

BEYOND RELIGION WITHIN RELIGION: CREATING A BENGALI MUSLIM INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE IN EARLY 1920s

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The intellectual relationship between Islam and communism has yet to be systematically discussed within the south Asian context. Till now good number of historical literature has focused on this connection as forms of mutually conflicting ideologies and challenges, the real ground of political imaginations are not yet been perused beyond the influence of personal interventions. Antigenic arguments are used to prove why Islam is not compatible with communism and why a Muslim is Muslim first and communist later. However, South Asia's numerous interactions with communism opens scopes and possibilities of exploring how and in what situation South Asian Muslims imagined their identity beyond the framework of a religious community and often took recourse to new approaches of alternative politics according to the parameters of a modern world order. In this paper the Bengali Muslim intelligentsia of early 20th century have been taken as a site for interrogating the possibilities of an 'alternative' or 'parallel' political developments mostly in relation to a leftist notion of politics beyond the normative framework of a 'religious' politics, the Muslim were mostly familiar with. Bengali Muslims have been neglected in the studies of communism, however, from the second decade of 20th century Muslim politics of identity formation developed parallelly with left politics in Bengal. Interestingly the formal relation between Muslim politics and left politics had never ever been properly examined at least in the intellectual level. The oppositional politics of class

struggle , justice and proletarian emancipation interacted with the Muslim search for identity at an early stage and it offered evidences for a new approach of understanding Muslim politics in South Asian context. ¹

On a wider scale the politics of liberal left encountered several occasions of justifying their own perceptions on the Muslim right. In the early 1920s the Soviet state found allies from the pan Islamic forces against western imperialists. After the decline of the Ottoman Empire the Pan Islamic forces were seeking for a 'natural' ally against the western powers specially the British . Lenin at that time experienced the quandaries of situational adjustments what his successors experienced in later course of history. In spite of lending political support to Kamal Pasha of Turkey, he couldn't check temptations of providing military aids to Pan Islamic leaders (opposed to Kama Pasha), on the belief that the later would combat western imperialism. M.N Roy put a careful observation on this question that the Pan Islamic leaders , as he believed, could not be trusted as 'natural' allies of Bolshevik Revolution because they were counter revolutionary in character, full of feudal elements.² The left understanding of political Islam in several instances were born out of some immediate expediencies, other than situational necessities. In South Asia's multiple encounters with communism , Bengal has a very significant place. The Bengali Muslim intelligentsia was not a homogeneous group and there were elements in the intelligentsia which were both tolerant and religious, if not communal. Intelligentsia signifies a status group, not an economic or occupational class with a special duty to provide an interpretation of the world for the society.³ However, the term intelligentsia is not identical with the term intellectual. Although all intellectuals are in the group called intelligentsia, not every member of the intelligentsia is an intellectual.⁴ In the 1920s the first Muslim communists in Bengal emerged from a section of the Muslim intelligentsia, who were later culminated into a section of intellectuals in terms of their education and a particular world view or ideology. These people came out of a series of dilemmas concerning multiple political- economic issues. One such issue was to justify the importance of mainstream nationalism as a means of emancipation of the masses from age-old exploitations and to put a check on the alienation of the marginal from the mainstream society.. Other than this, the Muslim intellectuals faced problems in stepping out of the parameters of Muslim exclusiveness and to challenge the modes of identity formation along secular line of action. The term 'secular' was a vague term in 1920s. For the early Muslim intellectuals, the term 'secular' often ascribed with each of the ideas of 'non communal' and 'non religious' at a time. Therefore, class consciousness appeared as the right space of emancipation from the hierarchical mode of exploitation in the society so far has been overlooked by the traditional mainstream politics.⁵ The notion of class, if not an inevitable formula for emancipating the masses, seemed to be more adaptable

than the other ideologies of identity formation in 1920s, because class is momentary in nature and it would either be transformed or disintegrated at a certain stage after the revolution. Bengali Muslim encounter with communism thus followed the dynamics of situational requirements on a populist humanist model. The so-called claim of an invisible international pressure of Indian communists⁶ does not make any real point in case of Bengal particularly at this juncture of history. One pertinent question is that how this section of Bengali Muslim intellectuals responded to the notions of identity politics when the wider Muslim community was found to be busy in tackling this most crucial aspect of their socio-political endeavors. A certain degree of leftist orientation was not enough to deal with Pan-Islamic or ethno-linguistic politics in Bengal, however, in the actual place class evolved as an alternative site of action from within and without the dominant structures of politics. It is worth mentioning that most of the early Muslim intellectuals of communist line, came from the margin in terms of their economic background, however in terms of social status they originated from the ranks of a new but 'traditional' intelligentsia.⁶ Many occasions they were found to be vulnerable to sustain a struggle or to make their own line of action beyond the milieu of Muslim identity politics and mainstream nationalist politics. But surprisingly they made a rupture from their past, stood outside or confronted the identity politics and gradually molded a new politics of radicalism. The story of Bengali Muslim intellectual involvement with communism was unique in sense that it provided the firsthand account of locating individuals as agents of collective consciousness in relation with the 'local' and the 'global' as a part of their journey towards greater radicalism.

The Bengali intelligentsia had significant contribution in shaping up the history of 19th century Bengal. The composition and historical development of a Bengali Muslim intelligentsia is beyond the scope of this study, however, in general the traditional Muslim gentry, (popularly known as Ashraf or the respectable people) was divided into three broad categories; the Urdu speaking urban elite (McPherson described them as from Mughal origin), Urdu-Bengali speaking mofussil elite and the Bengali speaking mofussil elite.⁷ It was not that the Muslim communist intellectuals of 1920s appeared as an intermediately between these two layers of the Muslim society but they were quick to realize the interplay of mass action and intellectualism with the outbreak of the First World War. In an environment of growing unemployment, food crisis and extreme hardship the mainstream nationalists failed to address the war-time grievances against colonial rule and a series of socio-political anxieties necessitated the need for some collective action by the social classes so that each and every fraction of the society could have a mark on urban metropolitan politics. The wartime realities of colonialism exposed the character of colonial capital and the so-called promises of a bourgeois

hegemony began to get shattered during and after the war. Middle class intellectuals got frustrated after the general decline of material conditions and these people were left with the options of Pan Islamism and nationalism in and around the issues of identity politics. Infact, the period followed by the war witnessed the most thrilling exercises in Muslim political developments. The constituencies of popular politics were already on the way of getting into action. The Non Cooperation Khilafat movement initiated greater mass involvement into politics and Muslim intellectualism took different channels of imprinting ideologies into political action. However, the ideal of Pan Islamism and the so-called cry of Islam in danger went for a greater political shift among Bengali Muslims although a section of the Muslim intellectuals rapidly learned the art of rejecting Pan Islamism with a steady shift from communal consciousness to class consciousness. Such a shift was not a smooth one. It involved mutually conflicting emotions, values and a sense of losing one's own ground of existence. They had to acknowledge the Trans communal forces, elements of division among a community so far has been cemented or wished to be bonded on the name of religion forever. The section of Muslim intellectuals who truly scrutinized the so-called unity of the Bengali Muslim society, however, started their journey from the platform of a community based organization of the non-privileged minority intellectuals, established in 1911. The *Bangiya Muslim Sahitya Samiti* (Bengali Muslim Literarily Society) emerged on the line of religious exclusiveness with a desire to nourish Bengali culture and literature against Urdu cultural practices and the domination of Hindu bhadraloks over the intellectual life of Bengal.⁸ It was from this platform that Mujaffar Ahmed, the father figure of Indian communism came to the limelight and the history of Bengali Muslim intellectual involvement with communism took a shape.

Muzaffar Ahmed was one of the guiding forces behind the growth of the Indian Communist Party. Ahmed's entry into the realm of communist politics and his later activities provided a basic understanding of the ideological developments what the Muslim society had encountered in relation to the views of Pan Islamism, anti colonialism and ethno linguistic nationalism. Being a regular activist of the *Muslim Sahitya Samiti* Muzaffar Ahmed worked hard for the regeneration of a distinct Muslim literary and cultural identity.⁹ Definitely his efforts went in search for an exclusive Muslim identity but not in a way the Hindu bhadralok writers and cultural activists had penned up the language of Hindu 'revivalism'. Post war uncertainties, the sudden demise of the Non Cooperation-Khilafat unity, culmination of Islamic orthodoxy and Ahmed's own observations on class realities after the Bolshevik Revolution infact facilitated the materialization of a new politics of radicalism, free of sectarianism and liberal reformism. In the words of BT Ranadive Muzaffar Ahmed was a, 'devoted Muslim boy who had been repelled

by the Hindu revivalist appeal, who had tried to find solace in literature to serve the people (through his work with the BMSS), who had not been able to identify himself with the khilafat revivalism`.¹⁰

Being a literary activist and a non-privileged intellectual Muzaffar Ahmed went through a process of wider socialization beyond the confines of his community and the post war difficulties offered Ahmed the most suitable channels of living out a radical mass politics on communist line.. None of the existing mode politics could make that impact what this new radicalism put forward before Muzaffar Ahmed and his fellow activists. During 1920-21 Ahmed turned for an intense political journalism and took a shift from literary activism to radicalism politics. He was not happy with the cultural reformist agendas of the Muslim intellectuals as reflected in the activities of Muslim Literary Society, not even he found anything prosperous into the identity question of the greater Muslim society. Together with Kazi Nazrul Islam Ahmed brought out a paper called *Nabajug*(New Age).¹¹ It must be mentioned here Nazrul was too restless to hold on to a single idea of communism. While Ahmed continued his studies of Marxist literature throughout 1921 and did turn into a staunch communist by the end of 1921, Nazrul was in an oscillation between Revolutionary militancy, Congress leftism and Marxism in 1920s. Just like Ahmed Nazrul too represented the section of the non-privileged intelligentsia but unlike Ahmed Nazrul literally fought a battle against British imperialism, traditional Hinduism and obscurantist Islam. He was a Rebel of his time. He waged rebellion against all forces that held the free spirit of man in bondage and Nazrul equally appreciated all spirits of anti British struggle, even he believed in an Islamic –Bolshevik cooperation compared to the friendship between Rama and Sugriva in the Ramayana.¹² Aggressive leftist writings did remain a regular feature of *Dhumketu*(Comet- a bi weekly paper started by Nazrul in 1922)—where Muzffar Ahmed wrote in more sober Marxist tones under the pseudonym *Dowipayan*.¹³ (Islander) Interestingly, in the *Dhumketu* days Nazrul used to write in red inks; red being a symbol common to both communism and revolutionary militancy-a colour of vigor and spirit in Bengali Shakticism. Nazrul's lyrical emotions and restless spirit of militancy often made his friend Muzaffar Ahmed a bit upset.¹⁴ While Ahmed unequivocally transformed his previous spirits at social critique into a concrete ideological discourse within late 1921, Nazrul took time to move to a definite Marxist phase, mostly appeared in the pages of the *Langol* (Plough,1925-26) and *Ganobani* (Peoples Voice,1926) magazines.

From early 1920s a more radical leadership emerged from a fraction of the Muslim intelligentsia. These people believed in a separate constituency of mass politics, particularly of labour politics. Not that the traditional Muslim intelligentsia were ignorant of this spirit, even they were well disposed to Bolshevism too. But as soon as the Non Cooperation Khilafat period was over, these intellectuals lost

their primary platform for grass route politics and moved towards a more exclusive mode of communitarian politics. If leaders like Akram Khan and Sir Abdur Rahim went to a path of Islamic orthodoxy, K.A Wadud and Abdul Hussain organize movements for intellectual emancipation from all bondages. A new window of Praja politics was already opened by A.K Fazlul Huq and others. In the radical fraction of the intellectuals, Muzaffar Ahmed and Nazrul were joined by Kutubuddin Ahmed, a pan Islamist nationalist leader, mostly active among Muslim workers. After the Non Cooperation Khilafat craze, Kutubuddin had least hopes for the Gandhian politics and like others he started taking socialism seriously. Abdur Rezzaq Khan started his career as an anti imperialist , motivated by Pan Islamism. Being a Khilafat activist he was too well aware of Bolshevism and got found socialism as the best suitable alternative to the mockery of anti colonial nationalist movements. Abdul Halim joint this front with a background of Congress politics after 1922. At the early stage none of these Muslim intellectuals were sure about the nature of leftist critic of colonials rather they entered into this new world of radical politics as a trainee learner.

In the making of a history of Bengali Muslim connection with communism, the question of Islam had never ever been faded away. Even though the radical section of the intellectuals managed to make their own stand on this issue, in general Islam remained as an answer to all socio economic inequalities. The trend was best reflected into the pages of *Samyabadi*---a journal published by Khan Bahadur moinuddin and Mohammed Wajed Ali in 1922.¹⁵ *Samyabadi* was a unique example of Muslim solidarity and it addressed the toiling Muslim masses in the name of religious exclusiveness. In 1923 the journal found resonates into the politics of Muzaffar Ahmed too, on the question of social development, dependent basically on the lower castes. *Samyabadi* stood against the practice of using Islam as a tool of identity politics in the name of social justice too. But in question of radicalism along communist line, *Samyabadi* went for a sharp difference with the paper *Langol*, an organ of the Labour Swaraj Party (renamed as Workers and Peasants Party later). This Labour Swaraj Party was formed by Hemanta Sarkar, Qutubuddin Ahmed, Nazrul Islam and one Shamsuddin Hussain in 1925¹⁶ and the party's organ *Langol* started its journey in 1925 with a biography of Karl Marx and a translation of Gorkey's *Mother* etc.¹⁷ *Samyabadi* , on the other appeared as an effort of Bengali Muslim intellectuals to make its reader aware about the relationship between Islam and socio economic equality. Starting from its first issue in 1922, *Samyabadi* remained engaged with Marxist literature. It addressed mainly the Muslim masses and emphasized Islam as a bonding spirit of unity unlike Hinduism which, one *Samyabadi* writer believed, was hierarchical and a religion of caste. Maulavi Fazlul Huq Selbershi wrote in his easy, *Samya, Dharma Lanchana* that, there is no *jatibad* or communal-castiest conflict in the world of the

peasants and workers, the upper classes indulge in conflict for their own self interests.¹⁸ In two essays titled '*Samyabad*' and '*Islam O Samya*' by Sheikh Abdul Gaffr Jalali and Maulana Ali Wali Islamabadi respectively, Islam was projected as a way out of castism and communalism not for the Muslims only but for all humans.¹⁹ In *Samyabadi*, Islam appeared as a tool against jatibad or the so-called ashraf-atrap divisions in the Bengali Muslim society. By including the best writers of that time, *Samyabadi* from 1922-25 addressed each and every segment of the Muslim masses specially the peasants, workers into one framework where Islam came into view of a solution to all oppressions and as a means of attaining social justice.

These attempts of *Samyabadi* were different from the unity what the communist minded Muslim intellectuals were trying to project. Nazrul's new poem, *Samyabadi* in *Langol* showed Nazrul distancing from his previous admirations for Islam. It was not true for Nazrul only. But from mid 1920s one can see a section of Muslim intellectuals interested in building up a new identity. Organized religiosity or the glories of united Islam hardly had any place into their imagination rather religion itself came under serious scrutiny. It can safely be said that communist minded Muslim intellectuals did not declare a protest against religion, not even they asked for its destruction, rather they took it as a situational condition resulting from a series of socio economic depressions. Interestingly the early Muslim communists intended to realize the truth behind religion not as an identity but as a process of creative and production. An essay in *Langlol* even went up to a point of unifying Islam with communism.... 'Some Muslims think that Communism is its enemy, this is not true, instead, Islam is against Capitalism. Zakat must be done because people don't have the right to money when others are poor. Islam is against interest and Communism is also against interest.'²⁰ In the Bengali Muslim discourse of 1920s, religion was used differently at different phases. It was used as a marker of identity, used as a spirit behind social justice, sometimes used as a movement of change. But engaging Islam as a platform for entrusting communism was indeed exceptional in this case. Since the idea of a united Muslim fraternity is absurd, the people must take their rage beyond communal forms and closed ranks and it was this way they could liberate themselves.²¹ It also indicated how communism as a channel of alternative politics developed in Bengal from below in a way different from international communist movement. Involvement into broader labour activism and gradual polarization of the Bengal society on communal lines gradually changed the fate of Muslim communist intellectuals in Bengal and in the long run they somehow lost the spirit of radicalism within the whirls of *Krisak Samity* based politics and the politics of the Muslim League entering after 1937. The communist movement of later years failed to accommodate the Muslim question into the class question. The fate of

Bengal could have been different if the question of religion was addressed by the communists in a way different from the international stereotypes.

Notes and References

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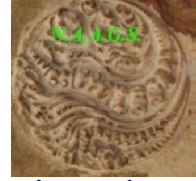
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EDUCATION AND PROMOTION OF HETERONORMATIVITY: VARIOUS PERSPECTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

In all regions, people experience violence and discrimination because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. In many cases, even the perception of homosexuality or transgender identity puts people at risk. Violations include – but are not limited to – killings, rape and physical attacks, torture, arbitrary detention, the denial of rights to assembly, expression and information, and discrimination in employment, health and education. United Nations mechanisms, including human rights treaty bodies and the special procedures of the Human Rights Council, have documented such violations for close to two decades. Some education authorities and schools discriminate against young people because of their sexual orientation or gender expression, sometimes leading to their being refused admission or being expelled. LGBT youth frequently experience violence and harassment, including bullying, in school from classmates and teachers. Confronting this kind of prejudice and intimidation requires concerted efforts from school and education authorities and integration of principles of non-discrimination and diversity in school curricula and discourse. The media also have a role to play by eliminating negative stereotyping of LGBT people, including in television programmes popular among young people.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY

Sexual orientation is an identity based on whether someone is attracted to people of a sex different than their own, the same sex, or both sexes (i.e., heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual). Gender identity is a person's internal sense of being male,

female, or somewhere else along the gender spectrum. Transgender is an umbrella term for people whose gender identity is different from their biological sex or the sex they were assigned at birth. The acronym GLBT stands for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender. While progress has been made since the Stonewall Rebellion in New York City (1969)—widely considered to be a pivotal moment in the GLBT rights movement—GLBT individuals still face discrimination and intolerance based on pervasive stereotypes and myths about GLBT people.

HETRONORMATIVITY ACROSS THE GRADES

Children can very often express "atypical" gender behavior as early as age two or three. This includes a range of behaviors, such as boys playing with dolls or wearing dresses, or girls who adopt boy's names, as well as children who more consistently assert a cross-gendered identity. Increasingly, teachers are discovering that they are caring for children who don't conform to traditional gender norms. Even in these early years, children have already begun to learn from both adults and peers the "gender" of certain toys or clothes, and to police others accordingly. It is important for pre-school teachers and leaders to have a firm understanding of gender development, knowledge of the stages of parental understanding, and examples of other children and families with whom they have worked. The degree, to which the pre-school can help families understand gender as a spectrum, and present positive pathways regardless of the child's ultimate gender identity, will have a significant impact on the health and well being of the family and the child.

Elementary School

Gender variance is common in individuals of all ages, but gender non-conforming behavior in preadolescents is particularly visible. Some gender variant children may be open and comfortable in expressing themselves. However, most of them are already aware that they do not fit expected gender norms. They may experience negative repercussions at school, and become shy and withdrawn in an attempt to protect them from bullying by their peers. Others may exhibit behavioral problems. Some children may have support at home, while others are severely punished for their natural self-expression. Additionally, the lack of support and understanding from teachers, parents, and other adults exacerbates the already difficult environment created by their peers. Even well intentioned parents sometimes feel they can better protect their child by insisting on gender-conforming behavior at school in an effort to optimize their child's school experience. Understanding how to supportively address gender identity and expression within the elementary classroom and school is crucial to helping children thrive. This includes developmentally appropriate, explicit lessons on the complexity of gender and the many ways children express it. From the Kindergarten class onward, schools must emphasize the fundamental right for all children to simply be themselves. As children move through the grades, attention to gender issues creates safe spaces not

only for the transgender or gender variant child, but also for all children to explore their full sense of self. Finally, the ability to provide parents with a developmental perspective of gender development in children is also an important characteristic at the elementary school level. This includes building parents' capacity to help their own child to understand and celebrate gender diversity, as well as foreshadowing possible challenges related to gender as the students move towards middle school.

Middle School

Middle school Development and consolidation of a core identity marks the transition from child to adolescent. During this period, some young people often display gender variance or, increasingly, identify as transgender. This can be true for both children who have in some way demonstrated gender variance previously, as well as for a child who has not. Unfortunately, this also coincides with a time of intense peer pressure for social conformity. This pressure to conform puts gender variant adolescents at significantly greater risk, physically and emotionally. Advocates and many providers who work with transgender youth report that these young people are at very high risk for suicide. While many adolescents present moody and even depressed dispositions during this period, gender nonconforming and transgender children are subject to even greater vacillations than their gender normative peers. In the highly pressurized atmosphere of most middle schools, discomfort frequently marks the gender nonconforming child's experiences: discomfort with the social environment, discomfort with their own bodies, discomfort at home. At an age when a child most desperately wants to fit in, gender variant adolescents generally do not, and if they do, are terrified of being "found out." Learning how to recognize a child at risk is a critical component in for any middle school staff. Middle schools play a crucial role in fostering the conditions in which gender diversity is accepted or not. Through strategic and deliberate steps, schools can create truly gender inclusive climates for all students. One fundamental way middle schools can support such an environment is to critically explore gender stereotypes and the social pressures they produce, as well as distinguishing between gender identity and sexual orientation. Other middle-grade considerations include navigating gender-specific spaces, such as sports, bathrooms, and school forms; accommodating name and pronoun preferences; and recognizing basic civil and legal rights for gender variant and transgender students.

High School

As students move from the middle grades to high school, they begin solidifying what will become their adult gender identity. With the pressure to conform to narrow gender presentation and roles beginning to ebb, high school is frequently a period in which a transgender identity or gender variant self-expression may emerge. As they begin to rely less exclusively on gender scripts and look to the behavior of models consistent with internal gender identity, gender nonconforming

high school students are actively seeking out and identifying allies and peer support. Along with developing a baseline understanding of the complexity of gender examined in earlier grades, students in high school are also encouraged to explore them in the context of their own school. As such, a primary purpose of the high school curriculum is to systematically develop the notions of advocacy and activism. On the brink of adulthood, high school students will develop their capacity to actively create the conditions for more accepting and inclusive cultures at their schools. Further, they will be supported to potentially work with younger students, both at their own sites as well as in the middle and elementary school levels. While the work places gender at the center of its focus, these skills to serve as allies for others across multiple forms of difference will continue as the students transition into post-secondary life, creating the possibility for ever more inclusive communities.

HETRONORMATIVITY AND SCHOOL EDUCATION

Schooling is one of the most important socialization processes that a child goes through outside her family. It shapes the child's understanding of self in relation to others. The schools and the teachers play a very important role in a child's formative years. The child starts to understand her/his identity beyond the family, role that each one in the society assumes, through friends, teachers in school and most importantly books that they read in class room. A child's understanding of gender specific role gets almost fixed when schooling starts and get re-enforced every day by the behaviors towards them by the teachers, staff, member of the school. They start being actor of the patriarchal system and carry it along much after they have left school. The experience from schools, shows that the larger school policy, the power relation of men and women employee, the stances on gender role and relation has an impact on the teachers too and that gets transferred to the students. A School's ideological stand shapes up the stand of the children. The way children would look at gender relation and role, caste, class, history, etc are depended on how the schools look at these issues. The teachers at the school despite of being a separate identity outside school carry the same ideology of the school within the schools premises. So if a teacher is very caste biased then the children tend to see caste very differently, if a certain teacher has strong and traditional notion towards girls then the students' starts learning them and inculcating them in their life. But what is important is to see what influences the teachers to be what she / he are within the school when she/he might be a totally different person outside the school.

There are various structures existing in the schools, various power centers and relations of power centre. There also exists the operational system with in school. How the structures and operating systems of the structure look at gender, what are the considerations made or kept in mind while making / passing a operational

policy in schools, what are the rules for each staff member and student, what are the considerations kept in mind while framing any policy in school, etc are also important deciding factors when comes to gender relations within school.

The structures of the schools usually are managing committee, the teachers committee, the non teaching staff committee and some schools have adhoc students committee. Within these structure (leaving aside the student's) there are substructure like principal of the school, the head mistress and high school teaching staff, the junior school teaching staff, the finance division, the administrative staff, the office bearer and group etc. It was experienced that any power relation (men to men, men to women, senior to junior, teacher's students etc) or gender based power relation within the structures and among the substructures varies at various aspect but primarily the relation is motivated by the institutions policy and culture practiced which would again be influenced by schools present gender based power relations.

The text books are selected by managing committee and the teachers who would teach them have no say on that. The student who read them has no say on that. The text books are full of stereotypical representations of man's and women's role, many a time wrong historical fact are mentioned and very patriarchal in its approach to education for children. It has stories for mother on mother's day with mother working at home, have brother's day, stories on various scientist who are all male. Bengal had many progressive women who were part of various movements but are totally omitted, there would not mentioned of any women scientist other than new entry like Kalpana Chawla that also not for being women scientist but for being Indian. In the process children learn about gender role and identity from their role model "The teachers" and carry it for the rest of their life. Looking at the whole system of functioning of schools, it seems like schools are the factory of creating patriarch. When are talking of equality among genders, creating policy and law to uphold quality, how can we talk about all these without looking at our present: the children and their social process of learning. Can we really bring equality among genders through laws and policy without looking at changes in the basis of learning? Schools and school districts teach not only through their class work, but also through their actions. The best way to prevent gender identity/expression-based harassment is to make sure everyone knows that the system doesn't allow it. This happens by amending policies to explicitly state those protections and then educating staff and students about these changes. Finally, schools and districts that adopt strong language protecting the rights of all children regardless of gender presentation or identity, protect themselves from legal challenges or civil liability. Through clear policies addressing the safety needs of gender nonconforming students and practices that publicly recognize and

educate staff, students, and parents about them, schools and districts demonstrate a proactive stance in guaranteeing that all children remain safe at school.

Model School Policy

Fortunately, school systems that wish to create strong policies protecting gender identity and expression do not have to start from scratch. Districts and schools throughout the country have made it clear to their school communities that all children, regardless of gender, will be safe at school. Leaders in these schools have spelled out in great detail what it looks like to create a truly gender inclusive climate on school campuses. One area that is particularly important to address with clear policies is athletics. The International Olympic Committee and some local and state policies explicitly address this important area. All young people should have the opportunity to play sports and have their personal dignity respected. Transgender young people are no different. In fact, because transgender young people often must overcome significant stigma and challenges, it would be particularly harmful to exclude them from the significant physical, mental and social benefits that young people gain by playing recreational sports. In contrast, permitting transgender children and youth to participate in sports in their affirmed gender can provide an enormous boost to their self-confidence and self-esteem and provide them with positive experiences that will help them in all other areas of their lives.

Student Dress Codes Students' gender expression and identity is often inextricably linked to their choices of clothing. This fact, along with schools increasingly requiring school uniforms for all students, has brought questions about student dress codes front and center. In protecting students' ability to authentically express their gender there are a number of factors to consider. Creating a gender inclusive school climate includes this important area of consideration.

Role of the School Psychologist

Chard (2004) found that school psychologists tend to report positive attitudes toward sexual minority youth, and that many are willing to address the issues faced by these students while on the job. However, numerous practitioners surveyed reported low-to-moderate levels of knowledge regarding the difficulties faced by sexual minority youth, and most felt inadequately prepared to deal effectively with these students in their schools (Savage et al., 2004). As educators trained in prevention, assessment, and intervention regarding mental health issues, school psychologists are in an ideal position to effect positive change in the lives of sexual minority youth. The following recommendations provide an outline of specific steps that school psychologists can take in their efforts to improve the educational, social, and emotional experiences of sexually-diverse children and adolescents at school. Dupper and Meyer-Adams (2002) indicate that school personnel are often indifferent and lack training relevant to sexual minority youth; in some instances,

they may actually be perpetrators of victimization of this population. Clearly, this finding underscores the need for school psychologists to provide training and education for educational personnel regarding the ethical and legal responsibility to ensure that all students, regardless of their sexual orientation, are protected and treated respectfully (Weiler, 2004). Educating staff regarding the unique difficulties often faced by sexual minority youth, as well as effective ways to interact with and respond to concerns voiced by sexually-diverse children and adolescents, should likewise be beneficial.

Similarly, educating students in this regard is critical to improving the experience of LGBT youth at school (NASP, 2004). School psychologists and other school-based mental health professionals can present information about bullying of sexually-diverse students and the damaging effects of peer-harassment upon children's and adolescents' present and future functioning. School psychologists should model the use of accepting and affirming language, attitudes, and behavior in their daily interactions with students and school staff (NASP, 2004). In addition, it is critical that school psychologists provide acceptance and support to sexual minority or questioning youth, as these students tend to fear being misunderstood and/or rejected, yet desperately need to feel that they are accepted both by peers and trusted adults (Weiler, 2004). School psychologists can identify themselves as supportive of sexually-diverse youth by affixing rainbow posters or stickers outside of their office, or by placing "safe zone" stickers on their doors (Weiler, 2004). These gestures also send the message to students that the school psychologist is a trusted adult who can be consulted when issues relating to sexual orientation arise. To further demonstrate their acceptance of all students, school psychologists can support the development of groups that promote understanding and acceptance of human diversity (NASP, 2004). For example, they can advocate for the formation of Gay/ Straight Alliances within their school system to provide sexual minority youth with a forum for discussion and support, and to educate their heterosexual peers. The Safe Schools Manual, created by the Saint Paul Public Schools' Out for Equity program, can be used to provide support to sexually-diverse students, families, and educators through suggestions for implementing and supporting Gay/Straight Alliance after-school clubs and guidelines for operating school-based LGBT support groups (Horowitz & Loehnig, 2005). In counseling (either individual or group-based), school psychologists can encourage sexual minority youth to discuss incidents of victimization based on their sexual orientation, and address any mental health issues that may arise as a result of these experiences (D'Augelli, Pilkington, & Hershberger, 2002). Before initiating a counseling relationship with a LGBT student, it is imperative that school psychologists be well-informed of the difficulties often faced by these individuals. Practitioners may gain such knowledge through a variety of avenues, possibly by

reading, pursuing additional coursework, particularly in the area of human sexuality, or consulting with colleagues who have more knowledge and experience working with sexual minority youth. In addition, it is crucial that school psychologists continually monitor their own attitudes regarding nontraditional sexual orientation in an effort to ensure that any biases and beliefs they hold do not hamper their ability to work effectively with members of this population. In schools in which the student body is particularly diverse, knowledge of the stance that various cultural, ethnic, and religious groups take regarding homosexuality is also advisable.

Consulting for curricular changes School psychologists can also advocate for the inclusion of information about homosexuality and sexual minority individuals into existing curricula. Making such curricular modifications provides sexually-diverse youth with role models and demonstrates to students that individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender are capable of leading meaningful, productive lives. Altering the school curriculum to reflect greater tolerance and acceptance of LGBT individuals should also help to reduce social stigma and homophobic attitudes among students and staff alike (Callahan, 2001). Furthermore, including information relevant to sexual minority youth in the curriculum may help to reduce the sense of being misunderstood and the feeling of being invisible that are often experienced by these students (NASP, 2004). Specific curricular changes may include requiring students to read works written by well-known LGBT authors in an English class, or discussing the gay rights movement along with other civil rights movements in a history course (NASP, 2004). Further, the Safe Schools

Manual contains psycho educational lesson ideas and practical strategies to make schools safer for LGBT youth, as well as a comprehensive selection of local and national organizations and websites that provide service and support to sexual minority students (Horowitz & Loehning, 2005). Given that school psychologists often receive little or no professional training relevant to sexual orientation, advocating for curricular changes at the university level may also be beneficial. School psychologists should therefore encourage training programs to include coursework and field practice relevant to work with sexual minority youth, and to devote increased instructional time to discussions of issues faced by these students within the school setting. Additionally, school psychologists can consult with college and university librarians to increase holdings of books, periodicals, and media devoted to topics of relevance and concern to students and faculty regarding sexual diversity. To ensure that sexual minority youth feel safe, school-wide policies forbidding anti-gay harassment should be developed and implemented or added to existing policies. School psychologists can assist in developing a systemic school policy of zero tolerance for discrimination and harassment, with particular

attention devoted to bullying of sexually diverse students, since children and adolescents, faculty, and staff may not perceive this form of victimization to be as damaging as other kinds of intolerance. Elements of such policies should include a clear statement regarding specific incidents that will not be tolerated, such as name-calling, property damage, and physical or sexual assault (Weiler, 2004).

School-based practitioners can also assist in determining appropriate consequences for students violating school policy, and collaborate with school staff in its implementation. Because feeling safe at school is a necessary precursor to both academic and social success, the development of policies designed to protect sexual minority students from victimization is essential to improving the school experiences of these youth. An example of this may be found in the Harvey Milk High School in New York City, which was established in 1985 for the purpose of providing a safe learning environment for LGBT adolescents (Mayes, 2006). Furthering knowledge through research activities Although the issue of bullying in schools has received much attention in the research literature in recent years, a paucity of studies investigating victimization among LGBT youth in the United States have been conducted to date. However, because these students are likely to be bullied at rates higher than their heterosexual peers, and suffer from a variety of negative consequences as a result, a broader, in-depth understanding of the victimization of this population is sorely needed. School psychologists are thus advised to conduct and support research with this unique population of students, particularly with regard to effective interventions and programs specifically designed to address the needs of LGBT and questioning youth in schools. Additionally, school psychologists should ensure that relevant research findings are disseminated to colleagues, students, and parents (NASP, 2004).

Given the alarming statistics associated with transgender students, and the increasing number of families supporting their gender nonconforming children, it could be presumed that a great deal of attention is being given to this subject in teacher preparation programs and professional development. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Furthermore, in the rare cases when training is provided, issues related to gender are typically subsumed under the umbrella of more general LGBT programs that pay little attention to the very different concepts related to gender and youth. Training and resources that specifically address student gender are critical for a variety of reasons. From their earliest years, children are aware of gender, both their own and others'. Schools working intentionally to remain open to and celebrate gender in all of its variety create an inclusive environment in which all forms of diversity can thrive. Given the data indicating that gender is frequently at the root of various forms of student harassment, training dedicated to the creation of a gender inclusive school is the ultimate anti-bullying program. Furthermore, schools embarking on a program of gender inclusion training meet

their legal obligation for ensuring that staff members are prepared to meet the needs of all students. In many states, language explicitly calls for training related to gender and gender identity; even in states where such requirements don't exist, districts' obligations to protect students' access to a safe learning environment make training a necessity.

Training Design and Sequence

Gender Spectrum offers comprehensive programs and resources to create more gender inclusive schools. Working collaboratively with school communities, our mission is to create safe climates in which all students can thrive as they grow and learn. We accomplish this mission by partnering with the school's leadership to design a sequence of activities that will ultimately lead to deeper understanding about gender, children and youth, and the necessary skills to take action accordingly. Training programs are tailored to your school's specific objectives, and may be comprised of one, several, or all of the following components. Many schools and organizations understand the importance of addressing sexism or cultural diversity in their environments, and yet do not completely understand or address issues of diverse gender identity and expression. They may unknowingly support discriminatory practices

HETRONORMATIVITY AND FAMILY ROLE

Adults have a responsibility to create social institutions that are safe and affirming places for all young people. For policymakers and educators with control over this most important social institution—our nation's school system—this responsibility is especially weighty. Raising children who don't fit neatly into male or female boxes brings a wealth of questions and uncertainties. Parenting choices, issues at school, medical options and legal considerations all represent areas requiring careful reflection and sometimes, difficult decisions. Here you will find information, resources, and support to assist you in your search for answers.

HETRONORMATIVITY PARENTING CONSIDERATIONS

Our children's gender identity is out of our hands, but their well-being is not. Being supportive rather than assigning blame has a profound impact on how our children feel about themselves. Research from the Family Acceptance Project shows that parental acceptance is critical to our children's positive future outlook on life. Our level of acceptance directly impacts their self-esteem. These studies conclude that the most crucial thing we as parents can do is to allow our children to be exactly who they are. Additionally, if our other children see evidence of our acceptance, they will more easily adjust to their gender nonconforming sibling.

Supportive Family Environment: the ability to make the home a sanctuary of security and support for your child is the single most important factor in promoting lifelong health and well-being for your child. Such an environment creates buffer for your child from the hardships they may face outside of the home. Creating such

a space may not come easily for you, particularly if you are struggling with accepting your child's gender identity or expression. If so, seek help from an empathetic, knowledgeable family therapist.

Require Respect within the Family: with immediate and extended family, it is imperative that you require and accept only kindness and respect for your child. While you may not be able to change people's opinions, you can certainly dictate how you expect others to behave and speak around you and your child. It can be scary to make this demand of family members yet many parents report that once they've taken a stand on their child's behalf, they feel a great sense of relief and empowerment.

Express Love and Support for Child's Gender Expression: What does this look like? It means allowing them to choose, without pressure or unspoken messages, the clothes they wish to wear, how and with whom they play, their favorite toys, the accessories they favor, the manner in which they wear their hair and the decorations and images with which they surround themselves.

Zero Tolerance for Disrespect, Negative Comments or Pressure: A concrete way to demonstrate ongoing support and acceptance for your child is to tolerate absolutely no negative comments about your child, from anyone. Follow this practice whether your child is with you or not. You may wish to excuse yourself, or remain to press your perspective. This also includes when you hear about such comments after the fact. This means following up with the people who make such comments in a firm way that makes clear your commitment to your child's well-being. It may also mean needing to follow up with other parents or the school about the comments made by other children.

Open and Honest Communication Stay open about this journey, both your child's, and your own. By demonstrating to them that you are a partner in this process, and showing a genuine sense of inquisitiveness about how they see themselves, what they think, what they are experiencing, you show that you are there for them. This open level of communication will also help you know your child's level of stress or distress, and whether they may need additional outside support or intervention. Our children's gender identity is out of our hands, but their well-being is not. Being supportive rather than assigning blame has a profound impact on how our children feel about themselves. Research shows that parental acceptance is critical to our children's positive future outlook on life. Our level of acceptance directly impacts their self-esteem. These studies conclude that the most crucial thing we as parents can do is to allow our children to be exactly who they are.

Examples of Damaging Parenting Practices

- Physical/verbal abuse
- Exclusion from family activities

- Blocking access to gender nonconforming or gay or lesbian friends, activities or supports
- Blaming child for discrimination faced
- Denigration and ridicule
- Religious-based condemnation
- Distress, denial, and shame
- Silence and secrecy
- Pressure to enforce gender conformity

Supporting Your Gender Diverse Child

A child with a gender-fluid expression can be very challenging and frustrating for parents. Even parents who wish to be supportive can find themselves thinking, “Just decide already, one way or another!” A lack of consistency in their child’s gender expression can leave parents wondering just who their child ‘really’ is. Some parents feel desperate to find a solid answer—male or female. This “back and forth” expression can leave them feeling there is no foundation from which to move forward. It also becomes more difficult to respond to others simple questions about your child, leaving the parents feeling angry about being put into such an uncomfortable position. In addition to the words, finding your voice is an important component of existing in this in-between space.

Disclosure Issues

When you are raising a gender diverse child or teenager, the issue of disclosure is a major one. Parents need to decide whom to talk to about their children, when to share or not share, the differences between secrecy and privacy, who decides who gets to know and who doesn’t, and how to respond to negative reactions. Your child (and their siblings) also needs to be prepared for many of these decisions. Know that there is no right or wrong answers here. Each situation and each family is different. Many times you will need to respond on the fly, only to think about a better answer later. That is all too often how one learns. But as you navigate this road, you will become increasingly confident in the answers that work best for you and your family.

Transitioning

When a person changes outwardly from one gender to another and lives in accordance with their gender identity, it is called going through transition, or transitioning. There is no rule of thumb for when a cross gender child should be allowed to transition. There usually comes a time when your child’s discomfort or suffering is so obvious that despite your concerns, it is critical for them to live in the world as they choose. But how do you know when that is? How long after they tell you about their desire should you wait to allow them this form of expression?

In making this decision, two concerns typically rise to the surface: “Will my child be safe if I let them do this?” and “Wouldn’t it be better just to make them wait?”

The most useful way to answer these questions is to first evaluate whether your child currently feels safe and satisfied, or if instead they are suffering. If your child is suffering it is important to weigh the potential dangers that await them living according to their wishes, consistent with their gender identity compared to the dangers associated with their current depression. What is clear is that children who receive the support of their families have the best outcomes in terms of their future health and well-being. Transition can occur in two ways: social transition through non-permanent changes in clothing, hairstyle, name and/or pronouns, and medical transition through the use of medicines such as hormone “blockers” or cross hormones to promote gender-based body changes and/or through the addition or removal of gender-related physical traits surgically.

