

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
Haryana History Congress
2nd Session

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Haryana History Congress
2nd Session held at
(Chaudhary Ranbir Singh University, Jind)
24th – 25th November, 2017

Edited by

Ancient: Dr. Sajjan Kumar
Medieval: Dr. V. S. Dhillon
Modern: Dr. Jagdish Parshad



Haryana History Congress
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Haryana History Congress

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PREFACE

It is my privilege to present the proceedings of the second session of the Haryana History Congress held at the Chaudhary Ranbir Singh University, Jind on 24th - 25th November, 2017. Let me first congratulate our young historians and lovers of Haryana history who have taken commendable initiative to establish the Haryana History Congress (HHC). Further, I take this opportunity on behalf of HHC to express my gratitude to our senior historians, who have helped directly or indirectly in this endeavor.

I am grateful to our Chief Guest Prof. Tankeshwar Kumar, Vice-Chancellor, Guru Jambheshwer University of Science & Technology, Hisar, and Prof. R. B. Solanki, Vice-Chancellor, Chaudhary Ranbir Singh University, Jind and our Guest of Honour Col. M.S. Dahiya, Military Historian. I am also grateful to our General President, Prof. B. D. Yadav, formerly M. D. University, Rohtak and Sectional Presidents Prof. S. P. Shukla, formerly Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, Prof. Surajbhan Bhardwaj, Motilal Nehru College, Delhi University and Prof. S. P. Vyas, formerly J. N. Vyas University, Jodhpur, Rajasthan respectively. I am also thankful to Prof. Mahavir Singh, Gautam Buddha University, Noida, Uttar Pradesh for delivering the valedictory address.

This session was attended by 125 distinguished scholars of history from all over the country. Our thanks are also due to these delegates, who attended the session, presented papers and took lively interest in the deliberations. Thirty five papers, dealing with various aspects of the history of Haryana, were presented at the conference and twenty-three were printed alongwith the address of the section presidents and rests of the papers' summary has been published.

A large number of research scholars were inspired to attend the conference and receive, in a way, a 'ceremonial initiation' by presenting their papers before the august gathering. I am sure the contributors of the papers will also have a sense of accomplishment over the publication of the valuable results of their research. I hope with thanks that they will continue to take keen interest in the deliberations of the conference. I would like to kind attention to the young scholars, they should use primary source in their research work, and give full footnote/endnote i.e. author name, title, book, place of publication, name of publication, year of publication and last page number. They should use Chicago/ Harvard manual for their research work, which are international standards and should avoid the cut-paste method.

HHC thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi especially Dr. Rajesh Kumar (DD, Research), now Director for providing financial help for holding this conference. I am also thankful to Sh. Nirmal Kumar Sethi, President of the Shri Bharatvarshiya Digamber Jain (*Teerth Sanrakshini*) Mahasabha, New Delhi for financial and moral support for one special session on Jain Heritage of Haryana. My gratitude is also due to the editors for editing the papers and guiding in various aspects. My special word of respect is reserved for the Prof. R. K. Solanki, Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor, Prof. S.K. Sinha, Dr. Rakesh Kumar, and his staff members of the University for their cooperation and support in organizing a wonderful conference at Chaudhary Ranbir Singh University, Jind.

I do hope and wish that the prospective sessions of this organisation would attract more young students and budding historians to throw welcome light on the varied aspects of Haryana history through their well researched contributions.

(Dr. Jagdish Parshad)
General Secretary
New Delhi

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अध्यक्षीय उद्बोधन

सरस्वती नदी घाटी (हरियाणा) की आद्यैतिहासिक सभ्यता

प्रो. एस.पी. शुक्ल*

अध्यक्ष महोदय एवं उपस्थित विद्वत्जन,
मैं कार्यकारिणी के सदस्यों का आभारी हूँ जिनके सौजन्य से मुझे हरियाणा हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस के प्राचीन सत्र की अध्यक्षता करने के लिए चुना गया। अपने अध्यक्षीय संबोधन में मैं सरस्वती नदी घाटी में विकसित आद्यैतिहासिक सभ्यता का विश्लेषण करना चाहता हूँ।

प्रारंभिक टिप्पणी

सिंधु सभ्यता, जिसकी खोज हड़प्पा में 1922 ई. में हुई और जिसको हड़प्पा सभ्यता, सरस्वती-सिंधु सभ्यता, सारस्वत सभ्यता आदि नामों से जाना जाता है, के अवशेष उत्तर-पश्चिम में विस्तृत भूभाग पर पाये गये हैं। यह सुविकसित नगर सभ्यता थी, जिसे 2600-2000 ई. पू. कालखंड का माना जाता है। बाद में भी कुछ इसके तत्व बने रहे जिन्हें नये रूप में ऐतिहासिक काल में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में प्रकट होकर भारतीय सभ्यता और संस्कृति का अंग बन गये। इस सभ्यता के तत्वों का विकास लगभग 5000 ई. पू. सरस्वती-दृषद्वती नदी घाटी में हुआ। जिनकी पहचान घग्गर तथा चौतांग के शुष्क प्रवाह मार्ग से की जाती है। इन नदियों का उल्लेख ऋग्वेद में हुआ है। जिसके तट पर पंचजना निवास करते थे जिनमें भरत प्रमुख रहे थे। इन नदियों की खोज का कार्य निरंतर चलता रहा।

* अध्यक्ष (सेवानिवृत्त), प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास संस्कृति एवं पुरातत्व विभाग, कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, कुरुक्षेत्र (हरियाणा)

पुरातात्विक खोज का संक्षिप्त वृत्त

सन् 1947 में भारत विभाजन से अधिकांश सिंधु सभ्यता के स्थल पाकिस्तान में चले गये, फिर श्री अमलानंद घोष, भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण विभाग ने 1953 में राजस्थान इलाके में सरस्वती तथा दृषद्वती नदी घाटी, जिसकी पहचान, घग्गर और चौतांग से हो गई थी, में प्राचीन स्थलों की खोज का कार्य प्रारंभ हुआ। उन्हें लगभग 100 स्थलों की जानकारी मिली, जिसमें 25 स्थल सिंधु सभ्यता की विशेषताओं से युक्त थे। इनमें पूर्व में स्थित कालीबंगा भी था। हरियाणा में सरस्वती-दृषद्वती नदी घाटी में सूरजभान द्वारा पुरातात्विक सर्वेक्षण किया गया। उन्होंने कई स्थलों का पता लगाया, जिनमें राखीगढ़ी, सिसवाल, मिताथल जैसे स्थल सम्मिलित थे, जिनका बाद में उत्खनन भी हुआ। हरियाणा में बाद में कई पुराविदों ने काम किया। इसी बीच पाकिस्तान के चोलिस्तान, जहां सरस्वती नदी हाकड़ा कहलायी, के प्राचीन तट पर रफीक मुगल ने अनेक स्थलों के होने का पुरातात्विक प्रमाण प्रस्तुत किया। इस प्रकार सरस्वती-दृषद्वती नदी घाटी आद्यैतिहासिक काल में मानवी कार्य कलाप से गुंजायमान रही जिसकी कथा आज टीलों में सुरक्षित है। जिसका पुरातात्विक उत्खननों से शनैः शनैः उद्धारण हो रहा है।

स्थलों की वर्तमान संख्या

पुराविदों के प्रयास से अब तक अनेक आद्यैतिहासिक स्थलों की खोज हो चुकी है, जिसे निम्न सारणी से स्पष्टतया समझा जा सकता है।

सरस्वती घाटी (पूर्व से पश्चिम)	प्रारंभिक हड़प्पाई	विकसित हड़प्पाई	परवर्ती हड़प्पाई	कुल
हरियाणा, पंजाब (भारत)	558	114	1168	1840
राजस्थान	24	41	160	225
चोलिस्तान (पाकिस्तान)	40	174	50	264
कुल	640	360	1378	2378

(मिशेल डैनियो पर आधारित 2010)

इसमें प्रारंभिक हड़प्पाई, जिसे हाक्रा काल भी कहा जाता है, को 3800-3000 ई. पू. का, विकसित हड़प्पाई सभ्यता को 2600-2000 ई. पू. तथा परवर्ती हड़प्पाई सभ्यता को 2000 ई. पू. 1500 ई.पू. का माना जाता है। सरस्वती घाटी में इस आद्यैतिहासिक सभ्यता के स्थलों की गहनता को ध्यान में रखकर पुराविद अब इसे 'सरस्वती-सिंधु' सभ्यता कहने पर बल देने लगे हैं। सरस्वती घाटी, जो हरियाणा, पंजाब, उत्तरी राजस्थान और चोलिस्तान (वर्तमान पाकिस्तान) में रही थी, की खोज से 360 स्थलों का पता चला है जो कुल सिंधु सभ्यता संबंधी आद्यैतिहासिक स्थलों का 32 प्रतिशत होता है। गुजरात में 310 यह (28%), ब्लूचिस्तान में 129 (11 %) सिंध में 108 (9 %), पंजाब (पाकिस्तान) में 60 (5 %) तथा अन्य 173 (15 %) हैं।

हरियाणा में सरस्वती और दृषद्वती नदी घाटियों में आद्यैतिहासिक काल के कई स्थलों पर पुरातात्विक उत्खनन कार्य हो चुका है जिनके अध्ययन से प्राचीन भौतिक संस्कृति के विविध आयामों पर प्रकाश पड़ा है। सरस्वती घाटी में यह उत्खनन कुणाल, बनावली, भिरड़ाना में संपन्न हो चुका है। दृषद्वती की घाटी में स्थित राखीगढ़ी, फरमाना, मिताथल और सिसवाल के टीलों का भी उत्खनन हो चुका है। सरस्वती और दृषद्वती नदियों के बीच एक आपगा नामक नदी प्रवाहित थी जिसके तट पर स्थित बालू टीले को भी खोदा जा चुका है।

प्रारंभिक सिंधु सभ्यता

हरियाणा में घग्गर-सरस्वती में प्रारंभिक सिंधु सभ्यता काल से आबादी प्रारंभ हुई। कुणाल, बनावली, राखीगढ़ी, सिसवाल तथा मिताथल में किये गये उत्खनन से इस संस्कृति के विविध आयाम उद्घाटित हुए हैं। बालू का टीला हरियाणा के कैथल जिले में प्राचीन आपगा के तट पर स्थित रहा था।

सरस्वती घाटी में स्थित कुणाल (रतिया, फतेहाबाद) नामक स्थल पर बस्ती का प्रारंभ 3000 ई. पू. में हुआ। लाल रंग की कंकरीली मिट्टी से पहले स्थल को ऊंचा किया गया तथा उसके बाद रहने के लिए गर्तों का निर्माण किया गया। वहां हाक्रा प्रकार के मृदभाण्डों का प्रयोग करते थे। इसके अतिरिक्त काले व लाल, झलकाये गये फीके चाकलेट रंग, फीके लाल रंग के मृदभाण्डों पर काले-सफेद रंग से अलंकरण किया गया। इसके साथ ही अस्थि उपकरण, लघु आकार

के तांबे के बामाग्र तथा मछली मारने के कांटे भी प्रयोग में आये तथा आगे चलकर आवास स्थल का विस्तार हुआ। निवास के लिए गर्तों के आकार में भी परिवर्तन आया। गर्त के चारों ओर कच्ची ईंटों (11×24×39, 10×20×37 तथा 11×23×387 सेमी) का प्रयोग किया गया। मृदभाण्डों में कालीबंगा प्रकार के बर्तनों का भी समावेश हो गया। वहां से प्राप्त कुछ मोटे तथा अच्छी मिट्टी के बने बर्तन हड़प्पाई परंपरा का पूर्वाभास देते हैं। आगे चलकर संक्राति चरण में प्रारंभिक तथा परिपक्व हड़प्पा सभ्यता की परंपरा का प्रारंभ हुआ। वर्गाकार या आयताकार मकानों को कच्ची ईंटों (1:2:3 तथा 1:2:4 अनुपात) से निर्मित किया गया। नालियों की व्यवस्था का भी प्रारंभ हुआ। बाहर सड़क/गली में गंदे पानी के लिए निकास के लिए बर्तन लगाया गया। अनाज रखने के लिए मिट्टी और चूने से लेप कर गर्त बनाये गये। कुणाल के अंतिम चरण के अवशेषों के साथ दो निधान मिले। एक निधान में चांदी के मनके (चकतीनुमा, प्याले जैसे, लंबे बेलाकार तथा नलिकाकार) मिले। धातु के मनकों की आकृति जैसे मिट्टी के मनके भी मिले। इसके अतिरिक्त 5690 लाजवर्द (Lapis Lazuli), 3370 इन्द्रगोप मणि (Carnelian), 2806 सेलखड़ी (Steatite), 487 शंख (Shell) तथा 92 गोमेद/अकीक (Agate) के मनके मिले। इतना विशाल निधान अभी तक एक स्थल से प्राप्त नहीं हुआ है। कुणाल में सामान्य स्तर की बस्ती रही थी जिसकी तुलना में समीप ही बनावली में पूर्व सभ्यताकालीन अधिक महत्वपूर्ण बस्ती रही थी। यहां से ऐसा कुछ नहीं मिला। यह अवशेष किसी अन्य स्थल से लाकर दबाये गये थे। उत्खनन से चकमक पत्थर की छुरी, तांबे की अंगूठी, शंकु (Cone), बाणाग्र, चपटी कुल्हाड़ियां, मछली मारने के कांटे उन्नत हड़प्पा की याद दिलाते हैं। इसके साथ 6 सेलखड़ी, 2 शंख की बनी लघु मुद्राएं मिलीं जिन पर ज्योमितीय चित्र हैं।

बनावली के अवशेष 2750-2500 ई.पू. के हैं। सर्वप्रथम यहां पर कालीबंगा 1 जैसे मृद्भाण्डों का प्रयोग होता था। यहां पर भी एक दुर्ग का निर्माण हुआ। आगे चलकर संक्राति चरण में प्राक् हड़प्पा अवशेषों के साथ हड़प्पा संस्कृति जैसे अवशेष मिलने प्रारंभ हुए। राखीगढ़ी (जिला हिसार) में कई टीलों पर इस काल की बस्ती थी। यहां पर कई उद्योगों का विकास किया गया। लोगों ने अपने कच्चे आवास एक ईंट चौड़े बनाये। सीसवाल तथा मिताथल से मृद्भाण्डों की स्थानीय परंपरा के विकसित होने का प्रमाण प्राप्त है। प्रारंभिक हड़प्पा सभ्यता बालू

(प्राचीन आपगा के तट पर) में अपेक्षाकृत बाद तक चलती रही। यहां पर लोगों ने बाढ़ से बचने के लिए मिट्टी का बांध भी बनाया।

सारस्वती घाटी में प्रारंभिक हड़प्पा संस्कृति के सदंर्भ में बनावली से 2 प्रकार के जौ, 3 प्रकार के गेहूं, ज्वार, चना, मटर, तिल आदि का प्रमाण मिला है। लोग स्वास्थ्य के प्रति सजग थे। उत्खनन से रीठा, आंवला तथा शीकाकाई के अवशेष एक साथ मिले। इनका प्रयोग केशों की स्वच्छता के लिए किया गया। के.एस. सारस्वत के अनुसार इस संबंध में यह विश्व का प्राचीनतम साक्ष्य है।

कालीबंगा के प्रारंभिक हड़प्पाई संस्कृति के अवशेषों को लगभग 2900-2500 ई. पू. का माना गया। यहां पर 4.5 हेक्टेयर में आवास रहा था, जहां पर कच्ची ईंटों से समानान्तर दुर्ग का निर्माण किया गया। इसका द्वार उत्तर-पश्चिम में रहा था। लोगों ने कई आकार प्रकार के चित्रित मृदभांडों का प्रयोग किया। इसमें दो फसलें एक साथ लगाई गई थी। यह परंपरा आज तक हरियाणा, पंजाब तथा पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश में वर्तमान हैं।

सिंधु सभ्यता के नगर

हड़प्पा संस्कृति, जो उत्तर में माण्डा (जम्मू-कश्मीर) दक्षिण में दैमाबाद (महाराष्ट्र) पूर्व में आलमगीरपुर (उ. प्र.) तथा पश्चिम में सुत्कगेनडोर (मकरान समुद्र तट, पाकिस्तान) तक फैली थी, आकार की दृष्टि से मेसोपोटामिया तथा मिस्र से कहीं अधिक विस्तृत थी। इस सभ्यता के लोगों का संबंध अफगानिस्तान, मध्य एशिया, फारस की खाड़ी तथा मेसोपोटामिया के साथ रहा था। इसका विकसित जीवन काल 2600-2000 ई. पू. माना जाता है।

हरियाणा में कई स्थलों पर सिंधु सभ्यता कालीन नगरों के अवशेष प्रकाश में आये हैं। बनावली में चतुर्भुजाकार सुनियोजित बस्ती 300×150 मीटर में बसायी गई थी। इसकी दक्षिण दीवाल के साथ गजपृष्ठाकार गढ़ी पूर्वकालीन गढ़ी के अवशेषों पर बनायी गई। गढ़ी का निकास दक्षिण तथा नगर का पूर्व में था। नगर के बरसाती पानी को निकालने के लिए पक्की नाली बनाई गई थी। इस स्थल पर सड़कें समकोण पर नहीं काटती थी बल्कि वे गढ़ी की दीवार के घुमाव तथा बाहरी रक्षा प्राचीर को ध्यान में रखकर बनाई गई थीं। नगर में बड़े-बड़े घर थे। एक घर से बहुमूल्य सामग्री तथा मुद्रांक मिले जिसे उत्खनकर्ता रवीन्द्र सिंह

बिष्ट ने समृद्ध व्यापारी का आवास माना है। इसमें कई कमरे और साथ ही अग्निस्थल था जिसका उपयोग यज्ञवेदी के रूप में किया गया था। एक अर्धवृत्ताकार पृष्ठ भाग वाली संरचना में भी अग्नि स्थान मिला है। इस तरह की गुफाएं तथा चैत्य ऐतिहासिक काल में भी बनाये गये। उत्खनन से मूर्तियां, आभूषण, मृदभांड तथा एक मिट्टी का हल मिला है। ऐसे हल बहावलपुर (पाकिस्तान) से भी मिले हैं, एक पर देव की आकृति है। दूसरे उदाहरण में गर्दभ की आकृति को नाखून से उकेरा गया है।

राखीगढ़ी में सिंधु सभ्यता कालीन विशाल नगर था। यहां पर बड़े टीले पर रक्षाप्राचीरयुक्त आवास था। यहां भी नगर की जल निकासी के लिए नाली की व्यवस्था थी। एक टीले पर बाजार जैसी इमारतें मिली। यहां स्तंभों/अर्धस्तंभों का भी निर्माण किया गया था। उत्खनन से सिंधु सभ्यताकालीन विशिष्ट बर्तन, मुद्रांक, आभूषण बच्चों के खेल की सामग्री आदि पाये गये हैं। एक टीले पर दक्षिण पश्चिम में उस समय का शवाधान स्थल भी मिला जिसमें स्त्री शवों को आभूषण पहने दफनाया गया था।

राखीगढ़ी की भांति मिताथल भी चौतांग (प्राचीन दृषद्वती नदी) के तट पर स्थित था। यहां पर दो बस्तियां पास-पास मिली हैं। इन्हें कच्ची ईंटों से बनाया गया था। सिंधु सभ्यता काल में आवास रक्षा-प्राचीर से घिरे रहते थे। यहां से न तो कोई मुद्रांक मिला है और न ही किसी पात्र पर सिंधु सभ्यता की लिपि का अक्षर उत्कीर्ण है। यह एक विशाल ग्राम स्थल रहा था। सिंधु सभ्यता की द्योतक सारी सामग्री यहां पर उपयोग में लायी जाती थी।

बालू (जिला कैथल) में सिंधु सभ्यता काल में 12 मीटर चौड़ी दीवाल से घेरा स्थल था। यहां से सिंधु सभ्यता कालीन समस्त सामग्री मिली। उत्खनन से कुछ महत्वपूर्ण वनस्पतियों के अवशेष मिले हैं। यहां लहसुन तथा बहेड़ा मिला है। के.एस. सारस्वत के अनुसार लहसुन दक्षिण एशिया में इसी स्थल से मिला है। इसका उपयोग आयुर्वेदिक औषधि के रूप में सुविदित है। बालू से प्राप्त एक पात्रखण्ड पर लिपि के कुछ अक्षर उत्कीर्ण हैं। सेलखड़ी की मुद्रा पर स्वास्तिक चिह्न अंकित मुद्रा का यह एकमात्र उदाहरण है। सिंधु सभ्यताकालीन मृदभांडों के साथ प्रारंभिक सिंधु सभ्यता जैसे मृदभाण्ड भी प्रचलन में रहे जिनकी निर्माण शैली में क्रमशः समय के साथ परिवर्तन आया।

सरस्वती घाटी के सूखने से कालीबंगा जैसे नगर वीरान हो गया। लोग यहां से उत्तर की ओर चले गये। यही दशा अन्य स्थलों की हुई। किन्तु बनावली में कालांतर में 1800-1500 ई. पू. बस्ती रही जिसकी सिंधु सभ्यता के धारकों के साथ निकट का संबंध रहा। इसी तरह मिताथल (II बी) में भी बस्ती रही। कुछ वस्तुओं को छोड़ (सछिद्र बर्तन, मुद्रांक, चर्ट, ब्लेड) बाकी ग्रामीण जीवन की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने की वस्तुओं तथा उपकरणों का निर्माण होता रहा। आभूषणों के लिए अर्धबहुमूल्य पत्थर प्रयोग में आया। भट्ठियों में कांचली मिट्टी की वस्तुएं पकायी जाती थीं और मोटे तैलीय लालरंग के बर्तनों का प्रयोग किया जाता था। पंजाब, हरियाणा, पश्चिम उत्तर प्रदेश में अनेक ग्राम बस गये। इस समय निश्चित रूप से भूमि का मूल्य बढ़ गया होगा। आवास स्थलों की सघनता से जनसंख्या वृद्धि का अनुमान किया जा सकता है। इसी बीच धूसर चित्रित मृदभांडों का निर्माण प्रारंभ हुआ। ऐसे बर्तनों का प्रयोग करने वाले परवर्ती सिंधु सभ्यता के लोगों के संपर्क में आकर बस गये। पंजाब तथा हरियाणा में ऐसे अनेक स्थलों की खोज हुई है। हरियाणा में सरस्वती के तट पर भगवानपुर (कुरुक्षेत्र) के उत्खनन से इस संबंध में विशेष जानकारी मिली है। लोग अश्व तथा कांच से परिचित थे, घट-सदृश मिट्टी के मनके धारण करते थे तथा शवों को आवास के समीप गाड़ते थे। बर्तनों पर स्वास्तिक, क्रास तथा कमल का चित्रण करते थे। एक 13 कमरों के मकान की रूपरेखा मिली है। हस्तिनापुर आदि स्थलों पर लौह के साथ चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्डकालीन आवास मिले हैं। इन्हें महाभारत से जोड़ने का प्रयास किया गया है। किन्तु आल्चिन के अनुसार किसी मृदभांड विशेष को किसी जाति से जोड़ना ठीक नहीं। महाभारत युग का सही ज्ञान सिंधु सभ्यता की लिपि के उद्वाचन के बाद ही संभव हो सकेगा।

उपसंहार

पश्चिमी विद्वानों ने जानबूझकर ऋग्वेद के धारक आर्यों को बाहर से आक्रमणकारी के रूप में आने की कहानी गढ़ी। ऋग्वेद को उन्होंने घुमक्कड़, पशु पालकों की कृति माना। उन्होंने 1500 ई. पू. आक्रान्ता के रूप में भारत पहुंचने का जोरदार प्रचार किया। किन्तु वैदिक आर्य असभ्य और बर्बर नहीं थे। वह सभा, समिति, सम्राट राजन आदि संस्थाओं से परिचित थे। सैनिक का उन्हें ज्ञान था। दुर्गों से

परिचित थे। समुद्री व्यापार भी करते थे। विल्सन के अनुसार जिन वृक्षों, वनस्पतियों तथा पशु-पक्षियों का उल्लेख ऋग्वेद में मिलता, वह सभी भारत, पाकिस्तान, अफगानिस्तान, म्यांमार तथा श्रीलंका में पाये जाते हैं। इनमें शीत जलवायु में पैदा होने वाला कुछ भी नहीं। आर्य इसी क्षेत्र के निवासी थी। यह देश उन्हें प्रिय था। वह सरस्वती को श्रेष्ठ माता या श्रेष्ठ देवी तथा श्रेष्ठ नदी मानते थे। उनकी भाषा और संस्कृति को विभिन्न जातियों ने अपनाया, जिनसे उनका संपर्क हुआ। यहीं सुनियोजित नगर संस्कृति को जन्म दिया तथा दूर-दूर तक व्यापार किया।

ऋग्वैदिक काल में सरस्वती नदी जलराशि युक्त थी। वह 2000 ई. पू. के आसपास सूखी। जब सरस्वती जलराशि संपन्न थी तो उस समय हड़प्पा संस्कृति के विभिन्न चरणों का विकास हुआ और जब 2000 ई. पू. के आसपास वह सुखी तो इस संस्कृति के नगरों का हास हुआ तथा लोगों को सरस्वती घाटी छोड़ अन्यत्र जाना पड़ा। ऋग्वेद में कहीं भी सरस्वती के सूखने का उल्लेख नहीं है। इसी कारण ऋग्वेद की रचना तिथि 2000 ई. पू. से पहले होनी चाहिए। इसका प्रारंभिक भाग (मंडल II-VII) तृतीय सहस्राब्दि ई. पू. का तथा परवर्ती भाग (मंडल I, VIII, IX, X) द्वितीय सहस्राब्दि ई. पू. की रचना हुई। सरस्वती के तट पर भरत जनों का निवास था। उनके राजाओं ने इसके तटों पर यज्ञ किये। इस संबंध में प्रसिद्ध भाषाविद् एवं इतिहासज्ञ रामबिलास शर्मा का सुझाव है कि ऋग्वेद में जिन गणों, समाजों और जनों का उल्लेख है, उन्होंने स्वयं या उनके वंशजों ने हड़प्पा सभ्यता का निर्माण किया। ब्रजबासी लाल के अनुसार हड़प्पाई पुरातात्विक समूह का साहित्यिक प्रतिरूप प्रतिबिम्बित करता है। ऋग्वेद आर्यों को अश्व का ज्ञान था, वे रथ से परिचित थे। सिंधु सभ्यता के अवशेषों में इनके माडल भी मिले हैं। भारत पर आर्यों के आक्रमण का कोई प्रमाण नहीं है।

हड़प्पाई स्थानों की सर्वाधिक सघनता विलुप्त हाक्रा-घग्गर (सरस्वती) नदी तंत्र पर सिंधु नदी तंत्र की अपेक्षा सर्वाधिक है। इसीलिए हड़प्पाई संस्कृति को, मुगल ने मुख्यतः हाक्रा-घग्गर संस्कृति बताया है जिसे रामबिलास शर्मा ने 'सारस्वत सभ्यता' कहना सर्वाधिक उचित माना है। जैसा कि ऊपर कहा है कि भरत जन सरस्वती घाटी में निवास करते थे। उन्होंने अनेक यज्ञ भी किये।

कालीबंगा में यज्ञवेदियों (व्यक्तिगत तथा सार्वजनिक) की प्राप्ति के कारण इस स्थल को भरतों के केंद्र के रूप में पहचानने का सुझाव दिया गया है।

सरस्वती घाटी में स्थित बनावली, राखीगढ़ी तथा बालू से भी यज्ञ-वेदियों के होने का प्रमाण मिला है। सिंधु सभ्यता के अन्य स्थलों से यज्ञ-वेदी का साक्ष्य नहीं है। यह सरस्वती घाटी की ही विशेषता है। यह भरतों की ही सांस्कृतिक विशेषता रही थी। यह उनके धार्मिक जीवन एवं विचारधारा का अंग रही थी। अन्य जनों का संभवतः इसमें विश्वास नहीं था।

ऋग्वैदिक लोग नगर, नगर जीवन तथा व्यापार आदि से सुपरिचित थे। यह तथ्य नवीन विश्लेषणों से प्रमाणित हो रहा है। उनके राजा सुदास ने परुष्णी (रावी) के तट पर दस राजाओं (दसराज्ञ युद्ध) से युद्ध किया, जिसमें पराजित होकर दसराज्ञ जनों को देश छोड़ना पड़ा। इस उल्लेखनीय ताम्रयुगीन उन्नत नगर सभ्यता काल में इस क्षेत्र का संबंध बलूचिस्तान, मध्य एशिया, फारस की खाड़ी तथा मेसोपोटामिया तक था। बी.बी. लाल के अनुसार बोघजकोई (टर्की) अभिलेख में जो चार नाम – इंद्र, मित्र, नासात्य और वरुण का उल्लेख है, जिसे 1400 ई. पू. का माना जाता है। किन्तु अश्व प्रशिक्षण से संबंधित जो संस्कृत शब्द (इकवर्तन, विर्तन आदि) भारतीय हैं जिन्हें 1700 ई. पू. वहां पहुंचा माना जाता है। टी. बरो के मत से मितन्नी के रूप में आर्य 1500 ई. पूर्व. एक राजवेश के रूप में राज्य कर रहे थे जो वहां पर विजेता के रूप में पहुंचे थे। भारत के अलावा दुनिया में कहीं इन देवताओं की पूजा नहीं होती थी। भारतीय उन क्षेत्रों में व्यापार कार्यवश भी गये। वह अपने साथ भाषा, लिपि और संस्कृति भी ले गये जिसका प्रभाव वहां के धर्मशास्त्र पर भी स्पष्ट है। योरोपीय भाषाओं में जो संस्कृत के चिह्न हैं वह उसी परंपरा तथा प्रभाव के द्योतक हैं। सिंधु सभ्यता की लिपि के सही उद्वाचन से सरस्वती सभ्यता की सांस्कृतिक विरासत का तथ्यपूर्ण ज्ञान हो सकेगा।

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2

Some Sculptures at Baba Mastnath Math, Asthal Bohar, Rohtak (Haryana)

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Religion is the part and parcel of Indian life. Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism are the main religious faiths that influenced thought and action of our people from remote past. The literary and archaeological sources are available in abundance to prove the fact. There were temples, *maths*, *vihars*, *stupas* and *chaityas* throughout the country in villages, towns, cities, forests, mountains and plains. Some of them were ruined and washed away by the flood of time but others are surviving. Asthal Bohar is a *math* of second category. The *math* is continuous to serve the people of near and far areas as a centre of spiritual learning, social awareness, religious activities, educational facilities and even of political participation and guidance.

The *Baba Mastnath math* is situated at National Highway No. 10 at a distance of 6 km from the center of ancient city Rohitaka (Rohtak). It's surrounding villages are Bohar 2 km, Garhi Bohar 1 km, Kherisadh 2 km and Garhi Majra, which is ancient site and known as Khokharakot.

According to Nath tradition, the *math* was established by Sh. Chauranginath in 8th century AD. He was the son of king Saliwahan of Siyalakot (now Pakistan). His real name was Puranmal. He was saved and admitted to the cult of *Kanphada* Yogis by Guru Machendernath.¹ Chauranginath got celestial powers by his hard penances. It is said that once a time his followers were denied *Bhiksha* by the residents of the then near town (now Garhi Majra) so the yogi cursed the town and it was ruined. Most of the Jain sculptures, now housed in the *math* are recovered from that site from time to time. Some of the Jain sculptures

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from there are now housed in *Sarai* temple Rohtak.² The *math* was ruined after 13th century and it was reestablished by Baba Mastnath in 18th century. The chronology of the pontiffs of the *math* is summed up as;³

Mastnathji	1728-1807	Totanathji	1807-1837
Meghnathji	1837-1865	Moharnathji	1865-1878
Chetnathji	1878-1906	Purannathji	1906-1939
Shreonathji	1939-1985	Chandnathji	1985-2017

Now the present Mahant is Baba Balaknath who is installed on 17th September, 2017 after untimely demise of Baba Chandnath. The *math* has been serving the people in various ways, especially in the field of education and medical facilities. A Sanskrit college was first opened here under the guidance of Mahant Chetnath (1878-1906). Mahant Shreonath established eye and general hospital as well as the Ayurveda College in 1958.

Apart from that the *math* has many architectural buildings and remains of archaeological importance collected from its premises and also from the nearby ancient site of Garhi Majra. Some of the sculptures are discussed below:

1. PARSHVANATH

An extremely finished sculpture of Parshvanath, the 23rd *tirthankar*, is here, sitting on *simhasan* in *padamashan*. Size of the stone is 48 x 27 inches and the size of the main idol is 28 x 22 inches. There is a pair of *Nag-Nagin* on the hanging part of the *ashana*. They have human head and the tail of the *Nag*. There are two *yala* images supporting the seat one on each side. On the *parikar* area there are two *charmar* bearers one on each side of the *tirthankar*. In upper portion there are two flying couples with garlands, on each side and at the top there are elephants with riders these are for *jalabhishek*. Two *tirthankars* with broken head are seen standing on each side of Parshvanath. The main deity is lying in *yogadhyana mudra*. The left leg is on right leg and vice-versa both hands with the palm one on another near the naval are shown. The eyes are closed. The eye brows are fine and stretched like a bow. The face is calm without any expression. There is decorated *bhamandal*, the hair are braid. There is a *trichhatra* on the snake hood. The nose and lips are deformed by the invaders. All the images on this stone are

carefully carved. It is ascribed to 10th century AD (Fig. 1).⁵

2. NEMINATH

This sculpture is on a red stone of size 48" x 27". The deity is sized as 28" x 22" from feet to head. It is with *parikar*. The *tirthankar* is in *padmasana*. His hands are before the naval having one palm over the other. Conch is depicted on the seat. There are drummers, flying couples (*maldhars*), and elephants with rider for *Jalabhisheka* on both sides of the presiding deity. The *bhamandal* is with *trichhatra* and Ashoka tree. Both seated *tirthankar* are of the same size and they were installed in some shrine. They belonged to Digamber cult of Jainism. It is of 9th century AD (Fig. 2).⁶



Fig. 1: Parshvanath



Fig. 2: Neminath

3. STANDING PARSHVANATH

There are two images of standing Parshvanath in *Kayotsarga* or *Khadashana mudra*. Their dimension is 55" x 16". They belong to 10th century AD. There are depictions of elephants, flying *gandharvas* (couples) and musician on the *parikara* on both sides of the idol. Coils of snake are visible on *parikara* in the left side of one image and on the right side of the image. Seven hooded serpent and a *trichhatra* is on the top portion. *Shrivatsav* is in the centre of the chest. The *tirthankar* is wearing a *dhoti* type cloth. Both the idols are very fine piece of art. These sculptures are of 10th century AD.⁷ They belong to the *Swetambar* sect of Jainism (Fig. 3 & 4).



Fig. 3 & 4 : Standing Parshvanath

4. LORD GANESHA WRITING MAHABHARATA

In Hindu rituals first worship is offered to lord Ganesha. In most of the pictures and images he has four hands having *Mala*, *Ankush*, *Modaka* and the fourth hand is found in blessing posture. In Asthal Bohar Math a typical idol of the lord is found. It is 28" x 22" in size and may be of 8th Century A.D. Here he has pan in his lower right hand. This is taken as lord Ganesh ready to write *Mahabharta*. There is one wristlet in each of his upper wrists and armlet in lower pair of hands. His head gear is also decorated with ornaments. A jewel is around his head and one gem is seen on its upper side. There is a necklace of three strings around his neck. An *upnayana* (sacred thread) is made of serpent with raised hood and tongue is shown outside the mouth. The pot is full of *modakas*. Fingers of all the four hands and the feet are clearly shown. The mouse, his vehicle, is also shown under his right leg. There is a design on the right ear also. Nails of fingers are also visible. He is wearing anklets in his feet. He is sitting on a designed platform.

Similar image of lord Ganesh writing *Mahabharata*, of some later period, is also found in Bayon temple, Angkor Thom, Cambodia. It is of 11th century AD.⁸ It shows that tradition of representing lord Ganesh, writing Mahabharata passed from India to Cambodia in remote past.



Fig. 5: Balarama

5. LORD BALARAMA

A very fine piece of Rajputa art in the form of image of Balarama is found in the *math*. This is 7' x 2.25' idol (Fig. 5). He is bare footed in standing posture. In right hand he has *mausala* having three divisions and in left hand there is a plough (*hala*) which is damaged on his right shoulder. There are anklets in his feet. A long girdle is also shown. He is wearing a *dhoti* which is up to the knees and is well decorated. There is a belt of some ornament around his back. In his neck there is a necklace of three strings with another heavy necklace. Tops in ears are also there. He is wearing a decorated head dress. The face is fine having sharp nose with stretched eyebrows like a bow, sharp nose and opened eyes. This is very rare sculpture found from the area. At present Balarama is not worshiped in any temple in this area. Another small sculpture of Balarama of size 6" x 4" is also there which was laying unnoticed.

6. PILLER IMAGES

A small part of a pillar is also searched by the author in the *Math*. There are three images on it. One is Lord Rama having bow on the left shoulder. The upper image is of Lord Narshimaha who is sitting. He caught the demon *Hiranyakashyapu* and is shown tearing him on this flake. The mouth of Narshimaha is open and his tongue is shown outside in anger. He is in the middle of the door.

The images discussed above mainly belong to two religions, Hinduism and Jainism. The Jain images were collected from the near village Gadhi Majra. Some more images of Jain *Tirthankars* were recovered from there. One sitting *Parshvanath* found here is now worshiped in Sarai temple Rohtak and two idols of the same *tirthankar* are housed in the same shrine they are defaced. The Hindu images were found from the *Math* and some from the pond near it. They belong to Saivism and Vaishnavism cults of Hindu religion. The information shows that *Math* was a center of Hinduism and Garhi Majra was the site of Jainism. There is a tradition that monks of the *Math* were not given *bhiksha* by the residents of Garhi Majra, the than city. Taking it as a serious default the pontiff of the *Math* cursed the city and it was ruined.⁹ So the tradition confirms our assumption that the residents were not the followers of Hinduism. They were Jains as is evident from the sculptures found there.

CONCLUSION

The *Math* has standing of more than thousand years and has contributed much to the educational development of the area, especially in the last 30 years. The BMU University has a combination of traditional and modern subjects. The *Math* is an ancient site. It has *Savaite* origin but *Vaishnava* elements are also present. Jainism was well spread in Rohtak area in Rajput period. *Digamber* as well as *Swetambar* images are found here. Other Jain sites in near area were Garhi Majra, Jhajjar, Dadri, Ranila etc. The presence of Balarama in this area is very interesting. It is also noteworthy that two sculptures of same design but much different in size are found at the same place.

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3

An Archaeological Exploration in Barnala District, Punjab: A preliminary Report

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Based on our hypothesis and the facts that remain to be revealed because a huge disparity between the known archaeological evidences. The present paper discusses recent fieldwork conducted during September 2014 in the Barnala district (Punjab). The research objectives and aims of the survey included recording sites of all types and time periods in order to create a complete as possible record of human occupation in the region. As a result 25 heaps of ancient remains associated from proto-historic period to medieval times were documented. This survey provided to reiterate a number of problems connected with the origin, development and expansion of the various cultures in the region and to understand the mechanism of expansion, dispersal and diffusion of cultural traits with their geographical context particularly on Budanala/Cho, during the times. The main objective of present study is to present a holistic perspective of the ancient people by understanding the region on the basis of material remains collected during the exploration

INTRODUCTION

Punjab, the land of five rivers, has ever remained a melting pot of diverse cultures through ages and virtually remained a cradle or a rendezvous of different races, traditions and faiths. So, for a proper understanding of Indian history and archaeology, it is absolute necessary to investigate deeply into the past of the Punjab. Therefore, Punjab offers a vast and most fascinating field for archaeological prospecting but unfortunately this land is still far inadequately surveyed. Certainly there is still much

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that is to be uncovered and understood about the archaeology of Punjab. It is imperative that archaeologists and scholars find the means to effectively disseminate the knowledge and importance of ancient culture. So far to counteract the hindrance of history, a detailed survey of the archaeological sites in Barnala district was conducted.

LOCATION

Barnala district is located in the Malwa region and almost heartland of Punjab. There are different opinions about the nomenclature of Barnala. It is the combination of two words namely *Barn* and *Ala*. A *Sandhu* named 'Barn' resided here at Barnala and *Baba Ala* was his adorer. These both personalities served the humanity and a name came out for the town as 'Barnala' (Sharma, 1984).

Barnala became a district (Hans, 2000) on 19 November, 2006 and has two sub-divisions- Barnala and Tapa and three blocks Barnala, Sehna and Mehal Kalan with 126 villages. It lies between latitudes 30°14'49" & 30°35'20" N and longitudes 75°42'38" & 75°15'34" E. The district bounded by Ludhiana district on the north, Moga district on the north-west, Bathinda district on the west, Mansa district on the south and the other sides are bound by the neighbouring Sangrur district.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ITS ENVIRONMENT

The geological facts reveal that the entire study area forms a part of the vast Indo-Gangetic alluvial plain. The whole expanse of the plain under study is a part of the watershed area between the Indus and the Ganga systems and is believed (Sehgal *et.al*, 1973) to have been formed from the alluvial deposits of the ancient Sutlej river and its tributaries. The general slope (235-210 MSL) of the area is northwest to southeast.

The dominant feature of topography is the occurrence of aeolian sand of variable shape and thickness overlying the Pleistocene alluvium which becomes fewer as the eastern border of the district is approached.⁵ Alluvial plain is the major geomorphic unit in the area and is under intensive cultivation. Consequently, almost 83% of the land in the district is under cultivation and is composed of finer sediments. The soil is little arid towards the southwest and a range of undulating dunes run along its north eastern border (Singh, G. 1999). The sand dunes locally called *Tibbas* found in the area are generally low having heights up to 4 m above the ground level. Sand bars are generally

associated with old filled up channels and occur mainly as elongated stretches without any preferred orientation.

The climate of the district is continental type with hot summers, cold winters and scanty rainfall. The normal annual rainfall (Sharma, 1984) of the area is 558 mm and about 75% of the rainfall occurs during last week of June to mid-September.

DRAINAGE PATTERN

There is no major river in Barnala. However, the district is watered by Bhakhra canal systems—Kotla canal and Bathinda branch of Sarhind canal system. The latter is one of the oldest canal systems (1886) (Sharma, 1984) in the Patiala-Sangrur-Barnala region. Each in turn subdivides to irrigate an expansive area and turn what was once a semi-arid land into a fertile agricultural region.

A seasonal stream, *Budanalacho* originates from the water near Rupnagar which gets accumulated in Maler kotla Tehsil. It flows in a south-westerly direction. After it, flowing through the south-eastern part of Barnala district, it joins Sirhind *cho* near Bhikhi (Mansa) finally.

METHODOLOGY

The potential of rich archaeological wealth of Barnala District was not recognized by any archaeological surveys, earlier. So, the present expedition is the first attempted of archaeological work of its type. An attempt is also made to describe their cultural properties as this may be the last available recorded document for some of these sites as they may disappear in near future.

The present work is primarily based on first-hand information, collected through extensive and intensive village to village survey of Barnala district, during September, 2014. A two-member team explored all the villages in two blocks Barnala and Sehna. Once a site was identified the handheld GPS was also used to record the location. The survey recorded 25 sites within the survey area which are previously unknown, although a significant proportion of these are modern features and disturbances.

These site ranges from Mature Harappan to Medieval times. Most of the sites are in highly disturbed condition due to rigorous cultivation or under modern habitation. A large number of pottery and antiquities has been identified and documented from surface and exposed sections.

The aim of the surface collections during the survey was primarily to assist in the relative chronology of the sites identified. Although, the collection was made in an unsystematic way but a representative sample of the material was taken and the majority of the surface artefacts left for future study.

During the field investigations our main emphasis was to identify the location, size, deposit, occupation of particular period with preservation status on the basis of visual cultural remains. In addition to this effort has been made to also plug the major gap in Punjab archaeology. The antiquity of sites and chronology of cultural remains found on them have been decided on the basis of occurrence of well-known and dated ceramic industries of ancient cultures. An academically accepted chronology is used here for the cultural sequence of the study area.

Proposed Cultural sequence in Barnala District

S. No.	Cultural Assemblages	(Proposed Time period)	No. of Sites
1.	Mature Harappan Period	(2300-1900 BC)	1
2.	Painted Grey Ware	(1500-600 BC)	1
3.	Early Historical & Historical	(600BC-1206 AD)	13
4.	Early Medieval & Medieval	(1206-1707 AD)	20

Sites in Barnala District

Abbreviation: MH- Mature Harappan, PGW- Painted Grey Ware, Hist-Historical, Med- Medieval

Sl.	Village	Block	Lat.	Long.	Size (hec. No Culture Sequence)
1.	BhainiMaharaj	Barnala	30 15 799	75 41 777	2 Med
2.	Bhure	Barnala	30 14 492	75 37 461	2 Hist, Med
3.	Dhanula Khurd	Barnala	30 19 600	75 32 253	2 Med
4.	Jhaloor	Barnala	30 22 764	75 40 230	2 Med
5.	Karamgarh	Barnala	30 24 523	75 36 353	2 PGW, Hist, Med
6.	Manna Pindi	Barnala	30 19 124	75 33 516	1 Hist
7.	Sanghera	Barnala	30 23 563	75 33 456	3 Hist, Med
8.	Sekha-I	Barnala	30 21 609	75 37 544	4 Hist, Med
9.	Sekha-II	Barnala	30 12 050	75 39 302	3 Hist, Med
10.	Thulewal	Barnala	30 24 864	75 39 332	2 Hist, Med
11.	Upli	Barnala	30 20 315	75 38 056	3 Hist
12.	Alkara	Sehna	30 15 184	75 86 632	4 Med

13. Attargarh	Sehna	30 14390	75 35535	8 MH, Hist, Med
14. Balloke	Sehna	30 30101	75 20 170	1 Hist
15. BhainiJassa	Sehna	30 15986	75 23298	2 Med
16. Daraj	Sehna	3025474	75 22 443	2 Med
17. Dhaula	Sehna	30 16 751	75 29 343	3 Med
18. Dhilwan Patiala	Sehna	30 20 346	75 25655	3 Med
19. Fatehgarh Channa	Sehna	30 17 297	75 31123	8 Med
20. Kaleke	Sehna	30 14 813	75 32 064	1 Med
21. MauranNabha	Sehna	30 22 108	75 22 751	2 Hist
22. Rajia	Sehna	30 09 283	75 33 935	1 Med
23. Sehna	Sehna	30 12 813	75 22 477	2 Hist
24. Talwandi-I	Sehna	30 30 523	75 19 058	5 Med
25. Talwandi-II	Sehna	29 30 553	75 19 185	5 Hist, Med

DISTRIBUTION PATTERN OF DIFFERENT CULTURAL PERIODS

The result of this survey serve to reiterate a number of problems with the existing sets of site distribution data for the region and the relationship between settlements and their geographical context, particularly located on *Budanala cho* during the Harappan period to Medieval times. The main aim of present regional survey is to record the distribution habitation of Barnala district throughout its human occupation and to build a better understanding of the history of the region; to create a robust dataset that could be used as the basis for further investigations.

MATURE HARAPPAN PERIOD

The cultural phase that first habitation in the study area is represented by the Mature Harappan culture with solitary site, Attargarh which is located along the *Budanala cho*. Although, in Malwa plain the early farming community is presented by Early Harappan culture in general but this is not seen here in Barnala district in particular. It would be the reason of the direction of the *Budanala cho* which is flow in the small part of district in the south-eastern corner. Sangrur and Mansa districts (Sharan *et al*, 2013a) explorations also suggested that Harappan habitations of the region are close to the *Budanala cho*.

The urban Harappan culture always associated with classical attributes commonly documented at many sites during the exploration besides excavations at Dhalewan (Bala, 1992) (in Mansa district) period-III, Rohira-II, (Sharma, 1982) Mahorana (Sharma, 1987) and Mardkhera

(all in Sangrur district) in the Malwa plain. The excavations of Dhalewan and Rohira present a continuous occupation which marked that Early Harappan phase transformed into the Mature Harappan phase (2300-1900 BCE) which was marked by walled settlements, well-designed cities, storage structures and other civic buildings, extensive architectural ingenuity and houses constructed of baked bricks, as well as standardized weights and measures, water management and irrigation and overseas trade. But due to thick Historical and Medieval deposit and rural in nature, Attargarhmound represented with a few specimen of ceramics, terracotta and faience bangles, a parallel-sided chert blade and a shell bead which indicate presence of classical Harappan in this region but in meager quantity. It would clearly calculate by R.S. Bisht (1977), that express as qualitative and quantitative presence of the classical Harappan elements was dependent on the socio-economic or political status of give a site.

After the Mature Harappan phase, the Malwa region (Sharan, 2013b) has been represented by a deurbanized phase of Harappan culture which is the late phase of Harappan culture. No site of this phase has been so far discovered yet therefore, we are not in a position to discuss the transformation from the Mature Harappan phase to the Late Harappan phase in the region.

PAINTED GREY WARE PERIOD

During the last phase of the proto-historic period in the region of our current study is characterized with the advent of the Painted Grey Ware people as the Karamgarh site remains indicate. The excavation at Bhagwanpura, Dadheri and Katpalon (Joshi *et al*, 1993) has thrown a new light in the regard to the relationship between the Late Harappan and PGW using people. So far as our site is concerned only a few sherds of Painted, plain and black slip ware with associated red ware were recovered. It is enough to clear that the presence of PGW culture towards the end of second millennium BCE. Notably, the solitary PGW sites is also near the waterway of the *Budanala cho* which filled the gap of continuous sites on this and how it roll in proto-historic period.

EARLY HISTORIC AND HISTORIC PERIOD

The subsequent phase of colonization in the region is distinguished by the early historic and historic societies. During the course of explorations

this researcher explored 13 sites of this period. Coming to the Historical period an enriched situation in general is attested. Broadly the term 'Historical period' is used for Mauryas, Kushana and Gupta periods. The increasing number of sites rapidly might be the result of many historical events like war, migration, disease, etc. in the area.

All sites of Historical period do not show contemporary occupation because it is long time span (600 BCE to 647 CE) and many sites are deserted from one place and inhabited at other places or nearby in the same time. During the early centuries of Christian era, particularly Rangmahal period (Khushan- Gupta period), occupation is observed on more sites. These sites have yielded red ware with stamped designs on them. This type of pottery is generally associated with the Sungas-Kushana period. With the discovery of antiquities and other material remains of this period it is evident that the region remained also a part of the Kushana domain in this period who ruled for a longer period.

EARLY MEDIEVAL AND MEDIEVAL PERIOD

The researcher has discovered or visited 20 early medieval and medieval sites. In this period, this region was also more thickly populated. The area is quite poor in the sense that very few pieces of evidence of architectural activities have survived the time. The late Mughal architectural features are also noticed during the time of exploration. The period from post Gupats to pre British times is considered as Medieval period during which various warrior clan groups (Rajputs) and Muslim rulers (Sultanat and Mugals) had been politically important in northern India as well as in Punjab. In this period, this area was thickly populated and people needed more space for their settlements as well as agricultural and domestic activities. So they first chose alluvium plain but when it was not sufficient then they also chose the sandy area. These thickly populated settlements showed Importance of this area that further supported by the literary evidences of Medieval period. Many of modern villages also show the continuous occupation from 14th-15th century CE.

It is customary to draw a sequel to any research undertaken. In view of this one can see that the area under discussion in district Barnala had been the homeland of a large number of people from as early as the Mature Harappan phase to medieval period. This indeed, reveals a more complex organizational strategy and hence social formation. Finally

the early historic and medieval period again shows a proliferation of settlements almost all over the region.

The alluvial plain which was the result of *Budanala cho* flood might be the fascinating factor as good for agriculture instead of fresh water or navigable transportation capability during the proto-historic period. Perhaps, climatic changes and neo-tectonic movements in the region have led to the migration and abandonment of drainage systems to form a large number of palaeo-channels which might be the important factor in settlement pattern. Probably sustained horizontal excavations can reveal many significant features of the past societies.

