

Kanpur
Philosophers
A UGC-CARE Journal

Biannual Journal of
New Archaeological & Genological Society

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Publisher

Secretary NAAGS Kanpur Chapter India

ISSN 2348 – 8301

Kanpur Philosophers

Volume VIII, Issue II, December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

**An internationally Peer Reviewed and Refereed Journal of
History, Archaeology, Indology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Law,
Literature & allied disciplines of Arts, Humanities and Social
Sciences**

**NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL & GENOLOGICAL SOCIETY 125/L/89,
FF104, GOVIND NAGAR, KANPUR U.P. INDIA 208006
<https://sites.google.com/site/kanpurhistorian/>
www.kanpurhistorians.org
dadajhansi@gmail.com
+91 941-555-7103**

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Contributors may send the two hard copies of newly published books for publication of Review in the Journal to

Secretary

New Archaeological & Genological Society
125/L/89, FF 104, Govind Nagar
Kanpur U.P. India -208006

Subscription

For Individuals / institutions

: Rs. 2000 (India)

: U.S. Dollars 50 (other than India)

HDFC Bank Govind Nagar Kanpur India

Account No.- 50200002911251

IFSC – HDFC0000298

Editorial

It's my pleasure to present the winter issue (2021) of "Kanpur Philosophers", a peer reviewed International Journal of Multidisciplinary Approach to Research and Studies; biannually published by "New Archaeological and Geological Society" Kanpur, India, to all the academicians, scholars, researchers, students, subscribers, friends and well-wishers. I would like to pay my homage to all those who lost their lives due to Covid-19. I express my gratitude to all the corona worriers, endangering their lives to the service of mankind. After witnessing two full year of distress and disruption caused to the human life worldwide and despite fresh challenges presented by the Covid-19 and its new variants, we are still optimistic for a better future to our coming generations and tirelessly working for the same. This optimism for a better future can be seen in the form of New Education Policy-2020, as announced by the government of India last year, after the gap of 28 long years. NEP-2020 is a welcoming step to fill the vacuum long awaited. One of the salient feature of the policy is to highlight the importance of Holistic and Multidisciplinary Education and underline the significance of Multidisciplinary Approach to research and education at all levels. I hope "Kanpur Philosophers" will remain proves to be a meeting point for the experts of various disciplines and research areas, to discuss their hypothesis and present their findings to the academia at large.

The current volume is a thick compilation of 49 selected papers and articles representing variety of disciplines and subjects i.e. Philosophy, Geography, History, Political Science, Economics, Commerce, Sociology, Education, Law, Literature, Mathematics, Theatrical Arts and Dramatics, Cinematography and few more. As well as papers came from length and breadth of India. Range of the subject areas is quiet wide and depth of the enquiry is from micro to macro level of research. However, History and Political Science are the two dominating subject areas covering more than 50 percent of the papers contributed in this volume. Few papers on relatively new areas of enquiry may need some mention here i.e. A paper on study of Cartoons to understand political sensitization, a study of movie Veer-Zaara to understand Indo-Pak relations, and the role of Saang, a theatrical art form of Haryana to influence the moral and cultural norms of the society, may provide researchers an insight to explore new avenues for research areas and material. I believe the spectrum of papers may prove its worth to the readers.

Once again, I would like to thank all the researchers and contributors of this issue of "Kanpur Philosophers", for the timely submission of papers and their continuous support, without which such endeavor could not take shape. Last but not least, I am indebted especially from Prof. Akhtar Hussain Sandhu from Lahore, Pakistan and Prof. Purushottam Singh from Kanpur, India, for their constant help in editing. I am thankful to the valuable contribution made by my

friends and colleague Dr. Adesh Gupta from Kanpur, Dr. Balaji Chirade from Nanded as well as Dr. Kuljit Singh from Bhaderwah. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Umakanta Mishra from Sambalpur (Odisha)

Now, I would like to thank all the contributors of the current volume of Kanpur Philosophers for their timely submission of papers despite various constraints. I am actually overwhelmed with the support they have shown, without which this volume could not take shape in such a short time.

Your valuable observations and suggestions are most welcome.

Atul Kumar Shukla

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Journal Details		
Journal Title (in English Language)	Kanpur Philosophers (print only)	
Publication Language	English	
Publisher	New Archaeological and Genological Society	
ISSN	2348-8301	
E-ISSN	NA	
Discipline	Multidiscipli	Copyright © 2021
Subject	Arts and Humanities Social Scienc (all)	Savitribai Phule Pune University
Focus Subject	History and Philosophy c Science , Lav	All rights reserved.
		 Disclaimer

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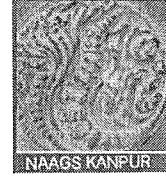
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DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

REVENUE HISTORY OF COLONIAL BANDA DISTRICT

DR. PURUSHOTTAM SINGH

Associate Professor of History

V.S.S.D. College Kanpur India

SURYAKANT MISHRA

Assistant Professor of History

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru P.G. College

Banda India

Abstract:

The details of land revenue policies under the Nawabi rule in Banda district of United Provinces can be basically given after 1803. After the Treaty of Besin in 1803, the eastern part of Bundelkhand district was considered. After this treaty, Nawab Shamsheer Bahadur second lost his sovereignty and the revenue administration in Banda came under British control¹. From 1804, a three-member "Board of Commissioners" was constituted for the revenue administration of Banda, in which Mr. Brooke (Appeal Judge at Banaras) was the President, Colonel Martindale (Army Commander in Bundelkhand), Captain Bailey (Political Agent Bundelkhand). From 1804 till 1819 this Board of Commissioners functioned. In 1806 Mr. Erskine was made in-charge of Banda and in 1819 the first collector of the newly created Banda district was also made. In 1822, the charge of revenue affairs was placed under the 'Central Board of Commissioners' which had its headquarters at Allahabad.

Introduction:-

A total of nine tehsils were established in the Banda land-revenue area as a land-revenue sub-region, in which the most prominent was Banda tehsil, which was known as 'Huzur Tehsil' during the Nawabi rule.² In addition to Huzur tehsil, Pailani, Simoni, Augasi, Darsaida, Chiboon, Taraunha, Badosa,

¹Pogson, W.R., "A History of Boondelas", first published Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1828, reprinted by BR Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1974, page-132

²Tiwari, Gorelal, "A Brief History of Bundelkhand", Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, 1934, page-276

Sihunda were given the status of tehsils. Initially Huzur tehsil consisted of villages falling within 20 miles of Banda Nagar. Huzur tehsil included some villages of Mataundh pargana. In 1818 the Iqta of Khandeh of 43 villages was taken over by Nana Govind Rao³. Nana Govind Rao was the Wali (ruler) of Jalaun, who had obtained Khandeh by suppressing the Marathas of Karvi. In 1826, on the recommendation of Mr. Fein, Collector Banda, the area of Khandeh was divided and its villages were merged into Simoni and Sihunda tehsils. In the early days of British rule, the pargana of Kalinjar was like an independent unit and was formerly separate from Kolhua Mafi. In 1819 Kalinjar pargana was merged with Badosa tehsil. According to Regulation 10 of 1833, the Nawab of Banda was given certain rights in the Sihunda tehsil. In this way, some changes were made in the revenue area of tehsils. For example, in 1840 Oran and three other villages were removed from Augasi and included in Badausa tehsil. Similarly Chasar and other three villages were merged into Sihunda. Thus by 1833, Parsauta, Koni, Lakhanpur, Darsaida, Chiboon, Purbawar, Bargarh, Kalpalgarh, Taraunha, Bhauri and Ainchwara had been included in the Karvi sub-division. Singhpur village of Kamasin was earlier in Augasi Tehsil which was included in Kamasin. Later, Karvi was given the status of Tehsil and the plateau area "Dadri ka Patha" was included in it. The headquarter of Simoni Tehsil was made at Tindwari. Tindwari came under Banda Tehsil in 1858.7 Thus finally eight tehsils were left. These eight tehsils were Banda, Pailani, Baberu (old headquarters Augasi), Girwan (old headquarters Singhuda), Badosa, Kamasin (old headquarters Darsaida), Mau (old headquarters Chibundh), Karvi (old headquarters Tarunhad).

Revenue History of Banda District:-

The land-revenue history of Banda district begins with Captain John Baili becoming the Political Agent of Bundelkhand. Mirza Zafar of Lucknow became his assistant in the work of settlement since 1804. Baili, with the help of Mirza Zafar, made the first settlement of the southern parts of Banda Tehsil, the northern part of Pargana Augasi Sihunda, Badosa, Parsauta and Koni villages. This settlement was similar to the Jama system of the Nawabi regime. Death of Himmat Bahadur Gusai After Kalinjar pargana came under British control and in 1805-06, Captain Bailey took control of the land revenue administration of Kalinjar. Finally, Erskine fixed the valuation of the entire Banda land revenue unit at Rs 1353723 in 1808-09⁴. In the eyes of the British, this valuation was done liberally because there were more problems in the land revenue unit.

Arrangement of Vouchop :-

³Parasnis, Dattatreya Balwant, "The Queen of Jhansi", Sahitya Bhavan Ltd. Prayag, Samvat 1997, p.214

⁴Pogson, W.R., aforesaid, page-122, Tiwari Gorelal, aforesaid, p.-278

Note - The Mughal emperor Shah Alam placed the tomb of Ali Bahadur I in the Shahi cemetery of the Qutb region of Delhi.

In 1808, Vouchop succeeded Erskine. Bouchop made the third regular settlement of the Banda land revenue unit. Vouchop made the settlement in accordance with section four of the Tenth Regulation of 1805. Vouchop faced great difficulty in this task as the Patwari papers were highly misleading in the absence of standard Bigha measurement.⁵ Therefore, it was difficult to determine the actual 'Jama' (land revenue) and it was also difficult to determine the actual expenditure to be incurred in realizing the land revenue. Vouchop fixed the land revenue rate at about 10% in proprietary areas, the payment of 'Jama' was fixed in Lucknow rupees, whereas in earlier practice, coins of Nawabs were deposited in Gauharshahi and at some places Sri Nagari (Bundela mint of Hamirpur district) coins were used to collect. After making a partial assessment of land of different fertility, it was fixed at 27% while increasing the land revenue rate drastically and the total revenue of Banda land revenue unit was fixed at Rs. The old parganas of Himmat Bahadur were also involved. It is noteworthy that the successors of Himmat Bahadur resided in Banda city.

Scott Waring Settlement:-

The fourth regular settlement of Banda district was done by Scott Waring in 1815 and subsequent years. Production increased due to excess of rain water in the administrative office of Scott Waring. Waring's conjecture was based on four sources. The first of these was related to tehsil data, which was attested from the rent roll on the basis of the fertility of the land. This was the most important source. Waring named his conjecture 'Har Nau e Tajweez'. The settlement of Waring increased by about 26% as compared to the previous settlement and fixed total land revenue of Rs.1952955. The land revenue of the parganas Banda, Pailani, Augasi, Kamasin was determined the most in the most fertile areas. Waring made property transfer easier. At the rate of every year, the vering increased the land revenue to some extent. In 1817, the total land revenue of Khandeh pargana was fixed at Rs.133490. Waring also started the practice of land auction.

Settlement of Campbell and Reid:-

Till 1820, the land owners of the district took advantage of the tenth regulation of 1818 and continued to pay taxes at the old rates. Hence the fifth regular settlement estimate was drawn up under Campbell and Reid. But the assessment of Campbell and Reid reduced the total land revenue by Rs 87138 and compared to the previous settlement. This was a new thing in the land-revenue history of the district because in the determination of this settlement, it was accepted that in the previous settlement, the valuation of some lands was more than the reality.

Wilkinson, Fenn and Begby's settlement:-

In 1825 the sixth regular settlement was made by three officers, Wilkinson, Fenn and Begby. Wilkinson determined the Curvy subdivision. Baki Fein

⁵Brockman, D.L. Drake, "District Gazetteers of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh-Banda A Gazetteer", Allahabad, 1909, p.124

determined the land revenue of Huzur tehsil. Begbi did the assessment work on Pailani and Augasi, all three of them fixed the total revenue of the district at Rs 1878999 and again there was a decline of 6% in comparison to the previous settlement Begbi worked in the capacity of Collector of Banda after Fen from 1827⁶.

Begby's Settlement:-

Collector Begby requested the 'Board of Revenue' to take direct control of some villages in March 1830. After getting permission from the board, 420 villages of five western parganas Banda, Sihunda, Simoni, Pailani, Augasi and Darsaida area of Karvi sub-division were taken under direct control. In 1834, Begbi demanded the total land revenue of Banda district. 1552399 fixed and again reduced in comparison to the previous assessment. This fixation was made applicable to villages under direct control for 15 years, while for other areas the fixation of 'deposit' was done till 1842.

Settlement of 1842:-

In 1842, for the first time scientifically determined 'Jama' in Banda district. These determinations were based on measles data. Survey work for settlement determination was started from 1836 and it was done by Deputy Collector Wright. R.R. of 'Board of Revenue' In 1842, the total land revenue of the district was fixed at Rs 169264⁷. Thus the assessment of 1842 also decreased in comparison to the earlier assessment. After 1842, Rose and Eggworth made land revenue assessments in 1848 and in 1855-56 by the Collector Main of Banda. Due to the revolt of 1857, most of the government papers were destroyed and in 1858, Maine again became the collector, again did the work of land revenue assessment and finally the settlement of Cadell finally determined the land revenue in 1874. In the assessment of 1842, the work of making measles was done on the basis of Jamabandi leaflet and was determined separately for Mar, Kabar, Padua soil. Assessment in Rakar soil was done at very cheap rates.

The fixation of land revenue also became the reason for the freedom struggle of 1857 in Banda district because the main objective of the revenue settlements was to fill the treasury of the East-India Company. Therefore, there was a competition among the British officers to increase the revenue and collect more and more. Historian R.C. Dutt believes that by the Charter Act of 1813 and 1833 AD by the British Parliament, trading monopolies were snatched from the East India Company. Hence this tendency developed among the officers of the company. The increase in revenue was done by putting pressure on the ryots and zamindars. The exploitation of the ryot made an important contribution to the revolt of 1857. The deteriorating condition of agriculture in Banda and the deteriorating industries intensified the events of 1857.

⁶Cadell, A., "Settlement Report of Banda District", North West Frontier and Oudh Government Press Allahabad, 1881, p-85

⁷Brockman, D.L. Drake, aforesaid, p.126

Economic Activities and Control:-Between 1809 and 1830, there was a sequence of famines, droughts, excessive rains and storms. Due to the extraordinary spread of Kansas, the fertile land was destroyed and it could not be plowed. Epidemics were wreaking havoc. As a result, a situation of "common bankruptcy" had arisen in the entire Banda district and the countryside was deteriorating. The installments of revenue could not be paid and in the year 1829-30, the amount of outstanding revenue of Rs 419076 remained recovered. The situation remained the same for the next two-three years as well. Being unable to pay the government revenue, the old tenants and zamindars left their respective zamindarias and thus 588 zamindaris and properties were taken directly under government control. The income of these zamindaris made up two-thirds of the total revenue of Banda district was even more⁸. The years of 1833-34 were also the years of famine in the whole of Bundelkhand. The situation did not improve in the following years also. Therefore, in the year 1837-38, the goods revenue was reduced to 1419869. This improved some conditions and by 1842-43 the amount of revenue was gradually increased to 1524777. During the five years between 1842-43 and October 1848, the revenue could not be increased much due to poor economic condition of the district. In 1848, the revenue of Banda district was approved for Rs 1585890. But instead of getting better, the condition kept getting worse. Due to the inability to pay revenue, people started selling their lands. Many zamindars fled their zamindaris and were picked up on contract by auction bidding. In Banda itself, in this way 28 zamindaris were given on contract. In Sihunda pargana of Banda, people were most troubled and sad due to increase in revenue in the last years and due to the spread of Kansas. Many big and small zamindars could not settle their debts of revenue and their zamindaris were sold. Sihunda had 184 zamindaris. Out of this, 103 which was more than half, thus the land passed from the hands of the family zamindars to the speculators, moneylenders and similar profiteers and usurers. For example, during the 'Sepoy Rebellion' of 1857, the economic system of Banda district was dominated by Gujarati Seth Kishanchand, Shyamkaran, Seth Uttamram Seth Udaykarn, son of local Khachanji, Rastogi Banye of Fatehpur Doab, local Nazir Jadoram Kayastha and Tirehi hereditary Kayastha Kanungo etc. They were not interested in further improvement of agriculture, farming and land development. Their relations with farmers and agricultural laborers were so far as they could exploit them and fill their coffers. The farmers of Banda's areas were illiterate, they were afraid of litigation, court and tehsil proceedings, due to which the patwaris became Kanungo and Tehsildars and they used to get arbitrary paperwork done in their favor by collaborating with moneylenders. In conclusion, due to all this, the pace of economic exploitation of Banda became very fast, which gave rise to fierce discontent and public anger against these classes and their backing British rule. There were many practices of land

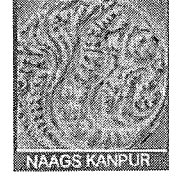
⁸Gupta, B.D., "Mastani Bajirao and his descendants Nawab of Banda", Vidya Mandir Publications Gwalior, 1984, page-85

ownership in Banda during the reign of the Nawabs, in which 'Bhej Brar' or 'Jamai' was the main. This word used to be recorded in Khatauni. Similarly there were separate rules for 'Court of Ward' land, which was reserved by the government⁹. Before 1858, the only source of information is Khatauni record. In 1804 the old Bundelkhand as the eastern part of the district, Banda was known for various rates and methods of land revenue assessment. Mau in Badosa tehsil was known for the practice of 'Dharbandi' in which the rate of land revenue was fixed on the basis of crop production. The rate of land revenue was determined on the basis of soil fertility and type of grain sown in different villages. The area of black soil was considered to be the most fertile while the areas of barren land such as the Patha area near Markundi were considered the least fertile. The use of 'progressive tax assessment' was used for the fertile of barren and fertile lands, mention of the use of 'progressive tax' in Indian history is found in Ain Akbari. Raja Todarmal did his experiments on this system. Malik Ambar adopted this system for the first time in the Deccan, later this system was accepted in all the government systems. Because the ryot was not ready to do agriculture on the fertile land. In this system, about 1/10th of the produce was asked for in the initial years, which was gradually increased in the coming years. The land revenue rate was usually fixed on the basis of per bigha. There was no change in the rates of land revenue since the Bundelkhand period, but in practice 'Thansa' or 'Bilmukta' rates were used. Acceptance rate, which was applied to the whole farm of uniform fertility. The caste of the ryot and its relationship with the zamindar were also important in determining this rate. But naturally the fertility of the land was the most important. For small cultivators 'The term 'kan' was used. This term was in vogue because of the high population density of the Pailani region. High rates were forcibly imposed by powerful landowners. Before 1858, the rate of about Rs.6/- per acre was set. The land revenue was determined, which was determined due to the most fertile mar soil in 'Huzar tehsil'. The most unfertile rock soil was determined to be 10 to 12 annas per bigha. The land in the fertile soil areas of rivers -Revenue rate could be up to Rs.8/- per acre. In Mar and Kabar villages more cattle numbers make the land fertile¹⁰. It was useful in the work of making. Five rupees per acre was fixed on the basis of yield in Paduwa soil area of Pailani. The land revenue rates were also determined on the basis of yield in the river basin and alluvial areas.

⁹Dutt, R.C., "The Economic History of India", Part I Publication Division New Delhi, 1976, pages 8 to 11

¹⁰Atkinson, E.T., "Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India, Bundelkhand", Allahabad, 1874, p.124

Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084
www.kanpurhistorians.org

THE RE-WRITTEN STORY OF WESTERN MAHARASHTRA

DR. BALAJI CHIRADE

Department of History
People's College Nanded India

Girish Kuber the renowned Editor in Chief of daily Loksatta, the leading newspaper in Marathi language, has published a new book in March 2021 'Renaissance State the Unwritten story of the making of the Maharashtra' by Harper Collins. He writes in Marathi as well as English newspapers regularly. He has a wide experience and one of the knowledgeable editors in India in general and Maharashtra in particular. Kuber has written this book to discuss about mindset of the Marathi Manus (Marathi Person). He has tried to cover almost all ancient and medieval age including rise and fall of Maratha empire till 1818. Kuber is not known for his authority either in ancient history or in medieval history and Maratha history. Still, he had spent half of his book on fast forward commentary on almost 2000 years history covered in mere 108 pages.

'Renaissance State' arrives in chapter number 10. The real renaissance came in Bengal first and then it spread all over country. Maharashtra was also one of the leading states during 1818 to 1947. Leaders from across the sectors arisen in this land. Kuber selectively covers some leaders and omits some leaders Maharashtra with mentioning their caste and subcastes, who were almost Brahmins. He also covers a high-pitched Marathi people fight for separate Maharashtra including Mumbai, when all nation was demanding linguistic states. From 1960 to 2021 he has discussed very important relevant political issue of Maharashtrian people.

Kuber has discussed 4 political leaders, who were almost reached to the prime minister's post but they never could. He has discussed about Yeshwantrao Chavan who was the most eligible person from the state, but somehow, he was denied. His political disciple veteran leader and founder of Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) Sharad Pawar was one of the competent

after the demise of Rajiv Gandhi. N. D. Tiwar, P.V. Narsimharao were his main competitors'. But again, destiny's verdict was against Sharad Pawar. In 1999, when Ms. Soniya Gandhi was active in politics, Sharad Pawar rose against her nationality issue, and established NCP. According to the author if he could have continued with Indian National Congress without any revolt, he could have been the one of the candidates for PMship instead of Dr. Manmohan Sing from 2004 to 2014. But Kuber also admits that Sharad Pawar himself rejected this possibility.

From other side Kuber writes an interesting fact regarding Narendra Modi's leadership. He writes that if Pramod Mahajan couldn't have murdered, when Atal Bihari Vajpayi's health was deteriorating and L K Advani was unfit to lead BJP for 2009 General Elections, then rise of Narendra Modi was impossible. With the murder of Pramod Mahajan, according to Kuber, Narendra Modi relatively junior in politics, was arisen. Again, this time one potential prime minister was lost. Lastly during 2019 when Devendra Fadanvis and his followers gossiped 'Devendra after Narendra (Modi)', but after Assembly results (November 2019) we have seen how Devendra Fadanvis was kept aside and cut his wings in Maharashtra itself. Though this example is exaggerating but we can have the canvass of state politics through the eyes of an editor. The author has discussed about the Sharad Pawar and his politics and he says that in coming general elections 2024, Sharad Pawar will be potential successor of the PM chair. Kuber says that Marathi person always tries to be second, vice, supporting role and never deceives to their leader only Shivaji, Bajirao Peshwa I and Lokmanya Tilak was exception to this. Kuber is of the view that Marathi man never come to the front and take charge of the group. He is confronted whatever is given to him and he never tries to revolt against it. It is different thing that even after revolting Sharad Pawar doesn't get PM seat and he had to stay in the same ministry for 10 years either secondary or tertiary portfolios.

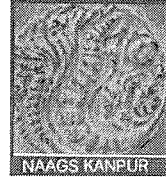
Kuber is never known for his authority in ancient and medieval and most particularly in Maratha history, still he made very courageous statements, which are factually wrong and non-historic. Though he admits in the beginning of the book that he had to exclude so many reformers and events but as his title says 'Renaissance State, Unwritten story of making of Maharashtra' then it must be remembered that all who were directly or indirectly supported people to overcome from their age-old superstitions and traditions they should be mentioned. Because, mostly readers of this book will be non-Marathi people. The author has covered 2200 years history in mere 218 pages, which is obviously not possible. This is a running commentary on Maharashtra politics, one must say this is a selective history of only western Maharashtra. He has excluded Vidarbha, North Maharashtra and Marathwada which covers almost 20 districts today.

This book draws a picture of Maharashtra for non-Marathi people in the world. In this scenario some important personalities can't be excluded. Persons like Raghunath Dhondo Karve (1882-1953), son of first Bharat Ratna

awardee D. K. Karve, who was the first doctor in India who propagated family planning and sex education, went against orthodox communities and continued his work till his last breath. Maharshi Vithal Ramji Shinde, who was the precursor of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, who fought for the rights and upliftment of downtrodden people. Another two important personalities in the state were Gadgebaba(1876-1956) and Tukdoji Maharaj(1909-1968). We can't imagine renaissance state without these names. Both fought against blind faith, superstitions and wastage of wealth in wedding ceremonies and focused on schooling of children and hospital facilities for laymen. Even we can't imagine Maharashtra without Dr. Narendra Dabholkar(1945-2013), who was murdered in Pune, was the president of AndhshradhaNirmulan Samiti (Committee Against Blind Faith). Can we imagine Maharashtra without Medha Patkar and Anna Hazare? The author has nothing to do with Hyderabad freedom struggle and its leader Swami Ramanand Teerth(1903-1972) and where Marathwada stands in renaissance state. Actually it is not 'unwritten' but 're-written' story of Maharashtra. It gives only primary information about Maharashtra to readers.

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EDUCATING THE MARGINALIZED MUSLIM GIRLS; THE KERALA EXPERIENCE

DR. AJMAL MUEEN MA
Assistant Professor and Head
Department of History
MAMO College
Mukkam Kerala India

Abstract

The Indian Constitution is committed to the equality of citizens and the responsibility of the State to preserve, protect and assure the rights of minorities in matters of language, religion and culture. That is why our national leaders, while framing the Constitution, emphasized the doctrine of unity in diversity¹-Rajinder Sachar Committee Report

Empowerment is the most frequently used term in development dialogue today. Empowerment literally means “to enable”. It refers to the accessibility and control over the existing resources that include material human and intellectual aspects. The term “women empowerment” refers to the process of strengthening the hands of women who have been suffering from various disabilities, inequalities and gender discrimination. Thus, women empowerment means self-esteem, self-reliance her rights, of herself.

Mrs. Pratibha Devi Singh Patil (former president of India) rightly said, “*Half the population is women’s population i.e. Half the Talent, Half the Progress and Half the Development*”. Thus, there is a need to develop and empowers the women in order to achieve the growth and development of the country. The concept of development requires a ‘relook’ and it should include a focus on women. Through empowerment, the women would gain the strength to create space for herself to grow, to seek justice,

¹ Sachar, Rajeendar, et.al, (ed.), *Social, Economic and Educational status of Muslim community in India; A report (Sachar Committee Report)*, Prime Minister’s High Level Committee Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, November, 2006
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have access to resources, equal opportunities and lead a life of her own towards self fulfillment. In such a situation has to evolve, there is very need to have a gender sensitive vision in policy framing, planning and implementation of developmental activities.²

Muslim women in India are not a monolithic group. There are dominant elements of heterogeneity, regional diversities, and class characteristics to Muslim women. So the treatment of the socio-economic status of India Muslim women has to be macro, analytical and generalized. It is big question covering nearly 70 million women population spreading in the whole country. However, except in case of sex ratio, other relevant demographical facts supported by statistical data like rates relating female mortality. Morbidity among children, nutritional inadequacies among women, maternal mortality, dropout rates from education and female literacy prove the pathetic condition of Muslim women in India. Women in general and Muslim women in particular, are a downtrodden section in Indian society. The participation of Muslim women in public sphere is comparatively very poor even after the introduction of women reservation bill. The literacy rate of Muslim women was lower than that of their non-Muslim counter parts in the India.

There are multiple causes for bad condition of Muslim women in the country. Reasons are not exclusive and are overlapping which includes historical, social, Political, economic, religious, social, etc. There are number of disturbing negative trends contributing to worsening the status of Muslim women in India. These included spreading of violence particularly through communal riots, hate campaigns, erosion of established socio-cultural structure of the existing social system, delaying legal remedies, etc.

Shibani Roy³ and M.Indu Menon⁴ in their studies on Muslim women have highlighted the positive impact of education on the lives and status of Muslim women. Education and economic independence have certainly liberated many Muslim women from the shackles of religious conservatism, social orthodoxy, economic dependence on man and familiar bondage. For the rest of the Muslim women too, the deliverance from ignorance and backwardness, dependence and degradation, lies in educational and economic advancement. This will make them aware of their socio-political rights and also rectify the disabilities they suffer being women and being members of a backward minority community. Justice M.Fathima Beevi, Supreme Court of

² Ashok Mittal, Arifa Saleem, Qamar Alam, 'Millennium Development Goals and Women Empowerment through Higher Education in India', *Excellence International Journal Of Education And Research* VOLUME 2, ISSUE 4, P. 504

³ Shibani Roy, Status of Muslim Women in North India (B.R. Publishers, Delhi, 1978).

⁴ M.Indu Menon, Status of Muslim Women in India: A Case Study of Kerala (Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981).

India, says that many, of the problems faced by Muslim women arise out of ignorance of law as well as from lack of will to assert their rights.⁵

Muslim women in Kerala

Kerala is a distinct state in India by its geographical peculiarities and cultural variations and traditions. The people of Kerala share a common culture that is known as Malayali culture. Social life of people is totally different; communal harmony and mutual amity is greater among Keralites, when compared to the rest of India. It is because the structure of Kerala society itself is constituted by mutual relationship of its people, irrespective of religion and caste. In the past, Kerala had come forward to welcome all religions from inside and outside the country: Buddhism and Jainism from within, and Islam, Christianity and Judaism from outside. Hindus constitute 57.28 per cent of total population, Muslims make 23.33 per cent of population, Christians make 19.32 per cent and others constitute 0.07 per cent of total population.⁶ Kerala has the highest percentage of literates among its population when compared to other Indian states.

Muslims constitute the second largest community in Kerala. Mappilas are the Muslim community living in the Northern part of Kerala, the area being known as Malabar since ancient times. Malabar was a district of Madras presidency during the colonial period. It has its own specific distinct culture, tradition, and heritage. The history of Malabar is often different from that of the other parts of Kerala. Overwhelming presence of Mappilas were the unique feature of this region. The Malabar districts are ahead of others due to the remarkable presence of Muslim community. According to 2001 census report, the over all sex ratio of the state is 1058 female for 1000 male and independent ratio of three communities are 1058, 1082 and 1031 females respectively.⁷

The conditions of Malabar Muslim women till the beginning of 20th century were not better off relatively with that of non Muslim women. Their life was centered on some traditional concepts. Hence, women were under constraints and controls and remained within the four walls of their houses. Consequently, they were not dared to seek western education and not even Malayalam. Malayalam was considered as the language of non-believers and hence was a taboo. So, the sweet fruit of academic education was denied to them. The only education allowed both for men and women was the education in 'Dars' and Madrasa attached to the mosques. The forces of orthodoxy in the Muslim society of Malabar determined the socio religious and political factors of the society. The system of education imparted through 'Madrasas and Dars'

⁵ M.Fathima Beevi, "Muslim Women: Problems and Prospects", in Siddiqui and Zuberi, Zakia A.Siddiqui and Anwar Jahan Zuberi (ed.) Muslim Women: Problems and Prospects (M.D. Publications, New Delhi, New Delhi, 1993), n. 7, p. 7.

⁶ Census report of India

⁷ Mahendra Premi., *Religion in India, A Demographic Perspective: Economic and Political Weekly*, (census data India), September, 25, 2004, P. 4299.

began to deteriorate on account of the ways and methods employed by untutored masters in teaching. The students were forced to learn the scripture by rote and memorise it. And they did it without understanding its meaning properly. This system did more harm than good in many cases. Students of tremendous potentials had their heart and brain stunted by rigid method of education. The pronouncements of the prophet were not understood properly and consequently there were many taboos, superstitions and un-Islamic practices.

On the other hand, the general notion of the backwardness of Muslim women and complete avoidance from education system has been questioned by many recent researchers. It is argued that the educational condition of Muslim women cannot be generalized. The present research itself explored a huge participation of Muslim women in Muslim majority villages into government primary schools.⁸ The history of lady religious teachers called 'Pen Usthad' or 'Mollachis' also points towards the participation of Muslim women in education⁹. In short, we can conclude that both participation and non-participation was there and it depends upon region to region and the socio-religious condition of the region and family.

While analyzing the condition of Mappilas of Malabar in 1887, William Logan, the collector of Malabar, has noted that

*"They are moreover, as a class nearly almost, if not altogether, illiterate. The early education received is a parrot like recitation of portion of the Koran, which, being in Arabic, none of them understand. The scruples of the parents prevent them permitting their children to attend the vernacular schools of the Hindus. A fairly successful attempt has however been to reach them by giving grants to their own teachers being illiterate as their pupils except in knowledge of Koran recitations, usually employ Hindu youths to teach the pupils and so earn the results grants. And some of the pupils, are now being taught teaching as a profession in special normal schools. The number of Mappilas who have advanced so far as to learn to read and write English in the schools could very probably be counted on the fingers of two hands"*¹⁰

There were no schools or colleges to impart education to Muslim women in early time, Mosques served as the main centers of education, where religious teachers taught Arabic and Islamic studies to youth and adult.

⁸ Ajmal Mueen MA, 'Attitude of village Muslims towards girl's education: a different story', in *Journal de Brahmavart Volume one, Issue one*, Quarterly Published by Brahmavart Research Institute 7A/1 Aman Patel Complex Vishnupuri Kanpur U.P. India (ISSN 2394- 6326)

⁹ Sadarudhin Vazhakad, 'Othupadippicha pen usthadumaar', in *Prabhodanam Weekly, Vol 70, Issue 12*, 23 August 2013, Kozhikode

¹⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, vol I, Reprint, Delhi 2009, p. 198

‘Othupalli’ and ‘Dars’ were the centers of Muslim education. ‘Dars’ was the centers of higher education and was exclusively for boys. Girls were taught Quran and Islamic studies from Othupalli. Majority of the girls got education from their mother or elder members of the family.

The early 20th century witnessed the emergence of reformist movements among all communities in Kerala. The Muslim reformers received philosophical energy and support from the pan Islamic movements and reformist leaders of the Islamic world in the world imparting of secular education, reforming the existing Islamic education system and encouraging girls education were some of the objectives of these reformers.

One of the pioneers of Madrasa movement in Kerala was Chalilakath Kunhamad Haji. He was appointed as Sadarul Mudarisin (Head master) of the Tanmiyathul Uloom Madrasas at Vazhakad in 1909. The Madrasa was established in 1871 and run by famous Koyapathodi family¹¹. He renamed the Madrasa as Darul Uloom Arabic college, and sought to turn it into a modern institution for the study theology as well as modern secular subjects. Girls were permitted to attend the classes on regular basis¹². However, he was forced to leave the institution by the opposition of the conservatives. Maadinul uloom Madrasa, founded by A.M.Koya Kunhi in 1911 at Kannur was another venture of that time.¹³ Similar initiative was led by Vakkom Abdul Kadar Moulavi in Travancore and in 1914, solely due to his effort the government began to employ Arabic teachers in several state owned schools.¹⁴ All these initiatives boosted Muslim girls education in Kerala.

Muslim Girls and Secular Education

Based on the charter Act of 1813 and report of committee on public instructions in 1823, the government allocated funds for the establishment of classical and vernacular language schools. But the government patronage to Muslim education was started only in 1870. British Government’s hostile attitude towards this Muslim community after the revolt of 1857 may probably be the reason for this delay was quite negative after 1857 revolt. The resolution put forward by government of India in 1871 and 1885 paved the way for improvement in the field of education among Muslims.

The number of Muslim students in government schools was very low during 1868-1870. Report of the Inspector of schools reveals the fact that the Mappila girls were reluctant to attend the new schools. The cohesive attachment of Muslims to their religion, culture language and tradition prevented them from modern education. The number of Mappila boys was far behind that of their counter parts. This situations gradually changed by 1870 onwards when the government initiated several measures to educate the

¹¹ Prof.U. Muhammead, *Educational Empowerment of Kerala Muslims, A socio-Historical perspective*, other books, Calicut, 2007, p 32.

¹² E.K. Ahmad kutty, *Islam and reformist movements in Kerala*, Calicut, 1982, p 12

¹³ *Ibid*

¹⁴ Pro.U. Muhammad, *Op Cite*, p,32

Mappila Muslims. In 1871, the Government of India issued a resolution to respond appropriately to improve educational level of Muslims. The resolutions directed to allow classical and vernacular languages of Muslims in all government schools and colleges. The resolution recommended establishing English schools in Muslim majority districts. Moreover, it appeared to give them Grand - In - Aid to open schools of their own and encourage Arabic studies in the university courses.¹⁵ 96 Mappila schools were established and a total number of 3634 students were enrolled within two years of implementation of these special measures.¹⁶ The government also provided special Grand-In-Aid for the improvement of Mappila education.

We can notice an immediate increase in the number of Muslim students, especially girls in the year 1883-84. The number of Muslim girls enrolled in government schools reached 1016 during 1983-84.¹⁷ It shows that the Grand- in -Aid of the government was highly influenced the Mappila's enrolment to schools. But, still, the number of school-going girls in Malabar was very low while comparing to other communities and regions. At the same time, the progress of female education had been very slow in comparison with that of boys.

The government appointed a separate Deputy Inspector, for Mappila schools in Malabar for further expansion of Mappila education and allocated a special Grant-in-Aid to the immediate effect of the measures was the increase in the number of students and schools in the region. The number of Muslim girl students increased from 874 in 1885-86 to 2196 in 1886-87.¹⁸

A Mappila female normal school was established at Calicut in 1883. By establishing such a school for Mappila girls the government had expected that it would help to extent female education among the Mappila community. In addition to this school, three preparatory or sectional schools to train teachers for the primary school examination were established at Thalassery, Malappuram and Tirur during 1889-90.

This effort for improving education was hampered greatly by the occurrence of violent peasant outbreaks in Malabar. The number of students attending schools was declining steadily during the time of outbreaks. The government introduced Mappila scholarship during this time. Apart from Muslim boys, Scholarships were reserved for girls also. The Mappila pupils, who attended training courses for the profession of teaching, were given an allowance of Rs. 2 per month. An additional allowance was given to Mappila

¹⁵ K.K. Ali, *Moonu Muslim Parishkarthikal*, 1PH, Calicut, 2004, p 31

¹⁶ K.T. Muhammed Ali, *The Development of Education among the Mappilas of Malabar (1800-1965)*, Nunes publishers, New Delhi, 1990, pp.73-74

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p 82

¹⁸ *Report of the Inspector of schools, 6th circle (Malabar) for the year 1885-87*, Quoted in Shabeerali K.K., *The Development of Muslim Women's Education*, Un published M. Phil thesis, centre of Arabic and African studies, JNU, 2005, pp.47-48
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female students who were under going training and did not reside at town where they were being trained.

The position of Muslim education, particularly the women situation, was pathetic even in the dawn of the 20th century. Out of 19000 students, little over 300 were crossing 4th standard. During 1909-'10 total numbers of students in girls schools was 820 compared to 627 in 1900-01. The number of girl's schools and the strength of students increased to 14 and 805 from 12 and 655 during 1902-1905.¹⁹

Even though the community continued their opposition to the British, rule their indifference to education were slowly by breaking down after 1910. The establishment of Khilafat committees and the revolt of 1921 were a major setback for this steady improvement of Mappila education. Due to the Government initiative towards educating Mappilas and emergence for reform movements, we can notice a satisfactory growth in the number of enrolment into educational institutions after 1921. It was a significant turning point when six Mappila girls were admitted to the higher elementary grade during 1929-30.²⁰

There was a large increase in the number of Muslim girls who joined the schools in 1935-36. Five Muslim girls appeared sat for the Lower Grade Arabic Munshi's Examination. A Muslim lady graduate was deputed to undergo training in the Lady Wllington College, Madras. 86 associations cooperated for doing propaganda work for girl's education through Grant –in-Aid.²¹

In 1907 only two Mappila students were attending Arts Colleges. Muslim educational level in different provinces remained low under the colonial rule. It was not only the case of Malabar but India as a whole. During 1881-82, the enrolment rate of Muslims in various intuitions of Madras presidency was at 3.4% against 16.3% in UP and 25% in Punjab.

Muslim Women Teachers for teaching girls

Othupalli had an important role in the history of Muslim education in Kerala. Students would gather in learning circles or *Othupallis* to read a text or set of texts under the guidance of a spiritual teacher. The name was a composite form of two Malayalam words 'Othu' (recite) and 'Palli' (mosque). It is a sort of primary school for religious and Arabic education for both boys and girls. Girls were allowed to get only *Othupalli* knowledge in the morning. The method of teaching was oral. A teacher, who was called 'Mullah', 'Musaliyar' or 'Mollaka', would recite the lesson and the students would be asked to recite the same repeatedly until they memorized it.²² Teacher would

¹⁹*Report on public instruction*, Madrass presidency for the year 1890-10, quoted in Shabeerali K.K, Ibid, 48

²⁰*Report on public institutions* , Madrass presidency for the year 1890-10, Quoted Shabeerali, K.K, Ibid, 48

²¹*Ibid*, p 50

²² William Logan., *Malabar Manual*, P.198.

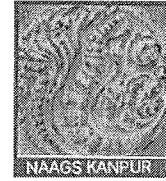
write Arabic alphabets on a wooden slate by a bamboo pen and ask them to read it. During the process of learning pen, pencil, book, black board or chalks were not used.²³ The latest study revealed many Muslim women were also engaged in the teaching of Islamic texts during that time. These teachers called as *Mollachi* or *Pen Usthad*.²⁴ This group was very popular in the early part of 21st century. This group of women religious teachers spread in almost all part of Kerala may be a rarest rare group in this country and may be not seen in other communities and religion. Unfortunately, there were not held any serious academic research to find out this group of women teachers and to analyze their role in educating the society.

Alappuzha Pulikkal Rukyabeevi, Ambalapuzha kacherimukkil Fathimabeevi, Veliyamkot TK Fathima Musliyar, Parappanangadi Usthad Nabeesa, Ayisha, Fathima, Kunjamina of Ponnani, koottilalngadi Biyyunni Mollachi, Patterkadav Srambikkal Fathima, Kazargod Kumbalayil Imbichi Ittha and her daughter Nabeesa were some of the among these list.²⁵ They conducted classes within their houses or a room called *othupura* near to their houses. Reading of Quran was the main item of teaching. Basics and practical sessions of Islamic theology and activities were also taught. Both girls and boys are entered into the classes. Beyond being a religious activity, they considered it as a profession to meet their day to day expenses. Their participation in socio religious life of Kerala has yet to be researched.

²³ Muhammad Ali. K.T., *Op ct*, P. 38.

²⁴ Sadarudheen Vazhakad, Othupallikalil Poothulalnja Jeevithangal, *Prabhodanam Weekly*, Vol 70, Issue 12, 23 August 2013

²⁵ *Ibid*



**COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN THE INDO-
GANGETIC DIVIDE AND THE MIDDLE GANGETIC
VALLEY: ECOLOGICAL SETTINGS AND SOCIO-
CULTURAL FORMATION**

DR. SHWETA VERMA

Assistant Professor

Department of History & Archaeology

H.N.B. Garhwal Central University

Chauras Campus, Uttarakhand India

Abstract

India is a land of many rich and diverse culture and civilization expanded in northern, southern, western and eastern Asia. Starting from the prehistoric to Indus and continuous till Gangetic civilization, the archaeology of the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Middle Gangetic valley attracted the attention of many scholars. It could be very firmly established that Indus culture could not decline suddenly. It was held in late twenties and thirties but its decline was very slow. It spread far beyond the areas that could have been imagined in the early period researches. In the Middle Gangetic plain, it could be established that the culture antiquity of the area goes beyond the Buddhist period that is sixth century BCE.

Our focus is on the period, which spans from the Indo-Gangetic to the Middle Gangetic valley or from bronze to Iron Age. Considering that, the region favors favorable environmental condition and cultural settings.

Concerning the above argument, the paper is divided into two parts. First part deals with the comparative study of the ecological settings in the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Middle Gangetic valley. This can be viewed in the context of the ecological conditions such as climate, soil, rainfall pattern and so that led to support the growth of wheat as main crops of Punjab region and paddy as the eastern U.P. and North Bihar region. While second part deals with the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural aspects between these two specific regions. Moreover, what led to the process of culture in transition?

Keeping these questions in my mind, I would also like to trace the pattern of adaptation and literature concerns.

Keywords: Ecological, Socio-Cultural Formations, Culture antiquity, Transitions.

Introduction

In the present study, our focus is on identifying the revaluation of the ecological setting and social and cultural changes of the Indo-Gangetic divide to the Middle Gangetic valley during the first millennium B.C. The social and cultural foci shifted from the Indus valley to the Gangetic valley after the decline of the Indo-Gangetic divide. The Gangetic valley gradually became the area of concentration, which witnessed the second urbanization of India, giving rise to the first imperial power of Indian history. This process of changes give rise to Magadhan imperialism took several centuries. There is an urgent need that this ecological zone, distinct from the Indus valley, where the present Indian civilization acquired its true form. The present work is an humble attempt in this direction.

Many archaeologists, historians like Gordan, Marshall, Sir Wheeler laid the foundation of archaeological activities in the Indo Gangetic divide and the Mid-Ganga plain. Individual cultural period like the Ochre Coloured Pottery Ware, the Black and Red Ware, the Painted Grey Ware, the Northern black polished ware cultures which successively occupied part of the Gangetic plains were studied by B.B. Lal, M.N. Deshpande, Y.D. Sharma, D.P. Agarwal, A.K. Singh, A.Ghosh, D. Chakravarti, Makhan Lal, R.S. Sharma and so on. Most of the researches so far have been done highlighted varied aspects of socio-cultural of these regions. However, no attempt has been made to examine the total socio-cultural sequence of these regions so as a concerted picture emerges. In order to this I made an attempt in my study to focus on the differences and similarities between these two cultures zones and would like to trace the process of change during the millennium when continuous cultures came up one after another. Concerning that, my intent is to deal with certain issues related to that as what are these changes. What is the basic cause of it? Did they take place under some alien influence? Responding to these questions my paper is divided into two parts. First part deals with the comparative study between the Middle Gangetic valley ecological settings to the Indo-Gangetic divide. Second part deals with the socio-culture formation taken place.

Ecological Study

Concerning Ecology is the study of the relation of plants and living creatures to each other and to their environment. Ecology does to human society, what the social environment does to the human individuals. It shapes human behavior and society. Indeed, the ecological setting has an important role to play in the making of human culture. The area of habitation, natural surroundings with the flora and fauna, the climate, river, soil and drainage available in particular surroundings shapes human behavior. Therefore, it is vital to take into account the ecological background into which a culture

flourishes. In the present study, I would like to examine the feature of the Indo-Gangetic divide to the Middle Gangetic valley.

The Mid-Ganga Plains cover an area of approximately 160,000sq. km, extending from the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna at Allahabad in the west to Rajmahal in the east, where the Ganga takes a turn to the south¹. Specifically, eastern U.P. and north Bihar are the regions, which are part of the Mid-Ganga Plain. During the fifth century BCE, this area was called as the Majjhimdesa².

The Middle Ganga plain stretches for about 300 km from the Himalayan foothills in the north and Vindhyan ranges in the south. It attained its present form during the post-Tertiary period when this deep trough filled up by fine alluvium brought down by the Himalayas in the north with an average thickness of 1300-1400 meters³. In pre-historic times when this deep trough filled up by fine alluvium brought down by the Himalayas in the historic times, the main river Ganga watered by several tributaries flowed sluggishly in a meandering fashion. The western and eastern boundaries of the Middle Ganga plain coincide with forty inches and seventy inches annual isohyets respectively. This natural region comprises nearly the whole of Bihar lying north of Ganges as well as portions of Shahabad, Patna, Gaya and other districts lying immediately to the south of the river, together with that part of U.P. lying east of Allahabad and north of Ganges⁴. While the ecology of the Indo-Gangetic divide is very difficult to be described as a homogenous region (which includes plain and hills). The region is bounded by the sharply rising and straight Siwalik hills in the north, the Yamuna in the east and in South it grade into the Thar and its limit may be taken as the Ghagghar and in the south east the low broken Aravallis ridge which reach out to Delhi⁵.

The modern states of Punjab, Haryana and Delhi geographically come under the Indo-Gangetic Divide. It is situated between 27°39' N - 32°31' north latitude and 73°53' to 77°36' east longitude. It covers an area of 95,714 square kilometre. The state of Rajasthan flanks it from the south and southwest and on the east it is separated broadly by the Yamuna from the Uttar Pradesh, while the Shiwaliks form the northern boundary (includes districts of Ambala, Rupa, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur).⁶ The plains in Punjab consist of three doabs. The first is oblong shaped area between the Ravi and Beas is called Bari doab. It covers the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. The triangular shaped area between the Beas and Sutlej is called Bist Jalandhar doab. It is

¹ Spate, O.H.K., and Learmonth, A.T.A., *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography*, 1967, pp. 563-70.

² Singh, R.L., *India: A Regional Geography*, (Ed.1987), P.183.

³ Singh, S.K., *Urbanization of the Middle Ganga Plain*, 2010, P. 21.

⁴ Stamp, L.D., *Asia- A Regional and Economic Geography*, 1959, pp. 316-326.

⁵ Lal, Makkhan., Population distribution and its movement during the second and first Millennia B.C. in the Indo-Gangetic divide and Upper Ganga Plain, *Puratattva No. 18*; 1987-1988.

⁶ Singh, R.L., *India: A Regional Geography of India*, Varanasi (Reprint), 1987, pp.83-4.
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covered by the bet Beas and the Sutlej on two sides and kandi region (dissected foothill plain) on third side. It comprises northern parts of Rupnagar, Jalandhar and Kapurthala districts. Besides the two perennial rivers (Ravi and Beas), the region is watered by two seasonal streams – White Bein and Black Bein, slopes from east to west.

The state of Haryana does not consist of doabs unlike the Punjab. It comprises only one perennial river – the Yamuna along with its tributaries only in the eastern parts and several seasonal streams. The river system has two distinct drainage lines – one towards the southwest and southeast from Shiwaliks and the other towards the north and northeast from southwest. The southwest slope includes the seasonal rivers such as the Rakshi, Umla, Ghaggar, Sarasvati, Markanda, Tangri, Chautang, etc., while the southeast slope consists watercourses like Boli, Somb and Yamuna. The north and northeast slope comprises the seasonal watercourses like the Dohan, Indori, Kasoti and Sahibi rising from the Rajasthan.

The soil of the region is largely, homogenous. The alluvial soils (developed mainly from deposition of silt laid by rivers) are usually good, sandy, clay loam, sandy loam. Locally these soils are termed in a different manner. The sandy soil is known as Bagar, Retli, Poli, Tibba; sandy loam as Bhur, Magda; clay as Dakar Dahr, Dhaka, Matyar, Kikand, Chicknee; loam as Seoti, Rausli, Retli, Gasra, Narmat; clay loam as Kali, Karri, Karrar.

Here these soils are discussed under three zones - in the southwest area there is a relatively narrow band of light desert type soils (sandy and sandy loams), which correspond to northeast penetration of the Thar Desert. The second type of soils also forms a narrow band in the northeast, which correspond to the Shiwalik uplands. The latter are sandy and rocky tracts and do not provide agricultural potentials. Between this band of desert soils and Shiwalik uplands, is a vast band of medium to heavy soils consisting of various types of loam and clays, and is the most productive region. Besides these, the sandy uneven sub-montane area- Ghar, Kandi in Jagadhari, Kalka, Naraingarh (Haryana) consists of sandstones, boulders and pebbles. These tracts are overgrown with the thorn bushes. The land is cut up by deep ravines, locally known as darar. In the rocky surfaces of the Aravalli in Tosham, Gurgaon, and Mahendargarh (Haryana) prevail the coarse type of soil. It is not favourable for crop production.

Changes in the course of the Indo-Gangetic River have caused major population movement. This led to the shifting of tribal society from one place to another. This changed their mode of sedentary life to new pastoral life and advance agricultural life. This change was not a sudden process. This shifting cultivation required new sites. Hence, the formation of an assertive society was richer than immediate predecessors.

The crux of my study is to deal with the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural aspects between the Indo-Gangetic divide and the Middle Gangetic valley. Moreover, what led to the process of culture in transition?

Keeping these questions in my mind, I would also like to trace the pattern of adaptation and literature concerns. I have attempted to study the social and cultural change and developments of the Middle Gangetic Valley region, that is, eastern U.P. and north Bihar and the Indo-Gangetic divide, that is, Punjab, Haryana and the adjoining areas of Rajasthan. These two regions have a separate political identity with overlapping pottery culture. Concerning their social systems and religious beliefs, one can say that they have two cultural zones that share much of the broader Middle Gangetic valley culture. So they can be better understood as two broad regions with different states.

I have tried to show that the fifth century BCE to third century CE was a period of transition in the Middle Gangetic Valley from small chiefdoms to two large monarchical states of eastern U.P. and north Bihar. It was a period when various tribal and migrant groups experienced the process of transition from tribes to caste. It is amidst favorable conditions of transition that the caste society of the Middle Gangetic valley emerged. With the consolidation of the regional state, there was also the consolidation of caste. Yet the broader categorization of the communities is to be understood in their relation to each other.

Historically speaking, the whole region was inhabited by human settlements since pre-historic times. The major dynasties of the region were the Kasi, Kosala, Magadha, Vatsa, and Cedi in Fifth century BCE and they practiced an early form of Buddhism. The existence and spread of the Buddhism in the region is suggested on the basis of the use of Pali in Buddhist literature, a language associated with this region. The region had been ruled by the such rulers as Bimbisara and Ajatasattu of Magadha, Mahakosala and his son Pasenadi, Sakyas of Kapilavasthu, The Mallas of Kusinara, the Licchavis of Vaishali, Udayana of Kosambi, Janaka of Videha, Candapajjota of Avanti and so on who have been mentioned in the Jatakas⁷. In his writing, Sinha points out that many stories in the Jatakas are set in the kingdom of Rajgrah, Kasi, Kosala, Patliputra, Vaishali, Mithila, Vajji, Videha, Magadha, Anga and Champa and so on.⁸

This region was a very dynamic and transitional zone and a study of its ecology in relation to its present day geography, gives a better understanding of the various processes of cultural formation and transition into state society in the fifth century BCE. The role of expansion of agriculture, development of new religious culture and evolution of caste structure in state formation are all studied in an integrated manner to trace the development of North Black Polished Ware in the area. The NBP finds also suggest some significant social developments. A temporal study of the spread of NBP indicate that not only in the Middle Gangetic valley but in the adjoining areas of the Indo-Gangetic divide a class of people used deluxe pottery and semi-precious stones. This class played a vital role in the formation of social order and state. Hence, the

⁷Sen, B.C., *Studies in the Buddhist Jatakas*, 1974, P. 28.

⁸Sinha, B.P. *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, vol.1, 1974, P. 100.

NBP considered as a good index of the process of both the class differentiation and agrarian expansion.

Concerning the structure in pre-300 BCE it is noted that there is absence of burnt brick structure because of poor ecological support but it does not mean that there is no town. The conjunctive study of the archaeological and literary source indicates the use of wooden houses with iron implements in the towns around sixth century BCE. In early Pali text, we also came to know about the term such as nigama, nagara, nagaraka, mahanagara and rajadhani and so in the pre-Mauryan times.

With regards to the economy, the real transformation took place in the second stage due to the use of iron, which acted as a catalyst in a material based life. The people who harnessed iron in the Mid Ganga plains enlarged the settlement area enormously. They went far ahead of their predecessors in respect of art, factual equipment, commercial and artisanal activities and agricultural productions. The use of iron tools in agriculture and paddy transplantation also made available considerable surplus with which the complex society comprising of priests, rulers, soldiers, merchants, artisans, professional etc. could be maintained. Finally, by 500 B.C., cities began emerging but there were still no such institutions as a regular army or taxation on agricultural surplus. Hence, agriculture based on the use of the iron share, led to the foundation of urban settlements in north-eastern India around 600 BCE.

With regards to trade and commerce according to Sharma, this surplus production also led to advancement in trade and commerce. Trade was facilitated by the use of punch-marked coins, stratigraphically ascribed to the fifth century BCE. in the Middle Gangetic zone and may have appeared earlier. A new kind of pottery called NBPW also appeared to be used for religious and may have helped trade. It could be used as an item of trade because of its glossy, shining fabrics used by well to do section of society. However, an interesting point noticed here that coastal navigation was considered as sinful practice therefore exempted for the Baudhayana. Hence, the new advance agriculture, trade and advent of the coins enabled both the rulers and traders to accumulate wealth and gave rise to economic inequalities. In India, full-fledged state society formed primarily due to the conflict that arose between the tribal agricultural landowners, Brahmans and Kshatriyas on the one hand and the cultivators on other. Thus, Sharma is clear that even though the Neolithic-chalcolithic settlers advanced in agriculture and craft production, the effects of the development of the Iron-NBPW culture such as high productivity and fairly populated settlements only arose in the Middle-Gangetic plains as a result of interaction of these settlements with people of the later Vedic age. Though iron had already introduced in the Middle Gangetic valley during the preceding PGW/BRW period but it gain its importance during the NBPW period. During this period the iron, weaponry is quite rich in but not as much richer than the copper bronze weaponry than the Indo-Gangetic divide.

According to Sharma, another force of production was the labour forces released surplus production for the rise of state and caste based societies in which the governing and religious wings of the ruling class could collect taxes. This unique social structure came to be known as Varna system. This was marked for the first time, the function of four Varnas defined so that those who concerned with distribution and appropriation were considered as high and those who engaged in primary production as lower Varnas⁹. As peasants, herders and traders the vaishyas became the principal taxpayers and as slaves and hired labourers the sudras became the primary suppliers of labourpower. Hence the rise of this force of production led to the need for promoting agriculture on the one hand and the social inequalities on the other.

With regard to the structure of caste society, he categorizes a particular community to permanently providing a specific form of labor or services. This is evident with the chandalas, nisadas, pukkusas, and untouchables who provided specialized sources of labor. When forested areas came under these land grants, the tribe and clan could conveniently be converted into shudra peasants. This interaction between the state and the tribe led to the accumulation of tribes into castes. This kind of pattern was followed in areas where newly cleared forests joined the state depicted in many Buddhist texts. Thus, this system of converting tribes to caste adds a new dimension to the social history of tribe and caste. It also signifies a step towards a state system. Caste system developed only after the introduction of high cultural tradition and ideology due to which various segmented identities evolved to form a stratified state system. Romila Thapar, also echoes a similar proposition.

Concerning to the food habits of the population in the eastern U.P. and north Bihar indicated by the Satapatha Brahmana that cattle wealth was being decimated by slaughter in sacrifices to meet the dietary needs during the prefield agricultural stage. They were not only used for dietary needs but also be for the religious purposes as in numerous occasion in public rites and various sacrifices. Moreover, according to Louis Renou, Vedic India says that in one text it also refers that they used in funeral ceremony given to the passers-by. The early Pali texts contain numerous references to cow killing. However, later on remarkable change noticed when Buddhist in against of animal sacrifice considered agriculture operation to be more significant. Hence, this change was certainly revolutionary teaching at the time when cattle slaughtered for food and religious beliefs.

Thus, from the above observation it is noted that the process of transition from tribes to caste has multiple facets. Since this transition is of primary importance to state formation, it is clear the creation of a state was never simple. As a historical process, caste went through many stages where it retained certain tribal characteristics and at the same time overlapped with new and diverse groups. The layers intertwined to reveal the complexity of the

⁹ Sharma, R.S., *Shudras in Ancient India*, Motilal Banarasisdass:Delhi, 2002.

state where interlinks between the ritual and economics status were formed and maintained.

While the archaeology of the Indo-Gangetic divide attracted the attention of scholars since late forties only. Comparing this region with the Middle Gangetic valley, we came across dissimilarities and similarities in the socio-cultural aspects between these two specific regions. Therefore, I have tried to explore the nature of linkages between modes of material life, pattern of settlement, distribution of population, pattern of adaptation and migration of only the late Harappan and Painted Grey Ware settlements.

The Indo-Gangetic divide enjoys a semi-arid monsoon type of climate. It is characterized by the deficiency of rainfall over its greater part, high summer temperature and evaporation more especially in the southern parts. It seems that the annual average temperature ranges from 23.1°C to 25°C showing an almost uniform condition in the region. The ecological settings of the region that led to its migration and adaption I have already discuss in my first section. So here, I am not going into the detail on these points. This section deals with the socio-cultural changes aspects that led to the process of material culture in transition and social formation.

According to the researches carried out and discovery of Painted GreyWare (PGW) at Ahichchhatra 1946, in the last four decades shows that the region was attractive during the proto-historic period. And a huge number of sites have been brought to light in different parts of north India. Out of these 30 sites have been excavated. Some of the well-known excavated sites are Rupar (Punjab), Bhagwanpura (Haryana), and Noh (Rajasthan).

The remains of Harappan culture discovered in the extended above boundary in the Indus plain. Hence, it is apparent that the main area of population concentration during the Harappan period was Saraswati-Ghagghar basin in which more than 600 settlements of different stages of Harappan culture have been discovered. The main population concentration during the early and mature phase was the middle of the basin in the district of Punjab and Haryana. In Punjab late Harappan settlement increase their number to 130 in comparison to 37 mature Harappan settlements. While In Haryana these settlements increase to 297 in comparison to only 43 mature Harappan.

Moreover, the concentration of PGW sites is in the Indo-Gangetic divide Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. Settlements are located along riverbanks. The average distance from one site to the other is about 10 km. to 12 km. However, in some cases it is also 5 km. The settlements at these sites are mostly small villages (1 to 4 hectares) with the exception of Bhukari (Ambala district, Haryana) which is an extensive settlement covering 96,193 sq.m. Let us examine the various objects that are found associated with the PGW culture:

The large number of settlement is not due to the large population but also due to constant shifting and drying of several river channels. This force people to shift in those areas, which had been economically more advanced in ecology and resources. The remains of large number of small village, towns and cities

show that the area was quite well populated. Most of the population settled along the river¹⁰. The smaller size of settlements during this period indicates that villagers were of smaller size and perhaps there were fewer towns. Certainly, there might be no cities.

With regards to the structures, the houses and other structures were of wattle and daub. This is indicated by the occurrence of patches of burnt earth, mud bricks, burnt bricks, mud platforms and mud plaster pieces, with reed and bamboo impressions in the excavations at Ropar, Noh and Bhagwanpur. Excavations at Bhagwanpura (Haryana) site revealed different structural phases. Postholes in the first phase indicate circular and rectangular huts. In the second phase, one house has 13 rooms with a corridor between the two sets of rooms. This house also has a courtyard.

Concerning to the material background, in the Indo-Gangetic divide provided by Painted Grey Ware. This PGW sites considered important because it is new type of pottery appears in northern India. The literary text srautasutras contains memories of migration and settlements along the bank of river saraswati and drsadvati¹¹. In the bed of these rivers, a planned and systematic exploration has been carried out which brought into light 285 PGW sites in Haryana(Bhagalpur), Sanghol, Dadheri, Ropar and Sugh and 59 late Harappan occupations Rakhigarhi, Ropar, Banawali, Kuna and so on¹². Hence, it is clear that it was first time large-scale settlement in Haryana, Punjab or in Indo-Gangetic divide used PGW, red, coarse grey, black on red and so on. This also shows that habitation in these sites and agriculture had become the main occupation of the people. The main crops were wheat, barley and rice. The society was pastoral but essentially agricultural. Here a very interesting fact raised that the literary text also depicted the use of first phase of iron is very limited. It was used only in war not in agricultural activities.

This settled agricultural society led to the beginning of property in houses and land. Still land was not an item of private property. There were no provision of gift land to priest. But the literary text Atharva Veda suggests priestly claim to a few crops raised on the field. In later vedic period land could be granted by tribal chief with the consent of clan or vis. There is nothing to show peasant has to pay for cultivating a piece of land and are not bound in any kind of taxes to pay. The tax is voluntary term as Bali to the king or chief. There is no any legal authority to collect such kind of voluntary taxes to the king. Hence, it shows there was no any definite political structure who governs the society.

About the economy of these sites mention above, was not complex. There is no any evidence of coins as money found from the PGW sites. Therefore it assume that there economy is depended on Barter system. Beads made of a

¹⁰ Lal, Makhan., *Puratatva no. 18*.

¹¹ Sharma, R.S., *Material culture and Social Formation*, Macmillan Publishers, Delhi, 1985, P.69

¹² Lal, Makhan., Population distribution and its movement during the second and first millennia B.C. in the Indo-Gangetic divide and Upper Gang plain, *Puratatva No. 18*; 1987-88, P. 50.

variety of semi-precious stones (like agate, jasper, carnelian, and chalcedony, lapis lazuli) are found at different sites in the doab. None of these stones, as raw material, is available in the doab. Trade could have obtained these items. Thus, the people inhabiting these PGW sites must have obtained these stones through trade or exchange with these regions.

Certain parallels in shape and size have been found between the PGW and potteries found in northwestern India. Especially the Grey ware found in association with iron seems to indicate some links with the PGW cultures.

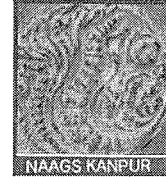
Concerning religious practice, mechanism of ritual was developed and there is very less known. Bhagwanpura is the only site where we found the practice of body immersion tradition. More right and power was assigned to the priest. Use of metal in rituals give some preferences to those communities who possess knowledge of metal as well as specialized in fighting. Thus, it shows that the society was non-monetary in which taxes collected only in kind. In order to maintain matrimonial relation tribal communities followed with a janya or one outside the tribal group through prostration of gifts. These rituals transcended consideration of kinship and helped to formation of wider communities. Like the tribal communities of the Middle Gangetic valley.

Later on rise and growth of priest class attributed to the mingling of the Indo-European with the Pre-Aryan.

Concerning to their food habits, at the former site, evidence of cultivated crops is available at Punjab (Ropar), Haryana and Rajasthan (Noh) sites, remains of only rice were found and the latter has yielded the remains of wheat and barley. Bones of horse, cattle, pig, goat and deer have been found at Hastinapura, Allahpura and Atranjikhera. These include both wild as well as domesticated animals. Hence, it shows that they consume both agricultural food as Rice, wheat, Barley and animal food as Horse, cattle, pig, goat and so on. These include both wild as well as domesticated animals.

Conclusion

Thus from the above observation we can say that there was no any evidence of class and state establish in the Indo-Gangetic divide as compare to the Middle Gangetic valley. The residents of PGW culture were living a very simple agricultural life. This culture somehow led to the foundation of preceding urbanization in the Gangetic valley. They also had neither a regular taxation system nor a regular standing army. We do not get direct evidence regarding the prevalence of any system of taxation. The peasant militia of agricultural society replaced the tribal militia of the pastoral society. Several sites show continuous habitation for two or three centuries, still the element of kinship was strong enough and the territorial idea did not submerge tribal ties. The chieftdom may be considered a phase of transition from egalitarian tribal society to the emergence of rank and an incipient state society.



THE ROLE OF THE ARAB MERCHANTS IN THE SPICE TRADE

SONAM BHAVNANI

Ph. D Scholar

India Arab Cultural Centre

Jamia Milia Islamia

New Delhi India

Abstract:

The Spice trade routes formed the bedrock of Indian Ocean's trade activities since ancient period. As India was the leading producer of spices, it became the centre of the world's spice trade. Merchants from different regions and cultures including Turks, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Gujarati were involved in the spice trade. However, the credit to take the spice trade to the global level goes to the merchants from the Arab region. Arabs had enjoyed a monopolistic control over the sea trade from and to India before the arrival of the Europeans in the Indian Ocean.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to understand the reasons which led to the monopolistic control of the spice trade and spice trade routes by the Arab merchants. The paper analysis the reasons that provided the Arab merchants with the opportunity to establish their monopoly over the Spice trade routes.

Key Words: Spice trade routes, Indian Ocean, Arab merchants, Persian Gulf, Abbasid Caliphate, Armada.

Introduction

The foreign trade has always been an important part of India's economic life. India has had trade relations, both on overland and sea with all the major civilisations situated along the Indian Ocean since antiquity. Several trade routes existed which made Indian markets accessible to the foreign traders and merchants. One such trade route was the famous spice trade routes. The Spice trade routes formed the bedrock of Indian Ocean's trade activities since ancient period. Spice routes linked the east with the west as it stretched from

Japan through Indonesia to India to the Middle Eastern lands to Europe through Mediterranean, covering a distance of 15,000 kilometres. India occupies the top position among the spice-producing nations in the world. Around 70% of the global spices are produced in India. It can be safely assumed that the Spice trade contributed to the today's globalisation.

Turks, Persians, Romans, Gujarati, Chinese, Greeks, Portuguese were engaged in the spice trade from an early period. However, the Arab and Jewish merchants played the most important role in making the spices popular across the Asia, Europe and parts of Africa. Arabs particularly, have played an important role in making the spice trade global. (Nabhan, 2014).

Spices from India were in great demand in the European region. The most important of these spices was pepper which was indigenous to Cochin and Malabar coast. Arabs played a major role in trade of spices with India since ancient period as they became the merchants or traders and made huge profits. P. K. Hitti notes that for the Greeks and Romans South Arabians came from the frankincense and spice land 'acted as the connecting link with the markets of India and Somaliland.' (Hitti, 2002). As a result, Arabs, particularly of Nabatean origin, soon became the major maritime power. This was mainly because their capital, Petra was located between the Dead Sea and the Aelanitic Gulf (now known as Bahr el- 'Akabah), which provided them with an advantageous location vis-à-vis the other competitors in the region. Arabs could maintain their monopoly over spice routes for over 5000 years i.e. before the Europeans colonised the South and South- East nations.

The Arabs monopolised the trade in spices in the pre- Islamic period itself. However, by the 10th and 11th centuries, these trans- oceanic trade routes were completely under the control of the Arabs from Tunisia and Morocco.

Analysis of the reasons for the Arab monopoly in the Indian Ocean

The researchers generally point out three important factors that led to the domination of Indian Ocean trade routes in the medieval period by the Arabs. These three factors are: the demand for Indian goods in the Arabian peninsula as well as Europe; the importance assigned to trade and commerce as a commercial activity in Islam and the presence of well- established sea and land routes that connected Arabian peninsula with the other trade centres in the Indian Ocean region. There have been geographical reasons also. The location of Asia Minor and Arabia are of great significance as from here both Italy and the Indian coasts are equidistant. Mecca is located on the trade route extending from China and India and going up to Damascus and Constantinople. Jidda was the main port of the Mecca. Basra located on the Persian Gulf and Aden on the Red Sea reduced the distance between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea significantly. The Red Sea is located close to the Mediterranean Sea and thus it became one of the dominant trade routes with India to be used by the merchants. Other than these ports, Muscat, Kish and Siraf on the Persian Gulf were also used by the Arab merchants to reach the Western coast of India. These maritime routes connected the different empires across the Indian Ocean littoral and provided links between

the coastal areas and their hinterland. These routes made it convenient for the merchant community to carry out trade and commerce activities.

Moreover, the Arabs could maintain their monopoly over these trade routes for centuries as they had placed restrictions on the Indian ships from sailing beyond Ocelis. Moti Chandra observes that even though Indian merchants could sail freely on the Indian sea- coasts, they had to take permission from the Arabs and Axumites to sail to north eastern Africa. (Chandra, 1997).

In addition to the geographical location, the following reasons can be attributed to the increasing maritime power of the Arabs.

1. The Fall of the Roman Empire

For centuries Romans successfully managed to maintain peace in and around the Mediterranean region. This provided the stability essential for conducting long – distance trade with regions in far east like India. However, the Battle of Adrianople in AD 378 between the Roman empire and the Gothic lancers weakened the frontiers of the Roman empire as much of the Roman Army was decapitated. The Rome could never really recover from the defeat at the Battle of Adrianople. The end of the 5th century AD marked the demise of the Roman empire and gave way to the rise of the feudalism in Europe. This marked an end to the centuries- old trade and commercial activities between Europe and India.

The vacuum created by the fall of the Roman empire was filled in by the erstwhile intermediaries, Arabs, who soon became the masters of the maritime trading networks and started dominating the Indo- European trade.

2. The rivalry between the Byzantine empire and the Sassanid Empire:

Even before the Arab community rose as a strong religious- political force in the seventh century, the direct trade routes between the East and the Romans were disrupted by the age- old enmity between the two powerful empires of that period: Byzantine empire and Sassanid empire. To the east of the Romans were Sassanids, who made every possible attempt to stop the further advancement of the Romans in the east.

Starting in 92 BC, with the wars between Persia and Rome, the rivalry between the two empires was brought to an end by the Arabs. 719 years of war had exhausted the resources, man- power and crippled the defensive capabilities of Romans as well as Persians. As a result, when the Arabs invaded these two empires, they couldn't hold back for long. Arabs chose not to get themselves engrossed into these wars and resisted from picking sides. They rose to the occasion as a united force against Byzantine as well as Sassanids and established themselves as the

3. The Growth of the Feudalism and the beginning of the Dark ages in Europe

The disintegration of the Roman empire into the Eastern Roman empire and the Western Roman Empire in 285 A. D. was followed by further reunifications and divisions over the next century. The instability, which became a common feature of the empire, pushed the Rome into the feudal era which was not conducive for conducting trade and other commercial activities.

The prevalence of rigid social hierarchy and the absence of a unified and strong political power pushed the Europe into the Dark ages from which Europe could not recover until the onset of the Renaissance period. However, Huwart and Lois observe that the 'Byzantine empire in the east, continued to trade heavily between Asia and the Mediterranean.' (Huwart & Lois, 2013) This view is confirmed by McPherson also. He argues that 'the Middle East still supplied Byzantium and Iran with goods from the Indian Ocean Region and Arab and Iranian traders increased their activity in the Indian sub-continent and Sri Lanka.' (McPherson, 1984).

4. Rise of the Arab- Islam Empires

Since the pre- Islamic days, Mecca, the holiest city in Islam, served as the trading centre. Even though the Arabs had trade ties with India during the pre- Islamic era, these exchanges intensified after the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D. Known for his honesty and integrity, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was himself a successful businessman. In Islam, merchants are regarded with utmost respect. This meant that Arabs, especially those who had accepted Islam as their religion, had no problem in conducting trade and commerce with people from different religion, region or gender. The religion of Islam, which originated in Arabia, entered the Indian subcontinent through Arab merchants and traders who came to the west coast of India for commercial activities. The Arab Islamic Empires gave a further boost to the commercial activities of the Arab traders in the Indian Ocean region.

M. H. Ilias points out that even before the birth of Islam in the 7th century 'Arabs had close trade ties with the Malabar Coast.' (Ilias, 2007). However, the rapid spread of Islam fostered these commercial relations substantially. Additionally, the rise of the strong and stable Umayyad empire (661- 750 AD) to power, followed by the Abbasid empire in the West Asia (750- 1258 AD) and Fatimid dynasty in North Africa contributed further to the growth of trading activities of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean Region.

V K Jain suggests in his work that with the coming of Islam into existence, the Arabs slowly and gradually replaced the Persians as the foreign traders. Not only did the Arabs replace the Persians, even the Indian traders got reduced to the status of 'middlemen between the people of hinterland and Arabs than as foreign traders.' (Jain, 1978). This could be attributed to the outdated navigation and ship construction techniques of Indians especially when compared to the larger Chinese ships and navigational skills of Arabs. One of the main reasons why Arabs could successfully monopolise the East- west maritime trade was that they were skilful sailors as they relied on 'direct observation and experience' (Anwar, 1973) while describing seas and oceans. Moreover, the fall of the Chola empire provided the Arabs the opportunity to dominate the sea trade route completely. (Prasad, 1982). Arabs immediately filled in the vacuum that was created in the maritime commerce with the fall of the powerful Chola rule.

5. The conquest of Egypt by Arabs.

Egypt, which was under the control of Byzantine, had to be conquered by the Arab forces if they had to secure the newly occupied cities of Syria and Palestine against a possible attack from Byzantine. In addition to its strategic location, Egypt was known for its enormous wealth. Considering these two factors, the Arab general Amr ibn al- As commanded a small army of 40,000 men and conquered Egypt in 639 A. D. even though the Caliph Umar I was reluctant to give permission for the mission. By 642 A. D., the Byzantine forces had withdrawn completely from Egypt. Byzantine's plans to reconquer Egypt were defused by the Arab army. Alexandria continued to be an important port city. However, the port of Al- Fustat on the Nile river received greater attention from the Arabs. Ships from Al- Fustat reached Arabia (Red Sea) directly as Trajan's Canal was reopened by General Amr. This reduced the significance of the caravan routes as goods were shipped directly to the Red sea.

6. The End of the Sassanid Empire:

Known as one of the 'Two Eyes of the world', the Sassanids ruled the territory extending from the Oxus river to the Euphrates river for over 400 years from AD 221 to 651. The entire Persian Gulf was under the complete control of the Sassanids. The fall of the Sassanid empire is attributed to the military campaigns of the Arab armies under the Rashidun Caliphate which began as early 633AD and ended with the conquest of Persia in 654 AD.

During the time of the Sassanids, when both sides of the Gulf were under Persian domination, all shipping was under Persian control. It is not known what effect this had on Arab shipping; but it is possible that independent Arab ship owners would be discouraged, or even prevented from engaging in any important or profitable commercial activity. Once the Sassanid empire was overthrown, Arab traders would have become freer to engage in commerce, but it would be some time before Arab shipping could become important enough to replace or even enter into competition with the Persians

7. The rise of the Abbasid Caliphate

Under the Ummayyad Caliphate, Persians continued to dominate the trade and the shipping population in and around the Gulf. Ummayyads did not take interest in promoting trade with the faraway lands. However, in 762 AD, Abbasid ruler shifted his capital from Damascus to Baghdad with the objective of utilising the river Tigris to access the Indian Ocean and have a complete control over the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean region. (Malekandathil, 2003). As a result, the commercial activity of the Arabs in and around the Gulf increased manifold. The location of the new capital, Baghdad, is important. All the important sea trade routes and land trade routes pass through Baghdad. However, the Abbasid rulers of the Arab world encouraged the trade through sea routes. Caliph Al- Mansur formed an armada which along with military functions had civil responsibilities also. One such civil responsibility of the Armada was in the Indian ocean, to protect the trading routes to India and South east Asia. Ahmad Farras Oran and GhaidaKhaznehkatbi points out that 'the import and export of goods via the Indian ocean were relatively safe as

they fell under the control of Abbasid's armada.' (Oran &Khaznehkatbi, 2009). The strong Abbasid rule also brought an end to the civil wars and unrest and ensured a stable political environment to the merchants and traders. This led to a revival in the demand for the goods from East.

8. The Decline of the Land Route

By the beginning of the second half of the eighth century, the Central Asian tribes were involved in intense struggles with Muslims as well as Chinese. The famous Silk- route which connected China with the Roman world was cut- off due to these conflicts. This discouraged the traders and merchants from using the land routes which passed through the Central Asian region. Various dynasties such as Tahirids and Saffarids established their control over the region. Even though they accepted the sovereignty of the Caliphate over them, at times they challenged the authority of the Caliph also. It was under the Mongols only that the land route was reopened for travel and trade purpose. Consequently, sea routes, despite the dangers involved in it, was preferred by the merchants over the land routes.

9. Arab Settlements across the Indian Ocean region

Even though Romans, Turks, Persians, Chinese, Greeks participated in the spice trade, what made Arabs indispensable was the trading settlements they had established all along the coast of the Indian ocean region. The trade in the pre- modern era in the Indian Ocean region required the agents of merchants/ traders situated in far- away lands to be present on the site in order to safeguard the interests of these traders from far- away lands. Gradually, these agents present on site established diaspora communities in important trading regions.

The number of Arab settlements present in Southern India is more than in any other place in the Indian Ocean region. What explains the huge presence of Arab settlement in this region is the respect accorded to the merchants by the political class since ancient period. Malabar, in Southern India, is strategically located on the trade route between the Arab region and China. As a result, for the Arab merchants engaged in the long- distance trade with China and South East Asia, it became a stopover port or a transit port. Additionally, the Arab traders travelling from West Asia and going to South East Asia was dependent on the Monsoon winds. The south- western monsoon winds obstructed the further movement between May and September. The commercial ships operating between these two regions used to stop at the ports of the Malabar before sailing further east. This increased the importance of Malabar further where many Arab settlements are present. (Hourani 1991).

10. Deep knowledge of Navigation

Arabs had deep knowledge of Navigation. As per Aleem A. Anwar, *'Pre- Islamic Arabs had a good knowledge of the stars, the moon and winds, which they utilised for agriculture and for travel by land and sea. Such a knowledge is found scattered in pre- Islamic Arabic poetry and in books of Noa (winds) and are summarized in the 9th and 10th centuries by Al Jahiz, Al Dinawari and Al Sufi. The latter enumerates in his book "Images of Planets"*

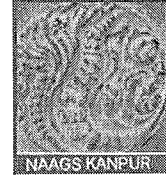
about 250 stars in their chaste Arabic names. Al Biruni (c. 1000) also comments on pre-Islamic astronomy "Chronology of Ancient Nations". Arabs preferred wooden tablets over the Astrolabe and Quadrant while navigating in the open sea due to the fear of error in correct readings on a moving ship. Wooden tablets, on the other hand, depended more on the Human observation as it involved calculating the angles between the celestial body. Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, points out that 'the Arabs' knowledge of navigational problems, their contribution to accurate cartography, their invention of the compass (al-huqqa), their understanding of oceanography, and their analysis of the causes of salinity in sea water demonstrate their interest in and contribution to the history and science of navigation.' (Nizami, 1994).

Conclusion

The Arabs could establish their monopoly over the spice trade routes due to the above-mentioned reasons which included geographical as well as political reasons. However, it was the demand for the spices that led to the European expansion into the new lands. The arrival of the Portuguese in India led to the decline of the hegemony that Arabs had established over the spice trade routes for centuries. With the colonisation of the distant lands, the cultivation of spices was introduced by the colonisers in places outside of their land of origin which led to a steep fall in the prices of the spices as spices no longer remained an exclusive trade commodity produced in the East and around which wealthy monopolies were once established. However, the contribution of the Arab merchants in taking spice trade to the global level cannot be underplayed and demands further research.

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**TIME AND SPACE:
REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISM IN KANPUR (1920-22)**

DR. ZOHEB HASAN

Assistant Professor & Head

Department of History

Poona College of Arts Science & Commerce

Pune India

Abstract

Kanpur (formerly Cawnpore) an important garrison town established by the British lived through the tumultuous years following the Rebellion of 1857 till the attainment of independence in 1947. Developed as an important industrial city in the late nineteenth century, the city became one of the most active centres of nationalist struggle that commenced under the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Kanpur responded to the call of nationalists. Revolutionary activities present another side of independence struggle and city was a hotbed of these activities, blessed as it was by numerous men of such motivation. Bhagat Singh had sharpened his revolutionary credentials here only. Ram Dulare Trivedi, was a mentor to a generation of revolutionaries. Batukeshwar Dutt, a co-accused of Bhagat Singh in Lahore Conspiracy Case too hailed from Kanpur and Chandrashekhar Azad carried and guided much of the programme of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA) from here only. In this paper an attempt has been made to showcase city's brush with the first pan India national struggle launched under the leadership of Gandhi i.e, Non-Cooperation and the Khilafat movement.

Introduction

The Indian Freedom Struggle was a novel feature of the twentieth century. It encompassed a vast spectrum of leaders, ideologies and means of resistance that are difficult to find anywhere else. Considering that India is a large heterogeneous country with language, dialect, customs, food habits differing at some hundreds of kilometers it is indeed unique that the country's

independence movement transcended all these differences and forged together against the colonial government.

Kanpur was an important city in the annals of independence struggle. Founded as an army encampment in the mid eighteenth century by the British it was initially used as a buffer town between the forces of the Nawab of Avadh and the sweeping activities of the Marathas. In the Treaty of Allahabad (1801), the East India Company and the Nawab had undertaken to defend each other against the mutual enemy, and Company kept themselves informed when the Nawab's troops began to gather at Kanpur.¹ Kanpur was declared a district on 24 March 1803.

A seminal feature of modern Indian history has been the Rebellion of 1857 where for the first time it appeared as if the days of the British rule in India are now numbered. The memory of sepoy rebellion is etched in city's consciousness. If the rebels have left a mark of treachery through the infamous SatichauraGhat Massacre (when over 130 English men, women and children were slaughtered) on 27 June 1857- an act of backstab and deceit as the victims had initially been assured of safe passage to Allahabad. Only 20 persons managed to escape and the rest taken as prisoners.² Worse was to follow them at Bibighar, a house which had served as a *zenana* (women's compartment) for an Indian mistress, a *bibi* in happier times. Nana Saheb, the leader of the rebels in the city has been said to be an accomplice in all this. He too nursed grudges against the British government. Azimullah, his chief adviser had pleaded unsuccessfully in England for his pension and came back as an angry man. Azimullah however was also a shrewd observer who felt that that the time is ripe to strike against the British. He also brought out a newspaper entitled *Payam E Azaadi (Message of Freedom)*, a copy of which is still preserved in the British museum.³ The famous song of the revolt called *Qaumi Tarana*, written by Azeemullah himself was first published in *Payam E Azadi* only. After the suppression of the revolt the British had sewn its editor, Mirza Bedar Bakht alive in pig skin and later hanged.

¹The Treaty of Allahabad was signed between the English led by Robert Clive and Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah on 16 August 1765. By the terms of this treaty Shuja-ud-Daulah was confirmed in his kingdom with the exception of the districts of Kara and Allahabad which were ceded to Emperor Shah Alam II. Shuja-ud-Daulah agreed to pay 50 lakhs of rupees in compensation for the expenses of the war, by which it engaged to help him with troops for the defence of his frontiers if he required them and agreed to pay the cost for its maintenance. He also agreed to allow the Company to carry on a trade duty free throughout the whole of his dominions. In short, Avadh became practically dependent on the Company and henceforth it was a matter of fixed policy (with the English) to maintain a close alliance with Avadh, which was useful as a bulwark or buffer state against the threatening power of the Marathas, S.C. Sarkar & K.K. Dutta, *Modern Indian History, Vol.II*, Allahabad, 1967, p. 82.

²Rudranghu Mukherjee, *Spectre of Violence: The 1857 Kanpur Massacres*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 51-52.

³ Virendra Nath Dixit (ed), *Swatantra Sangram aur Kanpur*, Kanpur, 2008, p.3.

The suppression of the rebellion is also laid in gore and brutality. It is worth mentioning with utmost disdain about Colonel James Neill⁴ who took back Kanpur from the rebels. On his arrival in the city, he ordered a very horrendous punishment for the rebels found guilty by association. They were taken into the blood stained Bibighar and were made to crouch down and lick clean a square foot of the floor before being taken out and hanged. The blood had of course long since dried into flakes, but was moistened with water, and prisoners were lashed until they obeyed.⁵

The spark witnessed in the rebellion of 1857 left its remnants on the city for times to come. In each of the major movements unleashed- Swadeshi (1905), Civil Disobedience (1930), Quit India (1942) Kanpur was to bask in heroism and glory.

The city's brush with nationalism in the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement (1920) is also worth reflecting upon. The vexed issue of Khilafat or Caliphate came up, after Turkey was humiliated in the aftermath of the First World War by signing the Treaty of Sevres. A large section of Muslims were brimming with anger when the proposals of this Treaty became known, the fundamental one being the abolition of Khilafat.⁶ As the first major pan-India movement launched under the leadership of Gandhi, the movement had called for a boycott of government aided educational institutions- many local politically aware people gave up their teaching profession such as Ram Bharose Tripathi, poet Balkrishna Sharma 'Naveen' and became full-time freedom fighters. Narayan Prasad Arora who had joined the nationalist activity as a full-time activist in 1916 only, resigned from his post as the Headmaster of Marwari College.⁷ The first boycott movement in Kanpur was launched in October 1920 after the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress (4-8 September 1920). It was attended by prominent leaders of the city such as Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi and Murari Lal Rohatgi. The City Congress Committee had instituted a sub-committee to conduct and supervise the work of the Boycott movement. Foreign cloth worth crores of rupees were sealed and it effectively stopped its sale. In this enterprise the local cloth merchants and brokers gave their full support to the movement.⁸

⁴James Neill, a Scottish, had been a soldier all through his life and was a fervent Christian who believed that God has chosen him to take a part in suppressing the revolt, Rosie Llewellyn Jones, *The Great Uprising in India 1857-58: Untold Stories Indian and British*, Delhi, 2010, p. 155.

⁵Ibid., p. 158.

⁶In May 1920 the Treaty of Sevres, depriving Turkey of the Arab lands, (where the holiest shrines of the Muslims are situated as well as of Thrace, Smyrna and Armenia) was made public. The petitions of the Khilafatists and of Gandhi to the viceroy and the representations of a Khilafatist delegation to London proved futile. The treaty not only curbed the temporal powers of the Sultan of Turkey, who had been a war-time ally of Germany but deprived him of his spiritual powers also.

⁷Arvind Arora, *Kanpur ka Itihaas*, Vol.III, Kanpur, 2003, p. 14.

⁸Lakshmikant Tripathi (ed), *Abhinandan Granth: Narayan Prasad Arora*, Kanpur, 1951, Section IV, pp. 27-28.

Jawaharlal Nehru was in support of picketing when he visited Kanpur and his consent for the same made masses more enthusiastic and boycott was now being carried in full swing. Along with picketing there was a great zeal for organizing public bonfires of foreign cloth. The satyagrahis carried this programme with great passion, going from house to house, asking for and collecting foreign made clothes.⁹

The Khilafat movement too spread rapidly among the low paid artisan dwellers of the city who largely occupied in the leather and tanning industries, had downed tools in the winter of 1919 due to the inadequacy of their wages. It was they who depressed by the strain of the war years, provided the Khilafat with a fertile ground for propaganda. These people were easily swayed to religious passion and Khilafat leaders found a receptive audience susceptible to their type of leadership. As the tempo of the movement quickened, Kanpur became the centre of the agitation.¹⁰ Displaying of swords by Muslim volunteers and Sewa Samiti workers was a marked feature of the movement and was something not pleasing to the government. Volunteers justified their action on the ground that after the publication of the new Arms Act Rules in January 1920, the Mathura Sewa Samiti had advertised that anyone could now possess a sword. Swords were also being carried by irregular volunteers in demonstrations and in honor of the extremist leaders. On one occasion when Maulana Mohammad Ali was passing through the city, a volunteer sat on the box seat of his carriage waving a naked sword in the air.¹¹

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had first visited the city on 21 January, 1920 to inaugurate the *Swadeshi Bhandar*, a shop set up by Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the city. The same year after the Non-Cooperation movement had started Gandhi re-visited the city in October and addressed a huge gathering at Parade ground. He encouraged the people to remain steadfast to the cause of *Swaraj* or self-rule and must inculcate the virtues of *satya* and *ahimsa* (truth and non-violence). He also asked the people to work for India and their respective faiths- Hinduism and Islam.¹² His followers never let him down- Kanpur too responded to Gandhi's appeal with great vigor. The Rashtriya Kanyakubja Vidhyalaya which was established as a centre for national education during the movement stands a testimony to city's romance with nationalism. Its founder Pandit Manni Lal Awasthi had resigned as headmaster of Kanyakubja College. Murali Lal Rohatgi gave up the title of Rai Bahadur. Pandit Ramashankar Awasthi started a daily newspaper called *Vartman* in the year 1920, a few months before Ganesh Vidhyarthi's *Pratap* too became a daily. Mujtaba Hussain, an employee of the Court of Wards had embezzled a lot amount of government money and gave it to the

⁹Lakshmikant Tripathi, op.cit., p. 28.

¹⁰General Administration Department (GAD), File. No. 636/1920, Uttar Pradesh State Archives (UPSA)

¹¹General Administration Department (GAD), File No. 604/1920, UPSA.

¹²Rekha Trivedi (ed), *Gandhi Speaks on Non-Cooperation in U.P.*, Lucknow, 1988, pp. 13-16. Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348-8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 567

revolutionaries as Kanpur was also a known center of militant revolutionary nationalism. Later Mujtaba Hussain was arrested.¹³

The visible bonhomie between Hindus and Muslims was very disturbing to the colonial administration. Age old disputes of cow-slaughter and playing of music before mosques was settled amicably. Communal harmony prevailed and above all there was political unity between Congress, Khilafatists and Muslim League.¹⁴

Gandhi again visited Kanpur on 8 August, 1921. It provided a further stimulus to the ongoing movement. Many leaders were arrested. Narayan Prasad Arora was sentenced to six months 'imprisonment and was sent to Agra jail. Jawaharlal Rohatgi was lodged in Lucknow jail. He was given an imprisonment of eighteen months. His inmates in the jail included some frontline leaders such as Motilal Nehru, J.B. Kripalani, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaikat Ali, Purshottam Das Tandon and Jawaharlal Nehru.¹⁵ Dev Narayan Pandey, a Congress activist was among the first ranking agitators in the movement and was arrested in 1921 for delivering a seditious speech against the British government.¹⁶

At the historic 1921 Congress session at Bezwada (now Vijayawada) a resolution was passed on 13 March calling upon all party workers to concentrate their attention chiefly on collecting one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Memorial Fund, enlisting a crore of members and introducing 20 lakh *charkhas* (spinning wheel) into Indian household. All this was to be completed before 30 June, 1921. This new programme got tremendous support in the city and in the meeting of City Congress Committee held in January 1922 it was decided to boost the morale of workers and volunteers with a renewed energy and it did materialize as volunteers wholeheartedly took it and the level of excitement and enthusiasm among the people was simply astounding. In a meeting held under the supervision of Maulana Hasrat Mohani it was decided to collect money for Tilak Swaraj Memorial Fund as well as to popularize *khadi*. It is difficult to give the exact figure of collection of money from Kanpur but it appears however as and when United Provinces (UP) raised nearly 6 lakh rupees for this fund between January 1921 and June 1922, Kanpur too must have contributed a fairly good amount to it.¹⁷

The *dernier cri* generated by the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movements in the city was amazing and at par with some of the other cities in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) such as Lucknow and Allahabad. It

¹³Arvind Arora, op.cit., p. 60.

¹⁴Paul R Brass and Francis Robinson (ed), *The Indian National Congress and Indian Society 1885-1985: Ideology, Social Structure and Political Dominance*, Delhi, 1987, p. 154.

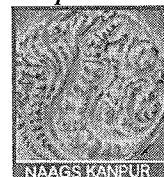
¹⁵Arvind Arora, *BeesveinSadike Kanpur kePrassidhPurushavemMahilayein*, Kanpur, 1947, pp. 47-48.

¹⁶S.P. Bhattacharya, *Swatantra Sangram keSainik*(Ministry of Information), Lucknow, 1968, p. 361.

¹⁷Home Political Department (HPD), File No. 741/1922, National Archives of India (NAI), New Delhi.

had accepted the entire gamut of Gandhian programme and the greatest success was visible in the boycott of government schools and colleges. Students in large number left these institutions. The boycott of foreign cloth was perhaps the most novel feature in Kanpur and this continued at a rapid pace until the country achieved independence in 1947. The Tilak Swaraj Fund was also handsomely contributed in Kanpur and popularization of khadi took place. But above all the most heartening aspect of the movement was Hindu-Muslim amity (which sadly was not to be repeated afterwards).

Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

FARMING BASED ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE MALAYALIS OF KALRAYAN HILLS – A STUDY

J. PAUL TITUS

Ph.D. Research Scholar
Department of History
Bishop Heber College (Autonomous)
Bharathidasan University
Tiruchirappalli India

Dr. A. RAJENDRAN

Research Supervisor
Associate Professor (Rtd.)
Department of History
Bishop Heber College (Autonomous)
Bharathidasan University
Tiruchirappalli India

Abstract

Agriculture plays significant role in the evolution of human civilization and gave rise to agrarian society. Being a nomad in nature, human began to live a settled life due to the practice of agricultural farming. One can say the emergence of state, polity, administration, and socio-economic life of a society evolved in line with practice of agriculture. Similarly, the tribes of Kalrayan have their own farming practice which contributed for their self sufficient economy. This article discusses the practice of agricultural farming based on different seasons carried by the tribes of Kalrayan hills.

Key Words: *Seasonal Crops, Monsoon, Self Sufficiency, Landscape, Tribal Farming, Kalrayan hills.*

Introduction

In hunter - gatherer society, male and female contributed equally for their survival. Men went for hunting, and women gathered greeneries, nuts and herbal food. Feminine gender is the one who introduced agriculture to human society and the same was agreed by the disciplines like History, Sociology and Anthropology. At the time of child bearing, women were rested from their

day today activities in the hunter-gatherers society. In this period she found that seeds have the capacity to grow plants. Initially, tribes of the Kalrayan hills were not aware of benefits of agriculture, but later they realized the importance of agriculture and it became the one of the key economic activity to them. Based on the type of lands, Kalrayan tribes adapted farming methods namely, *Punarkkadu*, *Koththukkadu* and *Uzhavukkadu*. These farming methods indicate that the Kalrayan tribes gradually moved to agrarian society.

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Kalrayan hills is located at the altitude of 160 Ft to 1500 Ft from the sea level. *Kalrayan hills has inordinate weather, extremely hot in summer and cold in winter.* According to its climatic condition the seasons of the hills can be divided into four seasons as follows.

1. Dry season – January to March
2. Hot season – April to May
3. South west monsoon season – June to September
4. North east monsoon season – October to December

Many rivers and streams flows in Kalrayan hills, especially Peraru and Vashista which flows in different parts of South Arcot and Aattur. These streams help to enrich the prosperity of the land. The river *Kuttaru* also originates from the hills. The east side and west side of the hills is sloped towards the earth which makes the rain water to flow freely from both the direction.

Kalrayan hills largely comprises of fertile red soil which is conducive for agricultural forming. The parts of Kalrayan hills also encompasses of soils such as red gravel and black clay. Normally, the land set at 15° slope is conducive for agricultural farming. In the parts of Kalrayan hills Agricultural farming is carried out at the slope of 15° landscape. Most of the land scapes in Kalrayan hills slides from 15° slope to 30° slope. Moreover, it comprises of black clay and clay surface which is not the suitable soil for farming. Thus, in Kalrayan hills agricultural farming is not carried out perennially throughout the years as done in other nearby hilly areas. Based on the nature of the land, *Malayalis* of Kalrayan hills divided their farm land into four category viz, *Koilkadu* (Land of God), *Punarkkadu*, *Koththukkadu* and *Uzhavukkadu*. Kalrayan malayalis have the practise to conserve the hills, at the same time they are habituated to deforest some part of the hills for cultivating crops. According to the soil, crops and plants are cultivated, *resulting in the production of* food grains which plays an important role in aiding their self-sufficient economy.

KOIL KADU

Tribes of Kalrayan hills believe that the *Koilkadu* has been bestowed to them by God. Therefore, in some parts of the hills they won't cut the trees or fire the forest or deforest them. As a result, this *Koilkadu* was not disturbed by the *Malayalis* which turn became very thick and dense forest. This part of the hills is known as *Koilkadu* and treated as a temple. Most of the rivers and streams that flows in the Kalrayan hills originate from the *Koilkadu*. The land scape in

Koilkadu inclined to more than 30° slope. This kind of forest is declared as “No Operation Zone” by the forest department to conserve it in line with practise of tribes of Kalrayan hills.

Over the course of time, Kalrayan *Malayalis* believed that gods and deities are staying in the *Koilkadu*. It is also believed that if the *Koilkadu* is fired or deforested, their clan deity Lord. *Kariya Ramar* will be infuriated.

PUNARKKADU CULTIVATION

The tribes of South India have the practice, to burn the plants, trees and creepers of the land periodically to culture the soil and then they use the cultured land for cultivation. Even in recent past this practice was found among the tribes of Kalrayan hills. This kind of practice is known as *Punarkkadu* cultivation. This type of method is considered to be simplest way of cultivation. *Punarkkadu* cultivation method evolved in the *Kurinji* land and in *Mullai* land. *Punarkkadu* cultivation is mainly done by women, where as equipment it requires only stones and sticks. After firing the plants and creepers of the land, *Malayalis* use to cultivate the crops for the period of one year, then they move to another land. Later, they use to come back to the left out land and again they fire naturally grown plants, trees and creepers for next round of cultivation. This type of cultivation is done by shifting the land frequently.

This *Punarkkadu* cultivation is done in the landscapes of slopes ranging from 15 degree slope to 30 degree slope at the hills. Normally, in winter seasons rain water will wash out the fertility of the soil due to the oblique nature of the hills. Hence, *Malayalis* were constantly deforested the parts of hills for *Punarkkadu* cultivation. Jagirdars encouraged *Punarkkadu* cultivation among *Malayalis* where they made huge money by cutting down age old trees for commercial purpose with the help of the *Malayalis*.

Until the influence of British, land was not an issue at all for *Malayalis*, wherever in the hills and any one can cultivate the crops. During the British rule there land was regulated. Among the *Malayalis*, it is common to say the farming land as *Kaadu* which literally means forest. At the time of surveying the land, British understood *Kaadu* as forest and annexed the farming land with forest, later the annexed land was declared as reserved land. Consequently, land became an issue for the *Malayalis*. When the Tamil Nadu government took control over the Kalrayan hills in August 1976. This reclaimed agricultural system “*Punarkkadu* cultivation” was completely banned.

