic Civilization and Vedic literature composed on the bank of Saraswati river, Drasdavati river. The territory mentioned in this literature match to the Kuru region. *Digvijaya parva* of *Mahabharata* mention that it was divided into three parts Kuru jungle also known as Kamakhya forest include Rohtak, Hisar; Kururatta was between Ganga and Yamuna rivers having capital at

Hastinapura; and Kurukshetra as situated north with centres like Thaneshwar, Kaithal and Karnal.² From Mahajanpada period onwards it had been part of different principalities till the emergence of Modern Haryana.

The text under consideration is *Harsa-carita*³ of Banabhatta originally written during the 7th century in Sanskrit prose form and then translated in English during 19th century by western Indologist. It is written in the Epic-Puranic *Akhyana* style. However, in *Puranic* tradition no speaker ever directly narrates, all the *Purana* narratives are reported narratives.⁴ But here *Bana* is the first narrator and at one place *Bana* himself called it second *Mahabharata*. The text covers the geographical area of *Madhyadesa* and it records the history of king Harsa and Pusyabhuti dynasty. Bana discusses four types of habitation zone. Each shows a clear dichotomy with other habitation zones and its residents. First one is capital city *Sathaneswar*, which is the residence of king Harsa. The image of the royal court is depicted as hateful, full of evils, dander, favoritism and morally corrupt. But still king Harsa is shown as the upholder of *dharma-varsa* norms. It seems like that the term Dharma itself is very ambiguous and flexible. Second is an Agrahara village whose residents are morally superior and engaged in sacrificial rituals, teaching-learning activities. Third is *Srikanta*, which is depicted as an agriculture-based zone. Last and Fourth is the forest zone which is historically considered as the polluted and dangerous place which is not abided by Dharma laws. Physical features of people of first three zones are depicted as beautiful and auspicious. While forest people are compared with wilderness, barbaric, and unauspicious, dangerous. Why there was a striking difference in the image of these different zones; was this feature limited to Harschrita and particular time period or it was a practice of earlier period. Through historiography we will try to understand the definition and evolution of idea of *vana* and *kshetra* and changing attitude towards them.

Charles Malamound⁵ defines the two zones through difference in their material and cultural features. According to Malamound, *Grama* is a place with definite boundaries where concentration of people and institutions take place. The stability of *Grama* depends on the constitutive relationship between its members and maintained by Dharma rules. But the idea of Dharma itself very wide and flexible, and it most probably linked with sacrificial rituals of

Grama which provides social and political authority to *Grahastha*. While *Vana* or *Aranya* are more wide and extensive terms which include forest, desert, semi-arid zone, pastoral region. The features associated with *vana* region are strange, remote, wild, different, unpredictable, lacks concentration of people, institutions and Dharma norms. So *Grama* was associated with the *Grahastha* while forest with *Samyasin* that means renunciation tradition. According to Malamound sacrificial fire represent the trait of civilization and thus *yajna* is trait of *Grama*. Apart from social and cultural aspects the animals were also categorized according to their inhabitation. Mankind is the only *Pasu* who has access to both zones, while others were categorized according to spatial regions. Charles Malamound points that as *yajna* was a village affair so sacrificial animal should also belong to *Grama* only because forest animals are not subject to violence.

Romila Thapar⁶ looks the forest in to historical aspects that are not limited to material aspects. With the historical changes, the forest was also seen in multiple ways. It was the imagined alternative that increased the inequalities of civilized livings. Various primary sources like *Satpatha Brahmanas*, *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, etc. suggests that settled zone came out of the forest, but once they came out, they perceived them as impure, danger zone inhabited by *Bhila*, *Rakshasa*, *Nisadas*, etc. who don't follow the Dharma norms. Epic literature⁷ describes it a place of asceticism, exile, hunting, whose residence are *gandharvas*, *yakshas*, *Rakshasa*, and *naga*. Even non - Brahmanical religions like Buddhism, Jainism also advocates to avoid direct contact with forest people, as they are half barbarians. Jataka texts⁸ like Chhadanta jataka give a physical description of forest people as having broad feet, thick bearded, knees and ribs like calf swollen, yellow teeth, disfigured with scars, hulking fellow etc. These Buddhist sources talk about *hinajatis*, which includes *candalakula*, *venakula*, *nesadakula*, *rathkarakula*, *pukkusakula*. However, it says irrespective of caste anyone can attain niravana, but among human candala are lowest. These texts also make a difference between outcaste and wild people. It associates some bad omen with them.

When the full fledge empire came in to existence the state's dependence on the forest has been increased and they couldn't ignore the potential of the forest. Asoka in his rock edicts shows the more sensitivity and compassion towards the animals. In his 13th rock edict, there is evidence of conciliation,

persuasion as well as the threat of force. It suggests that forest people pose a great challenge to the authority of the king and the Mauryan empire.⁹ *Rakshasha* are seen as cruel, restricting hunting, uprooting settlements of brahmins. She says that this Image of Forest people are represented as demons so their extermination can be legitimized. *Kautilya* in *Arthashastra* talk about the categories of *vana* like *Dravyavana*, *Hastivana*, etc. he suggests the diplomatic use of forest and forest people.¹⁰ *Kautilya* advises the king to initiate the establishment of the new agrarian settlement, which would include the forest clearance and destruction of forest in habitants. *Kautilya* visualizes the wilderness as a space where state aggressively extends its administrative and fiscal activity. *Samundragupta's Prasasti* also talks about the increased control over the *Attavi* people.¹¹

Various historians favor the idea that from the Gupta period onwards the practice of land grants in the unsettled area has been increased. This suggests the physical transformation of the forest into the *Kshetra* region. Forest is not an empty place, but having their own identity, and names like *Khandavavana*, *Dvaitavana*, *Kurujungla*, *Kamyaka* etc. These are seen as a zone of possibilities, where chiefs and kings claim their authority through hunt, by establishing the *Asaramas*, which were like intrusion in the forest. Rulers put their claim to these territory through hunt but the people who live on hunting are seen as untouchable. These *Ashrama* people support the king and propagate the idea of kingship, and later it evolved into the practice of *Agraharas*. Giving the example of Kalidas's *Abhigyanashakuntalam* and epics, Romila sees the brahmana settlements as the form of *Agraharas*. Emergence of more and more *Agarhra* means spreading of Brahmanical norms and their civilizing mission. Authoritative behavior is still there, but now monarch is state whose power depends on revenue from all resources, whether its forest or *grama*. To support increasing population and to increase revenue there was need for agrarian expansion. This was done by tax free *Agraharas* to learned persons and brahmins. State was developing resources and ideologies according to its needs and requirements. Inclusion of new Jatis, Land grants into deeper forests, new genealogy, new genealogical myths, new state etc., suggest the matrimonial relations between *grama* and *vana*. During early medieval period some states trace their lineage through tribal origin. Prabhavati Gupta's mother was a naga lady, while his father was a

kshatriya. Tribal practices become part of puranic Hinduism.¹²

Sheldon Pollock¹³ points that *rakshasa* and a *suras* are the mythical memories so real personalities. Most of time they are identified with aboriginal tribes. They have been viewed as the cannibals, primitive cave dwellers, masked dancers in totemic rites which still found among some tribes. Demons are conceived in animals and human form whose main motive was to destroy sacrifice. Comparing the outrage of heroines of two epics are different. Dishonour of Draupdi and Sita are differentiated. First one took place in public and seen between the political struggle for throne between humans and abduction of Sita where outrage was private one took place in forest. Because idealized representation of Ayodhya not allow the existence of such rival. In the later one abductor was not even of same biological order and easily assimilated into demonic power and shows the reincarnation of cosmic evil.

Aloka Prasher Sen¹⁴ giving the example of Mauryan empire explains that how state subordinated and assimilated the forest people. How hostility of tribes was controlled. *Arthashastra* nowhere mentioned the food gathering and hunting as means of earning livelihood. Patanjali also mentioned four types of settlements- *grama*, *ghosha*, *nagara*, *samvaha*. B. Subbarao divided any geographical area into three regions- area of attraction that means areas of core or nucleus centre, area of relative isolation, area of isolation. While focusing on the various imaginations like idea of Aryavarta which comprise the area from south of Himalaya to Vindhya region; while *smriti* texts call it an area where black antelope graze. It automatically excluded the forest and hilly regions. Jain writings also suggest to avoid the forest and border people. As they are unlearned and barbaric, half civilized, unconverted people ate and rose at improper time. All these advices are very similar to Brahmanical *dharma* texts. Prasher says that in *Arthashastra* one hand state is trying to break ties but on the other hand trying to redefine these groups. Thieves and robbers operate on frontier and forests.

However, this image was not static; the image of demons is very different in folk and text literature. In folk the image is reverse of what is in text. Oral tradition is providing the other version of the story. The representation of forest people is continuously changing which shows the changing attitude towards forest and its residents. *Kathasaritsagar* gives an imaginative and

totally different description of arnaya with big palaces and elephants tusks. *Sabra* seems to be a common term for all tribal people. They are shown with archers and bow. Texts admire their knowledge of forest, positive image in *Samajataka* was represented with respect, geni under magical spell. The representation of shiva as *Kirata* armed with bow, head with feather, hair tied into bun in *Mahabhart*. There are very few representations of forest people in Brahmanical art. Some terracotta plaques like Paharpur represent *sabra* image, Lepakshi Siva image represent forest people. Buddhist art represent them with wild at tributes, peacock feather, garland of flowers, hair hangs loosely.¹⁵

In *Harsh-charita* romanticized description of *vana* like epic time is faded. Banabhatta Bana gives a descriptive analysis of Vindhya forest and villages adjacent to the forest known as *vanagrama*. It seems like that it has been established by clearing the forest, because it describes the activities like hunting, gathering, small scale agricultural activities which are predominantly related with forest. Its geographical condition that whole *kshetra* was surrounded by the *vana*, trapping of wild animals, fence around houses to protect cattle and themselves from wild beasts so indicate about this. Here people do agriculture without ox and plough, jhum agriculture etc. are the features of this village. Houses were made of slips of bamboos, leaves, stalks, reeds etc. However physical description of *Nishada*, *Prithu*, *Shabra*, resembles with the description of *Rakshasa*, but now they are not feared, and was subservient to king. Harsa's visit to forest and submission of forest people to him shows the process of assimilation of peripheral regions into larger state. The representations of forest people were same as of the earlier times economically different view if compare with epic tradition.¹⁶

So, we can say that idea of otherness towards forest and forest people emerged with the arrival of permanent settlement. But the towards forest was not static but change with the change in socio- economic conditions. It was very integral to political formations. It was the fantasized alien, which was desired as well as feared at the same time.

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संत नितानन्द से मेरा परिचय

*ब्रजेन्द्रकुमार सिंहल

आदरणीय मञ्च, सभागार में उपस्थित विद्वान्, मनीषी, सहृदय भाई व बहन !

सर्वप्रथम मैं हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारियों व कार्यकारिणी के सदस्यों के प्रति अपना आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ जिन्होंने मुझे हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस के पांचवे अधिवेशन के मध्यकालीन सत्र में अध्यक्षीय उद्बोधन के लिए अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर दिया। साथ ही मैं डॉ. जगदीश प्रसाद जी के प्रति भी आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ जिनकी प्रेरणा से मुझे यहाँ आमंत्रित किया गया।

वस्तुतः संतों, भक्तों व राजस्थान के ऐतिहासिक विषयों पर काम करते हुए मुझको लगभग 47-48 वर्ष हो गये और अब तक मुझे सत्तासी (87) पुस्तकों को लिखने का सौभाग्य भी प्राप्त हुआ है, फिर भी संत श्रीनितानन्दजी से मेरा परिचय पाँच-सात वर्ष से पुराना नहीं है। संभवतः इसका प्रमुख कारण इनके ऊपर प्रकाशित साहित्य का प्रसार हरियाणा के बाहर राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर न होना है।

यह प्रसन्नता का विषय है कि अब जब हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस ने यह बीड़ा उठाया है तब निश्चित तौर पर ऐसे सम्मेलनों से संत नितानन्दजी ही नहीं वरन् हरियाणा के छुपे हुए संतों के संदेश प्रान्त की सीमाओं का अतिक्रमण कर राष्ट्रीय और अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर तक पहुँच सकेंगे।

आधारभूत स्रोत सामग्री

अभी तक मुझे संत नितानन्द के संदर्भ केवल पाँच पुस्तकों में मिल सके हैं जिनको आधार बनाकर ही मैं आगे अपनी बातें कहूँगा। ये संदर्भ हैं—

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1. 'दादूपंथ-परिचय, भाग-2' जिसमें राणीला (हरियाणा) के महान् संत हरिदासजी के प्रसंग में नितानन्दजी का भी सामान्य परिचय दिया गया है।¹ ये नितानन्दजी के समकालीन व मित्र संत थे और दोनों का आपस में कभी-कभी मिलन व सत्संग भी हुआ करता था।

2. 'चरणदासी-सम्प्रदाय और उसका साहित्य' के लेखक डॉ. श्यामसुन्दर शुक्ल ने संत चरणदासजी के समकालीन व मित्र संतों का वर्णन करते समय संत श्रीगुमानीदासजी का भी नामोलेख किया है² और इन गुमानीदासजी को ग्राम दुवाल जिला रोहतक का नाथपंथी संत बताया गया है।

नितानन्दी-विद्वान् अभी तक नितानन्दजी के गुरु के बारे में नाम के अतिरिक्त कुछ भी बता पाने में असमर्थ हैं किन्तु उक्त संदर्भ से हमको गुमानीदासजी के बारे में एक निश्चित सूत्र मिलता है और इसके आधार पर इनकी खोजबीन करके हम एक निर्णायक मोड़ पर पहुँच सकते हैं।

3. 'हरियाणा का संत-साहित्य', लेखक डॉ. सूरजभान: इसमें संत नितानन्दजी व इनके उत्तरवर्ती दो रचनाकारों के बारे में एक पूरा अध्याय उपलब्ध है।³ डॉ. सूरजभान को सत्य-सिद्धान्त-प्रकाश नामक ग्रंथ में नितानन्दजी की वाणी प्राप्त थी फिर भी वे गलती करने से न चूके। डॉ. सूरजभान ने नितानन्दजी के नाना का नाम 'सिताबराय' के स्थान पर 'खिताबराय' लिखा है जो गलत है।

इसी प्रकार डॉ. सूरजभान ने दादूपंथी ध्यानदास कृत ग्रन्थ 'हरिचन्द-सत' को नितानन्दजी के शिष्य ध्यानदासजी की कृति लिख दी है। इस ग्रंथ की वि.सं. 1771, 1812, 1817, 1824, 1828, 1829, 1844, 1850, 1850, 1859, 1859, 1852, 1866, 1877, 1885 व 3 बिना सन्-सम्बत् की कुल 18 हस्तलिखित प्रतियाँ मेरे देखने में आई हैं। इन सम्बत्तों को देखने से यह निश्चित होता है कि 'हरिचन्द-सत' सम्बत् 1771 से पूर्व की रचना है जो कदापि सम्बत् 1814 में साधु बनने वाले नितानन्दजी के शिष्य ध्यानदासजी की रचना नहीं हो सकती। ऐसे ही आगरा निवासी, अकबर कालीन वैश्य वंशोद्भव लालदास कृत 'इतिहास सार-समुच्चय' को नितानन्दी रचनाकार बताने का प्रयत्न डॉ. सूरजभान करते हुए मालूम होते हैं।

वास्तव में लालदास ने यह ग्रंथ आगरा में रहते हुए भादौ वदि 7, बुधवार, वि.सं. 1643 को बनाकर पूर्ण किया और इसमें कुल 1013 छन्द हैं। पुराने जमाने में संस्कृत-भाषा से अनभिज्ञ अनेक संत व ब्राह्मण ऐसे ही भाषा-ग्रंथों से कथाएँ कहते थे। इस ग्रंथ की अनेक प्रतियाँ दादूपंथी, रामस्नेही, निरंजनी हस्तलेखों में मिलती हैं। दादूद्वारा नारायना

में ग्रंथांक 75 व 320 में यह ग्रंथ प्राप्त है। डॉ. सूरजभान ने नितानन्दी-अध्याय में ही गलतियाँ की हैं, ऐसी बात नहीं है; चरणदासी, दादूपंथी आदि अध्यायों में इन्होंने भारी-भारी भूलें की हैं जिन पर फिर कभी चर्चा करेंगे।

4. 'हरियाणा की निर्गुण काव्य-परम्परा और संत नितानन्द' लेखिका डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी ने अपना शोधकार्य प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् डॉ. राजदेवसिंह के निर्देशन में सम्पन्न किया है⁴, ऐसा लगता है; किन्तु न तो इस ग्रंथ में डॉ. सिंह जैसा पैनापन दिखता है और न तथ्यों की जाँच-पड़ताल में फील्ड-वर्क ही दिखता है। टेबिल-वर्क भी प्राप्त तथ्यों को सजाकर प्रस्तुत करने के अलावा और अधिक कुछ नहीं लगता। इनके एक दो तथ्यों की जाँच आगे करेंगे।

5. 'सत्य-सिद्धान्त-प्रकाश' के सम्पादक प्रज्ञाचक्षु संत श्रीभोलादास थे⁵ इन्होंने यह ग्रंथ वि.सं. 1985, सन् 1928 में सम्पादित करा-कर प्रकाशित करवाया। आज नितानन्दजी को जानने-समझने के लिये इसके अलावा दूसरा अन्य कोई आधारभूत ग्रंथ नहीं है। सम्पादक नितानन्दी-भेष के संत थे; अतः उन्होंने जो कुछ गुरु-परम्परा में सुना, जाना व वाणी के अनुशीलन से समझा, उसी को 25 पृष्ठों की भूमिका व जीवनी शीर्षक में लिखा है। उन्होंने न तर्क-प्रमाण का सहारा लिया और न कोई शोध किया। उन्हें ऐसा करना भी नहीं था। फिर भी शोध करने वाला विद्वान् तथ्यों की छानबीन अवश्य करता है और सम्प्रदाय के लेखकों की बातों में यदि कोई विसंगति मिलती है तो उस पर चर्चा करके यथा संभव किसी न किसी निर्णय तक ले आने का प्रयत्न करता है।

जन्म-सम्बत् : सत्य-सिद्धान्त-प्रकाशकार संत भोलादासजी ने लिखा है-स्वामीजी बीरबल की प्रणाली में प्रसिद्ध थे। पं. सागरमल सुपुत्र बिहारीलाल याज्ञिक (जागा) मु.पो. शाहपुरा जिला जयपुर (राजस्थान) के लेखों के उद्धरण के अनुसार स्वामी नितानन्दजी के पिताजी का नाम श्रीदुर्गादत्तजी एवं माताजी का नाम सरस्वती था। इस लेख के अनुसार बीरबल से नन्दलालजी (स्वामी नितानन्दजी) तक उत्पन्न हुए पुरुषों के नाम इस प्रकार हैं-बीरबल-देवदत्त-गौरीदत्त-गणेशदत्त-शिवदत्त-दुर्गादत्त-नन्दलाल (जो बाद में स्वामी नितानन्दजी के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुए)। इनके नाना सिताबराय रेवाड़ी के निवासी थे।

पं. सागरमल के पूर्वजों ने यह लेख विक्रमी-सम्बत् 1772 में लिखा था, जब वे नन्दलालजी की जन्म की बधाई लेने गए (अर्थात् बधाई लेने को नितानन्दजी के यहाँ आये)। अतः स्वामीजी का जन्म इससे 5-7 वर्ष पूर्व ही मानना चाहिए⁶।

यदि हम उक्त कथन की जाँच करना चाहें तो इस प्रकार कर सकते हैं। बीरबल अकबर के दरबार में था। यदि वह सम्वत् 1630 में जन्मा हो और अकबर की सेवा में 20 वर्ष की उम्र में आया हो तो नन्दलालजी का जन्म बीरबल की सातवीं पीढ़ी में होने, एक पीढ़ी के लिये उस जमाने के अनुसार संतान उत्पन्न होने की उम्र 20 वर्ष मानने से 140 वर्ष, सम्वत् 1630 में जोड़ने से 1770 वि.सं. आता है, वह हर दृष्टि से परम्परागत मान्य समय व जागे की बही के तारतम्य में ठीक बैठ जाता है। अतः मेरी सम्मति में हम संत श्रीनितानन्दजी का जन्म-समय वि.सं. 1770 के आसपास या सम्वत् 1770 ही मान सकते हैं।

इधर डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी लिखती हैं कि 'संत नितानन्द की जन्म-तिथि का उल्लेख जीवन-चरित्र में कहीं नहीं मिलता किन्तु इनके विवाह प्रकरण से जन्म-सम्वत् का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। कहते हैं कि इनका दो बार विवाह हुआ था। पहली पत्नी की मृत्यु उसके नैहर में, ससुराल आने के पहले ही हो गयी थी। माता-पिता ने दोबारा इनका विवाह कर दिया। दूसरी पत्नी की भी मृत्यु 1814 वि.सं. में हो गयी। भोलादासजी के अनुसार इस समय नितानन्द की तरुण अवस्था थी। 25 वर्ष तरुण अवस्था का मानक काल है। इस प्रकार नितानन्द का जन्म-समय सम्वत् 1789 अथवा 1788 ठहरता है। अतः किसी निश्चित समयोल्लेख के अभाव में हम संत नितानन्द का जन्म-सम्वत् 1789 वि. के आसपास मान सकते हैं।'⁷

डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी के उक्त उद्धरण के दो अंश आपत्तिजनक हैं और इनके आधार पर इनका अनुमान कि नितानन्दजी का जन्म, सम्वत् 1779 वि. में हुआ होगा, स्वतः ही धराशायी हो जाता है। डॉ. कुमारी का यह कथन कि जन्म समय 'जीवन-चरित्र' में नहीं मिलता, पूर्वोक्त भोलादासजी के उद्धरण से मिथ्या प्रमाणित होता है। दूसरा तरुणावस्था का मानक मान 25 वर्ष, आज के 300 वर्ष पूर्व किस आधार पर कहाँ सर्वमान्य था, इसका कोई प्रमाण डॉ. कुमारी ने नहीं बताया।

वस्तुतः स्वतंत्रता के पूर्व तक व मध्यकालीन भारत में तरुणावस्था का मान 16 से 20 वर्ष की उम्र मानी जाती थी। मनुस्मृति में आता है 'प्राप्त्यै तु षोडशै वर्षे पुत्र मित्रवदाचरेत्' अर्थात् जब पुत्र की उम्र 16 वर्ष की हो जाये, तब पिता, पुत्र को बच्चा न मानकर मित्रवत् माने, उसके साथ मित्रवत् व्यवहार करे।

प्रसिद्ध प्राच्यविद्याविद् व महान् इतिहासकार म.म. रायबहादुर गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा ने *मध्यकालीन भारतीय-संस्कृति* नामक अपनी प्रसिद्ध कृति में अनेक शिलालेखों, ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणों, लेखों व ग्रंथों के प्रमाणों के आधार पर दिखाया है कि ब्राह्मण,

वैश्य व क्षत्रियों में 18 से 20 वर्ष तक की उम्र में लड़कों के विवाह होकर मुकलावे हो जाते थे⁸ और वे संतानोत्पत्ति के योग्य माने जाते थे। अतः तरुणावस्था का मानक मान उस जमाने में 20 वर्ष का ही मानना उचित है। मैंने भी मेरी प्रसिद्ध कृति *मीरांबाई : प्रमाणिक जीवनी एवं मूल पदावली*⁹ में उदयपुर राज्य के महाराणाओं के विवाह वर्षों व प्रथम संतति के उत्पन्न होने के समय का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन कर सिद्ध किया है कि उस जमाने में क्षत्रिय वर्ग में भी लगभग 18 से 20 वर्ष की उम्र में विवाह हो जाया करते थे।

हाँ, वर्तमान समय में विवाह योग्य तरुणावस्था का मान 25 वर्ष मानना ठीक है। विदेशी लेखक भी प्रायः 25 वर्ष उनके देश की संस्कृति के अनुसार मानकर लिखते हैं। हमारे यहाँ के लेखक बिना सोचे-समझे उनके कथनों को सत्य मान लेते हैं।

अब मुद्दा आता है पुनर्विवाह की उम्र का। पुनर्विवाह की कोई उम्र तय नहीं हो सकती। यह परिस्थिति व घटना सापेक्ष होती है। कभी 25 वर्ष तो कभी 40 वर्ष भी हो सकती है। वर्तमानकाल में तो इसके लिये कोई मानक तय कर पाना ही संभव नहीं। अतः डॉ. कुमारी द्वारा निर्धारित जन्म-वर्ष विक्रम-सम्बत् 1789 अमान्य ठहरता है। इस विषय में आगे चलकर और विस्तार से चर्चा करने का अवसर आयेगा।

विवाह : जैसा पूर्व में लिख आये हैं, स्वामी नितानंदजी का प्रथम विवाह वि.सं. 1790 के आसपास हुआ होगा और पत्नी का देहान्त भी जल्दी हो गया होगा, जैसा संत भोलादासजी ने लिखा है। हो सकता है, विवाह के पश्चात् किन्तु मुकलावे के पूर्व ही देहान्त हो गया हो। दूसरा विवाह कितने दिनों पश्चात् हुआ, का न कोई उल्लेख है और न कोई अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है किन्तु इतना अवश्य है कि 2-4 वर्षों के भीतर-भीतर ही इनका पुनर्विवाह हो गया होगा। यदि हम 23-24 वर्ष की उम्र में पुनर्विवाह मानें तो विक्रम-सम्बत् 1814 का क्या होगा, जब इनके यहाँ धाड़ा पड़ा व पिताजी का देहान्त हुआ और संत भोलादासजी के अनुसार दूसरी पत्नी का देहान्त भी हुआ। मैं आगे जिस अंतःसाक्ष्य को उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ उसके आलोक में दूसरी पत्नी के वि.सं. 1814 में मरने की बात का खण्डन होता है। हाँ, इस दूसरी पत्नी का देहान्त इसके पूर्व ही हो गया होगा, ऐसा अनुमान करना ही पूर्वापर प्रमाणों व तथ्यों के आलोक में समुचित लगता है। स्वयं नितानंदजी कहते हैं-

नितानंद प्यारी लगी, जब लग नहीं सँभाल।

जब समझा तब तजि दर्ई, नार नरक की झाल ॥28॥

क्या अपनी क्या और की, पावक देत जराय।

नितानंद उबरा चहै, तो हरगिज हाथ न लाय ॥21॥

जब लग समझ न ऊपजी, किया नारि से प्यार।

नितानंद ठगनी लखी, दिल से दर्ई उतार ॥23॥

– कामीनर का अंग

इन तीनों साखियों के अर्थ व अभिप्राय को समझें तो स्पष्ट होगा कि नितानंदजी ने तब तक पत्नी को साथ में रखा, उसको पत्नी के रूप में भोगा भी, जब तक उनका सदुरुदेव गुमानीदासजी से संसर्ग होकर उनको यथार्थ ज्ञान अर्थात् आत्मानात्म-तत्त्व का बोध नहीं हुआ। जब गुरु महाराज के सत्संग द्वारा इनको समझ आ गई कि सच्चा सुख किसमें व नाशवान सुख, क्षणिक सुख किसमें है, तब इन्होंने पत्नी को नरकाग्नि की झाल समझकर छोड़ दी। छोड़ने का तात्पर्य यह नहीं कि ये परिवार में नहीं रहे किन्तु इसका तात्पर्य यह है कि ये रहे प्रारब्धवशात् घर में ही किन्तु इन्होंने पत्नी से पत्नीवत् व्यवहार छोड़कर मित्रवत् व्यवहार अपना लिया। पत्नी मरी नहीं। इन्होंने घर छोड़ा नहीं। ब्रह्मचर्य पूर्वक घर में रहते रहे और घर-परिवार की जिम्मेदारी निभाते रहे।

जब वि.सं. 1814 में इनकी हवेली में डाका पड़ा व पिता की मृत्यु हो गई, तब इनका संसार के प्रति रहा-सहा आकर्षण भी जाता रहा और इन्होंने पूर्णतः विरक्त होने का मानस बना लिया।

यह संभव है, सम्वत् 1795 वि. से 1814 वि.सं. के मध्य इनके द्वारा घर में रहते हुए भी इनके विरक्ति-मय भाव के कारण या किसी गंभीर बीमारी के कारण इनकी दूसरी पत्नी का भी देहान्त हो गया हो। पिता की मृत्यु, धन की हानि व पत्नी का पूर्व में ही परलोक गमन, ये ऐसे कारण थे जिन्होंने इनको संसार से पूर्णतः विरक्त होने को प्रेरित किया और ये विरक्त हो गये। जब अनेक महापुरुषों की जीवनियों को पढ़ते हैं तब हमको ज्ञात होता है कि अधिकांश महापुरुष आकस्मिक कारणों के कारण ही तत्काल वैराग्य के मार्ग पर चल पड़े और अपने उत्तरवर्ती जीवन में महत् साधना करके महान् सिद्ध की कोटि तक पहुँचे हैं।

जैसे विचार श्रीनितानंदजी ने अपनी पत्नी के बारे में व्यक्त किये हैं, ठीक ऐसी ही साखियाँ मारवाड़ी दरियावसाहब ने अपनी वाणी में कही हैं। यथा-

दरिया अपणी पार की, नारी जैसी आग।

निकट रेहा ते जल गया, अलग रखा बड भाग ॥ 6 ॥

दरिया नारी हम रखी, जाण्या नहीं बमेख।

सतगुरु मिलियाँ गम पड़ी, जब तज भया अलेख ॥7॥¹⁰

दरियाव-साहब (1733-1815 वि.सं.) आजीवन गृहस्थ रहे। तीन पुत्रों के पिता थे। 36 वर्ष की उम्र में प्रेमदासजी 'संतदासोत' नामक गृहस्थ संत से दीक्षित हुए और महान् संत हुए जिनका सम्प्रदाय आज भी चलता है। इनके आठवें वंशधर अभी 20 वर्ष पूर्व मरे हैं। अब इनके वंश का कोई व्यक्ति नहीं किन्तु इनके वर्तमानकालीन सम्प्रदाय वाले दरियावसाहब को नैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचारी सिद्ध करने के लिये उनकी वाणी में उक्त कामीनर के अंग की साखियाँ ही नहीं छापते। जीवनी ग्रंथों में जहाँ-जहाँ उनके पुत्रों का वर्णन है, वहाँ-वहाँ उनको पुत्रों की जगह शिष्य बना दिया है, पाठ बदलकर। मूल हस्तलेखों पर हरतालें फेर दी हैं। बहुत संभव है, संत भोलादासजी ही नहीं, इनके पूर्ववर्ती महंतों ने भी ऐसी ही कोई कथा की सृष्टि की हो जो भोलादासजी ने जीवनी में लिखी है क्योंकि इन विरक्तों ने भी अपने प्रवर्तक को नैष्ठिक ब्रह्मचारी बताने के लिये ऐसी ही बातें प्रचलित कर दी हों, ऐसी संभावना से इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता।

अतः मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि नितानन्दजी महाराज पर्याप्त समय तक गृहस्थाश्रमी रहे होंगे। पत्नी को पत्नीवत् ही रखा होगा किन्तु जब उनको गुरु के सत्संग से ज्ञान या बोध हो गया, तब उन्होंने शीलव्रत धारण कर लिया होगा। सम्वत् 1814 में जब पिता व सम्पत्ति भी नष्ट हो गयी, तब इनको यकायक वैराग्य हुआ होगा और इन्होंने गुरु-शरणाश्रय लेकर विरक्ताश्रम का वरण किया होगा। उक्त विवेचन का एक महत्वपूर्ण निष्कर्ष और सामने आता है कि श्रीनितानन्दजी का कुल जीवन-समय सम्वत् 1770 से 1856 विक्रमी तक निर्धारित होता है जो किसी भी कोण से 86 वर्ष की पूर्णायु अनुचित नहीं मानी जा सकती। इनका गृहस्थ-जीवन 34 वर्ष का व विरक्त जीवन 42 वर्ष का निर्धारित होता है। यहाँ, इस प्रसंग में एक बात और कह देना सर्वथा प्रासंगिक है। नितानन्दजी की वाणी के सम्पादक ने बड़ी ही ईमानदारी से स्वीकार किया है कि उनके भेष-प्रवर्तक ने दो विवाह किये तथा उन्होंने पूर्वोक्त साखी क्रमांक 20 व 21 को भूमिका में उद्धृत भी किया है। उन्होंने अन्यान्य सम्प्रदाय वालों की तरह तथ्यों को उतना व वैसा सर्वथा बदलने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया, जैसा अन्यान्य सम्प्रदाय वालों ने किया है। इस संबंध में अनेक उदाहरण हैं। एक उदाहरण दरियाव साहब का पूर्व में लिख दिया गया है।

श्रीनितानन्दजी और भरतपुर स्टेट : संत भोलादासजी ने लिखा है कि नितानन्दजी के पिता भरतपुर राज्य में किसी अच्छे पद पर पद-स्थापित थे। पिता के कारण ही इनको

भरतपुर-राज्य में तहसीलदार के पद पर कार्य करने का अवसर मिला और सम्वत् 1814 में इन्होंने वहाँ के तहसीलदार के पद से इस्तीफा दिया। डॉ. सूरजभान व डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी ने बिना किसी जाँच-पड़ताल के संत भोलादासजी के उक्त-कथन को यथारूप स्वीकार कर लिया।

जब हम भरतपुर राज्य के इतिहास को ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में पढ़ते हैं, तब पाते हैं कि औरंगजेब के समय (मृत्यु सन् 1707) व उसके तत्काल उत्तरवर्तियों के समय में जाटों का मुखिया चूड़ामण जाट था जिसने अपना किला 'थूण' (कुम्हेर के आसपास) में बना रखा था। सन् 1716 में मिर्जा राजा जयसिंह कछावा को, उसको पकड़ने को भेजा गया किन्तु 20 महीने तक चूड़ामण पकड़ में नहीं आया। अंततः जयसिंह कछावा को तत्कालीन मुगल बादशाह ने दिल्ली में बुला लिया। सन् 1721 (सम्वत् 1778) में चूड़ामण जाट जहर खाकर मर गया।

चूड़ामण का बेटा मुहकम जाट थूण के किले में ही रहता रहा। सन् 1722 में जयसिंह कछावा पुनः मुहकम जाट को दबाने को थूण गया। किशनगढ़ का सावंतसिंह राठौड़ (भक्ति-संबंधी नाम नागरीदासजी) भी गया। मुहकम का चचेरा भाई वदनसिंह जयसिंह कछावा से मिल गया। परिणामतः मुहकम जाट जोधपुर महाराजा अजीतसिंह के पास भाग गया। वदनसिंह ने कुम्हेर में अपना ठिकाना बनाया। सन् 1735 ई. में इसके (वदनसिंह के) सूरजमल नामक पुत्र हुआ जिसने सन् 1755 ई. (सम्वत् 1812 वि.) में भरतपुर में लोहगढ़ नामक किला बनाकर भरतपुर में अपनी राजधानी बनाई और जाट-राज्य की विधिवत् स्थापना की। उक्त ऐतिहासिक तथ्य के आलोक में न तो संत श्रीनितानन्दजी के पिता का भरतपुर-राज्य की सेवा में रहना प्रामाणिक लगता है और न स्वयं संत श्रीनितानन्दजी का ही भरतपुर-राज्य में तहसीलदार के पद पर रहकर सेवा करना संभव लगता है। जब भरतपुर-राज्य ही सम्वत् 1812 (सन् 1755) में अस्तित्व में आया, तब उक्त दोनों पिता-पुत्रों का वहाँ महत्वपूर्ण पद या तहसीलदार के पद पर रहकर कार्य करना असंभव लगता है।

राजस्थान-अभिलेखागार का कार्यालय बीकानेर में है। वहाँ रजवाड़ों के ऐसे सभी दस्तावेज सुरक्षित हैं। भरतपुर राज्य के भी हैं। वहाँ जाकर दस्तावेजों को देखकर प्रमाणीकरण करना जरूरी है कि क्या नन्दराम ब्राह्मण भरतपुर राज्य की सेवा में थे। मेरे उक्त विवेचन के आलोक में मुझे लगता है कि नितानन्दजी भरतपुर राज्य की सेवा में नहीं थे। यह प्रसंग आगे 'गुरु' शीर्षक में और अधिक स्पष्ट होगा।

गुरु गुमानीदासजी : संत भोलादासजी ने संत गुमानीदासजी को वृन्दावन का संत बताया है तथापि न उनका सम्प्रदाय, न उनकी साधना-पद्धति और न उनके विचारों का ही कोई विवरण उन्होंने लिखा। उत्तरवर्ती उक्त दोनों लेखकों ने बिना छानबीन किये संत भोलादास के मत को दुहरा भर दिया है। जैसा मैं आधारभूत-स्रोत-सामग्री शीर्षक में लिख आया हूँ कि ये गुमानीदासजी रोहतक के पास दुवाल नामक गाँव में रहा करते थे। इनका सम्प्रदाय नाथपंथ था और ये सिद्ध संत थे। ये प्रसिद्ध शुक्चरणदासीय-सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक संत श्रीचरणदासजी के समकालीन व समशील मित्र थे। इनका आपस में सत्संग भी हुआ होगा, ऐसा मानना संगत है।

डॉ. श्यामसुंदर शुक्ल ने 'चरणदासी-सम्प्रदाय और उसका साहित्य' में चरणदासजी के समकालीन व समशील दस महात्माओं का नामोल्लेख किया है¹ जिनमें से एक नाम उक्त गुमानीदासजी भी है। ये नाम पाठकों के लिये उपयोगी रहेंगे, अतः मैं इनको यथारूप उद्धृत कर रहा हूँ।

- “ 1. बाबा मस्तनाथ (नाथपंथी, अस्थल बोहर, जिला रोहतक) ।
2. गुमानीदास (नाथपंथी, दुवाल, जिला रोहतक) ।
3. महात्मा शंकरदास (मेरठ, अनेक ग्रंथों के रचयिता) ।
4. शीतलदासजी (बेनामी सम्प्रदाय के, कहते हैं इनको भगवान् के दर्शन हुए थे, स्थान अलवर) ।
5. भैरोंदास (भक्तमाल नामक ग्रंथ के रचयिता, स्थान अंबाला) ।
6. नारायणदास स्वामी (वृन्दावन, ये आयु में चरणदासजी से छोटे थे) ।
7. शाह फकरुद्दीन (फकीर, दिल्ली) चरणदासजी के इतने गहरे मित्र थे कि उनकी चिर-समाधि का समाचार पाकर इन्होंने स्वयं ही समाधि ले ली थी ।
8. शाह वलीअल्ला मोहद्दीस देहलवी (इन्होंने कुरान का फारसी में तर्जुमा किया था। इनके बेटे शाह अब्दुल अजीज ने कुरान का उर्दू में तर्जुमा किया व देवबन्द में मदरसा कायम किया) ।
9. हजरत मुहम्मद युनीस, (तिजारा, अलवर) इन्होंने फारसी में तत्कालीन संतों का वृत्त लिखा था जिसमें इन्होंने चरणदासजी की भी बड़ी प्रशंसा की थी ।
10. गरीबदासजी (रोहतक, गरीबदासी-संप्रदाय के प्रवर्तक) । ”

उक्त सूची के शीतलदासजी, कक्कड़जी की 5वीं पीढ़ी में हुए। कक्कड़जी जो बेनामी-सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक माने जाते हैं, का देहावसान वि.सं. 1931 में हुआ। ऐसी स्थिति में शीतलदासजी का, चरणदासजी का समकालीन होना संदिग्ध लगता है।

नारायणदासजी स्वामी, वृन्दावन निवासी भी चरणदासजी के परवर्ती-कालीन ही हैं। ये सन् 1920 के आसपास तक थे। हो सकता है, डॉ. शुक्ल ने भी बिना पर्याप्त शोध किये यह सूची मौखिक जानकारी के आधार पर प्रस्तुत की हो।

गुमानीदासजी यदि नाथपंथी थे तो इनका नाम 'नाथान्त' होना चाहिए, 'दासान्त' नहीं। यह शोध का विषय है कि ये 'दुवाल' के गुमानीदासजी किस पंथ के थे तथा इनकी साधना-पद्धति क्या थी? क्या इनका नितानन्दजी से गुरु-शिष्य का संबंध था।

फिर भी इनका आश्रम रोहतक के नजदीकी गाँव में होने से संभावना पूरी बनती है कि बहुझोलरी गाँव के हिम्मतारायजी व स्वयं नितानन्दजी इनके सम्पर्क में आये हों और दोनों इनके ही शिष्य हों। पुराने जमाने में प्रायः यातायात के साधन सीमित थे और अध्यात्म-प्रिय जनता अपने नजदीक के संत महात्माओं के सत्संग से ही लाभ उठाती थी और इन दोनों ने इन दुवाल निवासी गुमानीदासजी का शरणाश्रय लेकर ही साधना की हो, ऐसी संभावना पूरी है। जैसा हम पूर्व में कह आये हैं कि नितानन्दजी भरतपुर-राज्य की सेवा में नहीं थे; अतः पूरी-पूरी संभावना बनती है कि नितानन्दजी अपने जमाने के, अपने क्षेत्र के ही साधना-सिद्ध संत श्रीगुमानीदासजी के सम्पर्क में आकर साधक से सिद्ध की स्थिति में पहुँचे हों।

यदि गुमानीदासजी वृन्दावन के संत होते तो उनकी साधना-पद्धति व विचार-दर्शन 'रस-भक्ति समन्वित निकुंज-भक्ति' या 'ब्रजभक्ति' के अनुसार होती जबकि नितानन्दजी तो पूर्णतः निर्गुणी संत, उनकी वाणी के आलोक में सिद्ध होते हैं। हिम्मतारायजी की कोई वाणी नहीं मिलती। डॉ. सूरजभान ने भी इनके पंथ या इनकी परम्परा का कोई विवरण उक्त पुस्तक में नहीं दिया है। अतः मुझको ऐसा लगता है कि ये (हिम्मतारायजी) अच्छे साधक तो रहे होंगे किन्तु सिद्ध की कोटि के नहीं रहे होंगे। यदि ये सिद्ध कोटि के पहुँचे हुए होते तो निश्चित ही इनकी 'अणभै-वाचा' खुल गई होती और हमको इनकी वाणी मिलती। भक्तप्रवर नरसी ने कहा है- 'अचेत चेतन थयो भव तणौ दुख गयो, अस्तुति ऊठी म्हारी आदि वाणी' अर्थात् जैसे ही मेरी साधना परिपक्व हुई, मेरी आदि अर्थात् धुर वाणी जो सोई पड़ी थी, जाग उठी।

महाराज रामचरणजी के लिये कहा गया है-

'बारह बरस भजन करि छकिया। पाछै अनुभव वाणी बकिया ॥'

डॉ. सूरजभान ने संभावना व्यक्त की है कि नितानन्दजी की साधना पर हिम्मतारायजी का असर ज्यादा पड़ा हो, और ये निर्गुण साधना-पद्धति की ओर हिम्मतारायजी के कारण ही मुड़े हों, इसकी संभावना ज्यादा है। इस संबंध में मैं इस मत को थोड़ा सुधार

कर कहना चाहता हूँ। यदि गुमानीदासजी नाथपंथी थे तो नितानन्दजी को निर्गुण भक्ति-पद्धति के संस्कार गुरु से ही मिले, ऐसा ही मानना होगा। हाँ, उनके विचारों व साधना-पद्धति में दृढ़ता हिम्मताराय की संगति से आना माना जा सकता है।

हिम्मतारायजी का नितानन्दजी के प्रसंग में जो विवरण मिलता है, वही मिलता है, उससे अधिक और कुछ नहीं मिलता। अतः नितानन्दजी पर यदि इनका कुछ प्रभाव आया होगा तो मात्र वैचारिक प्रभाव ही माना जा सकता है, साधना संबंधी नहीं। अतः मैं डॉ. सूरजभान के निम्न कथन से सर्वांश में सहमत नहीं। “वैसे तो गुमानीदासजी तथा बहू-झोलरी के लाला हिम्मतारायजी के सानिध्यकाल को भी संत नितानन्द का साधना-काल ही समझना चाहिए किन्तु एकान्त-भाव से भक्ति तथा साधना का काल लालाजी के आशीर्वाद प्राप्त करने के पश्चात् का ही समय है।”

प्रभाव व वाणी का बाह्य ढाँचा : ऊपर जिन समकालीनों का विवरण है, उनमें से लगता है, नितानन्दजी पर सर्वाधिक वैचारिक प्रभाव दादूपंथी हरिदासजी उतराधा का पड़ा जो नारायणदासजी दादूपंथी, उमरा गाँव निवासी के शिष्य थे और परचावान् सिद्ध पुरुष थे। इन्होंने अच्छी वाणी का सृजन किया जिसका अब सानुवाद प्रकाशन भी हो गया है। दादूपंथी इनको दादूपंथ का दूसरा ‘रज्जब’ कहते हैं। इन्होंने अपनी अनेक रचनाओं में छाप भी ‘रज्जब’ की ही लगाई है। जिस प्रकार रज्जब के सामने दृष्टान्त, उदाहरण व प्रमाण हाथ जोड़े खड़े रहते थे और वे अपनी एक-एक साखी में चार-चार तक दृष्टांत देते हैं, ऐसे ही इनकी वाणी भी दृष्टांतों, उदाहरणों, प्रमाणों से ओतप्रोत है।

जब हम दादूपंथी वाणियों और इनकी वाणियों को मिलाते हैं तब अंगों के नामों व क्रमों में भी काफी कुछ साम्य मिलता है। उदाहरणार्थ अन्यान्य सम्प्रदाय की वाणियों में गुरुदेव के अंग के पश्चात् सुमरण का अंग आता है किन्तु दादूपंथी कई-एक वाणियों में ‘सुमरण-चेतावनी’ का अंग आता है। विषय सामग्री दोनों की लगभग समान ही होती है। बस, नामकरण में ‘चेतावनी’ लिखकर स्पष्टता और ला दी जाती है कि सुमरण करो अन्यथा पुनर्जन्म से पीछा छूटने वाला नहीं। नितानन्दजी की साखियों में ‘लाभी’ का अंग है। दादूपंथी वाणियों में यह ‘लांबी’ के अंग के नाम से मिलता है। प्रायः अन्य सम्प्रदायों की वाणियों में यह अंग नहीं मिलता। ‘लांबी’ का तात्पर्य ‘दीर्घ-भाव’ या ऊँचा भाव है जिसको ऊँचा या परमात्माभिमुखी-भाव भी कह सकते हैं। नितानन्दजी की वाणी के सम्पादक ने अपनी कम जानकारी के कारण ‘लांबी’ को ‘लाभी’ लिखा है।

नितानन्दजी की वाणी में अंगों का क्रम वैसा ही है, जैसा दादूवाणी में मिलता है। दादूवाणी की साखियाँ 37 अंगों व 204 उपांगों में विभाजित हैं। कबीर की साखियाँ 84 अंगों में हैं जबकि स्वामी रामचरणजी की 71 अंगों में। रज्जब की साखियाँ 193 अंगों में विभाजित हैं जबकि इनका संकलित ग्रंथ सरबंगी 149 अंगों में। जगन्नाथजी दादूपंथी का गुणगंजनामा 179 अंगों में विभाजित है जबकि इन्हीं जगन्नाथजी की वाणी 221 अंगों में विभाजित है। संत नितानन्द की वाणी में जो नये नाम अंगों के मालूम पड़ रहे हैं, वे हैं—कंकताई अंग (36), मास-अहार-निषेध अंग (48), कबेली अंग (61)।

इनकी वाणी में 53वाँ अंग 'सुंदर का अंग' लिखा मिलता है जबकि यह अंग होना चाहिए 'सुंदरी का अंग'। इसकी विषयवस्तु भी 'सुंदरी के अंग' के अनुकूल है। दादू-वाणी सहित दादूपंथी अनेक वाणियों में यह अंग 'सुंदरी का अंग' के नाम से ही मिलता है।

मुझे ऐसा लगता है, मूल हस्तलेखों से मिलाकर नितानन्दजी की वाणी का एक पुनर्संपादित संस्करण निकाला जाना चाहिए ताकि इस प्रकार की रही और भी भूलों का परिमार्जन हो सके। 36वें अंग 'कंकताई' को पढ़ने से मालूम होता है कि जब तक मन में विषय-विकार भरे हैं, तब तक प्राणी 'कंक' अथवा 'कंगाल' है (15) किन्तु जैसे ही प्राणी शीलवान, सुकृति और भजनवान् होता है, उसकी कंगाली मिट जाती है। वास्तविक बात है भी यही। संतों के मत में रामजी व रामजी का नाम-स्मरण ही वास्तविक सम्पत्ति है जिसके पास ये हैं, वही वास्तविक धन-सम्पत्तिवान् है, अन्यथा कंगाल है।

राम भजन बिन कंक है, छत्रपती कंगाल।

नितानन्द हरि भजन बिन, सभ जुग मुआ अकाल ॥ 36/18 ॥

राम भक्ति से रुचि नहीं, यही कंक की चाल।

संत जनों से सत्रुता, समझ काल का जाल ॥ 36/23 ॥

यद्यपि मांसाहार, मद्यपान, जीव-हिंसा आदि पर सभी निर्गुणियों ने लिखा है किन्तु ये सभी विचार 'हिंसा' के अंग में प्रायः निबद्ध मिलते हैं। नितानन्दजी की वाणी में 'मांसाहार-निषेध' पृथक् अंग है।

मनुस्मृति में आठ प्रकार के 'हंता' बताए गए हैं। स्वामी रामचरणजी ने भी 'कर्ता प्रेरक साहिक्की, अनुमोदन रुचि कीन' कहकर पाँच प्रकार के हंताओं का वर्णन किया है। नितानन्दजी हत्या करने वाले व खाने वाले-दो प्रकार के हंताओं की बात करके इनको

अच्छी प्रकार लताड़ते हैं।

कीया मजा जबान का, साहब दिया विसार।

जीव विनासा और का, हिरस हवा का प्यार ॥ 48/5 ॥

‘कबेली’ संभवतः देशज शब्द है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है, यह ‘पहेली’ का समानान्तर शब्द होगा क्योंकि इस अंग की चारों साखियाँ सुंदरदासजी की वाणी के अनुसार ‘विपर्जय के अंग’ से व कबीर की वाणी के अनुसार ‘उलटवाँ-सी के अंग से मेल खाती हैं। कुछ सम्प्रदायों में ऐसी रचनाओं को ‘गूढ़ा’ या ‘गूढ़’ तो कुछ में ‘दृष्टान्त’ भी कहने का प्रचलन रहा है। जैसे, पहली साखी है—

बकरी ने लकड़ी लई, दीन्हा सिंह विडार।

समुद्र माहिं चरती फिरै, गुरु गम भेद विचार ॥ 61/1 ॥

यहाँ चित्त की वृत्ति बकरी है जिसने गुरु-ज्ञान-बोध की लकड़ी अपने हाथ में ले रखी है और उस लकड़ी से उसने सांसारिकता, संसाराभिमुखता रूपी सिंह को भगा दिया है। अब सच्चिदानंद रूपी समुद्र में रमण करती है। यह गूढ़ार्थक, विपर्यात्मक, उलटवाँ-सी दिखने वाली साखी है। वैसे, यदि गंभीरता से विचारें तो हमको ज्ञात होगा, संतों की वाणियों का अंग-क्रम उनकी साधना के क्रमानुसार ही है। स्वामी रामचरणजी महाराज ने कहा है—

काम्याँ वल्लभ कामणी दाम्याँ वल्लभ दाम।

अमल्याँ वल्लभ अमल ज्युँयूँ साधाँ वल्लभ राम ॥

यूँ साधाँ वल्लभ राम राम रटि विरह जगावै।

विरह जगावै प्रेम प्रेम परकास करावै ॥

परकास परसि परमात्मा पाइ रहै विश्राम।

काम्याँ वल्लभ कामणी ज्युँ दाम्याँ वल्लभ दाम ॥

अर्थात् कामी को कामिनी, लोभी को दाम, अमली को अमल जिस प्रकार प्रिय होते हैं, वैसे ही संतों को रामजी प्रिय होते हैं। वे रामजी का उपदेश गुरु से प्राप्त करते हैं, उस उपदेश-प्राप्त राम-नाम का रटन-स्मरण करते हैं, रामजी से दर्शन देने की प्रार्थना करते हैं, उसके न मिलने पर उसके प्रति विरहाग्नि में तड़फते हैं। विरह रामजी के प्रति प्रेम उत्पन्न करता है, यहाँ प्रेम राग का वाचक है और रामजी को पाने की तीव्रतम उत्कण्ठा या लालसा का ही नाम राग है। जब साधक बिना रामजी के मिले विकल, बेचैन, आकुल-व्याकुल हो उठता है, सर्वत्र से संबंध तोड़कर मात्र और मात्र रामजी के प्रति

परायण हो जाता है तब उसको रामजी का परचा=साक्षात्कार हो जाता है। यही निर्गुणी वाणियों के अंगों का क्रम (1) गुरुदेव (2) स्मरण (3) विनती (4) विरह (5) प्रेम (6) परचा, है। यह सारा विवेचन स्वामी रामचरणजी एवं उनके सम्प्रदायानुवर्ती संतों की वाणियों के अनुसार है। दादूपंथी वाणियाँ भी इसी क्रम में हैं किन्तु उनके यहाँ विनती का अंग लगभग अंत में आता है जबकि आना उक्त क्रम में ही चाहिए। जैसा मैं पूर्व में कह चुका हूँ, नितानन्दजी की वाणी का बाहरी ढाँचा प्रायः दादूपंथी वाणियों जैसा है और उसका प्रधान कारण हरिदासजी उतराधा व नितानन्दजी का आपस में गहरे मित्र होना है।

अंतिम-संस्कार : हवादाग : यहाँ एक बात का उल्लेख कर देना और जरूरी है कि दादूपंथ में पहले हवा-दाग ही मान्य था और दादूपंथ के प्रारंभिक चार आचार्यों (1) दादूजी (2) गरीबदासजी (3) मस्कीनदासजी व (4) फकीरदासजी के हवा दाग ही हुए हैं। इनसे प्रेरित होकर ही नितानन्दजी ने अपनी देह का भी हवा दाग करने का ही निर्देश अपने शिष्यों को दिया था। नितानन्दजी कहते हैं-

जो प्राणी मर जाय उसे ना जारिये।

हाथों हाथ उठाय जंगल में डारिये ॥

सब पक्षी मिल खाहिं कि चीरें चाम कौं।

भर जाय जिनका पेट दुआ दे राम कौं ॥

इधर दादूजी ने कहा है-

दादू तहाँ चलि जाइये, जहाँ न अपना कोइ।

माटी भखै जनावरा, सहज महोच्छ होइ ॥

तम्बाकू-सेवन : चलते-चलते एक बात और कह देना ठीक है-गरीबदासजी छुड़ानी वालों के संदर्भ से नितानन्दजी का तम्बाकू पीने का उल्लेख हुआ है। यदि हम पूर्व वर्णित गुमानीदासजी को नाथपंथी संत मान लेते हैं तो नितानन्दजी के द्वारा तम्बाकू पीना संभव लगता है। अनेक नाथपंथी साधु तंबाकू, गांजा, सुलफा पीते ही हैं। कुछ तपस्वी दादूपंथी संत भी इनका प्रयोग करते रहे हैं।

नाथपंथी त्रिपुण्ड्र तिलक लगाते हैं लेकिन दादूपंथी और कबीरपंथी नहीं लगाते। नितानन्दजी ने 'तिलक लगाना चाहिए' विषय पर एक छोटा-सा तीन साखियों और 4 छप्पियों का ग्रंथ भी लिखा है।

स्वामि गुमानी तिलक कर नितानन्द मस्तक दिया ।
काल अकाल लागै नहीं संतों का शरणा लिया ॥¹²

वाणी कलेवर : डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी ने वाणी के कुल योग के बारे अग्रांकित टिप्पणी की है 'एक अन्य रचना में नितानन्द की वाणी की संख्या 4066 (साखी एवं पदों का योग) बतलायी है। पदों की संख्या 417 अलग से बताई गयी है। यह गणना अपनी समझ से परे है। कितनी ठीक है, कहा नहीं जा सकता।' संत भोलादास के हवाले से उन्होंने पुनः लिखा है 'सारी वाणी और शब्द जोड़ में 5026 है।' दूसरी जगह 'प्रथम भाग में 60 अंग तथा 3500 से अधिक साखियाँ हैं। एक सौ इक्कासी मनहरण शब्द हैं।' ¹³

मेरे पास सत्य-सिद्धान्त-प्रकाश का सम्वत् 2072 का एकादशम् संस्करण है। इसके पृष्ठ 15 पर 61 अंग व 3500 से उपरान्त (ऊपर) साखी एवं पृष्ठ 16 पर 181 मनहरण छन्द बता रखे हैं। जीवन-चरित्र के पृष्ठ 32 पर सारी वाणी के शब्दों की संख्या 5026 बता रखी है। निश्चय ही इन दोनों कथनों में 'वदतो-व्याघात-दोष' विद्यमान है, ऐसा लगता है। किन्तु हाँ, इसका निराकरण पुनर्गणना करके किया जा सकता है। यदि कोई रिसर्च करने वाला विशेषज्ञ इस सामान्य-सी समस्या का समाधान न निकाल कर 'समझ के बाहर की बात' बता दे तो यह बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं है।

मोटे तौर पर इस समस्या का समाधान दो प्रकार से होगा। संतों की वाणियों का ही नहीं, पौराणिक, ऐतिहासिक महाभारतादि ग्रंथों के ग्रंथाग्र निकालने की सनातन से दो पद्धतियाँ हैं। पहली छन्दों की जात्यानुसार व संख्यानुसार संख्या ज्ञात करना। दूसरी पद्धति में पहली गणना से ज्ञात छन्दों की संख्या को संस्कृत-अनुष्टुप छन्दानुसार परिवर्तित करके ग्रंथाग्र निकालना। यहाँ बिना कुछ जाँच-पड़ताल किये यदि हम समाधान निकालना चाहें तो पहली संख्या को विविध छंदों का अंकगणतीय योग मानना होगा तथा दूसरी गणना को अनुष्टुप-श्लोक प्रमाण परिमाण मानना होगा।

छन्द-जात्यानुसार कुल संख्या जानने के लिये मैंने एक सारणी बनाई है और उसके आधार पर उक्त 11वें संस्करणानुसार कुल छंद संख्या अग्रांकित होगी।

- साखी भाग के कुल 61 अंगों में 2 सोरठा व 3649 साखियाँ; कुल छंद 3651
- ब्रह्मस्तोत्र में 5 दोहा व 98 काव्य छंद; कुल 103 छंद।
- बारहखड़ी में 34 दोहा व 34 झूलणा छंद; कुल 68 छंद।
- गुरुवन्दन स्तोत्र में 18 भुजंगी छंद; कुल 18 छंद।

- तिलक ग्रंथ में 3 दोहा व 4 छप्पय; कुल 7 छंद।
- छप्पय छंद शीर्षक में कुल 7 छप्पय।
- कवित्त शीर्षक में 4 बेअखरी छंद।
- अरिल शीर्षक में 10 अरिल छंद।
- शब्द शीर्षक में 181 पद व 5 मंगल; कुल 186 पद। इस शीर्षक में पदों के अंतरों को पृथक् छंद गिनने का नियम नहीं है। अतः इस विभाग में कुछ 186 पद ही हैं। कई-एक शब्दों पर रागों का निर्देश नहीं है; अतः रागों की संख्या ज्ञात नहीं हो सकी है। कुल छंद संख्या होगी-

साखी	3649	सोरठा	2
दोहा	42	काव्य	98
झूलणा	34	भुजंगी	18
छप्पय	11	बेअखरी	4
अरिल	10	सबद	186

4054

डॉ. कृष्णा कुमारी ने 4066 संख्या रामकुमार भारद्वाज एवं अनिता भारद्वाज के ग्रंथ *हरियाणा के संत कवि नितानन्द* के आधार पर बताई है¹⁴ जो मेरे द्वारा सारणी बनाकर तैयार की गई संख्या के करीब-करीब आसपास है। उन्होंने कौन-सा संस्करण काम में लिया है, पता नहीं। मैंने 11वाँ संस्करण काम में लिया है जिसके प्रकाशकीय का अग्रांकित कथन है-“कुछ वाणियाँ भी बढ़ाई गई हैं जो हस्तलिखित मूल ग्रंथ में मिलती हैं किन्तु इससे पहले के संस्करणों में पता नहीं किस भूल से रह गई थीं।”¹⁵ पाठकों की जानकारी के लिये बताना जरूरी है कि दूसरे भाग में अधिकांशतः छन्दों के नाम गलत हैं जिनको मैंने छन्दशास्त्रानुसार सही नामानुसार दर्शा दिया है।

संस्कृत का अनुष्टुप श्लोक 32 वर्णों का होता है। उक्त 4054 छंदों के वर्णों को गिनकर संप्रदाय के संतों ने 5026 अनुष्टुप श्लोक गिने होंगे जिनकी संख्या सही होने की पूरी संभावना है। दादूजी की वाणी में 2500 के ऊपर साखी व 445 पद हैं जिनका अनुष्टुप श्लोकांक 5000 है। रज्जब की सरबंगी में 4108 छंद व पदादि हैं जिनका अनुष्टुप श्लोकांक 8000 है। स्वामी रामचरणजी महाराज की वाणी में 13065 छंद व पदादि हैं जिनका अनुष्टुप श्लोकांक प्रमाण 36337 है। ऐसी स्थिति में नितानन्दजी के 4054 छंद, 5026 अनुष्टुप श्लोक प्रमाण हैं, कहना एकदम ठीक लगता है।

विचार : साधन-साध्य : आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्र में दो तरह के विचारक होते हैं—एक आचार्य श्रेणी के, दूसरे संत श्रेणी के साधक। पहली श्रेणी में वे आचार्यगण आते हैं जो प्रस्थानत्रयी पर भाष्य लिखकर अपने मत का प्रतिपादन करते हैं जैसे आचार्य शंकर, रामानुज आदि-आदि। दूसरी श्रेणी में वे आते हैं जो ब्रह्मानुभूति सम्पन्न होकर अपने आत्मानुभव को देश-भाषा में व्यक्त करते हैं। इनकी ये रचनाएँ भाष्य न कहलाकर वाणी, वाख, वचन, सबद आदि अनेक नामों से जानी जाती हैं। सर्वाधिक प्रचलित नाम 'वाणी' ही है। हमारे विवेच्य संत नितानन्दजी आत्मानुभवी साधक-संत थे जिन्होंने देशभाषा में अपने विचार व्यक्त किये हैं। इनकी रचनाएँ वाणी कहलाती हैं। वाणी की बाह्य जानकारी पूर्ववर्ती परिच्छेद में दे दी गई है। अब नितानन्दजी का क्या तो साध्य था और क्या साधन था, का विचार करेंगे।

कई बार वाणीकार कुछ छंदों में साधन का वर्णन करके आगे के कुछ छंदों में उस साधन का फल अर्थात् साध्य को बताते हैं किन्तु आत्मानुभवी नितानन्दजी ने सुमरण के अंग में कुछ ऐसी साखियाँ भी कही हैं जिनमें एक में ही साधन तथा उसी में साध्य का वर्णन मिल जाता है। जैसा हम जानते हैं, निर्गुणी संतों का राजमार्ग रूपी साधन 'भगवन्नाम-स्मरण' ही है। स्वामी रामचरणजी ने कहा है, कलियुग में केवल राम-नाम-स्मरण ही सार रूप है—

रामचरण हम कहत हैं, कहुँ कबीरै नाम ।

सकल सासतर सोधिया, कलियुग केवल राम ॥

कबीर ने भी कहा है कि—

भगति भजन हरि नाँउ है, दूजा दुख अपार ।

मनसा वाचा कर्मना, कबीर सुमिरण सार ॥ 4 ॥

मनसा, वाचा, कर्मना भगवान् के नाम का स्मरण करना ही सार स्वरूप, सुख रूप है। अन्य साधन अपार दुःख देने वाले हैं। भगवान् का भजन करना ही भक्ति का स्वरूप है और 'भगति स्वतंत्र सकल गुणखानी' भक्ति भगवत्प्राप्ति का निरपेक्ष-स्वतंत्र साधन है। संत नितानन्दजी कहते हैं—

अंतर दृष्टि उघाड़कर, धरौ अंक का ध्यान ।

एक महूरत में मिलै, नितानन्द भगवान् ॥ 2 ॥

नितानन्द निज नाम कूँ लिख राखौ मन माहिं ।

जिन नैनौं हरि देखिया, वे नैनौं खुल जाहिं ॥ 3 ॥

नितानन्द निज नाम की, चिंता करौ सुजान ।

रतन जतन कर राखिये, कठन पंथ भगवान ॥ 4 ॥
 काया के अस्थान में, भजन करै सब कोय ।
 नितानन्द आत्म भजन, कोटी मध्ये होय ॥ 5 ॥
 होठ जीभ हालै नहीं, जपै अजप्पा जाप ।
 नितानन्द जीवन मुक्त, होत नाम परताप ॥ 6 ॥
 सुरत लाय सुमरण करै, मिलै ब्रह्म दरियाव ।
 नितानन्द आनन्द में, प्रेम मगन गुन गाव ॥ 7 ॥
 राम नाम हिरदय धरौ, गहौ ग्यान वैराग ।
 सब जग सीतल हो गया, बुझी आपनी आग ॥ 13 ॥

नितानन्दजी साखी क्रमांक दो में साधन व साध्य दोनों के लिये कहते हैं कि अन्तर्दृष्टि को खोलकर नाम-राम रूपी दो अंकों का ध्यान करिये। यदि आप अनन्यचित्त होकर ध्यान करते हैं तो आपको आपका साध्य-भगवान् एक मुहूर्त में ही मिल जायेगा। सूर्यवंशी राजा दिलीप का उदाहरण इस संबंध में प्रमाण है जिसको छः घड़ी में ही मोक्ष की प्राप्ति हो गई। इनका नाम ही 'षट्वांग दिलीप' हो गया।

गोस्वामी तुलसीदास ने भी दोहावली में कहा कि तेरह लाख राम-नाम जपने से रामजी की प्राप्ति हो जाती है, इस संबंध में तुलसीदास जमानत देता है। यहाँ नितानन्दजी स्पष्टतः कहते हैं कि एक मुहूर्त में रामजी का दर्शन होना तब ही संभव है जब साधक अनन्यभावेन होकर चित्तवृत्ति को सर्वत्र से हटाकर एकमात्र साध्य रूप राम में संयोजित कर दे; अंतराय न पड़ने दे।

साखी तीन में कहते हैं-निज-नाम राम-नाम को मन की पट्टी पर लिख लो अर्थात् इसको अहर्निश का साथी बना लो। इसी का स्मरण, इसी का मनन व इसी का निदिध्यासन करो। परिणामतः जिन नेत्रों से अर्थात् आंतरिक आँखों से रामजी को देखा जा सकता है, वे आंतरिक नेत्र खुल जायेंगे, साधक को राम-नाम-स्मरण रूपी साधन से साध्य रूपी रामजी मिल जायेगा।

काया से भजन हर कोई करता है, मन को नियंत्रित नहीं करता। बिना मन को परमात्मा से एकाकार किये, किया गया भजन काया-भजन है। आत्म-भजन तब होता है, जब 'आपे' (अहंकार) को नाम रूपी परमात्मा में विलीन कर दिया जाए। आत्मा और परमात्मा का ऐक्य हो जाए। यह एक दिन की साधना से संभव नहीं। इसके लिए सतत् अभ्यास और संसार से पराङ्मुखता जरूरी है। तब ही आत्मा द्वारा भजन होना संभव है और ऐसा भजन लाखों में से कोई एक कर पाता है।

मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये ।

यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्माम् वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥ (गीता अ.7)

