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# JUNI KHYAT जूनी ख्यात

(सामाजिक विज्ञान, कला एवं संस्कृति की शोध पत्रिका)

A Peer-Reviewed and Listed in UGC Care List



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संपादक

डॉ. बी. एल. भादानी

प्रोफेसर



प्रबंध संपादक

श्याम महर्षि

सह संपादक

डॉ. रीतेश व्यास



रवि पुरोहित



मरुभूमि शोध संस्थान

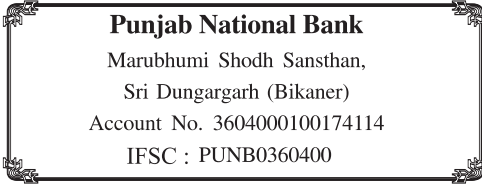
संस्कृति भवन, एन.एच. 11

श्रीडुंगरगढ़ (बीकानेर) राज. 331803



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**जूनी ख्यात** (अर्द्ध वार्षिक) दिसम्बर 1994 ई. से नियमित Print Form में प्रकाशित हो रही है। जून 2019 में 'UGC Care List' (S.N. 220) में सामाजिक-विज्ञान की श्रेणी में सम्मिलित करली गई है। हमारी पत्रिका Online प्रकाशित नहीं होती है।

**जूनी ख्यात** नाम से ही एक फर्जी पत्रिका (Cloned Journal) ऑन लाइन निकाली जा रही है जो हमारे ही ISSN एवं यू.जी.सी. केयर लिस्ट की संख्या को उपयोग में ले रही है। इस सम्बन्ध में **यू.जी.सी.** ने 23-7-2020 को 'Cloned Journal' की एक सूची जारी की है उसमें अन्य पत्रिकाओं के साथ **जूनी ख्यात** का भी नाम है। यह पत्रिका निम्न वेबसाइट पर प्रत्येक विषय के शोध पत्र आमंत्रित करती है।

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हमारी पत्रिका **मरुभूमि शोध संस्थान, श्रीडूंगरगढ़** द्वारा प्रकाशित की जाती है। अब 'नकली पत्रिका' बी.एल. भादानी, संपादक के नाम का भी उपयोग कर रही है जो एक आपराधिक कृत्य है।

इसमें तथाकथित रूप से प्रकाशित आलेख का कोई महत्त्व भी नहीं है। इसलिए शोधार्थियों से सावधान रहने की अपील की जाती है।

**बी.एल. भादानी**  
संपादक

Sl.No.	Journal No.	Title	Publisher	ISSN
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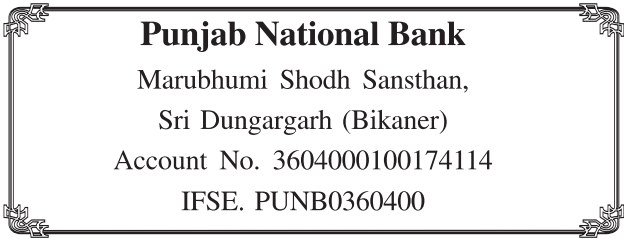
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A half- yearly research journal named Juni Khyat is being regularly published by the Marubhumi Shodh Sansthan Shri Dungargarh (Bikaner), which is featured in the Social Sciences category of the UGC Care List. Its membership fees for ten Years is Rs 5000/-. This increase is applicable from the July- December 2022 issue.

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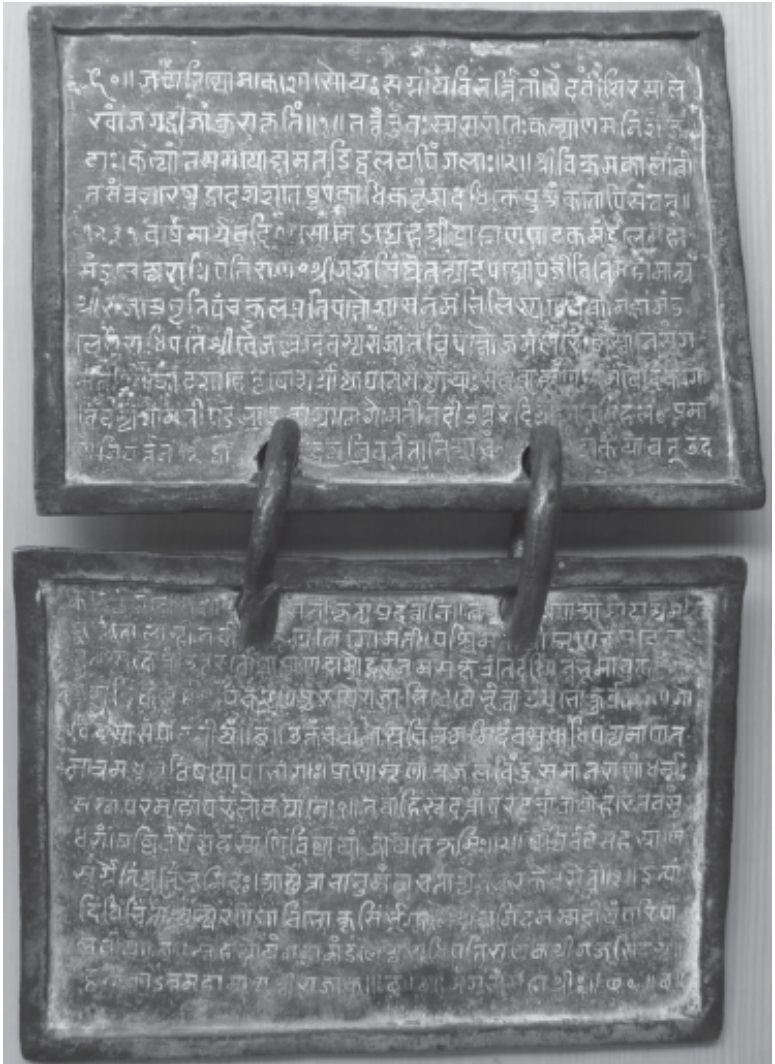
**पुनश्च** : सदस्यता एवं पत्रिका से संबंधित अन्य प्रकार की जानकारियों हेतु प्रबंध संपादक श्री श्याम महर्षि मो. नं. 9414416274 एवं डॉ. रीतेश व्यास मो. नं. 982877455 से संपर्क करने का कष्ट करें।

शोध आलेख संपादक की ईमेल पर भेजें : आलेख के साथ अपना ई मेल पता डाक का पूर्ण पता एवं मोबाइल नंबर का उल्लेख आवश्यक रूप से करें।

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## राजस्थान का एक नवजात ताम्रपत्र

मारवाड़ क्षेत्र का एक ताम्रपत्र मिला है जो विक्रम संवत् 1231 की माघ कृष्णा 9 तिथि, तदनुसार बुधवार, 19 दिसंबर, 1174 का है। इसमें नाडोल के चौहान शासक अल्हणदेव के द्वितीय पुत्र तथा ब्राह्मणपाड़ा के शासक राणक गजसिंह द्वारा पड़ला गांव में एक सामवेदी पंडित गोविंद को भूमिदान करने विवरण उत्कीर्ण है। यह गांव रणकपुर के आसपास का होना चाहिए।



यह दो पत्रों पर उत्कीर्ण है और दोनों पत्रों पर कुल 23 पंक्तियां हैं। यह 19 गुणा 14 सेंटीमीटर आकार का है और इसका वजन कुल 1.226 किलोग्राम है। इसकी भाषा संस्कृत और लिपि देवनागरी है। इस काल की लिपि में ऐ तथा औ की मात्राएं अक्षर के पूर्व में लगाई जाती थीं और आधा म बहुधा बिंदु लगाकर काम में लाया जाता था। [भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला]

यह नवजात ताम्रपत्र महाराष्ट्र के जलगांव जिले के अमलनेर गांव के पुरावस्तु संग्राहक श्री संजय भास्कर विसपुते के संग्रह में है। इसकी सूचना सबसे पहले मित्रवर, भांडारकर प्राच्य विद्या संशोधन मंदिर, पुणे के पंजीयक डॉ. श्रीनन्द बापट ने पिछले वर्ष एक संगोष्ठी में अपने परचे में दी। श्री संजय जी ने पिछले एक वर्ष में कई बार मुझसे आग्रह किया कि मैं इसका वाचन कर कुछ लिखूं। गत दिनों उन्होंने इसके कई चित्र भिजवाएं तो मुझे पढ़ने में सुगमता रही।

इसके वाचन से हमें निम्न सूचनाएं मिलती हैं :

- राजस्थान में ब्राह्मणपाटक, जो बामनपाडा का पूर्व नाम है, 12वीं शताब्दी में एक मंडल क्षेत्र था।
- यहां का महा मंडलेश्वर राणक (चौहान) गजसिंह था जिसके अधीन महामात्य राजाक और पंचकुल (पंचायत) की अच्छी व्यवस्था थी। यह कभी वैजल्लदेव के अधीन थी।
- इसके अधीन जमलखेड़ा के पास संगम तीर्थ (समेलिया) था, यहां वृषोत्सर्ग किया गया तब सामवेदी ब्राह्मण गोविंद को पडलावदा गांव में गोमती नदी की उत्तर दिशा में 4 हल के बराबर (200 बीघा) भूमि दी गई।

यह ताम्रपत्र गुजरात और राजस्थान की तत्कालीन भूमिदान के लेखन की परंपरा के अनुसार लिखा गया है। यथा :

- ताम्रपत्र को भगवान शिव की स्तुति से आरंभ किया गया है।
- इसमें विक्रम संवत् को पहले शब्दों और फिर अंकों में दिया गया है।
- अन्त में भगवान व्यास के वचन के रूप में 3 श्लोकों का प्रयोग किया गया है। ये सब बृहस्पति के धर्मशास्त्र के अनुमोदित हैं और महाभारतादि में भी मिल जाते हैं।
- इस पर राणक गजसिंह के हस्ताक्षर हैं और दूतक के रूप में महामात्य श्रीराजाक का नाम है। आरंभ में 9 के अंक का उपयोग लेखन की सिद्धि, स्वस्ति के रूप में है और समापन पर मंगल कामना है।

इस ताम्रपत्र के पहले पत्र पर 11 पंक्तियां लिखी हैं, इनका पंक्तिवार मूलपाठ इस प्रकार है :

1. 90॥ जयति व्यौमकेशोऽसौ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्तिताम्। ऐंदवी शिरसाले-
2. खां जगद्बीजांकुराकृतिम्॥ 1॥ तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं ज-



3. टाः। कल्पांत समयोद्दाम तडिद्वलय पिंगलाः॥ 2॥ श्रीविक्रमकालाती-
4. त संवत्सरेषु द्वादशशतेषु एकाधिकतृशदधिकेषु अंकतोपि संवत्॥
5. 1231 वर्षे माघ वदि 9 सोमेऽद्येह श्री ब्राह्मणपाटक मंडले महा -
6. मंडले श्वराधिपति राण श्री गजसिंघे तत्पादपद्मोपजीविति महामात्य
7. श्रीराजा प्रभृति पंचकुल प्रति पात्रो शासनमभिलिख्यते तत्रा (?)  
महामंड-
8. लेश्वराधिपति श्री वैजल्लदेवस्य संजात विपत्तौ जमलखेडा खेड़ा स्थाने  
संग-
9. मतीर्थेषु दशाहेवृषशेगोद्यापने सध्वायाः सह ब्राह्मण सामवैदिक गो-
10. विंदस्य गोमती पडलाउदा ग्रामे गोमती नदी उत्तर दिग्भागतभि हल 4 प्रमा
11. णे निवर्तनत् द्वादश निवर्त्तनानि आचन्द्रार्क यावत् यावत् उद-

(दूसरे पत्र पर उत्कीर्ण पाठ)

1. आघाटे चापि क प्रवर्तमानत्व (?) शाशनीकृत्य प्रदत्वानि ॥ तस्या  
आम्नाय अमी -
2. स्व ... तालाव्ही नदी दक्षिणतो गोमती। पश्चिमतो ब्राह्मण जसदेत्
3. सक्षेत्रां उत्तरतो ब्राह्मण दामोदरेनय सक्षेत्रं ते दरिगभूमावुत (?)
4. गुदिकं स... पि करण पुरुषे राजाभिष्वायेर्भूत्वा उपभोक्तु ब्राह्मण गो-
5. विंदस्य संपादनीयं॥ छ॥ उक्तं च वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यं  
आपात
6. मात्रमधुरा विषयोपभोगाः। प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविन्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः
7. सदा पर महो परलोक याने॥1॥ तथाहि—स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा ये हरेत  
वसुं
8. धरां षष्टिर्वर्ष सहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः॥2॥ षष्टिर्वर्ष सहस्राणि
9. स्वर्गे तिष्ठन्ति भूमिदः। आच्छेता चानुमंता च तात्येव नरके वसेत्॥3॥  
इत्या-
10. दि विचिंता अन्यैरपि भाविनोकृसिं भूपाल्ये दानमिदमस्मदीयं परिपा-
11. लनीयं॥ छ॥ स्वहस्तोयं महामंडलेश्वराधिपति राणक श्री गजसिंहस्य॥
12. दूतकोऽत्र महामात्य श्रीराजाक॥ छ॥ छ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः॥ छ छ॥  
छं॥

— डॉ. श्रीकृष्ण 'जुगनू'

जूनी ख्यात का जनवरी-जून, 2024 का अंक अकादमिक दृष्टि से अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण है जिसमें पचास से अधिक शोध आलेख एवं एक समीक्षा आलेख संकलित हैं। इस अंक में प्राचीन इतिहास के प्रारम्भिक काल से लेकर पूर्व मध्यकाल, मध्यकाल एवं आधुनिक काल से सम्बद्ध अंग्रेजी भाषा के शोधपरक आलेख संकलित हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त क्षेत्रीय इतिहास (सिन्ध, खड़गपुर, बंगाल पंजाब एवं राजस्थान) के विभिन्न आयामों पर अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण लेखों को भी स्थान दिया गया है। इनके अतिरिक्त सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं राजनीतिक पहलुओं पर विभिन्न शोधार्थियों एवं शिक्षकों द्वारा शोध आलेख प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं जिनमें नृत्य, मणिपुर में खेल आन्दोलन, पोलो गेम का नृजातीय इतिहास, मानव अधिकार, शहरी विकास में परिवर्तन, साईबर क्राईम, शिक्षा शास्त्र, स्मार्ट सिटी योजना, समकालीन भारत में जेंडर समानता एवं नारी सशक्तिकरण एवं बैंकिंग व्यवस्था जैसे विषयों पर भी आलेखों को स्थान दिया गया है जिससे सामाजिक विज्ञान के विभिन्न विषयों के पाठक एवं शोधार्थी लाभान्वित होंगे। अंग्रेजी के अतिरिक्त हिन्दी माध्यम के बारह एवं एक समीक्षा आलेख सम्मिलित हैं। इसमें भी प्राक् इतिहास, शाक्त प्रतिमाओं, कृषि तकनीक, जनजातियों, वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय, किशनगढ़ चित्र शैली एवं हरिजनोद्धार आदि पर लेख संकलित हैं।

शिक्षा शास्त्र पर लेखों की समीक्षा प्रसिद्ध शिक्षाशास्त्री प्रो. सी.पी.एस. चौहान, भूतपूर्व डीन फैकल्टी ऑफ सोशियल साईन्सेज एवं विभागाध्यक्ष, शिक्षा विभाग, अलीगढ़ मुस्लिम विश्वविद्यालय अलीगढ़ द्वारा की गई। प्राक्-इतिहास एवं प्राचीन इतिहास की समीक्षा प्रो. जीवनसिंह खरकवाल, निदेशक, इन्स्टिट्यूट ऑफ राजस्थान स्टडीज, राजस्थान विद्यापीठ, जनार्दनराय नागर डीम्ड यूनिवर्सिटी, उदयपुर ने की है जबकि छत्तीसगढ़ से सम्बन्धित आलेख प्रोफेसर के.के. अग्रवाल, रविशंकर शुक्ल विश्वविद्यालय, रायपुर द्वारा जांचे गए हैं। डॉ. श्रीकृष्ण 'जुगानू' ने 1174 ई. के नवज्ञात ताम्रपात्र का मूल पाठ एवं उसके मूल बिन्दुओं को उजागर किया है, जिसके लिए उनका आभार। इसके अतिरिक्त श्री महेश कुमार कुमावत, किशनगढ़ ने अपनी राष्ट्रीय पुरस्कार प्राप्त पेंटिंग का पत्रिका के कवर पर उपयोग करने के लिए अनुमति प्रदान की इस हेतु संस्था की ओर से आभार।

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# The Qoutidian Experience Through Terracotta : Chandraketugarh

• Dr. Priyam Barooah

*The present article will be discussing the early-historical terracotta datable to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to around sixth century AD recovered particularly from Chandraketugarh, an urban canter of early Bengal. The site has yielded portable terracotta plaques and figurines. Although the terracotta art in Bengal was produced from the pre-historical phase, the massive scale in which it was produced from the early historical phase signifies an important aspect of transformation to urbanism. These terracotta are excellent specimens of depiction of everyday life or the quotidian. The early historical phase in Bengal signifies a profusion of the terracotta art objects.*

## Article :

Early terracotta from Bengal constitutes a very significant category of archaeological objects and are immensely useful in the reconstruction of the material culture of that particular spatio-temporal context. The site of Chandraketugarh, in particular yields an enormous number and variety of terracotta that 'at times it marginalizes the existence of other sites belonging to the same period'.<sup>1</sup> The variety of representation of themes in the repertoire of Chandraketugarh has been phenomenally overwhelming and portrays unmistakable traces of a city life. Terracotta pieces have been recovered from the early historical sites of Bengal such as Chandraketugarh, Harinarayanpur, Mangalkot, Deulpota, Tamluk, Bangarh, Asurgarh, Natsal, Farakka etc. However terracottas belonging to much earlier periods than the early historical site have been recovered from Pandu Rajar Dhibi. Sites like Panna, Gosaba, Mandirtala etc have yielded terracotta figurines belonging to later

periods ranging from fourth to sixth/seventh centuries AD. However for the purpose of the work we will be discussing the early-historical terracottas datable to 1<sup>st</sup> century AD to around sixth century AD recovered particularly from Chandraketugarh. The site has yielded portable terracotta plaques and figurines. Although the terracotta art in Bengal was produced from the pre- early-historical phase, the massive scale in which it was produced from the early historical phase signifies an important aspect of transformation to urbanism. The early historical phase in Bengal signifies a profusion of the terracotta art objects.

The significance of examining the purpose of producing the terracotta art objects and their respective functions seem to be quite clear. A large number the terracotta objects had ritualistic significance and were in probability associated with some cult practices. Some of the plaques with narrative themes could have used for the purpose of decorating the walls of the houses. Some narrative plaques could have some ritual significance also. Some terracotta figurines were made for the purpose of decoration only which can be inferred from the high sense of aesthetic as well as an attempt at realistic portrayal of the themes. Whatever were the various purposes for the production of the terracottas in a large scale, the most important aspect will be the depiction of the contemporary socio-economic and cultural reality of the region.

Thus the terracotta art of Bengal constitutes a very significant portal to look at the socio-economic and the cultural dynamics of the contemporary 'everyday life'. But most of these were made during a period that is coeval with the Sunga-Saka-Kusana period specially during 2nd to 3rd century AD when Chandraketugarh and Tamralipti were seaports having flourishing trade relations with North and North Western regions of India and the Roman Empire and the concomitant urban influence of these trade relations had a deep impact on the life of the inhabitants of these ports of Bengal.

A difficulty in the study of Chandraketugarh terracottas is their precise dating. Except for pieces found in a particular stratum during the archaeological excavation or for a piece which has been examined under thermo-luminescence test, it is hardly possible to find an exact chronology.

On the basis of techniques employed in manufacturing the terracottas, they may be categorized as hand modelled and moulded varieties. The former were fashioned by pinching the clay by hand and by affixing appliqué decorations on the figure, whereas the latter were generally pressed out of moulds. Early figurines with hand modelled bodies, affixed headdresses and moulded faces gradually gave way to completely moulded terracottas. Both the single and double moulded types have been found in Chandraketurgarh.<sup>2</sup>

Most of these terracottas are portable in nature. It is evident that these were used to decorate the walls of the houses of the people as can be assumed from the holes on the top or back of many of these plaques. However in the case of a decorative purpose the most significant deciding factor would be the aesthetic element. And in case of a ritual significance the most important factor would be to what extent 'the archaic features of the cult object would be left untampered'<sup>3</sup>. The themes depicted in these plaques, are of a distinctive urban culture which in some cases do reveal to some extent a Greco-Roman influence also, as for instance the ornamentations, dress and coiffure depicted in these plaques etc. These are definitive specimens of folk art depicting the different aspects of the everyday life of people. Some of the terracotta plaques and figurines recovered from Chandraketurgarh and Tamralipti may be regarded as excellent pieces of art from the point of view of the artistic style, rendering of human form, expression and themes.

The use of the word 'find spot' is very significant. The sites of West Bengal in most cases have very low visibility. In lower Bengal, specifically in the delta region depositional regime of the river systems have led to the phenomenon of buried sites. In other parts too recent human activity as well as natural causes have affected the character of the sites. Again most of the artefacts do not come from excavation or very controlled excavation. Therefore the contexts of these finds are highly conjectural to this view. Thus, though most of the names listed here are sites, i.e. where past human habitation and activity took place, there are others which

could be secondary deposition or wash-out from other sites.<sup>4</sup>

These terracotta plaques portray voluptuous female figurines with heavy breasts, narrow waists and broad hips. They are adorned with elaborate hairdos decorated with jewelled hair pins and clips. Because of their partial resemblance with the stone statues of the nature spirits in the Sunga and Kusana art, these terracottas are described commonly as *yaksis* and *yaksas*. However this particular nomenclature remains entirely uncorroborated by other evidences and thus it is questionable and problematic as to what extent these figurines were created with an intention to represent these spirits or any other cult practice for that matter. In spite of these uncertainties, the Bengal terracottas under discussion here have long been admired for their animated subject matter and sensuous beauty.

The figurines in the plaques are found in various postures, with attendants or a child, playing a musical instrument, holding a lotus flower, with wings, wearing elaborate head-dresses, etc. thus covering wide and varied depictions and visualizations. These also include small-scale relief panels showing female wearing heavy jewellery standing and surrounded by lotuses, in an ornate pavilion accompanied by attendants holding feathered fans, a parasol and a fish-shaped standard etc. There are also some broken figurines, such as the dancing maiden with an elaborate hairdo gathered in a large bun at the back of her neck who gazes with a finger to one of her large circular earrings.

Among the male terracotta figurines is the portrayal of a demon wearing Roman martial costume, lifting up a resisting female. Enamul Haque suggests that this might represent Ravana's abduction of Sita, a key episode in the Ramayana epic, but this identification can be called tentative at best. Other male figures depict ornate turbans, jewelled waistbands, spears and occasionally feathered wings conform to the more conventional guardian type known in northern Indian art. Moreover a number of terracotta plaques and figurines of parrots, elephants and monkeys, erotic scenes and religious festivals etc,

However most of the terracotta figurines even from excavated sites have been recovered from surface collections. Again from the same level objects of

different time appear as the layers have been disturbed by human and other natural factors. Attempts have been made thus to establish typological chronology for terracotta pieces by comparing them to both contemporary terracotta and stone sculptures of the rest of India...It is however these terracottas from stratigraphically excavated sites of north India which to locate the Bengal terracottas in time. The second method involves comparing with style of stone sculptures from Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathuran and dating accordingly.<sup>5</sup>

Thus as Sima Roy Chowdhury has already contended the alternative way of dating is to assign a tentative date based on comparative evidence of stylistic development.

But on perusal of so large a number of materials from a single site, it has to be pointed out that the coexistence of several styles in the same social context can not be ruled out all. Therefore, the chronological framework although has been mainly determined on stylistic grounds, one cannot be sacrosanct about it. Also, stratigraphically recovered terracottas from the limited excavations were not fully able to sort out the chronological issues. During the excavation at different locations, different cultural sequences were encountered.<sup>6</sup>

## **Various Aspects of Everyday Life Depicted by The Terracotta Plaques and Figurines :**

**Pattern of Contemporary Dressings :** Terracotta plaques and figurines discovered from Bengal depict the pattern of contemporary dressing both of males and females. Following are few of the specimens that will help us in understanding the same.

A plaque depicts a female figurine standing with the left hand on her hips. She wears a high turban and her lower garment is held in place by a triple stringed girdle. Heavy bangles, armlets, anklets and circular earrings adorn the figure, while the upper garment is placed on her shoulder and passed down over her torso. This plaque has been found at Chandraketurgarh and can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>7</sup>

This is an illustration of a plaque in high relief depicting a female figure with a huge turban tilted to one side of her head. Interestingly there is a horn like object attached to her turban. This may be a representation of the 'horn of plenty'. The figure in the plaque has been rendered in minute detail. The feet of the plaque seems to protrude below the plaque thereby imparting a sense of movement. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable between 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>8</sup>

This plaque depicts a female figure with heavy facial features and elaborates tilted headgear. She is clad in diaphanous garments, which make no attempt to conceal her body. Her right hand is touches her earring. This is a very popular motif in the art of the period though the significance is not understood. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>9</sup>

One terracotta plaque portrays a lady within a huge headgear tilted to one side and projections hanging out from it. She is further embellished with a triple stringed girdle, heavy bangles and an ornament running down her torso. She appears to hold the ends of the upper garment in both the hands. It is difficult to ascertain whether this bejewelled lady was an early divinity. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>10</sup>

A female figure wearing a headband and loose hair is hanging down. She wears cylindrical ear ornament. There is an *urna* on her forehead. She also wears floral torque, ornament with a medallion on her chest. There is a perforation between the body and the left hand. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>11</sup>

This plaque is an illustration of a lady with a decorated mirror. Her left hand touches her turban a female attendant stands beside her with a tray on her head the attendant figure holds up a tray full of objects. This is a recurrent motif in the terracotta art of Chandraketurgarh. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>12</sup>

This plaque depicts a male torso in high relief. The figure depicted is adorned in an intricately designed waistband that hangs by his side, while his left hand rests on his waist. The folds of the garment, its texture, the embroidered waist band and the multiple



stringed ornaments that hang down his left shoulder have been depicted in detail with extreme care, a characteristic feature of the moulded plaques of the period. Visibly the figure is reminiscent of contemporary stone sculpture. . It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>13</sup>

This plaque depicts a female figure wearing a dress with thick folds. The upper and the lower garments are undifferentiated with bell shaped tassels hanging at her waist. Broken from the bottom and left corner. It depicts a male figure with his right hand folded in a fist and pressed against his chest. He wears a turban and ear discs. He has a well built body. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> -2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>14</sup>.

Another terracotta plaque is an illustration of a side turban. Chandraketugarh is famous for various types of headgears. Among the male figures, head dresses comprising of asymmetrical side turbans are quite common. The present specimens are rather eroded. Yet it is possible to discern the strands of hair hanging from the head under the turban and the smiling expression of the face. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>15</sup>

. A male figurine is depicted to wear a loin cloth. He has a rounded belly and is standing with legs slightly ajar as if engaged in some kind of an action, Only the middle portion of the figure survives but the overall features suggests that it might be that of a wrestler. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>16</sup>

A small circular plaque portrays a man clad in a pleated dhoti or lower garment and turban. The figure is adorned with armlets, a necklace with a large pendant and heavy bangles. The posture of the dancing figure is rather awkward and plaque with similar stance have been found stratigraphically located in layers pertaining to 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD at Chandraketugarh.<sup>17</sup>

Fragment of a male figure, both arms and body from the waist level are lost. Head slightly tilted to the left. A designed torque and a three-string girdle are the only ornaments. Simply combed hair falls at the back. A circular cap possibly made of straw is placed on the head and he has a rather elongated chest and a prominent naval.

Male torso, fragment, body above the navel and from the knees downwards lost. Appears to be a young nude *Yaksha*, modelled slim body, only three-string girdle and the genitalia is visible.

Standing male figure, fragment, both arms and lower body from about the mid-thigh level lost. Applique plain torque, ear-rings and jewelled headbands combed hair are the only visible ornaments with incised lines on the neck. The lower end of the tunic is marked. The moulded face with pronounced lips, nose and eyes perhaps represented a *Yaksha*.

Male figure, fragment, both arms and the lower body from the mid-thigh level are lost. The figure represents a virile man of strong personality with a wide chest and slender waist. The hair goes behind the head and ends in a knot. One end of a scarf covers the head making a pointed knot on the right; the other end gently falls over the right shoulder. No ornament. Below the prominent navel, an applique waist-band perhaps holds a dhoti. The eyes, nose and the lips feature very boldly on the moulded face. It is remarkable piece of terracotta art. It has been discovered at Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>18</sup>

### **Pattern of Contemporary Male Headdresses :**

Elaborate headdresses were pursued vigorously during the Kushana period. Of the many styles formulated one was a turban with side-knot and decorated with strings of pearls and jewels. This is often projected beyond the head on either side.

Male head, fragmentary, only the head survived. Noblemen or shresthins used this head-gear. The narrow edge of the combed hair can be seen on the forehead below the horizontal layers of cloths. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1st century AD.<sup>19</sup>

Another male head, fragmentary, only the head survived. Like no. 249 but cloths used for the upper portion of the turban is striped and jewelled. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1st century AD.<sup>20</sup>

A fragment showing male head with a turban with side-knot tilted to the left. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>21</sup>

Fragment showing male head wearing ridged cap. It has been wrongly stated to be a female as this type of cap has been used by males only in Chandraketugarh. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>22</sup>

Fragment showing male head-gear with a protrusion over the forehead. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>23</sup>

Fragment showing male head-gear with a conical pouch tilted to the right. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>24</sup>

Fragment showing male turban projected towards left. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century AD.<sup>25</sup>

The present plaque portrays a bejewelled male figure in high relief. The asymmetrical headgear worn on one side of the head is frequently encountered in plaques from Chandraketugarh depicting male figures. Apart from this the figure in question is decorated with two heavy necklaces, a decorated waistband with beads attached to it and bangles. This plaque was found at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries AD.<sup>26</sup>

This is a plaque depicting a standing male figure with left hand on his waist. His right hand holds the sash. He wears a bicornate headdress, ear-disc, bracelets and *channavira*. His lower garment falls to his knees. It has been found at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries AD.<sup>27</sup>

## **Female Headdresses :**

Fragment showing female head with vertical knotted hairdo. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>28</sup>

Fragment showing female head-gear tilted to the left with side-knot. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the c. 1st century BC.<sup>29</sup>

Fragment showing female head-gear with arch-like hair braid

held by fillets on both the sides. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1st century BC.<sup>30</sup>

## **Footwear :**

A terracotta fragment depicts in high relief a pair of feet with sandals and heavy anklets. An attempt has been made to simulate the bends at the ankles by protruding the plaque at the base. A subsidiary or an attendant figure was also present which is evident from the presence of a smaller foot on the right hand corner of the broken plaque. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>31</sup>

A female figure discovered from Chandraketugarh wears sandals in her feet with jewelled straps. It can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>32</sup>

These are four fragments showing a pair of human feet wearing, besides rich beaded anklets, strapped sandals with floral motif.<sup>33</sup>

## **Entertainment :**

In all probability hunting was popular among the elite. This can be assumed from the visual depictions of hunting scenes in the terracotta plaques of early Bengal. Several references of hunting are also available in the contemporary texts like the *Charyapada*. Besides being a source of food and entertainment hunting was also regarded as a masculine sport. Chess was perhaps a very popular sport. Music was, as a form of art and entertainment was popular enough to be regularly featured in the terracotta visuals of early Bengal. Flute players, drummers, singers were perhaps regular features of public entertainment. Singing and dancing during religious festivals and rituals and other such occasions was perhaps common. Some terracotta specimens have been taken below to illustrate the same.

## **Dancing**

A plethora of terracotta plaques depict scenes of dancing. These either portray a single female dancing or a couple dancing. Such mass occurrence of this theme signifies the importance of dancing as a form of art and amusement and its regular occurrence in that life also shows the popularity of the same. Dancing is generally a major aspect of consummate urban taste and lifestyle.

This plaque in low relief depicts a male musician playing a harp or a *vina* and a female dancer accompanying him. It has been discovered from Chandraketurgarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>34</sup> Similar themes in terracotta have been recovered from Tamluk.

There are 11 female figurines, some in fragments, all in dancing postures, present a high degree of sophistication with an extraordinary beauty for their supple volumes and physical grace. The rounded plasticity of the period profoundly enriched the repertoire of the contemporary terracotta art.

Twelve plaques depict mostly a male playing a musical instrument or just watching and a female dancing, occasionally, one attendant helping with food and wine.

This square plaque, neatly bordered with small rosaces placed between parallel lines, depicts a seated musician playing harp while a young female dancer shows her talent by a combination of gestures of hands and legs. The turban and ornaments of the man indicates some status for him, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>35</sup>

This nearly square plaque, weathered, with prominently raised border shows a heavily bejewelled lady seated on a chair with her right foot retracted. A turbaned man, two ends of whose sash around the waist dangles on his bent right leg appears to be playing a musical instrument and approaches the lady to dance, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>36</sup>

Fragment of a plaque depicting a noble playing on a harp, on his left a fertile dancing.

Mutilated oval shaped plaque showing seated noble playing on a harp, female dancing in front of him, on the right a male holding a wine jar, some food kept on a stool.

Fragment showing female dancer accompanied by three female musicians, behind the dancer is a harp.

A number plaques found at Chandraketurgarh depict couple dancing. As for example the following plaques depict dancers.<sup>37</sup>

Fragment showing a couple dancing, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Another mutilated plaque show *Shabara* seated, playing harp and *Shabari* dancing, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Fragment showing lower parts of two dancers on a carpeted floor, both wearing anklets and jingles, 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

One or more male dancers are depicted dancing.<sup>38</sup>

A mutilated plaque showing group of four male dancers, c. 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD;

Another mutilated plaque showing male in dancing pose, ends of *dhoti*, necklaces and *chadar* indicate movements of the body, c. 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.

Another plaque depicts a dancing male figure, with a female on the right.

Mutilated plaque showing a noble seated on a chair, female dancing in front of him wine jar below chair, two architectural columns support the pavillion at the background, 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>39</sup>

A female in *tribhanga* position, lower portion from below the ankles lost. The head at is tilted to the right. The hair, neatly combed and parted in the middle, is made into a big roll on the left. She is adorned with ear-rings, torque, and necklaces with pendants, armlets, bracelets, girdle and anklets. Her right hand dangles and a pitcher is held by the left hand on the hip. A diaphanous sari comes down to her ankles. A spray of rosaces fill the background and a row decorates the border. The theme of this plaque is undoubtedly very traditional as it is also popular with the Bengali artists of today.<sup>40</sup>

The present specimen is a figurine of a seated female has been found at Bangarh. The lady is depicted with her legs stretched out in front, while her eyes and jewellery have been etched out carefully. The small mouth carefully. The small mouth and the distinct gaze are some of the peculiar features of this figurine. A stamped decoration is evident on her chest.<sup>41</sup>

## **Drummers, Both Male and Female :**

Music like dancing is also an inseparable part of urban amusement and cultural ethos. Bengal, particularly Chandraketurgarh has yielded end number of terracotta plaques depicting drummers and musicians. The regular and mass occurrence of this particular type of plaques shows the public preference for the same.

This is the front portion of a female figure playing a drum. The figure is adorned with heavy bangles and two thick necklaces. Another terracotta plaque depicts a rattle in the form of a female drummer. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>42</sup>

Another terracotta plaque depicts a rattle in the form of a female drummer. The figurine has been conceived in the round with a heavy necklace, circular floral earrings and an ornament running through the length of her hair behind the head. The hair is bound in a bunch on her back, which is visible when the figurine is viewed from the back. The figurine is depicted wearing a dhoti-like lower garment, the pleats of which are seen on the rear of the figure. She has been depicted playing the drum placed in front of her. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>43</sup>

A male drummer conceived in the round. The head of the figurine is missing. It has been discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.

Another terracotta male figure of a drummer from an unknown provenance also deserves mention. This seated figure is depicted being seated outstretching his legs.

These are however only few example of the rich number of such plaques which depict different types of entertainment and art forms. The most significant aspect of such visuals is the regular occurrence of women as dancers and drummers. Their regular occurrence in these terracotta plaques and figurines is indicative of the commonness of the visibility of women in public life. This again is a very common feature of urban life.

### **Amorous Couple<sup>44</sup> :**

A plethora of terracotta plaques depict amorous couples. The erotic impact on art and its mass production is conspicuously significant as it shows eroticism turning to be a regular feature of public visuals. And eroticism is a regular theme of urban art embedded in urban taste. The following are few specimens of terracotta plaques depicting amorous couples engaged in intimate love making.

Four plaques, damaged and fragmentary, but together make



out a clear picture of a nobleman (or *shresthi*) intimately caressing the bosom of a lady who in turn embraces her suitor. The incident takes place under a pavilion made with typical octagonal columns with a *ghata*-base placed on a stepped pedestal, bell-shaped capital and ornate brackets supporting a horizontal beam over which semi-circular *gavaksha* expose the ends of parallel rafters. Portions of the lathe-turned furnitures can be seen.

Fragment of a plaque showing amorous couple. He wears no other ornaments except puffy bracelets. The lady has her hair combed and made into a roll hanging behind her back. She wears only a circular ear-ring and a bracelet. Their facial expressions leave no doubt about their moments of enjoyment. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Fragment of a plaque showing amorous couple. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Mutilated plaque showing embracing couple under an elaborate pavilion, topped by a vaulted *chaitya*. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

## Modes of Communication:

Numerous plaques depict visuals of carts, horse drawn chariots and elephants with riders. In pre-industrial cities these vehicular modes were the major means of communication. Where carts were used for movement of commodities and common people, elephants and horses were associated mainly with social and political elites of the time. Following are the specimens that have used from among end number of such plaques to illustrate the contemporary modes of communication.

**Cart** : A fragment of a plaque depicting a cart carrying objects. The wheel is particularly prominent in this terracotta fragment. There are some stamped and appliquéd decorations in the cart. Depictions of carts in fragments of plaques have also been recovered also at Tamluk. It was discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD. <sup>45</sup>

**Elephant With Riders** : A small circular plaque shows three men riding an elephant. The man seated on extreme left is probably turned round to look or throw something behind him. Similar depictions in plaques may be seen in early Kausambi. It has been

discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD<sup>46</sup>:

This is an example of a moulded plaque from Harinarayanpur in South 24 Parganas, depicting two riders on elephant. This is a small plaque and the theme seems to be popular in several sites in southern Bengal and even in sites in northern India such as Kausambi.<sup>47</sup>

Numerous contemporary copper plate inscriptions mention cart-tracks in villages which were definitely the most popular mode of communication for human and transfer of goods and commodities.

**Male Figure Riding With Attendants :** It is a toy cart depicting a central male figure under parasol with two female figures holding either a bow or a sword. There are two other male figures standing behind them. They are riding probably a horse chariot; a tuft of feathers adorns their head. This kind of head ornament is depicted on horses of early historic phase in terracotta as well as in stone. The chariot is drawn at least by three horses. In many ways the composition prefigures the *Surya* image in their evolved forms. The parasol is a clear indication of royal/ divine status of the central figure. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>48</sup> :

**Four Horses Drawing a Chariot :** A fragment of plaque depicting a chariot (not clearly visible) is being drawn by four horses. The horses have been depicted in a leaping posture. The plaque is badly damaged and hence prevents further interpretation. It is interesting to note that a plaque from Mathura depicting a chariot drawn by seven horses has been assigned to Gupta period on stylistic grounds. Yet another fragment of plaque has been reported depicting a chariot drawn by four horses with two persons in the vehicle. The later plaque may have been derived from Chandraketugarh or Kasaumbi. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> century-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>49</sup>

This terracotta piece in round portrays a horse with its rider.<sup>50</sup> It was discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.

This circular plaque is remarkable in its depiction of a horse in the center and several representations of composite animals on the border.<sup>51</sup>

A wheeled figure of a horse conceived and rendered in the round.<sup>52</sup> It was found at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC- 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

Apart from all these there many other depictions of the horse in these terracotta plaques.

Numerous inscriptional references are available that speak about contemporary modes of communication. Chittagong copper-plate inscription of Damodara<sup>53</sup> (c. 1243 AD) refers to highways (*rajapatha*) and cattle track. Naihati copper-plate inscription of Vallalaseña<sup>54</sup> (c. 1160-1178 AD) refers to dwelling places, canals and cart tracks. Faridpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Dharmaditya<sup>55</sup> (c. 540-560 AD) refers to cart track, lake and post to fasten boats.

## Hunting Scenes

Hunting scene was a popular theme at Chandraketugarh and numerous plaques discovered at Chandraketugarh depict hunting scenes. The question that arises is that in an urban context like that of Chandraketugarh hunting is not a common experience as hunting does not happen within the city perimeters. What one can infer from here is that hunting could have been a favourite pass time of some of the well to do city dwellers which also might be suggestive of the existence of a hunting ground around Chandraketugarh. For the purpose of the work two such specimens have taken to illustrate the same.

This plaque portrays a hunting scene. It depicts a man with an *ankusa* (or goad) riding an elephant, while a deer races before them. The vibrant nature of depiction of entire hunting episode is remarkable in such small terracotta plaque. The dating in the present instance has been done by comparing this with a similar plaque discovered from an excavation at Chandraketugarh. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>56</sup>

The present plaque depicts an antelope and a hyena like creature being chased by a tusker. The intricate details of the

foliage have been rendered with care. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>57</sup>

The present plaque depicts an antelope and a hyena like creature being chased by a tusker. The intricate details of the foliage have been rendered with care. It has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to 1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>58</sup>

### **A Rare Plaque Depicting An Everyday Life Household Scene:**

The plaque shows a male figure with pole on his shoulder. A squarish object held by rope on two ends hangs from the pole. He wears a loin cloth. He holds the pole with his left hand. His right hand is raised to his cheek in a thoughtful gesture. A female figure, bent low, holds up a cup. Her hair is tied in a tuft on one side. She wears ear ornaments and bracelets. A pot with a spout on a *chulha* (oven), a large storage jar and a basket can be seen in background. This is one of the rare plaques that depict a scene from daily life. It was discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>59</sup>

### **Depiction of Urban Elites:**

This is a plaque with slightly convex top and much thicker than average plaque of this period (1.4 cm). It is well fired. It depicts a male figure playing lyre. He wears a turban, earrings, torque, bracelets and lower garment with a thick sash. His left leg is folded and right leg is on a foot stool. He is holding the lyre in his left hand. The female figure is seen dancing in his left. Her hair is probably done in trefoil coiffure the right side of which is damaged. She wears a torque, necklace and earrings, bracelets, girdle. Between these figures is a low stool with probably a dish on a stand and some object on them. There is a hut like structure behind her. To the extreme right of the plaque there are two monkeys. One possibly holding the parasol which is visible over its and the man's head. The other is seated at the feet of the man and probably pressing his leg. It was discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>60</sup>

This is an illustration of a lady with a decorated mirror. Her left hand touches her turban. A female attendant stands beside her with a tray on her head. The attendant figure holds up a tray full of

objects. This is a recurrent motif in the terracotta art of Chandraketugarh. This plaque was discovered from Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>61</sup> This particular plaque very successfully visualises the contrasts between the figures of the lady (who possibly belonged to a higher socio-economic class) and her attendant, where the attendant is portrayed as lower in position and size.

The fragment of a plaque represents a female attendant figure holding an ornate mirror for the principal figure. The multiple stringed necklaces of the latter are visible above the mirror. The headgear of the attendant figure shaped like a cock (*kukkuta*) is interesting and strings of beads hangs from it. The surface of the headgear is decorated with arch and pellets motifs arranged at regular intervals. The attendant figure is further depicted wearing bracelets, armlets and three stringed necklaces. As remarked earlier, the attendant figure holds a circular mirror mounted on a stand. An extant mould depicting a similar attendant figure with a bird shaped headgear is preserved in Ashmolean Museum. That the principal figure is female divinity is evident from this terracotta mould of a female divinity with ten auspicious hairpins accompanied by an attendant with a bird shaped headdress and carrying a mirror in her head. It was found at Chandraketugarh and can be dated to 1<sup>st</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD.<sup>62</sup>

This is a tiny fragment of terracotta plaque depicting a male figure holding a decorated mirror. This attendant figure or divinity whose hands are seen resting on be jewelled mirror. Interestingly similar attendant figurines carrying mirrors that have been recovered from Chandraketugarh are generally women. The present is a male figure adorned with earrings and necklace both with floral motif. The present plaque is greatly damaged but it was originally delineated in high relief. It can be dated to the period 1<sup>st</sup> - 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D. <sup>63</sup>

This plaque depicts a male torso in high relief. The figure depicted is adorned in an intricately designed waistband that hangs by his side, while his left hand rests on his waist. The folds of the garment, its texture, the embroidered waistband and the multiple stringed ornament that hangs down his left shoulder have been depicted in detail with extreme care. This terracotta plaque has been discovered at Chandraketugarh and is datable to the 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup>

centuries AD.<sup>64</sup> This plaque depicts the contemporary pattern of dressing among the higher class and the urban taste.

In most of these plaques, the figures are bedecked with ornaments and they are engaged in decorating themselves or looking themselves at the mirror. Some of these figures are also accompanied by a, attendant figure. This shows a refined urban idiom.

This is an interesting plaque showing probably consumption of wine which is essentially an urban scenario. Only the male figure of this plaque is preserved. He holds a cup in his right hand and points at it with his left hand. His face is half turned towards the woman to his right. Her left leg is preserved and folds of her dress are partly visible. The man wears a lopsided turban, thick torque, sleeved upper garment, thick sash round his waist and the thin folds of his lower garment are also visible.<sup>65</sup>

## **Skin Rubber**

The one side of the skin rubber depicts a *triratna* symbol placed on a wheel, which is again placed on pedestal. Besides this structure is an animal, either a duck or a deer. The wheel is decorated with floral motif. The reverse of the plaque too is decorated with striated lines.<sup>66</sup>

One side of this skin rubber shows lotus with leaves on either sides. The opposite side consists of lines following the shape gradually reducing in size the last one represented by just a line. The four sides are different-serrated lines, hatched triangles, squarish hatched, rectangular unclear motif. It is hollow inside with nodules like rattle. The surface is dark grey and smooth.<sup>67</sup>

## **Material Remains of Contemporary Ritual Life :**

Material culture, rituals and everyday life are woven together to form the cultural contexts of the artefacts, their features and configuration of the sites that one studies. To understand the material use of ritual culture one has to understand and come in terms of the rituals specific to that place and also in what ways it is distinguishable from the everyday life of that culture and what types of artefacts appear and figure in both rituals and everyday life of that culture.

Archaeology has traditionally conceptualized the relationship among material culture, ritual and everyday life based on

differentiation. Ritual is something special, unique and separate from everyday life<sup>68</sup>. Rituals are performed in special places and use special equipment. Thus the material culture of rituals is identifiable by distinguishing from everyday life artefacts. The special nature of archaeological remnants of rituals can be identified with the help of Renfrew's list of 'archaeological indicators of ritual'<sup>69</sup> includes special places or buildings, special movable equipment, cult images, offerings or other material objects, identifiable because they are brought to that particular place with specific ritual purpose and the association with a deity or deities may be reflected in the cult images, the ritualistic symbols will often relate iconographically to the deities worshipped, great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure or the building. Renfrew's criteria are valuable for recognizing ritual in some contexts. The emphasis on the special nature of ritual sites and objects reinforces the understanding of how everyday life can be differentiated from rituals.

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# State Formation Under the Somavaṁśīs (10th – 12th Century CE) : An Epigraphic Study

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*The early kings of the Somavaṁśī dynasty referred to their dynasty as Pāṇḍuvaṁśī, while the later members of the royal family called themselves Somavaṁśīs. The Somavaṁśīs, who succeeded the Bhaumakaras, rose to power in the Dakṣiṇa Kośala region after the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs. This paper attempts to reconstruct the settlement-pattern under the Somavaṁśīs through a study of their inscriptions, and aims at provide an understanding of the interaction of physical and human geography, as reflected in the changing nature of settlement-patterns, both rural and urban, and their political organization through time.*

**Key Words:** *deśa, maṇḍala, khaṇḍa or viṣaya, and bhukti*

The last known ruler of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī dynasty was Mahāsivagupta Bālārjuna, after whom the history of Dakṣiṇa Kośala is obscure till the rise of the Somavaṁśīs with their capital in the Sonepur region of Orissa. The exact relation of the early Somavaṁśīs with the later Somavaṁśīs is not clear. The period generally assigned to the early Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs is 7th -8th centuries CE and to the later Somavaṁśīs is 10th-12th centuries CE.<sup>1</sup> The early Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs were well established as a ruling clan and described themselves as belonging to the lineage of Pāṇḍu and later as Somavaṁśīs or belonging to the family/lineage of Moon in their inscriptions. This shows that they clearly asserted their Kṣatriya status though no such claim was put forward by the Śarabhapurīyas. Whatever may have been their origin, the fact that these two ruling families asserted the identity of Dakṣiṇa Kośala as a separate region cannot be overlooked. It is difficult to trace the origin of the Somavaṁśī dynasty of Kośala due to insufficient information

given in their epigraphic records. However, the word 'Somavamśā' would it self suggest that the dynasty belonged to the family of Soma or the Moon. Besides, the copper-plate grants of the dynasty clearly mention them as belonging to the family of the Moon.<sup>2</sup> Bina Kumari Sharma (1983)<sup>3</sup> traces the history of the Pāṇḍuvamśīs or Somavamśīs ruling over Kośala and Mahākośala from their capital at Śrīpura, and reconstructs the hierarchy of their territorial-cum-administrative units like maṇḍala, viṣaya, khaṇḍa, bhukti, bhoga, pāṭaka, nagaī or pūra and grāma.

## **Features of Somavamśī Inscriptions : An Overview**

The 36 inscriptions of the Somavamśīs that have been discovered so far include copper-plates and stone inscriptions, issued by different rulers of the dynasty and their subordinate rulers. Most of the copper-plate grants are Somavamśī official charters. We find the names of 13 rulers, but we cannot ascertain exactly their relationship with one another and also the order of succession because in some of their charters we get only their surnames and we do not have any idea about their real names, and often one name was borne by more than one king<sup>4</sup> and one king bore more than one name.

About 40 per cent of all inscriptions that mention the issuers' names, i.e. 14 out of 35<sup>5</sup>, belongs to one ruler, viz. Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. The second largest cluster of 12 inscriptions, constituting about 33 per cent of all inscriptions, belongs to two rulers, Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyotakesarī, each having 6 inscriptions. Thus, all these inscriptions can be broadly classified into those belonging to Mahābhavagupta I's period and those to post- Mahābhavagupta I period.

An overwhelming number (27) and percentage (84) of inscriptions (32) that mention the place of issue, were issued from five places: Yayātinagara (8), Suvarṇapura (6), Vinītapura (6), Ārāma (5), and Mūraśima (5). Of these, Mūraśima may have been the capital at some point of time, since it is described as rājdhānī in an inscription (no. XXXV) dated to regnal year 12 of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya. However, the city Yayātinagara, which was possibly named after ruler Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti and appears for the first time in his Patna plate inscription (no. XVI) dated to regnal year 24, also seems to have been a seat of power of the Somavamśīs, since it is mentioned as the place of issue in about 8 inscriptions. Further, issuing inscriptions from the camp appears to have been a

fairly common practice throughout the Somavaṁśī period. Camp appears as many as 13 times in the inscriptions as the place of issue. Charters are said to have been issued from camps at Suvarṇapura (2), Mūraśima (2), Ārāma (4), Vinītapura (4) and Kisarakella (1).

The Somavaṁśī rule had a modest beginning around Suvarṇapura in Kośala or the present-day Sonepur town in Bolangir district, Odisha. In the early-stage till about the end of the 9th century, they remained confined to that region and its neighbourhood. By the later part of the 9th century, they conquered Khinjali maṇḍala and subsequently extended their sway over the coastal part of the Bhaumakara territory.<sup>6</sup> In due course they brought the whole of Kośala, Oḍra, Utkala, Kongoda and Kaliṅga under their control. Thus, the Somavaṁśīs at the height of their power controlled almost the entire area that constitutes the present state of Odisha along with adjacent region of the present-day Medinapore district of West Bengal. For the first time a supra regional polity had been forged bringing together several sub-divisions, a process which was started by the Bhaumakaras during the 8th-10th centuries.

A number of settlements, including donated villages figure in the Somavaṁśī inscriptions. Which help us define the political geography of their kingdoms. A total of 115 settlements are mentioned and can be classified into the following categories: such as deśa, maṇḍala, khaṇḍa, viṣaya, bhukti, place of issue of grants, donee's village, and donated village. The 'unclassified' settlements are mostly those from which the donees had emigrated from; many of these were located outside the Somavaṁśī domain. The figure of 115 has been arrived at after (1) avoiding double-counting names that appear in more than one category (viz. Suvarṇapura, Jambuḡrāma, Kamalapura, Hastipada); and (2) excluding territorial units outside the Somavaṁśī domain (e.g., Madhyadeśa<sup>7</sup>). Of these, the names of 11 settlements that can be identified as being outside the Somavaṁśī domain such as Hastipada; Takāri/ Takkāri; Palasa in Tīrabhukti maṇḍala; Śāluvi, Śrīvalla, Hastigrāma and Madhura in Madhyadeśa; and Muktvāthi, Kāsili/ Kāsīlī, Mahuvāli in Śrāvastī maṇḍala may also be excluded so that we arrive at the number 105

The Somavaṁśī kingdom was divided into several administrative units, of which deśa appears to be the largest unit, an equivalent of province. We come across references to deśas named Oḍra, Utkala, Kongoda, Kośala and Kaliṅga in the inscriptions; of these Kośala happens to be the most frequently mentioned deśa.

In the earlier and the last phases of their rule, the members of the Somavamśī dynasty divided their kingdom into two main units, which were two provinces, viz. Kośala plus Oḍra or Utkala plus Kośala, for administrative purposes.<sup>8</sup> This is evident from the copper-plate inscriptions of Yayāti I issued in his 8th, 15th and 24th regnal years, and from the Narasimhapur Charter of Udyotakesarī. New territories were added with the expansion of the Somavamśī power. It is clear from the Banpur plates that the Somavamśī kingdom of the time comprised the regions of Kaliṅga, Oḍra and Kośala. During the time of Yayāti II the Somavamśī kingdom was divided into four main units, probably the regions of Kaliṅga, Kongoda, Utkala and Kośala.

After a province, maṇḍala constituted the next largest administrative unit. It corresponds to either a district or a province in the modern sense.<sup>9</sup> The Somavamśī inscriptions reveal that a maṇḍala was bigger in area than a khaṇḍa or viṣaya. We find from the inscriptions of this period references to eight maṇḍalas in the Somavamśī kingdom, viz., Gandhaṭapāṭi, Śīdāṇḍā, Gandharavāḍi, Kongoda, Airāvatta, Rongaḍā, Koleda and Sangama. The Nibinna plates mention Uttarapallī situated in the Gandhatapati-maṇḍala.<sup>10</sup> The mention of Uttarapallī suggests that there must have been a settlement known as Dakṣiṇapallī.

The next unit in the Somavamśī administration was viṣaya, equivalent to a modern-day district.<sup>11</sup> In the inscriptions of the Somavamśīs and their sāmantas we come across about 19 viṣayas, viz. Oṅgātata, Potā, Kaśalōḍā, Nimunā, Povā, Sandānā or Sammāni, Tokkāṛā, Naditata, Gaṇḍitama, Sanūlā, Maraḍa, Telātata, Kosalasākhaṅgadyanha, Antaruda, Ungāḍa, Uttaravallī, Thorāṇa, Lāvaḍā, and Devībhoga.

Under the viṣaya was the next territorial unit, viz. khaṇḍa, an equivalent of present-day sub-division of a district.<sup>12</sup> We get the names of about nine khaṇḍas or sub-divisions from the inscriptions. Some of the identifiable khaṇḍas are Abhaparā, Santonartā, Sarāva, Brahme Aṭṭhāvīsa, Kesalogā, Saghāṛtakhallā, Yamalā, Lupattarā and Tulumva.

We come across the word bhukti which denotes a certain territorial division under the Somavamśīs in the Mahākosala Historical Society Plates of Mahābhavagupta,<sup>13</sup> which record the gift of the village Pātilinjira situated in the bhukti of Pṛthura. Reference to words such as Tira bhukti and the like found in the records. They are made in connection with the places of migration



of the donees. It seems that a bhukti during the Somavamśī rule denoted a small district. It also seems that the word bhukti denoting a certain territory was not popular with the Somavamśīs, since we do not find frequent references to this word from their inscriptions.<sup>14</sup>

The lowest unit of administration under the Somavamśīs was grāma or village. We have three types of references to villages. The first type, the villages donated to the Brāhmaṇas were Centre's of activity in the kingdom. They were provided to the Brāhmaṇas and were also the source of legitimacy for the Somavamśī kings.

The identification of the donated villages mentioned in the charters shows that the majority of the Brāhmaṇa donees were settled mainly in the eastern part of Kośala. Further, Madhyadeśa and Śrāvastī maṇḍala were main centres of emigration. Other less important places of emigration were Rāḍha, Gauḍa and Tirabhukti maṇḍala. We can also trace a pattern and design underlying the donations through the abovementioned villages. Almost all the villages mentioned in the Somavamśī donative charters between 880 CE and 930 CE are situated in and around Bolangir district. Even subsequent to their territorial expansion and the unification of their sub-regional kingdom in the upper Mahanadi valley with the coastal territories of the Bhaumakaras and their feudatories' states, the Bolangir locality continued to attract their attention. During 930-1120 CE the Somavamśīs made more than 20 grants, a large number of which was concentrated in western Odisha, especially in Bolangir and Bargarh districts. One may add that the donated villages represented only a fragment of rural settlements during the time, and we need to factor that in.

Śrīpura was the capital of the early Somavamśī kings of Kośala, but after its occupation by the Kalacuris of Dahala, the Somavamśīs shifted their base to the eastern part of the modern Sambalpur-Sonepur region and gradually occupied the whole of Odisha. It is evident from the records of the period that they did not have any permanent capital as their charters were issued from different places like Suvarṇapura, Mūraśima, Vinītapura, Yayātinagara, etc. The earliest known record of the dynasty was issued by Janamejaya I in his 3rd regnal year from Suvarṇapura. From the sixth to the 17th regnal year Murasima was the royal residence from where the Kalibhana, Nagpur and Patna Museum plates were issued. Then we see him issuing his charters from 17th to the 31st year of his reign from a place known as Vijayakataka. His son Yayāti I made

Vinītapura his capital and resided there upto his 15th regnal year. This Vinītapura has been identified with Binka, a small town on the Mahanadi River.<sup>15</sup> Thereafter, in all records of the dynasty except one or two, Yayātinagara figures as the royal residence of the Somavamśīs. From his 15th year Yayāti I shifted his capital to a new place and named it after himself as Yayātinagara.

## Conclusion

From the Somavamśī inscriptions, it can be inferred that the administration had taken a definite shape. The kingdom had a certain hierarchy of administrative units and a large number of officials, though the powers and functions of many of these are not clear to us. A range of grandiloquent royal titles assumed by Somavamśī rulers attest attempts to valorize and legitimize their kingship. Some of the titles such as mahārājādhirāja imply the existence of petty rulers (rājās) and intermediaries (sāmantas) accepting their suzerainty, while others such as kosalādhipati and trikaliṅgādhipati indicate their claim to overlordship of Kośala and Kaliṅga; and still others such as paramā-maheśvara, parama-bhaṭṭāraka, parameśvara were part of a long-standing, well-established repertoire of royal images used by rulers of several earlier dynasties. References to kings conferring titles on officials also indicate a tendency towards the concentration of royal power, though certain posts may have tended to be hereditary. Official titles suggest different hierarchies of officials. While some titles prefixed with mahā (e.g., mahā-sāndhivigraha, mahā-akṣapatalika) indicate the existence of subordinates, others (e.g., maṇḍala-pati, viṣaya-pati, khaṇḍa-pati) indicate a certain correspondence with the hierarchy of administrative units. Still other titles such as raṇakā and sāmanta suggest the existence of a probably pre-existing stratum of powerful local landed intermediaries who were co-opted in the civil and military administration, though such titles may also have been occasionally bestowed on officials for their exemplary service to the king. Titles such as rājaputra and rājavallabha indicate the administrative association of members of royal or noble families as 'royal favorites'. Vertical penetration of the coercive power of state is suggested by titles of officers with some kind of police functions such as daṇḍapāśika, vetrika, piśuna, āsika, cāṭa and bhaṭa. The Somavamśī inscriptions show that several offices from earlier times such as those of samāharṭr, sannidhāṭr and dūtaka continued to exist. The process of regional state formation in Odisha under the Somavamśīs was accelerated by the growth of an elaborate administrative apparatus and aggrandizement and legitimation of royal power, together with

continuous agrarian expansion through large-scale land-grants and consequent territorial integration. This process was also cemented by extensive royal patronage to Brāhmanical cults, especially those of Viṣṇu and Śiva, through the construction of temples and land-grants to the Brāhmaṇas.

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# The Power of Paritta

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*The paritta-chanting ceremonies are widely popular in the Theravāda Buddhist countries like Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos and so on. It is believed that parittas protect the people from evil spirits, misfortune and other hostile circumstances. And bring peace, prosperity and well-being to the individual and society both. It is the aim of this paper to examine the real source of the power of parittas.*

**Keywords :** *paritta, saccakiriya, kilesas, kusala-kammas*

Abbreviation : Aṅguttara-Nikāya (A); Dīgha-Nikāya (D); Majjhima-Nikāya (M); Milindapañho (Mil.); Saṃyutta-Nikāya (S); Sutta-Nipāta (Sn); Dhammapada (Dhp)

## (I) Introduction

The Pāli term paritta (Skt. Paritrāṇa, Siṃhala Pirit) means “protection”, “defence”, or “safeguard”. The Pāli Nikāyas contain several short suttas and hymns that were recognized as parittas in the post canonical literature. It is said that the Buddha recommended it as a protective measure against various kinds of troubles and dangers. The Milinda-pañho, a text written most probably during 1st century BCE, mentions six parittas: the Ratana Sutta, the Khandha-parittā, the Mora-parittā, the Dhajagga-parittā, the Āṭānāṭṭiya-parittā and the Aṅgulimāla-parittā (Mil. 151-2). In the Theravāda tradition of Sri Lanka, there is a compilation named “the Book of Protection” (Parittam) containing “the peacock’s hymns and sermons of a similar character taken from the Tipiṭaka” (Childers 1875: 347). Even though there are “several versions” of such compilation (loc. cit.), but there is no much difference between them. In the Paritta-chanting ceremonies, the hymns and suttas of these books are recited publically. These ceremonies are widely popular in the Theravāda Buddhist countries like Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia,

Laos, and Myanmar etc. It is said that the paritta-recital averts “the influences of evil spirits (amanussa, yakkha, bhūta etc)” (loc. cit.); and “bring good luck” (Kalupahana 1992: 225). As such, it promotes happiness and welfare of individuals and society alike. It guarantees the protection from several dangers and harmful influences. It is believed among the Buddhist populace that paritta recital brings both material and spiritual wellbeing.

The Buddha was the greatest opponent of all kind of orthodoxies, irrationalities and vain ceremonies. Buddhism is the religion of rationality and scientific temperament. It is the path of meditation and mindfulness. Considering all this, at first instance, these parittas seem at odd with the Dhamma, whose prime focus is on the cultivation of wisdom (paññā). As such, there arise several confusions and misunderstandings about the nature of the paritta and paritta-chanting ceremonies. But if we dive deep into the matter, it becomes clear that parittas contain nothing contrary to the spirit of the Dhamma. The parittas are not like the ‘mantras’ or ‘spells’ of theistic religions: there is nothing in the parittas which can be taken as irrational, magical and supernatural, as the terms are generally understood. This paper thus aims at understanding the meaning and nature of the paritta as per the Theravāda texts. For this, the paper analyses some of the highly esteemed parittas in the Theravāda tradition.

## **(II) Some Prominent Parittas: A Discussion**

### **(1) The Āṭānāṭiya Paritta**

This paritta is related to the time when the Buddha was residing in Rājagaha (Rājagṛha) at Vulture’s Peak (Gijjhakūṭe Pabbate). At that time, when the night was coming to an end, a group of yakkhas, headed by their king Vessavaṇa, approached him (D III 194). After saluting the Buddha, king Vessavaṇa told him that even though some of the yakkhas have faith in the teachings of the Lord, but the majority of them have no faith (D III.194). And the reason behind this, according to the yakkha-king is as follows: “The Blessed Lord teaches a code of refraining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, from lying speech, and from strong drink and from sloth producing drugs. But the majority of yakkhas do not refrain from these things, and to do so is distasteful and unpleasant to them” (D III.195). The yakkhas’

resentment is quite understandable. The Buddha's moral teachings were not suiting their way of life. For most of the yakkhas, to follow these teachings were not so easy.

King Vessavaṇa told the Buddha that many of his bhikkhus were residing in the forest for peaceful meditative retreats. At that place, some prominent yakkhas, who have no faith in the Lord's teachings, were also residing. Those yakkhas may harm the bhikkhus residing there. The yakkha-king suggested the Buddha that those bhikkhus should learn "Āṭānāṭā protective verses" (āṭānāṭiyam rakkham) for their safety and security (D III.195). The king told that if they learn these verses, any of the yakkhas, gandhabbas, kumbhandas, and nāgas will never harm them (D III.203). After saying this, the king presented the Buddha a rakkha "protective charm" containing verses on the Buddha's praise, as a protective measure for the bhikkhus. The Buddha agreed to the king's suggestion. In the morning, he told this whole incident to the bhikkhus. And advised them to learn and memorize these verses well: "Monks, you should learn these Āṭānāṭā protective verses, master them and remember them. They are for your benefit, and through them monks and nuns, male and female lay followers may dwell guarded, protected, unharmed and at ease" (D III.206). ["Uggaṇhātha bhikkhave āṭānāṭiyam rakkham, pariyāpuṇātha bhikkhave āṭānāṭiyam rakkham, dhāreth bhikkhave āṭānāṭiyam rakkham, atthasamhitā'yam bhikkhave āṭānāṭiyā rakkhā bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ upāsakānaṃ upāsikānaṃ guttiyā rakkhāya avihiṃsāya phāsu-vihārāyāti", D III.206]. It does not mean however that the Buddha had the belief in the 'magical' power of dhāraṇīs, parittas or mantras. However, the confidence acquired by the recitation of these beautiful Pāli stanzas, endowed with the truth of dhamma, cannot be denied. As such, he did not oppose the yakkha-king's suggestion.

## (2) Aṅgulimāla-Paritta

This paritta is related to the time, when Aṅgulimāla has abandoned the life of a cruel bandit to follow the path of Arhats. The lord Buddha has done this miracle to happen. Once, Aṅgulimāla was wandering for alms, in the morning, from house to house in Sāvattihī. On that occasion, "he saw a certain woman giving birth to a deformed child" ("itthim muḥhagabbham visātagabbham disvān", M II.102-03). On seeing this, there arises a deep feeling

of compassion in him. And he exclaimed: “How beings are afflicted! Indeed, how beings are afflicted!” (“kilissanti vata bho sattā; kilissanti vata bho sattā ti”: M II. 102-03). Aṅgulimāla told this incident to the Buddha. The latter advised him to go to that woman and proclaim an asseveration of truth like this: “Sister, since I was born, I do not recall that I have ever intentionally deprived a living being of life. By this truth, may you be well and may your infant be well!” (“yato ahaṃ bhagini, jāto nābhijānāmi sañcicca pāṇaṃ jīvitaṃ voropetā; tena saccena sotthi te hotu, sotthi gabbhassāti”: M II.103). But Aṅgulimāla hesitated, rightly, since he was perfectly aware that he had murdered many persons before becoming a bhikkhu. Needless to say that such proclamation would be a deliberate lie. The Buddha knows all that very well of course. As such, he advised him again to say these words to that woman: “Sister, since I was born with the noble birth, I do not recall that I have ever intentionally deprived a living being of life. By this truth, may you be well and may your infant be well!” (“yato ahaṃ bhagini ariyāya jātiyā jāto nābhijānāmi sañcicca pāṇaṃ jīvitaṃ voropetā; tena saccena sotthi te hotu sotthi gabbhassāti”, M II.103). Ironically, this statement came from the person, who had murdered many human beings (Kalupahana 1992: 226). Such a statement “shifted her physical pain to something totally different” (loc. cit.). Obviously, that might have lessened her pain. In the views of people, the “therapeutic effect of such a psychological transformation” is often considered to be “magical effect of meditation” (loc. cit.). Kalupahana’s explanation should be understood in the light of the Buddhist conception of “mind-matter” (nāma-rūpa). Buddhism does not believe in the rigid dichotomy of ‘mind’ and ‘matter’. As such, both have the power to impact each other. In above discussed sutta, Aṅgulimāla’s asseveration of truth worked as a shock therapy to the woman suffering from the labour pain. That is, her radical psychological transformation might have impacted her physical body: consequently, releasing her from pain.

If Aṅgulimāla had announced the first statement to that woman, it would not have been effective. It is so because the first statement was absolutely false. But the second statement was effective, since it was not contrary to dhamma. After realizing the truth of dhamma, Aṅgulimāla was not the same person as before. He has eradicated all his moral defilements. Therefore, his claim of the noble birth

(ariyāya jātiya) was absolutely true. Aṅgulimāla's asseveration of truth made the woman and her child healthy, since his statement was backed by the power of truth. In the Papañcasūdanī, the commentary on the Majjhima-Nikāya, Buddhaghosa explains the claim of Aṅgulimāla, and its impact, as follows: "sabbaññubuddhassa ariyassa ariyāya jātiyā jāto ti saccakiriyaṃ akāsi. Saha saccavacanena eva dhammakarakato mutta-udakaṃ viya dāraako nikkhami, mātā puttānaṃ sotthi ahoṣi" (Aṅgulimālasuttavaṇṇanā: p, 337). Indeed, now, Aṅgulimāla was of the noble birth: "Birth is destroyed, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more coming to any state of being. And venerable Aṅgulimāla become one of the Arahants" ("khīṇa jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāyāti abbhaññāsi: aññataro kho paṇ'āyasmā Aṅgulimālo arahataṃ ahoṣi", M II.103-04). Buddhism has always been against the birth-based caste system. It does not believe in the permanency of caste: whatever the birth-based caste of Aṅgulimāla may be, but after the eradication of kilesas, he was an arhat. Therefore his asseveration of truth to that woman has produced a desired effect. It seems that such kind of examples paved the way for more elaborate paritta rituals of later times.

### (3) Ahi-Mettā-Sutta (Khandha Paritta)

This paritta is related to the time when the Buddha was residing in Sāvattihī, at Jetavana, in the Anāthapiṇḍaka's monastery (A II.72). At that time, a certain bhikkhu has died due to the snake bite. A group of bhikkhus then went to the Buddha to seek advice on the incident. They told the whole matter to him, and asked what to do to protect themselves from such calamities. The Buddha advised them to practice mettā-bhāvanā, that is "development or increase of friendliness and goodwill toward all living beings" (Childers 1875:246), toward the snakes to protect themselves from their danger. He says: "I enjoin you, bhikkhus, to pervade these four royal families of snakes with a mind of loving kindness, for your own security, safety and protection" ("anujānami bhikkhave imāni cattāri ahirājakulāni mettena cittaena pharituṃ attagutiyaṃ attarakkhāya attaparittāyati", A II.72). As is evident, the power of paritta here comes from the feeling of good-will toward the others. A true feeling of love and gratitude toward all the living creatures, to never harm them at any cost, is the real power of the paritta here. This honest and sincere attitude is expressed in this sutta as follows:



“May all beings, all living things, all creatures, everyone;  
Meet with good fortune, may nothing bad come to anyone”.  
“Sabbe sattā sabbe paṇā sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā;  
Sabbe bhadrāni passantu mā kañci pāpaṃ āgamāti” (A II.73)

As is evident, the Buddha’s noble approach was quite different from the approach of lesser mortals. His approach was based on this eternal truth that: “Hatred never cease through hatred in this world; Through love alone they cease. This is an eternal law” (“Na hi verena verāni— sammantī’ dha kudācanacaṃ; Averena ca sammanti— esa dhammo sanantano”, Dhammapada 5). We cannot find a single paritta in the Buddhist texts in which this law is superseded. The compassion is the heart of all the teachings of the Buddha. As such, Buddhist paritta can only be employed as a protective measure: it cannot be employed as a destructive tool.

#### **(4) Maṅgala Sutta Paritta**

This paritta is related to the time when the Buddha was residing in Sāvathī, at Jetavan, in the Anāthapiṇḍaka’s monastery (Khuddaka-pāṭha, p. 313-4). On a certain occasion, some celestial beings approached the Buddha and asked, what the greatest blessings (maṅgalam uttamaṃ) are. The Buddha told them that doing kusala-kammas, disciplining one’s mind, speaking kind and true words, to serve parents, to nourish one’s family properly and to follow the path of righteousness etc. are the greatest blessings (loc. cit.). No one can deny the efficacy of these teachings. Those who follow these teachings will remain safe and guarded of course: by the power of the dhamma, by the power of the truth. The recitation of the maṅgala-sutta, as a paritta, motivates the reciter and listener both to follow the path of righteousness: the path which is beneficial to individual and society both.

#### **(5) Ratana Sutta Paritta**

The Ratana Sutta (Khuddakapāṭha, 2: Suttanipāta, 46) shed light on the excellent qualities of the Buddha, the Dhamma and Saṅgha (“the Three Jewels”). No one can deny that learning and reciting the qualities of these Three Jewels inspire the beings to follow the path of righteousness. In this sutta, the celestial beings are requested to protect and guard the human beings, who pay offerings to them day and night. The Khuddakapāṭha says: “Tasmā hi bhūtā

nisāmetha sabbe, mettaṃ karoth mānusiya pajāya; divā ca ratto ca haranti ye balim, tasmā hi ne rakkhatha appamattā” (p. 317). The power and efficacy of this sutta is mentioned in the Khuddakapāṭha. The whole incident was as follows:

Once, the city of Vesālī was afflicted by a severe famine (Khuddakapāṭha, p. 316-7). A lot of poor folks died due to this: and, the city was full of rotten corpses. Due to which, the whole of the city becomes the dwelling place of the evil spirits. The people of the Vesālī then went to the Buddha to seek advice on this matter. At their request, he came to Vesālī. With the auspicious coming of the Buddha, a heavy rainfall occurred. And, the whole environment of the city becomes clean and pure. Buddha then delivered the discourse on the Ratana Sutta. And, ordered Ānanda that “he should tour the city with the Licchavi citizens reciting the discourse as mark of protection to the people of Vesali” (Piyadassi Thera 1999: 36). [“imam ānanda ratanasuttam uggahetvā balikammupakaraṇāni gahetvā Licchavirājakumārehi saddhim vesāliya tipākārantare vacaranto parittam karohi”, Paramatthajotika, p. 164] The unselfish concern for welfare of all the beings, without excluding anyone, not even those who harm us, create such an environment, in which even hostile, troublesome and evil forces can be changed into the friendly allies.

The Buddha was absolutely against all kind of superstitious rites and rituals. As such, it is quite impossible, that bhikkhu saṅgha, the custodian of the Buddha’s teachings, would like to perform any kind of superstitious, miracle claiming, ceremony. The Ratana Sutta praises the saṅgha that it “has cast off these three sins, vanity and doubt and the practice of vain ceremonies” (Khuddakapāṭha, p. 317). This sutta criticizing the “vain ceremonies” is recited in the paritta ceremonies. This means that the paritta ceremony is not like the māntric recitation ceremony of theistic religions claiming that their mantras are endowed with the supernatural power. The path of the Buddha is not for miracle-mongers.

During paritta ceremony, one listen the Buddha’s words explaining the advantages of kusala-kammas and disadvantages of akusala-kammas. All this induce the beings to follow the path of truth and morality. The Dhamma and its truthfulness is the real strength of the paritta. Therefore, every stanza of the Ratana-sutta ends with the proclamation showing the power and efficacy

of truth: “etena saccena suvatthi hotu” (“May this truth brings prosperity”). Like other suttas selected for the paritta-recital, this sutta too contains nothing which can be called magical, miraculous and superstitious. In this sutta, we find the Buddha and his desanā, the dhamma and its truthfulness, the saṅgha and its righteous way. Their remembrance inspires the beings to follow a right path: the path which is conducive to peace, prosperity and happiness.

## (6) Karaṇīya Mettā Sutta Paritta

The Buddha delivered this discourse when he was residing in the city of Sāvattihī [the whole incident is explained in the Khuddakapāṭha-aṭṭhakathā: Piyadassi Thera 1999]. At that time, a certain group of bhikkhus went to the forest, during vassā-vāsa, for solitary retreat. Since the forest was far from noisy environment, it was perfect for meditative contemplations. However, there was a problem. In the night, tree deities came down on the earth from the trees. But with the coming of the bhikkhus they were disturbed. Obviously, they get offended. Thus in order to expel the bhikkhus from there, they began frightening them by various means. In such circumstances, bhikkhus have not been able to concentrate for meditations. The bhikkhus then went to the Buddha to seek advice on this matter: “thereupon the Buddha instructed this sutta and advised their return equipped with this sutta for their protection” (Piyadassi Thera 1999: 41). The tree deities were pleased due to the attitude of good-will and friendliness shown by the bhikkhus. After that, they never created any kind of troubles for them. They were “affected by this power of love” (loc. cit.). However, this love is backed, not by passions and emotions, but by superior wisdom and true understanding of existence. The ‘power of love’ is limitless indeed: it has the ability to transform hostile opponents into the benevolent friends.

## (7) Moraparitta

This paritta is taken from the Jātaka No. 159 (morajātaka). This Jātaka tells the story about the bodhisatta (Skt., bodhisattva) when he was the “golden peacock” (suvanṇamora) (Jātaka 159 in the Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, trans. revised by Ānandajoti Bhikkhu 2023). In the heart of the queen of the king of Benares has arisen a wish to listen the Dhamma-discourse from the golden peacock. In order to fulfil her desire, the king summoned the hunters to catch the peacock.

Thus, ordered by the king, many hunters tried to trap the peacock but no one succeed in the endeavour. The unfortunate queen died in the despair and disappointment. Long afterwards, a hunter finds the secret of the peacock's safeguard. He observed that whenever the peacock went out of his dwelling in the search of food, he always recites a paritta. In fact, he "is said to have secured immunity from danger by reciting the beautiful stanzas in which he invokes the protection of sun god, the Arhats and the Buddhas" (Childers 1875: 347). After reciting the paritta, even if he walks on the snare, it doesn't open up, due to the power of paritta. After knowing the secret, the hunter trained a peahen, which can cry and dance on the snapping of his fingers and clapping of his hands respectively (Jātaka-Aṭṭhakathā, p. 690). Now, on the next day, the hunter set out the snare on the ground, at which the peacock was going to search his food. When the peacock comes out of his dwelling, and was going to recite the paritta, the hunter "made the peahen utter a cry" at the snap of his fingers (p. 690). The peacock was mesmerised: "This unwonted sound—the female's note— woke desire in the peacock's breast; leaving his charm unsaid, he came toward her; and was caught in the net" ("Moro visabhāgaṃ mātuḡāmasaddaṃ sutvā kilesāturo hutvā parittaṃ kātuṃ asakkuṇṭivā gantvā pāse bajjhi", Jātaka, vol. II, p. 690). The peacock was well guarded and protected till he was free from moral defilements (kilesas). In other words, the paritta-recital was protecting him till the time he was sīlavāna. But the time he deviated from the path of morality, with the arising of the sensual desire (kāmacchanda), he was caught. Buddhist commentators were not ready to guarantee the protection of paritta to those who abandoned the path of morality. It was not possible: one have to reap the fruits of his kamma. The golden peacock deviates from the sikkhāpadaṃ, "kāmesu-micchācārā". As such, it was logical that he was caught: the paritta only protects those who follow the path of dhamma.

### (III) When Parittas are Not Efficacious: Bhikkhu Nāgasena's response to King Milinda

The Milindapañho mentions a very enlightening dialogue between the king Milinda and Bhikkhu Nāgasena, about the efficacy of paritta. The king asked Bhikkhu Nāgasena, that on the one hand, the Buddha maintains that there is no place in this whole world, at

which a person can hide himself from the snare of death. That is, the death is inevitable: there is no way to escape from it. The king quotes the Buddha (Mil. 150) [Rhys Davids rightly identified that quotation is from the Dhammapada, 127-8]:

“Not in the sky, not in the ocean’s midst, not in the most secluded mountain cleft,

Not in the whole wide world is found the spot, where standing one could escape the snare of death”.

“Na antalikkhe, na samuddamajjhe, na pabbatānaṃ vivaraṃ pavissa,

Na vijjati so jagatipadeso, yattha-ṭṭhito muñceyya Maccupāsā ti”.

On the other hand, however, the Buddha prescribed the paritta as a protective measure for the beings (Mil. 150-1). The king then argued that if death is inevitable and there is no way to escape from its snare, then paritta would be ineffective and useless (Mil. 151). And, if paritta has the power to guard and protect living beings, then the Buddha’s first statement [that there is no way to escape from the snare of death], would be incorrect (loc. cit.). Responding the king Milinda, Bhikkhu Nāgasena proclaimed that both the declarations of the Buddha are perfectly correct. He argues that it is true that the paritta has the power to protect the beings from several dangers, including life threatening dangers. But, it is “only meant for those who have some portions of their life yet to run, who are full of age, and restrain themselves from evils of karma” (“parittā ca Bhagava tā uddiṭṭhā; Tañ ca pana sāvase sāyukassa vayasampannessa apetakammāvaraṇassa”, Mil. 151). But “there is no ceremony or artificial means for prolonging the life of one whose allotted span of existence has come to an end” (Mil. 151). (“natthi mahārāja khīṇāyukassa ṭṭhiyā kiriya vā upakammo vā”, Mil. 151). Nāgasena further explains it by an analogy. He states that how much water one may pour on the dry stick of wood, it cannot be green. In the same way, if one has completed his/her allotted life span, no ‘medicine’, ‘artificial mean’ or ‘paritta’ can prolong it (Mil. 151). Milinda then asked the Bhikkhu Nāgasena: Is paritta efficacious for all? He replied: “To some, Not to others” (“Ekacce mahārāja rakkhati, ekacce na rakkhatī”, Mil. 153). Nāgasena then explains it by the

analogy of food. He states that even though food is a life-nourishing thing, but under certain circumstances it can be life-destroying too. That is, food is not always a life-nourishing, life-saving, thing. In the same way, even though paritta has the power to protect beings, but not always. Bhikkhu Nāgasena states that there can be three reasons behind the failures of a paritta: “the obstruction of karma, and of sin, and of unbelief” (“kammāvaraṇena, kilesāvaraṇena, asaddahanatāya”, Mil. 153-4). So the paritta loses its power due the faults of the beings: “That pirit which is a protection to beings loses its protective power by acts done by those beings themselves” (“sattānurakkhaṇaṃ mahārāja parittaṃ attanā katena ārakkhaṇaṃ jahati”, Mil. 153-4). The paritta does not guarantee the ‘miraculous’ protection like the mantra or spell of theistic religions. Buddhism does not lull you into the false promise of security. What you sow, you have to reap: everyone is responsible for his/her action. Those who are afflicted by moral defilements (kilesas) should not expect safeguard of paritta. In order to seek protection of paritta, first, one should extinguish his/her kilesas. The paritta is only for those who follow the path of righteousness.

(1) Kammāvaraṇa (“obstructions of karma”): The doctrine of kamma (karma) is one of the core teachings of Buddhism. Every action produces result: good action produces good result; bad action produces bad result. One has to reap the fruits of his/her kamma, either good or bad, depending on the nature of action. The paritta cannot supersede the laws of kamma. The Buddhist parittas are not like the brāhmaṇical mantras, which are said to be endowed with supernatural power. The Buddha never claimed that the paritta has miraculous power, in the sense of mantras of the theistic religions. The suttas selected for the paritta-recital are those which teach the path of dhamma to the beings. Those who hear, learn and recite these teachings would certainly be inspired, to follow the right path. We cannot find a single example in the Buddhist texts in which the doers of the akusala-karmas have been granted the protection of the paritta. Such a thing is not possible in Buddhism. In all the famous parittas mentioned in the Theravāda texts, the paritta is shown protecting only those who are the practitioners of the kusala-karmas.

However, the doctrine of karma should not be understood in isolation. There are the “five universal laws” (Pañca-Niyāmas)

which have the power to impact this whole world, both organic and inorganic. The pañca-niyāmas are as follows: “(i) Utu Niyāma: physical inorganic order (e.g. seasons), (ii) Bija Niyāma: physical organic order, order of germs and seeds, (iii) Kamma Niyāma: order of action and result (actions produce results), (iv) Citta Niyāma: order of mind or psychic law (e.g. process of consciousness), (v) Dhamma Niyāma: order of the norm (e.g. gravitation)” [Ven. Balangoda Ānanda Maitreya Thero in *Introducing Buddhism*].

It’s true that the doctrine karma is too powerful, but this organic and inorganic world has other rules too. And, they have the power to impact the life of a person. Considering the multifaceted complexities of existence, as mentioned above, doctrine of karma cannot be understood properly if we separate it from the pañca-niyāmas. In the same way, paritta cannot be understood properly if we separate it from the kamma-niyāma, as such other niyāmas too. So, we should try to understand the power of paritta, remembering the power of these five niyāmas too.

(2) Kilesāvaraṇa: The second cause of the failure of a paritta is kilesāvaraṇa, “the obstruction of sin”. We should try to understand this term properly. The kilesa (Skt., kleśa) means “sin, depravity, corruption, human passion, moral defilement, lust” etc. (Childers 1875: 203). According to the Theravādin tradition, the ten kilesas are “lobho, doso, moho, māno, diṭṭhi, vicikicchā, thīṇam, uddhaccaṃ, ahirikā, anottappaṃ, desire, hate, ignorance, vanity, heresy, doubt, sloth, arrogance, shamelessness, hardness of heart” (loc. cit.). These kilesas are “the cause of sinful actions” (loc. cit.). The paritta guard and protect only those persons who are free from these moral defilements. In order to safeguard oneself, one has to follow the path of morality. It is for this reason, sīla is considered to be first of the three constituent parts of the Dhamma-maggo (sīla, samādhi, and paññā). A person living a life of immorality should not wish the protection of paritta. One has to face the consequences of his/her immoral acts. Paritta does not guarantees protection to those who do not refrain from akusala-kammās. In other words, the eradication of moral defilements is a precondition to get the benefits of the paritta-recital.

(3) Asaddahanatāya (“obstruction of unbelief”): The third cause of the failure of the paritta is asaddhā, “the absence of saddhā”. The term saddhā is generally rendered in English as “faith” or “belief”.

But it must be kept in mind that Buddhist saddhā has nothing to do with the faith/belief of theistic religions. It is not like that. In Buddhism, there is no place of blind faith (Rahula 1959; see also Kalama Sutta, A 3.65). Rahula maintains: “saddhā is not ‘faith’ as such, but rather confidence born out of conviction” (1959: 8). One should realize, rather actualize, the truth of Dhamma by his own efforts. One should make the truth of Dhamma his own. Then afterwards, the confidence that generates towards the Buddha and his Dhamma is what the saddhā means. If one does not have such kind of saddhā, the paritta would be inefficacious for him/her.

#### **(IV) Conclusion**

(1) The belief in the so-called ‘rakṣaṇa mantras’ have always been a prevalent phenomenon among the people of the South Asia. Of course, Buddhist masses were not exception. The eradication of this deep rooted custom was not feasible. Therefore, it seems, parittas were accepted as a substitute, to satisfy the Buddhist populace. Buddhism never tried to suppress popular practices, especially if they were harmless. In fact, Buddhism assimilated and accommodated many of them, thereby enriching herself. Thus, despite having rational outlook, we find in Buddhism, throughout its history, assimilation of various popular practices. Buddhist philosophy accepts that people have emotional and psychological needs too. Their acceptance and employment, under the guidance of Dhamma, is of course a more in-genuine approach than their exclusion and suppression. Thus parittas coordinate between the “religious need of laypeople” and “the educational intents of monks” (Green 2004: 72). The paritta is an effort to bridge the gap between the highly subtle ‘deep’ and ‘difficult’ dhamma and aspiration of the ordinary masses inclined more toward the worldly benefits than dhamma. Buddhist scholar monks, as the custodian and upholder of the dhamma, skilfully employ parittas to bring the people in the fold of dhamma. The purpose of course is to show the path of dhamma to the people. For those, who don’t understand Pāli, parittas may be like mysterious mantras endowed with the supernatural power. But those who understand the suttas knows very well that parittas are another way of delivering dhamma to the people. The hymns and suttas selected for the paritta-recitation contain nothing which can be called magical, mysterious, and miraculous: instead, they consist of the teachings of the Buddha focussing on the sīla, samādhi, and paññā.



(2) Some scholars compare ‘paritta recital’ with ‘mantra recital’, in the sense that they are endowed with miraculous and mysterious powers. However, the comparison is misleading in the views of most of the Buddhist commentators. Childers asserts: “The term Exorcism with which it has been labelled, is a ridiculous misnomer” (1875: 347). Ven. Piyadassi Thera asserts that these paritta-suttas are “not ‘rakshana mantras’ or protective incantations found in Brahmanic religion, nor are they magical rites. That is, there is nothing mystical in them” (1999: 15). Green also states that “the characterization of paritta chant as magical spell” is not adequate (2004: 72). So, it must be kept in mind that the parittas in Buddhism are not like the ‘spell’, ‘charm’ or ‘rakṣaṇa mantras’ [claiming to be endowed with supernatural power] of theistic religions. In Buddhism, it is believed that the power and efficacy of parittas, dhāraṇīs and mantras [not to be confused with the brāhmaṇical mantras] are not due to any ‘magical’ or ‘mystical’ component in them. According to Lama Govinda, “Mantras do not act on account of their own ‘magic’ nature, but only through the mind that experiences them. They do not possess any power of their own; they are only the means for concentrating already existing forces” (1987: 27-8). That is, they “are means for fixing the mind upon an idea, a vision or an experience gained in meditation” (Ibid: 32). No one can deny that only a concentrated mind can understand the true nature of existence. Only such a mind can see the “truth as it is”. Indeed, a concentrated mind has unlimited power.

Buddhist parittas do not claim any kind of ‘supernatural power’. Instead, they impart knowledge and wisdom. They motivate the beings to live a life of morality and wisdom. They inspire the beings to work for the kalyāṇa of others. Nevertheless, the parittas are efficacious. And, there are four reasons behind it, according to Ven. Piyadassi Thera (1999: 17-19): (i) “The power of Truth”: since, paritta recital is a “saccakiriya”, thus it always concludes with the words, “etena sacca vajjena sotti te hotu sabbada” (“By the power of the truth of these words may you ever be well”). No one can deny that truth always protects its’ upholders. (“dhammo have rakkhati dhammacarin”). (ii) “The Power of Virtue”: Sīla is the first among the three main pillars of Dhamma, namely sīla, samādhi, and paññā. Thus, most of the paritta suttas instruct to follow a path of virtues. And, our experience tells us that virtuous life protects us from many unwholesome mental and physical states. (iii) “The Power of Love”:

No one can deny that with the practice of unselfish love, one can change the heart and mind of his opponents and enemies, however hostile they may be. Thus, the paritta suttas recommend exercising friendly attitude toward all the beings of this world. (iv) “The Power of Sound”: the pleasing chanting sound of the Pāli suttas brings the peace and calmness of mind, which in turn positively impacts the ‘body’ too. This is well illustrated by Kalupahana. He has explained a paritta chanting ceremony of Sri Lanka as follows (Kalupahana 1992): The chanting generally commences in the evening in a normal tone. However, after midnight it becomes very loud producing “agitation” in the minds of the audience. Consequently, due to fear, they dare not to leave the premise. Afterwards, chanting tone becomes normal again (Ibid: 227). At the closing of the chanting ceremony, the people experience peace, tranquillity, and happiness. The resultant “psychological transformation” of course acts as “an antidote” to many mental and physical disturbances (loc. cit.). To sum, the parittas are efficacious indeed. But their power and efficacy are not due to any kind of mystical component in them: the power of the paritta is backed by the dhamma and its trustworthiness. The paritta protects beings not by any kind of magical power, but by bringing them in the fold of dhamma, by showing them the right way, by inspiring them to live a life of wisdom and morality and so on. For the Buddhists, the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha are the real protection. And the paritta is a way to invoke, to remember, to show gratitude, to pay homage, to seek blessing and to seek protection from these three forces.

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# The Contribution of the Sufis of Bihar in the Development of Hindustani Language during the Sultanate Period

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*The Sufis' engagement with diverse segments of society, encompassing both Muslims and non-Muslims, coupled with their vision of humanity as an integral facet of life, bestowed upon them a distinctive role within their communities. This interaction offers valuable insights into the prevailing conditions of their era. When delving into the Sufis of Bihar, it is imperative to extend our considerations to include the Sufis of Bengal. Numerous Sufi figures are closely associated with both Bihar and Bengal. Moreover, to comprehend the connection between the Sufis of Bihar and those of other regions, it is essential to explore texts dedicated to Sufi personalities from various centres. This exploration allows us to identify commonalities and disparities in their ideas and approaches. This paper endeavours to draw upon information found in major Sufi texts such as Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad and Khair-ul-Majalis. A distinctive feature of the Sufis was their use of language accessible to the masses, and their gathering places, known as jamat khanas and khanqas, were open to everyone. Individuals from all walks of life sought solace and guidance from the Sufis to alleviate the challenges they faced in their daily existence. This inclusive approach to socialization provided the Sufis with a platform from which they could easily engage with various societal strata. Leveraging this advantageous position, they endeavoured to bridge the gap between religious orthodoxy and the spirituality centred on faith and devotion.*

Bihar and Bengal were the prominent centers where Sufism evolved and flourished as an alternate spiritual discourse. An

examination of the extant Sufi literature from these regions reveals numerous instances highlighting the inclusive and open-minded approach of the mystic saints in Bihar, particularly in their interactions with non-Muslims. This inclusive ethos was a defining characteristic shared by many Sufis. A notable illustration of this tolerance is found in an anecdote concerning Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri. The compiler of *Gang-i-la Yafna* once asked him whether God would take charity distributed by a disbeliever into account. In typical Sufi fashion, he replied in the affirmative. Language played a crucial role as a conduit facilitating the Sufis' engagement with non-Muslims, and their significant contributions to its promotion are evident. Especially in North and East India, the endorsement of the native non-Persian language by Sufis played a pivotal role in the development of *khariboli* or *Hindustani*.

The Sufis consistently employed the language of the common masses in their interactions, with their *jamatkhanas* and *khanqas* open to everyone for assistance and redressal of their day-to-day issues. Individuals from diverse classes and castes approached the Sufis, seeking relief from the challenges they faced in their daily lives. This inclusive approach to socialization provided the Sufis with a platform to easily engage with people from different walks of life, aiming to bridge the gap between religious orthodoxy and the path of faith and devotion. Ibn-i-Battuta, while discussing Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi, noted that both Hindu and Muslim inhabitants of Sythal regularly visited the Sheikh, along with presents and gifts<sup>1</sup>.

The Sufi approach to God emphasized the intuitive importance of love as a pathway to spiritual achievement. Ahmad Chiramposh (1372/73 AD) expressed this idea through verses, highlighting the significance of love as an essential feature in the path of mysticism. He asserted that love serves as the true guide, free from the constraints of faith and infidelity (*Ishqrarahnumayakedidam; kemunazzah ze kufr-o-din didam*). Another verse emphasized that love is a guiding force present in all religions, transcending the boundaries of infidelity and faith (*Ishqshudrahbar-i-hamadinha; ishqba kufr-o-din qareendidam*). At another instance he also clarifies the all-encompassing vision that the Sufis had of the cosmos in relation to its creator: “*darmazhab-i-ma dui nagunjad; ma jumlajahanyakeshumarem*.” (There is no room for duality in our religion; we take the totality of the world as one)<sup>2</sup>.

Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia extensively discussed the synthesis that Sufis sought to bring into the understanding of God. He observed that every nation had its own way, faith, and *qibla*. This notion was reaffirmed by Hazrat Ahmad Chiramposh, a fourteenth-century Sufi Saint from Amber (Bihar), who composed verses emphasizing the essential oneness of faith.<sup>3</sup>In one of his *ghazals*, he urged to regard all faiths as one, emphasizing the limitless nature of divinity. To him, faith and infidelity were indistinguishable, and he distanced himself from affiliations with any specific community, religion, or sect. In his view, the paths of firm faith and reality could converge, symbolized by the unity of the Kaaba and the idol temple.

In the spiritual realm of enlightened and impassioned holy men, I solemnly affirm that faith and infidelity share a common essence. If the journey of steadfast belief converges with the path of reality, and the Kaaba and the idol temple meld into a singular entity - consider it confirmed by me. I am not one who seeks either admonition or reward. The practices of the magi or fire worshipper, Christian paganism, or Islam - I now hold them all in equal esteem. In the grand evaluation, distinctions between infidelity and faith, the beliefs of the faithful, and the practices of Christians lose significance<sup>4</sup>.

In Sufi literature, numerous Indian words such as *Khat*, *Bhat*, *Khirkhi*, *Khillr* (betel leaf), *Thakkar*, *Jigri* (*Kajri*), *Phul*, *Champa*, *Munj*, *Chapper*, *Do-chapra*, *Dola*, *Langauti*, etc., are abundantly found. What's more significant is that these words were incorporated into everyday conversations. From the outset, the Sufis recognized the importance of learning the regional languages to engage freely with the people in their own vernacular. Hindu expressions and exclamations occasionally made their way into the *mal-fuzats* and *maktubat* of that era. The *Mal-fuzat* of Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, *Ma-din-ul-Maani*, recounts a *Majlis* where Jalaluddin Multani noted the similarity of a *Hindvi* poet's words. Upon hearing the quote "*bat bhali par sankr*", the saint replied, "*des bhala par dur*"<sup>5</sup>.Hamid Qalandar in *Khair-ul-Majalis* also highlights the usage of *Hindvi* expressions. An intriguing incident shedding light on the evolution of an enriched local dialect involves Rashid Pandit, a busy merchant in his shop. When his slave girl brought his meal from his house, he instructed her in *Hindvi*: *rah rah*(wait a little)<sup>6</sup>.Another instance of *Hindvi* usage occurred during the *dastar-bandi* ceremony of Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia. Ali Maula exclaimed in *Hindvi*: "*are maulana*" (Alauddin) "*yah bada hose*"

(oh Maulana, he will be a great man). Maulana also remarked in *Hindvi*: “*jo munda so bandha so paenna pare*” (one who has the turban bound on his head cannot stoop low)<sup>7</sup>.

The Sufi saints displayed a profound familiarity with local dialects and a penchant for employing many Hindi *dohas* in their *malfuzat* and *maktubat*, underscoring their comfort with regional languages. Shams Muzaffar Balkhi’s *maktubat* frequently incorporate Hindi *dohas*, and an account reveals that Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri was moved by a roving yogi’s *doha* song played on a *kamancha* (a one-stringed instrument). Tears welled in the saint’s eyes as the fiddler tuned a *doha*: *ekatkandibedhebhootar-bharkikayen-chintaheen Man ichchamarantalahimahaven* (The perfume seller pervades the universe. If one loves and meditates upon him, worries dissipate, death occurs according to desires, and the soul becomes absorbed in love)<sup>8</sup>.

Sufism, as it developed in Bihar, played a pivotal role in a cultural synthesis within the artistic realm. S. A. A. Rizvi notes that from the thirteenth century onwards, Hindu mystical songs were integrated into *sama* gatherings, and many accomplished musicians were recent converts to Islam. The confluence is exemplified by Sheikh Ahmad from Nakarwal in Gujarat, a skilled performer of *Hindvi* ragas who retained his Hindu name after conversion<sup>9</sup>. Ahmad is believed to have been a disciple of Fakir Madho, the Imam of Jami Mosque in Ajmer. Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri and his successors held a deep affinity for *sama*, sung in *Persian* or *Hindvi* by *qawwals*. During a *majlis* attended by Amir Musa Mahjub, brother of *sipahsalar* Shahabuddin Kobi, the sweet tongued *khanjan* was permitted to recite verses from Attar’s *Asrar Nama*.

The saint’s keen attention to the enriching nuances achieved by the mingling of different musical forms is also documented. During a gathering in the Ambar Khana, twelve *qawwals* opened the *sama* after prayer, transitioning from *Hindvi* to *farodast*. The saint observed that while *farodast* employed *similes* and *metaphors*, *Hindvi* expressions were often open, loose, and exciting. He expressed concern about the potential mischief bred by loose and exciting expressions in *Hindvi*, especially in the presence of young men incapable of grasping the spiritual implications<sup>10</sup>. Similarly, Syed GesuDaraz acknowledged the unique characteristics of each language. According to him, *Hindvi* was unparalleled in effectively



expressing intricate esoteric ideas, and *Hindvi* music possessed a subtle and elegant quality that penetrated the heart, arousing humility and gentleness<sup>11</sup>.

Despite their strict adherence to the laws of *shariah* and orthodox practices, the Sufis refrained from criticizing the religion, mythology, and folklore of Hindus. Instead, they cultivated a broad-minded attitude, especially after gaining insight into the essence of Hinduism through *Hindvi* verses. At times, they incorporated verses from Hindi poems into their religious sermons in their *khanqas*<sup>12</sup>. Badauni's reference indicates that Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud-din Waiz Rabbani occasionally recited verses from *Chandayan* of Mulla Daud, depicting the love story of Lorik and Chanda. When asked about his preference for *Hindvi* verses, the saint explained that the entire collection was replete with divine and pleasing themes<sup>13</sup>.

Malik Mohammad Jaisi, well-versed in *Vedanta*, was known for frequently alluding to Hindu Gods and Goddesses. These instances underscore the significant role Sufis played in the evolution and promotion of *Hindvi* or *Hindustani*. Even the verses composed by Sufis emphasized the essential unity between both traditions. The Sufi poet Qutban not only wrote in the local language but was also fully conversant in Hindu mythology. He had neither contempt nor prejudice for the Hindu scriptures and mythology.

In the realm of theology, the Sufis favoured a mystic and spiritual interpretation of Quranic law over a mere liberal understanding. They viewed the service of God's creatures and the fulfilment of responsibilities toward fellow beings as crucial elements of their discipline. In their pursuit, they disregarded their personal desires to foster universal amiability, transcending considerations of caste and creed. Liberated from the confines of colour and race, the Sufis consistently championed the cause of humanity. Their approach centred on gentle persuasion, exemplified through their character, conduct, and devotion, rather than relying on the force of argument and dialectic to sway others to their viewpoint. The *Ain-ul-Quazzat* was often quoted by the Sufis to substantiate that all religions, or at least most of them, were in essence the same. However, as Muslims they were quite conscious of their duty, which was to show others what they considered to be the shortest, straightest, smoothest and the safest path<sup>14</sup>.

The Sufi saints consistently extended their help to others without any distinction, exemplified by an incident during the annual *urs* (death anniversary) of Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri. On this occasion, a Hindu sought the blessings of Hazrat Hussain Balkhi in the presence of Badh Kotwal and others. The saint instructed Badh Kotwal to persuade the *diwani* officials not to levy fees or taxes (*mursum*) from the Hindu individual. Following the interaction, the saint reflected, “Infidelity and faith, orthodoxy and hearsay are all technical terms of differentiation, for after all there is no such thing as absolute opposition or antagonism; these are relative terms. All are God’s creatures<sup>15</sup>.” This inclination to synthesize diverse approaches to God, while adhering to the fundamental precepts of Islam, formed the basis of the Sufis’ mission to unite different communities. Nizamuddin Aulia, guided by this vision, prioritized faith over religion. In discussing the Hindu faith, he recounted a story of a wealthy Brahman who, despite losing all his wealth due to a heavy fine imposed by the chief magistrate, found contentment in retaining his ritual thread<sup>16</sup>.

The Sufis in Bihar were thus successful in establishing close links with the masses, both Muslims and non-Muslims. Consequently, they became extremely influential spokesmen for Islam. Their impact on Islamization was significant, as they spread its precepts throughout the country through their exemplary character and gentle persuasion. S.H. Askari asserts that, contrary to the *mullahs*, it was the Sufis who proved to be the most effective missionaries of Islam. The mystic literature from Bihar attests to the role of Sufis in the process of conversion<sup>17</sup>, highlighting their liberal attitude, consciousness of social and moral propriety, and commitment to righteous action as driving forces behind this transformative shift.

It is obvious that asemiotic interpretation of mysticism found such a great deal of favour with the Indian mind. Conversion of non-Muslims was not part of the Sufi mission and they spoke seldom about it, and yet Sufi saints were largely responsible for the peaceful penetration of Islam in India<sup>18</sup>. The desire to escape from social oppressions and the felt need to raise themselves to a higher social, moral, or cultural level had undoubtedly drawn many of the down-trodden masses into the Islamic fold.

It’s important to acknowledge that many scholars have often

interpreted Islam as a confrontational religion, seemingly geared towards the eradication of infidels and those of different faiths. Frequently labelled as a religion lacking in universality and tolerance, this viewpoint is exemplified in A.L. Srivastva's article 'Hindu-Muslim Relations' (1206-1526), where he asserts, "Throughout the Sultanate period (1206-1526), a wide gulf separated the two communities. The lives and properties of the Hindus were in perpetual danger, with little scope for any rights and privileges. The only reason they were not converted to Islam *en masse* or subjected to mass slaughter was due to their significant numerical superiority and physical strength<sup>19</sup>."

Contrary to this perspective, an examination of the Sufis' role in the dissemination of Islam presents a starkly different narrative. Sufism, as an offshoot of Islam, reflected a remarkably liberal outlook among its adherents. The authenticity of this liberal stance is evident in an episode involving Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia. On one occasion, a *murid* (disciple) approached the Sheikh with a Hindu companion, introducing the Hindu as his brother<sup>20</sup>.

The life and contributions of Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi, as depicted in the *sekasubhoda* (Sheik Subhoda), further supports the idea that Sufis were highly respected by Hindus, who attributed numerous miracles to them. These miracles, encompassing diverse individuals but predominantly involving the lower classes, underscore the profound impact Sheikh Jalaluddin Tabrezi had on the common masses of Bengal<sup>21</sup>. This challenges the notion that Sufis were solely agents of intolerance and suggests a more nuanced relationship between Islam and the broader community.

The remarkable success of the Sufis in establishing a framework of communal harmony between Hindus and Muslims is evident. Qazin-ola and Hussain Balkhi provide an example of this unity, noting that a Hindu grocer, located adjacent to the *khanqah* of Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, regularly supplied grains for use in the *khanqah*. When the amount reached 1000 tankas, the grocer informed the saint<sup>22</sup>, and the dues were settled through *nuzur* and *futih* at the direction of the saint.

AbdurRasid, citing *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*, illustrates how Sufi saints and religious leaders willingly accepted goods from Hindu grocers as loans. He highlights an instance where Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia found himself in debt totaling twenty *jitals*. As

the Sheikh couldn't pay the amount in one go, an agreement was reached for repayment in installments<sup>23</sup>. The inherent sense of trust in such arrangements, successfully negotiated by the Sufis, stands as a testament to the social system they were able to cultivate.

The Sufis not only adopted these practices but also actively endeavored to communicate with the masses using everyday language (*rozmarrah bolchal*)<sup>24</sup>, aiming to bring many into the fold of Islam<sup>25</sup>. It's crucial to underscore that the period under examination, spanning the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, enjoyed relative peace and stability. Unlike the social turmoil that marked South Asian Islam from the eighteenth century onward, this era allowed for a certain "ambiguity" in the relationship of Muslims to the *Shariah* and alternative codes of morality<sup>26</sup>. In this tranquil environment, the defining feature was the ability of Sufis and Muslims, in general, to selectively incorporate and blend practices from various alternative systems of moral codes alongside the Islamic *Shariah*. Unlike later periods, there was no conscious or systematic effort to clearly delineate what fell on either side of the *Shariah*, and consequently, there was no strict definition of who constituted a Muslim or a kafir (Infidel)<sup>27</sup>.

In such a context, the Sufis could freely incorporate numerous Hindu practices without the apprehension of being labelled as outside the realm of Islam. It's essential to highlight, especially when examining the period spanning the thirteenth to the sixteenth century from a modern perspective, that many fundamental everyday practices were shared by both Hindus and Muslims. It was only later, with the onset of modernity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that mundane activities began to acquire political significance, and the boundaries of the *Shariah* were distinctly demarcated and defined. The social and political upheaval of the modern era thus ensured that the dissolution of practices that had acted as a common bond tying the Muslims and non-Muslims together. The boundaries of the *Shariah* were meticulously outlined, and in turn the boundaries of the Muslim community were also clearly laid out, making it easy to identify Muslims who deviated from its dictates and continued to engage in practices now deemed un-Islamic or associated with non-Muslims<sup>28</sup>.

During the period of British rule, South Asian Islam encountered significant social and political upheaval. There was a

conscious attempt to do away with the ambiguity that defines the relationship of the Muslims with the *shariah* and with the practices associated with non-Muslims. Common practices that were previously considered unproblematic now faced suspicion as they were perceived as ways of non-Muslims and infidels, deemed unsuitable for Muslims.

The Sufis, however, maintained their commitment to using the language of the common masses. Their *jamat khanas* and *khanqas* were open to everyone, aiding and redressal for day-to-day issues. Individuals from various classes and castes sought help from the Sufis to address the challenges they encountered in their daily lives. This inclusive approach to socialization served as a platform for the Sufis to connect with people from diverse backgrounds, striving to bridge the gap between religious orthodoxy and the path of faith and devotion.

## Endnotes :

- 1 *Rehla of Ibn-i-Battuta*, Ibn-i-Battuta, translated by Mehdi Hussain, Baroda Oriental Institute, 1953, p. 238-39.
- 2 S.H. Askari, *Islam and Muslims in Medieval Bihar*, Patna, 1984, p. 7.
- 3 A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, (1206-1556), Calcutta, 1969, p. 190.
- 4 *Diwan-i-Ahmad Chiramposh*, Eng. Tr. Of excerpt by S.H. Askari, Patna University Journal, VIII, 1958, p. 18.
- 5 *Madinul Maani*, Zain Badr Arabi, Sharf Akhbar Press, Bihar Sharif, 1884, p. 202-3.
- 6 *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Hamid Qalandar, AMU, Aligarh, p. 93.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 *Maktubat-i-Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, MS. Patna, letter no. 121, F. 141b.
- 9 *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*, Amir Hasan Al Sijzi, Nawal Kishore Press, 1322,AH, pp. 186-87..
- 10 *Bahrul Maani*, Zain Badr Arabi, Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, pp. 5-6.
- 11 *Jawamit-ul-Kilam*, Md Bin Muhammad Akbar Hussain, Rieu. 1. 347, pp. 172-73.
12. There are various references of *sama* in Bihar Sufi khanqahs,

*Maadin-ul-Maani*, Zain Badr Arabi, Sharf Akhbar Press, Bihar Sharif, 1884p. 196.

13. A. Rashid, *Society and culture in Medieval Bihar, (1206-1556 AD)*, Calcutta, Firma K. L Mukhopadhyay, 1969, p. 203.
14. H.S. Askari, *Islam and*—, p.14
15. *Ganj-i-layakhfa*, Khuda Bakhsh Library, M.S. pp. 34-35.
16. *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*, p. 65.
17. S.H. Askari, *Islam and* .... ,p. 94.
18. Ibid, p.113.
19. *Journal of Indian History*, Dec, 1963, p.585.
20. *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*, p. 182.
21. M.Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Role in India*, Allahabad, 1961, p. 309.
22. *Ganj-i-layafna*, Zain Badr Arabi, MS. Patna, p. 101.
23. *Fawaid-ul-Fawad*, p. 140
24. Katherine, Ewing, (ed) *Shariat and Ambiguity*, Delhi, 1998, p.8.
25. The use of *roz marrah bolchal* can be contrasted with the later preoccupation with speaking a pure (*Khalis*) language that would set the Muslims apart from the non-Muslims.
26. Katherine, Ewing, (Ed.) op.cit. p. 2.
27. Ibid.
28. The argument made here can be found in Benedict Anderson's *'Imagined Communities*, Verso, London 1991, to look at the manner in which the boundaries of the Muslim Community were imagined from the 18th century onwards. For a discussion on the modern period and the role of print, see Francis Robinson article in "Nigel Crook" (1994), *The Transmission of knowledge in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.

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# Jahangir's Multifaceted Personality : Reflections from *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*

● **Dr. Reyaz Ahmad Khan**

*Jahangir had a complex personality that was an expression of his many characteristics. Along with his intellectual capabilities, he possessed exceptional literary and academic skills. His disposition was marked by astute observation and logical reasoning. His inquisitive and perceptive nature is amply demonstrated by the abundance of evidence found in the period's literary corpus. It is not surprising that several incidents and episodes in his memoir (Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri) demonstrate his keen observation and pragmatic thinking. This research paper aims to shed light on a few aspects of Jahangir's life that demonstrate his extraordinarily rich intellectual pursuits.*

**Keywords :** *Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, wisdom, curious, observant, logical, rational, intellectual.*

The Mughal Emperors were men of remarkable literary and academic skills as well as intellectual capabilities. The literary corpus of the period is full of evidence that highlights their curious and observant nature. It is not surprising that their memoirs and biographies encompass several events and episodes that showcase examples of careful observation and logical thinking on the part of the Mughal emperors. This research paper attempts to highlight certain aspects of Jahangir's life that portray remarkably rich intellectual activities of his life.

The memoir of Jahangir (1605-1627)<sup>1</sup> is a rich account of the events of his reign. The details of these events highlight the observant aptitude of the Mughal emperor while at the same time underlining his curious nature. To substantiate this point, we could quote the instance in which he had given a vivid description of the port of Cambay. This description is also rich in historical details. He

writes, “Cambay is one of the old ports. According to the Brahmins, several thousand years have passed since its foundation. In the beginning, its name was Trimbawati and Raja Tryambak Kunwar had the government of the country. It would take too long to write in detail the circumstances of the aforesaid Raja as the Brahmins relate it. In brief, when the turn to the government came around to Raja Abhay Kumar, who was one of his grandsons, by the decree of heaven a great calamity fell on this city. So much dust and earth were poured on the city that all the houses and buildings got covered and the means of livelihood of many people were destroyed. Before the arrival of this calamity, an idol which the Raja worshipped, appeared in a dream and forecasted this event. The Raja with his family embarked on a ship and carried away the idol along with a supporting pillar. By chance, the ship also was wrecked by a storm. As there was left still a term of life for the Raja, that pillar bore the boat of his existence safely to the shore. The Raja proposed to rebuild the city. He put up the pillar as a mark of resettlement and the coming together of the people. As in the Hindi language, they call a pillar *istambh* and *khambh*, they called the city *Istambhnagari* and *Khambawati*, and sometimes also *Trimbawati*, in the name of Raja’s wife *Khambawati* has by degrees and much use become *Khambayat* (Cambay).”<sup>2</sup>

Jahangir was a man of complex character. Many traits of his personality are noteworthy. For instance, he was in the habit of narrating moral stories of yesteryear and then relating them to some of his administrative reforms. One such story that he narrates is that of the ‘The King and the Gardener.’ It is quite significant and needs some elaboration. The story was about a King visiting a pomegranate garden which was full of juicy fruits. The account stresses the point that the prosperity of a region depends on the disposition of the ruler towards his subject. In the pomegranate garden, the quality of the fruit deteriorates with the change of disposition of the king. Jahangir notes that “This true tale of that truth-preserving king has remained as a memento on the page of time. In truth, the manifestation of such spiritual results is the mark of good intentions and the fruit of justice. Whenever all the energies and purposes of justice-observing Kings are devoted to the comfort of the people and the contentment of their subjects the manifestation of well-being and the production of fields and gardens are not far off. God be praised that in this age-enduring



State, no tax has ever been levied on the fruit of the trees. In the whole of the dominion, neither a *dam* nor a grain on this account enters the public treasury or is collected by the State. Moreover, there is an order that whoever makes the garden on arable land, its produce is exempted. I trust that God will always incline this suppliant towards what is good.”<sup>3</sup>

Jahangir had a great reverence for the famous Sufi saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. In *Tuzuk*, he records that he was born of his father’s prayers at the mausoleum of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. And therefore, like his father, he also remained a lifelong great devotee of the saint. In his memoirs, on several occasions, he not only showed his extreme devotion to the Khwaja but also revealed many instances of miracles of the Shaikh linked to his life. Jahangir writes that “during my illness, it had occurred to me that when I completely recovered, in as much as I was inwardly an ear bored slave of the Khwaja and was indebted to him for my existence, I should openly pierce in my ears and be enrolled among his ear-marked slaves. Therefore I made holes in my ears and drew into each shining pearl.”<sup>4</sup> His devotion to the Sufi saints is evident in various other places in his autobiography. In 1616, he mentions that I had made a vow that they should place a gold railing with latticework at the enlightened tomb of the revered Khwaja.”<sup>5</sup>

In *Tuzuk*, Jahangir records a very interesting incident that reflects his belief in the spiritual legacy of the revered Sufi. In this incident, Jahangir was hunting a *nilgaw* (blue bull) which was running so fast that he just failed to kill it. Then, he writes “I made a vow that if this *nilgaw* fell I would have its flesh cooked, and for the soul of Khwaja Moinuddin would give to poor. Soon after this, the *nilgaw* became worn out and I ran to his head and ordered them to cut its throat in the name of Allah on the spot, and having brought it to the camp fulfilled my vow as I had proposed”. He narrates a similar incident associated with *nilgaw* hunting where again it was hunted only after Jahangir vowed it to the Khwaja. He writes about another *nilgaw* which also could not be hunted. He says, “With my gun on my shoulder, I followed it till near evening until it was sunset, and was desperate to hunt it. Suddenly it came across my tongue, ‘Khwaja this *nilgaw* also is vowed to you.’ My speaking and his sitting down were at the same moment. I fired at it and ordered him like the first *nilgaw* to be cooked and given to the poor to eat.”<sup>6</sup>

Jahangir also visited the tombs of several other Sufis saints and prayed with great regard at their mausoleums. He also greatly respected saints and mystics (Hindus and Muslims alike) of his time and paid his respect by visiting them at their places and inviting some of them to the court. One such theologian, Maulana Mohammad Amin, was one of the disciples of Shaikh Mahmud Kamangar (one of the great men of his age). Jahangir writes in his memoir that “His Majesty Humayun had entire reliance on him, so much so that he once poured water on his hands. The aforesaid Maulana is a man of good disposition and is free, notwithstanding the attachments and accidents (of the world), a *faqir* in manner and ways, and acquainted with the brokenness of spirit. His company pleased me exceedingly. I explained to him some of the grieves that had entangled themselves in my mind and heard from him good advice and agreeable words and found myself greatly consoled at heart.”<sup>7</sup> He also met with Shaikh and Mian Mir and showed his reverence to their wisdom and piety. Similarly, he had a great appreciation for *jogis* and saints, and his association with Jadrup Gosain was unique.<sup>8</sup>

Jahangir’s take on intoxicants is also noteworthy. He is known for his indulgence in drinking. However, as far as the maintenance of law and order was concerned and the well-being of the inhabitants was in question, he made some strong decisions. In *Tuzuk*, he states “In consequence of the disturbance that tobacco brings about in most temperaments and constitutions, I had ordered that no one should smoke it. My brother Shah Abbas had also become aware of the mischief arising from it, had ordered that in Iran no one should venture to smoke.”<sup>9</sup> In 1610, he imposed a ban on the sale of *bhang* and *buz* (rice spirit) which were injurious and also prohibited gambling.”<sup>10</sup>

Jahangir’s observant nature is highlighted in several episodes involving astronomical events. He considered solar eclipse (*khusuf*) or lunar eclipse (*kusuf*) as a bad omen and whenever such events occurred, he gave alms and worshipped to avert the misfortune. In his memoir, he mentioned the solar eclipse and his beliefs regarding these natural occurrences. He usually considered these events as inauspicious and gave alms to avert any bad omen.<sup>11</sup>

Jahangir mentions several events and observations about unusual and strange things that came to his notice. In fact, in most such cases, he observed things and tried to understand them

through rational and logical reasoning. For instance, he records the case of a person whose body didn't decay after death. He writes, "I heard at Kabul that in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, a person by the name of Khwaja Tabut had died in the neighborhood of Zuhak and Bamiyan, and was buried in a cave, whose limbs had not yet rotted asunder. This appeared very strange, and I sent one of my confidential record writers with a surgeon to go to the cave and, having seen the state affairs as they were, to make a special report. He represented that half of the body which was next to the ground had most of it come asunder, and the other half which had not touched the ground remained intact. The nails of the hand and feet and the hair of the beard and mustaches and one side of the nose had been shed. From the date that had been engraved on the door of the cave, it appeared that his death had occurred before the time of Sultan Mahmud. No one knows the exact state of the case."<sup>12</sup>

Likewise, another such episode contained in his *Tuzuk* is about a person who predicted his time of death. He writes, "In these days the news writer of Kashmir had written a Mulla of the name Gadai a discipline *darvesh*, who for forty years had lived in one of the monasteries of the city, had prayed the inheritors of the monastery two years before he was to deliver over the pledge of his life that he might select a corner in the monastery as a place of his burial. They said, 'Let it be'. In short, he selected a place. When the time of his delivery came he informed his friend and relations and those who were dear to him that an order had reached him that, delivering over the pledge of life he had, he should turn towards the last world. Those who were present wondered at his words, and said that the prophets had no such information, and how could they believe such words? He said, "Such an order has been given to me. He then turned to one of his confidants, who were of the sons of Qazis of the country and said: 'You will expend the price of my Quran, which is worth seventy *tankas*, in carrying me to (grave). When you hear the Friday's prayer you will enquire for me.' This conversation took place on Thursday, and he distributed all the goods in his room among his acquaintances and disciples and went, and at the end of the day bathed at the baths. The *Qazi-zada* aforesaid came before the call of prayer and enquired as to the health of the Mulla. When he came to the door of the cell he found the door closed and a servant sitting there. He

asked the slave what had happened, and the servant said, The Mulla had enjoined me that until the door of the cell opens of its own accord I must not go in. Shortly after that, these words said the door of the cell opened. The *Qazi-zada* entered the cell with that servant and saw that the Mulla was on his knees with his face turned towards the *Qibla*, and had given up his soul God. Happy the state of the freed who can fly away from this place of the snares of dependence with such ease.”<sup>13</sup>

Several other events and cases are mentioned in Jahangir’s memoir on account of their strangeness. For instance, he mentions girls whose bodies were joined from their waists. He writes, “On this day the Kashmir reports were laid before me. One was that in the house of a certain silk seller, two girls were born with teeth, and with their backs as far as the waist joined together, but the heads, arms, and legs were separate; they lived for a short time and died.”<sup>14</sup> Again, he gives an account of affection between a goat and a monkey that he found strange. He writes, “Pahluwan Bahau-d-din, the musketeer, brought a young monkey (*langur*) with a goat, and represented that on the road one of his marksmen had seen the female *langur* with a young one in its arms on a tree. The cruel man had shot the mother, who on being struck had left the young one on a branch, and had herself dropped on the ground and died. Pahluwan Bahau-d-din had then come up and taken down the young one and had put it beside the goat to be suckled. God had inspired the goat with affection for it, and it began to lick the monkey and fondle it. Despite the difference of species, she showed such love as if it had come out of her womb. I told them to separate them, but the goat immediately began to cry, and the young *langur* also became very distressed. The affection of the monkey is not so remarkable, as it wanted to get milk, but the affection of the goat for it is remarkable. The *langur* is an animal belonging to the monkey group. But the hair of the monkey (*Maimun*) is yellowish and its face is red, while the hair of the *langur* is white and its face is black. Its tail, too, is twice as long as the *maimun*’s.”<sup>15</sup>

In various instances, Jahangir had recorded the outbreak of diseases and calamities. Due to his curious nature, he pondered over the causes of these events and gave a detailed account of the opinions of the people regarding the same. Eventually, he attributed it to the wisdom of God and the infallibility of His laws. In one

such case, mentioned in his memoir, he mentions about an infectious disease. He writes, “In this year or rather in the 10th year after my accession, a great pestilence appeared in some places of Hindustan. The commencement of this calamity was in the *parganas* of Panjab, and by degrees, the contagion (infection) spread to the city of Lahore. Many people died through this.

After this, it spread to Sirhind and the *Duab*, until it reached Delhi and the surrounding *Parganas* and villages and desolated them. To this day it greatly diminished. It became known from men of great age and old histories that this disease had never shown itself in this country (before). Physicians and learned men were questioned as to its cause. Some said that it came because there had been a drought for two years in succession and little rain fell; others said it was on account of the corruption of the air which occurred through the drought and scarcity. Some attributed it to other causes. Wisdom is of Allah, and we must submit to Allah’s decree.”<sup>16</sup>

An interesting aspect of Jahangir’s personality that deserves mention is his eagerness to be unique in certain aspects. For that purpose, he had reserved certain things for himself and prohibited them for others. The detail with which he mentions these things is significant. In one such instance, he writes, “Having adopted for myself certain special cloths and cloth-stuffs, I gave an order that no one should wear the same but he on whom I might bestow them. One was a Nadri coat that they wore on the *Qaba* (a kind of outer vest). Its length is from the waist down to below the thighs, it has no sleeves. It is fastened in front with buttons, and the people of Persia call it *kurdi* (from the country of Kurds). I gave it the name of *Nadir*. Another garment is a *tus* shawl, which my revered father had adopted as a dress. The next was a coat (*qaba*) with a folded collar (*batu giriban*). The ends of the sleeves were embroidered. He had also appropriated this to himself. Another was a *qaba* order, from which the fringes of cloth were cut off and sewn around the skirt and collar and the end of the sleeve. Another was a *qaba* of Gujrati satin, and another a *chira* and waist belt woven with silk, in which were interwoven gold and silver threads.”<sup>17</sup>

Jahangir also had a great interest in literary and cultural activities and appreciated talented and skilled persons. He was an accomplished poet of Persian and used to hold quite regularly literary assemblies of Persian poets. He took an active part in literary

discussions. He patronized a large number of Persian poets. Jahangir had an interest in Hindi poetry as well and appreciated their works too. Musicians, storytellers (*QissaKhaun*), jugglers (*bazigar*) especially of Karnataka, wrestlers, and *jadugars* were also invited to the court to show their skills. Of all the forms of art Jahangir liked painting most. He had several master painters at his court the most prominent among them were Ustad Mansur (Nadir-ul Asr), Abul Hasan (Nadir-uz zaman), and Aqa Riza.<sup>18</sup> At one instance in his memoir he had mentioned in detail a Hindi poet. He writes, “Raja Suraj Singh had brought with him a poet who wrote verse in the Hindi tongue. He laid before me a poem in my praise to the purport that if the Sun had a son it would be always day and never would be night, because after his setting that son would sit in his place and keep the world in light. Praise and thanksgiving to God that God gave your father such a son that after his death men should not wear mourning which is like the night. The Sun had envy on this account, saying, I might also have a son who, taking my place, should not allow the night to approach the world, for from the light of your rising and the illumination of your justice, notwithstanding such a misfortune, the spheres are so bright that one might say night had neither name nor sign. Few Hindi verses of such freshness of purport have ever reached my ear. As a reward for this eulogy, I gave him an elephant. The Rajputs call a poet Charan (name of a caste who are many of them poets). One of the poets of the age has turned these sentiments into (Persian) verse.”<sup>19</sup>

At another place, he mentions a flute player and appreciates his talent. He writes, “Some days before this Ustad Mohammad *Nayi* (flute player), who was unequalled in his craft, was sent by son Khurram at my summons. I had heard some of his musical pieces and he played a tune that he had composed for an ode (*ghazal*) in my name.”<sup>20</sup> Again, Jahangir writes about a songwriter Zulqarnain, who was the son of Iskandar the Arminian. He was considered an accomplished composer of Hindi songs. Jahangir says “His method in this art was correct, and his compositions were frequently brought to my notice and approved.”<sup>21</sup>

Jahangir had noted in his memoir about a Karnatik juggler (*bazigar*) whom he considered an expert in his profession. While acknowledging his skills he writes, “The son of Hakim Ali whom I had sent on some duty to Burhanpur, came and brought with him some Karnatik juggler who had no rivals or equals; for instance one

of them played with ten balls, each of which was equal to an orange and one to a citron, and one to a *surkh*, in such a way that notwithstanding some were small and some large he never missed one, and did so many kinds of tricks that one's wits became bewildered.”<sup>22</sup>

The episode of a storyteller finds mention in the autobiography of Jahangir. The details that he gives are interesting. He writes, “Mulla Asad the storyteller (*QissaKhaun*) one of the servants of Mirza Ghazi came from Thatta. As he was a recite and storyteller full of sweetness and smartness I liked his society I made him happy with the title of Mahzuz Khan.”<sup>23</sup>

The above account makes it evident that Jahangir possessed a multi-faceted persona. His temperament was characterized by careful observation and logical reasoning. However, there are instances where a rational conclusion about any event or case is not possible. He assigns it to the wisdom of god. Jahangir's complex personality was a manifestation of diverse traits. The narration of events and phenomena in his *Tuzuk* amply testify to literary taste, religious leaning, reverence to holy men consideration for his subjects, and wide-ranging aptitude and skill.

## References and Notes :

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2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp. 415-417.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. ii, pp.50-51.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp.67-68.
5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.329.
6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp. 189-190.; same episode has been reproduced in *Majalis iJahangiri*, pp. 162-165, 168.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.135.
8. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.355,359; *Dabistan iMazihib*, pp.184-185; Also see Shireen Moosvi, Mughal Encounters with Vedanta, Recovering the Biography of Jadrup, *Social Scientist*, volume 30 no 718, pp. 132-133.
9. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.370-371.

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11. *Majalis iJahangiri*, pp. 13-14; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.160, 183, 283.
12. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp.117-118.
13. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp.290-291.
14. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.406.
15. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.445.
16. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.330.
17. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp.383-384.
18. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. ii, p.20.
19. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.141.
20. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, pp.376-377.
21. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. ii, p.194; Jahangir also patronized Maku, Hamza, and Sadullah Khan. They were famous singers and musicians of that era. See *Majalis iJahangiri*, pp. 166, 261.
22. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. i, p.143.
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# Sind Under The Later Mughals

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The western most region of India, Sind was brought successfully under the Mughal rule during the reign of Emperor Akbar in 1591-92 and a centralised administration was established in the region along with Mughal mints at Thatta and Bhakkar. The provincial administration was under the close scrutiny of Mughal administrative standards with the frequent transfer of officials, and appointment of princes and grantees to the region, which continued till Aurangzeb's reign. This paper is an attempt to present a picture of provincial administration of Sind under the Later Mughals, and to find out the change (if any) in governance of province after Aurangzeb until 1738 AD. The political history of Sind during eighteenth century suffers lack of material, or the contemporary historical accounts; therefore my entire paper is based on four important sources written during the period under study. One is *Jamm-i-Badi*, compiled between 1710-33 AD, by Jan Muhammad Munshi Thattavi.<sup>1</sup> Besides we have Bilgram documents, which are actually letters written by a father to his son, and covers the period under study.<sup>2</sup> Then there is another Persian source which belongs to late eighteenth century *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, written in 1766-7<sup>3</sup>, by Ali Sher 'Qani Thattavi. It provides valuable information about the Governors of Sind, and of Nadir Shah's invasion followed by a subsequent division of Sind. Another set of documents comes in form of six *farmans* of Aurangzeb (1704-05), FarrukhSiyar (1716-17), and of Muhammad Shah (1722); which throws a light on rural administration.<sup>4</sup> Regarding the appointment of officers in the province, I have supplied a list of Governors, *hakims*, *faujdar*s and other office bearers in Sind, in Appendix A, which ensures the continuity of standard Mughal provincial administrative system. As this list makes it very clear that in the appointment of *Subedars*, Mughal court didn't approve of long term

Governors ( with some exceptions)<sup>5</sup>, even during later Mughals, their appointments were made very carefully as being the holders of high *mansabs*, they were the strong pillars of ruling bureaucracy<sup>6</sup>. The appointment of officers to the Western peripheral region was dealt cautiously, the local elements were avoided and the post holders were transferred frequently.

Next to the *Subedar* was a *Bakhshi*, which was a separate department. The *Bakhshi* kept a check on the *jagirdars* regarding their transfers, troops, delay of payment to the army, and the security of the borders<sup>7</sup> Syed Abdul Jalil Bilgrami was appointed *Bakhshi* along with the post of *sawanihnigar* of Bhakkar after being transferred from Gujarat, with a raised *mansab* of fifty<sup>8</sup>. Later he was given assistance of *naib Bakhshi* and *waqia nawis* Shaikh Muhammad Reza Thattavi<sup>9</sup>, along with the robe of honour (*khilat*) and *balehbund* (an ornament for the turban).<sup>10</sup> This depicts firstly, the continuity of Mughal policy of transferring the officers from one place to another, as far as from Bilgram to Bhakkar , and secondly the appointment of deputies along with the officers who could run the administration in absence of the officers.

