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Jainism in Jharkhand with Special Reference to Parasnath hills

A. K. Chatteraj*

Jainism is a religion of older provenance going back perhaps to the time of the Indus valley civilization or even prior to that. The *sravak Adivasis* of south Jharkhand in Seraikela, Bundu, Tamar, Singhbhum and adjoining West Bengal & Orissa were the earliest Jains¹

The Jain religion reveres 24 *Tirthankars* and some of their disciples. It is believed that twenty out of twentyfour *Tirthankaras* lived and attained Nirvana in the Parasnath Hill situated presently in Giridih district of Jharkhand. The Parasnath hill has a religious significance for the Jains of both sects.²

There are 74 Jain sites in Jharkhand. Of all the sites Parasnath hills which is known as *Sammet shikhar* is the most prominent pilgrimage for both the sect of Jains for its connection with most of the Jain *Tirthankars*. The hill attained the name from 23rd *Tirthankar Parsava* (C877-777 BCE) Who was a prince of Benares and attained *nirvana* at the hill. The five vows now accepted as the basic faith of Jain creed namely Non violence, non lying, non stealing and non possession were developed by Mahavira out of the four principle of Parsavanatha.³ The sacred hill has over 72 Jain Temples, its height is 4481 Ft. The Archaeologist hold the view that antiquarian remains in the hill do not date earlier than 1765 which is confusing keeping in view that so many Jain *Tirthankars* visited the hills, the Jains hold that they do not have a tradition of perpetuating monuments. The history of Jainism shows an early migration to west from Bihar and return migration only in post Mughal period as a merchant class.⁴

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The most ancient reference of *Sammet shikhar* is made in *mallijin* chapter of the scripture *Jnata dharm katha* which describes the *nirvana* of *Tirthankar Mallinath*. In the biography of *Parasnath, Parswanath charita* of *kalpasultra*, describing the *nirvana* of *Tirthankar MaJJinath*, the phrase *sammeya sel sikharnmi* has been used to denote *sammet shikhar*, In the Medieval literature '*samadhigi*' is found to denote *Sammet shekhar*. The local people address it as *Parasnath hills* in the early ninth century. The temples were destroyed and it became victim of religious bigotry.⁵ In 1592 A.D. emperor Akbar had gifted this mountain to one shree Heervijay suri on being impressed by his personality. Around 1670 A.D. The Jain temples were renovated and thereafter the history of the hill is obscure. In Sambat 1809 Delhi emperor Ahmad Shah, impressed by the acts of the seth Mahtab Ray of Murshidabad gifted Madhuvan Kothi, Jaypar Nala Jalhari Kund and 301 bighas of land in the valley of Parasnath hills. At the dicenial settlement in 1790 and afterwards in the Permanent settlement of 1793 the hill was included in the Zarnindari of Raja of Palganj. During the greater part of 19th Century the Raja of Palganj, bore the expenses of the shrine and recouped himself by taking a share of the pilgrims offerings .⁶ The king of Palganj made a public announcement for the sale of mountain. Rai Bahadur Badridas Jauhari and Sri Bahadur Singh signaled the India level Swetamber Organization Anandji Kalyanji Pedhi to purcghase the mountain. The Pedhi purchased the mountain on 9.3.1918 for Rs.2,42,200/.⁷

The Parasnath hill was a bone of contention between *Swetamber and Digamber* Jains, The dispute between these two groups reached Court several times. The Privy Council in 1933 held that the hill vested with the Raja of Palganj though the Jains had right to worship. From 1933 till 2004 there were several court cases but there was no change in the position recognized by the Privy Council-right of *Swetambaris* in the management of *temples, tonks and charans* on the top of the hill and unfetted right of *Digambaris* to worship in twenty of the *tonks, charans, temples* and with permission of *Swetambaris* in remaining four *tonks*.

The Kalyaniji Anandji Pedhi in the mean time by a resolution dt

12.03.1912 decided to acquire the right of Raja of Palganj. It was arranged that for taking Palganj against *Shikarji* Rupees 2,42,000/- should be paid in cash once for all and Rs 4000/- should be paid every year. It was thereafter, Anandji Kahyanji purchased the rights of Palganj by sale deed dt.9.3.1918. In the meantime Privy council decision continued. After the Bihar land Reforms Act. came into force on 25.09.1950 under section 3 (i) of the Act Anandji Kalyanji Trust entered into an agreement with the state Govt. Under Section 38 (i) of Indian Forest Act for management of Parasnath Hill. Parasnath hill is spread in 25 Sq Kms roughly 16000 acres. The Raja of Palganj had transferred 2000 acres to one Boddam for tea plantation, 700 acres, were in possession of the cultivators who were subsequently recognized as *raiyaats* under land reforms Act. There was also a sanatorium in the hill. It was also recognized by the courts that Hindus had right to hold a mela once in a year in the hill and the tribals had a right to celebrate hunting festival in the hill once a year.⁸

On 02.05.1953 the State of Bihar notification U/S 3 (i) of BLR Act. stated that the estate described in the schedule amend to the notification and belonging to the proprietors named in the schedule has passed to and become vested under the provision of B.L.R. Act. from the date of publication of that notification. B L Act. XX of 1953 as amended dt. 21.09.1954 the Govt. intended to take within three months from the date of publication all intermediatery interests among other districts Hazaribagh. On 14.04.1964 eight persons describing themselves as followers of *swetamber Murti Pujak* Jain in their individual capacity and also in their capacity of trustee of Anandji Kahyanj Pedi filed W.P. 58 of 1968 before supreme Court under Act- 32 of constitution of India challenging the notification on 05.02.1965, an agreement was entered into on behalf of the Govt. of Bihar and representative of Jain *Swetamber Muirti Pujak* community of India. Among other things the Govt. declared that the temples and *Dhrmsalas* on the Hills are not covered by the vesting notification of 2. 5. 1953 and that Seth Anandji Kalyanji shall retain full control of their temples, shrines, hills and religious sites. *Digambars* also

entered into an agreement with the state of Bihar on 06.08.1966 and the State assured the *Digambers* that their right, including the right to worship and other recognized right in any manner be affected by the agreement by the Govt. with Anandji Kalyanji on 06.02.1966.

In 1967 again Anandji Kalyani filed a Title suit that the *Digambers* were trying to interfere with the possession of Anandji Kalyanji Trust over the hill and their right was confined to worship in the *tonks*, temples etc, The court held the view that the entire Jain community of India has a right to worship in the majority of the *tonks and charans* on the hill including the right of *Digambers* and dismissed the suit.⁹

The old western portion of old Hazaribagh district has several Jain Sites like *Kolhua Pahar, Itkhori* etc. Presently kolhua hill is situated in Chatra district of Jharkhand. It is believed to be the birth place of the tenth Jain *Tirthankara* Sitalnatha. It is one of the prominent pilgrimage of the Jains and it came into light through the efforts of sir Aurel Stein, famous Indologist during the nineteenth century. Kolhua hill is famed for its Jain shrines, rock cut temples, rockcut sculptures of Jain *Tirthankaras*. As per inscriptions found at the site it would date to the seventeenth or eighteenth century A.D. Stein found reference of Kolhua Pahar in a Jain work called *Tirthamale Amolankaranta* published in Hindi in 1893 by Rana Narayan Pal of Calcutta. Stein noticed image of Paravanatha with the Snakehood canopy in a round of stone.¹⁰

Alura is also an important Jain Site situated in the Chandankyari PS of Dhanbad district of Jharkhand. Alura bronze images has largest number of representation of Rishavnatha including in one in which he has been shown in the company of Mahavira. The site was discovered in 1947 while earth was being dug to make clay for building purpose.¹¹

Ichagarh in Chandil in Seraikela district has scores of Jain temples dating the 9th to 11th centuries, many of which were submerged in the late nineties of the last century by the water of Chandil dam. Hundred of large statues of Jain tirthankaras in black Rajmahal stone have disappeared, outside the submergence area there are remains of a temple

and a fort. The Chandil dam has caused submergence of unknown number of Jain Sacred sites.¹² The Saraka (Shravaka) caste of Singhbhum were original followers of Jainism. In Medieval times a number of Jain temples were constructed in this district. Upto 8th and 9th Cent. A.D. the followers of Jainism had a strong footing in this district. Due to the political changes Jain temples were destroyed, and followers of Jainism were persecuted. Those who stayed were also scattered and became known as the Sarakas.¹³

In addition to above mentioned Jain sites there are several sites like Barakar in Giridih district, Dulmi P.O. Chandil, Itkhori in Hazaribagh to name the few. The Jain sites in Jharkhand are placed in the post Pala and Pre Mughal period (Twelfth to sixteenth century) but in the context of history of Jainism and its developing into an organized religion in this very area under prominent Jain *Tirthankaras* particularly Parsavanath and Mahavir in the eighth and seventh century B.C. can be placed earlier period. Jainism would have predated Buddhism in the area since it was not religion of Pala Sena Period. The Sravak adivasis of South Jharkhand in Seraikela, Bundu, Tamar, Singhbhum and adjoining Bengal and Orissa were the earliest Jains. Often in Jharkhand Buddhist and Jain deities are worshipped as Hindu deities. From fourth to the sixth cent AD. the Jain Community moved to western, central and south India where Jainism rose to greater prominence than in Bihar (Ninth to Twelfth cent). Much later after Pala Sena period Jainism returned to Bihar. During this gap many old Jain sites became sites of *Brahminical* worship during the Gupta Age (between 4th to Eighth cent A.D.) and sites of Buddhist prominence during the Pala Sena period and Jains began to look Parasnath hills as a refuge. The old devotees of these religion had been Brahmanised.¹⁴

The excavation of the Jain sites and thorough research on Jain Tirthankars can throw light as to why and to what extent Jainism was popular in this area.

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The Impact of climate change in Jharkhand

Dr. Kamala Gupta*

Climate change is proving out to be one of the greatest challenges faced by the global community today, the analysis of past trends and the current erratic behavior in climate events shows that changes being experienced in the climate of Jharkhand is a proof of natural climate variability prevailing in the state. Studies shows that Jharkhand is in precarious situation due to its high climate sensitivity and vulnerability, combined with low adaptive capacity, The state is already suffering due to its high dependence on mineral resources. Further the forest and water resources in the state are facing threat due to industrial and urban growth and being uneven in distribution both temporally and spatially. Climate change is one of the biggest challenges ever faced by the human race. The climate change models suggest that the direct short term impacts of the climate change will be on fresh water availability, food security, biodiversity and human health.¹

The state of Jharkhand was created in the year 2000 A.D. by bifurcating the hilly and plateau region of Bihar state. As per the state of forest survey of India, Jharkhand ranked 10th among all the states and union territories of India considering the area under forest cover. Earlier in Jharkhand forest played major role in absorbing excess carbon dioxide and balancing the temperature difference but unfortunately due to deforestation in large scale in Jharkhand there has been increase of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere many fold.² The forest areas of Jharkhand are unevenly distributed. Bokaro has only 4.4% of area under forest, Dhanbad 12.72%, Deoghar 9.5% and Ranchi 23.37% of area under vegetation. At the survey and settlement (1902-1910) the area under forest in Ranchi

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district approximated to about 2.281 sq miles, i.e. about 32% of total land area of the district. At revisional survey and settlement (1927-1935) this area shrank to about 1,956 square miles i.e. 27 percent of the total land area. Thus during a period of 25 years 325 square miles of forest had disappeared. When the forest were notified under the Bihar private Forest Act 1946 and the demarcation was done about 1,065 sq miles of reserve forests disappeared. Now it has reached up to 23 percent and gradually decreasing further.³ Forests are a source as well as store of carbon and other green house gases. The trees and plant used carbon dioxide for making their food, but due to deforestation the scenario has changed in Jharkhand. Rise in temperature, average rainfall in most part of Jharkhand state and low rain accelerate soil erosion, loss of habitat and species and range odd secondary effects for example biodiversity is lost.⁴ The estimation are based on the satellite data of November 2008 -Jan 2009. This does not mean that only deforestation in causing warming phenomenon. Fact is that with deforestation green house gases carbon dioxide is also increasing.

Earlier these forests use to trap excess carbon dioxide to extent which balanced the temperature.⁵ Most of the places in Jharkhand is a plateau area having heights of 400 meters to 800 meters above the sea level, such heights receive more solar radiation than plain. Generally, it is in the form of sunlight the warmth can be felt. The place will have stable temperature so long as there is an approximate balance between the energy received from the sun and that returned of space. In Jharkhand state excess carbon dioxide in the atmosphere prevents some of the extra energy going back to space. This phenomenon increase the temperature of the place either for short period or sometimes for long period.⁶ Climate change in the recent past may be detected by corresponding change in settlement and agriculture patterns. Archaeological evidence, oral history and historical documents can offer insights into past changes in the climate. Climate change effects have been linked to the collapse of various civilization.⁷ The fourth assessment report of the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change (IPCC 2007) has confirmed many uncertainties about

climate change. The various climate models predict that it is a great problem that cannot be avoided completely. It is now very clear that the anthropogenic green house gases (mostly CO_2) are responsible for weather pattern shifts and global mean temperature rise (UNFCCC, 2007)⁸. The impact of the climate change (as described by the IPCC) will have implications with severe negative externalities on the whole of the state. Sectors dependent on natural resources (ie. vegetation, water resources, rains and land) will be the worst sufferers whereas other sectors will have to adapt the weather pattern shifts and temperature rise.⁹ The analysis of the past trends and current erratic behavior in climate events shows that changes being experienced in the climate of Jharkhand¹⁰ In Jharkhand two issue prominently figure all over the state-the rising temperature and poor power situation. The extreme heat wave which is considered usual phenomena of the summer months has been identified with some unusual features nowadays, which may lead to long term climate changes not just in the state but throughout the east and central India. Complete absence of pre-monsoon system, regular and gradual rise in temperature, unusual high moisture levels and absence of clouds are some of the key factors noted by experts.¹¹ The newly formed centre of excellence in climatology at B. I. T. Mesra and the department of agriculture physics at Birsa Agriculture University have decided to join hands to study the underlying reasons leading to this apparent abnormality. A scientist at the centre of excellence in climatology, Manoj Kumar, said "We are collecting necessary data in the lower atmospheric level to understand the abnormality."¹² Jharkhand has strategic importance in terms of monsoon over rest of the country.

The high temperature is not that abnormal as the moisture content is very high, relative humidity recorded in the morning is around 88-90, whereas by afternoon it is coming down 60%. This range of relative humidity is noticed in the rainy months and we can conclude the despite formation of moisture it is not attaining the suitable height to take shape of cloud and precipitate as rain.¹³ It is evident that maximum annual rainfall (82.2% with the average of 1149.3mm) was received during South

West monsoon reason (June to Sep) and only 6.5% (average amount of rainfall 92.3mm) was received during North East monsoon (Oct to Dec) months in the state. The remaining rain was received in winter (3.7% with average of 52.4mm), from January to Feb and summer (7.5% with average of 104.7mm) from the March to May, respectively. Hence, the state receives maximum of rain during monsoon and only 17.7% of the annual rainfall received during other reasons.¹⁴

Agriculture in Jharkhand is heavily monsoon dependent; majority of state's agriculture production being confined of Kharif season (June-September) as during this period region receive 80-82% of the annual rainfall. Also mono-cropping dominates (40% of the area is under mono crop), the agriculture system as only 6-10% of the agriculture area is supported by irrigation infrastructure. Raising a second crop (rabi season crop Oct-Nov to March-April) in most part of Jharkhand is not possible because of undependable rains during seasons other than monsoon.¹⁵ Lack of irrigation facilities add to the woes of the rural economy and this result in large scale rain fed dependent monoculture that is practiced across the state. The culmination of the constraints is reflected in large scale diversion of rural human resources towards non-agriculture activities. Only 12% of the rural labours make their living from agricultural activities where as 48% of the labours are engaged in non-agriculture casual wage employment. Increase in frequency and severity of extreme weather events like heat wave unexpected rise in temperature in summer months, right from mid March onwards, hail storm (decreased frequency but increased severity) drastic decrease in pre monsoon rainfall and cold wave / frost in winter restricted the agriculture productivity in the state.

Despite being an agrarian state, Jharkhand faces very poorly in terms of irrigation of its agriculture land. Agriculture is although backbone of the rural economy but lack due to of modernization suffers with low productivity.¹⁶ Many wild plants and medicinal plants may go extinct, many scientists have reported that nitrogen oxide in carbon dioxide enriched air reduced the growth of several horticulture species.

Scientists found that, with tomato nitric-oxide reduced the photosynthesis rate by 38% so how can threat of climate change can be reduced.¹⁷ Increase in the mean seasonal temperature can reduce the yield. Climate change through alternations in atmospheric composition can also influence food production directly by its impacts on plant physiology.

Climate change scenario includes higher temperature, change in precipitation and higher atmosphere, CO_2 concentration have a direct effect on growth rate of crops plants and weeds. There are three ways in which the green house effect may be important for agriculture. First increased atmospheric CO_2 concentration can have a direct effect on the growth rate of crop, plants and weeds. Secondly, CO_2 included changes of climate may alter level of temperature, rainfall and sunshine that can influence plant and animal productivity.¹⁸ The fourth assessment report of inter governmental panel on climate change (IPCC 2007) has confirmed many uncertainty about climate change. The various climate change models predict that it is a great problem that cannot be avoided completely. It is very clear that an anthropogenic green house gases (mostly CO_2) are responsible for weather pattern shifts and global mean temperature rise (UNFCCC, 2007) because of increased CHC concentration, the global surface temperature increased about 0.74°C (plus or minus 0.18°C) since the late 19th century and the linear trend for past 50 yrs of 13°C (plus or minus 0.03°C) per-decade in really twice that for the past 100 yrs.¹⁹ Climate change is already apparent in Jharkhand. There is reported rise in average rainfall in parts of the state. This increase is not only undeniably steady but also significant and has potential of changing the agriculture pattern. The rainfall data available for Ranchi region for last five decades clearly indicated the average rainfall has been rising steadily and now the state gets 30% more rainfall than what it was getting in 60s. But the precipitation trends of the state as a whole show a very different trend.

The annual precipitation in the state have gone down significantly, monsoon rains have been the biggest shifts. Although there is an increase

in winter rainfall but the change is not very significant for the agriculture purpose. An increase in winter temperature of 0.05°C could cause 10% reduction in wheat production. Similarly increase in air temperature by 0.3°C above would reduce maize yield. Rise in temperature by 5°C would reduce mustard yield by 20% similarly maximum temperature which has increased in Jharkhand may have adverse effect on rice yield. Appearance of new strains of disease / pests, Beetle in Arhar. Sheeth Blight and Rust in kharif maize Alternaria Blight in Rapeseed – Mustard, Swarming, caterpillar in Rice have been observed in Jharkhand. However, as per the research result increase in both maximum and minimum temperature during the growing period of wheat has been found negatively correlated with yield.²⁰ The impact of agriculture on biodiversity – genetic, species and ecosystem – has emerged as an important environmental issue. Agriculture has the potential to act both as a source and as a sink for several of the atmospheric green house gases that are believed to be responsible for climate change. Agricultural activities relate to green house gas concentration in the following ways (i) soils are an important natural source of and reservoir for carbon (ii) Methane is emitted from livestock and liquid manure (iii) Nitrous oxide is released from nitrogen fertilizers and (iv) Carbon dioxide is released from the burning of fossil fuels in farming activities.²¹

Transportation is responsible for significant release of carbon monoxide nitrogen oxide, carbon dioxide and benzene. In addition to this nitrogen oxides react in sunlight to produce a third pollution ground level ozone in the smog. Transportation also contributes green house gases in form of carbon monoxide, nitrous oxide, sulphur dioxide (SO₂) particulate and chlorofluorocarbons (CFC) the latter from air conditioner leaks and blowing agents used in vehicle manufacturing- for example in Jamshedpur air emissions from transportation are linked directly to health problems in the form of bronchial and lung disorders, urban smog, with its attendant damage to vegetation and human health global warming.²² After the formation of Jharkhand motor vehicles have

increased many fold. Ranchi topped the list of increasing in vehicles registration. Climate change and mining activity in Jharkhand – the vulnerability and risk of mining sector of Jharkhand in light of impending climate change impacts. Generally, climate change effects will be associated with reduced efficiency, increased operation cost and slowing of mining expansion into new areas. Emissions from mining activity is a big source of global CHC emissions. Green house gases (GHGs) emissions from mining are due to the energy used in extracting in minerals. Specific to coal mining, methane emissions take place during the extraction process (fugitive emissions). Since methane's CHC emissions potential is 21 times more than of coal, hence the total emissions from coal mining is huge specific to mining activity in Jharkhand. Initiative have been taken by the Jharkhand state government to enhance and improve the status of forest in the state because Forest are a source as well as store of carbon and other GHS gases.

Abbreviations :

- CHC - Chlorohydro Carbon
- Co₂ - Carbon dioxide
- So₂ - Sulphur dioxide
- CFS₃ - Chlorofluro Sulphure trihydrate
- GHGs - Green House gases

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Situating Persia in Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 and International Diplomacy (1899-1914)

Dr. Kundan Kumar Thakur*

The Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 is an important phenomenon in the field of international diplomacy. The traditional rivals, Britain and Russia, were willing to come to an understanding on Persian affairs for the sake of their “greater interests”¹. For some years prior to 1899, the position acquired by Great Britain was being quietly assailed on all sides by the activities of various foreign powers – Germany, France and notably by Russia, with which we are now concerned.² Owing to the above facts the British Government, for the last seventy years, prior to 1907 was afraid of an invasion of India by Russia. After Napoleon’s death, this fear of Russia had always been the cause of great anxiety of the British foreseeing the prospect of the Russian neighbourhood in Eastern and Southern Persia.³

The British Government’s interest in Afghanistan, Tibet and Persian Gulf was another point of anxiety for both the partners of the agreement. British interests in the Persian Gulf were many. For example, British position in the Persian Gulf was regarded as “vital to the safety of India”. By February 1900 Russia had attempted several times to gain a foothold in the Gulf, but had failed.

Russian warships continued their movement in the Gulf. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, regarded the establishment of a naval base or a “fortified port in the Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to the British interests”⁴ and was “anxious that in the Convention an article should be inserted by which Russia would recognize special interests in the maintenance of the status quo in the Persian Gulf”.⁵

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The German designs to prove herself a power to be felt in the seas and her growing interest in the Middle East added another dimension of compulsion for Great Britain and Russia to reach an agreement. Germany was determined to challenge Great Britain's rule of the seas. In 1898 and 1900 Berlin launched its programme of naval rearmament. The "big navy" policy was the pet child of Admiral von Tirpitz, Secretary of the Navy from 1897 to 1916, who was supported by Kaiser Wilhelm. German determination to penetrate into Middle East alarmed both Russia and Great Britain, especially Great Britain.⁶

Russia's interests in reaching an agreement with Great Britain were manifold. Izvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister (1906-1910), believed in the need for friendship with Great Britain⁷ not only because he felt that Russia was greatly weakened by its war with Japan and the Franco-Russian Alliance, had consequently lost weight as compared with the Triple Alliance but also he suspected that Japan was preparing for a new struggle in the Far East⁸. It was also felt by the Russian foreign diplomats that victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war had made a great impact on the Persian nationalists and, thus, had weakened the Russian grip over the Persian affair.⁹ Great Britain, too, found the time most opportune to exploit the situation for beginning the discussion of a *Convention* with Russia for the protection of the Indian frontiers. Furthermore, the fact that both Russia and Great Britain were linked to France—the former by an alliance of 1897 and the latter by the *Entente cordiale* of 1904—seemed to favour friendly co-operation between St. Petersburg and London.¹⁰

After exchange of several drafts, official negotiations between Great Britain and Russia since June 1906, ground was prepared for the signing of the *Convention* on August 31, 1907 at Petersburg. "While the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 included the world in its embrace, the Anglo-Russian Treaty was confined to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, for it was in the Middle East alone that friction remained, the pact of 1907, though more limited in scope than that of 1904, achieved a similar result by cleaning off the slate, the causes of antagonism between the two historic rivals."¹¹

On September 4, 1907 it was made public at Tehran, and despite its carefully worded assurance of respect, for the integrity and independence of Persia, this famous document produced a most painful impression on the Persian people.¹²

The importance to subsequent history of this much-discussed agreement was such that the parts most vitally affecting Persia were inserted there.

Convention:

His majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, animated by the sincere desire to settle by mutual agreement different questions concerning the interests of their states on the continent of Asia, have determined to conclude agreements destined to prevent all causes of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Russia in regard to the questions referred to, and the nominated for this purpose their respective plenipotentiaries.

His majesty the king of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India, the Honourable Sir Arthure Nicolson, His majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty of the emperor of Russia.

His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the master of his Alexander Izvolsky, minister for foreign affairs, who having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following.

Arrangement Concerning Persia :

The Governments of Great Britain and Russia having mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia, and sincerely desiring the preservation of order throughout that country and its peaceful development, as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the trade industry of all nations;

Considering that each of them has, for geographical and economic reasons a special interest in the maintenance of peace and order in certain provinces of Persia adjoining, or in the neighborhood, the Russian frontier on the one hand, and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Baluchistan on the other hand; and being desirous of avoiding all causes of conflict between their respective interests in the above-mentioned provinces of Persia;

Have agreed on the following terms:

I

Great Britain engages not to seek for herself, and not to support in favour of British subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third powers, any concessions of a political or commercial nature.....such as concessions for railways, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance & C....beyond a line starting from Kasar-i-shirin; passing Isfahan, Yezd, Kakhk, and ending at a point on the Persia frontier at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and not to oppose, directly or indirectly, demands for similar concessions in this region which are supported by the Russian Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Great Britain engages not to seek the concessions referred to.

II

Russia, on her part, engages not to seek herself, and not to support in favour of Russian subjects, or in favour of the subjects of third powers, any concessions of a political or commercial nature-such as concessions for railway, banks, telegraphs, roads, transport, insurance, & C....beyond a line going from the the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman, and ending at Bandar Abbas, and not to oppose directly or indirectly, demands for similar concessions in this region which are supported by the British Government. It is understood that the above-mentioned places are included in the region in which Russia engages not to seek the concession referred to.

III

Russia, on her part, engages not to oppose, without previous arrangement with Great Britain, the grant of any concessions whatever to British subjects in the regions of Persia, situated between the lines mentioned in Article I and II.

Great Britain undertakes a similar engagement as regards the grant of concessions to Russian subjects in the same region of Persia.

All concessions existing at present in the region indicated Articles I and II are maintained.

IV

It is understood that the revenues of all the Persian customs, with the exception of those of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf, revenues guaranteeing the amortisation and the interest of the loans concluded by the Government of the *Shah* with the *Banque 'd' Escompete et des prets de perse* up to the date signature of the present arrangement, shall be directed to the same purpose as in the past.

It is equally understood that the revenues of the Persian customs of Farsistan and of the Persian Gulf as well as those of the fisheries on the Persian shore of the Caspian sea and those of the posts and telegraphs, shall be demoted, as in the past, to the service of the loans concluded by the Government of the *Shah* with the Imperial Bank of Persia upto the date of the signature of the present arrangement.

V

In the event of irregularities occurring in the amortisation or the payment of the interest of the Persian loans concluded with the *Banque 'd' Escompete et des Prets de Perse* and with the Imperial Bank of Persia up to the date of the signature of the present arrangement, and in the event of the necessity arising for Russia to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with first named bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article II of the present arrangement, as for Great Britain to establish control over the sources of revenue guaranteeing the regular service of the loans concluded with the second-name bank, and situated in the region mentioned in Article I of present arrangement, the British and Russian Governments undertake to enter before hand into friendly exchange of ideas with a view to determine, in agreement with each other, the measure of control in question and to avoid all interference which would not be in conformity with the principles governing the present arrangement.

The other clauses of the *Convention* refer to Afghanistan and Tibet.

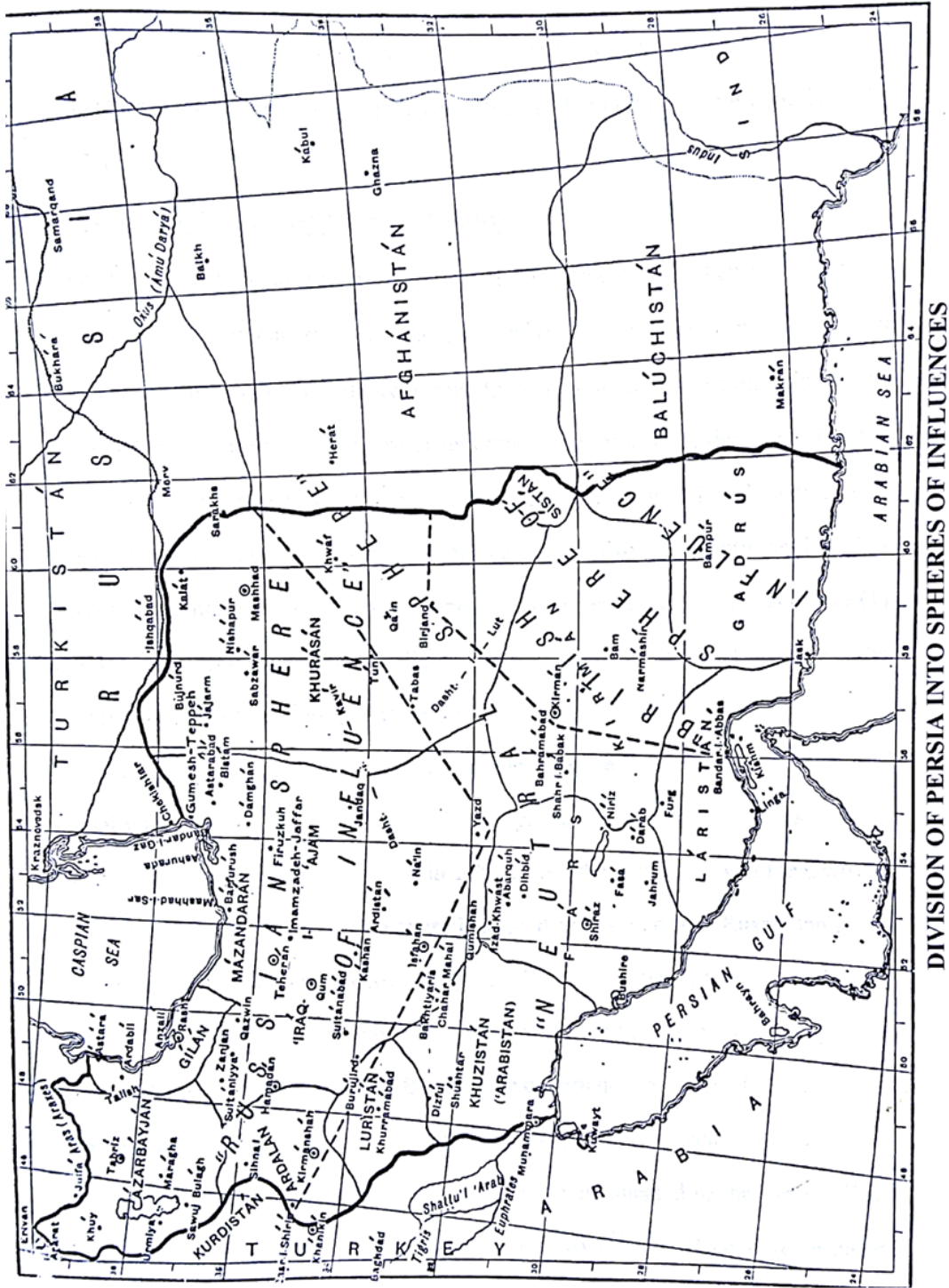
This *Convention* was made purely between Russia and England, and ostensibly to arrange questions concerning their respective "interests" ...all self-created – in Persia, and other countries, as between themselves. To it Persia was not a party, either directly or in any manner. In fact, the

Majlis was in total ignorance of the conclusion of the *Convention* until its unheralded publication in Tehran on September 4th¹³.

Division of Persia into spheres of influence :

The Anglo-Russian Agreement divided Persia into three zones. Although the two countries promised to respect Persian independence, and to uphold the open door, England undertook not to interfere in, or attempt to secure concessions in the North, which became Russia's sphere of influence, while Russia made similar pledges in respect of a smaller area in the South-east, which became the British sphere. The rest of the country was to neutral zone, open to the commerce of both powers. The Russian zone was far larger and richer than the British and included Tehran, the capital of Persia. This was a consequence of the fact that Russia by the time of *Convention* possessed far superior influence in Persia. Russia had already penetrated all the spheres allotted to it and was rapidly expanding into the regions beyond. Its main attraction in 1907, although it was known to be a region of oil fields, the full richness of which became apparent only subsequently. Many Englishmen such as Lord Curzon and Mr. H.F.B. Lynch, who were well acquainted with Persian affairs, sharply criticized the *Convention* even on the floor of the House of Lords. Mr. Lynch, in a very eloquent speech in the House of commons on February 14, 1908 concluded, "Let us hope that this Convention may lead to better relations with Russia, and that she may realize and respect the substantial grounds for our fears. I am afraid that it can scarcely tend to improve our relations with Persia. Persia is the ghost at the feast which we are celebrating with Russia in honour of Convention. While the eating is in progress and the toasts are being exchanged, this small nation-which has contributed so much to the artistic and intellectual wealth of the world, and whose prospects looked at least promising before this Convention was signed... is lying between life and death, parcelled out , almost dismembered, helpless and friendless at our feet".¹⁴ Criticising the Agreement Curzon charged that "we had thrown away the efforts of diplomacy and our trade for more than a century, and handed over to Russia not only the route from Bhaghdad but also the important marts of Isfahan and Yazd"¹⁵.

Situating Persia in Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 and International Diplomacy (1899-1914)



The Anglo-Russian Agreement, in so far it affected Persia, was tantamount to a partition of that unfortunate country and that seems to have been at first the general impression, not only in Persia, but also in England, and the cartoon which appeared in *Punch* on October 2, 1907, fairly represented this impression. The British lion and the Russian bear are represented as mauling between them an unhappy Persian cat, and the lion is saying", you can play with his head, and I can play with his tail, and we can both stroke the small of his back, "while the poor cat moans", I do not remember having been consulted about this."¹⁶. But the *Convention* was favourably received in Russia. The Russian *Duma* welcomed Izvolsky's speech and his mention of the *Convention* amid applause and shouts of "bravo"¹⁷, Judging from what had been demanded by some "Russian imperialists" during the course of negotiations, it may be safely assumed that even in Russia the *Convention* met with some criticism as these imperialists had demanded that Persia should have come entirely under Russian influence¹⁸.

Anglo-Russian Agreement and Persia:

The area in which it proved most difficult to implement the policy of the Anglo-Russian *Convention* was Persia, for it was there that the two powers had the most important economic interests, and there that their representatives right down to the conclusion of the Persian arrangement, were engaged more or less openly on opposing side in the Persian constitutional struggle. Keeping in view their commercial, financial and political involvement, it was practically impossible for them to retreat for a policy of total non-intervention.

The two considerations made for a degree of co-operation between these two powers were (1) If the policy of *détente* was not applied in Persia, the two Governments would eventually be faced with the uncomfortable choice between an open confrontation and a formal partition, (2) If they did not co-operate, it would be impossible to concert their action in defence of their mutual interests against the intrusion of third parties, of whom the one specifically envisaged was Germany. Thus the situation in Tehran and the wider policy of the *Convention* both required a substantial revision of established attitudes, to enable Russia and Great Britain to agree on a common policy towards both sides in the constitutional struggle, just waiting ahead. One more factor

that tied them together for the time being was the appointment of a French financial advisor named Bizot by the Government of Persia. Germany on its parts, too, was attempting from all corners to secure the post for its own nominee.

Unrest in Persia (1908-1909):

Soon after the publication of the Agreement of 1907, the Persian people decidedly resented having their country partitioned. Especially the Persian nationalists received it with disgust. They accused the British of abandoning their cause and of compromising with Russia to partition their country. In fact the *Convention* did, to some extent, inhibit Russian activity in Persia-Izvol'sky, who had no wish to alienate England at the outset, managed to restrain the Russian army from sending troops to Persia to crush the revolutionaries, and did co-operate with England in December 1907 to press the *Shah* to abide by the constitution. But Mohammed Ali Shah, with the active encouragement of the Russian Minister in Tehran, N.G. Hartwig, who could not keep up the spirit of his boss Izvol'sky, remained determined to overthrow the constitution conceded by his father Muzaffar-ud-Din during the revolutionary upheavals of 1906. When he took over as the *Shah* of Persia on January 19, 1907, he was well aware of the fact the Russian camp was opposed to the constitutional Government in Persia. He was very much assured and optimistic of the Anglo-Russian co-operation in his move. Though Great Britain had no such intention to get the constitutional Government of Persia ruined, but Britain was not ready to favour the new order at the cost of Russian antagonism. Thus, Mohammed Ali *Shah* decided to defy¹⁹ and destroy the *Majlis*.²⁰

Coup (1908):

On 15 December, 1907 the *Shah* attempted his first *coup* against the *Majlis* and the nationalist Government. The *Shah* summoned the cabinet to the palace. He arrested a group of envoys sent by the *Majlis* to negotiate with him and sent into exile the liberal Prime Minister Naser-UI-Mulk with the help of Persian *Cossack brigade*, a body of 1200 to 1800 Persians, commanded by the Russian army, which also allowed and incited a reactionary mob of hired ruffians, mostly muleteers and grooms.²¹ Meanwhile the *Shah's* hired ruffians started a disturbance in the "Gun

Square", in the Central part of Tehran and began an agitation against the *Majlis*.²² No adequate steps were taken, however, to occupy Baharistan-the building where the deputies held their sessions. So, when the *Majlis* sat as usual on the following day, being acquainted with the intension of the *Shah* to storm and ruin the constitutional body, *Majlis* people from all walks of life took up arms and protected all the approaches and entrances of Baharistan. Neither the *Shah's* hired destructive mob nor the *Persian Cossacks* could dare to attack the *Majlis*. As a result, a truce was declared on the December 18, 1907 by the *Shah*, after receiving visits from the French the Turkish Ambassadors. The *Shah* agreed to send in exile and dismiss some of his court favourites and Minister, to punish the ruffians, to bring the *Cossack Brigade* and other royal troops under the Ministry of War, and again to send to the *Majlis* a solemn, sealed oath to obey the constitution. On December 20, 1907 after order had been restored, a new cabinet was proposed by the *Shah*, with Nizam-us-Saltana as Prime Minister. The *Majlis* continued in its conciliatory attitude towards the *Shah*, but fresh incidents continued to arise.²³

Towards the end of May, 1908, each party had formulated certain demands upon the other, and it was agreed that both the Royalists and the Constitutionals should act simultaneously in complying with them. On June 1, therefore, the *Shah* reluctantly dismissed a number of his reactionary courtiers, the one most hated by the people, Amir Bahadur Jang, taking refuge in the Russian Legation.