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जनसंचार का आदि स्थल रहा है हरियाणा

डॉ. दयानन्द कादयान*

मनुष्य ने जब लड़खड़ाते पैर जमीन पर रखे तो चेतनशील प्राणी होने के नाते संचार से जंगली से सभ्य होने के लिये अपनी त्वरित गतिशील यात्रा जारी रखी। मानव कंकालों के वैज्ञानिक परीक्षणों से पता चलता है कि प्राणी ने मानव के रूप में हरियाणा के दक्षिण पूर्व में स्थित अरावली की पहाड़ियों पर जन्म लिया है। आदि मानवता से सम्पूर्ण बनने की इस यात्रा का नेतृत्व हरि की भूमि हरियाणा ने किया है। जैसे नाम से पता चलता है कि हरि की भूमि हरियाणा। हरि का अर्थ होता है चेतना, संचार तथा ज्ञान।¹ यानी जहां पर संचार से जंगली जीवन से सभ्यता की ओर बढ़ा गया हो। बिना संचार के न अभीष्ट ज्ञान का विस्तार सम्भव है तथा न उसका प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप क्रमबद्ध विकास ही। ज्ञान के संचय व उसके प्रसार के सार्थक प्रयास हरियाणा की इस पावन धरा से शुरू हुये हैं। संचार साधना से ऋषि मुनियों ने ईश्वर कृत ज्ञान को स्मृतियों तथा वेदों में मौखिक साहित्य के रूप में संकलित तथा संग्रहित करने का काम किया। उन ऋषि-मुनियों ने धरती, आकाश और अंतरिक्ष में जो देखा, आध्यात्मिक और भौतिक तत्वों का जो साक्षात्कृत ज्ञान उन्हें प्राप्त हुआ है और जो मनोभाव उनकी आत्मा में किसी देवता ने उद्बुद्ध किये, उनके कवि हृदय ने मंत्र या ऋचा का स्वरूप प्रदान किया और उन्होंने उसे अपनी वाणी द्वारा जन समुदाय में फैलाया।² इसी प्रकार यज्ञ तथा हवन भी संचार के सार्थक तथा सशक्त माध्यम हुआ करते थे ऋषि मुनियों ने हरियाणा की इस पावन धरा पर यज्ञ रचाये। भारतवर्ष को ज्ञान तथा संचार की

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साधना, हरि की इस पावन धरा पर हुई थी। इस शोधपत्र में हरियाणा की इस पावन धरा पर संचार तथा जनसंचार का साक्षात् ज्ञान संग्रह तथा प्रचार प्रसार के इतिहास को खंगालने का प्रयास किया गया है। यह भी प्रयास होगा कि जनसंचार के सार्थक पहलुओं से संचार गुरु के रुतबे तक हमारे पुरखों ने कैसे पहुंच कायम की।

भारतीय सभ्यता की जन्मस्थली हरियाणा प्राचीनता एवं बहुलता का संगम है। यहां पर भारतीय इतिहास के अनेक युद्ध लड़े गये हैं, जिन्होंने न केवल हरियाणा को अपितु इस देश के भाग्य तथा इसकी संरचना को ही बदल दिया।^१ सरस्वती और यमुना नदी के मध्य का यह भू भाग भारतीय इतिहास और संस्कृति के अनेक युगान्तरों की कहानी के विकास का भागीदार रहा है।^२ हरियाणा प्रदेश के नाम से ही जनसंचार की अवधारणा स्पष्ट हो जाती है। हरि का आना यानी भगवान श्री कृष्ण का आना जो अपनी लोकलीलाओं से जनसंचार का कार्य करते थे। कुछ लोग इसे शिव जी से जोड़ते हैं जो अपने समय के महान् संचारक थे। ऐसा माना जाता है कि रोहतक शहर का शिवजी के पुत्र कार्तिकेय से संबंध रहा है।^३ इस प्रकार हरियाणा से मानव को असभ्य से सभ्य बनाने वाली संजीवनी जनसंचार की शुरुआत हुई है।

वेद, उपनिषद तथा मनुस्मृति आदि ग्रन्थों की रचनास्थली हरियाणा ही रहा है। यहां पर ऋषि मुनियों ने लाखों वर्षों तक वेद की ऋचायें उच्चारित की। स्मृतियां, जो ऋषि मुनियों की याददाशत की संचार शैली के कारण सारे विश्व में फैली थी। श्री कृष्ण ने गीता का उपदेश हरियाणा में ही दिया था। परिवार मोह की दलदल में फंसे अर्जुन को धर्म के मार्ग पर चलने की सीख का यह मनोहर दृश्य संचार का अद्भुत अजूबा रहा है। इसकी संचार प्रक्रिया को देखे तो जनसंचार का यह सबसे बड़ा वाकिया था। जिससे युगों-युगों से सृष्टि का मार्ग दर्शन होता आया।^४ भगवद्गीता तो सारे सूचना तथा संचार का ही मनोहर रूप है। महाभारत के युद्ध का संजय द्वारा अन्धे धृतराष्ट्र के सामने हू-ब-हू खाका खींचना संचार-तकनीकों का पौराणिक चमत्कार नहीं तो क्या था? इसी प्रकार पानीपत के तीनों युद्धों, तरावड़ी तथा अन्य युद्धों में संचार माध्यमों से संदेश त्वरित गति से विश्व में संचरित होते थे।

ऋषि मुनियों के आश्रम, गुरुकुल तथा तपोस्थल इस प्रदेश के ज्ञान तथा संचार के बड़े केन्द्र आज भी विद्यमान हैं। कलायत का कपिल मुनि आश्रम, बाघेश्वर मुनि की तपोस्थली बाघोत, दुर्वासा ऋषि की दुबलधन, चवन ऋषि का ढोसी तथा चिमनी, पेहवा, पांडू पिंडारा (जींद) आदि आज भी सैकड़ों स्थल ऐसे हैं जहां पर हर साल मेले लगते हैं तथा पूजा मनौती के लिये श्रद्धालुओं का तांता लगा रहता है। कुरुक्षेत्र में सरोवर, बावड़ी, पिहोवा के तीर्थ, इसी प्रकार असंख्य तीर्थ स्थलों में देश-विदेश के अनेक पर्यटक तथा श्रद्धालु आते हैं जिससे आदिकाल से अब तक जनसंचार होता रहा है। इन्हें जनसंचार के पावर हाउस कहा जाये तो अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी।

शिलालेख, स्तम्भ लेख तथा ताम्रलेख शुरुआती दौर में जनसंचार का प्रमुख माध्यम मौखिक वार्ता ही था। सम्राट अशोक ने अपने साम्राज्य में विशाल अभिलेख खुदवाये। इन स्तम्भ तथा शिलालेखों को संचार का महत्वपूर्ण औजार माना जाता है।⁷ दिल्ली के पास स्थित 'सारवन' गांव में चौदहवीं सदी का (सम्वत् 1364) का शिलालेख जो दिल्ली के संग्रहालय में है।⁸ मुहम्मद बिन तुगलक कालीन शिलालेख के तृतीय श्लोक में स्पष्ट रूप से हरियाणा देश को पृथ्वी पर स्वर्ग के समान बताया है। जिसमें अभिलिखित है, 'देशोस्ति हरियाणास्य य, पृथिव्यायं स्वर्गसन्निभः।' दिल्ली की पालम बावड़ी का शिलालेख, पृथूदक-पिहोवा के शिलालेख⁹, प्राचीन हरियाणा में मुद्रा निर्माण तथा टकसाले¹⁰ और हरियाणा पुरातात्विक संग्रहालय में हरियाणा के विभिन्न इलाकों से मिले शिलालेख, ताम्रलेख तथा स्तम्भलेख आज भी जनसंचार की कहानी कह रहे हैं।

मृन्मूर्तियां तथा पुरातत्वावशेष

मृन्मूर्तियां तथा पुरातत्वावशेष इतिहास की टूटी कड़ियों को जोड़ने की अमिट संचार कड़ी है। जो नौरंगाबाद, अगरोहा, खोखराकोट, राखीगढ़ी, मिताथल, पोली, सुघ, नचारखेड़ा, झासवा, हाठ (जींद) तथा पुराने थेहों से मिले हैं।¹¹ जिन्हें कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय, महर्षि दयानंद विश्वविद्यालय रोहतक के इतिहास विभाग में रखा गया है तथा संचार की अनकही कहानी कह रहे हैं। इन पर संचार की दृष्टि से शोध की जरूरत है।

ऐतिहासिक मंदिर, किले तथा स्मारक

कुरुक्षेत्र के मंदिर, पिंजौर का भीमादेवी मंदिर, कैथल का ग्यारह इन्द्री मंदिर, महर्षिचवन की तपोभूमि: ढोसी तीर्थ, भीमेश्वरी देवी मंदिर, नाथमठ अस्थल बोहर, शीतलामाता शक्तिपीठ, गुरुग्राम, भगवतभक्ति आश्रम, रेवाड़ी, रामराय तीर्थ, जींद संचार के अमूक गवाह है। झज्जर, छुछकवास, दुजाना, लुहारू, कुंजपुरा के नवाबों के किले, हांसी का दुर्ग व दुर्ग की थेह पर बना कुण्ड, फरुखनगर का किला, जींद का किला, तावड़ू, महेन्द्रगढ़ में माधोगढ़ गांव के किले संचार के साक्षी होने के आज भी अमिट प्रमाण है।¹² कुरुक्षेत्र के सरोवर- सन्निहित सरोवर, ब्रह्मसरोवर, ज्योतिसर सरोवर, स्थाणेश्वर महादेव मंदिर सरोवर, रेवाड़ी के ऐतिहासिक सरोवर, नारनौल के ऐतिहासिक तालाब, बेरी व झज्जर इलाके के ऐतिहासिक सरोवरों व मिर्जा अलीजान की बावड़ी की गिनती प्राचीन संचार केन्द्रों में है। पानीपत की काबुलीबाग मस्जिद, शेख चिल्ली का मकबरा (कुरुक्षेत्र), रजिया बेगम की कब्र (कैथल) आदि आज भी संचार गवाह के रूप में खड़े हैं। संचार की प्रमुख कड़ी के रूप में आज भी पुराने राजमागों पर खड़े कोस मीनार संचार वैज्ञानिकों को हरियाणा की पुरानी संचार शैली पर चिंतन करने के लिए विवश कर देती है। हिसार का गुजरीमहल, हिसार की जहाज कोठी, बीरबल का छाता, इब्राहिम खान का मकबरा, चोर गुम्बद, चामुंडा देवी का मंदिर तथा खापों के चबूतरे भव्य अतीत की कहानी के साथ-साथ सूचना केन्द्रों के इतिहास पर भी प्रकाश डाल रहे हैं। मित्रत व पूजा स्थल बाबा मोहनदास मंदिर माजरा (दुबलधन), बाबा मुंगीपा की समाधि तोशाम, श्याम बाबा मंदिर शिवालय आदि आज भी संचार केन्द्र की भूमिका अदा कर रहे हैं।

संचार की प्रमुख विद्या राग

राग यानी काव्यमय अभिव्यक्ति जो नारदकाल से चली आ रही है। वेदों की ऋचाओं की गायनस्थली भी हरियाणा ही रहा है। इसका पुख्ता सबूत हरियाणा में गांवों के नाम रागों पर रखे हुये हैं। जींद के गांव ललित खेड़ा का नाम ललित राग पर, जयजवंती का नाम जयवन्ती राग पर, श्री राग खेड़ा श्री राग पर, भैरों खेड़ा का नाम भैरों राग पर, बिलावल (चरखी दादरी) का नाम बिलावल राग पर आदि सैंकड़ों गांवों के नाम रागों पर रखे हुये हैं जो हरियाणा के ग्राम समाज की

संचार की कहानी कह रहे हैं।¹³

अतः इतिहासकारों व समाजशास्त्रियों ने हरियाण का इतिहास का समाजशास्त्रीय नजरिये से अध्ययन किया है। यदि यहां के शेष-अवशेष तथा वर्तमान संचार साक्ष्यों का अध्ययन किया जाये तो पुरातत्वीय संचार की एक नई-नई अवधारणा इतिहास जगत के सामने आएगी। वेद जो ऋषि मुनियों की तपो साधना का संचार था विश्व में संचार का सबसे व्यापक रूप है। सम्राट अशोक के अभिलेखों को संचार विज्ञानी संचार उपलब्धि मानते हैं यदि हरियाणा के प्रस्तर व अन्य अभिलेखों को संचारी आइने से पढ़ा जाये तो संचार जगत को नई सामग्री मिल सकती है। यहां के प्राणी, पेड़-पौधों को तो छोड़ों, जर्रे-जर्रे में संचार का गुण विद्यमान है। बशर्ते की इस पर काम किया जाये। मठों तथा आश्रमों की दीवारों पर लिखित अनमोल संदेश उन्हें परखने, समझने तथा पढ़ने की बाट जोह रहे हैं। डॉ. सूरजभान, स्वामी ओमानन्द सरस्वती, डॉ. योगानन्द शास्त्री, ए. कनिधम, जयनारायण शर्मा, पूर्णचंद शर्मा, डॉ. भीमसिंह मलिक ने हरियाणा के अनछूहे पहलुओं को छूने का प्रयास किया है। इस पर ओर अधिक वैज्ञानिक शोधकार्य की जरूरत है।

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5

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Meos in the Processes of Peasantisation and Islamisation in Medieval Period (13th-18th Century)

Dr. Surajbhan Bhardwaj*

Fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

I am very grateful to the executive committee of the Haryana History Congress for electing me the President of Medieval Indian History Section. The theme I propose to explore in this paper is: *Meos in the Processes of Peasantisation and Islamisation in Medieval Period (13th-18th Century)*.

This paper focuses on the process of peasantisation and Islamization of the Meos from 13th to 18th centuries through analyses of historical evidence and their own oral traditions. The historical records utilized in the study are contemporary Indo-Persian chronicles and Rajasthani sources, mainly the *Arsattas*, *Arzdashts*, *Chithis*, *Vakil* reports, *Khatut-ahalkarns*, *Dastur-al-amals*, and *Yaddashtis*.¹ Besides, *Jagga* records (genealogical records) are also helpful in understanding the process of peasantisation and Islamisation of the Meos. The folk traditions of the Meos include local ballads, legends and narratives, written or compiled by scholars like Nar Singh Meo, Alexander Cunningham and James Tod.²

A brief historiographical survey on the theme is in order here. Though the study of the Meos has not received much attention from historians, some attempts have been made by sociologists and anthropologists in the recent past. Before that, some British ethnographers also provided interesting information about the Meo community. The earliest

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references about the Meos can be traced to the Indo-Persian chronicles of the Sultanate period. Both Minhaj Siraj and Ziauddin Barani describe the Meos as law-less, plunderers, raiders, robbers, and assaulters who had become a serious threat for the sultans of Delhi.³ Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindi gives us more detailed information of Mewat, particularly about the Mewati chieftains and the Tughlaq and Sayyid rulers.⁴

Babur's memoir, the *Baburnama*, provides us a vivid picture of the region of Mewat. It highlights the ecological and geographical conditions of Mewat. However, the *Baburnama* is a more important account of the political and military role of Hasan Khan Mewati, a powerful chieftain of Babur's time in Hindustan. Babur accuses Hasan Khan of being the chief instigator and organizer of the battle of Khanwah against him.⁵ Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* provides comprehensive information about the Meos and Mewat during the reign of Akbar. It describes the Meos not only as peasants but also as zamindars who had established their zamindaris in many *parganas* in the Mewat region. It also informs us that one group of Meos called the *dak Meoras* and *khidmatiiyas* was employed by Akbar in the postal communication service of the Mughal state.⁶

The *Arzang-i-Tizara* is a local account which narrates a short history of Khanzada chiefs of Mewat from the Sultanate to the Mughal period. It throws light on many aspects of the socio-cultural life of the Meo community. The claim of the Meos of their being of Rajput origin has been doubted by the author.⁷ British ethnographers such as Alexander Cunningham and P.W. Powlett club the Meos with the Meenas as a violent social group. The Meos is not only portrayed as an ethnic community along with the Meenas but also as criminal elements.⁸ Nevertheless, the information supplied by the ethnographers is very helpful for the reconstruction of the social, economic, political and cultural profile of the Meos.

In recent times, Irfan Habib has brought the Meos back to light in connection with the role of the Meoras in the Mughal postal communication system. He argues that the postal system was essential for a large centralised territorial entity like the Mughal Empire because news and orders had to be conveyed over great distances.⁹ The writings of Shail Mayaram have also aroused tremendous interest in the history and traditions of the Meos. An earlier work of Shail provides a good

account of the Meos in relation to the princely states of Alwar and Bharatpur.¹⁰ Her latest work investigates the mythic mode of organisation and transmission of memories of the Meos. In this work, she portrays them as a community incapable of state formation because of the autonomous nature of their *pal* polity.¹¹

A popular perception among the Meos that lands were allotted to them by the Mughal emperor Akbar is grounded in historical reality. Abul-Fazl, the author of *Ain-i-Akbari* observes that for the first time the Mewat region was brought under direct Mughal administration during the reign of Akbar. The whole region was divided into four *sarkars* included within the two Mughals *subas* of Agra and Delhi.¹² These *sarkars* were further divided into 67 *parganas*¹³ and the Meos established their zamindari rights over 13, 14 and 4 *parganas* of Alwar, Tijara and Sahar *sarkars* respectively.¹⁴ The preponderance of Meo zamindaris in the region and their recognition by the Mughal administration under Akbar gradually gave birth to the myth that land was allotted to each Meo lineage group (*pal*) by Akbar.¹⁵ By the end of the 16th century, the Meos had not only been transformed into a landed peasantry but had also established their zamindari rights in the Mewat region. Other cultivating castes like Jats, Gujjars, Ahirs, Rajputs, Brahmins and Malis also live(d) in the Mewat region.¹⁶

Mewat is situated approximately 64 km southwest of Delhi, roughly correspond-ing to the modern Alwar and Bharatpur districts of Rajasthan, and the Nuh district of modern Haryana. It comprises nine modern-day *tehsils* of Tijara, Kishangarh, Alwar, and Lachhmangarh in Alwar district; Deeg, Nagar and Kama in Bharatpur district; and Nuh and Firozpur Jhirka in Nuh district.

Mewat is the popular name for the region inhabited by the Meos or Mevs. The Meos believe(d) that the term 'Mewat' is a derivative of 'Mev'. The term 'Meo' or 'Mev' is, in turn, derived from 'Mewas' which means a hiding place for the robbers. Therefore, in official chronicles and discourse, the term 'Mev' became synonymous with robber, ruffian or rogue.¹⁷ The geography of Mewat is rich and varied due to a combination of Aravalli hills, plains and dense forests. Aravalli hills serve as a habitat for wild animals like tigers (*naharia*), panthers, wolves, hyenas, foxes, jackals, and deer.¹⁸ Firozshah Tughlaq had a keen interest in wild beasts; therefore, he constructed a fortress near a lake at Kotla in the Kala Pahad (black mountain) ridge for the purpose of hunting wild beasts.¹⁹

The Kala Pahad ridge is in the centre of Mewat and demarcates Haryana from Rajasthan. It rises abruptly to more than 300 metres at some places and is remarkable for its uninterrupted stretch. In the words of O. H. K. Spate, 'All the hills are dissected by generally dry but at times torrent-filled *nullahs*, and surrounded by pediment fans.'²⁰ Parts of land are rendered waste because the torrents at the foothills of Kala Pahad form deep gorges and cause erosion.²¹ In the medieval times, the topography of the Mewat region was marked by lakes, seasonal streams, springs, and dams which played an important role as a source of irrigation for agriculture.²² The main lakes were Kotla, Chandeni, Siliserh, and Deoti. Some channels were cut from these lakes when the water-bed was full; these channels supported the cultivation of food and cash crops. Later, when these lakes dried up, their fertile beds became suitable for growing superior crops, such as cotton, wheat and sugarcane. Abul-Fazl mentions that Meo peasants cultivated not only food crops but also indigo, cotton, sugarcane, mustard, and pulses.²³ The Kala Pahad and other hills of the Aravalli range have been a source of food, water, shelter and protection to a number of tribal communities since the pre-Sultanate period. There is a popular saying about the Kala Pahad which explains the geographical setting of Mewat:

इत दिल्ली उत आगरा, इत मथुरा और बैराठ,
मेरो कालो पहाड़ सुहावणों, जाके बीच बसे मेवात।²⁴

[The geographical setting of Mewat is such that one of its sides is bordered by Delhi and the others by Mathura, Agra and Bairat. The stretches of Kala Pahad pass through the centre of Mewat whose beautiful ranges and ravines enhance the beauty of Mewat.] This popular belief is significant, since both sides of the Kala Pahad contain densely populated villages and fertile tracts favourable for cultivation. There has been an old popular perception that the Kala Pahad was a blessing for the Mewat region, as from time immemorial it has provided food, shelter, water, and immense benefits to various tribal communities and wild animals alike.

Regarding the settlements and occupation of the Meos, the information gleaned from Indo-Persian sources and oral traditions would make us believe that before their peasantisation, the Meos belonged to various tribal groups engaged in cattle-lifting, raids and robberies,

and that they had settled in the Kala Pahad and other Aravalli hills of the Mewat region. Minhaj Siraj Juzjani writes:

*Balban (Ulugh Khan) and other nobles, with the royal troops and their own followers sud-denly resolved upon a campaign in the hills and made the first march in advance on Monday, 4th Safar 658 Hijra (20 January, 1260 CE). They retreated to the summits of the mountains, the defiles, to deep gorges and narrow valleys, but they were all taken and put to the swords. For twenty days, the troops traversed the hills in all directions. The villages and the habitations of the mountaineers were on the summits of the loftiest hills and rocks and were of great strength, but they were all taken and ravaged by the order of Ulugh Khan, and the inhabitants who were thieves, robbers and highwaymen were all slain.*²⁵

Abdul Aziz has identified 12 such village sites located on high hills which had been claimed by the Meos as their original *pal* settlements. It is important to note that all these villages of the Meo *pals* now stand deserted and ruined.²⁶ But the most remarkable feature lies in a trend of continuity between the old and the new sites, and the current existence of all the 12 settlements in the plain areas. In the light of the abandonment of the original sites in the hills, the subsequent occupation of new sites in the plains clearly indicates a massive migration of the Meo population from the high hills to the plains. This can be attested from the *Jagga* records and some Meo oral traditions.

The *Jagga* records²⁷ confirm that the ancestors of Deharwal Meos lived in the Kala Pahad. They were known as Naths or snake charmers. Therefore, the Deharwal Meos considered the Naths as their kith and kin owing to common ancestry. The ancestral villages of the Deharwal Meos were at Meoli (near Nuh) which was colonised by Mewa Singh. The *Jagga* records further informs that Mewa Singh was the head of 52 *khorei* (settlements) in the Kala Pahad. The term 'Dehrawal' is derived from *Dehar* which comprised the low-lying area near the Kotla lake in the Nuh region.

Another folk tradition of Landawat Meo *pal* explains the circumstances in which it migrated from the Kala Pahad to the plains near Ramgarh *tehsil* (Alwar district). They had to face a lot of difficulties during the process of peasantisation, because the whole region was covered by thorny bushes and thick forests. The Landawat Meos were

also known as Baghoria Meos, as Baghore was the original village of their *pal*.

A Meo group hailing from Shahbad (Tijara sarkar) had Sapen (snake charmers) as its *gotra*, identical to that of the Naths. Likewise, the *Jagga* records also locate the ancestral settlements of the Meo *pals*, namely Chhiraklot, Punglot, Daimrot, Dulot, and Nai in the Kala Pahad region. The main occupation of these *pals* was the rearing of animals apart from cattle-lifting, raids and robbery. Folk tradition also considers these five Meo *pals* as brethren, i.e., forming a common brotherhood. Consequently, even today these *pals* do not marry amongst themselves. As already stated, they lived in the Kala Pahad region and often resorted to plundering traders and travellers.

There is a popular story that when a local king received numerous complaints in this regard, he sent his army to capture the leaders of these five 'rogue' groups. However, all the five escaped from the clutches of the army, having disguised themselves as a juggler, a snake charmer, a drummer, a basket-maker, and a grass-cutter. Subsequently, the five 'rogues' settled in the plains and took to farming. The one who had disguised himself as a juggler settled in the Lachhmangarh region of Alwar. He founded a village called Kajhota. Later on, it came to be known as the ancestral village of the Daimrot *pal*. The snake charmer took to agriculture in the vicinity of Alwar. There, he founded a village called Nimly. He was the founder of the Punglot *pal*. The third one settled near Firozpur Jhirka and came to be known as the founder-member of the Chhiraklot *pal*. According to the *Jagga* records, one Chhirakan was the founder of this *pal*. The fourth Meo leader settled in the Ramgarh region of Alwar and became the founding father of the Nai *pal*. The fifth and the last one also adopted agriculture in the region between Nagar (Bharatpur) and Firozpur Jhirka. He became the founder of the Dulot *pal*. The image of the Meos as raiders and robbers is also reflected in a couplet of the medieval poet 'Rasnidhi'.

छवि-वन में दौरन लगे, जब ते तव दग मेव ।
तव ते कढ़े सनेहिया मन छन ले के छेव ²⁸

[Enamoured by the pristine beauty of the forest of Brij region, the poet recalls the undisturbed passion of lovers around the beautiful trees. But he laments that ever since the rogue Meos

struck this region with loot and plunder, the yearning lovers have abandoned the region.]

The folk tradition and Indo-Persian chronicles describe the Meos as robbers, plunderers and dacoits who disrupted trade and travel and became a great source of trouble to the people of Delhi and its neighbourhood. The Meos comprised several tribal groups who lived in the Aravalli hills, ravines and forests. On the basis of their mode of life and occupational identity, they were commonly spoken of as 'Meo' by the outsiders.

The Aravalli hills were thus a home to a number of tribal communities who had to struggle a lot to eke out their living. In fact, their geographical and social separation enabled them to lead a life of relative social and political freedom. However, being in the vicinity of Delhi and Agra, the Mewat region remained within the reach of rulers in Delhi. Minhaj Siraj's and Barani's writings tell us that the Meos became a matter of concern for the Sultans of Delhi. They had to undertake military campaigns to control the lawless and marauding activities of the Meos.

A close comparison of the folk tradition with the Indo-Persian chronicles reflects the same perception. In his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Minhaj Siraj depicts the Mewatis as highway robbers and dacoits who would rob the Muslim subjects and traders of their belongings. They organised their raids in the villages of Haryana, Shiwalik hills and the Bayana region and distributed the cattle among themselves.²⁹ Minhaj further writes,

*Ulugh Khan ordered a silver tanka for every head, and two tankas for every man brought in alive. Eager for these rewards the soldiers climbed the highest hills, and penetrated the ravines and deepest gorges, and brought in heads and captives. The rebel Hindus who had taken the camels were captured along with their families.*³⁰

Amir Khusrau tells us that when Sultan Alauddin Khalji launched his military expedition against Ranthambor, he went through the Mewat region. However, it may be noted that he does not mention the lawlessness and predatory activities of the Meos. Khusrau also remarks that the Mewat region was surrounded by the high Aravalli hills and infested by wild animals.³¹

One hundred years later, Ziauddin Barani wrote in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, about the problems created by the Meos during Balban's period:

*The daring of the Mewatis in the neighbourhood of Delhi was carried to such an extent that the western gates of the city were shut at afternoon prayer, and no one dared to go out of the city in that direction after that hour, whether he travelled as a pilgrim or with the display of a sov-ereign. At afternoon prayer, the Mewatis would often come to the girls who were fetching water; they would strip them and carry off their clothes. These daring acts of the Mewatis had caused a great ferment in Delhi.*³²

There is no reference to the 'lawless activities' of the Meos during the Khalji period. However, we notice that during the Tughlaq period, the Meos went back to their old habits, as is reflected in the writings of the Tughlaq period. Firozshah Tughlaq posted a force at Firozpur Jhirka for the purpose of controlling the Meos,³³ and a fortress was constructed in the Aravalli hill (Kala Pahad) at Indori for hunting as well as for military purposes.³⁴ It seems that during the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq, the Meos and a section of Jadon Rajputs actively indulged in plundering. The author of *Arzang-i-Tijara* informs that a branch of Jadon Rajputs and Meos were notorious for loot and plunder, arson, and lawlessness in the entire region. They thus created a serious law and order problem for the Sultans of Delhi. Firozshah Tughlaq was compelled to carry out a military campaign against them.³⁵ It seems that he paid much attention towards the Mewat region and established two new *qasbas*, namely, Tughlaqpur and Salarpur, in Mewat.³⁶

The information available in the *Jagga* records point to the peasantisation of the Meos between the late 14th and early 16th centuries when the region was ruled by the Khanzadas.³⁷ During this period, many new Meo villages were established in the area between Nuh–Firozpur Jhirka and the Tijara region. These new villages were in the vicinity of the Kala Pahad. Geographically, the Meo villages fall into three divisions: (a) the area adjoining the Kala Pahad and comprising Nuh, Ferozpur Jhirka, Taoru, Punahana, Tijara, and Ramgarh; (b) Kishangarh, Lachhmangarh and Rajgarh; and (c) Alwar, Kama, Deeg, and Pahari.

A sociological survey of the Meos shows that the process of their migration from hills to plains in Mewat continued up to the late medieval period. This is evinced by the dispersal of the members of the same *pal* in different areas. For instance, the Daimrot *pal* was settled in 160 villages, divided into three clusters. Out of these, the biggest was in Lachhmangarh tehsil (Alwar district). The second cluster comprised 40 villages situated between Firozpur Jhirka and Kama (Bharatpur district). The third cluster of 12 villages was situated near Punahana (Firozpur Jhirka, tehsil of Gurgaon district). Similarly, all the clusters had their own separate chiefs or *chaudharis*.

The Nai *pal*, too, underwent a similar process of dispersal migration. Originally settled between Ramgarh and Alwar, the Nai *pal* split up into two groups, settled in clusters of villages. The biggest cluster comprised 50 villages, situated to the west of Ramgarh town. The second cluster had 10 villages, situated near Kama town (Bharatpur district). However, the distance between the two clusters was about 50 km. Though both clusters belonged to the same *pal*, they had their own *chaudharis*.

This phenomenon of villages of the same *pal* settling down in different areas indicates that on account of a rise in population among the Meo *pals*, cultivable land might have been insufficient to support the rising population. Therefore, some families of a *pal* might have migrated to different areas within Mewat where they could find land suitable for settlement and cultivation. The descriptions of Meo raids and robberies by the early Indo-Persian chroniclers, such as Minhaj Siraj and Barani, are not found in the works of this genre in the late Sultanate period. After the 15th century, the Indo-Persian chronicles largely describe the Meos as not paying the land revenue (*kharaj*), indicating that they had already become a settled peasant community. These conflicts between the Meos and the state intensified during the Mughal period.

A pertinent question needs to be answered i.e. What circumstances forced Meos to migrate from the Aravalli hills to the plains, and what led to their transformation from a tribal to a peasant society? Initially, the Meos may well have posed a serious law and order problem to the Delhi Sultanate, threatening the smooth flow of trade through the Mewat region. However, in the post-Tughlaq period, several factors contributed to the process of their peasantisation. For instance, the rigorous military campaigns by the Sultans of Delhi against the Meos must have

pressurized them to give up their 'lawless' activities. Second, the increasing population of the Meos must have caused scarcity of resources in the Aravalli hills. Massive clearing of forests in Mewat carried out by Balban must be viewed from this perspective. Barani reports that immediately after acquiring the throne of Delhi, Balban tried to contain the Mewati 'menace' when he 'employed himself in harrying the Jungles and routing out the Mewatis'.³⁸ It is important to note that he 'built a fort at Gopal-gir, and established several post in the vicinity of the city, which he placed in the charge of Afghans, with assignments of land (for their maintenance)'.³⁹

The large-scale deforestation drive would have been a major factor inducing their peasantisation. The construction of forts, the appointment of Afghans, the introduction of a system of land assignments and the establishment of new towns and villages were accompanied by attempts to create conditions conducive to the introduction of agriculture in the region. The conversion of forest land into agricultural land appears to have been first major incentive for the introduction of agriculture in this region.

However, more than the aforementioned factors it was the formation of the state of Khanzadas (1390–1527 CE), who had carved out a small principality in the vicinity of Tijara at Kotla in the Mewat region, that transformed the Meo population into a sedentary peasantry.⁴⁰ The Khanzadas exercised considerable pressure on the Meos to give up their old occupations and take up cultivation in order to strengthen the economic base of the state. Large areas were thus brought under cultivation by the Khanzadas. They seem to have pressurised the tribal communities living in the Aravalli hills to take up agriculture. This fact is borne out by a folktale of the five *pals*, namely, Chhiraklot, Dulot, Pundlot, Daimrot and Nai (Jadon-vamshi) which had settled in the plains and taken to cultivation in the early 15th century.

The *Jagga* records also reveal that in the early 15th century, five *pal* villages were founded in the *parganas* of Nuh, Firozpur Jhirka, Ramgarh (Khilohra) and Lachhmangarh.⁴¹ Significantly, the region where these five *pals* had settled was the heartland of the Khanzada state in its early days. Being under tremendous state pressure, and forced to abandon their previous occupation, the Meos were hardly left with any alternative except shifting to agriculture. The historical ballad 'Hasan Khan ki Katha', composed by Narsingh Meo of Kajhauta village during

the early 16th century on the first battle of Panipat and the battle of Khanwah, mentions 12 Meo *pals* serving in the army of Hasan Khan Mewati,⁴² which had fought against Babur in the battle of Khanwah. This shows that by this period the Meos had not only become peasants but also turned into soldiers.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul-Fazl refers to the zamindari rights of the Meos which were spread over many *parganas* of Mewat during the reign of Akbar. In Tijara *sarkar*, the Meos exclusively held zamindari rights in 14 out of 18 *parganas*.⁴³ In four *parganas* they shared their zamindari with other castes like Khanzadas and Thathars.⁴⁴ In Alwar *sarkar*, the Meos had exclusive control over five out of 43 *parganas*.⁴⁵ In another seven *parganas*, they shared zamindari rights with other castes like Khanzadas, Jats and Gujjars.⁴⁶ The *Ain-i-Akbari*, however, does not mention the existence of any Meo zamindari in 31 *parganas* of Alwar *sarkar*.⁴⁷

In Sahar *sarkar*, the Meos did not have any exclusive *pargana* under their zamindari. They shared their zamindari rights in four out of seven *parganas* with other castes like Jats, Thathars and Gujjars.⁴⁸ In three *parganas*, they did not have any zamin-dari claims, which shows that the process of peasantisation of the Pahat Meos remained slow during the reign of Akbar. In Rewari *sarkar*, the two *parganas*, namely Taoru and Sohna, were part of the Mewat region. But the Meos did not possess even a single zamindari under their jurisdiction in these *parganas* during the reign of Akbar.⁴⁹ It may, therefore, be assumed that the peasantisation of Meos in these *parganas* was not widespread enough to give rise to Meo zamindaris.

From these statistics of the Meo zamindars in Mewat, it may be concluded that the administrative integration of the region into the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar contributed significantly to the process of the peasantisation of Meos. This process continued in the centuries following Akbar's reign and by the second half of the 19th century, we come across a large number of Meo peasant households in the region. On the one hand, according to the census of 1872, out of the total 1, 80,225 households, the population of the Meo peasant households was 94,546 in the Alwar state, which accounted for more than half of the region's population.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the Meos did not have their zamindaris in 31 out of the total 43 *parganas* of Alwar *sarkar* during the reign of Akbar.⁵¹ We may, therefore, assume that the

process of peasantisation of Meos in the Alwar *sarkar* became even more intense during the period between Akbar's death and the middle of the 19th century. This process was characterized by a prolonged struggle whereby the Meos cleared the dense forests and adopted plough technology for the purpose of cultivation.

Similarly, the Pahat Meos came to occupy a larger number of villages than did any other caste in the *parganas* of Pahari, Kama, Nagar and Kho-mujahid of Sahar *sarkar* by the second half of the 19th century.⁵² The statistical report of the year 1840 shows that the Meos held 47 out of 55 villages in *pargana* Taora; and 47 out of 169 villages in *pargana* Sohna.⁵³ This clearly indicates that the process of peasantisation of Meos in these *parganas* gathered momentum after the death of Akbar. The following observation of the first British collector of Gurgaon district in 1846 testifies the growing reputation of the Meos as a peasant community:

*The Meos have been considered to be remarkable for their lawless and thieving propensities; but in these respects they are now less conspicuous than either Rangurs or Goajurs. I have not seen more beautiful cultivation in India than I have observed in Firozepoor, a purgunah exclusively Meo; and their attachment to the soil, a feeling beyond all others strong in India is in this race stronger than in most.*⁵⁴

The first phase of the process of peasantisation of Meos was more marked in the Tijara *sarkar* which was the core area of the Khanzada chieftdom. Later on, the Meos moved their settlements into the Alwar, Sahar and Rewari *sarkars*. Thus, the Meos were gradually transformed from a tribal community to a peasant society organised through the *pal* system and other institutions of settled agrarian society. The *Jaggas* played an important role by restructuring the Meo identity on the basis of the Hindu gotra system which brought about significant changes in their social life. The names of the founders of the villages and their period are mentioned in the *Jagga* records. These records indicate that the process of peasantisation was facilitated by the existence of the *pal* system, since tribes belonging to a particular *pal* had the tendency to occupy particular areas and settle villages there. The ancestral villages of Kajhota and Doha of the Daimrot and Duhlot *pals* were founded

in 1423 C.E. Similarly, Neekach and Nimaly, the ancestral villages of the Nai, Chhiraklot and Punglot *pals*, were settled in 1428 C.E and 1458 C.E respectively. According to the *Jagga* records, their gotras⁵⁵ are derived from the names of their chiefs who established the villages. For example, the names of a *pal* and a *gotra*, namely Chhiraklot, are derived from a chief's name Chhirkan. Similarly, the Duhlot *pal* was named after its chief. Several gotras originated from the names of various chiefs, such as Duhlot from Duhlot, Mangria from Mangraj, Besar from Besar Singh, Matiavat from Matia Singh and Sugdhavat from Sughadh Singh. In the Sahar *sarkar*, the gotra of the Meos of Sakatpur, Khangavali, Baghola and Meerpur villages is Bahmanavat. The *Jagga* records mention that the Meos of these villages were previously Brahmins. Due to social insecurity, they joined the Pahat *pal* and became a part of the Meo community. It is significant that each Meo family is associated with some gotra, but many of these families were not the members of the *pal* system. This trend suggests that the formation of the Meo social structure also occurred beyond the *pal* system.

I

The territory of Mewat has been subdivided into 13 geographical regions, corresponding to 13 Meo *pals*; 12 of these are referred to as *pals* and one as *palakra*.⁵⁶ However, in practice, all of them are equal in status. When and why the Pahat Meo *pal* was called *palakra* is not known. There is a popular perception that during Akbar's reign when all the Meo *pals* had divided land among themselves amicably, the representatives of the Pahat clan arrived late. Therefore, the Pahat Meos were contemptuously called '*palakra*' and not '*pal*'. But it seems that the '*pal*' of the Pahat Meos came to be characterised as '*palakra*' because of certain historical circumstances. The Pahat Meos were culturally different from the other Meo *pals*. Geographically, the Pahat Meos were located in the Kama-Pahari and Deeg *parganas* of Mathura-Bharatpur, which was a part of the Braj region.⁵⁷ The folk stories of 'Dariya Khan Meo and Shashi Badani Meeni' and 'Panch Pahad ki Ladai' belong to the Pahat Meos. The love story of 'Dariya Khan Meo and Shashi Badani Meeni' recounts the conflict between the Pahat Meos and the Meenas that occurred over the refusal of Dariya Khan Meo to eat meat at his bride Shashi Badani Meeni's house. The story also emphasizes the difference in the cultural traits, particularly food habits,⁵⁸

of the Pahat Meos and the Meenas. The story 'Panch Pahad ki Ladai' highlights the conflict between the Pahat Meos and the Mughal authority during the reign of Shahjahan. It was an agrarian revolt of the Pahat Meos against the Mughal state.

The Persian and Rajasthani sources reveal that the nature of conflict between the Pahat Meos and the Mughal state was not different from that between the Jats of the Braj region and the Mughals during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁵⁹ The Rajasthani sources also confirm the unity among the Pahat Meos and the Jats of Braj region during the agrarian revolts which took place in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.⁶⁰ Therefore, culturally, the Pahat Meos found themselves closer to the Jats than to other Meos. These cultural differences contributed to the formation of a social identity of the Pahat Meos, distinct from that of the other Meos. This distinct social identity of the Pahat Meos is also mentioned in the Rajasthani documents.⁶¹ Therefore, the Pahat Meos were addressed as '*palakra*' rather than as '*pal*' by the other Meo *pals* despite the fact that the Pahat Meos possessed a large area of land for cultivation and enjoyed a favourable social and economic position in the region. It should also be noted that the Pahat Meos always refuted the allegation that their representatives were late-comers to the Meo *pal* assembly during the reign of Akbar. The Pahat Meos argued that the question of their late appearance at the assembly did not arise because Akbar had given them a respectable position which is reflected in the following popular tradition:

पंच पहाड़ की राजाही, और पूरो तेरा दल ।
आधे अखबर बादशाह, आधे पहाट टोडरमल ।⁶²

[In the kingdom of the five hills, with its force complete, one half belongs to Emperor Akbar and the other half to Todar Mal Pahat.]

This saying was supposedly conveyed to Akbar, who once sent for Todar Mal Pahat and demanded why it that he considered himself equal to the Mughal emperor was. Todar Mal Pahat replied, 'As I am the zamindar of the five hills, half of the produce belongs to me and half to your Majesty.' Todar Mal, the zamindar of the Pahat Meos, conveyed to Akbar that just as he was the emperor of the Mughal state, so he was the

‘king’ (zamindar) of his region. Therefore, 50 per cent share of the land revenue should belong to him. Akbar was so pleased with his reply that he gave Todar Mal Pahat a *jagir* with rank in the army.⁶³ The folklore was also meant to convey the message to the other Meo *pals* that the Pahat Meos were in no way inferior to them.

The Pahat Meos claim that Akbar gave so much importance to their chief Todar Mal Pahat that he was elevated to the rank of *mansabdar* in the military system. If read differently, this folktale also reflects the desire of the Pahat Meo chief to lay his claim to half the produce of the area in the face of the Mughal attempt to bring the area under their land revenue system. Therefore, it is not likely that the Pahat Meos were called *palakra* on account of their late arrival at the allotment of land among the Meo *pals* by the emperor. Rather, separate cultural identity of the Pahat Meos allowed little interaction with the other Meo *pals* which provoked a reaction among the latter leading them to coin the term ‘*palakra*’. It may be pointed out that the popular belief that the Pahat Meos arrived late for receiving land from the emperor was the invention of the bards (*mirasis*) during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It was at this time that the *pal* polity of the Meos had assumed a concrete shape whereby the *chaudhari* of each *pal* began to glorify his own *pal* through his own bards.⁶⁴ It was the moral duty of the bards to sing songs or recount tales in praise of the *pal* and its *chaudhari*. Actually, this was the method by which *pal chaudharis* would demonstrate their socio-economic and political power. It seems that the chiefs of the Meo *pals* adopted the Rajput practice of patronising oral histories of their clans composed by the bards during the late 18th and 19th centuries. It may be noted that this bardic tradition of legends and songs started first in the region of the Pahat Meos due to the influence of the Jats of Bharatpur.

It is evident from the fact that the legends ‘Panch Pahad ki Ladai’ and ‘Dariya Khan Meo and Shashi Badani Meeni’ were created by the bards in the late 18th or early 19th century. ‘Hasan Khan ki Katha’, a local historical ballad, mention all Meo *pals* except the Pahat Meos. The writer mentions that Hasan Khan Mewati had invited the *chaudharis* of all the 12 *pals* to his *darbar* (court) before going to the battle of Khanwah against Babur.⁶⁵ Therefore, it seems that the Pahat Meos had a distinct social identity and possibly became part of the pan-Meo community only after the 18th century.

Whenever the bards addressed the zamindars, they used terms like *Rao*, *Raja*, *Mal*, *Sardar* and *Thakur*. Actually, these terms were used for the chiefs of Bharatpur state, such as Rao Churaman, Rao Badan Singh, Thakur Badan Singh, Raja Mohkam Singh, and Raja Surajmal, etc. Under the influence of the Jats, the bards of the Pahat Meos used similar terms for their chiefs (*chaudharis*). The *pals* were clustered into four groups, each of which carried a Rajput *vansha* (clan) name. It was claimed that all members of the *pals* descended from Rajput clans whose names they were associated with. In spite of this, a large number of Meos in Mewat did not associate with any *pal*; they were/are just called '*Nepalias*' (i.e., without *pal*). Most of the Meo groups were divided into 13 social units, known as *pals*. Each *pal* was located in a fixed territory. Under the *pal* system, the Meos developed strong social bonds because they considered their kins-men as the progeny of a common ancestor. In the initial stages, *pal* was a tribal social unit under which each tribe had its independent identity. The headman of a tribe was regarded as the chief of the *pal*.

The 13 Meo *pals* were associated with two Rajput lineages, lunar (Chandravanshi) and solar (Suryavanshi). Five *pals*, namely, Chhiraklot, Dulot, Daimrot, Nai, and Pundlot were linked with Jadon Rajputs, while the other five — Balot, Dairwal, Kalesa, Landawat, and Ratawat — were associated with Tanwar Rajputs of Chandravanshi lineage. Two *pals* were linked to Kacchwa Rajputs and the Pahat Meos were associated with Chauhan Rajputs of Suryavanshi lineage. It seems that the Meos received this new social identity after the peasantisation of their community. Originating out of various Rajput clans, the formation of this identity indicates that the peasantisation did not occur simultaneously but in different periods of time, and that the Meos were divided into various groups. In this way, the *Jaggas* transformed the previous tribal identity of Meos into a new prestigious identity. The state, too, might have contributed to this process. However, the Meos were not an exception in this regard, as the identity of the Meenas was also transformed through their association with the Rajputs. Eastern Rajasthan has been regarded as a fertile agricultural zone, large parts of which were cultivated by the Meos and Meenas. Further, this region was controlled by the Rajputs. During the pre-Sultanate period, the Badgujars and Jadon Rajputs (Surasenas) were the rulers of this region. However, after the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq up to the times of Akbar,

the Khanzadas ruled this region. The Khanzadas were originally Jadon Rajputs who converted to Islam during the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq. It is also possible that the *Jaggas*, with the help of state power, linked the five *pals* with Rajput dynasties in order to provide legitimacy to their state or to strengthen the social base of the Khanzada state. During the Mughal rule, this region was part of the *tankhwah jagirs* of Kacchwaha Rajputs and other imperial mansabdars. After the late 18th century, ruled by the Naruka (Kacchwaha) Rajputs, the state of Alwar with a substantial population of Meos came into existence. In this way, the mythical origin of the Rajputisation of Meos and Meenas served to buttress the expansion and socio-economic development of the Rajput states.

The ascription of Rajput origins and Hindu gotras helped the Meos construct a new social identity which was higher in status than that previously held. The cre-ation of this new social identity was not restricted to adopting Hindu gotras alone but also encompassed the adoption of Hindu festivals, traditions and rituals. Hence, in the Mughal period, the Meos came to be associated with many Hindu festivals, customs and traditions. Brahmins, too, came to occupy an important role in their social and cultural life. In the pre-colonial times, several tribes in other parts of India which had undergone the process of peasantisation tried to exploit the myth of Rajput origins, and embrace Hindu customs and traditions in order to develop a new social identity. Among these, some tribes were able to assume the status of Rajputs by developing state systems while many others failed to acquire this status.⁶⁶ It may be observed here that the unsuccessful claim of the Meos to Rajput status was the outcome of their inability to ultimately carve out a state for themselves. Similar is the case of the Meenas who made a transition from tribalism to agriculture but failed to create a state. Studies on the Meenas also reveal such interesting perspectives.⁶⁷

II

The process of peasantisation laid the foundation for many changes in the social and cultural life of the Meos from the 16th to 18th centuries. During the late 16th century, one section of the Meos had even joined the Mughal imperial service, and due to their regular interaction with the Mughal state, they had begun to adopt Islamic practices and ways of life.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Meos were broadly divided into two categories: (a) the agriculturists (peasants and primary zamindars), and (b) the *Meoras* and *khidmatiyyas* (postal carriers, spies and guards of royal palace). Here, we will discuss the role of the *Meoras* and the *khidmatiyyas* who had played an important role in the diffusion of the Islamic culture among the Meos of Mewat during the Mughal period. The Persian and Rajasthani sources reveal that the *Meoras* and the *khidmatiyyas* were an integral part of Mughal postal and espionage system until the decline of the empire. Abul-Fazl writes,

*They are the native of the Mewat and are famous as runners. They bring from great distances with zeal anything that may be required. They are excellent spies, and well perform the most intricate duties. They are likewise always ready to carry out orders. The caste which they belonged to was notorious for highway robbery and theft; former rulers were not able to keep them in check. The effective orders of His Majesty (Akbar) have led them to honesty; they are now famous for their trustworthiness.*⁶⁸

The author of *Tarikh-i-Akbari* says:

*Emperor Akbar employed four thousand foot-runners (dak-carriers). They are expert in espionage also, they are on his majesty's service day and night so that news and reports reach regularly everyday from all sides of the world. This class of men runs as fast as a lion, so that within ten days news comes from Bengal which is at a distance of seven hundred kurohs (kos) from Agra. His majesty gets all information of good or bad and profit or loss.*⁶⁹

Irfan Habib has pointed out that it was not possible for a single Meora who could have run at a speed of 70 *kurohs* (about 158 miles) a day and night to reach his destination; therefore, it must imply a relay system.⁷⁰ Arif Qandhari also says that Akbar established *dak chaukis* at every 5 *kurohs* (about 11 miles); and besides the *Meoras* (foot-runners), two horses were also kept at each *chauki*.⁷¹ It appears that Akbar enrolled well-built young Meos into the Mughal postal system who could run fast and survive in hostile weather and terrains.

Akbar developed the postal system as an important institution which was most essential for the safety and consolidation of the Mughal

Empire. Moreover, Akbar successfully transformed the Meo youth into loyal servants of the Mughal state. The following incident serves as an evidence of the new relationship that Akbar established with the Meos. In 1567 C.E., Akbar came to know that Ali Quli Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan (nobles of Turani faction) had turned rebels. After receiving this news, Akbar organised his military campaign against them and reached Manikpur. From there, Akbar sent Hatwa Meora to find out the exact position of the rebels. Abul-Fazl says that Hatwa Meora, a swift and intelligent courier, brought the news within 24 hours. He informed the emperor that the rebel nobles had constructed a bridge over the river Ganga near Singraur (old name of Nawabganj) and crossed the river. When Akbar heard about this development, he immediately proceeded to take action against them. Hatwa Meora was loyal to Akbar and always accompanied him.⁷² Akbar trusted the Meoras so much that he kept them as his bodyguards.⁷³

Abul-Fazl further remarks that Akbar also employed *khidmatiiyyas* (class of infantrymen) who were posted outside the palace of the emperor to watch guard and see to it that his orders were carried out.⁷⁴ It seems that Akbar had understood the problems created by the isolation of the Meos who were regarded as trouble-mongers in the earlier period. He not only administratively and politically integrated the Mewat region into the Mughal state but also brought about the social assimilation of the Meos. Once Akbar had developed the Mughal dak system with the help of the Meoras, the other Mughal emperors followed the same policy. Khafi Khan has also pointed out that the Meoras were mainly dak-carriers during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁷⁵

Irfan Habib has analysed the organisation of the Mughal postal communication system based on the Meoras.⁷⁶ He argues that the postal system was essential for a large centralised territorial entity like the Mughal Empire because news and orders had to be conveyed over great distances. The organisation was essentially based on the twin methods of relay-runners and relay horses,⁷⁷ which were posted at various dak chaukis that had been set up on different routes throughout the Mughal Empire. In one part of Gujarat alone 94 Meoras were posted at the chaukis on the route from Khandap (Ajmer suba) to Ahmedabad and from there to Baroda and Broach.⁷⁸ At least two Meoras were posted at each chauki because they had to be available round the clock. The Meoras were required to give a written undertaking that they would not

carry along with the (official) *nalwas*, papers of (private) persons.⁷⁹ B. L. Bhadani has mentioned that out of the 164 *dak Meoras* who had been posted on the Agra–Ahmedabad route, 77 were stationed at the *chaukis*.⁸⁰ It shows that half of the *Meoras* had to remain on duty round the clock at the *chaukis* and presumably the remaining half always stood in reserve.

Dastur Komwar, a set of documents pertaining to the Jaipur state, also lists the names of more than 200 *Meoras* who had been posted at the *chaukis* on the routes from Delhi to Jaipur and from Jaipur to Agra.⁸¹ Many of them were rewarded for their good services by the Amber state. Lalchand Meora and his son were known for their services as spies in the Mughal court during the reign of Aurangzeb.⁸² Similarly, Khoja Avad Khan Meora was also rewarded by Aurangzeb with jagir of three villages in *pargana* Jalalpur (Alwar *sarkar*) for his service.⁸³ Tara Meora and Ram Singh Meora were also rewarded with one village each in *parganas* Pahari and Bharkol on account of their services.⁸⁴ The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions that the monthly salaries of the *dak Meoras* ranged from 100 to 120 *dams* (2½ to 3 Silver Rupees) during the reign of Akbar.⁸⁵ The *Dastur Komwar* also tells us that generally the *dak Meoras* were paid monthly salaries ranging from 2 to 4 Silver rupees.⁸⁶ However, it appears from the Rajasthani documents that the *dak Meoras* sometimes used to get extra remuneration according to the nature of work. For instances, in 1714 C.E, Bhoja and Madho Meoras came from Allahabad with a letter of Chhabela Ram to Amber and they were paid Rs 22 for their work by the diwan of the Amber state.⁸⁷ Sunder and Chetan Meoras were paid Rs 14 for their task of bringing the letter of Ruhla Khan (imperial mansabdar), which authorised the Amber chieftain to take the villages of *pargana* Chatsu into *ijara*.⁸⁸

Similarly, Hari Ram Meora and his ally — who brought a letter of imperial mans-abdar in which the zamindari rights of four *parganas*, namely, Avery, Bhahatri, Niwai, and Fagi, were assigned to the Amber chief — were paid extra money by the diwan of Amber.⁸⁹ It appears that the *dak Meoras* were not paid equally; they were given extra payment for their extraordinary services. Apart from the salaries and other remuneration, the *dak Meoras* were also given concession in the payment of land revenue on their personal landholdings by the Mughal state. The *amils* were asked to implement the orders after receiving the letter attested by the qazis.⁹⁰ Bhoja and Laad Khan Meora were

assigned 10 and 14 *bighas* of revenue-free lands respectively, in *pargana* Bharkol (Tijara *sarkar*).⁹¹ But it is not clear whether the *dak Meoras* got revenue-free land (*muwafic bighas*) in lieu of their salaries or as an additional reward. Once the *dak Meoras* retired from their services of the Mughal state, the concession in land revenue on their personal holdings was automatically terminated.⁹²

III

The *dak Meoras* came from the tribal background as did the other Meos whose religious identity was in a state of flux. The *dak Meoras* found jobs in the postal service of the Mughal state more beneficial, socially and economically. From the economic point of view, the *dak Meoras* obtained monthly salaries and other remuneration. Besides these benefits, they were also given concession in the payment of land revenue on their personal holdings. Socially, they now constituted a class superior to the ordinary Meo peasants in the rural society. Therefore, whoever once got a job in the Mughal postal service; he always tried to induct his family members into it.⁹³ It seems that the *dak Meoras* had always enjoyed an advantageous position in the Mughal state in terms of creating job opportunities for their sons and relatives. That is why the *dak Meoras* must have transmitted their knowledge and experience from one generation to another in the field of postal service and learnt the lesson of loyalty and faithfulness to the Mughal state. British ethnographers had observed this spirit of loyalty and faithfulness among the Meos towards their masters.⁹⁴

Due to their regular interaction with the Mughal court as well as other imperial authorities, the *dak Meoras* found themselves closer to Islamic culture; gradually, they began to follow certain Islamic customs and rituals which were associated with the Mughal officials and court. The nature of the Islamic festivals and rituals was such that they involved a large number of people during the period of celebration. These religious festivals were *Id-ul-Fitr*, *Ramzan* fast, *Shabarat* and also the *Urs* of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti which involved a large number of people — household officers, staff functionaries at the palace and the bodyguards of the emperors — taking part in the celebrations.⁹⁵ The *Urs* of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti had been celebrated in the Mughal court since the days of Akbar; it involved a large number of people like nobles,

men of service class, *khidmatiiyyas*, bodyguards and the *dak Meoras*. They walked 228 miles from Agra to Ajmer through the Mewat region to the tomb of Khwaja Saheb. They carried the holy flag of the saint, and a large number of people paid their respects to the flag on the way to Ajmer.⁹⁶ Observance of other festivals like Id-ul-Fitr and Ramzan fast also involved a large number of people during the period of celebration. The *dak Meoras* and *khidmatiiyyas* (bodyguards, guards and spies) used to closely observe these festivals. After retirement from their jobs, they started celebrating these festivals in their own villages.⁹⁷ During the celebration period, they invited their relatives and friends to take part in the festivities. As the *ex-dak Meoras* associated themselves with the Muslim community, they started to invite the qazis to perform the wedding ceremonies of their children. The *Khatut-ahalkarns* underline the role of the qazi who was appointed by the Mughal state to resolve the disputes of the people. Davidas Harkara complained to the diwan of the Amber state that,

*The qazi did not attend his own office rather he used to go to the villages to perform nikah ceremony. He gets his salary of Rs 240 from the Mughal authority. He is very greedy; he should have concentrated on his job. So you (diwan) must speak to our wakil against the qazi at the Mughal court.*⁹⁸

As we have discussed earlier that after the battle of Khanwah, the Khanzadas had lost their principality of Mewat and had become part of the Mughal administration - serving in the Mughal nobility. However, with the decline of the Mughal Empire, the social and economic position of the Khanzadas also declined. The author of the *Arzang-i-Tijara* mentions the 'East Direction', that is, adjoining states like Awadh, Lucknow and Bareilly.⁹⁹ A section of the Khanzadas, who had been living in Mewat in the capacity of *khudkasht* peasants, organised agricultural production with the help of family labour. Muhammad Makhdum attests this with the remark that earlier the Khanzadas had never touched the plough, but after the decline of the Mughal state they cultivated their fields with the help of their family labour.¹⁰⁰ The social security of the Khanzadas was threatened by the rising power of the Jats (Bharatpur state) and the Rajputs (Naruka state of Alwar) in the Mewat region. In order to ensure their social security, the Khanzadas began to have matrimonial relations with the *ex-dak Meoras* who had acquired a

Muslim identity by now.

British settlement officer, F. C. Channing writes that Meos belonging to Ghatawasan, Paul, Narainwas, Kherlikhurd, and Mohammada Bas villages of *pargana* Firozpur Jhirka claimed that they had been Khanzadas in the past. After having matrimonial relations with the Meos, the Khanzadas merged their identity with that of the Meo community.¹⁰¹ The *Arzang-i-Tijara* also adds that earlier the Meos belonging to Gotwal and Dulot clans had their matrimonial relations with the Khanzadas.¹⁰² However, it does not mean that all Khanzadas had matrimonial relations with the Meos. But certainly the matrimonial relations between the Khanzadas and the *dak Meoras* promoted Islamic culture among the Meo community. The *Jagga* records show that by the early 18th century, the Meos had even begun to keep Muslim names (see Table 1).

Observing the fragile process of Islamisation among the Meos, Powlett writes in the second half of the 19th century:

*The Meos are now Musalmaan in name, but their village deities are the same as those of Hindus. They also observe several Hindu festivals. Thus the Holi is a season of rough play and is considered as important a festival as Moharram, Id and Shabrat, and they likewise observe the Janamasthmi, Dussehra and Diwali. In pargana Tijara out of 52 Meo villages, only eight Meo villages have mosques.*¹⁰³

Table 1. Genealogy of Some Meo Families

Family Genealogy	Gotra	Name of the Village	Date of the Colonisation of the Village
1. Mansingh ! Umed Singh ! Mukhtiar Singh ! Maan Singh ! Salar Singh ! Rai Mal	Shaugan	Maacha	VS 1524/1467 CE

!
 Mohammad Khan, Nahar Khan

2. Chuhar Singh Chuharpur vs 1505/1448 C.E

!
 Loot Singh

!
 Todar Mal

!
 Mawasi

!
 Mohar Singh

!
 Mehrab Singh

!
 Imam Baqs, Malekhan

3. Pithusamal Ratawat Pathrai vs 1532/1465

C.E
 !
 Jaishwant Singh

!
 Hari Singh

!
 Dhan Singh

!
 Umrao Singh

!
 Khuda Baksh, Chhote Khan

4. Chand Singh Singhal Chandauli vs 1532/1465 C.E

!
 Ranbir Singh-Bhan Singh

!
 Vir Bhan

!
 Amar Singh

!
Mangal Singh
!
Rustam, Ismailkhan

F. C. Channing in 1877 C.E writes about the Meos belonging to Nuh–Firozpur Jhirka region:

[T]hey have been very lax Muhammadans sharing in most of the rites and customs of their Hindu neighbours, especially such as are pleasant to observe, their principle of action seems to have been to keep the feasts of both religions, and the fasts of neither. Recently some Meos now even observe the Ramzan fast, build village mosques, say their prayers, and their wives wear trousers instead of Hindu petticoat—all signs of a religious revival.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, the Meos retained many non-Islamic practices and calendared rites and adopted only few of the Muslim customs. Thus, the process of Islamisation among the Meos remained slow up to the early 20th century. But certainly, it created an Islamic identity of the Meos which distinctly separated them from the other non-Muslim castes in the Mewat region. In this respect, an incident of year 1902 offers very significant insights. It was reported that in the year 1902 during a fair at the qasba Tipukana, Muslim traders staying in the local *sarai* (inn) while offering *namaz* (prayer) gave out a very loud *azaan* (information about the time for the prayer). Local residents were surprised to hear the *azaan*, as they had never heard such a call in the past. It was opposed by the local people. To challenge this prohibition, the Meos of 360 neighbouring villages got together and contributed Rs 1 each for the construction of a mosque at the site. They purchased the site at a premium; they paid Rs 700 for the piece of land which usually should have been available at Rs 100 only. This resulted in communal tension and even the king of Alwar was forced to intervene. It is interesting to note that, on the one hand, local residents had never heard *azaan* before and, on the other, the neighbouring villages had a sizeable population of Muslims. It seems that nature of Islamisation was of a very different order and, as has been suggested earlier, assertion of Muslim identity was not a prominent feature of Islamisation in the

region.¹⁰⁵

There are two beliefs prevalent among the Meos regarding their Islamisation. The first states that the Meos got converted to Islam under the influence of Salar Masud.¹⁰⁶ The second one argues that Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, who passed through Mewat in the course of his journey to Ajmer, had blessed the Meos to become Muslims. These beliefs can be read as an attempt to convey to the Islamic world that they should not be considered a lower category of Muslims because their Islamisation was sanctified by renowned Sufi saints. Such postulations are constructed to attain religious legitimacy as the Meos were the latest converts to Islam.