The presence of *dakchawkies*, *waqia nawis*<sup>11</sup> and *sawanihnigar* (news reporters) ensured centre about official news and information of provinces. Their duty was to report all the important matters, news and information to the court following the the Imperial rules and regulations.<sup>12</sup> The duties and functions of the superintendent of *dakchawki* and *sawanihnigar* of Thatta were combined together under the supervision of *darogah*.<sup>13</sup> In *Jamm-i-badi*, the writer explicitly states the functions and duties of *waqia nawis* and *sawanihnigar*, “a *waqia nawis* was required to be accurate, honest and also very efficient so that in the delivery of letters and official messages, there should not be any delay and concealment ,(this very statement indicates that may be the news reporters sometimes were fabricating the news, or they were turning to dishonesty) all the Imperial regulations and orders, which were issued to the officials, should be delivered to them.”<sup>14</sup> It was their duty that they sent petitions (*arzdasht*) and daily news (*waqia*) to the court following the regulations along with a separate sheet. Their subordinates *merwah* (couriers) were to be given an undertaking (*muchalka*), that except the bamboo tubes (*nalwah*) of official papers, they would not carry the letters of others. It was their job to dispatch the record (*siyah*) of *dakchawkies* and

proceedings of *Qazi's* court. "The reporter was to provide information of all prisoners of the fort, *kachehri*, and *chabutra kotwali*."<sup>15</sup> Besides the *Subedar*, *waqia nawis* and *Bakhshi*, we also have the references of the presence of Hakim, who was a subordinate of the provincial Governor (see this list) and the presence of other Imperial officers as *Diwan*, *Sadr*, and *Qazi*. The presence of an independent judiciary and the duties and functions of *Qazi* and *Sadr* is well recorded in *Jamm-i-Badi*. There are references of one person holding both the posts of *Sadr* and *Qazi* simultaneously. There is a *parwana* of *Sadr-us-Sudur* (chief *Sadr*) Muhammad Amir Khan Bahadur (1708-9), addressed to Shaikh Muhammad waris , the *Sadr* of *sarkar* Bhakkar, to take care of those who held *mada-i-m 'ash* grants in accordance to Imperial *farmans*, *nishans* and *isnads* issued by the proper authority, and that they should not be harassed by the officials , and that their grants be restored to them .<sup>16</sup>

The *Sadr* was probably involved, sometimes, in imposing illegal exactions from the scholar gentry while inspecting their *madad-i-m'ash* holdings<sup>17</sup> There are three *farmans* addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Waris , for his appointment to the office of *Sadr* of *sarkar* Sehwan, after the transfer of Shaikh Yahya. The second *farman* appoints him the *Qazi* of the *parganas* in addition to the office of *Sadarat* of *sarkar* Bhakkar. While the *Sadr* dealt with the *madad-i-m 'ash* grants and the religious matters, the *qazi* dealt with the civil and criminal cases,<sup>18</sup> though all decisions were subject to the scrutiny of *Subedar* (Governor).<sup>19</sup> However, the *Qazi* had the power to appoint his *naib* (deputy) from amongst his scholars<sup>20</sup>, or sometimes *Qazi* sent his son as deputy.<sup>21</sup>

During the later Mughals transferring of the office and of the rank (rank was previously never transferred from father to son) has been recorded in the Bilgram documents. This happened when Abdul Jalil wished to resign from his office of *Bakhshi* and requested it be transferred in the name of his son Mir Sayed Muhammad along with the jagir and his rank. His petition was accepted and sanctioned by *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik* Amir ul Mulk (Syed Nawab Husain Ali Khan).<sup>22</sup> Besides the provincial administration, these documents also throw light on party politics, growing corruption among the officials, which had its source in the weakening of central authority. The *Bakhshi* Ibrahim khan is found forging a charge against the *amils* of *pargana* Mathila and *pargana* Jataoi (of *sarkar* Bhakkar, *suba* Multan)<sup>23</sup> by instructing *waqia*

*nawis* to prepare a hostile report against them .The *waqia nawis* without inquiring the truth dispatched the report to the court.<sup>24</sup>

The region of Sind during the later period due to lack of any great, and the growing intrigues at Shahajahanabad,<sup>25</sup> also witnessed the weakening of military garb of Imperial army. In fact during Bahadur Shah Shah Alam's period (1707-12), the Sirais chief (future Kalhoras) got hold of Panhawar's chief town Fathpur<sup>26</sup>; the chief reported the matter to the Emperor, who directed the *Hakim* of Siwi Mir Khan Pinni<sup>27</sup>, to fight with the Sirais; and sent an army with Amir Shaikh Jahan. The Imperial army got defeated and the *Hakim* of Bhakkar Alahyar Khan fled.<sup>28</sup> This incident in *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, on one side depicts the loosening control of centre on Sind because of weakening of army, yet on the other the episode followed shows the Imperial concern for this far Western region as Prince Muhammad Muizzuddin not only sent the reinforcement but he himself came down to Sind from Lahore.<sup>29</sup> In order to ensure the peace in that area, the Mughal prince had made the Kalhora chief's brother Yar Muhammad in charge of Siwi, on the condition that he would meet the prince personally.<sup>30</sup> Mian Yar Muhammad got the charge of Siwi along with the title of Khudayar Khan , and thus became one of the Imperial Governors.<sup>31</sup>

Thus the eighteen century witnessed in relaxing the Mughal policies regarding the appointments (due to weakening of central control?), now they started converting local potentates into Imperial agents on a larger and at greater level, yet not loosening the reins from the region. This is verified from other set of documents which are in form of six *farmans* of Aurangzeb (1705-6), Farrukhsiyar (1716-1717), and Muhammad Shah (1722),<sup>32</sup> which speak of grant of *jagirdari*, confirmation of *ta 'luqa zamindari* of a Mir Shahdad Baloch.<sup>33</sup> Mughal Emperors in Sind had followed the policy of appeasement towards the tribal chiefs, by granting them *juzwi mansabs* (petty ranks), and restoring *zamindari* to them on the condition that they would serve as a helping hand to the Governor.<sup>34</sup> There were other *ta'luqa zamindars*, who were also rank holders and their *zamindari* was confirmed to them with an addition from time to time. Mir Shahdad Baloch belonged to the Baloch tribe<sup>35</sup> and was the *zamindar* of Abreja of *pargana* Halakandi. He was also granted the *mansab* of 250/60 *zat* and *sawar* . A revenue order of Aurangzeb dated 1705, confirms the *ta 'luqa zaminadari* of Shahdad Baloch, in Pingharo of Gambat circle,

*pargana* Halakandi.<sup>36</sup> The appointment grant from the court was a practice, which comes particularly into prominence during Aurangzeb's reign,<sup>37</sup> in this he was largely motivated by the desire to establish loyal supporters in order to counterbalance the power of the old and potentially seditious *zamindars*.

This grant with an additional cultivable area was also given on the condition that Mir Shadad Baloch would guard the safety of *ta'luqa*, and also of the highways from Samejha dacoits.<sup>38</sup> Even under Emperor Shah Alam (1709 AD), the *farmans* granted *zamindari* to the Sayyeds of Roree ( Rohri) . They were substantial proprietors, whose grants were renewed with the condition that they will maintain law and order and will clear roads from robbers, will bring waste land under cultivation, and offer prayer for the royal prosperity and permanence.<sup>39</sup> Now the question arises why these land potentates from the rural structure of Sind society were promoted by the royalty in the eighteen century, while the Mughal *jagirdars* were responsible for the above mentioned duties? The answer can be found in the theory given by Professor Irfan Habib for the fall of Mughal Empire, which explains the *jagir* transfer leading to the intensified exploitation of peasantry by the *jagirdars*, leading to agrarian crisis.<sup>40</sup> The mid Eighteen century Sind documents give clear evidences in support of the theory, as the author of *Jamm-i-Badi* mentions that in one of the petitions it is mentioned that Khawaja Lutfallah and Abdul Jalil are only interested in misappropriation of revenues rather than encouraging cultivation in their territories. As a result of which the *hasil* of *sarkar* has come down to 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the *jam'a*. These officials state clearly that they are not interested in the prosperity of the place; they are just interested in raising money by false means.<sup>41</sup> The petitioner went on saying that because of this the peasants have left cultivation, and *muqaddams*, *arbabs* (headmen) were suffering losses, and were unable to sow present and next crop.<sup>42</sup> The writer also indicates the corruption amongst the revenue officials and thus intensifying the decline in agricultural area and produce.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, after analysing the four main sources of the administrative study of Sind in eighteen century, one can say that while the continuity of Mughal provincial administrative mechanism was ensured in the region, yet the weakening of of Imperial army, weak centre, growing corruption among the provincial officials, and further agrarian exploitation, all resulted in obstructing the smooth functioning of administration. This further led to the

emergence of local sovereignty into the future dynasties of Sind, as the declining jam 'a made it impossible for the last Mughal Subedar Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan (1736-7) to maintain himself in that area, who handed over the power to Miyan Nur Muhammad Kalhora.(Appendix A). Sind finally went out of Mughal's hands after Nadir shah's invasion leading to the division of |Sind in three parts: Thatta with its dependencies was conferred upon Mian Nur Muhammad Khan of Khudabad [Shaha Quli Khan], the hilly part of the country was handed over to Baluchi chief Mahabat Khan, while Shikarpur<sup>44</sup>, Sukrana, Siwistan (Sehwan) and Karachi including town of Chotu were given to Daudpotas.<sup>45</sup>

### Appendix- A

#### List of Subedars of Thatta during the Later Mughals

1707-09	Nawab Sa'id Khan Bahadur	Tuhfat'ul Kiram, vol III, p.352.
1709-11	Nawab Muhim Khan	Ibid,p.352
1711-12	Nawab Shakur Khan	Ibid,p.353
1712	Nawab Khwaja Muhammad Khalil Khan	Ibid,p.358
1713	Nawab Atar Khan	Ibid,p.361
1713-16	Mir Lutf Ali Khan(Shujaat Khan	Ibid,p.361
1716	Nawab Azam Khan bin Saleh	Ibid,p.365
1719-21	Muhammad Qazim Mahabat Khan s/o Mahabat Khan Khan-i-Khanan	Ibid,p.370
1721-24	Mahmud Khan s/o Muhammad Qazim Mahabat Khan	Ibid,P.371
1724-30	Nawab Saifullah Khan	Ibid,P.373
1730-32	Nawab Diler Khan	Ibid,P.377
1732-36	Nawab Himmet Diler Khan s/o Nawab Diler Khan	Ibid,P.379
1736-37	Nawab Sadiq 'Ali Khan s/o Nawab Saifullah Khan*	Ibid,P.383

\* The last Mughal Governor could not maintain himself out of the revenue from the area so he handed over the power to Khudayar Khan, better known as Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora ( *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, Vol III, Part I, pp385-386)

**Appendix-B**  
**Other Imperial Officers of Suba Sind**

1699-1714	Abdul Jalil Bilgram	Bakhshi and Sawanih Nigar of Bhakkar	Oriental Miscellany, pp 218,220
1714-15	Sheikh Muhammad Reza Thattavi	„	Ibid
1715-22	Abdul Jalil Bilgram	„	Ibid
1722	Mir Syed Muhammad s/o Abdul Jalil Bilgram	„	Ibid, p.282
1709-10	Thakur Das	Naib Faujdar of Sehwan	Jamm-i-Badi, ff73a-b
1710	Asad Khan	Diwan-i-Ala	Ibid, ff72b-73a
1710	Muhammad Musa	Darogah Dak/ Sawanih Nigar	Ibid, ff73a-b
1703-04	Sheikh Muhammad Muqim	Sadr of Bhakkar	Ibid, ff 26a-28b
1707	Sheikh Yahya	Hakim of Bhakkar	Ibid
1707-1712	Alahyar Khan	Sadr of Bhakkar	Tuhafat’ul Kiram, Vol III, part I, p.434
1708-09	Sheikh Muhammad Waris s/o Sheikh Muhammad Muqim	„	Jamm-i-Badi, ff.32b-33a
1710	Qazi Nasiruddin	„	Ibid, ff72b-72a
1710	Sayyed Inayatullah	Waqia Nawis of Sehwan	Ibid, ff 73a-b

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1. *Kitab- i-Jamm-i-Badi*, compiled by one Jan Muhammad Munshi, son of Muhammad Arif, presumably after 1733-34 AD. These documents dates between 1703-04 to 1733-34 AD, and these are

- written in *Shikasta*. Transcribed no.124, Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University. Some parts of it have been translated and used by M.Afzal Khan in his article, "Local Administration in Sind: A Study of Some Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century Documents", PIHC, 1991, Vol 52. Pp 284-291.
2. Department of History Library, Aligarh Muslim University. Abdul Jalil Bilgrami's letters, Persian text on even and translation on odd pages. Oriental Miscellany, Calcutta, I, 1978.
  3. Ed. Pir Husamuddin Rashid, Hyderabad, Sind, 1971. Vol III.
  4. These have been translated and published by Prof. NA. Baloch in *Sindh: Studies Historical*, Jamshoroo, 2003. pp. 335, 337, 339, 341, 345, 349.
  5. Izzat Khan served in Sind for more than ten years from 1667-1678 during Aurangzeb's reign. See Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Alamgirnama*, ed Maulvi Agha Muhammad Ali, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1871, p. 1048. *Tuhfat 'ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1, pp. 334-35-36. But at the sometime same pattern can be seen in Gujarat, Ajmer etc. see M. Athar Ali, *Mughal India Studies in polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, Delhi, 2006. pp 283-84.
  6. Their importance can be judged by the fact that as soon as Mughal Governor Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan in 1736-37. found himself insufficient to maintain out of the revenue of that area, he handed over the power to Nawab Khudayar Khan, (commonly known by the name of Mian Nur Muhammad Kalhora Abbasi) within a year the region fell into Nadir Shah's hands, who captured Thatta in 1739. *Tuhfat' ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1, pp. 385-86
  7. Yusuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol. II. p. 190.
  8. Though I could not get his actual rank, but Bilgram documents supplements the information that due to some intrigue at imperial court his position was withheld by the orders of Emperor Farrukhsiyar in his third regnal year id 1714- 1715, but after sometime he was restored to his previous position and office. Oriental Miscellany, pp. 133, 210, 220.
  9. Oriental Miscellany pp. 220, 222
  10. These presents and robes of honour marked the imperial favour to the officials. Oriental Miscellany, P.222.
  11. The presence of *waqia nawis* in Sind is recorded as late as AD 1722. See the list given in Appendix "A".



12. Oriental Miscellany, p. 252. Yusuf Mirak supplies ample information about *waqia nawis* during Shahjahan's period. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 114.
13. *Jamm-i- Badi*, ff 746-756.
14. The writer uses the word *mutasaddi*, so after consulting the index as provided by Prof. Irfan Habib in his, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, revised, Delhi, 1999. Index at page No. 537
15. *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 746-756
16. *Ibid*, ff 326-33a.
17. *Ibid*, ff 26a-28b.
18. *Ibid*, ff 32b-33a.
19. See my paper "The port of Lahari Bandar and the English in the Seventeenth century", Published in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Calicut, 1999. Section II. p. 334.
20. *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 26a-28b.
21. *Ibid*, ff 72b-73a. In this document *qazi* Nasiruddin, the *qazi* of *sarkar* Sehwan and *sadr* of *sarkar* (Bhakkar?) had left his son (Sheikh Abu'l Ma'ali as his deputy in Siwistan (sehwan) on a daily allowance of one rupee from the Imperial treasury at Bhakkar.
22. The famous Sayyed brothers. This happened during Muhammad Shah's reign. Oriental Miscellany, p. 246.
23. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vel II, pp. 5,14-15. These were against Abdul, the *amil* of *pargona* Mathila, and Muhammad Qasim, the *amil* of *pargana* Jatoi around A.D. 1707-1709. (Since document referred to Said Khan Bahdur, who was the *Subadar* of Thatta during 1707-09. *Tuhfat'ul Kirum* vol III, p. 352.
24. *Jamm-i- Badi*, ff 41-42h
25. Bilgram documents present a vivid description of party politics of Sayyed brothers at Shahjahanabad.
26. It was the fourth *pargana* of *sarkar* Bhakkar. M.Saleem Akhtar, Sind under the Mughals, Karachi, 1990. P. 264. While *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* mentions fourth *pargana* as Kakari (*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II p. 9) M. Saleem Akhtar adds that other manuscript of Machar-Shahjahani has the following information, "The fourth *pargana* is called Fathpur, but since it has been lying under utter ruin, I have not ventured to describe it." (M. Saleem

- Akhtar p. 264.) This place was the chief town of Panhwar tribe. (for Panhwars see *Mazhar—Shahjahani* vol II pp. 65,66, 103, 104)
27. The fort of Siwi was wrested from Panni Afghans by Mir Abu'l Qasým Namkin during the reign of Emperor Akbar (*Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, vol II, p. 28. May be this Mir Khan Pinni was a Panni Afghan which suggest that localities again dominated the fort. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1, p. 434.
  28. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1, p. 434.
  29. *Ibid*, pp. 434-35. This happened not only once by twice when a Kalhora Chief Maksudah attacked and plundered Mathilah. (It was one of the *parganas* of *sarkar* Bhakkar, situated to the north-east of Bhakkar). *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II. p. 5.
  30. While his brother Din Muhammad was kept in the captivity of the Prince. *Tuhfat 'ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1. pp. 435- 436. In between, many officials were replaced, from Ghazi Khan Dodai, it was given to Malak Allah Baksh, to Islam Khan and Kaleem Khan Nahar successively. Since none of them governed it successfully, the Prince gave it over to the agents of Mian Yar Muhammad
  31. *Ibid*.
  32. A copy of these *farmans* along with their translation has been published by Prof. N.A. Baloch in *Sindh: Studies Historical*. Pp.335,337,339,341,345,349. Prof.N.A. Baloch by mistake had translated 250 *zat* rank of Shahdad Baluch as 250 foot soldiers, and 60 *sawar* as 60 horses. (250/60 *zat* and *sawar*). N.A. Baloch, p. 319
  33. Shahdad Baluch was a *zamindar* of circle Abreja of *pargana* Halah Kandi (*sarkar* Thatta) and an ancestor of Talpur Mirs.
  34. During Emperor Jahangir's reign, Jam Hala and Rana Umar of Kihar and Nakamarah clan, were gives *mansab* to stop robbery. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II, p. 34.
  35. This Mir Shahdad Talpur Baluch was sent by the Prince Muhammad Muizuddin, in command of the imperial forces against one Ghazi Khan, son of one tribal chief; Shah Muhammad of Derah Ghazi Khan and Derah Ismail Khan. Shahdad Baluch settled the affairs as a result of which Prince granted him the jugir of Pat Baran (uhu Multat) *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol III, part 1. P. 349. See also Lieutenant Hugh James, *Report on the pargana of Chandookah upper Sind*, in R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sind*, Delhi 1985, vol II, p. 712.

36. This *pargana* lies in *sarkar* Nasarpur, *suba* Thatta. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II, p. 36.
37. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, revised Delhi, 1999, p. 386.
38. The Samejahs were defiant tribe who were a constant source of trouble throughout the Mughal rule and Musuf Mirak constantly complains about their defiant and arrogant attitude which perhaps emerged out of their relations with early Arghuns and Tarkhan rulers. They were located in *sarkar* Nasarpur, *pargana* Baghbanan, Kahan, Babakan and Haweli Sehwan of *sarkar* Sehwan, while Chanduka, Takar, Matilah, and Alor *pargana* of *sarkar* Bhakkar. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II, pp. 85,117,126,188. Mir Ma'sun Bhakkari *Tarikh-i- Sind*, U.M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938, pp. 211-12.
39. Captain FG. Goldsmith, *Memoirs on the Syeds of Roree and Bukkur* in R. Hughes Thomas, *Memoirs on Sind*, Delhi, 1986, vol I, p. 80. See also *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol 11, pp. 191-192
40. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 369.
41. *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff 42b-43a, 43a-44b
42. *Ibid*, ff 42b-43a. The word referred for the offices is not *jagirdar* but *Mutasaddi*. Yusuf Mirak also states that, "because of *ijarahdari* favoured by the *jagirdars* in Sind, peasants and headmen both are suffering, causing rebellion by the *zamindars*, their absconding from the area and flight of peasants. *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani* vol II. pp. 19-21.244-46.
43. *Jamm-i-Badi*, ff42a-b.
44. Shikarpur was built in 1617 AD and is situated in upper Sind, north-west from Indus at Sukkur, some 40 miles from Carkana, and 36 miles from the edge of the deserts at Rojlana, which separates upper Sind from Cutch. See Rt. Hughes Themes, *Memoirs on Sind*, Lt. T. Poston, " *Miscellaneous information related to the town of Shikarpur*", first pub 1815, reprint, New Delhi, 1993. 2 vols, vol 1, pp. 87, 88 Also see Shahment Ali, *The History of Bhawalpur*, London, 1848. P.25.
45. *Tuhfat'ul Kiram*, vol III, part I, pp 449-52.

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# History of Kharagpur Raj in Bihar during Mughal Period

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*Kharagpur was one of the most important chieftaincies of Bihar during the Mughal period. Sometimes in the beginning of the 16th century, three rajput brothers names Dandu Rai, Basdeo Rai and Mahendra Rai founded this Raj. The entire area was earlier under the sway of an aboriginal tribe called khetauris and the ruler were around 52 tribal chiefs of Khetauries. Three Rajput brothers took services under Raja Sasank, the khetauri chief of Khetri. In due course, these three brothers collected a large following of their clansmen, recruited military retainers and rose in revolt against their master. They murdered the raja and his family members and assumed power. Soon after, in a series of battles, they successfully defeated all the fifty two khetauri chiefs and Dandu Rai, the eldest of the three brothers established himself as the territorial chiefs of the entire Kharagpur region which comprised 53 villages. Sangram Singh was famous ruler of Kharagpur in Akbar period . Architecture of Kharagpur was famous. Kharagpur Raj had an important position in the Mughal period when both Afghan and Mughals were vying for supremacy in this Bengal Bihar region.*

Kharagpur was one of the most important chieftaincies of Bihar during the Mughal period . Presently, it is a small village in the Munger district. The exact area under the domination of the Khagrapur Raj during the Mughal period is not mentioned in any of the contemporary chronicles but from a farman of Jahangir, it appears that the chieftaincy comprised the parganas of haveli Kharagpur and Sakhrabad, which included places such as parbatpore, Chandori, Kathuria, Chandure, Passai Sathiori, Godda, Damre, Saukhwara Hazar Tuki, thunduo and Amla Muliya.<sup>1</sup>

Abul Fazl Mentions Raja Sangram Singh as Zamindar of Kharagpur and identifies Kharagpur as a qasba in the Akbarnama . But in his work, it does not find place in the Mahals of Sarkar Bihar or Munger. Sometimes in the beginning of the sixteenth century , three Rajput brothers named Dandu Rai, Basdeo Rai and Mahender Rai took service under Raja Sasanka, the Khetauri Chief of Kheri near Munger.

In due course these three brothers collected a large following of their clansmen, recruited military retainers and rose in revolt against their master. They murdered the Raja and his family members and assumed power.<sup>2</sup>

In a series of battles, they successfully defeated all the 52 Khetauri chiefs and Dandu Rai, the eldest of three brothers, established himself as the territorial chief of the entire Kharagpur region which comprised 53 villages with an estimated area of 190.6 square miles.<sup>3</sup>

Dandu Rai ruled for 22 years and died in 1525, leaving behind his two sons, Rup Shahi and Narendra Sahi. Rup Shahi, the older son, succeeded to the thron and Narendra Sahi continued as the ruler of Baikat with its headquarters at Kharahi. Rup Shahi ruled for 14 years. On his death in 1539, his eldest son, Sangram Singh became the ruler of the Chieftaincy.<sup>4</sup> From now onwards, we start getting references to the Chieftaincy in the contemporary accounts.

The first reference to Sangram Singh in the sources, occurs in the events of 1573-74 when Akbar went to Patna along with Munim Khan to suppress the Afghan rebellion.<sup>5</sup> After that Raja Sangram Singh, the Zamindar of Kharagpur and many other Zamindars of the subah of Bihar presented themselves before the emperor and offered their submission.<sup>6</sup>

The next reference that we have in our sources related to the events of 1580, when Raja Todermal was dispatched to suppress the rebellions of Masum Khan Kabwi who had established himself in the region of Munger near the Chieftaincy of Kharagpur.<sup>7</sup>

Masum Khan Kabali was defeated by Todarmal. Raja Sangram Singh played an important role in the suppression of this rebellion. Raja Todarmal styled Raja Sangram Singh as his Farzand (son).

In 1583-84, the Afghans, under Masum Khan Kabuli, unfurled the banner of rebellion once again and expelled the imperial

officer Shahbaz Khan Kamboh who was specially deputed to suppress the rebellion. Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur, Dalpat Ujjaania of Bhojpur and certain other chieftains of the Subah of Bihar came out openly to help Shahbaz Khan in his effort. Abul Fazl writes that although Masum Khan was not captured, the rebels were defeated with the assistance of local chiefs, and their power declined considerably.<sup>8</sup>

Raja Sangram Singh was bitter enemy of his neighbouring rajput ruler, Puranmal of Giddhaur.

Raja Puranmal had an upper hand in this family feud with Raja Sangram Singh because of the support of Shahbaz Khan.<sup>9</sup>

But soon Puran Mal also lost the confidence and favour of Shahbaz Khan. In the changed political scenario, Sangram Singh was able to re-establish himself in Kharagpur. These two Rajput chieftains carved their niche in Bihar and Continued to defy imperial authority during these years.

In 1587, Raja Mansingh was appointed the governor of Bihar. Abul Fazl writes that he administered Bihar very competently and subdued the refractory chieftains.

He further adds that during Raja Mansingh's conquest of Orrisa in 1592, Raja Sangram Singh of Kharagpur, Raja Puran Mal of Gidhaur and some other chieftains of Bihar accompanied him.<sup>10</sup>

Raja Sangram Singh remained loyal to the Mughals till the death of Akbar (1605).

In the Reign of Jahangir, Raja Sangram Singh collected army and a large number of foot soldiers and came out openly to challenge the imperial authority. Baz Bahadur took cognizance of this defiance and in the ensuing battle with him, the Raja was killed and rebels were completely defeated.<sup>11</sup>

The death of Raja Sangram Singh threw his army into total confusion. The wife of deceased Raja, Rani Chandrajot raised his son and mobilized the supporters of Raja. Soon, a compromise formula was reached between Rani Chandrajot and the Mughal Commander, Baz Bahadur.<sup>12</sup>

Baz Bahadur took Toral Mal to the Mughal court and presented him before the Mughal emperor.

The Emperor was highly impressed with Toralmal's charming

demeanour and excellent communication skills. He was treated well and was persuaded to change his religion.

He was given the title of Roz Afzun and was married to the daughter of a noble.<sup>13</sup>

Montgomery Martin, on the basis of some local tradition, also testifies it.<sup>14</sup>

He writes that Roz Afzum was later married to the daughter of prince Murad aksh and raised him to the rank of 3,000. His two sons were also given the rank of 1000 each. Besides, Raja Roz Afzum and his family were authorized to collect various cases which included milkiat, Chana and Nankar. The Raja, after, obtaining these favours, was allowed to visit his watan and his second, son obtained the office of Morchulbardar.<sup>15</sup>

At the sometime, Pargana Haveli Kharagpur was allotted to him.

It seems that there is an element of exaggeration in local tradition about his marriage with Murad's daughter.

The above information is only partially corroborated by Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri and other contemporary sources and therefore, needs some explanation.

In the later period of Jahangir's reign, when prince Khurram rose into rebellion, Emperor took the help of Raza Roz Afzun in taming the rebellious prince. He was sent to summon prince Parvez immediately to the court and led a campaign against the recalcitrant prince.<sup>16</sup>

After the accession of Shah Jahan, Raja Roz Afzun was confirmed in his Zamindari and in 1628, was deputed with Mahabat Khan against Nazar Muhammad, who had invaded Afghanistan.<sup>17</sup>

Raja Roz Afzun accompanied Mahabat Khan once again to suppress the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela at Bundlkhand.<sup>18</sup>

Sometimes, after the end of rebellion of Mahabat Khan, Raja Roz Afzun was again sent to the Deccan in 1633-34 under prince Shauja.

The Prince Shuja, along with Raja Roz Afzun and other nobles besieged the fort of parenda.<sup>19</sup> Raja Roz Afzun fought bravely and forced Raja Roz Afzun died sometimes in 1635.<sup>20</sup> At the time of his death, he held the rank of 2000/1600.

He was significant chieftains of Bihar and played an important role in the consolidation and expansion of the Mughal empire. He enjoyed the confidence of both Jahangir and Sahjahan.<sup>21</sup>

After the death of Raja Roz Afzun, his son Bahroz, presented himself at Mughal court Emperor Shahjahan received him favourably and recognized him as the ruler of Kharagpur. Their brothers, Adil Singh and Thakur Singh were not admitted to imperial service.

According to family records, Raja Bahroz was despatched to suppress the rebellion in Kabul.

We do find references to Raja Bahroz during the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan.

In this war of succession, almost every important noble was allied with one or the other prince. The princes themselves approached the local chief for support with the promise of higher mansabs and important offices.

The Zamindars of Bihar, especially Raja Bahroj, the Raja of Giddhaur and the Ujjainiya actually participated in this conflict in the region of Bihar. Dara Shikoh contacted some of these Zamindars soon after reaching Patna. He was able to get the support of Raja Bahroj and through his help, the ujjainia chief also joined his camp.<sup>22</sup>

Dara Shikoh, on the other hand, was also making active efforts to get the support of important Chiefs of the region and even issued a farman on behalf of Shahjahan to the raja of Giddhaur with the promise of not only high mansab but even the chieftaincy of Kharagpur raj if he so desired.<sup>23</sup>

Raja Bahroz, as mentioned earlier, was on the side of Shuja along with the Ujjaini a chief.

Soon after Dara Shikoh's defeat at Samugarh, Raja Bahroz decided to change sides. Raja Bahroz decided to join Aurangzeb because in his view, Sah Shuja was hardly in a position to win the war against Aurangzeb. He also contacted other local chief to support Aurangzeb.<sup>24</sup>

In around 1660, taking advantage of the war of succession, the Chero Chief of Palamau rebelled<sup>25</sup>. When Aurangzeb was informed of these developments, he issued an order directing Daudkhan, the



governor of Bihar to proceed to Patna. On 23 March, 1661, Daud Khan left Patna with Raja Bahroj to punish the Chero Chief Raja Bahroj again provided much needed support to Mughal army.<sup>26</sup> Raja Bahroj again provided much needed support to Mughals when Mir Jumla was ordered to conquer Assam during 1661-63. During the Assam Campaign, Raja Bahroz played a prominent role in the conquest of the region.

Although, Bahroz played a very important role in the Campaign against Shah Shuja, his services were surprisingly not given due recognition by Aurangzeb.

Raja Bahroz left behind four sons : Raja Kunwar Tahawwar Asad, the eldest son, succeeded to the throne of Kharagpur in 1676.

His services were requisitioned during the uprising of the raja of Jaintiya.

The Raja of Kharagpur, defeated the raja and brought the area under the imperial control.<sup>27</sup>

Tahawwur Asad's name also occurs in the Akhbarat at of Aurangzeb's reign in connection with the suppression of rebellion of Ganga Ram during 1682-84.<sup>28</sup>

In 1714, a Khilat was granted to Raja Tahawwur Asad.

So in conclusion, we can say that Kharagpur raj played an important role in Mughal period in the politics of Bihar.

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# Maritime Trade in Bengal and Ship Building Technology as Reflected in *Manasa Mangala*

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*Maritime played a fundamental role in the economy and the cultural exchange of medieval Bengal. The article explores how fascinating maritime trade enriched Bengal economically and fostered cultural exchange and technological advancement. The literary accounts of Bengal like Manasa Mangal, is a quintessential work of medieval Bengali literature depicting the socio-cultural milieu of the time, it also delves into the portrayal of maritime trade providing insights into shipbuilding technology prevalent during the period. The work Manasa Mangala underscores the importance of literary sources in comprehending the historical dynamics of maritime commerce and its enduring legacy in shaping the marine identity of Bengal.*

**Keywords :** *Maritime, Shipbuilding, Manasa Mangala*

Trade is the lifeblood of a region for fuelling economic growth, cultural exchange, and geo-political influence. It not only enhances diplomatic relations but also cultural exchange and technological innovations. Trade also boosts economic prosperity and sustains political power to extend. The medieval Indian economy was characterized by a large-scale coastal and high-seas trade carried on from its extensive coastline. On the eve of the arrival of the Europeans into the Asian Seas at the beginning of the sixteenth century, maritime trade from India was an important constituent of the Indian Ocean trade, alternatively referred to as Asian trade.

Maritime trade was pivotal in shaping regions' economic, political, and military dynamics. India's extensive coastline and strategic location in the Indian Ocean facilitated thriving maritime

trade networks. Maritime trade in Bengal has a rich history dating back to centuries; Bengal's strategic location along the Bay of Bengal made it a hub for trade. India has a very long shoreline covering from Sind to Bengal and surrounding the Southern Peninsula and also a huge network of rivers especially in Bengal. Thus, plentiful rivers linked with the Bay were the major cause of the shipping industry in the Bengal<sup>1</sup>

The maritime history of India can be traced back to its ancient period. The vast coastline of India and its network of rivers made it imperative for India to develop its boat-making and shipping industry. Ship-building technology has undergone significant evolution over the years, beginning from the times of the Indus Valley civilization (Meluha) India's trading relations can be traced with the Mesopotamian Civilization, Magan (Oman Peninsula) and Dilmun (Bahrain) sailing through the Arabian Sea and entire length of Gulf. The evidence of shipping can be traced from the presence of a dockyard at Lothal and a few boat depictions from the ancient Harappans. During the Maurya Empire, there was a definite 'naval department' to look after ships and trading. Also, the process continued during post-Mauryan times when both archaeological and literary sources shed light on the relations with the Roman Empire. The commercial connections and traditions of shipping can further be noticed in the maritime activities of Cholas, Cheras, and Pandyas down south when these kingdoms led maritime expeditions and conquests of Southeast Asia. Cholas even conquered Lanka, Srivijaya, Sumatra, Malaya, and many other regions in Southeast Asia. The conquests were primarily to attain a monopoly of trade in the Bay of Bengal and the Pacific Ocean. These expeditions could not have been possible without a strong indigenous shipping industry.

The process continued in medieval and modern times. Simon Digby mentions about shipbuilding tradition in India during the thirteenth, fourteenth century, and fifteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> These were the times when trade in spices and textiles dominated the trade and attracted the attention of European powers, which were making strides in shipping and navigational technology. The arrival of Portuguese citizen Vasco de Gama in 1498 is a well-known landmark in the history of colonialism in India. The event was followed by the gradual entry of Dutch, English, French, and other European nations into the Indian sub-continent, initially for trade, and later for territorial and colonial interests in India. During this period European travellers like Bowrey<sup>3</sup>, Methold<sup>4</sup>, etc, and other

foreign citizens visited India and other Asian nations, who provided vivid accounts of shipbuilding activities in India apart from other indigenous sources. Shipbuilding was the major activity in southern India especially on the Coromandel Coast. In the seventeenth century, some significant ports engaged in shipbuilding activities were Sikakol, Bimlipatnam, Vishakhapatnam, Coringa, Jnjaram, Narsapur, Masulipatam, Petapoli and Karedu.<sup>5</sup>

Further up the Coromandel Coast in Orissa, Balasore was the primary centre for naval building craft. R.P. Mahapatra informs that in 1664, the Mughal *subedar* of Bengal, Shaista Khan in order to subdue the piracy of *Maghs* and *Feringees* on the coast of Bengal, made *Balasore* the important shipbuilding centre. Further, he highlights that every year Shaista Khan used to send for fittings one or two very well-built ships of 400, 500, and 600 tons to *Balasore*, *Pipli*, *Hooghly* and *Jessore* so that his ships could undertake rough sea voyages.<sup>6</sup> Similarly *Sandip* was an important port in Bengal, where *naus* were built.<sup>7</sup> Regarding *Sondip/Sandip* A. Roy mentions that it was used as an advance naval base by the *Maghs* and *Feringis* pirates for plundering activities; therefore, Mughals first conquered it and raised fortifications and built dockyard there due to its strategic advantage of being situated off the coast of Chittagong. *Sondip* was made the temporary naval base of the Mughals.<sup>8</sup>

Ship-building was not alone confined to the aforementioned regions, Bengal being endowed with the natural conditions requisite for ship-building industry was best suited for this industry. Geographically, numerous rivers, streams and closeness to the sea prepared Bengal since ancient time to emerge as apt regions for riverine and maritime trade. Like trade and commerce, navy for warfare in Bengal had a visibility since ancient times and continued in medieval and later times. Bhuyians and later Maghs and Feringis pirates possessed strong naval forces with war-boats, therefore, Mughals had to create separate naval department i.e. *Nawara*, for construction of war-boats, raising naval forts, docks for naval expeditions.<sup>9</sup> In Bengal, especially Midnapur, wood for construction of boats and ships was furnished from Chotanagpur, etc. *Sirisi*, *Sal* and *Sundri* were heard of as source material in use in Bengal, but mostly in relation to river boats. Rarely, use of teak for keel was heard for timber. It was in Bengal Coast, like South East tradition, boats were nailed. Holes for sewing were made from hand drills close to the rims of the planks and sewing coir was taken through those for fastening. Pegging, stitches, and use of wooden wedges

strengthen the stitched boat making it durable and resilient when crashed or grounded.<sup>10</sup>

The port town of medieval Bengal paved the way for the promotion of trade and commerce with the South East Asian Countries as well as South West Asia and Arabia. The port not only connected with these countries economically but also maintained deep-rooted cultural links.<sup>11</sup>

Delving deep further back in history, Bengal had a long-term tradition of maritime trade right from ancient times. Over a long period Tamralipti, Satgaon, and Calcutta were the principal ports of Bengal. Compared to medieval sources the evidences that merchants from several countries visited the ports of Bengal as substantiated by Persian Sources, Numismatics evidence, and the accounts of foreign travellers like Ibn Batutah, Barbosa, and Ralph Fitch<sup>12</sup> the ancient sources are relatively less, scattered and required to be culled out. The focus of this paper is the literary evidence of Manasa Mangala, which highlights well-maintained trading maritime relations as well as the ship-building industry that boosted maritime and riverine trade both, during the medieval period.<sup>13</sup>

This vernacular narrative poetry was composed in Bengal during the 15th through the 18th centuries, is known as Mangal Kavyas. Mangalkavya's traditional plot or theme revolved around the trials and tribulations that led to the establishment of a certain deity's worship on Earth. Manasa Mangala is a part of Mangalkavyas. Different versions of Manasa Mangal are available in Bengal authored by different writers. Among them, Bansidas, Ketkadas Khemananda, Bipradas Pipilai, Kana Horidas, and Bijon Gupta are important. It is recognized as one of the oldest Mangal Kavya<sup>14</sup>

Manasa Mangala is a medieval Bengali Poetic work and a significant piece of Bengali Literature that revolves around the legend of the goddess Manasa, chronicling the establishment of the snake goddess. Although the prevalence of Nag worship can be traced from the past from the Indus Valley Civilization but in Bengal Goddess Manasa the snake goddess is worshiped in a very special way, and this is well-recorded in literary works.

The literary work is significant not only for its religious themes but also for its portrayal of society, culture, politics as well as economic activities.<sup>15</sup> The mention of the merchant class in the literature and the name Chand Saudagar, who is the central character of the narrative, was a devout merchant, who owned a fleet of ships

that he used for trade and commerce. These ships symbolize his wealth, enterprise, and worldly success, the fleet itself **highlights** a developed maritime trade. The portrayal of Chand Saudagar's ships reflects the well-developed maritime trade and navigation in medieval Bengal and the economic prosperity of the region.

"পথে পথে যত নৌকা হইল সান্তারা,  
দোকান দেখিয়া সকল কাজে ভরা।"

The above excerpt from the text describes the bustling activity of boats and ships along the riverbanks, loaded with goods for trade. It portrays the vibrant maritime trade scene in the narrative of "Manasa Mangal."

In the Kavya, there is a mention of boats and ships used for trading and travel along rivers and seas. It also portrays the significance of maritime trade and the role of boats in the economy and society of Bengal.

In Ketkadas Khemananda's Manasa Mangala which is appraised as one of the best gives a narrative of a fight between goddess Manasa and her counterpart Chand Saudagar where Mansa wants herself to be established as a cult and to be worshipped by him, but Chand Saudagar who was a devotee of Shiva, he not only refused to worship her but also stopped others to worship Manasa using his money, power and influence to do so. This enraged goddess Manasa and out of anger she killed Chand Saudagar's six sons and submerged all his seven ships in the water.

মনসা তড়িত করিল পুত্রদ্বয়,  
সপ্তনবনশাখানিবু ডুবিল নবয়।

The excerpts from Khemananda Manasa Mangala give a vivid description of how goddess Manasa submerged the Ships of Chand Saudagar. The ship mentioned in the excerpts mentions seven Ships, which infers that the ships building industry also flourished and advanced in medieval Bengal

A vivid description of the construction of a vessel is found in the *Manasa Mangal*. An idea of the same is as under:

The lord of Champaka (the merchant Chand) constructed some ship for which he performed the ceremony of gold-nailing (*Sonar-jal or Jalai*). The length of the vessel was fixed at a thousand yards (more than half a mile, evidently an exaggeration). The height from the keel to the central deck was six cubits and a half (thirteen Tal) designed to calm a ship's steadiness. The bamboo poles were required to set a ship in motion and wherever the water was shallow it was measured by thread. More serious work, however, commenced with the construction of the hold of a ship. The wood ordinarily chosen for the purpose was known as '*Manapaban*,' noted for imparting the swiftness of the wind of the ship. Strong pieces of this timber were joined together with the help of iron nails. In this way, the construction of the hold was completed. When it was finished the metallic sheets (pith-pat) were fitted and the mat doors (*jhap*) fixed up, then '*Mathakastha*,' or '*Galui*' (prow) was made, decorated with flowers of gold and silver. The principal cabin was built, after the deck, composed of wooden planks, had been fitted up (*Patatan*). This chief cabin (*Raighar*) was beautifully decorated with rows of artificial flower garlands. On the vessel, the mast (Malum wood) was duly fitted. The helm (*Patwal*) and its auxiliary piece of timber (*Jhokiibari*) were not forgotten. When these had been finished, a nicely ornamented shed was built on the ship. It had rows of Chamar (chowrie) and festoons of various types which made the vessel look pretty. Finally, the eyes of the figure on the prow of the ship were made with jewels resembling the moon. This completed the building of the ship.<sup>16</sup>

The following descriptions found in the *Manasa mangal* by Bansidas. "The first vessel, which Chand. launched on the water was "Madhukara". Its deck was filled with earth, so it took the appearance of land on which a small town with markets was set up. The foredeck was reserved for worship. A tank of fresh water was there with aquatic plants on its surface to keep it cool and with fish of various descriptions. A vegetable and a flower garden completed the outfit of this wonderful ship."<sup>17</sup> The first ship that was launched on the water was Madhukara and the cost of the ship was fourteen lakh<sup>18</sup>

The literary evidence *Manasa Mangala* presents a beautiful



description of Ships and its maritime activities during the Medieval period. Other fascinating maritime trade in Bengal has been a rich subject in Bengali literature other Mangal Kavyas like *Chandi Mangal* by Kavikankan Mukundaram also describe the sea voyage and its ship-building technology. The rich folk tales, historical accounts, rich literary accounts portray the compelling maritime trade of Bengal

## Conclusion:

Although medieval Indian maritime history is replete with evidences of advanced navigation technology and shipbuilding in India but these have been attributed by colonial scholarship to the arrival of Europeans in India which according to them provided necessary impetus to the Indian ship-building industry in India. However, gradually it has been established that the ship-building industry in India had its indigenous roots and shared closer affinity with South-East Asia than Europe or West. The text *Manasa Mangala* has credibly explained that ancestry of ship-building tradition in India dates back to its ancient past when there was vibrant maritime trade with big merchants, whose ships plied in deep sea water supported by equally reliable ship-building technology and industry. Mangal kavyas are only one such example of texts that ignites our scholarship and gaud us to further investigate deeper into our ancient historical texts for substantial evidences of Indian indigenous technology and maritime past.

## Footnotes

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# Understanding Gender and Its Practices in a Patriarchal System

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*Gendered inequalities, discriminations, biases, hierarchies are often the outcome of practices and belief system of a society. These beliefs and practices are patterned on the societal traditions, which specifically, in the case of India, is patriarchal. A system, which has pre-assigned roles, functions, duties, rights, and often labeled as natural and inculcated through socialization process. Consequently, manifestation of gendered practices becomes the significant source of gender specific violence against women, which despite number of measures and legislations, still existing as a major challenge. The paper argues, that only with the understanding of gender and its practices in a patriarchal system, we will be able to break the chain of discriminations against women, specifically, in an Indian society. The paper attempts to evaluate the consequence of such gender practices on women in particular and in society in general.*

**Keywords :** Gender, Society, Roles, Socialization, Violence, Beliefs, Traditions, Patriarchy.

## Understanding Gender

Gender is the practicing of differences, and discriminations among members of society. It is one of the societal methods of preaching inequalities in society. It works by building and sustaining hierarchy, thereby, placing some members higher in the society, while demeaning and displacing others by placing them at the lower edge of the ladder. Gender practice is a variable notion, therefore, it's not fixed, instead it keeps on varying from culture to a time frame one is referring, hence, its man-made (Bhasin, p.3) and socially constructed.

Gender refers to the ways societies interpret, and perceives, men and women, by attaching them different social roles (Bhasin, p.1). It acts as an instrument to comprehend 'social realities' of men and women (Bhasin, p.1). These gendered identities are often fixed on psychological, social, historical, and cultural parameters (Bhasin, p.2). Society fixes one's entire life on biological identity of that person which itself does not come with the pre-assigned list of do's and don'ts. Nevertheless, it becomes the basis which decides the value one will hold in the society. These socially accorded values are also determined on the foundation of norms which a society holds.

Gender is practiced in the name of a belief system which a society holds pre-destining roles and functions for each member of the society. Whiles on the one hand it prescribes gender specific duties, on the other hand, places limits on the quality of life one can lead by regulating the number, nature, extent, one can have rights, liberties, freedom, access justice, choices, and make autonomously decisions.

The mechanisms of socialization patterns instill 'behavior, attitude, and roles' 'called as gendering or gender indoctrination' (Bhasin, p.13). Thereby, suggest the societal ideas of 'what a men and women should do and are capable of doing' (Bhasin, p.32) in a gender driven society. In this way, socially and culturally limits the idea of choice, and opportunities for each gender. In the words of Bhasin, process of 'gendering' (Bhasin, p.2).

Gender often describes roles for women such wife, mother, homemaker, nurturer, sacrifice, compromiser among other values. Problem with these values are they often located in association with women's dependency on men. In other words, framed identity of women incomplete without men. Thereby, a system of practices which is built on the basis of biases leads towards building the pool of injustices in the name of a beliefs and practice. Hence, a socially manufactured, fabricated, misled identity becomes an evil which denies someone of their choices and opportunities, one otherwise could get.

This system works by inculcating the ideas of 'being a woman' in society who are supposed to be treated in a specific manner. Though enormous women have internalized it, never resisted it, and even supported and practiced themselves in the name of tradition. There have been some who have questioned the

system, but met with opposition and punishments for violating the gendered societal norms of society.

For a long period, socially fabricated roles, status, or even characteristics, were assumed to be determined on the basis of biology, thereby were assumed to be natural or unchangeable (Bhasin, p.1). Now, if something is accepted as natural then it omits the necessity of addressing it even if it breeds inequality or injustice in the society (Bhasin, p.1). This is the way things are and have always been, is the often-said statement in situations whenever women have rebelled or made effort to challenge their societal roles. The naturalization of these roles is the weapon used to keep women in their place by justifying the division of public and private space in society. Private is home where women belongs and public where men take hold of everything whether its money, economy, or politics. This distinction while enhances scope of opportunities opportunities for men, it places barriers for a woman which consequently leads towards her exclusion from society and members of society (Bhasin, p.41).

Therefore, gender, is a system of social practices which puts women in a marginalized, subjugated, and degraded position in society. It propagates itself through number of ways such as domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, forced or early marriages, restricted career options, depriving of education, regulating choice of clothes, thoughts, or of even life partner. Each of these and enormous others are forms exists through which access and availability of choices, rights, justice, is snatched either in the name of traditions, or preserving honor of the family/ community, thereby, controlling the life and choices for a woman. In case of India, it is the societal structure which places men above women in all terms and prospects of life choices, options, and decision making referred as patriarchy.

## **Understanding Patriarchy**

Patriarchy is a societal structure where beliefs and ideology places men in a predominant position (Bhasin, p.21) position. It refers to a system in which men dominate by subordinating women (Bhasin, p.20). It is a social system, in which women are commanded and hegemonized in cultural, political, and economical spheres, thereby, grants men greater access to more opportunity and privilege (Ullah 2018 referred by Hoque, p.1). Therefore, 'specific

differences exist between real men and women' (Becker 1999 referred by Hoque, p.2). Consequentially, it puts women in an endangered situation affecting their 'confidence and self-esteem' (Hoque, p.1).

Furthermore, Yllo and Straus (2017) highlights the structural aspect of patriarchy which locates subordination of women in family particular along with 'financial, educational, religious, political, and legal institutions of the state' (referred in Hoque, p.2). While on the other hand, ideological aspect is rooted under the 'values, beliefs and norms' (referred in Hoque, p.2). As Haj-Yahia (2005) said, patriarchy creates a hierarchy by placing men and women in different positions, thereby, proclaims women as 'inferior groups and thus rejects their rights and liberty' (referred in Hoque, p.3). Moreover, remarks such as subordination of women will lead them to heaven often problematised the concept of approved domination of man over woman (Hoque, p.7) and internalisation of the same by women.

## **Gendered patriarchal violence and its impact**

In a patriarchal system, often practice of violence is legitimize to keep women in a subjugated position, as 'feminist believe violence against women is systemic in patriarchies' (Bhasin p.22). Despite of the fact that we have been given numerous constitutionals guarantees the gender-specific violence affirms the inferior position of women in society (Hadi 2017, referred in Hoque, p.2). The gender specific violence keeps varying from social cultural contexts and even impacts the access one might can have against it.

Some of the ways gender is practiced are:

Domestic violence (Krug E. et. al. 2002 referred in Naik and Naik, p.1698), includes 'acts of physical aggression like slapping, hitting, kicking or beating, psychological abuse such as intimidation, constant belittling or humiliation, forces sexual intercourse or any other controlling behaviour like isolating a person from family and friends, monitoring their movements and restricting access to information or assistance'

This tends to increase in frequency and severity (Naik and

Naik, p.1698) with the passing time. Such practices visibly manifest the functioning of gendered socialisation. Each act of violence, control, regulation, over women is the reflection of inculcation of patriarchal ideologies.

Dowry is one of the practices which makes a woman burden on their parents and society. It is one of the causes because of which girls are aborted before birth or put to death after birth. Practice which says men taking the women, needs to be compensated since he is going to bear her expenses entire life. Practice which socially justify to rob someone of its money and property for bearing a daughter. Practice which says marrying a daughter is social responsibility and sooner one can get rid of this is, the better is for them, which makes women more vulnerable to harassment and exploitation by society and family.

As Bharti remarked in her work, dowry related murder and bride burning is one of its consequences (Bharti, p.7). Even in the contemporary period, in the name of gifts, lavishing wedding ceremonies, expensive arrangements, status maintenance, practice of dowry is still maintained.

Rape is another important issue concerning the gender inequalities in society. In the name of dress, freely moving, friendly gestures, revenge, to fulfil lust, women are raped. Child to adult everyone has been victim of these crimes. Problem is, it is not taken as an offence, but instead a way of making women understand their place and limits. Educated or not educated all have victim and culprit of such instances. Violating women's bodily integrity is interpreted as stigma and shame for women and not for the one who violated it. Consequently, while numerous cases get registered, many are discouraged because of the fear of shame and stigma.

Some of other forms of violence referred by Bharti are sexual domestic violence, early marriage, sex selective abortions, decline in female sex ratio, female genital cutting, human trafficking, sexual harassment at the workplace, unequal distribution of wages and responsibility, less political representation, inadequate nutrition (Bharti, pp.7-8). The challenge before us is the struggle for releasing and liberating from patriarchal ideologies, which have been deeply internalised (Bhasin, p.22). Henceforth, functioning of patriarchy needs to be understood in the context of access one may have to power and position in patriarchal society (Bhasin, p.22). The prevalence of structural violence calls for comprehending that

women is not a homogenous category and what is instead required is an intersectional approach to evaluate the role of caste, class, region, locality, and language and many other factors affecting women (Bharti, p.2) and her situation and position in a society.

Some of the broad effects of violence on women stated by Bharti can be enumerated as follows:

Psychological effect...stress, anxiety, anger, and depression...Diminished value of life... lower strata in society and they never been counted as the main decision maker...Loss of potential...becomes physically weak and at risk of illness...Family disruption...abusive, physical, and mental violence, it resulted in family disruption...Economic loss... lost their jobs and loss of work productivities...Social disruption... deprived of supports from society (mentioned in Bharti, p.6)

Practice of gendered violence further categorised by Naik and Naik under broad five heads reflecting the risks it brings:

Individual risk factors: low self-esteem, low income, low academic achievement, aggression, alcohol use, antisocial or borderline personality traits, unemployment, depression, hostility, insecurity...Relationship factors: economic stress, unhealthy family relationships and interactions, marital instability-divorces or separations, marital conflict-fights, dominance and control of the relationship by partner over the other etc...Community factors... poverty, lack of institutions, relationships, and norms that shape a community's social interactions...Societal factors...traditional gender norms ...Legal and political factors...low level of legal literacy among women, insensitive treatment of women and girls by police and judiciary, and political factors includes domestic violence not taken seriously, limited participation of women in organising political polices, underrepresentation of women in police, media, politics etc (Naik and Naik, p.1699).

## Analysis

In Indian context, gender inequality is ingrained in its 'historical, socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts' (R, Balasubramanian, p. 135). Some of the factors listed by R, Balasubramanian are as follows: In social cultural area, persistence practice of gender roles and stereotypes restraints women's access



to 'education, economic opportunities, and participation in decision-making processes' thereby confining them to traditional roles and functions which have been considered to be less economically productive, hence maintain the division between the spheres of men and women. Secondly, caste and class-based discrimination have been multiplied when it referred in case of women, that too for a marginalized and lower-caste women. They are victimised for being women and belonging to a particular caste or community. They have often been faced with practices like untouchability and caste-based violence which creates barriers in their upward mobility (R, Balasubramanian, p. 136) in society.

In economic sphere, gender-based gap in the wages is one of the significant contributors in increasing gender inequality. Either women are paid less or segregated in the lower paying areas, thereby, creating hurdles in bringing economic parity (R, Balasubramanian, p. 136). In political sphere, either underrepresentation of women in leadership roles or restraining their influence in policies and laws making, creates difficulties in bringing gender-sensitive legislation and decision-making (R, Balasubramanian, p. 136) which further creates hurdles in handling matters of violence against women.

Traditional expectations continue to shape society by reinforcing discriminatory practices, and limiting opportunities. In spite of numerous measures, the existence of defects/faults/escape routes in the law enforcement, or practice of corruption, hinders the judicial system's ability to deal with gender-based violence and discriminations (R, Balasubramanian, p. 137). It is consequence of such violations of laws which leads to restricting access to economic opportunities or perpetuating income disparities, and occupational segregation (R, Balasubramanian, p. 136). Consequently, possibilities of enormous physical, emotional, and other abuse are generated in situations of gender-based violence based entirely on one's gender identity (R, Balasubramanian, p. 137).

As a consequence of gendered economic and social discriminations, the impact on health is significantly manifested through, unequal access to healthcare, higher maternal mortality rates and child malnutrition. Besides this, challenges of mental health are far more significant to be considered when the nature of violence is gender-based. For bringing an equitable social justice in a patriarchal gender driven society, there is an immediate need of first

addressing practices of gender inequality (R, Balasubramanian, p. 137). What we needed is the framework of holistic approach which enables to interrogate existing cultural norms, and cross examines the working of our legal mechanisms (R, Balasubramanian, p. 138).

Gender equality calls for a process which involves challenging existing traditional norms so that we can end discriminatory practices and promote opportunities of women representation, and can move towards gender-sensitive policies (R, Balasubramanian, p. 136). Along with the awareness of one's rights and justice, need is to make people realise that 'everybody has right to live a pain free life' (Naik and Naik, p. 1703), which is a big phrase, since it speaks louder than anything and can be interpreted as that no one should suffer because of one's socially constructed identity. Besides this, role of NGOs in curbing violent practices should be focussed along with spreading gender sensitization programmes, and campaigns for women's legal literacy should be encouraged (Naik and Naik, p. 1703).

Some of the strategies for progress proposed by R, Balasubramanian are: encouraging educational and skill development initiatives to enable women to break the old orthodox biased bondages; better representation in politics and decision-making to have an all-inclusive approach and sensitivity to the emerging gendered challenges and issues; challenging traditional gender roles to promote upholding of women's rights; overcoming defects of legal system, and strengthening the potential of law enforcement agencies (R, Balasubramanian, p. 138).

Furthermore, 'collective action is essential to forge a future where gender equality is not just a goal but a lived reality for all' (R, Balasubramanian, p. 139). Call for gender equality is not only to ensure justice but it is an important pre-requisite for an equitable egalitarian world. It's a call for collective action involving all whether its 'policymakers, or civil society and individuals all have roles to play in dismantling barriers, challenging stereotypes, and fostering a society where every individual, regardless of their gender, enjoys equal rights and opportunities.' (R, Balasubramanian, p. 139).

## **Conclusion**

When it comes to ending violence and inequality especially against women as an equal member of society, number of suggestions and protocols gets suggested. However, till we have existence of patriarchy, there will be a substantial barrier to the

advancement of women in social, political, economic, and cultural life. Creation of numerous legislations and threat punishments aren't enough to end the gender specific violence and inequality against women. What is needed is the change in the mindset which does not supports the beliefs and practices which are gender biased, sustains hierarchy, support inequalities, and encourages discriminations in society. What we need is the understanding that socially constructed identity such as gender cannot and should not be the base of deciding one's destiny. Notions of choices, freedom, autonomy should be with everyone irrespective of one's gender identity. Idea that all are equal and belong to an equal sphere is what we need to inculcate instead of the ideas of inequality or inferiority, if we want to bring an egalitarian just world.

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# Guru Tegh Bahadur – Chief Concerns Philosophy and Message

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Guru Tegh Bahadur born in Amritsar on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1621 was the youngest son of Guru Hargobind and Mata Nanaki. His original name having been Tyag Mal, he came to be known as Tegh Bahadur as a result of his bravery displayed in the battle of Kartarpur against Pandah Khan and the Mughal troops.<sup>1</sup> Sayed Mohammad Latif holds that he preferred to be called Tegh Bahadur or hero of the cooking pot meaning that he was a Cherisher of the poor and supporter of the hungry.<sup>2</sup> From Kartarpur Tegh Bahadur (Guru) was sent to Bakala, the home town of his mother Mata Nanaki. Guru Hargobind married him at an early age because of the earnest request of Mata Nanaki, his apathy in the worldly affairs notwithstanding. He invariably engaged himself in meditation of God, the Almighty.<sup>3</sup>

Imparting of education to him at the early stage was also looked after. He got preliminary education in Sikhism and Hindu philosophy besides learning Gurmukhi, Braj *bhasha* and Sanskrit. He was also very fond of music which fact is evinced from his *Bani*. Specialists claim that he was having expertise in musical tones. Bhai Gurdas who was a well known scholar of Sikh classics acted as one of his teacher. He thoroughly studied classics of other religions. He learnt horse riding and weapon skills with keen interest.<sup>4</sup> At his early age Tegh Bahadur (Guru) had undertaken tours in several cities of Majha region along with his father and family. These travels include the towns of Tarntaran, Kartarpur, Goindwal, Khadour etc. which prominently figure in Sikh literature.

Before his demise Guru Hargobind nominated his grandson Har Rai for Guruship. After the death of Baba Gurditta, Mata Nanaki wished that guruship be bestowed upon his son Tegh Bahadur but Guru Hargobind thought of giving this responsibility to Har Rai at that

time. They say that Mata Nanaki talked to Guru Hargobind regarding the claim of her son as Guru who pleaded that he would also become the Guru at the proper time.<sup>5</sup>

After the demise of Guru Hargobind, Tegh Bahadur (Guru) commenced residing at Bakala along with his mother Mata Nanaki and wife Mata Gujri. Bakala is a historic city in Amritsar district. It was a significant business centre in seventeenth century. Mata Nanaki's parents Hari Chand and Har Devi lived in this village. It is to be noted here that Tegh Bahadur (Guru) resided here for almost twenty years from 1644 to 1664 A.D. He got dug a basement, an underground cell there where he spent most of the time in repetition of the Name. He connected himself with Kiratpur through his brother-in-law named Kirpal Chand. Kirpal Chand served Guru Har Rai at Kiratpur.

It is very significant to take notice of the fact that Tegh Bahadur took the decision of pilgrimage to holy places with his family after staying at Bakala for 12 years. First of all, he visited Kiratpur where a number of his family members lived. Tegh Bahadur (Guru) was accompanied by Mata Nanaki, Mata Gujri, Kirpal Chand, Hariji, the wife of Suraj Mal etc. and commenced the pilgrimage from Kiratpur. They first reached Kurukshetra and then visited Haridwar. According to *Bhat Vahi* the party was there in Haridwar on 29<sup>th</sup> March 1657, the Baisakhi day. They stayed at Haridwar for some months and then proceeded to Prayag (Allahabad). After some time they reached Banaras from where the party went to Sasaram and Gaya. Afterwards they proceeded to Patna.

Guru Har Rai, the seventh Guru expired on 6<sup>th</sup> October 1661.<sup>6</sup> Guru Tegh Bahadur was present in Patna when the demise of Guru Har Rai took place.<sup>7</sup> Thereafter Tegh Bahadur (Guru) decided to reach Kiratpur for condolence. He came to know that Guru Har Krishan had already reached Delhi along with his mother Mata Sulakhni. According to *Bhat Vahi Purbi Dakhni* Tegh Bahadur (Guru) arrived at Delhi on 21 March 1664 and stayed in Dharamsala of Bhai Kalyana. A number of Sikhs met him there. The elder son of Guru Har Rai named Ram Rai who was staying in Delhi at that time met him. Tegh Bahadur (Guru) then proceeded to Mirza Raja Jai Singh's house at Raisina, a village near Delhi. There he met Guru Har Krishan and Mata Sulakhni and consoled them on account of the demise of Guru Har Rai. Afterwards he left for Bakala.

According to *Guru Kian Sakhian* Guru Har Krishan was

seriously involved in small pox in *samvat* 1721 (1664 A.D.). At this Sikh *sangat* became horrified and the question came in the forefront as to who would be the next Guru. Guru Har Krishan is said to have spoken in a very low voice that the Guru of the congregation is in Bakala. Guru Har Krishan's last words to Diwan Dargah Mal were to present the material formally required for Guruship to Baba Tegh Bahadur. From henceforth Babaji would be the next Guru of the Sikhs.<sup>8</sup> Guru Har Krishan breathed his last on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1664.<sup>9</sup> Mata Bassi, Mata Sulakhni, Dargah Mal and significant congregation gathered together from Delhi to Bakala. Baba Arjani and his son Dwarka Das, the descendent of Guru Amar Das came from Goindwal. Bhai Gurditta Randhawa also reached there from Ramdas. Bhai Gurditta pasted the holy mark of Guruship with his right hand on the forehead of Tegh Bahadur.<sup>10</sup>

It goes without saying that Guru Tegh Bahadur was invariably involved in meditation. A strong Sikh tradition holds that Guru Tegh Bahadur was brought into public vision by one Makhan Shah Lubana, a *masand* and a rich merchant of the times who visited Bakala to pay his homage to the Guru for fulfilling his strong desire to offer a sum of five hundred *mohars*. Some writers talk about one hundred *mohars*. He was able to distinguish the real Guru from the pretended Gurus. He categorically stated that he was able to find out the real Guru.<sup>11</sup>

The Guru paid a visit to a number of places after accepting the responsibility of ninth Guru. Some of these places were connected with the previous Gurus and were considered holy. Besides these places, the Guru visited several villages in the Punjab. He first reached Amritsar. Devoted Sikhs like Dargah Mal and Makhan Shah Lubana were with him. Prithia's grandson Harji was occupying Harmandir at that time. There are two different views regarding the treatment given to Guru Tegh Bahadur. According to *Guru Kian Sakhian* Harji welcomed the Guru and took him inside the Harmandir.<sup>12</sup> Another version connected with this episode is that the *masands* of Harji did not allow the Guru to enter the Harmandir by shutting the doors. This seems to be an authentic version. A number of citizens from around the city of Amritsar presented themselves before the Guru and begged apology for insolent behaviour of the *masands*. Ladies showed reverence to the Guru and provided service in the langar. The Guru blessed them with pleasing remarks which figure in a prominent tradition

'*Maiyan Rabb Rajayian*' (Ladies are blessed by the Lord, the Almighty). Hereafter the Guru proceeded to villages Walla, Khadur, Goindwal, Tarntaran, Khemkaran, Talwandi Sabo, Maur, Dhamdhan etc. The Guru then purchased an area of Makhawal on the bank of river Satluj after having been teased and becoming uncomfortable on account of inimical behavior of the opponents. It was in the year 1665 A.D. when he took his residence in Chak Nanki (Anandpur) after popularizing the town. He provided lot of help to several people to establish them there. Dhir Mal Sodhi instigated Ram Rai for Guruship but in vain. Albeit, the Guru solved the problem of the *sangat* by giving enthusiasm and zeal for undergoing religious tours after seeking advice from his Diwan Gurbaksh *masand* and Kirpal Chand etc. He gave the responsibility of population and the house to Bhagu Arora and Bhai Rama in 1665 A.D. and departed from Anandpur. Thereafter he commenced his preaching tours along with his family.<sup>13</sup>

Centres of *sangat* were established during these preaching tours. Special and particular efforts were made to support the poor and down trodden in the areas which were socially and economically backward. Tanks and wells were got dug in barren land.<sup>14</sup> Congregation commenced coming fondly to see the Guru in huge number which enhanced the disciples of the Guru. The pious and holy compositions of the Guru had great impact in the hearts of the disciples.

It is an established fact that Guru Tegh Bahadur seriously involved himself in meditation and repetition of Name in Bakala. Right from the beginning of his career, he was in favour of humility and submissive way of life. He believed in practical ethics and invariably submitted to what he preached about his faith. The religious doctrines which he preached were recapitulated by the congregation time and again since those evinced a deep impact in the hearts of the Guruwards. He invariably depicted keen interest in *gurbani* right from Bakala upto his last breath.

The Guru holds that human beings always face comforts and discomforts in their life. People always become friendly to them and indulge in their appreciation during their peaceful and comfortable life albeit nobody favours them when they are in adversity. So human beings should always engage themselves in worshipping the Lord who always protects them.<sup>15</sup> Guru Tegh

Bahadur holds that it generally happens that a human being does not admit the existence of God in his heart of hearts. He makes useless efforts to find the Almighty in the forests. Nevertheless, God is omnipresent, omnipotent and resides in the hearts of human beings.<sup>16</sup> Guru Tegh Bahadur unfolds the reality of life which is a universal fact. He holds that Ram Chander passed away and Ravan too, who had extensive family. Guru Nanak quoths that the world is like a dream and nothing is ever-lasting.<sup>17</sup>

Guru Tegh Bahadur pleads that when the prowess is lost and adversity faces us and no solution comes forth, then supreme power of the Lord protects us. He cites an instance of an elephant whom God saved in the drastic situation. The Guru clarifies that by seeking the protection of the Lord, the lost prowess is regained. No obstacle comes in our way and we get rid of the problem with determination.<sup>18</sup> According to Guru Tegh Bahadur it is suitable for human beings to live in the world like a lotus which is not dipped in water, its existence in water notwithstanding. Human beings should not indulge themselves in wealth. All worldly relations are temporary. Hence remembrance of God is altogether necessary.

The number of Sikhs exceedingly increased owing to the preaching and religious tours of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Emperor Aurangzeb could not bear the increasing number of Sikhs since he was in favour of fanaticism. Besides this, government officials added fuel to the fire. Moreover, Emperor Aurangzeb did not favour the use of the word 'Bahadur' with the name of the Guru. A group of Brahmans from Kashmir presented themselves before the Guru for the protection of their religion. There is a strong Sikh tradition that Guru Tegh Bahadur became ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of *Dharma* and the Emperor was duly informed that in case of religious conversion of Guru Tegh Bahadur, a good number of people would accept the Islamic faith.<sup>19</sup> Eventually Guru Tegh Bahadur along with his close disciples Bhai Mati Das, Bhai Sati Das and Bhai Dayala were arrested and martyred in Delhi. It was a unique event in the universe that sacrifice for the sake of other's faith and humanity was given.

By way of conclusion and last but not the least we may say that Guru Tegh Bahadur was not declined by any influence of fear or lust and instead of religious conversion faced disaster and death. In this way the Guru gave supreme sacrifice and protected the religion. The universal message of Guru Tegh Bahadur was that one



should neither be afraid of anybody nor be offensive. One should be true and firm to one's religion.

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# Peasant Consciousness and Protests in Colonial Bihar Till 1920

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The European planters had acquired zamindari rights and “*thekedari*” in several areas of Bihar, particularly in the north, and were carrying out the cultivation of indigo. In Champaran, the cultivation of indigo was carried out through the “*tinkathia* system”, which was characterised by high costs of production, an absence of free market relations that was detrimental to the interest of the cultivators (peasants) and an adverse impact on the fertility of soil. The peasants cultivating indigo were protesting against these since long in different parts of North Bihar. These protests were joined by the local leaders since the beginning of the twentieth century, and these leaders were eventually successful in bringing Gandhi to Champaran and the protests became intense. It were not only the tinkathia system, but the peasants were also protesting against their exploitation in the Darbhanga Raj.

The *raiya*s of Tirhut, Saran, and Munger defied the indigo contracts made with the planters, and cultivated food crops during the 1830s. Such confrontational approach of the peasants alarmed the planters, and they appealed to the Secretary of the Government of Bengal requesting for specific regulations that would restrict the violation of the indigo contracts by the *raiya*s. In contrast to the sporadic complaints and protests of the *raiya*s in Saran, Tirhut, Munger, Bhagalpur, Purnea, the peasant protests in Pandaul (Darbhanga) was more persistent and long-lasting, taking the form of a movement during January- March 1867.<sup>1</sup> The peasants of Champaran appealed to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to appoint a Commission of enquiry failing which they threatened ‘bloodshed and destruction of property’.<sup>2</sup>

In the mid-1890s after the introduction of a commercially competitive synthetic dye (invented by a German scientist), the

prices of the indigo fell sharply-almost by a half between 1894-96 and 1904 from Rs 254 maund to Rs 100 maund.<sup>3</sup> The Planters used a provision of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 that empowered them to raise rent from peasants who wished to be released from the cultivation of a crop for which a raiyat had held land at a special rent in an effort to minimise the loss. Making use of this clause, the planters attempted to increase rent by almost 60 per cent, and the transaction was concluded by registered documents, known as “*sharabeshi*”<sup>4</sup>. Additionally the planters tried to exercise their coercive powers, reinforced their control over *amlas* and to increase the collection of *abwabs*.

As a result, there was growing dissatisfaction among the peasants, and they strongly protested against these excesses, which sometimes took violent form. This resulted in the fatal assault on Bloomfield, the Manager of the Tellhara factory, in 1907. Large-scale protests followed, such as, the Shikarpur disturbances of 1907-1908, the Bettiah riots of 1908-1909, the demonstration before the King-Emperor in 1911, the petitioning against *abwab* of 1914, and the *sharabeshi* disturbances of 1915-1916. As the peasants challenged the legitimacy of *sharabeshi*, there was more widespread disturbance in the Motihari subdivision in 1915-1916.<sup>5</sup> Regarding the reasons behind such unrest, the Commissioner of Patna Division recognised that beside the planter’s alleged oppression, the raiyats were aware of the massive profit made by the planters and believed they had a right to a part of it.<sup>6</sup>

The peasant grievances were voiced at various platforms, such as, the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, the Bihar Provincial congress at Chapra in 1915, and the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916.<sup>7</sup> At the Lucknow session, while supporting the Xth Resolution “Planters and Labourers in Bihar” Raj Kumar Shukla apprised the delegates about the conditions of the peasants working under the *tinkathia* system in Champaran.<sup>8</sup> When the delegates from Bihar requested Gandhi to move a Resolution on the matter, Gandhi refused to do so arguing that he had not studied the issue himself.<sup>9</sup>

Gandhi arrived in Champaran on 15 April, 1917, after being persistently persuaded by Raj Kumar Shukla. Before reaching Champaran, he spent some time in Patna and Muzaffarpur, where he met Braj Kishore Prasad, Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kriplani, Mazhar-ul Haq, Hasan Imam, Ram Navami Prasad, most of whom were lawyers by profession with some zamindari background.

It is noteworthy that Gandhi at this time made it clear that his objective in Champaran was to verify the authenticity of the assertions made to him concerning the tinkathia system of indigo cultivation, rather than to incite unrest among the local peasants. Furthermore, he clarified that “making peace with honour” was his ultimate objective.<sup>10</sup> With the help of his associates, Gandhi appealed to the peasants to document their grievances, and in front of Gandhi and his associates, over 8000 peasants articulated their sufferings.<sup>11</sup>

Gandhi’s engagement with the problems of the peasants in Champaran created a state of ‘unparalleled excitement’, and the British officials realised that this might flare up major disturbances.<sup>12</sup> The pressure generated by such ‘excitement’ and Gandhi producing strong evidences in support of peasant’s complaints resulted in the appointment of a Committee by the Government, with Gandhi as one of the members representing the peasants. The Committee held its hearings between July-October 1917, and made the recommendations which formed the basis of the Champaran Agrarian Relief Act of 1918. The Act outlawed the tinkathia system, reduced rents raised in place of indigo cultivation by 20 or 26 per cent, and required the return of the money obtained in exchange for releasing the *ryots* from their obligation to cultivate indigo i.e. *sharabeshi*.<sup>13</sup>

While examining the Champaran movement, it becomes clear that, despite certain limitations, the peasant were aware of their situations, that the law courts might provide relief to them, and also that they were protesting for the resolution of their complaints. However, these protests were largely sporadic and lacked coordination, hence were not able to put pressure on the colonial government. With the involvement of local leaders like Raj Kumar Shukla, Khendar Prasad Rai, Sant Raut, Lomraj Singh,<sup>14</sup> these protests took on a much broader perspective. It is significant to note that the ‘local’ leaders were relatively better off peasants and moneylenders. However, it were their efforts especially Raj Kumar Shukla which ensured the association of many of the local intelligentsia and congress members, and Gandhi who had not yet emerged as a “national leader”.

What becomes significant is how Gandhi made indigo and Champaran, the epicentre of the movement, so significant and unique in the context of the ongoing national movement under the leadership of the Congress. Gandhi displayed a distinctiveness in

the sense that he educated himself on the circumstances before deciding upon any course of action. By means of direct communication with the peasants, Gandhi managed to forge a connection and bond that continued to strength.

Through his personal interaction with the peasants he was able to develop an understanding of the intensities of the sufferings faced by the people. This also provided him an opportunity to understand the complexities of agrarian relations, and the intricacies of the zamindari system. This eventually helped Gandhi in evolving his strategy towards agrarian situation.

It is important to note that while addressing the plights of the peasants Gandhi was cautious in taking up such agrarian issues which involved local zamindars, and therefore was more inclined towards diffusing class tensions rather than intensifying them. This is evident from the narrow focus of enquiry into the particular *tinkathia* system and ignoring the broader issue of inequalities inherent in the Zamindari system, and the illegal demands such as *abwabs* collected by the local zamindars as well as the European planters.

Even though Gandhi was visiting Champaran for the first time, the peasants placed their trust and confidence in him. Wherever he visited, peasants were present in large numbers. As Rajendra Prasad recollected in his Autobiography, ‘...the streets of Motihari and Bettiah were crowded as on *mela* days during the sittings of the Champaran Agrarian Committee.’<sup>15</sup>

Approximately 8000 peasants representing over 850 of the 2651 villages in the district in 1911 participated in the enquiry that Gandhi or his associates were conducting.<sup>16</sup> This demonstrates that the influence of Gandhi was felt throughout the whole area. Peasants from neighbouring area travelled to invite Gandhi to come speak to their areas.

Regarding the Congress as an organisation, Gandhi was hesitant to involve the organisation as this might have impacted the resolution of the indigo dispute with the planters and the colonial administration. Moreover, the Congress as an organisation did not have a strong presence in the districts, and until then Gandhi himself could not have developed rapport with the central leadership of the Congress.<sup>17</sup> As Rajendra Prasad recollected, ‘...We had strict instructions not to address the people....no

meetings, and no lectures either by us, or Gandhiji in Champaran in those days....Gandhiji told us that we were the spearhead of the Home Rule Movement, we need not, during the Champaran investigations, take part in the movement.’<sup>18</sup>

## Peasant protests in the Darbhanga Raj

Around the same time as the Champaran movement, unrest was building up among the peasants against the Darbhanga Raj, one of the largest and richest zamindars of Bihar. The Survey and Settlement operations carried out in north Bihar during 1890s and 1900s also documented the misdeeds of the zamindars, and illegal demands like *abwabs* responsible for the plight of the peasants.<sup>19</sup> Peasants under the leadership of Swami Vidyanand organised protests against the Darbhanga Raj between 1919-1920, their protests were mainly about protecting and promoting their interests.

In June 1919, at a meeting in Narar (Darbhanga district) Vidyanand deliberated upon issues concerning the rights of the peasants, and the necessity of opening schools to spread education among the people.<sup>20</sup> A petition concerning ‘the complaints of the inhabitants of Narar’ regarding the rights of the tenants in trees, disappearance of grazing field, imposition of mutation fees, interference of the zamindars with occupancy rights, and the exactions and oppression by the *amlas* was sent to the Lt. Governor of Bihar & Orissa under the guidance of Vidyanand.<sup>21</sup>

Vidyanand organised well attended Kisan Sabhas in Bhagalpur, Munger, and Muzaffarpur, which caused great unrest in the region. Subsequently the peasants began to assert their rights to their ancestral trees even though they did not have legal documents for this. In multiple instances, the tenants refused to work for the landlords as per custom and withheld rents for *mankhup*, *Batai*, *Bhaoli* lands and trees.<sup>22</sup> Vidyanand led peasant protests caused such unrest that the Superintendent of Police (S.P), Darbhanga reported to the District Magistrate (D.M), Muzaffarpur that ‘this man is following the footsteps of Gandhi and inflaming the minds of the *ryots* against the Darbhanga Raj as Gandhi did in Champaran against the Planters.’<sup>23</sup>

Not only did Vidyanand spearhead the peasant protests, but he also realised the importance of representative institutions in contesting the privileged positions of the zamindars, and the possibilities they opened for addressing the peasant’s grievances.

Subsequently, Vidyanand decided to contest the elections for the Bihar & Orissa Legislative election of 1920 from Bhagalpur and North Darbhanga district. The peasant concerns, particularly those pertaining to the landlord-tenant relationship dominated the election campaign.<sup>24</sup> Notably, Vidyanand and four other peasants representatives won the elections, securing 69% votes in North Bhagalpur and 69% & 67% votes in North-East & North-West Darbhanga respectively.<sup>25</sup> The election results demonstrates the peasants' increasing awareness of their grievances and possibilities of its redressal.

However, by the latter part of 1920 the movement against the Darbhanga Raj was becoming less intense. The post-war economic recovery, Vidyanand's engagement with the Legislative Council work, and certain concessions offered by the Darbhanga Raj could have played a role in the decline of the peasant's activities.

Vidyanand led the peasant protest in 1919-1920, primarily to protect the rights and interests of the peasants, without challenging the legitimacy of the zamindari system. Since the movement was against Darbhanga Maharaj Rameshwar Singh, a staunch supporter of the British Raj, the Congress initially supported it and also acknowledged that some of the peasant's' demands were legitimate.<sup>26</sup> However, the Congress began to distance itself when Vidyanand attempted to institutionalise the movement. The Congress leaders from Bihar were becoming apprehensive that the agitation against Darbhanga Raj might develop into radical movement against the zamindari system itself. The Congress was not ready for such situations, not only because many of its prominent leaders from Bihar had zamindari ties, but also because the Congress was working towards uniting the small zamindars in their struggle against the British Raj.<sup>27</sup>

This becomes clear from our discussion that the peasants in Bihar were highly conscious of their plight and actively engaged in protests for the redress of their grievances. With the involvement of local leaders, and Gandhi, these protests gained intensity and perspective. After his return from South Africa, Gandhi for the first time had been engaging with the peasant's issues and in a way with the agrarian relations. His connect with the peasants was obvious from the beginning when a large number of peasants came forward to record their statements. This is significant as notwithstanding the

planters' atrocities, Gandhian intervention 'broke the barriers of fear' in the minds of the peasants who defied the authority of British Raj and the Planters in recording their statements.<sup>28</sup>

Gandhi in a way began the process of politicising the peasantry, bringing them into the mainstream and demonstrating the possibility that they could play a significant role in the national movement. It is important to keep in mind that Gandhi made sure that the demands during the Champaran movement were clear and that the movement did not go beyond such demands. This emerged out as his distinct technique in organising his movements, i.e., to keep the demands very specific, leaving no scope for ambiguities, and a clear directive to his associates about their responsibilities.

In addition to their consciousness and readiness for action, the peasants needed a more comprehensive perspective and a focussed movement to address their grievances, and in such circumstances, leadership becomes important. The peasant protests against their exploitation in the Darbhanga Raj offer an excellent illustration of this.

## Footnotes

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# Exploring The Causes and Consequences of The French Revolution: Lessons From The Age of Enlightenment

● Dr. Sanjeev Kumar

*The French Revolution, a watershed crossroads ever, remains a subject of scholarly request because of its significant effect on subsequent societal developments. This study delves into the causes and consequences of this transformative occasion, with a specific focus on the Enlightenment's impact. Through an analysis of essential and secondary sources, the study seeks to clarify the interconnected factors that accelerated the revolution and examine its broad repercussions. By investigating the socio-monetary, political, and philosophical dynamics at play, this research sheds light on the complexities of revolutionary commotion. The findings underscore the significance of Enlightenment principles in shaping revolutionary ideas and activity. This study contributes to a more profound understanding of the French Revolution's inheritance and offers insights into its more extensive implications for the study of history and the human condition.*

**Keywords :** *Enlightenment, Causes, Consequences, Socio-economic factors, Political dynamics, Ideological influences.*

## 1. Introduction:

The Age of Enlightenment, going before the revolution, fostered scholarly ferment across Europe. Enlightenment ideals of freedom, uniformity, and club significantly affected revolutionary ideas. This period witnessed a surge in decisive reasoning, questioning established norms, and supporting change [1]. The

French Revolution arose amidst socioeconomic disparities and political discontent. It typified a struggle against dug-in hierarchies and oppressive regimes. The revolutionaries sought to dismantle the medieval system and establish a more libertarian society. Nonetheless, the revolution's direction has been tumultuous, set apart by radical shifts and brutality. The repercussions of the French Revolution resonated universally, inspiring revolutions and touching off debates on administration and basic freedoms. Its inheritance persists as a wake-up call and a source of inspiration for movements seeking social justice and political change. The lessons from this time underscore the power of ideas to shape history and the persevering quest for opportunity and correspondence [2]. The assessment of the French Revolution inside the setting of the Age of Enlightenment unveils unpredictable connections between philosophy, politics, and societal transformation. This study aims to dig further into these connections and disentangle the multi-layered dynamics basic perhaps of the most consequential revolution in modern history. The Age of Enlightenment, a precursor to this seismic occasion, proclaimed a period of scholarly ferment and philosophical investigation. Enlightenment thinkers tested conventional power structures, supporting reason, freedom, and progress [3]. Against this background of scholarly enthusiasm, the French Revolution arose as a pot of revolutionary intensity, powered by grievances against the government and aristocracy.

## 2. Related Works:

Messenger's (2023) [15] investigation of long-haul cannabis use among ladies delves into the exemplified experiences of consumption, shedding light on the intersection of orientation, well-being, and substance use. Nogué-Algueró, Kallis, and Ortega's (2023) [16] study on self-restriction in small-scale fisheries in Catalonia contributes to discussions on sustainable resource management, upholding aggregate activity even with natural challenges. Otayf (2022) [17] examines dystopian themes in postcolonial writing, offering insights into how narratives reflect and study socio-political realities. Palmer (2023) [18] analyzes Mike Davis' socialist vision inside the setting of capitalist study, featuring the potential for resistance inside authoritative structures. Preston's (2021) [19] research on humor composing as an educational device explores imaginative approaches to showing ways of talking and

composition in advanced education. Viscuso's (2023) [20] relative study of Dark writing foregrounds issues of injury, personality, and racialization, examining how abstract texts arrange experiences of race and racism. Vuèiniæ Neškoviæ (2023) [21] examines arising subdisciplines in ethnology and humanities, following research trends at the University of Belgrade and adding to disciplinary discourse. Warman's (2023) [22] analysis of utopianism in New Age science fiction explores visions of societal transformation and conscious development, offering basic insights into elective futures. Wurttemberg's (2020) [23] investigation of the 1775 Quebec Campaign contextualizes military history inside more extensive narratives of country-building and international shifts during the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. These diverse studies all enhance the understanding of various fields, from orientation studies and ecological sustainability to writing, teaching methods, human sciences, and history. This underscores the interdisciplinary idea of scholastic request and the horde ways in which research contributes to more extensive scholarly conversations. Through nuanced analysis and observational investigation, these works enlighten complex peculiarities, challenge the tried-and-true way of thinking, and incite basic reflection. As scholars keep on pushing the boundaries of information and engage with pressing social, social, and policy-driven issues, their contributions extend the understanding of the world and illuminate future research agendas. Moreover, Chase and Censer (2022) [24] give a comprehensive outline of the French Revolution and its consequences, outlining it as a cauldron of modernity. Timm and Sanborn (2022) [25] offer a gendered perspective on European history from the French Revolution to today, following the intersections of orientation, sexuality, and power. The contributions made by female philosophers through the French Revolution are the subject of Bergès (2022), [26] which emphasizes their significance in impacting revolutionary speech and political concepts. These publications add to different scholarly discussions about the French Revolution by shedding light on its origins, effects, and more extensive ramifications for politics, society, and culture. In light of everything, these works advance multidisciplinary conversations and widen the understanding of several fields, upgrading scholastic discussion and enlightening research objectives for the next few years. These challenge-winning paradigms give significant insights into mind-boggling characteristics and encourage major research

into earnest societal challenges through exhaustive investigation and innovative techniques. As academics persist in growing their knowledge, their contributions upgrade the comprehension of the world and persuade extra research into strange areas of request.

### 3. Methods and Materials

#### 3.1 Choice of methods:

The selected methods for this study include a deductive research strategy, and the use of experimental design in conducting. Deductive research involves, as appropriate the objective of exploring the causal relationships between Enlightenment ideals. In the French Revolution, hypothesis testing based on pre-existing theories or principles [5]. Although the study of historical phenomena, such as the French Revolution does not afford conventional experimental techniques. This seeks a quasi-experiment by identifying causal mechanisms and testing their effects within historical parameters.

**Table 1 : Details of used methodology**

<b>Method</b>	<b>Description</b>
Deductive Research Approach	Utilization of deductive reasoning to formulate hypotheses based on theoretical frameworks derived from Enlightenment ideals and historical context.
Experimental Research Design	Designing experiments to test hypotheses derived from theoretical frameworks, analyzing the results within the context of the French Revolution and Enlightenment.
Secondary Data Analysis	Examination of existing datasets, historical documents, and scholarly literature to gather empirical evidence and contextualize findings within the broader research context.
Comparative Analysis	Comparing historical events, socio-economic conditions, and ideological developments across different periods and regions to identify patterns and causal relationships.

The above table (Table-1) shows the methodology used in this project this shows all the techniques used in this project. Secondary data is in the form of scholarly works, academic journals, and historical records. This provides an understanding of how Enlightenment philosophies relate to the French Revolution. Through the identification, synthesis, and critical interpretation of these sources. This reveals causal connections from Enlightenment thought to revolutionary turmoil [6]. The synergy between deductive research, and experimental design principles. The use of secondary data sources facilitates a structured inquiry into the factors that produced the French Revolution while reflecting upon Enlightenment ideals. Such methodological decisions enable one to carry out a thorough analysis of historical processes and reveal complexity in the dynamics between ideology and revolutionary practices [7].

### 3.2 Justification of chosen methods:

The selected approaches reflect a framework of deductive research, incorporating an application to the study according to Enlightenment theories and their effects on France leading up specifically during the French Revolution [8]. Primary sources promote direct interaction with original texts, enabling a first-hand analysis of ideological impetuses motivating revolutionary actors.

**Table 2 : Details of data sources**

Method	Description
Analysis of Primary Sources	Examination of primary sources from key Enlightenment figures such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu, as well as documents from the French Revolution itself.
Historical Contextualization	Examination of economic conditions, social structures, and political tensions in pre-revolutionary France within the broader historical framework of 18 <sup>th</sup> -century Europe.
Interdisciplinary Perspective	Drawing insights from fields such as history, political science, philosophy, and sociology to explore the French Revolution from multiple angles.

Utilizing an experimental research design facilitates systematic analysis of the course of historical events. A structured setting which makes it possible to detect causal connections between Enlightenment ideals and revolutionary results. Alongside primary data, secondary sources provide better situational contexts and allow for comparison thus providing a deeper insight into historical flows [9]. Through these assemblages of methodological perspectives, the study seeks to provide a holistic analysis of Enlightenment thought. The French Revolution with deeper thinking about this historical period.

### **3.3 Summary:**

This analysis, the selected methods are a deductive research perspective, experiment; in addition, reliance on secondary data. It is based on these methods that one has decided to investigate the causes and consequences of the French Revolution about Enlightenment. The interdisciplinary approach offered a general overview of the revolution's intricacies, whereas the deductive enabled one to test hypotheses devised on a theoretical framework. These methods as a whole give an in-depth analysis of the interdependency between Enlightenment ideals and revolutionary dynamics.

## **4. Result and Discussion :**

### **4.1 Result**

The comprehensive research of the Enlightenment philosophers' primary sources, also Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. This reveals striking harmony between ideals informed by reason and equality in the French Revolution. The phraseology of these philosophers described the principles of liberty, equality, and democracy that mimicked thoughts expressed by revolutionary actors in the late 18th century [10]. Voltaire's ideas of free-flowing speech and religious tolerance. Rousseau on the idea behind sovereignty in his social contract theory, and Montesquieu then took another line. With an articulation of separation of powers are all some features that led to a boom in intellectual activity preceding the revolution.

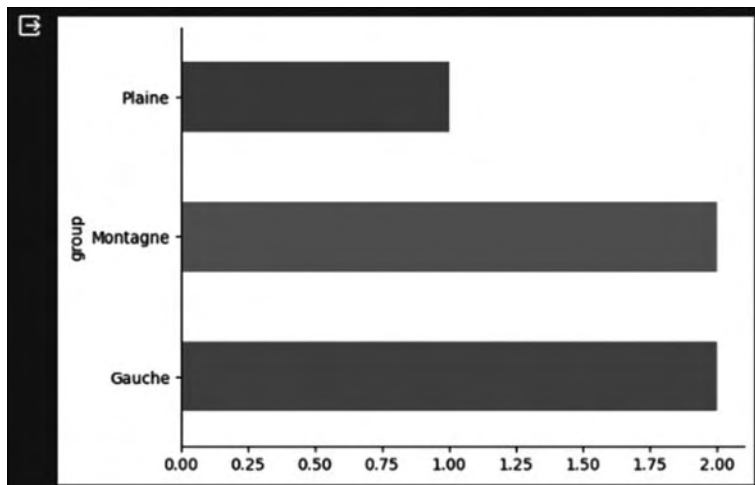
The economic environment in pre-revolutionary France, characterized by poverty and lack of food. This is a regressive tax system that took people's money-making social tensions even worse which had led to dissatisfaction from among its citizens. The

Figure 4.1: Showing the details of Dataset

	Name	Start Mandate	End Mandate	Group	Department	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Place of death
0	Pierre Alard	1794-08-0	1795-10-26	Gauche	Haute-Garonne	1745-10-18	Montesquieu-Volvestre (Haute-Garonne - France)	1826-07-16	Montesquieu-Volvestre (Haute-Garonne - France)
1	Jean, Cesar Battelier ou Battellier	1792-09-03	1795-10-26	Montagne	Mame	1757-12-13	Vitry-le-Francois (Marne - France)	1808-10-03	Vitry-le-Francois (Marne - France)
2	Jean-André Barrot	1792-09-04	1795-10-26	Gauche	Lozere	1753-06-30	Planchamp (Lozere - France)	1845-11-19	Paris (Paris - France)
3	Pierre Baréty	1792-09-07	1795-10-26	Plaine	Hautes-Alpes	1747-07-26	La Piarre (Hautes-Alpes - France)	1796-02-14	La Piarre (Hautes-Alpes - France)
4	Jean-André Barthélémy	1792-09-06	1795-10-26	Montagne	Haute-Loire	1742-09-23	Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire - France)	1817-10-01	Chaspinhac (Haute-Loire - France)

Enlightenment social criticism directed against the feudal privileges and absolutist monarchy. This found a deeper echo in grievances about enshrined aristocracy, as well as the perceived tyranny of the reign of King Louis XVI [11]. As Enlightenment thoughts spread throughout French society through salons, pamphlets, and clandestine writings. This created widespread enthusiasm for revolutionary change that destroyed the validity of traditional hierarchies.

Figure 4.2: Showing the Plotting of different groups





Different groups are shown in the above (figure 4.2) plot shows the groups visually the group name is shown on the x-axis. The Estates-General is called in 1789, and the storming of the Bastille and Declaration all nothing but corollaries to revolutionary excitement. These acts can be interpreted as an affirmation of the role played by the people in deciding such important matters based on their consensus without ruling monarchs. A clear difference is made between popular sovereignty and denial [12]. The revolutionaries aimed to regularize the Enlightenment ideals by creating a constitutional monarchy and abolishing feudal immunities heralding an epoch of liberty and equality. The Jeffery at the face of it is an instance to every aspect. The radical stage of the revolution, whereby the Committee for Public Safety and Cult is enthroned in its place to assert revolutionary ideals as antitheses against needs

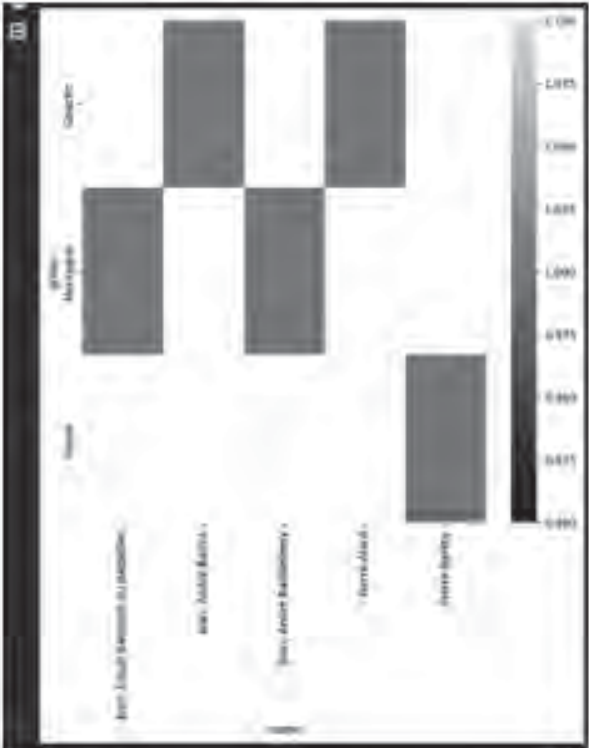


Figure 4.3: Heat Map

other than state security [13]. This Napoleonic era that ensued is characterized by the solidification of revolution victories via consolidation and annexing as well as constraining.

The heatmap shown in the above image (Figure 4.3) this introduced by Napoleon, emphasizing equality before the law. Meritocracy grounded civil post-revolutionary France's Enlightenment ideals [14]. While indirectly emphasizing the contradictions that lay dormant in revolutionary ideas, imperialism and authoritarian practices belonging to Napoleon epitomized these themes. The French Revolution is a unification of enlightenment ideals and socioeconomic wrongs coupled with political chaos. It brings out the transformative potential of ideas in history-making and the cognitive significance that revolts traditionally had on models of contemporary cities. Through the interrogation of Enlightenment ideas and revolutionary action, politics made sense. The complex nature of social change at insights into revolutionary transition since enlightened thought guided to some extent.

## 4.2 Discussion

The soothing effects of the concluding discussion link up to revolutionary ideas and ideals in a bid to establish that which it is after societal change. The French Revolution can be said to have been founded on ideological catalysts such as liberty, equality and democracy popular in the Enlightenment period. The writings of philosophers like Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu gave intellectual arguments to the revolutionaries determined to destroy a more equitable society that would come thereafter [27]. The popular sovereignty that involves the demand for representative government and the abolition of absolute monarchy from Rousseau, in "The Social Contract", forms the basis. For instance, Voltaire's early call to religious tolerance and free speech is compatible with revolutionaries who are demanding political rights and those who pushed for religious freedoms. Yet, the implementation of Enlightenment's ideals in conditions of revolution is marred with obstacles and inconsistencies [28]. The French Revolution in 1789 resulted in a revolutionary frenzy that unleashed violence and created tumultuous which led to the Reign of Terror as well as authority forms such as Jacobins and Robespierre.

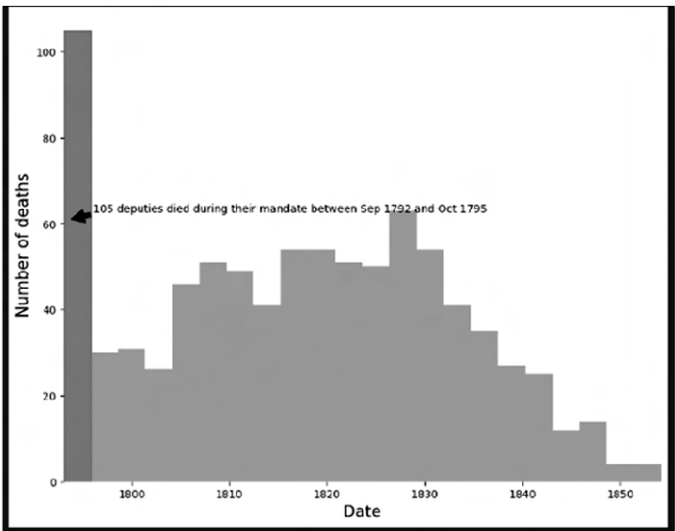


Figure 4.4: Showing the Number of Deaths due to National Convention

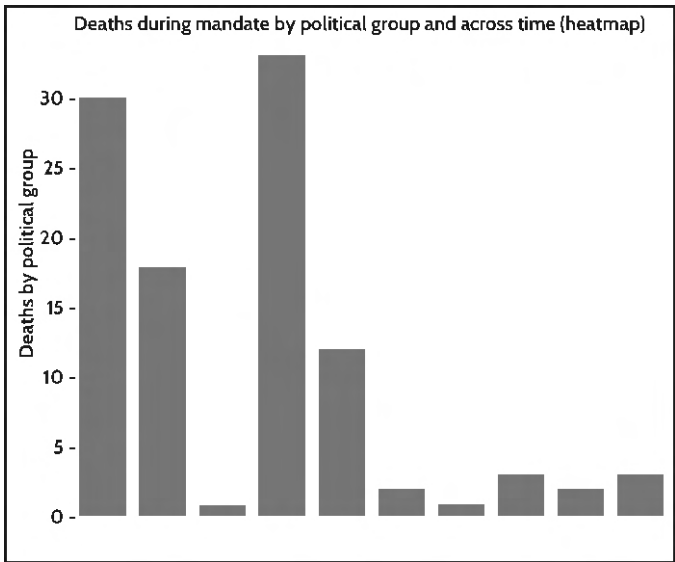


Figure 4.5: Showing the Deaths during the mandate by the political group

	Montagne	Gauche	Dantonnistes	Girondins	Moderes	Majorite	Plaine	Centre droit	Droite	unknown
1793Q1 -	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1793Q2 -	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1793Q3 -	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1793Q4 -	4	4	0	25	3	1	0	1	1	2
1795Q1 -	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0
1795Q2 -	4	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	1
1795Q3 -	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1795Q4 -	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1796Q1 -	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1796Q2 -	9	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
1796Q3 -	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1796Q4 -	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 4.6: Bar Plot

This state of peculiarness is created by the contradiction between proclamations to liberty and consolidation of power which led to the revolutionary government's freedoms. As well, the influence of the French Revolution is not limited to the boundaries of that country, inspiring equivalent political reforms and national freedom movements all over Europe and wider. The revolution, as a result, saw the adoption of the Declaration upholding man's and citizen's rights-which became an embodiment of all oppressed peoples striving for tyranny annihilation by establishing democrats [29]. Ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity connected continent to continent in reverberations that shaped the history of modern times rolling on a wave ahead for the next revolutions-Haitian Revolution and Latin American Wars. Figure 4.4: PER

Napoleon Bonaparte rose during the chaos of 'the revolution' and this proved how unstable democracy is as it is an institution that gives great authority to the people. The future of the revolution, then is indicative of how this conceptualizes revolution in general and interprets social changes. Thus, a careful context-sensitive analysis needs to be employed during any discourse that is centered on socio-historical themes about controversial topics such as revolutions- especially those with dire consequences. Figure 4.5:PER

The French Revolution can be summarized as a watershed point in the history of the euro and beyond, that brought about radical political changes therein. An analysis of the relationship is now showcased with Enlightenment ideals and broader socio-political ramifications [30]. The contradictions and complexities of the revolution remind me that idealism can clash with pragmatics, implying how establishing liberty, equality, and justice for all is a rather difficult process. Figure 4.6: PER

## 5. Conclusion:

The tempestuous history of the revolution highlights that completing revolutionary principles is so troublesome. Notwithstanding, its effect goes past its short history, serving as an inspiration for other worldwide movements pushing for central liberties and greater part rule. The French Revolution also serves as a wake-up call, helping to remember the perils of uncontrolled power and the significance of safeguarding individual liberties. Besides, the study of the revolution inside the structure of the Age of Enlightenment reveals the transformative capability of ideas in shaping historical events. By investigating the connections between philosophy, politics, and societal change, these gain insights into the dynamics of revolution and resistance. In this manner, the French Revolution continues to stimulate scholarly requests and basic reflection, provoking to go up against principal questions about governance, social justice, and human instinct. As this explores contemporary challenges and strives for an additional just and fair world, the lessons of the French Revolution stay as significant and strong as ever. The French Revolution serves as a wake-up call, featuring the delicacy of social request and the potential for radical change notwithstanding dug-in imbalance and oppression. By studying the causes and consequences of this seminal occasion, gain insights into the mind-boggling exchange of political, social, and monetary forces that shape mankind's history. The lessons of the French Revolution resonate across reality, move to withstand the injustices of the period, and strive for a more even-handed and just society.

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# The Impact of Lantana Camara on Agro-Pastoral Communities in the Buffer Zones of Tiger Reserves : Challenges and Mitigation Strategies

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*The invasive shrub Lantana camara poses significant challenges to agro-pastoral communities living in the buffer zones of tiger reserves. This study examines the diverse impacts of Lantana camara on agricultural productivity, livestock health, economic stability, and social structures in Tiger Reserve. It also explores various management and mitigation strategies to address these challenges. The findings highlight the need for integrated approaches that combine mechanical, chemical, and biological control methods with community involvement and policy support to effectively manage Lantana camara invasions.*

**Keywords :** *Lantana camara, Tiger Reserve, livestock, Agro-postral*

## Introduction :

The unchecked proliferation of Lantana camara, a noxious and invasive plant species, has raised significant concerns within the pristine landscapes of Indian Tiger Reserves. This study delves into the multifaceted impact of Lantana camara on the delicate balance of flora and fauna in these vital conservation areas. As we embark on this exploration, it becomes imperative to unravel the intricate ecological repercussions of Lantana camara's presence, examining how it intertwines with the diverse ecosystems and biodiversity within the Indian Tiger Reserves.

## Objectives:

1. To evaluate how Lantana camara affects the local ecosystem,

particularly soil quality, crop productivity, and the availability of grazing land.

2. To review and propose effective mitigation strategies that can be implemented to control the spread of *Lantana camara* and alleviate its adverse effects on agro-pastoral communities.

### **Hypothesis:**

1. Does the invasion of *Lantana camara* significantly reduce soil fertility and crop yields in agro-pastoral lands within the buffer zones of tiger reserves?
2. Is there a notable decrease in the availability and quality of grazing lands for livestock due to the spread of *Lantana camara* in these regions?
3. Are the socio-economic conditions of agro-pastoral communities in the buffer zones of tiger reserves adversely affected by the proliferation of *Lantana camara*?

### **Study Area:**

Tiger reserves representing different eco-typical landscapes (Shivalik and Gangetic Plains, Central India, North-East, Western Ghats) within the country were selected for primary data collection. The project involved four study sites viz., Bandipur, Dudhwa, Kanha and Kaziranga Tiger Reserves to collect data.

### **Methodology:**

Field reconnaissance surveys revealed that Dudhwa and Kaziranga have very limited locations of *Lantana camara* presence. Both the Tiger reserves are a part of alluvial floodplains and are grassland dominated. Hence the pseudo absence of *Lantana camara* from rest of the locations was ruled out. Since our objective was to understand specific weed interaction with flora and fauna, hence uniform sampling for whole tiger reserve is inconsequential for Dudhwa and Kaziranga where limited location confirmed presence of *Lantana camara*.

### **Literature survey:**

Biological invasions have emerged as one of the most pervasive threats to biodiversity. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) defines an invasive species as a “*Species, subspecies or lower taxon, introduced outside its natural past or*

*present distribution; includes any part, gametes, seeds, eggs, or propagules of such species that might survive and subsequently reproduce”.*

While dealing scientifically with invaders, incorporating the concept of local knowledge on how rural communities manage or value such species can unfold ‘diverse contexts relevant to invasiveness’ (Head, 2017). Community perceptions and attitudes can widely influence management of invasive species, especially in the agricultural or horticultural systems (Oxley et al., 2016). Local community members are all differently affected by the presence of invasive species and thus tend to have different notions regarding their management (Norgaard, 2007). Understanding the social aspects of invasion is not as straightforward as it seems, because it is majorly based on ‘micro-economic theory of consumer preferences’ (Rai et al., 2012).

Rural perception of invasive species depends on how they are utilised as per the economic needs of the communities which varies across regions and species under consideration (Rai et al., 2012). Most invasive species have attained the status of being ‘undesirable’ to the society owing to their economic and ecological impacts (Parks et al., 2005). Invasive species can have direct or indirect effects on human as well as animal health and well-being (Hayyat et al., 2020) which is also influenced by the differing social and cultural values and human perspectives, often leading to contrasting decisions regarding invasive species control (Oxley et al., 2016). In a study by Oxley et al., 2016, it was noticed that while majority of the respondents already had prior knowledge about invasive plants and their effects, the need to control them came only with the realisation that they cause damage to native species or with perceived human threatening impacts. In another study conducted by Rai et al., 2012 on the appraisal of invasive plant species in rural Nepal, it was found that the respondents were well aware of their existence and potential impacts. Despite that, the consumption and utility of these plants can be an indicator of how invasive plants can also be used to diversify rural livelihoods. It is thus important to understand the perspectives relating to invasions across different communities and social strata for devising relevant management measures (Head, 2017). Local community members are all differently affected by the presence of invasive species and thus

tend to have different notions regarding their management (Norgaard, 2007).

Invasive plants such as Lantana have the ability to alter the socio-economic conditions of their invaded range (Dobhal et al., 2011). Its occurrence along edges and creeks or open areas, especially in the hot and dry forested margins and areas is perceived as a major threat to the communities (Priyanka & Joshi, 2013). Due to its high flammability, Lantana is considered as a threat by the Soliga tribe of Biligiri Rangan hills in south India (Hiremath & Sundaram, 2005). Obstructed pathways due to high Lantana invasion leads to common passage sharing between human and wild animals, thereby increasing the likelihood of encounters between them (Kent & Dorward, 2014). Reduction in primary crop and forage production has also been reported amidst high Lantana invasion (Shackleton et al., 2017; Shrestha et al., 2018).

Invasive plants have been seen as eminent threats to the native biodiversity as well as agricultural productivity (Witt, 2010). When it comes to invasive species management three terms/measures come into picture: Control (reducing the presence of the invader), Containment (limiting further spread) and Eradication (complete removal) (Zavaleta et al., 2001). These measures should come in as per the stage of the infestation (Tobin, 2018), and can be summarised as :

1. Arrival/early stage-Inspection, Risk analysis, setting up international standards
2. Establishment-detection, eradication
3. Spread-quarantine, barrier zone
4. Impact-suppression, adaptation

Methods of weed control may be: Physical (using time and labour-intensive mechanical or manual methods), Chemical (use of chemical means, like herbicides for eliminating undesirable plants) or Biological (introduced use of pathogen or predators of the invasive species in their native range) (Humphries & Hobbs, 1995). Managing invasive species using biological control involves the classical (inoculative), bioherbicides (inundative) approaches and herbivore management (Kumar, 2015). It involves introducing organisms which are natural enemies of the introduced species, that

help in keeping the invader's population under check (Kumar, 2015).

In the case of Lantana, its biological control started in 1902 when some insect agents brought in from Mexico to Hawaii were established (Vardien et al., 2012). In India, Dr. Ramachandran Rao was appointed to investigate biological agents for the weed's control (Kumar, 2015) and he classified natural enemies of Lantana into two categories: Introduced species (eg. *Lantanaphaga* (Platyptilia) *pusillidactyla*, *Orthezia insignis*, *Leptobyrssa decora*, *Teleonemia scrupulosa*, *Octotoma scabripennis*, *Uroplata girardi*, *Plaglohammus spinipennis*, *Ophlomyia lantanae*, *Epinotia lantanae*) and natural indigenous species (eg. *Archips micaceana*, *Hypena* sp., *Asphondylia lantanae*) (Nanjappa et al., 2005). However, attempts at Lantana's biocontrol have not worked very effectively for our country, rather, the introduced species have been seen as detrimental to the native species (Kumar, 2015). Mechanical control has also been tried but is applicable for smaller stands (Vardien et al., 2012). Even physical methods of control against Lantana have not proved to be very effective as profuse coppicing post monsoon is known to occur from the meristematic zone of the plant which has been identified as an active coppicing zone (Babu et al., 2009). The cut-root-stock method of Lantana management as given by Babu et al., 2009 has been suggested as a long-term cost-effective removal technique, but restoration and follow-up programs are necessary post eradication (Babu et al., 2009). However, *Lantana* propagates by the root suckers and hence manual removal is an ineffective method employed in the natural ecosystem of forest. In addition, it is time, money and labour intensive. To control *Lantana* spread in India, measures such as mechanical control, biological control, chemicals, fire are being employed by the managers (Babu et al., 2009). Mechanical clearing and hand pulling are used for small areas and fire is used over large areas (GISD 2019).

Since invasion ecology has emerged as a trans-disciplinary subject (Rai & Singh, 2020), it has been widely accepted that invasions should also be looked upon from the biogeographic rather than just the taxonomic point of view (Durigan et al., 2013). Their management should not only focus upon evaluating their ecological or economic considerations but also societal acceptability (Rai &

Singh, 2020). Managing invasive plants or weeds in a natural system should involve a sound understanding and a balance between the impacts of invaders, the unweighted side effects of management and also at the probability of secondary invasion (Pearson & Yvette, 2009). Often, removal of one exotic species leads to the establishment of others (Zavaleta et al., 2001). The probability of secondary invasion in vacant niches should not be overlooked post control or eradication of the primary invader (Kettenring & Adams, 2011). With the background of interactions between invasive plants and edaphic factors, it should be important to note that for species like *Lantana*, ecological restoration is mandatory post weed management to avoid secondary invasion or the filling of 'weed shaped resourceful hole' (Buckley et al., 2007) by the target species or other secondary weed species (Love et al., 2009). Lack of full or partial recovery of native plants even after removal of invasive species can be attributed to the soil physico-chemical legacies (increased nutrient availability) of the target invaders, depleted native soil seed banks, or creation of vacant niches (Nsikani et al., 2020). Unplanned or sudden elimination of invasive species without realising their potential role in the ecosystem can lead to overall desirable and undesirable consequences, which can also have devastating consequences or empty niches being filled up and degraded by other potential invaders filling up the gaps (Zavaleta et al., 2001; Courchamp et al., 2011). Understanding the role of invaders in trophic webs is necessary in order to avoid unexpected 'surprise effects' rendered after their eradication (Courchamp et al., 2011). Also, facilitative interactions and roles of introduced species such as provisioning for food, shelter, pollination or seed dispersal etc, need to be taken into consideration for developing effective management strategies (Goodenough, 2010).

Effective weed management requires making informed decisions regarding the methods (tools required for the control) and approaches (how to address the issue) (Kettenring & Adams, 2011). Often, logistic and financial constraints lead to short periods and limited scope of control and monitoring programs which serves as a major drawback for such species which require long-term and repeated studies (Kettenring & Adams, 2011). Hence, complete cost-benefit analysis/evaluation of such interventions should be done first-hand (Kettenring & Adams, 2011).

In the current anthropological context and scale, it is evident that the co-existence between humans and majority of the invasive species is deemed to happen (Head et al., 2015). Several non-native species with longer establishment durations are also being accepted and termed as ‘honorary natives’ (Rotherham, 2005). For India, an estimate of \$5.5 billion would be required alone for Lantana’s management at its current expanse rates (Mungi et al., 2020). Since complete removal cannot be the pragmatic management approach for naturalised weeds such as Lantana, Rotherham (2005) suggests the practical solution being recognition and acceptance of such plants, but with targeted conservation planning approach and hence managing the existing invasives requires an integrated approach with interactive protocols (Kohli et al., 2006).

While dealing scientifically with invaders it is important to incorporate the concept of local knowledge on how rural communities manage or value such species thus unfolding ‘diverse contexts relevant to invasiveness’ (Head, 2017). Forest management and decision-making processes should hence consider the localised role of a particular invading species in their regular livelihoods (Rai et al., 2012), if they serve as problematic or also as alternatives to long-term employment (Norgaard, 2007). The complete eradication of invaders such as Lantana is not a pragmatic solution and it is evident that they are here to stay for a while and thus can be best utilised as a bioresource (Rai & Singh, 2015) in the form of fuel, fodder, or for fencing/thatching purposes (Rai et al., 2012). Various parts of Lantana have found some medicinal and economic commercial value in the form of handicrafts, medicines, kraft pulps and biofuels and various other applications by the local communities and craftsmen (Priyanka & Joshi, 2013). Its leaves can be used against fungal, microbial, insecticidal and nematicidal problems (Priyanka & Joshi, 2013). Lantana has been found to be useful for natural soil management by preventing soil erosion and improving its physical-structural properties (Sharma et al., 1995; Chatterjee, 2015). Addition of its residues to soil before lowland rice puddling has been studied to improve soil’s physical properties and chemical fertility, thus benefitting crop productivity (Bhushan & Sharma, 2006). Lantana biochar is being used to promote re-vegetation in degraded lands and can be used as a potential for remediation of coal mine spoil (Ghosh et al., 2020). Furthermore,

various types of manure prepared using its biomass have suggested better mineral uptake from the soil by plants (Ghadge & Jadhav, 2013; Rameshwar & Argaw, 2016). It has been seen useful for phytoremediation purposes and even for the biocontrol of other weeds such as *Eichhornia crassipes* (Rai & Singh, 2015). Its use as a biomonitor against particulate matter has also been recommended (Rai & Singh, 2015). The plant has recently started gaining some commercial value in the form of procuring handicrafts, medicines, kraft pulps and biofuels and various other applications by the local communities and craftsmen (Priyanka & Joshi, 2013).

## Findings:

A total of 166 households from 40 villages in Kanha and 100 households from 25 villages in Bandipur were interviewed during the surveys conducted in the months of November 2022 and March 2023 respectively.

### Central India and Western Ghats Tiger landscape: Major conclusions for the forests-



The socio-economic survey in the buffer region of the tiger reserve revealed that

- weeds were negatively affecting fodder resources
- weeds were leading to decrease in their crop productivity
- Lantana was found to be used by wild animals, mainly for refuge provisioning purpose. majority of our respondents also agreed to observing wild animals utilising Lantana as a cover, predominantly being used by animals frequently



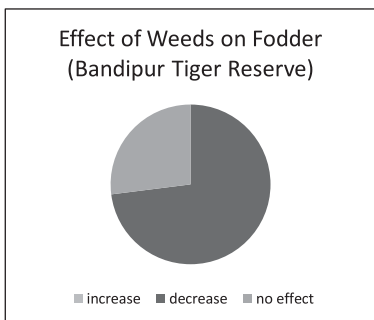
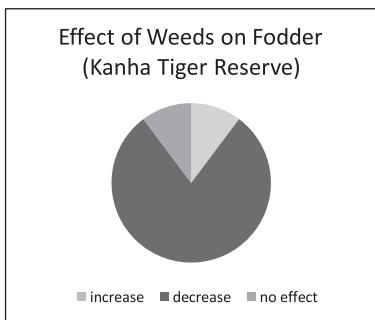
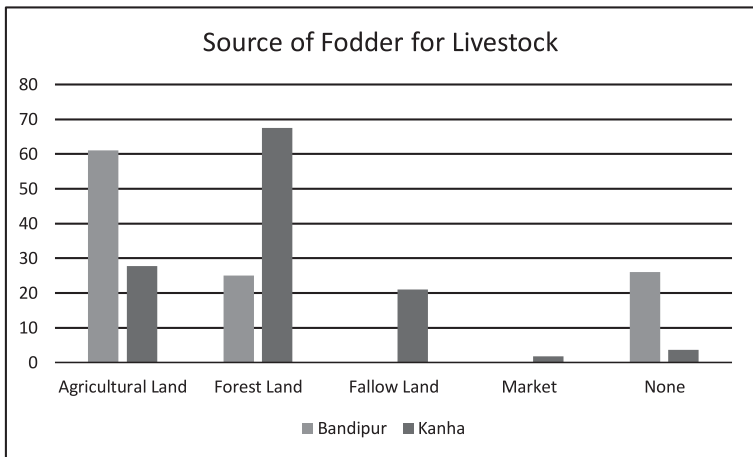
involved in human-interface cases (eg. wild boar, spotted deer, tiger) such crop raiding, livestock depredation

Various parameters assessed are formulated below:

**(i) Effect of weeds on Fodder for animals**

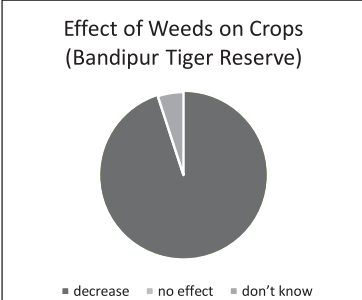
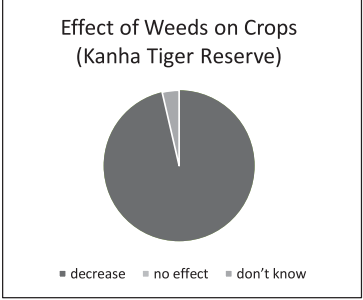
Majority of the respondents were either collecting fodder from their own agricultural land (61% for Bandipur, 27% for Kanha) or were dependent on forest lands for the same (25% for Bandipur, 67% for Kanha).

**(i) Effect of weeds on crops and agricultural productivity**



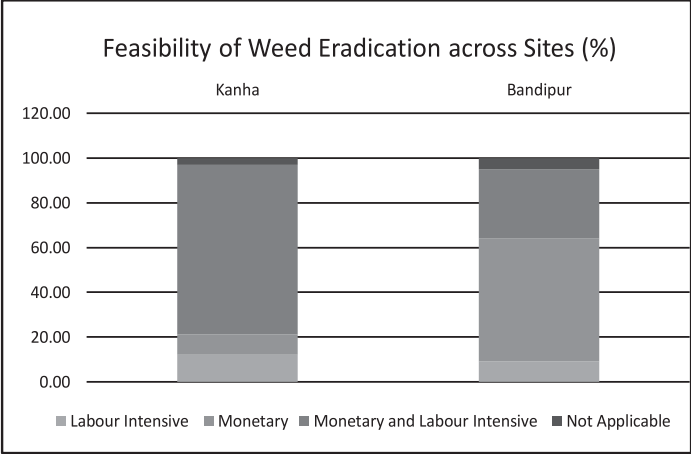
Approximately 96% of Respondents from both the sites reported that weeds were leading to decrease in their crop productivity. But the responses were varied across both the sites (p

<0.05). While 3.5 % respondents in Kanha indicated that there were no effects of weeds on their crops, 5% of the respondents in Bandipur failed to recognise any positive or negative effects.



**(ii) Feasibility of weed eradication**

Weed eradication and their management was perceived to be a difficult and time-consuming operation as most respondents reported using manual methods for their control. The process was reportedly labour intensive and required sufficient monetary investments for the same.



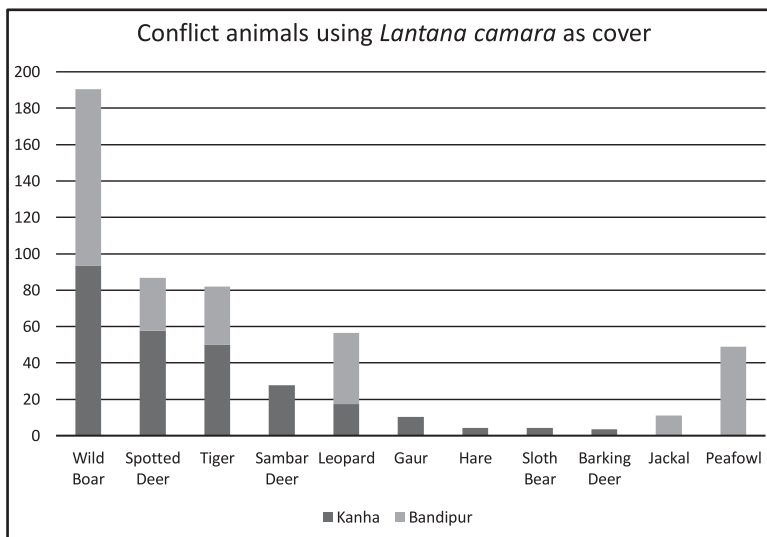
**(iii) Monetary losses incurred due to weeds**

Financial losses incurred due to the direct and indirect effects of weeds owing to the hampered crop productivity, reduction in fodder and available grazing land, or additional expenditure spent in

their control differed significantly across the two sites ( $p < 0.05$ ). The average estimated loss was low at an average of Rs.10,160 per household for Kanha, while almost four times high for Bandipur at approximately Rs.38,347 per household.

#### (iv) Local use of weeds (*Lantana camara*)

All the respondents identified *Lantana* as a major weed in their agricultural systems, despite that, the intentional/unintentional use of the plant was recorded for both the sites which was in accord with the most common form of *Lantana* utilization i.e., for fencing or hedging purposes around villages or farmlands, as also noted by Alemu & Assefa, 2015. But the variability in perceptions regarding *Lantana* usage did not vary significantly across the two areas ( $p > 0.05$ ).



### To mitigate the effects of *Lantana camara*, a combination of strategies can be employed:

**Mechanical Removal:** Physically uprooting the plant, though labor-intensive and often requiring repeated efforts.

**Chemical Control:** Using herbicides to manage *Lantana*, which can be effective but also poses environmental risks.

**Biological Control:** Introducing natural predators or diseases

that specifically target *Lantana* without harming other flora and fauna.

**Community Involvement:** Engaging local communities in control efforts and raising awareness about the impact of *Lantana* and the importance of sustainable land management practices.

**Policy Support:** Implementing policies that support invasive species management, providing financial and technical assistance to affected communities, and promoting research on effective control methods.

## Conclusion

*Lantana camara* poses a multifaceted threat to agro-pastoral communities in the buffer zones of tiger reserves, impacting agriculture, livestock, economic stability, and social structures. Comprehensive management strategies involving community participation and support from governmental and non-governmental organizations are crucial to mitigate these impacts and restore the balance in these regions.

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# Role of Political Parties in Gujarat Assembly Elections

(In the context of BJP and Congress)

• Hetal D. Rana

## Introduction:

Political parties are rooted in the large population size of the modern Indian state and the complex of emerging problems. Political parties are necessary for the smooth running of modern politics. Political parties are the link between the people and the government. Neither is complete without each other and hence political parties play a very important role for both of them.

India is the largest democracy in the world. The preservation of democracy depends on political parties. Political parties are the main factor of democracy. In democracy, there is complete freedom of thought, and speech due to which people of many different thinking and ideologies come together to form an organization, and further such a large organization results in a political party. Different parties are formed with different ideologies and people are found knowingly or unknowingly affiliated with these parties to avoid this dictatorial rule it is very necessary to have an alternative government, every political party aims to gain power. In this regard, McIver states, that a political party is an organization of individuals formed based on certain principles, which in legal terms endeavors to hold the machinery of government.

The main function of political parties is to influence the electorate, win elections, and form a government to implement their program. How many representatives are elected from a certain area of the people discuss with each other make decisions and run the government, how many times there is a possibility of differences of



opinion and due to lack of ideas, the change of power in the state is possible, then the reason is another political party. Political parties do many things to increase their influence during elections.

It is very important to understand the thinking of the political parties of Gujarat and their development, in which it is necessary to evaluate the political parties to carry out the development programs and the growing hopes of the people while keeping the traditional and stable politics of Gujarat under control. In which regional parties came challenging the Congress party but could not shake the Congress. Some parties are standing firm but the Congress party has been ruling since the establishment of Gujarat and the Janata Party challenged this party and came to power. Political parties in Gujarat with unremitting efforts Congress and BJP two major political parties in Gujarat Political parties or with efforts Congress and BJP two major political parties are playing a significant role not only in Indian politics but also in Gujarat politics these days so about two political parties like BJP and Congress Acquiring information becomes imperative.

## **Congress Party (INC)**

### **Origin:**

The Indian National Congress was founded on 28 December 1885 by Dadabhai Navroji, Ranade, and Surendranath Banerjee with the inspiration and efforts of a retired British officer named Balan Octavian Hume and the glorious future of Hindi Rashtriya Mahasabha (INC), the first Indian political party in modern India, began. Its first convention was held in Mumbai with Banerjee as its first president.

### **Ideology:**

The Congress party emerged as a platform to initiate the freedom movement hence its thinking is clear. The Congress party believes in using the tools of peaceful and non-violent democracy for any kind of change. After independence, this party has made significant efforts for the salvation of the downtrodden class, workers, farmers, etc. Protection of the interests of the backward and exploited masses and rapid economic development etc. followed the positive endeavors and due to such thinking the Congress gained an honorable and important position.

## Progressive development of Congress:

People's spirit is connected to the development of the Congress party. Before independence, there was inequality, discrimination between high and low, women's honor, farmers, land, etc. and the biggest question was independence. When all these questions were cleared, the Congress party was in power at that time. The stability of the political parties in the position of power goes to their thinking and its actions. Creating a new constitution, the rebirth of the country, etc. did big things, but somewhere the selfishness of independent power was seen, which the people are not aware of, such as the question of Kashmir. Seeing some of the works and thinking style of the Congress party, it remained in power despite other regional parties.

### Congress Party's Legislative Assembly Election Results from 1962 to 2022 (Table 1)

No.	Year	Gujarat Assembly Elections	Seats Secured by Congress Party's
1	1962	Second Legislative Assembly	113/154
2	1967	Third Legislative Assembly	93/168
3	1972	Fourth Legislative Assembly	140/168
4	1975	Fifth Legislative Assembly	75/182
5	1980	Sixth Legislative Assembly	141/182
6	1985	Seventh Legislative Assembly	149/182
7	1990	Eighth Legislative Assembly	33/182
8	1995	Ninth Legislative Assembly	45/182
9	1998	Tenth Legislative Assembly	53/182
10	2002	Eleventh Legislative Assembly	51/182
11	2007	Twelveth Legislative Assembly	59/182
12	2012	Thirteenth Legislative Assembly	61/182
13	2017	Fourteenth Legislative Assembly	77/182
14	2022	Fifteenth Legislative Assembly	17/182

Change is the rule of the world Change in the political party is not a new thing but the surprising thing is that at that time such a stable party was the decade of development from India's independence to 1985 but since 1990 the growth rate of Congress has been continuously low. If we look at the seats of the Congress in the Gujarat Assembly, 113 seats in the second assembly of 1962, 93 in the third assembly of 1967, 140 in the fourth assembly of 1972, 75 in the fifth assembly of 1975, 141 in the sixth assembly of 1980, 149 seats in the seventh assembly of 1985, the party with the highest number of seats won the majority but no one knows. Not that this is the last victory, then from the eighth assembly of 1990 to the 14th assembly of 2017, it won 33, 45, 53, 51, 59, 61, and 77 respectively and in the current election of 2022, it got only 17 seats. As we can see in the table above and the graph below. Congress is responsible for its downfall. It will be very difficult for Congress to win the trust of people now. It is possible, not impossible if he changes his ideology and working style, he will be able to win again.

## **BJP PARTY:**

### **Origin:**

The former Bharatiya Jana Sangh is the same as the present Bharatiya Janata Party the Bharatiya Janata Party was founded in 1979 by the then members of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh after the imposition of President's rule from 1975 to 1977 and the Indian politician Dr. It was done under the leadership of Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and has been functioning under our first Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998 to 2004) and then Narendra Modi from BJP since 2014.

### **Ideology:**

Indianism was rooted in the Jana Sangh and this point of view led politicians to label the Jana Sangh as a communal party and was strongly criticized by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Compared to other political parties in India, Jan Sangh is a systematic and disciplined party. The ideology and working style of this party is the protection of Indian borders and unity, education, employment, sanitation campaign, nationalization of industries, economic equality, removal of exploitation, creation of a democratic political system, removal of corruption, and village industries. The

BJP party has been very active in promoting the policy of Western culture, opposing communism, establishing Sanatan Dharma, and building national unity and a united India. Due to this, there has been gradual progress in their development journey which has seen the rule of the BJP party in the state for 27 years and the BJP party again won the position in the state of Gujarat with an overwhelming majority in the Gujarat state assembly.

### **Gradual development of BJP:**

The roots of Bhartiya Janata Party's development journey are also rooted in Gujarat. BJP has worked hard to come to power and has come to power with experience, so it will remain in power in the coming years because this party knows what the people want and works for people's development accordingly. and the electoral results of the party since its inception in Gujarat are shown below in the table.