On the following day began the open intervention of the Russian and British Legation which so directly contributed to the overthrow of the *Majlis* and the bombardment of the Baharistan by the *Cossack Brigade* just three weeks later,²⁴ when on June 23rd over 1000 cossacks and other troops surrounded the *Majlis*, opened fire killing a number of nationalists.²⁵

Riots and Revolts:

Meanwhile riots had broken out in the provinces, principally at Resht, Kirman, Iafahan and Tabriz-from which latter place the deposition of the *Shah* was announced, and from where a force of 300 horsemen was dispatched to Teheran to defend the Constitution.

The prospects at this time for the restoration of constitutional Government were decidedly poor, and it is little wonder that the Persian people in Teheran felt that their last hope had gone.²⁶ At Tabriz, the next important city in Persia after the capital, street fighting broke out between the Nationalists and the Royalists on the very day that Colonel Liakhoff was bombarding the *Majlis* at Tehran.

In October, 1908, it began to be rumoured that Russia intended sending troops to intervene at Tabriz, on the ground that the Russian council considered that there was serious and imminent danger to Europeans. During this period the Russian consul general, Mons Pokhitonoff, was found to be intriguing with the Royalists to supply them with arm and ammunition. The Nationalist forces were careful to respect foreign lives and property, and there is ample testimony from Europeans to the effect that a remarkable degree of order was maintained under the local constitutional Government. In the latter part of November 1908 despite the arrival of the *Cossacks* and guns to reinforce the besiegers of the city, the Tabriz Nationalists continued to win victories. Thus time was given to the Nationalists in other provincial centres to formulate their plans, and during the next four months they succeeded in gaining control also of Resht, Isfahan, Lar and later at Shiraz, Hamadan, Meshed, Asterabad, Bandar-i-Abbas, and Bushire.²⁷

On January 5, 1909, two chiefs of the Bankhtiyari Tribesmen, the Samsamu's-Saltana and the Zarghamu's-Saltana, with 1,000 of their men, were in possession of the city of Isfahan, and the so-called Royal troops were dispersed. The Bakhtiyaris had decided to side with the Nationalists. At Resht, in the north, the Nationalist movement was aided by that remarkable personage, the Sipahdar-i-Azam, who, a few months before, had been in command of the Shah's forces besieging Tabriz.²⁸

On April 29 a Russian force, composed of four squadrons of *Cossacks*, three battalions of infantry, two batteries of artillery, and a company of sappers, arrived outside Tabriz and entered the city on the following day. The Russian Government gave the most explicit assurances that the troops would remain only so long as might be necessary to guarantee the security of the lives and property of foreign consulates and their subjects, and that they would abstain from taking part in the political conflict.

As a result of a strong note presented to the *Shah* by the Russian and British Legations on April 22 the *Shah*, on May 10, again solemnly promised to restore and observe the Constitution, but the Nationalist leaders and the people had by this time lost all confidence in his pledges.²⁹

Refuge and Abdication of the Shah:

On July 16, 1909 at 8.30 a.m. the *Shah*, with a large body of his soldiers and attendants, took refuge in the Russian Legation in Zargundeh, few miles outside the city, and thus abdicated his throne. He had previously obtained the consent of the Legation to his doing this. Both Russian and British flags were hoisted over the Russian Minister's house as soon as it was occupied by the *Shah*. In the meantime, Colonel Liakhoff had practically surrendered to the Nationalist leaders, and had formally accepted service under the new Government, agreeing to act under the direct orders of the Minister of War. Later the same evening an extraordinary meeting took place at the Baharistan grounds, and the *Shah* was formally deposed. His son, Sultan Ahmad Mirza, aged twelve, was proclaimed his successor, and Azadu-ul-Mulk, the venerable head of the Qajar family, was declared Regent.

Thus, on July 16, 1909, the apparently lost cause of Constitutionalism in Persia had been suddenly revived, and by a display of courage, patriotism, and skill by the soldiers of the people, their hopes for a representative Government had been resorted, almost overnight. The grant of asylum to Mohammed Ali *Shah* by Russia, the Russo-British pressure which compelled the national Government of Persia to grant a pension to the deposed *Shah*, and protection effected to him by Russian and British-Indian army in his safe exit from Persia.

Conclusions:

First, the Anglo-Russian Convention and the so called economic spheres of interests of Britain and Russia in Persia, was a political partition rather than an economic one.³⁰ Second, the two powers committed great injustice with the Persian nation.³¹ Third, for their imperialistic designs in Asia, they violated their own assurances regarding the non-interference in the internal affairs of Persia.³² Fourth, apart from any considerations relating to the balance of power in Europe, the British Government regarded the Russian understanding as both necessary and advantageous

for their whole future in Asia.³³ Finally, we may add here that the British Government was ready to make compromises with Russia, even a pro-German combination on the part of Russia in Europe, for the defence of her Indian empire.³⁴

The happenings in Persia from 1907 to 1910 and the Anglo-Russian relations in the light of the working of Anglo-Persian Agreement did not create enthusiasm in the British foreign office as far as the British Indian interests were concerned. The British Indian foreign department thought it a kind of surrender to the Russians for no gain, rather this 'surrender' had drawn the Russian invasion of India nearer.³⁵ They were of the opinion that for the same reasons that were the cause of Japan's victory over Russia, England has made Russia victorious over herself. Letter of Sir E. Grey to Mr. Nicolson, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg too acknowledged this in the following words:

"Russian conduct in Persia was not different from what it had been before to Anglo-Russian Agreement, the trouble was now that this conduct was held to concern us in a way that it had not been done before. In previous days British Government had not been held responsible for Russian dealings with Persia, all they had been required to do was to guard against the defence of India being prejudiced by what happened in Persia. There was constant trouble in the house of commons and sometimes it seemed as if the Agreement would end by making matters worse between Britain and Russia. The Russian view of the situation was that as long as they kept to their own sphere and we were secure on the Indian side they ought not to be worried."³⁶

There were, however, areas in which traditional Anglo-Russian rivalry reappeared. At times the Anglo-Russian friendship was considerably ruffled. This was due in no small degree to the Russian understanding with Germany in regard to the Teheran-Khannaqin railway, which constituted the heart of the Potsdam Agreement, signed on August 19, 1911. By this agreement Russia formally bound itself not to obstruct the Baghdad Railway, while Germany admitted Russian's special interests in Persia. Russia was to obtain the concession for the Teheran-Khannaqin line from the Persian Government. Then it was to begin work on the line within two years and to complete it within four years of the opening of the branch planned to join Khannaqin with Baghdad. While the

negotiations for the agreement were progressing, Sir Edward Grey expressed his disappointment by saying that Great Britain had no legal title to protest against German control of the proposed line but that such control would give Germany financial and political influence in Persia and added, "Germany is strengthened, England weakened. But I make no reproaches. I only ask Russia to keep exclusive control of the line in Persia. A Turkish army under German Officers with the use of a railway to Teheran would be a danger. Germany must not have privileges in the Russian sphere which England did not get in 1907".³⁷

Russia, however, was undisturbed, Sazonov took the view that the project would probably take ten to fifteen years to complete and he, therefore could not see the danger of German influence in the immediate future and thus Russia had plenty of time to take measures for her definitive control of the Persian markets. To this end, Russia pressed for a concession for a railway to link Tabriz via Julfa. By 1907 Tabriz had been joined to Erivan and Tiflis. On February 6, 1913, the concession was granted, and Russian advanced Rs. 200,000 to Persia. Faced with Sir Edward Grey's complaint that the Government of 'Ala' al-Saltanah had favoured Russia over Great Britain, Persia three days later, granted to a British Syndicate a concession for a railway from Mohammarah to Khoramabad. The increasing rivalry and friction between Britain and Russia suggested that there might be a revival of the antagonism that had characterized their relations prior to the 1907 Convention. But this was not to be. The outbreak of the First World War found them fighting on the same side.

Thus, in 1914, when the First World War (1914-18) broke out, Persia was nominally independent. A sort of Russo-British condominium had been established even after the repeated British Indian Government's appeal to its foreign office in Great Britain and lengthy debates in the House of Commons to keep Russians away from concentrating in Persia.³⁸ Sir Edward Grey diverted the attention of the House towards the so-called 'spirit of the Agreement'. He pleaded in 1912 that the real object of the Agreement was that the two powers should not disturb their interests and their frontier in Asia had been achieved. So long as the Indian frontier was safe, he was ready to allow Russia to follow her desired policy in Persia.³⁹ By 1914, Persia was really run by the British and Russian

Legations. A large number of the Russian troops were stationed in northern Persia. The oil-fields in southern Persia were being guarded by British-Indian troops. Persia had only two efficient military forces. One was the *Cossack Brigade*, Commanded by Russian Officers, while the other was, *Swedish Gendarmerie* with Swedish Officers.⁴⁰ Both were subject to foreign influence. The Persian troops which were commanded by native officers only, were of no military use. And there was no Navy.⁴¹ Under these conditions the *Shah* of Persia announced on November 1, 1914, by a *Firman* that Persia would be neutral in the War.⁴² But the Persian neutrality meant little and could not deter the big powers using the country as a field for military operations.⁴³

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गोदना : झारखण्ड की अंग-लेखन प्रथा - एक परिचय

गीता ओझा*

कला एवं चित्रकारी हमारे मन एवं सौन्दर्य बोध को हमेशा आकृष्ट करती है। हम अपनी शारीरिक तथा मानसिक तृप्ति के साथ-साथ अपने शरीर को सुसज्जित सुन्दर बनाने का प्रयास भी करते हैं। इसी प्रयास के अन्तर्गत हम कभी वस्त्र, स्वर्णादि आभूषण से तो कभी फुलों से अपने शरीर को सजाते हैं। मानव का सौन्दर्य के प्रति एक स्वाभाविक आकर्षण है। प्रकृति प्रदत्त उपादानों से अपने को सजाना आदिवासी काल की प्रमुख विशेषता रही है। कभी-कभी ये सजावट के लिये चित्रकारी की सहायता लेते हैं, और इस चित्रकारी का कैनवस हमारा शरीर होता है। आरंभिक आदिम अवस्था में मानव श्रृंगार के लिये इन वनस्पतियों के किसी भाग जैसे फूल, पत्तियों, जड़े या उनकी छाल को या तो अपने पास सुरक्षा हेतु रखे होंगे या अपने शारीरिक अंगों पर बांध कर रखते होंगे। परन्तु यह श्रृंगार अस्थायी होते थे। कालान्तर में उन्हें स्थायी बनाने की प्रक्रिया अपनाई गई, इसी प्रक्रिया को गोदना कहते हैं। गोदने को अंग्रेजी में *Tattooing* कहते हैं।¹ यह स्थायी तथा अलौकिक श्रृंगार है। स्थायी, एक-रंगी गोदना का दायरा झारखण्ड की अनुसूचित जाति-जनजाति वर्ग में, विशेष कर ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित है। गोदना भारत की प्राचीनतम, आदिम मानव कला मानी जाती है। मान्यता है कि गोदना ई०पू० 12,000 साल से प्रचलित परन्तु यह तिथि विवादास्पद है। अधिकांश जनजातियों के लोगों का विश्वास है कि गोदना एक ऐसा श्रृंगार है जो बाल्यकाल से मृत्यु तक साथ रहता है और मरने के बाद आत्मा के साथ परलोक चला जाता है।² गोदना कला की उत्पत्ति प्राचीन काल में उस समय ही हो गई थी जब मानव शैलाश्रयों में रहता था। उस काल में कन्द, मूल, फल एकत्र करते हुए उसे अनेक संकटों का सामना करना पड़ता था। इन विषम परिस्थितियों में मानव ने अनेक अंधविश्वासों की रचना कर ली थी। इन सब के संयुक्त प्रभाव से परा शक्तियों में विश्वास एवं आस्था ने जन्म लिया। अपनी हर व्याधि एवं कष्ट के लिये वे इन्हीं अदृश्य पराशक्तियों के कोप को उत्तरदायी मानने लगे। वे दुष्ट आत्माओं, दैवी प्रकोप और जादू पर विश्वास करने लगे और इन सबसे रक्षार्थ उन्हें अनुकूल जादू

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की आवश्यकता प्रतीत हुई। अतः आदिम मानव का सम्पूर्ण मनोविज्ञान जादू के इर्द-गिर्द विकसित होने लगा। उनका प्रकृति एवं अपने पर्यावरण से घनिष्ठ संबंध था, इस कारण से उसने अपने परिवेश में विद्यमान ऐसे वृक्षों और पौधों की अनुभव से पहचान कर ली, इन वनस्पति से वे उपचार तो करते ही थे साथ ही वे प्रतिकूल अभिचार के विरुद्ध इनका अनुकूल सुरक्षात्मक व्यवहार हेतु भी प्रयोग करते थे।³ ऐसी मान्यता बन गई कि गोदना केवल श्रृंगार के लिये ही प्रयोग नहीं किया जाता था, बल्कि प्रतीक और अन्य चिन्ह अप्राकृतिक तत्वों से मुश्किल की घड़ी में सुरक्षा का भी काम करता था, ना सिर्फ जीवन काल में बल्कि जीवन के बाद भी इसका प्रभाव मानते थे।⁴ इस तरह कुछ पौराणिक कथा, मिथक अथवा काल्पनिक कथा और कुछ इतिहास के अनुसार गोदना एक अत्यन्त प्राचीन कला है जिसका पहला प्रमाण भारहूत (Bharahut) में 200 ई0पू0 में महिला के हाथ, पैर और चेहरे पर अंकित हुआ मिलता है मानव के इतिहास से इस बात के प्रमाण मिलते हैं कि गोदना का प्रयोग विभिन्न उद्देश्यों के लिये किया जाता था जैसे विभिन्न धार्मिक संस्कारों, रिवाजों में धार्मिक एवं आध्यात्मिक श्रद्धा के प्रतीक के रूप में, सामाजिक स्थिति एवं पद के चिन्ह के रूप में, सजावट एवं साहस के चिन्ह के रूप में।⁵

भारत में गोदना प्राचीन कला के रूप में युग-युग से प्रचलित है। आदिम जाति व समाज में तो यह हमेशा से ही प्रचलित रहा है। भारतीय गोदना अपने आप में विशिष्ट है तथा अपने अंदर सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, धार्मिक व सामुदायिक परिचय के तत्व छुपाए हुए हैं। गोदना यहाँ के इतिहास के साथ-साथ जन्म-मृत्यु की अवधारणाओं को भी उजागर करता है।

जनजातियों में गोदना

झारखण्ड की जनजातियों में गोदना एक परम्परा के रूप में प्रचलित है। अलग-अलग जनजाति में कुछ खास प्रकार के गोदना की रश्म होती है, नक्शाकारी होती है। इनकी लोक-मान्यता तथा विश्वास अलग-अलग होते हैं।

आदिवासी समाज में गोदना पुरुष और स्त्री दोनों गुदवाते हैं। किन्तु गोदना मुख्य रूप से स्त्रियों के शरीर पर अंकित किए जाते हैं। बहुत से गोदना का अभिप्राय प्रजनन एवं जादू के उद्देश्य से सम्बन्धित है। इनका उद्देश्य प्रजनन शक्ति को बढ़ावा देना है तथा दुष्ट आत्माओं से उनकी सुरक्षा करता है, जो लोग गोदने को शारीरिक सौन्दर्य हेतु प्रयोग किया जाना मानते हैं प्रारंभ में ऐसी बात नहीं थी। कभी-कभी तो चेहरे पर अंकित किए जाने वाले गोदने के कारण सुन्दर लगने के बजाय नारी कुरूप लगने लगती है। उदाहरण के लिए अबूझ माड़िया स्त्रियाँ, चेहरे पर आड़ी और खड़ी समानान्तर रेखाएं तथा बिन्दु गुदवायी है, जो

किसी भी रूप में सुन्दर नहीं कहे जा सकते हैं। बेंगा तथा कौंध स्त्रियाँ भी अपने चेहरों पर गोदना गुदवाती है जो कदापि सुन्दर नहीं लगते, नागा स्त्रियाँ मस्तक और टुडी पर सीधी लकीरे गुदवाती है और वे इन गोदनों के कारण कुरूप लगती है।⁶ पूर्व में इस क्षेत्र की महिलाओं के प्रति कई बार कतिपय अत्याचारी राजाओं तथा शासकवर्ग का विचार अच्छा नहीं होता था, अतः अपने रूप को कम करने के विचार से चेहरे तथा शरीर के दूसरे अंगों पर भी गोदना का प्रचलन शुरू हुआ। बाद में तो यह खूब लोकप्रिय हो गया। इसकी लोकप्रियता के और भी कारण हैं। पहले बीमारियों को देवी प्रकोप माना जाता था। अतः रोगों से बचने के लिए बच्चों को टीके के स्थान पर गोदना लगवाया जाता है। कुछ धार्मिक अभिप्राय शरीर में प्रतिष्ठित करने के उद्देश्य से गुदवाये जाते हैं। कुछ लोग सम्पूर्ण शरीर पर राम-राम गुदवाते हैं और इस प्रकार से राम को अपने शरीर में प्रतिष्ठित करते हैं। कुछ लोग हनुमान एवं कृष्ण को अपनी भुजा पर गुदवा कर उनको अपने शरीर में प्रतिष्ठित करते हैं।

आदिवासी स्त्रियों में गोदने का विशेष प्रचलन है। स्त्रियों में गोदना युवावस्था शुरू होने के लक्षणों के बाद और विवाह से पूर्व गुदवाये जाते हैं, विश्व के अनेक आदिवासियों में गोदना गुदवाने का यही समय होता है। परंतु कुछ जनजातियों में गोदना विवाह पूर्व भी गुदवाये जाते हैं। गोदना के संबंध में जनजातियों में भिन्न मान्यताएं हैं। पुरुषों की अपेक्षा स्त्रियों में गोदने का प्रचलन ज्यादा है। परंतु कुछ आदिवासी केवल पुरुषों में तथा कुछ केवल स्त्रियों में गोदना गोदवाते हैं।⁷ स्त्रियों के लिये गोदना सौभाग्य और मातृत्व के प्रतीक के रूप में देखा जाता है। भारत ही नहीं पूरे विश्व में शायद ही ऐसी कोई जनजाति हो जिसमें गोदना का प्रचलन किसी न किसी रूप में न हो। उनमें गोदना के बिना कोई स्त्री पूर्ण नहीं मानी जाती। यह हिन्दु धर्म की स्त्रियों के लिए एक प्रमुख धार्मिक अनुष्ठान है।

यह एक शाश्वत प्रक्रिया है जो सभी युगों में पायी जाती है, सिर्फ पद्धति या सामग्री बदल जाती है। झारखण्ड में निवास करनेवाली कमोबेश सभी अनुसूचित जातियों तथा जन-जातियों में गोदना का प्रचलन था और है। यह कहीं सामाजिक स्थिति के चलते, कहीं अलंकार सज्जा के रूप में था, तो कहीं अंधविश्वास या चिकित्सकीय विधान के रूप में।⁸

झारखण्ड के 32 अनुसूचित जनजातियाँ हैं। इन सब में गोदना एक पारम्परिक रस्म के रूप में प्रचलित है। शहरी क्षेत्र में इसका प्रभाव कम होने के बावजूद ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के जनजाति समुदाय में शहरी क्षेत्र के मुकाबले गोदना का प्रचलन अब भी बना हुआ है। अब भी गोदना चित्रकार जब ग्रामीण हाट बाजार में पहुँचते हैं तो स्थायी अलंकार धारण करने के शौकीन या सामाजिक मान्यताओं से बंधो कुछेक जनजाति नर-नारी उनके पास पहुँचते हैं और शौक से गोदना चित्रकारी बनवाते हैं।⁹

वैसे तो झारखण्ड की विभिन्न जनजातियों में गोदना के विषय में अलग-अलग विश्वास एवं मान्यताएँ हैं, पर निम्नांकित मान्यताएँ ध्यान देने योग्य हैं :-

संताल झारखण्ड की जनजाति आबादी में सबसे अधिक है और गोदना इस आदिवासी समाज का एक प्रचलित सामाजिक नियम है। संताल भाषा में गोदना को 'खोदा' कहा जाता है। साधारणतः सात-आठ से सतरह-अठारह वर्ष की अवस्था के बीच युवतियाँ अपने हाथों, बांहों एवं शरीर के विभिन्न अंगों में गोदना (खोदा) गुदवाती है जबकि इसी उम्र के युवक 'सिंगा' (एक प्रकार का गोदना), जिसमें चमड़े के छोटे अंश को गोलाकार जला दिया जाता है, करवाते हैं।

संताल लोगों की मान्यता है कि गोदना (सिंगा व खोदा) न लो तो परलोक में बड़े-बड़े कीड़े गोद में दिये जायेंगे, जो बुरी तरह काट खाते हैं।

'हो' श्रृंगारप्रिय जाति है। वे अपने को सुसज्जित करना पसन्द करते हैं, और आभूषण की कद्र करना भी जानते हैं। वे इसे स्थाई आभूषण के तौर पर गुदवाते हैं। एक समय था जब गाँव के बाजार में गोदने वाले आते थे तो पुरुष व स्त्री सभी गोदना गोदवाने हेतु भीड़ लगाते थे। इनके डिजाईन पुराने परम्परागत होते हैं। गोदना को हो समाज में आवश्यक माना जाता है।

हो जनजाति के लोगों की मान्यता है कि गोदना पवित्रता का सूचक चिन्ह है। गोदना स्त्रियों के ललाट पर शुभ तथा पुरुषों के वक्ष पर कल्याणकारी माना जाता है। इसका न रहना अशुभ समझा जाता है। उनका विश्वास है कि इन्हीं चिन्हों से व्यक्ति की आत्मा पहचानी जाती है। अतः इस रीति के विरुद्ध चलने वालों को अविश्वास की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है।

बिरहोर लोग अपने हाथ पैर में गोदना गोदवाते हैं परन्तु ये लोग माथे में नहीं गोदवाते हैं। खड़िया की तीन उपजातियाँ हैं - पहाड़ी खड़िया, दूध खड़िया एवं ढेलकी खड़िया। इनमें से दूध खड़िया का निवास झारखण्ड में है। खड़िया में गोदना गोदवाने की रीति काफी लोकप्रिय है। बालकों में दस-बारह वर्ष की उम्र में गोदना के माध्यम से 'I' का निशान लगवाया जाता है जो उनके जातीय परिचय का सूचक है।

गोण्ड जनजाति के लोग भी अपने शरीर को मात्र अलंकरण हेतु गोदना गोदवाकर सुसज्जित करते हैं।

खड़िया लोगों का मानना है कि गोदना कर लिखा गया निशान 'I' बालक के साहस का भी परिचय देता है जबकि लड़कियों में गोदना का चिन्ह उनके समाज में पदार्पण या वयः

प्राप्ति का संकेतक माना जाता है। खड़िया जाति की स्त्रियां तीन खड़ी लकीर गुदवाती है।

बैगा जनजाति में गोदना से शरीर सुसज्जित कराने का शौक महिलाओं में विशेष रूप से देखा जाता है, पुरुषों में यह शौक कम है। इनके गोदना चित्र आभूषण तथा सज्जा से संबंधित है। कहीं-कहीं गोदना चिन्ह गोत्र से संबंधित जीव जन्तु का दैवी शक्ति से ओतप्रोत होते हैं जो कि उस विशेष जानवर से उनकी रक्षा करते हैं बैगा जाति के गोदना को कामवासना का प्रकाशक तथा उत्प्रेरक भी माना जाता है, बैगा पुरुष की नजरों में, गोदना से सुसज्जित महिला, आकर्षक और सुन्दर होती है।

बैगा जनजाति में गोदना बहुत ही लोकप्रिय है। बैगा जनजाति में मान्यता है कि गोदना गोदवाने पर बैगा महिला ज्यादा आकर्षक लगती है। उनका मानना है कि शरीर में गोदना गोंदकर अंकित किए गये आभूषण मृत्यु के बाद भी मृतक की सम्पत्ति होते हैं जिसका वे विक्रय भी कर सकते हैं। उनका विश्वास है कि भगवान सब कुछ ले लेते हैं परन्तु पीठ पर घाँघा अंकित रहने पर भगवान पुनः जन्म ले रही आत्मा के शरीर पर यह चिन्ह अंकित कर देते हैं।¹⁰ बैगा में यह भी विश्वास है कि व्याधि से ग्रस्त अंग पर गोदना चिन्ह रोग के प्रकोप को कम करने में भी लाभदायक है। तथा प्रदाह को कम करता है। बैगा जनजाति संसार में सबसे अधिक गोदना प्रिय है। बैगा स्त्रियाँ गोदना को स्वर्गिक अलंकरण मानती है। शरीर का ऐसा कोई हिस्सा नहीं होता है जहाँ स्त्रियाँ गोदना न गुदवाती हों। बैगा स्त्रियाँ की मान्यता है कि स्वर्ग में ये गोदना ही बैगाओं की पहचान कायम करते हैं। यदि कोई स्त्री धरती पर गोदना नहीं गुदवाती है तो भगवान के सामने सब्बल से गोदना पड़ता है।¹¹ बैगाओं में गोदना की सामाजिक मान्यता भी है। बैगाओं में किसी लड़की के हाथ और सीने पर तब तक गोदा नहीं जाता है जब तक की वह किशोरावस्था नहीं प्राप्त कर लेती है ओर पिण्डलियों को तब तक नहीं गोदा जाता जब तक उसका विवाह नहीं हो जाता।¹² बैगा समाज में गुदना गुदवाने वाली स्त्री की विशेष प्रतिष्ठा मानी जाती है। अधिक गोदनावाली स्त्री को परिवार की सम्पन्नता का प्रतीक माना जाता है। बैगा समाज में लड़कियाँ प्रायः आठ वर्ष की आयु से गोदना गुदवाना शुरू करती है और विवाह के बाद तक गुदवाती रहती है।

बैगा स्त्रियों में सारे गुदने एक साथ नहीं गुदवाये जाते हैं। इनमें सबसे पहले कपाल पर गोदना गुदवाया जाता है। इसके बाद पीठ, जाँघ, पिण्डलियों और फिर छाती पर गुदने गुदवाये जाते हैं। कमर के नीचे गोदने का प्रचलन कम ही आदिवासियों में देखने को मिलता है। बैगाओं के अलावा यह परम्परा केवल टोडा आदिवासियों में देखी जाती है, जिन्हें घुटने के नीचे गोदा जाता है।¹³ परन्तु गोंडा आदिवासियों में भी पैरों पर गोदने के उदाहरण प्राप्त होते हैं। बैगा में यह भी विश्वास है कि व्याधि से ग्रस्त अंग

पर गोदना चिन्ह रोग के प्रकोप को कम करने में लाभदायक है तथा प्रदाह को कम करता है। बेंगा महिलाओं का मानना है कि गोदना उनको न केवल स्थायी आभूषण प्रदान करता है बल्कि अपने पुरुषों के निकट अधिक आकर्षक रूप में पहचान भी कराता है। अतः गोदना कराने के लिये हर कष्ट को वे सह लेती है।¹⁴ गोंड और बेंगा स्त्रियाँ अपने पैर के तलवे पर एक त्रिभुजाकार आकृति के रूप में देवी का अभिप्राय गुदवाती है और दाहिने पैर के तलवे पर अंडाकार आकृति में पद्म सेन देव गुदवाती है। इन अभिप्रायों का उद्देश्य पैरों की सुरक्षा करना है। पैरों की पाँचों अंगुलियों पर एक-एक बिन्दी गुदवाई जाती है और ये सभी मिलकर गजकरण देव का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। गजकरण देव हाथी का प्रतीक है। जिनका निवास श्मशान में है। इस अभिप्राय को गुदवाने का उद्देश्य पैरों को इतना शक्तिशाली बनाना है कि वे भारी वजन को भी सुन्दर स्थानों तक ढोकर ले जा सके। पैरों के पीछे की ओर बेंगा बेंगिन (सिरहा युगल) की आकृतियाँ अंकित की जाती है। ये आकृतियाँ ओझा या जादूगर दम्पति की है जो दुष्ट आत्माओं और विरोधी व्याभिचार से सुरक्षा प्रदान करती है।¹⁵ बेंगा पुरुषों में कभी-कभार गोदना देखा जाता है। सामान्यतः हथेली के पीछे चन्द्रमा तथा हाथ पर बिच्छू की आकृति बनाई जाती है। कभी-कभी बात से ग्रस्त अंग पर रोग के प्रकोप से बचने के लिये भी गोदना बनवाए जाते हैं।

उराँव एवं मुण्डा जनजाति की महिलाओं के लिये गोदना अनिवार्य होता है ऐसी इनकी पारम्परिक मान्यता है। उराँव जाति की स्त्रियाँ ललाट पर निर्धारित आकृति एवं आकार का गोदना बनवाती है। गोदना के रूप में क्रस का चिन्हा भी देखा जाता है। मुण्डा जाति की स्त्रियाँ भी ललाट पर गोदना बनवाती है। लेकिन ये बहुत कम संख्या में है। इनके अलावा ये शरीर के अन्य अंग जैसे हाथ, पैर, छाती, इत्यादि पर भी शरीर की शोभा बढ़ाने के लिये गोदना गोदवाती है। उराँव व मुण्डा जनजाति में पाँच-छः साल की बच्चियों को नियमानुसार गोदना गोदवाया जाता है। वयस्क होने के बाद वे अपनी इच्छानुसार गोदना गोदवाती है।

मुण्डा जाति के बालकों में किशोर वयः प्राप्ति के अवसर पर गोदना जैसा एक रिवाज होता था जिसमें नये सदस्य को दागा जाता था जिसे सिंगा कहते हैं।¹⁶ घौंधा मात्र 6 बिन्दु बनाकर उन्हें रेखाओं से जोड़ दिया जाता है।

कुछ आकृतियाँ सभी जनजाति में समान रूप से प्रचलित है परंतु उनकी पहचान अलग-अलग नामों से की जाती है।

गोदना का अभिप्राय यर्थाथवादी है जिसमें कुछ तो वास्तुशिल्पीय है। इनके अभिप्रायों

में गूढ़ रहस्य भी निहित होते हैं। इन अभिप्रायों में आदिवासियों का पर्यावरण अभिव्यक्त होता है जिन जीव जन्तु प्राणी एवं वनस्पति के बीच वे रहते हैं, कृषि एवं उनसे संबंधित औजार, पशुपालन भी इनमें अभिव्यक्त पाते हैं। जैसे घोड़ा देव, जो शक्ति एवं प्रजनन का प्रतीक है। पशु एवं जीव जन्तुओं के अभिप्राय, धान कूटने की उखली व मूसल, चूल्हा, केले का पौधा, बावड़ी एवं कुंए, टोकरी, घड़े तथा धान या चावल तथा कोदो के दाने भी अंकित किये जाते हैं। रामायण की नायिका सीता की दिव्य रसोई तथा राम तथा राम का मुकुट और राम का रथ जैसे अभिप्राय भी कई एक जनजातियों में प्रचलित हैं।¹⁷

गोंडा स्त्रियाँ अपनी पीठ पर भीमसेन की आकृति जैसा गोदना गुदवाती है। वे भोजन के देवता है और उनका अभिप्राय अंकित करवाने पर भोजन पचाने में वे सहायक होते हैं। वक्षस्थल पर बूढ़ा देव को अंकित किया जाता है। गर्दन के चारों ओर गोल घेरों का अंकन नारियों (Pebbles) के रूप में किया जात है। वक्षस्थल के बीच में दो मनुष्याकृतियाँ अंकित की जाती है जो झूलन देवी का प्रतीक है। जंघा के सामने वाले भाग पर अश्व की आकृति अंकित किया जाता है जो शक्ति प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य से प्रेरित है। बाँह पर हनुमान की आकृति अंकित की जाती है। बाँह पर अन्य अभिप्रायों में मुर्गा, पुतरा-पुतरी, अंकित किये जाते हैं ये सभी अभिप्रमाय गोंडा जनजाति के विशिष्ट अभिप्राय हैं।

बैंगा स्त्रियों का गोदना अधिक जटिल, विस्तृत, सघन और अधिक अर्मूत होता है। बैंगा स्त्रियों के मस्तक पर बीचोबीच (v) आकार का गोदना, अंकित किया जाता है जो चूल्हे का अभिप्राय है। इन अभिप्राय के दोनों ओर तीन-तीन गोल बिन्दियाँ बनाई जाती है। इसके अलावा घाट, सीढ़ियों और सांकल भी अंकित किये जाते हैं। सांकल जादुई अवरोधक है, जो दुष्ट आत्मा और विरोधी अभिचार के अवरोधक का काम करता है। इसके अलावा केले के पत्ते, बैल की आँख, खलिहान, टोकरी, मुर्गा-मुर्गी और वक्षस्थल पर मयूर और मयूरी बनाये जाते हैं। बाँह पर मछली के काँटे और पिण्डलियों और जाँघों पर समानान्तर खड़ी रेखाएं और गोल बिंदियाँ जो एक जादुई काली चिड़िया के अंडे के प्रतीक हैं जिन्हें धंधा कहते हैं प्रमुख हैं। मधुमक्खियों के तथा अश्व युगल भी अंकित किये जाते हैं। ऐसी मान्यता है कि मृत्यु के बाद यमराज को धंधा (पहेली) को हल करना पड़ता है अगर वह ऐसा न कर सका तो वह मृतक को वापस भेज देता है। दर असल बैंगा गोदना अत्यन्त जटिल प्रजनन एवं गुढ़ विचार का एक मिथकीय संसार है। जो एक जाल के समान है। ये अभिप्राय सशक्त मिथकीय परम्परा की अभिव्यक्ति को दर्शाते हैं।¹⁸

इसके अलावा बिच्छू यौन का प्रतीक है जो लगभग सभी जनजातियों में लोकप्रिय है जो स्त्रीयाँ अंगूठे के पूर्वभाग पर विवाह के समय या उसके बाद खुदवाती है। सूर्य और चन्द्रमा के अभिप्राय भी गुदवाये जाते हैं जो अनन्तकाल के प्रतीक हैं।¹⁹

झारखण्ड की सभी जनजातियों में कमोबेश गोदना का प्रचलन का इनके अलावा कवर, कोल, आदि जनजातियाँ भी गोदना गोदवाती है।

गोदना के लोकप्रिय डिजाईनों में ज्यामितीय आकृतियाँ, चन्द्र, सूर्य तथा हाथ-पैर के छापे आदि हैं, यह गोदना प्रथा मानवीय भावनाओं, आंकाक्षाओं एवं सौन्दर्य का प्रतीक बन गई है।²⁰

गोदना की उत्पत्ति से जुड़ी कहानियाँ

गोदना की उत्पत्ति से संबंधित अनेक जनजातियों में मिथक कथायें विद्यमान हैं। गोदने से संबंधित कुछ लोक गीत भी कुछ भाषाओं में मिलते हैं। गोदना की उत्पत्ति कैसे हुई यह विशेष चर्चा का विषय है। आदिम ओर आधुनिक दोनों समाजों में प्रचलित इस परम्परा को पोलेनेशिया से जोड़ा जाता है।²¹ गेविसयन इसका उपयोग पद (Status) दिखाने के लिये करते थे, ईजिप्ट की चित्रकला और जापान की कलाकृतियों पर इसके अभिप्राय का मिलना इसके इतिहास को 3000 वर्ष पूर्व ले जाता है।²² आदिम जनजातियों में गोत्र चिन्हों को अपने शरीर पर अंकित करवाने की आवश्यकता महसूस हुई होगी, जिसे शुरु में किसी नुकीले हथियार से शरीर पर काटकर या जलाकर घाव बना दिया जाता था ओर जंगली जड़ी-बूटियों के माध्यम से ठीक किया जाता था।²³ घाव सुखने के पश्चात् आकृतियाँ उभर आती थीं विश्व के अनेक आदिवासियों में अपने गण-चिन्हों (टोटेम) को गोदने के रूप में अपने शरीर पर गोदने की परम्परा रही है। क्रुक महोदय का भी मानना है कि गोदने के कई अभिप्रायों की उत्पत्ति गण-चिन्हों से हुई है।²⁴

झारखण्ड की विभिन्न जनजातियों में भी गोदना, चित्रकारी कला की अपनी खास विशेषताएँ हैं, हर जनजाति में इससे संबंधित खास रश्म रिवाज भी हैं। कुछ जनजातियाँ एक विशेष प्रकार की नक्शाकारी को अपने जाति-समूह की पहचान के रूप में अपनाती हैं। यदि कुछ नहीं तो हाथ में नाम ही गोदवा लेते थे और यह गोदने का कार्य बनजारा वर्ग की एक घुमक्कड़ जनजाति 'मलार' के सदस्य करते हैं। पूर्व से मलार महिलाओं का मुख्य पेशा गोदना ही था। गोदना से संबंधित उनकी एक खास रश्म होती थी – गोदना की सूई की पूजा। अगहन (नवम्बर-दिसम्बर) महीना में मलार गाँव में घुमते हुए माँग कर राशि एकत्र करते हैं। इस प्रकार जो रूपया-पैसा एकत्र होता है उससे वे लोग कशरी (बकरी) खरीदते हैं और पूजा के उपरान्त उस की बलि चढ़ाते हैं तत्पश्चात् गोदना कार्य में पूर्व में उपयोग की गई सूई को उसी दिन बदल दिया जाता है अर्थात् गोदना कार्य में प्रयुक्त होने वाली सभी पाँच-सात सूईयों को जो एक साथ बांध कर

बांस से बने एक विशेष कटोरे में रखी जाती है, साथ में एक बार पूजा कर बदलने का रिवाज है।

गोदना के स्थान को पहले माँ के दूध से साफ किया जाता है। दूध में ही डिबरी के राख को मिलाकर काजल बनाया जाता है फिर दूध और कालिख मिले हुए मिश्रण में सूई को डुबो कर उचित स्थान पर इसे गड़ाया जाता है और इस प्रकार पूर्व निर्धारित डिजाईन के अनुरूप खुबसुरत एवं आकर्षक चिन्ह बनाये जाते हैं। यह थोड़ी पीड़ादायक प्रक्रिया है। गोदना बनाने वाली महिला पूरा जोर लगा-लगा कर सूई को चुभो रही होती है और गोदना बनवाने वाली किशोरी दर्द के साथ इसे बर्दाश्त करती है। यह एक सामाजिक रिवाज है, सांस्कृतिक पाबन्दी है और साथ ही शारीरिक श्रृंगार का सुख भी है, अतः यह दर्द सहर्ष झेल लिया जाता है। गोदना बनाने का काम खतम हो जाता है तो वह तत्क्षण उभरा नजर नहीं आता है। वहाँ से खून का हल्का श्राव होता है, अंग सूज जाते हैं, पीड़ा होती है। अब इस पर हल्दी का लेप चढ़ाया जाता है। सप्ताह दिन बाद गोदने गहराने लगते हैं।²⁵