ऊपर वाली साखी के आत्म-भजन को ही अजपा-जाप कहकर और अधिक स्पष्ट करते हैं। वे कहते हैं, न होठ हिलें और न जिह्वा का चालन हो, फिर भी स्वतः ही भजन होता रहे, यही अजपा-जाप है। स्वतः ही जब जप होता है, तब मन की समस्त वृत्तियाँ सर्वत्र से सिमटकर एकमेव नाम से तादात्म्य करती हुई सामरस्य-भाव प्राप्त कर ले। जैसे तप्त-लौह-पिण्ड हो और उस पर जल डाला जाए। ताप के कारण जल अग्नि में पूर्णतः समाहित हो जाता है, उसका प्रथक् अस्तित्व तक मालूम नहीं देता। यही तादात्म्य-संबंध किम्बा सामरस्य है। इसमें रहता तो द्वैत ही है किन्तु न द्वैत दिखता है और न अनुभव होता है। निर्गुणी संतों के मत में यही अजपा-जाप है। इस साखी में नाम-जप का फल बताते हुए कहते हैं, नाम-जप करने वाला जीवन्मुक्त हो जाता है। वस्तुतः सर्वप्रथम योगिराज गोरखनाथ ने ही जीवन्मुक्ति की संकल्पना को उपनिषदों से उठाकर जन-जन तक पहुँचाई और नाथसिद्धों से ही जीवन्मुक्ति का विचार संतों में आया। अन्यथा सगुणमार्गी-चिन्तक तो विदेह के पश्चात् चार प्रकार की मुक्तियों की बात करते हैं। उनके यहाँ मुक्ति के उपरान्त भी द्वैत बना ही रहता है किन्तु निर्गुणी संतों को तो द्वैत काम्य ही नहीं। इनका काम्य तो जीते जी ही ब्रह्म रूप में स्वयं को अनुभव करना है। जिस क्षण साधक का इदमाकार बोध समाप्त होकर 'तत् त्वम् असि' बोध दृढ़ हो जाता है, उसी क्षण वह ब्रह्म है और प्रारब्धवशात् देह में रहते हुए भी देहातीत अनुभव करता है। यही जीते जी मरने के समान है, जीवन्मुक्ति है।

वस्तुतः संसार में मरना तो देह का ही होता है, आत्मा का नहीं। आत्मा अजर, अमर, अविनाशी है। केवल देहाध्यास के कारण आत्मा अपने आपको बद्ध जीव मानने लगती है। जिस समय जीव को यह दृढ़ अनुभव हो जाए तथा उस अनुभव में दृढ़ स्थिति हो जाए कि मैं देह नहीं, आत्मा हूँ; मरणशील नहीं, अविनाशी हूँ; बद्ध नहीं, मुक्त हूँ; उसी समय उसको देह, संसार, इतना ही नहीं माया व मायाजन्य उसका सारा व्यापार मिथ्या अनुभव होने लगता है और यही जीवन्मुक्ति है जो राम-नाम से मिलती है, ऐसा नितानन्दजी का कथन है। सुरति अर्थात् चित्तवृत्ति को एक-लक्ष्य रूप परमात्मा में लगाकर सुमरण करना चाहिए। यहाँ प्रश्न उठता है, निर्गुणियों का परमात्मा, ब्रह्म, साध्य-निर्गुण व निराकार है। उस निराकार से चित्तवृत्ति को कैसे संबद्ध किया जाए। निराकार का आकार नहीं और चित्त वृत्ति को आलम्बन चाहिए ही। बिना आलम्बन के उसका टिकना संभव नहीं। नाम स्वयं निराकार है। उसमें चित्तवृत्ति कैसे टिके? यह

एक बहुत बड़ी समस्या है। मैंने अनेक संतों की वाणियों को पढ़ा है, किन्तु इसका किसी भी वाणी में समझने योग्य समाधान नहीं मिला। हाँ, केवल अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय-रामस्नेही-सम्प्रदाय-प्रवर्तक स्वामी श्रीरामचरणजी महाराज ने इसका सुंदर समाधान अपनी अनुभव वाणी में दिया है। पाठकों के लाभार्थ यहाँ लिख देना समीचीन है। वे कहते हैं-

आसन अडिग जमाइ कै, कह सास उसासौँ राम।
अपणा ही श्रवणौँ सुणै, तब सुरति रहै इक ठाम ॥
दूजा कोई ना सुणै, भल बैठा रहौ पास।
रामचरण ईँ रैस सँ, दृढ़ता गहै उपास ॥

स्वामीजी महाराज कहते हैं, साधक को प्रारम्भिकावस्था में शब्द=राम-नाम का उच्चारण इस प्रकार करना चाहिए कि उसकी ध्वनि को स्वयं तो सुने किन्तु पास में बैठा व्यक्ति भी न सुन सके। ऐसा करने से चित्तवृत्ति को शब्द की ध्वनि का अवलम्बन मिल जाता है, वह उसी को सुनता रहता है और धीरे-धीरे उसी में निमग्न होता जाता है; फलतः चित्त की, मन की चंचलता मिटने लगती है। अंततः दीर्घकालीन व दृढ़ अभ्यास से राम-नाम रूपी पारे को मन रूपी मूँसा पीकर पंगु हो जाता है, उसकी गतिशीलता रुक जाती है।

व्याकरण-शास्त्रानुसार 'शब्दार्थो नित्य संबंधौ' अर्थात् शब्द और उसके अर्थ अर्थात् ध्वनि का संबंध नित्य है। ध्वनि में लीन होना, शब्द में लीन होना ही है और यही संतों का शब्द-सुरति-योग है। शब्द का और सुरति का तादात्म्य हो जाना, एकाकार हो जाना ही शब्द-सुरति-योग है।

नितानन्दजी अगली साखी में एक महत्वपूर्ण बात और कहते हैं, राम-नाम को हृदय में धारण कर लो और आचरण में ज्ञान व वैराग्य को उतार लो। ऐसा करने से जगत् की सारी अग्नि अर्थात् तीनों तापों की अग्नि बुझ जाती है और साधक का सारा संसार शीतल हो जाता है। संतों के मत में भक्ति ही भगवत्प्राप्ति का प्रधान साधन है किन्तु ज्ञान व वैराग्य उसके सहकारी भी हैं। कुछ चिंतक भक्ति को ही स्वतंत्र साधन मानकर ज्ञान-वैराग्य की आवश्यकता नहीं मानते जैसा कि रूप गोस्वामी ने भक्ति-रसामृत-सिंधु में कहा है- 'अन्याभिलाषिताशून्यं ज्ञानकर्मदनावृतम्।'।

भक्ति, ज्ञान व कर्म से अनावृत है। भक्ति में इनकी आवश्यकता नहीं। तुलसीदासजी भी भक्ति को स्वतंत्र साधन मानते हैं -

भगति स्वतंत्र सकल गुन खानी । बिनु सतसंग न पावहि प्रानी ॥

इस 'अहम्-ब्रह्मास्मि' रूपी राम-राम रूपी स्वयं ही स्वयं का स्मरण, मनन, चिंतन करते हुए, अपना ही जप करना है और ऐसा करने से आप ही अपने आपको देखकर स्वयं आप ही हो जाता है। अर्थात् 'अहम् ब्रह्मास्मि' कहते-कहते 'प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्मः' का अनुभव होने लगता है। यही शब्द-सुरति-योग रूप साधना का चरम लक्ष्य है-

आप आप में बोलता, जपै अपना जाप ।

आप हि आपै देखकर, हो गया आपै आप ॥13 ॥

- परचा का अंग

वस्तुतः यह विषय काफी विस्तार चाहता है। यहाँ इतना ही अलम्। फिर कभी इस विषय पर चर्चा करेंगे।

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मध्यकालीन हांसी के सूफी, सूफी स्थल: चहार कुतुब के संदर्भ में

*अनीता कुमारी

12वीं शदी के अन्त में हिन्दुस्तान पर विजय के परिणामस्वरूप तुर्कों ने अपने आप को एक ऐसी भूमि पर पाया जहाँ धर्मिक वास्तुकला की एक उच्च विकसित परम्परा रही थी परन्तु उनकी शैली तुर्कों की शैली से नितान्त भिन्न थी।¹ तुर्क अपने साथ वास्तुकला सम्बन्धी अपनी विशिष्ट शैली लेकर आये जिसे 'महराबीय शैली' कहा जाता है जबकि यहाँ की परम्परावादी वास्तुकला 'ट्रैबिएट' पर आधारित थी।² विजेताओं ने यहाँ तीन तरह से भवन-निर्माण का कार्य किया। प्रथम, पुराने भवन का केवल ऊपरी हिस्सा तोड़कर पुराने आधार पर ही नया ढांचा बनाना। दूसरे, पुराने ढांचे को तोड़कर उसकी सामग्री से ही नया भवन बनाना। तीसरे, बिल्कुल नई सामग्री से भवन बनाना।³ पारम्परिक हिन्दुस्तानी भवनों में किसी जोड़ने वाली सामग्री का प्रयोग नहीं किया जाता था अपितु पत्थरों को एक-दूसरे में इस तरह स्थापित किया जाता था कि वे स्थिर खड़े रहें। तुर्कों के आगमन से हमें चुने आदि जोड़ने वाली सामग्री का प्रयोग मिलता है।⁴ जहाँ 'हिन्दू वास्तुकला' के प्रेरक तत्व मुख्यतः मन्दिरों से प्रकट होते हैं वहीं 'इस्लामी वास्तुकला' मुख्यतः मस्जिद, मकबरो, महलों तथा कई प्रकार के आम प्रयोग के भवनो से प्रदर्शित होती थी।⁵

12वीं शदी तक आते-आते सूफीवाद एक आंदोलन बन गया था तथा ऐसा कहने में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी कि इसने इस्लाम को जनता तक पहुंचाया तथा जनता को इस्लाम तक।⁶ इसमें जिस एक संस्था ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई वह थी सूफी 'खानकाह'। 12वीं सदी में अनेक सूफी सिलसिलों के विकास ने 'खानकाह' की स्थापना में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया, मुख्य रूप से ईरान, मध्य एशिया व भारत में।⁷

* सहायक प्रोफेसर, इतिहास विभाग, एस. पी. एम. कॉलेज फॉर वूमेन (दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय) वैस्ट पंजाबी बाग, दिल्ली।

इस 'खानकाह' का प्रमुख 'शेख' होता था, जिसे फारसी में 'पीर' कहा जाता था। 'खानकाह' में अन्य सभी 'इखवान' साथी, भाई-बन्धु होते थे। 'खानकाह' में रहने वाले लोगों की यह प्रमुख विशेषता थी कि वे आपस में सहयोग की भावना रखते थे। सुहरावर्दी ने 'खानकाह' की स्थापना के अनेक लाभ बताए। सर्वप्रथम, ये उन सूफियों को भोजन व आवास प्रदान करती थी जिनके पास आजिविका के साधन नहीं थे। दूसरा, खानकाह का संयुक्त जीवन, उसमें रहने वाले लोगों को अपने विचारों व अनुभवों को आदान-प्रदान करने में सहायक था। तीसरा, खानकाह में जीवन की समीपता ने व्यावहारिक व नैतिक पूर्णता प्राप्त करने में सूफियों के मध्य एक स्वच्छ स्पर्धात्मक प्रवृत्ति प्रदान की। सुहरावर्दी ने खानकाह में रहने वाले लोगों को दो भागों में बांटा- 1 निवासी, 2 यात्री।⁸ 'खानकाह' में रहकर ही 'पीर', 'मुरीदों' को शिक्षा देता था। शिष्य बनाने की विधि भी बड़ी जटिल थी। वास्तव में अनेक सूफी अपने 'मुरीद' बनाते समय व्यक्ति की कड़ी जांच करते थे। यह विधि सभी सिलसिलों में एक ही तरह की नहीं होती थी अपितु हर सिलसिला 'जिक्र' या साधना के लिए प्रशिक्षण व नियमों की अपनी स्वयं की विशेष पद्धति अपनाता था।⁹

मध्यकाल में हांसी, मुल्तान और देहली को मिलाने वाले व्यापारिक मार्ग पर स्थित था।¹⁰ सल्तनत काल के दौरान यह चिश्ती सिलसिले का एक मुख्य केन्द्र था और उस समय चिश्ती और सुहावर्दी सिलसिलों की सीमा माना जाता था।¹¹ अमीर खुर्द, शेख फरीद के मुरीदों में हांसी के शेख जमालुद्दीन का जिक्र करता है।¹² शेख जमालुद्दीन कूफा के अबु हानिफ के वंशज थे तथा उस समय हांसी के 'खातिब' के पद पर नियुक्त थे।¹³ इनके पिता का नाम हमीदुद्दीन व चाचा का नाम नियामतुल्लाह था। जमालुद्दीन को इनके पिता की मृत्यु के पश्चात् ही हांसी का प्रशासन सौंपा गया। इनके पास अथाह सम्पत्ति थी। बाद में ये शेख फरीद के सम्पर्क में आ गए और इन्होंने शेख का शिष्यत्व ग्रहण कर लिया।¹⁴ *सियार-उल-औलिया* में शेख जमालुद्दीन का वर्णन किया है कि वो आध्यात्मिक करामात के पथप्रदर्शक थे जिन्होंने अपनी आत्मा को अल्लाह में लीन कर लिया था और जो वास्तविकताओं से परिपूर्ण लोगों की शान, तरीकत के अनुयायियों के अगुवा तथा अपनी शिक्षाओं, दया, स्वभाव की शिष्टता, भिक्षावृत्ति और दरिद्रता के कारण सबसे अलग थे। उनका जीवन का तरीका प्यार करने वालों के लिये आचरण के नियम थे और उनके अत्यधिक प्यार के सबूत थे।¹⁵

शेख जमालुद्दीन की मृत्युपरान्त शेख फरीद ने उसके पुत्र बुरहानुद्दीन को अपना शिष्य बनाया तथा अपनी देख-रेख में कुछ दिन उसकी देखभाल कर उसे 'खिलाफत'

प्रदान कर दी।¹⁶ हांसी में इस प्रसिद्ध सूफी परम्परा के अगले सूफी कुतुबुद्दीन मुनाव्वर थे। ये शेख बुरहानुद्दीन के पुत्र तथा शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया के शिष्य व प्रतिनिधि थे।¹⁷ शेख कुतुबुद्दीन मुनाव्वर अपनी शिक्षाओं, बुद्धि, विश्वास, प्यार, दया, यथार्थता, रोने, लोगों के शौर से दूरी और अल्लाह कि भक्ति में लीनता के कारण प्रसिद्ध थे। वे बहुत संतोषी थे और किसी भी हालत में कभी भी सत्ता के आगे हाथ नहीं फैलाये।¹⁸ हांसी में उनकी मौजूदगी से वह स्थान एक स्वर्ग बन गया था तथा चारों दिशाओं से बहुत बड़ी संख्या में लोग उनका आशीर्वाद लेने के लिये यहाँ आने लगे।¹⁹ उनके दिल में एक अजीब सी खुशी और प्यार रहता था। उनके खुशनुमा उपदेशों से हर वक्त अल्लाह के प्यार की लौ बहती रहती थी।²⁰ शेख कुतुबुद्दीन मुनाव्वर की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उनका पुत्र नुरुद्दीन उनका उत्तराधिकारी बना। 'सुल्तान' फिरोज उनका बड़ा सम्मान करते थे।²¹

मध्यकाल में यहाँ स्थित 'चहार-कुतुब' (चित्र 1) सूफी विचारधारा से सम्बन्धित सबसे महत्वपूर्ण भवन है। शेख जमालुद्दीन व उनकी वंश परम्परा से सम्बन्धित सूफी, शेख बुरहानुद्दीन, शेख कुतुबुद्दीन मुनाव्वर, शेख नुरुद्दीन, कि यहाँ कब्र है। पहले यह शेख जमालुद्दीन की खानकाह थी जहाँ बाद में उन्हें तथा उनके तीन वंशजों को दफनाया गया था।

'चहार-कुतुब' आरम्भिक मिश्रित भारतीय-इस्लामी वास्तुकला का एक स्पष्ट व माननीय उदाहरण है।²² समतल आधार पर स्थित इसका आन्तरिक भाग सपाट स्तम्भों व वर्गाकार कोनों से युक्त है जबकि मध्य भाग आयातकार है। यह भवन बाहर की तरफ से 47'x 22'3'' माप का है। यह अंदर से एकल गुम्बदीय व नोकदार महराबीय छत से युक्त है तथा चारों ओर से यह बरामदों से घिरा हुआ है।²³ (चित्र 2)। इसके अन्दर स्तम्भ इस प्रकार से हैं कि ये भवन को अंदर से वर्गाकार बनाते हैं तथा कोनों पर चौड़े स्तम्भों को मिलाकर इसे अष्टकोणीय रूप दिया गया है (चित्र 3)। अंदर ये स्तम्भ वर्ग के कोनों पर त्रिभुज का आकार ले रहे हैं। पंचकोणीय व वर्गाकार स्तम्भों को कोनों पर मिलाया गया है। प्रतीत होता है कि इस भवन का मुख्य आन्तरिक भाग एक हिन्दू विधि के मण्डप का सीधे मुस्लिम दरगाह के रूप में प्रयोग का सबसे प्रेरक उदाहरण है।²⁴ स्तम्भ व महराब भारतीय वास्तुकला शैली के प्रतीक हैं जबकि गुम्बद इस्लामी शैली का प्रतीक है। ये स्तम्भ सजावट में विभिन्न रंगीन टाइलों से युक्त हैं तथा प्रतीत होता है कि इन्हे बाद में जोड़ा गया था। अन्य की तुलना में कोनों पर निर्मित अन्तिम दो स्तम्भ अपेक्षाकृत चौड़े हैं जो आपस में रंगीन टाइलों से युक्त दीवार से जुड़े

हुए हैं।

यह भवन एक विशाल गुम्बद से सुशोभित है जो खरबुजे के आकार की शैली का है। यह शैली इस काल में निर्मित भवनो के गुम्बदीय बनावट की विशेषता थी। इस मुख्य गुम्बद के दोनों ओर दो छोटे-छोटे अन्य गुम्बद भी निर्मित हैं। गुम्बद चारों ओर से लाल पत्थर के ज्योमितीय सजावट के छोटे-छोटे नमूनों से परिपूर्ण हैं। बाहर से मुख्य गुम्बद अष्टकोणीय ग्रीवा पर आधारित हैं। बरामदे के हर कोनों में एक छोटा गुम्बद है। पश्चिमी किबला वाली दिवार में उथले हुए आले बने हुए हैं। पहले उत्तरी, दक्षिणी एवं पूर्वी दिवारे बन्ध नहीं थी परंतु बाद में पूर्वी और दक्षिणी के एक-एक प्रवेश द्वार को छोड़कर बाकि बंध कर दिये गये हैं।¹⁵ इसी भवन में शेख जमालुद्दीन व अन्य सूफी अनुयायियों की कब्र हैं (चित्र 4)। मूल रूप से यह बाहर से ज्योमितीय सजावट व नक्कासी से परिपूर्ण था जिस पर बाद में पॉलिस या सफेदी कर दी गई। सम्भवतः फिरोज तुगलक के शासन काल में इसकी मरम्मत करवाई गई क्योंकि हमें पता चलता है कि फिरोज तुगलक ने सूफियों के मदरसो व मकबरो की मरम्मत का आदेश दिया था।¹⁶ इस भवन की बनावट व शैली के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि यह 'हाईपोस्टाईल' भवन हिन्दुस्तान में अपनी तरह का शायद अकेला नमूना है।¹⁷

दार्जी ओर से यह अन्य भवन से जुड़ा हुआ है जिसमें 'शेख' फरीद बीस वर्ष तक 'शेख' जमालुद्दीन के साथ रहे।¹⁸ यह कक्ष पूर्व की ओर उत्तर से दक्षिण 16' x 8' व दक्षिण की ओर पूर्व से पश्चिम 14' है। बाईं व पीछे की तरफ यह साथ के भवनों से सटा हुआ है। शेख फरीद के इस भवन के दक्षिण की तरफ तीन छोटी-छोटी सीढ़ियां बनी हुई हैं। मूल रूप में सीढ़ियों का माप समान आकार का होगा परन्तु वर्तमान समय में इनके आकार में कुछ असमानताएं हैं। प्रथम सीढ़ी का माप 3'10.5'' x 9'5'' x 7'' है जबकि द्वितीय सीढ़ी 3'11.5'' x 1'x 6'' के आकार की है। तृतीय सीढ़ी का माप 4'x 1'7'' x 6'' है। सीढ़ियों की लम्बाई उत्तर से दक्षिण 3' तथा पूर्व से पश्चिम 4'6.5' है। चहार-कुतुब की अपेक्षा इसका गुम्बद साधारण व सजावट रहित है महराब पर प्राकृतिक रूप से ज्योमितीय सजावट है जिसका ऊपरी भाग काफी जगह से उखड़ा हुआ है। इन भवनों के साथ ही अन्य भवन भी हैं जो बाद में बनाये गए थे। पीछे से यह मस्जिद से सटा हुआ है।

1947 ई. तक चहार-कुतुब एक प्रमुख सूफी केन्द्र के रूप में प्रसिद्ध रहा परन्तु देश की आजादी के दौरान हुए साम्प्रदायिक दंगों एवं देश के विभाजन के परिणामस्वरूप हांसी में मुस्लिम आबादी नाम मात्र की रह गई। चहार कुतुब भी केवल स्थानीय महत्व

तक ही सीमित रह गया। पहले यह भवन मुस्लिम वक्फ बोर्ड के अधीन था²⁹ परन्तु दिनांक 16.12.2009 के हरियाणा सरकार की अधिसूचना संख्या 12/17-2008-पूरा/371218 के तहत इसे पुरातत्त्व एवं संग्रहालय हरियाणा सरकार द्वारा संरक्षण प्रदान किया गया जिसकी सूचना इस विभाग की अधिकारिक वेबसाईट पर प्रदर्शित लिस्ट ऑफ प्रोटेक्टिड एण्ड अनप्रोटेक्टिड मॉन्यूमेन्ट्स/साईट्स ऑफ हरियाणा पर उपलब्ध है।

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एकदम उससे पूछा, “मेरा जमाल कैसा है” उसने उत्तर दिया, “जब से ख्वाजा आपके शिष्य बने हैं, तब से उन्होंने अपना गांव, दौलत व ‘खातिब’ का कार्यालय छोड़ दिया है। वे भूख व अभावग्रस्तता का जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं।” यह सुनकर शेख फरीद खुश हुये तथा कहा, “अल्लाह खुश होगा, वह जमाल भी खुश हो”। निजामी, *द लाईफ एण्ड टाईम्स ऑफ शेख फरीदुद्दीन गंज-ए-शकर*, पृ. 69। उपर्युक्त बातें हमें चिश्ती सम्प्रदाय की दार्शनिक धारणाओं से भी अवगत कराती हैं कि किस प्रकार कोई सूफी अपने आप को राज्य या किसी भी बन्धन से दूर रखता था।

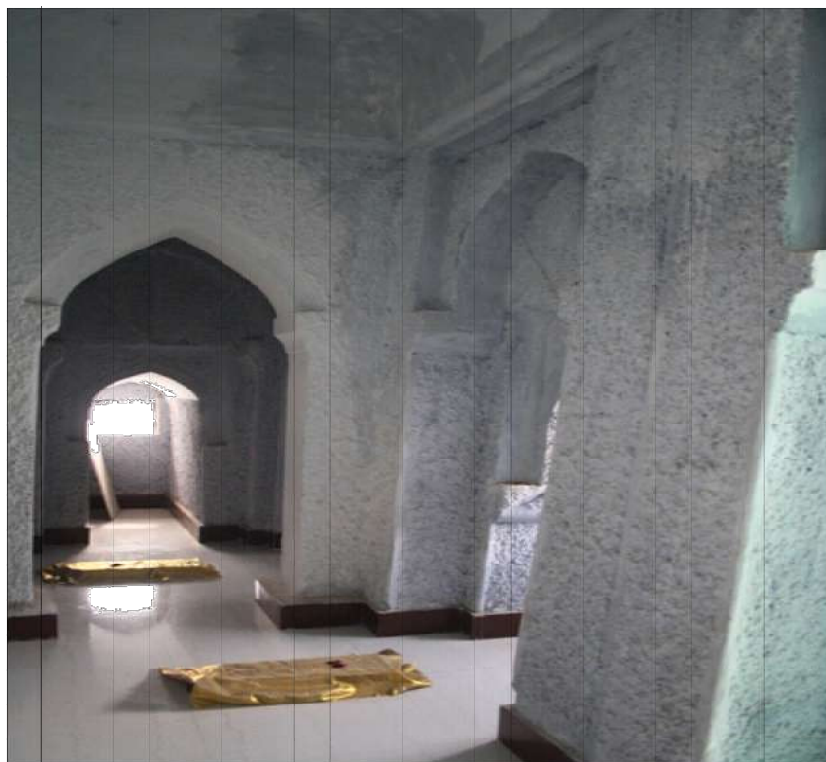
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जितने गाँव प्रत्येक मकबरे से सम्बन्धित थे, और अब नष्ट हो चुके थे, तथा वहाँ की प्रजा का विनाश हो चुका था, उन्हें उसने पुनः आबाद कराया। उन मकबरो के असहाब तथा अरबाब को, जो छिन-बिन हो चुके थे अपितु प्रत्येक इधर उधर भाग जाता था, सुल्तान फिरोजशाह ने दैवी प्रेरणा से एकत्र किया। सुल्तानों तथा (इस्लाम) धर्म के नेताओं के मकबरो को नया कराया। इसी प्रकार सुल्तान ने मशायख तथा आलिमों के मकबरो का पूर्ण रूपेण जीर्णोद्धार कराया। मशायख तथा सुल्तानों के मकबरो में चन्दन की लकड़ी के द्वार लगवाये और उन्हें नये सिरे से सजवाया गया। शम्स सिराज अफीफ *पूर्व उद्धृत*, पृ. 135.

27. के.वी. सौन्दर्य राजन, *पूर्व उद्धृत*, पृ. 86.
28. *वही*, पृ. 84.
29. क्रिश्चियन स्टॉल, *पूर्व उद्धृत*, पृ. 18.



चित्र - 1: चहार कुतूब दरगाह, हांसी



चित्र - 2: चहार कुतुब दरगाह में कब्रे, हांसी



चित्र - 3: चहार कुतुब मकबरा की अन्दरूनी छत



चित्र - 4: चहार कुतुब की मुख्य कब्रें

विद्रोह की नृविज्ञानी व्याख्या: गोकुल और उसके विद्रोह का मूल्यांकन

*अभिषेक कुमार

रोनाल्ड मीक के शब्दों में समाज और इतिहास में हर चीज भौतिक दुनिया के हर तथ्य की तरह कारण व प्रभाव की जटिल कड़ी में बंधा हुआ है, जिसको सुलझाना मानव-समाज के विद्यार्थियों का प्रमुख कार्य है, इसी कड़ी में मीक मानव, व्यक्तित्व व समाज के अध्ययन के लिए एक वैज्ञानिक प्रविधि की बात करते हैं।¹ गोकुल के व्यक्तित्व व उसके विद्रोह को जाट अभ्युदय से जोड़ते हुए एवं उसके पारंपरिक ऐतिहासिक मूल्यांकन से इतर इतिहास लेखन के बदलते अवतार और नयी परिधियों के अंतर्गत समझना आवश्यक है।

वस्तुतः मुगलकालीन इतिहास का व्याख्यान इतिहास की केंद्रीकृत व्याख्या से पटा हुआ है, विभिन्न दौर में उभरे भिन्न-भिन्न इतिहास स्कूलों के तहत इतिहासकारों ने 'केंद्र को केन्द्रित' करते हुए इतिहास को उभारा है, लेकिन 1980 के बाद से इसका परिगमन परिधि क्षेत्रों की ओर हुआ, तत्पश्चात इतिहास में देशज स्रोतों को महत्वपूर्णता मिलने के साथ-साथ नवोन्मेषी संकल्पनाओं और सिद्धांतों के सहारे इतिहास लेखन को नया रूप दिया जाने लगा। इतिहास की इसी 'नीचे से ऊपर' की ओर जाने वाली अवधारणा ने कई मूक-नायकों व धूमिल हो चुके पहलुओं को उभारा है।

जाट आधुनिक भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में समुदाय और पहचान-गठन के प्रारंभिक उदाहरण हैं।^२ 'जाट' एक लचीला-तमगा है जो साधारण जमींदार किसानों^३ से लेकर धनी और प्रभावशाली जमींदार तक विस्तृत समुदाय के लिए लागू होता है, जाटों की उत्पत्ति सिंधु घाटी में चरवाहे के रूप में हुई थी।^४ 8वीं शताब्दी में मुहम्मद बिन कासिम द्वारा सिंध पर विजय प्राप्त करने के समय, अरब लेखकों ने जाट-समुदाय का बंजर, आर्द्र भूमि और विजित भूमि के पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में वर्णन किया है।^५ ग्यारहवीं से सोलहवीं

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास विभाग, दिल्ली विश्वविद्यालय।

शताब्दियों के बीच, जाट चरवाहों ने नदी घाटियों के साथ पंजाब में तथा अन्य इलाकों में पलायन किया,⁶ जहाँ पहले कृषि नहीं की गयी थी।⁷ कई लोगों ने पश्चिमी पंजाब जैसे क्षेत्रों में, जहाँ साकिया (पानी का पहिया) का प्रयोग हाल ही में शुरू हुआ था, में भी भूमि-जुताई के साथ स्वयं को स्थापित किया।⁸ मुगल काल के प्रारंभ में, पंजाब में, 'जाट' शब्द 'किसान' के साथ समान रूप से पर्याय बन गया था,⁹ और कुछ जाटों ने भूमि पर मालिकाना हक के साथ स्थानीय प्रभाव भी स्थापित करना शुरू कर दिया था। शनैः-शनैः जाटों का अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी पलायन हुआ, और उन्होंने स्वयं को सामुदायिक एवं कृषिगत रूप से स्वयं को मजबूत किया।

जाटों ने पूर्व-औपनिवेशिक युग में धार्मिक पहचान के विकास को एक महत्वपूर्ण अंतर्दृष्टि भी प्रदान की। इससे पहले कि वे पंजाब और अन्य उत्तरी क्षेत्रों में बसते, उनका (देहाती/चरवाहे जाटों का) मुख्यधारा के किसी भी धर्म से बहुत कम ही संपर्क था। कृषि क्षेत्र में संगठित होने के बाद ही जाटों ने अपने-अपने इलाके के प्रभुत्व वाले धर्मों को अपनाना शुरू किया। सुसान बेली के अनुसार-

“उत्तर भारत में बड़ी संख्या में गैर-अभिजात वर्ग के कृषक-जोतदार थे। पंजाब और पश्चिमी गंगा के मैदानों में, पारंपरिक रूप से राजपूत के गैर-कुलीन समकक्ष को जाट के रूप में परिभाषित किया गया। जैसे कि कई अन्य खिताबों का उपयोग कहीं और किया जाता है वैसे ही यह ग्रामीण इलाकों में एक जातिगत नाम न होकर भूमि से जुड़े हुए एक वर्ग की उपाधि के रूप में था।”¹⁰

बारबरा मेटकॉफ और थॉमस मेटकॉफ के अनुसार, विशिष्ट योद्धा, मराठा, जाट और ऐसे अन्य सैन्य और प्रशासनिक आदर्शों से परिपूर्ण सुसंगत सामाजिक समूह मुगल संदर्भों की ही उत्पत्ति थे, जिन्होंने स्वयं को सैन्य व प्रशासनिक अनुभवों के साथ निखारा और स्थापित किया। उनकी सफलता कहीं न कहीं मुगल सफलता से जुड़ी हुई थी।¹¹ लेकिन इस कथन में विरोधाभास नजर आता है, क्योंकि ये वर्ग बेशक मुगल दौर में मजबूती से उभरे, लेकिन वे पूर्णतः मुगल सफलता का पर्याय नहीं बने और यह मराठों, जाटों, सतनामियों व अन्य योद्धा समूहों के विद्रोही प्रवृत्ति से स्पष्ट रूप से परिलक्षित होता है। 17 वीं सदी के उत्तरार्ध में उत्तर भारत में ग्रामीण विद्रोह की एक शृंखला उभरी जिन्हें व्यापकतः 'किसान विद्रोह' के रूप में जाना गया, जैसा कि मुजफ्फर आलम उद्धृत करते हैं कि छोटे स्थानीय जमींदार या बड़े जमींदार, अक्सर इन विद्रोहों का नेतृत्व करते थे।¹² सिख और जाट विद्रोहियों का नेतृत्व ऐसे छोटे स्थानीय

जमींदारों के द्वारा किया गया था, जिनका एक-दूसरे के साथ और उनके अधीन आने वाले किसानों के साथ घनिष्ठ संबंध और पारिवारिक संबंध थे और जो अक्सर सशस्त्र रहते थे।¹³

विद्रोह और पारंपरिक इतिहास लेखन

गोकुला का विद्रोह कोई यकायक उभरा विद्रोह नहीं था, 1666 ई. में इसके प्रथम चरण से 1669 ई. (दिसम्बर) में तिलपत के युद्ध में उसकी पराजय तक उसने निरंतर मुगल हुक्मरानों को परेशान किया।¹⁴ हालांकि इसकी पौध अकबर के दौर से ही नजर आने लगती है, जब अकबर के आदेश पर अकबराबाद व आस-पास के क्षेत्रों में जाट कृषकों को कर देने के लिए बाध्य किया गया, हालांकि समकालीन लेखन *आइन-ए अकबरी* का वर्णन यह दर्शाता है कि उस दौर में कोई जाट जमींदार नहीं था, वरण अधिकांशतः सामान्य कृषक थे। ऐसा नहीं है कि अकबर के दौर में कृषक-शोषण नहीं था, लेकिन किसी भी शोषण में सत्ता के शीर्ष का योगदान हो यह आवश्यक नहीं, खासतौर से मध्ययुगीन दौर में मुख्य सत्ता के अधीनस्थों का भी शोषण में मुख्य योगदान होता था।

सतीश चंद्र के शब्दों में जाटों में कुल-बंधुत्व और समतावाद की प्रबल भावना थी, वे मुख्यतः खुदकाश्त थे अर्थात् खुद की भूमि पर कृषि करते थे। वे कहते हैं कि जहाँगीर व शाहजहाँ के दौर में हमें जाटों के छोटे-छोटे विद्रोह नजर आते हैं, लेकिन औरंगजेब के अधीन ये व्यापक हो गए और जाटों ने गोकुला नामक एक छोटे से जमींदार के नेतृत्व में विद्रोह की शुरुआत की। यह विद्रोह फैलता गया एवं आस-पास के गाँवों के किसान इससे जुड़ते चले गए और उनकी संख्या 20000 तक पहुँच गयी तथा विद्रोहियों के साथ हुई लड़ाई में शाही सेना का नेतृत्व कर रहे मथुरा के फौजदार अब्दुन्नबी को मार दिया गया, तदोपरांत औरंगजेब आगरा गया और अंततः शाही सेना ने इस विद्रोह का दमन किया और गोकुला की हत्या कर दी गयी। वे अपने विवरण में यह भी जोड़ते हैं कि गोकुला की हत्या के बाद उसके बेटे को मुसलमान बना दिया गया और बेटी का विवाह एक उच्च पदस्थ गुलाम से कर दिया गया,¹⁵ लेकिन अपने अंतिम तर्क के रूप में वे इसे कृषक विद्रोह कहते हैं। यहाँ गौर करने वाली बात यह है कि एक तरफ जाटों का खुदकाश्त होना, जहाँ उनकी आत्मनिर्भरता को दर्शाता है, वहीं 20000 लोगों की संख्या का विद्रोह में शामिल होना समकालीन जनांकीय दृष्टिकोण से मिथकीय लगता है, क्योंकि 17 वीं सदी के मध्य में मथुरा व उसके आस-पास के क्षेत्रों में,

खासकर 11 गाँवों में, जो गोकुला की जमींदारी के अंतर्गत थे,¹⁶ की आबादी को 20000 बताना समकालीन इतिहास को वर्तमान के आईने से परिभाषित करने जैसा है। सतीश चंद्र के विवरण की अंतिम पंक्ति का इस्तेमाल करते हुए, कुछ इतिहासकार गोकुला के विद्रोह को धार्मिक रंग, औरंगजेब की धर्मांधता तथा धर्म-युद्ध के रूप में व्याख्या करते हैं, हालांकि जाट-आबादी जो धार्मिक संक्रमण के लंबे दौर से गुजरी और क्रमिक रूप से हिन्दू-जाट, मुस्लिम-जाट, और सिख-जाट के रूप में स्थापित हुई,¹⁷ ऐसे में ऐसे किसी भी विद्रोह को धार्मिक रंग से जोड़ कर परिभाषित करना, विद्रोह की भावना को गलत तरीके से पेश करने जैसा है। साथ ही साथ मध्यकालीन दौर के अधिकांश विद्रोह और युद्धों में आबादी का सम्मिश्रण नजर आता है, जो एक लंबी सांस्कृतिक 'सम्मिलिकरण और समायोजन' की प्रक्रिया के परिणामस्वरूप उभरी थी।

समकालीन स्रोतों में मनुची ने अपने यात्रा-वृत्तांत में गोकुला और उसके विद्रोह का जिक्र किया है। वह अपने वृत्तांत में जाटों को 'हाईवे के लुटेरे'¹⁸ के रूप में परिभाषित करते हैं, हालांकि उनकी यह अवधारणा शुरुआती प्राच्यवादी सोच को इंगित करती है, क्योंकि ऐसा नहीं था कि सभी जाट वर्गीय लोग लुटेरे थे, और न ही उनका मुख्य व्यवसाय लूटपाट था और इन सबसे ऊपर अकबराबाद और आस-पास के क्षेत्रों में देशज-व्यापार और बाह्य-व्यापार की व्यापकता और सुगमता, जिसका वर्णन पेलसर्ट से लेकर बर्नियर तक करते हैं, दर्शाता है कि लूट-पाट की घटनाएँ समकालीन दौर में उक्त क्षेत्र में सामान्य नहीं थी और ऐसे में एक वर्ग विशेष को लुटेरे-वर्ग के रूप में वर्णित करना, मानव के नृविज्ञानी संदर्भ को विपरीत रूप में पेश करने जैसा है, क्योंकि लूट जाट वर्ग की बृहत-संस्कृति का हिस्सा नहीं रहा है, बल्कि यह क्षणिक रूप में जाट-संस्कृति का हिस्सा रहा है। वे अपनी क्रमिक-विकास शृंखला में चरवाहा समूह से कृषक समुदाय के रूप में ही विकसित हुए, और यह आज भी व्यापक स्तर पर देखा जा सकता है।

हालांकि प्रो. आर.पी. राणा भी गोकुला के विद्रोह को कृषक विद्रोह के रूप में परिभाषित करते हैं, लेकिन उनका मानना है कि राजधानी का आगरा से दिल्ली स्थानांतरण ने स्थानीय जाट जमींदारों को मुगल सत्ता के एक विकल्प के रूप में उभरने का मौका दिया, लेकिन बदलाव व्यापक नहीं हुए। यहाँ प्रो. राणा का व्याख्यान गौर करने योग्य हो जाता है, जो एक ऐतिहासिक निरंतरता का बोध कराते हुए क्रमिक रूप से जाट-राज्य के निर्माण और गोकुला के विद्रोह के दौर में उसकी तीव्रता को उद्धृत करते हैं।¹⁹

वहीं प्रो. इरफान हबीब *मासिर-ए आलमगिरी* के हवाले से जाट विद्रोह को परिभाषित करते हुए, इसे समय के साथ व्यापक रूप में विकसित हुए लूट-आंदोलन (plundering movement) के तौर पर व्याख्या करते हैं। वे कहते हैं इसकी जड़ में कृषकों का संकीर्ण जातीय क्षितिज और उनके जमींदार नेताओं की लूट-कुशलता शामिल थी, जिसकी प्रथम पूर्णाहुति गोकुला द्वारा सादाबाद परगना लूटने के बाद हुई, जो अग्रिम दौर में आगरा व आस-पास के अन्य परगनों में विस्तृत हुई। हालांकि प्रो. हबीब जाट विद्रोह के किसी धार्मिक आंदोलन से जुड़ाव को खारिज करते हैं, जैसा कि समकालीन सतनामी व सिख विद्रोह के संदर्भ में देखने को मिलता है।²⁰ स्रोतों का अवलोकन चाहे वह हबीब हो या मोरलैंड दर्शाता है कि समकालीन दौर में शोषण व अर्थ की स्वतंत्रता की भावना मुख्य पहलू के रूप में, जिन्होंने ऐसे विद्रोहों को जन्म दिया।

विद्रोह की नृविज्ञानी व्याख्या

गोकुला के विद्रोह को ऊपर वर्णित पारंपरिक इतिहास लेखन से इतर अगर नृविज्ञानी आधारों पर विवेचित करें तो कई अन्य सवाल उभर कर आते हैं, जैसे जाट वर्ग का कृषि और भूमि से कैसा भावनात्मक जुड़ाव था? उनका समकालीन सांस्कृतिक पहलू कैसा था? उनके कुल-बंधुत्व और एकात्मकता ने किस रूप में विद्रोह को प्रसारित किया? क्या शोषण के माध्यम से उत्पन्न दर्द ने ऐसे विद्रोहों को प्रसारित करने में भूमिका निभाई? और क्या क्षेत्रीय लोकगाथाओं और इतिहासों में वर्णित विद्रोह की तीव्रता वास्तविक हो सकती है? इन आयामों का विश्लेषण 'विद्रोह-इतिहास' के कई अन्य आयामों की ऐतिहासिक परिधि को बढ़ाने में कारगर होगा।

वस्तुतः जॉर्ज ऑरवेल की भाषा में 'अगर शोषण तीव्र हो जाएँ तो भय के पैमाने कम हो जाते हैं और विद्रोह की भावना प्रबल हो जाती है।' ऑरवेल अपने व्यंग्यात्मक लेखन में जानवरों (भिन्न-भिन्न नस्लों और जतियों) द्वारा एकत्रित होकर विद्रोह और तत्पश्चात उनकी आजादी की अवधारणा का विश्लेषण करते हैं,²¹ अगर उनके इस भावनात्मकता को आधार बनाया जाए तो सतीश चंद्र द्वारा वर्णित जाटों के कुल-बंधुत्व और उनकी एकात्मकता की अवधारणा ने कहीं न कहीं उनके विद्रोह की भावना को प्रबल बनाया और उन्हें स्थानीय मुगल अधिकारियों के खिलाफ विद्रोह करने का बल दिया। समकालीन स्रोतों का अध्ययन एक तरफ जहां शाहजहाँ के दौर से ही कृषि-कर में बढ़ोतरी को दर्शाता है, वहीं इसकी उत्तरोत्तर वृद्धि ने विद्रोह को प्रबल बनाने का कार्य किया।

यहां एनाल्स स्कूल की भावनात्मकता की अवधारणा भी आवश्यक हो जाती है, जो हमें ऐतिहासिक द्वंद में उलझने के लिए सचेत करती है।¹² जाटों के विद्रोह के संदर्भ में धार्मिक आधारों वाली व्याख्या इसलिए भी बेबुनियादी लगती है, क्योंकि सिंध में उनके उत्थान के शुरुआती दौर में ही उन्हें ब्राह्मण शासकों द्वारा हेयता की दृष्टि से देखकर प्रताड़ित किया गया था, लेकिन शनैः-शनैः वो भिन्न-भिन्न धर्मों से जुड़े, लेकिन उनकी सामाजिक संरचना में समकालीन दौर तक किसी रूढ़िता का प्रमाण नहीं मिलता, जो यह स्पष्ट करे कि उनका विद्रोह एक हिन्दू विद्रोह था, जो मुस्लिम-शासकों के विरुद्ध किया गया था।

तलल असद के अभिकरण और दर्द संबंधी व्याख्यान के अनुसार 'दर्द की प्रबलता प्रतिरोध का कारण बनती है'²³, उक्त विद्रोह की भावना को अगर इस सिद्धान्त के जरिए देखें तो यह स्पष्ट कर व्यवस्था लागू करने वाले मुगल-प्राधिकरणों और कराधान व्यवस्था से उपजे शोषण ने कहीं न कहीं जाटों के समकालीन स्व-उत्थान की प्रक्रिया को चुनौती देने के साथ-साथ उनकी सामाजिक-नैतिक जिम्मेवारी को उभारा, जिसने उक्त विद्रोह को जन्म देने में अपनी भूमिका निभाई। यहाँ विद्रोह की तीव्रता का भी यथोचित उत्तर देना भी आवश्यक है क्योंकि जिस रूप में विद्रोह की तीव्रता में स्थान परिवर्तन का जिक्र स्थानीय इतिहासकारों ने किया है, जैसे, विद्रोहियों का एक दिन में 50 कोस की दूरी तय करना जिनमें अधिकांशतः पदाति (अर्थात् पैदल चलने वाले थे) या अन्य, जिसकी समकालीन परिवहन व मार्ग व्यवस्था के अनुसार वर्णन अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण हो जाता है। लेकिन दर्द के पैमाने पर उभरे विद्रोह बेशक मानसिक तीव्रता देते हैं, लेकिन उसके साथ शारीरिक तीव्रता को जोड़ देना इतिहास को लोकगाथा-वीरगाथा श्रेणी में व्याख्या करने जैसा हो जाता है।¹⁴

उक्त क्रम में ही नव-नायकत्व को परिभाषित करने की होड़ में इतिहास को तोड़-मरोड़ कर पेश करने की बानगी भी देखी जा सकती है। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं की गोकुला का विद्रोह समकालीन परिस्थिति में शोषण की भावना के विरुद्ध उत्पन्न एक विरोध था, जो सशस्त्र था, लेकिन उस विद्रोही समूह के नायक को आज का सामाजिक नायक घोषित कर देना भी इतिहास व्याख्या को गलत ढंग से पेश करना होगा, क्योंकि ऐतिहासिक घटना, समाज या संस्कृति के सभी सदस्यों के अनुभवों का अध्ययन नहीं करता। नतीजतन, माइक्रो-हिस्ट्री को अपनाने वाले इतिहासकारों ने लोगों को एक समूह के रूप में नहीं, बल्कि 'ऐसे व्यक्तियों के रूप में देखा है जिन्हें ऐतिहासिक प्रक्रियाओं के भीतर या अनाम भीड़ में खोना नहीं चाहिए'²⁵ और ऐसे में गोकुला के

नायकत्व को उभारना जहां आवश्यक है, वहीं उसे 'समरवीर'²⁶ घोषित कर देना ऐतिहासिक परिणामों को बदल देना भी है।

वस्तुतः उपनिवेशवाद के दौर में उभरे लेखन ने भारत के लोगों के मन में क्षेत्रीय सर्वोच्चता के विचार को उभरने के साथ-साथ, भारत की सम्मिलित संस्कृति को भी तोड़ने का कार्य किया, परिणामतः लोगों ने राजतंत्र के दौर में भिन्न-भिन्न राज्यों द्वारा अपनाई गयी नीति को अपने लाभार्थ इस्तेमाल करना शुरू किया। क्योंकि 'उपनिवेशवादी मान्यता के अनुसार हम पूर्वी दुनिया के पिछड़े लोग थे',²⁷ और इसी भावना को जड़ से चेतन तक फैलाया गया, और इसी फैलाव का परिणाम अग्रिम दौर में भी झलकता रहा, या आज तक झलक रहा है, जिसके मातहत अधिकांशतः लोग स्वयं को, अपने वर्ग को, अपनी जाति को, अपने धर्म को दूसरों से ऊपर दिखाने की कोशिश में लगे रहते हैं, यह उपनिवेशवादी संस्कृति के 'हम' (ऑक्सीडेंट) और 'वे लोग' (ओरिएंट)²⁸ की अवधारणा का ही चलायमन रूप है।

उपरोक्त विचारधारा का निष्पादन दशरथ शर्मा द्वारा संपादित *दलपत विलास* में भी नजर आता है, जब वो मुगलों के दौर में राजपूतों की पंगुता का जिक्र करते हैं, और उनके 'हिम्मत' को कम करके आँकते हुए यह दर्शाते हैं, कि मुगलों की जिन धार्मिक और असहिष्णु नीतियों के खिलाफ राजपूत आवाज नहीं उठा सके वो कार्य जाटों ने गोकुला के नेतृत्व में किया।²⁹ हालांकि गोकुला का विद्रोह किसी पैमाने पर मुगलों की केंद्रीकृत सत्ता को चुनौती देने वाला नहीं था, वरन एक क्षेत्र विशेष में (कुछ गाँवों) में उभरा विरोध था, जिसके लिए कृषि-कर संकट और उससे जुड़ी जाट भावना जिम्मेवार थी, इसकी तुलना व्यवस्थित राजपूत राज्य से करना इसलिए भी अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण है क्योंकि गोकुला के विद्रोह के दौर के समय गोकुल सिंह किसी जाट राज्य का संचालन नहीं कर रहे थे। हिम्मत और मर्दानगी को ऐसे किसी पहलू या समुदाय से जोड़ देना भी विषय को रूपक रूप देना है, क्योंकि रोसालिंड ओ'हैनलन के शब्दों में यह एक सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक संकल्पना है, जो शाही व अमीरों के दरबारों में मध्यकालीन परिप्रेक्ष्य में विकसित हुई, और इससे जुड़ा हुआ गुण, व्यवहार व कर्तव्य सामाजिक वर्गों से संबन्धित है जो पुरुषों के मध्य सामाजिक पदानुक्रम का निर्माण करने वाला होता है।³⁰ इस कड़ी में भी गोकुला के नायकत्व को परिभाषित करने का प्रयास किया जा सकता है कि लेकिन उनकी तुलना नहीं की जा सकती है, क्योंकि राजपूतों और जाटों के मध्य समकालीन दौर में अंतरण की खाई गहरी थी।

नरेंद्र सिंह वर्मा जैसे इतिहासकार गोकुला को सांस्कृतिक रक्षक के रूप में परिभाषित

करते हैं, जिसने मथुरा, वृन्दावन के मंदिरों की रक्षा के साथ-साथ तात्कालिक शोषण और अत्याचार की राजकीय मनमानी की व्यवस्था को बदलने का कार्य किया।³¹ यहाँ 'संस्कृति के रक्षक' की जिस परिभाषा का इस्तेमाल किया गया है, शायद उसका दायरा केवल 'हिन्दू-संस्कृति' से जुड़कर उभरता है, जिसकी परिकल्पना समकालीन दौर में कई वजहों से संभव नहीं थी। पहला, उक्त दौर तक जाट अपने आप को धार्मिक रूप से नहीं वरन सामाजिक रूप से मजबूत बनाने में लगे हुए थे, दूसरा औरंगजेब के दौर में मंदिरों को तोड़ने के परिणाम मथुरा क्षेत्र में भी मिलता है, लेकिन इसका आशय केवल उसकी धर्मांधता से जोड़कर लगाना नहीं हो सकता, क्योंकि औरंगजेब के अधीन ही मथुरा व वृन्दावन के मंदिरों को व्यापक स्तर पर भूमि अनुदान भी दिए गए,³² ऐसे में गोकुला को संस्कृति-रक्षक के रूप में व्याख्या करना तथ्यों को आज के सामाजिक-राजनीतिक परिप्रेक्ष्य के अनुसार दर्शाता है, जबकि मध्यकाल की भावना और समकालीन तथ्यों के विश्लेषण के लिए समकालीन स्थान, संस्कृति, राजनीति, समाज, व अन्य पहलू को समझना और उसका संज्ञान लेते हुए उसे विश्लेषित करना आवश्यक होता है।

निष्कर्ष

बेशक गोकुला का विद्रोह उत्तर भारत में मुगल सत्ता के केंद्र में हुआ एक विद्रोह था, जिसके मूल में कृषक-शोषण और स्थानीय जमींदार के रूप में गोकुला के प्रभुत्व को चुनौती थी, लेकिन उसे या उसके विद्रोह को धर्म या धर्म को बचाने वाले नायक के रूप में दर्शाना, उतना ही गैर-ऐतिहासिक होगा, जितना मनुची द्वारा जाटों को हाइवे के लुटेरों के रूप में परिभाषित करना। इसलिए इतिहास-धारणा में यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि दौर विशेष में उभरे किसी भी ऐतिहासिक घटना को समकालीन परिस्थिति की नज़ाकत, संभावनाओं और विशेषताओं के साथ परिभाषित करें, और इन पैमानों पर गोकुला का विद्रोह साम्राज्यिक ढांचे में कृषि एवं कराधान संबंधी शोषण से उभरा हुआ एक विद्रोह था, न कि धर्म-रक्षा के लिए उभरा एक विद्रोह। वहीं इसका नृविज्ञानी संदर्भ यह दर्शाता है कि विद्रोह के मूल वर्णित एक प्रमुख कारण से जुड़े कई सूक्ष्म पहलू होते हैं, जो व्यक्ति, समुदाय, व समाज से जुड़ी भावनाएं, स्व-सत्ता, व अन्य पहलुओं से जुड़े होते हैं। मिशेल फुको के शब्दों में इन पहलुओं को उस 'खाली स्थान' की तरह तलाशते हुए आगे बढ़ना चाहिए, जिससे गैर-विश्लेषित पहलू भी उभर कर सामने आ जाएँ और गोकुला के विद्रोह के संदर्भ में भी जाटों के क्रमिक उत्थान को देखना और आज की परिस्थितियों से इतर समकालीन परिस्थितियों के अनुसार उसका विवेचन आवश्यक

है, क्योंकि नाहक किए गए विश्लेषण 'जाट-संस्कृति' के क्रमिक विकास को तोड़ते हैं, और संबन्धित इतिहास धारणा में एक पटाक्षेप उत्पन्न करते हैं।

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हिन्दी साहित्य के इतिहास की काल सीमा को लेकर पर्याप्त मतभेद देखा जा सकता है। कुछ विद्वान हिन्दी साहित्य का आरम्भ सवत् 700 ई. से मानते हैं और कुछ सवत् 1050 से। लेकिन जब हम आदिकालीन परिस्थितियों की चर्चा करते हैं, तो प्रायः सभी विद्वान 7वीं शताब्दी से 14वीं शताब्दी तक की परिस्थितियों की विवेचना करते हैं। युगीन परिस्थितियाँ तत्कालीन साहित्य को अवश्य प्रभावित करती हैं क्योंकि साहित्य ही समाज का दर्पण कहलाता है। साहित्य समाज को और समाज साहित्य को अवश्य प्रभावित करते हैं, यदि किसी समाज की विशेष परिस्थितियों में परिवर्तन होता है तो उसके साहित्य में भी अवश्य परिवर्तन देखने को मिलेगा। अतः हम कह सकते हैं कि परिस्थितियाँ किसी भी भाषा के साहित्य के लिए आधार कही जा सकती हैं। जिस समाज अथवा देश में जैसा राजनीतिक और सामाजिक वातावरण होगा, वैसा ही हमें साहित्य पढ़ने को मिलेगा। ऐसी स्थिति में किसी भी युग के साहित्य को भली प्रकार समझने तथा उसका मूल्यांकन करने के लिए तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों की जानकारी नितान्त आवश्यक है।

आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल ने आदिकाल का समय सवत् 1050 से सवत् 1375 तक निर्धारित किया है।¹ कुछ अन्य विद्वान सन् 700 ई. से 1400 ई. तक आदिकाल का काल निर्धारण करते हैं। यह अवधि लगभग 700 वर्षों की बैठती है। आदिकाल की काल सीमा कुछ भी निर्धारित की जाए, लेकिन यह एक कटु सत्य है कि राजनीतिक दृष्टि से यह युग अव्यवस्था, अराजकता, गृह-कलह तथा पराजय का युग था। एक ओर विदेशी आक्रमणकारियों का प्रवाह जारी था, दूसरी ओर भारतीय समान्त परस्पर वैमनस्य के शिकार बने हुए थे। फलस्वरूप भारत की जनता संतप्त और उदासीन हो

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चुकी थी। 647 ई. में सम्राट हर्षवर्धन की मृत्यु के पश्चात उत्तरी भारत में केन्द्रीय शक्ति का ह्रास होने लगा। वर्धन काल के बाद राजपूतों और जाटों के वैर-भाव के कारण केन्द्रीय सत्ता के अभाव में पूरा भारत छोटे-छोटे राज्यों में विभक्त हो गया।²

दूसरी ओर अरब क्षेत्र में नवोदित इस्लाम धर्म सुदूर पश्चिम तथा पूर्व की ओर बढ़ने लगा। उस समय आज का अफगानिस्तान भारत का ही एक अंग था। मुहम्मद-बिन-कासिम ने मुसलमानों की एक विशाल सेना बनाई और सिंध के राजा दाहिर को पराजित कर वहाँ अपनी सत्ता स्थापित कर दी। यूँ तो विदेशी आक्रमणकारी भारत पर पहले भी आक्रमण करते रहते थे। लेकिन मुहम्मद-बिन-कासिम ने देश की भावी राजनीति को अत्यधिक प्रभावित किया। स्थानीय राजपूत राजाओं ने राजा दाहिर की सहायता नहीं की और वह पराजित हो कर मारा गया। यही नहीं, कुछ समान्तों ने तो वैयक्तिक स्वार्थों के कारण मुहम्मद-बिन-कासिम की सहायता भी की। भारत में इस्लाम धर्म के प्रादुर्भाव का प्रथम चरण पूरा हो गया। तत्पश्चात् नवीं शताब्दी तक मुसलमानों ने आगे बढ़ने का साहस नहीं किया। इसका प्रमुख कारण यह था कि भारत की पश्चिमोत्तर सीमाओं पर अभी तक कुछ शक्तिशाली राजा विद्यमान थे। इस युग से यह भी पता चलता है कि जनसाधारण राजाओं के युद्धों में अधिक रूचि नहीं लेता था, क्योंकि तत्कालीन शासक जनता के प्रति पूर्णतया उदासीन बने रहते थे।

दसवीं शताब्दी में गजनी राज्य पर महमूद गजनवी बैठा। उसने भारत पर उनके आक्रमण किए। उसने सुन रखा था कि भारत सोने की चिड़िया है। अतः अपनी सेनाओं को लेकर वह भारत की सीमाओं में प्रवेश कर गया। पंजाब, कांगड़ा, थानेसर, मथुरा, कन्नौज, ग्वालियर और कालिंजर आदि को लूट कर वह अपार धनराशि अपने साथ लेकर गजनी लौट गया।³ इसके बाद उसने सौराष्ट्र के मंदिर की अपार धनराशि को लूटा और वापस गजनी चला गया। वस्तुतः वह भारत में अपने राज्य की स्थापना नहीं करना चाहता था। उसका एकमात्र लक्ष्य था - यहाँ की धन राशि को लूटकर ले जाना। इस संदर्भ में रामधारी सिंह दिनकर⁴ ने उचित ही लिखा है -

“मुसलमान आक्रमणकारी जहाँ-जहाँ गये उन्होंने वहाँ की जनता के सामने तीन रास्ते रखे या तो कुरान लो और इस्लाम को कबूल करो या कर दो और अधीनता स्वीकार करो अथवा दोनों में से कोई बात पसन्द न हो तो तुम्हारे गले पर गिरने के लिए तलवार प्रस्तुत है।”

दक्षिण भारत का चोल राजा राजेन्द्र इन्हीं दिनों पूर्वी भारत में अपने राज्य का विस्तार कर रहा था। वह यदि गजनवी का सामना करता तो सम्भवतः गजनवी इतनी

लूटमार न कर पाता। ग्यारहवीं-बारहवीं शताब्दी में दिल्ली में तोमर, अजमेर में चौहान तथा कन्नौज में गहड़वालों का सशक्त राज्य था। परन्तु इन तीनों में एकता की भावना नहीं थी। अन्दर-ही-अन्दर तीनों परस्पर वैर-वैमनस्य रखते थे।

12वीं शताब्दी में मुसलमानों ने एक बार पुनः आक्रमण करने आरम्भ कर दिये थे। दूसरी और गजनी में तुर्कों को पराजित करके शहाबुद्दीन मुहम्मद गौरी ने वहाँ की शासन सत्ता संभाल ली। शीघ्र ही उसने भारत को विजय करने का निश्चय किया। उसने अनेक बार दिल्ली पर आक्रमण किए। परन्तु अंततः कन्नौज के राजा जयचन्द की सहायता से दिल्ली के शासक पृथ्वीराज चौहान को पराजित करने में सफल हो गया तथा बाद में जयचन्द को मारकर दिल्ली पर मुस्लिम सत्ता को स्थापित कर दिया। वस्तुतः राजपूतों की पराजय का मुख्य कारण उनका वैयक्तिक वैमनस्य था। उनमें व्यक्तिगत वीरता का अभाव नहीं था, परन्तु वे दूरदर्शी नहीं थे।

उपरोक्त विवेचन से यह बात स्वतः स्पष्ट हो जाती है कि आदिकालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियाँ गृह कलह से युक्त थी। भले ही स्थानीय हिन्दू राजाओं में वीरता थी, लेकिन वे अपने पड़ोसी राजा से हमेशा वैरभाव रखते थे। संकुचित राष्ट्रीयता के कारण दस-बीस गांवों को ही वे राज समझते थे। इस संदर्भ में डॉ. रामचन्द्र वर्मा^१ ने उचित ही लिखा है -

“इस प्रकार उत्तर भारत की राजनैतिक अवस्था केन्द्रीय सुदृढ़ शासनसत्ता के अभाव में उच्छृंखल और छिन्न-भिन्न थी, एकता का अभाव था। गणतंत्र राज्य विनष्ट हो चुके थे, प्रजा शक्ति क्षीण और शिथिल थी। देश को समग्रता के सूत्र में बांधने वाली राष्ट्रीय चेतना लुप्त थी। देश का राजनैतिक जीवन भीतर से खोखला था। पारस्परिक फूट और वैर राज्यों में उत्तरोत्तर बढ़ रहे थे। इसका स्वाभाविक परिणाम हिन्दू सत्ता का क्रमशः क्षय तथा इस्लाम सत्ता का उदय था। इसी ने उस मनःस्थिति को जन्म दिया था जिसमें कोई भी एक प्रवृत्ति साहित्य में प्रधान न हो सकी। यहाँ यह उल्लेखनीय है कि यवन शक्तियों के आक्रमण का क्षेत्र मुख्यतः पश्चिम एवं मध्य प्रदेश था। फलतः इन्हीं क्षेत्रों की जनता युद्धों एवं अत्याचारों से विशेष रूप से पीड़ित थी। हिन्दी भाषा का विकास भी इसी क्षेत्र में ही हो रहा था, अतः इसका समस्त हिन्दी काल साहित्य आक्रमण और युद्ध की मनः स्थितियों का प्रतिफलन है।”

भले ही आदिकाल में युद्ध और गृहकलह का वातावरण निरन्तर बना रहा, लेकिन फिर भी इस युग में साहित्य का निर्माण भी निरन्तर होता रहा। नौवीं से ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी तक कन्नौज और कश्मीर साहित्यिक रचना के केन्द्र बने रहे। आनन्दवर्धन, अभिनवगुप्त,

कुन्तक, क्षेमेन्द्र, मम्मट, राजशेखर, विश्वनाथ आदि काव्य-शास्त्री इसी युग में उत्पन्न हुए। इधर भवभूति, श्रीहर्ष और जयदेव आदि संस्कृत के साहित्यकार भी इस काल की देन हैं। अपभ्रंश साहित्य में जैन कवियों ने विशेष योगदान दिया। अमरूक कवि द्वारा रचित 'अमरू शतक' तथा हाल की 'आर्यासप्तशती' अपभ्रंश भाषा की श्रेष्ठ कृतियाँ इसी काल की हैं। इस काल के सिद्धों ने अपभ्रंश के साथ-साथ लोक भाषा में साहित्य का निर्माण किया। इस युग में हिन्दी भाषा में भी साहित्य ग्रन्थों की काफी रचना हुई। लेकिन इसे हम देशी भाषा कहें तो अधिक तर्कसंगत होगा। सिद्धों और नाथों ने इसी देशी भाषा में साहित्य निर्माण किया। डिंगल-पिंगल, मैथिली और अवहट्ट आदिकाल की कुछ अन्य स्वदेशी भाषाएँ हैं जिनमें *बीसलदेवरासो* तथा *पृथ्वीराजरासो* जैसी महान काव्य रचनाएँ लिखी गई^९ भले ही, मुसलमानों के शासनकाल में अरबी-फारसी राजभाषा बन चुकी थी, लेकिन फिर भी इस काल में देशी भाषाओं में काफी रचनाओं का निर्माण हुआ। तत्कालीन अधिकांश कवि दरबारी कवि थे और वे अपने आश्रयदाता को संतुष्ट करने में धर्म उपदेश आदि के साथ-साथ वीर और श्रृंगार का भी खुलकर वर्णन किया गया। इस संदर्भ में डॉ. हुकुमचन्द राजपाल^७ का निम्नलिखित कथन काफी उपयोगी सिद्ध होगा-

“सिद्धों ने अपभ्रंश के साथ लोकभाषा हिन्दी की रचनाएँ लिखीं। देशी भाषा अर्थात् हिन्दी में रचित साहित्य भी इस समय खूब लिखा गया। जहाँ इस समय का साहित्य जन-प्रवृत्ति से दूर रहा, वहाँ हिन्दी साहित्य जनता की भावनाओं, मानसिक स्थितियों, आकांक्षाओं आदि का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहा था। संस्कृत के कवि रचनात्मक प्रतिभा के उद्घाटन में तथा अपभ्रंश के कवि धर्म प्रचार में लीन थे। केवल हिन्दी ही एक ऐसी भाषा थी जो साहित्य के माध्यम से तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों को किसी रूप में उद्घाटित कर रही थी।”

हरियाणा में कन्नौज, दादरी निवासी ठक्कुर फेरू ने राज्य के उच्चपदों पर रहते हुए अनेक ग्रंथों की रचना की। *युग प्रधान चतुष्पदिका* की रचना लोकभाषा-अपभ्रंश में 1290 ई में की थी। दूसरे ग्रंथ *रत्नपरीक्षा* की रचना 1315 ई में अपने पुत्र हेमपाल के लिए की थी। यह पुस्तक रत्नों की उत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित व अगस्त्य की *रत्न परीक्षा* में निर्दिष्ट बल दानव के शारीरिक अवयवों द्वारा रत्न समूह की रोचक कथा लिखी है। *वास्तुसार* ठक्कुर फेरू की समस्त कृतियों में सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध और शिल्प स्थापत्य विषयक प्रामाणिक ग्रंथ है। इनके अन्य ग्रंथ *ज्योतिष सार*, *गणितसार कौमुदी*, *धातोत्पत्तिकरणी विधि*, एवं *द्रव्य परीक्षा* हैं^९

हिन्दी साहित्य का रीतिकाल भी इसका अपवाद नहीं है। भारतीय साहित्य में यह समय मध्यकालीन नाम से अभीहित किया जाता है। इस काल में जो घोर श्रृंगारिक काव्य लिखा गया उसके पीछे तत्कालीन राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, धार्मिक तथा सांस्कृतिक परिस्थितियाँ बहुत कुछ उतरदायी हैं। हिन्दी के रीतिकालीन साहित्य को जिन परिस्थितियों ने प्रभावित किया, उनका विवेचन इस प्रकार है -

1. दृष्टि से यह काल घोर निराशा एवं पतन का काल था। इससे पूर्व अकबर ने अपने उदारवादी दृष्टिकोण से हिन्दू-मुस्लिम समन्वय पर बल दिया और अपने राज्य की नींव को सुदृढ़ किया। इसके बाद जहाँगीर ने राज्य-विस्तार की ओर विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया। बल्कि काव्य, संगीत और कला के विकास पर अवश्य ध्यान दिया। जहाँगीर के पश्चात् शाहजहाँ दिल्ली के शासन पर बैठा। उसके शासन काल में भी शान्ति कायम रही। अतः राजनीतिक शान्ति के फलस्वरूप साहित्य में भी कलात्मकता का विकास होने लगा। शाहजहाँ का काल सुख, शान्ति और समृद्धि का काल था। स्वयं बादशाह साहित्य, कला तथा संस्कृति के प्रेमी थे। शाहजहाँ की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके पुत्र उतराधिकार के लिए लड़ने लगे। औरंगजेब ने अपने बड़े भाई दारा का वध करके शासन की बागडोर सम्भाल ली। औरंगजेब का शासन साम्राज्य-विस्तार तथा धार्मिक असहिष्णुता का युग था। अतः साहित्य, कला और संगीत का पतन होने लगा। वह स्वयं सन्देही प्रवृत्ति का व्यक्ति था और आजीवन युद्ध ही लड़ता रहा। वह न स्वयं चैन से बैठा और न ही उसने किसी और को चैन से बैठने दिया। उसकी मृत्यु के पश्चात् कोई योग्य उतराधिकारी नहीं हुआ। अतः केन्द्रीय शासन कमजोर हो गया और मुगल साम्राज्य का पतन होने लगा।

केन्द्रीय शासन के कमजोर होने से अनेक प्रदेशों के शासकों ने स्वतन्त्र राज्य स्थापित कर लिए। पंजाब में बन्दा वैरागी, राजस्थान में राजपूत और दक्षिण में मराठे सिर उठा चुके थे। नादिरशाह और अहमदशाह अब्दाली के आक्रमणों ने मुगल साम्राज्य को ध्वस्त कर दिया। उधर अंग्रेज मुगलों की असफलताओं से लाभ उठाकर अपनी सत्ता का विस्तार करने लगे। एक-एक करके सभी राजा उनके अधीन होते गए। केवल मुगल राजनीति के ही नहीं बल्कि मराठों और सिक्खों की राजनीति के उत्थान-पतन भी इस युग को झेलने पड़े। भारतीयों की आपसी फूट का लाभ उठाकर रीतिकाल के उतरकाल में अंग्रेज अपनी स्थिति को मजबूत करते चले गए। मराठा और सिक्खों जैसी प्रबल शक्तियाँ भी इनके सामने ठहर न सकीं। इसका दुष्परिणाम यह हुआ कि लोग जीवन के प्रति अनास्थावादी बन गए और दूसरी तरफ विलास भावनाएँ प्रवर्द्धित होती