KOTHTHUKKADU CULTIVATION

Koththukkadu cultivation is carried at the land inclined towards the angle of below 15° slope range in which many small pit has made throughout the field with the help of a agricultural tool called *Koththu* (Spade). In that pits plants are rooted and seeds are sowed. This kind of agricultural farming is known as *Koththukkadu* cultivation.

Most of the cultivable land in the Kalrayan hills is located in slopes of the hills, in which plough cannot be utilized, hence the *Malayalis* are habituated to

farm at *Koththukkadu*. *Malayalis* of Kalrayan also involved in coffee plantation due to favourable condition of the hills. Although the field of agriculture have been evolved to next level, the *Koththukkadu* cultivation is still practiced in Kalrayan hills due to its landscape.

UZHAVUKKADU CULTIVATION

Kalrayan hills comprises of many small mountains and in between the small mountains plains are found. In plain region, *Malayalis* carry out cultivating activity with help of plough to their perfection. This kind of cultivation is called as *Uzhavoukkadu* cultivation. *Koththukkadu* cultivation is different from *Uzhavukkadu* cultivation where in *Koththukkadu* many small pits are made at equal distance, on other hand in *Uzhavukaddu* the land is ploughed with help of plough. This has been clearly stated by the notification issued by the Salem district. They cultivated crops such as *Paddy*, *Little Millet*, *Kodo millet*, etc. As the rain fall is throughout the year in the hillsy region, they cultivated without any shortfall. They didn't have the practice of digging well which forbidden the use of well water. In recent past the well had been dug by outsiders of Kalrayan hills for their need. By seeing this some *Malayalis* dug the well in the land for agricultural purpose.

Apart from the *Koil Kadu*, food and cash crops had been cultivated on seasonal basis in the *PunarKadu*, *KoththuKadu* and *UzhavuKadu*. Gallnut, Sandal, Mango, Jack fruit, Bamboo, Tamarind, Lemon, Acacia, Indian mulberry, Kaaichchan, and Kino trees are grown at Kalrayan hills. One of the major income generating cash crops for the *Malayalis* is plantation of curry leaf tree.

FOOD CROPS AND ITS SEASONS

I) Kodo millet (Varagu)

In day today life Varagu is used as essential food by the *Malayalis*. In the Tamil month of Vaigasi, different kinds of Kodo millets are largely cultivated namely *Thiri varagu*, *Pani varagu* and *Udaippukali varagu*. *Udaippukali varagu* is cultivated as short term crop and *Thiri varagu* is cultivated as long term crop. At the time of autumn, *Pani varagu* is cultivated. As the *Kodo millet* gruel is primary diet for *Malayalis*, they show great interest in cultivating and storing the *Varagu*.

II) Little Millet (Saamai)

Saamai is not only used in the diet of the *Malayalis*, but also used in the functions such as marriage and other life rituals. *Malayalis* are confirming the marriage by carrying *Periya saamai* with them. During Tamil month of Aani, tribes of the Kalrayan hills are used to cultivate *Little Millets* in the fields of *Koththukadu* and *Uzhavukadu*. In *Koththukadu* three types of little millets are cultivated. They are *Vellai Saamai* (White little millet), *Karun Saamai* (Black little millet), and *Mayil Saamai* (Peacock little millet). In *Uzhavu kadu* two varieties of little millet are cultivated namely *Kullanarival Saamai* (Fox Tail little millet), and *Pillu Saamai* (Grass little millet).

III) Fox Tail Millet (Thinai)

Next to the *Varagu* and *Saamai*, *Thinai* (*Fox Tail Millet* is cultivated) by the tribes of *Malayalis*. *Fox Tail Millet* is cultivated in the farming fields of *Punarkaadu* and *Koththukadu*. There are different *Thinai* such as *Arunthinai*, *Illanthinai*, *Perunthinai*, *Maapillaithinai* and *Saervarayanthinai*. *Vaigasi* and *Aani* months are considered to be conducive season for cultivating the *Thinai*.

IV) Finger Millet / Ragi (Kaezhvaragu)

Kaezhvaragu is called as *Kevuru* and *Aariyam* by the tribes of *Kalrayan hills*. The types of *Kaezhvaragu* are *Elangkezhvaragu* and *Perungkezhvaragu*. In between the *Kaezhvaragu* crops, coriander and mustard are cultivated. This method of farming is called as inter-crop cultivation. Tamil months of *Aadi* and *Aavani* are considered to be suitable month for cultivating *Kaezhvaragu*, in the fields of *Punarkkadu* and *Koththukkadu*.

V) Paddy (Nel)

Paddy is not as much nutritious as that of *Varagu* and *Saamai*, However, *Kalrayan Malayali* are interested in cultivating paddy. At the time of festivals and feast, *Rice* is abundantly utilized by the *Malayalis*. In the Tamil month of *Aadi*, and *Aavani*, different types of traditional paddies such as *Marunel*, *Karunel*, *Sammbanel*, *Sarkkarnel* and *Puzhuthikaarnel* are cultivated in the fields of *Uzhavukadu* and *Koththukkadu*. Among these, *Puzhuthikaarnel* is cultivated abundantly.

VI) Pearl Millet (Kambu) and Sorghum (Cholam)

In the Tamil month of *Aadi* Pearl Millet and Sorghum are cultivated in *Punarkadu* land. Sorghum is one of the varieties of corn.

VII) Sesame (Ellu)

In the month of *Aavani*, Sesame is cultivated in the fields of *Punarkkadu* land which has two varieties namely *Paerell* (size in big) and *Koorell* (size in sharp).

VIII) Pulses

The pulses such as *Beans*, *Lentils*, *Field Beans*, *Green Gram*, *Horse Gram* and *Chow Lee Beans* are being cultivated by the *Malayalis* of the *Kalrayan hills*. These pulses are used to make chutneys and eaten with the *Kodo Millet Gruel* and *Little Millet Gruel*. These pulses are cultivated in between the *Kodo Millet* crops and *Little Millet* crops as done in inter-crop cultivation method and they are cultivated separately as well.

CASH CROP AND ITS SEASONS

Apart from the food crops, cash crops are also cultivated by the *Malayalis* to earn money for their other needs. The cash crops are also cultivated on the above mentioned farm lands.

I) Tapioca

The first and foremost of cash crops in the *Kalrayan hills* is Tapioca. They calling it as *KuchchiKizhangu* and cultivating it abundantly. Tapioca is cultivated during the Tamil month of *Aadi* and *Aavani* in *Koththukadu* and *Punarkkadu* lands.

II) Turmeric

Turmeric is cultivated during the months of Vaigasi and Chiththirai which has been cultivated in the fields of Uzhavukkadu.

III) Sugarcane

Sugarcane is cultivated during the Tamil months of Aani, and Puratasi which has been cultivated in the fields of Uzhavu kadu.

IV) Cauliflower and Cabbage

In the Tamil month of Purattasi, Cauliflower and Cabbage are being cultivated in the fields of Uzhavu kadu.

V) Tamarind

Every hamlet of Kalrayan hills has large Tamarind trees. Annually, the tamarind trees are leased for its fruits and nuts and the money collected has been treated as public money and added to temple treasury account. However, it is apparent that the dues are not paid properly by the lessees and *Malayalis* are deceived by words that they would make arrangements to construct temples.

VI) Honey and curry leaf

The collected honey and curry leaf by the *Malayalis* are not sold in town; instead it was sold to middle man who visits the hills for the procurement. Though the *Malayalis* gathered the honey and curry leaf with hardships, they don't have the nominal price for their commodities.

WATER SOURCES FOR THE CULTIVATION

Natural water resources present at the hills are being utilized for cultivation purpose by the *Malayalis* of Kalrayan hills. They highly exploited the river beds present at the forest. Now a day with the aid of oil engines and electric pumps water has been transported from the rivers and streams by the *Malayalis*. With the support of Government schemes and NGO's, some *Malayalis* dug wells near to the natural water bodies. To increase the ground water level, Government had constructed some check dams to conserve the rain water which flows from top of the hills to its foothills. Recently, *Malayalis* of Kalrayan hills began to cultivate coffee at some parts of their hills.

Grain Storage

Malayalis are inclined to use the cultivated food grains on day today basis rather than for sale. They show interest in storing the surplus food grains in *Thombai* (*Thombai* is a kind of container used for storing the grains). The paddy cultivated before 10 years are also been stored and conserved in the *Thombai*. Malayali who stores maximum quantity of food grains around one *Kandagam* or 200 *Padiare* considered to be rich in their community. *Kandagam* and *Padi* are measuring scale for the grains in TamilNadu. One *Kandagam* or 200 *Padi* are equal to 300 kilograms. Malayalis who cultivated moderate quantity of grains in limited area of land are stored in cylindrical shape *Thombai* and Malayalis who cultivated the grains abundantly in the large area of land are stored the grains in rectangle shaped and square shaped *Thombai*. The economic status of Malayalis can be inferred from the *Thombai* situated in backyard of their house. The life of modern farmer began to move from the subsistence economy to money economy, but this progress was not

seen in the life of Malayalis. The agriculture produce of the Malayalis are focused towards the self sufficiency. The other expenses of Malayalis are met by cultivating cassava tuber and gathering gall-nuts.

Malayalis Barter System

The barter system is the earliest form of economic exchange which prevailed among all ancient societies. Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer stated that barter system laid the foundation for human society. In the beginning of civilization, human needs were simple and limited. People used to exchange goods with each other to satisfy their requirements. Barter Exchange refers to exchange of goods for other goods. Generally, the society which is simple had practiced barter system and the main criteria to the system are transaction of goods for goods without money.

At the time of hostility in ancient tribal groups their economic activity have not affected due to the silent mode of barter exchange. This silent mode of barter system is carried out by transacting the goods among the groups without seeing one another. Malay Migmiar, Sagaayenar, Lankan Vethar practiced silent mode of barter system. However, among the Kalrayan Malayalis this silent mode of exchanging the goods are not found, but they had the practice of exchanging the goods for other goods without the medium of money. For instance, a hen is exchanged for a goat. It can be observed that they exchanged goods for other goods, but values for the goods are not assigned. This system is becomes a reason for exploitation by the traders and middlemen on Malayali tribes.

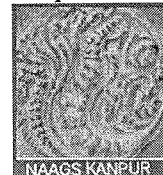
CONCLUSION

The practice of seasonal based farming plays a vital role in the socio-economic progress of the tribes of the Kalrayan hills. The Kalrayan tribes used these seasonal based farming for economic self sufficiency and surplus crops were promoted in the market economy. Eventually, directly or indirectly tribes of the Kalrayan hills are contributing to micro and macro economy.

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**TRANSPORT, TRADING AND TRADE ROUTES OF
BRAHMAPUTRA VALLEY IN THE EARLY PERIOD: A
HISTORICAL REVEIW**

DR. NILKAMAL SINGHA

Assistant Professor of History

Bodoland University

Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam, India

DR. OINAM RANJIT SINGH

Corresponding Author

Associate Professor of History

Manipur University, Imphal India

Abstract

Historical records informs us about trade and trading practices in early India however no such records pertaining to trade in Assam is encountered so far. Though trade is not much debated and studied subject in Assam in the absence of evidences however it can be studied with limited sporadic archaeological, historical, colonial records and ethnological evidences. The present paper aims at ravelling Assam's trading activities with the places surrounding it. The paper tries to trace position of Assam in Indian Ocean trade network. Trade and routes within Assam was also studied using medieval and colonial records. The various fairs and festivals were analysed to trace and understand the nature of inland trade dynamics.

Keywords: Indian Ocean, trade, route, Assam, Brahmaputra, roulette, celadon, Ambari, fair, festival, religion, west Bengal, Orissa, south-east Asia.

Trade started and practiced from time immemorial however trade in antiquity was based on exchange system in the absence of universal currency money. It is evident that trade occurred since pre historic period suggested by the finding of tools (composed of stones found in specific area) and other material at far off places from its place of origin. In proto-historic period Indus people were trading with Mesopotamia and Sumer through land and sea routes which

continued to present day. Trading activities were very common in early historic period specially from the time of Buddha to Gupta period. We come across lot of literature on trading activities till Gupta period and there shows decline rather decrease in trading activities from Gupta period attributed to political uncertainties in areas surrounding subcontinent and emergence of closed land based economic system and mode of production known as “feudal”. Buddhist texts speak lot about trade and trading activities and mentions four trade routes connecting the entire subcontinent i.e. *Uttarapath*, *Dakshinapath*, *Aprantapath* and *Purvantapath*. Vedic text informs about a trader named Pani and his business. The PrithviSukta of Atharvaveda speaks of routes, mode of transport, goods, perils on these routes and safe routes (Joshi, 2012). Vedic literature mentions about early pathfinders, Agni mentioned as “*pathikaru*” making route by burning forests suggesting the country being forest infested and hard for transport.

Trade plays very important role for a place in Ancient period for its Geo-political importance. Historically Mahasthangarh in the Karatoya valley in modern Bangladesh must have played crucial role in maintaining the Ganga plains link with the northern Assam upto Tezpur as it was an important cultural centre during the time of the Guptas (Chakrabarti, 2008: 65). Looking into the physiology of the valley there is a bottleneck into the entry to the valley (at the modern day so called ‘chicken neck’ region) where Garo Hills on the south was a severe constraint to travelling whereas forested north bank was used (Chakrabarti, 2008: 65). AnguttaraNikaya mentions Sahajati (identified with Bhita, Allahabad) as *nigama* (guild) of Chedis and was a famous river station receiving merchants as far as from Burma. The trade in subcontinent is cumbersome due to huge variation in topography and demography. The earliest historical commercial trade on Indian landscape is attributed to Buddhist caravans known as Sarthavaha. Sarthavaha are group of merchants travelling together or caravan leader, Sarthameans investors or merchants investing equal amount of capital for carrying trade with major cities Kapilavastu, Varanasi, Sravasti, Kausambi etc. have guilds of various nature and artisans also, who polished or worked upon raw materials arriving from distant lands like shell, ivory, lapidaries, stone carvers, perfumes, silk, woollen, cloth etc. (Chandra, 1977). Jataka stories mentions traders and trade with distant lands upto central Asia, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Persian gulf, Red sea, Mediterranean Sea and south-east Asia in SamudraVanijaJataka etc. but does not mentioned about any trading activity with northeast India. Buddhist sources specially Jatakas mentions many kind of roads including primitive tribes acting as guides to caravans on difficult routes (*atavimukhavasi*) (Francis, 1905). Jataka also mentions dancers and acrobats travelling different places for livelihood (Norman, 1993). Buddhism was popular in eastern coast because of the prosperous commerce here and followers of Buddhism were mostly merchants and developed the eastern coast with Buddhist settlements. Buddhist settlements have dotted the whole eastern India including the present western Assam (Singha, 2021).

Manimekhala was goddess of sea travellers in south India, YakshaManibhadra (widely acknowledged as god of property) was presiding deity of caravan leaders of north India. Trade is mentioned also in various other ancient literary works Periplus, Strabo, Pliny, Kautilya, Panini, Amarkosa, AbhidhanaChintamani etc. During the Mauryan period a route is in function connecting the western part of Assam with easternmost Mauryan province of Pundravardhana. It is evident that for trade purpose the traders borrow money from lenders at interest ranging 5% to 20% depending upon the nature of trade and trade route. It is highly probable that there were no banker (*dhanika*) to fund trade with this part of country to any trader (*dharanika*). People deposited money with bankers known as *upanidhi* if merchants lost their goods through the activity of foresters, animals, enemies, flood, fire and shipwrecks than they were not required to pay back their borrowed sums and they could not be sued in the courts (Chandra, 1977) therefore the risk of losing investment is maximum with the trade with Assam and it became one of the highly discouraged region for trade. Agreements between merchants during the night and in forest have no legal validity. If a merchant despatched his goods through an envoy if such goods were looted or the envoy dies the merchant was not entitled to any compensation. Merchants selling goods spoilt by fire or flood, defective articles and goods manufactured by sick were forbidden (Kangle, 1986: 86). These and many other factors were in the helm to discourage trade with the north-eastern India. In early centuries trade through silk route was popular which was at its peak during the Kanishkas period. The ancient routes were used by conquerors, pilgrims, wanderers, merchants, it is to be remembered that whole country enjoys monsoonal climate therefore obvious that the routes will be turned into forests in monsoonal months and again resumed during dry months therefore much relying upon mental maps of the people travelling on these routes. The routes were infested with wild animals, ghosts, poisonous trees, highway marauders, problems of fooding and lodging etc. therefore travellers carry their provisions, it is very perilous to travel alone therefore encouraging in travel in groups and building safe halts at a suitable distances.

Route from Peshawar to Bengal in north India was opened by 600-300 BC by settling various settlements and growing gradually with the expansion of agriculture and trade further augmented by the rise of Buddhism and other sects. Settlements stabilised and grown on every river but unlike Assam these settlements are not only riverine but well connected with all weather land routes too. North and south India was connected by early centuries but such was not the case with the northeast India. There was also no military expedition sparing the *digvijaya* of mythological Pandavas till Samudragupta (which is questionable in the absence of other source corroborating the event and also the inscription was found in Allahabad and nowhere in any referred eastern states) with the very next expedition taking place in 1197 AD under BhaktiyarKhilji almost nine centuries later. During the post Gupta period the travel on land was continued as always. The land routes were as perilous and

troublesome as before but people continued travel, during this period many *tirthas* “pilgrimage centres” appeared and Hindus thronged these places. Buddhabhadra an inhabitant of Kapilavastu, undertook journey to China travelling with Tche-Yen he reached Pamirs. In his biography he wrote that he reached there through Assam, the upper valley of Irawaddy and Yunnan (Bagchi, 1927). There was a route from Kannauj to Assam used during 7th century (Sachau, 1910: 200).

In the medieval period and majority of information came from the Persian writings and Ahom *buranjis* and later from the British colonial data and few native writings. Ahoms were the first non Buddhist Shans to reach upper Assam sharing the region with native Chutia, Borahi and Kachari tribes. According to *buranjis* Chutiyas were only group with written language and Kacharis were a large group with technical knowledge of brick making which they have learnt from Bengal (Shakespeare, 1914: 14). In 1253 Gyasuddin, governor of Bengal reached upto Sadiya but he was beaten back and retreated to Gaur. Tugril Khan and Muhammad Shah Tuglug also made expeditions to Assam suggesting Assam had become an important part of contemporary geopolitics. Mohammedan records address Assam as land of magic and witchcraft suggest practice of tantrism and is known all over (Shakespeare, 1914: 24) but it had ceased to be a factor to discourage adventure to Assam anymore. During this time many land routes are commissioned and fluvial activities are recorded in various sources. In 1334 construction of Gohain Kamal Ali by Chilarai connecting Narayanpur to Cooch Behar a stretch of 350 km is recorded and Major Hannay was of opinion that the road must have existed ages before Narayanarayan's reign (Shakespeare, 1914: 24). In connection to naval activities it is told that Koch king had 1000 ships (Shakespeare, 1914: 16). Nawab of Decca proceeded with 6000 horse, 11000 foot and 500 ships on the Brahmaputra against Koch king and laid siege of Dhubri which was a well defended place (possibly the present Panbari Ruins) in 1612 (Shakespeare, 1914). *Buranjis* record that in 1637 there existed a route between Ahoms and Kacharis via Koliabor, Nowgong and Kopili Valley after Kacharis shifted their capital to Maibong from Dimapur resulting in unabated forest growth and depopulation of Dhansiri valley (Shakespeare, 1914: 16) however this route was never omitted from popular psyche. Abu Bakr (Mughal Governor) was despatched with 10000 troops and 400 ships against Ahom king. Gauhati became the seat of Nowbeissa/Naoboisa Phukan who commanded boatmen, 6000 men, 3000 kerries and 3000 naoboisas (Wade, 1800).

All expeditions from west came with a flotilla of 300-1000 ships with foot soldiers and cavalry, boats seem for carrying provisions and withdrawal of wounded and retreat as it is more effective than land route when moving downstream. Both flotilla and foot contingent seem marching parallel in contact with each other and a signalling system was in place further assisted by natives with their skills and networking. As the marching pace of land contingent was faster it reached ahead of boats and cleared the place of possible foes.

L.W. Shakespeare in 1914 states that Naranarayan completed the great raised roadway of 350 miles called Gohain Kamal *Ali* from Kamtapur to Narayanpur and the road was used by pilgrims to visit the shrines of Tamasharimai (temple of Tamreswari, probably) and Boom Boori and in 1662 Mir Jumla went upto Garhgaon both by land and river route (Chakrabarti, 2008: 65). Geopolitically this fact implies that once beyond the Cooch Behar funnel whole stretch of country upto Sadiya was open (Chakrabarti, 2008: 65). Mahasthangarh was Mauryan provincial capital and the area where it is located has close geographical links with Brahmaputra valley. D K Chakrabarti (Chakrabarti, 2008) aptly pointed out that “*in view of geo-political possibility of the region as a whole he believes the Mauryans control certainly revenue along both the North and South bank of Brahmaputra upto Tezpur*”. There were many routes to China (Chakrabarti, 2008: 66) from Brahmaputra valley.

1. up the course of the Dihong river through Abor-Mishmi country along Lohit valley to Rima.
2. across Manipur to Myanmar via Tammo.
3. across Patkai range and the Hukong valley to the area of Bhamo in northeast Burma.

Assam Burma route to China starts from Patliputra through Champa (Bhagalpur), Kajangala (Rajmahal) and Pundaravardhana and proceeds upto Kamarupa. From Assam the routes were three (Chakrabarti, 2008: 66) in number.

1. By valley of Brahmaputra, upto Patkai range, and through its passage upto upper Burma.
2. Through Manipur upto Chindwin valley.
3. Through Arakan upto Irawaddy valley.

All these routes meet on the frontier of Burma and Bhamo and then proceed over the mountain and across the river valleys to Yunanfu i.e. Kunming which was the chief city of the southern province of China (Chakrabarti, 2008: 70). A route to Arakan was also present through Comilla to Chittagong and beyond crossing the Nat River to Arakan, which was the centre of early historical Sanskritised kingdom (Chakrabarti, 2008: 71). Shakespeare in 1914 writes, “between the Hukong valley and Mogunglie the Amber and jade mines” and also writes about another trade route from Tibet through Bhutan to Udalguri via Tawang. R.K. Billorey had lively described the trade and barter system with Tibetans by tribes of Arunachal Pradesh (Billorey, 1986). Al Idrisi in 11th century A.D while speaking about *samandar*, a large town and an exchange centre mentioned that aloe wood was brought hither from the country of *Kamrut*, which was 15 days journey by river.

An English officer record of travel to Decca through boat and mentions Brahmaputra resembles sea during rains, a reason in early texts it was addressed as *Sagara*. It reports streams of Assam infested by crocodiles and river turtles which were eaten by low caste men. Tribes prefer to live in jungles to plains. Canoes are preferred for short distance travel because of

their swiftness and few other uncertainties like falling banks, floating trees, rapid current and no tracking ground. However long distances were covered with budgerows which is a time consuming mean. The travel time from Calcutta to Decca (12 days), Decca to Goalpara (19 days), Goalpara to Gawahatty (6 days), Gawahatty to Tezapore (6 days), Tezapore to Bisnath (3 days), Bisnath to Dikhomukh (6 days), Dikhomukh to Dibrooghur (7 days), Dibrooghur to Sadiya (6 days) however for smaller boats the travel time will be nearly third of this time (Anonymous officer, 1847: 29).

Trading goods

Goods traded were peculiar and excess to the production, availability and consumption of the area. It is mentioned that the Pundra (North Bengal) supplied silk textile and it is a known fact that not much silk is produced in north Bengal but in Assam. (Kangle, 1986: 1-27). Arthashastra also informs that agallochum came from Assam, Malaysia, Indo-China and Java. (Kangle, 1986 47-48). Chilatas (Kiratas) were mentioned by Periplus and Ptolemy were probably people living in the banks of Brahmaputra of Indo-Burmese origin. Mahabharata also mentioned the area in context of *Rajasuyayajna* by Yudhisthira where he was presented with skins, gold, precious stones, sandalwood, agollochum and aromatic products by these people, also the Kalika Puran and Yogini Tantra. Port of Tamruk also known as Tamralipti in Bengal is a port of call for trade with Southeast Asia and China and coastal south India who mostly try to avoid Andaman route due to the violent xenophobic tribes settled there. The Bay of Bengal being one of the most turbulent maritime quarters with high incidents of shipwrecks therefore became one of the perils in trade and travels. But the trade was so beneficial that all seems trivial in such profit propositions. The commodities of trade are gold, valuable gems, wine, valuable items etc. From Tamralipti art, culture and other social components also radiated and expanded to Southeast Asia. Indian merchants prefer sea routes to Southeast Asia though there existed land route but given the topography it was too hard to travel on that route. Mahabharata states Assam/ Pragjyotisa in eastern India sent horses, jade and ivory handles with perhaps jade coming from upper Burma (Mahabharata II. 47).

Periplus mentions that the Chinese silk reaches to other ports of India through the deltaic area of Bengal and taking the Gangetic route it reached the different parts of north India. The Chinese goods reached the eastern coast of India through sea route from China and by land route through Yunnan, Assam and then along Brahmaputra it was exported to Singan-fu-Lan-Chow, Lhasa and Chumbi valley to Sikkim and finally reached Bengal (Schoff, 1912). A route not very popular and rarely used existed always between China and Assam and trade was mostly carried through seas until Japanese blocked this sea route during Second World War which forced China to open a land route known as Burma Road. From inner Yunnan and Sichuan provinces goods to Tamralipti can be easily transported through Brahmaputra whereas through sea it has to take a land route of similar topography to Assam to reach port and a distant sea route to India, travelling down through Brahmaputra from Sadiya

is far safer than taking sea route through south-east Asian coasts. There were two roads from China to India first through Northwest India through Samarqand, Bactria another through hill passes from north east India, Buddhism was the main reason behind the early linkage between the two regions (Bagchi, 1944: 17). Bagchi was of opinion that "*Buddhism to south China was carried through Assam-Burma road which started from Patliputra through Champa (Bhagalpur), Kajangala (Rajmahal), and Pundravardhana (north Bengal) and proceeded upto Kamarupa (Guwahati). From Assam the routes to Burmawere three in early times as now; one by the valley of Brahmaputra up to the Patkoi range and then through its passes upto Upper Burma, the second through Manipur up to the Chindwin valley and the third through Arakan up to the Irrawaddy valley. All these routes met on the frontier of Burma near Bhamo and then proceeded over the mountains and crossed the river valleys of Yunnanfu i.e. Kunming, which was the chief city of the southern province of China. Though Hiuan-Tsang had no personal knowledge of this route still he has carefully recorded what information he could gather about it in Eastern India "to the east of Kamarupa" he says "the country is a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city, and it reached to the south-west barbarians of China; hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao."* The pilgrim learnt from the people of Kamarupa that the south west borders of See-chuan were distant by two months journey, "but the mountains were hard to pass, there were pestilential vapours and poisonous snakes and herbs" " (Bagchi, 1944: 19). The ruler of the time of Kamarupa Bhaskarvarman asked pilgrim about a Chinese song very popular in Assam (Bagchi, 1944: 19).

Hadud-e- Alam (982-983 AD) informs that in 10th century Arabia imported gold from Assam probably through the intermediaries in Bengal region, conch shell and ivory from Orissa, pepper from Malabar, shoes from Cambay, stones, muslins, turbans, herbs from Kannauj, musk from Nepal (Nadvi, 1930). Ibn-ul- Fakih records Arabia imported from India and Sindh aromatic woods, rubies, diamonds, agallochum, amber, cloves, sambul (or *tambul*, a native for areca nut in Assam), kulanian, cinnamon, coconuts, myrobalan, acetate of copper, bakkam, cane, sandalwood, teak wood and black pepper (Nadvi, 1930: 57-58). The same source also informs Arabs exported the rhinoceros horn from India to China, caskets made of horn, India also exported areca nuts to Arabia (Nadvi, 1930: 66-67). In Bernang (Malaya) Indian native products of Lenkasuraagallochum, laka wood, sandalwood and ivory was bartered with gold, silver, porcelain ware, iron, lacquer plates, *sanshu* rice, sugar and wheat (Hirth&Rockhill, 1912: 67). There are references of fleet sailing from Sind to Malabar and from the Cape Comorin to Tamralipti. Recent researches in maritime sciences reports maritime archaeological evidences indicating in 12th-13th century maritime commercial network enhanced by Chinese traders. The shipwrecks yielded from South China Sea and south-east Asia suggests enhanced maritime activity of Chinese during the period. Finding of Chinese ceramic as well as Arabic and Indic inscription in

South China region indicates items being seaborne commodities by ships engaged in 7th-8th century trade between China and Indian Ocean region even Arabic style anchors were also recovered (Kimura, 2015). The coastline of Orissa is dotted with ports throughout the history which played important role in spread of Buddhism in the region which was well connected with the other ports of the eastern coastline of India including Bengal and Andhra resulting in the widespread distribution in the region the roulette and arretine wares produced in Andhra and Chandraketurgarh region (Singha, 2021). The Orissan ports were in contact with Southeast Asian ports of Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma and Philippines established on the basis of finding of semi precious beads made of agate and carnelian. The earliest site to have yielded Indian contact is the Ban Ton Ta Phet in Thailand (Glover, 1990) belonging to 3rd to 2nd century BC. The “Bay of Bengal Interaction Sphere” was bounded on north by Kamarupa therefore it came under the influence of major stakeholders of the sphere Bengal, Orissa, Southeast Asia and China. Various scholars are of opinion that the Indianisation of Southeast Asia was carried from eastern region of Bengal and Tamilnadu. Bengal was connected closely with Southeast Asia in trade and cultural context (Choudhury and Chakravarti, 2018), (Haque, 2003: 17-49) (Rashid, 2008), (Husain, 1997), (Mazumdar, 1971). Tamralipti became the port of call for trade and voyage to Southeast Asia augmented by nearby ports of Andhra and Orissa specially Manikpatna (Tripathi, 2021)

Assam was connected with Bengal, Orissa and Myanmar due to geographical proximity and South India and Southeast Asia incidentally because of their contact with Bengal and Myanmar. Finding of Roulette ware from Ambari in Guwahati, Assam indicates its place in Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal trade networks. Beads were widely reported from eastern coast of India made of glass, TC and semiprecious stones. According to Glover (Glover, 1996) India has a vast source of carnelian, semi precious stones and glass wares and it was exported to Southeast Asia from India in order to manufacture beads and final products were again brought back to India and incidentally few of them reached Ambari through the trade networks. At Ambari quite a few beads of carnelian, agate, chalcedony, lapis, were reported from the Ambari archaeological site excavation. Finding of precious, rare and exotic beads along with exclusive and luxury ceramics and other items of external origin suggest presence of thriving elite class in the region which created demand for such luxury consumables. Bengal variously known as Vanga, Samatata, Harikela, Vangala, Gauda, Radha, Pundra, Varendra, Sushma has important role in the trading link of Assam with mainland India and rest of the world be it material, culture, religion, art and architecture. NBPW, an exclusive ceramic were reported from many sites from Bengal like WariBateswar (Jahan, 2010), Gange, Tamralipti and Chandraketurgarh, it is also reported from ThamSua (La Un, dist.), Kapoe (Kapoe dist.), PhuKhao (Suk Samran dist.), Khao Sam Kaeo (Muang dist.), ThamThuay (ThungTako dist.) in Thailand (Jahan, 2002: 209). Sometimes this pottery found along with punch marked coins indicating

currency based trading and economy (Tripathi, 2017). Some other potteries of Indian origin like roulette ware, knobbed ware were also reported from Southeast Asia specially from the sites of Vietnam, Indonesia and Thailand (Chaisuwan&Naiyawat, 2009) Sumatra (Ardika, 2018). Though NBPW is not reported so far from Assam but it is very likely that the lower levels of Ambari might yield the type ceramic.

Salt trade: the geographical location of Assam is such that the naturally appearing salt is not found here however the sea is not far from western part but it was not viable during early days to transport upto valley and hills of Assam. The Dhubri area has maintained a trading link with Bengal and sea from distant past. As salt was not locally available people prepared it with local methods but was not sufficient of the consumption. There are references of production of salt from the brines of Barhat and Sadiya but under the control of Naga and Adi tribes and was meagre also (Saikia, 2001: 65). Shiabuddin Talish mentioned of a bitter and caustic salt found in Assam procured through aborigine practices (organic sources) but the salt remained acidic (Asif, 2009: 50). Salt was rare and dear item in Assam which is reflected in the practice of preservation of salt and the cuisine itself which uses less salt. During the Ahom period they produce salt by aboriginal methods and imported a small amount of salt from Nagas (Physical and Political Geography of the Assam, 1896: 58). Salt mines of Sadiya were supervised by Mohong-hat Barua who also regulated the production and supplies (Bhuyan, 2013: 21-22)). With the establishment of Mughal chowkies in Dhubri and Hajo salt from Bengal arrived regularly. Mughals though traded salt but never saw opportunity to earn a proportionate profit but the Britishers saw, knowing salt being the most important and necessary consumable. In 1768 Hugh Baillie obtained the lease of the salt trade at Goalpara from the company and became monopoly trader of salt with Bengal (Banerjee, 1946: 6) and the policy of monopolized trade ended in 1780 replaced by agency system (Barui, 1985). However the monopolizing attitude towards salt trade continued whether by Ahom officers or Indian merchants.

Archaeological evidences of trade in Assam

Many literary sources speak of trading with Assam but the records need archaeological confirmation. Though not much excavation was carried out in Brahmaputra valley in quest of cultural sequence and to understand the material milieu of respective periods however there were excavations which throw light into the material aspects of Brahmaputra valley and its cultural and material linkage with the surrounding cultural zones. The most notable excavation among these are the excavations of Ambari, Paglatek, Surya Pahar, Mahadeosal, Alichiga Tengani etc. Surya Pahar in Goalpara yielded interesting materials specially terracotta artefacts having clear influence of Bengal art suggesting interaction among the two areas however the excavation report of Surya Pahar never published limiting our understanding and deliberations on the site (Performance Audit, CAG, 2013). The Paglatek site from the same district yielded large number of pottery from disturbed upper layers however

the lower layer are stable and pottery yielded includes green glazed wares of medieval period which definitely was of external origin even few coins of Bengal rulers were also reported pointing to the places' involvement with trading activities. Few Gupta coins also reported from this site but never by any credible authority, neither the coins were traced nor such coins are reported elsewhere from the valley. Ambari is the most important site in the connection and is excavated since 1969 for several seasons. The site has revealed many cultural aspects of the region including trade. A lot of materials of external origin were reported from the site. It is quite possible the settlement was developed by immigrants who were from mid or lower Gangetic regions. The technological knowhow of the people of Ambari were not at par with the natives, they were far superior. The earliest cultural phase of Ambari ascribed to Sunga-Kushana (Singha, 2021) on the basis of earliest brick structure with bricks adhering to Sunga-Kushana proportions. The earlier excavations reported finding of roulette and arretine wares at the site of foreign origin. Placed chronologically to 2nd century BC for roulette wares (Begley, 1983: 461-481) and for arretine wares 10BC-30 AD (Comfort, 1991: 134-150) and 10BC-50AD (Slane, 1996: 366-368) for the specimen yielded from Tamilnadu, therefore it can be presumed that pottery was either produced in Tamil-Andhra region or Chandraketugarh-Tamluk region and arrived Ambari through naval route possibly in early centuries around 200 AD concurrently with phase I Sunga-Kushana structure. The finding of arretine and roulette wares dating to 1st-2nd century, the Indian made variety establishes the area to be connected with East Indian littorals. Roulette wares appeared at terminal NBPW period (c. 250 BC) from Chandraketugarh (Gogte, 1997: 69-85.) Sisupalgarh (3-4th centuries) (Mohanty & Smith, 2009: 47-56) Alangankulam (Nagaswamy, 1991: 247-254.) and Arikamedu (Begley, 1988: 427-440), Amravati (Wheeler, 1946), Brahmagiri and Chandravalli (Wheeler, 1947: 181-310.), Tamluk (IAR, 1954-55: 19-20), Chandraketugarh (IAR, 1956-57: 29-30, 1957-58: 51-52, 1959-60: 50-52). Sisupalgarh (Lal, 1949: 62-105.), Rajghat (IAR, 1963-64: 59-60.). Gogtes XRD analysis of roulette wares from Sri Lanka and South East Asia resulted in the conclusion that Chandraketugarh- Tamluk region as place of origin of Rouletted wares found in South and South- East Asia (Gogte, 1997: 69-85). Gupta observes that “*The Rouletted wares has been recorded all along the eastern seaboard of the sub continent, from lower Bengal to Sri Lanka in levels dated from 3rd century BC- 3rd century AD*” (Gupta, 2005: 25).

Celadon wares also reported from the site. The ware is originated from China but its production later spread to Japan, Korea and South Asian countries including Thailand, it is traditionally most valued material of China stated being produced during Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220 AD). By the close of 1st millennium AD China was exporting the ware to East Asia and Islamic world. By 13th-15th century AD large quantities of celadon wares exported throughout East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East (Gompertz, 1980). Celadons

reported from Ambari are of plain variety without decoration of any sort and gloss akin to “Ru ware” dated to 1100 AD for Chinese specimen (Sun Xinmin, 2015). Celadons were highly prized inside China and abroad, it reached Europe by way of India and Egypt. Celadon wares are reported from Arikamedu also, of plain variety being dated to c.10th-12th century. The export trade in celadon became brisk in Sung period (960AD-1279AD) and reached its peak under the Yuan dynasty (1280AD-1368AD) (Wheeler, 1946). The C14 date of Celadon bearing strata at Ambari is dated to 895±105 ascribable to 7th-13th century AD (IAR, 1970-71). Red gloss pottery of Mediterranean origin and paddle impressed wares are also reported from Ambari, exemplify its international network (Dayalan, 2019). Some of typical Ambari materials specially pottery are yielded from nearby sites of Mahadeosal, Paglatek, Surya Pahar, Dekdua etc. suggesting interaction among these sites (Singha, 2021: 160). In the upper reaches of Brahmaputra, in Doiyang-Dhansiri valley a *setubandha* (pattana/port) was reported by Dutta (Dutta, 2012: 27) from Rajabari in AlichigaTengani (Golaghat district) Assam, indicating the Extension of the trade network upto the area.

Along with various ceramics beads of various kinds also were reported from Ambari archaeological site. The beads are of foreign origin, it is certain that luxury bead industry at Assam was never active and it was imported and possibly it came along with ceramic consignment. The beads were made of semiprecious stones such as chalcedony, agate, carnelian, jade, coral etc. not found locally in Assam. It is hard to trace the origin of these beads as it was produced throughout south and Southeast Asia. In India bead industry is reported from bay of Khambat to Eastern coast. All the beads yielded are of plain variety and no etched variety is reported so far. At Bengal from Gupta levels unfinished and finished beads of stone and glass reported from Mangalkot and Harinarayanpur (Singh, 1983: 154). The movement of such articles are definitive result of trading in the valley. In 2009 season of excavation round terracotta sealing (fig. 1 & 2) is reported from the early levels of Ambari. The sealing seems impressed hardly upon terracotta packing material. The details of sealing could not be analysed as the surface was highly defaced, similar such seal are reported from Chandraketugarh and Bangarh. Chandraketugarh is a coastal settlement near Kolkata, a part of Indian Ocean trade network. Terracotta seals from Chandraketugarh and Bangarh (West Bengal) depicts of seafaring vessels with Kharosthi-Brahmi inscriptions (fig. 3) referring to *Tridesayatra*, meaning voyage to three countries (Sharma, 1991: 38-40).

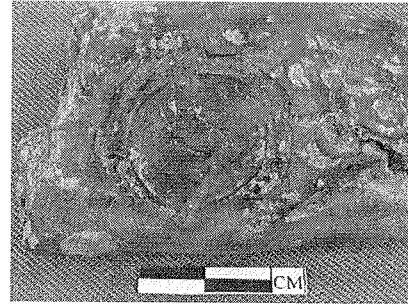
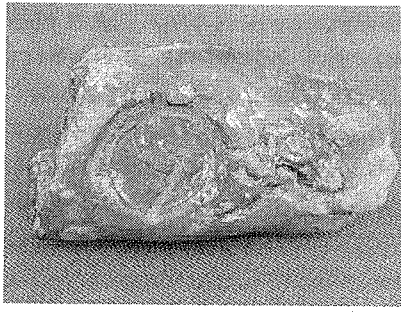


fig.1&2 Terracotta packing material from Ambari (ASI)

fig. 3.Tc Seals,

Bangarh, WB (Sharma, 1991)

River Brahmaputra played an important role in the trade and movement. Spatial distributions of settlement shows majority of settlements were based on the banks of this river system. At some points of this mighty river and its tributaries there primarily developed some ghats which serves as an economic cum religious centres. These ghats were vibrant markets where traders and commons alike exchange their essentials and durables and in due time these ghats emerged as urban centers with a supporting periphery. In the following period these centres not only become hub of economic and political activities but also a conglomerating point of exchange of ideas and cultural traits.

Intra State Routes

Inscriptions informs about three political regions namely Pragjyotispur, Haruppaswara and Durjaya taking turns to be the political centre of Assam and all well connected with the Pundra and Samatata (Sunderban and coastal Bengal region) region with land and river route. The records of subsequent period speak of following routes, it is certain that few of the routes were newly made but majority of these existed already. Various types of roads are mentioned by Ahoms, *HathiPothi*, meaning elephant hunters track. Raj Ali, raised roads made by kings, mostly Ahoms in upper Assam. The colonial records speak of various roads.

The roads of Goalpara district are Goalpara-Singamari, Dhubri-Kherbari to Sankoshand Koch Behar, Goalpara- Koraibari, Goalpara- Jira, Goalpara-Laskhmipur, Jogigopa- Dotma, Bijni-Raha, Jogigopa- Bijni, Damra-Dhupdhara, Damra- Salmara, Goalpara- Nalbari, Kitkibari- Jira, Jogogopa-Raha, Salmara- Bijni, Jogigopa- Salmara, Jogigopa- Bilasupara via Salemcha, Bilasupara- Gauripur, Dhubri- Kherbari (Hunter, 1879: 72-73)

The statistical account of Assam by William Hunter informs us of principal routes of Assam to be Assam Trunk Road connecting Gauhati-Agia (81 miles), Gauhati-Kallang (15 miles), Gauhati-Shillong via Byrnihat and Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 589

Nongpo (65 miles). Old Nagaon or Sonapur road connecting Gauhati-Dibru river (16 miles), GauhatiMaflang via Nonklau (82 miles), Kharghuli road (2 miles), Greenwood road (4 miles), Amingaon-Hajo (14 miles), Hajo-Nalbari (18 miles), Kamalpur-Jhargaon (20 miles), Remgia-Nalbari (12 miles), Nalbari- Boraina (12 miles), Boraina- Bajali road (12 miles), Boraina-Tamulpur (20 miles), Bajali-Bhabanipur (12 miles), Bhabanipur- Barpeta(12 miles), Barpeta strand road, Barpeta- Basiaghat (20 miles), Barpeta- Roha (10 miles), old Khanamukh Road (5 miles), Palasbari- Gohainkhand road (8 miles), Khanamukh- Gohainkhand road (10 miles), Myrapur- Bardwar road (14 miles), Amchang Road (5 miles) (Hunter, 1879). The roads mentioned in the Darrang district are Gauhati- Karuaghat (6 miles), Karuaghat-Sipajhar (15), Sipajhar- Mangaldoi (9 miles), Mangaldoi- Dolgaon (12 miles), Mangoldoi-Rangamati (25 miles), Dolgaon- Aurang (15 miles), Aurang- Godhajuli (10 miles), Aurang-Udalguri (15 miles), Udalguri- Bhairabkunda (9 miles) Godhajuli- Gabru (9 miles), Gabru-Tezpur (12 miles), Tezpur- Bhoroli (9 miles), Bhoroli- Chutia (9 miles), Chutia- Burigang (9 miles), Burigang-Behali (11 miles), Behali- Helem outpost (9 miles), Helem- Gohpur (9 miles), Gohpur-Kolapuri (9 miles), Kolapuri-Moramornoi (1 mile). These roads in Darrang mostly pass through jungle and cultivated lands with settlements around the fields.

The important roads of Nagaon district are Nagaon- Kahikuchi (40 miles), Nagaon- Raha (13 miles), Nagaon- Dihing (54 miles), Kaliabor- Silghat (4 miles), Nagaon- Doboka (24 miles), Nagaon- Lakshyaghat (17 miles), Kahargaon- Kaliabor (35 miles), Raha- Doboka (24 miles), Puranigodam-Bamunij (6 miles). The major centres in Nagaon are Nagaon, Puranigodam, Kaliabor, Silghat, Dobka, Kherni, Raha, Chaparimuch. In Sibsagar district important towns like Sibsagar, rangpur, garhgaon, Jorhat and Golaghat are well connected. The river Dhansiri on which Golaghat is located is navigable throughout the year with small and medium boats. In the Lakhimpur district Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur, Sadiya, Jaipur were important towns and were well connected with various roads. The important roads were Rangagara Road (8-25 miles), Rongdoighat road (12 miles), Sologuri Ali (20 miles), Gorumur (15 miles), Kuchujan (36 miles), Pathalipam (18 miles), Dhakuakhana (10 miles), Kherketia (36 miles), Dhodar Ali (20 miles), Makum (20 miles) (Hunter, 1879: 378). Apart from the mentioned roads there existed many smaller roads connecting smaller settlements and frontier towns. The term *Ali* is common for roads in northern bank specially denoting minor roads. In Assam ferry boats ply at all the important connecting roads and on numerous streams. Principal landing depots for steamers are located all along the Brahmaputra River from Dhubri to Sadiya. The imports of Assam are overwhelmingly large than exports during colonial period (Hunter, 1879). Exports consist largely mustard, rape and canes and few forest products which constitute major chunk of exports (Hunter, 1879).

Fairs (*hat*) and Festivals

Fairs and festivals are historic phenomena and being one of the spots where trade and exchange is conducted in Brahmaputra valley. As the valley is surrounded by hills on three sides north, south and east making people living on both depend upon each other for provisions not available to them locally. The origin of such activity is not known but certainly has prehistoric **roots/** connotation. Trade and exchange is rooted in prehistoric tradition of barter evidenced from many sites of the world. In Brahmaputra valley these fairs or centres of exchange took place mostly at foothills with hill people bringing their goods downhill and taking back their desired provisions mostly in the dry and winter months of January and February, the harvesting season in plains and hunting and reaping time on hills when animals venture out of safe deep forests for the search of food and water. A study show winter being preferred hunting season for most hunters (Around 93%) and the species hunted were mostly mammals for consumption and trade (Aiyadurai et. al, 2010) a finding applicable for hill areas as well. The prehistoric archaeological evidences though could not be traced but questionable historical data is available. Colonial writers mention few fairs specially occurring on the frontiers of Assam. Local fairs act as distributing agency in tracts destitute of commercial centres. Three fairs are held adjacent to the Bhutan frontier in Darrang district. *Udalguri Fair*: It is held at KariaparaDuar, Mangaldoi subdivision, Darrang Dist. Ten miles from the foot of the hills and twenty five miles from Mangaldai. TibetanBhutias throng the fair while preventing the inhabitants of Bhutan proper so that they may reap the whole profits of the trade. It takes place in the months of February and March and lasts about two months. The statistics of 1875 stands that import from Bhutan was Rs. 44,817 and exexportRs. 35,432 and around 3000 Bhutias attended the fair in the following year 1876 exports ascertained Rs. 50,425 anf imports Rs. 25,712 and Bhutias took Rs. 24,713 in cash with them. The articles brought down by Bhutias are ponies, sheep, dogs, salt, gold, blankets, yaks' tails, musk, chillies, spices, wax, madder, oranges and walnuts and in exchange they took English and Assamese cloths, threads, rice, betel nuts, brass and iron cooking utensils, bar iron, hoes etc.*Kerkeria Fair*: the fair was established around late half of 17th century. It took place on the frontiers of Assam and Bhutan and visited by Bhutias of eastern Bhutan. Held in the month of February and March with 162 Bhutias attended in 1876. The value of import from Bhutan estimated at Rs. 17,226 and export at Rs. 16,078. The Bhutias are said to have taken back small quantity of silver with them.*Daimara Fair*, the fair held three miles beyond Assam frontier and 25 miles northeast of Udalguri. In 1876, the imports from Bhutan were estimated at Rs. 7452 and exports from Assam at Rs. 5636. Only men came from Bhutan for the trade in these fairs (Census, 1881: 39).*Bengbari Fair*, not much is reported about the fair (Census, 1881: 39). Fairs in Darrang are also reported from *Majikuchi* Village at Jagannath than (Kamrup) and *Silpata* village fair in Chatgaridwar, Mangaldai sub-division (Hunter, 1879: 146).

Sadiya Fair: held at Sadiya in the end of January, attended by 300 men in 1876. Imports of plains being rubber, wax, musk, cloths, mats, *Khamtidaos* and ivory. The exports are Assamese and english cloths, salt, brass wire and opium (Hunter, 1879).

In Goalpara also many fairs are reported both on its north and south bank with adjoining frontiers areas. In Goalpara fairs nomadic Baramasia caste frequent these fairs (Hunter, 1879: 45). The local trade in Goalpara is carried on by means of periodical fairs on the occasion of religious festivals as well as permanent market. Haats bazaar or markets are scattered all over the country and held on certain days of week. These haats are also reported from Garo hill frontiers, attended by number of Garosspecially in the winter season who bring down the produce of their hills for sale or barter and return with other requisites no available at their place. *Datma Fair* in Datma was established by Government of Bengal in 1878 (Hunter, 1879). At *Dolgoma* in Habraghatpargana a fair in the month of January. At *Kathalmari* also a fair was reported in month of January (Hunter, 1879). At *Dhubri* there are few fairs as it was a major trading centre. A fair in Dhubri reported where traders of Assam eastern and northern Bengal can meet and interchange goods at Assam Trunk Road at Dhubri (Hunter, 1879: 78). At *Gauripur* a Durga puja fair also is reported in the month of October and November (Hunter, 1879). At *Chhatrasal* Doljatra fair is reported in the month of March-April (Hunter, 1879).

At Kamrup also few fairs are reported like the fair in *Diwangiri* village in Kamrup, Barpeta Sub-Division, a Bhutia fair (Hunter, 1879: 42) is reported where imports of Assam being gold dust, silver, lead, knives, straight blades, blankets, ponies, yaks tail, coarse cloth, precious stone and exports being paddy, rice, dried fish, lac, silk, madder etc. A religious fair is reported from *Jalaguri*, Nagaon district (Hunter, 1879: 189). Annual mela or fair is also reported from Silchar held on 30th December, lasting for ten or twelve days with traders from Sylhet and Dacca attending. In former days buffaloes and ponies from Manipur and Burmah were sold chiefly but later traffic restricted to dealing in cotton cloth and hardware, attendance is quite high in this mela and average amount of business done every year is estimated about Rs. 300,00 (Hunter, 1879: 429). *Junbeel* fair is a renowned fair of all taking place at Junbeel in Jagiroad area. The origin of the fair is traced to 15th century. In the fair Jaintia, Khasi, Tiwa, Karbitribes descend down with their indigenous products and exchange their artefacts with locals living in the plain areas. The tribals brought with them herbs, spices, fruits, ginger and animal products exchanging with rice oil, dry fish and provisions not found on hills in the month of Magha (January).

Centres of Trade (Towns and Settlements)

Sources speak of two types of settlements historical and archaeological, with all historical cities having archaeological remnants. The nature of the settlements varied urban, rural, religious and economic or more than one of

these. The prominent early historical urban settlements are Pragjyotishpur, Karnasuvarna, Harupeswara, Durjaya, Kamarupanagara, Hamsakonchi etc. and archaeological being Baitbari, Goalpara, Deopani, Sadiya in addition to the above. All the major urban settlements emerged religious cum economic centres. During the colonial period the number of settlements grew to hundreds with all connected to nearby settlements with either road or river networks. The earlier major centres are located far from each other with population not exceeding 10,000 souls. The Kalika Puran and Yogini Tantra religious compositions of 10th and 17th century mainly speaks of Kamakhya mandala (Guwahati), Sonitpura (Tezpur), Manikuta hill (Hajo), little about Dikkarvasini/Tareswari temple (Sadiya) etc. the major settlement of Assam were:

Goalpara: located on the south bank of Brahmaputra, no much literary evidence of the area was noted but archaeological. The area was a renowned Buddhist pilgrimage and trading centre at its time with lot of carved and built Buddhist stupa and monastery. It is a vibrant place developed as trading centre during the colonial period.

Baitbari/ Vodokuguri: located on the foothills of Garo hills, an oldest Buddhist stupa is reported from this site along with two temples of later period (Singha, 2021).

Guwahati: Mentioned as *Pragjyotishpur, Kamarupa, Durjayanagara, Kamakhya yoni/mandala, Nilakuta, Nilachala* etc. It is a gateway to northeast, cultural and economic epicentre of early Assam. The trade links between Brahmaputra valley and mainland enhanced the connectivity and interaction of these two locations. It was due to this trade interaction that Ambari (in Guwahati) became a trading hub (with Pandughat and Uzan Bazar ghat as its chief port) by 1st century A.D and this trade in turn ushered an era of urbanisation of Ambari area. However, Pragjyotishpur (Ambari/ Guwahati) is not just a city but an extensive locale with many localities.

Tezpur: located on the north bank of Bramputra and known as Harupeswara/Hadapeswara in inscriptions and Sonitpur in KalikaPuran and Yogini tantra this place became a shaivite epicentre in the valley with many temples dedicated to Shiva It seems (from the inscriptional point of view) that political and religious activities from Pragjyotishpur got declined or became limited as not much land grant have been issued from Pragjyotishpur but from Harupeswara/Hadapeswara during the period 700 A.D-1050 A.D.

Hojai Region: mentioned as *Barasrojambuba* Visaya in Gachal inscription the area is located adjacent to Mikir hills consists of numerous brick and stone temples of Shiva belonging to 8th century to 13th century.

Golaghat: lot of archaeological sites were reported from the area specially from the DoiyangDhansiri Valley. Dubarani, Deopani, Deoparbat, AlichigaTengani etc. were noted sites. A *Setubandha* port (*pattana*) is also reported from the site. The region seems economic and religious centre with minimal political profile.

Biswanath: located on the north bank of Brahmaputra, place is well known for Shiva worship and strategic location and a brick temple belonging to 8th century. It is a religious site.

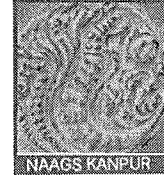
Sadiya area: Kalika Puran and Yogini Tantra mention the area as Dikkarbasini. At the area is located the temple of Tamasreemai/ Copper temple, the temple is designated as “The Eastern Kamakhya” by Buchanan and stated by him located on DikkoriBasini near north eastern boundary of ancient kingdom of Kamarupa. *Boora Boori* Temple: another temple mentioned near Tamreswari temple is Boora Boori located on the doab of Dikrung and Dibong connected with Raja Bhismak situated on the bank of Deopani stream. The temple is in ruins presently but during its heydays it was equally important as Tamasri Mai/ copper temple and both made a circuit along with Bhismak Nagar. Lingams abound the area and is attributed to Shiva and associated deities. Some of the lingams also thought associated with Adi Buddha and AdiPrajna (Hannay, 1848: 469). An altar reported here is hexagonal with each face measuring about 8 feet inside. The architecture is simple with blending of stone and brick. The inner side of wall is of brick and on top is a coping of brick soorki without lime. A vivid description of the temple and its components are made by Major Hannay (Hannay, 1848: 469).

Assam being located in a zone sandwiched between two culturally advanced region south and Southeast Asia. Interaction between the two regions was known beyond historic period. The region was inhabited by population generally of non-Indian profiles culturally and racially. The Indianisation of Brahmaputra valley and Southeast Asia come about through sanskritisation initially through Buddhism later by Brahmanical sects. Ancient geography of Assam is sacred geography with each settlement surrounding around a holy shrine and their legends with economic and political connotation. Settlements in the Brahmaputra valley started as small rural settlements transformed into religiouscentres by apostles and merchants which developed it also as economic centres because of the presence of shrines and people settling and visiting the place regularly and lastly it attained political dimension. Once the political question arises, along arises the question of control which can be materialized with better mode of communication hence the centres were connected for the movement of men and provision. Since 12th century the sacred geography transformed into political geography.

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**THE CHANGING OF DELHI'S NATURE: IT'S
ENVIRONMENT, FORESTS AND WATERBODIES DURING THE
COLONIAL PERIOD**

BHARTI

Ph.D. Scholar
History Department
Delhi University, Delhi India

Abstract

This research paper attempts to explain the factor for the changing nature of the environment, forests, habitats of wild animals, and water sources of Delhi during the Colonial period, which was exploited in the indiscriminate progress of modern development. Presently, the climate of Delhi (District) is monsoon-enriched-humid subtropical, semi-arid type, with ongoing high variations between summer and winter temperatures and rainfall. Delhi is located in the northern plains of the Indian subcontinent. Its proximity to the Himalayas and the Western Desert greatly influences its climate, allowing it to experience both weather extremes. Therefore the environment and geographical area of Delhi have been found intensive bio-diversity. Delhi's two major natural sites, the 'Ridge' and the 'Yamuna,' have played an important role in enhancing its environment, forests, and biodiversity since ancient times. The Northern Ridge, Western Forest, Central Ridge, and Southern Ridge are among the most important places in terms of their forest, and they are eco-sensitive areas. For a long time now, the Yamuna Ghats and forest areas in the vicinity of Delhi have been centers of various religious traditions. According to various historical records at that time, the Ridge areas of Delhi have been the leading site of various hybrid hunting and cultural traditions of elites and there common subjects, in the Sultanate and Mughal periods.

In the medieval period (1206-1707 AD), Delhi's ridge area was used for hunting by the Sultanate and Mughal emperors. Among which were Malcha Mahala or Malcha Bistdari and Kushka Mahal (southern-central ridge), Bhuli-Bhatiyari's palace (central ridge), and Pir-Ghalib (northern ridge). The Mughal emperors built hunting grounds in dense forests of Faridabad, Mehrauli, Mitraon, Hastal, Kanjhawala villages, etc., for the sake of hunt various kinds

of animals there. Apart from this, Bawana, Loni, Burari, and Najafgarh villages were also popularly known for hunting.¹

The Aravali hill identified as the ridge in Delhi. Starting from South Delhi, the ridge hills, heading northeast, ended at the Yamuna River. The ridge that surrounded Delhi in the northeast and north direction was a natural defender from the Yamuna. A branch of the ridge diverged from the main chain near Bhati Kalan in South Delhi and merged with the main chain again in curve shape in northeastern to Anangpur near Faridabad. The Aravali biodiversity area in southwest Delhi had Mehrauli-Mahipalpur-Palam. The forests belonging to the lands of Bhati Kalan, Rangpuri hill, Asola, Mohammadpur, Munirka, Basant village, Masdupur, Kusumpur, Mahipalpur, and Moradabad hill were associated with the Aravalli bio-diversity zone and specific forestry. Delhi and the Aravalli range in the northeast (Aravalli) to Delhi and southwest to Gujarat. Where Rajasthan was measured by a slanting line, which is one of the ranges of the old-time, the hilly part of the Delhi ridge had the most far-reaching impact on the water situation. The end of the Mewati branch of the Aravalli range was the most prominent topographical feature of Delhi. Apart from this main branch of the ridge, its small hills also gave attraction at some other places. In which many drains carrying the extra rainwater were seen. These natural dry drains are used to fill the pits formed by drains and soil erosion.²

Thorny tree species and some thorny medicinal shrubs developed as permanent vegetation in the ridge area before the colonial period. Many indigenous species were also there, such as *Acacia*, *Peelu*, *Haldu*, *Hingol*, *Neem*, *Amaltash*, and Dhak trees. At some places, bunches of wild palms were also seen. Among the permanent types of shrubs here, species of hinus, karor, ber, kakera, lasura, and bamboo were also found in the form of small bushes. The species of saag or kund formed by geological layers of archaean and quartzite rocks were tendu, white jasmine, rohera, and ber. Many indigenous herbs of temporary nature such as Amarbel, Rambel and a semi-parasitic (Banda) also grew here. These many species of thorny shrubs provided shelter to various animals and birds. During the Mughal rule, fruit trees were grown in most of the famous gardens of Delhi. Even till the 19th Century, this type of landscape of Delhi did not see much change. The Delhi's forests, green areas, reservoirs, canals branch, and Yamuna flow marked were also found in the maps of the early 19th Century at the time of British rule in Delhi.³

Even by the end of the 19th Century, many types of wild animals were also found in the forests in Delhi. Wild Pigs lived in the forests of Sonapat tehsil, Delhi tehsil, and the Khadar bank of Yamuna in South-east Delhi, where they found ample hiding places in the sugarcane field. Foxes and rabbits were found on the eastern bank of Jamna. Blackbuck was found almost everywhere. Chikaras were found in a range of hills on the northeast side of Delhi. Wolves were mostly found in the neighborhood of the old military camp or in the

northern ridge. British military officers mentioned these environmental variations. Rabbits, peacocks, ducks, and snails were plentiful throughout the district, which was not visible in the years of famine. Nilgai was found grazing continuously towards Burari and Kadipur villages of Delhi Tehsil. Black and wild brown donkeys were found in the vast forest along the banks of the Jamuna when crops were in advanced season. Snakes of all kinds were abundant, with the black snake cobra being the most dangerous. The members of the British outpost in the forests near the fort called Kotla wrote their descriptions during their hunting during the rainy season. The local natives recognized three types of snakes (1) a venomous black cobra that was always fatal. (2) Yellow snake, which was not poisonous. (3) Pied snake, which was more harmful than yellow but not as venomous as cobra.⁴

Leopard was primarily found in outlying villages of Delhi. His presence was in the forest of Tughlakabad and Burari forest near Jamuna. Mahseer, Rohu, Bachwa fishes were found in Yamuna, Okhla canal and Agra canal. There were also cannibals crocodiles in large numbers in the river Yamuna. In some villages around the shady road of the Western Yamuna Canal, monkeys were in large numbers as most of the canals had fruit orchards where monkeys would gather to eat the fruits. According to British revenue officer Maconachie, planting trees in the alignment of the Rajbaha canal villages without protecting the crops by the canal officers was like inviting monkeys. It was a grave fact for the Maconachis that the 'Jats, because of their religious beliefs, used to capture monkeys but did not kill them. So 'Kameen' (village labour) was appointed to protect the crops, who loudly frightened the monkeys.⁵ Various types of ducks were common in ponds, snails in many places in marshes, and dark brown quail in fields during the cold season. The wild donkey was fond of raw gram fields. Leopards were sometimes found in the rocky areas of the Kohi region also, where herds of Gujjars hunted them. Hyenas often lived in the same area. Herds of blackbucks were found everywhere, but they had large herds in the south of Najafgarh and Ballabgarh. Chinkara was also found in small herds in the above areas. The numbers of foxes, jackals, wolves were quite common in Ballabhgarh Khadar and Kohi. Here porcupines, deer, and nilgai were few or did not like to appear in the presence of humans. But they sometimes entered the fruit-vegetable orchards in the urban suburbs for grazing and spoiled the crops.⁶

The monkeys (the common brown variety) also at times caused more damage to local crops than other animals in suburban orchards and orchards along canals near the city of Delhi. In Sonipat Bangar and Delhi, old herds of wild cattle and domestic animals also grazed the crop, which local landlords complained to their (British) officials. Under provincial rules, prize money was also kept for hunting dangerous animals. However, the reason for this was related to the entry of animals into human habitation due to deforestation.

The destruction of peacocks was prohibited, especially in Hindu villages. In winter, ducks used to play wherever suitable water was found in the areas of

Lake Najafgarh. Whose marksmen used to target. In Najafgarh, Kulans used to meet at some distance from the gram fields. There were numerous other birds whose single bird could not form an exhaustive list. There were undoubtedly many birds to be found, such as many types of a crimson, coppersmith, green Basant, sunbird, desi Neel Kanth, Kingfisher, hornbill, hoopoe, ratjer, eagle, cuckoo, Kel, crows, pheasant, parrot, owl, eagle, vulture, hawk, moth, scream, black drongo / bhujanga, king-crow, myna, starlings, tailorbird, crows, pigeon, bee-eater, robin / kalchuri, swallow, martins, babblers, nightingale, lark, wagtail, underwater Among the birds, there were several varieties of cranes, heron, cod, Moore, darter /snakebird, bittern / junbugla, cormorant/cormorant, sandpipers / tethered, plover, turners, spoonerils, grebe, black ibis, white heron. The branches of the canal and the Rajbahas canal in the northern Bangar area were marked with all kinds of trees, shisham, peepal, kikar, etc. In the north Khadar region, Jamoi was found in many parts, and there was a spread of Tamchik trees. Water was in Karil, Kheer, Keekar, Neem in all parts of the district, while various grasses grown in Khadar were supplied for making mats. In addition, there was no serious fueling due to city demand. Often villagers in the neighborhood used buffalo dung to burn, and the canal-side reserves seemed sufficient for the city's needs. There used to be almost all kinds of fruits in the gardens of Delhi. There were very few forest tracts in the district, and each village had a certain amount of barren land with mango trees. The same was the condition of Khadar village of Ballabgharh tehsil. Bela vegetation land was in the grasslands in the low lying areas around Delhi. But such areas were not used for firewood fuel and wooden items. Some villages, especially Mohana, Murthal Kalorad, Sonapat tehsil, Rasampur in Delhi tehsil, Kotra Mahtabad in Ballabgharh tehsil, and Pali, had large areas of wild waste. The zamindars patronized some meticulously but sold such wood.⁸

It is also necessary to keep in mind that at this time, the work of urban development was going on very fast in the city of Delhi and its surrounding areas. Delhi had become one of the major commercial cities of India due to its historical, cultural importance, and economic and commercial progress. The establishment of a large inter-exchange Railway network, tram-trains and Electricity projects, and other modern technologies in Delhi by the British government gave a new dimension to the modern nature of Delhi, which in fact was more closely related to the economic and imperial interests of the British rule and the European population. For these big projects and development works, the demand for cheap land in Delhi continued to increase. At the same time, a large area of land was also required for the construction of the New Capital.¹⁰ For these big projects and development works, the demand for cheap land in Delhi continued to increase. At the same time, a large area of land was also required for the construction of the new capital. Consequently, the waste, barren, forest, and cheap urban and agricultural lands of Delhi were acquired to fulfill these construction works on a large scale.⁹

At the same time, the numbers of wolves, foxes, jackals, rabbits, and deer, 'chikara', boar, and 'porcupine' began to decline among wild animals in the

Khadar area of Delhi district in the early years of the 20th Century. Because the Delhi Durbar, held for the proclamation of the New Capital in 1911-12, extensively exploited the forests and wasteland for grazing camels, elephants, and herds of animals that were brought in need of non-vegetarian food and means of transports. At this time, the forests of Delhi were being wiped out very fast. Due to which wild animals started leaving from Delhi and going to other areas. Nevertheless, there was a terror of monkeys in some villages along the shady paths of the Western Yamuna Canal. The 'Nilgai' were sometimes found outside the Kashmere Gate in uncultivated forests and plains. Due to the acquisition of forests and fragmented valley areas in the expansion project of urbanization, snake numbers were not as abundant as before. However, black, yellow, and spotted snakes were found in rural areas. Although the district was densely populated where it was fully cultivated, snakes did not roam in the open. Instead, many ancient ruins and hills of the city were inhabited.¹⁰

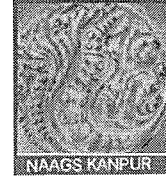
In the 1910s, proper drainage arrangements were not made for the Delhi canals by the local canal authorities. The quality of Yamuna's water deteriorated due to the discharge of sewer drain into the Yamuna river. Simultaneously the ridge area was continually changed by European urban planners for Western-style beautification, and new types of wild exotic plants and trees were grown, which became the main cause of the destruction of indigenous plant species. (Mainly, the *Vilayati* (foreign) *kikar* has been considered a factor in eliminating indigenous flora like *Acacia*, *Kullu*, *Salai*, *Dhak*, and *Inderjou* in Delhi. *Vilayati* *kikar* trees have been considered responsible for the low level of groundwater in Delhi. According to recent Delhi, Government reports, '*kikar*, spread over hundreds of acres planted during the colonial period, caused nutritional deficiencies in certain plant species due to their high water absorbency. Therefore, now the Delhi government and scientists are preparing to remove *kikar* trees from Yamuna Bio-Diversity Park and Ridge areas').¹¹ These wild exotic plants affected the productive capacity of the land by over-exploitation of groundwater. In the early decades of the 20th Century, European planners were changing the landscape of Delhi to reflect the splendor of the new capital city. In this process, beautiful exotic plants and trees were planted to convert the ridge into gardens. Thus man-made changes in the spatial environment had its effect on the local climate of Delhi.¹²

In the 1920s, Delhi became the New Imperial Capital of the British Government and a huge city. Due to which the population density put immense pressure on its natural resources and affected the environment and climate due to deforestation. As a result, the ridge gradually became a victim of indiscriminate urbanization. The British authorities and urban planners not only harmed indigenous plant species by planting wild exotic flora, but also destroyed the traditional horticulture system by bringing many of Delhi's fruit orchards under strict land-revenue taxation rules.¹³ In this way, this research article attempts to explain how the natural beauty of Delhi's forests,

biodiversity, environment, rivers, and ridges were ruined by the willful neglect of British officials under colonial rule. In this process, the British authorities not only changed the traditional historical charm of Delhi for urban development but also did not understand the importance of the local needs of the local people. Due to the negligence of the British authorities in the past and the lack of proper management of the Civic Authorities in the present, the toxic water from the unauthorized residential colonies and factories enters the Yamuna river through the dirty Najafgarh drain and is polluting the Yamuna. As a result of the Yamuna has become the most polluted water body in India. Presently 28 minor drains from Dhansa to Kakraula near West Delhi and then 74 big drains join this Najafgarh drain and fall into the Yamuna. Despite rules and regulations, the gradually developed exploitative relationship of the city with the river and ridge survives today. Thus, there is currently a need to take practical measures to conserve natural resources to rediscover the city's natural wealth and create an environmentally sensitive, livable environment for future generations.

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GAMBHIRA AND ITS ASSIMILATIVE BUDDHIST INFLUENCE

MD. REJAUL KARIM

Ph.D. Scholar

Department of History

Aliah University, Kolkata, India

DR. SAFOORA RAZEQ

Assistant Professor of History

Aliah University, Kolkata, India

Abstract: Culture and tradition are that part of human experiences that a group of people dwelling in a place acquires in the context of historical time. It is those beliefs and 'experiences' that had and continues to pass down to the next generation as conscious and unconscious heritage. Culture, whether 'high-culture', 'low-culture', or 'Folk-culture', is described as the 'shared characteristics' of the entire group. As culture, ascribes to the 'shared' features of different tradition living side by side in historical time, it is certain that acculturation has a big role in the formation of any culture or cultural life. The assimilative process in the heartland will certainly be different from that of the peripheries, at any time and at any place. It is often in the peripheries that the 'assimilative' process takes a different characteristic; here the local traditions and customs are stronger than 'dominant' cultural practices, giving birth to varieties of folk – culture. Gambhira, is one such 'folk-culture', which shows the assimilative as well as retentive features from *many tradition*.

Keywords: *Pundravardhana, Gambhira, Folk-culture, Lord Shiva, Buddha, Assimilation, Acculturation.*

Religions and beliefs in India have manifested itself in different forms at different times and in different places. Often they are determined by the conditions and the imagination of the people. Many a times they emerged through the crisis and the difficulties which nature impose on them through the ages. As a result they build in their own defensive mechanism through their belief system and ritualistic practices. Though the major religious system or

religion in the sub-continent are Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and Islam, in course of time each has come to influence the other thus producing a wide range of religious practices among groups so isolated and so different from the 'High - Culture' or the main religion. It is often in the peripheries that assimilative cultural practices produces what goes by the name of folk – culture.

Historically, it is interesting to see that much before the Semitic religions made their impact in the Sub-continent; it was basically Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism which influence the imagination and cultural needs of the people, both in the heartlands and in the peripheries. As we know that Buddhism had been the prevalent religion of Bengal during the Pala period and it continued to survive through its various practices and spirituality even during the Sena period, when Brahmanical tradition was at its peak. In the capital of the Sena rulers and in the surrounding areas, the religious practice might have been that of pure Hinduism but in the remotest of the villages and in the far flung areas, many 'little - cultures' emerged which assimilated both Brahmanical rituals and practices with the Buddhist tradition.

Today's Malda district in those days was certainly not the heartland of the Sena ruler nor that of the Brahmanical religion; it was one of the areas which was on the periphery and in terms of its cultural life it must have continued with some of its Buddhist traditions and beliefs. The *Charak* or *Neel Puja*, which is an important part of the Brahmanical tradition and it continues as a folk-culture or little culture in many part of Bengal. It is celebrated on the last day of the Bengali calendar as *Neel Sasthi*. This *puja* also celebrates the marriage of Lord Shiva and Devi Parvati. However, Neel puja is done to seek blessings for the child or children of the house along with the husband too and the occasion is known as *NeelSasthi* to many households of Bengal. What is important and need to be pointed out is the fact that in *Neel* or *Charak pujas*, Lord Shiva is the deity. In some places of Bengal it is celebrated as *Gajan* festival. The present paper deals with a similar *puja* or festival, which is called *Gambhira* in Malda district of West Bengal; it is through a close study of the puja that we see the assimilative element in the *Gambhira*. As a 'little-culture' or the folk –culture it reflects the aspect of continuity and changes which went in the making of the *Gambhira* an aspect of historical study. The changing and continuity within the *Gambhira* echoes the many facets in the life of the local people through their culture.

As all of the above *puja*/festivals celebrate the greatness of Lord Shiva, *Gambhira* also has Lord Shiva as the main deity. It is interesting to note that *Gambhira* festival has within itself a wide range of rituals which persists for a few days, where songs are only a part of those greater festivities which inculcates a lot of customary rituals. If we talk about the customary *puja* or worship, which is the main source of attraction, then it is divided into two parts. The first part deals with some rituals associated with the traditional worship of Lord Shiva and the second part deals with songs, dances and dramatic performances (Chakraborty 2010, 184). Historically, the second part

in recent times has shown revolutionary changes. As the theme of the songs, the objectification, and the purpose all went through a major transformation. And this alteration and adjustment had been determined by the various recent changes which had an effect on the life of the people of Malda. Again, due the anti-colonial movement and many more socio-economic and political changes the second part of *Gambhira* has gained popularity among wider audiences in Malda and its reputation outside Malda.

Traditionally, like the *Neel Sasthi*, *Gajan*, and *Charak*, *Gambhira* festival is celebrated in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the last month of the Bengali calendar as it has been referred earlier. But in Malda the *Gambhira* is also held on Buddha *puṇnima* or the full moon of *Baisakh* BS (April-May). If the Bengali *Chaitra* month ends on the 30th days, then the celebration so arrange are *Chaitra Sangkrati* to be held on 30th of *Chaitra*, *Gambhira Ghatbhara*, to be held on 26th of *Chaitra*, *Chhota Tamasha* on 27th, *Boro Tamasha* on 28th and *Ahara* or *Bolbai* on 29th of (*Chaitra* Palit 1410 BS, 10). *Gambhira* with a long festivity has its roots in the tradition which continues from the ancient times perhaps. According to Haraprasad Shastri, its roots are embedded in the Buddhist tradition. While Ashutosh Bhattacharya, a renowned scholar, believed that its origin are in the *Surya* worship (Chakraborti 2010, 183). It is interesting that unlike other associates of its, the *Gambhira* festival carries a remarkable resemblance with the rituals of both Buddhist and Shivaite tradition. To note how Buddhist traditions and ritual got assimilated into a traditional Shivaite festival is a matter of interest for a student of history and culture. Our effort will be to trace the process by moving into the lanes of the historical past to see the impact of Buddhist influence in the Malda region.

During the reign of the Mauryan emperor Asoka (269-232 B.C.), i.e., third century B.C. Buddhism spread to most parts of Bengal. Many scholars believed that Buddhism had probably obtained a footing in Pundravardhana (North Bengal) even before Ashoka's time (Sircar 1971, 183-184). It is very clear from the descriptions of Hiuen Tsang and Divyavadan that Buddhism was not unknown in Bengal during the time of the great Ashoka (Majumdar 1943, 412). Even if the Gupta emperors were orthodox Hindus and followed the Brahmanical tradition of worship and beliefs they were tolerant enough not to mix their personal belief with statecraft; as a result Buddhism was never suppressed or prevented from practicing. It was because of their tolerance that Buddhism and Jainism flourished in different parts of their empire. This was the time, when Sanchi became known as an important center of Buddhism (Mookerji 1989, 133). It was during Fa-Hien's visit to India, the great Buddhist monk from China, who preferred to stay in Malda for about two years. It is from his account that we find a reference of 22 monasteries belonging to the Buddhist monks. This information can be corroborated with an inscription of Maharaja Binayagupta at Gunaigarh, which proves the authenticity of Fa Hien's description (Majumdar 1943, 413). So we can safely establish that Malda and its surrounding regions was under the Buddhist

influence during the Gupta period and during Fa Hien's days a rich centre of Buddhist learning.

Now, if we see a number of Chinese accounts of seventh century, we will also find a good deal of information on the condition of Buddhism in Bengal. Among them the account of Hiuen Tsang, is more reliable. He saw almost all the chief centers of Buddhism which existed in his time in Bengal. It was he who pointed out that there were 20 Buddhist monasteries and above 3000 brethren who followed the Mahayana and Hinayana in Pundravardhana, a capital city of Ancient Bengal (Majumdar 1943, 413). Similarly an information from the eighth century, when the Pala's ruled *Vanga* or Bengal, it was found that Buddhism reached a new vigour, especially under the patronage of the Pala rulers (Majumdar 1943, 416). A large number of ruins, pertaining to Buddhist monasteries can be found in Malda district and its surrounding districts still bear witness to the glorious age of Buddhism in ancient Bengal and especially Malda region. The Jagjivanpur Mahavihara in Malda which was discovered in 1987, Somapura Mahavihara and Jagaddala Mahavihara in Naogaon now in Bangladesh were part of the greater region where Buddhism survived for long in its pure form.

Going back into the historical past we see that during the Gupta period and the post Gupta period a good number of the Shaivite Brahmins from north India came to settle in Bengal who started popularizing Shaivism in this region. Shaivism is today one of the major sect of Hinduism in Bengal. The Shaivite, as one of the largest sects of Hinduism in Bengal, worship Shiva as the 'Creator' and 'Destroyer' of worlds; he is for them the supreme God over all (Flood 2003, 200-201). The Damodarpur copper plates of the 5th century A.D. may be considered as one of the oldest epigraphic record which reflects the prevalent of Shiva worship in Bengal (Bhattacharya 2002, 7). Our greatest evidence in support of the rise of Shaivism in Bengal, can be established in reference to the great battle of the 6th century A.D between Sasanka, the king of Gaur a devotee of Shiva, with that of Harshavardhana, an ardent Buddhist devotee. With the fall of the Gupta Empire, some of its feudal lords established small kingdoms in many parts of the empire. Sasanka was one of them and he was an ardent devotee of Shiva. It was probably during this time that the Mantrayanas belonging to the Mahayana community of the Buddhist got assimilated with the Shiva or the Shakta practices, producing the Tantic cult in Bengal. In their heartlands both Hinduism and Buddhism were the arch rivals, as the birth of Buddhism was basically in protest against the excesses of the Brahmanical system, so their practitioners adhered to the purest forms with little differences arising among themselves. But Buddhism as it spreads to the vicinities; it produced many of its 'lower' forms, where many of the local practices got assimilated. Or it was the other way round. Though we know that Buddhism emerged as a critique of the Brahmins and the highly ritualistic practices of the Brahmanical tradition but some of the Buddhist practices were assimilated by the Brahmanical tradition to produce a 'cross-culture'. In some corners of Bengal, the Shakta cult and the Buddhist tradition systematically

assimilated each other producing a highly admixture form of Buddhism in Tantricism. Probably this new cult was adopted by Sasanka as his personal religion, so it acquired some popularity in Bengal- as Shaiva Tantra Sarkar (1972, 150-151).

It is interesting to find that when Harshavardhana expanded his territory in Bengal after the death of Sasanka, he established his rule as a Buddhist ruler (through in early life he was also a devotee of Shiva but later he was converted to Buddhism). As he had respect for all religions, so one may assume that it was during this that the assimilation process was at its heights. As Buddhism and Brahmanical religions survive side by side in the ancient Malda or Pundravardhan for a long time, the incorporation process might have been stronger here (Sarkar 1972, 150). Harshavardhana was the king of the Vardhana dynasty (also known as Pushyabhuti dynasty) and he was a follower of the Mantrayana sect of the Mahayana branch of Buddhism. In this dynasty, Shiva, Saura and Buddhist kings were there. His father Prabhakarvardhana was an absolute Saura. Rajyavardhana, elder brother of Harsha, and their sister Rajyashri, were again earnest followers of Buddhism. Harshavardhana first believed in the Hinayana, then the Mahayana, especially the Mantrayana sect. But he also worshiped the image of Shiva, the Sun-God and Buddhist, and he performed multi religious rituals (Sarkar 1972, 150-151). As the king himself believed in multiple system of belief, he must have also encouraged it among his subjects, hence it would not be unreasonable to call this period an 'age of religious syncretism', as multi religious traditions came to be practice by a single group during the time of Harshavardhana. Although it is natural that the religion of the king became the religion of the state in general, what is important in Bengal is that all religious worship usually coexisted more or less in general. Thus Bengal became a place where Shaivites, Shaktas, Sauras, Jains and Buddhists co-existed for a long time and the culture of religious synthesis grew there. The Mahananda-Karotoya valley in North Bengal has a lot archeological evidence of Buddhism, Shaivism, Sun-God and Vaishnavism which bear witness to multi religious interactions (Chakraborti 2010, 183). In this 'age of religious syncretism', Buddhism and Shaivism influenced each other in the evolution of *Gambhira* folk-culture.

If we abide by the perception of Haridas Palit, then we have to accept that 'Adya' who is the source of Buddhist power and she is considered to be the daughter of *Adi* Buddha. The worship of the *Adi* Buddha, is central to the 'Gajan' festivity in other parts of Bengal. It is interesting to see that 'Adya' in *Gambhira* festival become the central figure in a Shaivite festival, with acquired a certain transformative features, here 'Adya' is assumes to be Parvati's incarnation, thus she is accepted as an important deity and it is 'Adya's' marriage with Shiva, which brings in the assimilative feature, that is bringing about that is wedding Buddhism to Brahmanicalism. Through the *Gambhira* festival, the acculturation which was taking place in the day to day like was sanctified by Shiva's marriage to *Adya*. Thus the Buddhist goddess *Adya* and her marriage to Shiva, became the central focus of the regional *puja*

or the *Gambhira* festival (Palit 1410 BS, 76). Through festivity and rituals the process of incorporation and assimilation is sanctified. As cultures are 'invented' and produced in their environment, Bengal during this age was the ideal time and Malda the perfect place where the acculturation process was 'produced' and carried to perfection.

If we talk about the 'produced-culture' or the 'invented-culture' which were growing at this time in Bengal, we will see its manifestation in many of religious practices. Among the Hinayana Buddhist there is a popular practice of worshiping the site of the footprints of Buddha, it is in the *Dharma's Gajan* festival, that this practice had been adapted in the Shaivite religious tradition. When the devotees of Shiva worship the footprint, in the *Gambhira*, a similar practice has found its acceptability, borrowed from the Hinayana Buddhist practice (Sarkar 1972, 136). However, the only difference is that they perform these rituals imagining Shiva instead of Buddha. Again, there is the rule of 'liberation from sin' by confession of one's sin in the Buddhist '*Pratimoksha*' text. This Buddhist tradition has found its way among the Shiva devotees, in the *Gambhira*, a similar tradition was reproduced but it was performed in the Shiva temple (Roy 2009, 52).

We know that there are differences of opinion between the Mahayana and Hinayana sects about Buddha and Buddhism but both sects have respect for *Triratna* or Trinity (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha are collectively known as *Triratna*). This *Triratna* gradually took the form of idols. As a result on the right side of the image of Buddha sat Dharma as his spouse, while on his left sat *Sangha* in the male garb, and thus began the worship of the *Triratna*. It is interesting that this Buddhist tradition was somewhat 'produced' or assimilated by the Shiva followers as they 'invented' and produced *Adi Buddha* created this female Dharma out of *Shunya* or the void, and it was from him that the God Shiva, sprang into being. He is the foremost of all the gods. Another important assimilation from Buddhism is the time, the *Gambhira puja* which finds its festivity in the Bengali month of *Baisakh* also and on the Buddha *pujima* is a living example how the tradition Shiva festival came to be influence of the Buddhist tradition (Sarkar 1972, 147).

How tradition and culture in this part of the world was gradually enriching itself through absorption, adaptation, invention and production can be reflected from the account of Fa Hien, a Buddhist monk and Chinese traveler. He had visited India during the reign of Chandragupta II. He was amused to see the great procession of images, carried on by some twenty huge chariots richly decorated which annually paraded through the city on the eighth day of the second month, attended by singers and musicians and noted that similar processions were common in other parts of the country (Smith 1904, 259). In this Buddhist chariot festival music with song and dance performances were performed overnight in front of Lord Buddha's image. A similar reproduction of the Buddhist festival finds a place of centrality in the Shiva festival of the *Gambhira* in Malda district. The chariot festival that Fa Hien witnessed on his visit to India, has almost extinct as '*Rathai*' (Chariot) among the Buddhists but

in Malda district, it is part of the living –culture if the *Gambhira* (Palit 1410 BS, 131-132). Still in Old Malda, the devotees take out chariots procession amidst song and dances, here Lord Shiva is the central figure.

In the 7th century A.D. Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang obtained an interview with king Harshavardhana in Bengal and the later was so highly satisfied with his religious discourse that on his return to capital Kanyakubja (Modern Kaunauj) with Hiuen Tsang, he convened a public assembly to let the people in general have an opportunity of listening to his learned religious speeches. At this congregation assembled a large number of Jaina and Buddhist monks as well as Brahmins had gathered together. A huge temporary pavilion was erected for the purpose and inside it a hundred feet high temple was built for holding festivities in honour of Buddha, a human-size image of Buddha was also established there. The Emperor himself carried on his shoulders a small gold image of Buddha for a bath in the Ganges and after ablution brought in back to the temple. This festival extended from the 1st to 21st day of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April). Since that year the *Chaitra* festival of Harshavardhana began to be observed as an annual festival. One may assume that as Shaiva cult became powerful in this part of Bengal, this *Chaitra* festival of Kanyakubja of Harshavardhana was gradually taken over by the Shaivites, thus reproducing the Kanyakubja in the tradition of the Lord Shiva, through the time and the rituals were somewhat carried-over. Hence, in course of time the Shiva festival of *Gambhira* assumed the features of the strong Buddhist tradition through assimilation and absorption (Sarkar 1972, 154-155).

Initially, in this spring festival of procession, it was the image of Buddha, which was the central of focus, as it has been said earlier; it was around this figure that the principal tributary chiefs with elephants, horses, etc or the common people, dancers, singers and musicians made their celebration. The procession circled around the city and returned to the festival site. This ritual of initiating the procession has again found its way into the *Gambhira*, Shiva's *Gajan* and *Dharma's Gajan* (Sarkar 1972, 156).

If we scrutinize further into the festivity of the *Gambhira* we will find that the Pala rulers who were mainly Buddhists, were tolerant of Shaivism so it co-existed with Buddhism in Gaur during the reign of Pala king Gopal. It may be that the worship of Shiva, Shakta and Saura co-existed with the worship of Buddha. This system might have continued during the reign of Dharnapala. As he donated land to the Brahmins and installed an idol of Shiva in Gaya. During the reign of Devapala, the Vedic Brahmins began to find a place in the cabinet of the Pala dynasty. So, one may assume that the process of assimilation was natural and continues in the future, When in Gaur, Hindu God Shiva replaced Buddha (Palit 1410 BS, 152-153). During the reign of Narayanapala, Shaivism had a profound effect on the beliefs of the common people. The influence of Buddhism in Gaur gradually lost sheen and it was a matter of fact that the festivals remained the same but Buddha came to be replaced by Shiva (Sarkar 1972, 170). Many Hindu and Buddhist temples

were established in the city of Ramavati (Amriti village of Malda District) during the reign of the Pala king Rampal. There were temples like Avalokiteshwara, Lokeshwara etc. elevated like Buddha statues. It is interesting to see that in this transitional period, in the eyes of the common people Shiva and Lokeshwara seemed to be the same deity (Palit 1410BS, 156). At this time it was very difficult to distinguish between Shaivism and Buddhism because during the revival of Hinduism, Hindu Brahmins converted Buddhist temples into Hindu temples and incorporated Buddhist idols into their deities with some modifications. Buddhist festivals were 'refashioned' and 'produced' as Hindu festivals (Chakraborty 2009, 97).

As we know that the Sena kings followed the Palas in Bengal, as they were staunch devotees to Shaivism, he saw to it that Shaivism prevailed everywhere. After Vijay Sena, his son Ballal Sena became the king, who is famous in the Bengali tradition as the founder of *Kulinism* which created new social grades in Bengal. Even today such social system is prevalent in Bengal (Sarkar 1972, 204). It is interesting to find that at this time one Ramai Pandit's '*Dharma Gajan*' was considered as a lower caste festival. Probably because it fell outside the typical Brahmanical form of worship, as it assimilated and subsumed the practice of the folk, so it remained in the rung of the 'lower-culture' and not the 'high-culture', associated with the Brahmanical tradition. It might have been that 'invention' of Shiva into the *Gajan* brought in some amount of acceptability to the local festival of the Buddhists. Yet *Gambhira* or 'Shiva-gajan', remain in the periphery as the 'folk-culture', though Lord Shiva successfully replaced Lord Buddha in the 'contested ground' of faith and power during the Sena period. Though Lord Shiva remained the centre of the festival and the theme of the song and dances, yet the essence of the Buddhist belief system remained the spirit of the *Gambhira* festival for centuries (Palit 1410 BS, 183).

After the Muslims took over the local scene, with many converts from both Buddhists and low castes Hindus, the festival of the *Gambhira* once again 're-invented' itself but original spirit continued through the new focus, as Lord Shiva lost his glory because the upper caste refused to extend their patronage, it continued to be the culture of the folk-the vehicle of the peasantry, the artisans and the deprived Muslims of the region. The present day *Gambhira* festival in Malda, *Gamira* in Jalpaiguri, *Gajan* in West Bengal and *Neel puja* in East Bengal took its modern form, as they moved with time and with many realities of life (Deb 1960, 19). Through time and the environment in which each of these varieties flourishes reflects the impact of such factor on it but what remained as essential is the basic Buddhist spirit, which continues in its time of the celebration and the nature of celebration, here songs and performance by the actor holds onto its folk-nature. It is interesting that even today, the influence of Buddhist Tantricism- where Buddhism itself assimilates the local Gods of power. The mask dance performed at the *Gambhira* festival. Tibetan lamas dance at Buddhist festivals wearing masks of various animals. The Tibetan masks bear a close resemblance to the

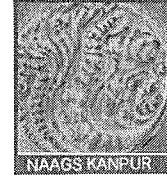
Chamunda and *Narsinghi* dances performed at the *Gambhira* festival reflects the impact of the local deity on Buddhism.

Conclusion: History reflects mankind in their journey of time with many compromised, struggle and effort for survival; it is the story of their evolution, their, society, polity and economy. It works on the forces of continuity and the forces of changes in any society echoing the realities. Culture and its evolution also mirror the similar facts. The emergence of a certain specific folk-culture associated with Malda or ancient Pundravardhana (North Bengal), since the time of Asoka, down to Sasanka, Palas, and Senas showed certain characteristic features. As the region was under the Buddhist influence for quite a long time it had developed certain festivals specific to Hinayana Buddhism. In course of time as the Brahmanical influence in the region came to co-exist in the region and ultimately it became a dominant force, its impact of the existing religio-cultural practice became strong. As a result, what we discovered was that Lord Buddha came to be replaced by Lord Shiva. The argument remain that this change could nor transform a well established culture, as a result what emerged in course of time the continuity of the tradition of the *Adi* Buddha worship. The festivity, the time and the nature of celebration continued in the new garb of Shaivite festivity. This process of assimilation and transformation has been so fully accommodated through the marriage of Lord Shiva during the *Gambhira* festival that the old Buddhist tradition became part and parcel of the Shaivite culture life. Hence, the study of this 'little-culture' in the historical context brings out the specific experiences of the Malda people both with Buddhism and with Shaivism before the advent of Islam. Islam in this context was nothing but a little adjustment with the older beliefs and practices. As the heritage and the tradition continued, the adjustment and compromise were accommodated for new challenges which came its way. As in latter period *Gambhira* became a vehicle for the transformation of the nationalist and *Swadeshi* ideals. Hence, the spirit of *Gambhira* which had evolved through the ages, held on to its essence though the garb changed as the need demanded. The transformation in the *Gambhira*, reflect how a folk-culture through the passage of time works as a historical instrument in analyzing the forces of change and forces of continuity.

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**SHASHI DESHPANDE'S *THE DARK HOLDS NO TERRORS*:
A BRIEF CRITICAL FEMINIST ENQUIRY**

DR. RAGINI KUMARI

Department of English
J. P. University, Chhapra India

Contemporary Indian English writing is more lucrative and substantial because of new recognition given to women in the writings of Indian women writers. Now the hidden voice of women and their pertinent uses are audible in a crystal-clear way. In the novels of women writers, we find a more authentic picture of woman's suffering – her isolation, despair, search of identity in the vortex of exploitation. The degree of suffering and modes of exploitation vary from one generation to another generation undoubtedly but the socio-cultural and economic conditions play a prominent role in shaping the destiny of a woman. Considering all these facts the novels of Shashi Deshpande also project the real picture of women and their values in our society. She has also been able to comprehend over the psychological, social and environmental issues. Clarifying about her stance on feminism, Shashi Deshpande avers to Ashvini Sarpeshkar Tandon in an interview

“I do not like to be branded this or that because life is more complex than that. My enduring concern is for human relationship. I certainly don't think my novels are a man v/s woman issue at all. Unlike, other aggressive feminist writers, she has valued the relationship and has dismissed that being a mother or wife is a Thrust by society or people on a woman. As a contemporary novelist, Shashi Deshpande writes with authority on the issues of women emerging from society where gender, patriarchy, power play a significant role but objectifies the level of feminist text of her writing. In fact, gender issues or women's issues are not new, it is an old concept from several fundamental stereotypes about gender, class, caste and division in society. It is for modifying the stereotypes of society and nation about men and women's practices, so many struggles have come up and several theories have emerged to protect the rights of women which they deserve.

Shashi Deshpande raises the feminists points in all her texts relating to gender patriarchy and power. *The Dark Holds No Terrors* is a wonderful novel dwelling upon the theme of feminism and the epigraph of the novel suggests the same :“You are your own refuge :There is no other refuge

This refuge is hard to achieve.” (*The Dhammapada*)

This epigraph has taken from one of Buddha’s famous treatise named *the Dhammapada*, whose title suggests the meaning “the path of truth”. This statement is also much philosophical and argumentative. However, this statement relates the life of a human being or individual and in the case of the main protagonist Sarita in the novel, it appears to be true. She is born in the middle-class Brahmin family, marries against the wishes of her parents. Normally, it is considered that home is the best place for security and protection for any woman but neither material home nor in-laws home has proved to be the place of protection and peace for Sarita. Hence, we notice that the novelist has presented a stereotype construct of woman’s life as the material for this novel. Such materials become self-referential and self-reflexive in which as, William Gas, says, “the forms of fiction serve as the material on which further forms can be imposed.” (*That Long Silence*, 24)

The Dark Holds No Terrors begins at a very important point in Sarita’s life who returns to her parents’ home when her marriage crumbles after her mothering two children and becoming a successful doctor. The husband is outwardly unaffected and pliable but asserts himself by making sexual assaults on her which terrify and humiliate her too much to speak about them, even to him. Haunted by unhappy childhood memories, she visits her father after she comes to know, incidentally, of the death of her mother.

The novelist makes the texts more meaningful by using and re-visioning traditional myths and projecting how it can be utilized for creative reinterpretation. Initially Sarita does not understand her split-self but when she visits her house, she remembers a childhood memory, how as a child she has visited a temple with a mother and saw a middle-aged woman shaking herself and arguing something in front of the Goddess Devi signifying that the spirit of the Goddess possessed her. Such possessions of women by Goddess have been common to folk mythology in South India. Slowly, Sarita comes to understand herself as possessed of a split self, a self-possessed by her mother’s spirits with whom she has a love-hate relationship.

In this changing scenario, incidents like a child-sexual abuse, rape and violence against women have increased, how we can say that one is secure at one’s own home. One most important fact of life is acquiring the protecting one must be aware of one’s rights and ambition. In this regard, R. Mala comments :“The novelist’s credo is to ‘take refuge in the self, which means that the self is not metaphysical but psychological. In other words, Deshpande means that the heroines will, in future assert themselves; they will no longer allow there ‘she’ to get deceased. By this assertion of the self, Deshpande certainly takes heroines to the pole of feminism though she may not have aimed at propounding such an ism” (Y. S. Sunita, p. 70)

The novel becomes more interesting with the fusion of the two stories as intertexts like that of Dhruva in the Sanskrit epic Sri MadbhagvathaMahapuram and that of Duryodhana in *Mahabharata*. This is done precisely to highlight the patriarchal nature of the myths by blending it with a story that charts the self-discovery of a woman and not a man. Here Sarita is the rejected child who is the butt of her mother's anger since she wrongly thinks that Sarita is responsible for her brother's (who is also named Dhruva) accidental death by drowning. Duryodhana is another mythical character who is sidelined by his cousin brothers, the Pandavas. Later, her father while helping her to come out of her split consciousness points out the significance of the episode of Duryodhana's hiding in Dvaipayana lake at the end of the Kurukshetra battle.

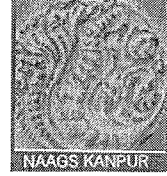
When the Kauravas are defeated and Duryodhana finds her is almost the only one of them left, he leaves the battlefield and goes into lake. He waits there for the Pandavas to come and kill him your mother made me read that part a second time. And then she said yes, that's what all of us have to face at the end? That we are alone. We have to be alone. (D.H.T., 194)

There is also a reference of the meeting the two friends Krishna and Sudama in the novel which is full of love, affection and sympathy. When Sarita returns to her parental home, she expects the same love or affection from her father who is unable to express feelings of love and care because silence has a big part of his life and perhaps seeing after so many years, he is being astonished. Altogether, Shashi Deshpande has voiced so many issues regarding women in their sufferings that acquire a central position in this novel. Even after the forbidden view of not to be a feminist, the novel cannot be ignored as a feminist texts. Sensitive issues like the conflicts between the body and soul and male possession on the female body have broadly discussed in the novel. For Sarita, who is a doctor by profession, her academic world has consisted of body and bodily are: "...the bodies from which I drew blood, bodies into which I transfused blood, bodies on which I did venesections, bodies to be dressed, bodies in agony, bodies blessedly, quietly dead" (D.T.H., p. 41) Deshpande regards that somehow patriarchal system and other stereotypes are responsible for discrimination between genders in no small extent. This novel is an attack on Indian patriarchy, conservative ideologies and matriarchy. The quest for selfhood is also there in the novel. It is certainly easier to understand the crucial circumstances of women through the novels of Shashi Deshpande.

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084
www.kanpurhistorians.org

**RESONANCE OF RESISTANCE IN KETAN MEHTA'S
MANJHI AND OM PRAKASH VALMIKI'S JOOTHAN**

DHARMENDRA SINGH

Assistant Professor
Department of Humanities (English)
Deenbandhu Chhoturam University of
Science and Technology
Murthal Sonipat, India

DR. PRADEEP SINGH

Assistant Professor
Department of Humanities (English)
Deenbandhu Chhoturam University of
Science and Technology
Murthal Sonipat, India

Abstract

In India, we have a great legacy of literature and cinema. Different socio-cultural and historical aspects are being revived and recreated by the literary and cinematic narrations. Cinematic text is also a very important factor to bring necessary changes in society. From time to time Indian cinema has celluloid the pain, anger, trauma of Dalit society to sensitize the society towards the sufferings of Dalits. The heroism of Dalits and the depiction of their courageous resistance in Hindi cinema and Dalit literature in various vernaculars is a new kind of aesthetic in expressive arts. These new aesthetics can sensitize the audience and reader respectively about the sufferings of the Dalit community and for human values and ethics. The researcher will also explore the resonance of resistance in Om Prakash Valmiki's autobiographical text *Joothan: A Dalit's Life* and Ketan Mehta's autobiographical cinematic text *Manjhi: The Mountain Man* in which Dalit consciousness and Dalit resistance have been narrated. The paper also discusses the very idea of the holistic approach of cinema to celluloid representation of muted Dalit anger with the help of Dalit imagery. It aims at new generations of filmmakers, actors, media

Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 615

personalities, Dalit thinkers and Dalit writers to bring marginal issues to the mainstream by implementing reality into the reel and text with special reference to the cinematic text Mehta's *Manjhi* and Valmiki's literary text *Joothan* respectively.