CONCLUSION

There are many things to think about when considering issues around sexual identity and education. Because of the heteronormative discursive practices that dominate social institutions such as schools, non-heterosexual identities are often marginalized or invisible within schools. This is especially the case for teaching staff, many of whom feel that they have to hide their sexuality within their workplace. The decision about whether or not an LGB educator should come out to pupils is one that is often fraught with tensions about being a good role model, hiding an important part of one’s identity and making visible non-heterosexual identities within the context of school.

In addition, research by members of the Gender and Education Association has shown that the use of homophobic pejoratives is widespread in British schools and in young people’s experiences of bullying and growing up with an LGB identity, it has also been documented that such abusive naming practices are not necessarily regarded as being offensive and that, when asked, children and young people will argue that they ‘don’t mean gay people’ when they call something ‘gay’. These rejecting behaviors undermine a child’s self-esteem and feelings of self-worth. It should not be surprising that many of the children who end up in the foster care system, run away, or become homeless are gender nonconforming and transgender rejected at home; they find themselves with few options for support. Although bullying of sexual minority youth in schools is widespread, educators are generally unaware of the degree of victimization faced by these students, and thus often fail to intervene in instances when bullying occurs. Furthermore, because school-wide anti bullying policies tend not to directly address issues related to sexual orientation, it may be unclear to students and staff alike what types of behavior will/will not be tolerated in this regard, as well as the repercussions for failing to adhere to school policy. In order for schools to become truly gender inclusive, it requires all adult members of the community to take responsibility for the safety of all children regardless of their gender characteristics. Moving from the notion of

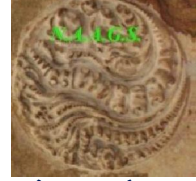
gender as a binary concept to a more expansive understanding of the complex nature of the gender spectrum only occurs with a concerted effort by all adult stakeholders of a school. A critical step in the staff training work is to engage the formal leadership of the school. While this may seem self-evident, the importance of this component cannot be emphasized enough. The school leader's approval of and advocacy for a more gender inclusive culture serves to create the supportive conditions all staff need for effectively fulfilling the school's gender non-discrimination commitments. The site leader's explicit expectation for a safe and supportive school for all children, and the insistence that all adults on campus are responsible for insuring it, is imperative. The gender inclusive school leader asks not "If we will do this" but rather "how will we do this?" Finally, leaders set such a tone by addressing openly questions and concerns that supervisors, parents, or staff may raise. Probably no group has a greater impact on the creation of a safe and inclusive campus climate than the adult staff. As the individuals who set the tone of what will or will not be tolerated on the campus, staff members establish the expectations students will follow. Well trained staffs who effectively implement gender inclusive practices are the foundation of a safe school for all students while a school's leadership and staff create the foundation for gender inclusiveness, families reinforce its importance at home. However, like educators, most parents or guardians have little or no experience with gender diversity, nor the language for working with their children. As with any effective effort, a partnership between home and school is crucial for the creation of gender inclusive campus environment. As parents get trained around issues specific to gender, they not only build their capacity to support their own children, they also create a powerful sense of community commitment to gender inclusion for all students.

Additionally, our trainings address the educational and environmental influences that impact gender non-conforming children and teens, and how these influence self esteem and development. We help your administrators, teachers, staff and personnel move from awareness to action in order to create more inclusive and productive environments. A proactive approach to gender identity awareness and education enables these children to flourish achieving a more holistic, confident sense.

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ANCIENT MARITIME TRADE OF THE EASTERN INDIAN LITTORAL

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Before the discovery of the monsoon winds by Hippalus in AD 45-47, the marines of the east coast of India were aware of the monsoon wind and currents and used them for maritime trade. The maritime trade from India to Southeast Asia was a seasonal phenomenon. The distribution of Buddhist settlements, discovery of varieties of pottery, beads and inscriptions along the ports and trade centers point to active maritime trade between India and Southeast Asia. Further, the representation of art on the walls of the caves, stupas and temples indicate that Buddhist monks, Saints, traders and craftsmen used to set sail together. Over a period of time, ancient methods of maritime trade disappeared, and are now only remembered and celebrated as rituals and social events along the east coast of India. This Project Work details how the monsoon wind and currents favoured mariners during their onward and return voyages to Southeast Asia because for centuries no major changes have been observed in the southwest and northeast monsoons. The findings of varieties in pottery, beads, etc. along the ports and Buddhist settlements show that all these played a significant role in disseminating Indian culture in overseas lands.

The eastern coastline of the Indian Peninsula is well known for its several seaports located at river mouths or outlets to the sea. These include the Gangetic delta which has openings into the sea through the many outlets along the large fertile plain arching towards the Bay of Bengal; the Krishna and Godavari deltas of

Andhra Pradesh; the Coromandel Coast with its prosperous lands around Thanjavur, etc. The region between the rivers Godavari and Mahanadi is marked by several spits. The inlets under the influence of the southwest monsoon encourage a long shore drift from southeast to northeast directions. The river deltas of India are favourable for navigation and the distributaries associated with estuarine mouths naturally led to the development of many ports. The large lagoons, lakes, etc. provided sheltered water bodies in which a large number of ports developed. For instance, the ports of Palur, Kalingapatnam, Tuticorin, etc. on the east coast are protected by spits. On the other hand, ports along the west coast are protected by bars and spits providing the much desired natural break waters for safe anchorages. The lakes and lagoons along the coast line facilitated the plying of various types of boats.

The discovery of various types of pottery, beads and coins at ports and trade centers indicated an interrelationship between them. Typical stupas, monasteries and viharas that existed in close proximity to ports and trade centers indicated that Buddhism had played a significant role in maritime trade since the beginning of the Christian era to a later period. Mariners of the east coast might have felt the force of wind and currents which assisted in driving the ships faster than the regular speed. This knowledge was probably confined to the mariners; hence no reference is available prior to the 6th century BC. In this project work an attempt has been made to describe the maritime trade of the east coast of India and the importance of the archaeological finds from port and trade centers. How the monsoon wind and currents aided the playing of ships and past maritime trade activities has been reflected in the traditional festivals in the present day society.

Although there is no direct reference to the use of monsoon winds as an aid for sailing ships in early literature, the Buddhist Jataka stories and Jain Canonicals mention ships moving by force of wind *Pavanabala Samahaya*. The Sangam period texts, viz. *Purananuru*, *Ahananuru* and *Madurraikanchi* delineated different types of seagoing ships as they moved in the seas with the help of wind sails.¹ The author of *Periplus Maris Erithrei* (AD 60-100) mentions the ports, anchorages, direction of winds, sailing conditions of the east coast of India. Pliny mentions the southwest monsoon in the *Natural History*. Fa-hien (AD 414) has described the winter monsoon in the Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, in connection with his return voyage along the east coast of India to China.² The punch-marked coins (PMC) of 6th to 5th century BC, coins used during Satavahana (2nd century BC to 3rd century AD), Salankayanas (AD 300-400) and Pallava periods (6th to 9th century AD) depict ships with masts indicate that the ships sailed with the help of winds in the open sea. Perhaps in the early days, monsoon winds were not known to mariners but they could set sail during favourable winds, hence the voyages were necessarily seasonal. The seasonally reversing winds are almost

consistent during the monsoon period. During weather disturbances and any other such conditions sailors abstained from sailing.

The ports of embarkation on the east coast were Tamralipti, Palur, Kalingapatnam, Dharanikota, Arikamedu, Poompuhar, etc. from where ships sailed to the northern coast of Sri Lanka before crossing the Bay of Bengal into the 10⁰ channel aided by favourable winds and currents. From here, ships sailed towards the east of Sumatra and reached Java, Bali Island and crossed the Malacca Strait. During the return journey they sailed directly to Sri Lanka and then to ports along the east coast.³ The alternative route to Southeast Asia from ports of Bengal, Orissa and Andhra was to reach the Burmese coast, then proceed along the Andaman Sea to Malacca Strait and beyond. Some ships make a direct voyage to Malaya Peninsula, other parts of Southeast Asia and China.⁴ However, Coedes has proposed two probable overseas routes from India to Southeast Asia. The first route could start from the south of India either through the 10⁰ channel crossing the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and leading to Takuapa in Thailand or south of the 10⁰ channel crossing Nicobar Islands heading towards the headland of Aceh and reaching Kedah in Malaysia. On the second route, ships sailed along the coast of Martaban and Tavoy in Burma then took the caravan route crossing three Pagodas and other passes reaching Menam Chao Phraya delta by way of Kanchanaburi and Ratchaburi.

The northeast monsoon winds (trade winds) blow between October-November and February helping ships to sail from the east coast of India to Sri Lanka and further to Southeast Asian countries. Similarly from May-June to September, the southwest monsoon wind blows from southwest helping ships to return from Southeast Asia via Sri Lanka to the east coast of India. They were aware of the risk of sailing southward during May and July- August in the Bay of Bengal. In case of storms and cyclones, mariners used to anchor ships at safe harbour. It was practical to sail farther east through the central bay as far as far as Andaman during December. Sailing from Andhra coast to Andaman or following a more southerly route through the 10⁰ channel was preferred in January- February and March. The available literary sources indicate that mariners were aware of the wind and current directions for the last two thousand years or more though no documentary evidence exists to prove this.

The Jataka stories as well as Buddhist accounts and paintings show that Buddhists were involved in maritime trade. The representation on the medallion of Bharhut shows a sea monster threatening to swallow a boat is clear evidence of the involvement of Buddhism in maritime trade. The caves of Ajanta, Aurangabad and Ellora depict Boddhisttava Avalokitesvara as a savior of mariners in distressful conditions. Eight perils are depicted in two vertical rows, among them a shipwreck scene is carved in relief along with Avalokitesvara in these caves. The

role of Avaloktesvara as the savior from the eight perils is delegated to goddess Tara. Numerous images of Tara have been noticed in Ratnagiri, Orissa. Even in one of the ashtamahabhayas Tara image, eight perils are depicted and the shipwreck (jalarnava-bhaya) scene is also carved in relief.⁵ The Buddhist goddess Tara is the protectress from such distress. Besides sculptural evidence, the distribution of Buddhist settlements such as stupas, monasteries and chaityas along ports and trade routes show the involvement of Buddhism in maritime trade. For instance, Dharanikota and Amaravati show the strong hold of Buddhism between the 4th and 3rd century BC and 13th and 14 century AD. Buddhist monks, traders and local residents gifted money for construction of monasteries at trade centres which is evident from the inscriptions at Kankeri and Junnar.⁶ Buddhism might have disseminated in the eastern and peninsular India during the Mauryan and probably the Satavahana periods spreading to western India and then Karnataka.

Since ancient days, varieties of pottery were carried in ships for transporting both solid and liquid. This is evident from pottery found both underwater and during inland explorations and excavations. In India the first evidence of carrying pots on ships comes from Ajanta paintings (6th century AD). However, the shapes and sizes of pots changed over a period of time. Different pottery, viz. a northern black polished (NBP) ware, roulette ware, Knobbed ware, russet coated painted (RCP) ware and red polished ware (RPW) found at ports, trade centers and hinterland sites suggest their widespread use in regional and overseas trade.

The distribution of NBP ware (700-100 BC) from 415 sites of India along coastal and hinterland Buddhist establishments suggest the involvement of Buddhism in maritime trade network. Recently NBP ware, RPW ware, and black and red ware were found in the Kalahandi region of Orissa.⁷ The finding of NBP ware in Nellore, Korkai and Alagankulam among with silver PMC indicates the existence of a trade route from northern India to eastern India then to southern India reaching Sri Lanka across the sea.⁸ Further, NBP ware and PMC have been recovered from the citadel of Anuradhapura.⁹ Considerable progress has been observed during the NBP period in terms of development of cities, technology, trade and commerce. During this period, trade contact of the Indian subcontinent reached up to Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean region.¹⁰ Introduction of PMC and cast copper, and silver coins, seals and sealings clearly indicate the existence of an established trade and money-based economy.

Rouletted ware has been reported from 124 sites across the Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea. The recent excavations at Pattanam along the Kerala coast have yielded rouletted ware. Rouletted ware has also been reported from Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Java, Bali, Vietnam, Sumatra, Malaysia, Oman as well as Myos Hormos, Bernike and coptos in Egypt. Rouletted shreds with Tamil-Brahmi,

Brahmi, Sri Lankan Brahmi, Kharoshti inscriptions and graffiti which are either names of traders or pot makers have been recovered. As partial names or short inscriptions are found on these shreds, it is difficult to draw any substantial conclusions.¹¹

Knobbed ware was first reported from Sisupalgarh and Jaugada of Orissa. Subsequently, this pottery has been reported from northern Andhra Pradesh, Bengal and Assam. The recent excavations at Lalitagiri, Manikapatna, Radhanagar and Kalahandi have yielded knobbed ware.¹² Excavations of Ban Don Ta Phet have yielded knobbed ware. Knobbed bowls made of high tin bronze similar to knobbed ware have been reported from Taxila, Nilgiri hills, Wari-Bateshwar in Bangladesh and Than Hoa province of Vietnam. These bowls resemble the finds of Ban Don Ta Phet, but Glover has suggested that the knobbed vessel of Vietnam might have been imported from Thailand and this pottery was associated with Buddhist rituals.

The RPW has been reported from over 500 sites in India along with roulette ware, amphorae and arretine ware particularly from ports, trade centres and Buddhist sites. The RPW is associated with Buddhist monks and traders who travelled long distances. Similarly, Terra Sigillata has been reported from Arikmedu, Alagankulam, Kodumanal, Uraiyur, Rajamundry, Chadravalli and Karur.¹³ Scholars have opined that Terra Sigillata originated in the Roman world and was brought by the Roman traders to India as part of their personal belongings. RCP were known as "Andhra ware" (400 BC and 400 AD) has been reported from Satjanikota, Mittapalli, Nilugondla in Andhra Pradesh; Banavasi, Brahmagiri, Chandravalli in Karnataka; Nasik and Nevasa in Maharashtra; Kodumanal, Kanchi and Uraiyur in Tamil Nadu and Arikamedu along with roulette ware.

The excavation finds of Anuradhapura indicate that Brahmi script was introduced in Sri Lanka by Indian traders in the 5th-4th century BC prior to the introduction of Buddhism. The Damili script used by Polindas (boat people of northern Sri Lanka) is originally from Bengal and Orissa datable to the pre-Ashokan period. The Brahmi inscriptions on a RCP shred recovered in a burial at Kodumanal of Periyapuliayankulam mention Tamil traders known as Visake and Visaki.

The Brahmi and Kharoshti inscriptions found on pots, seals and plaques in Bengal indicate that traders were involved in horse trade and that the horses were brought from Central Asia in via non-western India to Bengal. Then horses were exported to Southeast Asia by boat. Later on, traders of this region got acquainted with Buddhist people who were using local Brahmi and consequently a mixed Brahmi- Kharoshti writing developed. The finding of Kharoshti- Brahmi and Kharoshti inscriptions in Bengal, Orissa, Thailand, Vietnam, Bali and Fu-nan show

that Kharoshti might have migrated to Southeast Asia along with horse trade. The terracotta seals from Bangarh and Chandraketurgarh depicts seafaring vessels with Kharoshti- Brahmi inscriptions referring to Tridesayatra, meaning a voyage to three countries or directions.¹⁴ Similarly, the Telaga Batu (AD 686) inscription of Indonesia mentions the special skilled people such as Puhawang (ships captain), Vaniyaga (long distance seafaring merchants) and or sthapaka (sculptors). Other Indonesian inscriptions refer to foreign traders as banyaga, which include the Kalingas, Singhalese, Dravidians, etc. and merchant guild as banigrama.

Apart from Indian pottery, glass and semiprecious stone beads have also been discovered from Semk biran and Ban Don Ta Phet excavations. The glass beads of Sembiran resemble south Indian samples, manufactured in Arikamedu. Beads were also manufactured at Jaugada, Asurgada and Kalahandi regions of Orissa.¹⁵ Similarly, the beads reported from Ridiyagama and Mantai in Sri Lanka; Khuan Luk Pat in Thailand; Oc-Eo in Vietnam and Kuala Selinsing in Malaysia appear to imported from India.¹⁶ Francis¹⁷ has opined that original bead makers from Arikamedu region might have migrated to Sri Lanka and then to Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia. The finding of agate and carnelian beads at Ban Don Ta Phet indicates the earliest maritime contacts between India and Southeast Asia during 4th century BC. India was considerable source of semiprecious stones which were exported to Southeast Asia to make beads and the final products were remitted back to India. The finding of a quartz tortoise (turtle) from the excavations of Kodumanal is similar to the finds of Srikshetra in Thailand.

A wide range of fine to coarse cotton textiles and silks were bartered to Southeast Asia in exchange for aromatics and species. The burial site excavations at Ban Don Ta Phet have yielded cotton fragments and thread. Its analysis shows that it was made of *Canabis sativa* fibre of the cotton plant found in South Asia. Remnants of textiles have been reported from Ban Chiang in south-eastern Thailand. The author of the Periplus Maris Erythraei (AD 60-100) has mentioned that the best quality of cotton clothing was produced in the Gangetic country.

Ancient sea voyages are now days remembered and celebrated as social functions in India. For instance, the full moon day (Kartika Purnima) of October-November is celebrated by the people of Orissa as Bali Yatra (voyage to Bali Island). On this day, the people of Orissa go to the nearby river banks, sea shores and lakes with votive boats and place lighted lamps and float them symbolizing a safe journey for traders to Bali. This celebration marks the adventurous spirit manifested in transoceanic voyages for trade, commerce and exchange of culture with Bali, Java, Malay, Sumatra and Thailand. Ancient ports are extinct but the memory of past traditions is still preserved through these annual celebrations. Festivals of similar kind are being celebrated in Bali, Malaysia and Thailand, for

example at the festival named Loykrathong or Loy-brah Prahdip in Thailand ritualistic boats are floated in December.

The return voyage towards India began in April or later and mariners followed the currents of Malacca Strait along with the wind blowing from east, which took boats into the mainstream of the west-flowing equatorial current through the 10° channel to reach Sri Lanka then towards the east in the coastal waters with the help of favourable wind and currents. During April and May the voyages from Southeast Asia towards the east coast of India used to be easier due to the onset of the southwest monsoon. The return voyage festival Khudurukini Osha is celebrated in September by the unmarried girls of Orissa who used to wait for their brothers to return with wealth and gifts from Southeast Asia. Further, it shows that sailing between these regions was largely dependent on favourable wind and ocean current conditions. The social festivals and data on wind and ocean currents corroborate that the mariners of the east coast of India probably set out on their journey between October- November and February and returned between April- May and September.¹⁸

Research based on recent archaeological finds from ports and trade centres show the existence of a well organized overseas network between Southeast Asia, Red Sea and the Roman world. Initially NBP ware, originally from the Gangetic valley moved along with Buddhist towards peninsular India then to Sri Lanka. During this period, the contacts between India and Sri Lanka developed, hence NBP ware is not reported beyond Sri Lanka. However, during the roullted ware period, contact of mariners with the Roman world, Southeast Asia, Persian Gulf and Red Sea probably developed. Around the same period RPW and RCP ware also came into circulation. Along with Indian pottery and beads, the circulation of PMC, Roman gold coins, amphorae, etc. came into vogue and Buddhism spread both in India and abroad. Monks, traders and sculptures played a significant role in maritime trade and carried Indian scripts and languages to South-east Asia. On their arrival at an Indian coast, the Roman and Greek mariners took advantage of prevailing trade routes and moved towards other regions from peninsular India. The chronology and circulation of types of pottery, beads and inscriptions indicate the interactions between mariners of India, Southeast Asia and West Asia in ancient times.

Some scholars hold the view that gold and spices are the major reasons for maritime trade between India and Southeast Asia. In addition, the fact that water transport was easier, safer and could carry more merchandise as compared to land transport, also contributed here. The frequent disturbances on the silk route caused a decline of caravan trade and might have compelled the Roman and Indian traders to take the sea route through the Indian Ocean up to the South China Sea. During this period . Indian mariners now aware to the trade centres, ports and products of

Southeast Asia would have ventured into the open sea to expand trade; further, mariners also understood the direction of monsoon winds and currents which aided them in travelling to Southeast Asia and back. Afterwards mariners increased the size and carrying capacity of the ships.

Periplus and Pliny have stated at several instances that Hippalus discovered the monsoon wind and learned the art of direct ocean sailing from Arabia to India. These events are not recorded in any other sources earlier than this. But Periplus and Pliny have not mentioned what voyages Hippalus made and his date. But it is well attested from the excavation finds of Berenike and Myos Hormos on the Red Sea coast that ships of south Indian origin crossed the Indian Ocean and reached the Red Sea much before Hippalus's voyage and that the mariners of the east coast of India must have had knowledge of the monsoon. It appears that Hippalus did not discover the monsoon winds; he must have merely observed and suggested the nature of these winds which were already known to the mariners of the east coast of India.

On the findings of Ban Don Ta Phet and Khao Sam Kaeo, the maritime contacts between Indian and Southeast Asia could be dated as far back as to the 4th – 3rd century BC, if not earlier. Initially trade was confined to exchange of goods, then Buddhist monks and traders introduced Indian culture, script, language, religion, etc. onto foreign soil and some of them were followed by the people of Southeast Asia. For instance, the boat floating festival of Southeast Asia might have been influenced by festivals of Orissa. Once trade became frequent, Indian traders began to settle permanently in Southeast Asia and spread Indian culture and religion; whereas no such evidence of permanent settlement of Indian traders occurred in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Roman Empire. It could be possible that a large number of Indian mariners would have frequented the Southeast Asian region for trade than vice versa. Similarly, more Roman mariners might have come to India than Indian mariners visiting the Roman world for trade. Probably this could be the reason why Buddhist monks were not involved in maritime trade or the spread of Buddhism in the Roman world.

The archaeological finds substantiate the fact that maritime contacts with Southeast Asia started somewhere between 4th and 3rd century BC and were multidimensional involving monks, traders, sculptors and envoys travelling together. Buddhism had a great impact on trade and society in the whole of South Asia. The ancient Indian mariners were aware of the monsoon winds and currents and used them to their advantage during maritime trade with Southeast Asian countries for a period of more than 2000 years; probably they were the first to use monsoon winds and currents in maritime trade. It was thought that Hippalus discovered the monsoon winds, but now it is suggested that Hippalus was actually the name of the wind.¹⁹ The southwest monsoon came to be known as Hippalus in

the western world. It appears that the Mediterranean sailors had collected information about the monsoon navigation from older sailors of the Arabian Sea. Several scholars have expressed doubts about Hippalus's date.²⁰

Further, the voyage to Southeast Asia was seasonal and coast hugging because ships were visiting different ports during their voyage and exchanging cargo. Today, the maritime trade and sailing ships may no longer exist but the traditional method of voyages and customs are celebrated in the form of festivals along the east coast of India highlighting the significance of the glorious maritime trade.

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IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT IN TAMILNADU: PROSPECTS AND RETROSPECTS

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Water is the elixir of life, a precious gift of nature to mankind and millions of other species living on the earth. Irrigation is as old as Civilization in India. The history of Irrigation development in India can be traced back to prehistoric times. Irrigation is a fundamental feature of Tamil history. According to the ancient writers, the digging of a tank or well was amongst the greatest of the meritorious acts of a man. Brihaspati, an ancient writer on law and politics states that the construction and the repair of dams is a pious work and its burden should fall on the shoulders of rich men of the land. In Tamilnadu much importance was given to Irrigation because majority of the people depended on agriculture for their livelihood. In most of the district of Tamilnadu the intensity of rainfall is very low and therefore, irrigation was considered in the stability and growth agriculture.

Inscriptions are the legitimate source of historical knowledge. It usually commemorate donations or endowments or they announce some political religious or other activity. Such information is itself historically important. Unlike most literary evidences, inscriptions in Tamil Nadu generally provide chronological information very authentically. Most inscriptions are contemporary and free from textual corruption. In this regard, the first part of this paper made an attempt to explore the condition of irrigation development in ancient Tamilnadu by inscriptional evidences. The second part discusses the irrigation development during colonization and since independence. The civilization of Tamilnadu is considered to be one of the oldest civilizations of the world. During the Sangam period a town has been variously referred as 'Sholavandan' which belongs to

Pandya kingdom. Between Chola and Pandya enmity the Chola king invaded and captured the particular town. The invading Chola king, apparently got a sense of reverence and awe, seeing intensive agriculture and scenic beauty, of the village land, irrigation by the Vaigai river, which reminded him of the Cauvery delta region. Thus the abandoned king During the first to the fourth century, the early Cholas ruled the lands of Tamilnadu. The first and most important king of this dynasty was king Karikala. The dam named Kallanai over the village and its flourishing agriculture cultivation, even more agriculturally prosperous than the historically famous Tanjore village and called this town as 'Chinna Tanjai' the river Cauvery was constructed with the strong initiative of king Karikalan. The inscription from Tirupazhanam from Thanjavur dated 31st regional year of Parantaka I, which described the land donation to the construction of the above said dam

The Pallavas were the pioneers especially in the construction of Tanks. They had given much importance to agriculture. Some of the Irrigation tanks constructed by Pallava rulers were the Chitravathi Tataka at Mamandur, the Parameswara Tataka, the Vairamanga Tataka, Mahendra Tatakam, Kanakavalli Tatakam and the Tank at Kaverippakkam etc; So the Pallavas were popularly called as 'Kaduvettikal' because their interest and involvement in the construction of lakes and tanks in place of forest lands. Chola inscriptions mention various types of irrigation works such as tanks, canals, wells and sluices. Some Chola kings are credited with irrigating tank and canal construction. During this time the renovation and reclamation of pools and lakes were maintained by the local administration and also concentrated special attention over it. For this purpose they established separate Variyams or Boards to maintain irrigation facilities. The members were called as 'Variya Perumakkal'. It can be seen from the Uttiramerur inscription of Parantaka Chola, dated 920 A.D is an outstanding document in the history of India. Thiruvandarkoil inscription reveals about 'Kokkizhandai Pereri' (Big lake), which was named after Kokkizhanadi, the queen of Parantaka Chola. This can be confirmed by the evidence of the Udayarkudi inscription and Uppendram Copper Plates. It also mentioned about the above said queen Kookkizhanadi, was the daughter of a Chera king. In those days there was a culture that using the name of king or queen as the prefix of any lakes or dams.

Thiruvuvanam inscription describes about 'Madurantaka Perari'. It was named after the royal title of Rajendra Chola called as 'Madurantakan'. Besides another one inscription found in the same place which was about 13th century A.D provided that the efforts taken to the development of irrigation by the king Kopperum Singam. Many Irrigation tanks had silted up and as a result their storage capacity had been increased. During this time a technological proposal was

undertaken to deepen the tank beds by removing silt to the extent possible without affecting the command ability of the ayacut and to deposit the excavated silt in the foreshore lands.

A copper plate found in 'Thiruvalamkadu' refers to the position of Rajendra Chola and his mass victory. Rajendra Chola constructed 'CholaGangam' in Gangai-konda-cholapuram. This was highlighted as 'Waterised Victory Tower', in memory of his victory over Ganga rulers. This can be seen from the same copper plate. Later the people respectively called this lake as 'Ponneri'. The inscription in the Sankaranathar temple belong to the same Chola period. In which an officer by name Madhurantaka Pallavarayan donated 428 Sri Lankan coins as loan to the Sirukulathur sabiyar, In return, the villagers had to desilt and maintain the irrigation tank of the village every year. Moreover, James Heitzmen has analyzed references in Chola inscription from five taluks in Central Tamilnadu. The places were Kumbakonam, Truchirappalli, Tirukoyilur, Tiruttaraipundi and Pudikottai. He identified the distribution system and changes in Irrigation technology during the Chola period.

The major part of the Pandya region depended in rainfed reservoirs for irrigation. A reservoir is a depression with embankments at the required points often covering an area of one or two or more kilometers. The modern district of Madurai and Ramanathapuram, the major dry zone area of the Pandya country, are fully ancient reservoirs. The earliest known epigraphic evidence attesting to irrigation works in the Pandya region is the Vaigai bed inscription of 'Centan Arikesari'

II

British period

The fundamental trait of the British Indian Government's irrigation policy during the period was an expansion in the irrigational services. Taking the entire period, the aims and ends for the British policies are as under

- 1.The British Government appears to have drawn inspiration for the construction of irrigation works from the preceding rulers who sought to glorify their reign by undertaking them. Many irrigation works administered by the Public Works Department were funded an old native projects.
- 2.An extension in the irrigated area increases agricultural production and improves the material being of the peasantry .
- 3.Ageneral increase in the wealth of the country is brought about through irrigation works raises the tax paying capacity of its inhabitants.
- 4.Irrigation works are a good safeguard against famines and droughts. Moreover, they could be constructed as a measure to relieve distress caused by them.
- 5.The British cotton textile manufacturers partly depended as the supply of raw cotton from India to meet their requirements

The country gained independence in 1947, but a planned economy was introduced only from 1952. The Congress gave utmost priority to agriculture as in Tamil Nadu 70% of the population depended on agriculture for their livelihood. The infrastructure for development of agriculture was sought to be provided by the Government both at the centre and the state during this period. Irrigation, the most important requisite for agricultural development received the immediate attention of the rulers. This was because without proper irrigational facilities thousands of acres of land had been left either fallow or laid waste during the colonial period.

In most of the districts of Tamilnadu, the intensity of rainfall was very low and therefore irrigation is considered indispensable for the growth of agriculture. During the 150 years of British rule irrigation was neglected in the first 50 years. Though subsequently in the context of periodical outbreak of famines, some initiatives were taken a planned development of irrigation potential was undertaken only after independence. The Congress government introduced a planned economy from 1952 and since then the Congress as a ruling party both at the centre and the state had chalked out and implemented a number of irrigation schemes during the first three Five Year Plans until 1967. In Tamil Nadu, during the first Five Year Plan 2,458 minor works were completed throughout the state with Rs382.60 lakhs benefiting 4,30,000 acres of land. The major irrigation projects like Lower Bhawani, Amaravathi, Manimuthar, Vaigai and Sathanur are the significant irrigation projects launched by the Congress government. In the second Five Year Plan, the agricultural programme had been formulated with a view to producing adequate food to support the increased population. With the formation of Anthra State, the share of water resources of the composite state of Madras went over that area. The residuary state of Madras was left with only one major river, viz the Cauvery, and the other minor rivers. New schemes such as Kattalai High Level Scheme, Parambikulam Aliyar Project, Neyyar Second Stage Project, Parambikulam Project and Medium irrigation Projects in Kanyakumari District that envisaged remodelling of four channels taking off from Kodayar Dam, besides renovation and desilting of major tanks in Tovala, Agasteeswaram and Kalkulam Taluks were undertaken during the third Plan period

The main opposition party, the Draivida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K), was critical of the agrarian policy of the Congress government along with the communist party of India. In 1967 Congress was swept out of power and the D.M.K was voted to power.

Policy Suggestions

1. There should be separate agency to look after the land and water resources at Block/Taluk/District levels. This agency should also be responsible for the

development and use of water in their given area just like water conservation district.

2.Many advanced methods of irrigation like sprinkler and drip methods have to be introduced at appropriate locations. Further, to arrest the seepage loss, prefabricated channels and underground pipelines need to be introduced.

3.waste water reclamation is an alternative major potential supplement to surface water development. This must taken up in systematic manner.

4.Water is a national asset and to distribute to the maximum advantage of the country,it should be placed in the Central list.

5.Water must be used with utmost economy, whether it is for agricultural, industrial or domestic purposes. It may also be protected against pollution.

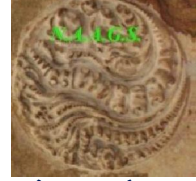
Conclusion

Water is one of the resources, once considered to be in abundance is becoming scarcer and scarcer due to increased demand for agricultural, industrial and water supply for human and livestock consumption. In Tamilnadu the ancient rulers had given much priority to the development of irrigation. But the subsequent governments had been failed its objects and to protect the interest of the peasants. During the British period, due to the famine control measures and the policy of commercialization of agriculture reflected the importance of irrigation development at some extent. In the state since independence there were several major schemes introduced. However proper attention was not given to the dry zone areas of the state and allocation of funds in this sector was not satisfactory.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONDITION OF THE KOTAS OF THE NILGIRIS

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INTRODUCTION:

The Nilgiris Biosphere Reserve is home to indigenous communities (PTG'S) who have traditionally been dependent upon natural resources, utilizing and surviving on forest resources for a period of time. The Nilgiris is the home of the Adivasi Community called **Kotas**. The Kotas are settled only in seven settlements namely, Kollimalai(Kolmel), Kundah(Meenaad), PudhuKotagiri(Porgaad), Kil kotagiri(Kinnaad), Sholur kokkal(Kurgoz), Tiruchigadi(Trisigari), Gudalur kokkal(Kalaags). The Kota settlements are known by the name “**KOKKAL**”.

Ko(ku) means mountain, and they are the people of the mountain. They are found only in the Nilgiri district. They are known by the names Koter, kotharu and kothewars. The interesting feature of the Kotas is that, they are the artisans and musicians and provide services to the Badagas and Todas of Nilgiris. Their traditional seven villages are interspersed among the Toda and Badaga settlements throughout the Nilgiri plateau.

History of the Kotas The kotas are known by several names like koter, kotharu, kothewars and kohatur. They are found only in Nilgiris district and distributed only in seven settlements.

“Kotas in the olden days were the only one of all the hill tribes who practiced the industrial arts and they were therefore essential almost to the very existence of the other tribes and castes of the Nilgiris”

- Rev. Metz., 1864

“The derivation of the term ‘kota’ is a clearly indicated, from the Gauda – Dravidian word Ko (Ku) mountain, and the kotas belong to the Gaudian branch”

- Thurston; 1909

The kotar legend says, Kota, Toda and Kurumba were brothers, earliest inhabitants of the Nilgiris and they were created from three drops of the Gods (Kambatrayan) perspiration. Their separation took place, when God asked them what they wanted. The kotas asked for talents of art. The Todas asked for buffaloes and became dairy men. Kurumbas asked power to destroy their enemies and became black magicians. To protect and help the Badgas from Tippu Sultan’s oppressions, the kotas got themselves distributed in different geographic regions of the Nilgiris, and established in these 7 settlements

Kota Settlements

The kota settlements are basically accessible to the Badaga and Toda settlements. Currently there are seven kota settlement in the Nilgiris.

Kota Settlements

S.No	Kota Name	Common Name	No of House hold
1	Kolmel	Kollimalai	75
2	Trisigari	Trisigadi	90
3	Menaad	Kundah kotagiri	70
4	Porgaad	Pudhu kotagiri	75
5	Kinnaad	Kilkotagiri	35
6	Kurgoz	Sholur Kokkal	75
7	Kalaags	Gudalur	10

Sholur kokkal is known to be a very old village. Pudhu kotagiri is a relatively new settlement which underwent changes during the colonial period.

KERI SYSTEM

The kota village is called a kokkal, represent a linear type of dwelling with thirty to sixty houses, divided into two or three localities called ‘Keris’. ‘Keri’ means a street, this is a special feature of the kokkal.

KOTA DIALECT

The Kota speak ‘Kota dialect’, an old dialect of Kannada mixed with Tamil words. Their language doesn’t possess the written script.

KOTA TRADITIONAL GARMENT

The male dress consists of a shirt and a ‘mundu’ (lungi) and a common’s dress consist of a single piece of white coarse cloth called ‘kir’. Their traditional

garment is known as 'Varad', a white bed-spread cloth, thrown around the body by men and women.

MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Monogamy is the common practice. Male dominating society, he is the headmen of the house. Child marriages were common in those days. The marriageable age of girls is 12 and boys get married at the age of 16. The changes have come in the recent years to 21 for girls and men wait till 30 due to Government's intervention. A token of one Rupee 25 paise is to be given by the boy's parents to the girls for binding the alliance. No dowry system is not in practise. Women are respected in the family and in the society. They get married among the cousins, no trace of inter caste marriages. This is highly objected. There is no sub caste among the kotas. There is only two 'Kottarams' namely "Mamman" and "Machan".

The bride's parents can give articles to their daughter. The marriage takes place at their houses, in a very simple manner, in their traditional adivasi dresses, without much ornaments. No music is played.

The woman wear a black beed – weed lock after the marriage, all the relatives eat in one plate, showing a sense of true love and oneness.

JEWELLERY

Kota men and women wear 'kadh' earrings. The women wear 'kapu'. The jewellery is made of silver. They avoid making expensive and valuable items.

STAPLE FOOD – NON VEGETAIRANS

In the olden days, they ate Thinai, Kelvargu, Samai, Kanchi Kodumai and Keerai Vidai (which was rosted and mixed in honey and ate as break fast). They are non-vegetarian class. They don't use much spices like clove and cinnamon.

KOTA PRIEST

Kota temples have poojari's. The poojari's will only enter the kota temple, once in a year. The temples don't have a door, as they don't posses any valuable treasures. No Idols are kept inside. The priest should not drink buffalo milk. They are married but they will not mingle with the common people.

KOTA MUSIC:

Kota music is integral to their beliefs of survival and religion. According to a recent book on Kota music, instrumental tunes of Kotas differentiate, mark and particularly constitute ritual occasions, each one characterized by broad stylistic features. There is a repertoire for dancing; a repertoire for funerals and a repertoire for 'god' and 'god tunes' along number a dozen. The longest and the most important one are called 'temple opening tunes'. They have an elaborate set of tunes for their rain-making ceremony; they believe that when they play it in their villages, combined with their unity and righteousness rain falls, crops grow, cattle multiply, children are born and the community thrives. Music for the Kotas serves as a

conduit in the oral transmission of moral stories for their day to day life. The Kotas play four kinds of instruments. An oboe, a frame drum that is beaten with a pair of sticks, a barrel drum that is beaten with both the hands and a brass horn. All the instruments and drums for music are made by Kotas themselves, a sole exception being the semi-circular brass horn.

The dancing traditions of Kotas are very vibrant including that of women. Women's dancing also auspiciously wind up Kota rituals and ceremonies. Kota men wear exotic and colorful dancing costumes. Kota mendancers in the past were always addressed by a special Badaga term. The tradition of Kotas providing music to Toda and Badaga ceremonies ceased by the 1950s and in a sense it ended the symbiotic relationships also that existed between these communities for ages.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE KOTA TRIBES

Kotas are Smiths and experts in industrial arts and crafts and practice smith work in their village smithy. They are the leading craftsman in iron, wood and clay. Being non-vegetarians, they also reared cows and other domestic animals besides their smith work. After getting their own cultivable lands and due to no demand for their implements and also because of disappearance of symbiotic relationship with other tribal communities and with Badagas, they adapted mixed economic activities. The formal education made them to undertake smith work outside their settlements for money. They are now involving themselves in the promotion of Tourism.

S.NO	ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	PERCENTAGE
1	TRADITIONAL SMITH WORK(Wood/Pottery and iron smith)	12.67%
2	ANIMAL HUSBANDARY	11.56%
3	SELF CULTIVATION AGRICULTURE/HORTICULTURE	58.54%
4	MODERN EMPLOYMENT	16.20%
5	MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES	1.03%
	TOTAL	100.00

THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

Kota Tribal council, called as “KOOT”, maintains customary norms in the community. The kotar woman can share their grievances to the council by standing, but never allowed to sit along with men in equal status. Mostly the problems will be settled by the elders in the family itself, very rarely the cases will be taken to the ‘koot’ by women.

DEATH CEREMONY

They cremate the dead and used to sacrifice a male buffalo at the funeral. They burn the household articles used by women along with their body. In case of male members, their daily used items will be burnt. Two days mourning will be observed by the kokkal. All the families contribute money and buy firewood and cremate. For two days no one will go for work. And they sing “Attil” (Story about the life of the dead soul).

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Inscriptions of Bhagalpur Cemetery
(or *Saheb Ka Qabristan*)
INSCRIPTIONS OF BHAGALPUR CEMETERY
(or *Saheb Ka Qabristan*)

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Bhagalpur cemetery, also known as *Saheb Ka Qabristan*, is situated on the left side of the road connecting Bhagalpur Railway station with TNB College. To the South of the cemetery lies the railway track which connects Bhagalpur with Patna. During colonial days, Bhagalpur was spelled differently like Bhaugulpore, Boglipore, etc., and it was an important British station covering vast area. During my trip to Bhagalpur in the year 2010, I made a visit to the aforesaid cemetery and tried to record whatever inscriptions and epitaphs were left at that time. This graveyard then was like a dumping ground of garbage and filth, and was encroached upon by the fellow neighbors. Most of the stone tablets containing inscriptions were either taken away by the neighbors or damaged for the reasons best known to them. With much labor I could find barely fifteen to twenty graves with majority of them in great shambles. Not only the inscriptional stones but also many a grave had disappeared without a trace. There were several tombs which had spires and cylindrical columns which must have once added elegance to graveyard. So far as I could gather information, there was no Church, committee or organization whatsoever which was responsible for its upkeep, and it was due to

such neglect that the cemetery was in a state of utter despair. Some of the inscriptions were so worn out that it was impossible to read them.