British ethnographers believed that the Meos adopted Islam due to the cruelties inflicted by Sultan Balban (1266–87 C.E.).¹⁰⁷ However, in the time of Balban, the Meos had neither become peasants nor formed a distinct community. Moreover, even Indo-Persian chroniclers like Barani and Minhaj do not state that Balban forcibly converted them to Islam. Others argue that Islamisation of Meos took place exactly during the period when Akbar (1556–1605 C.E.) carried out the territorial division of the Meo pals. However, this view lacks credibility because the religious policy of Akbar was not discriminatory but inclusive. Several others point out that the conversion of the Meos to Islam occurred during the reign of Aurangzeb (1657–1707 CE).¹⁰⁸ They allege that this happened as Aurangzeb's religious policy was based on bigotry and prejudice against non-Muslims. We do not possess any historical evidence to support this view either. In the Rajasthani sources, and particularly the *Dastur Komwar* and *Arsatta* records, we do not come across any trace of Islamic identity of the Meo peasantry, but we do find in these documents certain evidence regarding religious and social identity of the Meo peasants. But late-17th and early-18th-century references to the *dak Meoras* show the beginnings of the process of Islamisation of Meos in terms of their adoption of certain practices, such as *nikah*, burial, Id celebration and adoption of Muslim names. This can also be viewed as a cultural change among the *dak Meoras*.

In this way, the *dak Meoras*, who had developed a special bond with the Mughal court and other imperial mansabdars on account of their service, had begun to adopt Islamic culture and practices. After retirement, as they settled in their villages, they started regarding themselves as a part of the Muslim community and, therefore, began

to establish matrimonial ties with the Muslim peasants; the impact of Islam was also becoming evident upon the Meo peasantry. But when the first statistical report of Gurgaon district was prepared by the British in 1840s, still about one-third of the Meo population of the *par-ganas* Firozpur Jhirka, Nuh and Taora were unaware of whether they were Hindus or Muslims. Thus, it may be concluded that many among the Meos began to assume a Muslim identity towards the end of the 18th century and this process continued up to the 20th century.

Were the Meos anti-state? In her study, Shail Mayaram has emphasised that the Meos were against state formation and centralised monopoly power (Mughal state). In this study, we have tried to show that the Mughal state brought about not only administrative integration of Mewat but also their social integration. For the purpose of efficiency in the Mughal postal system, Akbar recruited a large number of Meos in the postal service, and this trend continued till the fall of the Mughal Empire. Following Akbar, other Mughal emperors also gave priority to the Meos in postal service.

IV

In this paper, we have tried to study how the Meos were transformed into a peasantry with increasing orientation towards Islam. First, before becoming peasants, the Meos were divided into several tribes inhabiting the Aravalli hills, valleys and dense forests of the Mewat region. These tribes used to indulge in cattle-lifting, loot and plunder, and also worked as street jugglers, snake-charmers and hunters. These were their principal occupations. Trade and traders passing through Mewat were badly affected by their lawless activities. Therefore, the Meos constituted a serious law and order problem for the Delhi Sultanate and the state of Khanzadas.

Consequently, the Delhi Sultanate and the Khanzadas must have taken strong measures to control the Meo menace. Therefore, the Meos seem to have borne tremendous pressure of the state which forced them to abandon their previous occupations and take up agriculture. Though the process of peasantisation of Meos must have been quite prolonged and painful, it constitutes the most significant and revolutionary part of their history. The state also seems to have contributed to their peasantisation in order to enhance the agrarian economy of Mewat to extract more land revenue. In this context, the

role of the Khanzadas was definitely significant because a strong agrarian base was necessary for state formation. Second, the rising population of the Meos was also an important factor, as the limited resources of hills and their previous occupations were insufficient for their survival. Therefore, agriculture offered them an opportunity to meet the new challenges in their struggle for survival.

Thus, the Meos abandoned their habitations in the hills and forest areas and began to settle down in the plains and take up cultivation. The *Ain-i-Akbari* shows a clear picture of the Meos who had not only become peasants but also had established their zamindaris in more than half of the Mewat region. The Meo peasants produced not only food crops but also cash crops (*neel*, cotton, sugarcane and *tilhan*) for the market.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* and other contemporary Indo-Persian sources inform us that one section of the Meos, known as the *dak Meoras*, were in the Mughal postal system. Their main function was to deliver posts in the remote areas of Mughal Empire even in adverse weather conditions. Another section of the Meos, called the *khidmatiiyyas*, served as personal bodyguards of the emperor and as security guards in the royal palace and Mughal forts. Abul-Fazl has referred to the *dak Meoras* and *khidmatiiyyas* as the most loyal and efficient servants of Mughal state. Arif Qandhari has estimated their strength approximately at 4000 during the period of Akbar.

Regarding the upward mobility of Meos, historical evidence suggests that during the early Sultanate period, they were treated as cattle-lifters and plunderers who used to hide in the Aravalli hills and forests. By the end of the 15th century, the Meo identity was transformed into that of peasant and soldiers and by the end of the 16th century, the Meos had become zamindars. One section of the Meos also established its identity in Mughal court as loyal servants, and efficient and daring postal carriers. The Meos retained this identity till the decline of the Mughal Empire. After the fall of the Mughals, the region of Mewat was divided into Alwar, Bharatpur and British territories. This division further increased the challenges before the Meos and aggravated their struggles. We must remember that the upward mobility of the Meos was directly related to their interaction with state power, be it that of the Khanzadas or of the Mughals.

Notes & References :

1. These records are catalogued at the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.
2. Narsingh Meo, 'Hasan Khan ki Katha', *Shodh Patrika*, vol. IV (October–December), Udaipur: Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, 1970, pp. 53–62; Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83, Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XX, Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1969 [1885]; James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. II, New Delhi, p. 717.
3. Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, trans. H. G. Revery, vol. I, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1970[1881], pp. 851–53; Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds), *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. III, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2003, pp. 103–05.
4. Sirhindi, Yahya bin Ahmad bin Abdullah, *The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, trans. H. Beveridge, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1996, pp. 175–251.
5. Babur, *Baburnama*, trans. A. S. Beveridge, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2003[1921], p. 374.
6. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann, rev. and ed. D. C. Phillot, vol. II, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927–39[1873], pp. 202–06.
7. Sheikh Muhammad Makhdum, *Arzang-i-Tijara* (Urdu), Agra: Agra Akhbar, H. 1290/1873 CE, trans. (Hindi) Anil Joshi, Alwar, 1989, pp. 3–4.
8. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 14; P. W. Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwar*, London: Trubner and Co., 1878, p. 38.
9. Irfan Habib, 'Postal Communication in Mughal India', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 46th session, Amritsar, 1985, pp. 236–52.
10. Shail Mayaram, *Resisting Regimes: Myth, Memory and the Shaping of a Muslim Identity*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997.
11. Shail Mayaram, *Against History, Against State: Counter Perspective from the Margins*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
12. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 202–06. These *sarkars* were Alwar (43 *parganas*), Tizara (18 *parganas*), Sahar (7 *parganas*) and Rewari (2 *parganas*).
13. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 202–06.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Pratap C. Aggarwal, *Caste, Religion and Power: An Indian Case Study*, New Delhi: SRC, 1971, pp. 24–25. The territory of Mewat has been subdivided into 13 geographical regions. Twelve of these are referred to as *pals* and one as *palakra*. However, in practice, all of them are equal in status. There is no record as to when and why Mewat was divided. According to legend, however, the various *pals* were demarcated in Akbar's time. The different clans of the Meos often fought among themselves over territory. They subsequently would have realised that these feuds adversely affected their collective strength against external

enemy. Therefore, an assembly was convened in which leader of all the clans participated. After a good deal of deliberation, Mewat was divided.

16. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 202–06.
17. Sita Ram Lalas (ed.), *Rajasthani-Hindi Sankshipt Shabdakosh*, vol. II, Jodhpur: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, 1988, p. 415.
18. *Arzdasht*, Bhadva Vadi 5, VS 1696/1639 CE.
19. Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds), *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. III, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2001, p. 354.
20. O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, London: Metheun, 1957, p. 572.
21. Aggarwal, *Caste, Religion and Power*, p. 21.
22. Surajbhan Bhardwaj, 'Social and Economic Condition in the Mewat Region 1650–1750 AD', unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 35–36.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 202–06.
24. Bhagwan Das Morwal, 'Mewati Lok Sahitya Mein Jeevan Darshan', in Changa Ram Mina (ed.), *Shrijan*, Alwar: Babu Shobharam Arts Government College, 2005–06, pp. 96–98.
25. Siraj, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 851–53.
26. Abdul Aziz, 'Measurement of Agricultural Productivity: A Case Study of Mewat', unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, North Eastern Hill University, Shillong, 1981, pp. 10–34.
27. *Jagga Records*, *pothi* no. 1, in the possession of Jagdish, son of Shri Ghasi Ram Jagga, village Khuteta Kalan, tehsil Ramgarh, Alwar. The *Jaggas* have kept in their custody the genealogical records of the Meos since the establishment of the villages by the Meos. These records were/are divided separately on the basis of gotras and *pals* of the Meos.
28. Mahavir Prasad Sharma, *Mewati ka Udbhav aur Vikas*, Kotputli, Jaipur distt: Lokbhasha Prakashan, 1976, p. 34.
29. Siraj, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, vol. I, pp. 851–53.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 381.
31. Amir Khusrau, *Khazaina-i-Futuh and the Kiranu-i-Sadain*, in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds), *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. III, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1990[1867–77], p. 540.
32. Ziauddin Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds), *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. III, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2003, pp. 103–05.
33. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 14.
34. Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 354.

35. Makhdum, *Arzang-i-Tijara*, pp. 3–4.
36. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 15.
37. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, p. 103.
38. Ibid., pp. 103–04.
39. Ibid., p. 104.
40. The history of the origin of the Khanzadas of Mewat begins with Bahadur Nahar Khanzada, who embraced Islam during the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq. His ancestors were Jadon Rajputs, who ruled over Bayana, Karauli and Thangir (Gwalior and Bayana region) before the invasions of Mohammad Ghori. During the fourteenth century, Jadon Rajput Lakhanpal was the chief of a small tract of Mewat in Serheta (near Tijara). Lakhanpal had two sons, Sambharpal and Sauparpal was the chief of a small tract of Mewat at Serheta (near Tijara). The former took the name of Bahadur Nahar Khanzada and gained control over Serheta (4 miles to the east of Tijara) while the latter took the name Chajju Khan and got possession of Jhirka. The two brothers embraced Islam in order to save their estates from annexation by Firozshah Tughlaq. The name of Jhirka town was also changed to Firozpur Jhirka. The author of *Arzang-i-Tijara* mentions that during the reign of Firozshah Tughlaq, Bahadur Nahar and his brother were always involving in plundering and predatory activities in the neighbourhood. Thus, they posed a serious law and order problem for the Sultans of Delhi. Therefore, Firozshah Tughlaq sent his army to arrest Bahadur Nahar and his brother. Out of fear of punishment, both brothers embraced Islam. Firozshah Tughlaq assigned them the title 'Khanzadun' or 'Khanazad', but later on they were known as Khanzada. Actually, the title 'Khanzad' was given by Firozshah Tughlaq to those slaves who were very close and faithful to him. Bahadur Nahar Khanzada was made the *wali* or *muqta* (*iqtdar*) of Mewat by Firozshah Tughlaq. After the death of Firozshah Tughlaq, Bahadur Nahar became the chieftain of Mewat and he carved out a small principality at Kotla in the Mewat region which survived till the battle of Khanwa (1527 CE). Bahadur was succeeded by Jalal Khan, Ahmed Khan, Adil Khan and Hasan Khan as chieftains. Hasan Khan Mewati was the last chieftain of Mewat who fought against Babur in the battle of Khanwa. See Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 159; Muhammad Bihamad Khani, *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, trans. Muhammad Zaki, Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University Press, 1972, p. 32; Babur, *Baburnama*, p. 274.
41. This region was in the vicinity of Kala Pahad.
42. Meo, 'Hasan Khan ki Katha', pp. 53–62.
43. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 203–04.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid., pp. 202–03.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid., p. 206.

49. Ibid., p. 298.
50. Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*.
51. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, pp. 202–03.
52. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 24.
53. A. Fraser, *Statistical Report of Zila Gurgaon*, Lahore, 1846, Appendix-C xxi, Appendix-P.cxxi.
54. Ibid., p. 15.
55. According to the *Jagga* records, the Meos are divided into about 80 gotras, while the British settlement reports mention 52 gotras. See F. C. Channing, *Land Revenue Settlement of the Gurgaon District*, Lahore: Central Jail Press, 1882, pp. 29–30; Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, pp. 37–38.
56. *Palakra* has the same meaning as *pal*, except that it signifies smallness and inferior status.
57. The Pahat Meos of Kama-Pahari *parganas* and the Jats of the Brij region rose in rebellion against the Mughal state during the reign of Shahjahan (1650 CE). The emperor assigned Amber Raja and his son Kirat Singh the responsibility to crush the Meos and the Jats. Both Amber Raja and his son were favoured by the emperor with an increase of their *mansabs*. See S. Nurul Hasan, 'Further Light on Zamindars under the Mughals: A Case Study of Mirza Raja Jai Singh under Shahjahan', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 39th session, Hyderabad, 1978, pp. 497–502; Inayat Khan, *The Shahjahannama*, trans. A. R. Fuller, ed. and compl. W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 448–49; Nawwab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *The Maathir-ul-Umara*, trans. H. Beveridge, rev., annot. and compl. Baini Prasad, Vol. I, Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1979, p. 813; *Arzdashts*, Sawan Sudi 6, vs 1750/1693 CE; Asadh Vadi 15, vs 1766/1709 CE; Kartik Vadi 4, vs 1766/1709 CE; *Chithis* to the *amil, pargana* Pahari, vs 1784/1727 CE, vs 1781/1724 CE; *Arsatta, pargana* Pahari, vs 1788/1731 CE.
58. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, pp. 3–4.
59. Bhardwaj, 'Social and Economic Condition', pp. 245–54.
60. *Arzdasht*, Sawan Sudi 6, vs 1750/1693 CE.
61. *Arzdasht*, Mah Vadi 9, vs 1774/1717 CE; *Chithi* to the *amil, pargana* Pahari, vs 1784/1727 CE.
62. This Todar Mal Pahat was the chief of the Pahat Meos and should not be confused with Raja Todar Mal Pahat, Akbar's revenue minister. See Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, p. 26.
63. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, pp. 25–26.
64. Each *pal* had its own set of bards whose task was to prepare oral history of the *pal*. The success of a bard depended on how beautifully he managed to present the legend. Most legends happened to glorify the valour and bravery of the *pal*. It depended on the talent of the bard, particularly on his ability to influence a larger number of people, for which he was likely to receive more gifts from

the *chaudhari* of his *pal*. For instance, in 1882 CE, when Mirab Khan (*chaudhari* of Garwal Meos) died in Reoli village near Firozpur Jhirka, the bard was rewarded with one camel and one gold *mohur* besides clothes and other items by the sons of the late *chaudhari* for his narrating the legendary exploits of the deceased at the funeral feast on the fortieth day after the death.

65. Meo, 'Hasan Khan ki Katha', pp. 53–62.
66. Nandini Sinha, 'Reconstructing Identity and Situating Themselves in History: A Preliminary Note on the Meenas of Jaipur Locality', *Indian Historical Review*, 2000, vol. 27(1), pp. 29–43.
67. S. H. M. Rizvi, *Mina: The Ruling Tribe of Rajasthan*, New Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corp., 1987; Sharaswat Rawat, *Mina Ithihas* (Hindi), Jaipur, vs 2025 and 2057/1966 CE; Sinha, 'Reconstructing Identity'.
68. Abul- Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 147. He mentioned that 1,000 Meoras were employed as *dak*-carriers by Akbar.
69. Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, trans. Tasneem Ahmad, New Delhi: Pragati Publications, 1993, p. 62. Qandhari informs that Akbar employed 4,000 Meoras in the *dak* system.
70. Habib, 'Postal Communication'.
71. Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, p. 62.
72. Abul-Fazl, *Akbarnama*, trans. H. Beveridge, vol. II, New Delhi: Low Price Publications, 1989[1902-39], pp. 427–28.
73. Channing, *Land Revenue Settlement*, p. 30.
74. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 147.
75. Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, trans. Syed Anees Jahan, vol. I, Bombay: Somaia, 1977, p. 147.
76. Habib, 'Postal Communication'.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.* The letters that the couriers, whether on foot or mounted, transmitted used to be put in a tube made of a section of hollow bamboo cane called *nalwa*.
79. *Ibid.*
80. B. L. Bhadani, 'The Mughal Highway and Post Stations in Marwar', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 141–55.
81. *Dastur Komwar Mutfarkat*, Vol. XXIII, vs 1774/1717 CE, pp. 59–140.
82. *Arzdasht*, Mah Vadi 6, vs 1744/1687 CE.
83. *Arsatta, pargana Jalalpur*, vs 1744/1687 CE.
84. *Arsatta, pargana Pahari*, vs 1793/1736 CE.
85. Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, pp. 188–89.
86. *Dastur Komwar*, vol. XXIII, vs 1774/1717 CE, pp. 59–140.
87. *Khatut-ahalkarn*, Asaj Sudi, vs 1771/1714 CE.
88. *Arzdasht*, Bhadva Vadi 13, vs 1740/1683 CE.

89. *Arzdasht*, Chetra Vadi 1, vs 170/1683 CE.
90. *Arsattas*, *pargana* Kotla, vs 1722/1665 CE; *pargana* Jalalpur, vs 1722/1665 CE; *pargana* Bharkol, vs 1722/1665 CE; *pargana* Pahari, vs 1793/1736 CE.
91. *Arsatta*, *pargana* Bharkol, vs 1722/1665 CE.
92. *Chithi*, Asoj Vadi 9, vs 1804/1747 CE. Some complaints were lodged by the *dak* Meoras against the *amils* regarding the denial of concession in land revenue on their personal holdings. On the other hand, *amils* argued that the concession in land revenue on their personal holdings was valid till the *dak* Meoras remained in the service of the Mughal state.
93. *Arzadasht*, Mah Vadi 6, vs 1740/1683 CE; Lalchand Meora and his son were known for their services as spies in the Mughal court during the reign of Aurangzeb.
94. John Malcolm, *The Political History of India from 1784 to 1823*, vol. II, London: John Murray, 1826, p. 174. He says that the Meos happened to be faithful and courageous guards and servants to their masters.
95. Muhammad Umar, *Muslim Society in Northern India during the Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998, pp. 145–55.
96. *Arsattas*, *pargana* Wazzirpur, vs 1771/1714 CE, vs 1774/1717 CE, vs 1776/1719 CE, vs 1777/720 CE, vs 1778/1721 CE, vs 1780/1723 CE.
97. *Khatut-ahalkarn*, Asadh Sudi 4, vs 1780/1723 CE.
98. *Khatut-ahalkarn*, Asadh Sudi 4, vs 1780/1723 CE; Davidas Harkara writes that Noor Khan Meora had invited the qazi to perform *niqah*.
99. Makhdum, *Arzang-i-Tijara*, p. 5.
100. *Ibid.*
101. Channing, *Land Revenue Settlement*, p. 30.
102. Makhdum, *Arzang-i-Tizara*, p. 33.
103. Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, p. 70.
104. Channing, *Land Revenue Settlement*, pp. 37–38.
105. Non-Archival Records of Alwar State, Historical Section, Bandhak 12, Granthak 13, 1902.
106. Abul-Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 153) says that Salar Masud was one of the martyrs of Ghaznavid armies. According to Abdur Rahman Chisti (*Mirat-i-Masudi*, in H. M. Elliot and John Dowson [eds], *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. II, Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2003, pp. 513–49), Salar Masud was the son of a sister of Mahmud Ghazni, born in 1015 CE in Ajmer. At the age of sixteen he started his invasions of Hindustan. He served Sultan Mahmud Ghazni's army and died at the age of nineteen. A number of symbolic events occurred in Salar's life, and worshipped by Hindus and Muslims.
107. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour*, pp. 29–30; Channing (*Land Revenue Settlement*, p. 28) adds that the ancestor of the Meos embraced Islam during the reign of Qutbuddin Aibak (1206–10 CE).
108. J. Forbes Watson and John W. Kaye (eds), *The People of India*, vol. IV, London:

W. H. Allen and Co. for the India Museum, 1869, Item 202. They think that the conversion of the Meos was 'probably the work of Sulan Firozshah Tughlaq in the fourteenth century, when many tribes were forcibly made Mohammadans, and that Aurangzeb completed what was then begun'. The settlement report of 1878 puts the date of Meos's conversion somewhere around the time of Qutubuddin Aibak, while W. W. Hunter puts the date of conversion at the time of Mahmud of Ghaznavi. See Channing, *Land Revenue Settlement*, p. 28.

6

Mughal Inscriptions of Narnaul (Haryana) : An Epigraphic Study

Dr. Jagdish Parshad*

Inscriptions are an important source for his-torical reconstruction. They give vital details about officials, saints and famous personages who lived in the past and also give some indications of the social, economic and cultural life of the state. They constitute an important source, particularly for regional history. The local history of a region, a district, a town, and a village; have received inadequate if not scant attention from our historians. Being contemporary records of the rulers and officials, they are more dependable and reliable than other sources. A builder instinctively wants to perpetuate his name and this was the drive behind putting up an inscription stone on the building. Narnaul city, like other parts of the Haryana state, is also very rich in its epigraphic material, especially in Persian inscriptions. A large variety of structures: mosques, tombs, idgahs, graves, sarais, forts, mansions, gateway, and baolis were erected here, on which inscriptions were installed/fixed. These inscriptions are mostly inscribed and engraved some time with date and some time without a date. No systematic effort to document all such inscription has been made by any agency. The epigraphic studies are a largely ignored facet in contemporary historical investigations. The present research paper explores the Persian inscriptions from Narnaul within that context and shows their historical importance.

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Narnaul¹ (28°3' N lat. and 76°10' E long.) is the headquarters of Narnaul *tahsil* and district Mahendergarh in Haryana state. It is located 60 km in the south-west of Rewari and connected by the Rewari-Phulera Railway line.² It is a place of considerable antiquity, founded according to tradition 900 years ago near the Dhosi hill in the midst of a vast forest, it was called Naharhaul.³

Like other places in the north, Narnaul was subjected to Muslim rule from its very early days. The authentic history of the town begins with the year 531 AH/1137 AD, when Shah Wilayat, a saint of considerable fame, came to this place and after fighting battles died there.⁴ Iltutmish is said to have assigned it as a fief to his Malik, Saifu'd-Din. It is claimed to be the birth-place of Sher Shah Suri.⁵ Ibrahim Khan, his grandfather, who started his service here and died in Narnaul. His tomb is still shown in the town.⁶ In the reign of Akbar, Narnaul was a flourishing town and Shah Quli Khan held the governorship of the place over fifty years.⁷ At this time many stately edifices were erected. The tradition was continued up to 1857 AD. There are many Mughal inscriptions found in the town, which are as under:

1. TOMB OF IBRAHIM SUR⁸

This tomb is unusually rich in Persian inscriptions, all of which are located on the mausoleum's exterior. The inscription situated at the top of the east facade, aligned directly above the sole entrance into the tomb. This is placed in three rectangular panels of red sandstone each carved with a *bait* of Persian verse, which is as under:

Text

گنبدی مدرسه که رفعت خود برد از قبه فلک بیرون
در سن نوه صد و چهل با نوه شد مرتب عمارت موزون
و رب کرے وحی حروف تاریخش یو کشد شیر بگنبد گردون

Translation

- 1 A domed *madrassa* whose glory is carried beyond the dome of the heavens.

- 2 In the year nine-hundred-forty-nine (949 AH/1542-43 AD), this harmonious building was constructed.
- 3 And if you want its chronogram, then say it raises its head to the celestial orb.

2. TOMB OF IBRAHIM SHAH

There is a sole Hindi inscription on the eastern facade of the tomb near the stair of the tomb. It records the date of construction in *Samvat* 1599, which is as under:

Text

सुतघरी जटु सुत तरदसुत सुतुव दीलवली संवत् कु 1599

Translation

Dilwali grandson of Tarad; Tarad is the son of Sutghari Jatu *Samvat* 1599 (1542 AD).

3. BAOLI ALI JAN

The *baoli* is located on the south-western side of the town. It was constructed by Ali Jan in the times of Emperor Akbar and Shah Quli Khan's governorship. The inscription is in Persian language, affixed below the *Jharokha*, which is as under:

Text

سوے ایں منظر بہر مثال	گذرے کردم و شدم ناظر
بر علی جان و والدش رحمت	کیس منازل از و شده صادر
ہر کہ بروے دعاے خیر کند	خیر یابد ز میضرت قادر
سال تار بخش از خرد جستم	فعل گفتا عمارت نادر

۹۶۶

Translation

1. Like this pleasant spectacle, which deserves praise
2. God be pleased with Ali Jan and his father. This building (*baoli*) is established by him.

3. That each person will pray for their well-being, they will benefit from God.
4. I searched the date from wisdom then wisdom replied – 'It is unique building'.
- 966 AH (14 October 1558 AD).

4. MASJID DARGAH PIR TURKMAN

Masjid Pir Turkman is situated on the South-western side of Pir Turkman tomb. This mosque has three bays and three domes surmounted. It was constructed in the reign of Emperor Akbar. But it appears much modern and it seems that since then it has undergone considerable repairs. It had a Persian inscription affixed over the central bay, now lost, which is as under:

Text

في زمان عدل اكبر بادشاه	عمر المسجد لمرضات آله
صانه عن حادثات في الانام	خان فياض الخواص والعوام
قال روح القدس ادرك فيض حق	قلت ما التارخ يارب الفلق

٩٩٨

Translation

In the reign of just emperor Akbar, for the worship of God, this mosque was constructed. Allah May protect *Khan-e-Faiz*⁹ from all accidents. I said, O founder of the day! What is its history? Angel (*Zibril*) replied – 'Let's get right to the Faiz'. - 998 AH (10 November 1589 AD).

5. DARGAH HAZRAT SHAH NIZAM

This inscription was affixed on Hazrat Shah Nizam *dargah*, now lost its original place. It is Persian inscription¹⁰ and *Nastaliq* characters, which is as under:

Text

چوں فانی حق است و مشغول بہ سبحان است
یعنی کہ نظام الحق موصول بہ جاتان است
چوں عرش معلیٰ شد چوں غلد مصفا گشت
برمرقد و باقی آں شاہ قلی خان است
آں روضہ عالی را از جو دو کرم ساعی
نواب فریدوں فر اسلام قلی خان است
تاریخ بنائے او بالفعل خرد گشت
آباد مکان فیض در عرصہ دوران است

۱۰۰۱ھ

Translation

1. When you are about to leave this world and bent over to pray the God. Nizam-ul-Haq, who is approachable to God.
2. Shah Quli Khan built a mausoleum over his grave and his lofty ceiling is always clean.
3. This lofty mausoleum, which is made of his privilege and an attempt, is made by Islam Quli Khan.
4. Wisdom said, usually the date of its construction, - 'the place of beauty to be inhabited.'
- 1001 AH (8 October 1592).

6. MODAWALA GUMBAD

There was a Persian inscription over the *Modawala gumbad*, which is as follows:

Text

موڈوں والا گنبد
سال تاریخ و فاش جستم از رضوان امور
جائے رالم شاہ فردوسی صفاد با وفا
گفت تاریخ تماشا گنبد عالم نسا
سال گنبد طلب کردم چو از معمار عقل

۱۰۰۴ھ

Translation

When searched the date of his death, the voice of God appeared towards, - '*Shahfirdosi* pure-hearted and loyal to that place in the world. When we searched the date of the tomb than wisdom said, - 'The dome is like a hailstone'. - 1004 AH (1595 AD)

7. MIRZA ALI JAN KI BAOLI

Over the northern side of the *takat* of this *baoli* is a Persian inscription, which is recorded the name of Badashah Akbar. This building was constructed by Mirza Ali Jan, in the reign of Emperor Akbar, in the governorship of Shah Quli Khan. The inscription is as under:

Text

در زمان شاه عالی جاہ اکبر بادشاہ
شد بنائے تخت و باغ و مسجد و ایوان و چاہ
رحمت حق بر جہاں شاہے بود کز و دولتش
شد تمام ایں منزل از لطف وے و فضل آلہ
یا رحمت حق بر قلی خان باد

Translation

In the reign of Badashah Akbar, Ali Jan constructed this royal *takat*, garden, masjid and well. May God perpetuate over the emperor of the world and his sultanate may live long. This building was completed by the blessing of God. O God, blessing upon Shah Quli Khan.

8. GRAVE OF ALI JAN

The grave of Ali Jan is located on the eastern side Ali Jan *baoli*. The mausoleum has destroyed completely but the grave is lying in the neglected condition. It has a Persian inscription, which is as under:

Text

خدا را منی ازاں مومن کہ چوں ایں جاں قدم ماند
بہ اخلاصے کند یاد من و تکبیر بر خاند

Translation

The person who will come here, God will be pleased upon him and remember me with best intentions and read out *takbir* (*Azan* i.e. *Allah hu Akbar*).

9. A HOUSE IN MOHALLA ISLAMPURA

The house was constructed by Nawab Quli Khan in *Mohallah* Islampura, in the reign of Emperor Akbar. It has a Persian inscription¹¹, which is as under:

Text

مقامے ساختہ نواب نامی
گواہی مے دہدردین اسلام
من از تاریخ بنیادش چہ گویم
کز اب و خاک جنت شد پرستش
بیا بشنوز سنگ و چوپ و خشتش
کہ می گوید ہمہ عالم بہشتش
۱۰۰۷ھ

Translation

1. The well-known Nawab inhabited a locality. The soil and water were like heaven and is worthy of respect.
2. Listen to stones, woods, and bricks that give the testimony of Islam.
3. I told about the date of its foundation and they say that – 'all the world is paradise.'
- 1007 AH (4 August 1598 AD).

10. MOSQUE OF SHAIKH SADI

The mosque of Shaikh Shadi situated in the *mohalla Tejon-ki-Pahari* and Indra Colony on the Southern side of the Railway line on CIA road. It is a small ruined mosque. It has bearing a Persian inscription¹² in *Nastaliq* characters. It was constructed in 1634-35 A.D by someone Lutfullah, it runs as under:

Text

مسجدی کرد بنا لطف اللہ
سلم اللہ فضل برائے
بہر تاریخ گواہی جستم
مردم گفت کہ بیت خدا

Translation

Lutfullah Khan and Salimullah constructed this mosque for the worship

of God. When we searched the date of its construction, wisdom said – 'This is the house of God'. - 1044 AH (1634 – 35 AD).

11. TOMB OF SHAH WILYAT

There is a Persian inscription¹³ in *Nastaliq* style on the marble stone lying near the original gravestone outside the tomb. It tells that the mason of the tomb was a resident of Narnaul, which is as follows:

Text

بتاریخ.....رود کوثر
سه ذی حجه ۵۱۸۲ ۷۹۸ عیسوی
الامام السالار الا ستاد ساکن قصه نرنول

Translation

Water follows in the tank, with date 3 Dul-Hijjah, 1082 AH (14 April, 1672 AD) under the supervision of Imam Salar Ustad, a resident of Narnaul town.

12. BUNGALOW MULA MUSA SAHAB MOHALLA SADAT

There was a Persian inscription over the residential house, which tells the construction date. It was constructed by the Mohammad Imam in AH 1104. The inscription is as under:

Text

بنگله ملا موسی صاحب مرحوم واقع محلہ سادات
شکرایزد کہ ایں بنجہ بنا از محمد امام گشت پیا
سال تاریخ رتخ اوخر دگفتا نبیع العلم و مجمع اشرفا
۱۱۰۴ھ

Translation

By the grace of God, the foundation was laid by the Mohammad Imam. The date of the completion, wisdom said - 'It is the knowledge stock

and decent people are to be gathered.'

- 1104 AH (1692 AD)

13. MASJID BAZAR MANAK CHOWK

There was a mosque on Manak *Chowk*, which bears a Persian inscription¹⁴ in *Nastaliq* character, is as under:

Text

مسجدے شہد عالی مکان	از محمد باقر استاد خردماں
مسجدے ثانی بیت اللہ بنخواں	سال تاریخ بنایش از ثنا
۱۱۲۶	

Translation

1. Mohammad Bakar, the master of wise men, has constructed this luxurious mosque.
2. By the praise, the foundation of the date of the year searched – 'after Baitullah this is the second mosque' - 1126 AD (17 January 1714)

14. DALAN OF DARGAH HAZRAT PIR TURKMAN

The *dalan* of the Pir Turkman is located in front of the Hazrat Pir Turkman Tomb. It bears a Persian inscription in *Nastaliq* character over the central bay, which is as under:

Text

دالان مستقیم اشارات مستقیم	کردہ بنایہ پیش در پیر ترکمان
بیرون قدم درینہ زعمارات مستقیم	تاریخ آں دبیر خردگفتای حسود

Translation

1. Straight *dalan* was constructed in front of the door of Pir Turkman, directly located at the behest.
2. Wiseman discovered its date without any manipulate – 'old steps get out from straight buildings'. - 1218 AH (23 April 1803 AD).

15. DARGAH OF HAMZAPIR

The *dargah* is located in Dharsu village, 10 km North-west direction from Narnaul. It was the seat of a Sufi saint, named Hamza Pir. The tablet bearing this epigraph¹⁵ is fixed on the northern side wall of Shaikh Hamza's grave enclosure (inner side); a grave courtyard is an open place only covered with the tin shed. The inscriptional slab contains three lines of writing in Persian verse. Each line is divided into two panels. The epigraph which is inscribed in relief in beautiful *Nastaliq* characters in high order records the date of Shaikh Hamza's death in 955 AH.¹⁶ The chronogram contained in the second hemistich yields the date A.H. 955 (1548 A.D.) and his successor & son Shaikh Jamal's death after 15 years later i.e. 970 A.H. It confirms that it was recorded after A.H. 970, which is as under:

Text

شیخ حمزه چو ازین دار فنا رحلت کرد خوش خلف صاحب سجاده شده شیخ جمال
 نهصد و پنجه و پنج و ربیع ثانی بیست و هفتم شب و در شام شب قدر مثال
 پانزده سال دگر عمر وفا کرد شیخ حمزه هم ازین جمله چه خوش بودی سال

Translation

1. When Shaikh Hamzah left this perishable world
2. Shaikh Jamal (son) became [his] spiritual successor (*Sahib-i-Sajjada*).
3. Nine hundred and fifty and five of Rabi' al-Sani
4. Twenty-seventh [27th Rabi' al-Sani 955/5th June 1548] from the Night of Destiny (*Shab-i Qadr*).¹⁷
5. If Sheikh Hamzah had lived five or ten years more
6. He too would be sad with this sentence of divining.

16. DARGAH OF HAMZAPIR

Faidi records the following verses in 955 AH (1548 AD) about the saint Shaikh Hamza who lies buried at Dharson. The inscription¹⁸ affixed over the main gateway of the *dargah*, which is as under:

Text

کمال الحق والدین شیخ حمزه که روشن بود از وی شیخ اصحاب
 چه گویم وصف آں قطب زمانه که اسم اوست مستغنی ز القاب

چوں از سر منزل فانی سفر کرد حبیبی شد نهال از چشم احباب
 بدریا قطره گردید واصل شده زان صد هزاراں گوهر ناب
 چوں فیضی سال تار بخش طلب کرد
 ملگفت باتف که رفت آن قطب اقطاب
 ۹۵۵ھ

Translation

1. By the Kamal-ul-Haq Waddin Hamza, a friend of the lamp was lighted.
2. When we explain the beauty of the Qutb of the world, then he was so beyond the words.
3. When he departs from this world, then my beloved disappeared from the friend's eyes.
4. By dripping a drop in the ocean, thousands of priceless pearls are born. (Similarly, Shaikh Hamza originated thousands of spiritual descendants.)
5. When Faizi enquired the year of death, wisdom said- "the Qutb's Qutb went on".
 - 955 AH (1548 AD).

17. DARGAH HAMZAPIR INSCRIPTION

Near the graves a Persian inscription is affixed on the Southern wall of the niche, it has run as under:

Text

الله اکبر
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 نور حق نور دین محمد
 هر که حبیب شد وصالش

چون بود بدهر قطب اعظم

اعظم بکمال گشت سالش

سپه ۱۱۴ باهتمام مرید محمد یعقوب بن دوله خان

Translation

1. God is Great
2. In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate
3. The Light of Truth and the Light of the Religion of Muhammad
4. Everyone who meeting him became beloved
5. So was *Qutb-i A'zam* (the Grand Axis) in the world
6. 'Azam perfectly told its year'
7. Sana 1104. With the efforts of a disciple (*Murid-i-Dargah*) Muhammad Ya'qub, son of Daula Khan. The year 1104 Hijri began the 12th September 1692.

18. DALAN OF HAZRAT PIR TURKMAN

The *dalan* of Pir Turkman is situated in the *dargah* complex. It bears a Persian inscription in *Nastaliq* character, which is as under:

Text

<p>تسلیم زد دریا ادب کن از پیر در فیض ره طلب کن</p>	<p>ای شش دره پیر ترکمان را تاریخ بنامش گفت هاتف</p>
<p>۱۲۳۰</p>	

Translation

1. The *dalan* of Pir Turkman has six gates in which bow your head and stay on doors graciously.
2. The wisdom said searches the date of its construction – 'from each door to gain faiz'.
- 1230 AD (1814-15 AD).

19. HOUSE OF SAYYID RAJAB ALI

The house of Sayyid Rajab Ali was located in the Misharwara *Mohalla*, bearing a Persian inscription in *Nastaliq* character, which is as under:

Text

سیدرجب علی گل گلزار مرتضیٰ در عہد نیک وساعت خوش ساخت ایں مکاں
کرد سوال سال بنالیش چوں از خرد عشرت سرانے گفت جوابم بگوش جاں

Translation

1. Sayyid Rajab Ali, the flower of the Murtaza's gardens, who made it in the good times.
2. When we questioned the wisdom about the date of its construction then Israt Sarai said – 'listen to the answer from her ears.' - 1241 AH (1825 AD).

20. HAUZ DARGAH HAZRAT PIR TURKMAN

The *Hauz* is situated in the center of the *Dargah* Hazrat Pir Turkman. It bears an inscription¹⁹ of Persian language, which is as under:

Text

روضہ پیر حق آگاہ نباشد بیت خان جم جاہ
بہ سخنش چشمہ از آب حیاں لب تنیم و کوثر تشنه آں
چو تار بخش طلب کردہ سخنور خبر فرمود رشک آب کوثر
۱۲۴۹
بکام تشنگاں ہر سال رہا ہے براید از میاش آب چاہے

۲۲

Translation

1. In front of Pir Turkman tomb, this building was constructed by the grace of dignity Khan.
2. And in this courtyard, a hauz is located, whose water is about to increase life and for thirsty it will prove *Hauz-i-Kaushar*.

3. When the literary men searched its date then wisdom said *it is Raske Abe's Kaushar*.
4. Each month and each year, it about quenches the thirst. It is obvious that 'the water is like a well'. - 1249 AH (1833 AD).

21. JABARDAST KHAN TOMB

The tomb of Jabardast Khan was located in Pir Turkman *dargah* complex, but at present, there is not any tomb, except Hazrat Turkman. There was a Persian inscription on the Jabardast Khan tomb, which is as under:

Text

چوں زبردست خان بختی و شجاع
کوس رحلت به دار جنت برد
از سر ناله گفت هاتف غیب
حیف این ستم زمانه برد

Translation

1. When Jabardast Khan was exceedingly kind and brave, has left the world and went to the heaven.
2. Wisdom said at the beginning of sorrow – 'the world got to calamity'. - 1250 AH (1834 AD)

22. HAVELI MIR MUZIBUDDIN

The *haveli* of Mir Muzibuddin, ex-Tasildar Jagadhari, was situated in the *Mohalla* Sadat. The *haveli* bears a Persian inscription in Nastaliq character, which is as under:

Text

از سید مجیب الدین
ن مر فرحت فرمائے
سروش غیب گفتا بادل شاد
مبارکباد این فرخ بنائے

Translation

1. Sayyid Muzibuddin has constructed this lofty mansion in a good environment.
2. With pleasure, wisdom said – 'congratulation to this cheerful construction.' - 1274 AH (1857 AD).

IMPORTANCE OF THE EPIGRAPHIC DATA²⁰

The epigraphic data of the monuments of Narnaul during the Mughal period thus shows that:

- (1) Emperor's name has been mentioned in the inscriptions of some monuments just as the ruling king or ruler of the time (*Khalifah-i Waqt* or *Sahib-i Daur*), and he did not build them. None of these monuments, except Ibrahim Khan Sur tomb, is built in the typical architectural style of Pathan, which, with his innovations, was an improvement upon the preceding style of the Fatehpur Sikri. It believes that Sher Shah had personal interest in their construction: planning or designing. However, most of the buildings were built, by his Afghan allies (nobles or feudatories), in the prevalent Lodi style of 15th and early 16th century AD faithfully.
- (2) Some inscriptions are misplaced and are not in the buildings to which they originally belonged and with which they were historically related. Sometimes, the inscription of a tomb is placed in a mosque, while the tomb itself has not survived. Inscription of a lost mosque has likewise been placed in a later building, and the whole chronology has been confused with the loss of the locus and provenance. Precisely, the history of a building cannot be written on the basis of the epigraph appearing on it, without establishing its locus and provenance.
- (3) Most important, however, is the fact, in the present context, that some inscriptions were placed in the existing monuments, in place of the original epigraphs, in order to proclaim change of government and establishment and sovereignty. It has to be distinctly understood that no other racial conflict was more bitter, more violent and with more decisive consequences, politically, culturally and civilizationaly, then the conflict between the Mughals and the Afghans during the Thirty years' period, from 1526 to 1556, precisely from 1st battle of Panipat to 2nd battle of Panipat.

References and Notes :

1. It was one of the *sarkars* of *Suba* of Agra under the Mughal Emperor.
2. *District and State Gazetteers of the Undivided Punjab*, vol. IV, Delhi: Low Price Publication, 1993, reprint, p. 256.

3. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 197; H. B. W. Garrick, *Archaeological Survey of India Report a tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, vol. XXXIII, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 26-28.
4. See inscription over the south doorway of Shah Wilyat Tomb.
5. K.R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah and His Times*, Bombay, 1965, p. 26; K.C. Yadav, 'Sher Shah Suri Ka Janmasthan', *Journal of Haryana Studies*, vol. IX, No. 1-2, 1977, pp. 50-52.
6. For the history of the town, its monuments and inscriptions, see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XVIII, (Oxford, 1908), pp. 380-81; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, p. 222; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XXIII, (Reprint, Delhi), pp. 26-28; *Marg*, vol. XXVII, No. 4 (September, 1974), p. 32; *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (AREp)*, 1972-73, Nos. D, 31-34 & *ibid*, 1973-74, Nos. D-129-30.
7. Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shah Nawaz Khan & Abdul Hayy, *Maathir-ul-Umra*, Vol. II, Eng. Trans., by H. Beveridge and revised and annotated by Baini Prasad, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1952, p. 774-75.
8. Catherine B. Asher, *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, New Delhi: Oxford, 1985, P. 276.
9. The text does not specifically give the name of the builder who is simply mentioned as Khan, but in view of other inscription in the same mosque to be studied earlier, we would state that the Khan referred to in the present record is not other than Islam Quli Khan.
10. Munshi Bhagwat Rai has given only text (*Rais-e-Hind* (Urdu), Delhi, June - July 1923, p. 21).
11. *Ibid*.
12. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, (1973 – 1974), D – 130.
13. *Ibid* (1972-73), D – 33.
14. Munshi Bhagwat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
15. *AREp*, 1988-89, C – 80.
16. The *dargah* has two important inscriptions, both mentioned the date of Shaikh Hamza's demise, the first inscription mentioned that Shaikh Hamza left this world on 27th *Rabi-ul-Awwal* 955 A.H. and second inscription written by Faizi emphasized the death of Shaikh Hamza on 955 A.H. (in chronogram). However, the writer of *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Abdul Haqq Mohaddis Dehlvi, and Zahurul Hassan pointed that 'Hazrat Shaikh Hamza breathed his last on the twenty-fifth of *Rabi-us-Sani* in 957 A.H; *Punjab States Gazetteer*, vol. XVII A (Phulkian State, 1904) published in 1909 by Lahore mentioned that Shaikh died in 1549 A.D.
17. In Islamic belief the night when the first verses of the Holy *Qur'an* were revealed to Hazrat Muhammad. Many traditions believe that the exact date was 27th Ramazan. At this time Islam Shah Sur (reign 1545-54) was on the throne of Delhi.

18. Muhammad Ilyas Quddusi, *Islamic India: Studies in History, Epigraphy, Onomastics, and Numismatics*. New Delhi: Islamic Wonders Bureau, 2006, p. 156.
19. Munshi Bhagwat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
20. R. Nath, 'Mosques of Babur's Reign and their Curious Epigraphic Data (1526-1530)', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. LVI, No. 4, Karachi, Oct.-Dec. 2008, pp. 7-38.

7

The Chahar Qutb of Hansi: In the light of Some Persian Texts

Prateek*

Hansi tells the story of propagation of Islam through Sufism at the advent of Sultanate period. The town of Hansi was a famous religious centre of Chishti order of Sufis. The great Sufi saint Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar lived here for twelve years, who left a legacy of Sufi tradition in the form Chahar Qutb dargah which became the identity of the city for the centuries to come. The Chahar Qutub were the local Chishti saints of Hansi who contributed immensely in the religious, educational and political realms of Hansi and Haryana as whole. The malfuzats such as Fawaid al-Fuad and Siyar-ul-Awliya, shed light of on the lives the Chahar Qutub along with that some other Persian sources such as Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Ain-i Akbari, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh. The Chahar Qutb Sufis of Hansi provide us a good opportunity to investigate the relation of Sufis and the state. The four generations of Chahar Qutb had different attitudes with the state.

The present day, Hansi is a city and municipal corporation in Hisar district of Haryana. The history of the town goes back to some centuries before and after Christ.¹ It was after the victory of Ghurid Turks over northern India that we see the propagation of Islam started in the Hansi. It rose

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as a prominent town and an important *iqta* during the reign of Delhi Sultans.

Hansi had been a prominent religious centre in the medieval period where Sufis of the Chishti *silsilah* were active.² It also emerged as a centre of Islamic learning producing *qazis* and *khateeb*s of repute, and where Sufis used to come and deliver sermons to the local population. It rose to prominence due to its connections with the *Chahar Qutub*, namely Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Hansavi (1187-1261 A.D.), Shaikh Burhan-ud-din (1261-1300 A.D.), Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar (?-1354 A.D.) and Shaikh Noor-ud-din (1325-1397 A.D.).³ The Persian words '*Chahar*' denote four and '*Qutb*' designates a pole star, therefore *Chahar Qutub* means the four polar stars. These Sufis who belongs to the Chishti order commanded great reverence and influence among the masses of Hansi. They also had some role to play in the politics of contemporary times.

The city of Hansi finds its first mention in the *mal'fuzat* when Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar came down to Hansi from Delhi in search of tranquillity.⁴ After completion of his spiritual studies under Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Baba Farid is said to have settled in Hansi for nearly twelve years.⁵

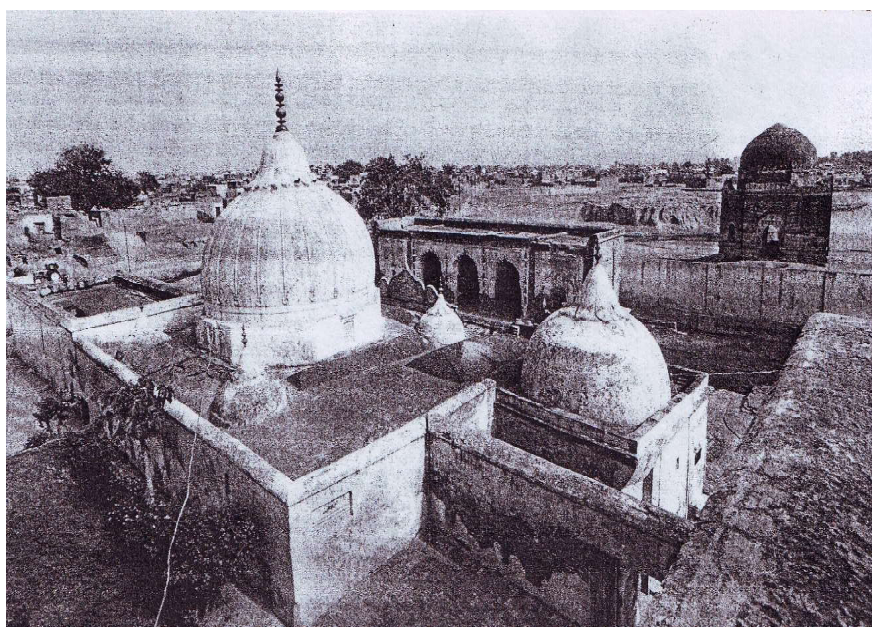
In the list of Baba Fariduddin Masud Ganj-i Shakar's prominent disciples and *khalifas*, Qutb-i Alam Shaikh Jamaluddin Hansavi's name come in the forefront. He was the senior most and dearest disciple of Baba Farid-ud-din. He is among three most important successors of him; the other two are Sultan-ul Mashaikh Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya and Shaikh Alauddin Ali Ahmad Sabir Kalyari.⁶ Apart from Shaikh Jamal-ud-din, his son Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Sufi Hansavi, along with one Shaikh Shahab-ud din Khatib Hansavi also had their names in the successors' list.⁷

Shaikh Jamal was a five-year-old child when his family moved from Ghazni to Hansi. His elders of the family fought on Mahmud Ghazni's side and impressed by the valiant fight put up by Hamid-ud-din, Mahmud Ghazni awarded him three villages (Qutbpura, Dhana and Shekhupura) of Hansi along with making him the *khateeb* (preacher) of Hansi.⁸

In *Ain*, the Shaikh is stated as to be a descendent of Abu Hanifah of Kufah. His duty was to deliver discourses and pronounce judicial decisions, but he renounced his office to become the disciple of Baba Farid.⁹ So, we know from this incident that generally one was not supposed to become a Sufi while holding office, however there are

examples contrary to this trend as well. It was expected of a Sufi to renounce and surrender all luxuries and political office. However, the Sufis still commanded power among masses and even participated in politics.

Shaikh Jamal-ud-din Hansavi was a great orator of his times and hence called the *Qutb-i-Khuttab*, the pole star of preachers.¹⁰ Shaikh Jamal was a very learned man who wrote many books out of which his *Diwan* in Persian and *Mulhimat*, an Arabic treatise have survived. He was a *khatib* (preacher) of Hansi, and owned several villages.



Cahar Qutub Complex in Hansi, general view from the roof of the mosque.

(Courtesy: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Hisar-i-Firuz*)

Shaikh Burhan-ud-din became the next *Qutub* of the *khanqah* of Hansi, but he did not get mention in the history texts of medieval times. It is very difficult to say anything about him with certainty due to the absolute lack of information. The next *sajjada nashin* (successor) of the *dargah* was Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar, the grandson of Shaikh Jamal and the son of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din. He seems to be a prominent religious figure in the Sufi arena of his times. The author of *Siyar-ul Auliya* has mentioned that he liked serenity and peacefulness. He led his life with austerity and was a recluse. He got settled in Hansi after

completion of his studies at Delhi under the guidance of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who presented him the copy of '*Awarif-ul Ma'arif* and people used to flock his *khanqah* to pay him visit.¹¹

Siyar-ul Auliya contains important as well as interesting information about Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar's political engagements with the state. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din was popular and was an important Sufi saint of the region and Mohammad bin Tughlaq held him in high esteem. *Siyar-ul Auliya* mentions how Mohammad bin Tughlaq tested him through his subordinates and then started respecting him for his austere conduct and high mysticism. He played an active role in the politics of Delhi, especially during the accession of Firuz Shah Tughlaq. He was gaining fame day by day and admirers from Delhi used to visit him in Hansi, but some people were also there who were envious of him. They misinformed Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq that his manners are undignified and inappropriate. Mohammad bin Tughlaq thought of testing him by offering him worldly wealth and material comforts. He granted two villages in his name and sent *Sadre-i Jahan* Qazi Kamal-ud-din (also a resident of Hansi) to him. On hearing that *Sadre-i Jahan* has come, he went and sat at the place where Baba Farid used to sit. The Qazi presented the royal *farman* to him and paid regards on behalf of Sultan.¹²

Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar writes that when Sultan Nasir-ud-din had gone towards Multan and Uchh, Balban who was Ulugh Khan at that time offered two villages to him. Baba Farid responded that my elders had not accepted any such donations hence I also cannot accept it. Many people crave for it give it to them instead. After hearing, this reply from Shaikh Qutb-ud-din, Qazi felt ashamed and begged for pardon. He returned to Delhi with regret and told Sultan about it and spoke very high of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din. Mohammad bin Tughlaq got impressed on knowing about this and started liking him.¹³ Here we get a typical example of the non-involvement of the Chishti Sufis with the state, not getting any favours by them and not having any stakes in the politics. But, this is not the entire truth, soon we would get another contradictory example of the same Chahar Qutb Sufis of Hansi. Once, Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq was on his trip to Hansi, and stayed at Bansani (?), which was four *kos* away from Hansi. He sent Nizam-ud-din Nadarbari, the *Mukhalis-ul-Mulk*, to inspect the Hansi fort to carry out repairing work. He came back from Hansi and told the Sultan that one of the

disciples of *Sultan-ul-Mashaikh*, Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya has not come to pay obeisance to the majesty. Mohammad bin Tughlaq was astonished after hearing this and enquired more about him from the officials. Then he sent Shaikh Hasan *Sarbar-i Hind* to bring Shaikh Munawwar from his hospice. Shaikh Munawwar had to go with him, even though it was against his will. He took his *musalla* (praying carpet) and *assa* (walking stick) with him and walked with the Shaikhzada Hasan to Hansi. When Shaikh Qutb-ud-din reached there, Sultan saw him and started off for Delhi without meeting the Shaikh.¹⁴

Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq called the holy man to Delhi this time. Shaikh Munawwar sought help from the future king Firuz Shah Tughlaq, who was *Naib-us Sultanate* at that time. Shaikh said that I am a *faqir* (religious mendicant, poor) and not acquainted with the royal etiquettes, I will do as you say. Firuz advised him to behave politely with the sovereign. Shaikh Munawwar's son, Noor-ud-din was also accompanying him to the court of the king who became nervous, petrified by the show of royal pomp and grandeur. On knowing this, he "whispered to his son that all greatness and power belongs to the God alone."¹⁵ Noor-ud-din says that as soon as he heard his father, his fear was vanished and all nobles and courtiers seemed as mere goats and sheep to him.¹⁶

Shaikh Qutb-ud-din entered the court and Sultan stood and started shooting an arrow. When he saw the Shaikh, his persona and mystical appearance really overwhelmed him. He shook hands with the holy man and complained that he did not give him the blessed opportunity of meeting him when he came to his city. The Shaikh calmly replied that he lives in solitude and finds himself unfit for meeting the kings. Mohammad bin Tughlaq impressed by the mystic, ordered Firuz Shah to do whatever Shaikh wishes. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din wished for returning to his ancestor's place, Hansi.¹⁷

Sultan Mohammad sent Firuz Shah and Ziya-ud-din Barani to Hansi with one-lakh *tankas*. Shaikh Munawwar denied the generous donations from the state and sent the money back to Sultan. This time Mohammad bin Tughlaq gave orders to donate fifty thousand *tankas* to be given to the exalted Shaikh. The *Chishti* Shaikh did not accept even this much amount, but on Firuz Shah's insistence, agreed upon accepting two thousand *tankas*. Shaikh Qutb-ud-din donated it further to Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Baktiyar Kaki's and Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya's *dargah*. Some of the amount was donated to Nasir-ud-din Chirag-i-Dehli also and rest

of it was distributed among the poor. Thereafter, he went back to Hansi after staying in Delhi for some days.¹⁸

Badaoni staying true to his book's title has written an alternative version of how Firuz Shah Tughlaq became the Sultan. Badaoni mentions that a secret deal was struck between Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dehli, Firuz Tughlaq and Makhdumzada Abbasi that the next Sultan would be Firuz. When Muhammad Bin Tughlaq came to know about this, he summoned all three to his camp at Thatta and gave orders for their execution. But Sultan Firuz somehow escaped and went to Hansi, to the *khanqah* of Shaikh Badr-ud-din who was one of the descendents of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din of Hansi. After that Firuz reaches Thatta and raises the flag of sovereignty and with the help of holy men tide turned in Firuz's favour, miraculously Sultan Muhammad died and Firuz became the next sovereign. Another very interesting occurrence noted by Badaoni is that, when Firuz reaches Delhi "he made the *parganas* of *chaurasi* (Eighty Four) in the district of Hansi a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badr-ud-din."¹⁹ Though, we don't get mention of this donation in any other source. This whole incident does not seem to be plausible; but that such conspiracy theories were doing rounds even after two hundred years gives us an idea that there may be a possibility of truth in such kind of theories. Our sources also support such a hypothesis, though not exactly what Badaoni had offered us.