Key Words: Dalit, consciousness, resistance, aesthetics, Dalit cinema, *Joothan*, *Manjhi*.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak explained, the term 'subaltern', "is an umbrella one that covers the various oppressions in terms of caste, class and gender"(pp. 263-318). The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines the same term as, 'of inferior rank'. These subalterns of the low caste, low class and of low gender with inferior rank are subjugated, exploited and marginalised based on their caste, class, race, and gender. Abrams also gave meaning to the term 'subaltern' as he explains, "The subaltern has become a standard way to designate the colonial subject that has been constructed by European discourse..." (307). Sufferings of these subalterns have been represented by the various mediums of expressive arts like literature, theatre, cinema, paintings etc. With different kinds of medium, literature and cinema, both are powerful expressive arts to represent the very inner core of humanity and mirror image of the society for instructions and pleasure. Literature, with the medium of 'Linguistic Signs,' (de Saussure) represents society with all its cultural values. Cinema, a text with the medium of 'light' and 'sound' represents society in cinematic narration. Literature and cinema both enjoy some artistic liberty in creating literary or cinematic text. Literature can be textured in cinema and cinema can be textured in literature. In other words, we can say that cinematic narration of literature and literary narration of cinema can produce a holistic effect to sensitise the minds of readers and spectators. No doubt, both expressive arts are individually independent, but at the same time, these are supplementary and complementary to each other and present a holistic representation of society. The rhyming of literature and cinema produces a holistic impact to bring positive changes. Garry Gillard explains, "The notion of 'film as text' is a metaphor drawn from the idea of reading a book. It suggests that in many ways reading a book is like watching a film and that we might take some of the things we know about the one and apply them to the other" (182).

In the history of Indian cinema, we find so many cinematic texts which carry the legacy of the history and culture of India. Literary and cinematic narrations of socio-cultural milieu sensitise society towards prevailing socio-cultural evils. In India, we can observe different kinds of social evils which are being addressed by Indian literature and Indian cinema. The making of the films in India started in around the 1900s from its close siblings 'theatre' and 'stage play'. This new form of expressive art struck the caste hierarchy. Unlike Hindu temples, community centres, wells, ponds, educational institutions and other religious centres of Hindu culture, Indian cinema allowed Dalit people into theatre for equal treatment without any caste

discrimination. This kind of allowance paves the way for Dalits in Indian cinema as actors and directors who can represent the trauma and agony of Dalit communities and cast based social hegemony. Indian cinema finds its way through the adaption of textual and verbal literature.

From the so-called 'Satyuga', 'Tretayuga', we can observe marginalised 'Sudra' cast in the religious 'Meta-narratives'. *Chandagya Upanishad* represented the 'Chandala' i.e. outcaste in a subhuman way as a dog or as a pig. Bayly also defines cast as "Caste as jati—to be seen as a concrete ethnographic fact of Indian life..." (154). The representation of Dalits in literature goes back to the mythological time of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Shabri in the *Ramayana*, a Dalit woman character finds herself in a state of solace when Lord Shri Ramachandra emancipated her by eating her 'Joothan'. But the question is this, was it real emancipation of Dalit Shabri or it was a myth of Dalit emancipation and what about to say the killing of Dalit scholar 'Rishi' Shambuk. In the *Mahabharata* also we can observe a mythological Dalit character, Karana, known as the 'Sut-Putra' struggling for his identity. Karana, the Sut-Putra who was brought up by a Dalit family and he lived his entire life as Dalit Sut-Putra. But we observe the mythical emancipation of 'Sut-Putra' by Duryodhana, a controversial prince of Hastinapur kingdom. But again the burning question is this, is in the reality, elite and royal class Duryodhana emancipated 'Sut-Putra' or 'Sut-Putra's' efficiencies and skills of archery were exploited by a royal class prince. In the same way, the right to education and equality was denied to Ekalavya. Ekalavya is narrated as an aboriginal 'Dravidian-sudra'. This aboriginal human race is considered untouchable, unacceptable by the so-called high race Aryans. This constant struggle has been depicted by famous historian Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, "...the white-hued Aryan invaders were marked out from their dark-skinned opponents, who were called *dasa*, *dasyu* or *sudra*." (26). These stigmatised '*dasa*, *dasyu* or *sudra*' was "dark-skinned, the flat-nosed race who spoke a tongue unintelligible to the Aryans," (26). Ekalavya, the Dravidian 'sudra' was not allowed to admit in the Gurukula of Brahman Guru Dronacharya, as Brahman Guru could not tolerate Dravidian sudra's courageous challenge to Arjuna in archery. Dalit Eklavya has to surrender his learned skills and efficiency by cutting his right-hand thumb as 'Gurudakshina' to Brahman Guru who never taught him. So, 'Sudra' is still begging for education and so many Dronacharyas are still alive in incarnation. Again, in the same 'Grand-narrative' we face the questions of 'Dasi-Putra' Vidur who was not heard by the social hegemony and he and his wisdom were muted. Thus, we can observe the representation of Dalit's submissive silence in literature since the time of 'Grand-narratives' like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. In this modern age of the twenty-first century when "Times have changed but, there is something somewhere that continues to irk" (134). Om Prakash Valmiki was also not allowed to get an education by the social hegemony as Valmiki narrates, "However, all the teachers stepped out, including the headmaster, who called his father names

and roared back, “Take him away from here...The *Chuhra* wants him educated...Go, go...Otherwise, I will have your bones broken”. (6). There is no difference between the cutting of the thumb and broken bones. This pain of denied education can be felt when Laxman Gaikwad also narrates the horrific situation, “I started going to school...children living nearby our hut were affected by loose motions and vomiting. Our neighbours...began to quarrel with my parents...Goddess Yellamma will be furious. Look, Martand, if your son continues to go to school, we shall call the Panchayat and ostracize you” (pp.16-17).

Cinema is a new modern phenomenon in expressive arts unlike the oldness of literature. So, representation of Dalit images is also a new thing or new kind of artistic aesthetics to dilute the social divergence. When we trace the representation of Dalits in cinema, we observe the film *Chandidas* in 1934, which is a great document of Indian classical cinema legacy. Nitin Bose’s film *Chandidas* starts the journey of Dalits in cinema. Dalit characters, Dalit actors and Dalit audiences gradually find their way to Dalit cinema from *Chandidas* in 1934 to Subhash Kapoor’s *Madam Chief Minister* in 2021. To brought Dalit sufferings and voice of Dalits in mainstream cinema, *Chandidas* was followed by *Dharmatma* (1935) of V. Shantaram, Pramathesh Barua’s *Devdas* (Bengali, 1935), and *Achhut Kannya* (1936). The portrayal of atrocities, exploitation and violence against untouchable Dalit castes has brought the Dalit ethos and Dalit discourse to the forefront. Cinema and literature projected Dalit issues not only for the ‘sake of art’ but for the sake of social justice. The judicious and objective projection of harsh realities of subjugated Dalit life and muted Dalit anger is the objective of Dalit literature and Dalit cinema.

After independence films like Bimal Roy’s *Do Bigha Zameen* (1953), *Devdas* (1955, 1965, 1979, 1982, 2002, 2010, 2013), Mehboob Khan’s *Mother India* (1957), Bimal Roy’s *Sujata* (1959), Shyam Benegal’s *Ankur* (1974), *Nishant* (1975) and *Manthan* (1976), Satyajit Ray’s *Sadgati* (1981), Shyam Benegal’s *Mandi* (1983), Govind Nihlaani’s *Akrosh* (1980), Gautam Gosh’s *Paar* (1984), Prakash Jha’s *Damul* (1985), Ketan Mehta’s *Mirch-Masala* (1987), Arun koul’s *Diksha* (1991), Kalpana Lajmi’s *Rudaali* (1993), K. Bikram’s *Tarpan* (1994), Shekhar Kapoor’s *Bandit Queen* (1994), Shyam Banegal’s *Samar* (1999), Jag Mundhra’s *Bawandar* (2000), Ashutosh Gowrikar’s *Lagaan* (2001), Prakash Jha’s *Gangajal* (2003), Ram Gopal Verma’s *Sarkar* (2005), Vishal Bhardwaj’s *Omkara* (2006), Vidhu Vinod Chopra’s *Eklavya: The Royal Guard* (2007), Danny Boyle’s *Slumdog-Millionaire* (2008), Prakash Jha’s *Raajneeti* (2010) and *Aarakshan* (2011), Sanjiv Jaiwal’s *Shudra: The Rising* (2012), Manjrekar’s *Kakparsh* (Hindi, 2012), Bikas Mishra’s *Chauranga* (2014), Chaitanya Tamhane’s *Court* (2014), Neeraj Gheywan’s *Masaan* (2015), Ketan Mehta’s *Manjhi: The Mountain Man* (2015), P.A. Ranjit’s *Kabali* (2016), Shashank Khaitan’s *Dhadak* (2018), Anubhav Sinha’s *Article-15* (2019), Subhash Kapoor’s *Madam Chief Minister* (2021), and many more non-Hindi regional movies such as K. Subramanayam’s *Balayogini* (*Child Saint*; Tamil/Telugu, 1936),

Guddavali Ramabrahman's *Malapilla (The Outcast Girl)*, 1938), K. Subramanayam's *Thyagbhoomi* (1939), Murugadasa's *Nandanar* (1942), B.V. Karanth's *Chomana Dudi* (kannad,1975),Jabbar Patel's *Jait re Jait* (Marathi,1977), Shayam Benegal's *Aarohan* (Bengali,1982), Manoj Kumar's *Mannukkul Vairam* (Tamil,1986), K. Jayothi Pandian's *Ore Oru Gramathile* (Tamil,1987), K. Balachander's *Unnal Mudium Thambi* (Tamil,1988), K.Balachander's *Rudraveena* (Telugu,1988),Bharathan's *Thevar Magan* (Tamil,1992), Jabbar Patel's *Mukta* (Marathi,1994), Mahesh Manjrekar's *Kaksparsh* (Tamil,2012), Mirza Sakhawat Nagraj Manjule's *Fandry* (Marathi, 2013), Jayan Cherian's *Papilio Buddha* (English-Malayalam, 2013) Hossain's *Harijan* (Bangali,2014),Nagraj Manjule's *Sairat* (Marathi, 2016),P.A. Ranjit's *Kaala* (Tamil,2018) etc. have contemplated and projected Dalit's painful life and sufferings. Like Dalit Literature, Dalit cinema also captures discontent and humiliation of Dalit's subjugated world. So, Indian Dalit cinema was moving hand in hand rhyming with Dalit literature.

Dalit writers and thinkers were also giving voice to Dalit's muted sufferings with their expressive creation of Dalit autobiographies, Dalit poems, Dalit novels, Dalit stories and other genres of Dalit writings. Many Marathi, Tamil and Hindi Dalit thinkers expressed their untouchable Dalit communities. Saint poets of the Dalit sphere like Raidas, Gora, Karmamela, Chokha Mela, Chittars and Tamil Siddhas, (6th to 13th centuries C.E.) were giving voice to the suppressed agony of untouchable Dalits.The important writers, whose writings resisted the sub-human status, are Jayotirao Phule, Sree Narayana Guru, Iyothee Thass, Sahodaran Ayyappan, Ayyankali, Poykayil Appachan, Dr B. R. Ambedkar, M. K. Gandhi, Rettaimalai Srinivasan, Daya Pawar, Arjun Dangle, Sachi Rautray, Rabi Singh, Abhimani, Imayam, Marku, Mangal Rathod, Neerave Patel, Perumal Murugan, Palamalai, Sudhakar, D. Gopi and others. In South India, Mulk Raj Anand with his *Untouchables* pioneered the movement. Mahaswetha Devi, Namdeo Dhasal, Basudev Sunani, Bama, Sharankumar Limbale, Lakshman Gaikwad, Sivakami, Poomani, Om Prakash Valmiki, Marku, Paul Chirakkarode and Arundhati Roy walked after him. Dalit cinema and Dalit writers were diluting the social divergence by their creative and expressive arts of celluloid and writing text. Om Prakash Valmiki and Ketan Mehta both played crucial roles to bring out the pains and sufferings of Dalits in their creative arts. Om Prakash Valmiki wrote so many Dalit writings like his autobiography *Joothan: An Untouchable's Life* (1997), short-story collections, *Salaam* (2000), and *Ghuspethiye* (2004). He also expresses his pain in Dalit poetic anthologies, Dalit play *Do Chera* and *Safai Devata* narrating the history of 'Bhangis'. Valmiki doesn't stop here only; He revolted with the traditional aesthetics of writing based on Satyam, Shivam and Sundram. He established his aesthetics of writing in his book *Dalit Sahitya Ka Saundaryshaashtra* (2001) and thus aesthetically he revolted as Sharan Kumar Limbale also revolted in his *Dalit Sahityaache Sondaryashashtra*.

Ketan Mehta also gives voice to the muted anger of Dalits in his movie like *Mirch-Masla* (1987), *Mangal Pandey: The Rising* (2005), *Rajjo* (2013), *Rang Rasia* (2014), and exclusively Dalit movie *Manjhi: The Mountain Man* (2015). Om Prakash Valmiki and Ketan Mehta are contemporary in their creative art of literature and cinema. Ketan Mehta came with *Mirch-Masala* in 1987 and Valmiki came with *Joothan* in 1997. Valmiki and Mehta were living in the same time and space and were observing Dalit's tormented life with self-realized Dalit experiences. They reproduced the same experience in their artistic but realistic creations *Joothan* and *Manjhi* respectively. *Joothan* is an autobiographical narrative of Valmiki in the particular and the Dalit community in general. Mehta celluloid the sufferings of Dasrath Manjhi in particular and the Dalit community in general. So, the narration of Dalit suffering is common in both of them. Both penetrated in the very inner core of cast based oppression, subjugation and exploitation.

Aggressive resonance of Dalit resistance can be observed crystal clearly in Mehta's film *Manjhi* and Valmiki's *Joothan*. Film *Manjhi* has been produced based on the real-life story of Dasrath Manjhi, famously known as 'The Mountain Man' or "Bora Baba" (*Manjhi*). In the same way, Valmiki's *Joothan* is also a real-life story of Om Prakash Valmiki. Both artists recreate the contemporary social, economical and political scenario of society facing the challenging and complicated issue of cast based subjugation in Indian society. Cinema looks towards folk tales, history and social issues to adopt its theme of creation. Mehta's directed biopic *Manjhi* and Valmiki's narrated autobiography also looks towards critical social issues of Dalit's marginalisation in social hegemony. The central character of both the text set in the rural background which is more vulnerable to exploitation. Both Valmiki and Dashrath Manjhi are real heroes in life who fights for egalitarian existence rejecting the subjugation by Brahmanical hegemony. The same struggle has been represented in the biopic *Manjhi* and an autobiography *Joothan*.

A 'biopic' is a real representation of someone's life which is celluloid on the silver screen like *Bandit Queen*, *Marry Kom*, *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag* and *Manjhi*. An autobiography is also a life story of a real-life person written based on self-realized experiences as Valmiki wrote in *Joothan*. Real presentation of real-life of a real person is the common concern of biopics like *Manjhi* and an autobiography like *Joothan*. *Manjhi* is a biopic of the Dalit Dashrath, who is well known for his heroic act of removing a mountain. Dashrath Manjhi is famous as "The Mountain Man" (*Manjhi*). Dalit autobiography is nothing but documentation of the pain and sufferings of the Dalit and Dalit community. The same kind of narration of pain has been vent out by Arvind Adiga in *The White Tiger* when he writes, about his novel, "The Autobiography of a Half-Baked Indian. That's what I ought to call my life's story" (8). In Indian cinema, the biopic is a new ray of light which celluloid Dalit characters as a hero or revolutionary reformers. Indian cinema used to represent Dalit characters only in weak, poor and low condition with Dalit

images full of rags, and starvation. The characterisation of Om Prakash in *Joothan* is also heroic and of reformers fighting against age-old oppression and exploitation as Dashrath Manjhi fights against a hard system of social hegemony. The protest of Dashrath Manjhi and Valmiki is radical and sharp. Such kind of cinematic Dalit resistance becomes louder in the cinematic Dalit characters like *Lagaan's* Kachara (Aditya Lakhia), *Eklavya's* Pannalal Chohar (Sanjay Dutt), *Rajniti's* Sooraj Kumar (Ajay Devgan), *Aarakshan's* Deepak Kumar (Saif Ali Khan) and Madam Tara in *Madam Chief Minister*.

The technique of dramatic monologue has been used as an artistic tool to initiate the action of *Manjhi*. Nawazuddin Siddiqui acted as Dashrath Manjhi who is vehemently cursing and challenging the huge mountain, "Bahut badda hai tu, bahut akkad hai tohra me, bahut jor hai, Are bharam hai bharam. Dekh, dekh kaise ukhadte hai akkad teri" (*Manjhi*). In the same way, Valmiki's *Joothan* also begins with an autobiographical account of his past of long-sufferings and silence as Valmiki himself narrates, "Dalit life is excruciatingly painful, charred by experiences. Experiences that did not manage to find room in literary creations. We have grown up in a social order that is extremely cruel and inhuman. And compassionate towards Dalit" (vii)

The young age of Dalit Dashrath and his sufferings are introduced to the spectators by using the technique of flashbacks. Dashrath was known as "Jaat ke 'Moosahar' chuhaa marker khaane waale" (*Manjhi*) which means "rat-eaters". This 'Moosahar' community was very downtrodden and subjugated Dalit community of Gehlour village in Bihar. The same Dalitness and pathetic situation can be observed in Laxman Gaikwad's Uchalya community who also used to eat rats to extinguish the fire of hunger. Again also remind us of Arjun Dangle who used to eat 'Poisoned Bread' and also of Valmiki who was compelled to eat 'Joothan'. Thus, we can feel the fire of hunger and starvation in Dalits.

Village's Mukhiya (Tigmanshu Dhulia) compels Dashrath's poor father Mangrawa to left Dashrath as an unpaid servant (bandhwaa) to pay his debts. But unlike this, when we revisit the past of Om Prakash Valmiki, we observe that his father is highly sensitive regarding Valmiki's education. Both Dalit fathers have different approaches for the future of their sons. But anyhow, when we look back in Valmiki's childhood, the situation is obnoxious and Valmiki laments, "During the examinations, we could not drink water from the glass when thirsty. To drink water, we had to cup our hands. The peon would pour water from way high up, lest our hands touch the glass" (16). Valmiki and Dashrath Manjhi, both faced the same kind of marginalisation and subjugation and both resisted artistically. Valmiki with pen and Manjhi with hammer break down the age-old established gigantic mountain of caste suppression.

In *Manjhi*, the gigantic mountain represents the insensitive hegemonic society for whom these untouchable Dalits are nothing but subject to hate and exploitation. Mountain acts as an antagonist and symbolises upper-caste social hegemony which creates hindrances in the development of Dalit

people and exploits them. Dasrath Manjhi unmutes his anger and challenges this age-old established mountain of caste subjugation. This is a strong and radical representation of Dalit anger and mutiny against the dominant. Dalit Manjhi again roars, “Tune humri jindagi ko kharaab kiya hai, hum tohra ko cheer ke rakh denge (You bust my entire life, I will split you)” (*Manjhi*) and Manjhi declares, “Jab tak todege nahi, tab tak chhodega nahi, bahute lamba dangal chalega tumhara or hamaar, tayyar hai?” (*Manjhi*). But this ‘dangal’, never ends and is still going on between Dalits and upper caste hegemony. Dasrath gives voice to the pains of exploited Dalit community and he questioned the upper strata, “Hum ko rula ke hasta hai” (Are you laughing on my cries) (*Manjhi*). At the very beginning of the movie, we come to know about the subjugation of a Dalit man who makes the sky fall on the earth by his mutant act of wearing shoes. This eating of ‘forbidden fruit’ by a Dalit is more than enough to fuel the anger of Mukhiya and he gave the command and all smiles stopped together. Horseshoes were nailed in the foot of Dalit who is already at the foot of social hegemony as he took birth from the foot. The *Rig-Veda* established this social hierarchy, “His mouth became the Brahmin; his arms were made into the warrior, his thighs the business people and from his feet, the servants were born” (30). Angry Mukhiya issued the command “jutaa pehan ke laaht-sahab banegaa? (You want to wear shoes and feel like a lord?)” (*Manjhi*), “isko aysa jutaa pehnaao ke jindagi bhar jute ki jarurat naa pade (make him wear such shoes that he doesn’t need them over again)” (*Manjhi*). Such atrocities expose the unemotional mentality and insensitivity of upper caste people which can be observed in Laxman Gaikwad’s *The Branded* when he narrates, “This *Pathrut*’s boy now moves about dressed like a *sahib*...He is from the *Uchalya* community, will it ever mend itself!” (115). Any kind of egalitarian behaviour and approach of Dalit castes is not acceptable by the upper cast social hegemonic authorities. When the Government of India abolished caste discrimination and untouchability by law, social hegemony rejects this fundamental right of “Sab-Brabar” (all are equal) (*Manjhi*) and Mukhiya’s son warns, “Abe saale gidad ka bachaa, suar ka chachaa...“Sarkaar thodaa dhil de diya to maathe pe chadke mutega” (if the government granted you a little bit freedom, will you urinate on our forehead) (*Manjhi*). Thus, the right to equality has been denied to Dalit untouchables. Men of village Mukhiya who is an upper-caste landlord kidnapped Mangrwa to recover the loan, Mukhiya’s Munshi (accountant) interrogate Mangrwa, “Mukhiya ji ke paise kab chukte karenge re Mangrwa” (*Manjhi*) and he also warned Mangrwa, “Rupiyaa degaa, Ke naal thoke abhi” (*Manjhi*). But Mangrwa doesn’t have any money and he feels helpless. The landlord doesn’t free him and the adolescent son of Mukhiya takes the charge to continue the brutality on Dalits and beats Mangrwa. This means, generation to generation legacy of oppression and exploitation is passing on. Mangrwa’s son remains exploited Dalit and Mukhiya’s son remains exploiter. So, we can observe the continuation of social hegemony. Submissive psychological acceptance of all these cruelties by Dalit is represented by Mangrwa when he says, “Maalik

Babuaa ke haath dukhaa jaayegaa, Hum khud hi maar lete hain” (*Manjhi*) and here he doesn’t stop. To satisfy the ego of social hegemony, he abused himself, “hat Mangrwa, narki naali ke kidaa, suaar ke janaa hai tu” (*Manjhi*). But Mukhiya is not satisfied to accept his act of self-beating and self-abusing. He tortured him to pay his debt but again Mangrwa shows his helplessness, “Hamri jindgi to pahle se hi aapki bandhwaa hai” (*Manjhi*). This pitiful request doesn’t work and Mukhiya ordered, “To apne bête ko bhi bandhwa banaa” (*Manjhi*). Mangrwa, an alcoholic poor Dalit father handed over his son Dashrath to cruel landlord for child labour. Mangrwa instructed his son Dashrath, “Jaa tu Mukhiya ji ke naam ho gayaa” (*Manjhi*). But Dasrath revolted and protested against this exploitation and ran away from their clutches after biting the landlord’s hand. The landlord could not tolerate this act of fighting back and he cried, “e, pakad ke laao, Suar ke pille ko” (*Manjhi*), but they could not catch him. Dalit community is always compelled to live in never-ending debt as Valmiki also narrates in his *Joothan*, “Most of the residents of the Bhangi basti were drowning in debt” (18) and Tega, the money lender in *Joothan* extort high interest and Dalit community was tolerating it silently as Valmiki again laments, “Most people of our basti suffered everything in silence” .

Bhura, the Dalit labour character in the movie, accidentally falls in the brick-house fire. Mukhiya’s arrogant men did not permit Dalit labours to rescue Bhura. Because any rescue effort on the part of Dalit labour may damage new bricks which means there may be a loss of money. The life of Dalit Bhura is less important than newly made bricks. When other Dalit labours try to save the life of Bhura by pouring water on the fire, the son of the Mukhiya warned them at gunpoint, “Paani daal ke Bhathaa Bujhayega? Eetaa Kharaab ho gayaa naa to sabko isi mein jhokh denge” (*Manjhi*).

The pain of subjugation and victimisation of Dalit women has been realistically represented by Ketan Mehta and Om Prakash Valmiki. He very painfully narrates the incident when his mother went to collect joothan from a house of marriage and she asks for food for her children Sukhdev Singh rebuked and abused her, “You are taking a basketful of joothan. And on top of that you want food for your children. Don’t forget your place Chuhri; pick up your basket and get going” (11). The same kind of self-realized horrific situations of Dalit women realistically has been represented by Laxman Gaikwad in *The Branded*. He narrates about the pathetic condition of his mother, “The police came...They thrashed the women and the children...They snatched away her (mother’s)mangalsutra...A policeman told my mother, ‘Bring two hundred rupees, then they will be released’” (pp.15-16). Ketan Mehta also represented the realistic picture of Dalit women who were considered only as sexual objects not only by the upper strata but even by the patriarchal Dalit community also. When young Dashrath went to his father-in-law’s house to bring his childhood wife Phagunia, her father became angry and refused to send Phagunia with him as he had already sold Phagunia to someone else. Phagunia’s father declared, “100 rupyaa diyaa hai bitiya

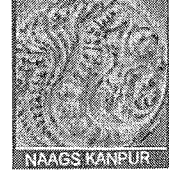
ke...200 do or le jao". In addition to this how Dalit women are raped and murdered has been realistically represented by Ketan Mehta in *Manjhi*. Son of village Mukhiya always tries to seduce Phagunia. When in a village fair she was selling toys, son of Mukhiya reached to Phagunia and try to seduce her by making abusive advances holding her hand, "Hum to isi khilonaa se khelege" But Phagunia resisted his advances and warns him, " haath chhod, haath chhod hamaar, nahi to, Kaatkar haath me rakh denge, fir taali bajaate friyegaa". At the same time of this incident, Dasrath Manjhi reached and rescued the dignity of his wife from the upper caste seducer and Dashrath beats the son of Mukhiya very badly. Phagunia tries to pacify Dashrath and says, "Kis kis ko maarega Dashrath, Mukhiya, Baniya, Jamindaar, Pujaari, in sabki najar kharaab hai". This narration shows that, the entire social hegemony is trying to seduce Dalit women. How could a Dalit woman escape, and from how many? Son of village Mukhiya and his men kidnapped a young Dalit woman at night. When people of Dalit 'basti' tried to resist them, the son of village Mukhiya warned, "Jo ghar me hai sabko khicho, pura basti jalaa denge", and declared Dalit women as "sub maal sarkaari". They raped her all night and in the morning her dead body was recovered from a nearby pond. Upper-caste society justifies heinous cast-based rapes with the learning-legacy of Manu Smriti, "A Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya man can sexually exploit any shudra woman" (IX.25). Husband of raped "sarkaari...maal" turned a Maoist representing resonance of Dalit resistance with the gun and in the last scene of the movie he hangs Mukhiya till death for equality and social justice. The same traumatic and pathetic condition of Dalit women has been represented by Shekhar Kapoor's in his *Bandit Queen* (1994) and Anubhav Sinha's in his *Article-15*(2019) in which two minor Dalit girls were raped and their dead bodies were recovered from village pond.

Thus, we can observe that Ketan Mehta's *Manjhi* and Valmiki's *Joothan* are great cinematic and literary texts respectively carrying the resonance of Dalit resistance. Both the texts are the socio-cultural and historical legacy of Indian Dalit cinema and Dalit literature. Mehta and Valmiki vent out the inner wounds of the Dalit community but these wounds are very deep and bleeding from thousands of years from the 'Satyuga' of *Ramayana* to the contemporary scenario. These wounds are still bleeding in the present social milieu. Social hegemony has become deaf and dumb. To make them listen to the cries of these wounds, Dalit cinema, Dalit literature and Dalit thinkers has to scream with great resonance. But it has become a herculean task to break this system of caste, it has become almost impossible to break the chain of sufferings and pain of the Dalit community as Ketan Mehta puts his words in the mouth of Musahar Dasrath Manjhi, "Ye bhitari ka ghaav hai, jab tak tutega nahi, bharega nahi" and Manjhi hit very hard with the loud resonance of hammer and tried to break the age-old established huge mountain of casteism, exploitation and hegemonic centre of society. The same resonance of resistance can be observed in Valmiki's *Joothan* as he says, "*Joothan* is a manifesto for a revolutionary transformation of society and

human consciousness. The novel contrasts its readers with different questions about their humanity and invites them to join the universal projects of human liberation.” The main objective of *Manjhi* and *Joothan* is to present the voice of Dalit consciousness and Dalit resistance as Valmiki himself says, “We need an ongoing struggle and a consciousness of struggle, a consciousness that brings revolutionary change both in the outside world and in our hearts a consciousness that lands the process of social change” (132). Thus, *Manjhi* and *Joothan* realistically represent the psychological and physical, inner and outer struggle between weak and dominant, between Dalits and upper castes, between exploited and exploiter. Both the texts represent the journey of Dalit image’s transformation from survival to battle, from endurance to resistance, from subjugation to protest and from silence to resonance. This journey of transformation is “Shaandaar, jabarjast, jindaabaad” .

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AN INTRODUCTION OF THE HISTORICAL MAHAKAVYANAVASAHASANKACHARITAM

DR. OM PRAKASH MISHRA

Associate Professor of Sanskrit

V.S.S.D. College Kanpur India

Navasahasankacharitam is the First available Historical Mahakavya¹ in Sanskrit Literature (Sahitya). Navasāhasānka-carita, the biography of the new Sahasanka is a Sanskrit-language epic poem written by the Paramara court poet Padmagupta, who lived in 10th-11th century. It is fantasy re-telling of the exploits of the Paramara king Sindhuraja, who bore the title *Nava-sahasanka*, and ruled the Malwa region in central India². The author of the Navasahasankacharitam mahakavya is Parimala Padmagupta. It treats of the winning of the Snakeking's daughter Sasiprabha by king Sindhuraja Navasahasanka, younger brother of Vakpatiraja kills Vajrankusa, the enemy of the Nagas and brings the golden-lotus from Vajra's pond and marries Sasiprabha fulfilling the promise made by her father. Padmagupta has treated this theme in a beautiful and poetical style for the glorification of his patron; King Sindhuraja. Besides, the poet has thrown light on the historical facts of the Paramara dynasty of Gujarat, which have proved to be a boon to the students of history.

An introduction of the Authour of treatise:

Just like Bhasa, Kalidasa etc. Padmagupta too has not made any mention of himself, except that he mentions his father Mrgankagupta in the colophon to the first sarga. His name, Padmagupta, is mentioned only in the colophon to the first sarga, in the first of the four tail verses which are attached to the poem. From the Internal and external evidences that we collect on the basis of Navasahasankacharitam, it can be said with certainty that Padmagupta came from outside Dhara and settled there. There he met Vakpatirajadeva, a friend of poets, and stayed under his patronage. The sole information about the poet is gathered from the two verses of the Navasahasankacharitam –

सरस्वतीकल्पलतैककन्दं वन्दामहे वाक्पतिराजदेवम् ।

यस्य प्रसादाद्द्वयमप्यनन्यकवीन्द्रचीर्णे पथि संचरामः ॥ छऔंदांवीतपजंउ 1६7

दिवं यियासुर्मम वाचिमुद्रामदत्त यो वाक्पतिराजदेवः ।

तस्यानुजन्मा कविबान्धवस्य भिनत्ति तां सम्प्रति सिन्धुराजः ॥ Navasahasankacharitam 1/8

On the basis of these verses it can be said that Padmagupta was a court-poet of Vakpatirajadeva, and after his death, a court-poet to Sindhuraja, younger brother of Vakpatiraja. After the death of Munja, Padmagupta stopped composing poetry but he had to write the Navasahasankacharitam at the instance of Sindhuraja. From this it is clear that, in Vakpatiraja and Sindhuraja, we have two well-known kings of the Paramara dynasty. The period of these two kings is ascertained from the inscriptions and history and from that, the date of Padmagupta may be fixed.

On the basis of the above mentioned facts we can derive the date of the composition of the Navasahasankacharitam. According to Merutunga's Prabandhachintamani, Vakpatiraja II had defeated Tailapa, the king of Karnatas, more than once before he was finally defeated by the Karnata king. It states that in spite of being dissuaded by his chief minister, Rudraditya, Munja crossed the river Godavari and was defeated and captured by Tailapa. Sometime later, Munja was executed. The death of Vakpatiraja at the hands of Tailapa is supported by the grants and inscriptions. Thus he is said to have been killed between V.S. 1050 and 1054, when he fought his last war against the Karnatas. After Vakpati's death, Sindhuraja ascended the throne and was killed before V.S. 1066 by the Gurjara king Solanki Camundaraja. The death of Munja falls between V.S. 1050 and 1054 and that of Sindhuraja in V.S. 1066. Therefore, Sindhuraja must have reigned for 14 to 16 years. After Sindhuraja, his son Bhoja mounted the throne whose date of accession is said to be V.S. 1067 (1011 A.D.). Thus we see that Padmagupta must not have composed poems after the death of Munja at least for sometime. It was only when Sindhuraja succeeded during V.S. 1053-54, that Padmagupta must have composed his poem. Sindhuraja, after his succession, must have fought some wars and only after that he must have asked Padmagupta to describe his glories, because in the Navasahasankacharitam, we meet with the description of the battles and wars which Sindhuraja won before the poem was composed. Thus the composition of the Navasahasankacharitam falls in the last quarter of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.³. Dr. Pushkara Datta Sharma⁴ also accepts that Navasahasankacharitam must be composed during the last quarter of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. According to Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya the birth time of Mahakavi Padmagupta Parimal may be 965A.D.⁵

Birth Place : With regard to the birth place of the poet nothing can be said with certainty. On the basis of his poem, we can say that the poet originally belonged to a place outside Ujjayini, Most probably he had some relation with Kashmir because he was influenced by the Kashmir Saivism. He was Saiva and later on settled there in Ujjayini.

Edition :Navasahasankacharitam was first edited by Vaman Islempurkar and published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series in 1895. It does not contain any

commentary. Another edition of the work was published in 1963 in the Vidya Bhawan Sankrit Granthamala by Sastri Jitendra Candra Bharatiya⁶.

Brief Story of Navasahasankacharitam :

The story of Navasahasankacharitam is divided into eighteen cantos. Each canto of Navasahasankacharitam Mahakavya bears special name. The cantos are of moderate length, the shortest being of 68 verses and the longest of 121 verses in all. Navasahasanka, the hero, combines in him Dhirodatta and the Dheerlilita virtues of heroes. A brief introduction of the story of Navasahasankacharitam Mahakavya is -

First Canto : Navasahasankacharitam mahakavya begins with an invocation to Lord Siva, who bears the digit of moon on His head, for the protection of the reader and the listener of the kavya. It is followed by a discussion on the old poets like Bhatrmentha, who were the followers of Vaidarbhi style of poetry. Being encouraged by the patron, the poet takes a pledge to compose a laudatory poem (prasasti) of King Sindhuraja of the Paramara dynasty. The king's capital is Ujjayini which vies with the beautiful city of Amaravati of Indra. The great poet and king, Vakpatiraja, is said to have been the elder brother of Sindhuraja. He is a brave and a courageous king, a lover of poetry and a learned man. He carries on the work of administration with the help of his minister, Ramangada, also known as Yasobhatta, who is a man of sharp intellect and active habits.

Second Canto : One day the king desires to go for hunting. In the company of Ramangada, he enters the Vindhya forest. While wandering here and there, he happens to see a deer of rainbow colours having a golden chain in his neck. Kind, attracted by its beauty, follows it and pierces it with an arrow with an inscription of his name on it. On being pierced, the deer takes to flight.

Third Canto : Next morning, when they are in search of the deer, the king happens to see a royal swan, white like the lotus stalk, flying towards him with a garland of gems in its peak. With a desire to get the garland, the king and Ramangada approach it. But the latter, being tired and apprehensive of danger, throws the garland near a pond and jumps into the water. The king picks up the garland and reads the name of Sasiprabha written on it. On reading the name, he becomes lovesick and desires to meet her.

Fourth Canto : When Ramangada is consoling the king, the latter happens to see a beautiful woman sitting under the tamala tree and becomes curious to know about her. In the meantime the woman also looks at him and is struck by his majestic personality. Being anxious to know about the king, she approaches him with reverence. On being questioned by Ramangada as to who she is, she becomes puzzled. Seeing this the king consoles her with sweet and soft words.

Fifth Canto : The woman introduces herself as the maidservant of Sasiprabha, daughter of the king Sankhapala of Nagaloka, who has come upon the earth with her deer for a walk. While wandering, the deer disappears somewhere. After a few hours, the deer returns but is pierced with an arrow. When she looks at the name inscribed on the arrow, she becomes lovesick and in the

name inscribed on the arrow, she becomes lovesick and in the meantime a swan takes away her garland thinking it to be a lotus stalk. When she comes to her senses, she is unable to find the garland. So Patala, her maidservant, wanders in search of the garland.

Suddenly, Patala's eyes fall on the arrows in the king's hand and comparing them with the one with which the deer has been pierced she recognizes him. She, then, accuses the king of being unable to protect his subjects from the clutches of a small creature like a swan. The king becomes puffed up on hearing her words and hands over to her his own garland. Patala takes it and looks at it. Meanwhile, the king puts Sasiprabha's garland into his own neck. When Patala looks at it, she accuses the king to be the thief who has taken the garland in the guise of a swan. Very modestly she requests the king to accompany her and take back his arrow if he so desires. After consulting the minister, the king accompanies her.

Sixth Canto : This begins with the description of the pitiable condition of Sasiprabha lost in thoughts about the king. Her friends sing the glory of Sindhuraja, hearing which she enquires about him. Malyavati, one of her friends, draws the picture of the king on a nearby slab. In the meantime, she sees Patala coming towards her, and then looks at the king who has been following Patala.

Seventh Canto : The king also looks at her and is fascinated by her charms. When he comes near, he is welcomed with flowers by her friends. Sasiprabha returns the arrow to the king. In the meanwhile, the king happens to see his picture drawn on the slab. Then follows a very light talk amongst them. Suddenly the sky becomes dark and a strong breeze blows. Being afraid, Sasiprabha desires the protection of the king, but the two are forbidden and separated by nature.

Eight Canto : It begins with the disappearance of Sasiprabha and a sound is heard challenging the king to save Sasiprabha if he can. But he finds himself helpless. At that very moment the atmosphere becomes calm and the king sees a hole on the bank of the river Narmada. He, along with Ramangada, jumps into the water of the Narmada and enters into the hole. There he meets with a terrible lion which turns into a tree when the king shoots at it with an arrow. Next he meets an intoxicated elephant who disappears as the king gets ready to kill it.

In this way, crossing the river, the king reaches the capital of Nagaraja, named Bhogavati which is extremely beautiful and richly decorated. He looks astonishingly at the beauties of the city. He likes to take rest there. At that very moment, the river Narmada, in the guise of a lady, appears there to welcome him. He relates to her all that has happened since the beginning of his hunting expedition and his arrival there.

Ninth Canto : Narmada, paying her obeisance to Sindhuraja, promises him his early meeting with Sasiprabha. She also informs him about the promise made by Sasiprabha's father of marrying his daughter to a man who brings the golden lotus from the pond of the demon Vajrankusa, and an ornament for her

ear. She tells him the whereabouts of Ratnapuri, the city of the demon, who tortures gods, men and animals. She requests the king to fulfil the task of putting an end to the demon. She gives him a golden bangle and disappears.

Tenth Canto : After the departure of Narmada, the king seeks Ramangada's views regarding her statements. Ramangada puts before him the proposal of defeating Vajrankusa and encourages him to attack. He assures him of the benefit which would result in the alliances with the nagas, devas and gandharvas, Sindhuraja, acceding to his proposal, decides to attack Vajrankusa. Suddenly a parrot, encaged and hung on the branch of a tree, speaks out requesting the king to send his message to Sasiprabha through it. By doing so the parrot will be relieved of the curse. The king out of sympathy gives his message. Receiving the message, the parrot flies and Sindhuraja starts for Vajrankusa's capital.

Eleventh Canto : On his way to Ratnapuri, Vajrankusa's capital, Sindhuraja reaches the hermitage of the sage Vankamuni, where he receives a warm welcome. Ramangada introduces him to the sage and tells him all about Sasiprabha. The sage also assures him of his early meeting with Sasiprabha. Being requested by Vankamuni, the king stays with him for a few days.

Twelfth Canto : One day the king dreams of Sasiprabha and becomes desirous of meeting her. He is lost in her thoughts. In this canto we find the list of Paramara kings :

Paramar → Upendrereje → Vakpatiraja I → Vairisimha II → Siyaka II (or Harsa) → Vakpatiraja II & Sindhuraja.

It is almost same as in the Udaypur Prashasti of Udayaditya and Nagapur Prashasti of Naravarman⁷.

Thirteenth Canto : When he is lost in the thoughts of Sasiprabha, sage Vankamuni comes and talks to him. While they are conversing with each other, a monkey with a pomegranate fruit in his hands appears there and hands it over to the king. But the fruit falls down from the king's hand and a red light spreads. The king puts the bangle into the monkey's hand as a result of which the monkey turns into a dark complexioned man (Sasikhanda). The king, the sage and the minister, all the three, are surprised to see it and become anxious to know the reality behind it. The man relates the story of his flight over the sea with his wife, the curse of the sage and its expiry. After that the king also relates his story and all the three start for Ratnapuri.

Fourteenth & Fifteenth Canto : Away from the hermitage, their chariot is seen flying in the air. Vidyadhars, gandharvas and nagas come out of their places to watch their movement. Sindhuraja, Ramangada and Sasikhanda enjoy the beautiful scenes of the sky and at last stop at the banks of Patalaganga at a short distance from Vajrankusa's place. There the king goes to rest in the houses built by vidyadhars, and relieves his fatigue by taking bath in the water of the Ganges.

Sixteenth Canto : It begins with the arrival of Patala through the aerial path and her meeting with Ramangada. After that, she goes to the king and hands over a letter which the king gives to Ramangada for reading. After that, she

goes to the king and hands over a letter which the king gives to Ramangada for reading. Then Patala enquires about the king's well being and his arrival there. The king too enquires about Sasiprabha and her friends. Ramangada reads out the letter which describes the sad plight of Sasiprabha. Hearing it, the king draws Patala's attention to his own condition. After conveying his message, he sends her off. Then the king sends Ramangada as an emissary to the capital of Vajrankusa. There Ramangada requests Vajrankusa to make an alliance with Navasahasanka and hands over the golden lotus to enable him to win over Sasiprabha. At this, Vajrankusa is enraged and refuses to give the golden lotus without fighting. Ramangada then returns with his message of war.

Seventeenth Canto : There takes place a terrible and a bloody fight between the armies of Vajrankusa on the one hand and the vidyadharas and the nagas on the other. The battlefield turns into a river of blood, and the earth becomes covered with different limbs of the bodies of the fallen soldiers. Ramangada keeps himself engaged in protecting the king.

In the end, the king cuts off the head of Vajrankusa and there falls a rain of flowers from the sky and damsels begin to dance with joy.

Eighteenth Canto : The king then enters Ratnapuri and appoints Ratnacuda as its ruler. He takes the golden lotus and proceeds to Bhogavati. On his arrival, he receives a warm welcome from the king of the nagas. His glory is sung by the royal bards. Later, in the assembly, the king puts the golden ornament in Sasiprabha's ear. At that very moment, her deer assumes the form of a human being and flies in the sky. After that the king of the nagas presents him a sivalinga of crystal stone. The wedding ceremony is performed with great pomp and show. After a few days, the couple returns to Dhara and the king resumes his office.

Thus the epic Navasahasankacharitam is a fusion of history with mythology, and narrates historical events transformed into a fanciful romantic legend. The main Rasa of it is Sringer , Vira , Adbhuta and Karuna are also take place according to the contents.

Other works of Parimal Kavi : Parimala is believed to have written other works besides this historical epic. The famous Sanskrit Acharya Ksemendra in his Aichityavicharcharcha⁸ has thrice quoted verses under the name of Parimal which are not to be seen in the Navasahasankacharitam.

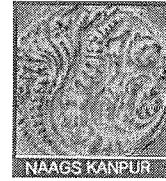
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The verses in short can be seen here –

- i. Padauchityam - मग्नानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वत्खड्गधाराकुले ...--- 382.
- ii. Rasauchityam – हा शृङ्गारतरङ्गिणीकुलगिरे! हा राजचूडामणे! 389.
- iii. Karakauchityam- आहारं न करोति नाम्बु पिबति स्त्रैणं न संसेव्यते 397.



THE INEVITABILITY OF STRESS MANAGEMENT IN CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

KIRTI DUBEY

Assistant Professor of Management
TMIMT, Teerthanker Mahaveer University
Moradabad India

DR. DEVENDRA AWASTHI

Head, Department of Economics
V.S.S.D. College Kanpur
& Dean, Faculty of Arts
C.S.J.M. University Kanpur India

The modern times are witnessing a growing competitiveness and ever elevating performance standards leading to transformation of the work front into a war like situation that has to be fought all the times. This has impacted the corporate governance mechanism to a great extent. The responsibilities on the shoulders of working individuals puts them in a highly pressurised situation where they struggle to create a balance between the personal and the professional workfronts. STRESS is a word that is most widely heard in corporate echelons. Commonly referred to stress is a feeling of emotional or physical tension. It can originate from any event or thought that makes you feel frustrated, angry, nervous or weak. It is a physical response to a challenge or demand from a situation is called stress. In small doses, stress can be beneficial, such as when it assists you in avoiding danger or meeting a deadline. It is most commonly heard nowadays that corporate employees are frequently under a lot of pressure to finish projects in this fast paced world under constricting time frames.

Keywords: Corporate, economic, employee, governance, management, organisation, stress, and workplace

Chronic and acute stress situation is caused by a lack of balance between working demands and job control. In today's demanding world, this is also

considered one of the most common elements in the genesis of hypertension and other physical ailments. Stress can be induced by a variety of circumstances, and determining the intensity of stress on a physiological and psychological level is difficult. Stress may induce a temporary increase in blood pressure, but researchers are unsure if stress can promote long-term high blood pressure. According to global data, an increasing number of people are dealing with mental health concerns. Workplace stress is a big contributor to the nation's mental health crisis. Workplace pressure is exacerbated by changes in the economy and rising financial concerns. Heavy workloads, deadlines, and demanding supervisors all add to workplace stress, according to data. If left unaddressed, work-related stress can lead to major mental health issues for employees. There's also a financial cost: stress can cause significant declines in production, which can cost both private enterprises and governments a lot of money.

There has been a noteworthy increase in the number of people experiencing job-related stress as opposed to stress caused by family commitments or personal health concerns. The majority of these business employees have described their work environments as extremely stressful. But why is business stress affecting such a huge percentage of the workforce? The solution could be found in the rapidly changing nature of work difficulties. Employees are expected to work longer hours, achieve goals, and do so for less money, causing discontent, worry, uncertainty, and stress. Harsh responses in the form of shifting emotional, physical, social, or economic conditions cause stress. These harsh responses arise in corporate jobs when job expectations surpass an employee's capabilities.

Employers and employees are both affected by work stress. Job security becomes unclear as the economy shifts, resulting in downsizing, bankruptcies, mergers, and layoffs, causing significant change and stress for employees. Employees are frequently burdened with greater obligations and demands in exchange for less rewards and a lack of respect. Competition, wage cuts, target pressures, and deadlines are all constants, resulting in tiredness and stress. Workers develop low morale as a result of constant exposure to such forms of stress, which affects their productivity as well as their mental health.

According to a survey about seventy percent of 1,908 workers studied in India indicated they were stressed at least once a week on a regular basis. The Indian workforce has been found to be much more stressed than the Asia-Pacific average of sixty percent. According to a new research released recently by global payroll and HR giant ADP, seven out of ten Indian workers reported that they are stressed at work at least once a week. The information was gathered as part of ADP's Global Workforce View 2020 survey, which looked at employees' views and opinions on the existing workplace as well as what they expect and aspire for in the future workplace. However, Indians were found to be among the most likely in APAC to disclose mental health issues at work, according to the poll. 89 percent of

respondents stated they would feel safe discussing their mental health with coworkers. According to Rahul Goyal, Managing Director of ADP India "For business owners, executives, and managers, there is a duty of care to establish a work environment that prioritises its employees' mental health and welfare,". While being under pressure is an inevitable part of life, the amount of Indian workers reporting stress on a weekly basis indicates that we are falling short.

People, communities, businesses, and the economy are all affected by mental health emanating out of stress . There is a strong argument to be made in addition to ethical considerations in providing a friendly and productive work environment and should be an essential part of the corporate governance mechanism. Several studies reveal that the Anxiety and depressive disorders cost the worldwide economy \$1 trillion in lost productivity each year, according to a research published by the World Health Organization in 2019. "Workforces with lower levels of mental stress are more productive, have higher employee retention, and report fewer days of sick leave." Improving the mental health of our teams is in everyone's best interests, both employers and employees." The new data from ADP suggests that changes made in recent years to talk and educate about mental health are taking root, which is a great development. Indian employees are among the most likely in APAC to discuss mental health difficulties with their coworkers or managers.

The first step in addressing mental health difficulties is to have an open and honest discussion about them; by expressing concerns, plans and procedures may be put in place to assist reduce the stressors. India has made significant progress in this area, according to the data. We need to dive deep and act rapidly to figure out how India did it so that it can be reproduced in other areas where progress on mental health in the workplace has been slow and static. Work-life balance is frequently used as a barometer for workplace mental health. According to the same ADP poll, nearly half of Indian workers (46%) work unpaid for 6-10 hours every week."Working unpaid overtime for long periods of time can be tremendously disheartening." Offering and requiring the utilisation of flex-time options, flexible vacation scheduling, and time off for medical or other appointments are just a few of the most effective strategies to create work-life balance in your firm. Setting rules for not responding to emails or texts after hours will help your employees detach and reduce stress."

The relationship between corporate governance and workplace stress management is investigated in this paper. Work overload, time pressure, long hours of work, lack of breaks, difficult or complex tasks, lack of variety, poor physical work conditions (congested office space, high temperature, poor lighting, etc.), role ambiguity, role conflict, over promotion, under promotion, thwarted ambition, lack of job security, problem and colleagues with superiors .Job-related stress occurs when a person's capacity and capability to cope with various sorts and combinations of work demands exceeds their capacity. Work-related stress can manifest itself in a variety of ways,

including physical, psychological, and behavioural manifestations. Physical signs and symptoms include: Fatigue, Tension in the muscles, Headaches, Palpitations in the heart, Insomnia and other sleep disorders, Disturbances in the gastrointestinal tract, such as diarrhoea or constipation, Disorders of the skin. The following are some examples of psychological symptoms: Depression, Anxiety, Discouragement, Irritability, Pessimism, Overwhelmed and powerless feelings, Reduced capacity to concentrate or make decisions are examples of cognitive impairments.

The following are examples of behavioral symptoms: An rise in sick days or absenteeism is a sign that something is wrong., Aggression, Reduced initiative and creativity, A decrease in productivity at work, Interpersonal interaction problems, Irritability and mood swings, Frustration and impatience tolerance is lower. Disinterest, Isolation. The following issues have all been identified as potential workplace stressors. A risk management strategy can help you figure out which ones are present in your company and what causes them. They are as follows: Culture in the workplace; Ineffective management techniques; Content and requirements of the job; Physical working conditions; Workplace relationships Change management; Lack of assistance, Trauma caused by role conflict.

The following are some of the most common causes of work-related stress: Long working hours, a lot of work, Internal Organizational Changes, Deadlines are tight. Changes in responsibilities, Insecurity in the workplace. Lack of independence, Boring work, Inadequate job skills Over-supervision Inadequate working environment Lack of suitable resources, Inadequate equipment. There are few opportunities for promotion. Harassment, Discrimination, Relationships with coworkers or superiors are strained. An armed robbery or a workplace death are examples of crisis situations.

It was determined that management, through corporate governance, can create policies aimed at reducing workplace stress. The following recommendations can be made: making the work environment employee-friendly by providing a conducive work environment and office spaces; establishing a culture of filial relationships in the organization where employees see one another as friends and team members and relate to one another in a cordial and courteous manner; popularise organisational work ethics and enforce strict disciplinary measures on defaulters, particularly harassment, establish clear job responsibilities and roles to avoid role ambiguity and job conflict; establish recreational centers for workers to relax during breaks or free time; provide functional health facilities with easy access to workers; encourage open communication between employees and superiors, as well as among all workers.

Conducting stress management training sessions is the greatest technique to help everyone working in a business office manage their stress. This will not only assist workers in dealing with a challenging circumstance, but it will also assist them in understanding the root of their stress and developing

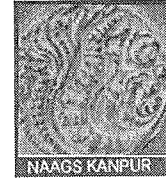
measures to eliminate these stressors. Time management, goal setting, conflict resolution, relaxation techniques, and so on are examples of such strategies. Employers can assist employees cope with stress by providing possibilities for career advancement, growth, and incentives. Employees should be recognised and thanked for their hard work. Aligning the task with the competencies and resources of the employees

Preventing workplace stress has a number of advantages. Reduced signs and symptoms of mental and physical illness, Injury, illness, and wasted time are all reduced. Sick leave, absenteeism, and staff turnover have all decreased. Productivity increases, Job satisfaction is higher, Workplace engagement has improved., Employer costs are reduced. Employee health and community well-being have both improved. Stress at work is a management issue. It's critical for companies to recognise work-related stress as a major health and safety concern. A business can and should take precautions to ensure that employees are not subjected to undue stress, such as: Ascertain a secure working environment. Ascertain that everyone has received adequate training for their position. Workplace stress can be de-stigmatized by acknowledging it as a legitimate issue. When feasible, discuss issues and grievances with employees and take necessary action. In collaboration with the staff, create a stress management policy. Encourage a work climate where employees have more control over their responsibilities and have more opportunities for advancement. Irritability, anxiety, exhaustion, sadness, withdrawal, aggressive behaviour, tearfulness, dullness, loss of motivation, loss of focus, loss of ability to solve problems, sexual dysfunction, gastrointestinal disorders, persistent headache, and other symptoms can all be signs of acute stress. Long-term stress can affect an individual's causing physical and mental disorders. It was determined that management, through corporate governance, can create policies aimed at reducing workplace stress. and perform the above functions, according to the guidelines laid down by various corporate governance institution

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084
www.kanpurhistorians.org

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF INDIA AND BANGLADESH

AMRISHA MINOCHA

Teaching Associate & Research Scholar
Department of management studies
Graphic era deemed to be university
Dehradun India

Abstract

Under Industrial relations, Collective bargaining has since always played a very pivotal role, in terms of having a formal body for negotiation and bargaining with the employers. Collective bargaining has provided an edge over to the laborers in terms of putting across their demands collectively. The present study shows a comparison of two most important and big Asian Countries- India and Bangladesh and their collective bargaining, history, legislation, problems associated with it. The two countries were chosen since both of them are labor intensive countries with huge size of both informal and formal labor force. The study is based on the extensive literature review.

Keywords— Collective bargaining, Trade Union, Bangladesh, India

Introduction

Collective Bargaining has now been practiced by most of the countries by ratifying the ILO Convention No. 87 and Convention No. 98 and to be precise 167 countries for Convention No. 98 and 155 Countries for Convention No. 87. It has since always played the most important role since the time it came into picture in terms of collective negotiations with the employers for interest issues and also for regulating better relationship between the two actors of Industrial Relations. Surprisingly in some of the countries it is accepted as a duty towards the employees in all good faith e.g. Australia (Ratnam, Industrial Relations, 2006) From past 25 to 30 years it has been seen as an evident process of decision making and power balance between the two most important parties of industrial relations. In most of the nation's worldwide

collective bargaining is adopted as a practice of making industrial rules and regulations. As per the Royal Commission on Labor (1929) Collective bargaining is eminent from the time so First World War. According to International Labor Organization (ILO), collective bargaining is referred to as all kinds of agreement which is in writing relating to the working conditions and also the terms of employment between an employer, a specific group of employers or an employers association (can be one of more) and employees or its representative organizations. It is also a fundamental right rooted in International Labor Organization (ILO) Constitution and affirmed in 1998. Even though collective bargaining is termed as a core labor standard yet these rights lack in many countries like Belarus, Cambodia, Colombia, Myanmar, Eritrea and Philippines. International Labor Organization (ILO) Declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work. In Constitution of India, article 19(c) guarantees the freedom of association and states it as the fundamental rights. The term "Collective bargaining" was coined by Sydney and Beatrice Webb in 1891. The United States of America widely accepted collective bargaining for settling of the disputes in Industry. In India collective bargaining formally started in 1920s in textile industry in Ahmedabad by Mahatma Gandhi.

According to International Labor Office in 1960 "*Collective bargaining is the negotiations about working conditions and terms of employment between an employer and a group of employers or one or more employer's organization on one hand, and one or more representatives of workers organization on the other with a view to reaching agreement.*". Post World war for almost around a quarter of century the struggle for having a law was evident and which was followed by having a collective bargaining which started spreading to the skilled labor force also engulfing transport and railways in it. During the time of 1824 to 1875 it became very difficult for the trade unions to establish their recognition especially after the Combination Act in 1824. Post the time of World War II trade unions of manual workers started securing little recognition but still no official law was passed as such which would make collective bargaining as legal or gave any employer or employee union right to bargain. Consequently after a few years the Taft-Harley Act of 1947 was passed giving the right to bargain.

Comparative study of Legal Framework of Bangladesh and India

In 1972, Bangladesh ratified International Labor Organization Convention No.87 (Freedom of Association) and International Labor Organization Convention No. 98 (Right to organize and Collective Bargaining). The labor law system in Bangladesh is oftentimes seen as an amalgamation of various legislations, regulations and ordinances. As quite evident that the history of formation of Bangladesh can be traced from the year 1947 when it became a province of Pakistan on 14th Aug, 1947. However after the war of 1971 Bangladesh got liberalized and started being called as a separate independent state. This was the time i.e. between 1947 and 1969 that saw the labor agitation and industrial unrest. Later in the year 1969 two very important laws

namely Industrial Dispute Act, 1965 and Trade Union Act, 1965 both merged into one and started getting called as Industrial Relation Ordinance, 1969. This act gave the IR agents, some recognition of collective bargaining. In the year 1972 new labor policy was declared by Bangladesh comprising of reduction in the trade union activities and also prohibition in strikes and lockouts and collective bargaining tool for around 6 months, therefore at the time of emergency which lasted for 6 months there was a complete prohibition in collective bargaining. Post this law which got passed, it was observed that Bangladesh was still not stable and was going through some time of turbulence in terms of emergency at various times which raised a question on the Industrial Relations system of Bangladesh. It was in 2006 that in the history of Bangladesh major Act was passed namely Bangladesh Labor Act, 2006. *“The Bangladesh Labour Act, 2006 is a major and comprehensive enactment regarding industrial relation system-- partly as a response to demand of stakeholders for improving regulatory framework on trade union and partly by demand for codification of existing labour laws in order to avoid overlapping and inconsistencies. It brought some significant changes in industrial relation system”*.

Before the final Labor Act of Bangladesh came into picture prior to which there were around 46 laws in force in the labor and industrial sector after which it got reduced to only 25 laws.

In Bangladesh Collective Bargaining was introduced under the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969 on the 13th of November. According to the Sec 209 and 210 of Labor Act 2006, collective bargaining is seen as the first step to settle dispute. According to the Bangladesh Labor Laws if there exists only one trade union in an organization with at least 30% of the workers employed it shall be known to called as a Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA) and incase if there is more than one Trade union in an enterprise it shall be the duty of the registrar to elect Collective Bargaining Agent(CBA) which shall be based upon the applications of any of trade union comprising of more than one third of the total employed workers in the said establishment. In Bangladesh the biggest problem lies in the fact that there is a dearth of policy relating to workers right and industrial relations in the private and majorly in the informal or peripheral sector is scant. Whereas, on the contrary maximum attention regarding labor relation is given to the formal and the public sector(Khan, 2001) and this could be one of the reason behind why garment industry failed to mobilize because of the political behavior of its participants could not be recognized.

Currently in Bangladesh's the labor relations are governed by Factories Act, 1965 and Factories Rule of 1979 when we speak about the manufacturing Industry. As per the Labour Act, 2006 sectoral bargaining is not allowed in Bangladesh therefore any collective bargaining happening at the sectoral level has no binding force. The plant level or factory level unions have access can bargain with the employers. One provision under the Labour Act is that sector based federations can get into collective bargaining only if it is mentioned in

their constituting document of the union. In Bangladesh collective bargaining is done at 3 levels viz. plant level, industry level or at national level and the matters which cannot be settled in the public sector become a matter of collective bargaining at the national level. Whereas in the private sector collective bargaining is held at the plant level which is being represented by the Collective Bargaining Agent (CBA). The main problem in Bangladesh is that their labor legislations majorly protect the skilled and semi-skilled adult workers and this in Bangladesh is called to be the affluent class those are represented by the Unions and other Associations and this affluent class of worker basically comprise of the Urban and male workforce employed in the public sector, this is because the labor legislations in Bangladesh have more inclination towards the public sector employees than the private ones. The worker's right in the export manufacturing industry has relatively more attention on a global level, and the reason of it, is that due to the outsourcing of the production processes the workers were compelled to move to the poor southern countries and thus got into a direct competition with the rich class of workers from the northern countries and making these rights and standards of direct up-turn.

If we speak about the Bangladesh constitution according to which all the labors are supposed to be protected but in reality only a very small proportion of labor's are actually protected. Bangladesh affirms that it will "*emancipate the toiling masses from all sorts of exploitation*" but in actuality the less than 3 percent of workers are protected by legislations. In 2012 the hiring and firing practices in Bangladesh were recorded 4.7 on the scale of 7, where 1 meant that the hiring and firing were mainly prevented by Govt. regulations and 7 meant the flexibility by the employer himself, therefore due to less government legislations and regulations the workers in Bangladesh are less protected, resulting in low productivity amongst them.

Bangladesh has a very restrictive labour laws and regulations wherein the employers in country has no obligation towards the union when it comes to consider the alternatives about collective dismissal of the employees and moreover no approval is needed by Government or any judicial body before dismissing any employee.

Bangladesh Employer's Association (BEA) represents more than 90% of the employers from the private sector and also a generous amount of factories from the public sector but they do not directly participate in the collective bargaining, it acts as only as advisory. Collective Bargaining Practice does not take place in the Export Processing Zone in Bangladesh. Bangladesh has multiple laws operating and each creates its own adjudication when it comes to disputes. Boilers Act 1923, Export Processing Zone (EPZ) Worker's Welfare Association and Industrial Relations Act 2010 and the Labour Act, 2006 all these laws has a different adjudicatory and management systems to tackle various issues like collective bargaining , etc and thus it creates a discrepancy in the application of invariably accepted laws in the country sometimes also leading to the discrimination. Now According to the

International Labour Organization(ILO) Convention 87 (freedom to join union) having no interference of the employers but in Bangladesh on the contrary there shall be only one collective bargaining agent in the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) unit, leaving no option for the workers to make more than one trade union. It is observed that pay related collective bargaining is forbidden in the public sector in Bangladesh. (Robinsons, 1996). Initially according to the Labour Act, 2006 the pre-requisite for the strike was 75%(three-fourth) of the workers but after the amendment in 2013 it has been revised to two third majority. (Chowdhury, 2017). The country has a very high rejection rate of the trade union registration forms and even comprises of violence, intimidation of workers and violent suppression and all these reasons amounts to the weakening of the trade union resulting in poor collective bargaining specially the EPZ workers and that too for no justifiable reason. According to the International Labor Organization(ILO) report, due to the rising cases of anti-union discrimination and unfair labor practices it had advised the country to raise the fine (which was maximum 10,000 Bangladeshi Taka(BDT)) but was overlooked by the country. (Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, 2020). The Export Processing Zone in Bangladesh falls under the category of special labour legislation where in there are not even basic rights and also they are forbidden to do collective bargaining to make their EPZ more attractive for the FDI and foreign companies to invest into.

In 2014, out of 4500 garment industries only around 120 of them were affiliated to the union, which amounts to only 5% of the entire garment industry. "The GOB reports that of a workforce of 58 million workers, and over 4 million just in the garment sector, there were only 112 complaints (civil and criminal) lodged from 2013 to 2017 concerning anti-union discrimination."

The trade union registration remains only 36% which was around 291 out of 801 and the status of the rest 64% remains unclear.

Globalisation and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) create a greater amount of pressure on labour standards thus lowering it down so in order to beat the competition, and remain attractive for the market and not only this but so in order to meet these FDI and export needs more emphasis has been on industry than on the rights of workers. There are around 51 collective bargaining that has been signed since 2013.

"Bangladesh's apparel sector was established just three decades ago and has grown exponentially over the past twenty years. Apparel factories employ an estimated four million workers, the majority of which are women. The industry makes up 83 per cent of Bangladesh's total exports estimated to have topped US\$30 billion in 2017-18."

"Around 1,700 Bratex striking workers were demanding a 3,000-rupee (\$US27) monthly wage increase and recognition of their trade union. The struggle continued for almost a month."

Three key pieces of legislation have had a significant impact on Indian labour relations. The Trade Unions Act of 1926 (TUA), the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act of 1946 (IEA), and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947 are the three acts in question (IDA). These enactments are noteworthy not just in and of themselves, but also in the way they have combined to create a uniquely Indian system.

This regulation of Trade Union does not apply to businesses with fewer than 100 employees (although a few states, like as Uttar Pradesh, have made it applicable to all factories) (i.e. employing 10 or more workers). Because a trade union must have at least seven members to be registered, the Trade Union Act applies to all businesses with seven or more employees. To summarise, only a small portion of the workforce is covered by labour laws and is guaranteed room for collective bargaining within well-defined legal limitations. The absence of rules for recognition of a trade union as a collective bargaining agent and the government's ubiquitous involvement in regulating industrial relations are the most noticeable aspects of Indian industrial relations legislation. In Indian businesses, collective bargaining has a little role because most conflicts are submitted to and decided by the courts. It's because there aren't any powerful, well-organized parties representing both businesses and employees. The plurality of labor unions has become a typical element of the Indian Labor Movement in every industry at the plant, local as well as national level, fostering rivalry and thus providing a barrier for employers to bargain. The Indian National Trade Union Congress, the All India Trade Union Congress, the Hind Mazdoor Sabha, and the United Trade Union Congress are the four primary organizations at the national level, with memberships of 1,020,653, 507,654, 241,636 and 90,629 correspondingly as of March 31, 1959. There are various reasons for the multiplicity. Because of their diversity and competitiveness, labor organizations have lost favor with employers and have been unable to get recognition from them and that is why employers are under no obligation to engage in collective bargaining.

In late 2010, there were many strikes in India, mostly on the subject of trade union formation and recognition. This battle persisted throughout the subsequent time as well. Then, in early 2011, a wave of worker protests erupted in response to the increasing prices of basic necessities.

The weakening of collective bargaining is reflected in a strong increase in profit share and a severe decline in wage share (since 2001-02), resulting in lower buying power. Approximately 73 million of India's 173 million wage workers do not get the minimum wage. A new wave of workers is fighting for unionization from below, largely unaffected by the major trade unions. This is mostly a formal sector phenomenon. Workers are learning, based on their own experiences, that they cannot alter their fate unless they form a trade union. In many situations, workers are denied basic legal benefits like as minimum salaries, overtime premiums, vacations, and casual leaves. Once a union is founded, all workers have easy access to the basic benefits provided by law.

Conclusion

The formation of a union is essential for looking after the requirements of employees and ensuring that no exploitation has occurred. Workers gain confidence in the organization they work for when their interests are protected. "A union is a pressure organization arising in the desire of a group with relatively little power to influence the action of a group with comparatively greater power. "A union is a pressure group formed by a group with comparatively little power try to control the actions of a group with comparably more power. The Trade Unions Act of 1926 was a landmark moment in the history of the labor movement. Trade unions were given legal status as a result of the Act's provision for registration. Collective bargaining allows all members of the organization to participate in decision-making. The process of collective bargaining can lead to a successful negotiation if it starts with ideas rather than demands and both sides are willing to compromise, otherwise the entire process would be fruitless.

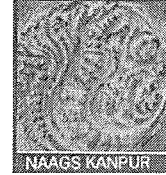
With regard to union recognition, collective bargaining, and IR practices, the data appear to support the 'compliance thesis rather than the 'divergence-convergence theses' more than the union avoidance strategy that has been highlighted in much of the worldwide HRM literature. Management's avoidance strategy, management support for a particular union, personal interests of managerial staff and workers, inter-union and intra-union rivalries, politicization of trade unions, and management inefficiency in dealing with IR issues all contribute to adversarial relations in local organizations. Multinational subsidiaries in Bangladesh, on the other hand, are able to overcome such issues by effective HR procedures and the adoption of legally-specified methods to take advantage of the opportunities offered by Bangladesh's less regulated institutional framework.

Nonetheless, their adherence may be cosmetic, and the subsidiaries are employing a variety of tactics to minimize direct effects on managerial practices while also acknowledging trade unions in the interests of the larger workforce's management. As our case study organizations are of European and American origins, this compliance could be seen as the 'country of origin' effects for multinationals, where parent company country IR systems are also very fluid and dynamic to adjust to contemporary market imperatives and technological influences.

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084
www.kanpurhistorians.org

**A STUDY ON IMPACT OF DEMONETIZATION ON CONSUMER
BEHAVIOUR WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CONSUMER
GOODS IN NAMAKKAL DISTRICT**

N. RAJESWARI

Research Scholar
Department of Business Administration
Arignar Anna Government Arts College
Namakkal India

DR. D. KANCHANA

Assistant Professor and Head
Department of Business Administration
Arignar Anna Government Arts College
Namakkal India

Abstract:

For many years, the principle of consumer behaviour has been a source of contention. Many researchers have worked to identify, analyses, observe, and discover the study's findings in order to assess the factor in determining of the product price effect on consumer buying behaviour. The necessity of marketer feedback has been for the customer purchasing behaviour against emotional approach than the societal aspect. Regarding demonetization, the state has pushed for a cashless society in India, encouraging people to use machines, e-wallets, transfer system, online payment, and other similar technologies in their daily transactions. Before demonetization, consumers used to buy impulsively from the retail malls by using hard cash because of more convenience, but with the introduction of demonetization, people have had to think carefully before making any kind of purchase due to less money on hand as well as less habit of cashless transactions. Impulsive purchases are undertaken on the spur of the moment, with no concern for costs or negative effects. They are normally guided by a desire for immediate gratification. Using primary data obtained from 50 respondents in Namakkal city using a structured questionnaire, the current paper investigates the impact of

demonetization on consumer behaviour with regard to consumer goods in Namakkal district.

Keywords: *Need for the study, scope, objectives, research design and results and discussion*

Introduction

Individuals' behaviour is affected by demonstration effects, which are caused by observation of others' actions and their consequences. The term is most often used in political science and sociology to explain how events in one location can sometimes serve as a catalyst for events in another. Parents can look after their parents in order to create a demonstration effect in which their children may later look after them. Countries and local governments can adopt laws and economic policies that tend to be effective in other places. The policies' demonstrated success creates a demonstration effect, prompting other governments to try to replicate their success. The Indian government made the two highest denomination currency notes invalid overnight in November 2016. While this change was suggested for possible future gains, it caused significant liquidity constraints for many households since these two notes accounted for 86 percent of all currency in circulation. Using Consumer Pyramids panel info, I investigate the effect of resulting liquidity constraints on household consumption in this paper. In the first months after demonetization, I discovered that household durable and non-durable consumption decreased. The loss was more pronounced for wealthier families. I also discovered that after demonetization, households increased their borrowing, particularly from money lenders. Poorer households saw a greater rise in borrowing. Focusing on farmer heterogeneity, I show that those households that rely on cash have a higher use of credit. The findings suggest that while wealthier households reduced their consumption as a result of lower utility costs, poorer households were forced to rely on informal credit to maintain their consumption. Almost all of the work on consumption smoothing in the development economics literature has focused on consumption shocks that work through income shocks, that is, a decrease in income that can lead to a decrease in consumption. Additionally, demonization works on income, even if it doesn't lead to loss of purchasing power. Employers cannot pay their employees if they are broke. That will decrease the income available to pay taxes and therefore increase the number of people without a job. For similar reasons, the demand and supply of traders' goods would also be impacted if the amount of cash disappeared. When people are not making their day-to-to-day payments, spending has no impact on revenue. However, however, there could be an impact on the overall economy because of that Rather, households could turn to the use of credit. Even at the expense of getting less A fall in income will lead to a fall in consumption, but liquidity constraints can impact the propensity to consume directly.

You need to understand customer behaviour in order to be successful with existing products, as well as in developing new ones. Your customer's purchasing habits and preferences are completely different from one another,

even if the product is exactly the same. If a business does not consider the consumer's reaction to its product, there are high risks of failure. How fashion, technology, patterns, income, and the economy interact to influence purchasing is one of the reasons for change in the behaviour of the market. In order to adjust a marketer's overall strategy, a marketer must keep track of variables that are changing. The aim of this study is to examine consumer behaviour as a result of product demonstrations. The majority of customer styles and shopping habits are altered as a result of this demonstration. Nowadays, the majority of customers buy a variety of products on a regular basis. As a result, the research was beneficial to customers who were influenced by the demonstration in their purchasing behaviour.

The study's findings are focused on the responses of consumers in a particular geographic region. This research would aid in gaining an understanding of consumer behaviour during demonstrations and its implications for improving consumer behaviour on consumer goods.

The research is focused on both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data was collected using a structured questionnaire with a sample size of 50 people for this study. The samples were validated and taken for further analysis after they were collected using a convenient sampling method. Secondary data is gathered from database sites and articles as well. The information gathered was analysed using the appropriate software (Chi-square technique). This study's participants are chosen at random. After explaining the various aspects mentioned in the questionnaire, we asked all respondents to fill it out on their own. It had questions in a well-structured format that was simple to understand at first glance. Only primary data is used for analysis and interpretation. However, both primary and secondary data, as well as verbal knowledge and information obtained from respondents, were included in the conclusion and recommendations, even though they were outside the scope of the questionnaire. Various tools, such as bar charts, chi-square tests, and percentages, were used to analyse the data collected from these sources.

DATA DISCUSSION

In our study, we found that product demonstrations are an effective way to raise consumer awareness. The material and knowledge used in the presentation are the key reasons for building awareness in the minds of the consumers. Similarly, the content of the demonstration shapes the expectations of the consumers watching the demonstrations. The findings of our study show that presentations are the most effective means of raising consumer awareness and influencing their attitudes. The two key factors that influence purchasing decisions are customer understanding and consumer expectations.

*Table -1
General profile of the Respondents*

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Level Of Education</i>	<i>How Much Is Your Purchasing Value During Demonstration</i>
Valid	48	51	50	50

Missing	1	1	2	0
Mean	1.4302	2.250	3.458	3.825
Median	3.000	4.000	3.000	3.500
Mode	1.00	3.00	5.00	3.00

Table -2
Level Of Education

<i>Valid</i>	<i>Level of education</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Valid percentage</i>	<i>Cumulative percentage</i>
	Undergraduate	65	29	26	27
	Graduate to Post graduate	35	71	74	98
	Total	50	100	100	

Table -3
Does impact of demonstration to affect consumer behaviour to buy the product

<i>Age</i>	<i>Does impact of demonstration to affect consumer behaviour to buy the product</i>			
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Toatl</i>
Up to23yrs	7	2	1	10
24-30	16	3	1	19
Above	15	5	1	21
Total	38	10	3	50

From the above table, we can infer that there is significant relationship between demonstration and buying behavior of consumer goods.

Table- 4
Chi- Square test

<i>Tools</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>d.f</i>	<i>Asymp.sig(2-sided)</i>
Person chi square	6.981	4	.096
Likelihood ratio	6.092	4	.131
Linear by linear association	7.290	1	.593
Total	50		

We conclude that there is a substantial relationship between demonstration and consumer behaviour of consumer products from the above SPSS Chi-square measure, so we reject the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between demonstration and consumer behaviour.

Table -5
Symmetric Measures

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Tools</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Asymp.std.error</i>	<i>Approx.</i>	<i>Approx.sig</i>
Nominal by	Phi	.397	-	-	.096
	Cramer's V	.281	-	-	.096

nominal					
Interval by interval	Pearson's R	.076	.177	.530	.598
Ordinal by ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.162	.153	1.137	.261

- ❖ The null hypothesis is not assumed.
- ❖ Assuming the null hypothesis, use the asymptotic standard error.
- ❖ Based on a standard approximation.

FINDINGS

- ❖ Customers are more likely to watch demonstrations that influence their opinions.
- ❖ Demonstration is an excellent way to persuade consumers to buy your product.
- ❖ Demonstrations are an effective way to communicate the desired message to a specific group of customers.
- ❖ They can entice consumers to participate in the demonstration by being attractive and engaging.

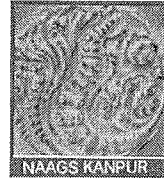
Conclusion

The findings in this paper show how demonetization affects consumer behaviour on consumer goods. Although I do not rule out the possibility of demonetization having no effect on aggregate income, I believe that the shock had a negative impact on both durable and non-durable consumption. For the impact to persist, consumption has to go back to where it was, which only takes a few months. Before 2016, households with lower expenditure saw a smaller decrease in spending than those with a higher one above the median. Stretton as a result, these households turned to more flexible sources of credit like pawnbrokers and moneylenders. The findings show that because they started out with lower spending, they paid higher interest to stay within their means, leading to lower expenditures. Lower- and middle-income households, however, had a lower opportunity cost of reducing their consumption and thus chose to accept the higher level of debt to maintain the same level of consumption. The paper doesn't address the benefits, but rather focuses on the consequences. Many families had reduced welfare due to borrowing from high-interest lenders, and reduced their consumption to save money. Lastly, my research shows that the informal sector played a critical role in facilitating the movement toward formalization, and that possible drive has subsequently grown informal networks. This research was done to establish how demonstrations impact on the customers' behaviour. It is noted in the study that two critical factors can influence customers' purchasing decisions, but they are not the only factors that will affect purchasing decisions. these two things are special effects and the customers' or clients' purchasing power (pocket money). buying something can be described as an optimization

process, wherein customers seek out the best product or brand for them. The selection process is analogous to a search for the perfect mix of brands. This perspective on the role of demonstration in purchasing decision-making has implications for utility maximization.

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BLINDNESS, LAW AND THE REHABILITATION SERVICES

R. KARTHIKEYAN

Research Scholar

Department of Christian Studies

University of Madras

Chennai India

Abstract

The phenomenon of disability cuts across all races, classes, genders, religions and nationalities. In India, people with disabilities from various religion, culture, society, race, ethnicity, class, caste, gender, age and geographical location experience various forms of disabling conditions. These disabling conditions create social issues like social exclusion, marginalisation, stigma, economic burden, oppression and injustice, and as well as differences in functionalities and active participation in the society. According to the 2011 census, out of the 121 crores population, about 2.68 crores are 'disabled' which is 2.21% of the total population, in which 19% have disability in seeing. The different conceptions of blindness such as charity, medical, social and right-based models of blindness show the complexity involved in understanding the problem of blindness. Hence, the magnitude of the problem of blindness in individuals indicates its requirements for rehabilitative services and the wellbeing of the person. This paper focuses on a discussion of the magnitude of the problem of blindness' various perspectives, the laws related to disabilities including blindness and its challenges and enablement towards rehabilitation services to persons with blindness, in India.

Keywords: Blindness, Law and Rehabilitation Services

Introduction

The phenomenon of disability including blindness has been perceived and conceptualised in different ways across the globe irrespective of a person's age, race, religion, culture, nation, state and law. In this discussion, an individual with blindness means a person with partial blindness, or even with total blindness.

The society in general views the person with blindness as not normal, incapable, sympathy seeker, dependent and economically a burden to the family and society, as well unfit or unworthy to live. In the Indian context, factors such as gender identity, class separation, poverty, unemployment and other various forms of oppression in general adds to their separation, discrimination and alienation in terms of their participation in the society, as well it deprives their wellbeing and quality of life in all aspects. This discriminative and deprived condition of the person with blindness calls for appropriate understanding of the problem of blindness and appropriate constitutional laws, policies, rules and regulations which concerns physical health, social, economic, political, cultural, religious and geographical aspects of the person with blindness and other rehabilitative measures to enable them towards independency and active participation in the society as equal to others.

Prevalence of Blindness in India

World Health Organisation views the major causes for blindness, as cataract, glaucoma, diabetic retinopathy, age-related macular degeneration, corneal opacity, vitamin A deficiency, trachoma, onchocerciasis, and refractive error. Further, it notes that 75% of the causes of blindness are thought to be entirely treatable or preventable. WHO shows that blindness occurs due to various issues like cigarette smoking, UV-B light exposure, diabetes mellitus, severe diarrhea, malnutrition, and heavy alcohol use, vitamin A deficiency, measles, trachoma, onchocerciasis, leprosy and harmful practices, family history, crowding, poor hygiene and limited access to water, blackfly which breeds near fast flowing rivers, low dietary intake of antioxidants and zinc, hypertension, cardiovascular diseases, cataract surgery and increase in age.

Population, causes and factors of blindness indicate the magnitude of the problem of blindness in India and its requirements for rehabilitative service and wellbeing of the person with blindness.

Models of Disability Including Blindness

Charity Model

In this model, society views blindness in person as divine intervention or God's will or as his/her life fate which was predestined by God for his/her sin or bad deeds or for divine glory irrespective of his/her religion and culture. This approach views the person with blindness as poor, helpless, cursed by the divine, who cannot do anything for themselves, as those in tragic situation, unable to take care of themselves, needing help, sympathy, compassion and benevolence for their life and survival. With such notions, the society aims to do charity by providing food, clothes, money and other materials to the person with blindness for his/her survival. In this, health, medical treatment and quality of care is given less or even no importance. The bearers of this approach are benevolent persons in the society, charity houses, homes, foundations and religious institutions.

Medical Model

This model views impairment including blindness as a defect in body from a bio-medical aspect, which tends to view and segregate body as perfect body and defective body. To function and participate in the society as a normal being, this bio-medical concept requires the imperfect body to be treated medically, or to live and get assistance from medical professionals in a conditioned environment. In this model, the person with blindness is considered as abnormal, and expected to play a passive role as a patient and be treated for cure. Further, it views them as persons who are unable to live independently and need medical rehabilitation to attain the best extent of normality, in order to access rights and participation in the society. The duty bearers of this model are doctors and health authorities.

In summary, this model locates disability solely within the body, with no appeal to societal or environmental factors. So, it is individual rather than social condition.

. Social Model

This model views disability including blindness as a social barrier or difficulty or pre-conditioned environment or structures placed before the person, who is considered to be with imperfect body with his/her personal tragedy and dangerous element to the society, which limits or prevents his/her activities, participation or integration into the broader society. This model views blindness as partly constructed by the body defects and largely by the public attitude of blindness as a state of inferiority, inefficiency, incompetency and dependency and rated as second class citizens who require no equal treatment, opportunities, privileges and freedom. Further, it views disability as the result of wrong way of organising the society and social environment as barrier which prevents the person with blindness from equal participation in the society. It calls for eliminating the attitudinal, environmental and structural barriers, enabling public policy making and to make all public services and policies accessible and inclusive. This model views the duty bearer to be the state, ministries and society.

Human Rights Model

This model recognises that person with or without disabilities including blindness is a part of the same society and all have the same rights and obligations in the society. This approach ensures full and equal enjoyment of all human rights to persons with disabilities including blindness and promotes respect for their inherent dignity, freedom and equality. It focuses on equal opportunities, non-discrimination, inclusion, accessibility, respect for difference and diversity, and participation in society. Further, it views persons with blindness as right holders and calls authorities to ensure their rights and not to restrict them. In summary, this model enforces laws to ensure full inclusion in all the social aspects of a person with blindness such as education, work, family, community, recreation and religion. Further, it regulates the public and private sectors, and applies all policies to raise awareness on respect and equal recognition before the law.

These different conceptions of blindness such as charity, medical, social and right-based models of blindness show the complexity involved in understanding the problem of blindness. Hence, to address the issues of persons with blindness, the nation and state require the appropriate understanding of the problem of blindness. An adequate understanding of the problem of blindness and its impact on persons by the government and private service providing agencies gives true enablement, independency and active participation in the society.

Definition of Disability and Blindness in India

In India, the definition of disability and blindness is in line with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability, 2007 and World Health Organization, International Classification of 2001 definition of Disability including Blindness.

Also, the definition of Blindness under the National Programme for Control of Blindness (NPCB) is modified in line with definition of blindness used by World Health Organization for global comparison. The NPCB&VI defines blindness as presenting distance visual acuity to be less than 3/60 (20/400) in the better eye and limitation of field of vision to be less than 10 degrees from centre of fixation.

World Health Organization, ICF, Definition of Disability, 2001

World Health Organization, International Classification of Functioning (WHO-ICF, 2001) also defines disability, including blindness as covering impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions; in which, an impairment is a problem in body function or structure, an activity limitation is a difficulty encountered by an individual in executing a task or action, while a participation restriction is a problem experienced by an individual in involvement in life situations. Hence, it views disability as a complex phenomenon, reflecting the interaction between features of a person's body and features of the society in which he/she lives.

United Nations Conventions on the Rights of Persons with Disability, 2007

It acknowledges that disability is an evolving, dynamic and complex phenomenon and it defines disability as an evolving concept resulting from the interaction between persons with impairment and attitudinal and environmental barriers that hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others. It includes persons with disabilities as those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others. This convention, by considering the physical, social, cultural, political, civil and religious rights of the disabled including blindness makes the paradigm shift from charity based approach to rights based approach for persons with disability.

Constitutional Rights of Disabled Persons

Our Constitutional law such as Article 14 guarantees that no person (including the person with blindness) will be denied equality before the law.

Article 15 is a manifestation of “Right to Equality” extending only to citizens (including the disabled) under Article 14 which protects any person (including the disabled). Article 15 (1&2) ensures the principles of equality relating to state discriminatory activities on various grounds such as religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. It prohibits discriminatory activities with regard to access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, places of public entertainment, roads and other public places. Further, Article 17 states that no person including the disabled irrespective of his belonging can be treated as an untouchable and it would be an offence punishable in accordance with the law. Article 21 refers to rights of every person including the disabled to life and liberty and Article 23, speaks of having no traffic in human beings (including the disabled) and beggar and other forms of forced labour being prohibited.

Article 24 prohibits employment of children including the disabled below the age of 14 years to work in establishments, and Article 25 guarantees to every citizen (including the disabled) the right to freedom of religion. Further, Article 29(2) states that no citizen (including the disabled) shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on any grounds and Article 45 guarantees free and compulsory education for all children (including the disabled) until they attain the age of 14 years. Article 32 states that every disabled person can move the Supreme Court of India to enforce his fundamental rights and the right to move the Supreme Court and Article 47 states the government’s primary duty to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and make improvements in public health.

Further, Article 41 guarantees the provision that the state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want.

The Rehabilitation Council of India, 1992

This act guarantees good quality of services rendered by various rehabilitation personnel. It ensures the right to be served by trained and qualified rehabilitation professionals whose names are borne in the Register maintained by the Council and guarantees the maintenance of minimum standards of education required for recognition of rehabilitation qualification by universities or institutions in India. Further, it guarantees the maintenance of standards of professional conduct and ethics by rehabilitation professionals in order to protect against the penalty of disciplinary action and removal from the Register of the Council and regulates the profession of rehabilitation professionals by a statutory council under the control of the central government and within the bounds prescribed by the statute.

The Persons with Disabilities Act, 1995

In 1995, the Persons with Disabilities Act (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) adopted an approach of social welfare; the main focus was on prevention and early detection of disabilities

including blindness, education and employment of the persons with disabilities. This act guaranteed 3% reservation in government jobs and educational institutions. Further, it focused on promoting barrier free situation as a measure of non-discrimination and the right to equality and dignity of the disabled, including blindness.

The National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act, 1999

This act makes arrangement for an adequate standard of living of any beneficiary who has requested and to provide financial assistance to the registered organisations for carrying out any approved programme for the benefit of the disabled. Under this act, national and state fund is created to provide financial support to the persons with disabilities. A local level committee appoints guardians to be responsible for the disabled persons and their property and required accountability for the same.

National Policy for Persons with Disabilities Act, 2005

This act recognises persons with disabilities as a valuable human resource for the country and seeks to create an environment that provides them equal opportunities, protection of their rights and full participation in the society. It ensures better coordination between various wings of the state and central government. It focuses on prevention of disabilities, rehabilitation measures and physical rehabilitation strategies dealing with early detection and intervention, counselling and medical rehabilitation and provision of aids and appliances, development of rehabilitation professionals, education for persons with disabilities and economic rehabilitation of persons with disabilities. Under this Act, extensive infrastructure has been developed, such as institute for the Physically Handicapped, New Delhi, National Institute of Visually Handicapped, Dehradun, National Institute for Orthopedically Handicapped, Kolkata, National Institute for Mentally Handicapped, Secunderabad, National Institute for Hearing Handicapped, Mumbai, National Institute of Rehabilitation Training & Research, Cuttack, National Institute for Empowerment of Persons with Multiple Disabilities, Chennai.

Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016

The Act of Rights of Persons with Disabilities 2016 replaced the PWD Act, 1995 which was enacted 21 years back by strengthening the regulatory, monitoring and grievance redressal mechanism by ensuring the rights and protection of people with disabilities. This act was created to fulfill the obligations of the United National Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), to which India is a signatory in 2007. Further, this convention mandates the member signatories to change their national laws to identify and eliminate barriers and to comply with the terms of the UNCRPD by promoting, protecting and ensuring the full enjoyment of human rights and full equality under the law by persons with disabilities.

This new RPD Act, 2016 considers the socio-cultural needs of the society and the available sources and it encompasses any person with long-term physical, mental, intellectual and sensory impairment whose interaction

with communicational, cultural, economic, environmental, institutional, political, social, attitudinal or structural barriers hinder his/her full and effective participation in the society like others. Under this Act, the number of disabilities officially have been recognised and increased from 7 to 21. The Central Government has the power to add more types of disabilities. The types of disabilities mentioned are starting from blindness, low vision and other intellectual, psycho-social disabilities, acid attack survivors, Parkinsons, haemophilia, thalassemia and sickle cell disease.

Under this Act, any person with 40% or more of a specified disability will qualify as a person with disability. Within this framework, he/she can receive support from authority for physical and psychological support to undertake daily activities, and to take an independent and informed decision to access facilities and to participate in all areas of their life.

Issues with Rights of Persons with Disability Act, 2016

The convention states that Persons with Disabilities should have the opportunity to be actively involved in decision making processes about policies and programmes, including those directly concerning them. It states that the state parties shall closely consult with and actively involve persons with disabilities, including children with disabilities, through their representative organisations. In this, many disability scholars point out that the drafting of RPD Act 2016 was drafted without the consultation and recommendations from disability experts, NGOs and disability sector.

Referring to accessibility related to clauses of the RPD Act, 2016, Article 6, disability scholars note that the various procedures for granting permissions, giving completion certificates need to be aligned with the new legislation and also they mention that the procurement policy need to be modified to ensure the purchase of accessible products and services. Further, referring to Article 10, many scholars point that the right to life for people with disabilities is not explicitly stated, whereas Article 21 in the Indian constitution provides right to life for all citizens. Hence, disability scholars note that the government should formulate schemes to promote the right to life in terms of adequate financial support, sensitisation of the medical fraternity, judiciary and rehabilitation professionals, providing community support and so on. Further, they cite that disability experts and NGOs exclusion has resulted in some very apparent weaknesses in the Bill.

Conclusion

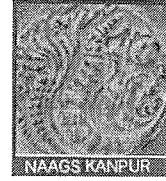
The self-conception of blindness as not able to live or function in the society requires attention and self pity from people as one's fate. The medical concept of viewing the body as faulty, which needs to be cured or treated, places the person at the mercy of professionals and law makers for the cost of treatment, other benefits and ultimately, making him dependent for survival, and by not taking into consideration the limitations imposed by the society. At last, the social construction of disability views blindness as partly constructed by body defects and largely by the public attitude of blindness as a state of inferiority, inefficiency, incompetency and dependency and rated as second

class citizens who require no equal treatment, opportunities, privileges and freedom. In the above context, India as a nation houses 12 million individuals with visual impairment, against a total of 39 million individuals with blindness in the world, according to National Programme for Control of Blindness. Different forums like World Health Organization, National Programme for Control of Blindness, and Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment: Department of Empowerment of Persons with Disabilities has its own particular understanding on blindness, implementation of policies, rules and regulations, eligibility criteria and guidelines for partnering with non governmental agencies and for providing rehabilitative services and benefits to the blind. But, in reality, the magnitude of the problem of blindness and the needs of a person are quite unique, according to his/her age, state of vision, sensory abilities, and the level of emotional adjustment existing or developed by the attitudes and conditions of the public. According to Reddy, in meeting the needs of a person with blindness, the servicing agencies including the government and non governmental bodies need to have 'context' based definition of blindness and framework for providing rehabilitative services to them. In this context, a proper understanding or definition of disability including blindness by the Indian state, law makers and proper policies and guidelines will enable the disabled and the blind to receive quality training and proper services, such as medical treatment, academic skills, vocational skills, mobility skills, daily living skills, employment skills, emotional adjustment skills and other alternative skills from service providing agencies to gain independency, self sufficiency and quality of life in all the aspects.

Therefore, there is a real need for the Indian state and its law makers to understand the real problem of disability including blindness and to revise the policies, guidelines and eligibility criteria for the empowering agencies and individuals with blindness to address the real need of blindness towards real independency, real health and real life.

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**A STUDY ON PROBLEMS AND PROSPECT OF RIG
ENTREPRENEURS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
NAMAKKAL DISTRICT**

DR. D. KANCHANA

Assistant Professor & Head

Department of Business Administration

Arignar Anna Government Arts College

Namakkal Tamilnadu India

S. HARIDASS

Research Scholar

Department of Business Administration

Arignar Anna Government Arts College

Namakkal Tamilnadu India

Abstract:

The hip of rig entrepreneurs serves as a control mechanism for population transfer from rig areas to semi-urban and urban areas. By maximising the use of rig resources and providing employment opportunities to the rig masses, rig entrepreneurs act as a catalyst for rig growth. On the contrary, the majority of rig entrepreneurs face a variety of issues, including a lack of funds for promotions, a lack of marketing expertise, and the inability to obtain raw materials on time, among others. The aim of this study is to learn about the problems that rig entrepreneurs face in Tamil Nadu's Namakkal district. The study's findings reveal that marketing and financial issues are the most pressing concerns for rig entrepreneurs in Tamil Nadu's Namakkal district.

Keywords: Objectives, Research design, Data discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

In today's highly competitive business environment, most of the rigs face a lack of necessary facilities such as schooling, financing, and management skills, and even marketing difficulties. Because of these problems, drilling rigs rarely establish themselves in any one location. Since Tamil Nadu offers a variety of entrepreneurial development programmes such as the New Entrepreneur-cum-Enterprise Development Program (NEP) from the

Department of Industries and Commerce, and the NEED programme from the Department of Industries and Commerce, it's only natural that there should also be support from its own Government for the new entrepreneur. There is currently a large amount of effort in the market place that looks at the significant problems associated with start-up operators. The many technical difficulties, institutional, financial, and building-related problems have been discussed. A small business owner is someone who makes a major contribution to the economy. An entrepreneur is someone who takes the initiative, knows his or her market inside and out, and out, and strives for bigger and better successes. He's a public-service tycoon who wants to change the world. He concentrates on finding, recognising, and then utilising financial opportunities. An entrepreneur is someone who is capable of articulating a desire, talent, and inspiration and ability to get a business started, but usually must do so by enlisting the aid of others. He is out to make money by inventing or providing things that can make the world better for others. He has the personality of an adventurer, as well as the willingness to take risks and the imagination to do things differently. But while doing so, he searches for new ways to utilise existing materials. There are many other challenges in the start-up world besides just to visualising a viable project, getting financing, attracting the right workers, dealing with competition, and managing industrial change, among others. We understand that micro, small, and medium-sized businesses are critical to advancing socioeconomic mobility in the business sector. MSMEs help disperse industries and develop job opportunities, too. More than six crores of India's workforce are employed by the millions of small and medium-sized businesses. Additionally, the micro small and medium-sized enterprises account for 8% of the country's GDP, and 42% of manufacturing and 36% of exports. The overall manufacturing sector has shown growth that is nearly double that of the micro-enterprise sector. The gap between MSMEs at the district and state levels and central levels in India is attributed to a lack of materials, lack of knowledge, or lack of entrepreneurship, and lack of support from concerned authorities. India's small & medium enterprises annual report. That is another term for rolling the dice. The act of creating new enterprises to meet new problems and developing solutions to them making an economic or commercial decision where the claim to insurance does not apply in order to make a business-related decision (Awe, 2006). So, when an entrepreneur realises that an idea has commercial potential, he puts the resources in place to activate the business. Once the business idea has been commercialised, it becomes a commercial enterprise, and the goal is profit. Successful feasibility studies were often required on several occasions. There are several possibilities; it may be for a new business endeavour or to work on something you've already started. There are a wider variety of industries as countries get larger. Technology advances lead to this. More information is becoming available today than at any other time in history. After it comes out, it will be right under heavy pressure from newcomers. If this rivalry was not expected, there would be a lot of work to do.

to do prior to lift-off. Diverse entrepreneurial practises have been found to contribute to a nation's economic prosperity and the quality of life of life. The current study was limited to a few units in the Visakhapatnam District. This research is focused on both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary data was gathered using a well-structured questionnaire created specifically for the survey. The survey's participants were chosen at random from a group of 120 Rig entrepreneurs. With the aid of a questionnaire, data on various issues related to the Rig entrepreneurs hip Development was gathered. The primary source of secondary data for this analysis was a variety of published and unpublished sources such as journals, books, various websites, administrative documents, management reports, and so on. This information was primarily used to provide the subject's theoretical context. This study used a sample size of 120 people. The research makes use of the percentage analysis approach and the chi square test.

DATA DISCUSSION

1. Factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

TABLE NO: 01

Factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

S. No	Factors	Satisfaction	Highly satisfaction	Neutral	Dissatisfaction	Strongly dissatisfaction	Total	mean
01	Capital	10	29	63	14	9	125	3.1360
	Percentage	8.0	23.2	50.4	11.2	7.2	100.0	3.1280
02	Labour	9	27	67	15	7	125	3.128
	Percentage	7.2	21.6	53.6	12.0	5.6	100.0	3.128
03	Raw material	12	31	70	9	3	125	3.320
	Percentage	9.6	24.8	56.0	7.2	2.4	100	3.320
04	Infrastructure	11	33	70	8	3	125	3.280
	Percentage	8.8	26.4	56.0	6.4	2.4	100.0	3.28
05	Supervisory	14	33	67	6	5	125	3.360
	Percentage	11.2	26.4	53.6	4.8	4.0	100	3.36
06	Organization	7	35	70	9	4	125	3.25
	Percentage	5.6	2.28	56.0	7.2	3.2	100.0	3.256

On the worlds of creativity, integration-communication, and horizontal integration, the highest percentage of respondents (56.0%) is neutral. 33.6 percent of respondents agree with the encouragement given by the organization's supervisory of rig entrepreneurs. 13.6 percent of respondents strongly believe that the organization's centralization of power and work strain is a good thing. Only 12% of respondents agree with the centralization and

authority hierarchy. In the workplace, 7.2 percent of respondents strongly disagree with decision-making centralization.

TABLE NO: 02
Problems faced by rigentrepreneurs

S. No	Factors	Satisfaction	Highly satisfaction	Neutral	Dis Satisf action	Strongly dis satisfaction	Total	mean
01	Cash flow management	17	23	17	51	17	125	2.77
	Percentage	13.6	18.4	13.6	40.8	13.6	100	2.37
02	Time Management	16	26	13	56	14	125	2.79
	Percentage	12.8	20.8	10.4	44.8	11.12	125	2.75
03	Hiring employees	7	19	15	62	22	125	2.41
	Percentage	5.6	15.2	12.0	49.6	17.6	100.0	2.41
04	Delegation of Task	6	22	16	61	20	125	2.46
	Percentage	4.8	17.6	12.8	48.08	16.0	100.0	2.46
05	Lack of financial support	7	19	14	66	19	125	2.43
	Percentage	5.6	15.2	11.2	52.8	15.2	125	2.46
06	Lack of Training and development	4.8	17.6	42.8	48.8	16.0	100.0	2.43
	Percentage	10	17	12	57	27	125	2.37
07	Team Building	11	13	13	61	27	125	2.36
	Percentage	8.8	10.4	10.4	48.8	21.6	100.6	2.36

The element that influences cash flow management in practises is strongly disagreed with by the highest percentage of 76.8% of 125 respondents. And 52.8 percent of respondents disagree with rig entrepreneurs' time management. In terms of factors, 20.8 percent of respondents agree that there is a lack of preparation and growth, while 13.6 percent strongly agree. In terms of leadership, 13.6 percent of respondents were neutral about the time-building process.