Among others, the cemetery contains the tomb of the wife¹ of Teignmouth Sandys, an officer of Bengal Civil Service, after whom there is vast compound in downtown Bhagalpur. Although, I can't say it with much certainty, but it appears that it was the same T. Sandys who was born to William Sandys and Eliza in 1808². Sandys had several daughters: one was married to Captain Montmorency; Alice Claudine to Sir Henry Wylie Norman (CIE); another to Sir Mortimer Durand; and remaining one was betrothed to Edward Braddon, brother of the famous novelist, Miss Bradon. Bradon had settled down in Tasmania³.

Biography of Sir Mortimer Durand contains several references to Bhagalpur and Sandys' family⁴.

An oil portrait of T. Sandys, sourced from the collection of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, has been appended at the end of this article and its details also confirm his date of birth as 1808.

The other noteworthy grave belongs to the wife of James Robinson who, as per the records available at the India Office Select Materials⁵, London, was a Civil Engineer of Barari (a place to the East of the Bhagalpur Railway Station), a fact corroborated by the inscription on his wife's grave also. These records further shed light on one Miss H. Robinson, who was a Church Secretary till her death about 1948 and whose relation with James Robinson is not clear to the present writer; and Hettie Robison who was the eldest daughter of James Robinson.

Another grave of considerable importance is of Captain William Gilbert Don of Bengal Light Infantry whose death was reported in a leading newspaper of London⁶. His beautiful tomb is comparatively in a better condition whose distinct epitaph has braved the vagaries of nature and neglect.

Professor K.K. Basu of TNB College, Bhagalpur, who calls it European Cemetery, has also used some inscriptions of the cemetery to write his illustrious article entitled *The Early Europeans in Bhagalpur*⁷, which sheds light on the Europeans who lived in Bhagalpur.

In the absence of burial register and records thereto, it has become very difficult to establish the ancestry and progeny of those buried here. It is only with the help of scattered and passing references that one can establish a connection between the past and present, and which definitely has a chance to carry errors. An example of such a connection could be the grave of Frederick William, son of W. Ainslie, who appears to be the same person who was the Collector and Magistrate of Bhagalpur in 1857 and later Judge of Calcutta High Court.

A list of remaining graves with their inscriptional details, discovered by the present writer during field tour, is being presented below for further records, references and posterity.

1. Frederick Walter, son of Henry and Ellen Eliza Clarke, died on 1st September 1837, aged 9 months.
2. Cecilia Olivia, the fondly loved child of Henry & Eliza Macclesfield, was born on 26th January 1862 and died on 20th September 1869.
3. Anne Elizabeth, wife of Teignmouth Sandys of Bengal Civil Service, died on 7th June 1879, aged 70 years. The monument to her memory was erected by her husband and children.
4. Captain William Gilbert Don, a member of the 43rd Regiment of the Bengal Light Infantry which commanded Bhaugulpore Hill Rangers, died in Bhagalpur on 21st January 1852, aged 43 years old. His beautiful tomb is marked with the quotation: In the midst of life we are in death.
5. F. W. J. West Esq^R (?), Resident Engineer of Peerdowrie, Sultangunge, died in Bhaugulpore on March 25th 1860, aged 28 years. His tomb is marked with the revelation Fourteenth: Blessed are the dead who died in the Lord.
6. Anne, the beloved wife of Jennings, departed her life in August 1873, aged 40 years. Her tomb bears the following words: The lord shall be thine everlasting light; and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.
7. Frederick William, the infant son of W & A. C. Ainslie, died at the age of 4 months and 22 days. W Ainslie is most probably William Ainslie whose highflying career has been delineated in *The India List and India Office List* (page 380, published 1902).
8. Edith Emma, the infant daughter of Henry Lucius and Isabella Dampier, was born in Bhagalpore in May 1853 and died on July 24th 1853, aged 2 months and 17 days. The memorial is engraved with the words: Of such is the kingdom of heaven. (Apparently the same Henry Lucius Dampier who was a member of Bengal Legislative Council. For further details about his flourishing career please see *The India List and India Office List*, page 427, published 1902. His group photograph, published in 1874 and available at British Library (OIOC Photo 129/1; PL code: c5702-06), has been appended at the end of this article).
9. Henrietta Frances, daughter of Frances and Charlotte Amelia Gouldsbury, was born at Darjeeling on the 24th August 1844 and Deceased at Bhaugulpore on the 11th February 1846.
10. Mrs. Robinson, the dearly loved wife of James Robinson, a Civil Engineer, died at the age of 60 years. The inscription embracing her tomb was worn out, although, only this much could be read: Dear wife and mother, Here have you said goodnight, There in the brighter clime, Bid us good morning.

Another important source⁸ throws some light on the cemetery and provides useful and rare information. It says that five children of Sir Frederick and Lady Hamilton died in Bhagalpur and were buried in the graveyard. Their graves were beautified by high and lofty obelisks. The cemetery had 103 inscriptions and many tombs had no details. One tomb, consisting of a base 16 Feet high and an obelisk, in all 38 Feet, belonged to George Elliot, Esq. Mr. John Glas (born 1750), who for 32 years was a surgeon to Bhagalpur and Corps of Hill Rangers and introduced the growing of Tobacco here, was also buried in this graveyard. His epitaph said that he was regarded by the natives as their father. In 1791 an attempt was made to naturalize Virginian Tobacco here. Glas had opened the first Indigo factory in Bhagalpur in 1793.

He served as a Surgeon on board a number of East Indiamen until 1778. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon in 1781 and gave up promotion to remain at Bhagalpur, where he died in August 1822⁹. The famous Hill House of Bhagalpur was visible from his house. His daughters Mrs. Mary Shaw (aged 81) and Mrs. Davies (aged 87) were also interred beside him.

One of the oldest tombs of the cemetery belonged to John Barry, a Civil Servant, who died on 28th October 1779. Alexander Dow, Lieutenant Colonel in the service of the East India Company, also died in 1779 and was buried here. Besides being the author of other works, he had translated *The History of Hindostan* from Persian into English, and written *Zingis: a Tragedy* and *Sethona: a Tragedy*. C. R. Wilson acknowledges him (Alexander Dow) as the First English Historian of India and provides details of the inscription on his tomb and those which are on the graves of Edward F. Barlow and Arthur Johnson¹⁰.

It would not be out of place to quote here a registered document which pronounces that a portion of the property of Syed Irteza Hossain, a leading Shia landlord of Bhagalpur, was acquired on 30th April 1897 for the expansion of the cemetery. As a token of compensation, he was paid Rs. 48 – Annas 5 – Paisa 7. In all, a total of 7 Kathas and 7 Decimals of land were acquired for the aforementioned expansion.



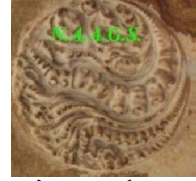
Teignmouth Sandys, Collector in the East India Company, was besieged in his house, Bhagalpur, during the Indian Mutiny for which he was awarded a medal. He was a recipient of Jubilee Medal of Queen Victoria. (Painting by British School; courtesy: Royal Institution of Cornwall).



Henry Lucius Dampier – sitting at the extreme right

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LIFE AROUND THE LOST RIVER “GHAGRA (SARASVATI)” IN CHOLISTAN REGION IN PRE-HARAPPAN AGE: A READING OF MUSTANSAR HUSSAIN TARAR NOVEL “BAHAO (THE FLOW)”

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Abstract:

The paper aims to revisit the story of fall of Indus-Sarasvati Civilization narrated on basis of Archaeological discoveries and explorations in Cholistan (Rohi) desert of Pakistan by Mustansar Husain Tarar in his creative expression, i.e. the Novel Bahao (the Flow). Bahao is narration of life in proximity of a river (Ghagra/Sarasvati) that is in process of vanishing in pre historic time. Mustansar accounted the phenomenon of rupture and change in face of inevitable environmental changes beyond human agency and responsive changes in life patterns; as well as the inception of many modern day binaries of domination like race, gender and class as result of process of urbanization, imperialism; and transformation of an equalitarian civilization into one based on oppression and exploitation. Creatively employing the archaeological evidences and explorations, the novel itself can be accounted as an original contribution in the field of Riverine, and Feminist Archaeology of World oldest river bank civilization “Sapta Sindhu”, (the valley of

seven Rivers). The unique feature of novel is creation of most empowered female character of Urdu literature, the Paroushni (named after Reg Vedic name of River Ravi), responsible for continuity of tradition and civilization in an abandoned land, hence providing an alternative to present day patriarchal gender roles.

(Key Words: Bahao (the Flow), Sarasvati, Ghagra, Sindhu, Sapta Sindhu, the Reg Veda, Archaeology, Migration, Aryan, Paroshni)

Introduction

Rohi (Cholistan) is a sprawling desert, 26300 Sq K.M in length, with a population density of 9 per K.M of Sand. The wilderness adjoins the Thar Desert in Sind and Rajasthan in India. (Kohari, 2015) The people lead a semi nomadic life roaming in search of water and fodder. They not only search the base necessities of life but also rummage around for a river that is “Lost” in desert variously named as Hakra / Ghagra, or Reg Vedic River Sarasvati (one of seven streams of “Sapta Sindhu” mentioned in the Holy Book). The oral history of people who left the place and settled to other lands and very few who still inhabits the area is iteration of a belief that one day the River will come back bringing life to their communes again on the banks of abandoned river. Local oral history establishes the fact that it was once a settled, fertile land. The paper attempts to revisit the life patterns in the eclipsed civilization that originated, matured and later declined in the region of Seven Rivers (Sapta Sindhu) especially the valley of Sarasvati or Ghagra, by using the techniques of content analysis and double reading. The Novel Bahao (The Flow) (Tarar, 1997), is the base reading to identify the discourses that shaped life in a civilization categorized as Pre Harrapean by the Archaeologists. The study is divided in two main parts. First part will focus on archaeological evidences about the Lost River Sarasvati/Ghagra-Hakra and civilization that originated and matured in Cholistan region. Second part will be based on the reading of Novel Bahao (the flow), who’s characters bring to life the archaeological exploration as a lived phenomenon

The Lost River: Myth or Reality

The Hakra is the dried out torrent of river near Fort Abbas a border city of Pakistan, an extension of Ghagra River of India. Some historians (Kohari, 2015) are of the view that it was a seasonal river carrying the water of Sutlej and Ghagra during Bronze Age. While others are of the view that both Ghagra and Hakra might be the dysfunctional remains of River named Sarasvati in Reg Veda. The Archeologist Gregory Possehl (Possehl, 2002, pp. 8-9) believes that River Sarasvati hymned in Reg Veda is a real Himalayan river, whose course was diverted due to seismic events, leaving only a seasonal stream, the Ghager-Hakra on the original river bed. He is of the view that “there is a river in great Indian desert that is mostly dry. Today it is generally called Ghagra in India and Hakra in

Pakistan. In ancient times it was called Sarasvati and appears in Reg Veda on many places”. According to Pakistani historian, Mukhtar Ahmad, Vedic Sarasvati is a flat, shallow and braid like river. Its upper segment is called Ghagra and lower one is named Hakra. It is an occasional river. (Ahmad, 2014)

Sarasvati flowed between the Yamuna in the East and Sutlej in the West run 300 K.M parallel to East of River Sind the Great. (Kalyanaram, 2008) It was the constituent part of the milieu created by seven rivers, i.e. Sind, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi (Paroushni), Bias, Sutlej. “The Sarasvati that is the mother of great waters and seventh stream, its water comes with a splendid and loud noise, blaring.....” (Reg Veda quoted on (Tarar, 1997, p. 3))

The milieu was the earliest site of Aryan settlement and domination i.e. homeland of Aryans the Aryavarta or Bhartvarta in the valley of Punjab and valley of Sarasvati. (Danino, 2010) The valley of Sarasvati is considered to be the first where settled life started from small dwellings. All other regions borrowed the cultural traits of region. The ‘lost’ Sarasvati valley laid a new foundation for urban life. (Mani, 2012)

In 1930’s Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were discovered on the banks of River Sind and Ravi respectively, the dominant view was that the area was the cradle of Great Indus Valley Civilization. But later discoveries proved that over 80% of 2600 Archaeological sites were not on the bank of River Sind, but on the dried course of dried River Sarasvati. (Kalyanaram, 2008) The Discoveries in desert of India and Pakistan along the course of dried river in Baror, Kunal, Girwad, Kalibangan and Kot DG, provided for presence of a Pre-Harrapean and early Harrapean civilization in the valley of Holy Sarasvati. (Mani, 2012) The civilization of valley of Sind hence originated in Cholistan desert around 3500/3000 B.C. Ibn e Hanif refers the age as Hakra period. (Hanif, 1997, p. 21) According to Dr. Rafique Mughal Cholistan forms the core of Harrapean Civilization, where “changes from the early to mature Harrapean stage took place about 2500 B.C”. Shifts in settlement location took place due to major change in course of River Hakra. (Mughal, 1990, p. 12)

Mughal (1990, p. 11) discuss a combination of causes that led to the decline of mature Harrapean Age like depletion of “economic resources, increased population pressure or perhaps insecurity created by invading or intruding groups of people”. But the most important variable that caused the relocation and abandonment of settlement according to Mughal is “change in the river courses”, that affected the agricultural land and subsistence base. Mughal believes that first dated hydrographic changes in the region took place around 2500 B.C, coinciding with the major changes in course of river Hakra. (Mughal, 1990, pp. 11-12) The argument is corroborated by Kalyanaram (2008, p. 6) who believes that Indus

Sarasvati civilization flourished from 2500-1700 B.C in river valleys of Indus and Sarasvati. The drying up of the Sarasvati River led to migration of people.

Archaeological evidences about relocation of rivers and settlement as well as the remains present on the course of dried river bed can be subject to multiple explanations according to various approaches to Archaeology, i.e. Processual, Riverine and Feminist etc. A possible anthropological account of Indus Sarasvati civilization, its gendered and economic stratification, and relation of subsistence commune dwellings with outside is present in Bahao (the flow) (Tarar, 1997).

Life in the Valley of Ghagra/Sarasvati in the Bahaow (The Flow)

According to Gregory L Possehl (Possehl G. L., 1997), the process of change that led to eventual abandonment of the site began in the later part of 3rd Millennium B.C. The agony of leaving the settled land and life in face of uncertainty, when whole pattern of life from religious believes to material conditions of living were under rupture, is the subject matter of the novel Bahao (the flow). (Tarar, 1997)

The Human Characters of Bahaow (the Flow)

The story revolves around River (the life line of community) and Woman (signified as Paroushni) responsible for continuity of life. River abandons but Paroushni refuses to leave; Paroushni who lives in a nameless community on the bank of Ghagra/ Sarasvati herself is “Basti” (the settlement). Paroushni is a unique character with no parallel in Urdu literature. A woman aware of her feminine power yet very different from modern day standards of femininity and womanhood, ‘a women having the specific feature of her race, light blackish skin tone, curled brown hair, bow shape eyebrows, broad but straight lofty nose, broader jaw like a hungry animal, and height so long that in first sight she is invisible in harvest and vegetation, intense lips,’ (Bahao (The Flow), p. 20), ‘Paroushni was the daughter of Ghagra, brought up by Mati’ (Bahao (The Flow), p. 25) a sovereign member of commune, in love with two males of commune i.e. Warchan and Sumro, not sure about the extent of love she feel for any of the two, “Warchan? Or Sumro? Warchan or Sumro, Who?” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 12), “Sumro...He was Warchan too....and Warchan was Sumro....and she arouse on both names” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 36)

Warchan, the vagrant who leaves the settlement off and on for unknown lands, ‘coming back to settlement, he used to remain silent for days...and one day breaking silence to Paroushni say “Look Paroushni, there is breathe in forests, animals and water like us and they too have life...but they don’t have the free will to move, then WE who can move we should not sit static on a place...we should move and gaze,...there is so much to see, and I want to see beyond my settlement” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 50)

Sumro, the Smith who creates seals, ornaments from stone and agricultural devices “holding the countless breathes I engrave these black figures with help of

needle, fire and water. Whose figures these are that I engrave on stone, clay and gold & silver as well in form of beads, and square seals, but these figures are present in this dwelling since I AM. Since the time when my seed grew on this land....But who was the first...Who brought it here...Who taught him these figure and the Art...Nanko? WHO?...Who will create these figure when I will be cold and my breathe will cross the river” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 26)

Chaiwa, the shepherd lives near forest outside the dwelling and look after the common flock of community. Gagri, the Huntress, wife of Chaiwa. Dhurwa the care taker of Holy Bulls without humps, named as Zaibo bulls, the bulls for worship, not used for physical labor in fields. Mati, the Mother, of three young triplet sons, all named Jhourias, and foster mother of Paroushni. Pakli, the village Potter, owns a kiln to cook pots for everyday village usage. Pakli decorates the pots with floral patterns.

The characters are living the agony of end days where everything is about to extinct. They were considerate about the signs like gradual decrease in water levels of in pitchers, wells, and their life line the River Ghagra. Increase in temperature and drying of lakes made by the floods of Sarasvati as well as deforestation.

Milieu of Bahao (the Flow), the commune with its Natural and constructed Givens

In view of Dr. S. Kalyanaram, Sarasvati means “abundance of lakes” (Kalyanaram, 2008, p. 10), Hence a lake in process of drying is the part of milieu of Bahao (the Flow), where migratory birds comes, ‘in the woods, there was a plane of about five to six hundred yards, the water was of trunk level of trees....but now it was limited to hundred to one hundred and fifty yards and Its depth was so that grubby bed of lake was visible”. Now when the floods are less and lesser, that’s the reason that lake instead of filling was drying and squeezing. Ever year there comes a circle round water. There were countless rounds stretched across the forests beyond it”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 9) Two ends of their whole milieu were lake and river at the distance of ten Kos. In between these two milestones were the forests, bog, fields and homes. Two Kos of forest, two of marshland then fields by the start of river, with scarce wild vegetation, mounds, and hillocks of sand and stone. On the left side was their commune. There was forest rich of trees, but many of them were dried by now, but no one touched them because it was their belief that Yakshana and Yakshani lives inside. Forest was the home and domain of Peacock named Pandro by the author. At the end of forests there were marshland that inhaled man and livestock. But there were solid ways on bog that all converted into quagmire with coming of floods. Crossing the bog comes the commonly owned fields where they used to sow the seed of peas, wheat, barley and oats. On corner of field they grew vegetables. To some distance from commune lived Chaiwa with the commonly owned flock of sheep used in marriage feasts. Then

there comes the furnace of Pakli who back the clay pots for everyday household usage, and then decorated it with floral patterns. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 9-15)

The whole life revolved around the waters of Ghagra and its seasonal floods, the Big Waters. Ghagra spoke to its dwellers with signs. Before coming of floods there were foam and the mountain vegetation on the surface of river waters. The river was not so deep but it was so broad that next bank was on skyline. Next bank was considered to be the settlement of deceased souls. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 21)

Whenever the big waters were late, a ritual was performed to please the “Maha Maiya”, The Great Mother (Earth). A couple entered in intercourse in fields beneath the open sky in front of Statue of “Maha Maiya”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 13) There were other religious rituals like owing mustard oil and yellow flowers to “Ling”, but people perform these rituals in isolation. The people not only talked to each other but also to trees and animals because they were also breathers like man folk. The fields were commonly owned and homes were in personal ownership of women. There were light weight barges, present on river banks used for fishing. But fishing was not an appropriate practice as people disliked flesh eating. Every member of commune was responsible for a work for community. There was no furnace to melt copper. Pottery for the deceased was made of clay.

It was a fertile habitat, although people were aware that sand is engulfing the fields in other communes and there are no forests nearby other communes, so they were proud of their wood that was the home of many unique animals along with buffalo and deer. But these animals remained away from human settlements because there were marshes between them and humans. Houses were made of mud, but some like Paroushni mixed pieces of baked pots in mud to make solid walls for protection against rain. Paroushni was responsible for water supply to commune homes. Every morning she fetched water from the well in her home and filled the pitchers of other homes. There were not so many homes but countable on fingers. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 32-33)

It was a nameless “Basti” (settlement). “Why our “Basti” has no name?... Paroushni asks Sumro. When there lives the people of different types, some indigenous, some aliens and where there is no peace, then people name their communes. When People themselves are not “Basti”, they name it. We ourselves are “Basti”, wherever we will live, it will be “Basti”, then what is the need to name it.”

Larger milieu of Bahao, the Sapta Sindhu (Valley of Seven Rivers)

The author uses the references from Reg Veda to describe the seven rivers of Sapta Sindhu i.e. “you are a warrior king, who has this army, when you come forward with your rivers. Ordain your shadow on this land O Ganga, Mouna, Shutudri, Paroushni and Sarasvati. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 78)

The Parochial people connected to their land were part of a greater civilization, i.e. The Sapta Sindhu, the valley of Seven Rivers. As they were part of Indus Sarasvati civilization, there were familiar with Hari- Youpia, Mohenjo-Daro, and their rivers as all the settlements of the day were along the banks of the seven rivers. The source of their information about the outside world either travelers or Warchan who himself was the traveler of unknown lands. Paroushni asks Sumro about the voyage of Warchan. He responds that “Distance is great. First he will go along the course of Ghagra to the point of its union with River Shutudry. Then he will cross the Shutudri River and on the other bank he will move towards Sind and Mohenjo-Daro. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 28) As the Basti was present in urban phase of development of Indus Valley civilization, Paroushni asks about the phenomenon of urbanization and growth. She Asks Sumro, “how some Bastis grow big”. Sumro replies, “We the dwellers of small habitats make them grow larger....We made it on the bank of Ghagra and they replicated it in bigger way. These cubicle seals..., they did not know the art. People from settlements of Ghagra went there and taught them the Art. These pots, the craft of agriculture, we taught them the whole ways of life. The seed originated here but grew there. But they are not like us. In Sindh come ships from far off lands where sun goes to set. The people of Mohenjo consume such things we even do not know”. Paroushni being rooted in her milieu agonized. “My body needs only that what is present in my waters, fields and forest. I don’t want to know anything else, because knowing the other will disrupt my roots” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 29)

Both the larger and smaller milieus of story were dependent on rains and water coming from Himalayas.

Human Relations in Bahaow

Bahao is the story of human relations in a pre historic time and we can see the inception of present day binaries of oppression and domination.

Gender Relations

Society of Bahao, to much extent is a matriarchal society providing a depiction of a possible alternative to patriarchy. Women were supposed to be superior to man folk as “Mana has blessed women with more power and reason. Maha Maya is woman too.... Male is there for menial work, just to sow”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 17)

As the home belonged to woman, she was the one to decide with whom she will live and till when. Polyandry was not norm but admissible. The Paroushni decides to marry Warchan then decides to live with both, Warchan and Sumro, “she wept for countless nights, shed much water for her helplessness...she was helpless...she cannot decide in one’s favor and then she sorted calm in both”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 132)

Bahao repudiates the historical construct of hunter gatherer gender division. Gagri the wife of Chaiwa used to hunt Dabchiks and seasonal birds with a heavy baton, while Chaiwa cares the flock. She and Paroushni goes along with Mati triplets Jhorias for Wild Bull hunting, a practice common in primitive communities across the globe. The event becomes the instance of first without consent forced relations with female, when three males going to hunt the bull hunts Paroushni to sooth their untamed urge for women. Here also comes the first silence about such abuse on part of women being in fear to be misunderstood by her beloved Warchan. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 99-105)

Master Slave Relation

Dourga is the character of Bahao that is the signifier of master slave binary of oppression and marginalization. The character narrates how the phenomenon of slavery excludes people from the entitlements of common life. Dourga mourns his childhood “when kids of Mohenjo were playing with toy carts, monkeys and squirrels, I baked them on fire, but I only baked the toys they played with...I was a kid too but my work was to bake the toys and their work was to play with them...I was the worker (Kama) and they were the players”. (Tarar, 1997, p. 124)

Dourga elopes from the brick kiln of Mohenjo-Daro with no information about the outside world takes a boat that is going to cross the Sindhu and started following Warchan. “It was the first waters he was gazing and first boat that was carrying him beyond”. “When Dourga took his first breath, yet wet... his mother dried him in front of furnace, in which bricks made of from Sindh’s bank peaty mud, were cooked into red and solid bricks more solid than stone. The bricks were made by Dourga’s Maia, Bawa and siblings..... the first brick of Mohenjo thousand years earlier was made by Dourga and all those bricks since then were made by him...he made them but never knew what kind of figures emerge when these bricks are fixed on each other, in form of homes and street, and a whole settlement”. “Thousand years earlier master promised first Dourga, the work, home and food. That elder Dourga, distressed from the uncertainty of yield, famished and starved left his field along with his family and entered the four walls of kiln, since then he was there and he was the first in thousand years who came out”.

The life in kiln was strange. Master provided them food and shelter. The young and old remained busy in work since dawn to dusk. The food was enough to sustain breathe only...Like every human, Dourga too had relatives but who was who of whom? They never knew. They all were inside the kiln and bonded to each other.... They loaded for thousand years and turned bent. They all were bent, living under the master, who repeatedly told them you ate for so many days and wear the clothes provided by me even when there was no work and rain, so you have to work for another two months... this equation never leveled and each

newborn born with the load of debt that never leveled. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 72-76)

Coming to Warchan commune, the Dourga lives human life with relations for the first time, and becomes the second husband of Pakli, (the potter) and helps her to burn furnace and make pots; makes his own furnace on the bank of Ghagra to make solid bricks unknown in commune, to build a room of his own on bank of Ghagra. (Tarar, 1997)

Coming of Aryans and Imperial Practices to subjugate the Land and People

Aryan immigration in the region is phenomena cannot be attributed to a single date. That is the reason behind Michel Danino, indigenous Aryan theory in response to Aryan invasion theory. (Danino, 2010) Although the commune present on pages of “Bahao”, was an island on time, with no foreign influence, a settlement never invaded by the Aryans, the characters like Warchan were fearful of Aryans, their animal, Uswa (the horse), their black metal that cut the skulls and most significant their practices in name of civilization to dominate the indigenous people in name of religion and renaming the natural givens like River and mountains of valley of Sapta Sindhu.

Warchan coming in contact with an indigenous Aryan of that age Puran, whose mother belonged to the land, expresses his anguish, fear and concerns about the race. The discourse between Warchan and Puran is symbolic, “how the land and people were enslaved by the outside. Warchan says “The animal, whome we name “Uswa”, has long hairy neck, and its back shivers all the time , runs faster than our imagination,...if it would not be here, you would not be here too, ...”WE”, who are your Das (slaves), we are AA-Na-Sa (nose less) according to you, hence we have lesser reason and rationality.....I am AA-Na-Sa, my whole race is AA-Na-Sa. Our nose is like our land, plain and equal and yours like the place from where you come, lofty and cold...there’s no shame in being an AA-Na-Sa. Puran responds, “you know, why “WE” are here....because you were lazy...your reason was as bad as your appearance. You were Unreasonable (“Boden”), you worked less on the land and slept a lot. You were non believers of deities, who never gratified...WE brought the black metal harder than your copper and horse carts and the most important, “our Deities”. Warchan response is the representative of anguish of weak and helpless, “Everything was present here, you just gave it new name and owned it, OUR Deities, OUR Language “Murdharoch”, and OUR rivers and Streams, YOU did not brought them with you, but YOU named these too and own it. Puran, if I am lazy, and of lesser appearance, then is it a justification, that someone active and elegant must take my field by force”. “Sarasvat”, Puran says, NO Ghagra, The Warchan responds. “In Reg Veda it is stated like this”, Puran acclaims. “It was before Reg Veda and was Ghagra, and is Ghagra...treat it like a River, Do not make it Devi and aloof it” Warchan resists on renaming of Ghagra.

(Bahao (The Flow), pp. 56-61) “Water of Ghagra gives us life, they cover our seed with soil, we live in it...if it is a Devi worth worship, we are the same”. “I know my land much more than what is written in veds...It is not the same as it was. Its waters donot have the force to reach the lake beyond forest”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 67)

Environmental Concerns, Fear of End and Strive to Conserve

The agony of last days and to conserve in face of inevitable is manifest in the commune from the start of eclipse and conscious about the cost of urbanization taking place in the valley of seven rivers. Warchan asks Puran why “there is not a single tree in whole Mohenjo, is it not startling” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 67)

As already discussed they were the people living in close liaison with their environment, interacted with the natural given of their milieu. They were mindful of signs like increasing temperature, low rainfalls, drying of water in pitchers during night, and of course the ever increasing shallowness of their river and force of its big waters, that were initially so furious that they have to make protective walls before the force to protect homes of commune, and at the end there were no flood to water their fields. But they willing suspend to believe what was obvious and do the last efforts to please Ghagra. They start giving it the dearest of their belongings, even someone throws his kid in Ghagra as the greatest of sacrifice. They hymn “yes the most beautiful of all streams, of seven sisters....Sarasvati....save us from hate and accept our friendship and submissions....do not aloof us...do not send us to far off homelands. (Tarar, 1997, p. 200)

When river do not overflow they preserved the seed for coming year, but for how many years. Unconsciously they know that it will not last. They are living the end days but like all human they want to conserve. The archaeologists have found the pieces of patterned decorated pitchers on the course of Ghagra and Tarar creatively employed this archaeological finding in human urge to preserve and conserve. “When the people are about to leave the commune I, Pakli the potter bakes pitchers for Ghagra and decorate thee with patterns of leaf and vegetation with black color. “There will be no water in Ghagra...these pitchers will never be filled...but I decorated the pitchers with such plant patterns, that I made for the commune for whole life...then I decorated thee with such patterns I never made before...the patterns that even perplexed me...the patterns came out of my mind because they know that it will be dried...and the hand that sketch us will be never....there is a little water in Ghagra...it will dry too, only banks will remain...sand will come and wind too...my pitchers will fall and break... be buried in sand..more sand...then after many seasons, the pieces will come out from the dried course...and people will see...they will see the floral patterns...and ask whose

hand made it..When?...When there were commune, river and peacock in the forest...they will remember my hand”. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 246-250)

Phenomena of Rupture and Change in Beliefs and Life Pattern

Processual Archaeology accounts for the impact of environment and corresponding change in cultural practices in human societies. The whole pattern of life was under rupture leading to a change in norms in imaginary community of Bahao. “Their Whole life revolved around the seed, they lived for it...dig fields for seed, bury it in soil, then wait for water overflow, and when big waters come, effort to make it stay for longer so that they hatch the soil and reach till seed.. then sprouting of seed, the fodder for livestock...and vegetables that grew on the sides of field....they had nothing to talk about but the fields. A Peasant cannot speak about moon and stars. He is only concerned about his livestock and decrease in its milk...so they have nothing now to ponder. They were alienated from Ghagra. They were in deep sorrow that Ghagra did it with them”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 211)

In absence of yield from the land they gradually converted into a society dependent on yield of river, i.e. the fish that was in abundance in ever decreasing waters of Ghagra. After sometime when it ended they turned to collecting wild berries grown in forest on the brink of extinction as old trees were falling.

The most radical change in life style was their dissociation with things associated to be with belief and considered sacred previously. It starts with objecting the role of priest and deity in granting the Prays and provisions, “you and your deity get food, and donation, this is all for you, what will you tell about...useless, what will you tell”. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 198) When Dhurwa, the caretaker of Sacred hornless bulls, condemn the behavior of community, that they do not provide the proper silage for the worship bulls; Paroushni’s reply is one that of a non believer; “Not Animals but Humans are sacred who feed thee....., let them die”. Worst comes when some people from community instead of paying homage to starved sacred animals, start eating them. (Bahao (The Flow), pp. 216-220) Dhurwa the caretaker also witness the pieces of deity, people used to worship. (Bahao (The Flow), p. 236) Famine as well as despair causes a society to change the belief patterns.

They wait for a number of years for waters from sky and river overflow despite hunger, as they love their land but migration becomes compulsion with the death of first child of community.

Hope and Continuity

Hope never dies and so is life. When rest leaves even the dearest of Paroushni’s relation her first love, the Warchan, She refuses to surrender saying that “I have half handful of wheat” (Bahao (The Flow), p. 242) Sumro who always remained a second priority for her in presence of Warchan become the one and only standing

by her in face of death. Both of them become the Adam & Eve for their abandoned community devoid of life with the hope of a new beginning. Paroshni grinds the half of the half fist of wheat grains she have with sounds coming from her throat and only voice there is the voice of that women who refuse to leave, “The sound of grinding of wheat goes up and up beyond Paroushni’s courtyard and spread across,..., over the abandoned homes, the streets full of sand, and dried woods and skeleton of peacock....and where there was once a river, and now remains just high, dried banks,....” (Tarar, 1997, p. 269)

Conclusion

The paper is an attempt to revisit life experiences presented in Mustansar Hussain Tarar Novel Bahaow, “The Flow”. Mustansar recreated life on basis of Archaeological discoveries by archaeologists like Dr. Rafique Mughal and Mirza Ibn e Hanif around the course of Lost River Ghagra that is presumed to be the Reg Vedic River Sarasvati, in Cholistan region of Pakistan. Novel itself is a contribution in Feminist Archaeology and Riverine Archaeology of World oldest Riverbank civilization i.e. ‘Sapta Sindhu’ (The valley of seven Rivers). Mustansar created a small milieu around the River Ghagra (Sarasvati) with all the possible natural and artificial givens in a small nameless equalitarian community and also the large milieu of valley of Seven Rivers (Sapta Sindhu), taking account of changes like increase in temperature a byproduct of industrialization, lack of Monsoon, the gradual warming, phenomenon like drying or change of river courses, deforestation and related changes in course of life. While taking account of compelling reason that induced the indigenous people to leave the land, the author also accounted the impacts of Aryan migration to the land and the imperial practices of naming and renaming the nature and people. The novel is a paradigmatic work to conceive a women centered society. The character of Paroushni (named after the Reg Vedic name of River Ravi), the woman around whom life in Bahaow (the Flow) revolves is a different self, that is in many ways is the product of discourses of that particular age. The novel is also a paradigmatic shift in the historiography of Pakistan also, where dominant trend is to trace the point of origin of people’s history from the year 712 (the Arab invasion of Sind) or 1947 (the creation of Pakistan). Mustansar takes a shift and by taking solace in the *civilizational* past of the region and consider his origin to the moment of creation of seven rivers.

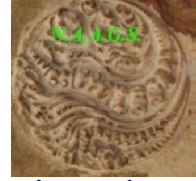
The paper aims to corroborate the archaeological findings of Cholistan region and life lived by the characters of “Bahao” living in proximity of mythic lost river Ghagra at the moment of drastic changes in their milieu centered round a river that is about to leave its course and abandon the people whose very existence is dependent on it. It is the story of fear and vulnerability in front of dominant nature and a shift in beliefs and pattern of life. The story is also the story of omnipresent

phenomenon of oppression and resistance in human dispensations. It is also the story of imperial practices of intimate aliens (Aryans) who (re) named the places, deities and people of the land where they migrated and subjugated the indigenous people in name of civilization.

In all, reading *Bahao* (the flow) is an experience of reliving in a prehistoric time, in a commune, that is more human and civilized than a modern state, an island on time with no binary of oppression and exploitation. It is the story of hope to live, preserve and reincarnate in face of inevitable death.

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Deceived and Belied: Scuffled Life of Tamil Diaspora

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Introduction

The British colonizers had established sugarcane, coffee, tea and rubber plantations in the islands of Europe and Asia. The non-availability of the local labourers for doing the manual labourers in the plantations led them to approach the British Indian government for availing cheap labour force. Initially the Colonial Government of India accepted their demand craftily and then lawfully.

Indentured emigration of Indian labourers into Ceylon had initiated first, then to Mauritius and Bourbon kicked off it from 1819. But according to Geoghegan, when a French merchant, by name Joseph Argand, carried some 130 artisans to Bourbon in 1830, a real beginning was made. The experiment of the indentured system in Mauritius had provided actual stimulus to the introduction of Indian labourers in British Guiana. In 1836, John Gladsstone, was the first planter had imported Indian indentured labourers into his plantation. Assam had set off to employing labourers under indentured system from 1850s and then the emigration of Indians into Fiji commenced in 1879.

Till 1863 the colonial government did not effectively interfere in the activities of the white planters and their labour practices in the respective plantations. But unfair labour policy pursued by them led to the interference of the government. The Emigration Act XIII of 1864 had repealed all the previous Acts and legalised Indian indentured labour evacuation to Mauritius, Seychelles, Natal,

Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Kitts and the Dutch island of St. Croiz.

Deceivably with the collusion of the colonial administrators, the white and Indian middlemen, recruited thousands of the ignorant Indians from the villages to work on the unknown plantations of the Europe. While recruiting the labourers very freely the middlemen had used fallacious accounts on working conditions, salary, time of travel and about the distance of island. Predominantly the egocentric middlemen had done it for amass wealth and in all sense such persons were lacked individual morality, and perilously involved the life of the emigrants in risk.

By believing the words of the European planters the illiterate labourers enter into a written contract for availing more salaries, expecting to live a decent life and saving more money from their work. While settling on the plantations the workers realized that once again who were belied. When the emigrant labourers felt the onslaught of British imperialism in the plantations and which had come to light, then political movement against of the system of Indentured labour recruitment into crown colonies had initiated in India have endeavoured to comprehend in the subject of the paper.

I

Maximum Profits: Plundered Life of Indians

Even before 1757, when the British had no territorial control over India to promote their own economic interests, the English East India Company was interested in making money at the cost of Indian labour. It wanted a monopoly of the trade with India. The East Indian Company had to wage prolonged wars to achieve their aim and for this purpose they had to maintain a powerful navy, since the trading areas were far away. The Company required large amounts of money for the purpose. Neither the British Government nor the East India Company possessed such large financial resources. Therefore, at least a part of money had to be raised in India. The Company did this through local taxation. About this time Industrial Revolution in England had begun to enter its most vigorous phase of development. To develop it more and more, the British needed immense capital for investment in industries, trade and agriculture.¹

The political condition prevailing in India turned out to be favourable to the British to accomplish their objective through treachery and conspiracy of the East India Company officials. After the monopolistic control over Indian trade Indian merchants were gradually crushed out. The weavers and other craftsmen were

End Notes

¹ Bipan Chandra, Amal Tripathi and Barun De, *Freedom Struggle* (New Delhi: National Book trust, 2004), pp.3-5.

compelled either to sell their products at uneconomic rate or to hire themselves out to the Company at low wages.²

The gradual improvement of the means of transport by the government made it possible for the manufactured cloth and other necessary articles of Europe reaching the village market. The commercialization of village agriculture together with the decay of village industries seriously affected the balanced village economy.³ Lord Brentford in his speech to Parliament reflected the colonial policy vividly:

We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know that it is said at missionary meetings that we have conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we shall hold it.

I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say that we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general, and for Lancashire goods in particular.⁴

The destruction of Indian handicrafts had far reaching economic consequences. It led to unemployment on a vast scale.⁵ The Collector of Madurai believed that 'very many families of the 5,000 weavers in Madurai town alone have not means to take more than one meal of rice a day.'⁶ In 1840, Britain supplied 42 percent of Madras's manufactured imports. Thanjavur's textile exports were ruined, as were the exports of steel and other manufactures from other regions of Madras. To pay for its imports, Madras gradually exported more raw materials, in the early decades, chiefly cotton, indigo, pepper and tobacco.⁷

The earliest emigration from South India in the British period was the Tamil exodus to the Strait settlements. This was before the beginning of the nineteenth century; these emigrants were employed abroad as domestic servants and

² Ibid., pp.6-8.

³ A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1991), p. 45.

⁴ S. Stanley, "Problems of Colonial India," www.marxists.org/history/eto/writers/judd/1938/04/india.htm, p. 2.

⁵ Datt and Sundharam, *Indian Economy* (New Delhi: S.Chand & Company, 1991), p. 19.

⁶ Sarada Raju, *Economic Condition in the Madras Presidency 1800-1850* (Madras: University of Madras, 1941), pp.180-182.

⁷ Kathleen Gough, *Rural Society in Southeast India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 118-119.

agricultural workers. As systematic emigration to Malaya and Straits Settlements for work on the plantation started about 1833, depot for recruiting indentured labour was set up by the Government of the Straits Settlement at Nagapatanam. Similarly the development of coffee plantations in Ceylon enhanced the sustained demand for labour.⁸

It was probable that from the date of European colonization the island of Ceylon attracted labour from the south of India. The emigration was on a large scale than that Burma or Straits. Labour that was required on the coffee estates in the islands was supplied from southern India.⁹

In Thanjavur the southwest of the district, where the paddy crops were traditionally poor, fared especially bad during 1845-54, when revenue charges were forcibly collected. In 1854, Forbes, the Collector, reported that the able-bodied had fled to Mauritius or Ceylon while the aged and young were being fed at public expense.¹⁰ In the hundred years from 1830 to 1930, Thanjavur was one of the main districts supplying labour to the plantations of South India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Mauritius and the West Indies.