चली गई। विशेषकर, छोटे-छोटे राजाओं और नवाबों के राजदरबार विलासिता के अखाड़े बन गए।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि औरंगजेब की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उसके उत्तराधिकारियों तथा नवाबों-सामन्तों का राजनीतिक पतन के साथ-साथ नैतिक दृष्टि से भी पतन हो चुका था। उनका अधिकतर समय नाच-रंग और मदिरा-पान आदि में बीतता था।

रीति-काल की साहित्यिक परिस्थितियाँ भी अनुकूल नहीं थीं। भक्ति का स्थान श्रृंगार ने ले लिया था। रीतिकालीन कवि अपने आश्रयदाता की विलासी वृत्ति को तृप्त करने के लिए घोर श्रृंगारी काव्य-रचना कर रहा था। कला और साहित्य केवल मनोरंजन का साधन बनकर रह गए थे। इस समय का साहित्य अपने उच्च आदर्शों से गिर गया था। अधिकांश कवि संस्कृत के आचार्यों की नकल करके लक्षण और उदाहरण ग्रन्थ लिखने में लीन थे। फिर भी भूषण जैसे कवियों ने इस काल में कुछ वीर रस प्रधान काव्य भी लिखा।

मुगल दरबार में अब भी फारसी भाषा प्रचलित थी। पर फारसी कवि भी आश्रयदाताओं को प्रसन्न करने में लगे हुए थे। इस प्रकार काव्य और कला में प्रदर्शन की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती जा रही थी। रीतिबद्ध काव्य शैली और श्रृंगारिकता का अधिकाधिक विकास होने लगा। डॉ. शिवकुमार शर्मा⁹ ने इस बारे में लिखा है:

“इसका (श्रृंगारिकता) दोष रीतिकालीन साहित्यकार पर नहीं मढ़ा जा सकता। इसका बहुत कुछ दायित्व तत्कालीन नरेशों की मनोवृत्ति और उस समय के चतुर्दिक व्याप्त वातावरण पर है। हिन्दी कवि को उस समय के दरबारी फारसी-कवि से होड़ लेनी पड़ रही थी।”

325 वर्ष के विशाल फलक वाले भक्तिकाल को इतिहास की दृष्टि से दो भागों में बाँटा जा सकता है - (1) 1375 सं. से 1583 सं., (2) 1583 से 1700 सं. तक। प्रथम भाग में तुगलक वंश, लोदी वंश ने तथा द्वितीय कालखण्ड में मुगलवंश जिसमें बाबर, हुमायूँ, अकबर, जहाँगीर, शाहजहाँ तथा औरंगजेब ने शासन किया।

कुछ राजनीतिक गलत निर्णय के कारण पागल बादशाह के नाम से प्रसिद्ध तुगलक वंश का सुल्तान मुहम्मद-बिन-तुगलक जहाँ हिन्दू प्रजा के प्रति उदारमना कवि तथा विद्या अनुरागी था, वहीं उसका उत्तराधिकारी फिरोज तुगलक धार्मिक रूप से असहिष्णु था जिससे कई सूबेदारों ने विद्रोह कर शासन-व्यवस्था में बिखराव ला दिया। जौनासाह द्वारा उसको सम्भालने का यद्यपि प्रयत्न किया गया पर महमूद शाह (सन् 1412) की मृत्यु के बाद तुगलक वंश समाप्त हुआ। इसके बाद सैयद वंश तत्पश्चात् लोदीवंश

आया। इसके अन्तिम सुल्तान इब्राहिम लोदी से मुगल वंश के संस्थापक बाबर का संघर्ष और इब्राहिम के पराजित होने के बाद मुगलवंश की स्थापना हुई। लोदीवंश के शासन-काल में अनेक छोटे-छोटे राज्य जैसे मालवा, गुजरात, जौनपुर, बंगाल, बहमनी बने। मुगलों ने शासन-व्यवस्था में दृढ़ता लाने का प्रयत्न किया। एक-एक कर छोटे राज्य मुगल साम्राज्य में मिला दिये गये। बाबर, हुमायूँ जहाँगीर तथा शाहजहाँ काल तक मुगल साम्राज्य एक सुदृढ़ता को क्रमशः प्राप्त करता है। उनमें अकबर का राज्यकाल कई दृष्टियों से उन्नत व दृढ़ था। उसने हिन्दू-मुसलमान के वैमनस्य की खाई को पाटने का प्रयत्न कर शासन को भरसक पक्षपातरहित बनाने का यत्न किया। हरियाणा प्रदेश के लाटौहु गांव के कवि वल्ह ने *कूकड़ा मंजारी चउपई* काव्य की रचना की। यह कृति संवत् 1662 में सम्राट अकबर के राज्य में लिखी गई। जिसकी लिपि जैन शैली है। इस रचना में कवि ने प्रारम्भ में गणपति, फिर सरस्वती-शारदा और अपने माता-पिता को नमस्कार किया है। यह रचना 178 पद्यों में है।¹⁰

प्राकृत में कथा-साहित्य के द्रुत विकास के लिए तीन बातें स्पष्ट रूप से सहायक रही हैं - धर्माश्रय, लोकाश्रय एवं राजाश्रय। प्राकृत में कथा-ग्रंथों का प्रणयन यद्यपि बहुत पहले से होने लगा था तथापि ग्यारहवीं-बारहवीं शताब्दी में राजाश्रय प्राप्त होने से इस क्षेत्र में अभूतपूर्व विकास हुआ।¹¹ इस काल में हरियाणा में *पासणाह चरिउ* अपभ्रंश भाषा की एक कृति है जिसकी रचना हरियाणा के प्रसिद्ध कवि श्रीधर द्वारा 1113 ई. में की गई। इसमें 23वे तीर्थंकर पार्श्वनाथ का चरित काव्य-बद्ध किया गया है। इस काव्य की रचना, कवि ने तंवर वंश के अनंगपाल के समय अल्हण नामक सेठ की प्रेरणा से नट्टल साहू के लिए की थी।¹² सिरसा में रचित *भक्तामर टीका* नामक महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ के रचयिता गुणाकार सूरि नामक जैन विद्वान थे।¹³

इस काल में हिन्दुओं के उच्चवर्ग में संस्कृत प्रधान थी, मुगल शासकों ने फारसी को राज्यकाल के लिए स्वीकार किया। फारसी में अनेक संस्कृत ग्रंथों का अनुवाद हुआ। महाभारत का *रज्जबनामा* के नाम से अनुवाद हुआ। कुछ शासकों ने हिन्दी को भी प्रोत्साहित किया। पाली, प्राकृत और अपभ्रंश की रचनाएँ जहाँ क्षीणतर पड़ती गयीं, संस्कृत का प्रयोग शिक्षित वर्गों द्वारा अनिवार्य-सा हो गया। बौद्ध धर्म के हास के साथ पाली प्रवासित हुई। प्राकृत अपने मूलरूप की रक्षा न कर सकी, अपभ्रंश भाषाओं के सम्पर्क तथा सान्निध्य में प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का रूप ग्रहण करने लगी। अपभ्रंश में पूर्ववर्ती परम्पराओं के विकास के साथ-साथ लोक-प्रचलित अन्यान्य परम्पराओं का भी प्रवेश हुआ। *चारिउ*, *पुराण* के अलावा दोहे, चर्यापद, मुक्त काव्य के उदाहरण मिलते हैं।

राज्याश्रय के साहित्य मुक्त और प्रबन्ध दोनों रूप में थे जिनका वर्णय-विषय श्रृंगार, रीति, नीति आदि थे। वीररस प्रधान काव्य कम लिखे गये। भक्तिकालीन उल्लेखनीय कवियों तुलसी, सूर, कबीर, जायसी आदि में भारतीय दर्शन, संस्कृति की रक्षा और धर्म की व्याख्या के साथ उच्चकोटि के काव्यत्व का दर्शन मिलता है। भक्ति-साहित्य लोक-परलोक दोनों का स्पर्श करता है।

जहाँ तक आधुनिक कालीन हिन्दी साहित्य की राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों की बात है तो जैसा कि हम सभी जानते हैं कि भारतवर्ष के आधुनिक बनने की प्रक्रिया प्लासी के युद्ध (1757 ई.) में सिराजुद्दौला की हार के बाद हुई। 1757 ई. में बंगाल पर अंग्रेजों का अधिकार, सन् 1764 ई. में बक्सर के युद्ध में मुगल सम्राट शाह आलम की पराजय, सन् 1765 ई. में कड़ा के युद्ध के बाद बंगाल, बिहार और उड़ीसा की दीवानी पर अंग्रेजों का अधिकार, सन् 1803 के असी और लासवारी के युद्ध में मराठों की पराजय, 1849 ई. में सिक्खों का पतन तथा 1856 ई. में अवध पर अंग्रेजों का अधिकार आदि घटनाओं के बाद सम्पूर्ण भारत अंग्रेजों के अधीन हो गया। किन्तु वास्तव में तो वारेन हेस्टिग्स की कूटनीति और लॉर्ड डलहौजी की राज्य हड़पने की नीति आदि के कारण असंतुष्ट देशी राजाओं, सिपाहियों तथा किसानों द्वारा एकजुट होकर 1857 ई. में अंग्रेजों के प्रति किये गये विद्रोह जिसे प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम का गौरव दिया जाता है, से ही आधुनिक काल का प्रारम्भ होता है। 1857 ई. के विद्रोह के बाद ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के शासन की समाप्ति तथा विक्टोरिया के शासन की स्थापना और उसके बाद अन्ततः भारतवर्ष ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य का उपनिवेश बनता है। 1858 ई. में विक्टोरिया के घोषणापत्र के बाद अंग्रेजों द्वारा अपनी आर्थिक, शैक्षणिक और प्रशासनिक नीतियों में ऊपरी तौर पर परिवर्तन, जो केवल दिखावा ही होता है। उसके बाद भारत की जमीन पर कई महत्वपूर्ण घटनाएँ घटती हैं जैसे सन् 1885 ई. में नेशनल कांग्रेस की स्थापना, 1905 में बंग-भंग आन्दोलन, 1906 में मुस्लिम लीग की स्थापना, सन् 1914 में प्रथम विश्व युद्ध, 1919 ई. में रोलेट एक्ट लागू, 1919 में ही जालियावाला बाग हत्याकाण्ड, 1920 में गाँधीजी का असहयोग आन्दोलन, सन् 1920 से 30 तक अंग्रेजों की कूटनीतिक चालें व उनका दमन-चक्र, सन् 1931-35 तक सरकार और कांग्रेस के बीच होने वाली विभिन्न सन्धियाँ, कमीशनों और पैक्टों के सिलसिले, 1936-37 में निर्वाचन तथा कांग्रेस और अन्य पार्टियों के मन्त्रिमण्डलों की स्थापना, 1939 में द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध, 1939 में कांग्रेस-मन्त्रिमण्डलों का त्यागपत्र, 1940 ई. में पाकिस्तान की माँग, सन् 1942 में भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन, 1945 ई. में ब्रिटेन में उदार दल की सरकार का आगमन, 1946

ई. में भारत में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे का भयावह रूप, सन् 1947 में भारत की आजादी आदि और फिर स्वतन्त्रता-प्राप्ति के पश्चात् उनके समस्याओं जैसे शरणार्थी समस्या, आर्थिक समस्या, कृषि समस्या से देश का आक्रान्त होना आदि उनके घटनाएँ आधुनिक काल के राजनीतिक परिदृश्य को उजागर करती हैं।

इस युग की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण घटना खड़ी बोली गद्य का प्रसार और खड़ी बोली गद्य की विविध विधाओं में विकास की घटना थी। हिन्दी साहित्य की भाषा के रूप में इस काल में परिवर्तन हुआ और खड़ी बोली साहित्य का सशक्त माध्यम बनी। पाश्चात्य साहित्य के सम्पर्क से हिन्दी साहित्य के गद्य तथा पद्य में विविध रूपों का प्रचलन हुआ। सच कहा जाय तो विषय-वस्तु तथा शैली दोनों की दृष्टियों से इस काल का साहित्य अपने पूर्ववर्ती साहित्य से अलग दिखता है। दरबार से उठकर साहित्य जनता के हाथ में आ गया था। मुद्रण यंत्र के आविष्कार तथा शिक्षा के प्रसार से साहित्य जन-जन में प्रचलित होने लगा था। महत्वपूर्ण बात यह थी कि यथार्थ के प्रति साहित्य का रुझान स्पष्टतः दिखने लगा था। वास्तव में पाश्चात्य ज्ञान-विज्ञान ने जीवन को नए संदर्भ दिये थे। शिक्षा सर्वसुलभ बनने लगी थी। इस काल में ज्ञान-विज्ञान का लक्ष्य आध्यात्मिक से हटकर भौतिक बना। प्रशासन के लिए सरकारी काम-काज के लिए शिक्षित देशी बाबुओं के निर्माण की आवश्यकता-पूर्ति हेतु तथा ईसाई मिशनरियों द्वारा अपने धर्म के प्रचारार्थ आधुनिक शिक्षा प्राणाली विकसित हुई, जिसके कारण भारत का हित ही हुआ। भारत में धार्मिक तथा सामाजिक रूढ़ियों से मुक्ति की कसमसाहट दिखाई देने लगी, विचार-स्वातन्त्र्य का जन्म हुआ। चूँकि मुद्रण से साहित्यकार और सामाजिकता का सम्बन्ध सीधा नहीं रहा। जैसे कि पूर्ववर्ती साहित्य के रूप में था। इसलिए साहित्यकार को अपनी बात कहने का अवसर मिला। मुद्रण यंत्र के प्रचलन ने पत्र-पत्रिकाओं के प्रकाशन को सहज कर दिया, जिससे न केवल दूसरों की समस्याओं के साथ साझेदारी सम्भव हुई बल्कि नये विचारों, नयी चेतना की अभिव्यक्ति भी सम्भव रूढ़ियों पर भी प्रहार करने में सक्षम हुई। शिक्षित जन समाज की भाषा में एकरूपता आई खड़ी बोली का प्रसार हुआ। बुद्धिवाद तथा वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण ने अंधविश्वासों का नाश किया, नवीन सिद्धान्तों के प्रतिपादन के प्रयत्न सम्भव हुए। फलस्वरूप साहित्यिक रूपों में अनेक प्रयोग हुए। शिक्षा का प्रसार हुआ, अनेक स्कूलों और कॉलेजों की स्थापना हुई।

यह एक सर्वमान्य तथ्य है कि युग की बदलती हुई परिस्थितियाँ उस युग के साहित्य को भी अत्यधिक प्रभावित करती हैं। आधुनिककालीन हिन्दी साहित्य का जो रूप हमारे सामने आया है, उसमें तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है।

तत्कालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों ने आधुनिक काल के साहित्य को अत्यधिक प्रभावित किया है। आधुनिक काल के आते-जाते ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी का शासन सारे भारत में स्थापित हो चुका था। इस कम्पनी का प्रभुत्व बढ़ने के साथ-साथ भारतीयों पर अंग्रेजों के अत्याचार भी बढ़ने लगे। देशी राजा और प्रजा, सब अंग्रेजी राज्य से भयभीत थे। अंग्रेजों ने यहाँ की जनता की धार्मिक भावनाओं को ठेस पहुँचाई थी। इन सब कारणों से सन् 1921 में महात्मा गाँधी ने असहयोग आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया, जिसमें हिन्दू-मुसलमानों ने बढ़-चढ़कर भाग लिया। यह आन्दोलन देशव्यापी था। उधर, अंग्रेज सरकार का दमन चक्र चला, मुस्लिम लीग की स्थापना हुई और हिन्दू-मुसलमानों में मतभेद आरम्भ हो गए। अंग्रेजों ने इस स्थिति का भरपूर लाभ उठाया। सन् 1937 में चुनाव हुए और अधिकतर प्रान्तों में कांग्रेस की सरकारें बनीं। सन् 1939 में जनता द्वारा सरकारी पदों से त्यागपत्र दिए गए और सन् 1942 में 'भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन' हुआ। अंग्रेज सरकार ने देश के असंख्य नेताओं को जेल में बन्द कर दिया। सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र स्वतन्त्रता के लिए संघर्ष करने लगा। लेकिन जब अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों को यह आभास हो चुका था कि भारत को और अधिक देर तक गुलाम बनाकर नहीं रखा जा सकता। फलस्वरूप, 15 अगस्त 1947 को भारत ने स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की। तब से भारत का अस्तित्व अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मानचित्र पर उभरता गया। इस प्रकार आधुनिककालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियाँ निरन्तर संघर्ष और देशव्यापी ब्रिटिश विरोधी आन्दोलन को प्रेरित कर रही थीं।

आधुनिक काल का साहित्य पूर्ववर्ती साहित्य से विषय और शैली, दोनों दृष्टियों में भिन्न है। इस भिन्नता का कारण यहाँ की राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक व धार्मिक परिस्थितियों में आए परिवर्तन हैं। रीतिकाल का साहित्य महलों तक सीमित था, जबकि आधुनिक काल का साहित्य झोंपड़ियों तक जा पहुँचा है। आधुनिक हिन्दी साहित्य में उदारता, व्यापकता और विविधता आई है, जिसके फलस्वरूप उसने विशाल समाज अथवा जनसमूह और उनके जीवन को खुली आँखों से देखा है। रीतिकालीन साहित्य की भाषा, भाव व शैली, सब कुछ रूढ़िग्रस्त था, जो आधुनिक काल की आवश्यकताओं आधुनिककालीन काव्य भारतेन्दु युग, द्विवेदी युग, छायावाद, प्रगतिवाद, प्रयोगवाद और नयी कविता में उनके आन्दोलनों की सीढ़ियाँ चढ़ता हुआ अपने चरमोत्कर्ष तक पहुँचा है। इस प्रकार गद्य में नाटक, एकांकी, उपन्यास, कहानी, जीवनी, निबन्ध, संस्मरण, साक्षात्कार आलोचना आदि उनके नवीन विधाओं का जन्म हुआ और ये अपने विकास को प्राप्त हुई हैं। आज ये विधाएँ अपनी उपलब्धियों के कारण विश्व-प्रसिद्ध हैं। यद्यपि

बीसवीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ में भारत की साहित्यिक चेतना प्रधान रूप से राष्ट्रीय चेतना के रूप में दृष्टिगत हुई, लेकिन आगे चलकर यह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का स्पर्श करने लगी धीरे-धीरे पाश्चात्य साहित्यिक प्रवृत्तियाँ भी हिन्दी साहित्य को प्रभावित करने लगीं।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि आधुनिक युग की राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, धार्मिक, आर्थिक एवं साहित्यिक परिस्थितियों में आमूल-चल परिवर्तन हुए। हिन्दी साहित्य का युग की माँग के अनुकूल अपने-आप में परिवर्तन करना पड़ा। हिन्दी गद्य का विकास इन बदली हुई परिस्थितियों का ही परिणाम कहा जा सकता है। अतः भारतीय एवं पाश्चात्य विचारधाराओं, यथा-आदर्शवाद, अभिव्यञ्जनावाद, समाजवाद, मानवतावाद, यथार्थवाद, मनोविश्लेषणवाद, प्रतीकवाद, व्यक्तिवाद, गाँधीवाद आदि ने हिन्दी साहित्य के आधुनिक युग को प्रभावित किया है।

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Forgetting Kotla (Kotila) the Khanzadas Capital: Its Monuments and History

*Altaf Hussain

A very rich historical village Kotla (Kotila) presently located in Nuh District (formerly Mewat) Haryana, served as the capital of the Khanzadas during medieval times. Historically, the place fascinated and host many Delhi Sultanate and Mughal rulers who imprinted a significant influence on the history of Kotla and Mewat area. Its remains can still be found in the various historical structures particular in a mosque, fort, tomb and Kotla lake. But, as a result of the negligence of the state government, the original configuration, shape and architecture of these important monuments are on the edge of destruction. Hence, this paper will scrutinize and commemorate the rich heritage of Kotla monuments and its history.

Kotla village is situated in the small valley of *Kala Pahad* (Aravali range). The name Kotla properly belongs to the fort on the hill above. Currently, Kotla village is located more than 60 kms from Gurugram district and around 13 kms from Nuh district headquarter. Kotila or Kotla is a historic village of Haryana that coordinates Latitude 28.0137 North and Longitude 76.937668 East. Kotla village covering a total geographical area of 1233 hectares, Kotla has a population of 2,344 people, 348 total household and 35.7% male and 10.6% female literacy rate as per 2011 census report. Currently, Kotla village is one of backward village in Nuh (Mewat) district in all development parameters.

Rise of Khanzada State (1389-1527) in Mewat

The village Kotla has a very rich history particularly during medieval times. Kotla was the capital and chief fortress of the Khanzadas chief Bahadur Nahar,

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where he received the envoys sent by Timur. The site was definitely preferred by Khanzadas for security purpose. Because interestingly Kotla, on the eastern side it was protected by Kotla Lake, which is from 4 to 5 miles in length by upwards of 2 miles in breadth.¹ Even Babur mentioned that when any alarms or attack occurs they embark in their boats and make their escape. Even Cunningham stated that this site was probably chosen by Khanzadas for security reasons. In fact, the Mewatis always did retire from Kotla as soon as the enemy appeared before it. Kotla was one of their distinguished citadels.² Secondly, there were traces of walls with earthen mounds or ramparts covering the village, from which the occupants could escape up the ravine, and over the hill, on the appearance of a large force. In fact, Kotla village entirely encompassed by the hills, except for where a small funnel-like pass gives ingress to it. Right in its front, is the Kotla Jhil, which when fills up with water, leaves an only way to pass along, that is, through a narrow strip of land between the lake and the hill. The remains of a breast-work along the face of the hill and across the mouth of the pass still exists, while on the hill above the village is a small demolished fort. Some of the buildings there still carry witness to its former significant importance.³ So, it is clear that this site was important for Khanzadas for security purpose.

This is fact that prominence of Kotla is mainly associated with the emergence of Khanzada's state in the Mewat region. Tughlaq dynasty had very important role in the history of Mewat because it was the time period when preaching activities of the Muslim state reached Mewat. The history of the Khanzadas of Mewat begins with the Bahadur Nahar, who embraced Islam during the days of Firozshah Tughlaq.⁴ His ancestors were Jadon Rajput, who had ruled over Bayana and Tahangar before the invasion of Muhammad Ghori. During the Firoz Shah period, Jadon Rajput Lakhnapal had two sons, Sambharpal and Sumitra Pal (Sanparpal). The former took the name of Bahadur Nahar and gained control over Sarehta (situated 4 miles to the east of Tijara) while the latter took the name of Chhaju Khan and got the possession of Jhirka. Cunningham stated that two brothers embraced Islam in order to save their estates from annexation by Firozshah Tughlaq. It is said that Bahadur have received the title of Nahar from Firozshah because he had killed a tiger single-handed. His usual residence have been at kotla, a fort of difficult access on the top of the high range of hills about 60 miles to the

south of Firozabad just outside the south gate of the modern city or Shahjahnabad.⁵ In the early days of their reign, Indori, Kotla, and Tijara used to be their capitals. Later they extended their dominion up to the town 'Alwar', which then became their capital.

Bahdur Khan or Bahadur Nahar is one of the most prominent figures in Delhi Sultanate history for about a dozen years just before and after the invasion of Timur. Bahadur Nahar Khan and his descendants with their stronghold at Kotla holds an important position in Delhi politics. For instance, in about 793 CE. Firozshah Tughlaq advanced against Kotla and encamped on the bank of the 'Dahand' or "Dahar" the lake which led Bahadur Nahar to flee to Jhirka.⁶ Sultan Firozshah Tughlaq had a keen interest in hunting wild beasts, therefore he constructed a fortress near a lake at Kotla in the *Kala Pahad* (Aravali range) ridge for the purpose of undertaking royal hunts.⁷

After death of Firozshah Tughlaq, Ghiyas-ud-Din had succeeded him for around five months. After his murder the succession struggle broke out in Delhi, Bahadur Nahar become the strong supporter of Sultan Abu Bakar Shah, son of Zafar Khan grandson of Firozshah and leader of the one of the factions of the Firozi slaves. But another son of Firozshah, Muhammad Shah (1390-94 CE) become the Sultan of Delhi with the help of other fraction of the Firozi slaves. Thereafter, Abu Bakr fled to Kotla, Bahadur Nahar's fortress in Mewat.⁸ Many Firozi slaves also whose loyalty to the Muhammad Shah was suspected were killed while many others fled with their families to Kotla, seeking refuge with Bahadur Nahar.⁹ On the fall of Delhi to Timur in 1398, during the reign of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq (1395-1413 CE), several prominent nobles like Masnand Ali, Khizr Khan, Mubarak Khan and Zirak Khan took shelter in the hills of Mewat, which as usual, became a sanctuary for the fugitives flying from Delhi. Nusrat Khan, a son of Fateh Khan and the eldest son of Firuz Tughlak came from Mewat to Delhi in 1399 and proclaimed himself as the king under the title of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah. He was defeated by the minister of Sultan Mahmud and had to take refuge in Mewat where he died soon after. In 1395, Khizar Khan, the founder of Sayyid dynasty, had also taken shelter in Mewat. So Kotla emerges as important shelter place for the many rulers, nobles and Firozi slaves.

Many important battles were also fought at Kotla. On 31 August 1390,

a decisive battle was fought at Kotla, in which Abu Bakr Shah and Firozi slaves were defeated. Later Abu Bakr Shah and Bahadur Nahar came out of the Kotla fortress and asked for amnesty. Muhammad Shah's son, Humayun khan gave a robe to Bahadur Nahar and sent him back to Mewat, but imprisoned Abu Bakr and sent him to Meerut where he later died.¹⁰ In A.H 824 or 1421 CE, Khizar Khan Sayyid marched into Mewat, besieged the fort of Kotla captured it and then finally demolished¹¹ Mewat remained unsettled and rebellious, throughout Mubarak's reign. Mubarak Shah also attacked the Mewat and put down an insurrection. The Meos fled to their mountain fortresses, desolating their villages.¹² Thus for about three centuries, Mewat and Kotla remained an uncertain and problematic tract for the rulers of Delhi Sultanate. The Mewattis remained persistently antagonistic and defiant, all over the period. Delhi Sultanate rulers try to subjugate and gain control over Kotla and Khanzada state on regular intervals.

Hasan Khan Mewati, who fought against Babur in the battle of Khanwa was an illustrious chieftain of Mewat. He dwells in the hearts of millions living in Mewat. He is still recalled as a valiant warrior who fought shoulder to shoulder with Rana Sangha, and his allies against the Babur, the founder of Mughal Empire in India. But Kotla lost its importance in the late Mughal Empire with decline of the Khanzada chieftains. During Akbar's time, Kotla was important *pargana* of Tijara Sarkar. Kotla was also important grain market during Akbar's times. More importantly, the historical Kotla village still carries great medieval remains in the form of Fort, a Mosque and Jhil. These monuments are the testimony of the village rich history. Let us discuss the significance of these historical monuments and lake.

Kotla Jhil

Kotla Jhil is about three miles long from north to south and 2.5 miles broad was the largest of the Gurgaon lakes.¹³ Firozshah Tughlaq build a fortress near a lake at Kotla in the *Kala Pahad* (Black Mountain) ridge for the purpose of undertaking royal hunts.¹⁴ The Kotla Lake also attracted Babur, who visited it and called it "the tank of Kotla." He describes it as

"one of its banks is formed by the side of a hill, and the river Manisni flows into it. It is a broad tank but does not look well from either of its sides. Amid the tank is a high-level ground, and around it is several small boats.

When any alarm, dilemma or confusion occurs, the inhabitants of the towns, who reside on the banks of the tank, embark in their boats and make their escape. When I arrived there several people got into their boats and rowed into the middle of the lake”¹⁵

Formerly a more important river, the Rupareil, entered the district from Alwar and passed up the Firozpur valley along with the Landoha channel. But unfortunate, this river either was artificially diverted or naturally found out its present course into Bharatpur.¹⁶ In the pre-independence days, this lake used to top up due to the flood water from the Aravali hills. The total catchment of the lake is spread over 30 square miles. Currently, Haryana government has taken up the responsibility of the developmental work of Kotla lake, located in Mewat, for exploiting the surplus flood water of river Yamuna for irrigation, drinking and recharging the depleting groundwater.

Kotla Fort

On the top of the hill, there is a huge structure of ruined fort. The Kotla fort still exists but is unoccupied. Its northern wall, with its gate at the north-east corner, is still standing erect. It rises about 600 or 700 feet above the village. As the rocky hill is generally very hurried, the only approach from the east to the fort remains a narrow foot-path.¹⁷ Kotla fort is covering about the four acres of land, surrounded by high ramparts with ravines and battlements. The fort building is divided into two parts; one area was for royal household and other for the guard and stable. Many buildings are in double storey there. The gateway is arch way (Plate 1). This fort is largely unguarded. The fort is built of massive blocks of stone and rectangular plans (Plate 2).

Historians claim that Bahadur Nahar got the fort constructed during the reign of Feroz Shah Tughlaq. Huge trails of mountain stones form a boundary all across while the ramparts of the fort are partially ruined, and enclosures are open to the air. Several beliefs and legends surround the fort. Some villagers even say that it is possessed by *djinns* (spirits), while others share a popular story that develops resonance among various villagers. Kotla fort is in an extremely awful and unpleasant situation presently. The culture of Haryana dates back to the vedic times and the people are



Plate 1: Main gate of Kotla fort



Plate 2: Highly Embanked wall of Kotla fort

Jama Masjid Kotla

Jama Masjid is an elegant stone masjid, on a high mound, in the middle of the old town (Plate 3), with a tomb standing right in front of it, in the middle of a large enclosure. Bahadur Nahar tomb is now completely ruined and washroom now constructed in that area. The tomb was constructed in red sandstone with help of around 12 pillars. The construction of the Jama Masjid had begun in the reign of Muhammad Shah, son of Firoz Shah Tughlak, who occupied Kotla during his campaign against the Mewatis in A.H 795.



Plate 3: Main complex of the Mosque, Kotla

Cunningham visited this place somewhere in 1882-83 and described that the monument's construction did not end till A.H 803, Muhammad Shah having died in A.H. 796. The Masjid itself is 66 feet long by 35 feet broad outside and 59.5 feet by 29.5 feet from inside, the breadth being just half of the length. It consists of three aisles with seven arched openings to the front, making to a total of twenty-one spans, of which only the middle one is covered by a tiny dome and the rest have flat roofs. The outer corners at the back are strengthened by small sloping *minars*, like those of Firoz Shah's time. There is a *mihrab* in each range of the back wall. The three openings in each end walls are closed by stout lattices of red stone. The mosque itself is composed of squared quartzite blocks.¹⁸

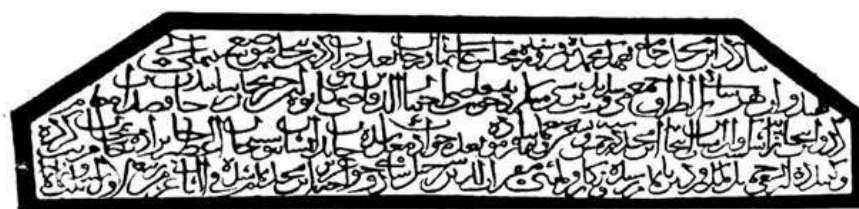
Cunningham further mentioned that the Masjid stands at the western

end of a grand end of a grand courtyard which is 92 feet in length to the inner side of the entrance gateway. The gateway itself was a square domed building of twenty-five and a half feet frontier and is surmounted by a dome of diameter fourteen and a half feet but presently, there is no sign of any gateway. It is approached by a grand flight of twenty steps on its three outer sides. Over the doorway and covered from the weather, there is a prolonged inscription giving the data of the building. The flight of steps is 15 feet high. The courtyard is bounded on each side by a thick wall, pierced with eight openings which probably were filled with lattices, originally. Unfortunately, not a single structure out of these exists now and nearly the whole of the south wall has fallen.¹⁹ Inside the court and within 6 feet of the Masjid, there is an open *baradari* of a twelve pillared tomb, 21 feet square which was once covered by a dome (Plate 4). This building entirely consists of red sandstone. Neither there are any epitaphs or inscriptions nor do people know anything about it. No name is attached to it.²⁰



Plate 4: Inside View of the Mosque, Kotla

The following is the text and translation of the inscription engraved over the entrance gateway of the Masjid. The inscription with translation²¹ is as under:



“The Jami Masjid was founded during the time of Muhammad Shah, son of Firoz Shah, by his Highness (Majlis Aali) Bahadur Khan after the desecration of the temple (Butkhana) in the town of Sambhaliki. Every year the Hindus from all the parts used to come in crowds to worship the idol. When the Khan heard this, he went there, pulled down the temple, and with the remnant material founded this mosque in the year 795 (A.H). Soon after came the Mughal invasion, in which the Khan was involved. He then handed over the work to the Khanzada Hatim Khan. The dome of the gateway was finished by the exertions of Jamil Malik Kamar-din and by the labours of Mukarrab-ud-din, the headman of Shadi. The mosque was finished by Khwajah Aziz on the 12th of Rabi-ul-awal, 803 A.H. (Sunday, 31st October 1400, CE.)

In recent times, we have noticed many changes in the real structure and architecture of the Jama Mosque. Even Banani Bhattacharyya, the Deputy Director of the Department of Archaeology and Museums observed that many modifications have been made in the mosque on the inside, but it continues to display its heritage character. It looks antique and the outer portion demonstrates the magnificence of the mosque’s historicity.²²

The inscriptions that Cunningham talks of, can no longer be spotted at the mosque. Locals in the area deny information of any such inscription. But I had visited this place in the year 2018 and had spotted an inscription there. Even Bhattacharyya asserted that the department officials, including her, had spotted the inscription a year ago and the department has a photograph of the same. Still, the mosque seems sturdy and demonstrates its authentic colours and elements on the outside. However, the inner portion of the mosque has undergone massive alterations over the years.²³ Currently, the mosque is used by the villagers for daily prayers. A *madarsa* runs adjacent to the mosque. The original area of the mosque has remained unchanged over the years, but some new constructions have taken place on the premises. I observed that new washrooms have been constructed on

the left side of the mosque. As far as the tomb is concerned, only 6 pillars out of the 12 original pillars remain. Collapsed portions of the six pillars can be spotted in the courtyard. They camouflaged six remaining pillars of the mosque.

I have interacted with the local people residing there. They constantly stated that there was no such inscription in the mosque. They started carrying out a discussion about the mosque and its recent alteration. First they asked my name, occupation and village then after they agreed to discuss about recent change and inscription. They also informed that they have made alteration the real structure of the mosque on the endorsement of Imam of Jami Masjid, Nuh.

The more surprising fact is that, right in June 2018, the Haryana state government initiated the process of taking the Kotla mosque and fort under State protection for conservation as per the provisions of the Punjab Ancient Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains act, 1964. But unfortunately, until today, neither a single concrete step has been taken in this regard nor the State Department of Archaeology and Museums is promising to preserve these monuments under their control. I am worried that if the State Administration of Archaeology and Museum and local administration will not look after these historical monuments then soon their real shape and architecture would disappear for ever.

Conclusions

So, the Kotla, once the capital of Khanzada and its monuments had a great historical prominence during medieval times. This place served as the hotspot of the medieval political arena. Some key battles were fought in Kotla. Kotla was also preferred shelter for rebel and fled nobles during Delhi Sultanate. It also fascinated and played host to many rulers, who left an indelible imprint on the history of Mewat. The remnants of their legacy can still be found in the various monuments and lake. But due to sheer negligence of the state and local district administration, this place and its monuments have lost their relevance, elegance and the original shape. The local people of Mewat and mainstream historians have been continuously forgetting and overlooking the rich history of Kotla and its monuments. It is very painful and sad to note that mostly these monuments are in very

bad shape and need proper care and conservation from the concerned agencies to maintain their glory and the medieval significance of the place.

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Significance of the Jat Kingdom in the Struggle for Political Supremacy in 18th Century in India: Raja Suraj Mal and Third Battle of Panipat, 1761

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The historiography pertaining to the great battle fought on Indian soil in the eighteenth century, the third battle of Panipat, 1761, focuses significantly on the two conflicting powers- the Marathas and the Afghans. However, the battle of Panipat was not exclusively confined to these powers alone. Before the actual power took place, both powers resorted to forging alliances with the existing political powers of upper India. One such power was the Jat kingdom. The Jat kingdom had a very significant role to play in the direct struggle between the Marathas and the Afghans in the third battle of Panipat that engulfed all the powers of upper India. In this battle, Raja Suraj Mal chose to support the Marathas with his military strength and other facilities- even though earlier Marathas had raided his regions and collected tribute in order to save his frontiers from further depredation. Nevertheless, Raja Suraj Mal left the Marathas before the battle took place. The Maratha historiography alleges that the denial of the demand of making Raja Suraj Mal as regent of Delhi, after the battle, was the main cause of his desertion. However, this claim is not corroborated with one of the most reliable primary sources of the contemporary Jat history viz. *Memoirs of Father Xavier Wendel*. Father Xavier Wendel presents the political and military acumen of Raja Suraj Mal in his advice given to the Marathas. He abandoned the Marathas as he anticipated the defeat of the Marathas on non-compliance with his strategic advice. On the contrary, after the battle, his impregnable forts became safe places to take refuge for the retreating people, towards Deccan, to save their lives. He further expanded and strengthened his kingdom territorially and economically.

The Jat kingdom emerged as a prosperous and militarily powerful polity in the eighteenth century India with its maximum territorial

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expansion till 1767. It was during Suraj Mal's rule that the regions acquired by the Jats were recognized as a state and the title of the Raja bestowed on him by Safdar Jang, the *Wazir* of the Mughal Empire, on account 'of the greater part of the lands this side and beyond the Jamuna in the *suba* of Agra and vicinity, subject to an annual contribution which was agreed to be delivered to the treasury.'¹ Suraj Mal became a prominent ally of the *Wazir*, Safdar Jang and accompanied the latter in his expedition against the Bangash Pathans, Ahmad Khan Bangash in 1750.² Safdar Jang, though after the humiliating defeat at the hands of the Bangash Pathans, formed an alliance by inviting the Marathas and the Jat king Suraj Mal. For this military alliance Safdar Jang offered to pay 25,000 rupees to 35,000 rupees per day to the Maratha generals Jayapa Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar, and 15,000 rupees per day to Raja Suraj Mal.³ Suraj Mal also joined Safdar Jang in the latter's rebellion against the central authority and attack on Delhi. Here it is important to acknowledge that in 1753, it was Madho Singh, Raja of Jaipur, who mediated with the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah to get the offences of Suraj Mal pardoned, for his crime of defying the central authority, allying with Safdar Jang, and attacking and plundering the environs of Delhi.⁴ However, after many political upheavals Raja Suraj Mal was successful in establishing a separate independent principality, the state of Bharatpur, which earlier enjoyed the protection of the Jaipur state. He fortified Dig and Bharatpur, and built the palace at Dig.

The fate of the third battle of Panipat was much determined, before the actual war fought in the field, on the forging of alliances and diplomacy. The Afghans outplayed the Marathas in making alliances and diplomacy. Najib-ud-Daulah became the natural ally of Ahmad Shah Abdali as the territory of the trans-Ganges Afghans (Rohilla Afghans of Katehr/Rohilkhand and Bangash Pathans of Farrukhabad) lay adjacent to the expanding frontier of the Afghans till Sarhind, which could be used as a military base for his further expansion in upper India. Abdali appointed Najib-ud-Daulah, *Mir Bakshi* of Hindustan and *mukhtar* with Mughal emperor Alamgir II, who worked as his deputy, when he left Delhi in 1757- after setting himself on the throne of Delhi, issuing coins in his name, and plundering and executing the subjects of Delhi indiscriminately. After the retreat of Abdali, the Marathas began to expand their frontier

through depredations in upper India for the claim of their *chauth*. The Marathas brought 'Lahore, Kashmir and other *subas* on this side Attock under one rule.'⁵ Therefore, the root cause of the third battle of Panipat was the dominance of Punjab, due to its economic and strategic importance, and more significantly to decide the future master of upper India.

The depredations of Marathas alienated trans-Ganges Afghans, Shuja-ud-Daulah and the Rajput rulers which made them forge an alliance with Abdali. The alliance of Shuja-ud-Daulah with Najib-ud-Daulah and Abdali was based on safeguarding his political and economic interest in northern India from the depredations of both- Najib-ud-Daulah and the Marathas. The trans-Ganges *sardars* and Shuja-ud-Daulah agreed to support Najib-ud-Daulah on the condition, if Ahmad Shah Abdali personally came to fight against the Marathas and subsequently gave written 'undertaking under their own seals'.⁶ Hitherto, Abdali had not made inroads into the Rajput frontiers and this proved instrumental in bringing Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, Bijay Singh, Raja of Jodhpur and other Rajput chiefs to his side hence assured their support in the battle.⁷ The recapture of Punjab region, by the Afghans, also obstructed the chances of the Marathas to get support from the Sikhs.

The only probable power in north India who could have helped the Marathas, militarily, strategically and logistically, was Raja Suraj Mal. Raja Suraj Mal, 'who had not less to fear from the side of the Abdalis, than he had to risk from the Marathas' chose to support the Marathas as 'alone the march of such a large army through the middle of Jat territory was more than sufficient to compel the Jats' to do so.⁸ The Jat territory was subject to the raids by the Marathas, in 1754, on account of the refusal to pay the exorbitant contribution demanded by the latter.³ Subsequently, the Marathas concluded peace and came into an agreement with the Jat king Suraj Mal, 'concerning several lands in the Agra government.'¹⁰ Nevertheless, this agreement did not stop the depredations of the Jat territory or demand of tribute by the Marathas in future. In 1757, the loss of resources in the Delhi region and the financial requirement of the Marathas again shifted the target of extortion to other frontiers before proceeding towards Delhi. The Marathas extracted a large sum of money from Madho Singh and demanded tribute from Suraj Mal, who agreed to pay in order to save his frontier from desolation.¹¹

However, unfortunately, the Marathas failed to maintain an alliance with Raja Suraj Mal that led to his desertion from the Maratha camp. The Maratha historiography- viz. Maratha historians T. S. Shejwalkar and G. S. Sardesai- has shown Raja Suraj Mal in a bad light and maintains that the real reason of Suraj Mal's desertion of Maratha camp was Sadashiv Rao Bha's denial of his demand of setting him the regent of Delhi, after the battle.¹² T. S. Shejwalkar considered him 'very shrewd,' 'very selfish' and 'neither very honest nor consistent.' He says that-

"...but appointed Naro Shankar as the guardian of the city and the palace, instead Surajmal was, no doubt, very shrewd and cautious.....But he was personally very selfish and always tried to secure his ends under the cloak of humbleness. This time he wished to follow the same path and set himself up as a regent in Delhi with the help of the Marathas. His past behaviour towards the Marathas was neither honest nor consistent.'¹³

However, the memoir of Father Xavier Wendel gives another version of the story and a different perspective of Raja Suraj Mal's personality. Wendel has highlighted Suraj Mal's political and military intelligence while dealing with the circumstances in northern India. Raja Suraj Mal had already foreseen the defeat of the Marathas who were overconfident of their military strength. The Jats coordinated and supported the Marathas initially, but the disagreement between the two over strategic preparation of the war annoyed the Raja Suraj Mal, making him later leave the Maratha camp.¹⁴ Wendel writes that-

'This they did quite in contradiction to what Suraj Mal had wisely counselled Bhao; namely, to make Delhi the base for the war and to not distance one self too greatly by venturing too far into the country side guarded by a powerful enemy. In this way, the army could be provided with all it needed from Jat country in the rear, and Delhi in any case could serve if necessary as a nearby retreat. However, the Maratha chief was too confident in his forces to take the wise advice of Jat.'¹⁵

Moreover, Raja Suraj Mal was aware of the defeat of the Maratha generals by the Afghans in the previous years and would have had analyzed that it was a battle between two powers with contrasting personalities and

war tactics. Abdali was a consummate military general who spent his life fighting and established the Afghan kingdom. On the contrary, Sadashiv Rao Bhau had no such war experience as a military general. The Afghans were seasoned in pitched battles and war manoeuvres whereas the Marathas were specialized in the traditional guerrilla mode of warfare. The numerical strength of the Afghans and the Marathas on 14 January 1761, the day of the final battle, was 60,000 and 45,000, respectively.¹⁶ Although the numerical strength of the Marathas was inferior to the Afghans, Ahmad Shah Abdali did not consider them militarily weak from the very beginning. Rather, he worked to weaken the Marathas before the actual clash between the two. The forging of the alliance by Ahmad Shah Abdali with the Indian powers had left the Marathas with no significant military alliance. Suraj Mal, who was the probable ally of the Marathas, also left them. The exit of Suraj Mal deprived the Marathas of the abundant supplies and the additional military force of 6,000 to 7,000 contingents under his personal command.¹⁷

The Jat kingdom had become the safest place for the people to take shelter during the consecutive invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and especially during the third battle of Panipat including the Maratha fugitives. The people chose to send their families to the Jat territory as well as other eastern towns and cities, which were considered much safer in comparison to the defenceless cities of Lahore and Delhi. The forts of the Jats were impregnable and the Durrani were not great captors of forts.¹⁸ The general citizens sent their families 'mostly towards Mathura' belonging to Suraj Mal.¹⁹ Even Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Mughal *Wazir* had 'consigned in advance women and booty to the hands of Suraj Mal.'²⁰ Fugitives from Shahjahanabad were also found in the towns of Sikandra and Anupshahr.²¹ Later, Emperor Shah Alam II also intended to send his family to Manikpur, 50 *kos* from Allahabad.²² It is also evident that once Ahmad Shah Abdali returns to Kabul, the 'fugitive citizens brought their families back to Delhi.'²³ Therefore, it appears that this was also the case with other deserted places. And it was the benevolence of Raja Suraj Mal that-

"....the handful of Maratha fugitives from more than 100,000, after the famous battle of Panipat, eluded the Pathans and again encountered enough mercy in Jat country....as it was in their power to prevent a single one of them from returning to the Deccan, had Suraj Mal thus wanted."²²

After the defeat of the Marathas in 1761 and the retreat of Ahmad Shah Abdali, there was no power to stop the Jats from further elevating their power in northern India. It cannot be said for certain as to what would have happened to the Jats had the army of Nadir Shah invaded the Jat country. On the contrary, when the Afghans under the leadership of Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Jat kingdom for the sake of economic transactions, he was only successful in the plunder and devastation of a few Jat cities and could not subdue the Jat ruler completely, who took shelter in one of his impregnable strongholds.²⁴ As a result, Abdali retreated to his country on the assurance of a certain amount of money, which the Jat ruler later did not pay. Wendel gives a clear description of the territorial expansion of Suraj Mal and the economic prosperity of his state when he informs that-

‘This side of the Jamuna, from the gates of Delhi to the Chambal River, there was no other rule than his, and the situation was about the same in the direction of the Ganges. Because he admirably understood the metier of *zamindar*, that is to say, to profit from the lands subject to him, he considerably augmented his revenues, and the expenditures were so efficaciously regulated, that during the last several years he had put aside for his treasury at least half, beyond what his territory was worth to him, notwithstanding the costs of his forts and building, which he understood to supply without touching that part of his revenue which he had allocated to his treasury.’²⁶

Subsequently, he also took the possession of the fort of Agra on 12 June 1761 and according to one estimate ‘more than fifty lakhs were carried off by Suraj Mal during the pillage.’²⁷ He also made a move to expand his frontier in the north and captured

Farrukhnagar on 12 December 1763. The territorial expansion of Suraj Mal made his state financially prosperous with a high collection of annual revenues. Informing us about the annual revenues and the expenditures, during the last few years of his reign, Wendel says that-

‘I have enquired as to the state of his annual revenues and expenditures among those people who administered them. All that I could learn which is of great probability, is that all his expenditures scarcely exceeded sixty-

five lakhs yearly and were not less than sixty, and that he had, at least during the last five or six years of his rule, not less than 175 *lakhs* of annual revenues, such that he alone, beyond the treasure of his forebears, could effectively have put aside five or six *karors* of money in cash, apart from chattels, jewels and furnishing of all values and kinds.’²⁸

His son and successor of the Bharatpur state, Jawahar Singh, further expanded the frontier in the south-east direction and conquered the region of Kalpi in July 1767—the territory of the Raja of Ater and Bhind.²⁹ However, the Jats weakened after the death of Raja Suraj Mal. It was due to Raja Suraj Mal’s political and military acumen that he maintained such an independent principality in the midst of the struggle between the two major contemporary powers, in the eighteenth century, for the political and economic supremacy of upper India. Had the Marathas agreed and followed the strategic advice of Raja Suraj Mal and secured his military support, the course of the third battle of Panipat would have been certainly different. Nevertheless, Ahmad Shah Abdali also could not gain much with his victory as he could not become the master of upper India. This was due to the rise of the Sikhs in north-western India to obstruct his further invasions in upper India.

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12

हिसार में 1783 का अकाल

*डॉ. महेन्द्र सिंह

मानव सभ्यता का विकास एक साफ सीधी सड़क की तरह नहीं बल्कि विभिन्न तरह के उतार-चढ़ावों तथा दुर्गम रास्तों के बीच में से गुजरता है। यह विकास यात्रा विभिन्न तरह के अनुभव व चुनौतियों के बीच से गुजरते हुए नए आयाम व पहलुओं से होते हुए आगे बढ़ी है। विकास के मार्ग में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण चुनौती के रूप में प्राकृतिक आपदाएं आई हैं इन आपदाओं को विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के मानव द्वारा अपने ढंग से सुलझाया गया है। विश्व के किसी भी हिस्से में जहां मानव रहा है, वहां ये किसी न किसी रूप में आती रही हैं। प्राकृतिक आपदाओं की श्रृंखला में बाढ़, अकाल व महामारी इत्यादि को मानव किसी न किसी रूप में सहन करता आया है क्योंकि मानव की आजीविका कृषि रही है तो इस संदर्भ में कृषि संबंधी प्राकृतिक आपदाओं में अकाल की भूमिका काफी महत्वपूर्ण व चुनौतीपूर्ण रही है। कृषि सिंचाई के बिना संभव नहीं। सिंचाई के लिए किसान प्रकृति पर आश्रित रहता है एवं प्रकृति में जल नियमित रूप से नहीं मिलता तो इसका अभाव हो जाता है। इसी स्थिति को अकाल कहा जाता है। विश्व के विभिन्न हिस्सों की भांति भारत, हरियाणा या फिर हिसार इसका अपवाद नहीं है। हिसार ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में एक शुष्क क्षेत्र रहा है तो वहां इसके परिणाम बहुत अधिक भयानक वह खतरनाक रहे हैं। इसलिए इस विषय का महत्व बढ़ जाता है कि हम विचार करें कि अकाल की परिस्थितियां कैसे पैदा होती थी तथा हिसार क्षेत्र के लोग उन्हें किस तरह से संभालते थे। यह आज इसलिए भी प्रसंगिक हो जाता है कि मानव आज के परिप्रेक्ष्य में एक विभिन्न तरह की प्राकृतिक आपदा को झेल रहा है। प्रस्तुत शोध इसी कड़ी में एक प्रारंभिक प्रयास है।

जब हम हिसार में अकाल के बारे में जानकारी लेते हैं तो स्पष्ट होता है कि यह क्षेत्र

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सूखे क्षेत्रों की गिनती में आता है क्योंकि प्राकृतिक रूप से यहां पर वर्षा प्रायः कम होती थी और पानी का अन्य कोई स्रोत यहां नहीं था।¹ हां, इसके संस्थापक फिरोजशाह तुगलक के द्वारा जरूर इस दिशा में कदम उठाए गए और वह दो नहरों को इस क्षेत्र में लेकर आया।² जो कुछ हद तक नगरीय पानी की जरूरतों को पूरा करता था इन नहरों की बाद में अकबर व शाहजहां के काल में खुदाई भी हुई परंतु यह पर्याप्त नहीं थी।

यह इसलिए कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि यह नहरे काफी कम पानी के साथ बहती थी तथा कच्ची होने के कारण काफी कम पानी इनमें आ पाता था। अंग्रेजी काल में भी नहर की खुदाई हुई और इसका मकसद भी शहर की जरूरत तथा अंग्रेजों द्वारा बनाए गए पशुधन फार्म की पानी की जरूरत को पूरा करना था।³ यदि हम तथ्यात्मक ढंग से विचार करें तो यह पानी शासन व्यवस्था की जरूरतों को पूरा करता था। इस स्थिति में जनसामान्य को विभिन्न तरह की प्राकृतिक आपदाओं के बीच में अपनी तरह से संभालना होता था। इन आपदाओं में अकाल बेहद खतरनाक हुआ करते थे। यदि हम सूची के आधार पर विचार करें तो हर 10 वर्ष में मध्यम दर्जे का अकाल तथा सामान्य अकाल जरूर आया करता था इस तरह के अकालों के लोग अभ्यस्त भी हो गए थे जिसके कारण वे अपने ढंग से व्यवस्था को संभाल लेते थे।⁴ इस कड़ी में कई बार अकाल दीर्घकालिक, खतरनाक तथा स्थानीय जन जीवन को अस्त-व्यस्त करने वाले होते थे जिसके कारण इन आंकड़ों को भीषण अकालों की कड़ी में माना जाता है। इन्हें भीषण इसलिए कहा जाता है क्योंकि इनके चलते सामान्य व्यवस्था न केवल लड़खड़ाती थी बल्कि जीवन जीना भी दूभर हो जाता था। इस तरह के अकालों में 1783 का अकाल काफी महत्वपूर्ण है और ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में विचार करें तो हिसार के इतिहास में यह बेहद भयंकर तथा दुखद माना जाता है क्योंकि इस अकाल ने हिसार को एक बार लगभग बे-चिराग बना दिया था। सामान्य व्यक्ति की भाषा में इसे *चालीसा अकाल* कहा जाता है क्योंकि शक-संवत् के हिसाब से यह 1840 में आया था और जनसामान्य इसी आधार पर इसे 40 का वर्ष होने के कारण चालीसा के नाम से जानते हैं।⁵ ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से इस समय में हिसार में राजनीतिक तौर पर भी शून्यता का परिवेश था और यहां पर अधिकार करने की दृष्टि से स्थानीय लोगों के अतिरिक्त सिक्खों, मराठों, मुगलों व अन्य रियासती राजाओं के द्वारा प्रयास किए जा रहे थे जिसके चलते हुए यह क्षेत्र युद्ध के अखाड़े के रूप में स्थापित हो गया था स्थानीय शक्तियों में जाट राजपूत, भट्टी व जो यहां पर किसी अन्य शक्ति को स्थापित नहीं देखना चाहते थे।⁶ परंतु जब यह अकाल दीर्घकालिक हो गया तो यहां पर रह रहे लोगों

को पलायन करना ही एकमात्र विकल्प लगा इस दृष्टिकोण से इस काल के विभिन्न पक्षों को समझना जरूरी है और सही अर्थों में यह हिसार के पुनर्जन्म की कहानी की तरह से उभर कर आता है।

1783 के अकाल की पृष्ठभूमि 2 वर्ष पहले ही बननी प्रारंभ हो गई थी 1780-1781 में औसत से काफी कम वर्षा हुई जिसके कारण सामान्य तौर पर जितना उत्पादन कृषि से होता था उसका केवल 40 प्रतिशत हो पाया। इसके बाद 1782 में वर्षा के कम होने के कारण उत्पादन में कमी आई इसका परिणाम यह रहा कि पशुओं के लिए घास तथा मनुष्यों के लिए अनाज कम होता गया स्थानीय स्तर पर जो लोग अनाज का भंडारण करते थे या फिर आवश्यकता के अनुरूप किसानों की एवं ग्रामीणों की मदद किया करते थे उनके पास भी संसाधनों की कमी हो गई। इन सबके चलते 1783 के प्रारंभिक दिनों में ही जनसंख्या का पलायन होना प्रारंभ हो गया।⁷ इसका सबसे बड़ा प्रभाव उन लोगों पर पड़ा जिनके पास साधन काफी कम थे, क्योंकि जो लोग साधन संपन्न थे एवं जिस समय तक वे लोगों की मदद कर सकते थे उन्हें भविष्य में वहां कुछ सकारात्मक दिखाई नहीं दिया तो वे अपने रिश्तेदारों के यहां चले गए और व्यवस्था को वहां जाकर अपनी तरह से चला लिया। जिन लोगों के पास जाने के साधन नहीं थे तथा इस तरह की स्थितियां नहीं थी कि वे ऐसे स्थान पर प्रस्थान कर सके जहां पर उन्हें स्थितियां सामान्य होने तक शरण मिल जाए तो उन्होंने इसी क्षेत्र में रहने का फैसला किया। जब स्थितियां मार्च 1783 में आईं तथा जो सामान्य फसल अप्रैल और मई में आनी थी वह सिमट कर 10 प्रतिशत से भी कम रही।⁸ दूसरी ओर राजनीतिक अराजकता के चलते शासन व्यवस्था मदद करने की स्थिति में नहीं थी बल्कि वह लोगों को कर देने के लिए मजबूर कर रही थी। इसके चलते भी पलायन लोगों की मजबूरी हो गया पशु तथा काफी अधिक संख्या में लोगों की मौत होने के कारण अकाल का संकट और गहरा हो गया। गांव के गांव बेचिराग हो गए तथा भोजन व रोजगार का संकट निरंतर चुनौतीपूर्ण हो गया। कुछ थोड़े से लोग दिल्ली क्षेत्र में या यमुना नदी के समीप खादर क्षेत्र में अपने पशुओं को लेकर गए ताकि वे अपनी और पशुओं की जान बचा सके इसका परिणाम इस क्षेत्र का लगभग विरान होने के रूप में रहा। अकाल जैसे-जैसे बढ़ता जा रहा था लोगों की आशाएं सामान्य तौर पर जून-जुलाई में होने वाली वर्षा पर केंद्रित थी परंतु इस बार यह हो नहीं पाई। कृषि या सिंचाई के लिए पानी उपलब्ध होना संभव नहीं हो पाया और पीने का पानी भी संकट हो गया। कुएं जो एकमात्र साधन थे वे सूख गए थे इस तरह से गर्मी के दिनों में यह

अकाल अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुंच गया। इस समय के विभिन्न दस्तावेज बताते हैं की वस्तुओं के भाव विशेषकर खाद्यान्नों के भाव आम आदमी के दायरे में नहीं थे। 1780 में एक रुपए में 1 क्विंटल तक अनाज आ जाया करता था। अब वह एक रुपए में 5 किलो के आसपास भी नहीं मिलता था।⁹ संकट की गहराई का अंदाजा इस बात से लगा सकते हैं कि लोग काफी अधिक संख्या में पेड़ों के पत्तों को खाने के लिए प्रयोग करते थे जिसके कारण अब इन पेड़ों पर पत्ते भी नहीं रहे थे। यहां तक की कीकर की लॉन्ग भी अब नसीब नहीं हो रही थी। इसके बाद लोगों ने पेड़ों की छाल को भी भोजन के रूप में प्रयोग करना शुरू कर दिया। परंतु यह भी बहुत अधिक नहीं चल पाई क्योंकि पेड़ भी पानी के अभाव में सूखते जा रहे थे। अब कुछ दस्तावेज इस बारे में यहां तक भी प्रकाश डालते हैं कि परिवार के सदस्य व स्वजनों के मांस को खाने के लिए मजबूर थे तथा कुछ परिवार अपने बच्चों को बहुत थोड़े से अनाज के लिए बेचने के लिए भी मजबूर हुए।¹⁰ सितंबर के महीने में सतलुज नदी व घग्घर नदी के बीच के क्षेत्र में हल्की सी बरसात हुई जिसके कारण यह आशा बनी कि इस क्षेत्र में भी बरसात होगी परंतु स्थितियां फिर उसी तरह की रही और इस समय पर जो अगले वर्ष के लिए बिजाई की जानी थी वह भी नहीं हो पाई और अकाल अपनी भयंकरता के चलते निरंतर खतरनाक होता जा रहा था। जिसके कारण संकट और चुनौतियां अस्तित्व को लगातार सवालिया निशान के रूप में देख रही थी। इस तरह से 1783 के अंतिम दिनों तक अकाल की स्थिति में किसी तरह का सुधार देखने को नहीं मिला और जब यहां पर स्थितियां किसी भी तरह की बेहतर नहीं हुई तो शासन के लिए संघर्ष करने वाले लोग विशेषकर मराठा, मुगल व सिक्ख सारे के सारे यहां से पलायन कर गए और इस क्षेत्र की जिम्मेदारी सुरक्षा या लोगों की मदद करने के लिए कोई भी तैयार नहीं हुआ। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि हिसार लगभग विरान हो गया विभिन्न दस्तावेजों के अध्ययन से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि जिस क्षेत्र में आज यह नगर और पशुधन फार्म क्षेत्र है इसमें लगभग 15 गांव थे।¹¹ जिनके नाम भी आज लोगों को याद भी नहीं है तथा उनका किसी तरह से अस्तित्व भी दिखाई नहीं देता है। धीरे धीरे स्थितियां जब सुधार की ओर नहीं आई तो इस तरह की कोई आशा नहीं बनी कि कोई भी विकल्प लोगों के जीवन रक्षण के लिए कामयाब होगा। यहां अधिकतर लोग मारे गए या फिर यहां सब कुछ छोड़ कर चले गए। पहली बार 1784 के बसंत में ठीक बारिश हुई जिसके चलते कुंओं में पीने के लिए कुछ पानी दिखने लगा तथा उस बरसात के कारण प्राकृतिक तौर पर कुछ घास भी उत्पन्न हुआ। इस स्थिति में कुछ लोग जो बीकानेर,

राजगढ़, महम तथा टोहाना इत्यादि में रहते थे वे भी यहां आ गए तथा कुछ लोग जो इसे खाली कर गए थे उन्होंने आना उचित समझा और धीरे-धीरे जून जुलाई के महीने में अगली फसल हेतु कार्यवाही प्रारंभ की और इसी वर्ष औसत वर्षा भी हुई जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप अकाल धीरे धीरे सिमटता हुआ दिखाई दिया। सितंबर-अक्टूबर तक जाकर फसल के परिणाम 50 प्रतिशत तक सकारात्मक दिखने लगे जिसके चलते हुए यह अकाल 1784 के अंत तक नियंत्रण में आ सका।¹²

1784 में अकाल समाप्त हो गया और इसके बाद नई चुनौतियां व संकट देखने को मिले। प्रायः यह कहा जाता है बरसात ही अकाल का समाधान होता है वास्तव में देखा जाए तो 1783 के भयंकर अकाल के पश्चात स्थितियों को सामान्य होने में लगभग 2 वर्ष इसलिए लगे की कई तरह की चीजों की कमियां देखने को मिली। सबसे पहले आवश्यकता थी कि किसान बरसात के पश्चात अपने खेतों को जोत सके इसके लिए उन्हें बैल, हल व मानव शक्ति की जरूरत थी। बैल अकाल के कारण या तो मर गए थे या फिर उन्हें किसी दूसरे स्थान पर ले जाया गया था। जिसके कारण पूरे क्षेत्र में शायद ही कोई कृषक होगा जो जोत के कार्य को ठीक समय स्थिति के अनुरूप पूरा कर सके। इसके उपरान्त इस बात की जरूरत महसूस हुई की नई फसल के लिए बीज चाहिए वह भी नहीं था क्योंकि यदि बीज के रूप में किसी भी तरह के अनाज का कोई अंश होता तो लोग वृक्षों के पत्ते व छाल क्यों खाते। इस स्थिति में यदि थोड़ी बहुत संभावना थी तो वह उन क्षेत्रों से थी जहां अकाल कम आया था। इसलिए ऐसे क्षेत्र या तो यमुना नदी के समीपवर्ती थे या फिर सतलुज नदी के पश्चिम में थे और यहां पर एक ऐसा वर्ग उत्पन्न हो गया था जो इन स्थितियों का लाभ उठाना चाहता था और उसने बीज व अन्य जरूरत की चीजों के दाम इतने ऊंचे कर दिए थे की सामान्य व्यक्ति उन्हें खरीद नहीं सकता था। यदि कोई बहुत अधिक मेहनत या खुशामद करके उनसे कुछ चीज लेने में कामयाब हो जाता तो उसने इस हेतु या तो बहुत अधिक ब्याज की मांग की या फिर जमीन को गिरवी रखने की शर्त रखी। इन स्थितियों में कृषक सामान्य तौर पर अपनी व्यवस्था को नहीं संभाल पाया।¹³ इनके साथ साथ क्योंकि जनसंख्या पलायन कर गई थी जिसके चलते लोगों की भी कमी थी इस तरह जमीन खाली थी बरसात के बाद वह जोतने योग्य थी परंतु मानव शक्ति के अभाव में इस पर काम नहीं हो सका। जिसके कारण लंबे समय तक जमीन पर जुताई नहीं हो सकी। इनके अतिरिक्त क्योंकि यह क्षेत्र वीरान हो गया था और लोग जो यहां पर रह गए थे या फिर बाहर से आकर बसे थे, असुरक्षित महसूस कर रहे थे। विभिन्न तरह की लूटमार की

परिस्थितियां तथा सुरक्षा का डर निरंतर बढ़ता जा रहा था।¹⁴ बरसात के उपरांत विभिन्न तरह के जंगली जीव जंतु भी अचानक उत्पन्न हो गए थे और इनकी संख्या मानव की तुलना में बहुत अधिक थी जिसके चलते खेतों में व आवास क्षेत्र में विभिन्न तरह की बीमारियां व खतरे बढ़ते जा रहे थे। इन स्थितियों के अनुरूप यह कहा जा सकता है कि 1783 के अकाल ने अपने अल्पकालिक तौर पर कई तरह की असुविधाएं उस समय की कृषि व्यवस्था के लिए छोड़ी, बल्कि इस तरह का तंत्र बना दिया की परिवार व सामाजिक तौर पर किसी तरह की मदद की संभावनाएं और स्थितियां अच्छी नहीं रही।¹⁵

इस अकाल ने जहां प्रारंभिक तौर पर या फिर अस्थायी तौर पर व्यवस्था में कई तरह के परिवर्तन किए, वहीं दूरगामी परिणाम भी देखे जा सकते हैं। सबसे पहला और महत्वपूर्ण परिणाम राजनीतिक कहा जा सकता है। क्योंकि अकाल से पहले यह क्षेत्र सिखों के पास था और जब उन्हें यहां से किसी तरह का कर उपलब्ध नहीं हुआ या फिर लोग उन्हें राजस्व नहीं दे पाए तो वे इस क्षेत्र को छोड़ कर चले गए और राजनीतिक तौर पर यह क्षेत्र शासन विहीन हो गया। जिसके चलते किसी भी व्यक्ति या वर्ग ने इस क्षेत्र के बारे में सुरक्षा हेतु किसी तरह की ने तो जिम्मेदारी ली और न ही इस दुख की स्थिति में सहायता की। इस तरह से राजनीतिक तौर पर पूरी तरह से स्थितियां छिन्न-भिन्न हो गई और अराजकता का दौर देखने को मिला। दूसरा प्रभाव अर्थव्यवस्था के संदर्भ में था जिसके चलते यह स्थिति मरणासन्न की थी। क्योंकि न तो यहां पर कृषि हो पा रही थी न किसी तरह की पशु संपदा बची थी। किसी भी तरह के व्यापार की संभावनाएं भी समाप्त हो गई थी और लोगों के पास अपनी पारिवारिक व्यवस्था चलाने का भी संकट आ गया था। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में यह कहा जा सकता है की स्थापना काल के उपरान्त हिसार या फिर ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में कभी इतने भयंकर संकट से नहीं गुजरा था क्योंकि नहर में पानी न आना एक बात थी और पीने के लिए पानी का सूखना ज्यादा बड़ा संकट था। पीने के पानी के लिए लोग 10 किलोमीटर तक मारामारी किया करते थे। उसके उपरांत भी इस बात की संभावना काफी कम होती थी कि उन्हें 24 घंटे का पानी या फिर कुछ मटके भर पानी उपलब्ध हो जाए।¹⁶ इन स्थितियों में अर्थ तंत्र कैसे सुरक्षित रह सकता है, राजनीति व अर्थव्यवस्था के संकट की तरह इस अकाल ने सामाजिक संरचना भी पूरी तरह से बदल दी थी। फिरोजशाह तुगलक के उपरांत एवं मुगल काल में इस क्षेत्र में नगर की गणना काफी विकसित क्षेत्र में होती थी परंतु अब यहां के मूल निवासी जब इस जगह को छोड़ कर चले गए तो यहां पर अकाल के

उपरांत जो लोग आए उनमें से आधे से अधिक अन्य स्थानों के थे। जिन लोगों को इस क्षेत्र की मूल प्रकृति व संस्कृति दोनों का ज्ञान नहीं था। उन्होंने यहां पर बने मकान और भवनों पर कब्जा कर लिया। जब मूलनिवासी कुछ समय के उपरांत आए तो उनके साथ संघर्ष तनाव व कब्जा करने के लिए विभिन्न तरह की आपसी टकराव की स्थितियां देखने को मिली। इस कड़ी में सामाजिक तौर पर विभिन्न धर्मों के लोग अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों में अपने-अपने ढंग की जीवनशैली जीने के लिए स्वयं को स्थापित करते रहे और नगर के तौर पर कहा जाए तो पहली बार किले के अंदर लोगों की संख्या कम देखने को मिली।¹⁷ इस तरह से सामाजिक जीवन के विभिन्न पक्ष जैसे शिक्षा स्वास्थ्य, मनोरंजन व पंचायती व्यवस्था सारी की सारी चीजें अब नए ढंग से स्थापित करने की प्रक्रिया के साथ आगे बढ़ी। यदि हम 1809 के एक दस्तावेज पर प्रकाश डालें तो पता चलता है कि यह क्षेत्र इस अकाल के बीतने के 25 वर्ष बाद भी उस स्थिति में नहीं आया था जो पहले था। 1809 का एक पत्र बताता है कि हिसार नगर की जनसंख्या 400 से थोड़ा कम थी।¹⁸ जबकि इसके समीपवर्ती स्थल हांसी, बरवाला, बालसमंद, अग्रोहा, बड़वा इत्यादि की जनसंख्या हिसार से अधिक थी। इस तरह के प्रभावों के अतिरिक्त इस अकाल ने औपनिवेशिक शासन के लिए भी पृष्ठभूमि तैयार की। ऐसा इसलिए हुआ की सिक्खों के जाने के बाद वह दोबारा यहां पर आ नहीं पाए और शासन स्थानीय तौर पर भट्टियों के द्वारा स्थापित किया गया। इन भट्टियों को स्थानीय राजपूतों व जाटों के द्वारा चुनौती दी गई तथा बाह्य स्तर पर 1790 के आसपास इस संघर्ष में मराठे, मुगल वह फ्रांसीसी भी शामिल हो गए और इस प्रकार यह क्षेत्र इस तरह के कब्जे को लेकर फिर से अखाड़े के रूप में दिखाई दिया और औपचारिक तौर पर भट्टियों, मुगलों व मराठों के बीच समझौता हो गया। जिसके चलते इसे भट्टियों का क्षेत्र मान लिया गया। परंतु ये लोग शासन के मामले में अधिक अनुभवी नहीं थे। जिसका लाभ आयरलैंड निवासी जॉर्ज थॉमस ने उठाया और उसने 1798 में यहां पर कब्जा करके हांसी को राजधानी बनाया। हिसार के किले को उसने अपनी सेना का स्थल बनाया और अपना दूसरा निवास जार्ज कोठी के रूप में स्थापित किया। उसने यहां पर टकसाल भी स्थापित की और उसके इस प्रयास के चलते हिसार क्षेत्र थोड़ा बहुत आबाद होने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ा और फिर जॉर्ज थॉमस फिर एक अन्य संघर्ष में उलझ गया। यह संघर्ष मराठों, सिक्खों तथा फ्रांसीसीयों का संयुक्त था। इस कड़ी में उसकी सर्वाधिक शक्ति जींद रियासत के शासकों के साथ लगी और 1802 में वह अंततः हार गया।¹⁹ उसे यह क्षेत्र छोड़कर जाना पड़ा। उसके द्वारा जब यह

क्षेत्र खाली कर दिया गया तो यहां पर मराठों का अधिकार क्षेत्र स्वीकार कर लिया गया और मराठों ने इस क्षेत्र को दौलतराव सिंधिया के प्रभाव क्षेत्र में गिना गया। दौलतराव सिंधिया की अंग्रेज-मराठा युद्ध में हार हो गई और इस हार के उपरांत 30 दिसंबर 1803 को सरजी अर्जन गांव की संधि हुई¹⁰ जिसके तहत यह क्षेत्र अंग्रेजों के नियंत्रण में आ गया और अंग्रेजों को भी इस क्षेत्र में अपनी व्यवस्था स्थापित करने में लगभग एक दशक से ऊपर का समय लगा और वे ठीक से तब यहां स्थापित हो पाए जब उन्होंने 1815 में कैटल फार्म की स्थापना की¹¹ यह फार्म 1809 में मेजर लूईसडम के द्वारा निजी फार्म के रूप में स्थापित किया गया था और फिर सरकार ने इसे ले लिया और इस फार्म का प्रभारी उसी लूईसडम को बना दिया। इस तरह से अकाल के द्वारा तैयार हुई परिस्थितियों ने जो राजनैतिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक अस्थिरता की परिस्थितियां पैदा की उसी के कारण अंग्रेज इस क्षेत्र में स्थापित होने में कामयाब हो गए¹²

1783 के अकाल की विभिन्न स्थितियों व आयामों के आंकलन करने के बाद यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह अकाल हिसार क्षेत्र के लिए भयंकर खतरनाक था विभिन्न तरह की राजनैतिक, आर्थिक व सामाजिक संकट इसके द्वारा दिए गए जिसके चलते हुए यहां पर कृषि व्यवस्था पूरी तरह से बर्बाद हो गई और इस बर्बादी को किसी शासन तंत्र या वर्ग के द्वारा संभाला नहीं जा सका। जिसके चलते हुए यहां के लोग या तो काल का ग्रास हो गए या फिर पलायन करने पर मजबूर हो गए। पशु पक्षी तथा वनस्पति भी इस क्षेत्र से लगभग गायब हो गई। जिसके चलते हुए यह क्षेत्र एक खाली मरुस्थल के अतिरिक्त कुछ भी नहीं था और लगभग 3 वर्ष के उपरांत जब सामान्य वर्षा हुई तो उसके बाद भी लोगों को विभिन्न तरह के संकट झेलने पड़े और इस आधार पर जो बाद में थोड़ा बहुत सकारात्मक स्थितियां दिखी। वह भी आम आदमी के लिए अधिक लाभकारी नहीं रही और राजनीतिक उठा-पटक ने इसे युद्ध के अखाड़े के रूप में स्थापित किया जो विभिन्न तरह के परिवर्तनों के उपरांत अंग्रेजों के लिए सहायक बना। निःसंदेह यह अकाल हिसार के पुनर्जन्म का आधार कहा जा सकता है और ऐतिहासिक संदर्भ में इतना खतरनाक अकाल इस क्षेत्र ने कभी नहीं झेला था और आज जिस तरह की प्राकृतिक आपदा व महामारी को हम झेल रहे हैं तो इससे बचने के निकलने के रास्ते खोजते समय हमें इससे पहले होने वाली महामारी व प्राकृतिक आपदाओं का अवश्य अध्ययन करना चाहिए ताकि जिस तरह के संकट मानवता ने पहले झेले हैं उनको ना दोहराया जाए।

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Loharu Fort : An Archaeological Survey of 19th Century Fort

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The fort of Loharu is left in a dilapidated condition, which was sold to the state government in 1971 and later use by the government and the upkeep of the monument building was neglected and not been maintained with time. With the passage of time in the last few years only this fort has been badly ruined, its deterioration process has been intense as no one is there for its supervision. It's a historical building, which needs to be restored and conserved for the coming generation, so that the native people relate themselves with the history of their own place. The paper records a survey report of the fort which includes the history of the fort, its layout pattern, architectural features and style which represents three architectural styles: Mughal, British and Rajput, in an interesting blend and last thing to understanding the reasons behind the dilapidated condition of the fort.

