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Preface

I feel honoured and proud, to present before the readers and scholars, the proceedings of 37th session organized by Mahila P.G. Mahavidyalaya , Jodhpur on 24-25th February 2024. In placing the learned, scholarly papers, chronology has been adhered to, as far as possible. A number of papers of outstanding merit were presented in this session, breaking new ground and adding new research areas and elements to the history and culture of Rajasthan.

I extent my thanks to all those who have made the publication of this proceeding possible. I humbly acknowledge the guidance of Prof. P.R. Arya. I appreciate the hard-work and sincere efforts of Dr. Manorama Upadhyaya, Dr. Tejendra Vallabh Vyas, Dr. Anil Purohit, Dr. Jyotsana Vyas, Dr. Ravindra Tailor, Dr. Nayana Acharya in the publication of the proceedings. Thanks are also due to Mr. Bhanwarlal Suthar of M/s. Jangid Computers for the computer work and Mr. Kalyan Singh Rathore of M/s. Nagnechiyan Offset Printers, Jodhpur for the printing of the proceedings.

(Prof. S.P. Vyas)

Secretary
Rajasthan History Congress

37वां अधिवेशन 24-25 फरवरी 2024 minutes of meeting / सचिव प्रतिवेदन

सर्वप्रथम सचिव प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास द्वारा प्रो.वी.के. वशिष्ठ का स्वागत राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस के 37वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष के रूप में किया गया। कार्यप्रणाली समिति के सभी सदस्यों ने भी अध्यक्ष महोदय का करतल ध्वनि से स्वागत किया।

1. माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय की अनुमति से सचिव द्वारा 36वें अधिवेशन की कार्यकारिणी द्वारा लिए गए निर्णयों एवं उन पर किये गए प्रयासों एवं कार्यों को रेखांकित किया।
2. सचिव प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास द्वारा "Lesser Known Personalities and Institution of Freedom Struggle in Rajasthan" विषय पर आयोजित राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस के एक दिवसीय विशिष्ट अधिवेशन में प्रस्तुत शोध पत्रों को 'Special Proceedings' के रूप में निकालने का प्रयास रखा गया। जिसे प्रो. विनीता परिहार एवं प्रो. वशिष्ठ द्वारा अनुमोदित किया गया।
3. सदस्य डॉ. वीरेंद्र शर्मा का प्रस्ताव था कि आजीवन सदस्यों की नवीनतम जानकारी अपडेट करें हेतु गूगल फॉर्म बनवा कर भरवाया जाये।
4. वेबसाइट हेतु डोमेन की खरीद की जावे जिससे पूर्व की प्रोसीडिंग्स को भी पूर्ण रूप से शोधार्थियों हेतु उपलब्ध करवाई जावे, यह प्रस्ताव डॉ. मनोरमा उपाध्याय द्वारा रखा गया। इसे स्वीकार कर लिया गया तथा कार्यकारिणी सदस्यों ने सर्वसम्मति इस हेतु बजट की स्वीकृति (जो भी खर्चा हो) प्रदान की।
5. डॉ. अनिला पुरोहित का सुझाव था की प्रथम 18 अधिवेशनों की प्रोसीडिंग्स को स्कैन करवा कर वेबसाइट पर डाला जावे, जिससे शोधार्थियों को शोध

सामग्री उपलब्ध हो सके। इसे सर्वसमिति से स्वीकार कर लिया गया एवं डॉ. अनिल पुरोहित को इस हेतु कार्य-योजना बनाने के लिए अधिकृत किया गया।

6. प्रोसीडिंग्स की अब सॉफ्ट कॉपी भी वेबसाइट पर अपलोड की जाएगी, यह जानकारी प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास ने दी।
7. डॉ. वीरेंद्र शर्मा का प्रस्ताव था की शोध श्री की वेब लिंक को राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस की वेब साइट से जोड़ दिया जावे।
8. आजीवन सदस्यों में से कइयों के आई-कार्ड पुराने हो गए हैं अथवा खो गए हैं, यह समस्या डॉ. अनिल पुरोहित द्वारा रखी गयी। समिति द्वारा निर्णय लिया गया की डुप्लीकेट कार्ड बनवाये जावे, किन्तु इस हेतु शुल्क लिया जावे।
9. संस्थान सदस्यता शुल्क की वृद्धि का प्रस्ताव डॉ. सुरेश अग्रवाल द्वारा रखा गया। साथ ही उन्होंने कहा की सदस्य संस्थानों को प्रति वर्ष प्रोसीडिंग्स की प्रति भेजी जानी चाहिए। संस्थान सदस्यता शुल्क, सर्वसम्मति से 5000/- से बजट बढ़ाकर 7500/- रुपये कर दिया गया।
वार्षिक एवं आजीवन सदस्यता शुल्क को यथावत रखा गया। किन्तु डेलीगेट फीस 1000/- से 1200/- रुपये की गयी।
10. प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास द्वारा इतिहास के पितामह प्रो. के.एस. गुप्ता की स्मृति में विशिष्ट व्याख्यान का प्रस्ताव रखा, जिसे सभी सदस्यों ने सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार किया गया।
11. प्रो. अनिला पुरोहित द्वारा अपने पिताश्री प्रो. बी.एम. जोशी के नाम पर पर— Environment History लिखे गए श्रेष्ठ शोध पत्र हेतु 5100/- रुपये के पुरस्कार की घोषणा की गयी। सभी सदस्यों ने करतल ध्वनि से इसका स्वागत किया।
12. प्रो. विनीता परिहार द्वारा प्रो. आर.पी. व्यास स्मृति व्याख्यान हेतु प्रो. के.एल. माथुर, डॉ. सुरेश अग्रवाल द्वारा प्रो. जी.एन. शर्मा स्मृति व्याख्यान हेतु प्रो. एम. के. पुण्डीर तथा डॉ. हेमेंद्र चौधरी द्वारा प्रो. के.एस. गुप्ता स्मृति व्याख्यान हेतु प्रो. जे. के. ओझा के नामों को प्रस्तावित किया गया, जिसे कार्यप्रणाली समिति द्वारा सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार कर लिया गया।