The events of Firuz's march from Thatta to Delhi also needs to be analysed in similar light. Firuz chose such a route to come to Delhi where he could visit Sufi shrines to garner support for him. He visited Siwistan, Bhakkar, Uchh, Multan, Ajodhan, Sirsa and Hansi to reach finally to Delhi. All the places are undoubtedly of great religious significance. He personally paid visit to the Sufi *khanqahs* and *mashaikhs* granting *inam* to them and offering other such benefits. Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dehli played active role in it ensuring support for him wherever he went. When Firuz came to Sirsa "all the jewellers [*sarraf*] and traders [*baqqal*] offered a few lakh *tankas* as present. The Sultan accepted the amount and said that it was being taken as a loan, God willing, it would be given back after reaching Delhi."²⁰ After that, he moved towards Hansi, Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dehli wrote to him saying that 'So far from Thatta to this place we have reached safely on account of our prayers to God. Now onwards, the territories up to Delhi fall in the spiritual jurisdiction of Shaikh Qutub-ud-din Munawwar, hence due request be

made to the holy Shaikh.²¹ Sultan wrote to the Shaikh requesting him an interview and seeking blessings on his part. The Shaikh replied positively and said he would reach Delhi safely.²² The Sultan paid a visit to the revered Shaikh Qutb-ud-din who advised him to abstain from hunting and drinking alcohol.²³ Firuz Shah requested him to pray on his behalf that his desire to drink and hunt is reduced. On getting such an insensitive reply, the Shaikh became angry and refused accepting the robe offered by Firuz as a token of reverence.²⁴ We can see the cooperation between community of Sufis right from Siwistan up to Delhi in guiding and supporting Firuz to reach Delhi safely. The Sufis of Hansi and the traders of Sirsa played a vital role in raising Firuz Shah to the throne, and to whom Firuz Shah reciprocated very well, as he took special interest in developing the region.

Shaikh Qutbuddin's son Shaikh Nooruddin became the fourth *Qutub* of the *Chahar Qutb* hospice of Hansi. He also became an eminent Sufi saint of the region who continued the family tradition very well. Sources tell us that Firuz Shah Tughlaq invited Shaikh Noor-ud-din to leave Hansi and settle down in his newly built city Hisar-i-Firuz, but Shaikh had declined his request politely by saying that he would like to remain at the land of his ancestors.²⁵ Firuz respected the Shaikh's decision and wished that the city of Hansi remained protected from any dangers under his supervision.

Afif writes that Firuz's wish proved to be true. When Timur invaded the region, he devastated Hisar city but did not touch Hansi and the Muslims along with the *zimmis* (Hindus-protected people) remained protected. He further says that Timur did not dare to touch the areas under Shaikh Noor-ud-din's *vilayat*, hence some areas of Hisar-i-Firuz escaped the Timurid fury.²⁶ Shams Siraj Afif, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was the disciple of Shaikh Noor-ud-din.²⁷ He was the last of the great Hansi Sufi saints. We do not get any significant information about him in the sources, so we would not be able to recreate history about him here.

So, we have both type of examples of Sufi interaction with power and politics. The state is borrowing help from the Sufis in the form of legitimacy whereas the Sufis also got the state's sanction and financial help in return. The Chishti Sufis of Hansi demonstrate that there was no fixed attitude vis-a-vis the state; they changed their response as per

the demand of the situation which show a flexible approach of the Sufis.

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24. *Ibid.*

25. Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 95 (R.C. Jauhri); H. Blochmann, 'Delmerick's Hansi Inscriptions', p. 118.
26. Shams Siraj Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, pp. 95-96 (R.C. Jauhri).
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Architectural Investigation of Mughal Monuments in Faridabad, Haryana

Dr. Sajjan Kumar* and Nitu Kumari**

Faridabad, 12th district of Haryana came into existence on 15th of August 1979, located on south eastern part of Haryana state in northern India. It lies between 27° 39' - 28° 31' N latitudes and 76° 40' - 77°32' E longitudes on National Highway No. 2 (hereafter NH No. 2). In the north it is bordered by the Union Territory of Delhi, in the east by Uttar Pradesh, in the north west and west by Mewat and Gurgaon, in the south Palwal districts of Haryana. Bounded by river Yamuna in the east, the city is also surrounded by Aravalli hills in the south and west regions.

During the Mughal period the town of Faridabad was founded by Shaikh Farid, the treasurer of Mughal emperor Jahangir in 1607 CE with the object of protecting the highway (Shershah Suri Marg or Grant Trunk Road which is known as NH No. 2) which passed through the town. This research paper based on field work when I was working in Chandigarh Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Chandigarh in capacity of Assistant Archaeologist. The field survey has been carried out by me with my colleague R.K. Dalal senior artist Chandigarh Circle and Ajit Singh local staff of sub circle Surajkund in 2010 and recently again explored the area with Nitu Kumari in 2018. The aims and objectives of this field survey was to collected the GIS and GPS through geospatial technology, present condition of the monuments and which type of

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conservation requirement for the monuments. In district Faridabad many kinds of Mughal monuments have been protected by ASI for national importance, in valuable Mughal architectural features such as Kos Minars, Sarai, and Bridge.

Table: Centrally protected Mughal monuments in District Faridabad
(source: Inventory, 1999)

Sr. No	Monument and No. by ASI	Coordinates	Locality/Village	Tehsil/Block	Notification No. and Date	Topographical feature	Condition and Area	Nature of Monument
1	Kos Minar, No. 15	Lat. 28°17'N; Long. 77° 18' E	Sikri	Ballabgarh	PN6798 11.03.1919	Plain Terrain	Conserved 2 Marla	Secular
2	Mughal Bridge	Lat. 28° 29'N; Long. 77° 18' E	Khwaza Sarai	Faridabad	PN, 32223 22.10.1929	Plain Terrain	Conserved 19 Kanal 8 Marla	Secular
3	Kos Minar, No. 10	Lat. 28°27'N; Long. 78° 19' E	Khwaza Sarai	Faridabad	PN, 6798 11-03-1919	Plain Terrain	Conserved 2 Marla	Secular
4	Kos Minar, No. 11	Lat. 28°25'N; Long. 77° 20' E	Mawai	Faridabad	PN, 6798 11.03.1919	Plain Terrain	Conserved 2 Marla	Secular
5.	Kos Minar, No. 13	Lat. 28°22'N; Long. 77° 20' E	Mujessar	Ballabgarh	PN, 6798 11.03.1919	In present there is no sign of the <i>Minar</i>		

Kos Minar

Three Kos Minars are located in two tehsils: Faridabad and Ballabgarh in district Faridabad (Table). A hugely interesting feature of Mughal architecture during medieval India was the Kos Minars which were indicated the routes and measuring the distance. These were an important part of communication and travel in a large empire. These Kos Minars were used to mark the royal route from Agra to Lahore via Delhi in the north region. Kos Minars became an institution during the rule of the Mughals that Emperor Jahangir and Shah Jahan, following in their predecessors' footsteps added to the existing network of Kos Minars. Arif Qandhari explained the purpose of Kos Minars, 'That traveling to and from goes on day and night and these Minars guided the travelers from losing their way or getting off the route' (Arif, 1993:180).

In 1619 CE emperor Jahangir ordered to Baqir Khan, the Fauzdar of Multan, to erect a Kos Minar (mile stone) at each kos (approximately 3.2 km) on the old imperial rout (Inventory, 1999). Kos literally means a medieval measurement of distance denoting approximately 3.2 km (2.0

mi). Minar is a Persian word for tower.

These Minars were erected by the Mughal Emperors on the main highways across the empire to mark the distance. The Kos Minars in district Faridabad are typical Kos Minar architecture built by Jahangir. The Kos Minar is a solid round tapering pillar resting on the octagonal base, in different height (20-30 feet) that stands on a masonry platform built with lakhori bricks and plastered over with lime plaster (Parihar, 1985: 48). These are covered with a domical top separated by a base moulding. A detail description of these monuments is given below:

Kos Minar No. 15, Sikri (Lat. 28°17'N; Long. 77° 18' E): This minar is situated 1 km north of the village Sikri and 100 meter west of the NH 29 or 6 km before the Ballabhgarh town in district Faridabad, it falls in the agriculture land a terrain plain, octagonal in plan, tapering round brick structure and covered with lime plaster (Plate & Fig. I).



Plate I- Kos Minar (village Sikri) & Fig. I : Octagonal sketch plan
(after Inventory, 1999)

Kos Minar No. 10, Khawza Sarai (Lat. 28°27'N; Long. 78°19' E): It is situated in the Sector 35, Ashoka Enclave Phase III, in the centre of the park. At present, it stands on a big square platform and covered with new plaster and conservation work has been done by ASI so that it is good in condition. This is also in terrain plain, octagonal in plan, tapering round brick structure and covered with lime plaster (Plate & Fig. II).

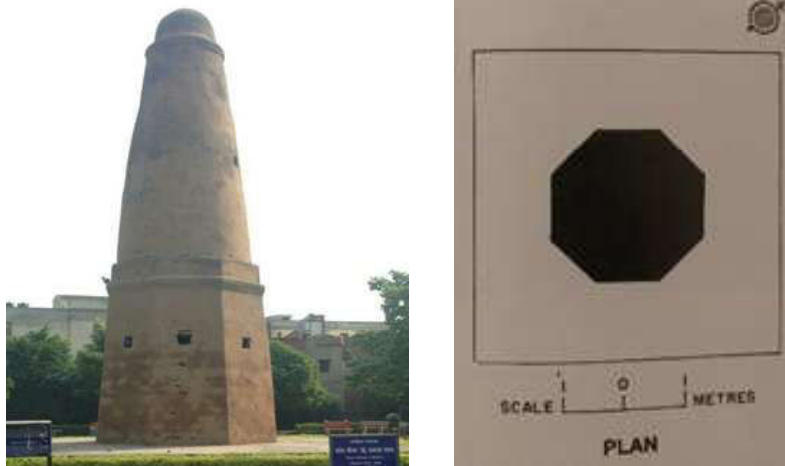


Plate II- Kos Minar No. 10 Khawza Sarai & Fig. II Octagonal sketch plan
(after Inventory, 1999)

Kos Minar No. 11, Mawai (Lat. 28°25'N; Long. 77°20' E): It is situated on the main road of Sector 29 near market. All kos minars of district Faridabad are made of lakhori bricks but only this minar is made of rubble stones mixed with lakhori bricks (Plate & Fig. III). As usual, the minar stand on a square platform, now which is not visible. The conservation work has been done by ASI so that it is good in condition.



Plate III- Kos Minar No. 11 Mawai, Sector 29 & Fig. III Octagonal sketch plan
(after Inventory, 1999)

Kos Minar No. 13 Mujessar (Lat. 28°22'N; Long. 77°20' E):Mujessar Kos Minar is said to have been located in plot No. 113-14 A, Sector - 24, Faridabad where now stands the factory Voith, Porritts & Spencer (Asia) Ltd, locally called Khamba wali Factory. However, Inventory gives full detail and picture of this minar, but at present there is no sign of any minar in this locality.

Mughal Bridge

This bridge is constructed over Budhiawala Nala, (Sharma, 2001: 105) at a distance of 1 km to the east of the NH No. 2. It is made of rubble. The size of the bridge is 25-meter length and 4.3-meter width and consists of three centered arches, which are structurally sound. The span of each arch is 4.3 meter, which is supported on piers of a half of a bit smaller width. The central arch is slightly higher than those on the sides (Parshad, 2011: 171). The piers have no cutwaters. On each end of the north and south piers of the central arch stands a kos-minar-like tower, topped with a fluted dome (Plate & Fig. IV).



Plate - IV: Mughal Bridge over Budhiawala Nala & Fig. IV: Sketch plan
(after Inventory, 1999)

During the Mughal period the city Faridabad was a main town situated on important medieval route from Agra to Lahore (now NH No. 2). Many Mughal monuments and structures are available here and show its architectural and historical importance. These monuments are protected by ASI so that good in condition except Kos Minar 13 Mujessar. The sarais, kos minars and bridges were built on main routes or roads to facilitate their uses for the travelers during the medieval period.

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5. Sharma, Y.D. (2001) Delhi: And its Neighbourhood, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, names the bridge as "Budhiawala Bridge" and records a tradition for the name. According to this tradition, "in earlier days an old woman (budhia) resided near it, while her sons were posted under it. She would beguile the travellers and drop an appropriate hint to her sons regarding the strength of the travellers. The sons would then overpower them and rob them of their valuables".

Urban Settlement in Haryana during Medieval Period

Dr. Pardeep Kumar* & Dr. Vijender Singh**

Interest in economic and social history has inspired me to take up the study of human *settlements*. These settlements have been recorded as villages and towns, and have remained the focus of scholarly attention among the social scientists. The present study deals with the urban settlements in particular which are identified as *qasbas* and *shahars* in *medieval Indian* context. The early studies establish these urban settlements either as military camps or *administrative* headquarters. Thus, this labels them with parasitic tendencies, instead of generative characteristics. The early perceptions were however, not considered satisfactory, as they indicated only one side of the coin. If one observes and analyses the historical information, a different picture emerges. Attempts in this direction have been made for the last few decades. These attempts clearly establish the proliferation of urban settlements of all sizes-small, medium and large, which could evolve with considerable amount of dwellers on the one hand and their varied linkages: socio-economic, politico cultural and horizontal vertical on the other hand. The study of *urban settlements* falls in the arena of *urban history*, an emerging discipline with interdisciplinary approach.

This work entitled urban settlement in Haryana during Medieval period evaluates the pace of urbanization and its dynamics in rural urban interaction within the present Haryana territory. The effort during the

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historical inquiry has been to understand the making of region, assessment of agrarian potential and the non-agrarian indispensability, emergence and development of urban settlements, their relations with the rural settlements and the creation of societal network which finds genesis in administrative, political, economic, social, linguistic and the cultural factors in the ecological. Set up that got framed in a period of more than four hundred and fifty years.

The present historical inquiry establishes Haryana region as manmade. Its first attempt is at the identification of the location of the region which establishes its political and strategic eminence. The definite location of the present Haryana territory is traced in two core provinces (*subas*)-Delhi and Agra of the late sixteenth century in the intermediate units (*sarkars*) Delhi, Hissar-i-Firuzi, Rewari, Sirhind, Narnaul, Tijara, Alwar and Sahar, respectively. But certain territorial adjustments are also visible through transfer of Narnaul and Tijara to the province of Delhi from Agra in second half of seventeenth century. The sub-territory occupied by Pinjaur and its surroundings in extreme north of Haryana region was also shifted to Delhi province in the first decade of eighteenth century. These territorial adjustments seem to be the result of expectations and realization of incurring benefits through the natural resources located in the intermediate units (*sarkars*) of the Delhi province along the southern boundary of Haryana region. The efforts carried in agricultural sector, craft production and transit trade were equally significant for the said adjustments. Once the region evolved in relation to administrative and economic parameters, they provided ground for the existence of rural and urban settlements in the region. The assessment of agrarian potential reveals that the region in the beginning of the thirteenth century was relatively less productive to that of second half of the fourteenth century.¹

The change was brought through the efforts in the field of irrigation by the digging of the *canals-Rajabwah* and *Ulugh Khani*.² This period evidenced increase in extent of cultivation, high yield and surplus revenue which enhanced the economic potential of the region. The comparison of Thakur Pheru, Barani, Afif and Yahya bin Sirhindi's account supports this and establishes that though the region had numerous arable pockets yet the non-arable pockets were brought to usage. The actual cultivated land is computed on the basis of *Ain's arazi* for the Haryana region. The net cultivated area comes out to be 64% of the

Haryana territory for c.1595. This would have probably increased in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. It is established on the basis of the comparison of revenue estimates in *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Chahar Gulshan*. This improvement in agricultural sector was due to re-excavation of Firuz Shah's canal (renamed *Shekuni* under Akbar and *Nahar-i-Bihisht* (under Shahajahan). The role of the artificial irrigation therefore became vital in the growth of agrarian economy of the Haryana region.³

The region is recorded to produce twenty five to forty five crops annually throughout the study period. The maximum benefits were extracted out of the production of cash crops-cotton, sugar-cane, indigo; though the food and other crops played significant role. Few settlements excelled in the by-products of the cash crops.⁴ They emerged as collection and distribution centres for both food and cash crops. Among the chief cash crop by-product centres-Maham/Mahim excelled in refined candied sugar; the rural settlement of the Mewat tract-excelled in the extraction of indigo dye, which were next to Bayana and Kors produce in the contemporary times. Similarly, the cotton produced in the region was utilized for preparation of cotton-yam. Panipat emerged famous for coarse white cotton cloth which was as good as that of the cloth prepared at Samana. Thanesar emerged popular for woven fabrics. The agrarian commodities and by-products were not only having markets in the region but had access to large urban settlements outside the Haryana territory. The larger settlements were Delhi, Agra, Ajmer, Sirhind, Samana, Lahore, Multan etc. The comparisons of revenue estimates further suggest that the agrarian activity remained the chief occupation of the inhabitants of the Haryana region.⁵

The horticulture activity was no less important. Special efforts were made in the plantation of fruit trees since the times of Firuz Shah which gathered momentum throughout the study period. Pinjaur was popular as rose cultivating centre. Out of which rose water was extracted in the second half of the seventeenth century. Khizrabad in the northern extreme of Haryana territory served as wood-mart. It catered the need of the places outside the region. The wood was probably used for making boats and sometimes furniture and building industry in limited manner. The wood for fuel was obtained locally in the region.⁶

Animal husbandry was third vital pillar of the Haryana economy. The inhabitants enriched their resources through the preparation of the

ghee (clarified butter) from the milk obtained from their animals. Hansi-Hissar region has been identified as exclusive for this. The *ghee* was sent to imperial kitchen at Delhi and Agra in Mughal times. The region also benefited from sheep through which inhabitants obtained wool. Though none of the settlements emerged as significant centres in the production of wool products. Similarly, settlements in the Mewat tract emerged as breeding centres for horses. The horses of the Mewat tract fulfilled the need of cavalry contingents of the *zamindars* of the Mughal empire. Haryana region benefited from the exploitation of the natural wealth i.e., mineral resources. The extraction of copper from mines located in the surroundings of the southern Haryana, its usage in minting of coins, arms industry and utensil making. Similarly, the extraction of salt-peter from Thanesar benefited in the manufacture of gun powder and cooling of water. It is discovered with regard to Haryana that though no settlement could emerge popular for manufacture of gun powder or its usage in cooling of water, yet it created market outside the Haryana region. The imperial and provincial capitals generated demands for the salt-peter which in turn had access to international market in a limited manner.⁷

The other non-agrarian productive activities in the Haryana region were iron smithy, building construction, weaving and allied work, brass work etc. which generated marginal income through the heterogeneous occupations in various rural and urban settlements. The population engaged in these activities were skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled artisans.⁸

Thus the agrarian expansion and extended non-agrarian activities contributed in the dynamism of the region in various ways:- The first can be observed in the strengthening of regions' political and territorial significance which accelerated the mobility in the region on one hand and interaction with the adjoining regions on the other. During pre-fourteenth century, the Delhi Sultans assigned parts of Haryana (*iqta l shiqq*) to confident nobles and sometimes to the princes or they remained part of *Khalisa* land. Since post mid-fourteenth century the rulers attempted to keep the parts of the region under their direct control. The *sarkars* comprising region largely remained in Delhi *suba* under Mughals. These were assigned to the heir apparents or confident nobles. The case of *sarkar* Hissari- Firuza is recorded as unique. It remained *asjagir* in the hands of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shahajahan, and Dara

Shikoh when they were prince.

Similarly, the other *sarkars* were assigned to the confident nobles.⁹ The second contribution is evident in economic growth through the increasing number of villages, *qasbas* and medium size *shahars*. During prefourteenth century the arable land was less in comparison to post midfourteenth century.¹⁰ The realization of more arable land initiated the process of emergence of new rural settlements which expanded to the size of *qasbas*. Many of these *qasbas* acquired the status of *pargana* headquarters, for example:- Dhatart, Safedon, Barwala, Jamalpur, Khanda, Barwa, Agroha, Ahroni, Bhatu, Siron, Tosham, Tohana, Baharangi, Atkhera, Bhangiwal, etc.: Similarly, the *qasbas* acquired the size of medium size *shahars* like Jind, Kaithal, Rohtak, Kanauda, Firuzpur, Bawal, Kotla, etc. Many of the medium size *shahars* emerged as prominent urban centers like Rewari, Narnaul, Hansi, Sirsa, Hissar-i-Firuz, Thanesar, Panipat, Kamal, Sonapat, Kanauda, etc. Narnaul, Rewari, Hissar-i-Firuz were even raised to *sarkar* headquarters. Several *qasbas* and medium size *shahars* had forts, markets and other essential amenities which were ideal to the medieval standards in case of urban settlements.¹¹

The third consequence is recorded in the emergence of these *qasba* and *shahar* settlements into collection and distribution centres i.e., grain *mandis* of agricultural produce. Sirsa remained famous for its fine quality rice in the first half of fourteenth century. Rice was an export item. The other settlements which probably existed as prominent grain markets were Hansi, Fatahabad, Barwala, Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, Rohtak, Kaithal, Jhajjar, Dadri, Panipat, Ganaur, Beri-Dobladhan, Sonapat, Thanesar, Shahabad, Tirwari, Azmabad, Gohana, Tohana, Narhar, Zerpur, Kohirana, Kohrana, Khodana, Ghelot, Rewari, Palwal, Taoru, Kotla, Ujina, Umra, Umri, Hodal, Bandhaudli, etc. It is relevant to mention that many of these are still traced as *mandis* in the region.¹² This grain *mandi* settlements remained dynamic in inter-regional trade. They fulfilled the demands of imperial and provincial capitals beside the large urban settlements outside the Haryana region-like Delhi, Agra, Sirhind, Ajmer, Bikaner, Samana, Sunam, Bhatnair (present Hanumangarh), etc. The grain trade remained the part of long distance trade and this is how the grain *mandis* were vertically linked to the other parts of Indian sub-continent. Almost all the *qasbas* and *shahar:s* had the permanent and temporary markets. Wherever these did not existed the weekly or bi-weekly *bazaars*

were held. These *bazaars* remained the hub of activities in transaction of agrarian commodities and non-agrarian products brought from the rural and urban settlements of the Haryana region and outside it. *Shahars* in particular dealt with the outside products and these products were introduced inside the *qasbas* through them. The chief *shahars* identified for the said purpose were Thanesar, Panipat, Kamal, Sonapat, Rohtak, Rewari, Narnaul, Kanauda, Hansi, Sirsa, Hissar-i-Firuz, etc. Both agrarian and nonagrarian products traversed along the major and minor (secondary and tertiary) routes. The agencies involved in the transaction were the *banjara* community, traders and sometimes Mughani, Multani, Khurasani and European merchants.¹³

The long distance trade actually created conditions for the establishment of *sarais* in the region. The *shahars* which were located along the frequented routes contained one or more *sarais*. Wherever the distance was much between the two *shahars*, *sarais* were developed by the state, or local authorities or merchants. The study has recorded two phenomenon regarding this process. First, if there was a *qasba* on the route, a *sarai* was developed into it. Secondly, if no settlement existed along the route than a *sarai* was established and subsequently a settlement emerged which expanded to the size of *qasba*. In the first case, the *sarais* in Haryana region, *sarais* emerged at Sirsa, Hansi, Fatahabad, Hissar-i-Firuz, Rohtak, Mandhauti along the Delhi-Multan route via Ajodhan-Hansi-Mandhauti; at Ambala, Thanesar, Kamal, Panipat, Sonapat, Palwal along Delhi-Lahore route and at Pataudi, Rewari along Delhi-Ajmer route. In the second case where the *sarais* emerged first were Shahabad, Azmabad, Gharaunda, Samalkha, Ganaur, Narela (in Delhi), Faridabad, Ballabgarh, Sikri, Bamnikhera and Hodal along Lahore -Delhi- Agra route. These *sarais* in these settlements played a vital role in two ways. First, they provided security to the travelers and secondly these enhanced the trade transactions.¹⁴

The large size *sarais* in Haryana region are recorded at Gharunada, Palwal and Hodal. However, the other *sarais* along the frequented route were equally significant irrespective of their size. The mints at *Hissar-i-Firuz* and Narnaul since the sixteenth century in the region suggests that region had emerged economically potent and trade dynamism became the chief parameter for such a decision on the part of state regarding the minting facilities in the region.¹⁵

The region evidenced numerous urban settlements. Both *qasbas*

and *Shahars* emerged and existed either being the administrative centres (*pargana* and *sarkar* headquarters), production centres, commercial centres or sacred centres, primarily. Apparently, none played the unitary role. Rather their role remained multifunctional. The survey of the various urban settlement in the region reveals that the settlements which acquired eminence was due to political and economic considerations. Among the political consideration were their strategic locations or them being the seat of power in pre-Turkish period. Hansi, Sirsa and Thanesar finds place in this category. These were fortified settlements with garrisons stationed there. These were also subsequently declared the *iqta* headquarters in the Turkish period. The other centres which emerged little later were Fatahabad and Hissar-i-Firuz. Out of all these Hissar-i-Firuz became most eminent and was declared the *sarkar* headquarters. Its strategic and administrative significance is nicely proven. The other urban settlements which fall in this category are - Narnaul and Rewari as *sarkar* headquarters and Rohtak, Panipat, Kanauda, Firuzpur, Kotla, Bawal, etc. as *pargana* headquarters.¹⁶

The second category included the settlements like Thanesar, Panipat, Karnal, Sonapat, Maham/ Mahim, Khizrabad and Pinjore few *qasba* settlements in the Mewat tract (south Haryana) due to their production capacities either in textile, iron-products, refined candied sugar, indigo or something else. They played the role of eminent collection and distribution centres in the region due to their location along the frequented routes. These eminent collection and distribution centres in turn were linked to *qasba* settlements which were grain *mandis* (Bawal, Rewari, Dadri, Jha.ijar, Jind, Dhatart, Safedon, Agroha, Ahroni, Atkhera, Jamalpur, Mandhauti, Ghelot, Pataudi, Umra Umri, Ujina, Bandhauri, etc). Thus, these together participated in the commercial activities at various stages (long distance and transit trade).¹⁷

The other category settlements which gained prominence were the pilgrim centres. For instance, Thanesar, Hansi, Panipat remained most significant. However Kaithal, Hissar, Sohana, Pinjore, Jind existed with less significance for the same reason. The surveyed urban settlements also evidenced active social network with the rural settlement of the region.¹⁸ The majority of population remained rural based. The socio-historical inquiry suggests both traditional and nontraditional cultivating castes Jats, Gujars, Ahirs, Meos, etc, and Rajput, Shishkzadas, Malikzadas, Sayyids, Mghans, Khanzadas, Brahmans, etc. respectively.

All these, however, maintained hierarchy in their interrelationships at both occupational and social level. The region evidenced harmonica) relations largely. But the occasional clashes cannot be ruled out. These occasional clashes did not, however, affected the rural-urban relationship adversely and the dynamism continued.¹⁹

Among the non agrarian communities were traders (of large and small establishments), skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled artisans. In the hierarchy, the trading communities finds place in the middle stratum. This includes *baniya*, *mahajan*, *sharoff*, *sahukar* etc. They are found in both settlements. The artisans community formed the lowest group and were largely traceable in the *qasbas* and *shahars*. However their relations from the rural settlements were never segregated completely. The above mentioned social components were more or less permanent in nature. The transitory population in the urban settlements was constituted by the state officials, merchants (foreigners and traders of the other region) *banjaras*, army contingents, etc. They were more urban oriented in their social approach and never stressed for any kind of permanency.²⁰

CONCLUSION

Thus, overall understanding of the Haryana region establishes that it had emerged as economically prosperous zone. The politico- social and economic synthesis generated both horizontal and vertical mobility in economic and social arena in the study period. The urban settlements which emerged and existed between fourteenth and mid eighteenth century got enlarged and many of them acquired status of district headquarters in the present times such as Ambala, Kamal, Panipat, Sonapat, Rohtak, Mohindergarh (former Kanauda), Narnaul, Rewari, Faridabad, Kurukshetra (former Thanesar), Hissar, Sirsa, Jind, etc.

Finally we can observe that rural-urban settlements interaction in the region was of adequate degree. However, the urban settlement could not emerge exclusively with urban characteristics as was the case of the urban settlements of *suba* Gujrat in the medieval period. The reason lies in the Haryana region being an inland region and also inland commerce did not prove very promising as that of coastal commerce. The urban dynamism is evident in a limited manner. Therefore, it can be stated that urban dynamism in Haryana region lied in between.

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लोकदेवता गोगाजी का सांस्कृतिक अवदान (हरियाणा के विशेष संदर्भ में)

डॉ. भंवर सिंह भाटी*

हरियाणा प्रदेश प्राचीन काल से ही धार्मिक और सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से अत्यन्त समृद्ध रहा है। जहाँ पर सिन्धु-सरस्वती सभ्यता स्थल बनावली, सीसवाल, कुणाल, मिर्जापुर, दौलतपुर और भगवानपुरा से मिले पुरावशेषों से विदित होता है कि यह प्रदेश प्राचीन काल से ही कृषि प्रधान और धनधान्य की दृष्टि से समृद्ध था। ऋग्वैदिक व उत्तरवैदिक युगीन ऋषि मुनियों ने दीर्घ काल तक इस ब्रह्मर्षि प्रदेश की मनोरम गोद में बैठकर ज्ञान के प्रकाश पुन्ज के प्रसार – प्रचार हेतु अनेक पांडुलीपियों की रचना की थी।¹ इस प्रदेश को ब्रह्मर्षि प्रदेश के अलावा 'ब्रह्मा की उत्तरवैदी' और मनु की कर्मस्थली के रूप में भी जाना जाता है।² इस प्रदेश पर पूर्व मध्यकाल (10-11 वीं शताब्दी) में तौमर व चैहान वंश ने अपनी सत्तास्थापित की थी। प्राचीन काल से मध्यकाल तक इस प्रदेश के निवासी पश्चिमोत्तर के आक्रांताओं यूनानी, शक, कुषाण, हूण, और तुर्कों के आक्रमणों का जवाब देते रहे, जिससे वे आगे न बढ़ सके। इस चुनौतीपूर्ण युग में दक्षिणी-पश्चिमी हरियाणा के हांसी (हिसार) व उत्तरी राजस्थान राज्य पर गोगाजी चौहान का शासन था,³ जो कालान्तर में लोकदेवता गोगाजी के नाम से विख्यात हुए।

गोगाजी का परिचय

गोगाजी का जन्म वि.सं. 1003 (946 ई.) में भाद्रपद कृष्ण नवमी को वर्तमान

* श्री कृष्ण कुंज, इन्दिरा कॉलोनी, बाड़मेर, राजस्थान।

राजस्थान के चुरू जिले के ददरेवा गांव में राजा जेवर के घर रानी बाछल की कोख से गुरु गोरखनाथ के आशीर्वाद(गुग्गल) से हुआ था।¹ इनके जन्म के बारे में विद्वानों में मतभेद हैं अधिकांश विद्वानों के मत तथा शोध स्रोतों के आधार पर इन्हे गुरु गोरखनाथ एवं महमूद गजनवी (998 ई.-1030 ई.) के समकालीन अर्थात् वि.सं. दसवीं शती (ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी ईस्वी) इनका काल माना जाता है।²

उन्होंने बचपन में घुड़ सवारी, अस्त्र-शस्त्र विद्या एवं युद्ध कला के साथ वेद-उपनिषद और योग शिक्षा सिद्ध पुरुष गुरु गोरखनाथ से प्राप्त की थी। उनका विवाह कोलूमण्ड की राजकुमारी केलमदे के साथ हुआ था। कहीं-कहीं लोक साहित्य में उनकी पत्नी का नाम सुरियल एवं मेनल भी मिलता है।³ उनकी युवावस्था में मुस्लिम हमलावरों से युद्ध करते हुए उनके पिता जेवर वीरगति प्राप्त को हुए तब गोगाजी ददरेवा के शासक बने। गोगाजी का मौसरे भाई अरजन-सरजन से जमीन जायदाद का झगड़ा चल रहा था। उन्होंने गोगाजी के विरुद्ध मुसलमानों की फौज लाकर गोगाजी की गायों को घेर लिया तथा गोगाजी की पत्नी को अपमानित किया। प्रतिरोधस्वरूप गोगाजी ने ददरेवा के उत्तर की ओर खुड्डी नामक गांव के पास एक जोड़ (तालाब के पास छोड़ी हुई भूमि) पर उनसे युद्ध किया था। जिसमें गोगाजी ने मुस्लिम सेना एवं मौसरे भाई अरजन-सरजन को परास्त कर मार डाला।⁴ जहां पर आज भी पत्थर की दो मूर्तियां प्रमाण स्वरूप विद्यमान हैं।

गोगाजी के राज्य में सम्पूर्ण जनता सुखी थी लेकिन अन्य भारत की राजनीतिक दशा शोचनीय थी। लूटेरे महमूद गजनवी ने बार-बार आक्रमण करके भारत को भारी क्षति पहुंचाई थी। भारत में गाय, नारी, निम्न एवं खेतीहर व पशुपालक वर्ग की स्थिति चिंताजनक थी। उनकी प्रतिष्ठा दाव पर थी। तब ददरेवा-हांसी के शासक गोगाजी ने यह सब देखकर स्वधर्म, स्वदेश, नारी, गो एवं निम्न एवं असहाय कृषक वर्ग की रक्षार्थ लूटेरे महमूद गजनवी से युद्ध करना तय किया। 1025 ई. में महमूद गजनवी द्वारा सोमनाथ मंदिर पर आक्रमण के समय गोगामेड़ी (ददरेवा) में गोगाजी ने नीली घोड़ी पर सवार होकर उससे भीषण युद्ध किया।⁵ इस युद्ध में उन्होंने शत्रु को ऐसी मात दी कि उसने पुनः कभी भी भारत पर आक्रमण नहीं किया। इस युद्ध में गोगाजी ने अद्भुत पराक्रम का प्रदर्शन कर

महमूद गजनवी को भारी क्षति पहुंचाई। गोगाजी इस युद्ध में अपने पुत्रों और सेना के साथ (भाद्रपद सुदी नवमी को) वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए। पीछे उनकी पत्नि मेनल सती हुई थी।⁹ गोगा चौहान ने महमूद का आक्रमण रोकने हेतु सतलुज के किनारे अपने सैंतालिस लड़कों समेत जीवन को न्यौछावर किया था। इस युद्ध से पूर्व उन्होंने 11 बार युद्धों में मुस्लिम आक्रांताओं को परास्त किया था।¹⁰ गोगाजी वीर, पराक्रमी, यौद्धा, राष्ट्रभक्त और स्वतंत्रता के पोषक व प्रजावत्सल शासक होने के साथ-साथ गो सेवक भी थे। उनके नगर में 51 गोशालाएं थी जिसमें करीबन 50,000 गोधन था। राज्य की कुल भूमि का 2 प्रतिशत भाग गोधन के चारे हेतु आरक्षित था।¹¹ इस प्रकार उन्होंने गो, ग्राम, नारी के शील और लोकमानस की रक्षार्थ तथा न्याय के लिए अन्याय के विरुद्ध अद्वितीय पराक्रमपूर्वक बाह्य आक्रमणकारी से युद्ध लड़ते हुए वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए। उनके आत्मोत्सर्ग, त्याग, बलिदान से मध्ययुगीन समाज एकजुट होकर मातृभूमि की रक्षार्थ सर्वस्व अर्पित करने हेतु प्रेरित हुआ। देश में पश्चिमोत्तर आक्रांता से मातृभूमि की रक्षार्थ आत्मोत्सर्ग करके राष्ट्रीय लोकदेवता के रूप में विख्यात होने वाले वे प्रथम महापुरुष थे। उन्होंने जाति-धर्म, ऊंच-नीच इत्यादी तमाम पूर्वाग्रहों से ऊपर उठकर सर्वसमाज की रक्षार्थ बलिदान दिया था जिसके फलस्वरूप यहां के लोकमानस में लोकदेवता के रूप में विख्यात हुए। प्रत्यक्ष को प्रमाण की आवश्यकता नहीं होती हैं, इतिहास कभी मिटाये मिटता नहीं हैं। आज भी सैकड़ों वर्षों उपरांत उनके प्रतिक - मंदिरों, मेलों और देवस्थानों पर आयोजित होने वाले धार्मिक मेलों में बिना किसी भेदभाव के सभी समुदायों के लोग तमाम पूर्वाग्रहों से ऊपर उठकर अपनी अपनी आस्था प्रकट करते हैं।

गोगाजी का सर्पों से सम्बन्ध

गोगाजी से सम्बन्धित विभिन्न हस्तलिखित एवं प्रकाशित ग्रंथों एवं काष्ठ व पाषाणोत्कीर्ण सर्पयुक्त मुर्तियों से एवं जन आस्था के आधार पर ज्ञात हुआ है कि गोगाजी का बाल्यकाल से ही सर्पों से अटूट सम्बन्ध था। यथा:

हिमाचल एवं हरियाणवी लोककथानुसार राजा जेवर की रानियां बाछल एवं काछल के दीर्घकाल तक संतान नहीं हुई। बाछल ने गुरु गोरखनाथ की सेवा प्रारम्भ की। गुरु गोरखनाथ ने उनकी सेवा से प्रसन्न होकर गूगल दिया एवं पुत्र होने

का आशीर्वाद दिया। कुछ समय पश्चात बाछल गर्भवती हो गई। प्रसन्नतापूर्वक आराध्य के रूप में गुरु गोरखनाथ की सेवा करने लगी। बाछल की ननंद को जब पता चला कि वह किसी गुरु से मिलने जाती हैं तो उसने अपने भाई से शिकायत की तब राजा जेवर अप्रसन्न हुए और उन्होंने बाछल को बैलगाड़ी से मायके भेज दिया। रास्ते में एक सर्प बैल को डस लेता है। इस विपदा में गर्भ में रहते हुए गोगाजी अपनी मां को स्मरण करवाते हैं कि आप वापस दत्तखेड़ा (ददरेवा) लौटे मेरा जन्म वहीं होगा। बैल को तुम मेरे नाम की राखड़ी बांधो, वह ठीक हो जायेगा, तब वे बैल के गोगाराखड़ी बांधते हैं तथा बैल ठीक हो जाता है वह ददरेवा लौटती हैं और गोगाजी का जन्म होता है। गूगल के खाने से इनका जन्म हुआ था इसलिए इनका नाम गोगा या गुग्गा रखा था।¹²

बाल्यावस्था में गोगाजी पालने में सोते थे तब सर्प उन पर फन फैला कर बैठ जाता था। इसे देखकर माता-पिता ने जब सर्प को दूर करने का प्रयास किया तो गोगाजी ने कहा कि यह तो मेरा साथी है इसे मेरे साथ खेलने दो।¹³

राजस्थानी लोकगाथानुसार गोगाजी द्वारा पाबूजी से शर्त में जीतने पर भी पाबूजी की भतीजी केलमदे का विवाह गोगाजी के साथ न करने एवं पाबूजी के भाई बूढ़ाजी द्वारा आयु में अधिक अन्तर होने का बहाना करने पर गोगाजी क्रोधित होते हैं। धर्म बहिन नागिन को कहकर वे केलमदे को डसवा देते हैं। किसी वैद्य से केलमदे ठीक नहीं होती हैं अन्त में गोगाजी का स्मरण करने पर वह ठीक हो जाती है और उसका विवाह गोगाजी से कर देते हैं।¹⁴ तब से सर्प रक्षक देवता एवं सिद्ध के रूप में उनकी ख्याति बढ़ गई।

महमूद गजनवी ने सोमनाथ को लूटने के लिए जाने हेतु गोगाजी से उनके राज्य से गुजरने का रास्ता मांगा था। तब गोगाजी ने उसको कड़ा जवाब दिया। सोमनाथ आक्रमण के दौरान गोगाजी ने अद्भुत पराक्रम के साथ गजनवी से युद्ध किया था। इस युद्ध में गोगाजी की सोमनाथ (शिव) के प्रति अन्यन आस्था एवं रणभूमि में अद्भुत चपलता (सर्प की तरह) से प्रभावित होकर महमूद गजनवी ने उन्हें जाहरपीर (साक्षात् सर्पदेवता) बताया था। तब से उन्हें सर्पदेवता के रूप में जाना जाता है।¹⁵

किंवदन्ती है कि ब्राह्मण अपनी गायें मेड़ी के जंगल में चराया कराता था।

उनमें एक गाय को गोगाजी चौहान नाग का रूप धरकर चूंग जाता था। जब ब्राह्मण ने एक दिन यह सब देखा और उस नाग के समक्ष इस रहस्य बाबत प्रश्न किया। तो नाग ने कहा कि मैं गोगा चौहान हूँ, तू मेरी यहां पूजा किया कर। तब से वहां गोगाजी की सर्पदेवता के रूप में पूजा की जाने लगी।¹⁶

यह लोककथा भी प्रसिद्ध है कि जब गोगाजी ने युद्ध में मौसरे भाईयों अरजन-सरजन को तलवार के घाट उतार दिया तब उनकी माता ने रुष्ट होकर गोगाजी को मुंह न दिखाने को कहा तब गोगाजी अपने गुरु गोरखनाथ के पास गये। गोरखनाथ ने कहा कि तुम अपना घोड़ा घुमाओ। घोड़े से बारह कोस का चक्कर लगाने पर धरती फट गई और उसमें गोगाजी घोड़े सहित समा गए।¹⁷ गोगाजी की समाधि से एक कोस पर एक गोरख टीला स्थित हैं। सापों का सम्बन्ध शिव भक्त गोरखनाथ से था अतएव बाद में वही सम्बन्ध गोगाजी से हो गया। इसका प्रमाण हमें राजस्थान व हरियाणा में जगह-जगह स्थित गोगाजी की मेड़ी एवं गोरखधुणों की समीपता से मिलता है।

गोगाजी के शासनकाल में इस क्षेत्र में नाग जाति का भी प्रभाव था। वीर गोगाजी जब पीर के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हो गये तब उनके जीवन चरित्र के साथ नागों के लोक पाखण्ड को भी सम्बन्धित कर दिया गया। जो आगे चलकर वे सर्पों के देवता के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हो गये और कई कथानक रुढ़ियां उनकी कथा में जोड़ दी गई। इस प्रकार गोगाजी और नागों के परस्पर सम्बन्ध का जो मूल रूप था वह धीरे-धीरे परिवर्तित हो गया और नाग जाति का स्थान सर्पों ने ले लिया। महाभारत के आदि पर्व में जिस सर्पयज्ञ का वर्णन है वह भी वास्तव में नाग जाति और आर्यों के संघर्ष की कहानी पर आगे चलकर नाग जाति का स्थान सर्प ले लेते हैं और तक्षक आदि को सांप के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जाता है¹⁸ गोगाजी से सर्प का सम्बन्ध भी इसी प्रकार का हो सकता है।

तत्कालीन युग में नाग जाति प्रभावशाली थी गोगाजी और गुरु गोरखनाथ का अटूट सम्बन्ध था गोरखनाथ नाथ एवं शैव सम्प्रदाय से सम्बन्धित थे और भगवान शिव के अनन्य भक्त थे। शैव धर्म में सर्प का अहम् स्थान है। गोगाजी वीर, पराक्रमी एवं सत्यधर्म रक्षक थे उनके बलिदान के फलस्वरूप लोकमानस ने सर्पों के देवता अर्थात् समस्त प्राणियों का शत्रु सांप जिससे रक्षा करने वाले

लोकदेवता स्वीकार कर लिया। जनमानस ने कोबरा सांप का नाम भी 'गोगाजी' दे दिया। उसे गोगाजी का प्रतिक मानकर पूजा प्रारम्भ कर दी। मध्ययुगीन प्रदेश में अत्याधुनिक औषधियों एवं चिकित्सा सेवाओं का अभाव था। वहीं थार के रेगिस्तान, हरियाणा, हिमाचल, गुजरात, पंजाब क्षेत्र में सर्प बहुतायात में थे। कृषक एवं जन सामान्य में सर्प दंश का हर समय भय रहता था। कालान्तर में सर्पदंश की समस्या के निदान में गोगाजी का स्मरण करने एवं 'गोगाराखड़ी' बांधने पर सर्पदंशितों को स्वास्थ्य लाभ हुआ। इससे गोगाजी सर्पों के देवता के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हो गये। एक गुजराती ग्रंथ 'श्रावक व्रतादि अतिचार' वि.सं. 1460 (1403 ई.) तथा रणकपुर शिलालेख वि.सं. 1496 (1439 ई.) के अनुसार उस समय गोगाजी लोकदेवता के रूप में पूज्य थे तथा ब्रह्म, विष्णु, महेश तुल्य माने जाते थे।¹⁹

गोगाजी का सांस्कृतिक अवदान

हरियाणा के प्रमुख त्योहार और उत्सवों में गणगौर, बैशाखी, सूरजकुण्ड और कार्तिक मेला के साथ-साथ गोगाजी की स्मृति में उनके नाम से प्रचलित त्योहार 'गुग्गानौमी' (भाद्रपद कृष्ण / शुक्ल नवमी) बड़ी धूमधाम से मनाया जाता है। गोगाजी के मुख्य मंदिर ददरेवा (राजगढ़, चुरू) स्थित शीश मेड़ी एवं धुरमेड़ी-गोगामेड़ी (नोहर, हनुमानगढ़) सहित हरियाणा में नंगथला (हिसार), गुभाना (बहादुरगढ़), बवाना, फिरोजपुर झिरका, में गोगानवमी के दिन विशाल धार्मिक मेले लगते हैं।²⁰ भाद्रपद कृष्ण 'गोगानवम' त्योहार कृष्ण जन्माष्टमी की भांति गोगाजी के जन्मोत्सव के रूप में मनाया जाता है। इस दिन सम्पूर्ण पश्चिमोत्तर भारत में विशेषतः राजस्थान और हरियाणा में मातृभूमि एवं गोरक्षार्थ प्राणोत्सर्ग करने वाले वीर गोगाजी की अश्वारोही भालाधारी यौद्धा के रूप में और सर्प के प्रतीक रूप में पूजा की जाती है। यहां ग्रामीण अंचल में लोकमानस की अथाह आस्था एवं विश्वास के प्रतिरूप गोगाजी के देवस्थान, मंदिर, देवल एवं थान मुख्यतः खेजड़ी के वृक्ष के पास मिलते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में एक कहावत प्रसिद्ध है कि 'गांव गांव खेजड़ी नै गांव गांव गोगो'।²¹ इस अवसर पर हरियाणा प्रदेश में गोगाजी के मंदिरों, गोगामेड़ी एवं गोरखधुणों पर श्रद्धालुओं की भीड़ लगी रहती है। हजारों की तादाद में श्रद्धालु गोगाजी के देवस्थलों पर मत्था टेककर मन्नत

मांगते हैं। यह मेले प्रतिवर्ष श्रावण पूर्णिमा से भाद्रपद पूर्णिमा तक चलते हैं। जिसमें हरियाणा सहित विभिन्न स्थानों के हजारों भक्तजन दूर-दूर स्थानों से पैदल चलकर ऊंचे-ऊंचे निसान लेकर बड़े उत्साह पूर्वक ढोल, डेरू, मृदंग, मंजिरा के साथ भजनों की सरिता बहाते हुए नृत्य के साथ जयकारे लगाते हुए गोगामेड़ी पहुंचते हैं। गोगानवमी को गांव-गांव में इनके देवस्थानों पर दूध, खीर, लापसी, चूरमा, नारियल आदि प्रसाद चढ़ाया जाता है।

गोगानवमी की रात्रि को हरियाणा में गोगामेड़ी एवं गोरखधूणों पर भजनसंध्या व रात्रि जागरणों का आयोजन होता है। जहां पर गोगा जी के गीत²² 'गोगाजी रो ब्यावड़लो'²³ 'गोगाजी रा रसावला'²⁴ 'गोगाजी रा छन्द'²⁵ आदि लोक गीत व लोकभजन बड़े चाव से गाये जाते हैं। इस धार्मिक मेले में गोगाजी के जयकारों के साथ गोगाजी तथा गुरु गोरखनाथ के प्रति भक्ति की अविरल धारा बहती है।

गोगामेड़ी पर मत्था टेककर भक्तजन छड़ियों की विशेष पूजा करते हैं। इनकी छड़ी का विशेष महत्व होता है जो लोहे की सांकले मुठायुक्त होती है। जो गोगाजी की मेड़ी या धूणा में आवश्यक है अन्यथा गोगाजी और उनके वीर हाजिर नहीं होते हैं। ठीक इसी प्रकार गोगामेड़ी या गोरखधूणा पर चिमटा होना भी गुरु गोरखनाथ सहित नौ नाथों की उपस्थिति का संकेत माना जाता है। लोकविश्वास है कि जाहिर वीर के वीर इस छड़ी में निवास करते हैं। जिस पर वीर नाहरसिंह व वीर सांवलसिंह आदि का पहरा रहता है। छड़ी को सुख समृद्धि का प्रतिक समझकर अक्सर घर में भगवे या लाल वस्त्र में लपेटकर रखी जाती है और उसकी पूजा की जाती है। सावन-भादो के महीने में श्रद्धालु जब गोगामेड़ी जाते हैं तो छड़ी भी साथ ले जाते हैं और गोरख गंगा में स्नान करवाकर बाबा की समाधि से छुआकर वापस घर लाते हैं।²⁶ गोगाजी के लोकसाहित्य²⁷ एवं लोकगीतों में माता का स्नेह, पुत्र बिछोह, पत्नि की करुणा एवं विरह वेदना तथा उनके पराक्रम एवं वीरतायुक्त छंदों को सुनकर जनमानस अभिभूत हो उठता है। यथा -

कहां चला गोगा मेरे लाल आजा-आजा घर आजा।
माता बाछल बुलावे।
अपनी मां से बेटा तू क्यों रूठ कै जावै।
आजा आजा तेरी मां पुकारे।

सुन मेरे लाल माता कुमाता न होती ।
 तेरे लिए बेटा मेरी ममता रोती ।
 क्षमा कर अब भूल हमारी ।
 रो-रो के धुमिल हुई नैनों की ज्योति ।
 आजा रे बेटा तेरी माता बुलावै है ।
 किसके सहारे छोड़ के जा रहा है ।
 आजा रे गोगा बेटा तेरी माता बाछल बुलावै है..... ।

हरियाणवी में गोगाजी के चमत्कारों का उल्लेख भी लोकभजनों में हुआ है यथा
 घोड़े सहित गोगा धरती में है समाये ।
 मेड़ी पर भक्तों को गोगाजी चमत्कार दिखाये.....¹²⁸

एक हरियाणवी लोकभजन में भक्त गोगाजी को ओलुमा देता हुआ गाता है -
 गुग्गा बाबा तूं बणा दूज का चांद, निजर कदै ना आवे... ।

वहीं जब भक्तजनों की मन्नत पूरी होने पर गोगाजी के प्रति अनन्य भक्ति भाव प्रकट करते हैं यथा -

अरे बाबा तेरे नाम का सहारा हो गया ।
 जाहर बाबा दास मैं तुम्हारा हो गया..... ।

इन्हें आशापूर्वक और मंगलकारी लोकदेवता माना जाता है। नौ गाठों वाली गोगाजी की राखी 'गोगा राखड़ी' हल चलाना आरम्भ करने से पूर्व सुकाल एवं स्वास्थ्य की कामना के साथ हाली एवं पशु के बांधता था तथा हाली द्वारा बारबार रटा जाता है 'हली बाळदी गोगो रखवालो'।¹²⁹ लोगों में धारणा भी व्याप्त है कि गोगाजी की पूजा करने वालों को सांप नहीं डसता ।

साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना के प्रणेता

फिरोज तुगलक ने गोगाजी के वंशज मोटेराव के समय ददरेवा पर आक्रमण कर मोटेराव के तीन पुत्रों को मुसलमान बना दिया था परन्तु चैथा पुत्र जगमाल हिन्दू रहा । बड़ा पुत्र करमचन्द था जिसका नाम कयाम खां रखा गया । करम चन्द के वंशज कायमखानी मुसलमान कहलाए।¹³⁰ कालान्तर में ददरेवा, शेखावटी, हांसी पर इन्होंने अपना अधिकार कर लिया । इन्ही के वंशजों द्वारा गोगाजी को 'पीर'

कहा जाने लगा। यह नाम तत्कालीन समय में लोकप्रिय हुआ जो वर्तमान में जाहरपीर के नाम से सुप्रसिद्ध हैं। लोकविश्वास है कि गोगाजी को 'जाहर पीर' कहकर पूजने से सर्पदंश का विष प्रभावहीन हो जाता है। गोगाजी के प्रसिद्ध मंदिर गोगामेड़ी की आकृति मकबरानुमा हैं, जिसके मुख्य दरवाजे पर 'बिस्मिल्ला' अंकित हैं। जहां एक हिन्दू व एक मुस्लिम पुजारी सेवा करते हैं। यहां पर प्रति वर्ष लाखों श्रद्धालू हिन्दू गोगाजी को अपना लोकदेवता एवं जाहरवीर मानकर पूजा करते हैं तो मुस्लिम उन्हें अपना गोगापीर या जाहरपीर मानकर आराधना करते हैं।¹ इस प्रकार सदियों से गोगाजी का धार्मिक मेला साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना का अनूठा आयाम स्थापित करता है।

गोगाजी अपने देश और धर्म की रक्षार्थ विदेशी आक्रान्ता से युद्ध लड़ते हुए वीरगति को प्राप्त हुए थे। जिन्होंने लोकजीवन पर अपने चरित्र की अमिट छाप छोड़ी। उनका ऐतिहासिक कृतित्व भारतीय संस्कृति के संवर्धन में तथा भावी पीढ़ियों को स्वदेश, स्वधर्म की रक्षार्थ त्याग और बलिदान देकर राष्ट्रोत्थान के लिए प्रेरित करता रहा है। साथ ही उनका कृतित्व नागरिकों के जीवन निर्माण और आदर्श समाज के निर्माण में भी उपादेय सिद्ध होगा। गोगाजी के मंदिर-मेले, लोकसाहित्य, लोकगीत, लोकभजन इत्यादि का समाज में सामाजिक समरसता, उत्साह और सांस्कृतिक समन्वय, साम्प्रदायिक सद्भावना, राष्ट्रीय एकता, भाईचारे की भावना, नारी सम्मान, गोरक्षा और पर्यावरण संरक्षण की स्थापना में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है।

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19वीं शती में (हरियाणा) पंजाब एवं चुरूमण्डल के व्यापारिक सम्बन्ध (पोतेदार संग्रह के विशेष सन्दर्भ में)

प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास*

सर्वप्रथम मैं हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस की कार्यकारणी के पदाधिकारियों एवं अन्य सदस्यों का आभार व्यक्त करता हूँ कि जिन्होंने इस प्रतिष्ठित अकादमिक संगठन के दूसरे अधिवेशन में आधुनिक इतिहास के सत्र में अध्यक्ष के रूप में आमंत्रित कर मुझे यह सम्मान दिया। अनेक प्रतिष्ठित एवं सुविख्यात इतिहासकारों की भागीदारी से हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस की प्रतिष्ठा एवं दर्जे में निरन्तर बढ़ोतरी हुई है, लेकिन अपनी सीमाओं में पूर्णतः परिचित होने से इस तथ्य को खुले तौर पर स्वीकारता हूँ कि सम्भवतः मैं इस सम्मान का हकदार नहीं हूँ। हरियाणा इतिहास कांग्रेस के पदाधिकारियों से मेरा सम्बन्ध अत्यन्त घनिष्ठ एवं मजबूत रहा है। इन्होंने हरियाणा के इतिहास के वस्तुपरक एवं वैज्ञानिक लेखन को सदैव प्रोत्साहित किया है।