मुण्डा उराँव लकड़ी के कोयला व तेल का उपयोग करते हैं जबकि बैंगा साँप की चमड़ी सामान्यतः धामी साँप की राख, काला तिल व रामटिला तेल का उपयोग करते हैं। दवा के रूप में हल्दी का उपयोग होता है।

झारखण्ड की लगभग सभी जातियों में गोदना का प्रचलन था। गोदना का क्षेत्र विस्तार सम्पूर्ण झारखण्ड के जनजातियों में था। विशेषकर गाँव देहात में यह एक आवश्यक कर्म माना जाता था। झारखण्ड में मुण्डा, हो, गोंड, उराँव, बैंगा, कुर्मी, करमाली, संथाल आदि में गोदना का प्रचलन था पर स्वाधीन भारत में इनकी आर्थिक, सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक स्थिति पूर्व की अपेक्षा परिवर्तित तथा उन्नत हो गई जिससे गोदना के प्रचलन पर बहुत विपरीत प्रभाव पड़ा।

गोदना के प्रचलन कम होने का प्रभाव इस कला को पेशा के रूप में अपना चुकी मलार जाति पर भी पड़ा है। आधुनिक युग में मलारों की स्थिति ठीक नहीं है। प्रारंभ में ये एक दिन में 15 से 20 आदमी का गोदना कर देते थे, पर अब कोई गोदना करवाना नहीं चाहता है। यह धन्धा लगभग बन्द हो गया, इसी तरह गोदना का प्रचलन लगभग विलुप्त हो चला है फिर भी गाँव देहात में आज भी कम मात्रा में ही सही, यह कला अभी जीवित है पर इसका उपयोग करने वाले या इसमें जुड़ी जाति, वर्ग या व्यक्ति का अध्ययन करने पर यह तथ्य सामने आता है कि पारम्परिक गोदना का अब केवल हिन्दू-सरना जनजातियों में ही प्रचलन है। ईसाई भी गोदना गोदवाते हैं पर बहुत ही कम। गोदनाधारी लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति प्रायः निम्न स्तर की होती है। शिक्षा की दृष्टि से ये शिल्पी

अवनति की ओर हैं तथा अल्पशिक्षित या अशिक्षित लोग ही इससे जुड़े होते हैं। नौकरी पेशा तथा शिक्षा सम्पन्न व्यक्ति अब गोदना से दूर होते जा रहे हैं।

गोदना की उत्पत्ति से कई लोककथाएं जुड़ी हैं

गोंडा जनजाति की यह कथा पूरे भारत में प्रचलित है। एक बार महापुरुष ने सभी देवी देवताओं को आमंत्रित किया था। जब भोज समाप्त हुआ तो सभी अपने-अपने घर लौटने लगे और अपनी अपनी पत्नी को बुलाना चाहा। परंतु सभी देवियाँ एक जैसी दिखाई दे रही थीं और गोंड देवता ने गलती से अपनी पत्नी समझ कर देवी पार्वती के कन्धें पर हाथ रख दिया। देवी पार्वती इस घटना से नाराज हो गई। परन्तु बाद में पता चला कि सभी देवियों के एक जैसे दिखने के कारण ऐसी घटना हुई है। इस पर पार्वती ने एक युक्ति निकाली, उन्होंने सभी आदिवासी देवियों को विभिन्न प्रकार के आकृतियों के गोदने गुदवाने का सुझाव दिया, जिसे सभी देवियों ने मान लिया। देवियों ने अपने शरीर पर अलग-अलग तरह की आकृतियों को गुदवाया जिससे किसी को भी उन्हें पहचानने में परेशानी नहीं हो और इस प्रकार गोंड जनजाति में गोदने का प्रचलन शुरू हो गया।²⁶

गोदने का कार्य अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों में अलग-अलग लोग करते हैं। झारखण्ड में जनजाति समुदाय के गोंडिया अर्थात् मलार जाति की महिलाएँ ही गोदना गोदने का काम करती हैं। गोदना ही इन जाति की स्त्रियों का मुख्य पेशा है। ये लोग ग्रामीण इलाकों में खानाबदोश जीवन यापन करते हैं और गाँव-गाँव घुम कर झारखण्ड की गोदना रूपी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर को बचाये रखने के लिये अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से प्रयत्नशील हैं। मांसपेशियों या हड्डीनुमा स्थान पर गोदना बनाना इन्हें खूब अच्छी तरह आता है। हालांकि इनकी तकनीक खूब विकसित नहीं है।

गोदना बनाने के लिए बहुत से चीजों की आवश्यकता नहीं होती, ना ही कोई रसायन लगता है, ना दर्द निवारक दवा की जरूरत पड़ती है। इसमें एक पत्थर की कटोरी, एक साथ बंधी हुई पाँच या सात सूईयाँ, सूई को रखने के लिए ढक्कन युक्त पात्र, माँ का दूध, डिबरी का काजल ही प्रयोग में लाया जाता है।

एक अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि शरीर में गोदना युक्त नागरिकों में अधिकांशतः महिलाएँ ही हैं। गोदना गोदवाने वालों की आयु 70 वर्ष से ऊपर 31 प्रतिशत है। 60 वर्ष से ऊपर 20 प्रतिशत है। 50 वर्ष से उपर 20 प्रतिशत है, 40 वर्ष से उपर 14 प्रतिशत है, 30 वर्ष से उपर 09 प्रतिशत है, 20 वर्ष से उपर तथा 10 वर्ष से उपर 03 प्रतिशत ही है। स्पष्ट है कि वर्तमान में मात्र तीन प्रतिशत और उससे भी कम महिलाएं गोदना गोदवाती

है। नौकरी पेशा शिक्षित जनजाति महिलाओं में, विशेष कर ईसाई समाज में गोदना का प्रचलन लगभग समाप्त हो गया है। शहरों में भी पूर्ण रूप से समाप्त हैं, गाँवों में ही अभी कुछ उम्मीद बाकी है। पुरुषों पर गोदना के प्रभाव का अध्ययन करने पर यह गाँवों में नगण्य मात्रा में वो भी अशिक्षित या अल्प शिक्षित परिवारों में पाया गया है। ईसाई पुरुषों में यह लगभग लुप्त हो गया है जो पुरुष गोदना करवाते हैं वे रोग निदान संबंधी भ्रम के विश्वास में अथवा परम्परागत सज्जा के शौक में करवाते हैं।

गोदना गोदवाने के पारम्परिक तरीके को वर्तमान चिकित्सा शास्त्र की कसौटी पर, जाँचने पर, पता चलता है कि यह शत-प्रतिशत असुरक्षित पद्धति से किया जाता है। इससे सेप्टिक होने की संभावना होती है रक्त वाही रोग होते हैं जैसे हेपाटाइटिस बी, एच0आई0बी0 आदि। इनके संक्रमण की सम्भावना को देखते हुए गोदना की पारम्परिक पद्धति बिल्कुल असुरक्षित है।

गोदना का प्रचलन जनजातीय समाज में आदिकाल से और जनजातियों की लगभग सभी जातियों, उपजातियों से संबंधित है। परंतु आज आधुनिकता के प्रभाव तथा अन्य धर्मों की धार्मिक मान्यताओं के कारण धर्मान्तरित जनजातियों में गोदना का प्रचलन समाप्त होता जा रहा है। गोदना कला को यदि जीवित रखना है तो इसके शिल्पियों के संरक्षण एवं प्रोत्साहन हेतु ठोस कदम उठाने होंगे। उन्हें नये आकर्षक डिजाईनों के साथ पारम्परिक डिजाईनों को सहेजना तथा प्रशिक्षण देना होगा तथा परम्परागत शैली से अलग गोदना करने की आधुनिक तकनीकों की जानकारी देने की भी आवश्यकता है जिससे गोदना लेने वालों के स्वास्थ्य की सुरक्षा सुनिश्चित हो, प्रक्रिया कम पीड़ादायक हो। इसके अलावा गोदना डिजाईनों को शरीर में अलग कागज, शीशा, चमड़ा आदि अन्य माध्यमों पर बनाने से भी चित्रकला की नई शैली के रूप में इसे विकसित करने की संभावना बढ़ेगी कला महाविद्यालयों में गोदना कला के विषय में शिक्षण-प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था करने से भी इस पारम्परिक कला शैली को विलुप्त होने से बचाने में सहायता मिलेगी।

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The Bihar Earthquake of 1934: Gandhi's Approach to Disaster Management

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The fierceness and consequent disruption caused by the earthquake of 15th January 1934 of Bihar had drawn the attention of entire nation. Approximately one crore people in the population of millions had been struck hard in the area of 3,000 square miles. A major portion of north Bihar was devastated. Monghyr, Champaran, Patna and Darbhanga were badly affected areas. Twenty thousand lives were lost.¹ The damage caused to all means of transportation i.e. railways, roads, bridges and telegraph lines, had made the timely communication during this catastrophe very difficult. It resulted in getting suitable and timely rescue operations start even more complicated.² The delay in removing the debris had increased the number of perished. Apart from this the changes that had appeared in the constitution of land was alarming. There was need of a long-term strategy in this direction to bring economy of area back on the lines. 'Fissures at some places, deep and wide enough to engulf men and animals opened in the ground and vast tracts of land, were covered with water which gushed out of the bowels of the earth, and sand was thrown up from below the earth's crust covering the field so thickly that ploughs could not reach the soil'.³ Muzaffarpur was worst hit. 'At some place rivers bed got dry; the high lands became low and vice versa. Cultivable fertile lands became barren and sanded up'.⁴ At Sitamarhi the Sugar Mills were badly damaged while the district was having a bumper sugar crop after a few years.⁵

The mood of despair was apparent. It badly needed an all around strategy to bring a ray of hope in the lives of 'suffering humanity'. They required both financial aid as well as a psychological treatment. At this

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point of time the appearance and presence of Gandhi was very significant. Agatha Harrison, who accompanied Gandhi, recorded that though it was worse than the earthquake of 1923 in Japan, yet the very presence of Gandhi relaxed thousands of victims wherever he went. They crowded the railway stations and flanks of the roads through which he was to pass. Their belief in him was such that they seemed to forget their distress for the moment and even decorated their villages with bamboo arches to welcome him.⁶ In fact, the impact was such that he eventually stopped the individual *satyagrah* in all the provinces and then postponed his scheduled *Harijan* tour to South.⁷ He reached Patna in the evening of 11h March and stayed the night in the office of relief committee itself. Immediately after, he started making extensive tours to the affected areas. Everywhere he appealed to the people to donate generously. They were asked to spare whatever meagre sum they could afford to for the cause. People's response to the charisma of his personality and effective use of words was incredible. Apart from the officially conducted relief operations Central Relief Committee was constituted. To coordinate the mighty task Gandhi made Rajendra Prasad in charge of relief work whom he called 'physician in charge' to take care of Bihar's immediate illness.⁸ No wonder with Mahatma's guidance and advice Bihar could deal with this worst ever calamity with courage.

He, in fact, had realized the need of the hour. The second mass movement had almost come to an end. Gandhi had now taken up his favorite constructive programme, particularly, of *Harijan* emancipation, into great earnest. Besides, Bihar had a great role to play in both the constructive as well as nationalist agenda. Before this tragedy Gandhi had been busy making extensive tours for twin purposes of - collecting fund for *harijan* programme and consolidating public opinion around national issues.

The disaster, under the circumstances, had considerable impact on the current national course. So, it has been referred to in regional as well as national historiography apart from official correspondence. A detail official report *Final Report on the Survey of Land Damaged by Earthquake in*

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North Bihar was also submitted to the Government to assess the damage. Similarly the *Home Political, Fortnightly Confidential Report* from 27th March to 24th April by the intelligence department to capture the tour of Gandhi gives valuable inputs related to the subject. *The Writings and Speeches of Gandhi and The History of Freedom Movement in Bihar* by K.K.Datta, *The History of Indian National Congress in Bihar* by P.N.Ojha (ed.) are some important works to be considered. The autobiographies of regional leaders particularly Rajendra Prasad's *Autobiography* and Anugrah Narayan Singh's *Mere Sansmaran* have captured the catastrophe in detail. Nehru too contributed through his *Autobiography*. Other biographies on Gandhi- B.R.Nanda's *Mahatma Gandhi : A Biography* and Tendulkar's *Gandhiji : His Life and Work* also throw light in this direction. The coverage in press had also remained very extensive. In fact, the disaster holds such an important position in regional history that entire research has been recently done on it.⁹ However, while regional historiography has focused more on the damages and management, the national historiography has been concerned with the quality of leadership Gandhi provided during his *harijan* movement period.

The disaster drew the attention of entire nation. Aids started coming from all over India. Within a few days of disaster the volunteers of national bodies like All India Women's Conference were distributing blankets, *sari*, *kurta* in the affected areas. Temporary shelters were made. Six female doctors were sent from Bombay. Bandages, swab and splin ware made on war footing. However, the magnitude of catastrophe was such that much was remained to be done.¹⁰

Gandhi's strategy of disaster management got marked in the process. However, besides obtaining great appreciation for having mobilized resources from all quarters of India and providing leadership at this most crucial point of time, his approach raised some controversies as well. In fact, some of his arguments had been creating differences and opposition lately.¹¹ He in fact, went to the extent of saying the earthquake being a God-sent gift and thus be welcomed since it would make people understand that the earthquake was a payback for the social and personal

sin of untouchability or people's wickedness in maintaining untouchability. It was alleged that to drive his point home Gandhi used such approach that could have offended the local feelings.¹² He took this thing so seriously that his car was attacked by *sanatani* at Deoghar and Buxar.¹³ As per the confidential report, at Monghyr the general public opinion was that Gandhi was more concerned with the *harijan* movement than with the earthquake. So, it had no appreciable effect or definite impetus to any particular line of activity.¹⁴ This time both Tagore and Nehru could not agree to his arguments or spiritual approach relating to cause of such tragedy and consequent unscientific explanations for the occurrence of this dreadful physical phenomenon.¹⁵ God would not punish in such a way where the nature and universe would be destroyed.¹⁶ According to Nehru it was a staggering remark.¹⁷ In fact, Gandhi kept repeating this statement wherever he went like Farbesganj, Motihari, Patna City, Dinapur, Chapra, Hajipur, Sonapur, Sitamarhi, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, and Monghyr. When asked at one place how God could be so heartless and revengeful, his answer was, "He is neither. Only his ways are not our ways".¹⁸ After having repeated his earlier sin theory Gandhi further added in his statement that people as a proof of repentance should contribute to the *harijan* fund.¹⁹ According to him it was an occasion to get oneself purified. So, he kept collecting fund for *harijan* also while asking for relief as well. Nanda calls it reasoning of 'a man of faith'.²⁰ Gandhi, however, remained unrepentant. His logic was that it was the misdeed of men that used to affect nature.²¹

The questions emerge if he was unreasonably putting the moral pressure on society as a whole for unseen and unexplained work of nature and in the process was making people more fearful and confused. Tagore even apprehended that it would encourage elements of unreason.²² In fact historians say that the disapproval of Tagore made the illusion of urban elite class more clear. They had been finding it hard to understand the Gandhi's theory of inner voice and divine intervention lately.²³ So, his strategy for disaster management came under great scrutiny on certain issues. The present work is an endeavor to show how Gandhi

tried to connect with people during these trying times and successfully pulled them out of it.

The success lies not only in dealing with the immediate gravity of the situation but local resources were to be mobilized and people were to be motivated in such a way that would have helped them to come out of the great calamity. However, the fact remains that the earthquake took place at a time when the whole region was becoming politically very vibrant. But in spite of rigorous leadership of Gandhi much work was still required to be done at social level.

The first reaction of Gandhi on hearing the news of Bihar Earthquake of 1934 reflects his understanding of this natural calamity. He placed it in contemporary context. He knew that the disaster was a temporary break in the ongoing mainstream political and social movements. But he could not let a temporary phase slacken the momentum of ongoing freedom struggle as well as the process of nation building, usually taken up more religiously between the quite periods of two active mass movements by pursuing his constructive programmes. Bihar had been doing a wonderful job on both the fronts so far. The anti *Parda Pratha* movement had shown the determination of provincial people, especially women to get rid of these social evils. The anti untouchability too had become very popular with students. In fact on the motivation of Rajendra Prasad an entire village, notorious for criminal activities named Chakia in the Saran district, had become so motivated that later on it also showed great enthusiasm in following the political programmes like burning of foreign clothes and boycotting of courts by effectuating *Panchayati* system during the 1930 movement.²⁴ The mood was no doubt showing definite signs of receptive towards such other constructive programmes in Bihar.

At the same time, politically, the response to Civil Disobedience had also been no less enthusiastic. There had been passionate and eager participation of people from different sections of society in various political programmes during the period. Saharsa, another badly hit area,

had already become the center of *kisan* and student organizations. Particularly *kisan* were much agitated on *Bakasht* land issue that continued till 1942.²⁵ Many had died in 1932 Champaran police firing.²⁶ There was serious problem in agriculture sector, which was further enhanced by this tragedy in the area.²⁷ Though Monghyr was another badly hit area,²⁸ however till then it had remained politically a very spirited part of the general movement.²⁹ According to the fortnightly report of the Patna Commissioner all seven women who were arrested along with others were from north Bihar especially Darbhanga.³⁰ Obviously, the potential, so far being shown for social as well as political programmes, had been tremendous. Still, the enthusiasm was required to be protected and the tempo be maintained in view of tremendous task lying ahead.

Nonetheless, Bihar was experiencing a very trying time. The Civil Disobedience had been on the verge of being suspended leaving people confused and disappointed. They were to be getting ready for the next phase. Obviously, the inert mood of post Civil Disobedience movement, dampened further by the Earthquake, was needed to be energized again. Gandhi could not let this mood make his near to heart programmes of untouchability and *Khadi* suffer due to break caused by a disaster like the Earthquake of 1934. Especially Bihar, a province with a conservative social background, had been a favorite destination of Gandhi for carrying out such constructive works since Champaran days. Bihar had to be re-surcharged with optimistic energy as soon as possible.

Moreover, the period from 1929 to 1939 is especially distinguished for the emergence of radical thinking and revolutionary activities in Bihar. Both the peasants and working class were stirring for social change. The leftist group within Congress was behaving more like a pressure group. Patna had become one of the earliest centers of leftist organization within the Congress. They were not satisfied with the way the Movement had been withdrawn. Socialist Party blamed it to the inadequate mobilization of mass.³¹ According to leftist group within Congress people

were needed to be engaged with political programme soon.³² The urgency to bring back the confidence at party level was apparent.

Moreover, according to the famous Gandhian P-S-P strategy the post Civil Disobedience void could now be filled with vigorous pursuance of all constructive programmes. The earthquake undoubtedly had presented an occasion when energy of a large number of volunteers from all over India could have engaged in a purpose. Many students had come immediately from Calcutta. However, Gandhi was not in favor of workers coming from outside Bihar when a large number was available in the province. Addressing to a meeting at Dinapur in March he said "another thing I would draw your attention to is that workers will have to be brought from outside. In my opinion that is not the proper course. Biharis must supply enough number of workers and only call outside workers to assist them".³³ He was particularly aggrieved with Bihari students who were not volunteering enough.³⁴

Gandhi was an expert in assessing the potential of an occasion arising. He could read the mind of people and accordingly strike out a suitable strategy. This time also he could assess that right now people were groping hard to seek an answer or explanation to this sudden disaster befallen them from nowhere. "The vastness and suddenness of this catastrophe stunned millions of people including the injured and distressed, who thought that the end of the world was drawing near".³⁵ Gandhi's speeches of this period, time and again reflected this reading. He also knew that the disaster itself or mood of the people had to be used constructively in the interest of provincial people and the mainstream struggles. The official confidential report informs that he stopped public reference to controversial subjects for the time being, concentrating exclusively on earthquake measures.³⁶

It has time and again been alleged that spirituality remained core of Gandhi's strategy right from the beginning. Nonetheless, it is equally a known fact that the relevance of Gandhi's strategy lies in making an instant link with the people by using their language, citing examples of

mythological character, symbols etc. It used to provide his appeal with a universal reach. So wherever he went his appeal was loaded with spiritualism. With the help of such holy arguments he tried to project the earthquake both as blessings and punishment depending on how the purpose would be achieved. 'After this earthquake we ought to be more humble as death is inevitable.....the sin of untouchability'. Similarly quoting *Gita* he asked people to be worthy of relief they were getting by hard work.

'The Central Relief committee and the Government are cooperating to remove your distress but the relief is for those who have actually suffered. The *Gita* says that to eat without doing work is to commit theft'.³⁷ Similarly his speech at Darbhanga on 30th March exhibits how devastated he was by the, 'weight of human misery' as he witnessed the ruin spread out before him at Rajnagar. With brilliant thinking he narrated the character of Kunti from *Mahabharat* to lessen the grief of people. 'As Viewed the picture of ruin spread out before me at Rajnagar, I felt overwhelmed and crushed by the weight of human misery. But, then, I remembered Kunti's prayer, 'Oh Lord, send me misery and misfortune always, lest I forget thee'.³⁸ He wanted the people to have Himalayan faith of Kunti to deal with this catastrophe for purification and turning the mind God ward.

Another dimension of this catastrophe was how to handle the massive relief operation. A sound policy and well planned system was needed. According to him if we manage this calamity we would be nearer to *swarajya*.³⁹ Gandhi first of all did not want a kind of relief culture to develop where people start depending exclusively on relief. Simultaneously according to Gandhi Bihar was in great need of striking a right coordination among all helping hands along with the government.⁴⁰ A Central Relief Committee was already formed. Gandhi wanted all Government, non government agencies to work in coordination with the local *Zamindars* and *raiyat*.⁴¹ The nature of some work that involved a good long time planning and money, was making government aid a mandatory i.e.

removing sand from affected areas, to reclaim such devastated land, rehabilitation etc. However, the idea of Gandhi that Congress would not lose prestige by working along with the Government was opposed in the meeting held on 18th March at Patna. Rajendra Prasad was in favor of giving assistance to them whenever asked to only.⁴² It would have stopped getting relief from the both ends – government and the Relief Committee for the same work. Moreover, there were seventy four other organizations doing relief work.⁴³ So, making fruitful coordination among them was, though, a difficult task but done successfully.

Aid had been coming from all quarters. Volunteers too had come from other provinces in large numbers. According to Gandhi the fund must go to the most deserving ones and actual sufferers first. All boundaries of class, caste, communities etc. should not be the matter of consideration, even priority. 'Suppose there are men who are thirsty, hungry, who want clothe, and who want houses to live in, whom to help first? Nobody can take the share of thirsty. The thirsty ought to be help first. Let the thirst of the men be quenched first, then help the hungry, then let cloth be given and lastly the houses constructed'.⁴⁴ He cited example of Maharaja of Darbhanga and the famous leader Deep Babu who in spite of enduring damages could not be helped for their losses. In fact there was a complaint to Gandhi on behalf of middle class regarding distribution of relief. He was categorical about the fact that middle class, too, ought to be helped if their need was greater.

It is remarkable that while he was very particular about people whom not to extend help, at the same time he asked people not to bar those who were in dire need and deny from having what they required. Addressing the students of Bihar he cited one incident as a moral lesson that earthquake taught them in this regard. 'Yesterday as the car was passing along the *Gandak* embankment, I received a note from *Doms* of the village close by, telling me that they were suffering from want of water, as the villagers would not allow them to take water from the common well'. He warned and at the same time asked people to take lessons from 'God's terrible impartiality' in teaching people about the criminality of

considering a human being lower or untouchables. Similarly, he rebuked those who would not receive food⁴⁵ from a Muslim worker.

This is equally remarkable that Gandhi with all sympathy to poor did not want them to accept or take relief as charity or alms.⁴⁶ He stressed the importance of self help.⁴⁷ The post earthquake construction needed a huge number of labors. So, all such needy but healthy persons should be employed and earn their wages. On his way to Chapra he said to people, "It would be deplorable if this earthquake turned us into mendicants."⁴⁸

Time, at the moment, was the most crucial factor to have dealt with. The brilliance of Gandhi's strategy lied always in the fact that he never lost sight of works to be done immediately. Within a year the affected areas physically had a different look. So, with a focused mind on what ultimately were to be achieved he did not compromise with the ultimate goals in the process essential for a nation in the making – the social values.

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Environment, Ethnicity and Adivasi's of Jharkhand

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Adivasi is a hindi word meaning original settlers. It has gained currency in modern day academic field as it is a word of empowerment for the marginalised tribes. It has a political undertone as well, and is often portrayed to convey the position of exclusion of tribes (Burman: 2009). One of the major reasons for claiming this indigenous status is to gain control over natural resources. The word resembles their ethnic identity, their cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. The word is used by tribes and indigenous people of Central India, Orissa, Jharkhand and even Kerala to assert their indigeneity (Rycroft, 2014; Sen, 2017). The central idea being that this should unite the cause of the 'aborigines' without segregating them into the distinctions of religion, language and region.

Jharkhand, the 28th state of India formed on the basis of tribal demands is host to 32 tribes numbering 8, 645,042 according to the census of 2011.¹ The notions of Jharkhand or Gondwana mentioned in Sanskrit and medieval literatures were exogenously imposed. It is only in recent years that Jharkhand has acquired a specific territorial or conceptual framework. It refers to a large area that stretched from Orissa to the Kharagpur hills lying south of the Ganga in Bihar, and stretched up to the Deccan². The tribes often call themselves 'Adivasis' to differentiate themselves from the people of other religion and culture residing in this area. Recent years have also seen assertion of ethnic identity of the Adivasis of Jharkhand especially in building the case for their ownership right over the question of *Jal, Jungle, Jameen* (water, forest, land). The question of indigeneity has been mixed with environment and ethnicity. The paper attempts to look at this question

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from historical perspective. An ethnic group is a historical identity whose members in large part conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of certain common stable features located in language, culture, stereotypes, territory, ancestry (real or fictitious), specific nomenclature and endogamy and are so regarded by the members of other ethnic identity (Pathy, 1999).

Adivasi's of Jharkhand and their Ethnicity

Ethnic identity is dynamic construct, which keeps on evolving with the passage of time and is often utilised to mobilise people and to create a people's movement. It is not a static notion but a process that continues to evolve and grow with human evolution. It is used in modern day academic discussions not for preserving a static culture, but for promoting a cultural autonomy, that will allow them to redefine their identity without in anyway further compromising their dignity³. In the Indian context it is largely felt that what matters most is the identity formation on the basis of religion and caste, but in states that are tribal dominated as Jharkhand, the process of identity formation takes language and culture into account, which is often referred to as ethnicity, which is the most pronounced marker of distinctiveness⁴. The tribes feel that they have been victims to the process of acculturation and sanskritisation in Jharkhand since historical period. In the Mughal period when Chaitanya Mahaprabhu is believed to have crossed this area the effects of Vaishnavism was felt and many tribes adopted Hindu style idol worship, which was quite different from nature worship preached by *Sarna* religion or animism⁵. Similarly, when Christian missionaries entered this area many people were attracted by it for different reasons, but even after changing of religion the ethnic identity of the Adivasis was intact.

It is normally assumed by the scholars that Christianity has brought a lot of changes in the status and position of Adivasis. But, when Adivasi's view themselves, they find that the changes visible in religious position has not transformed in social status, especially in villages. Even to this day, Protestant Christian houses are devoid of any symbol that resembles their religiosity. In social sphere *pahan* (*Sarana* priest) decides on trivial

issues as when *bangari* (rice planting) should start. At the villages the traditional system of *parha panchayat* decides every issue in the politico-administrative sphere⁶. Religion has not been a liberating force, rather ethnicity decides their status and position. Tribes in the regional context were invariably posited against the dominant regional community, which also happened to be a distinct linguistic and cultural community. Tribal languages and the customs followed by them remained intact at the grass root level. There was this ethno-regionalism that kept them united.

Concept of Tribalism or Adivasiyat

It has been generally observed that the notion of tribalism has its origin in closeness to the forest. It is normally observed that Adivasi live in forested area and practise different occupation. It is observed that they normally practise six kinds of occupation as Hunting- gathering, hill cultivation, farming, artisanship, cattle rearing and industrial or urban workers (Vidyarthi, 1975). Most of them who are not residing in cities and enjoying comfortable living still depend on forest products for their livelihood. The Adivasi of Jharkhand has a close relationship with the forests (man-tree and man-animal) they live in. They have a long cultural tradition of living in harmony with the environment. Each tribal community had woven a myth around the interrelationship of the forest and the people, which is largely the world view of the Adivasis. For generations, they have viewed themselves as protectors and conservers of forest. The forests have grown up in the loving care of the tribals who have not exploited them for their benefit but have co existed with them in harmony.

The concept of Adivasiyat or tribalism emerges from the sense of belongingness that the tribes feel with their environment. Adivasi have deep sense of belongingness to their region and they prefer to stay in close proximity to the environment and their clan or *killi*. They have claim over their homeland i.e. Chotanagpur is the area of the Mundas and Oraons; Santhal Pargana of the Santhals; and Kolhan-Porahat to the Ho's. The nature of relationship of the Adivasis with the landscape is a confirmation of their status as the *khuntkattidars* or the original clearers of soil from primeval forests of a particular territory. If we view the

cosmogony myth of the Adivasi's of Jharkhand, we observe a distinct sense of homogeneity in their descriptions. This presents the worldview of the Adivasi's and nearly all major tribes of Jharkhand carry a cosmogony myth which deals with supreme God, flora and fauna, creation of humans and animals and spirits⁷. In nearly all the myths they talk about the wrath of Gods through rain of fire, due to breaking of laws created by the supreme lord. Moreover they all have a strong belief in regeneration of the universe. The stories that revolve around them might seem unbelievable and illogical to the literate society, but their importance lies in their symbolism and the ideas contained in it⁸.

They are an attempt to create a place under the sun for the Adivasi's in the world. In other sense the idea of *Sarna* religion or nature worship is a unifying force amongst the Adivasi. It helps in the construction of Adivasiyat or tribalism that is accepted in the world view of the tribes but is seeking recognition, in the wake of the challenges faced by them from the non Adivasi world⁹. This idea has strong resonance amongst the Adivasi scholars as well. They have been arguing (Munda, RD, 2008) for creation of pan Indian tribalism or Adivasiyat which has a strong bearing on their animistic of nature worshipping faith. Although they admit that these kinds of attempts are deliberate and intentional. But their validation lies in the attacks faced by the Adivasis from the mainstream culture, which treats them as marginalised and ignorant section of society, and looks at their tradition and culture with a sense of inferiority¹⁰. This creation of the perception of Adivasiyat has its own dangers but it is a sense of glorifying the past in the wake of onslaught from the present.

Environmental Concerns of the Adivasi's

The growing domain of environmental history has attempted to document environment and its relation with the Adivasis. Every Adivasi society was/is governed by its own social organization and institutions. These institutions, linked to biological resource management, were governed by religious myth and socio-cultural belief system that were created with time and have been passed on through generations. The tribal cultures of India were studied in the colonial period by

ethnographers, anthropologists, historians, administrators and Christian missionaries. The first concept developed by the British administrators-ethnographer was the image of the Adivasi communities as 'Noble Savages', and their condition was described as a state of Arcadian simplicity¹¹. The second concept was developed by the *dikus* or the oppressive outsiders, who looked upon them as innocent people who could be hoodwinked into subordination by the idea of they being included into the mainstream society through the process of acculturation. Adivasi were viewed as people who were unaware of the socio-historical processes and therefore open to being non-tribals as well as being exploited by the moneylenders.

In both these concepts the basic design was that of economic and mental exploitation of the Adivasi's. It is a fact, that the Adivasi largely reside in those regions of Jharkhand where nature has been bountiful. On the ground it has large reserves of flora and fauna, and beneath the surface it has large reserves of the country's coal, mica, bauxite and other minerals. Due to rapid industrialisation in tribal areas, 3.13 lakh people have been displaced due to mining operations, and a total of 13.3 lakh Adivasi have been displaced from their ancestral lands. Not only are communities deprived of their vital subsistence resources, their long-term sustainability is also jeopardised¹². Most of the Adivasi reside in the villages and their homeland and are victimised by this concept of forced industrialisation and the concept of development.

There is another concept about the tribes which quite different from the concept discussed earlier, and this notion is of protectors of forest. This idea has been generated by the Adivasis themselves when they have started taking pride in their Adivasiyat. Environmental historians as Madhav Gadgil (Gadgil, 1985) calls it 'ecological prudence'. This concept has close proximity to the traditions and customs of the tribes. It tries to develop an exercise of restraint in the exploitation of natural resources, so that some benefits are taken by the present generation but much is left for the upcoming generations and is sustainable as well. Such restraint could take the form of a restriction on total yield from a resource (such as a limit on the weekly amount of fuel wood collected by each household from a communal grove), a restriction on the method of exploitation of

the resource (such as taboo against use of metal implements for cutting wood as is prevalent amongst the Orans of Rajasthan), a restriction on exploitation of the resource at certain stages of life history (such as taboo against killing a pregnant doe amongst the Pharsepardhis of Maharashtra), or a restriction on exploitation of the resource at certain localities (such as taboo against cutting any tree in a sacred grove or killing any animal from a sacred pond)¹³.

Adivasi's have a deep concern for their environment since ages. Even their religion is of nature worship. Various anthropological studies report about the presence of this practise among the Adivasis of Jharkhand. The tradition is popularly known as *sarana* or *jaherthan*. These groves are usually small forest patches not more than an acre. They are regarded as the remnants of the primeval forest with its abode of forest spirits and gods. In the Chhotanagpur area there are various types of *sarana* for different purposes like *sarhul sarana*., *duvaria sarana*, etc¹⁴. They don't build temples or idols rather they worship in the sacred groves. In doing so, they protect the forest around them. Their religion carries several practices that protect the natural habitat and their tradition gives proper respect to animals and plants. The vibrant folk traditions of Adivasis are rooted in ecological niches. The religious rituals are performed to keep and maintain friendly relations with nature.

Each tribal community had woven a myth around the interrelationship of the forest and the people, which we can refer as man-tree or man- animal relationship. The invocation of tradition was instrumental in regulating the use of timber since historical periods. The entire cultural tradition was woven around the prevention of abuse of the forest wealth. Forests thrived in the loving care of the Adivasis. The commercial logic of the British imperialism and restrictions on the rights of the Adivasis has alienated the forest-dwellers from their own environment. With respect to Jharkhand, the ecological and ethnic concerns have converged and Adivasi 'cosmovisions' have been politicised. Their cosmogyny myth and cosmology contains element that speaks highly about protection of nature.

Their festivals are also celebration of man-tree relationship. 'Sarhul' is the spring festival of the Oraons, Mundas and Kharias where the

'lady of the environment' (Chala Pacho) is worshipped alongside the supreme lord. In Oraon mythology she is revered for her unique role in bringing the Dharmesh(sun god) and Dharti Aayo(Mother Earth) together¹⁵. She is remembered for her role in restoration and preservation of environment. Another big festival is Karam celebrated by Oraons, Mundas, Santhals, Khariyas and Ho's is a kind of agricultural festival celebrated in the month of August. These festivals are celebrations of man and environment and depict the close concern of the Adivasis with their environment.

The oral tradition of Adivasis reveals their deep concern for the environment. Their stories that are living traditions contain stories where animals are used as symbols and even marriage between man-animal is conceptualised. The rivers of the region as Koel, Sankh, Karo, Brahmani and others are also described as young maidens who broke taboos and were transformed into rivers¹⁶. The games played by children are also full of activities that trains them to develop harmony with their landscape and environment and prepares them to have a sense of belongingness with it.

Environment historians (Gadgil and Guha, 1992) are of the opinion that the proximity of the people with their ecology and their greater association with their environment ensures its preservation. It is observed that greater the distance, of the users from the resource the greater is the ecological impact; the faster the development of scientific knowledge, the greater the environmental degradation.¹⁷ The accumulated experience and collective traditions of the Adivasis, their religion and custom, their practices and their association with the environment are better adapted to deal with a situation of imperfect knowledge than a supposedly 'scientific' resource management.

Conclusion

Despite fragmentation of tribal society due to social differentiation, the assertion of tribal identity is on rise. This has been largely due to the emergence of a middle class within tribal society. With the emergence of a middle class, the issue of culture, tradition, livelihood, even control over land and resources as well as a demand for a share in the benefits of

the projects of modernity has become an integral part of identity articulation among tribes. The environmental movement today has discovered a resonance in tribal culture. Adivasis have a concept of the essential unity of life where ecology is intimately related to identity, language and cultural practices. Loss of ecology may affect these aspects of adivasi life. This evident not only in their oral narratives but also found in the contemporary poetry of the 'Adivasis'. Contemporary Adivasi poets and people are speaking out against deforestation and displacement, because that affect not only their livelihood but also their language, culture and tradition and it is important for us to look at the problems from their' point of view¹⁸.

The nature and its components have formed the uniqueness in the traditional system and worked as protective ring when the tribal communities faced uncertainty. The Adivasi villagers in the vicinity of forests always took the forests as the source of subsistence. They took care of vast and inexhaustible resources of forests and their ecological values. They seem to have inherited these ideas from their forefather. In other words forests, shrubs and herbs always played a vital role to the tribal life, stabilize and configure the structure of nature.¹⁹ Forests tracts of Jharkhand Played role to construct '*Trinity of environment*' i.e Jal, Jungle, Jameen.

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Seekers of Sacred Knowledge : Rabia and Mirabai

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Rabia and Mirabai were seekers of sacred knowledge, representing the Sufi and Bhakti movements respectively, both of which laid the foundations of love and unity with the Divine. The paper seeks to examine the manifestation of these ideas in the context of these two powerful women, who have left behind them, their ideas about the Divine and unity with Him, in poetic form. The ideas concerning unity of God, intense love and devotion, self- surrender, blind faith in God and acceptance of God as the true love, have been strikingly represented in the “love poetry” of Rabia and Mirabai. Their poetry is also reflective of the socio- cultural circumstances of the period, thus explaining the then beliefs and the reasons for their acceptance in society. Personally, Rabia had suffered losses in her family quite early in life and had even spent her life as a slave.