TABLE NO:03

CHI-SQUARE ANALYSIS

Age Category Vs Factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

S. No								Total
		Capital	Labour	Raw material	Infrastructure	Supervisory	Organization	
1.	12-30	5	4	10	0	0	1	25
2.	31-40	5	30	10	4	4	9	67
3.	41-50	3	0	2	0	3	2	15
4.	51-60	3	0	0	0	1	4	13
	Total	16	34	22	4	8	16	120

Source: Primary data

Null Hypothesis (H₀):

There is no significant relationship between Age Category and factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

Alternative Hypothesis (H₁):

There is a significant relationship between Age Category and factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

CHI-SQUARE (χ^2) Calculation:

Calculated Value=43.57598

Degrees of freedom =15

Table value=24.996

Significance level= Significant at 5 % level

INFERENCE

Since the calculated value is greater than the table value i.e. we reject null hypothesis. Therefore, there is a significant relationship between Age Category and and Factors the affect the growth of rig entrepreneurs

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

According to the report, the majority of rig entrepreneurs started their businesses in order to secure self-employment or independent living. It is recommended that before starting a new company, one should have a thorough understanding of business operations. According to the findings, people who want to start a new business should have more technical or professional knowledge and skills. As a result, it is proposed that colleges and institutes concentrate on entrepreneurial education, i.e. Entrepreneurial Specialized Programs, in order to improve the skills and expertise of people who are on the verge of being entrepreneurs. It is proposed that the government introduce Entrepreneurial Specialized Programs that raise awareness about rig entrepreneurship and assist rig entrepreneurs in establishing self-employment

and living independently. It also allows rig entrepreneurs to advance their careers. According to the findings, the majority of respondents are having financial difficulties in starting a new business. It is proposed that the government and financial institutions support and offer the requisite financial assistance to people who are serious about starting a new company, allowing them to become true entrepreneurs. According to the study, rig entrepreneurs face financial difficulties, particularly during periods of business expansion. As a result, it is proposed that the government and financial institutions focus on the growth of small-scale enterprises and provide financial assistance for their expansion. The current study shows that the government's position in rig entrepreneurs' hip growth, i.e., government policies and schemes aimed at rig entrepreneurs' hip development, financial assistance given by state and federal governments, and rig entrepreneurs' hip development programmes implemented by state and federal governments, is insufficient. It is recommended that state and federal governments take the requisite measures to boost rig entrepreneurship strategies, schemes, services, and financial plans. The hip growth of rig entrepreneurs encourages industrial development, which creates jobs and lowers unemployment in India. It contributes to the growth of India's gross national product and per capita income. As a result, it is proposed that state and central governments in India concentrate their efforts on rig entrepreneur hip growth programmes.

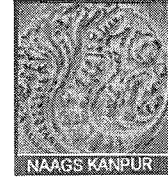
CONCLUSION

According to the findings of the report, the majority of respondents state that they are having financial difficulties starting a new company, and that they are having economic difficulties especially during the time of business expansion. They, too, are concerned about labour shortages. Government's position in rigging entrepreneurs' hip creation Government policies and schemes geared toward rig entrepreneur hip growth, financial assistance offered by state and federal governments, and rig entrepreneur hip development programmes initiated by state and federal governments are all unsatisfactory. Government policies, schemes, initiatives, and financial support for rig entrepreneurs' growth should all be improved. It should take appropriate action in India to introduce Rig Entrepreneurs Hip Development Programs. Governments should focus on promoting entrepreneur hip growth in India because it promotes industrial development, which creates jobs and lowers unemployment in the country. It contributes to the growth of India's gross national product and per capita income. Since small businesses are the country's backbone, the government should pay more attention to the development of rig entrepreneurs in India.

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**THE INFLUENCE OF SOC IO DEMOGRAPHICS ON
CONSUMERS' BRAND LOYALTY OF FMCG PRODUCTS A CASE
OF CONSUMERS OF KRISHNAGIRI DISTRICT OF TAMILNADU**

D. NATHIYA

Ph. D. Research Scholar
Department of Commerce
Sri Vidya Mandir Arts & Science College
Katteri, Uthangarai India

Dr. R . KASTHURI

Research Supervisor
Department of Commerce
Sri Vidya Mandir Arts & Science College
Katteri, Uthangarai India

Abstract

Fast moving consumer goods (FMCG) companies are facing a tough competition which can be understood from the bombardment of FMCG advertisement in all kind of Medias. Considering the stiff competitions it is good to the companies to keep their customers for longer period. The existing customers are the unpaid brand ambassadors for the companies in many cases. But the focus of companies is more on acquisition of new customers but not on the retention of existing customers. Building brand loyal customers is the key to achieve the retention. Hence this study focuses on what factors influence the brand loyalty of FMCG customers specifically the socio demographic factors such as gender, age, education and income. To achieve this, with the reference of existing literatures the researcher has developed a self administered questionnaire to measure the brand loyalty level of the FMCG customers and the other required data. Convenience sampling technique has been applied to collect the required primary data from 150 samples (Consumers of FMCG). From the geographic study area Krishnagiri District the required data were collected by the researcher using the devised instrument. The data collected were properly edited coded and computed in excel sheet. SPSS software is used to conduct the required statistical tests such as frequency percent, analysis of variances (ANOVA) and independent sample

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tests. The results have indicated clearly that the brand loyalty of FMCG consumers differs according to their age, gender and income and hence are significant whereas gender does not show any significance on the brand loyalty. Hence the companies should keep in mind about the importance and significance of the factors age, education and income of their target groups and accordingly devise their strategies to boost their marketing efforts.

Key words: Fast moving consumer goods (FMCG), Gender, Age, Education, Income, Brand Loyalty

Introduction

Fast moving consumer goods (FMCG) sector plays a vital role in any economy irrespective of the countries because it involves consumer goods which are frequently consumed by everyone. Hence the aggregated effect is highly considerable and remarkable to any economy. The changes either growth or the decline in the FMCG sector will directly affect the economy to a larger extent. Hence a keen attention is required to boost this sector. Especially differentiating FMCG products by their attributes is relatively difficult to the companies where they can make such differentiation and identity by means of effective branding. Effective branding helps to attract the customers easily. The customers attracted by the brands have become the loyal customers on frequent purchases. That is why we use the term 'Brand Loyalty' in a synchronised way. Loyal customers do advertisement for the company at free of cost. Whereas if a company loses a customer, it has to incur and invest more cost on sourcing a new customer. Hence it is at most important to any company to hold their loyal customers for longer period. But the millennium question is how to hold the customers consistently for long period. Customers seek required information quickly than ever today with the help of advanced technologies. The knowledgeable wisdom customers do not hesitate to switch their brands if required in the light of readily available information. Hence the companies now are striving to understand the customers' preferences and reasons for switching. The reasons for the customers' brand preferences and switching behaviour are still an unanswered puzzle. Youngsters' preferences are changing at a faster rate when comparing with the elder (Raut, U.R., Brito, P.Q., 2014). Either the product attributes or the macro economic conditions or the pulling (advertisement and promotions) behaviour of the companies or the sales person's effectiveness or the socio demographic variables of customers may cause the brand switching of customers. However it is not still cleared by the scholars which one has the more impact on the switching behaviour. Such situations induce the interest of the researcher to do research to decipher the influence of socio demographic variables on the brand loyalty of customers in FMCG sector with reference to the consumers of Krishnagiri District.

The study has followed empirical analysis in order to find the influence of socio demographic factors towards the brand loyalty of the FMCG customers. Hence it is a descriptive research has a self designed administered questionnaire is used to collect the required primary data. The research has followed convenience sampling technique with a sample size of 150 customers

in the Krishnagiri district. The researcher had administered the instrument (questionnaire), gave them to the customers of known retail stores in the Krishnagiri district and asked them to respond to the questions and statements asked. The variables (as seen in the proposed model) age, and income are continuous variables; gender and education level are categorical data which were computed in the excel sheet and transferred to SPSS data sheet. The brand loyalty is measured through ten variables which are derived from the previous studies using likert five point scale. The statements have been developed by the researcher which are sourced from the study of Ahmed I. Moolla and Christo A. Bisschoff (2012), further validated with the experts. The statements used are given below in Table1. The collected data were coded, computed in excel sheet then transferred to SPSS data sheet. First of all the reliability of the itemised scale variables were tested with reliability analysis using crambach alpha and found all are above 0.7 and confirmed the data collected are reliable. To explain the socio demographic factors the analytical tools frequency and percent are used. To test the stated hypotheses Independent sample test and one way ANOVA are used i.e the significant of the factors age, gender, education and income are tested with brand loyalty by means of ANOVA (analysis of variance) and the results are detailed further below in the discussion part.

Table 1
Measures of Brand Loyalty

1. Customer satisfaction	I Prefer the particular brand because I am very much satisfied with that brand
	I Prefer the particular brand due to its attributes
2. Switching Cost	Because of high switching cost I do not prefer the other brands
	Depending on the economic conditions I do not switch the brands
3. Risk involved	An account of high risks in switching the brands I avoid it.
	I do not switch FMCG brands Since I am comfort with the one I use currently
4. Brand Trust	Because of high quality of my brand I never think of other brands of FMCG
	I am very loyal to the FMCG brands that I use because I trust them
5. Relationship	I am loyal to the FMCG brands I use due to the emotional bonding I have with the brands
	Keeping a long term relationship with the brands I prefer is my nature
6. Perceived Value	I perceive my preferential brands deliver its expected and promised performances
	I prefer the brand due to its Price worthiness
7. Commitment	I never purchased another brand due to unavailability of the brand
	If my brand is not available I seek to get it from other place (store)
8. Repeat Purchase	I purchase the FMCG brands since it is habitual
	I do not test or sample new FMCG brands introduced in the market

9. Brand Affect	I feel the brands I use makes a difference in my way of life
	If I am unable to get a particular FMCG brand, I will be distressed.
10. Family / Culture	My entire family prefer the brand and me too
	My peer group use the particular brand which influences me to prefer the same

Results and Discussions

The results are presented in the following manner. First the socio demographic profile is presented. The significance of the factors on brand loyalty is tested with Anova and the results are presented in the consecutive tables and discussed.

Socio - Demographics of the respondents

Gender, Age, Education and Income are considered as the predominant socio demographic factors in this study. The socio demographic characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 2.

Table 2
Socio - Demographics of the respondents

S.No	Characteristics	Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	Gender	Male	82	54.6	54.6
		Female	68	45.4	100
2	Age in Years	Above 45	32	21.3	21.3
		Between 36-45	64	42.7	64
		Below 36	54	36.0	100.0
3	Level of Education	Hr Sec	18	12.0	12.0
		Under Graduate	84	56.0	68.0
		Post Graduate	48	32.0	100.0
4	Monthly Income in INR	Above 40000	32	21.1	21.3
		Below 25000 - 40000	58	38.2	60.0
		Below 25000	60	39.5	100.0
Total Frequency 150					

The respondent's gender categories are mixed. 54.6 percent of the respondents are male and 45.4 percent are female respondents. It shows the samples are almost equally distributed to both male and female consumers. The difference observed is due to the arrival nature of the respondents' gender category. When observing the age group of the respondents, the middle age group (between 36-45 years) is the highest (64 percent) amongst the group, followed by below 36 years category (36 percent) and the last above 45 years (21.3 percent). The scatter pattern of the data shows the people under the category above 45 years may be hesitant to shopping since the data were collected from the retail stores

or the statistics might reflect the proportions of the people distribution. The keen observation on the statistics of education explores the fact still 12 percent of people have not upgraded their education level because they have completed Higher Secondary (Hr. Sec.) level only. Considerable respondents (32.0 percent) are post graduates. The majority respondents (56.0 percent) are under graduates. Still considerable percent are thriving for good economic positions which can be read from the statistics that 39.5 percent of the respondents earn below 25000 Rupees as their monthly income. Only 21.1 percent earn more than 40000 rupees as their monthly income and the rest (60 percent) earn in between 25000- 40000 monthly income.

Influence of socio demographics on Brand Loyalty

The influence of gender, age, education and income are studied using independent sample test and one way annova. The signifiyancy of the factors mentioned above on brand loyalty are tested and the results obtained from the SPSS are tabled for discussions.

Gender and Brand Loyalty of FMCG Consumers

It is hypothesed (H1) that gender influence the brand loyalty. To test that independent sample test has been executed. Table 3 depicts the important statistics obtained from the test vresults.

Table 3
Gender and Brand Loyalty – Independent Samples Test

Equal Variance	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	T	Df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Assumed	1.045	.308	1.945	148	.054	3.79519	1.95175	-.06170	7.6520
Not Assumed			1.961	146.592	.052	3.79519	1.93524	-.02939	7.6197
Group Statistics									
Gender	Count	Mean Brand Loyalty	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean					
Male	82	61.2805	12.37308	1.36638					
Female	68	57.4853	11.30116	1.37047					

The means of the brand loyalty level of male and female are respectively 61.28 and 57.48 out of the maximum score of 100. The observed mean differences across the gender is 3.79 which is not considerably high. The equality of variances and equality of means are tested using Levene's Test and t-test for Equality of Means respectively. The differences in the variances across the gender at 95 percent confidence level are not significant which can be understood from the significant 'p' value 0.308 (note the value is more than 0.05) , the result of the Levene's Test. It is ensured by the results t-test for Equality of Means i.e. the 'p' value obtained assuming equal variances 0.054

depicts that the gender is not significant on the level of brand loyalty of consumers of FMCG products. Hence the H1 is rejected.

The results indicate that there is no significant difference in brand loyalty of FMCG consumers according to their gender. However the results of Raut, U. R. (2015) obtained the results that that the gender of consumers significantly influences the level of brand loyalty amongst cellphone users. It is interest to note that the results vary because of the segments of the products.

Table 4
Gender and Brand loyalty – ANOVA

Gender and Brand Loyalty	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups	571.194	1	571.194	4.041	.056
Within Groups	20921.766	148	141.363		
Total	21492.960	149			

The hyposthesis is further tested using one way ANOVA which has been done for gender and brand loyalty. The significance value obtained 0.056 which is slightly above 0.05 the significance level through which we can not confirm the influence of gender on brand loyalty.

Age and Brand loyalty

The influence of age on consumers' loyalty is analysed by many scholars and experts. Sandra Gudat (2018), aged people (between 55 to 65 years) tend to becoming repeat customers. This study has conducted one way ANOVA to test significancy of age on brand koyalty of FMCG consumers and the result is shown in Table 5.

Table 5
Age and Brand loyalty – ANOVA

Age and Brand Loyalty	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups	15126.586	28	540.235	10.268	.000
Within Groups	6366.374	121	52.615		
Total	21492.960	149			

The test is conducted at 5 percent significant level i.e the confidence level of the results are 95 percent. The F ratio is obtained as 10.268 with the significant 'p' value 0.000. Significant difference is observed in the level of brand loyalty depending on the age. I.e the brand loyalty differs according to the age. Age is a considerable factor in many cases like purchase decisions,

loyalty etc. The age makes the people more loyal. It may be because of the experience and exposure.

Education and Brand loyalty

Education makes people to think and acquire knowledge. The way people think with sufficient information definitely differ from that those who do not have such information. That makes education as an important tool for mental development. Thinking makes people either to consistent with certain things or not according to their benefits in general. Hence this study hypothesized H3 that education is a significant factor in brand loyalty of FMCG consumers. One way ANOVA is carried out to test the stated hypothesis and the results are given in Table 6.

Table 6
Education and Brand loyalty – ANOVA

Education and Brand Loyalty	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups	1005.778	3	335.259	2.389	.000
Within Groups	20487.182	146	140.323		
Total	21492.960	149			

The test is conducted at 95 percent confidence level. The low F ratio value (2.389) and the 'p' value 0.000 indicates the factor education is significant in brand loyalty. The results indicate that there is a significant difference observed in the brand loyalty level of FMCG consumers depending on their education level. I.e the brand loyalty differs according to the age. Age is a considerable factor in many cases like purchase decisions, loyalty etc. The age makes the people more loyal. It may be because of the experience and exposure.

Income and Brand Loyalty

Brand switching and income are interrelated which is identified by many studies. Bhatt, Viral & Saiyed, Maaz. (2018) have found a significant influence of income on brand loyalty. Obviously people with surplus disposable income may not have many deviations from their brands where as when considering low income group they are sensitive to prices and price changes of the products they buy. Hence it is hypothesized to test the influence of income on the brand loyalty. Using one way ANOVA the test was conducted and the results are given in Table 7.

Table 7
Income and Brand loyalty – ANOVA

Income and Brand Loyalty	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups	14739.660	73	201.913	2.272	.000

Within Groups	6753.300	76	88.859		
Total	21492.960	149			

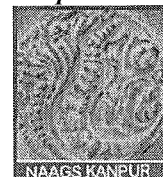
There is a significant difference found amongst the various income groups with respect to the brand loyalty from the results. Note the F value is very low (2.272) and the significance is 0.00 which is below 0.5. I.e at 95 percent confidence level, the income influences the brand loyalty. In other words brand loyalty of FMCG consumers differs according to their income.

Conclusion

Retaining brand loyal customers is the key to the success of the companies in terms of image and cost effectiveness. Brand loyalty is often influenced by multidimensional factors whereas the influence of socio demographic factors can't be avoided or excluded. The study is conducted to find the influence of socio demographic factors such as gender, age, education and income on the brand loyalty of FMCG consumers in Krishnagiri district. The results of this research show that brand loyalty is highly influenced by the gender, education level and income level of the consumers. From the company perspectives understanding these facts will help them to formulate their strategies according to the segments or groups to retain their customers.

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ELECTRONIC COMMERCE: A STUDY OF CONSUMER BUYING BEHAVIOUR, RETURN POLICY AND ADVERTISING STRATEGY FOR INDIA

KAPIL DEO

Research Scholar

Department of Business Management & Entrepreneurship

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia Avadh University, Ayodhya

PROF. RAM NAYAN RAI

Professor

Department of Business Management & Entrepreneurship

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia Avadh University, Ayodhya

Abstract

Due to online purchasing habits of the youth of India the market of e-commerce is increasing leaps and bounds. In future, it will increase at a constant pace. It oftenly seen that lots of consumers are facing various problems related to return of online products. This paper analyzed the study of return policy and advertising strategy of different e-commerce players operating in India. Few reviews of literature related to advertising strategy and return policy have mentioned. The main objective of this paper is to study the return policy and advertising strategy of electronic commerce in India. There were two hypotheses formulated regarding return policy and advertising strategy for data collection. Simple random sampling used and 980 respondents have given their views through online structured questionnaire on return policy and advertising strategy of e-commerce. In analysis part, the Pearson Correlation test applied through SPSS. In result and finding both alternative hypotheses approved i.e., there is a significant relationship among customers and return policy and there is a significant impact of advertising on consumers buying behaviour fore-commerce. The implications of the study will help to researchers for further studies on different variables with new time horizons and various e-commerce companies to formulate return policy

and advertising strategy.

Keywords- E-commerce, Consumer Buying Behaviour, Return Policy, Advertising Strategy

Introduction

E-commerce advertising strategy is the act of placing paid content on an online or offline property. Online properties include a internet, website, search engine, electronic social media network, podcast, newsletters, or other interactive online property such as chat or instant messaging. Offline properties include more traditional forms of advertising such as TV spots, radio commercials, out-of-home advertising (such as billboards), direct mail campaigns and more. These paid messages allow you to reach people who may or may not have heard of your business and products. The goals of advertising campaigns can include everything from growing brand awareness to getting a direct response such as a newsletter subscriber, app Sign Up, or a sale. You should always test, experiment and iterate on the advertising strategy your business adopts. An advertising strategy or medium that works well for one e-Commerce business may not work as effectively for another. It's important to always be testing and measuring your return on investment (ROI) on each channel, both online and offline. When starting out, it's usually best to test one or two specific channels with a small budget. It's always better to scale up a small budget on ads that are converting well, rather than start with a much larger budget and potentially waste a lot of money trying to figure out what works.

A return policy is a document that describes, in detail, your business's process and requirements for accepting returns. It also covers what customers should expect, and how they should go about initiating a return. Your return policy helps protect your business from inappropriate returns and credit card chargebacks that could cause financial loss, and provides a guideline that helps both you and your customers follow a consistent process. A great return policy is balanced to ensure your business isn't too disadvantaged by returns while keeping your customers as satisfied as possible.

The internet is becoming a novel platform for attracting the consumer's attention by the online advertisement (Rowley, 2001). In the Internet environment, consumers do not need to conform to the expectations of others when making a purchase, and they all have informational influence that enables them to make good decisions. Internet Advertisement is becoming a significant tool that is used to market the products and services by the industrial and non-industrial organizations.

Another major internet advertisement feature is the search and classified advertisement. Without any doubt search and classified advertisement become more attractive and appealing for the customers who are looking for online shopping purpose (Loiacono, 2008). Search and classified advertisement are working as an effective tool in drawing the viewer attention towards itself. However, there are certain drawbacks of this

online advertisement feature. The main drawback of this feature is this that it takes some time in order to download the picture and appear on to the viewer's screen.

Hypothesis Testing

H0: There is no significant relationship between customers and return policy. H1: There is a significant relationship among customers and return policy.

		Satisfaction Level of Customers	Return Policy
Satisfaction Level of Customers	Pearson Correlation	1	-.779**
	Sig.(2-tailed)		.000
	N	980	980
Return Policy	Pearson Correlation	-.779**	1
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.000	
	N	980	980

** .Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Interpretations- From the above table-1, it is clearly shown that the value of Pearson Correlation Test is -0.779 and the p-value is 0.000. It indicates that the p value is less than the significance value 0.05, hence reject the null hypothesis. There is no significant relationship between customers and return policy, and accept the alternative hypothesis. There is a significant relationship between customers and return policy, therefore, we can conclude that there is a strong negative relationship between satisfaction level of customers and Return Policy, it means most of the satisfied customers don't return the products.

H0: There is no significant impact of advertisement on consumers buying behaviour for e-commerce.

H1: There is a significant impact of advertisement on consumers buying behaviour for e-commerce.

		Effectiveness of Advertising	Consumer Buying Behaviour for e-commerce
Effectiveness of Advertising	Pearson Correlation	1	0.775**
	Sig.(2-tailed)		.000
	N	980	980
	Pearson Correlation	0.775**	1

Consumer Buying Behaviourfore-commerce	on		
	Sig.(2-tailed)	.000	
	N	980	980
**.Correlationissignificantatthe0.05level(2-tailed).			

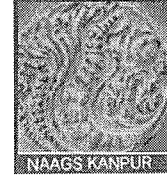
Interpretations- From the above table-2, it is clearly shown that the value of Pearson Correlation Test is 0.775 and the p-value is 0.000. It indicates that the p value is less than the significance value 0.05, hence reject the null hypothesis. There is no significant impact of advertising on consumers buying behaviour fore-commerce, and accept the alternative hypothesis. There is a significant impact of advertising on consumers buying behaviour for e-commerce, therefore, we can conclude that there is a strong positive relationship between Effectiveness of Advertising and Consumer Buying Behaviour for e-commerce, it means effective advertising changes the consumer buying behaviour fore-commerce.

Conclusion

This paper analyzed the study of return policy and advertising strategy of different e-commerce players operating in India. Few reviews of literature returned to advertising strategy and return policy have mentioned. The main objective of this paper is to study the return policy and advertising strategy of electronic commerce in India. There were two hypotheses formulated regarding return policy and advertising strategy. For data collection simple random sampling was used and 980 respondents have given their views through an online structured questionnaire on return policy and advertising strategy of e-commerce. In the analysis part, the Pearson Correlation Test was applied through SPSS. In result and finding both alternative hypotheses were approved i.e., there is a significant relationship among customers and return policy and there is a significant impact of advertising on consumers buying behavior fore-commerce. Various studies have also supported both my hypotheses. Therefore, we can say that consumers purchase more if there is an effective advertising and if customers are satisfied they don't return the products.

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**VIRTUAL TEAM WORKING IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT: AN
EMPIRICAL STUDY**

DR. ASHISH MATHUR

Assistant Professor
Department of Business Administration
FCMS, Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur
Rajasthan, India

DR. SONA VIKAS

Associate Professor
School of Management
IILM University Gurugram, India

ATIMA MANKOTIA

Communications and Advocacy Lead
United Nations Environment Programme Finance Initiative
Delhi

Abstract

Virtual teams have been gaining popularity since the 20th century because of the advent of new technologies and the aggressive influx of the internet into our professional and personal lives. When a pandemic hit the world in late 2019, after the initial hesitation, most organizations adopted and adapted to working virtually which helped them continue their businesses and curtail losses. This successful implementation of virtual working across most sectors has made organizations rethink their work model. A large number of companies are now planning a new work from home model.

Keywords: Virtual teams, Virtual team challenges, Work life balance

Introduction

When you reconsider the post-pandemic organisation, it is time to take extra care and work on corporate values and culture in your decisions. Digital staffs and working from home are a new common community for all the staff that provide security, social harmony, confidence, and belonging, regardless of whether the staff operate online, on site or mixed. It also stops the virus transmission as needed. A virtual team is a multinational team, whose

employees, personnel and positions can be distributed to a number of places. Virtual teams, on the other hand, are much more varied, with members representing a wide range of professional specialities, as well as various ages, cultures, languages, and connections. Because of the rise in organisational transformation, competition and globalisation, virtual teams have become a regular feature of many organisations. In corporate life, virtual teams have become a reality. Virtual teams vary considerably from conventional teams. In the real, proverbial squad, participants work side by side, while working at various positions in virtual teams. The organisation of activities by the team members together is straight forward in traditional teams, but activities are required to be more finely organised in virtual teams. In contrast to frontal contact in conventional teams, virtual teams often focus on electronic communications. Trust in computer mediation in particular is rendering virtual teams. Present organisations can work together remotely between their teams, through technology-mediated collaboration tools, through the globalisation and availability of resources Gassmann and Zedtwitz in their study have identified the virtual teams as a community of individuals and smaller groups communicating with each other by interdependent, shared purpose-led activities and working through ties reinforced by information technology, connectivity and transport technology. Remote work refers to working in teams of digitally physically diffused participants who work with limited face-to-face contact through electronic means. Virtual team studies are currently in their infancy due to the concept's novelty. A number of research areas especially in India, have not been investigated, therefore it has been deduced that building a virtual team system still needs a lot of research, which means more work is required to explore ways to improve virtual team success. In the technology driven world, virtual team have become the main work unit. This study's goal is to investigate how a virtually autonomous team develops contextual characteristics like work-life balance. To achieve this objective, we examine the expertise of Team Leaders and Participants in deciding which contextual influences challenge team innovation. For this following research questions are framed:

1. When operating in virtual teams, what difficulties do virtual team leaders encounter?
2. What factors impact virtual teams to achieving success?
3. What are the function and consequences of work life balance after virtual team mode is adopted?

Considering the experimental aspect of this research, we opted to use a convenience sampling approach for a qualitative sample. We collected data from different virtual team leaders and members of different organisations in the province of India between October 2020-June 2021 using self-structured questionnaires. Data was collected from both big and small companies from diverse fields. The respondents were from different business units and held various roles in their organizations. The present study in India focuses on private businesses. A structured questionnaire was developed, which was

retested for improved outcomes, was used for this analysis. Questions on team, experience, team leaders, balance of working life and challenges faced by the respondents were asked. There were 1050 who participated in the study but 1025 responses were received in completeness.

For the purpose of finding the significance difference in prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment following hypothesis has been formulated and evaluated with the help of ANOVA;

H₀₁: There is no significance difference in prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment.

H₁₁: There is a significance difference in prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment.

Table 1: Experience of team members and leaders in a virtual team environment

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
He/She foresaw the impact of his/her actions and decisions across the organization.	3.56	1.129	1025
He/She while making choices, collected appropriate data from many sources and recognized benefits/disbenefits.	3.70	1.134	1025
He/She organized and coordinated resource effectively and efficiently	3.58	1.128	1025
He/ She had good communication skills	3.52	1.123	1025
He/she encouraged team members to take on more demanding tasks and roles	3.59	1.106	1025
He/she was able to recognize and control his/her emotions.	3.54	1.144	1025
He/she possessed the desire and enthusiasm to make an effect.	3.77	.956	1025
He/she was able to influence others.	3.77	.968	1025

Above Table 1 represents the descriptive statistics of the experience of team members and leaders in a virtual team environment showing the mean, standard deviation and total no. of respondents. From above table it is clear that highest mean 3.77 is recorded for variables “He/she had the drive and energy to achieve clear results and make an impact” and “he/she was able to influence others”.

Table 2: Model Summary for prediction of employees from various professions towards the Virtual Team Environment

Model Summary									
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
1	.885	.763	.005	.808	.006	6.116	1	1023	.014
a. Predictors: (Constant), Prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment									
b. Dependent Variable: Profession*									

The square value of the multiple correlation coefficients is R Square, the coefficient of determination. It shows that 76.3% of the difference in the dependent variable "profession" is explained by the independent variable "Prediction of employees from different occupations against the virtual team environment". Modified R Square statistics are "corrected" by R Square, which penalises models with large parameter numbers. As comparative indicators to choose between two or more models, these figures, along with the standard error of the calculation, are most useful.

Table 3: ANOVA for prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	3.990	1	3.990	6.116	0.14 ^b
	Residual	667.418	1023	.652		
	Total	671.409	1024			
a. Dependent Variable: Profession *						
b. Predictors: (Constant), Prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment.						

The ANOVA (Table 3) results indicate that the regression model predicts the outcome variable significantly well. As a measure of how different the means are relative to the variability within each sample, the F-ratio may be considered. As such, a calculation of the scale of the effects is the F-ratio. The greater this value, the greater the probability of the discrepancies between the means being due to something other than chance alone, namely actual results. Here the F value of 6.116 and the p value 0.014 which is less than 0.05 indicating the statistical significance of the regression model that was applied which implies that the regression model is good fit of the data.

Table 4: Coefficients of prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment

Coefficients ^a					
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardize	t	Sig.	Correlations

				d					
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Zero-order	Partial	Part
1	(Constant)	2.617	.084		31.323	.000			
	Prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment	.055	.022	.077	2.473	.014	.077	.077	.077

a. Dependent Variable: Profession *

For the Prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment. The correlation value was found to be 0.077, (Table 4) which indicated a strong positive correlation between Prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment and profession. From above table of coefficients it is clear that all b coefficients for model are statistically significant. For a predictor, $p = 0.000$, its b-coefficient of 0.077 which is statistically significant. Thus, from above analysis it is clear that we can now accept the null hypothesis that there is no significance difference in prediction of employees from various professions towards the virtual team environment.

CONCLUSION

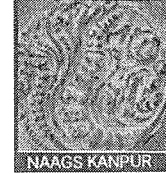
In the Information Age, the virtual team becomes the central operating force. Such studies in our region are uncommon. This paper was aimed at making things easy for India's virtual team, the virtual team forms, virtual team challenges and the virtual team rewards, as well as virtual teamwork life balance aspects. This research offered a valuable source of knowledge for organisations that accomplished a global scope of work through the use of virtual teams in India. Virtual teams are being constantly used and challenges discovered in their use are being recorded. The Virtual Teams Challenge is designed for preparation to minimise or remove these issues. It provides learners with expertise in the management of the relevant challenges and team dynamics in a true professional environment. Many researchers and practitioners are aware of the value of virtual teams to boost results, especially in the balancing of working lives and those that effect virtual teams. Virtual team challenges are inhibitors that reduce the productivity of virtual teams and can also accomplish operational objectives even in a virtual environment. The thesis was intended to inspire further studies in order to foster a theoretical and realistic understanding of the virtual team, its factors and difficulties and the balance of working life for all organisations.

The management of a virtual team like a conventional one is a blueprint for failure according to our respondents. The role of virtual teams poses several

obstacles and preliminary findings show that they include a range of individual, technical and management problems. In general, we expect to perform an in-depth interview with the seasoned leaders of the virtual team and members of many organisations and positions and to present the findings of the analysis in greater detail. Specifically, we strive to recognise and evaluate all team leaders and team members' challenges and tactics and to draw up an initial list of crucial factors for team achievement. Our findings are supposed to be beneficial to researchers in many fields. First of all, both the presented conceptual structure and findings of the analysis should help to explain virtual team administration and must permit investigators in a range of fields to test ideas on how virtual teams are developed and managed. In reality, this research should provide administrators with perspectives and guidance for facing the difficulty of managing virtual teams. In conclusion, our findings would answer critical concerns of the findings by offering useful information into how businesses should get ready for the demands of the new digital and post pandemic age.

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THE SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF ETHNIC FESTIVAL EVENTS ON LOCAL COMMUNITY

DR. RAJESH RAMASAMY

DR. PANKAJ KUMAR

Assistant Professor

Department of Tourism and Hospitality Management

Mizoram University, Aizawl India

DR. AROKIARAJ DAVID

DR. SADANANDAM ARIYAPUTHIRI

Assistant Professor

Department of Department of Management Studies

School of Commerce, Jain University, Bangalore India

Abstract

The present study focuses on understanding the profile of the local community that benefits from ethnic festival events and also measures the influence of ethnic festival events on the socio-demographic variables of the local community. Related literature has been collected from different sources on the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic vacations on the local community. The structured questionnaire was designed on the basis of key variables extracted from the related literature. Primary data was collected from 300 respondents who directly or indirectly obtain benefits from ethnic events through a convenience sampling technique. The sample includes local store vendors, festival planners, travel agencies, tour operators, hotels, and local communities. Samples collected were analyzed using descriptive statistics, independent t test and one-way ANOVA with Duncan's test. Based on the statistical analysis, it was established that there was no significant difference exists between gender and socio-cultural variables while the place of origin (variables of the Pondicherry and Karaikal group) showed differences statistically significant with socio-cultural variables. Next, we find that the respondent's category, annual income, income earned at a festival or event, and marital status were statistically established significant with socio-cultural variables.

Introduction

Festival tourism is one of the fastest growing professional sectors related to the leisure industry in which tourists and visitors are a potential market segment for planned, periodic and scheduled events (Getz, 2008). Destination Management Organizations (DMOs) actively participate in and promote festival events around the world because festival events are touted as an alternative form of tourism in this millennium. The festival tourism market has grown exponentially since 2008 (Getz and Page, 2016). The exponential growth of the events industry has a range of impacts on tourism destinations. They are classified into economic, socio-cultural, environmental and political impacts (Pasanen et al., 2009). Systematic research on festival tourism was initiated by Donald Getz in 1989: Since his interest in researching the impacts of events on the local community, he has assumed a central role in research on festival tourism. Numerous research initiatives have established that such festive events create significant economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts on the local community. A considerable number of systematic research studies have been carried out in foreign countries on specific issues such as the positive and negative impacts of tourism during the festival on the economy of the local community, socio-cultural and environmental aspects of the destination. Likewise in India, some studies have focused on these research themes. However, in the Union territory of Pondicherry, no systematic attempt has been made to measure the impact of ethnic festival events on the socio-cultural aspects of the local community. The time has come to measure the impacts created by the tourism of ethnic festivals on the socio-cultural character of the local community for the sustainable development of the destination. Therefore, this research effort was undertaken by the researcher to bridge the research gap existing in the specific area of the impacts of ethnic festival tourism on the socio-cultural of the local community. In this context, this research is attempted to measure the impact of the events of ethnic festivals on the socio-cultural of the local community. This research study therefore focuses on the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic festival events on the local community of the Union Territory of Pondicherry.

Primary data was collected in Pondicherry and Karaikal regions and data was collected during festival periods. The convenience sample technique was used to collect the primary data. The total population of the Pondicherry (13.7 Lakh) and Karaikal (2.64 Lakh) region is approximately 16 Lakh, of which 300 samples were collected for this study. The questionnaire was prepared on the basis of a literature review which focuses on the socio-cultural impact of ethnic festival events. Primary data was collected using a structured questionnaire using the five-point Likert scale method. SPSS software is used to analyze the data. A value of 5 is assigned to strongly agree, 4 assigned to agree, 3 assigned to neither agree nor disagree, 2 assigned to disagree and 1 assigned to strongly disagree, which means that it is preferable that the mean value has a greater impact on the socio-cultural variable. The demographic profile of respondents is presented in the table below.

Table 01: Demographic Profile of Respondents

Category of Respondents	No. of Respondents	% of Respondents
Local Shop Vendors	195	65
Local Residents	75	25
Festival Organizers	12	04
Travel Agency/Tour Operator	09	03
Hotels	09	03
Gender		
Male	180	60
Female	120	40
Age		
18-25	60	20
26-35	78	26
36-45	90	30
46-55	45	15
56-65	15	05
Above 65	12	04
Educational Qualification		
Primary	45	15
Secondary	60	20
Higher Secondary	75	25
Diploma	24	08
Graduate	54	18
Post-Graduate	39	13
Doctorate	03	01
Annual Income		
1 Lakh - 3 Lakh ☐	141	47
3 Lakh - 6 Lakh ☐	120	40
6 Lakh - 9 Lakh ☐	27	09
9 Lakh - 12 Lakh ☐	09	03
Above 12 Lakh ☐	03	01
Income Earned during festival/event		
Less than 10,000 ☐	105	35
10,000 - 20,000 ☐	90	30
20,001 - 30,000 ☐	87	29
30,001 - 40,000 ☐	9	3
40,001 - 50,000 ☐	6	2
Above 50,000 ☐	3	1
Marital Status		
Single	60	20

Married	210	70
Separated	18	6
Widow/Widower	12	4
Place of Origin		
Puducherry	240	80
Karaikal	60	10

The data was collected to know the socio-cultural impact on the demographic profile of the local community. According to the data collected, 195 (65%) are local shop vendors and the majority are 180 men (60%). About 30% of local communities are 36-45 years old and most of them have completed high school 25% and annual income between one and three Lakh (47%) and income earned during festival or time of the event is less than 10,000 (35%) and most of them are married (70%). About 80% of the data was collected from the city of Pondicherry.

The independent sample t test was performed to find the significant difference between the test variable and the group variables. The socio-cultural variable is selected as the test variable and the gender and place of origin are selected as group variables. The analysis of the independent sample t test is provided in the table below.

Table 02: Result of Independent Sample T-Test of Socio-Cultural Impacts

T-Test	F – Value	T-Value	P-Value
Gender	0.030	0.499	0.617
Place of Origin	40.51	10.82	0.000

Based on the result of the independent sample t test, it can be seen that there are no significant differences between gender and socio-cultural while the place of origin (i.e. variables of group Pondicherry and Karaikal) found statistically significant differences with the socio-cultural variable. A one-way ANOVA was performed to determine the influence of demographic variables on the socio-cultural variable. The socio-cultural variable is selected as the dependent variable while the age, the category of respondent, the educational qualification, the annual income, the income earned at festivals or events and the marital status are selected as the independent variables.

Table 03: Result of One-way ANOVA of Demographic variables with Socio-Cultural Impacts

Socio-cultural impact	F-Value	P-Value
Category of Respondents	3.830	0.004
Age	2.106	0.063
Educational Qualification	1.185	0.312
Annual Income	3.462	0.008
Income Earned during festival/event	7.973	0.000
Marital Status	2.978	0.031

Based on the one-way ANOVA analysis, it is found that the category of respondents (F value = 3,830 **), annual income (F value = 3,462 **), income earned at festivals or events (F value = 7,973 ***) and marital status (F value = 2,978 **) that are statistically significant with the socio-cultural variable. The Post Hoc test (Duncan) was performed to find out which group is the significant difference between the selected groups.

Table 04. Duncan Result for Category of Respondents

Socio-cultural impacts			
Category of Respondents	n	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	
Local Shop Vendors	195	3.7394	
Travel Agency/Tour Operator Company	09	3.7824	
Festival Organizers	12	3.8281	
Local Residents	75	3.8541	
Hotels	09		3.8941
Sig.		.209	

The result of Duncan's test shows that there are differences between a group of a selected independent variable (respondent category). Five groups were identified in the independent variable selected from the registered hotel (3.89) which had the most impact on the socio-cultural variable, while shop vendors had the least influence on the socio-cultural variable.

Table 05. Duncan Result for Annual Income

Socio-cultural impacts			
Annual Income	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
Above 12 Lakh ☐	03	3.2549	
9 Lakh - 12 Lakh ☐	09		3.6538
3 Lakh - 6 Lakh ☐	120		3.7498
6 Lakh - 9 Lakh ☐	27		3.7989
1 Lakh - 3 Lakh ☐	141		3.8021
Sig.		1.000	.324

The result of Duncan's test shows that there are differences between the groups of a selected independent variable (annual income). Five groups were categories in the independent variable selected from those 1 to 3 Lakh (3.80), 6 to 9 Lakh (3.79), 3 to 6 Lakh (3.74) and 9 to 12 Lakh (3.65) had a greater impact on socio-cultural variable while those earning more than 12 Lakh (3.25) had a minor influence on the socio-cultural variables.

Table 06. Duncan Result for Income Earned during Festival or Event

Socio-cultural impacts			
Income Earned during festival/event	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
40,000 - 50,000 ☐	06	3.2794	

10,000 - 20,000 □	90		3.6617
30,001 - 40,000 □	09		3.7405
20,001 - 30,000 □	87		3.7739
Less Than 10,000 □	105		3.8117
Above 50,000 □	03		3.8588
Sig.		1.000	.076

The result of Duncan's test shows that there are differences between groups of selected independent variables (income earned during the festival or event). Six groups were classified into the selected independent variable among those earning over 50,000 (3.85), under 10,000 (3.81), □ 20,001 to 30,000 (3.77), 30001 to 40,000 (3.74) and □ 10,001 to 20,000 (3.66) had the greatest impact on the socio-cultural variable while those earning □ 40,001 to 50,000 (3.27) had the least influence on the socio-cultural variables.

Table 07. Duncan Result for Marital Status

Socio-cultural impacts			
Marital Status	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
Separated	12	3.5833	
Single	60		3.7234
Widow/Widower	18		3.7877
Married	210		3.7937
Sig.		.115	.460

The result of Duncan's test shows that there are differences between groups of selected independent variables (marital status). Four groups were classified in the selected independent variable between married (3.79), widow / widower (3.78) and single (3.72) had the greatest impact on the socio-cultural variable while those who separated (3.58) had the least influence on the socio-cultural variable.

Discussion of the Study

In total, 300 samples were collected from respondents who participated directly or indirectly in the various ethnic festivals in the Union territory of Pondicherry, 60% of whom were men. Samples include local store vendors, event planners, travel agencies and tour operators, local communities, and government officials. Nearly 56% of respondents were in the age group of 26-45. Almost 60% of respondents completed school alone, followed by 31% of respondents who were undergraduate. Of the total respondents, almost 47% of the annual income of respondents belongs to Rs. 1.00,000 - Rs. 3.00,000 followed by 45% of respondents belong to Rs. 3.00,000 - Rs. 6,00,000 and the income earned during the festival or event is less than 10,000 (35%) and most of them are married (70%).

Based on the result of the independent sample test, it is established that there is no significant differences exists between gender and socio-cultural while the place of origin (group variables - Pondicherry and Karaikal) found

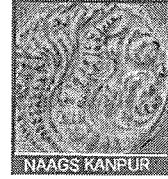
statistically significant differences with the socio-cultural variable. Based on the one-way ANOVA analysis, we find that respondent category, annual income, income earned at festivals or events, and marital status that are statistically significant with the socio-cultural variables. The result of Duncan's test shows that there are differences between groups of a selected independent variable (respondent category). Five groups were identified in the independent variable selected from the registered hotel (3.89) which had the greatest impact on the socio-cultural variable while in-store salespeople had the least influence on the socio-cultural variable.

Conclusion

The present study focuses on understanding the profile of local communities that benefit from ethnic festival events and also measures the influence of ethnic festival events on socio-demographic variables of the local community. In total, 300 samples were collected from respondents who directly or indirectly benefited from the various ethnic festivals in the Union territory of Pondicherry, of which 60% were men. Samples include local store vendors, festival planners, travel agencies and tour operators, hotels, local communities, and government officials. Nearly 56% of respondents were in the age group of 26-45. Almost 60% of respondents completed school alone, followed by 36% of respondents who were undergraduate or post-graduate. Out of the total number of respondents, almost 47% of the annual income of respondents belongs to Rs. 1,00,000 - Rs. 3,00,000 followed by 45% of respondents belongs to Rs 3,00,000 - Rs 6,00,000 and the income earned during the festival or event is less than 10,000 (35%) and most of them are married (70%). From the one-way ANOVA analysis, it is noted that respondent category, annual income, income earned at festivals or events, and marital status were statistically established significant with socio-cultural variables.

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**SOME EVENTS OF AKBAR'S REIGN AS GLEANED
FROM MAJALIS-I JAHANGIRI**

DR. REYAZ AHMAD KHAN

Associate Professor of History

Aligarh Muslim University

Aligarh India

Key Words:

Hadith-ul-Qudsi- Message directly conveyed to the prophet Muhammad by the God.

Majlis- Assembly

Mehfil-i sama- A Sufi gathering where music is performed and songs are sung.

Vilayat- Spiritual domain

Namaz-Prayer

Khutba- Sermon delivered by the imam from the Pulpit before congregation

Sahultari- Veterinary

Majalis-i Jahangiri
¹ is a newly discovered source of the reign of Jahangir (r.1605-1627). It contains conversations held in his court during the night. The discourses took place in the presence of Emperor Jahangir and were attended by the nobles, physicians (*hakims*), scholars (*danayan*) of various disciplines, ambassadors, poets and religious divines of different faiths etc. The discussions on the issues at the meetings were of varied nature. Sometimes there were prolonged

¹*Majalis-i Jahangiri* was authored by Abdus Sattar Bin Qasim Lahori. He was a courtier of Akbar and Jahangir. *Majalis-i Jahangiri* contains 122 *Majlis* which were held at the court of Jahangir (at night) between 24 October 1608 to 15 November 1611 A.D. The author considered Emperor Jahangir as his pir and considered himself as mureed. It was registered in the pattern of *Fawwaidul Fuwad*, a *malfujat* contain the conversation of Nizammudin Auliya and recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi(*Majlis* 46,p113). The book is edited, introduced and annotated by Arif Naushahi and Mo'een Nizami, Tehran 2006
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debates on Christianity² and aspects of Muslim theology such as the issues of divorce, cancelled (*mansukh*) verses of *Quran*, the difference between *Quran* and *Hadees-ul-Qudsi*³ and such other issues. Discussions were also held on *Sufis* (Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti (1141-1236), Nizamuddin Auliya(1236-1325), and Muhammad Ghaus(1500-1562)) and *Sufi* practices, especially on *mehfil-i sama*. Sometimes the discussions were also held on matters related to statecraft and rulers such as Alexander, Alauddin Khalji (r.1296-1316), Amir Timur (.1372-1405), Ibrahim Lodhi(r.1517-1526), and Sher Shah Suri (r.1540-1545). It is quite significant to note that in these sittings' discussions were held in a very free and frank atmosphere.

We find that in the *Tuzuk*, Jahangir had provided a description of a large number of his family members but the most elaborate discussion he makes of his father Emperor Akbar. Almost all important traits of Akbar's personality, especially his physical features and policy of religious toleration have been reported in great style. However, the most important thing we notice is that whenever Jahangir makes any reference about Akbar, it is not like the relationship of a father and his son. Akbar is always for him something of a demi-God and that aspect he tries to present again and again before his audience. Once when he went on a visit to the shrine of Akbar he stated, 'I went on foot on my pilgrimage to the enlightened mausoleum of the late King. If it would have been possible, I would have traversed this road with my eyelashes and head.....?'⁴ There are several other references in the *Tuzuk* where Jahangir makes expressions of the same kind. Therefore, discussion on Akbar in a free and fair manner could not take place at the court. Only those aspects could be debated or allowed to be debated that may not tarnish the fair image of Akbar or even paint him lightly. Although in the memoir we find some references of discussions taking place of some of the actions of Akbar at the court but on all such occasions, as in the meetings only courtiers participated, attempts were made only to highlight his (Akbar's) image. On the contrary in the *Majalis* where discussions were more open and apparently courtly restricted, even though Emperor Jahangir was always

² For more details discussion on Christianity see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subramanyam, 'Frank disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the court of Jahangir (1608 to 1611)', *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 45, no.4. (2009), pp-457-511

³ Shireen Moosvi, 'The Conversations of Jahangir 1608-11' Table Talk on Religion', *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, 68th Session Delhi, 2007, pp, 326-31; Reyaz Ahmad Khan, 'Jahangir and Muslim Theology-Discussions Reported in the *Majalis-i Jahangiri*.*Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, 71st Session, Malda, 2010-11, pp. 236-242.

⁴ Jahangir *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rogers, Reprinted 2006, Delhi, p.152. Jahangir gives specific details on Akbar's physical appearance, such as height, complexion, and voice, and he also discusses Akbar's state policy, which is based on *Sulh-i Kul*.

present in the assembly, being not in place, deliberations even on those issues were held openly which could hardly be allowed in courtly proceedings. We find that in several assemblies, matters related to Akbar and his court proceedings were also discussed quite freely like any other matter.⁵ Therefore, in the present paper, an attempt is made to discuss some of those issues of Akbar's reign which were deliberated in these night assemblies.

The first assembly to discuss an issue of Akbar's reign was held on July 7, 1610. The issue was regarding a controversy that took place at the court over the consuming of the flesh of Nilgai by Hindus, as Nilgai was regarded as a breed of cow and the flesh of cow was prohibited to the Hindus. This matter was brought to the notice of Emperor Jahangir in the assembly by Ramdas Kachhwaha⁶ who stated that one day Raja Man Singh⁷ informed Emperor Akbar that the Raja of the state of Patta consumes Nilgai flesh, although it was a breed of cow. The son of Raja of Patta, who was present at the court, immediately countered it by pointing out that Raja Man Singh's accusation is false and full of ignorance. He went on to say that Nilgai is a breed of deer and not a breed of the cow as generally believed. He argued that Nilgai (female) does not have horns whereas almost every cow has horns. Emperor Akbar agreed with the reasoning and added that had it been so all the Nilgai would have horns on their heads. Thereafter the discussion came to an end and Nilgai was accepted as a breed of deer.⁸

A very interesting discussion on horses and veterinary surgeons who were specialists of horse ailments was held in a nightly assembly held on September 19, 1610. Abdus Sattar stated that Akbar had several horse medics known as *sahultari*, and they were so knowledgeable in their field that they could predict that a certain horse would die in such and such year and on such and such date. On hearing this, Jahangir remarked that when he was 13 years old, some horse merchants came to court with several horses of good breed. Akbar purchased a very lovely horse with spotty tints and ordered it to be kept in the royal stable along with other horses of good breed. After a short while,

⁵ *Tuzuk* comprises formal observations and is written for the public, whereas *Majalis-i Jahangiri* contains informal court conversations.

⁶ Ramdas Kachhwaha was closely associated with the court of Akbar and Jahangir. When Akbar became critically ill, Khan-i Azam and Raja Man Singh plotted to enthrone Sultan Khusru, Jahangir's eldest son. However, Ramdas, along with Shaikh Farid Murtuza Bukhari, supported Jahangir. His *mansab* was five thousand at the time of his death. For more details see Shaikh Fareed Bhakkari, 'Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, edited by Moin-ul Haq Karachi 1961 vI, pp.239-241.

⁷ Raja Man Singh was one of the grandees of the Mughal state. He served under Akbar and Jahangir in various capacities. For detail see Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, vol Ist, pp.103-111; also see Afzal Husain's 'The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir: A study of family groups', New Delhi, 1999, pp.66-99.

⁸ *Majalis-i Jahangiri*, *Majlis* 26. Pp.64

Parsuram, a veterinary surgeon (who specialized in horses), came to court and informed the emperor that this horse will die within two years, specifying even the month and day of its death. Emperor Akbar who was a great lover of horses became extremely worried, and summoned Shahquli Khan Mahram⁹ immediately and asked him to take extra care of the horse. However, after some time as predicted by Parsuram Shahquli informed the emperor that the horse had died unexpectedly. Abdus Sattar writes that Jahangir was bewildered after narrating this entire episode.¹⁰

On February 22, 1611, a discussion about Akbar's visit to the shrine of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti in Ajmer took place in the night assembly. Jahangir informed the audience that Emperor Akbar went on a pilgrimage to the blessed shrine of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti with extreme humility as his wish of a male child has been granted. The emperor also prayed for several nights for the long life of the young prince. Murtaza Khan¹¹ who was present in the assembly added that Emperor Akbar travelled from Agra to Ajmer on foot on this occasion. At this Jahangir inquired as to how many times Akbar visited the shrine of Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti. Murtaza Khan informed him that Akbar went there twice, once after His Majesty's birth (Jahangir's) and the second time again on foot before the siege of Chittor.¹²

On April 7, 1611, another incident of Akbar's reign discussed was a sectarian conflict that arose between Muhammad Quli Turkman and Shah Beg. It was reported to the Emperor that Muhammad Quli Turkman had denounced Shah Beg as a *rafizi*, a term used to humiliate Shias. The emperor took the matter seriously and warned Muhammad Quli not to behave in this manner in future as the Mughal empire allowed everyone to practise his faith without any fear or favour.¹³

On May 11 1611 a very interesting discussion took place on *the Sufi* practice of *mehfil-i sama*. Jahangir asked Mulla Jamil about the story of Ramanauta.

⁹ Shahquli Mahram entered in the service of Bairum Khan and after the fall of Bairum Khan he was granted the mansab of five thousand by Akbar. He was also assigned jagir in Narnaul. See see Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, vol Ist, pp 181.

¹⁰ *Majalis-i Jahangiri, Majlis 37 pp. 91-100.*

¹¹ Murtaza Khan Shaikh Farid Bukhari was the great noble of Mughal state under Akbar and Jahangir. He was loyal to Jahangir from his prince hood. Jahangir granted him the title of Saheb-al Saifwa Qalam and granted the mansab of five thousand. He was appointed as Mir Bakshi and he also served as subedar of Gujrat and Punjab. For more details see Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, vol Ist, pp 121-141.

¹² *Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis 69 pp. 164-165.*

¹³ *Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis 76 pp.184;* During the first night assembly conversation Jahangir also asserts that his state is also based on *Sulh-i Kul*. P.3.

He apprised him that one-day Emperor Akbar told his father that during *sama* (*Sufi* music) Ramanauta was so much engrossed in it that he reached the state of ecstasy. After that Akbar ordered Shaikh Jamil to organise a *mehfil-i sama*. Henceforth, *qawwals* were called to recite *Sufi* songs. Shaikh Jalal asked Akbar to maintain silence and explained to the emperor that three preconditions were essential to be maintained for organising *mehfil-i sama* and explained it as *Zaman*, *Makan* and *Ikhwan*. *Zaman* would mean that the mystics who join the *mahfil* would be only those who were completely devoted to God, renounced all worldly possessions and was completely devoid of controversies and *Makan* means that the place of *sama* should be neat and clean. Similarly, *Ikhwan* means that only like-minded pious people who were inclined towards mysticism should join the *mahfil*. Soon after Shaikh Jamil explained the above three mandatory conditions for organising the *sama* Akbar took him to Raja Birbal who was sitting nearby. Raja Birbal at the instance of Akbar narrated that Ramanauta was a Hindu priest but was attracted towards mysticism and also used to attend *mehfil-i sama*. Once while he was attending a *mehfil-i sama* he went into a state of ecstasy and died there. After hearing the whole event Shaikh Jamil said to the Emperor that Ramanauta was immature. Akbar was greatly impressed with his comments and offered him anything that could make his life comfortable. But Jamil declined to take anything to accept the goodwill and persona favour of the Emperor and remarked that, it was more than enough for him. At this Akbar narrated the story of two brothers Shaikh Phul and Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus who were undergoing spiritual training under the same *pir* (Spiritual guide).

Akbar narrated that one day the *pir* asked Shaikh Phul¹⁴ to request him for anything that he desired. Shaikh Phul asked the Shaikh to grant him the spiritual domain (*vilayat*) of Jaunpur. The Shaikh agreed to assign the *vilayat* to Shaikh Phool and soon after the Shaikh asked the same question to Muhammad Ghaus. Muhammad Ghaus on the contrary said that he does not want anything except the Shaikh himself. The Shaikh repeated this query several times but Muhammad Ghaus answered the same thing every time. The Shaikh was so greatly impressed with Mohammad Ghaus' devotion to his guide that he exclaimed, 'God is pleased with you and I am also pleased with you'. He went on further to add that 'God is yours; Prophet is yours; I am yours, everything is yours'. Abdus Sattar writes though Jahangir enjoyed the discussion but expressed surprise at the aspirations of Shaikh Phul.

On June 18 1611, in a night assembly discussion on the most controversial issues of Akbar's reign the annexation of the state of Khandesh by Akbar was intensely debated. Jahangir raised the issue indirectly by asking the *qazi* whether under *sharia law* it was permissible for a person to forcibly occupy the residence of another person. Khan-i Azam¹⁵ (Mirza Aziz Koka) on

¹⁴ *Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis* 91, pp.226-228

¹⁵ Mirza Aziz Koka entitled Khan-i Azam was the high ranking ameer at the court of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. He criticised Akbar's religious policy for Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 695

this interjected and remarked that the *namaz* (prayer) such a person would be flawed. The *qazi*, on the other hand, informed the emperor that in some schools of Islam, the *namaz* of such a person would not be valid but many of the *ulema* were of the view that *namaz* at such places too could be offered. However, the *Qazi* himself was of the view that *namaz* would be valid only if the person's clothes and body were clean and the place where he was offering prayer was also devoid of all impurities. Hence if somebody takes someone's house illegally and offers prayer in that house his body would be polluted and due to that, his act of (*namaz*) will also lose its sanctity. Now the emperor asked the *Qazi* to offer his comments in case if an emperor forcibly takes possession of someone's house. On this, the *Qazi* remarked that an Emperor who believes in justice would never take anything by force. At this stage, Jahangir raised the issue of Akbar's annexation of Khandesh as Mirza Aziz Koka used to say that the annexation of the state of Khandesh (ruled by Raja Ali Khan) by Akbar was not justified as he was a Muslim and *sharia law* prohibits Muslim rulers from occupying Muslim states. Murtaza Khan intervened and said that he was a rebel. Jahangir said that though Mirza Aziz Koka was not present at the moment but on his behalf, it could be argued that since they recited *khutba* and struck coins in the name of the emperor how they could be called rebels? Thereupon Murtaza Khan submitted that he had imprisoned a number of his kinsmen and other relatives and despite Akbar's expressed orders to release them he repeatedly defied these orders. Therefore, to release such people who were imprisoned against *Shariat* it became obligatory on his part to dismiss them. At this stage, Jahangir intervened again and summed up the discussion by saying that sometimes for the general welfare of the people Emperors have to take such actions which may harm some people.¹⁶

On July 23 1611, an album with the portrait of Emperor Akbar was presented to Jahangir while the assembly was in progress. Jahangir who was a great expert on paintings was shocked to see that the painter had not portrayed the image of the emperor properly. He further warned that if a painter makes a similar mistake in the future, his hands will be severed.¹⁷

We get the reference of another brief encounter at these assemblies where events of Akbar's reign were deliberated. On November 25, 1611, it was reported that when the news of the birth of a son of a late prince Shahzada

denigrating Islam. He also via mentally criticise Jahangir rule. For more details see Zakhirat-ul Khawanin, vol Ist, pp.80-98; *The Nobility under Akbar and Jahangir: A study of family groups*, pp.45-69; Reyaz Ahmad Khan, 'Mirza Aziz Koka Khan-i Azam in the Court of Jahangir, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 73rd Session Mumbai, 2012.

¹⁶*Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis* 96.pp.236-237.

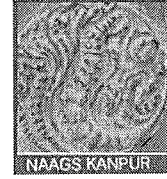
¹⁷*Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis* 98. Pp. 242-243.

Marhum (Prince Daniyal) ¹⁸ was communicated to Emperor Akbar, he summoned astrologers to suggest an appropriate name for the new-born. They advised him that the baby's name should begin with the letter *ta*; hence the new-born was named Timir. Jahangir was greatly disturbed by this because Timir was not only the ancestor of the Mughals but also the founder of a great Empire. He expressed his dismay by stating that the Emperor had not given this name to him (Jahangir) or any other of his sons.¹⁹

From the above, it may be concluded that deliberations on the issues in the nightly assemblies were quite interesting although the problems were neither of a very important nature nor were controversial. The only matter of importance that came before assembly was the annexation of Khandesh and indeed it was debated hotly. Jahangir was not happy with the annexation of Khandesh. He even gave arguments against it although indirectly. However, he in the end he also came to defend the annexation and closed the debate abruptly.

¹⁸ Sultan Murad (d.1598) and Sultan Daniyal (d.1604) were the sons of Akbar. Both died due to excessive alcohol consumption. In *Tuzuk*, Jahangir directed that Sultan Murad should be called as Shahzada Maghfur (the pardon prince) and Daniyal as Shahzada Marhum (the prince admitted to mercy). P 197.

¹⁹ *Majalis-i Jahangiri Majlis* 122 P.277



MUHAMMAD HASAN A REBEL HERO OF 1857 IN GORAKHPUR

MUKESH KUMAR

Research Scholar
Department of History
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh India

DR. ARSHIA SHAFQAT

Research Supervisor
Department of History
Aligarh Muslim University
Aligarh India

Abstract:

The Revolt of 1857 was a watershed in the history of modern India. It marked the first national-wide uprising against the English East India Company in India. The revolt of 1857 was very severe in eastern Uttar Pradesh, particularly in the district of Gorakhpur. The uprising of 1857 started from Paina village in Gorakhpur district on May 31, 1857. Muhammad Hasan played a crucial role in the Gorakhpur district. He was run a rebel government for almost four and a half months in Gorakhpur. The activities of the rebels in Gorakhpur end after the surrender of Muhammad Hasan. In this paper, I have to discuss Muhammad Hasan's activities in the Gorakhpur district.

Introduction: The Begum Hazrat Mahal of Awadh's son Birjis Qadr was appointed Muhammad Hasan *Nazim* of Gorakhpur. He was the most prominent rebel leader in eastern Uttar Pradesh. He led the rebels during the rebellion, but he also led independent rule in Gorakhpur for almost four and a half months (August 21, 1857, to January 4, 1858). He was played a leadership role against the English East India Company (EEIC) rule until the last phase of the rebellion in Gorakhpur.

But the rebel hero's name Muhammad Hasan often used by the *Urdu* language, wrote that 'Muhammad' or 'Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan' and 'Muhammad Hussein' or 'Muhammad Hasan' in English inscriptions.

Moinuddin Hasan wrote his work "*Khadange Gadar*," that Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan was a Syed of the caste and an inhabitant of the village of Vahara. Mir Muhammad Hasan had been the administrator of the old Sardar of Gonda-Bahraich in Lucknow at the emperor of Wajid Ali Shah.¹ Kamaladin Haider wrote in 1879, "*Kaiser-ul-Tawarikh*", zild, doyam (mention-page.116), that Mir Muhammad Hasan Khan *Nazim* of Gonda-Bahraich.² Sayyed Athar Abbas Rizvi wrote both the names of "Mir Muhammad Hassan" in English records and "Mir Muhammad Hussain," sometimes used by the same person.³ Maulvi Muhammad Suleiman Badayuni has told his real name was Mir Muhammad Hussain Khan, and his father's name was Mir Muhammad Hassan Khan.⁴ Before the outbreak of the revolt of 1857, Mir Muhammad Hussain Khan was the *Nazim* of Khairabad.⁵

According to the above author, "Muhammad Hassan was the living of Sahaswan located in Badaun district. Thus, Muhammad Hasan' was not a resident of Gorakhpur or any part of eastern Uttar Pradesh. He took control of Gorakhpur, declared *Nazim* of Gorakhpur by the government of Awadh.⁶ He was honored with the title of "*Mokrarava-ud-daulah*" by Birjis Qadr and appointed to the post of *Nazim* or '*Chakladar*'⁷ of Gorakhpur.⁸ The description of pro-British writers Ahmad Ali Shah wrote that⁹ he accepted the post of Gorakhpur's *Nazim* on behalf of the government of Awadh. When he was surrendered, he wrote a letter to the district magistrate of Gorakhpur, tried to show that he had accepted this position fearfully. When the outbreak began, it was neutral for him to do so; Muhammad Hasan himself wrote that 'He was in his villages (zamindari) near Tanda (Faizabad) for ten days.'¹⁰

Meanwhile, the rebellion began in Lucknow, and after a fortnight, when he came back to his house to Lucknow and came to know about the fortnight from Faizabad at the *Ghaghra* Ghat. Ten days later, he was informed of the rebellion in Faizabad. So, he went from his house, which was near to

¹ Moinuddin Hasan, '*Khadange -Gadar*, translated in *Hindi*, by Abdul Haq from *Urdu*, Hindi Madhyam Karyanvay Nirdeshalay, University of Delhi, reprint 2006, Delhi, p.73.

² Kamaluddin Haider, '*Kaisar-ul-Tawarikh jild doyam*, Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1896, p.302.

³ S.A.A. Rizvi, '*Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*' Vol-IV, OUP, New Delhi, 2010, (reprint), p.294.

⁴ Sayyed Moinual Haq, *The Great Revolution of 1857*, Karachi, 1968, p.454.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.294,

⁷ *Superintendent; proprietor; rentier*.

⁸ Kamalluddin Haider, *ibid*, p.30; S.A. A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.372.

⁹ Ahmad Ali Shah, *Kashful Baghavaat Gorakhpur*, English translation from Urdu-Persian by Farhat Nasreen, rupa publication, Delhi, 2010, verses-540-541, pp.86-87; Moinuddin Hasan, *ibid*, pp.73-74.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

Dalpat ghat of the *Ghagharariver*. Colonel Lennox's family, who had fled from Faizabad, landed at the ghat on the same day.¹¹

But the aggressive villagers were surrounded of the Britisher's saheb. He sent 10 of his soldiers to save them and then went there with 150 men himself on receiving this information. When he saheb, people got off the boat on 17th N.I. a group of rebel soldiers from the ghat started firing bullets from the other side, but their men confronted them. He brought sahebs the people to safe to his house, where they stayed for 15 days.¹² He sent them to Gorakhpur safely. About 15 days after this incident, he got a *Parwana*(letter) from Begum Hazrat Mahal, in which she was asked to come to Lucknow. He was afraid of going to Lucknow because of saving the lives of the British. So he expressed his inability to come to Lucknow.¹³ But he has a stronghold of Gorakhpur, so that appointment(Sanad) was received and asked to take charge of *chakladaar* of Gorakhpur with immediate effect. His family, who was in Lucknow, for not following the order to threatened to imprisonment. Not only this, but Narpat Regiment also sent the against him, which arrived in ten days. Therefore, he became helpless. While the above incidents were going on, in the meantime, *Naib-Risaldar* and others of the 12th irregular cavalry of Sugauli, Musharraff Khan, the king of Narharpur, the king of Barhayapar, and the queen of Amodha were writing a letter to Begum telling that Gorakhpur was empty from the English army, they are old servants of Awadh. They will make complete arrangements of this terrain. As a result, two regimental forces named Mirza Umrao Jaan and Jahangir Khan from Lucknow were also sent to him. He joined them and started towards Gorakhpur.¹⁴ Muhammad Hassan also said that he had sent a letter to Mr. Bird on reaching the Bustee, but Ramprasad, the *taluaqadar* of Vichhiya, arrested Harkare, and the letter did not reach him.¹⁵ Muhammad Hassan gave this description at the time of surrender.¹⁶

The fact is that Muhammad Hassan was the *Nazim* of Khairabad (situated in the present-day Sitapur district) during the reign of the last emperor of Awadh Wajid Ali Shah. The British abducted Awadh. When taken, he became unemployed. At the start of the rebellion, he was in Tanda; this place was the rebels' stronghold. In Tanda, he raised an army of rebels and decided to take control over Gorakhpur. King Abbas Ali of Tanda also assisted him. He, along with his soldiers, attacked the Khalilabad tehsil, about ten Bigha¹⁷ north of Tanda. The collector of Gorakhpur, Mr. Bird., resisted but failed and had to flee. Muhammad Hassan distributed the property received in

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV pp.371-372.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.372.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Measurement of land varying in extent in different parts of India.

the loot among his soldiers. But there, he could not consolidate his position, and upon being attacked again by the English army, he was severely defeated and surrounded by the English army. But he could not be identified and managed to escape after saving his life.¹⁸

The rebellion incidents increasing in Gorakhpur, Mr. Banyard, who took charge of the Judge and Collector of Gorakhpur's responsibility, decided to leave Gorakhpur on August 13, 1857. All European citizens of the district were gathered and with the government treasury with British officials. Under the leadership of Mr. Baynard, they marched towards Azamgarh under the Gorkha army's protection. Muhammad Hassan became aware of this incident. He immediately marched towards Gorakhpur with his soldiers. He went to attack the Gorkha army at a place called *Gagaha*, which was 10 miles north of the *Ghaghrar* river. But he was defeated, and at least 200 of his men killed in this battle. The Gurkhas also captured his sedan (plaque). Muhammad Hasan continued towards Azamgarh.¹⁹

On August 20, Muhammad Hassan returned from *Gagaha* to the *Rapti* River banks outside Gorakhpur city, where the representative of the king of Sattasi Musharraf Khan and Gorakhpur's prominent Muslim citizen welcomed to the city. The guards of the jail also joined him.²⁰ He took control of Gorakhpur and established a national government there on August 21. He took the necessary steps to run the administration. According to Mr. C.Wingfield, 'Muhammad Hassan, first of all, the order was issued that all government employees should return to their work; otherwise, they would be punished. But no deputy collector followed his order, and only one tehsildar²¹ followed his order. But many police station officers considered him his boss. He retained the revenue and judicial system. At the same time, many landowners opposed the existence of *thanedar*²² because that post was not in the *Nawabi* period. The decisions of the civil court were implemented on the condition of paying half the amount. He preserved the records and obtained complete information about the government revenue of each landlord from *qanungo*.²³ He permitted the landlords to enjoy their rights because the big landowners accepted his subordination, received the salute of the honorable robes (*khilat*) guns, and used civil and criminal rights within their limited estates (*zamindari*). The titles sought by him were also given to him. In return,

¹⁸S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, pp.153-154, 373.

¹⁹C.Wingfield, *Narrative Event of Gorakhpur*, 8 July, 1858, State Archive of UP, Lucknow, para no.23-25, 29-30, p.4.

²⁰*Ibid*, para no.34, p.5; Ahmad Ali Shah, *Kashful Baghavat Gorakhpur*, English translated by Farhat Nasreen, Rupa Publication, New Delhi, 2010, verses-549-556, pp.87-88.

²¹Revenue collector at Pargana level.

²²Police station's chief.

²³District revenue official who received landed property and oversaw the working of the village accountant or Patwari.

he included his troops in his army. Among them were the Rajagans of Sattasi, Nagar, Narharpur, Barhayapar, Nichloul, Shahpur, and Babu people of Tighara Pandeyapar and Rudhauili. The city's wealthiest Muslims held most of the official positions. In addition, Musharraf Khan was appointed as a judge, a collector, and *Naib-Nazim*.²⁴

Muhammad Hasan also recruited a large number of soldiers to fight the enemies. According to Moinuddin Hasan, his army consisted of 25,000 men, and people of all communities were included in it.²⁵ In other words, he had prepared a national army. Kamaladin Haider talks about their military. It was written that he made his arrangement; the jail prisoners were released and got their feet shaved. He said, 'We will all show our blood on your sweat; most of them were scrubs, hundreds of carpets, Cotton - Woolen clothes were made, the person who knew the work, he agreed. A magazine was kept in the jail; Mazmua had become 8 or 10 cannons and kept 25 thousand gunmen and several hundred riders. Twenty-six thousand rupees were paid on Yomiya May Sipahi and Khairaat etc.²⁶ Syed Moinul Haq has considered the description of Kamaluddin Haider as exaggerated.²⁷

Muhammad Hassan ruled Gorakhpur for four and a half months as the Chakladar of the rebel government of Awadh.²⁸ Most of the British bungalows were burnt in his time. But no Masonry house was damaged except Mr. Bird's residence. He did not allow any excesses on the public by the rebels and kept the government property and offices safe. But British officials and pro-government writers have condemned his reign as full of tyranny. According to C. Wingfield, large sums of money were recovered from merchants and bankers through intimidation or violence, women of many families were humiliated by the chaotic and luxuriant soldiers. The latter lost their estates (landlords) by court rulings. They had given away the purchasers and captured them again, seeking to find the documents of the names and court rulings. The run was everywhere; strong people dominated over to the weak.²⁹ Other details also show that law and order were steadily falling under his tirade, and looting was going on all around.³⁰ Moinuddin Hasan³¹ Kamaluddin Haider³² and Syed Ahmad³³ Ali Shah have also termed his administration as tyrannical, but it is beyond the truth.³⁴

²⁴C. Wingfield, Narrative, *ibid*, para no. 36,37,38, p.55; S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, pp.156-157.

²⁵Moinuddin Hasan, *khadange- Ghadar*, p.137.

²⁶Kamaluddin Haider, *Kaiser-ul-twarikh*, pp.304-305.

²⁷S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.385.

²⁸S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.373. Sayed Ahmad Ali shah, told four months and twenty days.

²⁹C. Wingfield, Narrative Events, para no. 40.p.5.

³⁰S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, pp.384-85.

³¹Moinuddin Hasan, *Khadange-Gadar* (Hindi translate), p.74.

³²Kamaluddin Haider, *Kaisar-ul-Twarikh*, jild-doyam, pp.305-306.

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Muhammad Hasan was fighting the British to return his kingdom on behalf of his emperor. He had to pay his religion to fight for his ruler. He was not only determined to achieve his objective, but he made every effort for it. He introduced foresight, writing a letter to the Prime Minister of Nepal, Maharaja Jung Bahadur Rana, who tried to stop assisting the British. Muhammad Hasan, in his letter, expressed surprise that 'Maharaja helped those people. Who are destroyers of Brahmins and cows?'³⁵ But he could not succeed in his aim, that is to prevent Nepal from assisting the British. Kamaluddin Haider has written that 'In this time, Mutawatir wished that some Sarat-e-Mowafqat³⁶ came out of Nepal, Sir Jagbahadur Wazir Azam, and Sipashalar Mulk, but it did not happen. The Nepalese army was first to be fought by Muhammad Hasan. Kamaluddin Haider and Moinuddin Hasan have also written about *Nazim's* escape to Tanda, mentioning Muhammad Hassan's army's fight and defeat with the Nepali army.³⁷ Padma Jung Bahadur Rana, son of Maharaja Jungbahadur Rana, states that 'Jung Bahadur and the combined army of British officers reached Gorakhpur on January 5, 1858. They fled across the *Rapti* River when the rebels' army attacked the Nepalese. The winner got seven cannons and a lot of guns. Two people of the Gurkha army were killed, and nine were injured, while 211 people from the enemy side were killed, and many were injured. British administration re-established in Gorakhpur.³⁸

English records indicate that Muhammad Hasan lost Gorakhpur. Did not give up even after and continued to struggle. He also faced a financial crisis after vacating Gorakhpur. Three regiment rebel soldiers were with him. He pressed for his arrears of salary, and after recovering one lakh rupees, he crossed the *Ghaghra* river and joined the army of the king of Gonda.³⁹ Still, he did not get frustrated. April 17, in 1858, Colonel Rowcraft was confronted with his army as he became adamant but had left Belva to take control. On his side in this struggle, 100 people died.⁴⁰ Muhammad Hassan was defeated and

³³ Ahmad Ali Shah, *Kashful Baghavat Gorakhpur* (English translate), verse, 922-972, pp.142-46; S.N. Sen, *Eighty Fifty-Seven*, Government Publication, GOI, New Delhi, 1957, pp.187,366.

³⁴ Mukhtasar Ahmad Iari, *Tarikh-a-Gorakhpur*, (Urdu), Gorakhpur, 1972, p.38.

³⁵ For more detail, S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.372.

³⁶ Kamaluddin Haider, *Kaisar-ul-Twarikh*, p.305.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.306-307, Moinuddin Hasan, *Khadange Gadar*, Hindi translate by Abdul Haq, Hindi Madhyam Karyanvay Nirdeshalay, University of Delhi. p.74.

³⁸ C.Wingfield, Narrative, July, 1858, para no. 44-45, p.6; Charles Ball, *The History of Indian Mutiny*, The London Printing and Publishing Company Limited, London, 1858, Vol-II, pp.226-27.

³⁹ S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, pp.312-13,316

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.322.

proceeded towards Dumriaganj. He came to Amodha again, accompanied by about 4,000 people. On June 9, he had to retreat from the conflict.⁴¹ On June 18, 1858, Muhammad Hasan's contingent was faced with the British invasion at the place of Haraiya. And after being defeated, he had to run to escape towards the Gonda district. On July 29, he was camping in the jungles of Babhani. In October 1858, Muhammad Hassan, his army were in Bangaon in November 1858. He moved from Vangaon to a village west of Dumriaganj. On December 3, 1858, the Army of the Rowcraft defeated him again and forced him to proceed to Atraula.⁴² At the end of December, he again attacked the British army, together with Bala Rao near Tulsipur, but was defeated again and went into the jungles. Finally, on being informed by Begum Hazrat Mahal to go to the mountains for her safety, he also appeared before Begum in Bara. But unfortunately, the rebels were defeated there too, and all ran towards the mountain.⁴³ Thus Muhammad Hassan continued to engage in the struggle.

In 1859, when British power was restored and law and order were restored, Magistrate Muhammad Khairuddin of Gorakhpur wrote to him to surrender under Queen Victoria's declaration. The correspondence between the two reveals the high ideals of this rebellious hero. In his letter, he considers the British to be unreliable, inhuman conduct and abductors of the Oudh state and does not give importance to his life and death.⁴⁴ Governor-General Lord Canning also praised his letter.⁴⁵ Finally, he was surrendered, and then He was prosecuted. Despite all the efforts of Mr. Wingfield, he was ultimately found innocent and, he was released.⁴⁶ But his property was confiscated by the British authority. His mansion was blown up with cannons. He had to spend the rest of his life in poverty, and he died in 1888.⁴⁷ Thus, this was the end of the great hero of 1857.

⁴¹H.R. Neville, *District Gazetteers*, Basti, 1909, p.162, S.B. Chaudhary, *Civil Rebellion in India*, p.146.

⁴²Foreign Department, Secret Consultation, no.16, date-31, December, 1858, National Archive of India, New Delhi.

⁴³Kamaluddin Haider, *ibid*, p.307.

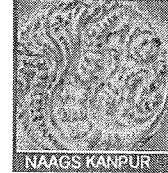
⁴⁴For more detail, S.A.A. Rizvi, *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol-IV, pp.386-94, S.N. Sen, *ibid*, pp.363-67.

⁴⁵S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, p.386, S.N. Sen, *ibid*. p.366.

⁴⁶S.A.A. Rizvi, *ibid*, Vol-IV, pp.366-67.

⁴⁷S.N. Sen, *Eighty Fifty-Seven*, Publication Division, GOI, Delhi, 1957 p.367.

Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

**COLONIALISM, DALITS AND RESTRICTED
DEMOCRACY: ROLE OF MADRAS PRESIDENCY
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY
TAMIL NADU**

P. SADASIVAM

Ph.D. Research Scholar (Part-Time)
PG & Research Department of History
Periyar EVR College (Autonomous)
Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli
Tiruchirappalli Tamil Nadu India

DR. S. XAVIER

Assistant Professor & Research Advisor
PG & Research Department of History
Periyar EVR College (Autonomous)
Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli
Tiruchirappalli Tamil Nadu India

ABSTRACT

Colonialism was an important but contradictory phase for Indian subalterns. During this time, they experienced rigidity of social status through standardisation and legitimisation of caste through various institutions. At the same time, they got the opportunity to escape the caste system through colonial governing systems like the rule of law, equality before law, political representation, education and so on. These kinds of changes positively influenced the Dalits to emerge as one of the major political groups and began movements in Madras Presidency. In sequel to this, based on the recommendations from Montagu-Chelmsford reforms Madras Presidency Legislative Council was established in 1921. This was an initial engagement of the representatives elected by the people with limited franchise and

exposing the grievances of people and debating it in common democratic platform. Besides, this council's composition was more pertinent in terms of political representation as well as influences in law making process for Dalits in colonial Tamil Nadu. Thus, this paper tries to unearth the following problems, how this representative cum nominative body established in Madras Presidency. The role of this semi-democratic body in general and particularly for Dalits and their engagement in different law-making process and how it shaped future course for them in different spheres.

KEY WORDS: *Dalits, Colonialism, Democracy, Political Representation & Law Making.*

INTRODUCTION

Colonialism was an important but contradictory phase for Indian subalterns. During this time, they experienced rigidity of social status through standardisation and legitimisation of caste through various institutions. At the same time, they got the opportunity to escape the caste system through colonial governing systems like the rule of law, equality before law, political representation, education and so on. These kinds of changes positively influenced the Dalits to emerge as one of the major political groups and began movements in Madras Presidency. In sequel to this, based on the recommendations of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms Madras Presidency Legislative Council was established in 1921. This was an initial engagement of the representatives elected by the people with limited franchise and exposing the grievances of people and debating it in common democratic platform. Thus, this paper tries to unearth the following problems, how this representative cum nominative body established in Madras Presidency. The role of this semi-democratic body in general and particularly for Dalits and Dalits engagement in different law-making process and how it shaped future course for them in different spheres.

The dawn of 16th century most important phase in Indian history, because it opened up sea trade route for many European powers into India. But the arrival of British into India almost a century later happened. There was little to suggest the acquisition of dominion in India in the debut of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies to whom Queen Elizabeth, after much hesitation, granted a charter of incorporation on December 31st 1600. The aims of the Company were essentially commercial. Trade with the East was essential in order to obtain those spices necessary to render palatable the limited foodstuffs available under the primitive agricultural conditions of the day and other products prized for their utility or beauty in the West (Arthur B Keith, 1936, p. 1). In due course, the colonial policy of mercantilism changed the character of British East India company in day-to-day activities. Which developed enmity and frequent quarrels with native powers, among this battle of Plassey and Buxar placed the British yoke in India strongly. The next hundred years British gradually extended its territorial strength across India. Meanwhile, many regulatory acts passed by British parliament to extent the permission and regulate the administrative and

financial matters of East India Company in India (B.L. Grover & Alka Mehta, 2018, pp. 49-58).

The colonial policies of British resulted in detrimental effects, which positively brought few modern democratic apparatuses and negatively influenced in some areas of socio-economic and cultural background of people. The latter's impact escalated the civil disturbances frequently until the middle of 19th century, at last it reached the destination of great revolt of 1857. The historians who had researched on the revolt stated it mainly spread across North India and Bengal presidency. Majority of the historians stated that South India remained unaffected. The recent researches show the revolt also had its impact in South India. Historian N Rajendran's research reveals that the soldiers as well as fakirs and saints revolted in South India. Modern Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra and Kerala's major portions comprised the Madras Presidency in 1857 (Shumais U, 2016, p. 410). After this great revolt British attitude towards India modified drastically, in result of this political representation of people under colonial rule begun. Through the East India company perished in the flames of the great revolt of 1857, the evils of the system which it had created continued to grow under the new system of government which brought the Indian administration directly under the control of the British Crown and Parliament by the Act of 1858 (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 4). The government of India was transferred to the Crown acting through a secretary of state, who received the powers of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. He was to be aided by a council of fifteen members, eight appointed by the Crown, seven by the directors (Arthur B Keith, 1936, p. 167). It was under such conditions that the public opinion in presidency, as represented by the press and political associations like the Madras Mahajana Sabha, began to press for popular representation in the legislative organ of the presidency's government (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 4). Prior to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms there was nominal representation of members in Governor's Council of Madras. Between the years 1861 and 1920, the Madras Legislative Council was governed, in succession by three constitutional acts, commonly called the Indian Councils Act, which were passed by the British parliament. The act of 1861 empowered the governor of the madras presidency to nominate some non-official Indians as additional members of his council. They were V. Bashyam Iyengar, S. Subramania Iyer and C. Sankaran Nair (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 5). Until this act came into force there was no Indian member in the Madras Governor's Council, which was the supreme law-making and executive authority within the presidency. This event led the British rulers to believe that their administrators in India needed the advice and assistance of the native chieftains of India, so that they would know whether their laws and regulations were popular or not (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, pp. 5-7).

As the 1861 act severely restricted the rights of the council members, even these able men could not do much to restrain the arbitrary actions of the government. The only right they had under the act was to move their own bills

and to speak and vote on the bills which were placed in the council (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 6). The legislative councils that functioned under the 1861 act proved, as a contemporary pamphlet described mere shams. The emergence of the Indian National Congress in the year 1885 prompted the question of Legislative Council reform figured prominently in the very first session of the congress held in Bombay in 1885 and in all its subsequent sessions until 1892 when the second Indian Councils Act was passed by the British parliament. The new act allowed the governor to enlarge the legislative council fixing the maximum number of its additional members at twenty. Eleven of these additional members were required to be non-officials, partly nominated by the governor and partly elected by public bodies like municipalities, district boards, universities and chambers of commerce (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, pp. 9-11). Through this act in addition to their right to discuss and vote on bills, they now had the right to interpellate the executive in certain areas of the administration which were specified in the new act and in the rules framed thereunder by the Madras government (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 12). The main issues which the non-officials raised repeatedly in the council in the period between 1893 and 1909 related to the land revenue, forest and excise policies of the government. The most important of these issues was the land revenue policy of the government (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 13).

Around the first decade of 20th century the tempo of national movement was thus gathering momentum all over the country that the British government announced the third Indian Councils Act 1909, commonly called the Minto-Morley reforms. The ultimate aim of this move on the part of the British government was to win over the moderates among the nationalists and to defeat those whom the British considered extremists and terrorists. The new council as it emerged in madras under the Indian councils act of 1909, had twenty-one elected members and an equal number of nominated members. All the nominations were done by the Governor himself. The most important additional rights the council members gained under the new act were the right to move resolutions on matters of public interest and the right to ask supplementary questions (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, pp. 32-36). The reforms of 1909 failed in their object, if that was to check the propaganda for self-government. But they had the merit of securing improvement in legislativemeasures (Arthur B Keith, 1936, p. 232).

The British Government, anxious to meet Indian aspirations but wholly at a loss how best to proceed, committed itself to a formula, whose final form was due to Lord Curzon. It is dominated by a complete belief in the necessity of applying to India the traditions of British democracy, ignoring the fact that India is divided by race, sect, and religion in a manner which has no parallel in those countries, mainly British, in which parliamentary democracy has been effectively worked (Arthur B Keith, 1936, pp. 242-246). Compelled by the very logic of these historical circumstances, Montagu announced on August 20, 1917, what he considered as a new policy for India defining it as one of

progressive realisation of responsible government in India by means of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration. This announcement was followed by the publication of a report on constitutional reforms commonly called the Montford Report in July 1918 and then by the passing of a new constitutional act by the British Parliament called the Government of India Act 1919, which provided a new constitutional framework for India in place of the Minto-Morley reforms (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 72). The new act in its initial operation enlarged the provincial legislative council and first-time majority of elected members outnumbering the combined strength of non-official and nominated members. It empowered the legislative council to decide related to Madras Presidency especially budget and related subjects. Thus, the mushrooming of democratic setup in every presidency not sudden process, it took almost six decades since the passing of 1861 Councils Act.

The politics of Dalits in Madras Presidency was not 20th century phenomenon. Prior to the establishment of Madras Presidency Legislative Council, the active participation of various leaders from Dalit background quite normal. But situating those leaders in mainstream historical writing is oblivious. Dalit's interaction with colonial modernity like other social groups in Madras Presidency made some progress. Their employment in Madras army, access to education, Christian missionary's upliftment process and so on, kept this people in mainstream political and administrative setup. While, during the early British period Dalits were eking out livelihoods as butlers, watchmen, traditional medicine-men, in hospitals and in the army and much else (Raj Gauthaman, 2021, p. 180). Colonial rulers in Madras Presidency gave more opportunities for them, hence these people's association with administrators optimal for their political participation. In a letter to S. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, Inspector General of Registration, titled 'An Argument Against Conversion', Iyothee Thass, one of the earliest Tamil intellectuals noted that among the Adi-Dravidas in Chennai city, there are 148 butlers, 112 Dubashi, 201 cooks, 108 Maties. Thass also mentioned that his grandfather Kandappan had worked as a butler with George Harrington. Butlers formed the top position in the hierarchy of the bungalow servants and had influence on the colonial masters. All the butlers were not only mere butlers but they acted as middle men between the oppressed section and colonial rulers (J. Balasubramanian, 2016, pp. 42-43).

It is understandable that those who were benefitted by the colonial modernity emerged as new political class among the Adi Dravida; they attended Sabha (Caste Associations) meetings, read and wrote in newspapers, participated in the public life of the modern Madras. This class was the base for the formation of identity politics of the Adi-Dravidas during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ((J. Balasubramanian, 2016, p. 43). In political front, some leaders like Iyothee Thass, R. Srinivasan and Rev. John Ratnam were immensely contributed for the foundation and development of Dalit politics in Madras Presidency. Iyothee Thass was one of the pioneers to

mobilise Dalits for the cause of their grievances. In his youth, he was attracted to Advaita Vedanta, according to him tolerance is the central theme of 'Advaita'; fraternity, spirit of realizing one's own duty, nothing unholy and revering all faiths are the important doctrine of 'Advaita'. It teaches respect to individuals and equal opportunity to all (K. Mavali Rajan, 2013, p. 6). In influence of above notion Thass founded the Advaitananda Sabha in 1870 in Nilgiris where he spent his early years. During this period, he mobilised tribal people (Badugas) in the area under the auspices of the Sabha against the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries (V. Geetha & S.V. Rajadurai, 1993, p. 2091). He believed that the doctrines of Advaitananda would liberate Depressed Classes from the misery of caste. This was the first political venture of Thass in his life time (J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 143). In 1881, when the colonial Government planned to carry out the first census, registration officials classified Depressed Classes in the Hindu category. At the time, Iyothee Thass gave a memorandum to the British India Government, requesting that the people of Depressed Classes in Tamil land should be considered as Adi-Tamilar and not as Hindus (J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 144). In which he tried to construct a unique political identity for untouchables such as Adi-Tamilar, Tamilar, Buddhist and so on. In 1891, Pandit Iyothee Thass established an organization called the Dravida Mahajana Sabha, and on 1st December 1891 he organised The First Conference of Dravida Mahajana Sabha at Ooty in Nilgiris district. The ten resolutions of the conference were sent to the Indian National Congress and the Mohammedans Association on 21st December 1891. The resolutions including enacting a criminal law to punish those who humiliated untouchables by calling them Pariahs, creating separate schools and providing scholarship for matriculation education for untouchable children, providing jobs for educated untouchables, and representation for untouchables in District Boards and Municipal Boards ((J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 143). In the conference he remarked that the Indian National Congress was a Bengali Brahmin Congress which mainly dominated by the Brahmins of Bengal. He questioned the claim of the Indian National Congress that it was sole representative of Indians. He never believed that Home Rule would bring any change in Dalit's life (J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 144).

In 1892 he participated in the Madras Mahajana Sabha meeting as a representative of the Dravida Mahajana Sabha and raised issues of temple entry rights to Depressed Classes, free school education for Depressed Class children and distributing waste lands to landless Depressed Classes (J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 144). In 1894, he wrote an open letter to S. Srinivasa Ragava Aiyangar, Inspector General of Registration, demanding equal employment and civil rights for the untouchable communities. In his open letter, he explained the dreadful living conditions of the Pariah people (J. Balasubramanian, 2012, p. 144). He was also very critical of "Non-Brahmin" as a political category. He wondered how, while practicing the tenets of caste based Hindu rituals, they could claim that they are Non-Brahmins. So, the last

three decades of 19th century Iyothee Thass in optimal level used colonial public sphere to establish strong presence of Dalit's alternative identity politics from mainstream national movement in Tamil Nadu. Hence, from the middle of 19th century only few personalities actively participated in the politics of madras presidency, which sprouted a new alternative political culture.

DALITS IN RESTRICTED DEMOCRACY

The political climate in the Madras Presidency when on account of the historical circumstances of the period, the British government was contemplating reforms in the constitution of India, much against the will of the British bureaucracy and the Justice leaders in Madras. However, when the reform proposals were crystalised into the 1919 act, it seemed acceptable to several political groups in the presidency (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, p. 79). In fact, the depressed class movements were profoundly influenced by the deliberations that surrounded the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, but the most crucial aspects of their background seem to have been the massive economic and political upheavals of the immediate post-war period (Raj Sekhar Basu, 2011, p. 9). After successfully passing this act in British parliament, the provincial legislature elected members enlarged and dyarchy introduced in presidencies. The presidency was divided for election purposes into 61 constituencies which were to send 98 members and nomination of members also done by Governor. The election for first Madras Legislative Presidency Council held on November, 1920. The Indian National Congress didn't contest in this election because of its participation in Non-Cooperation movement was undergoing. So out of a total of 130 members in the council, the Justice supporters numbered 81, Caste and community-wise, there were 65 Non-Brahmins, 22 Brahmins, 5 Muslims, 14 Indian Christians and 5 nominated Scheduled Caste representatives in the council (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, pp. 80-81).

Hence, the members of Dalits in the first council of Madras Presidency were not elected by people but nominated by Governor in the council. The members were M.C. Raja, R. Srinivasan, L.C. Guruswamy from Tamil districts and two other members from Telugu speaking districts (Madras Presidency Legislative Council Proceedings, Volume – I, March 1921, pp. 1-7). The new council was inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught at Madras on January 12, 1921. Its term expired on April 3, 1923. The most important among the questions which were debated in the council generally during this period were the repressive policies of the government, communal representation in public services and retrenchment and economy in public services, in addition to the questions like the land revenue, excise and forest policies of government which were carried forward from the old council (S. Krishnaswamy, 1989, pp. 82-83). On the eve of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the non-Brahmin political elites, in their quest to build a broader political constituency, strongly supported the Adi Dravida demands for social equality (Raj Sekhar Basu, 2011, p. 12). But Dalit leaders despite not elected

by the people they were in this council more viable, because they envisioned ideas for comprehensive development of the marginalised people in madras presidency and carried voice of voiceless people inside the democratic setup.

Despite their very diverse origins, the depressed caste movements shared many things in common. In the first place, there was commonality in thinking vis-a-vis the usage of the prefix 'Adi', which was viewed as the most important instrument behind the construction of distinct communitarian identities. The use of the term 'Adi' enabled the depressed caste leaders to convince their followers, as well as their upper-caste adversaries and the apparently supportive British bureaucracy, that the depressed castes were the original inhabitants of the country and that their traditions were based on justice and equality. The depressed caste leaders totally rejected the idea of caste and the resultant implications of chaturvarnya and varnashrama dharma. Such ideas were believed to have been imposed by the conquering Aryan groups to subjugate and divide the natives (Raj Sekhar Basu, 2011, p. 10). The depressed class leaders deliberately involved themselves in projects aimed at constructing the Adi Dravida identity, which distinguished the depressed classes from the grand social categorisation of non-brahminism that had been consciously sustained by the upper-caste, non-Brahmin leadership (Raj Sekhar Basu, 2011, p. 11). This identity establishment of Dalits even proposed prelude to semi democratic setup. Iyothee Thass elaborated this casteless identity construction well in the last decades of 19th century. So, by using this political platform historicised their identity again in Madras Presidency.

Another major issue the Dalits faced in Madras Presidency was Land relation and reforms. Land reform can be defined as the redistribution of rights and interests in land in favour of the landless and the poor cultivators (P.K. Agrawal, 2010, p. 1). However, during the British period significant changes took place gradually in the socio - economic conditions of Dalits. For the first time in India, the right over land was given to Dalits during the British period. A commission was appointed in 1891 by the Madras Presidency to study the conditions of the *Pariah* a Dalit community and got the positive report to assign the lands to Dalits. The policy of assignment of land to *Pariahs* started from 1918 in every Ryotwari village. Land was assigned for these depressed groups not only for cultivation, but also for building houses, establishing schools and for forming small *Pariah* settlements. In legislative council two depressed classes leaders M.C. Raja and L.C. Guruswami always brought land related problems, assignment of land to depressed classes in Chidambaram taluk and assignment of unreclaimed lands and distribution of waste in the presidency to the depressed classes (Madras Presidency Legislative Council Proceedings, Volume – I, March 1921, pp. 1-7). Because the land is principal source of livelihood for the people of depressed classes, most of them either as agricultural labourers or dependant of it, therefore they used this as platform to rise their concern. Meanwhile, the land assigned for cultivation rose sharply from 19,251 acres in 1920-21 to 3, 42,611 acres in 1931 (Chikkala Kranthi Kumar, 2014, p. 2). After the implementation of 1919 Act in madras

presidency Legislative council established in the year 1921. M.C. Rajah Dalit member of that council brought a resolution in the council to the effect that considerable number of scholarships were to be given to the Dalits in the year 1922. He withdrew the resolution as the minister opposed the amendment on this move and assured him that he would do what he could for them. The resolution was supported by all later (G.O. Ms. No. 300, Law (Education), Dated 14th March, 1922). After this venture 62 residential scholarships, 3.159 non-residential scholarships and more other concessions were given to all Dalits students in 1938-39 (Report on the Administration of the Development Department, 1938-39, pp. 12-13). If we take closer look at the total number of students applied for scholarships decreased and the total number of scholarships also slightly decreased during 1944-45. The award of scholarship became an attractive incentive to the Dalit students. After independence the scholarship scheme was enlarged.

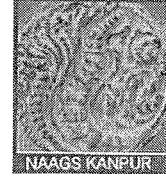
CONCLUSION

The politics of Tamil Nadu during colonial period was quite challenging phase for Dalits. In one way it provided more opportunities for them to cut cross the previous disabilities but in another way increased challenges in different front. The political participation of Dalits before establishment of legislative council almost similar to other political parties but it was not like mass mobilisation. However, their entry into council through nomination watershed in the political history of Tamil Nadu. Their participation in key issues of Madras Presidency showcased their intellectual strength and bringing some serious issues of Dalits into the table for discussion always kept government to vigil on their development. Thus, despite not elected by the people their representation made tremendous changes in life and welfare of not only Dalits but in everyone.

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HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY MEDIEVAL MITHILA: FROM VIDEHA TO TIRHUT

RIPUNJAY KUMAR THAKUR

Department of History
University of Delhi
New Delhi India

Mithila has been the center of culture and civilization since the Later Vedic age. With time its boundaries as well as its names also kept changing, which will be discussed in a larger perspective in the paper. Boundaries of Mithila have changed in different political establishments and the changes in river beds have also affected its boundary. Present work is an attempt to understand the geographical setting and cultural journey of early medieval Mithila by analyzing both the archaeological (epigraphic records and seals) as well as literary sources. The period from eighth to the thirteenth century CE was a transitional phase in the history of Indian subcontinent. Early medieval Mithila witnessed political instabilities, wars of succession, local state formations, land grants in the region, new structure of polities, and changes in the nature of kingship and legitimization. Patronage to Brahmanas, temples and *Mathas*, the practice of tolerance, inter-regional communications, the cultural assimilation of different communities, Sanskritization of tribals and the universalization of local or non-Brahmanical cults, peasantization of tribes and the expansion of agrarian frontier, establishment and spread of Puranic-Hinduism, interface between Brahmanical ideology and the tribal world, and the writing of *Devi-Bhagawata Purana* and other tantric texts were the developments that attract attention. The prevalence of mother goddesses and the incorporation of *Shakta* sects into Brahmanical tradition marked an important stage in the transformation of religious beliefs. New trends in philosophical and intellectual tradition and the rise of the *Karnata* dynasty in the last years of 11th century CE as a regional sovereign dynasty also need mention.

The Geographical setting of Mithila:

Today Mithila is diverse in its geo-cultural, social and political ways, it has incorporated traits of modernity as well as ancient traditions. Mithila is a geo-cultural region of the Indian subcontinent bounded by the foothills of the Himalayas in the north, the Ganges in the south, Koshi and Mahananda in the east and the river Gandaka or Sadanira representing the geography of the west, that evoke the historical heritage of the region and it also comprises adjoining districts of the eastern Terai of Nepal. It falls in the latitudes between 25° 28' north and 26° 52' north. Its longitudinal tracts lie between 84° 56' east and 88° 46' east. It covers an area close to about 25000 square miles. It also comprises of the present districts such as Champaran (East and West), Sitamarhi, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Madhubani, Saharsa, Supaul, Katihar, Purnea, Begusarai, Sheohar, Madhepura, Khagaria, Vaishali, Muzaffarpur, northern parts of Bhagalpur and Munger. The Terai region of Nepal and the lower ranges of the Himalayas were also a part of it.