13. प्रो. वी.के. वशिष्ठ ने कहा कि शोध पत्रों को अधिवेशन से पूर्व समय पर भेजने की प्रक्रिया पालन कठोरतापूर्वक की जानी चाहिए तथा सेशन चेयरपर्सन द्वारा किसी शोध पत्र पर यदि छपने योग्य नहीं है (Not fit for Publication) लिखा गया है तो उस शोध पत्र को बिना सुधार छापा नहीं जावे। सुधार कर प्रस्तुत होने के उपरान्त ही संपादन मंडल उस शोध पत्र को देखे।
14. डॉ. मनोरमा उपाध्याय द्वारा 38वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष के रूप, प्रो. विनीता परिहार के नाम का प्रस्ताव रखा गया, जिसे डॉ. हेमेंद्र चौधरी द्वारा सेकंड किया गया। इसे सर्वसम्मति से स्वीकार कर लिया गया।
15. अंत में समिति सदस्यों द्वारा 37वें अधिवेशन के सफल आयोजन हेतु महिला पी. जी. महाविद्यालय के मैनेजमेंट सदस्यों, प्राचार्य, शैक्षणिक एवं अशैक्षणिक कर्मचारियों को बधाई दी गयी। साथ ही समिति द्वारा डॉ. अनिल पुरोहित, डॉ. तेजेन्द्रवल्लभ व्यास, डॉ. नयना आचार्य, डॉ. रवीन्द्र टेलर, सुश्री मरजीना, सुश्री निगार, सुश्री फिरदौस एवं छात्राओं का विशेष आभार ज्ञापित किया गया।

बैठक माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय को धन्यवाद के साथ सम्पन्न हुई।

प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास

सचिव,

राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस

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Presidential Address

People's Response to the Indian War of Independence of 1857 in Rajputana

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Prologue

At the time of the First War of Indian Independence of 1857, Rajasthan comprised eighteen Princely States and the British territory of Ajmer-Merwara. Among these, fifteen were Rajput States, viz., Udaipur (Mewar), Jodhpur (Marwar), Jaipur (Dhundhar), Bundi, Kota, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Alwar, Kishangarh, Dungarpur, Pratapgarh, Karauli, Sirohi and Jhalawar; two Jat States viz., Bharatpur and Dholpur; and a Muslim State – Tonk. These States were situated to the West of Delhi, and were encompassed by the frontiers of the territories of Punjab, Sindh, Gujrat and Malwa.

The British historians have asserted that the rebellion of 1857 was initiated by the Indian sepoy in the British Cantonments while the rulers of Rajputana States steadfastly remained loyal to the British Government during the period of turbulence.¹ So also, the publications of the Historians of Rajasthan on the rebellion of 1857 have given scant attention to the role of the cross-sections of the society in Rajputana during the rebellion.² In fact, these historians, have ignored in their writings several shades of the 1857 rebellion in Rajputana States, such as, the role of the Mughal Emperor in mobilising the Princes and people to

overthrow the British power; the interaction of the Maratha General Tantia Tope and his patriot sepoy with the people of Rajputana; the widespread anti-British ferment and surge among the *jagirdars*, State officials and native sepoy, rural folk and townspeople, and even among the Bhil and Mina tribals. This extensive association of the people with the 1857 rebellion clearly indicates that it was not solely confined to the native sepoy and 'feudal India' to get freedom from the British yoke.

The sympathy of almost all the classes in Rajputana with the rebel native sepoy and the unison between Hindu and Muslim communities in the anti-imperial struggle; the extension of the armed support by the rebel native sepoy of Neemach, Nasirabad and Deoli, and those of the *Wahhabi* sepoy of the Princely State of Tonk to the Mughal Emperor, and above all, the armed struggle of Nana Sahib's General Tantia Tope to exterminate the British power across Rajputana transformed the 1857 rebellion in Rajputana from a regional into national one and conferred on it the distinction of Indian War of Independence (War).

John Lawrence considered the 1857 war as a Sepoy Mutiny while the evangelists ascribed the rebellion to the failure of the British government to evangelise.³ But these views are dismissed by contemporary scholars. They have viewed the narrative of 1857 in varied ways. Diserali, the British statesman called it a national revolt.⁴ The German scholars Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels refute the contention that the revolt was a mere mutiny by soldiers and that there was no involvement of broader sections of society. They asserted that the uprising had brought together religions. In this context Marx wrote in an article, 'The Revolt of the Indian Army' on 30 June, 1857 that :

"It is the first time that sepoy regiments have murdered their European officers; that Mussulmans and Hindus, renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters; that 'disturbances beginning with the Hindus, have actually ended in placing on the throne of Delhi a Mohammedan Emperor, (Bahadur Shah II) that the mutiny has not been confined to a few localities; and lastly, that the revolt in Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations, the revolt of the Bengal army being, beyond doubt, intimately connected with the Persian and Chinese Wars."⁵

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Besides, Karl Marx subscribed to the conspiracy theory of 1857 rebellion by noting that the Indian sepoy selected most appropriate time to revolt when the British were involved in the war with Persia which had denuded the Bengal Presidency of European soldiers.⁶ This observation is true because there was not a single European soldier in the British cantonments in Rajputana to safeguard the British power.⁷

