



OIL DIPLOMACY BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

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The Middle East extends from the Eastern Mediterranean to the North West frontier of India and states like Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Iran, Saudi-Arabia and Jordan come under this belt. The study of Oil Diplomacy between the two World Wars would remain incomplete without a careful observation of the problems of various powers of Middle East, Oil was one of the major problems of region leading to Gulf War. The same Oil diplomacy existed between the two World Wars. In the beginning of the present century, the Western countries struggled to have a complete hold over the land of Oil fields. Prof. Schuman has described :

“the discovery of the gigantic oil reserves” in the Middle East as “the most decisive single development in the twentieth century.”¹

The first country to secure oil concessions was Britain. She was given the facility to exploit in the entire territory of Iran with the exception of five districts. In 1908 the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was

¹. Chhabra H.K. History of modern world since 1914 Delhi 1989, P :250.

set up and the British Government acquired the right to control company's capital stocks. On the other hand the Government of Iran undertook not to interfere in the commercial management of the company. Thus, the oil company of Iran, for all intents and purposes, became an instrument for the promotion of British interests in the region.

While the Western Powers struggled for their hold over the rich oil areas, Russia too became interested in it. Germany and Russia arrived at an agreement of equal commercial rights in the Oil; on the other hand U.S.A. also demanded Oil Concessions in the East. It took some time before Turkey associated to this effect.

During the first World War, the value of Oil and its utility as a weapon came to light which resulted in rivalry among various powers of the World. On the one hand, U.S.A. wanted its complete hold on the oil resources of Middle East as the oil resources of its region were completely exhausted.

“The Government of U.S.A. in view of the fear of exhaustion of her own oil resources also became interested in the Middle East Oil.”²

In Britain Oil industry expanded by Leaps and bounds but Russia withdrew from the oil rivalry soon after the First World War. The Britishers, the French, the Dutch and American Companies had taken control over oil production in the Middle East. Oil was the single factor which created rivalry in the Middle East and left a deep political impact :“No doubt, a few thousand farmers and workers were able to get work on the oil installations, but the condition of majority of the people continued to deteriorate.”³

In the meantime, pound was devalued due to which there was a great economic depression. This led to a considerable decline in the royalty of Iranians from Oil so they resented, The Shah of Iran abrogated his agreement with Britain; she protested and sent her naval units to the Persian Gulf to assert her rights. A tense situation arose and the case was referred to the league of Nations who referred it back to the disputant states. Ultimately, a new agreement was made between Britain and Iran in 1933.

The year 1944 gave rise to a new phase in Oil diplomacy as Russia re-joined the struggle, The Shah of Iran refused to fall in with Russia demands of occupying the Northern Provinces for Oil, He

². Chhabra H.K., History of modern world since 1989, P : 250.

³. Ibid, 1989, P : 251.

avoided further oil discussions until all the Western Powers and Mighty Oil diplomate were present for discussion.

Iraq was an important state forming a part of the mighty Turkish Empire before the First World War. Turkey had taken possession of Iraq in 1915 after her attack on the sea ports of Russia. But by a secret treaty between Britain and France in 1916 Turkey was divided into two portions some part of Iraq went to France and a major portion of it including Baghdad went to Britain and under another Treaty of 1922. Britain secured the right to control the army and foreign affairs of Iraq. Sheriff Hussein's son became the ruler of Iraq under British Mandate. The British terminated this mandate in 1930 and in 1932 Iraq became a member of League of Nations.

As soon as Saddam Hussein came to power, he attacked Iran and Kuwait to have complete control on the Gulf Oil. Before the arrival of Hussein the oil diplomacy of Iraq was not so crooked.

Iran was the only country which followed a neutral policy during the second World War, In 1945, she declared war against Germany and after this she insisted and obtained the withdrawal. Till then Iran was frustrated because of strong intervention from Britishers and the Russians. Soon after the second World War there developed an anti—western feeling among the Iraiians, Consequently, they placed a demand to free oil revenue of Iran from the Anglo-Iranian Company owned by the British, Dr. Mossadegh got the Anglo—Iranian Oil Company nationalised in 1951. Iran faced a lot of difficulties and ultimately joined the Baghdad Pact to save the exploitation of her oil resources. U.S. aided Iran in this matter. This hurt Iran and she intended to free herself of America interference. U.S.A. obliged Iran in the matter knowing that her too much interference in the affairs of Iran would lead her into the hands of U.S.S.R. with the result that she would completely lose the oil resource of Iran.

The First World War witnessed the Palestine an freedom from the British mandate, The British looked at the Balfour declaration of great political liability. Hence, through Churchill's 'white Paper' they tried to impose limitations on Jewish immigration. Consequently, the British requested for League Commission.

Palestine had been writing under the rules of different countries from the earliest times and soon after the First World War an attempt was made to straighten out matters for Palestine.

“The Powers met at San Remo Conference held in 1920. The conference was attended by Britain, France and U.S.A. and was primarily concerned with the disposal of the Arab Territories. The conference decided to establish the British Mandate over Palestine, which was subsequently approved by the League of Nations in 1922.⁴

The Britishers did not want the problems to be solved. It was creating a rift between Jews and the non-Jewish communities in Palestine, In the words of Gathorne Hardy,:

“It was in the first place advantageous to cover the approaches to the Suez Canal by a territory favourable to British interest. But the immediate objective was to enlist on the side of the Allies the sympathies of Jewry, which, being Anti-Russian, tended by the reason of our alliance with that country to gravitate to the side of Central Powers who were also making a bid for its support, In particular, in 1917, it was desirable to check the pro-German activities of Russian- Jews who were already believed to have much to bring about the degeneration of Tsarist Power.⁵

However, Britain made many efforts to solve the Palestine question for which seven commissions were set up within 26 years. In 1922 the British High Commissioner in Palestine declared new constitution for the Country.

The arrangements made under this constitution were not approved either by Arabs or Jews. At the same time the British Government stopped further immigration of Jews in Palestine. This was to pacify the Arabs on one hand and on the other hand Jews wanted an equal number of seats in the Assembly body. The growing anti-Jewish feeling led to riots in 1929 but the British acted immediately and restored peace and the country remained in a state of chaos and she blamed the British Government for its ulterior motives. On seeing the tension growing the Britishers brought one commission after another to tackle the situation. Some of them were the Peel Commission, the Woodhead Commission, London Round Table Conference of 1939 etc.

Due to the outbreak of the second World War the Palestine problem was temporarily solved. With the end of Second World War the British were convinced that they could not find any solution, Hence, she

⁴. Chhabra H.K., History of modern world since 1914, Delhi 1989, P : 239.

⁵. Gathorne Hardy A short history of International Affairs (1920-1939) P : 127.

left the decision to the U.N. and ultimately, the British mandate over Palestine came to an end in 1948, It was hastily recognised by U.S.A.

The problem of the Arab was not less significant than those of the Jews in Palestine. The Arabs were totally against the control of Turkey over them for ages together. It was after World War I that Hussein was the first person to think of setting an independent Arab State. He was supported by the British who interest lay in the rich store oil near East. Hence, they continued to exploit the Arab hatred. The Arabs had built high expectations in the post war period.

“But the actual terms of settlement greatly disillusioned I them, They had expected that the War, the Arab countries would be given complete independence in keeping with the promises made by some European Powers⁹ However, their hopes were completely belied and the entire Arab territory was divided into four groups and placed under separate Governments.⁶

The Arabs were highly dissatisfied with this kind of arrangement. The double-dealing attitude of the Western Powers frustrated them most. They now yearned far complete independence and demanded political liberty, The growing rivalry among the various powers in the Middle East was mainly due to the strong desire of having a complete hold over the oil-producing areas.

It aroused the feeling of nationalism, On the other hand the coming of Mustapha Kamal as a powerful ruler of Turkey inspired the other Arab leaders to free themselves from the foreign Yoke.

This chapter reveals the diplomatic approach of the British to dominate the rich oil producing countries in the Middle East and the latter feeling suffocated under Western domination revolted against them. This led to the rise of nationalism in Arab countries and consequently, Turkey became a powerful nation under the vigilance of Mustapha Kamal and Palestineens achieved independence from the British Mandate.

⁶. Chhabra H.K., History of modern world since 1914, Delhi 1989, P : 231.

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Prevention of Female Infanticide and Female Foeticide in India

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Girl children are neglected in society even prior to birth. The development of modern techniques such as amniocentesis and sex-determination tests has facilitated people to know the sex of the foetus. These contributed to foeticides. According to study, it has been reflected that among 1000 foeticides, 995 are of girl foetus. In the prosperous cities, there are provisions of sex determination tests and the people of upper and middle class are practicing these.

India and China are, perhaps, the only two countries where there had been a regular practice of female infanticide. When East India Company came to India it found female infanticide widely prevalent amongst the higher classes of Hindu community. In the year 1789, Jonathan Duncan, a member of the East India Company's Civil Service, first discovered the prevalence of female infanticide among the Rajkoomar Rajputs in Banares. In a letter to Lord Cornwallis, he said, "I am well assured that it

¹ Namrata Prasad, Human Rights : Gender Based Violence, Published in Yojna Vol 47 De 2003 No.12.

is indeed, here generally believed and being so, it is my duty not to keep such enormities however sanctioned by usage, from the knowledge of the Government, that no infrequent practice among the tribe of the Rajkoomars to extirpate their daughters by causing their mothers to refuse them nurture; whence this race of men do often, from necessity, marry into other Rajput families.”² It should be born in mind that Rajkoomars killed their female infants for two reasons. First, the practice started from the time of Muslim rule when Hindu women were forcibly taken away by the Muslims, and, secondly, the father of the girl was not able to find a suitable bridegroom and when found, he could not meet the expenses for the marriage.³

Duncan was appointed the Governor of Bombay and there his work in putting down female infanticide became a matter of history. He found female infanticide prevalent in Surat, Cutch and Baroda in Rajput ruled princely States. The tribe named Jerejah claimed to be among the highest purest branch of the Rajput families. The origin of the custom amongst Jerejah Rajput is narrated by Colonel Walker. A powerful Raja of the Jerejah clan had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments. Failing to get her married to a suitable match the princess was put to death and female infanticide from that time was practiced by the Jerejahs. Moreover, the practice of the Muslim and Mughal rulers demanding the daughters of the Rajput rulers in marriage contributed to the custom amongst Rajput ruling families. The British banned the practice in 1900. It was reported, as late as in 1986, that there was rampant practice of female infanticide amongst the poverty-ridden Kallar community of Usilampatti taluka in Madurai district of Tamilnadu.⁴

The ghastly topic of organized female infanticide in Rajasthan exploded into open when the State Opposition leader, Bhairon Singh Shekhawat charged that the family of Brijendra Singh, Congress (I) MLA from Bayana in Bharatpur district for female infanticide. A Division Bench of the Rajasthan High Court, in its judgment, delivered

² Ghosh S K, ‘Women and Crime’, Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi (1993) p.95.

³ Ibid p.96

⁴ Ibid pp. 96-97.

in October, 1988, directed the State Government to register a case and investigated by an officer of the rank of DIG of police.⁵

Female infanticide is killing a baby girl after she is being born. Cases of female infanticide are seldom reported to the police. It is very difficult to prosecute when the people of whole village are involved. The Indian Penal Code, 1860 punishes abortion and infanticide both directly and indirectly. Section 299 and 300 of the Code view infanticide as homicide. We have to change the mental habits and outlook of these people by education. The parents are not murderers; they are victims themselves – victims of tradition, ignorance and isolation, poverty and accepted practice of the community.

Female Foeticide

In the last quarter of 20th century the greatest irony of history is the rapidly advancing medical technology outpacing the law. The grey areas causing major social upheavals are the vital questions relating to amniocentesis, abortion and foeticide. *The perplexing scenario 's represented by artificial insemination, reproductive industrialization and surrogate motherhood are reducing the woman's body to a raw material.*

The ultimate Hippocratic dilemma⁶ the nightmare that unsettles a good doctor's sleep, a pregnant patient symbolizing the height of womanlib, has chosen an abortion and the doctor performs the procedure by injection of prostaglandin.⁷ But when some hours later the foetus is expelled it is not the 22 week old creature he had anticipated. It is 26 weeks old and alive. Census 2001 indicates the alarming decline of sex ratio in the age group of 0 to 6 years in the State of Gujrat, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana due to female foeticide and infanticide. Female foeticide is aborting the female baby in the mother's womb. Whereas female infanticide is killing a baby girl after she is born. Foeticide is a violation of an unborn child. A child in its mother's womb is for many purposes regarded by legal fiction as already born.

Foeticide was prohibited and classified as murder, equal to neglect of Vedas, incest and drinking of spirituous liquors. Man even considered a

⁵ The Hindustan Times, October, 6, 1988.

⁶ "Hippocratic Oath", guiding medical doctors, and Oslo Declaration, 1970 : "I will maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception."

⁷ Hormone like substances that induce labour.

woman as murderer of her husband or of Brahmin or as an outcaste who had undergone abortion. As per Gandhiji, “abortion was more in violation of the principle of the ahimsa than the artificial birth control which was morally blameworthy. Holy Quran prohibits the killing of child, “Astray have gone those who stupidly kill their children without knowledge and deny to themselves of what Allah has blessed with them.” The Didache, an authoritative source of Christian Law, considered abortion, as a grievous sin and was included in the Ten Commandments, which contain the forbidden acts. Every human being including the unborn child in the womb of its mother receives the right to life directly from the Almighty God but not from parents, society or any other authority.

Sex Selection Through Modern Technology

Roughly two centuries ago there were places in India when girls were given a pinch of salt as soon as they were born and that was the end of them. The evil practice has returned with a vengeance in the garb of high tech sex selection accompanied by abortion.

Amniocentesis, the withdrawal and analysis of amniotic fluid to identify possible genetic abnormalities in an unborn child, is the product of modern technology. Amniocentesis is the most widely used method for sex determination. In the mother’s womb the foetus floats in amniotic sac. This fluid has some cells of foetus flowing in it. A long aseptic needle is inserted through the mother’s abdomen into the amniotic sac and about 20 cc amniotic fluid is withdrawn. The insertion is carried out under ultrasonic cover in such a manner that the location of foetus is monitored on a screen using audible sound waves. This facilitates the insertion of a needle without damaging the foetus. The fluid thus withdrawn is subjected to chromosomal analysis, which thrown light on the sex of the foetus. There are 10,000 female foeticides in Baroda during the last decade. It was also estimated that during 1987 there were 2400 such tests. So the year saw the disappearance, before appearing in this world, of 1200 females from their mother’s wombs. What an efficient method of female population control?⁸

⁸ Shukla B.M., ‘Medico-Legal Aspects of Pre-Natal Sex Determination Tests : A Plea for a Uniform Central Act’ in ‘Women and Law, Problems and Prospects’ ed. By Raizada R.K., Law Department, M.D. university, Rohtak.

According to senior researcher Lori Heise of the World Watch Institute of Washington, in Bombay, sex detection tests are often used as the basis for deciding whether a foetus should be aborted. Of 8000 abortions performed at one clinic in Bombay, 7999 of the fetuses were found to be female.⁹

Legal Provisions

The Indian Penal Code, 1860 made causing abortion a punishable offence, anyone voluntarily causing a woman with child to miscarry is punishable with imprisonment upto 3 years and if the child has assumed the form of foetus and she is caused to miscarry, the punishment is raised to imprisonment up to 7 years.¹⁰ However, such miscarriage caused in good faith to save the woman's life is not punishable. Thus Sections 312 to 318 lay down punishments for miscarriages under various circumstances

The Indian law of abortion, the **Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act, 1971 (MTPA)** has liberalized the abortion rules. In all the big cities private clinics or hospitals have started amniocentesis tests. Within a few years such tests became money spinner. Many doctors are doing exclusively this work and women are permitting abortion of the female child. For example in June 1982 two doctors of New Bhandari Hospital in Amritsar published a circular and claimed that such test would check the population growth and would give a chance to avoid an unwanted daughter.¹¹ The MTP Act legalized abortions and permitted the termination of pregnancy under certain circumstances ; if it is less than 12 weeks on a certificate of one registered gynecologists or obstetrician and if it is between 12 and 20 weeks on a certificate of two registered gynecologists and obstetricians and at anytime on a certificate of two registered doctors if it is immediately necessary to save the life of the pregnant woman. Under MTPA all abortions after 20 weeks are illegal. Amniocentesis is usually carried out in the 16th week of pregnancy. For proper results about sex determination the amniotic cells have to be cultured for 3 weeks. If the abortion is caused after such proper sex

⁹ Indian Express, Ahmedabad, 12th March, 1989.

¹⁰ Section 312 IPC.

¹¹ 1:1 Facets (June, 1982) and "Consequences of Legalised Abortions Law in India" by Mrs. Alice Jacob, published by World Congress on Law and Medicine, p.3.

determination test, it will pass outside the 20 week period provided in the MTPA. Thus, they can successfully avoid any liability in law and yet flourish in their practice.

The abortion law did not permit abortion with a view to getting rid of a female foetus. Such act is outside the purview of the MTP Act and is patently illegal and the doctors who do it must be criminally prosecuted. Amniocentesis per se need not be banned because it is beneficial to trace out the genetic disorder. The ban should be only on sex determination. A separate law should be passed or a provision should be made to MTP, Act to this effect.

To remedy the aforesaid uncertainties and inconsistencies, a strong plea is made to the Union Government to pass a comprehensive legislation. To regulate the pre-natal tests the **Parliament passed the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Regulation and Prevention of Misuse) Act, 1994**. The act provides that no pre-natal diagnostic techniques shall be conducted except for chromosomal abnormalities, sex-linked genetic diseases etc. No genetic clinic, centre, laboratory and no person shall conduct or cause to be conducted any pre-natal diagnostic techniques including ultrasonography for the purpose of determining the sex of the foetus is given in section 6 of the Act. The following are the reasons for the failure of the PNDT Act, 1994 : the machinery required to enforce the PNDT Act, 1994 at the State and District levels was not put into place; not a single pre-natal diagnostic center had been registered until 2001; due to non maintenance of adequate records by the clinics it is difficult to identify the purpose for which an ultra-sound test has been conducted. Thus the Act remained largely ineffective in checking the proliferation of ultrasound machines and mobile clinics clandestinely offering sex selection services throughout the country.

Census Report 2001 shows that the sex ratio of 0-6 years fell from 945 females per 1000 males in 1991 to 927 per 1000 males in 2001. The new figure gives India one of the world's lowest ratios for women to men. The statistical norm is 1050 females for every 1000 males. India is being blamed on a strong cultural preference for sons. The proliferation of these technologies may, in the future, precipitate a catastrophe, in the form of severe imbalance in male-female ratio. Therefore, an amendment to PNDT Act, 1994 was brought in 2002 which is a bold step by the Government. The **objectives of the PNDT Act, 2002** are : to ban pre-

conception sex selection techniques; to prohibit the misuse of pre-natal diagnostic techniques for sex-selective abortions; to ensure the effective implementation of the Act at all levels. Recently developed techniques of sex selection at the time of conception like Ericsson method (X and Y chromosome separation) and pre-implantational Genetic Diagnosis (PGD) are also brought under the ambit of the law; no person can communicate to the pregnant woman concerned or her relatives or any other person the sex of the foetus by words, signs or in any other manner while conducting pre-natal diagnostic procedures and the fine for those who indulge in sex selection procedure has been doubled from 50000 to one lac with additional provisions for the suspension and cancellation of the registration are the main features of the Act.

In addition to the above provisions it is necessary that the Act should be backed by stringent implementation machinery by the State. The roots of the female foeticide can be traced to deep-rooted patriarchy and anti women attitudes in the country. The Government should carry out women empowerment programmes vigorously. Recently a report is published in a Newspaper¹² that the uterus of women working in the fields of sugarcane in the District Beed in Marathawada region of State of Maharashtra have been removed by the doctors in private hospitals. The contractors give employment to these poor women with the condition that no pregnancy is allowed during the peak season of work. In order to avoid pregnancy, such women undergo the operation and get the uterus removed. This incident has shocked the nation and a big question mark is put on the face of Government as well as so-called NGOs working for the causes of women. The Government has made the law for giving 26 weeks of maternity leave whereas in this case the women are deprived of bearing the children and after operation if they are absent from work even for single day, the penalty for rupees 500 shall be imposed and will be deducted from their wages. The 21st century as the century of women, it is not understood as to when the discrimination against the women will come to an end. After facing the evil of female infanticide and foeticide, the women are apprehensive of their own existence.

¹² Amar Ujala, Jhansi dated 22nd June, 2019, p.8 (editorial).
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Political ideology of Bengal Muslim League

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In the midst of all shades of opinion on Fazal Ul Haq, there is “real agreement” on only two aspects of his personality, that inspired Haq to approach the Hindus for a political settlement beginning in 1940. Towards the end of 1941, his efforts were finally rewarded when he became leader of the PCP, another coalition party of Muslims and Hindus. In some works, the dissolution of Haq’s first ministry and formation of the next coalition is conflated as one continuous run for Haq.

¹ Other works correct this misreading by analyzing the history of Haq’s new coalition and pin exceptional hope on this tenure for the potential it

¹ Peter Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 234. Hardy writes “In Bengal, after some very involved political infighting, Fazl al-Haq, who had refused to toe the local Muslim League line, was forced to resign and in March 1943 a

had to usher in a period of communal peace. Some stake their belief on Haq's identity politics, which appealed both to religious and regional sentiments of Bengalis, some on the combination of Haq and Sarat Bose, and yet, some replace Sarat Bose by Mookerjee.² This chapter will argue that the prospect for inter-communal 88 alliance to bring positive changes in Bengal during 1941-1943 has been exaggerated by existing works. While it is true that Haq's political ideology was based on striving for the protection of Muslims' rights without antagonizing the Hindus, from the beginning of 1942 Haq's choices, his everyday politics offered little in the way of furthering that ideology. From the beginning of 1942, Haq's contingent politics from his past years caught up with him, and his earlier defections, alliances and unkept promises confronted him from all sides. "For instance, Haq must have expected his fallout with Bengal League leaders to have serious consequences for his next term." The possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity and communal peace became a symbolic high goal that he set and reiterated but never constructively worked towards, and therefore, did not achieve. The inter-communal stance could well have become a strong counterpoint to

Muslim League ministry was formed..." John Broomfield, *Mostly About Bengal* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 171. Broomfield writes, "Huq's ministry honored many of its election promises in the six years of its life." Huq's first ministry spanned over five years. The oversight is regrettable only because the sub-section of a chapter in the book that is dedicated to Huq is one of the most insightful analyses of Huq's political mind and the choices he makes. Broomfield's earlier work *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society* analyses Huq's coalition in 1941.

² S. Ghosh, "Fazlul Haq and Muslim Politics in Pre-Partition Bengal," *International Studies* 13, no. 3 (1974). Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947* (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976), 132-33. Semanti Ghosh, "Nationalism and the Problem of Difference : Bengal, 1905-1947" (Tufts University, 1999), 261. Both Sen and Ghosh discuss the mood in Bengal about the coming together of Sarat Bose and Huq. Both these leaders had the rare quality of having an appeal to communities other than their own. Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008). Aiyar's article focuses on Mookerjee's politics and how it held out a promise for inter communal politics in Bengal in 1941.

Muslim League ideology, which sought no political cooperation from Hindus, but as this chapter will argue Haq did not have what it took to deliver on these promises. Through a detailed study of Haq's politics soon after he assumed office, this chapter will highlight how Haq prioritized seeking new opportunities for himself and renewing old relationships over focusing on administration and strengthening the ministry's resolve to bring communal peace. In furthering their points of view scholars have based themselves heavily on Haq's speeches of communal amity, to the marginalization of other evidence that reveals how Haq's will to survive politically trumped all his other ideological affinities. Haq's political choices reveal his inclination more towards protecting the space of regional politics from the interference of national political calculations. These scholars further argue that this "new trend" in Bengal politics, this "happy combination" did not see any success because of British interference and highhandedness.³ The role played by the British, more specifically Herbert, has received wide analysis.⁴ Herbert's dislike for Haq was no secret even in the 1940s and that has lent credence to this widely held view among primary and secondary works. But, if indeed Herbert's disdain was enough to end Haq's political career, then why was he reappointed in the first place? Quite apart from the fact that blaming the British for nonrealization of a promise associated with the new coalition absolves Haq and Mookerjee of any wrong doing, this approach also discourages the need to interrogate the political choices made by these leaders, especially Haq, as head of the coalition. This chapter does not dismiss that the British and Herbert played autocratic roles and made "provincial autonomy a

³ Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003), 131. Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947* (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976), 162. Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008): 1232-37.

⁴ Muhammad Sanaullah, *A.K. Fazlul Huq : Portrait of a Leader* (Chittagong, Bangladesh: Homeland Press and Publications, 1995), 117-19. B. D. Habibullah, *Sere Bamla* (Barisala: Buka Hausa, 1967), 112.

charade” in Bengal.⁵ It urges the inclusion of another angle to understand the British role in Haq’s second ministry which is that Herbert’s decisions were also a response to Haq’s political maneuverings after he took office. An analysis of all the reasons why Haq was invited to form the second ministry in Bengal explains why his resignation was engineered in a little over a year, and it had little to do with Herbert’s personal dislike of Haq. It is too easy to demonize Herbert and overlook that the bigger trends like British interest in winning the war impacted his response to Haq’s politics. Whereas provincial autonomy was aimed at being the first step towards decolonization, the war put brakes on this process.⁶ During the war, Herbert had to seek indigenous support, but also render service towards winning the war. Apart from the fact that there was doubt in higher British circles regarding adoption and definition of a war policy, a national policy was useless to provincial Governors like Herbert, who had to devise ways to keep Bengal running.⁷ Finally, this chapter will argue that national politics, Muslim League politics and Congress’ Quit India movement, more than Herbert, presented Haq with unprecedented challenges, so much so that he was out of options. Faced with these problems, Haq realized, a little too late, that having British support and governing with a caste Hindu participaton, was fated to disrupt his ministry. No new strategy or political friendship was able to save Haq’s political career in 1943. Bengal’s much awaited period for inter communal amity did not arrive.

⁵ Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008): 1232.

⁶ L G Pinnell, "With the Sanction of the Government," (London: Indian Office Records, 2002), 23. The Government of India Act, 1935 was a recognition that the “Raj would end.”

⁷ John Glendevon, *The Viceroy at Bay: Lord Linlithgow in India, 1936-1943* (London: Collins, 1971), 214- 25. This is an excellent account of the British view of handling India during war. Linlithgow and the War Cabinet did not agree on most of the policies, starting with formation of Indian Council of Defense. “Sharp exchange of views” took place between Linlithgow and the cabinet. Herbert however had little to learn from these correspondences, his concerns being a world apart.

Though Haq may have wanted dearly to head Bengal's second ministry, a closer look at the few weeks preceding the announcement substantiates that, apart from Haq's active campaigning and year-long preparation for a coalition ministry with the Hindus, he also was plain lucky.⁸ Even before the Assembly reconvened on 27 November 1941, Herbert realized that Haq's Progressive Party "proved however to be a ghost which is not easy to lay."The⁹ reference to the word "ghost" could not be more apt because of the mystery shrouding the formation and ideology of this new Party. It was not clear to Herbert what the conditions were, under which supporters of Haq seceded from the ministerial coalition and formed themselves into the Progressive Assembly Party. Herbert feared that despite "repeated warnings" Haq may have made promises which he was not in a position to fulfill.¹⁰ Herbert's doubts perhaps stemmed from the fact that it was not clear if Haq would continue to hold a position of influence in Bengal, if at all he would be called to form Government. In the Assembly however there was no hint of what was coming. On 27 November in his statement, Haq admitted that "no progress" had been made as far as the Secondary Education Bill was concerned, and because the Assembly. 91 had been called primarily to discuss the Bill, it was best to adjourn. The House was adjourned till 8 December.¹¹ In the one week that he earned, Haq made further progress in coalescing power for his Party. On being asked to come clean on the issue Haq was evasive. Herbert's report on 5 December clarified Haq's activities: "...Although he (Haq) denied having accepted leadership of this party, he submitted that the Progressives had split off from the Coalition and were determined to press a no-confidence motion against Suhrawardy. The same day, November 29th, I called a cabinet meeting in which Haq

⁸ Harun-or-Rashid, *Inside Bengal Politics, 1936-1947*. Unpublished Correspondence of Partition Leaders (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003), 14. *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003). Rashid does not dig deeper to explain how the second ministry actually came about.

⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 November 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL.

¹⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 November 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL.

¹¹ "Assembly Proceedings, Official Report, Bengal Legislative Assembly, Twelfth Session," (Alipur, Bengal: 1941).

declared that he had no personal animosity or grievance against Suhrawardy, and that he would not join in a no-confidence motion. At the suggestion of his colleagues, he subsequently issued a statement, declaring that it would be wholly unconstitutional on his part as Chief Minister and leader of the Coalition Party to enter into negotiations with parties in opposition, and denying that there was any truth in press reports to that effect. In spite of this, it was reported to me, on the following morning, that a meeting of Progressive Party, at which Sarat Bose and others were present, had taken place the previous night at Haq's house, where it had been decided that motions of no-confidence would be tabled against six Coalition members..."¹² Haq's admissions belied his actions because the reports Herbert received were in fact true. Sarat Bose wrote to Richard Casey (Governor of Bengal after Herbert) on 5 July 1944, admitting that in the formation of Haq's ministry he took "an active and prominent part..."¹³ Sarat Bose realized that "the rights and interests of the people of Bengal could be safeguarded and promoted only if the Hindu and Muslim members of the legislature combined to free themselves from the malignant influence of the agents of British imperialism."¹⁴ Mookerjee provides more details on this secretive association in *Leaves from a Diary*. Writing on 6 December 1945, Mookerjee concurs that Sarat Bose helped Haq (spelled by Mookerjee as Haq) in the breakdown of his own ministry.¹⁵ Attempts at sponsoring no-confidence motions against the ministry by this same group were made in August as well, but that did not materialize. Haq, Mookerjee and Sarat Bose however kept at it, and by the time Herbert became seriously suspicious of an association, the bond had considerably strengthened. In Mookerjee's words, "we threw out a challenge to Herbert." Though¹⁶ details of this association still remain a mystery, in terms of when Mookerjee and Sarat Bose changed their minds on Haq and why, the fact

¹² Herbert to Linlithgow, 5 December 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL.

¹³ Sarat Chandra Bose, *I Warned My Countrymen*. Being the Collected Works 1945-50 of Sarat Chandra Bose (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1968). Preface by Sisir Bose.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Preface by Sisir Bose.

¹⁵ Syama Prasad Mookherjee, *Leaves from a Diary* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1993). p46.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p47.

of this alliance and Haq's participation in it behind the backs of his cabinet ministers remains uncontested. Of course Haq must have realized the great danger that would befall him if his parleys with the opposition came to light while he was head of the Coalition Party. So while it is true that Haq was admitting only half truths to Herbert, he was not lying blatantly. Keeping in mind the personalities of Sarat Bose and Mookerjee and the numerous insults they had hurled at Haq during the last four years, it does not seem fantastical to presume that Haq's leadership of new Hindu-Muslim coalition was not an easy decision and Haq never knew till the last minute if all would work out as he had expected. So when Herbert asked Haq a second time to confirm the rumors about his new coalition attempts Haq said that he had not accepted any leadership role, only that he had sought to find out which members in the Assembly would support him in the formation of a new Assembly party. Though this was not the answer Herbert would have ideally liked, he got the signal that Haq's first ministry was heading towards its end. Soon after, the two sides, Haq and staunch Muslim Leaguers, started gearing up for the final fight. On 1 December members of the coalition, left aghast at the news that Haq was again contriving on "sponsoring no-confidence motions against his own ministry, resigned in a cabinet meeting with Haq, bringing the ministry to an end.¹⁷ Ispahani reported to Jinnah that Bengal Leaguers would not give Haq any more time to "consolidate his position any further," perhaps not knowing the extent of progress Haq had already made in that regard.¹⁸ Soon after, Nazimuddin assumed leadership of Bengal League. Jinnah issued a press statement congratulating the Muslim League on forming a party in the Assembly and expressed hopes that they would work on "sound lines" with Haq gone. Haq was not sitting idle during this time. On 3 December Haq announced his acceptance of leadership in the Progressive Assembly Party-turned-Progressive Coalition Party

¹⁷ In September Haq was suspected of having tried to do the same, i.e. move a no-confidence motion against Suhrawardy, but the House was adjourned.

¹⁸ Z.H. Zaidi, ed., Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 1936-1948 (Karachi: Forward Publications Trust, 1976). p215.

(henceforth PCP) to the press.¹⁹The next day at Haq's house Sarat Bose declared Haq leader of PCP formally. Haq had been treading a difficult line and there was no guarantee what was to come out of this coalition but Haq was relieved to have leaped from one leadership role to another. The new one was not just a fruit of his strenuous effort and diplomacy but was also one more to his liking, for the moment. The British would be the final arbiters of who would administer Bengal, and the decision to form another ministry was not instantaneous. One of the reasons behind British indecisiveness in calling Haq to form the ministry was Haq's new friend, Sarat Bose. The British were circumspect, particularly about the scope of Sarat Bose's power in Haq's second ministry, given his stand on the British war effort and release of prisoners.²⁰ There were also reports of Sarat Bose's Japanese contacts. Discussions between officials in the Home Political Department in Delhi had to reach a conclusion before Herbert could initiate formation of Bengal's second ministry.²¹In his fortnightly report Herbert admitted that it became "necessary to play for time until a decision was reached on the question of arresting Sarat Bose."²² While on 4 December the British were still not sure if action could at all be taken against him, and if so, then what action, on 7 December after Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, the British had no doubt in mind. It was decided that action would be taken by Government of India and not the Bengal Government.²³ Though the decision to arrest Sarat Bose had already been taken, he received a letter from Herbert's secretary asking for an interview on 8 December.²⁴ Writing to his

¹⁹ Linlithgow to Amery, 4 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

²⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow and Amery, 7 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

²¹ Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, ed., Sarat Chandra Bose. Commemoration Volume (Calcutta: Sarat Bose Academy, 1982).p148-154.

²² Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 December 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL

²³ Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, ed., Sarat Chandra Bose. Commemoration Volume (Calcutta: Sarat Bose Academy, 1982). p148-151.

²⁴ Sisir Kumar Bose, Remembering My Father (Calcutta: Netaji Research Bureau, 1988). p105-106.

daughter from jail Sarat Bose recalled how on 8th his opinion was sought on ministry-making, and how until 11th he was considered quite “harmless,” but suddenly he became “very dangerous.” Clearly Sarat Bose had underestimated British intelligence. News of his contacts with the Japanese was also not baseless. Sarat Bose knew by April 1941 that Subhas Bose had reached Berlin and was safe. Even Tagore knew about it. Katsuo Okazaki and then later another Japanese agent named Ota regularly passed on messages from Subhas Bose to Sarat Bose.²⁵ On 10 December Haq was invited to form the ministry only after it had “definitely been decided to arrest Sarat Bose.”²⁶ The arrest warrant for Sarat Bose was received after mid-day on 11 December. Some scholars have explained the delay in Herbert’s invitation by citing Sarat Bose as the sole factor.²⁷ The British were suspicious about what role Sarat Bose would play if Haq were invited to form the ministry but it was by no means their only concern Mookerjee, for instance was not a British favorite either. The Hindu Mahasabha was anti-Congress but it was also anti-British. Herbert certainly did not forget Mookerjee’s trenchant criticism of the Communal Award. But with the war on, and both Congress and Muslim League uncommitted to the support of war, the British followed a conscious policy of starting negotiations with the Hindu Mahasabha.²⁸ Mookerjee had been critical of Congress policies in Bengal. The British too wanted to isolate the Congress, and hence Haq’s association with Mookerjee did not raise any alarms. The British were more concerned about Jinnah’s attitude towards a possible Haq ministry. In a telephone conversation with Herbert, Jinnah made it clear that he would not support a National Government in Bengal formed by Haq. Herbert concluded on 9 December that if Haq were invited to form the ministry there could be a “possible adverse affect on the tranquility of

²⁵ Ibid. p109-110.

²⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 December 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL.

²⁷ Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947* (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976). Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008): 1226.

²⁸ Nandini Gondhalekar and Sanjoy Bhattacharya, "The All India Hindu Mahasabha and the End of British Rule in India, 1939-1947," *Social Scientist* 27, no. 7/8 (1999): 54.

the province,” particularly in industrial areas where war production was essential.²⁹ This is possibly why Herbert had felt inclined to indicate to Nazimuddin that he might be invited to form Government. Nazimuddin wrote to Jinnah, “I was definitely given to understand that if I agreed to meet a vote of no-confidence immediately, he [Herbert] would give me the first chance...The main consideration which led H.E. to this decision [i.e. to commission Fazlul Haq] was the fact that if he asked me to form the Ministry, his position with the Hindus would be mud.”³⁰ Jinnah’s opinion carried weight with the British but Linlithgow was of the opinion that Jinnah had not “behaved well” since the expansion of the Viceroy’s War Council had been announced. This was reason enough for Linlithgow not to openly support Nazimuddin.³¹ In addition to these problems that solved themselves without Haq having to do much, there was another vital bottleneck to Haq’s second term. The British did not like Haq very much. When the PCP and the Bengal League lined up against each other, Herbert had asked Haq and Nazimuddin to show him their support base. Haq’s campaign to accrue signatures raised eyebrows in the British circles. Linlithgow, for one, despite having spoken in favor of Haq’s leadership in 1940, found Haq’s ways to be corrupt. “No decent man,” Linlithgow remarked in a telegram, “who is worthy of that position will ever do a thing like that.” He further added: “An unprincipled man in a case like this, who is willing to bribe other members, will secure many more signatures, than an honest, straight forward and honorable man,” perhaps meaning Nazimuddin.³² Though the telegram was sent after Haq was made Chief Minister, Herbert, the man in the province certainly knew of Haq’s activities, and in all probability Linlithgow was drawing on the information provided to him by Herbert. With the highest British authority in India having the most

²⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 9 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³⁰ Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003). p127-130.

³¹ Linlithgow to Herbert, 10 October 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³² Linlithgow to Private Secretary to Secretary of State, 11 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

caustic remarks reserved for Haq it was indeed a miracle that he became Bengal's Chief Minister the second time around. What also worked in Haq's favor was that while Linlithgow was critical of Haq's misadventures in signature collection, he also acknowledged the complicity of the British. He wrote: "This practice of calling upon possible candidates of the premiership to go round and secure signatures is most vicious and should be put down as soon as possible."³³ Factors which made Haq a difficult choice for the British were accepted with alerts or at least factored in as odds that the British felt fairly competent to handle. There were also factors that worked in Haq's favor, in fact made him the most likely candidate to head Bengal's second ministry. The Bengal situation was "critical" because of the war and Linlithgow was firm that elections could not be held.³⁴ It would be difficult to conduct elections in the midst of a world war and there was possibility of air raids on Bengal. If Nazimuddin was asked to form the ministry, the Hindus would oppose and he would eventually be defeated and elections would again become necessary. Haq therefore seemed to be a safe way out for the British. He had also been a supporter of the British war efforts right from the beginning and had never swerved. Outside this administrative circle, the European Group in the Assembly also lent indirect help to Haq's candidature. They made it clear to Herbert that they would support Nazimuddin but should Haq be called to become Chief Minister, they would not oppose him. They did not want to be deemed as supporters of Muslim League only.³⁵ They would not oppose the Haq ministry as long as it did not insist on the release of security prisoners.³⁶ Whereas the British made the final call, sections of Indian opinion, some unlikely friends of Haq, made the decision easier for Herbert. Two conversations, one between Laithwaite and A K Ghuznavi, and another one between Herbert and Sarkar, had the impact of removing substantial doubts the British had regarding Haq. As for Haq's links with

³³ Linlithgow to Private Secretary to Secretary of State, 11 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³⁴ Linlithgow to Amery, 2 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³⁵ Herbert to Linlithgow and Amery, 7 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 December 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL

Sarat Bose, a Muslim League insider, Ghuznavi confided to Laithwaite in October that there was no reason to worry about Bose's inclusion in a possible Haq ministry. Ghuznavi added that Haq was "keen that Suhrawardy should be gone" but he would not "change" from a Muslim to a Hindu ministry.³⁷ Ghuznavi had also confirmed in early September that Haq would be able to form a Hindu-Muslim coalition party.³⁸ He reaffirmed in October that "the real support in Bengal was for Fazlul Haq."³⁹ A more unlikely friend, Sarkar also expressed confidence in Haq, despite the fact that for the last one and half years since his departure from Haq's ministry he had lambasted the government on every issue possible.⁴⁰ Here it may be worth inferring that Haq's last kind words to Sarkar may have played a role. On 19 December 1939 in a letter to Sarkar asking him to resign, Haq started with "My dear Nalini" and ended with "You will no doubt realize that it is very painful for me as Chief Minister to communicate this information to you." In supporting Haq, Sarkar found easy justification in the fact that he had always been critical of the ministry and not Haq per se.⁴¹ In fact Sarkar went to the extent, Herbert believed, of convincing Amrita Bazar Patrika to change their stand on Haq. Herbert took note that the 16 September issue asked for dissolution of the Assembly, but after its dissolution, on 21 September the daily asked the British to side with Haq.⁴² Herbert had great respect for Sarkar and his vote of confidence in Haq mattered. Ghuznavi and Sarkar's assurances about Haq prepared the path for his success but the final obstacle of collecting signatures to prove his majority still remained daunting. The re-appointment of Haq was a very calculated decision, it was the best decision the British could have taken at the time. Herbert had believed since 1940 that Haq would be able to carry the majority with him should he decide to sever his ties with the

³⁷ Ghuznavi to Laithwaite, 10 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL. Observers of the second ministry would contradict Ghuznavi but that is beside the point in this instance.

³⁸ Ghuznavi to Laithwaite, 5 September 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

³⁹ Ghuznavi to Laithwaite, 10 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴¹ Huq to Sarkar, 19 December 1939, R/3/2/10, IOL.

⁴² Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

Muslim League.⁴³ Yet when the time came Herbert began to have second thoughts and that explains why Haq was not invited to form the government on 8 December when the Assembly convened. In a telegram to Linlithgow, Herbert proposed that it would first need to be determined if Haq or Nazimuddin had the majority MLAs on their side.⁴⁴ At higher levels in the British Government, there was not as much doubt about Haq carrying the majority. The Bengal ministry had become a cause of concern given the war scenario, and Linlithgow and the Secretary of State, Leo Amery exchanged telegrams almost daily. In a telegram on 2 December, Linlithgow reiterated that an election was not an option.⁴⁵ This suited Haq well because though he was sure of a certain support base, he could not be sure of a triumphant victory any more. The confidence with which Haq ran the 1937 election was a thing of the past. It was difficult to gauge what impact his defection from KPP, and then his war with Jinnah had on the psyche of the Muslim masses. An election would be a foolhardy way to test his popularity. In a telegram to Amery, also on 2 December, the Under-Secretary expressed that there was “no obvious alternative to Fazlul Haq.”⁴⁶ In a telegram to Linlithgow and Amery, on 7 December, a Sunday, Herbert explained the situation as it was. Haq had signatures and was expecting to get more. Nazimuddin had including the European group and the Scheduled Caste group. Nazimuddin was also trying to win over Congress. In the same telegram Herbert mentioned that “it seems constitutionally unavoidable to call Haq.”⁴⁷ Yet, Herbert could not be sure. The responses of three groups did the trick. Paying no heed to Nazimuddin’s overtures, the Congress decided to stay neutral instead of sitting in opposition to Haq’s

⁴³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL. Herbert predicted as early as August that Haq would be able to keep “a good majority in spite of the League.”