Introduction

Loharu fort is located in Loharu, a small town, at the edge of Rajasthan and Haryana border in the Bhiwani district of Haryana, has an average elevation of 262 meters (860 feet) and here the fort is located at 28°25'49" N and 75°48'26.95" E. The major towns surround Loharu are Chirawa, Pilani, Surajgarh, Mahendargarh etc. The Loharu Railway station is just 850 meters away from the fort. Loharu town comes under the Bagar zone of Haryana due to that, it has a continental and semi-arid climate typically influenced of North western India Rajasthan desert.¹ The economy is based on agriculture and trade. The main crops of this area are Cotton, Wheat, Bajara and Pulses. The town once contained a mint of the Jaipur State, and

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derives its name from the *Lohars* or Blacksmiths employed therein.²



Plate 1: A Bird eye view of the Eastern side structures

History of the City and Fort

The fort hark us back to that bright period and retells its History. The fort has turned into a ruin, which was once a place famous for its grandeur. The fort story begins with the Rajput king Rao Shikha in 1570 CE who divided the Shekawati region into 33 *thikana* (pargana). The 33rd *thikana* was Loharu given to his grandson Thakur Narhar Das, based on the lines *Bikrami Samwat' 1645 Bashakhwati Chauthwar Shniwar, Narhar Das Loharu Basayo Basakhmasuthdhar*.³ Thakur Narhar Das who was the founder of this town and he built a *kuccha* mud fort. There are hearsays for the selection of the land, a herdsman suggested this land saying that it's a *veer bhumi* to the king where we have the fort today. The Astrologers suggested the king for a human sacrifice before to begin the constructing of the fort but the king refuse as he was a kindhearted person, but someone suggested him that, in Islam they have a concept of burying a body after dead, so a dead person's body can be used for the sacrificial ritual the king agreed on it. When the astrologers came to know this incident, they predicted that after an average year of 250 this land will go into the hands of Islamic powers. And we see later in 1806 Ahmad Bakhsh Khan, a Mughal received this town from the king of Alwar, Thakur Bakhtawar Singh on the orders of Lord Lake as a reward for his services against the Jat rulers of Bharatpur.⁴ According to a newspaper of Pakistan *Dawn*, Loharu was declared as an Independent Princely State in this year. During his time, he converted the mud fort into

the *pucca* fort using bricks stone lime and mud (Pate 1).

Nawab Allauddin Ahmad Khan who was the successor of Aminuddin Ahmad Khan constructed few more structures in the fort like Jail, a Quarter for Women the *Zenana Mahal*, a Mosque and a Pond. According to an inscription⁵, on a slab found from the top of the main building, which is written in Persian language refers that the fort was built in 1888 by king Farukh Mirza. In 1971 the last Nawab of this fort, Aminuddin Khan decided to sell this fort to state government. Later on when the fort came in the hands of the government, the government reused this building as their office but did not show any interest for its renovation and conservation. The fort is still there in the dilapidated condition.

Description of Fort with its Architectural Features

There are around 29 forts in Haryana and this fort is one of them. This fort is a type of *Mahi Durga* (Earthen fort), surrounded by Earthen walls as well as stone or brick walls, according to the categories divided in the ancient text of *Arthashastra*. It's a 19th century fort or a world castle would be more appropriate to be used for this fort, which was supposed to be built for the private residence of a Nawab as a symbol of authority.

Space Organization

The fort is built on a rectangular plan and provides four circular bastions on its corners and one in between the western curtain wall. The fort is aligned on the North South axis and equipped with its main entrance which is located in the eastern wall towards the northern side. The main structures inside the fort are constructed on the southern part of the fortification. The center of the fort, a garden which once existed, is now in ruinous condition. Some fragments of running water channels and walkways are still visible there. Among the remains of the garden a pond still exists on the southern part of the fort. The fort is divided into two parts. In the southern part exists the residents building that accommodated the royal persons, while the northern part was meant for the official purpose. Both parts are covered with a gateway composed of two pyramidal towers. There is a well on the north eastern corner of the fort and a pond in front of the main residences for the fulfillment of the need of water. On the

western side wall enclose a mosque as a place of worship. There was a jail and some horse stable nearby the mosque.

Building Material

The building material that has been used here is largely of brick, lime mortar and mud mortar but some of these structures are built in brick and cement. The tile works in the kitchen shows that these are modern construction modified for the suitability of the use of this building. So far as the size of the brick is concerned, this belongs to the 19th century. Stucco work has been largely used for the decoration purpose on the gateways, ceiling and arches. Wood has been used in the ceilings and for the doors and windows. The wood used in the main gate was purchased from Burma, as claims by their descendants.

Architectural Features

Bastions : All the corners of the fort are conceived in the form of circular bastions. There is one more bastion in the center of the northern wall, so total there are five bastions. The bastions conserved their height more than wall, surmounted with the battlements. To approach the top of the bastions lateral staircases are provided parallel to the wall of the fort. It's a two story bastion, in the first story there is large strong pillar, can say the actual strength of the bastion, provided air ducts for the ventilation in this story and there is an enough space to store the arms. On the second story an enough space has been provide for the garrisons and the loopholes for the arms to fire and to observe the enemy movement safely. Above the second story the bastion is surmounted by the battlements.

Wall: The fortification wall of the fort is a curtain wall. The fortification wall serves the purpose of enclosing to the palace inside. It's a straight simple wall less than the bastions height. A covered parapet wall has been provide as the guard rails and prevent the spread of fires, and at every interval there are terre-plein in slanting trapezoidal prism shaped on the curtain wall.

Entrance gate: The gate with the three continuous arches built in the form of Mughul 4 centered arched provides the direction towards the fort;

on both sides of the arched gate there are rectangular chambers which are less in height to the arched gateway and provide two small gateways to enter into this chamber.

The main entrance to enter into the fortified palace has been built in a gatehouse (Plate 2). The outer and inner façades are composed of a central arched opening. The central arched opening of the outer façade is placed inside the multi foliated arch. Multi foliated arch is bigger in dimensions than the smaller arched opening. Smaller arched opening contains a pointed arch, where spindles are decorated with designs in stucco work. The outer and bigger multi foliated arch is decorated with moldings in the form of twisted ribs, spindles are decorated in the form of medallions composing of bloomed flower. The whole composition of the entrance is placed in a rectangular frame, which is projected little outside the wall. There are two niches on the both side of the gate, the niches have also been decorated with the stucco work in the form of multi foliated arch with creepers designs and a bloomed flower on the top center of the niche, such representations also can be seen in the nearby Shekhawati Havelis.



Plate 2: Entrance gatehouse to enter into the fort

The central passage of the entrance is flatly roofed. Guard rooms are built in the form of the second story above the gate house having windows open towards outside. Towards the inner lid slanting the entrance passage guard rooms were built to accommodate soldiers which are been destroyed with course of time.

Entry tower: The gateways provides a way to enter into the southern or the main residence to the fort, composed in a two pyramidal towers, divided into multiple stories, seven stories are built above the first story.

Mahal: The cloister in front of the rooms is built in half circular arch. The pillars used in cloisters are circular and cylindrical in shape. All these types of pillars confirm their construction under the British period. The rooms on the Southern side are having the Fire Chambers to get relief from the cold winter and have ventilation windows that provide relief to the inner side suffocation. The rooms which are less in height have ceilings in the concave shape, it looks like the Bangladar ceiling and flattened roof. The roof level structures are surmounted masonry railings composing piers are same structures were built later in 1935 for '*Anaj Mandi*' of Loharu town. The flat roofs are built of RBC and corbelling, which is the character of late 19th century and early 20th century construction. The southern structures are convex and curved from the front. The Southern structures can be further classified as below:

Room decorated with mirrors '*Shees Mahal*': It's a small rectangular chamber decorated with colorful glass mirror built on an elevated platform (Plate 3). The ceiling of the chamber is built in a concave shaped form of the Bangladar ceiling. It's an old structure in which few modifications have been done with the time goes. This Chamber could be the prayer hall for the Nawab family as the there is a '*Mehrab*' showing the direction towards the *quibla*, and even more astonishing is an inscription written in '*Tughra*' form of calligraphy.



Plate 3: Shees Mahal Mehrab with the Inscription

Darbar: In an alignment with the *Shees Mahal* there is a large room called Darbar (Plate 4). *Shees Mahal* and *Darbar* were actually separated from each other through the wall carrying pillars and multi foliated archers, most probably earlier these were in the form of cloisters, and later these cloisters were filled up which is now turned into a wall. On every arch there is a rough circular shaped ventilation window.



Plate 4: Darbar with the platform

Banquet hall: A large room built completely in a British, Victorian form of architectural style, is in a quite fine condition, half circular arched doorways, ventilation windows all around the three sides of the room (Plate 5).



Plate 5: Banquet Hall

The front wall of this room is concave from inside, and gallery room in front of this room followed the same pattern, which is designed in form of cloister and instead of pillars piers are used here to enclose the structure. Again in front of this structure following the same pattern the cloister is there and they have used the pillars. The structure looks convex in pattern from its outside view and carrying an inscription at the top front. These two cloisters and the banquet hall have provided different elevations, as these three structures are built in a different height forming stepped roof indication from the top.

Library: A room with so many shelves was used as a library where at one point of time some 3000 books were kept, which are now kept in Rampur Raza library. This room has been provided with a large ventilator window for the coming of natural source of light (Plate 6).



Plate 6: Library with selves

Jail: The structure with a simple cuboidal room is a jail which was built by NawabAllauddin Ahmad Khan. The windows and doors are completely different than the other structures with the rectangular shaped windows, have provided the 'burglar bars', these bars over the windows can't be removed without plenty of noise.

Water supply: On the north eastern side of the fort there is a well and a pond to fulfill the need of water of the fort residents. It has been said that the pond was later constructed by Aminuddin Ahmad Khan as the climate of this region is known for its dryness and extremes of temperature and

scanty rainfall, so these large rectangular tank/ pond and well were for the purpose of water stock in the fort. They were well taken care of as the water was an important and limited resource in this region.

Mosque: A place of worship for the Nawab and his family was built inside the curtain wall of the fort (Plate 7). It was constructed in 1202 AH, according to an inscription fixed on the facade.⁶ It has three domes and four minarets on its all four corners. It's a living mosque facing to the east.



Plate 7 : Mosque

Horse stable: The horse stables are also there inside the fortification and outside the fortification wall of the fort with the corbelled arched gateway and round ventilation windows above it.

Reasons for the condition of the fort: The land of the fort comes under the Haryana Forest Department, due to that the conservation team of Haryana archaeological Survey is unable to take direct initiative for its conservation. But there are few very necessary repair works are been done with time, so that there are some structures of the fort are still exists. The material used in the structures during repairs are not similar with the material in with the fort building is actually built, that leads one factors for demolishing. It can be said that no proper guidelines of the conservation have been followed for repairs they had made. Another reason the not under the supervision of any care taker so, go through the Human Vandalism cause the lack of public awareness. And last but not the least is Environmental factors and natural vegetation.

Conclusion

The fort which is now in a dilapidated condition is demanding immediate repairs and restoration. The architecture of this fort is built in an interesting blend of three themes of architecture that is Mughal, Rajput and British in form. Over the period with the change in the governance the features of architecture have changed, which clearly can be seen in later built structures. At some places the old structures have been modified, the form of 'Indo Islamic forms of architectural have merged with Victorian British form or architecture. The height of the old structures is less compared to the later structures in later times. As per the journey of the fort, lots of modifications have been done from time to time according to their suitability.

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Monuments and the State of Ignorance: An Architectural Quest in Sohna, Gurgaon

*Aakash Gupta

In the present scenario, Gurgaon (renamed Gurugram in 2016) is headed for an unprecedented development in the direction of industries and urbanization. Development has its positive and negative dimensions, which play an important role in determining the future, as well as determine the destiny of historical monuments. Current research articles focus on the historical monuments present in Sohna tehsil of Gurgaon, most of which are prone to human neglect or encroachment.

Sohna is originated from a Hindi word *Sona* which means gold. The town is said to have derived its name from the gold dust which is found after heavy rain in the beds of the neighbouring streams. Over the time, due to its scenic view and panoramic beauty it came to being known as Sohna. Sohna is a medieval era city which is believed to have originated in the 11th century. The first Khanzada ruler Bahadur Nahar Khan allotted the *jagir* of Sohna to his son Malik Seraj Khan.¹ Sohna has witnessed a situation of mutual conflict between three ethnic groups - Kambhos, Khanzada and Rajput, which has led to political instability in the region. Although a mixed style of Islamic and Rajput style emerged in spite of mutual conflict, of which Mewati architecture is displayed in the current research area. The purpose of this paper is to find the exact coordinates, measurement, photography, architectural features and the factors responsible for detrimental condition of the monuments located in Sohna- Bhondsi Mosque and Tomb, Qutub Khan's Mosque, Shahi Jama Masjid or Barha Khamba Mosque Complex, Lal Gumbad, Fort (fortifications and bastions), an unknown mosque (16th or 17th century, based on its Architectural features).

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Location of Research Area

With the reorganisation of Punjab on 1 November 1966, Haryana was made into a full-fledged state and the Gurgaon district (now Gurugram) was established. By reorganising the boundaries of district of Gurgaon, Faridabad district was established on 15 August 1979. Gurugram, located in southeast of Haryana, shares its political boundaries with Delhi and surrounded by Jhajar, Rewari, Mewat, Palwal and Faridabad district. It lies between 27°39' North to 28°32'25" North latitude and 76°39'30" East to 77°20'45" East longitude. It shares its borders with Delhi and District Jhajar in the North, District Mewat in the South, District Palwal in the South-East, Faridabad and Delhi in the East and District Rewari in the West. The entire district is divided into 5 tehsils- Gurgaon, Farrukhnagar, Sohna, Pataudi and Manesar. Due to the time and resource constraints for the field work, this present research paper focuses on various factors which are responsible for the ignorance of monumental heritage of Sohna.

Historical Background

The antiquity of this area is traced back to the Mahabharata period. According to mythological beliefs, Gurugram was gifted by Yudhishtira to his guru Dronacharya. During the era of Mahatma Buddha, the ruler of Kuru Pradesh, Korvya, resided in the famous state of *Thullakotthila* which has been identified as Dhankot of Gurugram.² In the fifth century BCE., Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* mentioned several towns of Haryana where Gurugram is described as *Gaudapura*.³

However, there are lack of direct evidence of Gurugram in Mauryan texts, but on the basis of the extent of Maurya Empire it can be assumed that it was under the Mauryan rulers. After the decline of the Mauryan Empire, the status of Gurugram, remained unspecified especially during the continuous foreign invasions, such as Bactrian, Greek, Parthian, Scythian, and Kushan. In spite of state of ambiguity, the Shung period's terracotta, figurines and copper coins issued by Saka rulers belonging to the post-Mauryan period have been found in Gurugram.⁴ According to H. C. Raychaudhuri, Gurugram was under the Kushanas, who were defeated by the Yaudhyas and emerged as a major power. Also, the Yudhayanagana's

coins are obtained from here and confirms this view.⁵

In the first half of the seventh century, Gurugram was under the kingdom of Harsha and later came under the Pratihara rulers. Delhi (*Dhillika*) was founded in 736 CE by the Tomar rulers, who were feudatories of the Pratihara rulers.⁶ According to the Bijolia inscription, Vigraharaja defeated the Tomar rulers and established control over *Bhadanak*, Delhi and Hansi.⁷ In Rajashekhar's *Kavyamimamsa*, the present research area (Sohna, Gurugram) was located under Bhadanak.⁸

During the early period of the Arab-Turkic invasion, the region was constantly plagued by religious discord and dissatisfaction, which led to the existence of instability in the Mewat region (Gurugram, Mathura, Alwar and Bharatpur etc.). The Delhi Sultanate was established in 1192 CE with the victory of Muizuddin Muhammad Ghori and Qutb-ud-din Aibak was appointed the administrator of Delhi. Aibak ordered to Mirab Hussain Jung to suppress the Meo's, as a result of which some people accepted *Jaziya* and some accepted the Islam.⁹

During Balban's rule, the Delhi Sultanate was in conflict with Mewat. In 1249, Balban was appointed by Sultan Naseeruddin Mahmud to suppress the Mewatis.¹⁰ More than 2000 Mewatis were killed in this military expedition.¹¹ Based on continuous invasions and massacres, it can be said that during the reign of the early Delhi Sultans, Mewat did not accept complete subjugation. Even during the later Sultans, their relations with the Mewati chieftains remained bitter.

At the time of Babur's invasion, Hasan Khan Khanzada was the chieftain of Mewat, whom Babur defeated and included Mewat under a permanent governor of the Mughal Empire. During the reign of Akbar, the present Gurugram district, came under the Delhi and Agra province (*Subas*).¹² After the Aurangzeb rule, due to the incapability of the Mughal rulers, the present research area came under Maratha rule. The district of Gurugram came under British suzerainty in 1803 by the Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon between Daulatrao Scindia and George Thomas.

Table 1:1 Monuments of Sohna, Gurugram

S. No.	Monuments	Coordinates	Location / Village	Tahsil	Physiographical Features	Condition	Area	Nature of Monuments
1	Bhondsi Mosque	28°20'50" North Latitude; 77°3'57" East Longitude	Bhondsi	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Dilapidated	616 m ²	Religious
2	Bhondsi Tomb	28°20'50" North Latitude; 77°3'58" East Longitude	Bhondsi	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Dilapidated	56.25 m ²	Religious
3	Qutub khan's Mosque	28°15'20" North Latitude; 77°3'59" East Longitude	Saini colony, chungi no. 1	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Dilapidated	1064 m ²	Religious
4	Shahijama Mosque (Gora Barak Mosque)	28°15'7" North Latitude; 77°3'45" East Longitude	Sohna Rural, Thakur wada	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief		1000 m ²	Religious
5	Fort (Rampart and Bastion)	28°14'41" North Latitude; 77°3'38" East Longitude	Sohna Town	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Fragmented remains of rampart and bastion	13596 m ²	Secular
6	LalGumbad	28°14'60" North Latitude; 77°2'57" East Longitude	Saanpkinangli, Sohna rural	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Dilapidated	340 m ²	Religious
7	Unidentified Mosque	28°14'51" North Latitude; 77°3'40" East Longitude	Sohna Rural, Pathanwara	Sohna	Aravalli Hill Relief	Dilapidated and captured by Local People.	approx. 200 m ²	Religious but currently use as a house.

Bhondsi Complex (Mosque & Tomb)

The Bhondsi census town area currently located at the foothill portion of Aravalli Range and just halfway away from Gurugram-Sohna Road. The Bhondsi Complex coordinates on 28°20'50" North latitude; 77°3'57" East longitude and just 11.8 km south from district headquarter. The historicity of this village is still unspecified but the Mosque and Tomb depict its antiquity from the medieval period (specially *khanzada*, the family of Mewat). The only historicity of this village is an old stone mosque which is now in a dilapidated condition.

The patron of this complex is unknown, but it is believed that it was built by a *khanzada* chieftain of Mewat, who might have been the *Jagirdar*

of this place.¹³ This Mosque is built on a platform of around 10 feet height from all sides. Quartzite and granite stone have been used in its construction work, which is furnished with beautiful plaster. This mosque structure is 27 feet 4 inches wide and 74 feet 8 inches long. This main mosque is a rectangular in structure with three bays & three arched opening doorways. The façade of the mosque is decorated with niche in rectangular panels. This mosque has three domes (central is plain and flanked by ribbed domes on either side) with octagonal neck with inverted lotus (Plate 1). There are four tapering turrets, southern one completely damaged, on the back side of mosque.

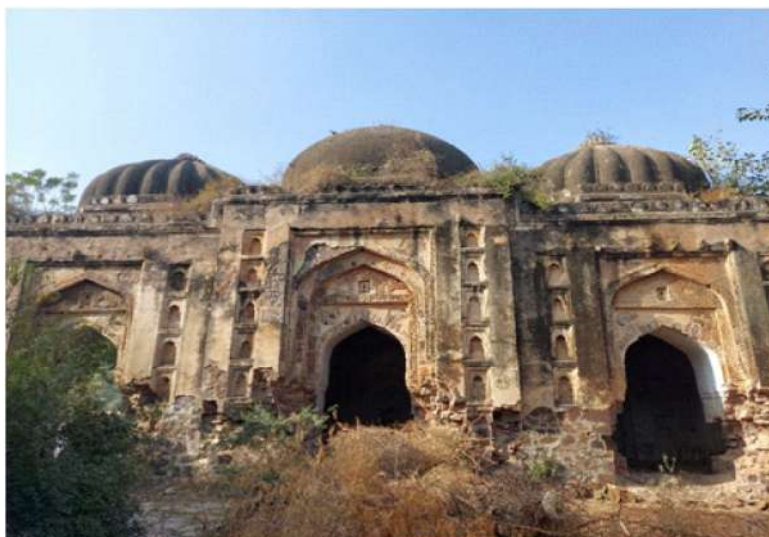


Plate 1: Bhondsi mosque

At present, the platform of this mosque is continuously fragile and the southern part of this structure is completely damaged due to unauthorized control by the locals. The people use this mosque as *bitora* (cow dung house) and completely neglected the historical importance of this structure. During the field survey, this structure bears signs of community disarray, which we see as fragmentary decoration on the façade of this mosque.

The tomb is located on the east side of the mosque, which according to local beliefs belongs to the same *Khanzada* Sardar who built the mosque. It is 22 feet square, built on *baradari* plan and has an octagonal hemispherical

dome (Plate 2).



Plate 2: Tomb of Khanzada Sardar, Bhondsi

According to the survey report of Alexander Cunningham, there was a main door in this whole complex which was 27 feet 10 inches square, but it does not exist at the present time. The inscriptions from the Holy Quran were carved in plaster, which was common feature in late sultanate period. Cunningham mention a date of *Samvat* 1691, or 1634 CE, was found written in ink, which is now completely disappear.¹⁴

Qutub Khan's Mosque

On the main road of Gurugram-Alwar, in the south of Sohna town, there is a stunning mosque. The mosque of Qutub Khan remains around 1550 CE according to the list of Haryana Archaeological Department. However, the maker of this mosque is unidentified. Qutub Khan Mosque is at Chungi No.1 in Saini Colony, a few meters away from Sohna village road near Gurugram (Plate 3).

The main building measured 60 feet long and 26 feet broad outside adjoining a very big courtyard. The mosque has three main chambers covering the middle with hemispherical dome and two antechambers. There are three entrances with pointed arched doorways. The facade of the mosque is decorated with niche in rectangular panels, represent a common feature of Mewati architecture. Stairs are provided from both sides to go up in this mosque. There are twin-pillar structures inside the mosque. The entire

structure of the mosque is built on a high platform. The background has four minarets which are similar to the Bhondsi Mosque. There was a long dispute over the ownership of this mosque, after which, according to the decision of the panchayat, it is being used for community programs, as well as by the local people use as *bitora*. The present condition of this mosque is dilapidated.

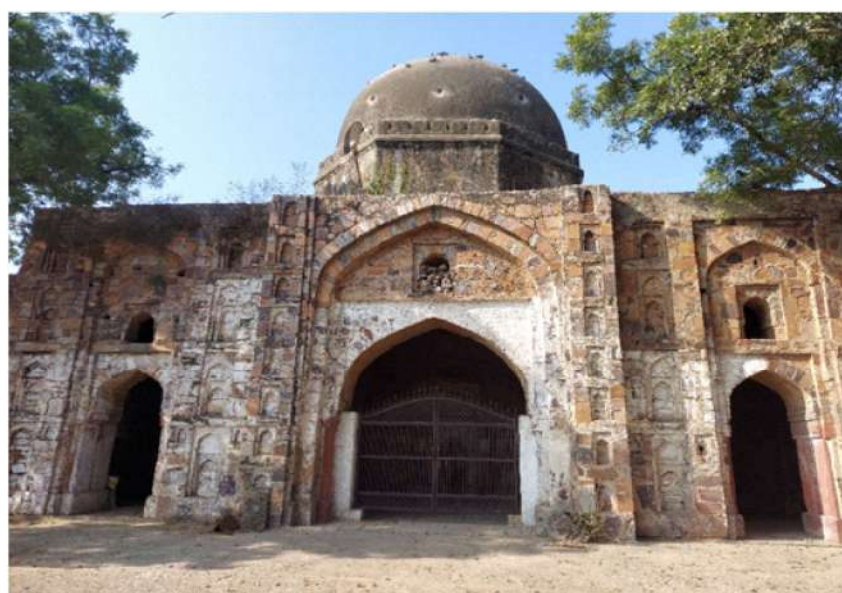


Plate 3: Qutub Khan Mosque, Sohna

Shahi Jama Masjid (Gora Barak Mosque)

On the north side of the town, there is another mosque and tomb complex on a very high mound (Plate 4). The mosque is said to be made by Alauddin Khalji. There are three hemispherical melon shaped domes over the aisles. The whole style, as well as the plan of the building, is almost same as the other mosque of Sohna town. A small twelve pillared tomb 21 feet 4 inches square, just south to the main mosque. There are monolithic stone with fine design used in pillars of this structure. This tomb is domical in shape and *baradari* plan. Again, 20 feet in south, there is another tomb which is large in size 40 feet square. It is divided into three aisles each way, making nine bays, of which the middle and four corner ones are covered with

hemispherical domes. The total domes in the single building are five in the number. According to the Maulana of this Mosque, this building is not the tomb but have been used as the rest house for the travellers' staying near the mosque.¹⁵ The back portion of the mosque is same as Qutub Khan ki Masjid of the same town.



Plate 4: Shahi Jama Masjid, Sohna



Plate 5: Fort Rampart, Sohna

Fort (Rampart and Bastion)

In Aravali hill range, an old unfinished fort (in south-west of old town) was made by the Rao Bahadur Singh of Ghasera. Raja Surajmal of Bharatpur attacked Ghasera and killed Rao Bahadur Singh, due to which the fort remained incomplete. At present time, the fort is totally fragmented except the north and south ramparts and four bastions remained in dilapidated condition (Plate 5).

Lal Gumbad

This Complex (locally known *Lal Gumbad*) located in *saanp ki nangali* village, north-west of Sohna town. This complex built on similar Architectural pattern which is quite popular in Mewat region. There are four ctagonal neck shaped hemispherical dome structure, but two are completely damaged and others have been in serious dilapidated condition (Plate 6).



Plate 6: Lal Gumbad, Sohna

Unidentified Mosque

An unidentified mosque has been seen during our field survey, but it is being used as house by a Migrated Punjabi family since Independence. It is

located inside the Pathanwara Mohalla, near Shahi Jama Mosque. Due to the refusal of the local people and owner, there we could not measure and documented it properly, but based on our observation, its architectural style represents as the similar features of Qutub Khan's mosque.

Factors Responsible for the Current State of the Monuments

Several factors are responsible for the dilapidated condition and public negligence of the monuments located in the proposed research area. Sohna has been an area affected by communal discontent for the medieval period, which is not only directly mentioned in state centric history writing, but also in Shail Mayaram's work *Against History, Against State* which has tried to show the oral evidence (myths, folk songs and people's memory) of Meos society. In pre-independence period, despite the situation of mutual struggle, the continuity of a pluralistic society in Sohna maintained these buildings in normal use. The independence of India in 1947 also included a devastating displacement in its womb, the direct negative impact of which was seen in the social structure of Sohna. Most of the Muslim people had migrated and for a long time the common cultural heritage was ignored. In a short span of time, encroachment of these monuments was started by the local residents and this process is still underway. Further more, these monuments are being used for *bitora*, animal husbandry, private homes and other works which are the main factors of the monument's erosion.

Social and political events, since independence have also played a lively role in maintaining the heritage of the region as a matter of constant conflict. After the India-Pakistan partition, the 1984 riots and the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 led to increased communal tension among the people which is reflected in legal claims for the Qutub Khan mosque and the Shahi Jama Masjid. Apart from this, the negligent attitude of the Archaeological Department of Haryana State has done nothing more than mere paperwork to preserve the destroyed heritage.

Conclusion

The historicity of Haryana is as old as that of the Indian subcontinent, but still the lack of education and narrow mindset has kept our common heritage in the state of ignorance. As a result, our historical monuments are in a

state of serious crisis. Conservation of these monuments will not only help us in gaining economic and social benefits, but it is also our moral responsibility to preserve this heritage for future generations.

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Tangible Cultural Heritage of Meham : As Reflected in Perso-Arabic Epigraphs

*Md. Tarique Rasool

Haryana has had been rendezvous for races, cultures and faiths. People of different entities came here, yet alone to be transfused and crystallized into incredible Indians. Every nook and cranny of present Haryana is a rich land of heritage with a glorious ruling past. The Meham region, which is currently the surviving tangible cultural heritage in Haryana, is the creation of all those ruling chieftains. Most of the alike historical structures are of great architectural importance that narrate the past glory of its region. Some of those are the protected monuments of Archaeological departments, while some are still lying in abandonment to be revived sooner or later in the course of time.

Meham is a Sub-division of Rohtak district, around 30 Kms away from the main city. Since time immemorial, the Meham town has been a Muslim populated area. It has a number of tangible cultural heritages located on different places. During the reign of Mughals, it was bestowed upon Shahbaz Khan Afghan by Emperor Akbar. It flourished day and night in those days; whereas, during the reign of Aurangzeb Meham was plundered by the Rajputs under the leadership of Durga Das.¹ By second half of the 18th century, Meham was captured by some other chieftains like George Thomas and Jind Rajas but only for a short span of time.

Culture is closely linked with the way of life of people in a particular society, including way of thinking, traditions, beliefs, behavior, customs, rituals, dress and language, as well as art, music and literature. It is not merely a touch of colour. It is what makes us human. Without culture, the idea of human is beyond comprehension.

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Cultural heritage is a synchronized relationship a society transfers from one generation to next generation.

Tangible cultural heritage belongs to physical artifacts which include artistic creation, buildings, historic places, monuments, archaeological sites and architectural works etc. It has a physical presence and is the tangible evidence of norms and values as objects, technology, and art work reflect the attributive idea and belief.

Five Perso-Arabic Epigraphs selected for the study are from the city of Meham. These inscriptions were copied by Epigraphy Branch, Nagpur and were mentioned in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy. In this paper, I will try to draw attention to the process of cultural Synthesis that unfolds itself conspicuously in medieval history of Haryana in general and that of Meham in particular.

The first Persian inscription belongs to the Mughal emperor Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur. The tablet bearing the record under notice is fixed on the northern wall of the prayer chamber of Pir Zaddon ki Masjid.² It contains five line text inscribed in *Naskh* style of calligraphy. It records that Yusuf Agha, son of Shaikh Yusuf, resident of Hisar-i- Shadman with God's grace built the mosque in the town of Meham dated the 5th Rabi-ul-Awwal A.H 936 (7th November 1529 CE).

The text reads as:

۱۔ در عهد حضرت دولت شهنشاه عالم پناه ظہیر الدین محمد بابر
۲۔ غازی بادشاہ خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ بندہ در گاہ صمدے
۳۔ الفقیر حقیر خان یوسف آغا ابن شیخ یوسف ساکن حصار شادمانی
۴۔ بتوفیق اللہ تعالیٰ توفیق یافتہ مسجد در قصبہ مہم راس کنانید حق تعالیٰ
۵۔ مجاب و مستجاب کرد اند بمنہ و فضلہ بتاریخ پنجم ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ست و ثلثین و تسعمایہ

Translation

- 1) Under the reign of his majesty, the king of the kings, the world emperor Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur

- 2) *Badshah-i-Ghazi*, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, the slave of the court of the one on whom all depend (i.e GOD)
- 3) The poor and humble Khan Yusuf Agha, son of Shaikh Yusuf, the resident of Hisar-i-Shadman
- 4) was blessed with God's grace to build a mosque in the *qasba* (town) of Meham; May God
- 5) accept this small service and shower his blessings. Dated- 5th of the month *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, year (A.H) six and thirty and nine hundred (5th Rabi I A.H. 936= 7th November 1529 CE).³

The second Persian inscription is found above the left arch of the Jama Masjid at Meham.⁴ It records the erection of the Jami Mosque of the *qasba* of Meham by Khawja Rahmatullah who was a man of high repute during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. He was conferred the title Sarbuland Khan, which is omitted in the inscription. He was the son of Najabat Khan Mirza Shuja's sister. Sarbuland Khan after the battle of Samugarh countered a good fortune of entering the court of Aurangzeb.⁵ The text is inscribed in beautiful style of *Nastaliq* calligraphy.

The text reads as:

۱۔ در عهد سعادت مہد حدود زمیں
۲۔ وزمان خدیو کمین و مکان سلطان
۳۔ السلاطین ظل اللہ فی العالمین محمد اورنگزیب
۴۔ بہادر عالم گیر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ
۵۔ وسلطانہ تعمیر مسجد جامع قصبہ ہم حسب حکم اقدس
۶۔ باہتمام بندہ درگاہ خواجہ رحمت اللہ با تمام رسید
۷۔ اللہ تعالیٰ مجاب و مستجاب کرواںد بوندہ و فضلہ
۸۔ فی التاریخ ہفتہ شہر محرم الحرام سنہ ثمان و
۹۔ سبعین والہ ہجری و سنہ عاشر جلوس مبارک

Translation

- 1) Under the graceful rule over time

- 2) and space, of the king of land and its people, the King
- 3) of kings, the shadow of God for the universe, Muhammad Aurangzeb
- 4) Bahadur Alamgir, *Badishah-i-Ghazi*, may God perpetuate his kingdom
- 5) and his reign! The repairing of the Jami Masjid of the town of Meham, according to the holy order,
- 6) was completed by the slave of the court, Khwaja Rahmat Allah
- 7) May God accept his service and favour him with his kindness and wisdom!
- 8) On the 17th of the month Muharram, the holy A.H. 1078 (9th July 1667 CE) in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne.⁶

The third Persian Epigraph is copied from the northern outer arch of the mosque of Dulah Khan at Meham.⁷ The epigraph contains five lines beautifully written in *Nastaliq*. It records that the erection of the mosque was done by Dulah Khan son of Darya Khan in A.H. 1112=1700-01 CE. The date is given by a chronogram.

The text reads as under:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
يا الله يا فتاح	يا محمد يا نبي الله
این عمارت ز بهر رب کریم	بانیش دوله خان والا شان
پدرش بختیار ناموری	مغفرت دستگاه دریا خان
سال اتمام را بعقل و تمیز	مسجد مقبره ز خان بر خوان

Translation

- 1) In the name of Allah the most beneficent and the most merciful. There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is his messenger.
- 2) O God! O Opener!
- 3) O Muhammad! O Apostle of God!
- 4) This edifice (was constructed) with the bounty of God.
- 5) Its founder (was) his highness Daula Khan
- 6) His father (was) Darya Khan a famous courtier

- 7) Darya Khan, may he be graced
 - 8) The year of the completion-name with wisdom and discernment.
 - 9) Mosque and tomb (are built) by the khan.⁸
- The letters of the date gives A.H 1112= 1696 CE.

The fourth Perso-Arabic record is copied from the wall of the tomb of Dulah Khan.⁹ It is now on ruin and the inscription engraved on its wall will get destroyed when it falls. It runs in four lines, preceded by Bismillah and First creed of Islam. It records the construction of this tomb with God's grace by Dulah Khan Muhammadi, disciple of Gilani during the reign of Aurangzeb on the 14th of the month *Ramzan* A.H 1114 through the effort of the artist Usta Abu son of Tayyib.

The text runs as under:

۱۔ بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم لا الہ الا اللہ محمد رسول اللہ بندہ درگاہہ رحمانی
 ۲۔ دولہ خان محمدی مرید گیلانی دانستم کہ چہار یار برحق این دنیا ہمہ فانی تو فیق یافت
 ۳۔ در ہنگام زندگانی این مقبرہ تیار ساخت از لطف ربانی در عہد اورنگ زیب
 ۴۔ بادشاہ ظل سبحانی بتاریخ ۱۴ شہر رمضان المبارک سنہ یکہزار و یکصد و چہار و ہجری باہتمام استاد ابو ولد طیب معمار

Translation

- 1) In the name of Allah the most beneficent and the most merciful. There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. The slave of God, Daula Khan Muhammadi, disciple of Gilani.
- 2) I knew that the four friends (the Caliphs) are over his wholly perishable world- found grace.
- 3) In his lifetime to erect mausoleum with the favour of the lord, during the reign of Aurangzeb.
- 4) Badshah, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month *Ramazan*, the blessed A.H. 1114 (1st February 1703). Through the effort of the artist Usta Abu son of Tayyib.¹⁰

As mentioned in this inscription, the name of artist Usta Abu son of Tayyib reveals that this tomb had been decorated/painted in Usta art as this art is slender and elongated, reminiscent of artistic trends during Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's reign.

The term Usta is derived from the Persian word Ustad, which means master or skilled person. This unique form of art came to India with Usta artists from Iran who were invited by the emperors and flourished in India during the Mughal period. They soon adapted in India and adopted Indian culture. The Usta art of Bikaner is world famous for its multi-dimensional forms like meenakari on camel hide, golden meenakari and painting (embossed and unembossed floral and geometric patterns layered with gold). Their descendents manifested the beauty of Usta art in Bikaner's fabulous Junagarh Fort, Anoop Palace, Karan Palace and Phool Mahal. Specimens of Usta art can be found at Dargah Ajmer Sharif in Rajasthan, Dargah Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya and Amir Khusro in Delhi etc. These delicate forms tend to the craft elegance and grandeur.

There are many indigenous Usta art works which are on the verge of extinction due to adverse effects of globalization and are in dire need of revival and preservation so that the legacy of cultural heritage could be passed on to the future generations.

The fifth Persian Epigraph is copied from the interior of Baoli Saidu Kalal wall.¹¹ It records that this baoli was built by Saidu Kalal, a mace bearer, during the reign of Shahjahan in A.H 1069= 1658-59 CE. The text is composed and inscribed by Kayasth Munshi as mentioned in the inscription. It is an elaborate structure, made of Lakhori bricks with 101 steps extending in three stages. It also has several rooms in the subterranean pavilion flank on both side of the well's steps. It is a combined structure of a large well with slanting wider steps approaching gradually to the octagonal chamber.

The British army officer General Mundy too remarked about this baoli in 1828 as an exceptional and stupendous relic.¹² It is a monument of public utility, a worthy munificence of the Roman Empire.

The said baoli as is a hiding place for the thieves and robbers, it is colloquially termed as *Jayani chor ki Baoli* (Jayani the thief's tunnel). Now it is a protected monument under Archaeological Survey of India.

The text is as following:

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
 بدورشہنشاہ عالم ستاں
 زسید و شد ایں برکہ زمزم نشاں
 چوتارخ آن جستم از پیر عقل
 بمن گفتہ آب خیر رواں
 قائلہ وراقمہ کاہستہ منشی ۱۰۶۹ھ

Translation

- 1) In the name of Allah the most beneficent and the most merciful
- 2) In the reign of the world emperor,
- 3) This well resembling Zamzam was dug by Saidu.
- 4) When I asked its date from wisdom,
- 5) It replied is in the overflowing graced water.
- 6) Composed and inscribed by Kayasth Munshi 1069 Hijri.

Conclusion

To conclude with, Mahem has been an important region/city for any dynasty to enter and to rule over. The epigraphs are the footprints of rulers and a reflection of the contemporary society. These records are important in compiling politico-socio-economic, literary and cultural history of Mahem as well as medieval Haryana.

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Panipat - An Unprecedented History

*Somya Malik

The city which was a part of demand of the Pandavas from Duryodhana, then called Panduprastha witnessed three important battles in the Indian History. A turning point in the change of dynastic rules, Panipat became a home to several rulers, patrons and artisans. This paper will give a brief of three battles, firstly between the Ibrahim Lodhi and Timurid warlord Babur; secondly between the Great Emperor Akbar and King of North India, Hem Chandra Vikramaditya; and thirdly between the Maratha and the Afghans, which served as a catalyst to the beginning of the rule of East India Company in India due to weakening of the princely states. The study of these battles will give an idea of the Mughal warfare, ways of war, tactics and weaponry. Some patrons commissioned Mughal miniature paintings on these battles which provided the notions of a rich history, amalgamation of religion, culture and traditions, documentation of life scenes and more. Panipat became a home to a museum established specially to disseminate information regarding history, archaeology, art and craft of the state of Haryana along with reference to the Battles of Panipat. The displays include numerous artifacts, photographs, maps, replicas etc. They have also displayed enlarged photographs of miniature folios from Akbarnama and Baburnama which related to the battles and the personalities involved. Panipat is now globally called the 'textile city'; the waves of change from the times of Mahabharat to the present day has brought in an evolution in the development of the city as an emerging economic and industrial hub. It can be considered as an open-air museum, showcasing the rich culture and understanding of our history.

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Introduction

Located at the north of Delhi, Panipat district of Haryana shares its borders with Uttar Pradesh. It is known as the 'city of weavers' as the district has opened International markets for 'Handloom Production'. Several products like carpets, curtains, darri, bedsheets, bedcovers, etc for export to the foreign land. Creating opportunities for employment, more than 25,000 handlooms spread across the district providing jobs to more than 75,000 people. Presently, Panipat itself export handicrafts approximately worth Rs. 3500 cr annually. This is Panipat for us at present, however there are numerous tales of strength, battles, bloodshed, religion, culture and traditions which explains more of the region since the very beginning of the epic of *Mahabharata*¹ when Panipat was used to be called *Panduprastha*.² The battles of Panipat (1526, 1556 and 1761) fought between different rulers, emperors and dynasties to achieve the victory to rule did bring upon certain aspects of warfare techniques, dynastic backgrounds, the geographical and spatial catalysts and art in the form of manuscripts, miniatures, paintings, poems and more to describe the scenes and situation. Both Tangible³ and Intangible⁴ cultural heritage constitutes the history of Panipat, Haryana.

After Al-Beruni's visit to India he writes how Panipat was one of the main cities of the northern Hindustan.⁵ With the coming of Turks, Panipat's history became more definite and detailed. It became a battleground during the difficult years that followed the death of Balban for the empire of Delhi as the tract suffered from Mongol raids from time to time. It is believed by several scholars that almost every invader keeping an eye to conquer Delhi via the western front of the Indian territory had to fight his way near Panipat. However, Panipat was not just known for the determining battles but also for the commercial activity. An employee of the East India company who toured from Agra to Thatta in 1689 CE, namely Horn Burnford says that Panipat's white woven cloth was sent to Sirhind or Lahore for sale. Not just commercially but culturally as well Panipat has proven to be rich source of history, for example there has been a presence of a prominent Sufi saint of the Chishti order named Sharafuddeen Bu Ali Shah Qalandar Panipati renowned as Bu Ali Qalandar.⁶ It marks that it was an important centre for Sufism as well. Hence, Panipat which was a pivotal hub of the medieval

period for the cultural, political and commercial activities dwells a number of monuments which are of great interest to any history buff. The monuments like Kabuli Bagh Mosque, Salar Gunj Gate, Tomb of Bu-Ali Shah Kalandar, Bab-i-Faiz Gate, Ibrahim Lodhi's Tomb etc. are scattered all over the city of Panipat presently which depict the expanse of the city in the medieval times.

Battles of Panipat

The First Battle of Panipat⁷ was fought in April, 1526, between the Lodhi Empire and the invading forces of Babur. Lodhi's fighting forces had around 30,000 to 40,000 men and at least 1000 war elephants on the other hand, Babur's force included approximately 15,000 fighting men and 20-24 pieces of field artillery.⁸ It is believed that even after having a smaller fighting Babur won because of the tactics he used to fight the battle; the sound of the cannons made it easier to fear off the elephants along with trampling Lodhi's own men. The new war tricks used by Babur were the *Tulughma* and the *Araba*. The former meant dividing the whole army into three parts i.e. left, right and centre. The left and the right divisions were then subdivided into forward and rear divisions. *Araba* meant the carts which were placed in the front rows facing the army of the centre and forward division, tied to each other with animal hide ropes. The cannons were placed behind them protected and supported by mantelets which could be used to easily exercise the cannons. These two tactics made the Babur's artillery destructive. Ibrahim Lodhi dies on the battle field making Babur as the new Emperor, eventually leading to the beginning of the Mughal Dynasty.⁹

The Second Battle of Panipat was fought in November, 1556, amongst the army of Akbar and the armies of Samrat Hemchandra Vikramaditya, popularly known as Hemu, the Hindu king who was ruling North India from Delhi. After the death of the Mughal emperor Humayun in January, 1556, the throne was succeeded by his son Akbar whose guardian was Bairam Khan. They were campaigning in Kabul when Hemu started eyeing over the throne in Delhi after quelling a rebellion in Bengal, killing Muhammad Shah¹⁰ in the war. Hemu started lobbying and fighting combats to win over the northern India; a large area of Etawah, Kalpi, and Agra provinces

comprising present day Bihar and U.P. came under Hemu's control. In October, 1556, Hemu's forces had a fierce fight the Akbar's forces who were in Delhi while Akbar with his army was in Kalanaur during this interaction. This fight turned out to be victorious for Hemu after which Akbar decided to march towards Delhi along with his guardian Bairam Khan and his army to defeat Hemu at the historic battlefield of Panipat where his Grandfather Babur had started the Mughal Empire. Both the forces were equipped with different kinds of resources, such as Hemu's forces had 1500 war elephants and 30,000 practices horsemen composed of Rajputs and Afghans¹¹ whereas Mughals had many elephants and 10,000 cavalry, amongst which 5000 were experienced soldiers. Akbar won after a really long struggle although he denied to struck off Hemu's head when Bairam Khan came in and slashed his head on his own with the sword. Hemu's followers constructed a memorial at the site of his beheading, which still exists at the village Saudhapur in Panipat.

The Third Battle of Panipat was fought in January, 1761 between the expeditionary Maratha forces and a coalition of Ahmad Shah Durrani¹² and Two Indian Muslim allies i.e. the Rohilla Afghans of the Doab, and Shuja-ud-Daula, who was the Nawab of Oudh. This battle is considered to be one of the largest battles fought in the 18th Century, which also accounted for the largest number of fatalities reported in a single day. For almost 10 years, the aftermath of the battle resulted in halting the advances of Marathas in the north, and destabilization of their territories. These 10 years were marked by the rule of Peshwa Madhavrao, who was attributed with the comeback of the Maratha domination after the defeat at Panipat.

Ten years after Panipat, in 1771, he sent aenormous Maratha army to North India in an investigation that was mainly meant to (1) restore the Maratha command in North India, and (2) punish determined powers that had either took sides with the Afghans or had shook the Maratha authority after Panipat. The success of this expedition could be seen as the last saga of the long story of Panipat.¹³

Panipat as an Open -Air Museum

The history of Panipat is not just written in books, or remembered in oral history but it does survive in every corner or the city with its beatifically

carved monuments like tombs, mosques, gateways, memorial, inscriptions over these monuments, objects preserved in the Panipat museum like copy of manuscripts from *Akbarnama*¹⁴ and *Baburnama*,¹⁵ artefacts, photographs, jewellery, important documents, arms and armour, maps and much more. It's not important to have a confined space to called as a museum, rather an unconfined atmosphere which displays the living history of the place can be called as a museum as well.



Plate 1: Ibrahim Lodhi Tomb

The tomb of Ibrahim Lodhi¹⁶ was built as a result of the defeat of Ibrahim Lodhi by Babur in the First Battle of Panipat in 1526. The British Government erected a plain platform over his grave with a short Urdu inscription over it¹⁷ (Plate 1). The inscriptional records account for one of the most important primary data to study the history. It gives historical evidence of the presence and activities of the rulers and empires, the cultural, economic, social and religious ideologies of the era.¹⁸ However, as the time passed by the tomb was shifted more towards the city unlike before.

To commemorate victory of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi in the First Battle of Panipat (1526 CE), Babur built the first Mughal monument in India namely the Kabuli Bagh Mosque (Plate 2). The mosque situated inside the compound has octagonal towers on its corners has its entrance from the north. The gateway, engineered of bricks made of red sandstone, consists of a lintel bracket opening sheathed in an excessively huge arch, the spandrels of that which are adorned with arched recesses sheathed in rectangular panels.



Plate 2: Kabuli Bagh Mosque
(source: <https://haryanatourism.gov.in>)

The main prayer hall, which is square in form, has annexes on sides and its high façade is split into panels plastered with lime. Each of the annexes has nine bays that are surmounted with hemispherical domes resting on low drums. When Humayun defeated Salim Shah, he added a masonry platform called *Chabutra-i-Fateh Mubarak*.¹⁹ It bears an inscription dated 1527 CE that says the name of the King and alternative information about its builders.



Plate 3: Obelisk commemorated to the Third Battle of Panipat
(Source: <https://haryanatourism.gov.in>)

During British administration, this obelisk was established by the then Surveyor General of Archaeology in India (Plate 3). It marks the location of the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 CE. Here, Sadashiva Rao Bhau, who commanded the Maratha resistance during the battle, is believed to

have laid down his life while fighting for his own people. A brick pillar with an iron rod at the highest and an iron fence surrounding the entire area marks the location. A stunning war memorial compound was built by the Battles of Panipat Memorial Society around this obelisk in a huge property. This Society was constituted by the Haryana Government in 1981 under the chairmanship Shri G.D. Tapse, the then Governor of Haryana, as a respect and regard to the heroes that is, the soldiers, who laid down their lives within the three battles of Panipat. The Society has also opened up a Panipat Museum²⁰ at village Binjhol which preserves the living history of the city of Panipat. The materials, objects and therefore the write-ups concerning these battles alongside the archaeological and ethnological materials are exhibited in this museum.



Plate 4: Panipat Museum

(Source: <https://haryanatourism.gov.in>)

Panipat museum houses a huge collection of important and meaningful artifacts which has been an attempt to provide an insight into the acts of bravery of some patriotic and valiant warriors who sacrificed their lives at Panipat. An enormous number of modern-day weapons, guns and armoury and more have been acquired through loan from the Archaeological Survey of India.²¹ The department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana²² has also shown interest and got involved in the project like these, and has donated a huge number of objects for exhibition in the Panipat Museum (Plate 4). These include replicas of a large number of artifacts in the form

of status, coins, pottery and more, which were collected from the excavated sites in Haryana besides a number of blow-ups of building and sites of historical importance. Not just this, but a substantial number of items of traditional art have been acquired from various districts of Haryana with the help of District Administration which display a foretaste of Haryana's heritage.



Plate 5. Akbar's victory over Hemu at the Battle of Panipat

(Source: <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5900968>)

This is a Mughal Miniature executed by a Kishangarh artist in the early 18th century (Plate 5). The folio describes young Akbar riding a black male elephant, he is wearing a purple *jama* and a bejewelled turban, behind him his aid appears Hemu, the hands bound, lying on the ground trampled by Akbar's elephant, officers and soldiers around. Hemu's wives are mournful before the scene, in the background is the besieged city of Panipat. Opaque pigments are heightened with gold on paper.

Conclusion

Panipat's extraordinary history commences from the ancient times since

the beginning of Mahabharata, to medieval times of the three Battles of Panipat (1526, 1556 and 1761), and the intervention of the East India Company to the modern period of this city becoming a commercial hub for the textile industry and creating employment for a large number of people and boosting the economy of India. Both Tangible and Intangible collections together provide us with an unprecedented history which accounts for major turning points in the history of ancient India affecting the working of modern India as well, for example through understanding the Mughal warfare techniques and study of Maratha's forces and artillery, modern technologies have been improvised. A lot of Manuscripts and portfolios depicting Panipat's history commissioned by the wealthy patrons and rulers also shows the artists' hard work, intricate work and understanding of the theme. Many inscriptions, material culture, paintings and photographs did give us a major insight into what must have happened back then.

Panipat in itself can be considered as an open-air museum, as it is a home to numerous tangible and intangible collection of cultures, traditions, artefacts, inscriptions, numismatics and architectural history. The protection and conservation of such an important site of rich heritage is a matter of concern, where involvement of the local people is must. ICOM²³ also has contributed in promoting the concept of open-air museums and the archaeological heritage of the area by affiliating an organization²⁴ abbreviated as EXARC.²⁵ The organizations like these on a global level sets as an example to prevent and conserve our cultural heritage in an innovative and creative way.

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Armed Ascetic in Bharatpur and its Environs (in the Second half of 18th century)

*Sutapa Bhattacharya

Armed Ascetics first arose in India after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. The earlier existence of violent conflict between kings and temples is documented for Kashmir in the *Rajatarangini*. The present paper seems to cover the role played by the armed Shaiva *nagas* and *gosains* during the heyday of the Mughal Empire. Bharatpur consists of in the present day, a larger part of Western Uttar Pradesh, Eastern Rajasthan and Haryana. The armed *nagas* and *gosains* had relations with the regional powers including the Raja of Bharatpur was largely economic but in few cases political issues were also involved.

The term *gosains* and *nagas* clearly indicate the origin of the order. They originated from the Great Hindu philosopher Adi Sankaracharya (10th century CE). There is a lot of controversy regarding the actual date of the appearance of Sankaracharya. Sankaracharya had four disciples viz. Padmapada, Hastamulak, Totak and Mundan out of which ten sub-orders came into existence who are widely known as Dasnamis. Dasnami means Giri, Puri, Bharati, Saraswati, Aranya, Parvat, Tirtha, Ashram, Bon and Sagar. Giris, Puris and Bharatis were frequently found both in their activities and scriptures. Among the Dasnamis, the present paper intends to throw light on the *nagas* and *gosains* and their armed activities in Bharatpur and surrounding regions. *Gosains* means who used to lead a domestic settled life, performing religious pilgrimages, carrying money-lending and trading activities and rendering their services as mercenaries. The *nagas* were *Koupindhari* (wearing loin cloth), carrying on their activities both in pilgrimage, money-lending and war-like activities. The basic difference between the *nagas* and *gosains* were as such that

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the *nagas* used to stay in *akharas* whereas the *gosains*' place of residence was *maths* (monasteries). Among the *maths*, Joshi, Shringeri, Sarada and Gobardhan may be mentioned. Moti Chandra¹ in his account has mentioned the existence of near about two hundred maths in and around Bharatpur and its surrounding regions. Whereas, the *Nagas* used to reside in various *Akharas*, namely Mahanirbani, Niranjani, Abahan, Juna, Atal, Anand and Agni *Akharas*. These *Akharas* were situated in Allahabad, Haridwar, Bharatpur and other places of India. The *math* was not only the residence of the *gossains* but also acted as a commercial centre from where they transacted money-lending business and trading operations² whereas, *Akharas* were mainly the storehouse of arms and weapons. Jadunath Sarkar³ has shown how the Atal and Abahan *Akharas* produced armed *nagas* who fought so many fierce battles against not only the Muslims but also against the East India Company in their early phase colonial rule in Bengal Presidency.⁴ So far the external behaviour of the *nagas* is concerned that it may be said that they would smear ashes (*Bibhuti*) on their body and would carry long iron chains round their neck.⁵ These *nagas* were also called *Jatadhari* (matted hair) armed mendicants. Lorenzen⁶ identified them as warrior ascetics due to their war-like activities and war-like appearance in the battlefield. J.N Farquhar⁷ has called them fighting mendicants. This paper tends to show how the fighting propensities of the *nagas* began to increase since the Turko-Afghan period⁸ down to the coming of the British in Bengal. They chose their centres of operation mainly Bharatpur and its surroundings for which I would like to lay emphasis on their warrior armed activities in those regions. In order to prepare this paper, I have to consult not only the printed books and journals but also the primary sources of the National Archives of India,⁹ New Delhi, U.P State Archives,¹⁰ Lucknow, Allahabad Regional Archives, Allahabad and West Bengal State Archives,¹¹ Calcutta. The official documents written in English have been corroborated and supplemented with the Persian documents,¹² Marathi sources,¹³ Hindi sources¹⁴ and *Akhara* literatures.¹⁵ The *Akhara* literatures are mostly found in various *Akharas*. The detailed interviews¹⁶ with the *mahants* (head of the *gossains* and *nagas*) of the *Akharas* not only of upper India but also the *akharas* situated in various places of Bengal have been incorporated in the present paper. It appears from the oral testimonies of the *nagas* residing in

various *akharas* that how those fighting *nagas* fought so many battles in order to maintain their *Hinduttwa* against the Islamic invasion. The successors of these fighting *nagas* and *gossains* also glorify themselves for the martial valour of their ancestors as it is revealed from their oral testimonies.

It is ironic that David N. Lorenzen, J.N. Farquhar and William Pinch¹⁷ in their works seem to have failed to consult the various sources of invaluable importance available in various Archives, Collectorate record room, monasteries and oral testimonies left by the disciples and *mahants* belonging to the Dasnami order. Lorenzen's entire thesis is speculation based on secondary literature. He even failed to relate the rise and growth of armed ascetics. He had come to the conclusion that 'warrior ascetics or monks who became a significant political and military presence in North India from about the 15th century' and 'continued until early decades of the 19th century' but Lorenzen failed to point out how the Dasnami *nagas* had become so significant. Lorenzen himself admitted the importance of primary documents for a fresh discussion on the subject. Similarly, William Pinch outlined only a detailed narrative of the armed *yogis* and their encounters with other religious groups excluding the Dasnamis Vairagis and *Nathapanthis* in an all-India perspective and in order to demonstrate this, he quoted the well-known accounts of Badauni,¹⁸ Pietro Della Valle,¹⁹ Barbosa,²⁰ Peter Mundy²¹ and Francois Bernier.²² But he failed to mention how the relationship developed between the Dasnami Nagas and other Hindu religious ascetics and also with the Muslim *Fakirs*, Pinch did not consult the Persian and Marathi sources to identify the growth of asceticism and the role of Dasnami *nagas* in the Mughal period.

Historical Backgroun

The Dasnami *nagas* used to wander in various parts of India in search of military services as armed soldiers since the Mughal period and thus they were recruited by the regional powers of Bharatpur and its environs. An early example of their military service in North India was their participation in the battle between Prithviraj Chauhan, the Rajput ruler (1190-1192 CE) and Muhammad Ghori in 1192 CE in the battle of Tarain.²³ They fought for Prithviraj at Narayangarh near Panipath in which battle they

displayed their military skill. Even when Prithviraj Chauhan continued his fight against Chandal Raj of Bundelkhand near Mohoba the Dasnami Nagas sided with the Rajput ruler.²⁴

Activities in 18th Century

Their armed activity as a religious ascetic seems to have increased during the Mughal period. When Jhansi became one of their great centres, it is learnt that when Bir Singh Deo of Orcha in the beginning of the 17th century built a fort there, he garrisoned it with the help of these militant *nagas*.²⁵ The *nagas* under the leadership of Rajendra Giri Gosain assumed the leadership and was an icon of the *nagas* in the art of warfare and militant activities. The actual name of Rajendra Giri was Inder Giri but he got the title of 'Raja' from the Nawabs of Awadh. Rajendra Giri was really a fighting monk and past his livelihood in *akharas*. Padmakar has a detailed account of Rajendra Giri's training in the art of warfare since his childhood. He was a great patron of Naro Shankar, the Maratha Chief (1730-175 CE) of Jhansi.²⁶ (Since his power and position became a threat to the Marathas in Bundelkhand, Rajendra Giri was expelled by the Maratha chief in 1740-50 and hence he joined with Safdar Jang, the Wazir of Awadh (1739-40).²⁷ Since the fighting *nagas* belonged to the Dasnami, Rajendra Giri in 1750 in addition with his fighting activities had gone on pilgrimage to holy Prayag but it was Rajendra Giri on behalf of the Nawabs of Awadh subjected the Afghans to harassments. Rajendra Giri did not return without killing the enemy for which the Afghans could not make any impressions on the enemy. Rajendra Giri always came forward to offer his valuable service to recover Allahabad from the devastating attack of the Afghans. Rajendra Giri wanted to establish *Hinduttwa* at any form by killing the Afghans. Thus the dispirited Awadh troops were fired with a new spirit and carried out attacks on the Afghan camps.

Rajendra Giri's next move was to rescue Safdar Jang from the court politics, particularly from the Turani nobles. In order to preserve Safdar Jang's prestige, Rajendra Giri began to commit plunder in and around Secunderabad.²⁸ In order to attack the Turani nobles situated near Delhi, Rajendra Giri was entrusted to plunder the *jagir* of the Turani nobles of Delhi and Doab situated in the confluence of Ganga and Jamuna. This

produced consternation in the city and alarmed the Mughal Emperor. Rajendra Giri stopped the grain supply to Delhi and sharply raised food prices in the capital.²⁹ Rajendra Giri fell upon the imperial artillery on so many occasions but in the evening of 19th/15th June, 1758, this reckless monk met his end at the battle of Talkotra. Srivastava has commented, 'in this way the death defying commander of Safdar Jang's army who sacrificed his life in the cause of his master.'³⁰ Rajendra Giri's tragic death so shocked the Wazir that Safdar Jang never personally went to any battle.³¹ After Rajendra Giri's death his two successors, Umrao Giri and Anup Giri, popularly known as *Gosain* brothers aligned themselves with Awadh government and became close associates of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula (1759-1769).³² In fact, Shuja-ud-Daula secured his throne with the help of militant *nagas* and *gosains*. Gosains brothers' first objective was to eliminate the remnants of the civil war which had weakened the strength and power of the Nawab of Awadh. The heroic militant *nagas* not only inflicted heavy losses on the imperial armies and thus brought the civil war to an end.³³ When in 1755, Balbant Singh, Raja of Benaras, broke into revolt; the *nagas* and *gosains* under Anand Giri stood by the side of Nawab of Awadh and secured the surrender of the fort of Chunar. Anup Giri on the other side with his large militant armed *naga* forces advanced as far as Daraganj in Allahabad and killed a large number of Afghans.³⁴ The Maratha danger for the Nawab of Awadh was also averted by the military leadership of Anup Giri and Umrao Giri. Anup Giri due to his martial valour got the title '*Himmat Bahadur*' which signifies his strength and position in the court of Awadh.