It is a historical fallacy to state that all rulers of Rajputana States pronounced in favour of the British during 1857 Uprising. Actually, some rulers feigned loyalty towards the British government⁸ while others like Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur⁹ and Maharao Ram Singh of Kota conspired with the rebels to subvert the British power in Rajputana.¹⁰ Even the Maharao of Bundi turned a deaf year to British notices to arrest the sepoy rebels who had taken refuge in his territory.¹¹

Moreover, the Purbia sepoy of the British regular army stationed at Nasirabad and Neemach Cantonments and also the Purbia sepoy of the Political Corps at Erinpura (Jodhpur Legion) and Deoli (Kota Contingent)¹² besides, the Minas of Kherar (around Deoli) revolted against the British government. So also, several *jagirdars* and general masses either revolted against the British government or sympathised with the rebel sepoy and Tantia Tope by providing supplies to his army during the 1857 rebellion. Further, the forest dweller Bhils of the Banswara State joined Tantia Tope's forces in the battle against Maharawal Dalpat Singh of Pratapgarh in December 1858 for his arresting and killing rebel sepoy of Mandsaur.

V.D. Savarkar, the eminent Indian historian leapt further to Marx by making later's view more explicit in his book, *The War of Independence: 1857*.¹³ He averred that the rebellion was pre-planned as the sepoy had fixed the date of the revolt as 31 May, 1857,¹⁴ and also designated the rebellion as the First War of Indian Independence on the basis of the records of the India Office Library, London and the relevant books of the British historians, and memoirs and treatises of the British military officers. He claimed that imbued with patriotic fervour all the Indian communities, Hindus and Muslims, rulers and *zamindars*,¹⁵ and even the children and the people of low rung of the society combinedly fought against the British in the 1857 War.¹⁶ The proclamation by Nana Sahib, the son of the exiled Peshwa Baji Rao II, declaring the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar as the suzerain and Supreme head of the Uprising and himself as his Prime Minister, modified the 'sepoy revolt'

to the Indian War of Independence.¹⁷ Savarkar's book on 1857 War is a *tour de force* in interpreting the rebellion as the First Indian War of Independence in which Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and Nana Sahib garnered the people of all walks of life to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the motherland. This national view of the rebellion is also perceptible in the active participation of the cross sections of the society of the Princely States of Rajputana as the sequel will unfold.

This deliberation attempts to examine succinctly the role of the Mughal Emperor, Tantia Tope and the cross-sections of the society of Rajputana in the Indian War of Independence of 1857, besides the role of the Political officers in suppressing the rebellion mainly on the basis of archival records preserved at the National Archives of India, New Delhi and the Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner and the relevant published contemporary source-material, such as, memoirs and narratives of the British military officers, state officials, such as, Arjun Singh Sahiwala and Kaviraja Shyamaldas of Mewar State besides the work of Charan poet, Suryamal Mishran of Bundi State.¹⁸ This study is important because R.C. Majumdar, S.N. Sen, S.B. Chaudhuri and even V.D. Savarkar have shrugged off the role of the people of Rajputana States in the 1857 war.

I. Role of the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar

Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II (1837-1857) assumed the leadership of the Indian War of Independence of 1857 in Delhi on 11 May 1857 at the instance of the rebel native sepoy of Meerut who had violently protested against the British Government by killing British military officers in the Cantonment at Meerut for forcing them to use cartridges saturated with cow's and pig's fat which was against their religious beliefs.¹⁹ According to the *Court's Proceedings of the Trial of Emperor Bahadur Shah* of 9 March 1858, it transformed "the religious movement of the native sepoy, into a political one – a struggle of the natives for power and place, by the expulsion from country of a people (British) alien in religion, in blood, in colour, in habits, in feelings and in everything."²⁰ The extension of the war to other parts of Northern India, encouraged the Mughal Emperor to send emissaries to his traditional allies, such as, those of the rulers of Rajputana – Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Bundi, Kota and Bharatpur and also the Cis-Sutlej States – requesting them to join the 'Confederacy of States' to annihilate the

British power in India.²¹ Of course, he could not secure support of all the Rajput rulers because of the vigilance of the British government.²² Despite this set back, his pivotal role in the 1857 rebellion created a craving for freedom among several rulers like those of Jaipur and Kota, encouraged anti-British ferment and conspiracies among their people, and mobilised their sepoys to join him in armed struggle against the British at Delhi. For instance, the shopkeepers of the British Cantonments at Nasirabad and Neemach spread the rumours among the native troops that the flour mixed with the powder of the bones of cows and pigs was sold in the markets at the instance of the British Government for polluting the religion of Hindus and Muslims.²³ Similarly, Nawab Willayat Ali Khan, the *Foujdar* (or Chief Magistrate of Jaipur), Hussain Baksh, the *Kotwal* of the city of Jaipur and several others, who hailed from Tonk and Delhi, with their Muslim associates in the Jaipur city extended support to the Mughal Emperor by giving currency to the rumour in the Jaipur city that the Europeans residing in the Jaipur Political Agency had tampered with the religion of the Hindus and the Muslims by mixing bones of “obnoxious animals with sugar and flour sold in the *bazar*.” Besides, Mian Usman Khan, an ex-officer of Tonk, and Sadullah Khan of Jaipur conspired with Begum Zinat Mahal, Queen of Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar to raise disturbances in Jaipur in support of the rebellion at Delhi. These officers also defied the British government by giving shelter to one wounded rebel Zuruf (or Zarif) Khan.²⁴