**Table showing the development journey of the BJP party from 1962 to 2022 (Table 2)**

No.	Year	Gujarat Assembly Elections	Seats	Secured by BJP Party's
1	1962	Second Legislative Assembly	00	Janata Party
2	1967	Third Legislative Assembly	01	Jan Sangh
3	1972	Fourth Legislative Assembly	03	Jan Sangh
4	1975	Fifth Legislative Assembly	18	Jan Sangh
5	1980	Sixth Legislative Assembly	09	Bhartiya Janta Party
6	1985	Seventh Legislative Assembly	11	Bhartiya Janta Party
7	1990	Eighth Legislative Assembly	67	Janata Dal, BJP
8	1995	Ninth Legislative Assembly	121	Bhartiya Janta Party
9	1998	Tenth Legislative Assembly	117	Bhartiya Janta Party

10	2002	Eleventh Legislative Assembly	127	Bhartiya Janta Party
11	2007	Twelveth Legislative Assembly	117	Bhartiya Janta Party
12	2012	Thirteenth Legislative Assembly	115	Bhartiya Janta Party
13	2017	Fourteenth Legislative Assembly	99	Bhartiya Janta Party
14	2022	Fifteenth Legislative Assembly	156	Bhartiya Janta Party

Mr. Atal Bihari Bajpayee was elected as the first President of BJP and with this Janata Paksha became active in politics again as a BJP party in the 1989 general elections the Congress party under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi faced defeat and V.P. Singh's 70-seat front government got the support of the BJP party's 67 seats. During this time, the Ram Temple movement was launched in the country and the then BJP President Lal Krishna Advani started a Rath Yatra from Somnath to Ayodhya. The Ram Mandir movement and the BJP had a positive impact on the people and with this, the massively supported Rath Yatra was stopped and the BJP withdrew its support. So the front government got the support of the Congress and the Congress rule came under the leadership of Narasimha Rao. The combined rule of the Congress and Front governments saw records of corruption anarchy and mismanagement. On the other hand, the BJP party continued to win the hearts of the people, and its position among the people was seen going up, the gradual development of which is shown in the following table and graph. It can be seen that 121 seats in the ninth assembly in 1995, 117 in the tenth assembly in 1998, Narendra Modi as the chief minister in 2001, then 127 in the eleventh assembly in 2002, 117 in the twelfth assembly in 2007, 115 in the thirteenth assembly in 2012 and 99 seats in the 14th assembly in 2017. Inflation and GST are the main reasons behind the popular dissatisfaction with the majority and fewer seats, but still, people have faith that this is the government that will bring equality, and unity, and advance the public welfare and development program of

the country and in which faith and BJP Looking at the development works of the government, the BJP party won in Gujarat with a huge majority in 2022 and the development was accelerated only when Narendra Modi came as the Chief Minister in 2001 and his style of work made the people of Gujarat believe that only through him will the development be done and we can see. For the country, the BJP government looks at the Ram Nirman Videsh Nidhi UNO policy which raised the economic level of the country and the BJP party, which is still engaged in development work, has learned from many experiences that there is no doubt that it will rule in the coming years.

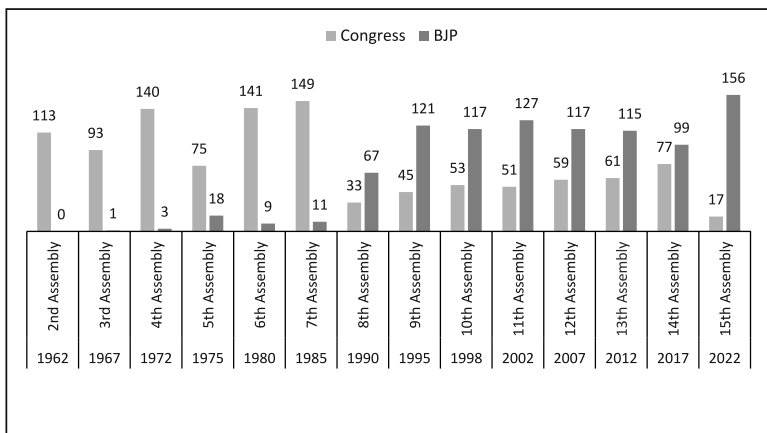
### **Results of seats won by Congress and BJP parties in elections from 1962 to 2022:**

Results of seats won in elections from 1962 to 2022 (Table 3)

No.	Year	Gujarat Assembly Elections	Seats Secured by Congress Party's	Seats Secured by BJP
1	1962	Second Legislative Assembly	113	0
2	1967	Third Legislative Assembly	93	1
3	1972	Fourth Legislative Assembly	140	3
4	1975	Fifth Legislative Assembly	75	18
5	1980	Sixth Legislative Assembly	141	9
6	1985	Seventh Legislative Assembly	149	11
7	1990	Eighth Legislative Assembly	33	67
8	1995	Ninth Legislative Assembly	45	121
9	1998	Tenth Legislative Assembly	53	117
10	2002	Eleventh Legislative Assembly	51	127
11	2007	Twelveth Legislative Assembly	59	117
12	2012	Thirteenth Legislative Assembly	61	115
13	2017	Fourteenth Legislative Assembly	77	99
14	2022	Fifteenth Legislative Assembly	17	156

From the table, it is understood that since the beginning of 1962, Gujarat was leading in the Legislative Assembly with the Congress. It saw its rule from 1962 to 1985. Other parties also kept trying but no one could defeat the Indian National Congress. But the last term of the Congress party in the Gujarat assembly of 1985 was seen in the eighth assembly of 1990. Congress did not get a majority but did not get a majority Congress got 33 seats BJP 67 seats and Janata Dal 70 seats 92 seats were required for a majority in the assembly due to which the coalition government of both Janata Dal and BJP parties was formed and then in 1995 the history changed for the first time and BJP party got a majority. The downfall of the Congress party started and increased day by day and gained seats in the 14th assembly but the performance against the BJP was poor and now in the 15th assembly the rate of development has gone very low and has gained 17 seats. The party remained in power till the seventh assembly and saw a decline in its growth from the eighth assembly onwards. Which is shown in the graph below.

### Development Graph of Congress and BJP parties



### Conclusion:

The period after the establishment of Gujarat was a period in which the Congress got the rule when there was no competition with different ideologies, it was a single Indian party against the British rule and there was no alternative party or government at that time, and it got direct rule after independence. According to Cambridge dictionary proverb **‘A drowning man will clutch at a**

**straw'** (Dubte ko tinke Ke ka Sahara) was something like the condition of the people so the Congress party was the only government for them but in this new period the Congress party could not stand up against the people and parties with new and different ideologies and the BJP party came and stood before it and today BJP The party is doing very progressive work and the BJP government has been ruling Gujarat for the last seven terms from 1998-2022. BJP in power since 1998 has been continuously trying to stay in power and has also maintained the trust of the people. In short, it can be said that the BJP government has won with a majority in the currently held Gujarat assembly elections but if any other political party or even Congress wants to get a seat in the Gujarat assembly. Or if you want to gain power, it is okay to 'chew Lodha's gram' but if political parties other than BJP succeed in winning the trust of the people and succeed in developing, then they too can become the position that the BJP party is in today.

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### फार्म 4 (नियम 8)

1. प्रकाशक स्थान : श्रीडूंगरगढ़ (बीकानेर) राजस्थान
2. प्रकाशन अवधि : अर्द्धवार्षिक
3. मुद्रक का नाम : महर्षि प्रिण्टर्स, श्रीडूंगरगढ़ (बीकानेर)  
क्या भारतीय नागरिक है : हाँ
4. प्रकाशक का नाम : महावीर प्रसाद माली  
क्या भारत का नागरिक है : हाँ  
पता : मरूभूमि शोध संस्थान श्रीडूंगरगढ़  
(बीकानेर) राज.
5. सम्पादक का नाम : प्रो. बी. एल. भादानी  
क्या भारत का नागरिक है : हाँ  
राष्ट्रीयता : भारतीय  
पता : रागंडी चौक, बीकानेर (राज.)
6. उन व्यक्तियों के नाम व पते : कोई नहीं  
जो समाचार पत्र के स्वामी हों  
तथा जो समस्त पूंजी के एक  
प्रतिशत से अधिक के साझेदार  
या हिस्सेदार हों

मैं महावीर प्रसाद माली एतद्वारा घोषणा करता हूँ कि मेरी अधिकतम जानकारी एवं विश्वास के अनुसार ऊपर दिया गया विवरण सत्य हैं।

**महावीर प्रसाद माली**  
प्रकाशक के हस्ताक्षर

# *Viraliyar* : Women Dancers as Messengers for Love in Later Tamil Texts, Influenced by *Saiva Tirumuraigal*

K. Vadivelou • Dr. Saju George

*The Viraliyar were renowned women professional musicians and dancers of the Tamil region during the Sangam period. They led a nomadic life, singing and praising kings for prizes, while also serving as Dūti, messengers of love between the Nāyakā and Nayika. The Saiva Tirumuraigal is a Saivite canon, comprising twelve volumes of hymns authored by twenty-seven devotees from around 600 CE to 1200 CE. The art of the Viraliyar evolved and later became adopted as temple art and institutional arts. References to Viraliyar as messengers can be found in the Saiva Tirumuraigal. During the reign of Maratha kings in Tamilnadu, literature, music, and dance flourished, supported by subsidies for artists. Virali Viṭu Tūtu is a literary format within the minor genre called Pirapantaṅkaḷ, focusing on the separation of husband and wife or between Nāyakā, the hero, and Nāyikā, the heroine. The text highlights the role of Virali as a messenger for love, leading to the union between Nāyakā and Nayika for a happy ending. Ceṅtalaṅkāraṅ served in village administration under the rule of Maratha King Sahaji of Tanjore. The Ceṅtalaṅkāraṅ Virali Viṭu Tūtu, written in praise of his charity, draws upon references from Saiva Tirumuraigal and is considered for studying the role of Viraliyar as messengers for love.*

**Keywords :** *Viraliyar; Messenger; Dūti, Saiva Tirumuraigal, Women Dancers*

## Introduction

The *Viraliyar*, professional women musicians and dancers, were referenced in the literature from the Sangam period to later centuries. They also functioned as messengers for love, a theme found in various Tamil literary works across different eras. Saiva

*Tirumuraigal* is a Shaivite canon, a collection of twelve volumes of hymns authored by twenty-seven devotees from around 600 CE to 1200 CE. The art of the *Viraliyar* evolved and was subsequently adopted in temple art and institutional arts. References to *Viraliyar* as messengers can be found in *Saiva Tirumuraigal* as well. During the Maratha rule in Tamilnadu, Literature, music, and dance flourished, with generous subsidies supporting artists. *Virali Viṭu Tūtu* is a literary form within the minor genre known as Pirapantaṅkaḷ, focusing on the theme of separation between *Nāyakā*, the Hero, and *Nāyikā*, the heroine. The central aspect of the text lies in the role of *Virali*, acting as a messenger of love, facilitating the reunion between *Nāyakā* and *Nayika*, ultimately leading to a blissful culmination.

Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ, a village administrator under the rule of Maratha King Sahaji-II of Tanjore, is renowned for his benevolence. *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Virali Viṭu Tūtu* is a composition that extols his philanthropic endeavors. This text influenced with references from *Saiva Tirumuraigal*, is considered a valuable resource for exploring the role of *Viraliyar*, the female dancers, as messengers for love.

## ***Viraliyar***

The *Viraliyar*, *Kūttar*, *Pāṅar*, and *Akavunar* were among the Tamil communities engaged in the occupation of singing and dancing. These musicians and dancers led a nomadic life, traveling to various places to praise kings and philanthropists in exchange for prizes as their livelihood. The *Viraliyar*, specifically, were women musicians and dancers, often identified as consorts of *Pāṅar* and referred to as *Pāṅmagaḷ*. Additionally, *Viraliyar* served as *Dūti*, acting as messengers of love between the hero and heroine during times of separation, facilitating the union of the couple.

## ***Viraliyārruppaṭai***

*Viraliyārruppaṭai* is a poetic format in Tamil language, found in *Puraṅānūru* and *Patirruppattu* texts of the *Sangam* period. *Viraliyar* are depicted as dancers and messengers in literature. The poems centering on the *Viraliyar* with particular importance are termed *Viraliyārruppaṭai*. The king who valued the *Virali* for their performances is praised, and the *Virali* guide and advise other *Viraliyar* to visit the king's place to receive gifts and prizes.

Notably, *Viṛali* serving as messengers for love is not evident in *Viṛaliyārruppaṭai*.

## **Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu**

*Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu* is one of the ninety-six minor literary genres in Tamil literature, collectively known as *Pirapantaṅkaḷ*. This genre evolved as separate literature and gained popularity from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century onwards. The primary objective of these poems was to praise the patron and acknowledge their generous gifts. Poets employed a sequence of intriguing ideas, portraying the hero as a Brahmin well-versed in the Vedas and Sastras.

The narrative began with the hero, a pious man, separating from his wife during a sexual quarrel and embarking on a pilgrimage to various holy places and temples. During this journey, he encountered a beautiful dancing girl, who was also a skilled prostitute, leading to the development of romantic feelings. The Brahmin exhausted his entire fortune on her, and when she discovered he had no more money to offer, she expelled him from her house. Despite this, the Brahmin refused to leave.

The matter was taken to the village court, which conducted an inquiry and issued a verdict against the Brahmin, ordering him to leave the dancer's house immediately. As the Brahmin wandered, he coincidentally met the patron during a procession. The patron, an enthusiast of learning and poetry, sympathized with the Brahmin and bestowed wealth upon him.

In an attempt to reconcile with his wife, the Brahmin sent a *Viṛali* as a messenger. Eventually, he returned home and reunited with his wife, marking the resolution of the narrative.

## **Different Texts of *Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu***

The introduction of the class of poetry detailed in the description of amorous sports (*sambhoga sringārā*) gained popularity with several local chieftains. From 1600 to 1750 AD, many such compositions appeared. The different available texts on various *Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu* include *Teyvac Cilaiyār Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, *Mūvaraiyaṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, *Nākama Kūḷappa Nāyakkāṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, *Civacāmi Cētopati Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, *Naṅṅāvūr Caṅkamēcura Cuvāmi Vētanāyaki Ammaṅ Pēril Viṛali*

*Viṭu Tūtu, Vaiyāpurip Piḷḷai Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu, Caṅkaramūrtti Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu, Citamparēcar Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu, Cinnāñcātturai Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu, Cēṭupati vīrali tūtu, Nātaiyaṅ Vīraliviṭu Tūtu, Paḷaṅiyāṅṭavar Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu, and Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu. (Arivudainambi, 27)*

*Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu* is considered for study in this paper. *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ*, the hero, was a village administrator under the rule of Maratha King Sahaji-II of Tanjore. *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Vīrali Viṭu Tūtu* was written in praise of his patron for charity and generous gifts.

## **Dūṭī, Women Messenger In Nāṭya Śāstra**

Different types and classifications of women are referred to in *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata. The qualities of Messenger in *Nāṭya Śāstra* referred to as, “*Dūṭī* (दूती- Messenger).—A wise woman, female story-teller, a female ascetic or a woman of the stage, an intelligent woman, a female neighbor, a female friend, a maid-servant, an unmarried girl, a crafts-woman, a foster-mother, a nun or a female fortune-teller can be employed as female a Messenger (*Dūṭī*).” (Ghosh, 484)

## **Saiva Tirumuraigal**

*Saiva Tirumuraigal*, also called *Tirumurai*, refers to a compilation consisting of twelve volumes of hymns that extol the virtues of Lord Shiva. These hymns were composed by Saivite devotees in the Tamil region. These literary works hold significance as the primary scriptures among Tamil Saivites.

The twelve volumes of hymns encompass the creations of twenty-seven devotees who authored these profound works. The first three volumes are attributed to Tiruñāṅacampantar and collectively known as *Tiruñāṅacampantar Tēvāram*. Following this, the next four to six volumes were authored by Tirunāvukkaracar, known as *Tirunāvukkaracar Tēvāram*. The seventh volume, called *Cuntarar Tēvāram*, is authored by Cuntarar. The eighth volume, *Tiruvāsagam*, and *Tirukkōvaiyār* were written by Māṅikkavācakar. The ninth volume, *Tiruvisaipā*, is a collection of hymns sung by nine poets. The tenth volume, known as *Tirumandiram*, consists of three thousand verses composed by Tirumular. The eleventh volume, named *Paṭiṅṅaṅṅam Tirumurai*, is a compilation of the collective

works of twelve poets. Finally, the twelfth volume, known as *Periya purāṇam* or *Tiruttoṅṅar Purāṇam*, was written by Cēkkiḷār. (Shanmugasundaram, 20)

## Reference of *Viṛali* in *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*

*Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ* is a collection of twelve volumes of hymns authored by twenty-seven devotees from the period around 600 CE to 1200 CE. The reference to *Viṛali* is also found in various texts from different periods within *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*. In *Tiruvalaṅcuḷi Mummaṇikkōvai* by Nakkīrar, a poet and devotee, *Viṛali* is mentioned in the eleventh volume, and in the eighth volume written by Māṇikkavācakar, *Tiruñāṇacampanṭar purāṇam*, and *Tirunīlanakka nāyaṅār purāṇam* in *Periyapurāṇam*, the twelfth volume of *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*.

In the eleventh volume, the dance of *Viṛali* is mentioned in *Eḷukūrrirukkai* authored by Nakkīrar as,

"oruṭam pīruru vāyinaṅai onrupurin tonriṅ iṛitaḷk konrai .... iṅṅaram picaitṭaṅai āril amutam payantaṅai..." (*Tirumuṛai*- 11.12.1)

"nīṭu cīrtturu nīlakantaperum pāṅar, tōṭulāṅkuḷal viṛaliyār.." (*Tirumuṛai*-12.32.24)

"*Naravam āṛ poḷil pukaliyil naṅṅiya tiruñāṇa campanṭar viṛaliyār uṭaṅ nīla kaṅṅa perum pāṅarum...*" (*Tirumuṛai*-12.34.957)

The two references of *Viṛali* in *Periyapurāṇam* refer to *Viṛali*, the wife of Tirunīlakanta Yaḷpāṅar, who was a Shaivite devotee. The *Viṛali* mentioned here is not a messenger but a devotee who assisted by playing instrumental music to Tiruñāṇacampanṭar for his hymns during temple visits.

## *Viṛali* as a Messenger for Love in *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*

*Tiruvāsagam* and *Tirukkōvaiyār*, written by Māṇikkavācakar, form the eighth volume of *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*. *Tirukkōvaiyār*, the second division of the eighth volume in *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḷ*, is set in the style of *Akam* species, mystic love songs with erotic emotions.

"*Viṛaliyum pāṅaṅum vēntarkut tillai yīraiyamaitta tīraliyal yālkonṭu vantuniṅ rārcenṅ nirātticaiṭōm paraliyal vāval pakalurāi māmaram pōlumāṅṅō aṛaliyal kūḷainal lāytami yōmai aṛintilarē*" (*Tirumuṛai*- 08. kōvai.375).

The friend of the heroine informs her of the arrival of *Pāṇar* and *Viṛali* to entertain the sleeping Hero, encouraging him to wake up (Desigar, 290).

*Tiruvalañcuḷi Mummaṇikkōvai*, written by Nakkīra Teva Nāyanār and placed in the eleventh volume of *Tirumuṛai*, describes the love of the heroine in separation, longing for union. The mystic love song informs the conversation with *Pāṇar* who came with *Viṛali* and returned with prizes from the place of the Hero. (Adigalaasiriyar, 37)

“*Neṛitaru kuḷali viṛaliyoṭu puṇarnta Ceṛitaru tamilnūr cīriyālp pāṇa Poykai yūraṅ putumaṇam puṇartara Mūvōm mūnru payaṅper raṇamē...*” (*Tirumuṛai- 11.11.13*)

### ***Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu of the Maratha Period***

*Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ*, the Hero, served as a Village Administrator under the rule of Maratha King Sahaji of Tanjore. A poetic work composed on him titled *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, serves as an expression of admiration for his benefactor’s benevolence and offerings. The Maratha King Shahaji-II (1684-1712 CE) is praised in the above text. From this reference, the period of *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ* as the officer aligns with that of the King (Arivudainambi, 32). The poetry *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu* was written in 1710 CE. (Nagaswamy, xiii)

### ***Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu***

The text unfolds with the story of Vaagu Bhattar, who lived with his two wives, Muthu and Abharanji. One day, a misunderstanding arose with his second wife, leading him to leave his home and embark on a journey to holy places and temples. At Tiruvārūr, he encountered a dancer named Chitravalli and fell in love with her. She was also a prostitute, and he exhausted all his finances on her. Upon discovering he had no more money, she expelled him. Despite her actions, he adamantly refused to leave. The matter was brought to court, and the court ordered him to depart.

Subsequently, he encountered *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ*, a patron, wealthy individual, and Village Administrator under the rule of the Maratha King. *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ* expressed sympathy for Vaagu Bhattar and provided him with financial assistance. In response, Vaagu Bhattar

sent a *Viṛali*, a female dancer, as a messenger to his wife. *Viṛali* successfully persuaded his wife, leading to a joyful reunion at home. (Arivudainambi, 33)

### ***Viṛali in Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu***

In *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, Vaagu Bhattar sends *Viṛali* as a messenger to appease his angry wife. Described as having a melodious voice akin to a quill and proficient in singing, playing the *Yāḷ* (a musical instrument), and possessing honeyed speech, *Viṛali* convinces the Brahmin's wife of his desire for reunion.

*“Mātu viṛali maḱiḷntu maṭavārkaḷ muṅ  
Ōtumaṅkaḷantāṅ oṅru uṅṅennak  
Kāciyiṅṅum pōṅṅavuṅkaḷ kātalar vantāreṅṅavum  
Pēcalumē lāṅcaip peritukantu...”*  
(*Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*- 555, 556)

As a result of *Viṛali*'s efforts, the couple reunites, and in gratitude, they reward her with beautiful clothes, sarees, and ornaments (Arivudainambi, 44).

### **Conclusion**

*Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, emerging between 1600 to 1700 AD, stands as a distinct poetic form extolling patrons across various regions. Rooted in references from the Sangam period, *Viṛali* is portrayed as both musician and dancer. *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḱaḷ* further underscores the continuity of this concept, revealing *Viṛali*'s adaptation in the evolving artistry of Bhakti cults and Temple Arts.

In *Tirueḷukūrrirukkai*, *Viṛali* assumes a role in the rhythmic dance of Lord Shiva, showcasing her instrumental influence. *Periyapurāṅṅam* depicts *Viṛali*, wife of Tirunīlakanta Yaḷpāṅṅar, as devoted followers of Lord Shiva. While the concept of *Viṛali* diminishes between 1200 to 1600 CE, a resurgence occurs around 1600 CE, portraying *Viṛali* as a messenger facilitating love reunions in minor literary genres. *Ceṅṭalaṅkāraṅ Viṛali Viṭu Tūtu*, originating in the Maratha period, captures the essence of *Viṛali*'s lineage, drawing from *Sangam* literature and *Saiva Tirumuṛaiḱaḷ*. The nomadic life of *Viṛali* evolves into a revered role, praising chieftains and patrons, highlighting her enduring influence across literary epochs.



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# Sports Movement in Manipur : A Sociological Analysis

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*Modern games and sports were introduced in Manipur during the British rule in the 1890s. There were several indigenous and traditional games in the land. With the introduction of modern games, “playing” from being a leisure activity gradually developed into the institution of sport. Besides, the state also became to be known as the “Powerhouse of Sports” for the nation. The process of this transformation took the form of a social movement. This paper studies this development of sports movement in Manipur in three phases. The objective of this paper is to discuss the factors which are responsible for the growth of this movement. It is attempted here to explain the role of these factors during the different phases in the development of the movement in the state. By using interview method administered on 300 respondents, this paper uncovers eight major factors which are found to be playing a significant role in bringing shape to this sports movement in Manipur.*

**Keywords :** Sports Movement, Social movement, Sociological, Manipur, Factors.

## I. Introduction

Manipur is a border state in the north-eastern region of India. It is a hilly state with a central valley. It is a biodiversity hotspot, rich in endemic species and unique ecosystems. The total population of the state according to the 2011 census is 28.56 lakhs, constituting 0.24 per cent<sup>2</sup> of the population of the country. There are more than 36 communities, the “Meiteis” constituting the majority community.

The Imphal city is its capital. Economically, it lags behind the

national average. The per capita net state domestic product at constant price for the year 2021-2022 for the state of Manipur is Rs. 46,341<sup>3</sup>.

Manipur got independence from the British rule on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947. It was an independent sovereign state until it was merged with the Indian state in 1949 as a Part-C state and then became a union territory in 1956. It was granted statehood in 1972. It had its own constitution which cease to function after the merger.

Manipur is known for its culture and its sportsperson. In the field of sports, it is called the 'Powerhouse of Sport' of the nation. Mary Kom, Mirabai Chanu, Dingko Singh, Kunjarani Devi, Bombayla, Bembem, Sarita Devi, Mirabai Chanu, Nilakanta Sharma, Sushila Chanu, etc. are some of the popular players from the state. Till 2023, three Manipuris have added three medals to the tally of Olympic medals for India. 5per cent of Khel Ratna awardees, 2.3per cent of Arjuna awardees and 8.5per cent of Olympic medals are from the state<sup>4</sup>.

Manipur has several indigenous games. Manipuris consider it to be the birthplace of modern Polo. There are many indigenous games for the other communities too such as "*Jao-feimei*" for the "*Kabui*" community. Some of these games have developed, while most of them have disappeared gradually.

This paper attempts to trace the growth of modern sports since the turning of the twentieth century till the present context as a social movement in Manipur. It primarily discusses eight factors responsible for the development. It comprises of six sections. The first is the introduction. In the second, the methodology is explained. The third section narrated the three phases of the movement. The fourth section examines the characteristics of the social movement. The factors are analysed in the next and conclusion in the last section.

## II. Methodology

Sports movement is studied as a form of recreation movement which may be considered as a social movement as pointed out by Neumeyer and Neumeyer (1958: 247-248). They highlighted the characteristics of a social movement as –

1. It grows out of an unsatisfactory condition that may cause social unrest.
2. This condition is identified by "competent observers" as a social problem that requires readjustments.
3. Certain conscious leaders make deliberate efforts to improve the condition.

4. A social movement consist of a series of events, one following another, which are related by cause-and-effect relation. And it extends over time and space.
5. The setting up of proper objectives and organisation of activities are seen at the maturity of the movement.
6. At the final stage, the objective and the purpose are accomplished.

These stages have the aspect of transition, that is, there is modification in the methods of procedure during the stages. They do not have separate boundaries. It also has the tendency to eventuate into an institution or a set of institutions in the same general field.

They referred to the work of Clarence Rainwater to identify the immediate background of a recreation movement – “first, was it a conscious provision of the object of the movement in question? And secondly, was it the first of a series of events bearing a cause and effect relationship?” (Rainwater, 1922: 13).

Using this framework as a guide, the present paper looks at the sports movement in the state as a social movement.

The analysis of the factors is done on the basis of the work of May and Petgen (1928)<sup>5</sup> which identified five broad factors – social, political, economic, cultural background and education of the people. These will be used as umbrella terms. In addition, three more factors are also discussed.

The paper has two broad parts of analysis- the historical part and the factors. The first is largely based on the narratives of three sport enthusiasts who were interviewed for their knowledge in the field. Two of them have first-hand information regarding the development of the movement. Apart from them, a few historical works were also referred to.

For the second part interview method using a schedule was administered on five local clubs which were purposively selected. Ten sports journalists were also interviewed. 50 retired sportspersons and 235 active players were also interviewed.

### **III. Sports Movement in Manipur**

Sports movement in Manipur, was in part, related to the growth modern sports in India during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century through contact with the erstwhile British India, particularly Calcutta and Dhaka. Modern games and sports, were introduced by the British rule and its contact with India. The development of the movement may be seen in three phases.

# 1. Phases of the Movement

## i. Pre-Independence Phase

Manipur came under the British rule after the battle of Khongjom in 1891. As narrated by Soram Lokeshwar Singh<sup>6</sup>, the sepoy and some officers of the Surma Regiment stationed at the Kangla fort<sup>7</sup> used to play football in the British Paltan ground inside the fort. Some students used to watch the game while coming back home after school.

These students started taking an interest in the game. One Sorokhaibam Thambou Singh<sup>8</sup> and some of his friends approached William Pettigrew, the inspector as well as the headmaster of the school, and requested him to allow them to play the game. He ordered a football from Calcutta (Kolkata). He put the ball in a well-decorated “*Phiruk*”<sup>9</sup> and gave it to them. They began playing football for the first time in the year 1899.

*Sir Churachand Singh's Role* In 1892, Maharaja Churachand Singh had his investiture as the king of Manipur. He studied in Mayo College, Ajmer, from 1895 to 1901, where he had the chance to play modern games. He joined the Imperial Cadet Corps in 1905 (Roy, 1958: 135-136). It was under his royal patronage that these games were introduced in Manipur.

*Clubs and Teams* S. Lokeshwar Singh narrated that there were three football teams – 1. The Palton football team for the British sepoy 2. The Johnstone school team and 3. The Maharaja team. They had only friendly matches among them. The Town Club was established in 1920 with the initiative of Phoni Mukherje, a Bengalee settled in Imphal. He also started organising hockey and football tournaments. Nine Cup, Jabar Memorial, Under Five Feet and Yakairol Hockey Cup were some of the popular tournaments. Other teams such as the CC School (Churachand school) team, the Bengalee High School team, etc. were also emerging. A match between the Town club and the CC school team was very popular. So, the king would invite them to play in his palace ground in case these two teams had to play in the final match.

He further narrated that Manipuris began participating in tournaments outside Manipur in the 1930. In 1933, the Town club participated in the Bidhumukhi Knock-out Football Tournament at Lumding, Assam and also won it. Sir Churachand Singh sent a cricket team to Shillong in 1935 to play against European clubs and a Manipuri contingent at the first Olympic Games held at Jorhat in 1940. In 1947, the first All Assam Football Tournament was organised as a district-wise tournament. The Manipur Sports Association (MSA) was established in 1947 to represent Manipur in the games as one district<sup>10</sup>.

## ii. After Independence Phase I

*People's Movement* Sports movement in Manipur became salient after independence. Till then, modern games were confined to only a small educated section of the society. Sport activities were more of a leisure. Many local clubs and organisations for the grassroots level started mushrooming after independence. Women also started participating in sports.

*Beginning of Olympic Movement* The Manipur Olympic Association (MOA) was established in 1947. Manipur celebrated independence on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947 by organising the first Manipur Olympic Sports Meet and this event continued till 1954. Before this, RK Madhuryajit Singh had participated 110m hurdle race in the Lahore Olympic Games in the eve of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. (Singh, 2009:66). A contingent participated in the Assam Olympic Games 1940.

*All Manipur Sports Association* The MOA amalgamated with the MSA in 1954 and formed the All Manipur Sports Association (AMSA). Its responsibility was to control all the sports activities in Manipur. It began organising the Manipur State Games from 1955 to 1976. In 1975, AMSA organised its most successful tournament, the Churachand Singhji Memorial Gold Centred Shield Football Tournament, popularly known as the CC Meet in the state<sup>11</sup>.

*Decentralisation* According to Soram Lokeshwar Singh, associations for each discipline were formed beginning in 1972. After statehood, they got affiliated directly to the national federations. Administration also decentralised from the nucleus body AMSA in the 1970s.

He continued that according to the policy of “one state one game” in the 1970s, the MOA was reconstituted in 1977 to function as the apex sports body. Since then, it has been functioning in the state for preparing players for the National Games. It organised the first Manipur Olympic Games 1988 and the second one was held in 2022.

*Sports Movement Committee Manipur (SMCM)* During the 1970s, the SMCM was established under his stewardship of RK Ranendrajit Singh<sup>12</sup>. Its objective was to mobilise players and encourage people's involvement in the movement. In 1978, the 30 points Charter of Demands was submitted to the then Chief Minister of the state. He also played a pivotal role in the preservation and development the Khuman Lampak Sports Complex (KLSC) from 1975 till the hosting of the 5<sup>th</sup> National Games in 1999<sup>13</sup>.

*The Youth Affairs and Sports Department (YAS) and The Education Department* Sports activities were also initiated at the school

and college levels. Colleges in Manipur started participating in the Guwahati University Annual Sports Festival as early as 1955. Manipuri students also represented the same university at various inter-university sports tournaments till 1980 when the Manipur University was established. School meets were also organised regularly. After the bifurcation of the Department of YAS from the Education Department in 1980, the YAS looked into all the sports activities while the Education Department deals with the Physical Education as a subject in schools and colleges (Singh, 2009:70).

*Sports Authority of India (SAI) Centres* After the ninth Asian Games hosted by India in 1982, the SAI centers were established. A SAI centre for the North-East Region (SAI NERC) was set up in Takyel, Imphal in 1986. Currently there are three SAI centres in Manipur (Devi, 2020 b).

*Manipuris in the Olympics and Other International Sport Events* In the year 1970, Nongthombam Maipak Singh won the Mister India title and he represented the nation in the Mister Universe competition in 1971 (Neken and Goswami, 2013). P. Nilakamal Singh participated in the Olympics in 1984, becoming the first Manipuri Olympian. Ksh. Thoiba Singh participated in the next Olympic Games. As of 2020, there are 19 Olympiads from the state. Saikhom Mirabai Chanu won a silver medal in the Tokyo Olympics 2020<sup>14</sup>.

Many international players also emerged in the 1980s. N. Kunjarani Devi<sup>15</sup> may be called the first superstar of Manipur. She is the first recipient of the Major Dhyan Chand Khel Ratna Award from the state, the highest sporting honour of India.

Ngangom Dingko Singh won the Asian Games gold medal in 1998 and it is a landmark for the state. The northern road along the KLSC was named after him.

### **iii. After Independence Phase II**

*The 5<sup>th</sup> National Games* Manipur hosted the 5<sup>th</sup> National Games in 1999 and became the team champion as well. The KLSC was developed for hosting the event. At this juncture, the activities of RK Ranendrajit Singh were crucial. His newspaper, “Freedom” also played a major role during this phase.

*Sports Journalism* During this phase, the movement was also surged by sports journalism. According to a journalist<sup>16</sup>, before the National Games of 1999, no specific column was allotted exclusively to sport in any of the circulating papers in the state. During the 1980s, he

was a part of the hockey team in various tournaments, yet there was no coverage of it by any newspaper.

*Sports-stars* The number of Olympians, international champions, national awardees were amplified during this phase. M.C. Mary Kom, L. Sarita Devi, Oinam Bembem, Devendro Laishram, Mirabai Chanu, etc. came up. Many other prominent players were recruited from the state to play for other states and services. Manipur became the feeding ground for different disciplines across the different states of the country.

*Sport Academies and Academic Works* There are courses in schools and colleges and the universities. The National Sports Academy and the National Sports University were set up. Other private clubs also have a role in the movement.

Academic works on sports began as early as the 1980s and was expanded after the 5<sup>th</sup> National Games. It was carried out mainly by the Physical Education Department of different colleges and the Manipur University. Some studies by the subjects of Psychology, Education, Library Science, History, etc. were also found. For the subject of Sociology, no research work from Manipur except for a few papers has been found as far as the study could explore.

#### **IV. Analysis of the movement**

Firstly, the “unsatisfactory situation” or the problem was not too pressing in the beginning. The desire to play football was the driving force. The proper form of the problem was apparent only during the second phase.

Secondly, “observers” as William Pettigrew, the king, Churachand Singh and Phoni Mukherjee, RK Modhhuryajit, RK Ranendrajit had their roles at different stages. The leadership evolved during the movement.

The movement extends from the turning of the twentieth century till now. Spatially, it extended from a small area around the Imphal valley to the nook and corner of the state. Socially also, it became a mass movement from being centred around a small section of the population. This happened through a series of events which had a cause-and-effect relationship. From the earliest stage when they were simply playing football barefoot, they gradually developed into establishment of clubs, then participation in competition outside the erstwhile kingdom, then gradual mushrooming of players, then the emergence of sports-stars, world champions and Olympians. Diversification of disciplines were also observed. Though these were chronologically arranged, each event merged with the next one or even with a previous one. It, moreover,



shows a gradual improvement or standardisation in achievement which is because of standardisation in the methods of procedure. There was increasing complexity with each new phase. The movement is the cumulative process of all the three phases.

The objectives of the movement were perfected by the organisations through their activities. Development of infrastructure and the hosting of the national games and the production of world-class players were the part of the achievements of the movement. The sports movement in Manipur is a social movement.

## **V. Factors Responsible for the Development of the Movement**

There are eight broad factors to be discussed – social, political, economic, cultural background, education of the people, sports journalism, Socio-political issues and the opportunities through sport.

### **1. Social Factor**

May and Petgen includes “time element, physical conditions of the people, racial element, climatic conditions, the strength of the family ties, housing and the location of residences, and the availability of play facilities” (Neumeyer and Neumeyer, 1958: 271) in the social factor. Only the relevant are discussed in the present study.

#### **i. Genetical and Natural Environment**

Sports and the environment are related parts of the society. Manipur lies between two global ecological hotspots – the Himalayan biodiversity hotspot and the Indo-Burma biodiversity hotspot. It is rich in a variety of flora and fauna. It comes under the monsoon climatic condition with an annual mean rainfall of about 1518.36mm<sup>17</sup>. 9/10<sup>th</sup> of the total land area is under forest. Various wetlands, lakes and rivers keep the land suitable for vegetation growth. According to the AQI, Manipur comes under the good to moderate status of air pollution<sup>18</sup>. Seasonal vegetables and fruits are plenty in the state. Rice, vegetables, fish and meat constitute the staple food for the people.

Racially, the Manipuri people belong to the Mongoloid stock of people. They have short body stature and a muscular body. The genetic factor, however, is uncertain. Zudin Puthuchery, et al. (2011) concluded in a study that the physical performance is the result of both genetic and environmental factor. However, the

performance of sports as a result of genetic factor is not certain and needs further study.

## ii. “*Leikai Lampak*” and the Local Club

In the Manipuri society, every locality used to have a multi-purpose ground known as the “*leikai lampak*”. The children of the locality played in this, the elders sat and talked, cattle grazed in the ground, etc. This was a part of the everyday life of the people. This socio-cultural space has been gradually disappearing from most of the urban areas in Manipur, but still common in the rural areas.

The “*leikai lampak*” is governed by a local club which is a socio-political body instituted for the overall welfare of the locality. It functions for the optimum utilisation of resources in the locality. It is a form of community participation in the governance (Irina, 2011). They play a huge role in the movement.

These local clubs execute its functions for the promotion of games sports in the valley in three ways - 1. Practice Ground 2. Introduction to Sports 3. Skill Identification

Children and youths usually play in this ground in the morning and afternoon. Children play mostly indigenous games while the youths are mostly indulged in modern games. Children come to know of the games played there, and sometimes got inspired from that. An Arjuna Awardee<sup>19</sup> was inspired to play hockey when she was around 13 years old. She saw two girl hockey players while she was playing in her “*leikai lampak*”. She approached them and they helped her enter into hockey.

While playing in the “*leikai lampak*”, there are chances for self-recognition of their own skills and passion. The local clubs also organise formal competitions from time to time. They facilitate young children to play and compete in certain games and then get motivated to join into sports. Whenever they play in this space, they are exposed to an “audience” – other players, local elders, etc. So, any above-normal skill is easily identified by this “audience”. Therefore, in this forum, skill identification takes place in two ways- self-recognition and identification by others.

An Arjuna awardee<sup>20</sup> considers his “*leikai*” as his first “*guru*”. He used to play in his “*leikai lampak*” before entering into professional sports. People who saw him play would encourage him seeing his passion and skill. He also recognised that he had a fighting spirit in himself. After that, he chose proper training in martial arts. Later

he changed to Wushu and was conferred the Arjuna Award in this discipline.

Another respondent<sup>21</sup>, who is a recipient of both the Padma Shri award and the Arjuna Award used to play with the boys in her “*leikai lampak*”. She even used a boy’s name to participate in boys’ football tournaments since there were very few girl footballers in her locality.

In this study, 34 out of the 50 retired players and 106 out of the 235 active players began their sporting career in their “*leikai lampak*”. 16 of the retired players are Arjuna awardees and from among them, 11 associated with their respective “*lampak*”. It is high among the older players, with 68 per cent and lower among the younger players, with 45 per cent. In the urban areas, its role has been replaced by sports institutions. However, its role is still very intact and significant in most of the rural localities. This is evident during the “*Yaoshang Sports Festival*”, which is explained in the next section.

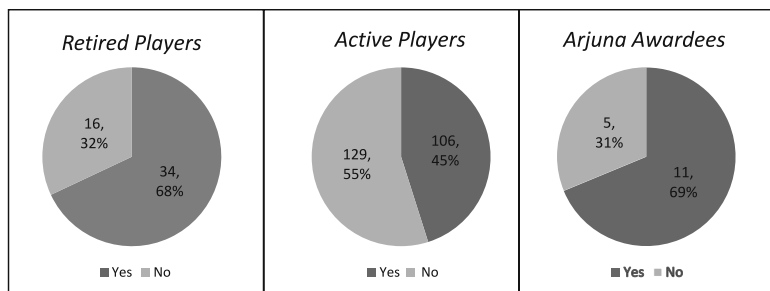


Fig. 1: Charts Showing the Number of Players Who were Associated with the “*leikai lampak*”.

These clubs also organise some more activities. The Oriental club, Imphal has organised state level cycling competition, for instance. The Citizen’s Club says that boxing was popularised by this club. The Dharmalaya Social Welfare Club has a wushu training facility in its premise. The same club established associations for certain disciplines. Some of these were later recognised as state associations.

The “*leikai lampak*” and its associated local club play a key role in the development of sports movement in the state, in the way that it could reach every nook and corner of the state in providing a space for the young players. It is one of the most effective means for promoting sports at the grassroot level.

### iii. “*Yaoshang Sports Festival*”

A significant event in Manipur that promotes sports in the valley

is the “*yaoshang sports festival*”. It is a parallel festival of “*Holi*” and has many cultural practices such as playing with colour and water, children asking for cash or kind from door to door, “*Thabal Chongba*” (a form of cultural dance), girls stopping people on the road asking for money, etc. The “*yaoshang sports*” is organised by the local clubs in their “*leikai lampak*”, in the Meitei inhabited neighbourhoods so vastly that it is also known as the “*yaoshang sports festival*”.

Historically, the “*yaoshang sports festival*” began in the mid-1940s. According to Seram Neken<sup>22</sup> Singh, the event began as early as 1946 in Akampat, Imphal (Neken, 2011). In another record, the Dharmalaya Social Welfare Club<sup>23</sup> also has a written record in its resolution book about it organising the event in 1946.

This event is one of the biggest gatherings for the locality. For Citizen’s Club<sup>24</sup>, people gather in terms of thousands. Even married girls from the locality would come back to their parent’s house and stay for this event. The locality is divided into divisions, called “*pana*” that plays as a team. There are three broad types of sports in it - Modern Games, Local Games and Entertaining Games.

It has three main functions. Firstly, it spreads out the sporting culture in far off places in the state, particularly in the valley. It largely helps sports in reaching out to every section of the population. It promotes through popularising and mass involvement. It is the most important medium that exposes them to modern games. It acts like a sports factory producing players from each locality of the state.

Secondly, its role is highlighted in the number of players being groomed by this event. They said that they have produced so many national and international players from their locality though they don’t have an official record of it. Children in the locality start preparing for the event even one month beforehand so that they can achieve in the actual event.

They play the role of an agency by guiding above-average children into sporting institutions. The Oriental Levelling Club<sup>25</sup>, Imphal said that their spotted children are guided to the Eastern Sporting Union, a prominent sporting club in Imphal. The other 4 clubs in this research also stated that they have contact with SAI centres in Imphal and the regular coaching classes organised by the YAS department.

Many players from the state have their origin in the “*yaoshang sports*”. In this study, out of the 50 retired players, 7 have their background from it. Their skills were identified in it and thereafter started their journey.

Pakpi Ngasepam<sup>26</sup>, a renowned hockey player said that her skill

was spotted in the “*yaoshang sports*”. Her “*leikai ebung sing*”<sup>27</sup> guided her into playing modern field hockey. The remaining 43 respondents have indirect relation with the event. Out of the 235 active players, 21 have a direct beginning from the event.

## **2. Political Factor**

### **i. Role of the British Rule**

The British rule from the 1890s till the 1940s had an impetus to games and sports in Manipur. They introduced football, cricket, tennis, hockey, basketball, etc. Schools also played important role in the development. The Johnstone Middle English School was the first school to be established in Manipur in 1885. “Games and sports” was made a part of the school curriculum (Singh, 1995:12-150). The Johnstone school team and the CC school team were among the prominent sporting teams of that time.

### **ii. Role of the Sovereign Government**

As a part of the celebration of its independence on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947, the first Manipur Olympic Sports Meet was organised by the MOA (Singh, 2009:66).

The involvement of the masses began during the 1970s under the guidance of the Sports Movement Committee Manipur (SMCM). In 1980, the then chief minister of Manipur, R.K Dorendra Singh implemented the MOU signed between the committee and the Govt. of Manipur, to a certain extent based on the 30 points Charter of Demands submitted in 1978 (Singh, 2009:67-69).

*YAS Department* As a part of the implementation of the MOU, the Youth Affairs and Sports Department (YAS) was bifurcated from the Education Department in 1980. (Singh, 2009:70). Since then, the department as the head of all the sporting activities in the state, has been taking a big role in the promotion of sports in the state. Its responsibility ranges from the very grassroot promotion upto management for international participations.

*Sports Authority of India (SAI) Centres* The government of India has established three centres in Manipur. They provide residential and training facilities to inmates. Most of the popular players are associated with SAI centers.

*Schools and Colleges* Sports activities were initiated at the school and college levels in the state at different time. Colleges of the state started participating in the Guwahati University Annual Sports Festival as early as 1955 and developed rapidly after 1980. There were regular sports meets too (Singh, 2004:16-17).

It is also found that “physical education” as a school subject began in 1911-1912 in the then Johnstone English Middle School. It was made a compulsory examination subject till class 8<sup>th</sup> in 1981. The first UG course for the subject was opened in the Dhanamanjuri College of Science from the year 1988 (Singh, 1995:12-150).

### **3. Economic Factor**

Economic development remained stagnant in the state. Industrially, it remained very backward. Coupled with it, there were youth unrest. Education at that time, had made progress. Yet, there were no employment opportunities for the educated youths. The government was the only primary agency for providing employment. The literacy rate for the state in 1970 was 32.9 per cent and in the Employment Exchange registration in 1982-83, there were 1,52,691 applicants, 50 per cent of which are educated, while the population in the 1981 census was 14,20,953 (nearly 11per cent). Corruption was rampant and openly accepted (Kshetri, 2006:86-88).

### **4. Cultural Background**

#### **i. Socio-cultural and Military**

The everyday life of people is a factor for the participation and performance in game and sports. Olympic medallist Saikhom Mirabai Chanu<sup>28</sup> had spent her childhood days playing and helping with household chores such as collecting firewood from the nearby hills, helping in the rice fields, etc. She said that this has an impact in her sports performance. Since childhood, because of these activities at home, she was very strong and very energetic.

Generally, the children in the state are quite playful and also, they love outdoor games that involve intense body movements. They are also very helpful in their household tasks, specially, girls help in managing the family chores. They fetch water, go to school on foot, helping in the gardens, running to nearby shops, etc. So, exercise in the form of play, responsibility and household works form their everyday life.

This way of life, though, has changed significantly, particularly in the urban areas. The retired players who are above 40 years of age now, both from the rural and urban areas, were found to have lived this kind of lifestyle during their childhood. They said that their daily activities affected a lot in their sport career.

A Major Dhyan Chand awardee<sup>29</sup>, related how her childhood activities were related to her sport career. When she was a girl, she used

to work in their family field where she always tried to complete the task ahead of her male counterparts. She was a very challenging person and tried to show that she could do all the male labour at home and any other place. She became a very fit, hard-working and challenging player later becoming the only player from the state to receive the prestigious award.

Another respondent<sup>30</sup> is now a deputy commandant in the Central Reserve Police Force. She had to work in a brickfield following her mother. She did not get much time for exercise as she had to go for training as well as school. So, she felt that the work in the brickfield was a good physical exercise for her.

In another case, a football coach<sup>31</sup> in the YAS department, Manipur loved playing football since childhood. Her father was a government employee and the family was financially an average one. She was allowed to play but still, she had to help with all her household works expected of her. So, she would fetch water from the nearby pond before going to practice. She feels that the activities were necessary for the family and also beneficial for her body and was also doing her role.

Among the active sportspersons who are under the age of 40 years, it shows some relative changes. For example, fetching of water is no longer a common activity. Children also are not burdened with household chores. They are also now more attracted to indoor games specially, mobile phones than playing outside. Nevertheless, in rural areas, it is still common for most of the households and thereby, the children. There are also big grounds for each locality to play.

For the grown-ups, there are many traditional games such as “*Likkon Sanaba*” (a board game), Polo, “*Mukna-Kangjei*”, “*kang*”, etc. Celebrations were also associated with one or another game. In the hills also, competitions for the youths such as spear throwing, wight lifting were common. Their social life, culture and their everyday life are largely intertwined with games.

The military factor is also a part of the development of sports in Manipur. There were seven clans in the valley and several chiefs in the hills. They need to raise a strong army to face threats. Game was one platform for identifying strong men and also a part of the military training that kept them strong and always prepared. So, games and competitions were considered necessary for both the masses and the soldiers. For instance, Meitei soldiers used a special weapon called the “*Arambai*” that was executed by the cavalry during retreat. So, the game of polo kept them trained for this kind of attack (Singh and Singh, 2014).

“*Thang-Ta*”, a martial art form involving a shield, sword and a

spear was also very popular among the people. People played it as a game and it was a form of military training for the common people producing a trained folk of men which could be later utilised if necessity arose. Another system that contributed to the development of games is the “*Lallup*” system. It was a form of forced male labour under which at least one male between the age of 17 to 60 years from a family is to render state service without remuneration for 10 in every 40 days. They were exempted from taxes for performing their duties. The kingdom was divided into “*Pana*” and the chief of each “*Pana*” had the responsibility to keep its members fit. For that matter there were games for each “*Pana*” (Singh and Singh, 2014).

So, for the Manipuri society, game was a part of the lives of the people. Games and the everyday life were not two distinct dimensions, it was in their culture. The presence of games in their social and cultural milieu was further reinforced by their political, economic and military needs. It was only with the introduction of modern games that they were seen as two distinct spaces.

## 5. Sports Enthusiasts

At every stage of the movement, there have always been some sports enthusiasts who made remarkable contributions. Under the guidance of Phoni Mukherje, the Town club was established and also started organising hockey and football tournaments. It organised the Yakairol hockey cup which was donated by N. Leiren Singh between 1935 to 1941<sup>32</sup>.

During the pre-independence phase, there were many other people who were actively involved in the movement. Sorokhaibam Thambou Singh is the forerunner who approached William Pettigrew. Hijam Lalit Singh, Hijam Irabot Singh, RK Modhhuryajit, Nongmaithem Rebati, Sagolsem Indramani, Sougajam Biren, Sougajam Dhiren, Ningthoujam Binoy, Ningthoujam Brajamani, Maharajkumar Lokendra, Helim Choudhury, etc. (Singh, 2009:66) were among the important enthusiasts.

### i. Sir Churachand Singh

Maharaja Churachand Singh, KCSI, CBE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India, Commander of the Order of the British Empire) is called the “founding father” of modern sports in Manipur for his contributions. He patronised in promoting different sports in Manipur.

Personally, he was a player. He requested Col. Shakespeare, the political agent, to postpone the proposed date of his formal investiture



to the throne by a week so that he could play an important cricket match at Dehradun. There was a well-maintained field for playing hockey, football, cricket, etc. inside the palace compound, where he would invite important matches. He also patronised in establishing a new sports team, the Maharaja team. He personally supervised in raising a good number of young and talented cricket players in his own ground (Singh, 2017).

He also donated and distributed sports items to individuals and groups. S. Lokeshwar Singh said that he very generously distributed lots of sports items to various schools. In one of his visits to Calcutta (Kolkata), he went to a sports goods store where he bought all the items for the players back at home. The shopkeeper had to close the door because he was left with a very few items to sell for the day.

The Dharmalaya Social Welfare Club also narrated that it requested the then king, for a plot of land, which he very kindly donated. He also took up many initiatives to link sports in Manipur with the outside sports environment. According to S. Lokeshwar Singh, he was the founder president of the Assam Olympic Association. He made a big donation to send a team of Manipuri players to the first Assam Olympic Games held at Jorhat in 1940. From this event, the selected athletes were sent for the Indian Olympic Games. He borne the entire expense of the team which won the Bidhumukhi Knock-out Football tournament at Lumding in Assam in 1933. In 1935, he also sent a cricket team to Shillong to play matches against European clubs.

After his death, the “Sir Churachand Singh, KCSI CBE Memorial Football Tournament” was instituted in 1950. It is popularly known as the CC Meet and is still one of the major football events in the north eastern region of India. His son and successor, Maharaja Bodhachandra Singh, donated the gold-centred shield which is the trophy of the tournament (Singh, 2004:12 -13).

He is the main figure in the field of sport in Manipur. It was under his patronage that the sports movement took a proper shape.

## **ii. R.K Ranendrajit Singh**

The activities of RK Ranendrajit Singh during the third phase may be discussed. His main objective in the field of sport was to mobilise people and to convert the movement into a people’s movement. He emphasised on the need for grassroot mobilisation. His compound, called the Bir Tikendrajit Complex, was used as a space for players for practice whenever necessary. He said that there is a pond in this complex, which some promising swimmers used as the swimming pool for practice.

He concentrated on the problems infrastructure, scientific outlook and funds. He said that infrastructure does not need to be big as long as its quality is world-class standard. He also noted the need for academic and research works for scientific approach to sports.

Under his stewardship, the Sports Movement Committee Manipur (SMCM) was instituted for the quick promotion of sports. In 1978, the 30 points charter of demands was submitted to the then chief minister. It organised a protest of fast unto death. After going through it for more than 8 days, they ended up signing an MOU and it was implemented to a certain extent in the year 1980 (Singh, 2009: 67-68). Subsequently, the KLSC was permitted to be developed into a sports complex preserving it from being converted into a residential area.

He said that in the process, he had to come over a lot of problems. He had to confront even one of his personal friends for removing his housing plot from the complex. They had to protest at so many instances during this time that banana plants of the Khurai area (a locality near the complex) were wiped out during that time since the agitators were mainly relying on the “*eromba*” (a common Manipuri dish) made of this. He said, “*Khurai rom gi lafu pambi khei tumba ni keino.*”

He also acknowledges the importance of the role of journalism in mobilising people’s consciousness. He started a newspaper, “Freedom” in 1992 that continued till 2001. This English daily played a major role in the sports movement in Manipur during this phase. He also said that this paper reported on the quality of the hockey stadium in the KLSC and consequently, the engineer of the project was suspended.

The conservation and development of the KLSC was his biggest contribution in sport in Manipur. He said that sport is already a way of life for this people and that the KLSC was something the people already wanted, he was only entering into the space at “a good timing”. KLSC is now the biggest and the most well-equipped sports facility in the state.

## 6. Sports Journalism

Sports journalism is the branch of journalism that deals with reporting and writing about sports news and events in any media. In India, it developed after independence in 1947. The first remarkable step was the introduction of a sports page by a leading English daily of Bombay in the late thirties<sup>33</sup>.

Journalism in Manipur began in the 1910s with a hand written journal, “*Meitei Leima*” (Sethi and Singh, 2015). By the 1980s, there were around 40 dailies and weeklies<sup>34</sup>. Leading papers of that time were

“Nongallakpa”, “Khollao”, “Prajatantra”, etc. According to a journalist<sup>35</sup>, only a few lines about sports were reported on these papers, and only with the publication of “Freedom” in the 1990s, a little progress was made in this field.

He continued that for the 1999 National Games there had to be a host of sports journalist for reporting the event. New papers promoted sports journalism to a large extent. The “Sangai Express”, for example beginning in the 2000s had exclusive sport column. There are also many sports papers from different sections.

It played a vital role in the movement. Firstly, it popularises sports in general among the masses. Dingko Singh’s final bout in the 1998 Asian Games, for example, was watched in the state. Mirabai’s Olympic event of 2021 was watched live in many forums and also was printed in every newspaper the next day. So, through the mass media, any event is made to reach anywhere in real time. Also, through the various writings, discussions, etc., the importance of sport is surfaced in the public domain and helped in formulating public opinion.

Secondly, media plays the most crucial role in popularising a player. From the first achievement of a promising player, media begins to tell stories about her achievements, her struggle, her upbringing, etc. It is because of their repeated information that people come to know about players and made a star. A very important aspect of it is that players get sponsorship only through media popularisation. For instance, Mary Kom<sup>36</sup> and her achievements were heightened through media. Her popularity reaches its peak after a Bollywood movie was made based on her life story in 2014.

Thirdly, it motivates players to go further by highlighting their achievements. And by popularising achievers, new players are inspired in a very large number. Fourthly, journalists report on sports events on a daily basis from the village level tournaments to the Olympic Games. It functions as a repository of events over a long period of time.

As the fourth pillar of a government, they keep a check on the activities of the government. There are discussions, debates and various columns on any upcoming policies of the government. They report on infrastructure inadequacies or any other loopholes. They present the side of the story of the players. The journalist cited above related that in a sport related function, the CM of Manipur was talking about the benefits of a sports scheme for the players. At the time, the scheme was not implemented properly. So, he shouted “*fangdriye, fangdriye*” (not yet receive) and the CM and the crowd was made aware of it, to which he responded, “oh!”.

Sixthly, media play a big role in connecting the sport system in the state to that of other developed countries. They report on the current global sporting status and provide an opportunity for comparing with that in the state. One of the emerging areas of interest related to sport in Manipur is that of sports tourism. In this area also, sports journalists have worked to popularise it among the people and also to bring the required conditions for developing this.

Sports journalism is still in a very young stage in Manipur. Yet, it is found that they have contributed significantly in the development of the movement in the state.

## **7. Socio-Political Issues**

Manipur got independence in 1947 and was merged with the Indian union in 1949. Consequently, the 1960s marked the emergence of insurgency in Manipur. Many rebellious underground groups formed along the ethnic lines were emerging since then (Kshetri, 2006:84-95).

This period was also marked by drug abuse and addiction. The problem of HIV/AIDS among the youths began in the 1990s (Devi, 2020:32-33). Unemployment rate was increasing. Apart from these, the communities have ethnic issues among them (Sharma, 2016). Sports provided a life opportunity specially for the educationally and the economically deprived section of the society. The case of Laishram Sarita Devi, which will be narrated in the next section, illustrates this. This factor has a direct relation with the next factor.

## **8. Sport and Its Opportunities**

By the second phase, Olympians had been produced from the state. The benefits of sports were widely known. And given the context of the state at that time, sport provided a way out for the people.

The general benefits of sport provided a ground for saving the youths. They would be healthy both physically and mentally. It helped them in keeping themselves away from drug and other substance abuses. With the rate of literacy among the youths, there was increasing awareness of sport and its benefits among them. Another fundamental benefit is that of harmonising the society on the communal lines. Players from different communities formed a team. At the individual level, they start to understand and help each other. In this study, two respondents happened to be Muslim girls. According to them<sup>37</sup>, their team mates help them a lot in maintaining their religious norms such as they also eat only halal meat during camps. At the societal level also, famous players are endorsed irrespective of their communities.

The employment opportunity was another aspect of sports that attracted players in a large number. Manipuri players are present in various services across the different states of India. They can play and get a salary with which they can support the whole family. Therefore, playing was seen as a means to get rid of poverty.

In this study, out of the 50 retired players, 10 joined sports knowing its scopes and among the 235 active players, 148 of them knew the job benefits of it before entering into it. This awareness is higher among the younger players because of the widening scope of sports as well as increasing awareness among the players, parents, the masses and the coaches.

In the case of insurgency, sport had a role in channelising youths. An Arjuna awardee<sup>37</sup> born and raised in a village in Thoubal, around 25 km. away from Imphal was saved by sport. Her area was also under great influence of the insurgency problem during the 1970s and the 1980s. It was when she was around 11-12 years old that she got associated in some mild forms with an underground group. After her father's death, her mother could hardly manage the family. She could not get proper education and attention. She had a fierce instinct inside her which she did not know how to channelise. So, she got easily carried away. She found in boxing a way to let out her energy. She said that she might have been in the group had she not met boxing. She works as an additional SP in the Manipur Police department at the time of the interview.

Thus, sport was found to be providing many benefits to the players. And because of these opportunities, many young children and youths were attracted to it, enlarging the movement.

Thus, it has been shown that eight major factors have their crucial roles that shaped the movement in the state. To mention them again, they are the social, political, economic, cultural, sports enthusiasts, sports journalism, socio-political issues and the opportunities.

## **VI. Conclusion**

This paper primarily aimed at discussing the role of the factors responsible for the growth of sports movement in Manipur. It has narrated the historical aspect of it beginning from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and developing through three different stages. It has been shown that the development has the characteristics of a social movement.

The eight major factors were found to be playing a crucial role in the development of this movement. Manipur since the early period is a society in which play and games had a prominence. There are several

indigenous and traditional games, both in the valley and the hills. Moreover, there was military necessity for the activities. The everyday way of life of the people was also found to be related to participation and performance in sports. The environment too played a role in developing sportspersons.

The modern games were introduced by the British in the 1890s. The discussion of the development of the movement began in this phase. Some sports enthusiasts were also found to be playing key roles in the development, Maharaja Churachand Singh being the most significant. The social institution of the “*leikai lampak*” and the event of the “*Yaoshang sports festival*” extended the movement to the villages of the valley. Gradually, the movement began developing rapidly under the sovereign government and because of more sports enthusiasts. In the meantime, the socio-political and the economic conditions of the state also had an impetus in pushing youths into sports. On the other hand, the growing opportunities in sports were pulling more youths into it. Both these factors helped in intensifying the movement. All these were made more effective by sports journalism during the third phase.

Therefore, all the factors were found to be playing key roles in the movement. Further studies will be able to expand the scope of this area and also that other factors besides these, may also be explored.

## Notes

1. *Census India*. Manipur Population Census 2011, Manipur Religion, Literacy, Sex Ratio - Census India
2. This is based on the information by the Press Information Bureau of India released on 24 July 2023. Goa has the highest (Rs. 3,10,201) and Bihar has the lowest (Rs. 30,779). <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1942055>
3. Data from the *Department of Youth Affairs and Sports*, Govt. of Manipur and *Wikipedia*. (as of December 2023). The Major Dhyani Chand Khel Ratna Award and the Arjuna Award are the two highest sporting awards for players in the nation.
4. May, Herbert Louis, and Dorothy Petgen, (1928) “*Leisure and Its Use: Some International Observations*.” This work was referred to by Neumeyer and Neumeyer.
5. Interviewed on July 21, 2022 at 4:00 p.m. at his residence.
6. The fort was the capital of the erstwhile kingdom located at the centre of the city.
7. He was interviewed personally by Soram Lokeshwar Singh.

8. A local-made high raised basket with a lid made from bamboo strips.
9. Singh, Soram Lokeshwor “Sports Movement”, available at [sports movement \(e-pao.net\)](http://sportsmovement(e-pao.net))
10. Singh, Soram Lokeshwor, “*Sports Movement*”, [sports movement \(e-pao.net\)](http://sportsmovement(e-pao.net))
11. Interviewed on July 28, 2022 at around 3 p.m. at his residential complex.
12. Singh, Soram Lokeshwor, “*Sports Movement*”, [sports movement \(e-pao.net\)](http://sportsmovement(e-pao.net))
13. Data from the *Department of Youth Affairs and Sports*, Govt. of Manipur and *Wikipedia*.
14. Interviewed on March 09, 2022 at 10: 00 a.m. over the telephone.
15. Interviewed on July 10, 2022 at 10 a.m. over the telephone.
16. *ENVIS Hub Manipur* <https://manenvis.nic.in/>.
17. *Manipur Air Quality Index* [Manipur Air Quality Index \(AQI\) : Real-Time Air Pollution | India](#)
18. Interviewed on July 09, 2022 at around 8.30 a.m. over the telephone.
19. Interviewed on December 07, 2021 at around 2.30 p.m. over the telephone.
20. Interviewed on October 28, 2021 at around 7.30 p.m. over the telephone.
21. Interviewed on July 21, 2022 at 10:30 a.m. at his residence.
22. The president of the club was interviewed on July 21, 2022 at around 8.30 a.m. at the premise of the club.
23. The president of the club was interviewed on July 22, 2022 at 12:10 p.m. at his residence.
24. The secretary of the club was interviewed on July 22, 2022 at around 3:00 p.m. at his residence.
25. Interviewed on July 03, 2022 at around 5.30 p.m. over the telephone.
26. In the Meitei localities, older boys are referred to as “brothers” even though they are not related at all. “*leikai*” literally means the locality, “*ebung sing*” means brothers.
27. Interviewed on December 16, 2022 at around 8.00 a.m. at her residence.

28. Interviewed on July 03, 2022 at around 10.30 a.m. over the telephone.
29. Interviewed on October 03, 2021 at around 10.a.m. over the telephone.
30. Interviewed on October 26, 2021 at around 12 p.m. over the telephone.
31. Singh, Soram Lokeshwor, “*Sports Movement*”, [sports movement \(e-pao.net\)](http://e-pao.net)
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34. Interviewed on July 10, 2022 at 10 a.m. over the telephone.
35. Interviewed on October 12, 2022 at 8:00 a.m. at her academy.
36. Interviewed on February 15, 2022 at 6:15 p.m. over the telephone.
37. Interviewed on June 16, 2022 at 8:30 a.m. at her residence.

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# Intercommunity Analysis of Outliers in the Coastal Belt of Kerala: A Socio-Economic Analysis

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• Lt. Dr. Nithin Thomas

*The study has found that the community wise socio economic status of Outliers in the coastal areas of Kerala is low. The selected communities are Dheevera, Muslims and Latin Catholics. The analysis considers the social and economic variables such as nature of the ration card, educational qualification, ownership status of the land, types of house, and monthly income to know the status of the respondents across the community. The combined average score of the selected variables among Dheevera (2.32), Muslims (2.48) and Latin Catholics (2.38) communities come under the low socio-economic status. The result of Kruskal Wallis H test revealed that there is no difference as regards the socio economic status of the respondents across communities are concerned. Hence the hypothesis that 'low socio economic status in terms of nature of ration card, land ownership, type of house and monthly income does not vary among communities' is found valid.*

**Keywords :** *Intercommunity analysis, Outliers, Fishing communities, Socio –economic status, Combined average score*

## 1. Introduction

Fishermen community is denoted as 'Outlier' by many researchers. (Kurian, 1981, 1995, 2001, Shyjan, 2011, Charles 2014, Rajeev 2015). Resolving the paradox of the poor 'capability building' conditions in the fisheries sector in a state which boasts of a very high quality of life requires an understanding of a few

closely interrelated economic, social and cultural characteristics specific to the fishing communities which provide an explanation for its outlier position (Kurien,1995). Shyjan (2011) reveals that fisher folk of the state still prevails as an outlier to the average development experience of the state. The fishermen community in Kerala belong to three religious groups namely Dheevera (Hindu), Muslims and Latin Catholics(Christians). The community is observed as disadvantaged of basic requirement of life such as housing, drinking water, hygiene and sanitation. The poverty ratio of the fisher folk is much higher than the general population. The community is vulnerable to the changing climatic conditions along the coast since they are settled closed to the sea shore and thereby loses huts, lands and even employment.

Charles (2014) in his study addressed fishermen community as an outlier community and reported that that fishermen community is said to be vulnerable to several diseases and social problems. Lack of safe drinking water or accessibility to water, poor housing conditions, malnutrition and the adverse working conditions make fishermen to a wide range of health hazards.

The Kerala fisher folks are characterized by unattractive demographic traits as well as low and lopsided household income levels. There are also problems of seasonal employment, debt taken from non-institutional sources like money lenders also show a dismal picture of fisher folks. The prevalence of high incidence of poverty of the fishermen have remained outliers in the overall development process (Rajeev, 2015). The scan of survey of literature points out that the poverty is prevalent among the fishers (World Bank, 1992; Bene, 2003; Gupta & Pandit 2007). Indebtedness, poor housing and low quality of life characterize fisher's life in contrast to the high quality of life achieved by the state as whole (Sathyapalan & George, 2015). Sathiadhas (2009) reported that the socio economic status of the fishers has improved mainly while considering the educational and housing status. However, problems of overcrowding and risk associated with the proximity of these houses to sea shore line are still a pertinent issue (DFID, 2003)

It is in this background an attempt is to make an inter community comparative analysis through the framework proposed. The theme of the article is therefore intercommunity analysis of the outliers in coastal areas of Kerala through the prism of socio economic status.

## **2. Statement of the problem**

The reviews related to fisher folk of Kerala make it clear that the socio economic status of the fishers has improved mainly while considering the educational and housing status. Fisher folk of the state still prevails as an outlier to the average development experience of the state. The prevalence of high incidence of poverty of the fishermen have remained outliers in the overall development process. As an outlier community the community is said to be vulnerable to several diseases and social problems. The poverty is prevalent among the fishers. Indebtedness, poor housing and low quality of life characterize fisher's life in contrast to the high quality of life achieved by the state as whole. The problems of overcrowding and risk associated with the proximity of these houses to sea shore line are still a pertinent issue which results in the damages of houses, land and even human lives during every monsoon and during every change in the climatic conditions. They remain at the margin of the society.

## **3. Objective of the study**

To measure community wise comparison of socio-economic condition of the outliers in the coastal areas of Purakkad, Kormankadappuram and Pulluvila in Kerala

## **4. Hypothesis of the study**

The hypotheses formulated for the present study is as follows :

The low socio economic status in terms of socio-economic variables (nature of ration card, land ownership, type of house and monthly income) among outliers in the coastal villages of Kerala does not vary across communities.

## **5. Methodology of the study**

Explanatory research design has been adopted for the present study. Universe of the study was the outlier population in the 222 marine fishing villages of Kerala. Both primary and secondary data have been used to fulfil the objective of the study. The sources of secondary data are journals, published books, thesis, bulletin, surveys, working papers and websites etc. Reports and records collected from government department like Central Marine Fisheries

Research Institute (CMFRI), Department of Fisheries, Matsyafed, Planning board (Economic review) are also used. Primary data have been collected through a field survey using structured interview schedule among the sample outliers.

## **5.1. Sample design**

With regard to the primary sources of data, a multi-phase sampling technique has been adopted for the study.

### **5.1.1. The first phase: Selection of districts**

In the first phase of sampling, three districts have been selected from Kerala. As per the Marine statistics of Kerala, 2010 based on the criteria as religion and community, Alappuzha is having the highest number of Hindu households (8187) followed by Kozhikode (7577), Ernakulam (4464), Thrissur (3645) and so on. Among these districts Alappuzha is selected for the highest Hindu representation. Likewise, Malappuram encompasses the highest number of Muslim households (14516) followed by Kozhikode (6568), Thiruvananthapuram (4788), Thrissur (1772) and so on. From these districts, Malappuram has been selected as it represents the highest number of Muslim households. The highest concentration of Latin Catholics is found in Thiruvananthapuram (27944), Alappuzha (11076), Kollam (7019), Ernakulam (4218) and so on. Among these coastal districts, Trivandrum is selected as it includes the highest proportion of the households of Latin Catholics. Other reasons for the selection of these districts are to give regional representation of south and north

### **5.1.2. The Second phase: Selection of Coastal villages**

In the second phase, three coastal villages have been taken from each selected districts. The coastal villages having the highest number of households of the selected community based on Marine Fisheries Statistics, Kerala (2010) is the criterion used to select those villages. They are Purakkad from Alappuzha, Kormankadappuram from Malappuram and Pulluvila from Thiruvananthapuram

### **5.1.3. The Third phase: Selection of households**

In the third phase, sample of the households from selected community is using sampling formula at 95 per cent confidence

level. The number of households is collected from Marine Fisheries Statistics by CMFRI (2010). The respective sample households constitute 90 households from Dheevera community (Purakkad), 105 households from Muslims community (Kormankadappuram) and 187 households from Latin Catholic community (Pulluvila), thus totalling 382 households. They are selected by using purposive sampling as there is no detailed list of households for selected villages

## 5.2. Sample size

The sample size was estimated using sampling formula (Confidence level-95%, Margin of error-5%, Population proportion-50%) to be 382 households by keeping margin of error as 5 per cent, confident level as 95 per cent for a total household size of 4099 with a response household distribution of 50 per cent. Table 1.1 shows the sample size of the study with regard to district, coastal areas and total number of households.

**Table 1.1**  
**Sample size of the study : Districts, coastal areas and community wise**

Districts	Coastal Areas	Communities	Total Number of Household	Sample household
Alappuzha	Purakkadu	Dheevera	900	90
Malappuram	Kormankadappuram	Muslims	1121	105
Trivandrum	Pulluvila	Latin Catholics	2078	187
<b>Total Households</b>			<b>4099</b>	<b>382<sup>1</sup></b>

Sample data calculated through sample calculator ([www.calculator.net](http://www.calculator.net))

1 In order to measure the sample size of the study, household from selected communities added together and estimated the sample size using sample calculator. And then number of households from each community was divided by total number of households and multiplied by the sample size.  $900/4099 \times 352 = 77$ ,  $1121/4099 \times 352 = 96$ ,  $2078/4099 \times 352 = 179$ . Actual sample size was 352 but 382 responses were qualified to be included in the sample.



### 5.3. Tools of analysis

For analyzing community wise comparison of socio-economic condition of the outliers in the coastal areas of Purakkad, Kormankadappuram and Pulluvila in Kerala, statistical tools and techniques like averages, percentages, and ratios were used. The study used Kuruskal Wallis test to test the hypothesis.

## 6. Result and Discussions

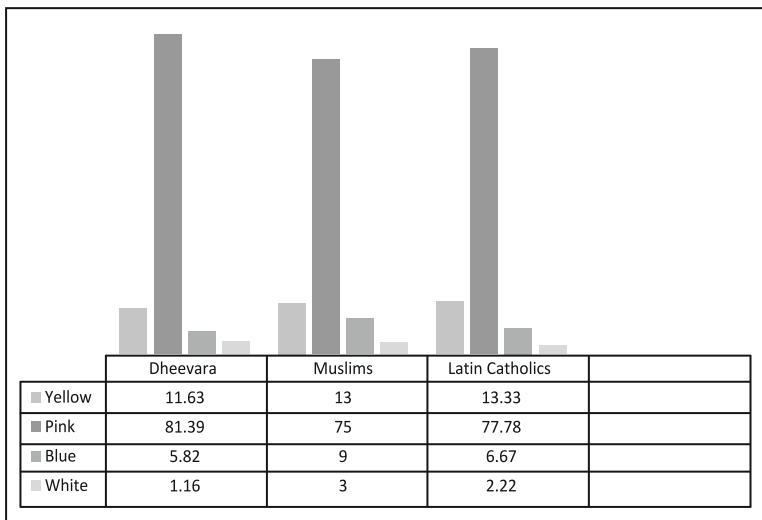
### 6.1. Inter community analysis of socio economic status

The analysis considers the social and economic variables such as nature of the ration card, educational qualification, ownership status of the land, types of house, and monthly income to know the status of the respondents across the community.

#### 6.1.1. Nature of the ration card

It is imperative to examine the economic condition based on the income of any community in which they belong to. The terminology of categorizing the people into BPL and APL groups is on the basis of the type of ration card they hold which is determined by the income level. Community wise type of ration card is presented in figure 1.1

**Figure 1.1: Type of ration card**



Source: Survey data

Figure 1.1 shows that BPL card holders are almost above 90 per cent in all the communities with the highest percentage among Dheevara (93.02%) followed by Latin Catholics (91.11%) and Muslims (88%) respectively. The majority of the respondents fall under BPL category indicate the poor economic status of the marine fisher folk of Kerala in terms of selected communities.

### 6.1.2. Educational status

The next aspect considered for community wise comparison is educational status which is classified into illiterate to graduation and above. This is presented in table 1.2

**Table 1.2**

**Community wise educational qualification of the respondents  
(in percentage)**

Educational qualifications	Communities of the respondents		
	Dheevara	Muslims	Latin Catholics
Illiterate	15.6	25.7	15.5
Below SSLC	53.3	51.4	29.9
SSLC	16.7	14.3	30.5
PDC (+2)	8.9	5.8	13.4
Graduation & above	5.5	2.8	10.7

Source: Survey data

Table 1.2 makes it clear that the illiteracy rate found among the respondents is above the state level illiteracy rate (6.09%) as per the Census 2011 which is the highest percentage among Muslims (25.7%) followed by Dheevara (15.6%) and Latin Catholics (15.5%). As far as the educational level is concerned, most of the community members have an education level with less than SSLC. It is of interest to note that Dheevara has 53.3 per cent of the persons with less than SSLC education whereas it is the lowest for Latin Catholics (29.9%). As regards SSLC holders are concerned, the highest per cent is found among Latin Catholics (30.5%) and the lowest percent among Muslims (14.3%). Among these three communities, Latin Catholics is found comparatively better than other communities as 10.7 per cent of the respondents

have graduation and above with diploma (8%), UG (2.7%), PG (2.1%) and professional education holders (0.5%) even though which is a very low percentage.

### 6.1.3. Community wise ownership status of the house and land

The fishermen community mainly depends on sea for their livelihood and land is always for habitation and not for cultivation. Table 1.3 demonstrates the ownership status of the land and house.

**Table 1.3**

#### Community wise percentage distribution of the respondents by house and land ownership

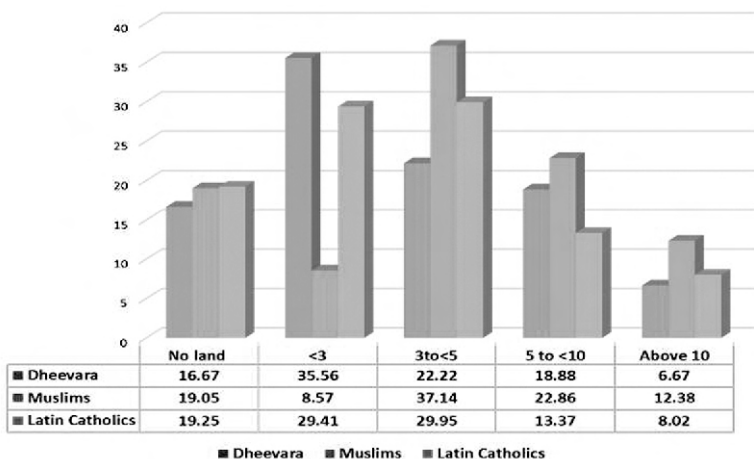
House ownership	Dheevera	Muslims	Latin Catholics
Owned	83.3	80.9	78.1
Rented	6.7	7.7	12.3
Govt scheme/ Relative's house	10	11.4	9.6
Land ownership			
Yes	83.3	80.9	80.7
No	16.7	19.1	19.3

Source: Survey data

As it is shown in table 1.3, majority of the respondents have land and house ownership irrespective of the community of the respondents. Majority of the respondents among Dheevera community (83.3%) stay in their own house, 6.7 per cent stay in rented houses and 10 per cent in tsunami rehabilitation center. It is learnt that 80.9 per cent, 7.7 per cent and 11.4 per cent of the Muslims respectively stay in owned house, rented house and fishermen colony whereas 78.1 per cent of the Latin Catholics have own house, 12.3 per cent in rented house and 9.6 percent of them stay with relative's house. Financial support of government for the construction of house is comparatively high among Muslims (32.1%) whereas low among Latin Catholics (10.3%). But the

religious institutions play very important role in giving financial support for the construction of house among Latin Catholics (11.1%). Like other two communities, either rehabilitation center or fishermen colony is not found among Latin Catholics. The highest percentage of the respondents who stay in rented house is among Latin Catholics. It is reported that 2.7 per cent of the Latin Catholics who stay in rented house possess land. Community wise land holding status is presented in figure 1.2

**Figure 1.2 : Percentage distribution of households by land holding**



Source: Survey data

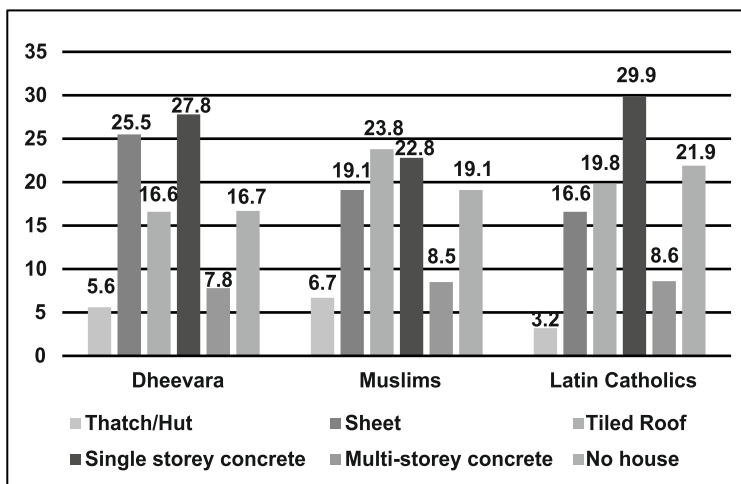
The highest percentage of the respondents who do not own land is found among Latin Catholics (19.25%) followed by Muslims (19.05%) and Dheevaras (16.67%). Fishermen household plots vary from 3-5 cents. A good percentage of the respondents hold less than 3 cents of the land. Interestingly, the average landholding found high among Muslims (6.45 cents) followed by Latin Catholics (5.92 cents) and Dheevara (5.51 cents). Compared with southern districts, the northern part of the state is having the availability of land and low density of the population. These may be the reasons for Muslims who possess average land holding is comparatively little high than the other two communities which represent the southern part of the state.

### 6.1.4. Types of house

Housing is a crucial factor in determining the standard of the living of coastal families. Their lives are always in danger since their houses are located too close to the sea. Unlike the popular notions about the pathetic housing conditions of fishermen households, the survey presents a vivid picture of the housing conditions of the fisher folk. The data given in table 6.1 indicate that the share of homeless households among Dheevera, Muslims and Latin Catholics respectively constitute 16.7 per cent, 19.1 per cent and 21.9 per cent. The rest of the representation live in different dwelling which is presented in figure 1. 3

**Figure 1. 3**

**Community wise percentage distribution of the respondents by type of dwelling**



Source: Survey data

Similarly, in the case of landless, the highest percentage of the homeless is found among Latin Catholics (21.9%) whereas the lowest percentage is among Dheeveras (16.7%). The highest proportion of thatched house is observed among Muslims (6.7%) followed by Dheevera (5.6%) and Latin Catholics (3.2%). The percentage of the respondents who possess single storey concrete house is observed the highest percentage among Latin Catholics (29.9 %) whereas the lowest percentage is found among Muslims

(22.8%). As regards the respondents who possess house, Latin Catholics is better placed as 58.3 per cent of them are living in concrete and tile roofed houses followed by Muslims (55.1%) and Dheevaras (52.2%).

### 6.1.5. Monthly income

Fish workers earn income by engaging themselves on a daily basis. From a social point of view, earning income on a daily basis is highly unstable for a secured living in future, which affects the quality of life of the people. But from the economic point of view, daily earnings reduce the capacity to save. The fact remains is that fish workers have no other option, but to depend on their daily wages. The daily income of the respondents added together and presented as monthly income in table 1.4.

**Table 1.4**

**Community wise percentage distribution of the respondents by monthly income**

Monthly income (₹)	Communities of the respondents (%)		
	Dheevara	Muslims	Latin Catholics
Below 5000	46.7	39.1	36.8
5001-10000	35.6	41.9	39.1
10001-15000	10	12.4	14.4
15001-20000	4.4	4.7	5.4
Above 20000	3.3	1.9	4.3
<b>Average (₹)</b>	<b>₹ 6611.38</b>	<b>₹ 6928.87</b>	<b>₹ 7553.79</b>

Source: Survey data

As it is evident in table 6.3 that the highest percentage of the respondents who earn income below 5000 is found among Dheevaras (46.7 %) followed by Muslims (39.1%) and Latin Catholics (36.8%). On the other hand, Muslims (41.9%) holds the highest percentage of income between 5000-10000 whereas the lowest percentage is among Dheevara (35.6%). Respondents from Dheevara community earn lesser income from fisheries than other counterparts.

The share of the respondents who earn income above 10000 and other category together constitute the highest percentage among Latin Catholics (24.1%) followed by Muslims (19%) and Dheevera (17.7%). The highest score of average income of the respondents is reported among Latin Catholics (7553.79) whereas the lowest among Dheevera (6611.38).

To sum up, there are some differences in respect of variables analysed across communities. While Latin Catholics enjoy slight advantage in the case of education and housing they are disadvantaged by largest proportion of landless and homeless category. Muslims are lucky to have the highest average of land holdings but they are disadvantaged by education and type of house. Dheevera community is disadvantaged in most of the factors analysed. What is important is that the variation is not visible or remarkable and hence one has to depend on some crude way of analyzing it. An attempt has been made to see the socio-economic status across communities.

## **6.2 Community wise Socio economic status**

The foregoing analysis shows that the respondents have a low socio economic condition in terms of variables analysed. But it does not give a concrete conclusion and therefore an attempt is made to measure the community wise socio-economic status among respondents. The variables selected to measure the socio economic status are monthly income, nature of the ration card, ownership status of land and types of house. Education is omitted for community analysis as it does not pertain to household data. The selected variables are categorised into five groups and given a score ranging from one to five. The monthly income below 5000, 5001 to 10000, 10001 to 15000 and 15001 to 20000 and above 20000 are the five income groups which are given the score of one, two, three, four and five respectively. The income group is classified on the basis of the lowest income to highest income received by the respondents from fishing. Categorisation is made based on the studies conducted by Pavithran (2019) and Manimaran & Karuppiah (2021).

The second variable, nature of ration card is categorised into yellow, pink, blue, white ration card and high income with no ration

card and given a score of one, two, three, four and five respectively. Ownership status of land is measured in term of cents of land possessed by respondents. This variable is classified into no land, below 3 cents, 3 to<5, 5 to <10 and above 10 cents with the score of one, two, three, four and five respectively. The next aspect considered is the types of houses. The categories are thatch/hut including no house, sheet roof, tiled roof, single storey concrete and multi-storey concrete with the scores of one, two, three, four and five respectively.

The socio economic status of outliers is classified into very low, low, medium, high and very high. The very low category falls under the value ranging from 0 to 1.49, low category status under the category of 1.5 to 2.49, medium status fall under 2.5 to 3.49, high status fall under 4 to 4.49 and very high status under the value above 4.5. The calculated average scores of selected variables for the socio economic status of the respondents are shown in table 1.5.

**Table 1.5: Calculated average score of the selected variables**

Selected variables	Dheevera	Muslims	Latin Catholics
	AS	AS	AS
Nature of ration card	2.1	2.34	2.09
Land ownership	2.63	3	2.61
Type of house	2.73	2.69	2.81
Monthly income	1.83	1.89	2.01
<b>Combined average score</b>	<b>2.32</b>	<b>2.48</b>	<b>2.38</b>

Source: Survey data

The socio economic status of the communities of the respondents reveals the fact that their socio economic status is low and their communities come under the low socio- economic status. To see the differences among the communities of the respondents in terms of the socio economic status, Kruskal Wallis H test is done. The test result is analysed in table 1.6



**Table 1.6: Kruskal Wallis H test for the selected variables**

Selected variables	Mean rank score of			Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
	Dheevera	Muslims	Latin Catholics			
Nature of ration card	85.22	89.06	89.77	3.56		
Land ownership	157.92	123.58	158.59	8.867	2	0.102
Type of house	158.09	157.62	141.86	1.878	2	0.391
Monthly income	106.57	95.63	86.89	1.697	2	0.428

Source: Computed from Survey data

Test results shown in table 1.6 reveals that there is no difference as regards the socio economic status of the respondents across communities are concerned. Hence the first hypothesis that ‘low socio economic status in terms of nature of ration card, land ownership, type of house and monthly income does not vary among communities’ is found valid.

## 7. Conclusion

All the socio economic variables analysed here give the inference that the socio-economic status of the outliers is low which is substantiated by the poor value of socioeconomic status measured and it is not varied for most of the variables considered. The overall low socio economic status of outliers points to the necessity of intervention on the part of government agencies to bring them into the main stream of development. Improving the level of education and encouraging diversification of occupation are the two important factors to be accepted and implemented.

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# Right To Privacy as Human Right

Prity Singh • Dr. Mani Kumar Meena

*Around the world, the right to privacy has come to be seen as fundamental, and in India, the Indian Constitution's Article 21 recognizes this right. The battle over privacy essentially began in the twenty-first century with the demand for data privacy laws and the civil rights to privacy of all people, regardless of sexual orientation. Privacy is an essential component of the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and an essential aspect of life and liberty. It is present in every person equally, regardless of gender, orientation, class, or stratum. It has a big impact on how someone develops their integrity, dignity, and personality. The right to privacy is intimately linked to data protection, which is more challenging to accomplish in today's technologically advanced and international society. Furthermore, because this right is not legally protected, it is now conceivable for the ruling majority to violate private rights through discriminatory legislation. This right was not originally acknowledged as a Fundamental Right in India, and no particular data protection legislation was passed to safeguard citizens' rights to privacy. It has been determined that the Indian legal system has sufficiently acknowledged the right to privacy, leading to the implementation of important measures to stop data theft and improper use of private information. However, a great deal of progressive development is still required to expand the scope of protecting Indian citizens' right to privacy. This paper will discuss the right of Privacy both as National and International Level.*

**Key Words** : Privacy, constitution, fundamental right, liberty, data theft

## 1. Introduction

According to Justice Krishna Iyer, "Personal liberty makes for the worth of human person". Hence, the notion of dignity and liberty are

not independent of privacy. Privacy means the capability of a person or a group of persons to hide information from others as well as to seclude themselves.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, it has been acknowledged globally as a Human Right under Article 12 of the UDHR<sup>2</sup>, which states that everyone has the freedom to neither have their family, communication, or privacy violated, nor be allowed to have their honor or reputation damaged. Every person is entitled to protection from this kind of infringement. Particularly recognized as a right under international human rights accords is privacy. Aristotle and William Blackstone, two jurists, distinguish between private and public wrongs after attempting to define privacy. Private wrong refers to wrong done against an individual, whereas public wrong refers to wrong done against society.

One such unalienable human right that is fundamental to human nature is privacy, which is essentially a component of that right. A person's right to privacy is something they are born with. Simply put, privacy is the common law recognition of an individual's right to be left alone. Other components of privacy include the right to one's own body, individual autonomy, protection from state monitoring, informational self-determination, dignity, confidentiality, and the freedom to move, think, and dissent. To put it briefly, each case must decide the extent of the right to privacy. Worldwide, there is a strong legal structure protecting privacy. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), established in 1966, and Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, respectively, provide legal protections against "arbitrary interference" with one's family, home, correspondence, honour, and reputation.<sup>3</sup>

## **2. Indian Constitution on Right to Privacy**

The right to privacy is not expressly protected by the Indian Constitution. Nonetheless, the nation's courts have interpreted the other rights in the Constitution as giving birth to a (limited) right to privacy through a number of rulings over the years, principally through Article 21 the right to life and liberty. In 2015, this interpretation was challenged and referred to a larger Bench of the Supreme Court in the writ petition of Justice *K.S Puttaswamy v. Union of India*,<sup>4</sup>

Key conclusions from the Judgment are as following:

- I. The rights to life and personal freedom are unalienable. These are rights that are essential to living a life of dignity. The fundamental tenets of the Indian Constitution are human equality, individual dignity, and the pursuit of liberty;
- II. The Court's acknowledgement of the existence of a constitutional right to privacy does not amount to an attempt to amend the

Constitution; rather, it is the Court taking on a constitutional function that is left to Parliament;

- III. Privacy is fundamentally about protecting intimate relationships, the sanctity of marriage, family life, procreation, the home, and sexual orientation. The right to privacy also implies the right to solitude.
- IV. A person's lifestyle decisions are fundamental to their right to privacy.
- V. Just because someone is in a public setting does not mean that their privacy is lost or compromised. Since privacy is a crucial component of human dignity, it is attached to the individual;
- VI. The rapid advancement of technology has given rise to worries that did not exist seven decades ago, and many current ideas may become outdated as a result. Therefore, the interpretation of the Constitution needs to be robust and adaptable so that future generations might modify its provisions while keeping in mind its fundamental characteristics;
- VII. Privacy is not an absolute right, just like other rights that are included in the list of fundamental freedoms covered by Part III, such as the right to life and personal liberty under Article 21. A law that violates someone's right to privacy must pass muster with respect to acceptable limitations on fundamental freedoms.
- VIII. There are good and negative aspects to privacy. The negative content prevents the government from violating a citizen's right to life and personal freedom. Because of its positive character, the state is required to take all appropriate steps to safeguard each person's privacy.
- IX. One of the essential rights is the right to privacy. It is a right that grants people the freedom to make independent decisions about their lives while shielding their inner selves from intrusion from both state and non-state entities.
- X. The family, marriage, procreation, and sexual orientation—all significant facets of dignity—must be safeguarded by the privacy of the home.
- XI. .... privacy is one of the most vital rights to be protected against both State and non-State actors and to be acknowledged as a fundamental right in a nation like ours that takes pleasure in its variety.
- XII. .... the right to privacy cannot be violated, even in cases where a very small percentage of people are impacted. Rights guaranteed by the Constitution are not subject to the majoritarian idea.

XIII. Let the right to privacy, which is an inalienable right, be clearly recognized as a fundamental right enshrined in Part III of the Indian Constitution, subject to the limitations 10 outlined in that section. This is today's call. The old order altered the location of yielding to the new.<sup>5</sup>

“Article 19: Freedom of Speech and Expression-Article 19(1) (a) provides that “all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression.” However, this is justified by Article 19(2), which says that it will not influence the implementation of any current law or stop the State from creating any law, insofar as such law imposes reasonable constraints on the practice of the right in the interests of India's sovereignty and integrity, state security, friendly ties with foreign countries, public order, decency or morality”.<sup>6</sup>

Article 21: Right to Life and Personal Liberty: The Indian Constitution's Article 21 guarantees the right to privacy to both citizens and non-citizens.<sup>7</sup> This is not obviously stated in it, but as a statutory justification, the Supreme Court indicated the same. Article 21 of the Constitution states as follows: No one may be deprived of their life or freedom unless it is necessary to follow the legally prescribed process.<sup>8</sup> Article 21 is the heart of Indian people's freedom. Since the adoption of the Indian constitution, there has been discussion over the phrase “procedure created by law” in this article. The correct approach that is required is that the Fifth Amendment's due process clause and the execution of the law are similar in terms of the importance they have on personal freedom.

### 3. Evolution of Privacy Doctrine on India

The Indian Judiciary also interpreted privacy rights as a fundamental right under Article 21 of Part III of the Constitution. Following were the series of Cases that dealt with the right to privacy :

#### *M.P. Sharma V. Satish Chandra*<sup>9</sup>

The right to privacy was violated in this instance, raising challenges to the authority and seizure granted. Although the higher court acknowledged this, it did not intend for the Constitution's Framers to limit the authority of search and seizure as a violation of people's basic right to privacy. Furthermore, the Supreme Court decided that the MP Sharma case did not resolve disputes pertaining to Part III of the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution, which includes the right to privacy. Therefore, the right to privacy could not in this situation be considered a basic right under the Constitution.<sup>10</sup>

## ***Kharak Singh v. The State of UP***<sup>11</sup>

Because the UP law in question infringes upon a fundamental freedom safeguarded by Part III of the Constitution, its surveillance has been called into doubt. Following their hearing, the Supreme Court struck down Regulation 236(b) because it permitted to conduct surveillance at night, which is clearly against ordered liberty and an unauthorised entry into a person's home. However, as Article 21 does not apply because privacy has not yet been recognised by the Constitution as a fundamental right, the other parts of the legislation remained in effect. J. Subha Rao, however, had a different viewpoint, contending that although privacy was not recognised as a basic right, it is an essential component of Article 21.<sup>12</sup>

## ***Govind v. State of Madhya Pradesh***<sup>13</sup>

The MP police's Regulations 855 and 856 were challenged in this case, just like they were in the Kharak Singh case, on the grounds that the State's surveillance of habitual offenders' houses at night and their arrest of people they thought to be criminals infringed their right to privacy. The Supreme Court declined to invalidate the restrictions in this case, noting that a domestic visit during the night would not always be an unreasonable violation of a person's right to private. This marked the first time that the right to privacy was found to be partially unenforceable. There may be a legitimate restriction supported by a significant public interest.

## ***Malak Singh Etc v. State of Punjab & Haryana***<sup>14</sup>

In this case, the Supreme Court ruled that state monitoring conducted within permissible bounds and without infringing upon a citizen's right to personal liberty would be legitimate and legal in the absence of criminal interference.

## ***R. Rajagopalan v. State of Tamil Nadu***<sup>15</sup>

In the case of R. Rajagopalan, the higher judiciary ruled that every Indian citizen has the right to protect their privacy, regardless of the nature of their activities, including childrearing, educating their offspring, making decisions about marriage and family, reproducing, and so on. This was done by citing the right to privacy as inherent in Article 21 of the Constitution. Regarding the aforementioned subjects, no one may publish anything—no matter how critical, complimentary, or real—without the consent of the person in question. And it would be a blatant invasion of privacy if someone did that.



## 4. Various Privacy Bills In Parliament

- a. Private Members' Bills pertaining to privacy were submitted to both Houses of Congress.
- b. The Data (Privacy and Protection) Bill was recently introduced by Shri Baijayant Panda of BJD in 2017.
- c. The Lok Sabha is presently considering a bill that would put privacy under law.
- d. Shri Rajeev Chandrasekhar made a second proposal, The Right to Privacy Bill 2010, in the Rajya Sabha.
- e. In the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, respectively, in 2016, two more bills were introduced by Shri Vivek Gupta and Shri Om Prakash Yadav to secure the private data of residents.
- f. Regrettably, Parliament has not approved any of these bills.

## 5. Indian Legal Framework on Right to Privacy

As far as we know, India does not have any explicit laws that might specifically address privacy and data protection. However, even in the lack of such laws, there is still a legal framework that, if not expressly, covers privacy and data protection. The Indian Constitution guarantees privacy in addition to being protected by statute. Therefore, there are two measures that can be taken to protect private rights and personal information:

- I. Constitutional protection
- II. Statutory protection

### I. Constitutional protection

The right to privacy is not specifically mentioned as a fundamental right in the Constitution. In the Constitution, it is not mentioned at all. Nonetheless, it is inherent in the constitutionally protected rights to life and personal liberty under Article 21 as well as other freedoms under Part III. Article 19(2) allows appropriate restrictions to be imposed on the basis of national integrity, public interest, and sovereignty, among other considerations. In addition, it has been established that we have an inalienable right to privacy that has existed since the day of our birth. Because of this, even in the face of debates concerning privacy, the minority of judges has upheld the claim that Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees the right to private. Therefore, as Article 21 comprises a multitude of rights that are required to give constitutional validity to newly emerging rights in keeping with the changing demands of society, we can conclude that Article 21 is the fundamental part of the Constitutional Statutory protection.

The following is a brief discussion of the laws that address data privacy in India today, including the IT Act of 2000, the Indian Contract Act of 1872, the Intellectual Property Laws, and the Credit Information Companies Regulation Act of 2015:

## **IT Act, 2000**

The first IT law passed in India, the IT Act, 2000, aims to address cybercrimes, e-governance, and e-commerce. In addition, it is the laws pertaining to data security. The IT Act's main goal is to safeguard against information breaches brought on by computer data leaks. It has several clauses, including Secs. 65 and 66, which forbid third parties from utilizing technology, including computers, laptops, and information stored on them, unlawfully<sup>16</sup>.

- Section 30- The Information Technology Act of 2000 requires the certifying body to follow safety procedures in order to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of electronic signatures.
- Section 43: The Information Technology Act of 2000 has enough provisions to allow the person in question to be compensated for unauthorized access to his private and personal information. Intrusion into a person's computer system or computer framework is considered remuneration under this provision. The Information Technology Amendment Act of 2008 made amendments to clauses (a), (i), (j), and (v) of this section.
- Section 43A of the ITAA of 2008 - The IT Amendment Act of 2008 added an entirely new section to the act. Compensation for inability to safeguard data is described in this section. If an entity distributes, handles, or possesses sensitive personal data or information in a computer resource that it owns, maintains, or works on and is careless in implementing and maintaining appropriate safety practices and procedures, resulting in any individual unfair loss or unfair benefit, that entity shall reimburse the affected party for such losses.
- Section 66: This section of the Information Technology Act of 2000, among other things, makes it illegal to devalue information contained in a computer resource and imposes a maximum three-year jail sentence on those who do so. This safeguards sensitive private information stored in computer resources. Therefore, if an attacker gains access to a computer system and copies and transfers private information to a competitor that could be very useful, private, or important for the owner's business, this action reduces the quantity of data stored in a computer resource and violates privacy.

- Section 72 of the Information Technology Act of 2000 pertains to the violation of confidentiality and privacy. Specifically, it states that a government officer may face penalties if they formally transfer any digital information or data they have obtained on an individual. This part is implemented in a restricted manner. It is limited to the deeds and inactions of those who have been granted authority by this Act, its rules, or its laws, such as the police, certifying authorities, and officials designated by special notice.
- Section 72A: This section is also added to the Act by the ITAA 2008. Section: Penalties for divulging information against the terms of a valid contract: Anybody—including mediators—who, while performing services under a legal contract has access to any material containing information about another person with the intent to cause or knowing that he is ought to cause the unlawful profit or damage discloses, without the parties' consent or in violation of a valid agreement, shall be punished with up to three years of probation, a penalty of up to three years, a penalty of up to five lakh rupees, or both. This is except from what is specifically provided in this Act or any other current law.

Additionally, in compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling in the Justice K.S. Puttaswamy case, the Indian government has established a five-member committee to write a data protection bill, with Justice (Retd.) B.N. Srikrishna serving as the committee's chair. If the measure is approved, it will be the first comprehensive piece of legislation in India to protect online users' personal information from misuse by both state and non-state actors. According to an office document of the Srikrishna Committee, the government is aware of how important data protection is becoming in India. It is crucial to support the development of the digital economy while protecting the privacy and security of individuals' personal information.

In July 2018, the Committee released the Personal Data Protection Bill, 2018, its final research and proposed data protection law. A Data Protection Authority is to be established in order to oversee information handling activities, according to the Personal Data Protection Bill. It also recognizes the necessity of protecting personal data in light of the fundamental right to privacy and the need to foster a cooperative culture that upholds citizens' right to privacy, encourages a secure and ethical digital economy, and guarantees freedom, progress, and innovation.

Additionally, the Bill states that it aims to safeguard individuals' autonomy over their personal data, specify appropriate contexts for the

flow and use of personal data, create a relationship of confidence between individuals and organizations handling their personal data, ascertain the rights of those whose private information is processed, and to create guidelines for the organizational and technical measures that must be taken to handle private information. These include standards for the transfer of private information across international borders, ensuring the accountability of organizations that handle information, and offering redress for processing that is unsafe or unauthorized.

### **Indian Penal Code, 1860**

Privacy violations are not particularly covered under criminal law. However, some offences suggest that violating someone's privacy carries a consequence. For example, dishonest embezzlement of movable commodities results in liability under Article 408 of the IPC.<sup>17</sup>

### **Intellectual Property Law**

The Copyright Act, 1957 governs copyrighted piracy (theft) in India and stipulates required punishments based on the seriousness of the offence. Anyone detected using a computer or a copy of illicit software is liable to a fine or up to three years in jail, as per Section 65 of the Act. Furthermore, an author's copyright is protected for works created by the gathering of data from various sources and the investment of time, money, effort, and skill that meet the criteria for work as defined by the Copyright Act. Therefore, the outsourcing parent firm may be able to take legal action under the Copyright Act in the event that that database is violated.<sup>18</sup>

### **Indian Contract Act, 1872**

One of the Indian laws that governs the conditions of contracts and agreements signed between parties is the Indian Contract Act, 1872. Therefore, in the event that the parties execute a contract that includes a confidential or privacy clause, which specifies that personal data about a person will only be shared with that person's consent and authorization, and only for the purposes or in the manner that the parties agree upon, etc. Therefore, divulging information without permission and breaking the conditions of the contract would be considered breaches of contract and could result in a claim for damages. Furthermore, the insurer provides an insurance contract with a proposal for insurance that contains a secret law pertaining to the personal information of the insurer's clients. A claim for damages based on their breach of contract will arise from any disclosure of such material without their prior consent.<sup>19</sup>

## 6. Limitation of Privacy Law In India

All laws passed in India must adhere to the fundamental values of the Constitution; if they don't, the Supreme Court and the High Courts have the authority to declare them unconstitutional. The Indian Constitution prohibits the adoption of any legislation that infringes against basic rights, as stated in Article 13(2). No law may ever infringe upon a basic right such as the right to privacy.

According to the rule of law philosophy, all legal procedures must be rational, fair, and just in order to be consistent with the entities that have the ability to pass laws.

India's privacy laws address the issue of people's sensitive information being kept private at all costs and never shared with a third party without permission. The public authorities will defend an individual's personal safety, dignity, or any situation where it is vulnerable to reputational harm to the greatest extent possible when it comes to legal matters.

Given the possibility of arbitrary behaviour arising from an individual's unlimited sovereignty over privacy, appropriate and acceptable restrictions ought to be in place in accordance with the predicted level of threat to justice or equality.

When it comes to matters of state, where there is a risk to the state's sovereignty or peace and tranquillity, and when someone is suspected of knowing about a crime committed, they should not be unjustly shielded from a private investigation under the right to privacy. Its purpose is to protect citizens and the interests of the country from potential foreign assault.

As with other fundamental rights, the right to privacy is subject to a reasonability clause. The burden of proof rests with the aggrieved party to demonstrate that their right has been violated by any recent law; if not, the Supreme Court and the High Courts have the authority to use judicial review to determine the applicability of enacted law with the fundamental rights.

The Indian Penal Code, 1860, and the Information Technology (Amendment) Act, 2008 both contain statutory provisions pertaining to the right to privacy. These provisions should not be interpreted in a vacuum, but rather in the context of Article 21, since any invasion of a person's private space must be interpreted as a violation of that fundamental right. Since the Constitution is the ultimate law of the land, its provisions are interpreted in light of the principles of the Constitution when interpreting other statutes.

## 7. Right To Privacy In Other Countries

The Right to Privacy has come into forefront of a number of controversies in various countries in the past few years, the explicit definition of it has remained unclear in most instances.

- I. Germany-Germany is still among the nations that enforces privacy rules the most strictly. In reality, in the recent past, German privacy laws have been a source of great pain for companies like Google and Facebook, who depend on internet freedom.
- II. United States-Although the right to privacy is not expressly mentioned in the US Constitution, the Supreme Court has construed many amendments to declare that the right exists on a number of occasions. Specifically, the purpose of the 1974 Privacy Act was to shield Americans from any federal entity that would use their records in an arbitrary manner.
- III. Canada -First set into effect in 1977 as part of the Canadian Human Rights Act, the privacy law in Canada has changed throughout time. The law was first proposed as a way to secure data. A check on the Government's access to and disclosure of personal data was added to the law in 1983. The recent revision to the privacy laws occurred in 2012, when the Canadian government declared that the right to personal private was recognized by the Common Law as a "tort of intrusion upon seclusion".
- IV. Sweden-Sweden is among the first nations in the world to adopt a comprehensive statute on internet privacy regulations, even though it was among the first to demand its residents to use their personal identity number for all interactions with the government. The protection of personal data on computers was safeguarded by the Data Act of 1973. The Swedish constitution also guarantees the right to the protection of personal data.
- V. European Union-The European Union regulated the processing of personal data within its borders in 1995 with the adoption of the Data Protection Directive. Subject to certain limitations, Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) guarantees the right to privacy and family life protection.<sup>20</sup>
- VI. Australia-The 'Privacy Act' was created in the nation and was in effect about 1988. It regulates how people's personal information is handled.
- VII. Japan-Japan implemented a citizen identification system in 2015 that included social security, personal tax information, and benefits for disaster relief. All international residents and Japanese citizens were assigned a 12-digit 'My Number' by legislation. The objective was to reduce tax evasion and benefit

fraud while simultaneously improving social welfare benefits administration and efficiency. It will initially be optional starting in 2018, but by 2021, it might be required. A right to privacy is not expressly guaranteed under Japanese law. Article 13 of the Japanese Constitution, however, reads as follows: Individuals have the right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” as well as the right to be “respected as individuals”.

VIII. Brazil -The country’s Constitution states, “The intimacy, private life, honour and image of the people are inviolable, with assured right to indemnisation by material or moral damage resulting from its violation<sup>2121</sup>

## 8. Conclusion

As a result of multiple interpretations by the judiciary, the right to privacy has developed into a fundamental right in India. However, while examining the current situation, we will discover that globalization has led to a significant advancement in technology. We wonder if we actually have privacy in our lives in light of the rapid advancement of technology. To live a decent life, make our own decisions, and grow as individuals, this right is crucial, which makes it all the more significant. In the current world of rapidly advancing information technology, privacy needs to be vital. In this regard, the Hon’ble Supreme Court’s ruling is valid in that it established privacy as a right falling under the purview of Part III of the Indian Constitution. The right to privacy, being fundamental in nature, will also play a significant role in the enactment of the Data Protection Act, which is expected to happen soon. This legislation will help to safeguard online data and ensure informational privacy. So, in India there is a lack of effective Data Protection Laws even though it has certain legislations which though not directly but in an indirect way is dealing with Data Protection. Among these are the Criminal Law, Intellectual Property Law, and the IT Act.

The government ought to implement a highly effective system that can promptly notify them so they may take appropriate action. In addition, legislators ought to pass laws, rules, or regulations that guarantee the security of the data gathered. Only those with the necessary authority and for the benefit of the public welfare should be able to access the database where the information is kept. Tight security measures should be implemented to make it hard for even specialists to access. Furthermore, the only authorities who ought to be held more accountable are those who gather, analyse, and keep data. Furthermore, every rule must include a clause about penalties, such as financial penalties and jail time, that are severe enough to make an unauthorized person reconsider handling personal data.

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# The Spatio-Temporal Analysis of Occupational Characteristics in Telangana State, India

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*Occupational characteristics refers to number of people engaged in a specialized economy activity. Occupation is defined as employment of a person, which not only helps him earn a better livelihood but also reflects their social & economical status. According to Census of India, economic activities are classified as agriculture labourers, cultivators, household industry workers and other workers. The occupational characteristics of people in Telangana are analyzed based on secondary data obtained from Census of India in 2001, 2011. The data will be processed to find out the most specific economic activities mandal wise and district wise in Telangana state.*

*The methodology is framed to identify the number of peoples involved in each type of economic activity. The levels of each type of economic activity depends upon number of labour force involved in that particular economic activity. The variations in level of economic activity is derived by using statistical formulas such as mean and standard deviation. The degree of variation from the average are classified into five categories. Each category mapped district wise by using cartographical & Geographic Information System (GIS).*

**Key words:** *Economic activities, Labour force, Regional Development, Statistical Techniques, GIS.*

## **Introduction:**

The economic characteristics indicate that the labour force

participates in specialized economy activity of various occupational structures. The 'economic activity' generally means the action that involves the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services at all levels within a society. In other words "human beings who perform activities in exchange of money or worth of money are called economic activity. The occupational structures involve profession, employment and business etc., which not only bring money to the workers for meeting their requirement but it also provides them social status. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is one way of assessing economic activity.

The economic characteristics have been defined distinctly by a number of economists. According to Ranjan Kumar Sam (1961), the days of work spent in different types of activities like agricultural wage employment, non-agricultural wage employment, self-employment, unemployment and activities outside labour force. It also involves the normal length of a full working day and the normal hours of work for the activity. The days of work are calculated after assigning proper weight-age to employment. In the event of a person having more than one activity during a day; the longest activity occupied him/her is deemed as the major activity and the other activity as minor activity. Arhtur Salz (1944) defines 'economic activity' as a specific activity with a market value which an individual continually pursues for the purpose of obtaining a steady flow on income. This activity also determines the social position of the individual.

Everett Hughes (1965) 'An occupation in essence', says that economic activity is not some particular set of activities; it is the part of an individual in any outgoing set of activities. Richard, H. Hall has defined 'occupation' in the book 'Occupational and Social Structure' as the variety of activities and their outcomes that must be taken into account in the analysis of occupations. An occupation is the social role performed by adult members of society that directly or indirectly yield social and financial consequences and that constitutes a major focus in the life of the adult. Ashok Mitra (1971, 1973) used seven categories of workers as variables grouped into three major functional types viz. Manufacturing, Trade, Commerce, defence, Provisions of goods and Services and Transportation etc., Ashok kumar Lonavath (2014) in his unpublished thesis 'Urbanization and Regional disparities in Andhra

Pradesh' says that the degree of specialization an individual activity of a town defines the degree of urbanization.

### **Objectives :**

1. To identify total workforce in Telangana State.
2. To identify various occupational structures in Telangana State.
3. To identify regions based on occupational characteristics.
4. To find the role of occupational characteristics in regional development.

### **Methodology :**

The methodology involves initially identifying the work force in individual activity like cultivators, agriculture labourers, household industry workers and other workers. These economic activities have been calculated as the proportion to the total workers and the average of the proportions of the individual activity. The mandal level variation identified five categories with statistical principles using mean and standard deviation; the degree of variation from the average are grouped into five appropriate categories. The district level categories are depicted in maps cartographically using Geographic Information System (GIS).

The well known statistical principle 68-95-99.7 rule is applied as methodology for stratification of occupational characteristic at mandal wise. The percentage of values 68.27%, 95.45% and 99.73% lie within one, two and three standard deviations of the mean respectively. By using this principle, two more classes indicating less and very less category with minus standard deviation to mean is identified. By using mean and standard deviation principles, 5 specialized classes with respect to occupational characteristics are identified, In other words, the level of specialized mandals can be considered as regions with various levels in the specific field as mentioned below:

- a. Very Less developed ( $<(M-SD)$ )
- b. Less developed ( $((M-SD)-M)$ )
- c. Average developed ( $M+SD$ )
- d. Highly developed ( $M+2SD$ )
- e. Very Highly developed ( $>(M+2SD)$ )

The analysis for 446 mandals in 2001 and 464 mandals in 2011 indicate that a high degree of variation in a particular activity may also have a high degree of variation in another type of activity too.

## **Analysis:**

### **Total workers in Telangana during 2001 and 2011**

In 2001, the total workers in Telangana were 1,40,74,126 constituting 45.41% to the total population of 3,09,87,271 in Telangana. During 2011, the total workers increased to 1,64,53,000 contributing to 46.75% to the total population of 3,51,93,978. The distribution of total workers in Telangana as per 2001 census indicate that, Mahbubnagar is having the maximum of 51.89% captivating first place followed by Karimangar (49.44%), Nalgonda (49.10%), Medak (48.45%) and Warangal and Khammam having 48.25% each. The least percentage of workers is found in Hyderabad with 29.24%, followed by Rangareddy (40.21%) and Adilabad (45.15%) respectively. The distribution of working population as of 2011 Census indicate that the proportion of working population at district wise with respect to the total population of the district shows that, Mahbubnagar district ranks first with 51.38 percent of workers, followed by Khammam (50.41%), Nalgonda (49.92%), Karimnagar (49.7%), Nizamabad (49.43%) and Warangal (48.56%). The least percent of workers are in Hyderabad (35.84%), followed by Rangareddy (41.46%) and Adilabad (48.29%) respectively.

## **Occupational Characteristics**

In 2001 and 2011, the Census defined four occupational characteristics in India. They are: 1. Cultivators 2. Agriculture labourers 3. Household Industry labourers and 4. Other workers.

### **(i) Cultivators**

The cultivators who involve ploughing, sowing and harvesting of different crops in his/her own or leased land. The cultivators occupied third place to total workers of Telangana during both the census years of 2001 and 2011. Accordingly, cultivators are classified as, he/she is engaged in cultivation of land owned / held from Government / held from private persons / institutions for payment in money, kind or share. The profession includes effective supervision or direction in cultivation.

In 2001, the cultivators in Telangana were 34,80,235 constituting to 24.73% to total workers and decreased to 31,75,667 (19.3%) in 2011. The proportional distribution of cultivators among Telangana districts, Mahububnagar consists 15.94%, followed by Warangal (13.22%), Karimangar (12.42%), Nalgonda (11.68%), Medak (11.21%), Adilabad

(9.81%) and Nizamabad (9.08%). The least percentage of cultivators are in Hyderabad with 0.34%, followed by Rangareddy (8.11%) and Khammam (8.19%) (Table 1).

In 2011, while analyzing the cultivators to the entire Telangana the aforesaid proportion will differ. As such, Mahbubnagar has 17.92 per cent of cultivators and is placed first, followed by Warangal (12.65%), Adilabad (11.45%), Karimangar (1.35%) and Medak (11.12%). The least percentage of cultivators are in Hyderabad district is 0.89%, followed by Khammam (7.08%), Rangareddy (8.53%), Nizamabad (8.76%) and Nalgonda with 10.24% (Table 2).

Mandal-wise analysis of Cultivators in Telangana is based on 68-95-99.7 rule which was applied to 464 mandals (2011) and to 446 mandals in 2001 census. It is classified into five classes with very high concentrated cultivators, high concentrated cultivators, average concentrated cultivators, less concentrated of cultivators and very less concentrated cultivators. However, in 2001 census the analysis is as follows:

1. Very less concentrated cultivators with less than 18.64% ( $<M-SD$ ) category has 63 mandals. Rangareddy-14 Mandals; Khammam-12; Nalgonda-10; Adilabad-8; Karimangar-6; Karimnagar and Mahbubnagar-4 each; Nizamabad-3; and Warangal-2.
2. The class-interval of Less concentrated cultivators between 18.64% to 29.93%, ( $M-SD$  to  $M$ ) has the highest number of found in 165 mandals: Karimnagar-29 mandals; Khammam and Mahbubnagar-23 each; Nalgonda-19; Warangal-17; Rangareddy-14; Adilabad-12; Nizamabad-11 and Medak-4 Mandals.
3. The average percentage of cultivators between 29.94% to 41.23%, ( $M$  to  $M+SD$ ) has the second highest number found in 157 mandals: Mahbubnagar-28 mandals; Medak-26; Warangal-25; Karimnagar-21; Nalgonda-19, Adilabad and Nizamabad-11 each; Khammam-7; and Rangareddy-6.
4. The high percentage of cultivators between 41.24% to 52.54%, ( $M+SD$  to  $M+2SD$ ) has found in 45 mandals of Telangana: Adilabad-12 mandals; Rangareddy and Mahbubnagar with 9 mandals each; Medak and Warangal with 5 mandals each, Nizamabad-4; Khammam-1.
5. The very high percentage of cultivators with greater than 52.55% to 71.47% ( $>M+2SD$ ) has the least number found in 16 mandals: Adilabad-6 mandals; Rangareddy-4; Khammam-3, Warangal-2; Nizamabad-1 (Fig. 4).

**Table 1: Economic Activity of People in Telangana, 2001**

Sl. No	District Name	Total Working Population	% Cultivators	% Agriculture Laborers	% Household Industry Laborers	% Other Workers
1	Adilabad	1,123,248	30.38	30.58	8.87	30.17
2	Nizamabad	1,159,606	27.25	29.72	14.29	28.74
3	Karimnagar	1,711,559	25.26	33.41	12.64	28.7
4	Medak	1,293,657	30.16	37.54	4.38	27.91
5	Hyderabad	1,119,842	1.04	0.62	2.97	95.37
6	Rangareddi	1,437,606	19.64	20.84	2.87	56.65
7	Mahbubnagar	1,823,329	30.43	42.75	3.89	22.93
8	Nalgonda	1,594,666	25.49	42.09	4.42	27.99
9	Warangal	1,566,237	29.38	38.69	4.99	26.94
10	Khammam	1,244,376	22.91	49.19	2.15	25.75
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,40,74,126</b>	<b>24.73</b>	<b>33.54</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>35.62</b>

**Table 2: Economic Activity of People in Telangana, 2011**

Sl. No	District Name	Total Working Population	% Cultivators	% Agriculture Laborers	% Household Industry Laborers	% Other Workers
1	Adilabad	1,323,667	27.48	36.63	6.4	29.49
2	Nizamabad	1,261,076	22.05	35.55	13.58	28.82
3	Karimnagar	1,876,768	19.2	40.33	8.97	31.5
4	Medak	1,442,203	24.49	39.6	4.69	31.22
5	Hyderabad	1,413,297	2	1.63	3.27	93.1
6	Rangareddi	2,196,078	12.34	15.89	3.34	68.43
7	Mahbubnagar	2,082,501	27.33	44.71	2.78	25.18
8	Nalgonda	1,741,693	18.67	49.56	2.59	29.18
9	Warangal	1,705,655	23.55	44.45	2.55	29.45
10	Khammam	1,410,062	15.95	57.06	1.4	25.58
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,64,53,000</b>	<b>19.30</b>	<b>36.41</b>	<b>4.73</b>	<b>39.56</b>

Source : Census of India

## Spatial Distribution of Cultivators in Telangana, Mandal wise (2001 and 2011)

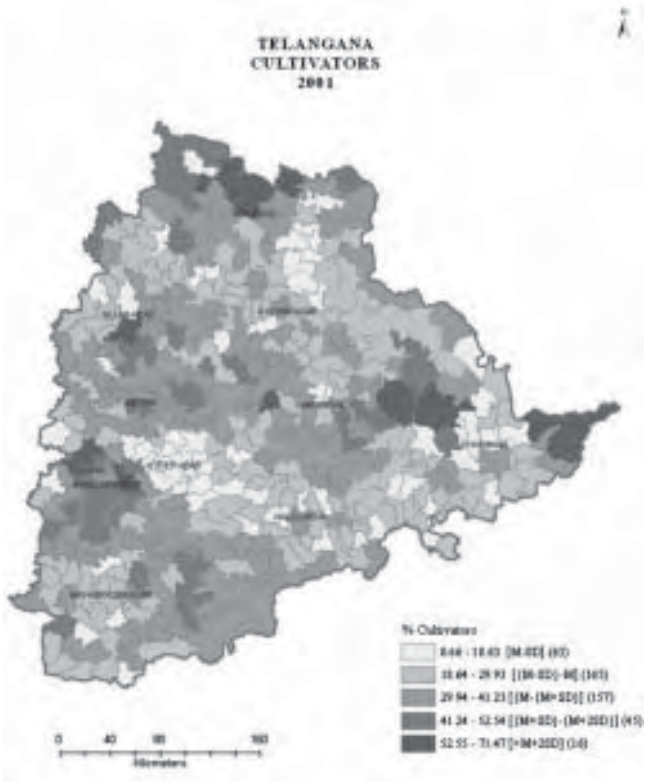


Fig. 4

The mandal-wise analysis of cultivators in Telangana in the year 2011 indicates that the first class of less than mean minus one standard deviation of 0.99% to 12.27% found in 64 mandals of Telangana. The total 16 mandals of Hyderabad district and the surrounding 12 mandals from Ranga district fall under these class. The remaining mandals come from different classes, The East of Khammam district has 14 mandals and Warangal has 2 mandals. The second class with less specialized cultivators in between 12.28% to 23.94% found in 179 mandals distributed over all districts of Telangana, viz: Nalgonda-42, Karimnagar-28, Khammam-23, Mahbubnagar-21, Nizamabad & Warangal-16, Adilabad-14, Rangareddy-4.

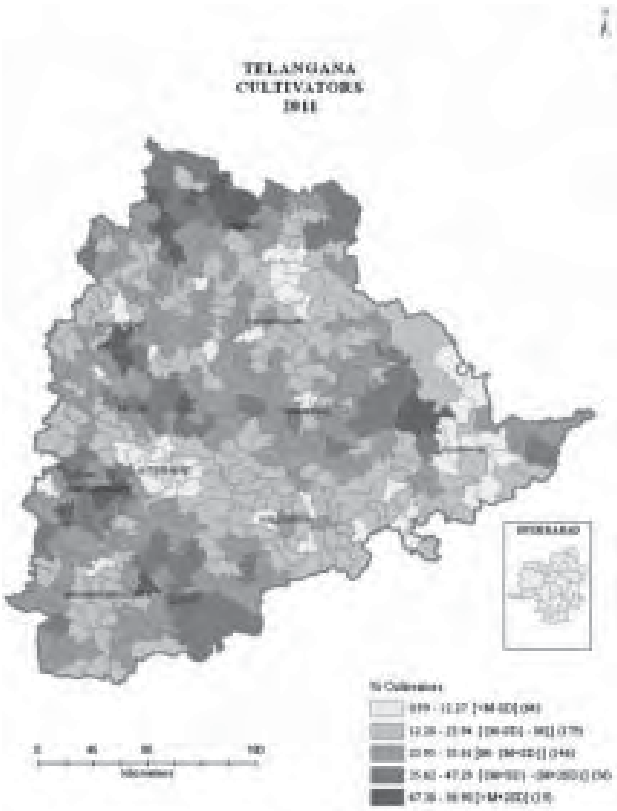


Fig. 5

The third category of average cultivators with mean plus one standard deviation between 23.95% to 35.61% found in 146 mandals, the district wise distribution of these mandals are: Mahbubnagar-27, Warangal-26, Karimnagar-23, Medak-16, Nizamabad-14, Nalgonda and Adilabad-12, Rangareddy-10 and Khammam-6.

The fourth category of high cultivators mandals (i.e.) between 35.62% to 47.29% found in 56 mandals, the district wise distribution of these mandals, viz: Adilabad-14, Mahbubnagar-12, Medak- 11, Warangal & Rangareddy -7, Khammam-02, Nizamabad, Karimnagar and Nalgonda-01.

The very high specialized mandals with 47.3% to 56.9% of cultivators accounted to a total of 19 mandals in Telangana. The district-wise distribution of these mandals are Adilabad-08, Rangareddy-04, Mahbubnagar-03, Nizamabad-02, Medak & Khammam-01 (Fig. 5).



## Agricultural Labourers in Telangana

According to the first Agricultural Labourers Enquiry (ALE-1950-51) Committee, agricultural labourers are defined as “Those people who are engaged in raising crops on payment of wages”. It also mentioned that ‘a household in which either the head of the household or 50 per cent or more of earning members reported agricultural labour as the main occupation was deemed to constitute an agricultural-labour-household. In the second ALE (1956-57), the definition is enlarged to include “those people who are engaged in other agricultural occupations like dairy, farming, horticulture, raising of live-stock, bees, poultry etc.,

India is an agrarian society, where the transformation changes can be seen when political shift occurs. The condition of agricultural labourers has changed with changes in the agrarian structure. According to S.S.Jodhka (1994) “Development of capitalism or modernization of agriculture brings about fundamental changes in relation to production leading to freeing of agriculture labour from all kinds of patronage and institutionalized dependency relationships”.

According to Kulamani Padhi (2007), the agricultural workers constitute mostly the neglected class in Indian rural structure. Their income is low and employment irregular. As, they possess no skill or training, they have no alternative employment opportunities either. Socially, a large number of agricultural workers belong to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

In Telangana, the agricultural labourer occupied the second position among total workers of the state during 2001 and 2011. The Census of India defined the agricultural labourer as are who works on another person’s land for wages in money or kind or share. He or she has no risk in the cultivation, but merely works on another person’s land for wages. An agricultural labourer has no right of lease or contract on land on which he/she works.

In Telangana, in 2001 the total agricultural labourers were 47,20,849 contributing to 33.54%; while in 2011, they increased to 59,90,086 and contributed 36.41% to total workers of Telangana. The district-wise proportion of agriculture labourers indicates that Khammam district ranks first in order with 49.19% of agricultural labourers to total workers followed by Mahbubnagar 42.75%, Nalgonda 42.09% and Warangal 38.69%. The least percentage of other agricultural labourers is in Hyderabad with 0.62%, followed by Rangareddy 20.84% and Nizamabad 29.72%. The remaining districts fall in between above districts namely Medak, Karimnagar and Adilabad with 37.54%, 33.41% and 30.58% respectively (Table 1).

In the year 2011, The percentage of agricultural labourers to the total workers of the district specifies that Khammam district ranks first with 57.06%, followed by Nalgonda 49.56%, Mahbubnagar 44.71% and Warangal 44.45%. The least percentage of agricultural labourers in Hyderabad is 1.63% to total workers of the district, followed by Rangareddy 15.89% and Nizamabad 35.55%. The third category districts which are too high or too low are Karimnagar, Medak and Adilabad and the agricultural labourers share is 40.33%, 39.6% and 36.63% respectively (Table 2).

Mandal-wise distribution of agricultural labourers of 2001 census is analyzed based on statistical principles of mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) and are identified as five classes they are as follows:

1. Very less concentrated agricultural labourers  $<M-SD$  and less than 26.95% have as many as 70 mandals: The geographical distribution of these mandals indicates that highest mandals are recorded in Northern Telangana are Nizamabad having 16 mandals, followed by Adilabad-15; Karimnagar and Rangareddy-12 each; Medak-6; Khammam-3; Warangal, Mahbubnagar & Nalgonda shared 2 mandals each.
2. The second class-interval of Less concentrated agricultural labourers are between 26.95% to 39.91% ( $M-SD$  to  $M$ ) has the second highest number of 123 mandals. The distribution of these mandals indicates that the highest mandals were from Adilabad-20; followed by Karimnagar-18; Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda share 17 mandals each; Rangareddy-15; Medak and Warangal-11 each; and Khammam has only 6 mandals.
3. The third class-interval of Average agricultural labourers in between 39.92% to 52.88% ( $M$  to  $M+2SD$ ) has the highest number of 184 mandals: The geographic distribution of these mandals indicates that the North of Telangana (i.e) Karimnagar shares the highest of 21 mandals, followed by Adilabad-14; Nizamabad-8 mandals. While East of Telangana (i.e.) Warangal and Khammam accounts to 35 and 8 mandals. In the South Mahbubnagar has 39 mandals, followed by Nalgonda-30; Medak-20; Rangareddy-9 mandals respectively.
4. High agricultural labourers is between 52.89% to 65.85% ( $M+SD$  to  $M+2SD$ ) recorded in 65 mandals: The distribution of these mandals indicate that the Khammam district has the highest 26 mandals, followed by Nalgonda-10; Medak-8; Mahbubnagar-7. The least mandals were from Warangal and Adilabad-3 each: followed by 4 mandals from Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts respectively.
5. The fifth class-interval of Very high agricultural labourers is

between 65.86% to 67.94% ( $>M+2SD$ ) recorded in 4 mandals: 3 from Khammam and 1 from Karimnagar district respectively (Fig. 8).

### Spatial Distribution of Agriculture Labourers in Telangana, Mandal Wise (2001 and 2011)

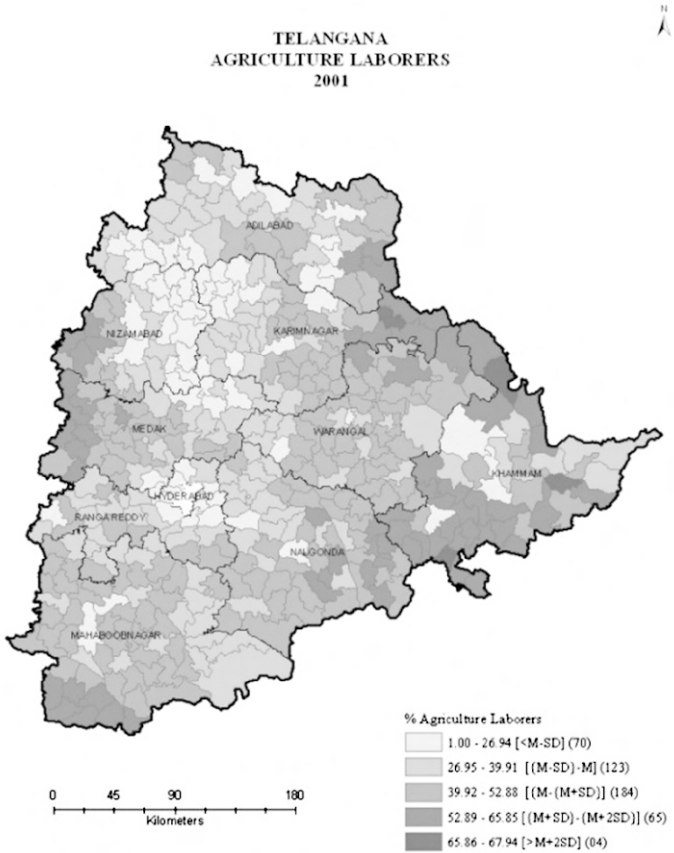


Fig. 8

In the year 2011, the mandal-wise analysis of agricultural labourers is done for a total 464 mandals and placed into five class-intervals as follows:

1. The first class-interval is Very less agricultural labourers is between 1.03% to 27.4% ( $<M-SD$ ) found in 62 mandals: The distribution of these mandals indicate that the entire Hyderabad has 16 mandals and its surrounding 14 mandals are from Rangareddy which fall in this category followed by Adilabad and

# AGRICULTURE LABORERS IN TELANGANA 2011

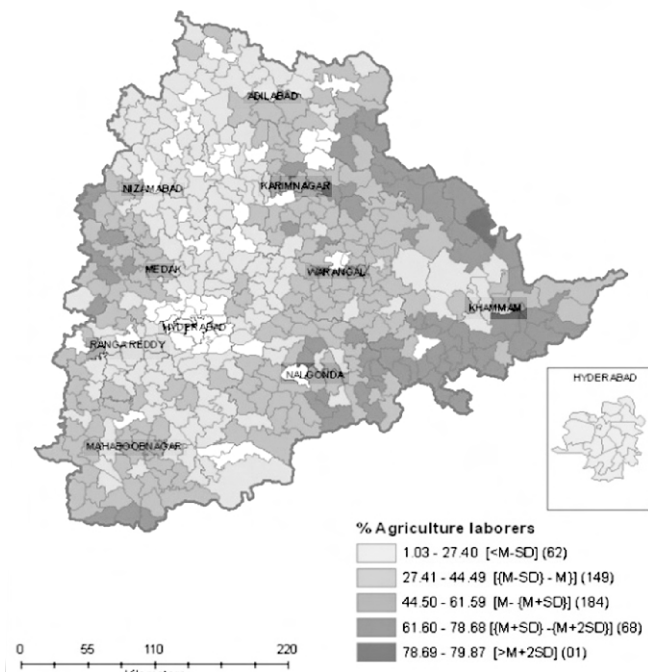


Fig. 9

Karimnagar with 7 mandals each; Medak-6; Nizamabad-4; Mahbubnagar-3; 2 each from Warangal & Nalgonda and 1 from Khammam district respectively.