The armed Nagas also joined with Jawhar Singh Jat of Bharatpur where they played a conspicuous role in the Jat-Rohilla contest over the possession of Delhi in the year 1764.³⁵ When Jawahir's first attempt against the Rohillas fell due to the non-availability of necessary help from the Maratha Chief Malhar Rao Holkar the *gosain* brothers advanced towards Delhi on the 15th November 1764. It was the armed *nagas* under Umrao Giri changed the situation by their heroic attack on the Rohillas.³⁶ It appears that Jawahir's troops crossed the River Jamuna with the heroic assistance and bloody sacrifice of the armed militant *nagas*. Jawahir Singh was so pleased with the desperate valour of the armed *nagas* that he honoured Umrao Giri by lifting him to

the *howdah* of the own elephant.³⁷ The armed ascetics under Anup Giri even occupied the residence of Hafizuddin, the Rohilla King.³⁸

The defeat of the Jats at the hands of Marathas led to a breach of understanding between Jats and armed ascetics that led them to join the service of Mirza Najaf Khan, the Regent of Delhi, with the right to live by plunder.³⁹ When the armed *nagas* seized the city of Dig in Rajasthan, Ranjit Singh, the successor of Jawahir Singh Jat of Bharatpur fled in order to avoid the armed *nagas*.⁴⁰ The fighting armed *nagas* even participated in the Maratha politics. The martial valour of these armed ascetics led Madhaji Scindia, the Maratha Chief to secure their services against the English and other.⁴¹ The armed ascetics under Anup Giri and Umrao Giri fought in the battle of Patan and Marta in 1790 against the Rajput-led Mughal armies. Anup Giri made an alliance with Ali Bahadur, an illegitimate son of Peshwa Baji Rao, in the latter's attempt to conquer Bundelkhand. Padmakar, the author of *Himmat Bahadur Virudabali* has shown not only the super skill in the art of warfare but also highlighted how the armed *nagas* established their power and position as the semi-independent overlords in the power politics not only in Bharatpur but also in its surroundings. Even in the power politics of Rajasthan the armed ascetics had played a vital role, particularly, against Joy Apa Sindhia of Marwar in 1759 where Mahant Golap Puri with his armed contingents, each under its separate flag, played a vital role.

The armed ascetics due to their services on behalf of the regional powers of Bharatpur and its neighbouring regions were also given high patronage and reward. In fact a nexus was formed in the power politics for which the *nagas* were enrolled as *Faujdar* at Sharanpur in September 1752 to collect revenue from the Afghan, Gujar and Barha Sayyid Chiefs of the region. *Tarikh-i-Ahmadshahi*, a Persian manuscript has shown that the post of *faujdar* was actually enjoyed by the ruling family of Mughal lineage. It was such a high post that it was held formerly by the Mughal emperor's maternal uncle, Mutaquddaulah and his son Atiqad.⁴² Rajendra Giri extracted revenue from the regional aristocrats of that region indiscriminately whereas his predecessors failed to dethrone those disloyal aristocrats. *Tarikh -i-Ahmadshahi* says 'the Afghans, Gujar and the Sayyids of Barha who had never obeyed any *faujdar* before was totally ruined.'⁴³ It is also learnt that

Rajendra Giri collected revenue from the Muslim Zamindars of Etawah and Kora-Jahanabad who had long enjoyed a preferential treatment in the past.⁴⁴

The *Naga*, *Gosains* became so powerful that sometimes they acted as king makers and thus played their role at the Mughal Court. Jadunath Sarkar has shown how the armed ascetics under Rajendra Giri, Anup Giri and Umrao Giri began to formulate the power politics not only in the Mughal court but also in the Maratha politics. With a view to controlling the Mughal Empire as a de facto guardian Anup Giri made Afrasiyab's infant son as *Mir Bakshi*. It appears from *Ibratnama* and Brown's correspondence that Anup Giri with his armed contingents attacked Hamdani and confiscated their property.⁴⁵

Besides, the armed ascetics were provided a large tract of *madaad-i-mash* land in Bharatpur and its surrounding regions as it is revealed from the archival sources of Allahabad Regional Archives and U.P State Archives, Lucknow. Muzaffar Alam has shown how these *naga* ascetics were rewarded not only with land in Awadh but they played the role as revenue farmers and money-lenders.⁴⁶ In Allahabad the assignment of *lakhiraj* tenures to religious groups including the *nagas* was so extensive that it helped the imperial authority in creating a class which was expected to be sympathetic towards the imperial interests. It appears from the correspondence and proceedings of the Resident of Benaras that 55 *bighas* of land in the village of Kundra in the pargana of Afferowmah in Allahabad was given to the armed *nagas*.⁴⁷ Similarly, in the year 1711 Hirdyasal and Juggut Raj, the sons of Prince Chattrasal of Bundelkhand granted rent-free tenure to Mohan Giri. This tenure was also enjoyed by the successors of Mohan Giri for rendering their services.⁴⁸ These privileges were also given by the Nawabs of Awadh, Prince of Bharatpur, Maratha Chieftains and others where the armed ascetics played the role as semi-independent chieftains and warlords. The status and prestige enjoyed by the armed ascetics characterised their importance to the regional powers. The title 'Rajendra' and 'Himmat Bahadur' reveal the prestige by the Naga commanders in the army of the Awadh government. The titles 'Rajendra' and 'Himmat Bahadur' were given by the Nawab of Awadh, Suja-ud-Daula for his successful expedition⁴⁹ Furthermore, Safdar Jang, the Wazir of Awadh conferred on Rajendra

Giri the extraordinary privilege of not bowing in his presence and of beating his kettledrum.⁵⁰ This honour was actually enjoyed by the highest rank in the Mughal peerage⁵¹ Rajendra Giri was so influential that he did not require any permission to fight against his enemies.⁵² The Jat Raja Jawhar Singh appreciated the armed *nagas* bravery in war against the Rohillas by lifting Umrao Giri to the *howdah* of his own elephant. Kumar Jagat Giri received the title *Jagatendra* from the Mughal emperor implying the strength and position of the armed ascetics in the armies of the Mughal government. Even their habits of levying contributions from the local people were tolerated by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb.⁵³ Similar instances were found all over Indian perspective.

To conclude my opinion, it is to be mentioned that the semi-independent activities of the armed Sanyasis began to decline after the coming of the English East India Company because the semi-independent war-like activities and their plundering expeditions even in their long-distance pilgrimages in the Kumbh *Mela*, Gangasagar *mela* (fair) the Bay of Bengal and other places were considered by the British Governor-General Lord Warren Hastings down to Lord Wellesley as suspicious. This suspicion led them to enter into a bloody warfare particularly in Bengal, which was popularly known as the Sanyasi Rebellion.

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A Forgotten Army: The Indian Legion

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The Second World War is a watershed in the history of Indian independence. It acted as a catalytic and India hurtled to freedom. One major factor in this was Hitler and the Indian army. Indian Legion variously known also as the Tiger Legion was an Indian military unit raised during Second World War in Germany. It was initially raised in 1941 and attached to the German army and later from August 1944 attached to the Waffen-SS. Ostensibly, the legion was to serve as an Indian liberation force, as conceived by Subhas Chandra Bose, a prominent leader of the Indian independence movement, who co-founded the legion when he came to Berlin in 1941, having just escaped British house arrest in India. The initial recruits were Indian students volunteers resident in Germany at the time, and a handful from the prisoners of war (POWs) captured by great military general Erwin Rommel during his North Africa Campaign (Libya). It would later draw a large number of Indian POWs as volunteers. Contrary to popular opinion, the Germans were not racist against the Indians and treated them with a lot of respect. They respected the religious susceptibilities of the Indian Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and took out beef and pork from their rations. When German surrender seemed imminent, the Legion attempted to flee to neutral Switzerland. However, Allied forces intercepted them. Some French units and partisans with a grudge closed in there are accounts of groups of Indian soldiers being summarily executed. The remaining was handed over to the British Army, who mistreated the “oath breakers”. The men were soon shipped back to India and some stood at the INA Trials on charges of treason.

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Unlike the INA, which was popularly perceived to have fought for freedom close to India's borders, the Indian Legion suffered ignominy. Nevertheless, due to public uproar during the INA Trials the Indian Legion's trials were not completed. Soon Independence came, and the soldiers of INA and the Indian Legion were released. However, they were not allowed to serve in the post-independence Indian Army, except in rare exceptions. The government fell silent on the saga of the Indian Legion while the INA story was celebrated (at least for a while): Indian troops fighting for Hitler was not something to advertise. Thus, the Indian Legion, Netaji's firstborn army, was orphaned by war and politics. It remains largely forgotten outside historical research.

In my research paper presented describes the contribution of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his brave soldiers of the Indian Legion, who have not been given an honorable place in Indian history till date.

Introduction

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose (23 January 1897 – 18 August 1945) is one of the most celebrated freedom fighters of India. In 1942, he earned the honorific title 'Netaji' (meaning "Respected Leader" in Hindi), in Germany by the Indian soldiers of the Free Indian Legion and by the German and Indian officials in the Special Bureau for India in Berlin. On the occasion of the 125th birth anniversary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, we will look back on his life and all that he accomplished as one of the most celebrated young freedom fighters of India.

Subhas Chandra Bose was born on 23 January, 1897, in Cuttack, Orissa Division, Bengal Province, to Prabhavati Dutt Bose and Janakinath Bose, an advocate. He belonged to a well to do family and was the ninth of 14 children. Bose studied at Presidency College, Calcutta where he was later expelled for attacking a professor making racist remarks towards Indians. He then joined the Scottish Church College and earned his B.A in Philosophy. In 1919, under pressure from his father, Bose headed to London to give the Indian Civil Services (ICS) examination; he came fourth and was selected. Bose, however, resigned from Civil Services as he believed he could not side with the British. In 1921, Bose worked under Chittaranjan Das, a powerful politician in Bengal. He worked as the editor for Das's newspaper, forward,

and later started his own newspaper, *Swaraj*. In 1923, Bose was elected the President of the All India Youth Congress and also the Secretary of Bengal State Congress. He also served as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, with Das as mayor of Calcutta. He was regarded as a vigilant and charismatic youth icon in the Indian National Congress. Bose was arrested countless times, and deported to Burma (Myanmar) in 1925 because he was suspected of connections with secret revolutionary movements.¹

His uncompromising military struggle for freedom unnerved the British and they marked him out as their 'arch enemy'. To restrict his movements, repeatedly the Government put him to prison seven times in course of his twenty years struggle at home (1921-1941)- 'on trumped up charge of his active complicity with terrorists.' Subhas Chandra Bose had to travel to Europe due to his health Problems. His stay in Europe covered a period of four years (1933-36) and after a quick recovery he traveled extensively in different parts of Europe to familiarize the European countries with the Indian problem as well as to get a firsthand and direct impression and knowledge of the revolutionary or national liberal movements in those countries of which he made a detailed study. In the light of his experience he wanted to determine the future course of Indian independence movement, although frankly speaking he did not yet foresee his future programmed of the national liberation movement from European soil in 1941-43. However his preliminary contacts with Germany and particularly Mussolini of Italy served as the background of his 1941-43 exploits in these countries. Particularly during this period Subhas Chandra came into close contact, as Lothar Frank points out, with a different group in the National Socialist Party of Germany who formed a secret organization against the diehards of the party itself. This factor of his association with this secret organization turned out to be important in his second visit to Germany in 1941 with the purpose of organizing national liberation movement in Germany of India's independence with German and Italian collaboration.

During the mid-1930s Bose travelled in Europe, visiting Indian students and European politicians, including Benito Mussolini. He observed party organization and saw communism and fascism in action. In this period, he

researched and wrote the first part of his book *The Indian Struggle*, which covered the country's independence movement in the years 1920–1934. When Bose returned to India, he took over as the elected President of Congress in 1938; he stood for unqualified Swaraj (self-governance) and the use of force against the British which then combated against Mahatma Gandhi and his views. Bose soon resigned from the presidency and formed the All India Forward Bloc, a faction within the Indian National Congress. He aimed at consolidating the political left, but was arrested again, and released following a seven-day hunger strike. Bose's house in Calcutta was kept under surveillance by the CID.

In 1941, during his house arrest, Bose set the scene for his escape to Nazi Germany via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. The great leader of India Subhas Chandra Bose made his escape from house arrest. His journey took him westward, through the border town of Peshawar and on the capital of Afghanistan, reaching Kabul on 25 January 1941. Here Bose and his travelling companion, one Bhagat Ram, tried in vain to make contact with the Soviet Embassy. They then tried the Germans, who passed them on to the Italians. Bose was given an Italian passport in the name of Orlando Mazzotta and continued his journey by road to Samarkand. From here, it was relatively easy train ride to Moscow and the German Embassy.² To undertake such a journey, with all its inherent dangers, a man must possess a steely determination. For Bose, this determination was fired by the idea of an India free from British rule. Bose was not alone with such ideals. Both Gandhi and Nehru also wanted India to determine her own destiny. Where Bose was alone in his method. He was determined to free India at any cost, and when Britain and her empire declared war against Germany, Bose saw his chance. Ultimately he would approach the Germans on behalf of a Free India and ask for their help, as had happened in the Great War.³ With their assistance he would raise an army of revolution and end of the British Imperial rule, freeing his country once and for all. With this goal in mind, Bose took off from Moscow just before midnight on 31 March bound for Berlin, arriving on 2 April 1941.

On his arrival in Berlin, Bose was initially put up by the German Foreign Office in a hotel, close to the district of the Tiergarten and its embassies. Bose lost no time in trying to persuade the Germans to help him, although

the latter were not so keen. He tried a number of times to see the Foreign Minister, Von Ribbentrop, initially without luck. When he finally succeeded, on 29 April 1941, in Vienna, he laid out his plans. If the Germans would help him, he would set up a government in exile and raise a Free Indian Army of 100,000 men. Manpower, Bose went on, would be found from prisoners of war and mass desertions. The latter would be orchestrated by a propaganda campaign from Berlin. Bose would then strike at India from the west, once the Axis Powers had secured victory in the Middle East and he was given the idea that he would be able to operate, to his own agenda in the North-West Frontier Provinces.

Adam Von Trott, an active leader used his influence as Head of the India section of the foreign office in Berlin for transforming this section into the special India Division working for Subhas. It was mainly through his recommendation that later Free India centre, which Bose wanted, was established with facilities accorded to him for raising the Indian Legion from among the Indian prisoners of war. According to Leonard Gordon 'Trott became the key link for Bose to the German Foreign office'. An effective organization was gradually built up from within the government, starting from May 1941, in accordance with the requirements of Bose fight for free India. This apparatus had to be organized and constructed in such way that could function perfectly independently under Netaji's or his co-workers leadership. A fundamental decision had to be taken, if possible by the highest political circles, regarding an extensive program between a defined number of authorities, organization and persons with the purpose of winning a maximum number of well-qualified Indian comrades from all over Germany, the neighboring countries and from the frontiers of war and to train them in order to form a consolidated and independent Indian organization that could do full justice to the plans and programs, Bose had in mind.⁴

From the report of Pietro Quaroni (Italian Diplomat Ambassador to London), date 02.04.1941, we get idea of Subhas Chandra Bose program of achieving independence with the help of Axis Powers. As the first step, he thought it would be convenient to constitute in Europe a "Government of Free India" with a name to be decided upon and the Axis powers should promise, recognize and guarantee the independence and integrity of India to the said government. With such promise in hand, the Government of Free

India would begin a special radio campaign of its own on two basic subjects- 1. The victory of Axis powers is sure. 2. There is nothing to hope for from England.

At the same time along with this propaganda, the Government of free India would actively promote revolution in India as its contribution to the common fight against England; for this naturally it would require help which should be given by the Axis powers in the form of a loan which India, once free, would pay back. Bose was of the opinion that the main obstacle to the prospects of a revolution in India was the great fear of England in public and more than the belief that England with its strength and its fortunes would eventually overcome this crisis. The basic problem according to Bose was to convince Indians with facts and with propaganda that England could be beaten and beaten.⁵

To Subhas Chandra Bose the most crucial matter was the Axis powers declaration of Indian independence among their war aims, which “would give a locus standi to his struggle from abroad, a struggle in the name of a Free India State.” Thus before such declaration he was approached by Germany to broadcast from Berlin, but he refused because, as H. N. Pandit aptly points out, “he would not agree to be a tool for use in the German propaganda machine.”⁶ This declaration, Bose felt was most urgent, since “the nearer the German armies move towards India”, as Hauner observes, “the more hostile will the Indian people become towards Germany, the march of the German troops towards the East will be regarded as the approach not of a friend but of an enemy”.⁷

Pending such declaration, Bose to prepare the ground of his future activities in Europe, submitted three memorandums to the German Foreign Office. The first memorandum dated 09.04.1941 outlines a plan for collaboration between the Axis Powers and India, with reference to the proposal of establishment of a free India centre in Europe and to the request for financial and military support. The second memorandum dated 03.05.1941 suggests the necessity for the declaration of policy by the Axis Powers towards India and the Arab countries indicating Bose’s attempt to interlink India’s struggle for freedom with that of the Arab countries against the British Raj. The third memorandum dated 20.05.1941 provided a detailed plan of work for Indian independence. But no forthcoming or positive results

followed the submission of the memorandums. Thus Subhas Chandra Bose did not give up. He did not yield to the negative attitude of the German Government and with the support of Trot gave continued pressure on the German Foreign Office for active help in the formation of a Free India Centre and an Indian Legion out of the Indian Prisoners of war, apart from the central point of the Axis Declaration of a Free India. After his meeting with the Foreign Minister Ribbentrop and later on with the Fuehrer on 29 May 1942, Netaji was granted, as desired. In his detailed plan of work submitted to the German Foreign Office later that month, Netaji proposed to organize a "Free Indian Legion". Made up of volunteers from prisoners of war, the Indian would eventually join Axis expeditionary corps to be sent to India. Bose planned to prepare a "big military campaign in the independent Tribal Territory between Afghanistan and India". Bose's military plans may have been wishful thinking, but his move to set up an Indian Legion was well timed.

Genesis of the Free Indian Legion

The British Indian Army was the largest volunteer army in the world in 1900. It was used by Britain for its colonial expansion and put down rebellions in various part of the world. In First World War, they saw actions in Europe trenches. The British Indian Army was used as cannon fodder in some place and subjected to harsh weather conditions. Again in Second World War, the British Indian Army was the largest volunteer army in the world and found action in Europe and North Africa. The independence movement in India had gained momentum from 1938. The Indian independence movement led by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi advocated non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi, like many others Indians, believed that the help provided by India to Britain in Second World War could hasten Indian independence. Subhas Chandra Bose did not agree with Gandhi's views. According to him, India will soon become independent by supporting Germany in the war. Bose advocated a violent path to freedom. Bose was kept under house arrest by British Government but escaped in 1941 with the help of Northwest Communist Party. Bose traveled via Afghanistan to Moscow and then to Berlin. In Berlin, Bose met Heinrich Himmler, the SS leader and requested permission to form a Free Indian Government in exile. Bose met with

Hitler later and got the green signal to start his Free Indian Government and operated from Berlin. Bose set up a radio station to broadcast anti-British propaganda and was actively volunteers for his cause. Field Marshal Erwin Romel's success in North Africa led to the capture of hundreds of soldiers from British Indian Army.

At the onset of World War II, all the three major Axis powers, at some stage of their campaigns, sought to exploit the armed revolutionary activities within India and aided the recruitment of a military force from anti British Indian Prisoners of War (PsOW) as also from nationalist expatriates. Of this the most famous was the Free Indian Legion that came into being with the support of the Nazi Germans and also INA that came into being with the support of the Japanese Empire in the Far East.

However, at this time in India, although the Congress Party had passed resolutions conditionally supporting the British war effort, Indian public opinion was hostile at Britain's unilateral decision to declare India as a belligerent on the Allied side. Subhas Chandra Bose was a vociferous opponent to this perfidy by Britain. The British thus perceived him as a threat and promptly placed him under arrest. Bose would escape and make his way to the Soviet Union via Afghanistan (A spell binding escape narrated vividly in the book "The Indian Spy" by Mihir Bose). Netaji hoped that the communist anti imperialist stance to capitalism would garner Soviet support but was disappointed; hence he then made his way to Berlin, where he reached on 3 April 1941. In the meeting with Hitler he outlined his plan of raising an Indian force which would then march through the Caucasus and into India and herald the demise of the British Empire in India. By the end of 1941, Hitler's regime officially recognised his provisional "Free India Government" in exile, and agreed to help Netaji to raise an army to fight for his cause. It was to be called "The Free India Legion".

The first troops of the Indian legion were recruited from Indian POWs captured at EL Mekili, Libya during the battles for Tobruk. The German forces in the western desert selected a core group of 27 POWs as potential officers and they were flown to Berlin in May 1941, to be followed, after the Centro I experiment, by POWs being transferred from the Italian forces to Germany. The number of POWs transferred to Germany grew to about 10,000 who were eventually housed at Annaberg camp, where

Subhas Chandra Bose first met with them. A first group of 300 volunteers from the POWs and Indians expatriates in Germany were sent to Frankenberg camp near Chemnitz, to train and convince arriving POWs to join the legion.⁸

As the numbers of POWs joining the legion swelled, the legion was moved to Königsbrück for further training. It was at Königsbrück that uniforms were first issued, in German *feldgrau* with the badge of the leaping tiger of Azad Hind. The formation of the Indian National Army was announced by the German Propaganda Ministry in January 1942. It did not, however, take oath until 26 August 1942, as the Legion *Freies Indien* of the German Army. By May 1943, the numbers had swelled, aided by the enlistment as volunteers of Indian expatriates. Overall, there were about 15,000 Indian POWs in Europe, primarily held in Germany by 1943. While some remained loyal to the King-Emperor and treated Bose and the Legion with contempt, most were at least somewhat sympathetic to Bose's cause. While approximately 2,000 became legionnaires, some others did not complete their training due to various reasons and circumstances. In total, the maximum size of the Legion was 2,600.

The soldiers of the Free Indian Legion were the first to observe and witness some of the national traditions and practices, which have now become a part of our national legacy. Bose, after founding the Indian National Provisional Government in Berlin, chose the 'Jana Gana Mana' song written by Rabindra Nath Tagore as the National Anthem. This decision of Bose would later be ratified by the Indian Government after Independence. *Jana Gana Mana* was first performed as the official National Anthem of Free India on September 11, 1942 on the occasion of the foundation of Indo-German society (*Deutsch-Indische Gesellschaft*). Bose also wanted a common national greeting that could be used by people of any religion or communities. Abid Hasan, the secretary of Bose, heard two Rajput soldiers greeting each other with "Jai Ram Ji Ki". He really liked the sound of it and proposed the greeting 'Jai Hindustan Ki' to Bose. The shorter version of it, simply 'Jai Hind' sounded better and would be used by Bose as the national greeting of Azad Hind. This is how the greeting 'Jai Hind' originated.

The uniform issued to the Legion was the standard German Army *feldgrau* (field grey). The troops wore on their right upper arm a specially

designed arm badge in the shape of a shield with three horizontal stripes of saffron, white and green — the colors of the flag of Azad Hind. The badge featured a leaping tiger on the white middle band. The legend *Legion Freies Indien* was inscribed in black on a white background above the tricolor. Sikhs in the Legion were permitted to wear turbans as dictated by their faith, of a colour appropriate to the uniform in the place of the standard peaked cap. *Legion Freies Indien* was organized as a standard German motorized infantry unit with three battalions of four companies each. Initially, all its commissioned officers were German.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose sought and obtained agreement from the German High Command for the rather remarkable terms by which the Legion would serve in German military. German soldiers would train the Indians in the strictest military discipline, in all branches of infantry in using weapons and motorized units, the same way a German formation was trained; the Indian legionnaires were not to be mixed with any German formations; they were not to be sent to any front other than in India for fighting against the British—but would be allowed to fight in self-defense at any other place; and nonetheless in all other respects the legionnaires would enjoy the same facilities and amenities regarding pay, clothing, food, leave, etc., as German soldiers. As for the unit's eventual deployments in the Netherlands and France, they were ostensibly for training purposes, according to Bose's plans for the unit to be trained in some aspects of coastal defence.⁹ After the invasion of France by the Allies, the unit was ordered back to Germany, so that it would not participate in fighting for German military interests.

Organization of the Free Indian Legion the British Indian Army, possibly as an extension of their 'divide and rule' policy, had organized Indian Army units on the basis of regional identities. Bose from the inception of the Legion sought to eradicate any semblance of divisive factors and built a force on a unified Indian identity. Consequently, the Free Indian Legion was organized as mixed units comprising of all religions, states and class. Approximately two-thirds of the Legion's members were Hindus and one third Muslims and other religions, including a large number of Sikhs. The success of Bose's idea of developing a unified national identity was evident when Heinrich Himmler proposed in late 1943 (after Bose's departure) that the Muslim soldiers of the I.R. 950 be recruited into the new Handschar Division. The

commander of the SS Head Office, Gottlob Berger, was obliged to point out that while the Bosnians of the “Handschar” perceived themselves as people of a European identity, Indian Muslims perceived themselves as Indians. This was the first time a modern professional Indian Army was created where Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims all served together in close-knit units and this set a precedent for Indian Army of the post-Independent era. After the end of the war, when the British investigators interrogated the soldiers and commanders of the Free India Legion they found “the morale, discipline and Indo German relations were excellent”.

Operation by the Indian Legion

It is doubtful that Subhas Chandra Bose envisaged the Free India Legion would ever be an army sufficient or strong enough to conduct an effective campaign across Persia into India on its own. Instead, the IR 950 was to become a pathfinder, preceding a larger Indo-German force in a Caucasian campaign into the western frontiers of British India, which would encourage public resentment of the Raj and incite the British Indian Army into revolt.

Following German defeat in Europe at Stalingrad and in North Africa at El Alamein, it became clear that an Axis assault through Persia or even the Soviet Union was unlikely. Meanwhile, Bose had travelled to the Far East, where the Indian National Army was able to engage the Allies alongside the Japanese Army in Burma, and ultimately in northeastern India. The German Naval High Command at this time made the decision to transfer much of the leadership and a segment of the Free India Legion to South Asia and on 21 January, they were formally made a part of the Indian National Army. Most troops of the Indian Legion, however, remained in Europe through the war and were never utilized in their originally planned role.

To the end of serving as a pathfinder, Operation Bajadere was launched in January 1942 when detachments of the Free India Legion were paraded into Eastern Persia tasked to infiltrate into Baluchistan Province. They numbered about one hundred and had trained with the German Brandenburgers (the special forces of the Wehrmacht). They were tasked to commence sabotage operations in preparation for the anticipated national revolt. Information passed on to Abwehr headquarters in Berlin from their office in Kabul indicate that they were successful in carrying out sabotage

operations, but that they had no significant effect on military activity in their area.

The legion was transferred to Zeeland in the Netherlands in April 1943 as part of the Atlantic Wall and later to France in September 1943, attached to the 344th Infantry Division and later the 159th Infantry Division of the Wehrmacht. From Beverloo in Belgium, the 1st Battalion was reassigned to Zandvoort in May 1943 where they stayed until relieved by the Georgian Legion in August. In September 1943, the battalion was deployed on the Atlantic coast of Bordeaux on the Bay of Biscay. The 2nd Battalion moved from Beverloo to the island of Texel in May 1943 and stayed there until relieved in September of that year. From here, it was deployed to Les Sables-d'Olonne in France. The 3rd Battalion remained at Oldebroek as Corps Reserve until the end of September 1943,¹⁰ where they gained a "wild and loathsome" reputation amongst the locals.

The legion was stationed in the Lacanau (near Bordeaux) at the time of the Normandy landings, and remained there for up to two months after D-Day. On 8 August 1944 Himmler authorized its control to be transferred to the Waffen-SS, as was that of every other foreign volunteer unit of the German Army.¹¹ The unit was renamed the IndischeFreiwilligen Legion der Waffen-SS. Command of the legion was very shortly transferred from Lieutenant Colonel Kurt Krapp to Oberführer Heinz Bertling. The Indian personnel noticed a change of command was at hand and started to complain. Noting he wasn't "wanted" Bertling soon agreed to be relieved of command.¹² On 15 August, the unit pulled out of Lacanau to make its way back to Germany. It was in the second leg of this journey, from Poitiers to Châteauroux that it suffered its first combat casualty (Lieutenant Ali Khan) while engaging French regular forces in the town of Dun. The unit also engaged with allied armour at Nuits-Saint-Georges while retreating across the Loire to Dijon. It was regularly harassed by the French Resistance, suffering two more casualties (Lieutenant Kalu Ram and Captain Mela Ram). The unit moved from Remiremont through Alsace to Camp Heuberg in Germany in the winter of 1944, where it stayed until March 1945.¹³

End of the Indian Legion

With the defeat of the Third Reich imminent in May 1945, the remainder of the Indian Legion stationed in Germany sought sanctuary in neutral Switzerland. They undertook a desperate 2.6 kilometer march along the shores of Lake Constance, attempting to enter Switzerland via the alpine passes. This was, however, unsuccessful and the legion was captured by US and French forces and delivered to British and Indian forces in Europe. There is some evidence that some of these Indian troops were shot by French Moroccan troops in the town of Immenstadt after their capture, before they could be delivered to the British forces. The captured troops would later be shipped back to India, where a number would stand trial for treason.¹⁴

In considering the history of the Free India Legion, the most controversial aspect is its integral link to the Nazi Germany, with a widespread perception that they were collaborators with Nazi Germany by the virtue of their uniform, oath and field of operation. The views of the founder and leader of the Azad Hind movement, Subhas Chandra Bose, were somewhat more nuanced than straightforward support for the Axis. During the 1930s Bose had organized and led protest marches against Japanese imperialism, and wrote an article attacking Japanese imperialism, although expressing admiration for other aspects of the Japanese regime. Bose's correspondence prior to 1939 also showed his deep disapproval of the racist practices and annulment of democratic institutions by the Nazis. He nonetheless expressed admiration for the authoritarian methods which he saw in Italy and Germany during the 1930s, and thought they could be used in building an independent India. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's view was not necessarily shared by the men of the Free India Legion, and they were not wholly party to Nazi ideology or in collaboration with the Nazi machinery. Even in Asia, where the Indian National Army was much larger and fought the British directly, Bose faced similar obstacles at first. All of this goes to show that many of the men never possessed loyalty to the Nazi cause or ideology; the motivation of the Legion's men was to fight for India's independence.¹⁵

Conclusion

In considering the memory of the Indian Legion and the ramifications of its creation the most controversial aspect is the integral link to Nazi Germany.

This has prompted many historians to view the Legion as a mercenary force allied with Nazism by virtue of their oath, uniform and field of operations. The tides of war did not permit the Legion to engage in its original conceived role hence it is not correct to hold any argument as to whether they did or could have fulfilled the destiny that the brave hearts of the Legion believed in. As a condition of Independence, readily agreed to by the INC, members of the Free India Legion and INA were not allowed to serve in the post-independence Indian Army, and were all released before Independence. Were then, Bose plans for the Legion too grandiose for its own capability? In military terms that are a definitive yes, for the fate of the Indian Legion was tied to that of the Axis. However, in political terms, to consider the Legion a 'paper tiger' is incorrect. We must not ignore the events that were occurring in India since 1945 and more specifically, in the British Indian Army post war. To consider the impact of the Legion, it is necessary to consider the impact of the entire Azad Hind movement towards the demise of the Raj. It is without doubt that the Indians who fought alongside the Axis powers accelerated Indian independence.

Unlike the INA, which was popularly perceived to have fought for freedom close to Indian borders, the Indian Legion suffered ignominy. Nevertheless, due to public uproar during the INA Trials, the Indian Legion's trials were not completed. Soon independence came and the soldiers of INA and the Indian Legion were released. However, they were not allowed to serve in the post-independence Indian Army, except in the rare exceptions. The government fell silent on the saga of the Indian Legion while the INA story was celebrated. Indian troops fighting for the Hitler was not something to advertise. Thus, the Indian Legion, Subhas Chandra Bose firstborn army, was orphaned by war and politics. It remains largely forgotten outside historical research.

The India Legion fought bravely, but the Indian government after 1947, decided to keep this information under wraps as it was not thought proper to propagate the fact that Indian troops had fought on behalf of Hitler and Germany. Thus, these valiant soldiers never got their due and faded into History. In addition, Nehru considered Bose his rival and he feared that any importance to Bose and his army would affect his standing in India. It is more moot to consider here why the sacrifices of these brave Indians are

dusted away from the pages of our history and text books and acknowledge their sacrifices towards our freedom.

Free India Legion was conceived with the same doctrine as the Indian National Army (INA) and this facet of the Azad Hind movement barely finds mention in the annals of Independent India's history. This is possibly that their battles were far removed from the battlefields of the East; closer to home, where the troops of the INA had fought and died and ignited public imagination as also the post Independence apathy shown by the Government towards Netaji and the INA. To consider the legacy of the Free India Legion one has to consider both the Azad Hind movement and the events in Europe during those years of strife.

True, The Indian Legion and INA failed to achieve its goal of liberating India through an armed struggle, it certainly left an indelible mark in the history of India's struggle for independence. The activities of Indian Legion and INA ensured that the British could no longer depend on the loyalty of Indian soldiers. The very composition of Indian Legion reaffirmed the idea of Indian nationalism as Hindu, Muslim and Sikh fought together as one nation under the flag of Indian Legion and INA. The Indian Legion also demonstrated the commitment of overseas Indians for the freedom of their Motherland. Even though Subhas Chandra Bose's strategy of cooperating with the fascist powers was criticized by the nationalists, it must be remembered that whatever he did, he died for Indian's freedom. He was determined to maintain the independence of INA from Japanese domination and also objected to the use of Indian Legion against USSR. Bose and Indian Legion successfully set an inspiring example of patriotism and courage in front of the entire country and were admirably hailed as Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose by all his countrymen.

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Haryana and the Non Cooperation Movement

*Vanshika Kirar

There is a lot of controversy regarding the origin of word 'Haryana'. It is traced to different sources and has been explained in several ways. Maharaj Krishan, the author of '*Tarikh-i-Zillah Rohtak*' is of the opinion that the word 'Haryana' is derives from 'Harah' (robbery) once prevalent in this area, since previously this region was inhabited by robbers and dacoits.¹ It has also been suggested that 'Haryana' is derived from 'Hari' which indicates that at one time it was a rich and fertile land.² F.Wilson is of the opinion the "Haryana is so called because it was formerly a green forest (Haryalban)."³

The name is also traced to Raja Harish Chander of Oudh who is said to have settled in this part of the country.⁴ Acharya Bhagwan Dev is of the opinion that the name 'Haryana' has originated from 'Har' the Lord Mahadev, who was worshipped and is still being worshipped by a large number of people living in this region.⁵ Dharnidhar in his book 'Akhand Prakash' has said that the word 'Haryana' comes from 'Haribanka' connected with the worship of (Hari), the lord 'Indra'. Since this region is a dry one, its people always worship Lord Indira for rain.⁶ Another writer G.C. Awasthi in his book '*Ved Bharatal*' has traced the name back to 'Rigveda' itself. According to him 'Vahuraja' who ruled over this tract need 'Hariyana' as a qualifying adjective with his name and this, the area came to be known as such.⁷ It is also said that a wild plant 'Hariban' formerly very common in this area may have given this name to this region.⁸

'Rahul Sanaskritayana' a reputed scholar held the name to be a corrupt form of 'Haridhankaya' a term used in ancient literature for this area. Dr. Budh Prakash connects Haryana with 'Abhirayana' as the region was

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populated with the 'Ahirs' during the post Mughal period (Abhirayana = Ahirayana = Hirayana = Hariyana).⁹ V.S. Aggarwal also supports this view. According to Dr. Hari Ram Gupt Hariyana seems to be corrupted form of Lord 'Aryana', the home of Aryanas like Rajputana the land of Rajputs, Bhattiana, the abode of Bhattis and Ludhiana the habitat of Lodis, all these being situated in the same region contiguous to one another.¹⁰ This view is also supported by other historian like A.C. Dass and R. K. Mukerjee. They said that the original home of the Aryans was the region called Haryana. The banks of the Saraswati river were their earlier settlements. It was from here that they later migrated to other parts of India, Asia and Europe.¹¹ Prof. A.V. Bashan also supports this view. Sometimes the origin of word 'Hariyana' is traced to the coming (ANA) of Lord Krishna (Hari) to this region. Thus we see that there are a number of myths and facts regarding the origin of the word 'Haryana'.

The Role of Haryana in the Non Cooperation Movement

The Nationalist Movement led by the Congress spread in Haryana and the people whole heartedly supported the campaign against the British. The news of the massacre of Jalian Wala Bagh on April 13, 1919 struck the people of Haryana with horror. On April 14, demonstrations were held throughout the district of Rohtak and Public property was damaged by angry mobs at Rohtak, Samar Gopalpur and Gohana. Mahatma Gandhi, who had lost his faith in the British reigns by then, launched an All India Campaign of Non-Violent, Non-Cooperation movement to bring the British Administration to a standstill. The Congress adopted a resolution of Non-Cooperation with the government in its Annual Session held at Calcutta on August 4 1920. The resolution called upon the students to leave schools and colleges, the employees to give up government jobs and the farmers not to pay land revenue to the government.

In pursuance of this programme, a special meeting was at Bhiwani on October 20, 1920 to popularise the programme of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Similarly, a District Conference held at Rohtak in November 1920, and attended by ten to fifteen thousand persons, passed a resolution to launch Non-Cooperation Movement.¹² A Swaraj Ashram was established at Rohtak to serve as the office and hosts for workers of the movement. In

response to Gandhi Ji's call to do away with government saponsored institutions, Jat High School and Vaish High School, Rohtak disaffilisted themselves from the University of Punjab.

A large public meeting was addressed at Kalanaur (Dist. Rohtak) by Gandhi Ji and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It was here that Gandhi Ji used the word 'Satanic Government' for the British Government for the first time which later on became a common word. "Indians must not co-operate with this Satanic Government in any way,¹³ he said "They should leave Government Services. Pleaders should not practice in the courts, leaders should boycott the Councils and students should refrain from going to Government Schools and Colleges." He also exhorted the people to take to the spinning wheel and to boycott the foreign goods in a non-violent way. To dampen the spirits of the people, the Government arrested a large number of leaders from Rohtak, Jhajjar, Mahes and few villages.

Pandit Sri Ram Sharma of Rohtak joined the Congress at the time of non-cooperation movement in 1920. At the call of Mahatma Gandhi, he gave up studies and jumped in the movement. After Lala Lajpat Rai had left for Lahore, Sri Ram Sharma organised the nationalist movement in Haryana under the Congress flag. On March 1, 1923 he started 'Haryana Tilak' a weekly newspaper in urdu for the propagation and advancement of the Congress ideas and ideology in Haryana. He spent several years in Jail for the national cause. After independence, he remained Minister in Punjab for a member of years. Others who associated themselves with the Congress in Haryana were Lala Sham Lal from Rohtak, Padit Neki Ran from Bhiwani and Bhargava brothers- Dr. Gopi Chand and Thakur Dass from Hissar. Lala Lajpat Rai was a lawyer from Hissar who had later on shifted to Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai was born in 1865 and at the age of 17, he joined the Arya Samaj and within a very short period, because one of the front rank leaders. He was influenced by the Samaj on account of its educational mission. In 1886, he paused his L.L.B. examination and started his practice at Hissar. After 6 years, he shifted to Lahore to practise in the Punjab High Court.

He was attracted towards the Congress since its establishment but soon got disillusioned with it as he felt that the congress leaders are more for fame and pomp than for the interest of the country. He disapproved the

Congress policy of 'begging' for rights. In 1896, Lalaji published short biographies of Mazzini, Garibaldi and Shivaji with the object of infusing patriotic sentiments in the youth of the country.

In July 1920, Lala Lajpat Rai was elected to preside over the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta. At the Nagpur Session, he gave his full support to the resolution of Mahatma Gandhi on non-cooperation. He took an active part in the movement. As the President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, he directed the Non-Cooperation Movement in Punjab and also went on a tour of India to spread the ideas of Non-Cooperation. The government took against him and he was arrested along with Motilal Nehru and C.R. Dass. He was arrested on December 3, 1921 and sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment under the 'Seditious Meetings Act'.

The programme of non-cooperation became very popular in the cities and towns of Haryana. The boycott programme was fully implemented in every town and a large number of students left schools and colleges. Mauli Chand Sharma of Jhajjar, President of the Student's Union Law College, Lahore, Sri Ram Sharma, Ram Phal Singh, Janid Dass, Niyadar Singh, Shiv Narain Bhatnagar and Desh Bandhu Gupta left colleges and joined the non-cooperation movement. The Gaur High School was deserted by its students until it became a National School.¹⁴ Almost all the students of Vaish High School, Rohtak left their classes and went on strike. The Jat High School, Rohtak which was then under the management of Congressmen led by its Headmaster Baldev Singh as also closed down. Students at Hissar also left their schools.¹⁵ Hindu High School, Sonapat disaffiliated itself from the Punjab University. Students left Bahadurgarh Government High School in large numbers and many of their teachers also resigned from there.¹⁶

The boycott of foreign cloth also evoked a great deal of enthusiasm. The Muslims of Hansi, numbering 7000 unanimously decided to boycott foreign cloth.¹⁷ Cloth merchants at Hisar pledged not to order foreign goods and cloth merchants of Bhiwani resolved not to import foreign cloth for six months.¹⁸ Ambala and Karnal districts also did not import foreign cloth any more.¹⁹ Bonfires of foreign cloth were made at many places in Haryana. Besides, liquor shops were also picketed at places.

When the Simon Commission was appointed, Lala Lajpat Rai declared that he was not doing associate with the commission in any shape or manner. He was in favour of the Indian gaming their Constitution. He led a vigorous campaign against the commission both in press and from the platform. On October 30, 1928 LalaJi led a mass demonstration against the Simon Commission at Lahore where he was brutally assaulted by the police with *lathis*.

At a public meeting held the same evening at Lahore, he spoke with bittiness against the British Government and their police officials in the words "I want to say from this platform that every blow that was hurled at us this afternoon was a nail in the coffin of the British Empire. Nobody who has seen that sight is likely to forget it. It has sunk deep into our soil. We have to avenge ourselves of the cowardly attack, not by violently attacking them but by gaining our freedom." LalaJi, however, did not survive the assault very long and he died on November 17, 1928.

The coming of Simon Commission and Lala Lajpat Rai's death gave a shot in the arm to congress activities in Haryana. The congressman called a 'Punjab Provincial Conference' at Rohtak.²⁰

On March 8 and 9, 1929 under the Presidentialship of Dr. Satya Pal,²¹ Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and Jawahar Lal Nehru also attended it. Many important resolutions were passed regarding such important national subjects like 'Nehru Report' and the local problems such as remission of land revenue owing to the failure of crops, the boycott of foreign clothes and picketing of liquor shops. After that a number of Congress committees were formed in towns and districts. The district committee in pursuance of the resolution passed by the Congress issued a circular to all units, with regard to the celebration of Independence Day January 26, 1930 by taking the following pledges.²²

"We pledge ourselves afresh to this cause of India's freedom and to end the exploitation of our people and resolve to work to this end till success comes to our people. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore that India must sever its connection with the British and attain complete independence (*Poori Azadi*)."

In almost all the cities, towns and big villages of Haryana, Independence Day was celebrated. In Kalka, Jagadhari, Chanauli, Karnal, Kaithal, Thanesar, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Beri, Khatiwas, Sonapat, Rewari, Bhiwani and Sirsa big processions were led by prominent congressmen, speeches delivered and pledge taken.²³

In 1930, the Congress launched Civil Disobedience Movement. Public meetings were held all over Haryana to mark the beginning of the movement. Satyagraha Sabhas were organised in every districts and volunteers were enrolled to go to jails. The salt was prepared in iron pans at Bhiwani, on April 13, at Hisar.²⁴ On April 21, by the volunteers led by K.A. Desai. The salt laws were violated on April 26 at Ambala under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Bhagat Ram Sehgal. At Rohtak, the salt laws were broken on April 10 and at Panipat the next day.

Regarding the boycott of Foreign Clothes, March 17, 1930 was fixed as 'Foreign Cloth Boycott Day' all over Haryana.²⁵ Picketing of the shops selling foreign goods was also started. There were successful picketings at Sirsa, Abdulapur and Abdul Majid. The traders of these places as well as of Rohtak, Bhiwani and Ambala undertook not to import foreign cloth. At Ambala women volunteers started picketing temples and persons wearing *khaddar* only were permitted to go inside. Nearly 5000 persons of Ambala district took pledge to wear Khaddar. Picketing of liquor shops was also carried out by the Congress volunteers. They picketed liquor shops at Rohtak on 1 May. A liquor vendor was socially boycotted and his house was surrounded by a crowd on August 8.

The picketing of polling booths for the elections to Assembly and Council was also attempted, but it failed as the Jats of Rohtak opposed it.²⁶ In Ambala district, some banias abstained from voting, and the attempt to picket at two polling stations resulted in the arrest of the picketers.

The government adopted a repressive policy to curb the Congress movement in Haryana. The Congress party was declared illegal, the people were deprived of the right of speech and association and meetings and processions were banned. However, meetings were held and processions were banned. However meetings were held and processions taken out in defiance of law. A district political Conference was held at Jhajjar on April 12-13 under the presidentship of Suraj Bhan.

At the Conference Nangli Ram Yadav, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, made a stirring speech, followed by Devi Chand and Ram Phul Singh and thousands of people came forward to court arrest.

While the Civil Disobedience Movement was in full swing, Gandhi Ji suddenly side tracked the whole campaign by raising the question of Harijan uplift.²⁷ He decided to suspend the movement for six weeks and his decision was endorsed by the All India Congress Committee which met at Patna on July 12, 1933.

Later on, he withdraws the movement and an individual Satyagrahe Movement was launched in its place. It seems that the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement had a great demoralising effect on the people of Haryana as they could not continue the Individual Satyagrahe anywhere.

District wise Individual Satyagraha arrests in Haryana

District	No. of Arrests
Ambala	171
Karnal	48
Gurgaon	58
Rohtak	264
Hissar	86
Total	627

The movement was suspended by Mahatma Gandhi after fifteen months. At this all the Satyagrahis were released from Jail. The movement was almost a failure as it could not have any effect on the government.

On August 8, 1942, the All India Congress Committee passed the famous 'Quit India Resolution'. The people of Haryana also took a very active part in the movement. The Government took a serious view of the situation and adopted regressive measures. Congress was declared an unlawful organisation and several congress leaders were arrested, throughout Haryana. The following table will show the arrests made in Haryana from August 8, 1942 (when the movement was started) to May 5, 1944 (when it was suspended).²⁸

District wise arrests in Haryana (1942-44)

Year	Ambala	Karnal	Gurgaon	Rohtak	Hissar
1942	114	72	115	289	115

1943	124	377	536	402	333
1944	60	299	158	130	51

Hence, the people of Haryana participated along with their fellow freedom fighters against British's to make India a free country. Give Indian Citizens its own government of the people, by the people and for the people. A government which will not suppress its own citizen, a government full of hope and a government full of democracy.

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First War of Independence in Haryana : A Case of Ahirwal Regions

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The decline of Mughal rule and the establishment of British rule in India was not a smooth transition. There were various instances of resistance to the new British power, the greatest being the revolt of 1857. This revolt was started as an uprising to dislodge the British power, but it resulted in the establishment of British Empire. The period of 1857 was, therefore, a transitory period for the government and was a period of the chaos, turmoil and disappointment for locals. The events of 1857 aroused passions both among participants and observers to level unsurpassed before or since in the relations between Britain and India. For historians the revolt of 1857 has been a cornucopia.¹ The happenings in the year 1857 in large parts of northern, central, western and in some parts of South India has been given many names. The British historians have been inclined to dismiss it as a sepoy mutiny.² Other scholars called it a 'popular revolt' of the civilian population. William Dalrymple has used the term 'Uprising'.³ Eric Stokes, one of the foremost historians of 1857 has convincingly argued that it was not one movement but many.⁴ In the last 150 years almost every aspect of this history has been contested, re-imagined and re-invented for their presentist use. It is therefore one of the most written about episode of India history. In 1998 Vipin Jain published an annotated bibliography on the "Indian Mutiny" – as it is more popularly known in the international historical literature. He listed 1172 printed books in European languages, 369 articles from journals and periodicals and 108 works of fiction.⁵ The most immediate imperial interpretation of the revolt was that it was a Muslim conspiracy to restore the Mughal Empire. This allegation was

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immediately countered in a passionate pamphlet written in 1858.⁶ However, the more dominant imperial stereotype, as Peter Robb shows that it was primarily a mutiny of the sepoys, later joined by the unruly mob, taking advantage of the general breakdown of law and order. During the same time there were people like Benjamin Disraeli or Karl Marx who could see the element of “military mutiny”.⁷ Several years later in 1864 John Kaye wrote the official history of 1857, *A History of the Sepoy War in India*, 1857-58, and James Fitzjames Stephen, the conservative utilitarian ideologue of the empire, could immediately use it in defence of the empire. In what happened in India in that fateful year was for him evidence enough to show that no one in that country “had in him any power of improvement or any wish for it”.⁸ Hence they needed the enlightening touch of the Raj! In the writings of Charles Ball, John Kaye and George Trevelyan the history of 1857 became the history of its suppression, a history of the valour and courage of the English race and the glory of the empire.⁹ Recently, Tony Ballantyne has shown that even in far-off New Zealand the indigenous Maori population were being told the stories of how the mutiny was suppressed in India, with a not so covert message about the futility of resistance to the empire and its possible consequences.¹⁰

According to the British historians the “sepoy mutiny” was “wholly unpatriotic and selfish.with no native leadership and no popular support.”¹¹ On the other hand, Scholar Veer Savarkar called it the “First War of Independence”.¹² This argument of Savarkar inducted the history of 1857 into the narrative of nationalism. Jyotirmaya Sharma reminds us that the word first did not feature in the original title of Savarkar’s book- it was a later day interpolation. Whether it was “first” at all “a war of independence” has been hotly contested in the last one and half century. On the 150th anniversary of the event the government of India has officially endorsed the term- “First War of Independence”; but as the media reports suggest, that endorsement has not gone without contestation in the Indian Parliament.¹³

The 19TH Century Uprising in Haryana

This research paper deals with 1857 revolt in Ahirwal Regions in Haryana. The 19th Century was an epoch making social, political and economic upheaval in the Indian history. In this century Indians fought bravely against British

imperialism. Peasants, artisans, feudal lords and local rulers displayed their skills and chivalry against the company's rule. Some religious symbols like Wahabi's also played a significant role in this century. During 1857 revolt the present day Haryana was part of South East Punjab. This part of India was very close to Delhi which was one of the main centers of 1857 revolt. The people of Haryana gave a very tough challenge to the British authority through different popular revolts of which 1857 was very important. This revolt spread in different parts of Haryana such as in Delhi regions- Delhi Proper, Sonipat; Panipat Regions- Panipat, Karnal, Jalmana; Thanesar Regions- Thaneswar, Ladwa; Hisar Regions- Bhattu, Hansi, Rania, Loharu; Ambala Regions- Ambala, Rupar, Jagadhari; Rohtak Regions- Kharkhaudah, Sampla, Dojana, Dadri, Jhajjar and Ahirwal regions- Gurgaon, Mewat, Palwal, Faridabad, Ballabgarh, Pataudi, Farrukh Nagar.

Materials and documentary evidence dealing with the popular revolt of 19th century in South East Punjab are kept in National Archives of India (NAI), New Delhi, Punjab State Archives Chandigarh, Punjab State Archives Patiala, Haryana State Archives Panchkula and its Regional Repository- Rohtak, Hisar, Gurgaon and Ambala; and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi. Some of the local tracts such as- Rao Man Singh's book 'AbhirKuldepika', Subedar Vaidya Shivdhan Singh Yadav's work- 'Yadav Parivar' are very important. K.C. Yadav's works such as- 'Undoing the Bondage; A Study of Life of Rao Tula Ram Hero of 1857 and Ahirwala Itihaas' throws light on the history of this region. Dr. Boodh Prakash's work- 'Glimpses of Haryana, The Punjab and Delhi in 1857' written by Cave Brownie, 'Caste and Tribes of Punjab' written by Denzil Ibbetson are important sources to know the history of this part of India. The work of Griffin and Massey, James Mill, John Kaye's work- 'History of Sepoy War 1857-58 Vol. I and History of Indian Mutiny Vol. IV' written by Kaye and Malletson, 'The Rajas of Punjab' written by L.H. Griffin are of great help. Wahabi movement in India written by Qeyamuddin Ahmed, 'Our Indian Musalmans' written by W.W. Hunter, 'Elementary aspects of Peasant Insurgency' by Ranjit Guha etc. are invaluable sources. The period of 19th century marks a momentous in the political, economic and social history of this region. It witnessed changes which had far reaching consequences, which affected this part of country.

War of Independence in Ahirwal Regions

There were many great warriors who took active part in the 1857 revolt such as Bahadur Shah II and Bakht Khan in Delhi; Begum Hazrat Mahal and Birjis Kadar in Lucknow; Lakshmi Bai in Jhansi; Ahmadullah Shah in Rohilkhand; Babu Kunwar Singh in Jagdishpur (Ara, Bihar); Sadruddin in Mewat region adjacent to Ahirwal was very active. The greatest leaders during 1857 revolt in Ahirwal Region were Rao Tula Ram and Rao Gopal Dev. In the 16th century Tula Ram's ancestors were great people in Ahirwal.¹⁴ We found a great deal of legends and traditional account pertaining to them.¹⁵ The first historical reference to this family is found in 'Abirkuldepika' that a scion of this family, Ruda Singh obtained a jungle in Jagir near Rewari from the Mughal emperor Humayun in the year 1555 CE for his meritorious service during the latter's encounter with Surs.¹⁶ Ruda Singh settled at a village (Bolni) 12km south-east of Rewari. He cleared the jungles and created the environment for a progressive village settlement.¹⁷ Later members of this family worked very hard and created a conducive atmosphere in which Rao Tula Ram was born on December 9, 1825. He was the only son and third child of his family. When Tula Ram was five years old, his mother Rani Gian Kaur, started giving him rudimentary lessons in Hindi reading and writing, in the 7th year he was entrusted to the care of the family tutor Ghulam Jilani to give the child lessons in Urdu and Persian and other Social Sciences.¹⁸ Tula Ram lost his father named Rao Puran Singh, in the last week of November 1839. After this incident the whole Ahirwal Region had a touch of grief and sorrow.¹⁹ By 1856 Rao Tula Ram got the paternal *gaddiat* this moment of time he felt insecure without a fort. He constructed a strong mud fort around his palace and courts. He enlisted a small force comprising footmen and cavalry. The united efforts of Tula Ram and Gopal Dev, made their age, an age of plenty and splendour. Dr. K.C. Yadav calls him the Shah Jahan of Ahirwal.

Rao Tula Ram played a veiled but active role in the destruction of the British in 1857. He became very popular not only in India but also in Iran, Russia and Afghanistan and other parts of Asia. On hearing the news of outbreak or revolts at Meerut and Delhi,²⁰ Tula Ram took no time in deciding to take side against British. Emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi sent a shuqqa bearing His Majesty's signature to Tula Ram asking for help.²¹ After this

incident, Tula Ram became very active. On May 17, he went to Tehsil headquarters at Rewari with four to five hundred followers and deposed the Tehsildar and Thanedar. The cash in the Tehsil treasury amounting to Rs 8364 and 27 paisa was impounded by him.²² All government buildings came under his possession and he took over the governance of the parganas of Rewari, Bhora Kalan, and Shahjahanpur.²³ In the beginning of 1857 there were disturbance in Gurgaon district including Ahirwal Regions.²⁴ In the middle of May the British rule came to an end in the Gurgaon district. Mr. Ford, the Deputy Commissioner fled away to Mathura along with other European officers. Those nationalists who were responsible for this act, failed to establish a strong and sound government here. Consequently rowdy and goonda elements raised their heads in the region. But the Pargana of Rewari was well under the control of Rao Tula Ram. He maintained law and order of very high degree, which was even appreciated by Mr. Ford, Deputy Commissioner of Gurgaon. He recommended Tula Ram to be saved from public ordeal if he surrendered to British, despite his being “a leader and the prime instigator of the rebellion in this part of the Haryana”, simply for the reason that “society received many benefits even when that rebel was in arms against the government.”²⁵ During this time there were lots of disturbance in Mewat and Farukhnagar areas. The Meos had created problems in Sohna, Tauru, Firozpur, Punahana and Nuh.²⁶ Tula Ram gave a befitting reply to the trouble makers. He also gave monetary help to the people as long as he was in the power.²⁷ He sent a financial help of Rs 45000 through General Bakhat Khan ten days before the falloff Delhi.²⁸ Tula Ram also paid nazars to Emperor Bahadur Shah regularly. He supplied the Delhi forces with the large quantities of commodities they needed. He also supplied grains for the rebel forces at Delhi.²⁹ Tula Ram so powerful during 1857 revolt that even after the fall of Delhi British officials was afraid to re-enter in Gurgaon. After the fall of Delhi in September 1857 British forces tried to regain the Haryana regions but the supporters of Tula Ram were always ready to face British officials. The Britishers reached Rewari on 6th October, 1857. The chief Tula Ram had evacuated the fort which was armed with 12 guns and mortars all in ready position.³⁰ Captain Hodson, who was part of British army found Tula Ram very clever. He wrote to his wife that Tula Ram had extensive preparation and had a large workshop for the preparation of military

equipments of all kind, guns, gun-carriages, gun-powder and materials of all kind. According to him Tula Ram had been the soul of the region, if Britishers would not have recaptured the area. He further informed that had our empire fallen, Tula Ram would have mastered all surrounding villages and districts and probably extended his power on all sides and formed his "Raj" like that of Patiala, Jhind and others.³¹ Tula Ram also became inspiring source for the rising people in Rajasthan and other parts of the region. In December, 1859 he left India and breathed his last at Kabul on 23rd September, 1863.

Conclusion

The uprising of 1857 was suppressed by the British superior force. Even though the nationalists were not successful in regaining self rule, this uprising became an inspiration for the future Indian National Movement. The leaders like Rao Tula Ram who stood with the Indian masses are really the makers of new India in general and Haryana in particular. In spite of limited resources he tried to organize a strong uprising against the Britishers in Ahirwal Regions. During this uprising all symbols of British Raj such as district office, tehsil office, railways, police-stations etc. came under people's attack. The peoples attacked on the symbols of imperialism because they wanted to dismantle it to show their hegemony. Although the movement was initiated by the sepoys who were mainly Indian subjects and soon the leadership of the movement was taken by the local people comprising farmers, labourers, artisans and feudal lords etc. The main communities who participated in the movement were Ahirs, Rajputs, Jats, Gujjars and low castes. This movement shows a perfect unity between Hindus and Muslims. Although movement was crushed by British administration, it created the base on which the future struggles against the imperialist forces was to take place. The Ahirwal Regions with a great history during the 1857 uprising still remain a strong centre for the nationalist inspiration of the contemporary world.

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Historiography of the Uprising of 1857: A Case Study of Ballabgarh

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The Uprising of 1857 was a major event in the history of Haryana. Many works have been done on the theme. But the historiography of the Uprising of 1857 in Haryana has not been touched upon in a systematic manner. In the present research paper titled 'Historiography of the Uprising of 1857: A Case Study of Ballabgarh' a humble effort has been made to study the historiography of Uprising of 1857 in Ballabgarh. The main aim is to make available the relevant view point of historiography and material lying scattered in numerous works and documents.

The writings on the historiography of the Uprising of 1857 in Haryana can be divided into three parts to understand the theme in a better way. First of all, we take British writers and civil servants who started writing of events of Uprising in Punjab including modern day Haryana. This can be termed as British Historiography. Prominent among them were Christopher Hibbert, Charles Ball, R. Temple, J. Cave - Brown, M.R. Gubbins, Percival Spear E. J. Thompson etc.

Christopher Hibbert, in his work, *The Great Mutiny India 1857* describes hang punishment of Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh in detail.¹ Charles Ball, in his writing, *The History of Indian Mutiny* claims that Raja of Ballabgarh with his men and money ought to have joined us when the outbreak first took place.²

J. Cave - Brown writes in *The Punjab and Delhi in 1857* that:

“When Mirza Aboo Bukr was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces, letters had been sent by the King to all the native princes

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around calling on them to rally round their “liege Lord” and everything betokened a determined assistance. The Nawab of Jhajjar had openly joined them and the Ballabgarh Chief was ready to play a traitor.”³

M.R. Gubbins, in his writing, ‘The Mutinies in Oudh’ describes:

“The puppet king raised his standard at Delhi, then our Jhajjarvassal forgot his faith and joined our enemies. Very similar is the story of Raja of Ballabgarh, who has also lately paid the penalty of his treason at Delhi.”⁴

Percival Spear, in his work, ‘Twilight of the Mughals’, gives an account by saying that ‘The Raja of Ballabgarh, while playing a somewhat equivocal part, kept the Agra road open as far as Palwal. Troops were sent to collect revenue and serious efforts were made to check the depredations of the *Gujjars* for whom this summer was a golden moment to retrieve their ancestral occupation.’⁵

E.J. Thompson in ‘The other side of the Medal’ attacks the British ignorance about Indians. He said that the episode of 1857 had been treated by the British historians most uncritically and on the basis of ‘one sided and prejudged evidence’. He stressed the need of exposing the other side of the medal regarding the atrocities during the mutiny. He contributed to the historiography of the mutiny, one of the provocative, thoughtful and trend-setting work.⁶

The subsequent studies based on the trend conducted by the officials and the Census report published by the census department of the Punjab Government played an important role. Gazetteers published by William Wilson Hunter in 1883-84 under a project, provides massive information on aspects dealing with social, economic, cultural, religious issues⁷ with the Uprising of 1857.

It is noteworthy here that the British historians have written from their view point based of imperialistic approach and ignored the feeling of masses of India. However, mostly they used narratives lacking the historical objectivity, but these are very useful for further researches.

In the second category, we take Indian Historiography. Some of the noted works of the mainstream historians of India include R.C. Majumdar, S. N. Sen, Tara Chand and others. R.C. Majumdar, in his work ‘The History and Culture of Indian People’ writes:

“Thus only a few showed any inclination to support the uprising, even the chiefs of Jhajjar and Ballabgarh were definitely known to have been playing a double game.”⁸

Further we must have a look on the work ‘Eighteen Fifty Seven’ written by S. N. Sen. He describes:

“The Nawab of Jhajjar and Raja of Ballabgarh had tendered their homage to the king and associated themselves with the mutiny; but both of them had kept correspondence with the other side also. The Raja had in the early days of the outbreak extended his hospitality to English fugitives, and if he had been tried a year later when it was realized that a policy of relentless vengeance could not be continued for ever, his life might have been spared but for the discovery of his correspondence in the palace after the fall of Delhi, the Raja’s double dealing would never have been brought home to him.”⁹

Tara Chand in his work ‘History of Freedom Movement in India, Vol I’ has mentions only a few words about the role of Haryana region in 1857 Uprising.¹⁰ S.M. Azizuddin Hussein, in his book ‘1857 Revisited: Based on Urdu and Persian Documents’ has made a significant contribution to the study of historical role of Haryana in 1857. He points out that ‘from some of the letters, it is evident that there are misgivings about Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh’s loyalty to the Emperor. There were rumours that he was playing a duplicitous role, but Nahar Singh assured the Emperor of his determination to stand by him and support his cause of fighting the British. Bahadur Shah was satisfied, and wrote a letter to Nahar Singh, assuring him that he fully trusted him’.¹¹

Here it is notable that in their writings, only little information has been given about the Uprising occurred in Ballabgarh in 1857.

In the third category, we take Regional Historiography which started after the formation of Haryana as a state. Many scholars of Kurukshetra University focused regional history include fatherly figure of history of Haryana Buddha Prakash, K. C. Yadav, S. C. Mittal wrote on various aspects of Uprising in Ballabgarh and the role played by Raja Nahar Singh. Later on Ranjit Singh Saini, Rajwanti Mann and Mahender Singh Bagi elaborated the theme.

We find only one para in the pioneer work on Haryana titled 'Glimpses of Haryana 1967' ed. by Buddha Prakash'. He says that 'Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh gives details of his efforts to Emperor Bahadur Shah'.¹² And nothing in Buddha Prakash's book 'Haryana through the Ages 1974.' K.C. Yadav in his well-recognized work 'The Revolt of 1857 in Haryana' produces a different approach and says:

"The Raja wanted to play a safe game, and the only safe game at that time was a double game. Accordingly, he extended help to the British authorities too. He managed the main road between Ballabgarh and Delhi in accordance with the instructions of emperor Bahadur Shah II, but allowed the British officers and fugitives to go without check. Nor did he prevent them from passing through his territory. His men took care of the comfort and safety of William Ford, who traveled through the region. Harvey, the Commissioner of Agra, met the same treatment when he came near Ballabgarh with his force."¹³

S.C. Mittal in his book 'Haryana: A Historical Perspective' considers Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh as influential leader of the Uprising in Haryana with the other feudal chiefs.¹⁴ He said that the British captured the fort of Ballabgarh on 21st October¹⁵ and the state of Ballabgarh was confiscated and Nahar Singh of Ballabgarh was hanged on 9th January 1858.¹⁶

Ranjit Singh Saini, in his work, Raja Nahar Singh Ka Balidan, tries to focus many aspects including proceedings of military commission.¹⁷ But the book is written without references and footnotes which makes hurdle for a researcher to reach the original sources.

In another work published in 2000, the author Rajwanti Mann tries to systematize the study regarding Uprising of 1857 in Ballabgarh. She describes the childhood of Raja Nahar Singh in poetic form as given below:

hwa Ballabgarh par
Aasin Udayachalkasa Ravi Baal,
Aajan Bahu- yugalraha
*Diptathavah mastakvishal*¹⁸

The meritorious acts, deeds and sacrifice of Raja Nahar Singh in poetic form have also been placed in the book at various places.¹⁹ The proceeding of trial has also been discussed, but in short form.

Recently, Mahender Singh Bagi completes his thesis on the topic 'Ballabgarh State and the East India Company: A Study of Raja Nahar Singh'. He discusses Ballabgarh in historical perspective, Raja Nahar Singh's relation with Bahadurshah II and the East India Company. A full length description of the revolt of 1857 in Ballabgarh has been discussed. The proceedings in the trial of Raja Nahar Singh, charges leveled and death sentence has been extensively discussed with critical notes. In the aftermath the detail of conditions of Ballabgarh after the end of revolt and the execution of Raja Nahar Singh discussed.²⁰

As many as 43 relatives of Raja Nahar Singh including Rani Kishan Kaur has applied for pension and the Chief Commissioner allowed the pension to the 7 relatives only.²¹ He describes that Ballabgarh was a small princely state in the vicinity of Delhi in 1857 and Raja Nahar Singh was a ruling chieftain of the Mughal Empire.²²

In addition to this Yashpal Gulia in 'Haryana ka Riyasat Itihas' and Mahender Singh in 'Haryana Mein 1857' and Raj Pal Singh in 'Haryana History and Historiography' throws light on the Uprising of 1857 in Haryana and particularly on Ballabgarh.

So as far as historiography of Uprising of 1857 in Ballabgarh is concerned, it can be concluded that there are three types of history writings which took place so far. These approaches have been discussed as British Historiography, Indian Historiography and Regional Historiography. During the Uprising we find most of the writings in English written by the British. They used to ignore the feeling of Indian masses and this ignorance was attacked by the only British writer E.J. Thompson.

The work of Indian Historiography started mainly after the completion of 100 years of the Uprising. S.N. Sen and R.C. Majumdar worked on mutiny project and freedom struggle project respectively. The role of Haryana is unjustified and the Ballabgarh left with nothing while Raja Nahar Singh sacrificed his life.

In the Regional historiography, Ranjit Singh Saini, Rajwanti Mann and Mahender Singh Bagi elaborated the theme. In other writings, mainly the upper layer of the princely states has been discussed. The role of the masses in the light of the sources lying in the National Archives of India, New

Delhi and states archives is to be highlighted. The young researchers can take this responsibility.