I

हरियाणा उत्तर भारत का एक प्रमुख राज्य है जिसकी सीमाएँ दक्षिण एवं पश्चिम में राजस्थान से जुड़ी हुई हैं। यह क्षेत्र भारत में आर्यों के प्रारम्भिक दौर में बसने (लगभग 1500 ई.पू.) का क्षेत्र रहा है। यह महाभारत की पौराणिक कथाओं से जुड़ा है। इसका वर्णन भगवद्गीता के पहले श्लोक में मिलता है। थानेश्वर नगर राजा हर्ष की राजधानी (606-647) था, सन् 1011 ई. में इसे महमूद गजनवी ने

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तहस-नहस कर दिया। हरियाणा प्रान्त के प्रमुख जिले हिसार, रोहतक, पानीपत, कुरुक्षेत्र, गुड़गांव, अम्बाला, जींद इत्यादि क्षेत्र पर तीसरी शदी ई.पू. में मौर्य साम्राज्य, 13वीं शती में तुगलक वंश का, 16वीं शती में मुगल साम्राज्य का तथा 19वीं शती में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य का भाग रहा। ब्रिटिश भारत में हरियाणा पंजाब राज्य का अंग था जिसे भाषायी आधार पर पूर्वी पंजाब से 1966 में भारत के 17वें राज्य के रूप में पहचान मिली। हरियाणा का अर्थ 'भगवान का निवास' होता है जो संस्कृत शब्द हरि (हिन्दू देवता विष्णु) और अयण (निवास) से मिलकर बना है। शब्द हरियाणा सर्वप्रथम 12वीं शती में अपभ्रंश लेखक विबुध-श्रीधर (वि.स. 1189-1230) ने उल्लिखित किया था।¹

मुगल साम्राज्य का पतन और विशृंखलन औरंगजेब की मृत्यु के साथ ही प्रारम्भ हो गया। नादिरशाह के आक्रमण के फलस्वरूप जहां राजस्थान के सभी राज्य वस्तुतः स्वतंत्र हो गये वहां पंजाब के साथ ही अन्य उत्तर पश्चिमी भागों का राजनीतिक संबंध तो अवश्य ही दिल्ली से अविच्छिन्न हो गया था। पानीपत के तीसरे युद्ध में हुई मराठों की निर्णायक पराजय के बाद तो मुगल राजधानी दिल्ली के साथ उत्तर भारतीय राजनीति अथवा वहा की समस्त हलचलों के साथ इस उत्तर पश्चिमी क्षेत्र के रहे-सहे सम्पर्क भी समाप्त हो गए। वहां पर अफगानों का आधिपत्य हो जाने के कारण सिखों का विद्रोह उग्र हो गया था, तथा उनके सेनानायक अलग अलग जमींदारियों अथवा राज्यों की स्थापना करने लगे थे। इस प्रकार पंजाब और उससे लगे हुए प्रदेशों में अराजकता फैल गई थी। उधर भारत के समुद्र तटीय व्यापार केन्द्रों में यूरोपीय व्यापारियों द्वारा अपनी कोठियां स्थापित कर लेने के फलस्वरूप भारत के समुद्री व्यापार मार्ग दिनों दिन अधिकाधिक व्यवहाहत होने लगा। परिणामस्वरूप यूरोपीय अथवा पश्चिमी एशियाई देशों का व्यापारिक माल स्थल मार्गों से भारत आना बंद सा हो गया।

मध्यकाल एवं आधुनिक युग में यहां पर तीन प्रसिद्ध युद्ध भी हुए हैं। प्रथम सन् 1526 में बाबर ने भारत की तत्कालीन शाही सेना को हराया। द्वितीय युद्ध में सन् 1556 में अकबर ने उसी स्थल पर अफगान आदिलशाह के जनरल हेमू को परास्त किया। तीसरे युद्ध में सन् 1761 में अहमदशाह दुर्रानी ने मराठों को हराया था। 1857 के विप्लव के समय राजस्थान की विभिन्न रियासतों यथा

बीकानेर, जोधपुर एवं मेवाड़ ने हरियाणा के हिसार, सिरसा, रोहतक आदि ने भाग लिया एवं इसके बाद भी आंदोलनों का सफल संचालन कर भारतीय स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में योगदान दिया।

II

चुरू मण्डल को भारत की प्राचीनतम सभ्यता और संस्कृति से सम्बद्ध होने का गौरव प्राप्त है। ऐसी मान्यता है कि अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल में दृषद्वती और सरस्वती नदियां इस क्षेत्र के बहुत निकट से होकर बहती थी। चुरू मण्डल से सम्बद्ध गंगानगर वे कुछ स्थानों (कालीबंगा) में जो खनन कार्य हुआ है उससे भी यहां की प्राचीन सभ्यता के संबंध में महत्वपूर्ण संकेत प्राप्त हुए हैं।¹ चुरू की भौगोलिक स्थिति ने यहां के इतिहास को परोक्ष एवं अपरोक्ष रूप से प्रभावित किया। विषम भागौलिक परिस्थितियों के कारण यह क्षेत्र विदेशी आक्रमणकारियों द्वारा अपेक्षाकृत कम आक्रान्त हुआ। अपनी दुर्गम भौगोलिक स्थिति के कारण यौधेय, मालव जैसी वीर जातियों, जाट जाति को अपने विस्तृत आंचल में स्थान दिया एवं 'रणबका' का विरुद्ध धारण करने वाले राठौड़ों को अपने यहां आश्रय प्रदान किया।

18वीं एवं 19वीं शती में यह क्षेत्र मराठों एवं पिंडारियों के आक्रमणों से बच सका। वि.स. 1850 में चुरू पर जब दक्षिणियों का घेरा पड़ा तो पानी की कमी ने ही यहां से घेरा उठा कर भागने के लिये विवश होना पड़ा। 1818 ई. में ब्रिगेडियर अर्नाल्ड को पानी की कमी के कारण ही यहां से अपनी घुड़सवार सेना के साथ शीघ्र लौट जाना पड़ा था। सिखों से बादशाह फर्रुखसियर के अत्याचारों से बचने के लिये पंजाब से निकल कर गंगानगर के क्षेत्र में आ पहुंचे।²

चुरू मण्डल की भूमि कम उपजाऊ है, जल की कमी है अतः जीविका कमाना बड़ा कठिन है। अतः चुरू के लोगों ने व्यापार एवं वाणिज्य को अपना प्रमुख व्यवसाय बनाया। यहां के व्यापारियों ने सफल व्यापार के लिए किफायतीशारी और रस-कस बिठाने की प्रवृत्ति डाली जो उनके व्यापार के लिये अनिवार्य था।³ अपने उद्योग और व्यापार के प्रसार हेतु यहां के उद्योग कुशल व्यापारी देश के सभी भागों में पहुंचे। उत्तर पश्चिमी सूबों में देखने पर हम पाते हैं कि फर्रुखाबाद जिले में 'चुरू वाली' कही जाने वाली बोली बोलने वालों का उल्लेख हुआ है।⁴

स्पष्ट है कि फर्रुखाबाद में चुरू के व्यापारी बड़ी संख्या में रहे होंगे। चुरू के चतुर्भुज पोद्दार व्यापार के लिये पंजाब गये। भटिण्डा में उन्होंने अपना व्यापारिक कारोबार प्रारम्भ किया। इनके छोटे पुत्र ताराचंद व उसके वंशज 'सत पीढ़िया शाह' कहलाये। चतुर्भुज के पौत्र मिर्जामल ने व्यापार एवं बैंकिंग में बड़ी ख्याति प्राप्त की। कहा जाता है कि पंजाब के महाराजा रणजीत सिंह के बैंकर थे।^१

19वीं शती में यातायात के साधन सुलभ नहीं थे साथ ही मार्ग में खान-पान की सुविधा का अभाव था। चोर, डाकुओं, ठगों एवं जंगली जानवरों इत्यादि का भय निरन्तर बना ही रहता था। घर वालों को आने जाने की कोई खबर नहीं पहुंचती थी, फिर भी चुरू के व्यापारी साहस के साथ बाहर निकले एवं सम्पूर्ण देश में छा गये।

III

आधुनिक भारत के आर्थिक इतिहास को प्रकाश में लाने के लिये राष्ट्रीय एवं राजकीय अभिलेखागारों में उपलब्ध सामग्री का उपयोग होने लगा है। परन्तु इस प्रायोजन को बहुत सी सामग्री राजस्थान के व्यापारिक घरानों में उपलब्ध है। इस उपयोगी सामग्री की ओर अब तक अधिक ध्यान नहीं गया। ऐसे निजी संग्रहों में चुरू के पोतेदार संग्रह की गणना प्रमुखता से की जा सकती है। अपने व्यापार वाणिज्य विस्तार हेतु 18वीं शताब्दी में चुरू के पोतेदार राजस्थान के बाहर जाकर सफलताएं प्राप्त की। कालान्तर में इस घराने के कुशल व्यापारियों ने अपने व्यापार को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर तक पहचान भी बनाई।

चुरू के पोतेदार संग्रह की सामग्री से व्यापारिक दुकानें एवं गदियां राजकीय पत्राचार, लेनदेन के तरीके, ऋणों के भुगतान, ब्याज, बैंकिंग प्रणाली एवं हुण्डी, आढ़त, दलाली, विभिन्न प्रकार कर, सौदा, राहदारी, वेतन, मजदूरी, जिनसों के भाव, व्यापारिक मार्ग, साधन उत्पादि के संबंध में जानकारी प्राप्त होती है।^१

पोतेदार संग्रह के कागजात आधुनिक राजस्थान एवं हरियाणा (पंजाब) के आर्थिक इतिहास के लिये महत्वपूर्ण है। ये कागजात चुरू के पोतेदार सेठ मिर्जामल से सम्बन्धित है। वस्तुतः 'पोतेदार' फारसी शब्द 'फोतेदार' का हिन्दी रूपान्तरण है जिसका अर्थ खजांची अथवा कोषाध्यक्ष होता है। ये लोग बंसल (बांसल) गोत्रीय अग्रवाल वैश्य हैं। वर्तमान में पोतेदार के स्थान पर 'पोद्दार'

शब्द प्रचलित हो गया और अब ये इसी नाम से जाने जाते हैं। प्रारम्भ में ये लोग फतहपुर में रहते थे। फतहपुर के कायमखानी नवाबों के शासन काल में उन्होंने 'फोताखाना' (कोष) का कार्य सम्भाला जिससे ये फोतेदार कहलाया जाने लगा। कालान्तर में फतहपुर में पारस्परिक वैमनस्य एवं गृह कलह के वातावरण अनेक परिवारिक विस्थापित होकर चुरू आकर बस गये। पोतेदार परिवार इसी संदर्भ में चुरू आकर बस गया। पोतेदार मिर्जामल पंजाब के सुविख्यात महाराजा रणजीतसिंह के दरबार के सम्मानित साहूकार थे। एक विशेष भेंट पर महाराजा ने मिर्जामल को मोतियों का एक कण्ठा भी उपहार स्वरूप प्रदान किया था। महाराजा रणजीत सिंह के अतिरिक्त पटियाला, नाभा, जींद, कपूरथला एवं नहान (हिमाचल प्रदेश) के राजाओं के साथ मिर्जामल के आर्थिक संपर्क थे तथा लाहौर, अम्बाला, अमृतसर, पटियाला, नामी, शिमला, भिवानी और रोहतक आदि में उनकी व्यापारिक कोठियां व दुकानें थी।

गुमाशतों की नियुक्ति

पोदारों का वाणिज्य-व्यापार बड़ा विस्तृत था। कश्मीर से लगाकर मध्यप्रदेश तक एवं मुलतान से लगाकर बंगाल तक विस्तृत क्षेत्र में इनके व्यापारिक प्रतिष्ठान स्थित थे। पोदारों को बहियों एवं अन्य सरकारी एवं निजी कागजों से विभिन्न स्थानों में गुमाशतों अथवा मुनीम होने के प्रमाण प्राप्त होते हैं। गुमाशतों की नियुक्ति एवं रोजगार के सम्बन्ध में बही क्र. एस. 37 एवं एस. 291 से महत्वपूर्ण सूचनाएं प्राप्त होती हैं। मुनीम गुमाशतों का रोजगार सदैव वार्षिक होता था। उक्त बहियों से यह रोजगार न्यूनतम 51/- रुपये लगाकर 351/- रुपये वार्षिक तक की जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। इन बहियों से यह भी स्पष्ट होता है कि नकद वेतन के अतिरिक्त भोजन, वस्त्र, मार्गव्यय, आवास एवं अन्य फुटकर व्यय भी सेठों की ओर से दिये जाने थे।^१ वही क्र. एस. 37 में मुनीम गुमाशतों की नियुक्ति एवं वार्षिक रोजगार से सम्बन्धित प्रविष्टियां उद्धृत की जा रही हैं:

- 1 दानतरा व पोदार नै जलंधर भेज्या साल रिपिया 81/- अक्षरे इकासी
- 1 सोजीराम मुजणैवाले ने पटियाला भेजों, साल रिपिया 95/- अक्षरे पिचाणू 1 लालचंद मींतरी नै फरूखाबाद भेजा साल रा रू 71/- अक्षरे इकैतर
- 1 तुगनराम नै रोटग (रोहतक) भेजो। साल रिपिया 81/- अखरे इकासी

1 बकसीराम सराफ नै अमरसर भेजो। साल रा रिपिया 125/- अखरे सवासौ 1 सोजीराम मींतरी नै पटियालै भेजो। साल रा रिपिया 85/- अखरे पिचासी 1 मगनीराम सैकसरियै नै फराकाबाद भेजो। साल रा रिपिया 131/- अखरे रिपिया एक सौ इकतीस ठैरा लेई।

1 पीरामल हिसारिये ने कपूरथला तथा अमरसर भेजो, साल रा रिपिया 135/- अखरे एक सौ पैंतीस

1 फकीर चन्द चौधरी ने बागपत भेजो, साल रा रू 60/-अखरे साठ की ठैराय लेई।

एक स्थान पर कितने मुनीम काम करते थे, इसका कोई स्पष्ट संकेत नहीं मिलता। सम्भवतः एक छोटे स्थान पर एक और बड़े स्थान पर एक से अधिक मुनीम रहते थे। इसका आभास संवत् 1883 के एक वर्ष में 51/-75/ और 78/- रुपये रोजगार वाले 3 मुनीम भेजे गये। मुनीम-गुमाशतों का स्थानान्तरण बहुत जल्दी नहीं होता था। स्थानान्तरण प्रायः कुछ तरक्की के साथ ही होता था। उलासीराम पोद्दार की नियुक्ति वि.स. 1890 में 101/- रुपये वार्षिक पर जगाधरी फिर 111/- पर अमृतसर एवं फिर 131/- रुपये वार्षिक रोजगार पर फरूखाबाद भेजा गया। परन्तु कभी-कभी बिना कोई तरक्की दिये भी स्थानान्तरण कर दिया जाता था। टेकचन्द सांवलका को संवत् 1883 में 77/- रुपये वार्षिक पर जगरावां भेजा गया और फिर संवत् 1887 में उसे इसी रोजगार पर लाहौर स्थानान्तरित कर दिया गया।^१

गुमाशतों के रोजगार का जमा खर्च प्रायः कई कई वर्ष के बाद किया जाता था। परन्तु इस अवधि में वे आवश्यकतानुसार कुछ रुपया अपने रोजगार के पेटे अपने नाम लिखकर दुकान से उठा लेते थे। यदि किसी की नौकरी बीच में छूट जाती थी तो उसका हिसाब पहले ही कर दिया जाता था। पोद्दार संग्रह बी न. वी 19 में कई गुमाशतों के रोजगार के जमा खर्च है।

गुमाशतों को दिये जाने वाले नकद वार्षिक रोजगार के अतिरिक्त उनके भोजन, वस्त्र, आवास, मार्ग व्यय आदि की व्यवस्था भी सेठों की ओर से की जाती थी। यथा भिवानी की दुकान में गुमाश्ता रामधन के हस्ते रुपये 314।।/- रसोई खर्च के लगे है एवं रु. 86/- का कपड़ा रामधन ने करवाया है। इसके अतिरिक्त रु. 15/- की कानों में पहनने के लिये एक जोड़ी बिरबली की एवं 11/

- की रामनामी जो रामधन के पास थी वह भी उसे ही दे दी गयी (पत्र 511)।

जिस किसी गुमाश्ते को सेठों की ओर से नियुक्त करके जिस दुकान या गद्दी पर भेजा जाता है, वह सेठों की ओर से वहां का पूरा प्रतिनिधित्व करता था। समय समय पर सेठों की ओर से उसके पास आवश्यक हिदायतें आती रहती थी और वे लोग भी अपने यहां की समस्त स्थिति से उनको अवगत कराते रहते थे। दुकान की साख जमाने के लिए एवं फर्म के हित में निष्ठापूर्वक काम करना गुमाश्ते का कर्तव्य होता था। मंडियों एवं बाजारों में आने वाले उतार चढ़ाव को ध्यान में रखते हुए पड़ता सारू माल मंगवाने, बेचने, आयात होने वाले माल को सम्भाल पर रखवाने, वही जमा करने, बाहर आने वाले माल को सावधानी पूर्वक बंधवा पर लदवाने, बीजक बनाने, जकात या अन्य कर चुकाने आदि का प्रत्येक कार्य गुमाश्ते द्वारा सम्पन्न किये जाते थे।

रुपये-पैसे के लेन देन ऋण के रुपये उगाहने, फसल के समय अनाज आदि के कोठे भरने व यथा समय बेचने, अग्रिम सौदे करने, हुंडी चिट्ठी करने या सिकरने जोखिम लेने-बेचने, समस्त प्रकार के लेन देन के ब्यौरे लिखने, माल व जोखिम की नोंध तैयार करने तलपठ बनाने, आढ़तियों, व्यापारियों व दलालों इत्यादि के हिसाब-किताब हल आदि का कार्य भी गुमाश्तें लोग करते थे।

दशहरा व दिवाली आदि पर नई बहियां डाल कर उनका पूजन, करने के पश्चात् वर्ष भर बही लेखन का कार्य यही लोग करते थे।¹⁰ एक शाखा का दूसरी शाखा के साथ होने वाले लेन देन एवं आयात निर्यात के ब्यौरे तैयार करके सम्बन्धित शाखा या मुख्यालय भेज दिए जाते थे।

अधिकतर गुमाश्ते चुरू एवं चुरू के आस पास के कस्बों के थे, अतः दूरदराज स्थानों में रहने वाले गुमाश्तों की ओर से आने वाले पत्रों को सेठ लोग उनके घर पहुंचा दिया करते थे और बदले में उसके घर वालों की ओर से दिये जाने वाले पत्रों को अपने पत्रों के साथ गुमाश्तों तक पहुंचा देते थे। गुमाश्तों के घर शादी विवाह इत्यादि होने पर सेठ लोग अपनी ओर से भी सहयोग प्रदान करते थे।¹¹ चुरू के सेठ भगोतीराम पोद्दार के खानदान में हरसहायमल- गुरूजहायमल प्रतिष्ठित सेठ हुए। उस समय भिवानी में हरसहायमल- गुरूजहायमल की बहुत दुकानें थी कहते हैं कि एक ही स्थान पर 11 दुकानें होने से वह बाजार 'ग्यार हट्टा' कहलाता

था जो आज भी इसी नाम से जाना जाता है। कालान्तर में इसके परिवारवालों में पुनः इन दुकानों का बटवारा वि.स. 1926 में हुआ। लेकिन तब समस्त दुकानें किराये पर लगा दी गयी थी।¹²

पोतेदार संग्रह में कुछ ऐसे पत्र भी प्राप्त होते हैं जिनमें किसी अधिकारी ने दुकान से उधार लिए रुपये पुनः नहीं लौटाता है तो वे गुमाशतों के द्वारा अंग्रेज अधिकारियों को पत्र लिखते और अनुरोध करते थे कि वे अधिकारी पर दबाव बना कर उनके उधार लिए गये रुपये लौटा दे। एक पत्र दिनांक 15 फरवरी 1823 ई. से ज्ञात होता है कि मिर्जामल सेठ की ओर से उनके गुमाशते नित्यानन्द के द्वारा हेनरी मिडलटन कार्यवाहक पॉलिटिकल एजेण्ट व सुपरिटेन्डेंट अजमेर को दी गई जिसमें लिखा कि पटियाले के दीवान चुन्नीलाल ने मिर्जामल की पटियाला स्थित दुकान से 15000/- रुपये उधार लिए थे जो कि अब तक चुकाये नहीं गये हैं। अतः आप वहां के अंग्रेज अधिकारी को चिट्ठी लिखें जिससे कि रुपये वसूल हो सके।¹³

सेठ मिर्जामल का कारोबार बहुत बड़े क्षेत्र में फैला हुआ था, जहां उसके गुमाशते नियुक्त थे। पोतेदार संग्रह के फारसी कागजात और बहियों से मिर्जामल के अनेक गुमाशतों के नाम ज्ञात होते हैं जो बहुत ही होशियार थे और मिर्जामल का कारोबार अधिकतर उन्हीं पर निर्भर करता था। परन्तु ये लोग कभी-कभी गबन व अन्य प्रकार की गड़बड़ी भी कर लेते थे। अतः विभिन्न स्थानों पर दुकानें आदि खोलते समय मिर्जामल राजाओं व अंग्रेज पदाधिकारियों के समक्ष अपनी शर्तें प्रस्तुत करने के अवसर पर अपने गुमाशतों के बारे में अपने अधिकार की बात प्रमुख रूप से रखते थे। गुमाशतों के संबंध में मिर्जामल को पूरे अधिकार प्राप्त थे कि वह अपने गुमाशतों से चाहे जैसे स्वयं निपटे, राज्य की ओर से कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं किया जायेगा। कभी-कभी ये गुमाशते दुकान या गद्दी से रुपये लेकर अन्यत्र चले जाते थे। अम्बाला से अंग्रेज एजेण्ट एच.एम. लारेंस की ओर से मिर्जापुर के जज के नाम लिखे गये एक पत्र से ज्ञात होता है कि रामपत्त भागूमल जो कभी मिर्जामल के गुमाशते थे, अब मिर्जापुर रहने लगे थे। मिर्जामल का उनके उपर 50000/- रुपये का दावा था। इन रुपयों की अदायगी के संदर्भ में मिर्जामल ने एक अर्जी अंग्रेज एजेण्ट को दी। इसको कार्यवाही में एच.एम. लारेंस ने मिर्जापुर

के जज को पत्र लिखा जिसमें उचित कार्यवाही करने को कहा।¹⁴

प्राचीन काल में व्यापारियों के बड़े बड़े सार्थ होते थे जो एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान तक माल लाते- ले जाते थे। इन सार्थों में हाथी, घोड़े, बैल, ऊंट, और रथ आदि रहते थे। इन सार्थों को रास्ते में अनेक प्रकार की बाधाओं का सामना करना पड़ता था। चोर, डाकू (धाड़वी) और जंगली पशुओं का भय बना ही रहता था। डाकूओं के दल के दल स्थान स्थान पर मिलते थे। राजकीय अव्यवस्था के समय इनके उत्पाद विशेष रूप से बढ़ जाते थे। वीदावतों की ख्यात में डाकूओं से संबंधित कइ प्रसंग उपलब्ध है।

‘बीदासर के साहूकारों का भिवानी से माल आ रहा था, उसका डाकूओं ने पीछा किया, तब भिवानी के कतारियों ने फतेहपुर में साहूकारों के पास माल डाल कर वापस चले गये और फतेहपुर के आढ़तियों ने वागांरी व सेखारगी वगेर मालकान माल को कासीद के साथ चिट्ठी भेजकर इत्तला दी और आइंदा महीना से साहा (विवाह-शादी) थे, माल के फौरन आने से मुनाफा की अच्छी उम्मीद थी, इसलिये साहूकारों ने माल मंगवाने के वास्ते उम्मेदसिंह (ठा. बीदासर) से कहा। उम्मेदसिंह ने इस काम को लायक समझकर बीदासर के चेनावत, जींदरासर के लाडखानियों के 64 ऊंटों के पीछे दो बन्दुकची, इस तरह 129 रवाना किया। इन्होंने फतेहपुर पहुंचकर माल लादा और पहली मंजिल तय करके ठहरें।’

परिवहन

19वीं शती में सम्पूर्ण परिवहन स्थल एवं जल मार्ग से ही होता था। माल के स्थानान्तरण में ऊंट महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता था। व्यापारिक माल से लदी ऊंटों की छोटी बड़ी माल के लदे ऊंटों के कारवां हजारों मील का रास्ता तय करते हुए निरन्तर गतिमान रहते थे। पोद्दार संग्रह में ऊंटों द्वारा माल के स्थानान्तरण के अनेक विवरण प्राप्त होते हैं। इन विवरणों से ऊंटों द्वारा ऊंट लादने के अनेकानेक लोगों के नामों के अतिरिक्त विभिन्न स्थानों की भाड़ा दरें एवं व्यापारिक मार्गों के बारे में भी जानकारी प्राप्त होती है।

माल की दुलाई में बैलगाड़ियां भी समुचित भाग लेती थी। प्रारम्भ में समस्त बैलगाड़ियां परम्परागत ढंग से उनके मालिकों द्वारा व्यक्तिगत तौर पर ही चलाई जाती थी। कालान्तर में बैलगाड़ियों द्वारा माल की दुलाई के लिए कुछ सरकारी

एवं गैर सरकारी कम्पनियां भी चालू हो गयी थी। पोद्दार संग्रह में कुछ कम्पनियों के भाड़ा बिल प्राप्त होते हैं। तथा Govt. Bullock Train, Hindustan Bullock Train Tansit Company, बनारस बुलक टरैलवा (BBT) इत्यादि।¹⁵

नदियों द्वारा माल की ढुलाई में नौकाओं की भूमिका उल्लेखनीय है। देश के प्रमुख, व्यापारिक बन्दरगाह कलकत्ता से पटना, गाजीपुर, मिर्जापुर, फर्रुखाबाद, इलाहाबाद एवं बनारस आदि पर पहुंचने वाला माल अधिकतर नावों से ढोया जाता था। इसी प्रकार इन व्यापारिक केन्द्रों से विविध-प्रकार का माल नावों के द्वारा कलकत्ता पहुंचता था। पौद्दार संग्रह की बहियों में विभिन्न स्थानों से नावों द्वारा माल संप्रेषण के हजारों ब्यौरे मिलते हैं जिनसे नौकाओं के मल्लाहों एवं चढ़ानदारों के अनेकानेक नाम भी ज्ञात होते हैं। इण्डिया जनरल स्टीम नेवीगेशन कम्पनी के बहुत से पत्र पोद्दार संग्रह में उपलब्ध हैं जो सन् 1847 से लगाकर सन् 1867 ई. तक के हैं। इस कम्पनी के अनेक रूटीमरों एवं कारगो वेसल्स के नाम इस कागजों से ज्ञात होते हैं।¹⁶

व्यापारिक मार्ग एवं व्यापार

चुरू एवं हरियाणा के मध्य होने वाले व्यापारिक मार्गों का विस्तृत वर्णन हमें पोतेदार रिकार्ड में मिलता है। टॉड के अनुसार राजगढ़ मुख्य व्यापारिक मण्डी थी, जहां भिन्न-भिन्न भागों से कारवां आकर ठहरते थे। पंजाब की वस्तुएं हांसी व हिसार होकर आती थी। पूर्वी प्रदेशों से दिल्ली, रेवाड़ी व दादरी होकर रेशम, बढ़िया वस्त्र, चीनी, लोहा व तम्बाकू व्यापार के लिये आते थे।¹⁷ सुजानगढ़ एजेन्सी की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार भूतपूर्व बीकानेर राज्य का सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक मार्ग दिल्ली से भिवानी होकर राजगढ़, चुरू, रेनी, रतनगढ़, सुजानगढ़, नागौर और जोधपुर होता हुआ पाली को जाता था। एक मार्ग सांभर व डीडवाना से सुजानगढ़ एवं राजगढ़ होता हुआ भिवानी को जाता था।¹⁸ पाउलेट के अनुसार दिल्ली, गुड़गांव, हिसार एवं बीकानेर व जोधपुर के व्यापारिक मार्ग चुरू में मिलते थे।¹⁹ हरमन गोएट्ज के अनुसार शाकंभरी व अजमेर से एक मार्ग चुरू व नोहर होता हुआ सिरसा व भंटिण्डा को जाता था। दूसरा द्रोणपुर, बीदासर, छापर तारानगर, पल्लू और भटनेर व दिपालपुर तक पहुंचता था।²⁰

हुण्डी

दूरस्थ व्यापार की प्रक्रिया एवं व्यापारियों की गतिविधियां पूर्णतः व्यवस्थित एवं सुविकसित एवं साख व्यवस्था पर आधारित है। हुण्डी एक विनिमय बिल था जिसमें एक निश्चित स्थान पर वर्णित धनराशि के भुगतान का वचन दिया होता था।

मुगलकालीन भारत में इसका प्रचलन सर्वसाधारण एवं सर्वमान्य था। टेवेर्नियर के अनुसार, भारत में वह ग्राम बहुत ही छोटा होता होगा। वहां पर सर्राफ नहीं था जो बैंकर के रूप में मुद्रा का भुगतान एवं विनिमय पत्र जारी करता था।

19वीं शती में हुंडी ही व्यापारिक लेन देन एवं रुपये के स्थानान्तरण का सरल, सुरक्षित एवं प्रमुख साधन था। हुंडी के माध्यम से कोई भी व्यापारी प्रेष्य धनराशि को स्थानीय हुंडीकर्त्ता के पास जमा देकर और उसमें हुंडी लेकर दूसरे स्थान पर अपने इच्छित व्यापारी अथवा आदती को सहज संचालन में करवा सकता था। चूंकि वाणिज्य व्यापार के सफल संचालन में हुंडी की विशेष भूमिका थी, अतः 19वीं शती के व्यापारिक घरानों के बही-बसतों में हुंडी सम्बन्धी ब्यौरा विस्तृत रूप में मिलते हैं। चुरू के पोद्दार संग्रह में उपलब्ध बहियों में लाखों रुपयों की हुंडियों के जमा खर्च उपलब्ध है।

450 रुपये की एक हुंडी अमृतसर से जिंदाराम मिर्जामल ने जगाधरी के भाई जिंदाराम जी गिरजाराम के ऊपर लिखी हैं। रखने वाला धनी सरदार कानासिंह सिंध हालिया है। इसमें जगाधरी वालों को लिखा गया है कि तुम्हारे पास जगाधरी में (खुदावर) मुसलमान इस हुंडी को लेकर आएगा। तुम इस हुंडी के बदले की दूसरी हुंडी कलदार रूपयों की ज्वालापुर की 15 दिन की मुद्दत की करवा देना। हुंडी के शिरोभाग में आगन्तुक के शरीर की निशानी को लिखा गया ताकि उसमें आदमी को रुपया मिले।¹

चुरू के रामसुखराय (केजड़ीवाल) की बही में सम्बंध 1897 कार्तिक वदि 14 को लक्ष्मी-पूजन के अवसर पर अन्य चीजों के साथ हुण्डियों के भाव भी लिखे हैं। इसमें जयपुर की हुण्डी का भाव 8 रुपया और भिवानी की हुण्डी का भाव 7 रुपये लिखा है। हुण्डी पर हुण्डावन के अतिरिक्त ब्याज व आदत लगती थी।²

दर्शनी हुंडी

यह एक ऐसी हुण्डी होती थी जिसे प्रचलित परम्पराओं के अनुसार पेश करते ही इसमें लिखित धन-राशि का भुगतान कर दिया जाता था। दर्शनीय हुण्डियों की दो किस्में थीं- एक साह-जोग व दूसरी धनी-जोग। साह-जोग हुण्डी में वर्णित राशि का भुगतान साह को ही किया जाता था। 'साह' से तात्पर्य प्रतिष्ठित व साख वाले व्यक्ति से था, जिसके आदेश से हुण्डी का भुगतान होता था। वस्तुतः इसके लिए केवल पेश करना ही पर्याप्त नहीं था अपितु वाहक व दावेदार द्वारा पृष्ठांकन (हस्ताक्षर) भी आवश्यक था। इस प्रक्रिया के तहत हुण्डी के भुगतान की प्रामाणिकता का उत्तरदायित्व 'साह' को वहन करना पड़ता था। धनी-जोग हुण्डी दो तरह की थी। कुछ स्थानों पर हुण्डी का भुगतान धनी के आदेश पर ही कर दिया जाता था और इस स्थिति में यह लिखा रहता था कि 'धनी योग रुपया हुण्डी चालान का दीजो'। अन्य स्थानों पर जहां यह व्यवस्था लागू नहीं होती थी, हुण्डी का भुगतान हुण्डी के विक्रेता के आदेशानुसार होता था- 'राख्या वाला अथवा बैचने वाला धाणी' (राजस्थानी)।²³

मुद्ती हुण्डी

दूसरे प्रकार की हुण्डियां मुद्ती होती थीं जो निर्दिष्ट तिथि के पश्चात् अथवा किसी निश्चित संकेतित उद्देश्य के पश्चात् भुगतान योग्य होती थी। मुद्ती हुण्डी, साह जोग, धाणी जोग, फरमान जोग, जोखमी जोग आदि चार प्रकार की होती थी। जोखमी हुण्डी मुद्ती हुण्डी की एक अलग किस्म थी। यह हुण्डी बिल अथवा बीजक के समान होती थी। हुण्डी भेजने वाला इसके तहत अपने जोखिम की रकम भी वसूल करता था और इस तरह इसकी दर सामान्य हुण्डी की कमीशन दरों से अधिक होती थी। इस तरह हुण्डी लिखने वाला बैंकर तथा बीमादाता दोनों के रूप में कार्य करता था। वस्तुतः इस तरह की हुण्डियों का प्रचलन कम दूरी व अधिक दूरी दोनों व्यापार के प्रयोग में लाया जाता था।

ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि बैंकर्स द्वारा राज्य को हुण्डी द्वारा किये गये भुगतान पर कमीशन की दर प्रतिमाह 1 रुपया प्रति सैकड़ा से 2 रुपया प्रति सैकड़ा के बीच थी। वस्तुतः हुण्डियों पर वसूल की जाने वाली उच्च दरें सामान्यतः राज्य द्वारा स्वीकृत नहीं की जाती थी। इसके अतिरिक्त राज्य को हुण्डी द्वारा दिये गये

कर्ज पर एक रुपया प्रति सैकड़े के हिसाब से ब्याज लिया जाता था। सामान्यतः एक रुपया प्रति सैकड़ा की दर एक माह (30 दिनों) के लिये होती थी और इससे अधिक दिन होने पर ब्याज की दरों में वृद्धि हो जाती थी। यहां यह उल्लेखनीय है कि व्यापारियों के साथ लेन-देन में हुण्डियों पर 2 प्रतिशत के हिसाब से ब्याज लिया जाता था, जिसमें भुगतान तथा संकलन का खर्च शामिल होता था। दलाली के इस खर्च की 'हुण्डावण' के नाम से जाना जाता था।²⁴

यह मानना ठीक नहीं होगा कि सभी हुण्डियों का भुगतान हुण्डी के पेश किये जाने पर कर दिया जाता था। जैसाकि कई बार होता था कि हुण्डी का भुगतान करने वाला किसी कारण से इसका भुगतान करने से मना भी कर देता था। जब हुण्डी का भुगतान नकार किया जाता था तो हुण्डी प्रेषित करने वाले के पास वापस भेज दी जाती थी, जो हुण्डी के वहन में होने वाले खर्च एवं ब्याज के प्रति उत्तरदायी होती था। लागत की दर विनिमय स्थानों के अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न थी।²⁵

प्रारम्भ में हुंडी एक मुक्त व्यापार था, किसी प्रकार का कोई सरकारी हस्तक्षेप नहीं था परन्तु कालान्तर में कम्पनी सरकार ने इसे आय का स्रोत मान कर स्टाम्प लगाना आवश्यक कर दिया। इसका विरोध भी सराफा बाजार की ओर से किया गया। चुरू मुख्यालय की ओर से फर्रुखाबाद शाखा के नाम आसोज सुदि 15 संवत 1822 मरुश्री के पत्र क्रमांक 5859 से इस बात का संकेत मिलता है। परन्तु ऐसा आभास होता है कि विरोध के बावजूद सरकार ने हुंडी पर स्टाम्प ड्यूटी लगाना अनिवार्य कर दिया।²⁶ किस तारीख से हुंडियों पर स्टाम्प लगाना अनिवार्य हुआ, यह तो पत्रों से ज्ञात नहीं होता। चुरू के पोद्दार संग्रह में एवं अन्यत्र भी हजारों हुंडियों के 'खोखे' उपलब्ध हैं। हुण्डी का भुगतान हो जाने के बाद हुण्डी का खोख कहा जाता था। पोद्दारों के संग्रह में हुण्डियों के हजारों खोखे उपलब्ध हैं जो 5/- से लगा कर 1500/- तक की हुण्डियों के हैं। अधिकांशतः खोखे मुद्दती हुण्डियों के हैं। इस प्रकार पोद्दार पत्रों से ज्ञात होता है कि चुरू मण्डल में वाणिज्य करने वाले प्रमुख रूप से वैश्य वर्ण की अग्रवाल, ओसवाल एवं माहेश्वरी शाखाएं ही सर्वप्रमुख थी। चतुर्भुज पोद्दार व्यापार के लिए पंजाब गये और भटिण्डा, हिसार, भिवानी, रोहतक इत्यादि स्थलों पर अपनी व्यापारिक कोठियां स्थापित की तथा हरियाणा एवं राजस्थान के मध्य व्यापारिक सम्बन्धों को घनिष्ठ बनाया।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ:

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3. *गंगानगर परिचय*, पृ. 123.
4. गोविन्द अग्रवाल, *पूर्वोक्त*, पृ. 21.
5. *लिविंग्स्टिक सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया*, भाग 9, खण्ड 2, पृ. 18.
6. *मरूश्री*, वर्ष 6, अंक 1, पृ. 13.
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9. *वही*, पृ. 18.
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11. *वाणिज्य व्यापार में मुनीम गुमाशतों की भूमिका*, पृ. 37.
12. *वही*, पृ. 62.
13. *मरूश्री*, वर्ष 6, अंक 1, पृ. 13.
14. *वाणिज्य व्यापार में मुनीम गुमाशतों की भूमिका*, पृ. 53.
15. *मरूश्री*, वर्ष 14, अंक 2-3, पृ. 33.
16. *वही*
17. टॉड, *एनाल्स*, भाग 2, पृ. 158.
18. सुजानगढ़ के सहायक एजेण्ट की रिपोर्ट, मई 31, 1873.
19. पाउलेट, *गजेटियर ऑफ बीकानेर*, पृ. 91.
20. हरमन गोएट्ज, *आर्ट एण्ड आर्किटेक्चर ऑफ बीकानेर स्टेट*, पृ. 49-50.
21. *मरूश्री*, वर्ष 14, अंक 2-3, पृ. 28.
22. गोविन्द अग्रवाल, *चुरू मण्डल का शोधपूर्ण इतिहास*, पृ. 462.
23. घनश्याम दत्ता, *मध्यकालीन भारतीय समाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक संस्थाएं*, पृ. 245.
24. *वही*, पृ. 247.
25. *वही*, पृ. 246.
26. *मरूश्री*, वर्ष 14, अंक 2-3, पृ. 27.

12

Paintings for the Yogis of Baba Mastnath Monastery

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This research aims to examine the paintings patronised by the Nāth Yogis of the Bābā Mastnāth Monastery, Rohtak. Painted in the nineteenth century these exquisite murals at Asthal Bohar followed the rules of the time. A thematic analysis of the murals painted in this establishment reveals that their subjects are not restricted especially to the Nāth-s but reflect the heterogeneous religious traditions of the people of Haryana.

The Bābā Mastnāth monastery² in Asthal Bohar village³ belongs to the Nāth yogis, the followers of Gorakhnāth, also called the Gorakhnāthī yogis. The Nāth sect is a heterodox ascetic tradition of fluid nature with its roots in earlier forms of Śaiva sects⁴ and the Paścimāmnāya sādḥaka tradition.⁵ The supreme Nāth-Ādināth is considered a form of Śiva, of whom all the Nāth-s are incarnations. The sect is assumed to be founded by Matsyendranāth and it further progressed under the tutelage of Gorakhnāth. The latter also is arguably attributed with the founding of Haṭha Yoga⁶ and the order of Nāth yogis who are also called kānpḥaṭā in a pejorative sense.⁷ The sect has its origins in

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sometime between the ninth and twelfth centuries C.E. as a non-Brahmin (like many other sects) and anti-householder movement.

The *Nāth* sect is divided into twelve groups the prominent amongst them is the *Āī panth*, to which the Bohar yogis belong. They are the followers of Bābā Mastnāth and his pupils and believe that the monastery was originally founded by Siddha Cauraṅgīnāth and was later restored by Guru Mastnāth in the eighteenth century.⁸ On the account of the Jain stone sculptures which have been discovered from here, it seems that these yogis have recycled an earlier sacred site, which presumably belonged to the Jains.⁹

THE BUILDINGS

Till January 2012 the Mastnāth monastery had a fine set of buildings dating back to the earlier nineteenth century.¹⁰ Almost all of these cenotaphs were razed to the ground (leaving only the graves of their Gurus), and a temple equivalent to the Akśhardhām Temple built in Delhi is under construction here. The style of the demolished cenotaphs was a conflation of the Hindu and the Muslim architectural styles. They belonged to the earlier Gurus, prominent amongst whom was Bābā Totānāth, who had succeeded Mastnāth in 1807 CE (*Phālguna śukla pakṣa navamī Vikram Samvat* 1864) in a simple ceremony.¹¹ The lineage of *mahanta*-s of the present foundation have been as follows:¹²

Sr. No.	Name of the Mahanta	Obit. in Vikram Samvat	Obit. in Georgian Calendar
1.	Yogī Mastnāth	1864	1807
2.	Yogī Totānāth	1894	1837
3.	Yogī Meghanāth	1922	1865
4.	Yogī Moharanāth	1935	1878
5.	Yogī Cetanāth	1963	1906
6.	Yogī Purṇanāth	1996	1939
7.	Yogī Śreyonāth	2041	1985
8.	Yogī Cāṇḍanāth	2074	2017
9.	Yogī Bālakanāth (present <i>mahanta</i>)	-	-

Amongst the earliest structures, the *Kālā Mahal* is fortunately saved. Named such due to the soot-covered walls and floor, it is a small arched room with walls around four and a half feet thick and lacks any idols. It

is said to have belonged to the *Pāgal panth* of these *Nāth* yogis, and three abbots of this *panth* are buried here.¹³ This possibly means that at some point in history this site might have belonged to the *Pāgal panth* yogis. Another important temple from this monastery is a modern temple made of intricately carved rock slabs. It has two exquisite sculptures of the *Nāge-pīr*-Raṇapata and Mānadhātā carved out of marble.

THE MURALS

The murals from the demolished cenotaphs of the Mastnāth monastery belonged to the nineteenth century. They were arguably the best in terms of quality amongst the ones painted in this region. The painters were called *citerā/kārīgara/tejārā*¹⁴ and initially were summoned from the neighbouring regions of Rajasthan or Punjab. Subsequently, local masons also learnt the art and executed the work with much dexterity.

These exquisite murals at the Asthal Bohar followed the rules of the time where on a single wall one may find two to three paintings, each a composition in itself, and unrelated to each other. These are stylistically closer to the murals painted in the Shekhawati region of Rajasthan. With respect to subject matter, the walls were filled with religious imagery affiliating obviously from the *Nāth* sect, but also from main-stream Hinduism, fantastical themes, and the depiction of mundane rural life amidst decorative motifs and patterns represent a naïve, but a lively and variegated spirit of Haryana in the real sense.¹⁵ Some of the significant compositions are discussed thematically in the following section.

They are selected from the cenotaph of Bābā Totānāth which had the finest murals from this site. He was from the royal blood of the Bharatpur state and, perhaps, because of this reason was painted wearing a royal dress and smelling a flower on one of the panels of his cenotaph.¹⁶ Totānāth travelled to different parts of Rajasthan on the invitation of their rulers showing miracles. The Guru spent all his life in the service of mankind, and in 1837 C.E. (*Vikram Samvat* 1894) he left his pious body for the heavenly abode.¹⁷ The memorial cenotaph of Bābā Totānāth was commissioned by his successor Śrī Meghanāth Yogi.¹⁸ The room above the central *cella* of the ground floor was surmounted by a dome with minarets on all four corners and housed exquisite murals which are now unfortunately lost.

DESCRIPTION OF A FEW MURALS

I. GAṄGĀDHARA ŚIVA

As stated above, for the *Nāth*-s Śiva is Ādināth, the first and the supreme *Nāth*. He is the supreme yogi as well as the supreme householder. Ergo here in Haryana, he was depicted seated on a tiger skin with Pārvatī, his arm around her shoulder. She was paying her homage to him by putting her palms together in *añjali mudrā* (Plate I). His other hand was placed on a crutch suggesting his yogi status. He was holding a long trident, tied to which was a flag, a pellet drum and a pouch. In the last one was present a long horn or a *śṛṅgī* (*sīṃgī* in the vernacular). The blowing of a horn (*Nāth śṛṅgī* or *nāda*) was also practised by the Indian *Nāth* yogis as a rigid practice and is one the most fundamental emblems of their sect. Ibn Battūta, the Moroccan traveller from the fourteenth century, had observed that they (yogis) blew an object like a *śṛṅgī* in the morning, evening, and night as a rigid custom.¹⁹ Yogis carrying long horns were depicted in numerous naturalistic Mughal miniatures.

From the matted locks of Śiva was emerging Gaṅgā as a thin stream which transforms into the mighty river filled with fishes, when it falls on the earth. Bhagīratha was standing on his side with his hands folded in order to showcase his gratitude to the great God. Śiva was painted here with the trademark earrings of the *Nāth*-s. He had adorned himself with snakes and was wearing a tiger skin. Nandī in the form of a bull was painted below the *āsana*.



Plate I - Gaṅgādhara Śiva

II. KṚṢṆA PLAYING FLUTE

The popular Kṛṣṇa *avatāra* was painted on the inside ceiling of the tomb of this cenotaph (Plate II). Here Kṛṣṇa was depicted standing amidst two flower-laden trees. He was adorned with a peacock feather crown and *pītāmbara dhotī* and was flanked by two *gopīs* who were serving him. One was waving a *cavara* on him, and the other was waiting upon him holding a bowl, perhaps, filled with butter to appease the blue God. They probably were the depictions of Rādhā and a *gopī* respectively.

According to *Śrīmastanāthacaritam*,²⁰ Mastnāth's childhood events are particularly conflated with the *bāla-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa where he is also called as Kṛṣṇa *svarūpa*. This appropriation was a means to possibly attract rural devotees, as, at the time of composition of this text, *Vaiṣṇava Bhakti* was already deeply rooted in North-Western India. The text reveals, when Mast turned ten, he was sent by his parents into the forest as a cowherd boy. There he protected the cows, displayed many miracles to fellow *gopas*, his parents, and other villagers like being present at two different places in a single moment, providing rain with the power of *Haṭha-yoga* to the village, quenching the thirst of many *gopas* and a wedding party with only a tiny bowl filled with milk, etc.²¹



Plate II - Kṛṣṇa Playing Flute

III. KALKI AVATĀRA

Irrespective of Mastnāth monastery being an establishment of Śaiva yogis, there were many interesting depictions of Vaiṣṇu here, as we

have discussed the Kṛṣṇa one above. Also significant amongst the *Vaiṣṇava* imagery were the paintings of the ten incarnations. The finest among them was the Kalki which would be the final *avatāra* of Vaiṣṇu who would end the *Kali Yuga* and re-establish the epoch of *Satya Yuga*. Here, dressed as a Rajput he was holding his blazing sword (Plate III). He was depicted standing near his white horse which was beautifully decorated and had a parasol.



Plate III - Kalki Avatāra

IV. CELESTIAL MUSICIANS PLAYING MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

This composition in the architrave depicted three celestial musicians playing musical instruments (Plate IV). Painted obviously as three beautiful females they were shown with wings emerging from their backs, which were painted like leaves in green. The females had arrayed themselves in full gowns typical to the paintings from this site. Their attire and adornment conspicuously hinted towards an influence from the Mughal dresses and jewellery. The fairy in the centre was playing a *vīṇā*, the one on the right was painted playing a *ḍaphālī*. Further, the fairy on the left was waving a whisk from her proper right hand and was

holding a platter of sweetmeats (*laddu*) in her proper left hand.

All the three females had similar physical and facial features. They had oval faces with receding foreheads, arched eyebrows, broad long eyes, straight pointed noses, thin lips with pursed mouths, and proportionate chins with medium sized necks. On the right corner of the composition behind the fairy was painted a Banana tree with a single tone of green colour. The colours in this composition were bright and contrasting. The artist had to grapple here with the curving surface; nonetheless, he had managed to perform this task successfully.



Plate IV - Celestial Musicians Playing Musical Instruments

V. *TĪJA* CELEBRATION

Another painting from the architrave depicted the *Tīja* celebration from the state where five females were enjoying the swings (Plate V). Three of them were sitting on it while two were flanking them in order to push the swing. They were wearing similar dresses and jewellery like the other female figures painted on the walls of this cenotaph. *Hariyālī Tīja* is a significant festival from Haryana and its neighbouring states where females from the state welcome the monsoon season with songs, dance and the swing rides. It reflected the community ethos and the strong bonds women had with each other which unfortunately are fading

in the contemporary times.



Plate V - *Tīja* Celebration

VI. A FEMALE CARESSING HER CHILD

This composition depicted a mundane but compassionate scene where a mother caresses her child who was sitting on her lap (Plate VI). Dressed and adorned as an aristocratic lady, she had well-defined features, however, her incomplete eyes and sections of hair which lacks colour suggested that the painters had left their work incomplete. She was sitting on a comfortable bed which was embellished with floral patterns.



Plate VI - A Female Caressing Her Child

VII. A COW FEEDING HER CALF

Similar to the above scene, here also, a mother was painted catering to her baby's needs. An orange coloured cow was standing motionless while her calf was sucking to her udder (Plate VII). The painter had painted the horns and the ears of the cow in an interesting manner with multiple views, where both the horns and the ears were entirely visible to the viewer.



Plate VII - A Cow Feeding Her Calf

CONCLUSION

The murals from the Bābā Mastnāth monastery reflected the heterogeneous and vibrant religious landscape of Haryana, where the imagery was not restricted to Śaiva or Nāth but represented the Vaiṣṇava and Śākta traditions too. Further, these also represented secular, mundane, and even fantastical themes, as revealed from the celestial musicians' composition. Though this monastery served as a living quarter for the ascetics still subtle human emotions like motherly love, and festivities from the state were given space in the scheme of things. These prove that the painters were probably given a free hand with respect to the themes they choose for their mural project. The design that the *mahanta*-s seems to have been intent upon in whatever instructions they gave to the painters was ornamental. A large number

of panels could fit into this decorative scheme were welcomed. This is the clear impression one gets from analysing the murals from this establishment. This doesn't make the abbots out to be particularly discerning patrons. Possibly, an occasional person at these places might have had a genuine feeling for arts and might have discussed with the painters their work, compositions, relevance, etc. But, by and large, it seems as if the *mahanta*-s provided patronage in general terms.

Notes and References :

1. All the accompanying plates of this article are from the collection of the author, dated August, 2006.
2. This is a prominent *Nath* monastery in North-Western India. Throughout Haryana and its neighbouring states, their other establishments are present in the form of different structures like *samadhi*, *dera*, *mandir*, *sthana*, *dhuni*, and *asram*. The 1883-84 Rohtak gazetteer records that only in the Rohtak district there were 299 monasteries called *asthals*, with 659 resident ascetics and grants of land amounting to 2725 acres attached to them. Here, the *Nath* Yogis were second in number after the *Bairagi* group followed by the *Sadha*, *Gosain* and *Udasi* sects. *Gazetteer of the Rohtak District*, Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government, Calcutta: Calcutta Central Press Company Limited, 1883-84, p. 53.
3. *Punjab District Gazetteer, Volume III A: Rohtak District with Maps: 1910*, Compiled and published under the authority of the Punjab Government, Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1911, p. 325. Bohar village is situated approximately four miles to the east of Rohtak and is a large village with a recorded population of 7,825 in 1910 CE.
4. The *Pasupata*, the *Lakulisa*, the *Kapalika*, and *Kalamukha*.
5. James Mallinson, 'The Yogis' Latest Trick' (review article of *Sinister Yogis* by David Gordon White, published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Third Series), vol. 24, pp. 165-180. doi:10.1017/S1356186313000734), accessed at <https://soas.academia.edu/JamesMallinson> on 04 May, 2015.
6. Recent scholarship by James Mallinson poses doubt on this attribution. See his articles, 'The Yogis' Latest Trick' *op.cit.*, and 'Yoga and Yogis' (published in *Namarupa*, Issue 15, vol. 03 March, 2012) both accessed at <https://soas.academia.edu/JamesMallinson> on 04 May, 2015.
7. *Kanphata* is a derogatory term for these yogis referring to their pierced ears.
8. Shivani Sharma, *Divya Bhumi Matha Asthal Bohar Evam Pujaniya Gurudeva*, Asthal Bohar Mamha, 2006, pp. 460 & 462; *Srimastanathacaritam* by Hardatt Shastri, (trans. and ed.) Subhagyavati Nandal, 1999, pp. 9, 96 & 97; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province*, vol. II, New Delhi: Nirmal Publishers and Distributors, 1997, p. 404;

G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2009, p. 67, have, however, recorded that this monastery was founded by Yogi Narmai.

9. These are displayed in a makeshift exhibition space within the monastery. These sculptures are studied by Devendra Handa, *Sculptures from Haryana: Iconography and Style*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2006, pp. 255-263. Another famous hoard of Jain sculptures made in bronze has been recovered from Hansi which is approximately seventy kilometres from Rohtak. These fifty-eight sculptures are discussed in a monograph also written by Devendra Handa, *Jain Bronzes from Hansi*, Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2002. These finds apparently suggest that Haryana was probably a stronghold of Jain religion sometime in early medieval history. I am thankful to Prof. Naman P. Ahuja for pointing the Hansi hoard to me on 25 August, 2015.
10. The 1883 - 84 *Gazetteer of Rohtak* records that during that period 'Asthal Bohar is the only group of buildings of any architectural pretension in the district', pp. 16 & 53.
11. Siddha Sri Sankaranath Yogi, (trans. and ed.) Kokchandra Shastri, *Sri Asthal Bohar Matha ka Sanksipta Itihas*, Asthal Bohar Matha, 1970, p. 169.
12. *Srimastanathacaritam* by Shastri, *op. cit.*, Chapters 24, 25, & Appendix, pp. 403, 414-416, 419, & 455.
13. *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 63.
14. K. S. Kang, *Wall Paintings of Punjab and Haryana*, Delhi & Lucknow: Atma Ram & Sons, 1985, pp. 113-14.
15. I have discussed them in great detail in my previous articles 'Murals of Haryana', *ICON- NMI Journal of History of Art*, New Delhi: National Museum, 2014, pp. 61-70; 'Murals of Cenotaph of Baba Tota Nath-Asthal Bohar, Rohtak', *Maharshi Dayanand University Research Journal (Arts)*, vol. I, April 2010, pp. 111-122; 'Murals from Thakurji ka Dvara temple, Pawanhrdya Tirtha', *Journal of Haryana (Politics and Society)*, Centre of Haryana Studies, Maharshi Dayanand University, Rohtak, vol. II, October, 2010, pp. 11-22.
16. The activity of smelling a flower indicates one to be tasteful and the Mughal and Rajput rulers are often painted pursuing this. For a detailed analysis of this painting see my forthcoming article, 'The Nath Yogis of Baba Mastnath Monastery: Their Religion and Art', in *Archaeology and Heritage: Haryana - Current Trends*, edited by Jagdish Parshad, New Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corp. Ltd., 2018.
17. Sankaranath Yogi, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 494 - 495.
19. Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, *Nath Sampradaya*, Varanasi: Naivaidhya Niketan, 1966, second edition, pp. 21, 22. Ibn Battuta recorded the excruciating life and dreadful appearance of fifty of these Nath ascetics. They had their hair touching their feet; bodies smeared with ashes and turned golden due to persistent *tapa*

they practise. Pursued by Muslims to learn the intricacies of magic, they dwelled in caves built underneath the earth surface, coming out only to excrete bodily wastes.