⁴⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁵ Linlithgow to Amery, 2 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁶ Under-Secretary to Amery, 2 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow and Amery, 7 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

ministry.⁴⁸ To have Congress and Muslim League sitting in opposition would surely be the worst possible nightmare. Next, the Nawab of Dacca, after issuing press statements against Haq along with Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy on 5 December, defected from the Muslim League and joined Haq's camp three days later. He had expected to become leader of the League Assembly Party. When Nazimuddin was elected instead, he joined Haq.⁴⁹ The day Haq was called to form the ministry, 11 Scheduled Caste MLAs who had promised their support to Nazimuddin also joined Haq. Finally, despite Sarat Bose's arrest, disgruntled Forward Bloc members agreed to join Haq's ministry making it, at least on a paper, a widely representative body. But ministry formation still proved to be a daunting task. When Sarat Bose was arrested the very idea of a ministry seemed suddenly implausible. Initially only three members, Haq, Nawab of Dacca and Mookerjee took the oath on 12 December. Sarat Bose, bitter at how the British had foiled his plans for giving Bengal new leadership, decided to withdraw his men from the ministry. Haq asked Sarat Bose to reconsider.⁵⁰ Mookerjee threatened to withdraw from the ministry if Sarat Bose's men were not part of it.⁵¹ Without a Sarat Bose and a Mookerjee, there was no way Haq's ministry could surge ahead with its inter-communal agenda. The KPP was no longer an option. KPP was not strong enough numerically to sustain a ministry. Haq had worked towards encouraging KPP supporters to pledge their allegiance to the Bengal League. Haq was leader of the PCP but it was a party only on paper and within the Assembly. Fortunately, Sarat Bose let his nominations, Santosh Kumar Bose and Pramatha Nath Banerjee stay. They took oath along with Abdul Karim and Hashem Ali of PCP, Shamsuddin Ahmed of KPP and Scheduled Caste representative, Upendra Nath Burman, on 18 December. Herbert continued to remain skeptical about how long the ministry would last, but the immediate excitement of a Hindu-Muslim ministry allayed his anxieties. The goal

⁴⁸ Herbert to Linlithgow, 20 December 1941, L/P&J/5/148, IOL.

⁴⁹ Harun-or-Rashid, *The Foreshadowing of Bangladesh, Bengal Muslim League and Muslim Politics, 1906-1947* (Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2003). p130.

⁵⁰ *The Statesman*, 6 January 1942.

⁵¹ Syama Prasad Mookherjee, *Leaves from a Diary* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1993). p48-49.

for the ministry had been set even before it was formed. Haq wanted communal amity and the way to achieve it was by invoking the rhetoric of Bengali identity, as something that rose above narrow communal division. This suited Herbert well. Haq's press statement on 4 December clarified his stand: "As President of Provincial Muslim League I thank all those members who have joined the new party under my leadership. I have no doubt that they are true exponents of spirit and ideals of Moslem League...This party alone can bring relief to all communities."⁵² His assertion about his new party, PCP, and about how its members were loyal to the Muslim League was a calculated move. Haq was careful not to alienate the Muslim MLAs.⁵³ Nothing could have harmed Haq more than an attack on the Bengal League, under whose banner he had rallied thousands of Bengali Muslims for the better part of his career as Chief Minister. He had given the signal loud and clear to Herbert, who had his ears open, that he was willing to work with any party for the peace and prosperity of Bengal. Haq's newly formed cabinet backed Haq up on this goal. Not just Haq, his entire ministry was genuinely interested in achieving communal harmony. In early January, Haq, Shamsuddin Ahmed and Pramathanath Banerjee went to Khulna where they were greeted by both Muslims and Hindus. Haq assured the crowd that the cabinet was together and working towards one common goal, stability for Bengal through communal harmony. Haq also announced that for "permanent communal amity" the combination of the present cabinet was ideal and it would be maintained.⁵⁴ A few days later in Delhi, Mookerjee echoed Haq's promise and said that the Bengal ministry had showed that it was possible for representatives of various parties to come together to run the Constitution in the interest of Bengal.⁵⁵ Despite his deep interest in training of Bengalis, Hindus to be specific, Mookerjee was not merely toying with the idea of communal harmony. He had said when taking office that "Bengal first and foremost wanted communal peace which could not be imposed by any external authority but could

⁵² Linlithgow to Amery, 4 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁵³ Linlithgow to Amery, 6 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁵⁴ The Statesman, 13 January 1942.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 21 January.

only come from the combined efforts of progressive elements belonging to different communities,” and faced with attacks from the Opposition his resolve strengthened.⁵⁶ Recalling the time and mood of the province, Mookerjee wrote that “there was intense relief in the public mind, especially among Hindus....” He admitted that while Sarat Bose’s absence was a “real handicap,” it did not break the solidarity of the ministry. He promised that they were determined to give Bengal “a real chance to recover its lost position,”⁵⁷ for which he blamed the British. These speeches and campaigns, albeit genuine, were not continued with the same vigor. Evidence of a similar speech does not come until June again when the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference was held in Town Hall, Calcutta. Opening the proceedings of the conference, Haq said he had realized long ago that there could be “no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity.” At the same time he felt that for the freedom of India, the advancement for the Muslim community was essential. He said he had always been a strenuous fighter for the rights of Muslims but that he did it only from a place of justice and it was misunderstood earlier. But then his Hindu friends understood the rationale and the ministry had come about. The time was such that it was imperative for all Bengalis to unite.⁵⁸ It is important to note how Haq elucidated his politics here as one that was inclusive of religious sentiments and regional identity, but “significantly, he did so without resorting to secular claims.”⁵⁹ Between January and June 1942, there is no significant government undertaking

⁵⁶ Linlithgow to Amery, 18 December 1941, Formation of New Government, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁵⁷ Syama Prasad Mookherjee, *Leaves from a Diary* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1993).p51.

⁵⁸ Nipendra Nath Mitra, ed., *The Indian Annual Register*. 1942, Volume I, January to June (The Annual Register Office), 335-36.

⁵⁹ Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008): 1213. Aiyar provides an excellent theoretical framework to understand Huq’s political ideology. This chapter’s disagreement with Aiyar rests on one of her assumptions that Huq applied his ideology in his second term as chief minister. His efforts were obstructed by Herbert, which this chapter will argue is a very simplistic take on a very complicated period of Bengal’s history.

aimed at transforming this rhetoric of communal amity to action. One of the reasons for this can be found in the war, the ministry's response to it and to the British demands from Haq's war ministry. Haq's re-appointment was not a simple constitutional process and though it was almost "unavoidable" to call him to form a ministry, the British considerations and priorities, each of them critical, still ruled supreme. The rocky prelude to Haq's reappointment was to serve as an indicator to Haq for what was to follow. Haq had taken great risk in breaking away from his Bengal League colleagues and his re-appointment came as a reward. There was much at stake when Haq broke away from the League, and had Sarat Bose and Mookerjee not reciprocated his gestures for an alliance Haq could not have become chief minister again. Haq's initial footing in 1940 was unsure but his goal was unwavering: an end to his precarious position in Bengal League. In December 1941 Haq achieved his goal but the road ahead had been made more difficult by the Japanese entry into the war. Haq was to find out its multi-pronged implications soon enough.



Spread of Islam in Indian sub continent

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The advent of Islam in India has generally been regarded as a peaceful and mostly non violent process under which the various Sufi saints arrived in India from various parts of West Asia, and settled down here. Their interaction with the local people, who were at various times willing and at others reluctant disciples, relays the story of a mixed approach by these Sufis and other influencers who helped in the spread of Islam in this region. There is a concept of homogenous empty time, as suggested by Benedict Anderson(1), who says that this empty time is available to be filled with information and the colour given to this time period is dependent on the predominant cultural aspects, leaning of the historiographers as well as those of the scholars of the time. Anderson mentions in his works (2) that when the printing business became big in Europe in the 1500s, one of the prime objectives of the publishers was to make money. So they published books in Latin language as the monied class was well versed in this language. Therefore the readership remained limited to those who could read Latin. In a similar fashion, one of the largest works of history of the subcontinent was called 'Chachnama', a compilation of historical happenings, and which provides details on Islam's arrival in India. The book was written in

Arabic during the 8th century, was translated into Persian in 1226 by Ali Kufi, and then Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg (1853-1929) in 1900(3). According to Mannan Ahmed Asif, author of "A book of Conquest", the early historiographers and post colonial scholars like H. T. Lambrick, Peter Hardy, and Yohanan Friedmann portrayed the content of the book in such a manner that

"The notion of Chachnama as a carrier text became the overarching consensus of the field."(4)

Manann also states that Romila Thapar, Gyanendra Pandey, Uma Chakravarti, Richard Eaton, Cynthia Talbot, and Shahid Amin are some of the key figures who in all probability also used Chachnama's reduced depiction as laid out by Kufi, in addition to some other important works of the era, in their historical works which are widely followed as rendered pioneering in scholarly world(5). The advent of Arabs in India started to take place before the beginning of Islam in Arabia, which emerged as the first Islamic State at the beginning of the 7th century. The Muslim polities made their presence known in Sindh in the 8th century. But before that there were many Arab families who were settled in Aden, Muscat, Diu, and Thana (6). However there are no major accounts available of Hindus and other religions converting to Islam in the early days of the religion. It can be said that at time the religion was still in its infancy and did not have the machinery through which its message could be spread. Various Muslim scholars, travelers and merchants, who visited India during the early centuries of Islam, were not able to find it within themselves to influence the locals with their faith.

The legacy of King Chach carried forward by his son Raja Dahir in Sindh, Multan and Uch, was challenged by Hajjaj Bin Yousuf who sent his young lieutenant Muhammad Bin Qasim to spread Islam's conquests into India. In 712 Islamic rule came to India for the first time, when Qasim defeated Raja Dahir and imprisoned his daughters. After Qasim was arrested on the orders of Hajjaj Bin Yousuf and later, when he died in prison, the Muslims quickly started to lose territory. An important aspect of why non Muslims turned towards Islam in many areas is said to be the impact of paying Jizya, and the toll this took on the economic affairs of these people. During Muhammad Bin Qasim's tenure, there are different opinions on whether he had imposed Jizya on non Muslims or not, and what was the total impact of it. However it was not until much later in the 13th century that strong evidence and repercussion of pay

Jizya, and even more crushing custom of paying kharaj. The purpose of Jizyah was to humiliate the non Muslims and to remind them of their place in the society as Dhimmis, but according to M A Khan, it was still lighter on the pocket. However, he narrates–

“peasants had literally become bonded slaves of the government, since up to 50–75 percent of the produce was taken away in taxes, mainly as kharaj.” (7)

The condition was so bad that the Hindus were running away from populated areas and hiding in forests to escape from the tax collecting army of the King. During this time, it was easier for the non Muslims to convert to Islam and be saved from the economic burden. This tactic worked in the spread of Islam to a large extent, as is shared by Feroze Shah Tughlaq who ruled in the mid 15th century. He writes in his memoir *Fatuhah-i-Firoz Shahi*: “I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet, and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Musalman should be exempted from the jizyah, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honor of Islam. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the jizyah, and were favored with presents and honor.” (8)

Aurangzeb inflicted a lot of regressive tactics upon non Muslims and was actively responsible for the forced conversions in his era. Many of his tactics were economically depriving. He ordered to expel all Hindus working at the royal court to be expelled, hence giving them the option to convert to Islam in order to save their livelihood(9). He also offered money to non Muslims to convert to Islam, which was Rs. 4 for males and Rs. 2 for females. This was equivalent to a month’s salary at that time(10). After the demise of Muhammad Bin Qasim, for many centuries there were no significant conversions to Islam. During the 10th and 11th century, Turkic emperor Subuktageen and then his son Mahmood of Ghazna are known for ruling parts of India. Mahmood famously attacked the temple of Somnath and his army plundered and looted lot during this period, and it is said that every time he attacked the area, he destroyed temples and converted scores of people to Islam (11). Much later in the 13th century is when the evidence of larger conversions to Islam came about.

Renowned Indian preacher and founder of Islamic Research Foundation, Zakir Naik, has always held that Islam spread in India in a very peaceful manner

Zakir Naik, has always held that Islam spread in India in a very peaceful manner, and the Sufis played a positive role in bringing in all the great virtues and morals of Islam through practice and preaching. Naik writes: “Overall, the Muslims ruled Arabia for 1400 years. Yet today, there are 14 million Arabs who are Coptic Christians, i.e. Christians since generations. If the Muslims had used the sword there would not have been a single Arab who would have remained a Christian. The Muslims ruled India for about a thousand years. If they wanted, they had the power of converting each and every non-Muslim of India to Islam. Today more than 80% of the people of India are non-Muslims. All these non-Muslim Indians are bearing witness today that Islam was not spread by the sword.” Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who is an Egyptian Islamic theologian based in Doha, Qatar, and chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, has this to say on the matter

“...the sword may conquer lands and occupy states, it will never be able to open hearts and inculcate faith in people. The spread of Islam only occurred after a while, after the barriers between the common people of these countries and Islam were removed. At this point, they were able to consider Islam within a peaceful atmosphere, away from the disturbance of war and the battlefields. Thus, non-Muslims were able to witness the excellent morals of the Muslims...” Dr Fazlur Rahman was a moderate Pakistani Preacher who had to leave Pakistan for his non orthodox views. What he says here gives an explanation through which a link can be created between the comment of Dr. Naik and that of Al Qardawi. He states-

“...what was spread by the sword was not the religion of Islam, but the political domain of Islam so that Islam could work to produce the order on the earth that the Quran seeks... But one can never say that Islam was spread by the sword” (12)

Here it can be deduced that the idea of Islam spreading in a peaceful manner through Sufism is problematised to an extent, and it is held that Sufism almost always followed, or came hand in hand with the use of sword and enforced authority.

Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer, Rajasthan is considered a prolific Sufi Saint who came to India (Lahore, Delhi, Ajmer) in or around 1192. Ajmer was ruled at the time by Prithviraj Chauhan. This is the same time period when Shahabuddin Ghori attacked the kingdom of Prithviraj for the second time, and this time successfully. Ghori also followed the same route as Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. He first arrived in Lahore and sent message to Prithviraj to accept Islam. When he refused, a battle was fought and this time Ajmer was conquered by Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori. It is said that Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti entered Ajmer with the conquering troops of Ghori, who then proceeded to destroy many temples and built Khanqahs and mosques in their place(13). Hasan Nizami, one of the chroniclers who has discussed the rule of Muslim kings in India, writes in his book called Taj ul Maasir about the conquest of Ajmer:

‘The victorious army on the right and on the left departed towards Ajmer’ When the crow-faced Hindus began to sound their white shells on the backs of the elephants, you would have said that a river of pitch was flowing impetuously down the face of a mountain of blue’ The army of Islam was completely victorious, and a hundred thousand grovelling Hindus swiftly departed to the fire of hell’ He destroyed (at Ajmer) the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established.’(14)

Today there is no doubting the fact that Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti is revered in the sub continent as Gharib Nawaz and Nabi-ul-Hind. He has said to have converted thousands of non Muslims to Islam through his charitable ways. He led his life in abject poverty with barely enough clothes to cover his body. However lands were bestowed upon him, which he accepted in the names of his sons, who possessed these lands through generations. After the killing of Prithviraj Chauhan, Ajmer was given to his son Prithviraj III to rule as a diplomatic ploy. It is narrated that Khwaja Moinuddin also dabbled in politics, so much so that at one point Prithviraj III asked Ramdeva to expel him from Ajmer. Also, it is interesting to note that the three contemporary chroniclers of the time,

Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and Minhaj have not referred to him in their books.

“Early mystic records, the Favaid-ul-Fuad and Khair-ul-Majalis do not give any information about him. Barani makes no reference to him. Isami tells us only this much that Muhammad bin Tughlaq had once visited his grave”(15)

During a personal visit to the Dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti I had a conversation about the historical background of the dargah with one of his family members. I also noticed the 2 massive Deghs which serve a pure vegetarian langar to scores of people, and was told that one of the Deghs was given by Emperor Akbar. Upon looking at the text it is also noted that Khwaja Chishti was greatly revered by Emperor Akbar who paid special attention to his dargah, and it was in his era that the Sufi saint started to get a mention in narratives and books.

Other famous disciples of the Chishti order include Sheikh Bakhtiar Kaki, Baba Farid Ganj e Shakar, and Nizamuddin Aulia. Nizamuddin had his khanqah in Delhi and was witness to 7 different emperors coming to power in his lifetime. However it is said that he never went to any of their darbars. He also lived in abject poverty and was able to influence and convert scores of non Muslims. Khwaja Nizamuddin is also said to have been interested in politics and used to hold his own court at his dargah(16). His disciples include Amir Khusru who had a very close affiliation with his Peer o Murshid. Khusru was a renowned poet and writer, who has also written a compilation called Tughlaqnama on the life and times of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq. Nuh Sipehr is the title of one of his writings in which he narrates:

‘They (Hindus) have four books in that language (Sanskrit), which they are constantly in the habit of repeating. Their name is Bed (Vedas). They contain stories of their gods, but little advantage can be derived from their perusal.’ (17)

This kind of thinking has been in prevalence constantly in the minds of all Muslims, even the Sufi saints, who with the best of intent consider that by convincing the non Muslims to join Islam they are bringing them to the era of enlightenment.

The Islamisation of Kashmir was done through a mix of sword and forceful conversion by the Sufis. Among the wielders of the sword, the most famous one for the area was Alexander, or Sikandar But Shikan who came to Kashmir in 1394. He and his Brahmin convert prime

minister, issued an order “proscribing the residence of any other than Mahomedans in Kashmir”(18), after which they threw out all idols from the temples.

But over a longer period of time it was the Sufis who were welcomed into Kashmir from Hamdan, by Emperor Sultan Shahabuddin of the Shah Mir dynasty, during mid 14th century. One Sufi Saint, Syed Ali Hamdani, and 700 of his disciples came and started building khanqahs and converting people to Islam, as well as convincing the ruler to destroy temples and make khanqahs. After Hamdani’s death the task was taken over by Nuruddin, who conned the locals by dressing up as a Rishi, “the highest appellation of Hindu Seers in Kashmir”. Nuruddin took advantage of the Hindu psyche and started focusing on conversions of Brahmin Priests, as he knew they were natural teachers for the Kashmiri Hindus(19). According to Nehemia Levtzion’s assertion, ‘Sufis were particularly important in achieving the almost total conversion in eastern Bengal.’(20) The Sufi influence and conversion of Buddhists as well as some Hindus into Islam was done at a very high pace by Sheikh Shah Jalal and his disciples during the 13th century. According to some sources, he took part in a holy war with 700 of his disciples against King Gaur Govinda (21) and was sent to do so by his Pir Nizamuddin Aulia.

Sheikh took part in the 3rd attack on Gaur Govinda in which the king stood defeated. After the war was over tens of thousands of prisoners were taken and they were all converted to Islam under the patronage of Sheikh Jalal. It is therefore quite apparent that at least these prisoners did not convert according to their own free will or after getting enamored by the teachings and lifestyle of Sheikh Jalal. According to the account of Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen Gibb on Ibn e Batuta, he mentioned that “(Jalaluddin’s) effort was instrumental in converting the infidels who embraced Islam there”(22), but he does not specify what these measures were. Another well known Sufi saint of Bengal was Nur Qutb-i-Alam, who influenced Hindu Prince Ganesha, recently fallen ruler of Bengal, to hand over his twelve-year-old son Jadu was converted to Islam, and made the ruler of Bengal under the name of Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad. Jalaluddin turned out to be a particularly ferocious king and offered the option of Islam or death to his subjects (23). Additionally, it is said that the conversion methods applied in Bangladesh were quite orthodox, as “(the Sufis) established their khanaqahs on the sites of

Buddhist shrines, and (it) fitted well into the religious situation in Bengal.”

There are a lot of different opinions as we look at scholarly work from different quarters which may lead to different conclusions to answer the question we started out to explore,. However, the overbearing scholarly perceptions suggesting that the Sufis resorted to only peaceful and humble mannerism in order to promote Islam in India needs to be challenged. It is true that many Sufi Saints could be humane and kind hearted individuals. Nonetheless the overarching belief that in order to lead a happy, content and pious life, one must come into the fold of their own ideology, has remained a constant standpoint with all Sufi Saints across South Asia.

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- 6.“The Muslim polities in Sind
7. P108, Islamic Jihad, A legacy of Imperialism, Forced conversions and Slavery, M A Khan
8. P 227, The State and Religion in Mughal India, Roy Choudhury ML
9. Exhibit No. 34, Bikaner Museum Archives, Rajasthan, India
10. “Aurangzeb also promulgated an order in 1685 to his officers of the provinces to encourage the Hindus to convert to Islam by offering that ‘each Hindu male, who becomes a Musalman, is to be given Rupees four and each Hindu woman Rupees two’ from the treasury” Ibid, Exhibit 43
11. p 222, Legacy of Muslim Rule in India, K S Lal
12. p92, Islamic Jihad, A legacy of Imperialism, Forced conversions and Slavery, M A Khan
- 13The Legacy of Muslim Rule in India. K.S.Lal
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21. Shah Jalal (R), Banglapedia;
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23. “Dr James Wise wrote in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1894) that ‘the only condition he offered was the Kuran or death... many Hindus fled to Kamrup and the jungles of Assam



**Post-retirement Period and Loss of Power and
Authority in Indian Family**

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Problems of old age are not confined to merely declining health and vitality but go beyond that, incorporating changes in familial and immediate relationships of the old aged persons. Increase in age more often than not brings new equations in the family relationship vis-à-vis the aged in the family, and this makes old age more problematic precarious living. Along with this, retirement too is viewed as a period of crisis and adjustment, where multiplicity of problems confronts the individual at the time of retirement. Cox (1984) states that some of these problems are "lowering of income; the loss of status, privilege, and power that were associated with one's position in the occupational hierarchy; a major re-organization of life's activities since the nine-to-five work day becomes meaningless; a changing definition of self due to the fact that most individuals over time come to shape their identity and personality in line with the demands of their major occupational roles; a considerable degree of social isolation if new activities are not found to replace previous work-related activities; and a search for new identity, meaning, and value for one's life. Obviously, the major reorganization of one's life that must take place at the time of retirement is potentially a source of adjustment problems for those individuals who must negotiate

the change." Retirement as a new social phenomenon has wider ramifications and deeper meaning in terms of individual's adjustment to his immediate social context (Meyers, 1995).

Indian civilization, from time immemorial is replete with the references to the aged persons as the repository of wisdom, skill, and tradition (Iyer, 1992). However, neither the value system nor the social structures are static. They are subject to change, variations, alterations, and even conflict and dissonance occur within them. The traditional Indian society is no exception to this. Rapid changes have occurred in recent past. The concept of 'progress', 'development', and 'modernization' have brought about alien cultural values and behaviour pattern which are often repugnant to the established norms, values, and behaviour patterns. The result is that almost every substructure and unit of the society is experiencing the chromatic experience of a transitional phase when a society passes from traditional set up to the modern one. This transitional character of modern Indian society is nowhere so apparent, so much consequential as in the case of old aged persons (Gangrade, 1989; Nayar, 1992; Shah, 1989). The deification of the old age still persists, but the existential conditions of the society are making it difficult to old aged persons in the field of their interaction and adjustment with the immediate social context. Even the inner self of the elders has become fragmented because of the opposing demands of his survival and the larger demands and expectations of the family and kinship organization. In fact, in contemporary society, the inner world of the elders is in shambles.

Keeping this in view, present paper attempts to explore the changes occurring in the contemporary Indian family with respect to the power and authority of the elderly person after the loss of his working status. For this purpose, inquiries have been made into the areas of consultation with the old aged person in the family, instances of disagreement shown by the family members, decline of authority of the old aged person in the family, and the change in family relationship with the aged in the family. The study is based on a sample of 300 old aged persons retired from government and semi-government jobs and residing in family setup in Varanasi. The sample has been selected through quota sample technique coupled with snowball technique. Care has been taken to include only Hindu males to make the sample homogeneous. A structured interview schedule has been used as the main tool of data collection. Age has been

treated as an independent variable in the study and the old age has been subdivided into three categories, viz. sexagenarians (60-69 years), septuagenarians (70-79 years), and octogenarians (80-89 years).

Consultation with Old Aged Person by the Family

Old age is considered to be a period which provides wise advice in various areas of personal and family life. With vast experience in understanding the behaviour, the aspiration as well as the needs of the family members, the old aged person is often in a better position to give sound advice. He also could perceive the consequences of the decisions which may occur in the personal life of the individual member or family as a whole. The family members on their part may not possess far-sightedness, so they prefer to seek the advice of the old aged person to have better options at their disposal. Moreover, consultation with elders is also a gesture of high esteem which the family members have towards them. Consultation with elders is therefore almost imperative, and family members seek consultation in almost every major departments of family life.

The respondents in the sample have been asked to state the areas in which the family members frequently consult them. There are 4.33 percent respondents who have stated that consultation with them is sought by the family members mostly in the case of marriage settlement. Other areas noted by the respondents are marriage settlement plus personal crisis in the family (13.33 percent), marriage settlement plus education of children plus personal crisis in the family (19.67 percent), marriage settlement plus educational and occupational choice plus economic and personal crisis in the family (11.33 percent), and in almost all the important personal and family matters (29.00 percent). Some of the respondents have shown reservations in matters relating to consultation by the family members. Whereas 19.67 percent respondents have stated that they are consulted only in some insignificant areas, there are 2.67 percent respondents who have stated that they are now no more consulted in family matters.

Age-wise classification of the data indicates that the respondents who have stated consultation in almost every branch of personal and family matters, their proportion is comparatively higher among the sexagenarians (31.53 percent). However, as the age advances, the quantum of consultation gradually decreases. Thus among the

octogenarians, a greater proportion of respondents (33.33 percent) have stated that they are now being consulted only in some insignificant areas.

Areas in which Family Members Differ from the Elders

The interpersonal relationship between the elders and young members of the family has become quite complex in modern situations. The elders are more in a position to dictate and impose their will and decision upon the family members. The younger members have not only the earning status but also possess their own aspirations and preferences which are often in contradiction of the wishes of the elders. Therefore dissension and conflict accrue leading to flouting of authority of the elders by the younger members or withdrawal of the elders from the familial affairs.

Probing the areas of disagreement where the family members have not seen eye to eye to their elders, it has been found that educational career (23.00 percent) and occupational choice (23.33 percent) are the two major areas where family members have differed from their elders. Other areas of disagreement are marriage settlement (6.33 percent), family budget and investment (7.67 percent), approach to solve economic/personal crisis (10.33 percent), purchase/construction of house (2.67 percent), issues related with social relationship (1.67 percent), and issues related with ceremony/celebration (4.67 percent). In the sample, 20.33 percent respondents have stated that there is no disagreement between them and their family members. It may be stated that the two major areas of disagreement vis-à-vis educational and occupational career relate to the future career of the younger generation. In these two areas, the younger generation prefers to have greater say and would like to pass on the final decision in these matters to the elders who may not appreciate the aspirations and aptitudes of the younger members of the family.

The cross-tabulation of the data indicates that disagreement relating to educational choice (31.75 percent) and occupational choice (34.92 percent) are relatively more prominent among the octogenarians than in other two groups.

Perceived Change in the Family Relationship

Retirement has got manifold consequences. Not only economic status of the retired person declines, but it also creates significant alteration in the relationship among the family members vis-à-vis the retired person (Vijaya Kumar, 1997; Kimmel, 1990).

In the sample, the respondents have different opinions about the loss or gain of prestige, power, and privileges of them after retirement. There are 33.00 percent respondents who feel that retirement has created no change in the relationship in the family. Among those who find adverse consequences as a result of retirement, there are 7.67 percent who feel that retirement has resulted into less respect and care, 10.33 percent feel that it has created less time sharing, 2.67 percent respondents feel less power in the major decisions, and 13.33 percent respondents have stated that retirement has resulted into less consultation in economic/educational/occupational matters. Among those respondents who have noted positive consequences, there are 18.33 percent respondents who feel that retirement has resulted into more consultation on social matters, and 14.67 percent respondents feel that it has resulted into more respect and care.

Cross-tabulation of the data indicates that adverse consequence of the retirement in terms of less consultation in economic/educational/occupational matters has been noted by octogenarians (17.46 percent) and septuagenarians (15.08 percent). Those who feel that retirement has enhanced respect and care by the family, their proportion is comparatively higher among the octogenarians (28.57 percent). Further, the chi-square test indicates that the age and perception about the change in family relationship are correlated at .01 level of significance.

Decline of Respondent's Authority in the Family

The most critical phase of old age is the decline of power and authority of the old aged person which emanates from loss of economic status, decline of physical capability, and feebleness of the intellect. In modern times, new changes in the family life such as greater importance of the earning member, mobility, orientation and aspiration of youth, rising individualism, and women's assertiveness in the family life are some of the other factors which are eroding the authority and power of old aged person (Singh, 1997; Joseph, 1988).

The respondents have been asked to state whether their authority in the family is declining. There are 61.33 percent respondents who agree with the view that their authority in the family has declined. There are 32.34 percent respondents who do not agree with this view. There are 6.33 percent respondents who have not given any clear-cut view in this regard.

Age-wise distribution of the data indicates that those who perceive decline in their authority, their proportion is relatively higher among the octogenarians (73.02 percent) than in the other two categories. The chi-square test indicates a significant relationship, at .01 level of significance, between the age and decline of authority.

Exploring further, the respondents (N=184) have been asked to state the manner in which their authority is being flouted in the family. There are 20.65 percent respondents who complain that their family members do not heed to their advice. There are 10.32 percent respondents who have stated that their family members indulge into argument/dispute with them. There are 12.50 percent respondents who feel that some of the family members do not show proper respect towards them. Some of the respondents (22.83 percent) have stated that a few members in the family either avoid them or have evasive attitude towards them. There are 33.70 percent respondents who complain that they are not consulted in important matters.

Age-wise classification of data indicates that those respondents who feel that they are not consulted in important matters, their proportion is relatively higher among the octogenarians (50.00 percent). Similarly, avoidance and evasiveness have been stated as the major manner of flouting of authority by the octogenarians (26.09 percent). Further, use of the chi-square test has revealed association, at .01 level of significance, between the age and manner of flouting of the authority.

Extending the inquiry further, the respondents have been asked to state who is the main person in the family who flouts their authority. The data suggest that son and daughter-in-law (31.52 percent), daughter-in-law (25.54 percent), son/daughter (21.20 percent), brother (16.85 percent), and wife (4.89 percent) are the main persons who flout the authority.

The distribution of the data on the basis of the age group of the respondents indicates that flouting of authority both by son and daughter-in-law has been enumerated in greater proportion by the octogenarians (45.65 percent). As regards flouting of authority by daughter-in-law only, it has been mentioned by comparatively higher proportion of sexagenarians (29.41 percent). However, the value of chi-square shows no significant relationship between the age and person who flouts the authority.

The respondents have been further asked to state the reason as to why their authority is being flouted in the family. Some of the important

reasons stated by the respondents are obsolete thinking of old aged persons (26.09 percent), difference in outlook (21.20 percent), urge for more freedom by younger generation (15.76 percent), impact of consumer culture (14.13 percent), self-centred approach of younger generation (10.86 percent), and loss of economic status after retirement (7.07 percent).

The distribution of the data on the basis of the age group of the respondents reveals that obsolete thinking of the old aged persons as the main reason for flouting of authority in the family has been attributed by greater number of octogenarians (47.82 percent). Again, differences in outlook have been attributed by the octogenarians (26.09 percent) as the reason for flouting of authority. The chi-square test reveals that reasons propagated by the respondents for flouting of their authority are associated with age of the respondents at .01 level of significance.

Thus the results of the present study indicate that the consultation with the old aged person in the family is mostly carried out in settlement of marriage in family and in times of personal crisis and economic setback. Consultation regarding children's education and occupational choice of younger members are found not only declining but strong difference of opinion is creeping in between the elders and younger members of the family. Majority of the old aged persons under the study consider that their authority has declined in the family after their retirement from the job. Most of the aged feel that there is palpable change in the family relationship between them and the family members; of these, a fairly good number of them think that their status and prestige has gone down in post-retirement days. The study has clearly shown that the interpersonal relationship and the adjustment with the family members of these old aged persons are not always satisfactory and congenial. In Indian context the *karta* enjoyed enormous authority, prestige and power; however the changing urbo-industrial order has made demands which are not at all welcomed by an old aged person who finds that he is gradually being stripped of his authority and central position in decision making in important family matters.

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वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्
, आलोक्यते किंचिदपि

दृश्यते च;

"कस्य नैव भ्रष्टं चित्तं

मोक्षो, मोक्षो, मोक्षो दक्षिणं कुर्वते

N=ifr 'kkgw th egkjkt fo'ofok | ky; |dkuij

vks fuos'kd dky ea l kank; d /kkj.kk us bl rjg ds okrkoj.k dk fuezk fd;k ftl ls ;g yxus yxk fd fglnw , oa elkyeku ijLij fojkskh bdkb; k; Fkh] ftudk fodkl e/; dky l s gh *nks jk"Vba ds #i ea gks jgk Fkka bl ds myV ge n[krs gA fd jk"Vbkn /kkj.kk Hkh Fkh ftl ds vuq kj Hkjr ea fglnw elkyeku dHkh ijs l ksknz ds okrkoj.k ea jgrs Fka yfdu ; g cakfo vks i e] vxst ka dh *QW Mkyks vks jkt djs dh uhr ds dkj.k l ekr gks x; k Fkj vxat viuh bl uhr ea l Qy gks x; s Fk ftul s Hkjr dh , dt/rk l ekr gks jgh Fkka l fer ljdkj dgrs gA fd bu nka ka gh /kkj.kk vka ea ns ko; ki h , drk , oa , d: irk dh eku; rk fufgr gs tks fd l nh ds mUkj) Z ea nij l pkj , oa vkfFkd l u/ka ds fodkl ds i mZ fuf'pr #i l s vl Hko Fkka^o ; g fofnr gs fd Hkjr ea jk"Vbkn , oa l E ink; okn vkfuok; 7% vk/kfuud dky dh gh ifo; k gA vk/kfuud ifjn" ; ea gh fglnw/ka , oa elkyekuka ds chp l ak"lz ds mnkj .k xr l e; ea n[ka tk l drs gA bl l e; ea ge efl ye oxl ds gh vyx&vyx x/ka el yu f'k; k&l quh ds chp ruko , oa tkfrr l ak"lz ds mnkj .k n[krs gA 1880 ds i mZ ds n'kd ea l kank; d naxa ugha ds cjkj gq Fka l ket; oknh] bfrgkl dkj di ySM us 1809 ea l a pr ika ds cukj l ea gq l kank; d naxa dk o.ku fd; k gA ftl ea og dgrs gA fd fglnw/ka us 50 l s vf/kd efltna dks u"V fd; k bl ds i'pkr~ di ySM us 1871&72 ea

fQj I ká nfk; d naxka dh ckr djrs gA mudk ekuuk Fkk fd fcfV'k 'kkI u ds pyrs jgus dk , d egROI wZ dkj.k fglun&eflye ds chp vuojr ruko dk gksuk Fkka I u~1880 ds n'kd ea /kkfeZ tkxj.k ds dkj.k eq yekuka us bl ckr ij tkj fn; k fd xk; dh dçkZuh gksuh pkfg,] ftl ds dkj.k I u~1893 ds tuu o tçykbZ ds eghuka ea cMæ I kEinkf; d naxs gq] budk i k j EHK I a Þr i kar ea vktex<+ftys ds eÅ uked dLcs vorZeku ea eÅ ftyk gZ I s gç/kj tçk; I s; s naxs fçgkj ea I kju] x; k vçj i Vuk ea OSy x; A bl h vol j ij cEcbZ ea , d Hk; kud fglun&eflye naxk gçk ftl ea 80 0; fDr ekjs x; A bl h I e; twkx<+ea Hkh naxk gçk bu naxka dk dkj.k /kkfeZ i q: RFkku Fkka vkerçj ij ; g /kkj.kk Fkh fd I ká nfk; drk cçr gn rd I jdkjh ukçj h , oa jktuhfrd ykHk dks yçj dçhu oxkæ ds I çk"Z dk ifj.kke Fkh] yfdu olrç% gdhdr ; g gS fd I á nk; okn us cçr igys gh I kefigd vk; ke /kkj.k dkj fy; k Fkk] ; |fi ; g ekuuk i Mæc fd I kefigd I kEinkf; drk vfHktu I eçka dh xçrfok; ka I s ij h rjg vNurh ugha FkhA tS k fd ge nçkrs gS fd eki yk vkanksyu , oa ikouk vkanksyu ea I á nk; okn ds I Hkfor igyw fodfl r ugha gq Fka , ç k D; ka Fkk] 'kk; n bl fy, fd ; gka ij 1870&80 ds n'kdka ea foHkktuoknh çf) ijd urRo dk vHkko Fkka nu jh vçj ge bu n'kdka ea I ; Þr i kar , oa iatkc ea nçkrs gS fd fglunw vçj eq yekuka ds vfHktu I eçka dk I rçyu I eku Fkk] tçk] 1880 ds n'kd ds çkn I kEinkf; d naxs vke ckr gks x; s Fka v/; ; u ea ik; k x; k fd I Hkor% , ç k I keftd] vkfFkZd I æU/kka ea I ekt ds nks cMæ I eçk; ka ds chp varj ds dkj.k Fkka tS s fd I a Þr i kar ds vo/k] vyhx<} çyn'kgj] eçB vkfn 'kgjka ea fglunw dk' rdkjka dk I keuk eq yeku rkYçd nçkja , oa Hkæ Lokfe; ka I s gksrk Fkk I a Þr i kar ds 'kgj h {ks=ka ea eqkyeku ik; % dkjhxj] nçkunkj ; k Nks/s 0; ki kjh gksrs Fka ogha iatkc ea fglunw 0; ki kjh , oa I kgçdkj eqkyeku dk' rdkjka ea vyksd fi z, gks x; s Fk] bl I e; ; g dgk tk I drk gS fd vkfFkZd ruko I ká nfk; drk dh of) ea , d cçr cMæ dkjd Fkka 1880&90 ds n'kd ea xks&j {kk tS s vkanksyu 'kq gq ftl ea xk; dks /kkfeZ #i nrs gq eqlyeka dks ; g çrkouh nh x; h fd og xk; dh dçkZuh u dja ftl us I ká nfk; d I æU/kka dks vçj dVq cuk; kA rFkk çkn ea bl ds pyrs bu n'kdka ea vçj I ká nfk; d naxa HkMçrs jgA xk; ds izu dks yçj I ká nfk; d naxka dk ; g Øe 1916&17 rd pyrç jgkA xk; ds fo" k; us mUkj Hkçr ea vf/kd I ká nfk; d ruko i çk fd; kA 1883 I s 1891 ds e/; xçkYM çfj; j us iatkc ea 15 naxka dk mYysçk fd; k gA i wZ I a Þr i kar , oa fçgkj ea 1888 , oa 1893 ds e/; bu naxka us ij h mxrk dks /kkj.k dkj fy; k Fkka ftuea çfy; k] cukj I] vktex<} vkj k] I kju] x; k vçj i Vuk ftys bul sçj h rjg i Hkfor gq A

Hkkjrh; jk"Vh; dkacl dk xBu 1885 ea gks x; k Fkk dkacl viuh fu; kstr xfrfof/k; ka dks vkxs c<kus dk dk; Z Øfed #i l s djuk 'k# dj pph FkA bl h l e; , d cMsefLye usrk l j l \$ n vgen [kka Hkh l fØ; #i l sefLye fgr grq dk; k ea yxs gq FkA Hkkjrh; ifjn'; ea l kankf; drk ds mnHko vks Øfed fodkl ds v/; ; u ea l j l \$ n vgen [kka vks mudh xfrfof/k; ka dk mYys[k djuk vkfuok; Z g\$ D; kfd bl dsfcuk l kEinrf; drk ds mnHko ds emy dks Bhd l s l e>uk eq'dy gkskA 1857 ds fontsg ds iWZ t\$ k fd muds thoudkj eksykuk gkyh usfy [kk g\$fd mudh /kkfebl iofUk cgr egROI wkz FkA vl; etkyekuka dh rjg l \$ n vgen us Hkh /kkfebl fo" k; ka ij fy [kk] i\$Ecj egEen dh thouh fy [kh] l qU; ka ds i{k ea f'k; kvka ds fo:) viuh nyhya nh vks cgkohokn ij vius fopkj j [ka ; s l Hkh dk; Z l \$ n vgen [kka ds dIj etyeku gkus ds ifjpk; d FkA vks fdl h Hkh nks e nt\$ ds eksyoh }kjk fy [ks tk l drs FkA l j l \$ n vgen [kka , d s igys 0; fDr FkA ftUgkaus loal Fke bl ckr ij t\$ fn; k fd Hkkjr , d nsk ugha cfyd , d mi egk}hi gA mUgkaus lu~1867 ea ; g Hkfo"; ok.kh dj nh Fkh fd fglunw vks etyeku dHkh , d ugha gks l drA l j l \$ n vgen [kka ds thouh ys[kd eksykuk gkyh fy [krs g\$fd l \$ n vgen [kka ds thouh ys[kd eksykuk gkyh fy [krs g\$fd l \$ n vgen dks bl ckr dk ijk fo'okl Fkk fd fglunw vks etyeku fgl h dk; Z ea , d l kFk ugha Fey l drs vks f'k{kk ds i l kj ds l kFk nksuka dkska ea 'k=qk c<rh pyh tk; xhA

ge n\$ [krs g\$fd 1857 ds l ak"lz ds i'pkr~l j l \$ n vgen ds /kkfebl ys[kuh ea , d ifjorU vkrk g\$ D; kfd og pkgrs FkA fd muds /keZ dks ekuus okys vks b\$ kbZ 'kkl dka vFkr~efLye ka , oa vaxt ka ds e/; l cu/kka ea e/kj rk vk; } bl fy, l \$ n vgen ckbfcy ij VhdK fy [krs g\$ bl dk m\$; eflLye l emk; dks b\$ kbZ ka ds /kkfebl dk; Zyki ka l s ifjfor djuk FkA ni jh vks mUgkaus eflLye ka ds i qokl dh Hkh ifØ; k i k j EHk dh] D; kfd ; g bl fy, t: jh Fkk fd 1857 ds fontsg ea eflLye Hkkxknkj h us eflLye l ekt dks vaxth 'kkl u dh utj ea fxjk fn; kA l \$ n vgen bl ckr dk ipkj b'rgkja ds ek/; e l s etcrh l s djrs g\$fd 1857 ds fontsg ds l e; etkyeku vks fuof'kd 'kkl u ds ifr oQknkj FkA , d s b'rgkja dh l \$; k rhu Fkh ftl dk l adyu *, u , d kmUV vkQ n yk; y eksgeMu vkND b\$M; k' ea feyrk gA¹⁶ etkyekuka dh l Fkfr l qkkjus ds fy, l \$ n vgen [kka l Hkh {ks=ka ea iz kl djrs g\$ ftl ea og fcfV'k l jdkj l s Hkjij enn yas dk iz kl djrs g\$, oa dkacl fojksk djuk vkjEHk dj nrs gA , d k djus ea mudk n"Vdsk ?k\$ l kEinrf; drkokn FkA Hkkjrh; l ekt ds l UnHkZ ea 0; klr fol xfr; ka dks nij djus grq l j l \$ n vgen us vaxth gdw l s ; g vkxg

fd; k fd Hkkjrh; ka dks fo/kkf; dk ea ifrfuf/kRo fn; k tk,] D; kfd bl ds fcuk
 Ijdkj ; g ugha tku l drh gsf d fdl rjg ds dkuw , oafofu; e ikl ugha
 fd; s tkus pfg, A bl ds fcuk og dHkh bl rF; I sokfOd ugha gks l drh gsf
 fd ml s Hkh turk dh vkokt dks l uk pfg, A nll jh vksj vke tuekul ea
 vaxst h Ijdkj ds ifr tks Hkkar; k Fkh] ml snij djus grq I \$ n vgen f'k{kk
 ds Aj etcrh l s tks nrs gA mudk tks ml s; Fkk ml s xkge bl idkj
 dgrs gA *f'k{kk} f'k{kk} f'k{kk} Hkkjr ds l Hkh l kelftd jktuhfrd jksx bl
 mipkj l snij fd; stl d rsgA