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A Brief Study of Industrial Development Before Independence in Ambala Division Under the British Rule (1849-1947)

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Industrial progress is the backbone of a sound economy of a society. We find that before 1850 there were no industries in India and after that a small modern industry section slowly emerged. It expanded in the twentieth century.¹ Before the advent of the British rule in India, the Indian Industry was primarily handicraft based. It was by the close of the nineteenth century that the government began to take direct interest in the industrial development of India and It is said that modern Indian industry started in the year 1860-70, as evidenced by the growth of tea, coffee, and jute industries.²

Introduction

The Indian industry which was basically a cottage and small sector enterprise experienced a decline at the end of the 18th century for various reasons. First, the disappearance of Indian courts; second, the establishment of an alien rule with the influx of many foreign influences and third, the competition from highly evolved European industry were the main reasons for the decline of this industry. Though, to begin with, the East India Company in accordance with its export trade began on a different note, yet, soon under the pressure of vested interests in England, India began to be looked upon primarily as a source of raw material and market for the consumption of the manufactured items of England. This approach continued for some time after the company ceased to be a trading body and even after its extinction and replacement by the crown in 1858. Explaining the orientation of their policy, the British guidelines for industrial engagement held that the government was ill equipped

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to carry out further industrial development by direct action, and that all matters were to be left to private enterprise.³ It was a time when, the great mass of people directly depended upon agriculture and that there was no industry where they could seek profitable employment. There was an urgent need to introduce a diversity of occupation through which the surplus population could be drawn to manufacturing.⁴ In 1904, Ambala district had four ginning factories with 369 employees, three cotton presses with 180 employees, and two factories in which cotton-ginning was combined with flour-milling, and which gave employment to 63 persons. Ambala cantonment had two flour mill and a factory for cabinet and coach-building, which provided employment to 195 persons. There was also a combined cotton-ginning and pressing factory and flour mills with 55 employees at sadhawa.⁵

In tune with their policy, the British government developed railways and canal colonies in the Punjab. As a result, wheat and cotton began to be exported and machine made goods especially textiles began to be imported. The latter offered a fierce competition to the indigenous industries like spinning, weaving, calico dyeing, leather tanning and iron smelting as these were gradually pushed out.⁶ Thus, the cottage industry suffered a serious setback under the British rule. Large-scale industry could not be developed in the Punjab (Ambala Division) till 1920. The only industries which grew during this period were the cotton ginning, pressing, spinning and weaving industries. The first cotton spinning and weaving mill was established in Delhi in 1889.

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

The Swadeshi Movement definitely contributed a lot in terms of

promoting Indian investment in industrial activities and in starting industrial activity under Indian management. Between 1900 and 1914, the number of textile mills increased from 194 to 264. During the same period the number of jute mills grew from 36 to 64. However, as a direct consequence of Morley's Dispatch of 1909, the separate Department of Commerce and Industry was abolished. Under these conditions, industrial development remained slow and slight till the outbreak of the First World War. The War proved an eye-opener in many respects. It brought about a vivid consciousness of the danger of dependence on foreign supplies even for the common necessities of life. It may be underlined that even the important needs of the Indian army were not fulfilled. In accordance with the shift in the orientation of the government of India, Indian Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916 to examine the possibilities of industrial growth and report submitted in 1918 urged the government to play an active part in country's industrial development through the promotion of industrial education and research, organization of technical and scientific services, separation of industrial department, arranging of industrial finances, preservation of cottage industries etc.⁷

These recommendations were accepted in principle by the government but little could be done immediately owing to the disruption and instability caused by the war and post-war conditions. Further, the new policy was also to be coordinated with the political (Montagu-Chelmsford) reforms of 1919. After the Reform Act of 1919 was passed industries became a provincial subject. But unfortunately, the Punjab unlike other provinces of India, was ill-equipped financially and technically for the onerous task of industrial development. It was only after the abandonment of the old policy of *laissez-faire* and the adoption of the policy of discriminating protection by government of India in 1923, that a new era of industrial development began in the province.⁸

The Ambala Division remained industrially backward. Its manufactures were few and unimportant. The only important industries before 1883-84 were darri (carpet) manufacturing at Ambala and brass-ware manufacturing at Jagadhri.⁹ Large-scale industry could not be developed in the Ambala Division till 1920.¹⁰

The scientific instruments industry also grew in Ambala. In 1923-24,

there were two units manufacturing scientific apparatuses and furniture for schools. Besides, Ambala district had three steam flour-mills, two at Ambala cantonment and one at Ambala City. Saltpeter was extracted in a village near Ambala City. The process was simple. The impregnated earth was washed with water and the salt solutions so obtained were evaporated in the sun.¹¹

Taking a broader view it can be said that the only industry which grew during this period was the cotton ginning, pressing, spinning and weaving industry. The progress of factory Industry before the annexation of the Punjab was slow due to foreign competition. The tendency of the indigenous industries and arts in Punjab was to decline and some of them did actually decline under the British rule.¹² As far as the Ambala Division is concerned the beginning of the 20th century witnessed the initiation and steady growth of cotton, woolen, silk, carpet, embroidery, fibrous manufactures, wood manufactures, leather, gold and silver works, iron and steel industries, brass and copper manufactures, pottery and glass manufactures.¹³

Cotton Industry

Cotton industry was founded in every area of the Ambala Division. In the year 1891, the weaving community was engaged in the production of two types of cloth i.e. coarse and fine fibers. 329,107 men and 97,158 women were kept for the preparation of coarse cloth mainly woven by the local system. This industry gave employment to a large number of people. The most prominent centre of the manufacture of this fabric was Ludhiana but it began to suffer materially when the British started importing their cloth goods in the country.¹⁴ The cotton industry of the Ambala Division was a major domestic industry during this period.

It will be in place to cite a comment of Lockwood Kipling, the onetime principle of Mayo school of Art, Lahore. "The Punjab has never been famous for very fine cotton manufacturer and the Punjab Muslins of Rohtak are probably the best produced in the province".¹⁵ The art of manufacturing fine muslins was once extensively carried on at Rohtak which, at that period of its history, became a flourishing centre for this industry. Mukerji also records Rohtak as the only place where fine muslins were then woven in the province.¹⁶

Long clothes called *khes* were made of machine-spun yarn with a few silk threads in warp. The lungi or Pagri consisted of long strips of cloth worn by men round the head. Beautiful khesis along with cotton rugs and dories were turned out in Ambala. Ludhiana had suffered materially from the competition of imported piece-goods. The biggest difficulty faced by the local cotton industry was in the form of competition from products of the British industry. Imperfect and rough products could not compete with European goods produced by mechanical art.

Woolen Industry

There was a great demand of shawls of Punjab in European countries during the France - German war in the middle of the 19th century. The total value of shawls exported by Punjab to England and France was \$226279 and \$85000 respectively. The chief seats of artistic woolen manufactures were Ludhiana, Shimla, Kangra, Amritsar, Gujarat and Lahore.¹⁷ Ambala Division was the manufacture of woollens was a major industry of the Ambala Division. Thick and well felted woolen blankets and *Lois* were produced.¹⁸ Coarse and hard blankets and Lois were made in Hissar district and Ludhiana also.¹⁹

These blankets were considered to be of the finest quality. The chief centers of woolen manufacture of Ambala Division were Ludhiana and Shimla.²⁰ A School of Industry was run by the Ludhiana Anjuman Mufid-i-Am. The chief object of this school was to encourage the local industry of the town in carpet-marking and Shawl making. In the last decade of the 19th century, the woolen industry showed a remarkable development in several districts. However, this industry almost disappeared in most of the districts in which it was carried on a small scale.²¹

All the needs of the people in villages were fulfilled within the borders of their localities. No large scale industry had been set up in the Ambala Division during this period. The few industries that did exist, had been struggling for existence. capital was deemed to a profitable investment in exploiting the agriculturists than in developing the industries. Absence of technical skill, which was the result of the absence of technical education in Punjab, was another difficulty.²²

Silk Industry

Silk was prepared for the loom at Delhi. It was dyed at Rohtak. Under the British rule, the silk industry declined. In Ambala Division, dories were prepared at Delhi, Karnal, Ambala and Rohtak. Lower Classes of persons were employed in this industry.²³

Conclusion

The British government, in prospect of the government being ill equipped for industrial engagement, directed them to be privatized. In 1904, Ambala district had four ginning factories with 369 employees, three cotton presses with 180 employees, and two factories in which cotton-ginning was combined with flour-milling, and which gave employment to 63 persons. In between, dawn of the Swadeshi Movement led to increase in industrial engagement. Between 1900 and 1914, the number of textile mills increased from 194 to 264. The cotton and other industries in Ambala bloomed and beautiful khesis along with cotton rugs and dories were manufactured.

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Accepting of Indian National Congress's Approximate towards Socio-caste Exertion in (British) India

*Mihir Borana

It is my study in this paper to evidence to show that during the last century and more, the institution of caste has found new fields of activity. The manner in which the British transferred political power to the Indians enabled caste to assume political functions. In independent India, the provision of constitutional safeguards to the backward sections of the population, in particular the scheduled castes and tribes, has given a new lease of life to caste. It is hardly necessary to add that this contrasts with the aim of bringing about a casteless and classless society which most political parties, including the Indian National Congress, profess. A natural consequence of the territorial limits imposed by the political system on the horizontal tendency of castes was the stimulus it gave to castes living in an area to co-operate with each other. Caste now survives as a kinship-based cultural community but operates in a different newly emergent system of social stratification. By forming themselves into large horizontal social groups, members of different castes now increasingly compete for entry into the middle class, changing its old pre-independence character and composition.

Introduction

Caste not only dictates one's occupation, but dietary habits and interaction with members of other castes as well. Members of a high caste have the benefit of more wealth and opportunities while members of a low caste perform menial jobs. Outside of the caste system are the Untouchables. The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 as a result of intellectual

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awakening, social reforms and political consciousness that arose in the country in the 19th century, the establishment of the Congress may also indirectly result in English rule, education, law, and communication. The purpose of the Congress was not only to make India independent, but also to remove the evils prevalent in Indian society, social reform and reconstruction were as dear to the Congress as independence. But soon the Congress gave up its social reform program and became only a political party, but with Mahatma Gandhi's entry into Indian politics, the Congress again focuses its attention on social reforms. In which he starts the untouchable salvation program under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, this research paper will be try to look at the attitude of Congress on social reforms. With this, we will try to find out the caste-related views of the Congress party.

Congress approach towards social reform in 1885 to 1919

At the time of the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885, its leaders decided that the goal of the Congress is not only to solve political problems, but also to end the social problem and in the Indian society and give new life to Hinduism. The founder of the Indian National Congress, Allan Octavian Hume, aimed to establish this institution that the principal political men of India should gather once a year to discuss the social issue of the country, they did not want their discussion to be political. That is why one of its objectives in the first session of the Congress is to eradicate all the pre-polluted rites related to dynasty, religion, and region by direct friendly behavior within all the country dwellers, well-educated among the educated people of India on important and necessary social questions had to discuss¹. In the first session of Congress M G Ranade and R Raghunath Rao expressed their views on reforming Indian society. soon M G Ranade, R Raghunath Rao, Narendranath Sen, and Jankinath Ghoshal founded the Indian National Social Conference within the Congress, whose task was to remove the social evils prevalent in Indian society.²At that time, social reform had two meanings, one was to improve the condition of women, and other was to eliminate caste system and abolition of untouchability. On the question of social reform, the Congress was divided into three factions, one faction was advocating social reform under the leadership of M G. Ranade, and the other faction only considered political reforms under the leadership of W C Banerjee and

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, according to him There was no need for social reforms, and the third faction belonged to Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, Badruddin Tyabji, who considered social reforms necessary but did not consider the Congress platform suitable for this task. This is evident from the presidential speech delivered by Dada Bhai Naoroji at the Calcutta Session of 1886, he said that

“Congress must raise questions of social reform, but every task requires proper time, space and circumstances. That is, we have gathered this for the purpose of making our rulers aware of our political problems, not to discuss social problems.”³

There was no mutual opposition between these groups until 1895, despite having ideological differences. There was so much coordination among these groups that after the annual session of the Congress, there was also a conference of the social conference in the same pandal, and most of the leaders who came for the Congress session also attended the social conference session.⁴ But the social conference was piercing the eyes of the Congress leaders who were opposed to social reform, they wanted to keep the Congress confined to only one political party. After the untiring diligence of M G Ranade in 1892, when the government passed the Marriage Age Bill, a strong voice was raised from within the Congress. After the untiring diligence of M.G. Ranade in 1892, when the government passed the Marriage Age Bill, there was a strong opposition from within the Congress. In response to which M. G. Ranade gave a speech from the forum of the social conference, in which he said that

“I do not know whether we are aware that the equality of human society in blind observance of our own customs of people like us, He ignores the feelings associated with him and our sense of right and wrong, prevents advanced life and progress of society, and makes the life of those dependent on us difficult, why”⁵

A question emerges from M. G. Ranade statement that why an eminent intellectual class of Congress is opposing social reform, which may mean that the Congress has been a part of the upper caste from the beginning, and the interest of the upper class is low caste people and women could be proved by pressing. As far as social convention is concerned, he limited his scope of social reform to only the upper caste Hindu family, he never tried to eradicate

caste discrimination and untouchability, and never felt the need to launch any movement against it. He confined himself to only child marriages, widow remarriage, women's education as these were the personal problems of his society and it was affecting his life. Gradually, the power of the anti-social reform group started increasing in the Congress, and in the Congress session of 1895, he threatened that if the Congress was given the use of the social conference, then the people would set the pandal on fire. The leaders of the social conference were not in a position to oppose their opposition party, so after their passive resistance the opposing party won and the social conference was disbanded. It was an irony that the anti-faction of the social conference was led by Lokmanya Balgangadhar Tilak, a social conservative and political extremist leader who considers Swaraj as his birth right.⁶ After this incident, the talk of social reform stopped from the platform of Congress, no matter what social problem is harmful to the society, Congress did not consider it. In the session of Congress from 1885 to 1917, no congress president mentioned social reform or social problem in his speech.

Caste restructuring and Congress

Until 1917, no views were expressed on the issue of caste reform or untouchability from the Congress platform. Narayan Ganesh Chandravarkar and Vithal Bhai Ramji Shinde founded the "Depressed Class Mission Society of India" on 18 October 1906 with the aim of integrating the backward castes.⁷ With the inspiration of Shinde, many Mahars also joined the Congress, but what was their place in the Congress at that time is a matter of research. By 1906, identity politics had started in the country, Muslims established the Indian Muslim League for their political demands. In 1910, the British government divided the Hindus into three parts, Hindus, nature worshipers and untouchables. Perhaps the government may have done this part with the objective of weakening the Congress movement but it did not matter much to the Congress. If this had happened, then the Congress would have tried to join the untouchables and the tribal's but they did nothing else. In 1918, for the first time, Congress passed a resolution taking backwards, untouchables and tribal's from its platform, in which it said

"This Congress urges the people of India, that the traditional and orthodox tradition imposed on the backward, untouchables and tribal's it is

very important to remove the laws, because these traditions and laws are based on inhuman, oppressive and inequality, due to which people of these classes have to face immense difficulties and troubles.”⁸

This proposal was called a bizarre incident by Dr. Ambedkar and it is not bizarre to say, because Congress had not passed any such proposal since 1885. The most bizarre thing is that this proposal, which was passed under the chairmanship, was much distorted about the Dalit's. In an article published in *“Indian Review”* in 1909, he put his thoughts on the admission of untouchable children to school in this way

“It is necessary to teach the children of the Dalit class cleanliness before schooling, alcohol and other types of deodorant on their bodies. The pain will pass in bringing these children to parity with other children. Therefore, the Dalit class has to be brought to that level of physical purity first, and until this is done it will be wrong to make close contact with them. Basic education cannot be arranged in school. Also it would be an irony to bring children of such colour manner and habit to be equal to well-educated children.”⁹

After thirty-three years of its establishment, what will be the circumstances that the Congress felt the need to bring a resolution regarding the Dalit class? There are two main reasons for this, firstly, political consciousness was developing in the Dalit class, due to which the Congress started to fear that in the future, the Dalit class should not demand separate elections like the Muslim class. On 11 November 1914, for the first time a conference was organized by the Dalit's under the chairmanship of Narayan Ganesh Chandravarkar, in which he pledged allegiance to the British government, the right to send representatives of the Dalit class on the basis of the population to the Legislative Council and free education. Provision, the President of this House was authorized to request the Congress to pass a resolution in its next session that it is necessary to abolish all the taboo imposed on the depressed classes, along with the request of the *Savarna* Hindu that they take necessary steps to eradicate the stigma of being seen as an affront to Dalit's, etc. resolutions were passed. 7 days after this conference, on 18 November 1917, another conference was held under the presidency of Bapuji Namdev Bagade, in which the Congress League agreement was rejected. Requesting the British Government, to take part

in the administration of the country till the Dalit's effectively participate he should not leave the country until he gets into the situation. With which the resolutions passed in the previous conference were repeated¹⁰. The second reason was that on 20 August 1914, the Secretary of India, Montagu, advocated the policy of establishing and developing an autonomous government in India with the aim of establishing a progressively responsible government. Most Congress leaders and Indian scholars' were anticipating the British government's move. Therefore, Congress was preparing its plan for a change in the constitutional structure of India, under the same plan, the "Congress-League *samjotha*", also known as the Lucknow Pact. Congress wanted to approve its plan with the British government, for this purpose it wanted to give national support to its plan, which would not have been possible without the support of the Dalit's. Therefore, it is clear that the proposal for Dalit's in the 1917 session of the Congress was motivated by taking political advantage; its purpose was not social reform or giving political and social rights to Dalit's.

Congress, Gandhi and Cast Politics

The nature of Congress politics changed with the introduction of Mahatma Gandhi in Indian politics. Earlier, the Congress was a party of intellectuals and elites, with the leadership of the Congress at the center, state and local levels in the hands of the upper class. But Gandhiji opened the doors to all classes with the aim of making the Congress the party of the common people and now the program of upliftment of the society became the main program of the Congress. But what incidents were happening in Indian politics that the Congress and its leaders had to change their form? Under the Montague Chelmsford Reform of 1914, he wished to establish a responsible government in India, in which a representative was to be elected by-election. Congress could not have won the election without the support of Dalit's. Therefore, it was his political interest to talk about the Dalit's of Gandhiji and the Congress, many scholars present Gandhiji as a Dalit saviour, but Gandhiji, seeing the attitude of Indian politics and the demand of the time, recognized the demand for Dalit revival. Talked about, otherwise, Gandhiji started his political life only in 1894, but from till 1915, why he did not do any work

against the problems of Dalit's. Gandhi's statements on Dalit's have been contradictory, where on one side he wrote in *Young India* that

"Untouchables cannot be placed second in the Congress program, without removing the stigma, the word Swaraj has no meaning, Congress workers to remove this stigma, we should include social boycott and this curse of the people in my program. Consider the Untouchables cannot be placed second in the Congress program, without removing the stigma, the word Swaraj has no meaning, Congress workers to remove this stigma, we should include social boycott and this curse of the people in my program. Consider the removal of untouchability very powerful in the process of achieving Swaraj."¹¹

On the other hand, they raise from upper caste Hindus that

"Hindus should understand that if they want complete successful non-cooperation against the government and they should treat the Dalit class as they do with the Muslims"¹²

In 1922, the Congress outlined the Bardoli proposal by Gandhi's effort, one of the main proposals in this resolution was "Organizing the Dalit sections for better living, their social, mental and moral progress, and educational development and provide them all the facilities that are available to other citizens."¹³ The Bardoli proposal was sent to the Congress Working Committee for implementation, the Congress Working Committee, considering the proposal for Dalit reform, formed a committee whose task was to realize the work of improving the condition of the depressed classes by practical measures. Swami Shradanand, Sarojini Naidu, I K Yagnik and G V Deshpande were appointed members of the committee.¹⁴ But soon Swami Shradananda resigned from the committee and eventually the task was handed over to the All India Hindu Mahasabha. Appointing the Hindu Mahasabha, which was a party of the upper castes, for this task was like appointing a cat to be a milk keeper. From this it can be understood that how serious was the Congress about the work of Dalit reform, and when all these incidents were happening, why did Gandhi not express it?

The biggest problem of Indian society was that Gandhi's thoughts were about the caste system which was the main reason for the exploitation of the Dalit's. I'm not in favor of destroying. "Along with this, Gandhi was also an advocate of the Varna system, he considered the Varna system as

birth based, according to him, the Varna system has saved Hindutva from disintegrating. These thoughts of Gandhi reveal his thinking towards Dalit upliftment. Dr.Ambedkar expressed the work of Gandhi and the Dalit revival of the Congress in such a way that

“It is true that it is Gandhi’s effort that the Congress has approved the program of untouchability, but Congress has done nothing except formal approval, Congress lays more emphasis on strength or material force than elemental allegiance, Congress does not appear to be mindless about untouchability.”¹⁵

In 1932, with the efforts of Dr.Ambedkar, the British Prime Minister announced the Communal Award, under which the Dalit class voters got the right to vote in the general areas with the Hindu voters, as well as separate votes in 78 separate constituencies for 20 years Got the right to cast. But if Gandhiji did not like this thing, if this were done then the Dalit’s would have got their separate identity like Muslims, due to which the vote percentage of the Congress would decrease and it would have to compete with another Muslim League in Indian politics. Falls. Gandhi announced its fast unto death, Dr.Ambedkar called it a political ploy. But in the end, Ambedkar had to woo Gandhi. As a result, Poona Pact came into existence. Under this, 148 seats were reserved for Dalit’s in place of 78 for Dalit’s. Although Poona went after the seats for Dalit’s in the Pact, the priceless and special right of double voting which they got in the Communal Award was Could not be fulfilled by Poona Pact. After the Poona Pact, a resolution passed by Gandhiji was passed that

“from now on Hindus will not be considered untouchable, they will have the right to use public wells, ponds, paths, schools and institutions as other Hindus. The social Boundation that has been imposed on the Dalit class should be overcome soon, and it will be the job of Hindu leaders to see.”¹⁶

The Congress had almost passed the same proposal in its session of 1914, but these proposals were limited to papers only. It was only in 1932 that the HarijanSevakSangh was established, which aims to campaign against untouchability and act as practical as possible, with the condition that no force be exercised, rather than being extinguished in a peaceful manner by public wells, ponds, schools, Temples, cremation grounds should be made

open to the Dalit sections. How successful HarijanSevakSangh has been in achieving its objective is known from the fact that in the Bombay Assembly in 1939, when B. Gaikwad asked a question, how many temples have been opened in Bombay Presidency for Dalit's since 1932? According to the data given by the Congress minister, the number of such temples was 142. Among them, there were 121 un-owned temples which were built on the way and nobody was looked after by them. Nobody used to go to worship in these temples. There was not a single temple open for Dalit's in the home district of Gandhi ji itself.¹⁷ When the government presented the bill on the temple entry bill in the House, the Congress leaders opposed it and these opposing leaders were being led by PanditMadhan Mohan Malaviya, who headed the HarijanSevakSangh, saying "In the case of the temple, there should be no relation to the law. That is why we are opposing this bill."¹⁸ The success of Congress and Gandhi's social reform and Dalit work can also be assessed from the fact that if he had tried it in the right way, Dr.Ambedkar would have to convert with millions of followers at the last moment of his life Does not decide.

Conclusion

The Indian National Congress was established with its objective in social and political reform has soon forgotten its purpose. Most of the Congress leaders are thinking from the beginning that political rights will be achieved first, then social reforms will be talked about, that is why the Congress did not give much consideration to the issue of social reform, initially some Congress leaders reformed the society, but he was confined only to the female improvement. After 32 years of its establishment, the Congress for the first time talked about social reform and Dalit's reform, but also for the purpose of improving the social condition of Dalit's, just for their political benefit, whatever resolution the Congress would pass social reform or Dalit advocacy they were limited to paper only. Many scholars referred to Gandhi as the messiah of Dalit's. He spoke of Dalit's only keeping in mind the changing political environment of India, although Gandhi was a man who made Dalit's a national issue but he redeemed it as much as politics demanded of him, Gandhi never done such a work which disappointed the upper caste people. If Congress and Gandhi exerted the same power to achieve political rights, if

they put in social reforms, then the discrimination and violence we see on the basis of caste in Indian society is not seen.

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Arya Samaji preachers/Bhajnicks, Verna System and Depressed Castes in South-East Punjab from end of the 19th Century to 1950

*Sonu Yadav

In this paper I seek to discuss the views of popular Arya Samaji Bhajnicks about caste and untouchability. These Bhajnicks were very influential and active in the South-East Punjab region. They played important role in popularizing the Arya Samaj. Folk poets such as Lakhmi Chand and Dayachand Mayna will also be examined in this context.

In South-East Punjab movements against the caste oppression among the depressed castes were not as radical as in Punjab due to peculiar socio-economic condition of this region. Here literacy rate was dismally low compare to rest of Punjab and agriculture was the chief occupation and opportunity to work as free wage laborer were very rare.¹ Besides this, very few untouchables were recruited in the army in South-East Punjab and domination of dominant castes was insured and increased due to more economic opportunities available to them in the army due to particular pattern of recruitment in the army.²

Here agricultural wages were also far lower than in rest of the Punjab and agricultural laborers were paid far less.³ Along with the significantly lower agricultural wages Land Alienation Act of 1901 adversely affected the untouchable castes as they were declared non-agricultural castes. Concentration of land in the hands of the dominant agricultural castes increased similarly it led to more control over the untouchable agricultural laborers in this region. It led to rise in tenancy and share-cropping.⁴ Due to changing power equations led to the discontentment between them. However, due to fewer economic opportunities and impoverishment of the

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untouchables these protests and defiance was local and sporadic.⁵

More radical movements such as Aad Dharam movement and conversion to Christianity were a little more successful in economically more prosperous pockets in this region. For example, the Ad-Dharm movement which was not very successful all over the South East Punjab, it left an indelible influence in some places. For instance, in Karnal, there were five thousand Ad-Dharmis.⁶ Karnal (was located on the Grant Trunk Road and near Delhi) which became the chief center of leather industry. It made the leather workers prosperous and economically independent.⁷

Although particularly in South-East Punjab Ad-Dharam was not a popular movement among the depressed castes yet the Ad-Dharam movement emerged as a threat for the Arya Samaj movement in many urban centers in Punjab. The Arya Samaj was apprehensive of losing its untouchable followers to the Ad-Dharm. To keep the untouchables in their fold, the Arya Samaj and the Hindu orthodoxy began to adopt Dalit cultural symbols and Dalit saints. As part of such efforts, the untouchables were encouraged to identify themselves as Balmiki instead of using derogatory terms such as *Chuharas*.⁸

In this region, due to the domination of the landowning classes and the dependence of the depressed castes on them, conversion to Christianity among the depressed castes was limited.⁹ For the landowners, the conversion of lower castes to Christianity meant claims to equality and losing control over labor. After embracing their new religious identity Native Christian converts often refused and resisted being engaged in the polluted and unclean demeaning occupations it led to numerous conflicts between native Christian converts and their landlords.¹⁰ Therefore, due to inherent odds faced by Christianity and Ad-Dharam in South-East Punjab as well as due to compatibility and suitability of the ideology of the Arya Samaj for dominant castes Arya Samaj movement gained popularity in this region. From various verses composed by the Arya Samaji Bhajniks, which are cited below, it is evident that the fear of Christianity and animosity towards Islam led to the growth of the Arya Samaj in the region.

बमो द्वारा बदला दे रहे आज हमारे प्यार का,
उधर इसाई जाल बिछाते रहे देश में घूम घूम,

कोल, किरात, भील और भंगी फंस जाते मासूम हैं,
ईसाइयों की गति-विधियां सब आयों को मालूम हैं¹¹

[Our love and affection is being paid back in form of destructive bombs, wandering Christians are spreading traps.

Kol, Bhil and Bhangis are innocent; therefore,

They become easy prey of cunning in triges against us.

All the activities of the Christians are well-known to the Aryas.]¹²

ईसाई व मुलमा क्यो कौम को मिटाते, गर्दन में गर शुद्रो के प्रेम हार होता... तुम तो
अछूत दल को दुत्कारते हो प्यारे, फिर दूसरों का क्यो कर अच्छा विचार होता¹³

[If Shudras have been treated well, why did Muslims and Christians try to diminish our community?

गोबर पाखाना था ऐसे भंगी कहलाया मैं,
झाड़ू लेकर गली-गली में कितना साफ बनाया मैं।
अगर कुएं पर हिंदुओं से जा पानी पीना चाहा मैं,
लोटा मांझ लिया पंडित ने, कहकर के धमकाया मैं।
मोहम्मद पानी पिए कुएं पर, नथू प्यासा मरता है,
उठो मुसलमान गाय के दुश्मन क्या हम से प्यारे हैं?
हिंदू जाति हम भी भाई तुम्हारे हैं।¹⁴

[For cleaning cow dung, I am called (bhangi); with broom, I clean each and every lane.

But when I went to the Hindus' well to drink water, the Pundit, cleaning his tumblers, threatened me.

Mohammad drinks water from the well, but Nathu remains thirsty.

Are the Muslims, the enemy of the holy cow, dearer to you than us?

O Caste Hindus! We are also your brothers.]

By encouraging Sanskritization among the depressed castes, the Arya Samaj worked for the upliftment of the untouchables. Most of the time, it tried to find an amicable way to resolve conflicts between depressed castes and Jats. But on occasions when the Arya Samaj ideology generated conflicts between Jats and untouchables, the Arya Samaj supported the latter. From the writings of Arya Samaj Bhajniks, it is apparent that, on the one hand, Arya Samaj opposed the unjust caste system, but, on the other, supported the hierarchy of Varna system based on one's action in the past birth.

Bhajnicks played an important role in propagation of Arya Samaj ideology by composition of popular verses or Bhajans. These popular verses are also an important source of grasping the ideology of Arya Samaj in relation to caste, *verna* and untouchable castes. Arya Samaj propagated its ideology in remote villages and far-flung areas through educating and providing support to paid/unpaid preachers/Bhajnicks. These preachers toured the countryside and preached the tenets of the Arya Samaj to the people. They denounced idol worship, elaborate rituals and customs, and illiteracy and ignorance. They were addressed as *Mahashyas*¹⁵ by the people. Here I have quoted the important verses of Arya Samaj preachers which reflect their views about caste, *verna* system and untouchability. Most of the Bhajnicks mentioned below belonged to the South-East Punjab.

Basti Ram (1841-1958) a Brhman by caste was born in Kheri Sultan village in present day Jhajjar district. Hewas a contemporary of Swami Dayanand;. He also happened to meet him when he was touring the Revari region. Basti Ram played an important role in popularizing Arya Samaj in Haryana. He severely criticized the Brahman orthodoxy.¹⁶

बस्ती राम बस देश निकाला दे दो जाति अभिमान को,
यह देश इसी ने खाया, विष पी कर अमृत पिलाया ।¹⁷

leave this false ego of caste from the entire country,
this has made our country hollow.

And at the expense of sufferings troubles and humiliations have given us all the comforts and luxuries.

Another Arya Samaji Prithvi Singh (Bedhadak) although he was born in the Meerut district of the Uttar Pradesh in (1904-1973). His Bhajans were popular among the people in the countryside of South-East Punjab. He belongs to a Jat family. He travelled widely in North India to preach the doctrine of Arya Samaj. Sikandar Hayat Khan in all India Jat Mahasabha in Sonipat bestowed him the title (Bedharak). He appealed to the upper caste Hindus to treat untouchables with dignity and respect:

In a Bhajan, cautioning the oppressors of untouchables he says:

भंगी और चमारों को, सताएगा जो बेचारों को,
जनता चुन चुन कर मरेगी ऐसे गद्दारों को¹⁸

[Whoever tries to humiliate and oppress the weak and helpless Bhangi and Chamars, people will punish them all, one by one.]

[Those who call the Bhangi and the Chamar as untouchable, Prithvi Singh Bedhadak says, their heads will be get beaten with shoes.]

Bhishm was born in 1859 in Kurukshetra. He was also a contemporary of Dayanand and he also preached tenets of Arya Samaj through his popular Bhajans. Like many other Arya Samaji Bhajniks He took Sanyas and remain a celibate to preach the tenets of the Arya Samaj. He was a very influential Arya Samaji preacher and many influential and renowned Bhajniks were his disciple.

Bheeshm in his Bhajans emphasized importance of one's Karma rather than caste to achieve name and fame in life and appealed to the people to reject the caste distinction. Appealing against caste distinctions he writes:

यहां जन्म जाति का जोर चले ना,
कर्म विफल कभी जावे ना।
कर्म प्रधान विश्व रची राखा,
वृथा मति इतरावे ना।

कपिल मुनि कौन धुनी,
जिन सांख्य शास्त्र को गया के ना।
बाल्मीकि की जीत बता,
जीन शुद्ध रामायण बनाई के ना,
कर्म प्रधान विश्व रची राखा,
फिर भी जाति बड़ी क्यों माने।¹⁹

[Here, birth and castes doesn't matter; right action is always rewarded and it has never gone waste. Here, it is not the caste but one's efforts make the difference. Therefore, what is the use of fostering false pride?

So many low-born saints and others such as Kapil Muni who composed Sankhya shastra, and Balmiki who wrote Ramayana, have also accomplished such great works and attained enormous name and fame only through their good Karmas in this country.

Although this world is Karma-based, why still caste is regarded as of so much importance?]

In another Bhajan emphasizing the importance of Karma he writes

मेरे से क्या कहो माता, कर्म के वश जमाना है,
जो जैसा बो दिया उसे तो फल भी वैसा पाना है ²⁰

[What would you say to me! O, mother?

Karma controls this world.

The way you saw the seed, the same fruit you get]

He belongs to a blacksmith family. Therefore, emphasizing the importance of craft and craftsmen he writes:

अजी ऐ जी शिल्प से जीवित है संसार,
बिना शिल्प के चल नहीं सकता कोई करोबार।
और अरपी जिससे जूतों की सिलाई होती,
चक्री का समान जिस से आटे की पिसाई होती।
शिल्प ही बना कर नौका समुद्र से पार करे,
बाग बगीचे कोठी बंगला बना कर ये तैयार करें।
शिल्प अपने को बतावे बड़ी जाति के अभिमानी लोग,
शिल्पियों से नफरत करें मूर्ख और अज्ञानी लोग।²¹

[Listen you, there you, skill make this world alive.

Without skill, no occupation can be a success; and Arapi²² A tool used by cobblers to mend shoes with help of which shoes are mended, tools of mill that helps in grinding wheat into flour.

It is skill that makes a boat and sails it across the sea.

It constructs mansions, bungalows, gardens are groves.

Skill is claimed by egoistic higher castes.

Only fools and the uneducated hate craftsmen.]

In another Bhajan talking about rejection of skilled untouchable artisans by caste Hindus he writes:

हजारों जाति शूद्र बनाई तुमने, थोकर मार,
शूद्र हीं कमीन बता दिये, बड़े-बड़े दस्तकार।²³

[Thousands of Shudra castes were made by you, and then you kicked them away calling them inferior/low. You call great craftsmen stupid.]

Further in another Bhajan He asserts the unity of the mankind. Along with it, he also affirms the Verna system which is according to him is based on ones Karma and virtues instead of birth. He asserts that all castes are equal. Great Rishis and Saints have born in low castes. Even people born in

low caste can become great by their actions. signifying this he writes.

जाति है मनुष्य की एक, गुण कर्मों से वर्ण चार,
 क्योंकि पांचों तत्त्व से ये पुतला हुआ तैयार।
 मनुष्यों में नीचे क्यों हैं भंगी और चमार,
 ऋषियों की आज्ञा को सुनते हो देखते हो बार-बार।
 बाल्मीकि की माता को ब्राह्मणी बताता कौन,
 विश्वामित्र ऋषि का कहो ब्राह्मणों से नाता कौन,
 वेद व्यास की दादी नानी और जन्म दाता कौन प²⁴

[There is just one caste of the humans; but by one's actions and qualities, there are four Varnas. And Human is made of all these five elements. Why is the place of the Bhangis and Chamars low in the society? Don't you hear and see the commands of the Rishis.]

Chowdhury Tej Singh was born in 1864 in the Bulandshahr district. In his writings, he idealizes Varna system. According to him deviation from Varna system based society is the cause of all present day miseries and evils.

वर्णाश्रम को छोड़ कर सब रहे कष्ट उठाए,
 रोगों से पीड़ित हुए मुंह से निकली हाय प²⁵

[Leaving the Varna system, everyone is suffering. Affected by diseases, they are repenting.]

In another Bhajan, Tej Singh laments the loss of social system based on Vernashram.²⁶

जो अंग वेद पाठी था, वह बकवादी होता जाता है,
 जो वर्ण देश का रक्षक था व्यसनी होता जाता है।
 जो शक्ति द्रव्य की मलिक थी व्यभचारों ने ढाई है,
 जो जाति सबोकी सेवा थी वो सबके ऊपर आई है प²⁷

[The person, who was once a reciter of Vedas, now utters nonsense.
 The Varna that was once the protector of country, has become a threat.
 The power that was once wealthy has become immoral.
 The caste that once served all, is now above all.]

According to him the primary duty of the Shudra caste is to serve all three higher Varnas. Many other Arya Samaji Bhajniks also lament the loss of Varna system. In a Bhajan describing the traits of Shudras he writes

है वही शूद्र संसार में, जो सेवा करे पराई,
 नहीं विद्या से चित्त लगे, नहीं सत्संग कभी भी पाई।
 ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वैश्य जनों की, सेवा करता रहे सभी की,
 ये पहचान जन शुद्रों की, गिनती खिदमदगार में १८

[A person who serves others in this world is called Shudra.
 This Shudra never gets any knowledge or good friendship.
 That the Shudra serves the Brahmans, Shatriyas, Vaishyas —
 The identity of a shudra is marked as one who is always in service.]

Other Haryana folk singers such as Lakhmi Chand, Mange Ram and Dhanpat did not talk much about social evils in their Ragnis. Lakhmi Chand (1902-1943) came from a Brhaman family. In one of his Bhajan not only he fondly recalls the earlier times when the society was based on Verna system. he also decried the modern time thus:

शूद्र सेवा किया करै थे, वैश्य खेती क्यारी,
 क्षत्रि सबकी रक्षा करे थे, ब्राह्मण वेदाचारी।
 लखमी चंद घने फण्ड चालगे, अक्कल न्यारी-न्यारी,
 धर्म सनातन भूल गए, फिरे दुनिया न्यारी-न्यारी १९

[The Shudras used to serve; and the Vaishyas did farming and gardening. The Shatriyas used to protect everyone and the Brahmans were the reciters of Vedas. Lakhmi Chand says, now everyone applies their own logic. All have forgotten the ancient religion and everyone in this world wanders apart.]

Mahashay Daya Chand Mayna was born in Rohtak in 1915.³⁰ He was from the sweeper caste and served in the imperial army which took him to various parts of the India and brought him into contact with revolutionary ideas. Not only he challenged the Brahmanism of his age but being a untouchable himself, he also expressed the pain and miseries of the Dalits in his writings. Through his writings, he also tried to educate the people about social conditions such as untouchability. He was a popular and well-known figure among the people of South-East Punjab.

बालक भीम पिसाया खड़ा मास्टर ने बोल दे,
 पानी पी लूं बाबूजी नलकी खोल दे ११

[Go and tell the master that child Bhim is standing thirsty waiting for water.

Please open the tap so that I can drink the water.]

In the above lines, Bhim is a figure representing the Dalits. His anger towards the caste system is also visible.

In one of his Kissas, a person rejects dowry; and instead proposes to his father to get married to a Dalit girl. And in the Ragni, he says:

पहले आली बात पुरानी ख्याल बदलने होंगे,
ऊंच-नीच के शब्द पिता, फिलाल बदलने होंगे।

[Things of the past have turned old, we have to change our thinking; O father! The habit of using discriminatory words has to be changed immediately.]

Through various Kissas/Sangs, he addressed the society. In a Sang, Daya Chand exposed the evil of the untouchability among the Hindus through a Muslim character.³²

तीन सौ साल भारत के बीच बितावे सै
तू हिंदू-हिंदू कर री वो तने नीच बतावे सै।³³

[You are calling yourself Hindu; but they despise you and call you low-born and untouchable.]

In one of his famous Kissas Dayanand Mayna while narrating a popular story of Harish Chand had exposed the hollowness of the caste system. In this Kissa, Raja Harish Chand works as a water carrier to a sweeper named Kalu, and Rani becomes a maid servant to a Brahman, Ramji Pandit.³⁴ When they both meet at the bank of the river, Harish Chand asks her to lift up the pitcher to his head. But Rani who was employed by the Brahman, refuses to do so due to the fear of pollution by touch. Then, Harish Chand tells her in a Ragani thus:

तेरे नहीं लगेगी छोट, भीत का तो सब झगड़ा झुटा सै,
उसनै ब्राह्मण मत समझो जो भितर में पाप राखै।³⁵

[Even a drop of water will not fall on you; pollution by touch is all untrue. The one who keeps bad intension inside can never be a true Brahman]

Arya Samaji Bhajniks laments discrimination and untouchability, sympathize with lower castes and expresses anger and anguish against societal attitude towards untouchables. At the same time they also affirm and defend the Verna system which is the bases of the castism in the society. They accepted the supremacy and importance of one's Karma in place of birth but

they did not proposed any radical solution to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables. Bhajans of these Arya samaji preachers rightly captures the Arya Samaj attitude towards lower castes in the society. Besides this, Arya Samaj efforts to ameliorate the condition of depressed castes increased the conflict with other dominant castes. Purification of untouchables and their assertion and claim for equality brought them in conflict with other dominant castes.³⁶

Bhajniks like Bheeshm, Tej singh and folk singer Lakhmi Chand express their sincere belief in goodness of Verna system. Although many Arya Samajis Bhajniks such as Prithvi Singh Bedharak strongly condemned the untouchability. There are very few Dalit radical poets such as Dayachand Mayna who not only expressed the anguish and pain of Dalits but challenged the caste hierarchy and proposed fundamental change such as intercaste marriages to abolish the castism in the society.

Despite similarities in the views of the Bhajniks, we cannot overlook the differences in their writings. Bheeshm who was from a blacksmith family, in one of his verses, talks about the superiority of craft. Lakhmi Chand, who was a Brahman, idealized the Varna system. Daya Chand who was a Dalit, sarcastically and bitterly attacked the castism and untouchability in the society.

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Mahatma Gandhi and Indian National Movement: A Study of Haryana Region

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Mahatma Gandhi took control of the National Movement of India in 1919 A.D. Mahatma Gandhi was taking an active part in the political struggle. He was developing the feelings of patriotism among the people of India through different methods. By adopting the peaceful and the constitutional methods, he provided a new direction for the National Movement of India. He was the greatest mass mobiliser in Indian history, brought mass millions of men, and especially women, into public life. He dominated Indian politics for a quarter of a century.

In 1915 CE Mahatma Gandhi came back to India from South Africa. He wanted to serve the people of India. In 1916 CE Mahatma Gandhi established Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad. From Sabarmati Ashram, Mahatma Gandhi taught the lesson of the truth and non-violence to his friends and to his followers.¹ Champaran also marked the beginning of his stormy career in India which was not destined to enjoy and rest till the freedom's battle was won.²

After the 1857 CE uprising in Haryana, the British imperialist won over the feudal lords. The feudal lords too got a new lease of life and were willing to act as tools in the British plan of political authority and economic exploitation.³ By uniting the Haryana territories with Punjab in 1858 CE, the British further hoped to provide effective checks to the growing unrest of Haryana people who had given ample proof of their anti-imperialism in the first national war of 1857 CE. After the exit of traditional aristocracy the new middle class who had appeared on the social scene rushed to fill the vacuum in the body politic of Haryana. However from the very beginning

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this middle class strived not for revolution but for a change in social conditions by means of the existing society.⁴

The objective conditions in the area had little promise for any anti-imperialist strike. In Haryana the small landed proprietary class was numerous and strong. There was a grow in belief in this class that only a country that had a sound economic, social and cultural base could provide meaningful scope for their advancement. Moreover, they performed all political functions, monopolized power and enjoyed the advantage that power brings. The concept of belonging to the martial races, thanks to the British propaganda, was so strong that they in all sincerity began to believe that non-violent struggle for India was not their meat. Bamford said on April 5, 1919 CE, "Passive resistance was a question of soul force, and for that reason it might not be easy for the Punjabis. For them it was the easiest thing to lay down their lives for a just cause. But to bear every humiliation, to undergo every indignity, to put up with every suffering, not to lift the little finger and not to let the heart feel the slightest resentment is rather impossible. For the other provinces it was easy to passive resistance, but for the Punjabis it was more difficult.⁵ With the outbreak of the 1st world war, India, being a part of the British Empire was also dragged in it.⁶ The people of Haryana helped the Government by providing recruits and by contributing money and material.⁷ During the war the people of Haryana could not actively participated in any national movement. It was due to the reason that the rural masses took more interest in war than in the movement.⁸ In 1918 CE, when the people of Haryana were disgusted with the economic hardships, particularly the Begar, it was Pandit Neki Ram Sharma who took initiative against this social and economic evil. He was the first political leader in Haryana who opposed this exploitation of the poor. He visited various places in Haryana. Perhaps in a sense, this was the first movement which created political consciousness among the people of Haryana.⁹

The Rowlatt Act Bill, this order could continue in force for a period of one month only but if a person was found guilty by an inquiry committee which would carry out its work in camera not being bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence, the period could be extended to one year and even more. The Bill was considered as unjust, subversive of the principle of the liberty of the subjects, and destructive of the elementary right of an

individual.¹⁰ These Bills came as a rude shock to Gandhi ji.¹¹ Gandhi ji said, "This Bill recommendation startled me. He described these Bill as an unmistakable symptom of deep seated disease in the governing body. He called for an All India agitation in support of the demand for the withdrawal of the Bills."¹²

As a reaction, Gandhi ji asked his countrymen to observe hartal on 30 March 1919 CE throughout the length and breadth of the country, observing fast offering prayers, and holding meetings and passing resolutions against the black law.¹³ But it was soon changed to April 6, 1919 CE. The people of Haryana took the message seriously and observed hartals from 30 March to 6 April.¹⁴

The protest meetings were held at many places where resolutions were passed urging the government to withdraw the Bill immediately. The first meeting was held at Ambala under the presidentship of Sardar Jhanda Singh on 11 February, 1919 CE where apprehensions came to the fore that if the Bills were passed into laws they would be wholly subversive of the elementary and fundamental rights of the Indians. Similar meetings were held at Hissar, Hansi, Rohtak, Bhiwani, Palwal and several other towns of Haryana where unanimous resolutions were passed for their immediate withdrawal. In order to oppose the Bills effectively, Satyagraha Samiti's were constituted in almost every town of Haryana and it was resolved that if the Rowlatt Bills were passed, they would refuse to obey such laws in a peaceful and non-violent manner. The District Congress Committees showed anguish and agony by wearing black-badges. It soon became a nationwide movement.¹⁵

The prominent leaders of Haryana Lala Tara Chand, Lala Nand Kishore, Muhammed Hanif. The hartals were observed throughout the region. At Hissar the hartal was organised by Shyam Lal and Bakshi Ram Krishan with the help of Hindu Club. At Bhiwani it was led by Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, K.A., Desai and Ram Kumar Bidhat with the help of Yuvak Mandal. Hartals were also observed at Rohtak, Sonapat, Ballabgarh, Gurgaon, Faridabad, Palwal, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Rewari, Panipat, Thanesar, Ambala, Jagadhari, Ladwa and Karnal.¹⁶

The agitation ran its course very effectively. To add more fuel to it, Swami Shraddhanada and other leaders invited Gandhi to visit Delhi and Punjab (Haryana). Gandhi ji accepted the invitation. The Punjab government

banned it. Gandhi's entry into the province on 9th April. Gandhi ji defied the order. In consequence, he was arrested at Palwal (10th April). This was his first arrest in India. The people were shocked by the arrest of their beloved leader. Hartals were promptly observed in almost every city and town throughout Haryana. Even the village were astir. The Hindus and Muslims vowed to fight their battle together.¹⁷

On 13th April 1919 CE, the cold blooded massacre took place at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar. A number of violent incidents took place at Ambala, Karnal and Rohtak Telegraph wires were cut on the North western Railway near Barara Station on 14th April.¹⁸ Another movement 'The Khilafat Movement' was started in Haryana. According to the treaty of Sevres with Turkey in 1920 CE, the office of the Khalifa was extinct and his whole empire dismembered. The Muslims in India who started the Khilafat agitation in support of Khalifa. Gandhiji gave his blessing to the movement and asked his Hindu brethren to side with the Muslims in their moment of crisis.¹⁹ The 10,33,530 Muslims in Haryana had by and large great sympathy for the Khilafat. They waged Jihad against the British. Ambala, Karnal, Panipat, Rohtak, Jhajjar, Hisar and Sirsa became the main centers of the movement. Hundreds of people came forward and joined the movement under their leaders who belonged to different classes.²⁰

The movement was quite successful throughout the state. The prominent leaders of the movement were Abdul Rashid, Ghulam Bhik, Hanif Khan, Shaminullah from Ambala, Usmani, Sanaullah, Sufi Iqbal from Karnal, Yaqub Khan, Abdul Ghani Dar from Gurgaon, Zamin Ali, Alaudin Abdul Aziz, Habibul Khan, Jan Muhammad from Rohtak.²¹

Gandhi launched the non cooperation movement on 1 August 1920 CE.²² Towards the success of the non cooperation movement was to establish the propaganda committees for mass mobilization and arrangement of tours of national provincial and local leaders to all the district headquarters and started membership of Haryana's local people. Organized meetings and conferences to be addressed by the national and provincial leader.²³ The programme to popularize Khaddar was adopted in order to stop the national sources from being drained out to the western countries. Charkha is Swaraj flag was adopted as the emblem of the movement. These programmes were actively pursued in the Haryana region too.²⁴ A meeting for launching the

non cooperation movement was arranged at Ramlila ground, Rohtak on 8th October, 1920 CE. Many national leaders attended the meeting. All the speakers exhorted the people not to cooperate with the colonial government which was dishonest to the core, Choudhry Matu Ram, Sham Lal, Lal Chand Jain, Daulat Ram Gupta, Chaudhary Chhotu Ram, Naval Singh, Master Baldev Singh, Molar Singh, Mian Mustaq Hussain Khan were attending the meeting.²⁵

The movement became popular in Haryana. A political conference was held at Panipat on 10th October 1920 CE under the chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. Thousands of people took the vow of non-cooperation here.²⁶ On 22nd October, the first Ambala divisional political conference was held at Bhiwani. Mahatma Gandhi along with Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Swami Satyadeva attended the conference. It was presided over by Babu Murlidhar, the Grand old Man of Punjab. About 15 to 20 thousand persons were present in the conference. Gandhi ji made a historic speech on the occasion, "Hamari yah saltanat shaitan ki saltnat hai." To deal with the satanic government they hit upon the remedy of non-violent non-cooperation. He then explained the programme of non-cooperation to the people and exhorted them to suppress their anger and refrain from violence and make self-sacrifice. If 33 crore Indians said the Mahatma adopted non-cooperation, the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs could be righted and Swaraj attained with a year.²⁷

Another meeting was held on 8th November 1920 CE under the Prisidentship of Rambhaji Datt Chaudhary, a prominent congressman. The situation became quite tricky when Chaudhary Chhotu Ram opposed the resolution of non-cooperation. This opposition was centered on the resolution concerning the payment of taxes, renunciation of titles, honours etc. He declared: "The peasants could not afford to indulge in the non-payment of land revenue. If they do so, the Government would take their land and then what would they eat?"²⁸ Consequently, Pandit Rambhaji Datta postponed the conference for the next day. The resolution was passed but the congress lost the support of a great Jat leader. It was a great set back to the congress in Haryana.²⁹

The programme of the boycott of Government aided institutions soon brought cessation of work in most of the Government aided educational

institutions. Gandhi's visit to Haryana stirred unrest among the student community.³⁰ Eighteen students left the Bahadurgah High School and joined the National High School, Rohtak. Gandhi also went to Kalanaur and Rohtak. He visited the Jat High School, Rohtak which had been lately 'nationalised'. In the presence of nearly 25,000 persons, the foundation stone of the vaish High School, Rohtak, was laid. Ch. Chhotu Ram started a new Jat Heroes Memorial High School at Rohtak. He called the movement as 'improper and a chaal (Fraud)' of Mahatma Gandhi. In Karnal and Ambala the boycott of schools and colleges could not be successful. In fact the whole of the Punjab could not become a strong hold of the movement due to the boycott of education institutions.³¹

The congressmen such as Bakshi Ram Krishan, Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, Shri Luxmi Narain, Sham Lal Hisar, Shri Ram Sharma of Jhajjar, Lala Murlidhar, Lala Duni Chand and Lala Goverdhan Das of Ambala were arrested. The loyalists and officials arranged anti non-cooperation meetings at many places where the members of the Aman Sabha and Rajbhagat Sabha participated.³²

When the movement was at its peak, violence erupted at Chauri-Chaura in Gorakhpur district (U.P.), where 22 policemen were burnt by a violent mob on 5 February, 1922 A.D. Gandhi was aggrieved at this harrowing incident and immediately suspended the movement which was officially withdrawn on 12 February, 1922 CE. The prominent leaders denounced Gandhi ji for this abrupt action. They termed it as a blunder on his parts.³³

The All India Congress Committee held its session at Madras in 1927 CE where it passed a resolution to boycott the Simon Commission. Wherever the commission visited it was welcomed everywhere with black flags and the slogans like 'Simon go back'. The congress committees held rallies for boycotting and condemning the commission at Bhiwani, Gurgaon, Jagerdhari, Rohtak and Jhajjar where resolutions were passed against the appointment of the commission.³⁴

30th October 1928 CE, Lala Lajpat Rai was assaulted by the police where he was leading a peaceful procession, which resulted into Lajpat Rai's death. His death on the 17th November, 1928 CE created widespread resentment throughout the country. Gandhi said that Lalaji's demise means the setting of a great planet from India's solar system.³⁵ Gandhi ji warned the

Government to give at least some concessions to the people who would make their lives worth living, if not the Purna Swaraj that they have pledged to go for. The government turned down Gandhi's offer with all the contempt at their command. Now the only course open for the Mahatma was to launch a civil disobedience movement to dislodge the government. And that he did by breaking the government's salt laws at Dandi, a village on the sea coast in Gujarat, about 240 miles from his Sabarmati Ashram. The Haryana nationalists had made elaborate plans to break salt laws in a grand manner at a village called Zahidpur near Jhajjar where they had taken on lease brackish water wells.³⁶

Like Rohtak, Gurgaon was also active, Salt was prepared here at Rewari on 20 April. It was tedious work; the law breakers could prepare only about 10 gram salt after a good deal of effort. But when auctioned it brought a good amount Rs. 1.040. On 23 April a big meeting was organized at this very place which was attended among others by Pt. Neki Ram Sharma and Kharak Bahadur, a special representative of Mahatma Gandhi. They congratulated the people of Rewari for defying salt laws and exhorted them to be ready to make greater sacrifices. The government did not like these seditious activities and they arrested Mahashe Bhagwan Das and 13 other activists who were running the show in the town. But it hardly made any impact on the movement which went on unabated.³⁷ The cloth dealers of Rohtak, Bhiwani and Ambala pledged not to import foreign cloth. The foreign sugar and vegetable ghee was also boycotted.³⁸ Picketing of liquor shops also took place. It was to reduce the consumption of liquor and to decrease the excise duty. At Rohtak and Ambala liquor shops were picketed. A liquor vendor was socially boycotted and his house was surrounded by the mob on 8th August.³⁹ The Swadeshi or Khaddar was propagated. At Ambala nearly 5000, people pledged to wear Khaddar. Some women started picketing at temples and allowed entry to only those persons who were in Khaddar.⁴⁰

Rohtak district the political leaders and activists such as Neki Ram Sharma, Mela Ram Moda, Noonkaran Das, Bidhi Chand, Ram Chander Vaid, Gopal Chand Arya, Ram Chander Shorewala, Jugal Kishore, Shespal Singh, Ganga Ram, Bhagwan Das Gautam, Smt. Mohini Mam Raj, Swami Raghunath Dass, Amin Lal, Kalyan Das were sentenced to six months imprisonment in Hisar district. From Bawani Khera, Mussadi Lal, from

Mitathal, Passu Ram, Raghu, Hemraj, Chanderjit Lal, Ganga Dhar and from Dadri tehsil of Jind state, Hari Singh Chinaria, Ram Kishan Gupta, Banarsi Das Gupta, Rajender Prasad Jain and Mansa Ram were also sentenced for six months to one year.⁴¹

On 5 March 1931 CE, when the movement was going at full speed but Gandhi Irwin pact was signed. Two warring powers sat on a table and signed the Gandhi Irwin pact. As a result the civil Disobedience was suspended and all the prisoners were released. But except those who were charged with violent activities. In this movement a parallel administration was set up by the congressmen in Rohtak district. Sham Lal was appointed Deputy Commissioner, Shri Ram Sharma, Superintendent of Police and other congressmen were thanedars etc. This administration issued a Gazette Notification which appeared in *The Haryana Tilak*. At the same time, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev were hanged on 23 March, 1931 in Lahore Jail. Their executions created great resentment throughout India. Gandhi after his return from II Round Table Conference, London, resumed the civil Disobedience movement.⁴² Many leaders were arrested again and Gandhi was also arrested in Jan, 1932 CE. The total 582 arrests made during the movement were in Haryana.⁴³

A general opinion that the people of Haryana did not take any effective part in the civil Disobedience Movement. This is wrong. As noted above, during the period under study, the Haryana region was very backward as compared to Punjab. Despite that, however, it gave more than its quota of arrests. A good number of Lawyers gave up their practice. More shopkeepers boycott foreign goods and more people came forward boycotting and picketing liquor shops as their movement than their counterparts in Punjab. And same was the case with our womenfolk. Surprisingly, a good number of them. Who lived in ghunghat and purdah came in open and fought the greatest imperial power in the world with confidence and courage. They inspired their men folks to do the same⁴⁴.

The Individual Satyagraha Movement as a conceptual part of Gandhian struggle was based on non-violence, constructive programme, daily spinning and Khadi. Gandhi believed that non-violence could be used as an alternate ideological current of world politics. He hoped by this method, to awaken the world's conscience. He neither willed to turn his opponents (British

imperialism) hour of crisis into his opportunity, nor he would consent to the doom of Germany, in the Second World War. He maintained his option to judge between the two combatants and succeeded to the one who has justice on his side.⁴⁵ The decision to start Satyagraha was thus taken at the Ramgarh session of All India National Congress. By September 1940 A.D. Gandhi had clearly visualized that struggle with the British was inevitable and that sooner or later the people would chart their own course to overthrow the British rule from India. This set term to start Satyagraha movement on October 17, 1940 CE.⁴⁶

During the second half of April and May, 1941 CE, the Satyagraha wave rose higher in Haryana, though the reverse was true in other regions of Punjab. This was so, in spite of the fact that the agitation against the Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets Act and the Punjab General Sales Tax Act was ascendency and many congressmen wanted to be exempted from Satyagraha so that they might freely take part in this agitation. In April 100 persons were prosecuted on usual charges under Defense of India Rules. District wise the position was as follows: Hisar 7, Rohtak 53, Gurgaon 5, Karnal 7 and Ambala 18. Out of these, only 92 were convicted for political and anti war offences under Rule 38 and Rule 38/121 of Defense of India Act. Among these 14 belonged to Hisar, 52 to Rohtak, 2 to Gurgaon, 6 to Karnal and 18 to Ambala.

In May, the total number of Satyagrahis was 84 thus recording a significant fall in the numbers of civil resist us.⁴⁷ The ideological and theoretical level of this movement was deliberately worked out in such a way as to fight with British imperialism and at the same time the art the attention of left parties to steal the show. In both the motives, Gandhi was successful. Viewed from this angle the Individual Satyagraha Movement in Haryana pointed to the organic connection that existed between the congress and Gandhi emphasizing the contradiction between the non-violence as viewed by the congress and the non-violence as adopted by Gandhi.⁴⁸

The withdrawal of Individual Satyagraha Gandhiji realized after about fifteen months that the Individual Satyagraha was not serving the purpose well. So he launched a powerful mass movement on 8 August 1942 CE.⁴⁹ In order to win over congress leadership the government released most of the prisoners imprisoned during the Individual Satyagraha movement. But

there was no change in the attitude of congress which reiterated its previous stand of non-cooperation with the Raj until the grant of independence to India. In February 1942 CE, Chiang-Kai-Shek visited India and urged the 'British government to concede real political power' to the Indian people. But the British Government and viceroy did not agree with his proposal. As an emissary of the war cabinet, Cripps was confident of an agreement with Indians in such a critical situation, Cripps Mission arrived in Delhi on 22 March, 1942 CE and declared that the British Government would set up Indian Union based on Dominion status soon after the war. The provincial legislatures along with the rulers of the princely states would duly prepare a constitution. The demand of Pakistan was conceded in principle and provinces were at liberty to opt out of Indian Union after the draft of the constitution. It was also conceded that until a new constitution was framed the British Government would continue to control over the defense of the country.⁵⁰

Gandhi ji realized after fifteen months that the Individual Satyagraha was not serving the purpose well. So he launched a powerful mass movement on 8 August 1942 CE. The Britishers were asked to quit India lock, stock and barrel right at once. These were war days and understandably the government took the challenge very seriously. To begin with, it arrested all the important nation leaders, including Gandhiji on 9 August. A region of tenor was let loose on the entire nation. There was however no effect on the people who also reacted with full force. In consequence, a spontaneous revolution burst forth, and almost the entire country came out to fight the British imperialism. In the struggle, it is near tending to note, the people of Haryana did not lag behind. Despite large scale arrests of leaders, police Zulam and all sorts of repressive measures, they offered resistance to the sarker and its collaborators.⁵¹

In Haryana, it gathered some momentum. All the congress committees were declared unlawful on 10th August 1942 CE. Local leaders were arrested. Even the family members of the arrested were shadowed and harassed by the C.I.D. men. In Sonapat tehsil the police adopted very coercive methods.⁵² In Gurgaon the demonstrations were subjected to indiscriminate tri changes. Babu Hari Harlal, a labour leader was arrested and beaten ruthlessly for having obstructed the construction of an acrodrome near Gurgaon.⁵³

In Ambala the office of the District congress committee was sealed and the property was confiscated. Neki Ram Sharma who attended the Bombay meeting was arrested on 14th August 1942 CE at Bhiwani. During August 1942 to May 1944 CE till the suspension of the movement many leaders arrested.⁵⁴

The Quit India movement was the only movement which had reached its climax. This was admitted by Nehru also in 1956 CE that the then situation drove them we would have lost all our strength. Most significant feature of his movement was that many leaders continued their underground movement till 1944 CE when it finally came to end. Almost all sections of the society participated in it and thousands of them courted arrest.⁵⁵ Gandhi ji withdrew the movement in May, 1944 CE. It came to a grinding halt in Haryana also.⁵⁶

The British continued to make efforts to create and develop discord in India and in 1947 CE. India was partitioned and Pakistan came into existences, But India got Indipendence. Mahatma Gandhi played a prominent role in India's Freedom struggle. Haryana people played an important role under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi. The dawn of freedom was taken as a joyous moment by every Indians.