Mirabai also had a sad married life where she was compelled to abide by the strict rules of patriarchy. Therefore, Divine Love, in the form of pure selfless love, came up strongly in their poems. The desire to go against the patriarchal set- up of society was strongly reflected in Rabia’s initiation of the participation of women into the mystic fold; and Mirabai’s acceptance of Krishna as her husband and going against her family. The paper is divided into two sections, discussing Rabia and Mirabai respectively, analyzing the background of their lives, the hardships and miseries they faced which led them towards the spiritual domain. The paper analyzes “love poetry”, expressed in the persons of Rabia and Mirabai. The paper is also a reflection on the manner in which these two women attempted to break the rigid rules of patriarchy that were strongly embedded in the Indian society during the periods under discussion.

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Rabia and Mirabai were seekers of sacred knowledge, representing the Sufi and Bhakti movements respectively, both of which laid the foundations of love and unity with the Divine. The paper seeks to examine the manifestation of these ideas in the context of these two powerful women, who have left behind them, their ideas about the Divine and unity with Him, in poetic form. Both Rabia and Mirabai became saints in different contexts, but ultimately arrived at same conclusions about divinity and God- realization. Their poetry is also reflective of the socio-cultural circumstances of the period, thus explaining the then beliefs and the reasons for their acceptance in society. Therefore, the historical background of these movements have also been discussed in order to understand the context behind the emergence of these movements and the type of poetry that Rabia and Mirabai have left behind. There are several common grounds on which Rabia and Mirabai have reflected, arriving at more or less same conclusions, but in different manners.

The paper is divided into two sections, discussing Rabia and Mirabai respectively, analyzing the background of their lives, the hardships and miseries they faced which led them towards the spiritual domain – realization of the self and ultimately God- realization. Rabia has left a corpus of poetry on different aspects related with spiritualism. Mirabai was a poetess of the ‘Bhakti Kal’ of Hindi literature. The paper analyzes “love poetry”, expressed in the persons of Rabia and Mirabai. This love – love of the Beloved, is shown as a direct dialogue between God and the devotee. The paper is also a reflection on the manner in which these two women attempted to break the rigid rules of patriarchy that were strongly embedded in the Indian society during the periods under discussion.

Section I : Rabia

Rabia is known to us as an eminent female Sufi mystic belonging to the eighth century. In fact, the very emergence of individuals who came to be known as Sufis, is linked with the historical developments that took place in the seventh and eighth centuries. By this time, Islam had arisen as the world’s third great monotheistic religion, after Judaism and Christianity, in seventh century Arabia, particularly Mecca. The message of Islam was being delivered by the Messenger of God, Prophet

Muhammad (PBUH), who had received it from the archangel, Gabriel. He preached the existence of one God, who was all-powerful. But he started making conversions to Islam and gathered enemies around himself. This led him to migrate from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D. In Medina, he established a society where he preached the basic Islamic principles of piety, justice and equity. His successors, the four 'rightly guided Caliphs' also governed the Muslim territories in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and the 'Sunnah'. But very shortly, there was considerable political turmoil and Muslim leadership passed into the hands of those who were immersed in worldly affairs and were not at all religious-minded. Within two hundred years of the death of the Prophet (PBUH), some of those who rejected these people came to be known as Sufis. This laid the foundation of the future Sufi movement, which got associated with names like Rabia, among others.

This movement, however, was not just a product of political situations. The period under discussion was also one in which Greek philosophy and sciences had started affecting the Muslims, and the idea of rationalism was proving to be an attack on the religious beliefs of the people. To counteract these, the so-called Sufis had started stressing upon the doctrine of passionate love. Gradually, the doctrines propounded by the Sufis had come to impress upon the religious sentiments of the people. It is in this context, that Rabia emerged as a mystic and came up with her idea of Divine Love, that would reiterate the principles which people had begun to forget in the midst of political turmoil and notions of rationalism and scientific quest. Nearly 1200 years after the death of Rabia, she stands out as the most famous female saint of Sufism. Her life is an important episode in the role of women in Islam.

We come to know about Rabia basically from Fariduddin Attar's 'Tadhkirat al-Awliya' (Memoirs of the Saints)¹. There is also reference to the Persian Sufi, al-Sulami's 'Dhikr al-Niswa', which is a work devoted to women's spirituality, but that was actually written at the beginning of the eleventh century, which was almost 200 years from Rabia's actual life. Among modern writers, Margaret Smith is probably the most important biographer of Rabia. Her major work, 'The Way of the Mystics : The Early Christian Mystics and the Rise of the Sufis' portrays her as an

eighth century Sufi saint who had a profound influence on later Sufis, and in fact, even deeply influenced the European mystical love.

In seeking sacred knowledge, her legacy is that of a guide for others to realize the same intimacy with God that she enjoyed. She could be seen as a pioneer of "love mysticism" in Islam; the first to develop the idea of "Divine Love" as that between the lover and the Beloved. She is best known for her poems, sayings and teachings on Sufism, which are best available in the form of hagiographies, containing stories and anecdotes from her life and her experiments in seeking sacred knowledge and with mysticism.

Rabia was born in the tribe of Adi, in Basra, Iraq in about 713 A.D. This was a time when Basra was a centre for early Muslim ascetics, who were preaching detachment from the material world in order to create a suitable environment for experiencing the immanence of God. Rabia's life significantly illustrates this asceticism, as is evident in her poems and prayers, so much so, that Margaret Smith calls her a "saint par excellence of Sunnite hagiography"². In fact, throughout her life, her Love of God, poverty and self- denial were her constant companions.

Rabia was the fourth daughter of parents who did not have even oil to light lamp or cloth to cover her when she was born. Her father, repenting, dreamt of the Prophet saying to him that "this daughter who is born is a great saint." But misfortune would not leave Rabia soon. After the death of her father, Basra was hit by a famine, and she got separated from her sisters and left alone. She was with a caravan, that was attacked by robbers. The chief of the robbers took Rabia as captive and sold her as a slave. Her new master used to make her do hard work. In her master's house, she fasted by day and at night, she would turn to meditation and prayers, praising the Lord. Her prayers were so intense that she often conversed with God. Once she broke her arm and prayed to God. Immediately, a voice came, assuring her of the end of all her sufferings and that she would attain a high status on the Day of Judgement.

Rabia was later freed by his master who had kept her as a slave. The story goes that while she used to pray at nights, one night her master was awakened by a voice urging him to free Rabia. When he looked

through his window, he saw Rabia in prostration and praying to God that He had left her at the mercy of her master. Immediately, her master perceived a light above her head. And, when day broke, he set Rabia free. One of the many myths is that she was freed from slavery because her master saw her praying while surrounded by light, he realized that she was a saint, and feared for his life and set her free. Since Rabia had spent her early life in slavery, she was passionate against all forms of it and even refused a slave later in life, when she had attained a spiritual status. She perhaps, also helped in integrating slaves into Muslim society.

Rabia left the house and wandered through the desert in search of what Allah had set out for her. Legends show that Allah's blessings were always with her. The donkey carrying her bundle died on the way. But she had hardly completed entreating God for this, the donkey came back to life again. This episode from her life shows that she had moved onto the path which would bring her in direct communion with the Divine, crossing all barriers that came on her way. In fact, the Divine Will was the only goal she fixed her vision on. Rabia lived her life in prayer, as an ascetic. She spent all night in prayer and contemplation.

She also had many offers of marriage (one from Hasan al- Basri). She refused them as she had no desire for anything other than God in her life. When Hasan proposed her for marriage, she replied, "The tie of marriage applies to those who have being. Here being has disappeared, for I have become naughted to self and exist only through Him. I belong wholly to Him. I live in the shadow of His control. You must ask my hand of Him, not of me."³ This extreme attitude towards everything worldly and material, came from a wish to worship out of complete freedom and out of her own choice and not of any other. She shirked the regular life and had few belongings. In her bid to asceticism and care for fellow beings, she prayed to God to give away all the worldly things that He had apportioned to her, to her enemies, and all that he had apportioned to her in the world to come, to her friends.⁴

After a life of hardship, she spontaneously achieved a state of self-realization. Her hours of prayer were devoted to communion with her Beloved and she was constantly absorbed in the thought of God. She knew

very well that in the end, everything has to return to God. But for apprehending God and His mysteries, what was needed was the “eye” of the heart⁵. Her absolute asceticism is thus related with the concept of “Divine Love” that she introduced. She always believed that she was continually united with her Beloved. This comes out very beautifully in her poem entitled “My Beloved”⁶.

*“My peace, O my brothers and sisters, is my solitude,
And my Beloved is with me always,
For His love I can find no substitute,
And His love is the test for me among mortal beings,
Whenever His Beauty I may contemplate,
He is my “mihrab”, towards Him is my “qiblah”.
If I die of love, before completing satisfaction,
Alas, for my anxiety in the world, alas for my distress,
O Healer (of souls) in the heart feeds upon its desire,
The striving after union with Thee has healed my soul,
O my Joy and my Life abidingly,
You were the source of my life and from Thee also came my ecstasy.
I have separated myself from all created beings,
My hope is for union with Thee, for that is the goal of my desire.”*

Rabia’s conception of Divine Love was beyond any expectation or self-interest. In one of her poems, she says,

*“If I adore You out of fear of Hell, burn me in Hell!
If I adore You out of desire for Paradise,
Lock me out of Paradise.
But if I adore You for Yourself alone,
Do not deny to me Your eternal beauty.”⁷*

It is evident that she considered emotions like fear and hope to be veils, i.e., hindrances to the vision of God Himself. There is a legend that narrates how Rabia saw herself punished because of this self-interest. On one occasion, she fell ill and her sickness was serious. When asked about it, she said, "I looked towards Paradise, and my Lord has chastened me. At daybreak, I longed for the joys of Paradise, and my Friend has rebuked me. This illness is a reproach from Him."⁸

There is another anecdote as to what happened when she realized this. She was seen by some Sufis as carrying water in one hand and a burning torch in the other and hurrying on her way. When asked to explain, she said, "I am going to light a fire in Paradise and to pour water on to Hell, so that both veils may vanish altogether from before the pilgrims and their purpose may be sure."⁹

Although Rabia is best known for her poems, sayings and teachings on Divine Love and Sufism, it is her miracles that make her a saint par excellence. Not only does she consider her life to be a miracle, in that she was transformed from a slave to a saint, but is also credited with performing miracles. One story goes that one night, Hasan, along with two- three friends, visited Rabia. Rabia had no lantern. Her guests' hearts yearned for light. She then blew on her finger, and that night till dawn, her finger shone like a lantern, and they sat in its radiance.¹⁰ Rabia truly was worthy of sacred knowledge that brought her in communion with the Divine.

Section II: Mirabai

Mirabai was a famous Bhakti saint of the fifteenth- sixteenth century from Rajasthan, who is known to us for her songs full of devotional fervor and Bhakti for Lord Krishna. Bhakti, as an idea and an emotion was very much there in Indian society, but, the evolution of Bhakti as a widespread cultural movement, could be situated between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹ It is essential to understand the historical and socio- cultural context of Bhakti movement in order to analyze the manner in which it spread through the country and attached itself with the masses. This would also enable an assessment of Bhakti poetry and the role of Mirabai in the Bhakti tradition.

Bhakti movement emerged against the backdrop of a social order that was marked by all kinds of discrimination based on caste, class, creed and gender. It was an attempt to establish a social order based on equality and humanity. Bhakti movement, during the period it emerged, was very popular among the masses because, viewing the social circumstances of the period, it had emerged as an answer to the cultural aspirations of the people. People largely associated themselves with Bhakti as a personal devotional movement and also as a current which stood up against the socio-cultural inequality inherent in Indian society. Bhakti movement, as a movement of the masses, had emerged against the backdrop of the disintegration of feudalism. The disintegration of feudalism was accompanied by the emergence of a new section in society, particularly, farmers and craftsmen, who were enthused with a feeling of rebellion.

These rebellions, which were directed against feudal ideologies, played an important role in social development as well. Simultaneously, Bhakti movement incorporated the growth of regional languages. And now this subdued class also had access to literature through regional languages, which was otherwise confined to the elite sections of society. Bhakti poetry thus came to be associated with popular culture and culture of the people. This was certainly against the culture of feudalism which had perpetuated inequality. It was also against casteism, which not only brought the lower castes into the Bhakti tradition, but also produced saints belonging to lower castes. Mirabai herself, was a follower of Raidas, a leather-worker. These changes in society were truly the result of the egalitarian traditions of the Bhakti movement, which was even inspiring new social changes. Hence, it was against the fundamentalism and anti-egalitarianism of the feudal order which had dominated the social scenario of the country before the emergence of the Bhakti movement.

Bhakti movement has also been linked with folk culture which is evident in Saint poetry of the time. It was not restricted to any particular class and pervaded all those classes which were struggling to get free from the feudal order. Since it came to be associated with common masses, it has also been considered to be a movement of the rise of popular culture.

Bhakti represented a feeling of detachment from the world and the falsehood that the material world represented. This is very much evident in Mirabai's poems where she seeks to abandon the material world in order to seek union with the Divine. Thus, Bhakti, while on the one hand, was a reaction to feudal tendencies inherent in Indian society, on the other hand, it was also an experiment with reality and illusions, which got reflected in the philosophy and poetry of the time. And in this experiment, there was an interplay of human relations and emotions. The most important reason that led to the popularity of the Bhakti movement was that it was based on love, which raises man from the limitations of caste, class, race and religion.

Mira's story is an illustration of the manner in which Bhakti poetry played a role in not only exposing the superficiality of religion that was open to upper castes only during that period and presenting a new idea of union with the Divine, but also in establishing equality in a caste and gender ridden society.

Most hagiographical narratives about Mira are known to us from legends and oral traditions, mostly her own poems. An important place of mention of Mirabai is in Priyadas's hagiographic anthology called 'Bhaktamal' (Garland of Devotees) composed around the end of the sixteenth century. There are numerous folk tales also which shed light on her life and her journey towards attaining sacred knowledge. Out of the many devotional poems of Mirabai, only a few hundred are believed to be authentic by scholars. The Mira story has also been made into at least ten films.

Mira was a Princess from Rajasthan, born in 1498 A.D. She was the daughter of Ratan Singh of the Rathore clan. From her childhood only, she was devoted to Krishna and even believed herself to be his wife. This religious propensity which she showed in her childhood was so strong that even when she was married into the royal family of Mewar, her feelings for Krishna remained the same. This practically led to non-conformity with the strict rules for married women in Rajputana. Mira defied all those values related with family and marriage that the Rajput clan upheld so rigidly - the ideals of 'suhag'¹² (marital status) and the

ideological construct of 'pativrata'¹³. She also refused to worship the deity of her in-laws. Mira's rebellion also included her boycott of the ceremonies and life of the 'zenana', as she went against all the royal codes of conduct prescribed for women of royal Rajput families. This was a defiance of the very bases of inequality which was embedded in the form of separate rules of conduct for men and women. This was something very exceptional as per the times we are talking about. But these brought her into troubles with her in-laws and attempts were made on her life. But she was saved everytime by her divine lover, Krishna. One story goes that she refused to commit 'sati' after her husband died on a battlefield. This also brought her strong criticism. Mira came into seclusion and started mixing even with male ascetics, singing 'bhajans' (devotional songs) for Krishna. She eventually left the royal palace of Mewar and became a wanderer, travelling to Brindavan and then to Dwarka. Legends have it that messengers from Mewar and Merta came to take her back, but she refused and went to the temple of Krishna, dedicating her entire life to him. She is said to have died in 1546 A.D.

Mira was fully into the Bhakti movement by then, which had, by this time, established firm roots in Indian society. She started writing songs in the Rajasthani dialect. These were full of devotional fervor which had emerged from her acceptance of Krishna as her husband and true lover. In fact, the poems of Mira have throughout expressed the feeling of "love" for him. She wrote verses known as 'padas', and mystical love poems called 'bhajans'. Mira's 'bhajans' are expressive of the intense love and devotion she had for Krishna, and her visualization of everything else as artificial. The most prominent element carried across in her 'bhajans' would have been a specific type of "feminine sensibility"¹⁴.

Mira's 'padas' ('bhajans'), though all attributed to Krishna, express different facets of this love. While love for Krishna is the basic theme, she also composed poems saluting the Lord and also expressing various emotions of pain and separation from him. Since she had become a mendicant, she also talks about dissatisfaction with the material world. Her poems also express her agony, given to her by her relatives.

Mira is often classified as a follower of 'sagun bhakti' (ie., devotion to God with form and attributes) with her intense love for Krishna. As she describes Krishna in a human form, she does not lose sight of his external aspect. The Krishna of her love is in the fullness of youth, with a peacock crown on his head and a flute at his lips. This is the image of Krishna so dear to her.

"Baso more nainan me Nandalal

Mohni murti sanwari surati, naina bane bisal

Adhar sudharas murli raajat, ur baijanti- maal

Chudr ghantika kati tat sobhit, nupur sabad rasal

*Meera prabhu santan sukhdayi, bhagat bachal gopal."*¹⁵

(The son of Nanda, resides in my eyes.

Attractive figure, dusky face and large eyes;

Flute at his lips, which are a pot full of nectar;

Flower- garland around his neck and bells around his waist.

Anklet- bells adding beauty to him.

Mira's Beloved is a well- wisher and takes care of all.)

The most powerful of Mira's poems are those in which she views Krishna as her husband and describes her intense love for the one whom she calls "The Dark Cowherd". These reflect the depth of her love for Krishna and her single- minded devotion to him.

"Mere to Giridhar Gopal, dusro na koi

*Jake sir mormukut mero pati soi."*¹⁶

(Mine is Gopal, the Mountain- Holder, there is no one else.

On his head he wears the peacock- crown.

He alone is my husband.)

The relationship between Krishna and Mira thus emerges to be intense, erotic and a source of joy. The element of ecstasy is profound in

her poems, ecstasy, that represents an intense longing of Mira for union with Krishna, ecstasy, that merges the identity of Mira in the Godhead.

Mira feels that her 'atma' has been Krishna's wife since ages. After her husband's death, this feeling had become stronger. So she calls Krishna as 'purab janam ka sathi'¹⁷ (companion of previous births); 'Janam maran ka meet'¹⁸ (friend for life and death) and 'Giridhar- naagar''¹⁹(lifter of the mountain).

She does not hesitate in dancing before him.

"Srigiridhar aage nachungi

Nachi nachi piv rasik rijhaun, Premi jan ko jachungi

*Piy ke palanga ja podhungi Mira Hari rang rachungi."*²⁰

(I dance before my Giridhar

Again and again I dance

To please that discerning critic

And put his love to the test

Mira is deeply dyed in the dye of Hari.)

Her songs depicting love for Krishna are also reflective of pangs of separation from Him. Hence, in Mira's songs, the most prominent and passionate 'bhava' (feeling) is that of 'virah' (separation). Mira is seen as the figure of a 'virahini'²¹. A sense of loneliness and distress is evident in the songs of Mira.

"Piya bini rahoi na jaye

Tan man mero piya par vaarun, baar baar bal jayi

Nis din jou baat piya ki, kabre miloge aayi

*Meera ke prabhu aas tumhari, leejya kanth lagayi."*²²

(I cannot live without my Beloved

I have devoted my mind and self to him

My heart sweeps his path in readiness

Just asking, when, my Lord,
When are you coming?)

There are two reasons for the element of 'virah' in Mira's poems. Firstly, her love is spiritual, related to the mental and not the physical realm. When she is in the physical, material state, Krishna seems to be away from her, so much so, that she is unable to seek Him. Mira says to Krishna that it is difficult for her to live without Him and that she has mentally and physically attached to Him. She is longing day and night to meet Krishna.

*"Prabhuji tum darshan bin moi ghari chain nahi aware
Ann nahi bhave, neend na aave virah sataave moi
Ghayal jyun ghumun khari re mharo dard na jane koi*

.....

*Jo main aisa jaanti re, preet kiyan dukh hoye
Nagar dhindora peetati re, preet na kariyo koye."*²³

(My Beloved, without your presence,

I am restless

In the day I have no hunger

At night I am restless and cannot sleep

Separation from you causes suffering and hurts me

But nobody knows my pain

.....

Had I known that love causes pain

I would have beaten drums and said

Nobody dare fall in love.)

The second reason for the element of 'virah' in Mira's poems is related with the sorrows of her life. She became a widow in youth, her in-laws tortured her. So, whatever she could not attain in her lifetime, she tried

to find it in Bhakti. The happiness which was missing in her life, she tried to find it in the company of Krishna. So while singing songs of 'milan' (union), she also sings songs of 'virah' (separation). The happiness in her poems is because of her Krishna bhakti and the sorrow in her poems reflects the sorrow in her material life.

But there is another angle to the 'bhava' (meaning) of 'virah' in Mira's poems. 'Virah' combines pain with pleasure. It is a fire for her and she is pleading Krishna not to leave her. 'Virah' signifies not an emptiness but a fullness, or a claim to presence based on absence.²⁴ In most of her 'virah' poems, she describes the pain of her separation powerfully.

Conclusion

Rabia is known to us as one of the earliest and most renowned saints and amongst the founders of classical Sufi thought. But Rabia needs to be equally understood as a woman. This requires a feminist understanding of women in Islam. In this context, Michel de Certeau talks of "power and knowledge hierarchies"²⁵. This refers to the proper social order being that in which men dominate. Even the Divine Being is of the male sex and women are without power. In such circumstances, Rabia emerges as a person who subverted this "power and knowledge hierarchy". Margaret Smith finds Rabia all the more important because she was a woman. She does not stand merely as a symbol of Sufism but as one who served as "a symbol of resistance". Hermanen prefers to call her a "culture- critiquing female hero"²⁶. She emerges as an exemplary figure signifying that the path of knowledge was not just something restricted to men.

However, there is a basic contradiction inherent in this line of thinking. Fariduddin Attar, the most famous biographer of Rabia, states, "When a woman is a man on the path of the Lord Most High, she cannot be called woman."²⁷ And therefore, the miracle of Sufism was that it converted Rabia from a slave to a master and from a woman into a man. This interpretation puts a question mark on all the credit that has been given to the "female" mystic Rabia, requiring a second thought on breaking "power and knowledge hierarchies". Nevertheless, the fact that

Rabia was not just a model of pious behaviour and a symbol of Sufism, but a woman who dared to leave her imprints on the road to mysticism and as a seeker of sacred knowledge, cannot be underrated. Her life is certainly an episode in the role of women in Islam.

In our analysis of Mira as a seeker of sacred knowledge, certain paradigms emerge. The paradigm of honour for women has always been restrictive and related with the status and honour of the entire family and caste in Indian society. It has been the culture of Indian society to set up ethical standards, especially for women, and times when women have not conformed with these, they have been condemned and even socially ostracized. Mira's story is an expression of this mindset. The Rajputana states had cultivated their own definitions and notions regarding women's honour. Since they were basically a martial caste, the safety and virtue of their women was a prime concern. Also, among the Rajput states, marriage was a political alliance in which the personal choice of Rajput Princesses was not at all important. So when Mira broke these bonds and devoted herself to the Divine Love of Krishna, she too was ostracized.

Mira's verses and poems, which are available to us in the form of 'bhajans', not only reflect her devotion for Krishna, but also a process of empowerment for women and her strength to go against the rigid rules that had been set out for women during that period. She goes against societal norms and rigid codes of conduct spelt out for women, particularly in Rajputana. Mira's bhakti is "a product of social change, aspiring to level certain forms of inequality."²⁸ Mira's life embodies a contradiction - contradiction between the established norms of female honour and women's sexuality on the one hand, and her violation of the Rajput notion of dishonor on the other. But despite this contradiction, she remains honoured even today and is very much present in the cultural consciousness of the people, truly, as a "saint par excellence"²⁹.

Rabia and Mirabai truly exemplified passionate devotion towards God by intimate and eternal love and they shall be remembered for their courage in going beyond the traditions set in an environment dominated by men, and proving themselves worthy of sacred knowledge and love of the Divine.

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Revisiting Linguistic Uprising in Tamil Nadu (1947-1967), with Special Reference to Madras

Ms. Anju Oseema Maria Toppo*

*"A language is not like an umbrella or an overcoat that can be borrowed by the unconscious or deliberate mistake; it is like the living skin in itself"*¹

Rabindranath Tagore

With over billion of people and one thousand six hundred and thirty five rationalized mother tongues, India is certainly one of the multilingual nations in the world. India's remarkable linguistic diversity has given her distinct character and vitality. The 2011 census of India enumerated 122 languages and 234 mother tongues with speakers' strength of more than 10,000.² At present there are twenty two languages officially recognized by the constitution and these fall into four major groups Indic or Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Astro-Asiatic. In addition to it there are over 1600 minor languages and dialects. Hence it is not at all surprising for this diverse land to have language problem. Language is not merely a medium of communication but also inherits cultural heritage. The major challenge that India faced post independence was linguistic struggle. National freedom became synonym of language freedom. The anti-Hindi agitation Post-Independence or the struggle for official recognition of State language was more acute in Tamil Nadu than in any other non-Hindi speaking state.

This work is an attempt to show the intensity of anti-Hindi agitation prevalent during the two dangerous decades post independence in Chennai, formerly known as Madras. The paper argues that Hindi

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imperialism rather than Nationalism was the foremost generator of violence among ethnic masses in Madras. It was struggle for the recognition of Tamil ethnic identity. This paper identifies that linguistic problem was not confined to Tamil land but also evident in other parts of the country. This essay further substantiates its argument by giving detailed account of the happenings that took place against the imposition of Hindi.

Linguistic Panorma of India

India is the house of the world's largest linguistic families Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. It also inhibits speakers of Austro-Asiatic and Tibeto-Burman families. Number of enumerative strategies was undertaken by the British to classify the linguistic diversity of India. According to census of 1961, 190 languages were listed.³ However, there was subsequent decrease in the number of recognized languages to 175 in 1971 and to 145 in 1981 census.

The Indic or Indo-Aryan languages are a branch of the Indo-European family of languages and were the language of the Central Asian people who invaded India. The oldest Indo-Aryan language is Vedic Sanskrit. Its origin can be traced in ancient times as early as 1500 BC. It gave rise to Prakrit in about 500 BC. Prakrit has been labeled as 'unrefined' or 'common' much because of the influence of Non-Aryan languages in it. In 400 BC. Panini the great grammarian developed a literary which was one of the dialects and named it Sanskrit which means 'refined' or 'purified'.⁴ It is held in high regard by majority of both North Indians and South Indians. The vehicle of religion has kept Sanskrit intact and unchanged since Panini's time. Hence it retains somewhat Pan-Indian character. From ancient to modern period many languages have evolved and joined Indo-Aryan language family.

The Dravidian language family are native to south India and bear some connections with Uralic and Altaic. The Kassite language and the language of Elamites spoken by people in the neighborhood also shows similarity with Dravidian languages.⁵ Original Dravidian language was and is the language of people who migrated to South India from South West Asia. Tamil is the oldest representative of the Dravidian languages

in India. It also titles itself as one of the ancient unbroken belletristic traditions of the world's living languages. Both Indo-Aryans and Dravidian group of languages are two distinct linguistic groups, diametrically opposite be it philologically, grammatically or semantically.

The influence of Austro-Asiatic family and the Tibeto-Burman family natively present in India is relatively small as compared to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. Speakers of Tibeto- Burman languages are primarily concentrated in the North- East while those of Austro-Asiatic languages are centered more in Jharkhand, Bihar and Orissa. The uniqueness lies in the fact that no two communities are alike in terms of communication. All these languages have played and are playing effective roles in shaping language policy of India.

Historical Background of Language Movements in India

The multitude of languages contemplates India's multifarious history. Her linguistic diversity has placed her among complex societies in the world. Language movements have existed in India since ancient times. These movements reflect those afflicted and conflicting junctures in which the nation had witnessed exponential demurral, advocating the endorsement of a particular language. Magnitude of these protestations were such that it took the shape of historical movement. The earliest of any language movement in India dates back to the culminating Mughal empire in the mid 19th century, with the surfacing of Urdu movement. Urdu movement was stoked by Aligarh movement under Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. It had its basis during the early years in British domination. Initially both Hindi and Urdu were spoken without any distinction but later the communal twist of languages supervened a tussle between both Hindi and Urdu either for supremacy or the status of official language. In 1837, the British introduced Urdu as the official language in the North-West provinces, Bihar and Central Provinces⁶ and in 1864 Urdu was mandated as the language of the army.⁷ However, this favorable situation for Muslims was not perennial in nature. In 1867, when British government favored the demand of Hindi communities, the Muslims stood in strong opposition to it, thereby giving rise to Hindi Urdu controversy.

Besides this, Assamese were continuously fighting against the Bengali domination, since 1905-1911, to gain official recognition for their language in the region. Even Gorkha land also launched movements to achieve official recognition for the Nepali language. In the pre-independence period the Hindi-Urdu controversy was the most prominent language issue.

National or Official Language

The major problem faced by framers of Constitution of India soon after independence was the formulation of National and Official language. A good deal of semantic confusion persisted from the very first demand of National language during the early phase of Nationalist struggles.⁸ During the phase of Indian Nationalism, leaders hardly drew any sort of distinction between the three categories i.e. Common language, National language and official language. Gandhi ji advocated the acceptance of Hindustani as the 'Common Language', for Nehru the same language appeared as the 'All India language', and for C. Rajagopalchari it became a 'National language'.⁹ However, it became clear that be it a question of National language or Official language, Hindi was the most preferred language in both the cases. When the supporters of Hindi called for its recognition as 'National Language' of the country, the representatives of the non-Hindi speaking areas demanded that their languages were equally National. Finally on the suggestions of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar the word 'Official' was selected to precede language.¹⁰ Thus the framers in their keenness to have one official language for the nation, triggered intense rivalry among the language groups.

The Constitution received wide criticism due to its biasness towards Hindi as it was on the verge of superseding other regional languages. It appeared to some of them in the aftermath of partition to be a real threat of the 'Balkanization of the country'.¹¹ On 7th June 1955, the 'official language commission' was appointed which recommended in support of Hindi. However after much hesitation the union government introduced a bill on 13th April 1963 for the continuation of English as the union official language after 1965. It seemed as if the government was

struck in the midst of Hindi and non-Hindi speaking people. Hindi extremists registered their protest against the introduction of the official language bill in 1963. As 26th January 1965 approached the magnitude of the revolt touched the sky as people were in want of immediate action.

The first major linguistic struggle in free India had taken place in the second quarter of the 20th century in Madras state against the implementation of Hindi known as Anti-Hindi agitation. In Tamil Nadu the scale of violence in the name of language, post- independence was intense in comparison to the movements that were led to oust the Britisher's and win freedom for India. The effort of the policy makers to assure the people that Hindi would not steal their rights, turned out to be a complete failure. It was followed by intense mass agitation that had ever taken place in the history of Tamil Nadu. The movement focused on linguistic consciousness and regional interest. It shook the entire country and marked a new beginning in the history of Tamils. The first agitation was launched in 1937 against the very intention of C.Rajagopalachari the then chief minister of Madras Presidency, when he announced compulsory study of Hindi in schools. The concatenated years(1937-1940) witnessed many anti- Hindi conferences taking place in the region. However the then government of Madras Jock Erskine issued an order on 21st February 1940, abolishing compulsory Hindi in schools and making it optional.¹²

The anti- Hindi agitation which decelerated during the outbreak of second world war again gained momentum during the period from 1946-50. The most potent opposition in this period occurred in 1948-50. Soon after Independence the Congress Government of Madras Presidency O.P.R.Reddy made Hindi compulsory for the academics. Immediately Periyar and Anna started their campaign against the coming of Hindi for the second time. Second Anti-Hindi agitation started on 10th August 1948.¹³

Alike the agitation of 1937-40 this upsurge was also characterized by strikes, black flag demonstration and anti-Hindi procession. Eventually the government declared Hindi teaching optional from the academic year 1950-51, but had not completely given up the idea of imposing Hindi in some way or the other.

Outbreak of the Great Revolt of 1965 in Madras

Imposition of Hindi was opposed by members of Parliament from South India like T.T.Krishnamachari, G.Durgabai, N.G.Ranga, T.A.Ramalingam Chettiar, N.Gopalaswamy Ayyangr. The anti- Hindi block favored retention of English as National Official language. E.V.Ramasamy was the first to launch protest against the constitutional designation of Hindi as the Union official language. As per his directions, 10th January 1950, was observed as anti-Hindi day. In a meeting held on the same day Periyar said that he imposition of Hindi was a calculated attempt to enslave Tamils, and so, 26th January the day on which the new constitution was coming into force was a sad day for Tamils.¹⁴ Rajaji also stood against the constitution. He even warned the congress leaders that any sort of domination on the people of Madras would lead to riots. C.N.Annadurai also rejected the constitution which favored Hindi and said that Hindi was a language of oppression. The entire South rose in revolt against this policy of government.

In August 1952, Periyar led a gargantuan procession of 5000 volunteers at Tiruchy, entered the railway junction and smeared tar on Hindi letters on the name boards.¹⁵ This sort of representation of disappointment went on peacefully till 1954 in more than 500 stations and post offices. The silence of the government further aggravated the agitators. Thereby they decided to intensify the agitation, and resolved to burn the National flag. In the meantime K.Kamaraj on the advice of Nehru on 30th July 1955, announced Hindi as an optional subject in schools and that it will not be imposed either by Central Government or state Government any time. As an immediate consequence the burning of flag was withdrawn as this announcement gave some relief to the Tamils.

But they were not relieved for long as 26th January, 1965 was fast approaching. As the day i.e.26th January 1965, mentioned in the Constitution for phasing out English converged, the anti-Hindi agitation began to grow in number and insurgency.¹⁶ On 16th January Annadurai announced to observe 26th January as a 'day of mourning'. He mentioned the day as a 'Mournful Day for the South Indians' and said that the national flag of the Republic Day will be black for Tamils.¹⁷ However it is interesting to note that he also requested the then Prime Minister Shri

Lal Bhadur Shastri, to extend the date of imposition for a week, so that party can celebrate Republic day.¹⁸ The Academy of Tamil Culture also passed a proposal demanding that communication between Centre and the State and also between state and state should continue in English.¹⁹ DMK played an important role in campaigning against the forceful imposition of Hindi in the Non-Hindi speaking states.²⁰

However, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and his government was determined to impose Hindi on 26th January, 1965.²¹ As a consequence Annadurai continued an agitation for fifty days. It was the most violent among all agitations that had previously taken place in Madras. In two weeks almost 70 people were killed, two agitators committed suicide by self-immolation on Republic Day while soon after three days another youth from Tiruchy gave his life by consuming poison.²² He left a note stating his sacrifice for Tamil language. The people of South India were working relentlessly for the retention of English and disfavored the change over Hindi. Other acts of agitators included burning the map of Indian Union and even Part xvii of the Constitution as a protest against the imposition of Hindi. Several students conference were organized. The Madras State Anti-Hindi conference convened at Trichy was attended by 700 delegates from Madras, Maharastra, Kerela and Mysore. They called for indefinite suspension of Part xvii of the Constitution.²³ Rioting continued in Madras till the first week of February. Both the proponents and opponents turned active during this period. Language was in some ways is the inmate possession of a man and any violation to it was a violation of his identity. Hence the people of Madras stood against the language which was trying to snatch their identity.

The losses were heavy in Madras in comparison to other non-Hindi speaking states. Policemen from Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh were called to assist the Tamil Nadu police to crush the riots. During fifty days of agitation in Tamil Nadu, about twenty five post offices were attacked; some smashed; some were ransacked; and more than five were burnt down.²⁴ Telegraph posts, telephone booth and telephone exchange were damaged. The electrified meter gauge Egmore-Tambaram section was heavily damaged and due to this train services were suspended for five days, from 10th February, even the suburban

electric train services were also stopped.²⁵ Bus service was also stopped for some time to avoid any major accident. The police jeeps as well as of the army were burnt down. But this was the repercussion of brutal acts of the Government. Police used tear gas, lathi charges and also open fire to put down the agitation. It was crystal clear that people were determined to get rid of foreign language and save their culture. The magnitude of the agitation can be compared to the Quit India Movement of 1942. Death and mass arrest alienated the government from the people, so it was impossible to avert the catastrophe.

Ultimately the Government realized the seriousness of the problem. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri backed down and made a broadcast through All India Radio on February, 1965, expressing his shock over the riots.²⁶ He also assured the Tamils that English should continue to be used for center-state and intra-state communications, secondly he ensured that State has the right to choose any regional language as official language or can carry out its work in English, thirdly English will be used as work language at Central level. and fourthly, the All India Civil services examinations would continue to be conducted in English.²⁷ Shastri's assurances was able to calm a volatile situation. On 14th March anti-Hindi agitation council dropped the agitation. The long drawn agitation ensured the passing of Official Languages Act 1963 and its amendment in 1967. Thus it ensured the continuance of English language as an official language of India. The agitation effectively brought about the "virtual indefinite policy of Bilingualism" of the Indian Republic. It was well planned, organized and executed.

Conclusion

The Tamil language movement was the first major linguistic conflict in Independent India that had taken place in Tamil Nadu against the imposition of Hindi as Official language. The agitation intertwined the Tamils all over the country for genuine apprehension. The problem was genuine and so the agitation was spontaneous. Conflict, confrontation and bloodshed were inevitable. The efforts of the Government to unite the people by a common medium of communication like Japan, Germany, France, England and the United States had worsened the condition of

country to great extremity. Robert D. King in his book 'Nehru and Language Politics of India', has rightly pointed out that "the fact that it is possible to communicate with someone else in a common language does not guarantee that problems will disappear or will be easily resolvable. People disagree and even come to blows with the same family and country with only one language do have civil wars." Hence the theory of 'One Nation; One Language' is not applicable to this diverse land. The most suitable way for India is to have more than one language as an Official language based on the number of speakers of the following language and then strive for unity in diversity.

At the time of framing of the Constitution, leaders confused unity with uniformity and tried to bind the people by a common language without thinking about the future consequences. It is clear that language alone cannot unite people. The term unity has always been the matter of great concern for India. The balance between forces of unity and diversity was threatened by the imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi Nationalities. Maintenance of a balance is essential for the preservation of democratic life. According to residence of non-Hindi speaking areas, this balance can only be maintained by retention of English. S. N. Balasundaram in his book 'The Issues And Themes Of Indian Politics' has mentioned that any attempt to supplant English by Hindi is to rend the fabric of our unity.