I j I \$ n vgen dh l kp rks nijn'khz Fkh mudk ekuk Fkk fd Hkkjrh;
 etkyeku rHkh vksx c<+ l drs gA tc muea f'k{kk dk 0; kid foLrkj gkA
 yfdu f'k{kk ds Lo: i dks l \$ n vgen fuf'pr ugha dj l dA ml gkaus vaxst h
 Ijdkj dh f'k{kk uhr dk ijh rjg fojksk fd; k D; kfd muds fopkj l s
 eBkys dh f'k{kk i) fr Hkkjr es j gus okys ykxka dh /kkfEd fpurkva l s ijs
 FkA ykMZ eBkys us fcfV'k Ijdkj dh f'k{kk 0; oLFkk ea LFkkuh; Hkk"kk dh
 f'k{kk ij /; ku ugha fn; k Fkk] bl ds l kFk gh fQdk vls gnhl dks Hkh f'k{kk
 0; oLFkk l s fudky fn; k x; k Fkk rFkk Qkj l h ds v/; ; u dks Hkh udkjk x; k
 FkA l \$ n vgen dk ekuuk Fkk fd Ijdkj dh ; g edkk Fkh fd fglunrku ea
 tks Hkh /kekbyEch muds vkus ds le; Fk] mudks u"V fd; k tk, A l \$ n
 vgen us LFkkuh; Ijdkj dh og uhr ftl ea ns kh Hkk"kkvka dks i krl kfgr
 djuk Fkk] dk fojksk fd; kA 1859 ea , d oDr0; ea ml gkaus ; g rdZ j [kk fd
 , d h Hkk"kk, a fo'kSkdj mnir mPp f'k{kk ds f, y mi ; Dr ek/; e ugha gA l \$ n
 vgen us vaxst h Hkk"kk dks viuk; s tkus dk l eFkZ fd; k FkA 1859 ea
 ejknkcn ea , d Qkj l h Ldny dh LFkkiuk dh tks fd ikjEifjd 'ksh dk
 Ldny Fk yfdu ml ea u; h f'k{kk i) fr ds dN rRok dk l ek'k fd; k x; k
 , oa bl dk egRoiwkz igyw vk/kfud bfrgkl ds v/; ; u ij tks nsuk FkA
 l \$ n vgen xkthij ea , d Hkk"kk. k ea dgrs gA fd ; fn Hkkjrh; tuekul dks
 vius l el kef; d bfrgkl ds ckjs ea tkudkj h gsrh rks 1857 ds folyo dks
 vkyk tk l drk FkA egRoiwkz ckr ; g Fkh fd ejknkcn ds Ldny dh LFkkiuk
 ea LFkkuh; fglunw o etkyekuka us [kys eukBkko l s l g; kx fd; k FkA²² I j
 l \$ n vgen [kka us if'pe dh u; h l H; rk ds vk/kkj ij ed yekuka dks
 f'k{kr djus dk dk; Z vius l keus j [kka muds }kjk LFkkfir l kbflUVfOd
 l kd k; Vh 1/1864 1/2 vk/kfudrkoknh mnir if=dk rgthc my v [kykd 1/1857 1/2
 vls vyhx<+ vksj, UVy dkWst 1/1875 1/2 us if'peh l a Dr ika ds mPp oxh;
 etkyekuka dks vaxst h f'k{kk dh vls vkdf"kr fd; kA vudkud y [kka , oa
 Hkk"kk. kka ds ek/; e l s l \$ n vgen us etlyeka ea Qsys : f<eknh] /kkfEd
 vdkfo'okl ka vkfn dh HkRI Zk dhA ml gkaus dgk fd fdl h Hkh oLrqvFkok eul;

dks ftl s os i fo= ekurs gñ os perdkj ka vksj vykðdd xq kka l s vffHkHkr ekuus
 yxrs gñ ; gh dkj.k gSfd bLyke ea , d s cgr l s vykðdd rRo tkM/s x; s
 gñ tks fo'okl ; kK; ugha gñ og dgrs gñ fd dkbz /keZ tks l Ppk gS vius
 i kphu dky ea , d s vykðdd , oa vrkfdZd rRoka l s i wkZ-% eDr gksrk gñ
 l \$ n vgen us bLyke dks vius gh <æ l s ifjHkkr"kr fd; k vksj Lora= [kkst
 rFkk djku ds fn0; Kku , oa vk/kqud foKku }kjk [kksts x; s i kNfrd fu; eka
 ds chp rFkkdffkr l ekurkva ij cy fn; kA ySdu ns[kus ea ; g vk; k fd
 vyhx<+dkWyst ea /keZ kkl= dh d{kvkka ea v/; ki u dk dk; Z : f<øknh eTyk
 gh djrs Fka vksj l e; chrus ds l kFk vyhx<+dkWyst ds vk/kqudrkoknh rRo
 f'kFky i Mfs x; A l \$ n vgen bl ckr ds fy, ge's kk iz kl jr jgrs Fka fd
 i k'pkr; f'k{k mPpoxhZ ed yekuka dks bl : i ea feys fd og l Hkh
 etkyekuka ea l kefigd , drk dh Hkkouk i shk djA muds dk; Døe cM/s l pK:
 : i l s ml ubZ fcfV'k ufr dk vuq j.k djrs Fks ftl dk fuekZk g.Vj ds
 bñM; u ed yekuI }kjk gvk Fkka bl ufr ds rgr g.Vj dk ekuuk Fkk fd
 vaxst ka dks ed yekuka dh , d , d h ubZ ih<h ds fodkl ea l gk; d gksrk
 pfg,] ftl es a'pe ds Kku dk [kq kuøk jak gkS l kFk gh ml s viuh /kkfeZ
 l figrk dk Hkh i ; klr Kku gkS rfd og vius l emk; ds ykxka dk i ; klr
 vknj i klr dj l dA bu l c ufr; ka dk LokHkkfod ifj.kke ; g gvk fd
 vyhx<+dkWyst dks fcfV'k gndher dk i ; klr l j {k.k feyk] ftl ea ok; l jk;
 ukFkZp }kjk fn; k x; k nl gtkj : i ; s dh futh l gk; rk jkf'k Hkh Fkha tks
 l cl s iæ[k ckr Fkh og fd] ; g fcfV'k l eFku gh Fkka ftl ds dkj.k , d
 0; fDr ftl ds /kkfeZ fopkj brus v: f<øknh Fka fd ml ds vius l g/kkfeZ ka us
 dkfQj ?kks"kr dj fn; k Fkk] vius l EinK; dk fgek; rh ekuk x; kA²⁵ l a Dr
 i kar ds ed yeku tehmkj ka , oa i kjEifjd ukSjh i s kk ifjokj ka us l \$ n vgen
 dks l kekfTd vk/kkj inku fd; k] tks fo'kSkkf/kdkj i klr fdUrq /khj & /khj s {kh.k
 i Mfs l epy Fkka

bLykeh i q: RFkkuoknh i ofUk; ka l s cdjhn ij dçkZuh ds uke ij
 xks&o/k dh vfuok; Irk ij cy nsjgh Fkh] tksfd 1893 ea tuu&tykbZ ds e/;
 cM/s Lrj ij l kankf; d naxs dk vk/kkj cukA ; s naxa vktex<+ds eÅ dLcs
 %eÅ] orEku ea m(EiE dk , d ftyk gS l s vkjEHk gq tgka cMh l d; k es
 ed yekuka ij xkthi g , oa cfy; k l s vk; h HkhM+us vkØe.k fd; kA cfy; k ea
 naxa l cl s vf/kd l axfBr Fk] tgg; , d jktiur tehmkj vf/kd l fØ; Fkka
 xksR; k ds ed s ij l okZ/kd [ku&[kjck l kju] x; k vksj i Vuk ea gvk tgka
 cM&cM/s i 'kq esys yxrs Fkka , d vU; egROI wkZ fookfnr fo"K; Hk"kk dh
 l eL; k dks ydJ Fkk] ftl us glnh&mnwfookn dks tle fn; kA glnh vkanksyu
 dh 'kq vkr dh ckr dja rks l u-1860 ds n'kd ea cukj l ds dñ f'kf{kr

fglunvka us dh Fkh tc ckw f'koil kn fl rkjs fglun us 1868 ea fyfi l s
 l æfU/kr , d Kki u fn; k ftl ea ; g rdZfn; k x; k Fkk fd mÜkj&if'pe i kr
 , oa vo/k ea mnw , oa Qkjl h ds v/; ; u dks tks ljdkjh enn nh tk jgh gš
 ml ds dkj .k fglunh dk v/; ; u , d ml dk fodkl i kFkfed Lrj ij Hkh ckf/kr
 gks jgk FkA bl Kki u ea fglunh , oa nouxjh fyfi dks , d l kFk tkM+fn; k
 x; k FkA ckw f'koil kn us bl Kki u ds ek/; e l s ; g ekax dh fd Qkjl h
 'kcnkoyh dks ljdkjh dkedkt dh Hkk"kk l s gVk fn; k tk, vkš ml ds LFkku
 ij fglunh dks yk; k tk; A 1873 ea bl h rjg dk Lekjd i= ml l e; ds
 mijKT; iky l j fofy; e D; kj dks fn; k x; k FkA 1881 ea fglunh vknksy dks
 , d egROIwZ l Qyrk gkFk yxh Fkh tc fcgkj ea fglunh vkš nouxjh fyfi
 dks mnw , oa Qkjl h fyfi ds LFkku ij ljdkjh dkedkt dh Hkk"kk ds : i ea
 ekU; rk nh x; hA ckn es l u-1900 ea ešMkksy ¼ a Ør ikr dk rRdkyhu
 xouj ½ us bl ckr dh btktr ns nh fd ljdkj i=kpkj nouxjh fyfi ea
 fd; k tk l drk gA bl ds l kFk gh l Hkh uofu; Ør egrf'eka dks nouxjh , oa
 Qkjl h fyfi nksuka dh tkudkjh gksak vfuok; Z dj fn; k x; kA bl vkn'k us
 mu efl yeka ds ifjokja ds l e{k l el; k [kMh dj nh tks ljdkjh vksnka ij
 FkA ; | fi muds fy, vPNh ckr ; g jgh fd ešMkksy dh bl uhfr dk
 mruh dMkZ l s ikyu ugha fd; k x; k ftruk fd ešMkksy pkrk FkA fQj
 Hkh bruk fuf'pr Fk fd ljdkjh l okjr eq yeku fcfV'k uhfr ea ekšyd
 ifjorZ dk , gl kl dj jgk FkA Qkjl h dks bykgkckn fo'ofok | ky; ds
 i kB; Øe l s gVk fn; k x; kA rgl hynkj vkš miftyk/kdkfj; ka dh bl l ph
 dks doy bl vk/kkj ij fujLr dj fn; k x; k l ftl ea eq yekuka dh l d; k
 vf/kd FkA bl rjg ds vknš tkjh fd; s x; s Fka fd fd l h Hkh ljdkjh
 dk; kš; ea i k p fglunvka ij rhu eq yeku depkjh ; k vf/kdkjh l s vf/kd u
 gkA nouxjh dks tš s gh ljdkjh ekU; rk feyh] eq yekuka us , d *eql ye
 j {kd l šk* dk xBu dj fy; k ftl dh v/; {krk NUkkjh ds uokc us dhA
 nouxjh fyfi l æU/kh ljdkjh iLrko ij ppkZ dj , d Kki u mijKT; iky
 dks nsus gš q mÜkj Hkkj rh; eq yekuka ds ifrfuf/k; ka dh , d cBd dk fu .kš
 fy; k x; kA 1898 ea , d mnw j {kd l šk dh LFkki uk bykgkckn ea dh x; h tks
 fd djker gš š ds funžku ea l fØ; gks x; kAy [kuÅ dh , d cBd ea
 vxz kh efl ye usrkvka us gkfen vyh [kka dh v/; {krk ea , d cBd dh] ftl ea
 mnw dh j {kk ds fy, , d l fefr dk xBu fd; k x; kA bu l Hkh xrfrof/k; ka ea
 tks , d ckr mHkj dj l keus vk; h og ; g Fkh] nouxjh fyfi dks ljdkj
 }kjk ekU; rk nsus l æU/kh iLrko us efl ye jktuhfr dks vyhx<+vkš ml ds
 vkl & ikl ds l ffer {ks=ka l s fudkydj , d foLr vk/kkj inku fd; k l tš s
 fd vxjk ds tehkj myek] odhy] vo/k ds rkyyp [nkj] rRdkyhu efl ye

dkacl h usk t\$ s vyhx<+ds gQht vCngy jghe] ITtkn gđ ſu rFkk y[kuÅ
 ds gehn vyh [kka us vius vki dks bl vkanksyu l s i jh rjg l s t k l +fy; kA
 fcfV'k l jdkj us y[kuÅ dh cBd dks vius rjhd s l s 0; ofLFkr fd; k vls
 vkanksyu jr efl ye us kvka dks nks Jf.k; ka ea j [kdj oxhNŕ dj fn; kA iFke
 oxL ea os yks Fka tks /kuh , oa i Hkkodkj h Fka , oa f}rh; oxL ea , s l Hkkar ; øk
 Fka tks i xfr'khy fopkj ds Fka l jdkj ; g foHkk tu djds buds us RodrkZ
 dks ij [kuk pkgrh Fkh vevu ; g nŕkk x; k fd tks tehmkj Fks o fo/kkf; dk
 ds ifrfuf/k Fka og l jdkj }kj k l [rh ij 'kkr gks tk jgs Fka ogh eksgf l e
 my eŕd t\$ s ; øk i xfr'khy us RodrkZ l jdkj dh prkouh dh yxkrkj
 vogsyuk dj jga Fks o l jdkj h nŕVdksk ds ifr viuk fojksk tkjh j [ks gq
 Fka Øks/kr gkdj eŕMkksy vyhx<+ vkanksyu dks feyus okyh l gk; rk can
 dj nrs gā yŕdu fQj Hkh fojksk vkanksyu ea l Hkkar o i xfr'khy fopkj ; ør
 ; øk yxs jga vc bu ykska us ; g egl ŕ fd; k fd l j l \$ n vgen dh
 l jdkj ij fuHkj jgus dh uŕr [kksŕkyh FkhA vc ; s yks vius fgr dh j {kk
 ds fy, vls vf/kd mxz dk; bkg h dh ekax dj us yxÅ
 vc bu efl ye vkanksyudkfj; ka ds e/ ; g Hkkouk Hkh iuius yxh fd
 eŕ yekuka dk Hkh , d jktuŕrd l ŕk gksuk pkfg,] bu ea vyhx<+ dk , d
 Lukrd xyke&ml &l dysu iæ[k 0; fDrRo Fkka xyke ml l dysu us viuh
 if=dk *vlz , tnhn* ¼1903½ ea eŕ yekuka ds jktuŕrd l xBu dh
 vko' ; drk ds dkj.k dks iæ[krk l s crk; k gā l dysu us dtŕ dks fy [ks
 , d i = ds ek/; e l s crk; k fd efl ye jktuŕrd l xBu u gksus l s
 eŕ yekuka ds dbz fgr tcjnLrh nck; s tk jgs gā t\$ s fd fgl nh&mnŕ dk
 fookn] bykgkckn fo' ofo |ky; ds i k B; Øe l s Qkj l h dk gVk; k tkuk vls
 E; fuLi y , oa LFkkuh; fudk; ka ea eŕ yeku l nL; ka dh deh vkfn E; fuLi y
 , oa LFkkuh; fudk; ka ea eŕ yeku l nL; ka dh deh vkfn eŕ s iæ[k gā l dysu
 bl ds l kFk ; g Li "V dgrs gā fd eŕ yeku dkacl ea 'kkfey ugha gks l drk
 gS D; kŕd dkacl fuokpu ds fl)kar , oa ifr; ksch ij h {kk dh fgek; rh g\$
 yŕdu xyke ml l dysu dgrs gā fd og vl; eŕ ka t\$ s fd ued dj ea
 deh] ; gka ds ukxfj dka dks jkst xkj fnyokus ds dkacl ds dk; Øe bR; kfn dk
 l eFkŕ dkacl dks dj l drs gā nŕkus ea ; g vkrk gS fd l j l \$ n vgen
 [kka us fcfV'k l jdkj ds l kFk tks ?kfu"Vrk dk; e dh Fkh ml s bu l Hkkar
 ; økvka us jktuŕrd l ŕk dh ckr dj vls ml fn'kk ea dk; Z dj l jdkj dh
 utj l seŕ yekuka dks , d ckj fQj nj dj fn; kA ; fn dkacl ds l kFk gkFk
 feykr s rks l Hkkouk ; g Fkh fd eŕ yekuka dks Hkfo"; ea tks fo' kŕk l ŕo/kk; a
 feyus okyh FkhA ml dh l Hkkouk; a Hkh [kRe gks tkrhA ; g , d [krjukd uŕr

gksh ; gh dkj.k gsfid tks /kuh , oa i Hkkodkjh eq yeku Fka mlgkaus ml s jkdus
dh psVk dhA

I mHkZ

- 1- MGY; wMGY; wga/j] n bM;u eq yekuI % vkj ns ckM bu dkuI kbI Vw
jcy vxBLV n Dohu] 1871] n jh NibZ ykgk] 1968 iEI (E 134&42
- 2- Kku ik.Ms] n dULVD'ku vkM dE; wfyTe bu ukFz bf.M; k]
vkDI QkMZ ; fuofl Mh i d] fnYyh] 1995-
- 3- fcfi u pln] Hkkjr ea mi fuoskokn vk] jk"Vbkn] vukfedk ifcy'kl Z , M
fMLVtC; wI] ubZ fnYyh] i"B 221-
- 4- 'kku eqEen % fn vyhx<+eweb] ehuk{kh izdk'ku] ejB 1978] Hkx&1
iEI (E 17-
- 5- I \$n'kjhQdhu ihjtknk % Qkm.Ms ku vkM ikfdLrku] Hkx&2]
es/ki kfyVu cpl dEi uh fyfeVM] ubZ fnYyh] 1982 iEI (E 13-
- 6- Ykai I jkfcU u] I sVTe , ex bM;u eqLye % n ikfyVDI vkM n
; wkbVM ikfoU st eqLYEi 1860&1923] ynu] 1974] iEI (E 90
- 7- xkge] ykbQ , .M odZ vkM I j I \$n vgen [kq] dEi hE vkb] U; w
, .M fjokbt , Mh'ku] ynu] 1909] iEI (E 48 Ykai I jkfcU u ds
I sVTEI , ex bM;u eqLye I smnAr] iEI (E 91
- 8- , I- , I- , djke] ekMZ eqLye bM;k , .M n cFz vkM ikfdLrku
1858&1951 f}rh; I d j .k] ykgk] 1965] iEI (E 86
- 9- xkye ml I d ys dk ykMZ dtu ds uke [kyk i=] tks iatkc
vkCtc] ykgk] 1/2 16 ebZ 1900 ds vad ea izdk'kr vk] gehn vyh [kku
dsn oukZy] dUVkol hZ ea mnAr] iEI (E 45



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foulsck Hkosdh nf"V eaykdra dh vk/kfud vo/kkj.k dk I p

MMW blnef.k

, I ksl , V i kQd j jktuhr foKku
ohO, I O, I OMhO] dkWyst dkuig

vkt nfu; k; ds lokt/kd ykdfiz 'kkl u izkkyh ds: i eaykdra-
dh Lohdkfjrk lofofnr gS ijUrq; g izkkyh D; k okdbZ ykcd'kkgh dk I gh
ifrfuf/kRo djrh gS bl fo"K; ij vkpk; Z fouksck Hkos dh viuh I kp gS
ftls tkuuk] le>uk vko'; d ,oa ikl fxd gS rFkk 'kksk dk eq; mnns';
Hkh gS oLr% vkpk; Z fouksck Hkos ykdra= dks mi; Dr 'kkl u i) fr ugh
ekurs FkA ; | fi orZku fo'o eaykdra=h; izkkyh gh ykdfiz gS ijUrq
I okh; dh nf"V Is; g izkkyh vuq; Dr gS fouksck th usLo; adgk fd &
^es l d nh; ykdra= dk lew fouk'k ugha pkgrkA es rks pkgrk gpd ml ea
I qkj gks vks og Hkkjr dh ifjLFkr; ka ds vuq cuA Hkkjr; fopkj dks
/; ku ea j[kdj ykdrki=d i) fr dk Hkkjr; dj.k djuk pfg, A**1

oLr% ykdra= dh vk/kfud vo/kkj.k] vk/kfud ; q; dh ifjLFkr; ka
dh nu gS yxHkx 16oha 'krkCnh Is fo'o ds l kftd] vkfFkd] jktuhrd]
/kkfed ,oal kldfrd thou ea ,s ifjorZka dk f'kykU; kl 'kq gqk ftlls
e/; ; q; ds l kelrh izkkyh dk iru gqk vks euq; dks u; h ifr"Bk feyhA
tEl cktbl ds vuq kj² & ykdra= cger dk 'kkl u gS cktbl ds vuq kj ; fn
ge vl; 'kkl u izkky; ka ds xqk nkska ds l kFk ykdra= ds xqk nkska dh
ryuk djarks ykdra= dk vkpR; fl) gks tk; sxA cktbl ds vuq kj fdl h
Hkh 'kkl u dh dl ksh tudY; k.k gS vr% fdl h Hkh 'kkl u izkkyh dks ij [krs
le; ; g nqkuk pfg, fd og tul k/kkj.k dks Hkhrjh vks ckgjh 'k=q/ka Is
I j{k.k inku dju\$ U; k; fnyku\$ I koZtfud ekeyka dks l Hkkyus vks
ukxfj dka dks vius & vius 0; ol k; ea l gk; rk inku dju\$ ea fdruh dqky

vks l eFkZ gS bfrngkl l k{kh gSfd ; s l c dk; Z ykdra= Hkh djrk gS , oa vU; 'kkl u iz kky; k; Hkh djrh gS i jUr ykdra= dk , d vfrfjDr xqk ; g gSfd og euq; ka dks vkRe&f' k{kk ds fy, i fjr djrk gS D; khd tc ykx ljdkjh xfrfof/k; ka ea Hkx yrs gS rks mudh n"V vks vfhk: fp; ka dk {ks= cgr foLrr gks tkrk gA ; g l h/k&l k/ks ^turk dk 'kkl u* ugha gA ykdra= ea tul k/kkj.k nks rjg l s viuh l Rrk dk iz kx djrs gS 1/2 os , d s y{; fu/kkZjr djrs gS ftudh i frZ djuk mudh ljdkj dk /; s gksuk pfg, vks 1/4 k/2 os mu ykxka dh fuxkuh djrs gS ftuds gkFka ea os iz kkl u dh cxxMkj l ka nrs gA ykdra= ds i{k ea l keU; r% dbZ rdZ fn, tkr gS ftuea i e[kr% l Rrk ds nq i; kx dh jkdFkke] 'kkl u ds dk; Z ea tul k/kkj.k ds l g; kx dh vk'kk] l koZtfud fo"k; ka dh Lor= ppkZ l s tuf'k{kk dks i kkl kgu , oa nsk HkDr dh Hkkouk dk l pkj gkrk gA³ ykdra= ea tgl; , d vks brus xqk fn[krs gS ogha nw jh vks vudka 0; kogkfjd dfBukb; ka ds dkj.k os erZ i /kkj.k ugha dj ikrA i fj.kker% ykdra= nkska l s f?kj tkrk gA ykdra= 'kh?kz gh HkhMra=] HkZV usRo] vdtkyrk , oa vfr0; ; vfn l s f?kj tkrk gA cgd ; d vYil ; dka ij vius fopkj yknrs gS Lor=rk dks LoPNUnrk ds : i ea iz Dr djrs gS vks eW; ka dks vius fgrka ds vuphy 0; k[; kf; r djrs gA fu"d"kr% ykdra= dHkh rks l dkj kRed dHkh udkj kRed vo/kkj.kk ds : i ea fn[kkbZ nsk gA Hkkjrh; i fjlFkfr; ka ea ykdra= ds vlrxr vudka fojk/kkHkl mRiUuk gks x, gS bl ea e[; r% usrd pda vks usrd dk; Z gA tkucdj l koZtfud thou l s tM/gg 0; fDr; ka ds }kjk usrd eku; rkvka dk thou ds iR; d {ks= ea mYyaku fd; k tkrk gA bl izdkj f0; k&dyki ka dk veyhtkek n[kus ij Li"V : i l sn"Vxkpj gkrk gS fd ykdra= dk tud&fof/k dk 'kkl u vks usrd eW; ka dk migkl mMk; k tkrk gA bl izdkj ykdra= tks vo\$ fDrd] l koBk vks ekuoh; eW; ka ds l j{k.k dh vo/kkj.kk dk , d l d fyR Qy gS okLrfod : i ea bl ds Bhd foijhr dke djrk fn[krk gA⁴

vr% bu fo"ke i fjlFkfr; ka ea Jh foukck ds fopkja dh i qD; k[; k ije ikl axd gA vk/kfuud ykdra= dh l okZ/kd i e[k , oa ykdfiz i fjHk"kk vckge fydu us dh gSftl ds vuq kj& ^ykdra= turk dk] turk ds }kjk , oa turk ds fy, 'kkl u gA^ vkpk; Z foukck Hkkos dks bl i fjHk"kk ds mDr rhuka canka ij dMh vki fRr gA

foukck th turk ds 'kkl u dks , d mi gkl ekurs gA muds vuq kj ykdra= l Hkh dk 'kkl u ugha gks l drk gS D; khd ml ea ik; % cgr dk 'kkl u gprk djrk gA okLro ea l oZ Eefr l s l pkyr gksus okyh 0; oLFk gh l Pph 0; oLFk gS tks fd ykduhfr ea fn[kkbZ i Mh gA xk/kh th dh Hkfr

fouksk th dk Hkh eUr0; Fkk fd 'l okh;] vf/kd l s vf/kd ykxka dk vf/kd l s vf/kd fgr okys fl) kUr dks ugha ekurk gA ml s uxu : i ea n[ka rks ml dk vfkZ ; g gkrk gS fd 51 ifr'kr ykxka ds ekus x; s fgr ds epkcyS 49 ifr'kr ykxka ds fgrka dk cfynku dj fn; k tkrk gA ; g fl) kUr funZ rkiwkZ gS ftl l s ekuo l ekt dks cMk gkfu gDZ gA⁵ bl h Øe ea Jh fouksk ds fopkjka dk fo'ySk.k fd; k tk; rks Li"V gks tkrk gS fd ykdra=kRed 'kkl u ik; % cgr dk Hkh 'kkl u ugha gvk djrk gSD; kD⁰&

- 1 fdl h Hkh ykdra= ea l kjs ernkrk Hkx ugha yrs pkgs og ik'pkr; ykdra= gks ; k Hkkrh; A
- 2 cgr de ekska ij tks ny puko ea fot; h gkrk gS vks ftl dh l jdkj curh gS ml ea dyerka dk Li"V cgr ikr gks ikrk gA
- 3 ; g cgr Hkh ml n'kk ea l ekr gks tkrk gS tc l Rrk: <+ny ea Hkhrjh QW gks tk; A

vUrr% izkkuea=h Hkh ik; % ny ds }kjk l oZ Eefr l s u pudj cgr }kjk gh puk tkrk gA bl l s Li"V gS fd nSk ds Hkx; dk QS yk djus okyk eq[k; k ernkrkva ds 3 ifr'kr Hkx dk gh ifrfuf/kRo djrk gA⁷ vr% bu fol afr; ka dks n[kdj fouksk us dgk fd rFkdfFkr ifrfuf/kRo ykdra= dk cgr cMk etkd gA mudk dguk Fkk fd l cdk 'kkl u dgy iR; {k ykdra= ea gS tks Nks/s {ks=ka ea gh l EHko gks l drk gA tgg rd ifjHk'kk ds n[jscn vfkZ ykdra= turk ds fy, gS rks , d k Hkh fn[kkbZ ugha nsk gA ykdra=] dHkh vxMka ds fy, rks dHkh fiNMka ds fy, gkrk gA dHkh cgd [; d fy, rks dHkh vYil [; d ds fy, gkrk gA ykdra= ds uke ij tgg oks/ dh jktufr gkrh gS ogk; dk ykdra= l oZtu l gyHk gks gh ugha l drkA ifjHk'kk ds vUre can ds l nHkZ ea Jh fouksk dk ekuuk gS fd ykxka }kjk 'kkl u 'izkkuea=h dk gh 'kkl u* cudj jg x; k gA vxj izkkuea=h bÈkunj , oa l Ppfj= gS rks Bhd gS i jUrq; fn pfj=ghu , oa HkZVkpjh gS rks Hkrdky ds vR; kpkjh jktkvka l s de ugha gskA l k/kj .kr% rFkdfFkr 'ykxka }kjk 'kkl u* rks dgha n[kus dks gh ugha feyrkAbI ds vrfjDr nknk /kekZ/kdkjh us orÈku ykd'kgh ea f=nSk dh l dYiuk iZr djrs gq fy[kk gS fd& ^vkt ds ykd'kgh ea rhu nSk gA vf/kdkj dk nq i; kx] vjkt drk] ; k xqMk'kgh dk Hk; vks ?k [kjhA ; s f=nSk vkt dh ykd'kgh ea vk x; s gA l Hkh nSkka dh ykd'kgh ea ; s cjk; k; gA blga ykd'kgh ds dQ&ckr&fiRr l e> yhf t, A dHkh dQ T; knk gkrk gS dHkh ckr vks dHkh fiRrA vHkh rks , d k y{k.k fn[kkbZ ns jgk gS fd rhuka l iek.k ea gksdj l fUki kr gks tk jgk gA bl fy, ykd'kgh dh cfu; kna cnyus dh vko' ; drk gA⁸

fu"d"l% mi ; Dr 'kkskijd foe'kz ds mi jkUr ge nsk l drs gsd fd vHkh
rd dh i)fr; ka ea ykdra= dks JSB i)fr crkus ds l kfk gh foukck
ykdra= ea l E; d-nkSk nskrs gA
nl jh i)fr; ka dh rjg ; g i)fr Hkh fga k ij vk/kfjr gS D; kAd okV/ ea
cgpr dk vk/kkj ykBh vks fga k gAbI ea l ; k cy dk egrO gS tks dny
; kAd= d gAbI ea vud i {kka /nykz dk gksuk t: jh ekuk x; k gS tks cgn
gkfudkj d gAvkt ds gkykr ea og l adfpr i kUr Hkkouk vka dk fuokj .k ugha
dj l dh] ftl ea jk"Vbkn Hkh , d gAbI ds vrfjDr ykd'kgh ea jktuhfrd
, oa vkfFkd LorD=rk dk vkHko ik; k tkrk gAjkt; 'kgh dh gh Hkkr
ykd'kgh dks Hkh vius j{k.k ea fgl ad n.M&'kDr dk mi ; kx djuk i M-rk
gA vr%vkt ds oSkfud , oa vk.kfod ; x ea jkt; dh vkurfjd 0; oLFk , oa
cká j{k.k ds fy, fdl h usrd Lkk/ku dh [kkt djuk vfuok; Z gks x; k Fkk
rnuq kj bl fo"k; ij 'kksk dk; Z viS{kr FkA vc jktuhfr ds ctk;
ykduhfr ds ek/; e l s nfu; k dks , d exz fey l drk gS tks Hkfo"; ea
^ol dkb dV/cde** dh l adYiuk dks l kdkj dj ysk] vks ; fn , d k gprk rks
bl v/; ; u dh mi ; ksrk Lor% fl) gksch A Hkkr ea ykdrl= , d
jktuhfrd 0; oLFk ds : i ea LFkfr rks gks x; k ijUrq l kelftd n'ku ds
: i ea ; g vHkh ge l s dkd ka nj gSA bl s l E; d- : i l s ikr djus grq
xk/khoknh usrd l k/kuk dh egrh vko'; drk gS tks vke tuekul dh l kp
ea ifjorU dj l drh gA

I UnHkz

- 1- foukck% ^ykduhfr*] l o&l ok&l ak izdk'ku jkt?kkV okjk.kl h] l adj.k&vkBok] ekspZ 1999&i"B 28
- 2- ctbl tEl &ekMuZ MekDd ht 1921
- 3- xkok] Mko vke izdk'k&jktuhfr fl) kUr dh : ij[kk& i"B 236
- 4- n bf.M; u tuzy vkD ikfyVdy l kbd] tgykb&fl . 2004 i0 422
- 5- foukck& ^ykduhfr*] l o&l ok&l ak] jkt?kkV] okjk.kl h] i0 2
- 6- xgyksr] Mko oh fl g& ^l edkyhu jktuhfr fopkj d* vtq ifcyf'kx gkAl ubZfnYyh] i0273
- 7- foukck& ^ykduhfr*] l o&l ok&l ak] jkt?kkV] okjk.kl h] i0 5
- 8- /kekZ/kdkjh] nknk ^l okh; n'ku*] l o&l ok&l ak izdk'ku] jkt?kkV okjk.kl h l adj.k vkBok] ekspZ 1998] i0 146
- 9- foukck& ^ykduhfr*] l o&l ok&l ak] jkt?kkV] okjk.kl h] i0 28&29



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vykmnøhu f[kyth dh cktkj fu; æ.k ulfr , oal kožtfud forj.k izkkyh dk ryukRed v/; ; u

eukst+døkj
i oDrk bfrgkl ckpk]m0A0

vykmnøhu f[kyth dh cktkj fu; æ.k ulfr e/; dkyhu Hkkjr
ea , d , d h 0; oLFkk Fkh ftl ds }kjk ml us cktkjka dk , ddhj.k fd; k vks
mu cktkjka eafcdus okys l kekuka dk eW; fu/kkZjr fd; ka l eh{kRed : i l s
eW; kadu djrs gq s MKW , l - jk; ds vuq kj &ftu mnas; ka dh i frz ds fy; s
; s fu; e cuk; s x; s Fks ml nf'V l s os vR; f/kd l Qy gq s ijUrq os vkfFkd
fl) karka ds fo:) Fks vr, o os vi us fuekZrk ds l kFk gh l ektr gks x; A^

vykmnøhu dh cktkj fu; æ.k vks orøku l kožtfud forj.k
izkkyh dk ryukRed : i l s v/; ; u djus ij] ge l UnHkZ : i ea ; g dg
l drs gñ fd e/; dkyhu cktkj fu; æ.k izkkyh , oal vk/kfud cktkj fu; æ.k.k
izkkyh ea dkQh l ekurk gksrs gq Hkh dñ vUrj utj vkrs gñ cktkj fu; æ.k
ulfr vks l kožtfud forj.k izkkyh ea dñ l ekurk; a gñ tks bl izdkj gñ %
cktkj fu; æ.k ulfr ea vykmnøhu dk mnas; fu; eka dks n<rk i wZd ykxw
djuk ftl l s cktkj dh fLFkr l keku; vks 0; ofLFkr cuh jgA pñd ml dh
bl 0; oLFkk dk eq; mnas; l sudka vks fuf"pr vk; ea l Hkh izdkj dh
vko"; d oLrq; ½xgLFkh ea mi; kx gksus okyh ijh l kexh½ dks fu; a=r eW;
ij igpkuk Fkk l sudka ds l kFk l keku; turk dks ; g ykh feyuk LokHkkfod
Fkka yfdu orøku forj.k izkkyh dks ljdkj [kk] ÷ l g {kk ulfr dk
egroi wZ?kVd ekurh gñ bl izkkyh dks i jnf"kr vks n<rk ds l kFk xjhch
jçkk l s uhps dh vkcknh okys ykxka dks l okre ykh ds fy; s , d iz kl gñ
bl 0; oLFkk dk mnas; xjhch jçkk l s uhps thou&; ki u djus oky; xteh.k

{ks=ka vks} >|xh&>ki Mh ea jgus okys Hkneghu Jfed Nks/s fdl ku xkeh.k nLrdkj] xkeh.k {ka=ka ea dfigkj] BBjk] cqdj] yqkj] c<bz vks} "kgjh {ks=ka ea vks} vuks pfjd {ks=ka vFkk~ uferRd Jfedka vkfn tS s l ekt ds detkj oxka l s l EcfU/kr ifjokjka dks mfpr nj dh nplku l s [kk|klu i ktr djkus dk iz kl djrh gA

bl izdkj ge dg l drs gA fd orëku forj.k izkkyh vks} cktkj fu; æ.k uhfr dk mnæs; fdl h , d fo"ksk oxZ dks dflnr djds muds vk/kkj ij bu 0; oLFkkvka dks fØ; kflor fd; k x; k gA vymnahu dh uki vks} rksy izkkyh dh orëku le; dh izkkyh l s rgyuk djuk vR; Ur dfBu gA yfdu ml le; dh vk/kfud epk ea x.kuk djus ij 1 i s s 1/3@4 thry 1/2 ea 80 rksys okys l s ds 1 1@5 l j xgju Ø; fd; s tk l dxa bl izdkj vk/kfud , d : i; sea vykmnahu ds le; ea nks vk/kfud eu xgju Ø; fd; s tk l dxa vl; l kjh dherka dh x.kuk bl h vk/kkj ij dh tk l drh gA rgyukRed : i l s v/; ; u djus ij epk vks} ckj izkkyh dk ge bl : i l s l ekrk i krs gA fd vykmnahu ds le; epk ea thry 1/4 rksk fl Ddk 1/2 ; k Vdk pyr k Fkk rFkk ckV ea eu l j pyr k FkkA tks orëku le; ea thry vks} Vdk dh txg : i; k vks} ckV ea fdykskte vks} yhVj pyr k gA pfid le; dky ifjLFkr; ka ds rgr~ifjorZ gksuk LokHkkfod gA vykmnahu ds le; eW; dk fu/kkj.k thry 1/4 rksk dk fl Ddk 1/2 vks} Vdk 1/4 thry Vdk dk 1@8 ok; Hkkx Fkk 1/2 ds vk/kkj ij gksrk Fkk ij Urqvkt epk dh Ø; "kfdR 14oha "krh ds viFkk cgr ifjofnr gks x; h gA vkt eW; dk fu/kkj.k : i; s 1/4 jdkj ds ekud 1/2 ds vk/kkj ij gksrk gA bl izdkj ; fn ge Vads dks , d : i; s ds rW; ya rks , d thry 1 1@3 i s s 1/4 @64 1/2 ds rW; gks l drk gA cktkj fu; æ.k uhfr ds vf/kfu; eka dk ; Fkk spr vuqkj.k gks jgk gS fd ugha bl sn[kus ds fy; s xrpjka dk tky fcNk FkkA l rku dks l pouk nus ds fy; s eMh vf/kdkjh ojh 1/4 xrpj vf/kdkjh 1/2 vks} epfg; ku 1/4 xrpj 1/2 Fka bu vf/kdkj; ka dks n[krk i dZ viuk dRd; ikyu djuk gksrk FkkA orëku forj.k izkkyh ea Hkh bl 0; oLFkk dks dky vks} i Hkkodkjh cukus ds fy; s l jdkj us i pk; r] Cykud vks} ftyk Lrj ij vf/kdkj; ka ds fy; s , d fujh{k.k vud ph fu/kkZjr dh gA buds fujh{k.k ds nks ku mfpr nj nplku dh l lykbZ jk"ku dh DokfyVh vks} ykHkkfFkZ ka ds l kfk mfpr nj dh nplku ds ekfydk@dk; ZrkZ/ka ds 0; ogkj dh tkp dh tk; s hA vykmnahu ds le; dj vukt ds : i ea ol y fd; k tkrk Fkk d'kdkka dks vukt dk foØ; l rku }jk fuf"pr nj ij 0; ki kfj; ka dks djuk i Mrk Fkk ft l s jkt/kkuh ds l jdkjh xknkka ea Hk.Mkfjr fd; k tkrk FkkA orëku le; ea Hkh forj.k izkkyh ds l epfr fØ; klu; u ds fy; s l jdkj l jdkjh xknkka ea jk"ku 1/4 xgju pkyo 1/2

dk Hk.Mkj djrh gA vLj bl 0; oLFkk ea og fdl ku dk vukt ljdkj }kjk fu/kkZjr eW; ij ljdkjh LFky tS s e.Mh ea viR; {k : i l s cfu; ka ¼ kgvdkjkz ds }kjk Ø; dj ljdkjh xknke ea j [krh gA yfdu , d k djus ds fy; s d'kdka dks ck/; ugha fd; k tkrkA