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उत्तरी भारत में सर छोटूराम के नाम से कौन परिचित नहीं। एक समाज सुधारक, राजनीतिज्ञ अर्थशास्त्री, वकील, विधि-विशेषज्ञ तथा पत्रकार के रूप में उनका स्थान एक ऐसे स्तर पर प्रतिष्ठित है, जो सामान्य वर्ग से बहुत ऊंचा है। सच तो यह है कि भारत के किसानों को आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता व सामाजिक सम्मानता दीनबन्धु ने ही दिलवाई। आज पूरा भारत उन्हें किसानों के मसीहा के रूप में याद कर रहा है। दीनबन्धु किसानों के शोषण व ग्रामीण जगत की व्यवस्था से कितने दुःखी थे, यह उनके 'जाट गजट' में लिखे लेखों तथा सम्पादकियों एवं उनकी पुस्तक 'बेचारा जमींदार' (उर्दू में) जो बाद में 'बेचारा किसान' नामक शीर्षक से भी प्रकाशित हुई, में उनके विचारों से स्पष्ट है। प्रस्तुत शोधपत्र में भी छोटूराम के उक्त आलेखों, संपादकियों व बेचारा जमींदार में वर्णित किसान, समाज, शोषित व शोषक वर्ग की व्यवस्था के साथ-साथ सरकार की कार्य-प्रणाली, उसके भेदभाव तथा तत्कालीन समाज का चित्रण भी प्रस्तुत किया है।

20वीं शताब्दी का आरम्भ मुख्यरूप से औपनिवेशिक अर्थव्यवस्था, आर्थिक राष्ट्रवाद, सैन्यकरण, गुप्त संधियों तथा समाजवादी विचारधारा की स्थापना के कारण इतिहास को 'नए युग' के नाम से जाना जाता है। रूस में किसान एवं श्रमिक शक्ति के बल पर जहां समाजवादी सरकार के निर्माण के साथ विश्व 'एक ध्रुविय' से 'द्विध्रुविय' बन गया था। वहीं भारत में भी, विशेषरूप से उत्तरी भारत में सामाजिक क्रांति हुई तथा पंजाब में जहां एक और युनियनिस्ट पार्टी की सरकार बनी, वहीं किसान व श्रमिक संगठित हुआ तथा भारतीय स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन का स्वरूप बदला। कमोबेश आज 21वीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ में भी विश्व के साथ-साथ भारत, विशेषरूप से उत्तरी भारत की स्थिति बदलते हुए स्वरूप में 19वीं शताब्दी जैसी है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि

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इतिहास अपने आपको दोहरा रहा है। पूरा विश्व 'द्विध्रुविय' से 'एक ध्रुविय' तथा 'बहुध्रुविय' बन गया है। दोनों ही कालों में किसान व श्रमिक बदहाल की केन्द्रीय धुरी में रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में किसानों के मसिहा दीनबन्धु छोटूराम द्वारा 20वीं शताब्दी में वर्णित किसान की स्थिति का वर्तमान समय में प्रासंगिकता पर विवेचन करना समाचीन जान पड़ता है।

'बेचारा जमींदार' / 'बेचारा किसान' चौधरी छोटूराम की एक अमर कृति है तथा इस शोधपत्र में किसान के जीवन के एक आंशिक पक्ष पर चर्चा की गई है। 20वीं शताब्दी के किसान का दुःख, कष्ट तथा समस्याओं का इस पुस्तक में सजीव चित्रण किया गया है। अपने साप्ताहिक समाचार पत्र 'जाट गजट' में छोटूराम ने अनेक लेख लिखे जिनमें उनका राजनैतिक दर्शन उभर कर आया। चौधरी छोटूराम के जीवनकाल में इस पुस्तक का एक ही संस्करण 'बेचारा जमींदार' (उर्दू में) के नाम से छपा था। इस पुस्तक में किसानों की तड़प, पीड़ा व दुर्दशा का मुंह बोलता चित्र है तथा इसके पढ़ने से किसानों की नींद, मोह, सुस्ती, निष्क्रियता उसी प्रकार दूर होती है, जिस प्रकार गीता के उपदेश से अर्जुन का मोहभंग हुआ था। बाद में अनेक लेखकों, विद्वानों, विचारकों आदि ने इसे हिंदी में 'बेचारा किसान' व 'बेचारा जमींदार' नाम से प्रकाशित किया तथा भाषा को सरल बनाने के लिए अनेक स्थानों पर पाद-टिप्पणियां जोड़ दी।

20वीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ में जब औद्योगिकरण व व्यापारवाद अपने चरम पर था तथा भारत में संगठित राष्ट्रवाद अपने पैर पसारने लगा था, तब छोटूराम किसान की परिभाषा तथा समयनुसार उसे बदलने की सलाह देते हुए बताते हैं—किसान क्या है? पुरानी सभ्यता की यादगार है, पुरानी संस्कृति का एक अवशेष है। समुद्री जहाज, रेल, तार, बेतार का तार, हवाई जहाज आए, विज्ञान के अविष्कारों ने पृथ्वी की दूरी को कम कर दिया, समुद्र की तह में और आसमान की फिजां में विध्वंसकारी हथियारों की पहुंच का आश्चर्यजनक प्रमाण प्रस्तुत है,¹ पर किसान है कि अपनी चाल नहीं बदलता। जमाना बदला, राज बदला, हालात बदले और पड़ोसी बदले, अगर कोई नहीं बदला तो किसान। वही हल, वही गड़ढा, वही रहट और कोल्हू, वही कस्सी और वही खुरपा। वास्तव में जमींदार अपने पेशे से, ख्याल से, काम से, रवैये से और स्वभाव से मासूमियत का पुतला है, मगर भाग्य इतना खराब है कि बावजूद अपनी मासूमियत के कितने ही दुःखों की थैली है। उसकी ईद, ईद नहीं बल्कि मुहर्रम है, उसका दशहरा² आराम का दशहरा नहीं है, दुःख व गम का दशहरा है। उसकी होली रंग की नहीं दुःख भरे प्यार की होली है।

मगर ऐ किसान भाई सुन ! यह हठधर्मी छोड़ दे । मैं तेरा भाई हूं, तेरी ही बिरादरी का एक अकिंचन व्यक्ति हूं, तेरा सच्चा शुभचिंतक हूं, और तेरे वर्ग का सेवक हूं । जाड़े की ऋतु में बारीक मलमल के कपड़े पहनना बुद्धिमत्ता नहीं । अब जमाना बदल गया तो तू भी बदल । जब हालात में परिवर्तन आ गया तो तू भी अपने अंदर परिवर्तन ला । तीर-तलवार का जमाना गया । अब बंदूक मशीनगन, बम और जहरीली गैस के हथियारों की लड़ाई लड़ी जानी है । अब ढाल-तलवार को अलगनी³ पर रख दे और अपने को नए⁴ हथियारों से सुसज्जित कर ।

अगर ऐसा नहीं करेगा तो तेरी खैर नहीं । तू झूठी शान पर मरता है, पर यह नहीं देखता कि तेरा तो अस्तित्व ही खतरे में है । तू झूठे दिखावे का पुजारी बनता है पर तुझे इस बात की खबर नहीं कि तेरे इस दिखावे के सब साधन लुट चुके हैं । तू सभ्य होने का दम भरता है, मगर इस बात से बेखबर है कि वर्तमान सभ्यता ने कृतज्ञता जैसी वस्तुओं को असंवैधानिक करार दिया है । तू अपनी वर्तमान स्थिति पर गर्व करता है और बड़ी लापरवाही से कहता है:

‘खामोशी गुप्तगू है,
बेजुबानी है जुबां मेरी ।’⁵

यदि नास्तिकता का युग न होता, यदि भौतिकता ने आध्यात्मिकता का दम न घोंट दिया होता, यदि सच्चाई, सन्मार्ग और हमनवाजी का राज होता, तो मैं तुझे अपने को इस प्रकार खुश करने के भुलावे में रहने पर बधाई देता । मगर ऐ जीते-जागते दर्द के पुतले ! सुन, आसपास के वातावरण को देख, यह सतयुग का समय नहीं, कलयुग है । संसार की सभ्यता पर आध्यात्मिकता का बोलबाला नहीं है, अपितु सब कुछ भौतिकता में लिपटा हुआ है । अब राम राज्य नहीं है, हारून-अल-रशीद⁶ का समय भी नहीं है ।⁷

ऐ किसान ! चौकस हो कर रह, चौकन्ना बन और होशियारी से काम ले । यह दुनिया ठगों की बस्ती है और तू आसानी के साथ ठगी के जाल में फंस जाता है । जितना तू पालनहार है वे (व्यापारी, साहुकार, सरकार . . .) भी तेरी जान के प्यासे हैं । तुझे खबर तक नहीं ओर कोई तुझे पीर बनकर लूटता है, तो कोई पुरोहित बनकर, कोई तुझे शाह बनकर ब्याज से ठग रहा है, तो कोई तुझे रिश्वत से लूट रहा है, कोई ग्राहक बनकर तुझ से ठगी कर रहा है तो कोई आढ़ती बनकर तेरी ऊन उतार रहा है, कोई कमीशन से तेरी दौलत को चट कर रहा है, कोई नाप-तोल में तुझ से हथफेरी कर रहा है,⁸ कोई तुलाई में तेरी आंखों में धूल डाल रहा है, तो कोई भाव में तुझ से धोखा कर रहा है । कभी हिसाब में तुझे धोखा दिया जा रहा है, तो कभी किसी और चीज में ।

अगर तू समृद्ध है तो तुझे कारों⁹ और हातिमताई¹⁰ बनाकर लूटने वाले डोम, भाट, मिरासी मौजूद हैं और अगर तू निर्धन है तो साहूकार जौंक की तरह तुझ से चिपट जाता है।

ऐ किसान ! जरा सोच के देख, तू इतने भूतों से कैसे बचेगा ? निरीहता और गूंगेपन से नहीं, बल्कि बोलकर; शिथिलता से नहीं, बल्कि गतिशीलता से; चिंतन से नहीं, बल्कि कर्म से; कमजोरी से¹¹ नहीं, बल्कि शक्ति से; बेबसी से नहीं बल्कि आंदोलन से काम लेना होगा। अब तू गफलत की निद्रा से जाग, करवट बदल, और उठ, मुंह धो, कर्मण्यता एवं आंदोलन के शस्त्र उठा, समरांगण में कूद पड़ और अपने शत्रुओं के छक्के छुड़ा दे।¹²

किसान की बरबादी का यह हाल है कि उसके लिए सरकारी करों का देना भी दुभर हो गया है। परंतु उसकी इस लाचारी और बेबसी का पता बहुत कम लोगों को है। हमारी सरकार ने अभी जिले के अफसरों से कुछ प्रश्न पूछे थे। उनमें से एक प्रश्न यह था कि क्या वास्तव में किसान के सब साधन जवाब दे चुके हैं ? हमारी कैसी नहीं, मुन्नी भोली सरकार है, जिसको अब तक यह पता नहीं कि किसान के आर्थिक जीवन के सब स्रोत सूख चुके हैं। मगर हां, सरकार को इन बातों का पता भी कैसे लगे। कागजी सरकार है, कागजी घोड़े दौड़ते हैं और अगर कागज का पेट भर दिया जाए तो सरकार की तसल्ली हो जाती है। और जनता का पेट भरा या नहीं भरा इस कागजी घुड़-दौड़ में इस बात का हाल मालूम है। जनता पर क्या गुजरती है, वे समृद्ध हैं या दरिद्र, इसका हाल केवल गांव वालों को ही मालूम है। पटवारी को भी मालूम है पर वह सच कहने से डरता है। ज्यों-ज्यों ऊपर जाओ हालात की ठीक जानकारी कम होती जाती है। सरकार के बड़े-बड़े दफ्तरों तक जब दशा पहुंचती है तो वहां कागजी आंकड़ों (इन्दाजात) और कागजी अनुपातों पर ही निर्भर रहना पड़ता है।¹³

प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था पर टिप्पणी करते हुए छोटुराम कहते हैं-वास्तव में बड़े सरकारी अफसरों को ठीक हालत का मालूम होना बहुत ही कठिन बात है। इन बड़े अफसरों को तो पुलिस की रिपोर्टें और प्राइवेट चुगलखोरों की कहानियां सुनने से ही फुर्सत नहीं मिलती। इनका अधिकतर समय राजनीतिक हालातों के अध्ययन करने और उनके विषय में रिपोर्ट भेजने में बीतता है। इलाकों में दौरे करना, जनता से मिलना-जुलना, ठीक सूचना इकट्ठी करना और अपनी आंखों से सब चीजों को देखना, इन सब बातों के लिए इनके पास समय कहां। इसके अतिरिक्त, किसानों के दुर्भाग्य से अब मोटरें चल गई हैं और कोई अफसर घोड़ा नहीं रखता। अब अफसर मोटर में बैठे, 40-

50 मील की घंटे की गति से सफर करते हैं। जिले के मुख्यालय से चले और जिले के अंतिम छोर तक पहुंच कर शाम को पुनः मुख्यालय में लौट आए। यदि एक शाम को टेनिस न खेलें तो बस समझिए कि मनोरंजन की ही इतिश्री हो गई। और अगर एक रात ब्रिज (ताश का खेल) न खेलें तो खाना कैसे हजम हो। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि घोड़ा गायब और पक्की सड़क से परे के क्षेत्र का दौरा गायब, और मोटर कारों, टेनिस और ब्रिज के इंद्रजाल से दौरे के असली उद्देश्य भी गायब।¹⁴

इसके अतिरिक्त, डिप्टी कमिश्नर को छोड़कर ऐसा और कोई अफसर नहीं जो जनता की भलाई एवं सुख-सुविधा को अपनी जिम्मेदारी समझता हो। सब अफसरों में महकमापरस्ती की भावना काम करती है। पुलिस कप्तान समझता है कि यदि अपराधों की संख्या में कमी हो गई और स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में भाग लेने वालों को नियंत्रण में कर लिया तो समझो कि जनता की तरफ उसका कोई कर्तव्य शेष नहीं रहता। नहरी विभाग के अफसर समझते हैं कि यदि जनता को सेर भर पानी देकर दो सर के दाम प्राप्त कर लिए तो उनका कर्तव्य पूरा हो गया। निर्माण विभाग के अफसरों का यह ख्याल है कि यदि सड़कें और सरकारी भवन ठीक दशा में हैं और कुछ ठेकेदारों का उनके हाथ से भला हो गया है तो जनता की तरफ उनका और कोई फर्ज शेष नहीं रहा। सिविल सर्जन महोदय ने एकाध डिस्पेन्सरी का दौर कर लिया, दफ्तर के कुछ कागजात पर हस्ताक्षर कर दिए, और एक बार सदर अस्पताल के बरामदों और रोगियों के कमरों पर एक सरसरी निगाह बख्शा दी तो बस दिन भर का कार्य पूरा हुआ और यदि उन्होंने कोई पोस्टमार्टम कर दिया तो समझो जिला और जनता पर बड़ी भारी कृपा कर डाली। तात्पर्य यह है कि किसी भी विभाग के जिम्मेदार अफसरों को ले लें, उनको जनता से कोई प्रेम नहीं, जनता की उन्नति के साथ उनका कोई दिली लगाव नहीं, न्याय नाम की चीज के प्रति उनकी कोई रुचि नहीं। वे समझते हैं कि अपने विभाग के कुछ औपचारिक कर्तव्यों को औपचारिक रूप से पूरा करने के अतिरिक्त उनकी कोई और जिम्मेदारी नहीं, और जो काम करते हैं वे भाड़े के टट्टू की तरह करते हैं। इसका अपवाद एक बेचारा डिप्टी कमिश्नर है जिसे जिले के अफसरों से उचित सहायता नहीं मिलती। हां स्थानीय क्लब की सरपरस्ती उसके जिम्मे है, इसलिए दूसरे अफसर टेनिस, ब्रिज की लाग लगा कर उसके कुछ समय तक ग्राहक जरूर बन जाते हैं। कुछ समय न्याय-वितरण संबंधी कार्य ले जाता है। इसके अतिरिक्त बिल्कुल बेमतलब, अनावश्यक और कई बार बेहुदा कागजों के थब्बे उसके सामने हस्ताक्षरों के लिए या आदेशों के लिए प्रस्तुत होते हैं। इसके बाद जो समय बचता है उपाधिधारी लोगों या खुशामदी चुगलखोर

वर्ग की नजर हो जाता है। स्वतंत्र प्रकृति के लोग डिप्टी कमिश्नर के पास बहुत कम जाते हैं। कुछ डिप्टी कमिश्नर ऐसे लोगों से बात करना भी अपनी शान के खिलाफ समझते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में किसान के भाग्य का फैसला पटवारी और माल विभाग के अन्य अधिकारियों के हाथों में रहता है। वे गलत-सही करते रहते हैं और डिप्टी कमिश्नर की मोहर किसी रिपोर्ट पर लग गई तो बस इसको 'आयते हदीश'¹⁵ का रुतबा प्राप्त हो जाता है, उस वेद वाणी को अब कोई नहीं बदल सकता।¹⁶

जेठ, असाढ़ की धूप में तपने वाले, सावन और भादों की वर्षा में ईख, बाजरा और ज्वार के खेतों में नलाई करने वाले, माघ-पोह की सर्दी में नहर से धानों में पानी डालने वाले या चरस या रहट चलाकर खेत में पानी देने वाले गरीब किसानों की स्थिति को कौन जान सकता है, या कौन जानने की परवाह करता है। अगर कोई इनकी तरफ से आवाज उठाता है तो सरकारी अफसर और शहरी लोग उसको आधा पागल समझने लग जाते हैं। जिसको प्रातः काल पलंग से उठने से पूर्व बिस्तर की चाय, फिर साढ़े नौ बजे के लगभग चाय-टोस्ट, दोपहर को एक बजे लंच, चार बजे शाम को चाय इत्यादि और रात को नौ बजे डिनर (रात का खाना) मिलता हो, वह भूख और निराहार रहने की कल्पना कैसे कर सकता है? फिर खाने की चीजों में अण्डा, मक्खन, रोटी, चाय, कॉफी, मिठाई, मांस, फल, मेवा, गैसदार पानी (सोडा इत्यादि) और मन को छलने वाली और चेतना भगाने वाली शराब का प्रयोग करते हैं। ऐसी स्थितियों में जीवन बिताने वालों को किस प्रकार विश्वास हो कि किसान सूखे टुकड़ों को तरसता है।¹⁷

ऐ किसान! तेरा ईश्वर ही रक्षक है। सरकार तो अब भी यही समझती है कि जब तू कंगाली का जिक्र जबान पर लाता है तो मकरापन करता है। तेरी तरफ से दुहाई देने वाला कोई अखबार नहीं। हां, तेरी जमीन और जमीन की रक्षा करने वाले इस एक्ट 'इंतकाल अराजी'¹⁸ को कोसने वाले बहुत अखबार हैं। तेरी बिरादरी कुंभकरण¹⁹ की नींद सोई हुई है, तेरा कुटुम्ब तितर-बितर है, और इस बावले कुटुम्ब को कोई जगाने की कोशिश करता है तो मौलवियों, पंडितों और ग्रंथियों के कुटुम्बों में खलबली मच जाती है। जरा जगने के लक्षण कहीं दिखलाई पड़े नहीं कि इन धर्म के शत्रुओं ने धर्म के²⁰ नाम पर क्लोरोफार्म के फोए सुंघाने शुरू किये नहीं।

बादल आए, वर्षा के आसार दिखाई दिए, किसान ने कस्सी कंधे पर रखी और खेत की राह ली। किसान समझता है कि यदि समय पर डोल²¹ न बांधी तो खेत का पानी उतर जायेगा। फिर वह (वर्षा के बाद) बीज डालता है, फसल उगती है, बढ़ती है-कहीं बड़ी, कहीं जरा नीची। किसान सोचता है कि फसल अच्छी है, ईश्वर की

कृपा रही तो इस वर्ष साहूकार का कुछ कर्जा हल्का हो जाएगा। लड़की स्यानी²² हो चली है, यदि उसकी शादी का भार भी सिर से उतार दिया जाए तो भी अच्छा रहे।²³

किसान एक दिन चरी²⁴ का गठ्ठा खेत से लाकर घरे²⁵ में रखकर चबूतरे पर हुक्का पीने के लिए बैठा ही था कि आसमान की रंगत बदलती नजर आई। जरा गौर से देखा तो उसकी मुसीबतों को पहले से ही भांप लेने वाली आंख ने उसे एकदम समझा दिया कि टिड्डी दल आ रहा है। उसकी ऊपर की सांस ऊपर और नीचे की नीचे रह गयी। 'हे सच्चे ईश्वर! अब क्या करूँ?' टिड्डी और नजदीक आई, आसमान पर चक्की के चलने का शोर हुआ। लीजिये, वे आ भी गई - वृक्षों पर, छप्परों पर, छतों पर और मैदान में। पहले, एक-एक, दो-दो टपकीं और फिर आव-की-आव में दस-दस, बीस-बीस के झुरमुट आने लगे। कुछ मिनटों में सब कुछ पीला ही पीला नजर आने लगा। किसान कलेजा मसोस कर बैठ गया-कैसी कर्जे की अदायगी, कैसे बेटी का ब्याह, अब तो बीज की लागत की ही फिक्र पड़ गई। मनुष्य ईश्वर की सबसे बड़ी कृति है, अपने दिल में कितना जोम रखता है, क्या-क्या दावे बांधता है, पर दैवी शक्ति के सामने कितना निर्बल है।²⁶ टिड्डियां आईं, अंडे दे गईं, अंडे से कीड़े निकले-मुश्किल से पांच ईंच कद, पर सब कुछ सफाचट कर गए। अब फसल की कोई उम्मीद न रही। साहूकार ने कर्जा वापस मांगा। किसान ने कर्जे की किश्तों के लिए अदालत में अर्जी दी, पर अर्जी की कोई सुनवाई न हुई। अपील करने की शक्ति न थी, अतः डिग्री जारी हो गई, साथ ही कुर्की, साथ ही गिरफ्तारी। किसान बेचारा हैरान, परेशान, क्या करे? क्या कहे? किस से कहे? नौ बच्चों का बाप, सब अवयस्क, सबसे बड़ी लड़की, जिसकी उम्र केवल 12 वर्ष। हसरत भरी निगाहों से पत्नी की तरफ देखा, एक ठंडी आह भरी और कुर्क अमीन²⁷ के साथ हो लिया।²⁸

किसान की पत्नी का दिल भर आया, वह फूट-फूट कर रोने लगी, अरे मेरे सिर के साईं, मेरे नन्हें-नन्हें बच्चों का अब क्या होगा? 'अरे बणिए तेरे पूत मरें'। किसान ने पत्नी को समझाया और साहूकार से माफी मांगी। 'लालाजी, यह कम-समझ स्त्री है, इसकी बात का बुरा न मानें। तुम्हारे रुपये असली, एक-एक कौड़ी दूंगा और हड्डी तक बेच कर दूंगा।' साहूकार, जिसमें कुर्की अमीन की मौजूदगी से हिम्मत थी, बोला: 'चौधरी तेरी हड्डियों का कुछ नहीं उठता, अपनी लड़की भरपाई को बेचने की सोच। खासी सयानी है, अच्छे दाम लग जाएंगे।' यह सुनकर किसान की आंखों में लहू भर आया, गुस्से से पागल हो गया और जैसे बाज चिड़ियों पर झपटता है, साहूकार पर झपटा, गर्दन पकड़ी, सिर पर उठाया और जोर से जमीन पर पटक दिया। जमीन पर

एक पत्थर उभरा हुआ था, उस पर साहूकार का सिर लगा और खोपड़ी फट गई। वह बेहोश होकर मर गया। मामला पुलिस के पास गया और किसान का चालान हो गया। अदालत से सात साल की बामुशक्कत सजा मिली। किसान ने अपील की। साहूकार के रिश्तेदारों ने निगरानी की अर्जी दी और हाईकोर्ट ने अपील नामंजूर करके किसान को काले पानी की सजा दे दी। सजा के तीन महीने बाद किसान मर गया।²⁹

असल डिग्रीदार मर गया। किसान भी अब दूसरी दुनिया में था। पर इजरा-डिग्री की कार्यवाही जारी रही। 3700 रुपये की डिग्री थी। किसान के पास तीन सौ बीघे जमीन नहरी थी। साहूकार के उत्तराधिकारी ने सारी जमीन को मुताजरी³⁰ में लेने की दरखास्त दी। सब कागजात कलक्टर साहब के पास भेज दिए गए। पटवारी और स्थानीय अफसरों से मिलकर डिग्रीदार ने आमदनी का ऐसा नक्शा तैयार करवाया कि जिससे सारी जमीन की आमदनी से बीस वर्ष में भी डिग्री का रुपया पूरा न हो। तहसीलदार ने रिपोर्ट की कि किसान परिवार के पास गुजारे के लिए और कोई साधन नहीं है, घर में एक विधवा है, चार अवयस्क लड़के और पांच लड़कियां हैं। कलक्टर ने रिपोर्ट की कि चौथाई जमीन गुजारे के लिए छोड़कर शेष सब जमीन 20 वर्ष के लिए मुताजरी में दे दी जाए।³¹

अब कागजात दीवानी अदालत में पहुंचे। सीनियर सब जज की बदालत में पेशी हुई। बुढ़िया (किसान की पत्नी) भी पहुंच गई। डिग्रीदार ने कहा मुझे कम जमीन लेनी मंजूर नहीं और चूंकि मेरा हिसाब पूरा नहीं होता, अतः मुझे कम जमीन लेने पर बाध्य नहीं किया जा सकता। बुढ़िया ने अपने पक्ष में अर्जीनवीस से लिखवाकर दरखास्त दी थी। वह सहमी हुई खड़ी थी, उससे कोई भी नहीं पूछ रहा था। आखिर सीनियर सब जज ने हुक्म सुना दिया।³²

थानेदार इसकी खाल खींचता है, जिलादार इसकी चमड़ी उधेड़ता है, साहूकार इसकी ऊन उतारता है और सरकार इस पर हाथ साफ करती है। अदालत में जाओ तो वहां ओपचारिक न्याय, अफसरों के पास जाओ तो वहां झूठी तसल्ली, जमाना साजगार नहीं और सरकार मददगार नहीं। परंतु ऐ दुनियां के न्याय से अपरिचित किसान सुन! ईश्वर भी उसी की मदद करता है जो स्वयं अपनी मदद करता है। ऐ जमाने की रफ्तार से अपरिचित किसान! क्या तूने सुना नहीं कि सरकार के आंखें नहीं होतीं, केवल कान होते हैं? तूने सरकार के कानों तक अपनी बात पहुंचाने का क्या इंतजाम किया है?³³

वास्तव में जान आफत में आ फंसी है। किसान की आय के दो ही साधन हैं-पशु और कृषि। गरीबी के हाल और पालतु पशुओं की हालत नाजुक है। पशुधन से

जमींदार लापरवाह नहीं है। मगर कभी यह भी खूटे पर बंधा खड़ा-खड़ा मर जाता है। और उसका इलाज भी जमींदार की ताकत से बाहर है।³⁴

कभी वर्षा की कमी किसान को सताती है, तो कभी वर्षा की अधिकता इसके गले का सांप बन जाती है। कभी नहर में पानी न आने से बरबाद, तो कभी नदियों की बाढ़ से दुःखी। कभी ओले इसकी हजामत करते हैं, तो कभी पाला इस पर बरबादी लाता है। कभी ज्यादा धूप से इसकी खेती सूख जाती है तो कभी धूप न निकलने से रौली³⁵ लग जाती है। कभी टिड्डी का आक्रमण होता है, कभी कातरा³⁶ चढ़ाई करता है।

कभी चूहे इसकी हानि करते हैं, तो कभी गीदड़ और खरगोश इसकी जान को आ जाते हैं। जब बीजने के लिए अपने पास कुछ होता है तो मंदापन सताता है और जब खरीदने के लिए दूसरे के पास जाना पड़ता है तो महंगाई मुश्किल लाती है।³⁷ गल्ला³⁸ बेचना है तो मन्दे³⁹ का खटका⁴⁰ और गल्ला⁴¹ खरीदना हो तो मूल्य बढ़ने का। इस तरह खरीदे जब भी भाव दूसरे के हाथ में और बेचनी हो तब भी।⁴²

किसान की बुरी आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में जानने के लिए सरकार तहकीकात कर रही है। जो सरकार अभी तक मर्ज का पता नहीं लगा सकी वह इलाज क्या करेगी? जब तक सरकार को यह विश्वास होगा कि किसान वास्तव में बीमार है, तब तक वह कफन मांग रहा होगा। वास्तव में देखा जाए तो किसान क्या है? चलता फिरता दुःख है, स्वयं में पीड़ा है, आपत्तियों का सजीव चित्र है और दुःखों की पोट है। इसका दिल आपत्तियों और दुखों के घावों से छलनी बना हुआ है। परंतु इसके इन घावों के मुंह नहीं और यदि मुंह हैं तो इनमें जुबान नहीं। जिस दिन इसके घावों के मुंह पैदा हो गया और मुंह में जुबान पैदा हो गई, उसी रोज किसान की आह के आक्रोश से जमीन हिलने लगेगी, आसमान कांप जाएगा, आकाश के अंदर एक भयानक हलचल मच जायेगी। जो सरकार इस समय अपने अज्ञान के कारण सुख की नींद सोई हुई है उसकी नींद हराम हो जाएगी और जो खुशामदी, चापलूस, नादान, अकर्तव्यता के पुजारी सरकारी कर्मचारी सरकार को झुठे सपनों के भुलावे में रखते हैं, वे गह्वारी, मक्कारी, अय्याशी और बदख्वाती की स्पष्ट तस्वीर बनकर उभर उठेंगे।⁴³

किसान भाइयो, जरा कलेजा थाम कर सुनना, तुम्हारे दुःखों की दास्तान आरम्भ करता हूं। साथ ही किसानों से सहानुभूति रखने का दम भरने वाले सज्जन भी मेरी दर्द-भरी कहानी को शांति, प्रेम और ध्यान से सुनें। पर पहले यह बताएं कि इस कहानी को कहाँ से शुरू करें? यदि कहो तो उस चीज से शुरू करें जिसके कारण किसान, किसान कहलाता है- अर्थात् भूमि और भूमि के स्वामित्व से। स्वयं बहुत से किसानों

को भी नहीं पता कि सरकार के कानून के अनुसार इस प्रांत (पंजाब) अपितु भारत में किसानों का भूमि के साथ सही कानूनी संबंध क्या है? हम अपने आपको स्वामी समझते हैं, किसान कहलाते हैं, बिसवेदार (भूपति) की उपाधि धारण करते हैं, लेकिन क्या किसानों ने कभी इस बात पर विचार किया है कि जब कभी वे 'शामलात देह' (सामुहिक भूमि) से या स्वयं अपनी जमीन से कंकड़ निकालना चाहते हैं, तो उन्हें माल विभाग के अफसरों को दरखास्त देकर इजाजत लेनी पड़ती है। इसके विपरीत जो ठेकेदार चाहे वह अफसर माल की इजाजत से हम में से चाहे जिसकी जमीन से कंकर खुदवा सकता है और उसे हमारी इजाजत की आवश्यकता नहीं। यह क्यों? यह इसलिए कि सरकार इस बात की दावेदार है कि जमीन की असली मालिक सरकार है। जो लोग किसान (पंजाब व हरियाणा में किसान शब्द जमींदार के लिए भी प्रयोग होता है) कहलाते हैं, वे या तो एक प्रकार के पक्के मुजारे (जोतदार) हैं या वे एक बड़े भूस्वामी के अधीन छोटे भूस्वामी की हैसियत रखते हैं या यह कहिये कि किसानों को सरकार ने विशेष नियमों के अधीन सीमित स्वामित्व के अधिकार दिए हुए हैं और खुद अपने अंतिम स्वामित्व के अधिकार सुरक्षित कर लिए हैं। जमीन और जमीन से संबंधित हमारी संपूर्ण आपत्तियों की स्रोत और उद्गम यही बेहुधा समस्या है जिसकी रूह से सरकार यह दावा करती है कि सारी भूमि की असली और आखिरी मालिक सरकार है। यद्यपि किसान जमीन पर अधिकार रखते हैं तथापि जब तक वह खास-खास शर्तें जैसे (भूमिकर/ राजस्व) पूरी करते रहें तो वे अपना अधिकार स्थापित रखने के योग्य होंगे। लेकिन वे अपनी भूमि के पूर्ण और पक्के स्वामी नहीं हैं। जमीन के नीचे जो कंकर-पत्थर और अन्य खनिज पदार्थ हैं वह भी जमीन की तरह सरकार के स्वामित्व में हैं, क्योंकि जमीन के कब्जे के साथ इन चीजों का अधिकार सरकार ने नहीं छोड़ा, इसलिए ये चीजें सरकार की ही हैं। इस प्रकार किसान एक प्रकार के पक्के मुजारे हैं, जिनको सरकार उस समय तक बेदखल नहीं कर सकती जब तक कि वे बंदोबस्त में प्रस्तुत की हुई मालगुजारी देते रहें। सरकार ने अधिकार का हक तो किसानों को दे दिया परंतु खनिज पदार्थों का स्वामित्व सरकार ने अपने लिए सुरक्षित रखा है। अतः इस हक को बरतने के लिए खुद सरकार और सरकार की इजाजत से ठेकेदार, किसान की आज्ञा के बिना उनके अधिकार में दखल करने का हक रखते हैं।¹⁴

भूमि के स्वामित्व की जो समस्या ऊपर लिखी गई है वही उचित अर्थों में प्रायः किसान की मुसीबतों की जड़ है। यह समस्या बिलकुल अन्यायपूर्ण है। सरकार कहती

है कि मुसलमान बादशाहों के समय में भी स्थिति यही थी और हिंदू राजाओं के समय में भी। इस विषय पर इसी प्रकार आचरण होता था क्योंकि अंग्रेजी सरकार ने शासन की डोर या तो मुसलमान बादशाहों से प्राप्त की थी या हिंदू राजाओं से। मुसलमान बादशाहों ने हिंदू राजाओं से राज्य प्राप्त किया था। इसलिए सरकार को वे सारे अधिकार प्राप्त हैं, जो अधिकार मुसलमान बादशाहों और हिंदू राजाओं को प्राप्त थे। लेकिन अंग्रेजी सरकार का यह कहना बिल्कुल गलत है कि मुसलमान बादशाहों ने या हिंदू राजाओं ने कभी यह दावा किया हो कि भूमि का वास्तविक स्वामी राजा या बादशाह है और किसानों को जो हक भूमि में मिला हुआ है वह राजा या बादशाह या शासन का दिया हुआ है। यह दावा सिद्धांत और इतिहास दोनों कसौटियों पर खरा नहीं उतरता। मैंने जिला रोहतक के सैकड़ों गांवों के इतिहास को, जो स्वयं सरकारी अधिकारियों ने तैयार किए हैं, देखा है। इनमें से हर एक गांव के इतिहास में लिखा हुआ है कि इस गांव में पहले अमुक जाति बसती थी और अमुक जाति ने लड़ाई करके स्वयं अधिकार कर लिया।¹⁵

राजा और राज, बादशाह और बादशाहत, हाकिम और हकुमत ये तो भूमि और किसान के अस्तित्व में आने के बहुत बाद अस्तित्व में आए हैं। हिंदू परंपरा के अनुसार सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति के लाखों वर्ष बाद, चौथे मनु के समय में राज की संस्था अस्तित्व में आई। इसलिए यह कहना कि किसान को भूमि के स्वामित्व का अधिकार राजा द्वारा दिया गया है, बिल्कुल गलत है और अगर इसे सही भी मान लें तो अंग्रेजी सरकार तो यह दावा करती है कि राजाओं और बादशाहों का युग असभ्यता और अंधकार का युग था, और अंग्रेजों ने यहां आकर सभ्यता और प्रकाश के युग का शुभारंभ किया है। तो फिर क्या कारण है कि जहालत और अंधकार के युग की रस्में गरीब किसानों पर ये अब तक लादे जा रहे हैं, जबकि बहुत सी पुरानी बातों को असभ्य युग की बातें मान कर हटा दिया गया है। इसी प्रकार इसी रीति को भी अब जुल्म और अन्याय की पुरानी यादगार समझ कर मिटा दिया जाना चाहिए। आखिर इस सभ्य समय में भला ऐसे बेहुदा भूमि कानून कौन-सी राजनैतिक व न्यायिक सिद्धांत की बिनाह पर बनाए रखे जा सकते हैं।¹⁶

गरीब किसान पर जो कर लगा रखे हैं, वे उनकी सहनशक्ति से परे हैं तथा न ही वे किसी सिद्धांत पर आधारित हैं। यद्यपि यह सही बात है कि किसी भी सरकार का काम करों के बिना नहीं चल सकता, चाहे वह सरकार स्वदेशी हो या विदेशी, प्रजातंत्रीय हो या व्यक्तिवादी; साथ ही नौकरशाही का काम भी बिना रुपयों के नहीं चल सकता।

इसलिए हर सरकार को कर लगाने पड़ते हैं। परंतु कर लगाने के दो बड़े सिद्धांत होते हैं: एक यह कि शासन को चलाने के लिए जितना रुपया चाहिए उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए कम से कम कर लगाए जाएं। दूसरे, करों का बोझ सब वर्गों पर बराबर डाला जाए और इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाए कि कौन वर्ग कितना बोझ उठा सकता है। आज हर भारतवासी यह विश्वास रखता है कि अंग्रेजी सरकार ने उस पर अधिक कर लगा रखे हैं। करों का बटवारा करते समय अंग्रेजी सरकार ने इस दूसरे सिद्धांत का विरोध किया है जिसका सबसे बुरा असर किसानों पर पड़ा है। वास्तव में कर लगाते समय सरकार ने किसानों के पूरे वर्ग के साथ अन्याय किया है। यदि एक-एक किसान को अलग-अलग रख कर भी देखें तो भी उनके साथ अन्याय हुआ दृष्टिगोचर होगा। कोई भी कार्य ऐसा नहीं है जिसमें आमदनी का कुछ न कुछ भाग कर से मुक्त न रखा गया हो। पिछले साल से पहले सभी धंधों में दो हजार रुपये प्रतिवर्ष की सीमा से नीचे वाली आमदनी पर कर नहीं लगता था। अब माफी की सीमा एक हजार रुपये प्रति वर्ष हो गई है। यह आमदनी एक गृहस्थ परिवार के गुजारे के लिए अनिवार्य समझी गई है और इसे पेट की रोटी समझकर कर-मुक्त कर दिया गया है। यह बड़े अफसोस की बात है कि किसान की कोई आमदनी कर-मुक्त नहीं। उसकी भूमि की एक-एक बिस्वासी पर कर लगा हुआ है। किसान की रोटी पर भी कर है। संभवतः हमारी भोली-भाली सरकार यह समझती है कि किसान को भूख नहीं लगती और उसका परिवार हवा खाकर गुजारा कर सकता है। या सरकार का यह ख्याल है कि किसान उसकी रियाया का न बोलने वाला महत्वपूर्ण अंग है, इसलिए उसे माफ करना आवश्यक नहीं। यदि उसका पेट भी काट लिया जाये तो भी उसे कोई शिकायत न होगी। परंतु कारण चाहे कुछ भी हों, जो रियायतें साहूकार को हैं, सौदागर को हैं, कारखानेदार को हैं, वकील को हैं, डॉक्टर को हैं, इंजीनियर को हैं, दुकानदार को हैं, सरकारी कर्मचारी को हैं, वे रियायतें किसान को नहीं।⁴⁷

आप यह जानना चाहेंगे कि किसान के साथ ये अन्याय क्यों हो रहा है और सरकार इस अन्याय के विषय में क्या कहती है? वस्तुतः सरकार का इस विषय में उत्तर वही है जिसका वर्णन ऊपर किया गया है, अर्थात् जमीन की वास्तविक स्वामी तो सरकार है, किसान तो केवल मुजारा है। मालगुजारी भूमि कर नहीं बल्कि एक तरह का लगान है, किराया कभी माफ नहीं हुआ करता है। यदि कोई किसान समझता है कि उस पर अधिक किराया है तो उससे छुटकारा पाना उसके अपने हाथ में है। वह जमीन छोड़ दे तो सरकार उससे किराया नहीं मांगेगी।

देखिए, कितनी आश्चर्य की बात है। जो भूमि राज्यों से पहले अस्तित्व में आई, उसको राज्य द्वारा मांगा जाता है, और जो किसान राज्य से हजारों लाखों वर्ष पहले अस्तित्व में आया उसको राज्य का किरायेदार बताया जाता है। जिस भूमि को हमारे बुजुर्गों ने अपनी शक्ति से अधिकृत किया, उसको सरकार की मलिकयत बताया जाता है। ऊपर से ढीठपन तो देखिए कि किसानों को कहा जाता है कि किराया से छुटकारा पाना चाहते हो तो भूमि को छोड़ दो। किसान कहते हैं कि भूमि हमारी है, हमारे बाप-दादा की है, न यह हमें किसी राजा ने दी है, न किसी बादशाह ने, और न ही अंग्रेजी सरकार ने। कर लगाने वाले आम सिद्धांतों से हटकर हम पर जो भारी बोझ डाला गया है वह अन्याय है। हमें अन्याय से बचाया जाए। परंतु किसान की सुनवाई नहीं होती।

किसान शायद यह सुनकर और भी हैरान होंगे कि जो बातें मैंने ऊपर कहीं हैं वे केवल सरकार ही नहीं कहती, बल्कि हमारे वे भाई भी कहते हैं जो कि प्लेटफार्म और प्रेस से किसानों से सहानुभूति का दम भरते नहीं थकते। पंजाब की कौंसिल में यह प्रश्न कई बार चर्चा का विषय बन चुका है। हिंदू सभा पार्टी के बड़े-बड़े सदस्यों ने भी इस विषय पर वही दलीलें पेश की हैं, जो सरकार द्वारा पेश की जाती हैं। वे कहते हैं कि भूमि का लगान भी वैसा ही है जैसा कि उनके हमपेशा भाइयों की दुकानों का किराया। बड़ी दुकान का बड़ा किराया, छोटी दुकान का छोटा किराया। यदि कोई दुकानदार किराया न दे, तो उससे दुकान ले ली जाती है।¹⁸

वस्तुतः यहां कसूर न सरकार का है और न हमारे अकृषक भाइयों का। अकृषक भाई समझते हैं कि यदि किसानों का वजन हल्का किया जाए तो बचा हुआ बोझ अकृषकों पर आ जाएगा। इसलिए वे अपने कंधों को हल्का रखने के लिए सरकार की हां में हां मिलाते हैं। इस विषय में कसूर सारे का सारा किसानों का है। वे संगठित नहीं हैं, वे कमजोर हैं और राजनीति की दुनिया में कमजोर होना अभिशाप है। दूर क्यों जाएं, हमारे हरियाणा में ही कहावत है: हीणे की जोरू सब की भाभी, अर्थात् निर्बल व्यक्ति की पत्नी को हर आदमी अपनी भाभी समझता है और उसके साथ भाभी जैसा बर्ताव करता है।

क्या आप यह जानना चाहेंगे कि किसानों के साथ ये अन्याय क्यों हो रहा है? और सरकार इस अन्याय के विषय में क्या कहती है? वस्तुतः सरकार का इस विषय में उत्तर वही है जिसका वर्णन ऊपर किया गया है अर्थात् जमीन की वास्तविक स्वामी तो सरकार है, किसान तो केवल मुजारा है। मालगुजारी, भूमिकर नहीं, बल्कि एक तरह का लगान है, किराया है, भाड़ा है। जितनी जमीन किसान सरकार से लेता है उतना ही

किराया देता है। किराया कभी माफ नहीं हुआ करता है। यदि कोई किसान समझता है कि उस पर अधिक किराया है तो उसे छुटकारा पाना उसके अपने हाथ में है। वह जमीन छोड़ दे, सरकार उससे किराया नहीं मांगेगी।

किसान को उसके अधिकारों के प्रति जागरूक करते हुए छोटूराम कहते हैं—ऐ किसान! तू शेर होते हुए भी अपने को गीदड़ समझता है। अपने असली गुणों और सिफ्त को न भूल और अपनी वास्तविकता से दूर न हो। जो वास्तव में है तू वही बन जा, फिर तुझे किसी से डरने की आवश्यकता नहीं—

फारिग आज अंदेशा अगियार शो,

कुव्वते ख्वाबीदा बेदार शो।⁴⁹

अर्थात् तू एक सोई हुई शक्ति है, जाग, आंख खोल, उठकर बैठ और देख कि तुझे दूसरों से कितने खतरे हैं।

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45. *वही*, पृ. 29-30; *वही*, पृ. 47.

46. वही.
47. वही.
48. वही, पृ. 32; वही, पृ. 49.
49. वही, पृ. 34; वही.

ब्रिटिश काल में हरियाणा में शिक्षा का स्वरूप एवं परिवर्तन

*अशोक कुमार

19वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व कम्पनी सरकार का रवैया शिक्षा के प्रति उदासीन था। परन्तु 1813 ई. में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयास किया गया। इस 1813 ई. के चार्टर के अन्तर्गत सरकार को शिक्षा में योगदान देने का उत्तरदायित्व प्रदान करते हुए शिक्षा से सम्बद्ध एक विशेष विधि द्वारा यह निश्चित किया गया कि प्रत्येक वर्ष शिक्षा और साहित्य को बढ़ावा देने के लिए, भारतीयों को प्रोत्साहित करने के लिए, तथा ब्रिटिश भारतीयों में ज्ञान-विज्ञान का प्रसार करने हेतु एक लाख रुपये का अनुदान अलग से रखा जाए।¹ परन्तु बड़े खेद से यह हिदायत सरकारी फाइलों तक ही सीमित रही थी। परन्तु कम्पनी का एक अधिकारी विलियम फ्रेजर ने इस उद्देश्य का पालन करते हुए सोनीपत क्षेत्र में अपने खर्च पर कृषक बच्चों के लिए कुछ विद्यालय खोले, पर ये विद्यालय अधिक समय तक न चल सके। 1823 ई. में शिक्षा को नियंत्रित तथा उन्नत करने के लिए भारत सरकार द्वारा 'जनरल कमेटी ऑफ पब्लिक इंस्ट्रक्शन' गठित की गई, परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश यह सफल नहीं हो सकी तथा 29 नवम्बर, 1823 ई. को इस समिति के अधिकारियों ने इसे यह कहकर ठुकरा दिया कि यह हमारी नीति के विरुद्ध है।²

इसी समय उत्तर पश्चिम प्रान्त के गवर्नर थामसन (1843-1853) ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में काफी रुचि ली। उसने एक योजना मौलिक शिक्षा को सर्वोच्च सरकार एवं कोर्ट के निर्देशों से मान्यता दिलवाई। थामसन ऐसे प्रथम व्यक्ति थे जिन्होंने ब्रिटिश अधिकृत क्षेत्र में जन-शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने के उद्देश्य से भू-कर पर उपकर निर्धारित करके संग्रहित किया तथा इस उपकर के साथ-साथ सहकारी फण्डों से भी आर्थिक सहायता की। उपरोक्त योजना 1850 ई. में उत्तर पश्चिमी प्रान्त के आठ जिलों में प्रयोगात्मक रूप से

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं भारतीय संस्कृति विभाग, वनस्थली विद्यापीठ, राजस्थान।

लागू की गई।^३ इस योजना के अन्तर्गत हरियाणा क्षेत्र को भी इसका लाभ मिला।^४ पंजाब का ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य में विलय 1849 ई. के पश्चात् यहां पर आधुनिक शिक्षा को उन्नत करने का प्रयास किया गया। प्रारम्भ के चार वर्षों तक शिक्षा को न्यायिक कमीशनर राबर्ट मोटंगुमरी की देख-रेख में रखा गया तथा इसका अनुगमन करते हुए सितम्बर 1854 ई. में इस कार्य को न्यायिक कमीशनर के अनुरोध पर वित्तीय कमीशनरों की देखरेख में स्थानान्तरण किया गया तथा इसमें कुछ संशोधन भी किए गए।^५

सन् 1854 में चार्ल्स वुड के 'शिक्षा विषयक वुड डिस्पैच' नामक शिक्षा नीति का मुख्य उद्देश्य ब्रिटिश अधिकृत क्षेत्र में युरोप की भांति कला, विज्ञान, दर्शन, साहित्य में सुधार करके शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देना था। इस उद्देश्य को सफल बनाने के लिए निजी शिक्षा संस्थानों एवं मिशनरियों को शिक्षा का प्रसार करने के लिए तथा नौजवान लड़कियों व स्त्रियों को शिक्षा में उत्साहित करने के लिए आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान की गई।^६

ब्रिटिश काल से पूर्व परंपरागत शिक्षा प्रचलित थी। उस समय शिक्षण संस्थाएं धार्मिक आधार पर हिंदू, मुस्लिम और सिख शिक्षण संस्थाओं में बैठी हुई थी।^७ मकतब, मदरसे, मस्जिद आदि में इस्लामिक शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी, जबकि गुरुकुलों और मंदिरों इत्यादि में हिंदू और सिख शिक्षा प्रदान प्राप्त करते थे। उस समय शिक्षण संस्थान दूर-दराज के क्षेत्रों में विशेषकर शहरों में होते थे,^८ सुविधाओं के अभाव के कारण ग्रामीण आबादी अधिकतर शिक्षा से वंचित रह जाती थी, जिसमें लड़कियों की संख्या न के बराबर थी सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार 1910 में मात्र 0.33 प्रतिशत लड़कियां ही शिक्षा ग्रहण कर पाती थी।^९ हालांकि भारत में 1835 में पाश्चात्य शिक्षा का प्रचलन आरंभ हो गया था। परंतु हरियाणा के अधिकतर आबादी कृषि से संबंधित होने के कारण एक लंबे समय तक आधुनिक शिक्षा से वंचित रही।^{१०} परंतु 1849 के पश्चात माहौल में परिवर्तन हुआ और प्रांत में विभिन्न इसाई संस्थाओं की स्थापना हुई। जिनमें 'चर्च ऑफ स्कॉटलैंड' तथा 'हाई सोसाइटी फॉर प्रोपगेशन ऑफ द गोस्पॉल' आदि सम्मिलित थी।

1854 में वुड डिस्पैच अधिनियम के पश्चात शिक्षा की स्थिति में परिवर्तन आया। वुड डिस्पैच के अनुसार देश में अंग्रेजी शिक्षा के स्कूल खोले जाने का प्रावधान किया गया।^{११} इस अधिनियम के तहत हरियाणा क्षेत्र के शाहबाद, थानेश्वर, कैथल, गोहाना, सोनीपत, गुड़गांव, हांसी, झज्जर, बहादुरगढ़ जैसे अनेक नगरों तथा बड़े-बड़े गांव में स्कूल खोले गए।^{१२} इन स्कूलों में ज्यादातर पाश्चात्य शिक्षा प्रदान की जाती थी वैसे भी,

यातायात संचार की सुविधाओं में बढ़ोतरी से लोगों में शिक्षा के प्रति सोच परिवर्तित हुई और जागरूकता आयी।

सन 1858 में कंपनी के शासन के स्थान पर ब्रिटिश ताज का शासन स्थापित हुआ। अब नई सरकार ने देश के विभिन्न हिस्सों को रेलवे से जोड़ने का निश्चय किया। 1860 में शिक्षा के लिए 'डायरेक्टर ऑफ पब्लिक इंस्ट्रक्टर' के नियंत्रण में रखा गया।¹³ 1863-64 में एक अलग से स्कूल निरीक्षक दक्षिण पूर्वी पंजाब में शिक्षा के निरीक्षण के लिए नियुक्त किया गया। इसके अलावा 1864 में निम्न और मध्यम वर्ग के लड़कों और लड़कियों में अंग्रेजी शिक्षा को लोकप्रिय बनाने के लिए अंबाला और दिल्ली में दो सम्मेलनों का आयोजन किया गया।¹⁴ निम्नलिखित तालिका में निजी शिक्षण संस्थाओं की स्थिति को दर्शाया गया है।¹⁵

हरियाणा के मुख्य जिलों में निजी शिक्षण संस्थाओं की संख्या

जिला	हिंदू संस्थाएँ	मुस्लिम संस्थाएँ	सिक्ख संस्थाएँ	ईसाई संस्थाएँ
अंबाला	11	01	01	01
गुड़गांव	06
हिसार	11	02	...	02
रोहतक	01	01
करनाल	04	01

स्रोत:- पंजाब एजुकेशनल रिपोर्ट 1901-01, एपेन्डक्स टेबल-62

लेकिन स्रोत के अभाव में यह कहना मुश्किल है कि इन स्कूलों में कितने विद्यार्थी शिक्षा प्राप्त करते थे। वैसे भी अपने सरकार ने हरियाणा क्षेत्र में शिक्षा के प्रति कोई विशेष रूचि नहीं दिखाई। इसलिए यहां शिक्षा के विकास की गति अन्य प्रदेशों की तुलना में काफी धीमी थी। यह बात ध्यान देने योग्य है कि शिक्षा के धीमे-धीमे विकास में परंपरागत सामंती व्यवस्था एवं निम्न जातियों की शिक्षा के प्रति अभिरुचि उत्तरदायी रही। हरियाणा क्षेत्र के लोग अंग्रेजी स्कूलों में दी जाने वाली शिक्षा के महत्व को नहीं समझ सके।¹⁶

हरियाणा क्षेत्र में कृषि कार्यों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा मजदूरों की आवश्यकता थी, इसलिए लोग अपने बच्चों को स्कूल में नहीं भेजते थे। इसके अलावा अंग्रेजी स्कूलों में विद्यार्थियों से मोटी फीस वसूली जाती थी। इस क्षेत्र के लोग अपनी गरीबी के

कारण बच्चों की फीस का बोझ उठाने में सक्षम नहीं थे, इसलिए वे अपने बच्चों को स्कूल में भेजने के बजाय अपनी आय बढ़ाने के लिए अपने साथ कृषि कार्यों में लगा लेते थे।¹⁷ इन कठिनाइयों के बावजूद पंजाब में धीमी गति से शिक्षा का प्रचार प्रसार होता रहा। निम्नलिखित तालिका में हरियाणा के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के मुख्य जिलों में शिक्षित लोगों के प्रतिशत को दर्शाया गया है।

ब्रिटिश काल में हरियाणा के प्रमुख जिलों की साक्षरता दर¹⁸

जिला	प्रतिशत
हिसार	2.67
गुडगांव	2.54
अंबाला	4.16
रोहतक	2.65
करनाल	2.34

सेंसस रिपोर्ट ऑफ इंडिया, 1900-01, पार्ट-2, पंजाब, टेबल-8

उपरोक्त तालिका के अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि सबसे ज्यादा 4.16 प्रतिशत लोग अंबाला जिले में शिक्षित थे, जबकि करनाल, गुडगांव, रोहतक और हिसार में क्रमशः 2.34, 2.54, 2.65, और 2.67 प्रतिशत लोग ही शिक्षित थे।¹⁹ निम्नलिखित तालिका में 1911-21 तक संपूर्ण पंजाब में स्कूल और कॉलेजों की संख्या को दर्शाया गया है। 1911-21 तक पंजाब में स्कूलों एवं कॉलेजों की संख्या:

वर्ष	कॉलेज	सेकेंडरी स्कूल	प्राथमिक स्कूल
1911-12	19	364	4054
1912-13	16	373	4308
1913-14	17	411	4951
1914-15	17	390	5430
1915-16	17	484	5681
1916-17	18	497	5853
1917-18	19	514	6040
1918-19	20	582	6123
1919-20	22	927	5203
1920-21	22	1075	5486

स्रोत: एल. मिडलटन एंड एस. एम. जैकोब, *सेंसस ऑफ इंडिया*, 1921 वॉल्यूम-15 पार्ट, पंजाब एंड दिल्ली, पृ. 35

उपरोक्त तालिका से पता चलता है कि पंजाब में कॉलेज, सेकेंडरी स्कूलों की

संख्या घटती बढ़ती रही। उस समय स्कूलों की संख्या में कमी आने का मुख्य कारण आधुनिक शिक्षा के प्रति लोगों में जागरूकता की कमी तथा उपयुक्त धन का अभाव था। प्रथम विश्व युद्ध से पहले और विश्व युद्ध के समय की घटनाओं ने भी शिक्षा के विकास को प्रभावित किया।²⁰ हालांकि कुल मिलाकर देखा जाए तो शिक्षा के प्रति रुचि लेने वाले छात्रों की संख्या निरंतर बढ़ती रही। 1858 की घोषणा में महारानी विक्टोरिया ने कहा था कि पढ़े लिखे भारतीयों को बिना किसी भेदभाव के उच्च सरकारी नौकरियां प्रदान की जाएगी। उस समय प्रशासनिक दफ्तरों, रेलवे स्टेशनों, फैक्ट्रियों में आधुनिक शिक्षा प्राप्त लोगों की बहुत आवश्यकता थी, इसलिए 1858 के पश्चात आधुनिक शिक्षा के प्रति लोगों का रुझान बढ़ने लगा।²¹ निम्नलिखित तालिका में स्कूलों में विद्यार्थियों की संख्या को दर्शाया गया है।

ब्रिटिश काल में हरियाणा के प्रमुख जिलों में विद्यार्थियों और स्कूलों की संख्या²²

जिले	स्कूल	विद्यार्थी संख्या
अंबाला	180	9133
करनाल	203	5375
रोहतक	98	5097
हिसार	105	5085
गुड़गांव	128	5139

स्रोत:- डिस्ट्रिक्ट गजेटियर आफ हिसार, 1904; डिस्ट्रिक्ट गजेटियर आफ अंबाला, रोहतक, गुड़गांव, 1910.

आधुनिक शिक्षा एवं चिंतन का प्रभाव इस विकास एवं वृद्धि को सफलता प्रदान करता। 1871 में कुछ ईसाई मिशनरियों के स्कूल बंद हो गये, क्योंकि सरकार केवल सरकारी स्कूलों के विकास पर बल देती थी, इसी के परिणामस्वरूप शिक्षण संस्थाओं में कमी आयी।

इस प्रकार उपरोक्त तथ्यों पर नजर डालें तो प्रतीत होता है कि ब्रिटिश काल में हरियाणा क्षेत्र में परंपरागत शिक्षा का ढांचा परिवर्तित हुआ, और शिक्षा के अर्थ में परिवर्तन आया अब शिक्षा व्यवसायिकता का आधार बनी और समाज में पाश्चात्य चिंतन का प्रचार प्रसार को बढ़ावा मिला। हरियाणा क्षेत्र के साथ-साथ संपूर्ण पंजाब में ही शिक्षा के नए-नए केंद्र खोले गए और लोगों का ध्यान शिक्षा की तरफ आकर्षित

हुआ शिक्षा के विकास के कारण समाज में जागरूकता अनेक सुधार आंदोलनों को बढ़ावा मिला और नए शिक्षित वर्ग का निर्माण हुआ।

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हरियाणा की लोक कलाएँ और जनसंचार: एक सर्वेक्षण

*डॉ. दयानन्द कादयान

हरि की भूमि हरियाणा जनसंचार का आदि स्थल रहा है। यहाँ पर श्रुति और स्मृति, आधारित संचार से वेद की रचना हुई। वेद जनसंचार के युगों-युगों से जनमाध्यम रहे हैं। भगवान श्रीकृष्ण ने पारिवारिक मोह से बाहर निकालने के दृष्टान्त से अर्जुन के माध्यम से मानवता के कल्याण का संदेश दिया। जो संचार-संवाद हुआ, वह गीता में संकलित है। महाभारत युद्ध की लाइव कमेंट्री संजय द्वारा अन्धे धृतराष्ट्र के सम्मुख हुबहू प्रस्तुत करना, हरियाणा की धरती पर जनसंचार की अनोखी शैली का अनुपम उदाहरण है। हरियाणा की लोक कलाएँ भी जनता में श्रुति के संचार की परंपरा का निर्वहन करती आ रही हैं जो हरियाणा के इतिहास के पन्नों पर स्वर्णिम अक्षरों पर दर्ज हो रही हैं। वैसे भी भारत के हर प्रदेश की कला की एक विशिष्ट पद्धति होती है जिसे लोककला के रूप में जाना जाता है। इनमें हरियाणा की लोक कलाएँ जैसे भीति सज्जा और आँगन सज्जा की लोक कलाएँ, शरीर सज्जा एवं अंग सज्जा की लोक कलाएँ, परिधान सज्जा एवं वस्त्रालंकरण की लोक कलाएँ, आभूषण गढ़ाई संबंधी लोक कलाएँ, मूर्तियाँ-खिलौनों संबंधित लोक कलाएँ, नित्य प्रत्योग की वस्तुओं संबंधी लोक कलाएँ मनभावक तथा संचार सक्षम हैं। जिनसे हमारे समृद्ध रीति रिवाज तथा सुदृढ़ परम्पराएँ लोकसंस्कृति के लिबास में एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी तक पहुँचती रही हैं। हरियाणवीं संस्कृति के विद्वान डॉ. जयनारायण कौशिक ने इन लोक कलाओं द्वारा जनसंचार को एक शोध निबंध में चित्राकित करने का प्रयास किया है। परन्तु उसमें हरियाणा की लोक कला के संपूर्ण पक्षों को नहीं लिया गया। हरियाणवीं साहित्यकार विश्वबन्धु शर्मा ने हरियाणा की लोक कलाओं को अपनी पुस्तक में सूचीबद्ध करने का प्रयास किया है। परन्तु उसमें जनसंचार के पक्ष को इंगित नहीं किया गया। इस प्रकार

* गांव व डाकखाना माजरा (दूबलधन), झज्जर, हरियाणा।

इससे संबंधित साहित्य का अध्ययन किया तो हरियाणा की लोक कलाओं के माध्यम से जनसंचार विषय हरियाणा की संस्कृति के सबल पक्ष मुझे प्रतीत हुआ। इसलिए प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में हरियाणा की लोक कलाओं में जनसंचार को प्राप्तियों के आधार पर चित्राकित किया गया है। शोध-पत्र में, उद्देश्य के जरिए हरियाणा की लोक कलाओं में अमौखिक संचार तथा हरियाणवी चित्रकला में वत्सान्य के कामसूत्र के अंतर्गत चित्रकला के संचार सूत्रों का अध्ययन किया गया है। शोध पत्र से संबंधित मौलिक तथ्यों को लोकसाहित्य, द्वितीयक आँकड़े जैसे हरियाणा की देहाती परंपराओं तथा सांस्कृतिक विरासत के ऐतिहासिक साहित्य से लिया गया है। हरियाणा की लोककला विशेषज्ञों तथा लोककलाकारों के अनापैचारिक साक्षात्कार पर आधारित है। इससे मानव सभ्यता के जनकल्याणकारी पहलू जनसंचार तथा हरियाणा की लोक कला के अंतर्संबंध से हरियाणा की संस्कृति का सर्वांगीण चित्रण किया गया है।

भारतीय सभ्यता की जन्मस्थली हरियाणा प्राचीनता तथा बहुलता का आश्चर्यजनक संगम है। सरस्वती और यमुना नदी का मध्य भू-भाग भारतीय इतिहास और संस्कृति के युगान्तरों की कहानी कह रहा है। हरियाणा प्रदेश के नाम से ही जनसंचार की अवधारणा स्पष्ट हो जाती है। हरि का आना यानि हरि मायने भगवान श्रीकृष्ण का आना जो अपनी लोककलाओं और लोकलीलाओं से तीनों लोकों के लिए जनसंचारक की भूमिका निभाते थे तथा उन्हें 64 कलाओं के पारंगत योगी के रूप में याद किया जाता है। कुछ लोग इसे शिव की पावन धरा मानते हैं। शिवजी को भी अपने जमाने का महान संचारक माना जाता है। इसी प्रकार सहस्रों ऋषि मुनियों ने योग की ऋषि-सिद्धियों से संचार साधनों के द्वारा श्रुतियों के द्वारा लोक-परलोक तक सांझा किया। राग जो संचार के अनुपम साधन थे उनके नाम पर हरियाणा के गांवों के नाम रखे गए हैं। जींद जिले के ललित खेड़े गांव का ललित राग पर, जयजंवती राग पर, श्रीराग खेड़े का नाम श्री राग पर, भैरो खेड़े का नाम भैरो राग पर तथा चरखी दादरी के बिलावल का नाम बिलावल राग पर रखा गया है। इस प्रकार सैकड़ों गाँव का नामकरण राग कलाओं पर रखे गए हैं। हरियाणा के गाँव भी संचार शिरोमणि होने की कहानी कह रहे हैं। पारिवारिक मोह में धंसे हुए अर्जुन को मानव कल्याण के लिए युद्ध करने के लिए श्रीकृष्ण ने प्रक संवाद किया जो संचार-संवाद हुआ वह गीता में संकलित है। महाभारत युद्ध की जीवन्त कमेन्ट्री संजय द्वारा अंधे धृतराष्ट्र के आगे प्रस्तुत करना हरियाणा की धरती पर जनसंचार की शैली का अनुपम उदाहरण है। अतः हरियाणा की लोक कलाओं और जनसंचार के अंतर्संबंध तथा सटीक इतिहास लेखन में सार्थक

कड़ी का काम कर सकता है। अतः जनसंचार के परिदृश्य से हरियाणा की लोक कला के व्यापक स्वरूप को देखने का इस शोध पत्र में प्रयास किया गया है। अतः संचार की कड़ी टूटने के कारण हरियाणा के इतिहास में भ्रामक तथ्यों का समावेश हुआ।

हरियाणवी लोक कलाएँ: परिचयात्मक संदर्भ

भारतीय विशेषकर हरियाणा के साहित्य में 'लोक' शब्द अनेक अर्थों में प्रयोग हुआ। ऋग्वेद में इसका प्रयोग जीव व स्थान दोनों के लिए हुआ है। महर्षि वेद व्यास ने महाभारत में 'लोक' शब्द का प्रयोग साधारण जनता के अर्थ में किया है। सम्राट अशोक के अभिलेखों में 'लोक' शब्द का प्रयोग समस्त प्रजाजनों के लिए हुआ है। अतः लोक शब्द का तात्पर्य जन, संचार व समाज से ही होता है। जहाँ तक कला का सवाल है तो यदि कला किसी कार्य के निष्पादन में मनुष्य द्वारा व्यवहृत एवं प्रदर्शित दक्षता, प्रवीणता अथवा ऐसी विशेषता है जिसकी प्राप्ति अभ्यास, अध्ययन, पर्यवेक्षण और प्रशिक्षण से होती है। लोककला का इससे भी बढ़कर वह पक्ष है जो एकदम आडम्बरविहीन और प्रकृति शैली में होते हुए सभी को अपनी ओर आकृष्ट करने की क्षमता रखती है। अतः हरियाणवी लोककलाएँ ऐतिहासिक बेल बूटे हैं। जिससे प्रदेश के प्रामाणिक इतिहास को पुष्ट व आदर्श बनाया जा सकता है।

जनसंचार: परिचयात्मक झलक

जन संचार, इस शब्द समूह में प्रयुक्त शब्द 'संचार' अर्थात् किसी बात को आगे बढ़ाना या चलाना या फैलाना – ये संस्कृत की मूलधातु चर से लिया गया है। जिसका मतलब है चलाना। दूसरे शब्दों में जब हम किसी भाव या विचार या जानकारी को दूसरों तक पहुँचाते हैं और यह प्रक्रिया सामूहिक पैमाने पर होती है तो इसे जनसंचार कहा जाता है। जनसंचार का उद्देश्य जानकारी या विचारों को समाज के तमाम लोगों तक साँझा करना है। अतः जनसंचार अतीत के महान् धार्मिक तथा सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को समझने का सामर्थ्य देता है। साथ ही वर्तमान के निष्ठावान और गतिशील तथा भविष्य के प्रति जागरूकता लाता है। इन्हीं उद्देश्यों से इतिहास की परिकल्पना साकार होती है।

संबंधित साहित्य का पुनरावलोकन

डॉ. सौरभ कुमार मिश्र (2018) ने मध्य प्रदेश के जनजातीय समुदाय और सामुदायिक रेडियों केन्द्रों का अध्ययन बेगा (मील) जाति पर विशेष रूप से केन्द्रित है। इसमें संचार द्वारा लोक परंपराओं की समृद्धि और सभ्य होने की पुष्टि की गई है। परन्तु इसमें

लोककलाओं की गोदना आदि की चर्चा है। अतः लोककलाओं के व्यापक संदर्भों का अभाव दिखाई दिया। संतराम देशवाल (2004) ने अपनी पुस्तक में हरियाणा की संस्कृति और लोककला को प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है। परन्तु इसमें संचार और जनसंचार के पहलुओं पर चर्चा कम हुई है। राज किशन नैन (2010) ने अपनी पुस्तक 'लोक में ऋतु' में लोक का समझाने का प्रयास किया है। ऋतु के माध्यम से प्रकृति को समझाने का सफल प्रयास किया है। परन्तु संचार व कला के बारे में चर्चा कम ही हुई है। श्वेता रानी के 'चित्रकला और जनसंचार' शोध पत्र और डॉ. जयनारायण कौशिक के 'जनसंचार में लोककलाओं के योगदान' शोध पत्र से भी विषय को बढ़ाने के लिए रास्ता मिला। इस प्रकार इतिहास में जनसंचार साधनों की पुष्टि के लिए शोधपत्र 'हरियाणवी लोक कलाएं और जनसंचार' पर काम करने का निर्णय लिया। इसके लिए निम्नांकित शोध बिंदुओं पर काम करने का निश्चय किया।

हरियाणा की लोककलाएं और जनसंचार से संबंधित तथ्यों की विवेचना

हरियाणा में जो लोककलाएं देखने में आई हैं, उनमें धार्मिक आस्था की भावना परिव्याप्त है, इसका कारण यह रहा है कि जब कोई बात धर्म या धार्मिक भावना से जुड़ जाती है तो उसका निषेध पक्ष समाप्त हो जाता है और वह लोक में सर्वमान्य हो जाती है, इसी तथ्य को हमारे पूर्वजों ने जाने अनजाने में अपनाया है। विभिन्न सांसारिक अवसरों पर अपनी कलात्मक सुरुचि का परिचय दिया है। संस्कारों से संबंधित लोककलाएं सुरुचिपूर्ण लोकमर्यादाओं का एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी में संचार करती हैं। संस्कार, व्रत तथा त्यौहार ऐसे अवसर हैं, जब घर की बड़ी बूढ़ियाँ, नवयुवतियों और बालिकाओं की कलात्मक अभिव्यक्ति निखरकर सामने लाती है। उपरोक्त अवसरों की लोक-कलाओं को विभिन्न वर्गों में बांटकर अध्ययन करने का प्रयास किया है:

1. भीति सज्जा एवं आँगन सज्जा की लोककलाएँ:- भीति सज्जा एवं आँगन सज्जा की लोककलाएँ दो प्रकार से देखी जा सकती हैं। भीति अलंकरणों में साँझी, थापे, आलेखन व चित्र लिए जा सकते हैं। दूसरे वर्ग में आँगन, चौक आदि को सजाने से संबंधित अलंकरणों को लिया जा सकता है। इसमें विशेष रूप से चौक पूरना, अल्पना बनाना, माँड़ने तथा विभिन्न चीत्रण धरती पर उकेरना आदि के साथ-साथ रंगोली तथा नवग्रह में देवी-देवताओं की बेदी आदि को शामिल किया जा सकता है। भीति-चित्र व आँगन सज्जन की लोक कलाओं से हमारे संस्कार की नियामक अभिवृत्तियाँ संचारित होती हैं। ये परंपरायें महिलाओं की निर्माणकारी प्रवृत्ति, उनकी

कार्यक्षमता, सरसता, प्रवीणता, सूक्ष्मदृष्टि, रंग बोध, कल्पनाशक्ति की अभिव्यक्ति का श्रेष्ठ साधन हैं। इनसे हमारे लोकसंस्कार चहुँ दिशाओं में संचरित होते हैं।

2. शरीर सज्जा एवं अंग सज्जा की लोक कलाएँ:- हरियाण वासी देह को प्रमात्मा का अनुपम वरदान मानते हैं। इसको ठीक रखना व इसे सजाकर आकर्षक बनाना आदिकाल से ही मनुष्य की प्रवृत्ति रही है। स्थाई अंग सज्जा में गोदना, मेहन्दी लगाना, छापा, तिलक, बिन्दी तथा महावर लगाना। हरियाणा प्रांत में घुमने वाले साधू अपने माथे पर अलग-अलग प्रकार के तिलक लगाते हैं जिससे उनके संप्रदाय तथा उनके धार्मिक यम-नियमों का ज्ञान आम आदमी को हो जाता है। महिलाएँ शरीर सज्जा से संपूर्ण नारीत्व का चित्रण समाज के सामने करती हैं। इन सज्जा प्रतीकों से अविवाहित, विवाहित तथा विधवा नारीत्व का पता चलता है। अतः ये प्रतीक अपने आप में धारणकर्ता की सामाजिक और धार्मिक स्थिति की कहानी कह देते हैं। इससे कलात्मक कौशल का भी प्रचार-प्रसार होता है।

3. परिधान सज्जा एवं वस्त्रालंकरण की लोक कलाएँ:- परिधान का शाब्दिक अर्थ होता है, चारों ओर से घेरना या आवृत करना। हमारे यहाँ परिधान वस्त्र अलंकरण को इंगित करता है। हरियाणा की औरतें घाघरा घाघरी, चन्दड़-चून्दड़ी, ओढ़ना-ओढ़नी, पोमचा, पीलिया, धनक, कुड़ता-कुड़ती, खारा-सोपली, आँगी, लहंगा आदि को किरोशिए तथा सूई-धागे के टंकण से सिंगारती थी। पुरुषों के कुर्ता, धोती, साफा, खिंडका, पगड़ी, टोपा, टोपी, दुशाला, कोथली, जेबवाली बनियान, तहमल, भोथा, चादरा आदि को सिंगारा जाता था। बच्चों के झुगला-झुगली, टोपी-टोपी तथा ओढ़ने-बिछाने के वस्त्रों दरी, गलीचा, आसन, सोड़-सोड़िया, रजाई, गंदेला, चादर, गुदड़-गुदड़ी, जाजम, खरड़, पगी, खेस, टुसता तथा कम्बल आदि को भी अलंकृत किया जाता था। पशुओं तथा ऊँट, बैल, घोड़े के सिंगार-संसार पर लोक कलाओं की छाप देखी जा सकती है। वस्त्रों को छापों, बंधेज, रंगाई कला, वस्त्रों पर फूलकारी, कसीदाकारी, टंकाई कला से सिंगारा जाता था। इस प्रकार वस्त्रों की लोक कलाएँ रहन-सहन के ढंग को सुदूर संसार में सांझा करने में अहम भूमिका अदा करती हैं।