¹ According to the Puranas, the geography of Mithila was extended from the river Kaushiki in the east to Gandaki in the west, and from the Ganga in the south to the forest of the Himalayas in the north. The forest (*vana-kshetra*) on the banks of the river Gandaki was known as *Champaranya*. The Shakti-Sangam Tantra states that “from the banks of the Gandaki to the forest of Champa is the country called Videha², also known as Tirabhukti.”³ However, boundaries of Mithila have changed in different political establishments and the changes in river beds have also affected its boundary. The political pressures always played an important role in fixing its boundaries; even the present boundary of Mithila is based on political considerations at various levels rather than on geographical and the cultural factors. Even the capital city of the Karnata dynasty, Simraongarh is now in the area of Nepal.

The Himalayan river Kosi is known for its changing courses, it is the cause for flood that destroys crops, washes away houses, cattle and invites disease that turn into epidemics overnight killing thousands of lives. The river Kosi has acted as the dividing line between Mithila in the west and Varendra/north Bengal in the east; it makes two distinct cultural patterns. It must be noted that the present course of the river Kosi is flowing almost in the middle of Mithila while the Mahananda river has become the boundary line. The Gandaka/Sadanira is the western boundary line of Mithila. The river Sadanira⁴ divides the boundary between the zone of Saran on the one side and the zone of Tirhut on other side. The Vagmati river which originates in the high central Himalayas flows through the hills of Nepal whose present capital Kathmandu

¹ *Darbhanga District Gazetteer*, p. 152 ; *History of Tirhut*, S. N. Singh, 1922, p. 2-3 ; *Maithili SahityakItihas(in Maithili)*, Jaykant Mishra, p. 2.

² H.C. Raychaudhuri writes in his book *Political History of Ancient India*(p. 44) that the kingdom of Videha corresponding to modern Tirhut in North Bihar.

³ *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, edited by B. Bhattacharya, Vol. CIV, *Sundarikhanda*, Part-III, p. 69, verse-42.

⁴ The Sadanira is also known as Saligrami Ganga and Narayani Gandak. This river is mentioned extensively in *Shatapatha-Brahmana*.

stands on its western bank, reaches the plain where lies the ruins of Simraongarh, the capital of the Karnata kings.⁵ The Kamla river also originates from Nepal and flows through the Indian state, Bihar, in the district of Darbhanga joins the river Vagmati, known there as 'Kareha' before they together enter into the Ganga. There is another Kamala river which also originates from the Himalaya and joins the Vagmati south of the town of Darbhanga. This western Kamala in its lower half is known as 'Jebachha' (restorer of life). In the geo-cultural tradition of Mithila hundreds of children bear 'Jebachha' as pet name as a token of their parents' gratitude to the river goddess who is the healer of the mother's womb. Even the course of the river Kamla is as unsettled as the course of the river Kosi. The rivers Balan and Triyuga in Darbhanga, Lakhnadei in Muzaffarpur district, Dhemura in Saharsa and many minor rivers in Mithila, all have originated from the Himalayas and flow into the south and end their final march in the sacred Ganga.

The alluvial plains of Mithila/North Bihar are considered to be one among the most fertile areas in the subcontinent. The flood in its numerous rivers almost annually replenishes its loam soil, which provides the ideal ground for the growth of crops and vegetation. Seasonal water bodies like ponds and 'char' (the land covered with water sometimes for the whole year but it plays an important role for fish farming. Rice is the main summer crop here and it is the staple food of the people. Other traditional summer crops are 'Marua' (black bread). In winter, crops like wheat, peas, and khesari (varieties of beans) are cultivated. Mithila is noted for the seasonal fruits, mango, lichi, banana, kathal (jack-fruit) and guava. About twenty years ago journey during the long rainy season from one part to another part of Mithila was never easy. The average annual rainfall in the region at present varies between 120 cm and 160 cm. The dense forest in the middle ages of the region would only have meant higher rainfall in those days.⁶ It is not possible to know the population of this area during the 8th century CE to 13th century CE, but it may be estimated that a large portion of Mithila's geography was covered by forest area. The Mithila region from its western boundary/Eastern Champaran to its eastern boundary/Purnea were densely forested even in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.

From Mithila to Tirhut: A Cultural Journey:

Northern part of Bihar is known as Mithila or Tirhut but in the later Vedic age it was known as Videha. Mithila and Vaishali were two important regions of Videha *Mahajanpada*.⁷ The term 'Videha' is mentioned in the text *Shatpatha*

⁵*Mithila and Magadh*, Laksman Jha, Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, [1949, Ph.D. Thesis from SOAS, London.] 2017, p. 6.

⁶*A Political History of Literature: Vidyapati and the Fifteenth Century*, OUP, 2019, Pankaj Jha, p. 25.

⁷*Shatpatha Brahmana*, 1. 4. 1., *Shatpatha Brahmana*(c. 1000-600 BCE) mentions the boundaries of Videha Janapada. Sadanira/Gandaka river was the divide line between Koshala *Mahajanpada* and Videha *Janapada*.

Brahmana for the first time (*Janako ha Vaideho*).⁸ There is a legend in the *Shatpatha Brahmana*⁹ which portrays that Agni Vaishvarna came along with the earth from the Saraswati river towards the east Sadanira (Gandaki) river which flows from the Himalayan mountain, followed by the king Mathava (Madhava) and his priest GotamaRahugana. Gautama carried on with the ritual and once again invoked Agni with the verses from the Veda, and again he addressed the king, “O Videgha!”. It is believed that at that time the land of north-Bihar was uncultivated and densely forested.¹⁰ The region came to be called Videha as it was established by Videha Mathava. The river Gandaka became the boundary line between Videha and Koshala *Janapadas*.¹¹ This legend was first highlighted by Max Weber.

There is a narrative in the Mahajanaka Jataka¹² where Buddha tells *Bhikkhus* (the Buddhist monks) that he was born in Mithila himself in his previous birth. According to the Buddha under ‘Videha-Rashtra’ a king named Mahajanaka ruled in Mithila. It is also said in this Jataka that the distance of Mithila from *Champanagar* was sixty *yojana*. Mithila is described in the Mahajanaka Jataka as follows:

“*Kadaham Mithilam phitam visalamsabbtopbham,
Pahaypabbjissami tam kadassubhavissati*”.¹³

The above mentioned verse tells that the city of Mithila was prosperous, equipped with Toran gates, horse chariots and lotuses were blooming in the ponds. There is a description in Mahamagga Jataka¹⁴ that a king named Videha ruled in Mithila. He had four generals and ministers, Senak, Pukkas, Kavid, and Devind. This legend also mentions that a pandit or scholar named ‘Mahoushad’ was born as a Bodhisattva in Mithila. There is a discussion of war between Panchala and Videha. According to Vilanaka Jataka, Buddha takes birth as a Bodhisattva in Mithila city in the royal family of Videha kingdom (*rashtra*). Here also Videha is addressed as *rashtra* and Mithila as *nagara* and Sankhpala Jataka also mentions the same. The *Majjhimanikaya*¹⁵ mentions that on the one side of the river Ganga was Videha and on the other side Magadh kingdom was there. In another *sutta* of *Majjhimanikaya* we find that the Buddha stayed with the monks of the *sangha* at the mango-grove of Mithila, there he says to his disciple Ananda that the king named Makhadeva

⁸*Shatpatha Brahmana*, XI, 6,2,5 ; XI, 4,4,13 ; XIV, 6,12,2 ; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, 3,10,9,9.

⁹*The Wonder That Was India*, A.L. Basham, Picador, [1954] 2004 (foreword by Thomas R. Trautmann), p. 41.

¹⁰*History of Mithila*, Upendra Thakur, p. 7.

¹¹*Shatapatha Brahmana*, 1. 4. 1. 14. 17.

¹²*Jatak*, Bhag- 6/539, translated in Hindi by Bhadant Anand Kausalyayan, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Prayag, Allahabad.

¹³*Jatak*, Bhag- 6/546, Gatha 84-91.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Bhag- 6/546, Gatha 84-90/91.

¹⁵*Majjhimanikaya*, 1,7. 74-84, translated by Dwarikadas Shastri, Bauddha Bharati Granthamala-25, Bauddha Bharati, Varanasi.

ruled Mithila righteously.¹⁶ After all these mentions of Buddhist sources, it seems that the term Mithila was used for the capital city of Videha but later on it became the name of the region. Subhadra Jha writes that Mithila was the place of birth of Mahavira, the last Tirthankara of Jains. Mahavira is very often referred to as *Vaishaliya*.¹⁷

In the later Vedic literature, the ruling dynasty of Mithila has been called as the Videha *vamsha* or the Janaka *vamsha*. It is a mythological dynasty so its date can not be fixed but literary sources clearly indicate that this dynasty came to an end at the time of Karal Janaka and Mithila saw the rise of Vajji *gantatra* (republic). In about sixth century BCE, the region of north Bihar was called *Vrijjisangha* (confederation) which in Pali literature has been called Vajji *mahajanapada*. This *gana-samgha* comprised of eight federating units in which the Videha, Lichhavi, Vrijji were prominent. During the time of Mahavira and Buddha, the Lichhavis consolidated and expanded in comparison to others of the confederacy, but political upheaval in the next century led to the overthrow of the Lichhavi rule. The king Ajatashatru of Magadha kingdom fought fiercely against the Lichhavis and annexed Vajji into the kingdom of Magadha.

Mithila kingdom is also widely mentioned in the epic *Ramayana*.¹⁸ It has presented mythological-historical details of the geo-culture of Mithila and its relation to other neighboring states through stories of a long list of rulers of Janaka dynasty, the birth of Sita/Janaki/Vaidehi and her marriage with Rama, prince of Ayodhya's Raghu lineage and her exile. The *Ramayana* mentions Mithila as a spectacular city, which was the name of the capital city of the Janakas of Videha kingdom, named after their ancestor the king Mithi.¹⁹ Valmiki writes that the *rishis* began to praise the grandeur of Mithila on the occasion of Sita's *swayamvar*.²⁰ Later in politico-cultural imagination of the epic and puranic tradition Mithila became synonymous with Videha and the people of this region came to be known as *Maithilas* (who are born in Mithila). *Vishnupurana*²¹, *Bhavishyapurana*²² and *Nimivamshavarnanam* of Shrimadbhagavata²³ talks about the king 'Nimi', the son of Ikshvaku instituted a sacrifice or *Yajna* and asked his priest rishi Vashishtha to preside. Vashishtha said that he had already been engaged by the king of Devas, Indra in a *Yajna* which will take five hundred years to complete and asked Nimi to wait for that period of time, but in the conversation Nimi did not reply and

¹⁶Ibid., 5, 524, Sankhapala Jataka.

¹⁷*The Songs of Vidyapati*, Subhadra Jha, Motilal Banarasidass, Banaras, 1954, Introduction, p. 4.

¹⁸*Valmiki Ramayan, Balkanda*, Geetapress Gorakhpur, Vol.I, *Sarga*- 50, 66, 67, 68, 70.

¹⁹*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXII, Part. 3-4, p. 82-83.

²⁰*Valmiki Ramayana, Balkanda*, Vol. I, *Sarga*-48, p.123-124.

²¹*Vishnu Purana*, Geetapress Gorakhpur, Ansh-IV, Adhyaya-V, p. 252-253.

²²*Bhavishya Purana, ShabdaKalpadruma*, Part- III, p. 723.

²³*ShrimadbhagwataMahapurana*, XI, 13.

sage Vashishtha thought that he had agreed. Nimi in the meantime asked *rishi* Gautama and employed him for *Yajna* when Vashishtha came to meet Nimi, he saw Gautama and others doing *Yajna* for Nimi. Vashishta felt insulted and cursed Nimi that he would henceforth cease to exist in corporal form. Nimi also cursed Vashishtha in turn and both abandoned their human bodies. *MithilamahatmyamofBrihad-Vishnupurana*²⁴ further attests the narrative and informs that Gautama, Yajnavalakya, Bhrigu, Vamadeva, Kanava, Agastya, Bharadwaj, Valmiki and other sages assembled at *Gangasagara*²⁵ and bathed the dead body of Nimi with sacred water, this spiritual process produced a resplendent body who was named Mithi. Mithi established the capital city of Mithila. This may have been the main reason that the region was known as Mithila. *Vishnu purana* also mentions the term Maithila for the kings of Mithila.²⁶ The term Maithila means belonging to Mithila. It is a *vriddhi* form of the term Mithila. Panini gives a different account on Mithila where he writes “*MithiladayashchamathyantetrraripavoMithilanagari*”, that is Mithila is the country where enemies/*Ripu* are crushed. Upendra Thakur writes that this account seems convincing as *Maithilas* are shown as great fighters in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.²⁷ The *Ramayana* mentions Shridhvaja Janaka’s conquest of the king of Sankashya and on the other hand the *Mahabharata* also talks of *Maithil* warriors who participated in the war of *Mahabharata* against the Pandavas.

The term Maithili itself reflects that the inhabitants of Mithila region speak Maithili. It appears that during the first half of the fourteenth century CE under the process of vernacularization, the poets in the Maithili region began to produce their first literary works.²⁸ Jyotirishvara Thakur, a 14th century scholar has written his well-known work *Varna-Ratnakara* in Maithili which is considered to be the first prose work of eastern India in the history of vernacular literature. The Maithil scholars also made use of the classical Indian language, Sanskrit, as the works of Jyotirishvara and Vidyapati are in Sanskrit also. The British surveyor general George Grierson has clearly stated that Maithili is also spoken in the south of the Ganga. He emphasizes that the western portion of Santhal paraganas (currently some parts are in Jharkhand)

²⁴ *Mithilamahatmya, Brihad-Vishnupurana*, edited by Dharmanath Sharma, edited by Pandit Dharmanath Sharma, Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, 1980, p. 51-52.

²⁵ Upendra Thakur suggests that the *Gangasagara* referred in the context of Mithila might be somewhere in its region. The identification of this *Gangasagara* is still unknown.

²⁶ *Vishnu Purana*, Ansh-IV, Adhyaya-V, verse- 33, p. 252-253.

²⁷ *History of Mithila*, p. 9-10.

²⁸ *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Pre Modern India*, Sheldon Pollock, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2006, p. 391.

and Munger are Maithili speaking areas.²⁹ It seems that the southern part of Ganga was influenced by Maithili culture as the eighth century Mandar Hill inscription is written in *Maithilakshar*, the script of Maithili. It is examined that the Mithila culture was expanding³⁰ during early medieval period but the territorial limits of Mithila that is called Tirabhukti was limited up to the core area of the Ganga in the south. It seems that after fourth-fifth century CE this region was well known as Mithila and Tirabhukti³¹. The early medieval Sanskrit text *Brihad-Vishnupurana's Mithila-Mahatmya* gives a detailed account of the geographical boundary of Mithila along with its different names as the verses are:

“Ganga-himwatomadhyenadipanchdashantare.

Tairbhuktiritikhyatodeshahparampawanah.

Mithila nam nigari namaste lokvishrut.

Panchbhikarnaih punya vikhyatajagtinye.”³²

The above quoted *shlokas* clearly indicate about the historical importance of different names used for the region and the geographical details of this purana seem more vibrant than other sources of the period. The remains of Basarh (Vaishali) excavation prove the historicity of the term Tirabhukti. Numerous Gupta period seals dating back to the fourth century CE were discovered on which this name occurs. Some of these seals were attached to the letters addressed to state officials who were in charge of Tirabhukti. Vamana in his *Linganushasana*³³ has also mentioned Tirabhukti, as the line is : “*Varendrah Tirbhuktinamdesah*”. Vaman lived in the 8th century CE so on the basis of these archaeological as well as literary evidences we can say that the name Tirabhukti was the name of Mithila region during the Gupta and Post-Gupta period. We do not find any reference to Tirabhukti in the epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. A twelfth century CE text *Trikandashesha* written by Purushottamdeva also uses the term Tirabhukti, it has been described as a region situated on the banks of three major rivers of eastern India- Ganga, Gandaki and Kaushiki.³⁴ The text *Kalpaprabhaby* Shri Jina Prabha Suri of the fourteenth century CE also discusses about Mithila in its *Mithilathakalpa* part and records the contemporary name of the country as *Tirahuti*.³⁵ Most of the land grants and other epigraphical as well as the literary sources of early medieval Mithila use the term Tirabhukti.³⁶ It seems

²⁹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V, Part-II, p.13-14 ; *Maithili SahityakItihas*, Jaykant Mishra, p. 12-24.

³⁰ *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Pre Modern India*, p. 294.

³¹ *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report*, 1903-1904, p. 81 ff.

³² *Vrihad-Vishnupuran, Mithila-Mahatmya*, verses 42-44.

³³ *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, No. VI, p. 18.

³⁴ *History of Mithila*, Upendra Thakur, p. 10-11.

³⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, Part- III, p. 296 ; *History of Mithila*, p. 10.

³⁶ ‘*Bangaon Plate of Vighrapala III; Regnal Year 17*’, D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p. 48-57 ; *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*, Radha Krishna Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 721

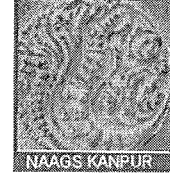
that by the 12th -13th century CE Tirabhukti's rough version became Tirhut. The name Tirabhukti still survives in its modern form Tirhut.³⁷ As far as geographical representation of *Bharatvarsha* is concerned, in Varhmihira's celebrated text *Brihatsamhita*, Mithila is shown as one of the regions in the east. The sixth century CE astronomical text *Brihatsamhita* offers a radical scaled-back geographical representation of Mithila.³⁸ A twelfth century CE scholar Saradatanya, in his text *Bhavaprakashan*, has listed Mithila as one of the sixty four sectors or *Janapadas* in the southern quarter (the fourth quarter) of *Bharatvarsha*.³⁹ Thus, we see that in the different sources the term Mithila or Videha or Tirabhukti or Tirhut has been used frequently. The establishment of the Karnata dynasty (1097 CE) in the last decade of the eleventh century witnessed historical and regional state formation in Mithila.

Choudhary, p. 83-90; 'The Bhagalpur copper-plate grant inscription of Narayanpaladeva', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV, p. 304-310.

³⁷ *Mithilamahatmya, Vrihad-Vishnupuran*, ed. p. 14, verses- 5-8.

³⁸ *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Pre Modern India*, p. 196.

³⁹ *A Political History of Literature: Vidyapati and the Fifteenth Century*, p. 26.



**A SOCIETAL MAPPING ON THE PEOPLE OF NANCHILNADU
UNDER THE SOVEREIGNTY OF TRAVANCORE DURING 16TH TO
18TH CENTURY A.D.**

DR. P. SINDHU

Assistant Professor of History,
Mannar Thirumalai Naicker College (Autonomous),
Pasumalai, Madurai India

DR. D. UMA

Assistant Professor of History,
Mannar Thirumalai Naicker College (Autonomous),
Pasumalai, Madurai India

Abstract

The observance of the traditional caste system with all its rigidity, rigour and social exclusiveness was for long a peculiarity of Nanchilnadu. Hindus belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the backward classes, called the Avarnas, were not allowed to enter and worship in Hindu temples. Christians and Muslims were also strictly prohibited. However, the rigidity of caste barriers has abated considerably and caste as an institution perpetuating social exclusiveness has lost much of its implication. The significance of the present study is an attempt to analyse the Nanchilnadians societal structure, customs and practices among the people and the rigid judicial system. Hence it becomes an important record to understand the status of oppressed class people and their pathetic and excruciating sufferings.

Key Words: Social Customs, Nanchilnadians, Oppression, Judicial system

Introduction

A brief survey of the social condition of the people of Nanchilnadu in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is indispensable for a proper understanding of the intricate history of the period. Customs and institutions of a feudal character and many other vestiges of the old order remained intact during this period. The inscriptions found in South Travancore throw much light on the social customs and institutions of the age. The

Mudaliyar Manuscripts enlighten us on some aspects of the people lives in Nanchilnadu under the influence of Travancore. Popular traditions are also of much help to disentangle the threads of some age-old institutions and practices. The usage which continues to be in vogue at the present day are of immense value in elucidating certain aspects of the social history of the past.

Caste Structure

The early settlers of Nanchilnadu belonged to various communities. Brahmins occupied a predominant position in society. They cultivated various sciences and arts. As custodian of the sacred scriptures, the Brahmins acted as religious teachers in temples. They were a well-educated community engaged generally in intellectual work. The Nambiyars where the officiating g persists in temples. They belong to the same class of Brahmin known as Gurukkalsor Bhattars in the east coast. Their service as priests was confined to Siva temples.

Nest to Brahmins, we have the Vellalas. They have been associated with the temple for quite a long time as garland-makers hymnists and chorists. Agriculturalists and land-owners among the Nanchilnadu Vellalas are even now found in the village of Kakkumur, Kurichi, Parakkai, Terur and Tamaraikulam. The Nanchilnadu Vellalas constitute the most numerous and powerful action of the landed gentry. They were appointed as Valia Eleluttu (Accountant General) in government service.

¹An interesting group of people known as Kotukula Sabhaiyar also flourished in Nanchilnadu in the sixteenth century A.D. they were confined to Suchindram, Darsanamkope and Talakudi. From an inscription, it is seen that Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma appointed AriyanCokkanPeriyaperumalMarthandanBrahmadhirya, one of the Kotukula Sabhaiyar of Suchindrum, as Accountant of the PillayarKovil at Tovalai.²

Regarding their advent into Nanchilnadu some inference may be drawn from an inscription of Kurandi, a village situated two miles to the north of Suchindram. The inscription of the 23rd Mithunam, 518 M.E/ 18th June, 1342 A.D. records the construction of a temple and a wall at Kurandi by Ssuryan, a chief of Kotukulam. It is stated that the construction was undertaken under the command of the Kotukula assembly of Rajakkaneri alias Sri Vallabhamangalam of Kilakkalakkuru in Pandiynadu, in order to commemorate the name of the Venadu sovereign, Sri Vira Rama Udaya Marthanda Varma. It is likely that the king must have invited some members of the group to settle down in Kurandi, Suchindram and neighbouring places.

Nadars from one of the major communities in Nanchilnadu. Caldwell consider that like the Ilavas, the Nadars were immigrants from the northern coast of Ceylon in very early times although this view has been contested in

¹Nagam Aiya, V., The Travancore State Manual, Vol.II, Trivandrum, 1940, sssp.374.

²Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol.IV, pp..100-101.

recent times.³The Nadras are also called Nadalavrs in inscriptions: this shows that they were once great landlords. They followed Makkattayam (a system of inheritance in which the sons inherit the property of the father) law of inheritance.⁴ A large section of the community embraced Christianity in later times.Vettakkarans were found near Terur in Agasteeswaram taluk. They supposed to have been hunters who worshipped Kannimar, a group of seven female deities. They were Makkattayis and were distinct from Vellalas who neither intermarry nor interline with them.⁵

We have reference to professional castes such as smiths, carpenters and washermen. An inscription of Maran Cadayan speaks of smiths and carpenters. Another inscription belonging to the period of CholanTalaikonda Vira Pandiyan refers to the washerman community. The shepherds and cowherds had their habitations at the eastern fringe of Suchindram. It is probable that the members of this class were residing there at least from the tenth century A.D.⁶ Nallur was inhabited by a section of this class. They were called Yadavas or Idayas. In Tovalai however, they are spoken of as Poundans. They are Makkattayis.⁷

Social customs and practices

It would be appropriate to dwell on the social habits and customs of the people of Nanchilnadu. They were very simple in their dress also their food was very simple. The most important food-item was Kanchi (rice porridge).⁸ Living houses of the Nanchilnadians were largely of three kinds. As vast majority of people were poor, they lived in cadjan houses, i.e., mud-huts thatched with Cadjan leaves. This was peculiarity of Nanchilnadu. The upper middle class, however, made houses of bricks, burned or otherwise. These may be thatched or tiled. The aristocratic class usually put-up wooden houses. All houses irrespective of size or make up were designed in a peculiar manner. Every house had more than a dozen compartment. There was a nalukettu, a drawing room, bed room, store room surrounded by cayippu⁹ and kitchen. Besides, a puja room was a must in all residence. Generally, idols and portraits of gods and goddesses adorned the room.

Among the social institutions of the age Marumakkattayam or matrilineal system of inheritance deserves special mention. The Nanchil Vellalas and Krsnavakaikar followed the matrilineal system of

³Caldwell, R., A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly, Madras, 1881, p.64.

⁴Kunjan Pillai, P.N., Census of India 1931, Vol.XXVIII, Travancore, Part. I, p.384.

⁵Ibid.p.386.

⁶Pillai, K.K., The Suchindram Temple, Madras, 1953, p. 248.

⁷Kunjan Pillai, N., op.cit., p.38.

⁸Padmanabha Menon, K.P., History of Kerala, Vol.III, 1933, Ernakulam, p.225.

⁹Logan, W., Manual of the Malabar District, Vol.I, Madras, 1951, p.84.

inheritance.¹⁰ The king who was responsible for the introduction of Marumakkattayam system among the Nanchil Vellalas Koda Varma. The Nanchil Vellalas though retained tenaciously the Tamil culture adopted the matrilineal system of inheritance. Consequently, they came to be called as Marumakkavali Vellalas. We shall presently consider how the Nanchil Vellalas happened to adopt this pattern of inheritance. It is presumed that they were originally the inhabitants of Pandianadu that they immigrated into Nanchilnadu sometimes in the remote past.¹¹

The adoption of Marumakkattayam brought in its trail certain importance consequences. The Marumakkattayam system presupposed a joint family.¹² The Travadu (a Nair family) was a cohesive unit each and member had a place in the organisation. It contributed in its own way to social solidarity and as it prevented fragmentation of holding the travadu property remained intact. In due course various evils crept in and solidarity of the family became weakened. The allegiance to the maternal uncle was felt to be unnatural. Paternal affection often gained the upper hand over the artificial relationship between the uncle and nephews. Lack of individual responsibility among the junior members and the resulting absence of initiative a breeding ground of lethargy naturally made them rebellious and recalcitrant. A sense of wasting away of the innate potentialities of individuals leading to a feeling of frustration drew them to the inevitable end of insurance. Domestic disputes became thus common. Gradually it brewed endless disputes resulting in the birth of a tottering social setting. Ultimately this situation led to the formation of Makkattayam system.

Nanchilnadu at the hey-day of its history was still in grips with feudalism. Theoretically though it had little warrant in the canons of the state, social relationship was moving in an imbroglio, of feudalism oppression. The following will authenticate this presumption in Nanchilnadu. An old custom called Uliyam (service in return for lands or other grants made) stood in the way of the moral, social and economic progress of the depressed classes. Uliyam means 'labour without remuneration'. People belonging to the different communities like Shanaras, Ilavasand Parayas were the victims of this social injustice. They were compelled to supply "cadjans for covering the Sirkar buildings, leaves for the elephant's food, branches of plantains for festivals, fish for the table of the Chief Europeans".¹³ They had to perform certain other duties in the palace without pay. If they refused, they were summoned before the palace Kariyakkar for enquiry and were punished. A Christian in Nanchilnadu was severely beaten for refusing to carry leaves on the Sabbath. The most oppressive aspect of the Uliyam service was the

¹⁰ Joseph, M.P., Principles of Marumakkattayam Law, Kerala, p.1.

¹¹ Nagam Aiya, V., op.cit., Vol.II, p.377.

¹² Parameswaran Pillai, K., 'A plea for partition in Marumakkattayam Taravads' The Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol.VI, p.15.

¹³ Political Consultations, 15th March, 1859, p.315.

demand for gratuitous supply of provisions for the use of Uttupuras and temples. As this custom was so cruel, the Nanchilnadians boldly objected to forced labour in the Nattukuttam held on 26th day of Kartikai of 776 M.E./ 25th November, 1600 A.D.¹⁴ Virutti also connoted the same practice under different name. This feudal service continued to exist for a very long time in Nanchilnadu. The virutti holder was to render manual service and supply provisions to government in return for lands enjoyed by him. If he failed or was indifferent to carry out his service, the lands were resumed by government and assigned to others.¹⁵

Slavery

Slavery was another deep-rooted institution that prevailed in Nanchilnadu. The slaves were subject to inhuman treatment and oppression in Nanchilnadu. Poothany in the Agasteeswaram taluk, had a good cluster of houses belonging to these classes of people.¹⁶ A document dated 1st Vaikasi 606 M.E./ 27th April, 1430 A.D from South Travancore discloses that some Paraya men and women were given as dowry together with cows, paddy-fields and copper vessels.¹⁷ Another document, which is rather a slave deed, dated 30th Aani, 886 M.E./ 29th June, 1710 A.D. shows that vellatti was sold for fifty Kaliyugaraman-panams.¹⁸ Another deed dated 14th Chittirai, 973 M.E./ 23rd May, 1779 A.D. reveals that a Paraya woman and her son sold for one hundred and fifty panams. The streets occupied by the Brahmins and Sudras were not accessible to the slave class. This system of slavery hindered the development and growth of a unified society. There was also agrestic slavery in Nanchilnadu. The fact that majority of early converts to Islam and Christianity were drawn from the derided lower classes, speak volumes for the magnitude and depth of these evils.

Another dreadful custom variously called Pulappedi or Mannappedi or Parappedi was observed during this period.¹⁹ According to it the members of the lower castes like pulayas, Mannans and Parayas enjoyed the privilege of harassing women of higher castes, particularly of the Nair caste, during certain months every year. They used to roam about freely in the night during this privileged caste. The custom was that those women of the Nair caste who were thus carried away by Pulayas and Mannans or polluted by their touch or even hit by a stone, were treated as outcastes. The Pulappedi, Parappedi and

¹⁴Desivinayagam Pillai, S., 'Ancient Forts at Kalkulam and Udayagiri', Kerala Society Paper, Series.VI, p.314.

¹⁵Travancore Land Revenue Manual, Vol.V, pp.76 & 563.

¹⁶Letter from the Dewan Peshcar of Padmanabhapuram to the Dewan of Travancore, Dated 1.4.1873.

¹⁷Kerala Society Paper, Series V, p.283.

¹⁸Ibid.p.284.

¹⁹Duarte Barbosa, A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar, London, 1866, p.143.

Mannappedi simply fanned the flames of caste hatred. This custom wash out from the society by 1696 A.D. with the proclamation of Vira Kerala Varma.²⁰

Devadasi System

Another factor, no less important as any other, leading to steady decline of morality was the Devadasi system. It was prevalent in almost all the temples of Nanchilnadu. The Devadasis were mostly Malayalies. They were found in large numbers near important temples at Suchindram and Cape Comorin.²¹ They were the servants of the temples, were originally an order of ascetics leading a life of personal purity, rectitude of conduct and chastity. In course of time, they lost sight of these noble ideals and degenerated into a class of women of loose morals. The Devadasis of Suchindram had their quarters in the Sannadhi street, the East Street and the Nadutteruvu. In olden days, dramatic performance and dancing were staged in the Natakaslala of Suchindram temple by Kudikkaris.²² On account of the moral degeneration of the Devadasis the divine and serene atmosphere of the temple disappeared.²³

Judicial System

The absence of a systematic judicial system and code of laws contrived to heighten social oppression. The ruler was supposed to be the fountain of justice. His verdict in all cases was final. Of course, he took the opinion of legal experts or Brahmins before deciding cases. The punishments given to the criminals of the age were very drastic. Converts were also officially manhandled. Best example for drastic punishment, in 1752, one Devasahayam Pillai, a convert to Christianity was “taken from village to village riding on a buffalo, daily beaten with eighty stripes, pepper rubbed in his wounds and nostrils, exposed to the sun, and had only stagnant water to drink.”²⁴ Even ordeals were not infrequently resorted to, to establish guilt of suspected offenders.

The famous ordeal known as ‘Kaimukku’ at Suchindram was introduced by the Brahmins who migrated to the area in the wake of the establishment of Venadu supremacy. The Tamil word ‘Kaimukku’ emphasizes the actual mode of conducting ordeal. Literally it means ‘dipping the hand’. Among the different forms of ordeals, water and fire ordeals, and ordeals by poison and balance were important. Ordeal by balance was reserved for Brahmins, fire for Kshatriyas, water for Vaisyas and poison for Sudras. But it must be observed that though this was the general basis of the classification it was not always rigorously followed. The documents called ‘Kaimukku’ –

²⁰Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol.II, pp.26-28.

²¹ Krishna Row, V., Selections from the Records of Travancore, No.III, Trivandrum, 1860, p.5.

²²Pillai, K.K., op.cit., p.69.

²³Chidambaram Pillai, Report of the Temple Entry Committee, Trivandrum, 1934, p.30.

²⁴Mateer Samuel, Native Life in Travancore, London, 1883, p.291.

records are found in Vattappalli Matha. They deal with the details connected with a number of cases of Kaimukku ordeal held in the temple. The Kaimukku records show that a vast majority of the trials took place in respect of sexual offence committed by Numboodiri women. It may be noted that not only Hindu but non-Hindu like Christians, and Muslims were also sometimes subjected to trial by ordeal.²⁵

What is significant about the legal system of Nanchilnadu-Travancore was no exception was that it did not embody the spirit of what is popularly called the 'rule of law', under which all, irrespective of caste or creed will be equal. The upper castes like the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Nairs enjoyed several privileges and immunities. Apart from the above, the upper classes were free from the rigours of special taxes or levies. They enjoyed exemption from almost all of them. Poll-tax was imposed on three communities Ilavas, Mukkuvas and Parayas.²⁶ The have-nots thus suffered from the merciless clutches of heavy taxation and extreme poverty. A special tax Kuppakkalce in the nature of poll-tax was imposed on Parayas and Ilavas in the taluk of Tovala.²⁷ A succession fee called 'Purusantaram' was also levied.²⁸ A tax was levied for exercising the privilege of wearing gold ornaments. They were also denied the privilege of erecting large and tiled houses to live in. Thus, the members of the backward communities were treated in the most inhuman and barbarous manner. In fact they were subjected to the worst form of tyranny with the connivance of person in authority. Rev. Mateer says "Narrow and short-sighted laws, exclusive legislation and oppressive monopolies effectually hindered the extension of trade, the growth of commerce, and the spread of agriculture, while barbarous caste restrictions produced disunion and national weakness. The use of public highways was forbidden to outcastes and any one daring to pass on within polluting distance of a Nair would be cut down at once. To secure immediate recognition of such classes they were required to be uncovered above waist; shoes, umbrellas, fine-cloths and costly ornaments were interdicted to them. The holding of umbrellas was prohibited to all castes, except Brahmins, on public occasions, though the rains were pouring upon them. The proper salutation from a female to persons of rank was to uncover the bosom".²⁹

The origin of caste system in Nanchilnadu goes back to the days of the influx of the Aryans. The people were broadly divided into Avarnas (backward

²⁵ A Judicial History of Travancore (Government Publication), p.4.

²⁶ The Travancore Devasam Department Administration Report, Vol.I, Part.I, Trivandrum 1112.M.E..

²⁷ Travancore Land Revenue Manual, Vol.IV, Trivandrum, 1916, p.365.

²⁸ Ramanatha Iyer, A Brief Sketch of Travancore, Western Star Press, Trivandrum, 1944, p.151.

²⁹ Mateer Samuel, op.cit., p.291.

classes among the Hindus) and Savarnas (High caste Hindus).³⁰ The Avarnas were considered untouchables and they were prohibited to enter and worship in temples, to use public wells and to derive the benefits of the common law of the country.³¹ The portals of the educational institutions were shut against them. There were instances of educated Avarnas having been denied the opportunity to enter government service for the simple reason that they belonged to the depressed classes.³² They were not allowed to walk through the streets where Brahmins resided. During the festivals the entry of the Avarnas even on the streets was strictly forbidden. It was the most famous Temple Entry Proclamation of 1936 that put an end to the social oppression based on varna.

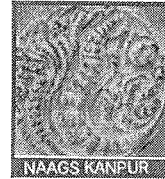
Conclusion

From the above study, Nanchilnadu in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not a bit different from Travancore in its social customs and habits although a few strange peculiarities were not altogether absent. This was much the patrimony of Tamil influence as of their own creation. Simple in habits, they had only limited wants. Most people were happy with austere opportunities and conveniences. The history of Nanchilnadu is replete with instances of organised resistance by the people when such attempts were made. The first organised rebellion and for that matter, the oldest instance of freedom struggle in Travancore emerged in Nanchilnadu under VeluTampi, the most revered martyr in the history of Kerala. Similarly, it was here in Nanchilnadu that people took courage to remonstrate against forced exactions and arbitrary feudal levies. That again speaks volumes for the civic consciousness of the people and their unfailing vigilance to maintain it. When all is said, one cannot fail to notice the sorry condition of justice prevalent in the land. The crude system of justice and dreadful punishments meted-out to criminals recall the hey-day of feudalism. Ordeal was very common. Similarly, the nobility was protected from the harrowing rigour of law. Thus, there was no equality before law, the basic essential of any civilized society. Nanchilnadu had yet to wait to fall under the spell of western culture and modern legal systems. However, the wonderful adaptability and assimilative skill of the people of Nanchilnadu made them over reach Venadu which was well ahead in this respect, once the new system made its appearance.

³⁰The Avarna classes were Adiravida, Alavan, Arayan, Bharatar, Chakaravar, Chakkiliyan, Chavalakkaran, Ilavan, Ilavatti, Kakkalan, Kaniyan, Kavati, Kuravan, Marakkan, Maravan, Makkuvan, Nadar, Nulayan, Pallan, Panan, Panikkan, Paravan, Parayan, Pulayan, Pulluvan, Tatan, Tatan-pulayan, Valan, Velan, Vetan (Report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee, 1934, p.8.)

³¹Mahadev Desai, *The Epic of Travancore*, Ahmedabad, 1937, p.14.

³²Sreedhara Menon, A., *Kerala Gazetteers, Trivandrum District, Trivandrum, 1962*, p.273.



**RECUSAL BY THE JUDGES:
AN ISSUE OF PROPRIETY NOT LEGALITY**

NITESH KUMAR CHATURVEDI

Research Scholar
Department of Law
SLS, BBAU, Lucknow India

PROF. SUDARSHAN VERMA

Former Dean & Head
School of Legal Studies
Department Of Law
BBAU, Lucknow India

INTRODUCTION

Everyone expects the higher judiciary of India to be independent and impartial. According to the provision and various judgments under Indian Constitution, Constitutional remedy as fundamental right¹ and independent of judiciary is the part of the basic structure of the Constitution of India. No rule of law can ever exist without an independent & accountable authority of disputes resolving mechanism. The modern concept of constitutionalism mandates that the government must function strictly in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. So, constitutionalism counters arbitrariness by limiting the power of each wing.²

Decisions of public authorities shall be made in a fair and just manner and on germane grounds with less prejudice to the rights of people. Absence of bias opportunity of hearing before a decision is taken and the compulsory need to state reasons are the rules of natural justice that constitute the attributes of procedural fairness in democratic governance.³ In the case of *Maneka Gandhi*

¹Constitution of India, art. 32.

²Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice Judocracy and democracy in India* 175 (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, New Delhi, 1st South Asia edition 2016).

³P. Leelakrishna and Mini S. "Procedural Fairness in Administrative Decision Making" 59 JILI 335 (2017).

v. Union of India,⁴ displays the peak of these efforts with emphasis on procedural fairness and justice⁵, the court explicitly ruled out statutory stipulation and espoused to formulate a fairness jurisprudence that a decision affecting the civil rights of persons should be made only after following the rules of the natural justice.⁶

Judges are expected to be impartial so that the dispute coming before them, between two individuals, individual verses the State, between two State, between Union of India and State and vice versa are decided according to the Constitution and the laws free from influence, bias or prejudice.⁷ Judges are supposed to carry out their judicial duties without fear or favor, ill will or malice. Some variations of these words are found in the oaths of office administered to judge, from the Chief Justice of India down to the judicial magistrate. Recusal of judges usually takes place when a judge has a clash of interest or has a prior involvement with the parties of that case. The recusal of a judge is sought when there are doubts about their impartiality. In fact, it is the foremost duty of the judge to remove every sense of injustice and the possibility of appearance of bias not only from the minds of the parties, but even the public at large or at least the well-informed observer of the judicial process.⁸

Recently there have been some controversial recusals in Supreme Court, where a recusal was refused by the Judges and some examples where judges are not agree to hear that cases. In recent years, Supreme Court of India saw number of examples of judicial recusals like NJAC case, Ramjanm Bhoomi case, Gautam Navlakha case, Judge Loya case, case of Former CM, J&K Omar Abdullah & election petition of Mamta Banerjee.

Principle of Judicial Independence and Higher Judiciary

The first important reference to a Supreme Court for India appears in the Nehru Report, which, as it envisaged a Federal Constitution for the independent nation, proposed several important additions to the existing judicial system.⁹ The Nehru Report recommended that this hierarchy of the Courts be kept, but that at the apex of the judiciary there should be a Supreme Court with the original jurisdiction in all 'federal' matters and where interpretation of the constitution was concerned-in fact the power of judicial review. The appellate jurisdiction of the Court was extended to cases that at the time could be appealed from a high Court to the Privy Council.

⁴ AIR 1978 SC

⁵ Constitution of India, art 21: Protection of life and personal liberty- No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

⁶ P. Leelakrishna and Mini S. "Procedural Fairness in Administrative Decision Making" 59 *JILI* 337 (2017).

⁷ Justice R. Banumathi, *Judiciary, judges and the Administration of Justice* 33 (Thomson Reuters, Gurgaon 1st edition 2020).

⁸ Faizan Mustafa, "Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality" *LIV EPW* 12 (2019).

⁹ Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution Cornerstone of a Nation* 208 (Oxford University Press, New Delhi 35th edn. 2019).

The Supreme Court first appeared in the proceeding of the Assembly in its role as guardian of the social revolution; even before a committee was established to enquire into its functions; it was called upon to safeguard civil and minority rights.¹⁰ The Constituent Assembly members are captured the special imagination of Supreme Court, because it is the special duty & responsibility to the Court for safeguarding the fundamental rights of the people of India.

The Power of the courts to interpret the Constitution and secure its supremacy is inherent in any Constitution which provides government by defined and limited power.¹¹ As the Indian Constitution guarantees to the people certain fundamental rights, the Supreme Court of India & various High Courts of the States are entrusted with the work of protection of these fundamental rights. It ensures rule of law and realization of basic human rights of people of India. The role of the courts is to decide the conflict between the individual rights and society's need has been considered in part III and IV of the Constitution of India.

Supreme Court of India being "the most powerful court" it is also a constitutional Court like no other. It has a sanctioned strength of 34 judges (including Chief Justice of India), all of whom do not sit together, but do so in benches of two or three judges, and more rarely five or more judges which is called Constitutional Bench.¹²

In the judgment of *Union of India v. Sankalchand Himatlal Sheth*¹³, Justice Untwalia explain the role of the Supreme Court of India—"judiciary is like a watching tower above all the big structure of the other limbs of the State from which it keeps a watch like a sentinel on the functions of the limbs of the State as to whether they are working in accordance with the law and the Constitution, the Constitution being supreme."

Justice J.S. Verma is forthright- "*independence of judiciary does not mean merely independence from outside influence but also from those within. To my mind, dangers from within have much and greater potential for harm than dangers from outside.*"¹⁴ The principle of judicial independence is deliberate to protect & promote the system of justice and rule of law as well as maintain the public belief & confidence in Superior Courts of India. An independent judiciary encircled by powerful executive forces remains insulted from the destructive element maintaining its individual, distinct and independent authority.

¹⁰Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution Cornerstone of a Nation* 210 (Oxford University Press, New Delhi 35th edn. 2019).

¹¹Mamta Rao, *Constitutional Law* 445 (Eastern book Company, Lucknow 1st edn. 2013).

¹²The Constitution of India, art.145(3).

¹³AIR 1977 SC 2328.

¹⁴Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice versus Judiciary* 139 (Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1st edition 2019).

Independence and impartiality of the person entrusted with the task of decision making in dispensation of justice are essential pre requisites of his qualification. Independence of judiciary would mean that a judge should Independence of judiciary is one of the cherished constitutional goals and it has been held to be part of basic structure of the Indian Constitution.¹⁵ According to the Constitution of India the basic elements of an independent higher judiciary includes-

- a. Appointment of the Judge¹⁶
- b. Removal of the Judges¹⁷
- c. Security of fixed tenure¹⁸
- d. Protection of salary and privileges¹⁹
- e. Work as Court of Record²⁰
- f. Restriction on discussion in parliament to the conduct of any judge of Superior Court.²¹
- g. To Separate the Judiciary from executive.²²

1. Origin and Development of Law Relating to the Recusal

The concept of the recusal of the judges from hearing to a particular case has a long history both in United Kingdom & the United States of America. The right to withdraw from a particular case is founded on the principle of Natural Justice, of which impartiality is a significant facet. To being with as was held in *Sir Nicholas Bacon's case*²³, a judge was expected to recuse themselves if they had- "*direct pecuniary interest*" in the matter before them.²⁴ The principle of automatic recusal in a case of conflict of interest is well settled. The first case of the world of judicial review has its genesis in this very conflict. In Britain, the regulation prescribed that no doctor would be practice unless registered with the college of Physicians which also empowered to prosecute and punish the violation of the rule. Dr. Bonham was prosecuted and a fine of 10 pounds was imposed, of which half went to the State and rest remained with the college. Bonham challenged this on the grounds bias, stating that the college of physicians had a pecuniary interest in this case, so it could be the judge. Allowing his petition, the court invalidated the regulation.²⁵ Sir Edward Coke laid down the principle in *Dr. Bonham's case*²⁶: "no one shall be judge in their own cause". The significant case

¹⁵ *S.P. Gupta v. Union of India*, AIR 1982 SC 149

¹⁶ The Constitution of India, art.124(2) & 217(1).

¹⁷ The Constitution of India, art.124(4) & 217(1)(b).

¹⁸ The Constitution of India, art.217(1).

¹⁹ The Constitution of India, art.125 & 221.

²⁰ The Constitution of India, art.129 & 215.

²¹ The Constitution of India, art. 121

²² The Constitution of India, art. 50

²³ (1563): 73, ER 487 (KB)

²⁴ Faizan Mustafa, "Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality" LIV EPW 12 (2019).

²⁵ Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice versus Judiciary* 125 (Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1st edition 2019).

²⁶ 1608 8 Co Rep 113.

where bias alleged against the Lord Chancellor Cottenham is one often quoted as an illustration for pecuniary bias.²⁷

In United Kingdom the Pinochet II²⁸ case suggested that the panel of the judges with Law Lord in chair should hear recusal petitions. In this case, on 25 November 1998, the House of Lords by a majority of 3:2 restored the warrant of arrest of Senator Pinochet who was the Head of the State of Chile and was to face trial in Spain for some alleged offences. Later, it was revealed that one of the Law Lords (Hoffmann), who heard the case, and his wife had links with Amnesty International which had become a party to the case. Hoffman had not disclosed this while hearing the case. On discovering this fact, Pinochet Ugarte sought the reconsideration of the judgment of the House of Lords on the grounds of an appearance of bias, though not actual bias. The House of Lords held: - "*the principle that a judge was automatically disqualified from hearing matter in his own cause was not restricted to cases in which he had a pecuniary interest in the outcome, but also applied to cases where the judge the judge's decision would lead to the promotion of a cause in which the judge was involved together with one of the parties...Accordingly he was automatically disqualified from hearing the appeal. The petition would therefore be granted and the matter referred to another committee of the house for rehearing.*"²⁹

In the United States of America, in 1792 itself recusal principles based on British Common Law were given statutory recognition. American law has been amended five times and new categories have been added to enlarge the categories necessitating recusal.³⁰ In the United States of America, judges have recused themselves *sua sponte* (on their own motion) under the extra judicial source rule recognized as a general presumption, although not an invariable one, by the Supreme Court of the United States of America in *Litkey v. United States*.³¹ In it, the district judge refused to accede to the defense motion that he recuses himself under section 455 of judiciary and judicial procedure, which mandates that any justice, judge or magistrate judge disqualify himself in any proceeding in which his impartiality might be questioned.³² There are also examples when judges have refused to recuse themselves, as did Justice Antonia Scalia in *Cheney v. United States District*³³ involving his duck hunting partner, Vice President Dick Cheney.³⁴ In the

²⁷*Dimes v. Grand Junction Canal (Proprietors of)*, 1852 3 HLC 759

²⁸*R. v. Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendary Magistrate and others ex p Pinochet Ugarte (No.2)* (1999)1 R ER 577.

²⁹*R. v. Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendary Magistrate and others ex p Pinochet Ugarte (No.2)* (1999)1 R ER 577.

³⁰Faizan Mustafa, "Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality" LIV EPW 12 (2019).

³¹510 U.S. 540 (1994)

³² Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice versus Judiciary* 128 (Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1st edition 2019).

³³541 U.S. 913 (2004).

³⁴ Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice versus Judiciary* 129 (Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1st edition 2019).

United States of America, only the concerned judge hears the recusal arguments. But this is not consistent with the principle of Natural Justice- “no one shall be judge his own cause.”

2. Recusal of Judges is Based on Principle of Natural Justice

Basic feature of democracy is the continued by the existence of an independent judiciary & impartial judges. The principles of natural justice have developed with the growth of civilization and the content there of is often considered as a proper measure of the level of civilization and rule of law prevailing in the community.³⁵ Anglo-American Courts have actively established two principle of Natural Justice is as follows-

- a. *Nemo judex in causa sua*
- b. *Audi alteram partem*

Latin maxim *nemo judex in causa sua*, which means- no one should be made a judge in his own cause or its known as Rule against bias. The basic principle that no man shall be judge on his cause is followed meticulously both in the proceeding of courts and in administrative decision making process. One who makes a decision shall be free from any kind of bias and shall not have any favour to, or ill will against, the person or persons whose rights are affected by one’s decision.³⁶

The rule against bias strikes against those factors which may improperly influence a judge in arriving at a decision in any particular case. The requirement of this principle is that the judge must be impartial and must be decide the case objectively on the basis of the evidence on record.³⁷ There is another rule which requires a judge to be impartial. The theoretical basis is explained by Thomas Hobbes in his Eleventh law of nature; if a man be trusted to judge between man and man, it is a precept of the law of nature that he deals equally between them.

Judicial impartiality is said to be ‘the fundamental principle of justice’³⁸, both at common law and under the Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights and the various justice delivery system. The case invoked the rule enunciated in *R v. Sussex Justice, Ex Parte McCarthy*³⁹ that is- “It is of fundamental importance that justice should not only be done, but should manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done”.⁴⁰ It is well known that a judge must be impartial in two senses; he must neither be actually biased towards a party in the case, nor must he appear to be biased for the fair minded observer. Should either be the case, then he must disqualify himself.⁴¹

³⁵K.I. Shephard v. Union of India (1987) 4 SCC 431, 488.

³⁶P. Leelakrishna and Mini S. “Procedural Fairness in Administrative Decision Making” 59 *JILI* 337 (2017).

³⁷I.P. Massey, *Administrative Law* 189 (Eastern book Company, Lucknow 8th edn. 2012).

³⁸*AWG Group v. Morrison Ltd* [2006] EWCA Civ 6, para 6.

³⁹(1924) 1 KB 256.

⁴⁰Stated by Chief justice Lord Hewart.

⁴¹Shimon Shetreet and Sophie Turenne, *Judges on Trial: The Independence and Accountability of the English Judiciary* 179 (Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom 2nd Edn. 2013).

Impartiality is another essential element of judicial independence where judges are supposed to take decision only on the basis of law and fact of that case and without any fear or favor.⁴² The principle of impartiality underlines the judicial oath to do justice “withoutaffection or ill-will”. According to the Constitution of India, oath or affirmation to be made by the judges of the Supreme Court of India- when a judge take oath at that time they said that to perform the duties of my office without FEAR or FAVOUR, AFFECTION or ILL-WILL and that I will uphold the Constitution and the laws⁴³ that mean, judicial impartiality is a significant facet of justice. Judges should decide legal disputes free from any personal bias or prejudice, means judges should be perform their duties with independence & impartiality.

Impartiality of the judges is the first rule of fair judicial system. Through it is difficult to define impartiality in exact and precise terms; every judge must keep in mind what learned hand had said- *“what do I mean by impartiality? I mean you must not introduce yourself, your own preconceived notions about what is right. You must try, as far as you can, it is impossible for human beings to do so absolutely, but just so far as you can, not to interject your own personal interests, even your own preconceived assumption and beliefs”*.⁴⁴

3. The Concept & Kind of Recusal

Judicial independence and judicial accountability are not mutually exclusive; rather, they are mutually beneficial. Within institutions, judicial accountability supports judicial independence. Public faith in the legal system is preserved, when a judge has no any interest in the parties, advocates or subject matter of litigation. To disqualify or removal oneself as a judge over a particular proceeding because of one’s conflict of interest or recusal or the judge’s act of disqualifying himself or herself from presiding over a proceeding, is based on the maxim that judges are charged with a duty of impartiality in administering justice.⁴⁵ Judges of the Superior Court recuse themselves from the benches of Constitutional Court to retain people’s faith and trust in the Judiciary.

The UN sponsored ‘Bangalore Principles of judicial Conduct’ adopted in 2002 by judge from across the world, including India, the host country, is unequivocal that judges must recuse themselves if there is any conflict of interest.⁴⁶ Competence, diligence, equality, independence, impartiality, integrity & propriety are listed under the ‘Bangalore Principles of judicial Conduct’ of the judge of the Constitutional Court. Clause 2.5⁴⁷ of the

⁴² Available at <https://www.scconline.com>

⁴³ Constitution of India 1950, 3rd schedule.

⁴⁴ Faizan Mustafa, “Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality” *LIV EPW 12 (2019)*.

⁴⁵ Available at- <https://www.scconline.com>

⁴⁶ Available at- <https://www.unodc.org>

⁴⁷ Available at-

https://www.unodc.org/pdf/crime/corruption/judicial_group/Bangalore_principles.pdf (last visited on 15 September, 2021)

Bangalore Principles of judicial Conduct, Clause 2.5- “ A judge shall disqualify himself or herself from participating in any proceedings in which the judge is unable to decide the matter
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Bangalore Principles of judicial conduct stipulates- “A judge shall disqualify himself from participating in any proceeding in which ... the judge or a member of the judge’s family has an economic interest in the outcome of the matter in controversy.”⁴⁸ A judge shall not hear and decide to a matter of a company in which he or she and her family members have holds shares ... unless he/she has disclosed his/her interest and no any objection have raised by the parties to his hearing and deciding the matter.⁴⁹

There are no any written rules or regulations on the recusal of the judges from hearing the cases listed before them in Constitutional Courts. It was left for the discretion of the Judges. The reasons for the recusal are not disclosed in an order of the court. Most of the judges are orally conveying to the parties involved in the case their reasons for recusal and many do not. Some of the judges of superior court explain the reasons in their order like Justice Khehar, at that time when he is in line to be next Chief Justice of India; explain their reason in order of *NJAC*⁵⁰ Case why he is not recues in this case. The decision rests on the conscience of the Judges. At times, parties of the case raise apprehensions about a possible conflict of interest. For example if the judge has, in past appeared as advocate for one of the parties involved in a case.

The recusal law was further broadened and liberalized with “automatic disqualification” becoming the rule in cases of bias. It was termed as the “bright line rule” and covered clear-cut cases of bias. In the cases of appearance of bias, arguments are to be made demonstrating the reasons of possible bias by the concerned judge, and this was called the “rule of reason or per se rule”.⁵¹

Situation of recusal inevitably leads to delay in hearing of the case. The case goes back to the Chief Justice of the superior court, only who has power to constitute a fresh bench for the hearing of that case, because Chief Justice of Supreme Court is the Master of Roster. Even so the Chief Justice of India as the “Master of the Roster,” wields enormous discretion in the matter of

impartially or in which it may appear to a reasonable observer that the judge is unable to decide the matter impartially. Such

proceedings include, but are not limited to, instances where

2.5.1-the judge has actual bias or prejudice concerning a party or personal knowledge of disputed evidentiary facts concerning the proceedings;

2.5.2-the judge previously served as a lawyer or was a material witness in the matter in controversy; or

2.5.- the judge, or a member of the judge's family, has an economic interest in the outcome of the matter in controversy:

Provided that disqualification of a judge shall not be required if no other tribunal can be constituted to deal with the case or, because of urgent circumstances, failure to act could lead to a serious miscarriage of justice.”

⁴⁸Sudhanshu Ranjan, *Justice versus Judiciary* 128 (Oxford University Press New Delhi, 1st edition 2019).

⁴⁹Clause 11 of the Resolution adopted by the full bench of Supreme Court on 7 May, 1997.

⁵⁰*Supreme Court Advocates on Record Association and others v. Union of India and others* (2016) 5 SCC 1.

⁵¹Faizan Mustafa, “Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality” *LIV EPW* 13 (2019).

allocation of cases to benches. Not only does the CJI determine which case will be heard by which bench, they also have the power to determine the combination of the judges who will hear this case. Such power is much wider in the context of the Supreme Court of India. They have sittings in panels of two or more judges.⁵²

A. Kind of Recusal

In India mainly two methods of recusal are normally being practiced in any case. One is the automatic recusal, where a judge himself/herself withdraws from hearing to the case and second is by the request of the parties, when one of the parties of any case points out that to possible bias or personal interest of the judge. In India, the prerogative of recusal is vested in the judges of the superior court. No judge can be forced to withdraw from a case by the parties because it is established principle recusal is not forced by the litigant. Litigant throw recusal cannot be doing bench hunting of the Court.

4. Recusal of the Judges from the Cases of Superior Court

Justice, Sujata Manohar would not hear the matters concerning a corporate because her family member's have the shares in corporate company. As follow Justice Markanday Katju recused himself to the hearing of the matter related to Reliance Company, which is come to the Court as matter of Arbitration. Above examples the cases pertains to a company in which the judge holds stakes, the apprehension would seem too reasonable.

Justice Anil Dave himself recused in the National Judicial Appointment Commission case⁵³ because at that time he was the member of the collegium of Supreme Court, but same matter Justice J.S.Khehar also the member of collegium of Supreme Court, invoking his oath and refused to recuse himself in same case and Justice Khehar also discussed the matter briefly in same judgment, why he was not recused himself in that case? Justice Chelameshwar endeavored to create something resembling a basic canon. "No further inquiry as to whether there was a 'real danger' or 'reasonable suspicion' of bias is required where a judge has a pecuniary interest," he added. "However, in some circumstances, such an investigation is necessary, and the applicable test is the 'real danger' test.

In the Babri first appeal case, Justice Uday Umesh Lalit recused himself from the Constitution Bench as a matter of propriety after parties of litigation brought to his attention that he had appeared as a lawyer in criminal case relating to the demolition of Babri Mosque. In this matter Advocate Rajeev Dhavan pointed out that the Justice U.U. Lalit had appeared for former Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Kalyan Singhin related contest.

Gautam Navlakha, a human rights activist who had approached to the Supreme Court for quashing of criminal proceeding against him. Gautam

⁵²Alok Prasanna Kumar, "Crises in the judiciary restoring order in the courts" *LIII EPW* 10 (2018).

⁵³*Supreme Court Advocates on Record Association and others v. Union of India and others* (2016) 5 SCC 1.

Navlakha's had filed a petition challenging the Bombay High Court's **rejection of his plea** to quash the FIR against him in the Elgaar Parishad-Bhima Koregaon violence case in Pune. On September 30, 2019, Navlakha's petition was heard by a bench led by Chief Justice of India Ranjan Gogoi. The Chief Justice of India recused himself from the case without giving a reason. On October 1, 2019, it was scheduled to be heard by a bench of Justices N V Ramana, R Subhash Reddy, and B R Gavai. The formal order, which was posted on the Supreme Court website later that day, stated that all three judges on the bench had recused themselves, including Justices Ramana and Reddy. Following that, it was scheduled to appear before the bench headed by Justice Mishra on Thursday, October 4, 2019. Justice Bhat recused himself from hearing the case when it came up for hearing before a bench consisting of justices Arun Mishra, Vineet Saran, and Bhat.

Mamata Banerjee filed an election petition in June 2021, alleging anomalies in the counting of the Nandigram Assembly results. According to the election commission's announcement on May 2, 2021, BJP Leader Suwendu Adhikari won the race and Mamata Banerjee was lost by a razor-thin margin of 1956 votes. Mamata Banerjee and her party requested that the petition be transferred to a different judge, citing "apprehensions of bias" because Justice Chanda had previously represented the BJP and its leaders in court cases, and also because posts on various social media platforms suggested that Justice Chanda had a "close pecuniary, personal, professional, and ideological relationship with the BJP and close relationship prominent leaders such as Dilip Ghosh & Tathagata Roy."⁵⁴ If Justice Chanda had continued hearing the case, he did not believe there would have been any conflict of interest. As he stepped away from Banerjee's plea, which will be heard by a different bench, the judge added, "A judge's past involvement with a political party cannot establish perception of bias." Justice Kausik Chanda of the Calcutta High Court in his thirteen page order finally recused himself from hearing West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee's petition challenging her defeat in the assembly election from Nandigram on July 7, 2021, but he fined the Trinamool Congress chief a whopping 5 lakh for the manner in which the recusal was sought.⁵⁵

5. Current Controversy of Recusal in Supreme Court

On 8 February 2018, the bench was led by Justice Arun Mishra and other judges Justice Adarsh Kumar Goyal & Justice Mohan M. Shantanagoudar by a majority of 2:1 in case *Indore Development Authority v. Shailendra*⁵⁶ overruled a judgment of three judges bench of Chief Justice R.M Lodha, Justice Madan B Lokur and Justice Kurian Joshi in case of *Pune Municipal Corporation v. Harakchand Mishrimal Solanki*⁵⁷ as per incuriam means decided carelessly in

⁵⁴ Available at <https://www.deccanchronicle.com>

⁵⁵ Faizan Mustafa, The 'recusal' in Mamata's case: Can a judge be truly impartial, *Deccan Chronicle*, July 9, 2021.

⁵⁶ (2018) 3 SCC 412.

⁵⁷ (2014) 3 SCC 183.

ignorance of law. In this judgment eventually overruled the *Pune Municipal Corporation case* by going against the principle of precedent because precedents are the source of law, according to the Doctrine of *Stare Decisis*.⁵⁸ Justice Arun Mishra led bench also ignored the law relating to the judicial propriety is fairly settled and was reiterated by Justice R.C. Lahoti in *Central Board of Dawoodi Bohra Community v. State of Maharashtra*⁵⁹, where Justice R.C Lahoti had observed that- “the law laid down by a larger bench of this Court is binding on any subsequent bench of lesser or co-equal strength.”

In *Pune municipal Corporation* case unanimously held that “paid” would be mean compensation offered or rendered and deposited in Court and in *Indore development Authority* case Justice Mishra led bench held that- once compensation has been unconditionally offered and refused, it would satisfy the requirement of payment of compensation even if it was merely deposited in the Government treasury. New interpretation of the word “paid” will be only favour in corporate house & government of Union or States, and not the farmers whose land had been acquired, even through balance of equities in acquisition cases should always be in favour of farmers whose land had been acquired particularly in situation where compensation has not been paid for five long years Because in light of the provision of the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013, if land was acquired five years prior to the commencement of the new Act and if compensation had not been paid by the acquisition authority, the acquisition would be lapse.⁶⁰

On 21 February 2018, a three judge bench of the Supreme Court headed by Justice Madan B. Lokur, while hearing land acquisition matters from Punjab and Haryana refused to follow the decision of another three judge bench headed by Justice Arun Mishra and requested the other Supreme Court benches and the High Court’s not to deal with cases pertaining to the interpretation of the section 24 of Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 and after that another 2, two-judges benches are referred the matter to Chief Justice of India, Dipak Misra for constituting a larger bench to give the finality of the meaning of the word “paid” used in section 24 of the Act. On 24 February 2018, CJI Dipak Misra constitutes a Constitution Bench (five judges Bench)⁶¹ of the Supreme Court headed by Justice Arun Mishra & other members of the bench includes Justice Indira Banarjee, Justice Vineet Saran, Justice M.R. Shah and Justice S. Ravindra Bhat.

In the case of *Indore Development Authority v. Manohar Lal and Others*⁶², where the correctness of the judgment authored by the judge was to be examined by the larger bench, Justice Arun Mishra refused to recuse himself

⁵⁸The Constitution of India, art.129, 215 and 141.

⁵⁹(2005) 2 SCC 673.

⁶⁰Faizan Mustafa, “Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality” LIV EPW 13 (2019).

⁶¹The Constitution of India, art.145(3).

⁶²(2020) 8 SCC 129.

despite requests by some of the parties and on 23, October 2019 he passed a 56 page order giving reasons for his non-recusal of this case. Justice Mishra has justified his refusal to recuse on these very grounds of his constitutional duty to sit and the oath he has taken to decide cases without fear or favour, affection or ill-will. Through, an argument in favour of recusal can also be made on basis of this very oath.

In the order of recusal, Justice Mishra said that- posterity is not forgiven to him, if he recuses himself. It is death nail of judiciary and it's a judicial blunder. Justice has to be pure, untended uninfluenced by any factor. Justice Mishra said that recusal is dereliction of duty, injustice to the judiciary or future. Justice Arun Mishra, has rightly emphasized the possibility of bench hunting, and he is justified in saying that recusal requests are not to be used for such manipulations or avoiding a particular judge.

Justice Mishra has talk about of his own conscience but he ignored the sound principle laid down by the Chief Justice of India, M.N. Venkatachaliah in *Ranjit Thakur v. Union of India*⁶³, where he had observed that- as to the tests of likelihood of bias what is relevant is the reasonableness of apprehension in that regard in the mind of the party. The proper approach for the judge is not to look at his own mind and ask himself, however honestly "am I biased" but to look to the mind of party before him. The Constitutional Court has held that-"a judge shall not hear and decide a matter in a company in which he holds shares ... unless he has disclosed his interest and no objection to his hearing and deciding the matter is raised.

Preferably Justice Mishra should have himself told to Chief Justice of India, Ranjan Gogai that he does not want to be a part on this bench or at least made this offer as soon as hearing started in this case as the mere likelihood of the bias in India is considered sufficient to warrant a recusal.

In all likelihood, a fair judgment would be eventually pronounced by Justice Mishra, but the problem with such judgment will be its legitimacy in the eyes of the public and it is a perception that public confidence in the legal system is established or maintained, when a judge has no interest in the parties, advocates or subject matter of litigation. Non-recusal by the Justice Arun Mishra has shaken people's confidence in the impartiality of this bench as the thumb rule is that a judge should err on the side of caution and should remove any reasonable doubt their impartiality.

The Chief Justice of India had similarly refused to recuse himself in *Assam Detention Centre v. Union of India*⁶⁴. In May, 2019 in the middle of the hearing, a Public Interest Litigation⁶⁵ was filed by an activist Harsh Mander about inhumane conditions in Assam's detention centers, and asked to Chief Justice of India to recuse himself in this case. On 2 May, 2019 Chief Justice of India, Ranjan Gogoi too had refused to recuse himself in the Assam Detention

⁶³(1987) 4 SCC 611.

⁶⁴Writ Petition (Civil) No. 1045, 2018.

⁶⁵Harsh Mander v. Union of India, Writ Petition (Civil) 1045/2018

Centre case, through being an Ahom from Assam. In a lengthy order written by Chief Justice, Gogoi said that a litigant cannot seek recusal of the judge. The Court is also observed that—"judicial functions, sometimes, involves performance of unpleasant and difficult tasks, which require asking questions and soliciting answers to arrive at a just and fair decision. If the assertions of bias as stated are to accepted, it would become impossible for a judge to seek clarifications and answer."⁶⁶ Chief Justice, Gogoi also said that—"do not even remotely think that we will recuse. We will not allow anyone to browbeat the institution. Recusal will be destructive for the institution."⁶⁷ He is also add something in his order that—"the inability difficulty or handicap of a judge to hear a particular matter is to be perceived by the judge himself and no one else." Indian Superior Court's already follows the rule and regulations related to recusal of the judges and both the refusals discussed above, the decision was of the entire bench.

6. CONCLUSION

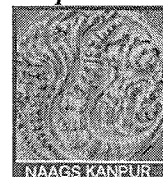
There are no any formal or written rules governing recusals of the judges, several Judgment of the Supreme Court dealt with the situation or issue. In this case of *NJAC*⁶⁸, Justice Kurian Joseph gives his separate opinion and highlighted the need for judge to give reasons for recusals as a measure to build transparency and also observed that- "*it is the constitutional duty of the judge, as reflected in one's oath, to be transparent & accountable, and hence a judge is required to indicate reasons for his recusal from a particular case*" other judge of the Constitution Bench, Justice Madan B. Lokur also said that specific rules require to framed on recusal of the judge.

Supreme Court of India now brings some statutory provision on recusals so that at least in case like *Indore Development Authority & Assam Detention Centre* has no confrontation between judge and parties of the case, because Supreme court have power to make rules for regulating generally the practice and procedure of court. If some specified rules are available then no any confrontation or controversy creates between litigant and Judges of Superior Court. And also there should be an automatic recusal in the light of *Indore Development Authority* case, who had delivered the judgment of single or double bench should not be part on larger bench of the superior court.

⁶⁶Krishnadas Rajgopal, "when a judge opt out of a case?" *The Hindu*, 16 February, 2020.

⁶⁷Faizan Mustafa, "Recusal refusals determining bias and Impartiality" *LIV EPW* 13 (2019).

⁶⁸*Supreme Court Advocates on Record Association and others v. Union of India and others* (2016) 5 SCC 1.



THE DEFINITION OF 'REFUGEE' IN 1951 UN REFUGEE CONVENTION: A NEED FOR RECONSIDERATION AND REFORMULATION

DR. PRADIP KUMAR DAS

Associate Professor
Department of Law & Governance
Central University of South Bihar
Gaya, India.

TANMOY ROY

Research Scholar
Department of Law & Governance
Central University of South Bihar
Gaya, India.

Introduction

History of mankind is repeatedly confronted with massive expulsions of people, forced to flee from famines, civil wars, revolutions, public disorder, natural disasters, persecution etc. The origin and simultaneous growth of refugee problems across the globe put the world scenario in turmoil. Owing to such plight, the whole world community are regularly and spontaneously confronted with a humanitarian crisis. Refugees can be depicted as the "victims of climate change, ethnic cleansing, armed conflict, family, religious or state repression, real estate or rehabilitation projects, or merely poverty and hunger".

¹ It has now become a sad reality that refugees, everywhere in the world, are being levelled as 'unwanted guests'. These vulnerable groups are being addressed with an unwelcome banner at the very frontiers of almost all international borders. Be it developing or developed country, their story and trauma remain almost the same. In every region of the world, this has become

¹ V. Suryanarayan, *Refugee Dilemma: Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu* 14 (Prabhat Prakashan, New Delhi, 1st edn., 2019).

the most common phenomenon.² According to UNHCR statistics and projections, almost 80 million individuals have been the victim of forced displacement till mid-2020. As of mid-2020, 29.6 million people are registered as refugees out of this total figure. Apart from that, 45.7 million people have been marked as internally displaced people and 4.2 million are reportedly seeking asylum till the end of 2019.³ The reasons of their flights are multi-tailored. Massive human rights infringements, armed conflict, internal strife, natural disaster and poverty, inter-alia, are the main prominent factors that actually contribute to the growth of refugee population across the globe. But the 1951 Refugee Convention, which is regarded as the bedrock or cornerstone of international refugee law regime till date, considers a person as 'refugee' on much narrower footing. It is only after attaining the 'refugee' status under such narrower footing, the person concerned becomes eligible for international protection. The non-recognition of 'refugee' status in the international parlance, adds more trauma to their existing vulnerability and plights. A careful examination of the 1951 Refugee Convention would reveal that being drafted in the Eurocentric context and as a post second World War instrument, the 1951 Convention recognizes and treats a person as 'refugee only on the assessment of 'well-founded fear of persecution' and on the touchstone of five enumerated grounds therein.

It is in this socio legal spectacle, the authors have attempted to analyse and assess the meaning of the term 'refugee' in general parlance, the definition of the term 'refugee' and its constituents under the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol. Further, a reasonable assessment and evaluation have been attempted by the authors regarding the definition of the term 'refugee' in the context of regional developments. The authors have also examined the compatibility of the term 'refugee' with the contemporary parameters and standards of 21st century. Through this paper, the authors have attempted to explore some notable shortcomings in the refugee definition of 1951 Convention that are required to be amended to make it more inclusive.

Meaning of the term 'Refugee' in literal sense

In ordinary usage, it denotes 'someone in flight' in order to escape some unbearable or unendurable conditions or personal circumstances. Here the destination is not uniform and may vary according to the convenience and choice of that compelled escapist. But the uniformity lies in their flight towards safety or freedom, owing to several reasons such as from oppression, deprivation of life or liberty, persecution, extreme poverty, civil war, internal strife, natural disasters etc. They can at best be depicted as mothers desiring to come back home, fathers hoping to return to his work, and kids pining for their childhood. In other words, they can aptly be termed as "forced migrants living without national boundaries and government protection. Most of them

²Monika Mandal, *Settling the Unsettled: A study of Partition Refugees in West Bengal* 28 (Manohar Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 2011).

³Mallika Soni, "Over 80 million people forcibly displaced globally as of mid-2020, Covid further worsened crisis: UN" *Hindustan Times*, Dec. 10, 2020.

want to flee as far as possible from the conflict but they are not welcome”⁴. In this context the word “forced migrant” bears utmost importance. It must be borne in mind that Refugees can’t be placed at par with other migrants. They are not moving for gain; they are moving as they have no choice or option. Unlike emigrants, refugees do not choose to go to another country. They go because they feel they have no other choice.⁵ Prof. Alexander Betts is of the view that the core idea of refugee protection revolves around the principle that at a time people face serious torment or trauma at the place of their origin, they are at liberty to flee and seek shelter to a safe haven till the situation improves or till the time of their permanent reintegration elsewhere. The underlying object behind this is that people suffering from persecution or torment must have the right to live elsewhere and to be well cared till a new shelter or re-arrangement is available for them.⁶

The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary has defined the term ‘refugee’ as “one who flees to a refuge or one who flees from invasion, persecution or political danger”.⁷

Thus, as a category, the term can be defined by ‘trauma and stress, persecution and danger, losses and isolation, uprooting and change of the refugee experience’. In brief, they can be delineated as a special group of people who are forcibly torn and uprooted from their native milieu and are transplanted to a different environment due to circumstances beyond their control.⁸

From the analysis of the above, we generally find that in all the definitions, refugees are based on a common premise and are considered as uprooted people who are in need and who cannot turn to their governments for protection. The substantial common element of refugee status is that this vulnerable group does not enjoy the protection of any government. They lack both the protection and enjoyment of national homeland and a legitimate state to provide them protection. They are the persons who suffer from the trauma of being uprooted from familiar surroundings, from the pain of being forced to abandon basic worldly possessions such as land and residence and from the stress caused by the loss or diminution of social and economic status previously enjoyed in their homeland. None of the familiar and conversant conditions is likely to be available in the different and unfamiliar surroundings at the place of refuge. All these have added to their anxiety and mental trauma about their uncertain future.

⁴Rajesh S. Kharat, *Tibetan Refugees in India 2* (Kaveri Books, New Delhi, 2003)

⁵Carole Seymour-Jones, *Past and Present Refugees 8* (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., England, 1stedn., 1992).

⁶Alexander Betts & Paul Collier, *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System 4* (Penguin Books, UK, 2018).

⁷The New International Webster’s Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, (Trident Press International, Naples Florida, 2004).

⁸Mallica Mishra, *Tibetan Refugees in India 2* (Orient Blackswan Private Limited, New Delhi, 2014).

Definition of the term ‘Refugee’ under 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol

The well-settled and globally recognised definition of the term ‘refugee’ is found in the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951. The 1951 Refugee Convention depicts a particular person as ‘refugee’ who *“as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”*⁹

A bare perusal of the definition as contained in Article 1 of the above Convention would make it evident that it put a temporal as well as geographical limitation on it. Obviously the intent was only to protect the post-World War victims of European countries. Later, when the world community had realized that incorporation of specific temporal and geographic limitation in the refugee definition actually limits the scope of the term ‘refugee’ and thereby excluding the really deserving victims of contemporary times and of other parts of the world then through the 1967 Refugee Protocol the temporal and geographical limitation of the 1951 Convention was lifted. Accordingly, the 1951 Convention was given a universal coverage and the expression “as a result of events occurring before 1st January, 1951” was removed from the Convention definition of refugee. Thus, to some extent, the 1967 Protocol actually met the demands of the relevant time.

Now if we attempt to analyse and assess the present position of the definition of ‘refugee’ in the 1951 Convention, then certain characteristics emerge therefrom: -

- a) the person must have a well-founded fear of persecution; and
- b) such persecution must arise on account of one’s race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and
- c) such person must be outside the country of his origin or in case of stateless persons that person must be outside the country of his former habitual residence; and
- d) such person must be unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country or habitual residence owing to such fear of persecution.¹⁰

Shortcomings of the definition of ‘refugee’ in 1951 Refugee Convention

⁹Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, art.1A(2).

¹⁰V. Vijayakumar, “Refugees and Human Rights: International and National Experiences” in Chiranjivi J. Nirmal (ed.), *Human Rights in India: Historical, Social and Political Perspectives* 177 (Oxford India Paperbacks, 2002).

The definition of 'refugee' in 1951 Convention can be mainly attacked on the ground that it does not keep pace with the flow of time. It is true that through the 1967 Protocol, some of the ingrained deficiencies of the refugee definition had been removed. However, the 1951 Convention's revised refugee definition still has some significant flaws or gaps that have become apparent throughout its application in contemporary age. The main allegation of the refugee law scholars is that: the refugee definition of 1951 Convention is not bothered to mould its character and scope in conformity with the changing parameters of forced displacement. The notion of 'exile' is exclusively used to describe a major solution to the worldwide refugee crisis. In other words, the fundamental charge levelled against the 1951 Convention is that it is out of date and unsuitable for dealing with modern issues. The critics level it as "anachronistic" since it is a product of the Cold War era and reflects Nazi wartime persecutions as well as western political interests of the time then existing.¹¹

Through the following points, the authors attempt to present a brief summary of the shortcomings of the refugee definition of 1951 Refugee Convention:

a) Reliance on 'persecution' as the sole prominent ground: Being drafted in the post-World War scenario, the 1951 Refugee Convention primarily kept its focus mainly on displacement out of war. At that time, two World Wars have rapped the whole world community with naked brutality and severe atrocities of barbaric nature. It is said that history is a mute witness to the most inhuman sufferings that man has inflicted on man. Shocking crimes were committed against the humanity which shock the human conscience and there was a total suppression of basic human values and principles.¹² World had witnessed massive displacement at large scale in order to avoid such brutality and severe atrocities. The notion of forced displacement came into limelight in terms of war only. At that relevant point of time, 'persecution' and the resultant 'fear' out of such persecution were mainly conceived by the plenipotentiaries or drafters as the prominent ground of displacement and obviously the intent was to protect the victims of European soil. With the gradual flow of time, circumstances and situations are subject to change. By the help of several international bodies, organisations, treaties and Conventions of the contemporary time, wars are now being regulated and checked to a certain extent. People are now being turned into refugees due to circumstances different from wars and persecution. Environmental disaster, climate change,

¹¹According to the MEA, India, the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol are "a partial regime for refugee protection drafted in a Euro-centric context.....they do not address adequately situations faced by developing countries, as it is designed primarily to deal with individual cases and not with situations of mass influx, they also do not deal adequately with situations of mixed flows....." V.Suryanarayan, "Need for National Refugee Law" *ISILYBIHRL* 15 (2001).

¹²Tanmoy Roy, "Discourse on Human Rights of Refugee with special reference to India" *CLT* 21 (2018).

massive human rights infringements, being unconnected with persecution, have an important role in contributing to the refugee growth in contemporary times. Thus, 'persecution' should no longer be the sole prominent ground for attaining the refugee status.

b) *Insistence on mere civil and political status as a ground of persecution:* It is true that persecution still is a valid and prominent ground for considering the refugee status of a claimant and it will remain so forever. It is asserted that the 1951 Convention has done a commendable job by insisting on the criteria of 'well-founded fear of persecution' and thereby putting emphasis both on subjective and objective assessment. However, the recognised reasons of persecution therein stand on a much narrower footing. A bare perusal of the definition would make it evident that persecution must be based on the five specific grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. No other ground is recognised by the RSD (Refugee Status Determination) authority during the assessment of a person's claim as refugee. Only those individuals who have been disenfranchised due to the five listed reasons in the Convention are eligible for international protection. Thus mere recognition of civil and political status in the refugee definition of the Convention became a subject matter of severe criticism and suspicion.¹³In essence, it actually limits the scope of international protection and the actual eligible persons thus become deprived. Scholars of this field are of the view that during two World Wars and in its subsequent phase, persecution was perceived mainly on one's race, religion, nationality or political opinion. Enumeration of specific grounds of persecution can best be termed as "policy decision"¹⁴. However, in modern 21st century, this policy is required to be modified to give a considerable place to the economic, social and cultural factors.

c) *Non recognition of 'sex' as an explicit ground of persecution:* The term 'refugee', in general parlance, is gender neutral and does not have any bearing on one's gender. However, as mentioned above, in order to be considered as 'refugee' in international refugee law regime, the concerned persons have to establish the five enumerated reasons of persecution. It is true that international instruments pertaining to refugees does not make any distinction between male and female refugees. Even a women victim of persecution is considered fit and eligible to get refugee status if she is able to establish her fear of being persecuted on the five enumerated grounds of 1951 Convention before the concerned RSD authority. Thus asylum claim of a female applicant have no

¹³James C. Hathaway has viewed and considered the 1951 Convention as "the lopsided and politically biased human rights rationale for refugee law". Originally taken from: B.S. Chimni (ed.), *International Refugee Law: A Reader* 4 (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2000).

¹⁴"The list reasons for persecution is not an expression of an underlying principle, but rather a policy decision." Originally taken from: Niraj Nathwani, *Rethinking Refugee Law* 114 (MartinusNijhoff Publishers, The Hague, 2003)

bearing with her gender.¹⁵ Data reveals that women and girls constitute half of the world's refugees today.¹⁶ Despite being a considerable figure, gender based violence and persecution on the ground of one's gender are not explicitly recognised in Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Consequently, the plights of women refugees go unrecognized. As a result, they would not be able to claim refugee status on the basis of their gender based persecution. It is true that presently the expression '*membership of a particular social group*' is being construed to include women as refugees. Scholars are of the opinion that the term '*membership of a particular social group*' in the said 1951 Convention should be construed in such manner so that women victims who have been targeted for persecution owing to their gender and other related causes can claim the characteristics of a social group and qualify under the present enumerated grounds of persecution.¹⁷ However, in the modern contemporary era, there is an explicit need to recognise gender based persecution, so that plights of women refugees become recognised and they become eligible to seek international protection.

d) Non-recognition of climate or environmental refugees: Since 2010, the number of people displaced and uprooted by climate-related catastrophes has surged to 21.5 million, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Australian think tank IEP has anticipated that climate-related catastrophes are likely to displace at least 1.2 billion people by the year 2050. These are people who are compelled to escape for saving their lives after environmental catastrophes or degradations such as hurricanes, tsunamis, earthquakes, drought and other severe natural disasters. Presently it is often seen that desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, glacier melts owing to global warming, and other forms of severe environmental degradation make it hard to live a dignified life and make basic health care and assistance almost impossible. With this, extreme poverty and population pressures add to their dismay. Generally, people inside their own nations and states are affected by climate change, and internal displacement is the common result before it reaches the point where people are displaced beyond borders.¹⁸ As per the

¹⁵Bhupinder Singh Chimni (ed.), *International Refugee Law: A Reader* 42 (Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2000).

¹⁶UNHCR says, "women represent 51 per cent of populations in refugee camps, worldwide. There are approximately 50 million uprooted people around the world who have sought safety in another country and people displaced within their own country. Between 75 and 80 percent of them are women and children". Originally taken from: Aliva Mohanty, *Women Refugees of India: Risks and Challenges* 28 (Kunal Books, New Delhi, 2018).

¹⁷"Although the refugee definition does not include gender as a ground of persecution for conferring refugee status, the ground '*social group*' has been interpreted many times to include certain sub-groups of women who share certain specific characteristics of persecution, giving rise to a greater risk of vulnerability as compared to women in that society in general". Snehal Fadnavis, *Women Refugees in India: Problems & Perspectives* 13 (Dattsons Publications, Nagpur, 1st edn., 2007).

¹⁸According to Laura Westra, "often environmental refugees simply attempt to migrate to a different area in their own country, perhaps to the cities." Laura Westra, *Environmental Justice & The Rights of Ecological Refugees* 5 (Earthscan, London, UK, 2009).

existing definitional parameters of 1951 Refugee Convention, these displaced population is not at all eligible to seek refugee status. The present convention definition is neither applicable nor beneficial to ecological refugees. It does not apply to persons displaced for environmental reasons, as it would hardly be possible to interpret environmental disaster within the meaning of the term 'persecution'. Besides this, it is also essential to connect such persecution to one of the five enumerated convention's grounds. As a result, environmentally caused displacement is not covered within the ambit of 1951 Refugee Convention or its addendum/ Protocol.¹⁹ According to the Convention definition, these people are not at all recognised as 'legitimate refuge seekers' rather they are construed as 'internally displaced persons' on the basis of not crossing generally their international borders.²⁰ Recently, the '*Global Compact on safe, orderly and regular Migration*' of 2018, to some extent addresses the issue of global mass migration for environmental reasons. But the Compact is not binding and has only persuasive value. One can't deny the fact that climate change and the resultant massive displacements were not as serious a problem or concern in 1951 as they are now. But, in the light of the contemporary scenario and keeping in mind the recent inevitable phenomenon of nature, the refugee definition of 1951 Convention seems to be obsolete and inappropriate.

e) Non-recognition of mass exodus: A prudent perusal of the 'refugee' definition in the 1951 Convention would make it clear that such definition is individual centric. The 'refugee' definition of 1951 Convention, in contrast to the conditions of mass influx that the impoverished developing country is currently confronting, is primarily meant to address individual instances.²¹ The noted author Laura Westra has rightly opined that the document's basic intent was to address the situation of single victim of forced displacement rather than huge mass exodus. Thus, massive displacement or consequent group disenfranchisement completely fall beyond the purview of Article 1A (2) of the said 1951 Convention. That apart, assessing and evaluating individual refugee status determination usually become impracticable and problematic as host nations are already in struggle to provide basic humanitarian aid and security to the group of new arrivals. History is a witness to the fact that religious persecution, war-based humanitarian crisis, severe environmental disaster, massive human rights interdictions generally contribute to the creation of massive displacement and population shift at large scale. But the refugee definition of 1951 Convention falls short to address such scenario.

¹⁹Joanna Apap, "The concept of Climate Refugee: Towards a possible definition", *EPRS* 1 (2019).

²⁰L. Westra, *Environmental Justice & The Rights of Ecological Refugees* 3 (Earthscan, London, UK, 2009).

²¹The 1951 Refugee Convention is primarily designed to handle individual cases in contrast to situations of mass influx which the country like India is experiencing. Originally taken from: T. Roy, "Discourse on Human Rights of Refugee with special reference to India" 1 *Calcutta Law Times* 21 (2018).

In this context, it can be asserted that the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa is an early but modified replica of the 1951 Refugee Convention that deals specifically with the definition of the term refugee.

S.P. Sarker²² in his book has aptly highlighted the significance of the OAU Convention by emphasizing on three factors: -

- 1) "Here, the refugee definition is objective rather than subjective;
- 2) within its framework, the cause of harm and motive for flight is indeterminate; and
- 3) the refugee definition in the OAU Convention is such that it can be used as a group definition".

Thus, one can easily conclude that in African context, the OAU Convention to a certain extent had become successful in recognising a few contemporary parameters of forced displacements like apartheid, decolonization, generalized violence and others within the purview of the term refugee.²³

ii) Cartagena Declaration, 1984: Another specific regional response to massive displacements of refugees is reflected in the form of Cartagena Declaration of 1984.²⁴ The Cartagena Declaration in essence incorporated and consolidated the humanitarian practices and principles of refugee protection for the Latin American states. Although it is not legally binding upon the states, but the Declaration acquired significance when it has repeatedly been endorsed by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. However, the most noteworthy feature of this Declaration is its encompassing and broader definition of the term 'refugee'. Even some scholars have argued that in reality the OAS Cartagena Declaration endorsed one broader definition of refugee than the OAU Convention of 1969. According to the Cartagena Declaration of 1984, the term 'refugee' embraces all those "*persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order*". A careful perusal of the above definition reflects that maintaining the spirit of OAU Convention, the Cartagena Declaration also opens up new scope and avenues to scrutinize the objective situation in the country of origin and the particular situation of the concerned person or persons seeking protection as refugees. One of the most notable features of the Cartagena Declaration is that it included yet another refugee-producing event, namely, "gross violation of human rights," for the first time within the meaning of the term 'refugee'. The phrases used in such Declaration are

²²ShuvroProsunSarker, *Refugee Law in India: The Road from Ambiguity to Protection* 119 (Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2017).

²³Satish Kanitkar, *Refugee Problems in South Asia* 245 (Rajat Publications, Delhi, 2000).

²⁴Susan Kneebone, "Refugees as objects of Surrogate Protection: Shifting Identities" in Susan Kneebone, Dallal Stevens & Loretta Baldassar (eds.), *Refugee Protection and the Role of Law: Conflicting Identities* 102 (MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2013).

described as the broadest language so far used to identify refugees. In this sense, the definition of Cartagena Declaration transcends the language of the OAU Convention, ushering in a new era that takes into account pragmatic concerns, needs, and the contemporary political scenario.²⁵

iii) Bangkok Principles, 1966: The 1966 Bangkok Principles on the Status and Treatment of Refugees are the outcome of Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization (AALCO). Although it is merely recommendatory in nature, but they have had a good deal of impact on the future growth of refugee law particularly in the regional context.²⁶ The Bangkok Principles of 1966 also enumerated a fairly wide definition of refugee, particularly including the additional grounds of 'colour', 'ethnic origin', and 'gender' in addition to the five well-known grounds of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Besides this, persons fleeing external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of their country of origin or nationality are also included within the domain of the term 'refugee'. Another noteworthy feature of this Principle is that the lawful dependents of a refugee would also be considered as refugees. The Bangkok Principles, according to renowned refugee law jurist B.S. Chimni, failed to have the same level of influence and effect as the Cartagena Declaration had in Latin America. Nevertheless, the definition of refugee as contained in Bangkok Principles apparently seems broader.

Conclusion

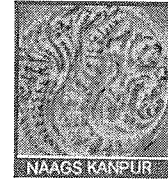
From the analysis and assessment of the above, it is clear that the major issue is to determine what constitutes a refugee. Thus, the problem lies in the periphery of the definition. One can't deny this basic fact that the 1951 Refugee Convention still forms the bedrock of international refugee law regime. The regional refugee law instruments still consider the definitional parameters of 1951 Convention as the foundational stone upon which their edifice is built. But the problem is that, while the regional instruments had to a certain extent realized the need of the hour and expanded their horizon, the 1951 Refugee Convention still confines itself within the orthodox or conventional parameters. The 1951 Convention and its definition of the term 'refugee', being a product of bygone era, are not at all equipped to meet the contemporary requirements and needs. Thus, time has come to suitably modify the definition of refugee to recognise other myriad contemporary grounds of forced displacement. Otherwise, the great humanitarian purpose and avowed object of providing international protection to these vulnerable groups would be frustrated and diminished.

²⁵R. Islam, "The Origin and Evolution of International Refugee Law" in R. Islam & J. H. Bhuiyan (eds.), *An Introduction to International Refugee Law* 28 (MartinusNijhoff Publishers, 2013).

²⁶B. Sen, "Protection of Refugees: Bangkok Principles and After" 34 *Journal of Indian Law Institute* 187 (1992).

So, at a cursory glance to the above discussion, the authors suggest the following steps to make it compatible with the contemporary parameters:

- i) The single significant reason for obtaining refugee status should no longer be 'persecution'. Other myriad contemporary grounds of forced displacement, unconnected with persecution, should be recognised within the definitional periphery of 1951 Refugee Convention.
- ii) Departing from the mere insistence of civil and political factors only during the assessment of persecution, the definitional ambit of the term 'refugee' should give considerable focus to the economic, social and cultural factors of the victim.
- iii) In order to recognise the plights and vulnerability of women refugees, gender-based persecution and violence should specifically be included within the purview of Article 1A (2) of the 1951 Refugee Convention.
- iv) Assessing the present increasing number of displaced people by climate-related catastrophes and keeping in mind the future apprehension of the global community, the notion of climate or environmental refugees should explicitly be introduced within the ambit of the term 'refugee' in the 1951 Refugee Convention.
- v) Moving beyond the individual centric focus, the refugee definition of 1951 Convention should specifically address the real situations of massive displacements or mass influx in the light of the prevailing scenario of poor developing countries. Individual centric refugee status determination process should no longer serve the fruitful purpose.



LEARNING FOR ALL: N.P.E.- 2020

DR. PREETY AGARWAL

Associate Professor
Department of teacher education,
D.A.V. College
Muzaffarnagar India

Abstract

The National Educational Policy (NEP), 2020 attempts to address the growing inequality and inequity plaguing country's education system today. Among others, the NEP 2020 recognizes high dropout rates among socio-economic strata and vulnerable minorities. More importantly, there is recognition of barriers that lead to inefficient resource allocations such as small school campuses and causes for lesser participation of the girl child in rural areas. It also recognizes the unmet educational needs of children living in geographically difficult regions. The analysis piece takes a quick tour of key recommendations on inclusive education and records some of the key challenges that the NEP has to take head on. The NEP 2020 recognizes that certain groups are grossly underrepresented in the existing educational systems. To specially address their educational needs, the NEP has clubbed gender identities, socio-cultural identities, geographical identities, disabilities, and socio-economic conditions to create a new social group called SEDGs. The policy bases most of its objectives on creating inclusivity around these groups. As mentioned earlier, these groups have higher dropout rates due to a plethora of reasons, ranging from lack of accessibility for tribal communities (geographic) to historical exclusion of communities from systems of education for the socio-cultural identities categorization.

Key words

Socio-Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs), inclusion, school education, higher education

Introduction

Education is the single greatest tool for achieving social justice and equality. Inclusive and equitable education - while indeed an essential goal in its own right - is also critical to achieving an inclusive and equitable society in which

Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 755

every citizen has the opportunity to dream, thrive, and contribute to the nation. The education system must aim to benefit India's children so that no child loses any opportunity to learn and excel because of circumstances of birth or background. This Policy reaffirms that bridging the social category gaps in access, participation, and learning outcomes in school education will continue to be one of the major goals of all education sector development programmes. The National Educational Policy (NEP), 2020 attempts to address the growing inequality and inequity plaguing country's education system today. Among others, the NEP 2020 recognizes high dropout rates among socio-economic strata and vulnerable minorities. More importantly, there is recognition of barriers that lead to inefficient resource allocations such as small school campuses and causes for lesser participation of the girl child in rural areas. It also recognizes the unmet educational needs of children living in geographically difficult regions. The analysis piece takes a quick tour of key recommendations on inclusive education and records some of the key challenges that the NEP has to take head on. India has witnessed visible improvement in education especially with regard to education infrastructure and student's enrollment in the recent years. In particular, the Right to Education Act 2009 has successfully managed to increase enrolment in the upper primary level (Class 6-8). Nationally, between 2009–2016 the number of students in the upper primary level increased by 19.4 percent. Implementation of schemes of sanitation and safety has also helped sustain this enrollment in the country. The Census 2011 recorded literacy of women at 65.5 percent, for Muslims it had raised to 68.5 per cent and for Schedule Caste communities it had climbed to around 66 percent. Despite significant improvements in many crucial areas, Indian education systems continue to grapple with challenges of inequity and exclusion. Access to quality school education is still a dream for most rural population and the vulnerable and marginalized groups. This is even more acute in the higher education sector.

Areas to be covered for equity by NPE-2020

1. Socio-Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs)

The NEP 2020 recognizes that certain groups are grossly underrepresented in the existing educational systems. To specially address their educational needs, the NEP has clubbed gender identities, socio-cultural identities, geographical identities, disabilities, and socio-economic conditions to create a new social group called SEDGs. The policy bases most of its objectives on creating inclusivity around these groups. As mentioned earlier, these groups have higher dropout rates due to a plethora of reasons, ranging from lack of accessibility for tribal communities (geographic) to historical exclusion of communities from systems of education for the socio-cultural identities categorization. Recognizing their special needs, the NEP 2020 recommends a series of policies and schemes such as targeted scholarships, conditional cash transfers to incentivize parents to send their children to school, providing bicycles for transport that have worked in the past to increase enrollment, to create more representation.

2. Recognition of gendered identities

The NEP 2020 recognizes that female and transgender individuals across all the groups and socio-economic categories are the worst affected people. There are plans to implement schemes of giving out bicycles to form cycling groups and creating walking groups to schools to include community participation and make safety nets for these vulnerable students. Further, recognizing critical needs of education of the girl child, the new policy proposes the creation of a 'Gender-Inclusion Fund' to create better educational spaces for women and transgender individuals. The fund will be accessible to states to create systems that will help the inclusion of these students. The fund will initiate provisions of sanitation, conditional cash transfers, bicycle distribution schemes, etc. Additionally, funds will also enable states to support and scale up effective community-based interventions that address local context-specific barriers to female and transgender children's access to and participation in education. In this regard, the policy recommends establishment of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas to provide better boarding facilities for students to tackle geographical barriers to education. Despite these innovative ideas and proposals, the NEP is far from addressing core issues of inclusivity and conversations that are missing in the existing schooling systems. Historically, school curriculums have remained silent on discrimination based on sexual identification and orientation of individuals and specific discrimination that transgender individuals face in workspaces. These individuals are not accorded the basic respect that citizens deserve, and even though there has been a judicial abolishment of Article 377, conversations around identity are still considered a taboo and have led to multiple cases of discrimination in the past against these individuals.

Recognition of individuals with special needs

The policy recognizes children with special needs and believes in incorporating them into the mainstream education systems. It broadly aligns with the objectives of The Rights of Persons with Disabilities (RPWD) Act 2016.

The policy also aims to recruit special educators in all school complexes to make sure that teaching is more inclusive and cognizant of the needs of children. Children with benchmark disabilities will be allowed to opt for homeschooling and would be provided with skilled homeschooling educators so that they can still learn and acquire the best educational facilities. Further, teachers will be trained to identify learning disabilities in children early on and to help children with learning disabilities succeed in education and take care of their mental health. National Assessment Centre, PARAKH will be formulated to create equitable systems of assessment for children with learning disabilities. Alternate models for schooling are proposed to advance this objective. However, the NEP appears to be over ambitious and utopian on this front. It fails to recognize the fact that not only most teachers are poorly trained for such special assignments; it also misses to take into account how most of India's schools are grossly understaffed. The policy also doesn't

clarify or elucidate how it plans to create alternative homeschooling mechanisms that are accessible to individuals. For instance, in a recent evaluation undertaken by Delhi Child Rights Commission, as much as 60 percent of schools reported zero students with disabilities, and another 28 percent reported less than 1 percent. It highlights that people with disabilities are set to experience adverse socio-economic outcomes than persons without disabilities. The new policy fails to specify a roadmap of how it will make sure that education is made accessible to these individuals. It also doesn't specify what the change in the curriculum would be to make sure that children with learning disabilities don't feel excluded in the extremely competitive environments that Indian schools operate in today.

3. Creation of Special Educational Zones

One of the standout recommendations of the NEP is the proposal to set up Special Educational Zones (SEZs) in regions with significant population belonging to Socio Economically Disadvantaged Groups and in those aspirational districts. The key purpose is to spread education in the remotest and farthest places in India. This will be done by pumping extra resources and aligning multiple schemes and programmes of Centre and states to transform these backward regions. While this idea is novel and holds promise to transform educational access in inaccessible areas of the country (such as urban ghettos with substantial minority population), the policy hasn't specified what the criterion for these zones would be and how will they be distinguished in urban and rural landscapes. The policy has no clear indicator of what would be the determining factors.

Equitable and Inclusive Education: Learning for All-The NPE-2020 recommends the following:

1. For disable persons

The policy incorporates several recommendations of disability organizations on the 2019 draft. The NEP asserts that children with disabilities will have opportunities for equal participation across the educational system. A major victory is the recognition of the 2016 Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (RPWD) and its provisions for inclusive education, defined as a system of education where students with and without disabilities learn together. These recommendations include non-discrimination in schools, accessible infrastructure, reasonable accommodations, individualized supports, use of Braille and Indian Sign language in teaching, and monitoring among others. The policy has provisions for recruitment of special educators with cross-disability training and incorporates disability awareness within teacher education. While the Indian education system and successive government policies have made steady progress towards bridging gender and social category gaps in all levels of school education, large disparities still remain - especially at the secondary level - particularly for socio-economically disadvantaged groups that have been historically underrepresented in education. Socio-Economically Disadvantaged Groups (SEDGs) can be broadly categorized based on gender identities (particularly female and

transgender individuals), socio-cultural identities (such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, OBCs, and minorities), geographical identities (such as students from villages, small towns, and aspirational districts), disabilities (including learning disabilities), and socio-economic conditions (such as migrant communities, low income households, children in vulnerable situations, victims of or children of victims of trafficking, orphans including child beggars in urban areas, and the urban poor). While overall enrolments in schools decline steadily from Grade 1 to Grade 12, this decline in enrolments is significantly more pronounced for many of these SEDGs, with even greater declines for female students within each of these SEDGs and often even steeper in higher education. A brief status overview of the SEDGs that come within socio-cultural identities is given in following subsections. According to U-DISE 2016-17 data, about 19.6% of students belong to Scheduled Castes at the primary level, but this fraction falls to 17.3% at the higher secondary level. These enrolment dropoffs are more severe for Scheduled Tribes students (10.6% to 6.8%), and differently-abled children (1.1% to 0.25%), with even greater declines for female students within each of these categories. The decline in enrolment in higher education is even steeper.