20oha "krkCnh ea Hkh ; krk; kr vLj l pkj ds foLrr l k/ku gkus ij Hkh Hkjr ea dherka ds fu; æ.k dh , dhdr i) fr l Hko ugha gq h gA 14oha "krh ea ifjLFkr; k; vLj Hkh ifrdwy gA vykmnahu us eW; fu/kkZj.k vk/kkj mRiknu ij ykxr dks l fuf"pr djds oLrq/ka ds eW; fu/kkZjr fd; k vLj vkt orZeku ifji; ea Hkh ljdkj mRiknu ij ykxr dk vLj mRiknd ds l fuf"pr yHk dk vkadyu dj eW; dk fu/kkZj.k djrh gA vykmnahu us cktkj 0; oLFkk ea fu/kkZjr eW; ij l Hkh dks l k|klu rFkk vU; t: jren oLrq/ka dks mi yC/k djuk rFkk iR; d xkgd dks ; g l fuf"pr djuk Fkk fd ml s l gh nj ij rFkk l gh uki&rky ij oLrq a mi yC/k gS fd ugha bl iz kstu l s og NkV&NkV/s yMelka dks Hkh cktkj ea Hkstrk Fkk rkfd ; g l fuf"pr gk l ds fd nplkunj l eku de rkydj mlga Bxrk rks ugha FkkA , d h gh 0; oLFkk l fuf"pr djus ds fy, orZeku forj.k izkkyh ds rgr- l puk l Ecl/kh vf/kdkj ljdkj }kjk iR; d ukxfjd dks fn; s gA bl ds rgr- oks cktkj ea ; k mfpr nj dk nplku ea feyus okyh iR; d oLrq tS & ued] l kq] rsy] vkVkj el kyk rFkk jk"ku dh nplku ea feyus oky xg] ploy] phuh] feVVh dk rsy vkfn LVkd dh fLFkr] jk"ku dh DokfyVh vLj fcØh jftLVj rFkk jk"ku dkmZ jftLVj dk fujh{k.k djus dk gd gskk] rFkk fu/kkZjr eW; vLj uki&rky ds ckjs ea tkudkjh ys l drs gA vykmnahu us e/; dkyhu cgeW; oL= tS & rLohg] rcjst dat ekcj] nafxjh j'ske dks cktkj ea cpus ds fy; s , d ^jokuk uohl ^ uked vf/kdkjh dks cBk; k og bu oLrq/ka dh [kjh ds fy; s ijfeV nrk FkkA [kjhnnkj dks [kjhnh gPZ oLrq dh ikflr Lohdr ds : i ea , d fyf[kr j l hn nsuh iMfh FkhA , d h gh 0; oLFkk orZeku forj.k izkkyh ds rgr-Hkh gS; gk; ij Hkh cgeW; oLrq a cpus ds fy; s jkT; ljdkj }kjk fu; Ør {ks=h; vf/kdkjh l s ijfeV ydj gh og cgeW; oLrq a cktkj ea cp l drs gA bu oLrq/ka dks tS & tjh ds diMj- j'skeh diMj- cukj l h diMj- ; k vU; ckUMM diMj- ; k cgeW; oLrq a tS & l ksk] pkrh] ghjk] vkfn [kjhns ij nplkunj , d j l hn nrk gS ftl ea oLrq dh nj vLj ek=k fy[kh jgrh gA l Hkh izdkj ds l keku ds foØ; ds fy; s vykmnahu us cktkjka ds , dh dj.k ds fy, l Hkh izdkj dh oLrq/ka ds fy; s vyx&vyx LFkkuka ij vyx&vyx oLrq/ka ds cktkj cuk; A orZeku l e; ea ljdkj ds }kjk {ks=h; jk'Vh; vLj vUrjk'Vh; Lrj ij vyx&vyx LFkku ij cktkjka dh 0; oLFkk dh xbA bl izdkj rnyukRed : i l s ; g dgk tk

l drk gS fd e/; dkyhu cktkj dh rjg vkt Hkh ml h izdkj ds cktkj miyC/k gA gk; ; g t: j gSfd vykmnahu ds le; fnYyh ea gh l Hkh izdkj ds cktkj ka dh 0; oLFkk Fkh ijUrq orëku le; ea xYyk e.Mh] l kekU; cktkj dks NkM/dj eoS" k; ka ds cktkj %dN eoS" k; ka dks NkM/dj ½ tS &?kM/Mk orëku le; ea igkMh {ks= tS s tEej ynñkj} vkfn LFkkus ea gh vf/kdrk l sfeyrs gA vS vl; eoS" k; ka ds fy; s l Hkh txg {ks=h; ; k LFkkuh; cktkj fuf"pr le; vS fnu ea yxrs gA bl h izdkj diMha dk cktkj dN fo"ksk diM&tS } &Åuh diMha %"keyk% j'skeh diMha %dkydrk% cukjl h l kMh %okj.k.kl h½ %ea cgqk; kr ek=k ea feyrs gA bl ds fy, ; g cktkj {ks=; } jk'Vh; vS vlUrjZVh; Lrj ij ifl) gA½ vkfn dks NkM/dj l Hkh txg l Hkh izdkj ds cktkj yxrs gA

vykmnahu us fuEu izdkj cktkj dks fu; ñ=r djus ds fy; s eW; fu; ñ.k dh izkkyh viukbZ vS brus cM&l kekT; ea bl 0; oLFkk dks ykxw fd; k dgha u dgha orëku forj.k izkkyh dk brus foLrñ : i ea ykxw djus dk , d vk/kkj t: j feyA bl 0; oLFkk ea rgyukRed : i l s l ekurk rks gS ijUrq dN varj Hkh utj vkrs gA ijUrq mu nksuka izkky; ka ea fu'd'kkRed : i l s dg l drs gS fd orëku forj.k izkkyh ykd dY; k.kdkjh vkn"lz gS rks cMh cktkj fu; ñ.k e/; dky ds l kekT; d vko"; drk FkhA l UnHkZ

- 1- ftvkmnahu cjuh&Qrok&, &tgknkj hA
- 2- dg'S'kh&vkbZ, p-&fn , MfefulV's'ku vkND fn l Yrur vkND M'Ygh] ykgkS &1944A
- 3- dfuZ?ke] , &Dokba vkND eSMoy bñM; k] okj.k.kl h&1963A
- 4- oekZ gjh"pln] e/; dkyhu Hkkjr] Hkkx&1] fgUnh ek/; e dk; kD; funs'kky;] ubZ fnYyh
- 5- futkeh] ds, l-&LVMht bu eSMoy bf.M; u fgLVh , sM dYpj] bykgkckn&1966A
- 6- yky] ds, l-&VohykbV vkND fn l Yrur] , f" k; k ifcyf"kak gkml] 1963A
- 7- yky] ds, l-&fgLVh vkND fn [kytth] bykgkckn] 1950A
- 8- oS] l h-oh-&fgLVh vkND eSMoy fgUnwbf.M; k] Hkkx&3] i wak] 1921A
- 9- JhokLro] vk"khbkn yky&LVMht+bu bf.M; u fgLVh] vkxjk&1974A



Hkkjr ea l xhr dh ij jk vfr ikphu ; xhu gA , frgkl d ; x
ea dN xfk Hkh izdk" k ea vkrs gA onka dh fofHklu __pk, a l xhr dks ydij gh
gA Hkkjrh; bfrgkl ea lokI/kd egRo iwz xfk Hkkt ¼1010&1055b½ rFkk
l kesoj ¼131 bD½ vkSj l jxnw ¼210&1247 bD½ dk l xhr jRukdj gA¹
13oha "krkCnh dk t; nD }kjk jfpr xhr xkfoln dk l xhr ds {ks= ea cgr
egRo gA eokM- ds jk.k dHkk dh 'l xhrjkt^ Hkh ifrf'Br xFkka dh Jskh ea
gA² e/ ; x ds HkDr vkksyu us HkDr l xhr dks cgr vf/kd "kDr inku
dhA Hkkjrh; "kkL=h; l xhr ea Ng eq; jkx vkSj rhl jkxfu; ka gksra gA³
eq; jkx Hkso]fg.Mksy]eSk] Jhjx] nhid rFkk ekydkd gA⁴ e/ ; x ea
ikphu "kkL=h; l xhr fgUnrkuh vkSj nf{k.k Hkkjrh; ; k dukd l xhr ea
foHkDr gks x; k FkA⁵ e/; dky ea eqLye fgUnrkuh ea vius l kFk viuk
l xhr yk; s FkA mudk l xhr l cl sigys bCus eq gb t us cuk; k FkA⁶ ml ds
ckn tc vCckl h njckj dk; e gqk rks vjch vkSj Qkjl h dks feykj uohu
l xhr bZtkn gq/kA' bl h l xhr dk vkxeu eqLyeka ds l kFk Hkkjr ea gq/kA
l Yrurdkyhu l Yrkuka ea vf/kdkk dk l xhr ds ifr nf'Vdksk mnkl hu gh
FkA taxy]k] thQ] "kkgkuk] njckjh] ftyk ¼[kekp½ vkfn b]kuh jkx gA tks
fgUnrkuh l xhr ea fefJr gks x, A⁸ vehj [k] jkktle1253&er; q325½ us
b]kuh vkSj fgUnrkuh l xhr dks feykus dk cgr iz; kl fd; kA dCkyh dh
"kq vkr vehj [k] jks }kjk dgh tkrh gA fl rkj Hkh vehj [k] jks us bZtkn
fd; kA⁹ egEen rkyd ¼1351&1388bD½ ds "kkl u dky ea vehj "kEl mnahu
rcsth , d ifl) xk; d Fk vkSj l xhr eMyh ds l Hkh L=h;i q' k ml ds
v/khu FkA¹⁰ 15oha l nh ea tkSiig ea "kdhz oAk ds l Yrku gq' s "kkg

"kdh/1458&1485bD½ us [; ky uked l achr "ksh dh "kq vkr dhA¹¹ l fiQ; ka ea Hkh l achr ds ifr xgjh vfhk: fp Fkh vks mudh "ksh dks "kek dgk tkrk Fkka ftl dk xk; u vf/kdkr; k mlZ ds ekds ij gkrk Fkka eqydky es eqy ckn"kkq vdcj /1556&1605bD½ Hkh l achr i aeh Fkka og uDdkj Lo; a ctkrk Fkka¹² ml ds njckj ea rku l jh[ks dqky l achrK ekst m Fkka eqy ckn"kkq tglakhj /1605&1627bD½ vks "kkgtgka /1628&1658bD½ ds le; rd ; g fLFkr cuh jghA eqy ckn"kkq vks /1658&1707bD½ vks ml ds ckn mRrjdyhu eqy "kkl dka ds le; ea fnYyh ea l achr vks l achrKka dh fLFkr fxjrh pyh x; hA

mRrjdyhu eqy "kkl dka ds le; ea tc fnYyh njckj dh jkud de gbrks l achr dh ; g dyk ikrh; jkt; ka ea igp x; hA vo/k ea uokcka dk "kkl u "kq gqk rks; gka dh jkud ds cks ea l udj fnYyh l fgr nsk ds vl; uxjka l s l achrKka dk y[kuA ea vkuk "kq gks x; kA vo/k ds rrh; uokc "kq kmnksyk /1754&1775bD½ dh xqkxfgrk vks mnjrk ds dkj.k dbZ egku l achrK vo/k vk x; A¹³ "kq kmnksyk dks Lo; a ukpus xkus dk "kkl Fkka gtkjka ukpus xkus okyh rok; Qa nsk ds dbZ fgLI ka l s vkdj vo/k ea tek gks xba Fkka¹⁴ muds le; ea fjokt gks x; k Fkka fd tc Qst Hkh dyp djrh Fkh rks ml ds l kfk uR; xku eMfy; ka vks os; kvka ds leq pyrs Fkka¹⁵ eqy leV "kkq vkye ds uk; c othj eqh: nksyk¹⁶ ds Qst ckn vkxeu ij "kq kmnksyk us mudk Hk; Lokxr fd; k Fkka mDr vk; kstu ds vol j ij ikp gtkj l svf/kd urid; k os; kvka Lokax Hkjus okys L=h&i q 'kkq dykdjka rFk ckthxjka br; kfn us Hkx fy; k Fkka¹⁷ : gsy[k.M dh thr ds ckn Hkh "kq kmnksyk ds f"koj ea uR; xku ij gtkjka: lk; k 0; ; gqk Fkka¹⁸ "kq kmnksyk dks Hkh l achr dyk ea n{krk ikr Fkka¹⁹ bl dkj.k ml gkaus vius njckj ea foHku l achr dykdjka dks l j{k.k inku fd; k Fkka muds le; ea fnYyh vks Xokfy; j ds ?kj kuka ds dykdj Hkh vo/k i gaps Fkka

uokc vki Qmnksyk /1775&1797bD½ ds le; ea Qkjh Hk'kk ea ml my&my&uXkr&my&vkl fQ; k uked i qrd fy[kh x; hA²⁰ vius le; dh l achr ij fy[kh x; h ; g i qrd vf}rh; Fkka tks uokc vki Qmnksyk ds le; ds l achr dh mlur fLFkr dks n"kkk gA uokc othj vyh [kka /1797&1798bD½ Hkh l achr ea: fp j [krs Fkka muds le; ea fetkz okfj l vyh [kka dks ukpus xkus okyka dk njksk fu; q r fd; k x; k Fkka vks dbZ dykdjka , oa xk; dka dks mps inka ij fu; q r fd; k x; k Fkka uokc l vknr vyh [kka /1798&1814bD½ ds le; ea l achr dh fLFkr i mbr cuh jghA yfdu uokc xkthmnhu gñj /1814&1827bD½ ds le; ea l achr ds {ks= ea cgr mlur gA uokc xkthmnhu gñj dks l achr l svR; Ur i a Fkka gñjh [kka

ml l e; dk fo[; kr l ahrdkj FkA gñjh [kka vDI j [kks & [kks s jgrs FkA
 rks budk uke fl Ms gñjh [kka e"kgij gks x; kA²¹ uokc xkthmñahu gñj buds
 xkus l qus ds fy, cgr mrkoys jgrs FkA muds l e; ea l ahr ds jtc vyh
 Qty vyh l Vg: ckbz tš s i k j a r dykd kj Hkh FkA muds l e; ea NTtw
 [kka vls xgyke j l ny [kka ifl) dCcky vls c ["kw l ykj h dky rcyk oknd
 rFkk "kj h dh ifl f) i VVs ds j k x ds vkfo'dkj l s FkhA²² ckn" kkg ul h: ñahu
 gñj 1/4 827 & 1837 bD 1/2 ds l e; ea Hkh vud l ahrkpk; Z vo/k ea ekStm FkA
 ckn" kkg egEEkn vyh "kkg 1/4 837 & 1842 bD 1/2 vls vetn vyh
 "kkg 1/4 842 & 1847 bD 1/2 ds l e; ea l ahr vls ml ds dykd kj ka dh fLFkr i ñbr
 cuh jgh yfdu yfdu bu ñauka "kkl dka dh vls l s dkbz fo" ksk i k l kgu ugha
 fn; k x; kA ml ds ckn l cl s vf/kd l ahr dh mlufv vñre ckn" kkg okftn
 vyh "kkg 1/4 847 & 1856 bD 1/2 ds l e; ea gñA okftn vyh "kkg ds egkf l c xoš ka
 ea vuhl mnñs yk vls egkf l cmñs yk us l; kjs [kka l s f" k {kk i k l r dh FkhA²³
 l; kjs [kka Lo; a , d cMs l ahrkpk; Z FkA²⁴ okftn vyh "kkg us Lo; a ml l e;
 ds ifl) l ahrK okfl r [kka l s l ahr dh f" k {kk x g . k dh FkhA²⁵ okftn vyh
 "kkg dks l ahr ea cgr : fp FkhA ckn" kkg okftn vyh "kkg us Lo; a vi us gh
 < x l s vud j k x fu; ka cuk; hA ftuds uke ml gkaus vi uh i l n ds vud kj
 j [kka buea t k x h] d l u M 1/4 ; ke 1/4 "kkg i l n bR; kfn i e d [k FkhA²⁶ okftn vyh "kkg
 dyk ds eeK FkA "v[rj fi; k" ds uke l s ml gkaus B e j h dk vkfo'dkj
 fd; kA²⁷ ; qfr; ka dks l ahr] uR; rFkk xk; u dh f" k {kk n s ds fy, ckn" kkg us
 , d ij h [kka Hkh cuok; k FkA t k s oržeku ea Hkkr [k. Ms l ahr fo" ofo/kky; ds
 LFkku ij fLFkr FkA²⁸ muds l j {k . k ea ukp xkus ds vfrfj Dr jkl yhyk, a , oa
 jgl dh Hkh "kq vkr gñA okftn vyh "kkg us Jh d" . k dh jkl yhyk ds
 vk/kkj ij ukVd ds : lk ea "jgl ^ dk ipyu fd; kA ftl ea oks Lo; a dlugš k
 curs Fks vls mudh c x ea x k s i ; ka curha FkhA²⁹ vius fuokl r dky ea Hkh
 okftn vyh "kkg us dydRrk ds efV; k cqt Z ea l ahr dks i l ; ñuk de ugha
 fd; k A ogka Hkh "kq k s ; "kk; j h] uR; l ahr ds ? k j kus dk; e gks x, FkA Hkkr ds
 ifl) xk; d ogka igp dj , d = gks x, vls l ahrdkj ka dk , d k te? kV gks
 x; k tš k rRdkyhu l e; ea dgha ugha FkA³⁰ okftn vyh "kkg ds ckjs ea
 dgk tkrk Fk fd mudk i s dk vaxBk l krs l e; Hkh y; dkjh dh vnk ea
 pyr k jgrk FkA³¹ xkus ct kus dh dyk dks fodfl r djus ds fy, vud
 idkj ds l k d frd dk; b e ds jckx ea vk; k ftr djrs FkA oks jkl jpuš
 ukVd [kkyuš blñj l Hkh l tkus rFkk t k s x; kuk esyk l tkus ds "kka hu FkA
 jkl yhyk ea okftn vyh "kkg Lo; a ekj i d k y xkdj dlugš k curs FkA³² blñj
 l Hkh , d ifl) el uoh Fkh ftl dks fetkz vekur us fy [kka FkA³³ xk; dka ea
 okftn vyh "kkg ds njckj ea ifl) xk; d j Qhmnñs yk FkA buds vykok

l; kjs [kkā tkQj [kkā ckl r [kkā gñj [kka vkfn ifl) l achrK FkA³⁴ uer
 mej [kka ykdfiz xoš k Fkk] tks okftn vyh "kkg ds l kFk dydRrk x; k
 vkš efV; k cqtZ ea X; kjg l ky jgkA³⁵ ckn"kkg Lo; a jkst kuk nks ?k. Vs l achr
 dk fj; kt djrs FkA gksh xkus dk okftn vyh "kkg dks cgr "kkš Fkk vkš
 bl ea muds nkr othj vkš l l j uokc vyh udh [kka mudk l kFk nrs FkA³⁶
 vyh udh [kka cgr vPNs l j ds l kFk xkrs FkA ; s ifl) xk; d gñj [kka ds
 f" k"; FkA ckn"kkg us Lo; a fi; k tkus vkye vkš v[rj uke l svud xtya
 fy [kha FkA³⁷ ^ckcy ekjk ušj Nwks fg tk; ^ mudh ifl) jpuk gA³⁸ mlgkns
 ckcyš nknjs vkfn Hkh [kMh ckyh ea fy [ks gñtuea ^v[rj fi; k^ vkš ^l yrku
 vkye^ mi uke dk iz; kx fd; k gš³⁹ &
 ^l š k tkvks eš ugha ckyw rkd š
 v[rj fi; k l ka; ka tkds dfg; ks
 yaj rkjk prj l qtku
 eš viuk nf/k cpu fudyh l kl uun dh plj h
 l yrku vkye ?kj tkus u nkh ekfr; u dh yj rkjhAA⁴⁰
 ; ?kfi okftn vyh "kkg l achr dyk ds eeK ekus tkrs FkA yfdu
 mudh fuEu dksV ds xk; u : fp us y [kuÅ ea l achr dks vius Lrj l s
 fxjkdj tul k/kkj.k ds Lrj ij yk fn; k FkA⁴¹ okLro ea ; g l achr dšy
 dyk eeKard l hfer u jgdj tul k/kkj.k dh l kop vkš "kkš l s tM+x; k
 FkA ckn"kkg vkš tul k/kkj.k dh : fp dks /; ku ea j [kdj xk; dka us Hkh
 jkx&jkxfu; ka dh dfBukbž; ka dks [kre dj vketu dh l e> yk; d l achr
 jpuk "kq dj fn; k FkA tul k/kkj.k dks l achr ds ifr mu fnuka fo"ksk
 vujkx gks x; k FkA xty vkš Bejh dk pyu turk ea gks x; k FkA yfdu
 /kq n] gksh vkfn tš s dfBu jkxka dk ipyu de gkns yxk FkA mu fnuka
 [kEekp] f>a>ks/h] Hkš oh] l funk] fryd] dkekn] ihyw bR; kfn Nkš/h&Nkš/h
 jkxfu; ka l achr iše; ka ea ykdfiz FkA⁴² okftn vyh "kkg dks Lo; a ; s
 jkxfu; ka cgr il n FkA y [kuÅ dk Hkš oh jkx ijs fgnt rku ea mu fnuka
 ykdfiz; gks x; k FkA egjē ea l kst ¼ d izdkj dh dfork ½ i < us oky ka us Hkh
 tuekul dks vkl kuh l s l e> ea vkus oky ha jkxfu; ka dks egRo nsuk "kq dj
 fn; k FkA ; s jkxfu; ka ?kj sywefgyk vka ea ykdfiz FkA⁴³ tc ; s efgyk, a egjē
 ekg ea efl ž s xkrha Fkha rks muds efl ž s l udj cM&cMš xk; d Hkh gš ku gks
 tkrs FkA okftn vyh "kkg ds l e; ea ehj vuhl efl ž ka dk ifl) xk; d
 FkA ehj vuhl us "kq vkr ea xty Hkh fy [kha yfdu ifl f) mudks ejfl ; ka
 l s gh feyhA ejfl ; ka l s og brus vf/kd ifl) gq fd mlga "kk; js vkte
 dgk tkus yxk FkA⁴⁴ ^ejfl ; k^ mnñ dko; dh , š h fo/kk gš ftl ea d: .k j l
 dh izkkurk jgrh gš vkš ml ea fdl h n[kn ?kVuk dks xhr ds : lk ea xk; k

tkrk gA⁴⁵ ejfl ; k fdl h Hkh ekfeð ?kVuk ij fy [kk tk l drk gS yfdu
 dforkvka ea gtjr gđ ſu dh "kgknr dk gnl k bl dsfy, l cl s cMk id æ
 gkrk gA⁴⁶ ehj vuhl l sigys Hkh vo/k ea vud fo}ku ejfl ; k xk; d gq
 gA buea l s , d fetkz nchj Hkh FkA fetkz nchj dk le; ckn"kgg
 xkthmnñhu gñj dk le; FkA ckn"kgg Lo; a fetkz nchj ds iz'ka d FkA
 vo/k ds uokcka vlsj ckn"kggka ds le; ea vo/k ds iz'ek bekeckMka ea egjž
 ds le; "kkgh etfyl a gvk djrha FkA ckn"kgg ul h: nñhu gñj ds le; ea
 fetkz nchj etfyl ai < k djrs FkA jtc vyh cx 'l q j^ us ^Ql ku, vtk; c^
 ea ejfl ; kfuxkja ea fetkz nchj dk mYy[k fd; k gA⁴⁷ Ckn"kgg vetn vyh
 "kgg ds le; ea ehj vuhl ifl) gksuk "kq gks x, Fks vlsj okftn vyh "kgg
 ds le; rd ehj vuhl ejfl ; k xk; d ds : lk ea ifl f) ik pps FkA yfdu
 fetkz nchj vlsj ehj vuhl ds ejfl ; ka ea vlurj FkA , d vlsj tgka fetkz
 nchj "kkgh ejfl ; k xk; d Fks vlsj mudh "kk; jh mnñ vjch] Qkjl h ds
 l kfgFR; d xqkka l s Hkj h Fkh rks ogha ehj vuhl tuekul dh tçku dks
 ejfl ; ka ea Hkj nrs FkA⁴⁸ ehj vuhl us mnñ dkO; ea ejfl ; ka }kj k fo"skk
 ; ksnku fn; kA

Ckn"kgg okftn vyh "kgg ds njckj ea , d l sc < elj
 , d xqkh l ahrK ekst m FkA ftuea xyke gđ ſu [kkQ Qty beke] gñj [kkQ
 beke [kkQ buk; r [kka vkfn dk fo"skk LFkku FkA vo/k ds uokcka vlsj
 ckn"kggka ds dky ea l ahr vlsj xk; u dh l Qh fo/kk dCckyh dks dkQh
 i k l kgu feyKA e/; dky ds "kq vkr l s gh l Qh l a] fo"skk : lk l s fp"rh
 l a nk; oky] l ahr o l ahr xk' B; ka ea fo"okl djrs FkA bu l ahr xk' B; ka
 dks "kek^ dgk tkrk FkA l fiQ; ka dks bu xk' B; ka ea vk/; k fRed fo"okl FkA
 bu xk' B; ka ea xk; d vdsys ; k l eng ds : lk ea xkrs FkA⁴⁹ bl izdkj l fiQ; ka
 dh l ahr ykdfiz rk ds dkj . k v/kz/kkfeð l ahr xk' B; ka ds vk; kst u dh
 i Fkk ipfyr gks x; hA buea ofRrd xk; d vFkok dCcky ifo= iæ vlsj HkfDr
 xhr xkrs Fks ftUgš dCckfy; ka dgk tkrk FkA⁵⁰ fgnurku ea dCckyh dks l ahr
 ea igpku nns ea vehj [kd jks dk egRoi wkz ; ksnku FkA l fiQ; ka dh l ahr
 "ksh "kek^ dk xk; u ml Z ds ekšs ij gkrk FkA vo/k ea "kh?kz gh dCckfy; ka
 O; ki d : lk l s ykdfiz, gks xba [kkudkgl njxkgk vkfn ea igpus okys vke
 tuekul ds fy, ykdfiz, eukjatu ds l k/ku ds : lk ea dCckyh ipfyr
 gA vo/k ea ckn"kgg xkthmnñhu gñj ds le; ; gka dkQh e"kgij dCcky
 ekst m FkA muea NTTkw [kka vlsj xyke j l ny [kka vR; f/kd ykdfiz, FkA⁵¹
 uokch "kkl u dky ds vol ku dky ea l knd vyh [kka ijs fgnurku ea
 ifl) dCcky FkA⁵² buds vfrfjDr Nks vlsj cMs etlus [kka Hkh ifl)
 dykdj FkA⁵³ , gen [kkQ rkt [kka vlsj xyke gđ ſu [kka ml le; ds ifl)

I achr dkj FkA⁵⁴ efgyk I achr dkj ka ea tkgjk vks egrjh pfpz FkA⁵⁵ pius okyh gnjh egjz ea bebeckMz ea "kkdxhr xkus ea ykdfiz, FkA⁵⁶

v/; ; udky ds vo/k ea I achr I oZ k/kj.k ea cgr ykdfiz, FkA fo"ksk voljka ij vk; kstr gkus okys I ekjsgka ea uR; o I achr dh vf/kdrk cuh jgrh FkA mejk oxZ ds; gka rks ifrfnu gh uR; , oa I achr ds dk; Ze vk; kstr gkrs jgrs Fkz tks muds vks muds vtht ykxka dseukjat u dk I k/ku gkrs FkA okftn vyh "kkg ds le; rd y[kuÅ mRrj Hkjr ea I achr dk egRoikZ dbrz cu x; k FkA ijs nsk Is dykdj viuh dyk fn[kkus y[kuÅ igprs FkA okftn vyh "kkg banj I Hk dk v; kstu djks Fks vks Lo; a banz curs FkA muds le; ea y[kuÅ dh rok; Qa Hkh I achr xk; u ea ikjar FkA y[kuÅ ea rok; Qa dh rhu tkfr; ka FkA dnfu; ka puokfy; ka vks ukxjkfu; ka⁵⁷ ftuea Is dnfu; ka tkfr dh rok; Qa "kqtkmnkSyk ds le; fnYyh vks iatkc Is vkdj y[kuÅ cl x; ha FkA budk is'kk doy I rRo dks cpuk gkrk FkA yfdu puokfy; ka vks ukxjkfu; ka tkfr dh rok; Qa I achr dh vPNh dykdj gkrha FkA bu rok; Qa dh mu fnuka y[kuÅ ea cMh bTtr dh trh FkA uokch le; ds y[kuÅ ea vdcjh njokts Is ydj fQjah egy rd rok; Qa gh cl ha FkA okftn vyh "kkg dks tc fu'dkl u ds ckn efV; k cqtZ Hkst'k x; k Fk rks muds I kFk I dMka dh I ; k ea ukpu&xkus okys Hkh igprs FkA ukpu&xkus okyka vks vU; dykdjka dh bl eMyh ea rdjhu 360 0; fDr FkA bu ij 1]16]510 : lk; s ru[okg ds : lk ea [kpZ gks trs FkA⁵⁸ ftuea etuh ckbZ othju] I; kjs [kq tkQ] [kq gnj [kka vkfn e"kgj dykdj FkA dlgs k vks vetn [kka iz[k dCcky FkA fl rkj cnu ea dnfu rhu dk uke Fk vks foyk; r vyh , oa dknbz fl g rcyk oknd FkA⁵⁹

v/; ; udky ds vo/k ea fofok izdkj ds ok| ; a- i pfyr FkA ^chu^ fgnt rku dk ikphu ok| ; a- Fkh ftl ea ydMh dh , d uyh ds nksuka fl jka ij nks rnc; ka yxk; ha trha FkA vks ml ij I krka I gka ds I kr rkj [khp fn, s trs FkA ftudk xkuk uyh ds vni] I s nksuka vks nksMdej nksuka rnc; ka ea xatrk Fk tks ykxka dks ea=eX/k dj nsk FkA⁶⁰ bl dk iz, kx ukFk I ank; ds ykxka us fd; k vks I ijs Hkh I hi dks bl dh /kq ij upkrs gq vo/k dh xfy; ka ea ?kars fQjrs FkA Hkjr ea ed yeku vius vixeu ds I kFk gh jckc] pak vks I jkn ydj vk, FkA⁶¹ vCckfI ; ka ds "kkl u dky ea jckc vo/k ea cgr ykdfiz, FkA ogha pak vks I jkn bjkuh ok| ; a- FkA pak dk iz, kx dkQh igkuk Fk] bl dk iz, kx I hfj; k] feJ vks jke tS s nskka ea gkrk FkA yfdu I jkn OkjI h ok| ; a- Fk] ftl s vCckl h dky ds xk; dka us ifl) fd; k FkA⁶² Hkjr; vks eQLye dykdjka ds vki I h esytks us rajs

dk fuekzk dj fn; kA eqy ckn"kkq egEen "kkq jachy/1719&1748bD½ ds
 njckjh xk; d fe; ka l kja us l kjach bztkn dhA⁶³ mu fnuka l ahr egfQyka ea
 rcysdk egRoiwkZ LFkku Fkka bl ds vrfjDr rRdkyhu l e; ea "kknh bR; knh
 vol jka ij tyw ka ds l kFk Hkh ok | ; Æ pyrs FkA ; s Ng izdkj ds gkrs Fk& 1]
 <ky&rk"ks 2] jks'ku pk&dh 3] uk&r 4] rjgh vks djuk/ka[k½ 5] Mads vks
 fcy 6] vaxth cktk/vkxZi/A⁶⁴ v/ ; ; udky ds vo/k ea fofHku izdkj ds
 ok | ; Æ ipfyr FkA⁶⁵ budksfuEu izdkj l sfoHkDr fd; k tk l drk g&
 ¼½ rrrq ok | buea ckjhd rkj gkrs Fk& tks vf/kdk&kr; k ykgs ; k ihry ds
 cuk; s tkr FkA bu rkjka dks nks fl jka ij muds ok | ; Æ ka ea dl dj ck&ka tkrk
 Fk vks ydMh ; k gkFkh nkr ds VpMs; k maxfy; ka ds uk [kuka l s >dr fd; k
 tkrk Fkka bl oxl ea ed; r% oh. kk] l jks] fl rkj] rEcj] jck⁶⁶ vkfn vkrs
 FkA
 ½½ dN ok | ; Æ , d s Hkh Fks ftudks xt Qj dj ctk; k tkrk Fkka bl oxl
 ea l kjach] fny: ck] e; jh vkfn vkrs FkA
 ¼½ dN ; Æ ka dks gkFk l svk?kr dj vFkZ- ihvdj ctk; k tkrk Fkka bl oxl
 ea l [kkot] <kyd vks rcyk vkfn vkrs FkA
 ¼½ dN ; Æ ka dks eg l s Qnd dj ctk; k tkrk Fkka xkus ds l j vks y; dks
 l k/kus ea ; s ; Æ ed; Hkiedk fuhkrs FkA bl ea chu] ckd jh] "kgukbz vkfn vkrs
 FkA⁶⁷

mDr ok | ; Æ ka dh ykdfiz rk vo/k ds l ahr i fe; ka ea cgr vf/kd Fkha
 buea rcyk vks l kjach vR; f/kd ykdfiz FkA

vo/k ds vire ckn"kkq okftn vyh "kkq ds "kk l udky ea obko
 foykfl rk vius pje ij igp x; h Fkha , d h "kkuk&"kk&dr rks fnYyh l fgr
 vl; njckjka ea ugha Fkha ^ ogka foing /ku foykfl rk] vkekn&izekn]
 fNnkjki ul ukpja rFk l ahr ds pkjka vks tyl s Fk& l kn; Z ieh i#'kka rFk
 Jckj&fiz; fl=; ka ds te?kV FkA xhrka ds l ahr l s gf'kr rFk xykch l e;
 ds foykfl fiz; uskvka ds usRo ea thou bl vkun l s 0; rhr gkrk Fk] ekus
 Qyka dh l st ij l q&/kr ok; qcgrh g& og dkYifud x&kozykd ifjLrku
 dk] tgka gtkjka&yk [kka 0; fDr viuk thou vkekn&izekn , oa gkl; ea 0; rhr
 djrs Fk& d&y , d /k&kyk ifrcæ ek= Fkka "kkgtkn& d&yhu] njckjh rFk
 vehj foykfl rk dh xkn ea cB& fo"o ds obko l s l sor] us=ka ds l e{k , d
 Hk0; n"; iLr djrs FkA⁶⁸ bl okrkoj.k ea mnir ukVd&ukVdkvka us tle
 fy; ka okftn vyh "kkq ds Qka hl h fe=ka us j&ep dk fopkj] fo'k; rFk
 vkWj k¼ l ahr ukV; ½ dh ; kstuk crk; h] tks mu fnuka Qka ea cgn ykdfiz
 gks p&th Fkha ckn"kg dks Hkh ; g il n vk; h vks muds njckjh dfo vekur
 us ckn"kkq dh vkKk l s , d l ahr kRed ukVd banl Hk dh jpuk dhA⁶⁹ bl ds

fy, dš j cix ep dk fuelz k fd; k x; kA okftn vyh "kkg us Lo; a dks bl
 ukVd ea banz cuk; k vls njckj ds vl; ykcka dks mudh {kerk ds vuq kj
 vfhku; I kš s x; A urİd; ka us I ŋj vkhkik.k&oL= bR; kfn /kkj.k dj ifj; ka
 dk vfhku; fd; kA ckn"kkg us muds I kFk dšy dhMk dhA banz I Hkk "kh?kz
 vR; f/kd ykdfiz; gks x; hA bl dh nš[kk&nš[kh dbz I Hkk, ay[kuÅ ea jpha x; ha
 vls bl dh ykdfiz; rk bruh vf/kd gks xbz fd y[kuÅ dh ijajkxr xoš ka
 vls ukpu&xkus okyh oš; kvka dk /kalk dŋ I e; ds fy, en iM+x; k FkkA⁷⁰
 vo/k ds uokcka vls ckn"kkgka dk 134 o'kz dk "kkl udky vo/k ds fy,
 I kekftd vls I kldfrd mlufr dk I e; FkkA vo/k ea tgka /kkfzd HksHkko
 vls }sk Is Åij mBdj I kekftd lejlrk dk inkHkz gq/k] ogha
 fgn&eflyeka dks djhc ykus ds fy; s vo/k ds "kkl d oxz ds iz kl vl;
 fdI h i kch; "kkl u }kjk ugha fd; s x; A I kekftd vls /kkfzd lejlrk us
 ; gka fgn&eflye I a ŋr xack&teqh rgthc dks tle fn; kA I ahr ea Hkh
 /kkfzd HksHkko Hkykdj #fp dks /; ku es j[kdj jpuk; a dha x; hA , d I e;
 Fkk tc fgnlrku ea I ahr ds y; vls rky dŋy I ahrkpk; kš ds tkuus ds
 fo'k; gh FkA yfdu v/; ; u dky ds vo/k ea vke tuekul dks I e>us
 yk; d jpuk, a fy[kha x; hA vc ; gka dk I ahr dfBu fu; eka ea u ckdj
 vketu dks I [kn vutkŋr nšs okyk cu x; kA cM&cMš dykdj Hkh
 tul k/kkj.k dh : fp ds vuq kj jpuk, a djus yxÅ yfdu mDr ifjorŋ us
 I ahr vius I cl s fupys Lrj ij igp x; k FkkA vo/k dh xfy; ka ea ?kueus
 okys ; ŋk Hkh vc I ahr dh I e> j[kus yxs FkA os I j vls rky I s
 xpxpkuk Hkh I h[k x; s FkA bl dky ea "kkl d] mejk oxz ds I kFk&I kFk
 tul k/kkj.k dks Hkh Hkjij eukšatu inku djus dk dk; Z fd; kA bl dky ea
 vo/k ea dbzegku I ahrdkj vls urİd gqA ur; vls I ahr dh dyk vo/k
 ds I kekftd thou dk , d iæ[k vx cu x; h FkA fo"ksk voljka ij
 vk; kštr gksus okys I ekjkg vls egfQya ur; vls I ahr I s I th gkha FkA
 bl ; ŋ ea xty xk; dh dk fo"ksk : lk I s fo"ksk : lk I s fodkl gq/kA
 "kj & vks"kk; jh rFkk jkx&jkxfu; ka dh tul k/kkj.k ea ykdfiz; rk c<hA
 y[kuÅ ea I ahr dk bl dky ea vR; f/kd mRFkku gq/k vls tul k/kkj.k Hkh
 bl rjDdh ea viuk ; ksnku j[krk FkkA

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- 12& ogh
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- 16& gjpju nkl %pgkj xytkj "kq kbz ¼k/kskQ]vyhx<+¼ i0 504
- 17& xyke vyh %bekn&ml &l vknr ¼y[kuÅ]1897¼ i0 117
- 18& gjpju nkl %iok) r] i0 223 ^
- 19& fofy; e gpl%feek; IZvkD ngyh ,.M QStckkn]Hkkx&2]¼xoeW id
vkk bykgkckn] 1888&1889¼i0 8&9
- 20& utey xuh %rkjh[k&, &vo/k] Hkkx&2 ¼erok eromy mye ejknkckn]
1909] 1912¼ i0 283
- 21& vCny gyhe ~kjj%iok) r] i0 151&153
- 22& ogh] i0 156
- 23& ogh] i0 154
- 24& ogh
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- 26& ogh
- 27& ;ks'k idhu %rktnkjstvo/k ¼ Hkkjr cp I Wj y[kuÅ] 2003¼ i0 154
- 28& ogh] i0 156
- 29& ogh] i0 157

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 49& , 0, e0, 0"kt=h % vkmVykba vkb bLykfed dYpj] Hkkx&2½ c&ykj
 i d c&ykj] 1938½ i 0 481
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 59& ogh] i 0 74
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th0,0gdÿkW† ¼ymu]1832¼ i0 45&51 (MKWxq "kj.k yky % "kku&, &vo/k
¼Hkkjr cpl l sVj y[kuÅ] 1999¼ i0 63&65
66& vehj [kq jks % dñYy; kr&, &[kqkjoh] Hkkx&]¼vyhx<†1918¼ i0 106 (
ekSykuk j l hn vgen vñ kjh¼ 0½ % nõy jkuh f[ktz [kka ¼vyhx<† 1910¼ i0
156&157
67& , l 0, e0 tkQj % l e dYpjy , Li DVl vkkB efLYe #y bu bf.M; k ¼
i s'kkoj]1939¼¼k0 163
68& jkeckw l DI uk %, fgLVh vkkB mnñfyVj pj ¼ jkeukjk; .k yky]
bykgkckn] 1940¼ i0 350&51
69& vñgy gyhe ~kjj % i ñkð r] i0 168
70& ogh



Hkkjrh; I h—fr ea/keZ drD; kadk plhydkyhu I UnkZ

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ohO, I O, I OMhO dkyst] dkuig

Hkkjrh; I h—fr ea /keZ dk lcls egRoikZ LFkkj jgk gA /keZ fgUnw
thou&n'kZ ea ik.k ok; qds l eku gA 'keZ 'kCn emyr% 'k' /kkrg l s fu"i Uu
gkrk gS ftl dk 'kkfCnd vFKZ gS/kkj.k djuk vFkok vFLRo cuk; sj [kukA ; g
og rRo gS tks euq; rFkk l ekt ds vFLRo dks cuk; sj [krk gA ; g
l kekftd 0; oLFkk dk fu; ked gA ikphu 'kkL=ka ea /keZ dh oan 0; k[; k dh
xbZ gA vejdkSk ds vuq kj l q-r ; k i q;] ofnd fof/k ; Kkfn] ; e] U; k;]
vkpkj] Lohkko] I kejl i hus okyk bR; kfn /keZ ds fofhkuU vFKZ gA¹ egkHkkjrh ea
dgg x; k gS fd 'keZ I Hkh i kf.k; ka dh j {kk djrk gS I Hkh dks I g f {kr j [krk
gA ; g I f"V dk vFLRo cuk; sj [krk gA²

vxks crk; k x; k gS fd /keZ dh 0; oLFkk I Hkh i kf.k; ka ds dY; k.k ds
fy, dh x; h gS ftl l s l Hkh i kf.k; ka dk fgr gkrk gS ogh /keZ gA³ bl h izdkj
oSks"kd n'kZ ea dgg x; k gS fd 'ftl l s ykSdd rFkk ikjyKsdd dY; k.k dh
fl f) gkrh gS og /keZ gA⁴ ikphu /keZ kkL=ka ea l nkpj dks /keZ dk y{k.k
crk; k x; k gA eufefr ea /keZ ds pkj l kr crk; s x; s gA on] Lefr]
l nkpj rFkk vkRerq"V vFKZ~ tks viuh vkRek dks fiz yxA⁵ vfr ikphu
dky l s /keZ dks , d ifo= ij d rRo ds #i ea Lohdkj fd; k x; kA ikphu

1- vejdkSk ½/keZ 'kCn½ tks kh] inhi dækj] i kO Hkko 'kkO ea of.kZ- xkO vkO]
i O 70A

2- d.kā oz 109-58- /kkj .kk~ /keZr; kg% /kekā /kkj; rs izt kA
; RL; k) kj .k l a qra l % /keZ bfr fu'p; AA

'kkL=dkjka us 'kkL=ka ea fofgr drD; dk ikyu djus dks gh /keZ crk; k gA fuf'pr : i l s /keZ dk rRi ; Z ml l fgrk l s gSftl ea vKpj .k ds ek/; e l s eut; fu; fer : i l s fodkl djrk gS vkj vUrrksRok ije in ^ek{k* dh i kflr dj yrk gA i kphu xUFkka l s Li"V gS fd /keZ , d 0; ki d 'kCn Fkk ftl ea Hkkjrh; euhf"K; ka us l nkpkj l kekfTd drD;] 0; fDrxr vkpkj&0; ogkj vkfn l Hkh dk l eko{k dj fy; k Fkka /keZ l s 0; fDr fu; fl=r gkrk gS rFkk l ekt ds /kkfeZl drD; ka dks fu"Bki wZl ikyu djus ds fy, i k l kfgR gkrk gA /kkfeZl f'k{k l s 0; fDr viuk l ok{k}h.k fodkl djrk gA /keZ dks drD; ka dk l xg ekuk tk l drk gA

Hkkjr , d cgqkehZ nSk gS i R; d /keZ us Hkkjrh; l l —fr ds fuekZk ea viuk&viuk ; kxnku fn; k gA fglu] ckS] tS i kphu dky ds iZd{k /keZ gA tcfD ckjgoha 'krh ds i'pkr-blYke vkj l kygoha l nh ea fl D[k] bZ kbZ/kekA dk i d kj gA Fkka fglu w/keZ dh mRiFRr oSnd dky l s ekuh x; h gA bl dky ds iZd{k l kfgR; on] mi fu"kn] ckA.k xUFk rFkk vkj.; d ekus tkrS gA bl ; q dk i kphure xUFk __Xon gSftl ea l oZ Fke cgqookn ds n'ku gkrS gA vk; ka ds vf/kd{k k nork iz—fr dh fofHkuu 'kFDr; ka ds irhd gA rFkk ; g ekuk x; k gSfd norkvka dh —i k l s gh l d kj ds dk; & dyki l pkyr gkrS gA e[; r%oSnd norkvka ds rhu oxZ g&

1- | qFkku ¼/kdk'k½ ds nork& buea o#.k] i W.k] fe=] l w] fo".kj vf'ouf- Å"kk vkfnA