Because these labourers were paid only small pocket money in addition to their sustenance and because the money from Thanjavur's grain exports was used mainly to pay the revenue, Thanjavur was in effect raising labourers free of charge for plantations and by its exports, feeding them for little or no return.¹¹ The rural commune was thus gradually broken up and tenants and village servants became contractual labourers who could be evicted.¹² In addition to its paddy, Thanjavur exported perhaps a million people in the last century of British rule. Most went as indentured labourers to the plantations of Ceylon and Malaya. Smaller numbers went by land to plantations in the Western Ghats and Assam.¹³ Most of the indentured labourers to Fiji in later years were from northern India.

II

The Deceived: Destined to Outlandish Colonies

After enacting the Act No.12 of 1837, The Governor of India sent instructions to persons applying for permission to import labour. These included (a) the selection of real agricultural labourers; (b) the recruitment of a suitable proportion of women (c) careful medical inspection; (d) the limitation of advances

⁸ Dharmakumar, *Land and Caste in South India: Agricultural Labour in the Madras Presidency during the Nineteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 131.

⁹ C.D. Maclean, *Manual of the Madras Presidency* (Madras: The Government Press, 1885), pp. 502-503.

¹⁰ Kathleen Gough, *Rural Society in Southeast India*, p. 120.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

of wages; and (e) careful measures for the supply of rice. The second circular addressed to employers dealt with the exact performance of contracts in regard to food, clothing, punctual payment of wages, observance of hours of labour and other points.¹⁴

Consequently the planters of Europe focused insatiably to the millions of Indians, who they assumed could be persuaded to toil in the sugarcane-fields for a paltry amount not better than which one provided to the slaves. Officials from India began to review the situation which might arise. On 29th July 1839, Thomy Hugon of the Bengal Imperial service visited Mauritius and sent back a report from Port Louis. He had assessed Indian indentured labourers life in Mauritius in the report that: “It is no severe reproach to the man who has possessed slaves to say that he has despotic habits which he has to change entirely when he comes in control of free men.”¹⁵

Writing in 1839, the Young Hugon believed that the planters could be induced to rid their attitudes of the obsessions of slavery. But in 1857, after years spent as Protector of Immigrants (a post which replaced that of Protector of Slaves) an older Hugon disclosed that: “The policy of the planters was then as since to weed out... all that tended to give the Indian greater freedom of action.” He realised that the Mauritius planters would never abandon the attitudes of slavery. Hugh Tinker adds that because Indians did not always have that right of free persons to pay a monetary equivalent towards honourable discharge of the agreement, Indian indentured was in that respect, worse than the fate of the slaves in the period 1833-38 who were able to buy out part of their apprenticeships.¹⁶

Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Mauritius, told Lord John Russell that ‘people from India have been the outpouring of the lowest caste of the population of each presidency,¹⁷ who are deplorably disorderly and dissolute and thirty year later this was still the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel O’Brien, Inspector General of Police in Mauritius who told the Royal commission that, ‘No man emigrates who can do well at home... it may be assumed that with the poorer classes who came to work and from the honest population we get a large infusion of the criminal class.’¹⁸

When the final report of the Dickens committee, which appointed to enquire into abuses alleged to exist in the export of coolies from India, appeared in October

¹⁴ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, Calcutta, 1874, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶ Neil A. Sookdeo, *Freedom, Festivals and Caste in Trinidad After Slavery: A Society in Transition* (USA: Xlibris Corporation, 2000), p. 125.

¹⁷ *Report on the Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1842), pp. 3-6.

¹⁸ Quoted from Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 56; see also Victor Plarr, *Men and Women of the Time* (_____:_____, 1899), p. 811.

1840, the main report condemned the working of the indentured system in detail; both in the recruitment in India and on the sugar estates. Dickens and his allies insisted that permission to renew the traffic would weaken moral influence of the British Government throughout the world. They put forward recommendations for regulating the coolie trade. But Grant in his minute advocated regulations which were on much the same lines in order to make emigration flourish.¹⁹

But the reality was over shadowed everything else and the ruling class in crown colonies were confronted with the gravity of the shortage of labour.²⁰ In 1841, discussing the issue, *the East India*, a colonial magazine criticised the colonial office for its prejudiced support of Indian coolie emigration to the crown colonies in the following words: 'there exist in the coffers of Colonial Treasury a sum of no less than 9,00,000 dollars, destined to be spent on public works of the island, and that, for want of hands to undertake those works, the Government, through perfectly aware of their necessity, is utterly unable to carry them into execution.'²¹

The ban upon emigration was only removed in December 1842. In the following year the demand for labour in Mauritius, repressed by years of prohibition, again asserted itself and nearly 40,000 emigrants sailed. During this year 17,000 labourers sailed from each of the ports of Calcutta and Madras and the remainder from Bombay. The ratios of women were 13 to every 100 men.

The enormous extension of the sugar cultivation in the European islands led to so keen a competition for labourers among the planters, as to market it worth their while, not only to pay the cost of introducing immigrants, but, also to send out Indian recruiters to collect emigrants in India, each for his own employer. And these recruiters, instead of employing themselves honestly in the work of collection found it easier to lure into their employer's service, immigrants who had been collected by the Government or by other men's recruiters.²² The law then in

¹⁹ Number 295, *Accounts and Papers: Correspondence Between the Government of India*, 18 September 1838, vol. 19, 26th January - 22 June 1841, pp.170-172.

²⁰ *Report on the Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius*, p. 4.

²¹ Quoted from Lanka Sundaram, "The International Aspects of Indian Emigration," *Asiatic Review*, January 1931. p. 746.

²² Leone Levi, *Annals of British Legislation, Vol. III* (London: Smith Elder & Co, 1861), p. 171; Henry H. Breen, Administrator of the Mauritius Government wrote to Francis Hincks, the Governor in Chief, extracts: "...On the first point the Council said, that on the 8th September 185, the Legislature of Si. Lucia had passed a resolution, authorising the Emigration Agent in India to give a bonus to each adult coolie of five rupees by way of free gift, and an advance not exceeding ten rupees, to be repaid out of his wages. As the Council expressed their surprise that the Emigration Commissioners had not been made aware of that resolution, I informed them, that in a Despatch dated the 10th of the said month of September, No. 86, I had transmitted the resolution in question to your Excellency, and that I had subsequently received intimation that it

force required that every immigrant landing in Mauritius should be at liberty to choose his own employer. While, therefore, the coolies were on board the emigrant ships or at the depots at Calcutta or Port Louis, they were open to the influence of the rival *sirdars*.²³

The competition to secure the services of those immigrants on their arrival who had during the voyage been so entrapped by *sirdars*, rendered the Immigration Depot at those times a perfect bear-garden.²⁴ The competition was so keen as to have led the Protector to apply to the Government for the presence of an inspector and constables of police at the depot in order to prevent acts of violence being committed upon the immigrants by parties who conceived that they had a right to the service of the latter at rates below the market price, in virtue of the promises so made. The confusion was still further aggravated by the interference of crimps and middlemen, and by the corruption and dishonesty of the clerks in the Immigrant Office.²⁵

Conversely, the entire arrangement was again disgraced by qualms about the way in which ex-indentured labourers arriving home. The first outrage came to light by the voyage of two vessels 'Watkins' and 'Baboo.' Among which 'Watkins' of 236 tons of weight left Port Louis on 28 November 1843 and arrived in the Hughli after a sluggish voyage on 20 February 1844. A report was sent to Calcutta by telegraph of 'alarming mortality' on board and a steam-tug brought the ship to Calcutta. Of 149 embarked, 44 had died, the captain also being dead. Captain Roger witnessed a court of inquiry, where he mentioned that the " 'Watkins' had accommodation for only 86 passengers, though to carry 118 emigrants. That the ventilation was defective. The Indians complained of water shortage, though according to the chief mate they were put on short supplies. When the Mauritius authorities were asked about overcrowding, they replied that they did not consider themselves bound by the Order in Council as regards return passengers."²⁶ Then the 'Baboo' of 423 tons of weight arrived at Calcutta with 274 passengers (being licensed to carry 210) reporting that 'men had died on the

had been approved of by the Secretary of State. The Council said that that resolution had been adopted at the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government, and that they considered the bonus offered quite sufficient."

²³ The rules of allotting immigrants had laid down in the Ordinances No. 15 of 1854, No. 12 of 1855, and No. 22 of 1857.

²⁴ *Report on Treatment of Immigrants*, pp. 82-83; see also *Report on Accounts and Papers: West Indies and Mauritius (Immigration)*, Vol. XXI, 1859, pp. 293-294.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Reporon The Sessional Papers of the House of Lords: Fifth General Report on Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, vol. XXIII (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1845), pp. 15-17.

voyage, while the ‘Union’ taking 200 repatriates to Madras and Calcutta lost 13 from dysentery and typhus (fever).²⁷

However, the Kanganis system of labour recruitment ensured a regular supply of labourers from South India to Ceylon. Therefore, in the early years, inducement of emigration and the control was essentially in the hands of the individual European planters who encouraged the Indian labourers to move into the Ceylon plantations for work, with assistance of the Kanganies (whom they appointed for that purpose).²⁸ The Kanganies were paid a sum of Rs.5 to Rs.10 as a bonus for every labourer’s recruitment for the estate. Besides quite number of other estates paid certain amount of money in advance to the Kanganies for the recruitment of labourers in addition to the bonus.²⁹

In reality many of the Ceylon European planters engaged the persons in India as a recruiter who had no connection with their plantations. This led to the misrepresentation of immigrant labourers about the working place and the nature of work which caused for the fraudulent recruitment. This stimulated the labourers to desert from the estate and sometimes caused for their demise in the estate sooner or later.³⁰

In 1888, in Cachar thirteen complaints were made regarding fraudulent recruitment by immigrant labourers. In Sylhet, the Deputy Commissioner was reported that as some boys were kidnapped from Hazaribagh to the labour districts of Assam. They were sent back to their homes and the *sardar* was sentenced to three years’ rigorous imprisonment. In Lakhmipur, thirteen cases of fraudulent recruitment were brought to notice of the Deputy Commissioner, of which nine cases related to women who were abducted from their village. In the same year it was reported that two gangs of coolies on their way to gardens in Bengal were kidnapped and forcibly taken to Assam.³¹

The high profits of coolie recruiting lured a significant number of freelance Europeans and Indians. An example was John Henry Lawton, a dismissed soldier, who with his posse of armed peons (soldiers) set up the business of “coolie raiding.” Lawton posed as a government official with his group and ordered the

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ R. Jeyaraman, “Indian Emigration to Ceylon: Some Aspects of the Historical and Social Background of the Emigration”, *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 4, December 1967, pp. 326-327.

²⁹ *Marjoribanks and Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar, Report on Indian Labour Emigration To Ceylon and Malaya, Madras, 1917.*, p. 5

³⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

³¹ *Annual Report on Labour Immigration into Assam, 1888*, pp. 12-13.

coolies into specially constructed temporary depots from which they were taken to Assam. He was prosecuted for five such cases of coolie raiding in 1888 alone.³²

The fear of *arkatis*' recruiting caused panic in many recruiting districts. A Magistrate in Hazaribagh district noted in 1889 that: 'the fear of recruiting in this district is very great and it is not too much to call it a terror.' Similar reports of widespread fear of Assam recruiting were received from various parts of the recruiting districts.³³

A typical case of fraudulent recruitment was unearthed by Andrews and Pearson in the course of their inquiry in the Indian depot for Fiji. A Villager, named Fakhira, had his wife and daughter abducted from him by a recruiting agent, who offered to return them to him on the payment of a sum of a money. Fakhira had neither the money nor could he borrow it. He never saw his wife and daughter again. Nearly every labourers questioned in Fiji by Andrews and Pearson said he or she was away from home and when he or she was recruited. The Report of Andrews and Pearson described the situation graphically. 'In a very large number of cases the labourer's family members did not know anything about their recruitment. Many of them were ignorant village people, they were recruited when they had lost their relations in a crowded railway station or when they were on a pilgrimage or when they did not know the way and merely going from one village to another when the recruiting agent came along and tempted them to emigrate with false promises. After registration the recruits were escorted to Calcutta or Madras by the sub-agents or their assistants, by rail in ordinary third-class. It was noticeable among the women how many were recruited at the pilgrim centers. The common narrative was, that the recruiting agent came up, offering to take the women to her relations or to show her some sacred shrine and then took her to the depot.'³⁴

One of the examples which shows that the hardship of Indian immigrant indentured women life involved in the Fiji plantation, extract of the report of Andrews and Pearson had the following observation to make on how women were cheated by the recruiting agents: 'The Indian woman who comes out under indenture has a still more serious charge to make against the signed agreement. These women are simple, ignorant Indian villagers who have been used to field work. They are told in the agreement that they will have agricultural work to do in Fiji at the minimum wage of nine annas per day for a complete task. They naturally

³² Behal ,Rana P. and Mohapatra, Prabhu P. "Tea and Money Versus Human Life: The Rise and Fall of the Indenture System in the Assam Tea Plantations 1840-1908", The Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 19, 1992, p. 55.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Andrews, C.F. & W.W. Pearson's Report on an Independent Enquiry: Indentured Labour in Fiji (Madras: The Anti-Indentured League, 1917), pp. 8-9.

picture to themselves a state of labour in the field such as they have been used to in India. But when they get to their work in Fiji, they find that all is changed. Those who have seen the Indian women working in the fields in India with her little family playing near her, will realize the change when she is told to leave her family behind in the coolie “lines”. She is not told, also, in the agreement that she will be compelled, under penal clauses to work incessantly, day in, day out, with no time to cook her own husband’s meal or look after her own children. She is never told anything also of the condition of the coolie “lines” in which she will be compelled to live, without any privacy or even decency, for five years, with no possibility of change. All this is hidden from the village woman who enters into the indenture agreement in India. In these circumstances, as well as other, it cannot be called a fair contract. For it is made on behalf of one party, the Fiji Government, who is fully aware of the actual state of affairs as they exist in Fiji, with another, the ignorant coolie woman, who is imaging entirely different conditions.’³⁵

The recruitment of the required proportion of women was the biggest problem faced by the agents. Even in the best recruiting seasons it was hard to get women for recruitment. Commissions for women were larger. Yet there was no uniform physical standard, amongst women as a higher proportion of them were drawn from low castes. According to the emigration records about one-third of adult females accompanied husbands. At the same time there were also many depot marriages in order to satisfy the rules. The recruiter would ask some recruits to say that they were husband and wife. The husband’s consent was necessary before a married woman could be registered for recruitment. The rest so called single women were mostly widows, runaway or deserted wives and professional prostitutes.³⁶

III

Scuffled Life of the Belied: Movement Against Indentured System

The continuous complaints and reports regarding the alleged ill-treatment of Indian immigrant coolies in the plantations had made the indentured system in India as blip. In many respects the life of the indentured labourers in the plantations was the most severe. Gandhi made emigration the substance of his first big political campaign in India. He attacked indentured in his many journalistic writings. Gandhi began by recalling Gokhale’s efforts, and his 1912 resolution. “However much a benign and sympathetic viceroy wished to remove this abominable system of indenture from the Indian statutes book, there was a very serious difficulty in his way and that was the report by ... Messers Mac Neil and

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³⁶ K.L. Gillion, *Fiji’s Indian Migrants: A History to the End of Indenture in 1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 55-57.

chimmamlal.”³⁷ Gandhi said that their report exposed all kind of abuses yet recommended in continuation of indenture. “Never could an indentured Indian rise to a higher post than that of a labourer. And... when he returned a broken vessel...”³⁸

The findings of the enquiry held by two Christian gentlemen, C.F. Andrews and W.W. Pearson helped to set the ball rolling. *The Hindu* while appreciating the independent enquiry held by C.F. Andrews and W.W. Pearson, and the results of their labour of love, a report fittingly dedicated to the memory of the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, provided the frightful figures regarding suicide rate. Reckoning that one in every twenty thousand committed suicides in India, *The Hindu* pointed out that among the indentured Indians one in every 950 has committed suicide in a year. Taking the average for the past eight years, *The Hindu* consulted that suicide rate was 20 times as great as that of India.³⁹ Highlighting the incidence of suicide in Fiji, *The Desa Matha* observed that: ‘The rate of suicide among Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands is twenty times what is in India, and that of death sentences, eight times... Moreover, it is being established that in Fiji Islands a criminal only means an Indian; for ninety per cent of the crimes in the island are committed by Indian colliers. It is said that two respectable brothers had to deliberately kill their sister to save her from the hardship of indentured labour in the island, and preserved the honour and traditions of their family.’⁴⁰

Andhra Patrika specifically highlighted the plight of the women immigrants: ‘Villagers are sent out close packed in crowded steamers at the rate of one female for every three males. They have to live in miserable barracks which are very uncomfortable and dirty. They relax into immoral and improper sexual relations. There is another form of polygamy more honourable than this. The kind hearted land lords distribute a certain number of males to every female... these females are the selfsame Indian females who have been well known for their chastity from time immemorial, to whom devotion to one husband is the highest duty, and who have Sita and Savitri as their ideals from their Childhood.... Leaving their home, and in the midst of foreigners, men are becoming fallen wretches with nothing to divert them except gambling and adultery. Females become mere breeding soils.... An overseer that forcibly outraged a widow, who could not be bribed to forego her chastity, was mangled to pieces by nineteen persons who triumphantly admitted their act.... A young women duly married was abducted by a man who married her according to the law for civil marriages, which was honoured, while the Hindu

³⁷ Hugh Tinker, Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 341.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

³⁹ *The Hindu, Report on Native News Paper*, March 20, 1916, PP. 503-504.

⁴⁰ *Desa Matha, Report on Native News Papers*, February 7, 1917, Vol. 2, pp. 399-400.

Marriage Act did not. Her two brothers shot her and cheerfully proceeded to the gallows expressing their satisfaction for having preserved the traditions of their family.’⁴¹

The New India for its part blasted: ‘Men and women alike sink to the most hopeless degradation; self respect lost, every bond of social life destroyed, far away from home in alien surroundings, with no amusements save gambling and women, the men go to pieces, the women become mere ‘females’. They became a criminal population, desperate, hopeless, helpless, and degraded beyond all words.’⁴²

The Wednesday Review observed that while pointing out that agitation was a genuine as it was widespread the agitation against the indentured system in the colonies was not engineered by professional agitators but called out by responsible Indians who did not care to embarrass the Government in any matter. The agitation was as genuine as it was widespread. *The Wednesday Review* was scathing in its remarks: ‘It is sheer mockery to speak of Imperial federation with a place for India in it while her sons and daughters are condemned to such shameful lives in the colonies, where Indians have a right to the privileges which the British flag connotes. We trust the Government of India will take note of the significance and the widespread character of the agitation against the indenture system and keep their plighted word for its total abolition... The remedy is two fold, one is the abolition of the system under which Indian labour is recruited for the colonies and the other is for the committees concerned to discourage emigration as far as possible. It is notorious that agricultural labourers are one hand allowed to be tempted away to distant parts of the Empire by the agents of labour commissions and on the other they are forced by low wages paid in their own country to leave however unwillingly to foreign countries to earn a living wage... Much more liberal terms have to be offered to the tenants to bind them to the soil which they have been cultivating for generations. What is known in America and in Europe as the profits sharing system may with necessary modifications be introduced to this country which will help in improving the lot of the agricultural labour and bring about more cordial relations between the landowner and the cultivating tenants. There is little use in the land owners complaining of the paucity of agricultural labour and wailing at emigration when they do practically nothing to improve the prospects of the labourers. We trust the leaders of the anti-indenture agitation will not fail to take note of this aspect of the question and educate the land owners in their responsibilities in the matter.’⁴³

⁴¹ *Andhra Patrika, Report on Native News Papers*, January 31, 1917, Vol. 2, p. 294.

⁴² *New India, Report on Native News Papers*, January 31, 1917, Vol. 2, p. 256.

⁴³ *The Wednesday Review, Report on Native News Papers*, February 7, 1917, Vol. 2, pp. 382-383.

Justice, an organ of the pro-British Non-Brahmin Movement in the Madras Presidency observed: ‘The indenture system of emigration has been condemned alike by the people and the Government of India.... Both the Secretary of State and the Government of India have fully recognized the stigma laid on the Indian race by the existence of the indentured system. It is revolting to the Indian national sentiment. To wipe off that stigma and to restore the self-respect of Indian labourers as free British subjects, were; we take it, the main objects which Lord Hardinge had in view in proposing the abolition of the indentured system. You cannot play with such national sentiment and with the self-respect of free British subjects by postponing the final decision on the subject for five years, as if it were the construction of a type-design building by the Public Works Department.... The situation is intolerable. If the Government of India will not stop indentured emigration and the recruiters, let us start a campaign for recruiting for Indian Defense Force and stop recruiting for colonial emigration.’⁴⁴

Conclusion

The Act V of 1837 was passed, with eleven classes and became law on the 1st May of that year. Nevertheless, the new system had only just began to work while the actual state of affairs of coolie emigrations abruptly turn into to be acquainted with to a wider audience and confrontation sprang forth in Britain and India. Thomas Fowell Buxton established the Aborigines Protection Society in 1837 in order to watch over peoples threatened by colonial or commercial dominance. In 1839 the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society was founded.⁴⁵ Consequently, the secretary for the colonies, Lord Glenelg ordered to prepare a legislation to regularise the “coolie traffic.”

In 1839, when this system was first legalised by ordinance, it was immediately suspended in consequence of an agitation in British Parliament.⁴⁶ At what time the phenomenal death toll of Indian emigrants in empire colonies touched almost 24.7 per cent and the mass return of approximately 60 per cent demonstrated their dissatisfaction. A general state of frustration and disillusionment among the indentured labourers arose partly from the gross ill-treatment of the immigrants by the plantation managements.

Organizations were founded to fight coolie emigration. These included the Indian Coolie Protection Society and the Anti-Indentured Emigration League of Bengal. The latter actually stopped coolies embarking, by obtaining warrants from

⁴⁴ *Justice, Report on Native News Papers*, February 27, 1917, Vol. 3, pp. 512-513.

End Notes

⁴⁵ Robert A. Hill (ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers: The Caribbean Diaspora, 1910-1920*, vol. XI (United States of America: Duke University Press, 2011), P. 96.

⁴⁶ Charles Bruce, *The Broad Stone of Empire: Problems of Crown Colony Administration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 353.

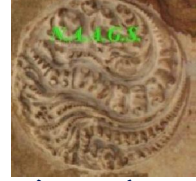
the Magistrates of the Twenty Four Parganas, near Calcutta. In the up-country districts, itinerant sages such as Swami Satyadev in Bihar were preaching opposition to indenture. A pamphlet campaign was launched in the districts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar from which the recruits for indenture came.

The Emigration Act of 1922 was finally passed by the Government of India in accordance with the principles enunciated by Lord Chelmsford in 1916. On this the *Swadesmitran* had the following to say: "In spite of this, the planters of the Malaya States and Ceylon consider the provisions of this Act to be rigorous and have gone on deputation to Simla. The news sent by these representatives to the papers in Ceylon makes us feel anxious. The Pioneer preaches a sermon to the Committee of the Legislative Council that, as there is room in the Malay States and Ceylon for five lakhs of people to find better wages than those obtaining in India, the Committee will do well not to interfere if the planters give the assurance that they will act with humanity. But his committee, as well as the Government, should see what actually takes place. The hardships suffered by Indians in foreign countries are really unbearable."⁴⁷

The Indian National Congress contrived scheme to close the mouths of those who were anxious to stop all emigration of Indian labour. The mover of the resolution, C. Rajagopalachariar knew that any proposal to prohibit emigration of Indian labourers would be very unpopular in his province from where large numbers of Indian workers immigrated every year for overseas where they could earn substantially more money than they could possibly earn in Madras and live under far better conditions. In order, therefore, that the prohibitionists should not capture the congress, C. Rajagopalachariar proposed that a committee be appointed to examine the problem in all its aspects and submit a report. The resolution was passed and the subject thus decently pigeonholed. *The Mail* congratulated Rajagoplachariar for bring the Congress to a reasonable course.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Extract from Report on English Vernacular News Papers, 1st September, 1922, Vol.41, p. 402.

⁴⁸ History of Freedom Movement Report on News Papers Articles, 2 January 1924, Vol. 54, p. 729.



BOLLYWOODISATION¹ OF INDIAN CINEMA: THE MANIPUR EXPERIENCE

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Introduction: Understanding Bollywood

In recent years the term Bollywood has gained much currency in India and even abroad. The Oxford Dictionary defines as the Indian popular film industry based in Bombay.¹ The term is a blend of Bombay and Hollywood. The New York Times language guru, William Safire, traces it to crime fiction writer H.R.F. Keating, who first used it in 1976. The term emerged in a playful column in *Screen* that was titled “Bollywood Beats”. It went global through the ethnic programming of Channel 4 in the UK.² This culturally disparaging term suggested that the Hindi film industry was a derivative of the American film industry- the third world clone of the more powerful, artistic and glamorous western counterpart. Understandably, the Hindi film industry has persistently objected to it. Amitabh Bachchan, considered as the greatest Bollywood superstar, prefers to call it as the Indian Film Industry. Even today, the man who coined the term to denote the Hindi film industry, has to defend it against the charges of demeaning the Indian film industry and only proves that Indians can only can define their most precious products by borrowing Western terms. Despite this, the term was picked up and popularized by the Indian film press. The coinage passed into popular usage.

¹ In 2001 the term Bollywood was included in the 5th edition of the Oxford English Dictionary

² Kamala Ganesh, “*The Phenomenon of Bollywood in Europe*”, *The Hindu*, October 9, 2010, p-15.

While Bollywood is a notional entity, Hollywood is different. Hollywood exists as a distinct Los Angeles district. It has an official border and a zip code. Hollywood has a chamber of commerce and an honorary mayor. And there is the famous wavy hillside sign in white letters which itself is a tourist attraction. Bollywood basically is synonymous to the Hindi film industry which is located in what used to be Bombay. Bombay becoming Mumbai³ has not changed the term to Mollywood. Over the years, Bollywood has become a brand. Like Yoga or the TajMahal, Bollywood represents not only the Hindi film industry but also represents “India” as a soft power like the United States. If Hollywood represents the homogenizing effects of American capitalism in global cultures, a study of Bollywood allows a unique contrasting move of globalization in popular culture. One fundamental difference between Hollywood and Bollywood is that the former tends to popularize and impose American culture in the world so much so that it is termed as “cultural imperialism” in contemporary discourse. Raminder Kaur and Ajay Sinha argue that Bollywood was introduced in those cultures as a fragmentary process. The circulation of India’s commercial cinema through the globe has led to the proliferation and spectacle begets diverse fantasies for diaspora communities and others.⁴

Today Bollywood movies have become a force to reckon with as far as Hollywood is concerned. Bollywood big banners are now released in the US, Canada and the UK. Bollywood movies are understandably very popular among the Indian diasporas. Bollywood films sold more tickets in the United Kingdom than English language films. For hundreds of millions of fans across the world, it is Bollywood that spins their screen fantasies. Bollywood has become a global industry. It does not merely target the billion South Asians, or Indians at home: they make slick movies, songs and TV shows for export. Attracted by the huge middle class and a conducive and welcoming foreign investment climate, foreign companies are rushing to Bollywood. The foreign capital is already helping India’s pop culture to reach a larger audience. It also helped in cleaning up the film industry from the excessive dependence on mafia and black money⁵. Even the Bollywood stars have huge fans and often perform live concerts in the west. Aishwarya Rai made it to the cover of *Time* magazine and even taught Oprah Winfrey and her viewers to wear a sari. Bollywood stars now walk down the red carpet in Cannes along with Hollywood stars. Sekhar Kapur, the acclaimed director of *Elizabeth* and *Bandit Queen* declared that Bollywood would define and

³ Bombay was officially designated as Mumbai in 1995

⁴RaminderKaur& Ajay Sinha, “ Bollyworld : An introduction to popular Indian Cinema”, in RaminderKaur& Ajay Sinha (ed.), *Bollyworld*

⁵ “Bollywood Goes International”, Newsweek International, February 28, 2000.

dominate global entertainment in the twenty-first century. As Aswin Punathambekar and Anandam Kavoori argue that these developments signal the emergence of Bollywood as a space of cultural production and expression that is now decidedly global. It also spells trouble for categories such as “Indian cinema”, “nation”, “public”, “culture” “modernity”, “identity”, and “politics” and our understandings of relationships among these categories.⁶

However, contrary to Newsweek’s statement that Bollywood is “India’s film industry Based in Mumbai,” Bollywood is not the Indian film industry or at least the film industry alone. India has a large number of regional film industries based in Chennai, Hyderabad, Kolkatta, Patna, and even as remote as Imphal. Eminent film makers like Satyajit Ray, Shyam Benegal, Mrinal Sen are basically Bengali Film makers and has put Indian Cinema on par with other countries in terms of quality and originality. India still produces the largest number of feature films in the world. In this article I would like to argue about the pervasive influence of Bollywood on regional cinema and specifically on Manipuri cinema-past and present.

While the cinema in India has been in existence as a national industry of sorts for the past 50 years (the Indian Cinema has celebrated its centenary celebration but the industry in the current sense of the term, might be truly traced to the post-Second World War boom in production), Bollywood has been around for only about a decade now. The term today refers to a reasonably specific narrative and a mode of representation⁷. Historically, ever since the Indian film industry emerged as a nascent industry during the colonial period, the export market of films has been a relatively minor, disorganized and chaotic. Few films were made with a non-Indian audience in mind, and the “foreign market” (usually a single territory) remained small. It was entirely controlled by the government of India’s “Indian Motion Picture Export Corporation,” which in its initial years was accountable to the Reserve Bank of India and later merged with the National Film Development Corporation. Film production was dominated by State policy on export and remained until 1992 when the area was decontrolled and opened to private enterprise, subsidiary to the policy of exporting “art” films within the festival circuit.⁸ Indian films were exported to the Arab states, the South-East Asian countries and the West to cater to the growing number of the Indian diasporas. Besides, Nehru’s bilateral trade arrangements with the former Socialist

⁶AswinPunathambekar&AnandamKavoori (ed.), *Global Bollywood*, Delhi: OUP, 2009, p-1.

⁷AshishRajadhyaksha, “The Bollywoodisation of the Indian Cinema,” in Anandam P.

Kavoori&AswinPunathambekar (ed.), *Global Bollywood*, Delhi: OUP, 2009, p- 23.

⁸ Ibid., p-24.

bloc did yield some marketing successes, such as Raj Kapoor's films, and later Chakraborty's, in the former USSR.⁹

Thus, Hindi films have been reaching out to foreign audiences. In the 1950s, Raj Kapoor's films were the rage in the erstwhile USSR. Mithun Chakraborty and Amitabh Bachchan in Egypt and Rajnikanth in Japan were extremely popular. But their films were considered to be too melodramatic and emotional with "over-the-top" singing and dancing for western sensibilities¹⁰. India's transformation in the 1990s with the onslaught of globalization and liberalization led to the IT Revolution, economic prosperity and growth, the rise of a huge consuming class, and the clout of the diasporic Indians or the NRIs(Non-Resident Indians or the People of Indian Origins- PIOs). All this social, political and economic changes led to the emergence of "Bollywood". Kamala Ganesh and others trace it precisely to 1995. *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (Brave hearts shall win the bride) with its tale of love that conquers all, set amidst identity conflicts of Indianness abroad, became the biggest hit even smashing *Sholay*'s record for non-stop screening.¹¹ It was also a runaway success in the West, especially among the diasporas. The film set off the trend of films with the diaspora market in mind whose values and preferences were shared by the rising Indian middle class. There was an emphasis on love, family and Indian culture and concomitantly, explicit sex, violence. The traditional villain and the macho hero were de-emphasised. Themes of poverty and other contemporary issues were eschewed in favour of fantasy and plush settings. The Global Indianness was attempted through song, dance, costume, sets and location and by revving up the conventional formula with technical sophistication and by negotiating the terms between tradition and modernity. The biggest blockbusters were those that followed this formula. Bollywood now earns half of the revenue from the diaspora market.¹² Bollywood actually connotes this specific genre; at least that is how it began.

Ashish Rajadhyaksha rightly argues that such audiences and modes of marketing could hardly resemble the Bollywood culture industry of the 1990s. And as Shashi Tharoor writes: "...this idea of India is one that is sustained by our popular culture. Some readers may think my reference to Bollywood out of place. One of my novels deals with the trashy world of commercial cinema- because to me, Indian films, with all their limitations and outright idiocies, represent part of the hope for India's future. In a country that is still 50 per cent illiterate, films represent the prime

⁹ Ibid., p-24.

¹⁰ Kamala Ganesh, "*The phenomenon of Bollywood in Europe*", The Hindu, October 9, 2010, p-15

¹¹ This Shah Rukh- Kajol starrer have run successfully more than 10 years in a Mumbai theatre since its release in 1995.

¹² Kamala Ganesh, Ibid., p-15.

vehicle for the transmission of popular culture and values...”¹³ Bollywood or Hindi films were considered too lowbrow as an art form. Satyajit Ray had a poor opinion of Hindi cinema. As he wrote:

“Hindi films? You mean the ones with a lot of singing? Yes, indeed. And the definition has spread further and wider than one would imagine. Abroad, I have often been asked- in a hesitant, tentative sort of way, as if the question might offend me-why this should be so”.¹⁴

Ray thus dismissed the Hindi cinema as a ‘synthetic, non-existent society’, and a ‘make-believe world’. But it was precisely the world they depicted was unreal that these films appealed. Peasants and workers in independent India went to the movies for the same reason as, back in the nineteenth century, a newly literate working class in Britain chose to read stories of the rich and the famous.¹⁵ One of the most successful Bollywood directors, Manmohan Desai said of his films:

“I want people to forget their misery. I want to take them into a dream world where there is no poverty, where there are no beggars, where fate is kind and God is busy looking after his flock”.¹⁶ It is no longer considered a trivial subject judging from the number of scholarly and semi-academic books and articles published over the past few years. The film magazine of New York’s Lincoln Centre, which showcases the world cinema and is a barometer of prevailing and emerging interests among America’s cultural elite, devoted one of its recent issues to Bollywood.¹⁷ Such is the popularity of Bollywood that we will soon have named chairs, particularly popular cinema. Seminars and professional journals have begun to treat as a subject of serious study. The term “Bollywood” now comes with its narrative and is no longer restricted to the cinema but includes a range of products and practices. Despite its many detractors, it has come to stay- a true testimony to the power of popular culture. At the same time, Bollywood is an entire money spinning entertainment industry, including websites, the music industry, satellite and cable TV and radio.

Bollywoodisation of Manipuri Cinema

It is imperative to study and analyse the popularity of Bollywood and “Bollywoodisation” as a process. Ashish Rajadhyaksa argues that it is not enough to say that cinema, as *the* most dominant culture industry in India, naturally emerged as the site where transitions related to globalization were negotiated and

¹³ShashiTharoor, “Make Bollywood’s India a Reality”, The Indian Express, April 19, 1998, quoted in AshishRajadhyaksha

¹⁴Satyajit Ray, *Our Films Their Films*, Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010 (first pub. 1976), p. 72.

¹⁵RamachandraGuha, *India After Gandhi- The history of the world’s largest democracy*, Delhi: Picador India, 2012 (first pub. 2007), p. 723.

¹⁶Ibid., Quoted in RamachandraGuha, *India After Gandhi-* p. 723.

¹⁷David Chute, (et al), ‘Bollywood 101’, *Film Comment* 38, no. 3 (May- June 2002), pp. 35-57.

made intelligible. “Bollywoodisation”, he suggests, is best understood in relation to the more complex issue of cinema’s ability to “maneuver itself into a certain position that made it indispensable to the State”¹⁸. Bollywoodisation, then, is related to the articulation of a “freer form of civilisational belonging explicitly delinked from the political rights of citizenship” and the neoliberal state’s attempts at re-defining the socio-cultural boundaries of “India” and “Indianess”, exemplified by rituals such as the *Prvasi Bharatiya Divas* (Day of the Diaspora).¹⁹ It is a multitude of factors that has helped this phenomenon both in India and abroad. Until recently, the avid consumption of Bollywood outside India could be explained in terms of the enormous growth of immigration to the West and the diaspora’s increasing connectivity with their home. And how does one explain the pervasive influence of Bollywood²⁰ in India’s north-east and specifically of Manipur? For one, Hindi which is the main language in Bollywood films is the official language of India along with English. It is spoken and understood widely in the country. It has tended to dominate the production in all other languages in terms of quantity reach, the size of investment and attention it commands from the mass-media and the movie-going public. At the Indian Motion Picture Congress in 1939, Chandulal J. Shah proclaimed: “It is within the power of the film industry to make Hindustani the ‘lingua franca’ for India and we shall make it so”. Hindi was imposed in the South by the Congress Ministry in the Madras Presidency under C. Rajagopalachari amidst strong protest. Before Independence, the Indian National Congress had recognized Hindi or Hindustani as the national language, with the obvious implication that it would be the official language of independent India. After 1947, Hindi films began to dominate the Indian film industry and market.²¹ However, during the last few years, Hindi films’ numerical supremacy has been challenged by three Southern states. In 1979 and 1980, Tamil and Telegu films individually outnumbered Hindi films; while in 1978 Malayalam films outnumbered Hindi films. But that was the exception.²² Language is no barrier as far as Hindi films are concerned. It has no use for realism. No wonder, in 1946-47, the ShriGovindajee Film was set up to make the popular play *MainuPemcha*. Later on, they decided to make a Hindi film as they were pessimistic about a viable

¹⁸AshishRajadhyaksha, “The Bollywoodisation of the Indian Cinema- Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena”, in Anandam P. Kavoori&AswinPunnathambekar(ed.), *Global Bollywood*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, p-34..

¹⁹Ibid, p-32.

²⁰ Of late the term Mollywood or Maniwood has gained currency as far as Manipuri cinema is concerned.

²¹PriyaJaikumar, *Cinema at the end of the empire- A politics of transition in Britain and India*, London: Duke University Press, 2006, p-19.

²² Ibid., p-19.

market for Manipuri films. Most of the films shown in Imphal Talkies, Victory and Friends Talkies were Hindi and English films. Unfortunately, the film could not be completed due to financial bankruptcy.²³

Hindi films present life not as it is but as it should be. It has always been a trend-setter for the cultural and aesthetics standards of the commercial cinema. Hindi films has a wide reach owing to its virtue of being spoken and understood by the majority of the people besides being the official language of the country. The role played by the mass-media- the Doordarshan, the All India Radio(AIR), the FM channels, satellite and cable TV and of late the internet and mobile phone networks cannot be underestimated. This perhaps explain why they travel so well. Non-Indians in countries as diverse as Peru, Indonesia, Greece, Germany, Ethiopia and Korea can connect with the songs, spectacle and unbridled optimism of Bollywood films. Spectators are not looking for realism in the western sense of the word. Instead, they want spectacle- ‘ a larger than life’- life drama. Like fans of Hollywood films of the 1930s and 1940s, Bollywood fans want to enter a magical realm where the impossible is possible, where history is defeated by sentiment. This largely explains its popularity in India and abroad. The Friday Release of a new Bollywood is much eagerly awaited by the people. This hunger is fuelled more by a media savvy film directors, actors and producers by advertising in the mass-media to ensure a commercial success. Thanks to Twitter, everyone knows what every person in Bollywood has to say on issues trivial and important. The latest Bollywood movies could be downloaded through the internet and pirated DVDs from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar etc. According to Yash Chopra, the veteran director, the secret of Bollywood’s worldwide appeal is that its films are “wholesome”. The Government of India has given him four national awards in the category of “Best Film for Providing Popular and Wholesome Entertainment”.²⁴

Songs are the living heart and soul of Bollywood films. Music has traditionally been part of the Indian narrative. The great Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharatta* were written in verse. ‘*MirchKattika*’, a 3000 year old Sanskrit play, had narrative interspersed with songs. There is a school of thought that feels that film songs make Hindi films nothing more than mere song-and-dance extravaganzas. But that’s a myopic view indeed. Because as in all classic musicals anywhere in the world, on stage or on screen, the Hindi film song is all about telling a part of the story. The format of the Hindi film songs seems to have been derived from the Hollywood musical. However, its distinct identity shows a clear influence of the *Nautankior* Indian folk-theatre, reflecting human

²³AribamSyam Sharma, *Living Shadows*, Guwahati: Guwahati Cine Club, 2006, p-39.