20. This text was composed by Sri Sankarnath Yogeswar and was commissioned by *mahanta* Yogi Cetanath (mahantaship period 1878-1906 C.E.). It was published by Narayandas Jadgalimal Booksellers, Delhi from Technical Printing Press, Sonipat. Thereafter, this text was reproduced in 1927 C.E. with the same contents in Sanskrit by Pandit Hardatt Shastri and then translated into Hindi by Dr Subhagyavati Nandal in 1999, to which I have referred.
21. *Srimastanathacaritam* by Shastri, *op. cit.*, Chapters 3 & 4, pp. 26-56.

13

Unsung Heroes of Haryana: Military History a Deprived field in Haryana Historical Circles

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Warfare being an integral component of human civilization, nations are. The story of Army has neither a beginning, nor an end; one has generally defined by the role played by their Armed Forces in shaping their history to, therefore, choose a point in time to start it. The story begins in 1914.

The ancient wars in India have been immortalized in the epics of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. In the medieval time, several invaders from the west drew the local kings and rulers into wars, from time to time. This, of necessity, created a war-culture in the north-western region of the country. Thus several fighting-fit clans were created.

The foundations of the modern Armed Forces in India were laid, in the ninetieth century, by the British rulers, to serve their purpose. They introduced a systematic policy of recruitment, training, deployment, organization, welfare, etc. Subsequently indianization of our Armed Forces took its course, but it was a baptism by fire and a saga of heroism and adventure. The Indian forces played a crucial role in the two World Wars, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the allied forces in foreign lands. After gaining independence in 1947, India has fought four wars with Pakistan-the latest being Kargil (1999). One war, in 1962, was thrust upon India by China. The 'proxy war' through intermittent Pakistani infiltrations, in Jammu and Kashmir, has been continually bleeding the Army and the Para-military Forces. Besides, India is the second largest contributor of troops for several peacekeeping missions of the U.N., in

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different countries of the world. There are clear indications of the heavy responsibilities being shouldered by our defence forces.

The history of soldiers from Haryana, who have served the Indian Armed Forces through the last century, is a thrilling account replete with innumerable examples of bravery, self-sacrifice and love for the country. The 'ordinary' men from this small state have played a big role in protecting the honour of the nation. Mahasweta Devi, the renowned 'moving writer' of our generation, once said: "I have always believed that real history is made by ordinary people who are exploited and used, and yet do not accept defeat." Indian soldiers epitomize this sentiment, by being demure yet dauntless.¹

In this paper an effort is made to highlight the contribution of Haryana in the wars and operations of Indian Army in India and abroad during the Colonial period and after independence. The deprived attitude of historians and scholars on national level and particularly of the region pushed me to write this paper. Today when we are celebrating Golden Jubilee (Swarna Jayanti) of Haryana not even a single book or research work available (Except one) in the universities of the state which highlights the indomitable spirit and characterizes the persona of soldiers. Military History and Historiography is not even part of University curriculum, a neglected field.

Several brilliant accounts, dealing with the history of our Armed Forces, have been churned out by many outstanding scholars. Some works deal particularly with various aspects and themes of Haryana's History; however, they only make passing references, in broad terms, to the pivotal role of Haryana's soldiers in many actions. Some of the important works are: Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army*; Lt. Gen. S.L. Menzes (Retd.), *Fidelity and Honour*; Major General Sukhwant Singh (Retd.), *India's Wars Since Independence (3 Vols.)*; V.Longer, *Red Coats to Olive Green*; Humphrey Evans, *Thimayya of India*; Dewitt C. Ellinwood and S.D. Pradhan, *India and World War-I*; Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit (Retd), *The Lightning Campaign-The Indo-Pakistan War 1971*; Brig. J.P. Dalvi (Retd.), *Himalayan Blunder*; Capt. Amarinder Singh (Retd.), *Lest We Forget*; Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, Its Officers and Men*; Brig. S.S. Chandel, *Blood and Guts, The Saga of Indian Arms:Valour and Honour;Regiment of Artillery in Association with LancerPublishers, Kargil'99 Blood, Guts and Firepower*; Nehru

*Memorial Museum and Library, The Current Debate-1, Kargil: The Crisis and its Implications; P.P.Hypher, Deeds and Valour performed by Indian Officers and Soldiers from 1860 to 1925; Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Y.M. Bammi, Kargil 1999; Atul Yadav, Valour Unlimited; Haryana and the Indian Armed Forces (1914-2000).*²

As far as the historiography or History writing of Haryana is concerned large number of books and research work available in the universities and education institutions on various themes. For some reasons, however, the reference to the role, contribution and position of the soldiers has not yet attracted any focused attention of the scholars and historians. There are only passing references of the role and contribution of the Armed Forces. K.C Yadav (*The Revolt of 1857 in Haryana, New Delhi, 1977; Haryana Ka Itihas, Jullandhur, 1975; Haryana: History and Culture, New Delhi, 2002*), S.C.Mittal (*Haryana: A Historical Perspective, New Delhi, 1986; and Freedom Movement in Punjab: 1905-1929, New Delhi, 1977*), Budh Parkash (*Glimpses of Haryana, Kurukshetra, 1969*), B.S. Saini (*The Social and Economic History of Punjab including Haryana and Himachal Pardesh: 1901-1939, New Delhi, 1975*), Sukhdev Singh Sohal (*Credit, Rural Debit and the Punjab Peasantry: 1849-1947, Amritsar, 2012*), Navtej Singh (*Starvation and Colonialism A study of Famines in the Nineteenth Century British Punjab: 1858-1901, New Delhi, 1996*), Chhatar Singh (*Social and Economic Change in Haryana, New Delhi 2004*) highlighted one or the other aspect of the role of soldiers to full fill the blanks of the study for justification only. Atul Yadav (*Valour Unlimited: Haryana and the Indian Armed Forces 1914-2000*) did some study on the role and contribution of Haryana in the Indian Armed Forces in Colonial and Post Independence period. An effort has been made by Raja Ram in his Ph.D. thesis 'Impact of the First World War on the Punjab' (Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1972) to highlight the role of the soldiers. Atul Yadav again highlighted the role and contribution of the Soldiers in the Indian Armed Forces and its impact in his Ph.D. thesis 'Haryana and the Indian Armed Forces: 1914-1971' (Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, 2003).

Yet there has, I feel even if somewhat impulsively, been a need of studying the Haryanvi soldier in a region specific mould. The single most important reason for this is that there is no aspect of life in Haryana – in all spheres, that has remained uninfluenced by the grand old veterans of World War I and II and the subsequent decades that saw

the Haryanvi youth in a profound role in the Armed Forces of the nation. Haryana is truly a society cut out for the Forces.

Analyzing the contributions of soldiers from a particular state, or region, may appear to be repugnant, or even undesirable to some, especially after the country became independent. Nevertheless, it is essential to remember that the Indian Army was cast in a mould, by the British, which used linguistic, religious, ethnic, caste and socio-cultural distinctions as the basis to constitute different regiments and units. They apparently did this to ensure intra-unit camaraderie for better command and control. Additionally, this system of perpetuating differences admirably served their core policy of 'divide and rule.' Hence soon after independence, it was felt that such basis of compartmentalization of the Indian Army was not conducive to the cohesiveness of the forces. As such, efforts are currently afoot to develop close-knit units, transcending narrow considerations. For better correlation of regional propensities it is necessary to discover commonalities which bind us as a people. And with this end in view, one has to first make an in depth analysis of the regional sensibilities and nuances. Only the micro-level studies expose the similarities. For instance, a superficial consideration of the linguistic multiplicity in India can be used as a divisive tool; however, a deeper study reveals common roots. Similarly, various aspects of the regional histories tend to throw up strong bonds of social behavioral, cultural, linguistic commonality that unite Indians. This 'unity in diversity' in a vast country like India, is very important to nurture team spirit in the Armed Forces. Spotlight on the performances of the fighting man from Haryana is primarily to bring out in bold relief the similarities with their counterparts from many other states of the country, which have produced warriors of indomitable courage.³

To start with, the demographic structure of Haryana of today has been explained against the geographical setting of the state. Economy of the region was dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry. In the absence of assured water supply for irrigation the area was prone to droughts and famines. These factors made the people accustomed to the vagaries of nature and to the attendant hardships. This prompted many to opt for enrolment in the Armed Forces. The caste composition of the society not being very different from the neighboring regions of Northern India permitted usual interactions.⁴

Haryana has contributed significantly to the Armed Forces particularly when compared with its population and area. With less than 2 % population of the country this small state has 10% strength in the Indian Armed Forces. Every tenth man wearing the Armed Forces uniform in India today belongs to Haryana- at present approximately One Lakh Seventy thousand men and women from Haryana are serving in the various wings of the Armed Forces. In addition over Two Lacs and Seventy thousand Ex-service men belong to Haryana. Taking into account the number of Ex-servicemen, their family members, the war widows, family members of the war widows, the serving personnel and their family members, about Eighteen Lacs persons from Haryana directly or indirectly are connected with the Indian Armed Forces today. As such there is no sphere of life in Haryana today, which has not been influenced by this all-important fact. In spite of the great contribution of Haryanis to the Indian Armed Forces and the deep impact they have left on the society and economy of the region, their bravery and sacrifices have merited only limited attention in mainstream history. It is this shortcoming that is attempted to be handled in the present context.⁵

Society in Haryana has had a distinct socio-cultural identity crafted by its people during the course of thousands of years of history. There are certain traits which are somewhat unique to the people of Haryana and which relatively stand out in relation to the rest of India. Haryana represents a society vertically and horizontally divided by castes and sub castes. Caste has been and remains a pre- dominant institution in predominantly rural Haryana. The position of education in the initial decades of this study's period was far from satisfactory. Major factors responsible for the backwardness of education were administrative, social and financial.⁶

The situation improved somewhat when education was made a state subject under the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919. The number of primary schools in rural areas increased to 880 in 1934-35 from just 6 in 1922-23. The situation further improved after the provincial elections (1937), when the Unionist Government paid considerable attention to the extension of primary education, the number of schools increasing from 1175 in 1937-38 to 1498 in 1946-47.⁷

The Haryana region was a totally rural agriculture based economy at the turn of the century. At the time of partition, more than 70 percent of the population was dependent on agriculture.⁸ The 1962 census

revealed that 69 percent of the workers in this region were actually working as cultivators and agricultural labourers.⁹ There were three economic groups among agricultural classes: peasant proprietors, tenants and laborers. A large number of the cultivators were peasant proprietors owning and cultivating their own lands. It was also stalked by famines at regular intervals. Agriculture in the Haryana region remained sluggish if not stagnant during a period of almost half a century.¹⁰ However, after agriculture came under the control of provincial ministries,¹¹ the Unionist Government framed a set of legislative Acts, which came to be known as "Golden Laws" to scale down the level of the debt of the peasantry.¹² The co-operative movement made a significant contribution toward stimulating the rural economy.¹³ Smallpox and Plague had brought havoc. Fatality due to Malaria, Cholera and other diseases were also widespread during 1915-1917.¹⁴ Plague reappeared in 1918 causing more deaths than the First World War had done since its outbreak. The scourge of Influenza caused havoc during the latter half of 1918.¹⁵ The epidemics were more descriptive in Gurgaon and Rohtak districts. The suffering was chiefly due to Government's neglect of Public Health.¹⁶

Even as the First World War was going on the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed (in 1916) which submitted its report in 1918.¹⁷ The objective naturally was to meet the wartime needs of British Empire. As a result some textile industries were established at Bhiwani as also some Handloom industries at Panipat. Several flourmills were set up in various towns Ambala being one. By 1939 many industries were especially started at Ambala Cantonment also to meet the war needs. Small-scale cottage industries were also set up in several other towns.¹⁸

The economic scenario of Haryana changed after Independence. There was an explosion in the field of education. The number of Primary schools rose from 1564 in 1947 to 4454 in 1966, Middle schools from 113 to 658 and the High/ Higher secondary schools increased from 113 to about 550. The number of Colleges also increased from 6 to 48. Some institutions for technical education were also opened during this period.¹⁹

There was however a meteoric rise in the economy of Haryana after its formation as a separate state in 1966. Numerous large scale manufacturing industries recorded rapid growth in terms of number,

production and income.

In agriculture too there was a growth revolution. The number of tube wells installed for example increased from 25,311 in 1966-68 to 4,97,571 in 1990-91.²⁰ The net irrigated area grew by 201%. The use of new technology, high yielding varieties and chemical fertilizers contributed to increasing the yield of various crops almost by 200%. In per capita income Haryana rose to the third place in the country.

It is with this background that we need to understand why the youth of Haryana throughout the 20th century were so strongly inclined to join the Armed Forces. The socio-political situation in the Haryana region was in a cauldron when the First World War broke out. Whereas the peasants were happy with the passing of Punjab Alienation of Land Act 1900, the trading communities and the lower middle class were agitated.²¹ The Swadeshi and Boycott movement and the spread and popularity of Arya Samaj in Haryana had stimulated a patriotic fever among the people of the region.²² However, the region reacted very favorably as did the rest of India and joined the British war effort wholeheartedly. Even the Arya Samaj announced its support for the war effort. The wide spread support for the British cause in the war led the Haryana region to contribute about 80,000 soldiers²³ to the British Indian Army in the First World War. Financial contributions from the region were to the tune of over Rs. 28 Lakhs. In addition about Rs. 1.7 Crores were contributed towards war loans, apart from materials and live stock.²⁴

The effort of course had its darker sides, because as the initial enthusiasm began to wane the government put pressure on committed loyalists to help in the recruitment of soldiers. This led to many steps that were dubious and undesirable. All kinds of techniques were used to convince and even force the youth for recruitment as well as the people to donate to war funds and loans. But the youth who joined the battles in Europe – by choice or by force came out with great distinction. For the first time, during World War I Indian soldiers won the Victoria Cross for which they had become eligible in 1911. Risaldar Badlu Ram of Rohtak District (now Jhajjar) was one of them. Jamadar Incha Ram and Jamadar Lakhi Ram both from Rohtak also won Military Crosses. In addition soldiers from Haryana won as many as 333 other gallantry awards and decorations.²⁵ 200 special Jagirs and 20000 other rewards were granted to selected Indian soldiers.²⁶ At the end of World War I, 420,000 acres of land were distributed among 5900 V.C.Os and other

ranking Indian officers. Over 14,000 persons received 'Jangi Inams' and specially selected V.C.O's received 200 Jagirs, 200 V.C.O's were granted honorary King's Commissions.²⁷ Liberal rewards in the form of titles like Raja, Rao-Bahadur, Rai-Bahadur, Sardar Bahadur, Khan-Bahadur (49) etc., medals like Kaiser-i-Hind (2); Swords of Honour, (17); Seats in Darbar (13); Jagirs, (10); Squares/Rectangles (112) of land; and Recruiting badges (52), were granted to a number of community leaders for their service in recruitment and collection of funds.²⁸

However, the impact of war had far reaching consequences. The peasantry suffered a great deal. About 15500 soldiers were demobilized²⁹ without any re-employment and there was steep rise in prices of grains and other items of daily use. The epidemics took a heavy toll. As a silver lining the events created the background for the political up-heaval that followed the war.³⁰

The pressure which was brought to bear on the Government by Indian leaders yielded some results and the Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College was set up at Dehradun and as formally opened by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales on March 13, 1922.³¹ Ultimately under great political pressure the Chetwood Committee resolved to recommend the establishment of the Indian Military College resulting in the opening of Indian Military Academy, Dehradun on October 1, 1932.³² This opened the gates for Indian youths to enroll in the Officer cadres.³³

Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 C.E and England declared war against Germany two days later. India as a part of the British Empire was committed to the war on the same day. Unlike World War I this time there was far less excitement among Indians, the Indian National Congress and other national parties having not accepted the unilateral commitment by the British of India into the war. The Muslim League too was not backing the war effort, though for its own reasons.³⁴ However, in Punjab the Unionist Ministry extended full support to the British Government, a situation that led Haryana to contribute 1,34,703 men to the British Indian Army from September 30, 1941 to September 30, 1945.³⁵ Princes, big landlords, *Kursi Nasheens* and *Darbaris* much influential as they were in their ilaqas, provided a large number of recruits to the army and contributed huge amounts to the Viceroy's war fund and war loans. They also purchased War Saving Fund certificates with and without interest. The *Kursi-Nashins* and *Darbaris* also made

anti congress propaganda in certain areas of Haryana.³⁶ Under the aegis of the district officials, big meetings were held all over the Ambala Division where appeals were made to the public to give generous donations to the war.³⁷ The Congress, however, made sternous efforts to dissuade people from enlistment in the army and subscribing to the war funds, even as followere of Sir Chhotu Ram under his influence greatly motivated the youth once again for being recruiting.³⁸

The Haryanvi soldiers bagged as many as five Victoria Crosses, 40 Military Crosses (MC), 36 Indian Distinguished Service Medals (I.D.S.M), two Indian Order of Merit (IOM), one Distinguished Service Order (DSO), 15 Military Medals (MM), 10 Sardar Bahadur and Order of British India (OBI), one Member of British Empire (MBE) and 30 Mentions in Dispatches (MID) during the course of World War II. Once again this was an exceptional contribution.³⁹

The country was divided into two dominions- India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947, with the Princely states being given the limited (practical) choice to choose the Dominion they wished to join.⁴⁰ The State of Jammu and Kashmir remained unacceded on August 15, 1947, and even signed a 'stand still' agreement with Pakistan. But Pakistan organised under the garb of tribals, *lashkars* and mercenaries an invasion of the valley of Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh⁴¹ of Kashmir in a situation of crisis acceded to India on Oct. 26, 1947, leading the Government of India to send military aid.⁴² Over the next 14 months hundreds of battles were fought and offensives launched in unknown terrains. The J&K operation was unique as it had been launched without adequate military intelligence, without proper maps, with no knowledge of the strength and disposition of the enemy, with no acclimatization of troops and with insufficient arms and equipment. Moreover the force had to be built up from scratch. In the initial stage even radio communication was not available.⁴³

The Haryanvi soldier once again found himself at battle in difficult and unknown terrain. The Other Ranks and officers hailing from Haryana formed part of several Battalions, and formations viz. 1 Sikh, 1 Para Kumaon, 4 Kumaon, 4 Dogra, 1 Rajput, 2 Jat, 3 Jat, 5 Jat, 7 Cavalry, 4 Regiment, 1 Patiala, 3 Para Rajput Regiment, 1 Para, 4 Kumaon, 6 Raj Rif, Grenadiers, 22 Mountain Regiment and E.M.E.⁴⁴ They set examples of heroism and bravery and bagged as many as 8 Maha Vir Chakras and 33 Vir Charkas in addition to a large number of Mentions in Dispatches.⁴⁵

In addition an Officer commanding Haryanavi troops was awarded the Param Vir Chakra Posthumously, this was the great Major Som Nath Sharma of 4 Kumaon.⁴⁶ It was Independent India's highest and first decoration for gallantry. In addition some of the brave officers who commanded mainly Haryanvi troops were awarded two Mahavir Chakras, Lt Col M.M. Khanna,⁴⁷ C O, 4 Kumaon and Major Malkit Singh Brar⁴⁸ C O, 1 Para Kumaon, whereas one Vir Chakra was bestowed upon Major H.S., Bolina, O C A Company, 4 Kumaon.⁴⁹

The battle of Shalateng was one of the most fearsome battles ever fought by the Indian Army.⁵⁰ A decisive Victory in the battle totally changed the tide of war in the Kashmir valley and completely removed the threat to Srinagar. Dafadar Jage Ram of 7 Cavalry (Bhiwani) was awarded the Vir Chakra in this battle and Lance Naik Ram Singh of 1 Sikh (Fatehabad) while following the raiders after the battle of Shalateng was awarded the second Vir Chakra posthumously.⁵¹

History was created when the Stuart Light tanks were taken to the 12000 feet high Zozi La Pass. The battle of Zozi La saved Ladakh. Naib Subedar Thambu Ram, Sepoy Mange Ram, Sepoy Jai Lal, Subedar Thandi Ram M.C. won their great Vir Charkas during the battle of Zozi La. Poonch was saved in the final link up under Major Gen. Atma Singh. Many a memorable battle was fought and gallantry awards won by the proud soldiers hailing from Haryana in this action, these include Lt Col Dharam Singh, Nk. Angna Ram and Sepoy Man Singh.⁵²

The 1962 war with China was fought at a time when the Indian Army was suffering severely from the sustained unpreparedness and lack of foresight on the part of the political leadership.⁵³ The war was a monumental debacle and a big setback for the country. However, despite poor equipment, improper clothing, no acclimatization and arms of the World War II vintage, the Indian soldiers fought so gallantly that even the enemy had to salute them.⁵⁴ A saga of bravery was enacted in NEFA by 2nd Rajput Battalion and by the 'C' Company of 13 Kumaon at Rezang La in Ladakh. The heroes from Haryana won as many as 3 Mahavir Chakras and 17 Vir Chakras during the 1962 war. Maj. Shaitan Singh, Officer Commanding, Charlie Company of 13 Kumaon bagged the highest gallantry award, the Param Vir Chakra posthumously.⁵⁵

Encouraged by the disastrous Indo-China war of 1962, which had humiliated India, Pakistan started Operation 'Gibraltar' in 1965 sending 7000 military and para military personnel in civilian cloths⁵⁶ into Kashmir

in mid 1965, almost as in 1947. When Operation Gibraltar failed and Pakistan lost the Haji Pir Pass⁵⁷ to 1 Para led by a gallant Haryanvi, Lt. Col. (Later Lt. Gen.) R.S. Dyal (Kurukshetra) Pakistan launched Operation Grand Slam on Sept. 1, 1965. Many memorable battles were fought; Asal-Uttar in which Pakistan lost 97 tanks was one for example. However, the battles chosen for detailed discussion include the capture of Haji Pir Pass by 1 Para and the battles of Dograi by 3 Jats, both having sizeable number of soldiers from Haryana on their rolls.

During the Indo-Pak war the Officers and Other Ranks from Haryana bagged as many as 6 Mahavir Chakras and 21 Vir Chakras, in addition to umpteen Mentions in Dispatches. Mahavir Chakras were awarded to Brigadier Khem Karan Singh, Maj Gen Sarup Singh Kalan, Maj. Gen. (then Lt Col) Madan Mohan Singh Bakshi, Lt Gen (then Lt Col) Ranjit Singh Dayal, Air Marshal Prem Pal Singh and Wing Commander Jag Mohan Nath.⁵⁸

The seventies started with a better-trained, well-equipped and well-organized army.⁵⁹ In the struggle for power between the Western Wing of Pakistan and East Pakistan, the latter was greatly oppressed. On the mid night of March 25, 1971 Dacca had its first blood bath, the Pakistani army unleashed a campaign of terror which was unparalleled for its ferocity and savagery.⁶⁰ The next morning independence for East Pakistan was declared in the name of the Awami League. The crisis led to a tremendous inflow of refugees into India.⁶¹ The Pakistani Air Force started the war in the Western theatre on December 3.⁶² Battles were fought on both the Eastern as well as Western fronts. For the first time the Indian Air Force and the Indian Navy actively participated in the war. Ultimately a new nation Bangladesh took birth and 91000 Pakistani Officers and Other Ranks surrendered to the Indian Armed Forces.⁶³

Officers and Other Ranks from Haryana once again played an important role in the 1971 war. Major Hoshiar Singh (Sonipat) was decorated with a well-earned Param Vir Chakra in the battle of Basantar. In the same battle Major Vijay Rattan Choudhary of 9 Engineers (Ambala) was posthumously awarded the Mahavir Chakra. Two more MVC's were awarded to Brig (Later Lt Gen) V.P. Airy (Karnal) and Capt Devender Singh Ahlawat of Gochhi (Rohtak). The valiant Haryanvi soldiers were awarded as many as 38 Vir Chakras and 10 Sena Medals.⁶⁴

The 1971 war with Pakistan saw for the first time the Indian Air Force and the Indian Navy in full combat. Both the wings came outwith

exceptional honour. To a lesser degree no doubt but men from Haryana won a large number of gallantry awards both in the Air Force and the Navy. These included 2 Vir Chakras and Sena Medals in the Air Force action. From the Navy Commadore Babrubhan Yadav, leading Seaman Chiman Singh Yadav (Rewari) won the Maha Vir Chakras, besides 4 Vir Chakras and 5 Vayu Sena Medals were also won by the Haryana seamen in the war.⁶⁵

The Kargil intrusion in 1999 was an outcome of Pakistan's failure in the valley. Frustrated in their designs, the Pakistani Army took recourse to large-scale bombardment of Indian positions along with LOC to a depth of 4-5 kilometers.⁶⁶ After a large discussion, a deliberate decision to employ the Indian Air Force offensively, and to launch Operation Vijay from June 1, 1999, was taken.⁶⁷ Army units of 4 Jat, 8 Jat, 17 Jat, 9 Mahar, 11 Kumaon, 2 Rajput Rifles, 16 Grenadiers, 18 Grenadiers, 22 Grenadiers, 5 Para, 5 Rajput Rifles, 23 Rajput Rifles, 8 Sikh, 212 Rocket Regiment, 3 Rajput Rifles, 9 Rajput Rifles, 5 Rajput Rifles, 11 Rajput Rifles, 17 Rajput Rifles, 17 Maratha Light Infantry were mainly involved in Operation Vijay in which Haryanvi soldiers fought. In addition to the above units some Para Military Units having personnel from Haryana, 129 Bn. BSF, 141 Bn. BSF, 171 Bn. BSF, 193 Bn. BSF and 4th Bn. ITBP were involved in Operation Vijay. The Officers and soldiers from Haryana won one MVC and five V.C in addition to other awards and decorations.⁶⁸

In Kargil conflict brave 519 all ranks of the Army and five of the Indian Air Force laid down their lives, while 1365 all ranks were wounded and one declared missing. Of these 74 dead belonged to Haryana.⁶⁹

During the last seven decades as many as 554 soldiers from Haryana laid down their lives during various other operations conducted by the India Armed Forces within and outside India. In these Ops one MVC and 13 V.Cs were awarded to Haryanvi Officers and other Ranks for displaying exemplary courage in battlefields.⁷⁰

The large and out of proportion representation of Haryana in the Armed Forces and the great success in the service of people from the region is an important issue by itself, meriting a more detailed and exclusive study.

When looked at in terms of the small size of the state and the small share it has in the total population of India, the winning by its soldiers of 24 Maha Vir Chakras (third highest state wise in India); 112 Vir Chakras (third highest state-wise in India) not to forget Param Vir Chakra

and the large number of other gallantry award, the Haryanvi soldier and their families have a lot to be proud of. The large number of gallantry awards is of course only one aspect of the contribution of the Haryanvi soldier to the Forces and the nation, in return the influence and impact of the Armed Forces on the region- its economy, its society transmitted through the retired and servicing soliders and their families has been monumental. It is clear from the study that the bond and attraction of the Haryanvi youth with and towards the Armed Forces is only growing stronger.

Throughout history the region known as Haryana has been a cauldron of war. The inhabitants were good agriculturists who took up arms whenever required to save their home from the marauders mostly coming from the west. The contribution of Haryana to the Indian Armed Forces both during the colonial times and in the post-Independence decades has been very significant. The soldiers and officers from this small state have played a big role in wars and other actions and have brought laurels to the country. It is unfortunate, however, that this brilliant account written by our soldiers with their blood finds hardly any space in mainstream history.

Moreover Military History as such has not received its due consideration in historical discourse. Though military is and has played an important role in Haryanvi society yet unfortunately military history has been kept at a bay by historians and scholars.

A careful perusal shows that although Haryana has made important contribution to the Indian Army, yet as a region it hardly finds any mention in the main stream history of the state. Not only the folklore of Haryana is full of the valour of the soldiery its contribution in the economy, culture, education, agriculture has been noteworthy. They played a significant role in the freedom struggle. However, we find only passing references in mainstream history. Several books are available on various aspects and themes of Haryana's history. However, reference to the role and contributions of the soldier has not yet attracted any focused attention. One of the reasons could be that military history is considered of only an account of winners and losers and the killed. However, fact it is not so, the wars affect the social life of the winners and losers or the society to a great extent.

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Women Empowerment in the Post-Colonial Period

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The present article, Women Empowerment in the Post-Colonial Period endeavored to highlight the various initiatives taken by the Government of India for empowering women and enhanced participation of women in the development of India. The strengthening of women's participation in all spheres of life has become a major issue in the discourse of economic and social development in the last decades. Government of India has been trying to ensure gender equality without discrimination of men and women. The Vedas reminds us that '*Jatra Nari Pujjante Ramante Tatra Devata*,' that means wherever woman is respected, God resides there. It further explains that no nation can prosper and develop without respecting women. India can respect women and can give equal right with men. The term Empowerment of women refers to the development of the spiritual, social, political, economic strength, decision making, rights and human dignity of all women. The women empowerment has been growing up day by day after the independence, as a result Indian women live in standard.

The empowerment of women has become an issue as well as challenge in our society. 'Empowerment' may be described as a process which helps people to assert their control over the factors which affect their lives. The process of empowerment has five dimensions, viz. Cognitive, psychological, economic, political and physical:

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- (i) The cognitive dimension refers to women having an understanding of the conditions and causes of their subordination at the micro and macro levels. It involves making choices that may go against cultural expectations and norms;
- (ii) The psychological dimension includes the belief that women can act at personal and societal levels to improve their individual realities and the society in which they live;
- (iii) The economic component requires that women have access to, and control over, productive resources, thus ensuring some degree of financial autonomy. However, she notes that changes in the economic balance of power do not necessarily alter traditional gender roles or norms;
- (iv) The political element entails that women have the capability to analyse, organise and mobilise for social change; and
- (v) There is a physical element of gaining control over one's body and sexuality and the ability to protect oneself against sexual violence to the empowerment process.

Since August 15, 1947, upliftment of women has been one of the objectives of Indian Polity. Within the framework of a democratic polity, our laws, development policies, plans and programmers have aimed at women's advancement in different spheres of life. The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. The Indian constitution and legislative provisions grant equality to women and also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women to neutralize the cumulative socio-economic, educational and political disadvantages faced by them.

The government of India has enacted several women-specific legislations to uphold the constitutional mandate and to protect women against social discrimination, violence and atrocities and also to prevent social evils like child marriages, dowry, rape, practice of sati etc. The 'crime against women' under various legislations of government of India could be broadly classified within two categories: First, the crimes identified under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) which includes Rape (Sec. 376 IPC); Kidnapping & Abduction for different purposes (Sec. 363-373); Homicide for dowry, dowry deaths or their attempts (Sec.302/304-B IPC); Torture, both mental and physical (Sec. 498-A IPC); Molestation (Sec.

354 IPC); Sexual harassment (Sec. 509 IPC) and importation of girls (up to 21 years of age). Secondly, the crimes identified under the Special Laws (SLL) which are though not gender specific, but some do have special provisions to safeguard women and their interests. It includes The Employees State Insurance Act, 1948; The Plantation Labor Act, 1951; The Family Courts Act, 1954; The Special Marriage Act, 1954; The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956; The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961 (Amended in 1995); Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961; The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971; The Contract Labor (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1976; The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976; The Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1979; The Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 1983; The Factories (Amendment) Act, 1986; Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986; Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987; and The Marriage (Amendment) Act, 2001 etc.

In the first five year plan, the issue to provide equal status to women in India was focused. In fact the first four five year plans were focused on organizing various welfare activities for women's with priority to women's education. From the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974- 78) onwards there has been a marked shift in the approach to women's issues from welfare to development. The seventh plan laid stress on efforts to identify and promote beneficiary oriented programmes with the intention of extending direct benefits to women in India and then from Eighth Five Year Plan emphasis was shifted from development to empowerment. It recommended 30 percent reservation for women at all levels of government. The Ninth plan ensured that a minimum of 30 percent of benefits or funds flow to women from all ministries and departments of the government. The National Commission for Women was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1990 to safeguard the rights and legal entitlements of women.

The Government of India had ushered in the new millennium by declaring the year 2001 as 'Women's Empowerment, Year' to focus on a vision 'where women are equal partners like men'. The national policy of empowerment of women has set certain clear-cut goals and objectives. The objective of government policy in India has been to bring about development, advancement and empowerment of women in the country through active participation of all stakeholders. The objectives and goals of the National Policy include the creation of an enabling

environment for women through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential, active protection of rights, equal access to decision making and social sector needs, strengthening institutional support systems and legal machinery, and forging partnerships within civil society. Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public life, etc. Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women. Ministering a gender perspective in the development process. Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child. Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations. The National policy for empowerment of women envisaged the introduction of a gender perspective in the budgeting process as an operational strategy. A few laws and legislations are enforced strictly for effective and proper implementation of this policy. In short, the active and committed elimination of all forms of discrimination against all women. These objectives, the Policy affirms will be realised through a review and formulation of positive measures in the judicial legal system, decision making, through the economic and social empowerment of women.

The government has taken some measures for women empowerment by building up girls' schools, Womens' colleges and universities, etc. and also given special opportunities to the women by adopting reservation policies in employment and service. Government of India has been trying to ensure gender equality without discrimination of men and women. The Ministry of women and child development, as the nodal agency for all matters pertaining to welfare, development and empowerment of women, has evolved schemes and programmes for their benefit. These schemes are spread across a broader spectrum, such as women's need for shelter, security, safety, legal aid, justice, information, maternal health, food, nutrition, etc., as well as their need for economic sustenance through skill development, education and access to credit and marketing. The schemes of the Ministry like *Swashakti*, *Swayamsidha*, *STEP* (Support to Training and Employment Programme for Women) and *Swawlamban* enable economic empowerment. Swadhar and Short Stay Homes, Swarnjayanti Gram

Swarozgar Yojana, Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) Gender Budgeting in India provide protection and rehabilitation to women in difficult circumstances. The Ministry also supports autonomous bodies like National Commission, Central Social Welfare Board and Rashtriya Mahila Kosh, which work for the welfare and development of women. As the nodal Ministry for women, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) has been undertaking several initiatives for the empowerment of women. In this context, Gender Budgeting (GB) has been adopted by the Government as a tool for ensuring that adequate budgetary commitments are made for women. To build capacities of functionaries and stakeholders at all levels, a Gender Budget Scheme was launched in the XI Plan. As part of this Scheme, the Ministry sponsored training programmes and workshops at the Centre and in the States, developed training material, undertook direct interactive sessions with identified Ministries and provided technical support on GB in training courses organised by other organisations. The year 2015 will witness the change in the lives of countless girl child and women. The scheme launched by Prime Minister Shri Narendra Modi "*Beti bachao beti Padhao*" (BBBP) *Yojana* (save daughter, educate daughter) to save and empower the girl child is making waves all over the nation.

Education leads to the empowerment of women improving economic growth, low fertility rate, health and sanitation, Social awareness, equal rights, work participation rate, political participation and other participation may build up a better India. As the result, some positive indicators of women's development in India can be seen in the female literacy rate, which rose from 8 percent in 1947 to 54 percent in the 2001 census. As per the latest information, 1.25 lakh women become graduates as doctors every year. This is 50% of the woman graduates. Further, 21% of India's software professional and 25% of science and engineering graduates are women. More than 50% of the students who pass out every year with a bachelor degree in humanities are girls (India Today, April 4, 2005). The ICPD Program of Action stresses "Education is one of the most important means of empowering women with the knowledge, skills and self-confidence necessary to participate fully in the development process." In the same way, the life expectancy rate rose from 40.6 years in 1861-1971 to 58.1 years during 1981-1991 and

to 64.9 years in 2001. The total fertility rate has also come down from 5.97 in 1951-1961 to 3.3 in 1997 and to 2.97 in 2001, signaling a comparatively greater acceptance of family planning and late marriage norms. A woman's presence in parliament has also increased from 4 percent in 1952 to 8.9 percent in 2001. At the village and district levels, nearly one million women are heads and members of the local self-government institutions.

India has also ratified various international conventions and human rights instruments committed to secure equal rights of women. Important among them is the ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1993; The Mexico Plan of Action (1975); the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies (1985); the Beijing Declaration as well as the Platform for Action (1995) and the outcome document adopted by the UNGA session on Gender Equality and Development & Peace for the 21st century titled 'Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action' have been endorsed by India for appropriate follow up.

As a result of Government of India's national policy of empowerment of women, Indian women are being empowered in the various field of the society effectively. Indian women working as teachers, professors, doctors, nurses, advocates, judges, managers, administrators, police officers, bank employees, clerks, typists, telephone operators, receptionists and personal assistants are found in almost all major cities in our country. And in some of the cities women do not hesitate to work as bus conductors and drivers, police constables, auto *rikshwo* drivers etc. Indira Gandhi, Mother Teresa, Aruna Asaf Ali and Lata Mangeshkar had been awarded "Bharat Ratna", the national highest award, for the contribution in their fields. And some other women are acting as IAS, IFS and IPS officer in different departments of the central Government of India very successfully. In the present time, few number of women act as judges in the high court and in the supreme court of India. Mrs. Pratibha Devi Sigh Patil, ex-president of India is a Legend of Indian woman. And some other women are big businessman, writer, pleader, social thinker, social reformer and good administrator in their tolerance. At present many women act as scientists from different parts of the country, with eleven active branches in cities like Delhi, Pune, Bhopal, Roorkee, Hyderabad, Lucknow, Kalpakkam etc. and many of them act as scientists outside India like Sunita William. Today's Indian woman is a

symbol of strength and pride to the nation. Saina Newhal, Karnam Maleswari, Anju Bobby George, P.T. Usha, Sania Mirza, Mary kom are the pride of India for their contribution in the concerned field. The Womens' cricket team and Womens' Hocky team of India successfully lead in national and International level by their own efforts and practice.

The 16th Lok Sabha has 61 women members, the highest in history, speaker of the 16th Lok Sabha is again a woman, Sumitra Mahajan. The present Rajya Sabha has 29 women members. The seven women ministers in the 46-member Council of Ministers have reinforced the new government's agenda of women empowerment. Six of the 23 Cabinet ministers are women, claiming almost a 25 per cent share. Three of them – Smriti Irani (HRD), Nirmala Sitharaman (Commerce and Industry) and Harsimrat Kaur Badal (Food Processing) - are going to hold their maiden portfolios as ministers. The age profile of these ministers - the youngest Smriti Irani at 38 and the oldest minister of the Cabinet Najma Heptullah at 74 - adds to the spectrum. Sushma Swaraj has got the key position of External Affairs Minister and is also the first woman after three decades to be a member of the all powerful Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS).

Thus we may conclude that the Government of India has indeed provided the women with opportunity to involve in the overall socio-economic development. With the note that due recognition must be given to women, women empowerment cannot be possible unless women come with and help to self-empower themselves and society should come forward to ensure equal status for women in all spheres of life. So, both the central and the state government should take steps in the development of women empowerment so that they may lead the life with safety, security, prosperity and standard keeping their heads high in the society, in the country and in the world.

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Political Scenario and Emergence of Communal Disturbances in Eastern Punjab in 1947

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The present study attempts to examine the 'Political Scenario and Emergence of Communal Disturbances in Eastern Punjab in 1947'. Punjab was the most burning place during 1947. The Communal disturbances took place in Punjab, influenced the politics at the national level also. As a result of communalism, partition of Punjab and partition of India took place. On 14 August, 1947, Pakistan emerged as a new country. A huge exchange of population took place between India and the newly emerged country, Pakistan. Communal riots took place in Punjab as well as in the other parts of the country also. Millions of lives were lost in Punjab massacres. The tragedy of partition of India developed souring relations between India and Pakistan.

INTRODUCTION

The present work attempts to examine the 'Political Scenario and Emergence of Communal Disturbances in Eastern Punjab in 1947'. Punjab was the most affected Province in 1947. Communalism at the Provincial level in Punjab and at the all India level greatly influenced each other. Till the early 1940s in Punjab, '*biradari*' and other local identities were more important than notions of the Hindu, the Muslim or the Sikh Communities. Communalism made considerable inroads in the preceding decades. Punjab experienced great change by 1946 which came about as a result of politics playing a significant part in building up communal tension and creating a distance between different religious communities. The Muslim League's assertive identification of the entire

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Muslim community with itself and its constant refrain that Pakistan held out a better alternative, its preaching that the Muslims would be bulldozed under the Hindu domination, helped a great deal in creating communal tension in Punjab. The Muslim League's election campaign in 1945-1946 on the issue of Pakistan, added to this process. The League avoided giving a precise definition of what Pakistan actually meant for the Muslims but it became successful in convincing the people, of the inevitability of Pakistan. Pakistan movement did not gain its initial strength from the Muslim majority Provinces such as Punjab or North West Frontier Provinces, but from the Provinces of Uttar Pradesh and other regions where the Muslims were numerically a minority. The call for the 'Direct Action' in the name of 'Allah' and the cry of 'Islam in Danger' further accentuated communal consciousness among the Muslims. The negotiations on Cabinet Mission's Proposal for the formation of a Constituent Assembly and interim government increased the sharp cleavages among different communities in Punjab. The changing moods of the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims on these issues reflected the firm links that had been established between Politics and popular sentiment. Jinnah's call for 'Direct Action' and the gradual building of 'Private Armies' by different political parties and volunteer organisations such as the RSS, National Guards and the Akalis accentuated communal consciousness among the Muslims.

POLITICAL SCENARIO IN INDIA AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

On June 25 - July 14, 1945, Lord Wavell, held the Shimla Conference. He invited Indian political leaders to take council with him at Shimla. He wanted to establish an Executive Council of the leaders of the main political parties in India during the Second World War so that smooth functioning of the Government and peaceful Transfer of Power could be achieved. The Shimla Conference highlighted the importance of Punjab for Jinnah since this was the Province which defied his claim to represent the entire Muslim community. The Muslim League Unionists controversy during the conference focused on the issue of the nomination of the Muslim League and the Unionist Muslims to the Viceroy's Executive Council. The ruling, Unionist Party of the Punjab could not secure positions on the proposed Executive Council of India which put Wavell in a difficult position. He could neither ignore Punjab as a Province nor bypass the Unionist in his proposed plan. Punjab factor affected the

whole scheme. The failure of negotiations between the British and the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League on the issues of Interim Government and Constituent Assembly, had the impact of further increasing communal animosity. The Province of Punjab, due to its religious, social, economic, strategic and political position played a decisive role in determining the future of the central Government of India.

Provincial Elections in Punjab in 1946 were political disaster for the Muslim League. According to Jinnah, Punjab was the key to Pakistan. Muslim League needed to get control of Punjab for Creation of Pakistan. The Muslim League could not win overall majority but it was single largest party in the Punjab Assembly. But Muslim League was unable to form the ministry. Sir Bertrand Glancy, The Governor of Punjab, invited Khizir Hyat Khan Tiwana to form the ministry. So a Coalition Government was formed comprising of the Unionists, the Sikhs and the Congress. The Muslim League now declared its determination to establish undiluted Muslim rule in Punjab and directed its energies towards overthrowing the new coalition.

On March 15, 1946, Lord Attlee made a historic announcement in the House of People where the India's right to self-determination and training of a constitution were conceded. Three Members of the British Cabinet were sent to India, as Cabinet Mission. As per Cabinet Mission Plan, First a provision was made for three groups of provinces to possess their separate constitutions, which it was hoped would retain the political unity of India, Comprising both the British India and the princely states, which would remain incharge only foreign affairs, defense and communication leaving the residuary powers to vested in the Provinces. Secondly, till the new constitution was adopted, there would be an Interim Government of all major political parties.

On July 29, 1946, in Bombay the Muslim League passed a resolution and revoked its decision to support the Cabinet Mission Plan. Jinnah announced that the Muslim League should goodbye to constitutional methods and take 'Direct Action' to achieve Pakistan, to get rid of the present British slavery and contemplated future caste Hindu domination. As a protest against 'their deep resentment of the attitude of the British', the Muslim League called upon the Muslims to return the titles 'conferred upon them by the British Government'. The Muslim League ordered 'Direct Action' or mass agitation in Calcutta on August 16, 1946.

Thousands of Persons were killed in this brutal action. Hindus were massacred on a large scale.

On September 2, 1946- Jawahar Lal Nehru assumed the charge of Interim Government after the decision of the Muslim League not to join it. Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development in the Coalition Government of Punjab, took over the portfolio of Defence. The arrangement of an Interim Government proved unworkable. It became clear that no Government, which included the Muslim League, could function and Partition of India would be the solution. Outside the Government, the Hindu and Muslim communities poised against each other. The country stood at the verge of the civil war. Meanwhile there had been a marked deterioration in the situation in Punjab. The responsibility for this rested largely on the communal disturbances in the other parts of the country. Jinnah declared at Delhi on November 14, 1946 that the only solution to the Indian problem was a division of British India into Pakistan and Hindustan whose constitutions should be drawn up by two constituent bodies. Jinnah's declaration caused communal strife and the situation in Punjab worsened rapidly. Lord Attlee declared on February 20, 1947, of his intentions to Transfer Power to responsible Indian hands by June, 1948, emboldened the Muslim League to intensify the struggle to get its demand of Pakistan conceded.

The Indian leaders, who held the power to decide the destiny of the subcontinent, gathered at the Viceroy's house in Delhi on June 2, 1947. In the conference with the Viceroy, Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar represented the Muslim League, while Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabha Bhai Patel and Acharya Kripalani represented the Congress. The Sikhs were represented by Sardar Baldev Singh. The Viceroy put his plan of partition before them. As the conference continued till next day, these leaders assembled at Viceroy's House on June 3, 1947 and the representatives of the Congress, Muslim League and the Sikhs intimated the Viceroy of the acceptance of the proposals. Lord Mountbatten, The Viceroy announced the British Government's plan of June 3, 1947 that the British would Transfer the Power on August 15, 1947 to one or two successor authorities as the case might be.

COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES IN EASTERN PUNJAB

Districts of Eastern Punjab in 1947 (As per census of 1941) - Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Simla, Kangra, Hoshiyarpur, Jullundur,

Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Gurdaspur.

Sikhs and Hindus left Pakistan in order to cripple it economically as they held important position in the west Punjab. On August 14, 1947 Pakistan was born officially. On September 5, 1947 rioting begun in Amritsar became out of control by 6 March 1947. The aim of the communal war of succession in Amritsar was to make it impossible for a rival community to continue living in a territory claimed for the majority. On 6 March, Nine cases of stabbing were also reported from Ludhiana. A curfew was imposed from 6.00 P.M. to 7.00 A.M. and companies of troops were sent to Ludhiana to control the worse situation. Jullundur was highly affected by communal riots. A large Muslim mob gathered, shouting slogans and molesting individual Hindus and Sikhs and stabbed Babu Labh Singh, former president of Akali Dal, to death. The situation became more tense. In Mewat, trouble started on 26 March, when some Meos stole a buffalo from Nurpur village. When the Hindus recovered the buffalo, Meos attacked on the Hindus. Incidents of village burning took place there. In May, 1947 communal riots took place in Amritsar. Master Tara Singh in Amritsar declared to revenge their people. Trains were attacked and Muslims were driven out from their homes. The commissioner of Ambala division reported on 10 June, 1947 that strength of the troops was inadequate to deal with armed bands. On 10 July, armed gang attacked villages with guns and spears in Ferozepur. On 19 July, in Hoshiyarpur a communal clash took place and 20 people were killed. On 15 August, 1947, Muslims attacked on a train on Gurdaspur-Sialkot boarder. In Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur rural areas, the situation was very tense. According to Penderal Moon casualties in the East Punjab were heavier than the West Punjab. On 17 August, Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met at Ambala to bring peace, order and security to the Punjab and made joint appeal for peace.

In the end of the August a camp for 6000 Muslims was set up at Hansi (Hisar district) which was attacked by Jats, Rajputs and Banias and resulted in a heavy loss of Muslim life. There were several attacks on trains between Jullundur, Ludhiana and Rajpura. A Sikh was not safe anywhere and was killed at sight. In Hoshiyarpur several looters were arrested. A large no. of illicit weapons was recovered at Karnal district. The police force in Kurukshetra could not protect refugee camps with refugees from Pakistan. In the end of the November, 1947 atmosphere of peace was restored in East Punjab, and transit camps were opened

for displaced persons at Fazilka, Ferozepur, Attari, Amritsar, Dera Baba Nanak from where they were proceed to the areas allocated to them under central plan.

CONCLUSION

We Indians got freedom at last on 15 August, 1947. But Freedom was accompanied by the tragedy of partition. It struck at the heart of the people and divided administration, economy, military and resources of the subcontinent in two parts in a very bitter environment. In Punjab, millions of lives were lost, families, relations and friends separated, homes broken in the communal blood bath. The newly created states soon became 'enemy' states. The Punjab massacres contributed to souring relations between India and Pakistan. Peasants trudged along wearily, mounted guerrillas burst out of the tall crops that lined the road and culled them like sheep. Punjab was the principal centre of the violence, one of the great human tragedies during this time. Special refugee trains, filled to bursting when they set out, suffered repeated ambushes along the way.

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16

Relevance of Sir Chhotu Ram's Ideology in the Present Time: Special Reference to his Social Welfare Reforms

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The undivided Punjab covered an area of 1, 48,610 square miles with agriculture as the mainstay of the majority of its people. The total cultivated area in Punjab was about 2.3 million acres in 1901-1902. Food crops accounted for about three-fourth of the total sown area. The non-food crops occupied the remaining one-fourth area of the food crops and food grains covered over 70 percent of the total area with cereals alone accounting for over 50 percent. The other food crops like sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, condiments, spices etc, were sown on only 2 or 3 percent of the total area under crops.¹ The major portion of the Punjab plains thus contained a deep alluvial soil which could be irrigated with great advantage. With a moderate and well distributed rainfall the Punjab was capable of growing a wide variety of crops. In this context the province was singularly blessed and its agriculturists were more fortunate than those of many other parts of India.²

In early twenty century, the peasantry was, as noted, in a very poor state. Indebtedness, exploitation, illiteracy and backwardness were rampant. In due course of time, the region as we know was transformed into one of the most progressive and dynamic of economies. Yet serious issues remain untouched. Chhotu Ram foresaw, seventy years ago, what we witness today - a resurgent peasantry. He knew that the Indian peasantry would come into its own way one day. Chhotu Ram changed the socio-economic scenario through his policies and programmes which

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not only liberated the peasantry from social, economic and political shackles but also resulted into systematic initiation of developmental works in rural areas.³

Chhotu Ram liberated the peasantry and rural masses through a series of legislative measures popularly known as '*Golden Laws*' which he got passed and implemented in Punjab inspite of unprecedented opposition. Some of his agrarian reforms like consolidation of land holdings are still relevant in the context of prevailing condition in large parts of the country. Earlier almost the entire provincial revenue was charged from the peasantry, yet hardly any amount was spent on agriculture and rural development. In this sense, the social, economic and political ideas of Chhotu Ram formulated during the colonial period continue to have relevance even in the present times. That is why, we find traces of the influences of the ideas of Chhotu Ram on the politics of leaders like Charan Singh and Devi Lal. The emergence of peasant movements in different parts of India also indicates the continuing relevance of his ideas

The present economic, political, social and religious situation of the region of Chhotu Ram's domain is totally different from that of his times. This change is due to the policies and programmes initiated and advocated by him and the path shown by him. The awareness and the urge which he himself and his policies had created in the masses, especially in the peasantry, have overcome the catastrophic effects of the partition of 1947. The successive governments of the region followed more or less the same path of improving and encouraging agriculture and rural development⁴ as proposed by Chhotu Ram.

The process of development in Haryana and Punjab today, can in many ways be traced to his policies. Chhotu Ram was well aware of the prevailing exploitation, backwardness and ignorance of rural masses. His aim was to bring about the economic salvation of this exploited class. The chief plank of his party was the upliftment of backward classes and backward areas. Chhotu Ram followed a policy of repelling attacks on the Alienation of Land Act, proposing and enacting other measures of relief from indebtedness and protection of debtors. He sought to raise their net income in order to provide permanent relief from exploitation, rationalizing the tax structure and providing relief to peasantry, diverting an increasing amount of state expenditure towards rural areas. He sought to cut down the wasteful government expenditure,

formulate and implement a comprehensive agriculture cum rural development programme involving entire rural life with active participation through *panchayats* and co-operative societies. He suggested measures for rapid industrialization of the province with special emphasis on agro-based, rural and cottage industries, seeking development in agriculture, irrigation, education, public health, roads and infrastructure. He wanted to remove social evils and taboos and support the cause of national integration and communal harmony.⁵

It is commonly believed that Chhotu Ram's efforts for financial reforms, economic policies and ideology were restricted merely to the rural and agricultural sector. Some critics have charged Chhotu Ram as being incapable of thinking beyond the confines of agriculture and the agriculturists. Based on the demographic realities of the Punjab, Chhotu Ram was justified in concentrating his efforts on the improvement of the economic conditions of the agriculturists and the rural area in general, but this is not to suggest that he ignored the urban areas and their problems.

Chhotu Ram had fought tooth and nail against the exploiting class and was successful in establishing a virtual *Kisan Raj* in Punjab by enacting the *Golden Acts*. These Acts were adopted by later governments across India in some form or the other. The Legislative enactment by Chhotu Ram and the Unionist Party brought about a dynamic change in the rural society of Punjab. Undoubtedly, these measures had far reaching consequences. These went a long way in protecting the interests of the agriculturists and promoted the growth of agriculture in the province. The roots of the '*Green Revolution*' in Punjab and Haryana can, infact, be traced to the works and policies of Chhotu Ram.⁶

The Social welfare policies of Chhotu Ram are very much relevant these days. Take the example of the evil of drinking. He was in favour of prohibition and even introduced partial prohibition in some of the districts of the then Punjab. At the same time he was against any encouragement of liquor for the purpose of increasing state revenue. He advocated prohibition even at the cost of revenue as he was well aware of the damage to society due to society.⁷ Although in Haryana, Bansi Lal Government had banned the sale of liquor in the state from July 1, 1996, which proved a failure, but the policy of Chhotu Ram in this connection is much more relevant today in order to check the menace of liquor and degradation of social life of the society.⁸ society.⁸

Being an *Arya Samajist*, he was a great admirer of the work done by *Arya Samaj* for the emancipation of women. According to him, 'The position of women in the village society needed much improvement, women do most of the work in the house, labour side by side with men in the fields and are very badly treated.'⁹ He was in favour of women education, but not in making it compulsory. The Primary Education for Boys Act of 1919 had proved a failure, and as there was shortage of trained lady teachers, moreover parents in backward areas did not like their daughter to receive education from male teachers and in co-educational institutes. The overall impact of his efforts in the field of female education was, however, notable. Chhotu Ram was a strong supporter of the cause of women's emancipation through education and eradication of social evils and customs. He wrote in *Jat Gazette*, "Prudence is a women's greatest property, ornaments and beauty. I oppose her confinement to the four walls of the house, as well as to the unhygienic custom of *Purdah*, but I strongly criticize their loitering aimlessly, smoking and drinking."¹⁰ He was also in favour of widow re-marriage.¹¹

The people of the region, both in India and Pakistan, especially in Punjab and Haryana, celebrate his birthday which falls on *Basant Panchami* every year with great enthusiasm. Chhotu Ram was fondly addressed by the people of Punjab by the titles of *Rehbar-i-Azam* and *Deenbandhu*. He understood the problems of the rural people and worked out practical solutions. C. Rajagopalachari said, "Chhotu Ram not only had great aims but also knew how to achieve them."¹² Chhotu Ram used to say that irrespective of our different religions, the same ancient blood is flowing through our veins and we are all brothers and sisters, and religion cannot separate us and we have the same secular interests. Chhotu Ram has left behind a valuable legacy of thought, words and deeds, which had crystallized in the form of selfless public services.¹³

The path shown by Chhotu Ram brought the rural mass into main stream of human progress to create an environment where they could fully develop and express their capabilities so that they not only contribute to, but also benefit from development. Chhotu Ram's policy and programmes are all the more relevant in the present context of rural development which has been the victim of neglect in this country. It is easier to implement such an agenda under the present political set up in the country than it was in the economic, social and political set up

prevailing in the life time of Chhotu Ram provided our leaders show that strong commitment and selfless service to the poor as Chhotu Ram did in those extremely difficult times.¹⁴

Chhotu Ram's dedication to the cause of the poor won for him the high appreciation of another important Indian, C. Rajagopalachari. As Chief Minister of Madras, under provincial autonomy, he made Chhotu Ram's agrarian legislation his guiding post. Chhotu Ram's economic ideas, agricultural, irrigational, industrial and social-welfare work and policies also were in close accord with his politics. The encouragement of backward areas and communities were the watch-words, whereby he strived till his last to bring an enduring prosperity in Punjab and in the country as a whole.¹⁵

We can, thus, conclude that the policies and ideology of Chhotu Ram formulated during the colonial period continue to have relevance even in the present time because of the crises in the development in agriculture on the one hand and the growth of sectarianism on the other. We can notice the influence of his ideas on the nation level politics and policies of contemporary political parties. The impact of his views on the education policies is also quite visible.

What makes Chhotu Ram so different from most leaders of his time was his ability to foresee issues and above all to ensure that his politics was not detached from his economic reading of ground realities. He was bold in his statements and political stands. His strength lay in his ability to relate his spirit with the masses. If observed carefully and virtually everything he stood for is greatly relevant in our present time also. His vision of rural Punjab was quite similar to Mahatma Gandhi's vision of rural India. Just as Gandhi will remain relevant for ages to come, even though to a bigger degree, no doubt, Chhotu Ram's policies and vision with regard to the peasantry too will remain relevant in the ages to come.