This ‘Mohammadan party’ in the city of Jaipur had the support of the most powerful *jagirdar* and ex-Chief Minister of the Jaipur State – Rawal Shiva Singh of Samod and that of the prominent Muslims who were deeply interested in the success of the rebellion at Delhi. In fact, Rawal Shiva Singh had assumed the leadership of the rebellion in Jaipur State. His house in the Jaipur city was the rendezvous of the conspirators. Moreover, he was a turban-exchange brother (*pagri badal bhai*) of the conspirator Sadullah Khan who was appointed to a high post with his support in the Jaipur State. In his letter of 5 November 1857, W.F. Eden, the Jaipur Political Agent had observed that “the Rawal’s dwelling, or from its precincts, that all the false and malicious rumours and reports emanated.”²⁵ However, on the recapture of Delhi by the British on 20 September 1857 Maharaja Ram Singh deserted the conspirators and sided with the British government. Consequently, the Jaipur State arrested all the leaders of the Mohammedan party and forced the Rawal to retire

to his *jagir* of Samod.²⁶ These prompt measures of Maharaja Ram Singh marked an end of the ascendancy of the Mughal Emperor in the State and showed him beyond doubt as the protector of the British government.

Concomitant with the recapture of Delhi by the British government all the rulers of Rajputana withdrew their affinity and sympathy from the rebels and turned into protectors of the British rule. Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur and all the other rulers of Rajputana sent congratulatory *Kharitas* to the Governor-General.²⁷ Even several of them like those of Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur and Mewar offered to inscribe on their coinage, the name of Her Majesty, the Queen of England in place of the Mughal Emperor.²⁸ Thus, the Rajput rulers left the Mughal Emperor in the lurch for safeguarding their patrimony on the restoration of the British paramountcy in Delhi. Maharaja Ram Singh also won the trust of the military and political officers by arresting the conspirators and by extending military support to W.F. Eden to arrest the rebels on the borders of the State. However, the influence of the Mughal Emperor and Nana Sahib persisted among the rural population — peasants, artisans, tribals and *jagirdars*; and ended with the execution of the Maratha General Tantia Tope in April 1859.

II. Uprisings in British Cantonments in Rajputana

The news of the 1857 Uprising at Meerut (10 May 1857) and Delhi (11 May 1857) also prompted the Purbia sepoys in British regular service in the cantonments at Nasirabad (28 May 1857) and Neemach (3 June 1857) to overthrow the British yoke. They set the cantonments on fire, plundered the treasuries and killed a number of British officers. They marched to Delhi and fought under the banner of the Mughal Emperor for his restoration to power.²⁹ So also, at the commencement of the 1857 rebellion, the Purbia sepoys of the Kota Contingent who were transferred from their headquarters at Deoli to Agra,³⁰ revolted for the extermination of British power in Agra.³¹

Inspired by the revolts at Nasirabad, Neemach and Agra, the Purbia sepoys of the Jodhpur Legion at Erinpura, Mt. Abu and Anadra, rose up in arms and attacked their British officers. They also collaborated with Thakur Kushal Singh of Ahwa (in Marwar State),³² who was annoyed with the British government for extending protection to his sovereign Maharaja Takht Singh³³ and also for depriving him of the

feudal right to restrain the migration of the merchants from his *jagir*.³⁴ He strengthened his military position by the support of his people, *jagirdars* of Alniawas, Asop, and Guler and by employing the rebel sepoys of the Jodhpur Legion to fight against the British. This league of the patriots defied the British forces under the command of Brigadier-General G.St.P. George Lawrence, the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana States and Commissioner of Ajmer, in the battle at Ahwa forcing him to leave Ahwa for Ajmer on 18 September 1858.³⁵ In the battle, Monck Mason, the Political Agent, Jodhpur, was killed and the people rejoiced their victory by hanging his head over the gateway of the fort of Ahwa. In the opinion of C.L. Showers, the Mewar Political Agent, this violent act revealed the prevalence of intense anti-British feelings among the people all over the Marwar State.³⁶ He fathomed the sentiments of the people correctly. Maharaja Takht Singh conveyed condolence to Mrs. Mason on the death of her husband Monck Mason but he could not dare to suspend the beating of the *naubat* (drums) as a mark of State mourning for Monck Mason at the Jodhpur fort owing to the fear of opposition of his people.³⁷

In the opinion of Iltudus Thomas Prichard, the retreat of George Lawrence from Ahwa had deeply agitated the public mind in Marwar. He observed that “the natives could scarcely conceal their real pleasure at hearing of this additional blow that had been dealt to the already fallen prestige of British power.”³⁸ He further writes in his memoirs that Maharaja Takht Singh was “uneasy and made no secret any longer of his fears, that his position was as insecure as ours (British)”. This was perceptible in the migration of the families of Prichard and other British officers from Jodhpur for Bombay through the circuitous route of Barmer in view of the fear to their lives from rebel Thakur of Ahwa and disaffection among people throughout Marwar against the British Government.³⁹

Emboldened by the victory over the British troops and the tacit support of the Rawat of Salumber, leader of the recusant *jagirdars* of Mewar, the rebellious *thakurs* of Asop, Guler and Alniawas (in Marwar), a trusted agent of the Thakur of Ahwa and one Samrud Singh of Mewar marched along with the rebel sepoys of the Jodhpur Legion from Ahwa to Delhi on 10 October 1857 for securing military assistance from the Mughal Emperor to destroy British power in Ajmer and to incite rebellion in Marwar and Mewar for deposing the pro-British rulers of these States.⁴⁰

However, the defeat of the Jodhpur Legion by Brigadier Gerrard at Narnaul (in Punjab) on 6 November 1857 foiled the plan of these patriots.⁴¹ On receiving reinforcement at Nasirabad Cantonment, George Lawrence again attacked Ahwa and suppressed the Uprising there on 24 January 1858.⁴² The British government punished Thakur Kushal Singh by destroying the Ahwa fort and by restraining him to take possession of his *jagir*. It was only after his death that his son Devi Singh retook possession of Ahwa in 1868 by overawing the weak durbar of the Marwar State.