²⁴National Geographic Magazine, February 2005,p-58.

emotions, dreams or even angst.²⁵ Early films borrowed from Indian theatre and music and dance was transplanted from stage to screen. But the war years had given rise to a new phenomenon-‘the Bombay film song’- something which had never existed in India before. Bhaskar Chandavarkar opines that the Bombay Hindi film songs became the template not only for film music but also for music in India. He dates its emergence from 1944, soon after Lata Mangeshkar arrived in Bombay.²⁶ The Hindi film songs is a cauldron of cultures assimilated from ethnic as well as outside origins, and smoothly blends folk, classical and contemporary music from all parts of India as well as the globe to create an essentially Bollywood genre. No wonder some of the finest poetry and musical compositions in Hindi and Urdu in the 20th century have been heard in films.

Besides, considering the size of the Indian populace added to South Asian, African and other overseas fans, Bollywood songs could well be termed the biggest pop (as in popular or mass) music in the world. Bollywood cinema abounds in songs and scores that are sometimes the only aspects that keep a movie alive. What else, for example, do we know about an anonymous 1940s film called *Ek Thi Ladki* other its immortal *Lara lappa* sung by Lata Mangeshkar? There is nothing in Hollywood or in the history of world cinema, to compare with Lata Mangeshkar for the simple reason that there is nothing like the genre of playback singing that forms the bedrock of Bollywood. Bollywood songs have been extremely popular in India. As the veteran Manipuri director, Aribam Syam Sharma writes in his autobiography: “I saw the Hindi film *Baiju Bawramore* than ten times to get the songs by heart.”²⁷ Bollywood songs strongly influenced the emergence of modern Manipuri songs which is a blend of traditional folk music and Hindusthani music. Music was Aribam Syam’s first love and he decided to learn Hindustani Classical Music. The invention of the ‘gramophone’ and its arrival in rural India revolutionized both rural life and Indian music. The gramophone made Bollywood songs a highly saleable item. And for the first time in Indian musical history, a musician performed without an audience being present. The Bollywood songs were made or recorded in such a way that it would appeal as much to northern as southern or eastern India. Bollywood music also broke down the rigid barrier between classical and popular music. For example, Ravi Shankar composed the music for *Neecha Nagar* and *DhartikeLal*.²⁸

Because the Manipuris, especially the Meiteis, who inhabitate the valley, have been Hinduised and Sanskritised, the adoption of Hindustani music was

²⁵ Rajiv Vijayakar, *The History of the Indian Film Music*, Delhi:Times Group Books, 2009, p-5.

²⁶ Mihir Bose, *Bollywood- A History*, Delhi: Roli Books,, p-226.

²⁷ AribamSyam Sharma, *Living Shadow*, Gauhati Cine Club, Guwahati, 2006,p-19

²⁸ Mihir Bose, *Ibid.*, p-226.

natural and an inevitable process. While the tribes who had been christianised prefer the western music.²⁹ A dialectic situation had already developed which on the one hand had made Manipuris accept Hindustani music and Bollywood music and on the other induced them to re-assert their folk identity. At the recent Festival of Manipuri Films (Sept.11 to 19,2010), there was a near unanimity among the music directors, directors and artistes the need to maintain a music identity of our own to face the influence of Bollywood music and others. Aribam Syam Sharma observed that there is a rich folk music tradition where we can showcase to the world.³⁰ As he writes in his autobiography that it was his yearning to make music which has roots in the land and is not just imported from outside. Despite this yearning to go back to the roots, the present music directors expressed the difficulty of escaping Bollywood music and the need to follow the present trends. The award winning films of Aribam Syam follow his yearnings to re-discover the rich folk music of Manipur.

The coming of sound also led to the emergence of Hindi films with the largest following in the country as the all-India film. Although it made Hindi popular even in non-Hindi speaking areas, it also meant that Hindi Cinema or Bollywood became rootless and unreal. But there is no denying the fact that Bollywood songs is one of the greatest factors for popularising Bollywood all over the world. It has permeated the Indian lives ever since the talkie era began with *AlamAra*. Hindi film is such an integral part of the musical consciousness of so many Indians that it merits the status of a separate genre: “Hindustani Cine Sangeet” as film music critic Rajiv Bharttan named it.³¹ One of the most revealing facts about Hindi cinema regardless of genre contains song-and-dance sequences. The ubiquity of the masala phenomenon assures that film music was and continues to be the most popular music in India. The actors lip-sync the songs of playback singers in a Bollywood movie. This is much the same even in regional films of India. Manipuri film songs are invariably inspired by Bollywood songs and occasionally by South Indian film songs. Except for singing stars like Sadananda and Dinesh, most songs are sung by play-back singers. There is hardly a Manipuri feature film without songs. The singers are stars in their own right and are popular in Manipur. Even Aribam Syam started his career as a singer and is one of the founder members of *Roop Raag*.³² As Natalie Sarrazin writes: “Cinema

²⁹ The Manipuri digital film stars and songs have now become popular even among the hills of Manipur.

³⁰ Aribam Syam Sharma, *Living Shadows*, 2006, p-19.

³¹ Ganesh Anantharaman, *Bollywood Melodies- A History of the Hindi film song*, Delhi:Penguin, 2008,p-1.

³² RoopRaag is a premier association of the leading singers, musicians and artistes of Manipur and based in Imphal, the capital city of Manipur.

and its music help to define with intense emotional clarity, ways in which Indians identify themselves or choose to separate themselves from other cultures”.³³ No wonder, Bollywood songs are popular in Manipur as mobile ringtones, in TV reality shows, the AIR, Imphal’s afternoon Fauji programme etc.

The opulence of Bollywood cinema is another factor which is so essential for the Bollywoodisation of Manipuri cinema. It fulfills the deep yearnings of the Manipuri middle class for the consumer goods which are beyond its reach. This is again in line with the burgeoning of huge consuming middle class in India. India is now the second fastest growing economy in the world after China. The *globalisation* and *liberalisation* of the country has seen unprecedented growth in the infrastructures, the IT boom, the growing affluence in cities and towns are for all to see despite persistent poverty in rural areas. Even Manipuri films are looking for exotic foreign locales as any other Bollywood movies. Singapore and Bangkok along with Delhi, Mumbai in the country are the preferred destinations. Often lavish sets and posh bungalows are being used in the films. Bollywood stars are the role models of the Manipuri stars and youth. In one of the films, Kaiku, one of the most popular Manipuri actors, sports a hairstyle which is just an imitation of Salman Khan in *Tere Naam*. But this trend started in the 50s, 60s 70s when people started copying their hairstyle, dress and mannerisms. As Oken Amakcham says, “Bollywood was the water in which we(Manipuri films) nurtured and grew up in it”.³⁴ Amitabh Bachchan was one star that almost the youth in the 1970s and 1980s copied him in every way.³⁵ This was an all-India phenomenon.

Like any other Bollywood movies, an auspicious day is selected for worship and for the success of the film. It’s the *muhurat* of the film and usually a scene of the film is shot. The producer and the director invite a select audience and a chief guest to grace the occasion. The artistes are introduced to the audience and the media. All Manipuri movies³⁶ start their shootings with this Bollywood ritual. This ritual is also prevalent in other regional cinemas of India. In Bollywood, the stars and production team gather together, usually in a hotel where, before a single scene of the film is shot, a coconut is split open, flowers are offered; *aarti*s performed with a lit lamp circled round the camera, which is treated as a god in a temple. Then the chief guest gives the clap for the first shot and the shooting can begin. The root of this ceremony lies in the beliefs of the Hindus where similar rites are performed when a new machinery is installed.³⁷

³³ Natalie Sarrazin, “Songs from the Heart”, in Anandam P. Kavoori&Aswin Punathambekar(ed.), *Global Bollywood*, Delhi: OUP, 2009, p-217.

³⁴ Interview with the Film maker by the author.

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³⁶ But this is not the case in films made by the Tangkhul Nagas and the Kukis etc.

³⁷ Mihir Bose, *Bollywood – A History*, Delhi: Roli Books, 2007, p-19.

No wonder, the non-state actors began to react against this brazen mimicry and Bollywoodisation of Manipuri Cinema. In 2000(12th September) one insurgent group made a lengthy press release banning the screening of Bollywood films in the state.³⁸ The rationale behind the banning was the unwarranted *Indianisation* of Manipuri culture and Manipuri films. For them Bollywood was synonymous with *Indianisation* and *Hinduisation*. However, the ban was not applied to South Indian films and films produced in the Northeast. But recently, they have banned South Indian and other regional films except the Films of the Northeast states. This came as a rude shock to many and especially the theatre owners. Bollywood films have long dominated the state. The nascent Manipuri film industry couldn't compete against the opulence and big-budget Bollywood films. The first Manipuri film too had a Bengali director and mainly consisted of Bengali technicians. The post-production had to be done in Calcutta. Aribam Syam Sharma had to be the main interpreter between the artistes and the director. He was the music director but was involved in all the aspects of the making of *Matamgi Manipur*. Later, he began to make his own films and became a famous film-maker. He made films which echoes Manipuri ethos and culture. But his most commercially successful film cannot escape Bollywoodisation.³⁹ Today, he has not made any film that resembles a Bollywood film. Rather, he makes historical biographies like *Rajshree Bagyachandra*, a documentary on Maharaj Bagyachandra who introduced the Manipuri classical dance. Ironically, the process of Hinduisation became much more intense during his reign. This Hindu cultural influence is now begun to be resisted by various non-state actors. There is a kind of cultural revivalism or Manipuri Renaissance in the post-colonial period. The Manipuri script has been introduced in schools in an attempt to replace the Bengali script. Hoardings without Manipuri script would be blackened by the volunteers of *Meelal*, a Meitei cultural association for the promotion and spread of Manipuri script. But this cultural revival is seen as an effort to restore Meitei hegemony in the state by the different tribes inhabiting in the hills. No wonder, Meitei script would not be made compulsory in the schools in the hill districts. This has become more sensitive in the wake of a strong anti-Meitei sentiments finding expression in the Naga dominated districts when Issac Muivah was denied entry into Manipur by the Manipur Government. The recent demand for an "alternative arrangement" for the

³⁸Poknapham, A local Manipuri daily published in Imphal. The ban would become effective from the evening of 12 September, 2000 and encompassed the screening of Bollywood films in theatres and homes, playing and listening of Bollywood songs in Manipur.

³⁹'Olangthagee Wangmadadu', is still the most successful Manipuri film. It even broke 'Sholay's' record in Manipur. The script and screenplay was done by the late eminent Manipuri writer, M.K. Binodini.

Naga dominated hill districts is inextricably linked to the demand of a Greater Nagalim.

When the diktat of the Revolutionary People's Front (RPF) was defied by the IST TV and SEEN TV, both private cable operators in Imphal by screening Bollywood movies on 15 October 2000, the RPF promptly ordered the closure of the two cable operators.⁴⁰ They had also earned the wrath of the RPF by screening the movies on the day which is observed as a "Black Day"⁴¹ when Manipur was merged into the Indian Union on 15, 1949. The RPF also appealed to the people to support the ban of Bollywood as a moral duty of every Manipuri in the state. They further warned anyone to challenge this ban with dire consequences. As a result the cinema theatres stopped screening Bollywood films. Since the major income came from screening Bollywood movies, they couldn't sustain the business. Many theatres⁴² stopped screening movies altogether. Asha-Jina cinema theatres became educational institutes. One theatre in Thoubal became "Freedom and Peace Academy". The Deepa Talkies of Kakching became an Automobile Workshop. The Manipur film lobby could have achieved their aim of ridding Bollywood from the Manipur market but couldn't supply films in large numbers like Bollywood did. Even periodic screening of Tamil and Hollywood films couldn't bring the audience back to the theatres. The Manipuris grew up watching Hindi films and many didn't like the blanket ban of Bollywood films.

The Digital Film Phenomenon

It was against this background that the Manipuri digital films began to emerge and began to fill the void left by Bollywood. Oken Amakcham's *Lanmei* was the trend-setter⁴³. It was made using the emerging digital technology in film-making as a cheaper option of making films. The cost of a traditional Manipuri 16mm celluloid film would cost more than ten lakhs while a digital film could be made as little as 4/5 lakhs. During the celluloid era, only three to four films were made and couldn't match the assembly line production and opulence of Bollywood. Now film makers started began to experiment on the digital wave. Some film makers like Aribam Syam Sharma⁴⁴, Makhonmani Mongsaba are still

⁴⁰ Only after much negotiations and apologies, the two cable operators were allowed to resume their daily telecasts on 21 October, 2000, Poknapham, 21 October, Imphal, p-1.

⁴¹ Every year all the insurgents imposed a general strike on 15 October urging people to observe it as a "black day"

⁴² There are 54 movie theatres in Manipur according to a Manipur Government record.

⁴³ It was released as an experiment on March/April 2001 at Friends' Talkies using an LCD projector to screen the film. It was a success and followed by another more successful film Eppu directed *Laallasi Pal*, starring Olen and Manda

⁴⁴ Aribam Syam Sharma calls the new film makers as "video film makers" and deplors anyone to make films just because one has disposable income.

skeptical of the new medium. Others like Oken Amakcham want to keep up with changing reality and technology. The digital technology is a boon to a poor state like Manipur which has many talented filmmakers and artistes. From 2003 and 2004 many so called digital films began to be made. More than fifty digital films began to be produced and the cinema theatres began another rebirth by installing LCD projectors to screen these digital films. The digital films almost reached a saturation point in 2005-6⁴⁵ and began to decline in production as the films were more or less alike and lacked a strong storyline and quality. Then there was the problem of piracy of the Manipuri digital films and the invasion of pirated Bollywood DVDs, VCDs and the recent proliferation of Satellite dish TVs.

How '*manipuri*' is Manipuri films in the present scenario? Except for some films the majority of the films are based on the Bollywood films with its song and dance sequence and comedies. Some songs are outright copies of Bollywood films and South Indian films. The producers argue that they are just pandering to audience's tastes who like more of Bollywood films. The audience would not see a film which has no songs and dance, the basic ingredients of a Bollywood potboiler. Songs immortalize a film and people remember songs of a classic film more than the scenes. It was this Bollywoodisation of the Manipuri digital films that civil society and non-state actors began to censure the films and prescribing a list of 'Dos' and 'Don'ts' for the Manipuri film industry. For example, outdoor shootings outside Manipur, not allowing a non-Manipuri in a Manipuri film, forbidding of wearing Indian dresses like sarees, Kurtas, salwar began to be imposed on the film producers and directors, the actors and so on. Recently, Kamala, a leading Manipuri actress has been banned from acting in Manipuri films just because she has married an Indian (Mayang)⁴⁶ army major posted in Manipur.

Conclusion

How far has the ban on Bollywood benefitted the Manipuri film industry? How far has the RPF successfully imposed their ban for more than a decade. What are the ramifications? The ban on Bollywood has inevitably helped the revival and growth of Manipuri Cinema. Whether one likes the digital format or not, it has already been accepted by the audience. It is the preferred mode of shooting a film by most filmmakers. Moreover, the Government of India has now approved screening of digital films in National Film Festivals provided they fulfill certain technicalities. The cinema theatres have begun to reopen in Imphal and rural areas particularly in Kakching. Yet, many remain closed. A Manipuri digital film cannot even run for two weeks let alone a silver jubilee. The audience has still to see the kind of films

⁴⁵ In 2006 a record 60 digital films were previewed by the Film Forum, Manipur, now regarded as the apex body of film fraternity in Manipur.

⁴⁶ Mayang is the term used for mainland Indians and is a derogatory term

made during the 70s and 80s which even stood up against the Bollywood films. The 70s and 80s were the golden years of Manipuri cinema.

In view of this growing popularity of Manipuri digital cinema, the Manipur Film Development Corporation Limited, functioning under the Directorate of Art and Culture organized the 7th Manipur State Film Festival in 2010 (September 11-19, 2010) at the newly built MFDC Theatre Complex.⁴⁷ The theme was aptly titled as “Journey of Manipuri Cinema from Celluloid to Video”. At the Festival, 1 celluloid and 13 digital videos (features), and 1 celluloid and 15 digital videos (non-features) were chosen by the Selection Committee out of 2 celluloid and 77 digital videos submitted by the producers.⁴⁸ All the entries were in Manipuri and there was no entry from tribal communities. As the MFDC Festival Souvenir Editorial writes: “In the prevailing socio-economic circumstances, the videos will dominate the celluloid films in Manipur and the present Manipuri cinema is a product of the successful journey from the celluloid to the video and the latter will stay for the years to come until a better efficient electronic substitute replaces it”.⁴⁹ The digital film has come to stay in Manipur’s ‘mediascape.’

But the Manipuri cinema has not been able to escape the overarching influence of Bollywoodisation. Two of India’s big neighbours, Pakistan and Bangladesh⁵⁰, cannot escape the Bollywoodisation of their film industries despite putting a ban on Bollywood films in these countries by the respective governments. In fact, Bollywood is considered as India’s soft power⁵¹ to popularise India’s culture and products like the way Hollywood and MTV have done to promote the idea of America as a desirable society.⁵² Even before independence, some

⁴⁷ In 2015, the MFDC became Manipur Film Development Society (MFDS).

⁴⁸ The Souvenir published by the MFDC, p-11.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p-11.

⁹⁹ Zakir Hossain Raju, “Bollywoodisation” as (H)Indianisation? Bangladesh Film Industry under National Protection, in Anjali Gera Roy (ed.), *The Magic of Bollywood- At Home and Abroad*, Delhi: Sage Publications, 2012, p-196.

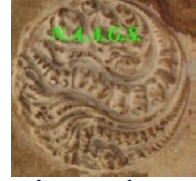
⁵¹ The term “soft power” was coined by Harvard’s Joseph Nye to describe a country’s ability to alter the behavior of others through attraction rather than sticks or carrots

⁵² Shashi Tharoor, “Making the most of India’s soft power”, Shashi on Sunday column, *The Times of India*, 28 Jan. 2007, p-9.

Nehru was not really enthusiastic and supportive of the Film Industry. Madhava Prasad, *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A Historical Construction*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, p-33.. Amitabh Bachchan angry young man image was given in Prakash Mehra’s *Zanjeer* (1975). He became the most important mass cultural phenomenon of the seventies and ended the Rajesh Khanna phenomenon

filmmakers and producers argued for that a modernizing nation would need a modern cultural institution to undertake the country's campaign to modernize and project a good image abroad. This was in conformity with the Nehruvian socialism that was adopted after independence.⁵³ Bollywood is already doing this as India's soft power. The only publicly displayed portraits that were as big as those of the then-president Hafez al-Assad were those of Amitabh Bachchan. Sunny Deol's huge picture advertises a steel company's products in Imphal. The Manipuri films still borrow the formula films of Bollywood. The open sale of pirated Bollywood DVDs in Manipur is a testimony to Bollywood's popularity in Manipur. The proliferation of satellite channels through dish TVs like TATA Sky, Airtel-Dish TV etc. have again helped this dissemination and consumption of Bollywood. As the world undergoes intense globalization Manipur cannot remain isolated. There

is also the invasion of another culture from the Far-East- the increasing popularity of Korean movies and serials in the state. As far as the modern popular culture is culture, political boundaries and diktats from non-state actors are irrelevant and impractical in an age of the internet and globalization.



Liberation of Goa (1947-1961): A Women's History

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Abstract: The present paper is an attempt to produce a monograph based on the unexplored sources of Women's History and participation of women in the Liberation of Goa during 1947-1961. The author has conducted extensive fieldworks to collect primary data about the women freedom fighters of Goa and has succeeded to discover thirty three file photographs in different archives of India. A short biographical sketch of each of the Women freedom fighters of Goa has been prepared to supplement each of the Photographs.

Freedom struggle of Goa, Daman and Diu which culminated in the liberation of the territory on 19th December 1961 was preceded by a continuous and spontaneous resistance from women and men from the days they had come under the colonial yoke. The measures introduced by the Portuguese rulers from time to time to bring the Goans under their full control always met with stiff opposition. The volcano of resistance, which at times was dormant, often burst out sporadically throwing up the lava of insurrections and rebellions threatening the hold of the overzealous Portuguese governors who were engrossed in the task of empire-building, conversion and colonization of Goa and other lands by promoting inter-marriages with the native womenfolk.

The women spirit of liberating Goa was articulated through processions, rally, Satyagrahas and other forms of protests and opposition which had its initiation in 1946. As Ms. Lambert Mascarenhas, one of the active freedom fighters recalls, "the spontaneous, bold outburst of the teenager, Vatsala Kirtani, at the memorable meeting in Margao on June 18, 1946, rightly considered as the beginning of the end for Portuguese rule in Goa. When Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

was prevented from addressing the meeting and arrested, it was Ms. Kirtani who had courageously come forward to deliver a speech, only to get arrested immediately and was carried into the Margao Police Station. Her voice of 'Jai Hind' intrigued the Portuguese Commandant, Julio Figueiredo, who asked her what it meant. Her significant reply was, 'Jai Hind means 'Long Live India' which gives me the spirit to fight fearlessly for India and for my freedom, in the same manner as 'Viva Salazar' emboldens the Portuguese''. Vatsala's arrest prompted some forty women present to march to the Police Station demanding her release, or their arrest as well. The Police Officers offered to release Vatsala but the girl refused to leave the Police Station, thus compelling Comandante Figueiredo to bodily lift and throw her out!"

Vatsala's heroics notwithstanding, the honour of being the first Goan woman freedom fighter goes to the outstanding anti-Portuguese female in Goa in those days, Berta de Menezes Braganza, daughter of the formidable Luis de Menezes Braganza and niece of another formidable freedom fighter, Tristaon Braganza Cunha. After the 18 June 1952 stir in Margao, she and her uncle, T.B. Cunha, projected themselves as combatants on the bustling political scene, with the latter being arrested and deported. Ms. Berta was another prominent figure in the Goa Freedom Movement in Bombay in the fifties. She was a member of the Goa Political Convention, the Indian Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity and the All-India Peace Council. As a member of the National Campaign Committee delegation from Bombay led by Aruna Asaaf Ali, which went to Delhi in December, 1960 to meet Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian leaders, to demand Military Action to oust Portugal from India, Berta had also another Goan woman in the delegation, Irene Heredia, besides Fr. H.O. Mascarenhas, President of the Goa Political Convention and this writer. Thereafter, Berta de Menezes Braganza, in 1961, toured many parts of India to project the oppression in Goa and to ask the people of these states to demand from Nehru and the Government of India, action to liberate Goa. Given the violence of the Portuguese Police in Goa in those days, expressed by beatings and torture after arrest, the action of women in Goa in the Goan freedom struggle must be marked by the boldness but fearlessness of the women leaders as well, for which they deserve admiration and respect.

The women freedom fighters considered the presence of foreign rule as an affront not so much to Goa but to themselves individually, so emotionally vibrant was their response and action. As for women in the Freedom Movement in Bombay, apart from Berta de Menezes Braganza mentioned earlier, there are quite many, mostly passive but the prominent and very active ones were Laura D'Souza, Libia Lobo Sardesai, who was the first Goan woman lawyer, Beatriz de Menezes Braganza and Irene Heredia.

These were some stray examples of the women freedom fighters who were the active participant of socio-economic changes in Goa in 20th century. But unfortunately very few scholars initiated any work on this particular issue. The present paper is a humble attempt to produce a monograph based on the unexplored sources of Women's History and participation of women in the Liberation of Goa during 1947-1961. In 2011 Goa celebrated the 50th anniversary of the liberation. The author has conducted extensive fieldworks to collect primary data about the women freedom fighters of Goa and has succeeded to discover thirty three file photographs in different archives of India. A short biographical sketch of each of the Women freedom fighters of Goa has been prepared to supplement the Photographs.

1. ALMEIDA, SHASHIKALA, NEE HODARKAR, SHASHIKALA MANGUSH

2. ¹ : b. at t. Ponda, on 23rd June 1931; w. of freedom fighter Anastacio Almeida; ed. B.A.; member of the NCG; inspired by Sindhutai Deshpande, she had decided to offer Satyagraha at Panaji on 25th November 1954 alongwith her associates but could not participate in it on account of strict police vigilance on her house at Madgaon where Sindhutai used to stay; members of her



family were harassed by the police in order to elicit information about Sindhutai Deshpande; she offered Satyagraha at madgaon on 17th February 1955 alongwith Vilasini Prabhu, by holding aloft nationalist flag, posters and pamphlets and shouting slogans, 'Jai-Hind' was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment but was released in March 1959; was honoured by the Governemnt of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1986; associates: Shanta Vaikunth Hede, Calista Araujo, Laxmi Painginkar, Suryakanti Fal Desai, Mitra Bir among others. Occup: Service.

3. ARAUJO, MARIA JOAQUINA CALISTA²:

b. at v. Siolim, Tal. Bardez in 1920; d. of Albuquerque de Araujo; member of the NCG; was arrested on 30th January 1947 for distributing nationalist pamphlets, her residence was raided and some nationalist pamphlets and other literature was seized; was imprisoned at Reis Magos jail on 15th February 1947; was again tried by the TMT and on 26th January 1951 she was sentenced to



two and half months imprisonment and 15 days of fine at the rate of Rs. 2/- per day and suspension of political rights for five years; was released on 17th February 1951 under General Amnesty: in January 1955 by crossing the border via Sonali, Satari attended the meeting addressed by Peter alvares at belgaum' was arrested in

¹National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA28

²*Ibid*, Fno. FFA43

March 1956 alongwith Mitra Bir for carrying out nationalist propaganda: was tried by the TMT and in July 1956 was sentenced to 14 years' RI; was released in August 1959 after three years, and four months of imprisonment; associates: Shanta Vaikunth Hede, Shashikala Almeida among others.

4. BIR, MITRA MADHAV PAI NEE KAKODKAR, MITRA-VRINDA VASANT SINAI³ : b. at v. Cacoda, Tal. Quepem on 30th December 1932; w. of Madhav Ramkrishna Pai Bir; ed. M.A., B.Ed.; left college studies in 1954 to work for Goa's liberation; endeavoured for creating political awareness among the people of Siolim, Bardez while teaching there; came in contact with Dr. Pundalik Dattatraya Gaitonde and other freedom fighters who were planning Satyagraha movement under NCG and organized girls and women for participation in it; was arrested, on 28th March 1955 while she was preparing women volunteers to welcome Sudhatai Joshi who was to preside over the NCG session at Mapusa; was tried by the TMT and sentenced to five years' imprisonment; was released in 1959; after release toured throughout Goa and opened Marathi schools in a number of villages with the cooperation of the villagers and used the medium of education to pursue the cause of freedom; was elected unopposed member of Verem-Betim Village Panchayat in 1962; was member of Social Welfare Board and President of All India Women's Conference, Goa branch; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; associates: Shashikala Almeida, Laxmi Painginkar, Suryakanti Fal Desai, Shrimati Diukar, Calista Araujo among others; was Head Mistress of Secondary school. Expired in a tragic accident on 1st June 1978.



5. BORKAR, VASANT DATTA⁴: b. at t. Ponda, Tal. Ponda in 1930; s. of Datta Borker; ed. Marathi primary offered Satyagraha under the leadership of Anthony D'Souza on 15th August 1954 at Polem in Canacona; was arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, one year' confinement and for 15 years his political rights were stripped; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1985. Occup: Service.



6. BRAGANCA, BERTA DE MENEZES⁵: b. at V. Cuelim, Tal Mormugaon on 17th December 1911; d. of Luis de Menezes Braganca and w. of Dr. Antonio Furtado; member of



³Ibid, Fno. FFA54

⁴Indian National Congress Committee Records, Fno. CM167

⁵Goan Youth League Records, Fno.19

the Goa Committee of the INC since 1929; member of the GYL and Secretary of its Goa Branch in 1945; enrolled members for the INC and propagated the use of Khadi in response to the call given by Dr. Lohia, she as a Secretary of the GYL, Goa branch tried to offer Satyagraha at Madgaon on 30th June 1946 but was prevented to do so by the Portuguese police and was beaten; from 1946-50 carried on distribution of nationalist literature and India newspapers; on 16th April 1950 was forced to go to Belgaum alongwith her husband as he was threatened with deportation to Africa; in Belgaum she continued her propaganda work and in 1952 she was President of NCG, Belgaum Branch; in 1953 founded fortnightly "Free Goa" with her husband who edited it; she took up its editorship from 1958 and continued till 1962 when its publication ceased; was a witness to the Satyagraha on 15th August 1955 organised by the GVSS at Patradevi, near Banda; was a member of the Indian Delegation to Afro-Asian Women's Conference in Cairo where the 'Goa Problem' evoked a special interest and importance; was a member of the delegation to Moscow, where she focused the attention on the Goan issue and the anti-colonial struggle of the people under Portuguese regime; member of the Goa Political Convention, Indian Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity and All India Peace Council (1959); as a member of the National Campaign Committee formed in 1961, she toured throughout India demanding military action; participated in conferences in Delhi, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and Bombay where the issue of liberation of Goa was prominently debated; associates: Dr. T.B. Cunha, Romesh Chandra, Aruna Asaf Ali, Divakar Kakodhar, Fr. H.O. Mascarenhas and Dr. Antonio Furtado among others. Occup: Income from properties.

7. DESAI, SHANTA JAIWANT NEE HEDE, SHANTA VAIKUNTH⁶: b. at v. Shiroda, Tal. Ponda on 17th

September 1930; w. of Jaiwant Desai; member of the NCG since 1954; worked with Anthony D'Souza and Gopal Apa Kamat; participated in underground nationalist activities like distributing pamphlets and affixing posters; in January 1955 attended the NCG meeting at Belgaum presided over by Peter Alvares by crossing the border via Sanoli; in June 1955 her house was searched and she was arrested, beaten severely to extract information about the nationalists and detained in Madgaon police custody and then shifted to Panaji; was tried by the TMT and on 26th November 1956 she was sentenced to 12 years' RJ, and a fine of 10 Escudos per day for two years and suspension of political rights for 20 years; was released on 19th August 1959; associates: Calista Araujo, Shashikala Almeida among others; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1984. Occup: Nurse.



⁶National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA37

8. DESAI, SHOBHA MANOHAR PRABHU⁷: b. at v. Zambauli, Tal. Quepem on 28th September 1933; w. of Manohar Prabhu Desai also a freedom fighter; member of the NCG since 1955; worked under the leadership of Peter Alvares; distributed nationalist literature, affixed posters; to avoid arrest she left Goa in May 1955 and worked in Majali office of the NCG; in January 1957 when she returned to Goa clandestinely to see her family, she was arrested at her residence, taken to Panaji police station and detained for six months and then released; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1984.



9. DESAI, SURYAKANTI ANANT FAL⁸: b. at v. Poinguinim, Tal . Canacona on 5th June 1938; d. of Anand Venkatesh Fal Desai; ed. SSC and TTC; member of the INC; offered Satyagraha on 17th February 1955 at Madgaon under the leadership of Laxmi Balkrishna Painguinkar; was arrested, tried by the TMT and on 17th June 1955 she was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and suspension of political rights for 15 years; was released in 1958 under General Amnesty; after his release, worked for social uplift by setting up adult literacy classes, schools and handicraft training classes; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1983. Occup: Teacher.



10. DESHPANDE, SINDHUTAI⁹: b. at v. Ahmednagar in Maharashtra on 29th October, 1924 d. of Dattatraya Deshpande; her family being in the forefront of the Indian freedom struggle, she was drawn towards 1942 Quit India movement; later she was a member of the PSP; had organized the women's branch of Maharashtra SP; in 1954 she joined the NCG and worked under the guidance of Peter Alvares in border areas from Pernem to Canacona, holding clandestine meetings and urging upon women to join the movement fearlessly; in early 1954, she headed the NCG centre at Sawantwadi and subsequently worked also in its Belgaum centre; on 4th June 1954 participated in the meeting of political workers at v. Salvador do Mundo in Bardez to chalk out future course of action; later in October next she attended Kundalghat NCG camp; on 25th Novemebr 1954 offered Satyagraha in front of



⁷*Ibid*, Fno. FFA62

⁸Indian National Congress Committee Records, Fno. CM149

⁹Praja Socialist Party Records, Fno.70

Panaji police station; was arrested and detained till 14th January 1955 when she was pushed out of border; but she returned to neural, Goa in April next and enrolled 30 Satyagrahis to offer Satyagraha again on 16th April 1955 in batches; however, her plan leaked out and she was arrested alongwith all the volunteers, detained in police custody, tried by the TMT and on 8th February 1956 she was sentenced to 10 years RI and a fine of 10 Escudos per day for two years with expulsion to the Indian border after her release; she resorted to fast on 9th May 1956 in protest against refusal to shift her to Civil jail from Panaji police custody; after a fortnight the Government yielded and transferred her alongwith Sudhatai Joshi to quepem jail; was freed on 21st January 1957 under General Amnesty and dropped at Polem border; after release, she devoted to social activities and runs an orphanage at Deorukh, Ratnagiri District; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1984.

11. HARMALKAR, KISHORIBAI NAMDEV¹⁰: b. at v. Pampurba, Tal . Bardez on 13th January 1938; w. of Namdev Shankar Harmalkar; ed. Marathi secondary; supplied food to the underground revolutionaries; informed them about the Portuguese police activities and carried their arms, posters and pamphlets wherever required; from 1953 to 1957, assisted her husband Namdev Harmalkar working with the AGD; after Liberation worked for welfare of the farmers and participated in social activities. Expired on 25th October 1983.



12. JAMBAULIKAR, PRAMILABAI KANT¹¹: b. at v. Painguinim, Tal . Canacona, circa 1912; w. of Kant Jambaulikar; ed. SSC; prominent woman activist who associated herself with the various programmes chalked out by the Goa Seva Sangh since 1945; flag hoisting, collective spinning and meetings used to be held at her residence; she also used to allow nationalist handbills and propaganda material to be kept in her house; she even gave shelter to the freedom fighters who had been served with warrants; Nilkanth Karapurkar, Purushottam kakodkar, Nath Pai, Bala Kakodhar and Vasant Malye used to stay at her house and hold meetings there; a prominent woman member of the NCG since 1946; after 18th June 1946, used to organize the meetings of the nationalist women; on 21st July 1946 led a 'Prabhatferi' at Madgaon and was arrested and beaten; while in the police custody, she answered the police commandant with such a rare courage which infuriated him and threatened that if women acted like what Lalita Katak did (holding aloft



¹⁰Azad Gomantak Dal Records, Fno.107

¹¹National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA39

steadfastly the Tricolour) he would not make a distinction between a girl and woman but strip them ('*as faria nuas*'); was rearrested on 6th June 1948 for leading a procession at Madgaon to protest against the Government stand on civil liberties and sentenced to one month's imprisonment; to avoid further arrest she went to Bombay around 1952; returned to Goa after Liberation and thereafter worked in the Women's Welfare Centre of Provedoria at Candolim; took active part in the Opinion Poll; associates: Umabai Shirali, Indira Bhise among other. Expired on 2nd July 1980.

13. JOSHI, SUDHATAI MAHADEV¹²: b. at v. Priol, Tal. Ponda on 14th January 1919; w. of Pandit Mahadev Shashtri Joshi and popularly known as Sudhatai; ed. Marathi primary; member of the NCG and was elected its President in 1955; organized the Satyagrahi Conference of the NCG at Mapusa on 6th April 1955; came clandestinely to Mapusa via Sanquelim crossing the border alongwith Ambikabai Dandekar for it; was arrested on the same day, beaten, tried by



the TMT and was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment with fine for two years or another two years' imprisonment in lieu of fine; her arrest had evoked nationwide interest; was in jail for four years at Quepem and Madgaon; was released on 16th May 1959; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government in 1974; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1982.

14. KAVLEKAR, KUMUDINI DAMODAR NEE KUMUD PAINGUINKAR¹³: b. in c. Pune, on 29th December 1936; w. of Damodar C. Kavlekar; ed. Marathi secondary; member of the NCG; offered Satyagraha under the leadership of Sudhatai Joshi at Mapusa on 6th April 1955 and was released after two months; continued participating in the nationalist activities; was re-arrested within one month and convicted to eight years' imprisonment; was released on 19th August 1959



after suffering four years imprisonment at Panaji, Quepem and madgaon jails; had participated in the Seva Dal movement at Karwar; was elected as a member of Aquem Village Panchayat and as Councillor of Madgaon Municipal Council in 1976; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1982; associates: Shanta Hede, Laxmi Painguinkar, Shashikala Hodarkar Almeida and Calista Araujo.

¹²*Ibid* Records, Fno. FFA27

¹³*Ibid*, Fno. FFA56

15. KIRTANI, VATSALA PANDURANG¹⁴: b. in c. Madgaon, Tal. Salcete on 8th May 1924; d. of Pandurang Kirtani of Madgaon; ed. Matric and Hindi 'Ratna' of Rashtra Bhasha Parishad; on 18th June 1946 after the arrest of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Juliao Menezes when she came forward to deliver a speech, she was arrested and asked by the Police Commandant Figueiredo why she shouted 'Jai Hind' to which she replied that if 'Viva Salazar' brought pride to the heart of the Commandant, 'Jai Hindi' gave her the spirit to fight for her freedom; after her arrest, a procession of about 40 women was taken out to the police station to ask for her release or else all of them should be arrested; embarrassed by this tricky situation, the police released her, but she refused to go out of the lock-up and ultimately she had to be bodily thrown out of the prison by the Commandant himself; thereafter she was teaching in Madgaon and conducting Hindi classes privately; later on she shifted to Bombay and was a teacher in Andheri high school in 1979; associates: Lalita Kankar, Mukta Karapurkar, Shrimati Krishna hedge, Vitha Hegde, Jeevan Karapurkar, Umabai Shirali and Indira Bhise; was a spinster and expired on 16th Novemebr 1971.



16. LOLIENKAR, SHALINI VISHWANATH¹⁵: b. on 15th January 1934; w. of Vishwanath Loliengar also a freedom fighter; influenced by Shashikala Hodarkar Almeida and Kumudini Kavlekar came down to Goa from Bombay to participate in the freedom movement; on 6th April 1955 offered Satyagraha at Mapusa under the leadership of Sudhatai Joshi; was arrested, severely beaten and detained in police custody; was tried by the TMT and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment; however, she was released after seven months; after her release worked in the Angadi camp at Majali for two years; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1985.



17. MAHALE, VILASINI DAMODAR NEE PRABHU VILASINI NARSINHA¹⁶: b. at v. Loliem, Tal. Canacona on 25th May 1935; w. of Damodar Narsinha Mahale; ed. Teachers' Training Course; member of the NCG; worked under the leadership of Peter Alvares; distributed posters, circulated messages, participated in the meetings held at Karwar; offered Satyagraha at Madgaon on 17th February 1955 alongwith Shashikala Hodarkar Almeida; was arrested and



¹⁴Indian National Congress Committee Records, Fno. CM173

¹⁵National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA75

¹⁶*Ibid*, Fno. FFA99

detained in lock-up for four months; was sentenced to four years' RI and had to pay a fine of Rs. 2,000/- or in lieu two years' imprisonment; was released in April 1958; members of her family especially her mother was harassed and detained for a week by the police; due to the ill-treatment her health had deteriorated leading to hospitalization; to avoid further arrest and persecution she escaped to Bombay from where she continued to work for the Liberation of Goa; was honoured by social organisations; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1984. Occup. Teacher.

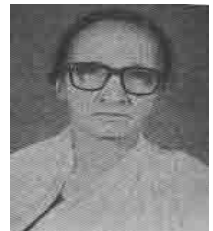
18. MONIZ, CELINA OLGA¹⁷: b. in Mombassa in Kenya on 21st October 1926; d. of Eusebio Francisco Moniz; ed. Matric; held meetings; travelled alongwith groups of nationalists to Belgaum, Banda and Vengurla, did underground nationalist work in Goa and neighbouring places securing help and financial assistance to the movement; was arrested on 26th January 1955 alongwith Dinanath Amonkar on crossing Mandovi from Malim to Panaji in a canoe with Tricolours in their hands; was released in October of the same year; suffered mental and physical abuse from the police authorities; migrated to Africa in 1957 and now settled in London; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; associates: Sindhutai Deshpande, Mitra Dir, Ramesh Madgaonkar, Peter Alvares and Antony D'Souza. Occup: Teacher.



19. NAIK, LILAVATI DATTA RAM¹⁸: b. at v. Durbhat, Tal. Ponda on 10th January, 1933; w. of Dattaram Nail; helped the nationalist workers, attended meetings; enrolled herself for the Satyagraha of 15th April, 1955 under the leadership of Sindhutai Deshpande; was arrested on the same day alongwith Sindhutai Deshpande, Dattaram Borkar, Shrikant Madkaikar, Punkalik Amonkar, Dattaram Nail and Pundalik Naik; was severely beaten by the police, detained in jail and released after four months; was rearrested after one month, tried by the TMT and released after four months; during her detention she was told that her husband was dead, which led to her nervous breakdown from which she has still not recovered; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1984. Occup: Farming and household work.