2- vUrfj {k ds nork& buea bln] vikef i tD;] vki% #n] e#r vkfn dh x.kuk dh xbz gA

3& i Foh ds nork& buea vfxu] cgLiFr] l ke bR; kfn gA

__Xon ea mfYyf[kr vf/kd{k k nork i # "k gA rFkk nfo; ka dk LFkku xkM+gA vfnr gh bl dky dh egROI wZl noh gA oSnd nork l nkpkj rFkk uSrd fu; eka ds l j {kd gA mudk l Ecl/k ^_r* l s ekuk tkrk gA ^_r* dk vFkZ gS l R; rFkk vfouk'kh l RrkA __Xon ea _r dh cMh l tñj dYiuk feyrh gA __Xon ea of.kR gSfd l f"V ds vkfn ea l cl s igys _r milu हुआ था— “ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात् तपसोऽध्यजायत।” इसी के द्वारा मानव जाति

3- i HkokFkZ~p Hkrkuka /keZ i opue~—reA

4- यतोऽभ्युदयनि श्रेयस सिद्धि सः धर्मः।

5- euq2-6-12] on%Lefr% l nkpkj%LoL; p fiz ekReu% , rr-prfoZka i kg% l k{k}eL; y{k.keAA

ea l 0; oLFkk , oa i fr" Bk LFkkfir gkrh gA nørk _r ds Lo#i gA vFkok _r
 l s mRi lUu gq gA rFkk os vi uh nSh; 'kDr; ka ds) kjk _r dh j{kk djrs gA
 ^l ke _r ds) kjk mRi lUu rFkk of/kR gkrh gA l wZ _r dk foLrkj djrs gA
 rFkk ufn; kj bl h _r dk ogu djrh gA _r HkkSrd rFkk usrd 0; oLFkk dk
 fu; ked gA MkO jk/kk—" .ku- us rks _r dks l nkpkj ds ekxZ rFkk cjk; ka l s
 jfgr ; FkkFkZ i Fk ds : i ea fu#fir fd; k gA¹

oSnd _f" k; ka us nørkvka dks vej] 'kDrreku rFkk usrd rL s ; Dr
 crk; k gA nørkvka ds dks l s cpus ds fy, euf; muga i lUu djus ds fy,
 l rr-iz Ru'khy jgrk FkA oSnd /keZ eaf l nørk dh Lrk dh xbZ gS ml h
 dks l oZ'SB , oa l okfj eku fy; k x; k gA dHkh o#.k rFkk dHkh blnz dks
 l okfj ekudj vl; nørkvka dh mRi fRr mul s ekuh x; h gA eDl enj us
 bl iDr r dks ^gukFkTe* (Henotheism) vFkok ^dFkukFkTe*
 (Kathenotheism) dh l k k inku dh gA dkykUrj ea nørkvka dks l a Dr
 fd; k x; kA i Foh rFkk vkdk'k dks feykdj ^| kok i Fkoh* uke fn; k x; kA
 fe=&o#.k] Å"kk&jkf= dks l a Dr fd; k x; kA eLrk vf'ouka rFkk vkfnR; ka
 dh Hkh , d Js kh ekuh x; hA fdUr qoSnd _f" k l okp nørk dh [kkst djuk
 pkgrs FkA vi us fpUr ds vFure pj.k ea mlgk us ; g egRo i wZ rF; [kkst
 fudkyk fd ijerRo 1/4 r 1/2 , d gh gSft l s Kkuh ykx foHkUu ueka l s tkurs
 gA bl h ijerRo dks fgj . ; xHk iztki fr] fo'odekZ vkfn ueka l s of.kR fd; k
 x; k gA ; g , d'oj okn dh vutkR gA bl iztkj _XoSnd /keZ l k/kj.k
 cgmpokn l s , d'ojokn ea cny x; kA ukl nh; l Dr ea dgk x; k gS fd
 l f"V ds vkfn ea , d gh ijerRo FkA ml h l s l f"V dh mRi fRr gA ogh
 i wZ#isk l f"V ea 0; klr gA i # "kl Dr ea crk; k x; k gS fd l f"V dk enj rRo
 fojKV i # "k gA og fo'o ea 0; klr gkrh gq Hkh ml l s dN vA kka ea i js gA

_XoSnd vk; Z ; Dr rFkk -f" k i eh FkS vr% muds /keZ dk mnns ;
 eq ; r% ykSdd l q kka dks i klr djuk FkA os ; Kka dks LoxZ i kfr dk l k/ku
 ekurs FkA os thou ds l q kka dk i jk&i jk mi Hkks djuk pkgrs FkA i k jEHk ea
 ; Kka dk fo/kku vR; Ur l jy Fk fdUr q ckn ea pydj ; g tVY , oa foLrR
 gks x; kA mi fu"knka ea ; Kka dk egRo ?kV x; k rFkk deZk.M ds LFkku ij
 Kku dh i fr" Bk dh xbA ekS ds fy, dk; kDyS k rFkk l U; kl ij tkj fn; k
 tkus yxka mi fu"knka dh i ed[k f' k{kk 0; fDr ds l kjHkr rRo vkRek dk txr-
 ds l kjHkr rRo cā ds l kFk rknkE; LFkkfir djuk gA

1- bf.M; u fQykl Qh] [k.M 1] i 0 79&80A

egdk0; dky ea ; K rFkk l 0; kl nkska tfVy ekus x,] vr% nkska
 dk l ello; dj ykd /keZ dk fodkl fd;k x;k tks tu l kekl; ds fy,
 l g/Hk FkkA ofnd norkvka dk egRo de gvk rFkk f=no 1/cāk] fo".k] egS k½
 dks l okPp ifr"Bk nh x; hA ckn ea cāk dh iutk de gkus yxh vj] f'ko
 rFkk fo".k] iēq[k nork jg x, A jke] —".k dks fo".k] dk gh vorkj ekuk x; k
 rFkk muea bz ojh; xqkka dks vk]ksir dj fn;k x; kA jkek; .k ea pfj= ij
 fo'kSk cy fn;k x; k gA , d pfj=oku 0; fDr nork; gk tkrk gA ufrdrk]
 l R; fu"Bk] l nkpj.k vkfn dks jkek; .k ea /keZ crk; k x; k gA blgha xqkka ds
 pyrs jke dks egkeuo ekuk x; k rFkk ckn ea nork ekuk x; kA egkHkj r ea
 Hkh ykd/keZ dh ifr"Bk gS rFkk —".k dks fo".k] dk vorkj ekuk x; k gA bu
 egdk0; ka dh ykd]fz rk dk izkku dkj.k ; g Fkk fd blgkaus l kekl; turk ds
 ek]k&i]f]r ds fy, , d l jy mik; crk; kA ; g mik; gS Hk]fDr rFkk mikl uk
 dk tks l Hkh ds fy, l eku : i l s l g/Hk FkkA bz oj Hk]fDr l s i l Uu gkdj
 Hk]fDr dk dY; k.k d]rs gA xhrk ea fu"dke deZ ij cy fn;k x; k gA xhrk
 ea —".k vt] l s dgrs gA

^ l Hkh /keā dks Nk]M]dj ejh 'kj.k ea vk tkvka eā r]ga l Hkh iki ka l s
 e]r d#ak& 'kkl er djka*1

xhrk ea Hkh —".k dk fp=.k l oZ kfDreku cā ds #i ea gvk gS tks
 tkr ds fuekZrk rFkk v/kh'oj gA bl ea mi fu"knka ds ^cā* rFkk ykd/keZ ds
 okl nō nksks ds #i ka dk l ello; gA —".k Hk]fDr vkUnkyu ds d]nz cu x,
 rFkk vke tuekul ij muds 0; fDrRo dk 0; ki d i Hkko i Mka mi fu"knka ea Hkh
 Kku dh 0; k[; k dh x; h Fkh ij x]k]k ds dkj.k og l Hkh ds fy, ck]k]E; u
 FkkA turk dks , d , s nork dh vko'; drk Fkh tks Hk]kd k d]us yk; d gk
 rFkk l dV ds le; ml dh l gk; rk dj l drk gA egdk0; dky ea
 Hkxonxhrk , s bz oj dk thfor 0; fDrRo i l r] d]rh gS tks vius Hk]fDrka dh
 l gk; rk ds fy, iFoh ij vorkj ysk gS /keZ dh LFkki uk d]rk gS l Ttuka
 dh j{k d]rk gS rFkk n]vka dk l g]k] d]rk gA² xhrk ea mi fu"knka ds Kku ds
 egRo dks Lohdkj d]rs gq Hkh Hk]fDr dks iēq[krk inku dh xbZ gA ; gh ek]k
 i klr d]us dk l oZ g/Hk l k/ku gA

egdk0; dkyhu /keZ ea ofnd rFkk vo]nd fo'okl ka dk l eko]k
 fn[kkbZ nsk gA ; Kka ds vfr]jDr f'ko] —".k] jke] n]k] bln] i oZ] ukx]
 jk{k]l] ; {k iutk dk Hkh mYy]k i klr gk]k gA jktvka }k]k v'oesk rFkk
 jkt l w t] s fo'kky ; K fd, tkr Fka egdk0; ka dk e[; y[; l ekt ea
 l R; vj] U; k; dh ifr"Bk LFk]fir d]uk Fka buea fo]Hk]Uu dFk]vka rFkk

pfj=ka dsek/; e l s v/keZ ij /keZ dh fot; inf'k'r dh xbz gA bu dko; ka ea l ekt ds gj oxZ dk ifrn'kZ iLr r fd; k x; k gA

plnsydky ea i k s kf.kd /keZ dk ipkj gks x; k FkA ; | fi ml l e; t s r Fk ck) /keZ dk Hkh ipkj gks x; k fdUr q plnsy jktk 'k b r Fk o s.ko er dks gh ekuus okys FkA i jk.k viuh l jy r Fk l t n j 'k s y h ea fgUnw/keZ dk l o k h.k k fp=.k iLr r d j r s gA i k s kf.kd /keZ dk mnas; o s n d /keZ dks l j y < x l s v k e t u r k d s l e { k i L r r d j u k g A c a dh d y i u k c a d s : i ea dh x; h r Fk c a k j fo".k q v k s e g s k d k s f o n s k e k u k x; k j i n e i j k . k e a m l s l f " V d s d r k j /k r k l v k s l g r k l e k u k x; k A fo".k q d s v o r k j k a d k s Ø e c) d j m l g a b z o j d s : i e a e k u k x; k A H k f D r d k i w k l f o d k l i k s k f . k d d k y e a g h g o r k A e f i r l i v t k d k s e g R o i w k l e k u k x; k A n o r k d k s i # " k ; k u k j h d s : i e a e k u d j i t i j /k i r] n h i] u s s j v k f n d s } j k j m l s i v t k d j u s d k f o /k k u i L r r f d ; k x ; k A i j k . k k a d h e k u ; r k F k h f d b z o j d h - i k l s g h e f D r f e y l d r h g A H k f D R k d s f y , x # d k f u n k u v k o ' ; d F k k A x # d h - i k l s g h K k u i k l r g k r k g A b l d k y e a f o " . k j f ' k o j n o k k j l w z r F k k x . k s k k f n i p n o k a d h i v t k d k f o /k k u d j d s i p k ; r u i v t k d k s t l e f n ; k A 1

vo s n d f o p k j / k j k d s i H k k o l s i j k . k k a e a v u d i z k j d h n s o ; k a ; F k k & n o k k j d k y h j p k e q M k v k f n d h i v t k d k f o /k k u i L r r f d ; k x ; k A b l d s v f r f j D r b l / k e l e a f o f o / k i z k j d s c k a p k j f n [k k b z n r s g s t s & o r] n k u] r h F k & ; k = k j c k a . k k a d k s H k k s t u d j k u k v k f n A , d h e k u ; r k F k h f d o r k a d s v u t B k u } j k j ' k j h j r F k k v k R e k ' k q g k s h g s f t l l s e k s k d h i k f l r g k s h g A f o f H k k u n o r k v k a l s l e c f u / k r o r k a d k f o /k k u i L r r f d ; k x ; k g A i j k . k o . k k z j e / k e l d s i k y u i j f o ' k s k c y n r s g A e k s k i k f l r d s f y , K k u d s l k f k & l k f k o . k k z j e / k e l d k i k y u H k h v f u o k ; l c r k ; k x ; k g A o k ; q i j k . k e a o f . k r g s f d t k s 0 ; f D r o . k k z j e / k e l d k i k y u u g h a d j r k m l s ; e y k e d d s d " V H k k s u s i M r s g A e s - s i j k . k e a ; g o . k z u g s f d f o " . k q v k s f ' k o d s l k f k c a k d h f = e f i r l g s v k s b l h f = e f i r l d k s f u f o z k j e g k u ' k f D r d k c k s k g k r k

- 1- l o z k e k u i f j R ; T ; e k e r d a ' k j . k a o z t A
v g a R o k a l o z k i H ; k s e k s ; f ; " ; k f e e k ' k p % A A & x h r k 18A
- 2- ; n k ; n k f g / k e L ; X y k f u H k z b f r H k k j r A
v H ; B F k k u e / k e L ; r k n k R e k u a l ' t k E ; g e A A
i f j = k . k k ; l k / k u k a f o u k ' k k ; p n t - r k e A
/ k e l l a F k k i u k F k k z l H k k o k f e ; x & ; x A A & o g h j 4 @ 7 - 8
- 1- q i D ; t j j % f j y h f t ; l D o k V v k k D b f . M ; k j i 0 179A

gA budk rnkE; I Ro] jt] re I s LFkfr fd; k tkrk gA ml ea fo".kq dks I Ro] cāk dks jtI rFk f'ko dks rel ekuk x; k gA¹ dkykUrj ea rhuka nōrkvka dh vyx intk gksus yxh vksj oS.ko rFk 'kō vyx I Eink; gks x; A oS.koka us fo".kq dh izkkurk ekuh] t9 k fd [ktgkgs ds txnEch eflnj I s Li"V gA fo".kq dk eflnj gksus ds dkj.k mudh efirZ xHkxig ds e/; ea fLFkr gA cāk dh efirZ muds ck; a rFk f'ko dh efirZ muds nka s gA bl ea fo".kq dh izkkurk yf{kr gsrh gA bl dh izdkj I segkck fLFkr uhyd. B² f'ko dh efirZ e/; ea gS vksj cāk dh efirZ ml ds nkgus rFk fo".kq dh efirZ ml ds cka h vksj gA fdUrqckn eaf=efirZ intk dk ipkj de gks x; k vksj fo".kq rFk f'ko dh gh intk dk ipkj gA/ka egkck rFk [ktgkgs ds vykok vU; LFkkuka I sikr 'kō rFk oS.ko eflnjka I s Hkh bl ckr dh iæf.kdrk fl) gsrh gA bl ds i'pkr~ipnōka dh intk dk inHkō gA/ka iR; d nōrk ds mikl dka dks vius mifu"kn~ rFk I agrk dh Hkh vko'; drk irhr gA] ftI I s mUga ; g iæf.kr djus ea I jyrk gks fd mudk I Eink; onknHk/kr gS vksj onkUr I s mudk I kE; gA bu /keZ agrk vka ea gj I Eink; ds fu; e] intk i) fr] ifrek rFk eflnj fuekZk vkfn ds fo"k; ea tkudkj nh x; h jgrh gA iR; d I Eink; ea I H; kl h gksr FkS tks muds /keZ#vka dks nhf{kr djrs FkA tu&l k/kj.k dks nhf{kk nh tkrh Fkh vksj mUga I Eink; ds nk'kud rRoka rFk fl) kUrka dk ckō dkj; k tkrk FkA iR; d I Eink; ds vius Lo; a ds ea= rFk fryd yxkus dh epk vkfn gsrh FkA³ ijk.kka eaftu nōh&nōrkvka dh intk gsrh Fkh mul s I EcflU/kr vud LorU= I Eink; ka dk fglU/keZ ea fodkl gA/ka fo".kq dh intk djus okys oS.ko I Eink; rFk f'ko dks ekuus okys 'kō I Eink; , oa nōh ¼ kfDr ½ dh vkjk/kuk djus okys 'kkDr I Eink; I s I Ec) gks x; A dkykUrj ea buds Hkh dbZ mi & I Eink; cu x, A

bu dkyka ea fglUw/keZ vFkok ckā.k /keZ ds vUrZr I ekt ea ipfyr fofHkU /keā vksj muds I Eink; ka dh fLFkr dk fooj.k fuEuor gA
1-oS.ko /keZ fo".kq dks viuk Hkxoku] izkku bZV nō vksj ijekRek ds #i ea ekuus okys mikl d oS.ko vksj mul s I EcflU/kr I Eink; dks oS.ko /keZ dgk x; k gA bl dk iDrZl of".k ¼ kRor ½ oāk —".k dks ekuk tkrk gA ol nō ds i= gksus ds dkj.k buds okl nō dgk tkrk gA budk tle eFkjk ea gA/ka FkA NKUnk; mifu"kn~ea blga nōdh&i= dgk x; k gS rFk ?kjs vAxjI dk

1- eS-s ijk.k.k] 4]5]6A
 2- oghA
 3- QD; qj%fyjftt; I Dot.V vkU bf.M; k] iO 167A

f'k"; crk; k x; k gA —.k ds vuq k; h mlga 'Hkxor* ¼i w; ½ dgrs FkA bl
 dkj.k muds }kjk iofr /ke/ dh l k k Hkxor gks x; hA egkHkjr dky ea
 okl nD —.k dk l ehdj.k fo".kq l s fd; k x; k rFk Hkxor /ke/ oS.ko /ke/
 dgk tkus yxkA fok".kq , d __Xoñd nørk gS mudk l ok/ kd egRo bl
 dkj.k gSfd mlgkaus rhu ix l s l Ei w k i Foh dks uki Mkyk gA¹ mudh Lrjr
 ea dgk x; k gSfd t g k i j nørkvka dh dkeuk djus okys ykx gf"kr ea gkrs
 gS ogh LFku fo".kq dk fi z; gS ogh ver dk l k r gA² ckn ea muds i Hko ea
 of) dk mYys[k gk k gA 'kri Fk ckā.k ea mlga ; K dk ifr#i ekuk x; k gS
 rFk crk; k x; k gSfd nørkvka ds ; D) ea oS⁴ l o z kfDr'kkyh fl) gq A , rj s
 ckā.k ea mlga 'l ok p nørk* crk; k x; k gA egkHkjr ea ^—.k* dks fo".kq dk
 vorkj crk; k x; k gS v k s i j s egkHkjr ea l o E 0; klr Hk gA bl h l e; l s
 Hkxor /ke/ oS.ko cu tkrk gS rFk fo".kq ml ds vf/k" Bkrk nørk gks tkr gA
 i ratfy us Hk okl nD dks fo".kq dk : i crk; k gA fo".kq i j k.k ea okl nD dks
 fo".kq dk , d uke crkrs gq dgk x; k gSfd 'fo".kq l o E gS muea l Hk dk
 okl gS vr% os okl nD gA¹

— .k&fo".kq dk rknkRE; tc ukjk; .k l s LFkfir gqk rc oS.ko /ke/
 dh , d l k k ^i k p j k = /ke/ gks x; h D; k i d ukjk; .k ds mikl d i k p j k = dgs
 tkr FkA ukjk; .k dk l o i Fk mYys[k ckā.k x l Fk Hk feyrk gA 'kri Fk
 ckā.k ea mlga ^i j e i # " k * crk; k x; k gA ft l e a l Hk y k d l o n] nørk rFk
 i k . k i f r " B r g A l Hk dk v f r Ø e . k d j u s d s f y , m l g k a u s i k p j k = ; K f d ; k
 rFk l o k p , o a l o D ; k i h c u x , A e g k H k j r d s ' k f u r i o z e a u k j k ; . k d k
 l e h d j . k o k l n D f o " . k q d s l k F k L F k f i r d j r s g q m l g a l o D ; k i h r F k l H k d k s
 m R i l u d j u s o k y k c r k ; k x ; k g A

Hkxor /ke/ vFk okl nD ds /ke/ dh i k p h u r k b D i o i k p o t a ' k r h
 r d i e k f . k r g k s h g A e g f " k z i k f . k f u u s H k x o r / k e / r F k o k l n D d h i w t k d k
 o . k z d j r s g q o k l n D d s m i k l d k a d k s ^ o k l n D * d g k g A i k j E H k e a ; g / k e /
 e F k j k d s v k l & i k l g h i p f y r F k A ; w k u h j k t n i r e x L F k u h t v e k s z k y ½ u s
 ' k j l s u ½ e F k j k ½ d s y k s k a d k s ^ g j k D y h t * d k m i k l d c r k ; k g S f t l l s r k R i ; z
 okl nD —.k l s gh gA Hkxor /ke/ ea —.k dks l ok p nørk ekudj mudh

1- __Xon 1] 22- 7A
 bnafo".k f o p Ø e a = s k k f u n / k s i n e A
 l e w e L ; i k d j A A

2- JhokLro] dD l h o % i k o H k k o d k b o r F k l o] i o 8 1 8 A
 r n L ; f i z e f H k i k F k s v H ; k e ~ u j k s ; = n o ; o k s e n f U r A
 m # Ø e l ; l f g c l / k j r F k f o " . k k % i n s i j e s e / o % m R l A A

HkfDr }kjk ekšk iklr dk fo/kku iLrnf fd;k x;k gA ekš žky ds i'pkr~
 'kq dky ea bl dk fodkl gqvk rFkk ; g /kež vR; f/kd ykdfiz; gks x; kA
 fonšk Hkh bl s xg.k djus⁶⁵ yxž bl dk ijkkrkRod iek.k gA Hkkxor /kež l s
 l EcfU/kr iEke iLrj Lekjd fofn'kk %cd uxj½ dk x#M+LrEHk gA² bl l s
 irk pyrkd gšfd r{f'kyk ds ; ou jktnr gsy; kMkj l us Hkkxor /kež xg.k
 fd;k rFkk bl LrEHk dh LFkkiuk djokdj ml dh iutk dh FkA bl mRdh.kž
 yš[k ea gsy; kMkj l dks 'Hkkxor' rFkk okl nso dks 'nonol' * vFkkž~norkvka
 dk nork dgg x; k gA

bl ?kVuk l s l npr gsrk gšfd b0i0 f}rh; "krkcnh ea okl nso dks
 l okp nork ekudj mudh mikl uk dh tkus yxh FkA xhrk ea Lo; a d'.k
 dgrs gA fd *cgr tleka ds vlr ds tle ea Kku iklr 0; fDr 'l c dnl
 okl nso gh gA bl izkj eq-dks Hktrk gš og egkRek vfr ngyžk gA¹ cd uxj
 l s gh iklr , d vl; yš[k ea Hkkxor dh mikl uk ea eflnj rFkk rFkk
 x: .k/ot cuok; s tkus dk o.kž feyrk gA bl h izkj jktLFkku ea fLFkr
 /kkl qMh l s iklr yš[k ea , d vuq k; h }kjk Hkkxor dh iutk ds fufeRr "f'kyk
 ikdij* cuok; s tkus dk mYyš[k feyrk gA ; g yš[k fl) djrk gšfd bDi0
 iEke "krh ea jktLFkku ea Hkkxor /kež ykdfiz; gks pplk FkA² bl l e; dk
 , d yš[k egjk'v^a ds ukuk?kkV l s feyrk gA ftl ea l ad'kž k %cyjke½ rFkk
 okl nso dh iutk dk mYyš[k gA dkk.k "kkl d gfo" d rFkk okl nso] oS.ko er
 dks ekuus okys FkA bl h l e; Hkkjr ea efrž iutk dk ipyu gqvk vks ; g
 oS.ko /kež dh iutk i) fr dk fgLI k cu x; h] tcf d bl ds i0ž efr iutk ds
 l kfgR; d mYyš[k fNVių : i eafeyrs gA

Hkkxor vFkok oS.ko /kež dk pjekd'kž xhr jktkvka ds "kkl u&dky
 %B19bD&550bD%ea gqvkA³ xhr ujs'k oS.ko erkuq k; h Fks rFkk bl s mlgkaus
 jkt/kež cuk; k FkA fo'.kq dk okgu x: M+ xhrka dk jktfpgu FkA vf/kdkrk
 xhr "kkl d *ije Hkkxor" dh mikf/k xg.k djrs FkA iz; kx yš[k l s irk
 pyrkd gšfd xhr "kkl ui=ka ds Åij x#M+dh eqk yxh gsrh FkA fo".kq dh
 mikl uk ea fo'.kq eflnjka rFkk efrž ka dk fuekžk djok; k x; kA egjkSyh yš[k
 l s irk pyrkd gšfd plnxhr f}rh; us fo'.kq n iož ij fo'.kq ot dh

1- fo'.kq ij k.k] 7-12A

l ož-kl ks l eLrap ol R; =fr oS; rA

rr%l okl nso fr fo}nfhk% ifjiV; rAA

2- JhokLro] d0 l h0% i k0 Hkk0 dk b0 rFkk l 0] i0 313A

1- xhrk] 7-12 cgqk tleuekelUrKkuokUeka i i | rA

Ok l nso l okžefr l egkRek l ngyžkAA

LFkki uk djok; h FkA LdUnxqr ds "kkl u dky ds ys[k ea fo'.kq dh efirZ LFkfir fd, tkus dk o.ku gA xqr dky ea vucl fo'.kq efUnjka dk fuekZk gq/k FkA frxokW dk fo'.kq efUnj ½0iD] tcyig e½, j.k dk fo'.kq efUnj ½0iD l xj ea ½ nōx<+dk n"kkorkj efUnj ½yfyriq] m0iD½ Hkhrjxko dk efUnj ½dkuqj m0iD½ y{e.k efUnj ½j; i; e/; insk½ bl h y{e.k efUnj ds lehi l s bVka ds cus gq nks vqj efUnjka jke rFkk tkudh efUnj ds vo"ksk ikr gks gA bl h idkj l ruk ftys ea mpgjk ds ikl fiifj; k uked LFkku l s 1968 bD ea dDMhO cktis h us, d fo'.kq efUnj rFkk efirZ dh [kkst dh FkA ; gk; xHkZg dk vydr }kj feyk gA }kj LrEHkka rFkk fljny ij iwZkV] i=koyh uxjed[k] 0; k?ked[k vkfn vydrj.k feyrs gA okjkg&vorkj] uoxg vkfn Hkh }kj ij vdr gA fo'.kq dh ifrek efUnj ds ikl l s gh feyh gA⁴ nōx<+dh efirZ ea fo'.kq dks "ksk" k.; k ij foJke djrs gq fn[kk; k x; k gA xqr dky ea fy[ks x, i; j.k.kka ea fo'.kq ds vorkjka dk foLrr o.ku feyrk gA bl ; q ds dks'kdj vej fl g us vi us xBFk ea fo'.kq ds 39 uke fxuks gq mlgaol no dk i= crk; k gA

bl h rjg nf{k.k Hkkjr ea Hkh oS.ko/keZ dk ipkj gq/kA l xe l kfgR; l sirk pyr gSfd b] k dh iFke "krh ea ; g nf{k.k Hkkjr dk , d ied[k /keZ FkA oaxh ds ied[k pkyD; "kkl d oS.ko erkuq k; h Fks rFkk mudk jktfplg x: M+FkA muds ys[kka ea 'okjkg* dh mikl uk feyrh gA jk'VdW dky ea Hkh nf{k.k.ki Fk ea oS.ko /keZ dk fodkl gq/kA nfluRnqZ us , ykj k ea n"kkorkj dk ifl) efUnj cuok; k Fkk] ftl ea fo'.kq dh nl vorkjka dh dFkk efirZ ka ea vdr gA rfey insk ea oS.ko /keZ dk ipkj id kj vkyokj l Urka }kjk fd; k x; kA vkyokj "kcn dk vFkZ Kkuh 0; fDr gksrk gA vkyokj l Urka dh l q; k 12 crk; h x; h gS ftl ea fr: eab] isj; vyoj] vk.Mky] ukEkyokj ied[k FkA vyojka , dek= efgyk l k'oh vk.Mky] dk uke feyrk gA vkyokj l Urka dh vflu dMh ds : i ea ukEkyokj rFkk muds f" k'; e/kj dfo ds uke mYys[kuh; gA vkyokj l Urka ds iHko ea vkdj iYyo jktkvka us oS.ko /keZ xg.k fd; k rFkk efUnjka dk fuekZk djok; kA fl g fo'.kq us ekeYyigje- ea vkfn okjkg dk efUnj cuok; kA ujfl goeZ f}rh; us dkph ea cBqB is eky efUnj dk fuekZk djok; k FkA nfluoeZ Hkh fo'.kq dk egku mikl d FkA ys[kka

-
- 2- JhokLro] dD l hO% i kO Hkko dk bO rFkk l @] iO 819A
 - 3- >k] Jhekyh] i kO Hkko dk bO] iO 317A
 - 4- xqr] iješojh yky] Hkko okO dk bO] iO 108A

ea ml sfo'.kq dk vorkj crk; k x; k gA cknke ds pkyD; ujs'k Hkh oS.ko er ds ikskd Fks rFkk dN us ijeHkxoxor dh mi kf/k xg.k dh FkhA , gksy ea fo'.kq ds dbZ eflnj dk fuekZk fd; k x; k FkKA pkyjkt; ea Hkh oS.ko /keZ dk ipkj gq/kA oS.ko vkpk; ka ea loZ Fke ukFkefu dk mYys[k fd; k tk l drk gS ftUgkaus vkyokjka dk dk; Z ijk fd; kA ifl) oS.ko vkpk; Zjkekuqt bl h l e; mRiUu gq ftUgkaus nf{k.k ea oS.ko er dk ipkj fd; kA bl l e; fo'.kq ds eflnj rFkk efrZ ka dk Hkh fuekZk fd; k x; kA dbZ l Ur dfo; ka us fo'.kq dh mikl uk dsfy, rfeyHkk'kk ea ea-ka dh jpuk dh FkhA

pUnsy dky ea oS.ko /keZ dk vR; f/kd mRd'kZ gq/kA vf/kdk'k pUnsy "kkl dka dh Hkxoku fo'.kq ds ifr vxk/k J) k FkhA g'khn] fo'.kq dk ije HkDr Fkk] ml ds /kfeZd idfRr dk vfHkys[kka ea mYys[k fd; k x; k gA og vi "kCn l s vijfpr Fkk vjS vius xqkkupkn ea l dkp dk vuHko djrk Fkk] og vi; "k okrkZ l s nj rFkk vl R; Hkk'k.k l s ijxæq[k FkKA ml ds leku l Hkh idkj ds xqkka l s l qkSHkr fdl h nu js 0; fDr dk vlRrRo vl EHko FkKA¹ g'kZ dh rjg ; "kkæZu Hkh fo'.kq dk ije HkDr FkKA ml dh fo'.kq intk dk mYys[k foO l 1011² 1053&54 bD½ ds [ktjkgks vfHkys[k ea gA bl vfHkys[k dk vkjEHk vjS vUr fo'.kq Lrqr *vke ueks Hkxors okl qok; * l s gq/k gA ; gk; of.kr gSfd jktk ; "kkæZu *fo'.kq ds ijs ka dh intk djus dks mRiUu gA *fo'.kq dks l efiZ ; g eflnj , d "kkunkj okLrq dk ueuk iLrq djrk gA /kx "kS gkaus ds l kFk gh oS.ko /keZ ea Hkh vkLFkk j[krk FkKA ml ds foO l 1011 1053&954 bD½ ds [ktjkgks f"kyys[k ea ; g dgk x; k gSfd ml ds ojs; re-jkt; ea /keZ ds fo:) vkpj.k djus ea Hk; gkrk Fkk vjS og ges'kk fo'.kq ds pj.k dh vpZuk ds fy, bPNd jgrk Fkk¹ ijefnZn dk ea-h l y{k.k Hkh oS.ko er dks ekuus okyk FkKA enuoZu dk ea-h xnk/kj Hkh fo'.kq dk mikl d FkKA pUnsy "kkl d t; oZu /kfeZd fopkjka dk Fkk] og viuk vf/kdk'k l e; Hkxoku ukjk; .k dh mikl uk ea 0; rhr djrk FkKA² ijefnZn ds iru ds i"pkr~ =SykD; oZu us pUnsy l Rrk dks iqtthor fd; kA ml l e; ds i'kflrdkjka us ml dh rgyuk Hkxoku fo'.kq l s dh gS muds vuq kj =SykD; oZu us rpdZ 0; : i h fl U/kq l s fueTtr iFoh dk m) kj fd; kj vfFkZ fo'.kq dh Hkkr og Hkh iFoh dk m) kj d FkKA³

[ktjkgks ea dbZ fo'.kq eflnjka dk mYys[k feyrk gA pUnsy "kkl dka us vius l e; ea dbZ fo'.kq eflnjka dk fuekZk djok; kA fo'.kq eflnjka ea d'sko]

1- bi hO bf.MO] Hkx 1 iO 211A

2- ogh] iO 123&iO 135A

ek/ko] fo'.kq f=foØe] fâf'kd's'k] ineukHk] l ad'kz'k] iq 'kkRre] vP; q] tuknZ] miðnj] e/kq nu] okl qn] ujfl g] vkfn dk mYys[k efirz'ka ds : i ea gq/k gð plnsy "kkl dka us oS.ko er dks Lohdkj fd; k rFkk iztkuka ea bl dh egRrk dk ipkj djok; kA oS.ko er ds dkj.k "kkdkgj dk Hkh ipyu c<kA oS.ko l Elnk; ds ykx l kRrod iðRr ds gks Fks rFkk i pedkja ½eRL;] eka] efnjk] eFkq] epk ½ l snj jgrs FkA buea l Elnk; ka muds fl) kUrka rFkk i vt'k ds fo/kku dk o.kZ gð bl ; q ea cgr l s fo'.kq eflnjka dk fueZk gq/kA l kxj ds leku xEHkhj plnek ds leku pk: vls vkgyknd , oa l wZ ds nhr ds leku ifrHkkoku ; "kkoeZ us [ktj'kgks ea nB; ka ds vfj Hkxoku fo'.kq ds fy, , d l ðnj vls eukje eflnj dk fueZk djok; k rFkk bl eflnj ea ml us Hkxoku cðqB dh efirz LFkfir djok; hA² 930&950 bD ea ; "kkoeZ us Hkxoku fo'.kq dks l efi'z y{e.k eflnj cuok; kA ; 'kkoeZ dk , d uke y{e.k' Hkh Fkk] bl fy, bl s y{e.k eflnj* ds uke l s Hkh tkuk tkrk gð [ktj'kgks ea Hkxoku fo'.kq ds vorkj okjg dk eflnj Hkh fo'leku gð [ktj'kgks ea gh nsh txnEch eflnj³ dk fueZk *x.Mnð oeZ* us djok; k FkA ; g Hkh ewr% fo'.kq dk eflnj Fkk] yfdu l u~1880 bD ea egjktk Nrjij }kjk efu; kx<+ l s ikozh dh efirz ykdj ; gk LFkfir djus l s ; g ikozh ; k txnEch eflnj dgyk; kA cãk eflnj ea Hkh fo'.kq dh ifrek gð bl h eflnj ds mRrj&iwZ dh vls okeu eflnj gð bl ea Hkxoku fo'.kq ds *okeu vorkj* dh ifrek gð okeu eflnj ds nf{k.k rjQ , d Nks/k l k fo'.kq eflnj gð bl s ^tokjh eflnj⁴ dgk tkrk gð eraxoj eflnj l smRrj dh vls ið's'k eflnj gð tks fd Hkxoku fo'.kq dk eflnj gð plnsy "kkl d ijefnð ds cVsoj vfHky[k ea fo'.kq eflnj dk o.kZ feyrk gð⁵ egkck ds eflnjka ea ddjkeB dk eflnj iæ[k gð⁶; g fo'.kq Hkxoku dk eflnj ekuk tkrk gð plnsy jkT; ea fo'.kq dh mi kl uk gj {ks= ea gks'h FkA vt; x<+ea Hkh "kkl dka }kjk vi uh /kkfebl vKL Fkk dk⁷ in" kZ djrs gq fofHku izdkj dh efirz'ka dk fueZk djok; k x; k] ftuea Hks'oj uked LFkku ds fudV xakk&; epk ds leku nks ver dqMka ds ikl *vullr "kks'kk; h* fo'.kq dh efirz iæ[k gð vtxx<+nqz

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- 1- QD; qj %jyht; l Dot.V vkD bf.M; k] iO 167A
 - 2- bihO bf.MO] Hkx 1] iO 134] "ykcd 42A
 - 3- vkD; kD l O fjO] Hkx 2] iO 421A
 - 4- ogh] iO 421] 425A
 - 5- bihO bf.MO] Hkx 1] iO 211A
 - 6- vkD; kD l O fjO] Hkx 2] iO 443&44A
 - 7- ogh] iO 421&425A

ds ikl l s gh nks vks eflnjka dk l d r feyrk gš tks l EHKor% fo'.kq eflnj
gA¹ plnsy/ka ds }kjk cuok; s x; s plnig ds vf/kdkak eflnj] Hkxoku fo'.kq dks
gh l efi r gA² %dfuake] ,0] vkD; kD l 0] Hkx 10] i0 96½ plnsy "kkl d
ijefnho vks ml ds l sukuk; d vkygk] Any us cknk ftys ea xkM+ uked
LFkku ij dbz eflnjka dk fuekZk djok; kj buea fo'.kq eflnj l cl s fo"ky gA³
%dfuake] ,0] vkD; kD l 0] Hkx 21] i0 14½ bl h ftys ea fcygkfj; k uked
LFkku ij ,d 70 Qw Aph Nks/h igkMh ij iwZ : i l s vydr ,d fo'.kq
eflunj vofLFkr gA⁴ %dfuake] ,0 vkD; kD l 0] Hkx 10] i0 19&20½ bl
izkj plnsy "kkl dka us fo'.kq eflnjka dk fuekZk gj {ks= ea djok; kA plnig
jyos ykbu ds l ehi oS.ko /keZ l s l EcfU/kr eflnjka ds vo"ksk feyrs gA⁵; gha
ij >Eej dk eflnj Hkh fo|eku gš tks l EHKor% Hkxoku fo'.kq dk eflnj jgk
gkskA⁶ bl izkj plnsy ujs'kka us oS.ko er ds ipkj id kj ea egROIwZ
Hkfedk dk fuokg fd; kA plnsy "kkl dka }kjk egRo inku djus ds dkj.k
turk us Hkh oS.ko er dks viuk; k rFkk jkT; ds inkf/kdkfj; ka }kjk Hkxoku
fo'.kq ds eflnj ,oa efi r; ka dh LFkki uk dk mYy[k feyrk gA eA f"kyky[k ds
vud kj plnsy ujs'k enuoZ ds e[; ea=h xnk/kj us nnnq xte uked LFkku
ij ,d fo'.kq eflnj dk fuekZk djok; k Fkka fo0 l 1252 ¼ 1195 bD½ ds
l ejk nkuy[k ds vud kj ijefnho ds e[; ea=h iq 'kkRe ds fir k l y{k.k
}kjk fo'.kq eflnj dk fuekZk djok; k x; k Fkka cVsoj f"kyky[k tks *vke
ueks Hkxors okl nso; * l s vkjEHk gksk gš ea mfYyf[kr gS fd l y{k.koeZ
}kjk fufeZ fo'.kq eflnj viwZ jg x; k Fkka vks ml s iwZ djus dk dk; Z
iq 'kkRe }kjk fd; k x; k Fkka bu eflnjka ds vfrjDr [ktgkgs egkck o
vU; LFkkuka ij vud fo'.kq eflnjka dk fuekZk djok; k x; k Fkka bl l e;
gfjoak rFkk fo'.kq ij k.k dh jpuk gA ckn ea fo'.kq ds vorkjka dh iwtk dk
fo/kku Hkh iLr q fd; k x; kA

-
- 1- vkD; kD l 0 fj0] Hkx 21] i0 47A
 - 2 ogh] Hkx 10] i` 96A
 - 3- ogh] Hkx 21] i` 14A
 - 4 ogh] Hkx 19&20] i` 47A
 - 5- >ka h xtSV; j] i0 334A
 - 6- vkD; kD l 0 fj0] Hkx 10] i0 97A
 - 7- bi0 bf.M0] Hkx 1] i0 195] "ykcl 46&48A



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gxsy ds n'kū ea ijrūooknh dyk'kkL=

MMW vle Ádk'k feJk
, l kfi , V ÁkQd j] l ĩdr
ohO, l O, l OMhO dkwyst] dkuig

egku nk'kfuZl , oa utfroškk gxsy ¼ u-1770 bE l s 1831 bE½ us
vius xġFk 'Qykl Qh vkQD Qkbu vkVZ ea ijrūooknh dyk'kkL=
(Absolutistic/Esthetics) dk miLFkkiu dj ik'pkr; fpru ea dyk ds
uohu vk; keka dks iLrġ fd; k gS^{1/2} A gxsy ds erkudġ kj , fLFkVd 'kġn dk
vFkz g& yfyr dykvka dk n'kūA Ekgr'kz okRL; k; u us bu yfyr dykvka dk
l ĩdr ea fy[ks x; s y{k.kxġFk ~dkeġ #** ea foLrkj iġZl fu: i.k fd; k gS^{1/2}
A dkeġ # 1 ea of.kġ pġ B yfyr dykvka ds uke fuEufyf[kr g&
1- xhr] 2- cktk&ctkuk] 3- ukpuk] 4- fp«kdkjh djuk] 5- frYkd ds
l kps cukuk]
6- pkoYk'a vġ QWk'a dk p'd ijuk] 7- QWk'a dh l st jpuK] 8- nġreŷtu
cukuk] diM'ia dh jxl kth rFkk vkġxd l Ttk grq plnu] dš j] egšh o
egkoj vkfn cukuk] 9- __rq ds vuġġk ?kj l tkuk] 10- 'k; u jpuK
djuk@ iYkæ ; k fclrj fcNkuk]
11- tYkrjæ ctkuk] 12- fipdkjh pYkkus rFkk xġkkci'k l s dke Y'us dh
fo|k] 13- voLFkk ifjorZl djuk ; ġk d' o) ; k o) d' ; ġd cukuk] 14-
nšit u ds fyk, ; k iguus ds fyk, ekYkk xġkkuk] 15- fl j ij QWk'a l s vud
Ádkj dh jpuK djuk] 16- nšk&dYkkuq i oL«k vkŌġk.k vkfn cukuk] 17-
dku'a ds fyk, d.kŌġk] 18- xġkkc] dšMġ b«k tš s xU/k; ġā inKFkZ cukuk]
19- vkŌġk.k cukuk] 20- tkšwj] 21- l ġnj cukus ds fyk, 'kj hj' i ; 'xh mcVu]
Y'i vkfn cukuk] 22- gkFk dh l QkbZ vFkok l e; cpkus ds fyk, dk; Z d'
l ġi ea djuk ¼ kkvZšSM¼ 23- vud Ádkj dh rjġkfj; k] idoku rFkk