III. Anti-British ferment among *jagirdars*

(i) The simmering discontentment among the *jagirdars* of Jaipur State against the British government was expressed in their anti-British feelings during the 1857 war. Maji Ranawat, the Regent mother of the minor Chief (*jagirdar*) of Khetri, Fateh Singh refused to provide a detachment of troops to W.F. Eden, the Jaipur Political Agent, for intercepting the rebels on the Jaipur-Delhi borders in June 1857. Besides, she demonstrated anti-British sentiments by giving refuge to the fugitive native sepoys of the Company's regiments in Singhana and other places in Khetri *pargana*.⁴³

(ii) On the other side, Rawal Shiva Singh of Samod grumbled against the British government from the time of setting him aside from the high position of the Chief Minister during the minority of Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur in 1854. Hence, along with his *Vakil* Aman Ali (or Aman Ullah Khan), he presented *nazars* to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi while returning from pilgrimage at the time of the commencement of the Uprising. On his way back from Delhi to Jaipur, he met the Jaipur State troops at Kotputli under the command of W.F. Eden. As a patriot, he infused such a rebellious spirit among them that some of these troops and artillerymen deserted Eden's camp at Palwal and marched to Delhi to join the banner of the Mughal Emperor. As a result of this, Eden, along with Mohammad Khan, the *sardars* and the remaining troops returned to Jaipur in July 1857.⁴⁴ This desperate march marked the failure of Eden's campaign to intercept the rebels from Rajputana States to enter Delhi for joining the forces under the Mughal Emperor.

(iii) Like Rawal Shiva Singh, his Kachhawakinsman, Rao Fateh Singh Naruka, *jagirdar* of Uniara wailed for the diminution of the power of his Uniara House with the growing influence of the British government

since the conclusion of the Anglo-Jaipur treaty in 1818. In 1819, the British government set aside the claim of his predecessor Rao Zalim Singh for the adoption to the *gaddi* of the Jaipur State on the death of Maharaja Jagat Singh and subsequently removed him from the high office of *Mukhtiar* (Chief Minister) of the State. Hence, Rao Fateh Singh saw 1857 war an opportune time to overthrow the British power from the Jaipur State. He allied himself with the rebel Maratha General Tantia Tope by supplying to his forces food, provisions and shelter. On the other side, he refused supplies, and entrance in the Uniara town to the British pursuing Columns and provided no information to them about the movements of Tantia. Besides, he gave tacit support to his people to insult and turn out from Uniara the British Military officers as they had gathered for hunting spree around it.⁴⁵

(iv) Similarly with a zeal of a patriot, a recusant *jagirdar* of the desert State of Bikaner also took up cudgels against the British government by joining the rebels in the neighbouring territory of Fatehabad (in Hissar) in July 1857.⁴⁶

(v) Moreover, the Thakur of Rowa (in Sirohi State) added to the difficulties of the British government by revolting against the Rao of Sirohi and also by challenging the British government by plundering the British protected States during the 1857 war.⁴⁷ The Political Superintendent of Palanpur declared him “in open rebellion, as he made raids on adjacent villages belonging to the *Dewan* of that State.” On 6 January 1858, Major Raines of Her Majesty’s 95th Royal Regiment attacked Rowa, destroyed his fort and entered the village whereupon the *Thakur* headed for hills.⁴⁸ However, this British victory could not prevent the anti-British activities of the *jagirdars* like those of Salumber, Kotharia, Uniara and several others who demonstrated their patriotic zeal by sympathizing and supporting Tantia Tope during his march through Rajputana in 1858-59.

IV. People’s rebellion in Kota

The State of Kota witnessed people’s Uprising during 1857 war. Its sepoys who were deployed on duty at the Neemach Cantonment came under the spell of the anti-British Uprising there and in the nearby regions, such as, Indore and Mandso in August 1857. This was clearly reflected in their involvement in a quarrel with the European troops from Deesa (in the Bombay Presidency) at the Neemach Sadar Bazar.⁴⁹

They were privy to the grudge of Maharao Ram Singh against the British government⁵⁰ for latter’s declining to commute the payment of annual tribute after the creation of a new State of Jhalawar out of the Kota State’s one third territory in 1838, and, in addition to it, burdening him with the payment for the maintenance of the Kota Contingent (1844) under a British officer at Deoli.⁵¹ Therefore, on their returning from Neemach to Kota, they revolted along with other Kota State troops under the leadership of their *Risaldar* Pathan Mehrab Khan of Karauli and Lala Jaidayal, an employee of the Kota State. They attacked the Kota Residency and murdered Major C.E. Burton, the Harauti Political Agent, his two sons and several other Christian employees there on 15 October 1857. Further, they beleaguered Maharao Ram Singh in his palace for they had revolted on his instigation but now he retreated from his promise to support them in the revolt on hearing about the restoration of British power at Delhi in September 1857. It was evident by Maharao’s peremptorily sending a congratulatory *kharita* on British victory at Delhi. Of course, the Uprising at Kota was suppressed by the British force on 30 March, 1858. However, as a mark of displeasure for not saving the life of Burton, the British government inflicted harsh punishment on Maharao Ram Singh. It relegated his prestige in the eyes of Rajput rulers and people by reducing the number of his salute from 17 to 13 guns.⁵²

On the other side, the British government after an intense search for about three years arrested the rebel leaders — Lala Jayadaya and Mehrab Khan and punished them harshly. They were executed by hanging on a tree within the precincts of the Harauti Political Agency in 1860 to create awe and fear of the British government among the people.⁵³ Thus, these rebels martyred their lives for the freedom of their motherland. But the Maharao also compromised his self-esteem by covertly sympathizing with the rebels by not making any support to save the life of Burton. Hence, the Rajasthan Government should build a memorial for the martyrs — Lala Jayadaya and Mehrab Khan along with Maharao Ram Singh as a mark of people’s tribute to them for their sacrifices for the freedom of the country.