2. For socially and educationally backwards

A multiplicity of factors, including lack of access to quality schools, poverty, social mores & customs, and language have had a detrimental effect on rates of enrolment and retention among the Scheduled Castes. Bridging these gaps in access, participation, and learning outcomes of children belonging to Scheduled Castes will continue to be one of the major goals. Also, the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) which have been identified on the basis of historically being socially and educationally backward also need special focus.

3. For tribes

Tribal communities and children from Scheduled Tribes also face disadvantages at multiple levels due to various historical and geographical factors. Children from tribal communities often find their school education irrelevant and foreign to their lives, both culturally and academically. While several programmatic interventions to uplift children from tribal communities are currently in place, and will continue to be pursued, special mechanisms need to be made to ensure that children belonging to tribal communities receive the benefits of these interventions.

4. FOR MINORITIES

Minorities are also relatively underrepresented in school and higher education. The Policy acknowledges the importance of interventions to promote education of children belonging to all minority communities, and particularly those communities that are educationally underrepresented.

5. FOR DIVYANG

The Policy also recognizes the importance of creating enabling mechanisms for providing Children with Special Needs (CWSN) or Divyang, the same opportunities of obtaining quality In addition, there have been various successful policies and schemes such as targeted scholarships, conditional

cash transfers to incentivize parents to send their children to school, providing bicycles for transport, etc., that have significantly increased participation of SEDGs in the schooling system in certain areas. These successful policies and schemes must be significantly strengthened across the country. It will also be essential to take into account research that ascertains which measures are particularly effective for certain SEDGs. For example, providing bicycles and organizing cycling and walking groups to provide access to school have been shown to be particularly powerful methods in increasing participation of female students - even at lesser distances - because of the safety benefits and comfort to parents that they provide. One-on-one teachers and tutors, peer tutoring, open schooling, appropriate infrastructure, and suitable technological interventions to ensure access can be particularly effective for certain children with disabilities. Schools providing quality ECCE reap the greatest dividends for children who come from families that are economically disadvantaged. Meanwhile, counselors and/or well-trained social workers that work with and connect with students, parents, schools, and teachers in order to improve attendance and learning outcomes have been found to be especially effective for children in urban poor areas. Data shows that certain geographical areas contain significantly larger proportions of SEDGs. Also, there are geographical locations that have been identified as Aspirational Districts which require special interventions for promoting their educational development. Hence, it is recommended that regions of the country with large populations from educationally-disadvantaged SEDGs should be declared Special Education Zones (SEZs), where all the schemes and policies are implemented to the maximum through additional concerted efforts, in order to truly change their educational landscape.

6. FOR WOMEN

It must be noted that women cut across all underrepresented groups, making up about half of all SEDGs. Unfortunately, the exclusion and inequity that SEDGs face is only amplified for the women in these SEDGs. The policy additionally recognizes the special and critical role that women play in society and in shaping social mores; therefore, providing a quality education to girls is the best way to increase the education levels for these SEDGs, not just in the present but also in future generations. The policy thus recommends that the policies and schemes designed to include students from SEDGs should be especially targeted towards girls in these SEDGs.

In addition, the Government of India will constitute a 'Gender-Inclusion Fund' to build the nation's capacity to provide equitable quality education for all girls as well as transgender students. The fund will be available to States to implement priorities determined by the Central government critical for assisting female and transgender children in gaining access to education (such as the provisions of sanitation and toilets, bicycles, conditional cash transfers, etc.); funds will also enable States to support and scale effective community-based interventions that address local context specific barriers to female and transgender children's access to and participation in education. Similar

‘Inclusion Fund’ schemes shall also be developed to address analogous access issues for other SEDGs. In essence, this Policy aims to eliminate any remaining disparity in access to education (including vocational education) for children from any gender or other socio-economically disadvantaged group.

Free boarding facilities will be built - matching the standard of JawaharNavodayaVidyalayas - in school locations where students may have to come from far, and particularly for students who from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, with suitable arrangements for the safety of all children, especially girls. Kasturba Gandhi BalikaVidyalayas will be strengthened and expanded to increase the participation in quality schools (up to Grade 12) of girls from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Additional JawaharNavodayaVidyalayas and KendriyaVidyalayas will be built around the country, especially in aspirational districts, Special Education Zones, and other disadvantaged areas, to increase high-quality educational opportunities. Pre-school sections covering at least one year of early childhood care and education will be added to KendriyaVidyalayas and other primary schools around the nation, particularly in disadvantaged areas.

Measures to be taken at school level for inclusion

To this end, schools/school complexes will be provided resources for the integration of children with disabilities, recruitment of special educators with cross-disability training, and for the establishment of resource centers, wherever needed, especially for children with severe or multiple disabilities. Barrier free access for all children with disabilities will be enabled as per the RPWD Act. Different categories of children with disabilities have differing needs. Schools and school complexes will work and be supported for providing all children with disabilities accommodations and support mechanisms tailored to suit their needs and to ensure their full participation and inclusion in the classroom. In particular, assistive devices and appropriate technology-based tools, as well as adequate and language-appropriate teaching-learning materials (e.g., textbooks in accessible formats such as large print and Braille) will be made available to help children with disabilities integrate more easily into classrooms and engage with teachers and their peers. This will apply to all school activities including arts, sports, and vocational education. NIOS will develop high-quality modules to teach Indian Sign Language, and to teach other basic subjects using Indian Sign Language. Adequate attention will be paid to the safety and security of children with disabilities. As per the RPWD Act 2016, children with benchmark disabilities shall have the choice of regular or special schooling. Resource centre in conjunction with special educators will support the rehabilitation and educational needs of learners with severe or multiple disabilities and will assist parents/guardians in achieving high-quality home schooling and skilling for such students as needed. Home-based education will continue to be a choice available for children with severe and profound disabilities who are unable to go to schools. The children under home-based education must be treated as equal to any other child in the general system. There shall be an

audit of home-based education for its efficiency and effectiveness using the principle of equity and equality of opportunity. Guidelines and standards for home-based schooling shall be developed based on this audit in line with the RPWD Act 2016. While it is clear that the education of all children with disabilities is the responsibility of the State, technology-based solutions will be used for the orientation of parents/caregivers along with wide-scale dissemination of learning materials to enable parents/caregivers to actively support their children's learning needs will be accorded priority.

Most classrooms have children with specific learning disabilities who need continuous support. Research is clear that the earlier such support begins, the better the chances of progress. Teachers must be helped to identify such learning disabilities early and plan specifically for their mitigation. Specific actions will include the use of appropriate technology allowing and enabling children to work at their own pace, with flexible curricula to leverage each child's strengths, and creating an ecosystem for appropriate assessment and certification. Assessment and certification agencies, including the proposed new National Assessment Centre, PARAKH, will formulate guidelines and recommend appropriate tools for conducting such assessment, from the foundational stage to higher education (including for entrance exams), in order to ensure equitable access and opportunities for all students with learning disabilities. The awareness and knowledge of how to teach children with specific disabilities (including learning disabilities) will be an integral part of all teacher education programmes, along with gender sensitization and sensitization towards all underrepresented groups in order to reverse their underrepresentation.

Alternative forms of schools will be encouraged to preserve their traditions or alternative pedagogical styles. At the same time, they will be supported to integrate the subject and learning areas prescribed by the NCFSE into their curricula in order to reduce and eventually eliminate the underrepresentation of children from these schools in higher education. In particular, financial assistance will be provided to introduce science, mathematics, social studies, Hindi, English, State languages, or other relevant subjects in the curriculum, as may be desired by these schools. This would enable children studying in these schools to attain the learning outcomes defined for Grades 1– 12. Furthermore, students in such schools would be encouraged to appear for State or other Board examinations and assessments by the NTA, and thereby enroll in higher education institutions. Capacities of teachers in the teaching of science, mathematics, language, and social studies will be developed including orientation to new pedagogical practices. Libraries and laboratories will be strengthened and adequate reading materials like books, journals, etc., and other teaching-learning materials will be made available. Within SEDGs, and with respect to all the above policy points, special attention will be given to reduce the disparities in the educational development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As a part of the efforts to enhance participation in school education, special hostels in dedicated regions, bridge courses, and financial

assistance through fee waivers and scholarships will be offered to talented and meritorious students from all SEDGs on a larger scale, especially at the secondary stage of education, to facilitate their entry into higher education.

Under the aegis of the Ministry of Defence, State Governments may encourage opening NCC wings in their secondary and higher secondary schools, including those located in tribal dominated areas. This will enable harnessing of the natural talent and unique potential of students, which in turn would help them to aspire to a successful career in the defence forces. All scholarships and other opportunities and schemes available to students from SEDGs will be coordinated and announced by a single agency and website to ensure that all students are aware of, and may apply in a simplified manner on such a 'single window system', as per eligibility. All the above policies and measures are absolutely critical to attaining full inclusion and equity for all SEDGs - but they are not sufficient. What is also required is a change in school culture. All participants in the school education system, including teachers, principals, administrators, counselors, and students, will be sensitized to the requirements of all students, the notions of inclusion and equity, and the respect, dignity, and privacy of all persons. Such an educational culture will provide the best pathway to help students become empowered individuals who, in turn, will enable society to transform into one that is responsible towards its most vulnerable citizens. Inclusion and equity will become a key aspect of teacher education (and training for all leadership, administrative, and other positions in schools); efforts will be made to recruit more high-quality teachers and leaders from SEDGs in order to bring in excellent role models for all students.

Students will be sensitized through this new school culture, brought in by teachers, trained social workers and counselors as well as through corresponding changes to bring in an inclusive school curriculum. The school curriculum will include, early on, material on human values such as respect for all persons, empathy, tolerance, human rights, gender equality, non-violence, global citizenship, inclusion, and equity. It would also include more detailed knowledge of various cultures, religions, languages, gender identities, etc. to sensitize and develop respect for diversity. Any biases and stereotypes in school curriculum will be removed, and more material will be included that is relevant and relatable to all communities.

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

- Develop teacher competencies and skills
- Develop evidence-based practices that “measure what we value” rather than “valuing what we can measure”
- Create a system of teaching and learning that is competency based instead of content based
- Create an educational culture of collaboration that encourages and supports problem solving

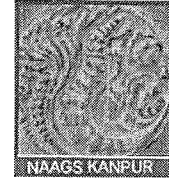
- Establish school clusters to develop consensus around inclusive values within school communities Provide inclusive curriculum that is value oriented and responsive to cultural and linguistic diversity
- Create learning environment that embraces diversity-a positive environment that responds to the needs of learners beyond academics
- Create Inclusive school culture with the support of trained inclusive teachers, social workers and counselors

Conclusion

The policy does not prescribe regularizing special educators as teachers, but views special education as a The NEP conflates these distinct ways of thinking about the education of children with disabilities. At one end, the policy views disability as an individual problem to be solved through ‘rehabilitation’, ‘mitigation’ to ensure that children with disabilities ‘integrate more easily’. On the other hand, it endorses the idea of creating an educational system that is designed for children with and without disabilities to be in the same classroom, addresses barrier-free access, and puts forth a plan for the inclusion of children with disabilities in the curriculum and assessment. The NEP 2020 has done well by loudly recognizing the challenges faced by gendered categories, minorities and children with special needs. It has also done well in terms of proposing a series of laudable steps including education SEZs to address the structural challenges of education in inaccessible regions. Yet, the new policy errs on multiple fronts. While it may have proposed a new category by clubbing many socio-economic groups for administrative efficiency and better allocation of resources, it does injustice to these historic categories such as Dalits and Adivasis. By doing this, it fails to acknowledge the unique sets of challenges faced by these groups. Similarly, its silence on affirmative action for certain categories can throw up multiple challenges at the time of implementation. To cut the long story short, the roadmap proposed to promote equity and inclusion for special categories is paved with potholes.

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HUNDI AS A FINANCIAL DOCUMENT : ITS GROWTH AND ITS PARAMETERS

NAYANTEE BAROOWA

Ph.D. Research Scholar

Department of History

Dibrugarh University Assam India

DR. BIPUL CHAUDHURY

Assistant Professor of History

Dibrugarh University Assam India

Abstract

Hundi has been rightly called ‘a banking statement, ‘a financial statement,’ and ‘an indigenous banking institutional method of payment etc. As *hundi* grew as an important banking document (a transaction document to be precise) over the ages, a varied interpretation from historians and scholars has successfully emerged to rightly define the smooth flow of its existence. This paper seeks to understand the crux of the *hundi* system; its interpretations and its growth and why the system emerged such popularity over the ages. The paper will also seek to understand how the emergence of *hundi* had a correlation with the flourishing trade during the times of the Mughals, and if the banking system of the period largely depended on the *hundi* system for its financial transactions. The paper would seek to establish a holistic approach of the *hundi* system as it prevailed to exist over the years.

Keywords – *Hundi*, banking, rate of discount, premium, credit, trade, commerce etc.

Prof. Irfan Habib deals with the *hundi* system brilliantly and traces its links to the times the Mughals ruled in India. In fact, the commercial activities of the Mughal emperors and their nobility are a subject of much attention to the historians throughout the ages. It would be interesting to interpret the flourishing economy with the existing financial or banking institutions of the times and how it acted a free and smooth banking business. *Hundi*, therefore has been very strongly related to the existing trade of the times; but how it

helped trade is, of course, an issue of rigorous deliberation. Prof. Habib, while interpreting the observations made by the contemporary historian of the times of Akbar, Abul Fazl writes that he (Abul Fazl) while narrating the events of the 40th year of Akbar's reign digresses on the subject of the *hundi*. Fazl wrote: In this country when one wished to transmit money to a distant place, without undertaking the risks of the journey and expenses of conveyance, he delivers the money to a financier (*khwasta-dar*). The latter gives him a written paper, which he draws on the place desired; and there he (the drawee) hands over the money upon sight of that hand written paper. Wonderful it is that no seal or witness is required. That document, they all know, by the name *hundi*.¹ Prof. Irfan Habib further wrote that depending upon the stream of remittances and reverse remittances between any two places, a *hundi*, drawn at one place upon the other, might carry either a premium or discount.

About a hundred years later (1695-96), the historian Sujan Rai Bhandari offered another description of this species of paper (*hundi*): 'If, because of dangers on the routes,² a person cannot convey sums of money to a near or distant place, the sarrafs⁴ take it from him, and give him a piece of paper written in the *Hindvi* characters, without a seal or envelope addressed to their agents (*gumashta-ha*), who have their shops in the various towns and places throughout these lands; and this paper in the language of this country is known as *hundi*. The *gumashtas* of these honest dealers pay out the money in accordance with that document, without any argument or objection, though the distance may be two hundred leagues (*far sang*), and so they keep their dealings straight. It is still more wonderful that though the document is nothing more than a piece of paper, if the possessors wish to sell it at a place other than the one where payment is promised, it is sold for the sum that it

¹ (Habib, 1971)

² In the medieval times, many routes were infested with gangs of thieves and robbers. In the reign of Akbar, Nazeer Aziz Anjum writes that Father Monserrate came across a large number of thieves in his journey from Surat to Agra. This might just be an example about how the roads were unsafe to travel and with money in possession, it certainly could have had been a dangerous expedition. Nazer Aziz Anjum also wrote that Ralph Fitch recorded the presence of bandits in the region of Patna. Quoting Abul Fazl, he said, many routes in the Deccan were unsafe. In the reign of Jahangir, William Hawkins observed that 'the country is so full of outlaws and thieves that almost a man cannot go out of the house throughout all his dominions without great forces.' It might well be an exaggeration of the existing facts of the times.

³ Nazer Aziz Anjum writes that a very common method that was adopted by travellers for their safety was to give a small amount of money to the highwaymen, tribes, petty zamindars and jagirdars etc as protection cost against the dangers of robbers and thieves on the highways.

⁴ Sarrafs – also can be termed as the modern banks that we see around now.

species and the purchaser, obtaining a small amount from the seller, receives the sum stated in it, at the promised place.⁵

The system of *hundi* or the bill of exchange, as we can also call it and *bima* or the insurance was an important private arrangement in the Mughal India. Sujan Rai describes the *hundi* enthusiastically, regarding it as one of the wonders of India.⁶ Rai further writes that it was the sarraf (money changers) or the modern Indian bankers, as we can also call it specialised in issuing *hundis* to enable remittances to be made. The second point emerging from Sujan Rai's description is that the *hundi* was a negotiable document, usually transferred at a small discount. It was thus convertible from a means of remittance into an instrument of credit. It is quite clear that the sarrafs specialised not only in issuing *hundis*, but also in discounting them. Indeed, in 1655, the English factors at Agra reported that the sarrafs were not lending out money at interest, for they were 'finding more profit by exchange', i.e., by using their finds to discount *hundis*.⁷

The practice of banking and other methods of credit were in pervasion in the territory of Amber⁸ on a large scale. Those who carried on these professions were known as Shah, Vohra, Mahajan and also the commonly used 'Sarraf'; Sarrafs were mainly engaged in writing and discounting *hundis*, money changing, insurance of goods, and to some extent, accepting deposits. Shahs and Vohras were not functioning parallel to Saraffs, although, they were engaged also in transmission of funds, issuing *hundis*, as well as, doing money lending and trade. However, their activities were centred mainly in towns while the mahajans were functioning in rural sector. It seems that because of the nature of their monetary and financial transactions, each one of them was involved in trade directly or indirectly. The bankers combined money lending and banking with trade. The mahajans who did this at village or pargana town level also worked as representatives of Sarraf or Shah. The distinction between the bankers and money lenders, in fact, could be marked in the form of their operation at two different levels, i.e., urban and rural sectors.⁹

The trade transactions and transmissions of funds advance of loans and collection of arrears marked a significant contribution towards the development of money economy. These activities were carried out through *hundis* by the indigenous bankers.¹⁰ The state and the nobles played a vital role in the organization and functioning of the banking system in Rajasthan. It's interesting to note that the banking system and its various parameters worked efficiently when there was a growth of trade and commerce, and money economy in the state. The rise in trade resulted in more inflow of

⁵ Habib, 1971

⁶ (Anjum Nazer Aziz, 2005-2006)

⁷ (Habib, 1971)

⁸ In Rajasthan

⁹ (Sharma, 1979)

¹⁰ (Sharma cited his case study in Rajasthan during the seventeenth century)

monetary transactions into the system, both in terms of paper and minted coins. The transactions often happened in secured manners, and the *hundis* or the bills of exchange emerged as a safe passage to a financial transaction.

With the growth of money economy, there was a subsequent growth of merchants and traders and more bullion inflow into the system. Thugs ruled most of the routes in the past, making those the dangerous dens of loot and murder with their most notorious slogan at night – ‘Tobacco *lau*.’ This was an indication that it was the time to loot and kill the travellers of their valuables and lives. Hence, under those circumstances, the sarrafs worked as a protective instrument against these bands of dacoits. They discounted the *hundis* and also discounted all other payment bills.

The Mughal era also witnessed a rapid growth of trade and commerce, and most of the Mughal emperors and nobles spent a lavish lifestyle. They owned personal ships and wealth amounted to tons; and it seemed obvious that with flourishing trade and commerce, financial institutions and monetary transactions were bolstered to the highest ranks. The financial services of the leading indigenous banking firms were indispensable to the Mughal state. These banking firms supplied working capital to the empire and its officials for military campaigns, trade, construction, *karkhanah* (workshop) production, and personal loans. This is where the bankers’ regulation of the valuation, exchange, and circulation of the currency, and particularly the *hundi* system of the bills of exchange were distinctly marked into existence. The state somehow controlled the bulk of the profits from the expansion of trade, along with other accumulated resources like plunder tribute and land revenue and also controlled the minting and circulation of currency. It is hard to imagine that bullion, plunder, and collected revenues were sent by messenger or carted about by bullocks with military escorts when the sophisticated *hundi* system was available, and indeed, we have many instances of emperors, officials and tributary rulers sending official remittances – including funds from Mughal treasuries – via *hundi*.¹¹

The Mughal currency system survived even after the decline of the Mughal Empire as it continued to be used by the regional states. The gradual decrease in the annual flow of silver led to paucity of this metal for its use as currency thereby causing enlarged use of the *hundis*. The volume of money transactions increased automatically when banking instruments, such as, bills of exchange (*hundis*) or letters of credit began to be used in place of currency. In the medieval economy, the establishment of a widespread network of monetary exchange through *hundi* created the necessary conditions for the emergence of credit and regulated the functioning of banking.¹²

The seventeenth century is well known for its rapid growth of trade and commerce where progress depended upon the monetary situation and credit conditions. With the free circulation of gold, silver, and copper coins issued

¹¹ (Leonard, 1981)

¹² (Tyagi, 2014)

from the Mughal mints, there were no official fixed rates for their mutual exchange, the market ratios being determined by the simple forces of demand and supply. It could be observed that the Mughals were able to establish a currency system of very high metallic standard and uniformity throughout their vast empire.¹³ Apart from the standard coins issued by the Mughal mints, there were a variety of coins in circulation such as the *mahmudi* in Gujarat, the Hun (pagoda) in the south and numerous versions of rupee in various parts of the country. But most of them were made of silver because silver reigned supreme as the coin metal in the seventeenth century.¹⁴

Prof. Satish Chandra writes that the growth of money economy¹⁵ in the villages led to the rise of a class of grain dealers-cum-money lenders. Baharji Bohra was reputed to be the richest merchant of the world in his time. Abdul Ghaffar Bohra is mentioned as one of the wealthiest merchants in the world. At a later date, the house of Jagat Seth in Bengal could cash a *hundi* worth several crores on sight. It is interesting to note here that the bills of exchange (*hundis*) issued by the shroffs were honoured throughout India as also in large parts of Asia. The rates of discount on these bills were surprisingly low and attested to the easy availability of money and a highly developed financial system.¹⁶

One major economic factor for change in the seventeenth century was the silver influx from Europe, raising the question of the existence (and extent) of a price revolution in India. For estimating the silver influx in India, the major device has been the counting of Mughal coins (whose legends give years and mints of issue), found in museums and hoards. The seventeenth century Indian economy could have gone through a constant, though perhaps moderate, inflationary process. Since the Mughal Empire had an open system of coinage, it is to be assumed that the imported silver bullion or coins were rapidly melted down and minted into rupees.¹⁷ Trade and commerce and its related activities had a lot to do with newer forms of financial transactions and the growth of the medieval banking institutions and its various forms of monetary transactions had been instrumental in defining a flexible and safe passage for the people all around. *Hundi* therefore can't just be seen as an ordinary paper of monetary transactions; it had a much wider and broader connotation. While, on the one hand, it was an easy process of transmitting money from one place to another, on the other hand, it dealt harshly on the existing unsafe and unsecured highways and all other dangerous and unsafe routes, especially in the medieval times.

In pre-colonial Jaipur, there were many important merchants who played a dominant role in the *hundi* business; they were primarily based in the Jaipur

¹³ (Alam, 1996)

¹⁴ (Habib, 1961)

¹⁵ In the Mughal period

¹⁶ (Chandra, 2003)

¹⁷ (Moosvi, 2008)

city, but widely connected with their branch-offices (*katla* or *hatis*) located in pargana¹⁸ headquarters or other commercial centres. These banking firms were involved in multiple tasks such as banking, money-changing, issuing of *hundis* and giving *zamini* (sureties) etc. It's imperative to learn that there was no gender and caste barrier in running the *hundi* business. Besides the big banking firms and rich *bohras*, *sahukars*, *shahs*, *mahajans*, even the queens and maharanis were also engaged in this business. Even the chief queens of Jaipur state actively participated in the commercial *hundi* business through their *hatis* in different parganas. For instance, the Maharani of Jaipur had established her *hati* in pargana Pahari for the purpose of *hundi* business which was operated by her *gumashta* (agent).

The *hundi* system became an important instrument for running the affairs of the state; consequently, it resulted in the use of increasing paper money and decrease in the physical movement of actual coins. The *hundis* were also issued to meet the cost of local administrative expenditure. Whenever, the state was in financial crisis, its officials used to raise loans by means of *hundis* to meet their requirements. The state also resorted to *hundi* as an important source of raising money to meet the expenditure of the royal household. Even the members of royal family including the queens contracted loans in the form of *hundis*. Money was also sent through *hundis* to high ranking persons posted at distant places. Occasionally, the tribute money to the Mughal Emperor was also sent from Jaipur in the form of *hundi*. For instance, the tribute of 101 *mohurs* (gold coins) was sent to Emperor Shah Alam by the Jaipur ruler through a *hundi* issued from the *hati* of Kashmirimal Jwala Nath. There were also instances when the money for the maintenance of *Lashkars* (armed contingents) was also sent in the form of *hundis*.¹⁹²⁰

It's imperative to understand that transmission of large amount of money through *hundis* might have had caused abundance of money in a particular city; thereby, enabling the state to overcome temporary scarcity of money in that city. In the event of disturbances in an area, *hundi* was the safest possible way to send financial assistance.²¹ There is a rather limited understanding of why the system persists, set against the backdrop of modern banking. *Hundi* is more accurately described as an indigenous banking system endowed with a

¹⁸ *the dictionary meaning of pargana is that it's a group of villages or a subdivision of a district in India

¹⁹ (Tyagi, 2014)

²⁰ *It's an interesting development of understanding the various parameters of *hundis*; *hundi* was not just a paper of monetary transactions then, it was something more than that. In a nutshell, it could be stated that it was the most reliable financial statement of the times.

²¹ *It has been stated in the text that in 1709, traders hesitated to go to the town of Sambhar due to the lurking fear of Shujat Khan, a Mughal faujdar. The Jaipur diwan sent a financial assistance of Rs 1000 through *hundis* for the working of the local administration.

complex range of functions, but whose central purpose is trade. The most outstanding definition has been given by Ballard when he describes *hundi* as a letter of credit or promissory note that was once used by *hawaladars* (*hawala* operators) to document debt.²²²³

Many regarded the *hundi* as representing a genuine trade bill, but there was nothing in the face of the *hundi* to indicate that it arose out of a genuine trade transaction; *hundis* performed one or other of these three functions, viz., they were instruments used to 1) raise money, 2) remit funds and 3) finance inland trade.²⁴ *Hundi* had a unique position; it served first and foremost as credit, but its importance and successful implementation both within and outside the merchant network, lay in its close relationship with goods, capital and the merchants themselves. *Hundi* wove together credit, goods, capital and the merchants themselves in an extraordinary cohesive fashion. Largely understated and dismissed in colonial discourses, *hundi* was not well understood outside Indian merchant communities, and hence, its unique institutional character has been shrouded in obscurity.²⁵ The chief function of *hundi* amongst Indian merchants is largely believed to have been its ability to alleviate the need for specie²⁶, particularly when travelling across arduous and often dangerous terrain. This was undoubtedly true of the caravan trade²⁷ where *hundi* appears to have been served primarily as a letter of credit, or bill of exchange.²⁸

We can therefore conclude that *hundi* was an important financial document and its usage varied according to the need of the times; known prominently by names like bills of exchange, letters of credit, promissory notes etc, but it had one thing inherently strong within the spheres of definitions, and that was, it served as a safest means of transmitting money from one place to the other, and importantly, it never distinguished between the common men and the kings and rulers of the times. It was therefore, a financial blessing for all people dealing with finances and money of the times.

²² (Martin, 2009)

²³ *Hawala* and *Hundi* have been closely described by Marina Martin, of course, with a fine line of difference.

²⁴ If *hundi* is directly related to trade, or it's just an ordinary paper of monetary or financial transactions is something open to debate as in the case of any historical interpretation.

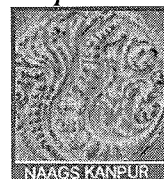
²⁵ (Martin, 2009)

²⁶ The dictionary meaning is money, especially in the forms of coins made from precious metals(having an intrinsic value)

²⁷ A Caravan is a group of people travelling together, often on a trade expedition. Caravans were mainly used in desert areas where travelling in groups aided in defence against bandits as well as helping to improve economies of scale in trade.

²⁸ (Martin, 2009)

Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

THE PHILOSOPHY OF GOD IN SAIVA SIDDHANTA AND KASHMIR SHAIVISM: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

DR. MURUGESAN A

Assistant Professor

Centre for Comparative Religions and Civilizations

Central University of Jammu, Jammu

SOHAIL QUYOOM

Research Scholar

Centre for Comparative Religions and Civilizations

Central University of Jammu, Jammu

Abstract

The spiritual experience of an individual is often identified with one's personal relationship with God who is called as the Ultimate Reality, Almighty, Supreme Being and in different names in the various religious traditions of the world. The intimate relationship between human beings and God is explained as the Mystical Relationship. The Munis, Rishis, Mahans, Saints, Mystics had this mystical experience after the right understanding of God in their personal lives. Thus, the right understanding of God is very important for an individual to have this mystical experience with God. It is important for a devotee to know how the religious traditions explain about the attributes, natures, roles and functions of God to its followers to rightly understand God and to have the mystical relationship with Him. In this regard, the Shaiva schools of Saiva Siddhanta and Kashmir Shaivism respectively, the Southern and Northern traditions of India teach about the attributes and functions of the Lord Shiva. The Tamil term *Pati* is translated as Shiva in Saiva Siddhanta whose functions are understood as the Creation, Protection, Destruction, Obscuration and Bestowal in which the Lord Shiva showers His Grace to liberate the bonded soul. According to Kashmir Shaivism Shiva is conceived as dynamic and the very dynamism of Shiva is called *Shakti*. Both these are connotatively different but denotatively one and the same entity. There is nothing in the world that is other than Shiva. A comparative

approach on the philosophy of God explores the right understanding of the Lord Shiva as taught in Saiva Siddhanta and Kashmir Shaivism.

Key Words: Saiva Siddhanta, Kashmir Shaivism, Pati, Pasu, Pasa, Paramesvara, Rudra.

Introduction

Shaivism is an ancient Hindu tradition devoted to the reverence of the Lord Shiva. The followers of Shaivism are called 'Shaivites' or 'Saivites'. It developed as a blend of pre-Vedic religions of the Tamil Dravidian Saiva Siddhanta but during the process of Sanskritization got aligned with the Vedic deity '*Rudra*', embracing it into the Vedic-Brahmanical fold¹. Shaivism revolves around the Lord Shiva but incorporates many sub-traditions whose theological beliefs and practices vary significantly ranging from devotional dualistic theism such as Saiva Siddhanta to yoga-oriented monistic non-theism such as Kashmir Shaivism². Shaiva theology stretches from believing Shiva as the creator, preserver and destroyer to being the self or *Atman* i.e. being one's own higher self. The Sanskrit word Shiva or Saiva means 'relating to the God Shiva', while the literal meaning refers to "The Auspicious One" and the related beliefs, practices, history, literature and sub-traditions constitute Shaivism. It is an attempt to bring out the philosophy of God in both the schools of Shaivism.

The Concept of God in Saiva Siddhanta

Saiva Siddhanta is a school of thought that aids in understanding the philosophy of Southern Shaivism. *Saiva* (as in Saiva Siddhanta) represents 'The Lord' (Shiva) and Siddhanta stands for 'Conclusion'. Thus, the name of the school can be translated as "the settled view of Saiva doctrine or perfected Shaivism". It is a sub-tradition of Shaivism that propounds a dualistic philosophy and where the ultimate and ideal goal of a being is to become an enlightened soul through the Lord's (Shiva's) Grace. Saiva Siddhanta rejects the idea of *avatara* (incarnation). It is of the belief that God can take any form and even sometimes appears in human forms for the enlightenment of His devotees. Saiva Siddhanta is theistic and pluralistic at the same time. Doctrinally it is dualistic; as it maintains an ontological distinction between *Pati* and *Pasu*, though it can better be referred to as pluralistic in not only maintaining this distinction but also a distinction between the three eternal realities that it posits³. To have a better understanding of the philosophy of God in Saiva Siddhanta we will have to go through these three:

- *Pati* (God)
- *Pasu* (soul)
- *Pasa* (the bonds, universe)

¹Chakravarti, Mahadev. (1986). *The Concept of Rudra-Siva through the Ages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas., p. 66-70.

²Tagare, Ganesh. (2002). *The Pratyabhijna Philosophy*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas., p. 16-19.

³Flood, Gavin. (2006). *The Tantric Body: The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion*. New York: I.B. Tauris., p. 122.

Of these eternal entities, *Pati* represents God or Shiva and stands supreme because He is the only independent reality and the source of all being while others have dependent existence. He is The Absolute thought, The God of religion, The Great God (*Maha Deva*) and The God of gods (*Deva Deva*)⁴. He (Shiva) has pre-Vedic tribal roots⁵ and the image of Shiva that is known to us today is an amalgam of several non-Vedic and Vedic deities besides the Rigvedic God *Rudra*. He is considered superior with respect to the Hindu Trinity (Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra) as He is often identified with the Destroyer (*Rudra*). His superiority over Brahma and Vishnu i.e. The Creator and The Sustainer respectively can better be explained by discussing *pralaya* or cosmic dissolution. For, it is *Rudra* alone who stands unaffected after the cosmic dissolution while Brahma and Vishnu are resolved into Him⁶. Shiva is not bound to the distinctions of sex. He reflects all three forms in which the world appears i.e. *Sivah* (male), *Siva* (female) and *Sivam* (neuter). Saiva Siddhanta defines God as *Ammayappar* (father and mother). This idea of God being the father and mother is unique to the Indian religious thought and to a more specific extent in Tamil philosophy⁷.

Pati is the abode of all auspicious attributes and has no limit to His greatness. The embracive terms that can be employed to indicate His nature are *sat* and *cit*. As *sat* He is the abundance of being and is unintelligible. As *cit* or consciousness He can be known. Metaphorically speaking *sat* and *cit* represent the sun and its light. Although, the scriptures state that God is *nir-gun* but this does not imply that He is attribute less. It simply states that the gunas of prakriti (*sattva, rajas and tamas*) which is a primal matter cannot affect Shiva (*mukkuna-nirgunam*) as they are not His constituents. He is immanent as well as transcendental to the universe. He is *Vishvamaya* (containing the universe) and *Vishvadhika* (above the universe). Meykanda Deva's sutra clearly brings forth the immanent and transcendental nature of God. Appar in his hymns focuses on the immanent aspect of God while the Upanishads reveal the transcendental aspect. Thus we can say that God is both knowable and unknowable at the same time and can be known with the Divine Knowledge but is unknowable through the sensory or conditional one. He is often compared to the vowel 'A' that grants sound to all the alphabets and without which no alphabet or sound can exist. Similarly the world too cannot exist without Shiva.

⁴ Sharma, Arvind. (2000). *Classical Hindu Thought: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press., p. 65-66.

⁵ Sircar, Dineschandra. (1998). *The Sakta Pithas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas., p. 102-105.

⁶ Mahadevan, T.M.P (1955). *The Idea of God in Saiva Siddhanta (Sri-la-Sri Arulnandi Sivacharya Swamigal Sivajnana-Siddhiyar Endowment Lectures)*, Madras: Annamalai University., p. 05-10.

⁷ Baskar, John. *The Philosophical Nature of God in the medieval literature of Saiva Siddhanta*.

https://www.academia.edu/10367028/The_Philosophical_Nature_of_God_in_the_Medieval_Literature_of_Saiva_Siddhanta (accessed on October 01, 2021).

God in Saiva Siddhanta is not only the Creator, Sustainer and destroyer but also the guru, guide, the bestower of grace and the only authority that can complete the soul's journey of liberation. *Pati* being the Divine God and the source of everything that is not only creates the world through His *Lila* but also provides the souls (*pasus*) with pleasures and pains according to their karmas. It is *Pati* who accords liberation to *pasus* through His Grace. The relation that *pasu* shares with *Pati* is that of the body with soul. As a body without soul is nothing but a mass of blood and flesh. Similarly *pasu* is nothing without *Pati*. *Pasu* is also consciousness but cannot know anything without the Grace of God. It requires senses to gain knowledge which are to be provided by the *Pati*. So the *pasu* is inferior to the *Pati* in every aspect. The former is bound to the chains of bondage through the *malas* (*Anava, karma and maya*) that account for the miseries of his life. The soul when covered by the impurities, starts losing the clarity of vision and it is this loss that is referred to as *avidya* (ignorance). Now functioning under the impact of *avidya*, the soul forgets its real nature, attaches itself with the products of the finite world due to which its knowledge and actions become limited and the cycle of transmigration comes to play⁸. Thus, its freedom gets limited but it can shed these *malas* sooner or later with the Divine Grace (*TiruArul*) of the Supreme Lord (*Pati*). Till then, it has to suffer from the limitations enforced by the *malas*. Ramakrishna Paramahansa says that;

*"Maya is like mud, the soul is like a bar of iron stuck in the mud and God is like a Magnet. Unless the iron bar is cleaned of the thick mud, it is difficult for it to migrate towards the magnet. The soul should be cleansed of the mud of Maya so that it is free to be migrate and stick to the magnet of God"*⁹.

Saiva Siddhanta considers Shiva as the Lord of *Pancakrityas* – the five cosmic functions that are resolution, recreation, conservation, concealment and grace. All these functions fall under the operation of grace for they guide the soul from bondage to liberation. The real nature of the soul is to unite with Shiva and this union can only take place through grace; the love by which He rescues those who come to Him, the light that ends the darkness of bondage, and the liberation that bestows upon man the freedom of reunion with God. Grace is in fact the beginning as well as the end of the spiritual life¹⁰. A soul has to follow four courses of discipline (*carya, kriya, yoga and jnana*) to attain perfection. This journey starts from *pasa-jnana* and *pasu-jnana* to *Pati-jnana*. Step by step stage by stage, the soul proceeds from the domain of ignorance to the glorious heaven of wisdom under Shiva's guidance and Grace. It first

⁸Pandit, Motilal. (2010). *From Dualism to Non-Dualism: A Study of the Evolution of Saivite Thought*. Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal., p. 105.

⁹Abhedananda, Swami. (2010). *The Sayings of Ramakrishna*. New York: Cosmic Inc., p. 18-27.

¹⁰Winch, Mary Elizabeth. (1975). *The Theology of Grace in Saiva Siddhanta in the Light of Umapati Sivacharya's Tiruarutpaya* (Thesis submitted to the school of graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts). Ontario: McMaster University., p. 21-23.

learns how to equate empirical good and evil, merit and demerit. This is called "*Iruvinaiyoppu*". Now, the *anava-mala* becomes mature and fit for the divine surgeon's operation. God appears as guru; and through His Grace removes the veils that had blinded soul's vision. The soul at this point sees through the eye of God and no longer through the *pasas* or through its *pasu* nature. This is *Siva-Jnana*. The soul now sheds off the *malas* and when the three *malas* meet the cause of their removal is known as *Malaparipakam*. The shower of grace (*Sakti-nipatam*) from God has made this possible and it is this grace of the Lord that removes the veils of ignorance.

The soul is bathed in the eternal rays of God's light, and becomes totally washed of all its impurities. This is called as release. The body may continue for a while longer because of the residue of *prarabdha-karma*. But that does not affect the perfection of the released soul. At this stage the soul is known as *Jivan-mukta*. It gains absolute control over its senses. It is no longer accompanied by the thoughts of I, me or my and sees everything through the eyes of *jnana*. Its actions become Shiva's actions and to this released soul everybody appears as the manifestation of Shiva. And when the body too falls, he/she attains *Videha-kaivalya*. The spirit has escaped, once for all, from its cage, it can no longer be caught and bound. It has finally achieved its ultimate goal and got merged into Shiva as salt gets dissolved into water.

The Concept of Absolute in Kashmir Shaivism

Kashmir Shaivism is a group of non-dualist Tantric Shaiva traditions from Kashmir that originated in the second half of the first millennium¹¹. It was influential in Kashmir and is hence called Kashmir Shaivism. It was originally a pan-Indian movement and was termed *Trika* by its great exegete Abhinavagupta. Its only aim is to recognize the soul's already existing identity with Shiva (Universal Consciousness). This non-dual philosophy arose in resistance to the dualism of Saiva Siddhanta where the goal of becoming an ontologically distinct Shiva was replaced by recognizing oneself as Shiva who in Kashmir Saivism's monism is the entirety of the universe¹². Despite this, Kashmir Shaiva views were still influenced by Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, such as their view of the primacy of consciousness¹³. Kashmir Shaivism is a vision of perfect human life. The issues connected with family, agriculture, religion, war, Republic, development of mind, renunciation and yoga have all been comprehended and assimilated in Kashmir Shaivism¹⁴. Like Saiva Siddhanta, Kashmir Shaivism also speaks about three entities;

- *Shiva (God or Consciousness)*

¹¹ Lawrence, Peter David. (2005). *Kashmiri Shaiva Philosophy*. Canada: University of Manitoba., p. 01-02.

¹²Flood, Gavin. (2006). *The Tantric Body: The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion*. New York: I.B. Tauris., 66-67.

¹³ Dyczkowski, Mark S. G. (1987). *The Doctrine of Vibration: An Analysis of Doctrines and Practices of Kashmir Shaivism*. New York: State University of New York Press., p. 19.

¹⁴ Chitkara, M.G. (2002). *Kashmir Shaivism: Under Siege*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation., p. 30.

- *Sakti (World or Universal Energy)*
- *Nara (Man or Bounded Soul)*

Shiva represents God or Consciousness. The chief description of Shiva (Consciousness) is that He is Absolute. It exists by itself and does not require anything else for support, which means that He is *nirpeksha* (independent). He is the doer (*Karta*), the knower (*Jnata*) and the world depends upon Him both for its existence and sustenance. Everything in existence can be called Shiva, for everything in the universe is a self-manifestation of Shiva. What appears to be insentient matter or a substance separate from Consciousness is a self-projected appearance (*abhasa*) of consciousness¹⁵. Thus there is no duality, Shiva is the only Ultimate Reality.

The world according to Kashmir Shaivism is the conscious self-projection of Shiva. It is not made of matter, but of Consciousness. *Sakti(Kriya)* is the principle of universal manifestation. It is the dynamic power of Shiva that He uses to manifest the worlds, their objects and beings. At the same time, Shiva is indivisible and is neither exhausted by His innumerable and diverse manifestations nor is limited or conditioned by space (*desa*), time (*kala*) and form (*rupa*). He excels all and is beyond all and it due to this all-excelling aspect that He is called the Supreme Consciousness (*Paracit*), the *Tattvatīta* (Absolute)¹⁶.

Consciousness according to Kashmir Shaivism is knowledge (*Jnana*) and activity (*Kriya*) in one. Thus, Shiva is actually Shiva and *Sakti* i.e. *jnana* and *kriya* in one. Shiva is conceived as dynamic and the very dynamism of Shiva is called *Sakti*. Both these are connotatively different but denotatively one and the same entity. There is nothing in the world that is other than Shiva. The world is the effect and Shiva is its cause. This effect is not created as a new existence but is created out of the cause which is its substance. The Absolute according to Kashmir Shaivism is pure illumination (*SuddhaPrakasha*) who is always self-luminous (*sphurat*) and self-revealed (*svayam-prakasita*) and being so He is the base of everything that is or has being. We cannot think of anything that exists and lies outside the realm of *Prakasha*.

In Kashmir Shaivism, the search or inquiry about the self, starts not with the third person but with the first person i.e. with Shiva as one's own higher self. *Nara* (man) as per Kashmir Shaivism, is the reflection of Shiva. It presupposes a limitation imposed by Shiva on itself, and the self-limited Shiva is referred to as *Nara*. The signs of the *Nara* are false identification of the self and ascribing the not-self to the self. Who am I? What is my real nature? If one has to find an answer to these questions, one has to turn towards one's own self. From this one can understand that man's nature is two-fold; an

¹⁵ Mishra, Kamlakar. (1998). *Kashmir Shaivism: The Central Philosophy of Tantrism*. Delhi: Rudra Press., p. 131-132.

¹⁶ Sen, Brata Deba. *The Conception of Absolute in the Trika System of Kashmir*: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41688680> (accessed on October 2nd, 2021). Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 777

imperfect or limited nature, bound by impurities and a perfect or self-realised nature, free from all impurities. From the above discussion, we can understand the relation that Shiva has with *Shakti* (world) and *Nara* (man). It is evident that Shiva is not different from the world or man and vice versa. In fact both these are the self-projected appearance (*abhasa*) of Shiva and man is ignorant when he considers himself different from the rest. This sense of duality arises due to ignorance (*avidya*). Ignorance as per Kashmir Shaivism does not mean the absence of knowledge but wrong or incomplete knowledge (*apurnajnana*). It is not a negative state but a positive state of wrong or incomplete knowledge about the self or Reality. It is therefore a state of spiritual impurity caused by the *malas* (*Anava, mayiya and karma*) that acts as the limiting or veiling principle. It limits the infinite consciousness and degrades the individual self (*Nara*) to finite consciousness. To realize its unfettered condition, to recognise what it has become, to be able to completely free from *niyati* and to know and attain its true nature (Shiva) is the destiny of the self.

As we have discussed that the root cause of *ajnana* is the sense of duality due to which the self attaches itself with ego and sees rest of the world as other. This misapprehension of reality makes the self limited and he/she starts performing actions by exercising his/her free will. These actions fall under the ethical realm of vice and virtue (*papa* and *punya*) involving the reaping of moral fruits according to the law of *karma* and it is due to these voluntary actions that the soul enters the cycle of transmigration. Now the soul has to get rid of ignorance so that it can attain its original or true nature. For doing so Kashmir Shaivism offers different approaches or means (*upayas*) but this journey from limited consciousness to the Absolute one depends on the ability and awareness of the traveller;

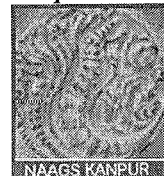
- *Sambhavopaya* (means associated with Shiva)
- *Saktopaya* (means associated with Shakti)
- *Anavopaya* (means associated with individual)

By following these means throughout his/her journey the traveller understands perfect universal love and his/her unity with all, he/she feels one with all and does good to all and realizes that the sense of duality or difference is nothing other than the trick or play of the Lord. But this does mean that after self-realization the world and its activities are rejected. In fact it is freely accepted. As per Kashmir Shaivism, it is not the world that is the real cause of bondage. It is *raga* (attachment) that really binds. Self-realization is not possible without the love of Shiva. It is Shiva who out of His love establishes union with the soul and it is at this point the soul starts its journey of self-realization. He treats the soul's deeds as His own, everything that opposes the soul as opposing Him and prevents the law of *karma* from applying to the actions of the enlightened soul¹⁷. Hence, we can say that without Shiva's Grace self-realization is not possible.

¹⁷ Chitkara, M.G. (2002). *Kashmir Shaivism: Under Siege*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation., p. 30.

Conclusion

Both Saiva Siddhanta and Kashmir Shaivism strongly hold that the Lord Shiva is the Supreme Being who is the Creator, Sustainer, Destroyer, Obscurer and Bestower. The grace of the Lord Shiva is the ultimate source of liberation of soul from the *malas*. Both the traditions agree that the liberation of soul from the bondage starts with the right understanding of the Lord Shiva. One can't move forward without knowing and understanding God as described in Saiva Siddhanta and Kashmir Shaivism. As taught in both the traditions, the relationship between God and soul must be rightly understood so that the individual will come to know the distance between him/her with the Lord Shiva. Here, the distance is explained as the density of bondage of soul with all the three *malas*. This would create consciousness to come out from the bondage and initiate to be with the Lord Shiva. As both the traditions assure that at an appropriate time the Lord Shiva showers His grace on the individual soul to be liberated completely from the bondage and have an intimate relationship with God which is defined as the Mystical Experience by the liberated souls in Saiva Siddhanta and Kashmir Shaivism.



“SARAPATTA PARAMBARAI” INDUCED RE-LAUNCHING THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

ARTHI BASKARAN

Ph.D. research scholar

Bharathidasan University

Tamil Nadu. India

Abstract:

In the history of India, Dalits, an Avarnas who were historically oppressed and excluded from the Brahmanical Varna system, are located on the edge of popular culture and media. They are, in fact, considered as ahistorical or non-historical category. Masters of Dalit liberation movements such as Iyothee Thass, Jyotirao Phule, Periyar, Ambedkar, Kalaingar, etc... have begun to historicize the Avarnas or the casteless or the outcaste Dalits, from the latter half of the nineteenth century. From then on, historization of Dalits took momentum. Dalit writers, academicians, novelists, social activists, medical practitioners, etc... have been at work since then. They did their part and have been doing frantically. But Indian cinema, from its inception, either considered Dalits as non-existent category whose history, culture and a social reality are worth adopting as themes or projects them as criminals and anti-social elements. Tamil cinema is no exception and continued to exclude Dalits from the mainstream culture. Still, the earlier period of Tamil cinema witnessed egalitarian thoughts due to the influence of the Dravidian movement. But, it did not last. However, in the last decade or so, the casteist and communal fortress of Indian cinema is broken. To claim space in the fortress, Pa Ranjith in Tamil cinema has been leading the attack.

Keywords:

Caste, Cinema, Dalit, Dravidian, Egalitarian, Gender, Ranjith, Sarpatta

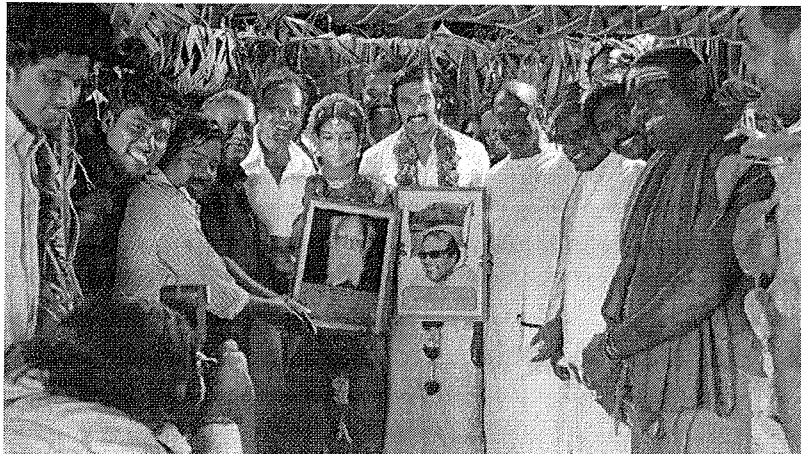


Fig. 1 Pictures of Periyar (left) and Kalingar (right), icons of Dravidian movement as wedding gift.

The young director Pa Ranjith continues to address the politics of subaltern people through his vibrant movies. His style of breaking the stereotypical portrayal of Dalits and their culture has made the Indian audience, especially the Dalit audience, to politicize as well as to celebrate the filmmaker. Through his ground-breaking films such as *Attakathi* (2012), *Madras* (2014), *Kabali* (2016) and *Kaala* (2018), he smashed “the traditional trade mark of Dalits as rowdies” in the history of Tamil cinema and become a “Trend setting” film maker in the context of working-class narratives by asserting the “egalitarian politics” and “dignified culture” of the Dalits, honestly and courageously.

Currently, the filmmaker has explored the traditional and aggressive British boxing culture of North Madras through his recently released, *Sarpatta Parambarai* (2021). For referencing his era, one could commemorate that, this is not an earlier Tamil cine industry wherein the aged hero will dance erotically with his daughter aged heroine; celebrate the basic tenets of Hinduism such as caste, religion and anti feminism; and perceived the Indian social history through the Brahmanical window. But, it is “the brand new era of Tamil Cinema” wherein *Periyar-Ambedkar-Marxist* ideologies are widely taking position through few empowering film makers like Pa Ranjith that will even agitate the Indian Union’s Parliament.

In Ranjith’s screen conversation, he has visibly embraced the revolutionaries, such as Ambedkar and Buddha who have fought against the Brahmanical Caste system and worked towards the upliftment of the oppressed sections. Besides, when he was vehemently spoken about the history of Dalit uprisings and revolutions that happened in Tamil society, he has never been visibly portraying a single Dravidian leaders like Thanthai Periyar, Perarignar Anna, Kalaingar Karunanithi etc... who were also fought explosively against the Hindu caste system and lead a Self-Respect Movement for liberating Tamils from Brahmanical mental seizure, in any side of his frames. *Kabali* (2016), which centered on Tamil migrants in Malaysia,

has not included the contribution of Periyar who even went to Malaysia to orate about malicious caste system.

However, *Sarpatta Parambarai*, is an extraordinary piece of Ranjith that unreservedly different from his erstwhile genres, which has been made with a sight of 'empirical political knowledge'.

***Sarpatta Parambarai* and the regime of Emergency**

Sarpatta Parambarai was made with the intention to bring out the sporting and cultural history of Dalits of the North Madras in Tamil Nadu. The narrative has been encircled with two boxing troupes – Sarpatta Parambarai and Idiyappam Parambarai and fierce competition between them. The context and period chosen was necessitated of the politics of the time. Moreover, there always is politics around sports which needed to be address. While the reference to Emergency Period is to underscore the time and context and its impact on the general society including sports, association of sports persons, trainers and associations with local political parties is to underscore those sports are not apolitical.

The regime, which analog with the current political climate – 'the era of dictatorship', has imposed the suspension of liberty and fundamental rights all over the country. Yet, leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan and Kalaingar Karunanidhi were against the repressive system to safeguard freedom and democracy. The phase witnessed the DMK's active liberation movement against the then Union Government's objective of centralizing the states through repression, all over Tamil Nadu.

The then chief minister of Tamil Nadu, Kalaingar Karunanidhi was one among the leaders who has sacrificed the Chief Ministership in the war against authoritarian. Almost every DMK leaders were detained under the MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) and were persecuted brutally. Eventually, vanquished the tragic tenure and restored democracy also.

This significant episode of DMK under Kalaingar has been brought into light through this script, wherein the most powerful dialogue, "emergency is deforming the Indian Union of states. But, in Tamil Nadu, the rule of our leader is securing us. The leader of our party is the only one who roars against this group. Prime Minister who rules like this, resign! Resign! Resign!" by Rangan coach reveals Kalaingar's and his party comrade's fight against repressive Union Government.

Rangan – "vibrant Dravidan stock"

To understand the Dravidian movement one must distinguish between the question of 'domination' and 'rise to self-respect'. Dravidian or Self-Respect movement is an uprising to achieve egalitarian society.

Rangan coach (Paupathy), who has been wearing the DMK's shawl (see, Fig. 2) throughout the film, is spotted with touching and adjusting the shawl with the feel of pride and self-respect. His cross-legged sitting posture by wearing party's dhoti and considering his defeat and victory with his shawl's defeat and victory, have throws light on his as well as many DMK comrades passion towards the ideology of 'upstanding for Self-

Respect'. Furthermore, Rangan's house has been served as a DMK's diminutive office with party's flag and become a platform for political and revolutionary discussion.

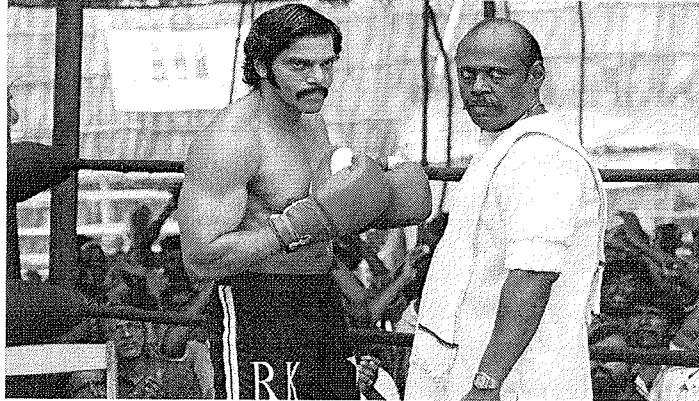


Fig: 2 Kabilan (left) and Rangancoach (right) inside the ring

Rangan, who heads the Sarpatta Parambarai troupe, has been portrayed as an ethnic Self-Respectful coach without caste sentiments, despite the troupe's association with various dominant caste groups. Initially, while choosing a boxer to compete Vembuli (John Kokken) from the opponent Idiyappam Parambaraitroupe, Rangan chooses Raman (Santhosh) even by rejecting his son, Vetri (Kalaiyaran). On that account, Rangan as a Dravidian ideologue is stubborn in hand-picking a deserved boxer, irrespective of the social-hierarchical traditions. Consequently, the skillful and deserving fighters like Kabilan (Arya) from the oppressed society earning the opportunity.

However, Rangan's arrest leads to the fall of Kabilan. In-between the film, Kabilan was engulfed with the corrupted institutions. Like how the dismissal of DMK Government has spread the illicit institutions across the state, arresting of Rangan has ruined Kabilan's. Vetri joins the ADMK. Simultaneously, he started producing the spurious liquors. Later, Kabilan is also induced to joint it. As a result, both of them gains contact with rowdies. Consequently, Mariamma (Dushara Vijayan) faces emotional turmoil as Kabilan's wife. The situation has comes to balance only after the release of Rangan. Noticing Kabilan's contaminated conduct, Rangan as a stubborn ideologue did not allow him to play this time and says, "according to me, he have lost the right to play boxing when he picked up the knife".

Positive transformation: The script has attempted to justify the characters of Raman and Vetri by projecting them from different angles that, why were they being villainous initially and which circumstance has determined their mentality.

Raman, who is from a Hindu intermediate caste, strives to pull down Kabilan, since the latter is from the downtrodden community. Raman's uncle, Thaniga keeps on misleading and pressurizing Raman to behave in such a way. But Raman tends to change after realizing Kabilan's sportsmanship.

Vetri believes that the right to become a leading boxer should be through family hereditary rights than a well earned capacity. But he too started supporting Kabilan. Eventually, both were celebrating Kabilan's victory, which has given a hope that the next generation, can be better.

Thus, both of them were transformed into right sort after seeing Kabilan's genuine capacity. In such a way, the film has been visualized in a rational ideological spray. Perhaps, Thaniga could be seen as actual villain of the movie to some extent. Because, he is the one who was particular about the caste pride and does maneuver.

This sort of scripting is new to Ranjith which is similar to *Pariyerum Perumal's* (2018) positive ending that encouraged the discussions between the oppressor and oppressed communities and also paved way for the huge acceptance among the audience. When a film is centered on the caste elimination, it should make discussions on the social crisis among the audience. Rather, directing a film with revenge narrative like the caste fanatics may not cause a positive impression among the audience who are influenced with noxious social practices. Hence, Ranjith has given a 'cross punch' through this film.

Tamil films with the influence of Brahmanical Patriarchy - *Pattikada Pattinama* (1972), *Cheran Pandiyan* (1989), *Chinna Gounder* (1991), *Thevar Magan* (1992), *Maravan* (1993), *Nattamai* (1994), *Sanda Kozhi* (2005), *Thimiru* (2006), *Sundarapandian* (2012), *Draupathi* (2020) etc... wherein the very name of few films denotes a particular community, have cultivated the assertion of caste-hysterical psyche and promoted communal violence as well. Moreover, they become a catastrophe to the evolving casteless society. Film directors should thus be socially accountable while scripting the narratives and should create the understanding of what we, as a society, have been doing is wrong among the audience, rather not to incite the caste sentiments furthermore.

M.G. Ramachandran: M. S. S. Pandian (2015) interprets that the eleven years of M. G. Ramachandran's rule was the darkest period in the history of independent Tamil Nadu, which won the votes of the grassroots and step forwarded for the elites. The film seeks to expose his tainted social justice by projecting Vetri as his party person who indulges in the production of 'spurious liquor'.

While referring the Emergency repression, the dialogue, "If Tamil Nadu gathers behind our leader, without getting entangled in the magic of the actors, the Red Fort will explode there" by Rangan indicates that, the young generations should be cautious about actor cum politicians like MGR. And it can be related with the present political climate of TN as well, wherein actors like Kamal Hassan and Rajinikanth who have jumped or tend to jump into the politics using their cinematic charisma alone, rather not with progressive political vision.

Smashing Brahmanical Patriarchy

Tamil cinema, as like other Indian regional cinemas, has been majorly promoting the unscientific and religious ideas upon gender characteristics - bravery belongs to men and modesty to women. It kept natural characteristics away from the frames of men, rather constructed the toxic masculine identity that promotes women subjugation. Associating few tendencies - crying, apologizing to wife, shyness, etc... with men are considered as a cowardly attitude by our society. However, Pa Ranjith, once again squeezed these notions of gender stereotyping through this cogent script. Through *Sarapatta Parambarai*, he has vocalized that, even men can cry in front of crowd, apologize to his wife or mother, fall at his wife's feet, and admit defeat.

On social media, so-called progressive thinkers have questioned the role of women, especially of Mariamma, as she too had been assigned in the role of usual sacrificial and motivating wives of Tamil cinema, connected with the phrase 'there is a woman behind every successful man'. Since, the film is exclusively male-centric; the camera has been rarely set on the female roles. However, their characters have been rightly justified by the expression of rough working-class women, every time they arrived in the frame.

Mariamma, as a supporting spouse, she lends a hand to her husband. So, she can't be seen as 'wife material' that could be the case of other Tamil movies. The usual portrayal of women as a shying doll and being submissive to their husbands, have not featured so far in any of Ranjith's film even if they are centered on hero. Either, Mariamma or Bakkiyam (Anupama Kumar) has never been identified with reticent about their personal thoughts. Even in the first night scene, Mariamma does not bow her head like the brides of other cinemas, rather goes down dancing fiercely (see, Fig. 3). In another scene, she didn't wait for Kabilan to kiss her; rather she does it causally.

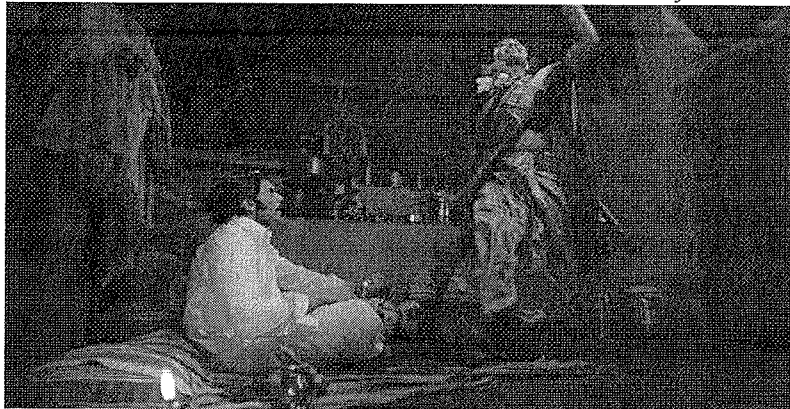


Fig. 3 *Mariamma enthusiastically dancing at her first night*

The realistic representation of Mariamma thus throws light on the status of majority of the working-class women who have the space for spontaneous independence. The film just spoke about their struggling life and what are these women in their families. In a flashback scene, Kabilan's father was killed when he was too young. Thence, as a single mother, Bakkiyam raises him and does everything for their survival by working as a servant at the house of Kevin (John Vijay), known as Daddy. When she realizes that her son

is going down a path that she's afraid of, she even beats him without considering him a grown man and refuses to talk to him. She only changes her mind, when Kabilan himself accepts that he had been in the wrong. Be it a Vetri's wife or Bakkiyam or Mariamma, they had their space to speak their minds and not the one who were even afraid to speak to their husband.

Although, every sections of men has oppressive mindset, the more a woman is at the top of the caste ladder; the more she is pushed into the oppression. The caste system tends to protect its 'purity' by subjugating women sexuality. The institution of caste has romanticized the Indian women to accept their subjugation willingly. For reference, if we notice the wives of the Tamil movies that venerated or based on the caste privilege and pride, such as *Cheran Pandiyan* (1989), *Thevar Magan* (1992), *Nattamai* (1994), *Sethu* (1999), *Kaadhal* (2004), *Subramaniapuram* (2008), etc... one thing that is in common is subjugation of women and these wives were portrayed as frightened to speak even and carry out intimacy with their husbands. It is impossible to liberate Indian women without annihilating the caste system. Accordingly, Indian feminists need to undertake movement against Brahmanical patriarchal system.

Zero superstitions: In Indian cinema, female characters are often linked with the religious and superstitious practices. But, none of the scenes in *Sarpatta Parambarai* had spread the superstitious practices. Before the Dalit communities have been overwhelmed by the orthodox ideas, they kept themselves away from the superstitious practices. As a proof, Mariamma did not practice any superstitions and not even worshipping God throughout the film. She wore a black sari, even at her Betrothal event. Without superstitious beliefs like good and bad times (omens), zodiac signs, she is portrayed as an intellectual traveler who knows the reality and even giving advice to her husband as "what if you lose? Get lose. Why retain your honor on your clan?"

Color complexion: Tamil cinema, through the ages, has portrayed Dalits as dark, unclean and villains. It is the reflection of 'common psychology' of the Indian people whose minds have been engulfed by the Brahmanical system. For such psyche, making a film with realistic lens is an unattainable fruit. However, Ranjith is very keen in displaying the complexion of the oppressed as cross-cultural one, in which every kind gets represented. In his films, he was very inclusive of every complexion. For instance, in *Kabali* (2016) and *Kaala* (2018), he has cast Sai Dhanshika and Eswari Rao, respectively, who are the prominent brown skinned actresses, in leading roles. In this film too, the leading female characters are brown-skinned. However, he used to cast light skinned actresses too, as a sign of cross-cultural representation among Dalits and to smash Colonial-Hindu concept of colorism in cinema.

Dialogues and graffiti: It seems that the purpose of choosing the period, 1970s of Emergency, is to relate it with the present period. Also, it is clearly filmed by Ranjith. The film adds another layer of politics through the graffiti on the walls. These layers are essential to bring out the story in front of the

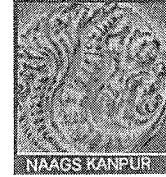
audience and made the film greater than any other boxing movies, so far released in Tamil.

As usual, there is no famine for Ranjith's revolutionary dialogues and metaphoric picturization. The metaphoric rendering of the occupancy of caste hysteria within few Hindu intermediate caste persons could be spot in few scenes, in which, Raman's uncle who continuously urges Raman to go ahead of Kabilan, by every possible cut across. The dialogue, "the history should say that, the Munusamy's Vagera (caste) has only elevated the Sarpatta Parambarai" and "Kabilan, who is a son of Muniratnam, should not even speak in front of us, equally" by Thaniga exposes his assertiveness to establish his caste dominance within the Sarpatta Parambarai troupe. Furthermore, while Daddy Kevin, reminds Kabilan of how brutally his father was killed due to Munusamy and his family's conspiracy throws light on that how few intermediate caste archenemies were angered to see Kabilan's father, as being from the oppressed community, got equal opportunity cum reputation in the boxing game.

The dialogue "Opportunity don't come our way so easily. This is our chance. Make your enemy tremble in fear" in front of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's poster has deciphered the preceding situation of the oppressed and how has it been changed now because of Babasaheb's constitutional vision. "I am a sibling of DMK, will never be afraid of anyone" by Rangan, throws light on the policy determination and the tireless demonstration of the DMK comrade's vehemence against any repressive measures. "What is this, constant talk about clan and pride? Why do you associate clan with pride?" by Mariamma symbolically interrogated the caste pride and its subjugation on women, in the name of honor. "Since you like, I have bought beef Briyani from Perumalsamy shop" by Kabilan, elucidated the food culture of the Indigenous people of the Indian subcontinent and which has been so far politically hidden from the popular cultures as well. And Beedi Thatha's motivational advice, "Victory is not about winning once. But, a continuous fighting!", to put focus on the significance of individual efforts.

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A STUDY ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

BIMAN CHANDRA BORAH

Assistant Professor

Department of Education

Swahid Peoli Phukan College, Nanti

Sivasagar, Assam India

Abstract

Rabindranath Tagore was a great philosopher, poet, dramatist, teacher, essayist and painter of outstanding repute. His philosophy of life was based on the ideals of dedication, patriotism and naturalism. Although he was an ideal philosopher, but the thoughts of naturalism, pragmatism and individualism are also reflected in his philosophy. Tagore was a great philosopher and educationist. He emphasised that the education should establish close contact between nature and man. He deadly opposed the current education prevalent in his time and insisted that education should be acquaint the child with the voice and mission of individual as well as international life and achieve a harmonious balance between all the factors. He believed that during education, a child should enjoy freedom. He advocated that education should be according to the realities of life. Any education cut away from life is useless. Tagore's ideas for creating a system of education aimed at promoting international co-operation and creating global citizens. In this paper, an attempt has been made to analyse the educational thoughts of Rabindranath Tagore, his basic conception of education and its process.

Introduction:

Rabindranath Tagore was a great philosopher, poet, dramatist, teacher, essayist and painter of outstanding repute. He was the first Nobel Laureate in the continent of Asia. He won the Nobel Prize in literature with his book entitled "Geetanjali". He was also a well recognized figure in the network of pioneering educators in the world. Just like Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Montessori, Dewey and a host of other educationists, Rabindranath Tagore was a living icon in the field of education in his time. As one of the earliest

educators to think in terms of the global village, Rabindranath Tagore's educational model has a unique sensitivity and aptness for education within multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-cultural situations, amidst conditions of acknowledged economic discrepancy and political imbalance.

The objective of the paper is to analyse the educational views of Rabindranath Tagore and his basic conception of education and its process.

The present paper is primarily based on secondary sources of data. The data were collected mainly from different Books, Journals and Articles etc.

The values which contributed a lot towards life of Rabindranath Tagore's are discussed as follow:

(1) Idealist: Tagore imbibed the Idealistic philosophy of life and adopted the highest ideals of Truth, Beauty and Goodness as the chief aim of education. He believes that man should realize the "ultimate truth" which will liberate him from the worldly bondage. Experience according to him is within the world of illusion (Maya). He thought the world is the place of both truth and illusion (Maya). In Tagore's view man is born with enormous surplus force which is excess of his physical need. This surplus is the limitless potentiality of human personality and creativity. In this lies the infinite future of man. The surplus potentiality manifests itself in man's religious spiritual and moral activities. As an idealist he was an ardent supporter of truth, virtues and values.

(2) Humanist: Love and universalism is the core of the philosophy of his life. Tagore said nature and man are created by supreme power. There is a strong link between man and nature. So man should act naturally to feel the presence of superpower within him. Love fellowmen in a natural way. Realization of self is the essence to realize the Godhood.

(3) Naturalist: Tagore said nature is the greatest teacher which is not hostile to man. Nature is kind, generous and benevolent like mother. In his view, "Education diverted from nature has brought untold harm to young children." Man should develop his relation with the nature as his fellowmen.

(4) Patriotism: Tagore was a great poet and patriot. His writings were filled with patriotic values. He had joined in freedom movement to make the country free from foreign yoke. Sense of national service, patriotic feeling, dedication etc. was fostered through his writings. "Jana Gana Mana Adlii Nayak Jai Hai" is the famous National song which elicited a strong sense of integration.

(5) Internationalist: Rabindranath Tagore was in favour of one world creation of unit amidst cultural, colour and religious diversities is the need of the time for peaceful co-existence in the globe. Forgetting selfishness one we should work to establish world culture based on love, affection fellow feeling and mutual understanding. Cosmopolitan feelings are explicit in his writings and paintings. Tagore's internationalist thought and attempt for making united world is appreciated all over the world.

(6) Vedantist: Tagore's philosophy reveals that he was a vedantist in true sense of terms. He had faith in one supreme being that is the Brahma. He

finds unity in diversities in the world and a spiritual unity between man and man, man and nature. The relationship between god and man must be like the relationship between love and joy. He believes both the presence of God in all manifestation of matter and spirit. When an individual realizes that he is the Brahma, the true salvation takes place.

Educational Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore :

Rabindranath Tagore was a great philosopher and educationist. He emphasised that the education should establish close contact between nature and man. He deadly opposed the current education prevalent in his time and insisted that education should be acquaint the child with the voice and mission of individual as well as international life and achieve a harmonious balance between all the factors. He put emphasis on 'naturalism' for framing educational model. In education, freedom is the basic guiding force for inculcating interest within a student who will derive inspiration from nature to pursue any branch of knowledge he likes. He believed that during education, a child should enjoy freedom. Though Tagore emphasised freedom and natural education for the child, yet he was firm view that education is a vehicle of social reform.

Tagore opined that the child's life should be surrounded with things of nature and he must be kept away from the sophistication of the so-called modern civilization. He said that a child should be given such opportunities by education so that he can develop his creative instincts. According to him, education not only gives freedom from the cycle of birth and death but also from social, economic, political and mental slavery. In his philosophy of education, Tagore laid much emphasis on the aesthetic development of the senses. He argued that development of the senses was as important as the intellectual. He therefore gave prominence to music, literature, art, dance, and drama in the daily life of the school. Tagore's believed in International Brotherhood. His ideas for creating a system of education aimed at promoting international co-operation and creating global citizens.

The medium of instruction should be mother tongue.

He advocated that education should be according to the realities of life. Any education cut away from life is useless. Tagore's system of education emphasizes the intellectual, physical, social, moral economic and spiritual aspects of human life by which a man can develop an integrated personality.

Tagore was deadly against the prevalent system of education which snatched the child from the laps of Nature very early in life, confined him within the boundaries of school and then put him into an office or factory. Explaining the meaning of education Tagore has written- "That education is highest which not only imparts information and knowledge to us, but also promotes love, and fellow- feeling between us and the living beings of the world".

Rabindranath gives spiritual approach to Education. He considers that the aim of education is self realization. Self realization according to Rabindranath means the realization of the universal soul in ones self. Man's

aim in life is to achieve this status. It is a process which cannot be realized without education.

Tagore's educational philosophy also aims at the physical development of the child. He gave much importance to sound and healthy physique. There is a close and inseparable connection between the faculties of mind and body. There were different kinds of exercises. Yoga, games & sports prescribed in Santiniketan as an integral part of the education system. Tagore emphasized the physical well-being of the children. In order to achieve this, he said that education in nature; play activities, dancing, exercise, body and sensory training were the tools. Education of the body is necessary for acquiring the capacity to adjust itself to all sorts of weather conditions and health hazards.

According to Tagore the second aim of education should be to promote mental development. Two mental faculties which should be developed through education are the power of thinking and the power of imagination. He criticizes present system of education. Which puts too much stress on memory and too little on imagination and thinking. Condemning the prevailing system of education as bookish, methodical, monotonous, examination-oriented, where intellect was starved of intellectual nourishment and where we adorned the cage but the parrot within lays starving.

Tagore wanted education should aim at cultivating the power of acquiring ideas through independent effort, curiosity and alertness of mind, and the potentiality of critically appraising the ideas, of assimilating them and of using what we learn. Education should develop thinking and imagination rather than mere memory or storage of scattered information.

Tagore emphasized moral and spiritual training in his educational thought. He said that the principal aim of education should be the development of moral and spiritual aspects of the child's personality. Moral and spiritual education is more important than bookish knowledge for an integral development of human personality. There must be an adequate provision for the development of selfless activities, co-operation and love fellow feeling and sharing among the students in educational institutions.

According to Tagore, the last aim of education should be develop international brotherhood among the children. Being a lover of humanity, Tagore wanted to make a synthesis between Eastern culture and Western culture by education. He wanted to promote inter-cultural and inter-social understanding for the unity and harmony of mankind. He said that since 'Brahman' manifests Himself through men, and He is the source of all the creations, all are equal and are brothers and sisters. Therefore, he prescribed social service for realization of self. He believed in the dictum "Service to man is service to God.

According to Tagore, the aim of education should be harmonious development of all human faculties. In other words, education should aim at making a man full or complete without neglecting one at the cost of other. He firmly believed that the chief aim of education should be the drawing out of all the latent faculties of the child. To him, the child is more important than all

kinds of books, rules and teachers. Tagore thinks that ideal educational system should aim at man's perfection. Perfection means the development of all aspects of human personality

R.N Tagore's Views on Curriculum:

Tagore was dead against the prevailing British system of education which was life-less, monotonous, listless, useless, colourless, lop-sided, purely academic, and dissociated from the life-line of the society. In his scheme of education he has struck a balance between the education of the nature and education of man, and between the culture of east and the that of west. His curriculum was flexible, dynamic and child-centred and aimed at development of personality in all its aspects. He emphasized a list of subjects, albeit, he did not favour book learning and he wanted the best book was the 'Nature' where the child would get adequate knowledge. He favoured the study of mother-tongue and at the higher level of education; he favoured learning of English to know the treasure of knowledge in the fields of culture, literature and science.

He also suggested the study of world history, culture of India, literature, geography, science etc. Besides he suggested the following activities for the promotion of aesthetic and emotional faculties. They are music, fine arts, painting, drawing, dance, dramatics, and crafts like book-binding, carpentry, weaving, serving, gardening etc.

Moreover, Tagore stressed upon community living and community services for the realization of truth from the standpoint of spiritual development. To sum up, his curricular framework emphasized subjects, activities and services.

R.N Tagore's Views on Methods of Teaching:

Tagore also condemned the artificial and mechanical methods of education prevalent during his time. He believed in activity and dynamic methods of teaching based upon the interest, need, experience, attitude, ability and mental development of the child. Tagore considered the following methods of teaching as proper and effective.

Teaching through Tours and Trips: Tagore believed that the subjects like history, geography, economics and other social sciences can be effectively taught through excursions and tours to important spots. By this students will get an opportunity to observe numerous facts and gain first-hand knowledge through direct experience.

Learning by activities: Rabindranath Tagore said that for the development of child's body and mind, learning through activity is essential. Therefore he included activities like climbing tree, drama, jumping, plucking fruits, dancing etc. in his educational programs.

Narration-cum-discussion and debate method: Narration-cum-discussion and debating activities were organized Tagore's education center to develop oratory abilities of the students. Students were encouraged to solve problems of various areas through rational debate and thorough discussion.

Heuristic Method: Rabindranath Tagore introduced heuristic method as an important method of teaching in his educational institution. In this method

first, the students, are asked questions to clarify their doubts on topics and teachers try to satisfy them by their correct answers. Then the teacher asks the questions to students to evaluate how far the students are able to comprehend the topic discussed in the class.

R.N Tagore's Concept of Discipline:

Tagore being a lover of children was against strict or rigid discipline. He criticized corporal punishment given by teacher and wanted to give child maximum opportunity for the discovery of his innate potentialities. Like Sri Aurobindo, Tagore strongly favoured self-discipline in place of rigid and harsh discipline imposed from outside. Discipline should grow from within without any interference in an atmosphere of freedom. In a free, complete and creative atmosphere, the pupil would be automatically disciplined.

He rightly mentioned, "I never said to them. Don't do or don't do that. I never prevented them from climbing trees or going where they liked. I wanted to make these children happy in an atmosphere of freedom." Therefore, he was an advocate of child's freedom and activities.

R.N Tagore's Views on Teacher:

In his scheme of education, Tagore has placed high premium upon the role of teacher. The teacher is the embodiment of all cardinal values and ideals. He should truly love the nature and the child. He is not the hard task-master, rather a friend, philosopher and guide. Tagore said that instead of imposing bookish knowledge, the teacher should try to create a conducive environment in which the children can learn themselves and should treat his/her students with great love, affection and sympathy. He is a stage-setter and director of the child's freedom and activities, he said, "He who lost the child in himself is absolutely unfit for the great work of educating the children." He added that a teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. "A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame". Therefore, he has to inspire the-children for their development.

Conclusion

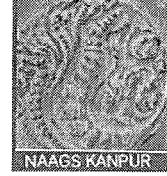
Rabindranath Tagore, a true philosopher of 20th century, developed an ideal experimental education institution in Santiniketan. He emphasised that the education of child should be according to his needs but his love of nature should not be taken to mean that Tagore was a Naturalist or a Pragmatist. As a matter of fact, he remained an earnest Idealist all through his life. He considered Nature as a powerful agency for the moral and spiritual development to the child. Tagore was a great advocate of spiritual education and stressed on harmonious development of the child with equal emphasis on mental, social and emotional growth. Tagore was the greatest prophet of modern Indian renaissance who sought to bring change through education

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021
DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084
www.kanpurhistorians.org

A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF KERALAM THROUGH CARTOONS

BASIL THOMAS

Assistant Professor of English,
Christian College
Chengannur, Keralam India

DR. E. KRISHNAN NAMBOOTHIRI

Research Supervisor
Head & Associate Professor of English,
S. D. College, Alappuzha, Keralam India

Abstract

Keralam flourished in the field of cartoons with the cartoonists like O. V. Vijayan, Abu Abraham, Ravi Shankar, Toms, Yesudasan, Gopikrishnan, P. K. Manthri, Malayatoor Ramakrishnan, E. P. Unni, V.H. Unnikrishnan et. al. Keralam hatched and delivered so many cartoonists to the country and world and naturally there arises the questions- why? and how? The reason for how the cartoonists of Keralam find ideas for their work is the political scenario of the state. This is same across the world. But what makes Keralam or Indian Politics interesting is the coalition politics and the coalition governments. This aspect of politics is portrayed in the cartoons of early Comic magazines of Keralam like *Vidhooshakan*, *Narmada*, *Vikadakesari*, *Viswaroopam*, *Thaniniram*, *Sarasan* etc.

Key Words: Cartoons, coalition, communalism, heterogeneity, magazines, politics, regionalism

The Indian cartoon and caricature flourished with the advent of Sankar, the tycoon of Malayalam cartoon from Keralam. Then after, through decades, Keralam flourished in the field of cartoons with the cartoonists like O. V. Vijayan, Abu Abraham, Ravi Shankar, Toms, Yesudasan, Aravindan, Thomas, Nathan, Gopikrishnan, P. K. Manthri, Malayatoor Ramakrishnan, E. P. Unni, V.H. Unnikrishnan et. al. Keralam hatched and delivered so many cartoonists

Kanpur Philosophers ISSN 2348=8301, Volume-8, Issue-2, 2021 Page | 795

to the country and world and naturally there arises the questions- why? and how?. Kerala's Cartoon heritage goes back to the year 1918 with the publication of 'Kshamadevatha', a cartoon, in the comic magazine, *Vidooshakan*. Scored a century and still playing in the attacking mode, the cartoonists of Keralam stand high among the reputed world cartoonists. When we search for the reasons we come across the figures of high literacy rates in Keralam. A thinking majority welcomed this art and made it a part of their reading habit, both as serious and as fun. This is the aspect or view point from the readers' angle. If we analyze this from the angle of production, the hypothetical reason is the rich heritage from our ancestor KunchanNambiar and his sarcastic and cynical comments in the art form of 'Thullal'. But the more logical reason for how the cartoonists of Keralam find ideas for their work is the political scenario of the state. This is same across the world. But what makes Keralam or Indian Politics interesting is the coalition politics and the coalition governments.

If we search for the meaning of the word coalition, the meaning or definition we come across is "the joining together of different political parties or groups for a particular purpose, usually for a limited time, or a government that is formed in this way". Definition of "coalition" from the Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus is "a group formed of different organizations or people who agree to act together, usually temporarily, to achieve something". Definition of "coalition" from the Cambridge Academic Content Dictionary is "a group of two or more political parties working together to win an election or govern an area". If we rearrange this definition as some jumbled words, we get words like 'together', 'agree', 'different political parties', 'purpose', 'limited time', 'temporarily', 'achieve', 'win', 'election', 'govern' etc. So it is evident from these words that coalition politics and coalition governments are formed to gain power and achieve certain needs by giving greater importance to capture political power than to establish and propagate the party ideology. Naturally this fight for power and settlement for power and the adjustments for power is a fertile scenario for the cartoonists to roam in their field for creativity. The Cartoonists from Keralam are fortunate enough to have raw materials for their creations with a wide range of coalition politics in our state.

The history of coalitions in India traces back to the 1960s. One party and two party politics in the post independent period gave way to coalition politics in India. Kerala is the forerunner in this aspect. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 as a middle class elite organization. As it welcomed all classes and sections of people, INC- Indian National Congress, could not become a party in the strict sense of the world. "Though the Congress party stood for the national cause, the post- independence period has been marked by a rising tide of anti- Congressism. This soon resulted in the Congress party being divided into various factions. In fact the various factions that oppose the Congress party today were at one time parts of the party." (John 25). Jawaharlal Nehru was the undisputed leader of the Congress

party. With the death of Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri, the power reached the hands of second level leaders having equal status. Though a couple of coalition governments were tried in India, with the 1967 General Elections the Congress hegemony came to an end. Coalitions have become the common feature of the Indian political system from 1967.

Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr. made the comment “Kerala is a land of contradictions in a nation of contrasts. It has the highest literacy rate and the highest rate of unemployment. With the largest community of Christians it has the highest communist votes too. It is at once a bastion of Orthodox Hinduism with the most elaborate system of caste ranking in India and a region deeply affected by the process of social mobilization” (John, 120). In terms of coalition politics the political experiments made in the fifties and sixties have a wider significance. No party or even combination of parties held power until 1970s for a complete five year period in Kerala since Independence. Though the first ministry was a coalition of communal elements, the elections held in 1948 brought tremendous prestige to the Congress party. Within six months the communal coalition was toppled down. According to Mankekar, “When opposition forces grew strong for him any more to resist, Thanu Pillai threw up his chiefministership and leadership of the party and further also resigned from Congress to form the Democratic Socialist Party of Kerala.”(John, 72).

Since communal elements formulated the Congress party the same elements created a split in it. Praja Socialist Party, PSP, became a dominant party in Kerala politics. The backlash from the general elections of 1951-52 forced the congress party to search for a coalition in 1952. The circumstance necessitated the Congress- Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress coalition in 1952. Regional interest of Travancore Tamil Nadu Congress resulted in the fall of coalition. The Congress party, because of losing strength, opened the doors for other coalition alliances. The election of 1954 saw a new alliance between the Communist party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and formed a United Front of Leftists. PSP had electoral adjustments with United Front of Leftists. This election weakened the Congress. The Congress party supported the PSP to form a minority government under Pattom Thanu Pillai but the government resigned in 1955 as the Congress withdrew the support. Panampilly Govinda Menon formed a government of Congress thereafter but that too fell in 1956. (John)

Kerala Politics saw a new turn with the Communist Government coming to power through power in 1956 after the formation of Kerala State. Instead of political alliances and coalition, there happened unification against the communist party by various interest groups. The coalition of these communal interest group gained power through election in 1960. These falls accelerated the formation of coalition politics and governments in Kerala. The election in 1965 witnessed the beginning of real coalition and political alliances in Kerala. The two factions of Communist party, CPI and CPI(M) and the new faction of Indian National Congress, Kerala Congress. CPI(M) made political alliance with Muslim League and Samyuktha Socialist

Party(SSP) to fight against the coalition CPI, Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and some Independents. Congress and Kerala Congress fought independently. The result was that there was no majority for any party.

The 1967 general election gave way to a mature coalition system in Keralam. An anti Congress alliance was formed with CPI(M), CPI, Samyuktha Socialist Party(SSP), Muslim League, Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), KarshakaThozhilali Party(KTP) and Kerala Socialist Party(KSP). Eventhough they formed the government but was short lived because of another coalition among themselves. CPI led coalition was created with CPI, Muslim League, Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), Indian Socialist Party(ISP) and Kerala Congress and they ruled for nine months. (John).

Coalition governments and instability always go hand in hand, as, the prime motto of the alliance is to gain power rather than implementing a political ideology. This sacrifice of ideology, as a natural after effect, give freehand for the ruling group to execute their personal ideas and plans. Political instability is both the cause and effect of coalition. Communalism, regionalism, heterogeneity, literacy etc. contribute much for this instability. These are the elements that provide the Kerala cartoonists enough raw materials for their cynical artistic creation within columns. As far as communalism is concerned, caste and subcastes played a major role in Kerala politics. "The Travancore State Congress in 1938 was formed out of communal forces. In pre-independent years the states of Travancore and Cochin had their political groups based on caste and religious communities" (John p. 37). The pattern of political instability in Keralam has reflected the struggle among the castes and communities of the state. The administration of Travancore was mainly under the influence of outsiders, many of whom were Brahmins. The Nair section of the society was worried about this usurpation by the Brahmins who were from outside Keralam. The formation of Nair Service Society, to some extent, was against this Brahmin monopoly. The Christians and Ezhavas got inspired from this. It was this Christian- Ezhava coalition that resulted in the formation of the Travancore State Congress. To gain power in the Travancore election of 1948, State Congress gave representation to all communal groups in the state. This was the springboard that influenced Kerala politics then after. "This communalism injected into Travancore politics got strengthened in 1949 with the integration of Cochin" (John p. 40).The same story was repeated when Malabar was integrated and the new state of Keralam came into existence and Keralam now witness Muslim communalism of the League variety.

As Keralam was grown up with Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore in its blood, regionalism is an accomplice to communalism in Kerala politics. The formation of early governments of Keralam was to cater these needs. The coalition government formed in 1960 gave representation for various communal and regional interests. PattomThanu Pillai, the Nair leader of the PSP became chief minister, his two chief lieutenants were Congress men- the

Ezhava, R. Sankar, and the Syrian Christian P. T. Chacko, and a Muslim League member was appointed Speaker.

The Kerala state has no homogenous population. As heterogeneity increases, the political parties become more nearly equal competitors. So there is no scope for a single political party to gain dominance in such a plural society like Keralam. The dominance of a majority party is always taken to meet the predominant influence of a particular regional or communal group. So the majority party system has never worked in the conditions of Keralam. Coalition is the only remedy for this. (John).

High standards of education create expectations in the minds of citizens. “Poverty and literacy form an explosive mixture, and one of the main ingredients in Kerala’s political instability is the fact that western education has created expectations which the present economic system in this tightly overcrowded region cannot possibly fulfil” (Woodcock p. 35).

When other regional cartoons were in the infant stage, the cartoons and cartoonists from Keralam exhibited more mature and professional among them. When the cartoonists from other states looked forward to the national scenario for their inspiration the coalition politics and the tactics and experiments to protect the coalition government in power were the inspiration for the cartoonists from Malayalam. The cartoons published in 1940s, 1950s and 1960s very much portray the clear picture of the jugglery and calisthenics involved in the coalition politics of Keralam. This aspect of politics is portrayed in the cartoons of early Malayalam magazines like *Vidhooshakan*, *Narmada*, *Vikadakesari*, *Viswaroopam*, *Thaniniram*, *Sarasan* etc.



(Fig. 1)

(Fig. 1)The cartoon that appeared in 1951 in the magazine, Narmada, that shows the unholy alliances in the coalition politics in Travancore- Cochin.



(Fig. 2)

(Fig. 2) This cartoon that appeared in 1955 in the magazine, Narmada, shows the political alliance of Praja Socialist Party (PSP) and Congress as a result of general election in Travancore- Cochin in 1954 where PSP, Communist party of India (CPI), Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) and Kerala Socialist Party (KSP) had a pre election alliance.



കൊല്ലിൽ നിന്നു വെട്ടി എടുത്ത മിഷിന്റെ ഇരട്ടി.

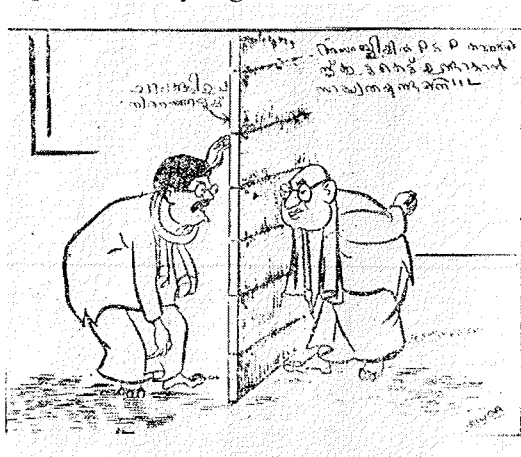
(Fig. 3)

(Fig. 3) The cartoon appeared in 1952 in the magazine, Sarasan, shows United Front Alliance based on Travancore and Cochin where the ministership is going to be shared based on regionalism.



(Fig. 4)

(Fig. 4) This cartoon appeared as the cover page of the magazine, *Thaniniram*, in 1970 and it shows the real problems of coalition government which is forced to cater the demands of several pressure groups and interest groups represented by regionalism and communalism.



(Fig. 5)

(Fig. 5) This cartoon that appeared in 1956 in the magazine, *Vikadakesari*, shows the possibility of an alliance between Congress and Praja Socialist Party in the Legislative Assembly election.



(Fig. 6)

(Fig. 6) This cartoon that appeared in 1956 in the magazine, *Vikadakesari*, shows the alliance of Muslim League and Praja Socialist Party (PSP).



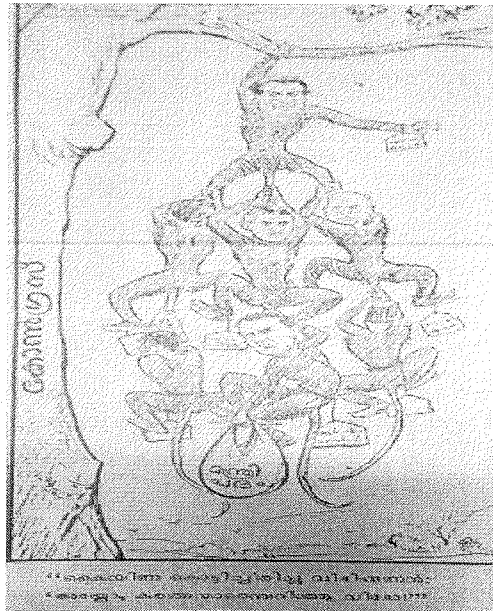
(Fig. 7)

(Fig. 7) This cartoon that appeared in 1957 in the magazine, *Vikadakesari*, shows the regional and communal interests in the Legislative Assembly Election of 1957.



(Fig. 8)

(Fig. 8) This cartoon was published in 1940 in the comic magazine, *Viswaroopam*, by the cartoonist M. Bhaskaran. This shows the collective defensive stand against British Imperialism and the possible prosperity that may result after the unification of Kochi, Malabar and Travancore to form the state of Keralam.



(Fig. 9)

(Fig. 9) This cartoon was published in 1941 in the comic magazine, *Viswaroopam*. This picturizes the representatives of different regional and communal minority sectors who are trying to protect their position by depending on the Congress party. The representatives are portrayed as monkeys.

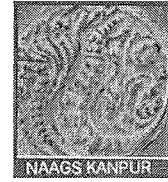


(Fig. 10)

(Fig. 10) This cartoon appeared in 1956 in the magazine, *Vikadakesari*, which shows the race by the leaders of national political parties and the regional and communal parties in the election.

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VEER -ZAARA: INDO-PAK RELATIONSHIP THROUGH CINEMATIC LENSE

ARIFUR RAHMAN CHOUDHURY

Research Scholar

Department of English

D.B.S. PG College, Dehradun India

Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University

Abstract

Movies that are cultural texts clarify the politics of everyday life and one of the issues that are often described is on nationalism. *Veer Zara* (2004), a romantic Bollywood film that tells the story of two lovers from India and Pakistan who had to face many challenges to stay together. After the Partition in 1947, the conflict between the two countries and the unresolved sibling rivalry is the basic theme of the film. By looking at “cultural similarities and differences,” the film shows the process of self-identification is reflected through Indian characters. The role of Pakistan represents an attempt to draw the boundary between India and Pakistan. In doing so, the film confirms that India either recognizes Pakistan as a different country or portrays India as a border and Pakistan as another. Knowledge of community / public issues, value of trust, goodwill in society, teamwork and ability to work together, respect for the nation, love for the nation and other aspects of the film are pretty pictorially described in *Veer Zaara*.

Keywords: *Indo-Pak relationships, Veer Zaara, Culture, India, Pakistan, Harmony, Peace, Bollywood*

The concepts of Country and nationalism are not only discussed in the political, geographical or economic sphere, but also in literary and cultural studies. Gellner and Bruilley (1983) find that the cultural aspect of nationalism, in the idea of a cultural ideal, can be found in the drive to unite members of the nation so that they can identify with the nation-culture (way of life). This ongoing process of identity is repeatedly created and re-created by nation through symbolic cultural practices. Because culture is not static, the

process is “dynamic and dialogical”, which can be seen in the various cultural milestones of “images, ideas, spaces, topics, discourses and practices” (Edensor, 2002).

The essential element of this particular debate is the sharing of commonalities, not only by differences, but also by focusing on the common cultural and historical roots of nations. This article discusses the process of drawing the boundary line while exploring the cultural similarities between India and Pakistan in the Bollywood film *Veer-Zara*.

In the superficial recitation of this text, *Veer-Zara* is like any other romantic drama in Bollywood, where two lovers are separated each other and finally have a happy ending. But to go beyond that storyline, critical analysis can better understand how the media, film, and the debate about the country and nationality of two conflicting nations - India and Pakistan. It shows how does *Veer-Zara* imagine both India and Pakistan? Is there a process of self-identification with Indian characters by looking at “cultural similarities and differences” (Edensor, 25) compared to Pakistani characters? In other words, are there any signatures that indicate an attempt to draw a boundary between them (India because it is an Indian product) and another? To answer these questions, the analysis focuses on the few representational elements because the film reserves the right to choose what representation it has about its country.

Debates about gender and nationalism are still ongoing, especially among feminist scholars. In Enloe (2014) discourse of nationalism, women often argue that the symbolism of nationalism serves as a symbolic stage that must be “upheld and justified”. In other cases, women are infamous for “spoiling the war.” War heroes always come for the men who defend their country and home. This distinctive and symbolic role in national culture is part of the dialectic between feminine and masculine, built on patriarchal ideology. These traditional roles, which are employed by nationalists, are meant to support the husband, to build and raise their children (the offspring of the nation), and ultimately to create those stigmas where women serve as the national symbol of respect. This structure also creates a stigma for masculine imagery in which the process of building a nation, going to war to defend their country, or being an active actor in protecting and maintaining the nation is made compulsory.

In Bollywood movies, the discourse of nationalism can be seen in the formulation of these roles of men and women. To reconnect with his lover, the protagonist encounters a villainous character to regain his moral balance at the end of the film.

“Indian popular films are basically morality characters, where the good triumphs over evil, and the social order that interferes with the actions of the immoral and the villain is restored with good power” (Gokulsing and Disciplec, 29).

The hero tries to overcome all these evil disturbances throughout the storyline, and when he completes it, he reconnects with his lover in the present

or later life. Another normative character is the mother. In the history of Bollywood cinema, this formulaic character was born of the role of Mother India (1957), when a mother raised her two sons alone, struggled so much for her sons, and eventually had to balance herself by killing one of her sons who was the 'villain'. When the protagonist tries to balance the moral of the story by defeating the villain, the mother is also a moral barrier.

The male characters, particularly the protagonist, reflect his gender identity through masculine traits, which are actually part of Bollywood's narrative structure. As the hero of the film, Veer had to face many obstacles to reunite with his lover, the heroine. As with many other Bollywood films, the main obstacle comes from the villainous role, in this case, a Pakistani man named Zara's fiancé, Raza.

“Abdul Sherazi (Raza’s father) pada Mariam Hayat Khan (Zaara’s mother): It’s not just a wedding of Raza and Zaara, but it brings a very strong and profound peace. Based on that, your husband and then my son’s fate will be bright. Raza knows all that well and Zaara must also understand. If the wedding is not carried out tomorrow and at the same time the daughter’s name of Jahangeer Hayat Khan is united with the name of an Indian guy, then Khan’s effort will be in vain. You won’t win the general election and will bear shame all your life.” (Quoted from Veer-Zaara)

As Zara's father was a political figure in Pakistan, the parents planned a wedding as a part of a political alliance. By the above quote, we can see that if Zara and Raza break the engagement, it will affect the family honor. Therefore, defending this honor by keeping her feelings towards Veer is part of Zara's role as a daughter. Although, the differences are not physical, the binary contradiction between the hero and the villain is very evident in the film.

The black and white characters are clearly illustrated by two characters. Raza coming from a political family has enough power to destroy Veer through his ties with governmental officials and authorities. The climax of the hero and villain character is that when the Raza uses this power to put Veer in jail, his ego is hurt by Zara's sudden move to drive Veer into their engagement party. Yet, as part of his heroic role, Veer faced this dilemma, eventually choosing to remain silent, and signed a letter confirming that he was going to India from Pakistan and that he was guilty and jailed there.

The second part of the discussion deals with female characters and the roles of India and Pakistan within the film. The most interesting aspect of this element in Veer-Zara is the number of Pakistani female characters (Zara, Zara's mother, Samiya and Shabbo) who have outperformed Indian female characters (Veer's mother). The debate of nationality and femininity is still associated with the theme of masculinity, because the main part of the debate is about the role of the protagonist in the film compared to talking about femininity.

In *Veer Zara*, the preferred conceptual space is limited to the geographical landscape of India. The film depicts the landscape of Pakistan not through a scene but through the words and description of the character of Pakistan. The film can be read as a way of representing equality between the two countries. This is seen through a song and dance scene when Veer (Indian hero) accompanies Zara (Pakistani heroine) to deliver his grandmother's ashes to Kiripur.