20. NAI, MOGABAI¹⁹: b. at c. Mapusa, Tal. Bardez; w. of Sakharam Nail; ed. Marathi and Portuguese primary; member of the AGD; provided shelter to the freedom fighters and allowed



¹⁷Goa Congress Committee Records, Fno. AR628

¹⁸National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA11

¹⁹ Azad Gomantak Dal Records, Fno.118

them to hold secret meetings in her house, was arrested in March 1956 for associating with the nationalists; her brother Mahabaleshwar Nair and her son Srikant Naik and also been suffering the jail terms simultaneously with her; as a penalty their shop had to be closed down; while in detention she was not even allowed to attend the funeral of her mother, was released after two years; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; was honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1981; associates: Mohan Ranade, Kanhoba Naik, Damodar Tari, Bala Desai, Manohar Pednekar, Balkrishna Bhonsle and Suryakant Naik.

21. NAIK, RAJANI SURYAKANT²⁰: b. at v. Verem, Tal. Bardez in 1930; w. of Suryakant Anant Naik; ed. Marathi primary; member of the AGD; provided shelter and food to the underground freedom fighters; arrest-warrant was issued against her and her husband; to avoid arrest, escaped to the Indian border and continued participating in the nationalist activities remaining in Banda and subsequently at Belgaum; after Liberation, she was elected a member of Carambolim Gram-panchayat; associates: Suryakant Naik and Venkatesh Naik.



22. NAIK SHANTI NARAYAN²¹: b. in Karwar on 12th May 1922; w. of Narayan Naik; ed. B.A.; left Government school and joined volunteers; worked for the INC; picketed liquor shops, set fire to foreign clothes, spinned Khadi and wore it; worked with the underground workers, printed and distributed handbills; was the Secretary of the Pune District Congress Committee; on 29th



September 1946 accompanied Dr. Lohia on his second visit to Goa; was arrested at Colem alongwith Yogendra Singh, an INC member from Samyukta Prant and R.V. Pandit; was detained in Quepem police custody and on the next day she was taken by the first train to Castlerock and released; re-entered Goa via Banda, held meetings in villages for creating political awareness, affixed posters at public places on the eve of 25th November 1946; held meetings of the nationalist workers in Belgaum, Banga, Sawantwadi, Kolhapur and Karwar for gaining support for the freedom movement of Goa; later on joined the SP and worked for workers' organisations and trade unions in Maharashtra and Gujarat; was detained about 61 times and suffered a total imprisonment of six and half years; in 1978 she was elected as MLA of Maharashtra from Shivajinagar constituency and was a Minister in Purogami Lokshahi Dal Ministry; at present she is a member of the Lok Dal in Pune.

²⁰*Ibid*, Fno.120

²¹Indian National Congress Committee Records, Fno. CM213

23. PAINGUINKAR, LAXMI BALKRISHNA²²: b. at v. Painguinim, Tal . Canacona on 23rd June 1930; d. of Balkrishna Painguinkar; member of the NCG from 1955; circulated pamphlets and inspired youngsters in her area to participate in the freedom movement under the guidance of Sindhutai Deshpande; offered Satyagraha on 17th February 1955 at Madgaon; was arrested alongwith her associates and detained at Panaji police station; was tried by the TMT and sentenced to two years' RI, and four years' simple imprisonment; during her detention her mother was harassed by the police, her house was raided and documents were seized; was released on 28th March 1958; was re-arrested after three months for not reporting at the Canacona police station and detained in the police custody for four days; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government in 1974; was honoured in 1978 during the freedom fighters' felicitation at the hands of Shirubhau Limaye; was also honoured by the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu on 18th June 1983; associates: Suryakanti Fal Desai, Shalini Lolyenkar, Damodar Desai, Sridhar painginkar, Babu Velip, Yeshwant Velip, Naguesh Painginkar, Vitthal Lolyenkar and Vitthal Fal. Occup: During freedom movement she was a teacher, at present stitching and needle work.



24. PATIL SHUBJADA SHARAD NEE DIVKAR KRISHNABAI SUBRAY²³: b. at c. Mapusa, Tal. Bardez on 19th March 1926; w. of Sharad patil; ed. Marathi and Hindi secondary and Nursing course; since 1946 joined the sympathizers of freedom movement to prepare posters and handbills; from 1953 to 1957 active member of the NCG; received guidance and help from barrister Nath Pai and R,M Bhat; printed handbills and distributed them in Goa; carried on political propaganda on behalf of the NCG in 1953-54 and helped the freedom fighters plan their activities; was arrested on 16th August 1955, had to pay fine and suffered nine months and ten days' RI; was subjected to beatings while in custody; her arrest and persecution in the jail had evoked a lot of protests from everywhere and representations had been sent to the Government of India as well as to the UNO; was released on 26th May 1956; from 1956 to 1958 worked among the Adivasis in Dadra and Nagar Haveli and carried on social and educational work; associates: Ramkrishna Divakar; Manohar S. Divakar; Bhuvan Sanzgui, Mhablo Divkar, Pundalik katgade, Vasant Fene, Jayanand mathkar, Shyam Wadkar, Meghashyam Shirodkar and Indrayani Divkar. Occup: Sewing, nursing and then teaching.



²²National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA19

²³*Ibid*, Fno. FFA21

25. PHADKE, ASHATAI²⁴: b. at v. Patval-Barazan, Tal. Satari in 1913; d. of Dattatraya Ghanashyam Phadke and elder sister of Sudhatai Mahadevshastri Joshi; was educated at home by her father; social worker, poetess and is well-known in Maharashtra and Goa for her religious discourses (Pravachanas); after 1953 for three years performed *Kirtans* and musical programmes on behalf of the GVSS; offered Satyagraha at Shirgaon on Zatra day on 28th April 1955 alongwith Lila Sawant, Bhanudas *alias* Narcinva Kavlekar, Pandurang Chari and Gopal Harmalkar; was arrested and beaten severely alongwith her associates after addressing the people and detained in police custody at Panaji for a month and thereafter released on health grounds; has built a temple at Buldhana and devotes herself to religious prayers.



26. PURAV, PREMA NARENDRA NEE TENDULKAR, PREMA SHANU²⁵: b. in v. Khodyem – Pissurlem, Tal. Satari on 15th August 1935; w. of Narendra S. Purav; when she was young, her house was a centre of activities where the exchange of handbills, posters and explosive material was going on; as a result of this, she was drawn towards the freedom movement; her brother Kashinath Shanu Tendulkar also was participating in the nationalist activities and was in jail in 1948; she ran away from her house to Khanapur camp via Colem at a very young age of 13; she used to carry out all types of work like that of a courier and at times even carried explosives; once when she was taking a country bomb via Tambdi Surla to be handed over to Mohan Ranade her leg was hurt in an ambush fire; was removed to an hospital in Belgaum by a truck-driver in the nearby mining area; being minor she could not be arrested but she was severely beaten several times by the police and Agente Moneiro to such an extent that her one ear is still partly deaf; she worked for Kisan Parishad in Maharashtra in 1963; after Liberation, on being widowed, she started Annapurna Mahila Mandal to help the widows and divorcees.



27. RAI, SAHODARA DEVI²⁶: haild from Sagar, in Madhya Pradesh; b. circa 1919; ed. Hindi primary; she had participated in the 1942 movement; she had worked for Hindu-Muslim unity in Naukhali and Harijan welfare; was inspired by the movement of Goa's liberation and responded in 1955 to the call given by the GVSS at Pune, seeking Goa's reintegration with India; she came all the way from Sagar to Belgaum alongwith a batch of Satyagrahis from Madhya



²⁴Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti Records, Fno. MR49

²⁵Kisan Parishad Maharashtra Records, Fno. CM121

²⁶Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti Records, Fno. MR24

Pradesh on 13th August 1955 and immediately asked the organizers to lead her to Goa frontier by shortest route, unfortunately all the roads leading from Belgaum to Goa were sealed by the Government of Bombay and the traffic towards Goa border was stopped; but this did not deter her from her determination and she marched on foot along with her batch towards Banda, 43 miles away from Belgaum and reached the destination in the morning of 15th August 1955 without taking rest; despite having been exhausted physically by continuous walk, thirst and hunger, she marched towards Patradevi frontier with a surprising zeal and enthusiasm; as the Satyagrahis entered Goa, the Portuguese armed police opened machine gun fire killing two Satyagrahis and wounding scores of others; Sahodara Devi who was behind Oak got excited when she saw Oak falling down by bullet wounds and a bullet pierced through her right arm and she too fell down seriously wounded; she was subsequently lifted by the American correspondents and was thus saved; Prime Minister Pandit Nehru in recognition of her valiant sacrifice got her soon elected to the Lok Sabha from her home constituency Sagar unopposed in the second Parliamentary elections; subsequently, she was re-elected in third and fifth Parliamentary election also; after the Congress split she was in Congress(I). Expired on 26th March 1981.

28. RODRIGUES (DR.) LAURA SOUZA DE²⁷: b. at v. Parra, Tal. Bardez on 8th September 1923; w. of Lucio Rodrigues; ed. Degree in Medicine; gave up the lucrative medical practice to join Goa's freedom movement; since 1952 worked as an active member of the BPCC; was elected the President of the Goan Women's Association, Bombay in 1952; was the member of the NCG and was the first woman to be elected as its President in Bombay in 1955; organized Goan's Residential Club in Bombay in 1955 which had 50,000 members who strongly supported Goa's liberation movement; edited '*Konkan Life*' English monthly in Bombay; organized a huge mass rally of Goans in Bombay in 1955 on Lloyd's Reclamation grounds demanding that the Portuguese should quit Goa; defied the ban on the Goa border by entering Goa four times; during 1956-58 she was the office-bearer of several social and labour associations in Bombay; was arrested and imprisoned in 1958 when she had entered Goa by the Majali route to elicit support for a freedom pledge and was released after one month; in April 1961 she led a delegation to Africa to canvass support of Goans living there as well as of the African leaders like Tom Mboya for the Goa Liberation movement; was appointed Convenor of the elected members of the Goa Council for Action of the BPCC; upon her return to Goa a few months prior to Liberation, she was re-arrested and imprisoned; was



²⁷National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA27

kept in solitary confinement, abused and subjected to indignity; after Liberation she was appointed a member of the Consultative Committee of the Lt. Governor; was also elected Secretary of the GPCC; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government in 1973; presently active INC worker in Bombay and is connected with social and political activities there; associates: Pandurang Mulgaonkar and Gopal Apa Kamat.

29. SARDESAI LIBIA LOBO²⁸: b. at v. Porvorim, Tal. Bardez on 25th May 1925; w. of Vaman balkrishna Sardesai; ed. B.A. (Hons), LLB; was member of the GYL and worked as its Secretary in 1949-50; she ran the underground radio station 'Voice of Freedom' from Castlerock and later on Belgaum, broadcasting to Goans from 1955-61; the last ultimatum to Goa Governor-General to surrender or Liberation forces would enter the territory had been repeatedly served every ten minutes from this clandestine radio station by her on 17th December 1961; associates: Vaman Sardesai and Nicolau Menezes. Occup: Legal practice.



30. SAVAIKAR, SHARADA PADMAKAR²⁹: b. at v. Savai, Tal. Ponda on 30th March, 1935; d. of Padmakar Ramkrishna Savaikar; ed. SSC and TTC; worked under the guidance of Mohan Ranade; after his arrest, continued his work of creating political consciousness among the people through the media of school education; decided to offer Satyagraha on 7th August 1955 alongwith her friends, but at the last moment as they did not render co-operation she was willing to offer Satyagraha alone; however, she was arrested on the previous day i.e. on 6th August 1955, her house was searched by the police in connection with the slaying of a pro-Salazarist Goan, she was arrested alongwith her brother and her sister-in-law was beaten; was persecuted during her detention in police custody, was beaten mercilessly in order to compel her to tell the names of her colleagues; was kept in solitary confinement; during her trial at the TMT at Panaji, she was told to beg pardon by the judge but as she refused, she was sent to Madgaon jail and was often brought to Panaji police station; she was released by mistake as the authorities made confusion over her name and that of one Sharad Shirvaikar; later on when they realized their faux pas it was too late and by the time she had already crossed the border; she had suffered imprisonment for about two and half years; was awarded Tamrapatra by the Central Government; associates; Ramdas Chafadkar among others. Occup. Teacher.



²⁸Goan Youth League Records, Fno.39

²⁹Goa Congress Committee Records, Fno. AR684.

31. TULPULE, MALINIBAI VASANTRAO NEE PATWARDHAN, DWARKA SHANKAR³⁰: b. in Tal.

Mehsana in Gujarat on 1st October 1921; w. of Vasant Rao Tulpule; ed. M.A.; participated in the Quit India movement by distributing clandestinely the nationalist literature and handbills and had been in touch with Shankarrao More and his colleagues during the period; on getting married she began her political work in Nagar District in 1943; she was the Office Secretary of the PWP from 1948 to 1953 and she had toured the entire Maharashtra with krantivir Nana Patil to build up the PWP and was also its Executive Committee member; since PWP opted not to merge with the CPI, she left it and joined the latter in 1954; at the call of the GVSS she joined the Goa Satyagraha movement and offered Satyagraha under the leadership of Rajaram Patil as one of his five deputies by entering Goa via Terekhol at Pernem on 11th June 1955; was beaten, arrested and released on the same day; later, on 18th June 1955 she had accompanied the group led by Com. S.M. Nandedkar and managed to help their arrangement; prior to the 15th August 1955 Satyagraha, she had carried out propaganda by organizing meetings in several villages on Belgaum district border; in August 1955, she had been entrusted by the GVSS with the very delicate task of carrying the mortal remains of Com. Nityanand Saha to his family in Calcutta, who had fallen a victim alongwith Com. Baburao Thorat to the bullets of the Portuguese police on 3rd August 1955 when they offered Satyagraha; in the second week of August 1955, she had held propaganda meetings in Calcutta; on 15th August 1955, she had come to Goa alongwith 500 Satyagrahis walking 33 miles through Valpoi borders via Kankumbi-Jamboti and was entrusted with their arrangement; thereafter, she has devoted herself to the CPI work which she is still continuing and is its one of the prominent women leaders; she also takes keen interest in social activities.



³⁰Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti Records, Fno. MR31.

32. VELINGKAR, LALITA MADHAV NEE KANTAK, LALITA³¹: b. in c. Vasco, Tal. Mormugao, on 12th July 1927; w. of Madav Sripad Velingkar; ed. Matric, following the arrest of Dr. Lohia on 18th June 1946, she participated from the next day in the regular ‘prabhatferis’ every day in Madgaon to defy the Government ban against holding meetings and curbing of the civil liberties; on 21st July 1946 while she was leading such a ‘prabhatferi’ in Madgaon holding the Tricolour aloft, Police Commandant Lt. Figueiredo intercepted the procession and tried to snatch the Tricolour from her hands: when she resisted, she was slapped and the Tricolour was forcefully removed after physically overpowering her; the processionists including Shrimati Krishna Hegde, Vitha Hegde, Krishna Lotlikar were beaten mercilessly and V.B. Naik was bayoneted.



33. DESAI, (SMT) ANANDI DATTARAM³²: b. at v. Pansulem, Tal. Canacona on 15th May 1926; wife of Dattaram U. Desai; from 1947 participated in underground nationalist activities; in 1949-50 she worked with Mohan Ranade and Bala Desai; she was arrested and detained in custody for three days; on her release she was required to be physically present at Cuncolim police station every week; in 1955 she left Goa to avoid arrest and worked at the Majali camp of the AGD which was managed by her husband Dattaram Desai; she helped the underground nationalists, provided them with food and shelter and worked herself for the AGD clandestinely; her house was searched and cash and arms were seized in her absence



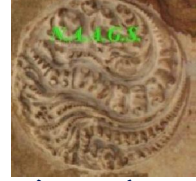
34. ZUWARKAR, (SMT.) MANDAKINI ANAND (NEE) GAUNEKAR, KALINDI GOPAL NAIK³³: b. at v. Bandiwadwe, Tal. Ponda on 21st May 1941; wife of Anand V. Zuwarkar; ed. S.S.C.E. and Pandit (Hindi); was member of the NCG; she was an underground worker in the party’s publicity campaign; she participated in the Satyagraha on 15th August 1955 in front of the police headquarters, Panaji.



³¹ Goa Congress Committee Records, Fno.68

³² Azad Gomantak Dal Records, Fno.132

³³ National Congress (Goa) Records, Fno. FFA36.



BRITISH ENGAGEMENT IN BENGAL

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For the committee who planned the House of Commons paintings, this marked the beginning of British engagement with India. Two nation states coming into direct contact for the first time. Yet, in reality, British relations with India began not with diplomacy and the meeting of envoys, but with trade. On 24 September, 1599, 80 merchants and adventurers met at the Founders Hall in the City of London and agreed to petition Queen Elizabeth I to start up a company. A year later, the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, a group of 218 men, received a royal charter, giving them a monopoly for 15 years over “trade to the East”. The charter authorised the setting up of what was then a radical new type of business: not a family partnership – until then the norm over most of the globe but a joint-stock company that could issue tradeable shares on the open market to any number of investors, a mechanism capable of realising much larger amounts of capital. The first chartered joint-stock company was the Muscovy Company, which received its charter in 1555. The East India Company was founded 44 years later. English traders frequently engaged in hostilities with their Dutch and Portuguese counterparts in the Indian Ocean after its formation in Great Britain. The company achieved a major victory over the Portuguese in the Battle of Swally in 1612. The company decided to explore the feasibility of gaining a territorial foothold in mainland India, with official sanction by both Britain and the Mughal Empire, and requested that the Crown launch a diplomatic mission. In 1612, James I instructed Sir Thomas Roe to visit the Mughal Padshah Jahangir (1605–1627) to arrange for a commercial treaty that would give the company exclusive rights to reside and

establish factories in Surat and other areas. In return, the company offered to provide the Emperor with goods and rarities from the European market. This mission was highly successful as Jahangir sent a letter to James through Sir Thomas Roe. The company, which benefited from the imperial patronage, soon expanded its commercial trading operations, eclipsing the Portuguese Estado da Índia, which had established bases in Goa, Chittagong, and Bombay, which Portugal later ceded to England as part of the dowry of Catherine de Braganza. The East India Company also launched a joint attack with the Dutch United East India Company on Portuguese and Spanish ships off the coast of China, which helped secure their ports in China. The company established trading posts in Surat (1619), Madras (1639), Bombay (1668), and Calcutta (1690). By 1647, the company had 23 factories, each under the command of a factor or master merchant and governor if so chosen, and 90 employees in India. The major factories became the walled forts of Fort William in Bengal, Fort St George in Madras, and Bombay Castle. In 1634, the Mughal emperor extended his hospitality to the English traders to the region of Bengal, and in 1717 completely waived customs duties for the trade. The company's mainstay businesses were by then cotton, silk, indigo dye, saltpetre, and tea. The Dutch were aggressive competitors and had meanwhile expanded their monopoly of the spice trade in the Malaccan straits by ousting the Portuguese in 1640–41. With reduced Portuguese and Spanish influence in the region, the EIC and Dutch East India Company (VOC) entered a period of intense competition, resulting in the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the 17th and 18th centuries.

Meanwhile, in 1657, Oliver Cromwell renewed the charter of 1609, and brought about minor changes in the holding of the company. The restoration of monarchy in England further enhanced the company's status. In an act aimed at strengthening the power of the EIC, King Charles II granted the company the rights to autonomous territorial acquisitions, to mint money, to command fortresses and troops and form alliances, to make war and peace, and to exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction over the acquired areas. William Hedges was sent in 1682 to Shaista Khan, the Mughal governor of Bengal in order to obtain a farman, an imperial directive that would grant England regular trading privileges throughout the Mughal Empire. However, the company's governor in London, Sir Josiah Child, interfered with Hedges's mission, causing Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb to break off the negotiations. In 1689 a Mughal fleet commanded by Siddi Yaqub attacked Bombay. After a year of resistance the EIC surrendered in 1690, and the company sent envoys to Aurangzeb's camp to plead for a pardon. The company's envoys had to prostrate themselves before the emperor, pay a large indemnity, and promise better behaviour in the future. The emperor withdrew his troops and the company subsequently reestablished itself in Bombay and set up a new base in

Calcutta. It was at this moment in 1764, that the East India Company ceased to be a conventional corporation, trading and silks and spices, and became something much more unusual. Within a few years, 250 company clerks backed by the military force of 20,000 locally recruited Indian soldiers had become the effective rulers of Bengal. An international corporation was transforming itself into an aggressive colonial power. Using its rapidly growing security force – its army had grown to 260,000 men by 1803 – it swiftly subdued and seized an entire subcontinent. Astonishingly, this took less than half a century. The first serious territorial conquests began in Bengal in 1756; 47 years later, the company’s reach extended as far north as the Mughal capital of Delhi, and almost all of India south of that city was by then effectively ruled from a boardroom in the City of London. “What honour is left to us?” asked a Mughal official named Narayan Singh, shortly after 1765, “when we have to take orders from a handful of traders who have not yet learned to wash their bottoms?” It was not the British government that seized India, but a private company, run by an unstable sociopath. We still talk about the British conquering India, but that phrase disguises a more sinister reality. It was not the British government that seized India at the end of the 18th century, but a dangerously unregulated private company headquartered in one small office, five windows wide, in London, and managed in India by an unstable sociopath.

In many ways the company was a model of corporate efficiency. 100 years into its history, it had only 35 permanent employees in its head office. Nevertheless, that skeleton staff executed a corporate coup unparalleled in history: the military conquest, subjugation and plunder of vast tracts of southern Asia. It almost certainly remains the supreme act of corporate violence in world history. Yet if history shows anything, it is that in the intimate dance between the power of the state and that of the corporation, while the latter can be regulated, it will use all the resources in its power to resist. When it suited, the company made much of its legal separation from the government. It argued forcefully, and successfully, that the document signed by Shah Alam known as the Diwani was the legal property of the company, not the Crown, even though the government had spent a massive sum on naval and military operations protecting the company’s Indian acquisitions. But the MPs who voted to uphold this legal distinction were not exactly neutral: nearly a quarter of them held company stock, which would have plummeted in value had the Crown taken over. For the same reason, the need to protect the company from foreign competition became a major aim of British foreign policy. Before long the province, already devastated by war, was struck down by the famine of 1769, then further ruined by high taxation. Company tax collectors were guilty of what today would be described as human rights violations. A senior official of the old Mughal regime in Bengal wrote in his diaries: “Indians were tortured to disclose their

treasure; cities, towns and villages ransacked; jagirs and provinces purloined: these were the ‘delights’ and ‘religions’ of the directors and their servants.” Bengal’s wealth rapidly drained into Britain, while its prosperous weavers and artisans were coerced “like so many slaves” by their new masters, and its markets flooded with British products. A proportion of the loot of Bengal went directly into Clive’s pocket. He returned to Britain with a personal fortune – then valued at £234,000 – that made him the richest self-made man in Europe. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, a victory that owed more to treachery, forged contracts, bankers and bribes than military prowess, he transferred to the EIC treasury no less than £2.5m seized from the defeated rulers of Bengal, in today’s currency, around £23m for Clive and £250m for the company. No great sophistication was required. The entire contents of the Bengal treasury were simply loaded into 100 boats and punted down the Ganges from the Nawab of Bengal’s palace to Fort William, the company’s Calcutta headquarters. Later, the British dignified the document by calling it the Treaty of Allahabad, though Clive had dictated the terms and a terrified Shah Alam had simply waved them through. As the contemporary Mughal historian Sayyid Ghulam Husain Khan put it: “A business of such magnitude, as left neither pretence nor subterfuge, and which at any other time would have required the sending of wise ambassadors and able negotiators, as well as much parley and conference with the East India Company and the King of England, and much negotiation and contention with the ministers, was done and finished in less time than would usually have been taken up for the sale of a jack-ass, or a beast of burden, or a head of cattle.” Today, as the company’s most articulate recent critic, Nick Robins, has pointed out, the site of the company’s headquarters in Leadenhall Street lies underneath Richard Rogers’s glass and metal Lloyd’s building. Unlike Clive’s burial place, no blue plaque marks the site of what Macaulay called “the greatest corporation in the world”, and certainly the only one to equal the Mughals by seizing political power across wide swaths of south Asia. But anyone seeking a monument to the company’s legacy need only look around. No contemporary corporation could duplicate its brutality, but many have attempted to match its success at bending state power to their own ends. Robert Clive stated, “The people of Allahabad have also chosen to forget this episode in their history. The red sandstone Mughal fort where the treaty was extracted from Shah Alam a much larger fort than those visited by tourists in Lahore, Agra or Delhi – is still a closed-off military zone and, when I visited it late last year, neither the guards at the gate nor their officers knew anything of the events that had taken place there; none of the sentries had even heard of the company whose cannons still dot the parade ground”. At the height of the Victorian period there was a strong sense of embarrassment about the shady mercantile way the British had founded the colony. The Victorians thought the real stuff of history was the politics of the nation state.

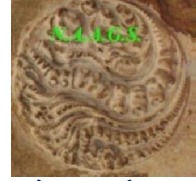
This, not the economics of corrupt corporations, they believed was the fundamental unit of analysis and the major driver of change in human affairs. In 1614, the Mughal empire was still at its richest and most powerful. Jahangir inherited from his father Akbar one of the two wealthiest polities in the world, rivalled only by Ming China. His lands stretched through most of India, all of what is now Pakistan and Bangladesh, and most of Afghanistan. He ruled over five times the population commanded by the Ottomans – roughly 100 million people. His capitals were the megacities of their day. In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the great Mughal cities of Jahangir's India are shown to Adam as future marvels of divine design. This was no understatement: Agra, with a population approaching 700,000, dwarfed all of the cities of Europe, while Lahore was larger than London, Paris, Lisbon, Madrid and Rome combined. This was a time when India accounted for around a quarter of all global manufacturing. In contrast, Britain then contributed less than 2% to global GDP, and the East India Company was so small that it was still operating from the home of its governor. The rapid rise of the East India Company was made possible by the catastrophically rapid decline of the Mughals during the 18th century. As late as 1739, when Clive was only 14 years old, the Mughals still ruled a vast empire that stretched from Kabul to Madras. But in that year, the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah descended the Khyber Pass with 150,000 of his cavalry and defeated a Mughal army of 1.5 million men. Three months later, Nadir Shah returned to Persia carrying the pick of the treasures the Mughal empire had amassed in its 200 years of conquest: a caravan of riches that included Shah Jahan's magnificent peacock throne, the Koh-i-Noor, the largest diamond in the world, as well as its "sister", the Darya Nur, and "700 elephants, 4,000 camels and 12,000 horses carrying wagons all laden with gold, silver and precious stones", worth an estimated £87.5m in the currency of the time. This haul was many times more valuable than that later extracted by Clive from the peripheral province of Bengal. The destruction of Mughal power by Nadir Shah, and his removal of the funds that had financed it, quickly led to the disintegration of the empire. That same year, the French *Compagnie des Indes* began minting its own coins, and soon, without anyone to stop them, both the French and the English were drilling their own sepoy and militarising their operations. Before long the English company was straddling the globe. Almost single-handedly, it reversed the balance of trade, which from Roman times on had led to a continual drain of western bullion eastwards. The company ferried opium to China, and in due course fought the opium wars in order to seize an offshore base at Hong Kong and safeguard its profitable monopoly in narcotics. To the west it shipped Chinese tea to Massachusetts, where its dumping in Boston harbour triggered the American war of independence. By 1803, when the company captured the Mughal capital of Delhi, it had trained up a private security force of around 260,000- twice the size of

the British army – and marshalled more firepower than any nation state in Asia. It was “an empire within an empire”, as one of its directors admitted. It had also by this stage created a vast and sophisticated administration and civil service, built much of London’s docklands and come close to generating nearly half of Britain’s trade. No wonder that the EIC now referred to itself as “the grandest society of merchants in the Universe”.

The East India Company no longer exists, and it has no exact modern equivalent. Walmart, which is the world’s largest corporation in revenue terms, does not number among its assets a fleet of nuclear submarines; nor others possess regiments of infantry. Yet the East India Company the first great multinational corporation, and the first to run was the ultimate model for many of today’s joint-stock corporations. The most powerful among them do not need their own armies: they can rely on governments to protect their interests and bail them out. The East India Company remains history’s most terrifying warning about the potential for the abuse of corporate power – and the insidious means by which the interests of shareholders become those of the state. According to Dalrymple, “three hundred and fifteen years after its founding, its story has never been more current.”

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RELIGIOUS SPOTS WITH IN FORTS AND FORT SITES: A STUDY IN CULTURAL HISTORY OF BUNDELKHAND REGION IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT :

Bundelkhand geographically situated in exactly south of Ganges plane is memorable due to the ancient references. Firstly, saints, devotees, hermits were attracted from Ganges plane towards isolated, solitary pleasing zone of Vindhyatavi.

¹ (Singh, Rajendra,1994, pp.1, 2) The history of Bundelkhand starts from Chedi dynasty.² (Singh, Rajendra,1990,pp.80-85)The two famous cities of that time Shuktimati and Shahgeet are now matter of research. After Chedis, Gupta rulers and Harsh Vardhan became main rulers, but Chandelas were the first ruler who constructed the region with the capital in the region of Chedis.³ (Majumdar,

¹ Singh, Rajendra (1994), Bundelkhand: A traditional land of fort complex, The Deccan Geographer, vol. 32, no.2 ISSN 0011-7269,published by The Deccan Geographical Society Pune (India), pp.1,2

² Singh, Rajendra,(june 1990), Water resource and its management :A case study of river Betwa, Indian journal of Landscape systems and ecological studies, Calcutta, Vol.13 No.1, pp80-85 ; Chedi region was territories watered by the rivers Charmanwati (Chambal), Vetrawati (betwa) and karnawati (Ken)

³ Majumdar R.C. And Pusalker A.D.,(1951) , The History and culture of the Indian people, Vol. I , Bombay, p. 252

1951,p.252) The Bundelas and Marathas were also with dignity in this regard. There was no fort without religious spots. The religious spots in the forts of Bundelkhand were centre of belief not only for royal families but also become the centre of faith and reverence of general people. Therefore these sites have gained unique and peerless fame. The religious sites within the forts played an important role in preserving and recharging the cultural heritage up to the centuries in Bundelkhand. These become the cause of cultural and religious harmony between the royal families and general people. These religious centres always released the massage of prayer, peace and wish of prosperity from the royal hides of forts. Many times these temples and other spots provided the faithful links between the royal families and general people which resulted the cause of welfare rule in the region. The paper is concerned to the historical importance of these religious spots. This paper is an effort to explore the dignity of the historical and religious spots within the forts of Bundelkhand region in India.

KEY WORDS : fort, fortress, parapet, tirtha (i.e., sacred place),

INTRODUCTION:

Bundelkhand located in heart place of India is well known for its ancient geological structure , mixed relief pattern, semi-arid climate and rough stony soils on one hand and on other to its remarkable historical background, culture and language. At present the extension of area is contradicted but generally seven district of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) named Jhansi, Jalaun, Lalitpur, Mahoba, Hamirpur, Banda, Karvi are clearly part of it with six districts of Madhya Pradesh (M.P.) named Datia, Tikamgarh, Chatarpur, Panna, Damoh & Sagar. In this way the location of Bundelkhand region in India is in between 23⁰8' to 26⁰30' N latitude and 78⁰11' to 81⁰30' E longitude with 71816 square kilometers total geographical area.⁴ (Singh Rajendra,1989,p.539) Bundelkhand which was known as Chedi in Mahajanpada Aga (600 B.C.), ruled by Chedi rulers earlier and after words Guptas, Kalchuris, Chandelas, Sultans, Mughals, Bundelas, Marathas and British colonial rule; but only Chandelas and Bundelas were the founder of particular culture of this land paying devotion to the local population. The Chandela rulers of Bundelkhand constructed the Great temples of Khajuraho on one hand as well as huge tanks and water bodies for public welfare on another. Though these tanks were constructed for the water conservation but it was not imagined at that time that these tanks will be great factor in future for ecological balance in the area.

⁴ Singh, Rajendra,(1989), Evolution of routes in Bundelkhand U.P.: A study in historical Geography, The Deccan Geographer, vol. 27, nos.2,3, ISSN 0011-7269, published by The Deccan Geographical Society Pune (India), p. 539

These huge tanks and historical water bodies are the certificate of historical contribution of rulers of Bundelkhand in field of ecological balance.

Bundelkhand was facing scarcity of rain's water (75 mm in NW to 125 mm NE) which is not only insufficient but also unreliable. These circumstances encouraged the nature of water collection according to availability of favorable sites for tank construction. The middle transitional belt between the northern plain and southern highlands, which is roughly in between 24⁰33'to 25⁰30'N latitude, presented the ideal conditions for the tank construction. Therefore 15 tehsils of 6 districts in Jhansi (tehsils Jhansi, Mauranipur), Mahoba (Mahoba, Charkhari), Tikamgarh (Tikamgarh, Jatara), Chhatarpur (Laundi, Chhatarpur, Vijawar Tehsils) and Panna (Panna, Ajai Garh Tehsils) are in the particular zone. The presence of hard rocks like gneiss, granite sand stone and lime stone surrounded by patches of agricultural lands are the favorable geographical condition for water collection. The large heartedness of Chandela rulers converted the dream in to truth of the people of this thirsty land. These were Chandelas who have taken keen interest in tank construction. Names of many tanks constructed by chandelas have suffix Sagar (Sea) e.g., Keerat Sagar, Madan Sagar, Rahil Sagar, Barua Sagar in U.P. part of Bundelkhand with Radha Sagar, Gwal Sagar in M.P. part as they are huge and cover large area. The number of these historical tanks scattered in 15 tehsils of Bundelkhand is about 100. History of construction of many tanks is not available now but it is very clear that tough granite base, surroundings of hills, presence of water supply source and residence of rulers were important factors for selection of construction site. Madan Verma, Keerat Verma, Rahil, Parmardi Deva, Dhanga (950 – 1008 A.D.), Ganda, Vidhyadhar was the prominent rulers taking interest in tank construction. Most of these tanks are constructed along the human settlements, which is remarkable point.⁵ (Singh, Purushottam, pp.19-35) At present the historical tanks are surrounded by natural scenes, picnic spots, religious locations as well as many of them are symbol of ancient cultural activities and festivals. If these historical tanks may be maintained properly, they have capacity to change scenario of water ecology in Bundelkhand. The tanks which were the symbol of aristocracy and source of water supply for most of the population now are centre of illegal jobs and polluted water. Silt setting and illegal capturing are main problems of the tanks, therefore water carrying capacity of almost all the tanks is decreased to less than half of its actual. Bands of dams are weak and most of the water of tanks is captured by fungi, grasses etc.

⁵ Singh, Purushottam (2014), A Historical appraisal and Present Significance of Chandela's Tanks of Bundelkhand, ISBN 978-93-81555-65-1, Roli Prakashan Kanpur India, pp.19-35

History and culture of Bundelkhand region were designed by geographical features. Far away from Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, Bundelkhand is situated in ranges of Vindhya with river Yamuna as northern border.⁶ (Brockman, 1921, p.15) This is mandatory to know about geographical features of the region because culture is deeply associated with surface, topography, soil and drainage pattern of the region.

BRIEF GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND :

There are four prominent systems related to structure of the region. The Archian system is the oldest one which can be recognized by the presence of granite and gneiss. Bundelkhand granite is of many types as per composition and colour . pink and gray colored granite is important .The second system is known as Gwalior Series or transitional system. This system is composed of sand stone, lime stone and quartzite commonly found in Datia district. Third structure is known as rocks of Vindhya range spread in middle part of Bundelkhand featuring layers of sand stone .According to Professor R.L.Singh, tectonic activities in southern Bundelkhand region has greatly influenced this system. The fourth structure is made of river deposits in northern belt of region due to presence of Yamuna, Pahuj, Betwa , Dhasan, Ken, Bagain rivers. Therefore geomorphology of Bundelkhand region is consist of oldest to modern structures which decides the topography, soil and underground water of the region.⁷ (Atkinson, E.T.,1874,p.524)

TOPOGRAPHY : Topography is always important in Historical studies because it gives surface to human settlement and cultural evolution. Bundelkhand is subject of interest among Historians due to presence of all three major forms i.e., hill , plateau and plane. The southern part of Bundelkhand is hilly area of Vindhya range with hillocks and scattered hills while northern part is plane attracting human settlement. Basically slope is towards south to north resulting in to plane . Thus the study area consists of the following three while discussing topography-

1. Southern high land
2. Middle Transitional Belt
3. Northern deposited plane

The southern high land has slope towards north. It can be separated from middle transitional plateaus belt by contour of 250 meters having average height from sea level 300 to 500 meters. It contains hillocks of Bhandar and Kaimur .

⁶ Brockman D.L. Drake,(1921), Jalaun: A Gazetter, superintendent Government Press, Allahabad, ,p.15

⁷ Atkinson, E.T.,(1874), statistical, Descriptive and Historical account of the north western provinces of India ,Vol.I, Bundelkhand division, Allahabad, p.524

The middle transitional belt is most important regarding tank construction. This fact is one of the major conclusions found during the survey. In this transitional belt, Hard rocks are hidden by river deposits showing ideal condition for water collection. This part has slope towards north & north-east. Generally this belt is decided between contours of 150 m and 250 m. This belt has small rivers like Shahzad, Sanjana, Jaimini, Bagain & Payaswini. The average height from sea level varies between 100 meters to 280 meters as 280m in Babina, 255.15m in Jhansi, 174.6m in Garutha, 149.4m in Gohand, 210.3m in Mahoba, 121.8m in Akauna, 129.9m in Chitrakoot and 102.6m in Rajapur, the eastern point. This transitional belt has scattered hills and small plane which converts in to big plane tending towards northern belt.

The northern deposited plane is formed by great river Yamuna and its tributaries. This part is spread over Datia, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Banda & Karvi districts. This belt is most fertile land of the zone because Yamuna and other rivers form DO-AAB (catchment area between two rivers) like between Pahuj & Betwa; Betwa & Dhasan; Ken & Baghain etc.