V. Anti-British activities among masses

(i) The people in Rajputana States, in general, had all sympathy for the rebels and intense hatred for the British government as the latter was an alien power and had interfered in their social customs. Of course,

they did not make a common cause with the rebellious native sepoy of Nasirabad and Neemach, though they supplied provisions and cattle to them on their marching through their villages to Delhi while the State troops and Sardars opposed the British officers for chasing them. For instance, Captain E.I. Hardcastle, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana, failed to intercept the rebel Purbia sepoy of Nasirabad on their way to Delhi because of the anti-British ferment throughout the Jaipur territory and the refusal of the Jaipur State troops and their *sardars* to chastise the rebels. The villagers provided provision and cattle to the Nasirabad rebel sepoy when they passed through the *jagir* territories of Dudu (June 1, 1857) and Bagru (June 2, 1857).⁵⁴ About this hostile attitude of the people of Jaipur towards the British government, Captain E.I. Hardcastle with pain and anguish wrote to Lieut. T.C. Impey, Assistant to Agent to the Governor-General of Rajputana on 2 July 1857:

At every town through which we passed the inhabitants cursed and abused us as English and neither gave us supplies, nor allowed our servants to enter the place. In fact, the whole country was against us ... On our return (from Hindaun), some forty miles in the rear we had passed through Jeypoor force, we were mobbed, hissed and hooted and I am only surprised we were not shot. The whole of Jeypoor is against us ... In every larger town in Jeypoor there are parties of Poorbias raising population and from Jeypoor, men are daily leaving for Delhi and Agra.⁵⁵

Captain Hardcastle was true in his observations as the anti-British ferment was spread over all Rajputana. For instance, after the march of the rebellious native sepoy from the Neemach Cantonment on 5 June 1857 to Delhi, they were entertained by the officers of the Nawab of Tonk at Nimbahera (sixteen miles from Neemach), while the Mewar State troops refused to chase them beyond the Mewar territory of Jahazpur.⁵⁶ Similarly, Lieut. Arthur St. John Mildmay, Assistant to A.G.G. Rajputana, had also experienced in July 1857, the passive attitude of the sepoy of the Bikaner State in intercepting the rebels in Hansi and Hissar.⁵⁷

(ii) The sepoy also abhorred the rulers for giving asylum to the Europeans in their palaces. The Escort of the Company's Hindustani sepoy at the Jaipur Political Agency and a part of the Jaipur State troops broke into mutiny when Maharaja Ram Singh provided shelter to Eden's family and other Europeans in the *Madhava Vilas*.⁵⁸ Even a

rumour gained currency that these troops intended to arrest the Maharaja and take him to the Mughal Emperor. However, further disturbances in the city of Jaipur could be averted by the intervention of the Maharaja and his Chief adviser Pandit Sheodan,⁵⁹ but support to rebel's cause persisted in the rural areas of Jaipur State.

W.F. Eden reported with despondency in his letter of 5 November, 1857 about the refusal of the *paltan* of the Jaipur State at Hindaun in apprehending the 'fugitive mutineers' who had come there after the British action at Agra on 10 October, 1857. Coupled with this, the Jaipur *paltan* forcibly secured the release of about 30 rebels from the custody of the *tehsil* though they were again captured by civil authorities with the aid of police and villagers.⁶⁰

(iii) The growing rebellious spirit in the British territory of Agra and the march of the Neemach mutineers through the Bharatpur State owing to the tacit consent of Fazal Ullah, *Dewan* of Bharatpur State, caused disaffection among the troops of that State and turned its Gujar and Meo population into rebels.⁶¹ This challenge to the British power in Bharatpur and around it, compelled Robert Morrison, the Bharatpur Political Agent to run away for his safety from there to Agra on 8 July 1857.⁶² On their arrival in the British district at Agra, the Neemach mutineers joined the Kota Contingent.⁶³ They gained victory over the British forces there, and drove them into the Agra fort. Thereafter, Subedars Ghouse Khan and Hira Singh sent messages to the Mughal Emperor on whose invitation they joined him at Delhi in the Indian War of independence.⁶⁴

Interestingly, the flight of Morrison to Agra and the victory of the mutinous forces there, left an impression among the general masses that the British Empire was extinct as "its power throughout the neighbouring British districts was confined to the walls of the Agra Fort."⁶⁵

(iv) Delhi being the rallying centre of the patriotic forces, to overthrow the British power, the troops of the Muslim State of Tonk considered the 1857 war a 'Mohammadan Movement' and imbued with this idea they stigmatized their Nawab as 'a Christian' for his siding with the British. This growing anti-British ferment made the Nawab to advise George Lawrence, the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana for dissuading the European officers from passing through the districts of Tonk State.⁶⁶ In defiance of his wishes, about 4000 troops of Tonk State recorded as *Jihadis*, *Ghazis* or *Wahhabis*,⁶⁷ "armed with *gundasahs*