2. The class-interval of Less agricultural labourers is between 27.41% to 44.49% (M-SD to M) is recorded in 149 mandals. Adilabad-27 mandals; Mahbubnagar-24; Nizamabad-21; Medak-19; 16 each in Karimnagar and Rangareddy districts; Nalgonda-12; Warangal-9 and Khammam-5 mandals respectively.
3. The Average agricultural labourers class-interval is between 44.5% to 61.59% (M to M+SD) is identified in 184 mandals. The geographic distribution of these mandals are; Warangal-36 mandals, Mahbubnagar-34; Nalgonda-33; Karimnagar-26; Medak-16; Adilabad-14; Khammam-7 and Rangareddy-7 mandals respectively.

4. The fourth class-interval of High agricultural labourers is between 61.6% to 78.68% ( $M+SD$  to  $M+2SD$ ) found in 68 mandals: The distribution of these mandals indicates that, Khammam district has the highest of 30 mandals, followed by Nalgonda – 12; Karimangar – 8; Medak – 5; Warangal & Adilabad – 4; Mahbubnagar – 3; and 2 mandals from Nizamabad district respectively.
5. The very high concentrated agricultural labourers is greater than 78.68% ( $>M+2SD$ ) and only one mandal from Khammam district (Fig. 9).

## Household Industry Workers

According to K R Shyam Sundar (2015), the processes of liberalisation, globalisation, and privatisation were expected to weaken the bargaining power of workers vis-à-vis employers and lead to a reduction in the number and frequency of industrial conflicts. According to Chirashree Das Gupta, the household industry means, the key houses of business, both old and new, which found ways to maintain control over decision-making through the institutional structure of the family-run business house.

In Telangana, the Household Industry workers occupy the last position proportionately from total workers. Household industry is defined as “the industry conducted by one or more members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas and only within the precincts of the house where the householder lives in urban areas” (Census of India). In the urban areas, where organized industry takes greater prominence, the household industry is confined to the precincts of the house where the participants live. In urban areas, even if the members of the household run an industry by themselves but at a place away from the precincts of their home, it is not considered as a household industry. It should be located within the precincts of the house where the members live in the case of urban areas.

Household Industry relates to production, processing, servicing, repairing or making and selling (but not merely selling) of goods. It does not include professions such as a Pleader, Doctor, Musician, Dancer, Waterman, Astrologer, Dhobi, Barber, etc., or merely trade or business, even in such professions, trade or services are run at home by members of the household.

In 2001 census, the total household industry workers in Telangana were 8,59,177 contributing to about 6.1% and it increased to 7,77,817 (4.73%) during 2011. In 2001, the proportion of household industry workers with respect to total workers of the districts

communicate that Nizamabad district tops with 14.29%, followed by Karimnagar 12.64%, Adilabad 8.87%. The least number of household industry workers is in Khammam district which contributes 2.15% of total workers of the district, followed by Rangareddy 2.87% and Hyderabad 2.97%. The remaining districts Warangal, Nalgonda, Medak and Mahbubnagar have 4.99%, 4.42%, 4.38% and 3.89% respectively (Table 1).

In 2011, the district's proportionate ratio of household industry workers with respect to total workers of the districts shows that Nizamabad ranks first with 13.58% followed by Karimnagar with 8.97% and Adilabad with 6.4%. The least percentage of household industry workers existed in Khammam district is 1.4%, followed by Warangal 2.55%, Nalgonda 2.59% and Mahbubnagar 2.78%. The other districts are Medak, Rangareddy and Hyderabad having 4.69%, 3.34% and 3.27% respectively (Table 2).

The mandal-wise analysis of the 2001 census data on the basis of mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) principle identified five class-intervals as follows:

1. The first class-interval of Very less household industry workers with less than 0.64% and mean minus one standard deviation have no mandals at all.
2. The second class-interval of Less concentrated household industry workers is between 0.64% to 6.04% (M-SD to M) which has the highest number of 337 mandals as against 446 constituting of about 76% of the mandals and the area of Telangana. The district-wise distribution of these mandals specifies that Nalgonda has 47 Mandals; Khammam-45; Warangal-42; Medak-38; Rangareddy-37; Adilabad-35; Karimnagar-26; and the least of 9 mandals are from Nizamabad district.
3. The third class-interval of Average concentrated household industry workers is between 6.05% to 12.92% (M to M+SD) has 46 mandals. The geographic distribution of these mandals indicate that the North of Telangana has 8 mandals each; while Karimnagar and Nizamabad and Adilabad have 5. In the East, Warangal accounts to 7 mandals; in the South, Nalgonda (7) and Mahbubnagar (5). In the West, Medak contains 6 mandals.
4. The fourth class of High concentrated household industry workers with a percentage of 12.93% to 19.79% (M+SD to M+2SD) is in 32 mandals. Nizamabad had the highest 10 mandals followed by Karimnagar – 8; Adilabad – 6; Nalgonda – 4; Warangal – 2; and one mandal each from Medak & Mahbubnagar districts.

- The Very high concentrated household industry workers is between 19.8% to 35.62% ( $>M+SD$ ) and has the remaining 31 mandals and the distribution is: Karimnagar-13mandals; Nizamabad-10; Adilabad-6; and 1 mandal each from Nalgonda and Mahbubnagar districts (Fig. 12)

The analyzed data pertaining to 2011 census of to household industry workers is as follows:

- As in 2001 and 2011 census did not show any sign of persons participating in the first category of the class-interval under less than mean minus one standard deviation; which indicates that there were very less household industry workers.

### Spatial Distribution of Household Industry Labourers in Telangana, Mandal Wise (2001 and 2011)

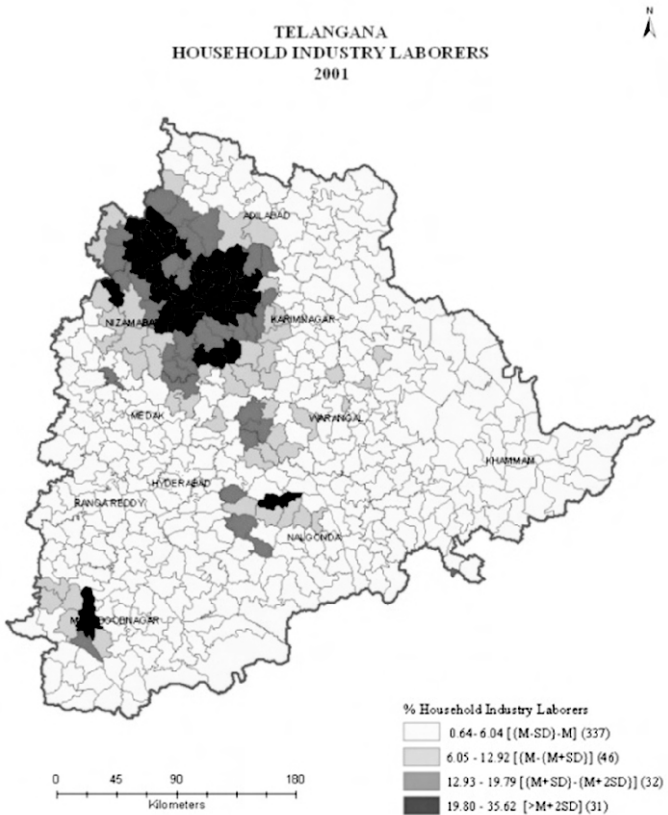


Fig. 12

**TELANGANA  
HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY LABORERS  
2011**

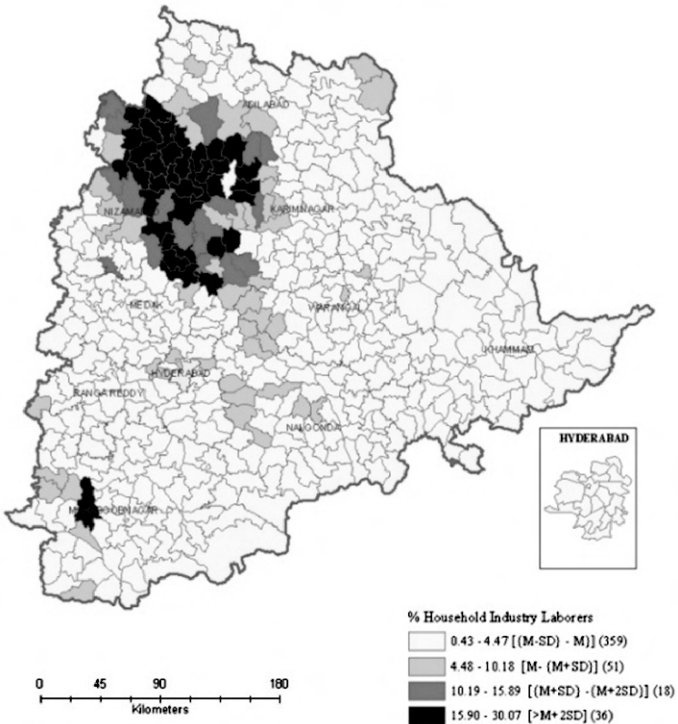


Fig. 13

2. The second class-interval of less house hold industry workers is between 0.43% to 4.47% (M-SD to M) and has the highest of 359 as against 464 mandals contributing to about 77% of the mandals and area of Telangana. The distribution of these mandals show that the highest of 58 mandals are from Mahbubnagar followed by Nalgonda – 49; 46 mandals each from Warangal and Khammam; Karimnagar – 31; Rangareddy – 33; and 35 mandals each from Adilabad and Medak districts. The least number of mandals under this class have 10 mandals from Nizamabad and 16 mandals from Hyderabad.
3. The Average concentrated household industry workers with 4.48% to 10.18% (M to M+SD) is found in 51 mandals in Telangana. The geographic distribution of these mandals district-



wise indicates that the highest of 10 mandals is in Nalgonda; Karimangar has 9; Adilabad-8; Medak-6; The least of 4 mandals, each are from Nizamabad and Rangareddy and 5 mandals each are from Mahbubnagar and Warangal districts respectively.

4. The class-interval of High concentrated household industry workers between the percentage of 10.19% to 15.89% (M+SD to M+2SD) is found in 18 mandals and all are from the Northern part of Telangana only. The distribution of these mandals indicates that 6 mandals each in Nizamabad and Karimnagar are followed by 3 mandals each from Adilabad and Medak districts respectively.
5. The Very high household industry workers is found between 15.9% to 30.37% (>M+2SD) is recorded 36 mandals of Telangana. In the north of Telangana, Nizamabad itself accounts to 50% of the mandals with 16 in number, followed by Karimnagar – 11; Adilabad – 6; Medak – 2; and Mahbubnagar – 1 Mandal (Fig. 13).

## Other Workers

During 2001 and 2011 census, Other workers occupied major portion of workers to the total workers. They include all government servants, municipal employees, teachers, factory workers, plantation workers, those engaged in trade, commerce, business, transport banking, mining, construction, political or social work, priests, entertainment artists, etc. In effect, all those workers other than cultivators, agricultural labourers and household industry workers are 'Other Workers'. In 2001, Other workers were 50,13,865 constituting about 35.62% to total workers, while in 2011 they increased to 65,09,430 contributing to 39.56% to the total workers giving a crude rise of about 3.94% during the decade.

The Other workers in Telangana are concentrated the highest in urban areas. In 2001, the Hyderabad district occupied the first position with (95.37%) followed by Rangareddy district (56.65%), Adilabad (30.17%), Nizamabad (28.74%) and Karimnagar (28.7%). The least Other workers were in Mahbubnagar district with (22.93%) followed by Khammam (25.75%). In 2011, the Hyderabad district occupied (93.1%) followed by Rangareddy (68.43%), Adilabad (29.49%) and Warangal (29.45%). The least percentage of Other workers are found in Mahbubnagar district contributing to 25.18%, followed by Khammam 3,60,754 (25.58%). (Table 1&2).

The mandal-wise analysis of Other workers in Telangana, based on 68-95-99.7 rule, identified five classes with very high concentrated, high concentrated, average concentrated, less concentrated and very less concentrated mandals of Other workers.

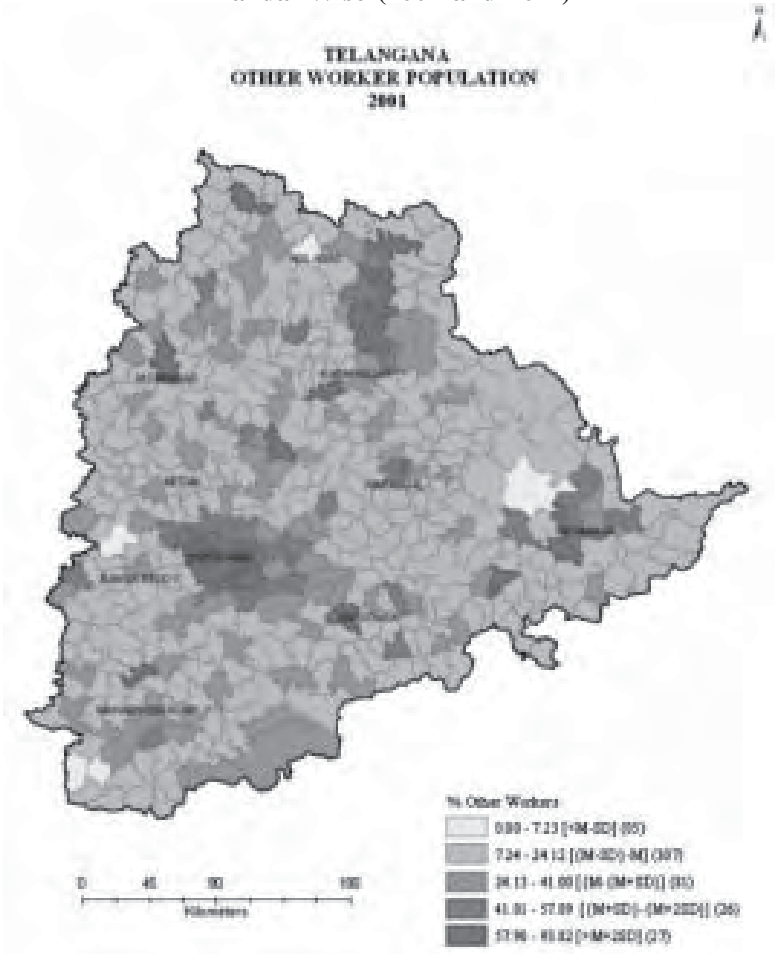
The detailed analysis of 2001 census is as follows:

1. The first category of Less than Mean minus one standard deviation (M-SD), the per cent less than 7.23% of Other workers found in 5 mandals in Telangana-2 mandals from Mahbubnagar and one each from Adilabad, Rangareddy and Khammam districts.
2. The second category between M-SD to up to Mean of Other workers with 7.24% to 24.12%, is found in the highest number of 307 constituting of about 69% of the total mandals of Telangana. The district-wise distribution, viz: Mahbubnagar and Warangal have 43, Karimnagar-42, Nalgonda-37, Khammam and Adilabad-35, Medak-30, Nizamabad-25, Rangareddy-17.
3. The Average percentage (M+(M+SD)) of Other workers in between 24.13% to 41%, found in 81 mandals in Telangana. The mandal which shows the highest is Mahbubnagar with 17, followed by Nalgonda-16; Karimnagar-10; Medak and Nizamabad-9 each; Adilabad-7; Warangal-5; and four mandals each in Rangareddy and Khammam districts respectively.
4. The High concentration of Other workers is between 41.01% to 57.89% (M+SD to M+2SD) found in 26 mandals of Telangana. The distribution of these mandals indicate that 5 mandals are present each in Rangareddy and Nalgonda, followed by Khammam with 4 mandals and 3 mandals each in Adialabad and Medak; 2 mandals each from Karimnagar & Warangal, while Nizamabad and Mahbubnagar share 1 mandal each.
5. The Very high concentration of Other workers greater than 57.89% (>M+2SD) is found in 27 mandals along with complete Hyderabad (fully urban) district. The geographic distribution of these mandals are Adialabad-6; Karimnagar-2 and Nizamabad-1 mandal. The central Telangana comprising of Rangareddy district had the highest number of 10 Mandals, while Medak district shares only 3 mandals. In the Southern part, Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda had 1 mandal each; while the eastern part, Khammam shares 2 mandals and Warangal has one mandal (**Fig. 16**).

In the year, 2011 Census data reveals that:

1. The Very high concentration (> M+2SD) of Other workers present in urban areas with greater than 69.91% accounted to 37 mandals of Telangana. The geographic distribution of these mandals explains that the Central part of Telangana, the Hyderabad district's 16 mandals come under this class, followed by Rangareddy with 11 mandals and Medak (2), while Northern part of Telangana with Adilabad and Karimnagar shares two mandals each. The eastern part of Telangana, Warangal has 2 mandals and

# Spatial Distribution of Other Workers in Telangana, Mandal Wise (2001 and 2011)

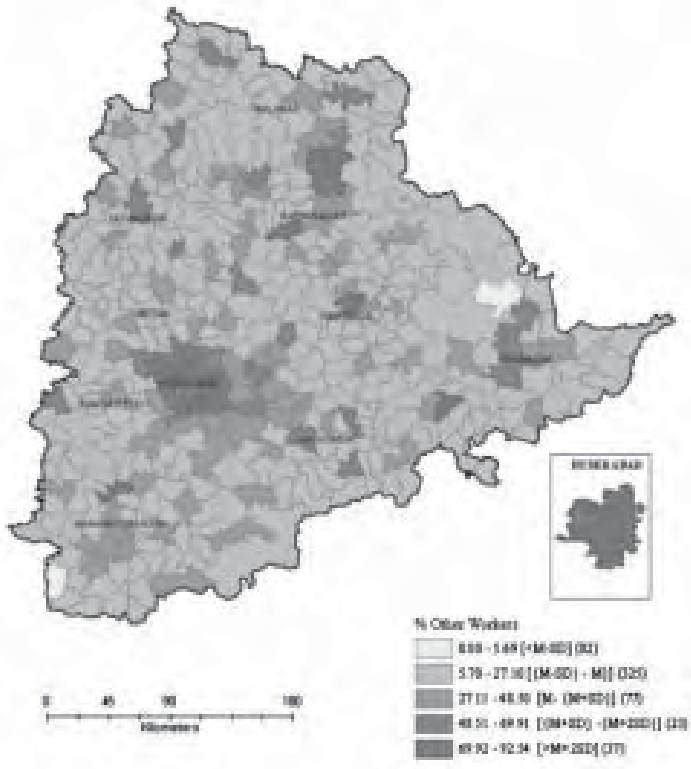


**Fig. 16**

Khammam has one mandal. The Southern Telangana, Mahbubnagar accounts only for one mandal under this category.

- The High percentage between 48.51% to 69.91% ( M+SD to M+2SD) of Other workers found in 23 mandals in Telangana: Nalgonda-5; Adilabad-4; Medak and Rangareddy-3 mandals each; Nizamabad-2; 1 mandal each from Karimnagar, Mahbubnagar and Warangal districts respectively.

TELANGANA  
OTHER WORKER POPULATION  
2011



**Fig. 17**

3. The Average concentration of Other workers found in 77 mandals with 27.11% to 48.5% (M to M+SD). Mahbubnagar and Nalgonda have 15 mandals each; Karimangar-14; Medak-7; Rangareddy, Warangal and Adilabad-6 mandals each; Khammam-5; and Nizamabad-3 mandals respectively.
4. 325 mandals are found in Less concentration of Other workers with 5.7% to 27.10% (M-SD to M). The distribution of these mandals are: Mahbubnagar-47; Warangal-42; Karimnagar-41; Adialbad-40; Nalgonda-38; Khammam-36; Medak-34; Nizamabad-30; and Rangareddy-17.

The Very least Other workers with less than 5.7% (<M-SD) found only two mandals in Telangana. One is in Mahbubnagar and another one is in Khammam

## **Conclusions :**

The occupational characteristics in Telangana analyzed based on with census defined as the occupational characteristics like Cultivation, Agricultural labourers, Household Industry and other workers. The highest cultivators are found in Mahbubnagar, followed by Warangal, Karimnagar and Nalgonda districts. Mandal-wise distribution of cultivators in 2001 show that the highest per cent of cultivators are found in 45 mandals (41.24% to 53.54%) (M+SD to M+2SD) and very high specialized cultivators are found in 16 mandals (52.55% to 71.47%) (>M+SD). In 2011, the highest cultivator mandals are 56 and very high cultivator specialized mandals are 19.

The agricultural labourers in Telangana occupied the second position among total workers of the state. The highest per cent of agricultural labourers are found in Mahbubnagar district, followed by Nalgonda district. The district-wise distribution of agriculture labourers in total work force of the districts indicates that Khammam district ranks first in its total work force, followed by Mahbubnagar. The mandal-wise distribution indicates that the highest per cent of agricultural labourers are found in 65 mandals in 2001 (52.89% to 65.85%) (M+SD to M+2SD) and very high concentrated mandals found in only four mandals (65.86% to 67.94%) (>M+SD). In 2011, the high agricultural labourers concentrating mandals are recorded in 68 mandals (61.6% to 78.68%) (M+SD to M+2SD) and very high specialized mandals are identified in only one mandal from Khammam district.

The other workers occupied the largest proportional ratio to total workers of Telangana. The other workers are those who engage themselves in other than cultivators, agricultural labourers and household industry labourers. In 2001, they constituted 35.62% and it increased to 39.56% in 2011. In both the census years, Hyderabad district recorded the first place with other workers, followed by Adilabad district.

The spatio-temporal analysis of the census of India for decadal two years viz., 2001 and 2011 with reference to the Telangana region indicate that the north-western part of the region prone to the household industry workers very specifically is Nizamabad district. Khammam, Rangareddy and Hyderabad districts show very less of this profession of household industry workers. The remaining districts do have this category of workers but with an average percent.

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# A Historical Ethnography of the Game of Polo

## • Etee Bahadur

Folktales are an important for an understanding of both literate and non-literate societies. Stuart Blackburn writes that this debate has been central to an understanding of culture and history in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Ladakh is the meeting point of cultures whether they be Tibetan or Indic. It is a part of the Tibetan plateau ecologically. The Tibetan story-cycle of King Gesar of Ling is one such complex tradition and the fact that the game of Polo came from Tibet can be seen from through this epic.<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan, Mongolian, Buryat, Ladakhi and the Balti singers have maintained this tradition, of the King Gesar Kesar of Ling who is the hero of the epic popular in Central Asia, Tibet and the Karkoram Himalayas.<sup>3</sup> King Gesar of Ling, helped the weak and 'defeated the strong'.<sup>4</sup> In the battle of the Kunlun mountains of Chapter 12, we find anecdotal reference to the game of Polo. This is about a battle which had been fought for months, between King Gesar and King Baakar who ruled the Bonismo Kingdom and the Khotan Kingdom respectively. In the meantime, the Queen had given birth to two children. King Gesar killed Baakar and cut the heads of the two children and went back to the Queen who he had left at a secure place. Bakaar threw the heads of the children in the sky, which he had kept in his pockets as they rode in the plains, hitting them with a stick so that they go farther away. It was only later that the queen realized that they were her children whose heads had been hit.<sup>5</sup>

Reciting and playing the Gesar epic was a part of the Polo game at Baltistan, which was known as 'dacipulu' (da- horse : ci for on : Pulu for a ball or round object).<sup>6</sup> The question which Estelle Dryland asks while understanding the Buddhist oriented

Tibetan epic of King Kesar is whether the Muslim bards of Baltistan have been able to locate its literary culture since 1948. Estelle Dryland also mentions the impact of Islamic conservatism in the valley, and writes, Hoshe a Nurbakshi village is the only village in the Khaplu valley which is considered to be the cultural hub of the Baltistan, however even in Khaplu, the recitation of the Kesar Epic is disapproved of just as the work on the Balti love songs.<sup>7</sup> She looks at folklore in these public spaces which are contested spaces in the context of religion and culture and acknowledges that the concept of public spaces of Habermas needs to be looked at differently in the context of folklore.<sup>8</sup> Dryland also writes that the even the polo-ground at the village of Kharmang has been bulldozed.<sup>9</sup>

Col. Durand writes that the folklore and sport of the region was most interesting in his book *The Making of a Frontier*, for he sees stone altars outside every village and mentions the regards, the Shinas would tend to have for the cow. The feasts, he writes, may have had Hindu or Buddhist origin but were seen to be slowly dying out. The Chili festival, the last festival of the year in Gilgit was about the commencement of wheat sowing synchronised with Cedar worship (Pencil Cedar), as Cedar he writes was used for Hindu ceremonies.<sup>10</sup> The Chili festival is known as *Shukapa* in Ladakh. A variant of the festival, known as *Thumer Bopow* in Hunza and Nagar is when the *Tarangfah* sacrifices a lean goat whose blood is sprinkled on the Polo sticks. The festival concludes with a game of Polo like the Chili festival which also concludes with a polo competition, a game of archery and singing and dancing.<sup>11</sup> Polo matches are played during *Losar* (New Year) and *Nauroz* (Persian New Year). In some parts of Gilgit-Baltistan a three day festival is observed to mark the occasion, and one sees musical programs, Polo matches, competition of Tiakko Polo, Freestyle Polo, Tug of War, cattle show among other events.<sup>12</sup> Polo is played in Chushot village, on 21 March to celebrate *Nauroz* which is the Persian New Year.<sup>13</sup> In Chitral the Polo season, would begin with state rituals performed by the Mehtar at festival of *Nauroz*.<sup>14</sup>

The game of Polo spread westwards from Iran (Persia) to the Byzantine empire as early as the fourth century, with records of equestrian mallet and ball games.<sup>15</sup> The Greek term being *tykanion*



(from the Persian Chaugan), the game grew to develop to what we refer to as Polo now.<sup>16</sup> The sport grew after Iran was incorporated into the Muslim Caliphate, as this saw different versions of the game of Polo spreading to Mongolia, China, Korea (*Kyuk Koo* – Polo), Japan (*Dakyu*-for Polo) and India. The game seem to have declined in the sixteenth century and was reduced to being played in Gilgit and Baltistan and north east of India.<sup>17</sup> Early travellers mention to have observed the game in portions of Northern Cashmere, the was the area was of Baltistan and Skardo, however Polo is associated to be played in the streets of Leh.<sup>18</sup> Polo is the national game of the Balti race of Thibet and the name polo meant ball in the language<sup>19</sup> The article cited titled, ‘How Polo started’ states a drawing of four women playing Chaugan, as it was referred to in the sixteenth century in India, the game having been introduced into England, when the 10<sup>th</sup> Hussars gave an exhibition on ‘hockey on horseback’. The popularity of the game having increased from then on.<sup>20</sup> Chaugan is said to be the oldest team polo game having begun Persia. Chaugan is a wooden stick with which men hit a round ball while riding the horse, however it came to represent the name of the game as time passed.<sup>21</sup> Vigne whose years of travel to Kashmir and Ladakh were 1835-1838, also visited Afghanistan and his travel account is a description of the Great Game for he looked at the region, from a colonial context and stood for colonial expansion.<sup>22</sup> The phrase Great Game was coined in 1830 but came into usage by 1870.<sup>23</sup> Vigne writes of witnessing a game of Chaugan at the *maydan* ( 350 yards in length and sixty yards in breadth, with pillars of stone placed at a distance of 10 yards) being played on fine turf.<sup>24</sup> He writes of the game of Chaugan being, infact hocky on horseback for the ball is larger than a cricket ball or *Pulu* ( in Tibeti) and is made of willow wood and the stick or *Byntu* ( in Tibeti) is of the almond tree.<sup>25</sup> Drew has divided Chapter XVI on Baltistan, into sections on the Baltis, Skadu, Shigar, Basha, Braldu, Rondu, Deosai and the Game of Polo. It is Drew, writes hardly be required any longer to mention of Polo as the game of ‘hockey on horseback.’<sup>26</sup> Lietner writes that it is not Manipuri game as it had been played at Calcutta but rather, the game of “ Chaugan-bazi” was played at Hunza and Nagyr as per the rules of the original game.<sup>27</sup>

Ladakh is regarded as part of ethnographic Tibet of which a

major part is ethnically Tibetan and share numerous aspects of culture, language, social order, religion.<sup>28</sup> The early Tibetan empire of the seventh to ninth centuries incorporated Ladakh but after 1842 the region became independent until the 1840s.<sup>29</sup> The Makpon Rajas even after moving to Kishtwar, Tral and other places in J&K, continued playing the game of Polo. The game of Polo was played by the Dards, who enjoyed sports, and when their language became extinct in palces, it was the game of Polo that had been introduced by them continued and kept up by them.<sup>30</sup> Polo is more known in the Western part of Tibet, than in the eastern parts of Tibet.<sup>31</sup> In an account written by one of the travellers, is given a description of a halt at Kargil to rest and to watch the Baltis (natives of Baltistan) play polo, which was the national game for them. The polo ground was used only to play the game and was, around 200 yards long and about 250 yards broad. The Balti men who were to take part in the game wore long coats, home spun with cloth boots, closely fitted small round hats made of cloth or sheep skin with wool in the inside, they stood beside their ponies who were ‘rather diminutive, shaggy and some of them were in bad condition’.<sup>32</sup> Drew corroborates to this that the clothes worn by the Balti are not washed and worn till they fall apart.<sup>33</sup> The population of Drass comprised of the Baltis, Ladakis the Dards and the Brokpa. In the mountains the Baltis, were seen as Balti gold-washers, who would collect gold down the Indus and Gilgit river valleys.<sup>34</sup> Adair, in his book on the *Record of Sport and travel in Baltistan and Ladakh*, writes about the Balti coolie, who would tend to carry a needle and a thread to sew and repair his foot wear as the occasion demanded. The roadway was very steep in these areas but the Baltis were in a position to climb as they were used to the hills of Baltistan.<sup>35</sup> They would camp at village grounds when required. One such village was the Tolti, whose Rajah out of civility offered a rupee as a token of friendship to him. The village the author writes was a flourishing one and as Balti villages this village too had a large polo-ground.<sup>36</sup> The Baltis, Dainelli, writes were a poor people, for they were seen to be covered in rags and in comparison to the Ladkahis didn’t appear to be jovial, happy, sociable and communicative.<sup>37</sup> Dainelli from his researches, records the origin of population of the region between Ladakh to Baltistan, might have been different from the present, but their descendants were to be seen as the people living at Purig.<sup>38</sup> The

Dards was another race which lived between Purig, Ladakh and Baltistan along with the Brokpa (also Dards). The population of Baltistan and Western Tibet was more Tibetan and had Aryan elements, however for Francke the Baltis have more Dardic element as compared to the Western part of Tibet.<sup>39</sup> Francke refers to the migration of the Dards and the colonization of the area in Western Tibet by the Mons and the Dards.<sup>40</sup> Western Tibet was colonized by the tribes of the Dards of Dras and the Dard of Da.<sup>41</sup> The chief clans of the Dards were seen to live in the villages of Hanu and Da, the author notices a fluidity in identities, as some of them were Mohmmmedans, one generation, and Buddhist in the next generation and then Mohmmmedans again in the next generation.<sup>42</sup> Dainelli and most other travellers have written about the people of the region, and mention about the aspect of the people being Mongol, to which Daineeli response however is different as he felt that the further one moved away from where the Mongol's entered, the lesser of the Mongol features were found among the people and this held true for the Baltis.<sup>43</sup> The Baltis and Ladakhis thus he writes were no very different from each other. Polo is the oldest mounted team game, but what sets it apart from soccer and hockey is the horse which is said to be 70% of the game. Most teams thus spend more in buying, training and improving polo ponies, as speed is an important for the game.<sup>44</sup> William Moorcroft (1767-1825) was an early traveller to the region. He made his first Himalayan journey in 1812, in the company of Captain Hearsey. Moorcroft was as early 1810 on the lookout for horses and for intelligence of the management of horse breeding in the areas beyond the Himalayas. The ponies of Baltistan, however Drew writes were adapted for the game of Polo and they are about twelve hands three inches or thirteen hands.<sup>45</sup> Moorcroft wanted to find out sources of high-quality wool in the Western Himalayan region, and he was one of the first proponents of the Great Game between Russia and Britian in Central Asia. It was in 1819 that he left for the horse breeding areas of Central Asia. Moorcroft's party consisted of a young German, Treebeck, an Anglo – Indian Hindu physician by the name Guthrie, servants and transport staff, gaurds, and others along with three *Munshis*, two of whom were Indians they were the, Mir Izzatullah Kashmiri, Ghulam Hydar Khan and a third, Hajji Sayyid Ali Hajji (all of the three kept journals and extracts from those Journals have been printed in the *Asiatic Journal* ).<sup>46</sup>

H.H Wilson, has in the book *Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab in Ladakh and Kashmir : In Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825*, which is one of the main works on Moorcroft, narrated the journey taken by Moorcroft. Sayyid Nafaj Ali accompanied Moorcroft's party to the Punjab Himalayas through Kullu and then Ladakh, he stayed in Ladakh for over eight months and left for Lahore by November 1821. Najaf Ali's narrative illustrates the change as it took place in this isolated Tibetan Buddhist Kingdom in the years before it lost its, independence. He tells us of the popularity of the game of Polo, in the region as he also includes descriptions of the customs of Ladakh, their entertainments, the etiquettes the hospitality and the exchanges they would have with the dignitaries. Simon Digby, writes that he had watched the South Asian Championship matches from here as this was the Polo-ground in 1995. The reference shows that the game was popular and survived at Leh, and in the principalities of the Indus having been reintroduced by the British in the late nineteenth century.

Frederick Drew (1836-1891) was in 1862, appointed for a period of ten years as a geologist was required to report on the mining wealth of the country by the Maharaja of Kashmir. This had resulted in the publication on the work *Jammu and Kashmir territories* in 1875. A part of his geographical observation were reported to the Kashmir Government, however some of his notes on the alluvial deposits of the upper Indus basin and parts of Central Asia were sent to the Geological Society by him ( *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* Vol. XXIX 1873)<sup>47</sup> An abridged edition of his book, titled "Northern Barrier of India" was published in 1897. The book was a storehouse of ethnological and geographical data.<sup>48</sup> Polo was he writes, 'the national game of the Baltis'. Every village has its own Polo ground and is kept exclusively to play the game.<sup>49</sup> Drew himself played Polo he writes with the natives of Baltistan and Dardistan. Polo could be found at all places the Baltis and the Dards were living, having being introduced at Leh by a colony of Baltis, and adopted by the Ladakhis. Polo was practiced from Leh, upto the Gilgit and the Chitral valley wherein Drew, played the game of Polo and thereby had observed their styles closely as they played,<sup>50</sup> Ladakh flourished under the Namgyal dynasties of kings, from the sixteenth century onwards. They extended their dynasties in eastwards and

westwards and engaged in warfare with Balti and Kashmiri rulers and Tibetan's on the other hand. Sengge Namgyal (1616-1642) gave an offensive to Balti forces was one of the greatest rulers of Ladakh. Two accounts of Polo being brought to Ladakh mentioned by authorities.<sup>51</sup> The first Polo ground was also laid out by Sengge Namgyal, and the site now is, the Defence Ministry's Field Research Laboratory. Drew writes, that in a game of Polo where he was on the side of the winner, the stake was a *Salaam*. The losing side would have had to walk the length of the polo-ground, doing *salaam* every twenty steps, and the winners were seen to cheer at every *salaam*.<sup>52</sup> The tactics of the game would get modified as this was dependent on the terrain and it was not always possible to get a level playing polo ground<sup>53</sup>. The length from goal to goal is about 200 to 250 yards and the width is about 30 to 40 yards only, the width of each goal was over ten to fifteen yards.<sup>54</sup> A large ground would make it possible for fifteen players to play on one side, though even a game of six to seven players was excepted on each side. A fair and impartial game was seen to be played, with the Rajah sitting down on a raised platform to prepare the list of the players for the game to play on each side. The whip or the Polo-stick, was handed over by the player, was paired and brought by a little boy who has no knowledge of the owner's skills. The Balti did not wear the spurs, and would carry a short whip, which hung from their wrist which would mean that the stroke played would be from the elbow or the shoulder and not the wrist.<sup>55</sup> Two heaps were prepared to represent the players of the two sides, in this fair manner. The enclosed ground with stone walls proved helpful, while the game was played on fine turf which was kept watered occasionally.<sup>56</sup> A flag-staff was a better option, than the Balti way of playing the game with goal-stone, Drew felt. He also hoped that the Polo players of Lillie Bridge, would in order understand the kind of skill required to play the game, be a part of a game of Polo played at Shigar (valley) or Rondu (Rajah of Rondu was dependent on the Raja of Skardu, since Rondu was a tributary to Skardu)<sup>57</sup> The Balti style of striking the ball while galloping required a considerable amount of skill.<sup>58</sup> Vigne, writes that he would back the Baltis, anytime in a game of Chaugan against the Ladakhis.<sup>59</sup>

Peter Fleming witnessed a game of Polo as played in the Hunza and Nagar, which resembled Balti style Polo in 1935. Peter Fleming noted that the game had certain features at Hunza and

Nagar, which were different from the game played at other places. Besides the shape of the ground six players would play here instead of four, and game continued until all the nine goals had been scored by one side. Balti style Polo writes Rizvi is not a rich man's game, as the Chushotis who make up the team are small farmers, shopkeepers or drivers, worked of the various department of the administration or belong to the polo club<sup>60</sup>. Joseph Alter in the article, Empowering Yourself : Sport, Sexuality and Autoeroticism in North India, examines the competitions in *Jori* –swinging in Banaras. Both Polo and *jori*-swinging of Alters work was adopted by nineteenth century by the British for military reasons and this had resulted in other cultural processes. The British thereby started to civilize the game, by modifying and improving the game as according to their ethos. G. Whitney Azoy writes that the tribal game of Buzkashi had given to the minority of the Uzbeks of Afghanistan, an ethnic identity. The population of Leh varied in the months of summer as it got crowded with merchants from Kashmir and Central Asian traders with goods from Kashyar, Yarkhand, Khotan since Leh he writes had a connecting link with Tibet<sup>61</sup> Ian Stephens who had travelled through Pakistan, Kashmir and Afghanistan, wrote an account of his journey in his book, *Horned Moon*.<sup>62</sup> The Nagar palace and its Polo-ground which displayed itself well however the palace lacked the grandeur of the old palace at Baltit.<sup>63</sup> The Karimabad Palace he describes has fine vases which would have been got from Sinkiang, and a tray which had gold painted little figures seen playing the game of Polo.<sup>64</sup> Polo played in leh, Ladakh was free for all and as David Fraser writes, "A game of Polo is composed of all sportsmen who like to join..."<sup>65</sup> Accidents were quite unknown in Tibet but accidents were seen to be occurring in India as the game was played by the English with their own rules.<sup>66</sup> The Tibetan style of the game, was not as perfect as the game played at Hunza – Nagyr, although it was a better game than the game of Polo as played at Manipur. 'Shooting while galloping' was another game played at Hunza writes Lietner.<sup>67</sup> G.W. Leitner has in the Appendice IV of the book *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*, translated a dialogue which tells the reader more about the game of Polo than any booklet with instructions on the game.

E. F Knight in his travelogue *Where the three Empires meet*, also mentions of the 'inevitable polo ground' in all of all the villages

he stopped at, infact it seemed to be a part of the lifestyle of the British in their summer colony in their along with dinner parties<sup>68</sup>. Knight wrote that he saw, Ladaki boys playing cricket, with two wickets and Polo sticks for bats and wooden polo balls. Cricket, was an ancient Tibetan game which had introduced into Europe by Jesuit Xavier and the Moravians game was adopted by the Ladakis. Knight writes that he employed the Ladaki as Caddies for Golf which he introduced at Hunza later, since seeing he had witnessed them playing the game of Cricket with Polo sticks and balls.<sup>69</sup> Knight wrote that it was a custom of Leh to play in the Bazaar and all business would get suspended for the game as the Naib Wazir issued an order to close down the shops. At times certain polo players would be seen playing to a tune. These melodies could be awarded to an excellent player and their tune was played at time of *Tampok* (after a goal –*hal* was scored). Rizvi writes, that a special Polo music was seen to begin at the start and the finish of the play and the celebration of each goal scored was marked by professional music players of the *Surma* and the *daman*.<sup>70</sup> Francke in his account of Tibet mentions, that Tsetan Namgyal (1780-1798) would play Polo to the tune of a song on the Polo-ground, the tune of the song he writes is still known. He was among the last two kings of Tibet, and a good Polo player.<sup>71</sup> The locals at Gilgit played the game as per their own rules, as the play went on until one side or the other has scored nine goals. A player under the rules at Gilgit could, unseat his opponent from the pony or even catch him by his neck with the polo stick in case the player was unable to outwit his opponent.<sup>72</sup> In Gilgit Polo, the feat of catching the ball in the air was called *Babla* in Shina.<sup>73</sup> The Sonikote Polo-ground which was named after the Soni queen of Gilgit served as the local parade ground and Polo ground .

The game of Polo in Munipor was played as usual on horseback, and along with that a new form of polo played here was a game of 'hockey on ponies' or only hockey. The first mention of the game of Polo was made in the *Cheitharon Kumpapa* or the *Court Chronicles of the kings of Manipur* which are of the seventeenth century. Polo was popular along with boat racing and bull fighting with the Meitei people, although the kings were more interested in elephants and tigers of the region rather than the horse. The importance of the horse grew with time as the *hangchapa*, became an important court position. Polo was known as *sakon*

*kangchei* or *sagol kangjei* as it had associated with king Kang of the Meitei people, and was played in a special dress as it was believed that the Pony of Manipur descended from his mount Samadon Ayangba, which as believed to be a winged animal, whose wings were severed by Majing who was among the number of ancestors of the Meitei who were deified.<sup>74</sup> The game stayed restricted to Cachar, due to the inaccessibility of the region, for over a period of two years however, steady expansion soon begun and Polo was seen to be a game in the international arena.<sup>75</sup>

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# An Empirical Assessment of Gender Based Influences on Shoppers' Decision-Making Styles

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*This paper attempts to examine the influence of gender on the buying decision-making styles of consumers in Odisha, an eastern state of India. A total of 151 respondents from four different regions of Odisha were chosen by using the Mall intercept method. The samples were classified into males and females on the basis of gender. Exploratory Factor Analysis was carried to identify the decision-making styles. t-test was employed to compare the shopping styles of males and females. Results indicate that differences in consumer shopping styles exist among the male and female consumers. Findings can be used by retailers in targeting different segments of shoppers based on gender demography and consumer decision-making styles in order to achieve competitive advantage in the era of retail market complexity. It is recommended that males and female gender should be viewed as distinct consumer segments, which may warrant differential marketing efforts.*

**Keywords:** Gender, Males, Females, Consumer decision-making styles.

## Introduction

Gender is considered to be one of the most important variables that determine one's decision making styles towards buying products and services (Potgieter, Wiese, & Strasheim, 2013; Mokhlis & Salleh, 2009). Products can take on masculine or feminine characteristics (Solomon et al., 2010). Marketing

researchers have argued that the gender based segmentation provides clear identification and easy access to the target segments (Darley & Smith, 1995; Meyers-Levy & Sternthal, 1991).

Gender has a significant relation with the consumers' attitudes, purchase decisions and buying behaviour (Bakewell & Mitchell, 2006; Fischer & Arnold, 1994; Van Slyke, Comunale, & Belanger, 2002). Therefore, many researchers stress that gender is an important factor that determines consumer needs, wants and buying behaviour and is a fundamental market segmentation index (Mokhlis & Salleh, 2009).

Studies conducted in the Indian context on consumer decision making call for a better understanding of consumers by considering individual, situational or contextual factors (Goswami & Khan, 2015; Kumar, Vohra, & Dangi, 2016; Sharma & Aich, 2012; Tanksale, Neelam, & Venkatachalam, 2014; Verma & Rangekar, 2015). Therefore, this study is an attempt to understand consumer decision making styles (CDMS) and the effects of gender on CDMS in Odisha, an eastern state of India.

## **Past researches on the influence of gender on buying decision-making styles of consumers**

Cultures that are high on masculinity dimension have well defined gender roles. In countries like India, with higher masculinity, males are supposed to be aggressive and dominating, while females tend to be gentle and caring (Hofstede 1980). Social role theory assumes that gender-based categorization of work generates gender role expectations, and men and women tend to comply with the traditional roles expected of them (Eagly 1987). Shopping is usually considered as a female responsibility (Buttle 1992). Most studies have reported that the primary responsibility of shopping is largely related with women (Anne et al. 2014; Dholakia, 1999). A research stated that men and women tend to vary in their choices while shopping because of the differences in their upbringing and socialization. Men do not like shopping but love having something purchased while women love shopping more than men. Men tend to buy instrumental or leisure items and women tend to buy symbolic and self-expressive goods. Women want best products for best buys or deals but men only buy what they need

(Vijaya Lakshmi et al., 2017). Novel products stimulate women more than men (Tang and Chin 2007). Females are socialized for paying attention to their looks (Burton et al. 1994). Females compared to males are likely to derive more value from novelty, trendy and fashionable products (Mehta, 2020). Women check for price tags more than men in shopping malls (Underhill 2005) suggesting that women will be more active seekers of price and value for money than men. Research states that men are more instrumental, utilitarian and goal-oriented in their approach preferring to minimize the time they spend in buying whereas women are more expressive and are likely to enjoy browsing and exploring the store to find products for themselves and others as well (Bem 1981). Both men and women appear to be loyal alike in spite of expectation of women developing stronger bond with brands and stores because of relationships shown to be more important to women (Noble et al. 2006).

## **Gender and consumer buying decision-making styles**

Through an online survey with 186 respondents from New Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Kolkata and Chennai a study identified 5 decision-making styles in Indian context namely brand and quality consciousness, value for money and planned purchases, fashion-impulsive-recreational shopping, confused by over-choice and brand loyalty. Male consumers were found to be more brand conscious and quality conscious than females for international apparel brands such as Guess, Zara, Mango, Calvin Klein, Tommy Hilfiger and Esprit (Claudio De Mattos et al., 2015)

Another research in Tamilnadu found that both males and females revealed the common factors of Quality Consciousness, Brand consciousness, Brand Loyalty, Variety seeking, Recreational & Hedonistic Consumers and Price Consciousness. In addition, two factors namely, confused by over choice and hurried shopper was valid for men. Three factors namely, Novelty & fashion consciousness; Store loyalty and store image consciousness and Impulsive, careless consumers were confirmed for female shoppers (Jaidev, U. P. and Amarnath, D. D., 2018). An examination of the decision-making styles of Generation Y men and women revealed that except impulsiveness, seven of the original styles of CSI (Sproles and Kendall 1986) were common to both the

genders .The results indicated that women appear to view shopping as a recreational activity and love to spend more time in shopping than men, women were found to be more price oriented and more novelty/fashion-oriented than men. This study further suggested that both millennial men and women were equally brand loyal (Mehta, 2020). A study reported young working women in Chennai to be recreational, quality conscious and brand-conscious for apparels. This recreational consciousness may be to break away from their busy work- life schedule that they go shopping for relaxation. Single women were found to be more fashion-conscious and impulsive, careless than married women. Working women were aware of best-selling brands and preferred big stores offering specialty brands .They were not brand loyals as they looked for variety in apparel products (Sasirekha, 2020).

### **Decision-making of Consumers and consumer style inventory (CSI)**

To understand the consumer decision-making style Sproles and Kendall (1986) posit that consumers' decision-making style refers to a consumer's general approach and mental orientation towards shopping and choosing a product or store. Based on extensive studies, Sproles and Kendall (1986) developed a Consumer Style Inventory (CSI) entailing eight dimensions of decision-making that were used as heuristics by customers to arrive to a buying decision. The authors used closed-ended questionnaire comprising of total 40 items/questions to assess the decision-making styles of 482 high school students in the USA towards personal products (i.e., clothing, cosmetics and hairdryers). Based on the analysis of responses related to affective and cognitive orientations, the authors validated and finalized the 40-items CSI consisting of eight dimensions namely, Perfectionism/ high quality Consciousness, Brand Consciousness, Novelty-fashion Consciousness, Recreational-hedonistic Consciousness, Price and 'value for money' Consciousness, Impulsiveness, Confused by over-choice and Habitual, Brand loyal orientation. According to Sproles and Kendall (1986), identifying such characteristics help in understanding an individual consumer style which can be used to further influence them.



**Table 1. Description of Eight Consumer Decision-Making Styles**

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**Perfectionism/ high-quality consciousness:** This style is concerned with quality. Consumers with this decision-making style will not compromise with products classified as ‘good enough’.

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**Brand consciousness:** This style is concerned with getting expensive and well-known brands. Consumers with this style believe that the higher the price of the product the better the quality. These consumers also prefer best-selling advertised brands.

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**Novelty- fashion consciousness:** Consumers possessing this style tend to seek out new things. This style reflects a liking of innovative products and a motivation to keep up to date with new styles and fashion trends.

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**Recreational-hedonistic consciousness:** Consumers with this style view shopping as being enjoyable. Consumers with this style enjoy the stimulation of looking for and choosing products.

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**Price and “value for money” consciousness:** The style is concerned with getting lower prices. The presence of this style means that the consumer is conscious of sale prices and aims to get the best value for their money.

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**Impulsiveness:** This style describes a shopper who does not plan shopping and appears unconcerned with how much he/she spends. Consumers with this style can regret their decision later.

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**Confused by over choice:** This style reflects lack of confidence and inability to manage the number of choices available. Consumers with this style experience information overload.

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**Habitual, brand loyal orientation:** Consumers possessing this style do shopping at the same stores and buy the same brands each time.

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Source: (Sproles and Kendall, 1986)

Since its development, the CSI has been widely tested in cross-national contexts to assess its generalizability. Hafstrom et al. (1992) applied the CSI on a sample of 310 college going students in Korea; Durvasula et al. (1993) using a New Zealand sample found substantial support for its applicability; Lysonski et al. (1996) conducted a multi-country comparison of consumers from the USA, New Zealand, India and Greece; Mitchell and Bates (1998) applied the CSI on consumers in the UK; Hiu, Siu, Wang, and Chang (2001) investigated Chinese consumers' decision-making styles; Walsh et al. (2001) tested the CSI on German consumers; Tarnanidis, Owusu-Frimpong, Nwankwo, and Omar (2014) tested it on Greek consumers and Nayeem and Casidy (2015) on Australian consumers. Despite some of the minor issues, the CSI has received overall support from these studies.

## **Research gap**

There have been limited studies on understanding the influence of gender on consumer decision-making styles by using Sproles and Kendall scale(1986) in Indian context (Claudio De Mattos et al.,2015; Vijaya Lakshmi et al.,2017; Jaidev, U. P. and Amarnath, D. D., 2018; Mehta R., 2020; Sasirekha, 2020).

Thus, this study, is an attempt to address the gap and validate the applicability of Sproles and Kendall Consumer Style Inventory scale in the sub-cultural milieu of Odisha.

## **Objectives**

The proposed study aims to explore the buying decision-making styles of male and female consumers in Odisha and investigate the influence of gender on buying decision-making styles.

In this study, we investigated the role of gender in explaining differences in the consumer shopping styles in order to help broaden the understanding of consumer behavior. Of primary interest in this research was whether male and female consumers would vary systematically in their decision orientations towards shopping.

## **Research framework**

The present study investigates the influence of gender on consumer decision-making styles .The relationship between predictor and criteria variables is shown in Figure 1.

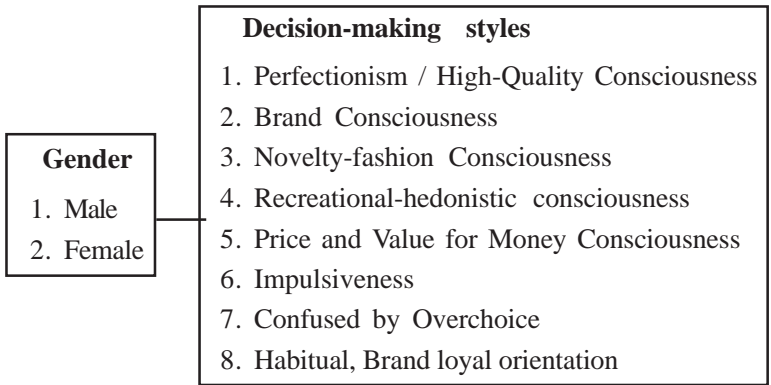


Figure 1. Proposed framework

## Research Hypothesis

H1: Gender has no significant influence on buying decision-making styles of consumers in Odisha.

The hypothesis presented above is general and the study proceeds by initially identifying the major consumer decision-making styles prevalent among Odisha consumers considering gender aspect. Since the Consumer Style Inventory provides an overall picture of the decision-making styles of consumers, it would be interesting to identify the consumer decision-making styles of males and females and the influence of gender on each of the identified decision-making styles.

## Methodology

### Research Instrument

This research was quantitative in nature involving a purposive sampling technique. The sample size was 151. Data was primary in nature and collected through Mall intercept method. A close-ended structured questionnaire was administered to collect the primary data regarding buying decision-making styles of consumers. Respondents were asked to mention their gender. The CSI developed by Sproles and Kendall was employed in this study with some minor dropping of four statements owing to validity-reliability issues. All the statements were measured on a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from Strong Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). According to Sproles and Kendall, the reliabilities of CSI Scale ranged from 0.48 to 0.76.

## Data Sources

The self-administered survey was undertaken and purposive sampling technique was used. Data was collected from 151 respondents belonging to different regions of Odisha namely Bhubaneswar, Berhampur, Sambalpur and Bhadrak. The sample consisted of 83 Males(55%) and 68 Females(45%) and mall intercept method was used for data collection. The data after being collected was analyzed using SPSS (version 20) and then Exploratory Factor analysis was carried. t-test was applied to find out the variations across gender as decision-making style is concerned.

## Data Analysis

### Hypothesis Testing on the basis of differences in consumer decision-making styles across gender

To address the objective, t-test was conducted to demonstrate the difference between the shopping styles of consumers across gender.

Consumer Decision-making Style	Gender	Mean	D.f	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Brand Consciousness	Male	2.99	149	2.53	0.50
	Female	2.34			
Perfectionism / High quality Consciousness	Male	3.42	149	2.97	0.49
	Female	3.29			
Price Consciousness	Male	3.61	149	21.45	0.037
	Female	3.93			
Novelty-Fashion Consciousness	Male	4.15	149	27.58	0.035
	Female	4.26			
Impulsiveness	Male	3.97	149	2.68	0.51
	Female	3.74			
Recreational-Hedonistic Shopping Consciousness	Male	3.82	149	24.78	0.036
	Female	4.09			
Confused by Overchoice	Male	3.21	149	27.39	0.035
	Female	2.53			
Habitual-Brand Loyal Orientation	Male	3.45	149	34.28	0.028
	Female	3.68			

## Interpretation:

From the t-table, it is evident that  $p < 0.05$  for the five factors namely Price consciousness, Novelty-fashion consciousness, Recreational- Hedonistic shopping consciousness, Confused by Overchoice and Habitual-Brand Loyal orientation. It indicates that statistically significant differences exist among the decision-making styles of male and female consumers. Female consumers were reported to be more price-conscious, novelty-fashion consciousness, recreational-hedonistic and brand loyal than males. This finding of women being more price-conscious and novelty-fashion consciousness echoes the findings of studies made by (Mehta, 2020). Further, the finding that women exhibited greater preponderance towards brand loyalty than males is in tandem with the findings of (Bakewell and Mitchell, 2006). Males scored higher for confusion due to overchoice than females. This finding corroborates with the results of the study made by (Kwan et al., 2008; Yasin, 2009). Females were found to be more recreational-hedonistic shoppers, this finding supports the findings of (Seyyed Ali Moosavi Kavkani et al., 2011; Anic et al., 2012).

Both male and female consumers were brand conscious shoppers exhibiting high quality consciousness and impulsiveness at equal levels as  $p > 0.05$ . This finding is analogous to the findings made by (Mitchell and Walsh, 2004)

Thus, owing to the above findings, the null hypothesis, H1: Gender has no significant influence on buying decision-making styles of consumers in Odisha is rejected. Therefore, it can be inferred that Gender has a pre-dominant influence on the decision-making styles of the consumers in Odisha.

## Conclusion

This study aimed to assess the influence of gender on buying decision-making styles of consumers. Exploratory factor analysis was undertaken to determine the decision-making styles and t-test results indicated that striking similarities and dissimilarities existed among the decision-making styles of male and female consumers.

Marketers and retailers should realize the importance of gender while designing the marketing-mix. They should treat males and females as heterogeneous markets. An increased emphasis

should be laid on improving quality, fashion-novelty and brand awareness building among consumers by stocking fashionable, trendsetting and up-to-date products with reasonable pricing. Brand familiarity can lead to brand loyalty and keep confusion at bay. Mall owners should offer pleasant ambience, entertainment and other services to the shoppers who can flock in malls with their family and friends for socialization or leisure pursuit. The store personnel should be able to help information-seeking consumers. Marketers can adopt various loyalty programmes to accentuate the penchant of brand loyal consumers. For price-conscious consumers, marketers should provide products at affordable price-ranges, easily available in the stores in malls. Visual merchandising, store atmospherics and promotional signage may also stimulate impulsiveness among shoppers. Retail stores should pay more attention towards designing the store in a way that it provides highly arousing environment employing warm colored interiors, lights and fast music tempo with entertainment and browsing facilities to effectively cater to women. Further, stores targeting men should design their layout in such a way that facilitates easy navigation for men and saves their time. These stores should also invest in facilities that ensure fast checkout.

A clear understanding of decision-making styles of male and female consumers may be warranted for marketers to predict the consumer needs and formulate effective strategies.

The study has certain limitations. Firstly, it gives suggestive evidences rather than conclusive demonstration that such a kind of variation in decision-making styles exists. Secondly, the sample size chosen was also small. Thirdly, the study was restricted within the geographical boundaries of Odisha.

It is suggested that further studies can be made to investigate and verify the explanatory role of gender towards the decision-making of males and females.

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# “Analysis of Urban Peripheral Transfiguration and Growth with Socio-Economic Data -A Case Study of Ahmedabad”

● Dr. Vrinda Dave

*Periurban area is the transition zone between the well-known urban land uses and the area used for agriculture. Periurban Area refers to the area of transformed urban and rural land uses between the points where complete city amenities end and the places where agricultural land use predominates. Ahmedabad is economic capital of Gujarat where there numerous urban infrastructural development are taking place. Equality or equal distribution of resources are essential for their growth and development. But through from ground level data (micro level analysis) and Satellite data, there is an unequal growth are used to be analyse There are differences between urban-rural-rurban-urban sprawl areas of Ahmedabad. Towards Daskroi region infrastructural and demographic growth is frequent whereas towards viramgam growth is comparatively low. The urban agglomerations of Ahmedabad are growing from AMC (Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation) to AUDA (Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority) and eventually the periphery of the city. Economic services and population distribution are intertwined. AMC has the most banking options due to its historical nature and broader market region. One key measure of the expansion and development of the metropolitan agglomeration's economic sector is the participation rate of women. Compared to AUDA, where 70% of women report participating in economic activities, AMC only has 51% of women reporting such participation. However, according to 57% of women, they engage in fringe economic activity. This is due to the fact that small businesses, home industries, and*

*farming account for the majority of 259 women's engagement in the periphery area.*

**Keywords :** *Urbanisation, Transitional Transfiguration, Sustainable Growth, Urban Planning, Socio-Economic Data.*

## **Introduction**

The process of a city expanding beyond its periphery, or what is regarded as the open, distant land outside of the city region, is known as urbanisation. Based on household statistics from their local region, the overall state of the populace with regard to the local facilities This contains details about the person's occupation, place of origin, length of stay in Ahmedabad, reason for migration, size of the family, income, earning individual, and transfer from the AMC to the AUDA region. These data can provide broad household information at the local level. The present investigation used the Random Stratified Sampling technique to gather data from a field survey, with a sample size of 360 households. Housing, economic services, health care, and sanitation are all critical to the expansion and improvement of the metropolitan area. These amenities serve as the community's essential utilities for those living in the city. In comparison to AUDA and peripheral areas, health-related facilities predominate in AMC, which is a core area based on social service access data. On the other hand, AUDA and its surrounding communities have better access to women's health care centres, public restrooms, and home ownership than AMC. People gravitate towards AUDA and the periphery of the metropolitan agglomeration as a result. A tiny portion of the metropolitan periphery is used for residential settlement, even though there are vast regions available for public usage.

## **Study Area**

The urban agglomerated territory of Ahmedabad and its surrounding areas is located between latitude 23.0225 degrees North and longitude 72.5714 degrees east. The following regions are covered by the study: Sabarkantha, Kheda, Mahesana, Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad, and Gandhinagar. Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) has 63, 310, 84 residents overall in 2011, making it the fifth most populated city in India. Metropolitan fringe

areas appear to be developing in a radical way around metropolitan agglomerations. When a large number of villages are included in the city's centre and it grows north-westward. As previously mentioned, 599 villages make up the total territory in our study.

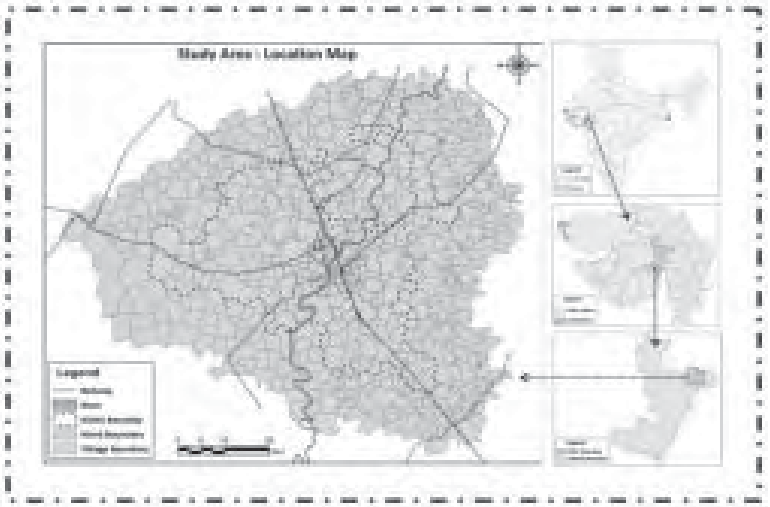


Figure1 : Study area of urban fringe expansion of Ahmedabad urban agglomeration

The three impacts that make up the research area are the Village Boundary (VB), the Ahmedabad Urban Development Authority (AUDA), and the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC). From these boundaries, the entire pattern of land usage and expansion may be understood. AMC is the area in the middle of the city where a compact community and market were formed over a long period of time. AUDA is for the urban development and management; it can establish human habitats in a well-constructed and sustainable manner. Village boundaries are those that encompass the Ahmedabad outlying areas where villages and small towns are concentrated. Ahmedabad is therefore the research region for the examination of the agglomeration's urban periphery.

## Objective

The primary goal of this study is to assess the growth and expansion of the urban periphery in the Ahmedabad urban agglomeration.

- (1) To evaluate how the Ahmedabad urban agglomeration's land use pattern has changed.
- (2) Evaluate the socioeconomic shifts that may occur in the Ahmedabad metropolitan agglomeration's periphery.

## Data Sources and Methodology

The exploration of urban fringe transformation and its growth are used to be analysed with micro level data. In this social and economic data are included, with this it also comprises the AMC, AUDA and Fringe boundary. Field survey used to explain the factual or true situation of the region in regards of socio-economic condition.

In this, Random Stratified Sampling Method are used to collect the data in which 360 samples are collected. The survey conducted in the study area is linked to 60 questionnaires, which are largely used to collect data for the study. Total area: 5957 square km, with 18 locations—eight in the western sector and sixteen in the eastern section—that include village boundaries in Ahmedabad's eastern and western portions as well as AMC and AUDA.

## Sampling

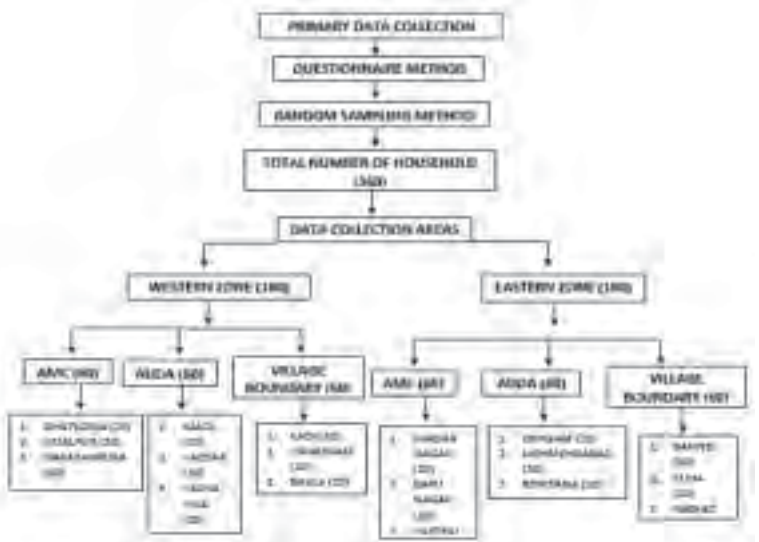


Figure 2 - Methodology of Primary Data Collection

There are eighteen survey locations in all, and a sample of twenty home data sets are present at each site. A total of 360 samples are available, comprising both the eastern and western regions.

Data analytics is the process of collecting, processing, and analysing data to produce knowledge that facilitates decision-making. There are several approaches and techniques for carrying out analysis depending on the study goal. The two primary fields of research on which these tactics are based are quantitative and qualitative research. There are numerous data analytics approaches that are based on technology and commerce. Nonetheless, the data analysis techniques that are most commonly used are as follows: When social scientists and natural scientists collaborate on a study, other, more complex tests can greatly benefit from it. Because they are adaptable, affordable, and receptive to unforeseen developments, they frequently permit prompt analysis, reporting, and transmission as well as the participation of rural families as research collaborators.

Additionally, a pilot survey comprising two samples from AMC, two from AUDA, and two villages from the buffer zone is being carried out. The results show that, in ten years at most, Ahmedabad's fringe is growing towards the village frontier, primarily due to the growth of apartment buildings, that the residents are not from Ahmedabad but rather from other states or cities, and that a portion of the population is from the AMC boundary of the Ahmedabad Central area.

Household Information of Survey Region- Home Ownership, Ownership Type, House Construction Years, House Area, Number of Rooms, House Value in Lakhs, House Roof Type, Parking Facilities, Water logging Problems, Loan, Private Doctor Availability, Hospital Type, Bank Facilities, Primary School, Secondary School, Availability Of Colleges/ Universities, Availability of Bus Stop, Approach to Main Road, Availability of Supermarket, ATM Facilities, Sanitation or Public Toilet, Streetlights Condition, Waste Disposal Sites, Drinking Water, Gas Connection, Fuel, Frequency of Garbage Collection, Vaccination – COVID-19, Health Insurance or Health Card, Women Participation in Economic Activities, Availability of Woman Health Care Centre, Availability of Electrical Appliances, etc.

## Result and Discussion

### Social Services Accessible

The availability of social services is essential to urban people's quality of life. Social services include information on things like home ownership, living space, private healthcare providers, hospital amenities, public lavatory usage, cleanliness, waste collection frequency, and the presence of women's health care facilities. Three study zones' worth of access to these social services are contrasted.

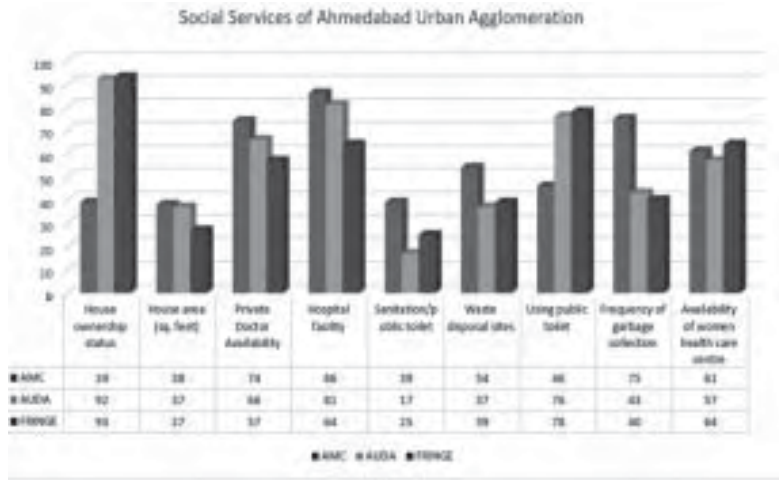


Figure 3 - Social Services of Ahmedabad Urban Agglomeration

Housing, economic services, health care, and sanitation are all critical to the expansion and improvement of the metropolitan area. These amenities serve as the community's essential utilities for those living in the city. In comparison to AUDA and peripheral areas, health-related facilities predominate in AMC, which is a core area based on social service access data. On the other hand, AUDA and its surrounding communities have better access to women's health care centres, public restrooms, and home ownership than AMC. People gravitate towards AUDA and the periphery of the metropolitan agglomeration as a result. A tiny portion of the metropolitan periphery is used for residential settlement, even though there are vast regions available for public usage.



## Economic Services Accessible

Economic services like banking facilities, debt and loans, markets, and women’s involvement in the economy are all part of the urban fringe transition. Urban areas in Ahmedabad are growing from AMC to AUDA and out to the edge of the city. Economic services are tied to the distribution of the population. Nearly all respondents (95%) have access to banking services in AMC due to its status as an older city with a wider market region. Around 87% of respondents stated they could access banking facilities, and new residential colonies are currently being developed throughout Australia. Merely 66% of those surveyed in the periphery region stated that they had access to banking services in the vicinity.

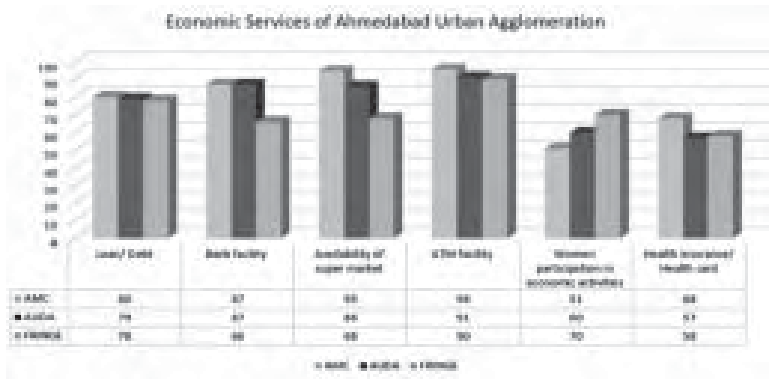


Figure 4 - Economic Services of Ahmedabad Urban Agglomeration

Higher order economic activity are either directly or indirectly responsible for urban expansion. AMC respondents stated that supermarket availability was higher. A Smaller percentage of responders from periphery areas have indicated availability of supermarkets in surrounding areas. Indicators of the expansion and advancement of the economic sector in urban agglomerations include the participation rate of women. While 70% of women in AUDA have reported participating in economic activities, just 51% of women in AMC have done so. But according to reports, 57% of women engage in extracurricular economic activity. This is due to the fact that the majority of 259 women who participate in the periphery area are employed in small-scale, household-based industries like farming.

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# Cybercrime Awareness Among Prospective Teachers in Relation To Internet Overuse

- Dr. Chetna Thapa
- Mr. Narendra Singh Rana

*This global era of the internet is a boon to a developing economy like India. On the other hand, our country witnesses many cyber-related crimes, including email bombing, hacking, information theft, trojan effect, and so on. There is development and usage of educational technology, which is required for future teachers. During COVID the teaching-learning process has undergone a paradigm shift, moving from traditional classrooms to virtual ones. The teachers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century need to develop skills and proficiency in using the technology and must have cyber awareness. As they have the responsibility of impacting and influencing the next generation. Knowledge transmission regarding awareness is only possible when they are aware of it themselves. Moreover, internet overuse is nowadays observed in our youths. This problematic and prolonged overuse of the Internet is associated with psychological symptoms that constitute a form of behavioral addiction. The present study was conducted to find out differences in internet overuse among prospective teachers in relation to gender and locational background. This study also aims to find out differences in cyber crime awareness among prospective teachers in relation to their gender and locational background. This study examines the relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness among prospective teachers. The sample included 200 prospective teachers studying in the B.Ed. colleges of Dehradun district of Uttarakhand state. The results revealed that there is a significant difference in*

*cybercrime awareness among male and female prospective teachers and also among rural and urban prospective teachers. There was a significant difference in internet overuse among the male and female prospective teachers and among rural and urban prospective teachers. The results of the study revealed a non-significant coefficient of correlation between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness among prospective teachers.*

**Keywords:** *Prospective Teachers, Cyber Crime Awareness, Internet Overuse*

## **Introduction**

Mobile phones were invented to make life easier. The lives of people have changed with the revolutionary technological advances. Now as a primary means of communication, mobile phones have taken a vital role. The world of the internet has opened up doors for a variety of information at the click of a button. The about schoolwork were significantly affected by the availability of the internet. They accounted for 100% usage of campus internet. Nalwa, K. and Anand, A.P. (2003) study revealed that the Internet has become an addictive medium for students.

Goel, D. (2013) study revealed that internet addicts who had spent excessive time on the internet showed symptoms of poor mental and physical health.

Kumaravelu (2018) studied cybercrime awareness among B.Ed. teacher trainees in Puducherry. The results revealed that the awareness was better among the male B.Ed. trainees.

Singh and Sharma's (2019) study revealed no significant differences in cyber law awareness among male and female higher secondary school students.

Rai, Kaur, and Sardana's (2020) results revealed there is no significant difference in cybercrime awareness among students of higher education based on their age or qualification.

The review of the related literature shows that there exist consistencies in the results of the previous research. This has motivated the researcher to carry on this study to ascertain the relationships and differences between the variables at hand. Are there differences in internet overuse among male and female prospective teachers? Are there any differences in internet overuse

between rural and urban backgrounds prospective teachers? Is there any difference in the cybercrime awareness among male and internet has connected people around the world and the level of usage is highest among adolescents and younger adults. This overall overuse of the internet for a prolonged period is quite problematic causing a kind of behavioral addiction, which is mushrooming at a fast pace in today's world.

A study on the health effects of cell phone usage by Acharya and Waghrey (2013) indicates that more than 90% of the students pursuing professional courses in colleges were using cell phones for the maximum duration. On the other hand, the study conducted by Hayat, Arshad, and Hussain (2014) indicated that the usage of mobile phones gave more information to the students regarding their studies. In this technological revolutionary world of today, one of the serious threats that has emerged is the growth of cybercrime activities. These e-crime activities are illegal and when conducted in a global electronic network. Along with the advantages of the internet we are exposed to security risks. The users of the internet and information technology for official and personal purposes have a lack of awareness regarding cybercrime and cyber laws.

Since education is no longer untouched by the usage of the internet and educational technology. To prepare teachers for the 21<sup>st</sup> century we need to develop in the prospective teachers the skill to use the internet and also develop in them the awareness regarding the safer usage of the internet. Since the prospective teachers have the responsibility of discriminating the knowledge to the future generations. They should have awareness regarding the crimes related to the cyber world.

Suri, G. and Sharma, S. (2012) study revealed that internet use had a major impact on respondents, the majority of them are keen on gaining computer skills and showed a keen inclination towards online education.

Mahajan, P. (2006) study revealed that the students' attitudes female prospective teachers? Are there any differences in cybercrime awareness between rural and urban backgrounds prospective teachers? Is there a relationship between cybercrime awareness and internet overuse by prospective teachers? The present study will fill the pitfall in this area. To seek the answers to the above-mentioned questions the researcher has framed the following objectives of the study.

## **Objectives of the study:**

1. To study and compare internet overuse among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.
2. To study and compare cybercrime awareness among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.
3. To study and compare internet overuse among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.
4. To study and compare cybercrime awareness among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.
5. To study the relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers.

## **Hypothesis**

1. There is no significant difference in internet overuse among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.
2. There is no significant difference in cybercrime awareness among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.
3. There is no significant difference in internet overuse among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.
4. There is no significant difference in cybercrime awareness among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.
5. There is no significant relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers.

## **Research Method Adopted**

The present study is a descriptive survey research. A Cross-Sectional survey design is being applied in the study.

## **Population**

The population of the present study includes prospective teachers studying in the B.Ed. colleges located in the district of Dehradun of Uttarakhand State.

**Table 1.1**  
**Sample of the study**

Gender Locational background	Male	Female	Total
<b>Rural</b>	50	50	100
<b>Urban</b>	50	50	100
<b>Total</b>	100	100	200

A multistage sampling procedure was applied. Through random sampling method, 10 B.Ed. colleges were selected. Through the random sampling method, a representative sample of 200 prospective teachers which included 50 males and 50 females from a rural background, and 50 males and 50 females from an urban background were selected in the sample.

### **Research Tool for Data Collection**

In the present study, the following tools were used for data collection.

1. Internet Overuse Scale by Darshana Shah and Urmi Nanda Biswas.
2. Cyber Crime Awareness Scale by S. Rajasekar.

### **Analysis and Interpretation of Data**

1. **Hypothesis 1-:** There is no significant difference in internet overuse among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.

**Table 1.2**

**Comparison of Internet overuse score of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.**

Variable	Respondents	N	Mean	SD	SED	DF	t-value
Internet Overuse	Male Prospective Teachers	100	147.32	8.09	1.0549	198	23.3198
	Female Prospective Teachers	100	122.72	6.77			

❖ Significant at 0.05 level of significance.

There is a significant difference in the internet overuse of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers. Table 1.2 explains the mean and SD of internet overuse score of male prospective teachers which is found to be 147.32 and 8.09 respectively and that of female prospective teachers which are found to be 122.72 and 6.77 respectively. The t-ratio between the two groups is 23.3198, which is significant at 0.05 level of significance. It indicated that there is a significant difference between internet overuse of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers. It can also be interpreted that male prospective teachers are high in internet overuse than female prospective teachers. These males are more additive towards internet gaming while females exhibit social media addiction. This gaming addiction in men engage males to go online more frequently than the females.

**2. Hypothesis 2-:** There is no significant difference in cybercrime awareness among male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers.



**Table 1.3****Comparison of Cybercrime awareness Score of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers**

Variable	Respondents	N	Mean	SD	SED	DF	t-value
Cyber-crime Awareness	Male Prospective Teachers	100	135.02	16.4	1.986	198	1.6667
	Female Prospective Teachers	100	131.71	11.2			

❖ Significant at 0.05 level of significance.

There is a significant difference in the Cybercrime awareness of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers. Table 1.3 explains the mean and SD of the emotional maturity score of male students which is found to be 135.02 and 16.4 respectively and that of female students which are found to be 131.71 and 11.2 respectively. The t-ratio between the two groups is 1.6667; which is significant at a 0.05 level of significance. It can also be interpreted that male netizens are more aware of cyber laws as compared to women users. Females generally are introduced in this world of internet by their counterparts, friends, family members, neighbours. They have incomplete knowledge of the world of web thus they lack the cyber rules of safety in the cyber world.

**3 Hypothesis 3-:** There is no significant difference in internet overuse among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.

**Table 1.4**

**Comparison of Internet overuse score of rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.**

Variable	Respondents	N	Mean	SD	SED	DF	t-value
Internet Overuse	Urban background Prospective Teachers	100	130.45	13.81	9.52	198	5.825
	Rural background Prospective Teachers	100	120.93	8.74			

❖ Significant at 0.05 level of significance

There is a significant difference in the internet overuse score of rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers. Table 1.4 explains the mean and SD of internet overuse of urban background prospective teachers which are found to be 130.45 and 13.81 respectively and that of rural background prospective teachers which are found to be 120.93 and 8.74 respectively. The t-ratio between the two groups is 5.825: which is significant at a 0.05 level of significance. It indicates that there is a significant difference between the internet overuse of rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers. It can be interpreted that urban background prospective teachers are high in internet overuse than the rural background prospective teachers. The continuous availability of internet in the urban area is one of the contributing factor resulting to internet overuse by the urban background prospective teachers.

**4 Hypothesis 4-:** There is no significant difference in cybercrime awareness among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.

**Table 1.5**

**Comparison of Cybercrime awareness Score of rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers.**

Variable	Respondents	N	Mean	SD	SED	DF	t-value
Cyber-crime Awareness	Urban background Prospective Teachers	100	135.45	13.81	1.76.6	198	5.5323
	Rural background Prospective Teachers	100	125.71	10.92			

❖ Significance at 0.05 level of significance.

There is a significant difference in the cybercrime awareness among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers. Table 1.5 explains the mean and SD of the cybercrime awareness score of urban background prospective teachers which are found to be 135.45 and 13.81 respectively and that of rural background prospective teachers which are found to be 125.71 and 10.92 respectively. The t-ratio between the two groups is 5.5323 which is significant at a 0.05 level of significance. It can also be interpreted that urban background prospective teachers are high in cybercrime awareness than rural background prospective teachers. The rural areas are still undeveloped, they face electricity and internet connectivity, they also lack community level awareness. Thus, this difference exists.

**5 Hypothesis 5:-** There is no significant relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers.

**Table 1.6****Correlation between Internet overuse and Cybercrime awareness of Prospective teachers**

Variable	Mean	SD	Coefficient Correlation	Level of Significance
Internet overuse	134.1925	10.614	0.14	0.01
Cybercrime awareness	128.135	11.82		

❖ Significant at 0.01 level.

Table 1.6 shows that the coefficient correlation between Internet overuse and Cybercrime awareness is 0.14 which is non-significant at a 0.01 level of significance. Thus hypothesis 05 There is no significant relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers is accepted. The variables i.e., internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers are not correlated with each other. It can be interpreted that the internet overuse among prospective teachers do not have a dependence on cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers. In the present study female students were low in internet overuse and cybercrime awareness than their male counterparts. It was also found that rural background prospective teachers were low in internet overuse and cybercrime awareness than urban background prospective teachers. It can be interpreted that regardless of the gender and locational background of the prospective teachers, they require awareness regarding the cybercrime. The teacher educational institutions should provide the required awareness to the prospective teachers regarding the ill effects of the internet overuse and cybercrime awareness among the prospective teachers. These educational institutions must provide a fearless and more democratic atmosphere to encourage and develop favourable attitude towards safe usage of technology in teaching learning process. The curriculum developers should introduce new courses related to cybercrime.

**Findings of the study**

It was found from the study that there is a significant

difference in the internet overuse of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers. The male prospective teachers are high in internet overuse than female prospective teachers. They are inclined towards gaming addiction on internet hence were more frequent on internet and hence face problems of restlessness. The females on the other hand were more active on social media.

It was found from the study that there is a significant difference in the Cybercrime awareness of male prospective teachers and female prospective teachers. The male prospective teachers are more aware of cyber laws as compared to women users. Thus, female prospective teachers were facing crimes related to cyber world.

It was found from the study that there is a significant difference in the internet overuse score of rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers. The urban background prospective teachers are high in internet overuse than the rural background prospective teachers. The availability of electricity and the easy access to internet in the urban location is the reason behind this internet overuse.

It was found from the study that there is a significant difference in the cybercrime awareness among rural background prospective teachers and urban background prospective teachers. The urban background prospective teachers are high in cybercrime awareness than rural background prospective teachers. Community awareness through various media is more in the urban areas as compared to rural areas.

It was found that there is no significant relationship between internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers. Thus variables i.e. internet overuse and cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers are not correlated with each other. Thus, it can be interpreted that the internet overuse has no dependence on cybercrime awareness of prospective teachers.

## **Conclusion**

The present study is important for all stakeholders of education for parents, students, educational planners, teachers, society etc. Thus, the activities designed in the curriculum of the teacher educational institutions should be more encouraged and reframed for the development of the favourable attitude towards technology. The teacher educational institutions should provide the

required awareness to the prospective teachers regarding the ill effects of the internet overuse and cybercrime awareness among the prospective teachers. These educational institutions must provide a fearless and more democratic atmosphere to encourage and develop favourable attitude towards safe usage of technology in teaching learning process. The curriculum developers should introduce new courses related to cybercrime.

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# Navigating the Crossroads: Understanding Factors and Gender Dynamics in Higher Education Choices Among First-Generation Students

● Priyambada Shah

*After completing their school education, students are faced with the challenge of making decisions about their post-school pathways. This process becomes quite intricate as it involves various factors such as decision-making, the involvement of family members, relatives, peer groups, and teachers. Higher education is a level of education that follows primary and secondary schooling in the educational hierarchy. Obtaining a degree enhances the opportunities for upward mobility among first-generation students. This article aims to comprehensively examine the various aspects involved in the process of information acquisition about higher education institutions and programs of study among first-generation students. For the purpose of the study, first generation students were selected who were studying in various colleges in Delhi. The findings indicate that gender plays a significant role in influencing the decision-making process regarding higher education choices.*

**Key words:** Gender, first-generation students, family, higher education.

## Introduction

Higher education is positioned in the educational hierarchy subsequent to primary and secondary schooling. It primarily consists of undergraduate, postgraduate, pre-doctoral, and doctoral programs. Acquiring a degree brings both economic and

social advantages, particularly in the realm of social mobility, while also enhancing an individual's confidence. Hence, upon completion of their schooling, students are confronted with the task of determining their further educational or occupational trajectories. This undertaking entails complex decision-making processes that often require the active participation of family members, relatives, peers, and teachers. The higher education sector has witnessed significant growth, resulting in a greater influx of students from various backgrounds enrolling in higher education institutions.

In India, quota-based affirmative action has encouraged student access to educational opportunities since the mid-1950s. The target groups are determined based on the criteria such as caste, tribe, and gender. SC, ST, and OBC are the primary beneficiaries of the reservation policies under constitution. In addition, Rashtriya Uchchar Siksha Abhiyan (2013)<sup>1</sup> have been implemented to promote and facilitate the participation of students in higher education. The majority of students entering higher education are the first-generation<sup>2</sup> in their families to pursue such endeavors. First-generation students sometimes encounter difficulties while making important decisions related to their choice of educational institutions, programs of study, and mode of study. In this context, it is crucial to comprehend the diverse aspects that influence their decision-making process, as well as the ways and processes involved in making choices. The present study will examine these various facets and endeavor to comprehend the strategies by which first-generation students acquire knowledge pertaining to higher education.

First-generation college students consider multiple aspects when choosing institutions and program of study. What are the factors that determine of their higher education choices? How do families devise strategies to provide support? Scholars in western countries have paid little attention to the intricate process of family decision making and the impact of socio-economic factors, networks, parental goals, and gender disparity (Reay, Crozier, and Clayton 2009; Ball, Davies, and David 2002; Brooks 2004; Archer et. al 2003; Forsyth and Furlong 2003) and it has been an area of research that has received little to no attention in India. The current study will address some of these concerns.



## **Review of Literature**

### **Mapping Access to Higher Education Institutions**

Researchers in the UK and the USA found a strong correlation between social class and higher education choices. Middle-class students were found to have a higher likelihood of attending four-year and 'elite' institutions<sup>3</sup>, while disadvantaged or working-class students were less likely to enrol in such esteemed institutions. They showed a preference for attending 'less' prestigious institutions, with a duration of two years or less. These institutions included the least selective universities, community colleges, vocational colleges, further education institutions, and 'new' post 1992 universities<sup>4</sup> (Aronson 2008; Egerton and Halsey 1993; Baker and Velz 1996; Archer and Hutchings 2000).

Perceptions of universities differ among social classes. Working-class students perceive elite universities like Oxbridge<sup>5</sup> as not a place for 'people like us' (Ball et al 2002), indicating a sense of social and cultural distinction from middle-class institutions (Lynch and O'Riordan, 1998). Hence, Reay, Crozier, and Clayton (2010) found that students from the working class tend to enrol in educational institutions that are perceived as 'denigrated' and 'second class', both by themselves and by others.

### **Mapping Higher Education Subject Choices**

Researchers have highlighted that middle-class students in the UK tend to enrol in prestigious advanced-level courses, particularly in fields such as science and the humanities (Brooks 2003; Foskett, Dyke, and Maringe 2008). On the other hand, students from the working class enrolled in courses that were less advanced, focused on vocational subjects and further education, and were considered less prestigious. They also opted for lower or intermediate diplomas (Forsyth and Furlong 2003; Aronson 2008; Archer et al. 2003). Furthermore, these students exhibited a preference for 'new' subjects such as media, tourism, business, and information technology (Aronson 2008).

Furthermore, the limited availability of resources imposes limitations on the choice of subjects for students from working-class backgrounds. Working-class students are unable to afford expensive subjects, resulting in their rejection of subjects that

require tuition fees (Forsyth and Furlong, 2003). They prioritise economic factors over ability, which is referred to as 'hidden educational disadvantage' (ibid.). Some underprivileged youth may not completely abandon their studies but rather discontinue their preferred subject, the one in which they excel or possess the highest qualifications. These students enrolled in less advanced courses (ordinary degrees) in order to reduce their debts (Brooks 2003; Reay et al. 2001; Ball et al. 2002).

## **Gender and Subject Choice**

Differences in gender participation in different subject areas have been analyzed by Arnot, David, and Weiner (1999) and Burke (2011). As indicated by Arnot, David, and Weiner (1999), boys are more likely to study physics, mathematics, computer science, technology, and economics, whereas girls tend to go for biology, social studies, art, and design. Similarly, Burke (2011) observed that in the UK, subjects are gendered, with males dominating in science, engineering, and technology, while women tend to pursue areas related to medicine and education. Hence, there exists a disparity in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) courses.

Students in India highly prefer the field of arts. In the year 2019–20, the faculty of arts had the highest number of student enrolments, followed by commerce and science. Among these faculties, the enrolment of women was highest in the faculty of arts (52.9%), followed by science (51.7%), and commerce (48.8%). The proportion of males was highest in technology and engineering (70.8%) and lowest in the arts (47.1%) compared to women (MHRD 2020).

Therefore, an increasing proportion of students from working-class or lower-class backgrounds, frequently being the first in their family to do so, are enrolling in higher education (Reay, Crozier, and Clayton 2009; Ball et al. 2002; Brooks 2004; Lynch and O'Riordan 1998). The literature review reveals that there is a shortage of research that has examined the processes that influence choices, decision-making, and the selection of higher education institutions and subjects/courses (Forsyth and Furlong 2003; Lynch and O'Riordan 1998; Brooks 2003). Hence, the study endeavours to comprehend the factors that influence the decision-making

process of students when applying to higher education. The study will primarily concentrate on first-generation college students.

## The Study

The article is based on a qualitative study that uses in-depth interviews to understand the complex process of making 'choice' at higher education and factors involved at this crucial stage. The study also attempts to capture the ways in which class, locality and gender mediate the choice of program of study and institution. For the purpose of the study, students who were the first in their family to attend college were identified in Delhi. Sixty-five students, who were alumni of government schools in Delhi and the first in their family to pursue undergraduate studies in Delhi, were selected. Snowball sampling was used to identify students. The govt. schools are broadly divided into two categories- selective govt. schools (SGS) and general govt. schools (GGS). SGS include Navyug schools (3) and Rajkiya Pratibha Vikas Vidyalaya (2). In the GGS categories are- Govt. senior secondary schools (3) and Sarvodaya schools (3). These schools provide wholesome education to children of economically weaker section of the society. The type of school attended is significant, as these schools are highly selective and admit students from class VI onwards based on a written examination and subsequent interview. The schools in the present study vary in terms of the availability of streams and subjects. The SGS provides all three streams: arts, commerce, and science. However, not all GGS offer all three streams. Out of the six GGS, only three<sup>6</sup> provide all three streams (arts, commerce, and science), while the remaining three only offer the arts stream.

These students came from families with parents engaged in a range of occupations, including lower professional, routine manual work, petty business, routine non-manual service, skilled manual work, and semi-unskilled work. In the study, the six categories were grouped into two social classes.

The first three groups (lower professionals, routine non-manual workers, and petty businesses) were classified as belonging to the lower middle class. The last three groups (routine non-manual service, skilled manual workers, and semi- and unskilled manual workers) were classified as belonging to the lower

class. This classification of occupations in the lower middle and lower classes had been done using Vaid's (2012) and Kumar's (2002) studies.

## **Results and Discussions**

### **Family and Higher Education Choice**

The decision-making process in higher education is influenced by various factors, including familial, peer group, and institutional aspects. The current study examined various factors that exerted significant influence on the choice of an educational institution and the choice of a program of study in higher education. The place of residence and the school attended have a significant impact on the choice of an institution and program of study. Nevertheless, when making decisions regarding higher education, it is crucial to consider academic, geographical, and financial aspects since they play a vital role in choosing the institution and program.

The findings indicated that pre-college academic credentials influenced the choice of institution and program of study. The majority of respondents, when asked which institutions they intended to pursue higher education, named the University of Delhi (DU), citing DU as having been heard of through friends and the media. Also, when asked which program they would like to pursue, the female respondents indicated that they would prefer to pursue a bachelor's in arts.

It's important to note that the majority of respondents who selected the science stream in higher secondary education expressed a preference for multiple educational institutions and programs. Only few (36.92 per cent) respondents indicated that their family had a role to play in decisions with regard to the institution and program of study to be taken at the higher education level. However, there are variations in the involvement of family members in the decision-making process, as seen through the discussion that follows.

### **Father's Role**

Only 18.5 per cent respondents' fathers were involved in the decision-making process concerning higher education institutions and programs of study. These fathers gave them suggestions. The father's workplace and networks significantly influenced his views

on the institutions and programs that the respondent should consider. Respondents indicated that their fathers played a role in guiding their decision-making process for choosing educational institutions and programs. Their parents' workplace provided them with information about the various options available in higher education, facilitating their decision-making process for choosing institutions and programs. They emphasised that their parents' regular interactions with the staff, colleagues, and officers were helping them become aware of the various options available for higher education. Therefore, the fathers advised the respondents to choose from certain institutions and programs. The fathers appeared to have suggested that the respondents continue in the same stream they pursued during their higher secondary education.

There is a gender aspect. A number of female respondents, all studying in the arts stream, reported that their fathers informed them about the DU and its different co-educational and single-sex (girls) colleges. Nevertheless, these fathers strongly urged the respondents to enrol in a girls' institution due to safety concerns.

In addition, fathers also considered the distance of the institution from their place of residence when choosing a college for their daughters. A few of the female respondents' fathers (36.4 per cent) prefer that their daughters attend nearby colleges, as they are concerned about their daughters travelling long distances alone. These fathers expressed their concerns regarding the safety of their daughters. However, boys were not subject to such restrictions. No male participants indicated that distance played a role in their decision-making process when choosing an institution.

Fathers with limited formal education, especially among the lower class compared to the lower middle class, often acknowledge being less informed or unaware. This was a disadvantage that some fathers acknowledged. In such instances, the respondent was given the autonomy to choose the stream and program of study that aligned with their interests. For instance, Neeta's father expressed his limited knowledge regarding streams and programs of study, stating, "I do not know much. I motivated Neeta to pursue a program of study aligned with her interests, as it is likely to enhance her performance and success. I will provide my support for her in any program she chooses".

Workplaces played a crucial role in mitigating the

disadvantage by informing fathers about different streams and programs of study, to some extent. Their workplace informed them about the streams, making them aware. Significantly, those working as taxi drivers discovered that engaging in conversations with frequent passengers provided them with valuable insights on various streams and programs of study. These belonged to the lower class and had completed only primary education. Therefore, even though fathers may not have possessed extensive education, they were capable of providing guidance to first-generation college aspirants. Fathers without formal education expressed regret about their lack of knowledge regarding college-level streams and programs, leaving the decision to pursue higher education solely in their child's interest.

The choice of deciding the institutions and programs were left entirely on the respondent in a number of cases. There were fathers who said that they were ready to support the child and spend money on their education but since the respondent has to study so it was better for them to decide themselves. The fathers entrusted the decision-making process to the respondent due to their lack of knowledge about institutions, streams, and programs, as well as their limited networks and contacts to seek assistance. However, the fathers expected the respondents to do well.

## **Mother's Role**

In depth interviews revealed that the majority of mothers (76.8 per cent) were not involved in the decision-making process for higher education 'choices' at undergraduate level. A large number of mothers (53.9 per cent) were not aware of the program and institution, while others (15.4 per cent) suggested that the respondents choose the program and institution themselves. Additionally, a few (10.8 per cent) just echoed the suggestions of the father or elder sibling.

The study found that parents made varied choices regarding education for their daughters and sons, often preferring single-sex universities over 'best' co-educational colleges for girls. This is due to parental apprehension for the safety of their daughters.

## **The Elder Sibling**

The elder siblings, who completed their education at both

school and university levels, played a major role in choosing the respondents' desired program of study and choice of institution. There was a total of 21.4 per cent of respondents who had elder siblings who had successfully obtained both an undergraduate and graduate degree. These respondents indicated that their elder siblings helped them in choosing the institutions and programs. The siblings primarily influenced the suggestions regarding the choices for higher education based on their own experiences.

It is important to note that there were no discernible gender disparities in the views of the elder siblings. Their suggestions were not based on the gender of the respondents. They hold the belief that girls and boys are of equal standing and can both participate in any institution or program. Therefore, in families where the parents lacked the ability to provide guidance and advice to the respondents, the elder siblings provided the guidance.

## **Own Choice**

The last group comprised of those respondents who opted for institutions and programs based on their own choice and did not specifically consult anyone. It is important to note that though this group of respondents took the decision on their 'own' but they were influenced by the experiences of neighbors and the information available on social media such as television.

In addition, the residential area played a pivotal role when choosing the program as respondents became informed about the stream and program from students living in their neighbourhood. Some respondents contacted the school alumni to inquire about the programs available for higher education. Additionally, a number of respondents sought guidance from the elder siblings of their friends to suggest suitable programs of study.

Furthermore, gender and distance from one's place of residence significantly influenced the choice of educational institution. A small number of female respondents express a preference for attending women's college due to their discomfort with boys and the convenience of being able to commute alone if the college is located close to their residence.

## **Conclusion**

Higher education is a key site where crucial choices and

decisions are made. The decision regarding the institution and program of study is taken at the higher education level. The study reveals that decision-making in higher education is intricate and extends beyond simply aligning qualifications and achievements. Gender significantly influenced the preference for higher educational institutions and the choice of program of study.

The family appeared to have an influence on the respondents' decision-making regarding higher education. However, the involvement of the family members varied. It is significant that only a small proportion of the respondents (18.5 per cent) were able to help and guide the respondents regarding the institution and program of study. In many instances, the social and educational background of the parents constrained their involvement in the decision-making regarding higher education 'choice'. Thus, in this context, the parents left the choice to the respondent. There is a gender difference in the involvement of mother and father because of their position in the labour market. The fathers appeared to be more involved in the decision-making process than the mothers in the lower middle- and lower-class families. In these families, fathers took up the 'primary parental responsibility' because of their workplaces; from there, they are getting the 'hot knowledge' about various 'choices' available at higher education (Brooks 2004). Fathers were becoming acquainted with different institutions and programs as a result of their interaction with people in positions of greater authority.

The choice of higher education programs is usually made as early as in class XI, when students opt for a certain stream offered by the school—arts, commerce, or science. The students must choose one of the three streams provided by the school. The choice of a stream at this stage significantly influences a students' preference for higher education. Furthermore, the availability or non-availability of specific streams leads to unequal access to those streams. Gender further influences this disparity. Girls face greater constraints in their decision-making compared to boys because considerations of future professional prospects, occupation, and personal safety influence their choices for higher education, as demonstrated by the study. Boys have greater autonomy in choosing their educational institution and program of study, but parents exhibit heightened concern for the choices available to their daughters.



The study indicated that the gender of the respondent significantly influences higher education institutions and programs of study. When choosing an educational institution, most girls tend to favour single-sex institutions due to concerns about security and a greater sense of comfort. In addition, girls prefer to enrol in institutions that are located in close proximity to their residences, as they need to return home early to assist their mothers with domestic tasks. Boys did not hold such views.

Therefore, the study examined some of the pivotal concerns regarding the decision-making process of higher education 'choices'. The respondents emphasised that the family had a crucial role in the decision-making process about higher education. The study indicated that the choice of institution and program of study was influenced by complex processes related to class and location. Therefore, certain inherent constraints were identified in which the class became a hindrance in the decision-making process, whereas the fathers' workplace had a significant impact.

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## Footnotes

1. Indian government has launched a national programme in 2013 known as Rashtriya Uchchatar Siksha Abhiyan (RUSA) to promote equality in higher education by providing adequate opportunities to SC, ST and socially and educationally backward classes. It also aims inclusion of women, minorities, and differently abled persons.
2. In the present study, first-generation students mean those who are the first in their families to enter higher education and whose parents have not entered higher education.
3. Elite institutions have academic reputation.
4. Post 1992 universities are regarded as more practical, vocational, and of lower status.
5. Oxford and Cambridge University, Reay et al (2001) refer to them as 'Oxbridge'.
6. These include all three Sarvodaya schools.

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# Judicial Procedure in the Shastric Tradition Varna and Gender Limitations

● **Dr. Priyanka Thakur**

By definition the judicial procedure refers to set of rules and processes followed in a court of law to resolve legal disputes and administer justice. Deliverance of justice requires step by step adherence to set of rules which have evolved over time. In ancient India the formal conceptualization of judicial functioning was initially seen in Manusmriti (200B.C.-300C.E.), where king in assistance with the brahmanas well versed in the scriptures formed the judicial committee which was instilled with the authority to dispense justice. In this incipient stage this committee was authorized to dispense justice and the concept of court was just their coming together for the purpose of resolving disputes rather than its being institutionalized in the form of a building structure. Manusmriti gives a list of matters which fall under the purview of legislation in the sub-section 'eighteen titles of Law'.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that these listed issues were based on the principles drawn from local usages, they were validated only if found approval in the Vedas. Among these titles are (1) the non-payment of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner and his servants, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault and (12) and defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, duties of man and wife, (17) partition of inheritance, and lastly (18) gambling and betting.<sup>2</sup> For Manu these are the probable issues which led to disputes in the world and hence gave rise to lawsuits. Gradually, the customary practices of different regions which were

in congruence with scriptures developed in to court procedures. As it is an established practice in legal procedure, the settlement of disputes related to ‘deposits’ or ‘of criminal intentions’ between two individuals or groups requires documentary evidence or witness, we find incorporation of the concept of evidence and witness into the smriti texts was scrupulously deliberated upon at length in their following commentarial works.

The development of judicial proceedings underwent further improvement in next important smriti text, Yajnavalkyasmriti (100B.C.-300C.E.). The text is a well-organized document and a more meticulous work than Manusmriti as it is divided into three sections as per the content: *Acaradhyayah*, discusses regulations related to the performance of rituals essential for the householder, *Vyavaharadhyayah*, has code of civil laws for maintaining law and order and the last section *Prayashcittadhyayah* is related to penance in case of impurity. Yajnavalkyasm[iti covers almost all the topics found in Manu but its arrangement of topics is far more concise. In its *Vyavaharadhyayah*, Yajnavalkyasmriti for the first time in ancient smriti textual tradition notifies *pramanam/sakshya* (evidence) as an important pillar of the judicial proceedings. The text valued the role of ‘evidence’ while examining the facts of a case to deliver the right judgment<sup>3</sup> and discussed in detail what all could be regarded as evidence in the Court of Law while settling a case. It has a separate section in its ‘*Vyavharadhyaya*’ as ‘*Sakshiprkaranam*’ (The Law of Evidence)<sup>4</sup>, where it discusses who all could qualify to be produced as witnesses in the court. Among many discredited to be ‘witness’ women are the first one to be referred and barred. They are kept in the category along with old men, boys, gamblers, mad men, defamed persons, outcastes, etc.

Pramanam likhitam bhukhtih sakshinashceti kirtitam |

*Eshamanyatamabhava divyanyatamamucyate*|| [YS II. 22]

Written document, lawful possession and witnesses are described as the evidence [of a case]; in the absence of even one of those, a *divya*, [divine test or ordeal] is spoken of [as an evidence].

The ‘eighteen titles of Law’ (illustrated in Manusmriti) were comprehensively discussed by Medhatithi in his well known commentarial work on Manusmriti (the *mula* [original] text), Manubhashya (825-900 CE),<sup>5</sup> and he noticed they were based on two types of ‘principles’—evidence and custom. Medhatithi

accepted witnesses and documents as two forms of evidence which had a significant role in arriving at accurate decision. Understanding the gravity of the position of witness in arriving at any decision in judicial matters Manubhashya laid down certain directives and conditions for a person to be produced as witness. Hence, the concept of oath taking by witnesses prior to giving any statement in front of the judicial body finds its first reference in Medhatithi's work where he directs the witnesses to be truthful to the oath taken in the court. But above all for a person to be registered as witness it was essential that both parties should agree on his genuineness. There is also reference of 'examination (of witness) by the members of the court' though; this step was waived off if concerned parties were in agreement on the steadiness of the 'witness'. Manusmriti's commentator, Kullukabhata in his commentary Manvarthamuktavali (1150-1300 CE), also mentioned similar four pillars of judiciary - (1) *vadi* and *prativadi* (plaintiff and defendant), (2) witness, (3) the three assessors, and (4) judge/King.<sup>6</sup>

This method of ascertaining a fact by examining written documents, possessions, and witnesses was discussed in detail even in Yajnavalkyasmriti.<sup>7</sup> Out of these three the text preferred written documents to be submitted in the court as *sakshya* with the name of the scribe who wrote it. The scribe had to certify his authority for writing the documentary evidence by declaring not only the name of his father along with his name but even has to note down that both parties agreed upon him as the scribe.<sup>8</sup> Yajnavalkyasmriti declares if the scribe was well-known for his craft, then this whole exercise could be avoided. This hints at the institutionalization of the judicial procedure where a professional category of scribes existed, who was respected for their job. They were entrusted with the work of writing the legal document. To authenticate such document the scribe wrote his name along with the name of his father at the end. Though in many cases his status of being a respectable scribe made him a trustworthy person and as a result the document written by him was submitted in the court as evidence. However, in cases where there were more than one witness then the document was not of much value. Medhatithi advises that in case of a conflict between two types of evidence the evidence which is numerous of the two should be permitted as prime evidence by the judge.

The procedure of Law seemingly became quite complex by the time of Medhatithi as is apparent in the debate around the status of documented evidence. It mentions that there were two types of documentary evidence: (a) written by the party involved and, (b) written by a neutral person. The scribes were also of two types: (a) one who volunteers to write the document and, (b) an authorized scribe. Medhatithi clarifies that if a document written by another person could be treated as evidence, then by Yajnavalkya's rule, 'the witnesses shall with their own hands, write down their names, preceded by the names of their father, adding that I, so and so, am a witness,'<sup>9</sup> and in light of this the documentary evidence should not be considered superior to witness in Court of Law. He establishes a relation between the two when he argues that it is only when 'witnesses' set down their hands to something that they become 'documentary evidence.'<sup>10</sup>

In the debt related disputes documented evidence was of key importance but it was not a completely dependable source of proof as the documents associated to debt or mortgage could be easily tempered hence, their reliability was questioned. Therefore, Medhatithi emphasized arguments and counter-arguments to clarify various opinions and reach a judicious conclusion. He discusses a situation where a man admits having given a debt but the other man (recipient) refutes his claim. The other possibility discussed was of fraud where people under debt keep on repaying the due amount to rich creditor and do not get it noted down on the back of the document leading to a situation where he might be unable to clear his entire debt. In another circumstance, the creditor could deny the payment in absence of the receipt. The absence of documented evidence in these cases could not deliver justice if the condition of documented evidence could be rebutted only by documented evidence was applied. So to check any fraudulent practice by the influential creditor and in case documented evidence was provided by one party only, other forms of witnesses were to be called in to ensure fair justice to both the parties. Same is suggested for other cases also. This superiority of documented evidence was subjective to circumstances of the case and the parties involved.

Citing another situation where a debtor after the deed for the entire sum is convinced by the creditor that he would receive a part of the payment that day and the rest on the following day. The

debtor claims he never got the remaining balance as per the deed. This could not be settled only on the basis of document of deed hence other types of evidence have to be called in. If the debtor can produce witnesses in support of his statement, then the document (produced by the creditor) becomes impugned, and it becomes necessary for the creditor to prove that he did pay the balance the next day. By noting such situations Medhatithi says that mere incompatibility with a smṛiti text cannot disparage the real facts of the case. He argues if a debtor claims to have repaid the debt but had forgotten to have it entered on the back of the document can we rely on the evidence of the document. What if in such a claim being made the document is still with the creditor then the question arises that if the debt was repaid why the debtor did not take the document back? What if the deed as written but the debt was not given? He asserts such cases should be reported to the King within the period of three days.

Documentary evidence is also called for in the cases of mortgage, but it should be written in the presence of witnesses because as per smṛiti one loses possession of an article mortgaged after the lapse of a prescribed period of time. Manu sets the limit of possession up to ten years<sup>11</sup> whereas, Yajñavalkya proclaims, 'One loses possession of a landed property, if for twenty years he perceives and speaks of it as being actually possessed by another person.'<sup>12</sup>

Who all could be produced in the court as witness is mentioned in Manusmṛiti, though it was subjective to varṇa and gender identities. Manusmṛiti elaborates upon how women could appear witnesses only in the cases involving women and in case of men: for the *dvija* (twice-born) men only *dvija* men could be witness and for men of lowest varṇa order only men of their category were allowed to be witness.

Strinam sakshyam striyah kuryur dvijanam sadrisha dvijah |  
*Sudraś ca santah sudranamntyanamntyayanayah*|| [MS VIII. 68]

On this Medhatithi remarked that restriction on women to appear as witness in cases involving only men was probably with the understanding that they are vacillating in nature. Disagreeing with this observation he said that there are women known for their truthfulness and who were as firm as the promulgators of Veda. He is not hesitant in allowing women to appear as witnesses, his only



reservation is their intelligence, which equips them to face questions asked by the judge. In spite of all the pressures of the court and legal proceedings women of excellence do not vary from the truth. Categorization of witnesses, to him, was probably keeping in mind the reliability of a witness ensured by the 'sadrisha' (similarity), i.e., social proximity of people residing in the same locality hence, aware about each other's transactions. A little leniency is shown by him while explaining the word 'sadrisha' as 'similarity' not only of varna but of occupation, qualities, action like studying Veda and also of character. The unavailability of these enumerated witnesses paved the way for women to be produced as witness.<sup>13</sup> But in the verse seventy-seven of the same discourse Manu refutes women being a witness. The sm[tis barred even single man as witness except when given a situation whether to have woman as witness or single man, belief is shown in him negating the possibility of woman even if they are more in numbers and have strength of character.<sup>14</sup> Medhatithi remarks with reference to the statement in verse seventy of Manusmriti's eighth discourse: 'in case no witnesses being available women may be made witnesses', that it was to be done immediately as suggestively they are understood to be emotionally weak for if delay is made in the proceedings their mind can be tampered by any person or they could be won over by the losing party. Such considerations by the two texts saw the shift in their view about women being permitted as witnesses.

As advised by Manusmriti varna of the plaintiff was another consideration to be kept in mind by the King while examining cases:

Arthaanarthâvuibhau buddhva dharmadharmau ca kevalau |  
*Varnakramena sarvani pashyet karyani karyinam*|| MS VIII.24

Knowing what is expedient or inexpedient, what is pure justice or injustice, let him examine the causes of suitors according to the order of the castes (varna).

Medhatithi writes that when there was more than one case at the same time for hearing, they should be taken up in the order of the varna of the suitors. To this he attached a proviso that varna based order of investigation was to be observed only when the nature of troubles of all the plaintiffs were of the identical level. If there was urgency of the lower varna's suit or it was more serious in nature than the cases of other upper varnas then he advises it to

be taken up prior to others and in such situations the order of the varna was not to be firmly pursued. He states that the investigation of cases is for the purpose of maintaining order in the kingdom, which is of prime importance and that the rules laid need not always be followed literally. Hence, he advocated flexibility in observing shastric norms which emphasized maintaining the varna hierarchy to uphold the social order.

The detailed description of court of justice, members of judiciary and King's authority in judicial matters forms a significant part of Dharmashastra textual tradition. The emphasis on *pramanam/sakshya*, i.e., evidence and witnesses, points toward a well evolving judicial system which gradually progressed into an independent institution of Judiciary. Such contents of Dharmashastras make them more than texts of behavioral codes as an evolving legal tradition. Dispensing justice was accounted as an essential part of administration by Medhatithi. He says when people act towards one another with the feelings of hatred and jealousy and transgress the law; it could lead to the disruption of the kingdom, this makes the functioning of judiciary, in accordance to ordinances of scriptures, very significant. The fines imposed on the offender was considered by Medhatithi as an important source of livelihood for the King along with '*karashulkadi*' (taxes and duties etc.), hence, he claims investigation of cases to be very important. Though, the configuration of three members jury, witnesses and dispensation of justice had varna and gender biases. This close analysis has revealed that the judicial ideology and structure functioned in close alliance with the brahmanical-patriarchal ideology and structure, and it was, to an extent, flexible also.

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## Footnotes

1. Manusmriti (MS) VIII.3
2. MS VIII.4-7
3. Yajna valkyasmriti (YS) II. 19
4. YS II. 70-85
5. Medhatithi (Medh. on MS) VIII. 3
6. Kullukabhattacha (Kulluka) on MS VIII. 18
7. YS II. 22
8. YS II. 88
9. YS II. 87
10. Medh. on MS VIII. 3
11. MS VIII. 147
12. YS II. 24
13. MS VIII. 70
14. MS VIII. 77

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# NEP 2020 and Multilingualism : A Critical Assessment

**Dr. Shaizy Ahmed • Mr. Praveen Singh**

*Language is a way of expression. It also brings a sense of belongingness. UNESCO recognized language as a means to learn and preserve one's culture. During foundation stage, child develops his sense of belongingness by learning his Matribhahsha at home. However, next step of institutional education suddenly brought a shock in his life as the medium of instruction has changed to second language; resulting in lack of confidence, lower linguistic and cognitive learning capabilities. As per UNESCO estimates almost forty percent children across globe are facing such difficulty. NEP,2020 has well recognized these difficulties in India and introduced three language formula in schools. This is undoubtedly a welcome move but more essential is to check its practical implications in schools and colleges. During COVID-19 pandemic the challenges have further increased. Selecting teachers with multilingual capabilities, adequate infrastructure and funds to open more regional schools and colleges, changing people's perception are few prominent challenges amongst the states. The present paper is a critical assessment of these challenges and highlight few significant advantages of multilingual learning to students as introduced through NEP, 2020.*

**Keywords :** Multilingualism, NEP 2020, Vernacular Language.

## **Introduction**

Language is a way of expression. It also brings a sense of belongingness. UNESCO recognized language as a means to learn and preserve one's own culture and reported that learning based on Mother tongue is the best possible way of learning (Kundal, 2014). Child develops his sense of belongingness to Matribhahsha first from her

mother and then from his family and kins. The next step of institutional education at the age of six suddenly brought a shock into his life, as the medium of instruction has changed to second language which he/she never accustomed with. Another challenge in front of him is the expectation of becoming a master in that second language (PIB, 2022). It leads to long term impact on child like lack of confidence, lower linguistic and cognitive learning capabilities and lower interest in education etc. (Karwal and Joshi, 2022). As per UNESCO estimates almost forty percent children across the globe are facing such difficulties. Teaching in second or third language is even compared with 'submersion' because it is analogous to holding learners under water without teaching them how to swim (Karwal and Joshi, 2022).

Besides, people have their own affiliation with mother tongue. According to Olaoye " Mother tongue is the key to the heart of the people, if we lose the key, we lose the people, if we treasure the key and keep it safe, it will unlock the door to wealth and affluence" (Olaoye, 2013). As per Unified District Information System for Education Plus, 2020-21, there are 28 regional languages in which teaching learning is going on at primary level of education which highlights the rich lingual diversity in teaching. Hence, taking together of such all lingual diversities together is a big challenge.

Further, in the fast moving world of globalization and cut through competition, Three Language formula has become a necessity. People are moving from one country to another in search of better education, employment and salary etc. Hence, for success they need to be multilingual in both the approach and in practice. They need to be proficient first in mother language followed by second or other language (Kundal, 2014).

National Education Policy of 2020 has addressed these challenges by emphasizing on new level of learning in schools where education in foundation years is to be given in the mother tongue and later in other languages. It will be providing an opportunity for the nation to effectively utilize the potential of all especially the rural and tribal areas (Deb, 2021).

## Literature Review

Language has its own culture, own colour and own identity. The mother language is certainly one of the most precious treasures in our lives. Mother tongue and the new concept of multilingualism have its own advantages. It is even more beneficial in the early years of learning and childhood development (Nishanthi, 2020). Benson also emphasize

of teaching in mother tongue language in early years of education (Benson, 2004).

The learning in mother tongue helps children in developing at many aspects e.g. it helps children focus on other areas of learning. It also helps them develop a sense of glory and ownership with their culture (Kour, 2022) and it further ensures their cognitive development (Nishanthi, 2020). Bilingual children may also develop more flexibility in their thinking because they used to process information through two different languages (Kundal, 2014). Alimi, et. al. also highlighted that there is a significant impact of mother tongue language on pupils' literacy and numeracy skills because it helps them assimilate learning of concepts easily (Alimi, et. al., 2020). Hence, the benefits of mother tongue based education are enormous. NEP of 1968 initially comes up with 'Three language formula' followed by National Curriculum frame work and recently the NEP,2020 (Laly & Devi, 2022) where this need is strongly emphasized. The NEP, 2020 is a comprehensive framework that includes elementary education, higher education as well as vocational studies (B. Venkateshwarlu, 2021).

One important aspect is to fix the acceptance of all stakeholders. Kundal suggested the role of parents in its acceptance and promotion by establishing a strong home language policy (Kundal, 2014). Similarly, the need for teacher's and government initiatives is also outlined. (Laxmankumar, 2022). Freedom to schools in deciding medium of instruction and second languages is also promoted for implementation (Laly & Devi, 2022).

Undoubtedly, The New Educational Policy has set new goals to be attained by following the student centric approach. This is empowering students to make their own decisions for their study (Khurana, 2020). Hence, efforts should be made for its effective implementation.

## **Objectives of Study**

1. To develop an understanding about the need of introducing Multilingualism in education system through NEP, 2020.
2. To critically assess the challenges before the state in effective implementation of Three Language Formula.
3. To suggest specific measures for the improvement of educational experiences of marginalized children.

## **Research Methodology**

The study is more descriptive in nature and is based on the analysis of secondary data. It describes NEP, 2020 in the frame of Three Language Formula. It is further aimed to identify the policy gaps in

implementation of Three Language Formula in the schools of rural areas. It further visualizes the future course of action that may be taken in line of NEP, 2020 for its successful adoption.

## **Findings & Discussions**

The findings are classified in two domains: First domain is related to developing the basic understanding of the need and advantages of teaching in mother tongue during foundation years in schools. Second domain is the reflection of all those challenges which are pertinent in rural and tribal areas before the implementation of NEP, 2020.

### **(A) Need to emphasise mother tongue based learning**

Teaching foundation years of education in mother tongue is a long demanded felt need of many people in India. NEP, 2020 has strongly acknowledged this need and recommended 'Three language formula' in foundation years of childhood education. This is a welcoming move towards inclusive education as majority of Indian lives in villages and the true development of nation depends upon the development of all including the rural and tribal population (Laly & Devi, 2022; Kour, 2022). The status of education and skill development in villages is still very poor as many children are learning very little in schools because their mode of instruction is not their native language. In contrast, teaching in mother tongue has its own advantages. Few such advantages of teaching in mother tongue are discussed below:

- **Serves as a medium of developing self and cultural identity**

The question of one's own identity as an individual, as part of family, as member of particular community, society, institution and association etc. is answered with the help of language. Every culture has its own language and history. Through language, child develops familiarity with his culture and slowly and gradually relates himself to build his personal and cultural identity (Laly & Devi, 2022; Nishanthi, 2020).

- **Improves sensory motor skills**

The person who has grasped his mother tongue to its utmost perfection has also develops an ability to easily accommodate and learn other languages. This is scientifically proven because that person has strong grasping power and it improves his sensory motor skills. This learning is more in early years and hence, teaching children different languages is not that difficult (Nishanthi, 2020).

## ● **Morale and confidence building**

If one speaks in a language in which he has mastery. It will automatically build his confidence and morale (Laxmankumar, 2022).

## ● **Lead Strong Foundations in children**

Teaching in mother tongue helps the people understand the concepts in a more clear and better way as it gives an opportunity to relate the concepts with the real examples (Laly & Devi, 2022; Muralidharan, et.al., 2022). Further, they were able to make it a part of their critical thought process. Hence, this all leads towards strong foundational learning experience.

## ● **Monetary gains with improved communication skills**

If a person speaks in a language in which he thinks; he would have more clarity about his thoughts. If he also started investing his ideas in the same language; then he would be turned up as great entrepreneur as he easily communicate with beneficiaries and read their minds effectively (Nishanthi, 2020; Kundal, 2014). Hence, knowing and working in mother tongue brings monetary benefits as well (Muralidharan et.al., 2022).

## **(B) Challenges in implementation of NEP, 2020 at ground level**

NEP, 2020 has well recognized the learning difficulties observed by children in India and introduced Three Language Formula in schools. It is a transforming move in Indian education system and has been praised throughout the world. Now, the time is to look forward and assess its practical implications to make it successful. The challenges of education have further increased during COVID-19 pandemic and in new normal phase. The children have forgotten the basic concepts and teachers are struggling hard to fix their basics before instilling advance level of education. In this scenario, highlighting challenges at ground zero level is equally important. Few such challenges are highlighted below:

## ● **Challenge of acceptance by the stakeholders**

Change is always good, but is not easily accepted. Here the basic question before implementation of this policy is about its acceptance. Whether all the stakeholders including parents, teachers and children are ready to accept this change? In this world of globalization and cut-throat competition, it is not easier for the stakeholders to accept regional language as a medium of education to their children in schools. Besides, there is dominance of non-mother tongue language (Laxmankumar, 2022; Nishanthi, 2020).



## ● Provision of adequate infrastructure and funds

To introduce multilingual education, more infrastructure facilities need to be created in all government schools (Muralidharan et.al., 2022). This requires more funds. If the current status of infrastructure and facilities in schools is being observed, a huge gap is clearly evident in most of the schools (Kundal, 2014; Laxmankumar, 2022). Hence, need is to fill this gap as soon as possible.

## ● Provision of qualified and trained teachers equipped in teaching multi-languages

It is generally been observed that English medium students doesn't speak Hindi and regional languages to its efficiency and perfection and reverse is also true for Hindi or regional language oriented teachers. Hence, creating such pool of workforce which is multi-lingual in its true sense is really a challenge before the school administration at least for present decade and some teachers are not proficient in the language of instruction and they are struggling themselves (Laly & Devi, 2022).

## ● Development of quality teaching learning materials in all regional languages at a faster rate

The Census of India (2011) listed 270 mother tongues; of these, 47 languages were used as mediums of instruction in Indian Classrooms which is indeed a big number (Laxmankumar, 2022). Its importance is understood better during lockdown phase of COVID-19 pandemic. According to UN estimates, nearly 500 million students from pre-primary to upper-secondary school were unable to access any remote learning opportunities during this time (<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373992>). This is because the distance teaching and learning tools, programmes and content were not always able to reflect linguistic diversity: they were largely provided in dominant national or international languages. Hence, the subject matter which is not arousing interest, can never be understood and applied. Same issue is highlighted in many of the studies (Nishanthi, 2020; Laxmankumar, 2022).

## Suggestions

NEP, 2020 has instilled a new hope in the education system of India. To make it functional, the following is suggested:

- The provision of allocating more funds in GDP to the education sector for at least few years to fill the gap is required.

- Motivation should be given to students through rewards and employees through incentives for promoting the use of regional and Hindi languages at school and other platforms.
- The policies should be made stringent for all the private players of education for giving due recognition to regional languages and the children speaking regional languages. No discrimination should be observed.

## Conclusion

NEP, 2020 is not an only initiative in the line of teaching children in their mother tongue. Previous Education Policy of 1986; Right to Education Act of 2009; NIPUN Bharat Mission and NISHTHA FLN (Foundational literacy and Numeracy) have also re-emphasised the same. Thus, need is to think strategically and work together to overcome all challenges so that everyone will get a chance to achieve quality education. Need is to connect people with this initiative of change which is introduced in terms of new education policy. Besides, need is to develop a sense of responsibility in the citizens for adopting regional languages with due acknowledgement and respect. If people will adopt the NEP, 2020 in its true spirit, then despite of all limitations, the goal of instilling knowledge to all will be achieved soon.

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# The Weight of History : Exploring Transgenerational Trauma in Refugees

N. Lavanya • Dr. M.Anjum Khan

*Refugees all over the world are forced into a wretched situation of sudden loss of language, rights and citizenship. Hannah Arendt, an immigrant political theorist specifies that it is the state of rightlessness of refugees that leads to their traumatic condition. The intensity of the effect of trauma on any human differs according to the troubles faced and handled by the person. The effects of trauma on refugees are long-lasting both physically and mentally and there are certain families where the victims cannot help themselves from overcoming the trauma for generations. This essay focuses on exploring the Transgenerational transmission of trauma in Refugees, with reference to the experiences of a holocaust survivor named Irene Oore. Her memoir, 'The Listener' is analysed with reference to Lyndsey Stonebridge's essay, "That which you are denying us": Refugees, Rights and Writing in Arendt, published in the book 'The Future of Trauma Theory'. The essay also aims at finding solutions for the psychological adjustments for the affected refugees.*

**Keywords** : *Refugees, rightlessness, transgenerational trauma, holocaust*

Trauma is integral part of refugee experience. Fleeing home and taking refuge in an alien land, the refugees are destined to live an emotionally dismembered life. Having denied even the basic necessities to live, their fight for their rights is mostly unvoiced and most certainly unheard. The everyday routine of refugees is yet another wretched day of escape from death. In the process of fighting between life and death, they lead a life of abject misery and

self-deprecation. Hunger, homelessness, statelessness, render them more vulnerable and feebler. It is this sense of insecurity, state of statelessness, loss of identity and inability to demand their human rights that makes them go through different phases of trauma. Even the refugees who settle well in a safe country with legal citizenship, continue to be haunted by the trauma of the past. What is more, this engrained trauma is passed on to next generation as well. This essay examines the transmission of trauma in Irene Oore from her mother and explains the general troubles faced by the future generations of holocaust trauma survivors.

*The Listener: In the Shadow of Holocaust* by Irene Oore is a memoir, representing all Jewish refugees of Nazi Regime. The present essay is a modest attempt to demonstrate the transgenerational nature of trauma among the Jewish refugees with this book as case study. This essay measures the unfathomable depth of identity crisis –it affects not only the person undergoing the discrimination but, also all the others who will keep on recognizing themselves with the identity even after so many years of struggle. It argues that all humans who are born Jews will keep on recognizing themselves with the holocaust refugees and feel the insecurity with their identity at one point of time in their life. This essay displays the cruelty of Jewish oppression and the faults of the Nazi oppressor, as an act of misuse of power and dominance which affects the mental health of generations and generations of a community. It also aims at expressing and voicing out the suppressed trauma, emotions and struggles of the distressed and disenfranchised Jewish refugees of second world-war.

The struggles of holocaust refugees were very intense that their life was affected in numerous ways that made them hopeless people longing for a normal life. “A systematic review by Fazel (2005) of 7,000 refugees substantiated the notion that refugees who resettled in Western countries were ten times more likely to have PTSD than age-matched general populations in those countries. Analysis of the various theories brings to the forefront the impact of the intersectionality of power, control, class and gender on the traumatic experiences of refugees” (George 384). The depth of pain in holocaust refugees differs with accordance to their experiences, but none of them are left with just minimal struggles. Each one of them witness enormous brutal deaths in the camp and everyone has

their own trauma of nearing death several times in their life. This gives them the fear of unexpected danger and death everyday which in turn affects their children. “Daily life was suffused with dejection and hopelessness. The outside world was felt alien and inimical; they lived a completely secluded life” (Grünberg 210). They also experience the fear of rejection and this makes them live a secluded life away from the normal world. Assimilation takes time and the steps taken to assimilate also face enormous challenges.

Lyndsey Stonebridge in her essay, *That Which You are Denying Us*, from the collection ‘The Future of Trauma Theory’, expresses the pain and agony of the refugees, as an effect of their denied right to speak. She also cites Hannah Arendt’s thoughts that reveals her outrage on the existential crisis of the refugees. Lyndsey’s essay begins with the stark reality of Woomera Detention Camp in south western Australia, in the year 2002. She opens with the incident where the refugees sewed their lips together in order to protest against their incarceration. This brutally true incident expresses the miserable mental state of the refugees, who agonised for their basic right to voice out their problems. This is evidence for the traumatic condition of the refugees all over the world, who are haunted by these nightmares throughout their life and sometimes, for generations. The painful experienced as a result of sympathy and empathy of the readers and listeners is nothing compared to the real pain and agony of the refugees experiencing the everyday torture and trauma caused by it.

Lyndsey Stonebridge, with reference to Hannah Arendt’s theories, observes that the trauma of refugees begins at the camps of holocaust and continues till and after the detention camps all over the world. This story of trauma is interminable, which is transferred to the other Jews and also to other refugees in the world. It is very hard for the survivors and their generations of family to disconnect with the trauma of the oppression. The refugees, even after escaping from all their trauma and living in a peaceful place are forever disturbed by the chaos of their memories of the past and their silent shame. “If trauma theory began with the memory of the camps of the Holocaust, we could claim that its contemporary relevance endures more pressingly in the detention centres of the twenty- first century. These histories are not

unconnected” (Lyndsey 113). All the refugees have endured the life of complete rightlessness followed by threats to the right to live. The refugees who are going through oppression, who have survived oppression and also the ones who have escaped from oppression are destined to be followed by the trauma of the past insecurities.

Hannah Arendt specifies the refugees who have survived as ‘A new kind of human beings’, the kind that emerge at the very moment that so called human rights are withdrawn (Stonebridge 116). She also mentions the paradox in the lives of these humans, where the loss of rights coincides with the moment, they became humans in general. She calls them a new kind, as they are in a verge to transform and adapt themselves into the new place and culture that has given them space to start over their bruised life. This brings in a new idea that the upcoming generations of the survivors are also new kind of human beings, as they grow up in an environment and try to adapt to the past culture they have lost. Though they are helpless in bringing back the lost self of their parents, they are always left with the pain of their denied culture and homeland.

*The Listener: In the Shadow of the Holocaust* by Irene Oore is a book about the struggles of a Jewish refugee with the trauma that is strongly transferred through generations. The book is written by her, with the help of her mother’s narration of her experiences. The very beginning of the book, starts with the line, “This story is rising from her ashes and from a deep and hollow place within me” (Oore 74). This quoted line palpably suggests the fact that Oore has also gone through the trauma of the holocaust, though she was not physically a part of it. She has been traumatized since her childhood, because of her mother’s forced narration of her holocaust experiences. A forced narrative is urgent and eager expression of the teller where the narrator requires a listener in order to make sure that his/her side of the story is being heard. The narration is one sided and the emotions of the listener are immaterial as the significance is on the teller than the listener. If the narration of past can affect the mind of a person to such an extent, it is very clearly evident what the pathetic experience of horror and fear would have done to her mother. It is difficult to find if she was in a clear or unclear state of mind, when she



decided to force feed her daughter with her terrible experiences, since her childhood. In spite of all this, she is determined to narrate everything irrespective of her daughter's opinion to accept or refuse it.

The pursuit of normalcy and happiness against the tribulations of past is evident in Irene Oore's life. Oore, just like the longing of the holocaust refugees and survivors, who have always been craving for a normal life, longs to lead a regular life free from the traumatic stories. She admits that the horror narratives are all the gifts she has got from her mother. The mother who has given her birth and the boon of life, has also been constantly feeding her with death and deadly experiences. Initially as a child, Oore feels uncomfortable and has always been resisting the stories. Though she was strong enough to constantly resist the stories, she was never able to refuse it. There was a constant dilemma in her to refuse and also listen to her mother's experiences, for she calls them her gifts. At the same time, her life was very difficult, as it was far away from normal. Living amidst four holocaust survivors, her mother Stefa, Father Marian, Mom's sister Flora and her husband Teo who were all haunted by their past, were making life very difficult for her. Oore was the only living proof that they all have survived the holocaust. Sometimes, they visited 'The Skull Chapel' and this family visit always horrified Oore because, it gave a visualisation to all the haunting skulls that were always living in her head as a result of her imagination. The family outings which are supposed to be fun filled memories in a child's life, were also haunting memories for Oore as she is ignorant of the fact that the family is lamenting their mute state of their past life. Lyndsey's essay explains that the real horror was in their state of not being able to speak than any other horrific things.