The song begins with Veer sitting on the bus and telling Zara about the beauty of the India. In this scene, very long shots are taken to visualize the vastness of the beautiful Indian landscape. The multi-colored saree (Indian traditional garment) worn by the women of the village, walking down the street or dancing among the trees can be read as a representation of the natural beauty of India. The song also played an important role when Veer repeatedly mentioned how beautiful India is. In the song, Zara reiterated that this self-admiring attitude is not only from Veer (India), but also that this country (India) is no different than her country (Pakistan).

“Zara: The same sunsets, the same dawns, my country is the same
Just like your country” (Quoted from the song *Aisa Des Hai Mera*
- Udit Narayan, Lata)

Zara's answer shows the audience how to imagine and the film's strategy of describing Pakistan's geographical landscape through song shows that Pakistan too has the same beautiful landscape. Throughout the film, the geographical landscape of India is consistently represented with beautiful flower fields and farms. These images were selected to represent the geographical landscape of India and most of them were taken from rural areas of India, especially agriculture. Through this process of representation, the fertility of the country is imposed. As Edensor writes,

"The change of the raw nature has led to the emergence of many national traits, and agriculture is the instrument through which the nation is nourished" (Edensor, 40).

The fertile rural landscape represents the country's achievement in nature and how it has been continuously cultivated to provide for its members. The setting varies more than the physical setting for the film, but the ideological rural national landscape that symbolizes the fertility and beauty of India. The film has repeatedly tried to emphasize the similarities between India and Pakistan, particularly through its depiction of the geographical landscape. However, India and Pakistan are described using different methods. While India's depiction of vision is deficient, the Pakistani scene is characterized by characters' interactions.

In an earlier analysis of the song, Zara responded to Veer's description of the beauty of the India is how the film portrayed Pakistan. At the end of the film, when the Pakistani court released Veer from prison, the film once again shared a similarity between India and Pakistan. In this particular scene, Veer makes a speech after his release and in fact, it can be read as the moral of the story. It is part of the narrative structure of the

melodic elements of Bollywood, which conveys the moral message to the audience.

“Veer: I’m prisoner number 786, if I look out of the prison bars I see days, months, years changed into centuries. The nice smell of my Dad’s farm is smelled from this country. The sun here reminds me of the warmth of my Mom’s lap. The rain here brings spring to my country. The winter here unites with the warmth of the Lodi in my country. She says it’s not your country, but why she looks like my country? It’s said I’m not like her, then why she’s like me?”
(Quoted from Veer-Zaara)

After 22 years of imprisonment, Veer was not dissatisfied with Pakistan. On the other hand, he said that while he was in prison, he had seen how his homeland was with this new country. Farms, sun, rain and winter are the same. In other words, Pakistan is equal to India. If we address the core of the process of identity in the discussion of nation and nationalism and the context of national identity, it draws a line of self and other, and in this analysis stage, the image is erasing this metaphor “Border between nations”. The word is metaphorical because the film also shows physical boundaries (India and Pakistan border), but in the metaphor, the film clearly states that the two countries are actually one (one).

Through the image of the rural national landscape of India and Pakistan, this message can be read clearly throughout the film. However, the techniques in the film suggest that the film is in fact an affirmation of Pakistan's status as another nation and not part of it. All the details of the landscape of India are visually available. The audience can see them in the film space with their beauty and fertility. Meanwhile, the landscape of Pakistan can only be ‘visualized’ through dialogue and not visually accessible. These landscapes that are imagined represent the country on the other side of the Pakistan border, which we cannot directly experience. In this picture, the Pakistani side setting is mostly indoor settings (Zara's house, prison, court).

In addition to the concept of rural nationalism, Ederson (2002) proposes the concept of home as part of nationalization. As a metaphor for the nation, there is a sense of home that is associated with the notion of nationality. The house becomes a symbol of the country.

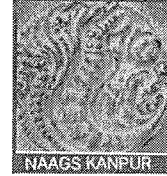
Conclusion

The purpose of this paper is to focus on cinematic performances within and across borders. That is, the paper addresses how artistic expression of landscapes, culture and ideology (among other factors) creates boundaries. In doing so, the paper focuses on regional boundary scenarios in nature - reflecting pacifist ideology, as well as imaginations that focus on the more on boundaries. This paper also argues that the cinematic boundary paper exhibits' articulate two distinct versions of national identity. On the one hand, such imaginations reveal the narrative of creating an ambiguous national identity, which reflects the hybrid identity that Indians and Pakistanis have at the same

time, and that there is a fusion of both proving there is no much differences in either of the countries.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF GANDHIAN MOVEMENTS IN BUNDELKHAND (U.P.)

DURGESH KUMAR SHUKLA

Assistant Professor of History

Government PG College

Munshyari, Pithoragarh India

& Ph.D. Scholar

C.S.J.M. University Kanpur India

DR. PURUSHOTTAM SINGH

Research Supervisor

Associate Professor of History

V.S.S.D. College Kanpur India

The Bundel division is known as the heartland of India, which was divided between the U.P. and the M.P. during the British period. At present, there are 13 districts in Bundelkhand, out of which 7 are in Uttar Pradesh and 6 in Madhya Pradesh. The part of Uttar Pradesh of Bundelkhand has been taken in the proposed study. That is why when we talk about Bundelkhand of Uttar Pradesh, we mean those seven districts Jalaun, Jhansi, Lalitpur, Hamirpur, Mahoba, Banda, Chitrakoot. Bundelkhand region has a special place in Uttar Pradesh. Since its ancient times, Bundelkhand (U.P.) has been famous for valor and bravery. The history of Bundelkhand (U.P.) is related to the spirit of valor, courage, sacrifice and freedom. Due to the plateau climate and adverse conditions here, the spirit of hard work and freedom has prevailed among the people. That is why the people here have always struggled against the injustice of power. The people here did not surrender to any foreigner forever. When there were struggles all over India against the British imperialist policy, there were also struggles in Bundelkhand (U.P.). National movements were taking place in this country in the background of economic exploitation and social injustice and caste hatred during the British rule. The period from 1919 to 1947 is called the Gandhi era. Mahatma Gandhi was leading the freedom movement of India all over the country at this time. His influence was all over

the country. Bundelkhand (U.P.) was also not untouched by the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. Bundelkhand (U.P.) played an important role in Gandhian movements. Mahatma Gandhi started his political career from 1916. His first speech in which the word 'Swaraj' was used was given in 1916 at Banaras Hindu University. In the Nagpur session of 1920, the Indian National Congress accepted him as its leader and resolved to achieve Swaraj under his leadership non-violently. The history of Gandhian movements in Bundelkhand (U.P.) is very glorious. Due to the influence of Gandhiji, women workers, farmers and common people of Bundelkhand (U.P.) actively participated in the movements and contributed significantly to the Gandhian movements. Non-cooperation movement, civil disobedience movement and Quit India movement are prominent among Gandhian movements. In these movements the people of Bundelkhand (U.P.) contributed step by step. In December 1919, on the call of Gandhiji's non-cooperation movement, its reaction started in Bundelkhand (U.P.). In this all the districts of Bundelkhand were affected. Jhansi, Hamirpur, Banda districts played an important role in this movement. In Jhansi district, Atmaram Govind Kher, Raghunath Vinayak Dhulekar, Laxmanrao, Kunjbihari Lal Shivani, Kalka Prasad Agarwal, Krishna Gopal Sharma, Chandramukhi Devi were prominent. Many students finished their studies. Other prominent people who contributed to the non-cooperation movement in Bundel Khand (U.P.) were Diwan Shatrughan Singh and his wife Rajendra Kumar, Kunwar Harprasad, Vaidyanath Tiwari, Ramashankar Rawat etc. Lawyers in Bundelkhand (U.P.) boycotted the courts on the call of Gandhiji. In 1919-20, under the leadership of Gandhiji, a powerful but non-violent movement started in Bundelkhand (U.P.) along with the whole of India. Peaceful demonstrations were held in this movement. First the courts were boycotted. Strike and Satyagraha were launched, government educational institutions were boycotted. Protests were held at shops selling liquor and foreign goods. Holi of foreign goods was burnt. Hindus and Muslims participated in this movement shoulder to shoulder. This movement spread to every village of Bundelkhand (U.P.). As a result, the British government tried to suppress this movement with force. Hundreds of people were arrested in Bundelkhand (U.P.). Mahatma Gandhi had opened the country's first Khadi center in Calcutta. The second Khadi center of the country was started in Bundelkhand (U.P.) Jaitpur (Belatal) Gandhiji's dream was to make the country prosperous and powerful. He saw that the British were systematically destroying the cottage industries spread from village to village in the country. He made a plan to encourage cottage industries in the country. Under this scheme, in 1920, he had established Khadi Center at Belatal in Bundelkhand (U.P.). Mahatma Gandhi had come here with his associates J.B. Kriplani, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to open the centre. Not only this, the hair memos of the sale of Khadi on the first day of the center were given with the signatures of Gandhiji himself. It is mentioned in Janaki Sharan Verma's book Kalajayi Mahamanav Gandhi that Gandhiji, who came to Jhansi for the first time in 1920, had received a lot of support and affection from the people. On his

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invitation thousands of youths here had jumped in the national movement for freedom. Inspired by his words, the youth had walked on the path shown by him for the freedom of the country. As a result, Holi of foreign clothes started burning in many places. He held meetings at Minerva Square and Hardyganj. Staying in the city's old educational institution Saraswati Pathshala Industrial Inter College, the strategy of the movement was prepared. people Gandhi came to Jhansi for the second time in 1921 and for the third time in 1929 due to the wide support of the The ten years of Gandhian movements from 1920 to 1930 were very important. In 1920, Gandhiji came to Jhansi city of Bundelkhand (U.P.) for the first time. With the arrival of Gandhiji, a new political consciousness started flowing in the whole of Bundelkhand (U.P.). At the same time, Congress was established in places like Jhansi, Orai, Hamirpur etc. During 1920-21, the whole country including Bundelkhand (U.P) seemed to have woken up suddenly due to the influence of Gandhiji in the whole country. Gandhiji was roaming around the country spreading sacrifice and non-violent non-cooperation. Gandhiji also visited places like Mauraipur, Hamirpur etc. in 1929. The Civil Disobedience Movement has an important place in the chain of Gandhian movements. Civil disobedience was started in 1930. As soon as the movement started, all the prominent leaders including Gandhiji, Pt. Nehru were imprisoned. The government stopped the publication of many newspapers. This movement had a massive impact on Bundelkhand (U.P.). 1930 Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, who was the director of the United Provinces movement, handed over the reins of Satyagraha operation in Hamirpur district to Bhagwan Das. The Satyagrahis tried to make arrests by protesting at many places. Seeing the enthusiasm among the people on showing laxity by the British government, Bhagwan Das decided to form a parallel government. When Gandhiji was taken prisoner on 7 March 1930 breaking the salt law, in response to this, there was a forceful strike in Bundelkhand (U.P.), whose maximum effect was seen in Kulpahar. Hamirpur and Jhansi districts played an active role in the civil disobedience movement in Bundelkhand (U.P.) region. Along with this, people of Banda and Jalaun districts also made commendable contribution. Satyagraha was started in many towns of Bundelkhand (U.P.). When the news of Gandhiji breaking the salt law reached Bundelkhand (U.P.), the people of Bundelkhand (U.P.) organized a national week in the second week of April in the entire Bundelkhand (U.P.) with the aim of breaking the salt law. The salt movement had a deep impact in Bundelkhand (U.P.). The stunning and energetic personality of Mahatma Gandhi infused energy in the minds of the people of the country. This movement was also promoted in Bundelkhand (U.P.) and on seeing many freedom lovers came out in support of Mahatma Gandhi. At that time, this Bundeli song was sung loudly – We have to go to fetch Soi Namak Tove, Gandhi to play along, Angreng Kho Maar Bhagane Hain.....

A large number of arrests of satyagrahis took place in Bundelkhand (U.P.). Women of Bundelkhand (U.P.) also participated enthusiastically in these Satyagrahis. Like the whole country, the specialty of this movement was the

participation of women in large scale movement in Bundelkhand (U.P.). Some of the prominent Satyagrahi women of Bundelkhand (U.P.) were Rani Rajendra Kumari, Smt. Kishori Devi, Smt. Rukmani Devi, Smt. Saraswati Devi etc. The Quit India Movement was the largest and most formidable mass movement among the movements launched by Mahatma Gandhi in India from 1920 till independence. This movement could not succeed in achieving its objective, yet it shook the roots of British rule. Like the whole country, the people of Bundelkhand (U.P.) participated in this movement with full zeal and enthusiasm. In Bundelkhand (U.P.), there were demonstrations by the people, the national flag was hoisted on the government buildings. Trains were stopped. Means of communication were destroyed and government property was damaged. All the movements that took place under the leadership of Gandhiji in Bundelkhand (U.P.) from 1920 to 1947 were non-violent movements. Influenced by Gandhian movements, movements against British rule were personally launched by the people of Bundelkhand (U.P.). Chief among these movements was the peasant movement of Jhansi, the speech boycott movement of Hamirpur in Bundelkhand (U.P.). The individual movement and the rent movement were prominent. Gandhiji did not present any philosophy systematically and systematically, that is why it can be said that there is no existence of Gandhi philosophy or Gandhism which Gandhi himself has also denied. Perhaps this question stirs intellectuals and common people that why so much discussion on Gandhi's ideas? Today, not only in India but according to the whole world, Gandhi's philosophy and thoughts will remain effective not only in the present but in the future. Gandhi's pre-history and historians believed that revolution is possible only through armed and bloodshed, especially in political power, but in the modern world, Gandhiji is the only thinker who has changed this concept and did not find a completely new way of transformation of political power. Not only told but used it in practice. Gandhiji had a firm belief in morality and moral values. Gandhiji clearly believed that history always confirms non-violence. Non-violence is not all surrender to sin, nor is it an excuse to hide weakness. Ahimsa is that power of the heroic soul which does not harm any living being. Gandhiji did not believe in eliminating the enemy but in changing his heart. first great After the war a new era started in Indian politics. This is called the Gandhi era. Mahatma Gandhi led Indian politics from 1917 to 1947. Gandhiji gave new impetus to the national movement and gave it a philosophical basis. The national movement was confined to the middle class only. As soon as Gandhiji entered the national movement, the nature of Indian national movement and freedom struggle changed. Its scope expanded and the national movement became a mass movement. Congress became a people's organization under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Truth and non-violence infused enthusiasm among the masses. Gandhiji fought against exploitation and social inequality. After the British rule in India, the life of the people who were feeling the feeling of defeat. People accepted the British rule as the fate of God. Gandhiji had the amazing power to remove all kinds of despair and evils from the

society. Gandhiji tried to take reform towards nationalism by making it a means of political, social and economic reconstruction. As the demand for political responsibility increased in India, the British rule started showing social evils. Christian missionaries inspired Harijans to adopt Christianity. On the other hand, the Harijans also raised political demands prominently. As political consciousness gained momentum, the social reform movement also gained momentum and political and social reform movements merged into one. Gandhiji considered untouchability as a great stigma of Hinduism. Gandhiji used to say that if untouchability is a part of Hindu religion, then I refuse to call myself a Hindu. The constructive work that Gandhiji emphasized during his movements helped in preparing the people for the movements. Gandhiji was deeply saddened by the plight of Indian women. Gandhiji presented constructive social programs to raise the status of women. They inspired women to move forward in various socio-economic and political fields like men, as a result women became widely involved in Gandhian movements. Women protested, boycotted foreign goods and clothes and went to jails. Gandhiji was not in favor of locking women in the walls of the house. Gandhiji was in favor of making women equal partners of men in various spheres of social life. Gandhiji saw in women the qualities of a good Satyagrahi. He called upon women to participate in the national movement for independence. On the call of Gandhiji, thousands of women in the country as well as in Bundelkhand (U.P.) came out of their homes and played an active role in Gandhian movements. Mahatma Gandhi had adopted two types of methods for the reconstruction of the new society. First non-violent resistance, second constructive work, these two programs complemented each other. Gandhiji gave more importance to constructive work than to Satyagraha. Non-violent resistance was especially adopted during the movement, but constructive work was done in anticipation. Gandhiji instilled confidence in the Indian public through creative works. As a result, the character of Gandhian movements became that of mass movements. Gandhiji insisted that religion should be the basis of politics. According to Gandhi, there should be unity in the external and internal life of man. Due to this insistence of Gandhiji, the people of Bundelkhand (U.P.) were attracted towards more and more Gandhian movements because the nature of Bundelkhand (U.P.) has been religious, hardworking and freedom-loving since ancient times. Gandhiji laid emphasis on the purity of ends and means. Gandhi used to say that if our means are pure and good, so will our ends. The attainment of virtuous ends is possible only through virtuous means. Gandhiji emphasizes on the importance of means, it does not mean that he forgets the importance of ends. Gandhiji believes that there is a relationship of inseparability between end and means, that's why Gandhiji says time and again that our means should be as ethical and pure as our end and we should always remain firm on this point. Gandhiji's effort to express the principle of ends and means in the form of Satyagraha is the best contribution to the modern world. According to Gandhi, an ideal Satyagrahi is a lover of truth and peace. If a Satyagrahi

misunderstands something, he steadfastly refuses to accept it. He happily suffers while fighting against the wrongdoers. This struggle is a part of his true love. But a Satyagrahi, while opposing the evil, still loves the evil. An important aspect of Gandhiji's approach was that he did not differentiate between thought and action. Gandhi's philosophy of truth and non-violence, which was not for peace speeches and articles, but for everyday life. Gandhiji had unwavering faith in the struggle ability of ordinary people. In 1942, Gandhiji was once asked about this struggle ability, how he would face the power of the empire, Gandhiji's answer was that through the power of millions of silent people. According to Gandhiji, a Satyagrahi has to use certain means. These are the main means- strike, non-cooperation, civil disobedience, picketing, boycott etc. Gandhiji did More importance was given to Satyagraha than to active resistance. According to him, passive resistance means trying to remove the opponent while Satyagrahi means 'change of heart' Passive resistance does not have the spiritual power of Satyagraha. Similarly, passive resistance can be the fruit of our weakness, whereas Satyagraha is a sign of our fearlessness. Gandhiji invented and used the method of unarmed resistance and Satyagraha during his 21-year stay in South Africa. After the success of Satyagraha in South Africa, Gandhiji returned to India in 1914 and started his public and political activities. In 1917, Gandhiji successfully used Satyagraha in India in favor of farmers in Champaran, Bihar. Called for a strike from 30 March 1913 to 6 March 1919 to peacefully protest against the Roller Act. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the country's largest national organization, the Congress, started a peaceful and non-violent non-cooperation movement to achieve Swaraj. At the core of this movement was the feeling that the British rule in India is going on with Indian cooperation and if the Indian people start non-cooperation towards the British Raj in all respects, then the British power will be crippled. Congress will be compelled to give Swaraj to India. This movement was going on that in 1922, due to the violent incident in Chauri Chaura, Gandhiji suspended the non-cooperation movement. Due to supporting the Khilafat movement for the protection of the Caliph of Turkey, Gandhiji also got huge support from the Muslims. Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, demanding salt tax and Purna Swaraj, which culminated in the Gandhi Irwin Pact in 1931. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, Gandhiji led the Quit India Movement in 1942. In this movement, Gandhiji gave the slogan of Do or Die. In this movement, the people themselves gave leadership because all the leaders of the first line of Congress were arrested as soon as the movement started. In Bundelkhand (U.P.) also this movement took a formidable form. The people of the towns and cities took the movement forward by performing a strike. Gandhiji was a staunch advocate of Swadeshi. Behind Gandhiji's love for Swadeshi lay the seeds of a very esoteric revolution. According to Gandhiji, in Swadeshi lies the salvation of economic, national, social, political and moral mystery. Gandhiji believed that while following Swadeshi, the interest of the society should be taken care of. Gandhiji has mentioned about the troubles that

India had to face due to withdrawing from the spirit of Swadeshi. In order to make the Swadeshi fast a success, Gandhiji has accepted the participation of women. Gandhiji was saddened by the plight of village industries. That is why Gandhiji immediately linked it with the Swadeshi Vrat. Gandhiji has considered Khadi and Charkha as the cornerstone of village industry. In the form of small scale industries, both Khadi and Charkha began to complement each other to Gandhiji. Gandhiji inspired and promoted small scale industries like oilseeds industry, sugarcane jaggery and sugar making mat industry, rice extraction from paddy, leather industry etc.

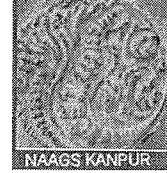
A study of Gandhiji's book *Mere Sapno Ka India* reveals that independence did not mean only freedom from the British Raj, but Gandhiji dreamed of freedom from evils like poverty, illiteracy and untouchability. He wanted that all the citizens of the country could equally enjoy the happiness of freedom and prosperity. Gandhiji has given the meaning of Swaraj in this book that by 'Swaraj I mean the rule of the year of India according to public property. The essence of all Gandhiji's thoughts is obtained from the study of Dr. Ramji Singh's 'Gandhi Darshan Mimamsa', Bihar Hindi Granth Academy, Patna. This book reveals about Gandhiji's theory and application of non-violence. Gandhiji used to say that non-violence is the ornament of heroes, violence is better than cowardice because a coward resorts to non-violence to hide his weakness. In this book, Gandhiji's ideas related to democracy, non-violence, satyagraha, physical labor, Gandhiji's education are thrown into detail. Information about the need for social reform and constructive work is available through Gandhiji. Sumit Sarkar, the famous historian of modern India, in his book 'Modern India' Rajkamal Publications Pvt Ltd, New Delhi 2007, gave a detailed description of Gandhian movements from a Marxist perspective. Is. The famous Indian historian Vipin Chandra has described the role of Gandhiji in the Indian freedom struggle and the movements made by him in 'India's Freedom Struggle', Directorate of Hindi Medium Implementation, University of Delhi, 1990. Historian BL Govar, Yashpal has described the Gandhian movements in 'History of Modern India' S. Chandra and Company Ltd. Ramnagar, New Delhi, the creative work started by Gandhiji has been described in detail. Shri Ramnath Suman gave "Gandhi ji in Uttar Pradesh" Information Department in Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow about Gandhiji's arrival in Uttar Pradesh, about the movements run by him, the creative work done by Gandhiji, especially about Khadi clothes. About the detailed efforts made in Uttar Pradesh information is widely available. Chintamani Shukla, Contribution of Uttar Pradesh in 'Gandhi era freedom struggle' Mathura National Press In 1988 a detailed description of the movements in Uttar Pradesh during Gandhi era is available. In this, a detailed description has been given of the efforts of students, intellectuals, farmers, common people along with women participating in Gandhian movements. In this book, from the Rowlatt Act to the Quit India Movement, the contribution made by all of Uttar Pradesh is clearly explained.

The movements run by Mahatma Gandhi have an important place in the Indian national movement. Mahatma Gandhi was the first to join the general public in the national movement. In the proposed research, an attempt will be made to study that what were the elements in the Gandhian movement through which the general public could connect with this movement. Through research, an attempt will also be made to understand that what were the conditions in Bundelkhand (U.P.) at the time of Gandhian movements? Through the proposed research, an attempt will be made to know that at the time of the national movement, a large number of women, farmers, students, who joined the Gandhian movements, converted these movements into mass movements. In Bundelkhand (U.P.), there was influence of the programs of Gandhian movements and social constructive programs. The Khadi program started by Gandhiji had a positive impact on the rural cottage industries. Gandhiji's social reform programs had a positive effect on the condition of women and Dalits. Gandhian movements succeeded in motivating the people to organize and fight against the British rule. Gandhiji's indigenous programs had a positive impact on Indian rural and cottage industries. Adopting these programs helped people to become financially capable. This economic benefit instilled confidence in the people. People came to know about the ill-effects of British policies. This information spread from village to village. Gandhiji attracted people, especially women, to him through the Satyagraha, as a result of which people went on joining Gandhi's movements.

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF VATSA MAHAJANAPADA

SANJOO SINGH

Ph.D. Scholar

Department of History

V.S. S, D. College, Kanpur

C.S.J.M. University Kanpur India

DR. PURUSHOTTAM SINGH

Research Supervisor

Associate Professor of History

V.S.S.D. College Kanpur India

Vatsamahajanapada was one of the 16 Mahajanapadas of ancient India with its capital at Kaushambi. Prayagraj and Mirzapur districts of modern Uttar Pradesh come under this Mahajanapada. Kaushambi is situated on the banks of river Yamuna. Kaushambi district is situated on the southern part of Uttar Pradesh with Prayagraj district in the east, Fatehpur in the west, Chitrakoot in the south and Pratapgarh district in the north. The total geographical area of the district is 1903.17 sq km. The coordinates of Kaushambi are 25°31'26" north latitude and 81°23'41" east longitude. It is an old city situated on the northern bank of river Yamuna, about 55 km west of Prayagraj. Kaushambi has been identified with a place called modern Kosam. In the context of its equation, it is also expedient to mention a column article of Samvat 1921 (1565 AD) received from here. In which the name of 'Kaushambipuri' has come. Kaushambi was ruled by many kings, the most famous of the last rulers of this dynasty was Udayana, who was a contemporary of Buddha. The mention of this ruler has also come in Swapnavasavadatta and Pratigyayogandharayana, in which he is said to be a descendant of Bharata clan. Harsha's Ratnavali describes Udayana as the king of Vatsa and Vatsapattan (apparently another name for Kaushambi) as his capital.

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Kaushambi was one of the four important cities in the 6th century BC. Six chiefs in North India during the time of Buddha

The cities were Champa, Rajgiri, Varanasi, Saket, Shravasti and Kaushambi. Vatsa Mahajanapada was one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas. The Puranas give a list of those kings who ruled in Kaushambi before Udayana. Udayana was the seventeenth in the lineage after Nichaksha. When Gautam Buddha was in Sravasti, he met three bankers from Kaushambi who requested Lord Buddha to come to Kaushambi, which Gautam Buddha accepted. He gave many discourses and strengthened the way of life of the Viharas of this place, due to which this place became a major center of Buddhism. Dhoshitaram Vihara was built by a wealthy Seth of the city after Udayana embraced Buddhism. Here the ruins of a palace (which probably belonged to Udayana) have been found, whose large walls were made of large stone pieces joined with lime mortar. The eastern gallery of this palace was probably covered with a vaulted ceiling, supported by two walls running from north to south, and possibly a dry moat to protect the north side of this palace. During the time of Buddha there were four organizations or settlements of Buddhist followers in or near Kaushambi. A detailed description of the city of Kaushambi is found in Buddhist literature. From the fifth century BC to the first century AD, Kaushambi remained a major center of Buddhism. As stated earlier, Kaushambi was one of the metropolitan cities where Mahatma Buddha was inspired by his disciple Ananda to attain Mahaparinirvana. Mahatma Buddha spent his ninth year of residence in Kaushambi and from here he went to Kuru nation and gave many lectures. There is also talk of residing of monks and nuns in Kaushambi. The famous Viharas of Kaushambi are mentioned in Buddhist texts like Vichitarama, Kukkutram, Pavarikabavan (Pravarik Amravana) and Badrikaram etc. The residents of this Vihara Kaushambi

The three famous sethas were built by Gawali, Kukkat and Pavarik and these viharas were also named after them. An inscription has been received from the excavation of Kaushambi, in which Ghilaram is said to be situated in the south-eastern corner on the border of Kaushambi. This monastery was Anand's favorite abode even after Buddha's Nirvana. There is also mention of the coming of Sariputra, Mahakachayana and Upavan several times. On one occasion Lord Buddha came to Kaushambi after leaving Anupia and stayed in this vihara. Pindol Bhardwaj, who had made Udayana a Buddhist believer, used to reside in this Vyakarama. He was the son of Rajpurohit of King Udayan of Kaushambi. There was also a talk on religious subjects in Udayan and Pindol Bharadwaj. Tasyather, a disciple of Lord Buddha, who was a Grihapati son, and was born in Kaushambi. While residing in Vichitarama, Lord Buddha gave discourses on subjects like Dhamma Vinaya etc. According to the Varna of the Mahavansh (in the 2nd century BC), 30 thousand monks of Vikaram of Kaushambi, headed by a monk named Gurudharamarkhit, went to Lanka to participate in the foundation stone laying festival of the Stupa Mahavihara of Anuradhapur. Another vihara named Pavarikabavan was situated to the east of Vikarama. Hiuen Tsang had seen the old foundations of

this monastery. Another vihara named Badrikaram was in Kaushambi. According to Saratthappakasini, the distance of Badarikaram was about two miles from Vishayaram. In the Kosam inscription of Maharaja Vaishnavana, it is said that it is located near Kosam. It was a Buddhist vihara. Where once Buddha ji also stayed. Apart from this, there were also viharas named Kukkutaram and Parivrajakaram in Kaushambi. Anand had discussed his stay with Lord Buddha in Parivrajakarama. Both these viharas were situated to the south-east and east of Vichitarama respectively. Due to its location on the banks of Yamuna, there was considerable development of commerce here. That's why it was called 'Vatspattan'. Kaushambi was the first trading center of North India during the Buddhist era. Roads coming from the south-west and north-west met at Kaushambi. The southern path of the Ganges plain used to reach Kaushambi near Allahabad via Mathura from Indraprastha and from there to Chunar. This part of the road was affected by vats. A direct route from Kaushambi, the capital of Vatsa, used to go to Ujjain. Vinaya Chullavagga (Volume-12) describes the journey of the place by the monks. In this, these monks used to reach Sahajati from Kaushambi via Ahogang Pabbat, Sankisa, Kanyakubja, Udumbar and Aggalpur. There is also a mention of some monks going from Vaishali to Sahajati by boat. Ahogang Pabbat, as the name suggests, can be equated to a mountain or a river. other lobe There is also a description of the journey from Ahogang to Pataliputra by boat in the scriptures. Being situated on the travel route, Kaushambi was an important trading center of ancient India. Information about the kings who ruled Kaushambi is also available from Buddhist literature. Kaushambi was under the rule of Udayana during the reign of Buddha. In the beginning of his reign, Udayana was opposed to Buddhism. Pali literature mentions Udayana's initiation into Buddhism by Pindol Bharadwaja. The description of Bodhi, the successor of Udayana, comes in the Majjhimanikaya. He had invited Gautam Buddha there by making a grand royal palace. Bodhi's successors are mentioned in Puranas and Pali texts. Along with Buddhism, Jainism also flourished in Kaushambi. Two inscriptions have been received from a place called Pabhosa (Prabhagiri) near Kaushambi, which shows that a union of Jain monks lived here under the protection of Ashadhasen. Jainism had spread a lot even before Christ. The Chinese traveler Hiuen Tsang has also mentioned a place called Pabhosa. Hiuen Tsang writes that many Jain monks used to reside here in the cave. Kaushambi was the birthplace of Padmaprabhu, the sixth Jain Tirthankara. The idol of Padmaprabhu has been received from here. This statue is Kamalasin, which was obtained from near the modern Padmaprabhu Jain Temple. It is known from Jain mythology that Padmaprabhu was born in Prabhasgiri and also ruled this city. He also did penance here at Pabhosa (Prabhagiri). Lord Mahavir also visited here once and practiced the Nirgrantha religion. The description of Kaushambi is also found in the Jain text Bhagwati Sutra (between 300 BC to 600 BC). Like Rajgriha, Champa, Shravasti and Hastinapur, this city was also a trading center. The genealogies of kings found in this book are also mentioned in the Puranas. The ruler of Kaushambi, Satnik

and his wife Mrigavati were devotees of Lord Mahavira. Jain evidence shows that Amatyas (ministers) were also followers of Jainism. Satnik's son and successor Udayana was also a supporter of Jainism. A vivid description of Kaushambi as a trading center is also found in Jain texts. Kaushambi was connected to all the trading centers by major river ports and land routes. There is a mention of monks going from Kaushambi to Vaishali by waterway. Due to its association with well-known routes, Kaushambi became a major import-export center in North India. Thus Jain literature presents a good depiction of the then trade system and also confirms Kaushambi as a trading town during the Buddhist period and its union with major cities by commerce sects. The Chinese traveler Fahien also mentioned a place called Kaushambi. Which was situated thirteen yojana north-west from the Mrigdaya forest (Sarnath). It is known from the travelogue of Hiuen Tsang, a Chinese traveler who came to India between 629 AD and 640 AD, that Kaushambi was very famous for its fertile soil, where rice and sugarcane were plentiful. The residents here had great faith in religion and beliefs. He has mentioned many sangharamas here which were present in the form of ruins. It is clear from this that by the time of Hiuen Tsang's arrival in Kaushambi, Buddhism was on the verge of decline. This fact is also confirmed by archaeological evidence. According to Hiuen Tsang, the Shramans belonging to the Hinayana sect used to reside here. There were more than 5 deity temples in which the number of non-Buddhists was less. Hiuen Tsang also mentions Vikalaram Vihara located to the south-east of the city. In the middle of it there is a vihara of Buddha and a stupa in which the nails and hair of Tathagata are stored. Apart from this, the bathroom of Tathagata

The ruins also exist. According to Hiuen Tsang, at a distance of 100 steps from this monastery, there are signs of the four Buddhas walking and sitting etc. In the upper part of the two block towers to the southeast of the Sangharama is a cave made of bricks in which the Bodhisattva Vasubandhu lived. He used this cave to refute the doctrines of Vidyamatra, Siddhishastra, Hinayana sect and to face the opponents. Near it there was a 202 feet high stupa built by Emperor Ashoka, near which the stupa is full of souvenirs, nails and hair of Buddhadev and many signs of the Tathagata Lord moving here and there are also present. At this place the disciples suffering from diseases come and pray for their salvation. Near this stupa was the residence of a venomous serpent made of stone where Buddha defeated the serpent and left his shadow. Although this story of this place is very famous, but that shadow is no longer visible. The credit of placing Kaushambi on the map of Indian archeology goes to Alexander Cunningham, the father of Indian archeology, who visited here in 1861 and called the present Kosam to Kaushambi. equated to. The ruins of ancient Kaushambi city are situated on the left bank of river Yamuna, 51 km south-west of Allahabad. The development, changes and additions have been clarified by the excavation of Kaushambi, mainly in the Ashoka Pillar area, security ramparts, Vikalaram Vihar and Rajprasad in different periods. In the mound obtained from here, the extension of the security rampart in the

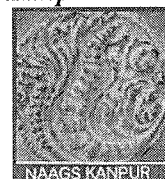
rectangular form was hidden. Ashoka Pillar in light The credit for bringing this goes to NG Majumdar, it was obtained by excavation in the central part of Kaushambi mound. This area has been called Ashoka Pillar Kshetra. Ashoka Pillar has been found in a fragmented state, whose upper end is broken, it is 280 cm thick at the bottom, which is made of red sandstone. This pillar has been erected at the realization site itself. Painted gray, northern black and red pottery are noteworthy among the pottery obtained from here. Raw bricks have been used in the construction of the building, while the use of pitched bricks is visible in the later three levels. Northern blacksmithed pottery has been obtained from the upper level of painted gray pottery of Ashoka Pillar area. Evidence of roads, streets, residential buildings and drains is obtained from this level. The later people of the northern black-margined pots used red colored pots. Coins of friendly rulers have been received from this level. Scholars are of the view that there is evidence of residence in this area till the Gupta period, as well as Kushan coins have also been received from here. After MG Mazumdar, 1949-50. The areas adjacent to the Ashoka Pillar were also excavated by Professor Govardhan Rai Sharma of Allahabad University. Later, under his leadership (1951-56), the Vikalaram Math was discovered. As a result of excavation, Vikalaram Vihar was brought to light. In this excavation, fragments of northern blackened pottery have been found from the lowest level. The complete construction of this vihara was done in the 6th century BC. There are many sequences of expansion visible from the beginning to the full blown construction. The final form of this vihara facing west was in the form of vihara and chaitya. The idols of Hariti and Kuber were installed next to the entrance of this vihara. To the north and east there were chambers for the residence of the monks, which also had verandahs in front. On the west side there was an open courtyard where meetings etc. would have been held. There was a huge square stupa in the courtyard of the vihara, as well as the remains of an oval and three small stupas have also been found. Apart from stupas, stone statues, terracotta, coins, inscriptions and seals etc. have also been found. The idols obtained from here are of very high quality, which were constructed between the first century AD to the fifth-sixth century AD. The sculptures were made more during the Maurya-Sunga and Saka-Parthian periods. The idols of Matdevi, Mridangvadak, Gajalakshmi and Hariti are notable among these idols. In the coins obtained from the Vihara area, coins made of silver and copper, minted coins without writing, local coins of Kaushambi, Kushanas and coins of Maharajas can be counted. Precious stones and beads made of bone have also been found. In the inscriptions, Nandiyasha's inscription, Ayagapatta, Shatdal Pradeep Lekh etc. are prominent. According to the Ayagapatta inscription, Bhadantadhara's disciple, Bhikkhu Fagal, had established a rock for the worship of all the Buddhas at Vichitarama. The ruins of Kaushambi city are spread over 6.45 km, a part of which is protected by a complex system of fortification. The ancient Parkota mounds, surrounded by a moat, form a semicircle as the base of the Yamuna. The parakeets form a circumference of about 4 miles. The average height of

the park is about 35 feet and the bastions range from 70 to 75 feet. There was a provision for east, north and west entrances on three sides of the city. The remains of the southern entrance could not be found due to the shed by the Yamuna. Apart from the walls, the entire city was surrounded on three sides by a moat or parikkha. The maximum width of the parikkha in this part is 1600 ft. At the eastern gate there is an earthen dam which acted as a curtain for the gate, its maximum length and width were 350 and 90 feet. There was a 25 ft road between this dam and the park. Rajprasad was brought to light in 1960 by excavations in the south-west direction. On the basis of the size of this building and the decorations found on the stone, it has been named as Rajprasad. This offering is circular. Its two walls are parallel but the remaining two are slightly rotated. There are circular towers towards the north-east, north-west and south-east. The palace was surrounded on three sides by a high security rampart made of stone, as well as a dry moat between the palace and the rampart. The walls of the palace were built in four different stages. In the first period (approximately 8th to 6th century BC) the wall was built by rough stone blocks. In the second period, sculpted rectangular stone blocks were installed on the wall. But they were used only outside. On the inside were still unpaved stone blocks. The date of this period is considered to be from 6th century BC to 2nd century BC. In the third period stone was used in the inner part but bricks were used on the outer side. The date of this period is considered to be between the second century BC to the first century BC. The use of rough stone blocks with bricks is visible in the fourth period. But these bricks are also broken. Thick plaster has been done over them. The construction of this period has been fixed between the first century BC to the second century AD. Excavations reveal the early development of the city. Roads connected all the major places of the city with each other. Ashoka Pillar was situated in the middle of it. According to the available evidence, the buses of the people residing in the area of this city The invasion must have happened between the middle of the fourth century BC to the middle of the fourth century. In the streets of the excavated area, there was a provision of cross walls. These were constructed keeping in mind the protection of unauthorized persons and thieves. These streets were closed at night and during emergency. The houses were built in a row, each divided into two sections with two gates (viharas and inner). A large number of tiles and remains of open and covered drains are also found in the excavation. There was also a system to drain the contaminated water from the houses. In the excavation, there was a pipe made of ad-hoc perky bricks, have been found. There were many benefits to this type of conduit. Due to the closure around them, there was no fear of spreading dirt. The residents here had taken many measures for the arrangement of cleanliness. Three soaking pots have been found from the excavation here. These were large earthen pots with holes in the bottom and placed them on top of each other. Bricks were placed under the lowest pitcher. The sewage and the filth of the house used to collect in the top pot through the drains. Similar pots have also been found in the excavations of Taxila and

Hastinapur. The soaking pots obtained from Kaushambi are sometimes also found kept in the back of the house. This type of arrangement may have been in place in other places as well. It is noteworthy that even in the literature, there is an instruction to make it for defecation in the back of the house. On behalf of the state also such pots were kept on the side of the roads and near a platform in the streets. Apart from this, ringwells were also manufactured. In the excavation of Kaushambi, such dead body wells have been found in large numbers. Similar dead bodies have been found in large numbers from the excavations of Taxila, Hastinapur, Ahichchhatra and Rajghat. To make them, three feet diameter chakris were placed one on top of the other by digging a pit. The number of chakris in the dead bodies found from Kaushambi is 25. Three mortise wells have been found at the same place from the ruins of Kaushambi. There must have been a special reason for this type of construction as well. A dead body may have been used for the first time. After it is filled, the second and third deadbolt wells must have been used, leaving it to dry. A large amount of iron tools, pottery, clay and metal figurines, coins, seals, inscriptions, palaces, security ramparts etc. have been found from the excavation of Kaushambi. From which information about the importance of ancient Kaushambi is obtained. Gajalakshmi and Hariti are particularly important among the idols obtained from Kaushambi. Small clay sculptures of humans and animals have been found from the excavation. Apart from this, a large number of fragments of various parts of the body have also been found.

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COMMUNALISM IN BENGAL IN 1940: A CASE STUDY OF PARTITION

MAHENDRA SINGH VIST

Ph.D. Scholar of History
C.S.J.M. University
Kanpur India

PAWAN PANDEY

Ph.D. Scholar of History
C.S.J.M. University
Kanpur India

Fazal ul Haq, Muslim League leader did admit that there was a need for better understanding between the two communities. He also referred to the Hindu Mahasabha President's (B.C. Chatterjee) comments about Hindus forming one nation and Muslim another one, asking if there was scope for an "Indian Nation?" Haq's sudden burst of anger, his rhetorical enquiry into the fate of the Indian nation, and his gradual admission that Das' concerns were valid, clearly reflected that Haq could actually be the right candidate to initiate peace talks with the Hindus. Herbert may have realized this. True, Herbert had his reservations about Haq because of his poor management of finances and ministers, but Linlithgow apparently took a different view of things.¹ He wrote of Haq to Herbert: "He has served us well enough, is stronger now (despite Sarkar's defection) than when he first took office, has handled the detenus and hunger-strike position well, and has remained in office despite the call of the CWC, something which the coalition in Assam failed to do."² This vote of confidence had great impact on Herbert who called on Haq on 27 January and asked him to get "real Hindu support for a coalition

¹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Herbert once pointed out to Linlithgow that whenever money was needed Haq's standard refrain was that it would have to be "found from somewhere."

² Linlithgow to Herbert, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

government.”³ Therefore Sarkar’s resignation eventually had the effect of making Haq, an ambassador for communal peace. The advice from Herbert went a long way in helping Haq stabilize his ministry and enhance his power, but the hint of immediacy in Herbert’s words had a miraculous effect.⁴ Within a week, in a statement issued from New Delhi, Haq said that he had “never been so keen to have a communal settlement” as he was then.⁵ His statements, “In the best interest of the country the present deadlock must be solved,” and “I am prepared to take Congressmen into my cabinet,” were followed by consistent appeals to communal unity. Before leaving New Delhi, Haq issued a joint statement with B C Chatterjee about the settlement of communal differences and also expressed remorse over some comments that may have hurt Hindus.⁶ Herbert reported that Haq also promised to call a meeting of prominent Hindu and Muslim leaders in his house once he returned from Delhi. Haq came back to Calcutta in time for the budget session that lasted from mid-February to the last week of April.⁷ Despite his Delhi statements in January, or maybe to test Haq, in the Assembly the Hindu Mahasabha candidates raised a series of accusations directed at the ministry with regard to suppression of Hindus. In an unprecedented act of maturity and consistency Haq’s ministry issued a 34 page response including 20 pages of tables defending against the charges. The documents also included a key response. The Hindu deputation to the government of Bengal had expressed the opinion that the two communities should have equal representation and Haq’s government arranged for that.⁸ In a couple of days, 24 February was announced as the date for the meeting Haq had promised. The meeting would be attended by Hindu leaders including Mookherjee, Sarat Bose and Bidhan Roy. Naturally “a more friendly party could hardly be imagined,” and Herbert rightly concluded that Haq was “genuinely concerned at the present state of impasse.” This is what provided the background for Haq’s presentation of the Lahore Resolution. The Lahore Resolution was the cry of a Muslim politician who wanted to empower his own people. It had little to do with Muslim League and Jinnah. The Resolution therefore was not an interruption to his overtures for communal peace. Haq soon found out that his “genuine” concerns for communal peace would be reciprocated, if at all, only after turf battles between Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha were settled. The 1 January 1940 Hindu Mahasabha meeting evoked widespread sympathy from Hindu professional and middle classes and clearly reflected to Herbert the

³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 27 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

⁴ Herbert specifically told Haq that alliance had to be struck with the Hindus even if they were based on “communal fundamentals.” Haq understood the urgency of the situation.

⁵ , The Statesman, 5 February 1940.

⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

⁷ Baker Papers, 11 November 1939 - 13 April 1940 1939-1940

⁸ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 14 February 1940

“resentment which the average Hindu Bengali feels against the neutral policy of the Congress as regards the Communal Award.” Even then, Sarkar, who attended the meeting, but not as member, remained unconvinced that the Hindu Mahasabha could become as important as the Congress.⁹ Shahabuddin, the Government Whip predicted that “the only organization with which the Muslim element can do business is the Hindu Mahasabha.” Congress would seek to undermine the Muslim League if they were to come together. In any case this was doubtful as Congress would not strike a bargain with the League on behalf of Hindus because it would never admit, rightly so, that it was a Hindu organization. The Hindu Mahasabha was proud of being a Hindu organization. Also, it would not try to split the Muslim League, and it would “lay its cards on the table.”¹⁰ One month after attending the meeting, Sarkar had still not joined the Mahasabha, but he realized that Congress was in dire need of new leadership. He issued a press statement in which he said that “the revolutionary potential of the movement” had outgrown its leadership, which was trying to retain its position at the “cost of the internal democracy of the Congress.”¹¹ B C Chatterjee confided to Herbert that Congress was “between communities, rather than non-communal,” and it would be futile to be in a conference with them, one that Haq had announced. Chatterjee also said that an ideal conference would be one between the Hindu Mahasabha and Muslim League but it had its problem and would not be effective.¹² Chatterjee discounted how the political equations had changed. Haq had started asserting his power to bring about communal peace and Hindu Mahasabha had become almost obsessed with prospects of a political position in Bengal.¹³ Though formal assertion of power by the Hindu Mahasabha would not come until 1941, by March 1940, Herbert noted that Subhas Bose’s “opportunist pact” with the Hindu Mahasabha broke down when some of his “non-violent” supporters smashed the platform on which Mookerjee was speaking at a meeting. Haq made attempts to initiate talks with Congress but he pinned more hope on the Mahasabha. One of the main indications for Haq was the failure of the Bose-Muslim League Pact in the Calcutta Corporation elections. From March 1940, when the Pact was formed, to July when Subhas Bose was arrested, the Pact became more and more “unpopular.” Sarat Bose’s expulsion from Congress in October finally convinced Haq that the Mahasabha was the new representative of Hindu interests in Bengal. The Hindu Mahasabha may

⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Sarkar would join Mahasabha only when he would find regaining his old position in the Congress right wing impossible

¹⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

¹¹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 10 February 1940.

¹² Herbert to Linlithgow, 19 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

¹³ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p14. Mookerjee admitted to Benthall that provincial politics and not all-India politics was “very much uppermost” in his mind.

have emerged as more likely and eager for reconciliation than Congress, but it did not automatically translate into good news for Haq. During the three weeks after announcement of peace talks, the Mahsabha extended no relief to the ministry in terms of their attacks. The Mahasabha called the Calcutta Corporation Act anti-Hindu and anti-national. Mookerjee said that Muslims were favored in fixing of communal ratios in the Corporation. In a meeting of Hindus at Deshapriya Park, Calcutta, Mookerjee accused the Bengal ministry of re-enacting the divide and rule policy of the British and then N C Chatterjee challenged Haq to restore joint electorates to prove that his plea for unity was genuine.¹⁴In addition to bills, acts and joint electorates the deepest of all pains inflicted on the Hindus by the Communal Award, was evoked again and again. So serious was Mookerjee's dissatisfaction that he made it clear that the Award would have to be discussed before any attempts were made by Haq to bring an understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. He said that he would be "satisfied" if it went on record that the Award would have to be "upset" one day.¹⁵ These deep seated grievances of the Hindus were considerable obstacles in the way of Haq's plans, especially given the radical conditions on which the peace offer would be accepted by the Hindu Mahasabha. Mookerjee did not hope for much from the meeting with Haq. Discussing Haq's attempts to win over Hindu leaders on 20 February, four days before the 24 February meeting, Mookerjee candidly told Benthall that he had "no great hopes of success" from the conference called at Haq's residence. In fact Benthall himself thought that the conference would do "more harm than good." Benthall and Mookerjee however agreed that with "real determination" settlement could be arrived at by even a small coterie instead of the 30-member team Haq put together.¹⁶ Mookerjee also asked for the modification of the Municipal Act by Haq's government as a gesture of goodwill towards the Hindus.¹⁷ With this kind of response, it was not surprising that the talks held on 24 February at Haq's residence did not yield any immediate result. In fact attacks against the ministry never really subsided. In the Legislative Assembly, still in session, the Bengal Secondary Education Bill aroused bitter communal feeling which was exploited by Sarat Bose and Mookerjee.¹⁸ The Communal Award, then eight years old, continued

¹⁴Ibid., 16 February.

¹⁵ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p14.

¹⁶Ibid. p14.

¹⁷Ibid. p14. Mookerjee disapproved that municipal job postings should seek Muslim applicants only. He wanted merit to be given priority in jobs that required qualification. He was prepared to let the communal percentage kick in for jobs which did not require specific qualifications.

¹⁸ Brayden to Porter, Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, R/3/2/55. See also , Amrita Bazar Patrika, 26 December 1937. As early as December 1937 news of the introduction of this Bill had led to outrage by the Hindus. The Bill took away higher education

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to wreck peace initiatives. Though Benthall had tried to impress upon Mookerjee that for the sake of progress he would have to accept the Communal Award for the time being, he continued to urge people to “fight” against it.¹⁹ Meetings and fiery speeches at the Mahakosala provincial Hindu Sabha conference at Bilaspur and Shyam Park kept communal momentum going.²⁰ The year ended with Mookerjee addressing a crowd of ten thousand people in Dacca where he called the Award anti-Hindu and explained how it curbed their rights.²¹ Haq continued to be patient with the Hindu Mahasabha despite the fact that with no assurance of support from the Mahasabha, the position of Haq’s ministry showed no improvement. The real danger was that by making constant appeals to Hindus, he had already run the risk of appearing to his Muslim support base as weak and way too proHindu. Haq realized the urgent need to fix the odds and tilt them in his favor, so he continued to keep his Muslim constituency happy. By 1940 Haq had genuinely become interested in communal harmony but his concern for Muslim well being was never displaced. Haq played an important role in ensuring that Suhrawardy got the finance portfolio when Sarkar resigned. He was “very glad” that it was “a Muslim minister” who held the portfolio.²² He knew that a disgruntled Muslim base could create problems. Haq’s strategic support of the Muslim masses in their demand for communal representation in the Indian Football Association (IFA) also retained his popularity.²³ An “absurd matter” for the British, Haq, despite his reservations about Nazimuddin, was quick to enlist his support for the cause, because he knew how important the symbol of football was for Bengalis.²⁴ While these acts retained Haq’s popularity among Muslim Leaguers, careful couching of his peace talks with Hindus, in a language of administrative necessity, which was also true, ensured that no red flags would be raised in the Muslim constituency. What Haq lost due to the Hindu Mahasabha’s restraint in responding to his pleas for peace, he gained by supporting the British war aims. He renewed his support for the war and also tried to get the Muslim League ban on war committees lifted. In June 1940, Linlithgow invited all parties to form a War Committee. In July, Haq sent a

from the control of the Calcutta University and placed it under a Secondary Education Board, where Hindus believed Muslims would have greater say. Education was the mainstay of Hindu power in Bengal and this Bill was seen as a blatant communal attack.

¹⁹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 21 March 1940.

²⁰ Ibid., 12 March Also 21 March, 1940.

²¹ Ibid., 17 December.

²² Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²³ A Muhammedan sporting club resigned from IFA after alleging that they had been unfairly treated. Nazimuddin, President of the club took up the demand for communal representation if IFA was to have their club back.

²⁴ Brayden to Porter, Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, R/3/2/55.

letter to Jinnah, personally requesting him to raise the ban so that Muslim Leaguers could join the Committee.²⁵ Not getting a favorable response, Haq went ahead and disclosed to Herbert his suggestion for a National Government for Bengal.²⁶ Haq's moves were golden for four reasons. One, Herbert's "profound disappointment" with Jinnah left him with no other option but to rely on Haq. Herbert wrote: "The Chief Minister made a most moving and impressive speech and his power of quiet oratory astonished more than one impressionable European who had not heard him speak before."²⁷ Two, if pleading for communal peace without results made Haq look weak, his stand on war reflected his individual strength, with the Muslim League party at arm's length. Three, the war was the farthest possible issue from communalism and naturally it gave Haq a platform to discuss a topic that went beyond regional or religious interests. Four, most interestingly, with British support behind him, the chances of winning over the Hindu Mahasabha through a formal arrangement looked brighter. Joining the war cause sparked off in Haq a desire to take a "strong line individually," a tendency Herbert had noticed in him much earlier in 1940. On 20 March Herbert wrote, "I have a feeling that the CM is hatching something." He explained that the Muslim League was trying to increase its hold over Haq and Haq was trying to resist it. On 9 April he wrote again, "Haq is on the lookout for some way of securing greater personal independence at the expense of breaking the Muslim League if necessary..." Haq had his reasons. First, his colleagues in Bengal made him feel insecure, second, Jinnah's autocratic behavior restricted Haq's moves as Chief Minister and third, the Muslim League's ideology had no place for Haq's provincial concerns. Earlier in 1940 before leaving for London on business, Haq expressed to Herbert that he wanted to take Nazimuddin with him. Herbert deduced, quite rightly, that Haq was insecure about leaving Nazimuddin behind as he might become more powerful. The same was applicable for Suhrawardy.²⁸ On another occasion, within two days of Haq's presiding over a Proja Party Conference, Suhrawardy at a League Conference in Pabna district commented strongly on the attempts of "so-called 'krishaks and projas' to introduce factions amongst Muslims and break up the solidarity brought about by the Muslim League." It was surely this alienation that provoked Haq to seek "greater personal independence." The dysfunctional relation between the three Muslim leaders was no secret. Mookerjee told Benthall that "a wedge had been driven to some extent" between the three, and left to himself Haq would come to terms with the Hindus as he was "jealous of the position of others."²⁹ Jinnah's controlling behavior from miles away also caused resentment in Haq. To begin with Herbert had "indications" that Haq,

²⁵ Herbert to Linlithgow, 10 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 13 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²⁸ Herbert to Linlithgow, 19 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

²⁹ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p15

Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy thought Jinnah to be “obdurate” and suspected that it could spoil “the Muslim case” unless Jinnah stated definitely what he wanted at the national level.³⁰ Haq was not prepared to go down with Jinnah if that happened. More importantly, Haq’s efforts at initiating talks with the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, and his support for Britain’s war aims had been prohibited by Jinnah.³¹ Haq knew that Jinnah at least had an inkling that both these moves not only had Herbert’s sanctions, but were in fact suggested by him. Haq found it unfair that Jinnah never understood Haq’s position as a provincial chief minister. Excessive party control also suffocated Haq. E H Baker (ICS Bengal) noted that in the Legislative Assembly “the coalition party showed itself very troublesome,” and “unless ministers were prepared to lead, and control the party instead of been [in original] dominated by it, legislation of a satisfactory character would become impossible.”³² Haq was aware of the dangers Baker mentioned and tried his best to keep the Muslim League at arm’s length. In trying to hold peace talks with the Hindus and supporting the British war aims Haq had started showing off his decision-making capabilities as a provincial leader but he did not want to raise an alarm. Asking Jinnah repeatedly to reconsider and back the British war aims was one way of proving to Jinnah that Haq still recognized Jinnah’s authority at the all-India level. But for the most part, after the Lahore Conference, Haq found out ways to keep his distance from Jinnah and the Muslim League. What followed were unexplained absences from key meetings and conferences. On 18 June Linlithgow noticed Haq’s behavior and wrote to Herbert: “I have seen Fazlul Haq...can’t but admire the skill with which he had contrived to avoid Azad’s conference at Delhi and Jinnah’s in Bombay.”³³ Haq in fact organized a conference between Abul Kalam Azad and Muslim premiers to initiate talks with the Congress but left Sikandar Hayat Khan, premier of Punjab, to attend the conference and went to meet his daughter instead.³⁴ When Jinnah wanted to convene a meeting to discuss Muslim League’s stand on the war, Haq suggested Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy’s names to Jinnah. He said that he would remain in Bengal but should Jinnah need his help he would readily offer it. Writing to Herbert on 1 October, Linlithgow again observed that whereas Nazimuddin was present at the Delhi deliberation on Britain’s promises after the war, Haq was “elsewhere engaged.” In another conference in November, Haq absented himself from an “important meeting” Laithwaite noted in his letter to Carter.³⁵ Unless it was

³⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL

³¹ I.A.R., 1940. Vol I, p 117.

³² Baker Papers, 21 June - 23 September 1940.

³³ Linlithgow to Herbert, 18 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁵ Laithwaite to Carter, 18 November 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. The meeting was held on 16 November evening. On the same day Haq attended a meeting in the morning where he was mainly an observer.

for the issues Haq was interested in, he abstained from Muslim League meetings or conferences where he would have to represent the Muslim League. Getting rid of the Muslim League would not be easy for Haq though, and not least because the Muslim League would not let go of him. Haq was a Leaguer himself and he needed the Bengal League colleagues in his coalition party to run the state and ward off opposition. The attacks from the Hindu Mahasabha disheartened Haq because he had gradually been leaning towards the belief that it was the only Hindu organization that mattered. But until he realized that and even after he did, Haq knew that any kind of opposition could destabilize his ministry and he could not risk ignoring them, be it from individuals like Sarkar or the Krishak Proja Samity or the Congress. Sarkar, almost instantly after his resignation from the ministry in December 1939, turned into a notorious critic of the ministry that he had been part of for three years. He called Suhrawardy's budget a "hoax." In fact an ex-finance secretary who listened to the debate in the House expressed to Herbert privately that Suhrawardy "out-classed not only his predecessor Sarkar but any finance member within memory."³⁶ To Haq's relief the bill got passed despite criticisms. Sarkar also sought protection from Haq against wrong allegations and threatened to reveal secrets if protection was not given.³⁷ These may have been indirect gestures to get back into Congress but Haq had to bear the brunt of it.³⁸ Even a year after Shamsuddin Ahmed's resignation, Haq was dealing with the disgruntled proja members in the Assembly. Idrish Ahmed of the KPP for instance not only criticized the finance bill, especially the provision of taxation on sales proceeds, but he also asked his party men not to support the bill. Haq was uncharacteristically patient with criticisms and more than willing to be transparent, but it did not reap any result. The Congress also played the usual blame game. Its many criticisms pertaining to the oppression of Hindus was dealt with firmly by Nazimuddin.³⁹ The Congress deputy leader, Santosh Kumar Basu criticized the Secondary Education Bill and decried the criminal neglect of compulsory education. By December the protests against the Bill assumed alarming proportions. For instance in Hazra Park, Calcutta, in a meeting called by Congress, ten thousand people gathered to voice their concerns. When the Assembly started session again after the Easter holiday Satyapriya Banerjee and Iswar Mal, both Congressmen, felt it was shame that whereas other provinces had imposed prohibition, Bengal had failed. Haq patiently explained that the goal could only be reached by stages,

³⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 March 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

³⁷ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24 February 1940.

³⁸ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p18. N N Sircar told Benthall that Sarkar had taken to "spinning" and was anxious to get back to the Congress. Gandhi had a soft corner for Sarkar but he had to "expiate his sins for the present."

³⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

and through persuasion and education.⁴⁰ In November, when Suhrawardy proposed a tax on sales proceeds (under the Finance Bill) the Congress resorted to furious agitation. However Suhrawardy stood strong and ensured that the Government motion was carried. The Finance Bill was referred to a select committee by 73 to 120 votes. Haq was again reminded that without Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy he would not be able to hold on to power. Despite his personal dislike for them, Haq knew that they were both competent and it helped that Herbert also thought the same. There was symbolic value, not just administrative reasons, in projecting that the coalition ministry stood firmly and loyally behind Haq. With closing balance reduced from 155 to 72 lakhs, 1940 started with the news of Bengal's budget deficit going viral. This precipitated attacks from all quarters. Acute food shortages in many parts of the province were made worse by scarce rainfall and irrigation woes. Matters came to a head when Birbhum district in the west was faced with famine. The jute cultivators and the money lenders came up as new political forces.⁴¹ Addressing the budget deficit by levying a sales tax on jute became impossible, and the money lender's bill went through lengthy amendments in the Assembly. Though nothing like the strikes Haq faced when he first took office, when 15,000 workers from the scavenging and cleaning department of the Calcutta Corporation struck work on the question of increased wages, Haq's ministry was neck deep in problems already. Then there was unexpected alliance between Bose and the Muslim League in the Calcutta Cooperation, the breakdown of which exacerbated the communal divide in Bengal.⁴² Bose's arrest in July 1940 made the environment more volatile. Before his arrest he had started a satyagraha for the removal of the Holwell monument which had coalesced into an anti-Government agitation. After Bose's arrest the agitation became uncontrollable as the satyagrahis now demanded his release. In all, the political situation in Bengal was such that Haq would have to tread carefully and a wise act would be to bring some semblance of stability to a very unstable province by standing strong with his Bengal League colleagues. Caught between being an administrator and an ambitious politician, Haq realized that 1940 was the year for preparation, not results. Haq would have to wait till 1941 to achieve his goals. Even those like

⁴⁰Ibid., 27 March. Haq also pointed out that Bengalis, Hindus or Muslims, were not addicted to alcohol. The non-Bengalis consumed alcohol and if they left then there would be no problem. He also suggested as a joke that the other solution was that everyone should convert to Islam as the religion prohibited consumption of alcohol. This was a very different Haq, a man who clearly wanted to reconcile.

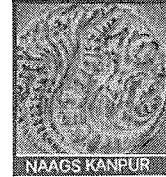
⁴¹Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

⁴²Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 April 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Herbert wrote, "instead of Hindus coming together a pact took place between the Muslim league and Subhas Bose." The European group declined to support Muslim League which made this unlikely coalition possible.

Herbert, who had a fairly good idea what Haq's goals were, did not know how Haq would realize them given the political mess in Bengal. Herbert was well aware that Haq's support of the British war aims was his way of gaining ideological ground that was different from the League's but he still worried for Haq. In a letter to Linlithgow on 22 June he wrote: "What Haq will really do if he leaves League - only he knows - or maybe even he doesn't know."⁴³ Linlithgow, who had been impressed with Haq's leadership replied saying, "I continue to watch with amusement the activities of Fazlul Haq."⁴⁴ Clearly, support for the war did not safeguard Haq's position for good; it only bought him some extra time in which to figure out his politics, perhaps until the next election, due at the end of 1941. As for his efforts at reconciliation with the Hindus, they had come to nothing. Haq must have believed that his personal diplomacy, his calm and patience would pay off sometime later but he did not know when. With these two political steps yet to prove successful, despite having taken steps to express his individuality and independence outside the Bengal League, Haq did not dare to break away from the League. It would have meant political suicide given that the election was not due to till end of 1941 and he did not yet have a back-up alliance party. CHAOTIC TIMES: BENGAL MUSLIM LEAGUE SPLITS The Coalition ministry formed in 1937 embodied many strained relationships that came to a head in 1941, caused by many of the contingent political decisions Haq took after assuming office. The most significant of these was his embrace of the Muslim League ideology. Distancing himself from the the Bengal League would also mean disavowing loyalty to the idea of Muslim solidarity based on religion alone. In 1937 the nuanced difference between Haq's and Jinnah's political ideas were not resolved, it need not have been, in 1940 these irreconcilable differences surfaced and 1941 they threatened to disrupt Haq's politics. The war had played a pivotal role in bringing out in the open the clash of interest between Jinnah's and Haq's politics. Haq's politics had always encompassed religious as well as regional identity, though between 1937 and 1939 they had not been pronounced explicitly by Haq. These differences made a parting of the ways imminent, but everyday politics of Bengal in 1941 dictated the twist and turns of this historic political clash.

⁴³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

⁴⁴ Linlithgow to Herbert, 16 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.



**EFFECTIVENESS OF SELECTION AND RECEPTION ORIENTED
CONCEPT ATTAINMENT MODEL ON ATTAINMENT OF
MATHEMATICAL CONCEPTS**

DR. SUNIL KUMAR UPADHYAY

Associate Professor,
Department of Teacher Education
D.B.S. P.G. College, Kanpur India

The paper is based on findings of U.G.C. funded major Research Project

Abstract

Attainment of mathematical concepts is of central importance from the point of view of mathematics learning. Without attaining concepts, understanding in mathematics cannot be achieved. Unless they attain concepts properly, they will not be able to acquire mastery over mathematical complexities. But there is not much emphasis on concept attainment in mathematics teaching. The concept attainment model is a teaching model for understanding of concepts and inductive reasoning to students. In this model students try to understand the concepts through classification of objects according to their attributes. In concept attainment model there are two strategies, which are selection and reception. Present study was designed to compare the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM) in attainment of mathematical concepts. In present study selection and reception oriented concept attainment models were found more effective than traditional method for attainment of concepts in mathematics but the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model were found similar.

Introduction

Mathematics has two sides, concept and content which cannot be separated from each other. Mathematics is basically a set of abstract concepts and represented by abstract signs and symbols. Concept is a mental process which makes an individual able to classify things. It is a process of expressing general idea of objects, events, ideas, processes and relations. Classifications were made by above generalized idea about objects, events, ideas and processes. Mathematics helps individual to think logically. Basically, mathematics is a logically organized conceptual system (Ernest, 1991). The

major objectives of learning mathematics are students can understand mathematical concepts, they can explain inter-conceptual relationships and able to apply concepts and its rules in problem solving. Weintrop et al. (2016) believe that conceptual learning would play major role in development of mental ability.

On the basis of above discussion this study aimed to compare the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM) in attainment of mathematical concepts. The following research problem has been selected for the present study- “A comparative study of the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM) in attainment of mathematical concepts.”

Hypotheses- The hypotheses were framed to infer the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM) and comparing the effectiveness of both models in the attainment of mathematical concepts. For statistical inferences hypotheses were framed in null form. The following hypotheses were framed-

H₀₁ – There is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through selection oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts.

H₀₂ – There is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through reception oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts.

H₀₃ – There is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through selection and reception oriented concept attainment model in attainment of mathematical concepts.

For measuring the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM), pre-test post-test one group design was applied and to compare the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM), quasi-experimental design with pre-test post-test non equivalent group was applied. It is clear from the previous studies that the teaching through CAM is effective in comparison to traditional method. Therefore to study the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented CAM, pre-test post-test one group design was applied. The strong evidences were available from many studies in the favour of the effectiveness of concept attainment model (CAM) for the attainment of mathematical concepts in comparison to traditional method, so the limitations of minimum controlled design, which was applied for testing the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented CAM (hypotheses H₀₁ and H₀₂) is not a major issue in the generalization of the findings of this study. The researcher had decided to pay major attention on the comparison of effectiveness of teaching through selection and reception oriented CAM. Therefore to study the comparative effectiveness of selection and reception oriented CAM (H₀₃), quasi-experimental pre-test post-test non equivalent group design was applied. Firstly all the students were taught by the traditional method, and then pre-test was administered on those students. After that two experimental groups of

students were formed. First group of the students was taught by selection oriented model while the second group of students was taught by reception oriented concept attainment model, and then post-test was administered for comparing the effectiveness of both strategies of the concept attainment model. The difference between the mean of the pre and post-test scores for both groups and the difference between post-test scores of both groups are tested for statistical significance. Analysis of covariance was also used to control the difference between pre-test scores of the both groups.

Since all the students were taught through traditional method before the administration of pre-test and to study the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented CAM with traditional method (H01 & H02) pre-test post-test one group design was used. That's why, when the study of comparative effectiveness of both the strategies of CAM was conducted, two separate treatments in the form of teaching through these two different teaching strategies of CAM were given to the both experimental groups. The control group for the teaching of traditional method was not needed. Researcher is interested in comparison of two teaching strategies and there is enough evidence in the literature that the treatments given to the experimental groups is effective, then it is possible and appropriate to use such an approach, which uses two experimental groups and no control group.

Population- The population of present study was IX-grade mathematics students of Uttar Pradesh.

Sampling Technique- In present study multiple random sampling technique mixed with cluster sampling technique was used. At last stage sample was selected through cluster sampling technique.

Sample- In present study at first stage six districts were selected randomly from all districts of Uttar Pradesh. From each district three secondary schools of U.P. board were selected and then one section of class IX of mathematics was selected randomly from each selected schools. All students of these sections were considered as a sample. In statistical analysis 524 students were considered as a sample, which were participated in all tests and treatments.

Development of Mathematical Concept Attainment Test (MCAT)- According to Bruner et al. (1956) concept attainment is a process of identifying the defining attributes of a given class, i.e. identifying examples and non examples of a given category. It refers that attainment of concept is mastery over complexities related to attributes, examples and definition of concepts and development of generalized idea about concept and ability to apply the principle of specific concept in new situations. Frayer et al. (1969) developed a classroom concept learning schema (CCL Schema) for mastery over concepts. In this schema a list of 13 behaviours were presented, which are related to the elements of concepts. These tasks may be viewed as thirteen steps towards concepts mastery. The thirteen tasks of the CCL Schema are related to the model developed by Klausmeier et al. (1974) for concept attainment. The model provides four levels for the attainment of the concept in

succession. The four levels are concrete, identity, classificatory and formal in the sequence of low to high.

Selection of Concepts- A pre requisite basis to develop a concept attainment test is selection of concept for study. After discussing about learning difficulties with different school teachers the unit 'numbers system' is selected for study. This unit consists of six concepts up to IX- grade of different books

1. Natural Number 2. Whole Number 3. Integer 4. Rational Number 5. Irrational Number 6. Real Number

Concept Analysis- Concept analysis has been done for all selected concepts to prepare test items for measurement of concept attainment. It provides a frame about the elements of concepts to be measured. Elements of concepts are-

1. Name 2. Attributes 3. Attribute value 4. Example 5. Rules or Definition

After concept analysis all the elements were identified and on the basis of 13 tasks of CCL Schema for selected six concepts, 78 items were listed in MCAT. After getting the opinion of experts, try-out and item analysis 50 items were listed in final draft of MCAT. The investigator decided to reject items having the item discrimination less than 0.25 and item difficulty below to 0.30 and above to 0.70.

Reliability- Test- retest reliability of the test was found 0.76.

Validity- MCAT was prepared on the basis of CCL schema given by Frayer et al. (1969), the items of the test were checked by experts. Item analysis of the test was made on representative sample. Items having good discrimination and difficulty power were selected. Thus, it may be said that the test has content validity.

Development of Lesson Plan based on Selection and Reception oriented Concept Attainment Model- Joyce & Weil (1985) developed more than 20 models of teaching. Model of teaching can be considered as a blueprint for teaching. It provides structure, direction and complexities of teaching. Joyce & Weil (1985) grouped these models into 4 families, which are Social Interaction Models, Personal Models, Behaviour-Modification Models and Information Processing Models.

Joyce & Weil (1985) in models of teaching discussed the concept attainment model under information processing models. Concept attainment model is based on theory of concept attainment of Bruner et al. (1956). The main assumption of this model is that our environment has many types of objects with different areas. We remain involved in the process of categorizing these objects. Categorizing helps to reduce the complexity of environment and it is a necessity for concept learning. This Model is attempted to teach concepts by comparing and contrasting exemplars from non-exemplars. In concept attainment model there are six strategies, which are classified under two broad categories i.e. selection and reception strategies-

- (i) Selection Oriented CAM
- (ii) Reception Oriented CAM

Syntax of Selection-oriented Concept Attainment Model-

Phase-I -Presentation of data and identification of attributes – In this phase teacher presents unlabelled examples. Students inquire which examples are positive ones, based on the first positive examples, given by the teacher. Students generate their hypotheses and test them.

Phase-II -Testing attainment of the concept – In this phase students identify additional unlabelled examples, they generate examples and teacher confirms their hypotheses, names concept and states definition according to the identified critical attributes.

Phase-III -Analysis of thinking strategy- In this phase students describe thoughts and discuss the role of formulated hypotheses and attributes. They discuss types and numbers of hypotheses. Teacher evaluates the strategies. The process of this model is under control of students.

Syntax of Reception-oriented Concept Attainment Model-

Phase-I - Presentation of data and identification of concepts – In this phase teacher presents the positive and negative labeled examples. Students compare attributes of examples and non examples of and they generate and test hypotheses. Students define the concept according to the essential attributes of positive examples.

Phase-II - Testing attainment of the concept- In this phase students identify additional unlabelled examples as Yes or No. The teacher confirms students' hypotheses. Teacher names the concept and states the definition of concept according to essential attributes. Students generate examples.

Phase-III - Analyses of the thinking strategies – Students describe thoughts and discuss the role of hypotheses and attributes, and they discuss type and number of hypotheses. Teacher evaluates the strategies.

The purpose of this teaching model is to improve the understanding of concepts and inductive reasoning of the students. In this model students try to understand the concepts through classification of objects according to their attributes. Bruner and associates developed the theory of this model on the basis of classification and development of thinking strategies in students.

First of all for the concerned six concepts, concept analysis was made on the basis of criteria determined by Research and Development Centre Wisconsin University and then lesson plan based on the selection and reception approach of concept attainment model for selected six concepts were developed with the help of concept analysis.

Administration of Tools and Treatments- For testing the effect of selection and reception oriented Concept Attainment Model (CAM) and comparing the effectiveness of both models, Firstly all the concepts related to the test had been taught by the traditional method to the students of the sample. After one week pre-test was administered on the sample. Schools included in the sample were divided into two groups in such a way that number of students remains almost same. All the concepts related to the test had been taught through the selection oriented CAM to the students of first group while the second group was taught through reception oriented CAM. In one day, only one concept was

taught and each concept had been taught by the same teacher who had taught those concepts to the sampled students by the traditional method also. To control the intervening variables post-test was administered after five days of the treatment in the form of teaching through selection oriented CAM and reception oriented CAM. 262 students for first group and same 262 students for second group were considered in sample, which were participated in all the tests and treatments.

Analyses and Interpretation-For testing the significance of difference between means of pre and post- test scores on attainment of concepts in mathematics for selection oriented CAM taught group, t-test was used. Means and Standard deviations of scores on pre and post test for selection oriented CAM taught group and results of t-test are shown in table -1.

Table -1

Means and Standard deviations of Scores on pre-test and post- test for Selection Oriented CAM taught group along with significance of difference between Mean

S.N.	Test	No. of Students (N)	Mean (M)	S.D. (σ)	Correlation (r)	t	P
1.	Pre- test	262	21.11	3.99	0.90	65.37	< 0.01
2.	Post- test	262	29.83	4.93			< 0.05

From table-1 it is clear that the mean of pre test (21.11) significantly differs from the mean of the post test (29.83) at 0.01 and 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, H_0 that there is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through selection oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts is rejected at 0.05 level of significance and alternative hypothesis H_1 that there is a significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through selection oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts is accepted at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, it may be said that selection oriented CAM is more effective for attainment of concepts in mathematics in comparison to the traditional method.

For testing the significance of difference between means of pre and post- test scores on attainment of concepts in mathematics for reception oriented (CAM) taught group, t-test was used. Means and standard deviations of scores on pre- test and post- test for reception oriented CAM taught and results of t-test are shown in table-2.

Table -2

Means and Standard deviations of Scores on pre-test and post- test for Reception Oriented CAM taught group along with significance of difference between Means

S.N.	Test	No. of Students (N)	Mean (M)	S.D. (σ)	Correlation (r)	t	P
1	Pre test	262	23.05	4.16	0.896	63.41	< 0.01
2.	Post test	262	32.00	5.07			< 0.05

From table-2 it is clear that the mean of the pre- test (23.05) significantly differs from the mean of post- test (32.00) at 0.01 and 0.05 level. Therefore, H_0 that there is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through reception oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts is rejected at 0.05 level of significance and alternative hypothesis H_a that there is a significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through reception oriented concept attainment model and traditional method in attainment of mathematical concepts is accepted at 0.05 level of significance. Hence, it may be said that reception oriented CAM is more effective for attainment of concepts in mathematics in comparison to the traditional method.

For comparing the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model (CAM), t-test was used.

Means and standard deviations of scores on pre-test of attainment of concepts in mathematics (MCAT) for both groups along with significance of difference between means of both groups are shown in table -3. After administering pre-test, one group was taught by selection approach and other group was taught by reception approach of CAM and then post-test of MCAT was administered. Means and standard deviations of scores on pre-test and post- test of attainment of concept in mathematics (MCAT) along with significance of difference between means of both groups are also shown is table-3.

Table -3

Means and Standard deviations of Scores of pre-test and post test for both groups on MCAT along with significance of difference between Means

S.N.	Test	Group	No. of Students (N)	Mean (M)	S.D. (σ)	t	P
1.	Pre-test	First group	262	21.11	3.99	5.44	< 0.01
		Second Group	262	23.05	4.16		< 0.05
2.	Post-test	First group (Selection Oriented CAM taught group)	262	29.83	4.93	4.94	< 0.01
		Second Group (Reception)	262	32.00	5.07		< 0.05

		Oriented CAM taught group)					
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Table-3 reveals that for post-test mean of first group which was taught by selection approach of CAM and post-test mean of second group which was taught by reception approach of CAM differ significantly at 0.01 and 0.05 level. This indicates that reception approach of CAM (mean 32.00) is more effective than selection approach of CAM (mean 29.83) for attainment of concept in mathematics, but the mean of first group for pre- test is also differs significantly from the mean of second group for the pre- test at 0.01 to 0.05 level of significance.

Hence, it may be inferred that means shown in post-test for both groups may be differ significantly due to significant difference in means for pre-test scores of both groups. The selection of students for both groups was not under control of researcher, due to administrative problems of schools. Thus, investigator could not keep both the groups in equivalence because pre-test means across groups were not compared before giving treatment of selection and reception-oriented CAM teaching models.

For fulfilling the assumptions of ANCOVA, Levene's test was done for testing the equality of error variance, which is shown in Table- 4.

Table – 4
Levene's Test for Homogeneity of variance

F	df ₁	df ₂	P
0.100	1	522	>0.05 >0.01

Table- 4 reveals that error variances are not differing significantly at 0.01 and 0.05 level of significance.

The result of analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) for significance of difference between means of post- test scores for both groups after eliminating the effect of difference between means of pre-test scores for both groups are shown in Table -5.

Table -5
Analysis of Covariance

S. N.	Test	Source	Df	Sum of Squares	Mean Sum of Squares	F	P
1.	Pre-test	Between Groups	1	494.429	494.429	29.65	< 0.01
		Within Groups	522	8703.04	16.6724		< 0.05
		Total	523	9197.47	17.5859		
2.	Post-test	Between Groups	1	613.5286	613.5286	29.47	< 0.01
		Within Groups	522	13085.94	25.0688		< 0.05
		Total	523	13699.47	26.1940		
3.	Adjusted Post-test	Between Groups	1	0.050	0.050	0.0104	>0.01
		Within Groups	521	2486.036	4.7716		>0.05
		Total	522	2486.086	4.7626		

Table-5 shows that the F-value for pre-test and post- test is significant at 0.01 and 0.05 level. But for adjusted post-test score, F is not significant at 0.01 and 0.05 level. This indicates that the difference between post- tests scores of both groups seem significant due to difference in pre- test scores of both groups. After eliminating the difference between pre- test scores for both groups by ANCOVA statistical technique the adjusted post- test score is not significantly differing for both groups at 0.01 and 0.05 level of significance. It may be said that no significant difference exists between means of post- test scores of both groups on MCAT.

Adjusted means for post-test scores and significance of difference between adjusted means of post-test scores are given in table-6.

Table – 6

Adjusted Means of post- test scores for both group and significance of difference between Adjusted Means

S.N.	Group	Number of Students (N)	Mean for Pre- Test (Mx)	Mean for Post- Test (My)	Adjusted Mean for Post- Test (Mady)	Standard Error	T	p
1.	First Group	262	21.11	29.83	30.90	0.1907	0.10	>0.01
2.	Second Group	262	23.05	32.00	30.92			>0.05

Table-6 shows that adjusted post- test scores are not significantly different for both selection and reception oriented model taught group at 0.05 and 0.01 level of significance. Therefore, null hypothesis H_0_3 that there is no significant difference between effectiveness of teaching through selection and reception oriented concept attainment model in attainment of mathematical concepts is accepted at 0.05 level of significance. This reveals that selection and reception-oriented CAM is more effective than traditional method for attainment of concepts in mathematics (H_{a1} & H_{a2}), but no significant difference was found between effectiveness of selection and reception-oriented concept attainment model (CAM) on attainment of concepts in mathematics at 0.05 level of significance.

Thus, null hypotheses H_{01} and H_{02} are rejected and null hypothesis H_{03} is accepted at 0.05 level of significance and it may be said that there is no significant difference between effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model on attainment of mathematical concepts.

It may be said that selection and reception oriented concept attainment model are more effective than traditional method for the attainment of concepts in mathematics, but the effectiveness of selection and reception oriented concept attainment model are not significantly different from each other. The present study reveals that both strategies of concept attainment model (CAM) are more effective than traditional method for attaining

concepts in mathematics at secondary level. This finding is supported by many researchers (Prabhakaram & Rao, 1998; Ramadevi, 1998; Krishnakumari, 2002; Bairagya et al., 2005; Minikutty, 2005). In concept attainment model (CAM), students are not passive listeners, but they participate actively and formulate hypotheses and after testing hypotheses they differentiate exemplars from non-exemplars. In this process the learning becomes a joyful experience for students and due to facility of immediate reinforcement they feel encouraged to think reflectively and it is obvious that through this model students will be able to acquire mastery over elements of concepts, differentiate examples from non-examples and be able to produce positive and negative examples.

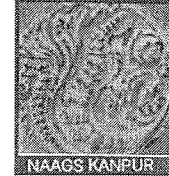
In present study effectiveness of selection and reception oriented CAM was found similar, which is supported by Pani (1985). Pani (1985) found that reception oriented CAM and selection oriented CAM was equally effective for attaining science concepts. But on contrary, D'lima & Suvarna (1990) revealed that reception oriented CAM is more effective than selection oriented CAM. Prabhu (1991) studied the effectiveness of modified concept attainment model, reception and selection oriented CAM and found that all three strategies of CAM were more effective than traditional method in Geometrical concept teaching. He also found that modified CAM is more effective than reception and selection oriented CAM. Syntax of both strategies is almost similar. In reception model students compare attributes of positive and negative labeled examples, which are presented by teachers. In selection model they enquire those examples which are positive examples based on positive examples presented by the teacher. It may be said that no major difference in functioning of both models. Students would be able to formulate and test hypotheses and differentiate examples from non-examples in both strategies. Therefore, there is no reason seems behind the differences in effectiveness of both models. Both may be similarly effective for concept attainment in mathematics.

Implication- The implication of the present study is that, this study would help the teachers for accomplishment of students in the mathematical concept attainment. Findings of the present study suggest that teachers should use both strategies of concept attainment model for the teaching of mathematics. Present study proves that learning outcomes of secondary students can be improved by learning models and strategies. The results of present study would help in knowing the effective instructional method for conceptual learning. Unless the attainment of concepts, the capability to solve problems involving higher order principles will not be develop. Mathematical concepts are full of abstract concepts and become simple to complex at higher classes. Among these, attainment of concepts in mathematics is necessary for students to become successful not only in mathematics but also in life as a whole. It can also be helpful for students in attaining the mathematical abstract concepts and retain the concepts in their mind in a meaningful way. Teachers will also be able to use proper teaching strategies for facilitating the students to use

actively their mathematical mind in mathematics learning and problem solving in the light of this study. The result of present study can be helpful for the teachers to meet the challenges of 21st century classroom teaching by emphasizing on the process of conceptual understanding. It will also be helpful in teachers' training programmes for quality improvement in teachers by adopting selection and reception oriented concept attainment model as a mode of instruction. The present curricula for schools and teachers' training programmes can be altered so that the use of both strategies of the concept attainment model can be brought to practice. Based on the findings of this study, i.e. both strategies of CAM are equally effective than traditional method, it is recommended that the selection and reception strategies of concept attainment model can be applied equally in mathematics learning for attainment of mathematical concepts in improving mathematical outcomes of the students. Findings of this study also provide a theoretical background and evidences to the researchers for further researches. Present study would help the society to develop mathematical skills in the students through better conceptual understanding of mathematics.

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EVOLUTION OF MICROFINANCE FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN ERA: A THEMATIC REVIEW

ABHIVYAKTI KUMARI

Research Scholar
Department of Rural Management
BBAU, Lucknow India

DR. RAMESH KUMAR CHATURVEDI

Assistant Professor
Department of Rural Management
BBAU, Lucknow India

Abstract

Inclusive financing and microfinance are considered inevitable tools for social equity. Our knowledge about financial system in ancient times and their socio-cultural implications are limited. Moreover the concept of inclusive financing over different eras and related academic discourse has been known to transcend a divergent path. There is need to decipher the patterns of inclusive financing and methods longitudinally grouped into ancient, medieval and modern eras. This article presents the scope and spirit of inclusive financing and systems through taking into account the published articles of past 20 years specifically from 2000 to 2020 by using Systematic Literature Review method on articles published and indexed in academic databases. The findings are further presented on temporal tone. It is found that inclusive financing existed form ancient times though had gone through different conceptualizations and formats over time. Article includes part I Introduction and Objective of the study, Part II Research Methodology and SLR, Part III Result and Discussion, and Part IV Conclusion, Limitations and Suggestions.

Keywords: Inclusive financing, Systematic Literature Review, Microfinance, Ancient.

Introduction

India is a developing nation and improving its position continuously whether taking account of Ease of doing business (63rd rank) or World Happiness

Index (139/149) or Global Hunger Index (94/107 in 2020) (World Bank Data). With some ups and downs India is cumulatively progressive towards the goal. Microfinance Information Exchange (MIX, 2010) defines microfinance as a variety of financial services that target low-income persons, particularly women. According to them because most of the clients of microfinance institutions (MFIs) have lower incomes and often have limited access to other financial services, microfinance products tend to be for smaller monetary amounts having product scope such as loans, savings, insurance, and remittances etc. other than that of traditional financial services.

Hempel and Simonson (1999) concluded that deposits serve as a major source of finance for financial institutions as they reported that, United States commercial banks total liabilities are made up of 97 percent of demand deposits and time deposits. Wisniwski(1999) also backed this assertion by reporting that, this has been true (thus, deposits as source of finance) but it cuts across regional or cultural context in which the banks or related non-bank financial institutions have developed.

However the major source of liability for microfinance is different. The principal source of funding for MFIs is grants and highly subsidized loans, or so-called soft loans. Soft loans are loans obtained from multilateral banks, government aid agencies, foundations and apex organizations (Fehr and Hishigsuren, 2005). With support of such soft-loans revolutionary microfinance growth has given an excellent chance to the rural people to achieve affordable economic, social and cultural empowerment, leading to higher living standard and quality of life. (Kumar, 2015). These authors posit that that microfinance has received significant attention from the donor community, based upon its potential as a powerful tool of poverty alleviation. To them, this has led to millions of dollars been spent on promoting microfinance programs around the world. Around the world microfinance has different forms and several credit groups were operative in many countries over many years, for instance, the “chit funds” (India), “Hui”(China), “tontines” (West Africa), “Arisan” (Indonesia), “susus” (Ghana), “Paluwagan”(Phillippines), “pasanaku” (Bolivia) etc.

Ample of articles were published on Microfinance at various platform related to its current scenario, its rise and fall, Non profit to profit and others, but very few articles connects it with the ancient times. Moreover the thematic development of discipline of microfinance is obscure in extant literature. It becomes pertinent to bring forth the journey of microfinance from ancient times to today to answer the questions on trend, forms and format of microfinance research over early ancient days to contemporary microfinance. Hence to answer the question this study collects and examines various previously published articles related to money lending and usury through definite timeline. To find out the research seriousness about this topic authors have searched academic research databases for articles published in last 20 years (from 2001 to 2020) on evolution of microfinance and financing system in India. Accordingly following objectives are stated:

Inclusion and exclusion criteria

In order to search and identify the relevant articles as per objectives of our study Scopus database has been searched with keywords “evolution of microfinance” and “ancient financing system in India”. Surprisingly no articles were listed with keyword “ancient financing system in India”. All the articles having evolution and microfinance in title were retained for further analysis. Further while abstract analysis those articles were included that had Indian context. While reading full paper all those articles that have reflected on historical evolution of microfinance were included.

All the articles of other countries than India are excluded. Due to access limitations articles indexed in academic databases other than Scopus are excluded from this study. All articles having industry specific perspective and no focus on ‘form and format’ or ‘historical evolution’ of microfinance are also excluded while abstract and full paper analysis.

A brief description literature review is as follows:

- Academic database Search on keywords “evolution of microfinance”, Ancient Financing system in India” retrieved 87 articles on first keyword and 0 articles on second keyword, so we started with total 87 articles.
- Title review lead to elimination of 61 articles and 26 articles were found relevant.
- Abstract review of the remaining 26 articles lead to exclusion of 14 articles and 12 articles were accepted for next stage full article review.
- 09 articles were finally selected for analysis based on review of full articles.

Through this systematic Literature Review process selection of articles for review will be more crystal clear, and it was more helpful for completing this review work systematically. By following the literature review process finally 09 articles were retained for the purpose of analysis.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Mostly articles reflect that microfinance bookmarks its presence in 1970 through Md. Yunus when Md. Yunus created awareness on small scale loans for the poor women through Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. This approach reaches its peak and Md. Yunus got recognition by getting Noble Peace Award for his work on rural Banking. But many studies say Microfinance exists from the ancient times when crop harvest is the loan repayment in exchange of some coins for their urgent need like daughter’s marriage and festive ceremony or any other life cycle or natural calamity based emergent needs.

Bibliometric Analysis

It is found that very few publications have been done in context of our study over last 20 years (i.e. from 2001 to 2020) that are indexed in Scopus database. We find just two articles published for year 2013 and only one publication could be searched at our theme for eight years (one article in each of 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2015, 2016), we do not find any publication

for 12 years in the time window. Among the nine articles reviewed only three articles had covered ancient perspective and all the nine articles has covered modern perspective of microfinance in their discussions. Economic political weekly is only prominent journal published from India that has published article on our review theme.

Thematic Analysis

Articles reviewed has been analysed for thematic congruity. While analysing the ‘Themes of Articles’ and ‘Description’ it is found that all nine articles could be clubbed into three thematic clusters ‘Sustainable Financing’ (Articles at Sl. No. 1, 2, and 3; Table 1), ‘Development Financing’ (Articles at Sl. No. 4, 5, 6, and 7; Table 1) and ‘Historical Evolution’ (Articles at Sl. No. 8, 9, and 10; Table 1). The article Stenzel, Paulette, L. (2009) has two prominent themes hence appears in two subdomains. Accordingly the main themes are expressed with their sub-themes as identified on the basis of articles clubbed in that main theme. The main theme and their corresponding sub-themes are presented in the Table 1.

Main Themes	Articles	Sub themes
Sustainable Financing	1.Kannan, M. & Panneerselvam, A. (2013), 2. Stenzel, Paulette, L. (2009), 3. Unknown(2003)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Profitability • Problems of Microcredit & Repayment
Development Financing	4. Fouillet, Cyril. et al. (2013); 5. Satish, P. (2005); 6. Mittal, Alka (2016); 7. Shah, Mihir et al. (2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial Inclusion • Self sufficiency • Lending Ethics
Historical Evolution	8. Stenzel, Paulette. L (2009); 9. Devaraj T.S (2011); 10. Tripathi , Vivek Kumar (2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Form of microfinance in ancient times • Formal to Informal Transition • Evolution in India and Across World

Table1: Thematic grouping of articles

Above table 1 suggest that very little research has been done on history of Microfinance/ Money lending System or credit system in India. There is lot of research required so that researcher/ employee get further empowered by knowing the background of the money lending system. From the year 2000 papers on ancient and medieval history of Microfinance hasn't been founded on proper basis, every second scholar concern about the current scenario/

status of Microfinance. From year 2000 no such research paper was published that illustrates about ancient history of credit system. Three articles reviewed dealt with historical evolution of microfinance. Among them Devaraj T.S (2011) specifically explain India has witnessed rural credit from ancient times which eventually developed into rural banks. The other article by Tripathi (2015) explains existence of rural credit in many parts of world including India from ancient period. Almost all the articles reviewed explains rural credit primarily help poor to meet their financial needs, however specific formats of ancient financing could not to traced among these articles.

Scope of Future Research

Though we searched on evolution of microfinance in Indian context yet we found few articles exactly focusing on evolution of microfinance and ancient financing system. This gap provides a window of opportunity to conduct more research in this context and strengthen our understanding of ancient financing systems.

Among the limitations of this article we feel coverage of more academic research databases could have improved the insight on publication themes. A larger window of years of publications could also help to aggregate some more articles for better insight. The articles not available in digital object form are also missed coverage in this study. We have not considered the gap specified by the articles reviewed that could throw light on future research direction.

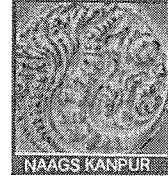
Conclusion

This article provides an account of articles that has been published by scholar and researcher regarding the history of money lending system and credit system in India. Thousand of articles were published on Google Scholar but very few were selected through Systematic Literature Review. Sustainable financing has been centre of microfinance literature that we reviewed. It is concluded that sustainable financing and timely repayment were primary concerns of researchers over period of time and it seems this will continue to be prominent focus areas of Microfinance, thus we suggest more research needs to be conducted to enrich our knowledge and help microfinance industry deal with sustainability and delinquency issues. Development financing is another domain that has attracted researchers' interest and inclusive development has been their archaic agenda, however up to what extent it has been achieved remains obscure due to dearth of published articles. It is suggested that a comprehensive review of articles is needed including multiple databases and even including unpublished materials so we could gain more insight on ancient evolution of microfinance. Finally we conclude small financing per se microfinance is not a new concept and could be traced back into history, though it has evolved through different forms and methods.

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A STUDY OF WORK MOTIVATION AND JOB SATISFACTION OF TEACHER EDUCATORS

DR. DHARMENDRA KUMAR

Associate Professor

Department of Teacher Education

J. V. Jain College, Saharanpur India

PANKAJ KUMAR

M.Ed., NET (Education)

J. V. Jain College, Saharanpur India

ABSTRACT: - Work motivation plays a very important role for completing any successful task. Job satisfaction results when there is a fit between job characteristics and the wants of the employees. Public Funded institutions give the higher salary and other facilities to their employees than private funded institutions so the concerned employees are being motivated and satisfied for their job. In the present study, the investigators intended to compare the job satisfaction and work motivation of teacher educators with respect to some demographic variables. Job satisfaction and work motivation were treated as dependent variables. The independent variable comprised of type of institutions like public and private institutions. For the purpose of investigation, descriptive survey method was employed. The sample comprised of 80 teacher educators working in teacher education Institutions located in Aligarh District affiliated to DBRA University Agra. The findings of the study revealed: i) No significant difference were found in the job satisfaction and work motivation of male teacher educators working in public and private institutions. ii) There were significant differences in work motivation and job satisfaction among female teacher educators working in public and private institutions iii) No Significant relationship were reported between work motivation and job satisfaction of teacher educators working in public and private institutions.

KEY WORDS: - Work Motivation, Job Satisfaction, Teacher Educators, Private Institution, Public Funded Institution.

INTRODUCTION: - A good teacher is like a candle it consumes itself to light the way for others. Education certainly has some of the characteristics of being an art, a science, a skilled trade or craft, and a profession. The place and importance of teacher in a society can never be overestimated. A teacher is a central figure in the formal teaching learning set up. He is a telescope through which people can see the distant tomorrows of the students. He is the ultimate agent who dispenses knowledge, frames the times schedule, selects reading materials, evaluates learning outcomes, and helps pupils to overcome their difficulties and personal problems. He is who sets the standards, builds up desirable attitudes and approves or disapproves pupil behavior.

A 'Teacher Educator' is the Higher Education faculty responsible for teacher preparation. A simple definition of Teacher Educator is anyone who educates teachers. As far as concern with this study 'Teacher Educators' are those teachers who teach the prospective teachers of private institutions as well as department of education, affiliated colleges and universities.

Pinder (1998) define work motivation as: "a set of energetic forces that originate both within as well as beyond an individual's being, to initiate work-related behavior, and to determine its form, direction, intensity and duration.

Job satisfaction is the favorableness or unfavorableness with which employees view their work. It expresses the amount of agreement between one's expectation of the job and the reward that the job provides.

In the present study, private institution means those institutions which are run by non-Government organization, charity, group of people. The courses being taught in these institutions are mainly professional courses. One among them is teacher's training programme, approved by National Council of Teacher Education(NCTE).

Work motivation plays a very important role for completing any successful task. Job satisfaction results when there is a fit between job characteristics and the wants of the employees. Public Funded institutions give the higher salary and other facilities to their employees than private funded institutions so the concerned employees are being motivated and satisfied for their job. In the present study, the investigators intended to compare the job satisfaction and work motivation of teacher educators with respect to some demographic variables. Job satisfaction and work motivation were treated as dependent variables. The independent variable comprised of type of institutions like public and private institutions. For the purpose of investigation, descriptive survey method was employed. The sample comprised of 80 teacher educators working in schools located in Aligarh District affiliated to DBRA University Agra.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: -

Only good, career oriented and fully satisfied teacher can able to perform his task sincerely and truthfully. For making good and effective teacher, teacher educators play a prominent role. Teacher educators are one who educates teachers. He is responsible to develops new strategies of teaching skills among prospective teachers. Only fully satisfied teacher educator imparts good and effective quality of education to teacher educators. Satisfaction towards his job is one of the major and probably the important factor in contributing quality of education as well as work motivation plays a very important role to perform successfully task.

Now a day's teacher faces many challenges. There has been a feeling of grievance on the part of the teachers that they not receive the status and respect from the society that their profession and role demand. They receive low salary, especially the private institutions teachers have heavy work load. They do not have enough time to take part in extra co-curricular activities like attending seminars and conferences, workshop, participate in summer courses etc.

Present study provides the base for policy makers and administrators to understand the degree of influencing factors like job satisfaction, work motivation, low salary, heavy work load, poor institutional climate, location, gender etc. of teacher educators working in public and private funded institutions

- The present study has been confined to Teacher Educator (B.Ed. Teachers) only.
- The present study has been confined to Teacher Educator of Aligarh District.

The Descriptive survey Method was applied in the study.

The sample comprised of 80 teacher educators working in teacher education Institutions located in Aligarh District affiliated to DBRA University Agra.

In the present study Work Motivation and job satisfaction variable were used.

Work Motivation – Dr. K.G. Agrawal

Job Satisfaction Questionnaire: - Dr. Meera Dixit.

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES: -

Statistical techniques are employed on the raw score to make it meaningful and to test the significance of the scores. Without use of statistical techniques raw scores do not have their own meaning and weight.

- 't' Test
- Pearson Correlation Coefficient Method

CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY: -

Table -1

Comparison of Work Motivation of Male Teacher Educators working in Private Institutions and Public Funded Institutions

Institutions	N	Df	Mean	S.D.	t-value	Tabulated t-value

Private	18	38	93.43	12.99	1.39NS	1.97
Public	22		95.87	14.79		

NS: not significant at .05 level

From the above Table-1, t-test statistical technique was applied to compare work motivation of male teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions. The tabulated t-value i.e., 1.97, is found greater than calculated t-value i.e., 1.39, which is not significant at .05 level of significance. It shows that there is no significant difference in work motivation of male teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions. Therefore, null hypothesis is accepted. Though the mean score of male teacher educators working in private funded institutions i.e., 93.43 is a bit lower than the mean score of male teacher educators working in public funded institutions i.e., 95.87, it does not promise any noteworthy difference.

Table- 2

Comparison of Work Motivation of the Female Teacher Educators working in Private Institutions and Public Funded Institutions

Institutions	N	Df	Mean	S.D.	t- value	Tabulated t- value
Private	22	38	85.26	11.45	6.40**	2.59
Public	18		95.65	14.51		

** : significant at .01 level

From the above Table -2, shows that the tabulated t-value i.e., 2.59, is less than calculated t- value i.e., 6.40, which was found significant at .01 level of significance. It shows that there is significant difference in work motivation of female teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions. The mean score of teacher educators working in public funded institutions was found higher than the mean score of female teacher educators working in private institution. It shows that teacher educators of public funded institutions were highly motivated than female teacher educators of private institutions. Therefore, hypothesis is rejected.

Table -3

Comparison of Job Satisfaction of Male Teacher Educators working in Private and Public Funded Institutions.