(battleaxes) and dressed in blue tunics and green turbans,” marched from Tonk and joined the forces under the Mughal Emperor in June 1857 at Delhi.⁶⁸ The evidence of Hakim Ahsan Ullah, the confidential physician to the Emperor during his trial at Delhi, revealed that it were the *Wahhabis* from Tonk, Jaipur (Rajputana) and Bhopal States besides those of Hansi and Hissar and some *Vilayatis* proclaimed 1857 rebellion as a religious war against the British infidels, and fought against these *Kafirs* at Delhi⁶⁹ alone on 10 June, 1857 as the native sepoys deserted them during an assault.⁷⁰ In fact, the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was a protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity while the native sepoys were against the Wahhabis as they were hostile to Hindus.⁷¹ However, Ghulam-Muin-ud-din, the principal Risaldar of Tonk complained to the Emperor against these sepoys and also prayed for supplying arms and funds⁷² as the Wahhabi sepoys had no food and were starving. The fissures among the rebel forces had come to the fore and it was difficult for Tonk Wahhabis to live any more in Delhi for lack of funds and in an hostile atmosphere. Of course, the Emperor granted them some funds to meet their daily requirements but not arms as imperial armoury was empty.⁷³ In sheer frustration, the Tonk Wahhabis returned to Tonk alienating Hindus at Delhi.

Of course, the Nawab of Tonk remained loyal to the British government but anti-British ferment had spread among his *Wahhabi* troops and officials of Nimbahera district.

Martyr Tarachand Head Patel of Nimbahera : The *Amil* and *Bakshi* (Commander) of Nimbahera district of Tonk State, who had shown their hostility towards the British Government by entertaining the rebel native sepoys of Neemach in June 1857 exerted all their authority to undermine the British power in Rajputana. Captain C.L. Showers, the Mewar Political Agent reported on 27 August, 1857 that they planned an attack on the Neemach Cantonment with Shahzada Feroz Shah of Delhi, the grandson of the Mughal Emperor, who had established his authority in the nearby territory of Mandsoor (in Gwalior State) and sought help of the neighbouring Rajput rulers to exterminate the British power.⁷⁴ To stall their anti-British plans, Showers along with Captain Jackson, Commander of the Neemach Cantonment and the Mewar State forces marched to suppress the insurgents in Nimbahera. On the demand of Showers, the Tonk State troops refused to surrender their *Amil* as a hostage for keeping peace and order in Nimbahera. Moreover, they

challenged the British power by wounding its messengers – a peon and a *Chobdar* in a skirmish, and by mounting their guns on the ramparts of the town wall of Nimbahera to repulse British attack.⁷⁵ However, they failed in their objective to protect Nimbahera from the attack of the enemy.

Captain Showers, the Mewar Political Agent attacked and occupied Nimbahera on 19 September 1857. The *Amil* and the *Bakshi* escaped but the Head Patel Tara Chand of Nimbahera town was trapped. As a mark of revenge and retribution, he was blown from the gun on the charge of resisting the British power and aiding and abetting in the flight of the insurgents.⁷⁶ His martyrdom snowballed into anti-British activities; the *Bakshi* took an active part with Shahzada Feroz Shah in the attack on Neemach in November 1857.⁷⁷ However, by transferring Nimbahera from Tonk State to Mewar, Showers won the loyalty of the Maharana for the British Government and created a cleavage between the Maharana of Mewar and the Nawab of Tonk. However, the British Government rectified the mistake by restoring Nimbahera to Tonk after the termination of the rebellion in 1861.

(v) **People’s resentment against innovations :** The officials of the Tonk State resisted British intervention in Nimbahera, the conservative sections of the civil society condemned the British Government for introducing social innovations in Rajputana and considered it responsible for their sufferings. At the time of the commencement of the Indian War of Independence of 1857 they became vocal in expressing resentment against the introduction of Western System of medicine as they preferred treatment of *Vaidyas* and *Hakims*. This aversion to western medicine was discernible in the closure of three, out of eight dispensaries at Kota, Dungarpur and Deeg (in Bharatpur) and decline in the attendance of patients in dispensaries at Bharatpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur and several other places.⁷⁸ This repugnance to the western medicine was not only confined to Princely Rajputana but it was also rampant in the British territories in North India. On the protest of the people, the hospital which was opened during the regime of the Governor-General Dalhousie (1848-56) in Saharanpur (U.P.) was closed in 1857.⁷⁹

(vi) On the other side, the people of Marwar in their zeal to expel the British from India spread rumour against them. They ascribed the death of more than 200 persons in the Jodhpur fort on 10 August, 1857 because of the explosion in a store of magazine powder there due to

lightening in heavy rains, to the wrath of God as their sovereign Maharaja Takht Singh had committed the sin of siding with the British in suppressing the rebellion of the patriots.⁸⁰

(vii) Moreover, Raja Balwant Singh, *Istimrar* of Bhinai (in British territory of Ajmer) declared the 1857 rebellion as a signal for the end of British rule. Therefore, in defiance of the British prohibitory order, he consented to the performance of *Sati* by his sister-in-law on 20 August 1857. On her ascending the funeral pyre, she echoed the public sentiment against the British, as her last wish, for the abolition of education cess throughout the British territory of Ajmer-Merwara.⁸¹

(viii) Similarly, the *jagirdars* like that of Salumber (in Mewar) and others jointly revolted in 1857 against the British government for its abolishing their religious custom of *Sati*.

These instances symbolize the malice and pent up passions of the cross-sections of the society towards the British Government. The British historian G.B. Malleson also considered 1857 war as a Brahmanical rebellion for British interference in the social customs of Hindus. In this context, the Rajput *jagirdars* revolted against the British for its interfering in their social customs.