While discussing drainage system of the region, we must discuss tributaries of river Yamuna like Kali Sindh, Pahuj, Betwa, Dhasan, Ken, Bagain & Mandakini etc. because these rivers are life line Bundeli people. Kali Sindh is the river flowing in western part of Bundelkhand originating from Sironj. Kali Sindh meets Yamuna after a distance of 300km from origination at Jagammanpur in Jalaun district. Pahuj is the main tributary of Kali Sindh. Betwa is most important river of the Bundelkhand region. Famous scholar Rajendra Singh proceed his Thesis that personality of Bundelkhand is the resultant of river Betwa⁸. (Singh, Rajendra, 1990, pp.80-85) Betwa originates from village Barkhera (district-Raisin, M.P.) and travels 564 km up to its confluence with Yamuna at Hamirpur. Betwa flows 184 km in M.P., 225 km in U.P. and 145 km at common border of U.P. & M.P. Dams of Rajghat, Maatatila and Parichha are associated with Betwa. Dhasan is the biggest tributary of Betwa. Besides Dhasan, Ajnar, Halali, Burman, Sagar, Kaliyasoat, Bina, Nian, Narayani, Gunchi, Arjun, Parwaha, Jaimini & Birma are tributaries of river Betwa. The ancient name of Betwa was Betrawati (i.e. flowing through Bamboos). The catchment area of Betwa between Kali Sindh and Dhasan is almost 43542 square kms, which is biggest among all rivers of Bundelkhand. Ken is important river in middle east zone of Bundelkhand having ancient name Karnawati (B.C. Law & Rajendra Singh have supported this fact). Ken originates from district Damoh of M.P. and ends at Chilla in Banda district

⁸ Singh, Rajendra, June 1990, Water resource and its management :A case study of river Betwa”, Indian journal of Landscape systems and ecological studies, Calcutta, Vol.13 No.1, pp. 80-85

with river Yamuna. Urmil , Chadrawal & Sunar are main tributaries of Ken. Bagain and Mandakini are the rivers in eastern Chitrakoot zone of Bundelkhand . water in both rivers comes from natural sources of Vindhya range as well as small flows of Ranj, Madrar, Barar, Kareyhali, Ban-ganga, Barua and Payaswini. Flow of water in above mentioned rivers became maximum in rainy season in zone of religious importance . In above mentioned scenario of drainage pattern of Bundelkhand , Yamuna is a river of national importance which decides the northern boundary of Bundelkhand region. The matter of strange while discussing drainage of Bundelkhand is that flow of all rivers except Yamuna is from south to north. Yamuna separates this zone to Kanpur zone and proved as important means of travel since ancient times.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

The early history of the region may be tracked back to the Paleolithic age as evidenced by the discovery of choppers , hand axes and the pebble cores made by clipping hard stones of convenient size at Lahchura in the region. Polished stone Celts of Neolithic age have also been excavated⁹ (Ghosh, A.,1967, p45). In primitive times the major part of the region was covered with forests and would have been inhabited by Gonds, Kols, Bhils etc.¹⁰(Atkinson,E.T., 1874,p.524). The cultural zone of Bundelkhand was known through different names since ancient times. According to Puranic tradition the earliest known Aryan people who settled in this region, lying between Yamuna and Vindhya were known as Chedis¹¹(Raychaudhury,H.C.,1953,p.126). The Mahabharat describes the Chedis as being blessed with knowledge of the eternal law of righteousness. The Chedi kingdom was one of the principal janapadas flourished about 600B.C. Very little is known of the subsequent period about the history of this region till the fourth century B.C. when Mahapadma Nand who is described as exterminator of the entire Kshatriya race uprooted the Vitihotra dynasty and extended his own rule over the region¹²(Sastri,K.A.N.,1952,p.17). After the Nandas were overthrown , the region became the part of Mauryan empire. A minor rock edict of Ashoka was found at Gurjara (district Datia) in the region¹³ (Majumdar,R.C., “Ancient India”,Delhi,1964,p.106). The Sungas succeeded the

⁹ Ghosh, A.,(1967), Indian Archaeology-1963-64-A review, published by Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, p45

¹⁰ Atkinson, E.T.,(1874), statistical, Descriptive and Historical account of the north western provinces of India ,Vol.I, Bundelkhand division, Allahabad, p.524

¹¹ Raychaudhury,H.C.,(1953), Political History of ancient India, Calcutta, p.126

¹² Sastri,K.A.N.,(1952), The age of Nandas and Mauryas, Banaras, p.17

¹³ Majumdar,R.C.,(1964), Ancient India, second edition, Delhi,p.106

Muaryas confined central portion of old Mauryan Empire including Bundelkhand. During the rule of Pushyamitra Sunga (184-148B.C.). Greek invasion took place probably under Menander, whose coins have been found in abundance at Pachkhura in Hamirpur district by Cunningham in 1878. Towards the end of first century A.D. the region came under the domination of Kanishka (78A.D.).¹⁴ (Majumdar & Pusalkar, 1962, p.99) After him, History of the zone was shrouded in obscurity till about the middle of the third century A.D. when Vindhyashakti (255-275A.D.) rose to power near about eastern Malwa and occupied large tracts of northern M.P. Vindhyashakti is probably not the personal name but the title of the founder of Vakataka dynasty¹⁵(Majumdar & Altekar,1960,pp.96-97). Vidhyashakti's son and successor Pravarsena I (275-335A.D.) is the only ruler of the dynasty, who assumed the title of Samrata or emperor. He succeeded in extending the Vakataka hegemony and performed ashwamedha Yajna. It seems that the zone partly came under the vakataka sway and partly under the Bharsivas , a branch of Nagas, whose sphere of influence extended at the time from Gwalior and Mathura in the west and probably Varanasi & Mirzapur in the east. About the middle of the fourth century A.D. ,the zone under the political domination of Samudra Gupta (321-375A.D.) and continued to be part of Gupta Empire still the beginning of sixth century¹⁶(Majumdar & Pusalkar, 1960,p.64). In Budhagupta's reign (477-500A.D.) the feudatory family of the Parivrajaka Maharaja in Bundelkhand rose to prominence under Hastin, whose record mention a general reference to Gupta sovereignty. During the middle of sixth century this region appers to have come under the sway of Tivara (563-580A.D.), a Punduva king of south Kosala. The next reference about the History of Bundelkhand is gathered from the description of Huien Tsang, who visited the region in 641-642A.D. He mentions the tract of which this zone formed as "Chi Chi To"¹⁷ (Cunningham, A., 1963, p.405), which was about 4000 li in circuit. Its capital was about 15 li in circuit lay more than 1000 li to the north east of the Ujjain. The history of the zone is again developed in darkness for about half of a century after Harsha's death. During the period of instability, a branch of Gaharwara , might have to come at Mahoba and its immediate neighborhood. The massive embankment at Vijay Sagar lake and the construction of the lake itself in addition to lakes at Bilki and Pawa in

¹⁴ Majumdar & Pusalkar,(1962), The history and culture of the Indian People, Vol. II, Bombay,p.99

¹⁵ Majumdar & Altekar,(1960), The vakataka Gupta age, Delhi, pp.96-97

¹⁶ Majumdar & Pusalkar,(1960), History and culture of Indian People, Vol.III,3rd ed.,Bombay,1960,p.64

¹⁷ Cunningham, A.,(1963), Ancient geography of India, Indological book house Varanasi, 1963, p.405

Mahoba are assigned to Gaharwaras¹⁸(Atkinson, op. cit.,p.524). The construction of Kanduara Taal situated in the townships of Thana and Paswara, is credited to one Kandaaur Singh , an officer under the Gaharwara Raja. In addition to these some other lakes and tanks in the zone are also ascribed to Gaharwara rulers. The antique origin of these lakes is attested by the rudeness of their construction .During the first half of eighth century Yashoverman the vigorous ruler of Kannauj brought the region under his sway. After the death of Yashoverman mist again gathers over history of the zone and not lifted till the rise of Pratiharas in the last quarter of eighth century. The Pratihar ruler Vatsraja established his supremacy over the large part of the northern India.The other important ruler of the dynasty was Nagbhata II who extended the kingdom far and wide . During the troublous days of conflict among Pratihar, Pala & Rashtrakoota to win Kannauj, a new power knowmn as Chandel emerged in Bundelkhnad region under Nannuka who stablished an independent chiefship. The Khajuraho inscriptions mentioning him as Pripa & Nahipati, confirm this fact¹⁹(Mitra, S.K1958,pp.27-29). Nannuka was very brave as verse 15 of Khajuraho inscription no.4 refers to him as one whose skill in the use of bows and arrow reminded people of great epic hero Arjun. It is said that Mahoba was brought by Nannuka under his control by driving away the Pratiharas. The region was known as Jejakbhukti after the name of Jeja or Jejak the second chandela ruler of the region . The Madanpur inscription(1184A.D.) of famous Prathvi raj III of chauhan dynasty indicates the region as Jejakbhukti.²⁰ (A Fuhrer and E. Hultz, 2000, p.98) Nephew of Jeja named as Rahila as mentioned in Khajuraho records, was a great warrior and undertook works of public interest. The village Rahila about three kms. South west of Mahoba and old lake with granite temple on its bank near Mahoba called Rahilasagar are ascribed to him. After the death of Rahila , his son Harsha who succeeded the throne and ruled approximately from 900 to 925, began to enhance his political power by entering in to matrimonial alliances with other contemporary powers. The reign of Harsha's son Yashoverman who also marked with significant political developments. According to Khajuraho inscriptions he was "a scorching fire" to the Pratiharas and gave a great blow to their prestige. He made Chandelas independent and made them one of the strongest power of the northern India . Yashoverman was the first winner of Kalinjar fort. He defeated the Kalchuri ruler to win the fort. Kalchuris were the first known ruler of Kalinjar having title "Kalinjarpurwaradhishwar". After this

¹⁸ Atkinson, op. cit.,p.524

¹⁹ Mitra, S.K.,1958, The early rulers of Khajuraho, Calcutta, pp.27-29

²⁰ A Fuhrer and E. Hultz (Editors) , Epigraphia Indica, vol.ii, Archaeological Survey of India, reprint,New Delhi, 2000,p.98

significant win , Yashoverman declared his new title “Kalinjaradhipati”²¹ (Tiwari, Gorelal, “Bundelkhand ka samshipta Itihas”in hindi, Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, 1934,p.38). Yashoverman was succeeded by his son Dhanga (950-1008A.D.) who was one of the greatest ruler of his times and the Chandel kingdom achieved great prosperity under him. The important event of his reign was severance of all connections with Pratiharas. He attained the supreme leadership after inflicting a defeat over the king of Kannauj. Undoubtly the mantle of Imperialism fell from the Pratiharas upon the shoulders of Dhanga²²(Bose, Nimai Sadan,1958,p.50). The boundaries of Chandel Kingdom under Dhanga extended up to Chedi zone on one side and Bhilsa on the other. To the east he retained his hold on Ganga-Yamuna Doab upto Prayag where he ended his life when he attained the age of one hundred years by drowning himself in the sacred waters of the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna. Dhanga was credited to build Kandariya Mahadeva Temple at Khajuraho , the apex of Nagara style in the world. He was not only builder of empire but he also had the welfare of people at heart. Historical tanks and lakes are living proof of this fact. In order to dispense proper justice to his subjects he granted revenue free lands to learned Brahmins so that they might settle into his kingdom and their services might be utilized by the King²³(Mitra,op.cit.,p.69). Dhanga was succeeded by his son Ganda(1008-1017A.D.). There is no epigraphic record of any other contemporary account of his short reign. He was succeeded by Vidyadhara who was undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers of this dynasty. His greatness is not based on conquests but on heroic part he took in the defence of his country against the Muslim invasion, a fact even praised by Muslim historians. In 1017 Rajyapala , Pratihara King of Kannauj was defeated in an encounter with Mahmud of Gazni and forced to make humiliating treaty. Vidyadhara attacked Kannauj and Killed Rajyapala. It resulted in Mahmud’s invasion on Chandel kingdom in 1019 A.D.²⁴ (Bose, op. cit.,p.56). The Kalchuris defeated the Chandelas in the reign of Devaverman (1050-1060). Chandelas did not remain under the subjugation of the Kalchuries for long as Kirtiverman(1060-1100), the brother of Devaverman revived the fortunes of his dynasty defeating the Kalchuri king Karnadev. Besides being military genius Kirtiverman paid close attention to public works. In addition to other constructions in various parts his kingdom , He is credited with constructing Kirat Sagar lake to the west of Mahoba . He was also great patron of arts and letters. A highly philosophical drama like , the “Prabodhchandrodayam”

²¹ Tiwari, Gorelal, (1934), Bundelkhand ka samshipta Itihas,(in Hindi), Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, p.38

²² Bose, Nimai Sadan,(1958), History of Chandelas of Jejakhukti,Calcutta, p.50

²³ Mitra,op.cit.,p.69

²⁴ Bose, op. cit.,p.56

was composed under his patronage. He also issued several types of gold coins. Kirtiverman was succeeded by his son Sallaksana Verman(1100-1115) also mentioned as Hallaksana Verman in the coins issued by him. He is reputed to have gained success over the Parmaras and Calchuries. Not only he was able to establish peace and order in the state but he also improved the living standard of the people and raised the reserves of the royal treasury . His successor Jaya Verman(1115-1120) having lost a portion of territory to the Gahadwala ruler Govind Chandra . His successor Prithvi Verman(1120-1129) did not succeed in restoring the lost glories of Chandelas. Prithvi Verman's son Madan Verman (1129-1162) pursued a vigorous policy from very beginning of his reign, in reviving the strength and organization of Chandela power. He not only restored the lost possessions of his kingdom but even expanded his territories as far as Yamuna in north, Betwa in south west, Narmada in south and Rewa in the east. Besides being a great warrior he also patronized art and literature. He is credited to constructing a lake of Mahoba which bears his name as Madan Sagar and probably the great Belatal tank was also built during his reign and by his order. The site of fort at Mahoba near Madan Sagar founded by Madan Verman is now marked by a large mound covered with broken bricks and small mosque²⁵ (Fuhrer,A., 1969,p.173). His many inscriptions near Nilkanth temple complex at Kalinjar are still found , starting with "Om Namah Shivay". His son and successor Parmardi Dev(1165-1202) popularly known as PARMAL was the last great king of Chandela dynasty. Most important event of Parmal's reign was his conflict with Prathvi Raj III, the famous Chauhan king of Delhi. The latter's attempt to extend his territories led to a serious and sustained conflict between the armies of the two. Two folk accounts through light over struggle . these two are "Prathvi Raj Raso" written by Chand Bardai with "Parmal Raso" or "Alha Khand" by Jagnik. According to Chand Bardai , Prathvi Raj advanced towards Mahoba with a large force. He stationed another large force at Hamirpur. Tradition has it that Prathvi Raj held his camp at Sirsagarh on the bank of river Pahuj. A bloody battle ensued for eight days in which Malkhan, a Samant of Parmal, after killing eight generals of Prathvi Raj met a heroic death whereupon Prathvi Raj himself took the command. It is said that the fall of Sirsagarh was due to treachery of Mahil Parihar, the brother in law and Samanta of Parmal ²⁶(Atkinson,op. cit.,p.132). Mahil nourished a secret felling of revenge against Chandelas and hence he sided with Prathvi Raj. He was also responsible for Alha and Udal, the two Banafar chiefs and the best warriors of the day, to have left Mahoba earlier to seek refuge in the court of Jai Chand, ruler of Kannauj. A

²⁵ Fuhrer,A., "the monumental antiquities and inscriptions in NW provinces and Oudh", Varanasi,1969,p.173

²⁶ Atkinson,op. cit.,p.132

number of localities are associated with the names of champion brothers and their fame has travelled far beyond the limits of Bundelkhand²⁷ (Mitra, op. cit., p.122). After the fall of Sirsawgarh Prathvi Raj marched towards Mahoba and camped on bank of Betwa. Realising the gravity of situation Parmal and his ministers, on the advice of Queen Malhan Devi, decided to seek temporary truce and in the meantime summoned the two Banafar chiefs from Kannauj. The Chandelas put up a strong resistance but they suffered in the battle serious losses and numerous casualties including Bramhajit, Udal, the son of Jai Chand and almost all brave Chandela generals. Alha too was wounded. Thus Mahoba capital of Chandela kingdom was occupied by Prathvi Raj in 1182A.D. Parmal have to face a greater enemy in 1202 in the shape of Turks under Qutb-Ud-Din Aibak who had penetrated into his kingdom. According to Hasan Nizami, the writer of Taz-Ul-Ma'sir, Parmal put up a gallant resistance against the Turks, but he was compelled to capitulate due to the failure of water supply. After winning the Kalinjar fort, Aibak appointed Hazbaruddin Hasan Arnal as governor of Kalinjar. The history of Chandela dynasty as one of the powers to be reckoned with in northern India ended thus in 1203A.D. Chandelas regained the Kalinjar fort from Turks in 1229 but the glory of chandelas was ended.

In medieval period, Bundelkhand was captured by Manmath Gaharwar of Benaras, Raja Bhar of Ujjain, Mewatis, Gayasuddin Tughlaq(1322), Firoz Shah Tughlaq(1351-1388) with Malik Us Sharq, Dariya Khan & Zafar Khan as Amir of Sultanate. With the collapse of political citadel at Delhi as a result of Timur's invasion in 1398-99, the administration of Bundelkhand was affected. Mahoba and Kalpi passed in to hands of Mahmud Khan, son of governor of Kalpi. Sikandar Lodi have gained possession of few part of Bundelkhand in 1489. The southern part of Bundelkhand became under the influence of Babur (1528), when he moved from Kalpi to Malwa. Finally Akbar gained the Kalinzer fort in 1569 by seize of his general Majnu Khan Kaqs'al. bundelkhand remained under Mughals upto the reign of A'lamgir Aurangzeb with the presence of Bundelas in the zone. Bundelas were warriors of Gaharwar branch originated from Benaras and the zone named after him as Bundelkhand. After Chandelas, Bundelas were only ruler having soft corner with local Bundeli people and were involved with public welfare works like construction of tanks and historical water bodies. Sohan Pal was first Bundela chief to be sovereign as he captured the famous fort of Garh Kunder from Khangars in mid of thirteenth century. Rudra Pratap, the seventh in descent from Sohanpal occupied Mahoba and all western parts of Bundelkhand. He constructed Orchha as new capital of Bundelas in 1531 on the bank of river Betwa. Rudra Pratap was succeeded by Bharti Chand contemporary to Akbar. Among Bundela rulers

²⁷ Mitra, op. cit., p.122

Maharaja Vir Singh Judev (1605-1627) was the finest ruler of Bundelkhand. His contemporary Mughal emperor Jahangir awarded him by title of “King of Bundelkhand” and primary mansab of 3000 jat. Vir Singh is still famous for public welfare works with prosperity. He started construction of 52 forts and 52 tanks at a time. Several people were employed during above mentioned construction. It is a matter of notice that Vir Singh Judev was credited for public welfare works after Chandelas at mass level. Vir Singh has credit to construct and renovate famous forts of Jhansi, Garh Kunder, Dhamoni, Datiya etc. He donated 81 monads gold to Keshav Rai Temple of Mathura in form of a Gold pillar, which was later on removed by Aurangzeb. His son Jujhar Singh became the next ruler of Bundelkhand. During 1636-41 Shah Jahan, Mughal emperor enraged at the preparations of Bundelas, who blocked up the route of Deccan, sent three separate forces into Bundelkhand –one under Mahabat Khan from Agra, a second under Khan-I-Jahan from south and a third under Abdullah from Allahabad. These forces soon reduced the zone under tranquility and punished severely all who had shown any opposition to Imperial authority. After this crush of Bundelkhand, a new hero from Bundelas named Champat Rai came in scene since 1641. He opposed Pahar Singh, representative of Mughal. Champat Rai helped Prince Aurangzeb in battle of Dharamt in 1658 during war of succession. Champat Rai became King of Bundelkhand in 1658 by order of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Champat Rai was assassinated by his wife Queen Sarandha in situation of revolt to Mughals. After Champat Rai, his fifth son Chhatrasal became the greatest leader of Bundelas. First he entered the Mughal army under Jai Singh commander in chief of Aurangzeb²⁸ (Haig W., & Burn R., 1958, p.201) Seizing the opportunity of Aurangzeb’s long presence in Deccan, Chhatrasal extended his power over the whole Bundelkhand. The Bundelas had become masters of whole zone to the west of Chambal and the Yamuna. The following couplet is famous in Bundelkhand regarding the frontiers of Bundelkhand-

*It jamuna ut narmada, it Chambal ut tons
Chhatrasaal so laran ki, rahi na kahu hauns*

Meaning that Maharaja Chaatrasaal Bundela expanded the kingdom having boundaries of four rivers named Yamuna, Narmada, Chambal and Tons or Tamsa. No fighter had desire to fight with him. Hence the Chedi or Jejjakbhukti was named after Bundelas finally and was known as Bundelkhand.²⁹ (Gupta B.D., 1980, Introduction) After brief discussion of Historical background, the particulars

²⁸ Haig W., & Burn R.,(1958), The Cambridge history of India, vol. IV, Delhi,p.201

²⁹ Gupta, B.D., (1980), Life and times of Maharaja Chhtrsal Bundela, Radiant Publishers, Delhi, introduction by author

of religious spots of forts and fort sites is given as under with two broad categories Hindu religious spots and Muslim religious spots. The power is always worried about security. If it was not true, then the kings and warriors showing themselves as super power could never built forts for their security. Also they surrender before some divine power to sustain their security, prosperity and strong position. Religious spots within the forts are strong proof of above fact. There was no fort without religious spots. The religious spots in the forts of Bundelkhand were centre of belief not only for royal families but also become the centre of faith and reverence of general people. Therefore these sites have gained unique and peerless fame. Some prevalent Bundeli lines like as “Kila Kalinjer ka mangat hai, Maniadev Mahobe kyar” are capable to prove this fact till now. It has also observed that the forts which were obviously the centre of political and diplomatic activities today are aligned as Eden. For example the giant fort of Kalinjar is remained as attraction of religious spots for people after its political sun-set. The Orchha in the study region may be quoted here. This is better to say a system of abode of blessed in stead of one or two spots. The famous fort of Devgarh which possessed originally Vaishnava site, was converted into Jain-elite step by step due to many Jain incarnations and temples. Kalinjar is a Shaiva spot due to complex of many religious spots including Nilkantheshwar temple. A huge mass of people arrive here during some festivals to release their vexation (Kalanjarati iti kalanjerah). Nature of images of divine powers of forts generally depends on ruling dynasty of fort. These idols always have the royal worship by royal families. During the special and war days these idols have specific worship, which was a matter of curiosity for general people due to nice decoration and ornamentation of images. Thus it is clear that these religious spots within the forts had the greater importance from the royal families as well as general public. The impact of these spots on the surrounding people continued to the centuries. Though in the time of survey some people told stories about these incarnations within the forts, that can't be easily digested. A brief account of these religious spots within the forts of Bundelkhand (U.P.) is as below.

HINDU RELIGIOUS SPOTS:

Lord Krishna's roaming Brij is situated in the west and Lord Rama's recreation Ayodhya is situated in east of Bundekhand (U.P.).Therefore Vaishnava religion became most popular because of geographical neighborhood of Brij and Ayodhya.Also the temples of above two Lords are found maximum in the region. The Chandela and Bundela rulers of Bundelkhand were almost Vaishnava and they believe I worship of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna. The incarnations of Vishnu are found with different names in the forts of Bundelkhand. Chitrakoot became famous due to stay of Lord Rama during the banishment. It is why the people of surrounding area used pay their devotion to Rama. Significantly the Lord Rama

was always ideal for royal families also. The creation of post sixteenth century a three floured temple of Ram-Sita is situated in Todi-Fatehpur fort . Now only the temple is still remained in the ruined fort . A golden pitcher was established on shikhara of the temple . Nice wall paintings of temple's inner walls is now destroying. A huge temple of Lord Rama with basement is situated in temple complex of Gursarai fort constructed in 1670 A.D. The temple contains enormous wall paintings. There is wall painting of a wonderful unknown quadrup, which have captured an elephant in its mouth and sub-pressed four elephants by its legs. The royal temple of Samthar palace is a fine temple of its own style , which is actually the temple having idol of Lord Rama. The 'Sita-Sage', a sacred spot of Kalinjar fort is a centre of attraction for people. A Fine incarnation of Radha-Krishna is located near the temple of Lord Rama in Todi-Fatehpur fort. The living wall paintings of that temple are destroying due to lack of maintenance. These wall paintings also smuggled . Another one Lord Krishna temple was founded in Banpur fort of Raja Mardan Singh Bundela, which is well known as temple of 'Bihari Ji' .British troops against Mardan Singh did not make target to this temple in 1857 for the sake local devotion . Mangalgarh fort of Charkhari constructed on a hillock is memorable for its fine sculpture. Images of Radha-Krishna made from eight metals is seated here. A priest is in service of temple nowadays. The images of Vishnu incarnations were placed mostly by Chandela rulers and are found to and fro. An epithet of Vishnu named 'Shesh-Shayee' situated at Devgarh is a world class attraction for scholars. Laxmi-Narayan temple of Rampura fort of last fourteenth century is of praise worthy. An image of Goddess Laxmi is situated in Gursarai fort which is in worst condition. Nrisingh temple seated in Bharatgarh fort of Tal-behut which was constructed by Devi Singh Bundela son of Bharat Shah . A huge lake accelerates the beauty of temple among the ruins of palace in the fort. Temple has a fine gate. The inner wall of temple contains discrete paintings, which are destroying. Lord Shiva which was assumed as a Lord of welfare and victory, It is cause of worship of many incarnations of Shiva in forts of Bundelkhand. Among the Shaiva spots Kalinjar fort had the highest importance. Kalinjar is praised as abode of Shiva in Puranas. Nil-Kantheshwar temple is the most reverend among other seats e.g.,Ban-Khandeshwar, Mandook-Bhairava, Kal-Bhairava, Rudra-Bhairva and Patal-Ganga. ³⁰ (Singh, Rajendra, 1990, p.1) Kalinjar which a famous stronghold of Chandela rulers remained touch stone for great warriors and army chiefs after tenth century. Shankargarh temple in Jhansi fort is surrounded by high rampart. Besides the regular visitors the huge gathering pays the tributes on the

³⁰ Singh, Rajendra ,(1990), Forts: The corridor of urban environment in Bundelkhand, paper presented in international seminar on urbanization, BHU Varanasi, , p.1

occasion of Mahashivratri. Pataleshwar and Gupteshwar were two famous Shaiva spots in Rampura fort but Pataleshwar is ruined now. Lord Hanuman is famous as divine of defense and protection while Lord Ganesh as Lord of good will. The idols of above two are found at the gate of forts also at earlier parts of forts. The defensive wall of Jhansi city have images of Hanuman at its each gate which shows the protective power of image.³¹(Brockman ,1909,p.184) The Hanuman of Barua-Sagar fort is also of worth importance. The ruined fort of Erich has an image of Hanuman at its slope towards river. Ganesh temples are mostly the impact of Maratha rule in the region . The Ganesh temples were erected in Jhansi, Gursarai and Banpur forts. Some historians have predicted that there was diplomacy behind establishment of image at fort's gate because Hindu invaders became afraid of people's feelings towards these. There are so many religious spots in Bundelkhand which have no puranic existence, therefore they must be related to household gods i.e. kuldev. ³² (Roy,1992,p.75) The deities of saints also reflect such type of form after some time. They have no significant history after their name, but they are highly honorable in local prospects. For example the place of Sidhbaba in Charkhari fort , place of Nutbali in Bhuragarh fort, spot of Sidhbali in Moth fort , Sidhcave in Devgarh fort and the diety of Ghulam Gaus Khan in Jhansi fort are worthy of quotation. Maniadev is the famous spot in Mahoba fort which is more famous than fort. Perhaps the image of Maniadev is related to a goddess. These all above spots are not temples but certainly are specific. Such adages and high level of reverence among local people are wonderful. For example the place of Sidhbaba in Moth fort is said the place of saint who was lord of snakes. Country men come here for divine solution of snake biting. When a tourist enters in ruins of fort, he can easily observe so many snakes and mongoose living together near the platform of Sidhbaba.

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS SPOTS:

Bundelkhand was ruled by Sultans and Mughals during the time. There fore a several Muslim religious spots can be seen at forts in the region. An Islamic architecture containing several pillars is situated with the boundary of Mahoba fort. Local people call it Babur's mosque. Similarly a mosque was erected in Erich fort and local people call it Jama Masjid constructed by Shah Jahan. But actually this mosque was constructed by Jiyauddin in1413 A.D. by material of some Hindu religious monument. The tomb of Pir in Maudaha fort is also an example as well as Chaurasi Gumbaj of Kalpi. A stone fort was erected by Nawab Ali Bahadur of

³¹ Brockman, D.L.Drake,(1909), District gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh: Jhansi, Allahabad, p.184

³² Roy, Prof. B.N.,(1992), Kalanjara : A historical and cultural profile, department of History ,Pt. J.L. Nehru College Banda , p-75

Banda. A fair is held in summer in honour of Saiyid Salar, who is generally known as Ghazi Mian. There are three noted dargah in Maudaha town called after Pir Shukru , Moti Shahid and Shaikh Chand. The Dargah of Pir Shukru is considered holy, because when it rains the enclosure is filled with water but it disappears immediately. The saint is said to have been by worms and people who are similarly afflicted, or whose cattle suffers from similar disease, use the earth of dargah as medicinal application. The dargah of Moti Shahid Faqir who rose the great wealth, is similarly resorted by person suffering from fever. There are three mosques in Maudaha town one of which was built by Nawab Ali Bahadur and another by courtesan named Azimun-Nisha. The famous Jama Masjid of Banda along with Masjid of Sarwar Sahib was built by Nawab Ali Bahadur second, fighter of famous struggle of 1857.³³ (Balwant Singh, 1988,p.278)

The fortified post of Kalpi, the former residence of the rulers of princely state Jalaun, was dismantled in 1860 by the British and its place was taken by a market known as Whiteganj. The principal remains at Kalpi are the tombs of Madar Sahib, Ghafur Zanjani, Chol Bibi and Bahadur Shahid and the great enclosure commonly called “Chaurasi Gumbaz . This is located in the western portion of the town and is said to be the tomb of Lodi Shah Badshah (?). the Chaurasi Gumbaz is built of blocks of kankar set in lime mortar with style very closely with that of Lodi period. The whole building is divided something like a chess board into eight line of piers and seven lines of open spaces, thus forming 64 piers all connected by twice 49 arches, with the 49 intervening spaces covered by flat roofs. In the middle, there are four piers omitted and the square space is thus covered by the by a lofty dome which rises about 60 feet above of flat terraced roof of the main body of the building. It is now in dilapidated condition.³⁴ (Survey dated 16.02.2013)

CONCLUSION : The religious sites within the forts played an important role in preserving and recharging the cultural heritage up to the centuries in Bundelkhand. These become the cause of cultural and religious harmony between the royal families and general people. These religious centers always released the massage of prayer, peace and wish of prosperity from the royal hides of forts. Many times these temples provided the faithful links between the royal families and general people which resulted the cause of welfare rule in the region. Nowadays the forts are converting in to ruins gradually but these religious spots attract the people with a countable gravity, though almost they are not in good condition. The festivals and fares held at these spots are not only the protector of cultural stream but also

³³ Balwant Singh (editor), (1988), gazetteer of Hamirpur, published by Government of Uttar Pradesh, Varanasi, p.278

³⁴ Singh, Purushottam , survey of Chaurasi Gumbaj (kalpi), PG council tour, V.S.S.D. College Kanpur , dated 16.02.2013

they are strengthening the social unity. The religious feelings of local people attempt to secure and safe to these temples and sites. They are also the actual centers of meetings of people to revive the historical memories of forts and royal dynasties. It is also noticeable that these spots require the repair and protection because of miserable condition. A little attention of government and volunteer organizations can improve the condition of these sites which will certainly strength the cultural, religious and harmonic relations of the surrounding societies.

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Chaurasi Gumbaj (kalpi)



Nilkanth Temple zone Kalinjar fort (District –Banda) U.P.



Mosque Sultanate period Kalinjar Fort



Devgarh fort



Madadev temple site Marfa fort (Chitrakoot district) U.P.



Chaturbhuj Temple Orchha Complex (district- Tikamgirh) M.P.



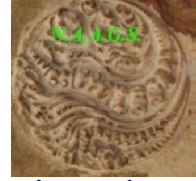
Vishwanath Temple khajuraho (district- Chhatarpur) M.P.



Jujhar Singh Palace with Sawan Bhadon minar adjacent to RamRaja Temple Orchha (Tikamgarh)



Interior of Chaurasi Gunbaj (Tomb of Shah Badshah Lodi) Kalpi



HISTORICAL SITES AND DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN KERALA: A CASE STUDY OF WAYANAD

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Tourism has become one of the fast growing industries in India in recent decades in terms of generation of revenue, employment, national and regional development. Tourism is generally described as a leisure industry and smokeless industry. Generally the tourists are attracted to other places because of the unique peculiarities of that region chiefly based on the natural and cultural heritage. To a great extent Indian tourism is based upon natural beauty, unique civilization, wild life and ancient monuments. Tourism industry involves a composite of activities namely transportation, accommodation, eating and drinking establishments, shops, entertainment, adventurous activities and other hospitality related activities. In short tourism industry plays a major role in the all round development of a region.

As a unique civilization India is a centre of many religions in the world such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism and so on. Cultural and historical monuments of these religions are a great attraction to tourists to India. The cultural and historical monuments are the part of the heritage of a nation and it is also a part of the heritage of humanity. India is a land of numerous heritage monuments and some of them dates back to Mesolithic or Neolithic period. These cultural and historical monuments have spread all over India. They have been great tourist attractions when the authorities began to market these tourism potentials of India. Apart from Indian Ministry of Tourism, each and every state in India designed and promoted their own tourism potentials to attract foreign

and domestic tourists. Since 1994-95 Kerala government also began to market the immense tourism potentialities of Kerala. The panoramic scenery, enchanting beaches, backwaters, beautiful mountains, wild life sanctuaries, places, religious centres and historical monuments are the main attractions in Kerala. The government of Kerala very successfully marketed the tourism potentials of Kerala by using the catch word “ Kerala : Gods own country” (Vijayakumar, 2009: 5-20). This paper is an attempt to bring out the growth of Wayanad district in Kerala because of the attraction of historical and heritage monuments in the district and role played by the regional tourism promotion councils in the development of tourism.

In the tourism sphere of Kerala, Wayanad is generally considered as a best instance of tourism development in the district (Mehta, 2008: 215-217). Wayanad is situated in an elevated mountainous plateau in Western Ghats. This north eastern hilly forest region of Kerala became a separate district in November 1, 1980. Before the formation of the district, Wayanad region was divided into two taluks i.e., North Wayanad and South Wayanad under Kannur and Kozhikode districts respectively and they were in neglected condition. In the earlier period people used to avoid the visit of Wayanad because of severe cold, malaria and fear of wild animals till the formation of the district. Besides, Wayanad was a land of tribal people including some primitive tribal groups. Paniya, Kuruma, Kurichiya, Uralikuruma, Kattunaika, Adiyas and so on are the main indigenous groups living in the district. This region began to experience social, economic and cultural modernity with the advent of peasant migrants from central Travancore to Wayanad in the second half of the twentieth century (Mathew, 2011: 93-147).

As a hilly highland region of Kerala, natural scenic beauty is the main attraction of Wayanad. Along with natural beauty, exotic legends, ancient historical monuments, mysterious mountain caves, tribal culture and heritage, exotic wildlife and tea plantations attract tourists to Wayanad. Statistics show that there is a great increase in the number of foreign and domestic tourists in the last two decades. Wayanad is one of the few districts in Kerala having unique historical and heritage monuments. It is a land of large number of many ancient monuments of great historical importance. The most significant historical and cultural monument of Kerala is Edakkal cave. This cave is situated in a place called Ambalavayal near Sultan Bathery town in Wayanad district. The rare and unique Petroglyphs in the Edakkal cave have put Wayanad in the tourism map of the world. The Jain temples constructed in Hoysala and Vijayanagara styles also attract visitors to Wayanad. Besides, a Heritage Museum in Ambalavayal also display the rich historical and cultural tradition of Wayanad.

Inflow of Domestic and Foreign Tourists in Wayanad 2004-2014

	2004	2013	% of Increase
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Foreign Tourists	749	10844	1347.8%
Domestic Tourists	187701	519306	176 %

Source: *District Level Statistics: Wayanad- 2005*, (2006) Thiruvananthapuram. Department of Economics and Statistics, p.18 and *Information Bulletin Wayanad*, (2014), Kalpetta, District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC), p. 2

Edakkal Cave

The cave was located on the side of ancient trade route in this high range connecting Mysore to the ports of Malabar. Till the end of nineteenth century it was an unknown cave inside the coffee plantation of Europeans. This cave and Petroglyphs were discovered by Fred Fawcett, the then Malabar Police Superintendent and an Anthropologist in 1894.¹ In his trip to Wayanad in 1890s, he found some Neolithic stone axes in the coffee estate and his later enthusiastic search led to the discovery Edakkal rock shelter. He published a detailed report of the cave in the journal *Indian Antiquary* in October 1901(Fawcett, 2006).¹ For the preparation of this report he took advice from many scholars on Edakkal engravings like R. C. Temple, Dr. Hultzch, Robert B. Foote, J. Alan Brown etc. Fawcett had identifies 97 pictures in the stone.

For almost 80 years nobody noticed the report and the cave remained as an unknown place till 1980's. During that period the visit of Edakkal required an adventurous and dangerous journey as there was no transportation and other infrastructure facilities in the cave. When the UNESCO project fellow from Switzerland E. O. Tilner visited the cave and stayed many days in Edakkal in 1984 to study the features of the Petro glyphs, the cave began to receive attention from other scholars. His findings regarding the unique characters of Edakkal Petro glyphs were turning point in the history of Edakkal cave (Johny, 2006: 48).¹ He was assisted by scientists from Germany and Austria. After his study this cave became famous not only in India but in foreign countries also.

Features of Edakkal Petroglyphs

This cave is situated in Ambukutty hills in Ambalavayal, ten kilometers from Sultan Bathery town. Originally it is a prehistoric rock shelter formed naturally out of strange disposition of three huge boulders. One huge boulder is resting over the other two boulders and it became the shape of a cave. Thus the word Edakkal literally means 'the stone in between' in Malayalam. The rare engravings are made on the sides of each rock which support the huge boulder. The origins of the engravings in cave are still unknown. Some believe they date to the Neolithic Age and some of the engravings are also said to be from the Mesolithic Age. Archaeologists and historians generally agree more than 3000 years of age to

the engravings of the Edakkal cave. These engravings were made by prehistoric stone or metal implements.

The rock or stone carvings are generally called Petroglyphs.¹ These rock art images are made by physically modifying the rock surface by abrading, scratching, pecking or carving. These carving may be made by primitive tribal sections of Wayanad and it took even months to etch out carvings in the rock sitting or standing on the floor. The engravings in Edakkal can be divided into figures and letters. Human figures with head gears, male and female figures are the most common in engravings in the rock wall. An elephant, wild dog, peacock, various planters, flowers, a big wheeled cart, geometrical signs are the other figures in the wall. The morphological study of Edakkal engravings reveals that it is a straight line geometric scheme which does not require any particular skill rather than patience to carry on continuous grinding with the celt (Gurukkal, 1995: 29).

Inside the carvings of the figures many inscriptions covering a period of thousands of years were discovered by archeologists and epigraphists. Famous scholars like Dr. Hultzch (1897), H. D. Sanghalia, M. R. Raghavavariar and Rajan Gurukkal (1792), Iravatham Mahadevan tried to read the inscriptions in the cave. They have identified 10 inscriptions in various scripts starting from first or second century BC to fifth century AD. These inscription are written in Sanskrit, Brahmi and Tamil Vattezhuthu scripts of ancient period. This cave has become a great tourist attraction of both domestic and foreign tourists in India.

Edakkal: A Heaven of Tourist

This historical heritage site has become a hot tourist destination of the visitors of Wayanad when District Tourism Promotion Council(DTPC) took over this site. DTPC set up a separate Destination Management Council (DMC) to promote new infrastructure facilities in and around the cave. The one kilometer road from Ayiramkolli (nearest main road junction) to cave was in a very bad condition till 2009 and it was repaired and journey to the cave became more easy. Besides, new stairs were made to enter into the cave and new fences were also erected for the protection of the engravings inside the cave. Also, Information Assistants were appointed inside and outside the cave to give necessary information and to provide historical information to the visitors. Security staffs were posted in Edakkal for the protection of the cave and its Petroglyphs. The number of visitors to the Edakkal Cave increased in high proportion and the revenue collection from the cave increased significantly.

Income Details from Edakkal Cave

1.	Years	Amount
2	2007-08	1900201
3	2008-09	2532539
4	2009-10	1630985

5	2010-11	1839635
6	2011-12	4997505
7	2012-13	5417915
8	2013-14	6885240
9	2014-15	7015160

Source: Record of *Visitors and Collection Details as on 31/03/2015*. (2015) Kalpetta, District Tourism Promotion Council, p. 3 & 4.

Wayanad Heritage Museum

Another important historical centre in Wayanad that attracts tourists was Wayanad Heritage Museum. The ancient history of Wayanad can be traced to Pre-historic and Proto-historic periods. Though tribal people were the original inhabitants of Wayanad, their number became less when other sections of the people migrated to Wayanad. The Nairs, Jains, Muslims, Chetties, Christians and so on entered into Wayanad since ninth century. Large number of tools and implements of ancient historical periods were scattered in different parts of Wayanad. Neolithic hand axes, hero stones, burial urns, terracotta figurines, pottery, ornaments, granite statues of gods and goddess and Tamil and Vattezhuttu stone inscriptions were discovered from various parts of the district. For the preservation of these historical monuments Wayanad Heritage Museum was established at Ambalavayal under DTPC in 1996. This Museum is a showcase of tribal heritage of Wayanad.

The artifacts sections inside the museum were divided into four categories i.e., *Gothrasmrithi*, *Devasmrithi*, *Veerasmrithi* and *Jeevanasmrithi*.¹ These divisions were made on the basis of the nature of the materials collected from different parts of the district. In *Gothrasmrithi* section ancient and unique tools and implements of different tribal sections are displayed for the visitors. Tribal weapons, pottery, utensils, tools, ornaments and other items were displayed. Artistic granite statues of god and goddess since 13th century are included in the *Devasmrithi* section of the museum. Most of these statues were made of Hoysala and Vijayanagara styles of art. The *Veerasmrithi* part of the exhibition depicts the heroic acts of the rulers and the army. A hero stone showing tiger hunt is a unique item displayed in this section. The last section *Jeevnasmrithi* shows the rich tradition and cultural heritage of tribal people of Wayanad especially Kurichiyas, Kurumas, Paniyas, Kattunaikkas and Uralikurumas. Their hunting weapons, agricultural tools, utensils and so on are the main items of this section.

All the historical and cultural materials kept in the museum were discovered from various parts of Wayanad especially from early market centres of Jain traders and temple centres of Hindus. A lot of stone monuments were collected from Pulpally, Muthanga, Kuppakolly, Ambalavayal and Baveli area of Wayanad since

the beginning of the last century. The figures of Nandi, Ganapathi, Bhairavamurthi, Rama, woman with lotus, Kuruthiveeran, writer and many other figures are displayed in the museum. In short, the historical materials kept in the revenue offices, schools, libraries and in other places got a separate centre when a Heritage Museum was established in Wayanad. It became a major tourist attraction in Wayanad since its inception. Moreover, DTPC has established a small multimedia theatre adjoining the museum for a multimedia presentation on Wayanad which shows the rich culture and heritage of this district. When the number of visitors increased the revenue from the Museum also increased in big way.