Hence in a nutshell it can be stated that the bond of our unity is our common faith in the secular values of liberty, equality and fraternity that collectively assures justice to all. The issue of a unifying language had become a matter of serious controversy. Language has served and is serving both as a badge of membership in the community and also as a means of exclusion and exile. It is one of the major unresolved problems that the government has faced and is facing till date. However, it is interesting to note that, in comparison to any other Indian Language English has continued to serve as the common link language.

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Globalization, Literacy of Tribal women and its Socio-economic Impact : A Case Study of Jharkhand

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Abstract

Tribal women of Jharkhand are one of the most diligent and strong communities which have survived since prehistoric times in India. Unfortunately even in this age of globalization most tribal women are still destined to live in primeval circumstances. This article is about how education can and has proved to be a significant tool to ameliorate their socio-economic condition in this era of globalization. Education has brought some change in their economic conditions which is quite apparent though there still exists noticeable gap between male and female education. Also development in their literacy level is remarkably low as compared to non-tribal women. As a result socio-economic condition of tribal women has not transformed much. The modest effort of this article is to find the correlation between globalization and literacy of tribal women and its resultant impact on their socio-economic condition. Also effort is being made to evaluate how globalization and literacy have affected urban and rural tribal women in a different way.

Keywords : Tribal women, Literacy, Technology, Globalization, Rural Economy.

Introduction

If described in short, globalization is all about socio-economic and cultural influence of one country on another, like increasing Western influence on India. We don't live in an isolated and aloof world anymore

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but rather a world which is well connected by tools of information technology, internet and media. Today emphasis is on commercial and trade oriented education as India has become the source of both cheap and talented manpower. So there is a visible rush to take advantage of this opportunity and importance of education is increasing as never before. But one simple question is that what are the prospects of globalization for those who have been left behind in this race like tribals and women? In this paper my modest effort is to explore the impact of globalization on educational pursuits of tribal women of Jharkhand. Tribal women have to face all sorts of constraints in life like: financial problems, gender discrimination, social issues and lack of awareness. In globalizing India these barriers are slowly melting away as some tribal women set examples by excelling in academics and others try to emulate them. Government is providing various scholarships and schemes to encourage tribals to educate girl child. Globalizing India changes things but much is yet to be done to improve their socio-economic condition. Tribal women are lagging in this race of taking advantage of education in globalizing world behind tribal men and non-tribal women at the same time. So obviously improvement in their economic status is also lagging as compared to their male counterparts in tribal communities.

This article explores the relationship between these three components which is: globalization, educational achievements of tribal women and improvement in their socio-economic condition.

It is quite obvious that globalization is gradually changing the old socio-economic order around us and one of the powerful catalysts of this change is education. It is that light which illuminates even the darkest corners of the society. Education is an integral part of a civilization and it forms the very backbone of the civilization of a country. Our life depends largely on the 4 traditional education and value system. The India of today is fast changing but this change is affected by her past and education is no exception.¹

Education sector in modern India largely rests on two pillars, one government as controller and provider, two students as consumer of this sector. It is true that education system was established by British in

colonial period and it remained more or less same till twenty first century. So long education sector was in hands of government only and was considered as social responsibility on latter's part. After reforms of 1991 India emerged as software and IT hub. This development brought a boon to service sector and left agriculture and manufacture industry behind. Now service sector required trained and skilled manpower which in turn brought huge attention to higher education. Privatization of education and allowing FDI in this sector has sparked debates all around the country. Further, education, as a service industry, is part of globalization process under the umbrella of General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).²

Globalization will have its impact on the entire education system and more on higher education. International organizations like WTO / GATS have also compelled developing countries to open up the education sector for foreign institutions. WTO has posed both challenges and opportunities to the member nations.³ Cost of education has certainly increased in the process. This has resulted in increasing inequality between haves and have-nots on academic front. The government of India through extensive privatization, commercialization and deregulation has been encouraging this process.⁴ This attitude of government is really dangerous for students of lower and poor strata which includes tribal population in states like Jharkhand. It is because a large number of students enrolled in universities and colleges⁵ situated in small towns are first generation learners. These students could go to institutions of higher education because of the subsidy given to higher education.

Educational pursuits of tribal women can fit in diverse economic groups : like they could belong to well to do families, middle class or even very poor families who struggle every day to make their ends meet. The main purpose of the present paper is to find the relationship, if any, between globalizing Indian economy and changes in level of educational achievement of tribal women.

Also socio-economic Indicators like gross enrolment rate and occupation pattern are assessed to find out how increased literacy drive has affected lives of tribal women in rural as well as urban areas differently.

Review of Literature

S.C. Roy in *The Mundas And Their Country*, and L. P. Vidyarthi in *The Tribal Culture of India*, have pioneered study of tribals and their world. Though today when world is moving from globalization to post globalization scenario, isolation of tribals is gradually giving way to their mainstreaming. Life and problems of tribal women has been analyzed by Martha Macintyre in his book *Women Miners in Developing Countries*.

Vijay Prakash Sharma's '*Empowerment of Tribal Women : Issues and Challenges in Jharkhand*' is another book which discusses status of tribal women in contemporary India. Unfortunately it was written before waves of globalization started affecting India, so much is left to explore here.

Bhola Nath Ghosh, in his article 'Empowerment as an indicator of Development of Tribal Women in Rural Jharkhand' 1995, explains how UNDP introduced two new indices: a gender-related development index (GDI) and a gender empowerment measure (GEM) in order to know the position of gender-related development in comparison to general level of development measured in conventional sense on overall income and employment. Bhola Nath Ghosh, Professor in Sociological Research Unit of Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, has book and articles to his credit on women empowerment issues. The present article is available in E-Journal of Sociological Society and can be seen on www.insoso.org. Here Bhola Nath Ghosh discusses how GEM is calculated using equally distributed equivalent percentage (EDEP) mechanism, which was first developed by Atkinson (1970) while deriving a measure of income inequality through social welfare function. Ministry of Women and Child Development of Government of India (MWCD) supported by UNDP had changed the way of measuring the gender gaps in development and empowerment for India. According to MWCD, the problem is that the indices used by United Nations in general have been devised from a northern perspective and do not incorporate the perspective of the countries of southern hemisphere especially of India. Therefore an Indian perspective is required to look into the social inequality issues which exist especially in tribal communities.

Transformation of Rural Economy During Last Decade And Its Impact

On Rural Women In Un-Organized Sector (2006), by Planning Commission is another useful document regarding my work. At the same time Census Report of Government of India, provides us with ample data on tribals in related area, though major part is left for the analysis and evaluation job.

Area of Research

It is not difficult to understand the increasing importance of globalization in shaping the socio-economic condition of Indian population which includes various tribes as well. Tribal women form the nucleus of society and intensifying forces of globalization are fueling changes in their lives through the obvious agent which is globalization. Thus role of globalization in promoting educational pursuits among the tribal women and its implications on their socio-economic is the important area of research. This is because rapid technological developments associated with globalization have changed their lives and this change is permanent whether we like it or not.

Research Methodology Applied

This paper has utilized data from diverse primary and secondary sources. Census Report of Government of India from 1991 to 2016 has been used for determining the pattern of change in literary achievement of tribal women of Jharkhand for past 25 years (1991-2016). Ministry of Human Resource Development published Educational Statistics and it was used for study of enrolment of tribal women at school, college and university levels to determine nature of change in educational achievement for tribal women in globalizing India, that is mostly from 1991. Changes in Socio-economic status and subsequent improvement in their lives due to education can be measured by indicators such as: enrolment in educational institutions. I have utilized this one component to analyze socio-economic profile of tribals especially women in globalizing India and also to highlight the difference between the rural and urban population development on the point of literary achievement in past 25 years.

Observation and Data Analysis

Since prehistoric times tribes have lived in the forest hills and naturally isolated regions known as a rule by different names meaning either the people of forest and hill or the original inhabitants, and so on. The popular names are: Vanyajati (castes of forest), Vanvasi (inhabitants of forest), Pahari (hill-dwellers), Adimjati (original communities), Adivasi (first settlers), Janjati (folk people), Adimjati (primitive people), Anusuchit Janjati (scheduled tribe) and so on.⁵ A thick curtain of mystery hangs over the antiquities of these prehistoric tribes.⁶ We do not have complete knowledge of their prehistoric abode or their consecutive exodus. And yet these are the peoples whose remote ancestors were once masters of Indian soil, whose doings and sufferings, whose joys and sorrows, once made up the history of the Indian Peninsula.⁷ Jharkhand has 25 tribes and they lived in this state since time immemorial. They lived with nature, worshipped various natural phenomenon like sun, ate whatever they gathered or grew, male female worked hard in unison and at the nightfall drank rice beer, sung songs and danced merrily around the fire till late night. However their peaceful existence was threatened and their monopoly challenged when new set of inhabitants appeared in Chotanagpur.

The modern period starts with the advent of the British rule in the country. When the Britishers first entered Chotanagpur (then known as Jungal Mahal) they had to face fierce opposition from the tribals.⁸ British and new set of landlords started oppressing these tribals and taking control of the land which once belonged to their forefathers. Since then tribals had to face serious economic upheavals and situation started to ameliorate only after independence when government started various schemes and provisions for their socio-economic upliftment. In twenty first century globalizing India impetus of change is provided by increasing interaction of tribals with the outside world. The growing contact of the tribals with the surrounding non-tribal population has made, and is still making the tribals borrow many cultural items, causing change of various forms.⁹ It has often been pointed out that all elements of culture are interrelated; even a minor change in one element of one cultural system can have a profound impact on other cultural systems.¹⁰ The cultures of 'traditional societies' are thought to have changed

extraordinarily slowly, if at all.¹¹ And who carries forward the emblem of culture other than women of the community!

Tribal women are very hard working and really good organizers. They manage their household, raise children and maintain cleanliness among other things. It is really admirable how they do that, given their limited resources. Those tribals who depend on agriculture and related activities for livelihood get help from their womenfolk for field activities. Thus women not only work hard to make their home sparkle, they even assist their men in economic activities as and when required.

If tribal women are so strong then why are they lagging behind their male counterparts in educational achievements? Education is such a powerful and effective tool to bring changes in social and economic life. Globalizing India brings plethora of opportunities in service sector and literacy is the most valuable weapon against social injustice like poverty and inequality. Why don't tribal women exploit the current opportunity and get as much education as they can? There are several answers to this one simple question and it is because we are talking about women who belong to diverse economic and social conditions. Some of them are simply happy with their lot and they accept household chores as their ultimate duty as well as destiny. They do not even try to pursue literary activities even though they have the means to do so. Then another category of women belongs to those who are fatalistic by nature and do not attempt to come out of their depravity. Next in line are those who have the interest and means to get educated but social and cultural norms prevent them from doing so.

Economic constraints keep a good many tribal women away from educational facilities. Save (1945) once wrote "In case of people who hardly get bread twice a day, literacy is a tall talk". Even though government has started several socio-economic programmes for tribals' upliftment, lack of knowledge and illiteracy prevent them from taking full advantage of such plans.

Globalization and Change(1991-2016)

Education acts as a lifeboat which takes one across the sea of poverty,

illiteracy, backwardness to the other side which is modernity, self-respect and prosperity. In this age of globalization literacy is no more a luxury but an urgent requirement. This could not be more true than for the tribal women of Jharkhand who have suffered long era of darkness and oppression. In this section literacy is used as a factor to evaluate their development in past twenty-five years. Also another important thing to be observed here is whether there has been any noticeable change in the rate of literacy achieved after economic reforms of 1991 or not. It is because it is after 1991 that liberalization, privatization and globalization started making visible impact on Indian society. Then only it can be concluded that a positive correlation exists between globalization and literacy of tribal women.

Table : 1 Percentage Distribution of Tribal Women by Educational Attainment, Jharkhand, 1998-99

Educational Attainment	Tribal Women
Illiterate	89.0
Literate, <middle school complete	5.7
Middle school complete	2.6
High school and above	2.6

Source: National Family Health Survey (NFHS-2), 1998-99

Table-1 shows the percentages of literacy rates of tribal women of Jharkhand for the year 1998-99. It is apparent from the above table that condition of education was in miserable state. More than eighty percent of tribal women were totally illiterate. This figure is adequate to explain the sorry state of affairs in this area.

Table : 2 Literacy Rate, 2001

Literacy Rate	All STs (state)	Oraon	Kharia	Munda	Bhumij	Ho	Lohra	Santhal	Kharwar
Persons	40.7	52.5	51.0	47.9	41.5	39.2	38.9	33.4	29.6
Females	27.2	40.8	42.2	34.9	24.0	23.9	25.0	19.5	13.9

Source: Office of the Registrar General, India

http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Tables_Published/SCST/dh_st_jharkhand.pdf

Table-2 shows the percentages of literacy rates of tribal women of Jharkhand for different tribes for the year 2001. The clear difference between the male and female literacy rate is quite obvious from the table. However this difference varies for tribes and it can be inferred that women of certain tribe are better off in literary field than other tribe.

Table : 3 Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)-Scheduled Tribe of Jharkhand 2007-08

State	Scheduled Tribe Students								
	Classes I-V (6 - 10 years)			Classes VI-VIII (11-13years)			Classes I-VIII (6-13years)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Jharkhand	195.62	186.24	190.95	59.35	43.64	51.61	141.58	130.51	136.09

Source : Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Health Statistics 2011.Table-3 continued..

State	Scheduled Tribe Students					
	Classes IX-X (14 - 15 years)			Classes XI-XIII (16 - 17years)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Jharkhand	27.89	19.28	23.64	4.56	2.74	3.66

Source: Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Health Statistics 2011

It is clear from Table 3 that female literacy rate gets worse as age of girl child progresses. The gap in male and female literacy rate is at its highest in secondary education as we can see in the above table.

The overall literacy rate among the STs has increased from 27.5 per cent at 1991 census to 40.7 per cent at 2001 census.¹² If we talk about the bigger picture then we find that for rural, tribal and women as a whole education is still in dismal situation. But over the last 10 years there has been noticeable change in this field. Available evidence indicates that the formal education and training, essential for skill formation, is very low – although it improved during 2000-2008 – in the case of workers and micro-entrepreneurs in India. As much as 34% of the total population in the age

group of 15 years and above is not literate at all. The figure is alarmingly high in the rural areas (40.3%). Considering middle level schooling as the minimum requirement for performing in the market, only 41.9% of working age population at the aggregate level and only 34.1% in the rural areas may be termed as adequately qualified, as per the latest available data of 2008.¹³ During 1990s in Jharkhand state there was a huge gap in educational accomplishment of tribal and non-tribal women. 89% of the tribal women were illiterate compared to 71% of the non-tribal women.¹⁴ In 2001 tribal female literacy rate was 27.2 per cent.¹⁵ The level of education plays a crucial role in employability, efficiency and level of income of a person.¹⁶ Education is the only way to improve the socio-economic condition of tribal women and they understand it now. That is because of this increased awareness that their educational achievement has improved in past three decades.

Report of 2011 states that for females literacy rate was 46.62% than male literacy rate of 72.86%. Total literates in rural areas were 12,643,078. According to the Census Report of Government of India 2001 female literacy was 38.87% whereas in 2011 it increased to 55.42%.¹⁷

Rural- Urban Divide

There is also a distinction in the role of tribal women in the rural and urban areas. The tribal areas are for the first time getting opened up and small urban centres are getting established. A clear understanding about the change in the character of the work force in the tribal areas, therefore, is important for a successful development programme.¹⁸

Among married women who work and are paid in cash, 88 percent decide how their earnings will be spent, either alone or married women who work and are paid in cash, 88 percent decide how their earnings will be spent, either alone or together with their husbands.

Table : 4 Comparison of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes population of Jharkhand as per Residence

State	Scheduled Caste Population 2011	Scheduled Tribe Population 2011
	Total Rural Urban	Total Rural Urban
Jharkhand	3,985,644 - 2,043,458 - 1,942,186	8,645,042 - 7,868,150 - 777,892

Jharkhand Economic Survey 2016-17 (Planning -Cum-Finance Department, Finance Division), Government of Jharkhand, p. 361.

It is well known that in the urban areas in the initial stages it is the male population which is predominant. The balancing of the Sex ratio takes place when the families from the rural hinterland join the urban bread winner.¹⁹

While in the case of the Scheduled Castes community, one does not notice a very large difference in terms of residence (RURAL-URBAN DIVIDE), but, in the case of the Scheduled Tribes, one can clearly see the huge gap in terms of residence and conclude that the Tribes are predominantly rural. Between 2001 and 2011, while there has been a marginal rise of 0.4% in the rural based tribal population, urbanization among the tribes has not occurred over the decade.²⁰ So major tribal population still thrives in the rural areas in spite of all the changes around them.

So how these change have affected tribal women's lives is to be explored in this section. Globalization and literacy drive has induced empowerment to some extent as literacy increases chances of employment. This in turn empowers them to have more control over household decisions as such. Sixty percent of women have some money that they can decide how to use. The proportion of women with money which they control is highest for women in the highest wealth quintile and women with at least 10 years of education.²¹

Let us check out some employment details regarding the current state of affairs. As per NHFS III, Fifty-eight percent of currently married women age 15-49 were employed in the last year, compared with 99 percent of currently married men in the same age group; two-fifths of these women received no payment for their work, and 13 percent were paid only in kind. Overall, only 47 percent of employed married women earn cash, compared with 87 percent of employed married men. Twenty-four percent of women who work for cash earn about the same or more than their husbands.²²

There is not only disparity on male and female front regarding economic issues but also between tribal and non-tribal women. At all-india level about 52 per cent males have been classified as workers amongst non-tribals yet this proportion is 56 per cent among tribals, an excess of

about 4 per cent. The position, however, for women is very different. Amongst non-tribals only 11.64 per cent women have been classified as workers whereas in the case of tribal women this percentage is 20.74.²³

Rural and urban areas have different work participation roles for tribal women. Only about 8 per cent of the non-tribal women are classified as workers in the urban areas whereas 13 percent of tribal women have been classified as workers in urban areas. In the rural areas the difference in the participation of women in the work forces is much smaller. 20.68 per cent tribal women are workers while 12.38 per cent non-tribals are workers. Thus, there is a reverse trend in the participation ratio of women when we compare the urban and rural areas.²⁴

Globalization has infused fresh technologies in almost all areas of life which increase productivity and improve living conditions as well. it is important to look at one example of active encouragement and support as done by Tata Trusts among tribal population in Khunti near Ranchi. They understand how technology acts as a powerful tool to improve life quality for people. Technology will help in building mechanisms to capture positive stories on the region through visuals and video clips, generating demand among communities for the same livelihood investments. Digital technology can also disseminate market information, keeping in mind that tribal communities prefer low-hassle farm-gate rate. Some specific initiatives like internet carts under the Internet Saathi program in association with Google and Intel, which will carry internet access to remote pockets, is being planned for implementation in this quarter. A tablet enabled English teaching programme is being launched in 140 schools in Khunti.²⁵

Table 5 : Increasing Enrolment of Women in Higher Education in Technological Stream since onset of Globalization (1991-2005)

Discipline	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05
Science and Technology	302	318.6	334.4	415	440.4	462.9	469.6	494.2	520.9	699.4	736.9	809	850.2

Source: <http://data.gov.in/node/87899/download>

It is clear from the above table that since 1990s globalization has kind of stimulated the craze for technological education among women in general and tribal women are not aloof from this new development. It is because there is vibrant job market for this field and educated and informed tribal women want to avail this opportunity. Nayar observed that opportunities at the job market inspired female students to take up technical and professional courses to rise to the demands of the labour market.²⁶ The Indian IT-BPO industry has emerged as the largest private sector employer in the country with direct employment of about 2.23 million professionals. The percentage of female employees, over the years, has steadily increased from 35% in 2006 to 36% in 2008 at the junior level.²⁷ The appeal is clear, if we resphere our view to see the user of technology as a subject, rather than an object, we provide an avenue, for women to act as agents of change.²⁸ Thus globalization and related technological arena has encouraged better employment opportunities amongst women which includes tribal women as well.

V. Conclusion and Recommendation

Several catalysts are responsible for increasing literacy among tribal women of Jharkhand in last 25 years. Increasing availability of academic institutions, various socio-economic programmes started by government, and last but not the least raised awareness among women due to various form of media are some of the factors for this progress. Globalization has made electronic and print media so powerful that no one can ignore or deny its presence. Same media acts as a source for disseminating useful information to people from all across the society. Thus it can be given its due praise for making people aware and responsive to the change happening in the world. Globalizing India has brought several challenges and opportunities before its citizens. The most significant is equality in present opportunities and in order to exercise that education is a must. Socio-economic condition of tribal women has improved where there is a visible rush to take advantage of this opportunity. However, impact of globalization in improving socio-economic condition is different as far as rural and urban population is concerned. Different developmental strategies are

required to address the issues of tribal women in rural and urban areas. It is found that even in this race of globalization tribal women are lagging behind non tribal women and even tribal men.

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A study of the presence of Jainism in ancient Manbhum

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Abstract

The well known religion of Jainism has been widely spread by Mahavira in the ancient time. The holy land of Bihar and the adjacent areas are known for the wider influence of his teachings. The region of former Manbhum has its boundaries attached to this holy land. So Jainism made its appearance here. The archaeological evidences present here indicate this influence of Jainism in this region. The lay Jains or *Sarak* tribe had their settlement here who could have contributed to spread this religion. This region had been connected to Magadha by trade route so the visit of Jain monks to this region is also probable. The evidences also suggest that most of the Jain structures had been built in the river valleys. Thus there are a number of factors present here which could have made the influence of Jainism possible in the region of former Manbhum.

Key words : *Parasnath hills, Itinerary of Mahavira, Tirthamkaras, Sarak tribe,*

Introduction

Religion has played a very significant role in shaping the lives of mankind. The history of Indian subcontinent is not an exception of it. The very well known religious belief of Jainism has influenced the people in various region of Indian mainland. The remarkable influence of this religious system in undivided Bihar has been broadly studied by the scholars. It generates the possibility of the influence of Jainism in the adjacent areas amongst which Manbhum is a very important region. The region which has been frequently termed as Manbhum earlier is

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presently divided into different smaller districts. A major portion of the district of Dhanbad in Jharkhand and the district of Purulia in West Bengal were included in former Manbhum. This area seems to have been a centre of remarkable cultural activities from its early existence. The available archaeological remains of this region suggest that it was an important centre of Jainism. It is also important to see that some areas of present Jharkhand were in erstwhile Manbhum, and the state of Jharkhand is carved out of the holy land of Bihar where Jainism was very widely professed in the past. Thus the study of the influence of Jainism in Manbhum would evidently be an impetus to the history of this region.

Review of literature

The influence of the age old cult of Jainism could be studied with the help of the archaeological sources. The reports prepared by Mr. Beglar provide information of immense value in this regard. He was the assistant archaeologist of Archaeological Survey of India when he toured to this region in the latter half of the nineteenth century and made valuable notes on the remains available here which mentions various sites of Jain origin. *The Review of Indian Archaeology* by A. Ghosh and *Memoirs of The Archaeological Survey of India* by Debala Mitra are the relevant works for the subject under study. Sources like *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* by D.R. Patil inform about the ancient sites related to Jainism. *The Archaeology of The Chotanagpur Division* written by Dilbar Bhengra also provides information about our subject. There is no abundance of primary literature to study the subject however the literature related to Jainism like *Sammedshikhar Mahatmeya*, Manekyashekharsuri's *Shri madavashyakniryuktidipika etc.* mention about the importance of this area for the Jain monks. Such works inform us about the probable visit of the well known Jain monks to this region. Secondary sources on this topic are present for our review. Works like *Jainism in Bihar*, by P. C. Roy Choudhury, *Chaubis Tirthamkara* by Rajendra Muni, *Chota Nagpore A Little Known Province of The Empire* written by F.

B. Bradley-Birt, *Jharkhand Itihas Evam Sanskriti* by B. Virottam, *Prachin Bharatiya Lipi Avam Abhilikh* by Gopal Yadav help us in preparing an outline of the subject. *The Antiquarian remains of Jharkhand* by Bulu Imam provides the information about the historical sites of the state. Besides these the articles published in the Journals from time to time also help us. The Gazetteers like that of Manbhum compiled by Coupland and the other is of the eastern zone of the country also provided assistance to complete the work.

Area of study

This paper endeavours to provide an insight of the influence of Jainism in the region of former Manbhum. It has been based upon the archaeological evidences present here. It is an attempt to recollect the probable presence of Jainism in this area. The affect of this system on the lives of the people living here would also be a matter to study. As some parts of Jharkhand were also included in Manbhum in the past therefore, this article tries to identify the sites which are situated in present Jharkhand also.

Research method

The present paper has been prepared on the basis of primary and secondary literature available on the problem. It is worth mentioning that there is lack of significant contemporary primary literature dealing in the region under study. Occasional remarks, however, can be noticed in such original works regarding the presence of Jainism in Manbhum. Some important archaeological sites are still available to corroborate the literary facts. Even ethnological sources are of some importance to complete the work. The available descriptions which are made on the basis of archaeological evidences have been studied to prepare the article. These evidences are corroborated with the presence of Jainism in the wider area of undivided Bihar. This is studied in purview of a wider Jain circuit present in this part of the country.

Manbhum – A centre of historic importance

The archaeological evidences found in Manbhum indicate the occurrence of a flourishing culture during ancient period which has left a legacy for its pride.¹ It is worth mentioning that the district of Dhanbad in Jharkhand has been formed in the year 1956 by taking out some parts of Manbhum. The main areas incorporated in it were the old sub-division of Dhanbad, Chas and Chandankiyari police station of the sadar sub-division which were situated in erstwhile Manbhum district². Therefore there was a good portion of present Jharkhand which was encompassed earlier in Manbhum. This whole area lies in the proximity of Bihar where Jainism was undisputedly an important religion therefore, the location of Jharkhand itself is the testimony of the presence of Jainism here.

Further, it would be important to see that Manbhum was situated not so very far from the Parasnath hill which is a very well-known Jain pilgrimage from a very remote period of time. It is in the district of Giridih, the boundary of which touches the district of Dhanbad which was once a part of old Manbhum. The twenty third of the Jain Tirthamkars, Parsvanath had attained the Nirvana here. It is mentioned in the Jain canons that Parsvanath breathed his last while he was on the summit of mount Sammeta. It appears that Parasnath hill has been named after the twenty-third Jain Tirthamkara Parsvanath. It is a centre of pilgrimage of a very high repute for the followers of Jainism as it has been associated with a number of Jain Tirthamkaras.³ The archaeological evidences also confirm the Jain influence here.⁴ The antiquity of the hill goes back to eighth-ninth century B.C. as Jain tradition says that Parsvanath had lived about some two hundred and fifty years before Mahavira. Also, a number of early Tirthamkaras had obtained their Nirvana on the summit of Parasnath.⁵ Thus it has been an important place for the Jains since ancient past, even before Mahavira. We may therefore, infer that the location of Manbhum in context to its proximity to Parasnath may be regarded as a factor for the presence of Jain remains here.

The artefacts found in some places like the valleys of river Damodar and Kasai of Manbhum give very clear indication of the presence of Jainism here. It appears that the prosperous Jains had constructed temples in the areas close to these rivers⁶. River valleys were the suitable places for the convenient settlements for the human being since the time of early civilizations. It may also be true for those who profess trade, and the presence of trade and commerce in the area of ancient Manbhum cannot be denied. Manbhum is likely to fall in the journey to Bengal and Orissa from ancient Magadha. There are some indications which show the presence of a flourishing trade through this region and it is a well understood fact that the protestant cult of Jainism attracted the groups of traders and merchants.

Some important routes passed through this region which connected Tamluk i.e. Tamralipti to Patliputra.⁷ The route had probably passed through the region of Jharia in Jharkhand. The rich traders could have developed religious centers around the routes which they had frequently used. This could be one important reason of the findings of antiquities related to Jainism in the region of Manbhum. In this regard we can observe the mention made in the Hathigumpha inscription of the famous ruler of Odisha named Kharvel who was an ardent follower of Jainism. It says that he came up to Magadha.⁸ It is possible that he could have used the same path and might have spread this religion here. A Jain ruler with the capacity of Kharvel would have definitely tried to spread his beliefs in the areas through which he had passed.

Sites with Jain remains

There are several places with Jain remains in the region under study. Amongst these Katras is worth mentioning which is situated in the district of Dhanbad. Numerous Jain figures have been found around Katras.⁹ Initially it was a part of the old territory of Manbhum. Jainism appears to have been the oldest historical culture here. The Jain remains here could be seen in the river valleys and in their confluence which is a significant feature of whole Manbhum. During his visit to this region

Mr. Beglar witnessed the remains of numerous ancient temples near the river Damodar. He says that the materials of these ancient remains have been used for building new ones. To the north of Katras he found a small temple. There laid an old sculptured doorway and several fragments of statues and cut stones of ancient time¹⁰. There were other old ruins which were mostly covered with debris. A few structures have been identified and termed as the Shaiva temples. It is difficult to deny that some of these structures could have been constructed by the Jain followers. In the long course of time these might have been changed or reconstructed by other believers according to their own tradition. Besides these remains, several neglected Jain ruins also have been found within half a mile to the Katrasgarh railway station. People claim that several remnants have been already disappeared however, a big Jain statue is discovered in nudity.

In addition to these remains there is an inscription found here in which the mention of *Sarawaks* could be seen.¹¹ The inscription also includes that the temples have been made by the Jains. The *Sarawaks* have been ascribed to be the followers of Jainism and they have built several tanks in and around their habitation. In Katras also an almost dried tank was found.¹² The Jain remains which are widespread in this whole belt have been indicating that further search may probably discover some other remains also.

Another place called Chechgaongarh is also having Jain antiquities which are found eight miles south-west of Katras beside Damodar. Ruins of 16 temples of ancient time have been discovered here.¹³ Seeing these findings, we can assume that they might have been a part of the old Jain culture in that area. There can be little doubt that the sculptures are representations of the Tirthamkaras.¹⁴ In the district gazetteer of Manbhum, H. Coupland indicates the presence of a Jain civilization here as some of these places were of purely Jain origin¹⁵ An inscription found here says about some "Srayaki Rachhabansidra.", through which we may draw the conclusion that there were Jain or *Srawaki* temples here. Remains show that in this temple the architrave represents a seated figure with

the halo as shown in Jain tradition.¹⁶ As These sculptures closely resemble the Tirthankaras which led to the thinking that a good deal of population in this region might have been paying reverence to these holy personalities. The construction of these religious structures would not have been possible otherwise.

Further, in the mentions made by Mr. Beglar we find the description of Jain statues near Chandankiyari and in the nearby village of Bilonja. One amongst this statue is naked which indicates its Jain origin. These statues are said to have been obtained partly from the ruins of Chechgaongarh and partly from the ruins of a large temple once existing in the east of the village Bilonja¹⁷. It seems that this place was once the part of the cluster of a large settlement of the followers of Jainism. In the same cluster in the present district of Dhanbad, Darika or Dandika is situated roughly three miles to the south-west of the ruins of Chechgaongarh. Some remains of ancient temples have been found here. Out of several finds a statue probably of a Jain monk is found beside a tank. It is in the traditional seated posture and having a symbol of a bull on his pedestal. The symbol of the bull represents the Jain Tirthankara Rishabhdeva.¹⁸ It strongly suggests the Jain connection with this place in the past. There are other instances also representing Shaivic temple which appears to have been of later time. But it is to be observed that this temple was ornamented with the sculpture with Jain influence.

Jain remains are found in those parts of Manbhum also which fall in present West Bengal. Balrampur is a place situated about four miles from Purulia in Bengal. The temples found here appears to be constructed by using the materials of some older temples.¹⁹ In the same region another place called Suissa also have numerous Jain statues found under a tree. In these remains figures with snake and bull symbols are found besides a votive chaitya with four naked figures.²⁰ Those remains indicate that sometimes in the past a large temple could have existed here. Dulmi is another place situated beside the Subarnarekha River about twenty-five miles west of Bara Bazar. It was first noticed by Col. Dalton²¹. The remains here show that it was a place with Vaishnavic, Shaivic, and Buddhist or

Jain influence. In this region Charra near Purulia also have artefacts. In the remains of old temples found here some finds were of Jain or Buddhist origin, though Brahmanical remains are also found here. Another place Deoli is called so due to a group of ancient temples found here. The mentions of remains made above suggest that the whole region of Manbhum either situated in present day Jharkhand or in West Bengal had been under the influence of Jain culture in historic time. It appears that a large number of people living in this region were the followers of Jainism.

Sarak tribe: the lay Jains

Another noteworthy fact about Manbhum is its association with the *Sarak* tribe. They seem to have probably living here since ancient times. More importantly they have been ascribed to be associated with Jainism. It has been told that the descendents of the jains were these *Saraks* or *Srawaks*. Those *Srawaks* of historic period have been credited to have built the temples in this region during their habitation in ancient time²² The remains of these structures can be seen in this area. It clearly indicates the influence of Jainism here. We may also bring the opinion of Colonel Dalton in this discussion which has been based upon the observation of the ruins during his tour made to the region of Manbhum in 1860s.²³ He also ascribes the settlement and the structures of the area to the *Srawaks* who appeared to him as the early settlers of this region. He writes on the basis of the availability of the ruins of the age old temples found on the banks of the river Damodar and Casai. Besides these some large tanks are also found in the vicinity of these temples. The *Srawaks* are being associated with digging these tanks. These were built by cutting rough stone. On some of the stone scattered there the traces of Tirthamkaras have been found.²⁴ All these evidences suggest that there was probably a good span of time in history when the followers of Jainism inhabited the region.

Itinerary of Mahavira

The inhabitants mentioned above would evidently come into the contact of the wandering monks in the past. This would have shaped

their religious beliefs. For the Jain Tirthamkaras this part of the country was not unknown as the instance of Parasnath hills suggests. There are some mentions available about the visit of Mahavira to this region. The probable tour of Mahavira during his itinerary could have been one impetus to Jain influence here. According to the Jain tradition he visited the province of 'safa' during his tour for spreading the cult of Jainism. This area has been mentioned to be populated by the aboriginals. It has been said that those people did not listen to Mahavira and created some troubles for him. Mahavira was being unaffected by all such troubles, kept on touring. The mention of 'safa' seems to have been made in context of the influence of Jainism in Manbhum.²⁵

About the prominent Jain culture in this region the scholars suggest that the prevailing peace and harmony of that time provided ideal circumstances for the establishment of Jains, the remains of which are spread far and wide here. This has been a pre-requisite for the spread and success of any such expedition in any part of the world.²⁶

It is therefore, not out of our presumption that Jainism, by various ways influenced the area under study. The continuity of the age old tradition could be seen in the fact that these historic idols of the Tirthamkaras have been worshipped by the people for a long time in modern age also. The people however, converted these as their own deity by changing their identity. These conversions can be seen very easily as these have been mostly done by the process of referring the remains to be their God. This indicates a change in the traditional beliefs of this area. These variations might have occurred due to the interaction between different beliefs present here. The inhabitants changed these according to their own prevailing system of worship. In this process the age-old features and the system of later times have been intermingled. In Telkupi, in the region of Manbhum an old image has been worshipped till recent time under the name of Birup. However this has been told as the image of Tirthamkara Mahavira.²⁷ This is also a place with the remains like the regions mentioned above. In so many aspects these are similar to those remains which are obtained from the

Damuda (Damodar) and Barakar valleys which seem to have the favorite haunts of the Jains.²⁸ We can see that some places adjacent to the abovementioned areas fall within the territory of Jharkhand, which have a good deal of Jain remains present there.

Conclusion and recommendations

Jainism had a remarkable presence in this region in the historic time, as the ancient remains suggest, we may however, observe the confluence of various religious beliefs here. There may be several reasons working behind the evident presence of Jainism here. It appears that this was one of the most important areas where Jainism had a notable influence. At the same time it also seems to have been possible that the religion like Brahmanism could have subdued it during the later period. We may further find that the remnants found in the Dhanbad-Purulia region may be corroborated with the finds of several other places of Jharkhand. Thus it may be presumed that this tribal dominated area was by and large not unaware with Jainism in ancient period. The presence of a religion with this valor is required to be studied in a wider extent. There is a need of large scale excavations especially in the areas near the river valleys to bring the remains in light. It would evidently help in bringing prosperity to the history of this region of our country.

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Women Trafficking in Jharkhand

Baidehi Kumari*

Disturbing information that has come to light has shown that the state of Jharkhand is slowly turning into heaven for 'intermediaries and traffickers'. As Jharkhand has a number of serious issues, among them is the trafficking of women. Jharkhand is a home of a significant population of India's indigenous tribal communities, who are among the most disenfranchised citizens of the country.

Jharkhand tribes have a tradition known as 'mehmaani', where parents send their children to live with their uncles for a few months to foster better familial ties. Many families send their children for mehmaani¹ and didn't expect them for several months and after a substantial amount of time, they realize that their children had been trafficked. In recent years, the state of Jharkhand has emerged as a vulnerable state for trafficking women for forced labour and slavery.² Thousands of women from Jharkhand are traded and trafficked by placement agencies to domestic helps in several metro cities like Delhi, Haryana etc. The women remains in slavery and bonded labour like conditions. Several cases of sexual slavery have also been reported from rescued victims from Jharkhand in Delhi. The business of placement agencies has been fuelled by huge demand of maid from eastern tribal states in the national capital region of Delhi. These agency's working is quite simple.³ Firstly, they use local people of Jharkhand as agents who can easily persuade people of their area by selling them a dream of better and peaceful life. Besides, the local people tend to become easy prey of the agents who speak in their language and belong to their areas. Secondly, the middle man who are from New Delhi, Ranchi or the catchment areas of human-trafficking victims, they help the transport of

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the victims from their homes to their agreed destination. Thirdly, the owner of the placement agencies or the masterminds behind the human trafficking operation, they continuously monitor its smooth operation and at the end of it all, they are the ones who decide the fate and placement to each of these victims. Trafficking affected district include, Garwah, Sahibgunj, Pakur, Dumka, West Singhbhum, Ranchi, Palamu, Giridih, Koderma and Lohardaga. Most of the women trafficked from Jharkhand belong to Oraon, Munda, Santhal (including endangered Paharia) and Gond tribes, out of which maximum are from Oraon and Munda.⁴

Behind the scene, there are many influential factor that provokes trafficking the most. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, difficult access areas, shrinking land holding by local population, network of placement agencies are some of the reason behind the large scale migration from Jharkhand to other states. The land is degraded to a great extent due to deforestation, mining activities and rampant industrialization. Though vast area of land is available, no technological inputs have been brought out to improvise the production. Thus, in majority of the regions, there is one crop pattern and mainly rain fed cultivation take place. Lack of agricultural operation in a full – fledged manner is also leaving the landless labour high and dry. The only option available to them is migration.⁵

Though the *zamindari* system is abolished now, they have now taken the new avatar of middleman and contractors in the region. In the regions of Palamu, Garwah, Lohardaga, Chaibasa, Koderma, Hazaribagh, the common people are subjected to ills of administration on the one hand, the contractors on the other hand and above them are extremists who virtually rule the region with their own Jan lok adalats, extortion and the levy of taxes. The ‘Gair majuru’ lands are in the absolute possession of the landlords. Their control over natural resources are absolute. Thus, the poor landless is forced to work for lifetime or migrate in search of greener options.⁶

As per the ATSEC (Action against trafficking and sexual exploitation of children) Jharkhand report in 2010, approximately

42,000 girls have been trafficked from Jharkhand to metropolitan cities. The victims who are working as domestic help in various urban households across the country are made to work in a very pathetic condition. In some cases they are even sexually exploited. About 70% of the total migrant women are forced to join the flesh trade.⁷ A rapid assessment of domestic workers in 8 districts (the most affected with problem of migrant) was done by ATSEC Jharkhand and research plus group, Ranchi. The findings of the study indicate that most of the trafficked victims are below 20 years and many of them are children. Many of them are in slavery like conditions and earn below minimum wages. The main destination for migration is Delhi. Most of the victims of human trafficking and women belong to the lower strata of the society and are tribals and belong to SC, ST communities. The scheme for alleviation of these communities should be open to all those victims who belong to such strata.⁸ According to the official statistics, around 9 millions out of 32 millions people in Jharkhand are from tribal communities. More than 80% of the girls, who are being trafficked belong to the tribal community.⁹ Although the state has taken some initiatives to combat trafficking. Moreover many acts and rules were established in this direction like Immoral traffic prevention act 1956 (ITPA), Criminal law amendment act 2013, Anti trafficking cell (ATC) etc by the central government. Ujjawala (2007) is a comprehensive scheme for the prevention of trafficking. Although implementation and enforcement is unfortunately poor.