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Ram Dhan Singh : An Unrivalled Plant Breeder

Dr. Mahender Singh*

Rao Bahadur Ram Dhan Singh was a renowned agriculture scientist in Lyallpur College of Agriculture and a famous plant breeder who made outstanding researches into new varieties. He was known as a wheat breeder whose fame crossed the boundaries of the nation. But his area of research was much wider. He kept himself devotedly involved in the development of a number of rice, barley and pulses varieties also. He thus rose to the higher pedestal of a cerealist.

Punjab, which was the most important wheat state of undivided India, veritable food basket of the country, developed a centre of agricultural research and education at Lyallpur. As mentioned earlier, the work on the improvement of wheat crop has started in 1906. It was undertaken at the request of Mr. Renouf, Director of Agriculture of the Punjab. Material from various districts was collected by the agriculture department and the research work on pure-line selection commenced with tremendous zeal in 1907. Some 25 varieties or types were isolated from heterogeneous indigenous populations which were based on single plant selection method.

A separate cereals section was established in 1926, to augment the work, by bringing in different character combinations through hybridization in the Lyallpur college. In order to concentrate the work on cereals, a post of Cerealist was created with the inception of this section. Ram Dhan Singh who was M.A. (Cantab) and was working as a Fodder

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Specialist since 1925 in the college, was appointed to cerealist newly created post. Thus he was the first person to occupy this prestigious post.

Ram Dhan Singh worked for twenty years, in Cerealist section. The section dealt with research work of the most important and major food grain crops meant both for human being and animals consumption, and evolved a large number of improved varieties of wheat, barley, rice and pulses. Since Ram Dhan Singh came of a traditional agriculturist family by birth, he very well understood the anatomy of peasants' social psyche and the state of agriculture in India. Consequently he always had in his mind the lingering shadow of the man behind the plough.

He worked in this field of agricultural research with single minded dedication, intense sincerity and phenomenal hard work. He had an extraordinary insight into wheat breeding. "He used to go on foot to his experimental fields early in the morning and again in the evening every day, even on holidays and used to examine thoroughly and carefully the performance of all crosses and selection of the crops he handled.² As a result he enjoyed a great reputation among the plant, breeders.

Being a genuine and genius carealist, he maintained excellent germplasms. With his persistent, bright and brilliant efforts, he developed nine famous improved varieties of wheat, eight of paddy, five of barley and three of pulses. There are given below:

A. Wheat : Wheat was the major crop of Punjab, Dr. Ram Dhan Singh achieved success in many new variety of wheat.

1. C-518

C-518 was the first wheat variety which was derived from cross of Punjab Type 8A and Punjab Type 9 and was released in 1933. It was relatively a short-statured (dwarf) variety, having stiff-straw and resistance to lodging. It is best suited to rich lands with plentiful supply of water and manure. Its dense ears are fully bearded with black awns. The glumes are white and densely felted. The grains are hard and amber-coloured with a tendency towards mottling. The variety is of a medium late maturity. It is very susceptible to rusts and loose smut. It is recommended for rich soils in the Punjab, northern Rajasthan and western U.P. It gave on a departmental farm at Lyallpur a yield of 56.4 mds of grain per acre, the highest recorded in united India and on a

Zamindara's Farm (at Montgomery) an average yield of 47 mds, per acre on an area of 12 acres. Thus it is understood that this yield had broken all records for wheat in India. In the year 1949-50, it gave an average yield of 32.1 maunds of grain per acre from a block of 16 acres under it on a rich land under rainfed conditions at Nagla (Karnal).³ Besides, its markedly enhanced yields on good lands, it also permits of the use of the reaping machine and therefore of economy in harvesting. It is probably for this latter reason that C 518 is so favourite a wheat on large-scale farming estates, there being 4800 acres under it in 1935-36.⁴

2. C-591

C 591 was the second most important variety, development by him from the cross Pb type 8B and Pb type 9 and was released in 1934. This was of a high-yielding strain with bold, lustrous, amber, hard grains and medium size and was one of the very successful wheats evolved by the department. It is fully bearded wheat with black awns and white felted glumes. It was very attractive with excellent chapati-making quality. The protein content is 10.9 percent. It is medium in maturity and is primarily recommended for normal sowing. It withstands lodging fairly and as such does very well under high soil fertility conditions also. It is susceptible to all three rusts (especially to stein and leaf) and loose smut. It was like C-S 18 but the glumes are a little less hairy and the straw weaker than C-S 18.⁵

This variety was the most popular wheat of the Punjab. It commanded about 80% of the total area under wheat in the Punjab, and was also grown extensively in Uttar Pradesh, northern Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.⁶

3. C-273

It is one of the latest strains which was bred from the crossing of C-591 and C-209 and was released in 1957. In trials carried out on the various departmental farms, it has been out yielding both C-518 and C-591 on soils of average and high fertility, respectively. It had very uniform shining and plump grains and good chapati-making qualities. It is recommended for cultivation in the Central zone under all conditions of sowing except for late sowing. In addition, it is also found suitable for cultivation on soils with moderately high fertility in the sub-mountain region. The ears of this variety are fully bearded with white, pubescent glumes. Awns

black, grains hard, amber, bold, attractive and less liable to mottling, plant medium tall with good standing ability. Tillering good, maturity medium late. It is more resistant to lodging than C-591. So it is the likely successor to C-591 in the plains of Punjab. C-273 shows fair degree of field resistance to yellow rust and tolerance to black and brown rusts. It is susceptible to loose smut. It is recommended for cultivation in east Punjab also. On an average it has given 937 kgs of grain yield per acre. On cultivators' field, it yielded 762 kgs per acre.⁷

4. C-281

This strain was developed from the cross C-591 and NP-4. It was released in 1955. C-281 is fully bearded with medium-long, lax ears. Glumes white and pubescent. Awns black and spreading at the time of maturity. Grains bold, hard and amber-coloured. They are lustrous and very attractive. Plants medium tall with moderate tillering. Maturity very early. The variety is susceptible to rusts and loose smut. It is approved and recommended for cultivation under all conditions of sowing for south-eastern zone of the state (Hisar, Gurgaon and Rohtak districts) where hot weather sets in earlier than usual. It also does well around Delhi. It is suited for soils of average fertility and **barani** lands and suitable for late sowing also. It had out-yielded the previous variety C-591 by a margin of 80 Kgs (2.22 mds) (10.63%) of grains per acre.⁸

5. C-253

This variety was developed from the cross 25C x PN 165 and was released for cultivation in 1948. It is a beardless wheat with white, glabrous glumes. Grains hard, amber, bold and of medium size. Maturity medium late. Easily threshable. It is fairly resistant to yellow rust and loose smut in the field. It is susceptible to black and brown rusts. It is approved variety for cultivation in the hilly areas of the Punjab except very high altitudes. It is suited particularly for humid hilly tracts of Kangra. It is liked in the hills due to its easy threshability.⁹

6. C-285

This variety originated as a selection from the cross C-228 x B256G and was released in 1960. B256G is a stem-rust resistant wheat from Kenya. C-285 is a fully bearded wheat with mid-long, lax ears. The glumes are smooth and white. The grains are bold, hard (flinty) and amber-coloured. It is slightly earlier than C-591 in maturity. It is highly resistant to yellow,

black and stem rusts and is early ripening. This variety is recommended for cultivation under all conditions in Lahaul and Spiti district, where it is grown as summer crop. It has been found suitable for cultivation at high altitudes viz 10000 ft. and above. It gives about one and a half times the yield of the local variety Thus this wheat is fast replacing the local strains in the Lahaul valley in the Punjab.¹⁰

7. C-217

C-217 is a derivative from the cross C-518 x C-516. It was released for general cultivation in 1944. It possesses short, compact ears and straw like C-518. But unlike C-518 it is well suited for cultivation under rainfed conditions. C-217 is mid-late in maturity like C-591. It is fully bearded with white, felted glumes. The grains are hard, amber-coloured. It is fairly tolerant to black rust. This variety is recommended for .cultivation for barani sowings in the sub-montane areas of east Punjab. (Ambala district). As it has done exceedingly well under bararn conditions of Ambala district, it is considered to be the future barani wheat of this district replacing 9 D. It has also given promising results under barani or moisture shortage conditions at Gurdaspur and Jullunder and thus out-yielded the best varieties.¹¹

8. C-228

C-228 is a selection from the cross between Punjab Type 9 D and Hard Federation, an Australian variety. It was released for cultivation in 1940. It is good for late sowings and irrigated conditions in Punjab. C-228 is fully bearded with lax ears and smooth, white glumes. The grains are very bold, hard, amber-coloured, attractive and are of good baking quality. It compares well with wheats from Manitoba which are known for their superior baking quality. Maturity is early. Straw is weak. Fairly resistant to stripe rust.¹²

This variety is as good as C-591 in chapati-making qualities but is superior to it in bread-making qualities. As it is very early ripening variety so on this account, it gives the best performance under late sown, irrigated conditions. It is remarkably resistant to yellow rust.

9. C-250

C-250 is a sister selection of C-228 developed from cross Punjab type 9 D x Hard Federation. It was released for cultivation in 1944.¹³

The strain is readily distinguished from the other wheats by its glossy

appearance during early stages of growth. It is fully bearded with smooth, white glumes. Grains are hard, bold and amber- coloured. Maturity medium late. Straw is weak. It is susceptible to black and brown rusts but fairly resistant to yellow rust and is moderately susceptible to loose smut.

The variety is recommended for cultivation in the Gurdaspur and Kangra districts of east Punjab, where high humidity prevails. Under such conditions it has outstandingly and consistently out-yielded all other wheats under all sorts of conditions, viz, irrigated and unirrigated (rainfed) and timely sown and late sown. On an average it gave grain excess of 2.40 mds per acre over C-591. In milling and baking qualities, it is as good as C-228 and makes excellent chapaties.

B. RICE

Rao Bahadur Ram Dhan Singh did a commendable research work in rice also. In this field, too, he was a pioneer. A man of phenomenal industry and resolute mind he was always at work. He had a prodigious memory. He himself developed eight new rice varieties; five of which viz. Basmati 370, Jhona 349, Mushkan 7 and 41, Palman Suffaid 246, were meant for plain areas, and three viz. Ram. Jawain 100, Phul pattan 72 and Lal Nakanda 41, were for hilly areas.¹⁴ Of these, Basmati 370 deserves special mention on account of its superfine quality and fragrance. Purple leaved rices, now common in Kangra district capable of fighting the wild rice problem, were the results of his cross-breeding efforts. These varieties are considered best among the world famous' varieties.

Work on rice was conducted at a premier Rice Farm, Kala Shah Kaku, whose area was increased to about 625 acres by the addition to it in December, 1937, of about 234 acres. The Farm used to produce about 10,000 maunds seed of improved varieties for distribution to growers in the province. A breeding sub-station with an area of about 8 acres was also started in May, 1936 in Kangra district for the improvement of the Punjab hilly areas.¹⁵

By developing Basmati variety during his time, he has made the erst-while Punjab of India and Pakistan the owner of Basmati germplasm as per Article 22, Section 3 of the GATT/TR IPS. India alone exports Basmati worth something like Rs. 1500 crore a year.¹⁶

The development of rice varieties was indeed a cherished step. It enriched the Indian agricultural economy and national life. He, thus, opened the new vistas for the succeeding researchers in this cereal

also.

Though Punjab province was not a traditionally rice growing area, yet, rice was grown under irrigated conditions both in plain and hilly regions of the state.

Ram Jawan- 100

It is a medium quality rice and does best where rainfall is supplemented by artificial irrigation in the Kangra Valley.

Phool Pattas-72

It is also a medium quality rice and its requirements are the same as those of 100 Ram Jawain, but it is a slightly better yielder.

Lal Nakanda-41

Being rather a coarse variety, it is suited for the drought like conditions prevailing in the Dera Gopipur, Hamipur and Nurpur tehsils of the Kangra district.¹⁷

C. BARLEY

As mentioned earlier, Ram Dhan Singh was not exclusively interested in wheat alone. He extended the scope of his research to barley as well. The development of T-4, T-5, C-138, C-141 and C-155, varieties of barley stands to his credit.¹⁸

The district of Gurgaon in particular is famous for the good quality of its barley. Early attempts at improving this crop were concerned mainly with the selection from local mixtures of pure breeding varieties giving high yield, and possessing plump and heavy grains. As a result of this earlier work, two varieties, namely T-4 and T-5 were isolated and released to growers up to 1930. Of these, T-4 is an early maturing bold seeded, six-rowed husked type best suited for lighter soils particularly of Gurgaon, Hisar and Ferozepur districts.¹⁹ Yields of 30-35 maunds of grain per acre have been quite commonly obtained from this variety when grown under favourable conditions.

Due to its extreme earliness, this variety is also very suitable for late sowings. In contrast to T-4, T-5 is a type medium in maturity having dense ears and very stiff straw. On account of its non-lodging character, this variety is particularly suited for cultivation on rich irrigated lands, on which lands yields as high as 40 maunds per acre have not infrequently been obtained from it. The malting and brewing qualities

of both T-4 and T-5 are very good and in this respect they have been found by the Institute of Brewing, London, to be much superior to the common run of Indian barleys. Pure seed of these varieties is now being multiplied at the Agricultural Farm, Gurgaon and Foundation Seed Farm Nagla (Karnal) for distribution in the state.²⁰

D. PULSES

Ram Dhan Singh further enlarged his research activities in the field of pulses also. He very well knew that pulses are important part of food and are remarkably indispensable diet of human beings. This agriculture icon showed deep interest and put a great labour in the development of pulse varieties also. Some bold-seeded China Mung varieties, Mung Nos. 54 and 305 and Mash No 48, were the products of his sustained work.

“The three important pulses of the state were Moong, Mash and Massar, which occupied an areas of about 88,000, 1,43,000 and 76,000 acres respectively.²¹ Of these pulses, moong essentially a crop of drier parts and lighter soils occupies largest area in the districts of Hisar, Ferozepur and Gurgaon Mash and Massar pulses predominate in these districts which have a heavy rainfall such as Gurdaspur, Ambala and Kangra, and they do best on stiffer type of soil.²²

Thus we see that Rao Bahadur Ram Dhan Singh brought a revolution in agricultural research by developing a number of high yielding and good quality varieties of cereals and pulses viz, wheat, zice, barley and pulses. It was an outcome of his dedicated labour and his sincere singular devotion to his profession and duty that he could release so many improved and prominent varieties. Undoubtedly, it was his outstanding achievement of historical importance. But he never flaunted his remarkable talents. He was a research scholar of the high order. In a way he changed the entire face of crop-breeding and crop-husbandry. It is a matter of great pride and honour that some of his varieties performed well in Canada, Mexico and in other countries, became world famous varieties and got international recognition.

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लोहारू का सिंघाणी काण्ड: हरियाणा के क्षेत्रीय इतिहास की एक ज्वलंत घटना

कविता राठी*

वर्तमान समय में क्षेत्रीय इतिहास लेखन का महत्त्व बढ़ता जा रहा है, क्योंकि इतिहास के हर छोटे-बड़े पहलू को समझने के लिए इतिहास के क्षेत्रीय लेखन से बहुत सहायता मिलती है। इसी सन्दर्भ में मेरा यह शोध पत्र है, जिसमें मैंने हरियाणा प्रदेश के एक छोटे से क्षेत्र लोहारू में सन् 1935 में हुए सिंघाणी काण्ड को वर्णित किया है। इस घटना से अंग्रेजों और भारतीय रियासती शासकों के दुराचारी शासन को उजागर किया है। ब्रिटिश राजभक्त नवाब ने निहत्थी जनता पर गोलियां चलवा दी जिसमें 22 लोग मारे गए और अनको घायल हो गये। मैंने अपने इस शोध पत्र में लोहारू के सिंघाणी काण्ड के होने के कारणों, घटना, और इससे पड़ने वाले प्रभावों को लिखने का प्रयास किया है।

भूमिका

लोहारू क्षेत्र वर्तमान हरियाणा प्रदेश के अन्तर्गत आता है, जो जिला भिवानी में पड़ता है। सन् 1947 से पहले यह क्षेत्र एक रियासत के रूप में पंजाब प्रान्त के अन्तर्गत आता था। यह क्षेत्र पंजाब प्रान्त के दक्षिण भाग में और राजपूताना के पूर्वोत्तर कोण में स्थित था। जयपुर, बीकानेर, जींद और पटियाला की रियासतों से घिरा हुआ था। यह क्षेत्र जिला हिसार की छोटी सी रियासत था जिसमें 75 गाँव थे। यह इलाका बावन के नाम से प्रसिद्ध था क्योंकि यहां 52 ग्राम श्योराण (शिवराण)

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गोत्र के थे जो यहां के आदि निवासी माने जाते थे। इन्हीं 52 ग्रामों के वर्तमान समय में 75 ग्राम हो गये हैं। यहां का शासन मुगलिया खानदान का नवाब था। इसका क्षेत्रफल 226 वर्गमील था। इसकी आबादी 1941 की जनगणना के अनुसार 27 हजार थी। यहां 75 फिसदी हिन्दू बसते थे।

लोहारू का संक्षिप्त ऐतिहासिक परिचय

लोहारू क्षेत्र जो वर्तमान हरियाणा प्रदेश का एक भू-भाग है। सन् 1947 से पहले यह पंजाब की एक रियासत के रूप में विद्यमान था। इस क्षेत्र को राव नरहरदास जी ने बसाया था और इसका नाम लोहारू रखा गया था। इसी के वंशज अर्जुन सिंह ने लोहारू में 1570 ई. में एक विशाल किला बनवाया था। चैहानों के समय में यह लोहारू का क्षेत्र भिवानी तक 'बागड़ देश' के नाम से पुकारा जाता था। लोहारू को श्योराण बावनी के नाम से भी जाना जाता था क्योंकि यहाँ श्योराणों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा थी। अकेले श्योराणों के 52 गांव थे। श्योराण परगना सबसे पहले राजपूत शासकों के अधीन रहा, फिर सन् 1192 से लेकर सन् 1525 तक दिल्ली सल्तनत के तहत हिसार प्रशासन का अंग रहा और उसके बाद सन् 1720 तक मुगल शासकों ने इसे अपने नियंत्रण में रखा। सन् 1671 में मुगल बादशाह औरंगजेब के समय लोहारू के ठाकुरों और औरंगजेब के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में हिसार के गवर्नर अल्फुखान के बीच एक महत्वपूर्ण लड़ाई हुई जिसकी साक्षी ठाकुरों की छतरियां वर्तमान में भी विद्यमान हैं। जब जॉर्ज टामस का हरियाणा के कुछ हिस्सों पर अधिकार हुआ था, तब उसमें लोहारू भी आता था।

सन् 1803 में वास्तविक रूप से लोहारू रियासत का निर्माण हुआ, जिसकी राजधानी लोहारू थी। मुसलमान शासकों ने यहां सन् 1805 से 1947 तक शासन किया। अंग्रेजों की मराठों के विरुद्ध सहायता के फलस्वरूप अलवर नरेश के वकील अहमदबक्श खान को लोहारू क्षेत्र प्राप्त हुआ था। भारत की स्वतंत्रता तक (सन् 1947 तक) इस क्षेत्र पर सात नवाबों ने शासन किया। इन नवाबों ने अपनी सुख-सुविधाओं के लिए इस क्षेत्र की जनता पर बहुत से कर लगाए जिसके परिणामस्वरूप किसानों ने नवाबों के शासन के विरुद्ध बहुत से विद्रोह किए। इन्हीं विद्रोहों का परिणाम था सन् 1935 का सिंघाणी हत्याकाण्ड जिसमें नवाब ने निर्दोष प्रजा पर गोलियां चलवा दी, जिससे 22 लोग मारे गए और अनेको घायल हो गए।

लेकिन इसके विपरीत दोषपूर्ण नवाबी शासन के अपवाद स्वरूप नवाब शमशुद्दीन अहमद बक्श खान द्वारा दिल्ली रेजीडेंट फ्रजर की हत्या थी और स्वयं फांसी पर लटक गया। उनको आज भी शहीद मेव नेता के रूप में याद किया जाता है। इस क्षेत्र में आर्य समाज और प्रजामण्डल आन्दोलन ने जन-जागृति का काम किया। भारत की स्वतंत्रता के बाद सन् 1948 में इस क्षेत्र से नवाबी शासन का अन्त हो गया।

लोहारू के सिंघाणी काण्ड (1935) के कारण

इस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी की सरकार ने मिर्जा अहमदबक्श खां को लोहारू का नवाब बना दिया लेकिन लोहारू की जनता समय-समय पर उस के प्रशासन के विरुद्ध विद्रोह करती ही रही। वर्तमान नवाब अमिनूद्दीन अहमद खां से पहले के नवाबों का जनता के साथ बर्ताव अच्छा नहीं था। उन्होंने सिर्फ अपनी स्वार्थ सिद्धि के लिए कार्य किए, जनता की भलाई की तरफ तनिक भी ध्यान नहीं दिया। वर्तमान नवाब अमिनूद्दीन के काल में उर्दू का एक प्राइमरी स्कूल हिन्दी के व्यापारी लड़कों को हिसाब सीखने की पाठशाला और एक छोटी डिस्पेंसरी जिसमें दवाई और डॉक्टर बहुत कम थे। तब ऐसी हालत लोहारू स्टेट की थी। तब ऐसे हालात ही किसान जागृति और संघर्ष के कारण बने - जैसे सन् 1909 के बन्दोबस्त से पहले रियासत में भूमि जोतने वाला ही अपनी काश्ता भूमि का मालिक होता था लेकिन उसका लिखित रिकार्ड नहीं था। सन् 1909 में भारत सरकार के रिकार्ड अनुसार भूमि का लिखितबद्ध रिकार्ड रखा जाने लगा और लगान भी मुर्कर किया गया। मगर लगान की जो वसूली शहर भिवानी से होती थी उससे दुगुनी वसूली इस क्षेत्र से की जाती थी।¹

उसके बाद सन् 1919 में सैटलमेन्ट हुआ तब उस सैटलमेन्ट में नवाब ने किसान की मलकियत के हक को ही छीन लिया और उस समय स्टेट की कुल आय 73,000 रुपये सालाना थी उसको बढ़ाकर 94,000 रुपये कर ली गई। उपरोक्त आर्थिक शोषण के विरुद्ध जनता ने सन् 1923 में विद्रोह किया मगर अंग्रेजी सरकार की सहायता से लोग कुचल दिये और दबा दिये लेकिन अग्नि धधकती ही रही। उपरोक्त कारणों के इलावा इस क्षेत्र में बहुत से ऐसे कर लगा रखे थे, जिनको देने में यहां की जनता असमर्थ थी क्योंकि ये रेगिस्तानी क्षेत्र था और सिंचाई की कोई

व्यवस्था नहीं थी। लोहारू में लगने वाले करों में बैल टैक्स, ऊंट टैक्स, बकरी टैक्स, बाट छपाई टैक्स, मलवा टैक्स, चुंगी टैक्स, विधवा-विवाह पर टैक्स तथा नम्बरदारी के पद के लिए योग्यता नहीं देखी जाती थी अपितु जो सबसे अधिक बोली दे सकता था वहीं नम्बरदार बना दिया जाता था। नवाब के कारिन्दे गांव में घुस जाते थे। गली में यदि किसी का चबूतरा होता तो कारिन्दे कहते - 'गिराओं तो सौ रुपये और न गिराओं तो दो सौ रुपये दो'¹² इन करों का संक्षिप्त विवरण इस प्रकार है। बैल टैक्स - इसमें हर बैल जो रियासत के बाहर बिके थे एक पैसा प्रति रुपया की दर से टैक्स देना पड़ता था। अन्ततः इस टैक्स का स्वरूप एक बंधी रकम हो गया जो हर गांव से सालाना वसूल होती थी और उसमें इस बात का लिहाज नहीं रहता था कि कितने बैल बिके। बाट छपाई टैक्स - शुरुआत में तो यह टैक्स इसलिए लिया जाता था कि रियासत तोलने के लिए बाट देती थी, पर समय बीतने पर बाटों का दिया जाना तो बंध हो गया लेकिन टैक्स की बंधी रकम तो हर गांव से वसूल होती रही। मलबा टैक्स - यह टैक्स सिपाही, लम्बरदारों और गांव के खर्च के लिए था पर समय बीतने पर यह भी सालाना टैक्स बन गया। चुंगी टैक्स - राज्य में सिवाय लोहारू के इस टैक्स का कहीं कोई वजूद नहीं था। लेकिन लोहारू के हर गांव से ये वसूला जाता था¹³

शाही शादी टैक्स - जब सन् 1931, 1932 और 1933 में नवाब के घराने में शादियां निश्चित हुईं तो उनके लिए एक नया टैक्स 'शाही शादी टैक्स' लगातार रियासत के प्रत्येक घर से 3 रुपये वसूल किए गए। इस प्रकार बेवजह ही गरीब ग्रामीणों को लगभग 20,000 रुपये की भारी भरकम राशि नवाब की औलाद की शादी में बतौर कन्यादान-मुंहदिखायी भरनी पड़ी थी। करेवा टैक्स - रियासत की जनसंख्या जाट बाहुल्य थी। जाटों में सदियों से यह आर्य परम्परा प्रचलित है कि विधवा औरतें दोबारा शादी कर लेती हैं। विधवा अपने देवर या जेठ का पल्ला ओढ़ लेती हैं। लेकिन लोहारू के नवाब ने इस विवाह पर भी टैक्स लगाया¹⁴ भेड़-बकरी टैक्स - इस टैक्स की राशि भी बहुत भारी थी। आमतौर पर साधारण किसान गाय या भेड़-बकरी पाल कर निर्वाह करते थे और नीची जातियों के लिए तो आजीविका का मुख्य साधन था। लेकिन नवाब ने इस पर भी टैक्स वसूल किया तथा 3 आन्ने प्रतिनग प्रतिवर्ष का भारी भरकम टैक्स लगा दिया। परिणामस्वरूप

पशुपालकों ने या तो भेड़-बकरी पालना छोड़ दिया या फिर इनको लेकर रियासत को छोड़ गए। वर्ष 1893-94 में रियासत में भेड़-बकरियों की कुल संख्या 23,500 थी जो वर्ष 1925-26 के आते-आते घटकर केवल 5285 रह गयी। ऊंटों पर जगात - बड़े ऊंटों व ऊंटनियों पर 2.5 रुपये और टोरडे या टोरडी पर 1.25 रुपये प्रतिवर्ष के हिसाब से टैक्स, जिसे जगात कहते थे, लगा दिया गया। परिणामस्वरूप ऊंटों की संख्या 4250 (सन् 1893-94) से घटकर लगभग आधी 2344 (सन् 1925-26) हो गयी। लोहा टैक्स - लोहे से बनी कड़ाही, कठाइये, बाल्टी, ढोल, पलिया, खुरचना, चिमटा, पलटा आदि घरेलू वस्तुओं के ऊपर भी टैक्स लगा दिया गया था।^६

सन् 1934 में नवाब ने पहाड़ी गांव में कैम्प लगाया और लोगों पर अनेकदोष रोपण किये और खूब जुर्माना वसूल किया। यहां उपरोक्त चंद कारण ही दिये गये हैं मगर ऐसे अनेक कारण थे जिनकी वजह से लोगों ने सन् 1935 में संघर्ष का रास्ता अपनाया और पड़ोस के क्षेत्र हांसी के किसानों की सफलता ने भी उनके लिये अग्नि में घी का काम किया।

सिंधाणी काण्ड

किसानों के लिए करों का भुगतान असम्भव हो गया। स्थिति यहां तक पहुंच गई कि या तो वे रियासत छोड़ कर चले जाए या फिर नवाब के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाएँ अतः किसानों ने संगठित होने की सोची। उन्हीं दिनों में कासणी गांव के सूबेदार दिलसुख सेना से छुट्टी प्राप्त कर गांव लौटे। इलाके के लोगों ने सूबेदार को किसान-संगठन का नेतृत्व संभालने की प्रार्थना की। उन पर पूरे इलाके के लोगों का विश्वास था।^७ आखिर करों का बोझ इतना असहनीय हो गया कि दुःखी प्रजा ने 1931 में 52 ग्रामों की पंचायत की, जिसमें सूबेदार दिलसुख को अपना राजा बनाया। श्री उदमी तथा श्री केहरा को मंत्री बनाया। इन्होंने नवाब के अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध पर्चे छपवाये और जनता में बांटे गए। लोहारू के ठाकुर भगवन्त सिंह ने दिलेरी का परिचय देते हुए नवाब के महल में घुस कर पर्चे नवाब तक पहुंचाये।^८

उस निरंकुश शासक के समय में यह एक अनोखी घटना थी। दिलसुख ने नवाब को चेतावनी दी कि या तो करों को कम करो नहीं तो खुले आन्दोलन का

सामना करो। लेकिन इससे कुछ परिणाम नहीं निकला।^९ 6 अगस्त, 1935 को तीजों का दिन था। ब्रिटिश एजेंट रियासत का दौरा कर रहे थे। उस दिन उन्हें चेहड़ कलां गांव से गुजरना था। तभी क्रान्ति के नेताओं ने लोगों से घोड़ों पर बैठकर रातों-रात चेहड़कलां में एकत्रित हो जाने का संकेत दे दिया। इस दिन लगभग बीस हजार लोग चेहड़कलां पहुंच गए। विद्रोह की स्थिति को देखते हुए नवाब ने एजेंट के द्वारा दिल्ली से गोरखा दस्ते बुला लिये थे। एजेंट की कार जब वहां से निकली तो नवाब ने उसको भड़काया कि विद्रोही एजेंट की हत्या करने के लिए ही एकत्रित हुए हैं। नवाब की बात पर विश्वास करते हुए उसने विद्रोहियों को कुचल देने का आदेश दिया। नवाब ने आदेश दिया कि चेहड़ को ढाई घंटे की लूट की सजा मिले। गांव में लूट मच गई। हर घर में जो भी मिला, सिपाहियों ने हथिया लिया। केवल एक घर बचा। केहरा की मां दरवाजे पर गंडासा लेकर खड़ी हो गई और कहा कि उसके बेटे की अनुपस्थिति में कोई उसके घर में नहीं घुस सकता। उस दिन 72 लोगों को जेल में भर दिया गया। 'राजा' को लोगों ने छिपा लिया।^९

सारे इलाके में आग-सी लग गई। चेहड़ की लूट और 72 व्यक्तियों की गिरफ्तारी तथा महिलाओं के अपमान को लोग कैसे सहन करते? 8 अगस्त, 1935 को सिंघाणी गांव में हजारों लोग लाठी, जेली और गंडासे लेकर इकट्ठे हो गए। फौजी दस्ते सभा-स्थल पर पहुंचे। एक फौजी दस्ता कासणी होकर आया था। वह कासणी सूबेदार को गिरफ्तार करने गया था परन्तु उनको ढूंढ़ने में असफल रहा था। जन-समुदाय ने संकल्प किया कि चाहे सब बलि दे दें परन्तु 'राजा' को नहीं ले जाने देंगे। फौजी दस्ते के अधिकारी ने लोगों के तेवर भांप लिए थे। उसने दस्ते को गाड़ियों में बैठकर चलने को कहा। तभी भीड़ पीछे भागी। घबराकर फौजी दस्ते ने अंधा-धुंध गोली चलाई,¹⁰ जिसके परिणामस्वरूप 22 आदमी मारे गए और सैकड़ों जखमी हुए और कई तरीकों से दमनचक्र चला और रियासत की जनता को बुरी तरह पीस दिया।¹¹

उपस्थित लोगों ने ही वहां मरने वालों के शवों को उठाकर दाह संस्कार किया और घायलों को छुप-छुपकर ऊंटों पर भिवानी अस्पताल में पहुंचाया, जब जखमी ऊंटों पर भिवानी पहुंचे, तब उनको देखकर भिवानी की जनता का हृदय कांप गया। लोग हैरान थे कि एक छोटी-सी रियासत लुहारू के नवाब ने ऐसा काम किया।

अगले दिन जब उस ताण्डव काण्ड की गम्भीर सूचना दिल्ली और अन्य स्थानों के अखबारों में बड़ी-बड़ी सुखियों में छपी खबरे पढ़ने वाले भी दंग रह गये।¹²

शहीद होने वाले स्वतंत्रता-सेनानियों की सूची

संख्या	नाम	पिता व पति का नाम/जाति	गांव का नाम
1.	श्री लाल जी	श्री कमला अग्रवाल	सिंघाणी
2.	श्री शिव बख्श	श्री धर्मा अग्रवाल	सिंघाणी
3.	श्री दौलत राम	श्री बस्ती राम जाट	सिंघाणी
4.	श्री राम नाथ	श्री बस्ती राम जाट	सिंघाणी
5.	श्री पीरू	श्री जय राम जाट	सिंघाणी
6.	श्री भोला	श्री बहादुर जाट	सिंघाणी
7.	श्री शिव चन्द	श्री राम लाल जाट	सिंघाणी
8.	श्री यानी	श्री मेम चन्द जाट	सिंघाणी
9.	श्री अमी लाल	श्री सरदारा जाट	सिंघाणी
10.	श्री गुटी राम	श्री मोहरा जाट	सिंघाणी
11.	श्री शिव चन्द	श्री खूबी हरिजन	सिंघाणी
12.	श्री पूरण	श्री पेमा जाट	गिगनाऊ
13.	श्री हीरा	श्री नानक जाट	गिगनाऊ
14.	श्री कमला	श्री गोमा जाट	गिगनाऊ
15.	श्री धनिया	श्री गोर्धन जाट	गोठड़ा
16.	श्री सोहन	श्री चुनिया जाट	गोठड़ा
17.	श्री रामलाल	श्री माया राम जाट	पीपली
18.	श्री मामचन्द	श्री गोधा जांगड	सिंहाणा
19.	श्री माला	श्री झण्डू जाट	सिंहाणा
20.	श्री अमर चन्द	श्री उदमी जाट	सिंहाणा
21.	श्रीमती सुन्दरी	पत्नी झण्डू नम्बरदार	सिंहाणा
22.	एक मुसाफिर	-	जींद रियासत

इस काण्ड के बाद भी अगर शान्ति हो जाती या नवाब साहब का हृदय पसीज जाता तो किसान अपने भाग्य को इतना नहीं कोसते, पर नवाब तो इस काण्ड के बाद भी बेफिक्र थे और गाने-बजाने की तरफ जितना ध्यान देते थे उतना ही ध्यान अपने गरीब किसानों की तरफ कभी देते दिया नहीं देते थे।

निष्कर्ष

लोहारू क्षेत्र में हुए इस काण्ड ने पूरे देश में अंग्रेजों की स्वामिभक्त इस रियासत की शासन व्यवस्था को उजागर कर दिया। इस काण्ड के बाद भी नवाबी शासन ऐसे ही ठाठ से चलता रहा और टैक्स बढ़ोतरी होती रही। यहां की जनता में भी नवाब के प्रति विरोध भावना हमेशा बनी रही। इसी समय में लोहारू क्षेत्र में लोगों को जागरूक करने के लिए आर्य समाज आन्दोलन की गतिविधियां तेज हो गईं।

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हरियाणा का ऐतिहासिक शहर – शाहबाद मारकण्डा

डा. मुमताज*

ऐतिहासिक नगर शाहबाद वह क्षेत्र है जो वर्तमान में हरियाणा लेकिन पूर्व में अविभाजित हरियाणा एवं पंजाब क्षेत्र के अन्तर्गत आता था। यह क्षेत्र प्राचीनतम काल में 'सप्त सिन्धु' अथवा 'सप्त सिन्धुवाह' के नाम से जाना जाता था। ईरान के बादशाह (प्रथम) के मकबरे के शिलालेख में सप्त सिन्धु को ईरानियों को राजस्व अदा करने वाले प्रान्तों की सूची के अन्तर्गत दर्शाया गया है जहां तक जैन और बौद्ध मतों का असर भी इस ऐतिहासिक नगरी शाहबाद पर देखने को मिलता है। जैन पंजाब में, जो वर्तमान हरियाणा का क्षेत्र है उसमें, वैश्य और व्यापारी वर्ग के रूप में उभरे, ये शिक्षित वर्ग था। जैन मत का दो भागों में बंटना और हरियाणा के उत्तर जिलों में खास कर कुरुक्षेत्र, अम्बाला एवं हिसार में पाया जाना स्वाभाविक था।¹

बुद्ध साहित्य को (अंगुत्तर निकाय) खंगालने से स्पष्ट संकेत मिलते हैं कि बुद्ध काल (जन्म 565 ई.पू.) में सप्त सिन्धु क्षेत्र, कुरुक्षेत्र सोलह महाजनपदों में से एक था।² अंगुत्तर निकाय के अनुसार 5वीं शताब्दी ई.पू. में बुद्ध ने स्थानेश्वर अथवा थानेसर (कुरुक्षेत्र) की यात्रा की थी। शाहबाद का अस्तित्व इतिहास के पृष्ठों पर अभी उल्लिखित नहीं हुआ था तथापि इस क्षेत्र में हेनसांग ने कुछ झुग्गी झोपड़ियों में रहने वाले लोगों को चावल की फसल उगाते, देखा जबकि उसने यहां लहलहाती गन्ने की फसल देखी थी। साथ ही उसने किसी बड़ी नदी का उल्लेख किया निश्चित ही यह मारकंडा नदी रही होगी।³ लन्दन यूनिवर्सिटी के खोज विभाग के प्रोफेसर

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सर थामस वार्टस की पुस्तक हुनसांग की भारत यात्रा' से सिद्ध होता है कि यह चीनी यात्री स्थानेश्वरपति हर्ष के दरबार में दो वर्ष व्यतीत करने के उपरान्त कैथल, पिहोवा की यात्रा पर निकला। पिहोवा में कुछ अध्ययन किया, समीपस्थ क्षेत्रों में घूमा, तत्पश्चात् यहां से टोपरा की राह पकड़ी और वहां बौद्ध स्तूप का अवलोकन किया। पिहोवा से टोपरा मार्ग जाते हुए शाहबाद को। जिसे उस समय 'शाहीमार्ग' कहा जाता था, उसे अपना उचित समझा।

कुरुक्षेत्र विश्वविद्यालय के इतिहास शोध विभाग ने रहस्योद्घाटन किया है कि हर्ष का टीला, बौद्ध संघाराम, बौद्ध स्तूप आदिलपुर, अशोक स्तम्भ टोपरा आदि का हरियाणा के इतिहास में स्वर्णिम अध्याय हैं। जब इस क्षेत्र में बौद्ध के चिंह पुनीत हैं तो क्यों नहीं मान लिया जाए कि शाहबाद के क्षेत्र को भी महात्मा बुद्ध ने पुनीत किया होगा। वह अलग बात है कि विरोधी मताभिलम्बियों ने सम्बन्धित चिन्हों को नष्ट कर दिया होगा ताकि सिद्ध न हो सके कि बुद्ध इधर से आये। सम्भवतः बाबर, अब्दाली, नादिरशाह की भांति अन्य आक्रमणकारियों ने शाहबाद की धारा को रौंदने तथा बुद्ध धरोहरों को नेस्तनाबूद करना को अपना धर्म समझ लिया था।

पहली सदी के पश्चात् सुदूरपूर्व के अनेक देशों विशेषकर वर्तमान इंडोनेशिया, मलेशिया तथा हिन्द चीन के प्रदेशों पर व्यापारी बस्तियां स्थापित होने लगी। कई बड़े-2 नगर मुख्य व्यापार मार्गों पर स्थित थे जैसे स्थानेश्वर (वर्तमान कुरुक्षेत्र) इत्यादि। कुरुक्षेत्र का शाहबाद उस काल में हिन्दुस्तान के मानचित्र पर नहीं था। तथापि इस क्षेत्र का गन्ना उन्नत किस्म का था, गुड व शक्कर सम्बन्धित देशों-प्रदेशों को निर्यात की जाती थी। हरियाणा के उत्तर में मारकंडा नदी के क्षेत्र में गन्ना, धान, ज्वार-बाजरा, मक्का, तिल-दलहन, तथा तम्बाकू की भरपूर फसलें होती थी।⁴

मध्यकालीन शाहबाद

इस काल में यह शहर के रूप में तरावड़ी (तराइन) के दूसरे युद्ध 1192 ई. के बाद शहाबुद्दीन गौरी के समय अस्तित्व में आया। यह शहर ऐतिहासिक तौर पर मुस्लिम बाहुल्य क्षेत्र था। 1192-95 ई. में शहाबुद्दीन के नाम से यह नगर बसा। पृथ्वीराज चौहान पर विजय प्राप्त करने के बाद गौरी ने अपने कमाण्डर कुतबुद्दीन ऐबक को 52000 बीघा जमीन दी,⁵ जिसमें शाहबाद का क्षेत्र शामिल था। समय के कुचक्र के कारण दिल्ली सल्तनत की केन्द्रिय शक्ति कमजोर व निरंकुश थी

जबकि प्रान्तीय इकाईयां स्वतन्त्र होने लगी थी। सुलतान इब्राहीम लोधी के समय दरबार गुटबंदी से त्रस्त था। उसके अधीन पंजाब के विद्रोही सूबेदार, दौलत खां, दिलावर खां की मध्यस्थता ने बाबर को हिन्दुस्तान हेतु निमन्त्रण भेजा। बाबरनामा व हुमायुंनामा (गुलबदन बेगम) फरिश्ता तथा तत्कालीन इतिहासवेत्ता के अनुसार बाबर 17 नवम्बर 1526 ई. के दिन शाहबाद आ पहुंचा। 3 मार्च 1526 ई. को शाहबाद पहुंचने के बाद नदी पर पुल बनाना शुरू हुआ। जब बाबर आसपास के बीहड़ व जंगलो में घूमा तो उसने देख कुछ जटाधारी से वनमानुष बैठे-2 अटपटी सी भाषा में कुछ गुनगुना रहे थे। मालूम हुआ कि वह इस जीवन से मुक्ति का साधन ढूंढ रहे थे। बाबर के अनुसार मैंने आदेश दिया सबको एक जगह इकट्ठा किया जाए, मेरे आदेश का पालन हुआ। मैंने दोबारा आदेश दिया, सबको इस जीवन से मुक्त किया जाए। आदेश पाकर मेरे सैनिकों ने सभी को मौत के घाट उतार दिया गया। मुझे खुदा का संदेश सुनाई दिया अरे बाबर! तू ही आज से हिन्दोस्तान का बादशाह ठहरा। तूने धरती को निठलों के बोझ से मुक्ति दिला कर गाजीत्व ग्रहण किया है। उसका पुत्र एवम् उत्तराधिकारी हुमायूं अपने धर्म गुरु सूफी अब्दुल शेख गंगोही की मृत्यु पर 1536 ई. में शाहबाद आया था। दिवंगत शेख की मजार आज भी शाहबाद की डेरा कालोनी अथवा मंजी साहिब गुरुद्वारा मार्ग पर स्थित है। शेख साहेब तथा बाबर/हुमायूं के मध्य हुए पत्राचार पैगाम आज भी दिल्ली स्थित केन्द्रीय अभिलेखागार में सुशोभित हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त पानीपत विजय अभियान के समय शाहबाद पहुंचने पर हुमायूं के पहली बार मारकण्डा नदी के तट पर शाही सेनाओं के साथ कई दिन ठहराव का वृत्तान्त मिलता है। शेरशाह सूरी से पराजित होकर हुमायूं इधर-उधर भटकता हुआ पुनः शाहबाद आया और सढ़ौरा (जगाधरी) के सूफी फकीर शाह कुमैद से भेंट की। विवादास्पद भेंट से जब शाह कुमैद ने शेरशाह सूरी के दरबार में दस्तक दी परिणामतः फकीर को देश साम्राज्य भुगतना पड़ा। इस काल में शाहबाद और इसके आस-पास ऐतिहासिक भवनों का निर्माण भी हुआ।

इस समय मुगलों तथा सूर शासकों द्वारा कई सरायों, पुलों, भवनों व कोस मीनारों का निर्माण आजकल के आधुनिक मार्ग जी.टी. रोड पर हुआ। सूर शासकों द्वारा बनवाई कोस मीनार शाहबाद के पास के गांव जैनपुर उत्तर दिशा (मारकण्डा नदी पार), दक्षिण में धीरपुर रेलवे स्टेशन के पास खड़ी कोस मीनार सूर शासकों

के समय के निर्माण कला के उत्तम नमूने देखने को मिलते हैं। इसके अलावा शहर के बीच घनी आबादी वाले क्षेत्र में शाहजाह ने किले का निर्माण करवाया था। वस्तुतः 1638-1642 ई. के बीच यह दुर्ग शहर को समर्पित किया था। यह किला गौरत खां (दिल्ली के सूबेदार) मुकर्रमत खां (इमारत-ए-रहतिमाम) की देख रेख में बना था। इस किले के उत्तर पूर्वोदिशा में एक शाही मस्जिद थी जिस पर सिख काल में बन्दा बहादुर के समय सिक्खों द्वारा चलाई गई गोलियों के निशान थे। यह मस्जिद बाद में गुरुद्वारा मस्तगढ़ साहब में परिवर्तित कर दी गई और किले का नाम 'किला सिखा' ~~U t 000000~~ लाहौरी व दिल्ली दरवाजे खण्डहर में तब्बदील हो गये हैं और करनाल गजेटियर से ज्ञात होता है कि बाला सुन्दरी मन्दिर, जिसकी आधार शीला जाँहगीर के समय में रखी गई थी 1617-19 में मूर्ति स्थापित की गई थी।

26 अगस्त 1708 ई. को गुरु गोबिन्द सिंह नांदेड पहुंचे। 2-3 सितम्बर के बीच बंदा बैरागी से भेंट हुई। 6 तथा 7 सितम्बर को पुनः भेंट के बाद 'बहादुरी' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया तथा अब बंदा की पहचान बाबा बंदा सिंह बहादुर के रूप में हुई। 19 नवम्बर 1708 ई. में शाहबाद के हाकिमों व आलिमों व अत्याचारियों को जब यह पता चला कि बंदा सिंह मारकण्डा नदी तक आ पहुंचा है तो वह परिवार सहित दिल्ली दौड़ गये तथा दुर्ग व शाही मस्जिद (मस्तगढ़) में सैनिकों ने सिखों की अधीनता स्वीकार कर ली।⁸

26 नवम्बर 1709 ई. में सिखों ने शाहबाद पर कड़ा नियंत्रण स्थापित कर लिया। अन्य क्षेत्रों की तुलना में 1781 तक शाहबाद सिखों की शक्ति का अभेद गढ़ बन चुका था। फरवरी 1758 में मराठों का सरहिन्द पर आधिपत्य हुआ। अब्दाली के सूबेदार अब्दुल समद खां मराठों और सिखों के सामने ठहर नहीं पाया व सरहिन्द को खूब लूटा। मराठा सरदार मल्हारराव से सम्बन्धित अन्य स्त्रियां 8 जनवरी 1758 को कुरुक्षेत्र सरोवर में स्नान के लिए शाहबाद पहुंची। फलस्वरूप शाहबाद स्थित सिखों व अब्दाली के सैनिकों को घेरा तथा मराठा सरदार मल्हारराव ने उनके शव मारकण्डा नदी में बहा डाले। मराठा सरदार मल्हारराव ने गुरुद्वारा मस्तगढ़ साहिब पहुंच कर नानक-कृपा प्रति आभार प्रकट किया।⁹

ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य शाहबाद

1806 तक महाराजा रणजीत सिंह ने ब्रिटिश काल में सतलुज की सीमाओं को

लांघकर सेना सहित थानेसर पर अधिकार कर लिया था।¹⁰ अतः 1809 तक रणजीत सिंह सतलुज के दक्षिण क्षेत्र तक अपने राज्य की सीमाएं निर्धारित कर चुका था लेकिन देसी रियासतें अंग्रेजों की स्वामीभक्त बन चुकी थीं। तथापि महाराजा रणजीत सिंह की 1839 ई. में मृत्यु के पश्चात् अंग्रेजी शक्ति पर नकेल कसने वाला कोई नहीं रहा। अतः 1850 ई. तक लाडवा, थानेसर, तथा शाहाबाद पंजाब अंग्रेजों ने हड़प लिया।

अम्बाला के डिप्टी कलेक्टर राय बहादुर काले खां द्वारा लिखित पुस्तक पंजाब की सैर (1847) के अनुसार, थानेसर परगना शाहाबाद के अन्तर्गत दिउराना (मेहंदी अजराना) ठसका मीरां जी आदि को अंग्रेजों के वफादार होने के कारण उपाधियों से विभूषित किया गया। शाहबाद परगना उन्नति के पथ पर अग्रसर है। मारकण्डा नदी इसके पैरों से निकलती है। डिप्टी कमिश्नर मि. लार्केन्स ने यहां सरकारी डाक बंगला, एक सराय और कुआं बनवाया। तंगौर, नलवी, ठोल, झांसा जैसे गांव थे तथा रतनगढ़, तिऊडा, धनतौड़ी, इस्माईलाबाद में पुलिस चौकियां स्थापित की गईं।¹¹ 1803 में ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य के बाद शाहाबाद पहले हिसार डिवीजन में, बाद में करनाल डिवीजन का अंग हुआ करता था लेकिन 1849 के एक्ट धारा 212, दिनांक 2 जुलाई में परित बोर्ड आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, पंजाब के चीफ कर्नल हैनरी लारेन्स के आदेशानुसार सरहिन्द के 33 परगनों में से शाहाबाद सहित तीन परगने हिसार में मिला दिये गये।¹² 1857 की महाक्रान्ति के समय अम्बाला के समीप होने के कारण अंग्रेज डिप्टी कलेक्टर लार्ड लेविन ने शाहाबाद को भी संवेदनशील क्षेत्र घोषित कर दिया था। अब इसका सम्बन्ध कमिश्नरी से तोड़ कर तहसील पीपली से जोड़ा गया। 1897 में जिला करनाल के अन्तर्गत सीधा दिल्ली से जोड़ दिया गया। इस उतार-चढ़ाव का प्रभाव शाहाबाद नगरपालिका पर भी पड़ा।

9 मई में अम्बाला में 1857 की क्रान्ति की चिंगारी उठने लगी। 10 मई की प्रातः थानेसर तथा अम्बाला में सैनिक इकठे हो चुके थे। क्रान्तिकारी मोहर सिंह सरदार, जो कि रोपड़ से था, उसने क्रान्तिकारियों का नेतृत्व किया। परन्तु बाद में वह अंग्रेजों की गिरफ्त में आ चुका था। बागी सैनिक अंग्रेज भक्त सैनिकों से भिड़ पड़े तथा इसी बात का फायदा उठाकर मोहर सिंह एक बार तो बच निकला परन्तु फिर

बन्दी बना लिया गया और बाद में गोपनीयता से उसे छावनी में लाकर फांसी पर लटका दिया गया।¹³ 10 मई के बाद अंबाला में गोरे इकट्ठे रहने लगे। थानेसर के डी.सी. मैकनील ने अपने खजाने के दस लाख रुपये भी अम्बाला भिजवा दिये, पूरे खजाने की सुरक्षा अंग्रेज घुड़सेना को सौंपी गई। अम्बाला का डिप्टी कलेक्टर फोरसाऊथ लाहौर व दिल्ली के बीच कौऑर्डिनेटर का काम कर रहा था। अम्बाला से दिल्ली मार्ग पर नियन्त्रण स्थापित करने के लिए मैकएन्ड्र्यू को लगाया गया। अम्बाला के आस-पास के क्षेत्रों में कैप्टन वील्ड व गरिस्टन को तैनात किया गया। 10 मई को एनसन शिमला में था लेकिन चर्बी वाले कारतूसों से सैनिकों के रवैये को सुनकर वह वापस लौट आया और रास्ते में कई मुठभेड़ों का सामना करना पड़ा। 18 मई को अम्बाला पहुंचा, इस प्रकार 19 मई तक अंग्रेजों ने अम्बाला पर प्रशासनिक नियन्त्रण स्थापित कर लिया था। इस दौरान पंचायती सेनाओं ने दिल्ली-अम्बाला मार्ग अवरुद्ध कर दिया। एनसन के कहने पर महाराजा पटियाला व जींद के राजा मदद के लिए सेना लेकर पहुँचे।¹⁴

शाहबाद के प्राचीनकाल, मध्यकालीन एवं आधुनिक कालीन इतिहास के विभिन्न पक्षों के अध्ययन के उपरान्त यह कहा जा सकता है कि इस नगर का इतिहास हरियाणा क्षेत्र के लिए गौरव की बात है यदि तथ्यों को सही ढंग से जुटाया जाए तथा सटीक व्याख्या की जाए। तो हरियाणा प्रदेश के इतिहास में शाहबाद नगर भी महत्वपूर्ण कड़ी के रूप में जुड़ सकता है और यह प्रयास मैंने इस शोधपत्र के माध्यम से किया है।

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औपनिवेशिक हरियाणा में कृषक ऋणग्रस्तता

धीरज कौशिक*

भारत में ऋणग्रस्तता की समस्या प्राचीनकाल से प्रचलित रही है ऋण की उपलब्धता उन चार अपरिहार्य परिस्थितियों में से एक थी जिनके कारण कोई भी स्थान रहने लायक बनता था। संस्कृत के प्रसिद्ध श्लोक में कहा गया है कि मेरे पुत्र उस स्थान पर न रहना जहां ये चार सुविधाएं न हों; महाजन, वैद्य, ब्राह्मण-ऋषि और पेयजल वाली नदी। प्राचीन काल से ही ऋण की आवश्यकता उत्पादन और उपभोग दोनों ही आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए पड़ती है। औपनिवेशिक शासनकाल में अंग्रेजों द्वारा भारत में आरम्भ की गई भू-राजस्व व्यवस्था के प्रचलन के कारण और सभी वैज्ञानिक तथा प्रशासनिक कामों का भार अधिकारियों द्वारा ग्रहण कर लिए जाने के कारण पुराने बिचैलियों जमींदारों और किसानों तथा ग्राम-पंचायतों की शक्तियों का विघटन हो गया, जिसका परिणाम यह था कि प्राचीन सामाजिक ढांचा छिन्न-भिन्न हो गया जिसमें देश का किसान सदियों से रहा था। औपनिवेशिक शासन काल में कृषक ऋणग्रस्तता को दो चरणों में विभाजित किया गया। पहले चरण में वे कारक थे जिनके कारण किसान पहले की तुलना में ऋण प्राप्त करने में अधिक योग्य व सक्षम बन गया जबकि दूसरे चरण में उन कारकों पर जोर दिया गया जिनके कारण किसान को ऋण लेने के लिए विवश होना पड़ा। इस लेख के माध्यम से औपनिवेशिक हरियाणा में कृषक ऋणग्रस्तता को जानने का प्रयास

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किया गया ।

हरियाणा प्रदेश के निवासियों का सबसे पुराना एवं मुख्य व्यवसाय कृषि था । कृषि एक मुख्य व विस्तृत उद्योग होने के कारण 64 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या इस पर निर्भर करती थी । यहां पर जो लोग निवास कर रहे थे वे यहां पर पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी रहने वाले नहीं थे बल्कि एक-दूसरे से जुड़े हुए थे । इनका रहन-सहन व रीति-रिवाज एक समान ही था । ये यहां पर आपस में भाईचारे की भांति रहते थे । जिसमें एक गांव का मुखिया होता था जो संयुक्त फैसला लेता था जो सबके लिए मान्य होता था । यहां पर जो व्यवस्था थी वह ग्रामीण व्यवस्था कहलाती थी । गांव में जो छोटे व बड़े भूस्वामी थे वे विभाजन के समानता के सिद्धान्त में इस प्रकार दक्ष थे कि लाभ व हानि के समय उनके बनाये गये जत्थे के द्वारा उपयुक्त निर्धारित अंश जनता की मांग पर दिया जाता था । यद्यपि इसके पश्चात् यहां असमानता दृष्टिगोचर होने लगी थी ।

हरियाणा प्रान्त आरम्भ से ही एक कृषि प्रधान राज्य रहा था । कृषि की पैदावार में जो संकट यहां पाया जाता था, वह कृषि के सामाजिक सम्बन्धों के अन्दरूनी संकट का केवल बाहरी स्वरूप था । साम्राज्यवादी शोषण की परिस्थितियों के परिणामस्वरूप यहां महाजन वर्ग की उत्पत्ति हुई जिस पर पूरी व्यवस्था निर्भर करती थी ।