I i cukuk] 24- ihus ds fYk, vud Adkj ds 'kcr] vdZ v^g 'kjk vkn
 cukuk] 25- fl Ykkbz djuk /kkxk fij'uk] 26- jQ^wjh] dl hnkdkjh rFkk cYk
 cW's dk<uk] 27- rU<khok | "a ea A/kkuOw oh.kk oknu rFkk ckYkd" a ds fYk,
 vfuok;Z, oa l jYkre ok | Me: d" ctukuk] 28- igYkh] 29- vUR; k{kjh]
 30- dfBuin" a ; k 'kCn" a dk vFkz fudkYkuk] 31- mi ; ^g jhfr l s i qrd
 i <uk] 32- ukVd n[ukuk ; k , frgkfl d dFkk, j fl [kYkkuk] 33- dfork }kjk
 l eL; ki fir] 34- cr , oa l jd. Ms vkn dh oLrq; cukuk] 35- l "u&pknh ds
 crZ" a ij ehukdkjh] i Pphdkjh] 36- c<bxjh] 37- xg&fuekz k dYkk] 38-
 ef.k; "a v^g jRu" a dh ijh{kk] 39- /kkv" a d" feYkkuk] 'k' /kuk] 40- ef.k; "a d"
 jxuk rFkk mlga [knku l s fudkYkuk] 41- o{k" a v^g Ykrkv" a dh fpdfRI k]
 42- Om] e qkz o cVj d" YkMkuk] 43- r"rk&euk d" i <ukuk] 44- 'kjhj v^g
 fl j dh ekfYk' k dh dYkk] 45- l kofrd v{kj" a ds vFkz tku Y"uk] 46-
 xlr"Ok"kk foKku] 47- fofOé nsk" a dh Ok"kv" a dk Kku] 48- QW" a l s jFk
 xkMk vkn cukuk] 49- 'kdu fopkj] 50- Lo; a pkfYkr ; Ukk" a d" cukuk]
 51- Lej .k' kfä c<kus dh dYkk] 52- fdl h i <gq ; k l us gq 'Yk' d d"
 T; "a dk R; "ngjk nuk] 53- fof{kir v{kj" a l s 'Yk' d cukuk] 54-
 'kCnd" "kKku] 55- NUn" a dk Kku] 56- dk0; kYkdkj dk Kku] 57-
 cgq fi ; ki u] 58- oL<k" a dh j{k vFkok N"Vs oL<k" a d" cMk fn [kYkkuk] 59-
 fofOé Adkj dh |w ØhMkv" a dh dYkk] 60- ikl k [Ykuk] 61- cPp" a ds
 fofOé [Yk" a dk Kku] 62- fou; fl [kkus okYkh fo | k] vkpkj 'kkL<k] 63-
 fot; fnYkkus okYkh fo | k, j d^gYkh; vFkz kL<k rFkk 64- 0; k; ke fo | kA
 dykfl) kUrfo" k; d i kphure xUFk ukV; "kkL= ^{3/2} ea vkpk; Z Hkj r us l Hkh
 dykva dks ukV; dyk ds v/khu ekuk gA muds vud kj , d k dkbz Kku ugha
 gS f"kyi ugha gS fo | k ugha gS dyk ugha gS ; kx ugha gS vkSj dkbz deZ ugha
 gS ftl dk mi ; kx fdl h uk fdl h
 vol j ij ukV; in"ku ea ugha fd; k tkrk gkA fdUrq dyktfur vutko dks
 mRiUu djus dh nf"V l s l xhr rFkk okLrq dyk LorU= dyk; a gA gxsy us
 vi us xUFk fQykl Qh vkQ Okbu vkVZ ea efrZ j puk dyk vkSj fp=kud dyk
 dks Hkh LorU= dyk ekurs gq s dy i k dykva dk fu: i .k fd; k gA

1- okLrdyk&

okLrdyk , d cká dyk gA bl dk y{; cká v³xghu izdfr dks
 , d s : lk ea x<uk gS fd dykRed cká ykd ds : lk ea eu ds l kFk ; g
 l EcfU/kr gk l dA bl dh mi knku l kexh ; ká=d fu'pSV vaxghu Hkrfi .M gS
 bl dk : lk vaxghu izdfr dk : lk gS ijUrq ; g l efefr : lk ckS/d l Ecu/k ds
 vud kj l Q; ofLFkr gk r k gA bl dks cká dyk bl fy, dgrs gA D; ká d bl dh
 dfr ; ka fpnkRed Kfr ds l kFk cká l Ecu/k l s l EcfU/kr gk r h gA os bl Kfir

dk 'kjhj ugha curhA cká izdfr dh nð; ksxtfur dq irk dks feVkdj
 fn0; 'kfä ds fuokl kFkZ , d LFkku cukus ds fy, ; g (okLrpyk) cká izdfr
 l s l 2k"KZ djrh gA vKurfjd bz ojh; ij .kk dh i kflr , oafn0; 'kfä ij /; ku
 dks , dkxz djus ds fy, ; g noky; ka dh jpuk djrh gS vkj bl izdkj l s
 mikl uk ea vkrk ij fpÜk dks , dkxz djus dh mledfkrk dks izdV djrh gA
 ; g v³xjfgR Hkur inkFkZ dks l æfBr djrh gS l efefr ds fu; e ds vuq kj
 ml s 0; ofLFkr djrh gS vkj fpnkRk ds l kFk bl dks l EcfU/kr djrh gA
 fn0; 'kfä ds l kFk okLrpyk dh dfr dk cká l Ecu/k gkrk gS Bhd bl h
 dkj .k l s ; g (okLrpyk) irhdkrEd gkrh gA

2- efrdyk&

OkLrpyk l s efrdyk dk Hkn ; g gSfd efrdyk dh dfr; ka ea ml
 vKurfjd fpnkRk dks 'kjhj inku fd; k tkrk gS ftl dh vkj okLrpykdfr
 døy&l dR Hkj gh djrh gA ; |fi og miknku ftl ea ; g fpnkRed Kflr
 dk bflnz cks ; : lk ea fu: i .k djrh gS ogh fu'pSV Hkurfi .M gS tks okLr
 dyk dk gkrk gS fQj Hkh ; g (efrdyk) vUroLrq vkj : lk dk l keatL; bl
 izdkj l s djrh gSfd , d nR js l s vf/kd nksuka ea l s dksZ Hkh vAk izkku ugha
 gkrkA vr, o ; g 'kkL=h; dksV dh dyk gA bl dyk ds ikl bflnz cks ;
 : lk ea iR; d fpnkRed Kflr dks izdV djus dh 'kfä gA ; g vius miknku
 l s dykdfr dh jpuk døy ml ds ; kã=d xqk ds vuq kj ugha djrh u
 ml dh jpuk vaxghu Hkur nð; ds vuq kj djrh gS vkj u rks ml dh jpuk
 jax l s l oFkk mnkl hu gkdj gh djrh gS oju- ml dks ekuoh; 'kjhj dh
 l okd"V vkdfr ea ifjofrR dj nrh gA ; g fpnkRk dks Hkkokox ea fofKlr
 : lk ea ugha oju-fLFkj vkj 'kkUr : lk ea izdV djrh gA ; g dyk vKurfjd
 fpnkRe ds døy , d {k.k dks gh izdV dj l drh gA

3- fp=dyk&

efrdyk ds i'pkr-fp=dyk dh x.kuk gkrh gA ; g LoPNUn dksV
 dh dykva ea iFke dyk gA ; g vius : lk , oa vUroLrq dh miknku l kexh
 ds : lk ea prkã dk mi ; ks djrh gA prkã jaxa dh fofHkur dk l gkj
 ydj ; g â'; fof'k"V 0; fä dk fp=.k djrh gA ; g dyk izdk'k dk
 mi ; ks ml ds l jy : lk ea djrh gS vkj izdk'k fojkskh vU/kdkj ea ml dk
 fof'k"Vhdj.k djrh gA oLrpyk l s fp=dyk dk ; g Hkn gSfd fu'pSV Hkur
 nð; dh cká ; kã=d foy{k.krk bl ds fy, vuko'; d gA efrdyk ds l kFk
 bl dk ; g Hkn gSfd fnd~ea bflnz & cks ; foLrkj ds l Hkh vkdkj ifj .kkea
 dh Hkh fp=dyk dks vko'; drk ugha gA ; g bflnz cks ; Hkur rÜo ds Bkd
 foLrkj l s Hkh epä gA ; g døy l rg ds vkdkj ifjek.k l s gh l hfer gkrh
 gA bl fp=dyk dh fo"K; oLrq ds vAkka dk fof'k"Vhdj .k vR; f/kd foLrkj l s

dj l drs gA eutj; ds vUr%dj.k ea tks dN Hkh rjãxr gkxk gS pks og l ðnuk gk i frfu: i.k vFkok iz kstu gkS vkSj og l c dN ftl dks dk; Z: lk ea ij.kr djus dh 'kfä eutj; ea gS fp=dyk dh fo"K; oLrq cu l drk gA vUr%dj.k dh lokPp Kflr l sydj izdfr dh lokZ/kd foF'k"V oLrqka dks fp=dyk ea inf'kr dj l drs gA ikdfrd ä'; dks fp=dyk ds ykd ea rHkh LFkku fey l drk gS tc og , s fd l h fpnkRed rüo vFkok fgr dh vkSj l dr djrk gS tks bl s (ikdfrd ä'; dks) ekuoh; l ðnuk vkSj fopkj l s l EcfU/kr dj l drk gA

4- lãhrdyk&

lãhrdyk LoPNUn dkV dh dykvka ea nW jh dyk gA ; g fp=dyk l s mPprj dyk gS D; kãd bflnz cks; fo"K; oLrq ds vkn'khdj.k ea ; g fp=dyk l s vf/kd fodfl r dyk gS ; |fi fp=dyk , oa lãhrdyk nksuka gh ; g eku dj fd foLrkjiwkZ ckã oLrq; ckã vkdfr ea , d nW js l s fHkUu gA vkSj foFfHkUu LFkku ea l Fkr gA viuh dfr; ka ds mRi knu ea iDÜk gkxh gA fQj Hkh ftl l e; fp=dyk viuh jpukvka ea foLrkjiwkZ oLrqka dh vkdfr dks cuk, j[krh gS ml l e; lãhrdyk bl dk vkn'khdj.k 'fclnq dh 0; fãfu"B , drk ea djrh gA ; g dyk Hkksrd foLrkj dk fu: i.k ugha djrhA ; g Hkksrd 'kjhj ds vkUrfd vaka ds dEi Uka vkSj l pkyuka dk fu: i.k Lojka l s djrh gS vkSj bl izdkj l s l ðnukvka , oa Hkkooska ds l Ei wkZ l egj dks 0; ä djrh gA ; g fp=dyk dh foLrkjiwkZ bflnz & cks; rk vkSj dk0; dh mPprj vk/; kRedrk ds chp dk i fforZ fclnq gA

5- dk0; dyk&

LoPNUnoxhZ dykvka ea dk0; dyk rhl jh vkSj l okZ/kd vk/; kRed dyk gA bl dk fo'kSk y{k.k bl rF; ea gS fd ; g viuh vk/; kRed fo"K; oLrq dk fu: i.k , s bflnz cks; : lk ea dj l drh gS tks eu dh dYi uk 'kfä dks LorU= ØhMk ds fy, txxr djrh gA ; g dyk ftl miknu l kexh dk mi ; kx djrh gS og ckykpy dh /ofu; ka gA ijUrqftl izdkj l s lãhr dyk ea ; s /ofu; ka Lo: i l ðnuk ds l e Hkska vkSj mRFkku Øe dks izdV djrh gA ml izdkj l s u dj dk0; ea /ofu; ka fuf'pr : lk ekuf l d Kflr; ka dks izdV djrh gA ; g dk0; dyk ekuoh; okfxflnz l s mPpfjr /ofu dks irhd ek= gh cuk nrh gA

dk0; kufko dk iez fu"B vãk&

gsxy ds vuq kj dk0; kufko dk iez kãk Lo; a eu l s l k{kRdr Kflr , oa dYi uk l s lãfBr vUroLrq gA dk0; ds : lk bflnz xkã ugha oju-

vk/; kfred gksr gA Kflr] dkyifud fp= Hkkokox , oa bl h izdkj ds vU;
vk/; kfred : lk os fo'k"V izdkj gAftuea dko; dh iR; d vUroLrq inf'kz
dh tkrh gA vr, o dko; kutko dk izs kak ckA lR; l s fufeZ ugha gksrk
oju-ml l s fufeZ gksrk gS tks Kflr: i gS vFkkz~fdl h , d s ruo l s fufeZ gS
tks Lo; a prukiwkZ thou ea , dkard vflruo ikr djrk gS ; g , d k ruo gS
tks eu l s fparr vFkok dfYir gA dko; kutko ea Lo; a eu viuk ckS; fo"K;
curk gA

dko; dfr ea izdfr dk LFku&

izdfr dk ckA lA kj dko; dfr dh vUroLrq ugha gA l w l punj
rpx ioZ vls vk³ykndkjh ikdfrd a'; dfork dh vUroLrq ugha gA
dko; dh mfr vUroLrqekuotkr ds vk/; kfred fgr gA vr, o izdfr dk
ykd dko; ds {ks= earHkh izsk djrk gS tc bl dks euq; dk okroj.k eku
yrs gS tc bl dk l Ecu/k prukiwkZ thou dh Kflr: irk ds l kFk gksrk gS
vls tc eu bl s miknu: i ea Lohdkj djrk gS vls bl ij Lo; a viuh
'kfr dk iz, ks djrk gA vr, o dko; dk , d eq; drD; ; g gSfd ikBd
vFkok Jkrk dh ekul d n"V ds l keus fpnkrek ds thou dh 'kfa; ka dks
milFkr djs vFkkz~ml inf'kz djs tks eukox vFkok Hkkoosk dh n'kk ea
an; ea rjAxr gksrk gS vFkok 'kkur n'kk ea vUr%dj.k ea Hkkl r gksrk gA
l ki ea ; fn dguk gks rks dgxs fd ekuoh; Kflr dk og {ks= ftl ea l c
dN vUrHkr gS de; ohjrk |krd dk; l Hkx;] ykSdd l eL; k, j vls
vykSdd fn0; 'kfr l Hkh l s izV djuk dko; dk drD; gA

dko; dfr ea, drk&

gsxy ds vuq kj ekuotkr ds fgr gh dko; dh l eqpr fo"K; oLrq
gA vr, o dko; dk y{; fpnkrek dks ml ds l keku; : lk eq okroj.k l s
LorU= rFkk viHkfor : lk ea inf'kz djuk gA ikdfrd lA kj l s ml dk
l Ecu/k ml h gn rd gS tgla rd ml dks euq; dk okroj.k ekuk tkrk gS
vls og , d , d h l kexh ekuk tkrk gS tks fpnkrek dh LorU=rk dks
vFko; a djus ds fy, mRij d gkrh gA dko; ea 0; fa; ka dk; ka Hkkooska , oa
Kflr; ka dks doy muds fy, gh vls muds , dka dh : lk ea inf'kz ugha fd; k
tkrk gS oju- fpnkrek dh LorU=rk vls vijo'krk ds 0; at d : lk ea vls
ml h l s l pkyr : lk ea inf'kz fd; k tkrk gA

dko; dk : i l k&

gsxy ds vuq kj dko; ds nks vak g& vUroLrq , oa : i A prukiwkZ
thou dk Kflr: i ruo ml dh vUroLrq gA Hk'kk ea dko; viuh Kflr : lk
vUrbLrq dks ckA : lk inku djrk gAgxy us dko; ds rhu Li"V Hkn fd; s
g& egkdko;] xfrdko;] ukv; dko;

bl idkj gxy ds ijrUooknh dyk'kkL= ea mi knku I kexh ds nf"Vdks k I s
dyk dk oxhdj.k furkar nk"Kud ,oa 0; kogkfjd gA orZeku I UnAk ea
HkVdkooknh eukofUk; ka ds nf"kr i Hkkoka I s ekuoek= dks cpkus ds fy; s bl
vk/; kRed 'nk'Kud½ fpUru dh vR; f/kd mi kns rk gA dyk; a ekuo ek=
dks fodfr; ka I scprh gq h I gt thou dh vkj vxl j djrh gA

I UnHkZ xBFk I pth% &

- 1- LorU=dyk'kkL= 'Hkkx&2½ & MKE dkfUrplnz i k. Ms] Adk'kd & p@kEck
fo | k Hkou vkfQI] okj.k.kl hA 1978 i"B I a; k & 389&466
- 2- dkel wke-& Jh ; 'k/kjfojpr ^t; e³xYkk*
0; k[; kl fgrej fgluh 0; k[; kdkj% Jh nonUk'kkL«khA
Adk'kd & p@kEck I lNr I hjht vkfQI] okj.k.kl hA 1964 i"B I a; k &
83&84
- 3- ukV; "kkL=& vkpk; Z Hkjreph] fgluh 0; k[; kdkj i ts jok id kn f}onh] ukx
idk'ku] 2005 dkfjdk 9



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vFk0bnh; 'kjhfoklu](https://sites.google.com/site/kanpurhistorian/vFk0bnh; 'kjhfoklu)

MAA 'KAK feJK
, l ksl , V ÁkQd j] l d'r
oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkwst] dkuig

onka ea fo"o dk o.ku , d "kjhj ds : lk ea fd; k x; k gA l á wkz fo"o
, d fojkV~"kjhj gA 0; fá ds "kjhj ea ftl Ádkj vkRek dk LFku Áedk g\$
ml h rjg bl fojkV~"kjhj ea ijekRek e[; gA vFk0bn¹ ds 10@7@32&34
ea bl fojkV~"kjhj dk o.ku g&

; L; Hkfe% Áek·Urfj {kerknje-
fnoa; "pØs evkkZua rLeST; sBk; cã .ks ue%AA
; L; l w Z'p{k% plnek"p i q. k0%
vfxua; "pØs vKl; a rLeST; sBk; cã .ks ue%AA
; L; okr% Ák.kki kukSp{kj f³xj l kkkouA
fn"ks; "pØs ÁKkuhLrL; ST; sBk; cã .ks ue%AA

vFk0bn 10@7@32&34

vFk0bn~Hkfe ftl ds i\$] vUrfj{k iV vk\$ | ksl j g\$ ml egku-cã
dks ueLdkj gA l w Z vk\$ plnz ftl dh vk[ka gA vfxu ftl dk edk g\$ ml
T; sB cã dks ueLdkj gA ok; qftl ds Ák.k vk\$ viku g\$ vaxj l ~ftl dh
vk[ka gS rFkk ftl ds dku gA ml T; sB cã dks ueLdkj gA bl h Ádkj
Xon ds i#'kl wã 10@90 ea Hkh fo"o : ih fojkV~"kjhj dk o.ku gA
ijekRek] thokRek] Ádfr] vfxu blnz vkfn vuod nork bl fo"o "kjhj ea
jgrs gq vius rst l s t xr~dk dY; k.k djrs gA fo"o ds nork Ák.kh ds
"kjhj ea Hkh vofLFkr gA ekuo "kjhj ea ; s nork vaxfo"ksk l s i Fkd&i Fkd-
l Ec) gkdj fuokl djrs gA bl h "kjhj ea cã Hkh gS bl fy, ekuo "kjhj dks

cā Hkh dgk x; k gā mi fu'knka ea vFkk/; kRea "kjhja ds }kjk "kjhj dks v/; kRe
Hkh dgk x; k gā vFkobn ds , dkn"kdK.M ds prfKZ v/; k; ds v'Ve l wā ea
__f'k dks#i fFk prfL=akr-__pkvka ea bl h "kjhj : ih v/; kRe dk fojKV~o.kū
djrs gā bu __pkvka ea l s 1 l s 32 __pk,; vKj pKshl oha __pk dk NUn
vuqVq~ gS doy 33 oha __pk iF; k i fDr NUn ea gā ; g l Ei wKz l wā
vFkobn; "kjhj&foKku dk Afriknd gā bl ea egkÁy; ds mi jkUr ekuo
"kjhj vFkkz~ik`pHkkSrd i kFkō "kjhj dh jpuK rFkk ml ea vKRek dk fuokl
, oal eLr norkvka dk LFku rFkk l Ecu/k of. kR gā

; UeU; qkz; kekogr~l adYiL; xgknf/kA

d vkl a tU; k% ds ojk% d m T; sBojksHkorAA vFkoD 11@4@8@1AA

tc eu; q 1/4mRl kg 1/2 us l adYi ds ?kj l s l adYi "kfä : fi .kh viuh i Ruh

dks Áktr fd; kj ml l e; dksū dU; k i {k 1/4tU; k% ds ykx dksū Fkš oji {k ds
ykx dksū Fks vKj muea l s dksū JsB oj 1/4; sBoj 1/2 ekuk x; k\

ri "pōkLrka deZ pKuregR; .kz oA

r vkl a tU; kLrs ojk% cā T; sBojksHkor~AA vFkoD 11@4@8@2 AA

cMš egkl kxj ds vUnj ri vKj deZ ; s nks i {k Fkš os gh dU; ki {k ds

vKj oji {k ds ykx Fkš vKj ml l e; cā gh l cea JsBoj FkA

n"kk l kdetk; Ur nōk nōh; % i j kA

; ks oS rku~ fo | kr~ ÁR; {ka l ok v | egn~ onr~ AA vFkoD

11@4@8@3 AA

nōka l s nl nō l kFk l kFk cus gš vfxu vkn bl cMš nōkrkva l s
muds NkV/s iē nl nō 1/4 `p KkusUnz k; rFkk i `p deZUnz k 1/2 mRi lu gg A
tks mudks ÁR; {k tkurk gSog fu"p; gh egr~cā dk Kku Áktr dj l drk
gā

Ák. kki kukS p {k% Jks=ef {kfr"p f {kfr; p FkA

0; kuknukS ok³ euLrs ok vkdfirekogu~AA vFkoD 11@4@8@4AA

Ák. kj vi ku] p {k% Jks=] vHkkSrdh "kfä] HkkSrd "kfä] 0; ku] mnku]

ok. kh rFkk eu ; s gh bl l adYi "kfä 1/4 kdfir 1/2 dks /kkj .k djrs gā

vtkrk vkl éroks Fks /kkrk cGLifr%A

blunXuh vf"ouh rfgZ dars T; sBej kl r AA vFkoD 11@4@8@5AA

__rj /kkrk] cGLifr] blun] vfxu rFkk vf"ouh ; s nō ugha cus Fkš rc

osfdl JsB cā dh mi kl uk djrs FkA

ri "pōkLrka deZ pKuregR; .kz oA

riks g tKs deZ kLrr~rs T; sBej kl r AA vFkoD 11@4@8@6 AA

bl fo"kkY l d kj l kxj ea ri vKj deZ nksūka FkA deZ l s ri mRi é

gqk os l c ml JsB cā dh mi kl uk djrs FkA

; s vkl hn-Hkfe% i wkl ; ke) k; r bn-fon
 ; ks oS rkafo | kékeFkk l eU; s ijk.kfor-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@7AA
 tks bl ds i wZ dh Hkfe Fkhj ftl dks cf) eku ykska us tku fy; k Fkkj
 tks ml s vvx&vyx ukeka l s tkrk gš og ijk.kfor-ekuk tkrk gš
 dŕ bln% dŕ% l ke% dŕks vfxuj tk; rA
 dŕLro'Vk l eHkor-dŕks/kkrk tk; r AA vFkoD 11@4@8@8AA
 fdl l s blnŕ l ke vks vfxu mRié gŕk\ fdl l s Ro'Vk mRié gŕk
 vks fdl l s/kkrk cuk gš
 blnknln% l kekr-l keks vXujfXuj tk; rA
 Ro'Vk g tKsRo'Vkkŕ-kkrk tk; r AA vFkoD 11@4@8@9AA
 blnŕ l s blnŕ l ke l s l keŕ vfxu l s vfxu] Ro'Vk l s Ro'Vk rFkk /kkrk
 l s/kkrk ÁdV gŕA vFkkŕ-firk l s gh mudsuke&xqk /keŕ i e mRié gŕA
 ; s vkl u-n" k tkrk nok nŕ; % ijkA
 i eŕ; ks ykdanRok dŕLeŕs ykd vkl rsAA vFkoD 11@4@8@10 AA
 nŕrkvka l s mRié gŕ os nl nŕ vius i e-ka dks LFkku ndj fdl
 ykd ea jgus yxš
 ; nk ds'kkufLFk Luko eka aeTtkueHkj rA
 "kjhja dRok i knor-da ykdeuq Ákfo"kr-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@11 AA
 Tlc ds'kkŕ gfMM; kŕ Luk; vka eka vks eTtk dks bl ng ea Hkj fn; k
 vks "kjhj dks i kŕokŕk cuk fn; k rc Hkj us okŕk fdl ykd ea vudŕrk ds
 l kFk Áfo'V gŕk\
 dŕ% ds'kku-dŕ% Luko dŕks vLFkH; kHkj rA
 v³xa i okŕ.k eTtkua dks eka a dŕ vkjHkr-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@12
 fdl l s ds'kka dks fdl l s Luk; vka dks vks fdl l s gfMM; ka dks bl us
 Hkj fn; k\ fdl us dgk; l s vaxk; tkMŕ eTtk vks ekŕ dks Hkj k \
 l ŕl pks uke rs nok ; s l Hkkj kURl eHkj uA
 l oŕ l ŕl P; eR; ŕ nok% i e'keko"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@13 AA
 os nŕ l hpukys ¼ ŕl p½ gš tks l xgka ¼ Hkkj ku½ dks Hkj nrs gš ej.k
 /keŕ okys l c ¼ Ei wklz "kjhj dks l hpdj ; s nŕ i e" k ea Áfo'V gŕs gš
 Å# i knko'Bholrks f" kjs gLrkoFkks eq keA
 i "Bhcŕŕ ŕs i k" oŕ dLrr-l en/kknf'k% AA vFkoD 11@4@8@14 AA
 dks l k __f'k gS ftl us tk?kka vks ?kŕ/uka l s ; eŕ i koka dks fl j] gkFk
 vks eq k dks i hB gj fy; ka vks i l fy; ka dks l c vks l s tkMŕA
 f" kjs gLrok?kks eq ka ft°oka xhok"p dhdl kŕA
 Ropk ÁkoR; l oŕ rr~l U/kk l en/kkUegh AA vFkoD 11@4@8@15 AA

fl j] nksuka gkFk] eq[k] tHk] xnZu vks] gfmMM; ka ½dhdI k% dks Ropk I s
 <pdj cMk tkmEus okyh "kfDr ¼ U/kk½ us tkm+fn; kA
 ; UkpNjhje" k; r-l dk; k l fgreaeRA
 ; sune | jkprs dks vfLelo.kkHkj r-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@16 AA
 tks ; g cMk "kj hj l dk ued tkmEus dh "kfä ds }kjk tkmE x; kj
 ftl I s; g vkt Ádkf"kr gkrk gš bl eafdl us jak ¼o.k% dks Hkj fn; k
 l oš nok mi kf" k{ku-rntkukn-o/k% l rhA
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 l Hkh noka us f" k{kk nh] ml s l rh o/kw us ¼c% ½ tku fy; kA l cdk o" k
 ea j [kus okys dh bz'kk&"kfä uke dh tks i Ruh gš ml us bl ea jaks dks Hkj
 fn; kA ; nk Ro'Vk 0; r.kr-firk Ro'Vq Z mUkj %A
 xga dRok eR; ā nok% i #'kekfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@18 AA
 Ro'Vk dk fir k tks mPprj JsB Ro'Vk gš ml us tc bl "kj hj eafNnz
 fd; src ej.k" khy ?kj cukdj norkvka us i #'k ea Áos'k fd; kA
 Loluks oS rUnhfuz Ir% i klekks uke nork%A
 tjk [kkyR; a i kfyR; a "kj hjeuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@19 AA
 funk] vkyL;] i ki Hkkouk ; s i ki h eu ds nork gš rFkk o) koLFkk]
 xatki u vks] ckyka dk i duk ; s l c "kj hj ds vlnj Áfo'V gq A
 Lrš anqdra of tua l R; a ; Kks ; "kks cgrA
 cya p {k=ekst"p "kj hjeuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@20 AA
 pš h] nš kpkj] dš Vyrk] l R;] ; K] cMk ; "k] cy] {kk=&rst ¼cy dk
 j {kd {kf=; Ro½ vks] l keF; Z ; s l c "kj hj ds vlnj Áfo'V gq A
 Hkfr"p ok vHkfr"p jkr; ks jkr; "p ; k%A
 {kqk"p l okZr'.kk"p "kj hjeuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@21 AA
 ,s'o; Z vks] nkfjnD] nku vks] dat h] Hko[k vks] l c Ádkj dh r'.kk "kj hj ea
 Áfo'V gqA
 fulnk"p ok vfulnk"p ; Pp glrfr usr pA
 "kj hja J) k nf{k.kk J) k pkuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@22 AA
 fulnk vks] Lrfr] gkeh Hkj uk vks] udkjuk] J) k] n{krk vks] vJ) k ; s
 l c "kj hj ea Áfo'V gq A
 fo | k'p ok vfo | k"p ; PpkU; nš nš ; eA
 "kj hja cā Ákfo"kn p% l kekFks ; t% AA vFkoD 11@4@8@23 AA
 fo | k, j vfo | k, j tks vU; mi nš k djus ; kx; gš os l c vks] __x}
 ; t% l ke rFkk cā on "kj hj ea Áfo'V gq A
 vkuUnk ekn% Áemks Hkheksem"p ; A
 gl ks ufj 'Vk uUkkfu "kj hjeuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@24 AA

vkulln] ekn] Áekn] g'kz nsus okys cMš mRl o&de] gkL;] psVk,; vks
 uR; "kjhj ea Áfo'V gks x; A
 vkyki k"p Áyki k"p kHkyki yi "p ; A
 "kjhja l oš Ákfo"ku; q% Á; q% ks ; q% AA vFkoD 11@4@8@25 AA
 vkyki] Áyki vks okrkzyki rFkk vk; kst u 1mfpr 0; ogkj ½ Á; kx vks
 ; kx ; s l c "kjhj ea Áfo'V gq A
 Ák. kki kukSp{k% Jks=ef{kfr"p f{kfr"p ; kA
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 Ák. k] viku] p{k% Jks=] vHkšrdh "křä] Hkšrdh "křä 0; ku] mnku]
 ok. kh vks eu ; s "kjhj ds l kFk pyrsgA
 vkf"kk"p Áf"kk"p l f"kk'sof"kk"p ; k%
 fpÜkfu l oš l dYi k% "kjhjeuq Ákfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@27 AA
 vk"khokh]?kksk. kkl l fefr; křfo"kskkuqkl l u]fpÜk vks l Hkh l dYi "kjhj ea
 Áfo'V gq A
 vLrš h"p okLrš h"p Roj. k% di. k"p ; k%
 x% k% "k% LFky viLrk% cHkRI kol kn; u-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@28
 cBuk] jguk] "kh?krk] di. krk] x% x% "kjhj ds x% LFku ea jgus
 okys oh;] "k% LFky] ty: lk rFkk cHkRI Hkko ; s l c "kjhj ds l kFk jgrsgA
 vLFk dRok l fe/ka rn'Vki ks vl kn; uA
 js% dRokT; an% i# "kekfo"ku-AA vFkoD 11@4@8@29 AA
 ml gMMh dh l fe/kk cukdj vkB Ádkj ds tyka us l Ei wL "kjhj dh
 jpuk dhA js dk ?kr cukdj l Hkh n% i# k ea Áošk dj x; A
 ; k vki ks ; k"p n% ; k fojkm-cā. k l gA
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 Tkš 0; ki d bflnz ka dh "křä : ih ty Fkk og] n% rFkk cā ds
 l kFk jgus okyk fojKV- ; s l Hkh cā "kjhj ea Áfo'V gq A "kjhj ea ogh cā
 Átki fr uked vf/k' Bkrk gA
 l w Z'p{k% Ák. ka i# kL; fo HkštjA
 vFkkL; rjekRekuan% Ák; PNéXu; s AA vFkoD 11@4@8@31 AA
 i# k dh vk[k l w Z vks Ák. kok; q fo"ksk jhfr l s cuk; s x; s gš vks
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 l okz áfLelln% xkoks xksB bokl rs AA vFkoD 11@4@8@32 AA
 bl hfy, Kkuh fo}ku-i# k dks cā: lk ekurs gš D; křd tš s xkska
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 ÁFkesu Áekjšk =škk fo'o³-fo xPNfrA

vn ,du xPNR; n ,du xPNrhgdsu fu'kors AA vFkoD
11@4@8@33 AA

ÁFke eR; q l s rhu Ádkj l s l o= tkrk gA ogk ¼ q; ykd e½ , d l s
tkrk gS ogk ¼ ki ykd e½ , d l s tkrk gS vkj ; gk ¼ eR; ykd e½ , d l s
l ou djrk gA

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rflEhNoks/; Urjk rLePNoks/; P; rsAA vFkoD 11@4@8@34 AA

xhyk djus okys Lrhekl q tyka dh of) gkus ij ml ea vUnj "kjhj
j [kk x; k gA ml ¼ ty½ ds chp ea ; g "ko: ih "kjhj jgrk gS bl fy; s bl s
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fdl LFku ij okl djrs gS bl dk mYys[k vkxsfd; k x; k gA bl vák: lk
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nòka us pfi .Mngp ea vkdj d'sk] gMMh] Luk; q eka] eTtk] jä j l oh; Zvkfn
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Hkjh gA tc ; s l c nØ bl ea l fEefyr gq] bl dk jgL; tkuus okyh(vKj
bu vo; oka ij fu; U=j.k djus okyh] vKRenØ dh Hkk; kL l rh nØh gA tks
bl ea dkfUr] "kkk(vKj jej.kh; rk dk l pkj djrh gA blgha oj&o/kw ds
fookg rFk "kjhjpkuk dk bl l wä ds vKjEHk eamYys[k gA bl dsf"kyi; ka ea
Aef[k pRo'Vk nØrk gA blgha dks ije&firki nØkf/kno(l o'kfäeku dgk x; k
gA bu cM± Ro'Vk dh "kfä ds cy ls iFkd&iFkd ; s nØ "kjhj ds
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Hkko Hkh Afo'V gq Abl ; K dsfy; s jr : ih ? kh dh vkgfr L=h ds xHkz'k; ea
nh tkrh gA bl h jr ea AR; d mi; dr nØrk dk vāk v.kq lk ls AR; d
bUnz dk vāk Hk xHkz'k; ea tkrk gA ml l Uokāk ds l kFk fir k ds jr ea
nØrkāk "kjhjāk gkus ds dkj.k gh fir k ds v³xAR³x l Hk vo; oka ds rY;
i# ds vāk gksr gA bl h dkj.k ijEijkxr nsk] vkf/kO; kf/k; k; vKj
iki&iq; l Hk i# ea vkuk LokHkfoD gA l Hk nØrk(vKj tks ikuh gA tks
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Afo'V gksr gA xHkz'k; ea Aokgh inkFlz : lk ea ty jgrk gA ml h ea jr ds
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nØ jgus ea vl eFlz gks tkrk gA bu l c nØrk: ih xkS dk Xokyk vkrk gA tks
cā dk vāk gA cā ds gh bln(o#.k(l w] ok; ij vfxu vkfn nØ Hk vāk gA
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thore&nork&k eu(vkj[k(Āk.k(ok.kh vkfn nō vāk gā xHkZ'k; ea x; k oh; Zfcngjt ea fLFkj gks ogh cncnkoLFkk ea ty ea er "ko dh Hkkfr rjrk gvk c<rk gā bl vki &iki ds ty I sgh bl dh j{kk gsrh gā bl ty ea "ko ds rŷ; jgus I sgh bl s'pds'kop dgk gā bl mi; ūr fof/k I s nōka }kjk bl "kjhj dh jpukk vksj tkMuk Āfo'V gks okl rFkk of) vkfn djuk , d vnHkq] vk"p; Itud ckr g& bl h I s ; g nō eflnj Hkh g\$; gh _f'k vkJe gā ; g rikākie deākie&Kku&; K rFkk ek\$ k dk I k/ku gā v/; kRe] vf/Hkq vksj vf/knōr {ks= ea nōrkvka ds LFkku dks nōr I ŷgrk ea I kroydj th usfp=iV }kjk fuEu fuf[kr : lk I sfn[kyk; k g&

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i \$ka ea	i fFkohdk vāk	eq'k ea vfxu dk vāk

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bl Ádkj 0; fä ea xqk : lk l } l ekt vkj jk'V^a ea xqkh : lk l s yd j fo"o ea nørk ds : lk ; s nø jgrs gA bl l iä dks vkpk; Z l k; .k us vi us Hkk'; ea 0; k[; kf; r fd; k gA vkpk; Z Jhje "kekZ th rFkk egkf'kZ n; KUKUn l jLorh th us Hkh bu l iäka dh 0; k[; k ÁLrø dh gA i äMr Jhi kn nkekñj l kroyd j th us l u- 1958 ea vFkobn dk l çksk Hk'; , oa 1964 ea nør l i grk dh Hkiedk eñ fofy; u fM gfoVuh us l u- 1962 eñ vkpk; Z ds'konø "kkL=h us vFkobnh; dezt 0; kf/k fujksk% xbfk ea l u- 1974 eñ Hkøuok.kh Ádk"ku }kj izdf"kr vFkobn ea if.Mr tVk" k³ej nhf{kr "kkL=h" us l u- 2012 eñ ek: frÁdk"ku us ^vFkobn l kj* yxHkx l u- 2012 ea bl l iä dk foopu fd; k gAmi ; iä l iä dh foLrø 0; k[; k djus l s ge ekuo "kjhj ds fuekZk l Ecu/kh foKku ds l uekfr l ue rRoka dks l e> l drs gA

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1& vFkobn ¼ }rh; [k.M½& l Eiknd onefrZ riksu'B ia Jhje "kekZ vkpk;] Ádk"kd& l l dfrd l l Fkk] cjsyh l çksk/kr l l dj.k2002] i'B& 617 l s 623
 2& vFkobn & l çksk Hkk'; ¼prfjz Hkx½ Hkk'; drkZ , oa l Eiknd& ia Jhi kn nkekñj l kroyd j] Ádk"ku& Lok/; k; e.Myh] i jMh] l l dj.k& rrrh;]& 1958] i'B& 101 l s 108

3& nør l i grk & l i kn d& ia Jhi kn nkekñj l kroyd j] Ádk"ku Lok/; k; e.Myh] i jMh] l l dj.k& ÁFke] o'k& 1964] i'B& 17 l s 18 HkiedkA

4& Atharva-Veda samhit- vol-ii Transalted with a critical and exegetical commentary by William Dwigghi Whitney- Publisher Motilal Banasridass- 1962.