In Gumla's villages, the writing is literally on the walls. Messages warning people about human trafficking are scribbled on the houses and read, "saavdhan, kahin apke bachhe manav vyapaar ke shikaar toh nahin (beware, may your child not fall prey to those who trade in humans)". Approaching police is a taboo in naxal affected villages, so many cases remain unreported. The women just disappear and there is no one equipped to look for them. Psychological rehabilitation must go side by side with physical and economic rehabilitation. The physical and economic rehabilitation has 15 major components namely allotment

of house sites and agricultural land, land development provision of low cost dwelling units, agriculture, provision of credit, horticulture, animal husbandry, training, health medical care, education etc.¹⁰

The problem is not with the human traffickers or the placement agencies alone. Lack of proper government policies, absence of a mechanism to monitor these illegal activities besides apathy from the people who employ their helpless lot as domestic workers cannot escape scrutiny. The instances of human trafficking have sharpened the focus on safety of women in Jharkhand. Trafficking of women is a major challenge. To prevent this is not just the responsibility of the government but each and everyone in the society has to come forward against it. To tackle this, public awareness and its active participation is necessary.

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झारखण्ड आंदोलन का परिणाम

डॉ. संगीता मिंज*

सारांश

भारत के मानचित्र पर झारखण्ड राज्य का उदय एक युगान्तकारी घटना है। इसके निमित्त आंदोलन देश के इतिहास का सबसे लंबा आंदोलन है, जो प्रकारान्तर से देश की आजादी के पूर्व ही प्रारंभ हो गया था जिसकी परिणति 2 अगस्त 2000 को लोकसभा में तथा 22 अगस्त 2000 को राज्यसभा में अलग राज्य का विधेयक पारित होने के साथ ही हो गया और देश के 28वें राज्य के रूप में 'झारखण्ड' नामक एक राज्य 15 नवम्बर 2000 को युगों के संघर्ष के एक लक्ष्य के रूप में प्राप्त हुआ। इस तरह बिहार प्रांत से अलग होकर इसका अस्तित्व कायम हुआ।

जहाँ एक ओर नये राज्य का गठन हुआ, वहीं एक पुराने राज्य का विभाजन भी सामने आया। ये दोनों ही घटनाएँ एक दूसरे की अनुपूरक हैं। 1911 से 2000 तक तथा उसके बाद लगातार विभिन्न विद्वानों ने अपनी प्रतिक्रिया इस संदर्भ में अपनी लेखनी द्वारा उद्धृत की हैं। प्रभात खबर के प्रधान संपादक हरिवंश ने "झारखण्ड दिशुम मुक्तिगाथा" और "सृजन के सपने" शीर्षक से एक पुस्तक संपादित किया। बलबीर दत्त ने "कहानी "झारखण्ड आंदोलन की : इतिहास से साक्षात्कार" शीर्षक पुस्तक की रचना की। अमर कुमार सिंह ने भी "जोहार झारखण्ड" पुस्तक के माध्यम से इस विषय पर थोड़ी बहुत चर्चा की है। यद्यपि ये इतिहासकार नहीं हैं पर घटना के साक्षी के रूप में ये एक उत्तम रचना है। इसके अलावा "झारखण्ड इन्भायरमेंट डेवलपमेंट एंड इथीनीसीटी नामक पुस्तक, एस० उपाध्याय की "ट्राइबल डेवलपमेंट इन इंडिया" पुस्तक में भी जनजातियों के विकास पर चर्चा की गई है पर राज्य विभाजन एवं आंदोलन पर विशेष प्रकाश नहीं पड़ता। इसी क्रम में अमित प्रकाश की " झारखण्ड पालिटिक्स ऑफ डेवलपमेंट एंड आइडेन्टीटी", वी०पी० केशरी की पुस्तकें "छोटानागपुर का इतिहास : कुछ सूत्र कुछ संदर्भ" एवं "झारखण्ड आंदोलन की वास्तविकता" के०के० दत्त की रचना "बिहार का स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन", कुमार सुरेश सिंह की पुस्तक ट्राइबल सोसायटी इन इण्डिया" इत्यादि पुस्तकें जनजातीय जीवन और उपलब्धियों की चर्चा तो करती है पर नूतन राज्य के निर्माण में तथा बिहार के विभाजन पर कोई विशेष प्रकाश नहीं डालती है। रामदेव वर्मा

की पुस्तक "बिहार के बंटवारे का सवाल" ने इस संदर्भ में बिहार के संवेदना को दर्शाने का कार्य किया है। अतः कहा जा सकता है कि अधिकांश पुस्तकों में झारखण्ड के संदर्भ में सुन्दर चित्र प्रस्तुत किया गया है पर वे विभाजन के प्रसंगों का वर्णन करती नहीं दिखती है।

शब्द कुंजी : युगान्तकारी, संघर्ष, झारखण्ड आंदोलन, विद्यार्थी परिषद् छोटानागपुर उन्नति समाज

परिचय

झारखण्ड आंदोलन की परिणिति अलग झारखण्ड राज्य के निर्माण में नजर आती है। वस्तुतः झारखण्ड आंदोलन के बीज ढाका में बोए गए थे जो आज बंगला देश की राजधानी है। ढाका विद्यार्थी परिषद की एक शाखा आगे चलकर झारखण्ड पार्टी के रूप में विकसित हुई। 1912 ई में चाईबासावासी जे.बाटकोलमन जिसकी शिक्षा-दीक्षा हजारीबाग में हुई, इसी परिषद से संबंधित था। यह परिषद् ईसाईयों की संस्था थी। धन एकत्रित करने के लिए परिषद की राँची शाखा ने 1912ई. में एस.पी. इंस्टीच्यूट राँची में अली बाबा चालीस चोर नाटक का मंचन किया गया। कालांतर में इस संगठन ने छोटानागपुर के आदिवासियों के सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक कल्याण को अपने उद्देश्य में शामिल किया। लेकिन यह विद्यार्थी परिषद् बहुत दिनों तक जीवित न रह सका। 1915ई. में स्नातक की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण करने के बाद बाटकोलमन संत पॉल स्कूल में शिक्षक बन गया। इसके कारण उसे विद्यार्थी परिषद् से निकाल दिया गया। अब विद्यार्थी परिषद् का नाम बदल कर छोटानागपुर उन्नति समाज रखा गया। इसकी सदस्यता केवल आदिवासियों तक सीमित थी। इस समाज ने आदिवासियों के लिए नौकरी, सरकारी सेवाओं में आरक्षण देने की मांग की। बिहार से अलग होकर बंगाल अथवा उड़ीसा के साथ छोटानागपुर को एक उपराज्य का दर्जा दिए जाने की बात सर्वप्रथम छोटानागपुर उन्नति समाज ने प्रस्तुत किया। लेकिन वास्तव में इस समाज का कोई प्रभाव ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में नहीं था क्योंकि यह संगठन संभ्रात आदिवासियों की संस्था थी। उन्नति समाज के नेता शिक्षित आदिवासी थे जो शांतिपूर्ण तौर-तरीके से कार्य करने में विश्वास रखते थे। इनमें प्रमुख पाल दयाल, बंदी उरांव, जुलियस लकड़ा थे। जब साइमन कमिशन 1928 ई. में भारत आया तो आदिवासियों के प्रतिनिधि इस आयोग से मिले। इन्होंने आदिवासियों के लिए आयोग से एक पृथक प्रशासनिक ईकाई की मांग की। कालांतर में छोटानागपुर में छोटानागपुर उन्नति समाज के पाल दयाल और ठेबले उरांव अलग हो गए। और किसानों की एक अलग पार्टी स्थापित कर ली, जिसका नाम किसान सभा रखा गया। विद्यार्थी सभा, छोटानागपुर उन्नति समाज और किसान सभा के नेता लुथर्न एंगलिकन तथा कुछ गैर ईसाई आदिवासी थे।

इन तीनों में से किसी भी दल में कैथोलिकों को शामिल नहीं किया गया था। इसके परिणाम स्वरूप कैथोलिकों ने छोटानागपुर कैथोलिक सभा की स्थापना की। इसका प्रधानकार्यालय राँची में था। बोनिफेस लकड़ा इसके पहले अध्यक्ष हुए। 1935ई. के भारत सरकार के अधिनियम के तहत चुनावों में इस संगठन ने भाग लिया। कैथोलिक सभा द्वारा चुनाव में खड़े दोनों उम्मीदवार निर्वाचित हुए। इग्नेस बेक 1936-40 ई. तक राँची के प्रतिनिधि रहे। दूसरी ओर उन्नति समाज और किसान सभा के सभी उम्मीदवार इस चुनाव में पराजित हुए। बेक के अनुसार उन्हें कांग्रेस से नफरत थी क्योंकि उनकी मान्यता थी कि कांग्रेस अपने ही स्वार्थों से घिरी थी और आदिवासियों को इससे कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं था। 1937ई. में बिहार विधान सभा के निर्वाचन के बाद यहाँ कांग्रेसपार्टी की सरकार बनी। छोटानागपुर संथाल परगना के क्षेत्रफल के अनुसार बिहार का आधार और जनसंख्या के दृष्टिकोण से एक तिहाई होने के बावजूद इस क्षेत्र के किसी भी कांग्रेसी नेता अथवा आदिवासी नेता को बिहार मंत्रिमंडल में शामिल नहीं किया गया लेकिन जनजातियाँ अपनी उपेक्षा के लिए एक हद तक स्वयं जिम्मेदार थी। बेक के शब्दों में आदिवासियों के कल्याण भी संभव होता जब तीनों संगठनों में अनुशासन और एकता कायम होती और आदिवासियों की राजनीतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक विकास के लिए पृथक राज्य की स्थापना की जाती।

कैथोलिक पादरियों और सामान्य कैथोलिकों के विरोध के बावजूद बेक दूसरी ईसाई संस्थाओं से तालमेल बैठाने की कोशिश करता रहा। यहाँ तक की एक समझौते के तहत ईसाई संस्थाओं ने पारस्परिक समझौते के अंतर्गत राँची नगर – पालिका चुनाव को आसानी से जीत लिया। इस सफलता से उन्हें प्रेरणा मिली। अब उन्नति समाज, कैथोलिक सभा और किसान सभा ने एक मजबूत पार्टी का निर्माण किया जिसका नाम छोटानागपुर आदिवासी महासभा दिया। महासभा का उद्देश्य था छोटानागपुर और संथाल परगना को मिलाकर एक अलग प्रांत का निर्माण। पाल दयाल इस महासभा का सचिव और थियोडोर सुरिन अध्यक्ष चुने गए। ईसाई मिशनरियों ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों, मुसलिम लीग तथा यहां बसे बंगालियों ने इस आंदोलन को प्रोत्साहित किया। बिहार मंत्रिमंडल में आदिवासियों को न लिए जाने के कारण कांग्रेस सरकार को दिक्कू राज्य माना जाने लगा। आदिवासी महासभा की मांग पर बिहार विधानसभा में 1938ई में विचार मंथन हुआ। डॉ. सच्चिदानंद सिन्हा के एक सवाल के जवाब में सरकार ने कहा कि 1765ई. में ब्रिटिश प्रभुत्व में आ जाने के कारण छोटानागपुर बिहार का अंग था। इस जवाब में कहा गया कि शैक्षणिक, औद्योगिक और जनजातीय पिछड़ेपन के कारण पृथक प्रांत के बिना छोटानागपुर का विकसित होना संभव नहीं था।

जनवरी 1939ई. में छोटानागपुर पृथकतावादी आंदोलन में एक नए युग का सूत्रपात हुआ। छोटानागपुर आदिवासी महासभा ने अपने एक नये सर्वोच्च नेता (मारंग गोमके) जयपाल सिंह के नेतृत्व में काफी प्रगति की।¹ 1939ई. में जयपाल सिंह राज्य के मंत्री थे, उस समय वे पटना जाते हुए राँची आए थे। यहाँ के आदिवासी महासभा के नेताओं द्वारा आग्रह किए जाने पर उन्होंने महासभा की बैठक की अध्यक्षता की। यह बैठक मार्च माह के (1939ई.) हिन्दपीढ़ी में हुई और जयपाल सिंह ने छोटानागपुर के लोगों को अपनी सेवा अर्पित करने का वायदा किया। वे महासभा के नेता बने और बाद में इसके अध्यक्ष हो गए। उनके नेतृत्व में 1939 में ही जिला बोर्ड के चुनावों में महासभा ने सिंहभूम में 22 सीटें (25 में से) राँची 16 सीटें (25 में से) पर विजय प्राप्त कर ली। इस प्रसन्नता में जुलियस तिग्गा ने "नीली रंगभूमि से" तथा 'बिहारी बंदर नाचो' दो लेख आदिवासी में छपवाये। आदिवासियों में बढ़ती असंतोष के कारणों का पता लगाने की जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस ने डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद को सौंपा। इस पर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने जयपाल सिंह से आदिवासियों की समस्याओं को समाधान के लिए आवश्यक सुझाव मांगे। जयपाल सिंह के नेतृत्व में आदिवासी महासभा ने राँची में एक डिग्री कॉलेज खोलने, आदिवासी मंत्री, ससंदीय सचिव के रूप में नियुक्ति, प्रशासन में आदिवासियों की भागीदारी आदि की मांग की। इस पर कांग्रेस ने उनके आंदोलन को पूरी तरह लोकतांत्रिक बताते हुए आदिवासियों के लिए राष्ट्रीय जीवन में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान की मांग की। 1939ई. (5 जुलाई) को महासभा का एक प्रतिनिधि मंडल बिहार के प्रधानमंत्री (उस समय किसी राज्य का मुख्यमंत्री प्रधानमंत्री कहलाता था) डॉ. श्री कृष्णा सिन्हा से मिले लेकिन डॉ. सिन्हा ने जयपाल सिंह की बातों की ओर कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया।

इसी समय आंदोलन के कमजोर पड़ते ही सरकार की प्रेरणा से गैर आदिवासियों ने छोटानागपुर प्रोटेक्शन लीग की स्थापना की।² इस समय टेबले उरांव के नेतृत्व में सनातन आदिवासी महासभा की स्थापना हुई। इसका भी मकसद छोटानागपुर से संबंधित पृथकतावादी आंदोलन को मजबूत बनने से रोकना था। हताश आदिवासियों को दूसरे विश्व युद्ध में ब्रिटिश सरकार को समर्थन करना पड़ा। दिसम्बर 1939ई. में सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जमशेदपुर पधारे लेकिन उन्होंने भी छोटानागपुर संस्थाल परगना की मांग को ठुकरा कर जयपाल सिंह को कांग्रेस का समर्थन करने को कहा। इस पर बिहार में कांग्रेसी मंत्रिमंडल द्वारा त्याग पत्र दिए जाने के बाद आदिवासी महासभा को प्रसन्नता हुई। 1940ई के रामगढ़ कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में भी पृथक प्रांत की मांग की अनदेखी की गई। यहां तक की रामगढ़ कांग्रेस के मुख्य द्वार का नामकरण बिरसा मुंडा के नाम पर होने के कारण कांग्रेसियों ने मतभेद पैदा करने का असफल प्रयास भी किया। जयपाल सिंह के आदिवासी महासभा में आ जाने के बाद महासभा

विकास के पथ पर अग्रसर होता रहा।³ इसी समय (1939 ई. में) छोटानागपुर के गैर-आदिवासियों ने छोटानागपुर अलग राज्य की मांग उठाने के लिए डाल्टेनगंज में एक अपना संगठन तैयार किया। वास्तव में कांग्रेस के कई प्रमुख नेता आदिवासियों को राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन की मुख्य धारा से जोड़ने के नाम पर उन्हें पृथक छोटानागपुर के आंदोलन से अलग रखना चाहते थे। यह काम बाबू नारायण दास गुप्ता जैसे लोगों का सौंपा गया था। जस्टिन रिचर्ड ने युनाईटेड झारखण्ड पार्टी की स्थापना कर आदिवासी तथा गैर-आदिवासी दोनों के स्वागत के लिए दरवाजे खोल दिए। कालांतर में जयपाल सिंह ने भी इस नये प्रयोग को स्वीकार कर लिया। 1950ई. के महासभा की जमशेदपुर अधिवेशन में फैसला लिया गया कि गैर आदिवासी भी इसकी सदस्यता ग्रहण कर सकते हैं। कालांतर में गैर आदिवासियों की संतुष्टि के लिए महासभा ने आदिवासी शब्द को हटाते हुए आदिवासी महासभा का नाम झारखण्ड पार्टी रखा।⁴ वास्तव में 1950ई. के बाद यह पार्टी पूरी तरह राजनीतिक पार्टी के रूप में कार्य करने लगीं 1946ई. के संसदीय चुनाव में महासभा ने उम्मीदवार चुनाव में उतारे। चुनावी मुद्दा झारखण्ड अलग प्रांत प्रमुख मुद्दा था। चुनाव प्रचार के दौरान गोलीबारी में तपकरा में पांच आदिवासी मारे गए। महासभा को तीन तथा कैथोलिक सभा को एक सीट पर सफलता मिली। स्वयं जयपाल सिंह खूंटी निर्वाचन क्षेत्र से डॉ. मित्रा से पराजित हो गए। जयपालसिंह को इससे काफी निराशा हुई और वे चाय बगान के मालिक रूप में असम जाने का निर्णय लिया। लेकिन आदिवासियों के समझाने-बुझाने पर वे यहाँ रह गए। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् संविधान सभा द्वारा नियुक्त ए.वी.ठक्कर समिति जब सितम्बर 1947ई. में छोटानागपुर आई तब महासभा ने पृथक झारखण्ड की मांग दोहराई।

स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् झारखण्ड आंदोलन

झारखण्ड पार्टी ने नेता जयपाल सिंह भारतीय संसद के सदस्य निर्वाचित होने के बाद आजीवन लोकसभा के सदस्य बने रहे। उनकी दूसरी पत्नी जहांआरा थी। जहांआरा के पिता आई.सी.एस. (इंडियन सिविल सर्विसेज) के सदस्य रह चुके थे और जयपाल सिंह से उनकी भेंट दिल्ली के एक क्लब में हुई थी। लेकिन राजनीतिक मुद्दों पर दोनों पति-पत्नी के विचार अलग थे। कांग्रेस की राजनीति में उन्हें तनिक भी रुचि न थी जबकि इसके विपरित जहांआरा कांग्रेस में घूलमिल गई थीं। उन्हें दिल्ली में राज्यमंत्री का पद भी मिला। 1963ई. में झारखण्ड पार्टी के कांग्रेस पार्टी में विलयन में जहांआरा की एक बहुत बड़ी भूमिका मानी जाती है। इस विलयन के बाद जयपाल सिंह अत्यंत दुःखी हुए। जयपाल सिंह के अंतिम दिन बहुत ही दुःख भरे बीते। दिल्ली के अपने अंतिम जाड़े वे अपनी कीमती किताबों को आग में झोंक कर तापते रहे। 23 मार्च 1970ई. में बाबू जयपाल

सिंह स्वर्गवास हो गया। उनके शव दिल्ली से राँची लाया गया जहाँ से उनके शव को खूँटी स्थित उनके पैतृक गांव पहुंचाया गया।⁶

कांग्रेस में झारखण्ड पार्टी का विलय कोई अप्रत्याशित घटना नहीं थी। इसकी पृष्ठभूमि पहले ही बन चुकी थी। झारखण्ड पार्टी के प्रमुख नेताओं के बीच राँची स्थित बरियातु में विचार-विमर्श होता रहा। इस पार्टी के प्रतिनिधियों की संख्या बिहार विधान सभा में 36 से 20 और संसद में 8 से 4 की संख्या पर आ गई। झारखण्ड पार्टी की आर्थिक समस्या भी एक गंभीर समस्या बनी हुई थी। झारखण्ड पार्टी की इस बैठक में मुर्गो और शराब की कोई कमी नहीं थी। सारा खर्च बिजु पटनायक के जेब से हो रहा था जो शायद जहांआरा के माध्यम से संभव हो रहा था झारखण्ड पार्टी के विधान सभा सदस्य सुशील कुमार बागे ने कांग्रेस व झारखण्ड पार्टी के विलय में सक्रिय भूमिका निभाई। पंडित विनोदानंद झा द्वारा बहुत ही जल्दी बाजी में जयपाल सिंह को कांग्रेस में शामिल किया गया। उन्हें पटना में मंत्री बनाया गया। लेकिन विनोदानंद झा को मुख्यमंत्री पद से हटना पड़ा और कृष्णबल्लभ सहाय मुख्यमंत्री बने और इस प्रकार जयपाल सिंह को बिहार मंत्रीमंडल से अलग रखा गया। जयपाल सिंह इस पर अपनी खुशी जाहिर करते हुए कहा कि ईश्वर की कृपा है कि मैंने संसद की अपनी सीट का परित्याग नहीं किया था। सांसद सदस्य के रूप में जब भी जयपाल सिंह राँची आते थे तो रेलवे होटल में ठहरते थे। बाद के वर्षों में उन्होंने एक मकान खरीद लिया था। लेकिन इसके बावजूद वे दिल्ली में ही रहा करते थे। विपरीत परिस्थितियों में भी झारखण्ड आंदोलन की जनप्रियता बढ़ती गई। 1952 ई. के चुनाव में 33 स्थान पर कब्जा कर झारखण्ड पार्टी बिहार विधान सभा में प्रमुख विरोधी पार्टी के रूप में उभरी। जयपाल सिंह फिर लोकसभा के सदस्य निर्वाचित हुए। अब भी उनके नेतृत्व में पृथक झारखण्ड संबंधी आंदोलन चलता रहा। 1953 ई. में फजल अली की अध्यक्षता वाली राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग स्थापित हुआ तो 34 सांसदों के हस्ताक्षर सहित एक मांग पत्र सौंपा गया जिसमें छोटानागपुर के संथाल परगना, बिहार में गया, शाहाबाद और भागलपुर के कुछ अंश, उत्तर प्रदेश के मिर्जापुर के कुछ हिस्से, मध्यप्रदेश में रायगढ़ तथा सरगुजा और उड़ीसा में सुन्दरगढ़, क्यौंझर और मयूरभंज को मिलाकर झारखण्ड प्रांत की मांग की गई।⁶ उपरोक्त आयोग के दो सदस्य श्री पणिककर और एच.एन. कुंजरू 10 फरवरी 1955 ई. तक छोटानागपुर में ही रहे। आयोग द्वारा झारखण्ड क्षेत्र का 2407 वर्ग में भू-भाग पं. बंगाल को दे दिया गया और झारखण्ड की मांग अस्वीकार कर दी गई। इसका प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पृथकवादी झारखण्ड आंदोलन पर पड़ा। 1957 ई. के बिहार विधान सभा के चुनाव में पूर्व से 3 सीटें कम मिली। इसी प्रकार 1962 ई. में

झारखण्ड समर्थक मतदाताओं की संख्या लगभग आधी हो गयी और विधान सभा में इस पार्टी को 19 सीटों पर ही संतोश करना पड़ा। 1 जून 1963ई. में झारखण्ड पार्टी का कांग्रेस में विलय हो गया।

स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात् झारखण्ड पृथकतावादी आंदोलन के कमजोर पड़ने के अनेक कारण थे। गैर आदिवासी इस आंदोलन के प्रति उदासीन हो गए और दूसरी तरफ झारखण्ड पार्टी आपसी मतभेद के कारण कई गुटों में बंट गए। जैसे झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा, बिरसा सेवा दल और हूल झारखण्ड इत्यादि। सुशील कुमार बागे, बागुन सुम्बई, ए.के.राय, सनातन मांझी जैसे लोग व्यक्तिगत कारणों से झारखण्ड आंदोलन से अलग-थलग पड़ते गए। पृथकतावादी झारखण्ड राज्य की मांग लेकर लगभग 50 वर्ष से चलने वाले आंदोलन ने अपनी प्रारंभिक ताकत खो चुकी थी। 1957ई. के बाद झारखण्ड पार्टी का प्रभाव का ग्राफ गिरता गया। 1962ई. के विधान सभा चुनाव में पार्टी के उम्मीदवार के रूप में मनोनयन के मामले से उठी विवाद ने पार्टी में मतभेद के बीज बो दिए।⁷ जयपाल सिंह दूसरी पंक्ति के नेताओं के कार्यकलापों से काफी दुःखी थे। 1953ई. के 7 मार्च को राष्ट्रपति (डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद) के समक्ष 6 सूत्री मांग पत्र रखते हुए राँची में विश्वविद्यालय तथा उच्च न्यायालय की स्थापना की मांग की गई। राष्ट्रपति से इस प्रसंग में भेंट करने वाले अन्य नेताओं में सत्यदेव साहू, सिल्ली के विधायक भोला भगत, रामनारायण खलखो, मांडर के विधायक सोमा भगत, 11 मार्च 1953ई. को पटना के राजभवन में राष्ट्रपति से मुलाकात की। 11 नवम्बर 1953ई. को राष्ट्रपति को लोहरदगा में आदिमजाति सेवा मंडल के सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन करना था। इस कार्यक्रम का प्रमुख उद्देश्य राष्ट्रपति को समर्पित मांगों के लिए आदिवासी तथा सदान समर्थक प्राप्त करना था। लेकिन इसी समय मनोनीत अध्यक्ष रामनारायण खलखो, आयोजक सत्यदेव साहू तथा मधुसूदन लाल को बंदी बनाकर राँची जेल भेज दिया गया। इसके प्रतिक्रिया में 7 फरवरी 1954 ई. को सुखदेव महतो की अध्यक्षता में छोटानागपुर संयुक्त संघ का गठन किया गया। बाद में संसद सदस्य बाबू राम नारायण सिंह को इस संघ का अध्यक्ष निर्वाचित किया गया।

वास्तव में भारत सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग के समय झारखण्ड एक अलग प्रांत बन सकता था। छोटानागपुर संयुक्त संघ ने 11 जुलाई 1954ई. को छोटानागपुर पृथक प्रांत के गठन के समर्थन में एक स्मरण पत्र आयोग को सौंपा भी था। राँची स्थित राजभवन से संघ ने आयोग के सामने पृथक राज्य के समर्थन में जोरदार अपीलें प्रस्तुत की थी। लेकिन पृथक झारखण्ड की आवश्यकता सिद्ध करने में वे पूर्णतः सफल न हुए। झारखण्ड पार्टी की ओर से सुशील कुमार बागे तथा इग्नेश बेक ने अलग-अलग ज्ञापन तैयार किए थे जिसके कारण पार्टी ने आयोग के समक्ष पृथक

राज्य के गठन के प्रति नकारात्मक दृष्टिकोण अपनाया लेकिन आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में झारखण्ड राज्य अलग प्रांत की मांग को दबी जुबान से ही सही इस क्षेत्र के बहुमत की मांग स्वीकार किया। इस प्रसंग का उल्लेख रामनारायण सिंह ने अपनी पत्रिका "छोटानागपुर बुलेटिन" में प्रस्तुत किया था।¹⁶ अगस्त 1956ई. को छोटानागपुर संयुक्त संघ के अध्यक्ष व सांसद रामनारायण सिंह ने लोकसभा में उस विधेयक का खिलाफत किया जिसमें छोटानागपुर के कुछ प्रदेशों को बंगाल में मिलाए जाने का प्रावधान था। इसके एवज में रामनारायण सिंह ने झारखण्ड राज्य के गठन का प्रस्ताव रखा। 1957ई. में भी झारखण्ड पार्टी अपनी तमाम असफलताओं के दौर से गुजरते हुए बिहार विधान सभा के 25 सीटों पर विजय हासिल की। सच्चिदानंद की पुस्तक ट्राईवल वोटर इन बिहार में इस उपलब्धि को झारखण्ड आंदोलन का सर्वश्रेष्ठ काल बताया गया। लेकिन वस्तुतः जून 1963ई. में झारखण्ड पार्टी का कांग्रेस में विलय इस आंदोलन के लिए घातक साबित हुआ। विलयन के खिलाफ झारखण्ड पार्टी से अलग हुए कुछ नेताओं ने अखिल भारतीय झारखण्ड और हूल झारखण्ड दलों के जरिए छोटानागपुर और संथाल परगना को संगठित करने का प्रयास किया लेकिन वे पूर्व की भांति जनप्रियता तथा प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त करने में असफल रहे। 1964ई. में क्षेत्रीय योजना तथा विकास बोर्ड का गठन किया गया। पदेन अध्यक्ष व मुख्यमंत्री श्री एस.के. बागे सामुदायिक विकास तथा ग्राम पंचायत मंत्री बनाए गए। इसका कार्यकाल 5 वर्ष निर्धारित किया गया। इस बोर्ड का मुख्य कार्य कार्यान्वित विकास योजनाओं का मूल्यांकन तथा सुझाव देना था। 28 दिसम्बर 1968ई. को संथाल परगना और छोटानागपुर के आदिवासियों से अलग बिहार प्रांत अथवा झारखण्ड दल का गठन किया।¹⁷

भूमि संबंधी समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए हूल झारखण्ड ने कई आंदोलन चलाए। इन सभी आंदोलनों का रुख झारखण्ड पृथक आंदोलन को एक मजबूत गति प्रदान करना था। 1969ई. के मध्यावधि चुनाव में हुए हूल झारखण्ड पार्टी ने 7 सीटों पर जीत हासिल की। इसी समय एक महत्वपूर्ण घटना 1970ई. में घटी जब शिबू सोरेन द्वारा 'सोनत संथाल समाज' की स्थापना की गई। इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य नशाबंदी, साहूकार तथा जमीन बेदखली के खिलाफ जन-आंदोलन खड़ा करना था। इस काल में धनबाद के राजा के खिलाफ एक सफल आंदोलन का संचालन भी किया गया। 1961 ई. में श्री ए.के. राय ने मार्क्सवादी कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी से अलग होकर मार्क्सवादी समन्वय समिति का गठन किया और अलग झारखण्ड राज्य के मांग की जोरदार वकालत की। इसी साल बिहार सरकार द्वारा छोटानागपुर संथाल परगना स्वशासी विकास का गठन किया गया। इसका उद्देश्य इस क्षेत्र का विकास करना था। 13 नवम्बर 1971ई. को इस स्वशासी

विकास परिषद् का उद्घाटन करते हुए तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री तथा श्री चन्द्रशेखर सिंह (योजना मंत्री) ने विश्वास दिलाया कि यह क्षेत्रीय विकास के लक्ष्य को पूरा करेगा लेकिन यह प्रयास भी कोई ठोस परिणाम न दे सका। 1972 ई. में ऑल इंडिया झारखण्ड पार्टी दो गुटों में बंट गई। बागुन सुम्ब्रई तथा दूसरा गुट एन. ई. होरो गुट कहलाया। इसी समय हूल झारखण्ड भी दो गुटों में विभाजित हो गया। एन.ई. होरो ने अपने दल का नाम झारखण्ड पार्टी रखा। 1973ई. में झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा का गठन किया गया। यह दल शिबू सोरेन की देख-रेख में गठित किया गया। इसका भी मुख्य उद्देश्य अलग झारखण्ड राज्य की मांग तथा गैर आदिवासियों द्वारा यहाँ के आदिवासियों के शोषण का विरोध करना था। साहूकारों द्वारा 1974ई. में आदिवासियों को उनकी जमीन से बेदखल करने के कारण भूमि संबंधी अनेक घटनाएं घटी। 1977ई. में संकट काल के बाद हुए चुनाव में मार्क्सवादी समन्वय समिति के ए.के. राय को छोड़ सभी क्षेत्रीय पार्टी चुनाव हार गई। इस पर ऑल इंडिया झारखण्ड पार्टी के बागुन सुम्ब्रई जनता दल में शामिल हो गए। 1977 ई. में कर्पूरी ठाकुर के मुख्यमंत्रित्व काल में क्षेत्रीय विकास आयुक्त के अंतर्गत शाखा सचिवालय की स्थापना राँची में की गई। इसकी शाखाएँ हजारीबाग तथा दुमका में भी स्थापित की गई। 1977ई. में ही झारखण्ड पार्टी को छोड़ सभी दल ने छोटानागपुर तथा संथाल परगना क्षेत्र को मिलाकर अलग झारखण्ड राज्य की मांग की। 1977-79 ई. के काल में अलग राज्य की मांग को लेकर कई घटनाएं घटी। जिसके अंतर्गत कई मुकदमें दायर किए गए। 1978 ई. में ही 21 मई को ऑल इंडिया झारखण्ड पार्टी का सम्मेलन राँची में आयोजित किया गया। जिसमें सरकार से 15 अगस्त 1978ई. तक अलग झारखण्ड राज्य की मांग की गई और मांग पूरी न होने पर सरकार के प्रति असहयोग आंदोलन शुरू करने की चेतावनी दी गई। इसी बीच सी.पी.आई. (कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ऑफ इंडिया) ने भी अलग राज्य से जुड़ी आंदोलन को अपना समर्थन प्रदान किया। 9 जून 1978ई. को बिरसा दिवस के रूप में मनाया गया।¹⁰ 1978ई. में ही अलग राज्य आंदोलन ने कड़ा रुख अपना लिया। आंदोलनकारियों द्वारा जेल भरों आंदोलन, सरकारी भवनों पर तोड़-फोड़ आदि प्रारंभ किए गए। पुलिस द्वारा गोली चालन में कई घायल हुए। दो लोगों की मृत्यु भी हो गई। अब पृथक राज्य आंदोलन के पक्ष में बंद की राजनीति भी प्रारंभ हो गई। राँची, चाईबासा, जमशेदपुर, पलामू जिले में बंद का भयानक असर पड़ा। सैकड़ों आंदोलनकारियों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया। आंदोलनकारियों ने रेल यातायात व्यवस्था को भी प्रभावित किया। इसी बीच 1978-79ई. में भारत सरकार ने चन्द्र मोहन सिंह के नेतृत्व में एक जांच कमिटी गठित की। इन्होंने बिहार में जनता सरकार के शासन काल में हरिजन व आदिवासी विभाग के तत्कालीन आयुक्त शिशिर कुमार को जांच का भार सौंपा। श्री

कुमार ने 1979ई में मुख्यमंत्री रामसुन्दर दास को अपने सुझाव में सर्वे सेटलमेंट में जमीन अवैध ढंग से हड़पने वालों के खिलाफ कानून बनाकर जमीन वापस करवाने का वायदा किया। लेकिन यह कार्यवाही भी पूरी न हो सकी। 1980ई. में हुए मध्यावधि विधान सभा चुनाव में झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा ने श्री शिबू सोरेन के नेतृत्व में भारी समर्थन प्राप्त किया। इसी साल डॉ. कुमार सुरेश सिंह जो राँची विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति थे, द्वारा राँची विश्वविद्यालय में क्षेत्रीय आदिवासी तथा भाषा विभाग (स्नातकोत्तर) की स्थापना की गई। 1980ई. में ही बिहार में आम चुनाव के बाद बागुन सुब्रई द्वारा कांग्रेस में शामिल होने की घोषणा की गई।

1981 ई. में कोल्हान रक्षा संघ के अध्यक्ष नारायण जोको तथा सचिव कृष्ण चन्द्र हेम्ब्रम ने लंदन में कौमनवेल्थ रिलेशन अधिकारी को अलग कोल्हान राज्य का स्मरण पत्र सौंपा। 1986ई. के 22 जून को आजसू (ऑल झारखण्ड स्टूडेंट यूनियन) का गठन जमशेदपुर में किया गया। इसके प्रथम अध्यक्ष प्रभाकर तिर्की तथा महासचिव सूर्य सिंह बेसरा मनोनीत हुए। 25 सितम्बर 1986ई. को ही आजसू द्वारा प्रथम झारखण्ड बंद का आह्वान किया गया जो पूर्णतः सफल रही। इसी साल डॉ. राम दयाल मुंडा, डॉ. बिन्देश्वर प्रसाद केसरी की पहल पर झारखण्ड क्षेत्र के सभी सामाजिक संगठनों और बुद्धिजीवियों को एक मंच पर लाने के लिए झारखण्ड समन्वय समिति का गठन किया गया। 1987ई. में झारखण्ड के आंदोलनकारियों द्वारा स्वतंत्रता दिवस की बहिष्कार की घोषणा की गई। इसी साल जून में झारखण्ड समन्वय समिति का सम्मेलन रामगढ़ में हुआ। इस सम्मेलन में भाग लेने वाले 61 संस्थाओं के प्रतिनिधियों ने तत्कालीन राष्ट्रपति ज्ञानीजैल सिंह को अलग झारखण्ड राज्य संबंधी एक ज्ञापन सौंपा। अलग झारखण्ड आंदोलन से संबंधित एक महत्वपूर्ण घटना 1989ई. में घटी जब झारखण्ड समन्वय समिति ने 31 जनवरी को कलकत्ता में रैली आयोजित की। इस रैली में लगभग 50 हजार झारखंडियों ने भाग लिया। 1 मार्च को आहूत झारखण्ड समन्वय समिति द्वारा संपूर्ण झारखण्ड क्षेत्र में आर्थिक नाकेबंदी की गई। इसीसाल 20-22 अप्रैल को आजसू का 72 घंटे का झारखण्ड बंद पूरी तरह सफल रहा। 14 मई 1989 ई. को झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा के 2 विधायकों को छोड़कर सभी विधायकों ने बिहार विधान सभा से अपने त्याग पत्र दे दिए। त्याग पत्र देने वालों में प्रमुख शिबू सोरेन, सूरज मंडल, कृष्ण माडी, स्टीफन मरांडी, साईमन मरांडी आदि प्रमुख थे। 1989ई. के 31 मई को बिहार सरकार की ओर से झारखण्ड नेताओं के साथ झारखण्ड समस्या के समाधान हेतु एक बैठक का आयोजन किया गया। इस बैठक में लहटन चौधरी, श्रीमती सुशीला केरकेट्टा, इन्द्रनाथ भगत आदि शामिल हुए। झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा के सोरेने गुट ने इस बैठक का बहिष्कार करते हुए कहा कि अलग राज्य की बात सिर्फ