The pangs of hunger and starvation reveal the degree of desolation in the lives of Jewish refugees. Oore has prolifically interwoven the physiological nature of hunger with socio-political adversities. One thing that was more dreadful than the stories of genocide was the narration of hunger and its pathetic effects. Even the meagre amount of food they got was a luxury to the people at the detention camp and most of the children in the camp died out of hunger. It was a tragedy that, there were children stealing bread, in spite of facing the degree of desolation that they would be dead if

they were caught. They preferred the death of getting caught over the death of starvation and hunger. The childhood game played by her mother and aunt was to imagine how they would have a stomach filling meal, after the end of all the tragedies in their life. “When this is all over, I will invite you to my place, and I will offer you a thick slice of white, sweet, fresh-from-the-oven challah bread with a generous layer of sweet butter on top. And to drink, I will prepare a steaming cup of hot cocoa” (Oore 126). These ever-echoing memories of hunger was always told to Oore as her bedtime stories, which in turn made her sleepless. While all other stories gave her fear, the stories of hunger always made her remorseful. She felt helpless and sad and was extremely guilty for having a full stomach while listening to this.

The mechanism of forced narration starts operating very early in Oore’s life. It is significant that the narrative begins where her mother’s death and Oore’s early life intersects. Oore starts receiving these stories of terror, since she was a two-year-old kid. She has been a child, who has always craved for an innocent childhood. Though she loved spending a normal day at the day-care, with other children of her age, her mother reluctantly leaves her there for one day only. As her mother was fighting cancer when Oore was a little girl, she was in a hurry to transfer all her stories of trauma to her daughter as soon as possible, before her death. So, she decides to keep her at home instead of a day-care, and keeps on giving the stories of survival. It is the wretched two-year-old child, listening to the brutalities of bombs and terror about Nazi and Ukrainian soldiers. Jews and Poles and Shelters and fear were haunting her childhood along with shame, humiliation and stories of hunger. The stories don’t change even during her teens, nevertheless, her perspective as a listener keeps on going through changes.

The memories of extreme hatred and bigotry constitute the main part of Stefa’s narrative. Oore feared that one of the women would break down listening to the bloody stories of bomb shelters. There were also other frightening stories of travelling in a train by standing in the area linking the cars, as Jews were not allowed to enter the car. Nobody bothered about their lives and there was hatred for them everywhere at the extent of celebrating their massacre. Sometimes, Oore even wonders how people in her

family could have normal conversations. She is bound to the troubles of their past that she is not able to spend a minute of her life, without those memories. The family at least has the happiness of escaping and being alive with a much better life but, Oore is left with nothing but guilt. That is why she feels anxious that one of them would break down during the continuous retelling of the past but, Stefa manages to be a good narrator with no grand eloquence, no pathos and no unnecessary drama attached.

The power of wealth was identified and suppressed very systematically by the Nazis. During Stefa's stay at the ghetto, the Germans created a special office at Leszno street 13, which provided employment only for the Jews staying in the Ghetto. These Jews who worked there were supposed to frequently give the list of Jews who were affluent in the ghetto. People with influential contacts and people with property or money, were listed out by these workers. Their names and addresses were gathered by the Germans and they checked if there were chances for them to escape from the place. Almost every Friday night, after the curfew, the officers would enter the homes of the targeted Jews, pick them up and shoot them to death. They made sure that all the rich Jews who could fight for the freedom of themselves and also the people around them, were killed. Stefa mentions that the ones who notified the Germans about the rich Jews were not guilty and their lives were very normal, but Stefa still goes through the trauma of watching the cruelty. Oore finds the reason for her mother to reject all her obligations of celebrating a Friday night.

The transmission of transgenerational trauma affects every individual in a different manner. Oore has these constant thoughts to protect her family and voice out their story to the world. This is a positive outcome of the transmission of trauma to the next generation. "We must never forget" (Bender 214). Bender, in her case study specifies that each individual has his/her own way of going through trauma. Everything differs according to the way in which the person was brought up but, nobody can forget what has happened to them. The story of oppression has to be transferred for it would be improper to raise the children without the story of sufferings. It is the pain that keeps them alive amidst struggles.

Enormous troubles comes as an aftermath of going through trauma and Irene Oore finds a way to get through all of that along

with her mother. “In five families parent/child relationship appears to be enmeshed, the parents do not just want to parent their children: they want to be close to their children in an encompassing way, which may challenge the child’s individuation process” (Dalgaard 295). Irene, with no consideration of lamenting for what she lost, eventually grows up to be a strong woman because of her past. It is not likely that all the victims of transgenerational trauma can have a positive perspective towards life. Irene keeps on encountering situations in which she feels extremely responsible for her age and is expected to be a parent in comforting the elders in the family. She is smart enough to know when to act as a mother and when to be a child. She is not only an obedient child but also a comforting mother for her family.

The memoir explains the traumatic situation of all the family members and the depth of the holocaust experience. From the select memoir, it is evident that the pain of the oppressed can be best explained only by the one who has gone through the suppression. Other writers can very well empathise with the oppressed, but can never do justice to voice out the pain that they have not personally experienced. Oore also agrees that she could transfer her mother’s experience into words but, was not able to narrate it as effective as her mother did. So, it is Oore’s pain and struggles that dominates the whole book than the intense pain of the survivors in her family. This fact shows the importance of the space that should be given to the oppressed ones in the society, to speak out or write their own experiences.

As specified by Marianne Hirsch in her concept of ‘Post memory’, Oore goes through all the trauma of her mother’s experiences as a listener though she has never lived in them. Hirsch strongly argues that a person who has not gone through the experiences can still go through the same amount of trauma, just by living around someone who has experienced the troubles. This answers all the questions of whether the wealthy refugees who have settled in accepting countries have actually overcome all that they have faced during their darkest days. The definite answer is that they can never overcome what they have gone through, until their death and it is also important to note that, it eventually follows them for generations to come.

The stories that have always been haunting Oore, suddenly becomes the stories of her responsibility. She feels responsible for narrating it to the world, as she is the only one who knows it. “I felt that, for the process to be complete, I had to make the entire manuscript available to my children, for them to become her listeners and mine”. She reaches a point where the trauma is no more a burden but a problem that should be unburdened by letting the wide world know about it. The story of Stefa has an abrupt ending because a part of her knows that it has not yet come to an end. The sufferings and the memory of her sufferings can end only with her death. She can only take measures to reduce her everlasting pain. Oore can also reduce her pain of her childhood, only by taking responsibility in narrating her mother’s story to the world. The depth of the pain is reduced by sharing the pain with the world; the pain that was always forbidden from sharing with others. Witnessing massacres of the oppressed can be undone, only by spreading love and standing against any form of discrimination. The memoir has an abrupt ending and it is the responsibility of all humans in the world, to fill it up with pages of freedom and equality.

In conclusion, this research abstract highlights the dire circumstances faced by refugees worldwide, characterized by the loss of language, rights, and citizenship. Hannah Arendt’s perspective on the state of rightlessness experienced by refugees’ sheds light on the traumatic conditions they endure. The extent of trauma’s impact on individuals varies based on the challenges they face and how they cope with them. Refugees’ trauma has profound and enduring physical and mental effects, with some families unable to break free from its grip for generations. The exploration of the transgenerational transmission of trauma in refugees, as exemplified by Irene Oore, a holocaust survivor, through her memoir *The Listener*, provides valuable insights into their experiences. By referencing Lyndsey Stonebridge’s essay on refugees, rights, and writing in Arendt, the research delves into potential solutions for facilitating the psychological adjustment of affected refugees. Ultimately, understanding and addressing the complex interplay of trauma and its transgenerational effects are crucial steps towards supporting and rehabilitating refugees on their path to healing and recovery.

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# Factors Affecting Entrepreneurial Intention: A Literature Review

**Bhawana Bardia • Dr. Amit Kumar Das**

*Entrepreneurial intention, the inclination and motivation to start a new venture, plays a pivotal role in fostering entrepreneurship and driving economic growth. Understanding the factors that influence entrepreneurial intention is of great importance for policymakers, educators, and practitioners. This literature review aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the key factors affecting entrepreneurial intention and sheds light on the various theoretical perspectives and empirical findings in this field. The review encompasses a wide range of factors, including personality factors, contextual factors, demographic factors, instrumental readiness, psychological factors, and affective factors. By synthesizing the existing literature, this review identifies the factors that significantly impact entrepreneurial intention and suggests future research directions.*

**Keywords:** *Entrepreneurship, Entrepreneurial Intention, Literature Review*

## **Introduction**

Entrepreneurship is gaining importance worldwide as a significant factor for economic development. It is achieving global importance as a vital factor for the development of a Country's economy [19]. Entrepreneurship is essential to the growth and welfare of society because it generates employment, fosters, and influences innovation, and accelerates economic transformations. Several researches have been conducted in the past with an aim to

explore the significance of entrepreneurship [15]. Latest progresses in the domain of economic development have directed to a renovated awareness in entrepreneurship [22]. It is widely recognized as a catalyst for economic development, innovation, and job creation. The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report claims that the deep economic downturn brought on by the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic is still going strong and has a significant impact on socioeconomic development [25]. The value of creative entrepreneurship was also made abundantly obvious in the study in the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report [26]. In the light of this situation, it is extremely significant to promote entrepreneurial initiatives in order to improvise the economic condition of the country.

Entrepreneurial intention, as a precursor to entrepreneurial behavior, holds significant implications for fostering an entrepreneurial ecosystem. According to the Theory of Planned Behaviour, a person will adopt a favourable perspective towards engaging in that behaviour if they believe a positive consequence will result from doing so [12]. Issues concerning the significance of having an impact on the entrepreneurial intention—that is, the motivation and willingness to establish a business—have been voiced by a number of pertinent authorities [15]. Understanding the factors that shape individuals' entrepreneurial intention can aid in designing effective entrepreneurship education programs, formulating supportive policies, and providing the necessary resources and guidance for aspiring entrepreneurs. The analysis of the research on entrepreneurship reveals that most researchers have concentrated on adult businessmen [35]. Older businesspeople were evaluated in such investigations after they had decided to pursue their entrepreneurial professions. However, it is crucial to concentrate on persons under the age of 25 and comprehend what influences their plans to launch an enterprise in the years to come because this is the age group in which individuals are probable in considering starting a business [27].

The main idea behind this study is to identify the factors which affect Entrepreneurial intention with a view to provide a clear pathway to the upcoming generation of prospective entrepreneurs who have the capability to mould the youth. The paper is organized as follows: first, the meaning of entrepreneurial



intention is defined; next, the data collection and analysis used to enumerate the factors have been explained; third, the findings and discussions are highlighted; and finally, the conclusion of the study is laid out.

## **Data Collection and Analysis**

A systematic review of literature was conducted to explore the factors impacting individuals' entrepreneurial intentions. The search focused on web-based platforms and utilized topic-specific criteria to identify relevant publications within titles, abstracts, and author keywords. Major online databases, including Science Direct, Academic Search Complete, Wiley Online Library, Business Source Complete, and Emerald, were consulted. Fifty two articles, detailed in Table I, were selected to analyze the various factors influencing entrepreneurial intention as previously identified by other researchers, aiming for a comprehensive understanding.

## **Findings and Discussion**

The articles under review indicated that entrepreneurial intention is influenced by six primary categories of factors. These include factors related to personality, demographic, psychological, affective, instrumental readiness and contextual. Table I presents a summary of key studies discussing these influential factors. It is important to note that certain factors may be labelled differently in various literature sources.

### **Personality factors:**

Literature review highlights that an individual's personality is an important factor in understanding entrepreneurial intentions. It is true that an individual's professional choices are influenced by their personalities as students [21]. Locus of control and need for achievement have an influence on the entrepreneurial intention of a person [16], [18], [20]. A person's perspective of his or her capacity to have an impact on occurrences in life is referred to as their locus of control [17]. Individuals' views regarding achievement exert a significant impact on the degree to which they are attracted by entrepreneurship [7]. Students who are very motivated towards achievement will exhibit entrepreneurial behaviour [2], [36]. Another important element that determines

people’s intentions to become entrepreneurs is Extraversion. Extraversion demonstrates how aggressive, dominating, lively, and emotionally happy and passionate a person is. Extraverted people have a propensity to see entrepreneurship favourably [43], [45].

**Table I: Factors Influencing Entrepreneurial Intention**

Study	Locus of Control	Need for Achievement	Extraversion	Gender	Household income	Age	Marital Status	Family business experience	Personality traits	Subjective Norms	Attitude towards Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurial Competence	Risk Taking Propensity	Self-Efficacy	Entrepreneurial Alertness	Perceived Behavioral Control	Role Models	Social Norm	Social Identification	Access to Capital	Access to Information	Social Network	Structural Support	Entrepreneurship Education	Academic Support	Expectation of Peers or Family Members	Entrepreneurial Family
[1]	✓	✓								✓										✓	✓	✓					
[42]				✓	✓																						
[6]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓																				
[2]		✓									✓			✓		✓											
[47]													✓		✓												
[33]											✓			✓			✓										
[3]				✓												✓									✓		✓
[30]										✓	✓					✓											
[4]					✓	✓	✓																				
[5]				✓				✓																			
[52]																	✓										✓
[39]										✓						✓				✓	✓	✓					
[7]		✓		✓	✓																						
[32]										✓	✓					✓											
[29]																	✓										
[17]	✓	✓											✓														
[11]											✓					✓											✓
[12]											✓															✓	
[34]										✓						✓											
[14]	✓	✓											✓														
[38]	✓	✓			✓									✓													
[15]	✓	✓											✓														
[37]																				✓	✓	✓					
[51]				✓	✓					✓						✓								✓	✓		
[24]								✓																✓	✓	✓	
[20]	✓	✓											✓														
[21]	✓												✓														
[23]								✓		✓						✓											
[8]																									✓		
[18]	✓	✓		✓																							
[13]							✓							✓				✓									

Study	Locus of Control	Need for Achievement	Extraversion	Gender	Household income	Age	Marital Status	Family business experience	Personality traits	Subjective Norms	Attitude towards Entrepreneurship	Entrepreneurial Competence	Risk Taking Propensity	Self-Efficacy	Entrepreneurial Alertness	Perceived Behavioral Control	Role Models	Social Norm	Social Identification	Access to Capital	Access to Information	Social Network	Structural Support	Entrepreneurship Education	Academic Support	Expectation of Peers or Family Members	Entrepreneurial Family
[16]	√	√		√																							
[58]												√															
[35]																							√				
[36]		√							√							√											
[50]									√							√							√				
[40]																										√	
[31]												√												√			
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[9]																	√	√									
[55]												√															

## Demographic factors:

Demographic factors have a huge role to play in order to predict the Entrepreneurial Intention. An individual's entrepreneurial intention can be strongly influenced by factors including gender, family business experience, and level of education [5]. Numerous research back up the claim that factors including age, gender, and personal background—including education and prior job experience—influence entrepreneurial intent of an individual [6]. It has also been identified that Household income, Age, Marital Status and Education level are positively associated with Entrepreneurial Intention [4]. An individual's involvement in his or her own family business is also an important indicator of having a high level of Entrepreneurial Intention [13]. It has also been found that there exists a substantial association between people's intentions to start their own businesses and their marital status [53], [54]. Some

studies also studied family income/household income as a demographic marker and found that a positive relationship exists between the two [41], [42], [4], [57].

### **Psychological factors:**

Koe, Sa'ari, Majid, & Ismail [23] have mentioned in their study that according to psychological traits, the younger demographic has a strong propensity for entrepreneurship. A person with a certain set of personality traits is likely to be additionally fascinated to entrepreneurial activities than others [10]. Subjective norms are concerned with how a person feels under societal pressure to engage in or refrain from a particular behavior [32]. The TPB's predictions, which state that attitude, perceived behavioural control, and subjective norms are major determinants of entrepreneurial intention [30]. Entrepreneur competence, which is the overall capacity of a person to succeed in business, is also an important determinant of Entrepreneurial Intention [31]. When faced with risky situations, a person's predisposition to take risks or avoid them is referred to as risk-taking [20]. It has also been found to be a significant parameter to assess an individual's Entrepreneurial Intent [14]. Nowiński & Haddoud [33] have proven from their study that numerous combinations of several self-efficacy characteristics may be significant, in addition to the fact that these dimensions are required for the development of strong entrepreneurial intents. Another most important variable to explain Entrepreneurial Intention is Entrepreneurial alertness [13]. It has also been pointed out by Özeltürkay, Özekenci, & Yalçýntaş [34] that Perceived Behavioural Control also positively influences the desire to start a business. Further, research by (Arranz, et al., 2016) (58) emphasises on the importance of developing entrepreneurial competences to positively influence entrepreneurial intention among university students. Lv et al., [55] proposed that entrepreneurial competence has a positive influence on entrepreneurial intention. Additionally, they hypothesize that entrepreneurial competence mediates the impact of entrepreneurial teaching, business plan competition, and entrepreneurial practice support on entrepreneurial intention.

### **Affective factors:**

Social environment characteristics known as "affective

factors”, comprise of social identification, role models and social norm [9]. Role models are the number of prosperous businesspeople an individual is familiar with. Numerous academicians have examined the influence of role models on entrepreneurial intention, and they have shown a strong correlation between them [29], [52], [28]. Social norm is how other people, such as relatives, comrades, coworkers, etc., view business and the entrepreneurial lifestyle. They are intimately related to entrepreneurial intention since they account for the variations in business ownership between cultures [44]. In the study conducted by (Gelderen, et al., [13], Social norms were found to be significant across a wide range of samples. The goal of social identification is to identify ideas like how people react to their surroundings, specifically to the societal setting when they think of oneself as business owners. Social identity is a way of anticipation for significant intention and behavior [49]. A study conducted by Khurshid, Khurshid, & Khan [48] portrayed that there are encouraging association between women entrepreneurial intention and social identity.

### **Instrumental Readiness:**

To understand how individuals perceive the process of entrepreneurship, it is critical to assess a key element in the context of entrepreneurship that influences their approach to business and fosters their ambitions [37]. ‘Instrumental readiness’ is the umbrella term used to describe the three contextual elements, accesses to capital, accesses to information and social network which are believed to influence one’s desire to start a business [1]. As per Kristiansen & Indarti, [6] these three elements are useful in to assessing the impact of the entrepreneurial intention. Tesfaye [39] claims that Entrepreneurial Intention and Instrumental Readiness are directly proportional to one another, i.e., entrepreneurial intention will be higher when the instrumental readiness is higher.

### **Contextual factors:**

The structural support in connection to the Entrepreneurial Ecosystem is substantially important to inspire an individual to pursue entrepreneurship as a career option Turker & Selcuk [35]. The favourable association between structural support and entrepreneurial intention may lead lawmakers to develop additional

government-level regulations that encourage venture capital and may also compel lenders and other business organisations to subsidise these kinds of efforts with greater frequency in the decades to come [50]. In addition to assisting different government entities in developing initiatives and plans to maximise resource employment with and a willingness to encourage venture capital, the research by Sánchez & Sahuquillo [8] affirms the beneficial influence that entrepreneurship education encompasses regarding their intention to start a business. The goal of entrepreneurship education is to generate graduates who are prepared to opt for careers as entrepreneurs. Academics must play a vital role in inspiring more students to start their own businesses by raising knowledge of the advantages of doing so and helping to boost national economies and international competitiveness [24]. It is the first step in helping students change their perspectives on entrepreneurship to be better equipped to establish their own businesses by merging their knowledge, abilities, and expertise [40]. Since household standards have a significant impact on how people in the family are socialised, later-generation family members who are subjected to high family expectations may feel compelled to carry on working for the family business [56]. A study by Gurbuz & Aykol [3], claims that having Entrepreneurial parents has a positive influence on the Entrepreneurial Intention of students. A family-owned business history is important, as it has been shown to have a beneficial impact on entrepreneurial intentions both immediately and over the five-year period following research [11].

## **Conclusion**

Entrepreneurship plays a crucial role in enhancing the economy. The significance of entrepreneurial intention lies in its pivotal role as a precursor to actual entrepreneurial behavior. Understanding individuals' intentions to pursue entrepreneurship provides valuable insights into the potential for new venture creation and innovation within an economy. These intentions serve as indicators of entrepreneurial activity levels, influencing factors such as business start-up rates, innovation, job creation, and overall economic growth. Understanding the elements influencing individuals' desire to become entrepreneurs is highly significant in gauging their inclination towards starting a business. This study aimed to identify such factors, focusing on six categories:

personality, demographic, psychological, affective, instrumental readiness and contextual. This study lays a foundation for future research and offers insights for researchers to consider these factors when investigating individuals' intentions towards entrepreneurship.

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# Catalyst of Change : An Exploratory Study on Assessing the Economic Ripples of Ram Mandir Construction

**Dr Renu Verma • Ms Rohini Kumari  
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*In the hallowed heart of Ayodhya, where faith once ignited a millennia-long saga, a modern-day metamorphosis unfolds. The rise of the Ram Mandir, more than just brick and mortar, is a catalyst whispering promises of economic alchemy. This historic construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, presents a unique opportunity to examine the economic ramifications of a religiously charged infrastructure project. This paper delves into the “catalyst effect” of the Ram Mandir construction, analyzing its potential to trigger broader economic transformation, reshaping not just landscapes but livelihoods. The study is based on a comprehensive analysis of various macroeconomic indicators such as employment, infrastructure development, tourism, GDP, local, and regional development, and the socio-economic status of Ayodhya. We assess the economic ripples of sectors like construction, hospitality, and retail, estimating employment generation and local business development through the multiplier effect*

*Furthermore, the paper explores the short-term and longer-term implications for pilgrimage tourism, urban development, and regional economic integration. The paper also shows the forward and backward linkage created by the construction sector and how construction of Ram Mandir creates backwash and spread effect in the*

*economy. In the end, the paper investigates how the Ram Mandir serves as a nexus for public-private partnerships, triggering investments in transportation, hospitality, and other ancillary sectors, thereby fostering a holistic economic metamorphosis.*

**Keywords :** *Ram Mandir, Ayodhya, Construction, Development, Tourism, Employment, Infrastructure, Multiplier.*

## **Introduction**

For centuries, religion has occupied a very crucial place in the culture of an economy, but economists have paid the least attention to analyzing the role of religion in the process of economic growth. In the same manner, traditionally temples and development were considered to be independent and have no correlation but the making of the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya has proved that they are highly associated and mutually inclusive. The town on the banks of the Saryu River is buzzing with industry including real estate, hospitality, transportation, and so on. This town wasn't on their radar till a few years ago. In the hallowed heart of Ayodhya, where faith once ignited a millennia-long saga, a modern-day metamorphosis unfolds. The rise of the Ram Mandir, more than just brick and mortar, is a catalyst whispering promises of economic alchemy. This historic construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, India, presents a unique opportunity to examine the economic ramifications of a religiously charged infrastructure project. This paper delves into the "catalyst effect" of the Mandir, analyzing its potential to trigger broader economic transformation, reshaping not just landscapes but livelihoods. The study is based on a comprehensive analysis of various macroeconomic indicators such as employment, infrastructure development, tourism, GDP, local, and regional development, and the socio-economic status of Ayodhya. We assess the economic ripples of sectors like construction, hospitality, and retail, estimating employment generation and local business development through the multiplier effect. Furthermore, the paper explores the short-term and longer-term implications for pilgrimage tourism, urban development, and regional economic integration. The paper also shows the forward and backward linkage created by the construction sector and how the construction of Ram Mandir creates backwash and spread effect in the economy. In the end, the paper investigates how the

Ram Mandir serves as a nexus for public-private partnerships, triggering investments in transportation, hospitality, and other ancillary sectors, thereby fostering a holistic economic metamorphosis.

## Literature Review

Religious tourism can be an important source of income for a region as it creates many forward and backward linkages effects which result in higher economic development of the region. Holy sites are often surrounded by souvenir shops, hotels, and travel agencies. These businesses create impacts like population growth, job creation, and the development of infrastructure (Terzidou et al., 2008). The literature discusses several examples of regions that obtained great economic benefits from religious tourism. R.H. Tawney (1926) and J.B. Kraus (see Samuelson 1961), however, posited a two-way relationship between religion and economic development: the economic transformation of the 16th and 17th century transformed the religious outlook while the new religion of the Puritan sects, cleared the way for a more forcible expansion of capitalism. Samuelson (1961) in his study of the development of capitalism in most of the European countries and in the U.S. A. concluded that in the promotion of industry, trade, and capital formation religion was not the crucial factor rather other factors contributed to their growth and development. H. R. Trever-Roper (1964) has emphasized the local origin of the entrepreneurs as being more decisive to capitalistic growth than religious affiliation.

Saudi Arabia, where millions of Islamic pilgrims visit Mecca, a holy place in Islam, is a very good example to prove how an economy can enjoy a parallel source of revenue by developing religious tourism (Rotherham, 2007; Saayman et al., 2013). Holloway and Robinson (1995) asserted that tourists typically utilize the income earned in their places of residence when visiting destinations. In the context of this study, it is observed that religious tourists spend money earned in their home regions at the various destinations they visit, establishing a significant economic characteristic of religious tourism. This distinctive feature positions religious tourism as a particularly lucrative revenue generator compared to other forms of tourism, benefiting from the substantial influx of religious tourists (Mill, 1990). Consequently, religious

tourism serves as a mechanism for transferring funds from countries where income is generated to countries that receive income. While accurately measuring the income sourced through religious tourism to a destination proves challenging, a common approach involves estimating the multiplier effect of tourists' spending on the destination. This estimation is based on the understanding that the initial expenditure by religious tourists is circulated through various segments of the destination's economy, such as tour operators, shopkeepers, hotels, and taxi drivers (Holloway & Valins, 2002; Mill, 1990). As a result, the spending of religious tourists at the destination generates income multiple times, creating a multiplier effect (Mathieson & Wall, 1982) that positively influences both the destination and, notably, the economy of the host country (Fleischer, 2000; Evans, 1998).

Essentially, the expenditure by religious tourists at the destination represents additional income generated within an economy (Cooper et al., 1993), which, in turn, undergoes further direct or indirect investment, thereby initiating subsequent rounds of income generation.

As seen from the existing stock of knowledge available, many studies have been conducted to analyze the impact of religion and religious tourism on the economic development of any economy, but as far as the impact of Ram Mandir construction on the economy of UP in general and on the economy of Ayodhya in general. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap.

### **Objectives of the Study:**

The present study aims to achieve the following objectives:

- To evaluate the economic impact of Mandir construction on the economy of Ayodhya and UP through multiplier analysis.
- To assess backward and forward linkages effect, backwash, and spread effects of RAM mandir construction. on the local, regional, and national economy.
- To provide evidence-based recommendations for policy interventions and future infrastructure projects and developmental initiatives to maximize the positive economic impacts of the Ram Mandir project.



## Research Methodology :

The research approach employed in the present study encompasses the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative methods to thoroughly examine the multifaceted ramifications of the construction endeavor. The study is based on the secondary data collected from government departments and agencies, various economic reports, existing surveys, and census data to understand socio-economic demographics. The impact of the Ram Mandir project on economic indicators like GDP, employment, and investment will be analyzed through the multiplier effect. The study will also analyze the impact of the construction sector through forward and backward linkage and spill over backwash and spread effect of the construction of Ram Mandir and offer valuable insights for policy-making and sustainable development in Ayodhya

## Impact of Ram Mandir Construction on Economic Development

The following figure shows the economic impact of Ram Mandir construction :

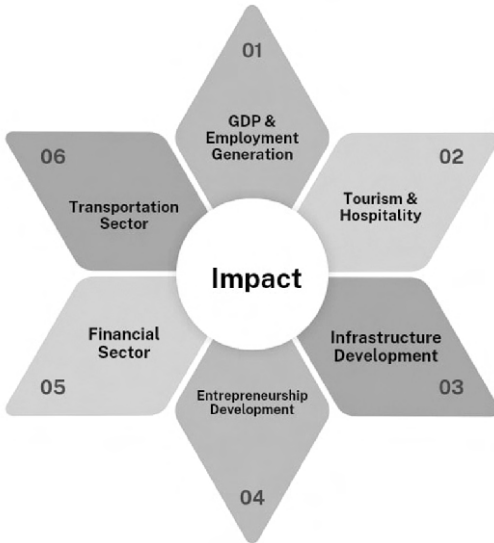


Figure : 1. Impact of Ram Mandir Construction on Economic Development

## Tourism Boom: Ram Mandir's Construction

In India, religion has been one of the oldest reasons for travel, and religious tourism has been one of the strongest pillars of the economy. As far as UP is concerned, it is known for numerous religious places and shrines such as Varanasi, Ganga River, Taj Mahal, etc. The tourism sector has been a big source of revenue and employment generation in the state, but the construction of Ram Mandir is proving a catalyst in the overall development of the state through a big boost in the tourism sector. All roads, it seems, are leading to Ayodhya right now. It has proximity to many other pilgrimage and tourist places such as Lucknow, Varanasi, Prayagraj, and Delhi. This central location, surrounded by other popular pilgrimage and tourist destinations, further bolsters the attractiveness of this city for tourists.

As Ayodhya prepares to embrace an increasing influx of devoted individuals, the avenues to financial well-being are expanding, with the tourism and hospitality sectors spearheading the movement, assuring ample investment opportunities. According to Jefferies analysts, Ayodhya will attract at least 100 million tourists every year and surpass the most visited tourist places in the world like Vatican City and Mecca. According to Jefferies analysts, around 32 crore tourists visited the state in 2022, with an impressive footfall of 2.21 crore in Ayodhya alone (U.P. State Govt. report 2023).

This heavy footfall has resulted in an expenditure of more than Rs 2 lakh crore by domestic tourists, while this figure was as high as Rs 10,500 crore for international tourists in 2022. As per a recent SBI report, by the end of 2024, these figures are expected to double, helping the state government earn an additional tax revenue of Rs 20,000–25,000 crore due to the huge number of tourists during the financial year 2025. The report also discusses the crucial role played by the central Prasad (Pilgrimage Rejuvenation and Spiritual Heritage Augmentation Drive) scheme in the development of spiritual tourism. All these figures available in Ayodhya do not require any testimony in this regard.

Pilgrims from across the country and around the world are likely to visit not only Ayodhya but also other religious and historical sites in the vicinity, leading to a substantial increase in the overall

tourist footfall in Ayodhya. The higher tourist footfall is expected to stimulate economic activities in Ayodhya and the surrounding regions. According to the Confederation of All India Traders (CAIT), the consecration ceremony alone generated business worth more than INR 100,000 crore across India. The reality is that Ram Mandir has become a boon for this region, which earlier had widespread poverty and backwardness. Ram Mandir construction is transforming it into a bustling tourism destination. Moreover, in the coming years, with the completion of the mosque, the tourism potential of the place will increase multi-fold.

## **Impact on the Transportation Sector**

The construction of the Ram Mandir is expected to have a notable impact on the transportation sector in India, encompassing various modes of transportation such as airways, railways, and roadways. The completion of the Ram Mandir is expected to attract a significant number of religious tourists, thereby increasing demand for railway and airway connectivity. The higher the demand for railways and airways, the greater the revenue for the railways and airways sector (including airport authorities). It is also noteworthy that the first phase of Ayodhya Airport has already been completed, which can handle around one million travellers. Once the domestic airport and international terminal are operational in the second phase, they can handle 6 million travellers per year. No doubt this vast expansion of rail and air transport will also boost the revenue of the roadways sector as the demand for local transportation such as buses, taxis, and e-rickshaws will immensely increase, thereby generating more economic benefit to the country.

## **Employment Generation**

The construction of Ram Mandir promises to generate employment opportunities not only for the residents of Ayodhya but also absorb the workforce that migrates to Ayodhya from its neighboring areas. The temple construction itself is a massive undertaking that requires a substantial workforce. This presents an opportunity for job creation, employing skilled and unskilled labor, architects, engineers, and various other professionals. The tourism and hospitality sectors will create various types of skilled and unskilled job opportunities in Ayodhya. Skilled jobs such as hotel

staff, the food and beverage sector, jobs in the transportation sector, tour guides, business services, restaurant chains, travel agents, etc., and unskilled jobs such as housekeeping, laborers, baggage handlers, ground crew, cleaners, ticket booth attendants, security guards, etc. will be created through the tourism and hospitality sectors. Additionally, the associated economic activities stemming from the temple's presence could generate employment in sectors such as retail, hospitality, and transportation. As per a report, it is expected that Ram Mandir will generate around 3 lakh jobs in the coming 4-5 years in hospitality management, restaurant and hotel staff, logistics management, and drivers, which will have a great impact on the Indian economy. In this context, the state government has prepared a vision document for Ayodhya. If this vision is transformed into reality through the proper implementation of policies and programs, Ayodhya may be a role model for other pilgrimage destinations in India. Around 20,000 new jobs have already been created to cater to the expected surge of tourists in Ayodhya.

## **Impact on Infrastructure**

50 million plus tourists and a US\$10 billion makeover on infrastructure, i.e., railway stations, roads, urban development, etc., will create a multiplier effect with the establishment of new hotels and other economic activities. The construction of the Ram Mandir necessitates significant infrastructural developments in Ayodhya. Improved roads, transportation facilities, accommodation facilities, and other amenities are expected to follow, not only catering to the needs of pilgrims but also enhancing the overall infrastructure of the region. This infrastructural upgrade can have a ripple effect on various sectors, promoting economic development. Improved connectivity and upgraded facilities could attract further investments, spurring economic activity beyond the immediate vicinity of the temple. On one hand, a huge inflow of tourists and residents will increase the demand for FMCG, hotels, and restaurants, and on the other hand, it will also create a demand for better domestic and international connectivity. Thus, spending on railways, airways, and road infrastructure will have a multiplier impact. No matter, whether this expenditure may be in the form of government expenditure or private expenditure, the multiplier will

be working in both cases and increasing the GDP and income multiple times of this expenditure. Central and state governments have made announcements of massive projects in the field of infrastructure. For example, under the Ayodhya Master Plan 2031, projects worth Rs 85,000 crore will be executed to upgrade the town's infrastructure, which can transform a sleepy and ancient city into a global tourism hub and change the fate of millions of people in the state.

## **Impact on GDP**

The Ram Mandir is not just a monument; it's a metaphor that speaks of cultural heritage, spiritual connection, and the power of belief. The Ram Mandir is not just a spiritual and religious symbol; it has a significant impact on the GDP growth rates of the state as well as the centre. Construction itself has created thousands of jobs in the construction sector, boosted the manufacturing of building materials, and stimulated local businesses. This direct injection of economic activity contributes directly to GDP growth. The anticipated impact of government expenditure on the construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya on the GDP is expected to be substantial due to the multiplier effect. The completion of the Ram Mandir and the subsequent development of associated infrastructure is projected to stimulate a significant surge in tourism, which in turn will result in heightened economic activity and increased investment in the region. As stated in a report by Jefferies, the investment that exceeds \$10 billion in the establishment of new airports, renovated railway stations, townships, and improved road infrastructure is likely to generate a multiplier effect by attracting new hotels and other economic ventures. The state government's initiatives to boost tourism, highlighted by the construction of the Ram Mandir and other tourism-focused projects, have the potential to double tourist spending. These efforts are expected to generate a substantial economic flow, create new business opportunities, and lead to job creation, ultimately contributing to the overall economic growth of the region. The SBI report also indicates that UP will rank second among all Indian states in terms of its contribution to the GDP of the country after Maharashtra by 2028, as shown in the following figure:

## Top 5 states contributing to India's GDP in FY28

	State	Estimated size (in \$bn)	Estimated share (%)
1	Maharashtra	647	13
2	Uttar Pradesh	515	10
3	Tamil Nadu	426	8
4	Karnataka	395	8
5	Gujarat	386	7

TOI

Source: Source: WEO, SBI Research

Figure 2- Contribution of State in GDP of India

### Impact on the Stock Market

Ram Mandir construction also positively affected the stock market. It is evident from the stock market data that investors have invested heavily in the stocks of those companies that have direct or indirect links with Ayodhya such as Allie Digital Services, Thomas Cook, Inter-Globe Aviation (Indigo), and Easy Trip Planners. Allied Digital Services share prices have surged over 41% from October 2023 to January 2024. The rally began after the company secured the contract for the Ayodhya Smart City Project, aligning with the upcoming Ram Mandir ceremony. Thomas Cook India has witnessed a spike of 35% in share prices since October, as the company capitalized on the event by offering budget travel packages to Ayodhya ahead of the consecration ceremony. EasyTrip Planners had the first-mover advantage in announcing travel packages for Ayodhya; the company has witnessed a share price rally of over 20% since October 2023. Inter-Globe Aviation announced commercial flights to Ayodhya and experienced a stock spike of over 27%. Ayodhya-based Pakka Ltd. has rallied close to 150 percent in January so far. The rally will not stop here, and many more companies belonging to infrastructure, retail, and

aviation may experience the impact of Ram Mandir constructions on their stock price.

## **Impact on Real Estate**

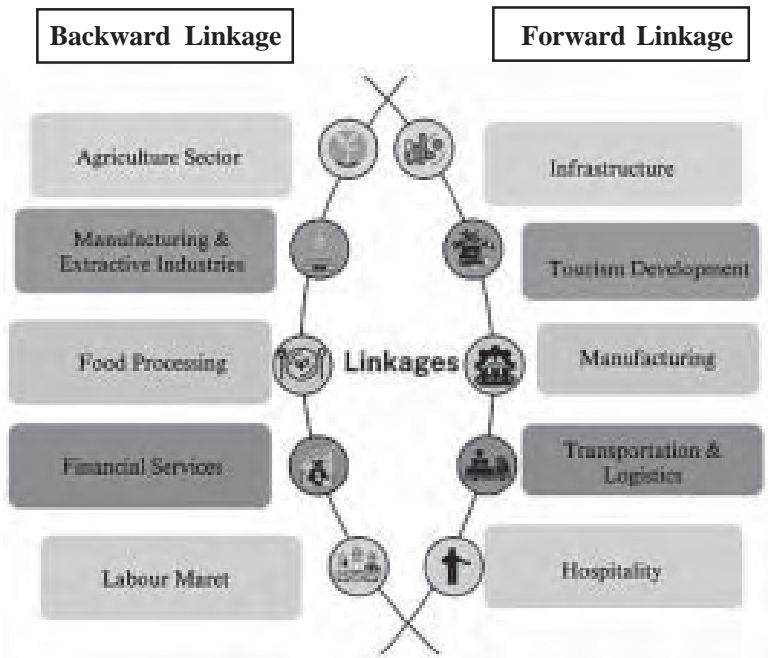
Real estate is also one of the sectors benefiting from the construction of Ram Mandir. The prices of real estate in Ayodhya are skyrocketing due to the high demand for land for hotels, restaurants, townships, retail shops, malls, and many other projects. It has been seen that in a few cases, prices are five to ten times higher than the prices prevalent four to five years ago. The story does not end here, as it is just the beginning. In the coming future, the price will rise more due to a fixed supply of land available for multiple purposes. No doubt, local people will benefit from this price rise, and this will also raise their living standards and quality of life in the days to come.

## **Impact on Local Business and Economy**

Local businesses, including those in retail, food, hotels, restaurants, prasad shops, and handicrafts, are expected to benefit from the increased footfall in Ayodhya and the surge in demand for their products. Entrepreneurs may witness a surge in demand for souvenirs, religious artifacts, and traditional crafts. The overall economic landscape of the town could experience a positive shift as small businesses flourish due to temple-related activities such as lodging and boarding, parks, and ancillary services related to tourism.

## **Forward and Backward Linkages**

Forward linkages encompass the economic activities spurred by construction, such as the flourishing tourism industry, heightened demand for hotel accommodations, and a surge in retail growth fuelled by increased footfall in the area. On the flip side, backward linkages intertwine with the supply chain and production processes supporting construction. This involves the heightened demand for essential raw materials like cement, the creation of job opportunities for labor, and the expansion of the local manufacturing sector producing construction materials, food processing units, the agricultural sector, etc., as shown in the following figure:



The construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya is poised to ignite both types of linkages, paving the way for economic and social development in the region. From the dynamism of tourism and services driving forward linkages to the augmented local production and employment associated with construction materials and processes representing backward linkages, the impact is set to be multi-faceted and transformative. Government agencies and regulatory bodies play a crucial role in the construction sector. Policies, permits, and regulations impact the industry's operations, creating both forward and backward linkages with the government and regulatory sectors. Understanding and leveraging these linkages can contribute to a more holistic and sustainable economic development strategy.

### Spread Effect of Ram Mandir Construction

The construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya will also create a spread effect in the region, leading to an economic boom by creating more employment opportunities for local businesses, ancillary industries food chain stores, etc. Infrastructure development plays a crucial role in narrowing the divide between



urban and rural areas, fostering balanced and inclusive progress. By improving connectivity and ensuring access to vital services in rural regions, agricultural productivity is heightened, market linkages are established, and the overall standard of living is elevated. Consequently, this results in a decrease in poverty rates and catalyzes economic growth in rural areas. The development may lead to an increase in property values in Ayodhya as the demand for residential and commercial spaces rises due to the anticipated growth in tourism and economic activities. The establishment of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya has not just set the stage for the city's socio-economic metamorphosis but has also given rise to an economy centred around the temple. This temple-centric economic model has the potential to enhance the economic and cultural rejuvenation of neighboring areas.

## Challenges

No doubt Ram Mandir construction will boost the economic development of the Uttar Pradesh, there are certain issues and challenges that demand the attention of policy makers and the government. Displacement and rehabilitation of the people who have been adversely affected requires immediately attention. The land acquisition process for the infrastructural development might displace individuals or businesses, raising questions about compensation and resettlement. A policy of adequate compensation has to be enacted immediately. Huge inflow of tourists will also pose a challenge in terms of air, water pollution as well as waste management and the mitigation efforts can be costly. Opportunity of employment available to Ram Mandir construction will attract labour from neighbouring districts and from various parts of the state. In such cases maintaining law and order to make this holy place a peaceful tourism hub should be one of the priorities for the government. Around 100 million tourists are expected to visit the temple every year, it requires infrastructural facilities to at place. A surge in tourism and pilgrimage can strain the existing infrastructure. Roads, public transportation, sanitation, and accommodation facilities might need upgrades, which requires investment. Though the government is working on plans in this context, immediate accommodation of this huge crowd of tourists is also a challenge for administrators. It's crucial for policymakers and stakeholders to address these challenges proactively,

considering a balanced and sustainable approach to ensure the long-term economic well-being of the region.

## Conclusion

According to our Prime Minister, Mr. Modi, “Building a developed India is not possible without the rapid development of Uttar Pradesh.” This statement cannot be analyzed without taking into consideration the recent construction of Ram Mandir. The construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya holds significant implications for the economic development of the state. As a symbol of cultural and religious identity, the completion of the temple has sparked renewed interest in Ayodhya as a pilgrimage destination, attracting millions of devotees and tourists from across the country and around the world. This surge in religious tourism has created opportunities for local businesses, including hospitality, transportation, and retail sectors, stimulating economic growth and generating employment opportunities for the residents of Ayodhya. Furthermore, the construction project itself has injected funds into the local economy, providing employment for thousands of workers and boosting demand for goods and services. The development of infrastructure surrounding the temple, such as roads, hotels, and amenities, has also improved the overall infrastructure of the city, making it more accessible and attractive to visitors. Additionally, the completion of the Ram Mandir has the potential to foster social cohesion and harmony among diverse communities, which is essential for sustained economic development. By promoting religious tolerance and understanding, the temple serves as a symbol of unity and peace, creating a conducive environment for investment and growth.

In conclusion, the construction of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya has not only fulfilled a long-standing religious aspiration but also had a positive impact on the economic development of the region. Through increased tourism, job creation, and infrastructure development, the temple has become a catalyst for growth, bringing prosperity to the people of Ayodhya and contributing to the overall advancement of the local economy as well as the whole nation.

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# The Role of Smart City Mission in Driving Sustainable Urban Planning in India

● Jitendar Singh Bika

*The urban landscape of India is undergoing rapid transformation, with a significant portion of its population migrating to cities in search of better opportunities. This unprecedented urbanization poses numerous challenges, including strain on infrastructure, environmental degradation, and social inequality. To address these challenges and promote sustainable urban development, the Government of India launched the Smart City Mission in 2015. This article explores the role of the Smart City Mission in fostering sustainable urban planning in India, examining its objectives, key initiatives, achievements, and challenges. Drawing upon a range of scholarly sources and government reports, the article provides insights into how the Smart City Mission is reshaping the urban landscape of India and contributing to the creation of inclusive, resilient, and environmentally friendly cities.*

## 1. Introduction:

Urbanization is a global phenomenon, and India is experiencing one of the most significant urban transitions in history. According to the United Nations, India's urban population is projected to increase from 377 million in 2011 to over 800 million by 2050 (United Nations, 2014). This rapid urban growth presents both opportunities and challenges for the country. While cities serve as engines of economic growth and innovation, they also face mounting pressure on infrastructure, services, and natural resources.

In response to these challenges, the Government of India launched the Smart City Mission in 2015, envisioning the

transformation of cities into technologically advanced, environmentally sustainable, and socially inclusive urban centers (Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 2015). The mission aims to leverage technology, data, and innovation to address the complex urban challenges facing the country, with a particular emphasis on sustainability.

## **2. Objectives of the Smart City Mission:**

The Smart City Mission outlines several key objectives aimed at promoting sustainable urban development in India. These objectives include:

1. **Enhancing quality of life:** The mission seeks to improve the quality of life for residents by providing better infrastructure, services, and amenities.
2. **Promoting economic growth:** Smart cities are envisioned as hubs of economic activity, innovation, and entrepreneurship, driving economic growth and job creation.
3. **Ensuring sustainability:** The mission emphasizes the integration of sustainable practices across various aspects of urban development, including energy, water, transportation, and waste management.
4. **Fostering inclusivity:** Smart cities are designed to be inclusive, ensuring that the benefits of development are equitably distributed among all segments of society, including marginalized communities.
5. **Harnessing technology and innovation:** The mission leverages cutting-edge technologies and innovative solutions to address urban challenges more effectively and efficiently.

## **3. Key Initiatives Driving Sustainable Urban Planning:**

The Smart City Mission encompasses a wide range of initiatives aimed at promoting sustainable urban planning and development. Some of the key initiatives include:

1. **Smart infrastructure development:** Smart cities invest in modern infrastructure that is efficient, resilient, and environmentally friendly. This includes the deployment of smart energy grids, intelligent transportation systems, and eco-friendly buildings equipped with renewable energy sources and energy-efficient technologies (Sharma & Singh, 2018).

2. **Integrated transport systems:** Sustainable transportation is a critical component of urban planning. Smart cities promote the development of integrated transport systems, including public transit, pedestrian-friendly infrastructure, cycling lanes, and last-mile connectivity solutions (Roychowdhury & Dey, 2019).
3. **Resource management:** Efficient management of resources such as water and waste is essential for sustainable urban development. Smart cities employ technologies like IoT sensors and data analytics to monitor resource usage, detect leaks, optimize waste collection routes, and promote recycling and composting (Hussain et al., 2019).
4. **Green spaces and urban ecology:** Access to green spaces is vital for enhancing the quality of life in cities. Smart cities prioritize the development of parks, gardens, and urban forests, along with measures to protect and preserve natural ecosystems within urban areas (Chattopadhyay et al., 2019).
5. **Community engagement and social inclusion:** Sustainable urban planning is incomplete without the active involvement of citizens. Smart cities emphasize community engagement and participatory decision-making processes to ensure that the needs and priorities of all segments of society are considered (Dey & Mitra, 2018).

#### **4. Achievements of the Smart City Mission:**

Since its inception, the Smart City Mission has achieved significant milestones in driving sustainable urban planning in India. Cities participating in the mission have implemented a wide range of smart solutions, resulting in improved infrastructure, enhanced service delivery, and a better quality of life for residents (Government of India, 2020). Some notable achievements of the mission include:

1. **Improved urban infrastructure:** Smart cities have witnessed significant improvements in infrastructure, including upgraded roads, water supply systems, sanitation facilities, and public transportation networks (Siddiqui et al., 2017).
2. **Enhanced service delivery:** The adoption of technology-driven solutions has led to more efficient and responsive service delivery in areas such as waste management, water supply, and public safety (Sharma & Gupta, 2020).

3. Economic growth and job creation: Smart cities have emerged as engines of economic growth, attracting investment, fostering innovation, and creating employment opportunities in sectors such as IT, manufacturing, and services (Ghosh & Pradhan, 2019).
4. Environmental sustainability: The implementation of sustainable practices has resulted in reduced carbon emissions, improved air and water quality, and better management of natural resources in smart cities (Bhattacharya et al., 2018).
5. Social inclusion: Smart cities have made strides in promoting social inclusion and equity by ensuring access to basic services and infrastructure for all residents, including marginalized communities (Bhattacharya & Sharma, 2020).

## **5. Challenges and Future Directions:**

Despite its achievements, the Smart City Mission faces several challenges that need to be addressed to realize its full potential. Some of the key challenges include:

1. Funding constraints: Many smart city projects face funding constraints, limiting their scope and impact. There is a need for innovative financing mechanisms and public-private partnerships to mobilize resources for urban infrastructure development (Kumar & Sharma, 2019).
2. Bureaucratic hurdles: Complex bureaucratic procedures and regulatory barriers often delay the implementation of smart city projects. Streamlining administrative processes and promoting greater coordination among government agencies can help overcome these hurdles (Singh & Sharma, 2018).
3. Capacity building: The successful implementation of smart city projects requires skilled manpower and technical expertise. There is a need for capacity building initiatives to train government officials, urban planners, and other stakeholders in the use of technology and data-driven solutions (Dwivedi et al., 2020).
4. Data privacy and security: The proliferation of data-driven technologies raises concerns about privacy and security. Smart cities must implement robust data protection measures



and privacy policies to safeguard sensitive information and ensure the trust of citizens (Raj & Mani, 2019).

5. Inclusivity and equity: Despite efforts to promote social inclusion, there is a risk that smart city initiatives may exacerbate existing inequalities if not implemented thoughtfully. It is essential to ensure that the benefits of development are equitably distributed among all segments of society, including marginalized communities (Mishra & Singh, 2021).

## 6. Conclusion:

The Smart City Mission represents a paradigm shift in urban planning and development in India, with sustainability at its core. By leveraging technology, data, and innovation, the mission has the potential to transform Indian cities into vibrant, liveable, and resilient urban centers. However, realizing this vision requires overcoming various challenges and ensuring that the benefits of development are shared by all. As India continues its journey towards urbanization, the Smart City Mission will play a crucial role in shaping the future of urban development, paving the way for sustainable and inclusive cities for generations to come.

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# Gender Equality and Women Empowerment in Contemporary India

**Prof. Sanjay Kumar • Nikhilesh Rai**

*This research article explore the gender equality and women empowerment in contemporary India. The path of women employment and gender equality in India is a journey of resilience, struggle and hope while these have been significant achievements in doing away gender inequality, the journey towards dismantling deeply ingrained patriarchy and achieving women empowerment and gender parity in India in a true sense remains arduous gender equality in India is the desired state of equal ease of access to ample resources and opportunities regardless of gender, including economic participation and decision making and valuing different behavior, aspiration and needs equally, regardless of gender. The truth of gender difference in India is extremely advanced and heterogeneous as a results of it exists in each field like education, employment, opportunities income etc. on effort has been created to seek out those factors that square measure to this problem in India. The millennium development goal (MDG) also puts emphasis on gender equality and empowerment of women. It is now widely accepted that gender equality and women empowerment are fundamental need for achieving development results. This research article delves into the multifaceted aspects of women empowerment and gender equality in India, highlighted women empowerment programs in India, the progress needs the obstacles that still remain and steps needed to build a gender equal India and suggest some relevant strategies and policies implication for reducing this gender difference and the market dignified position for women empowerment.*

**Keywords :** Women Empowerment, Gender Equality, Economic Development, Gender Discrimination, MDG's.

## 1. Introduction :

Women empowerment the essential ingredient to social development has become one of the most important concern of 21<sup>th</sup> century. But practically women empowerment is still illusion of reality. Gender inequality exists in the form of socially constructed, predefined gender role firmly anchored in India's social fabric that the deep cultural and historical roots (Renu Batra 2016). The word gender refers to the social economic definition of men and women the way society's distinguish men and women and assign social roles to them.

The distinction between genders was introduced to deal with general tendency to attribute women's subordinate to their anatomy. (Suresh Kumar 2018).

In most countries gender equality has increased with economic development. Men while, societies that increase women access to education, healthcare, employment and credit and that narrow the difference between women and men in economic opportunities have increased the pace of economic development and reduced poverty. Gender equality is hence both a cause and a consequence of economic growth. An active gender equality policy may thus be seen as an important component in strategies for growth and poverty reeducation.

## 2. Components of women Empowerment

As per the European institute for gender equality, women empowerment, broadly, involves the following five components: describing the origin of Tharu

- Women's sense of self-worth.
- Their right to have and to determine choices.
- Their right to have access to opportunities and resources.
- The right to have power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home.
- Their ability to influence the direction of social and economic order, nationally and internationally.

## 3. Objectives of the study

The research paper has the following objectives

- To know the gender equality and women empowerment.
- To suggest how to reduce gender inequality.
- To the gender equality and women empowerment.

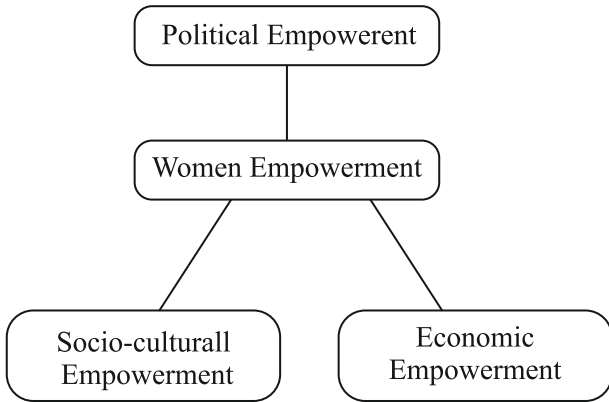
#### 4. Methodology

For the purpose of the study data has been collected from secondary sources. It is collected from journals, magazines, reports and documents of ministry of Human resources development. National family health survey reports etc and various other publication.

#### 5. Dimension of Women Empowerment

Through women empowerment involves enabling women across a plethora of dimension, on a broader level, women empowerment, consists of the following three dimension:-

#### 6. Relationship between women empowerment and gender equality



The concept of women empowerment and gender equality are interrelated and intertwined to each other promotion of gender equality is the first and foremost prerequisite for empowerment of women. At the same time the pursuit of gender equality in herently necessitates the empowerment of women.

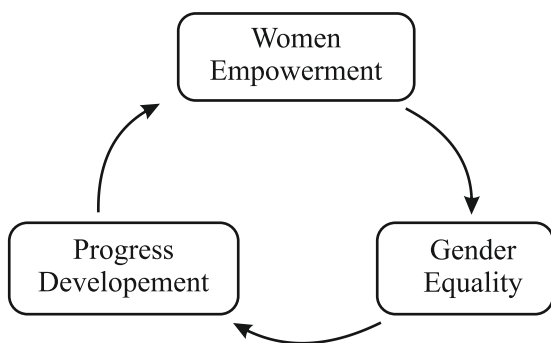
#### 7. Form of gender inequality

Various form of gender inequalities found present in India. Here is a brief explanation of all type of gender inequality.

- Impermanence inequality
- Ownership inequality
- Employment inequality
- Special opportunities

## 8. Gender inequality in India, Important data & Global Indices

- UNDP's gender inequality index 2023, India ranks 122 out of 191 countries in the list. This ranks is only above Afghanistan as for as SAARC countries and concerned.
- World economic forums global gender gap Index-India ranks at 127<sup>th</sup> In the list out of 146 countries of the world. Those index examine gender gap in four major area.
- Economic participation and opportunity-127<sup>th</sup>
- Educational achievement-135<sup>th</sup> rank
- Health and life expentency-117<sup>th</sup> rank
- Political empowerment-20<sup>th</sup> rank.



## 9. Significance of gender equality and women empowerment

Achieving the empowerment of women and gender parity is significant for multifarious reasons. The importance of women empowerment, spanning across socio-cultural, economic, political and other dimensions, can be seen as follows :

## 10. Legal provisions of women empowerment and gender equality in India

Socio-cultural empowerment of women

- Indian panel code. (IPC)
- Protection of women from domestic violence Act,2005
- Dowry prohibition Act 1961

- Commission of sati (prevention) Act 1987
- Prohibition of child marriage. Act 2006

### **Economic empowerment of women**

- Minimum wages Act 1948
- Equal remuneration Act 1976
- Maternity Benefit Act 1961
- Sexual Harassment of women at workplace (prevention, prohibition and redressal) Act 2013

### **Political empowerment of women**

- Representation of the people Act,1900
- Delimitation commission Act 2002

## **11. Government schemes for women empowerment**

The government of India is implementing various schemes to outcome gender disparity and provide equal status to the women in the country. They started National policy for empowerment of women, Nation mission for empowerment of women (NMEW), gender bwd getting. Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Yojna, National scheme of. Incentives to girl for Secondary Education, PMSSY, PMJDY, Supports to Training and empowerment program for women (STEP), Women Leadership development program etc.

## **12. Finding and Suggestion**

- At present 14.94% of the total number of Member of Parliament, 13.9% female representation in state legislatures and as per the ministry of panchayati raj data from April 2023 around 46.94% of panchayat elected representation are women.
- As per the latest PLFS report around 32.8% of females of working in the labour force and International labour organization, say 81.8% of women's employment in India is concentrated in the informal economy.

Increasing gender equality in households, market and society at large contribution to increased growth directly and indirectly directly through women's labour force participation, increased income for consumption and investment.

Closing gender gaps is an effective stratege to promote growth. Evidence from studies looking at gender in equalities in employment

and education combined further strengthens in the care for investing in gender equality.

### 13. Conclusion

As women constitute almost one half of Indian population with their engagement and empowerment rapid economic progress out of the question. For economic growth to be really inclusive women empowerment is at almost value. It is crucial for achieving sustainable economic development of our country and even beyond still a large part of women do not have sufficient autonomy regarding the value choices for their own life. The data also revealed that there is a necessity to look beyond economic resources or material prosperity and into cultural and social influence, which are playing a significant role in shaping the women's autonomy and empowerment.

Alog with government, civil society organisation and all other stake, holders must come forward and involves in the women empowerment process is the need of the hour.

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# An Empirical Analysis of Women Empowerment

● Dr. Jaidave Prasad Sharma

*Ladies strengthening could be a basic issue in today's world, because it points to extend women's financial, social, and political control. This writing survey gives an outline of the concept of women's strengthening, its chronicled advancement, and its significance in accomplishing economical advancement objectives. The survey highlights the different variables that ruin women's strengthening and recognizes effective procedures for engaging ladies, such as instruction, get to assets, and political interest. At last, the survey concludes with proposals for policymakers, respectful society organizations, and analysts to progress the cause of ladies empowerment.*

**Keywords :** Ladies Strengthening, Sexual orientation Uniformity, Maintainable Advancement Objectives, Instruction, Political Interest, Get to Assets, Strengthening Techniques.

## Introduction

Women's strengthening alludes to the method of giving ladies with the vital assets and openings to work out their rights, take an interest in decision-making forms, and have control over their lives. Engaging ladies has ended up a noteworthy issue universally, with numerous organizations and governments recognizing the significance of gender correspondence in economical improvement. This literature survey points to supply an outline of the concept of ladies strengthening, its significance, and the challenges that ruin its realization. Women's strengthening has been a pivotal issue within the global development plan for numerous decades. The strengthening of ladies alludes to the method of expanding women's financial, social, and political control. The strengthening of ladies is crucial to accomplishing sex correspondence and feasible advancement. The reason of this writing survey is to give an outline of the concept of women's strengthening, its verifiable advancement, and its significance in accomplishing economical

advancement objectives. The survey will too highlight the different components that ruin women's strengthening and recognize effective procedures for enabling ladies. At last, the audit will conclude with suggestions for policymakers, gracious society organizations, and analysts to progress the cause of ladies empowerment.

**Concept of Women Empowerment:** The concept of women's strengthening has advanced over time, with distinctive definitions and viewpoints. By and large, women's strengthening alludes to the method of empowering ladies to require control of their lives, make choices, and take an interest completely in all circles of society. Strengthening of ladies incorporates their financial, social, and political strengthening. Financial strengthening alludes to women's capacity to get to assets and take part within the financial decision-making handle. Social strengthening alludes to women's capacity to take part in social, social, and community exercises. Political strengthening alludes to women's ability to take part within the political handle and decision-making.

**Historical Evolution of Women Empowerment:** The concept of ladies strengthening includes a long history, dating back to the early women's activist developments within the 19th century. The primary wave of women's liberation centered on women's political rights, such as the proper to vote. The moment wave of women's liberation within the 1960s and 1970s centered on women's social and financial rights, such as rise to pay for rise to work and get to to instruction. The third wave of woman's rights within the 1990s centered on the differing qualities of women's encounters and the intersectionality of sex, race, and class. There have been various ponders conducted on women strengthening over the past few decades. These think about have looked at different viewpoints of ladies strengthening, counting political, social, financial, and social measurements. Here are a few of the key discoveries from past studies:.

- Women's political strengthening: Investigate has appeared that when ladies are given political control, they are more likely to prioritize arrangements that advantage other ladies, such as healthcare and instruction. Ladies in administration parts moreover tend to bring a more collaborative and comprehensive approach to decision-making.
- Women's financial strengthening : Ponders have appeared that expanding women's support within the workforce and giving them with break even with get to to financial openings can lead to critical financial development. Women's economic empowerment too has positive impacts on their families and communities, counting moved forward wellbeing and instruction outcomes.

- Women's social strengthening: Social strengthening alludes to the capacity of women to take part completely in society, counting in cultural and devout hones. Inquire about has appeared that when ladies are able to work out their rights and opportunities, they have more noteworthy control over their lives and are more likely to form choices that advantage themselves and their families.
- Women's social strengthening: Social strengthening alludes to the capacity of ladies to take an interest in social and creative exercises, counting music, move, and visual expressions. Considers have appeared that social strengthening can have positive impacts on women's mental wellbeing and well-being, as well as on their capacity to challenge sex generalizations and discrimination. Overall, the inquire about on ladies strengthening recommends that when ladies are given rise to openings and get to resources, they are able to attain their full potential and make positive commitments to their families and communities.

Ladies strengthening may be a multifaceted concept that includes a wide extend of issues related to sex balance, women's rights, and social equity. In later years, there has been a developing intrigued within the scholarly writing on women's strengthening, and various consider have been conducted to investigate distinctive perspectives of this phenomenon. One critical viewpoint of women's strengthening is financial strengthening. Women's interest in the labour drive is broadly recognized as a key figure in advancing financial development and decreasing destitution. Concurring to a ponder by Kabeer and Mahmud (2004), women's financial strengthening can lead to expanded wage, made strides sustenance and wellbeing, and more noteworthy decision-making control inside the family. In expansion, women's financial strengthening can too have a positive affect on the broader community, by advancing sex uniformity and lessening gender-based discrimination.

Another imperative angle of women's strengthening is political strengthening. Women's interest in political decision-making has been appeared to be a basic figure in advancing sex correspondence and progressing women's rights. Concurring to a consider by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1997), women's political support can lead to more noteworthy representation of women's interface within the policy-making prepare and can too increment the perceivability and legitimacy of women's issues.

**Education:** Is another key figure in women's strengthening. Instruction can give ladies with the information and abilities required to take part more completely in social, financial, and political life. Agreeing to a consider by Malhotra and Mather (1997), instruction can too offer

assistance to challenge conventional sexual orientation parts and generalizations, and can advance more prominent sexual orientation uniformity and social justice.

## **Importance of Ladies Strengthening in Accomplishing Economical Advancement Goals:**

Women's strengthening is basic to accomplishing economical advancement objectives, such as destitution lessening, sex uniformity, and comprehensive financial development. Women's strengthening can lead to expanded efficiency and financial development. Women's strengthening can too lead to way better wellbeing results, such as diminished maternal mortality and made strides child wellbeing. Sex correspondence is additionally basic for accomplishing maintainable improvement objectives, as women's cooperation in decision-making can lead to more comprehensive arrangements and programs.

**Significance of Ladies Strengthening:** Enabling ladies has various positive results for ladies, their families, and their social orders as a entire. Considers have appeared that when ladies are engaged, they have way better get to to instruction, healthcare, and business openings, which leads to expanded financial development and destitution decrease. Also, women's interest in decision-making forms leads to superior administration and expanded social equity. Ladies strengthening is additionally significant for accomplishing the Joined together Nations' Economical Improvement Objectives (SDGs), especially Goal 5, which points to realize sexual orientation correspondence and engage all ladies and girls.

**Challenges to Ladies Strengthening:** In spite of the significance of ladies strengthening, a few challenges prevent its realization. These challenges incorporate gender-based separation, need of get to to instruction and healthcare, constrained financial openings, and social and social standards that limit women's parts and exercises. These challenges are especially articulated in creating nations, where ladies confront numerous layers of separation based on their sex, ethnicity, and financial status.

**Areas of Ladies Strengthening:** Engaging ladies can be accomplished in a few key zones, counting instruction, business, political support, and wellbeing. In instruction, giving young ladies with rise to get to to instruction and guaranteeing that they remain in school is crucial for their strengthening. In work, advancing sexual orientation uniformity within the work environment and giving ladies with rise to pay and openings for career progression is fundamental. In political interest, guaranteeing women's interest in decision-making forms and

advancing their representation in chosen bodies is imperative. In wellbeing, guaranteeing women's get to to quality healthcare administrations, counting regenerative wellbeing administrations, is vital for their empowerment.

**Role of Government, NGOs, and Private Division:** Governments, NGOs, and the private division all have a pivotal part to play in advancing ladies strengthening. Governments can implement arrangements and programs that advance sexual orientation uniformity, such as gender-responsive budgeting, positive activity programs, and laws that secure women's rights. NGOs can give ladies with get to to instruction, healthcare, and financial openings, and advocate for approaches that advance sexual orientation uniformity. The private segment can advance sexual orientation uniformity within the work environment, give ladies with break even with pay and openings for career progression, and contribute in women-led businesses.

**In conclusion:** Women empowerment alludes to the method of empowering ladies to have control over their lives and predeterminations, by giving them get to to instruction, healthcare, work openings, and political representation. It is an progressing handle that includes the expulsion of structural and social boundaries that avoid ladies from accomplishing their full potential. Empowering ladies has various benefits for people, communities, and social orders as a entirety. Considers have appeared that when ladies are enabled, they have way better get to to instruction, healthcare, and financial openings, which leads to made strides wellbeing, diminished destitution, and expanded financial development. Enabled ladies moreover tend to have more noteworthy political representation, which can lead to more comprehensive and even handed policies.

In any case, in spite of advance in a few regions, ladies still confront various challenges in accomplishing strengthening. Gender-based segregation, savagery, and unequal get to to assets stay major deterrents. Tending to these issues requires a multifaceted approach that includes lawful and approach changes, community engagement, and education. Women strengthening is basic for making a more fair and even handed world. By empowering ladies to attain their full potential, ready to make strides the lives of people, communities, and social orders as a entirety.

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# Relationship between Educational Adjustment Ability and Social Adjustment Ability among Undergraduate Students

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*The present study is aimed to examine the relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among the undergraduate students studying at ICFAI University Tripura. The investigator also wants to find if there is any significant difference with reference to their relationship, on the basis of gender, locality, and academic stream, on a sample of 132 undergraduate students of ICFAI University Tripura, by using scatter diagram and z-test. Adjustment Ability Scale standardized by Bai and Srivastava (2022), consisting of 60 items (30 educational adjustment ability and 30 social adjustment ability) was used to collect the data. It has been found that there is a strong positive significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability ( $r=0.71$ ) among the whole sample, whereas no significant difference was found with respect to gender (male and female), locality (rural and urban), and stream (science and arts) among under-graduate students with respect to the relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability. Looking at the findings, the study concludes that the education is able to train and enhance the adjustment ability in the students, who are able to get well adjusted, which is required most for the betterment of society and nation.*

**Keywords:** Adjustment Ability, Educational Adjustment Ability, Social Adjustment Ability, Undergraduate Students.

## Introduction

The ability to adjust to new educational environments and social situations is an important life skill. Adjustment ability can be described as the ability to manage stress and emotions, to achieve goals, and interact effectively with others. Adjustment ability is likely to be affected by a variety of factors, which includes ones personality, family, and life experiences. Personality traits, such as openness to experience and conscientiousness, have been found to be associated with better adjustment. Family level of adjustment ability also plays a role, which affects the student's level of managing the situations. Life experiences, such as moving to a new environment or dealing with a major life challenges, can also impact ones adjustment. There are a number of things that students can do to improve their adjustment ability. Main source of experiencing these things is possible with help of education, from educational institution. This includes support systems such as friends, teachers, campus resources, etc. Students can work on developing positive coping skills, such as problem-solving and stress management with help of these support systems. For having a satisfied and healthy life, it is important to set realistic goals and expectations for oneself and to be patient in adjusting to new environments.

Adjustment ability is important for students, as it is known fact that they often face new challenges and transitions during their undergraduate years. Adjustment ability can be critical in helping students to succeed academically and socially for overall well-being. Educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability can be considered as two of the main dimensions for enhancing the adjustment ability. Educational adjustment ability refers to the ability to manage the academic demands of college/university life, which includes the ability to manage time, set goals, and handle stress. Social adjustment ability refers to the ability to manage social relationships and interactions, which includes the ability to make friends, handle conflict, and adjust to new social environments. Educational adjustment ability related to social adjustment ability are important for student's success, as the one who are able to adjust well to new educational and social environments are more likely to achieve their academic goals and to have positive social experiences. This explains that students who are better able to adjust to the demands of their educational environment are also more likely to develop adjust ability to the social environment. Students who have better adjustment ability to their educational environment may be able to handle the stress and demands of their college/university life, which in turn may lead to better social adjustment. Many researchers have found that students who are able to adjust well to college tend to



have better academic outcomes and enjoy more social success, than those who struggle to get adjusted. Considering these facts it is felt to investigate the relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among the undergraduate students studying at ICFAI University Tripura.

### **Objectives for the study:**

1. To examine critically the relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students.
2. To study the status of gender, locality, and stream of undergraduate students with reference to the relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.

### **Research Questions:**

The research questions formulated to examine the objectives are:

H<sub>71</sub> : Is there any significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students of ICFAI University?

H<sub>72</sub> : Is there any significant difference between male and female undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

H<sub>73</sub> : Is there any significant difference between rural and urban undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

H<sub>74</sub> : Is there any significant difference between science and non-science undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

### **Delimitations**

The study has been delimited to the final year undergraduate students studying in different departments at ICFAI University, Tripura.

### **Review of Related Literature**

Sharma and Kumar (2022), findings highlighted the importance of educational adjustment in a young student's school career, and expressed that who do not have the ability to control their own lives must fight for social adjustment. Jakhar (2020) study revealed that govt. and private teacher trainees differ significantly in their social

adjustment. Wadhawan (2018) study showed that overall adjustments of girls are better than boys, and girls and urban students were found emotionally, socially, educationally more adjusted than their counterparts. The study of Alam (2017) revealed a significant difference between adolescents from nuclear and joint families on their emotional adjustment, social adjustment, and educational adjustment. Sekar and Lawrence (2016) investigation on Emotional, Social, Educational Adjustment of Higher Secondary School Students in relation to Academic Achievement, found a significant relationship between emotional, social, educational adjustment of higher secondary school students in relation to academic achievement.

## Methodology

**Sample:** Descriptive survey method has been employed for the present study. A sample of 132 final year undergraduate students studying in different departments at ICFAI University Tripura was selected randomly for the present study.

**Tool:** Educational Adjustment Ability and Social Adjustment Ability parameters from Adjustment Ability Scale by Bai and Srivastava (2022) consisting of 30 items each were employed for the study.

## Statistical Analysis

The data was analyzed using the Pearson's correlation coefficient 'r' with help of Scatter diagram and checked with SPSS Analysis and z test.

## Analysis and Interpretation of Data

$H_{01}$  : Is there any significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students of ICFAI University?

**Table 1** : Correlation between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability

Variable		EAA	SAA
Educational Adjustment Ability	Pearson Correlation	1	0.709**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	N	132	132

Variable		EAA	SAA
Social Adjustment Ability	Pearson Correlation	0.709**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	
	N	132	132

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

It is clearly evident from the above table 1, analyzed by SPSS after analyzing with help of scatter diagram, that there is a significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability. The table shows that the correlation is .709, which indicates a strong positive correlation between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students studying at ICFAI University Tripura. From the analysis, it also reveals that, the correlation is significant at 0.01 level of significance.

Therefore, the research question stating that “Is there any significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students of ICFAI University?” states a strong positive significant relationship at 0.01 level of significance.

$H_{22}$  : Is there any significant difference between male and female undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

**Table 2** : Comparison of male and female undergraduate students with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability

Variable	N	r	z test	Level of Significance
Male	60	.827	0.51	NS
Female	72	.514		

Table 2 : indicates that male undergraduate students have very strong positive relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability, when compared to that of female

students who have an average relationship between educational and social adjustment ability. From the obtained z test value (0.51), it shows no significant difference with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability, as calculated z test value is less than table value (1.97) at 0.05 level of significance.

Hence the research question, “Is there any significant difference between male and female undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?” results with no significant difference.

H<sub>73</sub>: Is there any significant difference between rural and urban undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

**Table 3 :** Comparison of rural and urban undergraduate students with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability

Variable	N	r	z test	Level of Significance
Rural	52	.862	1.59	NS
Urban	80	.56		

According to the above table, the undergraduate students from rural area seem to have very strong positive relationship between educational and social adjustment ability, when compared to their counterparts. The calculated z test value (1.59) indicates no significant difference on the basis of locality, as the value is less than 1.97 at 0.05 level of significance.

Hence the research question concludes that there is no significant difference between rural and urban undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.

H<sub>74</sub>: Is there any significant difference between science and non-science undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?

**Table 4 :** Comparison of science and non-science undergraduate students with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability

Variable	N	r	z test	Level of Significance
Science	84	.742	0.59	NS
Non-Science	48	.612		

From Table 4 it is found that science and non-science undergraduate students have a strong positive relationship between educational and social adjustment ability. It is also seen that the z test calculated value is 0.51, which is less than table value (1.97), indicates no significant difference between science and non-science undergraduate students with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability ) at 0.05 level of significance.

Hence the research question, “Is there any significant difference between science and non-science undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability?” reveals no significant difference between them.

## Discussion

From the findings of the investigation, the first research questions examined a strong positive significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability at 0.01 of significance. The finding is supported with the investigation revealed by Sharma and Kumar (2022) and Sekar and Lawrence (2016). The second, third, and fourth research questions found no significant difference in reference to gender, locality, and stream, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.

## Conclusion

The study concludes from the major findings that:

1. There is a strong positive significant relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability among undergraduate students of ICFAI University. It can be conclude as a healthy sign as both the adjustment abilities are important for well being of a person.

2. There is no significant difference between male and female undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.
3. There is no significant difference between rural and urban undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.
4. There is no significant difference between science and non-science undergraduate students of ICFAI University, with respect to their relationship between educational adjustment ability and social adjustment ability.

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# The Role & Effectiveness of ICT Pedagogy in Classroom Teaching-Learning process

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*A study explores the use of ICT pedagogy in classroom teaching learning process and the expected effectiveness in teaching in the schools of southern region of Haryana. This study delves into the various aspects of using ICT pedagogical tools in the private and government schools by the Teachers and utilization of those by the students viz. boys and the girls irrespective of the genders and the regions whether urban or rural. For conducting this study, 200 Teachers and 400 students are randomly chosen from all backgrounds of the mentioned region. Thematic analysis is used to analyse the responses to the designed questionnaire and it was found that the use of ICT definitely enhances the effectiveness of teaching of the teachers and the learning of the students at all levels and classes. And the impact of the use of ICT is also reflected in the contemporary studies conducted in and around the various parts of the country and the world*

**Keywords :** *ICT Pedagogy, Teaching-Learning process, teaching effectiveness*

*“Technology will not replace great Teachers but technology in the hands of great teachers can be transformed.”*

—George Couros

## **Introduction :**

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has altogether changed the entire living style of every human being of the

present era of digital technology or rather to say the era of digital revolution all around the globe. This digital technology seems at its peak and pinnacle, not a single field of day-to-day life has been left out, which is not touched by the technology. Even the most conventional and traditional fields have been renovated or innovated by the influential intrusion of emerging digital technology. Any kind of technology cannot be separated or kept aloof from the information and communication, be it the field of business, economics, trade, agriculture, governance, engineering, architect, designing, management or anything which one can name or figure out. Education is one of the vast and uninsurable aspect of any civilization or the community, which requires evolution and improvisation with the emerging needs and trends of the society at large. The generation is changing and is evolving with a great pace as per the studies of the renowned biologists and the great philosophers and the patterns of our educational systems also changing day by day. The developments occurred during the past one and a half centuries in the field of education are drastic and past 3-4 decades are even more contributing towards this happening due to the influx of the technology in the field of education. Innumerable inventions have altogether changed the whole system of teaching-learning process; they have made the whole education system entirely dependent upon the technology at present. The education without technology has become unimaginable idea for the new generation. Starting right from the planning and designing of curriculum for any level till the last part of its execution, the technology plays a vital and important role. Everything from educational toys to the usage of teaching aids at school level is being visualized by the educators and then planned, designed and prepared or manufactured with the help of technology.

The curriculum itself suggests that complexities of the subjects may be simplified with the help of technology which encompasses the audio aids, video aids, toys, practical execution, plays, origami methods etc. the studies and the research have identified a lot many problems faced by the students and the teachers as well, during the process of learning and teaching a concept which is sometimes not easily comprehended and demands a complete new outlook to make understand the concept and further to retain it for future usage, means the retention part and thereafter the recalling for the purposes of evaluation of the level of learning. There comes the need and importance of technology, which has created a mountain of digital material which is very helpful for the learners to easily comprehend



the difficult concept. The languages or their relevant literature is so deep and interesting but it becomes very difficult to understand at times for many of the learners. The animated prioritization of the literature and with the simplified conversion of the verses makes it easier to be grasped by the learners of all capacity and needs. The subjects taught at the primary level have been made very simple, interesting and even fun loving that every learner is attracted towards it, irrespective of the type of teacher and his instructional skills. The technology is very vast and thorough that it has touched almost the most deprived class of the Indian society by the means of usage of mobile phones or the access to the TV programs or through the usage of computers. The intervention of ICT in the education system has made it more attractive and acceptable by all classes of the Indian society. The ICT pedagogy is not new emergence in the field of educational technology but is evolving with the time. The classroom teaching learning process is changing at very fast pace and new technology is setting-in to increase the teaching effectiveness and thus to increase the learning levels of the learners of all types.

## **Conceptual Framework & Importance of the Study**

As the role of ICT pedagogy in teaching learning process is very important everywhere in the world, it is being observed and established through the various studies conducted in the relevant field, that the learners in the particular region spread all over the map of India are purely from the rural background and the teachers teaching them also do not belong from the urbanized background. Both the teachers and the learners are hesitant or rather not conversant with the latest emerging ICT tools for teaching-learning. This is also assumed that the lack of infrastructure is one of the reasons of not implying the ICT pedagogy in improving the teaching effectiveness. Thus, there is the need arises to investigate about the thought. And this study also helped to find out the minute flaws or shortcomings in the schools to implement ICT pedagogy in classroom teaching learning process and teaching effectiveness.

## **Rationale of the Study**

This study helps to understand how the students learn with ICT, their thinking process, their interest areas, how the ICT tools attract them in the process of Teaching Learning, what types of ICT gadgets or tools are most popular and leave the longing last effect on the learners are the key area of this study. This study is

helpful in understanding how the teachers are practicing ICT teaching strategies for school classrooms. Framing of teaching strategies incorporating the ICT tools, empower the teachers in the profession and also it enables them to teach their respective subjects in more effective way. This study helps in understanding about how the students of government schools are facilitated, in the rural areas of southern Haryana and by using these facilities how much they are enhancing their ICT capabilities. This study has highlighted, how the school as a whole have been developed with ICT capability on both the aspects of teaching and learning as well in the schools situated in the urban areas of the southern Haryana. The use of ICT capability development across key learning areas, create an inclusive technology-rich learning environment. It is apparent that knowledge and skills for the usage of ICT tools, as well as the gadgets and soft tools that support them, need to be extensively available in education at all levels, including programs for the preparation of teachers.

The researcher, while bringing forth the content areas of selecting the appropriate ICT tools to use in the classrooms to increase teaching effectiveness, has been successful to increase the awareness about the avenues to implement the ICT enabled tools. ICT Education Programs for prospective teachers may help them modify the teaching-learning process in accordance with the changes in the field of education and thus provided with some solutions regarding the enhanced usage and utility of ICT in improving the learning effectiveness. In the recent years, the ICT enabled tools have been a gradual urge and requirement of the ICT based curriculum and it must be made compulsory at all levels of education. The present work is need based and is useful in unfolding many aspects of ICT pedagogy and its effectiveness

### **Objectives :**

- To study the effectiveness of ICT pedagogy in classroom teaching-learning process in the southern part of Haryana.
- To decipher the effectiveness of ICT pedagogy, gender wise (Male and Female) school teachers in the southern part of Haryana.
- To decipher the effectiveness of ICT pedagogy, locality wise (Urban and Rural) school teachers in the southern part of Haryana.

- To decipher the effectiveness of ICT pedagogy, nature of school wise (Government and Private) school teachers in the southern part of Haryana.
- To analyse the modalities of Teaching Pedagogy for effectiveness of teaching in southern part of Haryana.
- To study the knowledge and skills of ICT among the Male and Female school teachers in the southern part of Haryana.
- To study the knowledge and skills of ICT among school teachers of Urban and Rural locality in the southern part of Haryana.
- To study the knowledge and skills of ICT among Government and Private school teachers in the southern part of Haryana.
- To investigate the impact of the ICT in the Teaching and learning among the students in the southern part of Haryana.

## **Definitions of the key Terms**

### **ICT:**

Diverse set of technological tools and resources used to transmit, store, create, share or exchange information. These technological tools and resources include computers, the Internet (websites, blogs and emails), live broadcasting technologies (radio, television and webcasting), recorded broadcasting technologies (podcasting, audio and video players and storage devices) and telephony (fixed or mobile, satellite, visio/video-conferencing, etc.).

### **Pedagogy:**

According to Merriam-Webster, pedagogy is the “art, science, or profession of teaching.” This broad definition covers various aspects of teaching, and there are many moving parts to pedagogy that include teaching styles, feedback, and assessment. The term pedagogy boils down to the study of different teaching methods.

In the modern context, pedagogy entered the Oxford English Dictionary in 1571. Pedagogy is the term that describes the relationships and “interactions between teachers, students and the learning environment and the learning tasks.” (Murphy, 2008. p 35). The Latin word “paidagogi” was used to describe the slave who accompanied the young Roman boy to school. Plato described these pedagogues as both leaders and custodians of children (Smith, 2006:

200). From this etymology, has developed the term of pedagogy to describe the methods and approaches used by teachers to lead students in their learning. Alexander (2008, p 6) outlines the difference between teaching and pedagogy by emphasising that “teaching” is an act while pedagogy is both act and discourse. Pedagogy connects the apparently self-contained act of teaching with culture, structure and mechanisms of social control.”

### **Teaching Effectiveness:**

Effectiveness are the requirements of a competency-based teacher education, which includes knowledge, skills and values of the teacher.

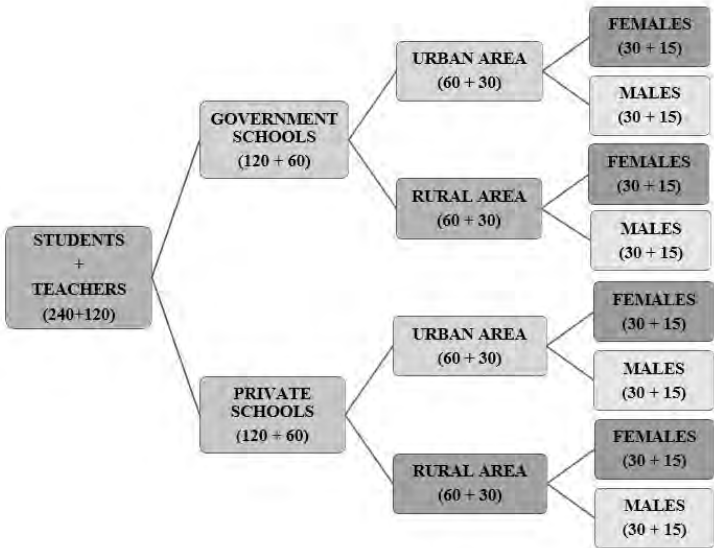
Anderson (1991) stated that “... an effective teacher is one who quite consistently achieves goals which either directly or indirectly focus on the learning of their students”.

Dunkin (1997) considered that teacher effectiveness is a matter of the degree to which a teacher achieves the desired effects upon students. He defined teacher competence as the extent to which the teacher possesses the requisite knowledge and skills, and teacher performance as the way a teacher behaves in the process of teaching. The term “teacher effectiveness” is used broadly, to mean the collection of characteristics, competencies, and behaviours of teachers at all educational levels that enable students to reach desired outcomes, which may include the attainment of specific learning objectives as well as broader goals such as being able to solve problems, think critically, work collaboratively, and become effective citizens.

### **Methodology**

#### **Sample & Sampling Techniques :**

The sample selected on the basis of **Random Sampling Technique**. Out of almost 300 samples only the randomly selected sample of 240 students drawn from the selected schools of Rewari district (Southern Haryana), from Rural and Urban areas of boys and girls. And out of almost 150 samples only the randomly selected sample of 120 teachers drawn from the schools of Rewari District (Southern Haryana). Thus, a total sampling of 360 was selected as the charts depicted below:



## Tools

The researcher has used self-made tests on Classroom Effectiveness of ICT pedagogy.

## Population

The researcher had selected the schools in urban and rural region of southern Haryana (Rewari & Mahendragarh District) as the population for this study. As per the records provided in the website of Department of School Education, Govt of Haryana the population is 1401 Government Schools (as on 12 Nov 2016) and 128 private middle schools (as on 11 Jul 2019) the records were gathered from the official website of the Government of Haryana.

## Variable

In the present study ICT Pedagogy in Classroom itself is an Independent Variable and the Dependent Variable is the teaching effectiveness of the teachers.

## Delimitations of study:

The present study was encompassing total 12 schools and confined to the Government and Private schools of urban and rural areas of Rewari district of southern Haryana.

## Findings:

The inferences drawn after the analysis of the data collected that the urban teachers especially the female teachers are more friendly and conversant with the ICT Pedagogy and hence comparatively contribute more to increase the effectiveness of the Teaching Learning takes place in the classrooms. It has also been noticed that in past 3-4 years the overall scenario of using and utilizing the technology in day-to-day life has increased in many folds irrespective of the caste, creed, age, gender and region. Initially there was a hitch in using the technology (ICT) in the classrooms during teaching-learning process not only by the students but also by the teachers of rural region. The electronic gadgets have become so user friendly that the hesitation has gone away. The teachers who seem bit ignorant while using the gadgets during teaching learning are being assisted by their aware students.

## Conclusion:

In digital era ICT plays the vital role in Teaching-Learning activities and its effectiveness among students in school, for this purpose more ICT facilities should be provided to the schools and aid them to procure the latest electronic gadgets which should assist the teachers to make their teaching more interesting and accessible for the students. The students should also be allowed to be given more of a friendly environment in the school labs for the usage of e-gadgets and some of the tasks are to be based on the electronic devices.

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# MSME Sector and Indian Economy : Growth, Challenges and Opportunities

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*Presently, “Micro Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME)” is emerging as an essential sector for the development of the Indian economy. This sector is contributing immensely towards India’s inclusive economic growth and employment generation. MSME is making a significant contribution to the country’s regional development, industrial production, economic diversification as well as social stability. At present, the contribution of MSMEs is about 46 percent of the country’s total industrial production and about 40 percent of the total exports. In such a situation, the role of MSMEs has become more important from the point of view of India’s economy and economic strategy, with special emphasis on the Atmanirbhar Bharat Abhiyan by the government. Thus, the “Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises” sector has emerged as one of the most vibrant and dynamic sectors for employment creation. But non-availability of local raw materials, lack of entrepreneurial skills, and lack of financial support have resulted in a wide disparity in the development and distribution of MSMEs in the country. It is very important to give priority to the development of MSMEs for the strong economic future of the country. Several important steps have been taken by the government in the last few years in this direction. In this way, during the last five decades, MSMEs, with their continuous progress, have played an important role in the sustainable economic development of India, as well as have worked to strengthen the inclusive social foundation.*

*The present study basically is a systematically reviewed study.*



*For the study there some important research papers and reports of ministries were collected to read. The study tries to analyze the importance of the MSMEs sector in the Indian economy as well as identify the Problems and challenges of the MSMEs sector.*

**Keywords :** *MSMEs, Economic Development, Indian Economy, Employment, Sustainable Development.*

## **Introduction**

As it has been well recognized that “Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises” is one of the most vibrant dynamic sectors of in Indian economy (Naskar, D., 2019). The Indian government has introduced many financial Yojana/Programs to promote the MSMEs sector such as Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana (2015), the Credit Guarantee fund Scheme for micro and small Enterprises (2000), Prime Minister’s Employment Generation Program (2008), & others. These programs have provided immense help to Indian enterprises. This sector is Contributing immensely to Indian inclusive economic growth & development, generating employment, developing the country’s region, and increasing industrial production. This sector also contributes to economic diversification and social stability.

At present, the MSMEs sector is contributing about 46 percent to the total industrial production of the country and about 40 percent to the total exports of the Indian economy (reference). The manufacturing segment of the MSMEs sector itself contributes 7.09 percent to the Indian GDP. Simultaneously, the service sector within the MSMEs contributes 30.50 percent to the total GDP of the Indian economy. In fact, the total contribution of MSMEs to the GDP is 37.54 percent. The current data shows that though, registrations in the MSMEs sector are only 8.3 million (13 percent of all MSMEs) still, these registered MSMEs are creating 46.6 million Jobs. This sector generates employment for 600 Lakh people and creates new 13 Lakh jobs every year (IBEF, 2022).

Though, the importance of this sector has been recognized by United Nations. It says that these kinds of enterprises are working as the first provider of the needs of society. This provides a safe umbrella for inclusiveness and it has been the first driver of poverty alleviation and economic development. Therefore, the United

Nations celebrate 27<sup>th</sup> June as 'Micro-, small and medium enterprises day' every year to increase the awareness of this sector's importance to the sustainable economic development of the economy. But there has been a number of challenges against the existing entrepreneurs and new entrepreneurs to run the business in India. these challenges might be the unavailability of local raw materials for production, lack of entrepreneurial skills & current technical knowledge to fight in the present market system, and lack of financial support. These challenges have resulted in a wide disparity in the development and distribution of MSMEs in the country. This study tries to explain the prevailing challenges in the present MSMEs sector in India and simultaneously explain the upcoming opportunities that can be gripped by the entrepreneur in the future.

## **Background of the Indian MSMEs sector**

In the Indian economy, there has been always a very important role of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises. Before independence, when there was no big industry, the MSMEs sector was playing a major role to provide employment to the Indian people apart from the agriculture sector. The famous Banarashi Sari is one of the suitable examples which even in the present has been the trend. Besides these, there were enterprises of jewelry, marble, statues of stones, wooden-made things, etc. Which were world-famous at that time. During the independence, most of the population was living in rural areas and there was prevailing huge poverty, unemployment, increasing population, and regional inequality. That is why later on the government of India gave enough importance to this sector in its industrial policy. The "Ministry of Small-Scale Industries" was established in October 1999. Then it was divided into two parts "Ministry of Small-Scale Industries and the Ministry of Agro and Rural Industries" in the year 2001. later on, again it was changed into "Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME)" on May 9th, 2007, due to a change in the Govt. of India Rules, 1961 (Innoviti.com, 2022).

If we see the status of small-scale and cottage industries from 1800 to 1947, the Indian economy was having a diversified basis of manufacturing, and there were employed significant numbers of the workforce. the production of the textile sector was leading the

industry. and the cotton cloth made by India's village artisans was the worldwide demand. the main feature of Indian textile products was the endless variety of plain and good fabrics. plain and solid-colored fabrics were produced. During the period from 1881 to 1931, the participation ratio of male workers in the industry declined. This decline had not happened merely with the textile industry but with many other production activities (www.encyclopedia.com). and also, at that time, per worker real income increased steadily, that was indicating an increase in productivity due to the adoption of technology. Though the handloom sector was getting an advantage by sifting to higher-value products, from 1930 to 1940, the lack of yarn was the major problem of this sector. The promotion of small-scale industry had been countered before and after independence. India's MSME sector has been recognized as the main source of economic development. this provides resilience to the world economy from economic shocks and adversities. Approximately 20 percent of MSMEs in India are based in rural areas, and they are continuously providing employment to nearly 40 percent of the total labor force in India (Bhargava, S., 2019).

## Review of literature

**Sonia Mukherjee (2018)**, states in her study that the Indian economy is suffering from many challenges such as high rates of interest on financial credit, challenges in purchasing raw materials at a fair price, lack of infrastructure, and lack of skilled labor force. She also talks about the Coire industry and that though the export of this industry has been increasing in the global market but the net return on the export has not increased much over the last few years. **Pratima Panday** states that the economy can consider MSME as an essential part of the economy. but there are still various challenges prevailing in front of Indian entrepreneurs. And even there is an unequal distribution of MSMEs all over India because of a lack of financial support, lack of entrepreneurial skills development, and unavailability of raw materials. 65 percent of MSMEs are facing the problem of accessing funds from Banks and different financial Institutions. **Roy, A., et al (2020)** investigate the impact of the nationwide curfew during the COVID-19 crisis on the Indian MSME sector. and says that though the Indian government had put up a relief package for the MSME industry, but it was insufficient to keep the business afloat.

During the epidemic, manufacturers of both needed and non-essential goods incurred losses of around 50 percent. A significant portion of small company firms were shut down during the lockout. Where the absence of real demand for products and services was the primary cause. As there is worldwide increasing demand for skilled labor in MSMEs, the shortage of skilled labor force leads to the challenges of a significant gap in skilled labor. **Neelesh Kumar Tiwari** in her written research paper “MSME Bharat Ke Samajik Arthdik Vikash Ka Aarambh” states that during the previous five decades, the MSME sector contiguously has been strengthening the basic ground for inclusive development and playing an important role in the economic development of India. In India’s gross value added, MSME has its, 32 percent share in 2017-18 and it had provided the job of almost 11.10 crore people. **Tripathi, A., (2021)** states that the MSME sector was one of the most vulnerable sectors during covid-19 pandemic due to its size, availability of financial resources, and scale of business. He finds out that 95 percent of firms were impacted negatively due to the national lockdown imposed in April 2020. And after covid-19 almost 35 percent of the MSMEs sector had not any scope for their recovery for their business.

### Issue of the study:

There is a significant imbalance in the growth and distribution of MSMEs across the nation as a result of the lack of access to local raw materials, a lack of entrepreneurial skills, and a lack of financial support. The growth of MSMEs must be prioritized if the nation is to have a robust economic future. The Indian government has made a number of significant moves in this direction in recent years, but despite the introduction of Atma Nirbhar Bhart and other financial inclusion initiatives, Indian entrepreneurs continue to face a number of difficulties in remaining competitive in the domestic market. The goal of the current study is to identify and describe the problems currently facing this industry. The study is also looking for potential future chances for Indians in this industry.

### Objective of the study

1. To study the various challenges prevailing in the MSMEs sector in India.
2. To study the existing opportunities in the MSMEs sector that can be gripped in upcoming times.

## The way of focusing on the issue

The present study is based on secondary information and reviews of well-published research papers. The study is a literature-based study. The secondary knowledge is collected from different printed books & journals. I have also gathered information from many published ministry reports, i.e., Ministry of Statistics & Programme Implementation, Annual Report, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises, (2017–18), Government of India, and the latest NSSO report.

## Defining the “Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises”:

According to the provision of the “Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises Development (MSMED) Act, 2006” Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME) are classified into two categories (Kaushik, M. A.,2020). And now it is also called the old criteria of classification.

- Manufacturing enterprises
- Service sector enterprises.

Under the manufacturing category, the enterprises are classified into the following three categories...

- (i) **A Micro Enterprise is called** when “the investment in plant and machinery does not exceed one crore rupees. and its overall turnover must not be exceeding five crore rupees. The overall turnover of a Micro-enterprise includes the worth value of the land, building, overall investment, profit earned by the enterprises, etc.”
- (ii) **A Small Enterprise:** where “the enterprises are costing the investment of up to 10 crores in plant and machinery, or the equipment does not exceed the economic value of 10 crore rupees. and the overall turnover of the plant must not exceed fifty crore rupees. This part then, comes under the small enterprises.”
- (iii) **A Medium Enterprise:** is called where “the investment in its plant and machinery does not exceed 50 crore rupees and its overall turnover must not exceed 250 crore rupees. This amount of 250 crore rupee may include the economic value of all the parts of the enterprises such as land, working labor and

staff, the share of the enterprises, and building economic value”.

On July 1st, 2020, the new classification of MSMEs becomes effective. The former categorization had relatively minimal financial restrictions as well. Because the Indian economy had undergone major upheaval prior to COVID-19. On May 13, 2020, the Atma Nirbhar Bharat package announced changes to the MSME classification criteria. The manufacturing and service sectors won't differ, according to the new classification. Additionally, a new turnover requirement has been introduced to the prior classification criterion that exclusively considered investments in plant and equipment.

### **Size of the MSMEs sector in India:**

According to the Reserve Bank of India (2017), in the year 2015–16, the MSME sector comprised more than 51 million enterprises employing more than 117 million persons (Mukherjee, S. 2018). At present more than 8,000 products in India are manufactured by the MSMEs sector. This encompasses a wide range from traditional products to sophisticated products (Mukherjee, S. 2018). There are about 630.5 Lakh micro industries, 30000 small industries, and about 5,000 medium enterprises in India. In India, the largest number of calculated MSMEs is in Uttar Pradesh, Which shares almost 14.20 percent of MSMEs of the total number of MSMEs. After Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal keeps its place second with a share of 14 percent. These two states are followed by Tamil Nâdu and Maharashtra (India Bearing, 2022). Other reports say that As of March 27, 2022, there were 79.27 lakh MSMEs registered on the portal. Out of the total registered, 75.41 Lakh were micro-enterprises, 3.50 lakh were small enterprises, and 35,773 were medium businesses (financialexpress.com, 2022).

The Annual Report, of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (2017–18), reveals that during the 12<sup>th</sup> five-year plan 45 percent of the manufacturing output and 40 percent of the total export of the country is being done by this sector. Simultaneously, it has been highlighted by the Ministry of MSMEs (2017) that this sector had a 30.74 percent share of GDP in the year 2014-15. This data indicate that this sector is partially holding the economy as well as the economic development of India. Another report of the “Ministry of

Statistics & Programme Implementation”, states that the contribution of MSME in all India’s GDP during 2015-16, 2016-17, and 2017-18 was 29.5 percent, 29.3 percent, and 29.7 percent, respectively. This ratio was representing that there is not much increase till 2017-18 in the share of the MSME sector in total GDP but the contribution of this sector is very good. In 2018-19, there was almost a 1 percent increase in the share of all India’s GDP which still continues to the present (Table 1.1).

**Table 1.1:** Distribution of Share of Gross Value Added (GVA) of MSME in all India GDP

Year	Total MSME GVA	Growth (%)	Total GVA	Share of MSME in GVA (%)	All India GDP	Share of MSME in All India GDP (in %)
2014-15	3658196	—	11504279	31.80	12467959	29.34
2015-16	4059660	10.97	12574499	32.28	13771874	29.48
2016-17	4502129	10.90	13965200	32.24	15391669	29.25
2017-18	5086493	12.98	15513122	32.79	17098304	29.75
2018-19	5741765	12.88	17139962	33.50	18971237	30.27

Source : Central Statistics Office (CSO), Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation.

### Estimated Number of MSMEs

According to the MSMEs annual report 2021-22, there are a total of 633.88 Lakh estimated MSMEs in India in a working state. Out of the total MSMEs, 324.88 Lakh MSMEs are in rural areas which consist of 51.25 percent of total enterprises. On the other hand, 309.00 Lakh MSMEs is in urban area which shares 48.75 percent of total MSMEs (Table 1.2). The Indian economy has been an agricultural economy this is why it is reflected in the distribution of MSMEs in India. the enterprises in rural areas are more than in urban areas because they have been working for a long period when the economy was dependent on the rural sector.

The enterprises of this sector have been categorized into four major categories based on their production activity. They are (1)

Manufacturing Enterprises, (2) Electricity Producing Enterprises, (3) Trade, (4) and others. Manufacturing comprises 31 percent (196.65 Lakh) of total MSMEs enterprises. These manufacturing enterprises may have the example of a company producing chicken garments in Lucknow or a Banrashi sari manufacturing company. Apart from this trading business companies consist it 36 percent (230.35 Lakh) of MSMEs in the total sector. This is the highest contributor category in the MSMEs sector. The electricity-producing companies are very nominal contributors, and other services-producing companies are sharing 33 percent (206.88 Lakh) of enterprises in the total MSMEs sector (Table 1.2). The manufacturing companies were mostly related to the rural area during the independence, and even today more than half of these companies were being run in rural areas (114.14 Lakh compare to urban 82.50 Lakh). Electricity-producing companies are also being run in rural area more than urban. But trade-oriented companies which consist the trade and insurance sector are more in urban area (121.64 Lakh) compare to (108.71 Lakh) companies rural India (Ministry of MSME, annual report 2021-22).

**Table 1.2 : Distribution of MSMEs according to the category of the enterprises**

Activity Category	Estimated number of enterprises (in lakhs)			Share (%)
	Rural	Urban	Total	
Manufacturing	114.14	82.50	196.65	31
Electricity	0.03	0.1	0.03	0
Trade	108.71	121.64	230.35	36
Other services	102.00	104.85	206.85	33
All	324.88	309.00	633.88	100

“Source : Ministry of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises annual report 2021-22”

### **Ownership of Enterprises:**

Social categories have always been playing a discriminatory role in the distribution of all the environmental and socio-economic resources in India. This study also finds out that the socially backward groups preserved almost 66.27 percent of MSMEs. Whereas only 26.55 percent ownership is owned by both SC&ST



categories. The bulk of the ownership is owned by OBCs entrepreneurs (49.72 percent).

In rural areas, almost 51.59 percent of MSMEs are owned by another backward category however the ownership representation of the SC category is 15.37 percent which is comparatively greater than the urban SC categories (9.45 percent). In urban areas, socially backward groups owned 58.68 percent of MSMEs of which 47.80 percent share belongs to only the OBCs category. Socially backward groups include the category of OBC, SC, and ST.

### **The status of Employment in the MSMEs sector area wise**

In the 73rd round of the National Sample Survey (NSS) (2015–16), the MSME sector was responsible for 11.10 crore new jobs. The micro sector, which is expected to have 630.52 million businesses, employs 1076.19 million people, or around 97 percent of all workers in this industry. Eighty-four percent (844.68) of the 1109.89 lakh workers in the MSME sector are men, and twenty-four percent (264.92 Lakh) are women. This demonstrates that the distribution of work chances in this industry is unequal between the sexes. However, female participation has been rising, and a few of them are even firm owners.

**Table 1.3: The area-wise distribution of MSMEs in India**

Sector	The Distribution of MSMEs sector-wise in Lakh				
	Micro	Small	Medium	Total	Share (%)
<b>Rural</b>	489.30	7.88	0.60	497.78	45
<b>Urban</b>	586.88	24.06	1.16	612.10	55
<b>All</b>	1076.19	31.95	1.75	1109.89	100

“Source: Ministry of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises annual report 2021-22.”

### **The status of the Top Ten States of the MSMEs sector**

According to the NSS73rd round, Uttar Pradesh is the first state of having the maximum number of MSMEs enterprises by sharing 14 percent of the total nation’s MSMEs enterprises. West

Bengal also shares the same representation of 14 percent of MSMEs enterprises (keeping 88.67 lakh enterprises). These top two out of the top ten states are followed by Tamil Nadu (8 percent), Maharashtra (8 Present), Karnataka (6 percent), Bihar (5 percent), Andhra Pradesh (5 percent), Gujrat (5 percent), Rajasthan (4 percent) and Madhya Pradesh (4 percent). All these top ten states share almost 74 percent of MSMEs enterprises in the total of this sector.

## **The importance of the MSMEs sector in the Indian Economy:**

The MSMEs sector play an important role in the development of the Indian economy in various form. Most of the innovation of manufacturing sectors in India happens in this sector. Many big businesses that are being run at present were started in the form of micro or small enterprises. This sector is the biggest employment provider in India after the agriculture sector. The agriculture and MSMEs sectors often play as substitutes for each other.

It is employment only which ensures the livelihood of the people and determines the country's development. Therefor MSME sector is one of the biggest sources of employment that help generate opportunities for jobs in India. MSMEs require less capital equipment, which helps a new entrepreneur to start a business. Most of the time these enterprises start with very low investment in a rural area, then on the basis of market demand they expand the business to medium Enterprises. This sector provides an equal chance to all citizen to start and run their own businesses. this indicates the equal distribution of income and employment opportunities. This generally provides employment to artisans, technically qualified persons. Example, the people engaged in traditional arts such as Dhokara arts in the Bastar district of Chhattisgarh, India.

This sector maintains the regional balance of resource allocation and product demand because most of the large-scale industry is installed in big cities. whereas, MSMEs are installed on the requirement of their regional demand. The people engaged in these industries do not have to migrate too far from their homes. This is the second most provider of job opportunities to the unorganized sector labor force. They are not requiring much intelligence in skill and technology; it provides employment to even

unskilled people. The importance of MSMEs sector increases more when they help to stable the economic fluctuation in the economy. For example, these industries do not have heavier storage capacities which always balance the price level of a product in the market.

These industries are the complementary source of the large-scale industry. Besides the support of large-scale industries, this sector helps to increase the export and decrease the import of a nation. They also reduce the Burdon of overpopulation from agriculture. when a new enterprise is opened that hires the local labor population first, which reduces the extra labor engaged in agriculture. MSMEs have emerged as a boon for the women's labor force. The women population which was not used to engaging in production and economic activities, now they are engaging in these industries. Even many of the MSMEs enterprise is being run by female entrepreneurs. It promotes self-employment and a spirit of self-reliance in society.

## **The Challenges, Prevailing in This Sector**

This is well known that India's economic development largely depends on the presence of MSME industries. and there are nearly 633 lakh MSMEs in India, which contribute around 30 percent to India's GDP. Simultaneously, there are almost 50 percent of total industrial workers and 20 percent of women workers are employed in this sector (Bhalla, R. (2023). But this sector still is facing many of the challenges prevailing in India as follows.

- A. It has been observed that the banks and financial institutes refrain from providing loans to MSMEs sector entrepreneurs because the bank believes this sector cannot repay the loan. Many entrepreneurs have to face these challenges during the time to extend their business and start a new business at loan facilities. there is a strict collateral protocell that does let the entrepreneur take the loan.
- B. In India more than 90 percent of enterprises are small. They are distributed according to their local demand and resource availability across the Indian territory. Therefore, their capacity is for local demand probably, thus we can say that there is a low production capability MSME sector in India. thus, they do not get the much profit as they should get.
- C. The availability of raw materials and procurement of raw

materials is one of the major problems in front of micro and small enterprises. A small unit that uses imported raw materials has to face the problem of abating this from other countries and even sometimes they have to purchase at high prices in crises of the raw material. For example, the handloom industry that depends on its requirement of cotton on local traders has to bring from Gujrat and Maharashtra region.

- D. Marketing-related Challenges: Being micro and small enterprises, they do not obtain any good platform to promote their product. Due to this, the product of these companies cannot compete with large-scale industries and suffer from the disadvantage of selling capacity.
- E. Challenges of Full Utilization of Resource Capacity: Although the MSMEs sector is using the local resources and utilizing them in the development of the economy, the utilization of the resources is not effective.
- F. Problem of electricity supply: The problems of under-utilization of capacity are further enhanced by the lack of electricity problem faced by MSMEs.
- G. There is a lack of effective coordination among the various supportive organizations set up over the period for the promotion and development of these industries.
- H. There is also a lack of good human resources such as office staff for administration, and promotion. In the case of the company the staff, are working traditionally, which means there is a lack of proper training and specialist in a specific field. due t to a lack of specialist administration there are Low levels of innovation and a Lack of availability to speculation innovation instrumentality, which do not let the company earn profit.
- I. In India, there is poor infrastructure for Micro and Small enterprise. A new investor has to face many problems such as a lack of transport connectivity, delays in getting a power connection, water connection, consent of the included specialists to release effluents, and so on.
- J. Female workers sometimes are not given equal opportunities

and even sometimes they are molested or raped in the workplace. Therefore, gender-based discrimination is also existing in the MSMEs sector.

In addition to these issues described above, “Micro and Small Enterprises” have been facing a number of other challenges. These are, the unavailability of market facilities to sell the product, incomplete knowledge about the market functions, disorganized nature of operations, unavailability of credit facilities, the restriction of infrastructures, including power, and inadequate managerial and technical training.

### **Opportunities in the MSMEs sector:**

The Indian government is promoting the environment to generate and promote more employment opportunities in the MSME sector. For this, many schemes & initiatives have been announced such as “Pradhan Mantri Rojgar Shrajan Karyakram (PMEGP)”, “Micro and Small Enterprises-Cluster Development Program (MSE-CDP)”, etc. Moreover, this sector is becoming the source of many employment opportunities in the field of manufacturing and service. The MSME sector is also now emphasizing client satisfaction as well. They are manufacturing things in accordance with customer demands or expectations. MSMEs are performing better with encouragement from the State and the Central Government. Additionally, Indian goods like wooden things, various handcrafted items, etc. are in high demand in the international market.

In every region of India, MSMEs are thriving. The “Directorate General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics (DGCIS)” report says that over the years the share of MSME-related items in overall export have been increasing. The report demonstrates that the growth rate and return on investment are good; as a result, MSMEs have a significant opportunity to draw foreign investment to India. The “Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs)” Department of Odisha got first place in the category “National MSME Award 2022 to States/UTs for Outstanding Contribution in the Promotion”.

The Ministry of MSME looks after many statutory and non-statutory organizations. Beyond this there are many institutions are playing important roles in the development of the MSME sector

such as the “National Small Industries Corporation (NSIC), the National Institute for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (NIMSME)”, and the “Mahatma Gandhi Institute for Rural Industrialization (MGIRI).” The Ministry of MSME administers a number of programs to help MSMEs with financing, technical assistance and upgrade, infrastructure development, skill development and training, increasing competitiveness, and market aid. with these, there are some following points that the government has been taking into consideration.

- I. Now the government has decided to give Concessions on utility bills. Enterprise registered as MSMEs can avail of direct benefits on their electricity and other eligible utility bills.
- II. The government is also providing Subsidies on patent registration which can reduce the investment cost of an enterprise. the enterprises registered as MSMEs s are given up to a 50 percent subsidy for registering them up to 50 percent ([www.pwc.in](http://www.pwc.in)).
- III. The credit-linked Subsidy Scheme (CLCSS) is a subsidy-providing scheme for small-scale industries to up-gradation of technology in the plant. under this scheme, eligible MSMEs are given subsidized for upgrading the technology in the company.
- IV. if the due payment of MSME is to be cleared by the public sector within 45 days, and if any MSME company is unable to pay the interest then the interest will be paid by the PSUs ([www.pwc.in](http://www.pwc.in)).
- V. There, many schemes have been announced by the govt, like, “Schemes for assistance in setting up business incubators, start-up promotion programs, networks of technology centers, mentoring and facilitation for fundraising, etc.”
- VI. The MSMEs also have been availing to get discounts on interest rates on overdraft facilities from banks. this discount is given under the scheme “Credit Guarantee Trust fund Scheme”. This scheme was launched to make free credit to the MSMEs enterprises sector.

To develop of MSMEs sector, there have been taking many steps since 1991 and even before. But some special initiatives have been taken by the government of India such as (1) “Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana” which was for refinancing activities related to micro

industries. The main purpose of this scheme was to provide funding to the non-corporate small business sector. under this scheme, in 2017 the total number of borrowers was 10.2 crore, out of which 7.6 crore were women (Puri, V. K., & Misra, S. K. (2017)). (2) in 2006, the “Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises Act” was enacted. Its work is to provide the legal framework for the recognition of the concept of enterprises. (3) the government of India also launched National Manufacturing Competitiveness Program (NMCP) to increase the quality of the product by adopting the technology. (4) the government also introduced a new employment generation credit link subsidy scheme in 2018. (5) Udyog Adhaar Memorandum (UAM) was introduced to promote ease of business for MSMEs. (6) a “Scheme for Promoting Innovation and Rural Entrepreneurs (ASPIRE)” was launched on March 6th, 2015 (Puri, V. K., & Misra, S. K. 2017). there are also some regional programs has been launched to promote local MSMEs, for example, the introduction of one district on the product in Uttar Pradesh and the GI tag initiative for promoting the regional product. These all initiatives have been opening many opportunities to invest to earn profit.

## **Discussion and Conclusion:**

It has been seen that significant effort has been given to uplift the condition of MSMEs by the government of India, and due to this, the status of this sector is improving. According to different experts of India, The MSME sector is helping for achieving the target of the Nation Manufacturing Policy so that manufacturing could contribute 25 percent of India’s GDP by 2022. The initial part of the study says that after almost 75 years and even after the GPL policy of 1991, there are still existing numerous challenges against the new entrepreneurs of the MSMEs sector. As Pratima Panday says there is an unequal distribution of MSMEs all over India because of a lack of financial support, lack of entrepreneurial skills development, and unavailability of raw materials. 65 percent of MSMEs are facing the problem of accessing funds from Banks and different financial Institutions said (Roy, A., et al (2020). Purohit, P., & Sharma, P. (2023) State the lack of skill power has been recognized as a worldwide challenge of the MSMEs sector in the last couple of years. Simultaneously, dr. Neelaesh Kumar states, In India’s gross value added, MSME has its, 32 percent share in 2017-

18 and it had provided the job of almost 11.10 crore people. The prevalence of this issue makes big-big challenges in the MSMEs sector. The study also picturizes the current status of the MSMEs sector of India. According to the Reserve Bank of India (2017), in the year 2015–16, the MSME sector comprised more than 51 million enterprises employing more than 117 million persons (Mukherjee, S. 2018). The MSMEs manufacture more than 8000 products. This encompasses a wide range from traditional products to sophisticated products (Mukherjee, S. 2018). There are about 630.5 Lakh micro industries, 30000 small industries, and about 5,000 medium enterprises in India.

In India, the largest number of calculated MSMEs is in Uttar Pradesh. Which share almost 14.20 percent of MSMEs of the total number of MSMEs. if we see the ownership of these companies, most of the MSMEs are being owned by socially backward groups. and the distribution of MSMEs entrepreneurs is almost equal between the rural and urban areas. Thus, the study says that the MSME sector is one of the biggest sources of employment that help generate opportunities for jobs in India. it is employment only which ensures the livelihood of the people and determines the country's development. but on the other hand, there are numerous challenges traveling such as lack of finance and credit, manufacturing/distribution related challenges, lack of power and electricity, challenges of obtaining the raw material, lack of proper competitive market availabilities, etc. but because of the government of India has helped to MSMEs sector in many different ways, there are numerous opportunities has been taking place which providing a good chance to open a new business to general people and even to those who have some skill but don't have money to invest. these opportunities are being taken by women entrepreneurs at a very successive rate which shows a good indicator of the sustainable economic development of India.

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# Adoption of Internet Banking by Women Self-Help Group Members in Rural Punjab

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*Online banking enables customers to make financial transactions at any time and from any location with Internet connectivity. With the COVID-19 pandemic breakout in 2019, Internet banking usage has risen. The study aims to investigate the factors affecting the adoption of Internet banking services by Women SHGs in Rural Punjab with a qualitative approach. The study's target population are the women who are members of SHGs in rural Punjab. For this study, the entire Punjab is divided into three regions, namely Majha, Malwa and Doaba. Various questions have been asked based on the factors like Performance Expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, facilitating conditions, intention to use, and intention to recommend, adapted from Venkatesh et al. (2003), which may affect the adoption of Internet banking services by Women SHGs in Rural Punjab. It was discovered that bulk of the female members' illiteracy is a significant factor for the less development of online banking in rural areas. In 2015, NABARD started with the digitisation of SHGs in two districts, but later in 2016-2017, it created the E-shakti project in 100 districts. The present study is restricted to the rural area of Punjab only; future research can be conducted by comparing the adoption of online banking in rural and urban areas.*

**Keywords :** *Online banking, Self-help groups, Rural Punjab, Population, Government, E-shakti project.*

# **Adoption of Internet Banking by Women Self-Help Group Members in Rural Punjab**

## **1. Introduction :**

A new technological era has begun. The quick development of Internet technology has significantly changed how banks run their operations and how customers conduct their banking activities. (Lee 2009). Online banking is the term for banking software that enables users to conduct financial transactions over the Internet from any location that has access to the Internet at any time (Shih and Fang 2004). Online banking is a cost-efficient method of banking that also fosters a mutually beneficial relationship between banks and their clients (Rahi and Ghani 2020). Online banking will meet client needs in addition to those of banks (Shahzad et al., 2017). However, with the COVID-19 pandemic breakout in 2019, usage of internet banking has begun to rise. Online shopping, online billing, and other forms of excessive internet and internet banking use have thus been noted. With the use of online (i.e., internet) banking, customers now have the choice to carry out banking tasks including bill payment, checking account information, and money transfers remotely whenever they want (Abu shanab E. Pearson 2007). So, banks try to improve customer satisfaction by improving their services. Incorporating internet banking into operations has many advantages for banks as well, including cost savings, improved customer service, and increased income. But still customers are reluctant to use online banking services due to worries about security, convenience of use, skill requirements, and the availability of internet infrastructures.

This paper is an attempt to find out the adoption of internet banking by rural women in Punjab, who are members of Self-help groups. Self-help groups are mutual support groups formed by persons belonging to the same level of economy (Brody 2017) towards achieving a common objective. Professor Mohammed Yunus of Chittagong University founder of the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh in 1975, is credited with creating the SHG concept. The government is putting efforts for enhancing the e-system in SHG banking services which will surely take a boost in the coming future. The Micro Credit and Innovations Department of NABARD took initiative in the year 2015 for the digitization of SHGs. In the year 2015 NABARD started with the digitization of SHGs in two districts only but later in the year 2016-2017, it started the E-shakti

project in 100 districts. It is aimed at the digitization of SHGs for enhancing the ease of doing business with SHGs and is in line with the mission of our Hon'ble PM "Digital India," Which will help India to transfer itself into a digitally empowered society. E- shakti is a software that provides the facility to acquire all the information of SHG members with one click which is uploaded on the website. Transactions are updated with the help of apps on android mobiles. SMS alert facility is provided to SHG members. This will be helpful for the quality interface between SHG members and banks for providing hassle-free banking services with advanced technology. E-book keeping for the SHGs, Consistent updates of transactional data, Reports generated in the formats as required by stakeholders like bankers, automatic grading of SHGs based on NABARD norms, and Auto-generation of Loan applications for the bankers are the main features of the E-shakti project.

The study has taken into account the adoption of online banking by women members of SHGs in rural Punjab. The purpose of this study is to gain a thorough understanding of the important factors that influence consumers' decisions to utilize online banking among rural Punjabi women who are SHG members and to provide relevant ideas to banks on how they can retain customers' usage of online banking. A qualitative study was adopted in carrying out this research rather than using the traditional approach.

## **2. Review of literature:**

The ongoing creation of new technologies aims to enhance our future and influence how we live our daily lives. Numerous investigations on the use and acceptance of information technology have been carried out. Venkatesh et al. (2003) revealed that the UTAUT model has a stronger explanatory power than other models in predicting behavioral intention toward an information system.

Performance expectation is the degree of usage of any online banking application to the extent that customers feel their usage of online banking helps them execute any banking job. (Venkatesh et al., 2003) Performance expectancy explains the intentional behaviour to adopt Internet banking. Few studies (Sok and Chan 2011, Martins et al., 2014, Montazemi and Qahri-Saremi, 2015, Oliveira et al., 2016, Sharma et al. 2020) revealed that behavioural intention had a positive impact on usage behaviour and affects customer happiness. Daka & Phiri (2019) conducted a study on the

factors influencing the adoption of e-banking. According to the analysis, Performance Expectancy, Effort Expectancy, Facilitating Conditions and Behavioral Intension favourably influenced a user's intention to use technology. However, Social influence was acknowledged to play a minor role in technology uptake. The researcher recommended that technical interruption should be minimized and it should be made sure that the online banking were advantageous, practical, and customized. Sharma et al. (2020) showed a relationship between the adoption of internet banking and performance expectancy. If the performance of Customer increases after adopting online banking they use more of it. Effort expectancy plays another important role in the adoption of a technology . If a customer does not need to put more efforts while using a technology he feels more comfortable to use it. More the ease to use it more are the chances of adoption of internet banking (Venkatesh et al., 2003). If less efforts are needed to use internet banking people feel good to adopt it. (Chaouali et al., 2016). Effort expectancy shows a substantial effect on intention to use internet banking ( Martins et al., 2014; Rahi et al., 2018b). Facilitating conditions are the other factor affecting adoption of internet banking. It refers to the knowledge and resources necessary to use internet banking. Using Internet banking requires a change in behavioural pattern which may face difficulty in adopting a technology ( Tsai et al., 2014, Tarhini et al., 2015).

### **3. Research questions:**

To study the factors affecting the adoption of internet banking services by Women SHGs in Rural Punjab telephonic interviews have been conducted. The discussion is focused on the adoption of internet banking services by rural women. Various questions have been asked based on various factors like Performance Expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, facilitating conditions, intention to use, and intention to recommend adapted from Venkatesh, et.al (2003) and Yee and Yeow (2009), which may affect the adoption of internet banking services by Women SHGs in Rural Punjab. Based on a conceptual framework, the following research questions have been framed to study the factors affecting the adoption of internet banking services by Women SHGs in Rural Punjab through the qualitative method. Using the conceptual framework, the research questions to be explored are :

**Table showing Research questions :**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Performance expectancy	I find internet banking useful in my daily life. Using internet banking helps me accomplish things quickly. Using internet banking increases my productivity.	Venkatesh et al., (2003) and Yee and Yeow (2009).
Effort Expectancy	Learning how to use internet banking is easy for me.	
Social Influence Facilitating Conditions Intention to Use	My interaction with internet banking is clear and understandable. I find internet banking easy to use. It is easy for me to become skilful at using internet banking. People who are important to me think that I should use internet banking. People who influence my behavior think that I should use internet banking. People whose opinions I value prefer that I use internet banking. I have the resources necessary to use internet banking. I have the knowledge necessary to use internet banking. Internet banking is compatible with other technologies I use. I intend to continue using internet banking in the future. I will always try to use internet banking in my daily life. I plan to continue to use internet banking frequently.	

(Source: Author's compilation).

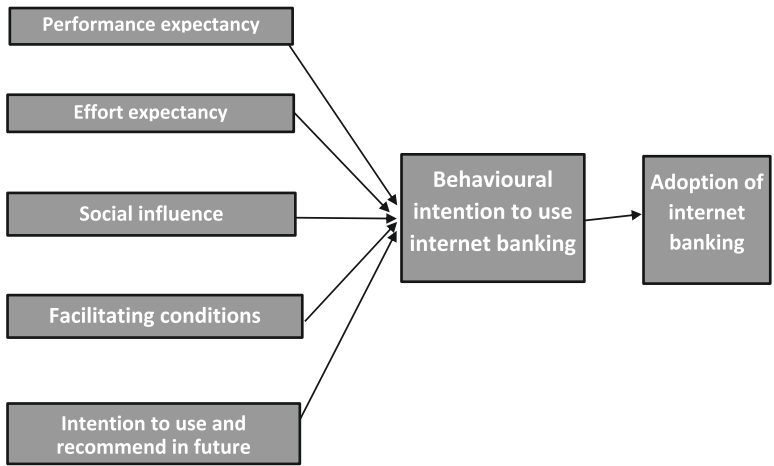


Figure 1: Model adapted from Venkatesh *et al.*, 2003

#### 4. Research methodology :

Overall, 30 women SHG members were selected on a feasible basis for the study from rural Punjab all women belong to the various SHG promoted by *Abhiviyakti foundation* being the principal undertaking of SHG promotion and women empowerment in Punjab.

#### 5. Research design :

A qualitative study was the choice of design to understand the adoption of internet banking by women SHG members. Respondents were aged between 25 to 50 years and came from a rural area of Punjab. In all 7 had the primary level of education, 13 had the secondary level of education and 8 had the senior secondary level of education, and 2 were illiterate. In total all the women were married and 3 were widowed. The women had varying family sizes. Most women had more than 4 members in their family with 2-4 acres of land. In qualitative research, authors can speak with more confidence about the respondents by observing them (Goetz and Gupta, 1996). The purposive sampling technique was used by the authors to explore the experience of women with the adoption of internet services in rural areas who was a member of the SHG for more than four to six years. Purposive sampling also provided an opportunity for the researchers of this study to choose respondents

independently who have availed of SHG services. The narrative telephonic interview was undertaken which lasted 30-40 minutes for each respondent. After collecting all the information from the respondents, it was translated from Punjabi to English. In the telephonic conversation, the researcher followed Sandelowski (1995) technique by using quotations to indicate the trustworthiness of the results. To maintain anonymity, the identity of the respondents has not been cited.

**5.1 Performance Expectancy:** This helps to measure how rural women of Punjab realized that the adoption of internet banking is very helpful in carrying out their day-to-day tasks. (Adapted from Venkatesh et al., 2003)

One of the respondents said :

*While doing their household chores it is very convenient and comfortable for them to make transactions online while using google pay or phone pay. she said she can manage her day-to-day tasks like cooking, brooming, and taking care of kids side by side without going outside.*

Few users said they felt confident using the internet. Additionally, they said that if the prerequisites for use are available, accessing the online banking website is not a difficulty. However, non-users listed a lack of system knowledge as the biggest deterrent to their adoption.

**5.2 Effort expectancy:** This measures the degree of ease related to the use of internet banking. It originates from three constructs of existing models: perceived ease-of-use (TAM/TAM2), complexity (MPCU), and ease of use (IDT) (adapted from Venkatesh et al., 2003).

*Few survey participants who used phone and google pay thought it was very simple and handy to conduct transactions online in a few quick clicks. On the other hand, a large percentage of them thought it was unsafe to utilise internet banking because they could need assistance from someone due to their illiteracy.*

Participants commonly considered internet-based risks when deciding whether to use online banking. However, the study discovered that online banking consumers are still getting used to and unprepared for the emergence of internet-based risks.



**5.3 Social influence:** This refers to the extent to which the opinions of others like friends and relatives have an influence on the adoption of internet banking services. (Adapted from Venkatesh et al., 2003)

One of the respondents said:

*I got influenced by my husband. I started making payments with Google Pay. This is a highly practical method of payment because it only takes one click to finish the transaction in a matter of second. Couple of the other respondents claimed that they started utilising phone pay and google pay after being persuaded by their friends, which they perceived as being a very time-saving strategy. Previously, I had to physically go to the bank; now, I can make the transactions while handling my domestic responsibilities at home and a few of the other respondents said they got influenced by their friends and started using phone pay and google pay, which they found a very time-saving approach.*

**5.4 Facilitating conditions:** This refers to the facilities available to respondents for using internet banking services. (Adapted from Venkatesh et al.,2003)

*Most respondents have access to the internet, yet many are reluctant to use it because they lack literacy, trust and risk involved.*

*One of the participants said:*

*I do not have enough faith in the bank workers to give them my information because they might be scam artists. I would prefer to go to the bank every time I need to make a transaction so that I may always have a record of everything I do.*

**5.5 Intention to use and Intention to recommend:** This refers to the intention to use and recommend internet banking services by the respondent in near future. (adapted from Venkatesh et al., 2003).

*Few participants said that they would like to use internet banking in the coming future provided with some safety measures. One of the directors of SHGs said that*

*Government has already taken the step to start with the E-shakti project which enabled the online feeding of all kinds of data related to SHG activities. And he is now hoping that the government's next move would be to support internet banking in the context of SHG activities. But Few women refused to use internet banking because of their illiteracy, lack of trust and risk involved in online banking.*

## **6. Conclusion:**

A number of interviews were conducted to better understand the adoption of internet banking by internet banking related to SHG activities is not common in rural areas and Many users have yet to give it a try and additionally, the bulk of the female members' illiteracy is a significant factor. On the other hand, most interviewees cited security as the main deterrent to using internet banking because of previous instances of internet fraud, they do not think that their money is secure there.

However, in the UTAUT model, the variables of performance expectations and social influence have a considerable positive impact on the behavioural intention to adopt internet banking (Venkatesh et al., 2003, Patel and Patel 2018) majority of participants use internet banking as they found it convenient which saves lots of waiting time bank and accomplishes things quickly. And majority adopt internet banking as they get influenced by friends, family, and other people.

Some non-users expressed their pleasure with the conventional banking system and said they saw no need to change. Few find it difficult and complex to use because of a lack of education,

others lack confidence in their abilities to use the internet. This study identified a set of influencing factors preventing non-users from converting to online banking are their lack of knowledge of the relative advantages, lack of facilities, technical incompetence; low levels of accessibility, security, privacy concerns; and mistrust of the internet banking channel.

This study suggests that banks should emphasise the benefits of making their members aware of online banking services and provide the knowledge necessary to adopt online banking, on the

other hand, the government should work to resolve the issues stated above.

### **7.1 Limitations and scope of future research:**

It is important to consider the limitations of the study so that it can be removed in future. First, one of the main disadvantages of employing a qualitative technique is that our sample frame is rather tiny. To generate more trustworthy data, our conclusions would have been enhanced if they had been supported by both methods of survey and interviews. Future research should include this metric, once there is a significant mass of Internet banking users.

### **7.2 Practical implications:**

Banks should enhance the privacy and security of their websites to win people's trust. Additionally, banks should develop features that are beneficial to customers and ensure that customers are aware of them. In addition, the government should help banks in their efforts to broaden the use of Internet banking.

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# Women Empowerment Through Gender Budgeting : A Case Study of India

● Dr. Chayanika Uniyal

*As independence became eminent, talks regarding the women's status in independent India became a significant factor. Regardless of how, there was still a bit of focus on gender-related fiscal responsibility. With technological developments, education and modernization, the women's contribution in the national economy came to larger attention together with the inequalities that emerge out of these developments. Thus, a need was been felt for gender-related analysis on national as well as grass-root level. Ergo, it was marked in 2005-06 to adopt gender-budgeting while preparing and analysing the Indian national budget. The article will discuss about the gender budgeting and bring into limelight its significance for women empowerment. It also deal with the challenges faced during the implementation of gender policies in India.*

**Keywords :** Gender, Gender budgeting, Gender policies, India, Economy, Women empowerment

During Indira Gandhi's era, when the Committee on the Status of Women (CSWI) published the report, India realised the necessity for a gender perspective regarding public expenditures. This was the time when a change in the nature of intervention from a 'welfare' approach to 'development', 'equity', 'empowerment' and 'inclusion' approach for the betterment of women's position in the society was seen over time in the Five-Year Plans of the country. It was realised that guarantees of equal opportunities regarding gender by the Constitution would be meaningless and unrealistic unless the country recognised women's right to

economic independence and training in skills as contributor to family and national development is enhanced. Study commissioned by NCW (National Commission for Women) in 2001 to update work of CSWI, concludes that the development on the way to gender mainstreaming since mid-1970 has been mixed and it has shown gains along with retrogressive trends.

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (2001) suggested to introduce a gender perspective in the process of budget. Specifically, it promised-

- Developing “Gender Development Indices” (GDI), with the support of specialized agencies’ networking.
- Developing gender audit and assessment.
- To collect “gender-disaggregated data” through all primary data collection agencies in both the public and private sectors of the Central and State Governments along with research and educational institutions.

India started with WCP (Women Component Plan) in the 9<sup>th</sup> Plan (1997-2002). It was country’s first attempt to ensure some commitment for women by Ministries/Departments in their budgets. However, the recognition of the requirement to analyse public expenditure from the perspective of gender could be traced back to the CSWI, 1974. The report leads towards the changes in policies for women’s development in the Fifth Five Year Plan; and by the Sixth plan (1980-85) a shift can be seen from a ‘welfare’ approach to ‘development’ in the Five-Year Plans of the country. From Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90) onwards the attention was paid to allocation. This commitment was reaffirmed in the Eighth Plan, which mentioned that “.... development of women in different sectors should not be bypassed and there should be special programmes for women to complement their general development programmes. So that latter on it could reflect great gender sensitivity.”