4. आभूषण एवं उनकी गढ़ाई संबंधी लोक कलाएँ:- आभूषण शब्द का कोशगत अर्थ है - गहना, अलंकार, सजावट, शृंगार। इसी से मिलता जुलता एक शब्द और है - आभरण। इसके कोशगत अर्थमी-आभूषण गहना और पोषण होते हैं। हमारे यहाँ आभरण से अभिप्रायः धातु निर्मित आभूषण से ही है। इनमें शीशफूल, चोटी झुग्गा,

रक्ती, चाँद-टीका, बोरला, झूमर, बिन्दी, बेना, मोती, सिंगार पट्टी आदि सिर एवं ललाट के आभूषण हैं। कर्ण फूल, झुमका, संकली, कण्ठा, पातन, बाले, बुलनी तथा टोपस कान के आभूषण, नथ-नथनी, फूली, पुरली, कोका, लौंग, छगी तथा लटकन नाक के आभूषण, गलसरी, कंठी, हँसली, मोहनमाला, तबीजी, ढोलपतरी, मटर माला और राणीहार गले के आभूषण, बाजूबंद, ताबीज, बैंगल आदि भुजा के आभूषण, कड़ा-कंगन, चूड़ी, छन, पछेली, कड़ा, गजरा, बाजनी, कंगणी आदि कलाई के आभूषण, हथफूल, छगी, अंगूठी तथा मुँदरी हथेली एवं अँगुलियों के आभूषण, तागड़ी, नाड़ा, पगू आदि कमर आभूषण पाजेब, घुघरू, पायल, छलकड़ी, नंदरी-पाती आदि पैरों के आभूषण, आदि शरीर सजाने के काम आते थे। हरियाणा प्रदेश में पाए जाने वाले आभूषण, यहाँ के जन-जीवन की समृद्धि के द्योतक हैं। आभूषण निर्माण कला हरियाणा में खूब पनपी है। पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी स्थानान्तरित होने वाली यह कला लोगों में संचरण का प्रमुख केंद्र रही है। यह हर बात के संचरण में अहम भूमिका निभाती रही।

5. मूर्तियों, खिलौना तथा कठपुतली की रचना से संबंधित लोक कलाएँ:- हरियाणा प्रदेश में मूर्तियों खिलौनों आदि बनाने की लोकपरंपरा है। इनमें मिट्टी के बर्तन – खिलौने, कपड़े द्वारा गुड़िया तथा कठपुतलियाँ बनाने की कला, कागज की लुगदी से तैयार लोककला यहाँ के कण-कण में रची बसी हुई है। इस कला को निखारने में कलाकारों का व्यक्तिगत ज्ञान, रुचि, उनके संस्कार संस्कृति और सभ्यता अहम भूमिका निभाती है। इस कला का कच्चा पदार्थ भी महंगा नहीं है। अतः यह हाथ के हुनर को पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी सहेजने में अहम भूमिका निभाती है।

6. नित्य प्रयोग की वस्तुओं से संबंधित लोक कलाएँ:- हरियाणा के गांवों में प्रयोग की जाने वाली वस्तुओं घर पर बनाने की परंपरा आदि काल से ही चली आ रही है। इससे ही गाँव स्वावलम्बी होने का संबल भरत था। मिट्टी के बासन, पहड़े, चिलम, लोहे, पीतल बक्शे सन्दूक, लकड़ी के पटरे, पाटड़े, चरखा, सूई-धागे से इन्डी, बिजणी-बीजणे बोहिये, संडोरी, सूत की दरी गलीचे, चटाई, खाट-पीढ़ी, पलंग, छींका, छींकी, घासिया, गोप्फिया, टाट, मिट्टी के चूल्हे हारे, कोठी कुठले आदि बनाए जाते थे। उन्हें सहेजने व सुरक्षित रखने की कला भी हरियाणा वासियों में विद्यमान थी। ये लोक कलाएँ सुरीतियों के संचारक के रूप में कार्य करती थी।

अतः उपरोक्त कलाएँ हमारी संस्कृति को समृद्धि की ओर ले जाती हैं तथा संस्कारों और समाज की लोक परंपराओं को व्यक्तित्व में सामहित होने में मदद करती हैं। हरियाणा की लोककलाओं का क्षेत्र अपार है। इसकी गहराईयों को नाप पाना दुष्कर

कार्य है। एक व्यक्ति कई जन्मों में इनका पार पा सकता है। आजकल लोकसंचार के साधन सर्वत्र सुलभ होने के कारण लोककला को घर-घर की चर्चा का विषय बनाया जा सकता है।

हरियाणा की लोककलाएँ और जनसंचार

इंग्लैण्ड के जार्ज पटोफोरस संचार के विशेषज्ञ थे, उनका मानना था कि समाज में किसी बात या विचार या अभिव्यक्ति को सांझा करने के लिए संचार प्राण तत्व है। संचार का फैलाव लोककलाओं के सहारे प्रभावी ढंग से होता है। हरियाणवी लोक कलाएँ जिनसे समूह में हुनर का विकास होता है वे लोककलाएँ कहलाती हैं। दूसरे शब्दों में जब संचार व कला एक बड़े समूह का कल्याण करती है तो वे जनसंचार और लोककला के रूप में जानी जाती हैं। हरियाणवी लोक कलाओं के वे रूप हैं जिनके माध्यम से कला हुनर बंदों ने अमौखिक संचार के माध्यम से संस्कृति, धरोहर तथा इतिहास के बारे में कुछ कहा है। लोक कलाएँ न केवल मानव इतिहास को संजोने का उपकरण हैं, बल्कि इन्हें गैर-मौखिक संचार के एक प्रभावी उपकरण के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया जा चुका है। अगर हम किसी भी लोककला को देखें तो वह संदेश देती प्रतीत होती है। भीतिचित्रों पर हमारे रीति-रिवाज तथा सुरीतियों को चित्रों के माध्यम से उकेरा जाता है तथा बुनकरी की कलाओं हमारे कौशल संचार के साथ-साथ सद्भावनाएँ भी संचारित होती हैं जो अमिट समृद्ध इतिहास तैयार करती हैं। वात्सल्य के कामसूत्र में दृश्यकला के विभिन्न पहलुओं का वर्णन किया गया है। इसमें दृश्य कला के छः अंगों का वर्णन किया गया है जो संचार के महत्वपूर्ण पहलू के रूप में कार्य करते हैं। पहला पहलू है, रूपभेद जो कि कला, आकृति तथा उसके प्रभाव को दर्शाता है।

1. प्रमाण: लोक कलाओं के अंतर्निहित अर्थ को समझने के लिए, प्रमाण का सही ज्ञान और समझ होनी अति आवश्यक है। हरियाणवी लोककलाओं में हरेक पात्र के सजीव-निर्जीव तथा जीव-जन्तु के उचित स्वरूप को दर्शाया जाता है।

2. भाव-यथार्थ अभिव्यक्ति लोककलाओं का मिलनसार पहलू है। चित्रों, मूर्तियों तथा मॉडलों में निर्मित वस्तुओं का भाव यथार्थ कहानी कह रहा है। दीवारों तथा मिट्टी-पत्थरों से बनी आकृतियों से कई भावों को समझा जा सकता है।

3. लावण्य योजना:- हरियाणवी लोक कलाओं में बाह्य सौन्दर्य की अभिव्यक्ति के बाद, लावण्य योजना को भी महत्व दिया जाता है जो दृश्यकाल में अनुग्रह या सौंदर्य

को जोड़ने में मदद करता है।

4. सादृश्यः- लोककलाओं के इस पहलू में कला से निर्मित वस्तुओं के रंग, बनावट तथा निर्माण सामग्री के उपयोगों के बारे में जाना जाता है तथा यही निर्माण सामग्री और रंग अपनी खूबियों के जरिये संचार करने में सक्षम होते हैं।

5. वर्णिकाः- निर्मिता तथा उनके रंगों की अपनी एक भाषा होती है। रंग योजना, प्रतिरूपों को एक मिलनसार पहलू के रूप में जाना जाता है। जिनके होने मात्र से ही संवाद की स्थापना होती है। अतः हरियाणवी लोककलाएं संचार का विशेष महत्व है। कैनाडा के समाजशास्त्री मार्शल मै कलुहान का अभिमत है कि आधुनिक संस्कृति के विकास में ही नहीं, सामाजिक जीवन के सभी पहलुओं में जनसंचार साधनों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका है। जनसंचार सामाजिक उत्थान, कला-बोध एवं वैचारिकता के लिए हितकारी हैं। जनसंचार अतीत के महान् सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को समझने का सामर्थ्य देता है। साथ ही वर्तमान के प्रति निष्ठावान और गतिशील तथा भविष्य के प्रति जागरूकता लाता है। हरियाणा की लोककलाओं और जनसंचार के साधनों का अन्योन्याश्रित संबंध है। जिस प्रकार वृक्ष के सहारे पर बेल फलती-फूलती है तथा वृक्ष की छाया का संघन बना देती है। उसी प्रकार जनसंचार के साधन लोककलाओं का आश्रय लेकर दर्शकों का श्रम परिहार और भरपूर मनोरंजन कर सकते हैं। अतः हरियाणा के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में विकास सूचनाएँ पहुंचाने के लिए लोककला रूपी संचार माध्यमों का विशेष योगदान है। हरियाणा में इन्हीं सूचना माध्यमों से ही सभ्य समाज की परिकल्पना साकार हुई तथा हरियाणा को विश्वगुरु का दर्जा भी प्राप्त हुआ।

निष्कर्ष

हरियाणा की लोककलाएं भी लोक यानी जनता में सुरीति के संचार की परंपरा का निर्वहन करती आ रही हैं जो हरियाणा के इतिहास के पन्नों पर स्वर्णिम अक्षरों में स्थान पर रही हैं। लोककलाओं का बेजुबान संचार सभ्यता तथा संस्कृति की विस्तृत कहानी कह रहा होता है। हरियाणा में जो लोककला देखने में आई है, उनमें धार्मिक आस्था की भावना परिव्याप्त है, इसका कारण यह रहा है कि जब कोई बात धर्म या धार्मिक भावना से जुड़ जाती है तो उसका निषेध समाप्त हो जाता है और वह लोक में सर्वमान्य हो जाती है। इसी तथ्य को हमारे पूर्वजों ने जाने-अनजाने में अपनाया है। विभिन्न सांसारिक अवसरों पर अपनी कलात्मक सुरीचि का परिचय दिया। संस्कारों से संबंधित लोककलाएँ सुरुचिपूर्ण लोक मर्यादाओं का एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी को संचार करती है। संस्कार,

व्रत तथा त्यौहार ऐसे अवसर हैं, जब घर की बड़ी बूढ़ियां, नव युवतियों और कलात्मक अभिव्यक्ति निखारकर सामने लाती है। अगर हम किसी भी लोककला को देखे तो वह वह संदेश देती हुई प्रतीत होती हैं। वे वात्सन्य के कामसूत्र के दृश्यकला के छः संचार तत्वों की कसौटियों पर खरा उतरती है जिससे संचार बड़े प्रभावी ढंग से होता है। अतः ये लोककलाएं हमारी संस्कृति को समृद्धि की ओर ले जाती हैं। इस प्रकार मानव सभ्यता के जनकल्याण कारी पहलू जनसंचार तथा हरियाणा की लोककला के अंतर्संबंध से हरियाणा की संस्कृति पुष्पित और पगवित हुई है। इससे हरियाणा का इतिहास भी प्रमाणिक हुआ है। अतः रेडीमेड संस्कृति से इन लोक कलाओं को बचाकर संचार के सुगढ़ पक्ष को मजबूत कर सकते हैं।

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The Pioneer Experiment of Rural Reconstruction in Gurgaon District of Colonial Punjab, 1920 A.D.

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India is a land of villages. How often is that said and how little appreciated. Nearly ninety percent of the population is rural and over seventy. Three percent are producers of raw materials. Our civilization takes its roots from rural life, while that of the West centres around cities western civilization is essentially an urban civilization drawing people in large numbers into crowded industrial centres where mass production is carried on and where people are all moulded into a uniform pattern. In India it has never been the case. The centre of life in our country has always been the village. Though we had monarchs who lived in splendour in cities, the villages never yielded up their independence. Towns and cities were mainly distributing agents of village products, the villages being real producing centres. Our salvation as a Nation lies in village improvement. India being primarily a rural country and her prosperity means the prosperity of the rural areas.¹

It is remembered that the British Administration was primarily motivated by commercial considerations and thereby did not devote adequate attention to the improvement of the rural areas. If, however, now and then they attempted something, it was in a sporadic manner and done either under the stress of particular situations or to side track the political issue.²

W.H. Hailey, an Ex-Governor of the Punjab admits that the British Government never seriously attempted to put their shoulder to the wheel of village uplift. They woke up under some compelling situations, such as famines, or similar widespread distress. Between 1800 and 1825 CE, it is reported there were five famines, between 1825 and 1850 CE, two famines,

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between 1850 and 1875 CE, six famines, and between 1875 and 1900 CE, eighteen famines and eight widespread famines between 1876 and 1924 CE, and all these devastated the country.

Famines of this kind jerked the Government into action. The Famine Commission of 1800, 1898, 1901, the Irrigation Committee of 1903, the Commission on Co-operation of 1915 and the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture of 1926 were among the efforts of the Government to improve the economic lot of the common man, but seldom were reports of the commissions translated into action in a thorough going session. The various commissions appointed during the British period only shelved the economic problem of the country.

An important stage in the history of Rural Reconstruction was registered with the advent of Mahatama Gandhi into the arena of Indian politics. To him belongs the distinction of being the first to shift the centre of gravity from the needs of the intelligentsia to the needs of the masses. His idea was to restore the common man to proper place.

By precept and example Gandhiji showed how vital was the interest of the villagers to the general prosperity of the country and how imperative was the problem of vivifying the dark countryside of this land. Prior to the advent of Mahatama Gandhi into arena of Indian Politics who adopted the ways of life and dress of the villagers so that none in the country may feel lowly, thereby he had kindled a light which spread like wild fire, and acted like a dynamo. The entire country witnessed a wave of interest in the lot of rural folk.³

In the days of Swadeshi movement followed after the partition of Bengal in 1905 CE, it was realised that reorganisation of some sort was needed of the entire system of our rural life and fundamental basis of "Swaraj" lay in rural reconstruction. The real idea of "Swaraj" consisted in the creation of a rural civilization and as a step towards the revitalization of rural communities through practical organisations under the guidance of a number of young men and women who being trained in rural work before they set up to serve the country.⁴ As the national movement progressed since the beginning of the Non-Cooperation Movement 1920 CE, the Provincial Congress Committees issued manifestos drawing the attention of the country to the urgency of rural reconstruction.

The National leaders began to preach the rural cause and new organisation wedded to the cause of the rural folk sprang into existence. Two such organisations were (1) The All India Spinners Association (1921) and (2) The All India Village Industries Association. The All India Village Industries Association was formed at the 48th session of the Indian National Congress.

The government could not remain unaffected from the forces released by Gandhiji. The First World War 1914-1918 CE had ended and there was a general realisation that the common man had made great sacrifices in winning the war. These sacrifices could not be left unrewarded.

In 1931 CE Indian Village Welfare Association was founded in England in 1931 CE. The Association aimed at bringing together those who were families with the condition of rural population in India and improving it by constructive means. It confined its work to publicity and propaganda. Some of the retired members of the India Civil Services were the brain behind this Association and in practical field of rural reconstruction its output was negligible but it served to focus attention on the urgency of rural problem.

In Bombay, a village improvement scheme was initiated in 1933 CE under chairmanship of district officers. In Central Provinces a Village Uplift Board was formed 1932 CE. Bengal Service League founded in 1915 conducted an industrial school, promoted educational conference.⁵

Many non-official organisations like the Ramakrishna Mission, Arya Samaj, Deccan Education Society, Servants of Indian Society, Y.M.C.A, worked separately in their own way and had no substantial support from the government. Martandam, a rural area in Trivandrum, the Y.M.C.A. under the guidance of Dr. Spencer Hatch selected it as a centre of Rural Reconstruction.⁶ Another Rural Reconstruction was carried on in Sriniketan situated in Bengal Province under the guidance of the poet Rabindranath Tagore.⁷

Thus little credit goes to the British government in the field of Rural reconstruction. The Punjab is the solitary oasis in the whole desert and the experiment there undertaken, was more due to individual efforts than to State initiative.

The Gurgaon experiment is a landmark in the history of Rural

Reconstruction in the Punjab Province of the Colonial period. It was a pioneer effort marked by several novel methods which had not been tried anywhere on such a considerable scale especially under Government auspices. F.L. Brayne took charge of this District as Deputy Commissioner towards the end of 1920 CE. He was struck by the miserable condition of the people, by their lack of health, ignorance, squalor, primitive methods of agriculture, depressed state of their women, and wastefulness of their social customs.

He had an “altruistic bent of mind” and was unable to trudge along the beaten official track in face of what he saw around him. He lost no time in initiating an uplift campaign generally known as the Gurgaon Experiment. The object of the campaign as defined by Brayne himself was “to jerk the villager out of his old groove”, convince that improvement is possible and kill his fatalism by demonstrating that climate, disease and pest can be successful fought further to laugh him out of his unhealthy and uneconomic customs and teach him better ways of living and farming.

The main planks of his programme included (1) Increase in the yield from agriculture, (2) Stopping of waste, (3) Improvement in Standard of health, (4) Improvement of home-women.⁸

Some of the methods tried for effecting improvement of agriculture production included (1) Improvement in the methods of cultivation, (2) A better system of dry farming, (3) Increase of the area under canal and well-irrigation (4) Afforestation, (5) Erection of bunds, (6) Development of Cattle, (7) Development of Pasture, (8) Development of Communication, (9) Development of Co-operative Societies.⁹

The villagers were inspired to tend to fields properly, labour hard, do proper ploughing, eliminating weeds in the fields, learn marketing of the produce. These few simple improvements would double his crop. In changing circumstances with market facilities, proper communication, the farmers should not blindly keep growing particular crops like wheat, barley etc. because their fathers grew them. They should grow what sells in abundance in nearby markets running into Delhi. Also use the facilities provided by Co-Operative Banks. By improving agriculture will lose the peasant fear of (1) Famine, (2) Hunger, (3) Cattle diseases. The farmer was taught the idea when things go bad don't blame providence it is only due to stupidity, idleness, folly, and

ignorance of the farmer. Thus the object of increased production is not to make the farmers rich but to make them happy by adopting these methods and trying to remove poverty as poverty brings disease, misery, suffering and unhappiness. Thus, teaching the farmer how to make better and more certain living out of the soil. Thus sowing seeds of self- improvement and conserving natural resources.¹⁰

Stopping of waste in Social Customs and Ceremonies like :

- (1) Kaj and other such ceremonies
- (2) Jewellery
- (3) Wedding
- (4) Quarrelling

(1) Kaj : If you want to revere the memory of a dead relative, install a hand Persian wheel on a drinking well, add a room to the school or the dispensary.

(2) Purchase of Jewellery : Being a wicked waste, should be avoided, instead deposit money in your wife's name, give her rights, privilege, treat her with izzat (respect).

(3) Wedding : In weddings, large expenses to be curtailed, all marriages to be registered which acknowledge the rights of women. Child marriages to be discouraged.

(4) Litigation or Quarrelling must be discouraged : Money should not be wasted on age old property disputes.

These measures resulted in changing of the ideas and habits of the people and they learnt the principle of thrift.¹¹

Creating a new ideal "Home Sweet Home"

- Clean, happy, healthy and enlightened woman
- Clean houses
- Clean villages
- Peace with all men
- Men should stop smoking *hookah*.
- Humanise the woman and make them honourable and equal partners in the home by :

(1) Sending the girls to the school with boys and when they get too big send them to girls school.

(2) Refusing to marry girls while they are still children.

- (3) Releasing woman from their present slavery and degradation.
- (4) Don't let them make use *upla* (cow dung cakes), use wood instead and stalks of *sarson*, *til*, *gowar*, *arhar*, cotton etc.
- (5) Don't let women grind corn.
- (6) Men should spare from their one quarter of their hookah time in tidying their homes and villages and growing flowers. Gurgaon would be paradise.¹²

Lastly, achieving and practising cleanliness helping to live healthy life. Cleanliness is the beginning of uplift, cleanliness of person, of home, and of village means a conscious deserve to rise to better things.

Nine-tenths of the diseases in villages are due to dirt. Clean your village yourself. Don't rely on the *kamins* to keep your village clean, does your work or you make them your masters. Every villager handles manure for the fields, so there can be no harm in his collecting the stuff which still make manure and throwing it into a pit. Why do you wait for sweepers, *churahs* and *chamars* to clean your home and village. No religion forbids cleanliness. If you can carry manure to your fields, surely can collect it and put it into the pit as well.

Dirty villages mean unmannered land which means small crops. Once the pits are dug, village latrines are also possible and with its use come self-respect, and a sense of decency and villages are on the way to health. Cleaning the villages and teaching villagers sanitary habits, thereby removes the fear of (1) Diseases, (2) Blindness, crippling of children, (3) Control from spreading of epidemics cholera and plague. Ill-health means loss of time which is spent in sickness and also direct loss of wealth leading to poverty.¹³

The persistence of these diseases is due to carelessness of the villagers. They must be taught to keep "quinine" as they buy spices for their kitchen. They should buy "mosquito nets" as in preference to buying expensive clothes. These will make village life worth living. All work is dignified and idleness is disgrace.

Propaganda played an important part in the whole work. It was carried out through a variety of methods like, media which included broadcasts, magic lanterns, cinemas, dramas, songs, gramophone records, posters, leaflets, pamphlets, exhibition, melas, competitions, weekly school propaganda. 65 villages guides and the Central Committee Co-ordinated the activities of the

various departments. Thus the Gurgaon Experiment served something like an object lesson to rural construction workers.

It revealed that an official imbued with a real spirit of service can do useful work despite official or administrative limitations. Brayne is still a household word especially in the Punjab Province who taught four things to the villagers and the workers willing to work in the villages.

- (1) The dignity of labour
- (2) The dignity of women
- (3) The dignity of service. The desire to help one and other.¹⁴

The earnest efforts of Mr. F.L. Brayne bore tangible results as reflected in the Table.¹⁵

APPENDIX III. (Some Tangible Results)

	1920-21	1926-27
Approved stud bulls	8	557
Castration of bad stud bulls	---	551
Hissar Heifers	---	123
Half Merino Rams	---	125
Stallions	5	16
Iron ploughs	---	1,600
Ploughing matches	---	All tehsils, districts and divisional championships.
Cattle fairs	2	11
Persian wheels	---	800
Re-afforestation of hills	1,325 acres	6,780 acres
Area under 8-A wheat	---	36,750 acres
Area under Rosy Batla Cotton	---	4,170 acres.

Field rats poisoned	---	417 villages (250,000 acres)
Porcupines poisoned	---	80 villages (186 burrows closed)
Co-operative Societies	153	822
Members	3,303	19,126
Working capital	Rs. 1,36,224	22,88,041
Working capital per society	Rs. 900	21,704
Owned capital	Rs. 14,064	3,98,297
Owned capital per society	Rs. 92	508
Central Banks and Unions	1	4

Health

	1920-21	1926-27
Hospitals	11	24
Patients	127,000	288,510
Health centres	---	8 (urban 3, rural 5)
Health visitors	---	5
Vaccinations (per annum)	12,926	42, 427
Plagus inculsations	---	4 epidemics 266, 850 last epidemic 121,555
Pits (6 feet deep) for village refuse, manure, etc.	---	40,000
Refuse removal	---	1,250 villages complete

Education

	1920-21	1926-27
High schools	2	4 (2 by public subscription)
Pupils	19,839	26,744
Girls in boys schools	---	1,334
Red Cross and St. John ambulance branches	---	44
Night Schools	---	152
Scout troops	---	95
Scouts	---	8,000

Propaganda

	1920-21	1926-27
English pamphlets	---	10,520
Vernacular posters	---	58,000
Vernacular leaflets	---	94,500
Vernacular pamphlets	---	4,500
Magic lanterns	---	23
District Gazette	---	(Weekly) 2,000 issue

General

	1920-21	1926-27
Military	---	One Territorial Battalion 11/14th Punjab Regiment (Gurgaon Battalion)
Registration of marriage	---	One tribe of 125,000 complete, and rapidly becoming general all over the district
Kaj	---	Very rare now.
Dung-cake making	---	Many villages stopped altogether - great reductions in many hundreds.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bullock-driven flour mills • Hand-Pumps and hand-worked Persian wheels on drinking wells. 	---	A few only working but many hundreds indented for - not yet delivered.

Thus Gurgaon Experiment for something like an object lesson for ways and means of improving rural welfare and those engaged in rural reconstruction works.

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An Appraisal of Relationship Between Customary Marriage Laws of Jat Community with Contemporary Socio Legal Issues

*Anita Gupta

In state of Haryana jats occupy a major place, being one of the largest groups in the region. The jats from the earliest time have been remarkable for the rejection of the monarchical principle and their strong partiality for self governing commonwealth.¹ The history of jats is glorious not only in Mughal period but also in Delhi Sultanate. The information from the *Chachnama*, in 809 CE tells that jats reared cattle in the area of Sindh.² According to a notable historian Satish Chandra “the jat living on both sides of river Jamuna has a strong sense of clan brotherhood and egalitarian reflected in their clan brotherhood which culminated in *chhaap*. The *Chhaap* was somewhat like a tribal *jirga*, but new as more hierarchical.³ During Delhi Sultnate the jats emerged as an important farmer community in the area of Punjab. Abul Fazl describes jat as among the best farmers in the north western region. Later on jats acquired a large number of *Zamindaris* in Delhi and Agra subas.⁴ The French writer Modave Comte writes; although the jats are gentle people and if they are not forced to take arms, they take delight in farming.⁵

The social customs of jats are those of Vedic Aryans. The jats are required to marry within their community. A jat marrying a non jat girl though not encouraged or approved, is nevertheless acceptable acceptable. A jat girl marrying a non jat boy, is however, a taboo and, should it happen it is considered a permanent blot of disgrace on the girl's family. Boys and girls of same gotras are considered brothers and sisters to each other. Marriage within the same village is not permitted even if the boy and girl qualify for marriage according to gotra restriction.⁶ *Sagotra* Ie, same gotra marriage are

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banned under the traditional matrimonial system. This tradition is as per *Manusmriti*⁷ which tells us in chapter 3, shloka 4 that *dwija* should marry within their caste. A damsel, who is neither a sapinda on the mother's side, is recommended to twice born men for wedlock and conjugal union. Chapter 8 of *Vasishtha Dharma Sutras* says, 'a student who desires to be a house holder shall bathe, free from anger and elation, with the permission of his teacher, and take for a wife a young female of his own caste, who does neither belong to the same *gotra* nor has the same *parvara*. 'Kandika 4 of the *Gobhila Sutras* says, 'a student should take wife who does not belong to the same *gotra*. Chapter 14 of the *Vishnu Smriti* says, 'no one should marry a woman belonging to the same *gotra*, or descended from the same ancestors, or from the same Pravars.'⁸

The Gotra has universal application. To Engles⁹ the latin word "gens" has similar connotation "genos" of the Greeks, "gan" of the Aryans, Sanskrit "janas", Gothic "kuni", Nordic and Anglo Saxon, "kyn", English. "kin" and middle High German "kune", all imply kinship descent. This "genes" based custom also played a vital role in social life of the tribes by prescribing headman, matrimonial rules, inheritance of property, councils to settle disputes, adoption, ceremonies, common burial places and brotherhood unity bound together by ties of kins. He said that "genes" was the foundation of social order of most if not all, barbarian, people of the world, in Greece and Rome we pass directly from it into civilization. Gotra was a brahmanical institution. In *Atharveda*, the word first appears with the meaning of the clan, which it has retained with a special connotation. Gotras are exogamous and the members of the same gotra are found in many castes.¹⁰ All Brahmans were believed to have descended from one of the Rishis or legendary seers, after whom the gotra was named; Kasyapa, Vasistha, Bhrgu, Gautama, Bhardwaj, Atri, Vishwamitra, and Agastya. These gotras were multiplied later by inclusion of the names of many other sages.¹¹ The chief importance of the gotra was in connection with marriage, which was forbidden in the persons of the same gotra.¹²

A jat *gotra* is effectively a jat clan, and several clans [gotras] make a jat caste. The name of the gotras [clans] generally takes after a person and a place. Some of the name based gotras are Tanwar, Jakhar, Budhwar, Dhillon, Lamba, Sihag, Purnia, Sangwan, Gill, etc. Some gotra names are based on

titles too, such as Rana, Thakur, Chadhuri, etc.¹³ In Jat Privesh Magazine [karnal, Harayana] January 2011 issue, a list of jat gotras is given which shows 3179 jat *gotras*. Whereas in *India Today*, New Delhi, May 24, 2010 CE, issue 4830 *gotras* are counted. As customary prescription for fixing matrimonial alliances among jats, three gotras in ascending order from the side of the bridegroom's family and three from the bride's should need to be essentially avoided. In addition the *Bhaichara* gotras are also avoided as per the standard practice followed for centuries. Due to sharing of tenancy rights, land tenures and cultivable land or grants of properties to kins it happened that a single village estate came to be inhabited by several gotras of the same clan preventing intermarry or exogamy in regard to matrimony. It sowed seeds of *Bhaichara* and restrained people from entering into matrimonial alliances even if it were in another gotra because it was accorded status of a brother and his children treated as his own children, therefore brother and sister could never become husband and wife.¹⁴

The concept of *Bhaichara* means that members of the same generation are classificatory siblings and cannot intermarry.¹⁵ This idea of *Bhaichara* starts from village level and continues upto the Khap level. There exist three types of *Bhaichara* - Village *Bhaichara*, in which members of one generation are treated as brothers and sisters as originating from a common ancestor and, therefore related by blood. This is irrespective of gotra or caste; the siblings cannot intermarry within the village. Even the scheduled castes enjoy the relationship accorded by *Bhaichara*. The village is an exogamous community. This idea of *Bhaichara* extends to the neighbouring villages, which share geographical boundaries, precluding the possibility of marriage between them.

1. *Gotra* or clan *Bhaichara*, in which all members belonging to the same gotra in the same caste are treated as brothers and sisters, even if they belong to different villages. This is applied to both the dominant castes and scheduled castes. The khap of a particular gotra, such as the Sangwan khap, the Dahiya khap and the Hooda khap enjoy *Bhaichara* on the basis of common lineage.
2. Families belonging to the same caste but with different gotras, which do not marry in the villages of the single gotra khap because such khaps are numerically dominated by a single gotra. All other persons living in a khap

area irrespective of their caste or gotra, treat each other as brother and sister. *Khap Bhaichara* is normally emphasized in the khap panchayat. Similarly, villages that fall under one tappa or kani also do not permit marriage within the tappa, although the marriage can take place in another tappa of the khap consisting of multiple gotras.¹⁶

Historically speaking khap panchayats are very old, with various scholars tracing their origin to tribal times. According to Pradhan¹⁷ khaps are legacies of tribal councils that had been formed by various tribes. Prem Choudhry¹⁸ denotes them as caste panchayats. In any case these are traditional panchayats, patriarchal and revivalist in nature. They reinforce traditions and norms especially in marriage practices in rural Haryana.¹⁹

According to Ishwari Prasad²⁰ at the advent of muslims all suits relating to debts, contracts, adultery, property and the like were decided by Hindus in their panchayats. The word khap was used for the first time in Rajasthan in the context of Rajput ruling class during the medieval period. The word khap has been extensively used in the context of different sects of Rajasthan ruling class. The first census report based on religion and caste was prepared in Jodhpur [1890-90], dividing the people of India on the basis of religion and caste. The castes are divided into gotras, the word gotra was used as khap.²¹ The khap panchayat like the caste system and joint family system is a traditional institution engaged primarily in disputes resolution and in regulating the behaviour of individuals or groups in rural north India.²² The composition of peasant caste union was called khap.²³ Khap panchayats have had a long innings in the jat dominated areas of northern India and some of their decisions that go against individual rights have led to heated controversy. It is commonly believed that they came into existence sometime around 600 CE. It is believed to have been started by upper class jats to consolidate their power and position in the community.²⁴

The main feature of a khap²⁵ is that boys and girls within a khap are considered as siblings and a khap panchayat governs the khap formed by same gotra [clan] families from several neighbouring villages. Marriages are considered a taboo in areas governed by khap panchayats. Those living in a khap are not allowed to marry in the same gotra or even in any gotra from the same village. The strength of the traditional caste panchayat lay in twin factors. First, they are the numerical strength of a particular caste group and

second, the land ownership it commanded. These caste panchayats were dominant in Haryana. These traditional panchyats were all purpose local mechanism for a series of activities ranging from collection of revenue or overseeing works of public utility, acting as court for dispute settlement and meeting out justice in community matters. All this was affected within the framework of the caste rules, customs or usages of the locality, trade or family. Findings from the field visits²⁶ of six districts of Haryana - Sonapat, Panipat, Mewat, Rohtak, Hisar and Karnal revealed that in Mewat same gotra marriages are absolutely prohibited. This custom being endorsed by everyone including women, community people, panchayat representatives as they firmly assert that how can there be marriage between brother and sister as everyone living in the same village are brothers and sisters and even the next village there can be no marriage due to bhaichara. In rest of the districts also it was observed that with respect to same gotra marriages, the same strict prohibition rule applies. Intercaste marriages are also not allowed. However, as per the news reporting in *Hindustan Times* Apr 20, 2014 the satrol khap has allowed caste and intercaste marriages between the families within a radius of 42 villages of Hisar and Jind under it, breaking the 700 year old tradition. The path breaking decision came at a meeting of Satrol khap at Narnaund village of Hisar district, where elders formally gave their consent to the decision to ease up difficulty faced by villagers in finding a suitable match for their eligible youngsters within the defined threshold. It was also said that like any other institution this khap also want to keep their traditions in sync with the modernity and prevailing social circumstances of relevance. In June 2013 Malik khap also known as Gathwala khap - one of the largest jat khaps - had taken a forward looking decision to not to consider grandmother's gotra while fixing matrimonial alliances, which was in juxtapose to the existing tradition where guardians were allowed to marry off their children barring mother, father and grandmother's sub castes. However the new development would still carry the norm of not marrying within the same gotra, village and neighbourhood.²⁷

There is social pressure to confirm to the norms of khaps. Any perceived rebellion against the traditional expected behaviour may be construed as a loss of honour and might result in coercion and violence perpetuated by the woman's biological family, ranging from bullying and beating and even to

murder. The most widely recognised reason for this is the killing of both spouses for marrying in the same caste. Caste and intercaste marriages have been a major reason for so called “honour killings” in recent past. Honour is frequently if not always gendred. Communities value women, at least in part, for the honour they bring to their families and punish women for the shame they bring for alleged transgression of social and sexual norms.²⁸ In a modern day individualistic society, the term honour is synonymous with integrity, a person’s individual actions. However in medieval times in communal culture, honour was collective term referring not simply to the social behaviour of one person, but of the collective behaviour of the family. “honour”, is generally seen as residing in the bodies of women. Frameworks of honour and its corollary ‘shame’ operate to control, direct and regulate women’s sexuality and freedom of movement by male members of the family. Women who fall in love, extramarital relationship, choose their own husbands are seen to transgress the boundaries of ‘appropriate’ that is socially sanctioned sexual behaviour. In these contexts rights of women, to control their own lives, to liberty and freedom of expression, association, movement and body integrity mean very little.²⁹

In a case of *Shakti Vahini vs Union of India*³⁰ the court observed that the actions which are found to be linked with honour based crime are-

- (i) Loss of virginity outside marriage
- (ii) Pre-marital pregnancy
- (iii) Infidelity
- (iv) Having unapproved relationships
- (v) Refusing an arranged marriage
- (vi) Asking for divorce
- (vii) Demanding custody of children after divorce
- (viii) Leaving the family or marital home without permission
- (ix) Causing scandal or gossip in the community
- (x) Falling victim to rape.

Expanding the aforesaid aspect, it is stated that some of the facets relate to inappropriate relationship by a women some of which lead to refusal of arranged marriages. Certain instances have been cited with regard to honour crimes and how the said crimes reflect the gruesome phenomena of such incidents. Murder in day light and brutal treatment in full public gaze of the

members of the society reflect that the victims are treated as inanimate objects totally oblivious of the law of the land and absolutely unconcerned with the feelings of the victims who face such cruelty and eventually succumb to them. The expression of intention by the couples to get married even if they are adults is sans sense to the members who constitute the assembly for according to them. It is the projected honour that rules supreme and the lives of others become subservient to their desires and decisions. Instances that have been depicted in the writ petition pertain to beating of people, shaving of heads and sometimes putting the victims on fire as if they are “flies to the wanton boys.” Various news items have been referred to express anguish with regard to the abominable and horrifying incidents that the human eyes cannot see and sensitive minds can never countenance.

In case of *Arumugam Servai vs State of Tamilnadu*³¹ the Supreme Court strongly deprecated the practice of khap panchayats taking law into their hands and indulging in offensive activities which endanger the personal lives of the persons marrying according to their choice. In another case *Lata Singh vs State of U.P.*³² the Supreme Court observed and directed as under; This is a free and democratic country and once a person becomes a major he or she can marry whosoever he\ she likes. If the parents of the boys and girls do not approve of such inter caste or inter religious marriage the maximum they can do is that they can cut off social relations with the son or daughter, but they cannot give threats or commit or instigate acts of violence and cannot harass the person who undergoes such inter caste or inter religious marriage. We therefore direct that the administration\police authorities throughout the country that if any boy or girl who is a major and undergoes inter caste or inter religious marriage with a man or a woman who is a major, the couple are not harassed by anyone or subjected to threats or acts of violence and anyone who gives such threats or harasses or commits acts of violence either himself or at his instigation stern action will be taken against such actions. We sometimes hear of honour killings of such persons who undergo inter caste or inter religious marriage of their own free will. There is nothing honourable in such acts, and infact they are nothing but barbaric and shameful acts of murder committed by brutal, feudal minded persons who deserve harsh punishment.

In Law Commission Report³³ a law has been proposed under the title

of 'prohibition of Interference with the Freedom of Matrimonial Alliances Bill' which intends to curb the social evil of caste councils\panchayats interfering with and endangering the life and liberty of young person's marrying partners of the same gotra or a different caste\religion. This interference can be effectively checked by prohibiting the assembly of such members of the panchayats for the purpose of condemning the marriage and taking further action of harming or harassing them.

Supreme Court in its judgement³⁴ said that when two adults get married, it is for law to declare the marriage null and void and khaps cannot resort to violence against the couple. The Supreme Court declared illegal any attempt by khap panchayats to end a marriage between consenting adults.

A gradual change is visible towards the establishment of a free social order. In moments and periods of social transition, the tensions between the individual freedom and past social practices become focal points of the community's ability to contemplate and provide for least hurting or painful solutions.

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Capital Choking, Stubble Burning : Livelihood and Environment

*Madhuri Sharma

*“Flights diverted in Delhi as toxic smog hits worst levels of 2019.”*¹ On 1st of November 2019 AQI (air quality index) in Delhi was 999. Newspapers and various news channels of TV flooded with this sort of news in the first week of November 2019.² In simple words the sky over Delhi was covered with huge black smog full of toxic gases leading to many health problems not only to human beings but plants and animals too. For the past few years this is a regular issue/problem Delhi is facing during and after Diwali festival ie in the month of October and November.

This situation immediately alerts us to know why it happens. How this can be solved? Some of the major reasons cited are- Burning Crackers during Diwali, Vehicular emissions. In order to solve this problem Delhi Government took a strict action against sale and burning/bursting of crackers. Government put a ban on it. Similarly to reduce vehicular emissions- Delhi Government launched odd-even, car pooling and other methods. But above all reasons one of the major causes cited is 'the burning of stubble/crop' leftover in nearby States around Delhi-i.e Punjab and Haryana. Nearly all TV news channels were running this news throughout the day.³ Even most of the newspapers carry headline of “smog/toxic air covering Delhi”.

Most of the studies and research papers highlighted stubble burning only with environment concern.⁴ The immediate question comes in one's mind is what this stubble is and why peasant burn stubble or crop leftover. Is it a recent modern activity or an age old traditional practice? What initiative government took or taking to stop this stubble burning. How new technology

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of agricultural practices responsible for this. What are the economic concerns of the peasants or farmers? How is it related to livelihood and environment? What are the alternatives to stop stubble burning?

Since farmers of Punjab and Haryana has been blamed most for stubble burning and cause for lowering air quality in Delhi so this study would be of Punjab and Haryana region only. In order to understand above issues this paper seeks to explore the changing agricultural practices and socio-economic condition of the farmers of the Punjab and Haryana. Known as a Green Revolution state, Haryana has become the bread-basket of India, playing a crucial role in the food security of the nation. Similarly the historical region of Punjab is considered to be one of the most fertile regions on Earth. The region has been used for extensive wheat farming. In addition, rice, cotton, sugarcane, fruit, and vegetables are also grown. Punjab is also known as "The Granary of India" as it produces 1% of the world's rice, 2% of its wheat, and 2% of its cotton. In 2001, it was recorded that farmers made up 39% of Indian Punjab's workforce.⁵

The Green Revolution also brought profound changes in land use in Haryana and Punjab through a complex set of interacting biophysical and socioeconomic factors. The driving forces behind land use change are increased cultivation intensity, utilization of high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice, and high inputs of fertilizer and water. Other forces are infrastructure development, private investment in irrigation sources, and a wheat/rice support policy regulated by the government of India. Even though Haryana and Punjab both has benefited from their enormous agricultural achievements brought about by the Green Revolution, their success is built on a receding water resource. Intensification of agriculture has caused the groundwater table to drop in some areas and has caused water logging in others. The economic growth resulting from urbanization, industrialization, and the changing lifestyles of an increasing population also has led to over extraction of groundwater. Equally worrisome, excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides has led to a deterioration of land and soil quality.⁶

To cope with falling water tables, farmers often must replace their pumps with higher-capacity ones and incur higher capital and operating costs to pump the same amount of water from a greater depth. The thousands of farmers with small operational holdings in Haryana who meet a large part of

their staple food requirements from rice and wheat are unlikely to comprehend the long-term problems of resource degradation and environmental pollution and thus are likely to continue this lucrative cropping system. Such a development could deteriorate the environmental resource base and make the rice-wheat cropping sequence environmentally unsustainable.

Now in order to conserve water a law had been passed- what is it and in any way is responsible for stubble burning? Did law to delay crop sowing result in paddy straw burning cases?

In order to conserve/preserve water the state government of Punjab and Haryana had mandated that the timing of the rice planting should coincide with the monsoon rains which lash the region starting early July. Since early July 2009, there has been a law called the Punjab preservation of subsoil water Act that has prohibited the cultivation of paddy before a date is decided by the Government.⁷ Owing to such mandates and regulations the two crop periods of Kharif and Rabi in the case of rice and wheat moved close to one another, leaving about fifteen days in between the two crop cycles. This put a pressure on farmers to prepare the farm for the next crop in a hand full of days and burning the residue has proven the cheapest and quickest way to do so.⁸ Thus there are apprehensions that a law passed by the Punjab government in 2009 asking farmers to delay paddy sowing, swelled the number of paddy burning cases.

Director of Agriculture Department of Punjab, Sutantar Kumar Airi says the Punjab Subsoil Water Preservation Act is not responsible for crop burning instances which has not only improved the water table but also brought down the area under paddy cultivation by 3.8 lakh hectares. "The total area under paddy cultivation in 2018, which was 31.3 lakh hectares, has been brought down to 27.92 lakh hectares in 2019. Farmers have been asked to switch to basmati rice farming, which is not only lucrative but its straws are consumed by the cattle and are not burnt," says Sutantar Kumar Airi.⁹

When questioned whether the delayed paddy crop plantations resulted in farm waste burning, agricultural expert Devinder Sharma said "no". He has also demanded a comprehensive scientific study to ascertain the role of straw burning in New Delhi's smog problem. Further Sharma blames over-

mechanisation of Punjab agriculture for the paddy straw burning problem. He reiterated that, "Most of the crop harvesting in Punjab is being done by machines. The Punjab government is now asking farmers to buy six more machines to stop them from burning farm waste which is not justified. Compelling farmers to take loans to buy machines will only burden them further. The best way to discourage them from burning crop residue is to compensate them by paying at least Rs 100 per quintal".¹⁰

Meanwhile, Punjab CM Captain Amarinder Singh reminded the Union government to provide financial assistance of Rs 100 per quintal to each paddy farmer, enabling them to manage the farm residue scientifically. Whereas Haryana Chief Minister Manohar Lal Khattar posted on Twitter, a satellite image purportedly showing less crop residue burning cases in Haryana and blamed Punjab for the smog that is choking Delhi. The smoke emanated by the stubble burning has become a contentious issue between the chief ministers of Delhi, Punjab and Haryana.¹¹

Even as Delhi continues to battle a thick smog and hazardous pollution for days, stubble burning continues unabated in the neighboring states of Punjab and Haryana. Paddy harvesting season is at its peak in the two states and it will last till mid-November. Reports suggest that the number of stubble burning cases in Punjab this year (2019) has risen by 25 per cent. This also implies that the claims made by the Punjab government about stopping farmers from burning farm waste are far from the truth. Nearly 28,000 machines have been provided by the state government to farmers on subsidy, which has also failed to bring down the rampant straw burning.¹²

In Punjab's Mohali, India Today TV came across 65-year-old farmer Dharam Singh who was trying to clear his field by burning the farm waste. Dharam Singh tells us that he is already under a huge debt and has raised Rs 16 lakh with bank loans. Singh is not in a position to buy any machines to get rid of the stubble and is left with the only option to set fire to the crop leftover. Interestingly, Dharam Singh is also not the beneficiary of the state government's loan waiver scheme. He grieved while saying that, "We know that burning paddy stubble is injurious to health and environment but we have no resources to manage the farm waste with machines. Burning paddy straws is a compulsion".¹³

The Punjab government has initiated action against almost 3000 farmers

for burning stubble. The Amarinder Singh government, which hopes to cut down stubble burning in the state by 10 to 20 per cent this year, said that so far the government has received complaints against 20,729 cases of stubble burning. The government has initiated action against 2,923 farmers, the Punjab CM said. The government claimed that the total number of stubble burning incidents reported last was around 49,000. In comparison, the government says it has received reports of 20,729 cases till November 1. The Punjab government hopes that as more than 70 per cent of the paddy has already been harvested, the total number of stubble burning reports will remain lower than last year. "Despite a high court stay in the recovery of fine from farmers penalised last year, the state government has intensified its drive against the dangerous practice of stubble burning," Chief Minister Captain Amarinder Singh said in a statement in Chandigarh on Sunday.¹⁴

Even as he expressed the hope that the prime minister will understand and respond positively to his letter on the grave issue of the air pollution, Amarinder Singh said his government was working committedly to put a stop to stubble burning. The enforcement teams had, till November 1, 2019, visited 11,286 fire incidents sites, and environment compensation amounting to Rs 41,62,000 had been imposed in 1,585 cases, a red entry made in Khasra Girdawaris in 1,136 cases, and prosecution/FIR filed in 202 cases against the defaulting farmers.¹⁵

The process of verifying the remaining fire incidents and levying of environmental compensation was being expedited, said the chief minister, adding that the Punjab Pollution Control Board had also imposed environmental compensation of Rs 62 lakhs on 31 combine harvesters operating without Super SMS.

These steps were not, however, sufficient to check the problem, as the majority of the farmers in Punjab had less than 5 acres of land, making it economically unviable for them to go for hi-end ways of managing the stubble. While staying the process of recovery of the penalty imposed last year, the high court had taken note of the growing indebtedness of marginal farmers and the serious issue of farmer suicides, and had chosen not to add any further financial woes on the farmers, the court had stated, while ordering that punitive actions may go on in due course of the law.

Compensation by the central government was the only solution in the

circumstances, said the chief minister, adding that the matter was not one of politics, but a question of the future of our people, which goes beyond politics. "The ball is in the Centre's court since most state governments are bankrupt," Punjab CM Amarinder Singh said. Singh further claimed that the states' fiscal situation was linked to GST, which had aggravated their economic problems. While admitting that Punjab was also contributing to the Delhi smog, Amarinder Singh said to put the blame entirely on his state was absolutely incorrect. Statistics showed that the parameters on the factors relating to pollution were higher in Delhi, he added. Instead of addressing the problem, Delhi Chief Minister Arvind Kejriwal was playing political games, he said, asking what the AAP leader was doing on the ground to resolve the issue. The CM said that the situation aggravated in recent years as the production of paddy had increased, with the last two years reporting record production in Punjab, even though the state's people were traditionally not rice-eaters. Amarinder Singh pointed out that the cities in the state were also enveloped by smog. Underlining the need to change the cropping pattern by weaning the farmers away from paddy, he reiterated his demand for MSP for other crops to help promote diversification. "The central government has to step in and find a consensus to resolve the crisis," Amarinder Singh stressed.

Harpreet Singh, a farmer who owns over 50 acres of farm land in Bathinda district, recalls that the problem of stubble increased only after combine harvesters were introduced during the green revolution. Earlier, the paddy was manually harvested and stubble was simultaneously ploughed back into the fields. Combine harvesters can harvest, thrash and clean the separated grains all at once but leave about a foot-high stubble. Manually harvesting the crop has become unfeasible because of high labour cost and increased land under paddy.

The urgency to remove stubble arises from the necessity to sow wheat seeds by early November. Wheat is a 140-day crop and the crucial time for harvest is mid-April, when the temperature is about 35 degrees C. If the sowing of wheat delayed, it ripens prematurely, which adversely affects the production quality. Further exacerbating the problem is the Preservation of Subsoil Act, which leaves very little time for farmer to prepare the field for wheat sowing. Burning left-over stubble becomes an easy rescue option. Thus,

the urgency to remove stubble arises from the necessity to sow wheat seeds by early November.

While many options have been offered to handle stubble in an efficient fashion, none seem to be tied with an appropriate financial or institutional mechanism. The most prominent solution presented is the in-situ management which involves ploughing back the stubble in the ground. This is economically unfeasible for farmers because of the high cost of both manual labour and mechanised options.

For instance, the "Happy Seeder" machine which adopts a low tillage system to cut the straw and distribute as mulch on the field is priced at Rs 1.5 lakh. Even after a government subsidy of 33%, it is economically unfeasible for most farmers as their seasonal return does not exceed more than Rs 12,000-Rs 15,000 per hectare. While farmer's cooperatives and unions could be utilised to house such equipment in clusters, no institutional mechanism has been worked out. Another solution is to cut, bail and transport the straw to cardboard factories or bio-mass based power plants. A few big farmers do this, but no institutional mechanism exists to incentivize it. Bailed straw is also difficult to handle, bulky to store and expensive to transport, inflating the cost of the farmers.

Farmers' organisations have been demanding financial assistance either in the form of add-on to the procurement price to the tune of Rs 100-200 per quintal or a cash subsidy of about Rs 4,000-5,000 to help defray the expenses of disposing stubble in an environmental friendly manner. Even the NGT had ordered the state government to provide financial assistance for procuring machinery to till stubble. But the reality is that the coffers of the state government are empty and the Centre has not responded to the state's request for agricultural financial provisioning.

Good alternatives to stubble-burning might be;¹⁶ a/ under-sowing the stubble with clover so that after harvest a nutritious green manure can grow without any inputs. b/ direct seeding of a fast growing fodder crop like mustard or turnips into the stubble. c/ cultivation of the stubble to create a seedbed so that another crop can be planted. d/ do nothing - and leave the stubble untouched over winter to provide food for insects & birds - and simply cultivate in the spring for a rotational planting.¹⁷

Farmers were bound to burn down the stubble that remains after

harvesting. This is done to get rid of the residue left after harvesting, while also cleaning weeds from the fields. However, even though this is a financially cheap practice, it comes at a high price for the environment. Burning down thousands of hectares of fields every year causes tremendous air pollution. It also puts organic content to waste.

On the one hand indebtedness of farmer is important to address on the other hand health of human being and deteriorating environment issue is also important. Government, Scientists, Activists and Economist should work hand in hand to balance the economic status of farmers and improving the environment.

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Kabulibagh Mosque : A Historical Study

Dr. Pardeep Kumar

**Dr. Vijender Singh Dull

The *Kabuli Bagh Mosque* is a mosque in *Panipat*. It was the first conquest of the *Mughals over Hindustan*. A descendant of *Taimur Lung* who built this monument as a show of victory of the Mughals over the *Pathan rulers* of India. He built the Kabuli Bagh mosque in 1527. The garden of Kabuli Bagh along with the Kabuli Bagh Mosque and a tank were built by Babur after the First Battle of Panipat to commemorate his victory over Ibrahim Lodhi. Some years later when Humayun defeated Sher Shah Suri near Panipat, he added a masonry Platform to it and called it '*Chabutra*' Fateh Mubarak, bearing the inscription 934 *Hijri* (1557 CE). These buildings and the garden still exist under the name of Kabuli Bagh called so after Babur's wife – *Mussammat Kabuli begum*.

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लोहारू का क्षेत्र प्राचीन काल से ही हरियाणा का अभिन्न अंग रहा है। लोहारू कभी यौधेयों और कभी मत्स्य प्रदेश के अधीन रहा। एक किंवदन्ती के अनुसार लोहारू को राव नरहरदास ने बसाया था और इसका नाम लोहारूप रखा गया। धीरे-धीरे अंतिम अक्षर 'प' गायब हो गया और इसका नाम लोहारू हो गया। राव नरहरदास राजपूतों के शेखावत कुल से संबंधित थे। शेखा जी का जन्म 1433 ई. में हुआ था। वह 1445 ई. में राजगढ़ी पर आसीन हुए। शेखाजी का राज्य हांसी, भिवानी और दादरी तक फैला हुआ था। इनकी मृत्यु के बाद उनके ज्येष्ठ पुत्र रायमल गढ़ी पर बैठा। बादशाह अकबर ने रायमल को मनसबदार बनाया तथा उन्हें जागीर और राजा की पदवी भी प्रदान की। रायमल के ही वंशज शार्दूल सिंह ने झुंझनू के बिखरे हुए नवाबी राज्य को व्यवस्थित किया। रायमल की 1726 ई. में मृत्यु होने पर शार्दूल सिंह ने झुंझनू का राज्य अपने हाथों में ले लिया तथा आगे चलकर नरहड़ पर भी अधिकार कर लिया। अब शेखावत राजपूतों का राज्य खंडेला से लेकर जोधपुर, बीकानेर, नाभा, पटियाला और अलवर आदि राज्यों की सीमाओं से मिलता था। लोहारू को बसाने वाले राव नरहरदास इन्हीं शेखावत राजपूतों की परंपरा से थे। उन्होंने लोहारू के आसपास के कई गांवों को अपने अधीन कर लिया और लोहारू को एक ठिकाने का रूप दे दिया। राव नरहरदास अत्यंत पराक्रमी व्यक्ति था उन्होंने हिसार सूबे पर चढ़ाई की लेकिन इस अभियान में ही उनकी मृत्यु हो गई। आगे चलकर उनके वंशजों ने लोहारू में दो गढ़ों और 8 कुओं का निर्माण करवाया।

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शोक संदेश



स्वर्गीय प्रो. के.सी. यादव
(11.10.1936 से 27.05.2021)

प्रो. के.सी. यादव के निधन से हरियाणा के शैक्षणिक जगत में एक शून्यता भर गई है, जिसको भरना संभव नहीं है। प्रो. यादव आधुनिक इतिहास के प्रख्यात विद्वान थे। उनका पूरा जीवन एक खुली किताब की तरह रहा है, जिन्होंने अपना अधिकांश समय इतिहास के नये तथ्यों की खोजबीन में लगाया। उन्होंने अपने शैक्षणिक जीवन की यात्रा सन् 1966 में कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय के इतिहास विभाग में प्रवक्ता के रूप में शुरू की थी तथा लगभग 30 वर्ष अध्यापन में बिताये। इस दौरान वे अनेकों बार इतिहास विभाग के चेयरपर्सन रहे बाद में विश्वविद्यालय ने उन्हें डीन ऑफ कॉलेज, डीन ऑफ सोशल साइंस तथा डीन ऑफ एकेडमिक अफेयर्स भी बनाया गया। इसके अलावा उन्होंने विश्वविद्यालय के विभिन्न कार्यकारी समितियों के चेयरमैन व सदस्य के तौर पर भी कार्य किया। विश्वविद्यालय में वे सन् 1992-96 में अम्बेडकर अध्ययन केन्द्र के चेयरमैन रहे। चूंकि उनकी चिंता हरियाणा के इतिहास को विकसित करने में लगी रहती थी इसलिए सन् 1970 में ही उन्होंने हरियाणा हिस्टोरिकल सोसायटी की शुरुआत की ताकि विद्यार्थियों को हरियाणा इतिहास से संबंधित नये नये निबंधों से अवगत कराया जा सके। उनके शोध कार्य को देखते हुए सन् 1980-81 में टोक्यो विश्वविद्यालय, जापान में उन्हें विजिटिंग प्रोफेसर बनाया गया था। उन्होंने राष्ट्रीय व राज्य स्तर की हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस को भी संबोधित किया था। मुझे याद है कि सन् 1982 में कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय में हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस का आयोजन किया गया था, जिसमें प्रो. के.सी. यादव की अहम भूमिका थी। इस प्रकार प्रो. यादव देश-विदेश की अनेक शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं से जुड़े हुए थे।

प्रो. के.सी. यादव, विश्वविद्यालय में बहुत लोकप्रिय शिक्षक माने जाते थे। विशेषकर

ग्रामीण जीवन से जुड़े हुए विद्यार्थियों में उनका विशेष सम्मान था। इसका कारण यह था कि वे स्वयं रेवाड़ी जिले के एक छोटे से गांव में पैदा हुए थे। उनकी शिक्षा दीक्षा व बचपन गांव की गलियों में ही गुजरा था। वे बचपन से ही होनहार, मेहनती विद्यार्थी थे, इसलिए वे देहाती विद्यार्थियों की परेशानियों व संघर्षों को समझते थे।

इसलिए उनकी शिष्य विरासत आज भी हरियाणा के अनेक कालेजों में इतिहास के शिक्षक के रूप में देखी जा सकती है। भले ही विश्वविद्यालय ने उनको सन् 1996 में अपनी सेवाओं से मुक्त कर दिया हो, मगर वे इतिहास लेखन की परंपरा से कभी भी सेवा निवृत्त नहीं हुए थे। वे अपने लेखन कार्य में पहले से भी ज्यादा व्यस्त रहने लगे। इसी जज्बे को देखते हुए हरियाणा सरकार ने सन् 2010 से 2014 तक उनको हरियाणा इतिहास एवं संस्कृति अकादमी गुड़गांव में संस्थापक निदेशक बना दिया। इसी दौरान उन्होंने हरियाणा इतिहास से संबंधित कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किये। उन्हीं दिनों वे अक्सर तीन मूर्ति लाइब्रेरी, नई दिल्ली आते रहते थे। वहां पर मेरी मुलाकात प्रो. के.सी. यादव से होती रहती थी। वे हमेशा हरियाणा इतिहास पर बात करते थे। उनके मन में इस बात का मलाल रहता था कि इतिहास में जिस प्रकार का शोध कार्य दूसरे राज्यों का हुआ है, वैसा शोध कार्य हरियाणा के इतिहास पर नहीं हुआ है। नई युवा पीढ़ी से बहुत कुछ उम्मीदें थी, मगर कुछ खास नहीं किया। उनका मानना था कि इसके लिए काफी हद तक हरियाणा सरकार जिम्मेवार है, क्योंकि विश्वविद्यालयों में पिछले तीस वर्षों से अध्यापकों की स्थायी नियुक्तियां ही नहीं हो रही हैं। रोहतक विश्वविद्यालय में शुन्य तथा कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय के इतिहास विभाग में बहुत कम स्थाई अध्यापक रह गये हैं। इसलिए शोध कार्य नहीं हो रहे हैं। दूसरे, हरियाणा राज्य अभिलेखागार में दस्तावेजों का ठीक से रखरखाव नहीं होने के कारण भी शोध करने वालों को निराशा होती है। प्रो. के.सी. यादव इस बात को समझते थे कि इतिहास में लगातार अच्छे शोध कार्य होने चाहिए तभी तो हम विद्यार्थियों को कुछ नया पढ़ा पायेंगे। प्रो. यादव का मानना था कि हरियाणा इतिहास एवं संस्कृति अकादमी, गुड़गांव में ही रहना चाहिए थी, क्योंकि दिल्ली के नजदीक होने से हरियाणा इतिहास पर शोध कार्य करने में काफी मदद मिलती। प्रो. यादव ने हरियाणा इतिहास पर अनेक किताबें व लेख लिखे हैं, उनकी चर्चा करना संभव नहीं है। इसलिए भले ही प्रो. यादव आज हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं, मगर हरियाणा इतिहास के पढ़ने वाले हजारों विद्यार्थियों के मस्तिष्क में प्रो. यादव हमेशा जीवित रहेंगे।

प्रो. सूरजभाजन भारद्वाज

भूतपूर्व प्राचार्य, मोतीलाल कालेज, दिल्ली



स्वर्गीय डॉ. जोगिंद्र सिंह
(09.02.1977 से 17.05.2021)

डॉ. जोगिंद्र सिंह इतिहास विभाग, दयानंद कॉलेज हिसार में असिस्टेंट प्रोफेसर एवं हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस के आजीवन तथा भारतीय इतिहास कांग्रेस के सामान्य सदस्य थे। उन्होंने दयानंद कॉलेज हिसार में अपनी सेवाएं 12 जनवरी 2007 से प्रारंभ की। इससे पहले वे इसी कॉलेज तथा एस.डी. कॉलेज पानीपत में भी अस्थाई तौर पर सेवाएं दे चुके थे। उनका जन्म कुरुक्षेत्र के समीपवर्ती गांव गढ़ी-रोड़ान में 9 फरवरी 1977 को पिता श्री करताराम व माता श्रीमती फूलवती के परिवार में हुआ। उनकी प्रारंभिक शिक्षा गांव में, 10+2 तक की शिक्षा राजकीय वरिष्ठ माध्यमिक विद्यालय कुरुक्षेत्र, स्नातक तक की शिक्षा यूनिवर्सिटी कॉलेज कुरुक्षेत्र तथा एम.ए. व पीएचडी उन्होंने प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास एवं पुरातत्त्व विभाग कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय से की। उनके शोध का विषय 'मौर्य काल में अर्थव्यवस्था व व्यापार' प्रोफेसर बृजेश कृष्ण कठिल के नेतृत्व में पूरा हुआ।

डॉ. जोगिंद्र सिंह दयानंद कॉलेज हिसार में विभाग की गतिविधियों के साथ-साथ विभिन्न प्रशासनिक गतिविधियों तथा दयानंद कॉलेज टीचर्स-एसोसिएशन के पदाधिकारी के रूप में निरंतर कार्य करते रहे। आप विभिन्न सामाजिक व शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं से भी जुड़े थे। आप एक आदर्श शिक्षक, पिता, भाई व मित्र के अलावा पांच बहनों के इकलौते भाई थे। आपके परिवार में श्रीमती प्रभा (पत्नी) समृद्धि (पुत्री) व सार्थक (पुत्र) हैं। कोविड-19 के चलते हुए आप इससे ग्रस्त हो गए तथा स्वस्थ नहीं हो पाए और 17 मई 2021 को हमारे बीच से विदा हो गए।

डॉ. महेन्द्र सिंह
दयानंद कॉलेज हिसार

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- 58 Dr. Ritu Bhagat, SPM College, Delhi
- 59 Dr. Madhuri Sharma, Bharti College, University of Delhi

AUDIT REPORTS (2020-2021)

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS

INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED ON 31.03.2021

Expenditure	Amount in Rs.	Income	Amount in Rs.
To Professional Fee	4,000.00		
To Honarium Expenses	6,000.00	By Grant Received	1,86,855.00
To Programme Expenses	3,380.00	By Interest on Saving Bank	15,609.00
To Printing & Stationery	20,270.00		
To Postage & Courier	1,000.00		
To Bank Charges	424.80		
To Surplus	1,67,389.20		
Total	<u>2,02,464.00</u>	Total	<u>2,02,464.00</u>

Complied from the books of account produced before us:

For **SHILPESH & CO.**

Chartered Accountants

Shilpesh

SHILPESH
(Proprietor)
M.No.: 529980



Place: New Delhi

Date: 14.08.2021

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS**RECEIPT AND PAYMENT ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED ON 31.03.2021**

Expenditure	Amount in Rs.	Income	Amount in Rs.
To Opening Balance		By Bank Charges	424.80
PNB-181071	3,56,818.98	By Professional Fee	4,000.00
To Delegate's Fee	30,750.00	By Honarium Expenses	6,000.00
To Grant Received	1,86,855.00	By Programme Expenses	3,380.00
To Interest on Saving Bank	15,609.00	By Printing & Stationery	20,270.00
		By Postage & Courier	1,000.00
		By Closing Balance	
		PNB-181071	5,54,958.18
Total	<u>5,90,032.98</u>	Total	<u>5,90,032.98</u>

Complied from the books of account produced before us:
For **SHILPESH & CO.**

Chartered Accountants



SHILPESH
(Proprietor)
M.No.: 529980

Place: New Delhi
Date: 14.08.2021

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS

Balance Sheet as at 31.03.2021

LIABILITIES	Amount	ASSETS	Amount
General Capital Fund		Current Assets	
Opening Balance	3,56,818.98	PNB	5,54,958.18
Add: Delegate's Fee	30,750.00		
Add: Surplus	<u>1,67,389.20</u>		
	5,54,958.18		
Total	<u>5,54,958.18</u>	Total	<u>5,54,958.18</u>

Complied from the books of account produced before us:

For **SHILPESH & CO.**

Chartered Accountants




SHILPESH
(Proprietor)
M.No.: 529980

Place: New Delhi
Date: 14.08.2021

Paper Submission Guidelines for Proceedings of the Haryana History Congress

MANUSCRIPTS: Manuscripts of research paper should be submitted in MS-word, with figures and tables attached in separate files along with author's name, address, e-mail addresses, and phone. All papers should be of 3000 to 5000 words and must include an abstract of about 200 words and 4-7 keywords that reflect the theme of the article. Manuscripts should be sent to haryanahistorycongress@gmail.com

FOOTNOTES: Should be consecutively numbered and presented at the end of the paper. In one sentence of the text only one note is preferred.

SPELLINGS: Use British spellings. Where alternative forms exist, choose 'ise' spellings instead of 'ize' (for example, civilise, commercialise, organisation).

QUOTATIONS: Use single quotation marks, reserving double quotation marks for quoted words within a quotation. Spellings of words in quotation should not be changed. No quotation marks are required for longer passages (i.e., 45 words or more); these have to be indented and separated from the text.

NUMBERS: Write numbers in figures (rather than words) for exact measurements and series of quantities, including percentages. In more general description, numbers below 100 should be spelt out in words. In text use 'per cent'; in tables the symbol '%'. Use full forms for numbers-e.g., 1780-88 and pp. 178-84.

DATES: Give specific dates in the form 10 September 1760. Decades may be referred to as either 'the eighties' or 'the 1880'. Spell out the 'nineteenth century', etc.

REFERENCES: Citations for all the references should be provided in the research paper. Following is an encapsulated list of the formatting styles for

some of the frequently used types of references. Book: Michael Pollan, *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*, New York: Penguin, 2006, pp. 99–100. Article from a book: P. Gaeffke, 'Alexander and the Bengal Sufis', in Alan W. Entwistle and Francoise Mallison, eds, *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature, 1988–1991*, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 278-84. Journal: G. Hambly, 'A Note on the Trade in Eunuchs in Mughal Bengal', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 94 (1), 1974, pp. 125-29. Unpublished material: Dorothy Ross, *The Irish-Catholic Immigrant, 1880-1900: A Study in Social Mobility* (Department of Sociology, Ph.D. thesis), Columbia University, 2017, pp. 142-55. Newspaper: Daniel Mendelsohn, 'But Enough about Me,' *New Yorker*, January 25, 2010, p. 6.

FIGURES AND TABLES: Please use short and crisp titles and headings in tables and figures. Ensure that the units of measurement are stated and check any totals or averages. Images should be provided in JPEG format, with minimum 300 dpi and 1,500 pixels. Sources for figures and tables should be mentioned.