केन्द्रीय सरकार से करेंगे। 7 जून 1989ई. को तत्कालीन गृह मंत्री बूटा सिंह द्वारा झारखण्ड समस्या हेतु सरकार की ओर से एक बैठक आयोजित की गई।¹¹ इसमें तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री श्री सतेन्द्र प्रसाद सिंह, डॉ. रामदयाल मुंडा, एन.ई. होरो, सूर्य सिंह बेसरा, श्री बी.पी.केसरी, बिनोद बिहारी महतो आदि मौजूद थे। सोरेन गुट ने इस बैठक का बहिष्कार किया। 5 जनवरी 1990ई. को आजसू के तीसरे महाधिवेशन का डॉ. रामदयाल मुंडा द्वारा उद्घाटन किया गया। इस बैठक में झारखण्ड अलग राज्य का समर्थन किया गया। इसी साल 24 मार्च को आजसू के 6 सदस्यों का एक प्रतिनिधि मंडल गृह मंत्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद से मिला और अलग झारखण्ड राज्य को लेकर एक ज्ञापन दिया। ज्ञापन में कहा गया कि झारखण्ड विषयक समिति की रिपोर्ट शीघ्र प्रकाशित किया गया। 1990ई. में ही छोटानागपुर तथा संथालपरगना के सभी विधायक व लोकसभा सदस्यों की एक बैठक हुई जिसमें सभी दल के सदस्यों ने अलग झारखण्ड का मांग दोहराया। इसी बीच शिबू सोरेन ने यह घोषणा की कि अलग झारखण्ड राज्य के निर्माण से पूर्व फिलहाल स्वायत्तता परिषद् स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। 2 फरवरी 1992ई. को लालू प्रसाद यादव (तत्कालीन मुख्यमंत्री, बिहार) तथा ज्योति बसु के बीच झारखण्ड समस्या के समाधान हेतु एक बैठक आयोजित की गई जो किसी ठोस निर्णय पर पहुँचे बगैर समाप्त हो गया। इसी साल 30 मार्च को झारखण्ड विषयक समिति की रिपोर्ट लोकसभा में रखी गई। रिपोर्ट में झारखण्ड जनरल काँउंसिल की सिफारिश की गई। 14 जुलाई 1992ई. को मुख्यमंत्री लालू प्रसाद ने विधान सभा में कहा कि अलग राज्य के सवाल पर राज्य केन्द्र सरकार से कोई टकराव नहीं चाहती क्योंकि यह मामला केन्द्रीय सरकार से जुड़ा है और राज्य सरकार अपनी ओर से कोई पहल नहीं करेगी।¹² 22 अगस्त 1992 को जनता दल कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक राँची में हुई। उस अवसर पर श्री करमचन्द्र भगत कल्याण मंत्री मंगल लिमये, स्वास्थ्य मंत्री लक्ष्मण राम, खान मंत्री श्री इन्दर सिंह नामधारी, उपाध्यक्ष राज्य जनता दल ने अलग झारखण्ड के क्षेत्र में सभी 81 विधायकों तथा 14 एम.पी. का झारखण्ड राज्य निर्माण हेतु आंदोलन के समर्थन में अपना-अपना त्याग-पत्र देने की अपील की। 6 अगस्त 1992ई. में जामुना पार्टी को बिहार विधानसभा अध्यक्ष ने अलग गुट की मान्यता प्रदान की। 31 अगस्त को नई दिल्ली में केन्द्रीय गृहमंत्री श्री चौहण ने कहा कि अगले 15 दिनों में झारखण्ड ढांचे के बारे में सिद्धांत रूप में कोई निर्णय ले लिया जाएगा।

27 जुलाई 1993 में, विधानसभा से 1991 के दिसम्बर महीना में पारित क्षेत्रीय झारखण्ड विकास परिषद् विधेयक के संशोधित प्रारूप को केन्द्र सरकार ने राज्य सरकार को लौटा दिया। 28 जुलाई को मुख्यमंत्री लालू प्रसाद की अध्यक्षता में हुई सर्वदलीय बैठक में यह निर्णय लिया गया कि बिहार विधानसभा से पारित झारखण्ड क्षेत्रीय विकास

परिषद् विधेयक में किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन नहीं होगा। 28 जुलाई बिहार विधानसभा में श्री सोरेन वाले झामुमो, जनता दल (अ), कांग्रेस, आईपी.एफ., एम.सी.सी. के सदस्य झारखण्ड राज्य के समर्थन में नारे लगाए। मुख्यमंत्री लालू प्रसाद ने कहा कि झारखण्ड स्वायत्त परिषद् का अध्यक्ष तथा उसके 90 प्रतिशत सदस्य आदिवासी होंगे तथा परिषद् में 2 प्रतिशत महिलाओं तथा हरिजनो को भी स्थान मिलेगा। मुख्यमंत्री ने फिर झारखण्ड अलग राज्य के गठन के विरोध में बयान दिया। 5 अगस्त संधाल परगना, छोटानागपुर के विधायकों तथा सांसदों के एक प्रतिनिधिमंडल ने प्रधानमंत्री पी.वी. नरसिंह राव को झारखण्ड स्वायत्तशासी परिषद् के गठन के लिए स्मरण पत्र दिया। 15 दिसम्बर झामुमो सोरेन गुट के द्वारा आयोजित एक दिन के बन्द का असर राँची समेत गिरिडीह, पूर्वी सिंहभूम और साहिबगंज जिलों में रेल यातायात बाधित हुआ।

1994 के 6 जनवरी को लालू प्रसाद ने राँची में कहा कि झारखण्ड विकास परिषद् विधेयक विधानसभा बजट सत्र के दौरान पारित किया जाएगा। लेकिन राज्य सरकार झारखण्ड स्वायत्तशासी परिषद् नहीं देगी। 25 फरवरी को झामुमो पार्टी द्वारा अलग राज्य को लेकर झारखंड बन्द का आयोजन किया गया। राँची में व्यापक असर हुआ और 34 व्यक्ति गिरफ्तार और रिहा किए गए।¹³

20 सितम्बर को श्री तुलसी सिंह योजना मंत्री बिहार सरकार में विधानसभा में झारखण्ड क्षेत्र स्वशासी परिषद् विधेयक को बहस के लिए रखा तथा बिना किसी बदलाव के विधेयक को सभी ने स्वीकार कर लिया। विधेयक के अनुसार राँची मुख्यालय होगा तथा इसमें 180 सदस्य होंगे। जिसमें 162 निर्वाचित तथा 18 मनोनीत होंगे। योजना का 25 प्रतिशत बिहार सरकार देगी।¹⁴

1995 के प्रारंभ में डॉ. ए.आर.किदवई, राज्यपाल द्वारा झारखण्ड स्वशासी परिषद् को मंजूरी देते हुए, बिहार विधानमंडल की संयुक्त बैठक को संबोधित करते हुए कहा कि अंतरिम स्वशासी परिषद् शीघ्र ही बनाया जाएगा और प्रधानमंत्री श्री पी.वी. नरसिंह राव को झारखण्ड स्वायत्तशासी परिषद् के गठन के लिए स्मरण पत्र प्रेषित किया। 9 जून को झारखण्ड एरिया ऑटोनोमस काँसिल गठित किया गया तथा शिबू सोरेन अध्यक्ष तथा सूरज मंडल उपाध्यक्ष किए गए।

26 जून 1996 ई. को बिहार के भूमि सुधार राजस्व तथा परिवर्तन मंत्री श्री इन्दर सिंह नामधारी ने पार्टी लाईन से हटकर झारखण्ड अलग राज्य की मांग की लेकर नागरिक सहयोग आंदोलन चलाने पर विचार प्रकट किया। 29 जुलाई 1997 ई. को जैक चुनाव के सिलसिले में अधिसूचना जारी कर दी गई। 1 दिसम्बर 1992 जैक चुनाव हेतु नामांकन

तिथि अगले आदेश तक रह करने का बिहार सरकार ने निर्णय लिया। अगस्त में बिहार सरकार के जैक विधेयक विभागों के अधिकारियों व कर्मचारियों की सेवाएँ जैक को सौंपने का नीतिगत फैसला किया, निर्धारित नियमों व प्रक्रिया के तहत जैक अपने क्षेत्राधिकार में स्थानांतरण व स्थापना करेगा।

1998ई. में बिहार सरकार ने जैक को भंग कर तथा शिबू सोरेन और सूरज मंडल को अध्यक्ष तथा उपाध्यक्ष पद से बर्खास्त कर दिया। सितम्बर 21 को बिहार पुनर्गठन विधेयक 1998को विधान सभा ने भारी बहुमत से अस्वीकृत कर दिया विधेयक, 107 मतों के मुकाबले 181मतों से नामंजूर किया गया। मतदान में राजद, माकपा, कांग्रेस के आधे सदस्य क्रांतिकारी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्यों ने विधेयक का विरोध किया वहीं भाजपा, समता, काँग्रेस के झारखण्ड क्षेत्र के विधायक जामुमो तथा माकपा ने विधेयक का स्वागत किया। दिसम्बर 23, लोकसभा में वनांचल विधेयक, 1998 पेश किया गया।¹⁵

फरवरी 1999 ई. में झारखण्ड क्षेत्र स्वशासी परिषद् (जैक) की अंतरिम कार्यकारी परिषद् को पटना उच्च न्यायालय के राँची पीठ ने बहाल कर दिया।

लोकसभा चुनाव में झारखण्ड के 14 सीटों में 12 भाजपा, 2 कांग्रेस तथा 2 राजद के उम्मीदवार विजय हुए। झारखण्ड मुक्ति मोर्चा का आंतरिक कलह उफान पर था। सूरज मंडल द्वारा शिबू सोरेने की जगह डॉ. रामदयाल मुंडा को जामुमो का अध्यक्ष चुना गया।

वर्ष 2000 के प्रारंभ में शिबू सोरेन जामूमों अध्यक्ष द्वारा सूरज मंडल को पार्टी से निष्कासित कर दिया गया। फरवरी माह में बिहार विधानसभा चुनाव में झारखण्ड क्षेत्र की 81 सीट पर भाजपा ने अपने उम्मीदवार खड़े किये और 32 उम्मीदवार विजयी तथा 24 स्थानों पर दूसरे स्थानों पर रहा। समता के 5, जदयू के 3, जामुमो के 12, कांग्रेस के 11, राजद के 9, माले के 1, माकपा के 1, सी.पी.आई. के 2, यू.जी.डी.पी.द के 2, एम.सी.सी. के 1 तथा 2 सीट निर्दलीय सदस्यों ने जीत दर्ज किया।

अप्रैल 25, 2000 को बिहार राज्य पुनर्गठन विधेयक 2000 पर विधानसभा ने दिनभर की चर्चा के बाद सहमति की मुहर लगा दी। अगस्त 2 को लोकसभा द्वारा बिहार राज्य पुनर्गठन विधेयक 2000 पारित कर दिया गया। झारखण्ड भारत का 28वां राज्य घोषित किया गया। इसी प्रकार अगस्त 11 को राज्यसभा द्वारा ध्वनि मत से बिहार राज्य पुनर्गठन विधेयक 2000 पारित हो गया। अगस्त 25 को बिहार राज्य पुनर्गठन विधेयक 2000 को राष्ट्रपति महामहिम श्री के.आर. नारायणन द्वारा स्वीकृति प्रदान कर दी गई। झारखण्ड स्थापना दिवस बिरसा जयन्ती के उपलक्ष्य में 15 नवम्बर, 2000 निश्चित किया गया।

निष्कर्ष

15 नवम्बर, 2000 को झारखण्ड राज्य का अभ्युदय हुआ, प्रभात कुमार झारखण्ड राज्य पहले राज्यपाल नियुक्त किए गए। बाबूलाल मरांडी पहले मुख्यमंत्री नियुक्त हुए। 16 नवम्बर को न्यायमूर्ति विनोद कुमार गुप्ता राँची उच्च न्यायालय के मुख्य न्यायाधीश नियुक्त किए गए और 23 नवम्बर 2000 को राजग गठबंधन की सरकार को विश्वास मत हासिल हुआ।

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लोहिया और नारीवाद

मोहित कुमार लाल*

स्वतंत्रता के 70 वर्ष पश्चात् भी नारी और पुरुषों के मध्य समता का लक्ष्य प्राप्त नहीं हो सका है। आज भी नारी स्वतंत्रता और समता के आदर्श अधूरे हैं। संविधान में उल्लिखित आदर्श लिंग भेद को समाप्त नहीं किया जा सका है। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने तीन तलाक को अंसवैधानिक घोषित कर स्त्री सम्मान की अवधारणा को पुनः वैचारिक पटल पर ला दिया है। इसी संदर्भ में समाजवादी चिंतक और राजनेता राममनोहर लोहिया के विचारों पर एक दृष्टि डालने से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि आज से 50 वर्ष पूर्व मृत्यु हो जाने के बावजूद उनके विचार कितने क्रांतिकारी और प्रासंगिक है। प्रस्तुत आलेख का उद्देश्य वर्तमान संदर्भ में उनके विचारों को देखना है।

प्रस्तुत आलेख में लोहिया द्वारा दिये गये भाषणों, लेखों का अध्ययन किया गया है इसके अतिरिक्त उनके विचारों पर लिखे गए शोध, लेखों का भी अध्ययन हुआ है। प्राथमिक और द्वितीयक स्रोतों से प्राप्त जानकारी का विश्लेषण किया गया है। इस विश्लेषण के आधार पर कुछ निष्कर्ष लगाने का प्रयास किया गया है।

उनके नारी संबंधी विचार विभिन्न स्थानों पर लेख के रूप में संग्रहित है। लोहिया की जीवनी में भी इंदुमति केलकर और ओमप्रकाश दीपक ने लोहिया द्वारा दिये गए विचारों का उल्लेख किया है। उनकी मृत्यु के 40 वर्ष बाद नरेन्द्र मोहन भटनागर ने अपनी पुस्तक *अवधुत लोहिया* में उनके विचारों को आधुनिक संदर्भ में विश्लेषित किया है। मस्तराम कपूर द्वारा संपादित पुस्तक *स्मरण लोहिया* में प्रेम सिंह, कुमकुम यादव और मेघा नामक लेखकों ने लोहिया के नारी संबंधी विचारों पर आलेख लिखे हैं। वर्ष 2015 में प्रकाशित पुस्तक *समाजवाद लोहिया और धर्मनिरपेक्षता* जिसका संपादन अरुण कुमार त्रिपाठी ने किया है, इसमें भी एक लेख डॉ० लोहिया के नर नारी समता पर विचारों को प्रस्तुत किया गया है। इन सभी साहित्यों में लोहिया के विचारों को व्यवस्थित रूप में प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया गया है।

उन्होंने मैनकांड के जनवरी-फरवरी अंक में दैहिक सुचिता और नर-नारी समता लेख लिखकर अपने विचार स्पष्ट किये। इसके पूर्व भी 1962 में उन्होंने *द्रोपदी बनाम*

*सहायक प्राध्यापक, सूरज सिंह मेमोरियल कॉलेज, राँची।

सावित्री लेख लिखा। 1960 में उन्होंने स्त्रियों के रंग और सौंदर्य दृष्टि पर भाषण दिया। 1953 में उन्होंने एक महत्वपूर्ण भाषण *जाति और लिंग के कठघरे* दिये। इन महत्वपूर्ण भाषणों के अतिरिक्त उन्होंने यत्र-तत्र भाषणों में नारी स्वतंत्रता का आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया।

वस्तुतः राममोहन लोहिया ने सप्त क्रांति का आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया था। इसका उद्देश्य भारतीयों के सामाजिक और आर्थिक जीवन में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन लाना था। इन क्रांतियों में पहला स्थान नर नारी समता को दिया गया।¹ लोहिया के विचारों में नर-नारी समता का विकास संभवतया उनकी जीवन शैली से आया था। लोहिया ने विवाह नहीं किया। उनकी मान्यता थी कि सार्वजनिक कार्य करने वालों को वैवाहिक बंधन में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए। जब वे युवा थे, तब उनको जीवन में महिला मित्र थी जिसे उन्होंने गोपनीय नहीं रखा।² महिला आरक्षण को हाल के वर्षों में सप्त क्रांति से जोड़ा जा रहा है परन्तु लोहिया ने विधान मंडलों में इस प्रकार के आरक्षण का समर्थन नहीं किया।³

लोहिया स्वतंत्र संबंधों में विश्वास रखते थे। उन महिलाओं के प्रति उनके व्यवहार से उनकी महिलाओं के प्रति दृष्टिकोण का खुलासा होता है। उनका कहना था कि संबंधों की गोपनीयता ही अपराध को जन्म देती है। आप जिनसे दिन के प्रकाश में नहीं मिलना चाहते उससे रात के अंधेरे में मिलना भी उचित नहीं है। स्त्री पुरुष के मध्य सभी संबंध जायज हैं। केवल बलात्कार और झुठ बोलने को छोड़ कर महिलाओं के प्रति अपने विचारों को उन्होंने कई बार अपने भाषणों में स्पष्ट किया।

स्वतंत्रता के तुरन्त बाद जब नये समाज की अवधारण पर गहन विचार विमर्श हो रहा था। तब 1948 में कानपुर के समाजवादी अधिवेशन में लोहिया ने भाषण में अपनी नर-नारी समता के विचार को यथार्थ रूप में प्रस्तुत किया। उन्होंने एक बार सहयोगियों से अनुरोध किया था कि रजिया सुल्तान पर शोध करे क्योंकि मध्यकालीन समाज में जन सहयोग से वह स्वतंत्र शासिका बनी थी।

परिवार के अन्दर लोहिया नारी को सम्पूर्ण रूप से पुरुषों के समकक्ष बनाना चाहते थे। उनका कहना था कि चुल्हा का धुंआ स्त्रियों के लिए नर्क है। पुरुषों का भी रसोई, घर में प्रवेश कर महिलाओं का सहयोग करना चाहिए। उन्होंने एक बार कहा था कि स्त्री रसोई में हो तो पुरुष का स्थान पालने के पास होना चाहिए। वे धरेलू कार्य में स्त्री पुरुष सहभागिता के समर्थक थे। उन्होंने जाति और लिंग के कठघरे को भारतीय समाज पर सबसे बड़ा अभिशाप माना है। उन्होंने 1953 में इस बात का उल्लेख किया था कि भारतीयों में स्त्री और पुरुष के मध्य विभाजन की रेखा बहुत गहरी है। हम स्त्रियों

को संतोषी और त्यागी बनाते है। उन्हें सबसे अंत में बचा-सुखा खाना खाने की आदत सी पड़ जाती है। लोहिया ब्रिटिश दासता के विरुद्ध संघर्ष करते हुए भी यूरोपीय समाज में स्त्री पुरुष समानता का आदर्श मानते थे। उनका विचार था कि यूरोप में बहु पत्नी प्रथा का अस्तित्व नहीं है। वहाँ भेष-भूषा से देख कर कोई स्त्री के सामाजिक वर्ग का अनुमान नहीं लगा सकता।

लोहिया एक बार अपने दोस्तों के साथ कॉफी हॉउस में बैठे थे। किसी मित्र ने कहा कि ऐसी ही बैठकों ने फ्रांस की राज्य क्रांति को उत्पन्न किया। तब उन्होंने कहा था कि तुम्हारा अनुमान बिलकुल गलत है। हमारे मध्य कोई महिला नहीं है, कोई दलित नहीं है।⁴ उनका यह कथन यह दर्शाता है कि वे मानते थे कि जब तक इस नर-नारी समता का आदर्श नहीं प्राप्त किया जायेगा तब तक राजनीतिक और आर्थिक क्रांति भी नहीं होगी। लोहिया यूरोपीय नर-नारी समता को आदर्श अवश्य मानते थे। किन्तु वे यह स्वीकार नहीं करते थे कि गोरा रंग ही सौंदर्य को प्रतीक है। वे भारतीय नारियों के लिए सौंदर्य हेतु रंग के प्रतीक को स्वीकार नहीं करते थे।⁵

लोहिया ने भारतीय मिथक को भी चुनौती दी। जब वे भारतीय नारी के आदर्श को बदलते हैं। उन्होंने सावित्री के अपेक्षा द्रौपदी को अधिक श्रेष्ठ नारी स्वीकार किया। उन्होंने स्त्री पुरुष संबंधों के अतिरिक्त स्त्री के व्यक्तित्व को महत्व दिया। द्रौपदी बुद्धिमान, साहसी और वाक पटु नारी थी। वह अपने अधिकार ओर सम्मान के लिए संघर्ष कर सकती थी। लोहिया ने द्रौपदी और कृष्ण के मध्य सखा-सखी वाले संबंध को एक आदर्श संबंध स्वीकार किया।⁶

लोहिया महिलाओं की शारीरिक सुचिता को अनावश्यक महत्व नहीं देते थे। वे इसे स्त्रियों के व्यक्तित्व पर पुरुष समाज द्वारा डाला गया अनावश्यक बंधन मानते थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि बिना शादी के एक बच्चा जन्म देने वाली महिला विवाहित महिला द्वारा छह बच्चे जन्म, देने वाली महिला से श्रेष्ठ है।⁷ उनका विश्वास था कि स्वतंत्र समाज में ही स्त्री पुरुष के बीच समता पर आधारित संबंध कायम होंगे।

वस्तुतः नारी विमर्श एक वैचारिक वार्तालाप नहीं है। यह बौद्धिक जगत में विमर्श की कोई बात नहीं है। नर-नारी समता एक ज्वलंत समस्या है। जिससे समाज की दिशा और दशा प्रभावित हो रही है। लोहिया ने नर-नारी समता को धरातल पर उतारने के लिए श्रृंखनाद किया था। आज से 50 वर्ष पूर्व उन्होंने जो आदर्श प्रस्तुत किये वो आज भी प्रासंगिक है जहाँ आज भी महिलाएँ लैंगिक समता के लिए प्रयासरत है किन्तु जो

व्यवहारिक स्तर पर अभी भी असफल है। विचार है कि भारत ही नहीं विश्व में भी नर-नारी समता प्राप्त नहीं हो सका है। उदाहरणतः यूरोप और संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में भी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में नारियों की सहभागिता पुरुषों के समकक्ष नहीं है। अतः पुरुषवादी समाज के दृष्टिकोण में अपेक्षित बदलाव कर नर-नारी समता को वास्तविक रूप में दिया जा सकता है।

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प्राचीन भारत में कृषि तकनीकी संसाधन का विकास (पाषाण काल से बुद्ध काल तक)

डा. अमिय आनन्द*

सारांश

प्राचीन काल से लेकर आज के इस आधुनिक काल तक कृषि अर्थव्यवस्था का प्रमुख आधार रही है। साथ ही प्राचीन काल से आज तक कृषि का विकास तकनीक के विकास के साथ-साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। कृषि तकनीक, कृषि के विकास का प्रमुख आधार रहा है, जैसे-जैसे कृषि उपकरण का विकास होता है वैसे-वैसे कृषि का विकास भी दृष्टिगत होता है। वैदिक साहित्य से ही हमें कृषि उपकरणों की चर्चा मिलने लगती है। वैदिक साहित्य में हल के लिए सीर, सील अथवा लांगल का उल्लेख मिलता है। हल के लिए ऋग्वेद में फाल या फार कहा गया है, अथर्ववेद में भी लोहे के फाल का उल्लेख मिलता है। ऋग्वेद के सबसे बाद वाले अंशों से यह प्रतीत होता है। उस समय लोग बैलों से खींचे जाने वाले हलों से खेती करते थे। उत्तर वैदिक काल में आर्यों का पूर्वी विस्तार गंगा के मैदानी भाग में हुआ। तकनीकी विकास की दृष्टि से इसी काल में भारत में लौह युग का आरम्भ हुआ। लोहे के उपकरणों से कृषि में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन दृष्टिगत हुआ, जिससे अधिशेष उत्पादन हुआ फलस्वरूप उस काल में जनपद से महाजनपद का और राज्य का विकास हुआ।

विशिष्टशब्द— ब्राह्मण, कौटिल्य, सीता, अश्मचक्र, प्रवीरवंत, अयस, अतिरेक उत्पादन,

भूमिका

कृषि मानव जीवन और उसके पोषण का प्रमुख आधार रहा है। प्राचीन काल से कृषि भारतीयों के खाद्यान का मुख्य स्रोत और एक मुख्य व्यवसाय रहा है। वास्तव में प्रारम्भिक मानव शिकार, खाद्य संग्रहण तथा नदियों के संसाधनों के दोहन से अपनी खाद्य आवश्यकता की पूर्ति करते थे तथा खाद्य पदार्थों की खोज में एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान पर घूमते रहते थे। विश्व सभ्यता के इतिहास में जब मानव नवपाषाण युग में प्रवेश किया तब से कृषि करना भी प्रारम्भ किया। सभ्यता के विकास में कृषि का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान

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होता है। प्राचीन काल से आज तक कृषि का विकास तकनीक के विकास के साथ-साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। कृषि तकनीक, कृषि के विकास का प्रमुख आधार रहा है, जैसे-जैसे कृषि उपकरण का विकास होता है वैसे-वैसे कृषि का विकास भी दृष्टिगत होता है। वस्तुतः कृषि का उदभव एवं विकास मानव इतिहास की एक क्रान्तिकारी घटना मानी जाती है।

पुस्तक समीक्षा— प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख प्राचीन भारत में कृषि तकनीकी संसाधन का विकास (पाषाण काल से बुद्ध काल तक) में कई प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास से संबंधित विभिन्न पुस्तकों से सहायता ली गयी है। जिनमें ओम प्रकाश की पुस्तक प्राचीन भारत का सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक इतिहास में प्राचीन भारत की कृषि व्यवस्था की चर्चा है। डी०एन०झा और कृष्ण मोहन श्रीमाली, द्वारा सम्पादित पुस्तक प्राचीन भारत का इतिहास में लौह तकनीक और कृषि के विकास की चर्चा है। किरण कुमार थापल्याल एवं संकटाप्रसाद शुक्ल, की पुस्तक सिन्धु सभ्यता में सिन्धु सभ्यता के कृषि अर्थव्यवस्था की चर्चा है। शिवस्वरूप सहाय की पुस्तक प्राचीन भारत का सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक इतिहास में भी प्राचीन भारत की कृषि व्यवस्था की चर्चा है। डी०के० चक्रवर्ती की पुस्तक द अर्ली यूज ऑफ़ आयरन इन इंडिया एवं विद्वान इतिहासकार रामशरण शर्मा की पुस्तक प्रारम्भिक भारत का आर्थिक और सामाजिक इतिहास में प्राचीन भारत में लौह तकनीक और भारत के आर्थिक विकास का विस्तृत वर्णन किया है। मैंने इस शोध आलेख में इन पुस्तकों और कुछ मूल स्रोतों से तथ्य लेकर केवल कृषि तकनीकी संसाधन के विकास को रेखांकित किया है। साथ ही कृषि उपकरण के पाषाण काल से लेकर बुद्ध काल तक का क्रमबद्ध वर्णन करने का प्रयास किया है।

शोध प्रविधि

यह शोध वर्णनात्मक एवं व्याख्यात्मक है। इसमें ऐतिहासिक विधि का प्रयोग किया गया है। इसमें प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों के साथ वेब स्रोतों का भी समुचित उपयोग किया गया है। इन स्रोतों के अध्ययन के पश्चात अंत में स्रोतों का विश्लेषण, व्याख्या, स्पष्टिकरण एवं मूल्यांकन किया गया है।

आरम्भिक काल में मनुष्य पूर्ण रूप से प्रकृतिजीवी था और कन्द-मूल, फल-फूल खाकर तथा पशुओं एवं मछलियों का शिकार कर अपने उदर की पूर्ति करता था। विद्वानों के अनुमान के अनुसार संभवतः इन प्राकृतिक खाद्य-पदार्थों की पूर्ति में कमी आई होगी या इसके लिए काफी परेशानी का सामना करना पड़ा होगा, फलतः मानव ने खेती करना सीखा होगा। यह ज्ञात है कि कृषि का उद्भव नवपाषाण काल में हुआ था। भारत में कृषि

का सबसे पहला निश्चित साक्ष्य सिंध और बलूचिस्तान की सीमा पर बोलन नदी के किनारे मेहरग नामक पुरास्थल से मिला है। इनका काल सातवीं सहस्राब्दी ई०पू० बताया गया है। इसी आधार पर विद्वान् कृषि उत्पादन का प्रारम्भ ईसा पूर्व सातवीं सहस्राब्दी में मानते हैं।¹ धीरे-धीरे कृषि का विकास होता है जिसमें कृषि उपकरण की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही। वस्तुतः कृषि को सुचारु रूप से सम्पन्न करने हेतु अनेक उपकरणों का होना आवश्यक होता है। ऐसा ज्ञात होता है कि प्राचीन काल में भारतीय कृषकों को कृषि के अनेकानेक महत्वपूर्ण उपकरणों का ज्ञान था।

पूर्व तथा मध्य पाषाण काल में मानव जंगली अवस्था में था उसे कृषि का ज्ञान नहीं था। नवपाषाण काल में पशुपालन और कृषि का विकास आरम्भ हुआ। इस समय कृषि उपकरणों में पाषाण तथा लकड़ी के बने उपकरण उपयोग में लाये जाते थे। भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप की प्रथम सभ्यता, हड़प्पा सभ्यता में भी कृषि का विकास दृष्टिगत होता है। इस सभ्यता का विकास भी इसी कृषि के विकास पर निर्भर था। हड़प्पा सभ्यता की भूमि उपजाऊ थी अतः सिंचाई की आवश्यकता नहीं थी। संभवतः नदी की बाढ़ तथा वर्षा से खेतों को पर्याप्त जल मिल जाता होगा।² इस काल में कृषि के लिए पत्थर तथा कांसे के बने उपकरणों का प्रयोग किया जाता था। बनावली में हड़प्पा संस्कृति के स्तर से खुदाई में मिट्टी के खिलौने के रूप का एक साबुत हल प्राप्त हुआ है। कालीबंगा से हल से जोते गए खेत का प्रमाण मिला है। ऐसा माना गया है कि हल लकड़ी के बने होंगे जिससे वे नष्ट हो गये होंगे। मोहनजोदड़ो से हंसिया की तरह दो चापों का ब्लेड मिला है। यहाँ से प्रस्तर की हंसिया भी मिली है, जो कृषि में उपकरणों के प्रयोग की सूचना देते हैं। यहाँ से अन्नागार का पाया जाना बड़ी मात्रा में अन्न उत्पादन तथा अधिशेष उत्पादन को व्यक्त करता है।³

हड़प्पा सभ्यता में बड़ी मात्रा में अन्न उत्पादन तथा अधिशेष उत्पादन में कृषि उपकरण एवं तकनीक की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अवश्य रही होगी इस तथ्य को नकारा नहीं जा सकता है।⁴ कालीबंगा संभवतः संसार का पहला कृषि भूमि है जहाँ से हल द्वारा खेत जोते जाने का साक्ष्य मिलता है। यहाँ पर मिले अनाज के दाने एवं ठीकरों पर बनी आकृतियों से ज्ञात होता है की सिन्धु सभ्यता में धान, गेहूँ, मटर, राई, तिल, कपास की खेती प्रमुख रूप से होती थी।⁵ सिन्धु सभ्यता की भूमि उपजाऊ थी और वहाँ तकनीकी संसाधनों के समुचित उपयोग द्वारा अतिरेक उत्पादन होता था। सिन्धु सभ्यता की नगर व्यवस्था इस अतिरेक उत्पादन की ही देन थी।

हड़प्पा सभ्यता के इलाके में कृषि का विकास इस सभ्यता के आरम्भ होने से बहुत पहले हो चुका था। यह प्रक्रिया संभवतः ईसा पूर्व सातवीं सहस्राब्दी में बलूचिस्तान में आरम्भ हुई ठीक इसी काल से कोलडीहवा से धान की खेती करने के साक्ष्य मिले हैं। ईसा पूर्व तीसरी सहस्राब्दी आरम्भ के आस-पास कृषि जीवन सिंधुघाटी में और पंजाब दोने जगह दूर-दूर तक प्रचलित हो गया और कुछ ही समय बाद सरस्वती की घाटी में भी कृषि उत्पादन होने लगा। लोथल और रंगपुर के निवासी हड़प्पा संस्कृति के अंतिम चरणों में चावल की खेती करते थे। इसके अतिरिक्त रंगपुर में बाजरे के भी अवशेष मिले हैं। नवदाटोली और सोनगाँव में गेहूँ चावल, मसूर, मुंग और उड़द के अवशेष मिले हैं।⁶ विभिन्न प्रकार के फसल का अस्तित्व भी कृषि तकनीकी संसाधन के अस्तित्व का संकेत करते हैं।

ऋग्वैदिक आर्यों का प्रारम्भ में प्रमुख व्यवसाय पशुपालन था और कृषि का इस काल में इतना महत्व नहीं था। इस काल के अंतिम चरण में कृषि पर बल दिया जाने लगा तथा उत्तर वैदिक काल में कृषि का तुलनात्मक विकास हुआ। ऋग्वैदिक काल के आरंभिक चरण में कृषि के बारे में पर्याप्त साक्ष्य नहीं मिलते हैं। पशुचारण की तुलना में कृषि कार्य नगण्य था। वास्तव में ऋग्वेद के कुल श्लोकों में से केवल 24 में ही कृषि का उल्लेख है, इसमें भी अधिकांश उल्लेख क्षेपक माने जाते हैं। संहिता के मूल भाग में कृषि के महत्व के केवल तीन ही शब्द मिलते हैं— उर्दर, धान्य, एवं वपन्ति। सिंचाई से संबंधित शब्द भी ऋग्वेद के बाद वाले अंशों में मिलते हैं।⁷

वैदिक साहित्य में हल के लिए सीर, सील अथवा लांगल का उल्लेख मिलता है। हल के अगले नुकीले भाग, जो भूमि में प्रविष्ट होकर मिट्टी उखाड़ता है उसे ऋग्वेद में फाल या फार कहा गया है। अथर्ववेद में भी लोहे के फाल का उल्लेख मिलता है। भूमि खोदने के कार्य में प्रयुक्त होने वाले कुदाल को ऋग्वेद में 'खनिज' कहा गया तथा पके फसलों को काटने में प्रयुक्त होने वाले हंसिया को दतर या सृनी कहा गया है। अथर्ववेद में प्रयुक्त 'पर्शु' अथवा 'परशु' शब्द भी हंसिए के अर्थ में ही आया है। अष्टाध्यायी में हंसिये के लिए दात्र और लिवित्र शब्द आये हैं। युद्ध के समय शिविर के अस्त्र-शस्त्रों में वृक्ष, फल, फूल तरीन आदि काटने के लिए हंसिये का वर्णन रामायण में मिलता है।⁸ फावड़ा अथवा कुदाल का उपयोग लोहे के हल के फाल के पूरक के रूप में किया जाता था तथा इस उपकरण की सहायता से जीवन-यापन करने वाले व्यक्ति को 'कौद्योगिक' कहा जाता था।⁹ वैदिक कल्प सूत्र में लोहार द्वारा बनाये जाने वाला महत्वपूर्ण उपकरणों में फाल, फावड़ा, तथा हंसिया का उल्लेख किया गया है।¹⁰

ऋग्वेद के सबसे बाद वाले अंशों से यह प्रतीत होता है कि वे बैलों से खींचे जाने वाले हलों से खेती करते थे। बाद के वैदिक मूल पाठ में जहाँ ब्राह्मणों को भूमि पर खेती ना करते हुए दिखाया गया है वहाँ आर्यों को बार-बार खेती करने का श्रेय दिया गया है। यद्यपि अनार्य लोग (जिनका दुष्प्रभाव ब्राह्मणों पर दिखाया गया है) भी खेती करना जानते थे, परन्तु यहाँ पर ब्राह्मणों की निंदा इसलिए की गयी है कि अनार्य लोग आर्यों की पद्धति से खेती नहीं करते थे। कृषि तकनीक के सन्दर्भ में यह कहा जा सकता है कि, जोतने, बोने, हँसिया से फसल काटने, गहाई करने और फटकने से जुड़ी हुई अनेक गतिविधियों का उल्लेख ऋग्वेद के पहले और दसवें मंडल में किया गया है। इससे यह संकेत मिलता है कि ऋग्वैदिक काल के अंतिम चरण में कृषि अर्थव्यवस्था पहले से अधिक मजबूत हो गई थी। साथ ही कृषि में इन तकनीकी संसाधन का प्रयोग होता था। ऋग्वेद से यह संकेत मिलता है कि आर्यों ने जंगल साफ़ करने के लिए अग्नि का प्रयोग किया और भूमि को कृषि को खेती योग्य बनाया। ऋग्वैदिक काल के लोगों को अनाज की किस्म यव की जानकारी थी जिसका अर्थ जौ माना गया है।¹¹

ऋग्वेद में कृषि योग्य भूमि को उर्वरा अथवा क्षेत्र कहा जाता था। साथ ही ऋग्वेद में हल के लिए लांगल तथा सीर, हल के फाल से जुती हुई भूमि के लिए फाल या सीता का प्रयोग किया गया है। इस काल में फल संभवतः लकड़ी का बना होता था। ऋग्वेद में हर शब्द का भी उल्लेख मिलता है। आज भी ग्रामीण भाषा में हल के लिए हर शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। ऋग्वेद में सिंचाई की चर्चा मिलती है। सिंचाई नहरों द्वारा किया जाता था। कूप तथा अवट (खोद कर बनाए गए गड्ढे), कुल्या (नहर), अश्मचक्र (रहट की चर्खी) आदि का उल्लेख से सिंचाई व्यवस्था के बारे में पता चलता है।¹²