The WCP strategy required earmarking of the funds/benefits (in Plan spending), which should not be less than 30%, in the various schemes of ‘women related’ sectors both by the Union Government and States. Any substantial improvements in the programmes by departments/ministries from the gender perspective could not be brought through the strategy. Planning Commission presented the 10<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan (2002-07) Development of

Children and Steering Committee's report on Empowerment of Women, which highlighted that in most cases, departments took inputs of WCP for reporting the figures, while some departments stated that their schemes were gender neutral. The report also stated that "the concept of the Women's Component Plan must not be abandoned or weakened merely because it was not operationalised effectively".

By 2010 the WCP was given up as a strategy for mainstreaming gender into government budgets. Meanwhile, Gender Budgeting was recognised by the GoI (Government of India) in 2005-06 as a key strategy to mainstream gender concern in government interventions. The Planning Commission stated that "Women Component Plan should no longer be used as a strategy either at Centre or at the State level. In its place as already initiated by the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Women and Child Development, we should adopt Gender Responsive Budgeting or Gender Budgeting only" (Ministry of Women and Child Development).

## **Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB)**

Just to go beyond the allotment of mere 30% of Plan funds, there was an effort to create a bridge between the two concepts of WCP and Gender Budgeting in the 10<sup>th</sup> Five-Year Plan (2002-2007). GRB was adopted and institutionalized by GoI in 2005-06 by introducing the Gender Budget Statement (GBS) in the Union Budget. This indicated the number of allocations for programs significantly benefiting women and the initiative of the Finance Ministry to set up a GBC (Gender Budgeting Cell) in March 2007.

Gender budgeting is the process of applying a gender lens to public financial management, to analyse the gender components in public spending in the all sectors - not only social sector budgets - and evaluate their outcomes. GRB 's concerns are formulation of legislation with gender- sensitization, gender-sensitive policies, schemes, plans and programmes. It also bother about allocation and collection of the resources for gender-sensitive plans and schemes. Other than these other concerns are-it is implementing and executing in a proper way; its monitoring, review, audit and impact assessment are being done in order. To address gender disparities the GRB emphasizes on follow-up corrective action.



The rationale for the GRB initiatives lies in the fact that its methodology recognises the economic significance of household/care sector, emphasizing on the need of public investment in these activities. While men and women have different roles, responsibility and capabilities. But they must not be stereotyped themselves rigorously based on preconceived notions regarding the superiority or inferiority based on stereotyped roles of either of the sexes. For the achievement of desired outcomes, there is an important need of adequate monetary allocations. The SC judges in a case in 2010 on the value of the domestic work, when on the death of a homemaker in a motor accident, her husband claimed compensation. Earlier a tribunal awarded him an amount by calculating an unemployed wife's income as a third of a husband's income. Against the tribunal's judgment, husband appealed in the Supreme Court to amplify the amount. In this judgement the SC not only increased the amount considerably, but also explained that to see homemaker women's house hold work as being without economic value is a displayed of gender bias. Judges suggested that the particular law in question (the Motor Vehicles Act) and other laws should be changed and the parliament should take the question of the value of the women's work.

The Expert Group constituted in 2004 on the Classification System of Government Transactions, which paved the way for the GBC. The formulation of a national budgets involves decisions at three levels: aggregate macroeconomic strategy, composition of expenditures and revenues, and effectiveness of service delivery. The GB methodology offers a wide range of analytical tools for the integration of a gender perspective into these different levels or in combination and selected as per the national circumstances. While the GB methodology includes the necessity for Time Use Surveys, only some countries have attempted it; nor are the beneficiary incidence and assessment surveys generally followed up. Women's unpaid work is drawing increasing attention and being recognized as a critical aspect in shaping a new transformative development framework post 2015, there is an expanding demand for the TUS. Some steps have been taken up in India too but still nascent in stage. Most of the work on GB has focused largely on public expenditure; the necessity for a gender assessment of public revenues is now drawing attention.

Broadly a five step approach was evolved by the MWCD in 2008, which includes 5 :

- First, is a description of the status of girls/boys, women/men in the each sector which enables us to analyse the situation and identify what women's priorities are;
- Second, is a gender aware policy appraisal- evaluate that the sector's policy addresses to which extent regarding the gender issues and gaps described in the first step
- Third, is an ex-post Gender Responsive Analysis of the Budget, which focusing on the side of expenditure to see where funds have been allocated; do the programmes to address the above identified gender gaps and the allocations adequate;
- Fourth, is to move beyond financial numbers and monitor that whether the money allocated has been spent as it was planned, what was delivered and to whom. This includes checking both financial allocation and the physical outcomes (disaggregated by sex); and
- Fifth, involves assessment of the policy/programme/scheme and their impact. It also includes the evolution of the situation described in the First step that to which extent it has been changed towards greater gender equality.

In simpler words, under this scheme, MWCD undertakes several programmes and provides financial support to Central/State Governmental agencies for imparting training to different stakeholders to strengthen the process of GB. There are three main focus areas in the scheme; i) Advocacy and guidance to Gender Budget Cells; ii) Training and capacity development for stakeholders; iii) Facilitating Gender Budget analysis and performance audit.

## **Advancement of Gender Budgeting as a Strategy**

As a tool for analysing government expenditures, the Gender Budgeting Statement has been institutionalised across the several departments and ministries. GBS has been presented along with the Union Budget every year since 2005-06 by the Finance Ministry. It presented earmarked allocations for the women under two broad categories. A-Part that recorded those schemes / programmes exclusively benefitting women and B-Part stated that outlines those schemes and programmes that benefited women in all those government interventions with allocation over 30 percent

earmarked for women. Overall emphasis has been mainly on identifying programmes/ schemes which meant entirely for women or having visible components which can benefit women, and also subsequently having the relevant budget outlays in the GBS (Gender Budget Statement). GBC have been initiated in more than 57 Union Government ministries till now.

The strategy of Gender Budget has covered some ground since its adoption in 2005-06. The number of Demands under GBS has increased from 10 in 2005-06 to 102 in 2023-24. So far, 57 GBCs in departments/ Ministries had been set up to serve and coordinate the initiatives. States like Rajasthan, MP, Gujarat, Karnataka, Orissa, Kerala, Assam, Bihar, Uttarakhand, Chhattisgarh, Tripura, Nagaland and UP have adopted Gender Budgeting. In last few years, it is witnessed that the scope of the GBS had widened to include a wide range of department/ ministries. A number of so called 'gender neutral' sectors such as Telecommunications, External Affairs and Earth Sciences have started reporting under the GBS.

### Matching steps

Complementing the central government's initiative, most states and Union territories have adopted gender budgeting initiatives. A handful of them are yet to follow suit.

#### Implementation of gender budgeting by states and UTs

- Early adopters
- Subsequent adopters
- Recent adopters
- Not adopted



Early adopters: between 2004 and 2007; subsequent adopters: between April 2007 and March 2011; recent adopters: since 2011.

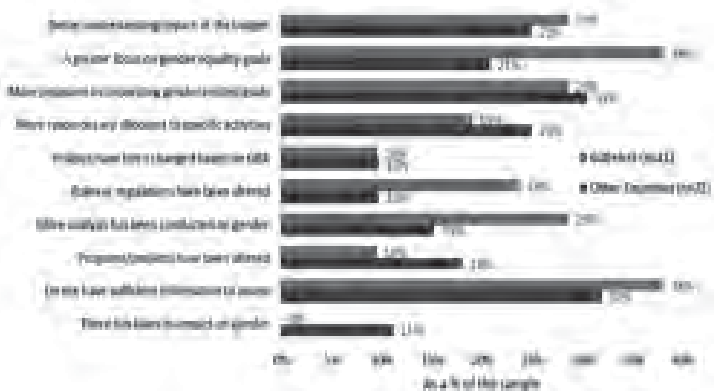
Source: Lok Sabha reply (March 2021), Mint research

Undoubtedly this is a growing and positive sign that many Ministries/Departments and states are joining this process. To that extent, there is the matter of the Women's Component Plan. This is encouraging to witness that certain Ministries and Department, traditionally which have been considered themselves as gender-neutral, have also been set up GBCs, realizing that after all, they all are related to women, in some or the other way. The Ministry of Science & Technology, Telecommunications, Coal, Chemical and Petrochemicals, Civil Aviation, Heavy Industry, Petroleum, Steel, Defence etc. are all included in the list of 57 Departments/Ministries that have set up GBCs. This is also motivating to see that a number of ministries have taken measures to recognise specific gender concerns.

### The benefits of Gender Budgeting are:

First, this approach helps the policy makers to become more aware about the potential impact of their policy decisions regarding gender. Second, It also support the efforts for design or re-design the policies for the adjustments or better utilization of resources to address the persistent issue of the gender gap. Third, the greater focus of this approach is to obtain the gender equality goals, which leads towards the better results. We can understand it more clearly through the example of International Monetary Fund (IMF) Working paper which presented a comparative study (See the chart given below) on the impact of GB in G20 countries.

Impact of Gender Budgeting on Gender Equality

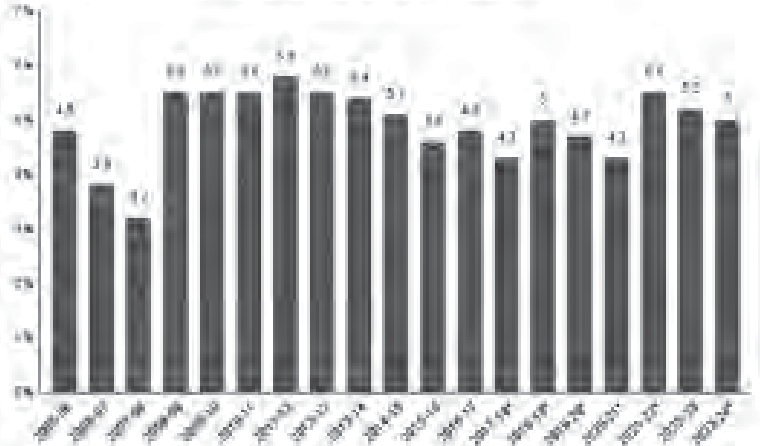


# Challenges which are essential to be addressed

The identification of the challenges will lead to strengthening of GRB partly, to increase gender transformatory outcome. The major challenges are:

**1. Low Allocation of the Budget:** As we can see from the Table given below that the magnitude of the GB which was a meagre 5-6% of the Union Budget, is itself very low. The low allocation could be because of this lack of clarity among the officials about the processes of GB or because of a reluctance of Ministers to report in the GB statement.

Allocation to Gender Budget as a Proportion of the Union Budget Fell From 6.2% (2022-23) to 5% (2023-24)



**2. Inconsistencies in the GBS:** Several departments and ministries (such as Ministry of Panchayati Raj, and Ministry of Minority Affairs) continuedly making their entire allocations to the scheme under Part B of the GBS. Likewise, some schemes (under Ministry of Culture and Department of Post) have less than 30% allocations reported under Part A of the GBS. As a consequence there is lack of clarity regarding how to report under Part B of the GBS, especially for the indivisible sector in the nonexistence of **gender disaggregated data** some states which follow GBS of the Union Government are allocating all schemes under Part B of the GBS (Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Gujarat). Caused by the technical issues such as inability to estimate gender 'proportioned percentage' from the whole outlay of the

schemes, the states 'purposely' report entire allotment for the scheme even in Part B reasoning that it is better to allot the complete budgets under the schemes, rather than reporting an ad-hoc figure, which is hard to arrive at.

3. **Need to provide the reasoning for GBS:** The reasoning for reporting certain proportions as benefitting women in Part B is unclear. While reporting for schemes is done on the basis of how many numbers have been covered as beneficiaries, reporting for some other schemes on the basis of guidelines ensuring certain minimum benefits to women. However, many schemes do not follow either of two criteria.
4. **GB being carried out as an ex-post exercise:** The interpretation of the strategy of GB by most departments is a narrow approach as this strategy is perceived by them as a mere extension to WCP.
5. **Several Departments/ Ministries still not under the ambit of Gender Budgeting:** While the implementation of GB by many departments/ministries that have adopted the strategy requires strengthening, yet there is a concern that lots of departments are still need to initiate GB. Certain important ministries such as Urban Development, Tourism, Drinking Water and Sanitation are still out of the ambit of GB. Some of these sectors are perceived as 'indivisible' but have important gender perspective and efforts must be made to engender their programmes through GB.
6. **Operational Challenges:** Lack of coordination between Departments of Planning, Women and Child Development, Finance and the line departments. This is crucial to operationalise GB and implement it effectively. Almost among all the states there is such lack of coordination which hampers the procedure of GB and prevents it from being designed and implemented properly.
7. **Inadequate priority for GB:** There are concerns regarding availability of adequate human resources as the officials who are given this task are already responsible for a plethora of other programmes. There are hardly any dedicated personnel for GB in the departments across states, which diminishes the priority accorded by the officials to GB and hence it affects its quality adversely. There is also a **problem regarding limited capacity** to do GB as often the officials

responsible for GB have limited capacities to carry out the exercise. Personnel being entrusted with this responsibility, at times, lack the requisite understanding of gender. Even when the officials are sensitised, they often face challenge in identifying the gender concerns in their respective sectors and how to integrate it in their plans, policies and schemes. In this regard, capacity building is indeed an important tool.

8. **Lack of sex disaggregated data:** This is a major obstacle in carrying out GB, especially in the indivisible sectors. The shortage of sex disaggregated data poses a problem both in carrying out baseline survey as well as in **beneficiary incidence analysis**. This poses a major challenge in reporting a specific amount in the GBS, from the total allocations for the scheme.
9. **Some states yet to adopt GB:** There are still a number of states which are yet to adopt GB, and are still carrying out their work on the outdated and failed model of WCP. This is resulting in a continuance of the restricted exercise of WCP (West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, etc.)

## **Recommendations:**

1. **Gender Responsive Budgeting- A Perspective :** A need of change in the approach towards development, by a reallocation of resources that could bring a greater integration about the social and economic policies within a transformatory framework in place of “adding on” some social policies to “sound” macroeconomic policy on basis of market criteria. Mainstreaming gender equitable social policy should be facilitated by GEB through providing sufficient financial support in investment for social and public goods.
2. **Government declared its commitment towards gender mainstreaming through institutional support (specifically Government)** as part of overall macro policy, which is reflected in their Plan and Budget documents.
3. There should be a nodal agency/team, which can coordinate the activities of GB for its consisting of Planning, Finance and WCD Ministries/Departments. The role of the coordinating nodal agency/team could be two-fold:
  - I. During the budget formulation process, it need hold a consultative dialogue with sectoral ministries. So that

gender issues have been sufficiently operationalized in the budget can be ensured.

II. To supervise the execution of GRB initiative in whole country.

4. The GBCs would be focus of sectoral/departmental consultations, but to acknowledge the difficulties faced in their functioning, a comprehensive review of cells is needed.
5. The format and the procedure of the GBS is needed to be effectively act upon.
6. There is a need to focus on a more 'inclusive' budget for vulnerable/marginalized groups like SCs, STs, women and others..
7. Strengthening the capacities of officials to improve gender integration in the process of budget making.
8. Given the centrality of data collection, its analysis and dissemination, collecting gender disaggregated statistics to make GRB more effective is imperative.
9. **Necessity for gender audit and continued monitoring of programs for the women in different region.** Existing mechanisms can be utilized for that. This is essential to include a perspective of gender in the expenditure and performance audits conducted by the CAG. And mandatory gender audit of scheme sponsored by centre and central schemes should be conducted at the level of state.
10. **GRB is needed at decentralized levels:** The central government's sol efforts in budget preparation will yield no tangible benefits unless complemented by similar efforts at the state level, which entail huge "developmental expenditure". For example, expenditure on economic and social services like- education, health, nutrition, water and sanitation, agriculture, irrigation, rural development and transportation. More importantly, it is critical to initiate GRB at the local level. Doing a beneficiary incidence analysis at the levels of institutions of self-governance, municipalities and panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) with the help of respective state governments would prove to mitigate the gender gaps and also facilitate convergence at the grassroot levels.
11. **Gender sensitive analysis needs to be introduced in finance, capital markets and more technical sectors like transport, power etc.**



## Conclusion

The feasibility of such practice should move forward from merely a number crunching to purposeful gender planning. The current trends towards macroeconomic austerity/ fiscal orthodoxy continue to drive policy in gender insensitive directions, and GRB has not fulfilled expectations regarding implementation of Gender mainstreaming, barriers to implementation can no longer be denied in its potential to bring about transformational change through better understanding. For instance, necessity of 'integrate 'macro-economic' policy and 'social' policy, stands out as a lesson learnt.

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# Smallpox and Vaccination in Colonial Bengal with Special Reference to Murshidabad (1901-1944)

**Mehebab Hossain • Dr. Enayatullah Khan**

*Smallpox was one of the serious health problems in Bengal during colonial period. Multiple outbreak of smallpox affected this region many times. Modern western vaccination was introduced by the colonial government to control the disease, but different reactions were seen from various sections of society. The practice of inoculation was an important aspect of the local response to smallpox. The disease was deeply involved with the cultural traditions of the Bengali people and frequently associated with the sitala deity. In the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, various reports indicate that the city of Calcutta experienced smallpox epidemics about four times within eighteen years and each outbreak lasted around 12 to 16 months. Vaccination was made compulsory in Calcutta in 1880 and gradually extended to other regions, but the people of Bengal had to struggle with smallpox for a long time. The disease contributed high rates of infant and maternal mortality. The people of Murshidabad district also suffered by severe smallpox many times.*

**Keywords** : Smallpox, Vaccination, Colonial, Bengal, Murshidabad

Smallpox was considered as one of the most feared diseases in human history. It is a contagious and a viral disease that used to affect only humans, closely related to cowpox and monkey pox. This infection is transmitted by airborne droplets entering the body through the respiratory tract.<sup>1</sup> The disease caused by a virus known as *Variola*<sup>2</sup> and characterized by a sudden onset of fever accompanied with severe headache and backache, followed after 48 hours by a popular eruption on the forehead, face and wrists, which tends to spread gradually over the whole body, but these

used to happen in several stages. Sometimes the eruptions were seen on the palm of the hands, the soles of the feet and on certain mucous membranes.<sup>3</sup> Two kinds of smallpox virus has been identified by virologists, one is *Variola major*, with a mortality rate of 25-30 % and another is *Variola minor* with mild symptoms and a death rate of 1 % or less.<sup>4</sup> The virus used to spread easily from one person's body to another person. Smallpox existed in India and in the world since ancient times. The first evidence of smallpox is believed to have been found in ancient Egypt, Egyptian mummies give us information about that. Symptoms of smallpox have been found on the neck, face and shoulders of the mummy of Pharaoh Ramses V, who died in 1157 B.C.<sup>5</sup> Ancient Indian medical texts *Charaka Samhita* and *Sushruta Samhita* mention disease like smallpox as *masurika* and also in medieval sources.<sup>6</sup>

Development of civilizations and trade routes as well as the expansion of colonies closely connected to the worldwide spread of smallpox. In 1614, a serious epidemic spread from Europe to the countries of the Middle East, leading to repeated epidemics throughout Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The American colonies and British India also experienced recurrent smallpox outbreaks. The introduction of smallpox to the Americas by European colonists and settlers caused devastating losses to the plains Indians of Canada and the United States, the Araucanians of Chile and the Aztecs of Mexico. Similarly, Aboriginal communities in Australia suffered greatly from the disease in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> In Bengal, it was considered as one of the major epidemic diseases during colonial period, locally known as *Basanta Rog* and was a highly infectious, caused a great loss of life in Bengal.<sup>8</sup> The word 'Basanta' is especially noteworthy because it also represents the springtime, at that time smallpox cases were traditionally raise due to the coming of the native peoples from different places for festivals. Between 1900 and 1940, an estimated 667,945 deaths in Bengal were attributed to smallpox.<sup>9</sup> Bengal experienced several acute smallpox epidemics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it came in more severe form many times.<sup>10</sup>

In Murshidabad<sup>11</sup> district, smallpox was occasionally seen in severe form during colonial period. The disease attacked the rich and the poor alike. Nawab Saif- ud- Daulla of Murshidabad also died of this disease.<sup>12</sup> Along with the method of variolation<sup>13</sup> as a treatment for the disease the worship of goddess *Sitala* was carried on.<sup>14</sup> The Bengali Vernacular text '*Shitala Mangal Kavya*' speaks of her role as

a village mother. Various written information indicate that the *Sitala* was worshiped in Murshidabad also. Western Vaccination was introduced as a modern method of treatment by the colonial government and it was regarded as a significant advancement in Western medical science and the sole preventive measure against smallpox. The smallpox vaccine discovered by Edward Jenner in 1798 is an important discovery in the history of medical science. The discovery of this vaccine greatly reduced mortality. Jenner's vaccine arrived in Bengal in 1802. The work of modern vaccination began with the efforts of an European named John Shoolbred. In the district of Murshidabad 360 persons were inoculated in 1803 and 776 in 1804. Dr. W. Cameron's report states that 7223 people were vaccinated in Murshidabad district in 1829.<sup>15</sup> Although the number of vaccine recipients increased gradually, but the native people also had reluctance to receive vaccine. W.W. Hunter in his *Statistical Accounts of Bengal* mentioned that smallpox regularly occurred in an epidemic form in the spring time, before the commencement of the hot weather. Due to smallpox 46 people died in Murshidabad district in 1871. In 1873, there was a severe outbreak of smallpox in certain parts of the district, this time 894 people lost their lives.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of sources in the beginning of the twentieth century it was seen as more severe form with high mortality rate.

With the invention of the modern vaccine the number of smallpox cases and mortality rate started declining in Europe as a result of comprehensive vaccination. However in India, it was not more affected due to various reasons. Firstly, in India, the introduction of vaccination on a large scale could not have undertaken until the 1880s. Secondly, it involved with the conflicts of self-interest between the colonizers and colonized, as well as interactions between diverse ethno-religious combinations. Additionally, people's resistance was seen against the British colonial medical policies of vaccination as a means of imperious control. Because, native people had its collective imagination and own cultural traditions regarding the disease. The practice of inoculation by the native practitioners, locally known as *tika-dars* was also common.<sup>17</sup> These factors created momentous obstacles to the successful implementation of vaccination program. As a result, smallpox was repeatedly seen in epidemic form. According to W. W. Hunter the local people have different kind of perception regarding vaccination. There were a large number of Hindus and some Muslims from Bihar and the North-West residing in Murshidabad District, who absolutely

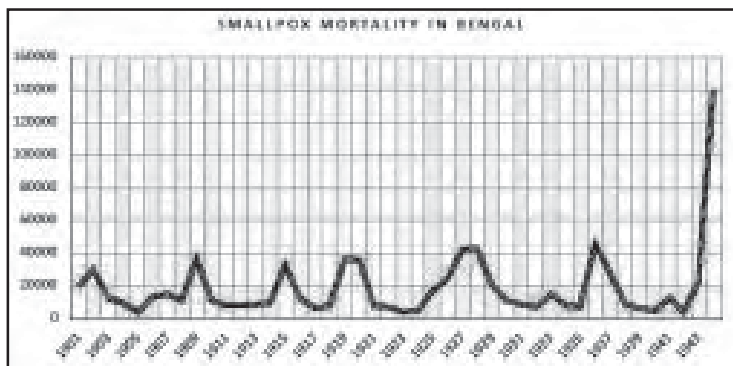
refused to have themselves and their children vaccinated. These people therefore suffered most and even they did not isolate the infected people to prevent contagion. During conversation with the local people regarding vaccination issue, a woman told woman told that “If Kali wants to take my child, she will. It is not our custom to offend my child by vaccination.”<sup>18</sup>

In the beginning of the twentieth century there was a general and extensive outbreak was seen in most parts of the Bengal province. According to the fifth triennial report of vaccination in Bengal, 48,207 people died in Bengal province in the year 1901-1902, where 25,302 people died in 1900-1901 and 14,514 in between 1899-1900. The ratios of deaths per 10,000 of the population were 6.21 against 3.4 of 1900-1901 and 1.9 of 1899-1900. The Midnapore district was mostly affected where 13,458 people died. The eastern Bengal's districts such as Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi and in the north Darjeeling were less affected.<sup>19</sup> Famine and plague epidemics were responsible for severe outbreak of smallpox during this period. The influences plague epidemic and famine were very unfavorable to the progress of vaccination in 1898-1901. At that time the vaccination staffs of all grades largely occupied in carrying out sanitary arrangements and relief works and many people migrated from one place to another in search of livelihood, all these factors were responsible to the spread of smallpox.<sup>20</sup> In most cases, the disease is reported to have been imported from Calcutta and spread among the unprotected population of the rural area. In the next three years, the death toll was comparatively less, but it again appeared in a terrible form during the time of Partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi Movement. On the basis of various reports and according to modern historian the number of smallpox cases and death increased during World War-I and the time of National movement in the various place of Bengal because of mass movement.

During 1907-08, the number of deaths from smallpox in Bengal Province was 31,614. The western part of Bengal mostly affected. Severe epidemic claimed 1,147 lives in Murshidabad district and 3987 in Gaya which was the highest number.<sup>21</sup> The prevalence of epidemic diseases like cholera, malaria and smallpox greatly reduced the population growth in Murshidabad district in the first decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The decadal population growth rate was only 1.71 % where the state population grew at a rate of 6 %.<sup>22</sup> However, epidemics and migration factors affected the population growth of Murshidabad district from the 1870s

onwards.<sup>23</sup> Notably, 13,515 out of the 31,614 deaths in 1907-08 had previously taken vaccine and 11,943 people were unprotected, while in 6156 cases nothing could be ascertained. This report shows that the highest number of deaths occurred among those who had previously taken vaccine. But F.C. Clarkson's report cast doubt about the veracity of this information provided by *Gramin Chaukidars*.<sup>24</sup> In 1908-09, epidemic smallpox claimed 40,927 lives in Bengal. Epidemic outbreaks of the disease in a district had a short of periodicity and it was being more or less prevalent in epidemic form once in five years.<sup>25</sup>

Graph: I



Sources: Annual Public Health Report, Govt. of Bengal

After 1910, smallpox cases and deaths decreased slightly for a few years but it increased again from 1914-15. This year 20,734 people died. The death ratio was .45 per mille of the population as compared with 8,134 with a ratio of .17 in 1913-14. In almost all the districts the ratio was higher than in the previous year. It is important to remember here that in 1912, Bihar and Orissa separated from Bengal. In this decade another intense recurrence of smallpox epidemic occurred in Bengal in 1919-20, according to *Bengal Public Health Report* 37010 people died in 1919 and 36190 in 1920.<sup>26</sup> In the next four years the prevalence of smallpox was relatively low, but from the December of 1924 and the beginning of 1925 it returned again as epidemic form. In 1927, due to smallpox 42,514 people died but in 1926 it was 25,548. The death rate (.9 per thousand) surpassed the previous year's rate (.5) by 80%. In every epidemic the rise began about November and December, the peak was attained in March or April and the decline began about the middle of June.<sup>27</sup> In Burdwan Division, all the districts except Bankura and Burdwan were

seriously affected. So were Murshidabad, Calcutta (Kolkata) and 24-Parganas in the Presidency division and Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur in Rajshahi Division. All these had death rates above .91 per mille.<sup>28</sup> According to Dr. C. A. Bentley, the disease was prevalent in almost all the districts of Bengal. The worst affected districts were Pabna where 4295, Midnapur 3258, Murshidabad 3101, 24 Parganas 2540, Calcutta 2401, Howrah 1944, Burdwan 1814 and Bogra 1610 people died respectively.<sup>29</sup> Significantly, the death ratio was lower in neighboring districts of Murshidabad such as Birbhum, Malda, Nadia and Rajshahi.

Various government reports indicate that the quinquennial outbreak of smallpox which started towards the end of 1924 and its ravages continued throughout in 1928. In 1928, 43558 people died in Bengal, which was the highest death toll during the period of this quinquennial outbreak. This year, 2363 people died in Murshidabad district. Usually the mortality was highest in the month of March to June.<sup>30</sup> However, Bengal Public Health Department stated that in Murshidabad district the disease was noticed throughout the year. As a result the government started vaccination drive in mass level in the region.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand Director of Public Health recommended a number of measures to resist the progress of the disease. Like the Director sanctioned an additional grant, the engagement of district health staff and intensive campaigns for vaccination in Mindapur, Murshidabad, Pubna and Birbhum districts. In Murshidabad district 361,743 people were vaccinated during 1928-29. This year 202,820 extra vaccinations were done as compare with the year 1927-28.<sup>32</sup>

According to Bengal Public Health Department's report Murshidabad did rank after Calcutta and Howrah in terms of average decadal mortality rates due to smallpox in between 1923 and 1932.<sup>33</sup> However, the population growth of the district increased significantly in the third and fourth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This time various public health programs were taken by government. Like Natural drainage systems in Domkal, Lalgola, Bhagwangola and Raninagar areas were renovated, because of that reason the environment in all these areas became healthy. Although, the diseases like malaria, cholera and smallpox were continuously noticed in many parts of the district.

After 1929, the smallpox case declined slightly in the following years in all over Bengal. However, it surged again in 1936, resulting in 46,267 deaths which were the highest in India.<sup>34</sup> 9918 people died in urban areas and 36,349 in rural areas, against 2,269 and 5,279 respectively in 1935. The death rates for the

respective areas were 2.8 and .8 per mille against .6 and .1 in 1935. Murshidabad was the worst sufferer from it. Of the total deaths from smallpox in all the towns in Bengal, Calcutta alone was recorded 4,382. Twenty Three towns recorded death rates higher than the urban average (2.8 per mille), the chief of these being Murshidabad (14.3), Jiaganj-Azinganj (11.4), Berhampur (11.3) and Jangipur (8.9) all in the Murshidabad district.<sup>35</sup> The prevalence of smallpox gradually decreased after 1937 but the in time of Bengal famine it was seen again in epidemic form.

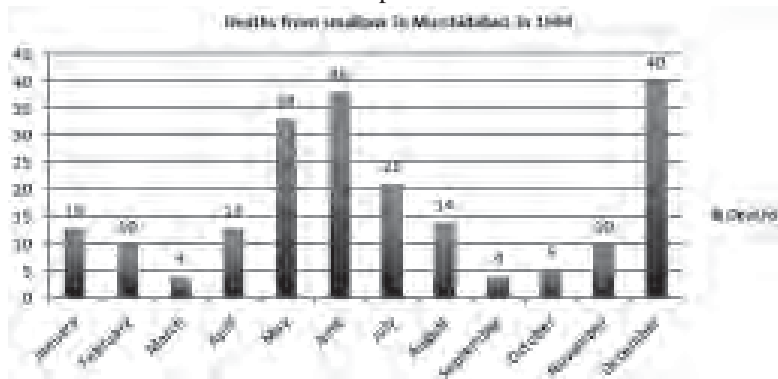
The Bengal famine of 1943 was a devastating event in British India. During 1943 and 1944 India began to be affected by war conditions to an extent much greater than anything that had prevailed before. This was observable in many directions; a steady rise in the cost of basic food materials, shortage and considerable increase in the cost of many belongings normally considered essential such as material for clothing, shoes etc., while the very considerable expansion in war industries aggravated conditions of serious overcrowding in the majority of the urban areas. These events culminated in the development of acute famine conditions throughout most of Bengal. Outbreaks of various diseases are directly linked with the famine. Severe epidemics of malaria, smallpox and cholera were associated with the famine. But mortality due to smallpox was comparatively low as compared with malaria and cholera. In 1943, infection in certain districts was heavy, East Bengal's districts such as Noakhali, Rangpur, Mymensingh, Dacca, Tippera and Bakarganj heavily affected. The existence of predisposing factors made it necessary to institute a campaign for mass vaccination which was started in November 1943 coincident with the campaign against cholera. A special grant of Rs. 50,000 was placed at the disposal of the Director of Public Health for this particular purpose.<sup>36</sup>

A severe epidemic, however, began in December 1943 and raged during the first half of 1944, reaching its peak in March and April and from June onwards it declined. Most of the province was affected; Rangpur recorded the highest mortality while Howrah, 24 Parganas, Calcutta, Bogra, Dacca and Tippera were all very heavily affected. Nearly 34 million vaccinations were performed which of course was immensely in excess than earlier years. According to the Indian Public Health Commissioner's report from May 1943 to April 1944 due to smallpox 106,207 people died.<sup>37</sup> But according to the Report of Famine Inquiry Commission, 125,471 people died in Bengal in between January and June 1944.<sup>38</sup> But *Bengal Public Health Reports* indicates that 22,019 people died in 1943 and 140,480



people died in 1944 due to severe smallpox.<sup>39</sup> Murshidabad district was not affected heavily that time, only 35 people died in 1943 and 205 in 1944. But heavy mortality was seen its neighboring district such as Nadia, 24 Pargana and Calcutta. But district health officers promulgated smallpox regulations in the district of Murshidabad to control it.<sup>40</sup>

Graph: II



Mankind was devastated by this disease for many centuries. The smallpox epidemics that devastated Bengal had a significant impact on the socio-cultural life of the people. Epidemic disrupted people's daily lives and caused widespread panic among the inhabitants. The more severe form of the disease forced people to become superstitious. The application of the Epidemic Disease Act of 1897 to control the disease reflects the challenges of public health management. People from different sections of society reacted differently to the disease and also to the colonial government's attempts to control it through modern western vaccination initiatives. The frequent outbreaks of smallpox, especially its severe forms in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the more virulent forms in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century rendered maintaining public health challenging. There were lack of resources, inadequate infrastructure and strained relation between the colonial state and native populace. However, repeated outbreaks of smallpox epidemics in Bengal highlighted the importance of necessary public health policies and the needs to provide health care in times of crisis.

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3. Suranjan Das & Achintya Kumar Dutta, *Dreadful Diseases in Colonial Bengal*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2021, p. 2; *Smallpox Bengal Vaccination Manual*, Bengal Secretariat book Depot, Calcutta, 1930, p. 88.
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6. Donald R. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Ishrat Alam, “Smallpox and its Treatment in Pre-Modern India”, *Disease & Medicine in India*, edited by Deepak Kumar, Tulika Books, New Delhi, Reprint 2012, p.85; Irfan Habib said “probably the disease appears in medical literature as early as the 7th century, about the same time as it did in the west, and possibly a little after China. His view, therefore, is that it is by origin practically a medieval disease.” See- Enayatullah Khan & M. Parwej, “Health and Disease in Medieval India”, *Vidyasagar University Journal of History*, Volume III, 2014-2015, pp. 38-54.
7. <https://www.britannica.com/science/smallpox>
8. Until the discovery of the vaccine against smallpox the disease was difficult to prevent. In the eighteenth century, about 50 million people died of this disease in Europe. It is thought that about 70 percent of the inhabitants of Greenland died due to smallpox in 1735.
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10. Kabita Ray, *History of Public Health Colonial Bengal 1921-1947*, K.P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta, 1998, pp. 58-59.
11. Murshidabad is situated in the middle of West Bengal, lies between 23043’ and 24052’ north latitude and 87049’ and 880 44’ east Longitude.
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13. See- David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1993, pp. 125-129; Variolation was one of the first

methods that was used to protect people from this disease. During the time of variolation, people who have never had smallpox were exposed to material from smallpox sores (pustules) by inserting it into their arm or through nasal inhalation. Those who underwent variolation typically experienced common smallpox symptoms like fever and rash. After recovery the variolated person was immune to smallpox. But the process was never without risks, after doing variolation it could lead to death or spreading disease.

14. According to Hindu mythology the goddess *Sitala* is linked to smallpox. It was widely worshiped in North India, south-western Bengal, Nepal, present day Bangladesh and Pakistan. The goddess *sitala* is associated with sores, pustule, ghouls and other disease. She was worshiped by Hindus, Buddhists and the tribal communities in India as well. See- Arabinda Samanta, *Rog Rogi o Rastro- Unis Satoker Bangla*, Progressive Publishers, Kolkata, 2004, p. 25; Ralph W. Nicholas, "The Goddess Sitala and Epidemic Smallpox in Bengal", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 41. No.1 (Nov., 1981), pp. 21-44
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# Case-Based Pedagogy : A Promising Pedagogy For Pre-Service Teacher Education

Ms. Meenakshi Chawla • Prof. Anita Rastogi

*This paper presents a strong case for using case-based pedagogy in pre-service teacher education. It dwells upon rationale of case-based pedagogy as a more promising innovative pedagogy for pre-service teacher education. It has a potential role in welding the schism between practice and theory in pre-service teacher education and developing 21st-century skills of prospective teachers emphasised in NEP2020. The researches firmly indicate a number of benefits of case-based pedagogy across different disciplines. The case-based pedagogy's effectiveness can be attributed to its theoretical underpinnings in the constructivist paradigm. It is strongly philosophically grounded in the progressive thoughts of John Dewey, J. S. Bruner, Jean Piaget and Lev. S. Vygotsky. It marks the epistemological shift in pre-service teacher education from the conventional and mechanistic approach to teaching to a more progressive and organic one, that is, active co-construction of knowledge and development of critical thinking among pre-service teachers.*

**Keywords :** *Case-based Pedagogy, Promising Pedagogy, Pre-service Teacher Education, Critical Thinking*

## Introduction

Many novice teachers encounter 'reality shock' in their initial years of teaching, regardless of preparation they got throughout pre-service teacher education programmes (Veenman, 1984). Research has shown the necessity to provide tailored assistance during their initial years of teaching to address both the causes of their reality

shock and the intensity of their concerns so that their motivation to continue working as teachers can be boosted (Correa et al., 2015).

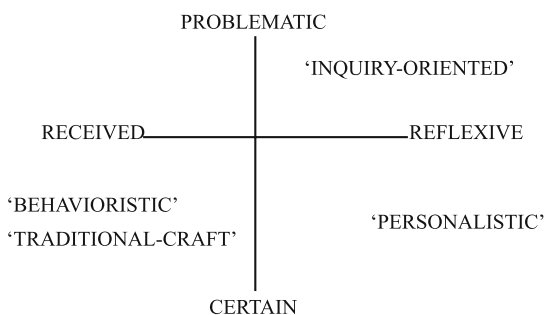
A struggle between what prospective teachers experience in reality on the field and what they learn in theory is evident in the related literature (Darling Hammond, 2006; Shulman, 1996). The theory-practice schism in initial teacher preparation programmes has been reiterated as major issue in the international literature (Averill, et. al., 2020; Helleve & Ulvi, 2023; Strangeways & Papatraianou, 2016) and the reports of various Indian Education Commissions, Committees and National Policies. The major aim of teacher education is to enable the development of capacities of pre-service teachers for reflective practice based on their critical examination of the political, moral, ethical and instrumental issues which are embedded in their daily experiences on the field. This is possible through focussing more on the reflective and problematic dimensions rather than received and certain dimensions. (Zeichner, 1983).

## Pre-service Teacher Education : Major Concerns

Teacher education at pre-service stage is not value-neutral. In fact there are various paradigms which define the core beliefs and assumptions of initial teacher preparation. The discourse of pre-service teacher education has been mainly dominated by four paradigms: Behaviouristic, Personalistic, Traditional-Craft and Inquiry-Oriented (Zeichner, 1983) as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

*A Summary of Four Paradigms of Teacher Education*



Source : Zeichner, K. M. (1983). Alternative Paradigms of Teacher Education.

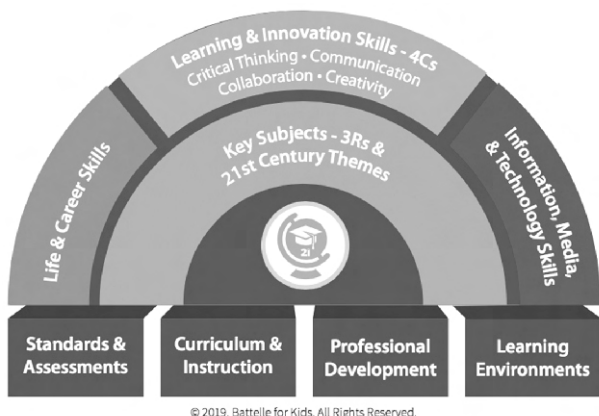
Of these paradigms, inquiry-oriented paradigm has been emphasised in the National Curriculum Framework for Teacher Education, 2009. This curriculum framework sees teachers, teacher educators and pre-service teachers as humane and reflective practitioners who can and should think critically and collaborate. It emphasises that learning happens through dialogical experiences rather than through didactic communication. A basic question posed by NCFTE, 2009 is 'What value does teacher education offer to the prospective teacher's ability to address issues of aiding the growth of critical and creative pupils and subsequently adults?' In tune with the philosophy of this framework, the teacher education institutions have changed their curriculum. However, much more is needed to realise the goals of pre-service teacher education in letter and spirit because actual implementation (in terms of transaction of the curriculum) is still grounded in the traditional behaviouristic orientation of teacher education (Vaid, 2020). Due to the adoption of conventional pedagogies the pre-service teachers are finding it difficult to make connections between theory and practice .

The need for all the teachers to acquire not merely multifarious skills and knowledge but also to put into practice desirable values and attitudes in their relations and interactions with students is an important issue of concern in the 21st century approach to teacher education (National Institute of Education [NIE], 2009). It has been suggested by Shulman (1996), Darling-Hammond (2006) as well as Merseth (1996) that this issue of concern for pre-service teachers can be exacerbated by irrelevant pedagogies used in teacher education programmes that fail to account for the complicated nature of teacher knowledge and how this is co-constructed. This is a major concern in pre-service teacher education which requires to be addressed in order to move away from conventional pedagogies and connect theory-practice .

In 2009 the Partnership for Twenty-First Century Skills formulated a unified framework for the 21st Century Learning to help practitioners integrate various skills into the teaching of fundamental academic subjects. It explains the skills and expertise knowledge learners must acquire to gain mastery for the success in their work and lives. Not only are students required to possess these 21st century skills, but also pre-service and in-service

teachers. The figure 2 below depicts the P21 Framework for 21st Century Learning.

Figure 2 : P21 Framework for 21st Century Learning



**Online Source :** [https://static.battelleforkids.org/documents/p21/P21\\_Framework\\_Brief.pdf](https://static.battelleforkids.org/documents/p21/P21_Framework_Brief.pdf)

Students as well as prospective teachers must master the necessary skills viz. critical thinking, problem solving, communication, collaboration, creativity and innovation for success in the modern world. The entire Framework requires to be integrated with the essential support systems viz. assessment , standards, curriculum and instruction, professional development and learning environments. This framework highlights the need of developing 21st century skills amongst prospective teachers during their pre-service teacher education programme.

NEP-2020 also emphasises the development of 21st-century skills among learners that is not possible unless our prospective teachers develop the skill set to inculcate these skills among their learners . Pre-service teacher education in the 21st century requires an infusion of ‘newly emerging pedagogies such as Case-method’ (Darling Hammond, 2006). However the existing initial teacher preparation programmes, particularly in Indian context, lack strong and persistent stress on the development of 21st century skills viz. critical thinking among our pre-service teachers. This stands out as another major concern in pre-service teacher education discourse and needs academia’s immediate attention .



## Case-Based Pedagogy : Need of the Hour

Case-based pedagogy is championed as the need-of-the-hour pedagogic practice because in this cases are developed and used to enable pre-service teachers deal with complexities and uncertainties of teaching on the field (Philipose, 2014).

The need to address theory-practice gap in teacher education, develop pre-service teachers as reflective practitioners and prepare them for instilling 21st-century skills among learners requires a parallel reflection on the pedagogic practices followed and the alternative pedagogies needed for our pre-service teacher education programmes.

Amongst various alternative pedagogies, case-based pedagogy has been turning out to be relatively newer and more promising pedagogy. This is because it has the highest potential in addressing theory–practice gap, developing critical thinking among pre-service teachers by engaging them in the active and critical generation of knowledge in shared context. During the past decade, many educators regarded case-based pedagogy as one of the much needed reforms in professional development of teachers (Doyle, 1990; Hutchings, 1993; Merseth, 1996; Shulman, 1987; Sykes & Bird, 1992).

Some of the characteristics of case-based pedagogy that determine its potential as a more promising innovative pedagogy in the discourse of pre-service teacher education can be outlined as follows :

- It offers an authentic learning environment where prospective teachers encounter same kinds of choices as well as challenges that real practitioners face.(Akbulut & Hill, 2020)
- It enables the critical construction of knowledge that is relevant to the real world making it more contextual and meaningful. (Cherubini, 2009 ; Chronopoulou, 2016)
- It gives prospective teachers an opportunity to work through their problems at cognitive level, which promotes metacognition and changes the way they think. It leads to the development of the abilities of critical thinking, problem-solving and decision making.(Arellano, et. al., 2001; Giancarlo & Facione , 2001)
- It prepares future teachers for the varied, unexpected and complex nature of teaching through the use of case knowledge.

(Christensen 1987; Levin, B.B., 1995; Merseth 1991; Richardson, 1991; Welty 1989)

The advantages of case method have also been reiterated in different ways through the recommendations of various Indian Commissions and Committees. The Kothari Commission Report (1966) clearly states “...the (teacher) training institutions have to make good this deficiency to the extent possible and give students (pre-service teachers) opportunities to think, read, study and discuss. “...case studies, .....discussions .... should form an integral part of the work of training institutions.” (National Council of Educational Research and Training [NCERT] , 1970, p.122). The Chattopadhyaya Commission Report (1983-85) highlights the need of updating the teaching methodologies used in teacher education colleges in order to prepare teachers who can bring reforms at school level. The obsolescence and irrelevance of the present methodology needs to be addressed by creating opportunities for pupil teachers to critically learn from various experiences how they have to teach at school.

The National Education Policy, 2020 reinforces the shift toward learning and teaching about how to co-construct, how to analyse and think through a critical lens, how to unravel problems , how to trigger and develop multiple perspectives and how to retain multi-disciplinarity. “Curriculum content will be reduced in each subject to its core essentials, to make space for critical thinking and more holistic, inquiry-based, discovery-based, discussion-based, and analysis-based learning. The mandated content will focus on key concepts, ideas, applications, and problem solving.” (National Education Policy [NEP], 2020) .

The National Curriculum Framework for School Education, 2023 also mentions “ Using case studies supports participatory, discussion-based way of learning where students gain capacities in critical thinking, communication, and group dynamics. It is a type of problem-based learning where students have the opportunity to understand the available data and explore multiple perspectives. It is a way for students to move beyond having to find a single solution, while focusing on developing ideas for possible action at different levels.” (National Steering Committee for National Curriculum Frameworks [NSCNCF], 2023) .

When we look into the Indian context the interest in researching

the alternatives to the traditional methods of teaching has been increasing and the case-based pedagogy is being seen as the potent pedagogic strategy in teacher education discourse in contemporary times. The advocates of this kind of pedagogy stress on its greatest strength of developing the capacity to make well informed choices and decisions in the times of uncertainty in teaching profession through the appropriate use of 'cases'.

### **Case-Based Pedagogy: The Theoretical Underpinnings**

The constructivist paradigm serves as the theoretical foundation for case-based pedagogy. This paradigm is based on the premise that learning becomes more effective when pre-service teachers actively generate knowledge on their own rather than merely absorbing it from authority figures in the system. In terms of the activities used in the classroom context and the teaching-learning materials used, case-based pedagogy suggests that real classroom experiences differ from typical classroom experiences. The prospective teacher is put at the core of the instructional process by this relatively new and innovative approach. With the notion of case-based pedagogy and the 21st century skills pre-service teachers are learning, they are given significant responsibility for what and how they are learning. Under the constructivist paradigm, this serves as a fundamentally sound building block for the prospective teachers in their teacher preparation. This is because under this paradigm, knowledge construction happens in critical and collaborative manner through social interaction rather than competing as individuals in the process of learning.

Different theorists viz. John Dewey, J.S. Bruner, Jean Piaget and Lev S. Vygotsky support the idea that theoretical underpinnings of case-based pedagogy can be drawn from the constructivist paradigm. The concepts of discovery learning, Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and scaffolding are significant from the viewpoint of learning and teaching in this newer form of pedagogy viz. case-based pedagogy. Dewey states "Each case has to be dealt with as it arises, on the basis of its importance and of the context in which it occurs." (Dewey, 1910, pp.78)

The theoretical underpinnings derived from constructivist paradigm make a strong case for case-based pedagogy to meet the demands and needs of the changing landscape of teacher education at pre-service stage. This is because it marks the much needed

epistemological shift from mechanistic and traditional to the organic and progressive approach to teaching and teacher knowledge. The key to case-based pedagogy's success is assisting pre-service teachers in cultivating their critical thinking, problem-solving, and deliberate, independent behaviour. (Golich, et al. , 2000)

In the light of everything said, case-based pedagogy has a significant potential to foster among the prospective teachers and teacher educators a consciousness raising of multitude of classroom realities which are not to be comprehended as "given" rather as "made". Effective examples can build process of teaching-learning in which pre-service teachers closely observe, draw conclusions, recognise links, and develop organising principles. Pre-service teachers who use case-based pedagogy get an understanding that educational challenges are constructed; they are not givens. (Levin, 1995). This is in line with the issues outlined by NCF 2005 , NCFTE 2009 and NEP2020.

## **Effectiveness of Case-Based Pedagogy as Revealed Through Researches**

Various researches which have been conducted establish the significance of case-based pedagogy across different disciplines like law, medicine, management studies and teacher education (Alsaman, 2017; Averill et al., 2020 ; Ferguson & Womack, 1993; Jones, S.A., 2016; Krain, 2010; Smith, 2005). It has been found that case-based pedagogy helps students and pre-service teachers create a connection between theory and practice (Helleve & Ulvik, 2021). It has been highlighted that pre-service teachers have positive attitudes about case-based pedagogy and that discussions in groups and effective learning environments can be generated with the help of case-based pedagogy (Kleinfield, 1991; Flynn & Klein, 2001; Ulvik et al., 2020) .

It has been found to be assisting pre-service teachers in developing their classroom preparedness and adequately preparing them for the unexpected teaching-learning settings. (Heitzmann, 2008; Strangeways & Paptraianou, 2016). The research findings reveal that pre-service teachers perceive case-based pedagogy to be more effective than traditional pedagogy. For case-based pedagogy to be effective, case development and discussion are key components. The case-based pedagogy's effectiveness lies in

improving student behaviour in the classroom and instructor effectiveness; enabling personal growth as well as collective growth of teacher community (pre-service teachers and teacher educators); identifying dilemmas and making ethical decisions across different disciplines including teacher education (Harrington, 1995; Levin, 1995; Shulman, 2000 ; Mostert, 2007).

Case-based pedagogy promotes effective learning and development of skills like critical thinking, communication, team work, etc. in different disciplines viz. accounting, marketing, business, food service, teacher education and so on ( Arellano et al., 2001; Giacallone, 2016; Savery, J., & Duffy, T. M., 1996; Silverman & Welty, 1996 ; Singh, 2015). Arellano et.al. (2001) highlighted that casemethod has been seen as a significant reason behind the growth of science teacher education reforms. A number of studies have been undertaken on case development in different disciplines and their use for discussions to understand the effectiveness of case-based pedagogy. Singh (2015) has also performed a research work in comprehending the case-based method in teaching and has emphasised this pedagogy as an effective way of teaching in marketing and business related disciplines. Case-based pedagogy through storytelling increases student inclusion and involvement (Hoffer, 2020; Lundeberg & Scheurman, 1997). The effectiveness of case based pedagogy has been found with respect to various dimensions of online teaching (Luo, 2015; Bayram , 2012 ; Zhang et al., 2023).

## Conclusion

The argument for case-based pedagogy is both promising and demanding . It necessitates the evolution of a highly sophisticated comprehension of the integration of process and content in both teacher educators and pre-service teachers. It calls on them to switch from the conventional and mechanistic method of teaching to a progressive, organic and constructivist approach. This is so because the constructivist approach, on which the case-based pedagogy is largely founded, requires pre-service teachers to be critical and active architects of knowledge throughout their process of learning. Cases represent practical wisdom and experience-based knowledge (Merseth, 1996) thus, case-based pedagogy is unquestionably essential for the professional growth of both teacher educators and pre-service teachers.

The literature review reveals that case-based pedagogy has a number of advantages, however it is unclear how teacher educators and prospective teachers should approach using cases to address the serious issue of gap between practice and theory. Very few or no researches have been conducted on application of case-based pedagogy to pre-service teacher preparation in India. Some of the research studies have concentrated on the learning outcomes for pre-service teachers when they work with cases, or on the function of teacher educators in cultivating critical thinking in prospective teachers through the utilisation of case-based pedagogy (Ulvik, 2020). A strong and promising case-based pedagogy is needed in order to deal with the serious problem of lack of critical thinking ability of teacher educators as well as pre-service teachers when placed in real-world practice situations to be able to address a more grave issue of bridging the schism between practice and theory.

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# दक्षिण-पूर्वी राजस्थान की ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृतियाँ और उनकी जीविका पद्धति व आर्थिक जीवन

## • डॉ. ईश्वर दान

ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृतियाँ गैर-हड़प्पाई व गैर-नगरीय, ताम्र उपकरणों का इस्तेमाल करने वाली ग्रामीण कृषिगत बस्तियों पर आधारित संस्कृतियाँ थी। इस संस्कृति की मुख्य विशेषता अर्द्ध-शुष्क व काली चिकनी मिट्टी वाले क्षेत्रों में रहते हुए काले व लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्ड निर्माण तथा कृषि पशुपालन व स्थायी जीवन की शुरुआत। जिस समय पंजाब, सिंध, गुजरात व उत्तरी राजस्थान में हड़प्पा सभ्यता व्याप्त थी, उसी समय दक्षिण राजस्थान में उदयपुर जिले में बनास नदी पर स्थित आहड़ नामक स्थल पर ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति का विकास हुआ। यह एक विशिष्ट संस्कृति थी जो न तो पूर्णतया हड़प्पा जैसी थी और न ही समकालीन अन्य ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृतियों जैसी। भौगोलिक दृष्टि से आहड़ पर्वत श्रृंखलाओं से घिरा खनिज पदार्थों से सम्पन्न है जहाँ पर्याप्त वर्षा और नदी तट है, जो भटकते मानव के आवास के लिए उपयुक्त स्थान था।

राजस्थान के दक्षिण-पूर्वी भाग में काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड वाली ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृतियों में आहड़ का आरम्भिक उत्खनन आर.सी. अग्रवाल<sup>1</sup> द्वारा 1954-55 में किया गया जिससे ताम्रपाषाणिक मृद्भाण्डों का पता चला। बाद में यहाँ दक्कन कॉलेज पुणे के निर्देशन में एच. डी. संकालिया<sup>2</sup> और राजस्थान राज्य पुरातत्व विभाग के सहयोग से उत्खनन करवाया गया। यहाँ के पुरावशेषों में ताम्र उपकरण, मृण्मूर्तियाँ व काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड के अवशेष मिले हैं। इस संस्कृति के 111 स्थलों का पता चल चुका है।<sup>3</sup> नवीनतम शोधों के बाद स्थलों की कुल संख्या में वृद्धि हुई है। इससे हमें यहाँ की ताम्रपाषाणिक स्थापत्य, ताम्रधातु प्रगलन उद्योग, मृद्भाण्ड निर्माण, टेराकोटा व मनके उद्योग आदि का पता चला है। आरम्भिक ऐतिहासिक या लौह युग के

समय यहाँ लौह उपकरण, टेराकोटा व ब्राह्मी के अक्षर व उत्तरी काले चमकीले मृद्भाण्ड संस्कृति (NBPW) के भी प्रमाण मिले हैं।

आहड़ संस्कृति का अन्य महत्वपूर्ण स्थल गिलुण्ड है।<sup>4</sup> जो राजसमंद जिले में बनास नदी के किनारे बसा हुआ है। यहाँ सर्वप्रथम बी.बी. लाल द्वारा 1959-60 में उत्खनन किया गया।<sup>5</sup> यहाँ जलाई गई ईंटों का भट्टा भी मिला है। 1999 से 2002 तक यहाँ जी.सी. पोशेल व वी.एस. शिन्दे ने उत्खनन किया। एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण ताम्रपाषाणिक स्थल बालाथल<sup>6</sup> 'उदयपुर के निकट' है। यहाँ पर दक्कन कॉलेज के वी.एन. मिश्रा, वी.एस. शिन्दे आर.के. मोहन्ती, ललित पाण्डे, जे.एस. खड़कवाल व राजस्थान विद्यापीठ उदयपुर द्वारा उत्खनन कार्य किया गया।<sup>7</sup> यहाँ से प्राप्त पुरावशेषों में ताम्रोपकरण, प्रस्तर औजार, हड्डी के औजार, स्टीटाईट, मिट्टी व अर्ध कीमती पत्थरों के मनके, मृण्मूर्तियाँ, सिलबट्टे, पक्के घर, चूल्हे के प्रमाण व समाधी युक्त शवाधन आदि से इस संस्कृति के विभिन्न पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला गया।<sup>8</sup> बालाथल में ताम्रपाषाण व आद्यैतिहासिक के बीच काल अंतर दिखता है। साथ ही बाद में लौह उपकरण भी बड़ी मात्रा में मिले हैं।<sup>9</sup> ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति के बालाथल स्थल से बड़े वर्गाकार मकान सड़क मिट्टी की चारदीवारी (मिट्टी, ईंटों व प्रस्तरों से निर्मित आधारशिला) आदि प्रमाण उनकी स्थायी आवास निर्माण योजना को स्पष्ट करते हैं।<sup>10</sup>

1999-2001 में भीलवाड़ा जिले में ओझियाना<sup>11</sup> स्थल पर मीणा व त्रिपाठी द्वारा उत्खनन किया गया। यहाँ से मृद्भाण्ड टेराकोटा व आहड़ संस्कृति के अवशेष मिले हैं। भीलवाड़ा में ही लच्छुरा<sup>12</sup> का उत्खनन बी.आर. मीणा द्वारा 1989-99 में किया गया यह उत्तर आहड़ संस्कृति को दिखाता है। इस संस्कृति के अन्य स्थलों जैसे पुरानी मारमि<sup>13</sup> का भी उत्खनन किया गया। इस प्रकार उपरोक्त उत्खनन से स्पष्ट होता है कि ताम्रपाषाणिक आहड़ संस्कृति का विस्तार दक्षिण-पूर्वी राजस्थान के विभिन्न हिस्सों में हुआ। साथ ही इन स्थलों के बस्ती प्रारूप व उपकरणों व स्तर विन्यास में भी कुछ विविधता रही होगी। मृद्भाण्डों में यहाँ लाल मृद्भाण्ड और काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड (BRW) मुख्यतः थे।

काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड चाक से निर्मित व आग के पकाये गए मृद्भाण्ड है। ताम्रपाषाण कालीन मृद्भाण्डों को प्रतीकों, लहरदार रेखाओं, बिन्दुओं और अन्य ज्यामितीय रेखाओं से सजाया जाता था। ये बर्तन अन्दर से किनारे तक काले और बाहर तक लाल होते थे। इन बर्तनों में कटोरे एवं भंडारण पात्रा प्रमुख

हैं।<sup>14</sup> आहड़ संस्कृति के काले व लाल मृद्भाण्डों में काले भाग पर सफेद रंग बिन्दुओं से चित्रकारी की गई है। जबकि उत्तर-पूर्वी राजस्थान में जोधपुरा 'जयपुर' व नोह 'भरतपुर' से प्राप्त काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड में चित्रकारी या अलंकरण नहीं है।<sup>15</sup> इन मृद्भाण्डों में काला रंग संभवतः उल्टी विधि से पकाये जाने के कारण है। भट्टी में आग से पकाने के दौरान पात्रा के जिस हिस्से को ऑक्सीजन नहीं मिलती है, वह भाग काला रह जाता है। ये पात्र साफ-सुथरे, पतले और चाक निर्मित तथा आग से अच्छी तरह पकाये गए हैं। इस प्रकार के पात्रों के कटोरे, जार और तशतरियाँ मुख्य हैं।

आहड़ संस्कृति से प्राप्त पुरासामग्री जैसे काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड, लाल मृद्भाण्ड, हल्का पीला मृद्भाण्ड और तांबे के ढेर सारे उपकरण जैसे-अंगूठी, चूड़ियाँ, कुल्हाड़ी, चाकू आदि और पत्थर का सिलबट्टा, चक्की, वृषभ व अन्य पशुओं की मृण्मूर्तियों के साथ गेहूँ, जौ, बाजरा, चना आदि फसलों<sup>16</sup> व गोर, नील गाय, गाय, भैंस, भेड़, हिरण, मछली व कछुआ आदि जीव-जन्तु अवशेष ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति के काल निर्धारण में मददगार साबित होते हैं।<sup>17</sup>

ताम्रपाषाण कालीन व नवपाषाणिक संस्कृतियाँ कृषि व पशुपालन जैसी आर्थिक जीविका पद्धति पर निर्भर थी। इसके भू-परिदृश्य पर भी विभिन्न प्रभाव पड़े।<sup>18</sup> हाड़ौती क्षेत्र में ताम्र धातु सम्बन्धित आरम्भिक प्रमाण नमाना पुरास्थल से मिलते हैं। सर्वप्रथम इस स्थल को पुरातत्व में रुचि रखने वाले स्थानीय निवासी ओम प्रकाश शर्मा ने 1991 में खोजा।<sup>19</sup> इसके बाद पुरातत्व और संग्रहालय विभाग जयपुर के प्रयासों के बावजूद इस स्थल पर व्यवस्थित रूप से उत्खनन नहीं हो पाया। यहाँ से बहुसांस्कृतिक पुरासामग्री मिली है। यह स्थल हाड़ौती क्षेत्र का पहला स्थल है जहाँ ताम्र उपकरण प्राप्त हुए हैं। यहाँ से तांबे से निर्मित कुल्हाड़ी, छैनी, चूड़ी का टुकड़ा और मछली पकड़ने के कांटे आदि ताम्र पुरावशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। इस प्रकार यहाँ ताम्रपाषाण काल आहड़ संस्कृति के प्रमाण मिलते हैं। नमाना की ऊपरी सतह से ताम्र उपकरण में दो धारदार कुल्हाड़ी, एक खुरचनी, ताम्र निर्मित छैनी व चाकू आदि उपकरणों की प्राप्ति हुई है, जो वर्तमान में बूंदी संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित है (छायाचित्र सं. 4)। सर्वेक्षण के दौरान नमाना से आहड़ समान काले और लाल मृद्भाण्ड और लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्ड के अवशेष (छायाचित्र सं. 3) और पशु आकृति सिंगदार बैल मृण्मूर्तियाँ आदि अवशेष प्राप्त किए गए (छायाचित्र सं. 2)। इस प्रकार नमाना को ताम्रपाषाणिक आहड़ संस्कृति का सबसे उत्तर-पूर्वी स्थल माना जा सकता है। यहाँ चार्ट निर्मित कोर, जानवरों की अस्थियाँ, मृद्भाण्ड बनाने के डेबर,

सिलबट्टे, शिकार में प्रयुक्त गोल पत्थर (Hunting and sling Balls) तथा पत्थर के मनके आदि अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं।

इससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि हाड़ौती क्षेत्र में भी आहड़ संस्कृति के सदृश्य ताम्रपाषाण कालीन कृषिगत समुदाय आधारित स्थायी जीवन संस्कृति का विकास हुआ। यहाँ के मानव ने भी पहली बार धतु के रूप में ताम्र उपकरणों का प्रयोग किया। राजगढ़, खटखड़-I एवं श्यामू आदि पुरास्थलों से भी ताम्र-धतुमल (Copperslag) के अवशेष भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। राजस्थान की आहड़ संस्कृति इसका उत्तम उदाहरण है और आहड़ संस्कृति का विस्तार हाड़ौती क्षेत्र में भी हुआ है। साथ ही इसके हाड़ौती क्षेत्र में और विस्तार होने की पूर्ण संभावना का प्रमाण मिल चुका है। नमाना से प्राप्त ताम्र उपकरण, काले व लाल रंग मृद्भाण्ड पशु मृण्मूर्तियों आदि से इस बात की पुष्टि होती है। उपरोक्त विवरण के व सांस्कृतिक विशेषताओं के आलोक में ताम्रपाषाण कालीन संस्कृति का काल निर्धारण किया गया है।

## पशुपालन

हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के समीपवर्ती क्षेत्रों से आहड़ संस्कृति के कई स्थलों आहड़, बालाथल, गिलुण्ड, पुरानी मारमि व ओजियाना आदि का उत्खनन हो चुका है। उत्खनन से प्राप्त वानस्पतिक एवं जीव-जंतुओं के अवशेष, तथा लोगों द्वारा खाद्य सामग्री के संग्रह करने, पकाने व खाने में प्रयुक्त बर्तनों से उनकी आजीविका पद्धति का बोध होता है।

जंगल से पालतू जीवों का अनुपात, पौधे, भौतिक संस्कृति, औद्योगिक कार्यशाला और जीवन शैली आदि उन लोगों के आर्थिक जीवन को आर्थिक पृष्ठभूमि को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। जीव जन्तुओं के अवशेष दिखाते हैं कि यहाँ 23 प्रजातियों के जीव-जन्तु व पक्षी प्रयोग में लाए जाते थे।<sup>20</sup> पालतु पशुओं में गाय, भैंस, बकरी, भेड़, सूअर, कुत्ता व मुर्गा प्रमुख थे। सांभर, नीलगाय, चीतल व जंगली सूअर आदि का शिकार किया जाता था। जो पूरे जंगली जानवरों का 5% हिस्सा था। पक्षी, कछुए, मछली और घोंघे आदि लोगों के आहार में शामिल थे। बालाथल में मिली संपूर्ण हड्डियों का लगभग 73% हिस्सा गौवंश का 19% भेड़-बकरी का और 3.1% हिस्सा भैंस का है।<sup>21</sup>

भारत में लगभग 50 स्तनपायी, 1200 प्रजातियों के पक्षी, लगभग 3000 प्रजातियों के कीड़े, उभयचर, मछलियाँ और सरीसृप विभिन्न जलवायविक और वानस्पतिक जोन में पाए जाते हैं। इन स्तनपायी और अन्य

जानवरों में सांभर, चीतल, खरगोश, हिरण और तीतर, बटेर जैसे पक्षी आदि का शिकार आज भी हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के भील, मीणा व सहरिया जनजातियों द्वारा किया जाता है। कन्दमूल व मांस के साथ ही मछली भी उनके आहार का हिस्सा बन चुकी थी। हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के जनजातीय समुदाय आज भी पक्षियों के अंडे, शहद, गोंद व वानस्पतिक उत्पाद और कई कीटों के उत्पादों का इस्तेमाल आहार के रूप में करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त महुआ संग्रहण और तेंदु पत्ते का संग्रहण भी जीविका पद्धति का साधन है।

हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के कई पुरास्थलों के शैल चित्रांकनों में शिकार दृश्य और कई पशुओं के चित्रांकन से तत्कालीन मानव के पशुओं के साथ परिचय एवं खाद्य रणनीतियों की जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। गोलपुर व आलनियां के शैलाश्रयों में गाय, वृषभ, भेड़, बकरी, हिरण, बाघ व बारहसिंगा आदि पशुओं का अंकन मिलता है। जिससे स्पष्ट होता है कि ताम्रपाषाण काल में मानव का इन पशुओं से परिचय हो चुका था। भीमलत के चित्रांकन में चीतल व बाघ के लिए शिकार हेतु आखेटकों को तीर एवं भालों युक्त दर्शाया गया है (छायाचित्र सं. 14.1)। जो सामुहिक शिकार की रणनीति एवं धातु ज्ञान को दर्शाता है। यहाँ के एक चित्र में चार पुरुष दो नारी एवं दो बालक आकृतियों का अंकन उपलब्ध है, जो तत्कालीन शिकार आधारित जीविका प्रणाली में महिलाओं की भूमिका एवं श्रम विभाजन को स्पष्ट करता है (छायाचित्र सं. 14)।

टिपन्या महादेव व दरा के शैल चित्रों में शिकार के दृश्यों तथा वृषभ व भालु और एक अन्य चित्रा में पशुओं को रस्सी से बांध दिखाया गया है, साथ ही रथ के पहियों का चित्रांकन है। इससे पशुओं की पालतु बनाने की प्रक्रिया व पहिये की जानकारी का पता चलता है। इससे प्रागैतिहासिक काल से ताम्रपाषाण व आरम्भिक ऐतिहासिक काल की ओर संक्रमण और मानव की जीविका पद्धति में विभिन्न पशुओं के शिकार व खाद्य रणनीतियों के बारे में ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है। इस प्रकार के विविध चित्रांकन तत्कालीन परिवेश को प्रतिबिंबित करते हैं।

कृषि-आहड़ पुरास्थल के उत्खनन से पता चलता है कि इस संस्कृति के लोगों ने अनाज संग्रहण के लिए मृत्तिका निर्मित जमीन के ऊपर कोठियाँ बनाई।<sup>22</sup> गिलुण्ड के उत्खनन में आवासी भवन के साथ ईंटों की समानान्तर दीवारों वाली संरचना और ओजियाना से प्राप्त चौकोर कक्ष संरचनाएं संभवतः अनाज भण्डारण व भण्डारगृह की आरम्भिक स्थिति का बोध कराती है।<sup>23</sup>

बालाथल में अनागार व संग्रहण पात्र के प्रमाण यह साबित करते हैं कि वहाँ कई फसलें जैसे—गेहूँ व जौ आदि का अधिशेष उत्पादन हो रहा था। आहड़

से मृद्भाण्ड पर चावल के निशान भी मिले हैं। साथ ही बाजरा व ज्वार आदि फसलों के भी प्रमाण मिले हैं। बालाथल से पौधे की 26 प्रजातियों व कुछ जंगली पौधे के प्रमाण मिले हैं।<sup>24</sup> सिलबट्टे व अनाज कूटने के पत्थर भी नमाना, राजगढ़ व अन्य स्थलों से मिले हैं (छायाचित्र सं. 12.3, 12.4)। ये प्रमाण साबित करते हैं कि हाड़ौती क्षेत्र में ताम्रपाषाणिक लोगों की अर्थव्यवस्था में पशुओं के पालतुकरण और कृषि के विकास ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई होगी। हालांकि इनके साथ ही शिकार गतिविधियाँ भी जारी रही। लेकिन खानपान में अनाज की मात्रा का विस्तार हुआ था।

गिलुण्ड में ताम्रपाषाण कालीन आहड़ संस्कृति की जमीन में गड्ढा खोदकर बनाई गई कोठी के प्रमाण<sup>25</sup> और बालाथल में आहड़ संस्कृति की जमीन में गड्ढा खोदकर मिट्टी व गोबर का लेप करके बनाई गई कोठी<sup>26</sup> के प्रमाण अनाज संग्रहण व भण्डारण की विधियों का बोध कराते हैं। प्राप्त कोठियों के आकार और अनाज भराव क्षमता के आधार पर अनाज की मात्रा की गणना कर, उस घर में निवास करने वाले लोगों की संख्या, आर्थिक स्थिति और व्यापार की संभावना का अंदाजा लगाया जा सकता है। हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के आदिवासी इलाकों में अभी भी अनाज संरक्षण की ऐसी तकनीकें व कोठियाँ प्राप्त होती हैं। जो अनाज संरक्षण की तकनीकों में निरंतरता दिखाती हैं। कृषि के विकास के साथ ही मानव-बस्तियों का भी विस्तार हुआ गिलुण्ड के लोगों के मालवा क्षेत्र के प्रागैतिहासिक संस्कृतियों से भी सम्बन्ध रहे।<sup>27</sup> घरों में चूल्हे, संग्रहण पात्र, सिलबट्टे व कुएं के प्रमाण मिलते हैं। आहड़ में चार भुजाओं वाले चूल्हे से इंगित होता है कि संयुक्त परिवार की प्रथा रही होगी। आहड़ संस्कृति के अधिकांशतः स्थलों से गोलाकार चूना पलास्टर्ड संग्रहण गड्ढे/पात्र मिले हैं। जो अकाल या भविष्य में खाद्यान्न संकट का सामना करने में सहायक हो सकते थे। सर्वेक्षण के दौरान नमाना व राजगढ़ स्थलों से भी सिलबट्टे के प्रमाण मिले हैं। ये स्थानीय रूप से उपलब्ध ग्रेनाइट पत्थर से निर्मित है। इनका दोनों तरफ से इस्तेमाल होता था। घरों के आंगन के साथ चौड़े मुंह वाले बड़े संग्रहण जार (तसले)/ मर्तबान जो मोटे लेपित मृद्भाण्ड (Slipped ware) है, के प्रमाण बताते हैं कि जल संग्रहण या अन्य कीमती वस्तु के संग्रहण में इनका इस्तेमाल होता था।

ताम्रपाषाण कालीन लोगों ने वर्ष में दो बार फसलें पैदा करते हुए गाय, भैंस, भेड़, बकरी आदि पशुओं को पालतु बनाया। इस दौरान ताम्र व प्रस्तर तकनीकी का उपयोग, चाक से निर्मित पक्के व चित्रित मृद्भाण्ड, टेराकोटा, अर्द्धबहुमूल्य

प्रस्तरों से निर्मित मनके, सिलबट्टे, प्रस्तर व ईंटों से बने स्थापत्य आदि विशेषताओं को आसानी से पहचाना जा सकता है। ताम्रपाषाणिक संस्कृति के पुरास्थलों का आकार 0.5 हेक्टेयर से लेकर 20 हेक्टेयर के मध्य विविधता दर्शाता है।

## विभिन्न शिल्प, व्यवसाय व उद्योग

अनाज के अधिशेष के साथ ही कुछ अन्य व्यवसायों का भी विकास हुआ। कुछ विशिष्टीकृत कार्य समूहों का विकास हुआ, जो पूर्णतया औद्योगिक कार्य पर आधारित थे। ये समूह-कुम्हार, मणका निर्माणकर्ता, बुनकर और ताम्रधातु का काम करने वाले थे।<sup>28</sup> आहड़ संस्कृति के कई स्थलों से ताम्र धातु की कुल्हाड़ियाँ, ताम्र पट्टिका व अन्य उपकरण मिलते हैं। नमाना से भी ताम्रनिर्मित 2 कुल्हाड़ियाँ व छैनी प्राप्त हुई हैं (छायाचित्र सं. 4)। बालाथल से प्राप्त बड़े जार (भूरे रंग के) में काले व लाल मृद्भाण्ड (BRW) के पात्रा, तथा दो अन्य पात्रों में स्टेटाइट के मनके प्राप्त हुए हैं।

आहड़ संस्कृति के स्थलों से घोंघे, हड्डी, हाथीदांत, बहूमूल्य कीमती पत्थर, स्टेटाइट व टेराकोटा से बने मनके प्राप्त हुए हैं। धातु उद्योग में भी आहड़वासियों ने निकटवर्ती उपलब्ध ताम्र धातु का इस्तेमाल करते हुए विस्तृत तौर पर ताम्र उपकरण निर्मित किये हैं। विभिन्न स्थलों से प्राप्त ताम्र धातु अवशेषों में आभूषण, हथियार व शिल्पतथ्य जैसे अंगूठियाँ, चूड़ियाँ, चाकू, सूरमा, छड़ी, ब्लेडस और सेल्ट (कुल्हाड़ी) आदि प्रमुख थे। मनका निर्माण उद्योग में राजस्थान में जैस्पर के अतिरिक्त उपलब्ध सभी कीमती पत्थरों, अगेट व कार्नेलियन आदि का इस्तेमाल किया गया। टेराकोटा उद्योग में पशु आकृतियाँ जैसे बैल, कुत्ता आदि की मृण्मूर्तियाँ मुख्य थी तथा गाड़ी के पहिये, छिद्रदार डिस्क, आभूषणनुमा मनके, चूड़ियाँ, त्रिकोणीय वस्तुएँ व हेमस्कोच आदि का निर्माण किया गया।<sup>29</sup>

उत्खनन से प्राप्त संरचनात्मक स्थापत्य अवशेष वास्तुकला के विकास को दर्शाते हैं। ताम्रपाषाण कालीन बालाथल स्थल के चारों तरफ बंद चारदीवारी का प्रमाण मिलता है। गिलुण्ड में भी कच्ची व अधपकी ईंटों से निर्मित चारदीवारी मिलती है। आंगन से जुड़े हुए कच्चे व पक्के मकान थे। घर-निर्माण के लिए सिस्ट की पट्टिकाएँ, ग्रेनाइट पत्थर आदि कच्चे माल की आपूर्ति निकटवर्ती अरावली पहाड़ी क्षेत्र से होती थी। आहड़ में घर निर्माण में लकड़ी का प्रयोग भी होता था।<sup>30</sup>

बालाथल के उत्खनन में आहड़ संस्कृति के अंतिम चरण में एक कपड़े का टुकड़ा प्राप्त हुआ है, जो हमें बताता है कि आहड़ निवासी वस्त्र निर्माण के



विषय में अज्ञानी नहीं थे। हाड़ौती के समीपवर्ती एक अन्य स्थल लाछूरा (भीलवाड़ा) में बी.आर. मीणा के निर्देशन में भा.पु.स. द्वारा किये गए उत्खनन प्राप्त अवशेषों में यहाँ के सांस्कृतिक जमाव का पता चला है। यहाँ के आरम्भिक चरण के काले व लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्ड (BRW), मिट्टी की मानवाकृतियाँ, और ताम्र उपकरणों की प्राप्ति इसे ताम्रपाषाण कालीन आहड़ संस्कृति से सम्बन्धित करती है। यहाँ के अंतिम चरण में शृंग-कुषाण कालीन मृद्भाण्ड, तीखे किनारे वाले प्याले प्राप्त हुए हैं। बागोर के द्वितीय व तृतीय चरण में मृद्भाण्ड मिलते हैं। द्वितीय चरण के मृद्भाण्ड मटमले रंग के कुछ मोटे व जल्दी टूटने वाले थे। इनमें तशतरियाँ, कटोरे, लोटे, थालियाँ, संकरे मुँह के घड़े व बोतलें आदि मिले हैं। ये मृद्भाण्ड रेखा वाले हैं, लेकिन अलंकरण का अभाव है। अधिकांशतः हस्तनिर्मित है, तथा ऊपर लाल रंग से रंगा गया है।

उत्खनित पुरास्थल ओजियाना (भीलवाड़ा) के प्रथम स्तर में काले व लाल रंग के मृद्भाण्ड पर सफेद चित्रण युक्त पात्रा, ताम्र उपकरण और कच्ची ईंटों से बने मकानों के अवशेष प्राप्त हुए हैं। इससे यह प्रतीत होता है कि (ताम्रपाषाण काल) यहाँ के ऊँचे क्षेत्र में लोगों ने स्थायी आवास विकसित करते हुए कृषि कार्य को अपनी जीविका का आधार बनाया। ओजियाना के द्वितीय स्तर में भवन निर्माण में मिट्टी की ईंटों के साथ पत्थरों का भी इस्तेमाल किया गया। मकानों में कई कमरे व रसोई के अवशेष प्रमाणित करते हैं कि यहाँ लोग एक ही जगह पर परिवार व्यवस्था के तहत संयुक्त रूप से रहते थे और उनमें संसाधनों व संपत्ति के आधार पर सामाजिक विभेद उत्पन्न हुआ होगा।



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### छायाचित्र-1

#### विविध प्रस्तर पुरावशेष

1. शिकार में प्रयुक्त प्रस्तर गेंद, 2. गोफन में प्रयुक्त स्लिंग बॉल
- 3., 4 सिलबट्टे, एवं मूसल



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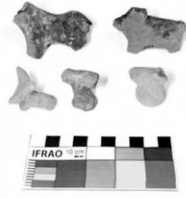


6



7

छायाचित्र-2 पशु मृण्मूतयां  
बूंदी संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित



8



1



2



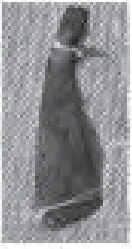
3



4

छायाचित्र-3

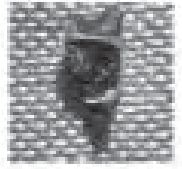
ताम्रपाषाण कालीन काले एवं लाल मृद्भाण्ड



1



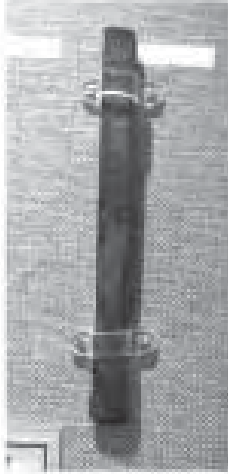
2



3



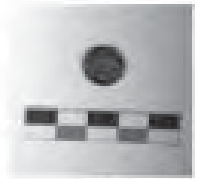
4



5



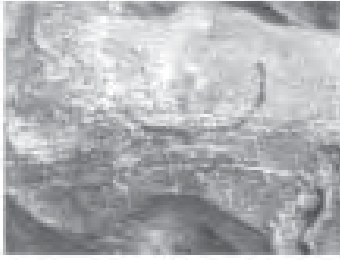
6



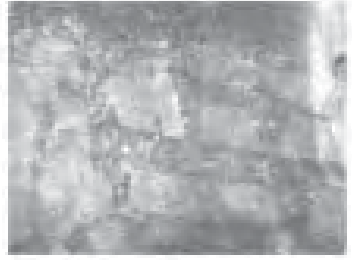
7

#### छायाचित्र-4

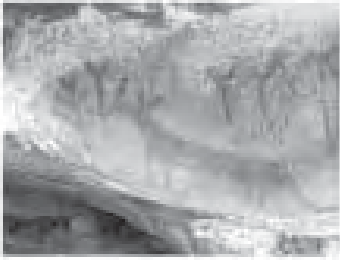
ताम्र उपकरण (सा. बूंदी संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित)



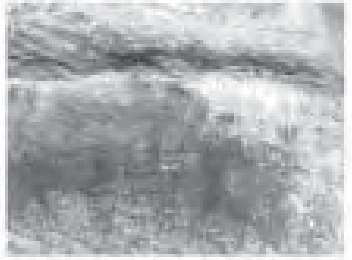
1



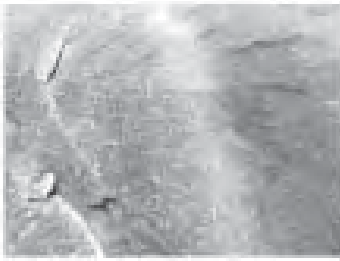
2



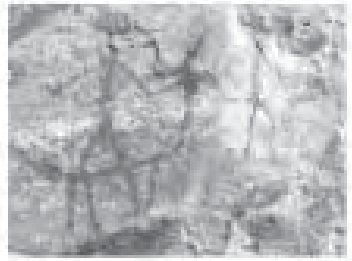
3



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### छायाचित्र-13

गरडदा के शैल चित्र (पशु, शिकार एवं मानव रतिक्रिडा)



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### छायाचित्र-14

भीमतल के शैल चित्र (विभिन्न पशु, मानव एवं शिकार में प्रयुक्त रणनीतियाँ)

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# बस्तर की प्रमुख शाक्त प्रतिमायें

## • डॉ. मोना जैन

प्राचीन काल से ही शाक्त सम्प्रदाय की अधिष्ठात्री देवी का उपासना मातृदेवी के रूप में प्रचलित रही है। प्राचीन काल से ही अधिष्ठात्री देवी को समृद्धि की देवी के रूप में पूजा जाता रहा है। देवी किसी भी देवता को कहते हैं, जिसे स्त्री रूप में माना जाता है। सिंधु घाटी सभ्यता से उत्खनन में जो मृणमुहुरें प्राप्त हुई हैं, उन पर देवी प्रतिमाओं का अंकन मिलता है<sup>1</sup> उन मोहरों पर अंकित देवी प्रतिमाओं के आधार पर कतिपय इतिहासकारों ने यह माना कि प्रसन्न करने के लिए नरबलि दी जाती थी<sup>2</sup> नवपाषाण काल में भी मण्डलाकार प्रस्तर छल्लों पर प्रतीकात्मक रूप में देवी का अंकन मिलता है।

पटना से कुछ शृंगकालीन प्रस्तर छल्लों<sup>3</sup> पर तथा त्रिपुरी उत्खनन में प्राप्त मौर्यकालीन प्रस्तर फलक पर देवी का अंकन मिलता है। भरहुत, सांची और बोधगया से मौर्यकालीन देवी प्रतिमायें मिलती हैं।<sup>4</sup> मौर्यकालीन सोने के पत्थरों पर देवी की आकृति अंकित मिलती है।<sup>5</sup>

ऋग्वैदिक साहित्य में अदिति, रात्रि, उषा, इला, भारती सरस्वती, होत्रा आदि देवियों के नाम मिलते हैं, परंतु फिर भी प्रमुख देवताओं की तुलना में उनकी स्थिति गौण दिखाई देती है। ऋग्वेद में शक्ति को विश्व का मूल रूप माना गया है।<sup>6</sup> उपनिषद और सूत्रकाल में देवी की प्रतिष्ठा में वृद्धि हुई। पुराणों में यह माना गया कि देवी समस्त ब्रह्माण्ड का तेज धारण करने वाली होती हैं और वे सदैव देवताओं की सहायता के लिए विपत्तिकाल में तत्पर रहती हैं। विष्णु जिन्हें सर्वशक्तिशाली देवता माना गया, वे भी शक्ति के बिना अशक्त माने गये। शाक्त धर्म का विकास देवी को केन्द्र में रखकर हुआ। पौराणिक काल में लक्ष्मी, महाकाली और सरस्वती तीनों देवियाँ रजस, तमस और सात्त्विक गुणों का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली मानी गईं।

बस्तर में प्रागैतिहासिक काल में भी देवी की पूजा उपासना की जाती थी

परंतु देवी की उपासना के ठोस प्रमाण आठवीं शताब्दी से शिल्प तथा अभिलेखों के माध्यम से मिलते हैं।<sup>7</sup> बस्तर में अभिलेखीय साक्ष्य के प्रमाण देवी उपासना के ग्याहरवीं शताब्दी से मिलते हैं।

(1) **महिषमर्दिनी**—महिषमर्दिनी<sup>8</sup> की प्रस्तर प्रतिमाओं के निर्माण का कार्य कुषाणकाल से प्रारंभ हुआ। महिषमर्दिनी को कात्यायनी<sup>9</sup>, चण्डिका<sup>10</sup> आदि नामों से भी पुकारा जाता रहा है। प्रतिमाओं में महिषमर्दिनी को दो भुजाओं से लेकर बीस भुजाओं के साथ भी प्रदर्शित किया जाता है। देवी ने देवताओं के द्वारा प्रदान आयुधों तथा सिंह की सहायता से महिषासुर का संहार किया। बस्तर में महिषमर्दिनी देवी की पूजा उपासना कात्यायनी, विंध्यवासिनी, दंतेश्वरी तथा मावलीदेवी के नाम भी की जाती रही है। पुराणों में महिषासुर के वध का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>11</sup>

छोटे डोंगर, बारसूर तथा दन्तेवाड़ा से देवी की जो प्रतिमायें प्राप्त हुई हैं, वह आठवीं, नवीं, ग्यारहवीं तथा बारहवीं शताब्दी की निर्मित हैं।

मोहनजोदाड़ो से उत्खनन में प्राप्त एक मोहर से ज्ञात होता है कि देवी को नरबलि दी जाती थी। मध्यकालीन बस्तर में भी नरबलि प्रथा प्रचलित थी।<sup>12</sup>

तीरथगढ़ में देवी की दशभुजी प्रतिमा हरे पत्थर पर निर्मित है। देवी असुर के केश पकड़े हैं। देवी की भुजाओं में त्रिशूल, शक्ति, दण्ड, खडग, ढाल, परशु, धनुष तथा बाण प्रदर्शित हैं। कलात्मक रूप लिए प्रतिमा आठवीं नववीं शताब्दी की है।

दंतेश्वरी मंदिर में दसवीं, ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की देवी को प्रतिमा करण्डमुकुट धारण किए हैं, देवी हाथों में त्रिशूल, चक्राकार आयुध, खडग, घट धारण किए हैं, नीचे महिष और असुर प्रदर्शित है। पैर के पास एक एक कंकाल आकृति बैठी प्रदर्शित है। उपासकों द्वारा नरबलि का दृश्य भी प्रदर्शित है। छोटे डोंगर की महिषमर्दिनी देवी प्रतिमा की आठ भुजायें हैं परंतु प्रतिमा का नीचे का भाग खंडित है। देवी मुकुट, प्रभावली, कानों में कुण्डल, हार, भुजबंध, कंकण तथा साड़ी धारण की हैं। महिषासुर का संहार करते हुए देवी प्रदर्शित हैं।

बारसूर के देवरली मंदिर में स्थापित महिषमर्दिनी देवी का मस्तक खण्डित है। देवी की दस भुजायें हैं, हाथों में त्रिशूल, खडग, आयुध, पाश, घटिका, धनुष और ढाल धारण किए हैं। देवी का बायाँ पैर महिष की पीठ पर और दायँ पैर सिंह की पीठ पर रखा है।

दन्तेवाड़ा के गर्भगृह में मावली देवी की प्रतिमा काले पत्थर पर निर्मित है,

प्रतिमा नवीं शताब्दी है। देवी की छः भुजायें प्रदर्शित हैं। देवी हाथों में त्रिशूल, पाश, खड्ग, घण्टिका, धनुष और सर्प धारण की हैं। असुर दायें हाथ में कटार पकड़े हुए हैं और देवी पर कटार से आक्रमण करते हुए प्रदर्शित हैं।

वामन मंदिर, भैरमगढ़, बीजापुर, राबर्टसन इमारत जगदलपुर में महिषामर्दिनी की प्रतिमायें मिलती हैं जो ग्यारहवीं, बारहवीं शताब्दी की निर्मित हैं।

(2) **पार्वती**—प्राचीन ग्रंथों में पार्वती को अनेक नामों से पुकारा गया है। कहीं पार्वती को गौरी तो कहीं अपर्णा के नाम से भी संबोधित किया गया है। पुराणों में पार्वती को लक्ष्मी भी कहा गया है। पुराणों में शिव की पत्नी के रूप में पार्वती का उल्लेख मिलता है। आरण्यकों में पार्वती का उल्लेख रूद्र की पत्नी के रूप में मिलता है।<sup>13</sup> उपनिषदों में पार्वती को उमा हेमवती कहा गया है।<sup>14</sup> महाभारत में पार्वती को गिरि पुत्री, शैलसुता और नागकन्या के नाम से भी संबोधित किया गया है।<sup>15</sup>

मध्ययुगीन बस्तर में शैव धर्म की प्रधानता थी, बस्तर में विभिन्न स्थलों में शिव के विभिन्न रूपों को प्रदर्शित करने वाली विविध प्रतिमायें मिलती हैं, परंतु पार्वती की प्रतिमायें बहुत कम दिखाई देती हैं।

दंतेश्वरी मंदिर, बड़े डोंगर के गर्भगृह में पार्वती की प्रतिमा चित्ताकर्षक है, देवी की प्रतिमा काले पत्थर पर निर्मित है। देवी के दायें हाथ में शिवलिंग और बायें हाथ में गणपति अंकित हैं। देवी प्रचलित आभूषणों से सुसज्जित हैं। हाथों में अक्षमाला तथा कमण्डलु धारण किए हैं। देवी के दोनों तरफ जया और विजया उकेरी गई हैं।

दंतेवाड़ा की एक प्रतिमा जो पार्वती की है, प्रतिमा विभिन्न आभूषणों से सुसज्जित हैं, दायें हाथ वरदमुद्रा में तथा बायें हाथ बायीं जंघा पर रखे हुए प्रदर्शित है।

भैरमगढ़ के पास, मातागुड़ी मंदिर में पार्वती की एक विशिष्ट प्रतिमा है, चतुर्भुजी देवी डमरू, मृग, त्रिशूल, कपाल धारण की हैं, मूषक वाहन नीचे अंकित हैं।

(3) **गौरी**—समलूर में ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी का एक शिव मंदिर है, उस मंदिर में एक खण्डित प्रतिमा है। देवी प्रतिमा वनमाला, साड़ी, नुपूर धारण किए हैं। देवी के पैरों के समीप गोधा ऊपर की ओर देखते हुए अंकित है। गौरी के साथ गोधा का अंकन कई ग्रंथों में मिलता है।

(4) **दुर्गा**—दुर्गा+आ अर्थात् दुर्गा अर्थात् शोक, विघ्न का नाश करने वाली

देवी दुर्गा कहलायीं। दुर्गा का सम्बंध दुर्गों से, जंगलों से है। दुर्गा को महाभारत में चन्द्रादिव्यविवर्धिनी कहा गया है। विभिन्न ग्रंथों में दुर्गा के नौ रूपों का विशद वर्णन मिलता है।

बारसूर के बत्तीस खंभा मंदिर में देवी दुर्गा की एक विशिष्ट प्रतिमा प्रदर्शित है। देवी चतुर्भुजी हैं, उनके हाथों में खड़ग, हथौड़ा, त्रिशूल और कपाल अंकित है। देवी प्रतिमा विभिन्न आभूषणों से सुसज्जित है। देवी के पैरों के पास दो नरमुण्ड अंकित हैं।

देवरली मंदिर में अष्टभुजी सिंहवाहिनी दुर्गा की प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित है। देवी हाथों में अक्षमाला, खड़ग, चक्र, डमरू, कपाल तथा त्रिशूल धारण की हैं।

(5) **लक्ष्मी**—लक्ष्मी सुख, सम्पन्नता और सृजन की देवी है। ऋग्वेद में लक्ष्मी के नाम का उल्लेख श्रीदेवी या क्षमा के नाम से मिलता है।<sup>16</sup> यजुर्वेद में श्री और लक्ष्मी को परमपुरुष की भार्या कहा गया है।<sup>17</sup> अथर्ववेद में श्री का रामायण तथा महाभारत में श्री तथा लक्ष्मी का उल्लेख मिलता है। बाद में श्री तथा लक्ष्मी को एक माना जाने लगा। पौराणिक साहित्य में विष्णु की पत्नी लक्ष्मी का उल्लेख कल्याण, सौंदर्य तथा समृद्धि की देवी के रूप में मिलता है। लक्ष्मी आर्य तत्व है, इसी कारण लक्ष्मी को चंचल कहा जाता है। दीपावली पर लक्ष्मी की पूजा कर दीप जलाये जाते हैं। इसमें प्रकाश श्री का प्रतीक है और दीपक को सूर्य का एक हिस्सा कहा गया है। श्री लक्ष्मी पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टय की समग्र रूप से अधिष्ठात्री है। वहीं वह मानवीय जीवन की सर्वांगीण पूर्णता और भारतीय संकल्पना की प्रतीक है। मान्यता है कि समुद्र मंथन से कमलासीन श्रीलक्ष्मी प्रकट हुई। प्राचीन काल में विभिन्न राजाओं ने अपने सिक्कों पर लक्ष्मी का अंकन करवाया।<sup>18</sup> भारतीय शिल्प में शुंग, सातवाहन काल से लक्ष्मी का अंकन प्रारंभ हुआ। कुषाण तथा गुप्त काल में लक्ष्मी की अनेक प्रतिमायें निर्मित की गईं।

बारसूर, दंतेवाड़ा, भैरमगढ़, बस्तर तथा जगदलपुर में लक्ष्मी की प्रतिमायें मध्यकाल की हैं। बारसूर से प्राप्त लक्ष्मी की प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। लक्ष्मी कमल पर आसीन है। हाथों में वरद, पद्म, पुस्तक तथा उत्तरीय का छोर प्रदर्शित है। प्रतिमा ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की है। नीचे आसन पर कमण्डल रखा है।

दंतेवाड़ा के मंदिर में सभामंडप में गजलक्ष्मी की प्रतिमा स्थापित है, देवी दोनों हाथों में कमल लिए है। ऊपर दोनों तरफ कमलपुष्प तथा अर्धचन्द्र दर्शाया गया है। मंदिर के ललाटबिंब पर भी गजलक्ष्मी की आकृति अंकित है।

बस्तर ग्राम में स्थापित देवी लक्ष्मी चतुर्भुजी हैं, कमल पुष्प पर देवी खड़ी हैं, हाथी देवी का अभिषेक कर रहे हैं, देवी प्रतिमा के दोनों तरफ सिंह, गज, गाय तथा हंस का चित्ताकर्षक अंकन मिलता है।

जगदलपुर के बालाजी मंदिर में लक्ष्मी की प्रतिमा कांस्य की है, जो मध्यकालीन है।

(6) महालक्ष्मी-भैरमगढ़ में पदमासन मुद्रा में देवी महालक्ष्मी चतुर्भुजी हैं, जो हाथों में खड़ग, डमरू, त्रिशूल तथा मस्तक पर शिवलिंग धारण किए हैं। बारहवीं शताब्दी में मस्तक पर शिवलिंग धारण किए हुए महालक्ष्मी की एक प्रतिमा का उल्लेख पुरातत्वविदों द्वारा किया गया है।<sup>19</sup>

(7) सरस्वती-माँ सरस्वती को विद्या, संस्कृति और कला की देवी के रूप में पूजा जाता है। प्राचीन काल से सरस्वती देवी की उपासना ब्राह्मण, जैन और बौद्ध धर्म में प्रचलित है। बौद्ध धर्म में सरस्वती को मंजूश्री की आत्मा माना गया है। विभिन्न पुराणों में सरस्वती प्रतिमा निर्माण के निर्देश मिलते हैं। ऋग्वेद में विभिन्न देवियों के साथ सरस्वती का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>20</sup>

बीजापुर मंदिर में सरस्वती की एक प्रतिमा मिलती है। वीणा, वेद तथा पदम् से प्रदर्शित प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। देवी के पैरों के पास हंस अंकित है। प्रतिमा ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की है।

कुरुसपाल की सरस्वती प्रतिमा में देवी दोहरे कमल पर आसीन हैं, प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। दायें हाथ में वीणा तथा बायें हाथ में कमण्डलु है, शेष हाथ खंडित है, नीचे हंस अंकित है। प्रतिमा ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की है।

(8) सप्तमातृका-पुराणों के अनुसार मातृकाओं की उपासना शिशुओं की रक्षा के लिए की जाती थी। ऋग्वेद में भी सप्तमातृकाओं की अवधारणा मिलती है।

बस्तर में भोंगापाल, बारसूर, समलूर में सप्त मातृका पट्ट प्राप्त हुए हैं। समलूर में मातृका पट्ट में चतुर्भुजी मातृकाओं को गणेश के साथ प्रदर्शित किया गया है। पैरों के पास वाहन श्वान अंकित है। बारसूर के मामा भांजा मंदिर में द्विभुजी मातृकाओं का अंकन मिलता है। साथ में शिशु का अंकन है, वाहन भी अंकित है।

भोंगापाल के पट्ट पर द्विभुजी मातृकाओं का अंकन मिलता है। मातृकाओं का दायँ हाथ अभय में तथा बायँ हाथ शिशु को पकड़े हुए अंकित है।

(9) **भैरवी**—बारसूर के देवरली मंदिर में भैरवी की प्रतिमा स्थापित है। प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है। देवी हाथों में त्रिशूल, डमरू, नाग और कपाल धारण किए प्रदर्शित हैं। देवी कुन्तलकेशा हैं और कानों में कुंडल, साड़ी और नूपुर धारण किए हैं। नीचे श्वान अंकित है।

दंतेश्वरी मंदिर, दंतेवाड़ा में प्रदर्शित, भैरवी की प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है, कटार व मुण्ड हाथों में लिए हैं। हाथ खंडित भी है, नीचे श्वान का अंकन है। देवी मुंडमाला धारण की हैं। यह प्रतिमा पंद्रहवीं शताब्दी की है।

(10) **ब्राह्मणी**—बीजापुर के मंदिर में प्रदर्शित ब्राह्मणी की प्रतिमा त्रिमुखी होने के साथ साथ चतुर्भुजी है। प्रतिमा के नीचे वाहन हंस प्रदर्शित है।

दंतेश्वरी मंदिर तथा बारसूर में प्रदर्शित देवी की प्रतिमा एकमुखी होने के साथ चतुर्भुजी है, नीचे वाहन हंस अंकित है।

कूरूसपाल में देवी हंस पर आरूढ़ हैं, देवी एकमुखी होने के साथ चतुर्भुजी हैं।

(11) **वाराही**—देवी वाराही का वाहन महिष का उल्लेख पुराणों में मिलता है। दंतेश्वरी मंदिर के एक पट्ट पर चतुर्भुजी वाराही के हाथों में मत्स्य, कमल, पाश और कपाल का अंकन मिलता है। नीचे वाहन महिष अंकित है। देवरली मंदिर बारसूर की बाहरी भित्ति पर वाराही का अंकन मिलता है। प्रतिमा द्विभुजी है, बायें हाथ शिशु लिए हैं तथा दायें हाथ खंडित है।

(12) **देवी**—गुदमा ग्राम के मंदिर में देवी की एक प्रतिमा स्थापित है, प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है, देवी के हाथ में खड्ग, डमरू, त्रिशूल तथा ढाल अंकित हैं। देवी का मुकुट दैत्य के खुले हुए मुख में आधा छुप गया है। देवी के पांव के पास भी एक एक दैत्य मुख अंकित है। प्रतिमा एकदम विलक्षण व अद्भुत है।

(13) **चामुण्डा**—देवी चामुण्डा को पुराणों में यम की शक्ति कहा जाता है। चामुण्डा का रूप भयावह होता है।

बस्तर में देवी मंदिर में देवी का मुख मंडल अत्यंत भयावह है। देवी हाथों में कटार, त्रिशूल, कपाल, और खटवांग धारण की हैं। रूप कंकाल है, आंखे गोल, लटकते स्तन तथा खोखला पेट प्रदर्शित है। नीचे नरवाहन अंकित है।

कूरूसपाल में चामुण्डा की छः हाथों वाली एक अस्पष्ट प्रतिमा है।

दंतेश्वरी मंदिर में एक शव पर सवार चतुर्भुजी चामुण्डा प्रदर्शित हैं, जो हाथों में कटार, त्रिशूल, खटवांग व कपाल लिए है। एक हाथ विस्मयमुद्रा में है।

बारसूर में ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी की निर्मित चामुण्डा की सबसे अधिक प्रतिमायें प्राप्त हुई हैं।

(14) शिवा-समलूर में शिवा की पूजा जलकमनी नाम से की जाती है।<sup>21</sup> वृषभ पर बैठी समलूर की शिवा की प्रतिमा चतुर्भुजी है, जो हाथों में खड्ग, त्रिशूल व सर्पधारण की हैं, साथ में डमरू और कपाल भी प्रदर्शित है। देवी प्रतिमा बहुत संतुलित व आकर्षक है।<sup>22</sup>

अंत में हम कह सकते हैं कि प्रागैतिहासिक युग से ही मातृपूजा के प्रमाण पाये गए हैं, इनमें पार्वती, दुर्गा, सरस्वती तथा लक्ष्मी के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।

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# भारतीय स्थापत्य व मूर्तिकला का स्वर्णिम इतिहास एलोरा गुफाएं

• डॉ. राकेश कुमार किराडू

विश्व के महानतम आश्चर्य में से एक है एलोरा की गुफाएं जो महाराष्ट्र के औरंगाबाद शहर से लगभग 30 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है। ये गुफाएं प्राकृतिक चट्टानों में वास्तु शिल्प के अनूठे उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करती हैं। ये प्राकृतिक बेसाल्ट चट्टानें हैं जो एलोरा के वास्तु शिल्पकला के लिए अति उपयोगी और अनुरूप रही हैं। इन चट्टानों को लंबवत काटकर तराशा गया है जिनकी कुल संख्या 34 है।

पश्चिम दखिन में चालुक्यों के बाद राष्ट्रकूट शासकों की सत्ता स्थापित हो गई थी। जो चालुक्यों के समान ही मूर्तिकला और स्थापत्यकला के महान आश्रयदाता थे।<sup>1</sup> इन्हीं राष्ट्रकूट शासकों के शासनकाल में विशालतम पहाड़ियों को काटकर गुफा मंदिरों का निर्माण किया गया था तथा उनकी दीवारों पर विशाल आकार वाली मूर्तियां बनाई गई थी। यहां से प्राप्त उत्कीर्ण शिलालेख से यह बात ज्ञात होती है कि इसका प्राचीन नाम एलापुर अचल था। जो कालांतर में परिवर्तित होकर एलोरा हो गया कुछ लोग इसे वेरुल के नाम से भी पुकारते हैं।<sup>2</sup>

ये गुफाएं तीन धर्म की त्रिवेणी के नाम से भी जानी जाती हैं। क्योंकि इनमें बौद्ध, हिंदू और जैन धर्म की गुफाएं स्थित है। गुफा संख्या 1 से 12 तक की गुफाएं बौद्ध मंदिर हैं तो गुफा संख्या 13 से लेकर 29 तक हिंदू धर्म की गुफाएं हैं। इसी क्रम में गुफा संख्या 30 से लेकर 34 तक के गुफा मंदिर जैन धर्म से संबंधित हैं।

बौद्ध धर्म की गुफाएं-एलोरा में गुफा संख्या 1 से 12 तक की गुफाएं भगवान बुद्ध को समर्पित हैं जिन्हें बौद्ध गुफाओं के नाम से जाना जाता है। इन गुफाओं में भगवान बुद्ध व बोधिसत्वों के अत्यंत ही सुंदर रूप को दर्शाया गया

है। भगवान बुद्ध को ध्यानस्थ, पद्मपाणी, वज्रपाणी रूप में उत्कीर्णित किया गया है।

गुफा संख्या एक विहार गुफा है जिसे बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का आवास स्थल भी कहा करते हैं। इस गुफा के मध्य में एक चौकोर सभा मंडप है और उसके एक तरफ की दीवार में चार कोठरिया बनी हुई हैं।

गुफा संख्या दो एक उपासना स्थल है जिसके बाहरी बरामदे में सौभाग्य की देवी हरिति की मूर्ति बनी हुई है। गुफा संख्या तीन के बीच में एक चौकोर कमरा है और उसके आखिरी छोर में बुद्ध कमलासन पर विराजित है। इसमें दीवारों के चारों ओर 12 ध्यान की कोठरिया बनी हुई हैं। गुफा संख्या चार दो मंजिला गुफा है। यहां पर बुद्ध एक पीपल के वृक्ष के नीचे बैठे हुए बनाए गए हैं।

गुफा संख्या पांच कुछ ऊंचाई पर बनी हुई है और यहां पर एक विशालतम हाल बना हुआ है जो बीच की चौकियों के द्वारा तीन हिस्सों में बंटा हुआ है। इस हाल की बनावट और वास्तु निरूपण से इस बात का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि यह एक भोजनशाला रही होगी। गुफा संख्या छ में कई बड़ी-बड़ी मूर्तियां बनी हुई हैं। जिसमें एक मूर्तिशिल्प में देवी तारा अपने भक्तों की एक सांप से रक्षा कर रही है। गुफा संख्या सात एक सामान्य कक्ष की तरह है। गुफा संख्या आठ एक ऐसा मंदिर है जहां गर्भगृह पिछली दीवार से थोड़ी दूरी पर है और एक पगडंडी चारों तरफ बनी हुई है। गुफा संख्या नौ में एक खुला हुआ छज्जा और बरामदा है तो गुफा नंबर दस एक चौत्य गुफा के रूप में पहचानी जाती है जहां पर बौद्ध भिक्षु ध्यान किया करते थे। गुफा संख्या ग्यारह अलग-अलग स्तर पर तीन मंजिल में बनी हुई है। इसमें ऊपर के स्तर में बौद्ध भिक्षुओं का निवास स्थान और यात्रियों के लिए रहने की जगह है तो उसके नीचे के स्तर में मंदिर बना हुआ है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि बाद में हिंदू धार्मिकों ने इसका उपयोग किया होगा। बौद्ध धर्म की गुफाओं में गुफा संख्या बारह अंतिम गुफा है जो एक शयन कक्ष के रूप में पहचानी जाती है। इसमें एक बात जानने योग्य है कि यहां पर सात बुद्ध की मूर्तियां श्रेणीबद्ध बनाई गई है। ऐसी धारणा है कि बुद्ध अब तक सात बार अवतरित हो चुके हैं जो की 5000 सालों में एक बार अवतार लेते हैं। इस गुफा पर आकर बौद्ध धर्म की गुफाएं समाप्त हो जाती है।

**हिंदू धर्म की गुफाएं**—बौद्ध धर्म की गुफाओं के पश्चात गुफा संख्या 13 से लेकर 29 तक हिंदू धर्म की गुफाएं हैं। इतिहासकारों का ऐसा मानना है कि ईशा पश्चात् 600 ई. से 875 ई. मध्य इनका निर्माण किया गया था। इन

गुफाओं में सबसे प्रसिद्ध गुफा संख्या 16 है जो कैलाश मंदिर के नाम से विश्व प्रसिद्ध है। यह कैलाश मंदिर भगवान शिव को समर्पित है लेकिन अन्य हिंदू देवताओं की भी मूर्तियां व विष्णु के अवतारों को भी यहां पर बनाया गया है।

यह मंदिर एक ही चट्टान को काटकर बनाया गया है और संभवतः ऐसा यह विश्व का अनूठा मंदिर है। इतिहासकारों का ऐसा मानना है कि सर्वप्रथम मंदिर के शिखर को बनाया गया था तत्पश्चात धीरे-धीरे लंबवत पत्थरों की कटाई करते-करते संपूर्ण मंदिर का निर्माण किया गया जो राष्ट्रकूट स्थापत्य कला का सर्वोत्तम उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है। कैलाश मंदिर में उत्कृष्ट द्वार, झरोखें, सीढ़ियां व सुंदर स्तंभ बनाए गए हैं। इस मंदिर का निर्माण आठवीं शताब्दी में राष्ट्रकूट सम्राट कृष्ण प्रथम ने करवाया था। जिसका निर्माण कार्य लगभग सौ सालों तक निरंतर चलता रहा। यह कैलाश मंदिर अपनी विशालता, भव्यता मूर्तियों के सुंदर स्वरूप और विविधता के कारण भारतीय स्थापत्य एवं मूर्तिकला का एक अजूबा ही जान पड़ता है।

कैलाश मंदिर में प्रवेश करते ही ठीक सामने की दीवार पर गज लक्ष्मी की अत्यंत ही सुंदर और विशाल प्रतिमा बनाई गई है। जिसके मध्य भाग में लक्ष्मी विराजमान है और उसके दोनों तरफ हाथी उनका कलश द्वार अभिषेक कर रहे हैं। उसके ठीक बाईं तरफ प्रांगण में अति विशालकाय ध्वजा स्तंभ बनाया गया है जिसकी कारीगरी अत्यंत ही उन्नत है। यह ध्वजा स्तंभ भारतीय मुद्रा के ऊपर भी अंकित है। इसके पास में खुले प्रांगण में विशालकाय हाथी की प्रतिमा बनाई गई है जो मांसलता युक्त है। संभवतः यह भगवान शिव की सवारी नंदी का अत्यंत सुंदर उदाहरण प्रस्तुत कर रहा है। प्रांगण के चारों ओर लंबी-लंबी विथियां बनाई गई हैं। जिसमें हिंदू देवी देवताओं के और विष्णु के अवतारों को सुंदरता के साथ बनाया गया है जो क्रमबद्ध हैं। प्रांगण के मुख्य भाग में चारों तरफ हाथी इत्यादि की सुंदर व विशालकाय प्रतिमाएं दीवारों से सटी हुई बनाई गई हैं जो अपने आप में अलौकिक जान पड़ती हैं। प्रांगण में ही पीछे की तरफ की दीवार पर महिषासुरमर्दिनी की अत्यंत सुंदर मूर्ति बनाई गई है। उससे थोड़ा आगे चलने पर भगवान नरसिंह का सुंदर रूप दर्शाया गया है। इस मंदिर के प्रांगण की ऊपरी मंजिल में एक पुल से जुड़े हुए दो मंदिर हैं। जिसमें एक गर्भ ग्रह है जिसके भीतर भगवान शिव का अत्यंत सुंदर शिवलिंग विराजित है तो दूसरी तरफ नंदी की मूर्ति बनाई गई है। यह आपस में एक पुल मार्ग से जुड़े हुए हैं। इस कैलाश मंदिर का एक और अत्यंत प्रसिद्ध मूर्ति शिल्प है रावण का कैलाश पर्वत को उठाने की कोशिश करना जो भगवान शिव का निवास स्थान है।

इन मूर्तिशिल्पों के अलावा यहां पर अन्य प्रसिद्ध मूर्तियों में भैरव, नरसिंह और हिरण्यकश्यप का वृतांत, रावनानुग्रह, शिव पार्वती का विवाह, इंद्राणी की मूर्तियां, मार्कण्डेय उद्धार, भैरव प्रतिमा, शिव की अष्टभुजी तांडव प्रतिमा जिसके हाथ अब खंडित हो चुके हैं मुख्य रूप से बनाई गई हैं। इसी मंदिर में एक और मूर्ति शिल्प अत्यंत आकर्षक है जो शिव द्वारा अंधक राक्षस का वध करने का है। इस मूर्ति शिल्प में भगवान शिव क्रोधित मुद्रा में दर्शाए गए हैं। उनके हाथ में त्रिशूल है जिससे वह अंधक राक्षस का वध कर रहे हैं।

उक्त गुफा के अतिरिक्त ब्राह्मण गुफाओं में गुफा संख्या 14 रावण की खाई गुफा<sup>3</sup> के प्रमुख मूर्ति शिल्प में उमा महेश्वर, लक्ष्मी, विष्णु, गणेश, गजलक्ष्मी, गंगा यमुना और रावनानुग्रह इत्यादि प्रमुख मूर्ति शिल्प हैं। गुफा संख्या 15 दशावतार<sup>4</sup> मंदिर का निर्माण दंतिदुर्गा द्वितीय के काल में हुआ। इसमें विष्णु, नरसिंह अवतार, गोवर्धनधारी कृष्ण, सरस्वती, गणेश, गजेंद्र मोक्ष इत्यादि अनेकों मूर्तियां उल्लेखनीय है। गुफा संख्या 21 रामेश्वर<sup>5</sup> मंदिर के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। जिसमें शिव और शक्ति की मूर्तियां देखने में मिलती है। गुफा संख्या उन्नतीस धूम्रलेन<sup>6</sup> विशेष प्रसिद्ध है। जिसमें शिव पार्वती, दुर्गा, सरस्वती, यमुना और रावनानुग्रह की मूर्तियां विशेष उद्भरणीय हैं।

जैन धर्म की गुफाएं गुफा संख्या 30 से लेकर 34 तक एलोरा गुफाओं के अंतिम छोर पर बनी हुई है, जो जैन धर्म के दिगंबर संप्रदाय से संबंधित हैं। इनका निर्माण नौवीं से दसवीं शताब्दी के मध्य किया गया है। गुफा संख्या तीस छोटा कैलाश के नाम से जानी जाती है। इसे गुफा संख्या सोलह के कैलाश मंदिर के प्रतिरूप में छोटी आकृति में बनाने की योजना थी परंतु वह पूरी नहीं हो सकी। गुफा संख्या बत्तीस इंद्रसभा के नाम से विख्यात हैं जो यहां के जैन मंदिरों में अति श्रेष्ठ मानी जाती है और जैन तीर्थंकर भगवान महावीर स्वामी को समर्पित है। इस गुफा में एक सामान्य से प्रवेश द्वार से प्रवेश करने के पश्चात् एक खुला आंगन आता है जिसके बीच में मंदिर है और सुंदर नक्काशीदार उकेरियां और तीर्थंकरों से दीवारें अटी हुई हैं। यह मंदिर जैन धर्म और उसके उपदेशों के प्रतिरूप का सुंदर उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है जिसमें जैन धर्म के वैराग्य और कठोर नियमों की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकर्षित हुए बिना नहीं रह सकता है। यह गुफा कलात्मक दृष्टिकोण से अत्यंत सुंदर है। गुफा संख्या तैतीस में जगन्नाथ सभा दर्शित है। इन गुफा की दीवारों पर पार्श्वनाथ और महावीर स्वामी जैसे जैन धर्म के मुख्य तीर्थंकरों की मूर्तियों को बनाया गया है।

इस प्रकार हम कह सकते हैं कि भारत के तीन महान धर्म के त्रिवेणी का

संगम एक ही स्थान पर मौजूद होना एलोरा की कलात्मक सुंदरता और सृजन शक्ति का अनूठा उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है ऐसा उदाहरण भारत ही नहीं संपूर्ण विश्व के कलात्मक जगत का सिरमौर है।

### सन्दर्भ:

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# प्राचीन भारतीय कृषि तकनीक: बृहत्संहिता के संदर्भ में एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

• डॉ. निशि सेठ

कृषि एवं कृषक समाज आदि काल से भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था और भारतीय जन जीवन का आधार रहे हैं। वार्ता के अन्तर्गत कृषि सबसे महत्वपूर्ण व्यवसाय था।<sup>1</sup> यही कारण है कि भारतीय चिंतकों ने कृषि की प्रगति के लिए उसके विविध पक्षों को भौगोलिक, भूगर्भीय, खगोलीय और प्राकृतिक ज्ञान के आलोक में देखा और सम्बन्धित पक्षों को अपने साहित्यों में पिरोया। भारतीय चिंतकों द्वारा प्रस्तुत कृषि के पारंपरिक तरीकों का उपयोग वर्तमान कृषि विज्ञान एवं तकनीक को समृद्ध करने में किया जा सकता है।

बृहत्संहिता, वराहमिहिर द्वारा विरचित 5वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध या 6ठीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ का एक ज्योतिष ग्रन्थ है जिसमें मूलतः ग्रहों, नक्षत्रों की गति के आधार पर भविष्यवाणियाँ की गई हैं।<sup>2</sup> वराहमिहिर का यह ग्रन्थ मानवपयोगी विषयों पर अनेक अभिज्ञताएं समेटे हुए है, जिसके मनन से ना केवल समकालीन समाज के विविध पक्षों यथा-वास्तु विज्ञान, मौसम विज्ञान, जल विज्ञान, भूकंप विज्ञान और कृषि विज्ञान की जानकारी प्राप्त होती है बल्कि इसके अध्ययन से आधुनिक विज्ञान एवं तकनीक को भी सहायता मिल सकती है। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र बृहत्संहिता में वर्णित समकालीन कृषि तकनीक और वर्तमान परिदृश्य में उसकी प्रासंगिकता के अध्ययन का एक प्रयास है।

कृषि तकनीकी के अध्ययन में भूमि के चुनाव, बीज के चुनाव, बीज वपन के पूर्व की प्रक्रिया सहित उसके समस्त अवयवों से सम्बन्धित सम्यक् गुण-दोषों के विवेचन की चेष्टा की जाती है। इस दृष्टि से बृहत्संहिता में वर्णित विषयों के अध्ययन से ऋतुज्ञान, धान्यों की किस्मों, कृषि कर्म में प्रयुक्त होने वाले उपकरणों, खेत की जुताई, बुआई, बीज रोपण के शुभ-मुहूर्त तथा विधियों, पौधों के स्थानान्तरण, खाद बनाने की विधियों, और फसलों के रोग एवं उसके

उपचार, का पर्याप्त ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है। कृषि से सम्बन्धित अन्य पहलुओं जैसे- मौसम, वर्षा, भू-जल आदि का भी विस्तृत विवेचन इस ग्रन्थ में किया गया है।

वराहमिहिर ने बृहत्संहिता में जिन मुख्य दो फसलों (पुर्वसस्य और अपरसस्य) का उल्लेख किया है उसकी समानता वर्तमान की रबी एवं खरीफ से की जा सकती है।

1. **पुर्वसस्य**—यह फसल वर्षा ऋतु में बोई जाती थी और पतझड़ में काट ली जाती थी इस फसल की प्रमुख पैदावार धान था।
2. **अपरसस्य**—यह फसल पतझड़ में बोई जाती थी और ग्रीष्म ऋतु में तैयार होती थी। इसके प्रमुख अनाज गेहूँ एवं जौ थे। इसके अतिरिक्त एक अन्य फसल का भी उल्लेख बृहत्संहिता में आया है जो बसन्त ऋतु में बोई जाती थी और चैत्र या वैशाख में काट ली जाती थी।<sup>3</sup> इस प्रकार फसल चक्र जो आधुनिक कृषि विज्ञान का आधार है, उस युग में भी देखने को मिलता है।

इस काल की ज्ञात उपजों में गेहूँ एवं जौ के साथ-साथ चावल की 9 किस्मों, दाल की 6 किस्मों तिलहन की 3 किस्मों और विभिन्न फल एवं सब्जी यथा—कटहल, जामुन, केला, अनार, अंगूर, अंजीर इत्यादि का उल्लेख इस ग्रन्थ में मिलता है।

बेहतर उपज के लिए बृहत्संहिता में भूमि के चुनाव के प्रति विशिष्ट बातों का उल्लेख मिलता है। इस ग्रन्थ में कृत्रिम सीमा रेखाओं, संभवतः मिट्टी के चबूतरे या कांटेदार बाड़ों के माध्यम से कृषि योग्य भूमि को एक दूसरे से अलग करने के उल्लेख प्राप्त होते हैं।<sup>4</sup> समस्त भूमि फसल की उचित वृद्धि के लिए उपयुक्त नहीं थी। वराहमिहिर द्वारा यह माना गया है कि खेत के नीचे बहने वाली एक भूमिगत जल-वाहिका उगी हुई फसलों को नष्ट कर देती है। इसी प्रकार, मिट्टी की सतह से केवल चार हाथ नीचे पानी देने से बीज अंकुरित नहीं हो पाते और बड़ी हुई फसलें मुरझा जाती हैं।

भूमि की जुताई हल से की जाती थी जो प्रारम्भ से ही समृद्ध एवं समुन्नत कृषि व्यवस्था का आधार रहा है। इसका प्रयोग भू-कर्षण के लिए किया जाता था, जहाँ से कृषि की समस्त प्रक्रियाओं का प्रारम्भ माना जाता है। हल बैलों की सहायता से खींचे जाते थे। चूँकि सघन, गहरी, एवं कड़ी भूमियों को जोतने हेतु बैलों का मजबूत, निरोगी एवं तेज होना आवश्यक है अतः वराहमिहिर ने शरीर के आकार प्रकार एवं बनावट के आधार पर बैलों के शुभ लक्षण, उनके भार वहन करने तथा द्रुत गति से चलने की क्षमता का विस्तृत वर्णन किया है।<sup>5</sup>

उनकी यह उक्ति तत्कालीन कृषकों के लिए उनके हल एवं गाड़ी के लिए उपयुक्त बैलों के चयन में सहायक रही होगी। हल के साथ-साथ अन्य कृषि उपकरणों में कुदाल या फावड़ा और फरसा का उल्लेख किया गया है। फरसे से पेड़ काटे जाने का उल्लेख वृहद्संहिता में मिलता है।<sup>6</sup> निश्चय ही ये कृषि उपकरण उस काल की समृद्ध और समुन्नत कृषि व्यवस्था के आधार रहे होंगे।

खेतों की जुताई के बाद भूमि में बीज बोये जाते थे वराहमिहिर द्वारा कृषकों को शुभ-मुहूर्त में कृषि कार्य करने की सलाह दी गई है। जब चंद्रमा चार स्थिर नक्षत्रों उत्तराषाढ़ा, उत्तराभाद्रपद, रोहिणी, फाल्गुनी में से किसी में से गुजरता है तो बीज बोना चाहिए।<sup>7</sup> ऐसा माना जाता था कि ज्येष्ठ, मूल, पूर्वा और उत्तराषाढ़ा के दक्षिण से चंद्रमा के गुजरने के समय बोया गया बीज नष्ट हो जाएगा।<sup>8</sup> इसके साथ साथ वराहमिहिर<sup>9</sup> ने बोने से पूर्व बीजों की अंकुरण शक्ति में वृद्धि करने के लिए भी कतिपय महत्वपूर्ण उपायों को प्रयोग में लाने का उल्लेख किया है, जैसे बीज को सर्वप्रथम घी में लपेटकर दूध में डाल देना चाहिए, सुबह उसे दूध से निकालकर अलग-अलग रखकर सुखा लेना चाहिए। यह क्रिया नियमपूर्वक लगभग एक मास तक चलनी चाहिये और अन्त में उसे सूअर अथवा हिरन के मांस से भरे हुए पात्र में रख देना चाहिये। तदन्तर उसे शुभ-मुहूर्त में खेतों में बोना चाहिये।<sup>10</sup> वृक्षारोपण के सन्दर्भ में वराहमिहिर का यह उल्लेख तत्कालीन कृषकों द्वारा बीज एवं भूमि के खाद्यीकरण की विविध क्रियाओं पर समुचित प्रकाश डालता है और साथ ही उस विकासपूर्ण स्थिति को भी स्पष्ट करता है, जिसका संकेत कौटिल्य ने अर्थशास्त्र में बोने के पूर्व बीजों के खाद्यीकरण के सन्दर्भ में किया था तथा जिसे अर्जित करने में इन कृषकों को एक लम्बी अवधि के अनुभवजन्य सूझ-बूझ एवं व्यावहारिक ज्ञान का सहारा लेना पड़ा।

खेतों की उर्वरा शक्ति में वृद्धि हेतु वराहमिहिर ने हरी और सूखी(गोबर) दोनों प्रकार की खादों का उल्लेख किया है।<sup>11</sup> उनके अनुसार पहले खेत को जोतकर उनमें तिल बोना चाहिये, फिर जब पौधे बड़े हो जाये तब खेत को पुनः जोत देना चाहिये इस प्रक्रिया से पौधे खेत में गिरकर भलीभांति सड़ सकेंगे। खेतों के खादीकरण की यह प्रक्रिया आधुनिक हरी खाद का ही प्रतिरूप प्रतीत होती है। वराहमिहिर ने इसे कृषि के लिए भूमि को तैयार करने का प्रथम चरण माना है। साथ ही इस प्रसंग को आगे बढ़ाते हुए वराहमिहिर पुनः लिखते हैं कि एक आढक नाप का तिल, दो आढक भेड़ या बकरी का मल, एक प्रस्थ जौ का चूर्ण और एक तोला गोमांस मिलाकर बने मिश्रण को एक द्रोण पानी में डालकर सात रात तक सड़ाना चाहिये तत्पश्चात् उसे पेड़ की जड़ में डालने से पौधे द्रुतगति से बढ़ते हैं।<sup>12</sup>



पौधों के स्थान्तरण पर बृहत्संहिता में उल्लेख मिलता है कटहल, जामुन, केला, अनार, अंगूर के पेड़ कलम काटकर दूसरे पेड़ों पर चढ़ाये जाते थे। जिन पौधों में शाखा न हो उन्हें पतझड़ में, जिनमें शाखा हो उन्हें शीत ऋतु में और जिनके तने बड़े हों उन्हें वर्षा ऋतु में एक स्थान से उखाड़ कर दूसरे स्थान पर लगाना चाहिए।<sup>13</sup> उखाड़ कर लगाने से पहले पौधे के तने पर घी, तेल, मोम दूध और गोबर<sup>14</sup> लपेटना चाहिए इससे पौधे मरते नहीं तथा दूसरे स्थान पर शीघ्र उग जाते हैं।

बृहत्संहिता के अनुसार बड़े पौधों के बीच 18 फीट की दूरी होनी चाहिए। ऐसा होने पर उचित मात्रा में हवा धूप पौधों को लगेगी तथा पौधों का अच्छा विकास होगा।<sup>15</sup> कटहल, अंजीर, अनार, अंगूर तथा जामुन की पौध को आद्रतापूर्ण भूमि पर लगाने से अच्छी फसल प्राप्त होती थी।<sup>16</sup> तैयार फसल की सुरक्षा और भावी उपयोग के लिए कोष्ठागारों का उल्लेख मिलता है, जहाँ किसान अपने धान्यों को रखता था वराहमिहिर ने कोष्ठागारों का विस्तृत उल्लेख किया है।<sup>17</sup> व्यक्तिगत कोष्ठागारों के अतिरिक्त राज्य द्वारा निर्मित कोष्ठागारों के भी उल्लेख मिलते हैं। वराहमिहिर ने मघा नक्षत्र को इन कोष्ठागारों के निर्माण के लिए उपयुक्त बताया है।

कृषि उत्पादन में वृद्धि के संदर्भ में सिंचाई संसाधन प्रारम्भ से ही महत्वपूर्ण रहे हैं। इस काल में कृषि मुख्य रूप से वर्षा के अधीन थी। कृषि के लिए वर्षा के महत्त्व को स्पष्ट करते हुए वराहमिहिर कहते हैं कि संसार का प्राण अन्न है और अन्न वर्षा के अधीन है।<sup>18</sup> इसके साथ साथ सिंचाई के अन्य संसाधनों में नहरों, तालाबों और कुओं उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है। वराहमिहिर ने अपने ग्रन्थ में ग्रहो, नक्षत्रों की स्थिति के आधार पर अकाल की 55, सूखे की 45, फसल बर्बादी की 63 और अच्छी फसल की 53 स्थिति का वर्णन किया है।<sup>19</sup> अतिवृष्टि और अनावृष्टि से व्याप्त भीषण अकाल और उससे संत्रस्त जनों की दयनीय स्थिति का विवरण भी वराहमिहिर ने दिया है, यह इस बात का प्रमाण है कि कृषि इस काल में भी मूलतः प्रकृति पर ही निर्भर थी।

इस प्रकार बृहत्संहिता तत्कालीन कृषि तकनीक से महत्वपूर्ण परिचय कराती है। कृषि से सम्बन्धित विविध प्रक्रियायें, उसको सफल बनाने के लिए किये जाने वाले प्रयासों ने तत्कालीन कृषि व्यवस्था को आज की वैज्ञानिक पृष्ठभूमि में पोषित कृषि के समकक्ष लाकर खड़ा कर दिया। वर्तमान परिदृश्य में उसकी उपयोगिता इन संदर्भों में निहित है कि पारंपरिक कृषि पद्धतियाँ अक्सर टिकाऊ होती हैं और स्थानीय वातावरण के लिए उपयुक्त होती हैं, जो खाद्य सुरक्षा और जैव विविधता संरक्षण में योगदान करती हैं।

## सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ सूची

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# मुगल काल में गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति का मूल्यांकन

डॉ. रामेश्वर मिश्र • पूनम नामदेव

आर्थिक स्थिति में परिवर्तन किसी भी परिवार समाज एवं राज्य की सम्पन्नता एवं विपन्नता का द्योतक है। मुगल काल में गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति का अध्ययन गोंड जनजातीय राज्यों की आर्थिक सम्पन्नता को स्पष्ट करते हैं। गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति का मूल्यांकन हम गोंड राज्य गढ़ा, देवगढ़ एवं चांदा के अन्तर्गत करेंगे। गोंड जनजाति की उन्नत आर्थिक स्थिति का अवलोकन सर्वप्रथम गोंड शासक संग्राम शाह के शासन काल में देखने को मिलता है। यह आर्थिक उन्नति गोंड जनजातीय शासकों की नीतियों का परिणाम थी। गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़े तथ्यों का अध्ययन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गढ़ा राज्य समाप्त होने के 16 साल बाद जब 1801 में अंग्रेज यात्री जे. टी. ब्लंट गढ़ा और जबलपुर से जब होकर निकला तो वह गढ़ा प्रदेश की तारीफ करते हुए कहता है कि इस प्रदेश की समृद्धि का परिचय इसकी राजधानी में देखने मिलता है और उन जिलों में इसकी पुष्टि होती है जिनका हमने भ्रमण किया है। इसके साथ ही वह कहता है कि नर्मदा में जलमार्ग की सुविधा न होने और आन्तरिक व्यापार ज्यादा न होने पर भी गोंड राजाओं के अन्तर्गत असंख्य लोग उपजाऊ इलाको में खेती कर रहे थे। गोंडों द्वारा गढ़ा राज्य में जो शहरीकरण विकसित हुआ था उसका प्रमुख कारण यह था कि गढ़ा के गोंड शासक संग्रामशाह ने गढ़ा क्षेत्र को राजधानी क्षेत्र के रूप में तैयार किया तथा इसके लिए विद्वान लोगों को बाहर से लेकर बसाया गया, संग्रामशाह के समय में मिथिला से विद्वान ब्राह्मणों को बुलाया गया जिसके फलस्वरूप ब्राह्मण समुदाय का आना जाना गढ़ा शहर में होता रहा और यह प्रक्रिया बाद के शासकों में भी चलती रही। संग्रामशाह गोंड की पुत्रवधु “रानी दुर्गावती ने बल्लाभाचार्य के पुत्र विठ्ठलनाथ जी को 108 ग्राम दान में दिये”<sup>1</sup> तथा दुर्गावती