5& vFkobnh; dezt 0; kf/k fujksk& yçkd , oa l Eiknd& ia ds'konø "kkL=h] Ádk"kd& Hkjr rh; prfjz onHkou l; kl] Lon'skh gkml] dku i j] l l dj.k& ÁFke o'k& l u-1974] i'B& 35 l s 62

6& vFkobn ¼[k.M rhu½& eq[; vk/kj& vkpk; Z l k; .k] Hkk'; dkj& fo | kHkLdj ia tVk" k³ej nhf{kr "kkL=h] Ádk"kd& Hkøu ok.kh VLV] y[kuÅ] l l dj.k& ÁFke] o'k& l u-2012] i'B& 130 l s 146

7& vFkobn l kj& ÁLrø& ia v"kkd døkj "kkL=h] Ádk"kd& ek: fr Ádk"ku] eñB] l l dj.k& ÁFke] i'B& 201 l s 202



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Lokeh fooskultn dh jk'Vbknh vo/kj .kk

MMW eerK xæokj

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gÅ os HkkSksksyd , drk dh pruk ds irhd gÅ jk'Vh; rk dk ; g vk/kkj
jktufrd vk/kkj dh vi\$kk dgha vf/kd xgjk vks LFkk; h gÅ jk'Vh; rk dk
; g vk/kkj fo"o ea fdl h Hkh ns'k ds ikl ugha gÅ¹ ; jk'Vh; ea vks] kfxd vks
0; ki kfjd Økflur ds ifj .kkelo: i int'hokn dk tile gvk vks int'hokn jk'V^a
nks xk/ks ea ca/ x; Å igyk og ftu jk'Vka dks fons'kka ea cktkj fey tkrk Fkk
vks n'w js d'Br int'hokn dh >ā feVkus ds fy, teU tkr dks fgVyj dk
l ædh. lz jk'Vbkn cgr il an vk; k bl h izdkj bVyh ea Qkfl Teokn ed ksyuh
dk jk'Vbkn Fkka mluhl oha "krkCnh ds Hkkjr ea Lokeh fooskultn] ykdeku;
fryd] xki kyd' .k xks[ky} fofiuplnz iky egkRek xkllk vks iØ usg: us
ftl jk'Vbkn ds l w= ea Hkkjr dks fijksuk pkgk og euq; rk ds xys ea iMh
gbl l cl s dherh ekyk gÅ Hkkjr dk jk'Vbkn /khj & /khjs mHkjka t\$ & t\$ s
Hkkjr dh noh gbl vkrRek mHkjha bl h rjg fodfl r gvk t\$ s , d cPps dk
efLr'd fodfl r gkrk gÅ² Hkkjr h; jk'Vbkn ekuoh; fl) kurka dh vk/ ea
iyka vlrjkzVh; rk bl ds Åij ges'kk l k; k fd; s jghA fooskultn dk Hkkjr
l urir ekuork dh vk/ kka dk l iuk Fkka jottunukFk VSksj vks iØ usg: nksuka
jk'Vbkn dks l ædh. lz djus ds fo:) Fkka iØ usg: dk dguk Fkk ^VSksj us
gekjs jk'Vbkn dks vlrjkzVh; nf'V nh gÅ** VSksj dk dguk Fkkj ^usg: dk

jk'V^a HkkSckfyd l hekvka ea c) ugha g^a** egkRek xkdkh dk Hkkjr d^oy
l ketT; oknh vaxst "kkl u dk fojks'kh ugha FkKA ; g og Hkkjr Fkk tks ekuork
dsfy, Lo; a viuk cfynku dj l drk FkKA³

mlUhl oh "krkCnh ea gq Hkkjr ds iqtik&.k ds igjkskvka ea Lokeh
n; kulln l jLorh igys , d s usk FkS ftUgkaus l EiwlZ Hkkjr dks , drk vks
Lojkt; dk ea= fn; kA jktusrd Lorærk mudk i Fke y{; Fkk mlgkaus dgk
Hkh Fkk & ^Hkkjr Hkkjrh; ka ds fy, g^a** vr% fons'kh l Rrk dk fojks'k fd; k Fkk
os Lo; a xqjkrh Fks ijUrqgj rjg dh iUr; rk l s Åij mB ppls FkA mlgkaus
n'sk dks , d Hkk'kk nh& fgUnh , d tkfr ekuk&vk; A⁴ Lokeh foosdkulln us
rRdkyhu ifjLFkfr; ka ea Hkh jk'Vbknh fel kbpy dh ckr djrs gq s dgk Fkk &
^; g n'sk fxj vo"; x; k gS ijUrqfu"p; fQj mBxk** vks , d k mBxk fd
nfiu; k n'skdj nax jg tk; xhA** Hkkjrh; jk'Vbkn dks vUrjZVh; eku; rk vks
l Eeku fnykus dk vf}rh; vks vHkriwZ dk; l Lokeh foosdkulln us fd; kA
mudk jk'Vbkn d^oy vius n'skokfl ; ka dks muds xks oe; h vrhr dks ; kn
fnykus rd l hfer ugha FkKA f"kdaks ds /keZ l Eesyua ea 1893 eaz tkdj ijs
fo"o dks paks'kh nh rFkk ; jks (vesjdk ds eLr'd dks cks) d vk?kr
fn; kA mlgha dh Hkfe ij muls euok; k Fkk Hkkjr ijk/khu gkrs gq s Hkh
vk/; kRed : i l sfo"o dk l okZ/kd fodfl r jk'V^a g^a foosdkulln ds mnkuk
pfj= vks vkstfLork dk vl j Fkk fd igyh ckj icq) vesjdk vks ; jks ds
ân; ea ; g fopkj vk; k fd brus egku n'sk dks xgyke cuk; s j [kuk vU; k;
g^a gsujh] feyj tS s fontqh l kfgR; dkj] tks gj vkn"lZ ea Nq's ik[k.M vks
<ka dk inkQk" k djus ea yxs FkS pi pki Lokeh foosdkulln ds pj. kka ea cB
x; s tS sfl g egkohj ds l e{k cB x; s FkA vk/kfud fo"o ds l kadfrd uD"ks
ij Hkkjr dks iez[k LFkku fnykdj Lokeh foosdkulln nfyR Hkkjr dh iqtik
dks , d eeus dh vkokt l s , d fl g dh ngkM+ ea cny fn; k ftl ij
nij&nij cl sfo"o ds ykoka dk /; ku tkus yxkA cM&cM+ cfj) thoh tS sjkekj
jksykp Hkkjr dh vks vkdf'kr gkaus yxS ftl dk vFkZ Fkk muls tMk gqvk
i kBoka dk , d cMk oxZ Hkkjr dh vks vkdf'kr gkaus yxkA⁵ Hkkjrh; jk'Vbkn
dks vUrjZVh; vkdkj nus ea Hkkjr ds rhu l kadfrd jktnrka dk
vfoLej.kh; ; kxnu g^a Hkkjrekrk ds ; s rhu jktnr Fk& Lokeh foosdkulln
vkulln d^oekj Lokeh vks johUnz ukFk VSckjA foosdkulln us ftl egku
vk/; kRed Hkkjr dk ifjp; if"pe dks fn; k ml ds vkd'kZ k l sfoay gkdj
ml s Nus dh] ml s cfj) l s idM^{us} dh] ml ds l kOn; l dk l k{kkRdkj djus dh
mRdV ykyl k fo"o ds cfj) thfo; ka ea txhA bl dh i firZ vkulln d^oekj Lokeh
vks johUnz ukFk VSckj us dhA Hkkjrekrk dk tks l ve vks HkO; vk/; kRed
fp= foosdkulln us cu; kA ml s cfj) xE; vkdkj vks jax fn; s vkulln d^oekj

Loket us vksj bl fp= dks l tñje dk thou LiUnu fn; k johUnukFk VSckj uA⁶

Loket th Hkkjr jk'Va ds fuekZk ds vdkdñk jgs gA & ge ykxka us , d u; s Hkkjr dk Jhx.ks'k fd; k g& , d fodkl & bl ckr dh irh{kk ea fd vksD; k ?kfVr gksrk gA be l Hkh u; sfopkjka ea vLFlk j [krs g] tc jk'Va mudh ekax djrk gS vksj tks gekjs fy; s l R; gA gekjs fy; s og l R; gS tks Hkkjrh; cf) , oa vutñkñ }kjk ef. Mr gA** %o0 l kB 7@383½ Loket foosdkulln jk'Va ea gj idkj ds LoLFk fØ; kdyki ka ds ij .kkl kr jgS muds fy; s Hkkjr jk'Vbkn dk ij d Fkka mlgkaus Hkkjr dh uol Urfr ea vi us vrhr ds ifr xof Hkfo'; ds ifr fo"okl vksj Lo; a ea vkRefo"okl rFkk vkRel Eeku dh Hkkouk Qmdu dks iz Ru fd; kA ; | fi Loket foosdkulln us dkbZ jktuhfrd fopkj ; k l Un'sk ugha fn; k] rFkfi gj 0; fDr tks muds l Eidl ea vk; k ; k ftl us Hkh muds yskka dks i < k] og ns'kHkFDr dh Hkkouk l s vks i kr gks x; k vksj Lor% gh ml ea jktuhfrd pruk iñk gks xBA de l s de tgnW rd cakry dk iz'u gS Loket foosdkulln dks ; gka ds vk/kfud jk'Vbknh vkUnksyu dk tud ekuk tk l drk gA ; | fi mudk ngkol ku cgr tYnhj 1902 bD eagh gks x; k] yfdu mudk i Hkko budh eR; q ds ckn vksj vf/kd c < x; kA⁷

Loket foosdkulln Hkkjrh; jk'Vbkn ds tud FkS fQj Hkh mudk jk'Vbkn jktuhfrd jk'Vbkn ugha Fkka mudk iz kl l q'kf{kr mPp tkfr; ka ea gh ugha cfYd nfyR tkfr; ka ea Hkh jk'Vh; pruk] jk'Vh; igpku] Hkkjrh; ka ea l kldfrd , dRo dk fuekZk djuk Fkka chl oh "krkCn ea foosdkulln ds vfrfjDr fdl h Hkh vkpk; Z us , d k iz kl ugha fd; k Fkka ; | fi egkRek xkñk] usg: rFkk ckl us , d l q<+uhd ij jk'Vbkn [kMñ fd; k Fkka] ijUrq og cgr i pkfjr jk'Vbkn i wkZ; k jktuhfrd Fkka⁸ foosdkulln us jk'Va dks ifjHkfr'kr djrs gq s dgk Fkka & "i R; d jk'Va ea iq 'k ; k L=h fdl h , d vkn"lz dks 0; Dr djrk gS ftl dh iñrZ Kkr ; k vKkr Hkko l s gks h jgrh gA 0; fDr fo"ksk vfHkñr vkn"lz dk cge: i ek= gS , d s 0; fDr; ka ds l egh dks jk'Va dgrs gS vksj , d k jk'Va Hkh fdl h egku vkn"lz dk irhd gksrk gS ftl dh vksj og c < rk jgrk gA-----fdl h jk'Va dks l e>us ds fy; s ml ds vkn"lz dks l e>uk vko"; d gS dkbZ jk'Va viuk vkn"lz NkMdej fdl h nñ js vkn"lz l s tkpk tkuk Lohdkj ugha djrkA⁹ fo"o bfrgkl ea fdrus gh jk'Va dk mRFkku gqvk vksj /kj'kk; h gks x; A Hkkjr dh ifo= ijEijk; a vkt Hkh fo|eku gS vksj Hkkjr vkt Hkh thfor gA Loket foosdkulln us dgk & fdrus gh oñko"kkryh jk'Va mBs vksj fxjA fot; kvykl vksj Hkkoko'ski wkZ i Hkko dh dñ dky rd dyñ'kr jk'Vh; thou fcrkdj] l kxj dh rjaka dh rjg mBdj fQj feV x; A ijUrqge ykx vkt Hkh thfor gA "krkCn; ka ds vutñko vksj ; qka dh

vfhkKrk ds QyLo: i ogh l ukru l k vkpkj&fopkj ; gka vkt Hkh ekStm
gA¹⁰

foosdkulln us dgk -gekjk vkn"lz gS ijekRekA , dek= ogh vfouk"kh
gS & vl; fdl h dk vLrRo ugha gS vks mu ijekRek dh Hkkar ge Hkh l nk
thfor jgkA¹¹ mlgkaus dgk & ftl jk'Va dk vrhr xkso rFkk xfjekiwkZ
jgrk gS rFkk tks jk'Va vius vrhr ds oBko dks Lej.k djrk gS ml jk'Va dk
v/k% iru ugha gsrkA -ftl jk'Va dk viuk dkbZ bfrgkl ugha gS og bl
l d kj ea vR; Ur ghu vks uXu gA bl h rjg jk'Va dk xksoe; vrhr jk'Va
dks fu; U=.k ea j [krk gS vks ml dk v/k% ru ugha gksus nrkA¹² foosdkulln us
dgk & vxj ge ykx jk'Vh; xkso ds mPpf"k [kj ij vkjkg.k djuk pgrs
gS rks gea bl fons'kh Hkko dks nij Qad nsuk gksk] l kFk gh ; fn ge Aj
c<uk pgrs gS rks gea ; g Hkh ; kn j [kuk gksk fd gea i k"pkr; ns'ka l s cgr
dN l h [kuk ckdh gA¹³ Lokeh foosdkulln us dgk 0; fDr dh Hkkar iR; sd
jk'Va dk , d fo"sk thouknas; gA Hkkjr ea /kfeZd thou gh jk'Vh; thou
dk dUnz gS vks ogh jk'Vh; thou : ih l xhr dk izkku Loj gA ; fn dkbZ
jk'Va viuh LokHkkfod thou "kfDr dks nij Qad nsus dh psVk djs rks og
jk'Va er gks tkrk gA¹⁴ Lokeh foosdkulln us jk'Va ds LFkk; Ro dk dkj.k
bUnz Hkksks l s vki fDr u j [kus okyh ofUk crk; k gA "l d kj ds jk'Vs ds
l Eef [k l nb nks cMh l eL; k, a jgh gA bua l s Hkkjr us l nb , d dk xg.k
fd; k gS rFkk vl; l eLr jk'Va us ni js dk i {kA og l eL; k ; g gSfd Hkfo';
ea dks fVd l ds kA bl dk dkj.k gSfd , d jk'Va thfor jgrk gS rFkk ni jk
u'v gks tkrk gS tks jk'Va bUnz ka dh vki fDr dk R; kx dj nrk gS og fVd
l drk gA -Hkkjr dk egku jk'Va ftl dks vuokud , d s nHkx; k] [krjka rFkk
mFky&iFky dh dfBure l eL; kvka l s my>uk i Mfk gS ts k fd l d kj ds
fdl h vl; jk'Va dks djuk ugha iMk] vkt Hkh dk; e gS fVdk gvk gS vks
bl dk dkj.k gS fl QZ oS kX; rFkk R; kxA¹⁴ foosdkulln us mnas; i wkZ jk'Va ds
thou ds fy; sykd "kfDr dks l xBr djus dk vxg fd; k Fkka mlgkaus dgk-
igys jk'Va dks f"kr djks viuh futh fo/kk; d l LFkk; i cukvk] fQj rks
dkuu vki gh vk tk; xA ftl "kfDr ds cy l s ftl ds vuoknu l s dkuu
dk xBu gksk] igys ml dh l fV djka vkt jktk ugha jgS fQj ml h "kfDr
l s ftl u; sny dh l Eef l su; h 0; oLFkk xBr gksk] og ykd "kfDr dgk;
gS igys ml h ykd "kfDr dks l xBr djka¹⁵ Lokeh th us Hkkjr ea , d
0; k [; ku ea dgk Fk fd vxj jk'Va dks thfor jguk gS rks /keZ dks jk'Vh;
thou dk es n.M cuk; s j [kus dh vko"; drk gA¹⁶ Hkkjr jk'Va dHkh u'v
ugh gks l drk gA ; g vej gS vks ml l e; rd fVdk jgsk] tc rd
bl dk /keZ Hkko v [k.k cuk jgsk tc rd bl jk'Va ds ykx vius /keZ dks

R; kx ugha nœkA pka os fhk[kkj h jga vFkok fu/kz] pks nfjnrk l s i hfMf gks vFkok ešys vks f?kuk&is gk i jUrq os vi us bz'oj dk Hkh ifjR; kx u dja vks u ; g Hkya fd os __f'k l Urku gA¹⁷ Hkkjr jk'V^a ds thou dk dlnz fclnq D; k gS i kphu Hkkjr ea cks) drk , oa vk/; kfRedrk gh jk'Vh; thou dh dln&fclnq Fkh] jktuhfrd xrfof/k; k; ugha vkt dh Hkkfr vrhr ea Hkh cks) drk rFkk vk/; kfRedrk dh rnyuk ea l ekftd vks jktuhfrd "kfDr; k; xksk jghA __f'k; ka , oa vk/; kfRed mins'kdka ds vkJeka ds bn&fxnz jk'Vh; thou dk iLQV u gvkA v/; kRe ds l nHkZ ea iFoh dk dkbz jk'V^a Hkkjr dk ekxh" kZ ugha dj l drkA¹⁸ iFoh dh l eLr l Eink vks l kjh "kfDr feydj Hkh rñgkj j {kk ugha dj l drhA vks jk'V^a D; k gS 0; f'V dh l ef'V ds fl ok dñ ugha bl lfy, iR; d jk'V^a dk , d viuk thou or gs & tks foHkU tkr l eog dh l p[kyk vofLFkr ds fy, fo"ksk vko"; d gS vks tc rd og jk'V^a ml vkn" kZ dks idMs jgsk] rc rd fd l h rjg Hkh ml dk fouk" k ugha gks l drkA fdUrq; fn og jk'V^a mDr mä thou or dk ifjR; kx dj] fd l h nñ js y{; dh vks nks rks ml dk thou fu"p; gh l ekr gvk l e>uk pkfg, vks Fks&fnuka ea vlrfgr gks tk; skA¹⁹

Lokhe th Hkkjr jk'V^a ds uofuekZk ds vkdkkjh jgs gA Lokhe foodkulln ds vuq kj ^ge ykxka us , d u; s Hkkjr dk Jhx.ks'k fd; k gS , d fodkl bl ckr dh irh{kk ea fd vkxs D; k ?kfVr gsrk gA ge l Hkh u; s fopkjka ea vLFkk j [krs g] tc jk'V^a mudh ekax djrk gS vks tks gekjs fy, l R; gA gekjs fy, og l R; gS tks Hkkjr h; cñ) , oa vuHkr }kjk ef. Mr gA²⁰ , d jk'V^a dh jpuk tkr] /ke] Hkk'kk rFkk "kkl u izkkyh vkfn l s gsrh gA Hkkjr & jk'V^a dh l jpuk vi {kkr tVv gA ; gka foHkU tkr; k; vks Hkk'kk, a gA fQj Hkh , d jk'V^a gA foodkulln us bl dk dkj. k] Hkkjr dh ifo= ijEijk rFkk /ke] ds l keltL; vks l ello; l s l e>k gA²¹ Lokhe foodkulln us Hkkjr jk'V^a l s viuk Lug idV dj bl s l R;] "kkUr rFkk "kq] jk'V^a ds : i ea l e>k gA ml gkaus dgk gS fd & ^gs nskokfl ; ka ea l d kj ds vl; kU; jk'V^a ds l kFk vi us jk'V^a dh ftruh gh vf/kd rnyuk djrk gñ mruk gh vf/kd rñ ykxka ds ifr ejk l; kj c<rk tkrk gA rñ ykx "kq] "kkUr vks l R; Hko gkS vks rñgha ykx l nk vr; kpkjka l s i hfMf jgrs vk; s gka-tks gkS rñ budh ijokg er djks-A²² ohjrk vks ns'kHkDr l s ifji wkZ Lokhe foodkulln us tc vefjdk ds fo"o /ke] l Eesy u 1/1893½ ea l Qyrk vftz dh rks Hkkjrokfl ; ka dk vkRefo"okl ykS vk; k os nsk dks Åij mBkuk pkgrs Fks vkxs c<kuk pkgrs Fks ml gkaus dgk & gS Hkkjr h; ykxka rñ vi us dks l kgl h vks fuMj cukvks Hkkjr ds nœ&nfo; ka ejs fy; s bz'oj gA gs Hkkjr h; ohj dgks fd Hkkjr dh Hkhe ejs fy; s LoxZ l s dgha vPnH gA ejs nsk dk tc rd , d dBrk Hkh

Hkk'kk g\$ rc rd ml dks Hkkstu f[kykuk gh ejk /keZ g\$²³ Lokeh th us n'sk ds ifr dUKD; cksk djok; kA

foosdkuln us Hkkjrh; jk'V^a dks egku] fdUrq vks fuof"kd ekufi drk l s xLr dgk g\$ l kekT; oknh nkl rk ea tdMk , d l Eilu jk'V^a g\$ Hkkjr [k.Mgjjka ea <j gPZ iMk , d fo"ky bekjr ds ln"k g\$ igys n'skus ij vk"kk dh dkbZ fdj.k ugha feyrhA ;g , d foxr vks HkXukof"K'V jk'V^a g\$ l kjk'k ; g fd ; fn fd l h /kuh 0; fDr dh pjs h gks tk;] rks ml dh thouh "kDr dk vr ugha gks tkrk] ml s eR; q ugha dgk tk l drkA euq; rks thrk gh jgs kA vkt Hkkjr jktufird "kDr ugha vkt ; g nkl rk ea cakh gPZ , d tkr g\$ vius gh iz'kkl u ea Hkkjrh; ka dh dkbZ vkot ugha mudk dkbZ LFku ugha os g\$ d'oy rhl djkm+xvke vks d'N ugha²⁴ foosdkuln us Hkkjr jk'V^a l s viuk ; g Lus idV dj bl s l R;] "kkUr rFkk "kq jk'V^a ds : i ea l e>k g\$ foosdkuln us dgk g\$ fd ^gs Lons'kokfl ; ka ea l a kj ds vU; kU; jk'V^a ds l kFk vius jk'V^a dh ftruh gh vf/kd r'nyuk djrk gji mruk gh vf/kd r'nyuk ds ifr ejk l; kj c<rk tkrk g\$ r'nyuk "kq] "kkUr vks l R; Hkko gks vks r'nyuk yks l nk vR; kpkjka l s i hMf jgrs vk; s gka -tk gks r'nyuk budh ijokg er djka²⁵ ml oDr0; l s Li'V gsrk g\$ fd Lokeh th us n'skokfl ; ka ea mRl kg l p'kj djus dk Hkjl d iz'kl fd; k g\$ Hkkjr jk'V^a l s iMka o'kka l s fons'kh vkOked "kDr; ka ds vR; kpkj & vukpkj l gdj Hkh , d thfor tkr jk'V^a or'eku ea Hkh g\$ ml dh xrfof/k; k; /keZ v/; kRed rFkk vkfLdrk ds l mHkZ ea vkt Hkh xfr"ky g\$ l s iMka o'kka ds vR; kpkj vks yxHkx gtkjka o'kka ds o's"kd "kkl u vks vR; kpkjka ds ckot m Hkh ; g jk'V^a thfor g\$ bl jk'V^a ds bl l e; Hkh thfor jgus dk eq; iz'kstu ; g g\$ fd] bl us vc Hkh b'Zoj vks /keZ rFkk v/; kRe : i jRudksk dk ifjR; kx ugha fd; k g\$²⁶

foosdkuln us Hkkjr jk'V^a ea l xBu "kDr dk vHkko dgk Fkk & "Hkkjr eaftl , d pht dk geea vHkko g\$ og g\$ ey rFkk l xBu "kDr vks ml s i ktr djus dk iz'kku mik; g\$ & vkKki kyua* fo"o dh i'BHkfe ij Lokeh th us dgk Fkk fd & ^; fn r'nyuk l a kj ds bfrgkl ij nf'V Mkyk r'nyuk n'skks fd l o'z Nks & Nks l x'fBr jk'V^a cM&cM+ vl x'fBr jk'V^a ij "kkl u dj jgs g\$, d k gksuk LokHkkfod g\$ D; k'ed Nks l x'fBr jk'V^a vius Hkkoka dks vkl kuh ds l kFk d'bhHk'ur dj l drs g\$ n'j h vks ftruk cMk jk'V^a gksck] mruk gh l x'fBr djuk d'fBu gkskA-l fn; ka l s x'vkeh djrs ge vks rka ds jk'V^a ds l eku cu x; s g\$²⁷

Lokeh th us l xBu "kDr dh foopuk dh Fkh fd & l xBu dks d'oy Hkksrd ; k tM+ "kDr er ekuka bl dk D; k dkj.k g\$ v'fok og dks l h

olrq g\$ ftl ds }kjk dyy pkj djkm+vxst ijs rhl djkm+Hkkjrokl ; ka ij
 "kkl u djrs g\$ \; spkj djkm+euq; viuh&viuh bPNk "kDr dks leor dj
 nrs g\$ vFkk" "kDr dk vullr Hk. Mkj cuk yrs g\$ vk\$ r\$ rhl djkm+euq;
 viuh&viuh bPNkvka dks , d nrls l s i Fkd fd; sjgrs gka cl ; gh bl dk
 jgL; g\$ fd] os de gkdj Hkh r\$gkjs Aij "kkl u djrs g\$ vr% ; fn Hkkjr
 dks egku cukuk g\$ ml dk Hkfo'; mTtoy cukuk g\$ rks bl ds fy,
 vko"; drk g\$ l xBu dh] "kDr l xg dh vk\$ fc[kjh g\$ bPNk "kDr dks
 , d= dj ml ea l elo; ykus dh²⁸ Lokeh th us l xBu ds fy; s" k{kk dks
 egroi wkl crk; k rFkk efgykva l fgr l Hkh dh f" k{kk ij cy fn; ka fooskulln
 dk vxg Fkk fd & ^; fn r\$ga jguk g\$ rks r\$ l e; ds vuq kj vius dks
 l e; kstr djka ; fn gea jguk g\$ rks gea , d o\$kfud jk'V^a cuuk i M\$ka
 cks) d "kDr gh] "kDr g\$ r\$ dks ; jki okl ; ka l s l xBu "kDr vo";
 l h[kuh pkfg, A r\$ Lo; a f" k{kr cuk vk\$ viuh efgykva dks f" k{kr cukva
 Lokeh th us f" k{kk }kjk jk'V^a dks l xBu dh "kDr miyC/k djus dk exZ
 l p; k Fkka fooskulln us Hkkjr jk'V^a dks i q% l xBr djus dh , srgkl d
 i f0; k dh 0; k[; k dh g\$ Hkkjr dh foHkuu tkfr; ka l s , d jk'V^a dk fueZ k
 fd; k tk jgk g\$ vrhr ea ; jki us Hkkjr rh; okf. kT; ds fy, l x'kZ fd; k g\$ og
 okf. kT;] ftl us l d kj dh l H; rk dk Lo: i fuf" pr djus ea cgr cMk Hkkx
 fy; k g\$ vk\$ ftl dh i kfr dks euq; ds bfrgkl ea yxHkx , d ekM+ dgk
 tk l drk g\$-Mpk i r\$ kfy; k Yka hfl ; ka vk\$ vxst ka us 0fed : i l s bl ds
 fy, yMk; k yMk g\$-bl dk vr fu"p; gh g\$ka ftlga ge turk= d
 fopkj dg l drs g\$ Hkkjr dh l EHkkouk, i c<h g\$ vk\$ mudks i LQVr fd; k
 tk; xk²⁹ Lokeh th us dgk g\$ fd Hkkjr jktufr ds {ks= ea i jkLr g\$ fdLrq
 v/; kRe&/keZ ds {ks= ea vijks jgk g\$ & ^tks ykx fd l h olrq dk dyy ckgk
 LFky Lo: i gh n\$ kus ea l efkz g\$ os Hkkjr rh; jk'V^a dks dyy foftk i hfM+ka
 rFkk Lolun'Vkvka vk\$ nk" kZudka dh tkfr l e>rs g\$ os bl crk dks l e>us
 ea vl efkz g\$ fd v/; kRed {ks= ea Hkkjr us l d kj dks thr fy; k g\$³⁰ Lokeh
 th l kftd l ekur vk\$, drk ij cy nrs Fks mudk dgk Fkk fd ; Dr
 l ekt dh jpuk jk'V^a dks Lo; a gh djuh g\$ Lokeh th dk dguk Fkk fd
 jk'V^a dks vkRe l Eeku tkxr djuk g\$ka tks jk'V^a Lo; a gh viuh l {kerk dk
 fo"okl u dj l d\$ ml jk'V^a dk ml u; u l EHko ugha g\$ Lokeh th us fopkj
 vfHk0; Dr fd; s g\$ fd & tks 0; fDr vius ifr ?k. kk djus yxk g\$ ml ds iru
 dk }kj [ky pdk g\$ vk\$; gh ckr jk'V^a ds l Ecl/k ea Hkh l R; g\$ vius ifr
 ?k. kk u dj\$ D; knd vkxs c<us ds fy, ; g vko"; d g\$ fd igys ge Lo; a ea
 fo"okl j [ka vk\$ fQj bZ'oj ea³¹ 0; fDr ds l eku gh i R; d jk'V^a dks viuh
 l gk; rk Lo; a djuh g\$ka³² Hkkjr jk'V^a us fojkl r ea l e) rFkk l Ei lu

ijEijk; a iklr dh gA bl s vU; jk'Vka l s l kj&JsB xg.k dj viuh mlufR
 dk ekxZ i'z'kLr djuk gA³³ Lokeh th us vkRe fo"okl l s dgk Fkk fd& 'i gys
 vius i'j'ka ij [kM's gks tkb,] fQj l c jk'Vka l s tks dN viuk cuk dj ys
 l d' ys yhfT, A tks dN vki ds dke dk g' ml s iR; d jk'V' l s sys yhfT; A-
 -----vki ykxka ea l s iR; d 0; fDr egku mRrjKf/kdkj ydj t'lek g'
 tks vki ds efgeke; jk'V' ds vullr vrhr thou dk l oLo gA³⁴ jk'V' ds
 l 0; ofLFkr l ekt dh i'p'puk ds fufeRr vU; jk'Vka dh l keftd 0; oLFkk
 dks l e>us dk fopkj Lokeh th us fn; k Fkk] & ; fn okLro ea ge vius dks
 , d l 0; ofLFkr jk'V' ds : i ea n'kuk pkgrs gA] rks gea ; g tkuuk pkfg,
 fd n' j s n's'ka ea fdl idkj dh l keftd 0; oLFkk py jgh g' v'j l kFk gh
 muds euk'kko tkuus ds fy, gea m'leDr an; l s n' j s jk'Vka l s fopkj
 fofue; djrs jguk pkfg, A³⁵ i"feh l ekt us vius&vius jk'Vh; thou ea
 tks dhfr'eku LFkkfir fd; s g' os vnhkr gA Hkkjr jk'V' dks ml h ifreku ds
 vk'kkj ij pfj=ka dh fufeRr djuk vko"; d rFkk vifjgk; Z gA i k"pkR; jk'Vka
 us jk'Vh; thou ds tks vk"p; Ztud ikl kn cuk; s g' os pfj= : ih l n'<+
 LrEHkka ij [kM's g' v'j tc rd ge vf/kd l s vf/kd l 'k; k ea os s pfj= u
 x< l d' rc rd gekjs fy, fdl h "kfDr fo"ksk ds fo:) viuk vlUrsk
 idV djrs jguk fujFkd gA³⁶ jk'Vh; thou ea ixfr v'j ifr'Bk ds fy,
 l ekt ea R; kx v'j l ok dks xg.k djuk mfpr rFkk mikn' gA gekjh
 dk; &fof/k cgr l jyrk l scrk; h tk l drh gA og d'oy jk'Vh; thou dks
 i'p' LFkkfir djrk gA c' us R; kx v'j i'pkj fd; k FkkAHkkjr ds jk'Vh;
 vkn"lz g' R; kx v'j l okA vki bl dh bu /kkjvkA ea rhork mRiUu dhft,]
 v'j "ksk l c Bhd gks tk; s'ka³⁷ dkbZ jk'V' , dkfUr'd thou ij ; fn fopkj
 djrk g' rks ml dk l dh.kz fopkjka l s vk'kUr g'uk l gt gA jk'V' dks cgr
 l ekt dh fplrk djuh gA foodkuln us dgk fd Hkkjr ea l ekt dk cgr
 cMk Hkkx] tks jk'V' ds eny'k'kkj gS vHkkoXLr rFkk vU; k; xLr g' mudh fplrk
 jk'V' dks djuh gS n's'k bu xjhc&n'q[k; ka ds fy, dN ugha l k'ork gA tks
 ykx gekjs jk'V' dh jh<+ g' ftuds ifjJe l s vlu i'nk gks jgk g' ftu
 egrj&Mkks ds, d fnu ds fy, Hkh] dke cln djus ij "kgj Hkj ea gkgkdkj
 ep tkrk gA³⁸ okLro ea ; s gh jk'V' dh jh<+ gA ; fn ; s fuEu J's.k; ka ds ykx
 viuk&viuk dke cln dj n' r'iga vlu&ol= ugha fey l drkA³⁹ vFkkZ-
 vko"; d vko"; drkva dh i'irZ blgha fuEu J's.k; ka l s gkrh gA Lokeh
 foodkuln us jk'V' ds ux'fdka dks l Eckf/kr djrs g' muea jk'Vh; pruk
 tkxr djus dk iz kl fd; k ml'gkaus dgk foodkuln dh ; g v'k'k' Fkh fd]
 Hkkjr jk'V' v'le'kh gks x; k gA vki ik; % d' e.M'cl cus cBs g' v'j n' j s
 LFkkuka ea l d kj fdl xfr l s py jgk g' ; g n'kuk Hkh ugha pkgrs ejk

eryl vki l s 0; fDr "k% ugha gš l keku; : i l s gekjs l Ei wkZ jk'V^a l s gš⁴⁰
 Lokeh th us vius n'skokfl ; ka l s dgk -l ks s gg s vkRefo"okl dks txkuk gksk
 rHkh vkt n'sk ds l keus tks l el; k, a gš mudk l ek/kku Lo; a gekjs }kjk gks
 l dsxk⁴¹ Hkkjrh; ka }kjk ik"pR; l adfr viuk dj xoz vutko djus okyka
 dk fojksk djrs gg s mlgkaus dgk & tš s gekjk dkbZ jk'Vh; i kphu n'sk gh u
 gkš tš s o'skHkkk ds l ECU/k ea dkbZ fu; e gh u gkš dkbZ fof/k&ifj i kVh ; k
 iz.kkyh gh u gkš vks ftl dh tks etiz vk; s vks tks fn[kš ogh di Ms-ifu
 ya--viuh i kphu Hkkjrh; o'skHkkk D; ka ugha /kkj.k dh tkrhA bl ; jkš h;
 dks/&deht ds iguus ea dks l h "kku gš D; k vFlZ gš⁴² vFkkZ mlgkaus
 Hkkjrh; o'skHkkk ij cy fn; k rFkk jk'V^a ds ifr l Eeku cuk; sj [kus dk iz; kl
 fd; ka Hkkjrh jk'V^a us l Ei fRr vks "kL= "kDr ij fo"okl ugha fd; ka dšy
 , d : i bZoj ij vLFkk j [kA ; gh , d , d k jk'V^a gš ekuo o'kka ea , d , d h
 tkr gš ftl us J) ki d l nš ; gh fo"okl fd; k fd ; g thou okLrfod
 ugha l R; rks bZoj gš vks bl fy, n'k vks l [k ea ml h dks idMs-jg⁴³
 Hkkjrh jk'V^a us l Ei fRr l xg vks "kL= l p; ij fo"okl ugha fd; ka
 fdl h vl; jk'V^a dh Lolr=rk ds vigj .k ea Hkkjrh us l š; "kDr dk dHkh
 mi ; ksx ugha fd; ka Hkkjrh dh Hkkedk /kfeZd ; k vk; kRed jgh gš Lokeh th
 us dgk Fkk fd & gj , d dks Loa viuk /keZ viukus nka ge ykska dk jk'V^a
 prj gš jDrkr ea gekjh vLFkk ugha gš 'eš paks'h n'sk gq fd dkbZ Hkh
 0; fDr Hkkjrh ds jk'Vh; thou dk dkbZ Hkh , d k dky eps fn [kk nš ftl ea
 ; gk l elR l d kj dks fgyk nus dh {kerk j [kus okys vk; kRed egki q 'kka
 dk vHko jgk gka ij Hkkjrh dk dk; Z vk; kRed gš vks ; g dk; Z j .kHkh ds
 fuukn l s ; k l š; nyka ds vfhk; kuka l s rks i jk ugha fd; k tk l drk⁴⁴ ifl)
 bfrgkl dkj ghxy dh Hkkar Lokeh fooskulln dk Hkh fo"okl Fkk fd i R; d
 jk'V^a dk thou fdl h , d iæ[k rRo dh vfhk; fDr gš mudh nf'V ea /keZ
 Hkkjrh ds bfrgkl ea egRoiwkZ fu; ked fl) kUr jgk gš fooskulln us dgk & ^
 ftl izkj l xhr , d iæ[k Loj gksk gš oš s gh gj jk'V^a ds thou ea , d
 izkku rRo gqk djrk gš vl; l c rRo ml h ea dšUnr gksk gš Hkkjrh dk
 rRo gš /keZ^{**} ; gh dkj .k Fkk fd Lokeh th us jk'V^a bkn ds , d /kfeZd fl) kUr
 dh uhd dk fueZk djus ds fy; s dk; Z fd; k ftl dk i {ki ksk .k vkxs pydj
 fofiu plnz iky vks vjfoln ?kksk us fd; ka Lokeh fooskulln ds fluru ea
 Fkk fd vkxs pydj Hkkjrh ds jk'Vh; thou dk es n.M /keZ gh cuska mudk
 dguk Fkk fd jk'V^a dh Hkkoh egkurk dk fueZk ml ds vrhr dh egRrk dh
 uhd ij gh fd; k tk l drk gš vrhr dh mišk djuk jk'V^a ds thou dk gh
 fu'ksk djus ds l eku gš bl hfy; s Hkkjrh; jk'V^a bkn dk fueZk vrhr dh
 , frgkl d fojkl r dh l p<+uhd ij gh djuk gkska⁴⁵ Lokeh fooskulln /keZ

dks egRrk nrs gq s dgrs gā fd Hkkjr ea , drk rFkk fLFkjr cuk; sj [kus dk
 dk; Z/keZ us fd; k vks Hkkjr dh I tukRed ifrHkk /keZ ea fufgr jgh gā tc
 Hkh nq̄y o f"kfFky jktuhfrd I Rrk gpl rks i q% LFkki uk /keZ us gh dhA Lokeh
 th us ?kksk.kk dh fd jk'Vh; thou dk /kkfed mins'kka ds vk/kkj ij I aBu
 fd; k tkuk pfg; A-mudk ekuuk Fkk fd /keZ fujUrj Hkkjrh; thou dk vk/kkj
 jgk gā /kkfed ; k vk/; kRed jk'Vbkn dh "kDr dk eq; I ks ?kks'kr djrs
 gq s ml ds y{; dks ikr djus gq Lokeh foodkulln us ; pdkā dk vkokge
 djrs gq s dgk fd "vkt gekjs n'sk ds ftu phtka dh vko"; drk g's os gā
 ykgs dh eka i s'k; k bLkr dh rfu=dk, W i z[kj I adYi] ftl dk dkbZ ifrjksk
 dj I d's tks viuk dke gj idkj I s ijk dj I ds pka er; q I s I k{kRedkj
 gh D; ka u djuk iMA ; g g's ftl dh gea vko"; drk g's vks ge rHkh I tU
 dj I drs g's rHkh I keuk dj I drs g's vks rHkh "kDr"kyh cu I drs g's
 tcf d ge v) s /kkfed , drk ds vkn"lz dk I k{kRedkj dj y ml dh , drk
 ds vkn"lz dh vuHkr dj ya^{**46} Lokeh th us n'sk dks /kkfed , drk ij
 vk/kkj jk'Vbkn dh , d uo/kkj.kk dk ifriknu fd; k rFkk ml vk/kkj ij
 n'sk ds jk'Vbkn fodkl gq Hkkjrh; ka ea vius vrhr dh egkurk ds ifr
 LokfHkeku dh Hkkouk gks tkxr gh ugha dh oju-mlga ; g I kpus I e>us ds
 fy; s Hkh ck/; fd; k fd ; fn Hkkjr us viuh vk/; kRedrk dk ifjR; kx dj
 fn; k rks jk'VRFFku ds fy; s ; g i"pe dk valkkupj.k djus yxkj rks og fnu
 nij ugha tcf d ml ds LorU= vLrRo dk fouk" k gks tk; sk vks og , d
 valkkupj.k djus okyk jk'V^a cudj jg tk; skA ftl dk u dkbZ LokfHkeku
 gksk vks u fo"o jk'V^a ea dkbZ I EekuA bl vk/kkj ij Lokeh foodkulln us
 cgr gh ekfed an; Hksh vks paks' h Hks "kCnka ea jk'Vbkl I ; ka dks prkouh nrs
 gq s dgk ^; kn j [kks fd ; fn rpus viuh vk/; kRedrk dk ifjR; kx djds
 i k"pR; Hkksrdoknh I H; rk dk valkkupj.k djrs gq s ml ds ihNs Hkksuk "kq
 dj fn; k rks rhu i hf<; ka ea rfgkj h tkfr u'V gks tk; sh D; kfd jk'V^a dh jh<+
 dh gMMh VW tk; sh ftl dh uho ij jk'Vh; thou dk fuekZ k gq k g's og
 fgy mBsxh vks ml dk ifj.kke gksk I oZuk" k vks I oZuk"ka^{**47} iR; d jk'V^a
 ds thou ea fofHku tkfr; ka dk vkRel kr fd; k tkuk&l ello; &, d I keku;
 I eL; k jgh gā⁴⁸ vr% Hkkjrh; I adfr rFkk jktuhfrd Lok/khurk ds tud
 Lokeh foodkulln dk polru vks mPp vkn"lz jk'Vbkn Hkkouk cuk; sj [kus gq
 vkt Hkh vuq j.kh; o vuqj.kh; gā "Lokeh th ; p d I ekV Fks ftuds
 vkn"ka ij pydj Hkkjrh; uo; p d jk'V^a dk I okach.k fodkl dj I drs gā
 Lokeh foodkulln I nk ; pdkā ea jk'Vh; rk dh f"kk nrs tks ; p d vius n'sk
 dks I; kj ugha djrk ml suo; p d ugha dgk tk I drkA Hkxoku jke vks d'.k
 us jk'V^a ds dY; k.k ds fy, viuk thou I efi z fd; kA Lokeh th ; pdkā dks

I nk Hkkjrokl ; ks l s i e djus dh f"kk n rA os dgrs jg\$, sohj! LkgI dk voyEc djka xoz l s cksyksfd es Hkkjrokl h gmvks iR; d Hkkjrokl h ejk Hkkbz gA n e fpYykdj dgks fd vKkuh Hkkjrokl h] nfjnz Hkkjrokl h] ckgzk Hkkjrokl h] pk.Mky Hkkjrokl h l c ejs Hkkbz g\$ Hkkjr dh n o&nfo; ka ejs bZoj gA Hkkjrokl h ejs i.k.k gA Hkkjr dh feVVh gh ejk Lokp LoxZ gS Hkkjr ds dY; k.k ea gh ejk dY; k.k gA⁷⁹ jk'V^akfDr dk dlnz fcUnq ogka ds ; qk gksr gA Lokeh foodkuln dh ; qdks dks nh xbZ ij d f"kk vkt Hkh mruh gh mi ; ksch gsftruh igys Fkha vko"; drk gSgj ; qd ea fu%LokFkZ Hkko l s Hkkjr ds i fr vVW i e vks vxk/k J) k mRiUu gkus dhA

I mH&

- 1- d e k j] fuey&Hkkjrh; Lok/khurk dk bfrgkl i0 74] l ekulrj izdk"ku] ubZ fnYyh] 1997
- 2- i d k Dr & i0 77
- 3- i d k Dr & i0 78
- 4- i d k Dr & i0 80
- 5- i d k Dr & i0 80&81
- 6- i d k Dr & i0 81
- 7- if=dk & Lokeh foodkuln&v}\$ vkJe] izdk"ku foHkkx] dkydrkj uskth l Hkk'k ds ij .kk iq 'k Lokeh foodkuln l re i q e n z k & e b Z 2015
- 8- if=dk & foodsT; kfr] o'kz 56] v d & 7] t y k b Z 2018] i0 315
- 9- foodkuln l kfgR; & 1@130
- 10- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 5
- 11- foodkuln l kfgR; & 1@322
- 12- foodkuln l kfgR; 8@228
- 13- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 298
- 14- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 135
- 14\$ Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 117
- 15- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 130
- 16- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 2
- 17- foodkuln l kfgR; & 7@241
- 18- foodkuln l kfgR; & 6@315
- 19- foodkuln l kfgR; & 3@135
- 20- foodkuln l kfgR; & 3@135
- 21- "k d y k j] Mko l k e u k F k & c h l o h "k r k C n h d s j k t u h r d i0 93 f o p k j d & L o k e h f o o d k u l n] i0 93 v k " k h ' k i z d k " k u] d k u i j 2003

- 22- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 109
 23- ^i ozh; * yhyk/kj "kekz & egkiq 'kka dh thofu; kwi0 156] mRrj insk
 fgluh l kFku] y[kuA rrrh; l d dj.k 2015
 24- foodkuln l kfgR; & 10@3
 25- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 109
 26- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 52
 27- foodkuln l kfgR; 4@395 Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 228
 28- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 227
 29- foodkuln l kfgR; & 4@240
 30- foodkuln l kfgR; & 9@123
 31- foodkuln l kfgR; & 3@12
 32- ; @ fo0 & 2@257
 33- "kpyk] Mko l keukFk & iwkDr] i0 100
 34- Hkkjrh; 0; k[; ku & i0 55
 35- foodkuln l kfgR; & 1@385
 36- foodkuln l kfgR; & 3@332
 37- foodkuln l kfgR; & 4@265
 38- iwkDr & 6@215
 39- iwkDr & 6@107
 40- iwkDr & 3@327
 41- iwkDr & 8@269
 42- iwkDr & 8@236
 43- iwkDr & 10@4
 * iwkDr & 10@271
 44- iwkDr & 9@300] "kpyk] Mko l keukFk & iwkDr & i0 103
 45- ts] Mko i[kjkt & jktuhfr foKku i0 96 l kfgR; Hkou
 ifcyds'kui] vxjk 2017
 46- n dEi yhV oDI l vkwD Lokeh foodkuln [k.M&3] i0 190
 47- iko egrk , .M [kluk & jktuhfr foKku i0 110&111] , i0 ch0 iho
 Mho ifcyds'kui gml] vxjk] 2015
 48- foodkuln l kfgR; & 9@301
 49- feJk] Mko Hkjr & Hkkjr ds l iwr] i0 44



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<https://sites.google.com/site/kanpurhistorian/>

vā fuoſ'kd I a ĩ Ākūr ea tuoknh pſruk dk mn;

odhy ; lno

"kkk Nk= bfrgkl foHkkx
oh0, l 0, l OMh0 dkyst] dkuig

gekjs nsk ea nskOfä rFkk vktkn dh tuoknh pſruk dk mn;
I u~1857 I s ĀkjEÖ gſrk Fkka I a ĩ Ākūr dh turk us vius LoŌko ds
vuſ kj nsk ds ĀR; d vkn"Yku ea fnYk"tku I s Ōkx fYk; kA I u~1857 ea
Ōkjr ea Lorlkkrk dh , d ubZ Ykgj mBh] vġ og Ykgj I a ĩ Ākūr ds gh
cfYk; k ftY" ds , d r#.k eaYk ik. Ms dh vkokt ij mBhA ml us 9 vĀYk
I u~1857 d" cſdij ea Ōkſl h ds r[rs ij >Wkrs gq dgk Fkk& "nšk d"
ejk [ku nsk vġ dguk rġga l xU/k gSfd tc rd bu fonſ'k; "a I s bl
vieku dk cnYkk u Y" Yk] pſu I s u cBukA ejuk gS r" buI ku"adh eſ
ej"A dġk" dh rjg tātġ ?kl hV&?kl hV dj ugĒA
1 bl h {"«k ea ihj vYkh us Ōh Ōkſl h ds r[rs ij >Wkrs gq dgk Fkk] "rġ
eſ s Ōkſl h ij YkVdk I drs g" ij rġ ejs vkn'k± dh gR; k ugĒ dj
I drſ vxj eſ ejrk gſ r" eſh txg gſkj"ahj iſk g"æſ t" rġgkjs
jkt; d" uV dj nskA**2

bl Ādkj jk"Vh; pſruk dh nſ"V I s I a ĩ Ākūr us Ōkjr ds
Lorlkkrk I ſk"l dh ĀFke vxſkbZ dh vġ ejB ftYkk bl dk ĀFke xokg
cukA bl ea d"bZ 'kd ugĒ fd Ōkjr ds Lorlkkrk vkn"Yku dh fxurh
vk/kſud I ekt d" I cl s cMſ vkn"Yku"ā ea dh tkrh gſ foſŌe
fopkj/kkj kv"ā vġ ox± ds dj "M"ā Yk"x"ā d" bl vkn"Yku us jktulfrd