यद्यपि ऋग्वेद में कृषि की चर्चा मिलती है परन्तु पशुपालन गवैदिक काल के आरम्भ में कृषि की अपेक्षाकृत अधिक महत्वपूर्ण व्यवसाय था। पशुपालन के महत्व का अनुमान इस बात से लगाया जा सकता है कि ऋग्वेद में कई शब्द गाय से संबंधित हैं— जैसे युद्ध के लिए गविष्टि, पुत्री के लिए दुहिता, समय के लिए गौधुली आदि। गायों के अतिरिक्त बकरियां, भेड़ें, और घोड़े भी पाले जाते थे। गायों और घोड़ों का कृषि गतिविधियों के संदर्भ में ऋग्वेद में उल्लेख मिलता है। इस तरह ऋग्वैदिक काल में कृषि का विकास देखने को मिलता है जो अभी प्रारंभिक अवस्था में था।¹³

उत्तर वैदिक काल में आर्यों का पूर्वी विस्तार गंगा के मैदानी भाग में हुआ। तकनीकी विकास की दृष्टि से यही वह काल है जब उत्तरी भारत में लौह युग का

आरम्भ हुआ। इस काल में लोगों के आर्थिक जीवन में महत्वपूर्ण परिवर्तन उनके जीवन में स्थायित्व का होना था, जो कृषि के अधिकाधिक विस्तार का परिणाम था। इस काल में कृषि ही लोगों का प्रमुख पेशा था। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में जुताई से संबंधित कर्मकांड पर एक पूरा अध्याय दिया गया है। बीज बोना कटाई, गहराई आदि का भी उल्लेख भी उसमें दिया गया है। इस काल में हल से खेती का और अधिक स्पष्ट उल्लेख मिलता है। इस काल में हमें हड्डियों जैसे सख्त एवं कत्था से निर्मित फाल का वर्णन हमें मिलता है। यद्यपि इस सन्दर्भ में पुरातात्विक साक्ष्य उपलब्ध नहीं है, किन्तु इस काल के साहित्य में प्रवीरवंत अथवा पवीरव का भी उल्लेख है जिसका अर्थ होता है— धातु की चोंच वाला फाल।¹⁴

उत्तर वैदिक काल के आरम्भ में लोहे के हल का साक्ष्य नहीं मिलता है। बाद में 700 ई०पू० के आसपास जब आर्य पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में पहुंचे तो लोहे के प्रयोग से कृषि कार्य आरम्भ किया होगा अथर्ववेद में लोहे को श्याम अयस तथा जैमिनी ब्राम्हण में कृष्ण अयस कहा गया है।¹⁵ अथर्ववेद के अनुसार उस काल में हल में छह, आठ, या बारह तक बैल जोड़े जाते थे।¹⁶ अथर्ववेद तथा उस काल के अन्य साहित्य से ज्ञात होता है कि चार, छः, आठ, बारह, चौबीस बैलों वाले हल थे जो गहरी जुताई करते थे। ऐसा लोहे के फाल वाले हल से ही संभव था। हल को पावाविराम तथा पावारिवाम कहा गया है।¹⁷

पाणिनि कृत अष्टाध्यायी में कृषि संबंधी शब्दावली में हल या उसका पर्याय शीर प्रचलित थे। इसमें जुताई एवं बुआई की विधियों का भी उल्लेख है। फसलों का नामकरण उस महीने के नाम से होता था, जिसमें वे बोई जाती थी, और खेतों के नाम, उनमें बोए जाने वाले धान्यों के नाम से रखे जाते थे, जैसे खेतों में ब्रीहि, शालि (जडहन), जौ, साठी, (षष्टिक), तिल, उड़द (माष), अलसी (उमा), सन (भंगा) इत्यादि धान्य बोए जाते थे।¹⁸

राजगृह में दक्षिणागिरी की तरफ जाते समय बुद्ध ने मगध प्रदेश के देहातों के खेतों को मेंड़ बंधा, पंक्ति में बंधा तथा चारों तरफ से घिरा हुआ देखा। मगध के इस सुव्यवस्थित खेतों को देख बुद्ध इतने प्रभावित हुए कि इसी शैली में चारों तरफ से घिरे चीवर का प्रयोग करने का आदेश आनन्द के माध्यम से अपने शिष्यों को दिया।¹⁹ जैन ग्रंथों में भी हल, कुलिश तथा दातालक जैसे कृषि उपकरणों का उल्लेख हुआ है।²⁰ कृषि तकनीकी संसाधनों की सहायता से पैदावर बाने और अधिशेष के उत्पादन से समाज में विषमता आई। जनजातीय समाज में तकनीकी विकास करनेवाले कुछ सुविधा प्रदान की गई। यह सुविधा भौतिक कारणों से प्रारम्भ हुई। धीरे धीरे सुविधा प्राप्त परिवारों ने इन्हें वंशवादी

विचारधारा का रूप दे दिया। बाद में परिश्रम और प्रतिभा के बिना भी अच्छी जमीन खोजनेवाले के वंशज और गाँव बसानेवाले के वंशज दावा करने लगे कि उन्हें अपने पूर्वजों की सुविधा मिलती रहे। धीरे धीरे सुविधा के लिए समाज से समर्थन भी प्राप्त कर लिया और आगे चलकर कृषि तकनीकी संसाधनों के विकास ने राज्य के निर्माण में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।²¹

निष्कर्ष

इस प्रकार हम पाते हैं कि कृषि तकनीक का विकास उतर वैदिक काल तक धीरे-धीरे हुआ परन्तु जब छठी शताब्दी ई०पू० में कृषि में तकनीक का प्रयोग आम होने लगा तब कृषि का गुणोत्तर विकास होता गया। कृषि तकनीक के विकास ने भारतीय कृषि को भी एक नई दिशा प्रदान की। जब लोहे का सामान्य प्रयोग 600 ई०पू० के आसपास होने लगा तब कृषि तकनीक में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन हुआ। कृषि के विकास के कारण अधिशेष उत्पादन होने लगा। अधिशेष के परिणाम स्वरूप विभिन्न व्यवसाय का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ। साथ ही अनुत्पादक वर्ग (शासक, पुरोहित, सैनिक,) का उदय भी हुआ। अतः प्राचीन भारत में कृषि का विकास हुआ तो यहाँ की अर्थव्यवस्था का भी विकास हुआ, जनपद से महाजनपद का विकास हुआ और इसी काल में बड़े राज्यों का भी उद्भव हुआ। जिसमें कृषि के विकास ने भी अत्यंत ही महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।

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सत्यशोधक समाज और दलित जागृति: एक समीक्षा

पूनम कुमारी*

सारांश

आधुनिक समाज सुधारक संगठनों में ज्योतिबा फुले द्वारा स्थापित सत्यशोधक समाज एक पृथक पहचान रखता है। सत्यशोधक समाज ने उन वर्गों के सामाजिक सुधार पर जोर दिया जिन वर्गों के सुधार का प्रयास अभी तक कोई अग्रणी संस्था ने नहीं किया था। सत्यशोधक समाज के माध्यम से ज्योतिबा फुले ने शुद्रों तथा महिलाओं के सशक्तिकरण का प्रयास किया जिसका प्रतिफल भारतीय समाज को सकारात्मक रूप में मिला। सत्यशोधक समाज ने एक तरफ समाज के रूढ़िवादी विचारों पर प्रहार किया वहीं दूसरी तरफ उन्होंने दलित शिक्षा विशेषकर महिलाओं की शिक्षा के लिए प्रबंध भी किया। ज्योतिबा फुले ने अपनी संस्था के माध्यम से दलितों को मानसिक रूप से भी सबल बनाया इसके लिए उन्होंने कई निर्देशों के पालन करने का नियम बनाया। सत्यशोधक समाज के विचारों एवं कार्यों से इसे ब्राह्मणविरोधी संस्था मानना उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता क्योंकि इस संस्था के कई सक्रिय सदस्य ब्राह्मण जाति के थे इस संस्था के माध्यम से ज्योतिबा फुले ने समाज में समानता लाने का प्रयास किया जिसके कई परिणाम हमारे समक्ष आज भी होते दृष्टिगत हैं।

विशिष्टशब्द— बहुजन—समाज, सत्यशोधक, दलित, अस्पृश्यता, सशक्तिकरण

भूमिका

संगठन एक ऐसी शक्ति है जो व्यक्तियों को समाज में एक मंच प्रदान करता है अपनी आवाज को जन जन तक पहुंचाने के लिए। 19 वीं सदी में ऐसे कई संगठन बने जो लोगों में राजनीतिक चेतना को जगाने व लोगों के अधिकारों की मांग की। भारत के दलित जो कि शोषण का शिकार थे उनमें सर्वप्रथम जागृति लाने का प्रयास ज्योतिबा फुले ने किया। उन्होंने इनके सामाजिक स्थिति को सुधारने व छुआछूत दूर करने के लिए एक संगठन की स्थापना की, वह था सत्य शोधक समाज। 19वीं सदी के आरंभ में भारत में कई संगठन दृष्टिगत होते हैं जिसमें सामाजिक, धार्मिक, राजनीतिक सुधार के लिए प्रयास किया। परन्तु ज्योतिबा फुले द्वारा स्थापित सत्य शोधक समाज ही ऐसा सामाजिक संगठन था जिसने समाज के निम्न तबके के लोगों की स्थिति में सुधार करने का सबसे पहला सार्थक प्रयास किया।

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पुस्तक समीक्षा

इस आलेख में मुख्यरूप से सहायक स्रोतों का प्रयोग किया गया है। इसके लिए उन पुस्तकों की सहायता ली गयी है जिसमें ज्योतिबा फुले और सत्यशोधक समाज का शोधपरक वर्णन है। सर्वप्रथम ज्योतिबा फुले की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण रचना गुलामगिरी का अध्ययन किया गया है। साथ ही कन्हैया लाल चंचरीककी पुस्तक महात्मा ज्योतिबा फुले, पी. वी. काणे की पुस्तक हिस्ट्री ऑफ़ धर्मशास्त्र, कन्हैया लाल चंचरीक की पुस्तक भारतीय दलित आन्दोलन की रूपरेखा, जगमोहन की पुस्तक दलित शिक्षा का परिदृश्य आदि का अध्ययन किया गया है। इन पुस्तकों में मुख्य रूप से दलित विचारधारा के दृष्टिकोण से सत्यशोधक समाज के उद्भव और कार्यों को प्रस्तुत किया गया है। मैंने इस शोध लेखन में इन विद्वानों के विचारों के सकारात्मक पक्ष और नकारात्मक पक्ष को ध्यान में रख कर, एकांगी दलित विचारों पृथक कर आलेख को प्रस्तुत करने का प्रयास किया है।

शोध क्षेत्र- आधुनिक भारत

शोध प्रविधि- प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख विश्लेषणात्मक और वर्णनात्मक है जिसकी मुख्य विधि ऐतिहासिक है। शोध कार्य के लिए गौण स्रोतों का प्रयोग किया गया है। इस शोध आलेख में प्रकाशित ग्रन्थ, पत्र-पत्रिका के साथ इंटरनेट से भी स्रोतों को खोजने का प्रयास किया गया। इस आलेख में दलित विचारकों के दृष्टिकोण की आलोचनात्मक समीक्षा की गयी है।

ज्योतिबा फुले द्वारा स्थापित सत्य शोधक समाज ही ऐसा सामाजिक संगठन था जिसके संस्थापक निम्नजाति के थे। इसकी स्थापना 23 सितम्बर 1873 को पुणे में हुई। पूरे महाराष्ट्र के लगभग 60 प्रतिष्ठित समाजसेवी एकत्रित हुए जिन्होंने सर्वसम्मति से ज्योतिबा फुले को संस्थापक अध्यक्ष और नारायण राव गोविंदराव को मंत्री निर्वाचित किया।¹ वस्तुतः ज्योतिबा फुले ने लगातार संघर्ष के पश्चात महसूस किया कि उनके विचारों सिद्धान्तों तथा आदर्शों के सम्यक प्रचार एवं प्रसार के लिए एक ऐसे व्यवस्थित मंच व संस्था की आवश्यकता है जिसके माध्यम से छोटे वर्गों को समाज में बराबरी का स्थान दिलाने का प्रयास किया जा सके। अभी तक ज्योतिबा फुले ने पुस्तकों, पर्चों तथा भाषणों के द्वारा ही इस कार्य को सम्पादित किया था।

सत्यशोधक समाज उनकी दूर दृष्टि का ही प्रतिफल था। अपने जीवन में लगभग 25 वर्ष समाज सेवा में बिताने के बाद ज्योतिबा फुले ने समाज सुधार के मार्ग में आनेवाली कठिनाइयों को अनुभव किया। उन्होंने पाया कि हिन्दू धर्म का सार ग्रंथों में लपेटकर पुरोहितों ने स्वयं ही देवता का स्थान ग्रहण किया है। पारम्परिक संस्कारों के कारण ब्राह्मण की सेवा को लोग ईश्वर की सेवा समझते हैं। इस परिस्थिति में ज्योतिबा फुले को

पूरा विश्वास हो गया कि जब तक ब्राह्मणों की पुरोहिती वृत्ति का बल कम नहीं होगा तब तक सुधारो का प्रभाव नहीं बेगा मगर यह लड़ाई अकेले व्यक्ति के बस की बात नहीं है। इसके लिए सामूहिक प्रयासों की जरूरत थी। यही सोचकर ज्योतिबा फुले ने इस संस्था की नींव रखी। उस समय तक निम्न जातियों के कुछ युवक पढ़ लिखकर जीवन के क्षेत्र में प्रवेश कर चुके थे उनमें से कुछ ज्योतिबा फुले के साथ काम कर रहे थे। ज्योतिबा फुले को विश्वास था कि वे युवक निश्चय ही सहायक होंगे। ज्योतिबा फुले ने पुणे में ही संस्था के उद्देश्यों का विस्तृत विवेचन किया तथा संस्था के गठन के औचित्य को समझाया। पर्याप्त विचार और वाद विवाद के बाद उपस्थित लोगों ने संस्था के गठन का निर्णय लिया। इस प्रकार सत्यशोधक (सत्याखोजी) समाज अस्तित्व में आया।²

इस समाज के सिद्धांत इस प्रकार थे –

1. ईश्वर एक ही है। वह किसी गुफा, पहाड़ी, नदी-नाले, ब्राह्मण पुरोहित के मंदिर में बंद नहीं है। वह सर्वव्यापी है।
2. ईश्वर हिन्दू, मुसलमान, महार, ब्राह्मण आदि में भेदभाव नहीं करता उसे सभी मनुष्य समान रूप से प्रिय हैं।
3. हिन्दू सभी लोगो को ईश्वर भाक्तिकरने का अधिकार है। उसके लिए किसी भी बिचौलिये की आवश्यकता नहीं है। ईश्वर को आत्मिक बल से ही प्रसन्न किया जा सकता है।
4. मनुष्य जाति से नहीं गुणों से श्रेष्ठ बना है। ऊँची जाति में जन्मा मुंशी श्रेष्ठ और कनिष्ठ या निम्न जाति में जन्मा मनुष्य कनिष्ठ या नीच होता है यह विचार ब्राह्मण पुरोहितों का फैलाया हुआ है। इससे गुण न होने पर भी ऊँची जाति के लोग अपने को ऊँचा जताने लगे और कनिष्ठ मानने लगे और इन लोगो ने धीरे-धीरे सदगुण तथा कुशलता प्राप्त करने और उद्योग व्यवसाय को अपनाने का विचार छोड़ दिया जिसके फलस्वरूप कनिष्ठ जातियों में गुणों का लोप हो गया।
5. कोई भी ग्रन्थ ईश्वर रचित नहीं है।
6. ईश्वर अवयव रूप में अवतार नहीं लेता।
7. पुनर्जन्म, कर्मकांड, जप-तप, अज्ञान मूलक हैं।

उस समय यह धारणा थी कि लोगो द्वारा संस्कृत में मंत्र के बिना ईश्वर की प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकती। ज्योतिबा ने लोगो से कहा कि यह बात ब्राह्मणों ने अपना स्वार्थ और श्रेष्ठत्व बनाये रखने के लिए ही प्रचारित की है। यदि ईश्वर केवल संस्कृत ही समझता है तो क्या ईसाई, मुसलमान, यहूदी आदि द्वारा उनकी भाषा में की जानेवाली प्रार्थना

ईश्वर नहीं समझता? हमारे देश के कई संतो ने अपनी अपनी भाषों में ईश्वर की जो प्रार्थनाएँ की हैं क्या वे ईश्वर तक नहीं पहुँची हैं।³

सत्यशोधक समाज का गठन होने पर ज्योतिबा फुले ने उसके उद्देश्यों को क्रियान्वित करना आरम्भ किया। वे देख रहे थे कि शूद्र व अतिशूद्र समाज अब भी शिक्षा के महत्व को नहीं समझ रहे हैं इसलिए वे प्रतिभाशाली छात्रों के लिए छात्रवृत्तियाँ, पुरस्कारों, उनके निवास तथा छात्रों के लिए छात्रावास, निशुल्क पुस्तकों, प्रौढ़ों की शिक्षा के लिए रात्रि पाठशालाओं आदि का प्रबंध प्रारम्भ किया। लोगों के ज्ञानार्जन के लिए वे हर पखवाड़े व्याख्यानों का आयोजन किया करते थे। साथ ही वे वाक प्रतियोगिताओं का भी आयोजन किया करते थे जिससे पठन-पाठन में रूचि बनी रहे। इन प्रतियोगिताओं के विषय सत्यशोधक समाज के अनुरूप होते थे।⁴ ज्योतिबा फुले ने सत्यशोधक समाज द्वारा निर्धारित विवाह पद्धति (पुरोहित के बिना विवाह) के अनुसार अनेक विवाह सम्पन्न कराए। मुंबई के हाईकोर्ट ने एक मामले में निर्णय देते हुए कहा कि दूसरी जातियों के लोग ब्राह्मण पुरोहित के बिना विवाह कर सकते हैं और विवाह का पौरोहित्य न करने पर दक्षिणा की मांग नहीं की जा सकती।⁵ आजकल विभिन्न जातियों के विवाह, धार्मिक कर्मकांड किये बिना केवल रजिस्ट्रार के सामने शपथ लेकर किये जाते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त आज कई संस्थाएँ ऐसी हैं जिसमें किसी भी जाति के पुरोहित हैं और विवाह करवा रहे हैं। इसका श्रेय ज्योतिबा फुले के सत्यशोधक समाज के माध्यम से ही संभव हुआ।⁶

सत्यशोधक समाज की विवाह पद्धति को क्रान्तिकारी माना जा सकता है। विवाह संस्था में कर्मकाण्डों को नकारकर ज्योतिबा फुलेने पुरोहितवृत्ति को आघात पहुँचाया। इस विवाह पद्धति की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता थी – गाँव में होने वाले विवाह में गाँव की सभी जातियों का समभाव और सहभागिता। इस विवाह पद्धति में निर्देशित किया गया कि— वर गाँव के नाई से बाल कटवाए, विवाह के दिन गाँव की धोबन वर के मंडप में वस्त्र के आसन पर अनाज का चौक पूराकर उस पर वर को बिठाए और उसके हाथ में कंगन बाँधे। वर और वधु के गाँव आने पर गाँव की महारिन दीप थाली लेकर उसकी आरती उतारे। विवाह समाप्त होने पर वर वधु तथा बारातियों समेत बड़े आनंद से शुद्धो से लेकर, इसाई, मुसलमान, पारसी, ब्राह्मण, भाइयों के अनाथ लड़के-लड़कियों, विकलांगों को बिना भेदभाव किये दान करे। ज्योतिराव की यह विचार धारा सचमुच ही व्यापक, समानतावादी, सर्वजातिसंभव तथा सर्वधर्म समभाव के पोषक थे।⁷

सत्यशोधक समाज की कार्यप्रणाली में यह भी कहा गया कि विवाह में होनेवाला खर्च कम किया जाए और विवाह समारोह संस्कृत में न करके मातृभाषा में किये जाए। इसके लिए शिक्षा बेहद आवश्यक थी जिसके लिए समाज को शिक्षित करने का निश्चय ज्योतिबा

फुले ने किया। इसकी शुरुआत सत्यशोधक समाज की स्थापना के पहले ही कर चुके थे। सामान्य तौर पर यह माना जाता है कि यह संस्था ब्राह्मण विरोधी थी परन्तु वास्तव में यह सत्यशोधक समाज ब्राह्मण विरोधी नहीं था बल्कि धर्म के नाम पर ठगने वालों ब्राह्मणों के वृत्ति का विरोधी था। सत्यशोधक समाज के आरम्भिक सदस्यों में सर्वश्री सखाराम पश्वात परांजये, सदाशिवराय गिवंडे, विनायक पपुजी मडकर, शिवराम सखाराम दातार, वेलवेंकट आदि ब्राह्मण सदस्य थे। जल्द ही सदस्यों की संख्या 300 से अधिक हो गई। जिससे इसका और विस्तार होता गया। उस समय सत्य शोधक समाज ने निम्नलिखित कार्य को अपना लक्ष्य बनाया –

1. ब्राह्मण शास्त्रों की मानसिक और धार्मिक गुलामी से लोगो को मुक्त करना
2. ब्राह्मण पुरोहितो द्वारा किया जानेवाला शोषण बंद करना
3. शिक्षा का प्रचार प्रसार करना
4. स्त्रियों को शिक्षा देना
5. अछूतों का उद्धार कर छुआछुत नष्ट करना
6. स्त्री जाति के मानवीय अधिकारों की रक्षा करना
7. दीन शिशुओं तथा विकलांगों के प्रति सहानुभूति रखना
8. सत्य आचरण व सत्यनिष्ठा को अपनाना।⁸

सत्यशोधक समाज के हर सदस्य को प्रतिज्ञा करनी पड़ती थी—सारे मानव एक ही ईश्वर की संताने हैं इसलिए सभी स्त्री—पुरुष मेरे भाई—बहन हैं और मैं उनसे इसी नाते संबंध रखूंगा। ईश्वर की पूजा, आराधना करते समय मैं किसी को बिचौलिया नहीं बनाऊंगा और अन्य लोगो से भी ऐसा ही करने का अनुरोध करूंगा। मैं अपने बेटे—बेटियों को शिक्षा दूंगा। सत्य स्वरूप ईश्वर को साक्षी रखकर मैं यह प्रतिज्ञा कर रहा हूँ। ईश्वर मुझे इस प्रतिज्ञा के अनुसार आचरण करने की शक्ति दे।” उस समय भी समाज के सदस्यों में ब्राह्मण, मुसलमान यहूदी आदि भी शामिल थे। इसके कार्यों को बहुजन—समाज के समझदार लोगो ने बहुत पसंद किया। सत्यशोधक की विवाह पद्धति निःसंदेह क्रांतिमय थी। सत्यशोधक समाज ने सामाजिक गुलामी के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई और सामाजिक न्याय की मांग की।⁹

कई विचारकों का मानना है कि ब्रह्मसमाज, परमहंस समाज, आस्तिक समाज, प्रार्थना समाज इतने प्रभावी नहीं हुए जितना सत्यशोधक समाज प्रभावी था। सभी संगठन अभिजात्य वर्ग द्वारा संस्थापित किए गए थे। उन सबके प्रभाव सीमित थे। केवल सत्यशोधक समाज ही ऐसा सामाजिक संगठन था जिसके मुख्य संस्थापक निम्नजाति के

थे। इसका ही परिणाम था कि स्त्री शिक्षा, छुआछूत का विरोध व्यापक रूप से किया गया जिसके फलस्वरूप दलितों में सामाजिक चेतना के साथ राजनीतिक चेतना जगी और वह आगे चलकर उन्होंने भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष में भाग लिया।¹⁰

सत्यशोधक समाज की बैठकों में नारी शिक्षा, दलित महिला शिक्षा, स्वदेशी प्रचार तथा पुरोहितों द्वारा समाज को गुमराह किए जाने पर चर्चा होती थी। सत्यशोधक समाज ने स्पष्ट घोषणा कर रखी थी कि वह जाति-पाति अस्पृश्यता, धर्म की संकीर्णता और मनुष्य द्वारा मनुष्य के हर प्रकार के शोषण के विरुद्ध है। सत्यशोधक समाज के विचारों के प्रसार के कारण पुना की मलिन बस्तियों, कामगारों और गरीब लोगों के बीच सत्यशोधक समाज की बहुत सी शाखाएँ स्थापित हुईं। सर्वधर्म-समभाव के पोषक और मानवता के पक्षधर सत्यशोधक समाज से कुछ कट्टरपंथी घृणा करते थे। पुरोहितों की इससे रोजी-रोटी छीन गई। शुद्र और निम्न जातियों ने उनसे अपने मंगल उत्सवों, मुहूर्त और विवाह की तिथियाँ निकलवाना बंद कर दिया। इससे पहले कोई संगठन, ऐसा क्रांतिकारी और प्रगतिशील कार्य नहीं कर पाई जो इसने किया।¹¹

सत्यशोधक समाज के प्रचारक और उपदेशक सर पर साफा बांधते थे तथा कम्बल रखते थे, हाथ में ढोल रहता था। गरीब और शुद्र जाति की बस्तियों में ढोल बजाकर लोगों को इकट्ठा किया जाता था उन्हें सीधे-साधे ढंग से शिक्षा और सामाजिक अधिकारों को पाने के लिए सजग किया जाता जिससे वे अपनी मानसिक दासता को त्यागकर स्वतंत्र व्यक्तित्व का विकास करे।¹² इससे पहले शायद ही इस तरह के संगठित व रोचक ढंग से दलितों के शोषण के विरुद्ध प्रचार प्रसार किया गया। सत्यशोधक समाज एक क्रांतिकारी जन आन्दोलन, दलित जनो की आकांक्षाओं के प्रतीक और दलित जागृति का संदेशवाहक बन चुका था। ज्योतिबा फुले और समाज के अन्य प्रभावशाली कार्यकर्ता को यह बात बराबर समझाते रहते थे कि ब्रह्मसमाज और प्रार्थना समाज कुलीन लोगों के दिमाग की उपज है वे आदर्शवादी संगठन हो सकते हैं वे कुछ सुधार तो अवश्य कर सकते हैं लेकिन सदियों से शोषित लोगों के कल्याण के लिए उनके पास कोई भी ठोस और व्यवहारिक योजना नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा कि अब तर्क के बल पर आगे बना होगा और इसके लिए पुरुषों और स्त्रियों को शिक्षित करना और संगठित करना परम आवश्यक है। उस समय सत्यशोधक समाज के कर्मचारियों को नौकरियों में तंग भी किया जाता था। जो अस्थायी थे उन्हें हटा भी दिया गया सेवा में व्यवधान डाला गया। ज्योतिबा फुले ने इसके खिलाफ जोरदार आवाज उठाई ज्योतिबा फुले प्रारम्भ से ही सत्यशोधक समाज के माध्यम से दलित जातियों में समन्वय स्थापित करने के पक्ष में थे। यही चेतना व एकता आगे चलकर राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में दलितों की भागीदारी को प्रतिबिंबित करता है।¹³

समकालीन समाज सुधार आंदोलनों के बहुत से नेता रूढ़ी का निषेध करने के सिवा और कुछ नहीं करते थे। न्यायमूर्ति माधव गोविन्द रानाडे तत्कालीन समाज सुधारकों के सिरमौर माने जाते थे लेकिन उनके दबू स्वभाव के कारण ज्योतिबा ने दो तीन बार फटकार लगाई थी। रानाडे ने समाज की ओर से अपनी विधवा बहन का विवाह नहीं कराया वहीं खुद विधुर होने पर 11वर्ष की कन्या से विवाह किया जबकि वे 32वर्ष के थे। उस समय भी ज्योतिबा फुले ने उन्हें फटकार लगाई कि यदि नेता ही संकटों और धमकियों से दब जाए तो समाज का मार्गदर्शन कौन करेगा। यद्यपि सत्यशोधक समाज ने धार्मिक कार्यों में विधमान अनावश्यक विधियों को निकाल बाहर कर दिया तथापि सभी सत्यशोधक की विधियों में एकरूपता नहीं थी इसलिए जगह-जगह से अधिकृत विधियों की जानकारी मांगी गयी थी। ज्योतिबा ने जून 1887 में सत्यशोधक समाज के अनुसार मन्त्र आदि सहित सर्वपूजाविधि प्रारम्भ नामक पुस्तिका लिखकर प्रकाशित की। उन्होंने अंतिम समय में कहा था कि आप अपना कर्तव्य करते रहे और सत्यशोधक समाज के विचारों को अपनाए। आपको मेरे साथ तकलीफें सहनी पड़ी हैं, और आगे इससे ज्यादा तकलीफें सहनी पड़ेंगी पर उनसे न डरते हुए ईश्वर के प्रति आदर रखकर अपना काम करते रहें।¹⁴

सत्यशोधक समाज के संस्थापक के निधन के बहुत दिनों बाद समाज का लक्ष्य इन विचारों पर केन्द्रित हुआ।

1. सभी मनुष्य एक ही परमात्मा की संतान हैं और वह इनके पिता हैं।
2. माता और पिता को प्रसन्न करने के लिए किसी माध्यम की आवश्यकता नहीं है इसी प्रकार गवान की पूजा में किसी पुरोहित अथवा उपदेशाचार्य की मध्यस्थता नहीं होनी चाहिए।
3. समाज के सिद्धान्तों पर आचरण करनेवाला प्रत्येक व्यक्ति समाज का सदस्य होने की पूर्ण अहर्ता रखता है।
4. सत्यशोधक समाज के सदस्य को खंडेराव देव के नाम से इस बात की शपथ लेनी पड़ती थी कि वह ब्रिटिश शासन के प्रति स्वामिभक्त रहेगा। इसका कारण यह था कि अंग्रेजों ने इन्हें बिना भेदभाव के शिक्षा देने में सहायता की थी हालांकि इनका मकसद कुछ और था। गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले की संस्था सर्वेन्ट्स ऑफ़ इण्डिया सोसायटी (भारत सेवक समाज) ने भी खुले तौर पर स्वीकार किया था कि भारत का कल्याण अंग्रेजों से संबंध बनाए रखने में है।

केवल नगरों में ही कुछ ऐसे लोग थे जिन्होंने पाश्चात्य शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी तथा

चाहते थे कि भारत को राजनैतिक अधिकार मिल जाए परन्तु इसके लिए वे संघर्ष नहीं करना चाहते थे, अनुरोध और प्रार्थना से ही कार्य पूरा हो जाए यही उनकी आकांक्षा थी। वही सत्यशोधक समाज जिन्होंने शिक्षा का स्त्रियों व दलितों का शिक्षा का पुरजोर समर्थन किया और कई बालिका स्कूलों की स्थापना की। जहाँ दलित वर्ग की बालिकाएं पढ़ने जाती थी। इसी शिक्षा का परिणाम था कि निम्न वर्गीय महिलाएं व पुरुष शिक्षा का उपयोग अपने सर्वांगीण विकास में करने लगे। आगे चलकर 20वीं शताब्दी के राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में बढ़ चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया हालाँकि वे आन्दोलन का नेतृत्वकर्ता नहीं रही परन्तु उनकी सहभागिता को नकारा नहीं जा सकता।¹⁵

ज्योतिबा फुले सत्यशोधक समाज के सर्वेसर्वा होते हुए भी उसमें व्यक्तिगत लाभ नहीं देखते थे। ज्योतिबा ने सत्यशोधक समाज का अध्यक्ष अपने स्थान पर डॉ. बी.आर. धोले को तथा कोषाध्यक्ष राम सेठ डरावने को सन 1875 के वार्षिक अधिवेशन में चुना। उस समय सत्यशोधक समाज में 232 सदस्य थे। सत्यशोधक केवल यहीं तक सीमित नहीं रहा बल्कि जब अहमदाबाद में भीषण बाढ़ का प्रकोप था तो उन्होंने धन संग्रह कर सहायता के लिए भेजा। सत्यशोधक समाज के किसी अभियान में अब सार्वजनिक सहयोग का अभाव नहीं रहा। महाराष्ट्र के शिक्षा निदेशक के.एम. चैट.फिल्ड ने समाज के अनुरोध पर सभी सरकारी स्कूलों में पांच प्रतिशत निर्धन छात्रों को निशुल्क शिक्षा देने का आदेश निर्गत किया। किसी ने समाज के कार्यालय के लिए भवन दिया तो किसी ने संचालन के लिए धनराशी। कई प्रतिष्ठित ब्राह्मणों ने भी सत्यशोधक समाज को सहयोग दिया। निम्न वर्ग के निर्धन छात्रों की शिक्षा के लिए आर्थिक सहयोग दिया।¹⁶ कई पत्र पत्रिकाएँ समाज के विचारों को सुन्दर ढंग से प्रकाशित करने के लिए प्रशंसित हुईं। पूना के निर्धन छात्रों के लिए बोर्डिंग हॉउस की व्यवस्था की गई। “भारतीय कृषि में क्या सुधार किये जाए” विषय पर लेख लिखने के लिए दो पुरस्कारों की घोषणा सत्यशोधक समाज द्वारा की गई। इंजीनियरिंग कालेज में निःशुल्क प्रवेश के लिए अनुरोध किया गया जो प्रिंसिपल द्वारा स्वीकार कर लिया गया। कुछ लोगों ने सत्यशोधक समाज को एक प्रेस खरीदकर दिया। 1876 की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट में निर्धन व छोटी जाति के बच्चे व बच्चियों की शिक्षा के लिए आर्थिक सहयोग की अपील की गई।¹⁷

महात्मा फुले की भूमिका कुछ विचारकों के अनुसार, नवजागरण की दृष्टि से राजाराममोहन राय के मुकाबले अधिक सशक्त व क्रान्तिकारी थी। उन्होंने ब्राह्मणवाद और जाति प्रथा के खिलाफ विद्रोह किया था और दलितों तथा भारतीय स्त्रियों की मुक्ति के लिए सामाजिक आन्दोलन चलाया। वे पहले भारतीय थे जिन्होंने महाराष्ट्र में अछूतों और लड़कियों के लिए स्कूल खोला और इनकी स्थिति को सशक्त करने के लिए सत्यशोधक

समाज की स्थापना की क्योंकि राजनीतिक आन्दोलन की शुरुआत से पहले धार्मिक व सामाजिक आन्दोलन जरूरी था वे शूद्रो अतिशूद्रो और स्त्रियों का अज्ञान दूर करके उनकी गुलामी की जंजीर तोड़ना चाहते थे। इसकी शुरुआत उन्होंने 1857 के विद्रोह के पूर्व ही बालिकाओं के लिए स्कूल की स्थापना कर दी थी। उन्होंने ब्राह्मण पुरोहितवाद और जातिप्रथा पर कठोर प्रहार किया। आगे चलकर भी डॉ अम्बेडकर की किताब जाति का उन्मूलन का आधार बना जिसका परिणाम हुआ कि उन्होंने पूर्ण रूप से दलित स्त्रियों को भी राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के लिए प्रेरणा प्रदान की।¹⁸

ज्योतिबा फुले जानते थे कि मार्क्स के विचारों से भारत में क्रान्ति नहीं आ सकती, पहले जनता राजाओं, जमींदारों और पुरोहितों के तिहरे शोषण का शिकार था। बाद में अंग्रेजों ने पुरे भारत में अपनी सत्ता स्थापित की। इन्होंने साम्राज्य विस्तार को स्थायित्व प्रदान करने के लिए यहाँ की सामाजिक व्यवस्था, वर्ण व्यवस्था, रूढ़िवादिता को अनदेखा किया। विभिन्न सामाजिक सुधार संगठनों के प्रयास स्वरूप उन्हें विवश किया गया कि वे लोकहित के लिए सार्वजनिक कानून बनाए देश की सामाजिक आर्थिक प्रगति का द्वार खोले। शिक्षा के प्रचार प्रसार के लिए इस काम को मैकाले, आकलैंड आदि ने किया।¹⁹ वास्तव में इस दिशा में पहल सबसे पहले ज्योतिबा फुले करते थे शासन बाद में जागता था। इंग्लैण्ड और अन्य यूरोपीय देशों को भारत स्थित अधिकारियों, व्यापारियों, कर्मचारियों को यहाँ के समस्या का ज्ञान था अंग्रेजी हुकूमत द्वारा पाश्चात्य शिक्षा, न्यायालय और स्वास्थ्य सेवाओं का प्रसार तो काफी बाद में किया गया। इससे पहले सुधार का प्रयास ज्योतिबा फुले ने ही संगठित रूप से किया।²⁰

निष्कर्ष

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि ज्योतिबा सत्यशोधक समाज की स्थापना उपेक्षित, अधिकार वंचित दलितों और गरीब तथा विशेषकर दलित महिलाओं को जगाना चाहते थे वह सामाजिक व्यवस्था में आमूल परिवर्तन के इच्छुक थे इसके लिए वे संघर्ष करते रहे। उनके इस कार्य में पत्नी सावित्रीबाई का भी भरपूर योगदान था जिन्होंने स्त्री शिक्षा के प्रचार प्रसार में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई। इस नवजागरण काल में फुले ने सत्यशोधक समाज के माध्यम से बड़ी सक्रियता, व्यवहारिकता एवं दूरदृष्टि का परिचय देते हुए शूद्र व महिलाओं में सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक चेतना और वैचारिक क्रांति का बीजारोपण किया। सामाजिक न्याय और सामाजिक परिवर्तन के प्रयास किए जिसे 20वीं शताब्दी में डॉ आंबेडकर और जगजीवन राम जैसे लोकनायकों ने आगे बढ़ाया। सत्य शोधक समाज ऐसी पहली संस्था थी जिसने निम्न वर्गों में जागरूकता लाई। इस संगठन ने महिलाओं को एक

नई राह दिखाई उन्हें एकजुट किया। जिससे आज महिला सशक्तिकरण की दिशा में एक सफल प्रयास माना जा सकता है। आगे चलकर यही संगठन ने अन्य दलित संगठनों को जन्म दिया। जिन्होंने दलितों की दशा सुधारने के साथ साथ उनके अधिकारों की मांग उठाई और स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में भी अपनी भूमिका निभाई।

सन्दर्भ सूची

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