के समय में ही दक्षिण के तैलंग ब्राह्मण भी गढ़ा क्षेत्र में आकर बस गये जिसके फलस्वरूप गढ़ा क्षेत्र में शहरीकरण बढ़ता गया जिसका उल्लेख हमें अबुल-फज़ल के अकबरनामा में मिलता है। गढ़ा क्षेत्र में मुगल फौज ने आधिपत्य प्राप्त किया तब मुगलकालीन इतिहासकार अबुल फज़ल ने गढ़ा क्षेत्र के विकास एवं वहाँ के इमारतों एवं सम्पन्नता को ध्यान में रखते हुए इस क्षेत्र का उल्लेख एक शहर के रूप में किया है।

गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक उन्नति का अवलोकन अकबरनामा के लेखक अबुल फज़ल के इस तथ्य से होता है जिसके अनुसार वह—“गढ़ा-कटंगा को स्पष्ट करते हुए लिखता है कि गढ़ा एक शहर है, कटंग एक ग्राम, और इस दोहरे नाम से इस प्रदेश को जाना जाता है।”<sup>2</sup> उपर्युक्त तथ्य को स्पष्ट करने पर यह निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि मुगल शासक अकबर के आक्रमण के पूर्व गढ़ा क्षेत्र में शहरीकरण विद्यमान था। गढ़ा क्षेत्र में संग्रामशाह और रानी दुर्गावती के समय अनेक निर्माण किये गये थे। इन निर्माण कार्यों में “संग्रामसागर के पास स्थिति भैरव मंदिर (बजनामठ), संग्रामसागर के मध्य में स्थित आमखास, हस्तिशाला, मदन महल और पंचमठा\* के मंदिर उल्लेखनीय हैं”।<sup>3</sup> रानी दुर्गावती बहुत ही प्रजापालक एवं दयालु रानी थी, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप उन्होंने अपने प्रजा के कल्याण के लिए अनेक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किये, “रानी दुर्गावती ने गढ़ा के निकट रानी ताल का निर्माण करवाया”।<sup>4</sup> उनकी दासी चेरी ने चेरीताल का निर्माण करवाया, रानी के मंत्री आधार कायस्थ ने भी गढ़ा के पास एक तालाब आधारताल का निर्माण करवाया। उपर्युक्त तथ्य का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि रानी दुर्गावती, उनके मंत्रियों तथा रानी की दासी चेरी द्वारा प्रजा के लिए जल आपूर्ति एवं जल निकासी की उत्तम व्यवस्था को ध्यान में रखते हुए अनेक तालाबों का निर्माण करवाया गया था। इस प्रकार इस उत्तम व्यवस्था का अवलोकन इस बात का प्रमाण है कि सुदूर वनो में रहने वाली गोंड जनजाति के मध्य उत्तम इमारतों का तथा जल संरक्षण के लिए तालो का प्रबन्ध, गोंडों की मुगल काल में श्रेष्ठ आर्थिक स्थिति को दर्शाता है।

गोंड राज्य गढ़ा की उन्नत आर्थिक स्थिति का आंकलन वहाँ निर्मित गढ़ों एवं दुर्गों के विकास से समझा जा सकता है। गढ़ा क्षेत्र के आस-पास अनेक गढ़ों का निर्माण हुआ था जिसका विकास शहर की सुरक्षा के लिए किया गया था। इन गढ़ों के निर्माण से गढ़ा राजधानी क्षेत्र का दुर्गीकरण हुआ और गढ़ों एवं

\* पंचमठा में कुछ मंदिर है 1603 ई. में स्वामी चर्तुभुज दास का बनवाया, राधाकृष्ण मंदिर है इसके निकट ही अनेक शिव मंदिर है।

इमारतों के निर्माण से एक शहरीकरण की प्रक्रिया दृष्टिगोचर होता है। “गोंड क्षेत्र गढ़ा के पचेलगढ़, अमोदा, कन्नौजा, झाझलगढ़, दीयागढ़ आदि प्रमुख दुर्ग है”<sup>15</sup> इन तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर अबुल फज़ल के कथन की पुष्टि होती है कि गढ़ा एक शहर था और कंटंगा एक ग्राम था। गढ़ा, शहर का विकास राजधानी क्षेत्र के रूप में होने से धीरे-धीरे गढ़ा क्षेत्र की आबादी में वृद्धि होने लगी जिसके फलस्वरूप कंटंगा जो कि ग्राम था वह भी शहर की परिधि में आ गया और सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र का विकास एक शहर के रूप में हुआ और राजधानी का नाम दोनों के संयुक्त नाम पर गढ़ा-कंटंगा हो गया। इस प्रकार छोटे-छोटे दुर्गों की शृंखला को देखकर यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि मुगल काल में संग्राम शाह और रानी दुर्गावती के शासन काल में गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति काफी उन्नत अवस्था में थी।

गोंड शासक संग्रामशाह की आर्थिक स्थिति का उल्लेख करते हुए मुगलकालीन इतिहासकार अबुल फज़ल “आइने ए-अकबरी में संग्रामशाह के इन गढ़ों के 57 महलों की सूची देता है”<sup>16</sup> संग्रामशाह ने राजसत्ता की स्थापना के बाद गढ़ा क्षेत्र का विस्तार किया। अबुल फज़ल गढ़ा कंटंगा का विस्तार बताते हुए लिखता है कि—“गढ़ा का पूर्वी हिस्सा रतनपुर और पश्चिमी हिस्सा रायसेन से मिला हुआ था, इसके उत्तर में पन्ना, दक्षिण में दक्कन है। पूर्व पश्चिम की लम्बाई 150 कोश है और उत्तर दक्षिण की लम्बाई 80 कोश है।”<sup>17</sup> गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति का वर्णन करते हुए अकबरनामा में अबुल फज़ल लिखता है कि—“चौरागढ़ विजय के बाद वहाँ से मुगलों को कल्पनातीत धन हासिल हुआ जिसमें सिक्के, ठोस रूप में सोना, नक्काशीदार पात्र, जवाहरात, मोती, पशुओं की ठोस रूप में सोने की आकृति और अन्य दुर्लभ चीजें मिली, साथ ही अलाउद्दीन के समय की सोने की असर्फियों से भरे सौ बड़े घड़े भी मिले।”<sup>18</sup> इस अतुल सम्पदा पर ध्यान केन्द्रित करने पर आभास होता है कि गोंड शासक संग्रामशाह 1513 ई. में सत्तारूढ़ हुआ और 1543 ई. में संग्रामशाह की मृत्यु हो गयी अतः संग्रामशाह का शासन काल 30 वर्ष का रहा। उसके बाद रानी दुर्गावती ने 1550 से 1564 ई. तक (मृत्यु तक) शासन किया अर्थात् 16 वर्ष तक और यदि हम दलपतिशाह के शासन काल (1543 से 1550) को भी इसमें जोड़ते हैं तो संग्रामशाह से लेकर रानी दुर्गावती के 53 वर्ष के शासन काल में गोंडों ने अपरिमित धन संग्रह किया था जो कि उनकी श्रेष्ठ एवं कुशल आर्थिक व्यवस्था का द्योतक है। जनजातीय क्षेत्र गढ़ा से जुड़े आर्थिक तथ्यों का अंतर्निरीक्षण करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गोंड क्षेत्र में चावल की पैदावार प्रमुख थी तथा हाथी बहुतायत मात्रा में पाये जाते थे, इन्ही हाथियों एवं

चावल के व्यापार के माध्यम से गोंड क्षेत्र में काफी धन संग्रह हुआ जिसके फलस्वरूप इसकी चमक मुगल सम्राट अकबर तक पहुँच गयी। इस तथ्य के साक्ष्य अबुल फज़ल के इस कथन से भी मिलते हैं—“आसफख़ाँ को चौरागढ़ में अपरिमित धन प्राप्त हुआ, इस धन ने उसके मस्तिक को फेर दिया, उसने एक हजार हाथियों में से केवल दो सौ शहंशाह को भेजे और सारी मूल्यवान वस्तुएं अपने पास रख ली।”<sup>9</sup> गोंड शासकों द्वारा इन हाथियों का बड़े पैमाने पर निर्यात मालवा, कश्मीर, दक्कन में किया जाता था जिसके फलस्वरूप गढ़ा में एक बड़ी धनराशि इकट्ठा हो रही थी।

गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़े हुए तथ्यों का अन्तर्निरीक्षण करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि मुगलकाल से पूर्व गोंड जनजाति के व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध कश्मीर, गुजरात, बहमनी, मालवा, जौनपुर राज्यों से थे। “1908 ई. में गढ़ा एवं मदन महल के बीच खुदाई करने पर एक खजाना मिला जो दिल्ली, गुजरात, कश्मीर, मालवा, बहमनी तथा जौनपुर राज्यों के थे, जिसका समय 1311 ई. से 1553 ई. के बीच का है।”<sup>10</sup> ये सिक्के गढ़ा के व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध इन राज्यों से इंगित करते हैं। “अबुल फज़ल फिर लिखता है कि गोंड लोग इन राज्यों को हाथी निर्यात करते थे, इसके साथ ही लिखता है कि यहाँ का कृषि उत्पाद दक्कन एवं गुजरात की जरूरतों को पूरा करने में सक्षम था।”<sup>11</sup> उपर्युक्त तथ्य का मूल्यांकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गढ़ा क्षेत्र में गोंड जनजाति की श्रेष्ठ आर्थिक स्थिति को दर्शाता है। गढ़ा के गोंड जनजाति की सम्पन्नता के विषय में मुगल इतिहासकार अबुल फज़ल लिखता है कि “गढ़ा राज्य नर्मदा के उत्तर में बसा था, यह हिस्सा काफी उपजाऊ था। इस इलाके की सम्पन्नता और उपजाऊपन के प्रमाण के रूप में इस तथ्य को देखा जा सकता है कि यहाँ के किसान मोहर एवं हाथी के रूप में ‘कर’ अदा करते थे।”<sup>12</sup> व्यापार के माध्यम से आर्थिक लाभ समाज में किसानों तक पहुँचता था क्योंकि अबुल फज़ल लिखता है कि किसान मोहरों एवं हाथियों के रूप में कर अदा करते थे। उपर्युक्त तथ्य का मूल्यांकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गढ़ा क्षेत्र में गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति काफी श्रेष्ठ अवस्था में थी।

गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति का मूल्यांकन एक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य से भी किया जा सकता है जिसके अनुसार गोंड शासकों ने अपने सीमा क्षेत्र में केन्द्रीकरण को मजबूत करने तथा व्यापार व्यवस्था में एकरूपता लाने के उद्देश्य से सिक्कों का प्रचलन किया। “गोंड शासक संग्रामशाह ने सोने, चाँदी, ताँबे के सिक्कों का प्रचलन किया।”<sup>13</sup> संग्रामशाह की मुद्रा प्रणाली सुदृढ़ थी,

संग्रामशाह ने टंकसाल से तीन प्रकार के सिक्कों के निर्माण पर जोर दिया। पहला सोना, दूसरा चाँदी, तीसरा ताँबे के सिक्कों का चलन प्रारम्भ करवाया। गोंड जनजाति के मध्य सिक्कों के विकास से जुड़े तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि संग्रामशाह के तीन प्रकार सिक्कों के चलन का साक्ष्य प्राप्त होता है। “सोने का एक गोल सिक्का प्राप्त हुआ है, जो 1543 ई. का है।”<sup>14</sup> “संग्रामशाह का सोने का दूसरा वर्गाकार सिक्का 1513 ई. का प्राप्त हुआ है।”<sup>15</sup> “सोने का एक तीसरा वर्तुलाकार सिक्का प्राप्त हुआ है जो 1543 ई. का है।”<sup>16</sup> डॉ. हीरालाल लिखते हैं कि जबलपुर जिले में उन्हें जो सोने का सिक्का मिला था वैसी ही इबारात वाले तीन चाँदी के सिक्के उन्हें सतपुड़ा पठार में स्थिति तानिया में मिले। सोने और चाँदी के सिक्कों के अलावा संग्रामशाह के ताँबे के और पीतल के सिक्के प्राप्त होते हैं। “श्री भार्गव ने संग्रामशाह के ताँबे के सिक्कों को प्रकाशित किया है जो देवगढ़ टंकसाल से जारी किये गये थे”<sup>17</sup> इसके साथ ही श्री भार्गव ने पीतल के 6 सिक्कों का प्रकाशन भी किया है। सिक्कों से जुड़े तथ्यों का अन्तर्निरीक्षण करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि मुगलों तथा राजपूतों की अर्थव्यवस्था में त्रिधातु आधारित मुद्रा व्यवस्था का चलन मिलता है। इस प्रकार संग्रामशाह द्वारा गोंड अर्थव्यवस्था में त्रिधातु आधारित मुद्रा व्यवस्था मुगलों एवं राजपूतों के मध्य अपनी आर्थिक पहचान बनाने की एक अप्रत्यक्ष पहल थी। इन तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर हमें संग्रामशाह के शासनकाल के श्रेष्ठ सिक्कों का अवलोकन मिलता है जो गोंड जनजाति की मुगल काल में उच्च आर्थिक स्थिति को दर्शाते हैं।

इसी क्रम में देवगढ़ का गोंड राज्य सतपुड़ा के अंचल में 16वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में अस्तित्व में आया और 18वीं शताब्दी के मध्य तक अस्तित्व में बना रहा। देवगढ़ के गोंड राज्य के दुर्गों के खंडहर आज भी मध्य प्रदेश के छिंदवाड़ा जिले में वहां से करीब 40 किलोमीटर दूर एक पहाड़ी पर स्थित हैं। करीब पौने दो सौ साल के सफर के दौरान इसकी राजधानियाँ हरयागढ़, देवगढ़ और अन्त में नागपुर रही। देवगढ़ राजवंश के गोंड शासक “मधुकर शाह ने पीतल के दो सिक्के चलाए।”<sup>18</sup> “कोकशाह के ताँबे के 19 सिक्कों की जानकारी मिलती है, उनमें जो इबारात लिखी गयी है उसमें कोकशाह को शिवभक्त जाटवा का बेटा बताया गया है और सिक्का देवगढ़ से जारी किया गया है।”<sup>19</sup> मुगल काल में गोंड जनजाति से जुड़े तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर गोंड जनजाति की मुद्रा आधारित अर्थव्यवस्था का अवलोकन होता है। सुदूर वनों में निवास करने वाली गोंड जनजाति के द्वारा मुद्रा आधारित लेन-देन गोंड राजवंश की आर्थिक स्थिति को गौरवान्वित करता है। देवगढ़ के टंकसाल से कोकशाह

के समय 19 ताँबे के सिक्कों का मिलना इस बात की ओर संकेत करता है कि गोंड जनजाति के मध्य उच्चस्तरीय लेन-देन व्यवस्था विद्यमान थी जो कि गोंड जनजाति की सर्वश्रेष्ठ तथा उच्चस्तरीय आर्थिक स्थिति को रेखांकित करता है, इसकी उपर्युक्त तथ्य से ऐतिहासिक पुष्टि होती है।

मुगलों द्वारा गोंड राज्य गढ़ा पर आधिपत्य के बाद मुगल मनसबदारों को गढ़ा के स्थानीय आर्थिक व्यवस्था में कोई विशेष रुचि नहीं थीं उन्हें वहाँ से केवल कर उगाने और वहाँ के स्थानीय जमींदारों और स्थानीय राजाओं पर नियंत्रण रखने से मतलब था, साथ ही मुगलों ने आन्तरिक शांति बनाये रखने के लिए आन्तरिक प्रशासन में हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया। गोंड राज्य देवगढ़ के सम्पन्नता के साक्ष्य तत्कालीन मुगल ग्रंथों में मिलते हैं। “आइन-ए-अकबरी में मालवा सूबे की गढ़ा सरकार के 57 महालों की सूची में हररिया और देवगढ़ का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है। हररिया और देवगढ़ के राजस्व का आकलन 9 लाख दाम किया गया है”<sup>20</sup>। गोंड जनजाति की सम्पन्नता का मूल्यांकन गोंड जनजाति से जुड़े तथ्यों के अवलोकन से किया जा सकता है। “1637 ई. में मुगल सेना ने देवगढ़ पर आक्रमण कर दिया जिससे गोंड शासक कुकिया ने डेढ़ लाख रुपया एवं सभी 170 हाथी खाने दौरा को देना स्वीकार किया।”<sup>21</sup> इस आक्रमण से गोंड राज्य देवगढ़ की आर्थिक स्थिति पर बहुत बुरा प्रभाव पड़ा। इसी क्रम में आगे बढ़ते हुए “1658 ई. में मुगल सूबेदार मिर्जा खान ने देवगढ़ पर आक्रमण कर बकाया राशि वसूल कर ली।”<sup>22</sup> देवगढ़ राज्य के गोंड शासक केशरीशाह की मृत्यु के बाद उसके उत्तराधिकारी के रूप में गोरखशाह ऊर्फ कोकशाह द्वितीय गद्दी पर बैठा जिसने मुगल साम्राज्य से सम्पर्क तोड़ लिया इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि—“1666 ई. में देवगढ़ के ऊपर 15 लाख रुपये का कर बकाया हो गया।”<sup>23</sup> उपर्युक्त तथ्य का अंतर्निरीक्षण करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि मुगलों ने गोंड राज्य पर एक साल का कर लगभग 1,87,500 रुपये निर्धारित किया था जिससे बीते 08 वर्षों में देवगढ़ पर पंद्रह लाख कर बकाया रह गया। मुगल आक्रमणों से त्रस्त आकर देवगढ़ के गोंड शासक ने मुगल सूबेदार खाने दौरा के आक्रमण के फलस्वरूप एक बड़ी धनराशि देना स्वीकार किया। यह गोंड जनजाति की सम्पन्नता का द्योतक है। इस तथ्य के अतिरिक्त “राजा कुकिया ने वार्षिक कर के रूप में 4/3 लाख रुपये देने का वादा किया।”<sup>24</sup> “सन् 1666 ई. में देवगढ़ के गोंड शासक कोकशाह ने मुगल सेनानायक दिलेर खाँ के सम्मुख आत्मसमर्पण करते हुए निष्ठा प्रकट की साथ ही 3 लाख रूपया जुर्माना सहित 18 लाख रूपया निश्चित समय में देने का वादा किया।”<sup>25</sup> गोंड शासक कोकशाह ने युद्ध क्षतिपूर्ति के रूप में एक बड़ी धन राशि 18 लाख रूपया देने



का वचन दिया जो कि गोंड जनजाति की सम्पन्नता की ऐतिहासिक पुष्टि करता है।

गोंड राज्य चांदा का भौगोलिक विस्तार आगरा से खानदेश, बरार मार्ग पर, भोपाल से सम्भलपुर तक, बुंदेलखंड से दक्षिण में गोदावरी तक, सतपुड़ा पहाड़ियों के दोनों ओर फैला हुआ था। बैनगंगा नदी इस राज्य को उत्तर से दक्षिण आते हुए विभाजित करती थी। “यह राज्य हीरों की खदानों तथा हांथियों के लिए प्रसिद्ध था”<sup>26</sup>। इस राज्य में स्थित “बैरागढ़ में वस्त्रों की छपाई की जाती थी”<sup>27</sup>। “अबुल फज़ल ने 1597 में यहाँ के शासक बाबाजी बल्लाल”<sup>28</sup> का उल्लेख किया है। “आइन-ए-अकबरी में बरार सूबे के अन्तर्गत चांदा के गोंड राज्य का वर्णन किया गया है जिसमें कहा गया है कि कलम्ब एक प्राचीन शहर है और यह भैसों के लिए प्रसिद्ध है”<sup>29</sup> इसके पड़ोस में बाबाजी गोंड जमींदार का उल्लेख आइन-ए-अकबरी में मिलता है। इस क्षेत्र को चांदा के नाम से जाना जाता था। “चांदा के अधीन बीरागढ़ क्षेत्र में हीरे की खान तथा कपड़ों की छपाई एवं बुनाई होती थी”<sup>30</sup> यहाँ पर जंगली हाथी बहुतायत मात्रा में पाये जाते थे। आइन-ए-अकबरी में अबुल-फज़ल ने विस्तार से चांदा राज्य की वित्तीय स्थिति का वर्णन किया है। चांदा राज्य की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत बनाने में वहाँ पर चल रहे व्यापार का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। “चांदा में हीरे की खान भी मौजूद थी जिसका परिणाम यह हुआ की चांदा की आर्थिक स्थिति काफी उन्नत अवस्था में थी”<sup>31</sup> चांदा के गोंड जनजाति से जुड़े तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि चांदा के गोंड शासक मुगलों से सम्पर्क मैत्री पूर्ण रखना चाहता थे, इसी उद्देश्य से चांदा के शासक “कृष्णशाह ने 1628 ई. में शाहजहाँ के शासक बनते ही प्राणहिता नदी के किनारे जाकर उसे खंडगी के रूप में 6 लाख रुपये दिये तथा प्रतिवर्ष 20 हाथी और 80 हजार रुपया देना मान्य किया।”<sup>32</sup> इस प्रकार कृष्णशाह ने मैत्रीपूर्ण व्यवहार का परिचय देते हुए मुगलों के आक्रमण से बचने का प्रयास किया और नम्रतापूर्वक अपना सालाना कर स्वयं ही स्वीकार कर लिया। आर्थिक संसाधन से सम्पन्न चांदा राज्य ने 6 लाख रुपये भेंट स्वरूप मुगल बादशाह शाहजहाँ को दिये जो कि चांदा राज्य की आर्थिक स्थिति का द्योतक है। इस प्रकार का मैत्री सम्बन्ध मुगल एवं गोंड जनजातीय राज्य चांदा के मध्य चलता रहा जिसका लाभ गोंड जनजाति को मिला और वह राज्य के विकास में पूर्णतया संलग्न रही, जिसके फलस्वरूप चांदा में अनेक तालाब, बाँध का निर्माण हुआ और चांदा राज्य की किलेबन्दी की जा सकी।

चांदा राज्य से जुड़े तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि चांदा के शासक कृष्णशाह के 1640 ई. में निधन के पश्चात् उसका पुत्र मानजी बल्लालशाह गद्दी पर बैठा। “मानजी गोंड ने तत्काल बुरहानपुर जाकर मुगल सूबेदार औरंगजेब से मिला और उसे 4 लाख रुपया नजराना भेंट किया।”<sup>33</sup> गोंड शासकों द्वारा लगातार भेंट स्वरूप प्रदान की जाने वाली एक बड़ी राशि गोंड जनजाति की उन्नत आर्थिक स्थिति की द्योतक है। चांदा एवं मुगलों का मैत्री सम्बन्ध 1665 ई. तक बना रहा। औरंगजेब के मुगल बादशाह बनने के बाद मुगलों के दक्षिण अभियान के समय मुगलों का चांदा राज्य से सम्बन्ध बदलने लगा क्योंकि दक्षिण के अभियान में चांदा राज्य तटस्थ रहा तथा देवगढ़ पर मुगल आक्रमण का हमेशा चांदा शान्तिपूर्ण ढंग से विरोध करता रहा एवं देवगढ़ के प्रति मैत्री भाव प्रगट कर रहा था जिससे चांदा की निष्ठा मुगलों को सन्देहास्पद लगी और मुगलों ने दिलेर खान के नेतृत्व में चांदा राज्य पर आक्रमण कर दिया।

गोंड राज्य चांदा की आर्थिक उन्नति का प्रमाण इस तथ्य से भी मिलता है कि “चांदा के शासक मानजी बल्लाल ने मठोली ग्राम के निकट दिलेर खान को 5 लाख रुपये की रिश्वत दी,”<sup>34</sup> परन्तु इस कार्य के परिणामस्वरूप भी कार्य नहीं बना और “मुगल सूबेदार ने चांदा से 77 लाख रुपये वसूले तथा बाकी के कर के लिए मानजी बल्लाल के जेष्ठपुत्र मधुकर को बन्धक के रूप में अपने पास रखा और बकाया 8 लाख रुपये शीघ्र भरने के बाद मधुकरशाह मुगल कैद से मुक्त हुआ।”<sup>35</sup> उपर्युक्त तथ्य का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि मुगलों को चांदा के गोंड राज्य से भारी रकम प्राप्त हुई। हम केवल मानजी बल्लाल द्वारा 1640 से लेकर 1665 ई. के मध्य मुगलों को प्रदान की गयी धनराशि का आंकलन करते हैं तो पता चलता है कि इस समय विशेष के अन्तर्गत 94 लाख रुपये मुगलों को गोंड राज्य चांदा के द्वारा दिया गया।

गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़े तथ्यों का अन्तनिरीक्षण करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गोंड राजाओं को मुगल शासकों द्वारा मनसबदार नियुक्त किया गया था जिसमें “गढ़ा के गोंड शासक प्रेमनारायण को जहाँगीर ने एक हजारी एवं पाँच सौ सवार का मनसब प्रदान किया था।”<sup>36</sup> गोंड जनजातीय क्षेत्र गढ़ा में मुगल शासक अकबर के आक्रमण के बाद वहाँ की शासन व्यवस्था का दायित्व दलपतिशाह के भाई प्रेमशाह को दे दिया गया। “1686 ई. में गोंड शासक बख्तबुलन्द को औरंगजेब ने देवगढ़ उर्फ इस्लामगढ़ की जमींदारी प्रदान की और उसे खिलकत, आइना एवं घोड़ा दिया।”<sup>37</sup> “1691 ई0 में देवगढ़ उर्फ इस्लामगढ़ के ज़मींदार दींदर गोंड को एक हजार का मनसब दिया गया, उसे

खिल्लत, एक घोड़ा, एक हाथी और राजा की पदवी दी गयी।”<sup>38</sup> इस प्रकार गोंड शासकों को औरंगजेब के शासन काल में मनसब प्रदान किया गया था। मनसब प्राप्त करने के क्रम में चांदा के गोंड शासक किशनशाह का भी हमें उल्लेख मिलता है। औरंगजेब के शासन काल में मुगलों के समर्थन से किशनसिंह चांदा की गद्दी पर राज्यारूढ़ हुआ और उसके पुत्र को “600 जात और 100 सवारों का मनसबदार नियुक्त किया गया था।”<sup>39</sup> मुगल काल में गोंड जनजातीय शासकों को मनसबदार नियुक्त किया जाना गोंडों की उन्नत आर्थिक एवं प्रशासनिक स्थिति का द्योतक है।

गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़े तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गोंड राज्य चांदा के गोंड शासकों ने “भूपति राय एवं भूपति राज”<sup>40</sup> की उपाधि धारण की जो गोंड शासकों के भूमि से जुड़े होने की ओर इशारा करता है। चांदा के गोंड शासकों ने कृषि के विकास की ओर विशेष ध्यान दिया जो उनकी उपाधियों से दृष्टव्य होता है। गोंड जनजातीय सीमा क्षेत्र चांदा राज्य में कृषि में चावल की खेती सर्वोपरि थी, किन्तु उसका स्थानीय उपयोग पर्याप्त होने के कारण वह बाजार में नहीं आता था। राज्य की दूसरी महत्वपूर्ण फसल कपास थी। कपास से सम्बन्धित तीन प्रमुख व्यवसाय थे। “सूत बनाना, कपड़ा बनाना और उसे रंगना, राज्य में कोष्ठी, हलवे, सालेगर, परधान और माहर जाति के लोग कपड़ा बुनते थे”<sup>41</sup> गोंड राज्य चांदा की सम्पन्नता के साक्ष्य वहाँ के विकसित उद्योग धंधों में निहित थे। गोंड जनजातीय सीमा क्षेत्र चांदा में व्यवसाय एवं उद्योगों का भी विकास हुआ था। “चांदा राज्य में लोहा, तांबा तथा पीतल के बर्तन, उजनेरी, माजे, आरमोरी, वैरागढ़ से लाये जाये थे और तांबे पीतल के बर्तन ‘नेरी’ से लाये जाते थे”<sup>42</sup>, मान्दक में भी इन्हीं गांवों से बर्तन आते थे।

गोंड जनजातीय राज्य गढ़ा में कृषि के विकास के लिए वहाँ के शासकों द्वारा पर्याप्त प्रयास किया गया था। गोंड शासकों द्वारा कृषि के विकास के लिए बाहरी किसानों को खेती के लिए बुलाया गया तथा तालाबों एवं बाँधों का निर्माण करवाया गया था। गोंड जनजाति की आर्थिक स्थिति से जुड़े तथ्यों का मूल्यांकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि—“गढ़ा के गोंड शासक हृदयशाह ने दूसरी कुशल जातियों को खेती के लिए बाहर से बुलाया और बसाया उनमें लोधी, कुर्मी, पान उगाने वाले पंसारियों को महोबा से बुलाकर बसाया गया था।”<sup>43</sup> हृदयशाह ने कृषि के विकास पर पर्याप्त ध्यान दिया क्योंकि कृषि ही आर्थिक उन्नति का महत्वपूर्ण साधन थी। हृदयशाह से पहले भी गढ़ा की खेती काफी

उन्नत अवस्था में थी क्योंकि अबुल फज़ल लिखता है कि गढ़ा की पैदावार दक्खिन एवं गुजरात को अनाज पूरा करने में सक्षम थी।

उपर्युक्त तथ्यों का अवलोकन करने पर स्पष्ट होता है कि गोंड शासकों द्वारा, इमारतो, दुर्गों, गढ़ों, तालाबों, बावलियों का निर्माण, सिक्कों का प्रचलन, बाह्य व्यापार (मालावा, जौनपुर, दिल्ली, कश्मीर, दक्षिण के राज्यों से), बड़े भारी मात्रा में युद्ध क्षतिपूर्ति के रूप में मुगल को धन अदा करना तथा करद सामंत के रूप में मनसबदार नियुक्त होना आदि अनेक ऐसे तथ्य हैं जो मुगल काल में गोंड जनजाति की श्रेष्ठ आर्थिक स्थिति को दर्शाते हैं।

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**डॉ. रामेश्वर मिश्र**

सहायक प्राध्यापक

इतिहास विभाग

संजीव अग्रवाल ग्लोबल एजुकेशनल यूनिवर्सिटी, भोपाल

मोबाइल नंबर : 8765595416

**पूनम नामदेव**

सहायक प्राध्यापक

संजीव अग्रवाल ग्लोबल एजुकेशनल यूनिवर्सिटी, भोपाल



# मुग़ल काल में वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय : बीकानेर राज्य के सन्दर्भ में 1613 से 1669 ई.

## • डॉ. शिव कुमार व्यास

मुग़लों द्वारा शासित मध्यकालीन हिन्दुस्तान ने धार्मिक नीतियों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में अकबर व जहांगीर के समदृष्टि काल का अनुभव किया। यद्यपि यह समन्वय की नीति तत्कालीन राजनैतिक परिस्थितियों की उपज थी। फिर भी इन समन्वय की नीतियों को, शाहजहाँ तत्पश्चात् औरंगजेब के शासन के प्रारम्भिक बारह वर्षों के कालखण्ड में फलिभूत होते अनुभव किया जा सकता है।

इन बारह वर्षों की प्रमुख घटनाओं जैसे 1660 ई. में बीकानेर महाराजा करण सिंह का बिना सूचना के शाही सेवाओं से लौटना, 2 सितम्बर 1660 को शिवाजी द्वारा बीजापुर के अफजल खाँ का वध, आसाम में विद्रोह (1661) आदि का औरंगजेब की तत्कालीन राजनैतिक नीतियों पर व अन्य परिस्थितियों को प्रभावित किया, जब उसने हिन्दू आस्था केन्द्रों को नष्ट करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया।

उल्लेखनीय है कि केन्द्रीय सत्ता का विरुद्ध आचरण भी राजपूताना के राजपूत शासकों को धर्म एवं संस्कृति के रक्षा कार्य की निरन्तरता से नहीं रोक पाया। यही कारण है कि मथुरा एवं वृन्दावन के विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों में से एक 'वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय' की प्रधान पीठ राजपूताना के मेवाड़ राज्य के सिहाड़ गाँव में स्थापित हुई और सम्पूर्ण राजपूताना की विभिन्न रियासतों में इसकी अन्य निधियों (विग्रहों) के विराजमान होने से पुष्टिमार्गी भक्ति के प्रति सम्मान बढ़ा। वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय को लोकाश्रय के साथ राज्याश्रय भी प्राप्त हुआ और यहाँ की रियासतों के राजाओं ने इस सम्प्रदाय के प्रति अपने सम्मान के साथ आर्थिक सहयोग भी प्रदान किया।

**विशिष्ट शब्द :** सप्त पीठ, सतधरा, सिहाड़, खमनोर, आसोटिया, लड्डू गोपाल, अनूप रत्नाकर, अनूप-मेघमाला, जय जंगलधर बादशाह

## विषय प्रवेश :

मुग़ल शासक अकबर (1556-1605) ने अपने साम्राज्य का सूक्ष्म अध्ययन कर इसकी स्थिरता के लिए बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण नीतियों का आलम्बन किया। इन्हीं नीतियों का परिणाम था कि हिन्दुस्तान में मुग़ल साम्राज्य की नींव उसकी मृत्यु के बाद भी सुदृढ़ बनी रही। उसने राजपूताना के राजपूत शासकों, शिया, सुन्नी व अफगानी मुसलमानों सहित सभी वीर जातियों के साथ मैत्री पूर्ण सम्बन्ध स्थापित किये। साथ ही साथ उसने देश में प्रचलित विविध धार्मिक विचारों एवं सम्प्रदायों को भी पूर्ण सम्मान दिया। इस प्रकार उसने न केवल अपने राज्य की सीमाओं को सुरक्षित किया अपितु राज्य विस्तार के साथ शान्ति स्थापना का सफल एवं स्थाई प्रयास किया।

इधर राजपूताना के राजपूत शासक भी अपने अन्तर्द्वंद से पीड़ित थे। उनके राज्य की सीमाओं पर होने वाले उपद्रव, पड़ोसी राज्यों से राजनैतिक द्वंद से त्रस्त होने के कारण केन्द्रीय सत्ता के मैत्री प्रस्ताव को टुकरा नहीं पाये। फलस्वरूप मेवाड़ को छोड़ अन्य शासक संधि के निश्चित लाभों को उठाने के लिए लालायित हो गये। शनैः शनैः यहाँ के सभी राज्य मुग़लों के साथ मैत्री पूर्ण संधि में बंध गये और अपनी सीमाओं की सुरक्षा एवं राज्य की समृद्धि को सुनिश्चित कर लिया।

अकबर के पुत्र जहाँगीर (1605-1627) ने भी पिता की मैत्री नीति का ही अनुसरण किया। इसी कारण मुग़ल साम्राज्य की विस्तृत सीमाएँ अपरिवर्तित रही।

शाहजहाँ (1628-1658) की धार्मिक नीति अपने पूर्वजों की नीति का अनुसरण ही रही, परन्तु हरमन गोईट्स ने आर्ट एण्ड आर्किटेक्चर ऑफ बीकानेर स्टेट में शाहजहाँ द्वारा आक्रामक नीतियों को अपनाते का भी उल्लेख किया है।<sup>1</sup> परन्तु वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के प्रति उसका दृष्टिकोण अपने दादा अकबर की धार्मिक नीति का ही अनुशीलन रहा। उसने वल्लभ वंशियों के प्रति 9 अक्टूबर, 1633 ई. को एक फरमान से भूमिकर, उत्पाद कर, पाँच प्रतिशत शाही कर, मुकद्दमा कर दो प्रतिशत सद्दूर कर, कानूनगोई कर जो भूमि किराये पर वसूल जाने के साथ ही नागरिक एवं बादशाही कर आदि से मुक्ति का आदेश दिया।<sup>2</sup> उसका पुत्र दारा शिकोह भी वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के प्रति सहिष्णुता था।



शाहजहाँ के पश्चात् बादशाह हुए औरंगजेब (1658-1707) के शासन को दो भागों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है। शासन का प्रथम भाग 1658 से 1669 ई.; जिसमें उसने अपने पूर्वजों की नीति का ही अनुसरण किया। परन्तु द्वितीय भाग 1669 से 1707 ई. में उसने अपनी कट्टर राजनैतिक नीतियों के आलम्बन से विभिन्न धार्मिक आस्थाओं केन्द्रों को भी ध्वस्त किया।

## औरंगजेब (1658-1707 ई.) की धार्मिक नीति और मथुरा :

औरंगजेब ने अपने शासन के प्रथम दशक में न केवल जसवन्त सिंह (जोधपुर), जय सिंह (जयपुर), करण सिंह (बीकानेर) जैसे राजपूत राजाओं को प्रशासन एवं सेना में उच्च पदों पर मनोनीत किया अपितु बम्बई एवं कलकत्ता में व्यापार कर रहे अंग्रेज ईसाइयों के प्रति भी अपना सम-भाव बनाए रखा।<sup>3</sup>

जदुनाथ सरकार ने अपने ग्रन्थ 'हिस्ट्री ऑफ औरंगजेब' में लिखा है "उसने शासनकाल के 12वें वर्ष में 9 अप्रैल, 1669 को अपनी धार्मिक कट्टर नीति को प्रभावी बनाने के लिए हिन्दू आस्था के प्रतीकों; मंदिर और धर्म व संस्कृति के शिक्षा केन्द्रों को ध्वस्त करने का एक व्यापक आदेश जारी किया। इस क्रूर कार्य के लिए उसने एक धार्मिक व्यक्ति अब्दुल नबी को मथुरा का फौजदार नियुक्त किया।"

अब्दुल नबी ने मथुरा<sup>4</sup> के पावन एवं पवित्र नगर के साथ ओरछा के बुंदेला राजा बीर सिंह देव द्वारा तैतीस लाख रुपये की लागत से, श्री कृष्ण को समर्पित केशव देव मन्दिर को नष्ट कर दिया। साम्राज्य में धर्म के प्रति परिवर्तित इस क्रूरता की नीति ने मथुरा के केशव देव मन्दिर<sup>5</sup> को अपना शिकार बनाया।<sup>6</sup> भगवान श्रीकृष्ण को समर्पित इस मन्दिर का उल्लेख बीकानेर के ब्रज यात्रा वर्णन में मिलता है।

## औरंगजेब की धार्मिक नीति और वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय :

जब ब्रज क्षेत्र के मथुरा व गोवर्धन स्थित श्री कृष्ण को समर्पित मंदिरों व उनके मुख्य विग्रहों को तोड़ने की आज्ञा प्रसारित हुई तो हिन्दू सम्प्रदायों में अस्तित्व की चिन्ता व्याप्त हो गई।<sup>7</sup> इन्हीं सम्प्रदायों में से एक वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के गोस्वामी कुल के बालकों (महाराज श्री)<sup>8</sup> ने धर्म, संस्कृति के साथ पूर्वकालीन पवित्र गोवर्धन नाथजी के विग्रह सहित अपने-अपने निधि स्वरूपों को सुरक्षित करने हेतु मूल स्थान गोकुल (मथुरा) के सतघरा<sup>9</sup> को छोड़ अन्यत्र शरण लेने का निश्चय किया। (परिशिष्ट-1)

अप्रीति के इस कालखण्ड में रूढ़िवादी नीतियों के सफल क्रियान्वयन व

सम्प्रदायों के बचाव का वर्णन करते हुए को बीकानेर के प्रसिद्ध मध्यकालीन ख्यातकार दयालदास ने लिखा है कि—‘पीछे इण बगैरै भौरां उजीरां सइदां सें आलमगीरजी री सलाह हुई। अरू राजावां नूं मुसलमान करणा ठहराया। पीछै हिन्दवां रै तीर्था में देव मूरतां खंडण करायी। काशी में विस्वेस्वरजी री सिंह ग्यानवापी में दाखल हुई। अस मिन्दर रै लारै-लारै महजीद कराई सू अब तक मौजूद है। अस वृंदावन व गिरराज ऊपर मिन्दर था सो ढहाय दीना। तद गोरधन नाथ नूं गंसाईजी लेय नै आंबेरे पधारिया। अठै ई पातसाहजी रा भय सूं रैया’..। स्पष्ट है कि गोवर्धन नाथ जी के प्रमुख विग्रह के साथ अन्य पुष्टि-भक्ति स्वरूपों को भी सुरक्षित कर धर्म संस्कृति की रक्षा के सफल प्रयास में नवनीत प्रिय जी सिंहाड़ (वर्तमान नाथद्वारा) श्री द्वारकाधीश स्वरूप कांकरोली आना समयानुकूल था।

वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के साहित्य भी इन विग्रहों के आगमन की पुष्टि करते हैं। ‘श्री हरिराय जी का जीवन चरित’ में लिखा है कि (नवम्बर 1671 ई.) अे समये श्री हरिराय जी अे मेवाड़मां श्री द्वारकाधीश, श्री विट्ठलनाथ जी, श्री नवनीतप्रिय जी अने श्रीनाथ जी, अेम चार निधि स्वरूपों ब्रजमा थी पधारशे अेवुं भविष्य कह्यु हतुं।<sup>10</sup>

अन्य स्वरूपों में बाल कृष्ण लालजी महाबन से सूरत, गोकुल-चन्द्रमा-जी व मदन मोहन जी जयपुर के कच्छवाह राज्य में आए। समयान्तर में महाराजा के अन्य संप्रदायों के प्रभाव के कारण दोनों स्वरूप पहले बीकानेर के राठौड़ राज्य में एवं बाद में कामवन (भरतपुर) आ गये।<sup>11</sup>

राजपूताना में तत्कालीन केन्द्रीय शासन का अत्यधिक दखल था। इस का प्रमाण कोटा महारावल जगत सिंह का अपने मन्त्रियों विजय राम, राय द्वारका दास, चौधरी रणछोड़ को उल्लिखित एक पत्र में मिलता है जिसमें उसने श्री गोवर्धननाथ जी के राज्य में आगमन व विग्रह के राज्य में स्थाई बिराजने की प्रार्थना पर प्रसन्नता तो व्यक्त की परन्तु माँडू जाते हुए बादशाह के बून्दी कोटा से गुजरने के कारण विग्रह को बीसलपुर में ही ठहराने व इसे जाहिर नहीं करने का स्पष्ट आदेश दिया। जिससे बादशाह के खौफ को स्वाभाविक रूप से जाना जा सकता है। (परिशिष्ट-2)

परन्तु मेवाड़ के प्रतिष्ठित राजवंश के महाराणा राज सिंह ने बनास नदी के दांयी ओर, दक्षिण एवं उत्तर-पूर्व दिशा में पहाड़ियों तथा पूर्व की ओर प्रवेश द्वार के प्रवेश द्वार के रूप में स्थित ‘सिहाड़ वर्तमान नाथद्वारा’ में श्रीगोवर्धन नाथ की सेवा प्रधान पीठ<sup>12</sup> को स्थापित किया। खमनोर में द्वितीय-पीठ स्व-रूप

श्री विठ्ठलनाथ जी विग्रह व आसोटिया में तृतीय पीठ (श्री द्वारकाधीश विग्रह) के निधि स्वरूप विराजमान हुए।<sup>13</sup>

## बीकानेर में पुष्टि सम्प्रदाय को राज्याश्रय :

औरंगजेब युग (1658-1707) में बीकानेर की राज गद्दी पर क्रमशः महाराजा करण सिंह (1631 ई. से 1669 ई.) महाराजा अनूप सिंह (1669 ई.-1698 ई.), महाराजा स्वरूप सिंह (1698 ई.-1704 ई.) व महाराजा सुजानसिंह (1700-1735) का आधिपत्य रहा। इन राठौड़ राजपूत राजाओं का धर्म एवं संस्कृति के प्रति समर्पण भाव निरन्तरता से चली आ रही परम्पराओं के कारण स्वाभाविक रूप से था।

महाराजा राय सिंह (1571-1611) के शासन काल से वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय से परिचित बीकानेर में वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के प्रति भी विशेष आकर्षण था। राजा सूरसिंह (1613-1631) ने मथुरा के श्री गोपीनाथजी मन्दिर के लिए मिति जेठ बदि सप्तमी सं. 1718/1661 ई. में रु. 100/- सालाना (प्रति वर्ष) की भेंट राजकोष से नियत की। उन्होंने वृन्दावन में लड्डू गोपाल मन्दिर का भी निर्माण करवाया।<sup>14</sup> (परिशिष्ट-3)

चैत्र शुक्ल पक्ष षष्ठी सं. 1695/1638 ई. में जन्मे महाराजा अनूप सिंह शूर वीर के साथ धर्म वीर, दानवीर व विद्वानों व ब्राह्मणों को आश्रयदाता व उन्हें बहुत सा धन दान दिया था। विद्या प्रेमी महाराजा अनूपसिंह नदियों में बहा कर नष्ट किये जाने वाले संस्कृत के धार्मिक ग्रन्थों को बचाकर बीकानेर ले आये। उसके शासन काल में अनूप रत्नाकर एवं अनूप-मेघमाला नामक ग्रन्थों की रचना हुई।<sup>15</sup>

## महाराजा करण सिंह जी (1631 ई.-1669 ई.)

बीकानेर के शासक यद्यपि मुगल सल्तनत के अधीन सेनानायक थे परन्तु इन शासकों में अपने धर्म के प्रति विशेष उत्साह था। इनमें महाराजा करण सिंह औरंगजेब की सेना में दक्षिण भारत में सेनापति के रूप में तैनात थे। उसने दारा शिकोह के समर्थन में महाराजा करणसिंह ने 1660 ई. में शाही सेवाओं को बिना सूचना के ही छोड़ बीकानेर आ गए। बाद में औरंगजेब के सेनापति आमिर खाँ के आग्रह पर वह पुनः शाही सेवाओं के तैयार हुए।<sup>16</sup>

करण सिंह ने हिन्दुओं के पवित्र धर्म स्थलों को तोड़ने व राजपूत हिन्दू राजाओं को मुसलमान बनाने की इच्छा से सभी राजाओं को ईरान की ओर जाने का निर्देश

दिये। देशी राजाओं ने धर्म की रक्षा के लिए बहाना किया और अटक के पार जाने में असमर्थता जताई। राजाओं का नेतृत्व महाराजा करण सिंह ने किया और सभी नाँवों को तुड़वा दिया। ऐसा करने पर करण सिंह को औरंगजेब के कोप का भाजन होना पड़ा परन्तु राजपूत राजाओं के धर्म की रक्षा हुई। इस घटना के बाद राजपूत राजाओं ने उन्हें 'जय जंगलधर बादशाह' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया।<sup>17</sup>

महाराजा करण सिंह का पुष्टिमार्ग से अत्यन्त घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध था। बीकानेर की तत्कालीन बहियों से ज्ञात होता है कि उन्होंने तृतीय गृहाधिपति श्री गिरधर लालजी प्रथम (1605-1661) से ब्रह्म संबंध की दीक्षा ली। उन्होंने सं. 1709/1652 ई. अपने दीक्षा गुरु श्री द्वारकानाथजी के गोस्वामी श्री गिरधर जी, पंचम गृहाधीश श्री देवकीनंदन जी (छोटे) पुत्र छोटे रघुनाथजी, गोस्वामी श्रीवागेशजी आदि वल्लभाचार्य सम्प्रदाय के गृहाधिपतियों से सवाई जयपुर स्थित गोकुल चन्द्रमा जी गद्दी पर भेंट कर सम्मान स्वरूप 350 रु. की भेंट प्रदान की।<sup>18</sup>

उन्होंने राज्य की ओर से जेठ बदि सप्तमी सं. 1718/1651 ई. को गोपीनाथजी मन्दिर के लिए रु. 25 प्रतिवर्ष की भेंट भी नियत की। इसी वर्ष महाराजा ने एक परवाना जारी कर गाँव लबोर<sup>19</sup> की आय में से रु. 270/- प्रतिवर्ष केशोरायजी मन्दिर, रु. 390/- श्री गोरधननाथजी मन्दिर एवं रु. 390/- श्री मदन मोहन जी मन्दिर के लिए नियत की।<sup>20</sup> उन्होंने कुँवर पदम सिंह के जन्म के शुभ अवसर व दो अन्य अवसरों पर तृतीय गृह श्रीद्वारकानाथजी के गृहाधिपति को गोगासर<sup>21</sup> एवं रईयावासी<sup>22</sup> गाँवों की आय भेंट की।<sup>23</sup> (परिशिष्ट-3)

## बीकानेर के यात्री का ब्रज यात्रा विवरण

शाहजहाँ के शासन काल के अन्तिम वर्षों संवत् 1713/1656 ई. में बीकानेर के माहेश्वरी जाति के ब्रज यात्री का 'ब्रज यात्रा' का स्थानीय भाषा में लिखित वर्णन 'अनूप संस्कृत लाइब्रेरी', बीकानेर एवं 'अभय जैन ग्रन्थालय' के एक गुटके में सुरक्षित है। इस यात्रा वर्णन में मथुरा, वृन्दावन, गोकुल व गोवर्धन में स्थित 'मन्दिरों'<sup>24</sup> व 'स्नान कुण्डों'<sup>25</sup> का वर्णन किया गया है।

उक्त वर्णन में उन्होंने आसोज सुदि 13, सं. 1713/1656 ई. को गिरीराज पर्वत पर स्थित गोवर्धन नाथ जी के ठाकुर द्वारे एवं आसोज सुदि 15, सं. 1713/1656 ई. में मथुरा के ठाकुर द्वारे की यात्रा करने का उल्लेख किया है।

इस यात्रा वर्णन का महत्त्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह है कि ध्वंसित केसोराय मन्दिर के विद्यमान होने का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। वह यात्री स्वयं दर्शनार्थ वहाँ गया व मन्दिर की विशालता व भव्यता के साथ विराजमान विग्रहों का भी वर्णन किया गया है। तीन विग्रहों वाले इस मन्दिर में मध्य में मथरा मल जी उसके दायीं ओर केशवदेव राय जी एवं बायीं ओर कल्याण राज जी के विराजमान होने का भी उल्लेख किया है। उन्होंने अपने वर्णन में लिखा है कि “1 केसोराय जी रो बड़ो दुवारो अद्भुत छै। बीच! ठाकुर श्री मथरामल जी छै। जीवणे पासे श्री केसोराय जी छै, डावे पासे श्री कल्याण राज जी छै। पण देहरो केसोराय जी रो कहावे। पाइदीये राजा वरसंगदे रो”

इस वर्णन में श्री गोवर्धननाथ जी के देवालय में अष्टयाम सेवा, चार आरतियों, श्री ठाकुर जी को बादाम, काजू आदि सूखे मेवे के साथ दूध से बने मिष्ठानों के भोग आदि का वर्णन मिलता है। साथ ही श्री गोवर्धन नाथ जी की सेवा में स्थित गो शाला में भी तीन हजार गायों व पाँच सौ भैंसों का उल्लेख किया गया है। उन्होंने सेवा कार्य में प्रतिदिन चालीस रुपये प्रतिदिन सेवा खर्च होना भी लिखा है। इसके साथ ही तत्कालीन बीकानेर रियासत के प्रतिष्ठित उद्यमी और व्यवसायी मोहता मधुसूदन के अक्रूर घाट पर गोपीनाथ जी देवालय के निर्माण “1 अकरूर घाट संनान कीजै। 1 श्री गोपीनाथ जी रो दुवारो, अकरूर घाट उपर मुदते मदसुदन जी रो करायो श्री ठाकर अद्भुत मुरत छै।” का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। ब्रज यात्रा वर्णन के अनाम लेखक के पूर्वज गोपाल जी नरसिंघ के भी सं. 1695/1638 ई. एवं सं. 1709/1652 ई. में ब्रज-यात्रा करने का वर्णन मिलता है। अतः बीकानेर के राजघराने के साथ ही यहाँ के प्रतिष्ठित व्यापारियों का भी धर्म के प्रति प्रगाढ़ आस्थाओं का प्रामाणिक अनुराग दृष्टिगोचर होता है। (परिशिष्ट-4)

## सार संक्षेप :

बीकानेर का राठौड़ राजवंश सदैव से ही धर्म, सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति का पोषक रहा है। परन्तु गौरतलब है कि केन्द्रीय शासन सत्ता से गहरे सम्बन्ध होते हुए भी उन्होंने स्व संस्कृति एवं सभ्यता से कभी समझौता नहीं किया। इसी का परिणाम था कि राज्य में लोक जीवन के आस्था केन्द्रों के विकास के लिए सुरम्य वातावरण के साथ ही अनुदान भी निरन्तरता से प्रदान किया जाता था।

यद्यपि तत्कालीन केन्द्रीय शासन सत्ता ने समाज जीवन के आस्था केन्द्रों को अत्यधिक विपन्न करने का प्रयास अवश्य किया परन्तु स्थानीय शासकों के साथ लोक जीवन में धर्म व आस्था को परिवर्तित करने में विफलता ही रही। फलस्वरूप सम्पूर्ण मुगल साम्राज्य में परिगणित; विशेषरूप से उत्तर भारतीय राजाओं एवं समाज जीवन में आक्रोश बढ़ता ही चला गया। परिणामस्वरूप बाबर द्वारा रोपित सत्ता के बीज को, जिस प्रकार अकबर ने पोषण कर पुष्पित व पल्लवित किया। जहांगीर व शाहजहाँ के द्वारा संरक्षित वही शासन सत्ता उत्तराधिकारियों की गलत नीतियों से अपने पतन को प्राप्त होने की ओर अग्रसर हो गई।

### परिशिष्ट-1

	महाराजा का नाम	जिसको आय प्रदान की गई	प्रदत्त आय का विवरण	विशेष विवरण
1	श्री गिरधर जी	1597/1540	श्री मथुरेश जी	कोटा (राज.)
2	श्री गोविन्द राय जी	1599/1542	श्री विठ्ठलनाथ जी	नाथद्वारा (राज.)
3	श्री बालकृष्ण जी	1606/1549	श्री द्वारकाधीश जी	कांकरोली (राज.)
4	श्री गोकुलनाथ जी	1608/1551	श्री गोकुलेश जी	गोकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश)
5	श्री रघुनाथ जी	1611/1554	श्री गोकुल चन्द्रमा जी	कामवन (राज.)
6	श्री यदुनाथ जी	1615/1558	श्री बाल कृष्ण जी	सूरत (गुजरात)
7	श्री घनश्याम जी	1628/1571	श्री मदन मोहन जी	कामवन (राज.)

कोटा महारावल जगत सिंह द्वारा 1681 में श्रीनाथजी विग्रह को सुरक्षा प्रदान करने हेतु पत्र कण्ठमणि शास्त्री, कांकरोली का इतिहास भाग-2 से साभार

(१) भिदि श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री जगतसिंहजी वचनात—

विजयराम, राय द्वारकादास, चौधरी रणछोड़ दी से सुप्रसाद वंच्या अरु  
का समाचार श्रीजी की कृपा करी भला छ आपणा दीज्यो अपरंच श्री गोरधन-  
नाथजी का सेवगों का आदमी म्हँके नखे आया छ अर प्रसाद माला लाया छ  
अर श्री परमेश्वरजी का बिराज में ही लिल्यो छ सो अठमलजी की अरजदास्त  
म्हाँप आई छ जी म लिल्यो छ सो पातसाहीजी माँडू आवा में ही फरमाई छ  
अर या फरमाई छ जो बूँदी कोटा की राह होई माँडू जास्याँ सो या बात सुणताँ  
म्हारे फिकर होयो अब जेते पातसाहीजी का आबा जाबा की पेका देखी होई  
चुके जेते श्रीनाथजी का सेवगाँई तो रायपुर राखज्यो श्रीनाथजी हीँ बोराँबा पध  
रावज्यो अर कदाचत् पातसाहजी को आबो माँडू तहकीक होव अर बूँदी राह  
आवता जाणो तो श्रीनाथजी हीँ बिसलपुर पधराज्यो अर अश्यो जतन करज्यो जं  
कहीं जाहरी न होव । मिति.....सम्वत् १७३८ ।

महाराजा सूरसिंह व करण सिंह द्वारा पुष्टि विग्रहों को प्रदत्त भेंट

महाराजा का नाम	जिसको आय प्रदान की गई	प्रदत्त आय का विवरण	विशेष विवरण
सूरसिंह	मदनमोहन मन्दिर वृन्दावन	रु. 100/- सालाना (प्रतिवर्ष)	लड्डू गोपालजी का मन्दिर भी बनवाया
करण सिंह	श्री गोपीनाथ जी	रु. 25/- सालाना (प्रतिवर्ष)	
करण सिंह	श्री केसोरायजी मन्दिर	270/- सालाना (प्रतिवर्ष)	उक्त आय गाँव लबोर की आय में से इन मन्दिरों के नाम की गई।
	श्री गोरधननाथजी मन्दिर	390/-सालाना (प्रतिवर्ष)	
	श्री मदनमोहनजी मन्दिर	390/-सालाना (प्रतिवर्ष)	
करण सिंह	दीक्षा गुरु श्रीद्वारकानाथजी, श्री गोकुल चन्द्रमाजी के श्री छोटे देवकीनंदनजी, श्री वागेशजी से जयपुर में पंचम गृह हवेली में भेंट पर	350/-	महाराजा करण सिंह ने ब्रह्म संबंध की दीक्षा तृतीय गृहाधीपति गोस्वामी श्री गिरधरलालजी प्रथम से प्राप्त की।
करण सिंह	श्रीद्वारकानाथजी गृह के गोस्वामी गिरधरलालजी प्रथम	गाँव गीगासर एवं रईयावाली की आय	1. पदमसिंह के जन्म के अवसर पर



सं० १७१३ की ब्रज-यात्रा का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण विवरण

श्री गोवरधन नाथ जी रं दुबारे इये<sup>१</sup> जिनस श्री ठंङुरां री झारती दरसण हुवे छं, ने इये जिनस भोग लागे छे ।

१. परभात मंगला झारती हुवे, ताहरा मांखण ॥, बूरो से० ५ झारोणे ।

सं० १७१३ झसोज सुद १३ परभात सुदरसण कोयो ।

२. संगार दन<sup>३</sup> धड़ी चार चड़िया हुवं, दरसण हुवं, झारती ने न ई ने श्री ठाङुर मेवो पकवान चारोली भोग लागे । मेवो ॥ हेक ।

गोवर्धन, मथुरा, गोकुल, वृन्दावन में कौन-कौन से मन्दिर, कुण्ड झादि यात्रा-स्थल थे तथा उस समय गोवर्धन जी<sup>१</sup> के मन्दिर में १० वार किस-किस समय व क्या-क्या भोग लगता था, इसका भी अर्च्छा विवरण मिलता है । १० वार के भोग में ८ वार दर्शन होते थे, ४ झारतियां होती थीं । शयन के समय ४ ढोलिये बिछाये जाते, पास में मिठाई व पकवान के भाव व जल की भारी रखी जाती थी । उस समय सस्तापन भी कितना अधिक था कि गोवर्धन नाथ जी की भक्ति भोग के लिए ३-३॥ हजार गाये, ५०० भेंसें थीं और रोजाना का खर्च करीब ४० रुपये का था ।

यात्रा का विवरण ब्रज से झारकर कुछ दिनों बाद लिखा गया है । इसीलिए लेखक ने अपनी इस याददाश्त में कुछ स्थानों के नाम याद न रहने का भी उल्लेख किया है । गोवर्धन नाथ जी की यात्रा सं० १७१३ के झसोज सुदी १३ के प्रातःकाल में दर्शन करने के द्वारा झारम्भ होती है । फिर श्री नाथ जी की परिक्रमा, जो गोवर्धन पर्वत की ८-९ कोस की बड़ी परिक्रमा है उसमें जो मन्दिर, मूर्तियां, तीर्थ, कुण्ड, स्नान के स्थान झादि थे उन सबकी नामावली दी है और कार्तिक वदी ८ को लाखों झारमियों के झाने की बात लिखी है । श्री गोविन्द देव जी के यहाँ मनो सोना दान देने का उल्लेख है और बितने ग्रहनांण (स्मृति चित्र) उस समय तक सुरक्षित थे, उन सब का विवरण दिया है । मथुरा के ठाङुर-द्वारे की यात्रा सं० १७१३ के झसोज सुदी १५ को की गई । उस समय केशवराय के मन्दिर में 'मथरामल' जी, उनके दाहिने ओर 'केशवराय' और बायें ओर 'कल्याणराव' की मूर्ति का उल्लेख है । 'पायड़ीये राजा वरसंग दे रो' लिखा है । इसी प्रकार अङ्कूर घाट गोपीनाथ जी के मन्दिर को 'मोहता मधुसूदन' ने बनवाया लिखा है । गंगाजी के सोरम घाट की तीर्थ-यात्रा सं० १७०३ की कार्तिक वदी ८ को की गई । इससे पूर्व उनके पूर्वज गोपाल जी नरसिंघ के सं० १६९५ और सं० १७०९ में हर जी के झाने का उल्लेख है । मथुरा और गोकुल के तीर्थ-गुरु के नाम भी इस दिवरण में मिल जाते हैं । संक्षेप में यह ब्रज-यात्रा विवरण बहुत ही महत्त्व का है । बीकानेरी भाषा में लिखा मूल विवरण झाने दे रहे हैं ।

सं० १७१३ की ब्रज-यात्रा का एक महत्त्वपूर्ण विवरण

श्री गोवरधन नाथ जी रं दुबारे इये<sup>२</sup> जिनस श्री ठंङुरां री झारती दरसण हुवे छं, ने इये जिनस भोग लागे छे ।

१. परभात मंगला झारती हुवे, ताहरा मांखण ॥, बूरो से० ५ झारोणे ।

सं० १७१३ झसोज सुद १३ परभात सुदरसण कोयो ।

२. संगार दन<sup>३</sup> धड़ी चार चड़िया हुवं, दरसण हुवं, झारती ने न ई ने श्री ठाङुर मेवो पकवान चारोली भोग लागे । मेवो ॥ हेक ।

१. 'गोवर्धन जी' से लेखक का अभिप्राय भगवान् श्री नाथ जी से है । २. वे। ३. दिन ।

(२) श्री रसकनाथ जी रो देहरो ।

राधाकुण्ड, किसन कुण्ड २ बड़ा कुण्ड छै । बड़ी मेहमा छै । उठे सनान कीजे छै । उपर श्री राधाकिसन जी रो देहरो छै, दरसन कीजे, उपर कुंज घणा छै । बड़ी मेहमा कुण्डा रो । काती बदी ६ री छै । काती वद ६ श्रादमी लाखां बन्ध जात प्रावे छै ।

श्री बलदेव जी रो देहरो ने संकरसन कुण्ड सनान कीजे ऊपर श्री महादेव जी रो पण<sup>१</sup> देहरो छै । श्री गोवद देव जी रो देहरो, श्री ठाकुरों रो दरसन ने गोवद कुण्ड सनान कीजे । अजायव ठौड़ छै । सोनो मण इठे दान कीजे । अण्छर कुण्ड सनान कीजे ।

१. सुरही-कुण्ड सनान कीजे ।

इन्द्र रो गरभ गालियो<sup>२</sup> पछे, इन्द्र श्री ठाकुरो कने<sup>३</sup> प्रायो, उवा ठौर अद्भुत छै । इतरा अहेनारण<sup>४</sup> साबता<sup>५</sup> छै ।

श्री ठाकुर जिके<sup>६</sup> सिला ऊपर बंठा हुंता, सु<sup>७</sup> सिला श्री ठाकुरां रो चरण १ बरस ७ तथा ८ (आठ) रे बालक हुवे, तिसड़ो<sup>८</sup> ।

इन्द्र री खड़ावे<sup>९</sup> रो पग, हेके पग तरणे अस्तुत<sup>१०</sup> कीवी छै ।

इन्द्र रे हाथी अंरावत रा पग २ ।

कामधेनु गाय रा खुर २ ।

सुंदुर सिला,<sup>११</sup> जठे<sup>१२</sup> गोपीयो रे संगार नुं सुंदुर जो इजे<sup>१३</sup> पछे सिला म्हा<sup>१४</sup> पैदा कियो । सुं सिला म्हा सुंदुर रो रंग नीसरे<sup>१५</sup> छै ।

गोरधन पूजा बल इन्द्र नुं दीज<sup>१६</sup> तो सुं श्री ठाकुरां लीयो ।

इये जिनस परवत दोली<sup>१७</sup> परकंमा, ते माहे अरे तीरथ दरसन छै ।

मथुरा—श्री मथुरा माहे इतरा ठोड़ा तो अद्भुत छै ।

१ श्री जमना जी घाट सनानकर भद्र<sup>१८</sup> हुई जे । बीच बिसरायत घाट छै ने पसवाड़े २ घाट, २४ बीजा छै । बीच मदनायक बिसरायत घाट छै । कंस मारन श्री ठाकुरां बिसराम लीयो ते बिसरायत कहाणी<sup>१९</sup> । बीजाई<sup>२०</sup> घाटा २४ रा ही नाम छै पण सितरो बिसराय<sup>२१</sup> ।

१. श्री ठाकुर दुवारा सं० १७१३ आसोज सुद १५ दरसन कियो ।

१. श्री केशोराय जी रो बड़ो दुवारो अद्भुत छै । बीच ! ठाकुर श्री मथरामल जी छै । जीवरो<sup>२२</sup> पासे श्री केशोराय जी छै, डावे<sup>२३</sup> पासे श्री कल्याण राज जो छै । पण<sup>२४</sup> देहरो केशोराय जी रो कहावे । पाइदीये राजा वरसंगदे रो ।

२. श्री रुधनाथ जी ठोडे<sup>२५</sup> २ दुवारा छै । सिलर बध छै ।

१. भी । २. गला । ३. पास । ४. चिह्न । ५. सात, पूरे रूप में विद्यमान । ६. जित । ७. बही । ८. वैसा । ९. खड़ाऊ । १०. स्तुति । ११. सिन्दूर । १२. जहाँ । १३. देखना । १४. में । १५. निकलता है । १६. नहीं दी । १७. चारों ओर । १८. सिर-मुटन । १९. कहा गया । २०. अन्य भी । २१. भूल गया । २२. दाहिनी ओर । २३. बाँधी । २४. पर । २५. स्थान पर ।

१ मंदिर छै । बोहत भद्रभुत श्री ठाकुर बिराजे छै ।

१ नरसंघ जी दुवारो बोहत भद्रभुत मूरत छै ।

१ श्री ठाकुर, देवकी, नसदेव, जसोदानन्द, री पाह से ५ सरव छै ।

१ श्री सांवलौ जी ।

१ बीजा मंदर ठोड़ा १० हेक तो श्री ठाकुरा रा दरसण कोया ।

X X X

१ श्री महादेव जी भूतेस्वर भद्रभुत देहरो छे ने दरसण छै ।

१ श्री महादेव जी भवानीसंकर भद्रभुत छै ।

१ श्री महादेव जी गोकर्नेस भद्रभुत मूरत दिव<sup>१</sup> छै ।

इछना<sup>२</sup> रो पुंरणहार, किमन गंगा उपर देहरो छै ।

१ बीजा ही महादेव जी ठोड़ा ५ तथा ७ दरसण कोया ।

१ देवी जी महा विद्या विद्याधरी बड़ी मेहमा छै ।

इधे जंनस<sup>३</sup> श्री मथरा जी री मेहमा, दरसण छै संखेप सा मांडीया<sup>४</sup> छै ।

X X X

१ अकरूर घाट संनान कीजै ।

१ श्री गोपीनाथ जी रो दुवारो, अकरूर घाट उपर मुहते मवसुदन जी रो करायो  
श्री ठाकुर भद्रभुत मूरत छै ।

X X X

तीरथ गुर श्री मथरा जी माहे पूब्य गोपाल जी कचरेजी रा छोह, दुवारो  
चोबे हरचन्द जे बन्द रो छै ।

वृन्दावन—श्री वृन्दावन तीरथ ढोडांरी मेहमा ।

१ श्री कालिन्दी संनान जठे कालो नाग नाथीयो<sup>५</sup> तठै ।

१ चौर घाट संनान ।

१ केसो घाट संनान ।

१ ब्रिह्मन कृष्ण संनान ।

इतरा<sup>६</sup> श्री ठाकुरां रा दरसण कोया ।

१ श्री मदन मोहन जी

१ श्री गोवंद देव जी

१ ,, राधा वलन जी

१ ,, बांको बिहारी जी

१ ,, गोपी नाथ जी

१ ,, जोड़ो ठाकुर जी

१ ,, राधा माधव जी

१ ,, किसोर किसोरी जी

१ ,, राधा कृष्ण जी

१ ,, व्यास जी रा ठाकुर जी

१ ,, राधा रमण जी

१ ,, नरसिंघजी

१ ,, राधा मोहन जी

१ ,, रसक रसीलो जी

१. दिव्य । २. इच्छा । ३. वस्तुएँ । ४. लिखा गया । ५. नाथ बाल के दमन किया ।

६. इतने ।

१ श्री गोपी बल्लभ जी	१ श्री चकोर बकरोरी जी
१ ,, चिकनिद्या ठाकुर	१ ,, मुरली मनोहर जी
१ ,, गोपी बल्लभ जी	१ ,, चीर बिहारी जी
१ ,, रसक नाथ जी	१ ,, कुंज बिहारी जी
१ ,, काली मरदन जी	१ ,, बन्नावन चन्द जी
१ ,, महादेव जी गोपेश्वर	१ ,, जुगल किसोर जी
१ ,, बन्ना देवी	

१. बंसीवट श्री गोपेश्वर महादेव कर्म, ६. श्री ठाकुर रा दरमण १ तथा  
कुंजा माहे फिरिया दरमण किया । ७ बीजाई<sup>१</sup> कीया । सुं नाम चीत<sup>२</sup> नावें ।  
बड़ी ठोड़ छै श्री ठाकुरां रो नित-बासो<sup>३</sup> उठे<sup>४</sup> छै हीन ।

X X X

गोकुल जी—श्री गोकुल जी ठोड़ा मेहमा ।

१ जसोदा घाट संनान ।

१ ठकुराणी घाट संनान ।

गोकुल—श्री गोकुल जी परे कोसे ४ हेके श्री देवी जी रा देहरा ।

१ बंदो देवी जी ।

१ धारांदो देवी जी ।

श्री गुसाईं जी रे श्री ठाकुर दुवारा दरमण कीया—

१ श्री नवनीत राय जी १ श्री मथरा नाथ जी

१ श्री गोकुल चन्द जी १ श्री दुवारका नाथ जी

१ श्री गोकुल नाथ जी १ श्री कल्याण राय जी

श्री गंगा जी सोरम घाट तीरथ सं० १७१३ काली बनी न पोहता । तीरथ  
गुरु प्रा० बंनमाली जग भायांणी छै । पूज्य गोपाल जी नर संघ सं० १६५५ गया  
हुंता<sup>५</sup>, तह<sup>६</sup> कीयो थो । पछे<sup>७</sup> जि० हर जी ई सं० १७०६ गया हुंता ।

श्री गंगा जी सोरम घाट मेहमा<sup>८</sup> अथक है ।

१ चक्रघाट संनान नित हूवें । उठे<sup>९</sup> भद्र<sup>१०</sup> हूई जे जेचे<sup>११</sup> ठोड़ी ।

X X X

बीजा घाट ११ छै, मेहमा उवाई<sup>१२</sup> घाटा रा छै संनाइ ही ।

१ सूरज घाट १ गुरु घाट उठे अस्त<sup>१३</sup> षडवाई जी

१ कुडल घाट १ बहा घाट

१ १ भंख भाफ घाट

१ रणमोचन घाट १ भगीरथी रो पीपली-कोसे १॥ हेके छै ।

१ पापमोचन घाट १ बुठ गंगा भागीरथ रो पीपली कहे छै ।

१ कुडल बीजाई । उठे संनान कोल ।

१ रूप घाट ।

१. बंसीवट २. स्मरण नहीं हो रहा है । ३. निथ रहना । ४. वहाँ । ५. वे । ६. तन ।  
७. पीछे । ८. पहिमा । ९. वहाँ । १०. शिर मुंडन । ११. उसी स्थान । १२. कहीं । १३. प्रचेनन ।

1. रूट, स्टेनले लेन, द कॉइन्स ऑफ द मुगल एम्परर्स ऑफ हिन्दुस्थान इन द ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम, सम्पा. रेजिनाल्ड स्टुअर्ट पूल, लंदन, 1892, पृ. 23, ... Temples were sometimes destroyed by Shahajahan, and by Aurangzeb systematically डॉ. हरमन गोईट्स आर्ट एण्ड आर्किटेक्चर ऑफ बीकानेर, ऑक्सफोर्ड, 1950, पृ. 61

2. झवेरी, कृष्णलाल मोहनलाल, इम्पीरियल फरमान्स, (ए. डी. 1577 से 1805) झवेरी डॉक्यूमेंट्स—

GOD IS GREAT SEAL seal (with) Farman of Shah Jahan May the officers, present and future, of the paragan of Sahar who are there on account of the favour of the Exalted (One), know that during this time a petition has been received by (His Majesty) the Most Sacred, that the Goswami Vithalrai Tikayet of Gordhan Nath resident of Gokul, having purchased lands from Zamindars (with money) adjoining Gordhan in the Mowzah of Jatipura alias Gopalpur and caused buildings, sheds for cows, gardens, (and) workshops for the god Gordhan Nath to be bult there, has also been living there, hense the Order, (which should be) obeyed by the world and which is Exalted as the heavens, has found the honour of promulgation, that the lands of that Mowzah have been granted by His Myjesty for his use and for expenses of the Thakordwar, tax free, and exemted (from payments of dues). It is incumbent on all the Governors and revenue Collectors, Jagirdars, presents, and future, that they should strive for the continuaznce and confirmation of this Most Exalted Order, and allow the lands of the abovementioned Mowzah to remain un the possession of abovenamed person from descendants to descendants, (baka kul nil ?) and they should not change or alter it at all in the least, and not molest (them) on account of the payment of land taxes, imposts on manufactures, capitatation (tax) Royal fee half of ten-five per cent tax, mukaddami, sad dui, (two per cent tax), Kanugoi (fees of officers acquainted with land tenures), civil levies and Imperial cemand, in respect of the abovenamed Mowzah. They should not ask for a renewd Farman and parwanheh every year, and should not act contary to or deviate from the Order. Written on the fifteenth day of the month of Khordad Elahi Year 38.(Sunday, 29th September (O.S) 9th October (N.S.) A.D. 1633, A.H. 1043, Samvat year 1690)

3. रूट, स्टेनले लेन, द कॉइन्स ऑफ द मुगल एम्परर्स ऑफ हिन्दुस्थान इन द ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम, उपरोक्त, पृ. 29

4. मथुरा के लिए हरिवंश पुराण में लिखा गया है कि अर्द्धचन्द्रपतीकाशा यमुनातीरशोभिता 3/30, साथ ही इस नगर को भारत के सबसे पवित्र सात नगरों में गिना जाता है—
5. Most famous temple – that dedicated to Kesava Deva – was destroyed, in 1669, the eleventh year of the reign of the iconoclastic Aurangzeb. The mosque erected on its ruins is a building of little architectural value, but the natural advantages of its lofty and isolated position render it a striking feature in the landscape. ग्राउज एफ. ए., मथुरा : ए डिस्ट्रिक्ट मेमोअर द्वितीय संस्करण, ब्रिटिश लाइब्रेरी, 1880, पृ. 117
6. सरकार, जदुनाथ, हिस्ट्री ऑफ औरंगजेब, एम.सी. सरकार एण्ड सन्स, कलकत्ता, 1912 पृ. 265, 66, 83, शास्त्री, पो. कण्ठमणी, कांकरोली का इतिहास, श्री विद्या विभाग, कांकरोली, प्रथम संस्करण, 1939, पृष्ठ-128, सिंहायच दयालदास, दयालदास री ख्यात-द्वितीय खण्ड, सं. शर्मा दशरथ, अनूप संस्कृत लाइब्रेरी, बीकानेर, 1948, पृ. 192, 193 बीकानेर का ख्यातकार सिंहायच दयालदास (1771-1830) तीन शासकों तीन शासकों के काल में मौजूद था। उपर्युक्त वृत्तान्त बीकानेर महाराजा करणसिंह (सन् 1631-1669) के काल का है।

निरन्तरता से प्राप्त हो रही विजयों के नशे में चूर औरंगजेब ने पैगम्बर के विश्वास को पुनर्जीवित करने के लिए रमजान के इस्लामिक माह में वीर सिंह देव बुन्देला द्वारा मथुरा में निर्मित 'केशो राय का देहरा' नाम से प्रसिद्ध विशालकाय मन्दिर को ध्वस्त करने का आदेश प्रसारित किया। इस अद्भूत एवं विशालकाय मन्दिर को ध्वस्त कर इसके स्थान पर एक विशाल मस्जिद का निर्माण किया गया। कीमती आभूषणों से सुसजित मंदिर की सभी छोटी-बड़ी मूर्तियों को आगरा की बेगम साहिब मस्जिद की सीढ़ियों के नीचे निरंतर अपमानित करने के लिए दफना दिया गया। मथुरा का नाम बदल कर इस्लामाबाद कर दिया गया। साकी मुस्तैद खान, मासिर-ए-आलमगीर, अनुवाद जदुनाथ सरकार, एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ बंगाल, 1947, पृ. 60

7. सिंहायच दयालदास, दयालदास री ख्यात-द्वितीय खण्ड, सं. शर्मा दशरथ, तत्रैव, पृ. 193, ओझा, गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द, उदयपुर राज्य का इतिहास भाग-2, 1931, पृ. 547
8. गोस्वामी विठ्ठलनाथ जी ने अपने पुत्रों का नामोल्लेख किया। उन्होंने इन्हीं सात पुत्रों को अपनी सप्त स्वरूप निधियों को सौंपा जिन्हें 'सप्त पीठ' के नाम से जाना जाता है। आत्मसुतेभ्यः पत्रम् में से एक पत्र में स्वयं विठ्ठलनाथ जी ने लिखा है कि

स्वस्ति श्री विट्ठलदीक्षितानां गिरिधरस्य च ..... गोविन्द बालकृष्ण श्रीवल्लभ यदुनाथ रघुनाथ घनश्यामेषु गिरिधरस्य च भवतां पुत्रेष्वशिषः शमिह भात्वकं भद्रमासे।..... शास्त्री, कण्ठमणि, कांकरोली का इतिहास भाग-2, पृष्ठ 94, 95, 108,

He had a family of seven sons, Girdhar, Govind, Bal-Krishna, Gokulnath, Jadunath and Ghansyam. ग्राऊज एफ. एस. मथुरा : ए डिस्ट्रिक्ट मेमोअर द्वितीय खण्ड, 1880, पृ. 262

9. गोस्वामी विट्ठलनाथ जी के घर को वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय में 'सतघरा' के पवित्र नाम से जाना जाता है। जहाँ उनके समय में सभी सप्त स्वरूप निधियाँ विराजमान थीं। शास्त्री, कण्ठमणि, कांकरोली का इतिहास भाग-2, पृष्ठ 108
10. श्री हरिरायजी का जीवन चरित, पृ. 36
11. ग्राउज, एफ. एस., मथुरा अ डिस्ट्रिक्ट मेमोअर, तृतीय संस्करण, 1883, पृ. 130
12. ग्राउज, एफ.एस. मथुरा अ डिस्ट्रिक्ट मेमोअर, तत्रैव, पृ. 130
13. सिंढायच, दयालदास, भाग-2, सम्पा. जे.के. जैन, तत्रैव, पृ. 57.....वि. सं. 1535 बैशाख वद 11 रवि घनिष्टा नक्षत्र में बलभाचारज जी हुवा। हणां रै पुत्र विठलेश्वरजी हुवा। बिठलेश्वरजी रै पुत्र 7 हुवा। तिणां री 7 गादी छौ।....शास्त्री, पो. कण्ठमणी, वही, पृ. 108, 131 गोस्वामी विट्ठलनाथजी ने अपने जीवनकाल में ही अपने पुत्रों को अपनी सेवा में उपस्थित सेव्य स्वरूपों का बंटवारा कर दिया। उस समय सभी स्वरूप गोकुल में ही विराजते थे। कालान्तर में ये स्वरूप अन्यत्र स्थानों पर चले गये। उन्होंने श्री गोवर्धननाथजी एवं नवनीतप्रियजी की सेवा ज्येष्ठ पुत्र गिरधरजी को सौंपी। इन स्वरूपों की सेवा का अधिकार समान रूप से सभी वल्लभवंशी गृहाधिपतियों को प्राप्त था। उन्होंने श्री मथुरेशजी का स्वरूप गोस्वामी गिरधरजी को, श्री विट्ठलनाथजी का स्वरूप गोस्वामी गोविन्दरायजी को, श्री द्वारकाधीशजी का स्वरूप गोस्वामी बालकृष्णलालजी को, श्रीगोकुलनाथजी का स्वरूप श्रीगोकुलनाथजी को, गोकुल-चन्द्रमा-जी का स्वरूप श्रीरघुनाथजी को, श्रीबालकृष्णजी का स्वरूप श्रीयदुनाथजी को, श्रीमदनमोहनजी का स्वरूप श्रीघनश्यामजी को प्रदान किया। श्यामलदास अभिलेख, मेवाड़ में प्रतिष्ठित स्थान नाथद्वारा एवं कांकरोली बस्ता सं. 03, ग्रन्थांक 145; ओझा, गौरीशंकर हीराचंद, ओझा निबन्ध संग्रह भाग-3, उदयपुर में श्री वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के तीर्थ, साहित्य संस्थान, राजस्थान विद्यापीठ, उदयपुर, 1954, पृ. 141, ओझा, गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द, उदयपुर राज्य का इतिहास भाग-2, 1931, पृ. 547
14. पद्म बही रिकार्ड, अनलिस्टेड सावा बही, बही परवाना 1749, नं 1-1, पृ. 15

15. दानकौ अनूप सूर, ग्यानकौ अनूप कवि। मानकौ अनूप, कमधज, कुलकौर है। कापनाकौ पूरन, अनूप जैसौ देव तरु, कौन पटतरकौ, चहुट चित चोर है। ध्यानी नवदीपमें महीप करणेसजू कौ, राजा श्री अनूप सौ अनूप कौन है। सिंढायच, दयालदास, भाग-2, सम्पा. जे. के. जैन, पृ. 207 उदैपुर प्रणाम कियो, बूँदी कौ धरकै हियो। जोधपुर जैर भयो, लैन उर सासी है।। झालर झनक देहरा न दीसै पापन सै। बसै सब दैवडरू आप अविनासी है।। राखी हिंदवान की हदीस करणेसजूके। जहाँ साह आलम मुखा मिष्टतासी है।। धर्म की निवासी अरु, वेदन विनाशी जहाँ। राजा अनूप करी बीकानेर कासी है।।
16. साकी मुस्तैद खान, मासिर-ए-आलमगीर, अनुवाद जदुनाथ सरकार, उपरोक्त, पृ. 19
17. ओझा, डॉ. गौरी शंकर हीराचंद, वही, पृ. 244,45,46, द हाऊस ऑफ बीकानेर, बीईंग अ नैरेटिव.... ऑफ द बीकानेर स्टेट एण्ड इट्स रूलर्स फ्राम अन्सीयन्ट टाइम, गवर्नमेंट ऑफ बीकानेर, 1933 पृ. 27.... Jai Jangal Dhar Badshah! Victory to the King of the Jangal!.....  
सिंढायच दयालदास, ख्यात देश दर्पण, उपरोक्त पृ. 40, मेरे एक लाख राजपूतों के सिर कट जावेंगे, उसके बाद आलमगीर इस मूर्ति को हाथ लगा सकेगा। कविराज श्यामल दास, वीर विनोद, पृष्ठ 453
18. पट्टा बही रिकार्ड, अनलिस्टेड सावा बही, बही परवाना 1749, बही नं 1-1, पृ. 19
19. लबोर का कुल भूमि रकबा 8500 बीघा था। पट्टे के इस गाँव के जागीरदार महाराज पृथ्वीराज (महाराजा रायसिंह के भाई) के वंशज ही रहे। उन्हें बीका पृथ्वीराजोत खांप के राजपूत कहा जाता था। कालान्तर में इस गाँव के दो भाग लम्बोर ऊगणी कुल 21 घरों के गाँव में कुल आबादी 148 जिनमें पु. 82 म. 66 एवं लम्बोर आथूणी कुल 26 घरों के गाँव में कुल आबादी 103 जिनमें पु. 60 म. 43 के नाम से विभक्त कर दिया गया। रजिस्टर देहात रियासत बीकानेर पृ. 131, राज. राज्य अभिलेखागार, बीकानेर
20. पट्टा बही रिकार्ड, अनलिस्टेड सावा बही, बही परवाना 1749, बही नं 1-1, पृ. 17
21. गीगासर का कुल भूमि रकबा 7000 बीघा था। पट्टे के इस गाँव के जागीरदार हजुरीया थे (महाराजा के विश्वस्त सेवादर जिन्हें हजुरी कहा जाता था) वे हजुरी 'भाटी पाऊ' जाति के वंशज थे। रु. 171. 50 पैसे की आय के इस गाँव में कुल 53 घरों में कुल आबादी 240 थी; जिनमें पु. 121 म. 119 थी। रजिस्टर देहात रियासत बीकानेर पृ. 21, राज. राज्य अभिलेखागार, बीकानेर इस गाँव को



गीगासर भाटावास के नाम से जाना जाता था। मीगासर सुदी चतुर्थी, सं. 1885/1828 में इस गाँव के जागीरदार रतनदास जी थे। पट्टां रे गाँवा री बही सं. 21 पृ. 311

22. रायांवाली (रईयावाली) का कुल भूमि रकबा 15,000 खाम बीघा था। पट्टा बंधा के इस गाँव की आय रु. 624 थी। इस गाँव में कुल 71 घरों के गाँव में कुल आबादी 317 जिनमें पु. 175 म. 142 थी। रजिस्टर देहात रियासत बीकानेर पृ. 193, राज. राज्य अभिलेखागार, बीकानेर
23. पट्टा बही रिकार्ड, अनलिस्टेड सावा बही, बही परवाना 1749, बही नं 1-1, पृ. 19
24. उस समय के ब्रज यात्रा वर्णन में गोवर्धन नाथ जी, केशव देव जी, रसिक नाथ जी, बलदेव जी, राधा किशन जी, महादेव जी, गोविन्द देव जी, मन्दिर के साथ ही भगवान श्री कृष्ण-इन्द्र संवाद के प्रतीक चिह्नों जैसे श्री कृष्ण जिस शिला पर बैठे वहाँ उनके चरण चिह्न, इन्द्र के एक पैर पर प्रार्थना के लिए खड़े होने के प्रतीक 'खड़ाऊ', ऐरावत हाथी के पांव व कामधेनु गाय के खुरों के निशानों का वर्णन है।
25. राधा कुण्ड, किशन कुण्ड, शंकर कुण्ड, गोविन्द कुण्ड, अप्सरा कुण्ड, सुरही कुण्ड आदि के साथ यमुना जी के विभिन्न घाटों का वर्णन किया गया है।

डॉ. शिव कुमार व्यास

'श्री द्वारकाधीश'

मुरलीधर व्यास कॉलोनी, बीकानेर



# ‘वीरवाण’ में निहित साहित्यिक व ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों का अध्ययन

## • प्रो. सुशीला शक्तावत

राजस्थानी साहित्य वास्तव में समुद्र की भांति गहन है। जिसमें नाना प्रकार के ग्रन्थ रत्न छिपे हुए हैं। राजस्थानी भाषा में कई वर्षों से खोज-कार्य होते रहने पर भी कई ग्रन्थ रत्नों की जानकारी साहित्य-क्षेत्र में नहीं के समान है। ऐसे ही ग्रन्थ-रत्नों में ‘वीरवाण’ की गणना भी की जा सकती है। रानी लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूंडावत द्वारा सम्पादित होकर राजस्थान प्राच्य विद्या प्रतिष्ठान, जोधपुर की ओर से यह कृति प्रकाशित हो चुकी है। वीर रस प्रधान इस काव्य में 301 पद्य हैं। वीरवाण का रचयिता बादर ढाढ़ी था। बादर ढाढ़ी ने राजस्थानी भाषा में काव्य ग्रंथ की रचना की है। डॉ. हीरालाल माहेश्वरी के अनुसार पन्द्रहवीं शताब्दी के आसपास की रचना है।<sup>1</sup>

वीरवाण और उसके कर्ता के सम्बन्ध में राजस्थानी ग्रंथ में दी गई टिप्पणी महत्त्वपूर्ण है। जिसमें कहा गया है ‘मैं बादर ढाढ़ी जोईयों का ही हूँ सों मैंने पूछकर जैसी हकीकत सुनी वैसी काव्य में प्रकट की हैं। मैंने अपनी उक्ति अथवा सामर्थ्य के अनुसार रावलजी जगमाल जी और कुंवर जी रिडमल जी के कहने से यश बनाकर सुनाया। इस युद्ध के बीस वर्ष बाद यह ग्रंथ बनाया हैं।

प्रारम्भ में कवि ने शारदा और गणपति की वंदना करते हुए वीरमजी और सम्बन्धित वीरों के विषय में यथातथ्य निरूपण करने का अपना अभिप्राय प्रकट किया है।<sup>2</sup>

सुमत समापो सारदा, आपो उकती आप।

कंमधा जस वरनन करं, तुझ महर परताप॥1॥

समरं गणपत सरसती, पाण जोड़ लग पाय।

गाउं हु सलबाणियां, विध विध सुजस बणायं॥2॥

सुणी जिते सारी कहं, लहु न झूठ लिगार।  
माल जैत लगमालरो, वीरम जुध विचार॥3॥  
राज समालो नगर में, सोभत जैत समीयांण।  
थान षेड़ वीरम थपे, जगजाहर घण जांण॥4॥

तत्पश्चात् कवि ने जोधपुर के राव सलखाजी (1357-1374 ई.) के चारों पुत्रों की वीरता का संक्षिप्त वर्णन एक ही निसाणी में किया है।<sup>3</sup>

### नीसाणी

सुत च्यारुं सलबेसरा कुल में किरणाला।  
राजस बंका राठवड़ वरवीर बडाला॥  
साथ लियां दल सामठा वीरदौं रुखवाला।  
भिड़िया भारत भीमसा दल पारथ वाला॥  
देस दसु दीस दाबिया कीदा धकचाला।  
केवि धस गीर कंदरा वपसंक बडाला॥1॥

फिर जेतसिंहजी की गुजरात पर हुई लड़ाई का वर्णन किया गया है और मालदेवजी रो समों लिखा गया है। जैतसी द्वारा गुजरात के परमारों पर आक्रमण करके राड़धरा जीत लेने का वर्णन है। मल्लीनाथ जी के राज्य महेवा में मणियड़ परगने के घोड़े प्रसिद्ध थे। मांडू के सुल्तान मुहम्मदशाह बेगड़ा ने मरवण खा पठान को घोड़े लाने मणियड़ भेजा। इसका वर्णन देखिये-4

नग धर मीणीय नीपजै, कोड़ी धर केकांण।  
मैहमंद लेवण मेलियो, मरवण षान पठांण॥12॥

श्रावणी तीज के दिन झूलों में झूलती तीजणियों को तुर्क उड़ा ले गए।<sup>5</sup>

तीजणिया दिन तीज रे, सजे साज सिणगार।  
हीडे आई हीड़वा, अपदर रे उणियार॥14॥  
अरक तणो पण आथवण, मेहअंधारी रात।  
तीजणिया लेगा तुरक, घोड़ा ऊपर घात॥15॥

मल्लीनाथ जी के पुत्र जगमाल जी द्वारा व्यापारी के वेश में चढ़ाई कर ईद के अवसर पर मेले में आई तीजणियों सहित बेगड़ा की पुत्री गींदोली को भी ले गए।<sup>6</sup>

सुभटा वीसी सातसुं चढीयो मालाणी  
 पूगा दिन दसमें प्रथम मांडलगढ़ आणी  
 गींदोली करसुं ग्रहे, हय पीठी चढाणी।  
 लेगो ज्यूहीं लावीयों जगमाल मालाणी। (निसाणी 6)  
 दी दाने जगमाल ने, मैमदसा पुरमास।  
 दीनी गींदोली देऊं, जुनागढ़ रो वास॥20॥

फिर रावजी मालदेवजी रो पेलो झगड़ो लिखा गया है। महमूद बेगड़ा ने शहजादी गींदोली के बदले जूनागढ़ देना स्वीकार किया, किन्तु जगमाल नहीं माना। तब दिल्ली के बादशाह गोरी और बेगड़ा दोनों की सेनाएं भिरड़कोट पर चढ़ आई। भयंकर युद्ध हुआ।

मालदेव जी के गींदोली सम्बन्धी युद्धों का वर्णन करते हुए लिखा गया है—‘गींदोली री लड़ाई में झगड़ा तीन तो रावल मालदेवजी आपरे लोकसुं एकला किया। झगड़ो चोथो भाटी घड़सी रावल जी कंवर जगमाल जी सोलंखी माधोसिंह जी। पांचवो झगड़ों कंवर जगमाल सिंह जी एकला भूतारे जोर से कीरया। पांचवा झगड़ा में तीन लाख आदमी खेत पड़ीया। अठी राठोरां रा आदमी लाख दा जामाखु। आदमी हजार पचीस खेत महराई चक्र जुद्ध हुआ।<sup>7</sup> कहते हैं इस युद्ध में 20 हजार भूत जगमाल की ओर से लड़े, जिससे बची खुची सेना भी गुजरात भाग गई और मुसलमान हारे। भूतों के सरदार आलणसी ने गति न होने पर भूत योनि में आकर जगमाल को अपनी पुत्री कुंपादे ब्याही थी। दहेज में ‘अभंग नगरौ’, ‘खाग’ और कवलियो अश्व भूतों ने दिया था। तभी वचन दिया था कि तीनों चीजों सहित याद करने पर हम 20 हजार हाजिर होंगे। अतः वीरम ने ऐसा ही किया था।’<sup>8</sup>

अभंग नगोरे बंब पड़, अरिगंज खाग उढ़ाय।

कवलै आगै धूपकर, दीयो पागड़े पाय॥54॥

भूतों की सहायता से सूखीर जगमाल ने भीषण मार काट मचाई थी। इस घटना सम्बन्धी यह दोहा प्रसिद्ध रहा है—

तीन लाख जुध मैत, दिन धोरा जवन चलाय।

पग पग नेजा पाड़िया, पग पग पाड़ी ढाल।

बीबी बूझे खानने, जुध किता जगमाल॥62॥

क्योंकि सभी भूत ‘लो जगमाल के हाथ की’ कहकर खड्ग-प्रहार कर रहे

थे। भीषण युद्ध से घबराकर बीबी कह उठी कि इस युद्ध में कितने जगमाल हैं, क्योंकि भूत ले जगमाल के हाथ की। कहकर खड्ग प्रहार कर रहे थे।<sup>9</sup>

वीरमजी और जोहियों के सम्बन्ध का वर्णन दूहा छन्द संख्या 63 से प्रारंभ होता है। प्रारंभ में महामाया का स्मरण करते हुए लुणराव के सात पुत्रों की वीरता का वर्णन किया गया है।<sup>10</sup>

उक्त समापो दूसरी, माता सुण महमाय।  
गाऊ हुं लुणीयाणीयां सांचो सुजस बनाय॥63॥  
कोड़ च्यार रोकड़ कीमक, असरपीयारा ऊँट।  
सांप्रत मेमंदसाहरा, लायो मादव लूंट॥66॥  
मेमंद धरिसारो समन, जद यू लिष्या जबाब।  
सिधां लेसुं सात ही, द्रबरे बदलै दाण॥68॥

फिर प्रकट किया गया है कि जोहिया माधव ने एक बार मुहम्मदशाह के चार करोड़ मोहरे के ऊँट लूट लिए। तब मुहम्मदशाह ने सारे, जोहिया के सिंध को दबा लेने की धमकी दी। तब जोहिये वीरमजी से मिले।<sup>11</sup>

मैमद नै जगमाल रे, जबर बैर ओजांण  
आया सरणे जोहिया, सिन्ध घोड़े साहिबाण॥72॥  
मलीनाथ बंदु मुदै, वीरम करै सु बात।  
अंलहपुर वीरम त्रीया, मांगलीयाणी हात॥73॥  
मांगलियाणीसुं दलो भलहो धूम भाई।  
सात पोंसाषां सातसो मोहरां गुंजराई॥ (निसांणी 21)

सिन्ध के जोहियों ने मल्लीनाथ जी के पास शरण ली। जोहियों के सरदार दला ने वीरम की राणी मांगलियाणी को राखीबंध भाई बनाने पर 700 मोहरे दी।<sup>12</sup> दिल्ली के सुल्तान ने वीरमजी पर चढ़ाई की किन्तु वे जोहियों की रक्षा हेतु तत्पर रहे। युद्ध में वीरमजी की विजय हुई।<sup>13</sup>

सिंध दिली सुरताणरी फोजा चढ़ आई।  
सांपो दलो जाइयो भउ सातों भाई।  
मीर केइ रिण मारिया वीरम वरदाई।  
आइ न जोय ऊपरै तिल एक तवाई॥ (नीसाणी 22)  
वीरम मालै वीरवर, अरिअण दिया उठाय।  
सरव फोज पतसाहरी, पाछी गी पिछताप॥82॥

तदुपरान्त वीरम जी और जोहियों के संघर्ष का कारण बताया गया है, कि जोहियों ने जवाद नामक सुन्दर घोड़ी की बछेरी समाद, वीरमजी के भाई मल्लीनाथ के मांगने पर भी न दी।<sup>14</sup>

मलीनाथ मांगी मुबां, साकुर मोल समाध।  
जकां न दी धी जोइयां, उणसुं बधी उपाध॥87॥  
दले धणोही दाबीयो, मदु परी दे मोल  
मदु न जांणे मोट मन, राजवीयारां तोल॥89॥  
मारै लैसु माल, साकुर पण लेसु सरव।  
जोयां पर जगमाल, रचै चूक उण रातरो॥92॥

मल्लीनाथ जी ने मधु जोहिया को रुपयों आदि का लालच दिया। साथ ही दला ने भी समझाया किन्तु मधु नहीं माना। तब धोखे से जोहियो को मारने की योजना बनी।<sup>15</sup> एक बुढ़िया मालिन ने जोहियों को इस 'चूक' की सूचना दी, जिसका सरस वर्णन इस प्रकार किया गया है—<sup>16</sup>

मालण नै नितरी मोहर, दलो दिरातो दान।  
चूक तणी चरचा चली, आई मालण कांन॥93॥  
जद उण मालण जाणीयो, दले दियो बहुदान  
सीलूं उणरो सीलणो, कथ आ घालूं कान॥94॥  
डिगती डिगती डोकरी, पूगी दले पास।  
दला चूक तो पर दुझल, नास सके तो नास॥95॥  
तलवाडै थाणी तठै, सोवै बंदव सात।  
वीरा थां पर बाजसी रूंख झड़ि अध रात॥96॥

राठौड़ों द्वारा होने वाली चूक का समाचार जानकर दलों ने अपने परिवारों को रवाना कर दिया।<sup>17</sup>

दलै कविला देस नै, बाहिरज कीधा बेग।  
साथे बंदव सात ही, तिके उरसरी तेग॥  
दलो शेड़ पूगो दुझल, हर्मे ने आवै हात।  
जद धिकीयो जगमालदे, भिड़वा कज भारात॥102॥

वीरमजी के खेड़ आते ही जगमाल ने चढ़ाई कर दी तब मल्लीनाथजी ने उसे जांगलू भेज दिया। वहां उसने दिल्ली के बादशाह के लिए ले जाने वाली भेंट

को लूट लिया। मंडोर पर शाही सेना के आने पर वीरमजी जोहियों के पास सिंध चले गये।<sup>18</sup>

ऊप तीसा ऊपरै असरफीया आवै।  
सो मेलो पतसाह के जोगणपुर जावै॥  
पैसकसी पतसाहरै पतसाह पुगावे।  
मिलया वीरम मारगां अस लीधा आवै  
सब मोहरां पातसाहरी लूटे लीबरवै॥  
सामल हुए सारा सुभट मीयां फरमावै॥  
ओ धन वीरम आपरै घरमै नहं मावै।  
वीरम औ भब बांघरो पोह मेमा पड़ावै॥ (निसाणी 34)

जोहियों ने वीरम का स्वागत किया और बारह गांव दिये।<sup>19</sup>

सजे उमंग साहिबाण में वीरम बधवाया।  
दीध बधाई राइका, जद गोगा जाया॥  
एक महीनों आठ दिन थठ गोठां थाया।  
वैरो लब रहवास कुंदलजी दरधायां॥  
बारागाम ज बगसीया, चित वीरम चाया।  
डोण वले उचका दिया आधा अपणाया।  
घाड़े धन धुर माझीया मांझी वेमापा  
वीरमक देवण वले तब बेरे लापा॥ (नीसाणी 40)

वीरम द्वारा जोहियों की सात हजार सांडे छीनने तथा दला के दामाद मोटल को मारने पर भी दला ने जोहियों को शांत किया।<sup>20</sup>

वीरम चित विटालिया ऊंधी मत आणी।  
सात हजार सांढीया दिन हेक दगांणी॥  
आयर जिणरी ओढीयां कल कुकरांणी।  
दस हजार चढीया दुझल रज गैण ढकांणी (निसाणी 41)

कवि ने अपने आश्रयदाता दला जोहियों की विशेष प्रशंसा की हैं-

सरणाया साधार, दलै जिसो नह देबीयो।  
वीरमरा विनपार, जबर गुना जिण जारीया। 119  
दला ने राठौड़ों के समझौते का प्रयत्न भी किया।<sup>21</sup>  
दल भेज प्रधानकु ए जाप अथदे।  
वीरम तुम गुना करो हम जाय षिमंदे।

ढाबो ढाबो ठाकरां घरं पाय घरदे।  
मदु न माने माहरी कल काहे करंदे।  
हे कण जगा न मा वही, दोप सरे बकदे।  
हेकण म्यान न मावही, दोय बाग धक दे।।  
तुम हिंदु गुना करो मुब बोलो मंदे।

दोय घर डाकण पर हरै गाम घणीयां हंदे।। (निसाणी 43)

वीरमजी ने दला को उत्तर भेजते हुए लिखा।<sup>22</sup>

आबै वीरम राढवड़ आगल पलावै।  
डाकण किणनै परहरै जब भूषी थावै।।  
गुण भूलो सारा दलो परधानं मेलावै।  
आप प्रधान सुं अणीयो वीरम बट बाई।।  
दले अरु देपाल कुं नित घ्राह सुणावै।

वीरम न्याय नह लही अन्याय सुहावै।। (निसाणी 44)

दला के समझौते के प्रयत्न व्यर्थ हुए और वह वीरमजी की अनीति से बहुत दुखी हुआ जिसके लिए कहा गया है<sup>23</sup> —

दोनुं तरफारो दलो, दुन भुगतै निख दहि।  
झलीया रहै न जोइया, लोपी वीरम लीह।।22।

एक दिन वीरमजी ने जोहियों की धरती पर अधिकार कर अपने दाणी बेंठा दिये और 15 जोहियों को भी मार दिया। तब जोहियों ने राठौड़ों पर चढ़ाई कर दी।

इसी समय वीरमजी ने एक और चाल चली। जिसका वर्णन इस प्रकार किया गया है।<sup>24</sup>

बुकण रै दोख बेटीया गत एक नीहालै।  
नाम बड़ी कसमीदे परलो देपालै।।  
रानल कंवरी राजवण अहरा गालै।  
सो मांगी देवराज युं कर जोड़ हतालै।।  
रानल मुझकु राजवण भाभी परणालै।  
भावज गुण भूलां नहीं ग्रंम षोड़ बिचालै।।  
कहीयो जद कसमीर दे चढ़ क्रोध अचाले।



हुं परणांसु हिदवां तुरकां हरतालै॥  
 सो कुछ हिंदु हम सुणां जिसकुं परणालै।  
 परणासु सगपण करै वीरम विगतालै॥  
 जद पाछो कही दो जसु आगम अबतालै।  
 माने भाभी महरो वायक पिर भालै।  
 बैठी रोसै बापनै कर मुंडे कालै। (नीसाणी 47)

वीरम ने पूगल के भाटी बुकण की पुत्री से शादी कर उसी रात सात पुत्रों सहित ससुर को मारकर धन लूट लिया। विवाह के अवसर पर हुई मारकाट का वर्णन महत्त्वपूर्ण है जिसमें कवि की अन्य समान कर्मवाली जातियों के प्रति उपेक्षावृत्ति की झलक मिलती है<sup>25</sup> —

चारण चारण कुंकता आरण जगांणा।  
 बामण भुरी बासता सिर आप दिराणा॥  
 भागा मुंडा भाठदां बुल दांत पिराणा।  
 डोफा भागा डुलडा झाटक झेराणा॥  
 कटिया हात कमीणदा दत नेग दिराणां।  
 गहणा गायणीयां तणां लुटे लिबराणां॥  
 केतां पावज कटी हातां हेरांणा।  
 जावै गुणीयण जीव लेकर पांचा तांणा॥  
 ठांवा पंथ विच एकठां मिल ढाक धतांणा।  
 फिर कोई इसड़ा ज्याग मै मत पाव दिरांणा॥  
 सलबांणी जिसडा सुपह बनड़ा वरवांणा।  
 बुकण का घर षो कै धन सोध लियंणा॥  
 बुकण सहतां वेलीयां इक षाड़ दिरांणा।  
 भटीणाणी दे भाग का क्या चक्र फिराणा।  
 कह भाटी कसमीर कु क्या फाग पिलांणा॥ (निसाणी 51)

दला जोहियों ने समझौते के प्रयत्न फिर भी चालू रक्खा और वीरम जी को अपने प्रधान द्वारा इस प्रकार सूचित किया।<sup>26</sup>

लखबेरी रहवास कु दलजी दरवाया।  
 धरती चौबी गांमड़ा सब राज समाया॥  
 उस मांसु वीरम तनै आधा बगसाया।  
 डांण वलै उचका दिया आदा अपणाया॥

चौबीगाम चबुतरा कि काज बैठाया।  
 षोसे इकसठ पाजरू सफैर राषाया।  
 जोइया पग मांडे जिती धरे नीहीरहाया।  
 हाटी रहे न जुटिया कैहरउकराया।।  
 क्या तेरा अवगुण किया हम लीध नीभाया।  
 षायर दुगुण कियां सब जाय भुलाया।। (नीसाणी 55)

वीरमजी की रानी मांगलियाणी भी जिसने सातों जोहियों को अपना राखी भाई बनाया था समझौते के प्रयत्न करने लगी किन्तु उसका कोई परिणाम न हुआ।<sup>27</sup> युद्ध का मुख्य कारण यह हुआ कि वीरमजी ने दरगाह के 'फरास' पेड़ को काट डाला<sup>28</sup> जिसका वर्णन करते हुए मुस्लिम कवि ने अपनी श्रद्धा इस प्रकार व्यक्त की है—

दरषत हरीयल पीरदां विच दरगह सोवै।  
 जोइया देस वीदेस मै जिण सांमो जोवै।।  
 पीर प्रचाइल प्रगट दुष दालद वौ वै।  
 राम रहिम जु एक है कबु दोय न होवै।  
 के मुलां तागा कटे हुव हाका होवै।।

फरहास के कटने का समाचार सुनकर दला जोहिया को बहुत दुख हुआ, मुसलमानों ने लड़ने की सोची किन्तु दला ने कहा कि लड़ाई करना ठीक नहीं है, गाये घेर लो<sup>29</sup> —

बाई की मन जाणसी, भाई आया भाय।  
 लषबेरे जाओ मती, घेरो जायर गाय।।145  
 हेज न कीधी जोइयां, घेरी जायर गाय।  
 सुण वीरम ग्वालां सबद, लागी हर में लाय।।145  
 दस हजार जोया दुझल, कठठ सार रा कोट।  
 ढालां जंगा चालणा, ढाला करै न ठोट।।146

जोहियों द्वारा गाये घेर लेने पर वीरमजी ने भी विलम्ब नहीं किया और वे युद्ध के लिए चलने लगे। मांगलियाणी ने उनको समझाया मैं भाई को समाचार भेजती हूँ वह अवश्य ही प्रातः काल गाये लौटा देगा। वीरमजी ने मांगलियाणी को उत्तर दिया कि लखबेरे की सीमा में जोहिये मेरी गायों को लेकर जीवित नहीं जा सकते और यदि मैं तुम्हारे कहने से चुप बैठूंगा तो वे समझेंगे कि राठौड़ कायर हैं। ऐसी अवस्था में मेरा आलस्य कर बैठना असंभव है—<sup>30</sup>

फणधर धांडे फणद सूं न भाट संभावे।  
 अरक पिछम दिस उगवै विधि वेद विलावै॥  
 धणीया घाड़ेता तणी की षबरां पावै।  
 हुं सुंक कर बेठु घरे जग उलटो जावै॥ (नीसाणी 73)

वीरमजी दो हजार सवारों को साथ ले जोहियो के लिए तैयार हो गए। इधर जोहिये दस हजार सवारों सहित युद्ध के लिए तैयार हुए। काव्य में युद्ध के प्रारंभिक वातावरण को सफलतापूर्वक अंकित किया गया है। भूत, प्रेत जोगिनी, गिद्ध आदि का युद्ध भूमि में आना, वीरों की हुंकार आदि का वर्णन वीररस के अनुरूप हुआ है।<sup>31</sup>

वीरम ने सर्वप्रथम तलवार चलाकर 65 जोहियों को मार गिराया फिर वीरम और मधु के बीच भयंकर युद्ध हुआ। दोनों घायल हो गए। कवि ने पुनः वीरमजी की वीरता का बखान करते हुए लिखा है<sup>32</sup> —

लोप भवर गिर लंकये, कुण जावै बारै।  
 आभ भुजां कुण ओढ़ मैं कुण सायर जारै॥  
 भिण धर दे मुष अंगुली मिण कवण लिवारै।  
 सिंह पटा झर सांप हो कुंण मैड़ पधारे।  
 बाद कटै रिण वीरमो नर कोण बकारै॥  
 मदु तो बिन मारको कुण आसंग धारै। 87

दोनों और के युद्ध का सजीव वर्णन करते हुए कवि ने बताया है कि अन्त में वीरम और मधु दोनों ही युद्ध भूमि में मारे गए।<sup>33</sup> कवि कहता है—

अंग वीरम रै ओपीया, घाव एक सौ दोय।  
 अंग मदुरै उपरा, गिणती चढै न कोय॥ 146

तदुपरान्त कवि ने दोनों दिलों की ओर से वीरगति प्राप्त करने वाले योद्धाओं के नाम दिए हैं—<sup>34</sup>

### निसाणी

पड़ीयो वीरम पापती संग, इतरा सुरा।  
 सोलंषी माधो सुभट पडपेत सनुरां॥  
 पड़ीयो चायल सैसमल बल कर भण भूरा।  
 भीम पड़े रिण सांवलो तन कर चक चूरा॥

दोलो पड़ मोयल दुझल पत्रवट वट षोर।  
हजूरी बनी पड़े दोयण, दल दोर॥  
पड़ायो आहेड़ी पनो झड़ीयो षग झोट।  
सांणी पड़ पांणक सुभट कीट मट तन कोट॥  
मांगलीयो मगलो पडै जग सारौ जाणै।  
सहंस दोय पड सूरमा पाणर हूय पांणे॥  
वीरम संग वीठीया विहद तद ऊची ताणै।  
अछरा वर पोहता इता श्रग बैठ बिमाणै॥100

### दूहा

सोढ़ा हाड़ा सिसोदा, पडझाला अरू गोड़।

चावड़ा तुर चवांण पड, रिण पड़ीया राठोड॥148

जोहियों की ओर से मारे गए योद्धाओं का वर्णन इस प्रकार किया गया

है—<sup>35</sup>

जसु रिण में जुझियों कर जोस हमला।  
मदु जैल रिण रहे, झड़ लेगा झला॥  
घट फूटा देपाल दा घुड़ले वर धला।  
दोय सहस जोया दुझल हुरां सग दला॥  
चढ़ीया डोली चार सै गिरणै गलबला।  
सब आपा साही बांण में कर अला अला॥101  
दलो कहै मै वरजीया मानी नर कोई।  
वीरम सु जुध वाजनै सब सेन कहाई॥  
मारे विरम रिण मुवा भड़ च्यारू भाई।  
धूड़ बलोइण घाड़नै जो कीधी सो पाई॥

दला ने वीरम के पुत्र चुण्डा को कालाऊ (मारवाड़) गांव में आल्हा चारण के पास पहुंचा दिया, जिसने सात वर्ष अपने पास रखा फिर मल्लीनाथ से मिलाया।<sup>36</sup>

दलै बिगड़ी देखने की जेज न काई।  
तेजल संग दे मंलीया, चुंडो अरू बाई॥

दोय दीहाथा पंथ बुही, थलवटी आई।  
 काका लानु घर आलरे तेजल पोहचाई॥102  
 सूतो चूंडो नींद सुष, सिर अहि कीधो छत्र।  
 जद आले मन जाणीयो, हे कोई छत्रपत।145  
 मालासु चूंडो मिले केई कोड करावै।  
 मुरधर चूंडो महपती मालो फरमावै॥  
 आसुर काटे अंबका, कियो कमध सिज काज।  
 चामंड दीधी चूंडने, रिधु मंडोवर राज॥153  
 इंदाजी म करजो अवर, पांधर मुगल पछाड़।  
 दीवी मंडोवर दायजे, चुंडो चंवरी चाड़॥154

ईदों के सरदार उगम सी ने अपनी पोती का विवाह चूण्डा से करके दहेज में चूण्डा को मण्डोर दिया।<sup>37</sup> इनके भाई देवराज, जयसिंह और गोगादे भी इनसे आकर मिले। मण्डोर के भोमिया देव को हराने पर उसने इनको जलन्धरनाथ से मिलाया। जलन्धर ने आशीष के साथ रलवती तलवार गोगा को दी जो प्रहार के समय सात हाथ लम्बी हो जाती थी।<sup>38</sup> तदुपरान्त गोगादेव द्वारा दला जोहिया से युद्ध कर वीरमजी का बदला लेने का वर्णन है। चूण्डा ने गोगादेव से कहा कि 'मैं तो मामे को मारूंगा नहीं सो तुम ही युद्ध करो।'<sup>39</sup>

चूंडो हेरू सुचवै, पाछौ वचन प्रीयोग।  
 हु मामो मारू नहीं, तु संग लेजा गोग॥159  
 घर चित जा तु धीरीया, गोगे कने चलाय।  
 वाटा जोवे वीरवार, करनी जेज न काय॥160

फिर गोगादेव ने पाँच सौ सवारों को साथ लेकर दला जोहिया पर चढ़ाई की और दला को मार दिया और पिता का बेर लिया।<sup>40</sup>

तद सींचाणी त्यार कर साबत सजवाया।  
 सज भड़ गोगै पांच सै चढ़ फर चलाया॥  
 गड़ गड़ त्रबंक गाजीया, आसमान गिराया।  
 अस षड़ीया दबां बरै, रज गैण ढकाया॥  
 सुतां फोही सबद सुण, दलजी उठ आया।  
 सुगन भयानक समज के मन थाह न आया॥  
 उठे बान अचींतका सहिरा जब लाया।

अटदल दी सै आवता अत रोस अधाया।  
 गल सीहो उचरै है नीर पराया॥  
 अलगासुं अस षेडीया अर सीस असंगे।  
 उठ बेदला जोईया, सूतो फन जगे॥  
 उभा गोगा राठवड़ पित बैर ज मंगे॥112

दला की पुत्री देऊ ने गोगा को भाई बताकर तिलक लगावा और भाई हांसू को बचाया।<sup>41</sup>

देऊ दलारी डीकरी, वेढां हुत सवाय।  
 तिलक करे गोगा तणो, हैसु लियो बचाय॥166

हांसू द्वारा दला के पोत्र धीरू की शादी में गये जोहिया को सूचना मिलते ही गोगा का पीछा किया। लछुसर तालाब पर गोगा की सेना रोटी बना रही थी और घोड़े चरते हुए दूर निकल गये थे। इसी बीच जोहिये चढ़ आये।<sup>42</sup> युद्ध में गोगादेव ने वीरतापूर्वक युद्ध किया और अन्त में वीरगति प्राप्त की।

गोगा लछु सिर उतरे मुझ बकरा माटी।  
 धीर सुणै अरि धुधड़ै लंग सषड़ लाटी॥117  
 भुखा तिरसा आपरा बांधीजै सोड़ा।  
 ढलीया हात न आवसी गोगादे घोड़ा॥119  
 पाणी पीधां जोइयां, पोह घर मुछां पाण।  
 दिस गोगा रे मलफीया, डाकी भरता डाण॥171

युद्ध में पूगल के भाटी राणकदे द्वारा रलतली तलवार मांगने पर गोगा ने उछल कर उसकी टांगे काट डाली। अन्त में जलन्धर ने गोगा को सदैव के लिए अमर कर दिया। हुए सिद्ध दसमो हालीयो संगनाथ जलन्धर॥

अन्त में कवि ने चितहलोल गीत में गोगादेव की प्रशंसा करते हुए और काव्य की छन्द संख्या बताते हुए अपने काव्य को पूर्ण किया है। वीरवाण का यह कथानक सुगठित तथा क्रमबद्ध है। घटनाओं में पूर्ण सम्बन्ध है। काव्य संबंधी प्रत्येक घटना पिछली घटनाओं से जुड़ी हुई है और वीरमजी और जोहियों के युद्ध में संघर्ष चरम सीमा पर पहुंचता है। संघर्ष का अंत गोगादेव द्वारा जोहियों से बदला लेने से होता है। यहीं काव्य पूर्ण होता है। इस प्रकार काव्य की कथावस्तु भी पूर्ण संगठित है। वीरवाण में ऐतिहासिक मार्मिक प्रसंगों के अनुकूल भावनापूर्ण काव्यात्मक अभिव्यक्ति भी हुई है। वीरवाण की भाषा राजस्थानी है।

वीररस प्रधान काव्य के अनुकूल भाषा भी ओजपूर्ण सम्पन्न है। रा, रो, ये, टो आदि। राजस्थानी विभक्तियों के स्थान पर 'दा' 'दी' पंजाबी विभक्तियाँ प्रयुक्त हैं। यथा-वीरदां, तीरदी में पंजाबी प्रभाव स्पष्ट है।

क्या निसाणी 'तीरदी' मीर जादा कथे।

हंदा शब्द भी प्रयुक्त है—'पत्रवट घेत बहारजे, रजवट हंदा राहा।' काव्य में प्रयुक्त गद्य भी परिमार्जित रूप में है। कुछ अंश देखिए—'गींदोली री लड़ाई में तीन तो रावल मालदेवीजी आपरै लोक सुं एकला किया। झगड़ो चोथो भाटी घड़सी रावलजी वीरमदेजी कंवर जगमालजी सोलंकी माधोसिंध। पांचमो झगड़ो कंवर जगमाल एकला भूता रे जोए सै कीइया।।'

विषय के स्पष्टीकरण के लिए कही-कही गद्य भी मिल जाता है। छंदों में दूहा, नीसाणी आदि मुख्य हैं। काव्य के अन्त में चित इलोल गीत है जो काव्यकला का सुन्दर उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है। कुछ अंश दृष्टव्य है<sup>43</sup>—

वैर वीरम तणै वाही निसंब जोध।  
नीड़ा रहात गोगादेव हुता धपाई इत धार।  
रतधारजी धार धापी, रलतली रतधार।।2।।  
कटै उदल दलो कटियौ धीर हैसु वैर वैर।  
वीरम तणो वाले बालजे इम बैर।।  
इम वैरजी इम वैर गोगे वालीयो इम बैर।।3।।  
वैणसगाई अलंकार का काव्य में सफल निर्वाह हुआ है।  
लबवेरे पैदा सलब, सबरी आवे साब।  
सावा रा उपजे सदा, लेबे रिपिया लाब।।  
उत्प्रेक्षा—ज्यु मृग डार ज ऊपरै चीता मलफोणी।  
अतिशयोक्ति-केता अरीयणकाटीया धर सोण धपांणी।  
तेरे तुंगा भाजी भाले सलबाणी।।  
दृष्टान्त-क्या निसाणी तीरदी मीरजादा कथे।  
जाण कबुतर हुट गया हुव लथो बचे।।

इतिवृत्तात्मक वर्णन के लिए निसाणी, चौपाई और दूहा छंद सर्वथा उपयुक्त रहते हैं। इसलिए वीरवाण में नीसाणी और दूहों का प्रयोग किया गया है। 'वीरवाण' वीररस प्रधान काव्य है। वीररस के आलम्बन, उद्दीपन स्थायी एवं संचारी भावों का इसमें विस्तृत वर्णन है। सुन्दरी-हरण शत्रु की गाये घेरना, पथिकों को लूटना आदि के रूप में मध्यकालीन समाज की परिस्थितियों का

वीरवाण में अच्छा वर्णन है। मल्लीनाथ, वीरम जगमाल, गोगा, दला और गींदोली आदि पात्रों की चारित्रिक विशेषताओं का काव्य में दिग्दर्शन होता है।

सांस्कृतिक समन्वय की दृष्टि से हिन्दू-मुसलमानों की उदारता, स्नेह एवं सहयोग की भावना काव्य में मुखरित हुई है। वीरम की रानी द्वारा दला को धर्मभाई बनाने से वह वीरम के सभी अपराधों को सहता है। अपनी सेना, दामाद आदि वीरम के द्वारा मारा जाना भी सहता है। अंत में चूण्डा को आल्हा के पास पहुंचाकर कर्तव्य निभाता है। धार्मिक उदारता एवं चरित्र की महानता का यह उदाहरण मर्मस्पर्शी है। चूण्डा भी मामा दला पर आक्रमण नहीं करता। दला को गोगा ही मारता है। सुगठित कथानक, छन्द विधान, काव्य सौन्दर्य सभी दृष्टिकोण से वीरवाण उत्कृष्ट कोटि का खण्डकाव्य है। समाज और संस्कृति का सजीव वातावरण काव्य में अंकित है। वीरवाण काव्य का कर्ता ढाढ़ी बादर ग्रंथ सम्बन्धित कई घटनाओं का प्रत्यक्षदर्शी, निष्पक्ष, उदार और काव्य निपुण व्यक्ति ज्ञात होता है।

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# किशनगढ़ चित्रकला शैली की पहचान : बणी- ठणी और महाराजा सावंतसिंह (नागरीदास)

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कृष्णगढ़ जिसे वर्तमान में किशनगढ़ के नाम से जाना जाता है। किशनगढ़ किसी परिचय का मोहताज नहीं न ही पूर्व में न ही वर्तमान में—पूर्व में अपनी कला के लिए और वर्तमान में मार्बल के लिए विश्वविख्यात है। बात चित्रकला की है तो किशनगढ़ के महाराजा सावंत सिंह नागरीदास और बणी-ठणी की बात न हो कैसे सम्भव है। किशनगढ़ लघुचित्र शैली राजस्थान और भारत ही नहीं बल्कि सम्पूर्ण विश्व में अपनी अलग पहचान रखती है। किशनगढ़ की कला का उदय, चरम और खोज अपने आप में महत्वपूर्ण है। किशनगढ़ के राजाओं का कला और साहित्य के प्रति प्रेम अपने आप में अनूठा था। किशनगढ़ की कला और साहित्य में जो काम हुआ वह राजस्थान की अन्य शैलियों में देखने को नहीं मिलता। किन्तु इतनी उन्नत और सुसंयोजित होने के बाद भी वर्षों तक यहाँ के चित्र अपनी पहचान स्थापित नहीं कर पाये। किशनगढ़ चित्रकला को प्रकाश में लाने का श्रेय एरिक डिकिंसन और डॉ. फैयाज अली को जाता है। वर्ष 1943 में एरिक डिकिंसन शैक्षणिक भ्रमण के लिए मेयो कॉलेज, अजमेर आये। अजमेर आने के समय आपने किशनगढ़ की चित्रकला के बारे में सुना तो आपने किशनगढ़ आकर यहाँ के चित्रों को देखा और चित्रकला शैली को देखकर दंग रह गए। इसके बाद आपने यहाँ की कला और कलाकारों के बारे में राष्ट्रीय-अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पत्र पत्रिकाओं में लिखा व चित्रों को प्रकाशित किया। जिससे यहाँ की कला को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय पहचान मिली। बाद में भारत सरकार ने भी किशनगढ़ शैली के महत्त्व को जानते हुए नायिका बणी-ठणी पर एक डाक टिकिट जारी किया। इससे किशनगढ़ कला की लोकप्रियता और बढ़ गई। नायिका बणी-ठणी को भारतीय मोनालिसा के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। किशनगढ़ के राजा निम्बार्क एवं बल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के

अनन्य भक्त थे। इसी आधार पर यहाँ की कला व संस्कृति का विकास हुआ है। चित्रों के साथ ही यहाँ के भवनों और मन्दिरों का निर्माण भी अनूठा है। यहाँ के समाधि स्थल भी कलात्मक रूप से निर्मित किये गये हैं। इस दृष्टि से किशनगढ़ की सांस्कृतिक विरासत अत्यन्त समृद्ध है।

महाराजा बृजराज सिंह का कहना है कि किशनगढ़ चित्रकला शैली का विकास 1720 ई. महाराजा राजसिंह के समय से माना जाता है। यहाँ की चित्रकला का आरम्भ मुगल कलाकार भवानी दास से माना है जिनको महाराजा राजसिंह दिल्ली से किशनगढ़ लाए थे। चित्रकार भवानीदास मुगल शैली में सिद्धहस्त थे और भवानीदास ने स्थानीय राजाओं के निर्देशन में कार्यशाला की स्थापना की। भवानीदास ने यहाँ के युवा चित्रकारों को चित्रकला में सिद्धहस्त किया। भवानीदास के निर्देशन में कई चित्रकारों के चित्रण सीख स्थानीय तत्त्वों का सम्मिश्रण कर उन्नत किशनगढ़ शैली का विकास किया।

### “बणी-ठणी”

किशनगढ़ के महाराजा सावन्त सिंह कला प्रेमी, साहित्यकार और भगवान श्री कृष्ण अनन्य भक्त थे। किशनगढ़ राज्य में महाराजा सावन्त सिंह का साहित्य और बणी-ठणी से अनुराग किसी से छिपा नहीं है। हालांकि राजपरिवार आज भी सावन्तसिंह और बणी-ठणी के प्रेम को अस्वीकार करता है। बणी-ठणी के विषय में उनका कहना है कि यह किशनगढ़ राज्य में केवल एक दासी थी और साहित्य में अपना महत्त्व रखती थी। बणी-ठणी बहुत ही सुन्दर स्त्री थी। एक तरह से यह स्त्री कमल के समान सुन्दर थी जिस प्रकार माँडू की रानी रूपमती अपने सौन्दर्य के लिये विख्यात थी ठीक उसी प्रकार बणी-ठणी अपने रूप लावण्य के लिये प्रसिद्ध थी।

महाराजा राजसिंह का विवाह दिल्ली की महारानी बकाँवत जी से हुआ। महारानी बकाँवत जी की सेवा में कई दासियाँ किशनगढ़ आईं इनमें से विश्वासपात्र बणी-ठणी भी थी। बकाँवत जी ने बणी-ठणी को जनानी ड्योढ़ी में एक गायिका के रूप में नियुक्त किया। यहाँ पर रहकर उसने साहित्य का अच्छा ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लिया था। कहा जाता है कि महारानी बकाँवत जी स्वयं एक अच्छी कवियत्री थी। उनके साथ रहकर बणी-ठणी ने भगवान कृष्ण के प्रेम में कई कविताओं का सृजन किया था। बणी-ठणी जब किशनगढ़ आयी उस समय इनकी उम्र मात्र 10 वर्ष की थी।

महारानी बकाँवत जी सावन्त सिंह की सौतेली माँ थी। एक बार जंगल में

शिकार खेलते समय सावन्त सिंह की भेंट बणी-ठणी से हुई। उस समय सावन्त सिंह 32 वर्ष के थे। सावन्त सिंह ने जब बणी-ठणी को देखा तो सावन्त सिंह बणी-ठणी की सुन्दरता पर मोहित हो गये। यद्यपि बणी-ठणी (पासवान) दासी थी परन्तु उसके बाद भी उसके स्त्रियोचित गुणों के कारण ही राजा सावन्त सिंह उसकी ओर आकर्षित हुये। बणी-ठणी एक श्रेष्ठ गायिका व एक अच्छी कवियत्री भी थी। बणी-ठणी का बचपन का नाम बन्नो था। वह दरबार में बहुत सज-धज कर रहती थी। उसके इस बन-ठन के रहने के कारण किशनगढ़ में उसका नाम बणी-ठणी पड़ गया। कहा जाता है कि बणी-ठणी के बहुमुखी प्रतिभा और रूप सौन्दर्य से प्रभावित सावन्त सिंह को इनसे प्रेम हो गया। किशनगढ़ शैली के चित्रों में जो नारी सौन्दर्य की छटा है वह बणी-ठणी के सजीव चित्रण से ही सम्बन्ध रखती है। बणी-ठणी का प्रसिद्ध चित्र इसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण है। “बणी-ठणी” की सुन्दरता अद्भुत थी। बणी-ठणी का मुख चन्द्रमा के समान चमकीला व कोमलता लिये हुये लम्बा चेहरा, काजल लगे मीनाकर नयन, झुकी हुई पलके, तीक्ष्ण नासिका, परखुड़ी सदृश अधर, पतली सुराहीदार गर्दन शृंगार रस की पूर्णता बणी-ठणी के चित्र में देखी जा सकती है। बणी-ठणी के रूप सौन्दर्य और कृष्णभक्ति से अभिभूत सावन्त सिंह ने अपने पदों की रचना की जिसमें स्वयं को कृष्ण और बणी-ठणी को राधा रूप में अनुभूत किया। इस अनुभूति को दरबारी चित्रकार निहालचंद ने अपने चित्रों में अभिव्यक्त किया।



### “बणी-ठणी व महाराजा सावंतसिंह’ (नागरीदास)

किशनगढ़ की चित्रकला को कलात्मक उत्कर्ष पर पहुचाने का श्रेय जिस व्यक्ति को जाता हैं वह और कोई नहीं महाराजा सावंतसिंह है।<sup>1</sup> श्री निम्बार्काचार्य पीठ के अधिपति नारायण देवाचार्य के आशीर्वाद से पौष सुदी द्वादशी विक्रमी संवत 1756 को किशनगढ़ नरेश राजसिंह ने सावंत सिंह के रूप में अनमोल पुत्र रत्न प्राप्त किया।<sup>2</sup> सावंतसिंह बचपन से ही बड़े पराक्रमी एवं

साहसी थे। विक्रमी सम्वत् 1766 में आपने एक खूंखार हाथी को मार गिराया जो महावतों के भी वश से बाहर हो गया था, इस समय आपकी आयु केवल 10 वर्ष की थी। विक्रमी सम्वत् 1774 में इन्होंने थूण नामक स्थान को जीत कर अपने राज्य में मिला लिया था। वि.सं. 1792 में मल्हार राव और बाजी राव ने राजपूताने के राजाओं से चौथ वसूल करने के सिलसिले में इनसे भी चौथ मांगी किन्तु इन्होंने कोई चौथ नहीं दी तथा उन्हें रूपनगढ़ से निराश होकर ही जाना पड़ा।

विक्रम सं. 1805 में बादशाह मुहम्मद शाह की दिल्ली में मृत्यु हुई और लगभग उसी समय इनके पिता महाराजा राजसिंह का भी रूपनगढ़ में स्वर्गवास हुआ। दिल्ली में बादशाह का तख्त पलटने के कारण वहाँ से इनका रूपनगढ़ आना नहीं हो सका। इनके पुत्र सरदारसिंह भी इन्हीं के साथ दिल्ली में थे, वे भी नहीं आ सके। इस परिस्थिति के चलते सावन्तसिंह का राज्याभिषेक दिल्ली में ही किया गया और आप रूपनगढ़ किशनगढ़ राज्य के विधिवत् महाराजा हो गये थे। किन्तु इनके छोटे भाई बहादुर सिंह ने इनकी अनुपस्थिति का अनुचित लाभ उठाकर राज्य पर अपना अधिकार कर लिया।

बहादुर सिंह द्वारा राज्य पर इस प्रकार अधिकार किये जाने का समाचार जब आपके पास पहुँचा तो इन्हें बहुत दुःख हुआ। सावन्तसिंह ने जयपुर नरेश, मल्हार राव एवं आपा जी से इस विषय में सहायता मांगी। अन्त में वि.सं. 1813 में बहादुर सिंह से समझौता हुआ और सावन्त सिंह के पुत्र सरदार सिंह जी को रूपनगढ़ अंराई, सलेमाबाद और करकेडी का अधिकार दे दिया। किशनगढ़, कुचील, बांदरसिंधरी, सरवाड़ और फत्तेहगढ़ बहादुर सिंह के पास रहे। इस समझौते के बाद रूपनगढ़ व किशनगढ़ दो पृथक-पृथक भागों में विभक्त हो गया।