Institutions	N	df	Mean	S.D.	t-value	Tabulated t- value
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Private	18	38	178.9	15.46	0.34 NS	1.97
Public	22		179.6	17.12		

NS: Not significant at .05 level

From the above Table3, shows that the calculated t-value is less than tabulated t- value i.e.,1.97, with 38 degree of freedom, at .05 level of significance. It shows that there is no significant difference in job satisfaction of male teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions. Therefore, null hypothesis is accepted.

Though the mean score of male teacher educators working in private funded institutions i.e., 178.9 is a bit lower than the mean score of male teacher educators working in public funded institutions i.e., 179.6, it does not promise any noteworthy difference.

Table – 4

Comparison of Job Satisfaction of Female Teacher Educators working in Private Institutions and Public Funded Institutions

Institutions	N	df	Mean	S.D.	t-value	Tabulated t-value
Private	22	38	172.86	20.47	2.10*	1.97
public	18		179.69	23.06		

*: significant at .05 level

From the above Table -4, shows that the tabulated t-value i.e. 1.97, is less than calculated t- value i.e. 2.10, with 38 degree of freedom at 0.05 level of significance. It shows that there is significant difference in job satisfaction of female teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions. The mean score of female teacher educators working in public funded institutions is found higher than the mean score of female teacher educators working in private institutions. Therefore, null hypothesis is rejected.

Table -5

Showing Correlation coefficient between Job Satisfaction and Work Motivation of Male Teacher Educators working

Variable	df	r- calculated	Tabulated r- value	Level of Sig.
Job satisfaction	38	0.33	0.304	* .05

Work motivation				
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*Significant at .05 level

Table 5 shows that the value of coefficient of correlation between job satisfaction and work motivation is -0.33. The correlation was found significant at 0.05 level of significance, because its calculated r value - 0.33 was more than the tabulated r value i.e. 0.304 at 38 degree of freedom (d.f). Therefore, null hypotheses no 5 was rejected.

Table -6

Sowing Correlation coefficient of Job Satisfaction with Work Motivation of Female Teacher Educators

Variable	Df	Calculated r-value	Tabulated r-value	Level of Sig.
Job satisfaction	38	0.88	0.393	**
Work motivation				.01

**Significant at .01 level

Table-6 shows the coefficient of correlation between job satisfaction and work motivation is .088, the calculated r value 0.88 was more than the tabulated r value i.e. 0.393 at 38 degree of freedom (d.f) and the correlation was found significant at 0.01 level of significance, Therefore null hypotheses no 6 was rejected.

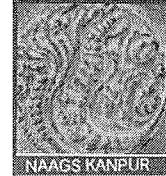
GENERALIZATION OF THE STUDY: - The findings of the study revealed: i) No significant difference were found in the job satisfaction and work motivation of male teacher educators working in public and private institutions. ii) There were significant differences in work motivation and job satisfaction among female teacher educators working in public and private institutions iii) Significant relationship were reported between work motivation and job satisfaction of male teacher and female teacher educators working in public and private institutions.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS: -

Educationist all over the world have emphasized that quality of teacher education is the most important factor influencing overall teacher education programme. In these perspective observations and findings of the present study comparing the work motivation and job satisfaction of teacher educators working in private and public funded institutions may have strong and useful educational implications in the existing teacher education programme oanf our country. Along with this important decision like service conditions, assignment of work, and promotion of teacher educators and recruitment of teacher educators in private and public funded institutions.

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**ARAVIND ADIGA'S *THE WHITE TIGER*: A SCATHING
SATIRE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IN
POSTCOLONIAL INDIAN SOCIETY**

DR. NEELAM BHARDWAJ

Associate Professor
P.G. Department of English
S.C.D. Government College
Ludhiana Punjab India

Abstract

The modern society is very strange as, here, everyone is engaged in 'rat-race' and wish to taste success 'by hook or by crook'. The people from the lower strata of the society crave for an elevated social status but the hunger of rich people never gets satisfied and they are always in a 'Ye Dil Mange More' mode. As the poor people are not getting their share, the prevailing disgusting situation provoke them to commit heinous crimes. This paper attempts to analyse the Socio-Economic Inequality in Postcolonial Indian Society boldly manifested by Aravind Adiga through his avant-garde novel *The White Tiger*. The author makes several unfeigned assaults on present day politics, religion, economy, education, judiciary, socio-political manoeuvrings, new emergent morality etc., bringing into focus the corrupt dynamics that ensure that the poor remain poor always, weaving them deftly into the thematic texture of the novel.

Keywords: Economic Reforms, Social Inequality, Scathing Satire, Underprivileged, Post Colonialism.

During the post liberalisation period, a feel-good factor has been created in the field of economy that promised economic prosperity to everyone but the fact remains that in this bubble of economic boom, the poor and underprivileged are at the receiving end. Due to rising economic prosperity and crumbling joint family structure, the domestic helpers are much in demand for carrying out various household chores. These include domestic servants, drivers, cooks, security guards, etc. These people closely observe the lavish lifestyle of their rich employers, see their way of spending the money extravagantly, come in

contact with the glamorised world without being a part of it and secretly nurture the wish to be like their employers. Aravind Adiga is filled with indignation at the reckless spending of money by the rich people which, in fact, becomes a disgusting show of their wealth. The unscrupulous politicians and bureaucrats are ready to surrender before those who can fulfil their 'demands'. The crafty and crooked people exploit this situation most. Rich people's such kind of attitude negatively impact the poor and invoke the feeling of rebellion or crime in them. Aravind Adiga is an Indo-Australian writer who shot into international limelight by winning the coveted Man Booker prize for his debut novel *The White Tiger* in 2008. With the winning of this coveted award for his maiden novel, Aravind Adiga has come to rank with many celebrated Booker Prize-winning Indian English novelists as V.S.Naipaul, Salman Rushdie, Arundhati Roy and Kiran Desai. Adiga is an insider looking penetratingly beneath the so-called glossy veneer that India tries to project abroad and warns the readers about the possible consequences of this inequality through his ground breaking novel *The White Tiger* which realistically portrays the enigma of the postmodern era. He also exposes the corrupt and illegal practices adopted by the rich and the so called successful people, particularly after the economic reforms in India.

The White Tiger is doubtless a nonpareil Indian English novel. As a matter of fact, there is no other Indian English novel that can set beside it in the matters of serious spunky sideswipes on various aspects of contemporary life in India as well as narrative strategy. Brutally realistic, Adiga dishes out in the novel the flipside of the grim contemporary reality pervading India, ripping off the false facade thereon in a remarkably gritty and gutsy manner. The crux of the novel, no doubt, is in the depiction of the social inequality that pervades Indian society. No doubt, the book has been hailed as controversial. The story revolves around two Indias - affluent, corrupt, immoral India and deprived, suffering and degraded India. In an interview with *The Guardian*, Adiga has himself openly declared about the intention of revealing that underside of India, which is often missed in the sheer glitz and glamour of just 5% of the wealthy population. In *The White Tiger*, Adiga has fused the epistolary form of the novel with the dramatic monologue and with the confessional mode of narration. Thus, in the novel, Adiga demonstrates a deft fusion of these disparate narrative modes specifically the epistolary form of the novel with the dramatic monologue and with the confessional mode of narration. Written primarily in the epistolary form, the novel is apparently a collection of eight letters written by an Indian ex-servant called Balram Halwai who recently made it big by committing the murder of his own master Mr. Ashok Sharma to Mr. Wen Jiabao, the Chinese Premier. The book depicts, in a very refreshing manner, Balram's miraculous journey from darkness to light, from rags to riches, from the crippling clause of conservatism to debouching autonomy of urban anonymity. The novel opens with the first letter addressed to Wen Jiabao, the Chinese Premier, when it was announced by All

India Radio that he would be coming to Bangalore next week on an official visit. Balram tells Mr. Jiabao that :

Our nation, though it has no drinking water, electricity, sewage system, public transportation, sense of hygiene, discipline, courtesy or punctuality, does have entrepreneurs. Thousands and thousands of them. Especially in the field of technology. And these entrepreneurs --we entrepreneurs--have set up all these outsourcing companies that virtually run America now. (TWT, 2008, p 4)

He unhesitatingly advises Mr. Jiabao that:

One fact about India is that you can take almost anything you hear about the country from the prime Minister and turn it upside down and then you will have the truth about that thing. (TWT, 2008, p 15)

He further very spunkily cautions Mr. Jiabao not to take a dip in the Ganga, although the prime minister will urge you to do so. He says:

No! - Mr. Jiabao, I urge you not to dip in the Ganga, unless you want your mouth full of faeces, straw, soggy parts of human bodies, buffalo, carrion, and seven different kinds of industrial acids. (TWT, 2008, p 15)

Thus, on a careful scrutiny, one discerns that in *The White Tiger* the epistolary form gets gradually blurred and shades off into the dramatic monologue and later into the confessional mode of narration—a narrative strategy defiantly resorted to by some postcolonial novelists such as V. S. Naipaul and Salman Rushdie. The novel is a powerful commentary on the startling contrast between India's rise as a global economy post liberalisation and the plight of the marginalised class living in the most inhuman conditions. The narrator and the protagonist of the novel, Balram Halwai, hails from Laxmangarh, a small village in Bihar. His father was a rickshaw-puller. His mother died when he was a small child. He was admitted to a school because his mother desired to educate him. Balram inherits the rebellious streak from his mother whose toes resisted the black mud of the Ganga while her corpse was being cremated as well as from his father who declined to work in the fields for the landlords and preferred instead the independence of a rickshaw-puller. Balram's situation is akin to several thousand other children of the country, who in spite of being intelligent and talented are forced to leave the school at an early age and do some odd jobs to support the family. Balram was a promising child and his teachers admired him greatly. In fact, during a surprise visit of a school inspector in the school, he was the only student in the whole of the school who

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could answer the questions asked by the inspector. Balram appeared to him a sort of child-prodigy. He was so impressed with Balram's talent and attitude that he gave him the nickname 'The White Tiger':

The inspector pointed his cane straight at me, you, young man, are an intelligent, honest, vivacious fellow in this crowd of things and idiots. In any jungle, what is the rarest of animals—the creature that comes along only once in a generation? The school inspector says: The White Tiger. That's what you are, in this jungle. (*TWT*, 2008, p 22)

But alas! such a brilliant boy had to bid adieu to school education quite early and later in life the tag of a school drop-out permanently attached to him. After leaving the school education midway, he does many odd and menial jobs to support the family. So, Schooling remains a brief affair, as Balram is pulled out of school to work in a tea shop to repay the loan his father had taken for the marriage of his aunt. At the tea shop, he crushes coals, wipes tables and serves tea to customers. But Balram wants to do something big and wants to live like a man as his father did. But his father dies miserably of tuberculosis in a Government hospital, unattended. Balram was fully aware of the kind of miserable agonizing life replete with deprivations, disappointments, sorrows and sufferings, insults and humiliations that his father lived as a rickshaw puller. But, however, Balram is sacked from the tea shop because of his habit of eavesdropping on others. He joins a construction company as a child labourer but he also fails there. Gradually his latent business sense awakens. He tries his hands on many other activities which he thinks may help him in earning more money. He even learns driving so as to expand his horizon of working. Mr. Ramdev Thakur, one of the four animals i.e. landlords of the village who control Laxmangarh, appoints him as a chauffeur for his U.S. returned son, Ashok and his daughter-in-law, Pinky Madam. Now Balram is a chauffeur to drive a luxury car of Ashok who is settled in Gurgaon near Delhi. Balram now sees two worlds — one of the rich people who have amassed immense wealth and are wallowing in it and the other of the poor who are struggling to make both ends meet. The disturbing thought that he would never be able to lead a luxurious life like that of his masters engulfs him. It disturbs him and he becomes quite restless. Further, the humiliating experiences at the shopping malls add fuel to the fire of his rebellion or criminal attitude:

He feels degraded as a human being, deprived of basic human rights to enter a shopping mall as he belonged to the poor class. If he walked into the mall someone would say "Hey, that man is a paid driver! What's he doing in here?" There were guards in grey uniforms on every floor

— all of them seemed to be watching me. It was my first taste of the fugitive's life. (*TWT*, 2008, p 152)

Balram reminisces one of the newspaper reports on the malls, in the early days entitled "Is there No space for the Poor in the Malls of new India?" (Adiga, 2008, p 148). The security guards at these shopping malls identified the poor wearing sandals let in only those wearing shoes, while a poor man in sandals was driven out. This made a man in sandals explode "Am I not a human being too?" (Adiga, 2008, p 148). In due course of time, after having watched rampant corruption in all the aspects of Indian life and having been sick of his life as a driver, he did not want to remain throughout his life as a servant and die a miserable death like his father's. Constant pondering over the present situation leads him to a horrible thought and pushes him towards committing a heinous crime. He contemplates killing his master as he feels it the only way left with him to achieve his target, join the bandwagon of the affluent class / society and to be a part of this tinsel world:

His schooling in crime begins with the reading of Murder Weekly as all drivers do to while away their time. Of course, a billion servants are secretly fantasizing about strangling their bosses — and that's why the government of India publishes the magazine and sells it on the streets for just four and a half rupees so that even the poor can buy it. (*TWT*, 2008, p 125)

Since he was doomed to die in the blind alley of a servant's life and there was no one around to help him out, he finally commits the murder of his master Mr. Ashok and loots the bag containing a huge amount of money which was intended to be given to the minister as a bribe. With that money, he rushes to Bangalore and becomes an entrepreneur running a fleet of cars. He names his taxi company "The White Tiger Drivers" which elevates him from rags to riches. This is part of an eternal silent class war that has nowadays assumed a new murderous dimension. Balram does not feel deeply repentant of having committed the murder of his master. He knew that one day he would be hanged. He declares:

I'll never say I made a mistake that night in Delhi when I slit my master's throat. I'll say it was all worthwhile to know, just for a day, just for an hour, just for a minute, what it means not to be a servant. (*TWT*, 2008, pp 320-21)

Balram ends up as a criminal with a remarkable capacity for self-justification. He justifies the murder and loot he committed to rise to the status of an entrepreneur. In a strikingly spunky manner, he remarks:

But isn't it likely that anyone who counts in this world, including our prime minister (including you, Mr. Jiabao), has killed someone or other on their way to the top? Kill enough people and they will put up bronze statues to you near Parliament house in Delhi- but that is glory, and not what I am after. All I wanted was the chance to be a man—and for that, . one murder was enough. (*TWT*, 2008, p 318)

Balram does feel contrite enough for the murder of his master:

True, there was the matter of murder—which is a wrong thing to do, no question about it. It has darkened my soul. All the skin whitening creams sold in the markets of India won't clean my hands again. (*TWT*, 2008, p 318)

So, *The White Tiger* boils down to a serious penetrating study, peppered occasionally with dark comedy, of dogged endeavours towards seeking the upward social mobility of the chief protagonist called Balram Halwai aka Munna, aka 'The White Tiger' who is an ambitious person and Adiga portrayed him as an angry young man. He attains the desired success, and metamorphoses into an entrepreneur only after killing his employer. His life becomes synonymous to the lives of some 'new' Indian young men aspiring for success at any cost and are always on their toes to commit any heinous crime for the sake of money without giving a second thought of the consequences. Such young men are desperate to come out of their poverty at the earliest as living in close proximity with the rich people and their hollow but glorified culture aroused in them a feeling to lead a life of abundance. The protagonist of the novel, Balram alias Ashok Sharma is a self-styled "Thinking man/ and an entrepreneur" (*TWT*, 2008, p 3).

In this novel, Balram Halwai switches from identity to identity, from role to role, from place to place. Initially Balram was a servant at a tea shop, then he became a labourer in a construction company where he also failed, then again he became a car driver and ultimately he became an entrepreneur by murdering and robbing his master. After he established himself as an entrepreneur, he concealed his family backdrop and also his personal past. He even changed his name from Balram Halwai to Ashok Sharma which was the name of his own master who was murdered by him. The series of failures undergoes, apart from betraying a sense of frustration, a sense of desperation, strongly underscores his crisis of identity. Thus, Balram is a subaltern who plays a pivotal role relating his own life struggle and escapades with a view to establishing his own identity as well as gaining the status of an entrepreneur. (The novel can also be studied as a bildungsroman treating of Balram's childhood, boyhood, early youth and later youth as well as his passage from

innocence to experience). In the novel, we notice the treatment of promiscuity indulged in by diasporic characters abroad just to identify themselves with the Whites. Balram, during his stay in Delhi, starts visiting floozies. Prompted by a fellow driver, he collects some money to have a sexual relationship with a golden-haired girl from abroad. But during his meeting with that girl, after paying a huge amount of money, he suddenly discovers that this girl was not a foreigner but an Indian who had dyed her hair golden. He feels cheated and he comes out of the hotel. He demands his money back which he does not get. Though this situation is comic, it reveals a postcolonial propensity. In this novel, Adiga has also coined a phrase— ‘dip his beak in her/ him’ When he says, “he liked to dip his beak into their backsides” (*TWT*, 2008, p 25). This phrase is uniquely eloquent, as it refers euphemistically to both homosexual and sexual act. This phrase figures repeatedly in the novel.

Balram represents that class of have-nots which is almost invisible in its sheer ubiquity. Perhaps 90 to 95% of India’s population is teeming with such people, who are there all the time, used as handy crutches by affluent, exploitable people because they have not garnered courage to raise their voice. They accept whatever material terms they are offered, whatever pitiable conditions they are forced to live in because they know that by refusing to accept and compromise, they will be losers. There are thousands like them ready to accept what they refuse. Adiga has hinted at the metaphor of the Rooster Coop in the novel when he says:

Go to Old Delhi...and look at the way they keep chickens there in the market. Hundreds of pale hens and brightly coloured roosters, stuffed tightly into wire-mesh cages...They see the organs of their brothers lying around them. They know they are next. Yet they do not rebel. They do not try to get out of the coop. The very same thing is done with human beings in this country. (*TWT*, 2008, pp 173-74)

So, Adiga has used a powerful trope of ‘rooster coop’ of caged ‘chickens’ and ‘cockroaches’, ever ready to be killed:

The roosters in the coop smell the blood from above. They see the organs of their brothers lying around them. They know they are the next. Yet they do not rebel. They do not try to get out of the coop. (*TWT*, 2008, pp173-174)

But Balram hates the idea of becoming a ‘rooster’ in a ‘coop’, he does not want to present himself before the ‘wolves’ of the modern society as their prey. He is desperate to be on the other side as a member of the ‘eaters’. He does not hesitate to kill his employer. He loots the bag containing money

worth seven lakhs after murdering his master Mr. Ashok. This easy monetary success is based on a philosophy of revenge, ambition and success at any cost. In his new avatar of Mr. Ashok Sharma, an entrepreneur, he assumes himself a part and parcel of the elite class and society. He, even, crosses the limits and starts indulging in all the corrupt practices e.g. bribing and fixing all those who can be of some help to him — right from peon to politicians. He has learnt the art of coping with the nexus of politicians- bureaucrats and power brokers. It is a pity that this nauseating technique has become the part and parcel of achieving success in the changed scenario. In this manner, he becomes the role model for the people like him and he, openly, encourages them to follow his path in order to get easy success in life.

People like Balram are in the vicinity of almost every wealthy Indian, working tirelessly at the beck and call of their masters, undertaking all the menial and time-consuming tasks so that the masters are comfortable. Their work is taken for granted, Hence, this particular class has no identity worth the name.

This novel has elaborated the theme of social disparity which the writer has consciously highlighted through the narrative techniques of drawing a parallel between the two classes. Balram opines:

The rich of Delhi, to survive the winter, keep electrical heaters, or gas heaters, or even burn logs of wood in their fireplaces. When the homeless, or servants like night watchmen, want to keep warm, they burn whatever they find on the ground...The only problem is that while burning it gives off a white smoke that makes your stomach churn. (*TWT*, 2008, p 157)

Thus, the novel powerfully portrays the ever increasing chasm between the rich and the poor that has gripped India post liberalisation. Balram feels himself a victim of this class divide and plans to come out of his wretched situation. He feels that the only way to come out of it is to emulate the ways of rich and successful people of our society. He has seen these people resorting to corrupt practices in order to attain the desired success in life and hence he also thinks it the right way for becoming successful and wealthy in life. In the earlier part of life and even at Gurgaon, Balram has undergone various humiliations because of the socio-economic inequality and social injustice in the society he lived. His employer's inhuman and humiliating treatment aroused anger in him but being helpless and victim of the situation, he never resisted. Once Mukesh, Ashok's brother, loses one Rupee coin in the car. He ordered Balram, "Get down on your knee. Look for it on the floor of the car. I got down on my knees. I snuffed in between the mats like a dog, all in search of that one Rupee" (*TWT*, 2008, p139).

Interestingly enough, it is not that the affluent are totally oblivious of the worth of the services of this class. While talking to his wife Pinky, Ashok points out to his reason for sticking on to India:

The way things are changing in India now this place is going to be like America in ten years. Plus, I like it better here - we've got people to take care of us here - our drivers, our watchman, our masseurs, where in New York will you find someone to bring you tea and sweet biscuits while you're still lying in bed, the way Ram Bahadur does for us? (*TWT*, 2008, p 89)

The saga of Balram's journey from darkness to light has mostly been identified with his desire for material gain. Perhaps it is his desire for identity that underscores his violent streak. The identity-less existence that this class of workers and servants lead could be the cause of sudden eruption of reticent violence in them. Balram represents many such servant killers about whom we often read in newspapers in India. The issue of identity can be applied in the context of Adiga's book to the faceless class of workers in India, represented by Balram. It is not just the craving for material prosperity that propels the cook in *The Inheritance of Loss* to send his son to America. It's not mere the lure of seven lakh rupees that Balram kills his otherwise nice master. It is the craving for identity, which is viciously complicit with wealth and social status.

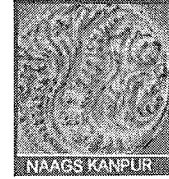
The sin that Balram commits is unpardonable, the confession that he is making to the Chinese premier is author's narrative technique to unfold the workings of the mind of such criminals in an authentic way. But, one thing is very clear, Adiga's book has definitely made a common affluent Indian aware of the danger of violence lurking around them. This class did need a voice, some attention and Adiga has been more than successful in jolting the complacent wealthy class of Indians out of their stupor.

To sum up, Aravind Adiga's *The White Tiger* is a remarkably powerful postcolonial novel which treats of the brass-tacks of contemporary India having a perennial appeal. The novel highlights the modern day capitalist Indian society which is fully under the grip of free market and liberal economy in which poor have no place. It is an insightful perceptive projection of the psyche of a subaltern who wanted to live like a normal human being. It powerfully portrays the age-old worries, anxieties and restlessness of the downtrodden. The sub-conscious mind of the rich is not ready to treat marginalised people on par with them. They are conditioned to treat the underprivileged contemptuously and this leads to class struggle. Adiga's novel thus becomes a throbbing study of the deep rooted socio-economic disparity prevalent in the India of liberal economy. The study becomes even more important at the backdrop of economic reforms the country has initiated that

promised as Herbert Hoover announced to put a chicken in every cooking pot, and a car in every garage

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VINAYAK DAMODAR SAVARKAR'S IDEA OF HINDUTVA AND ITS RISE IN CONTEMPORARY INDIA

D. VEERABABU

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science

University of Hyderabad India

Abstract:

This article concentrates on the idea of Hindutva and the contribution made by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar to make it a concrete idea. This article will also give us an understanding of how the idea of Hindutva is contemporary and relevant in present-day's Indian politics. The first part of this paper will review the contribution made by V. D. Savarkar to make Hindus a homogeneous group with an inclusive identity. The second part explains and analyzes the contemporary political scenario and the rise of Hindutva politics.

Keywords: Savarkar, Hindutva, Janata Party,

Introduction

With Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966), the center of gravity of Hindu Nationalism shifts from Punjab and united provinces along with Bengal to Maharashtra. In Maharashtra, Bala Gangadhar Tilak had prepared the ground for the Hindutva ideology. Savarkar, who was not hesitant to use violent methods to fight the British, was arrested in London, where he had taken part in the Secretary of State (Anand, 1967). Between 1910 and 1937, he spent 27 years in jail for this act, first in the Andamans and then in Ratnagiri. In Ratnagiri jail, he wrote 'Hindutva: Who is a Hindu,' first published anonymously at Nagpur in 1923. This book is the base for constructing his idea called "Hindutva" and emerging it as a political identity.

According to Savarkar in Hindu (Savarkar, 1928), it would be hazardous to state the period when it started. However, he traces back to the Vedic period and expansion of Aryans out to the farthest of the seven rivers, *SapthaSindhus* and not only had they developed a sense of nationality but had already succeeded in giving it a local habitation and a name. These seven

rivers are presided over by "Sindhu," representing common nationality and culture. Savarkar then concentrates on language, according to him.

"The Vedic Sanskrit began to give birth to the Indian Prakrits which became the spoken tongues of the majority of the descendants of these very Sindhusfor the Sanskrit S changes into H as often in Indian Prakrits as in the non –Indian ones".

Hence, he concluded that the patriarchs of Hindus race to designate it as "our nation and our people," is *Sapta Sindhu* or *HaptaHindu* and foreigners know Hindus as "*Sindhus*," and it emerged to "*Hindu*." Based on this, he builds the political notion, i.e., "Hindutva."

According to Savarkar, Hindutva is different from Hinduism. Savarkar wrote,

"...Hindutva is not identical with what is vaguely indicated by the term Hinduism. An 'ism' generally means a theory or a code more or less based on spiritual or religious dogma or system. But when we attempt to investigate the essential significance of Hindutva, we do not primarily and certainly not mainly concern ourselves with any particular theocratic or religious dogma or creed."

The Hindutva, according to him, rests on three pillars, i.e., geographical unity, racial unity, and shared culture. According to him, the notion of "Hindutva" is political. Savarkar differentiates Hinduism, Hindutva, and Hindudom. From the word, "Hindu" has been coined the term 'Hinduism' in English. It means the school or system, or religion (Fred &Devy, 1998). The second word, 'Hindutva,' is far more comprehensive and refers not only to the religious aspect of the Hindu people as the word. "Hinduism" does but comprehends even their cultural, linguistic, social, and political factors. "Hindudom" means Hindu people spoken of collectively.

Savarkar includes Vedicism, Satanism, Jainism, Buddhism, Lingayatism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, the Devasamaj, and other religions of Indian origin are Hindus & constitute Hinduism, i.e., the Hindu people as a whole. He continuously said

"Consequently, the so-called aboriginal or hill tribes also are Hindus. Because India is their fatherland as well as their holy land of whatever form of religion or worship they follow."²

Savarkar was critical about Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Parsi, etc., as their origin is not in India or Hindusthan, so they are not included in "Hindus" or Hindustan. He advocated for 'HindusthanHinduonka' that means "India is for Hindus" he defined India as one

¹Savarkar, V. D. (1989). *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu*. New Delhi: Hindi Sahitya Sadan. P. 116.

²Fred, Dallmayr and Devy G. N. (1998). *Between Tradition and Modernity*. London: Sage. P. 115

"who regards this land of Bhartavarsha, from the Indus to the seas as his fatherland and as well as his holy land that is the cradle of his religion."³

Savarkar viewed the greater territory of Hinduism and inclusive of both Aryans and Dravidians, and explained, "Hindus first and everything else next."

Finally, Savarkar strongly urges for the "Hindu Sanghathanist strategy," which can only save the "Hindus" and establish "Akhand Hindusthan" from Indus to the seas; in the exclusion clause, he opposed other religions vehemently and proposed "Two nations theory." Hence it is visible that Savarkar played a significant role in creating "Hindu consciousness" and seeded the "Hindutva" ideology that led to the foundation for Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

Hindutva: Its Rise in contemporary India

V. D. Savarkar was the first person to articulate a coherent ideology of Hindu nationalism in his book titled essentials of Hindutva in 1924. He identified the movement objective as Hindu Sangathan or the unification of Hindus. Hindu nationalist ideology, as expanded by Savarkar, was first & foremost in building the Hindu ideology in the modern nation-state, i.e., India. This created differences with the 'secular' Congress in the 1940s. Sama Prasad Mookharjee, Savarkar's successor in the 1940s, stated in 1945

"our fundamental difference is that we refuse to surrender on the basic principle of Indians integrity nor we subscribe communalism, the congress policy of appeasement has merely widened the national resistance & has gravely jeopardized the legitimate rights of Hindus as such...

The charge of "pandering" and "appeasement" have since become staples of Hindu nationalist criticism of the congress policy toward minorities. Shri. Lal Krishna Advani coined the term "genuine secularism" and "positive secularism" to describe Bharatiya Janata Party's (BJP) position, and Narendra Modi described Congress as a "pseudo-secular party."

Mookharjee resigned to his post from Hindu Mahasabha, as it did not extend membership to Muslims. He floated a new party called "Bharatiya Jana Sangh" or "Indian People's Party." Though they projected to be secular by extending so membership to Muslims & and other religions but uses the code phrase ceased to be "Hindu Rastra" and became BharatiyaSanskriti (Indian culture). RSS started playing an important role in political activities, and Jan Sangh transformed to the Bharatiya Janatha Party.

While the RSS played a central role in the Jana Sangh from the 1950s onward, it contributed to sponsoring non-electoral organizations and activities aimed at "unifying Hindus" and inculcating values. Under Sangh, Viswa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang dal, Sri Ram Sena, SitaSena et. all, are included. In Sangh Parivar, VHP and Bajrang dal have often acted independently of the BJP and have their activities for spreading the Hindutva ideology.

³Savarkar. V. D. Sanghathan. Pp116

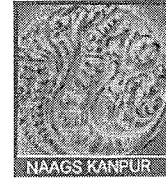
Organizations in the Sangh Parivar unite whenever there is a need for national integration and unity and the protection of *Hindu Dharma*.

Electoral Politics: The Role of Hindutva for consolidation of votes

In the 2014 general elections, if we take Uttar Pradesh, BJP successfully consolidated the "Hindu" vote bank; about 71+1 Loksabha seats were won by BJP & its ally. Similarly, in 2019, BJP won 62 seats despite the Grand Alliance (alliance between Bahujan Samaj Party and Samajwadi Party). The BJP's strategy in tune with Sangh Parivar targeted and consolidated Hindu Vote bank and consolidated smaller caste groups that are historically neglected. This experiment was visible pan India except in southern states. "Hindutva" as an ideology is very active than in the pre-independent period, and it will be a dangerous trend for the country's secular fabric. Hindu consolidation includes Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and Dalits, who are moving towards the folds of "Hindu politics." BJP, as the "two parliamentarians" party in 1984, transformed into a single largest party & single longest part with 303 Members of Parliament (MPs) in Loksabha in the 2019 election. It implies that Savarkar's dream of "Hindutva" & consolidation of Hindu vote bank was quite successful, although they project development as their manifesto.

Conclusion

Savarkar's Hindutva as an ideology has been concerned primarily with promoting unity and a sense of nationhood among Hindus cutting across regions, social and economic status. Savarkar's idea or ideology for greater and inclusive "Hindusthan" created a strong imprint in the minds of present-day Hindu nationalists. He helped in finding a common thread among different organizations working for the spreading of Hinduism, and this helped the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to capture political power.



**TELLING TALES- PERSPECTIVES ON STAGING
CULTURE, SOCIETY AND MORALITY
IN THE SAANGS OF LAKHMI CHAND**

RAJNI JAIMINI

Ph.D. Scholar

Department of English

Lingayas Vidyapeeth

Faridabad, Haryana India

DR. PRIYA RAGHAV

Associate professor of English

Research Supervisor

Lingayas Vidyapeeth

Faridabad, Haryana India

Abstract

The present paper is a critical analysis of three *Saangs*-Raja Harish Chandra, Pooranmal, Jaani Chor: composed, sung and performed by Pandit Lakhmi Chand (1901-1945), poet, composer and *Saang* performer of Haryana. The paper analyses the major themes and content of these *Saangs* to answer questions on representation of culture, society and morality. Is the bard reinforcing the morality of the tales taken from local history, mythology, and folk legends or is he appropriating the tales to convey some other message?

Introduction

Art is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it. This statement commonly attributed to the master dramatist Bertolt Brecht is proof of the fact that any dramatic performance is as much a product of the society which created it, as it helps in creating a new society. Lakhmi Chand has been called (Sharma, KC, 1990) 'aluminous bard', 'Kalidas', and 'Shakespeare of India' by his numerous fans and followers. It is difficult to even imagine the kind of cult following he inspired in the people of his state. People walked for days or travelled in their bullock carts to see him perform and listen to him. It was no less than a pilgrimage for most people, with the only difference that

while on pilgrimages women and whole family travelled, only men had the prerogative to attend performances like *Saang*.

The historical and mythological tales, *Qissas*, and narratives represented on the *Saang* stage were not only modes of entertainment and mediums of expression for the rural audiences but also vehicles of projecting and upholding models of behaviour for the young. These seemingly innocuous representations built the framework of values that were imbibed by the new generations not only in their own behaviour but also used as moral yardsticks to judge the behaviour of the others around them. The patterns of their lives, their expectations, their ideals, their understanding of society and reality, their models of conduct, their desires and their dreams were shaped by the behaviours held up in these stories, myths and legends.

When modern academia thinks of 'popular literature' all that they are thinking about is literature that has been written down and recorded. Although in India we have had a long and illustrious oral tradition as the Vedas, Puranas and the other religious and semi religious texts too were orally handed down the generations for thousands of years before they were finally written down, oral literature is not taken seriously. In fact, the whole thing is quite contradictory as the people who wrote 'popular literature' belonged to and wrote about the people occupying the upper rungs of social ladder and it was not popular in the truest sense of the word as it did not represent or was appreciated by the populace. However, that doesn't mean that the common people didn't have a literature. They also created exceptionally rich tradition of oral literature. The folk forms like *Saang* gave the common people a medium and means of expressing their sentiments. Folk Performers like Lakhmi Chand created a huge body of literature that has been systematically ignored and side-lined simply because he was not writing it down.

Themes

The tales of *Saangs* are a source of tales which make up the popular culture of the people of north India. The plays encompass a broad range of themes drawing upon various sources like the Hindu scriptures, stories from Persian literature regional legends or historical events. Confined to only male arenas they are lewd and vulgar at one level while as propagators of values they are deeply conservative and very utopian at another level too. They raise issues that are quite central to Indian thought and way of living- like the nature of truth and untruth, value of chastity, conflict between love and family, nature of kingship and finally the struggle between good and evil.

Through an analysis of the tales performed in the *Saangs* of Lakhmi Chand we can get deep insight into the popular culture of the present Haryana and erstwhile Punjab and the way of living upheld during those times. There are various plays dealing with the men and morals of those times. One set of plays that one notices deal with the what (Hanson Kathryn, 1992, pg-118) calls "the basis of political authority and its relation with moral conduct and spiritual perfection". These stories are taken from the Hindu puranas like *Satyavaadi Harishchandra*, local legend like Puran Bhagat, Etc. The purpose of these

stories is to promote a fear and unpredictability of fate or divine agencies, moral edification, propagation of certain value system, adventure stories edifying heroism of certain heroic characters or sometimes just pure entertainment. Depending upon the type of tale the source of conflict also varies. One set of stories that one sees are the stories of kings or figures of authority who lose their kingship and wealth and have to face deprivation and degradation. Ramayana being the most popular example where Ram the good son, pupil, citizen, husband is deprived of his rightful kingship and has to go into exile due to the scheming step mother. Such stories are popular not just in north India but all across the country. One may find some variation or the other of this in every part of India. In South India one has the legend of King Mahabali, where the King falls prey to the plotting by gods against him and loses not just his kingdom but his life too. In these stories the boundaries between the kings and common people are destroyed and as the kings are forced to live the life of the common people on the street, these plays raise some of the most fundamental questions – like what is the difference between a common person and a king, wherein lies the real source of political authority, what a king should be like, what should be the dharma of a king? Did the main characters deserve their sufferings? Are the gods really so capricious? And if the Gods are so capricious as to punish the rich and powerful and morally steadfast in such a manner than what is the position of the common people? Do they really have no reason to lament their fate? Do they really stand a chance of happiness?

Raja Harish Chandra

It becomes clearer when we look at the tales of Raja Harish Chandra? He is an ideal king if there can be one- he is idealistic, knowledgeable, just to his people, devoted to his kingly duties and utterly a worshipper of Truth. Here the capitalized truth stands for not just an abhorrence of lies but also a belief in fundamental transcendent spiritual reality and righteousness. He is really generous and a man of his word. Naturally the king of Gods Indra feels threatened by such kings and feels that Harishchandra is probably plotting something to overtake the kingdom of Indra.

In ancient Indian history, King Harishchandra represents the pinnacle of honesty and virtue. He is well-known for his honesty and dedication. However, it is his virtues that lead to his downfall. It is due to his devotion to truth and his large-hearted generosity that he is tricked into giving more than he has. He is instigated by Vishwamitra, who is disguised as a brahmin, to donate his kingdom and all his wealth to. He surrenders everything he possesses, to Sage Vishwamitra in order to give *Dakshina* (gift) for his *Rajasuya Yajna*. Despite donating all his wealth, he is unable to fulfil his promise to the Sage and has to sell himself and his wife Madanawat and his son Rohtaas in the market at Banaras to fulfil his vow. The whole scene of the auction of the king and his queen is quite shocking. In fact, in Lakshmi Chand's *Saang* while the queen is put up for sale in the market, a prostitute is also looking to buy woman for her trade. Madanawat is shocked beyond belief as she had never seen such a

woman with her retinue before, while the audience is also shocked to wonder what would happen if the fair and righteous queen is bought by a woman of the trade. Luckily, the queen along with her son is sold in the household of a brahmin while the king Harishchandra who calls himself Hariya, now that he is a slave is bought by a *Chandal*, belonging to the caste of untouchables.

So here Harishchandra suffers triply- first because now he has to do hard labour like a common man which he never did before in life. Secondly, he has to serve under an untouchable and thirdly, because he is unable to protect or help his wife, whom he had vowed to protect all his life as part of his marriage vows, or child. One moment he was the wealthiest and most virtuous king, the protector of all his people and the next he is reduced to the most helpless being on the earth. However, his degradation is still not complete. The *Chandal* who bought him puts him to the task of fetching water from the river Ganga. Hariya hardly gets to eat the kind of food he was used to and the hard labour that he has to do slowly takes its toll on his body. He is reduced to a sack of bones very quickly. So much so that one day he is unable to lift the filled pot on his shoulders. As chance would have it, he comes across Madanawat who has also come to the river Ganga to fetch some water flowers for the brahmin's worship. He is very happy to his former queen and asks her for help as described by Lakhmi Chand in the following Ragini as penned down by Sharma, Pooran Chand (2006. Pg 528)

“Daya Kari dono pai Har ne, Darshan pawan ki,
Kad ka dekhoon baat ghat pai, Manas ke awan ki,
Kaabu mein mera gaat nahin sai, chain pade din raat nahin sai,
Ghada thuwade koi baat nahin sai, bilkul sarmawan ki,
Chinta ghoont jigar nai kha sai, nueai din raat fikar main ja sai
Tere pati mein shardana sai, matka thawan ki
Itna ehsaan mere pai dhar de, dawai mere zakhm mein bhar de
Himmat karke kirpa karde, ek haath lawan ki
Guru bin kon gyan ka dewa, aake paar laga di khewa
Guru Mansingh ki karke sewa, lai kaar seekh gawan ki

God has been very kind to both of us for this chance meeting. I have been waiting a long time on the river front waiting for someone. I have no strength left on my body. I have not been getting any relief in day or night. Please don't feel shy or hesitant, just help me lift this pot.

Worries have been eating at my heart. My days and night are full of fear. Your husband now has no strength to lift this pot of water. Oblige me. Your hand would be like a balm to my bruised body. Be kind and lend me a hand with this heavy task. Guru/ teacher is the one who gives your knowledge and wisdom and helps you steer your boat in the right direction, as my teacher Man Singh taught me the art of singing. (Translation mine)

However, despite the moving plea, Madanawat tries to avoid Hariya. Once again, the audience is shocked. Hariya expects and pleads to Madanawat to help him lift the pot of water but she completely refuses. She argues that since she is now a servant at a Brahmin's house, she has to stay away from even the

shadow of Harishchandra, since he is working in the household of an untouchable. Here the relation of husband and wife seems to take a beating because the characters are now trying to be true to their new caste identities. So, the main characters and thus the *Saang* don't really question the existing social order of caste and class when they move across this social spectrum but blindly accept. In fact, they seem to believe that their Dharma and trueness lies in now following their new caste identity. Here one can see a similarity with the beliefs of the Elizabethan world. Just like the Elizabethans, the characters seem to believe that everything has its place in the universe and it is duty of humans to live as per their place. If due to some misfortune you are pushed up and down the rungs of social ladder than you must accept your fate and try to live according to what is expected of you as per your new place in the social order. It was this world order that justified the divine right of kings to rule. The similar kind of belief in the divine order can be seen here. The characters accept the identity that is forced on them and seem to believe that to follow what is expected of them in that identity is their true Dharma. King Harishchandra was a true and generous king but now he has to prove himself true as the slave of the untouchable *Chandal* also. When he was king, Madanawat was his wife and the queen. But as per their new caste identity Madanawat must stay away from him and can't really touch him or she will be polluted. Thus, when the king falls down the social ladder questions are not asked about the injustices perpetrated in the name of caste. nobody seems to ask as to why human beings should have such different places in society. All that one seems to be asking is what did the king do to deserve such a fate. Thus, the *Saang* reinforces the same morals and the same social codes to its audiences. The plays thus are not really raising questions about meritocracy or why the kings are the kings. As Hansen, Kathryn (1992, pg-120) says in her seminal book *Grounds for play*:

“The display of Harishchandra's forbearance had become a set piece, comparable to the labours of Sisyphus or the torments of Job. The king's suffering induces pathos because of its lack of provocation; it comes upon him randomly, as every good person's hour of trial seems to come. If even the most mighty and lauded individual in the land can suddenly find himself shorn of all privilege, degraded and outcast, how tenuous the happiness of any human being must be. The story reverberates with familiar slogans on the inscrutability of destiny. It recommends a course of action that rewards acceptance of subjugation and diligent perseverance—if not in this birth, then surely in the next.”

The figure of the queen and the prince are used as centres of the plays' emotional appeal. If in the first instance the queen refuses to help the king with his pot for fear of coming in contact with an untouchable, the next reversal sees the queen asking the king for pity as her son has died bitten by a snake and she has no money to pay the tax at the cemetery to perform her son's last rites. The king Harishchandra has been put on duty by the *Chandal* at the *Shamshan Ghat*(cemetery) to collect tax from all those who come to

perform the last rites of their loved ones. Now here the king instead of mourning the death of his beloved son and heir must exact the tax from the bereaved and penniless queen of his in order to prove himself true to the work that he has been assigned. The audience is left gasping and in tears as the queen offers to give half her saree the only possession that she has and the king must take that as a tribute even if it means that the queen hardly has enough cloth to cover her body. However, that is not the end of Harishchandra's trials. He must face further descent into the quagmire created by gods for him. What is most heartrending here is that all of it seems totally unjustified and unprovoked. In the next major scene in the play Harishchandra is called upon to execute his own wife. For when he takes her saree to the *Chandal* and tells him how he has extracted this tribute from a hapless woman, even the *Chandal* is moved to tears that what kind of unfortunate woman had to sacrifice the clothes on her body in order to pay tribute to cremate her only son. He tells Harishchandra to return her saree and tells him that he may be a *Chandal* but even he is not so heartless. However, the Gods still haven't had enough. And while the grieving, heartbroken, and bitterly weeping queen falls asleep in a corner of the crematorium, her face is smeared in blood and she is accused of being a witch and of having eaten a young man. As the *Chandal's* slave Harishchandra is called upon to be the executioner for his wife too. As Kathryn Hanson points out in her book (1992, pg-121-122)

“Through the reversals written into the story line, the narrative dismantles pat metaphysical explanations, exposing the contradictions at the heart of the moral system. It is not enough that the king pursue truth with utmost vigour. The drama deconstructs the very concept of truth, distilling its ultimate cruelty and blindness to human desire. Let us take the most memorable scene in the drama, when Harishchandra is called upon to execute his own wife. The act of beheading Taravati (Madanawat in Lakhmi Chand's version) has the radical potential to undermine the truth of the king. It dramatizes the possibility that his descent to untouchability has destroyed his former capacity for virtue: he is beyond the pale socially and morally, not only unable to do good but compelled to do evil. The wife's murder is necessary as the logical extension of the reversal in the king's fortunes, denying the accumulation of goodness as much as wealth. However, the king is prevented from reaching this outer limit of truth—now equated with the murder of a virtuous woman by her husband, a most despicable untruth—by the *Deus ex machina*. Harishchandra's acceptance of the patently immoral act of wife-slaughter as a moral imperative consummates his surrender to the gods; they are satisfied and demand no further sacrifice. For both the king and the audience that identifies with him, the prospect of that horrific deed is sufficient to effect a transformation of awareness. Truth itself is unknowable, difficult to discern, and irrevocably intermixed with untruth.”

Pooranmal

In the long list of *Saangs* that deal with ascetic kings known for their virtues and kings losing their wealth and power another notable one is the *Saang* of

Pooranmal. In the introduction the *Sutra Dhar* explains the setting of the *Saang* to be Punjab province and the city of Sialkot. King Saleman had two queens the older one was Icchraade and younger one was called Nunade. Queen Icchraade gave birth to Prince Pooran as a result of a boon from Guru Gorakh Nath. As instructed by Guru Gorakh, the king brings up Pooran as an ascetic, away from the life and luxuries of the palace. Pooran is kept strictly isolated and he studies rigorously for twelve years. After twelve years he is brought back to the court. After meeting his father, Pooran is asked to meet his younger step mother first, as a sign of respect. However, the young Stepmother is attracted and drawn by the beauty of Pooran and tries to seduce him. Pooran being the ascetic prince that he is refuses to be seduced by Nunade and reminds her that she is his step mother.

Here one notices that the king marrying twice is quite acceptable. However, the king is old while the stepmother is quite young. While trying to convince Pooran, Nunade says how is she unhappy being saddled with an old man. However, the guilt of the unhappy relationship and the moral transgression is shifted to the step mother's desire rather than the old king who is unable to keep her happy. In the encounter between Pooran and Nunade, the young man is the ascetic or the Bali, who is in control of his senses like a yogi, while the woman is the seductress who tries everything in her power to control him. The audience here roots for the young yogi.

The situation is described very tellingly by Hanson "The situation is thus set for an explosive confrontation between Phulan and Puran. Phulan's chief vice, according to the morality prescribed for women, is that she does not suppress her own desires. She takes the initiative, drawing in the young Puran who is close to her in age and a fitter partner than the decrepit king. Her playful attraction is soon converted under his resistance into humiliation and anger. As she fights back at his affront to her pride, she employs the strategy of Potiphar's wife—accusing him of seducing her when she made the advances. Phulan's intentions, given the information available in the story, may not really be so terrible, but she comes across as a wicked mother, crazed by lust, vicious, out of control. Despite this negative characterization, it is important to note that her sexuality becomes dangerous within the context of the polygynous family, her proximity in age to Puran, and her distance from and unhappiness with the king."

However, no matter what Nunade does she is unable to seduce Pooran. He is the idol of chastity. In the Hindu scriptures Chastity is held up to be an ideal to aspire for. Not only the scripture but these ideals were being fiercely upheld and advocated by the biggest public figures of the pre-independence times. Alter, Joseph (2010, pg -1) argues that there was a celebration of celibacy as a model code of conduct and popular leaders like mahatma Gandhi and swami Vivekananda not only popularized but also upheld it as a model to be followed.

"It is well known that Mahatma Gandhi felt that sexuality and desire were intimately connected to social life and politics, and that self-control

translated directly into power of various kinds, both public and private. Gandhi's enigmatic genius and his popular appeal among India's masses may be attributed, at least in part, to the degree he was able to embody a powerful ideal of sexual self-control that linked his socio-political projects to pervasive Hindu notions of renunciation. Affecting the persona of a world-renouncer, Gandhi was able to mix political, religious, and moral power, thus translating personal self-control into radical social criticism and nationalist goals. Gandhi's mass appeal was partly effected on a visceral level at which many Hindu men were able to fully appreciate the logic of celibacy as a means to psychological security, self-improvement, and national reform."

In such a scenario it is highly likely that these notions percolated down to folk arenas and found expression in folk performances also. In fact, the folk stories performed on the *Saang* stages acted as connecting points for the Morals, and culture advocated in the Scriptures and the one being advocated by the leaders of the independence. The tales were thus establishing a continuum of culture and society and making people realise that they were a civilisation that was thousands of years old and if they could find and go back to their roots, they could be strong and independent again. Chastity is one of the greatest preoccupations in the stories put up by *Saangs*. What is interesting to note here is that chastity is not just for the woman but for the man also. There is lot of pressure on the men too to remain celibate and not give in to the schemes and mechanisations of women who want to seduce them. In another book written by JS Alter (1992) he has pointed out how in the social context of India celibacy and holding of the semen was connected to power. The wrestlers were taught to practise celibacy in order to be powerful.

The Wrestler's Body tells the story of a way of life organized in terms of physical self-development. While Indian wrestlers are competitive athletes, they are also moral reformers whose conception of self and society is fundamentally somatic. Using the insights of anthropology, Joseph Alter writes ethnography of the wrestler's physique that elucidates the somatic structure of the wrestler's identity and ideology.

In the *Saang* Pooran Bhagat the hero is a young man who refutes the advances made by his step mother, because that would be threatening of the incest taboo but also because he is an ascetic who holds up celibacy as a great virtue. His semen is a source of his power. His practice of *Brahmacharya* give him the resilience to bear all the unjust punishment that his father forces on him under the influence of his step mother. The concept of *Brahmacharya* as it relates to gender and politics and the male concern for celibacy is couched in terms of truth. Pooran Singh is considered to be truthful because he is celibate. The celibate body is considered to be supremely fit. Sex is regarded both distracting and defiling. Kings and sages who take vows of chastity become a threat to Gods. Like in another popular *Saang* Hoor Maneka, which is story from the puranas, Sage Vishwamitra is deep in meditation. So much so that the king of Gods Indra starts feeling threatened thinking that Vishwa Mitra has designs for his throne. He sends the celestial Nymph Maneka to earth to

disturb Vishwa Mitra's meditation. The implication is that if Maneka is able to entice Vishwamitra to sleep with her not only would his sadhana be discontinued, he would also not be able to do it again because he it would be debasing in nature and he would lose all his power. The difference between both the stories is that while Maneka is able to disturb Vishwa Mitra, and sway him from his path, Nunade is not able to do so in the *Saang* Pooranmal. A lot of contemporary literature was published in small booklets on the practice of *Brahmacharya* by small regional presses in small towns of India. These booklets are prescriptive in nature and give details about not only a regimen of diet exercise and rest but also prescribe how to control desire and stay healthy. These *Saangs* and these booklets were very popular also as Haryana being an agrarian economy the young men were encouraged to be physically fit and wrestling was the most popular sport.

Jaani Chor

Another theme that is very popular in the folk stories of the region is the story of the clever man who outwits his opponents to help the helpless. A young man may be a bright spark or a dullard depending on the version of the story that we are looking at. If he is a bright spark, he generally outwits his opponents using his mind while if he is a dullard, he overcomes his opponents using sheer luck or some supernatural help. In other cases, he gets help from some supernatural elements that gives him power, plus his own mind. Such stories have been a part of the literature of north India since the time of *Panchatantra*. In *Panchatantra* there are various such stories but the foremost that comes to mind is the story of the clever fox that outwits the ferocious lion using her presence of mind or poor Brahmin that saves his bullocks from a mean thief and a vicious monster using his wits. Down the ages one sees the same theme repeated in the stories of Akbar and Birbal, in Tenali Rama or if looks at the Persian literature than in the stories of Khwaza/Mulla Nasruddin.

On the *Saang* stage one sees one such story in the *Saang* of Jaani Chor. Jaani Chor and Nar Sultan were both sworn brothers. They also had a sworn sister Marwan, who was married in Narwargarh. Both Jaani and Nar Sultan were going to her sister's home to attend a wedding. On the way they were resting near the river Abu when they saw a message written on slate float down the river. The message read, "I am a Hindu warrior woman (*Kshatrani*). Adlikhan Pathaan has captured me. If there is true Hindu, who might save me otherwise Adli khan would make me his (wife) Begum. It was signed Mehakde. After seeing this message both, Jaani and Sultan get into a row. Sultan wants that they should pay their respects at the sister's wedding as she would be expecting her brothers and afterwards, they can go and save Mehakde while Jaani feels that they should save Mehakde first as her situation is more dire. Finally, they decide to part ways. While Nar Sultan goes to the sister's house to attend the wedding and fulfil a brother's duties, Jaani moves towards the kingdom of Adli khan.

On his way he meets four sages who are fighting over four relics of their Guru/ teacher. Jaani asks them what they are? They tell him that all the four

things are very precious and powerful. The first one is a pestle that can destroy your enemies. The second one is a mortar which can be used to break anything, the third one is the wisdom blanket using which you can disguise yourself as anyone and fourth is magic sandals, which can take you anywhere you want. Jaani offers to intervene and settle their quarrel. He fires four shots in four directions and tells the sages that whoever would bring the arrow fired by him first will get all the things. As the sages run behind the arrows in four different directions. Jaani bags all the four wonderful things. He first uses the magic sandals and asks to be taken to the kingdom of Adlikhan and reaches there within moments.

As one can see the audience is with the main protagonist right from the beginning. They totally identify with the cocky young man and derive great pleasure from his exploits as he outwits the so-called wise men to increase his power. Also there seems to be a pointer towards the general habit of Muslim rulers to abduct beautiful young women. The people of the area were very familiar with such practices and resented them very much. However, the poet has tried to balance the religious sentiment by making Jaani's sworn brother Nar Sultan, who evidently is a Muslim. Performers during this time tried to remain secular and to pass the message of religious tolerance instead of instigating enmity between the two religions- both covertly as well as overtly. Also, during this time Hindus and Muslims were ruled and oppressed by the British so both communities were united in their oppression and hatred for the British instead of hating each other.

Once there Jaani pastes a note on the palace of Adli Khan challenging him that he would release Mehakde from his imprisonment. Adlikhan is obviously furious when he reads the message and asks his courtiers as to who is ready to take up the challenge and capture Jaani. The challenge is picked by Dhammal *Sunar* (goldsmith). He declares that he will arrest Jaani and present him before Adli Khan. Jaani on the other hand sleeps peacefully in one of the gardens of the city after having spent the night his exploits outside Adli's palace. However, he is woken up by the wife of the gardener who uses her whip on him when she sees a strange man sleeping in her gardens. Jaani wakes up and very quickly comes to his senses. When the gardener's wife questions him further, he says that he has come here to meet his aunt, his mother's sister. Meanwhile he takes up the disguise of the Gardner's wife's nephew using his supernatural powers. The Gardner's wife is convinced and treats him kindly. He extracts information from her about Dhammal goldsmith and departs for his house. The Goldsmith's wife was alone at home when Jaani disguised as an astrologer knocks at her door. However, the Goldsmith is not the only one who has to face defeat and ignominy at the hands of Jaani. Jaani also outsmarts a *Daroga* or police inspector and finally Adli Khan himself and manages to release the dame Mehakde. The various turns in the plot are guaranteed to bring the underclass hero with flying colours. That he is doing it help a damsel in distress is further to his credit. *Saangs* such as these made Lakhmi Chand very popular among the youth because for once the young men

could see themselves winning over the usual hurdles that obstructed their happiness in real life. Hanson (1992, p.138) calls heroes like these “upstart warrior whose fame and prowess bring him a modicum of respect” (underlining mine)

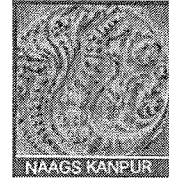
Conclusion

Lakhmi Chand has used tales and *Qissas* from local history, myths and folk legends to base his folk performances. His stories may have been familiar to the audience but Lakhmi Chand’s treatment of them differs. He uses the tales to present his own point of view or the point of the people at large, during those times. The broad facts of the stories that he has appropriated remain the same but Lakhmi Chand chooses not to take the full tale for his performance. His primary task was to deliver full entertainment to the young men that came in hoards to watch his performances but while entertaining he was also delivering a moral code which became the touchstone to model their own behaviour and to use as a yardstick to judge the behaviour of others. Lakhmi Chand’s characters have been taken from the ancient culture but they represent the struggles and the moral questions that plagued the minds of his contemporaries and seem to be valid even today. In fact, his choice of stories gives his voice a timelessness and universality that made him very popular and a voice that the people of Haryana swear by till today. When we talk about Indian culture as an entity that has been in existence for thousands of years, it is Folk performers like Lakhmi Chand that have given it a continuum and we need to study their oral literature and performances to study the society of those times. The tales that they staged were not just tales of entertainment but also show us of the culture, society and morality of those times.

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Kanpur Philosophers, ISSN 2348-8301
International Journal of humanities, Law and Social Sciences
Published biannually by New Archaeological & Genological Society
Kanpur India



Vol. VIII, Issue II December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.13995.98084

www.kanpurhistorians.org

TEACHER RETENTION IN SECONDARY SCHOOL IN INDIA

ARVIND NAIN

Research scholar

Graphic Era deemed to be university

Dehradun India

DR. NEEMA GUPTA

Associate Professor

Graphic Era deemed to be university

Dehradun India

Abstract: The professional instructors and their fundamental functions can't be disregarded in establishing a nation's human capital. Basic education, especially in developing countries, focuses on these key functions. However, the functions of training managers with programmed instructions can appear to be very nearly substituted in the field of training equipment. Teachers are certainly still the major supervisors of information in rising economies such as India. In any nation, economic development is primarily driven by a competent, knowledge-based trained workforce. The research aims to ascertain the variables that contribute to teacher attrition as a result of frequent staff turnover in school and widespread dissatisfaction amongst educators in India and across the globe. The research examines the variables that contribute to teacher attrition and retention in schools, particularly in India, by consulting a variety of periodicals, journals, internet sources, library, and newspapers. The research indicates that instructors must be adequately evaluated in order to maintain their expertise in particular management issues that affect teacher education. Additionally, the research recommends the utilisation of staff training programmes and the development of curricula for educational administrators. This is critical and essential for academics to be well prepared to offer sufficient pay, welfare benefits, and a positive work environment, as is possible in other professions.

Keywords:Attrition ,Education , Retention, , School, Secondary Education, Teacher.

I. INTRODUCTION

Generally, the teacher is regarded as the primary element in determining a student's success while under the jurisdiction of a school. Additionally, it is well-known that, especially during the first 5 years, teachers have a turnover range of approximately 50%. The research has placed a greater focus on recruiting and retention as a result of Ingersoll's work, which emphasises the "revolving door" of education and the demands of No Child Left Behind for highly educated instructors in each school. Growing interest in attracting and keeping teachers has resulted in the publication of a sizable proportion of literary works during the past fifteen years. In this research, a variety of factors affecting teacher and movement preferences were evident, including school and student characteristics and a variety of work situations. While research helps explain teachers' general labour market trends and why schools are difficult to run, it makes little sense to explain instructors' specific compromise decisions. There is a shortage of highly quality research that results in the value that a teacher places on many non-monetary aspects and that also establishes them.

Organizations in several industries appear to be struggling to recruit and retain the right talent either because of economic declines. Results from prior study results showed that a loss of expert staff can lead to organizations' bad performance and damage the results of such companies. Depending on the circumstances, employee sales are seen in different ways. Employee turnover refers to the rate at which workers in school and with instructors leave after a certain period of time. If one or two instructors quit the course for a variety of reasons, the effect will be minimal and will not jeopardise the school's coherence. Western nations, namely the United States and the United Kingdom, have adopted policies to avert massive employee losses. Every teacher who leaves the professional education area considerably reduces his budget and determines whether or not pupils reach a high level of studies. The National Academy of Education's White Paper on Teacher Quality included standard evaluations at the middle school level for students from poor socioeconomic backgrounds who were taught for three consecutive years by highly effective elementary school teachers. Research also shows, however, that for 3 years, all pupils are 'academically disadvantaged' as a result of poor education regardless of their circumstances. A school's success needs competent instructors who are willing and dedicated to educating a diverse group of kids and who can make a positive impact in each student's life.

Many schools have no teacher who is new, is teaching out of their certification area, failed a certification exam on their first attempt, or who graduated from the least competitive undergraduate colleges (10th percentile or below). On the other hand, many other schools (90th percentile or above) have a substantial portion of teachers who are brand new teachers (18%), who are only teaching courses for which they are not certified (24%), or who failed a

certification exam on their first attempt (about one third). In some schools less than half of the teachers are permanently certified in all of the courses they teach while in other schools this figure is nearly 90%. Clearly, the qualifications of teachers are not evenly distributed across schools (Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002))

The first step in assisting teachers is to refrain from blaming them. The majority of schools want to assist their teachers but are unable to do so owing to inadequate resources. Several schools have sought private financing through alumni and parents throughout the years; nevertheless, the majority of institutions are compelled to rely on public funding. However, schools may assist by improving management. This also applies to the curriculum. Schools may provide instructors with more freedom in planning and delivering courses, while also minimising administrative work. This may help teachers manage their workloads more effectively and promote a healthier work-life balance. Another approach is to offer ongoing educators, keeping them informed about new teaching technologies and methods that may help them manage their workloads more effectively. Much has been written regarding teacher technology resources. However, it is critical that schools take the time to determine which resources would best meet their budgetary requirements. For instance, a school with a limited budget may benefit more from a virtual learning aid that can be accessible through a number of devices than from a product targeted for learning. Additionally, teaching tools that are flexible to a range of pedagogical approaches are more valuable than those that must be continually updated or extended to accommodate changing student populations.

There are some missing configurations of early career decisions coupled with quality of teaching practice among the five we have identified here in terms of what readers might expect to find in a study like this. For example, there's no configuration that captures the experiences of strong teachers who leave the profession—perhaps to take up administrative positions or enter graduate school or because they are so dissatisfied with their teaching situations that they exit (Gleeson, a. M. (2012)).

Research on teaching turnover comparing disparities in teachers' wages and disparities between school and school in the resources to enable teaching are also documented. The key interest moderator factors included:

- Medium size class.
- Teacher-student ratio.
- Accompanying school expenses per instructor.
- School costs for resources for instruction.
- Assistant teacher or assistant teacher.
- Expenditure on education.
- Expenditure per pupil.
- Wage of teacher.

Special education teachers with less experience are less likely to leave than their more experienced colleagues. However, many people, including many

teachers emerging from alternative routes, begin teaching when they are older, so age, while highly correlated with teaching experience, should be controlled for when examining experience (Connelly, V., & Graham, S. (2009)).

Teacher Retention Management

According to Elfers et al. (2006), teacher retention management should prioritise techniques that enhance employee retention as well as staff unity, productivity, and dedication. Easley describes five retention management ideas that have the ability to increase employee satisfaction, loyalty, and performance (2006). According to him, employees must feel appreciated and trusted. Employers must also understand their role in their employees' growth and development. (Bamisaye, 1998; Baike, 2002; Long et al., 2012a) this may lead to workers remaining with the company because it shows that the company cares about the safety of its people. Many workers want to stay at their jobs for an extended period of time, and they are better educated and responsible at every stage of their careers. Abakpa and Agbo-Egwuassert that a real company would encourage its employees to maintain a continuous emphasis on performance and outcomes. Employers offer workers with extra skills in particular areas of expertise and capability. With this in mind, workers acquire more knowledge and responsibility as their job progresses (Azuka, 2003; Anderson and Olson, 2005). Along with uniqueness and innovation, the authors believe that this mentality exists among organisational workers.

Factors that contribute to teacher retention

Policymakers and educators must take specific steps to stop the flow of teacher attrition and their desire to leave their positions. This notion is applicable not only to destitute nations or areas, but also to affluent countries and locations.

Teacher Remuneration:

Numerous studies from across the globe have consistently identified teacher compensation as a critical factor in teacher retention. The significance of the salary was determined using publicly accessible data from government sources, since it has an effect on instructors' intentions to continue teaching. Goldhaber et al. strengthen the case for higher compensation based on both teacher quality and retention rates (2007). The remuneration has a substantial effect for instructors and could even be used to select whether or not to stay, according to DeAngelis and Presley (2007). Gableck and Bax (2004) developed a sample of respondents in the United States who agreed to continue working in their schools provided compensation increases.

Leaders' Personalities:

Loeb et al. investigate the effect of school styles on teachers' retention intentions (2005). However, the idea of management lacks a generally accepted definition, since what it expects can be rude at times. Long et al. (2012a) identified the leadership characteristics that enable individuals to carry out their responsibilities more effectively and efficiently. According to Knappetal. (2006), school heads are successful in their professions because

they possess a variety of professional skills and are essential in evaluating their schools' affairs. According to school administrators are critical in pursuing forward-thinking initiatives, establishing shared missions, and deciding on curriculum & teacher retention facilities.

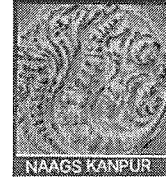
This research examined the attrition rates of professors recognised by Indian universities and the causes for instructors' departures in order to ascertain why teachers are concerned about the stated rates. The leavers were asked qualitative and quantitative questions about their choice of not staying in class in order to check the correctness of their answer. Stayers were also questioned about why they chose to stay in the classroom. This provided information on the teacher's retention and compared it to leavers' comments. Finally, demographic variables have been investigated as potential determinants of a person's attrition.

Conclusions

The research's findings are based on a self-reported study sent by the Indian University Teacher Education Program to all certified instructors, with a total of 2,388 questionnaires and 1,031 responses, representing a response rate of about 43%. The poll revealed factors that influence teachers' decisions to quit or stay in the classroom. Data was gathered from a variety of sources, both qualitative and quantitative. Additionally, numerous demographic questions were addressed to ascertain potential determinants of teacher attrition. Each responder was interrogated. The findings demonstrate the critical role of compensation and leadership in keeping teachers. Earnings are the most significant predictor of teacher attrition, as shown by the statistics. Additionally, education leadership is a factor in teacher attrition. The results indicate that a greater proportion of respondents stayed in the teaching profession, while they also cited practical reasons, the majority of which were emotional. Additionally, the research demonstrates that certain demographic variables may be used to forecast attrition. This section presents and discusses the study's findings.

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WARPS & WEFTS

BANARAS SILK INDUSTRY – FROM PAST TO PRESENT

DR. UMESH KUMAR SINGH

Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
V.S.S.D. College Kanpur India

Varanasi is city of eternal life for Hindu. It is the quintessential holy city. Situated on the west bank of the Ganga, it seems as old as the mighty river itself. Its existence has been referred to around 1000 BC in the Skanda Purana, Mahabharata and such. They say that to die in the city is to be assured of Moksha. The most defining symbols for its residents are the river, the temples, the Bazaars, and the revolving around all these the lifestyle (Singh, 2019). Though there are many new types of industries in the district, besides these there are many traditional industries, for example, brassware manufacturing industry and industry of wooden toys and stone cutting. But the handloom silk is one of the most important household industries in the district. Since time immemorial the finest silk that have adorned the human form have been created in the mystic by-lanes of Varanasi. The silk-handloom industry of Varanasi derives its importance not only from the fact that it is a part and parcel of a great traditional industry of the country but also it is an industry which owing to its peculiar nature, artistic design, colour and texture and traditional technology will survive and flourish in spite of all its internal limitations and external pressures. Though this industry which is the main source of occupation to a very large number of persons in Varanasi has got wide home and foreign markets resulting in a flourishing trade yet it is confronted with a number of limitations and problems of its own that combined to retard the progress of the industry on the one hand and the economic condition of the weavers on the other (Singh, 1989).

Historical Sketch of Silk Weaving in Varanasi The city of Varanasi – religious centre of the Hindus – is probably the oldest city of the world and is

a contemporary to Babylon. This sacred city of gods was famous in the past not only as a great centre of learning but also for its arts and crafts, as it is today. Even in those ancient days, of all the industries of Varanasi, its textile industry was by far the most important.

The historical developments in the textile industry of Varanasi are known since the sixth century B.C. (though, since the time of Rigveda, several types of textiles are known to the people). The sixth century B.C. presents a mature society from the point of view of weaving. From the Jatak tales and other Pali literature, we have known about the weavers, their guilds and several interesting details about their techniques. The Pali literature contains innumerable references to 'Kashi-Kam Vatham'. The Jataks supply interesting information about the brocades, the silk cloth (Kosseya) that was most probably embroidered by gold. King's turbans and the trappings of elephants used to be manufactured by this gold and silk threads. In this earliest stage of Indian culture, Banaras figures as an outstanding centre of textile manufacture. This Kashi cloth enjoyed as much popularity and sanctity at the time of Buddha as the silk-dress did in the pre-Buddhist India. The fact that the Sanskrit word 'Kausam Vasa' meaning silk dress occurs in 'Sat Patha Brahmana' testifies the existence and use of silk in India as early as 800 B.C. There was something sacred about the use of silk. It was generally used on ceremonial occasions and by the religious and rich people of the society. The traditional purity attached to silk fabrics, collaborated with the fact that they were manufactured at the holy city of Kashi (Varanasi), might have in all probability given to the silk fabrics of Varanasi the dignified title of "Kasikam-KauseyamVastrama" or Banaras silk cloth. This silk cloth of Varanasi was a speciality of the place and it is quite probable, therefore, that the word 'Kausayam' might have later been dropped as being inconvenient.

Banaras and its surrounding area had been a great cotton growing region in the past, probably this spurred the textile industry in the city. Kashi continued to flourish as a regional capital under the Nandas and Mauryas and the Sangas. On the basis of this, we can safely ascribe to its unbroken tradition of textile industry during these glorious epochs. Patanjali (2nd century B.C.) leaves no doubt about the Kasika textile in the Sunga period; that was more expensive and probably of better quality than the similar material manufactured in Mathura. The printings of Gupta period are revealed by the Ajanta Art. Painting including striped cotton prints and possible embroidery have represented the Zari and the brocades. The prints included floral and vegetable designs, animal and bird depictions and geometrical motifs. These prints claimed nationwide popularity and included in its purview the brocades of Varanasi also.

Banbhata (17th century A.D.) records several kinds of textiles and costumes. The taste of the people in the 7th century remained almost unchanged from the Gupta Traditions. The Jain literature also gives some indication of presence of Brocades in that period.

Ahmedabad and Surat seem to have been important centres of Zari Brocades weaving in the 15th.

With the help of above discussion, we can conclude, "when and how silk (handloom) industry of Varanasi was first established is altogether unknown". However, this much is certain that it was in existence in the pre-Buddhist era and was in a flourishing condition during the Buddhist period 6th century B.C. During Hindu period it experienced an unbroken prosperity. Many Hindu rulers ruled over Varanasi and many political upheavals shook the city but its age-old trade could not be much affected.

This industry came under Muslim influence in the 12th century A.D. First Muslim used silk (Amru, masru, and sangi) mixed with cotton and was very common among the community. Since the reign of Akbar we get an uninterrupted account of the Zari work and brocades through the Mughal and Rajasthani paintings. It is significant to note that in the 16th century the old designs abruptly came to an end, we find from the contemporary paintings unequivocally inform us about the importation of Persian masters. Thus Muslim conquerors and rulers of India became ardent patrons of this industry. The industry flourished and enjoyed unprecedented prosperity during this period.

Ralph Fitch (1583-91) informs us that Banaras was a thriving centre of cotton textile industry. He adds that turbans manufactured in Banaras were supplied in great number to the Mughal rulers. From the contemporary paintings, we know that usually the Mughals used Zari material for their turbans.

Peter Mundi, another traveller to Banaras (1652 A.D.), records that in the Vishwanath Temple he found a silk canopy hanging over the Shiv Lingam. He believed it to be a work of Banaras Brocade.

Tavernier visited Banaras in 1665 A.D. and he recorded the prosperity of Banaras Brocade in India. He noticed a caravan sarai in Banaras where the weavers directly sold their manufactures to the customers and there were no middlemen in the trade. He witnessed both cotton and silk textiles in the trade. These references, however, do not give any indication as to how industry passed from the hand of Hindus to those of Muslims; as is well known, a large majority of the weavers in Varanasi today are Muslims.

According to some unpublished documents in Urdu "the first caravan of Muslims entered Varanasi in 380 Al Hijri (11 century A.D.) Muslim community learned the art of weaving from the Pattikas Khatris – a low Hindu caste at that time. It was easier to mix with low Hindu castes than higher one for Muslims. The Muslims who installed their own looms and learnt weaving were known as 'Chira-i-Baaf', meaning 'Fine cloth weavers'. By and by Pattikas Khatris withdrew from the scene and were replaced by Muslim community. When Muslim community came to Varanasi after conquering Varanasi, they settled at Alaipura and other Muslim localities. They developed contacts with already settled Muslims and learnt the art of weaving from them. The new weavers depended upon old weavers for sales of their product and for introducing new design in weaving.

During the reign of Akbar (1541-1605 A.D.), the industry took a new turn. With the states' patronage the industry was highly stimulated. During this period a man named Khawaja Abdul Samad Kashmiri was sent to Varanasi by the state and he designed various types of 'Gathwa' (Heddle or thread frame) to be operated on looms in order to create design in weaving. With the help of this 'Gathwa' the weavers introduced various designs in weaving by mixing gold and silver Zari with silk, with much ease and efficiency. These products got favour from the aristocracy of the area and the country. The people engaged in this industry came to be called 'Noor-Baaf' meaning the shining (silk and Zari) cloth weavers.

Due to political upheaval Banaras received a setback when Ahmad Shah Bangash threatened to reduce Banaras into ashes in the 18th century. A fat ransom was paid to him (1750 A.D.) to save the town. Maratha records in 1751 inform us that Banaras was almost deserted in that period and its many banking houses turned insolvent. People felt themselves to be unsafe from invading Rohillas. Further, the Nawab of Oudh also tried to destroy the then chief of Varanasi, Balwant Singh. Banaras continued to face a menace for another 20 years. In November 1764 A.D. the forces of East India Company entered the city and soon Banaras transferred its allegiance to the company.

Due to Maratha's interest in the city of Varanasi some rich persons settled here and with their interest in arts and crafts Banaras retrieved back its past glory to some extent. People of higher classes both among the Hindus and the Muslims showed their interest in Banaras brocades. This spurred Banaras Zari and brocade manufacture and sale. This was the rising point for the trade in the middle of 18th century.

By the end of 19th century two streams emerged in the industry; one for the manufacture of Banarasi goods and the other the manufacture of plain silk which was known as the 'Kashi-Silk'. The distinction between the two was simple. Banarasi goods were the silk stuffs (including those mixed with cotton or other yarns) flowered and worked in gold silver threads while 'Kashi-Silk' was plain and never decorated.

Kashi silk were manufactured mostly for the Europeans who were living in India, However, 'Kashi Silk' went into oblivion as rapidly as it had come into existence. The production of plain silk went into the hands of rural weavers. They adopted it as off-season occupation and working on lower wages they supplied cheaper cloths to the users. Later on, they used cheaper silk also but by and by it lost its popularity. Later on, machine made silk took its place.

George Viscount Valentia in his travel account furnishes some interesting information about Banaras textiles in early 19th century. He attended a Darbar at Banaras. Some textile traders also attended the Darbar and displayed very good specimen of Zari and brocades. The traveller remarks that the brocades showed close patterns and were quite expensive so they were worn only on important occasions. He remarked that the prosperity of Banaras people mainly rested on its brocades and Zari. These textiles were the popular items

for export to European countries. In the similar fashion many other travellers also gave their own account of Banaras Brocade (Pandey, 1981).

During the Muslim period and onwards many technological developments took place in the industry. They can be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The same old traditional 'Pit throw shuttle looms' are still in operation in a majority of cases. 'Gathwa' (heddle system) was introduced at the end of 16th century. Further, improvement in weaving--floral designs, borders and palloos (heading) etc.-- were introduced in the last three centuries. The system of heddle, however, required the employment of three persons on a single loom and was time consuming (though less than before) when weaving fabrics with borders and designs. These defects later on were removed with the introduction of 'dobbies' and 'jacquards' in the 1930's. These machines are claimed to be the own inventions by the weavers. These machines reduced the time consumed in weaving and saved the labour of one person and thus revolutionized the whole process. The introduction of 'jacquards' increased the productivity of per worker per loom. This increased productivity facilitated the weavers to stand in the market even in this difficult competitive age. Design on graph papers attached with the 'jacquards' and it simplifies the process of designing. The industry experienced greatest boom just after the beginning of Hind World War. Since then, generally the demand for sarees and scarves is more than supply.

In the post-independent period, the industry suffered a great setback at the time of abolition of zaminadari, princely states, etc. in the country. The Chinese aggression and Indo-Pak wars also proved to be shocks for the industry. Disturbances in other states in India had also adversely affected the supply of silk products to these states. But, despite all these from no source do we get any indication of a long-term decline in the Banaras silk industry (Zaheer, 1966; Pandey, 1981).

The numbers of weavers in Banaras, from 1872 to 1981 (Kumar, N., 1988, p. 19) is illustrated in the following table:

The numbers of weavers in Banaras				
Year	Numbers	How described	Source	
1872	245	Kincob maker	Census	1872
	1,185	Silk weavers		..
	3,670	Weavers		..
1881	1,000	Silk weavers	Census	1881
	137	Gold cloth weaver		..
	62	Silk dealer		..
	4,239	Cotton weaver		..
	2,115	Silkweaver	Ad Report NWP	1882
			..	

1891	12,871	Silkweavers&dependents		
1901	12,269	Silkweavers&dependents	Census	1901
	5,923	Actualworkers		„
1911	6,894	Silkspinners&weavers	Census	1911
1921	15,504	Totalworkersin textiles	Census	1921
	1,331	Silkspinners&weavers		„
	4,648	Workersin"insufficiently describedtextileindustries"		„
1931	5,680	Silkspinners&weavers	Census	1931
1951	6,505	Workersin"textileindustriesot herwiseunclassified"	Census	1951
1961	35,000	"Karghe"(Looms)	Misra,1962,	p.125
1981	150,000	Silkweavers	B.P. Pandey,1981,	p.21
	500,000	"People...engagedinthe silkindustrydirectly& indirectly"	„	

Recent Trends in Banaras Silk Industry

Since the last several decades, the markets and business worldwide are having massive transformation under the forces of new globalized market economy. The silk industry of Varanasi also is no exception. Major changes being seen in the industries are as follows:

- Extinction of Banarasi silk goods
- Enormous expansion of powerloom, fabric and synthetic yarn products
- Diversification in dyeing, printing and embroidery work in Varanasi
- Mass production of cheaper goods with the absorption of labour and machines, however, with marginal profits

Banaras silk industry, as the situation stands today, is almost a dying industry. The silk products were primarily produced on the handlooms and contained beautiful floral designs and motifs. The word 'Banarasi' connotes special meaning. The yarn, the weaving, the design pattern had distinctive marks and combined together gave Banarasi silk a special meaning. The real Zari and the very intricate weaving pattern resulted into a very high cost. It took long time to produce a real piece of Banarasi silk. However with the introduction of the imitation Zari, synthetic yarn, new textile designing and embroidery, the Banaras silk industry has almost collapsed. The cheaper imitative works have captured the market. The handloom weaving and big *kothis* of the Banarasi silk are more a show piece rather than a thriving industry. All this is due to new innovations in production and homogenization of the market economy.

The new market forces have given a boost to cheaper products of powerloom. In its earlier phase, the Banaras powerloom products adopted the designs and motifs of Banarasi silk products, both in the weaving patterns and design. But in the later phase, handmade embroidery or machine-made embroidery boosted up the Banaras powerloom products. In its most recent phase, the embroidery machine brought from China and Germany and the computer designing have given new lease of life to the Banaras powerloom industry. Whatever was being done on textile in Surat and other places is now being done in Banaras with the gradual adoption of new technology and new textile production techniques. This change in the Banaras fabric industry may basically be against the interest of the handloom sector, yet it has shown the capacity to absorb the man power and the capital investment potentialities of the traditional handloom sector of Banaras.

Earlier the traditional handloom sector absorbed man power skill and capital either in the raw materials, production process or in the finished products. Now with the rapid switch over from handloom to powerloom and from powerloom to modern embroidery and textile designing machine, the whole production pattern has transformed. Now cheaper fabrics without designing are being produced either on handloom or in powerloom. And these products are undergoing a process of dyeing, embroidery and finishing. The price of

the product has gone down whereas the volume of work has increased. Even the marketing has become quite competitive with low return.

The new changes in Banaras silk industry are gradually giving new shape to the class structure. On the production side, the artisan class is gradually dwindling, giving place to a rapidly expanding labour class in the form of powerloom worker, dyer, glazer, printer and other types of machine workers. And there is considerable growth of machine owners who because of their capital investment potentialities have considerable control over the production process. This is a newly emerging capitalist class in the Banaras silk industry related to capital and technology required in the industry. On the marketing side, the old *gaddidars* and *kothidars* have to invest their capital not in the expensive and artistic Banarasi silk products but into the cheaper products which has resulted into increase in the volume of stock, business transaction and expansion of market, so as to gain sufficient profit. Now this capitalist class is dealing with mass production, large volume of sale, increasing number of customer and highly competitive and innovative marketing techniques.

The Challenge of Globalization in the Context of Banaras Silk Industry

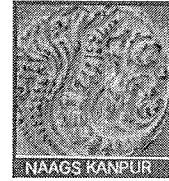
Globalization is based on the international homogenization of market forces and is also characterized as a steam-roller process which engulfs local economy. The folk economy, the small-scale industry finds it difficult to stand before the mighty forces of globalization which have the enormous power of devouring and engulfing the local economy. Global economy armed with modern technology and large-scale production has the power to demolish the edifice of cottage industry and small-scale production. The individual worker gets lost under the identity of large-scale machine production. Moreover the globalization process not only benefits capitalist class but also makes available variety of options in the market to the consumer and the commodity becomes highly competitive and relatively cheaper (Singh, 2004).

The process of universal homogenization has affected the local commodity in variety of ways. Banaras silk industry is a suitable example of this bulldozing effect of the global economy. The recent slump in the Banaras silk industry and the uprootedness of the handloom weavers are the glaring examples of this process. The arrival of China silk, the introduction of computer design and embroidery machines, revolutionary changes in dyeing, printing, glazing and the introduction of synthetic fabrics of Surat in the silk fabric market have crushed the handloom sector. More and more handlooms are being shut down and the poor weavers who are unable to bear the hunger are fleeing from Banaras or else dying of poverty and hunger. Who is to be blamed? – the weaver who has no power nor the skill to adapt the modern technology or the government who is unable to provide relief and succour to the poor weavers or else the small entrepreneur in the Banaras silk market who has not enough purchasing power to acquire the costlier and ever-changing modern technology and production process? The situation as it has

obtained now in the Banaras silk market provides some deep insights into the steam-roller process of globalization and resultant poverty.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL INDIA

DR. ATUL KUMAR SHUKLA

Associate Professor of Teacher Education

Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru P.G. College

Banda India

An attempt has been made to study some important aspect of the educational problems in India in the period between 1854 to 1904. This dissertation deals with the political of the British Government and growth of education. In addition an historical sketch of the contemporary socio-political and economic events is given as prelude to every important change which took place from time to time in the field of education, in order that the inter-relation between education and socio-economic, political conditions during the period might be clearly observed.

The educational development in Colonial India can be divided into three phases-

First phase- A period of neglect (1813-1902)

Second phase- A period of intensive agitation (1902-1918)

Third phase- A period of experimentation (1918-1950)

An objective and comprehensive examination of socio-economic and political factors and forces that shapes education is an indispensable pre-requisite to the development of education. Still, strangely enough, this period of 1854 to 1904 of study was skipped over by previous writers. Its relevance was realized by me and I undertook it for the comprehensive analysis.

Real development of education took place in this period specially at the time of 'wood Dispatch'. This dispatch, which is popularly known as 'the Magna Carta' of Education in India was mainly responsible for the growth of Indian Nationalism and for bringing in the Indian Renaissance. The educational development during this period reveals a few significant characteristics. The most important of these is a dominant influence of Governors on the nature and growth of educational system. Another characteristic during this period is the crystallization of the school as mere social agency. Towards the close of the period are visible effects of some factors which began maturing. However, this education system which had born and brought up during the British regime was handed over to India in 1947.

¹ S.K.Kochhar, "Pivotal issues in Indian Education Sterling Publisher, New Delhi, 1981.

The period that we are about to enter is a curious one. It is a time of conflict not only between France and England but between trade and politics for the first time on a major scale military and political events in Europe penetrate the lives of the Indian people in no uncertain manner: the future of men who knew nothing of the white man's world was to be subject to the dynastic ambitions and political intrigues of the nations of Western Europe². The wealth and splendour of India was not unknown to Europe long before the advent of the European merchant companies in the subcontinent³.

The year A.D. 1757 is tentatively regarded as the year at the beginning of the British rule in India, when Sirajuddula, the Nawab of Bengal was defeated by the British at the battle of Plassey⁴. The British empire in India was built upon the wreckage of two Empires – the Mughals and the Maratha.

The foundation of The East India Company is a land mark in the history of the British Empire. The bells which rang out the year 1600 rang in the first East India Company. It was incorporated, by a charter from Queen Elizabeth, under the name of the Governor and company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies⁵. It was a very small beginning. A few English trader ironmongers, clothiers, and other substantial people of that kind- headed by the Lord Mayor, a began to organize their system of management, and to adopt measures for the equipment of their fleets⁵. Meanwhile while a charter of 31 Dec. 1600 incorporated the person who joined in the venture for Indian trade as “the Governor and company of merchants of London trading into east indies⁶”. Thus began the career of the English East India Company, the first ship of which sailed from England on the 2nd May 1601, “carrying letters of recommendation from the Queen to the sovereigns of the different parts to which it might the Elizabethan age⁸. the East India House, the home of “the Grandest Society of merchants in the Universe”, was situated on the south side of the busy thoroughfare of Leaden Hall Street in the city of London.

The Research and Methodology followed while preparing this work is one of the critical analysis and speculation based upon available practical material.

In the ancient tradition, education was regarded as the most important tool for self realization. During ancient period, two significant impacts on education were, the impact of Aryan civilization and the Buddhist influence and education was imparted only to priestly class.

But with the advent of the medieval period another system of education found its way into the country i.e. Muslim education. Like the Hindus, the Muslim also had two types of institution-the Maktabas and Madrassahs. During medieval period, education was a Mughal Legacy which could be seen during the period of Akbar who

² Edwardes, Micheal, “A History of India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day”, Thames and Hudson, London, 1961, page-205.

³ Mukherjee, Ramakrishna, “The Rise and fall of the East India Company”, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1973, pg.-54.

⁴ Prasad, Prof. L., “Evaluation of Indian Culture”, Lakshmi Narian Agarwal, Agra, 1991, pg.-257

⁵ Kapoor, Gurubaksh Singh, “History of India-British Period(1707-1947)”, S.Chand&Company,new Delhi,1962, pg.-253.

⁶ Kaye, John William, “The Administration of the East India Company”, Kitab Mahal Private Ltd, Allahabad, 1998, pg.-109.

was deeply interested in the work of spreading education and learning. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hindu education received a set back. But after Aurangzeb inspired by the disturbed time, a popular system of education survived and both the Hindu and Muslim institutions flourished side by side.

From the early decades of British rule, deliberate attempts were made to introduce and propagate the British educational system in India but that was a period of controversy between those who subscribed to orthodox ideas and those who advocated new and liberal views.

Hindu society was very rigid as far as the liberal view and caste was very concerned and in the caste scheme, each caste was performed a specific function for instance Brahmins only had the exclusive right to preach religious doctrines. The main function of the Brahmins was to officiate as priests and teachers for which they had acquired higher religious and secular knowledge. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindu in which religious and secular knowledge was imparted.⁷

In every village and town vernacular schools were those which taught reading, writing and rudiments of arithmetic to common people. Mainly the sons of traders were taking advantage of these schools but on the contrary women and the lower caste and agriculturists were left behind from receiving this education and only the Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of all higher education.

On the other hand among the Muslims in pre-British India, the higher education was not a monopoly of a particular section because Muslims were basically democratic in their character. All Muslims were free to study at the Madarasa. The medium of instruction was Arabic, since the Koran was written in that language. There were schools which taught vernaculars and Persian, the language of Islamic culture and administration.

Thus we can say that the education imparted in pre-British-India was to make the pupils staunch Hindu or Muslims. Therefore, the introduction of modern education was an event of great historical significance for India. It was no doubt a progressive act of British rule.⁸ Though the education was literary for Hindus and Muslims even then the Brahmin children were only going to schools of accounts only, in a number of schools using living even then school of language where Muslims were more liberal because both the systems (religious and literary) stuck firmly to their traditional knowledge. After acquiring the territory of Bengal the East India Company made its target to spread over a political power in India for which the company felt the India Agency and fulfilled its aim by promoting these agencies among the families and castes hereditarily linked with the revenue and judicial employment under the state.⁹

Till 1833, the East India Company was primarily interested in its trading activities and get maximum profits deprived from the revenue administration of the territory under its control rather than taking any interest in spreading education among the Indians.¹⁰

The strong religious basis of Indian society dispirited many a reformer, administrators and liberal policy maker of their alien origin, culture, religion and

⁷ O'Malley, page-138.

⁸ A.R. Dasai, "The Social Background of Indian Nationalism, page-139.

⁹ Unpublished thesis, Shukla S.C., University of Delhi.

¹⁰ Narain V.A., "Social History of Modern India, page-10-15.

status, any attempt on their part might be understood by the people of India who could even create a powerful and bitter opposition to the extent of shaking foundations of colonial India⁵. Even the leaders of the public studied the Indian scene in the late eighteenth century and made themselves conscious of their responsibilities in India.

The results of the effect of the modern ideas on India was the emergence of a series of national leaders with deep knowledge of western and Indian education and culture “whose supreme task in the early nineteenth century was the defense of the Hindu society and culture from the challenging west”¹¹.

The two most prominent exponents Warren Hastings and the noted orient list H.H Wilson also persuaded the company to govern in India in the typical Mughal and general Indian tradition by provided security and peace for the society o continue its habitual course. The Calcutta Madarsa 1711.

of India considered it fit to pick out a considerable class of musalman of credit and learning and used his power, influence and money to persuade one Maulvi “Mudjid-o-Din” to remain at Calcutta for giving instruction to young folks in Mohamedan Law and started a Madarsa with his own resources at the cost of Rs. 625/- per month including scholarships as in incentive to the young students.¹²

Similar in 1792 the company’s resident at Banaras proposed a portion of company’s surplus revenues to be spent on the establishment of “A Hindu college or Academy” for the preservation and cultivation of laws, Literature and Religion of the Nation¹³.

In 1811, Governor General Lord Minto explored the decay in learning under British rule on account of support from the British Government . He initiated for the establishment of two more Sanskrit College in Nadia and Tirhoot to overpower the lack of decay in learning . His other recommendation included the grant of Persian to distinguished teacher, provision of a public library in each of the proposed college under a learned India¹⁴.

During the period 1815, Education was a cause very dear to Moira’s heart . He was of the opinion that “The strength of the Government in India must be based not on ignorance but on the enlightenment of the people”¹⁵. Lord Moira was of the opinion that instead of creating new institutions for public instruction improvements with an emphasis on the introduction of western education should be effected in the existing elementary school in rural areas. Lord Moira proposed the establishment of two experimental school (one for Hindu and the other for Muslims) under the superintendence of a committee consisting of all the civil servants at the station.

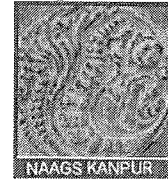
¹¹ Mukherjee- Haridas and Uma, “The Growth of Nationalism in India, page-22-23.

¹² Shukla, S.C., “Development of Education in British India”.

¹³ Minute Indian Education, page-144.

¹⁴ Minute of Lord Moira on Judicial administration. Oct.2.1815.

¹⁵ Basu, Aparna, “The Growth of Education and Political Development.



DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Dr. Archana Singh

Assistant Professor of Political Science

Maharaj Balwant Singh P.G. College

Gangapur Varanasi India

International Politics is one of the most important emerging discipline in modern time. There is no gainsaying the fact that this discipline offers many challenges to its scholars as many of the conceptual and philosophical frameworks of the discipline still to be developed, explained and established in acceptable theoretical framework. For this reason the study of this discipline turns out to be highly challenging. International Politics at initial level can be understood as the study of the interstate behavior where different players or states interact with each other with a clear thought of protection of their national interests and to enhance their power so that they could maximize their benefits in all the possible dimensions of their existence.

International Politics is usually understood in terms of the conflict, particularly the conflict in the sphere of efforts for power attainments by the states, which is purely political phenomenon. Though one group of the scholar is of the opinion that peace is also important component of the interactive behavior of the nation states. These do not subscribe to the power theory of other school of thought. International Politics is therefore a complex maze to understand. It can be interpreted that it is full of conflicts due to effort by the nation states to secure their national interests and to enhance their national power, equally true is that it is full of positives where nation states cooperate and establish the peace and obtain different benefits. They collaborate on many issues in order to gain the peaceful dividends. Hence the study of International Politics requires unbiased and balanced approach. It can not be understood by applying a particular theoretical postulate. It can be understood by analyzing and interpreting every component of the interactive behaviour among the nation states with neutral position.

The nature of the International Politics is quite complex. But its dimensions can easily be identified. Its two dimension, recognized at outset, are the

political and economic. These two dimensions of this discipline are although quite integrated with each other still they can be placed in exclusive study zone. In fact this integration of both dimension and inability to understand the true nature of the International Politics cause much confusion when study of discipline is carried on. It becomes a complex task to identify the best approach to understand this discipline. The major confusion arises when it is contrasted with almost similar disciplines with which it holds several similarities and differences.

This distinction requires a detailed and separate discussion which is to be dealt later on but for the present study focus, both are supposed to be studied and understood in political field with same theoretical postulates. As far as the political dimension of the discipline is concerned, it is based upon the basic premise that world is an interactive platform where different nation states are active, besides many non state players, intergovernmental and international bodies also exist and influence the course of development of the political behavior of the nation states. The political dimension also brings into focus the positive and negative impacts of such interstate behavior. This dimension hence needs different theoretical approaches to understand its true nature. Institutional approach to study the political dimension of the study believes that nation states are major players in the International Politics. Their behavior has direct bearing upon the global politics. They need to exhibit, for this reason, a moral approach and behavior in the International Politics. This approach is an idealist approach to understand the political nature of the global politics. This approach has assigned an important role to the international organizations. It provides that these organizations have useful role in the establishment of the peace in world politics. Idealist approach to the International Politics has been against to the politics of the weapons. This is an important feature of this approach as it negates the weapons in dealing the interactive behaviours among the nation states. This approach searches those elements of the interactive state behavior which has potential in positive direction, hence for it, disarmament and similar efforts among the member states and peaceful role played by the international organizations are important. This approach looks at the International Politics a functional theatre where peace is available and can be searched by the nation states. They look at the establishment of the democratic processing and democratic values in the interstate behavior. Hence this idealistic approach looks at the positive side of the global behavior.

International integration theoretical postulate also attempts to find out the political nature and dimension of the International Politics. Many subconcepts are involved in this approach. These may include pluralism, federalism, regionalism, functionalism and neofunctionalism etc. These theoretical models are close to the legal-institutional approach. This approach has gained much currency in recent time to understand the course of the global politics. As for illustration the functionalism is often used to understand the International Politics. It believes that there is economic factor involved in the states which

has caused the war like situations. It treats poverty, unemployment and other downgraded feature of the humanity as the main causative factors for the conflict production in the world. Functionalism will therefore look at the world politics in economic terms and thinks that problems in the world can be alleviated if the proper economic efforts are employed. According to the most influential philosopher of this approach David Mitrany, the functionalism is a theoretical model by which the peace can be established in the world. In his opinion the world is a place where common needs of the nation states can be converged and these common needs convergence can propel peace in the global order. In this way the functionalism concentrates upon the peace but using the welfare –economic approach.

The political nature of the International Politics is therefore peace oriented, if there are any conflicts then these are due to certain factors, if these are eliminated then this complex order can move to the peaceful stage. These are the basic assumptions of the theoretical postulates mentioned so far. It is true that peace is an ideal and final objective and which needs to be realized in any case. The global order exhibits certain instances where the nation states come together and establish the peaceful relations. The growth of the regional economic bodies attest these. There are many instances where the conflictful nation states have come closer due to their convergence of interests. The growth of the European Union, the reduction of the tensions among the ASEAN member states after the establishment of regional trading organization can be illustrated its example. Another illustration is observed in India-Pakistan relations where both countries in spite of many tensions are in the process of initiating the movement towards the peace. Hence these theoretical postulates have their relevance to understand the political dynamics of the global political behavior but at the same time truth is that many of the countries are still staying in the conflictful stage. There are many differences between the Venezuela and USA-Ecuador and USA, India and China which have enough potential to turn into more volatile stage, a new cold war like conditions have emerged between USA and Russia with respect to Ukraine. Hence these postulates have their own weaknesses. These are more in idealistic framework. Hence their utility sometime gets diluted when conflicts in the global order are sharpened and there appear no option for their resolution. The crises in Palestine, persistent problem between North Korea and South Korea etc. are difficult to be analysed using this particular theoretical postulate.

Another postulate which has gained importance in the recent time is known as the behavioural and post behavioural approach to the International Politics. This approach in post world war development has attempted to place another viewpoint to understand the interstate behavior than the legal-institutional idealistic approach. For these the theoretical approach of these preceding models is insufficient and unclear to understand the true political aspect of the International Politics. They do not accept the value laden approach to the International Politics, but they emphasise the value neutral approach to the

International Politics. For behaviouralists the International Politics need to be studied with scientific approach and models. It can not divorce itself from the realities of the global politics. This approach has almost discarded the idealism in the International Politics as a core theoretical model to identify and understand the political nature of the global politics. Decision making theory, game theory and bargaining theory are major theoretical postulates which have sprung from the behaviouralism.

In order to understand the global politics many other theoretical models too have been offered which are more scientific and realistic in nature. Among these the realist theory supersedes all the other theories and has been accepted by most of the policy planners at the national and international level to understand the real behavior of the nation states. It is argued that application of this theoretical postulate may help nations to understand the true nature of the global politics. It treats International Politics as full of contradictions and conflicts where nation states are oriented to serve their national interests with the use and enhancement of their power. The realist believe that human nature needs to be studied in order to find out the true nature of the international politics. They believe like Hobbes, Machiavelli that human nature is basically full of evils, when this is applied to the global politics then conflicts are definitely to emerge, hence realists start with the study of the human nature and reach to the conclusion that International Politics can not be a peaceful dynamic affair due to search by the nation states for more power as they define their interests only in terms of the power. The realists are closer to identify the true nature of the international politics. Their successors in this field as neo realist or structural realist of which Kenneth Waltz is main exponent, believes that world is full of anarchy and whole is larger than its parts which are states in their actions. The neorealists think that power in itself is a means not the end. Many scholars believe that realists and neorealists alike are more successful in offering the correct explanation of the political nature of the International Politics.

The other dimension of the International Politics is expanded to the economic aspect. This aspect of the International Politics has received much importance in the recent time. Contemporary global politics is much focused to this aspect as for illustration the great powers as USA has adopted in its foreign policy. Their one important objective is to initiate and maintain the free trade in the global politics. This was documented in the Fourteen point proposal of US President Woodrow Wilson after the first world war. Even in the present time USA is focused to utilize the huge markets of India and China.

International politics is governed by these national interests. These interests fall in the category of the economic national interests. No country in the contemporary time can deny the acceptance of these interests. In the recent time in South Asia, India initially did not allocate any importance in its foreign policy to Myanmar particularly after the suppression of democracy and establishment of the military rule there but with the passage of time particularly due to economic factors India started to allocate a place to

Myanmar in its foreign policy. The economic realism and considerations of the economic national interests influenced India to change its objectives with respect to Myanmar. India is in search of the new energy resources which can help to sustain its economic infrastructure. China too is very much active in Myanmar because of these compelling factors. It is also constrained with the limitations of energy resources like India. "Indian leaders also view Myanmar with vast reserves of natural gas, as a leading potential long-term source of energy supply free from the geopolitical risks of West Asia oil and natural gas. However, here also the attempts by India have not been very successful. Myanmar has become a theatre of intense energy diplomacy and competition with clear advantage to China because of the support China renders to the junta in its capacity as a permanent member of the UN Security Council." International Politics is therefore much controlled by these economic factors. There are many efforts by the nation states in a particular region to integrate in an economic group. Economic compulsions derive the countries to come closer. Many regional organizations have been established in the world in post second world war age. In Europe establishment of European Union has been motivated by the economic considerations. The similar situation is obtained in South East Asia where regional cooperation started with security concerns and later completely shifted to the economic considerations. In the similar fashion even in the conflict prone region like South Asia the eight nation states have come closer only because of the economic factors. They have realized that political conflicts need to be kept aside and the economic cooperation is need of the hour. The establishment of these regional organizations have emerged as an important component of the contemporary International Politics as for illustration European Union after having strengthened in economic unification of the member states, initiated political unification and succeeded in the adoption of several such arrangements which have global significance. EU has adopted an EU defence and foreign policy. European Union has evolved its foreign policy in effective way and influences the course of the action in global politics.

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