Income Details from Wayanad Heritage Museum

1.	Years	Amount
2	2007-08	194815
3	2008-09	283700
4	2009-10	416814
5	2010-11	444583
6	2011-12	657855
7	2012-13	669315
8	2013-14	778945
9	2014-15	854250

Source: *Visitors and Collection Details as on 31/03/2015*. (2015) Kalpetta, District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC), p. 3 & 4.

Jain Temples in Wayanad

Wayanad was one of the main centres of Jainism in the medieval period. The close proximity of this region with Karnataka especially with Sravanabelagola facilitated the spread of Jainism in Wayanad. The exact period of the settlement of Jains in Wayand is not available but it is believed that migration of Jains to Wayanad started by fourth or fifth century AD and it reached its zenith by fourteenth century AD (Monuments, 1978: 19). The beautiful Jain temples scattered in different parts of Wayanad are the evidence of dynamic Jain community in Wayanad. Though most of them are in a dilapidated condition, it has also become a tourist attraction in Wayanad.

The most attractive Jain temple in Wayanad is a Jain Basti situated in Sultan Bathery. The original name of Sultan Bathery was Hanniruthubeedi meaning twelve streets. It was main centre of Jainism in Wayanad.¹ As an example of cloistered temple, this granite monument was build in 14th century AD. The features of Kerala and Vijayanagara style can be seen in the construction of this Basti (Jain Monuments, 2004: 5). It consist of square Garbhagraha, Ardhamandapa, closed Mahamandapa and detached portico simulating the

Namaskaramandapa of Kerala tradition. The pillars of Mahamandapam in Vijayanagara style and the roof of the temple is made of stone. This centuries old temple was in a dilapidated condition when it was handed over to ASI. Under ASI this temple was renovated and it became only Jain temple of this kind in Kerala. Hundreds of tourists are visiting this temple daily.

Twin Temples in Puthanagadi

The twin Jain temples at Puthanagadi near Panamaram are the most beautiful Jain temples in Wayanad. But these two temples are in ruined condition because of the neglect of the government agencies. These temples are Janardhanagudi on the side of the road to Nirvaram and Vishnugudi on eastern side of the Janardhanagudi temple. Beautiful images of Thirthankaras, Dwarapalakas, Saraswathi, Gajalakshmi, Ananthashayanam etc. are carved in the granite walls and pillars of the Janardhanagudi. Another Jain temple Vishnugudi also has very beautiful carvings. Nearly 300 carving in the stone pillars and walls have survived the passage of time. Sculptures of God and Goddess including Jain deities, war scenes, old Kannada script and many other sculptures similar to Hindu Gods were also carved in the temple.¹ Since both of these temples are situated in the private property of the individual, the ASI of the DTPC did not take any measures for the preservation and protection of the monuments.

District Tourism Promotion Council (DTPC)

DTPC has contributed very significantly to the development of tourism in Wayanad. When the government realized the potential of tourism in Kerala, the government formed autonomous district councils for the promotion of district tourism destinations in the districts. The main objectives of the council are to manage tourist destinations and to implement new schemes or projects in the tourism sector in the districts. Wayanad was one of the early districts in the state to form a District Tourism Promotion Council in the state. The Wayanad DTPC was formed in 1989 and since then the DTPC plays a significant role in the promotion of tourism industry in the district. The Governing Body of the Council is headed by District Collector as Chairman, but the day to day activities of the Council are managed by the Member Secretary. The main responsibilities of Wayanad DTPC are to manage the attractive natural locations and historical sites and to provide amenities to visitors in the sites and give accessibility to the visitors to reach the destinations. Naturally the transportation facilities and amenities provided by the Council led to the increased tourist arrival in the district.

Domestic and Foreign Tourists visited Wayanad and Growth Rate 2009-2013

Tourist Growth Trends				
year	Domestic Tourist	Growth Rates	Foreign Tourist	Growth Rates

2009	368459	24.70%	5362	4.80%
2010	408151	10.80%	6575	22.60%
2011	451184	10.54%	7567	15.09%
2012	480125	6.41%	9541	26.09%
2013	519306	8.16%	10844	13.70%

Source: *Report on Tourist Trends in Wayanad,- Ennuru Section*, (2015)
Kalpetta, Department of Tourism and Tribal Affairs, p.20

The above statistics shows the great growth of tourists visiting Wayanad. Within a short period of time Wayanad became a tourist hub of Kerala. When the number of tourists increased in some particular locations in Wayanad especially in Edakkal Cave and Kuruva Island special arrangements were made for the management of the sites. This is known as Destination Management Council (DMC) with concerned MLA as the Chairman of DMC. The Member Secretary of DTPC will be the Chief Executive Officer of the DMC.

From the above discussion it is very clear that the historical monuments play a very significant role in the growth of tourism of a region. This is very evident in the case of Wayanad district in Kerala. In addition to the natural heritage of region the historical and cultural remains will also boost the tourism industry in the district. Even though it was late, the DTPC of Wayanad could identify the tourist potential of Edakkal cave in the district. The present need of the hour is the protection of the heritage monuments also. The authorities should take strong measures to control the excessive visit of tourists and deal problem of dumping waste materials including plastics around the historical sites. A state can utilize the tourism potential of historical and cultural heritage of a state but it is also their duty to preserve these monuments for the coming generations.

Notes and References

¹ This cave was discovered accidentally when he was in a hunting trip in the Kuppamudi Estate of his friend Colin Mackenzie in Amabalavayal.

The original text of Fawcett, Fred's article *Notes on the Rock Carvings in the Edakkal Cave, Wynaad* was reproduced by the publication division of Shreyas, an NGO in Sultan Bathery in the year 2006 with an introduction by historian Dr.K. K. N. Kurup.

The findings of E. O. Tillner was published in the form of a report entitled 'The Edakkal Caves in Ambukuthy Crack on Bathery Rock'. It was translated by Mrs. R. Mittal and reproduced in O. K. Johny 's book *Edakkal Cave Carvings- A Visitors Companion*, published from Kozhikode in 2006.

² The word Petroglyph is came from the two Greek words 'petros' and 'gluphein' meaning "stone" and "to carve" respectively.

³The word *Smrithi* means memory. *Gothrasmrithi* displays the artifacts of tribal groups, *Devasmrithi* shows the ancient god and goddess worshiped in Wayanad. *Veerasmrithi* exhibits the courageous deeds of bravery of warriors and soldiers in the medieval period and *Jeevanasmrithi* exposes the livelihood strategies of the people in Wayanad.

⁴ According to the Varadur Inscription Wayanad had seven Jain centres. They are Hannerudubeedi, Manikyapuri, Ksheerapuri, Kalpatti, Vennayodu, Palukunnu, Hosangadi.

⁵ Recently Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has declared Vishugudi as National Monument on September 2015.

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DIMENSIONS OF THE PUNJAB POLITICS DURING THE PERIOD OF 1849-1939

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ABSTRACT:

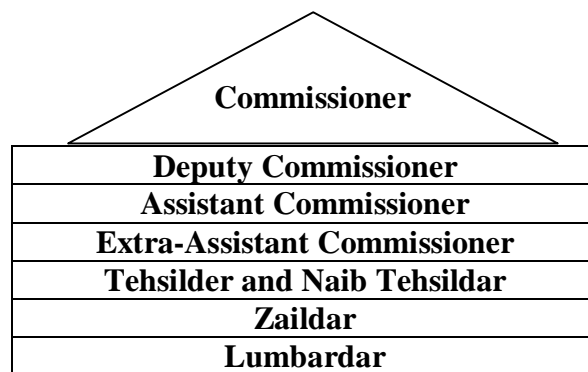
British annexed the Punjab in 1849 defeating Sikhs, Sir John Hobhouse (later Lord Broughton) became President of the Board of Control and Lord John Russell was the Prime Minister of England. While desiring the annexation of the Punjab, Hobhouse was surely propped up by Lord Palmerstone whose pledge gave self-assurance to Hobhouse to attain what he desired for. He asserted that ultimately his decision would be appreciated. Much work by Qalb-i-Abid, Ian Talbot, Sangat Singh, Kirpal Singh, Khushwant Singh, Akhtar Sandhu and others has been published on the Punjab politics in the British Punjab but many aspects are yet to be addressed. In this article, I have tried to work on the major trends of the communal politics of the British Punjab.

KEYWORDS: *Punjab politics, British colonialism, Punjab.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The British introduced copious administrative and executive reforms in the Punjab by signing the Council of Regency and Maharaja Dalip Singh to the East India Company. Punjab that was from olden times under an unvarying anxiety of communalism was to be dealt with the multifarious affairs of the province. The major communities included, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, who had been rulers of the

constituency at some period of time obsessed sturdy feelings of identity and assurance. Not any one community could claim the region its possession as for it belonged to all who possessed strong feelings, as inhabitants, for the region. The Punjab throne was ascended by the British who were recognised as a recent addition in the communities of the region. They considered indispensable to have Punjab a peaceful and undisturbed land for their own benefits, hence, the strategy ‘divide and rule’ had no place in the Indian politics (Sandhu, 2009:16). The British established a Board of Administration to deal with the Punjab affairs. The first of the three members, the soldier-statesman was Henry Lawrence who worked as the head, John Lawrence next to him and the third one was Charles Mansel. The responsibility of the Board was to handle the affairs of the political, revenue and judicial departments. The province was divided into seven divisions, which were further divided into 27 districts. An administrative pyramid given below shows the offices by which the machinery worked:



The three primary ranks comprised of commissioned European officers while the fourth was to go to the Europeans or Indians (Malik, 2000:180). The Punjab experienced a new era of modern age with the institutions and public works like roads, canals, schools, dispensaries, revenue system, police stations, courts and jails under legal cover. Sir John Lawrence became the first Chief Commissioner having full command over the Punjab. Next to him was a Judicial and Financial Commissioner who administered the Judicial and Revenue Departments. Judicial Commissioner cherished the power of the head of the police with the charge of education and Local and Municipal funds. The bold populace was ready to accept the positive change after the constant wars. The British had no more obstacles and stones of issues to deal with. No thrilling resistance came except the war of 1857 (Ibid, 185).

The Punjab was extremely vast province including the districts of North-Western Frontier Province and Delhi. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was supposed

to work as a mediator to the Governor-General for the British and tribal regions. All the powers were vested in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor. Officially the Governor-General-in-Council was all in all but several matters were being dealt as a concern of local government. The Chief Court was the uppermost court of the province and the Governor-General was empowered to appoint its judges. The police was assisted by Lumbardars and Zaildars. The new system of administration brought several reforms in the fields of education, judiciary etc. The British did their best to gain popular support in the Punjab and other Indian constituencies through their good governance.

The British opened many educational institutions including University of the Punjab in 1882 but the main job was done by the communitarian organisations such as Aligarh movement, Singh Sabha movement, Anjuman-i-Hamayyat-i-Islam etc. They established irrigation system and promoted agriculture which brought prosperity for the farming class. The landed gentry comprised of 'loyalists', as government identified them while anti-British groups called themselves 'sycophants.'

The Indian Councils Act, 1861, traditional Legislative Councils in Bombay and Madras, and related councils in other provinces were established. In that order, the Bengal and the United Provinces councils were composed in 1863 and 1866, however in the Punjab a related council never existed till 1897, thirty years later. Then the Indian Council Act of 1892 sanctioned the increase of memberships in the council but, distinct to other provinces the Punjab never took advantage of this as well. The history took a turn in 1897 and a Council of nine members was established in the Punjab.

Some Punjabi families including the Noon, Bedi, Qureshi, Khattar and Tiwana who had supported the British in the unrest of the 1857 were being selected by them, who granted them a number of concessions such as, honorary titles, lands and administrative and judicial powers. They proved very reliable political and administrative characters. After 1923 onwards, the unceremonious alliance between the British and the landowning elites was organised on the platform of the Punjab Unionist Party . This stalwart party strengthened the British more and in return of their loyalty; they supported them in all fields of life. Under the theory of inter-dependence the entire Punjabi communities mainly in the rural areas were spending their lives somewhat in friendly atmosphere. However it remained a nightmare for the minority as to survive under a majority community (Sandhu, 2011:30).

Numerous executive and administrative reforms were introduced by the British after the invasion of the Punjab. In the provincial reforms, they gave a new twist to the boundaries of the Punjab by sorting out five districts, Peshawar, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and formed a new province NWFP in November

1901 (Shah, 1999:4). The Punjab scattered more by the hands of its destiny when in 1911 the British government became decisive to transfer the centre from Calcutta to Delhi. Therefore, the British Punjab owned five Divisions, Ambala, Jalandhar, Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan and 29 districts at the time of the partition of Subcontinent (Singh, 1972: 3). Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs were the major communities in the Punjab however the Muslims were having 57 per cent of the entire province (Chand, 1972: 183). The Punjab remained vital territory and centre of attention not only for the native communities but also to the British who developed the constituency as their breadbasket and sword arm of India. The realm proved as a golden key to the Hindus who earned privileges such as mercantile and trained cropped up from the colonial rule. Being bulk of India they cherished extraordinary concessions.

The largest canal system developed by the British in the western part of the Punjab augmented its importance. The British introduced large irrigation projects in the south-west Punjab where they created nine canal colonies. The creation of these colonies coincided with the emergence of the Punjab as the sword arm of India. The British decided to reward ex-servicemen with lucrative grants of land in the colonies. The Punjab government also reserved the areas to reward the landed gentry. Approximately, a million Punjabis migrated to canal colonies. The colonies developed rapidly and converted the province into a major exporter of grain and cotton. Hence the British persuade a policy to use the resources of the province to reward the agriculturist population rather than for industrial development. The establishment of the framework of political representation, which institutionalised the division between the agriculturist and non-agriculturist population, was also undertaken. Moreover, the British provided the opportunities for the leaders of the rural society to get into administrative system and offered them the semi-official posts of Zaildar. Posts were also reserved for agriculturists in the official ranks of the local administration.

The Punjab remained enveloped in the political air of a range of the Muslim, Sikh and Hindu political parties from time to time. The Khalsa National Party under Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia, The Shiromani Akali Dal under Master Tara Singh, Central Akali Dal and Central Sikh League protected the Sikh interests in different span of time but the most effective Sikh party was the Shiromani Akali Dal founded in 1923. Before this, Khalsa National Party as coalition party of the Unionist Party worked for the Sikh community. Muslims followed mainly the Unionist Party and Majlas-i-Ahrar-i-Islam, Khaksar in the Punjab while All-India Muslim League was working at the national level. Hindu Mahasabha and India National Congress advocated the Hindu interests. Some anti-British groups like Ghadar Party, Kuka movement, Babbar Akali movement emerged on the scene

with violent strategy. The Unionist Party with the help of Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and Christian members enjoyed power from 1923 to 1947.

The Unionist leadership constantly remained under criticism by the non-Muslim allies. The Muslim leadership tried to assure them that their interests were secured but the conflicting political and social issues remained unsolved and the political patch-up proved the crude arrangements of the political harmony.

The majority of the Muslim population resided in the Western Punjab who always cropped up importance of their national leadership. Being a ruling community at one time they were self-assured and at this instant bulk of the province. Consequently, the Punjab remained a nucleus of communalism. The Congress report of 1923 asserted that in all the ways of life the state of communalism could never be improved and the locus of evils was the Shuddhi movement (Page, 1987: 85). In 1901, the Punjab Alienation Act was passed (Talbot, 1988: 70) to prevent land in the hands of the agriculturists momentary to non-agriculturists (Malik, 1970: 234).

The Muslims became fully aware with the propaganda and deeds of the non-Muslim leadership which motivated them to get independence from the cruelty and unjust of Congress (Pakkar, 1985: 343). Ram Gopal inscribed that the local bodies which also performed as electoral colleges for the Council elections had hampered permission under the prerequisite of property and economically the Hindus were comparatively far superior to the Muslim. The political selfishness of the Hindus was concluded by the Muslim leaders and the British that they would not elect the erstwhile to take advantage from the official powers. With this supposition, the Muslims claimed that the separate electorates could certify tolerable representation of the communities especially the Muslims (Gopal, 1976: 109).

A reality that brought about a revolutionary change by the imperialistic impact happened under the western education and the publishing activities in the Subcontinent. The Indians devoted themselves to support the British who endeavored to sketch out or engrave the statue of the Indian society. Therefore the Indians classified themselves under the nationalistic objectives but the core of identity apparently remained religion. Padmasha opines, India remained on the landmark of disunity so the "Indians had never been a nation; we were divided by our religion, race, castes and languages (Padmasha, 1979: 3).

....the real reason was the dawn of a new spirit of communal consciousness among the Punjab Muslims. Further, the separatist tendencies between the Hindus and Muslims of the Punjab had their origin in a movement of religious as well as national revivalism which took place during the second half of the nineteenth century...Gradually, the revivalist movements took a religious as well as national form, and there arose a desire for communal supremacy (Pakkar, 1985: 342).

Signing the Lucknow Pact in 1916 declared resumption of friendly relations flanked by the League and Congress as this happened due to the sincere efforts of Quaid-i-Azam who did the best to fade away enmity among the communities (Wasti, 1993: 103-104). Hence the major communities proved that they could map out a united front in opposition to the British, thus it was considered as an accomplishment. At instance, it had proved that being a Punjab-based community the Sikhs could not hitherto formulate a position in the national politics moreover were restricted to the regional politics.

Viewing the services of Sikhs to the royally army and their strewn position all over the province, which had barren their appropriate representation, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 approved separate electorate for them. The Muslims gained additional seats than their numerical strength in various Muslim minority provinces through the principle of weightage The Sikh hope for attaining a fair position in the provincial Council to check the Muslim ascendancy they claimed 33 per cent share in the Punjab legislature, 33 per cent intended for the Hindus as well as the equal proportion for the Muslims (Punjabi, n.d: 24-25).

Fazl-i-Husain's Municipal Amendment Act of 1923 added more to the complex relations of Muslims and non-Muslims. The improved number in the recently produced Municipalities was already amplified by the government and the Muslim proportion went from 40 to 44% during 1917-20. The Municipal Amendment Act of 1923, nonetheless, added extra seats to the Muslims (Page, 1987: 71). Fazl-i-Husain's strategies were disliked by the Hindus and even in 1923 earlier than the access of the Municipal Amendment Act, they refused the Governor's speech and subsequent to the course of the Act, they required the discharge of Mian Fazl-i-Husain from his office on behalf of his communal policies (Ibid, 87).

The World War I, Rowlatt Act, Jallianwala Bagh massacre, Khilafat movement, Akali Movement and Babbar Akali movement put the Punjab into turmoil. In 1923, the government by means of the Muslim members' moved the Gurdwara Act but the Akalis discarded it. The Gurdwara Act approved by the Punjab government in 1925 encouraged the Akalis to rely on the Unionists. This was a memo of self-assurance for the Sikhs which also heightened the leadership of Master Tara Singh (Hussain, 1946: 146).

2. CROSS-COMMUNAL STATUS OF UNIONISTS

The British found the Punjab a fertile land for recruitment to the armed forces. They got the services of landlords to get the 'martial races' of the Punjab to join the British army. At the end of First World War, almost three-fifth of the British Indian Army recruits were drawn from the region. The recruitment in the army was not limited to any single community. Hindu Dogras, Muslim and Sikh Jats and

Rajputs jointly dominated the army. Punjabis fought in the mud of Flanders, the deserts of Arabia and in the bush of East Africa. They won over 2000 medals and awards, including three Victoria Crosses. During the First World War, the landowners not only assisted in raising large number of recruits for the British Indian Army, but also helped to limit the impact of both the revolutionary Sikh Ghadar Movement and the Khilafat Movement in the province. The disturbances in 1919 that resulted in the brutal Jallianwalla Bagh massacre in Amritsar were in fact limited to only a few towns and had least impact on the rural areas. However communal hostility between the communities in the Punjab continued to increase in the urban areas.

Mian Fazl-i-Husain, a lawyer, involved in the early activities of both the Punjab Congress and the Muslim League, was convinced that the Punjab's political arithmetic necessitated inter-communal cooperation, as no single community could command an absolute majority. In 1923, he founded the Unionist Party. Until 1946, the Unionists, with the help of the British, dominated the politics of the Punjab. The Party was different from the other rural-based parties in India as it cut across classes and communal interests. It functioned more as a loose coalition of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh land owners than as a political party in the modern sense. It drew support from large landowners and peasant proprietors and appealed to Hindus of the eastern Punjab as well as Muslims of the western Punjab. The party was dominated by Muslim landowners but some rural Hindus and Sikhs also played an important role in its development. Chaudhary Chhotu Ram's oratory provided a populist appeal for the Party's platform. He stood head and shoulders above Muslim Unionists as a public speaker and addressed crowds for peasants for hours without the use of a microphone. The Unionist affair of politics was a class politics moreover the privileged were functioning solely to keep hold of their recognition and social position. To the British officials, the Unionist leaders were pleased greatly:

...the leading Unionists were rewarded with benefits-ranging from revenue grants, titles, jobs in the local government to a seat in the Viceroy's Council and the Secretary of State's Council. The Unionist ministers had also been obliging their supporters by awarding them crown lands; Fazli started this tradition, which was continued by Sikandar and Khizer (Abid, 1992: 187).

The Unionists claimed to be a cross-communal party in the political ground other than they could not wipe out the sticky label of communalists. The religious distinctiveness for eternity sustained its command on the political headship as Tanwar portrays that the roots of its hold was excessively capricious to keep it up for a long period in addition to "even a far weaker tide than that was created by the demand for Pakistan could have dislodged it (Tanwar, 1999: 130). The dealings

flanked by the Sikhs and the Unionist Muslims lingered constantly under nervousness. The uncertain character of the Unionist leaders of all the communities and the government's hold prepared the verve of that alliance potential. Like a community, the Sikhs by no means had belief in the Unionist Muslims so, near to Bajaj, undeviating support to the Unionist Party amongst the Sikhs was very thin (Bajaj, 1987: 372).

Evaluating the Unionist Party, it can be monitored that no political party is charged purely on the source of its manifesto (Party Program) and slogans somewhat on the origins of its act and impact of its course of action (Malik, 2003: 19). The Unionist Party was believed to effort for all the communities living in the Punjab which was also their political creed. They tried their level best to pose to be secular and cross-communal in the Punjab and in the provincial Council. They under the coalition government scampered the dealings productively to some level but their recital and plans never embossed the secular state of the party leaders. As a reality, the Muslim and Sikh members had some dutiful tendency in their political agenda and programme to fortify their possessed communities. With the exception of only some, the Sikhs and Hindus not at all were akin to influence of the Muslim Unionists. Even Fazl-i-Husain who was précised as a godfather of the party was predestined on the anti-Sikh policies. Tuteja put pen to paper that the Unionists asserted to be non-communal however their programme was utterly filled with communalism and they never appeared compassionate to the Sikhs (Tuteja, 1984: 200). To Waheed Ahmad that Fazl-i-Husain executed extra than any other Muslim for the Muslim strengthen which corroborate the communal position of the Unionist Muslims. During the year 1923, lots of Sikh parties desired Fazl-i-Husain losing and uncovered the bona fide mug of the Muslim-Sikh Unionists' common perceptive whilst the Sikh and Hindu parties offered a vote of censure in opposition to Fazl-i-Husain (Daultana, 1936 :17). Fazl-i-Husain noticeably attempted to perk up the educational, economic and social state of the Muslim community. He established educational institutions together with intermediate colleges in Gujrat and Lyallpur, the leading Muslim areas. The Sikhs predestined him for his communal policies. They on one occasion had plead to Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor, to ride roughshod over the Education Minister's actions but the protestation by the non-Muslims were wholly unobserved. The establishment stated that the praiseworthy Minister was vindicated in his modification:

For the moment, there is very justification for the attempt of a majority community, backward in educational and political status, to raise itself to the level of its rivals. Real harm will be done if that community passes from the constructive process of denying equal opportunities to other members, or deliberately excluding them from the administration (Abid, 1989: 21).

According to Prithipal Singh Kapur, Fazl-i-Husain tossed affecting the Punjabi Muslim perception and the manipulation of the “so-called Unionist phenomenon” in the political sphere of the province. His attempt should have dealt the Sikh objection mainly the terror of Muslim supremacy but awkwardly his measures weakened the Sikh point. The Municipal Amendment Act became conventional in March 1923, which picked up the pace of communal stress in the British Punjab (Kapur, 2000: 62). Under the Act, the Muslims obtained levelheaded seats in the municipalities. Raja Narendra Nath condemned the unsatisfactory demonstration of the minorities recommended by the Panchayat Act, Municipal Act and District Board Act. He suspected that the Muslim Minister sought out to restore the capable Hindus by the uneducated Muslims in the services. Sundar Singh Majithia opposed Fazl-i-Husain and his Hindu Jat friends showed disinclined to prop up him in the fight with the Hindus and Sikhs (Page, 1987: 72). He himself renowned two times in his dairy in October 1930 with the purpose that the “Hindus are creating a bias against me in England.” On 3 November, he shared with Abdul Hamid from Panipat that the Hindus could slay him so he ought to be cautious. He inscribed on 11 November: Danger to me from the Hindu Mahasabhites in conjunction with the Violence Party has increased. They have, I understand, decided to do away with me and so has been ascertained they propose to accomplish this by the shooting method. I have always held the view that precautions cannot protect one, though I am not for refusing to have them taken. I do not pin much faith in them. I believe in “kismet” and so the matter ends. I do hope they will not attempt it because if they do, Hindu/Muslim relations will be very much estranged thereby (Ibid, 87).

To J. S. Grewal, the Unionist Party emphasized to symbolize the rural class not particularly of the religious attachment however the Unionist Muslims for eternity favoured the Muslim community. Towards the Reform Enquiry Committee report in 1924, Fazl-i-Husain, the Education Minister, mistreated the minority welfare for the goodwill of the Muslims.’ “In 1932, they enhanced the percentage of Muslims in services from the prior ratio of 40, 40 and 20 for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs correspondingly to 50, 30 and 20” (Singh, 1997: 21). Constantly the dispute to be a cross-communal party was deadly proposed by the Unionists but their course of action and the Sikh response revealed their sturdy religious attachment. Consequently, the communal politics was a brutal truth not simply of the day but also the history of the county. Devastatingly, the specific class touted from the British Governor downwards to the ‘rural bureaucracy’ of zaildars and numbardars:

The hierarchy saw the common people obey the rural bureaucracy; the rural bureaucracy to civil bureaucracy, the civil bureaucracy to Ministers or Assembly and the provincial assembly to the Governor. All the segments of this order worked

very efficiently and loyally to maintain the hold on the public and private affairs of the Punjabis (Sandhu, 2008).

Moreover, the Unionist Muslims were ensued into Noon and Sir Sikandar groups which reserved their innovative character to engage in the Punjab politics.

3. ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Round Table Conference, another chance to the Indian leadership to have agreed resolution of communal issue, was held in London in which Sikhs demanded partition of the Punjab:

If the Muslims refuse to accept in this province, where they are in a slight majority in population (56 percent.), anything but their present demand of a reserved majority. We ask for a territorial re-arrangement which would take from the Punjab the Rawal Pindi and Multan divisions (excluding Lyallpur and Montgomery districts)...These overwhelmingly Muslim districts, with a population of seven millions, can either form a separate province, which will give the Muslims another majority province, or be amalgamated with North-West Frontier. This re-arrangement would leave a Punjab of about sixteen millions in which no single community would have an absolute majority and each community would be obliged to conciliate the others (Singh, 1931).

Allama Muhammad Iqbal's idea of a sovereign Muslim state infuriated the Sikhs because it could divide the Sikh community. A delegation presented demands to the Viceroy in which partition of the Punjab was demanded (Rai, 1984: 180).

The Akalis nominated Gandhi as their representative gave 17 Sikh points commenced by the Central Sikh League (Ghulati, 1974: 238) which sought redrawing the Punjab boundaries (Kumar, 1991: 122). Sardul Singh Caveeshar opposed the 17 points resembling as the 14 points of MA Jinnah.

The RTC could not resolve the communal problem and "the British government was appealed to give its own verdict on the communal question"(Ibid) which was given in the Communal Award in 1932 by allocating 19 per cent seats to Sikhs in the Punjab. Sir Sikandar en route that, in 1932, the Muslim, Hindu and 11 or 13 Sikh leaders had consigned an accord for joint electorates but a big shot persuaded the Sikhs not to do so (Hussain, 1946: 180). The British Parliament approved the Government of India Act of 1935.

4. ISSUE OF SHAHIDGANJ MOSQUE

The religio-political headship of the Muslims provoked the people to lay down arms for the sake of the holiness of the Mosque. According to Janbaz Mirza, prior to this clash, when Mian Fazl-i-Husain was a Minister, the Gurdwara Act

(1925) was under process and Sikhs needed Muslim votes but he did not utilise the policy of 'give and take' to solve the Shahidganj question.

The Unionist government was copious conscious of what was phenomenon of the Mosque issue however they stayed obedient and never acted on the bill organized by Malik Barkat Ali to appear to the provincial legislature. To Sir Sikandar, the pro-Muslim verdict in the provincial Assembly could begin a new battle on the worship places flanked by the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities; furthermore, the Governor and the Governor-General were not liable to endorse a solely anti-Sikh bill even if the Muslim Unionists had agreed it. By such legislation, the Muslim minorities would have to go through many troubles in the other provinces. On the appeal by K. L. Gauba (member of Central Assembly from Punjab), the Governor and Allama Mashraqi (Abid, 1992: 183-84) Quaid-i-Azam arrived at Lahore to knob the insightful state of affairs. People from the all communities greeted Quaid-i-Azam. He talked to the leaders and Governor Emerson. He affirmed a joint committee to get to the bottom of the issue (Ibid, 186). His trip confirmed his position as an exclusive Muslim leader in the Subcontinent. This issue uncovered the brittleness of the cross-communal union of the Muslim, Hindu and Sikh council in the Punjab. It also indicated Quaid-i-Azam's compact belief in nonviolence and its identification from Sikhs, Muslims, Unionists and the Governor.

5. ELECTIONS OF 1937

In the 1930s, the League is supposed to have been a pathetic party but in reality, it had productively sustained its position among the Muslims. The League leadership was cramped to the centre and did not seek to be effectual in the masses as it on no account commenced any lobby group which mandated the support of masses. It had not so far espoused a strategy of undeviating nosiness into the local politics despite it had specified a free hand to the regional parties theorizing that their support was on its flipside. It was the stage when the well-known Muslim leaders chose the regional Muslim parties as Sir Agha Khan in progress of behind the Unionist Party financially (Sandhu, 2011: 64). On that state, Quaid-i-Azam carried out to sort out the League in early 1935 and for this reason he moved toward Fazl-i-Husain to head over the Lucknow conference of the League. Fazl rejected due to the apprehension that his incline towards the League could throw out the Muslims from the Premiership of the Punjab. The party affairs of politics of the Unionists were also a motive for his denial. The factions of the Unionist Muslims inside the party had their own quest principally the leadership of the party and the Premiership as no group was in favour of his arrival from the centre to the Punjab politics. In this stress, Fazl-i-Husain was not prepared to call new troubles by unification with the League (Abid, 1992: 187).

Muslim League and Congress' rock stars including Maulana Shaukat Ali, Vallabhbai Patel, Sarat Chandra Bose and Nehru spoke to mass conventions throughout election campaigns at the same time the Unionist Party espoused a ground level move. Thus, the Unionists were not vigorous in the operation as they were certain that the officials of the government were functioning for them (*Civil and Military Gazette*, 1936). Though, the Unionists leadership moved towards *pirs* for their support. The *pirs* embarrassed loads of votes all the way through their set of connections of faithful *murids*.

It is to be noted that Mian Fazl-i-Hussain in June 1936 went to the *pirs* of his region and requested for their support in elections (Ahmad, 1976: 592). To Ian Talbot names the *pirs* whom he visited, were *Pir Tonssa*, *pir Gollrra*, *Pir Makhad*, *Pir Fazal Shah* of Jalalpur Shrif, *Pir Jamat Ali Shah* of Alipur, *Deewan* of Pakpattan, *Gillani* of Multan and *Qurreshi Pir* as well as the *Sajzadaa Nashins* of the *darghas* of Mehr Sharif Chishti, *Khwaja Moainuddin Aullia* and *Nazaamuddin Aulia* except *Pir Fazl Shah* who refused for cooperation (Talbot, 1988: 129). The Unionists did not take the provincial elections of 1937 as challenge. It was only subsequent to rural members had entered in the legislature that they united mutually to shape a Unionist faction. They had not been elected for the reason that of the status of the Party's program, however for their economic, social or religious power over the voters. By and large the members were gigantic landlords and *pirs*. The British had, in fact, suspiciously geared up a posture for a rural control of the Punjab politics. Non-party candidates declared their loyalty to the Unionist Party. The Sikhs and the Congress prepared few amendments in the constituencies (Vohra, 1987: 340) which anticipated the perplexed policy of the Akali leadership. The Congress got preponderance in eight out of eleven provinces. The League bagged only two seats in the Punjab. Beside 16 seats of independent applicants, the party situation was as follows:

Party	Seats
Ahrar	02
Muslim League	02
Shiromani Akali Dal	11
Khalsa National Party	13
Hindu Mahasabha	12
Punjab Unionist Party	98
Ittehad-i-Millat	02
Indian National Congress	18
Congress Nationalist Party	01

Source: K. C. Yadav, "The Partition of India," 133-34.

The election results articulated the popular drift of the Punjab politics. The Akalis put back the leadership of the landed aristocracy. The Khalsa Nationalist Sikhs, who figured between 15 and 20, determined to support the Unionists.¹ Thus, the government accounted for 120 out of 175 Assembly members haggard from all communities (Oren, 1974: 398). The League leadership was contented with the grades as the major graph of the League was to defy the local parties mainly the Unionist Party whose leadership had visibly opposed Quaid-i-Azam. Even though, the League did not obtain heartening reaction in the Punjab however, it did not reproduce it in erstwhile. The key position of the breakdown was a squat moment with Quaid-i-Azam to reorder the party following his arrival to India a year sooner than UK.

The Congress saved no successful position in the Punjab elections and vanished the state to be an agent of all the Indian communities. In UP, the Muslim Congressites were sturdy but "no Muslim was returned on the Congress ticket (Hardy, 1972: 224). To Uma Kaura, "The only redeeming feature for the League was that the performance of Congress in the Muslim majority areas was also not impressive (Kaura, 252, 109).

Thus, Sikandar Hayat produced a ministry encompassing three Muslims, two Hindus and one Sikh on 1 April 1937. The non-Muslim members were such as Chhotu Ram from Unionist Party and Sunder Singh Majithia and Manohar Lal figured Unionist, the Khalsa Party and the National Progressive Party correspondingly (Dar, 09). The major parties could not act well in the Punjab however the actual politics and show of supremacy started later than these elections.

6. POPULARITY OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

In fact pitiable performance of the League in the elections did not harm its political spirit. It was a pre-election evaluation so as the League would not be capable to demonstrate revolutionary results as it could find fewer than a dozen candidates in the elections. Quaid-i-Azam still proved a constructive voice at the national level for the reason that he could offset the Congress leadership on the same provisions (Hayat, 2002: 31-46). He was in good terms with well-known Muslim families all over the country (Anjum, 1996: 42). Ahmad Yar Daultana (1896-1940) wrote to Quaid-i-Azam, "I have considered you my leader during the last 25 years and have always been loyal to you (Ahmad, 1976: 96-97). His meaning position to bring Sir Sikandar near to Quaid-i-Azam had optimistic impact on the Muslim politics in the Punjab as this paved way for the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact in 1937 (Niijar, 160-61). To Javed Haider, Raja Ghazanfar Ali on

the advice of Quaid-i-Azam joined the Unionist camp and worked for the League and cleared the way for the pact (Syed, 1985: 359).

7. JINNAH-SIKANDAR PACT

By the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact at Lucknow on 15 October 1937, Sir Sikandar pledged that the Unionist Muslims in the Assembly would turn out to be the League members. The appealing phase of the pact is that seeing that to why Sir Sikandar decided to pursue Quaid-i-Azam. The Muslim Mass Contact Movement of the Congress in fact forced Sikandar to stick to the League encampment. The Akalis turned towards enthusiastic support to the Congress in the assembly. The Akali-Congress restoration motivated Sir Sikandar to attain the League support. Qalb-i-Abid endorsed the pact to Sikandar's combat which sought the League's support in the inequitable combat but the Sikhs were poorly being defected by this angle and League's popularity (Abid, 1991: 271-72).

The Jinnah-Sikandar Pact verified potency for the Unionist Muslims and the League but on the other side it stuck acrimony amid the Muslims and Sikhs. Sir Sikandar was not as much aware of the bad-effects of this pact (Abid, 2008: 91) yet the pact secured the partnership to preserve the breathing activities in the provincial Assembly. Emerson flagged down the fame of Sir Sikandar amid the Sikhs which did not let the coalition disintegration. The Premier got pleasure from friendly relationship with Raja Narendra Nath however; the Akali Sikhs shouted in opposition to the Jinnah-Sikander Pact and supposed it an anti-nationalist scheme.

In December 1937, the Governor of the Punjab wrote to the Viceroy that the Unionist Ministers showed slightest interest in assenting public meetings whereas the Communists and the Congress were raising their authority among the masses. The Premier appeared as he was interested in the insignificant administrative matters in the province. All these state of affairs destabilized the Unionists' grasp in the province.

The League started obtaining roots in the Muslim masses steadily but the diehard outlook of the Congress ministries prompted the League and enlarged its value among the Indian Muslims. Yet prior to the Lahore Resolution was approved, a massive figure of the Muslims had congregated under the League flag. In January 1939, more or less 25,000 Muslims chipped in the League meeting at Patna. The journalists presented the League as the sole Muslim representative party. The League's partaking in the local politics "caused cracks in the anti-League and pro-British fort in the Punjab (Sandhu, 2009: 231). The injustice done with the Muslims by the Congress ministries created a splitting environment. On the resignation by the Congress ministries, the League celebrated the day and

expressed relief from the cruel treatment of the Congressites. This bitter experience persuaded the League leadership to go for a clear-cut destination as propounded by Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his annual address at Allahaabad.

8. CONCLUSION

British got foothold over Punjab and adopted all means to ensure good governance in the region. They created many circles of their influence like Punjab Unionist Party, Khalsa National Party, zaildars and numberdars. Moreover, they strictly followed policy of justice and noninterference in the religious matters of the Punjabis. The All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress successfully assert their authority in the region in the late 1930s nevertheless, the Congress and Akali policies and the League's popularity started gaining roots in the Muslim circles. Moreover, the Congress discriminatory steps convinced the Muslims that they could not live with the Hindus therefore they passed resolution on 23 March 1940 at Lahore that the north-western and north-eastern Muslim majority areas must be separated from India as the Muslim homeland.

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Report of two days national Conference on “Global Terrorism

ATUL KUMAR SHUKLA
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The important event of the session 2015-16 was National Conference on “Global Terrorism with reference to Kashmir Issue” held on 27th and 28th February 2016. The conference was convened by Prof. Anil Kumar Misra, Head of the Department. Dr. Purushottam Singh was Organising Secretary of the Conference. Dr. K. Madhusudhersanan from Chikkiah Naikar College Erode Tamilnadu and Prof. Kuljit Singh, Academic Coordinator, Bhaderwah Campus, University of Jammu delivered their rich key notes on Global Terrorism. Dr. Atul Kumar Shukla from Banda, Dr. Ajmal Mueen MA from Mukkam Kerala, Dr. Pankaj Sharma from Lalitpur, Dr. Sharda Agarwal & Dr. Manju Johri, both from Orai, Dr. Adesh Gupta from Banda delivered their paper as resource person. Dr. Subramanian Swamy, Visiting Professor at Harvard University and ex Cabinet Minister Government of India enriched the inaugural session with capacity of Chief Guest. Sri Devendra Singh ‘Bhole’, Member of Parliament joined the Conference as Guest of Honour. Dr. Ishwar Chandra Gupta, President Board of Management has presided the inaugural session of the Conference. 98 papers were presented in two technical sessions out of two papers authored by foreign delegates were read. Technical sessions of Conference were chaired by Prof. Ram Krishna Gupta, Professor Emeritus and renowned Historian of Kanpur. His views were different from chief guest speech regarding Kashmir issue. Dr. Subramanian Swamy also distributed the prizes of winner and runner ups of annual “History Color Contest” hosted by Department of History V.S.S.D. College every year. Yukti Patel of M.A. final received the winner award as well as Anurag Bajpai, Rajnesh Kumar and Ankit Kumar all from M.A. final received their respective prizes.



Pic.1



pic.2



Pic.3



pic.4

Pic.1- Prof. Anil Misra, Prof. Kuljit Singh, Sri Mahendra Sabharwal, ex-DGP Jammu Kashmir Police and dignitaries on dais

Pic.2- Prof. Ram Krishna Gupta delivering his views in First technical session

Pic.3- Dr.Subramanian Swamy delivering his speech in front of huge mob

Pic.4- Dr.Subramanian Swamy with his expressions