महाराजा सांवतसिंह इस घटना से अत्यंत दुःखी हुए और राजकाज से उनका मौह भंग हो गया। वस्तुतः यह एक योग्य, कर्तव्यनिष्ठ, प्रजावत्सल, विद्वान एवं भावुक व्यक्तित्व के थे। छल कपट राजनैतिक कूटनीति से इनका दूर-दूर तक कोई वास्ता नहीं था। इन्हें किसी भी प्रकार का राज्य मोह नहीं था जैसा कि उनके द्वारा रचित यह कवित्त आज भी जन मानस में मुख्य उक्ति के रूप में दृष्टव्य है।

“जहाँ कलह तहं सुख नहीं।

कलह दुखन को मूल

सबै कलह इकराज में  
राज कलह को मूल।।<sup>3</sup>

जिस समय राज्याधिकार को लेकर किशनगढ़ राजवंश में कलह हो रही थी, उन दिनों महाराजा सावन्त सिंह जी वृन्दावन में प्रवास कर रहे थे। आपस में समझौता हो जाने के पश्चात गृह कलह शान्त हो गया तो दोनों पक्षों ने वृन्दावन पहुँचकर आपसे किशनगढ़ वापस चलने का अनुरोध किया। इसके बाद यह किशनगढ़ आ गये, किन्तु पाँच या छः महीने रहने के बाद ही इनका मन किशनगढ़ से ऊब गया। आपके भावुक हृदय में तो नटनागर कन्हैया की क्रीड़ा-स्थली वृन्दावन की मधुर छवि बस चुकी थी। अतः अपने पुत्र सरदार सिंह को राज-काज का समस्त कार्यभार सौंप कर आप पुनः वृन्दावन चले गये तथा अपनी पासवान बणी-ठणी के साथ जीवन पर्यन्त राधा-कृष्ण के प्रेम रस में डूबे रहे। वृन्दावन आने के बाद वे केवल एक बार अपने पुत्र सरदार सिंह के राजतिलक पर रूपनगढ़ 1756 ई. में आये थे।<sup>4</sup> 1763 ई. में बणी-ठणी तथा 1764 ई. में सावन्तसिंह का देहवासन हो गया।<sup>5</sup> वृन्दावन के राधा बल्लभजी के मन्दिर के समीप इन दोनों की समाधियाँ बनी हुई हैं। सावन्त सिंह अपनी माता महारानी चतुर कुँवारी जो भगवान कृष्ण की अनन्य भक्त थी इसलिये अधिकांशतः वह वृन्दावन में ही रहा करती थीं। विक्रमी सम्वत् 1885 में आपकी माता का गोलोक वास वृन्दावन में ही हुआ। कदाचित इनकी माता का इन पर पूर्ण प्रभाव था। इसलिए इनकी रुचि भी कृष्ण भक्ति की ओर थी और अन्त में यह उस भक्ति में इतने रमें कि सारा राजपाट छोड़कर जीवन पर पुष्टि मार्गीय मर्यादानुसार राधा-कृष्ण का ही गुणगान करते रहे।

कवि हृदय सावन्त सिंह के नस नस में कृष्ण भक्ति प्रवाहित थी। इनकी कवितायें उसी के प्रकाशन का माध्यम बनी। सावन्त सिंह की गणना हिन्दी के महान् कवियों में की जाती है। सावन्त सिंह ने कविताओं की रचना अपने उपनाम “नागरीदास” से की। आपने छोटे-बड़े कुल मिलाकर 265 काव्य ग्रन्थों की रचना की थी। वे सभी ग्रन्थ कृष्ण भक्ति से ओत-प्रोत हैं और हिन्दी साहित्य की अमूल्य निधि समझे जाते हैं।

किशनगढ़ चित्रकला में इनके द्वारा रचित पदों, कविताओं एवं सवैयों पर बनाये गये अनुपम-चित्रों ने किशनगढ़ चित्रकला (Kishangarh School of Painting) में चार चाँद लगा दिये। वर्तमान में किशनगढ़ शैली के कई चित्र यहाँ के राजपरिवार की अमूल्य निधि के रूप में संकलित हैं। यह चित्र आज विदेशों तक में किशनगढ़ राज्य का ही नहीं भारत का भी गौरव माने जाते हैं।<sup>6</sup>

किशनगढ़ के चित्रों की कहानी नागरीदास और बणी-ठणी की प्रेमागत धूप-छांव के बीच पली और बढ़ी थी। बणी-ठणी के रूप सौन्दर्य का चित्रांकन किशनगढ़ शैली का विशेष आकर्षक रहा है। इस प्रकार हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचते हैं कि किशनगढ़ चित्रकला शैली में बणी-ठणी एवं महाराजा सावन्तसिंह (नागरीदास) का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। महाराजा रूपसिंह, राजसिंह एवं सावन्त सिंह को किशनगढ़ की कला व सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप का उन्नायक कहा जाये तो अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। आज किशनगढ़ में भले ही राजपरिवार का संरक्षक नहीं पर कलाकार आज भी किशनगढ़ की कला को जीवन्त कर रहे हैं। इन चित्रकारों में प्रसिद्ध कलाकार शहजाद अली शेरानी, शंकर सिंह राठौड़, बृजमोहन कुमावत और पवन कुमावत प्रमुख हैं जिन्होंने वैश्विक मंच पर पारंपरिक चित्रकला के वास्तविक सार का प्रदर्शन किया है। किशनगढ़ में कला व साहित्य की धारा युगों-युगों तक प्रवाहित रहेगी।

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## • डॉ. प्रतापसिंह

राजस्थान की जयपुर रियासत में शेखावाटी जनपद स्थित है। समाज विभिन्न कुर्रतियों, परम्पराओं एवं कुप्रथाओं से ग्रसित था। जिससे सबसे अधिक प्रभावित दलित वर्ग था। इसमें सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक चेतना शून्य थी।

गाँधी युग में कांग्रेस के कार्यक्रम में अस्पृश्यता निवारण एक अविभाज्य अंग था। इसका प्रभाव शेखावाटी समाज पर भी पड़ा। हरिजनोद्धार के अग्रणी नेता भागीरथ कानोड़िया, बृजकिशोर शर्मा, दुर्गादत्त कायां, स्वामी केशवानन्द, लक्ष्मीचन्द आर्य, देवीनक्स सराफ, मघराज पाटोदिया, रावतसिंह, छोटूराम तथा श्रीमती अनुसूईया देवी थी।

मुकुन्दगढ़ में हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थापना की। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य दलितों में राजनीतिक एवं सामाजिक चेतना जागृत करना था। हरिजन बस्तियों में उच्च स्तर के जीवन हेतु सफाई अभियान आरम्भ किया। रात्रि पाठशालाएँ स्थापित की गईं। जलाशय, देवालय तथा शिक्षण संस्थाओं के द्वार खोल दिए। नवलगढ़, मण्डावा, झुन्झुनूं, गुढ़ागौड़जी, फतेहपुर, सीकर आदि में अस्पृश्यता निवारण आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया गया।

निष्कर्षतः गाँधीजी ने पूर्ण स्वराज्य की प्राप्ति के लिए रचनात्मक कार्यक्रमों में हरिजनोद्धार को अपनाया। हरिजनोद्धार कार्यक्रम से जनता को शिक्षित कर देशप्रेम की भावना पैदा की। गाँधीवादी तकनीकों से दलितों को राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की धाराओं से जोड़ा गया।

**मुख्य शब्द :** हरिजन, जन चेतना, देशप्रेम।

19वीं शताब्दी में राजस्थान की जयपुर रियासत में शेखावाटी प्रदेश की स्थिति बड़ी दयनीय थी। राजनीतिक एवं सामाजिक चेतना का अभाव था।



प्रजा में राजा व सामन्तों की प्रति स्वामी भक्ति की भावना भरी हुई थी। अनेक सामाजिक कुरूपियों व परम्पराओं ने जनता को घेर रखा था। यहाँ पर प्रतिनिधि संस्थाओं का अभाव था। रियासती शासन कठोर था कि राजनीतिक आन्दोलन करना दुष्कर कार्य था। छोटी जाति के लोग जेवर नहीं पहन सकते थे, बैण्ड के साथ बारात नहीं निकाल सकते थे। राज्य के अधिकारियों के सामने कुर्सी पर नहीं बैठ सकते थे। शारीरिक श्रम द्वारा रोजी रोटी कमाने वाली जाति को बेगार करनी पड़ती थी।<sup>1</sup>

1857 ई. का स्वतंत्रता के लिए किया गया संघर्ष अशिक्षा एवं सामाजिक पिछड़ेपन के कारण अपनी सफलता के बिन्दु तक नहीं पहुँच सका। इस कमी को पूरा करने के लिए राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर चिन्तकों व दार्शनिकों ने समाज सुधार आन्दोलन चलाया।<sup>2</sup>

सामाजिक क्रान्ति का नेतृत्व राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर राजा राममोहन राय द्वारा संचालित ब्रह्म समाज कर रहा था तो शेखावाटी जनपद में स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती के आर्य समाज ने बौद्धिक एवं सामाजिक जागृति में विशेष भूमिका निर्वाह किया। महात्मा गाँधी 1920 में भिवानी आए थे। जलियांवाला बाग हत्याकाण्ड के घाव भरे नहीं थे। जनता में भारी आक्रोश व्याप्त था। गाँधीजी के संदेश सुनने शेखावाटी के जन सेवक गए थे। वे लोग सामाजिक चेतना का संकल्प लेकर लौटे और आकर समाज सेवा में जुट गए।<sup>3</sup>

महात्मा गाँधी ने 1921 में रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया। समाज से अलग-थलग पड़ी दलित जनता को राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में जोड़ने के लिए अस्पृश्यता निवारण के आन्दोलन की आवश्यकता को प्रतिपादित किया।<sup>4</sup> 1933 में दिल्ली में हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थापना के पश्चात राजस्थान में इनकी प्रान्तीय शाखाएँ स्थापित हुईं। जिसका प्रभाव शेखावाटी जनपद पर भी प्रभाव पड़ा।<sup>5</sup> 1935 में भागीरथ कानोड़िया ने शेखावाटी के मुकुन्दगढ़ में हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थापना की।<sup>6</sup> गाँधीवादी कार्यकर्त्ताओं एवं जन नेताओं ने इस क्षेत्र की समस्याओं के निदान के लिए गाँधीजी के सामाजिक सुधार कार्यक्रम को सुविधानुसार परिवर्तित कर क्रियान्वित किया। जन नेताओं ने दलितों के कल्याण के लिए इन कार्यक्रमों की महत्ता को समझा।

मुकुन्दगढ़ में हरिजनों के उत्थान के लिए हरिजनों की बस्तियों में रात्रि पाठशालाओं का जाल बिछाया।<sup>7</sup> डॉ. कन्हैयालाल सहल, चिरंजीलाल ढाचोलिया, ईश्वरसिंह यादव, छोटूराम आदि राष्ट्रप्रेमी अध्यापकों ने शिक्षा और अस्पृश्यता निवारण के कार्य की अलख जगाई।

बगड़ में पीरामल माखरिया ने हरिजनों के जीवन स्तर को उच्च बनाने के लिए सफाई अभियान आरम्भ किया। शिक्षा के लिए पाठशाला खोली। आगरा के प्रसिद्ध क्रान्तिकारी प्रेमदत्त पालीवाल बगड़ में बृजकिशोर शर्मा के नाम से रहने लगे। हरिजन पाठशाला में प्रधानाध्यापक बनाया गया। यहाँ अंग्रेजी हुकूमत के खिलाफ मीटिंग होती रहती थी। हर समय उनकी मदद किया करते थे।<sup>8</sup> श्रीनिवास बगड़का की धर्मपत्नी अनुसुईया देवी अस्पृश्यता को मिटाने वाला प्रथम महिला थी। उनकी प्रेरणा से श्रीनिवास बगड़का का घर छुआछुत की भावना से दूर था।<sup>9</sup> इन्हें शेखावटी अंचल की मदर टेरेसा कहा जाता था।

झुंझुनूं में दुर्गादत्त कायां ने अपना पूरा जीवन हरिजन सेवा में लगाया हरिजन सेवक संघ के मंत्री बनाए गए।<sup>10</sup> इन्हीं के सहयोग से प्यारेलाल गुप्ता ने हरिजन पाठशाला की स्थापना की।<sup>11</sup> वे उत्तरप्रदेश के अलीगढ़ के रहने वाले थे। इन्हें चिड़ावा का गाँधी कहा जाता है।

1936 में लक्ष्मीचन्द आर्य ने झुंझुनूं के नाथासर में मित्र मण्डल ने हरिजनों का मन्दिर प्रवेश, कुएं से पानी लेने का बराबर हक दिलाया।<sup>12</sup> स्वामी केशवानन्द ने छुआछुत को मिटाने का प्रयास किया। शेखावाटी के गाँव-गाँव और घर-घर पहुँचे, एक-एक कर अनेक व्यक्ति अनुयायी बन गए। सांगरिया (हनुमानगढ़) और शेखावाटी (जयपुर) जनपद एक हो गए थे।<sup>13</sup>

रचनात्मक कार्यों को मूर्तरूप प्रदान करने वालों में मघराज पाटोदिया, सत्यनारायण जीवराजका का नाम विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। इन्होंने नवलगढ़ में अछूतों में समाज सुधारक योजना की शुरुआत की। इनके खान-पान, रहन-सहन और रीति रिवाज में परिवर्तन किया।<sup>14</sup>

देवीबक्स सर्राफ शेखावाटी में जागीरदारों व उनके समर्थक उच्च वर्ग द्वारा हरिजनों पर हो रहे अत्याचारों का विरोध किया। मण्डावा में श्री युवक सभा का प्रमुख हरिजनोद्धार कार्यक्रम था। हरिजनोद्धार के लिए राष्ट्रीय विद्यालय खोला गया। जिसमें सभी जाति के छात्र एक साथ मिलजुल कर पढ़ने लगे। इससे राष्ट्रीयता की भावना जागृत हुई और छुआछुत की भावना कम होती गई। हरिजनों को समाज के अन्य वर्गों के साथ लाने के उद्देश्य से उनके लिए पल्लादारी, पिदाँई एवं हरिजन बैण्ड की व्यवस्था की गई।<sup>15</sup>

महात्मा गाँधी के रचनात्मक कार्यक्रम एवं जमनालाल बजाज के अथक प्रयासों से स्थानीय नेता हरिजनों में तीव्र प्रति से सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक जागृति पैदा की। परिणामस्वरूप हरिजनों को सवर्णों के बीच स्थान मिला।

खादी चरखे के उपयोग से उनमें आर्थिक स्वावलम्बन उत्पन्न हुआ। संस्कार केन्द्रों द्वारा हरिजनों में सदाचार एवं अहिंसा का मार्ग प्रवृत्त हुआ।<sup>16</sup> ऐसे कार्यक्रमों से ईसाई मिशनरिया धर्म परिवर्तन कराने में असफल रही। अस्पृश्यता निवारण में यहाँ स्थानीय नेताओं ने अपना सम्पूर्ण समर्पण कर दिया।

फतेहपुर में हरिजनोद्धार की रचनात्मक प्रवृत्ति को सेवा समिति द्वारा बल मिला। सेवा समिति के स्वयंसेवक हरिजन मोहल्लों में रात्रि के समय उनकी साक्षरता व उनमें जन चेतना जागृत करने हेतु जाया करते थे। जो रूढिवाद समाज में महान साहस का कार्य था।<sup>17</sup> शेखावाटी में अस्पृश्यता निवारण के आन्दोलन में सोहनलाल दूगड़ का नाम विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है। जिन्होंने आजीवन हरिजन समाज की समस्याओं के हल करने की दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण कार्य करते हुए एक आदर्श स्थापित किया।

सन् 1930 में सविनय अवज्ञा आन्दोलन के दिनों में हरिजनोद्धार के कार्यकलाप बढ़े थे। मटरूमल खेमका के नेतृत्व में रावतसिंह तथा सुखदेव हरिजन आदि ने हरिजन शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में निष्ठापूर्वक कार्य किए। मदनलाल झालान हरिजन साक्षात्कार अभियान में सहानुभूति रखते थे।<sup>18</sup> जीवन के अन्तिम क्षण तक हरिजनोद्धार के कार्य में सतत् रूप से लगे रहे। फतेहपुर में श्री सरस्वती पुस्तकालय राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की गतिविधियों का प्रमुख केन्द्र था। वहाँ हरिजनों का प्रवेश करवाया। सीकर के प्रचार में 1935 में गोविन्द नारायण पुरोहित ने अहिंसात्मक नीति से छुआछूत मिटाने का प्रयास किया। जिसकी गाँधीजी ने इस कार्य की प्रशंसा की।<sup>19</sup>

निष्कर्षतः गाँधीजी के रचनात्मक कार्यों में हरिजनोद्धार से शेखावाटी समाज में परिवर्तन आया। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य शेखावाटी की जनता को राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन से जोड़ना था। यह कार्य बिना देश-प्रेम के जब्बे को पैदा किए बिना सम्भव नहीं था। राष्ट्रीय प्रेम की अलख दिलों में जगाने हेतु जन नेताओं ने सामाजिक सुधारक कार्यक्रमों के हरिजनोद्धार द्वारा राजनीति चैतन्य को जागृत किया और गाँधीवादी तरीके से आम जन को राष्ट्रीय धारा से जोड़ दिया।

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# आधुनिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में महिला स्वास्थ्य : कार्यक्रम और नीतियां (एक समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषण)

सुश्री सीता पांडेय • डॉ. सुनीता सिंह

अतीत काल से ही भारत में स्वास्थ्य सेवा एवं समाज कल्याण की परंपरा रही है, जिसके दर्शन हमें वेद, पुराण, उपनिषद, रामायण तथा महाभारत में होते रहे हैं। प्राचीन भारत में धनवंतरी, जीवक, चरक, सुश्रुत, नागार्जुन व कणाद जैसे विद्वान आयुर्वेद, रसायन व चिकित्सा के मर्मज्ञ हुए। भारत ने अपने इन लब्धि ख्यात विद्वानों की गौरवमयी परंपरा को जहां एक तरफ संविधान में स्थान दिया, वहीं दूसरी तरफ उन्हें सरकारी नीतियों, कार्यक्रमों तथा योजनाओं के माध्यम से निरंतर गति प्रदान की। भारत वैश्विक स्तर पर सतत विकास लक्ष्यों का हस्ताक्षरकर्ता राष्ट्र है और इसका लक्ष्य 2030 तक विश्व से गरीबी, भूखमरी व कुपोषण को समाप्त कर सभी नागरिकों को एक समान, सुरक्षित और उत्कृष्ट जीवन देना है, जो लोगों के स्वस्थ व रोग मुक्त रहने पर ही संभव है। सतत विकास लक्ष्यों के मुख्य लक्ष्य में से लक्ष्य संख्या 03 स्वस्थ जीवन सुनिश्चित करने से संबंधित है, जब कि लक्ष्य संख्या एक व दो क्रमशः निर्धनता व भूखमरी से। ऐसे में महिला स्वास्थ्य इससे पृथक नहीं है। सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक निषेध, गरीबी के दुश्चक्र, जेंडर संबंधित असमानता के आधार पर पोषण में विभेद तथा महिला द्वारा स्वयं अपने स्वास्थ्य के प्रति उपेक्षा का भाव रखने के कारण महिला स्वास्थ्य नकारात्मक रूप से प्रभावित हुआ है। महिला स्वास्थ्य तथा कल्याण को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए जो नीतियां, कार्यक्रम तथा योजनाएं सरकार द्वारा चलाई जा रही हैं, इससे आधुनिक समय में महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ रहा है? इन्हीं संदर्भों में यह शोध पत्र प्रस्तुत है। “आधुनिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में महिला स्वास्थ्य: कार्यक्रम और नीतियां (एक समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषण)” विषय पर प्रस्तुत शोध प्रपत्र में वर्णनात्मक शोध प्ररचना का प्रयोग किया गया है। तथ्यों को तर्कसंगत,

विश्लेषणात्मक तथा अनुभवात्मक दृष्टिकोण से प्रस्तुत किया गया है। तथ्यों के संकलन के लिए अवलोकन प्रविधि के साथ-साथ विभिन्न मुद्दों पर विद्वतजनों से परिचर्चा की गई है। आवश्यकतानुसार द्वितीयक आंकड़ों का प्रयोग किया गया है। इस शोध-पत्र में विभिन्न राष्ट्रीय तथा अंतरराष्ट्रीय सर्वेक्षण तथा रिपोर्ट का प्रयोग तथ्यों को प्रमाणित करने तथा तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के लिए किया गया है।

**बीज शब्द :** महिला स्वास्थ्य, सतत विकास लक्ष्य, राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति, मानव विकास।

आधुनिक जीवन शैली, विकास तथा प्रतिस्पर्धा के इस युग में स्वास्थ्य कहीं ना कहीं उपेक्षित हो रहा है। जिन पंचतत्वों (क्षिति, जल, पावक, गगन, समीरा) से मिलकर मानव शरीर की रचना हुई, उनमें सामंजस्य एवं संतुलन आवश्यक है, तभी शरीर स्वस्थ रह सकता है। भारतीय समाज व संस्कृति में स्वास्थ्य को सबसे बड़ा धन कहा गया है। अच्छे स्वास्थ्य से बढ़कर कोई भी वस्तु मूल्यवान नहीं है, क्योंकि स्वस्थ शरीर व मस्तिष्क में ही स्वस्थ व सकारात्मक विचारों का सृजन होता है। इन्हीं स्वस्थ वैचारिकी के माध्यम से व्यक्ति परिवार, राष्ट्र और समाज को नई दिशा दे पाता है। उत्तम स्वास्थ्य एक ऐसी व्यक्तिगत और सामाजिक अनुभूति है, जिसमें व्यक्ति स्वयं को सृजनशील, सक्रिय, ऊर्जावान, श्रमशील, धैर्यशील तथा रिस्क लेने की क्षमता से परिपूर्ण पाता है।

प्रत्येक राष्ट्र की यह कोशिश होती है कि वह अपने नागरिकों के स्वास्थ्य को उत्तम बनाए रखें। स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत भारत भी इस दिशा में निरंतर प्रयासरत है, परंतु बात जब महिला स्वास्थ्य की आती है तब प्रश्न स्वयं ही प्रासंगिक हो जाता है। संपूर्ण आबादी का लगभग आधा हिस्सा महिलाओं का है तथा महिलाएं किसी भी राष्ट्र के प्रगति का सूचक होती हैं। उस राष्ट्र की प्रगति का आकलन महिलाओं की प्रस्थिति, प्रगति तथा स्वास्थ्य से लगाया जाता है। जब एक महिला स्वस्थ होती है, तो उसका मुख मंडल प्रसन्नता से परिपूर्ण होता है। वह स्वयं को ऊर्जावान, सक्रिय तथा सृजनशील पाती है। इतना ही नहीं वह परिवार और समाज के प्रति अपनी भूमिका को महत्वपूर्ण ढंग से निभाते हुए राष्ट्र के निर्माण में अपना योगदान देती है।

स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत महिला स्वास्थ्य को लेकर जो प्रयास किए जा रहे हैं, उसके अतिरिक्त भी बहुत कुछ किया जाना शेष है क्योंकि भारत में महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य बहुत से सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक कारकों से प्रभावित होता है। जब प्रश्न महिलाओं के अधिकारों और सुविधाओं का होता है, तब वास्तविक धरातल पर स्थिति कुछ और ही होती है। महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य की अनदेखी

(उपेक्षा) केवल परिवार और समाज द्वारा ही नहीं होती, बल्कि स्वयं महिला द्वारा भी होती है। स्वास्थ्य संबंधी निरन्तर उपेक्षाओं के कारण महिलाओं में रुग्णता की समस्या उत्पन्न होती है।

उद्देश्य : प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र के निम्नलिखित उद्देश्य हैं—

- महिला स्वास्थ्य का तथ्यगत तथा तर्कसंगत विश्लेषण।
- महिला स्वास्थ्य के दृष्टिगत कार्यान्वित नीतियों व कार्यक्रमों का सामाजिक संदर्भ में तथ्यात्मक तथा तुलनात्मक विश्लेषण।

### भारतीय महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य संबंधी समस्याएं :

स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत विभिन्न अध्ययनों तथा रिपोर्ट व सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर भारतीय महिलाओं की स्वास्थ्य संबंधित निम्नलिखित समस्याएं उभर कर सामने आती हैं—

1. कुपोषण।
2. जन्म के समय जीवन की संभावनाओं में कमी यद्यपि जीवन प्रत्याशा तुलनात्मक रूप से पुरुषों से अधिक।
3. बहुत सी प्रसूतिकाओं (जच्चाध्मां) का रोग ग्रस्त होना।
4. नवजात शिशुओं तथा माताओं (प्रसूतिकाओं) की विश्व के अन्य देशों की अपेक्षा उच्च मृत्यु दर।
5. आधुनिक युग में महिलाओं में अवसाद व कुंठा की बढ़ती समस्या।
6. महिलाओं में रक्त अल्पता (एनीमिया) की समस्या ग्रामीण व नगरीय दोनों क्षेत्रों में देखी जा सकती है। यद्यपि यह ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में अधिक है।
7. आज के आधुनिक युग में महिलाओं में बढ़ती मानसिक अस्वस्थता।
8. मासिक धर्म से जुड़े निषेध व प्रतिबंध।
9. स्वच्छता, हाइजीन की समस्या।
10. जेंडर विभेद से जुड़ी समस्याएं।
11. अंधविश्वास तथा धार्मिक मान्यताएं।
12. गर्भधारण से जुड़ी समस्याएं।

**महिला के स्वास्थ्य को नकारात्मक ढंग से प्रभावित करने वाले कारक :**

1. जेंडर संबंधित असमानता के कारण लड़के व लड़कियों के बीच पोषण

के स्तर पर ही भेदभाव प्रारंभ हो जाता है। जबकि राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा नीति 2020 में इस तथ्य को रेखांकित किया गया है, कि बच्चों के मस्तिष्क का 85 प्रतिशत से अधिक विकास 6 वर्ष की अवस्था से पूर्व ही हो जाता है। ऐसे में जन्म से लेकर प्रारंभिक वर्षों तक की उत्तम देखभाल तथा पोषण स्वस्थ मानसिक विकास के लिए अति आवश्यक है। ऐसे में पोषण संबंधी विभेद महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य व सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए घातक है। यूनिसेफ के एक सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार देश में बाल अवस्था में लड़कों की अपेक्षा लड़कियों की अधिक मृत्यु कुपोषण तथा स्वास्थ्य संबंधी लापरवाही के कारण होती है।

2. जन्म से पूर्व ही बहुत-सी लड़कियां कन्या भ्रूण हत्या का शिकार हो जाती है।
3. कम आयु में विवाह की सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक मान्यताएं जहां बाल विवाह को प्रोत्साहित करती है, वहीं दूसरी तरफ महिलाओं के खराब स्वास्थ्य के पीछे बहुत बड़ा कारण बनती है।
4. भारत में महिलाओं में कुल साक्षरता दर 64 प्रतिशत है, किंतु सभी राज्यों में इसकी स्थिति एक समान नहीं है। ग्रामीण व नगरीय साक्षरता की दर में भी अंतर है। ऐसी स्थिति में महिलाएं अपने स्वास्थ्य को लेकर अधिक जागरूक व चैतन्य नहीं हैं। सूचना क्रांति के इस युग में भारत में ग्रामीण महिलाएं स्वयं अपना इलाज कराने कम ही जाती हैं। प्रायः वे पति या बच्चों या परिवार के अन्य महिलाओं के साथ ही जाती हैं। यद्यपि नगरीय क्षेत्रों में स्थिति में कुछ बदलाव दिखता है। अशिक्षित व शिक्षित महिलाओं में स्वास्थ्य व स्वच्छता को लेकर स्पष्ट अंतर देखे गए हैं।
5. डॉक्टरों की कमी तथा निर्धनता के चलते सभी को स्वास्थ्य सुविधाएं सुचारू रूप से उपलब्ध न होना।
6. अभी भी कुछ ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में असुरक्षित तथा अप्रशिक्षित दाइयों द्वारा प्रसव कार्य का किया जाना।
7. बहुत से कुपोषित महिलाओं में रोग प्रतिरोधक क्षमता कमजोर होती है।
8. स्वच्छता, हाइजीन और स्वास्थ्य के प्रति कुछ महिलाओं में जागरूकता की कमी, जिसके कारण मासिक धर्म के समय सेनेटरी पैड के स्थान पर स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से अस्वच्छ वस्तुओं का उपयोग बहुत-सी बीमारियों का कारण बनता है। एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भारत में आज भी लगभग



80 प्रतिशत महिलाएं मासिक चक्र के समय सेनेटरी पैड का प्रयोग नहीं करती और यह स्थिति उनके स्वास्थ्य के लिए एक गंभीर लापरवाही है।

9. महिलाएं संस्कृति व संस्कारों की वाहक होती हैं, ऐसे में प्रायः यह दृष्टिगत होता है कि महिलाएं संपूर्ण परिवार को भोजन कराने के उपरांत स्वयं भोजन करती हैं। यही कारण है कि बहुत से निर्धन परिवारों में उनके लिए पोषण युक्त भोजन (विशेष रूप से दाल, सब्जी) की कमी के चलते वह सरलता से कुपोषण से प्रभावित हो जाती हैं।
10. असंतुलित लिंगानुपात, जो 1901 से लेकर 2011 तक की जनगणना में स्पष्ट दृष्टिगत होता है। यह भी महिला स्वास्थ्य के संदर्भ में नकारात्मक तथ्य है।
11. जेंडर संबंधी असमानता तथा इससे जुड़े अनेकानेक सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक कारक, निषेध व प्रतिबंध जो महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर प्रतिकूल प्रभाव डालते हैं।
12. लड़कियों के प्रति आज भी दिखाया जाने वाला उपेक्षा का भाव व उनके स्वास्थ्य के प्रति लापरवाही की प्रवृत्ति, महिला स्वास्थ्य को पर्याप्त महत्व ना मिलना आदि का सम्मिलित प्रभाव महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर नकारात्मक पड़ता है।

## योजनाएं व कार्यक्रम :

स्वास्थ्य किसी भी देश के सामाजिक व आर्थिक विकास का सूचक होता है। स्वस्थ व्यक्ति जहां एक तरफ शारीरिक व मानसिक रूप से सशक्त होता है, वहीं दूसरी तरफ वह परिवार, समाज व देश की प्रगति में समुचित व पूर्ण मनोयोग से योगदान दे पाता है। स्वस्थ समाज के निर्माण में महिला स्वास्थ्य अपेक्षाकृत अधिक महत्वपूर्ण होता है, क्योंकि महिला घर, परिवार के साथ-साथ अन्य विविध क्षेत्रों में अपना योगदान दे रही हैं। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात भारत में नियोजित विकास कार्यक्रमों को अपनाया गया। योजनाबद्ध विकास की इस प्रक्रिया की शुरुआत स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में भी हुई। स्वास्थ्य संबंधी प्रारंभिक योजना व कार्यक्रम आधारभूत स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं के विस्तार, परिवार नियोजन, संक्रामक बीमारियों पर नियंत्रण तथा स्वास्थ्य कर्मियों के प्रशिक्षण आदि से संबंधित थी। जैसे-जैसे स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं के स्तर में सुधार होता गया, स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं का सार्वभौमिक स्वरूप विकसित होता गया। महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य को लेकर नीतियां और कार्यक्रम बनाए जाने लगे। परिवार नियोजन, जो मुख्यतः महिलाओं की प्रजनन क्षमता को नियंत्रित करने से संबंधित था और इस दिशा में किए गए प्रयासों से प्रजनन दर में कमी भी आई,

किन्तु महिला स्वास्थ्य को मुख्य रूप से केवल उनकी प्रजनन दर नियंत्रण के संदर्भ में देखना उचित नहीं था। स्वास्थ्य और पोषण से जुड़े अन्य कार्यक्रमों की आवश्यकता थी, जिससे महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य पर समुचित, संतुलित व समन्वित रूप से ध्यान दिया जा सके।

राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति, 1983 एवं राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति-2002 ने स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र के लिए पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं तथा विभिन्न परियोजनाओं को अब तक समुचित मार्गदर्शन दिया। किन्तु बदलती स्वास्थ्य संबंधित प्राथमिकताओं, एक सुदृढ़ स्वास्थ्य परिचर्या उद्योग का उभरना, लागतो में वृद्धि तथा बढ़ते आर्थिक विकास को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए एक ऐसी स्वास्थ्य नीति की आवश्यकता थी, जो इन प्रासंगिक परिवर्तन के प्रति उत्तरदायी हो। राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति 2017 इसी का प्रतिउत्तर है। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में निवेश, स्वास्थ्य सेवा सुविधाओं के व्यवस्थापन व वित्त पोषण, रोगों की रोकथाम, प्रौद्योगिकी तक पहुंच, मानव संसाधन विकास, विभिन्न चिकित्सीय प्रणाली को प्रोत्साहन, बेहतर स्वास्थ्य हेतु अपेक्षित ज्ञान आधार तैयार करना, विभिन्न विभागों से सहयोग, वित्तीय संरक्षण संबंधित कार्य नीति तथा स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र के विनियम आदि के बारे में सरकार की भूमिका और प्राथमिकता स्पष्ट करना है।

राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति 2017 का लक्ष्य बिना जेंडर विभेद के सभी विकासात्मक नीतियों में एक निवारक और संवर्धक स्वास्थ्य सुविधा के माध्यम से सभी उम्र में सभी के लिए स्वास्थ्य एवं आरोग्यता के उच्चतम संभावित स्तर को हासिल करने तथा उत्तम गुणवत्ता युक्त स्वास्थ्य परिचर्या सेवाओं की उपलब्धता की संकल्पना की गई है। इसे स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं की पहुंच बढ़ाकर उनकी गुणवत्ता में सुधार तथा स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं की प्रदानगी लागत में कमी कर किया जाएगा। महिला स्वास्थ्य और महिलाओं को मुख्यधारा में लाने, लिंग आधारित हिंसा को कमजोर करने की बात राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति 2017 में की गई है। इस स्वास्थ्य नीति के अंतर्गत 2025 तक जीवन प्रत्याशा को बढ़ाकर 70 वर्ष तक करना है तथा 5 वर्ष से कम आयु के बच्चों की मृत्यु दर घटाकर 23 प्रति हजार तक लाना है। सतत विकास लक्ष्यों के 17 मुख्य लक्ष्यों में लक्ष्य संख्या तीन 'स्वस्थ जीवन सुनिश्चित करना' है। इस तीसरे लक्ष्य में वैश्विक स्तर पर वर्ष 2030 तक मातृत्व मृत्यु दर को 70 प्रतिशत प्रति एक लाख जीवित जन्म से कम करना है। तीसरे लक्ष्य के अंतर्गत ही वर्ष 2030 तक नवजात एवं 5 वर्ष से कम उम्र के बच्चों की निवारक मृत्यु की रोकथाम से संबंधित है। भारत भी सतत विकास लक्ष्यों का हस्ताक्षर कर्ता देश है। भारत में स्वास्थ्य संबंधी सतत विकास लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए निम्नलिखित

कार्यक्रम और नीतियां इस दिशा में सहयोग दे रही हैं—

- राष्ट्रीय शहरी एवं ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य मिशन
- राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य कार्यक्रम
- प्रधानमंत्री जन औषधि योजना
- नियमित टीकाकरण कार्यक्रम आयुष मिशन

स्वास्थ्य और पोषण में प्रत्यक्ष और बहुआयामी संबंध दृष्टिगत होता है। भारत में 4.66 करोड़ बच्चे अविकसित तथा 2.55 करोड़ कमजोर (कुपोषित) हैं। महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य में सुधार करके ही कुपोषण की समस्या से निजात मिल सकती है। महिला के कुपोषित होने पर जहाँ एक तरफ स्वयं उसका स्वास्थ्य प्रभावित होता है, वहीं दूसरी तरफ आने वाली पीढ़ी के स्वास्थ्य पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ता है। इससे कुपोषण का एक दुष्चक्र बन जाता है, जो पीढ़ीगत स्वरूप धारण कर लेता है। इसी दुष्चक्र को तोड़ने के लिए 'मिशन पोषण-2.0' एक समेकित पोषण सहायता कार्यक्रम प्रारंभ किया गया। यह मिशन पोषण-2.0 खाद्य सामग्री और उसके पहुंच तथा वितरण में एक नीतिगत बदलाव के माध्यम से गर्भवती महिलाओं, बच्चों, किशोरियों और स्तनपान कराने वाली माताओं में कुपोषण की चुनौतियों का समाधान करने वाला कार्यक्रम है। मिशन 2.0 का उद्देश्य पोषण के माध्यम से मातृशक्ति, नवजात शिशु तथा बच्चों को स्वास्थ्य, आरोग्य तथा उनमें रोग प्रतिरोधक क्षमता का निर्माण करना है। यदि पोषण के स्तर में सुधार होगा तो इससे महिला व बच्चों के स्वास्थ्य में सुधार होगा और उनकी स्वास्थ्य से जुड़ी समस्याओं का भी। राष्ट्रीय खाद्य सुरक्षा अधिनियम से पोषण मिशन 2.0 सशक्त होगा।

सुरक्षित मातृत्व आश्वासन (सुमन) स्वास्थ्य एवं परिवार कल्याण मंत्रालय द्वारा 10 अक्टूबर, 2019 में शुरू की गई इस योजना का उद्देश्य टाली जा सकने वाली मातृ एवं नवजात शिशु मृत्यु और बीमारियों को समाप्त करने, प्रजनन का सकारात्मक अनुभव दिलाने के क्रम में जन स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं में आने वाली सभी महिला और नवजातों के लिए गरिमापूर्ण, सम्मानजनक और गुणवत्तापूर्ण स्वास्थ्य देखभाल सुनिश्चित करना है। आयुष्मान भारत वंचित, आर्थिक रूप से कमजोर लोगों को स्वास्थ्य सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराने वाला एक महत्वाकांक्षी मिशन है। राष्ट्रीय पोषाहार मिशन पोषण अभियान किशोरियों के लिए चलाई गई योजनाओं का उद्देश्य महिला स्वास्थ्य को सुनिश्चित करना है। प्रधानमंत्री मातृ वंदना योजना का शुभारंभ भारत के सभी जिलों में 1 जनवरी, 2017 से हुआ। इस योजना के अंतर्गत गर्भवती महिलाओं तथा स्तनपान कराने वाली महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य को बनाए रखने, उन्हें उचित व पर्याप्त मात्रा में पोषण उपलब्ध कराने जैसी

आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति हेतु प्रधानमंत्री मातृ वंदना योजना कार्यान्वित की जा रही है। इस योजना का मुख्य उद्देश्य प्रथम बच्चे के जन्म पर महिलाओं को नकद सहायता प्रदान करना है, जिससे वे प्रसव पूर्व तथा प्रसव पश्चात अपने स्वास्थ्य का ख्याल रख सकें तथा उनके स्वास्थ्य में सुधार हो। रु. 5000 की प्रोत्साहन राशि सीधे उनके खाते में उपलब्ध कराई जाएगी। इस योजना से निश्चित रूप से कमजोर तथा वंचित वर्ग की महिलाओं को प्रसव पूर्व तथा पश्चात् उनके पोषण तथा स्वास्थ्य स्तर में सुधार होगा। महिलाओं में जहां एनीमिया व अल्प पोषण एक बड़ी समस्या है, ऐसे में यह योजना महिला हितैषी तथा समावेशी समाज के निर्माण की दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण कदम है। स्वाधार योजना कठिन परिस्थितियों में रहने वाली महिलाओं को प्राथमिक आवश्यकताओं जैसे आश्रय, भोजन, वस्त्र, चिकित्सीय सहायता आदि उपलब्ध कराने के उद्देश्य से 2001-02 में यह योजना प्रारंभ की गई। इसका उद्देश्य महिलाओं को पुनः भावनात्मक रूप से सशक्त और सुदृढ़ बनाना भी है। जननी सुरक्षा योजना राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य मिशन के अंतर्गत एक सुरक्षित मातृत्व कार्यक्रम है। जिसका शुभारंभ 12 अप्रैल, 2005 को हुआ। इस योजना का उद्देश्य निर्धन गर्भवती महिलाओं के संस्थागत प्रसव को बढ़ावा देते हुए मातृ एवं नवजात मृत्यु दर को कम करना है।

प्रधानमंत्री सुरक्षित मातृत्व अभियान की शुरुआत 04 नवंबर, 2016 को हुई। इस अभियान का मुख्य उद्देश्य गर्भवती महिलाओं को कम से कम प्रसव पूर्व एक जांच सुनिश्चित करना है तथा प्रसव पूर्व गुणवत्तापूर्ण देखभाल भी इसमें सम्मिलित हैं। इस अभियान के अंतर्गत प्रत्येक माह की 9 तारीख को गर्भवती महिलाओं के प्रसव पूर्व जांच के लिए निर्धारित किया गया है, जिससे मां और गर्भस्थ शिशु में किसी भी बीमारी की आशंका को रोका जा सके तथा मातृत्व व शिशु मृत्यु दर को कम किया जा सके।

प्रधानमंत्री उज्ज्वला योजना का प्रारंभ 1 मई 2016 से 'स्वच्छ ईंधन बेहतर जीवन' को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए किया गया। विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन की एक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भारत में प्रतिवर्ष 05 लाख लोगों की मृत्यु अस्वच्छ ईंधन के प्रयोग के कारण होती है। ऐसे में इस योजना का उद्देश्य महिला सशक्तिकरण के साथ-साथ उनके स्वास्थ्य की सुरक्षा करना भी है, जिससे श्वास की समस्या और मृत्युदर को कम किया जा सके। वर्तमान में उज्ज्वला 2.0 संचालित हो रही है। उज्ज्वला योजना ग्रामीण स्तर पर वंचित तथा निर्धन महिलाओं के जीवन में ज्योति का एक पुंज है, क्योंकि इससे उन्हें एक तरफ भोजन बनाने के लिए जहां कुछ हद तक ईंधन एकत्रित करने की समस्या से निजात मिली है। वहीं दूसरी तरफ श्वास व आंख की समस्याओं से छुटकारा मिल रहा है। इतना

ही नहीं अत्यधिक गर्मी व सर्दी के लिए उज्ज्वला योजना उन्हें ईंधन का एक कवच प्रदान करती है। यह योजना महिला विकास स्वास्थ्य व स्वच्छता के दृष्टिकोण से अत्यंत प्रासंगिक है।

इसके अतिरिक्त बेटी बचाओ, बेटी पढ़ाओ योजना का प्रारंभ 22 जनवरी 2015 से किया गया, जिसका उद्देश्य जेंडर आधारित भेदभाव तथा लिंगचयन को उन्मूलित करना है। लड़कियों की सुरक्षा व उत्तरजीविता सुनिश्चित करने के साथ शिक्षा में उनकी भागीदारी को बढ़ाना है। वर्तमान में यह योजना भारत के सभी जिलों में कार्यान्वित की जा रही है। इस योजना से बालिका शिक्षा के प्रति जहां जागरूकता बढ़ी है, वहीं कन्या भ्रूण हत्या को लेकर चैतन्यता भी बढ़ रही है। बदलते सामाजिक परिवेश में स्वस्थ, समुन्नत, सशक्त राष्ट्र के निर्माण हेतु लिंगानुपात का संतुलित होना आवश्यक है।

स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं के क्षेत्र में व्यापक सुधार प्रारंभ हुआ तथा निरंतर सुदृढ़ होती आर्थिक स्थिति के परिणामस्वरूप स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं के सार्वभौमिक पहुंच तथा समावेशी विस्तार पर बल दिया जा रहा है। जिसके परिणामस्वरूप मातृत्व मृत्यु दर, शिशु मृत्यु दर में कमी आ रही है। स्वतंत्रता के समय जो जीवन प्रत्याशा 37 वर्ष थी, वह बढ़कर वर्तमान में 67.2 वर्ष हो चुकी है। मानव विकास सूचकांक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार 2021 के रिपोर्ट में कोविड-19 के कारण वैश्विक स्तर के साथ-साथ भारत में भी जीवन प्रत्याशा में कमी आई है।

जीवन प्रत्याशा	2019	2021
विश्व	72.8 वर्ष	71.4 वर्ष
भारत	69.7 वर्ष	67.2 वर्ष

यू.एन.डी.पी.(संयुक्त राष्ट्र विकास कार्यक्रम रिपोर्ट)

भारत 2021 में 132वें स्थान पर

भारत की राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति 2017 में जीवन प्रत्याशा को सन् 2025 तक बढ़ाकर 70 वर्ष करने का लक्ष्य है। इस लक्ष्य को तभी प्राप्त किया जा सकता है, जब महिला स्वास्थ्य की स्थिति सुदृढ़ हो। यू.एन.डी.पी. की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भारत समावेशी विकास की ओर बढ़ रहा है, जिसमें स्वच्छ जल, स्वच्छता तथा सस्ती ऊर्जा तक सार्वभौमिक पहुंच की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है। परंतु स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा व जीवन स्तर में गिरावट कोविड-19 के बाद दृष्टिगत हो रहा है।

विश्व आर्थिक मंच द्वारा जारी वैश्विक लैंगिक अंतराल सूचकांक रिपोर्ट 2022 में भारत का स्थान 146 देशों में 135वां है, किंतु स्वास्थ्य एवं उत्तरजीविता में भारत का प्रदर्शन अत्यंत निराशाजनक है। इसमें भारत के 146 देशों में अंतिम पायदान 146वें स्थान पर है, जो स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में सुधार की मांग को दर्शाता है। राष्ट्रीय स्वास्थ्य नीति 2017 में भी स्वास्थ्य पर व्यय को जीडीपी के 1.5 प्रतिशत से बढ़ाकर 2.5 करने का लक्ष्य है। जिससे स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में सुधार को बढ़ाया जा सके, जिससे कि स्वस्थ, प्रसन्नचित्त तथा कुशल नागरिकों का विकास हो।

राष्ट्रीय परिवार स्वास्थ्य सर्वेक्षण-5 की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार प्रजनन दर में गिरावट दृष्टिगत हुई है तथा कुपोषण के तीनों संकेतकों में सुधार हुआ है। इस सर्वेक्षण रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि स्वच्छता की स्थिति में सुधार हुआ है तथा स्वच्छ ईंधन का प्रयोग करने वाले परिवारों का प्रतिशत बढ़ा है। निश्चित रूप से यह सभी स्थितियां महिला स्वास्थ्य को उत्तम व स्वस्थ बनाने की दिशा में एक मील का पत्थर हैं। राष्ट्रीय परिवार स्वास्थ्य सर्वेक्षण की पांचवीं रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि संस्थागत प्रसव में वृद्धि हुई है तथा संस्थागत प्रसव चार राज्यों एवं केंद्र शासित प्रदेशों में 90 प्रतिशत के लगभग है। तमिलनाडु तथा पांडुचेरी में 100 प्रतिशत संस्थागत प्रसव हो रहे हैं। ग्रामीण व नगरीय क्षेत्रों में अंतर विद्यमान है—नगरीय क्षेत्रों में 94 प्रतिशत जबकि ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में 87 प्रतिशत है इस संस्थागत प्रसव का परिणाम यह हुआ कि अधिकांश राज्यों में नवजात, शिशु व बाल मृत्यु दर में गिरावट आ रही है। इस दिशा में सिक्किम, जम्मू कश्मीर, गोवा व असम ने बेहतर प्रदर्शन किया है। बिहार में नवजात, शिशु व बाल मृत्यु दर सर्वाधिक पाई गई, जबकि केरल में सबसे कम। देश में वर्तमान में शिशु मृत्यु दर प्रति 1000 जीवित जन्म पर 32 है।

इस सर्वेक्षण रिपोर्ट में एनीमिया रक्त अल्पता को लेकर स्थिति बेहतर नहीं है। भारत में आधे से अधिक बच्चे व महिलाएं एनीमिया ग्रस्त हैं। राष्ट्रीय परिवार स्वास्थ्य सर्वेक्षण-4 में एनीमिया ग्रस्त महिलाओं का प्रतिशत 53.1 था जो 5वें में बढ़कर 57 प्रतिशत हो गया पुरुषों में 22.7 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 25 प्रतिशत तथा बच्चों में 58.6 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 67.1 प्रतिशत हो गया है।

इसी सर्वेक्षण रिपोर्ट-5 के अनुसार ही महिला खाताधारकों की संख्या का 53 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 79 प्रतिशत होना महिलाओं के आर्थिक सशक्तिकरण को प्रतिबिंबित करता है, जबकि परिवार में निर्णय लेने में महिलाओं की सहभागिता का बढ़ना सामाजिक सशक्तिकरण का।

‘इंडियन साइकियाट्री सोसायटी’ के एक सर्वेक्षण रिपोर्ट के अनुसार कोविड-19 वैश्विक महामारी से लगभग 20% से अधिक लोग मानसिक रूप से अस्वस्थ हुए हैं। ऐसा देखा गया है कि तनाव व अवसाद से पुरुष की अपेक्षा महिलाएं अधिक प्रभावित हुई हैं। बच्चों के मानसिक स्वास्थ्य पर भी नकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ा है।

मातृत्व मृत्यु-दर, 2017-2019 पर भारत के महापंजीयन द्वारा एक विशेष बुलेटिन जारी किया गया, जिसके अनुसार मातृत्व मृत्यु दर में कमी आई है। वर्ष 2016-18 में मातृत्व मृत्यु दर 113 थी, जो 2017-19 में घटकर 103 हो गई अर्थात् 10 अंको की गिरावट आई है।

स्वतंत्रता के उपरांत स्वास्थ्य क्षेत्र में किए गए सुधार कार्यक्रम व नीतिगत योजनाओं के पश्चात् महिला स्वास्थ्य पूर्व की अपेक्षा बेहतर स्थिति में है। संस्थागत प्रसव दर बढ़ने से मातृत्व मृत्यु दर घट रही है। शिक्षा व स्वास्थ्य के प्रति बढ़ती जागरूकता से पोषण स्तर में सुधार हो रहा है। स्वच्छता व सफाई के प्रति मनोवृत्ति में बदलाव आ रहा है, किंतु अभी भी महिला स्वास्थ्य की दिशा में बहुत कुछ किया जाना शेष है—

1. स्वास्थ्य देखभाल सुविधा केंद्रों में वृद्धि की जाए, जिससे महिलाओं के स्वास्थ्य की नियमित जांच संभव हो सके।
2. सर्वप्रथम महिलाओं को स्वयं अपने प्रति उपेक्षा के भाव का त्याग करना होगा, जो शिक्षा व जागरूकता से ही संभव है।
3. महिलाओं को अपने पोषण पर स्वयं ध्यान केंद्रित करना होगा कि जो भोजन वे ग्रहण कर रही हैं, वह सिर्फ उदरपूर्ति के लिए ही नहीं है। उससे शरीर के लिए आवश्यक पोषक तत्वों की पूर्ति हो रही है। तभी रक्ताल्पता एनीमिया की समस्या से बचा जा सकता है।
4. भारत में महिलाओं का स्वास्थ्य बहुत से सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक कारकों से प्रभावित होता है। ऐसे में सामाजिक बदलाव से मानसिक व लोगों की मनोवृत्तियों में बदलाव होगा अर्थात् माइंडसेट में बदलाव की आवश्यकता है।
5. भारत में जेंडर संबंधी असमानता को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए जेंडर संवेदनशील स्वास्थ्य नीति का निर्माण अधिक उपयोगी होगा तथा प्रत्येक आयु वर्ग की महिला की समस्याओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए इसके निर्माण की आवश्यकता है।

6. महिलाओं के लिए बेहतर शिक्षा का प्रबंध हो तथा उन्हें स्वच्छता व स्वास्थ्य के विषय में प्रशिक्षण दिए जाए।
7. महिलाओं का विवाह सही उम्र में हो तथा पूरी तरह से स्वस्थ होने पर ही वे मां बने, जिससे वे स्वयं के स्वास्थ्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए स्वस्थ बच्चे को जन्म दें।
8. स्वास्थ्य, खाद्य सुरक्षा तथा स्वच्छता से संबंधित योजनाओं व कार्यक्रमों का बेहतर क्रियान्वयन सुनिश्चित किया जाए।
9. जागरूकता कार्यक्रम तथा नुक्कड़ नाटक के भी आयोजन ग्रामीण व जनजातीय क्षेत्रों के लिए किए जाए।

### निष्कर्ष :

भारत में महिला स्वास्थ्य और कल्याण स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात लगभग प्रत्येक कार्यक्रम और नीतियों का अनिवार्य अंग रहा है। पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं, वार्षिक वित्तीय विवरण से लेकर स्वास्थ्य नीति में यह अनवरत दृष्टिगत होता है प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य कार्यक्रम, जो भारत की स्वास्थ्य प्रणाली की रीढ़ है, इसे और सशक्त बनाने की आवश्यकता है। जिससे स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं के सार्वजनिक पहुँच के साथ-साथ सबके स्वास्थ्य और कल्याण को अधिकतम बनाया जा सके। इसमें नैतिक दृष्टि से ही सही यदि सार्वजनिक और निजी क्षेत्र समान भागीदारी करें तो न केवल महिला स्वास्थ्य, बल्कि संपूर्ण भारत आरोग्यमय हो सकता है, तभी स्वस्थ भारत का निर्माण संभव है।

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# घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की सामाजिक परिस्थिति पर कोविड-19 महामारी का प्रभाव : एक विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन

मंजरी गोंड • डॉ. प्रतिमा गोंड

यह सर्वविदित तथ्य है कि भारतीय समाज में महिलाओं की स्थिति सर्वथा दोगम दर्जे की रही है, जिसके विरुद्ध स्त्रियाँ संघर्षशील रही हैं। भारत जैसे विकासशील देश जो स्वयं ही विकास की प्रक्रिया से गुजर रहा है, उसमें अपने घर की चहारदीवारी से बाहर निकल, आजीविका हेतु स्त्रियों का कामकाजी होना, चुनौतियों से पूर्ण रहा है।

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय महिला दिवस 2022 की (*Gender Equality Today For A Sustainable Tomorrow*) इस थीम का अर्थ है कि 'एक स्थायी और सामान्य कल के लिए समाज में लैंगिक समानता जरूरी है।'<sup>1</sup> परन्तु वर्तमान समय में भारतीय समाज की ऐतिहासिक निर्विवाद है कि परस्पर विरोधी वाली सभी सामाजिक स्तरीयकरणों में समाज और परिवार की परिस्थितियों में घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की स्थिति मातहत की रही है। डॉ. ए.एस. अल्तेकर ने लिखा है कि, 'हमें भी इस बात को स्वीकार करना चाहिए कि समय बदल चुका है, तार्किकता और समानता का युग आ चुका है इसीलिए हम प्रस्तावित परिवर्तनों को लाते हुए नवीन परिस्थितियों के साथ स्त्रियों की स्थिति का समायोजन करना चाहिए।'<sup>2</sup> किन्तु समायोजन व असमायोजन की अर्जित परिस्थितियों में घरेलू कामकाजी महिलाओं की जीवन-निर्वाह अनियमित दर्जे की रही है क्योंकि कोरोना वायरस महामारी का प्रभाव मानवीय जीवन के साथ-साथ आर्थिक रूप से भी विघटनकारी रहा है। प्रमुख समाजशास्त्री डॉ. एम.एन. श्रीनिवास ने स्त्रियों की बदलती हुई स्थिति के लिए पश्चिमीकरण, लौकिकीकरण एवं जातीय गतिशीलता के बढ़ते हुए प्रभाव को उत्तरदायी माना है।<sup>3</sup> दुनियाभर में लगभग 67

मिलियन महिला व पुरुष घरेलू कामगार हैं तथा इनमें से 83% महिलाएँ कामगार हैं।<sup>4</sup> इण्टरनेशनल लेबर ऑर्गनाइजेशन में वर्क इन फ्रीडम प्रोग्राम की नेशनल प्रोजेक्ट कोऑर्डिनेटर नेहा मधावन कहती हैं, “स्वच्छता, स्वास्थ्य, कीटाणु शोधन पर पूरा विमर्श फिर से एक खास वर्ग के नजरिए से आता है किन्तु श्रमिकों के दृष्टिकोण पूरी तरह गायब हैं।”<sup>5</sup> 23 फरवरी, 2021 को ई-श्रम पोर्टल के नवीनतम आँकड़ों के अनुसार, पंजीकृत 8.56 करोड़ अनौपचारिक क्षेत्र में श्रमिकों में से लगभग 8.8 प्रतिशत घरेलू कामगार की श्रेणी में आते हैं। लॉकडाउन से प्रभावित होने के कारण कामकाज ठप्प होना एवं अनिवार्य रूप से घर के चहारदीवारी में बंद होने के कारण, कामगार महिलाओं को रोजगार से वंचित होना, घरेलू हिंसा, मानसिक तथा स्वास्थ्य संबंधी अनेकानेक समस्याओं का सामना करना पड़ा है। जैसे—इनके अस्तित्व को गहरी खाई में धकेल दिया गया है।

कोविड-19 के कारण घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं के रोजगार पर संकट होना, कोरोना वायरस महामारी का पूर्णतः जटिलताओं का परिणाम नहीं है, बल्कि पूर्व से मौजूद परम्परागत रूप से वेदना होने का परिणाम है, जो निम्नवत् स्थिति का एक प्रपंचिता है, जिसे समाज ने वर्षों से चिन्हित किया है।

प्रस्तुत शोध प्रपत्र का उद्देश्य ‘घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की सामाजिक परिस्थिति पर कोविड-19 महामारी का विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन’ करना है। अतः मुख्य विषय इसी बिन्दु पर केन्द्रित रहेगा साथ ही वर्णनात्मक शोध प्ररचना के माध्यम से द्वितीयक स्रोतों का प्रयोग किया गया है।

**मूल शब्द : घरेलू कामगार, कोविड-19, श्रम, पूँजी**

**प्रस्तावना :**

प्राचीन काल से लेकर वर्तमान तक स्त्रियों के हिस्से में हमेशा संघर्ष ही रहा है, फिर चाहे वह संघर्ष उनके अस्तित्व को बचाने का हो या फिर जीविकोपार्जन का। परिवर्तन एक सार्वभौमिक प्रक्रिया होती है जिसके कारण समाज के संगठन, ढाँचे एवं कार्यों में बदलाव होना अपरिहार्य माना जा सकता है। भारतीय समाज भी इससे अछूता नहीं रहा है। वैज्ञानिक सोच, तार्किक दृष्टिकोण, लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों का महत्व बढ़ना एवं नित्य नए-नए आविष्कारों के कारण समाज की परम्परागत सोच में परिवर्तन आया जिसके कारण स्त्रियों की स्थिति में तुलनात्मक रूप से कई सकारात्मक परिवर्तन हुए।

स्त्रियों के विकास में उनका आर्थिक रूप से आत्मनिर्भर होना महत्वपूर्ण माना गया जिसके तहत स्त्री वर्ग घर के अलावा बाहरी कार्य क्षेत्रों में प्रवेश करने लगी तथा अपनी शैक्षिक योग्यता, क्षमता इत्यादि के अनुरूप इन्होंने अपने लिए कार्य क्षेत्रों का चयन किया जो कि संगठित एवं असंगठित दोनों थे।

जहाँ एक तरफ कामकाजी होना स्त्रियों के विकास के द्योतक के रूप में माना जाता है वहीं दूसरे स्त्री शोषण को एक वृहद् एवं मजबूत आधार प्रदान किया। घर या बाहर दोनों ही क्षेत्रों के जिम्मेदारियों ने स्त्रियों पर अतिरिक्त बोझ डाला। स्त्रियों की इन सभी समस्याओं में अचानक वृद्धि तब हुई जब देश कोरोना महामारी से ग्रसित हुआ। कोविड-19 बहुत ही कम समय में एक घरेलू नाम बन गया है इसे विश्व स्वास्थ्य संगठन द्वारा 11 मार्च, 2020 को महामारी घोषित किया गया था।<sup>6</sup> परम्परागत रूप से सामाजिक गतिविधियों के लिंग असमानता होने के कारण COVID-19 महामारी के विपदा से विभिन्न अन्तरालों में महिलाओं और पुरुषों दोनों के रोजगार पर नकारात्मक प्रभाव पड़ा है। महिलाओं पर जो बेरोजगारी का संकट आया है, उसके चलते पुरुषों और महिलाओं के बीच में आर्थिक असमानता की खाई और गहरी हो गयी है जिसके कारण, उसको भरने में लगने वाला समय 99.5 वर्षों से बढ़कर 135.6 साल हो गया है।<sup>7</sup>

‘उदारीकरण और वैश्वीकरण के प्रभाव से वैश्विक स्तर पर औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में, श्रमशक्ति का असंगठित क्षेत्र प्रभावी हुआ है। अब श्रम का स्वरूप अनौपचारिक होता जा रहा है। आने वाले समय में यह क्षेत्र समृद्धशाली होगा।<sup>8</sup> कृषि क्षेत्र में भारी गिरावट तथा रोजगार के अवसर में कमी के कारण लोग गाँव से शहर की ओर पलायन कर रहे हैं। शहर के अविकसित क्षेत्रों में झुग्गी-झोपड़ी तथा छोटे-छोटे मकानों में दूसरों के घरों में जाकर काम करके अपने जीविकोपार्जन का निर्वाह कर रही थी परन्तु अचानक से COVID-19 महामारी वायरस ने इनके कमजोरियों को अत्यधिक दयनीय कर दिया है। जिसके कारण घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की जीवन एवं जीवन निर्वाह की जीविका प्रतिकूल रूप से प्रभावित हुयी है।

कोविड-19 महामारी के दौरान घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को अपने नियोक्ताओं के गृह में जाना प्रतिबंधित हो गया था, क्योंकि अधिकतर लोगों की मानसिक दुर्बलता ने इन्हें “वायरस कैरियर” सम्बोधित किया जाने लगा था। इसी कारण ये रोजमर्रा की असुरक्षा, अपर्याप्त मजदूरी और अव्यवहार्य चिकित्सा से वंचितता का शिकार हो गई थीं। रोजगार से वंचित होने के कारण घरों के किराए देने में असमर्थ थीं। परिवार की ऐसी दुर्दशा में देख इनकी आँखों

की नमी कभी सूखी नहीं, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप इन्हें मजबूर होकर अपने गाँवों की ओर उन्मुख होना पड़ा। जिसकी छाया अभी भयावह है। सार्वजनिक रूप से महामारी का प्रकोप तीव्र गति से प्रवेश हुआ। इसी महामारी की हिंसा ने घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को गंभीर रूप से प्रताड़ित कर मानवीय जीवन के मूल्य को निम्न कर दिया है।

- **घरेलू कामगार**—“घरेलू कामगार वे हैं जो निजी घरों में वेतन के एवज में घरेलू काम करते हैं।” (ILO)<sup>9</sup>
- **कोविड-19—SARS-Cov** वायरस के कारण होने वाला एक अत्यधिक संक्रामक श्वसन रोग माना जाता है कि सार्स-सीओबी-2 संक्रमित व्यक्ति के खाँसने, छींकने या बात करने पर निकलने वाली बूंदों के माध्यम से एक व्यक्ति से दूसरे व्यक्ति में फैलता है।<sup>10</sup>

### घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं के प्रकार :

- **लिव इन** :—ऐसी कामगार महिलाएँ जो अपने नियोक्ता के घर रहकर ही पूरे समय के लिए घर के सभी कार्यों को पूर्ण करती हैं।
- **लिव आउट** :—ऐसी कामगार महिलाएँ जो एक निश्चित समय के लिए अपने नियोक्ता के घर जाकर काम करती हैं।

### सैद्धान्तिक परिप्रेक्ष्य :

आधुनिक औद्योगिक समाज में कार्य की प्रकृति संयमित हो गई है, फिर भी कार्य को सामाजिक समानुष्ठान के रूप में इसके तर्कसंगतता को स्वीकरण किया जाता है। समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोण से कार्य की सुविचारित धारणा बहिर्मुखी है, इसी कारण भारतीय समाज में कार्यबल के एक बड़े वर्ग को रोजगार के क्षेत्र में अवसर प्रदान करने के दृष्टिकोण में असंगठित क्षेत्र एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निर्वहन करता है, किन्तु वर्तमान समय में जातिवाद, लिंग असमानता की स्पष्ट प्रतिबिम्ब देखी जा सकती है। **मार्क्सवादी स्त्रीवाद** का यह तथ्य स्वीकार है कि ‘स्त्री का शोषण वहाँ से आरम्भ हुआ जहाँ से वैयक्तिक सम्पत्ति की **समारंभ** है।’ एंगेल्स की पुस्तक ‘**परिवार, निजी सम्पत्ति और राज्य की उत्पत्ति**’ का मार्क्सवादी स्त्रीवाद के लिए एक श्रेष्ठता की भूमिका निर्वहन करता है। इसी पुस्तक में उन्होंने रोजगार को स्त्रियों की मुक्ति का शंखवाद बिन्दु बताया।

**कार्ल मार्क्स, एंगेल्स, लेनिन, स्टालिन और माओ** इन सभी समाजशास्त्रियों ने **कामगार महिलाओं** की उत्पीड़न आबादी को **सर्वहारा क्रान्ति** की प्रमुख एकजुटता शक्ति के रूप में देखा।

द्वन्द्वात्मक सम्बन्धों को संघर्षशील दृष्टिकोण से लेनिन ने बताया कि स्त्रियों के लिए पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता हासिल किए बिना सर्वहारा अपनी पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता हासिल करने में असमर्थ रहती है।

मागरेट वेन्सटन जैसे कुछ मार्क्सवादियों ने गृहकार्य पर अपना ध्यान केन्द्रित किया और महिलाओं को एक वर्ग के रूप में देखा जो साधारण उपयोग मूल्यों का उत्पादन करती हैं उन्होंने कहा कि खाना-पकाना, सफाई करने और बच्चों की देखभाल करने जैसे घरेलू कार्यों का समाजीकरण किया जाना चाहिए ताकि महिलाओं को उत्पादन कार्य में शामिल किया जा सके और वे अपने घरों के बाहर भी समान कार्य में संलग्न रह सके परन्तु आधुनिक समय में पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था में लिंग असमानता की स्पष्ट प्रतिबिम्ब देखी जा सकती है।<sup>11</sup> क्योंकि ROSA Luxemburg (रोसा लक्सम्बर्ग) के कहानुसार बुर्जुआ महिलाएँ 'परजीवी की परजीवी' (Parasite of Parasite) होती हैं। पिछड़े वर्ग घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं में लिंग असमानता भी पूँजीवाद के लिए प्रकार्यात्मक सिद्ध होती है, अपनी निम्न सामाजिक स्थिति के कारण ये महिलाएँ मजदूरी करती हैं, उन्हें कम पगार दिया जाता है और वे शासक वर्ग नियोक्ताओं का किसी भी प्रकार के खिलाफ विरोध न करने वाले मुनाफे का स्रोत होती हैं।<sup>12</sup> ये घरेलू कामगार महिलाएँ गृह के लिए उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं एवं सेवाओं का उपयोग करने में भी बुर्जुआ लोगों के मुनाफे में ज्यादा वृद्धि करती हैं।

**निःसंदेह** वर्तमान समय में घरेलू कामगार महिलाएँ वैश्विक पटल पर अपनी अस्तित्व को बरकरार रखा है। जिसके कारण कई पौराणिक जर्जर मान्यतायें खंडित हुईं, जिससे पुराने वाक्य पर नए अर्थ रेखांकित हुए।

स्त्री घर से बाहर आगमन कर चुकी है, किन्तु वर्तमान समाज की दोहरी मानसिकता के चक्रव्यूह में उलझन स्वयं यह समझने में असमर्थ है कि वह उपभोक्ता बाजार को निर्देशित नहीं बल्कि मनचाहा उसे कुंठित किया जा रहा है। जिससे वह भोगने को बाध्य है।

कोविड-19 के समय उपरांत पूर्ण रूप से तालाबंदी के कारण कमजोर समुदाय व पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों से दलित जीवन व्यतीत करने वाली महिलाओं को विभिन्न प्रकार के शोषण का सामना करना पड़ा है।

आजीविका विलुप्त होने के कारण तथा बिना किसी पूर्व सूचना के तालाबंदी के कारण सम्पूर्ण देश की गतिविधियाँ अचानक से स्थगित हो गईं, जहाँ श्रमिक पहले से ही बेरोजगारी से जूझ रहे थे। कोरोना भयावह महामारी के

दौरान उनकी दुर्दशा में फैलाव किया है। अनेक घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को नियोक्ताओं द्वारा उनकी देय मजदूरी नहीं मिलने, कार्यस्थल तक पहुँचने में असमर्थता, आवासीय भुगतान करने में भी विफलता का भी सामना करना पड़ा है।<sup>13</sup>

## साहित्यिक समीक्षा :

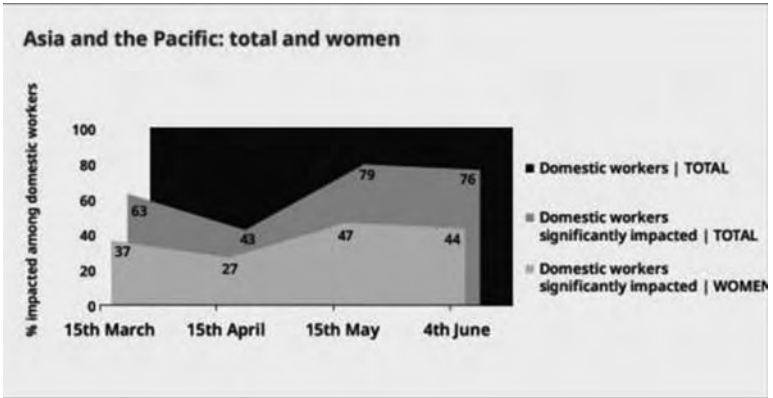
- ILO महानिदेशक गाय राइडर ने बताया कि, 'शहरी क्षेत्रों में, ये श्रमिक आर्थिक क्षेत्रों में भी काम करते हैं कि, "न केवल वायरस के संक्रमण का एक जोखिम होता है बल्कि लॉकडाउन उपायों से भी सीधे प्रभावित होते हैं।"<sup>14</sup>
- COVID-19 महामारी इसके साथ अनिश्चितता और एहतियाती प्रतिबंधों के साथ, घरेलू कामगारों के लिए विनाशकारी परिणाम हुए हैं, जिनमें ज्यादातर महिलाएँ हैं। घरों जैसे बंद स्थानों में वायरस के संचरण की संभावना के कारण चिंता देश में अधिकाधिक तालाबंदी से पहले ही एक मुद्दा बन गई थी। इस अवधि के दौरान मीडिया रिपोर्ट घरेलू कामगारों को हुई आर्थिक कठिनाईयों का उपाख्यान देती है क्योंकि मार्च 2020 में राष्ट्रव्यापी तालाबंदी की घोषणा के बाद उनके नियोक्ताओं ने उन्हें अनिश्चितकालीन अवनैतिक अवकाश पर जाने को कहा था। कई अंशकालिक घरेलू कामगारों को जो सभी घरेलू कामगारों में 90 प्रतिशत से अधिक का गणना नियोक्ताओं द्वारा काम के लिए रिपोर्ट बंद करने के लिए किया गया था और इस प्रकार घरेलू काम की अंशकालिक प्रणाली पूरी तरह से बंद हो गई।<sup>15</sup>
- कौर (2001), ने असंगठित क्षेत्र में मीडिया के प्रभाव की चर्चा की है। उन्होंने यह स्पष्ट किया कि मीडिया व सशक्त साधन है जो असंगठित क्षेत्रों की श्रमिकों में जागरूकता लाकर उन्हें संगठित करने का प्रयास कर सकता है तथा सरकारी नीतियों एवं योजनाओं से उन्हें अवगत कराकर एक पृष्ठभूमि दे सकता है।<sup>16</sup>
- संयुक्त राष्ट्र की महिलाओं ने कहा कि COVID-19 ने दुर्व्यवहार के लिए स्थितियाँ बनाई हैं जो दुर्व्यवहार करने वालों के लिए आदर्श है क्योंकि इसने लोगों को लॉकडाउन में मजबूर किया।" इस प्रकार यह एक "छाया महामारी" पैदा हुई जिसने वैश्विक स्तर पर घरेलू हिंसा के साथ पहले से मौजूद मुद्दों को बढ़ा दिया है।<sup>17</sup>

## असंगठित क्षेत्र में कार्यरत रोजगार से बहिष्कृत :

कोविड-19 महामारी के फैलाव को रोकने के लिए मार्च 2020 में 'लॉकडाउन' की घोषणा हुई, जिसके फलस्वरूप असंगठित क्षेत्र में घरेलू कामकाजी महिलाओं की आजीविका रोजगार पर ग्रहण-सा लग गया। सरकार द्वारा विभिन्न प्रकार के समाज कल्याण नीतियाँ, गरीबी उन्मूलन कार्यक्रम सब धराशायी हो गया। **सेंटर फॉर मॉनिटरिंग इंडियन इकोनॉमी (सीएमआईई) 2020**, की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार, भारत में लॉकडाउन आदेश के कारण अप्रैल के मध्य में बेरोजगारी दर **21 प्रतिशत** से बढ़कर **26 प्रतिशत** हो गयी और श्रम बाजार में भागीदारी में साप्ताहिक गिरावट आयी।<sup>18</sup> असंगठित क्षेत्र में नियोक्ता तथा कर्मचारी सम्बन्धी स्पष्ट रूप से परिभाषित न होने के कारण घरेलू कामगार महिलाएँ अन्तिम रूप से शिकार बनीं।

अशिक्षित एवं प्रशिक्षित घरेलू कामगारों के लिए **रेजिडेंट्स वेलफेयर एसोसिएशन** की भूमिका भी कष्टदायक रही है, क्योंकि इनके अधिकारों को खण्डित किया गया। इनकी सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिस्थिति अत्यन्त दयनीय तब हुई जब इनको विभिन्न शर्तों का परिपालन करने के लिए मजबूर करना पड़ा, जैसे—**अपार्टमेंट्स में प्रतिबंध लगाना, लिफ्ट का प्रयोग न करना** तथा साथ ही **पुलिस सत्यापन में इनका फोटो, निवास प्रमाण-पत्र, टेलीफोन नम्बर सत्यापित करना** था। सबसे ज्यादा प्रताड़ित अशिक्षित महिलाएँ हुई हैं क्योंकि ज्यादातर ये संचार मीडिया आधुनिकीकरण से कोसों दूर रही हैं।

घरेलू कामगारों के बीच नौकरियों और घंटों के नुकसान के बीच कोविड-19 संकट का प्रभाव (15 जून, 2020 आई.एल.ओ. के अनुसार)





एक्शन एड ने 13 राज्यों में प्रवासी श्रमिकों पर सर्वेक्षण किया है जिसमें 17% श्रमिकों को आंशिक मजदूरी प्राप्त हुई तथा 53% श्रमिकों को अपना जीवन-निर्वाह करने के लिए अतिरिक्त कर्ज लेना पड़ा साथ ही आधे श्रमिकों ने एक महीने तक गंतव्य क्षेत्र में फँसे होने की विवशता को भी उजागर किया।<sup>19</sup>

इसी प्रकार प्रशासन नियमों की कठोरता, पंजीकरण की जटिलता तथा अप्रभावी क्रियान्वयन के कारण इनकी दशा अत्यन्त बहिष्कृत रही है।

## स्वास्थ्य सुविधाओं पर विपदा :

महामारी भयावह रूप में तीव्र गति से बढ़ोत्तरी रूप में फैल रहा था जिसके परिणामस्वरूप स्वास्थ्य से सम्बन्धित सेवाओं की मांग में घटोत्तरी हो रही थी। सार्वजनिक सेवाओं, पौष्टिक भोजन, दवाओं एवं किट उपकरणों में काफी मात्रा में भारी कमी होने के कारण स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं पर संकट मंडरा रहा था तथा इसका सबसे प्रतिकूलनात्मक प्रभाव समाज से वंचित कमजोर वर्ग, महिलाओं, दिव्यांगों, वृद्धों पर प्रतीत होता है। घरेलू कामगार महिलाएँ भी स्वयं स्वास्थ्य के प्रति ध्यान आकर्षित ना करके अपने परिवार को पहले प्राथमिकता देती थी।

भारत में कोविड-19 की पुष्टि मामले 95,698 थे जिसमें 3,025 मौतें, 3.2 प्रतिशत मामले घातक और 0.22/10,000 जनसंख्या थी। (18 मई 2020)<sup>20</sup> भारत में लाखों प्रवासी कामगारों ने अपना लंबा ट्रेक होम शुरू किया, बच्चों को ले जाना, बाधित परिवहन, नेटवर्क से भीड़ बढ़ना, संसाधनहीन होना, कोरोना वायरस महामारी के मद्देनजर अचानक तालाबंदी के बाद उन्हें भूख के अभाव का सामना करना पड़ा। पुलिस का क्रोध और समुदायों का संदेह और दुखद मौत भी कष्टदायी रही।<sup>21</sup> तथा गर्भवती घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को सुचारू ढंग से पौष्टिक आहार का सेवन न करने के कारण माँ तथा बच्चा दोनों अस्वस्थ रूप से ग्रसित हो गए थे। इसी तरह अनेकानेक कारणों से इनकी मानसिक व शारीरिक दुर्बलता शिथिलता का रूप धारण कर रही थी।

## घरेलू हिंसा में बढ़ोत्तरी :

महिलाओं के विरुद्ध लिंग आधारित हिंसा एक महत्वपूर्ण गंभीर चिंता बनी हुई है। महामारी के शुरुआत से पूर्ण तालाबंदी होने के कारण शुरू किए गए लॉकडाउन व्यवस्था ने लिंग आधारित महिलाओं के खिलाफ घरेलू हिंसा के प्रसार में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है।

संयुक्त राष्ट्र महिला द्वारा, प्रतिबंधित गतिशीलता, आर्थिक असुरक्षा, कम वित्तीय आय और बढ़ती बेरोजगारी महिलाओं के लिए घरेलू हिंसा की घटनाओं की रिपोर्ट करने, समर्थन मांगने और अपमानजनक साथी के साथ साझा घर छोड़ने के लिए बाधाओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है।<sup>22</sup>

## डिजिटल लिंग असमानता :

घरेलू कामगार महिलाएँ ज्यादातर साक्षर व अप्रशिक्षित होती हैं उन्हें शिक्षा रूपी संस्था से अलगाव गरीबी, कमजोर आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण अवगत नहीं हो पाती हैं। सूचना, समाचार पत्र, सरकार द्वारा विभिन्न प्रकार की सरकार द्वारा दी गई सुविधायें, योजनाओं की जानकारी ना होने के कारण अनेक प्रकार की विपदाओं का सामना कर रही हैं। इन असमानताओं में जूझ रही घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को कोविड-19 महामारी के दौरान राहत पैकेज इन सभी सुविधाओं का लाभान्वित होने में असमर्थता हुई थी।

IWWAGE सर्वेक्षण के अनुसार भारतीय समाज में मोबाइल स्वामित्व 20% लिंग अन्तर है जिसमें 79% पुरुषों के पास फोन हैं जबकि 63% महिलाएँ हैं, इसके अलावा लिंग विभाजन भी अत्यन्त गंभीर दशा में है क्योंकि केवल 21% महिलाओं की तुलना में 42% भारतीय पुरुषों के पास फोन पर इंटरनेट पहुँचा है।<sup>23</sup> ऐतिहासिक रूप से पिछड़ेपन की भरपायी व अत्यन्त समानता का अपनत्व के लिए शीघ्र ही आगे कदम बढ़ाना ही होगा, क्योंकि सभी क्षेत्रों में स्वयं को सर्वोपरि का संकल्प लेना शंखनाद की शुरुआत है।

## सरकार द्वारा दी गई सुविधाओं की समीक्षा :

कोरोना वायरस लॉकडाउन की गतिशीलता को समाप्त करके आजीविका को पूर्ण रूप से प्रतिबाधित किया है। इस बात पर सोचने पर मजबूर कर दिया है कि कैसे घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं को गरीबी से जूझना पड़ रहा है। स्व रोजगार महिला संघ (सेवा) की राज्य सचिव सोनिया जार्ज कहती हैं, “लॉकडाउन ने घरेलू नौकरानियों के जीवन को प्रभावित किया है और उनमें बड़ी संख्या में राज्य सरकार द्वारा आपूर्ति की जा रही खाद्य कीटों पर जीवन यापन कर रही हैं।”<sup>24</sup>

अन्तरराष्ट्रीय मुद्राकोष (आई.एम.एफ.) के एक आकलन से पता चलता है कि केन्द्र और राज्य सरकारों द्वारा विभिन्न नकद और तहत के हस्तांतरण और अन्य उपायों, जैसे कि स्वास्थ्य सेवा के बुनियादी ढाँचे, परीक्षण सुविधाओं और कर राहत के माध्यम से कुल समर्थन केवल 0.2 प्रतिशत है।<sup>25</sup> केन्द्र तथा राज्य

सरकार द्वारा विभिन्न प्रकार के राहत पैकेज की व्यवस्था की गई थी जिसमें प्रधानमंत्री गरीब कल्याण योजना पैकेज 2020, गरीबों के लिए 1.70 लाख करोड़ रुपये का एक व्यापक राहत पैकेज है। पीएमजीकेपी यह मार्च 2020 में गरीबों के सबसे गरीब लोगों तक भोजन और पैसे के साथ पहुँचने के लिए घोषणा किया गया था। पैकेज में 30 मार्च, 2020 तक हर महीने 5 किलो गेहूँ या चावल और 1 किलो पसंदिदा दाल मुफ्त मिलेगी। 20 करोड़ महिला जन धन खाता धारकों को अगले तीन महीनों के लिए रु. 500 प्रतिमाह मिलेंगे।<sup>26</sup> किन्तु केन्द्र तथा राज्य सरकारों की ये सभी योजनाएँ निचले स्तर पर कुछ और ही प्रसारित हो रही थी। अधिकांश महिलाएँ इन सभी योजनाओं से अनभिज्ञ थी क्योंकि इन सभी परियोजनाओं के नियमता में सार्थक रूप से अनियमित थी।

ऑक्सफेम इंडिया 2020 द्वारा देश के 13 राज्यों में दो सप्ताह तक लगभग 12,500 जनधन खाता धारक महिलाओं पर किए गए सर्वेक्षण से स्पष्ट होता है कि 16% महिलाएँ खाते की निष्क्रियता के कारण इन लाभों से वंचित रह गई तथा 13% महिलाओं में इस योजना के विषय में जानकारी का अभाव था। संक्रमण के खतरों के बीच में 41.2% महिलाओं को नगद राशि प्राप्त करने के लिए बैंक शाखा के चक्कर लगाने पड़े साथ ही कुछ महिलाओं को उनके घर वालों ने वायरस संक्रमण के डर तथा तालाबंदी के पाबंदी के कारण बैंक जाने से रोक दिया।<sup>27</sup> ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि महिलाओं के साथ-ही संघर्षों के साथ जूझना लिखा है, किन्तु अपनी कार्यक्षमता तथा मनोबलता से हर क्षेत्रों में अपने संघर्षों के साथ जूझना इन्हें मालूम है।

20 अप्रैल, 2021 को भारत सरकार ने खुले बाजार में कोविड टीकों की उपलब्धता की घोषणा की है और 1 मई 2021 से 18 वर्ष अधिक आयु वर्ग के सभी लोगों को टीकाकरण की अनुमति दी गई।<sup>28</sup> परन्तु अज्ञानता तथा अंधविश्वासों से घिरे रहने के कारण कुछ महिलाएँ वैक्सीन लगवाने में हिचकिचाहट की हैं।

सरकार द्वारा टीकाकरण जागरूकता प्रचार-प्रसार करने के काफी समय उपरांत महिलाओं ने टीका का लाभ उठा पाया है।

### सुझावात्मक निष्कर्ष :

भारत के शहरी मध्यमवर्गीय जीवन में घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की बुनियादी भूमिका है। आज कोरोना वायरस के चलते असंख्य परिवार यह महसूस कर रहे होंगे कि “काम वाली बाइयों” के बिना उनका घरेलू जीवन

कितना मुश्किल हो गया है लेकिन यह मुश्किल घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की समस्याओं से बड़ी नहीं है।<sup>29</sup> सरित भौमिक (2012), इन्होंने श्रमिक आन्दोलन के इतिहास और समाजशास्त्र के समानान्तर विकास की बात की है। इनका मत है कि उदारीकरण के शुरुआत के पिछले 15 वर्षों के बाद भी कोई सुधारात्मक परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है। भारत में श्रमिक आन्दोलन, श्रम कानून, कारखाने, व्यापार संघ और औद्योगिक विवाद अधिनियम के बाहर एक असंगठित क्षेत्र भी है, जिसका अर्थव्यवस्था में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है।<sup>30</sup> असंगठित क्षेत्र के श्रमिकों की समस्याएँ एवं व्यापार बाधाओं को दूर करने के लिए उदारीकरण, निजीकरण एवं आउटसोर्सिंग की दिशा में काम करने वाले वर्ग को प्रभावित किया जाना चाहिए।

इस संदर्भ में अन्तरराष्ट्रीय श्रम संघ द्वारा विकसित किए गए सभी कार्यों की सूची बनाएं, जिससे विकासशील देशों में महिला अधिकार और सामाजिक सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था हो सके।

इसके अलावा कोरोना वायरस के चलते लॉकडाउन के बाद घरेलू कामकाजी महिलाओं के सामने नई चुनौतियाँ उभर कर आ रही हैं। इनके जीवन में प्रभावित वायरस के प्रकोप को सिर्फ औपचारिक और अनौपचारिक रूप से दूर किया जा सकता है। भारत सरकार द्वारा बनाई गई सरकारी योजनाएँ, कार्यक्रम तब तक अधूरा है जब तक उसमें घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं का विकास रहित लाभ पहुँच न सके।

मौजूदा सामाजिक परिदृश्य को बारीकी से देखते हुए स्वयं के अस्तित्व को पूर्ण रूप से सकारात्मक प्रगति की ओर रखने के लिए सम्मान, जागरूकता तथा विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में सहभागी बनना ही होगा जिसके परिणामस्वरूप समाज से जुड़ सके तथा अपनी समस्याओं से उभरकर एक कुशल जीवन व्यतीत कर सके क्योंकि कामगार महिलाओं का उच्चकोटि का एक बहुत बड़ा भाग अभ्यास के स्तर पर रहा है।

समाज में घरेलू कामगारों की कार्य करने का अनुबन्ध अत्यन्त असंतोषजनक है। इन्हीं असुरक्षा के कारण बुनियादी हितों की भी रक्षा से वंचित रहती है। इसके बावजूद भी घरेलू कार्य एक विशेष रूप से शहरीकरण के विस्तार के साथ तेजी से बढ़ता हुआ रोजगार क्षेत्र है। अधिकतर नीतिगत प्रस्तावों/दस्तावेजों ने इन कामगारों के उत्पीड़न, अन्याय, अपंगता उपजने वाली विभिन्न समस्याओं से सम्बन्धित अनेक स्तरों पर विवेकपूर्ण विमर्श हुआ है। इस

विमर्श की सार्थकता तभी सुचारू ढंग से प्रफुल्लित होगी, जब लिखित नीतिगत प्रस्ताव इन कामगार महिलाओं को बुनियादी हक का मुहैया परिपूर्ण हो।

घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं के परिप्रेक्ष्य अक्षमता के अनुभव को मार्गदर्शन करने के लिए सरकारी और गैर सरकारी एजेंसियों के कार्यों में बढ़ोत्तरी करनी ही होगी जिसके परिणामस्वरूप घरेलू कामगार महिलाओं की जीवनशैली एक घनिष्ठ प्रसारिता के रूप में क्रिया कर सके।

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**मंजरी गोंड**

शोध छात्रा

समाजशास्त्र विभाग

महिला महाविद्यालय

काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय

वाराणसी

**डॉ. प्रतिमा गोंड**

असिस्टेन्ट प्रोफेसर

समाजशास्त्र विभाग

महिला महाविद्यालय

काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय

वाराणसी

मो. 9451255300



# गरासिया सहकारिता

## ● अशोक कुमार

सहकारिता से ही मानव अपने जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में उन्नति कर पाया है। इसके बिना मानव जीवन की वृद्धि एवं विकास कल्पना नहीं की जा सकती। मानव की उत्पत्ति से ही सहकारिता के दर्शन होते हैं जो वर्तमान समय में भी जारी हैं।

सहकारिता गरासिया जनजाति के सम्पूर्ण जीवन क्रम की अनोखी विशेषता है। इनके सामाजिक-आर्थिक जीवन का मुख्य आधार स्तम्भ सहकारिता ही रही है। इनके जीवनसाथी की पसंदगी तथा खेती की शुरुआत से लेकर विपणन तक सभी कार्य सहकारिता से ही सम्पन्न होते हैं। सहकारिता कृषि कार्य, घर बनाने और संकट आदि विविध अवसरों पर देखने को मिलती है। गरासिया जनजाति में सहकारिता के विविध रूप यथा-हेलरू, हेलमो, हारी-भावरी आदि देखने को मिलते हैं।

**बीज रूप शब्द**—सहकारिता, गरासिया, हेलरू, हेलमो, हारी, भावरी, सहकारी संस्था, मूली।

### प्रस्तावना

सहकारिता का अभिप्राय है सह+कार्य यानी मिलकर समूह में कार्य करना। दूसरे शब्दों में कहें तो किसी समान उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिये मिलजुल कर कार्य करना। भारत की लगभग सभी जातियों में सहकार की भावना प्राचीन काल से ही विद्यमान है हालांकि आधुनिक समाज में इसकी आवृत्ति कम हो रही है। ग्रामीण समाज में सहकारिता की जड़ें कहीं अधिक दृढ़ हैं। राजस्थान के ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में प्राचीन काल से ही घर बनाने, शादी/ब्याह, मृत्यु, त्यौहार, कृषि और विभिन्न सामाजिक प्रसंगों के समय सहकार से ही सभी कार्य सम्पन्न होते आये हैं। कृषि कार्य के लिये तो वर्तमान में भी बिना पैसे के लेनदेन से मिलकर कार्य किया जाता है जिसे ला प्रथा के नाम से जाना जाता है।

दक्षिण राजस्थान और उत्तर-पूर्वी गुजरात के सीमावर्ती अरावली की पर्वत शृंखलाओं में निवासरत गरासिया जनजाति अपनी अनुपम सहकारिता के लिए



विख्यात हैं। अतीत में सहकारिता का मूल मंत्र सब एक के लिये और एक सबके लिये गरासिया जीवन में प्रत्यक्ष रूप से दिखाई देता है। इसी कारण कोई भी गरासिया भूख से नहीं मरता था, भले ही वह गरीब, अपंग, अपाहिज या अनाथ हो। इनके आर्थिक, सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक जीवन का आधार सहकारिता पर ही टीका हुआ है। वर्तमान समय में इसमें काफी बदलाव दृष्टिगत होता है फिर भी ये भावना इनके जीवन क्रम में आज भी विद्यमान है। इनमें आज भी सहकारिता की झलक युवक-युवती द्वारा जीवनसंगी के चयन, पंचायती, उत्सव, विवाह, मृत्यु, मेले और विभिन्न त्यौहारों के आयोजन एवं मनाने के समय दिखाई देती हैं।

## अध्ययन का उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र का उद्देश्य राजस्थान के सिरोही जिले की आबू और पिंडवाड़ा तहसीलों में निवासरत गरासिया जनजाति की पारंपरिक सहकारिता की विरासत, उपयोगिता और उस में आए बदलावों को रेखांकित करना तथा उनकी विशेषताओं से परिचित करवा कर जिज्ञासुओं में स्वस्थ जिज्ञासा उत्पन्न करना।

## शोध पद्धति

प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र लेखन हेतु राजस्थान राज्य के सिरोही जिले की पिंडवाड़ा और आबू रोड तहसील के भुला, वालोरिया, थंडीबेरी, मोरस गांवों का क्षेत्र कार्य के दौरान प्रत्यक्ष निरीक्षण द्वारा। संपूर्ण लेखन कार्य व्यक्तिगत एवं प्रत्यक्ष



चित्र-1. सिरोही जिले की पिंडवाड़ा तहसील के मोरस गाँव में गरासिया लोगों के साथ

अध्ययन पद्धति द्वारा किया गया है लेकिन इससे संबंधित द्वितीय स्रोतों का भी अध्ययन इस दौरान किया जिसका विवरण संदर्भ ग्रंथ सूची में दिया गया है।

## सहकारिता

गरासियों के घर दूर-दूर बने होते हैं लेकिन जीवन के दैनिक कार्य, सुरक्षा, व्यवसाय आदि प्रत्येक काम-काज के लिये एक-दूसरे के सहयोग और सहकार की जरूरत इन्हें रहती है। मैंने फील्ड वर्क के दौरान स्वयं इनकी सहकारिता को घर के निर्माण, पत्थर को तोड़ने, और कृषि कार्य में देखी है। यह लोग एक-दूसरे के सहयोग, विश्वास और सहायता से अल्प आय/साधनों से भी सुखपूर्वक जीवनयापन करते हैं। इनके जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में सहकारिता देखने को मिलती है—

1. **कृषि कार्य में सहकारिता**—जंगल और पहाड़ों में खेत बनाने, अनाज बोने, कुएं या बोरवेल से खेती करने, खाद-बीज की व्यवस्था, फसल काटने, अनाज-चारा घर पहुँचाने, नदी के पानी को खेत तक ले जाने के लिये 'सारन'



चित्र-2. सिरोही जिले की आबूरोड़ तहसील के भुला गाँव के वयोवृद्ध गरासिया लोगों से जानकारी प्राप्त करते हुए।

बनाना, विकट स्थिति या अनाज व चारे का कम उत्पादन होने पर परस्पर सहयोग में सहकारिता के विविध रूप दृष्टिगत होते हैं। वर्तमान समय में बाजारीकरण, तथा कृषि यंत्रों के विकास तथा यातायात के साधनों के विकास के कारण इस क्षेत्र में सहकारिता में कमी देखने को मिल रही है।

2. **घर बनाना**—घर बनाने के लिये जंगल से लकड़ी लाना, उन्हें तैयार करना, केलू बनाना और घर की छत को ढंकना आदि कार्य सहकारिता से संभव

होते हैं क्योंकि आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी न होने के कारण अकेला व्यक्ति ये सभी कार्य नहीं कर सकता। ये सभी कार्य बिना पैसे के केवल भोजन खिला कर पूर्ण किए जाते हैं। वर्तमान समय में प्रधानमंत्री आवास योजना के कारण पक्के मकानों के निर्माण से इस क्षेत्र में भी सहकारिता काफी कम हो गई है। लेकिन फिर भी मजदूरी कार्य, पत्थर और बजरी आदि विभिन्न साधनों को लाने के लिये सहकारिता की आवश्यकता अभी भी बनी हुई है।

3. **संकट के दौरान**—भयंकर बीमारी, जंगली जानवर के साथ संघर्ष, चोरी-डाका या किसी की हत्या होने पर सभी व्यक्ति पीड़ित की मदद करते हैं। जिससे गरीब से गरीब व्यक्ति भी संकट के समय खुद को अकेला एवं अनाथ नहीं समझता। यह सहकारिता वर्तमान समय में भी पूर्ववत् विद्यमान है जिस कारण जंगली क्षेत्र में दूर-दूर घर होने पर ये स्वयं को सुरक्षित महसूस करते हैं। गरासिया जनजाति में सहकारिता की परंपरा के विभिन्न रूप देखने को मिलते हैं जिनका विशद वर्णन निम्नानुसार है—

## हारी-भावरी-

यह सहकारिता की परंपरा सामूहिक खेती से जुड़ी हुई हैं जिसमें एक कुएं पर मिल-जुल कर खेती करने वाले उस कुएं के हारी/हाली कहलाते हैं। कुएं पर खेती करने वाले जमीन के मालिक या पातिदार यानी उपज के हिस्से पर खेती करने वाले दोनों हो सकते हैं। इसमें कुएं का मालिक और अन्य व्यक्ति फसल बोन से लेकर अनाज-चारा घर ले जाने तक सभी कार्य मिलकर करते हैं तथा खेती के लिए कोई बैल लाता है, कोई बीज, तो कोई अन्य जरूरी साधन-सामग्री, इसमें मालिक और हारी के मध्य बिना भेदभाव के सारे कार्य सम्पन्न होते हैं।

फसल पकने पर सबसे पहले 'लाटे' में एकत्रित साफ की फसल के बीजों में से बीज का खर्च अलग किया जाता है जो बीज देने वाले को वापस सवाया (सवा गुना) लौटाया जाता है। इसके बाद बची उपज को परंपरानुसार हारीयों में बाँटा जाता है—

1. यदि खेती करने वाले हारी उस कुएं व जमीन के मालिक हो तो सभी को समान हिस्सा मिलेगा।
2. यदि खेती करने वालों में से एक या एकाधिक व्यक्ति कुएं व जमीन का मालिक नहीं है तो उसे प्राप्त अपने हिस्से का पाँचवाँ भाग 'बैठी भावरी' के रूप में कुएं व जमीन के मालिक को देना होता है। बैठी भावरी के रूप में प्राप्त उपज को कुएं व जमीन के मालिक हारीयों में समान रूप से बाँटा जाता है।

हारी खेती करने वाले किसान को, वहीं भावरी खेती में उसकी हिस्सेदारी(पार्टनरशीप) को कहते हैं। दूसरों के कुएं व जमीन पर खेती के लिये 'भावरी' के विभिन्न प्रकार हो सकते हैं—

1. **बैल-हल के साथ आने पर**—स्वयं के बैल-हल के साथ आने वाले व्यक्ति को खेती में प्रत्येक हारी के बराबर काम करना होता है, फसल पकने पर बीज और बैठी भावरी देने के बाद शेष फसल को सभी हारियों में बराबर बांटा दिया जाता है।
2. **एक बैल के साथ आने पर**—ऐसे हारी को खेत के मालिक एक बैल की सहायता देते हैं तथा फसल पकने पर बीज और लगान का भाग निकालने के बाद सभी हारियों में समान रूप से हिस्से (भावरी) को बांटा जाता है, परंतु एक बैल न होने पर हारी को एक बैल के हिस्से का एक चौथाई अनाज उस व्यक्ति को देना होगा, जिसने उसे एक बैल की मदद खेती में की है।
3. **बिना बैल आने पर**—यदि किसी के पास एक भी बैल नहीं तो उसे अपने हिस्से (भावरी) से आधा भाग बैलों के मालिक को देना होता है।

बाहरी हारी को बैल आदि सहायता कुएं पर ही प्राप्त हो जाती है जो सहकारिता का ही नायाब उदाहरण है। बाहरी हारी के साथ किसी भी विवाद में गाँव के व्यक्ति पंचायत द्वारा हल निकलते हैं उसे फसल निकालने तक भावरी से बाहर नहीं किया जा सकता।

4. **नौकर हारी**—यदि कुएं व जमीन के मालिक खुद खेती करना नहीं चाहते या परिस्थिति के कारण स्वयं खेती नहीं कर पाते, परंतु उनके पास बैल, हल और अन्य खेती के लिये जरूरी साधन-सामग्री उपलब्ध है तो ऐसे व्यक्ति खेती करने के इच्छुक हारी को नौकर हारी के रूप में रखते हैं। उसे परिवार के सदस्य की तरह घर पर रखते हैं और भोजन-वस्त्र भी देते हैं। नौकर हारी को प्राप्त होने वाली भावरी की शर्तें—

- फसल निकलने पर मालिक हारी को प्राप्त भावरी का एक-चौथाई हिस्सा मिलता है।
- यदि नौकरी हारी अपने घर पर रहता है और भोजन भी घर पर ही करता है, तो उसे मालिक की भावरी का आधा भाग अनाज मिलता है।
- यदि वह एक बैल लेकर आता है तो मालिक की भावरी का तीन-चौथाई हिस्सा तथा दो बैल लाने पर बीज, कुएं और जमीन का हिस्सा अलग करके पूरी भावरी भी प्राप्त हो सकती थी।

सहकारिता का नायाब उदाहरण तब मिलता है जब कुएं पर खेती करने वाले मालिक हारी यदि खेती करने की स्थिति में नहीं है या विधवा महिला है या विधवा महिला के छोटे बच्चे हो, जो खेती करने योग्य न हुए हो, लेकिन उनके पास हल-बैल हैं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में अन्य हारी मिलकर कार्य करेंगे एवं विधवा महिला और बच्चे योग्य कार्य में सहाय करेंगे। यदि बैल नहीं हैं तो हेलमों द्वारा सहाय की जाती है। इसके अलावा विधवा किसी को नौकर हारी भी रख सकती है। तब उन्हें भी समान हिस्सा मिलेगा।

## हेलरू

यह गरासिया युवक-युवतियों की एक मौसमी सहकारी संस्था है। हर घर से एक सदस्य लेकर हेलरू का गठन किया जाता है, जिसमें सात से पंद्रह सदस्य होते हैं। इसके सभी सदस्य मिल-जुल कर बारी-बारी से एक-दूसरे के खेत या जंगल के कार्य में सहायता करते हैं।

## हेलरू के कार्य

1. **खेती संबंधी**—हल जोतने, बीज बोने, खरपतवार हटाने, मक्का खोदना, फसल काटने।
2. **जंगल संबंधी**—घास लाना, लकड़ी व बांस काटना और घर पर लाना।
3. **घर के निर्माण संबंधी**—दीवार बनाना, लकड़ी व बांस लाना, केलु/थपेरा बनाना और ढकने में सहाय आदि।

## हेलमों

यह सहकारिता का अति उत्तम तरीका है जिससे सभी प्रकार के भारी-भरकम और कठिन कार्य परस्पर सहयोग द्वारा सम्पूर्ण किये जाते हैं। वर्षा के मौसम के समय इसका आयोजन अधिक होता है लेकिन इसकी उपयोगिता सर्दी की फसल और अन्य कार्यों के लिए भी हमेशा रहती है। हेलमे का न्योता घर-घर जाकर या प्रभात के समय घर के पास की पहाड़ी पर चढ़कर टेर लगाई जाती है मारे घेर हेलमों है, हारा होर लेन आवजो, इहोहो.... अर्थात् मेरे घर पर हेलमो है इसलिए सभी हल लेकर आना। आजकल मोबाइल फोन के माध्यम से भी बुलाया जाता है। गरासिया लोग विभिन्न कार्यों के लिये हेलमो का आयोजन करते हैं—

1. **खेत जोतने हेतु**—खेत को एक निश्चित समय पर जोतना और बीज बोना जरूरी होता है। अतः इसके लिए अधिक हल-बैलों एवं व्यक्तियों की जरूरत होती है। इसलिए परंपरानुसार हेलमों का आयोजन किया

जाता है जिसमें केवल भोजन का ही खर्च होता है। इसमें सभी व्यक्ति (छोटे-बड़े) अपना नैतिक कर्तव्य मानते हुए शामिल होते हैं और खेत में कोई हल चलता, कोई बीज बोता, तो कोई कंकड़ पत्थर एकत्रित करके किनारे पर रखता है। वर्तमान समय में ट्रैक्टर और कृषि यंत्रों के आविष्कार ने हेलमो के स्वरूप को भी बदल दिया।

2. **नींदवारी हेलमो**—फसल के साथ उगे अनावश्यक पौधों यानी खरपतवार को हटाने के लिये हेलमो किया जाता है।
3. **मेकी खेणवी रो हेलमो**—मक्के की फसल को शक्ति देने और पुष्ट बनाने के लिये जड़ों के पास से कुदाली से खोदा जाता है ताकि जड़ों को हवा मिले तथा पौधा जल्दी बड़ा हो। इस काम हेतु भी हेलमो का ही सहारा लिया जाता है।
4. **अन्य हेलमो**—फसल काटने, दाने निकालने, अनाज/फसल को घर तक पहुंचाने आदि विभिन्न हेलमो का आयोजन होता है।
5. **माल बनाने का हेलमो**—कुएं पर रहट की माल बनाने के लिये केवल अनुभवी पुरुषों को ही न्योता दिया जाता है।
6. **मकान बनाने का हेलमो**—जंगल से लकड़ी और बांस काटकर लाने का हेलमो, मकान ढकने ले लिये केलु/थापरों बनाने के लिये महिलाओं के हेलमो जिसमें दोपहर में रोटी के साथ गुड़ की मीठी सब्जी दी जाती है। अनुभवी लोगों को घर पर लकड़ियां जमाने और बांस बांधने के लिये 'हल्लीवा वारा' के हेलमो का आमंत्रण दिया जाता है।
7. **हारन निर्माण का हेलमो**—नदी या तालाब के पानी को खेतों तक पहुंचाने के हेलमो का आयोजन किया जाता है जिसमें सहयोग करने वालों को ही पानी मिलता है अन्य को नहीं। यदि सहकार नहीं करने वाला व्यक्ति पानी लेन चाहे तो उसे हारन बनाने वाले लोगों की सहमति लेने के बाद उन्हें घी का चूरमा खिलाना होता है। लेकिन वर्तमान में ऐसे व्यक्ति से मजदूरी के रूप में रोकड़ रुपये लेकर आपस में बांटते हैं।

पहले दोपहर में खेत का मालिक दोनों हाथों की अंजली में आये इतनी मक्के की घूंघरी खाने को देता था, परंतु बदलते समय के साथ घूंघरी के साथ दाल, जबकि वर्तमान में रोटी-सब्जी और लापसी भी बनाते हैं। ये सब खेत के मालिक की आर्थिक स्थिति पर निर्भर करता है। मक्के की फसल की खुदाई के समय दो बार खाने को दिया जाता है।

## निष्कर्ष

अंतः स्पष्ट है कि गरासिया लोक खेती या अन्य कार्य को समयबद्ध और आसानी से करने हेतु सहकारिता के मूल मंत्र का ही सहारा लेते हैं। सहकारिता के इस आदर्श को हमारे विद्यालयों और महाविद्यालयों में पढ़ाया एवं सिखाया जाना चाहिए, जो पाश्चात्य सहकारी संस्थाओं और लेखकों के सिद्धांतों से कई गुना बेहतर और स्थानिक परिस्थिति के अनुरूप है। गरासिया जाति की इन सहकारिता की पारंपरिक संस्थाओं को पुनर्गठन करके अधिक उपयोगी बनाया जा सकता है जिससे सामुदायिक विकास के सकारात्मक परिणाम मिल सकें।

हेलरू एक घूमती फिरती स्वैच्छिक संस्था है जो समूह में बिना रुपये के लेन-देन के सहकारिता के आदर्श 'सब एक के लिये और एक सबके लिये' को साकार करते हुए स्वयं को सामाजिक-आर्थिक रूप से उन्नत करते हैं। ये आवश्यकता के अनुरूप प्रायः हर फली या गाँव में बनते हैं। इससे हर कार्य सुगमता और फुर्ती से पूर्ण होता है। हालांकि समय के साथ इसमें काफी बदलाव आया है और आधुनिकता के दौर में वैचारिक बदलाव के कारण अपना अस्तित्व खोती जा रही है।

हेलमो से गरासिया लोगों में अकेलेपन या गरीबी की हीन भावना घर नहीं करती। समय के साथ बदलते हुए परिवेश के हेलमो के कार्य जरूर बदले लेकिन इसकी आत्मा और लोकप्रियता बनी हुई है। गरासिया लोगों को समूह में कार्य करना बहुत पसंद है जो हेलमो को अनुकूलता प्रदान करता है। परंतु समयानुसार स्वार्थ वृत्ति और पैसे कमाने की भावना का असर इस पर भी पड़ा है, फिर भी इसकी उपयोगिता एवं महत्व बना हुआ है।

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## माधव हाड़ा रचित “पद्मिनी-इतिहास और कथा-काव्य की जुगलबंदी”

• बी.एल. भादानी

माधव हाड़ा द्वारा लिखित सद्य प्रकाशित कृति “पद्मिनी-इतिहास और कथा-काव्य की जुगलबंदी” एक अद्वितीय शोधपूर्ण रचना है। उनकी यह रचना पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन पर उपलब्ध सम्पूर्ण ऐतिहासिक साहित्य (काव्य एवं गद्य) का विवेचनापूर्ण अध्ययन है जो निश्चित ही उनकी गहन शोध दृष्टि का परिचायक है। इस ग्रन्थ में साहित्य एवं इतिहास में उनकी चहलकदमी अत्यंत दिलस्प है एवं पाठक के मन में जिज्ञासा जागृत करने वाली है। उन्होंने इस अध्ययन को दो खंडों में विभाजित किया है—प्रथम, विवेचनात्मक अध्ययन एवं द्वितीय, देशज ऐतिहासिक कथा-काव्यों का संकलन। अन्त में शब्दार्थ सूची भी है जो पाठकों हेतु उपयोगी है। लेखक ने सम्पूर्ण सामग्री को लगभग सात सौ पृष्ठों में संयोजित करने का सराहनीय कार्य किया है।

लेखक ने अपने ‘प्रास्ताविक’ के प्रारंभ में ही अपनी विवेचना के आधार को स्पष्ट करते हुवे लिखा है कि “अलाउद्दीन खिलजी का चित्तौड़गढ़ अभियान लोक स्मृति और साहित्य में सदियों से लगभग ‘मान्य सत्य’ का दर्जा प्राप्त है जिसको ऐतिहासिक कथा-काव्यों के आधार पर विद्वान लेखक ने ‘ऐतिहासिक सत्य’ एवं ‘तथ्य’ के रूप में स्थापित करने का सराहनीय प्रयास किया है जो क्राबिले तारीफ है। निश्चित ही यह एक भगीरथ प्रयास (herculean effort) है जिसकी सफलता उनके स्वयं के द्वारा अर्जित है। आगे बढ़ने से पूर्व यहां एक बात की ओर संकेत करना आवश्यक है कि माधवजी ने जिन ऐतिहासिक रचनाओं के आधार पर पद्मिनी की ‘सत्यता’ को स्थापित करने का गंभीर प्रयास किया है उसका निश्चित ही अकादमिक एवं विद्वत् जगत् में स्वागत होगा। लेकिन विदेशी पर्यटकों हेतु लिखित पुस्तकें, पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन प्रकरण पर निर्मित फिल्में एवं टी.वी. सिरीयल्स से इतिहास में पद्मिनी को निश्चित ही



स्थापित नहीं किया जा सकता है। इन सब प्रयासों की पृष्ठभूमि में मुद्रा अर्जित करने का उद्देश्य मुख्य होता है जिनका इतिहास से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं होता।

माधवजी ने इस बात पर विशेष बल दिया है कि पन्द्रहवीं एवं सोलहवीं शती में रचित पद्मिनी विषयक कथा-काव्यों का आधार 'लोक-स्मृति' था एवं यही आधार जायसी रचित पद्मावत का भी था यद्यपि दोनों की शैली में भी भिन्नता है। यहां यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि क्या 'लोक स्मृति' के आधार पर रचित किसी भी प्रकार की रचना को जांच-पड़ताल के बिना इतिहास के दायरे में लाया जा सकता है? हालांकि इस बिन्दु पर हाड़ाजी की राय सकारात्मक है।

लेखक ने इस शोधपूर्ण ग्रन्थ को लिखने के मन्तव्य को स्पष्ट शब्दों में रेखांकित किया है। वे लिखते हैं कि "इतिहास और साहित्य की औपनिवेशिक चेतना और संस्कार का ही नतीजा है कि साहित्य की अपनी तरह की इस अलग और खास परंपरा को साहित्य और इतिहास, दोनों अनुशासनों ने अपने विचार के दायरे में नहीं लिया।" यह बात काफी हद तक सही हो सकती है जिसका एक कारण देशज भाषा से अनभिज्ञता होना भी हो सकता है न कि "औपनिवेशिक चेतना और संस्कार।" मेरा ख्याल है कि माधवजी ने अपने प्रास्ताविक में जिस प्रकार की शब्दावली का प्रयोग किया है उनका प्रयोग किए बिना भी वे पद्मिनी के अस्तित्व को बखूबी प्रमाणित कर सकते थे। उदाहरणार्थ पद्मिनी पर 'रोमांटिक' और 'राष्ट्रीय साहित्य' के सृजन का प्रश्न या फिर यूरोपीय संस्कारवाले भारतीय इतिहासकारों में गौरीशंकर ओझा एवं किशोरीसरन लाल जैसे इतिहासकारों को सम्मिलित करना आदि। इसी सन्दर्भ में लेखक द्वारा यह लिखना कि 'भारतीय इतिहास के इस प्रकरण (अर्थात् 'पद्मिनी') की अभी तक जो समझ बनी है, यह इस्लामी और औपनिवेशिक स्रोतों पर आधारित है।' लेखक किन औपनिवेशिक स्रोतों की ओर संकेत कर रहा है यह स्पष्ट नहीं है। अलाउद्दीन खल्जी के काल में लिखित फारसी स्रोतों को धर्म विशेष अर्थात् इस्लामी स्रोत कहना कहां तक युक्ति संगत है? इस दृष्टि से हिन्दी या देशज भाषाओं में लिखित साहित्य हिन्दू स्रोत कहलाएंगे।

प्रथम अध्याय 'भारतीय परम्परा' में लेखक का महत्वपूर्ण कथन कि पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन प्रकरण से सम्बन्धित देशज भाषाओं में रचित कथा-काव्य प्राचीन भारतीय परंपराओं का स्वाभाविक और देशज विकास है। यह एक उल्लेखनीय प्रतिस्थापना है जिसको स्वीकारने में किसी प्रकार की हिचक नहीं होनी चाहिए। निश्चित ही भारत में कथा लेखन एवं काव्य सृजन की समृद्ध एवं

सदीर्घ परंपरा रही है। इस प्रकार का साहित्य भारतीय एवं क्षेत्रीय इतिहास लेखन के लिए न केवल मूल सामग्री मुहैया करवाता है बल्कि उसे विश्वसनीयता भी प्रदान करता है। लेकिन डॉ. हाड़ा साहब जायसी के पद्मावत को इस परम्परा से विलग मानते हैं लेकिन अगली ही पंक्ति में लिखते हैं कि उनके काव्य में अंशतः फारसी, अंशतः संस्कृत और अंशतः क्षेत्रीय परम्पराओं के तत्व सम्मिलित हैं। इस आधार पर पद्मावत को भारतीय परम्परा से जुदा करना जायसी के साथ थोड़ा अन्याय होगा। मेरी राय में उनके लेखन ने भारतीय परम्परा के दायरे का कुछ न कुछ विस्तार ही किया है। प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य सम्पन्नता की बात निर्विवाद है। यहां वेदों, पुराणों एवं स्मृतियों के अतिरिक्त असंख्य हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, शिलालेख एवं ताड़पत्र आदि उपलब्ध हैं जिसकी ओर लेखक ने संकेत किया है।

हाड़ाजी इतिहास के बारे में एक स्थान पर लिखते हैं कि “भारत में इतिहास लेखन की परंपरा हमेशा दरबारी कविता से संबद्ध रही है। तथ्यों पर निर्भरता के साथ भारतीय इतिहासकारों का आग्रह उसको कविता में रचना-बाँधना भी है। वे इसीलिए तथ्यों का उल्लेख तो करते हैं लेकिन उनके विवरणों में नहीं जाते। विवरणों के स्थान को वे अक्सर अपनी कल्पना से भरते हैं।” यहां यह प्रश्न उठना स्वाभाविक है कि विवरणों के स्थान को कल्पना से भरने के कारण उसका साक्ष्य के रूप में इतिहास-लेखन में क्या महत्व होगा?

आगे वे लिखते हैं मध्यकाल में शौर्य, पराक्रम और स्वामीधर्म जैसे मूल्यों को ध्यान में रखकर इतिहासकार अतीत की पुनरर्चना करते रहे हैं। निश्चित ही मध्ययुगीन समाज एवं राजनीति के साथ-साथ सैन्य जातियों के यौद्धाओं में इन मूल्यों की जड़े मजबूत करने का भी उद्देश्य होता था लेकिन कवि इन मूल्यों के दायरे में उन शासकों को भी सम्मिलित कर लेता था जो युद्ध-भूमि त्याग कर अपने वतन लौट आते थे। युद्ध क्षेत्र त्याग कर आने की सूचना पर उसकी रानी दुर्गा के दरवाजे बन्द कर लेती थी। इसका तात्पर्य यह हुआ कि ये मूल्य मात्र मध्ययुगीन प्रचार सामग्री थे एवं अंशतः कवि-इतिहासकार के लाभ से भी सम्बद्ध हुवा करते थे।

इसके आगे माधवजी ने इतिहास की सरलीकृत परिभाषा की ओर भी संकेत किया है। वे लिखते हैं कि “सही तो यह है कि नाम संज्ञाओं और तिथियों को छोड़कर इतिहास में जो होता है, वह कमोबेश कथा जैसा ही होता है।” इसी को वे इतिहास और कथा की एक-दूसरे में आवाजाही मानते हैं। क्या इसका निहितार्थ यह निकाला जाए कि विभिन्न विषयों जैसे सामाजिक-

आर्थिक, विज्ञान एवं तकनोलोजी आदि पर उपलब्ध स्रोतों को भी कथा की श्रेणी में रख सकते हैं?

लेखक ने भारत में कथा लेखन की स्वायत्त परम्परा की ओर संकेत करते हुवे कथा रूप में इतिहास लेखन की विशिष्टता को रेखांकित किया है जो नितान्त सही निष्कर्ष है। प्राचीन से लेकर पूर्व-आधुनिक काल के इतिहास की पुनर्रचना हेतु ये कथाएं अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण ही नहीं बल्कि मूल स्रोत भी हैं। लेखक का कथन बिल्कुल सही है कि प्रारंभ में इतिहास और कथा की एक दूसरे में आवाजाही निरंतर एवं सघन रही है। इनको अलग करके आंकना मुश्किल एवं बेमानी हो जाता है। राजस्थानी बातें क्षेत्र के सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन हेतु सामग्री मुहैया करवाती हैं। प्राचीन कथाओं में तिथियों का अंकन नहीं मिलता है लेकिन कतिपय राजस्थानी बातों में तिथियों का अंकन भी मिलता है जिसको इतिहास-लेखन के विकास के पड़ाव के रूप में देख सकते हैं।

लेखक ने कथा-इतिहास के 19 आनुषंगिक रूपों की ओर संकेत किया है जो उनके अनुसार इतिहास अनुशासन के रूप में विकसित हैं। इतिहास के समानार्थी शब्दों के रूप में नाराशंसी, गाथा, आख्यान एवं पुराणों के प्रयुक्त होते रहने पर भी पाठ में जोर दिया गया है जिनका विकास मौखिक परंपराओं से हुवा प्रतीत होता है। इसी सन्दर्भ में उन्होंने नाराशंसी को भारतीय इतिहास परंपरा का प्राचीनतम रूप माना है। जिस शब्द का प्रारंभिक अर्थ नरों की स्तुति था लेकिन आगे इसके अर्थ के दायरों में विस्तार हो गया और अब 'नरों द्वारा की गयी स्तुति' इसमें समाहित हो गया। इस अभिधारणा के दायरे के विस्तार में शतपथ ब्राह्मण, तैत्तरीय आरण्यक एवं याज्ञवल्क्य की भूमिका को रेखांकित किया गया है। कौटिल्य इसके दायरे को बड़ा बनाते हुवे पुराण इतिवृत, आख्यायिका, उदाहरण, धर्मशास्त्र एवं अर्थशास्त्र की विद्याओं को भी इतिहास के अन्तर्गत ले आता है।

लेखक इतिहास की प्राचीन भारतीय परंपरा के निर्माण एवं विस्तार में भृग्वंशियों की भूमिका को रेखांकित करता है। इस शब्द की उत्पत्ति उत्तर वैदिककाल में आंगिरस, अथर्वन एवं भृगुवंश के एकीकरण से हुई। इन तीनों वंशों की सक्रियता या एकीकरण को डॉ. हाड़ा साहब भारतीय इतिहास के विकास में एक उल्लेखनीय घटना मानते हैं। इसके पूर्व वैदिककाल में वशिष्ठ, विश्वामित्र एवं भारद्वाज थे जो अपने आश्रयदाताओं की प्रशस्तियों की रचना करते थे। भृग्वंशिरस समूह को इतिहास-पुराण परम्परा के विस्तार, पल्लवन ही नहीं महाभारत एवं रामायण के विकास का श्रेय भी देते हैं। इस क्षेत्र पर इस समूह का वर्चस्व उत्तर वैदिक काल के पश्चात भी बरकरार रहा।

लेखक पश्चातवर्ती काल में भृवंगिरसों की भूमिका में आए बदलाव की ओर संकेत करते हैं। वे अब राजाओं के आश्रय में रहकर रोजगारी हो गए एवं अब वे अपने नायकों की प्रशंसा में चरित काव्यों की रचना करने लगे। यही परम्परा आगे की सदियों में विकसित होती चली गई एवं देशज भाषाओं में रासो, ख्यात, वंशावली, पाटनामा एवं बही नाम से पहचाने जाने लगे। लेखक इन सबकों वैदिककाल से प्रचलित कथा-काव्यों से ही जोड़ते हैं। लेखन की क्रमबद्धता हाड़ाजी की विशिष्टता है। लेखक का का भृवंगिरस समूह से सम्बन्धित कथन वाकई महत्त्वपूर्ण है। प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास पर शोध करने वाले शोधार्थियों को लेखक एक प्रकार से मूल सामग्री मुहैया करवाते हैं।

डॉ. हाड़ा ने पद्मिनी रत्नसेन प्रकरण से सम्बन्धित स्थानीय भाषा अर्थात् देशज भाषाओं में रचित कथा-काव्यों की सुदीर्घ परम्परा की ओर भी संकेत किया है। इस परम्परा की शुरुआत 1588 ई. से होकर उन्नसर्वी सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध तक दृष्टिगोचर होती है। इनमें हेमतरन (1588 ई.), जटमल नाहर (1623 ई.) एवं लब्धोदय (1649 ई.) मुख्य रचनाकार हैं जिन्होंने इस प्रकरण को केन्द्र में रखकर रचना की है। पद्मिनी प्रकरण 1303 ई. से सम्बद्ध घटना है लेकिन इस विषय पर रचना लगभग 285 वर्ष पश्चात् होती है। यहां यह प्रश्न उठता है कि इतने लम्बे अर्से के मध्य क्यों नहीं इस प्रकार की रचना की गई? 1588 ई. में एक मेवाड़ी जैन अधिकारी ताराचंद के आग्रह पर जैन मुनि ने इस ग्रन्थ की रचना क्यों की? इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में तात्कालीन राजनीतिक परिस्थितियों की क्या कोई भूमिका थी? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर इस ग्रन्थ से प्राप्त नहीं होता।

विद्वान लेखक का मानना है कि पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन प्रकरण पर रचित काव्यों का स्रोत एक ही कथा बीजक पर निर्भर है। इसके अतिरिक्त उनके अनुसार यही कथा गुजरात सहित उत्तरी-पश्चिमी भारत के कुछ क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित रही है। ये कथा बीजक लोक-स्मृति में विराजित थे। इसके साथ ही उन्होंने यह अनुमान लगाने का प्रयास भी किया है कि मलिक मुहम्मद जायसी ने भी सम्भवतः इसी 'पारंपरिक कथा बीजक' पर ही अपने ग्रंथ की रचना की है। उनके इस कथन से यह ज्ञात नहीं होता कि 1588 ई. में हेमतरन द्वारा रचित काव्य से पूर्व इस कथा बीजक के 'लोक स्मृति' में अस्तित्व में होने के क्या आधार हैं? क्या इसका आधार उनका अनुमान है या सिर्फ 'मान्य सत्य'? लेकिन इसका उत्तर उन्होंने 'छिताई वार्ता' में आए पद्मिनी प्रकरण के आधार पर देने का प्रयास किया है जो विश्वसनीय तो प्रतीत होता है परन्तु इस वार्ता के रचनाकाल को लेकर कई किन्तु-परन्तु इसे थोड़ा संशयात्मक अवश्य बनाते हैं।

थोड़ा विषयान्तर होने का जोखिम लेते हुवे लेखक के उस कथन को उद्घृत करना चाहूँगा जब वे कहते हैं कि 'ऐसे समय में जब आवागमन और संचार के साधन नहीं थे, महज 48 वर्ष की अवधि में जायस (अवध) में लिखी हुई रचना की कथा का 600-700 मील दूर राजस्थान के पाली जिले के सादड़ी कस्बे में चातुर्मास कर रहे जैन यति तक पहुँच पाना संभव नहीं लगता। लेखक के इस कथन का उद्देश्य मात्र यह बताना है कि जायसी द्वारा पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन प्रकरण आवागमन और संचार के साधनों के अविकसित होने के कारण 600-700 मील दूर स्थित सादड़ी (मेवाड़) तक पहुँचना असम्भव प्रतीत होता है। तो फिर ग्वालियर में रचित छिताई वार्ता की कथा सादड़ी कैसे पहुँची जो लगभग 670 कि.मी. दूर है जबकि जायस (अमेठी से 14 कि.मी. दूर) एवं सादड़ी की दूरी लगभग 1100 कि.मी. है। लेखक जायस एवं सादड़ी की दूरी 600-700 मील बताते हैं जिसका 1500-1750 कि.मी. के लगभग होता है। मैं यहाँ सिर्फ दो बिन्दुओं की ओर संकेत करना चाहता हूँ-प्रथम, आवागमन एवं संचार के माध्यमों का अविकसित नहीं होना। इस सम्बन्ध में इब्नबबूता लिखता है-सम्पूर्ण दिल्ली साम्राज्य में राजमार्ग (Highway) हैं। जहाँ निश्चित दूरी पर मीनारें एवं चार कोस के फासलें पर सराएं निर्मित हैं। लंबी दूरी की यात्रा हेतु धनी यात्री घोड़ों पर एवं निर्धन पैदल यात्रा करते थे। सरकारी एवं निजी डाक व्यवस्था थी। बड़ी संख्या में मुल्तानी, बन्जारे एवं व्यापारी अनाज एवं अन्य जिनसों के व्यापार में संलग्न थे (तुलनीय, द केम्ब्रीज इकनोमिक हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया सं. तपन राय चौधरी एवं इरफान हबीब, दिल्ली, 1984, पृ. 83-84) द्वितीय, फारसी लिपि में अवधि भाषा में किसी सूफी संत द्वारा रचित कविता का उसके अनुयायियों में प्रचलन एवं उनके द्वारा ही उसका प्रचार-प्रसार। उसके अतिरिक्त जैन मुनि निरन्तर धार्मिक एवं चातुर्मास यात्राएं करते थे विशेषतः वे वहीं निवास करते थे जहाँ उनके अनुयायी निवास करते थे जिसकी ओर मारवाड़ के सन्दर्भ में मैंने संकेत किया है ('दृष्टव्य, पिजेण्ट्स, आर्टिजन्स एण्ड एन्त्रप्रिन्योर्स'-जयपुर, 1991, पृ. 352-53; खरतरगच्छ का इतिहास सं. महोपाध्याय विनय सागर, अजमेर, 1959, भाग 1, इस ग्रंथ में जैन मुनियों की यात्राओं का वर्णन मिलता है)। इस तथ्य के आधार पर यह सम्भावना व्यक्त की जा सकती है कि पद्मिनी से सम्बन्धित कथा जैन मुनियों एवं सूफी अनुयायियों के द्वारा ग्वालियर एवं राजस्थान पहुँची होगी।

डॉ. हाड़ा की इस बात से किसी को भी असहमति नहीं होगी कि 'इतिहास की इस घटना का या प्रकरण का कथा पल्लवन और विस्तार पारंपरिक

देशज कथा-काव्यों में' हुआ है लेकिन निश्चित ही 1588 ई. में हेमरतन एवं अज्ञात कवि की रचनाओं के पश्चात् ही ऐसा सम्भव हुआ है, उस समय से पूर्व निश्चित नहीं। जब तक इस काल से पूर्व की रचना उपलब्ध नहीं हो जाती तब तक अंतिम रूप से कुछ भी कह पाना मुश्किल है।

किसी ऐतिहासिक कथा को अगर 'मिथ' कहा जाता है तो उसके पीछे निश्चित आधार होता है न कि किसी प्रकार के झूठ को प्रचारित करने का उद्देश्य होता है। जब तक किसी भी ऐतिहासिक कथा-काव्य में वर्णित किसी प्रकरण की किन्हीं समकालीन स्रोतों से पुष्टि नहीं हो जाती तब तक वह साक्ष्य संशय के घेरे में रहता है। किसी भी कथा में वर्णित घटना के 'लोकप्रिय' एवं 'मान्य' हो जाने से वह ऐतिहासिक सत्य नहीं हो जाती। हालांकि लेखक ने अमीर खुसरो द्वारा लिखित खजाइन-उल्ल-फुतुह में आए सांकेतिक उल्लेख का पद्मिनी अलाउद्दीन से जोड़ने का प्रयास अधिक विश्वसनीय प्रतीत नहीं होता। इतिहास में प्रत्यक्ष एवं दस्तावेजों का आग्रह उसका आधार है न कि दुराग्रह। लेखक ने अन्त में पृ. 160 पर लिखा है कि-“भारतीय ऐतिहासिक कथा-काव्य परंपरा के अनुसार ये रचनाएं सीधे यथार्थ नहीं, यथार्थ का प्रतिबिंबन हैं। यह यथार्थ कवि-कथाकार का अपना देखा गया यथार्थ है।” क्या हेमरतन द्वारा रचित ग्रन्थ उसके द्वारा देखा गया यथार्थ है? इस सम्बन्ध में अधिक स्पष्टता अपेक्षित है।

लेखक ने मेवाड़ में प्रचलित प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था एवं सामंतवाद पर विस्तार से चर्चा की है। इसी सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने लिखा कि मेवाड़ में ब्राह्मणों एवं मंदिरों को दिया जाने वाला भूमिदान स्थाई नहीं होता था जो सही प्रतीत नहीं होता। उनको दी जाने वाले भूमि को परवाने में ही यह शर्त होती थी कि दान प्राप्तकर्ता के बेटे-पोते उसका उपभोग करेंगे एवं उसको कोई जब्त नहीं कर सकेगा। मेवाड़ में जो भूमि महाराणा प्रताप द्वारा ब्राह्मणों को प्रदान की गई थी उसको 1951 ई. में प्रकाशित 'मेवाड़ एटलस' में धार्मिक अनुदान के रूप में दर्शाया गया है। मारवाड़ के सन्दर्भ में इसी बात को मैंने अपने ग्रन्थ (पूर्वोक्त) में रेखांकित किया है।

डॉ. माधव हाड़ा द्वारा लिखित इस ग्रन्थ में ऐसी बहुत सी बातें हैं जिन पर लंबी चर्चा की जा सकती है या लिखा जा सकता है लेकिन एक बात यहां स्वीकार करने में कोई गुरेज नहीं होना चाहिए वह यह कि उन्होंने बड़े मनोयोग एवं पूर्ण गंभीरता से इस ग्रन्थ की रचना की है। इस ग्रन्थ में उन्होंने यह प्रमाणित करने का भरपूर प्रयास किया है कि पद्मिनी-रत्नसेन प्रकरण हेमरतन एवं अन्य कवियों द्वारा रचित कथा-काव्य भारतीय प्राचीन साहित्य की परम्परा का ही एक

अंग है या उसका विस्तार है। यहां के कथा-काव्यकारों ने जायसी कृत पद्मावत से कुछ भी ग्रहण नहीं किया है। उनको अपने इस उद्देश्य में पूर्ण सफलता मिली है जिसके लिए वे साधुवाद के पात्र हैं। उनकी विद्वता की जितनी प्रशंसा की जाए उतना ही कम है। लेकिन यहां एक बात की ओर संकेत करना आवश्यक है कि इस प्रकरण से सम्बन्धित सभी स्रोतों में भिन्न-भिन्न कथाएं हैं जो काल्पनिकता का अहसास कराती हैं। एक बात जो तथ्यात्मक है वह है अलाउद्दीन का चित्तौड़ पर आक्रमण जिसकी पुष्टि फारसी स्रोतों से भी होती है, शेष वर्णन विश्वास पैदा करने में कारगर साबित नहीं होता।

पुस्तक का मुद्रण अत्यंत आकर्षक है। कवर साज-सज्जा विषयानुकूल है। भारतीय उच्च अध्ययन संस्थान, शिमला इस उच्च स्तरीय प्रकाशन के लिए साधुवाद की पात्र है। इस पुस्तक के प्रकाशन से अकादमिक जगत में विचार-विमर्श की शुरुआत होगी जो अच्छा संकेत हैं। ग्रन्थ में एक कमी खटकने वाली है वह है अध्याय तृतीय एवं उपसंहार में कुछ पाद टिप्पणियां प्रकाशन से रह गई हैं जो प्रवाह में बाधक बनती हैं।

माधव हाड़ा "पद्मिनी-इतिहास और  
कथा-काव्य की जुगलबंदी"

भारतीय उच्च अध्ययन संस्थान  
राष्ट्रपति निवास  
शिमला

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