¹ - M,0 Jh/kj feJ] Ō"tiġh Yk"d I kfgR;] i0 198-

² - ogh-

: i l s l fØ; g"us ds fYk, Áfjr fd; k v9 'kfä'kkYkh v9 fuof'kd jkT;
d" ?kYus Vdus ds fYk, foo'k fd; k^A

okLro ea Okjrh; jk"Vh; vKUn"Yku v/kZ Yk'drkfU«kd ; k
Yk'drkfU«kd i)fr dh jktu«rd <kps dh vdYkh okLrfod , srgkfl d
fel kYk isk djrk g\$ ftl <kps d" l QYkrk i«d cnYk ; k : iKUrjfr
fd; k tk l drk gA vius rjg dk , dek«k vKUn"Yku g\$ftl ea n"Vd".k
ds Vdjko dk xte'kh }kj k Áfrikfr l 9 kflrd ifjÁ§; l QYkrki«d veYk
ea Yk; k x; k] t gk; jktl Ukk ij Økflur ds fYk, , d [kk l , srgkfl d {«k
ea dCtk ugE fd; k x; k cYd bl ds foijhr usrd] jktuhfrd v9
fopkj kRed rhu"agh Lrj"aij Ykæs tul 2k"lz pYkKdj bl d" gkfl Yk fd; k
x; kA t gk; vud o"K±ea /khj&/khjs tckch jktuhfr usRo dh 'kfä l Ápr
dh xbz rFkk t gk; l 2k"lz v9 'kflur ds n9 ckjh&ckjh l svkrs tkrs jgA³

ejB dk foæg v9 fnYYkh ij dCtk rk cl , d 'k#vkr Fkh
bl ds ckn r" l eps mUkj Okjr v9 if'pe o e/; Okjr ds dN fgLI "a
ea fl ikfg; "a v9 ukxfjd" a ds chp foæg dh rst Ykgj pYk i MhA 19oE
usVo bl QDVh] 34oE usVo bl QSVh rFkk 7oh vo/k jstev/ ea foæg dk
foxYk cz x; kA fnYYkh ij dCts ds , d eghus ds Öhrj foæg YkxÖx
l Öh cM± d«æ&d kuig] Yk[kuÁ] cukj l] bYkkgkckn] cjYkh] >k l h
txnh'ki j rd QYk x; kA

dkuig ea väre ejkBk isk kok cktjhko f}rh; ds nLrdi«k ukuk
l kgc d" foæg; "a us viuh deku l 9 hA Yk[kuÁ ea c«ke gtjr egYk
us usRo l E gkYkA cjYkh ea : gYk[k.M ds Öri«d 'kkl d ds mUkj kf/kdkjh
[kku cgknj us Lru«kbz dh rFkk >k l h ea jkuh Yk{ehckbz us 1858 ea vaxt "a
dh fe l h i Ykhn FkhA⁴

bl Ádkj LorU«krk l 2k"lz ds ÁFke vKUn"Yku dh vx«kbz l a «ä
ÁkUr ea ijs t'j&'k'j l s fd; kA rFkk bl ea vfrfj« l kE; oknh vKUn"Yku
dk Öh ÁFke l k{kh ; gE ÁkUr cukA l kE; oknh vKUn"Yku dk ÁFke vf[kYk
Okjrh; l kE; oknh l EeYku v9 l kE; oknh nYk d" l x fBr djus okYk
Áe[k v9] "fxd ftYk ^dkuig" mUkj Áns k dk gh gA l kE; oknh vKUn"Yku
dk Áfl) "kM± U«k ejB "kM± U«k dk.M l a «ä ÁkUr ea gh gYk FkA

l a «ä ÁkUr ea tuoknh pruk ds mn; ds dkj .k'a dh 0; k[; k djus
ds fYk, fuEu ckr afopkj .kh; g&

³ - Á"O fofi uplæ& Okjr dk LorU«krk l 2k"lz Öfiedk Vfglnh ek/; e
dk; kzo; u funs kYk;] Okjr l jdkj] ubz fnYYkh½

⁴ - ogh

- 1- I kE; oknh Òkoukv"á , oa fopkj"á dk I Ykkc mRi é djus okYkh ns kh
i fjfLFkfr; kA
- 2- Ákurh; I kekftd] vkfFKZd , oajktuhfrd i fjfLFkfr; kA
- 3- 'k"kr oxZ }kjk xBr fd; s x; s l æBu ftuls vkn"Yku dh
i "BOfie r\$ kj gþA
bu i fjfLFkfr; ka d" dkYkØe ds vuq kj pkj Áed[k Lo: i"á ea ns[kk
tk I drk gA

fglnturku , d ^["frgj egk}hi** g⁵ Òkjr ds ["frgj {«k ea
'k" k.k o vl ekurk Ákphu dkYk I s gh 0; klr jgh gS rFkk cYkh geskk
detkj"á dk 'k" k.k djrk jgk g\$ ftI ds i fj.kke Lo: i I e; & I e; ij
0; kid vl r" k turk ÁdV djrh jgh gA rFkk ; g vl r" k dÒh&dÒh
foæg dk Òh : i Yrk jgk gA ; g Ákur I kelrh 0; oLFkk ds Øjre
mRihMtu dk dææ jgk gA 1857 ds Afke LorUkkrk I æte ds nŒku mÚkj
Ánsk ea vxst" kkl u o ml dh Q⁶ta ds f[kYkkQ 0; kid i ækus ij vŒ
tedj turk usepkZ fyk; k Fkka I a þá Ákur ds N% fMohtu"á ea I s gjd
ea xgjh mFkYk&ikYk gþZ vŒ cgr I s {"k"á ea fcfV'k 'kkl u dk gh
vflrRo dñ de g" x; k Fkka⁶ : gYk[k.M ds vgyk"á us rFkk I eLr Ákur
ds ed Ykeku i Mr"á vŒ eYkfo; "á us bl ea Òkx fyk; kA eV/dkQ us fgl kc
Ykxk; k fd dkuig ea YkxÒx 58 gtkj Yk"x ukuk I kgc ds I kFk QStkckn
ea YkxÒx 85 gtkj rFkk x'j [ki] fMfotu ea YkxÒx 51 gtkj Yk"x rjkbZ
ds tæYk"á I s I jdkj d" pqrh nsjgs F"Á cgjkbp] x" Mq vkfn ea cgr
miæo gqA cknk ea "d"bz Òh , d k xkp ugE Fkk t" de"ošk foæg ea
'kjhd u gYk g"Á⁷

fonskh 'kkl u ds f[kYkkQ Òkjr ds i já jkxr I æk"z dh I cl s
ukVdh; i fj.kfr 1857 ds foæg ds : i ea gþA Yfdu ; g foæg d"
vpkud I ftr ugE gYk Fkk oju- turk ds ml I æk"z dh i jkdK" Bk Fkh
t" 1757 ea fcfV'k jkT; dh 'kq vkr ds ckn I s gh I æcækus Ykxh Fkh
vŒ ; gh I æcækgV /khj&/khjs QYkrh&c<rh xbz Fkka⁸
turk ds bl foæg d" ge e"vsrŒ ij rhu : i"á ea ckV I drsg&

- 1- ukxfjd foæg
- 2- vkfnokl h foæg

⁵ - bEihfj; Yk xtsV; j v, Q bf.M; R [k.M&24] iO 224-

⁶ - jtuh ik; nÚk] vkt dk Òkjr] iO 189-

⁷ - rkjkplæ] Òkjr; LorUkkrk vkn"Yku dk bfrgkl] [k.M&n"] iO 71-

⁸ - Á"O fofi u plæ] Òkjr dk LorUkkrk I æk"z iO 11-

3- fdl ku vkuñ'Yku⁹

fcfV'k jkt ds Ákj ðd l © l KYä ea ukxfjd foæg'a dk fl Ykf Ykk Ykxkrkj pYkrk jgk l ÚkkP; r jktkv'a vG uokc'a ; k muds mÚkjf/kdkfj ; "a ; k fQj viuh tk; nkn l scn [KYk dj fn, x; s tehunkj" a ðl okfe; "a }kjk bu foæg'a dk urRo fd; k x; kA bu foæg'a d" tuk/kkj vG 'kfä geškk fdl ku" nLrdkj" a vG jktkv" a o uokc" a dh fo?kfvR l ukv" a ds fl ikfg; "a l s feYkrh FkA fcfV'k jkt }kjk vFkð; oLFkkj Á'kk l u vG ðkjktLo Á.kkYkh ea ftl rsth l s ifjorú fd, x,] mul s bu foæg'a us tle fYk; kA Ykxku dh c<h nja t" 30 l KYk ds ðhrj gh eqYk dkYk l sn"xqñh g" xbz rFkk bl l s mRié vl r" k rFkk Ykxku] fdjk; k ; k C; kt ds ol Vkh ds fYk, ðl okh rFkk iñYkl }kjk ccj rki ðd cYk Á; "x fd; k tkrk FkA t" vl r" k dk cMk dkj.k FkA fcfV'k vf/kdkjh fofYk; e , MoMz us 1859 ea fYk [kk Fk fd "iñYkl turk dh mRihMél g" xbz gS vG gekjh l jdkj ds Áfr vl Ur" k dk eq; dkj.k iñYkl }kjk <k, x, tye gA

bl Ádkj ukxfjd foæg'a dh cfu; kn cn [KYk fd, x, fdl ku] jktkv'a vG uokc'a dh fo?kfvR Q^ot" a ds fl ikfg; "a us dhA ; g foæg' 1763 l s 1800 rd pYkka¹⁰ vG 1857 ea; smxz : i /kkj.k fd; kA ðkjr ds fofóé ðkx" a ds cgr cMz {«k ea jgus okY" vkfnokfl ; "a us 19oE l nh ea dbz Nki kekj YkMkb; k; YkMhA os vki l ea l æfBr gq vG mlg" a us vR; Ur tçk: l æk" kZ fd; k vG vl he 'k" Z dk ifjp; fn; kA ðZVkp kj vG vR; kp kj ds gfFk; kj" a l s YG vG fuof' kd 'kk l u us tc vkfnokfl ; "a ds bYkks ea ?kq iB dh] r" muea ?k j vl r" k mRié gYkA vkfnokfl ; "a ds foæg' ea l FkkYk" a dk foæg' l cl s tcjnLr Fk ðkxYki g l s jktegYk ds chp dk {«k ^nkeu , d" g" ds uke l s tkuk tkrk FkA ; g l FkkYk&ckgYk {«k FkA ; gk; g tkj" a l FkkYk" a us l æfBr foæg' fd; k Fk l FkkYk foæg' dk o.kú ^dYkdÚkk fj0; w ea Nik FkA¹¹ l FkkYk foæg' ds vfrfjä rhu vG Áedk foæg' gq ftudk urRo vkfnokfl ; "a us vnE; l kgl vG 'k" ðd fd; kA N"V kukxi g ds d" Yk vkfnokfl ; "a dk foæg' t" 1820 l s 1836 rd pYkrk jgkA g tkj" a vkfnokfl ; "a d" dRYk djus ds ckn gh fcfV'k 'kk l u egkfQj g" l dka

vkdkz ds rVorÉ {«k" a ea ná k i gkMh vkfnokfl ; "a us 1879 ea l jdkj l effkz eul cnkj" a ds ðZVkp kj" a vG u; s tæYk dkumu ds f [KYkkQ foæg'

⁹ - ogE-
¹⁰ - ðkjr dk Lorlkrk l æk" kZ i 0 14-
¹¹ - ogh] i 0 18-

fd; k v^g 1880 ea bl foæ'g d' nck fn; k x; kA eqMk vkfnokfl ; "a dk foæ'g 1899&1900 ds chp g^gkA bl dk usRo fd; k fcjlk eqMk usA eqMk tkfr ea lkefgd ["rh dk ÁpYku Fkk Y'fdu tkfxjnkj] Bðsnkj] cfu; "a v^g l m [kj "a us lkefgd ["rh dh ijEijk ij geYkk c"YkA e^gMk l jnkj 30 o" k ±rd lkefgd ["rh ds fyk, YkM±sjgA

fcjlk dk tle c^gVkbz dh ["rh djus okY" , d ifjokj ea 1874 ea g^gk FkA 1895 ea fcjlk us vius vki d' Òxoku dk , d n^gr ?k"kr dj fn; kA vc fcjlk usrk cu x; kA fcjlk xkp&xkp ?kædj /kkfæd v^g jktuhfrd vk/kkj ij vkfnokfl ; "a d" gfFk; kj can djus YkxkA 1899 ea fØle; dh i^gl d; k ij fcjlk useqMk tkfr dk 'kkl u LFkfr djus ds fyk, foæ'g dk , Ykku fd; kA ml us bl ds fyk, Bðsnkj] tkxhjnkj] jktkv "a gkfdæ" a v^g b^g kbz; "a d" dRYk djus dk Òh vkgøku fd; kA ml us dgk dYk; x d" [kRe dj l r; x Yk; xsv^g ?k" k. k dh fd "fndy" a x^g vkfnokfl ; "a l s vc gekjh YkMkbz g"xh v^g muds jdu l s tehu bl rjg YkYk g"xh t^g s YkYk >. Mk exj ml us ; g Òh fg; knr nh fd xjhc x^g vkfnokfl ; "a ij gkFk u mBk; k tk, A YkxØx 6 gtkj e^gMk rhjrYkokj] dYgkMh o vU; vFk; kj "a l s Y^g g" dj fcjlk ds l Fk g" fyk, A fdUrq fcjlk 1900 bD ea Qjoj ds ÁkjEO ea gh fxj^grkj g" x; k v^g tu ea og tYk ea gh ej x; k foæ'g r" d^gYk fn; k x; k] ij fcjlk vej g" x; kA

vaxt "a ds mi fuoskoknh 'k" k. k dk dgj Òkjr; fdl ku "a ij gh l cl s T; knk cjika v^g fuos'kd uhfr;] Ò&jktLo dh ubz Á. kkykh v^g mi fuoskoknh Á'kkl fud v^g U; kf; d 0; olFk us fdl ku "a dh dej r" M+ nhA cM± te^gunkj "a us euekus <x l s vo^gk Ykxku ol Wkrs v^g c^gxkj djkrA j^g roknh bYkd "a ea Ykxku dh nja crgk'kk c<kdj Bhd ; gh dke l jdkj us fd; k ifj. kker% fdl ku /khj&/khj s egktu "a ds paxk ea Qil rs x, v^g mudh tehu Ql Y" rFk i'kq vkfn 0; ki kjh egktu "a v^g /kuh fdl ku "a ds gkFk "a ea ig^grs , x v^g mudh fLFkr ["frgj etn^g "a dh rjg jg xBA n^gkh vk^g fonskh 'kksk. k ds nl pØ d" r" M±s dh fdl ku "a dh dbz fNvi^g fdUrqukdke d' f' k' k "a dh v^g vl QYk foæ'g ds dkj. k muds foæ'g us vijk/k dk jkLrk idMkA bu foæ'g "a ea d^g foæ'g fuEu g^g ftUg "a s bfrgkl ds ié "a ij viuh mi fLFkr ntZ djkb&

viuh vkfFkd ekæ "a ds fyk, fdl ku "a us t" l ðk" kZ fd; k] ml ea l cl s t^gk: v^g l cl s cM± i^gkus ij Q^gYk Fk caxkYk ea uhYk vkUn YkuA 'k" k. k ds f [kYkQ ; g fdl ku "a dh l h/kh YkMkbz FkA

njvl Yk] uhYk mRiknd"ausfdl ku"ad" tcju uhYk dh ["rh djus
 ij vjl slsetcj dj j [kk FkkA tcf d fdl kuh viuh cf<+ ka mitkÅ
 tehu ij pkoYk mxkuk pkgrs F] ftl dh mlga cgrj fders feYkrh FkhA
 T; knk uhYk mRiknd ; j"ih; F" vq xteh.k bYkks ea muds dkj [kkus F"A
 tgk os uhYk dk 'k"/ku djrs F"A AkjE0 l s gh uhYk mxkus okY" fdl ku"ad
 dk 'k"/k.g rrk jgk Fkk , oa bl dkj.k mlga Okjh ?kkVk mBkuk i M-k FkkA
 uhYk mRiknd mlga ekeYkh l h jde vfxæ ndj mul s djkj fyk [kok Y"rs
 F" vq de djkj ea cktkj l s de Oko ea uhYk dk nke fuf'pr fd;k
 tkrk FkkA cakYk ds Y"qVua/ xouj us [kq bl ekeY" ea fVli .kh dh Fkh
 fd ^l kjs >xMs dh tM+; g gSfd uhYk mRiknd fcuk i S sfn, gh j S r"ad
 d" uhYk dh ["rh djus ij etcj djrs gA**12

1859 ds e/; ea fdl ku"ad ds vl r"m"ka ea mckYk vk x; kA mlg"aus
 'kkari wkz rjhd"al sl ak"lz pYk; kA uhYk mRiknd ds n" Omri wZ depkfj; "a
 fnxæj fo'okl vq fo".kq fo'okl ds urRo ea ogk ds fdl ku , dtv gq
 vq mlg"aus uhYk dh ["rh can dj nh vq 1960 rd cakYk ds l Oh ftYk"ad
 ea uhYk dh ["rh can g" xbz vq 1960 ds VUr rd uhYk ds dkj [kkus can
 g" x,A vq fdl ku"ad dh , d tYrk us l ak"lz ds ckn bl vkuYku ea
 l QYkrk i kbZ vq l jdkj us Oh fdl ku d" uhYk dh ["rh ds fyk, etcj
 u djus dh 1860 ea vf/kl puk tkjh dhA

¹² - *Okj r dk Lorakrk l ak"lz i 0 22-*



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clpk tuin ea1857 dsI 2k'kZ eafHku oxkdk ; kxnu

MMW fot ; iky

foHkkxk/; {k jktuhr foKku
ohO, l O, l OMhO dkwst}dkuij

Lku- 1857 dk Lok/khurk lakte vk/kfud Hkkjrh; bfrgkl dh , d vfoLej.kh; ?kVuk gA Hkkjr l sfons'kh l Ukk dks l ekr djus dk ; g cFke tukUnksyu Fkka okLro ea ; g igyh , d h , frgkl d ?kVuk Fkh ftl uscn ds l e; ea l Ei wkZ Hkkjr dks , dh—r djus ea viuh Hkfedk fuHkka Hkkjrokfl ; ka dks egl w gks x; k ds ge fons'k; ka }kjk "kkfl r vks" "kks'kr gA ; g Økflur , d fpakjh Fkh tks dN l e; ds fy, yoghu t: j gks x; h fdUr qcp h ugh vlrr% l e; ds l kfk ; g ijs Hkkjr ea Tokyk cudj mHkjhA fuf"pr : lk l s bl Økflur dh e"ky dks mBkus okyk dkbZ , d 0; fDr ; k oxZ ugh Fkka cfYd bl ea fofHku l kelftd oxkdk us viuh vkgrh nhA geus bfrgkl dks i<us vks l e>us ea Hkwy dh bl hfy, vkØe.kdkjh ges'kk fot; h gks jgA ; gk u rks l jhohjka dh deh Fkh u j.kufrdkjk dhA deh ; g Fkh fd ge vius chp ea fNis gq vFEHk; ka vks t; plns dks igpku ugha ik; s vks gekjs vius gh ns'knksg cu x; A 1857 dh Økflur l siwZ Hkh Hkkjr ds fofHku {ks=ka ea l "kL= vkfnokl h vks —'kd fontsg gq fdUr; sfontsg fo"ksk fu'Bk ij vk/kfjr Fkka os LFkkuh; Fks vks mueajk'Vh; rk dh vutkr dk vHko Fkka fdUr q bl l 2k'kZ ds dkj .kka ij fpUru djus l s fu'd'kZ fudyrk gS fd bl l 2k'kZ ea fofHke l kelftd oxkdk ; kxnu Fkka ; g Økflur fdl h , d dk ifj.kke ugha Fkh cfYd fofHku dkj .kka dh ifj.kfr Fkka ftl ea l ekt ds l Hkh oxkdk fguj ef[Lye] l ker] tehmkj] Hkkjrh; l sud] "kks'kr L=h&i#k rFk l oZjk oxZ ds l Hkh yks "kkfey Fkka

j [kuh i Mh vks ml scpuk i MhA**18 1820 ea dSi osy rFkk 'fjMMs us cUnks' r fd; k tks 1825 rd pyrK jgkA bu nkska us vutko fd; k fd 'okfju* }kjk fu/kkZjr nja dBkij FkA vr% 'okfju* ds jktLo dh dgy jkf'k ea dSi osy vks fjMMs us 87]138 # dh deh dhA

1825 ea foyfdUI u] Qsu rFkk cSoh us cUnks' r fd; kA foyfdUI u us dohZ vks cns k dk cUnks' r fd; k vks ogk dh jktLo njka ea 2000 # dh dVks h dh FkA19 cSoh us iSykuh rFkk vkskl h dk cUnks' r fd; k tcf d cknk dh gtj rgl hy dk cUnks' r 'Qsu* us fd; kA bu {ks-ka ea jktLo ea 6 ifr'kr dh deh dh ?kksk.kk dhA

1827 ea cSoh dyDVj gya ml us ik; k fd ikdfrd vkinvka ds dkj.k fdl ku jktLo ds Hkqrku djus ea vl eFkZ gs rFkk jktLo dh nja vR; f/kd gA ftys ds tehkj grkI kfr gks pds gs rFkk vdky vkfn l s ftys dh feVVh catj gks pph gs vr% ftys dk {ks- xjhch ds dxkj ij gA ml us Lohdkj fd; k fd 'Qsu* us vkskl h iSykuh rFkk fl eksh ea tks nja fu/kkZjr dh gA og vf/kd gA bl fy; s 1829&30 ea 30 ifr'kr rd dh jkf'k Hkqrku ugha dh xbA bl ifjLFkr l sck/; gksdj 116 xkp ea yxHkx 1@7 fdl kuka us viuh Hkfe cpuk ikjEHk dj fn; kA20 vr% cSoh }kjk 6 ifr'kr dh NW fn; k tkuk bl ckr dks fl) djrk gs fd iwZ jktLo dh nja vU; k; i wZ rFkk dBkij FkA

1842 ea feVVh dh fdLEkka dk oxhdj.k dj ds jktLo dh nja fu/kkZjr dh xbA bl dk; Z dk nkf; Ro rRdkyhu miftykf/kdkjh 'jkbV*' dks l k k x; kA yfdu l e; dk vHkko ds dkj.k feVVh dk l gh C; kS k rS kj ugha gks ik; kA , d h fLFkr ea jktLo ckMZ us ctnsy [k.M dh foHkUu feVV; ka ds fy, l kell; nja fu/kkZjr dj nhA cSoh dh rgyuk ea dj dk vfrfjDr Hkij yxkdj 'jkbV*' us 29000 #- jktLo dk vf/kd cks> Fkks fn; kA '^jkbV/ dh ubZ njka l s d'kdka ij jktLo dk Hkjh ncko vk x; k ftl s fdl ku Hkqrku ugha dj l dA ubZ njka ds cks> ds dkj.k yks viuh tehu vks tkxhja

18 Mh] cksd es] Mh-, y-] cknk xtSV; j] Hkx&xxi] bykgckn&1909] i-l a 125

19 ds t , .M feyl d] fgLVh vKd n bf.M; u E; fVuh] Hkx&5] i-l a34

20 Mh] cksd es] Mh-, y-] cknk xtSV; j] Hkx&xxi] bykgckn&1909] i-l a 130 rFkk fl Ugk] , l -, u-] fn fjokV vKd 1857 bu ctnsy [k.M l dyu&, d 1982] i-l a31

__ .knkrkvlka ds gkFk cpus yxA**21 bl viR; kf'kr of) ea 'kh?kz fj; k; r nsuk vko'; d gvk Qyr% 1847&48 ea jktLo dh njka ea fj; k; r iLokfor dh xbA bl fj; k; r dsckotm Hkh Hkfe gLrkrj.k dk Øe tkjh jgkA

1855&56 ea ^fe- esu* ckpk dk dydVj fu; Ør gvkA bl ds l keus Hkh jktLo ol vyh dh xHkhj paks-h cuh jghA ml us d"kdka dh nqz kk dks nqkrs gq njka ea dVks-h ?kks"kr dhA d"kdka us; g vutko fd; k fd muds d"Vka dk dkj.k fonskh 'kkl u vks mudh jktLo uhfr; k; gA bl vutkfr us d"kdka ea vaxstka ds fo#) ?k.kk dh Hkkouk Hkj nhA dhus us Bhd fy [kk g&^1857 dk fontg e[; r% l sud u gkdj xteh.kkpy l s i kj EHk gvk FkA**22

l f[kk vks vdky ds dkj.k fLFkr; k; xHkhj cuh jgrh FkA yfdu jktLo mxkgh ea ljdkj us dktz gennhZ ugh fn [kkbA ^588 tehnikja vks tk; nkna l h/ks l jdkjh fu; æ.k ea ys yha x; h FkA**23

ftysea ljdkj }kjk tCr dh x; ha dN tkxhja fuEuor FkA²⁴ &

uokc vyh cgnj & 121397 , dM+

ehj bakk vyh & 58127 , dM+

ekB benkn vyh cxe & 20797 , dM+

xpyke gñj [kka & 26947 , dM+

l f[kk vks vdky iM+ tkus ds dkj.k ekyxqt kjh Hkj ikuk vl EHko gkus ds dkj.k tehnik Hkx x; A Bdnkja us djka dks ol vyus ds fy, cburgk tye <k, A "kkl u dh dBkj uhfr ds ifj.kkeLo#i foukl dh vks c<fs gq bu 0; fDr; ka us fcfV" k "kkl u dk vlr djus ds fy, [ky dj fontg djus ds fy, "kkfey gks x; A fcfV" k uhfr; ka l s Hkkjrh; -'kd ds l kFk&l kFk m | kx vks f"kyi Hkh cHkfor gvk bl dkj.k Hkkjrh; etnij vks 0; ol kf; d oxZ Hkh fcfV" k "kkl u dk fojkskh cu x; kA 19oha l nha ea bxySM ea vks kfxd Økfr ds dkj.k dPps eky dh vko"; drk vks ogk ds dkj [kkuka ea fufeZ eky dks cpus ds fy, Hkkjrh; ef.M+ ka dh vko"; drk FkA bu nskka otgka l s vaxstka us Hkkjrh; m | kx&/kalka dks u'V dj fn; kA ia usg: ds "kCnka e&B, d xteh.k m | kx ds ckn nih jk xteh.k m | kx u'V gks x; k vks Hkkjrh fcd/su dk vkfFkd mi dj.k cu x; kAB²⁵

21 fl Ugk] , l -, u-] fn fjokYV vkND 1857 bu ctñsy [k.M l adyu&, d 1982] i-l a54

22 dhul] , p-th] fQ[Vh l ou] ylnu] i-l a86

23 i kf{kd l ekpkj&i=] ctñsy [k.M efDr ekpkj 16&31 eb] 2015] i-l a5

24 JhokLro] ješ k plñ] ckpk obko] i-l a145

25 usg:] ts, y-] fMLdojh vkND bf.M; kj i-l a356

rRdkyhu cknk tuin dikl vks uhy mRiknu dk cgr cMk
mRiknu dlnz FkA vc ; g eky l h/ks bxySM tkus yxk vks ogk; dh QSDV^a, ka
l s cuk eky Hkkjr vkus yxkA bl çdkj Hkkjrh; y?kq glr dyk m | ksx u'V
gks x; kA Hkkjr dk /ku fons'kka ea tkus yxkA ykx çjst xkj vks fu/ku gks
x; A vr% 1857 ds folyo ea ; g oxZ Hkh [kydj "kkfey gks x; kA ; | fi
fons'kh "kkl u dsf[kyQ vl arsk dh Hkkouk l ekt ds l Hkh oxkA ea Fkh yfdu
mudsf[kyQ [kydj yMæs dk l kgl Hkkjrh; l sudka ds vfrfjDr dkbZ ugha
dj ik; A dkj.k l Hkh "kfdrgu] vl gk;] vl æfBr vks xykeh egl w dj
jgs FkA nwl jh rjQ l sudka ds ikl "kL= vks l kgl nkuka Fk fdUr q muea
usRo vks mRl kg dh deh FkA og rks vaxsth QkSt ea bl fy, "kkfey Fks
rkfd og jstxkj çkr dj ?kj pyk l dA yfdu og vl arqV Fk D; kAd
; jki h; l sudka dh ryuk ea og oru of) vks inkhufr ugh çkr dj ikrk
FkA reke dkj.k l s mudh /kkfeZ vks l keftd Hkkouk, a Hkh vkgr FkA
Hkkjrh; l sudka us vl arsk ds dkj.k dbZ ckj fontg Hkh fd; s x; A 1806 ea
o'lyk fontg] 1824 ea çj di j ea fontg] 1830 ea "kkyki j ea fontg] 1842 ea
ghjckn ea fontg] 1842&43 ea fl dk ea fontg fd, A ykMZ MygkSt h ds l e;
rhu l sud fontg gks ppls Fk; 1849 ea 22oa , u- vkbZ dk fontg] 1850 ea 66oa
, u- vkbZ dk fontg vks 1852 ea 38oa , u- vkbZ dk fontg gvkA oLr%
jktulfrd] vkfFZd] l keftd] vks /kkfeZ dkj.k l s ns'k ea fontg dh Hkkouk
dk okroj.k cu x; k Fk yfdu vxj l sudka us fontg u fd; k gkrk
l EHkor% tu fontg u gkrkA buI usfy[kk g&BfLFkr dh l kjh d'ch Hkkjrh;
l suk ij fu; æ.k j [kus ea FkAß pch; Dr djr w ka ds ç; ksx dh ?kVuk vks
eaxy ik.Ms dks QkA h , d fpUxkj h FkA ; g fpUxkj h [kyk fontg ds : i ea
mRrj Hkkjr ea QSy x; hA fQj D; k fglnw; k eq yeku] jtk o uokc] l kekr
o tehkj] —'kd] etnij] L=h o i# 'k l Hkh [kydj fontg ea "kkfey gks x; s
vks ; g l sud fontg ; k bZ kb; ka ds çfr fglnw&eq yekuka dk 'kM; æ-
Lok/khurk çkr djus dk çFke l æ'kZ cu x; kA oh-Mh- l koj dj us vi us x'k
1857 dk Hkkjrh; Lorærk l æke ea bl l æ'kZ dks çFke Lorærk l æke ekuk
gA ; g ckr cgknj "kkg tQj }kj k tkjh ?kks.kk i= l s Li'V gSftl ea dgk
x; k g&BHHkkjr ds fglnw/ka vks eq yeku mBkA Hkkb; ks mBkA ijekRek ds l Hkh
ojnkuka ea Lojkt; gh ml dk fn; k gvk l ok'ke ojnku gA ftl "k'ku us
ml s gel s Ny l s Nhu fy; k gS ns'k] og dc rd ml s l EHkky l drk gAß²⁶
30 tu] 1857 dks dkyèkDI l us Hkkjrh; l suk ea cækor "kh'kZd ds
vUræR , d yç'k ea fy[kk&B1857 dh ØkfuR us u d'oy fofHku /kela f'glnw

26 l koj dj] ch-Mh-] 1857 dk Hkkjrh; Lokæ--l ej] i:l a1&13
Kanpur Philosophers June 2019 Page | 123

vksj ed yeku½ vksj tkfr; ka½ctā.k] jktiwr vkfn½ dh turk dks oju-fofHkUu
 l kelftd Lrjka dh turk dks, d= dj fn; k gA igyh ckj ed yeku vksj
 fgUnw, d nū js ds çfr vius oEUL; dks Hkwydj vius mHk; Lokfe; ka ds
 fo#) ,d tV/ gq FkA igyh ckj cyos ea fgUnw/ka us; q fd; s vksj vUr ea
 fnYyh ds fl gkl u ij, d ed yeku ckn"kkg dks cBk; k x; kA cyok dN
 LFkkuka rd l hfer ugha jgk vUrr% vkZy Hkkjrh; l suk ea fontsg fcYdy
 ?k.kkHkko 0; kid Lrj ij çnf"kr gksjgk FkkAb²⁷

vU; {ks=ka dh Hkkfr mi; qR dj.kka l s cknk tuin ea Økflur dk
 çknHkko gq/kA ml ij cknk uokc vyh cgknj f}rh; dh gS l; r dks de
 djuk rFkk ml dh tehmkjh Nhu yus l s og ckxh uokc cu x; s vksj [kwydj
 vaxstH QkSt dk epkcyk fd; kA 1850 ea [kMMh dh tkxhj ijljke l s Nhu
 dj cknk ea feyk yh x; hA vUre i'skok ckthjko f}rh; ds Nks/s HkkbZ
 verjko tks 14 vxLr 1803 ds fcfV"K l jdkj ds le>ks ds vuq kj dohZ
 dks viuk e[; ky; cuk; k Fkh vksj l kr yk[k i'ku ikrs jgs vksj cknk ftys
 ea dohZ&rjkjk dh tkxhj çklr dh FkhA verjko us vius i= fouk; djko dks
 viuk mUkjkr/kdkjh cuk; k] og i'ku çklr djrk jgkA 1853 ea ml dh eR; q ds
 ckn i'ku cñ dj nh x; hA ml ds nks xkn fy; s gq i=ka ukjk; .kjko o
 ek/kojko dks fcfV"K l jdkj usekU; rk nus l s bckj dj fn; k vksj tkxhj dks
 vius gkFk ea ysfy; kA ipkl o'kz l s vf/kd le; l s LFkfrir vaxstH l Ukk ds
 f[kykQ igyk fontsg ftys ds imhZ Hkkx eÅ ½p=dw½ l s çkjEHk gq/kA
 Hk&jktLo 0; oLFkk vksj vo/k jkT; ds foy; l s LFkfr; k; vksj xHkhj gks x; hA
 tehmkjk l jnkjk l kark ds vl rksk rFkk cakky ea Hkkjrh; l suk ds l kFk gq
 nq; ðgkj l s l sudka ea Hkh fcfV"K l Rrk ds f[kykQ fontsg mRiUu gq/k D; kid
 cakky ea vf/kdkk l sud vo/k ds FkA

cknk xtfV; j l s Kkr gkrk gS fd tu 1857 dks cMh l a[; k ea
 bykgckn l BVy tsy l s dsh Hkkxdj ftys ds imhZ {ks= eÅ vk x; s vksj
 ykxka dks l a'kz ds fy, mdl k; kA [ktkus l s #0 1200 yw fy, x; A 9 tu
 dks fontsg jtkij ds cktkj dks ywrs gq ccs rgl hy igpA edkz rFkk
 l exjk ds tehmkjka rFkk turk us l afBr gkdj ; epk unh ea pyus okyh
 ukoka dks yw fy; kA 12 tu dks ccs rgl hy ds [ktkus dks yw/kA l Hkh
 vfHkys[k vksj bekjrk dks u'V dj fn; kA ; gk; l s #0 500 yw/s x; A cBnk]
 tksjij rFkk iSykuh dh turk Hkh mino ds fy, rRij FkhA iSykuh rFkk
 fpYyk dh edLye xteh.kka us l "kL= fontsg fd; kA fcfV"K jstMwV us cknk

27 dkyekDI 7o Ymfjd , aYI] n QLVZ bf.M; u okj vKQD bf.Mi Md]
 1857&58] i-l a40

dLcs dks vi us v/khu j [kus dk gj l Hko ç; kl fd; k yfdu 14 tuu dks ml s Hkkxuk iMk tc Hkkjrh; l sukva us ; gk fontg dj fn; kA cknk dyDVj esu cknk dh l Rrk uokc vyh cgnkj dks l kA dj Hkkx x; kA ml h jkr 14 tuu dks vaxst vf/kdkfj; ka ds cknk NkM/RS gh uokc vyh cgnkj us cknk ea vi us "kkl u dh ?kksk.kk dj nhA ØkfuRdkfj; ka us Nkouh ds caxyka dks yw/vk vksj vx xk nhA ØkfuRdkfj; ka us ,syku fd; k&B[kYd [knk dk] efd ckn"kkg dk] gde uokc vyh ckn"kkg dkAB iWZ ljdkjh depkjh fMIVhdyDVj egEen l jnkj [kku dks cknk dk ukfte fu; Ør fd; k x; kA ^15 tuu dh l çg dohZ ds TokbUV eftLVV fe0 dkdjy tks bu ?kVukvka l s vutku Fks [ktkuk ydj cknk igpA ml us uokc l s feyus dk ç; kl fd; k yfdu ØkfuRdkfj; ka us egy ds ckgj ml dh gR; k dj nhA dkdjy dh gR; k ea fuEufyf[kr 0; fDr 'kkfey Fks²⁸&1- uokc vyh oYn cl kjr vyh] 2- vdcj ox xksy/lnkt] 3- Qs; kt egEen] 4- U; kt egEen] 5- egEen e[rkj] 6- nshnuh] 7- dknj cx] 8- x/V mOZ vgen vyh] 9- cks fcgkjh l okj] 10- clnsvyh] 11- jgew mOZ jghe vyh 1/2 l okj 1/2] 12- dkys [kka l okj] 13- drc vyh [kkuškek] 14- , ot vyh] 15- 'k[k xøkuA**

bl ds ckn ØkfuRdkfj; ka us tsy ds dsn; ka dks NkM; k] Hk. Mkj xg vksj "kkl=kxg ij vf/kdkj dj fy; kA vxys fnu c[k] ctkfeu] ykM vksj ctkfeu dh iRuh] c[k dh ek dks ekj Mkyk x; kA fontg doy cknk uxj rd gh l hfer ugh Fkk vfi rqb l dh fpakjh ijs ctnsy [k.M+ea/k/kd jgh FkA dohZ ea ukjk; .kjko vksj ek/kojko us uoEcj 1857 dks Lo; a dks i'skok ?kks'kr dj fn; kA jhok ds ØkfuRohj j.ker fl g] Qjtavyh] epln fl g dkyatj {k= ea nkf[ky gq vksj djry yw fy; k] dohZ bykds ea fi Mjk 1/2 kskk 1/2 ea nyxatu fl g l fØ; FkA jktxksou fl g rjksk ij vkØe.k dh ; kstuk cuk jgs FkA pks; kuk ds tkxhjnky ykyk xki kyjko] egUr txyynkl fontg; ka ds l kFk FkA uokc cknk us dbz ekpkā ij vaxstka vksj muds l g; kfx; ka l s eplkyk fd; kA dppj fā g dh enn l s j.ktkj nmok dks ij ktr fd; kA ml dk fdyk fuEuhij ea FkA og vaxstka ds l eFkd vt; x< ds jtk fot; fl g ctnsy dk l jnkj FkA vo/k dh l suk Hkh uokc ds l kFk FkA uokc us jkuh y{ehckbz vksj rkr; kVks ds dh Hkh enn dhA Qjoj 1858 rd Økār dh vx ijs cx ea FkA fons'kh "kkl u ds f[kykQ vke turk] efgyk, j etnij fdl ku Hkh "kkfey FkA ppkā dks tyk fn; k x; kA ; jkfi ; ka dk dRyske fd; k x; kA

28 exjhch] egEen bfy; kl] rkjh[k ctnsy [k.M eSe[Qfl y gkykr uokchu] cknk 1/2 mnū, dMeh y[kuA] 1978] i:l a179

cknk&fp=dW tuin ea 1857 ds fontsg ea l ekt ds l Hkh oxkã ds
 ; kxnu dk vkHkl feyrk gA ^uokc vyh cgknj cknk] ukjk; .kjk] ek/kojko
 doh] j.ker fl g] jhok] Qjtm vyh] epln fl g] nyxatu fl g] ykyk
 xki kyjko plfc; kuk] eglr tæynkl us fctV'k "kkl u ds f[kykQ fontsg dk
 fcxy QpdkA**29 14 tw dks vaxt vf/kdkfj; ka ds cknk NkM/s gh uokc cknk
 vyhcgknj us vius "kkl u dh ?kksk.kk dj nhA ml us ?kksk.kk dh&B[kYd [kpk
 dk] eYd ckn"kk g dk] gclæ uokc vyhcgknj dkAB³⁰ ftys dh jktiur
 "kfdDr; ka us Hkh vaxt ka ds fo#) cxkor dhA ^iSykuh] veykj] tkjij] cml
 tl ij]k ds fnf[krka us vius cphu fontsg Lohko dk ifjp; nrs gq vaxt ka
 l seplkyk fd; kA**31 ctnsy[k.M+ds nf{k.kh Hkx ea Qs ys/k; ka us Hkh vaxt ka
 ds fo#) fontsg fd; kA ^y/kh N=l ky ds vk/khu tkxhjn] jgA**32 Cknk ea
 fontsg dh "kq vkr 8 tw 1857 l s gA bl fnu bykgkcn l BVy tsy l s
 Hkxs l sudka us doh] ds iohz Hkx eA l s fontsg "kq fd; kA mlgkaus eA]
 jktki] ccs] edk] l exjk] cknk] tkjij] iSykuh] fpYk vkfn LFkkuka dks
 yw/l koZtfud l EifYk] vj] vfHky[kka dks u'V dj fn; kA fontsg; ka us cknk
 ea dsn; ka dks eDr dj; k] Hk.Mkj xg] "kkl=kxg] ij vf/kdkj dj fy; kA 17
 vçy 1859 dks tujy fvgVyk] vj] uokc cknk ds chp xk jk&æy ds eñku
 ea ; g] gA uokc ijftr gA ; g] ea 800 ykx ekj s x; A**33 Hkjkx<+fdys ea
 gtkja ykka dks Qd h nh xbZ vj] dbZ ykka dks dkyk ikuh dh l tk gA
 "gehij] tuin ds vej fontsg jko eghr fl g] dks 13 cfx; ka ds l kfk fdys
 ea Qd h nh xbA [kn] y{e.k] eVw fl g] tl ohj fl g] xk/k] xusk egjkt]
 "kclj if.Mr] l qku fl g] v; q; k fl g] l qbz fl g] ehj g] su vyh [k] l s; n
 blye ephj f"kdkgkcnh vkfn dks dkyk ikuh dh l tk nh xbA fdys ds cksak
 ea iDr; ka ea [kMk dj 108 cfx; ka dks xkyh l s m/Mk fn; k x; kA**34 vaxt h
 "kkl u ds nk]ku dbZ tkfr; ka dks vius jkstxkj l s oApr gkuk i Mk D; kãd
 vj] fuof"kd "kkl u dky ea fons'kh eky Hkjr ds cktjka ea vk x; k d'kdk
 vj] etnjka dks ija jkxr d'k mit dks NkM/elj uhy] dikl vj] xk/khoknh
 vkUnsyu ea budk LokHkeku tkxk vj] ; g oxZ xk/khoknh vkUnsyu dh
 "kfdDr cudj mHk]A

29 o#.k] Mh-i-h] cknk xtV; j] i-l a58&60
 30 o#.k] Mh-i-h] cknk xtV; j] i-l a59
 31 fl g] nhoku ifriky] ctns[k.M dk bfrgl] i-l a197&198
 32 fl g] nhoku ifriky] ctns[k.M dk bfrgl] i-l a203
 33 fjtohl , l -, -,] YhMe LVxy bu ; wh-] i-l a566
 34 ješk pln] cknk oBko] i-l a145 o 157