अंग्रेजी सरकार ने हरियाणा की कृषि व्यवस्था पर बहुत बुरा प्रभाव डाला । उन्होंने भूमि कर बहुत अधिक रखा । वे उपज के आधे से भी अधिक भाग कृषकों से वसूल करते थे और उनके बदले में कोई भी सुविधा कृषकों को नहीं दी जाती थी । वे बेचारे वर्षा या कुओं से चर्स आदि से पानी खींच कर उसके सहारे अपनी फसलें उगाते थे । भूमिकर वसूलने का समय भी बड़ा गलत था । सरकारी कर्मचारी फरवरी और सितम्बर में फसल पकने से बहुत समय पहले ही किसानों के सिर पर आ चढ़ते थे । परिणामस्वरूप कितने ही किसान जो कर नहीं चुका सकते थे डर के मारे गांव छोड़ कर भाग जाते थे । उन दिनों के माल के सरकारी कागजात में अक्सर ऐसे वाक्य देखने को मिलते हैं यह गांव पूर्णतय खाली हो गया भूमि कर एकत्र नहीं किया जा सका, इस गांव के आधे कृषक गांव छोड़ कर अन्यत्र चले गये हैं, इस गांव में 70 में से केवल 5 घर ही आबाद हैं, शेष उजड़े पड़े हैं । एच ? कालवर्ट

के अनुसार किसानों की स्थिति खराब होने का मुख्य कारण जमीन की निरन्तर बढ़ रही कीमतें थी ।

औपनिवेशिक शासन काल में किसान अपने पास बहुत कम ही बचत रखता था और जब वह अपनी उत्पादन बिक्री से प्राप्त पैसे खर्च कर देता था तब यह खर्च करने के पश्चात् उसके पास केवल एक ही विकल्प बच जाता था कि उसे अपने दैनिक रोजमर्रा की आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए उधार लेना पड़ता था । जिसमें बच्चों के खिलौने के लिए, पत्नी के गहनों के लिए, वैवाहिक समारोह के लिए, अत्येनिष्ठ क्रियाओं को पूरा करने के लिए व कृषि आवश्यकताओं को पूरा करने के लिए और कई बार सरकार को दिए जाने वाले कर के लिए भी उसे उधार लेना पड़ता था । इसके अतिरिक्त कई बार किसान अपनी मुख्य घरेलू आवश्यकताओं के लिए भी उधार लेता था और इसमें उसको कोई हिचकिचाहट महसूस नहीं होती थी ।

हरियाणा प्रदेश में महाजन व व्यापारी ही ऋण के मुख्यस्त्रोत थे । सांस्थानिक स्त्रोत या तो बिलकुल नहीं थे अथवा महत्त्वहीन थे । अपने एकाधिकार की स्थिति का फायदा उठाकर महाजन बहुत ऊंची दरों पर ब्याज वसूलते थे और कर्ज लेने वाले पर काफी सख्त शर्तें थोपते थे । इसके साथ-साथ व्यापारीगण किसानों को मजबूर करते थे कि वे अपनी पैदावार उन्हीं को उन्हीं द्वारा निर्धारित कीमतों पर बेचें । जैसे ही कोई किसान कर्ज के फंदे में फंसता था वैसे ही उससे बाहर निकलने के सारे रास्ते बन्द हो जाते थे । पुश्तैनी कर्जों के बोझ से किसान हमेशा कर्ज में डूबे रहते थे । एम. एल. डार्लिंग का मानना था कि पंजाब का किसान उधार में पैदा होता, उधार में रहता और उधार में ही मर जाता था । पंजाब में कृषक साहूकार को छोड़कर मुख्य रूप से तीन साहूकार वर्ग थे जिनमें बनिया, खत्री और अरोड़ा । ये ब्रिटिश भारत में यहां की कुल जनसंख्या के दसवें भाग के बराबर थे जो इस प्रान्त के किसान की ऋणग्रस्तता का कुल पाँचवा भाग उपलब्ध कराते थे ।

औपनिवेशिक सरकार द्वारा किए गए सिंचाई के साधनों के परिणामस्वरूप बढ़ती हुई उत्पादन क्षमता ने जमीन के प्रबन्ध के महत्त्व को बढ़ा दिया । जबकि दूसरी तरफ साहूकार जमीन को मुनाफे का स्त्रोत मानने लगे और उसकी तरफ आकर्षित हुए । सरकार की न्याय प्रणाली के अनुसार जिसमें यह प्रावधान था कि

अगर ऋणी समय पर ऋण नहीं चुकाता तो उसकी सम्पत्ति ऋणदाता के द्वारा कुर्क कर ली जाएगी। किसानों द्वारा समय पर ऋण न चुकाने के कारण साहूकारों के द्वारा जमीन अपने नाम करवाने के लिए किसान एवं काश्तकारों को मजबूर कर दिया गया। इसके साथ-साथ ये साहूकार जो व्यापारी भी थे किसानों एवं काश्तकारों से सस्ते दाम पर माल खरीदकर उनको महंगे दामों पर बेचते थे। इस प्रकार साहूकार न केवल ऋण से ब्याज प्राप्त करता था अपितु किसानों के माल से भी अधिक धन कमाता था।

इस प्रकार भूमि के असमान वितरण, प्राकृतिक प्रकोप तथा अधिक जनसंख्या का थोड़ी भूमि पर निर्भर रहना और सरकार द्वारा वसूले गए अधिक भू-राजस्व तथा आबियाना कर ने छोटे किसानों तथा बटाईदारों का आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर विपरीत प्रभाव डाला। इन काश्तकारों के पास सरकार को भू-राजस्व एवं जमींदार का किराया देने के बाद इतनी बचत नहीं होती थी कि वह अपना गुजारा चला सके। साधारणतः उसे भू-राजस्व अदा करने के लिए साहूकार से ब्याज पर ऋण लेना पड़ता था। अपनी कमजोर आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण ये काश्तकार इस ऋण पर बढ़े हुए ब्याज को चुकाने में भी असमर्थ थे और यह ब्याज की दर बढ़कर दो-तीन वर्षों में दुगना-तिगुना हो जाती थी। काश्तकारों के द्वारा अपना कर्जा उतारने के लिए धीरे-धीरे इन साहूकारों पर अपनी जमीन गिरवी रखनी आरम्भ कर दी। इसके अतिरिक्त कई काश्तकारों को साहूकारों द्वारा जमीन से बेदखल भी कर दिया गया।

सरकार की न्याय प्रणाली के अनुसार जिसमें यह प्रावधान था कि अगर कर्जदाता समय पर ऋण नहीं चुकाएगा तो उसकी सारी सम्पत्ति ऋणदाता के द्वारा अधिग्रहण अर्थात् जब्त कर ली जाएगी। जिसके कारण किसानों द्वारा समय पर ऋण न चुकाने के परिणामस्वरूप साहूकारों के द्वारा जमीन अपने नाम करवाने के लिए काश्तकारों को मजबूर कर दिया गया। गांव केसरी, जिला अम्बाला में शंकर महाजन के द्वारा 2000 बीघा गिरवी रखी जमीन को 30,000 रुपये में खरीदा और चुन्नी लाल ने 10,000 बीघा गिरवी रखी जमीन को 40,000 रुपये में खरीदा था।

औपनिवेशिक काल में बैंकिंग व्यवस्था न के बराबर पनप पाई थी उससे सिर्फ व्यापारिक क्षेत्र को मदद मिलती थी। यह बैंकिंग व्यवस्था कृषि की आवश्यकताओं

को पूरा नहीं करती थी । ये बैंक सिर्फ अल्पकालीन ऋण देते थे जबकि किसानों को दीर्घकालीन ऋण की आवश्यकता होती थी । एच. बी. ट्रेवास्कीज ने अपनी पुस्तक में दर्शाते हुए कहा कि बैंकों की कमी के कारण ही किसानों को सूदखोरों की तरफ देखना पड़ता था । अगर किसान एक बार ऋण ले लेता था तो आजीवन भर वह सूदखोर का कर्जदार बना रहता था । जो किसान किसी तरह से सूदखोर के पंजे से निकल जाता था उसे बड़ा भाग्यशाली समझा जाता था । सूदखोर अपने मुनाफे के लिए किसानों को ऊंची ब्याज दर पर ऋण देकर ठीक और गलत दोनों तरीके अपनाते थे । एस. एस. थोरबर्न किसानों की दशा पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कहते हैं कि जो साहूकार अक्सर शहर में रहते थे उनकी शोषणकारी नीति से उनके प्रति किसानों में असंतोष की भावना उत्पन्न होना एक संभव सी बात थी जो कभी भी कृषक आंदोलन का रूप ले लेती थी ।

हरियाणा प्रदेश के किसानों को बार-बार अकालों का सामना करना पड़ता था । यहां पर 5-7 सालों में एक बार अकाल अवश्य पड़ जाता था । इस क्षेत्र में सन् 1905-06, 1909-10, 1913-14 तथा सन् 1918-19 ई. में बार-बार अकाल पड़े । ये अकाल इतने भयंकर होते थे कि इनकी वजय से इस क्षेत्र में कई बार महामारी भी फैल जाती थी जिनमें जानमाल का काफी नुकसान होता था । इन बार-बार पड़े अकालों ने इस क्षेत्र के किसानों की दशा को बहुत दयनीय बना दिया ।

एम.एल. डार्लिंग के अनुसार हिसार क्षेत्र में लगातार अकाल शृंखलाओं के कारण जमींदारों के द्वारा किसानों पर ओर भी कर लगाना सम्भव हो गया और ऐसी स्थिति में वे सभी किसान जिन्होंने अपनी भूमि गिरवी रखी हुई थी अपनी स्थिति को और ज्यादा बद से बदतर होने से नहीं बचा सके । जिसके परिणामस्वरूप उन्हें अपनी गिरवी रखी भूमि के सम्बन्ध में सख्त कदम उठाने को मजबूर होना पड़ा और हमेशा की तरह गिरवी रखी भूमि को बेचना पड़ा । 20 साल से भी कम समय में जमींदारों को इस प्रान्त के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से उसे 1 करोड़ 1 सौ 79 हजार एकड़ भूमि प्राप्त करने में सफलता प्राप्त हुई थी ।

एम. एल. डार्लिंग ने अपनी पुस्तक दा पीजैन्ट इन प्रोसपैरेटी एण्ड डैब्ट में मेजर जैक की जांच पड़ताल का हवाला दिया जिसमें यह तथ्य उजागर हुआ कि किसान द्वारा अपनी पूरे या आधे साल की आमदनी का घरेलू अनुष्ठानों अर्थात् आयोजनों

विशेषकर शादी-ब्याह पर खर्च करता था। सन् 1880 के अकाल आयोग ने पाया कि शादी-ब्याह और अन्य आयोजन ऋण के प्रधान कारणों में थे। डार्लिंग ने रेखांकित किया कि शादी-ब्याह, दाह-संस्कार और सगाई कभी कभार आने वाले अवसर नहीं थे जैसी आम लोगों की धारणा थी : हरियाणा में लड़के की शादी, आमतौर से सोलह या सत्रह साल की उम्र में, और लड़की का ब्याह उससे एक या दो साल पहले होता था। इस प्रकार तीन व्यक्तियों के किसी परिवार का मतलब है औसतन हर पांचवें व छठे साल एक शादी, फिर भतीजा या भतीजी की शादी भी करनी होगी, और शादी की कम उम्र के कारण सगाई अथवा दाह-संस्कार भी हो सकता है। दोनों में ही संभवतः इतनी रकम खर्च होगी कि उसे एक निर्धन देश में हमेशा जुटाना कठिन होता है। सामाजिक अनुष्ठानों के वास्ते लिए गए ऋण, आमतौर से, बहुत बड़े और अनुत्पादक हुआ करते थे। उनका पुनर्भुगतान आसान नहीं होता था। डार्लिंग ने सामाजिक अनुष्ठानों के लिए गए कर्ज को सबसे घातक बतलाया क्योंकि कोई भी दूसरा कर्ज ऋण के ताबूत के साथ इससे अधिक मजबूती से कील लगा कर नहीं ठोकता।

डार्लिंग ने अपने अध्ययन को उन्हीं कारणों तक सीमित रखा, जो किसी व्यक्ति को कर्ज लेने के लिए विवश करते थे। किन्तु अब उन्होंने उन कारणों की तरफ ध्यान दिया जो उसे कर्ज लेने में सक्षम बनाते थे।

जो कर्ज, सूखे और बीमारी, अलाभकर जोतों और शादी-ब्याह की फिजूलखर्ची वाली जिम्मेदारियों के कारण लिए जाते हैं उन सबकी जननी आवश्यकता है, परन्तु आवश्यकता अपने आप में ऋण का पर्याप्त कारण बन सकती, भले ही उसका परिणाम कुछ भी हो, फिर, कोई भी समझदार व्यक्ति ऋण देने के पहले अपने आपको जरूर आश्वस्त कर लेगा कि उसके ऋण का पुनर्भुगतान हो जाएगा। दूसरे शब्दों में, ऋण यह अभिधारणा लेकर चलता है कि न केवल ऋणी बल्कि ऋणदाता भी होता है, और आवश्यकता के साथ-साथ सुरक्षा भी होती है, इस प्रवृत्ति की व्याख्या देश में व्याप्त महाजनी व्यवस्था की दुष्प्रणाली में मिलती है जो खेतिहर की लापरवाही को बढ़ावा देकर उसके संस्थानों का शोषण करती है।

औपनिवेशिक हरियाणा में कृषक जमींदार की स्थिति प्राथमिक हो गई थी। उसके पास कुल गिरवी रखी गई भूमि का तीन चौथाई हिस्सा था जिस पर उसको

ब्याज दर से पैसा प्राप्त करने के बजाए उसकी ज्यादा रूचि भूमि हड़पने में हो गई थी । ऋण ग्रस्त किसान साहूकारों और कृषक साहूकारों के नए वर्ग में से किसी एक वर्ग का चुनाव नहीं कर पाते थे । क्योंकि उन सभी की नीतियां व तरीके एक समान थे और दोनों ही होशियार व सख्त थे ।

वैचारिक तौर पर देखे तो किसान के शोषण के लिए केवल एक पक्ष जिम्मेवार नहीं था बल्कि दूसरे पक्ष की भूमिका भी उतनी महत्वपूर्ण थी । क्योंकि किसानों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक दशा के लिए प्रकृति, सरकार, सूदखोर व जमींदार तो जिम्मेदार थे ही परन्तु कुछ स्तर तक किसान स्वयं भी इसके लिए जिम्मेवार था । किसान साहूकार आदि से ऋण प्राप्त करता था या फसल बेचकर जो पैसा प्राप्त करता था उससे खेती-बाड़ी के कार्य पर खर्च न करके फिजुल कार्यों पर खर्च करता था जिससे समाज में उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति निर्बल होना तय थी ।

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औपनिवेशिक हरियाणा में कृषक स्थिति: एक अध्ययन

डॉ. गुरप्रीत सिंह*

दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब (आधुनिक हरियाणा) भारत के हृदय में एक छोटा सा क्षेत्र है। भारतीय संस्कृति और इतिहास में इस क्षेत्र का योगदान महत्वपूर्ण रहा है। इस की प्रशासनिक सीमाएं तत्कालीन राजनीति के अनुसार बदलती रही हैं। लेकिन इसकी भौगोलिक व प्राकृतिक सीमाएं ज्यों की त्यों बनी रही हैं। यहां की 90 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से कृषि से अपना जीवन निर्वाह करती रही है। सम्बन्धित क्षेत्र में शेष भारत की तरह यहां जमींदार वर्ग का अभाव था और परम्परागत खालसा-भूमि होने के कारण इस क्षेत्र में स्वतन्त्र किस्म के कृषक पाए जाते थे।

अंग्रेजों ने 1803 ई. में सर्जी-अंजन गांव की सन्धि के तहत दौलतराव सिंधिया को दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब के क्षेत्र को ब्रिटिश-ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी को सौंपने के लिए मजबूर किया। परन्तु कम्पनी प्रशासन ने इस प्रदेश की प्रशासनिक सुविधाओं को मध्य नजर रखते हुए इस क्षेत्र को दो भागों में बांट दिया था। एक भाग को अंसाईड टेरिटरी कहा जाता था जो सीधे अंग्रेजों के अधीन था। दूसरा भाग देशी राजाओं को सौंप दिया था। जिन्होंने युद्ध में मराठों के विरुद्ध कम्पनी का साथ दिया था। परन्तु यहां की स्वतन्त्रता प्रिय जनता ने अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ कड़ा विरोध जताया था। 1857 के विद्रोह की विफलता के उपरांत अंग्रेजों ने बदले की भावना

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से प्रेरित होकर इस क्षेत्र को 1858 ई. के अधिनियम के अन्तर्गत पंजाब में मिला दिया। जिसकी संस्कृति, रहन-सहन, भाषा, वेषभूषा आदि यहां के लोगों से बिल्कुल विपरित थी और यह क्षेत्र अर्थात् दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब (आधुनिक हरियाणा) 1966 तक पंजाब सुबे का ही अंग बना रहा था।

पंजाब के दक्षिणी-पूर्वी क्षेत्र के निवासियों का सबसे पुराना और मुख्य व्यवसाय कृषि था और कृषि करने का ढंग बहुत पुराना था तथा मुख्य व्यवसाय होते हुए अधिकतर लोग इस पर निर्भर थे। इस क्षेत्र की विचित्र बात यह थी कि दूसरे व्यवसायों में अधिक आमदनी वालों को अधिक दर से और कम आमदनी वालों को कम दर से कर देना पड़ता था। लेकिन कृषि व्यवसाय में इस अधिकृत क्षेत्र में (दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब में) समान दर से कृषकों को भू-कर देना पड़ता था जैसे 5 एकड़ वालों को कर उसी दर से देना पड़ता था जैसे 500 एकड़ वालों को देना पड़ता था। जो कि कर वसूली का असमान तरीका था। कृषकों से $\frac{2}{3}$ भाग कर के रूप में लिया जाता था। अतः बड़े और छोटे कृषकों को एक ही लाठी से हांका जाता था। यदि अन्य व्यवसायों में व्यक्ति एक वर्ष में 5000 रुपये कमाता था तो उसको 5000 रुपये पर कर देना पड़ता था और यदि अगले वर्ष कुछ नहीं कमाता तो उसे कोई कर नहीं देना पड़ता था। परन्तु यहां के कृषक वर्ग की स्थिति इसके विपरीत नजर आई, यदि कृषक के पास फसल हुई या न हुई तो उसे हर हाल में प्रत्येक वर्ष भू-कर ब्रिटिश सरकार को देना अनिवार्य था। जो ब्रिटिश सरकार की कृषक वर्ग से भू-राजस्व के रूप में लिया गया कर अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से शोषण सम्बन्धी नीति को प्रदर्शित करता था।

सरकार भूमि पर अपना अधिकार समझती थी और कृषक भूमि पर उस समय तक खेती कर सकता था। जब तक वह सरकार को भू-कर देता था और कृषक द्वारा कर न देने की स्थिति में सरकार भूमि की नीलामी भी कर सकती थी। परन्तु सरकार ने कृषक को भूमि को गिरवी या बेचकर, कर देने का अधिकार दे रखा था।

इन परिस्थितियों में कृषक को विवश होकर साहूकार के पंजे में फसना पड़ता था, उसको ऊंची ब्याज दर पर ऋण लेने के लिए सहमत होना पड़ता था। तत्कालीन समय में इस क्षेत्र के कृषक की दशा काफी दयनीय थी और वह काफी संख्या में

कर्जमन्द था । सन् 1921 ई. में पंजाब इन्कवारी कमेटी ने पंजाब के कृषकों के कर्जमन्द होने की रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की, कि उपरोक्त वर्ष में कृषि ऋण 90 करोड़ रुपये था । जो 1929 ई. में बढ़कर 135 करोड़ रूप में हो गया । इस इन्कवारी के माध्यम से यह बताया कि सिंचित एकड़ भूमि पर औसत ऋण 31 रुपये था । 1923 ई. में यह अनुमान लगाया गया कि पंजाब के 87 प्रतिशत कृषक बहुत बुरी तरह से ऋण ग्रस्त थे जिन पर लगभग 40,000 सूदखोरों का ऋण चढ़ा हुआ था ।

इस समय ब्याज पर उधार देना पंजाब में कृषि व्यवसाय के बाद दुसरा मुख्य व्यवसाय था । पंजाब में यह अनुमान लगाया गया कि पंजाब के कृषक ऋण पर ब्याज उनके द्वारा अदा किए भू-राजस्व तथा पानी खर्च के जोड़े की तुलना में 4-5 गुणा ज्यादा अदा करते थे । बिलकुल यही स्थिति दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब में भी ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई थी । इस समय यहां के कृषकों की आर्थिक दशा भू-कर अधिक होने के कारण काफी खराब (कमजोर) बनी हुई थी । उन पर सरकार द्वारा, साहूकारों द्वारा, सूदखोरों द्वारा मनमाने अत्याचार किए जाते थे । कृषि व्यवसाय का जहां तक सम्बन्ध था, लाभप्रद नहीं था । उस समय यह अनुमान लगाया जाता था कि अगर एक कृषक जो 5 रुपये कर देता था साथ में उसका एक पुत्र नौकरी भी करता था, उसकी स्थिति उस व्यक्ति की अपेक्षा अच्छी थी जो भू-कर तो 25 रुपये देता था । लेकिन उसके परिवार से कोई भी सरकारी नौकरी नहीं करता था । इस समय कृषक के सिर पर कोई न कोई परेशानी बनी रहती थी । कभी साहूकार का बकाया, कभी नम्बरदार की ताकीप, कभी दीवानी की डिग्री से बैचेनी, तो कभी पशु हांके जाने का डर, कभी मकान नीलामी का डर तो कभी फसल कुर्क का डर । ये सभी समस्याएं उसको मानसिक रूप से परेशान करती थी ।

अब कृषकों पर सरकारी आपत्तियां भी थी जिन पर नियन्त्रण रखा जा सकता था । लेकिन औपनिवेशिक सरकार ने अपनी शोषणकारी नीति पर कोई नियन्त्रण नहीं रखा । सरकार यह भी सोचती थी कि भूमि का इंग्लैण्ड की तरह साहूकारों के पास जाना अच्छा रहेगा और ये भूमि पर पूंजी लगाकर पैदावार बढ़ांगे जिससे सरकार को भी लाभ होगा । लेकिन इन साहूकारों ने कृषि क्षेत्र में ऐसा कुछ नहीं किया और फसल चक्र पर कर लेकर यह भूमि वाणिज्य कृषक या काश्तकारों को दे देते थे ।

अब अंग्रेजी सरकार के साथ-साथ साहूकार वर्ग भी जमीन को फायदे का स्रोत मानने लगे थे और उसकी ओर आकर्षित हुए। सरकार की न्याय प्रणाली अनुसार जिसमें यह प्रावधान था कि अगर कोई ऋणी निश्चित समय पर ऋण चुकाने में असमर्थ है तो उसकी चल-अचल सम्पत्ति ऋणदाता द्वारा कुर्क कर ली जाएगी। कृषकों द्वारा समय-समय पर कर न चुकाने के कारण साहूकारों के द्वारा जमीन अपने नाम करवाने के लिए कृषक एवं काश्तकारों को मजबूर कर दिया जाता था। इसके साथ-साथ ये साहूकार जो अब व्यापारी भी बन चुके थे, कृषकों एवं काश्तकारों से सस्ते दाम पर माल खरीदकर उनको मंहगे दामों पर बेचते थे। इस प्रकार साहूकार केवल ऋण से ब्याज ही प्राप्त नहीं करता था अपितु कृषकों में माल से भी अधिक धन कमाता था। इस क्षेत्र में कृषक वर्ग की दशा बिगड़ती जा रही थी। यहां का कृषक वर्ग सरकार और साहूकार के शोषण से बुरी तरह पीड़ित था।

कुछ क्षेत्रों में यह भी देखने को मिलता है कि राजनीतिक क्षेत्र को ध्यान में रख कर भी भू-कर बढ़ाया जाता था। क्योंकि जिनके पूर्वजों ने रेवाड़ी के संदर्भ में 1857 के विद्रोह में भाग लिया वहां पर ऐसी स्थिति नजर आई। पटवारियों ने भी कृषकों को रिश्त देने के लिए मजबूर किया तथा उनको ऐसा करने के लिए मजबूरन तैयार होना पड़ता था। जब सरकार ने आदेश दिए की कर किस्तों ने लिया जाए लेकिन संग्रहकों ने उक्त आदेशों की अवहेलना करते हुए एक साथ सारा भू-कर वसूल किया और कृषकों पर अत्याचार किया गया था।

परन्तु वहीं पर दूसरी ओर ब्रिटिश काल में दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब में बनिए और व्यापारी भी कृषकों का शोषण करते थे। व्यापारी कृषकों की फसल को सस्ते दामों पर खरीदते थे। साम्राज्यवादी सरकार ने पहले तो यह सोचा कि भूमि का साहूकारों के पास जाना अच्छा रहेगा लेकिन बाद में सरकार के सामने निम्न समस्याएं उभर गई थी जैसे सरकार की भू-राजस्व नीति के कारण कृषकों का बहुत बड़ा वर्ग भूमिहीन हो गया था। जो बारूद की गठरी के समान था और जिसकी एक चिंगारी साम्राज्य के लिए खतरा पैदा कर सकती थी। यद्यपि इस बात से भी इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि ब्रिटिश सरकार ने भी कृषकों की स्थिति को सुधारने के प्रयास किये लेकिन ठोस कदम तो यूनियनिस्ट पार्टी ने ही उठाये और इसमें मुख्य योगदान गरीब-किसानों के सहायक चौ. छोटूराम का था। सरकार ने 1900 ई. में

लैण्ड एलिनिऐशन एक्ट पास किया जिसके तहत कृषकों की भूमि अकृषक जातियां नहीं खरीद सकती थी और न ही 20 वर्ष से ज्यादा गिरवी रख सकती थी। इससे कृषकों को तो कोई खास लाभ नहीं हुआ, क्योंकि अकृषकों की जगह अब इनके कृषक भाईयों ने ले ली थी। लेकिन सरकार को एक फायदा यह हुआ कि उच्च कृषक वर्ग सरकार का समर्थक बन गया था। रजिस्ट्रेशन ऑफ मनी लेण्डर्स एक्ट के तहत सूदखोरों को सरकार के पास अपना रजिस्ट्रेशन करवाना पड़ता था। जिससे कृषकों के साथ ज्यादाती करने पर रद्द भी किया जा सकता था। इस प्रकार निष्कर्ष रूप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि कृषकों को शान्त करने के लिए समय-समय पर कुछ अधिनियम पास किए गए लेकिन इनका वास्तविक लाभ क्षेत्र (दक्षिणी-पूर्वी क्षेत्र) के कृषकों को अधिक नहीं मिलता ये कानून केवल कागजों तक ही सीमित रह जाते थे। उल्टा सरकार की नीतियों के साथ-साथ साहूकारों, सूदखोरों, पटवारियों, बनियों, तथा कर संग्रहकों, का भी डर उनको सताता रहता था। सरकार की मन्शा उनको सुरक्षित रखने की अपेक्षा उनसे धन इकट्ठा करने की ज्यादा बनी रही थी। इस प्रकार कह सकते हैं कि औपनिवेशिक काल में कृषकों की दशा अत्यंत खराब बनी हुई थी।

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औपनिवेशिक हरियाणा में स्त्री शिक्षा : एक समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन (1803-1900)

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दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब अर्थात् आधुनिक हरियाणा भारत का एक समृद्ध एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रान्त है। भारतीय संस्कृति तथा इतिहास में इस क्षेत्र का महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान रहा है। इस क्षेत्र में ब्रिटिश का आगमन लार्ड लेक द्वारा दौलतराव सिंधिया को 11 सितम्बर 1803 को परास्त करके 30 दिसम्बर 1803 को सर्जी अंजन गांव की सन्धि द्वारा हुआ जिसमें हरियाणा का बहुत बड़ा भाग ब्रिटिश कम्पनी को मिल गया। पंजाब में विलय से पूर्व हरियाणा क्षेत्र 1803 ई. से 1834 ई. तक बंगाल प्रेजीडेंसी का अंग रहा। तत्पश्चात् यह क्षेत्र 1834 ई. से 1857 ई. तक उत्तर पश्चिमी सूबे के अन्तर्गत रहा। 1857 ई. की क्रान्ति के पश्चात् हरियाणा को उत्तर पश्चिमी सुबे (आधुनिक यू.पी.) से पृथक् करके फरवरी 1858 ई. में पंजाब प्रान्त का अंग बना दिया।

पंजाब का विलय 1849 ई. में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य में किया गया था। उस समय इसमें पांच डिवीजन जैसे अम्बाला, मुलतान, लाहौर, जालन्धर तथा रावलपिंडी थे। औपनिवेशिक काल में अम्बाला डिवीजन को दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब अर्थात् हरियाणा क्षेत्र के नाम से जाना जाता था। जो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के अधीन पंजाब का एक बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ और निर्माणाधीन क्षेत्र था उस समय अम्बाला डिवीजन में रोहतक, हिसार, गुड़गांव, करनाल, अम्बाला और शिमला जिले विद्यमान थे। 19वीं शताब्दी के शुरुआत में अन्य क्षेत्रों की भांति हरियाणा में भी शिक्षा की परिभाषा आज कल से भिन्न थी, उसका स्वरूप भी भिन्न था। जिससे व्यक्ति अपने परंपरागत व्यवसाय

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में दक्ष हो, वही शिक्षा होती है। इससे परे शिक्षा ग्रहण करना समय नष्ट करना माना जाता था। 19वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व कम्पनी सरकार का रवैया शिक्षा के प्रति उदासीन था। पर 1813 ई. में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयास किया गया।

इसी समय उत्तर पश्चिम प्रान्त के गवर्नर थोमसन (1843-1853) ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में काफी रुचि ली। उसने योजनानुसार मौलिक शिक्षा को सर्वोच्च सरकार व कोर्ट के निर्देशों से मान्यता दिलवाई। थोमसन वह प्रथम व्यक्ति था जिसने ब्रिटिश अधिकृत क्षेत्र में जन-शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने के उद्देश्य से भू-कर पर उपकर निर्धारित करके संगृहित किया। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत हरियाणा क्षेत्र को भी इसका लाभ मिला। सन् 1858 ई. के अधिनियम के अन्तर्गत भारत पर ब्रिटिश सरकार का अधिकार स्थापित हो गया। तब इस नई सरकार ने यहां पर अन्य सुधारों के साथ-साथ शिक्षा में सुधार करने की सोची और 1863-64 ई. में हरियाणा में शिक्षा का निरीक्षण करने के लिए एक अलग से निरीक्षण-कर्त्ता भी भेजा गया।

हरियाणा के लोग शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पिछड़े हुए जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे थे। यहां पर शिक्षा सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराने वाले स्रोतों का सदा अभाव बना रहा, अर्थात् यहां शिक्षा सुविधाएं नहीं के बराबर थी। जिसके कारण यहां पर लगभग 87 फीसदी जनसंख्या अशिक्षित थी। इस क्षेत्र में कोई भी कॉलेज नहीं था। यदि किसी भी व्यक्ति को उच्च शिक्षाध्ययन करना पड़ता तो इसके लिए उसको लाहौर या दिल्ली जाना पड़ता था। इस समय शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों की स्थिति और भी असन्तोषजनक थी अर्थात् बहुत कम स्त्रियां ही शिक्षा ग्रहण करती थी। ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी के अधीन स्त्री शिक्षा को महत्वता नहीं मिली, बल्कि पुरानी अवहेलना ही बनी रही क्योंकि शायद ब्रिटिश शासकों को महिला लिपिकों की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। सन् 1857 ई. के पश्चात् जब भारत ब्रिटिश शासन के अन्तर्गत आ गया तो पूर्वोद्धृत विचारधारा में कुछ परिवर्तन आया। गुड़गांव के एक डिप्टी कमीशनर एफ.एल. ब्राउन ने 1864 ई. में कहा था यदि एक लड़के को शिक्षित किया जाता है तो इसका अर्थ है केवल एक व्यक्ति को शिक्षित किया जा रहा है, परन्तु एक लड़की को शिक्षा देना एक पूरे परिवार को शिक्षित करना है। स्त्री शिक्षा के संदर्भ में स्वामी दयानंद सरस्वती का मत था कि शिक्षा से कर्म तथा मार्ग प्रशस्त होता है तथा कर्म मनुष्य को व्यक्तिगत रूप से करना होता है। उन्होंने वृत्तिवादियों के इस तर्क से असहमति

जताई कि स्त्रियों को शिक्षा की आवश्यकता इसलिए है कि ताकि वे शिक्षित होकर पत्नी तथा मां के रूप में अपने कर्तव्यों का सम्यक् निर्वहन कर सकें।

19वीं सदी के हरियाणा को देखने पर पाते हैं कि स्त्री शिक्षा पर कठोर प्रतिबन्ध तो नहीं था, किन्तु स्थिति कुछ ऐसी थी कि उच्च श्रेणी के कुछ परिवारों को छोड़कर साधारण व्यक्ति अपनी लड़कियों को विद्यालय में भेजना पसन्द नहीं करते थे। ऐसी ही प्रवृत्ति अन्य जातियों में भी प्रचलित थी। अध्ययनाधीन शताब्दी के शुरू में रोहतक, हिसार, गुड़गांव में हिन्दुओं के कुल 70 विद्यालय थे, जिनमें 70 अध्यापकों द्वारा 886 विद्यार्थी शिक्षा ग्रहण करते थे। पानीपत में 5-6 विद्यालय खुले थे तथा करनाल में केवल एक ही विद्यालय स्थापित था। इन सभी विद्यालयों में शिक्षा ब्राह्मणों या मौलवियों द्वारा मन्दिरों व मस्जिदों में दी जाती थी। शिक्षा ग्रहण करने के तरीके वही पुराने व अवैज्ञानिक ही थे। सब कुछ याददास्त पर निर्भर था।

1860 ई. से 1900 ई. तक हरियाणा में कन्या विद्यालयों व छात्राओं की संख्या

जिला	1860-61	1870-71	1880-81	1890-91	1900-01
अम्बाला	विद्यालय-10 छात्राएं-172	9 203			4 232
रोहतक	विद्यालय-1 छात्राएं-13	1 16		4 124	5 209
करनाल	विद्यालय-5 छात्राएं-58	10 117	2 88	1 7	4 87
हिसार	विद्यालय-2 छात्राएं-18	4 113			5 197
गुड़गांव	विद्यालय-15 छात्राएं-294	9 185	4 105	8 128	11 243

उपरोक्त तालिका द्वारा स्पष्ट है कि 1860-61 ई. में हरियाणा क्षेत्र में लड़कियों के लिए विभिन्न जिलों में 33 विद्यालय स्थापित थे जिनमें 555 छात्राएं शिक्षा ग्रहण कर रही थी जबकि 1900-01 ई. में विद्यालयों की संख्या घट कर 29 रह गयी थी और छात्राओं की संख्या बढ़कर 968 हो गयी थी। अर्थात् दिल्ली क्षेत्र में 1900-1901

में अधिकतम महिला साक्षरता 0.6 फीसदी थी तथा अम्बाला में इनकी स्थिति 0.4 फीसदी व करनाल, हिसार और रोहतक में स्थिति और भी बदतर अर्थात् 0.1 फीसदी थी। 1900-01 से पूर्व इस क्षेत्र में कोई माध्यमिक विद्यालय खोला नहीं गया था। विशेष रूप से, जिला अम्बाला में महिला शिक्षा के लिए कुछ प्रयत्न किए जा रहे थे। 1877-78 में यहां पर केवल 2 देशीय प्राथमिक विद्यालय थे जिनमें केवल 37 लड़कियां ही शिक्षा ग्रहण कर रही थी। भिवानी क्षेत्र में महिला शिक्षा पर ध्यान दे तो यहां 19वीं शताब्दी के अन्तिम दशक में बैपटीस मिशन द्वारा एक गैर सहायता प्राप्त महिला विद्यालय का शुभारम्भ किया गया था तथा दादरी क्षेत्र में 1900 ई. में विशेष रूप से मुस्लिम लड़कियों को अरेबिक धार्मिक पुस्तकों का ज्ञान करवाया जाता था। लौहारू क्षेत्र में तो स्त्री शिक्षा ओर भी बदतर थी अर्थात् यहां पर किसी भी स्तर का विद्यालय उपलब्ध नहीं था। सन् 1857 ई. में रेवाड़ी क्षेत्र में केवल एक माध्यमिक विद्यालय था जिसको सन् 1880 ई. में उच्च विद्यालय बनाया गया। सन् 1881-82 ई. में यहां पर लड़कियों के लिए केवल 14 जिला बोर्ड प्राथमिक विद्यालय थे जिनमें 335 छात्राएं ही शिक्षा ग्रहण कर रही थी और 20वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ तक रेवाड़ी तहसील में 30 प्राथमिक विद्यालय तथा एक उच्च विद्यालय चलाया जा रहा था तथा इसी समय एक विद्यालय नारनौल में स्थापित किया गया जिसमें अरेबिक शिक्षा दी जाती थी। जिसमें पहले *बगदादी-कायदा व अल-कुरान* तथा *मिजां-अस-सर्फ, सतमीर, नहव-मीर, काफिया* और *शाफिया* आदि पढ़ाया जाता था।

पंजाब में शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने में ब्रिटिश सरकार के अतिरिक्त कुछ निजी संस्थाओं का साहसिक प्रयास भी काफी प्रभावशाली रहा। इस दिशा में कुछ सामाजिक-धार्मिक संगठन जैसे आर्य समाज, देव-समाज, सिंह सभा और चीफ खालसा दीवान तथा मुस्लिम अंजुमनस आदि तहदिल से कार्यरत थे।

दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब अर्थात् हरियाणा क्षेत्र में आर्य समाज के संस्थापक स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती पहली बार 1880 में राव युधिष्ठिर के आग्रह करने पर रेवाड़ी में पधारे। हरियाणा में आर्य समाज का प्रसार सन् 1883 में स्वामी दयानन्द की मृत्यु के पश्चात् लाला लाजपतराय, पण्डित बस्ती राम, चौ. पीरू सिंह, भक्त फूल सिंह राव युधिष्ठिर और उनके पुत्रों के फलस्वरूप हुआ तथा जिन्होंने स्त्री कुरीतियों का

विरोध किया और लड़की शिक्षा पर जोर दिया। इनके सहयोग से हरियाणा में कई गुरुकुल व हाई स्कूल खोले गए तथा हिसार व अम्बाला में इस दिशा में इन्होंने ज्यादा ध्यान केन्द्रित किया।

आर्य समाज के अतिरिक्त सनातन धर्म सभा का भी इस दिशा में महत्वपूर्ण प्रयास रहा। सन् 1886 ई. में पण्डित दीन दयाल शर्मा ने झज्जर में इसकी नींव रखी। इन्होंने सामाजिक बुराइयों का विरोध किया और शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता का प्रचार किया। सनातन धर्म सभा ने अम्बाला में कई उच्च विद्यालय तथा महाविद्यालय स्थापित किए।

सन् 1870 के पश्चात् हरियाणा क्षेत्र में शिक्षा में कुछ विकास हुआ। पर वैचारिक रूप से देखें साक्षरता जरूर बढ़ रही थी पर बहुत मद गति से। इस क्षेत्र में पाश्चात्य शिक्षा का प्रभाव बम्बई व मद्रास प्रान्तों की अपेक्षा बहुत कम था। किन्तु दिल्ली में साक्षरता स्तर अधिक अर्थात् 4.6 फीसदी था जबकि अम्बाला में साक्षरता 4.3 फीसदी थी। इन जिलों की अपेक्षा अन्य चार जिलों में साक्षरता स्तर निम्नतर थी। 20वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ तक स्त्री-शिक्षा का प्रचलन बहुत ही कम रहा। यहां केवल 0.07 फीसदी स्त्रियां साक्षर थी। सन् 1900 ई. में वे कुल स्त्री जनसंख्या का 0.33 प्रतिशत से कम विद्यालय जाती थी।

सरकार के अतिरिक्त कई सामाजिक व धार्मिक संगठन (आर्य समाज तथा सनातन धर्म) भी लोगों को शैक्षणिक सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराने की भूमिका बखूबी से निभा रहे थे। जातियां संगठन भी इस दिशा में साहसिक प्रयत्न कर रहे थे। जाट महासभा रोहतक में यादव सभा रेवाड़ी में, वैश्य सभा भिवानी और रोहतक में तथा सैनी, ब्राह्मण इत्यादि भी रोहतक में प्रशंसनीय शैक्षणिक प्रयास कर रहे थे।

हरियाणा क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों की शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पिछड़ने के पीछे कई प्रभावशाली कारण थे। इस प्रकार पाया गया कि हरियाणा क्षेत्र अर्थात् दक्षिणी-पूर्वी पंजाब में विद्यालय 15 वर्ग मील की दूरी पर स्थापित था जबकि इसकी अपेक्षा पंजाब में विद्यालय 10 वर्ग मील की दूरी पर खोला गया। अर्थात् पंजाब की अपेक्षा यहां पक्षपातपूर्ण व्यवहार किया जाता था। ब्रिटिश सरकार ने एक शैक्षणिक नीति के द्वारा पंजाब के जमीन मालिकों व जमींदारों के बच्चों के लिए विशेष रूप से शैक्षणिक सुविधाएं उपलब्ध करवाईं। जैसे 1886 ई. में लाहौर में जो कॉलेज

स्थापित किया गया था, उसमें उन छात्रों के दाखिले रद्द किए गए जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्र से रहने वाले थे। इस प्रकार हरियाणा क्षेत्र भी पंजाब का ग्रामीण क्षेत्र होने से उपरोक्त नियम का यहां पर कार्यावित्त होना संभव था। एम.एल. डार्लिंग ने दर्शाया कि यहां पर दुल्हनें (स्त्रियां), अपनी सुन्दरता बनाए रखने, पशुओं की देखभाल व घरेलू कार्यों के लिए तथा अतिथियों के मनोरंजन के लिए भी खरीदी व बेची जाती थी। यहां पर लड़कियों की अपेक्षा लड़कों को जन्म देना अधिक पसन्द करते थे क्योंकि पुरुष अपनी जमीन का वारिस व खेत में हल चलाने वाला पुत्र, और रक्षा करने वाला सैनिक ज्यादा चाहते थे।

हरियाणा क्षेत्र में स्त्रियां बहुत कठिन कार्य करने में लगी रहती थी। वे पुरुषों की भांति खेत में हल चलाने का कार्य भी करती थी। खासकर रोहतक में स्त्रियाँ पंजाब की अपेक्षा ज्यादा मेहनती व कठिन कार्य करने में अग्रसर रही। मुस्लिम महिलाओं की अपेक्षा सिख महिलाओं की स्थिति शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कुछ हद तक सन्तोषजनक रही। पंजाब की अपेक्षा हरियाणा क्षेत्र में स्त्री शिक्षा काफी पिछड़ी हुई थी अर्थात् निरक्षरता स्तर अधिक ज्यादा था। यहां पर पंजाब की अपेक्षा कोई भी तकनीकी, मेडिकल, इंजिनियरिंग व दूसरे व्यवसायिक विषय के एक भी महाविद्यालय नहीं खुला था। इसके साथ-साथ 19वीं शताब्दी के उत्तार्द्ध में सामाजिक-धार्मिक संगठन भी अपने मार्ग से भटकते नजर आए। सन् 1890 ई. के पश्चात् स्त्री उच्च शिक्षा को लेकर आर्य सामाजियों में मत भेद पैदा हो गया। उपरोक्त विषय के संदर्भ में लाला लाजपतराय तथा लालचन्द प्रमुख थे। दोनों ने स्त्रियों की प्राथमिक शिक्षा को सहृदय स्वीकार किया। परन्तु स्त्री उच्च शिक्षा का विरोध किया।

वैचारिक रूप से देखें 19वीं शताब्दी के अन्तिम दशक में स्त्री शिक्षा में कुछ सुधार अवश्य हुआ क्योंकि कुछ नौजवान सेना में प्रवेश कर चुके थे जो अब शिक्षित पत्नियों की इच्छा मन में रखने लगे थे। इसी प्रकार अब कुछ माता-पिता लड़कियों की शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता पहचानने लगे थे। नहरी कालोनियों में रहने वाले व्यक्तियों ने स्त्री शिक्षा को कुछ बढ़ावा दिया। एम. एल. डार्लिंग ने निरीक्षण किया कि केन्द्रीय पंजाब व नहरी कालोनियों में हरियाणा की तुलना में स्त्री शिक्षा स्तर अधिक अच्छा था। क्योंकि इस क्षेत्र में नहरों के अभाव में कालोनी व्यवस्था भी

नहीं थी। इस प्रकार 19वीं शताब्दी के अन्त तक हरियाणा में स्त्री शिक्षा असन्तोषजनक रही थी।

अध्ययनाधीन शती से पूर्व हरियाणा में शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में स्त्रियों की स्थिति शोचनीय ही बनी रही थी। 1803 ई. में ब्रिटिश कम्पनी द्वारा इस क्षेत्र पर अधिकार स्थापित होने पर शिक्षा में कुछ सुधार करने का विचार किया। पर इन प्रयासों से स्त्री शिक्षा में कोई सुधार नहीं आया अर्थात् 1857 की क्रान्ति से पूर्व स्त्रियां शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में पिछड़ी ही रही लेकिन सन् 1858 में ब्रिटिश सरकार के स्थापित होने पर ऊपरवर्णित क्षेत्र के संदर्भ में अन्य सुधारों के साथ-साथ स्त्री शिक्षा में भी बहुत कम सुधार आया। यहां हमने देखा कि स्त्री शिक्षा में सुधार को लेकर कुछ प्रयास अवश्य हुए तथा जिससे 19वीं शताब्दी में स्त्री शिक्षा की स्थिति में कुछ सुधार आया फिर भी 19वीं शताब्दी में स्त्री शिक्षा पिछड़ी ही रही अर्थात् असन्तोषजनक बनी रही।

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हरियाणा में चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्ड संस्कृति

डॉ. जोगिंदर सिंह*

प्राचीन भारत में हड़प्पा सभ्यता के पतन के पश्चात् लगभग 1500 ई.पू. से छठी शताब्दी ई.पू. के बीच पुरातात्विक क्षितिज पर किन संस्कृतियों का जन्म हुआ, यह भारतीय पुरातत्व के लिए एक बड़ी चुनौती रही है। इस काल को भारतीय पुरातत्व में 'अन्धकार-युग' के नाम से जाना जाता है। 1940-49 उत्तरप्रदेश के बरेली जिले में अहिच्छत्र नामक स्थान से एक विशेष प्रकार की पात्र-परम्परा संस्कृति की प्राप्ति हुई, जिसे 'चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्ड संस्कृति' के नाम से जाना जाता है। अहिच्छत्र की खुदाई के पश्चात्, हस्तिनापुर की खुदाई से इसके बारे में ठीक से जानकारी प्राप्त हो सकी। बी. बी. लाल ने सर्वेक्षण के दौरान पाया कि महाभारत से सम्बन्धित जितने भी प्राचीन नगर थे, वहां से इस तरह के बर्तन मिले हैं। इन सब के आधार पर उन्होंने चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्ड संस्कृति को महाभारत के साथ जोड़ा है। इस संस्कृति के अवशेष वैशाली, उज्जैन, कौशाम्बी, मथुरा से भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। बी.बी. लाल ने चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्ड संस्कृति का समय 1100 ई.पू. से 800 ई.पू. बताया है।

हरियाणा प्राचीन काल से ही सभ्यता और संस्कृति का उद्गम रहा है। एक तरफ तो यहां कांस्ययुगीन हड़प्पा सभ्यता का जन्म हुआ, जिसके कुणाल, बनावली, मिताथल, भिरड़ाना, बालू और राखीगढ़ी जैसे विकसित नगरों का जन्म हुआ तो दूसरी तरफ सरस्वती नदी के किनारे ऋषियों द्वारा वैदिक साहित्य की रचना की गई। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में हरियाणा में चित्रित धूसर मृदभाण्ड संस्कृति से संबंधित अनेक पुरास्थलों जैसे भगवानपुरा, दौलतपुर, कर्ण का टीला, जोगनाखेड़ा, सुघ, मदीना, खोखराकोट आदि का वर्णन किया गया है।

* सहायक प्रो., इतिहास विभाग, दयानंद कॉलेज, हिसार

पुष्पभूति वंश के अधीन हरियाणा

डॉ. रश्मि मलिक*

भारत के इतिहास में हरियाणा का एक महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। जहां भारतीय संस्कृति की प्राचीनतम रूपरेखा दिखाई देती है। पांचवी शती के उत्तरार्ध में स्कन्दगुप्त की मृत्यु के बाद हुणों के आक्रमण से गुप्त साम्राज्य छिन्न-भिन्न हो गया। हुण शासक तोरमाण और मिहिरकुल अधिक समय तक न रहे। ऐसी स्थिति में स्थानीय महत्त्वकांक्षी लोगों ने स्वतंत्र सत्ता स्थापित कर ली। अब हरियाणा के एक बड़े भाग को श्रीकण्ड जनपद कहा जाने लगा। सम्भवतः यह नाम नागवंश के किसी शासक ने रखा था परन्तु शीघ्र ही पुष्पभूति नामक सेनापति ने थानेसर में एक स्वतंत्र राज्य की स्थापना कर ली। बाणभट्ट के महान् ग्रंथ 'हर्षचरित' में पुष्पभूति के विषय में काफी कुछ लिखा मिलता है। जिसका सहज अर्थ यह निकलता है कि वह शूरवीर, अच्छा प्रशासक, धार्मिक तथा शैव सम्प्रदाय में उसका अटूट विश्वास था। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में पुष्पभूति वंश के अधीन हरियाणा के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास का अध्ययन किया जाएगा।

* प्रवक्ता, इतिहास विभाग, हिन्दू कन्या महाविद्यालय, जीन्द

Geographical Conditions of Haryana and its Drainage System

Dr. Sandeep Kumar*

The Yamuna river flows eastern boundary of the state. Northern Haryana has several rivers originating from the Sivalik hills of Himalayas. The Ghaggar-Hakra river known as Ghaggar before the Ottu barrage, is the Haryana's main seasonal river. The Hakra downstream of the barrage, rises in the outer Himalayas, between the Yamuna and the Satluj and enters the state near Pinjore in the Panchkula district, passes through Ambala and Sirsa, it reaches Bikaner in Rajasthan and runs for 460 km before disappearing into the deserts of Rajasthan. The seasonal Markanda river, known as the *Aruna* in ancient times, originates from the lower Shivalik Hills and enters Haryana west of Ambala. In southern Haryana has several seasonal rivulets originating from the Aravali range, including Sahibi, Dohan, and Indori.

The drainage system and drains were covered with bricks or stones and were provided with inspection traps and main holes at regular intervals for inspection. Every care was taken that the house-wives did not throw refuse or dirt in the drains. The elaborate drainage system of the Harappan people shows that they had developed a high sense of health and sanitation. In the present research paper, the drainage system of ancient Haryana will be elaborate with the help of archaeological and geographical sources.

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सल्तनत कालीन विद्रोह: मेवात एक अध्ययन

शर्मिला यादव*

इतिहास में पढ़ने को मिलता है कि जब भी कोई साम्राज्य स्थापित होता है या आर्थिक शोषण होता है तो जनता अपनी मांगों के लिए विद्रोह का रास्ता अपनाती है। इस प्रकार भारतीय इतिहास में विद्रोहों की एक श्रृंखला नजर आती है। जब-जब हरियाणा की जनता पर मध्यकाल में शासनकर्ताओं ने आर्थिक शोषण किया या धार्मिक ज्यादतियां की, तब-तब हरियाणा की जनता ने शासन तन्त्र से नाराज होकर विद्रोह का रुख अपनाया। मेवात के लोगों का जीवन बहुत कठोर था, जिसकी वजह से इनका स्वभाव विद्रोही प्रवृत्ति का हो गया। परन्तु ये स्वतन्त्रता प्रेमी और अपनी मातृभूमि के लिए विदेशी शासकों से लड़ते रहे, इन्होंने न तो कभी दिल्ली के सुलतानों का व न ही मुगलों का आधिपत्य स्वीकार किया, क्योंकि वे इनको विदेशी मानते रहे और इनके लिए सरदारी का कारण बनते रहे। इस शोधपत्र में मैंने दिल्ली सल्तनत के समय मेवातियों के विद्रोहों को उजागर करते हुए, विस्तार से दिल्ली सल्तनत के शासकों व मेवात के लोगों के संघर्षों का वर्णन करने का प्रयास किया है।

* शोध छात्रा, इतिहास विभाग, महर्षि दयानंद विश्वविद्यालय, रोहतक।

Folk Dances of Haryanvi Culture

Supriya Dhandra*

Amongst the art, dance is the most primeval and classy and scarcely there is any civilization where the wakefulness of human movement as a vehicle of expression, ecstasy and grief is not evident. Perchance, before man begins to verbalize and to paint, he began to dance. Dancing, which is dependent on human habits and action is the most malleable and changeable. India has a very rich tradition of folk dances. Every region manifests different cultural feature. Haryana - the land of *raaginis*, *saangs* and swift folk dances, vividly depicts life in its variegated colour with joys and sorrow, ups and downs in melodious tunes and fascinating ways. But this folk art is dialing for renaissance umbrella as it has been replaced by dark and loud clouds named filmy and English songs and dances. The present paper has made an attempt to highlight folk dances of Haryana with its changes over the years.

* Assistant Prof. of History, Aggarwal College, Ballabhgarh.

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26. Pushpa Sharma
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28. Meenakshi, Khanpur
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39. Meenakshi
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47. Col. M.S. Dahiya
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55. Sulochna Devi
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57. Anita Rani
58. Dr Kavita Rani
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60. Dr Parveen Mann
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64. Rajesh Kumar
65. Vikram
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72. Kavita Rathee, 2801, Sec-3, Rohtak
73. Deepika, 525, Patel Nagar, Narwana, Jind
74. Sandeep, 525, Patel Nagar, Narwana, Jind
75. Dr Satinder Malik, H.No. 2833, Urban
Estate, Jind
76. Dr Upesh Malik, H.No. 2833, Urban Estate,
Jind
77. Dr Naresh Kumar, 196-L, Model Town,
Rohtak
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Narnaund, Hisar
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82. Dilbag Singh Bisla
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Didar Nagar, Kurukshetra
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Estate, Kurukshetra

AUDIT REPORTS

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS, KURUKSHETRA


BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31-03-2018

LIABILITIES	AMOUNT	ASSETS	AMOUNT
General Capital Fund		Current Assets	
Opening Balance	140694.25	Cash in Hand	12770.00
Add: Surplus	2142.65	PNB	<u>258366.90</u>
Add: Corpus	50000.00		271136.90
Add: Member	78300.00		
Contribution			
	<u>271136.90</u>		
Total Rs.	<u>271136.90</u>	Total Rs.	<u>271136.90</u>

Compiled from the books of
account produced before us.
For M/S Vikas Garg & Co.
Chartered Accountants

CA. Vikas Garg FCA
Partner
Membership No-094206

Dated: 27/04/2018
Place: Kurukshetra

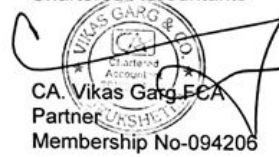

President
17/5/2018

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS, KURUKSHETRA

RECEIPTS & PAYMENT ACCOUNT AS ON 31-03-2018

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
To Opening Balances		By Bank Exp.	188.35
Cash in Hand	114.00	By Advertisement Exp.	5495.00
PNB-181071	<u>156919.25</u>	By Function Exp.	57605.00
		By Legal Exp.	3100.00
To Delegate Fee	60500.00	By Misc. Exp.	4300.00
To Grant in AID	160000.00	By Mid Day Meals	84306.00
To Bank Intt.	6295.00	By Professional Fee	3600.00
To Member Contribution	78300.00	By Stationary	64658.00
To Corpus	50000.00	By Travelling Exp.	1400.00
		By Creditors Paid	16339.00
		By Closing Balance	
		Cash in Hand	12770.00
		PNB-181071	<u>258366.90</u>
			271136.90
Total Rs.	<u>512128.25</u>	Total Rs.	<u>512128.25</u>

Compiled from the books of
account produced before us.
For M/S Vikas Garg & Co.
Chartered Accountants


CA. Vikas Garg FCA
Partner
Membership No-094206

Dated: 27/04/2018
Place: Kurukshetra


(President)
15/5/2018

HARYANA HISTORY CONGRESS, KURUKSHETRA

INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AS ON 31-03-2018

EXPENDITURE	AMOUNT	INCOME	AMOUNT
To Bank Exp.	188.35	By Delegate Fee	60500.00
To Advertisement Exp.	5495.00	By Grant in AID	160000.00
To Function Exp.	57605.00	By Bank Intt.	6295.00
To Legal Exp.	3100.00		
To Misc. Exp.	4300.00		
To Mid Day Meals	84306.00		
To Professional Fee	3600.00		
To Stationary	64658.00		
To Travelling Exp.	1400.00		
To Surplus	2142.65		
Total Rs.	<u>226795.00</u>	Total Rs.	<u>226795.00</u>

Compiled from the books of
account produced before us.
For M/S Vikas Garg & Co.
Chartered Accountants


CA. Vikas Garg FCA
Partner
Membership No-094206

Dated: 27/04/2018
Place: Kurukshetra


Resident
1/5/2018