VI. Participation of tribals

(i) During the period of 1857 war, the Bhil and the Mina tribals of the Mewar Hill Tracts and Kherar also attempted to dislodge the British Government from southern Rajputana States for curtailing their freedom by keeping surveillance on their movements through the Political Corps — Kota Contingent (Deoli), Jodhpur Legion (Erinpura, Sirohi) and the Mewar Bhil Corps (Kherwara and Kotra). So also, they turned against the British for abolishing witchcraft and penalizing them as criminals (1854-58) for witchswinging and witch-murdering in contravention of their community resolution. The Bhils of the Mewar Hill Tracts burnt an empty detached bungalow of the Quarter Master Sergeant in Kotra Cantonment and carried away from there a considerable number of cattle belonging to the pro-British Bhil sepoys.⁸² In August 1858, the Chief of Pahara (in Mewar Hill Tracts) with his 3000 subjects comprising the Bhils, the *Makaranis* and the *Vilayatis* attacked the Cantonment of Kherwara though failed to capture it due to the resistance of the Bhil sepoys of the Mewar Bhil Corps.⁸³ Besides, the *Vilayatis* and other disaffected classes attacked the Kherwara Cantonment on the festival of

Moharrum and also created ruckus there.⁸⁴

(ii) Similarly, the Minas residing around Deoli Cantonment in the villages of Kherar and Uncha (in Jahazpur, Mewar) resorted to banditry challenging the British power specially after the departure of the Kota Contingent from Deoli to Agra in May 1857. They protested against the British authority, by waylaying and plundering the traders and British officers and their stores on the road from the British territory of Ajmer to Harauti States and also committed excesses chiefly in the villages under the British Ajmer-Merwara and those of the Protected States of Bundi, Tonk, Mewar and Jaipur during 1857-58. Even they expressed resentment against the British at this time of turmoil by assaulting the Deoli Cantonment as it kept surveillance on their movements and encroached on their land for grazing cattle.⁸⁵

(iii) In like manner, the Bhil *jagirdars*, such as, Onkar Rawat of Mowree Khera and Dalla Rawat of Sodulpur (in Banswara State) who were exasperated by the British Government for concluding the Anglo-Banswara treaty in 1818 without their consultation and depriving them of their prescriptive right to collect *rakhawali* (protection fee) from the neighbouring villages of the State of Pratapgarh, provided supplies to the freedom fighter Tantia Tope on his march through the territory of Banswara State in March 1858.⁸⁶ Moreover, they also joined him along with their 4000 Bhil followers, in the battle against the British forces near Pratapgarh on 14 December 1858.⁸⁷ Of course, the Mewar Bhil Corps repulsed their attack but their audacity to join the nationalist force under Tantia Tope to assault the British and their protected States indicated the fading influence and awe of the British paramount power in the tribal areas of southern Rajputana States.

Notwithstanding, the British government succeeded in suppressing the tribal rebellions with the support of the Rajput rulers of Mewar, Pratapgarh and Dungarpur States but the prolongation of 1857 tribal rebellions in southern Rajputana (May 1857-December 1858) even after the restoration of the British power in the imperial city of Delhi (September 1857) and in Lucknow (March 1858) confirm the contention of the stalwart Indian historian V.D. Savarkar that the 1857 rebellion was the First Indian War of Independence. Thus, the tribals have left a legacy of their valour and patriotic fervour during the period of 1857 national war of independence in the Princely Rajputana.⁸⁸

VI. State officials

Like the tribals, several State officials of Rajputana States also defied the British authority. Iswar Das, the *Zilladar* or *Amil* of Hindaun (in Jaipur State) had issued orders to his subordinates to supply provisions to the mutinous troops of the Nawab of Tonk when they were on their way to Delhi. Of course, the vigilance of W.F. Eden, the Political Agent at Jaipur prompted the Maharaja of Jaipur to dismiss him from his post to demonstrate his loyalty towards the British government during the time of political turmoil.⁸⁹

It cannot be denied that a feeling of hostility was general in all the rank and file of the State employees and villagers towards the British Government in Rajputana States. For instance, on the directives of Junbez Khan, the *Havildar* of the village of Peeplia (in Marwar State), its villagers made an effort to render the guns of the Deesa Light Field Force unserviceable by removing their wheels, when it passed through their village on 8 June 1857.⁹⁰ With the same patriotic spirit, a large number of officers and ministers of the Bikaner State raised objections on the expenditure incurred by their Maharaja Sardar Singh in raising additional levies for assisting Lieut. A.G. St. John Mildmay, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana States, in the suppression of freedom fighters in the border villages of Sirsa, Hansi and Hissar (in Punjab).⁹¹

VII. Tantia Tope in Rajputana

Tantia Tope was a great Military General of Dhondupant Nana Sahib, the adopted son of Ex-Peshwa Baji Rao. As early as 1855, Nana had made overtures to Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur for military assistance for his restoration to the Peshwaship.⁹² The Maharaja turned a deaf ear to these overtures owing to the surveillance of the British Government. Similarly, the restoration of the British power in Delhi in September 1857 and the presence of W.F. Eden, Political Agent in Jaipur, forbade him to help Tantia Tope during his march through the territory of Jaipur in March 1858 to engineer a revolution there in collaboration with Rawal Shiva Singh of Samod to overthrow the British power at Ajmer, similar to that he had “successfully played at Gwalior.”⁹³ Of course, he could not gain success in his mission due to the retirement of Rawal Shiva Singh to his *jagir* of Samod after the bursting of his plot in Jaipur to overthrow the British power in co-operation with the ‘Muslim

party’ in October 1857. However, in his search for seeking military assistance from the *jagirdars* and the Rajput rulers to restore Nana Sahib to Peshwaship, he traversed from one side to other in Rajputana, harassing the British Columns pursuing him between March 1858 and 4 September 1858, and again from 10 December 1858 to 21 January 1859.

People’s response in Rajputana

After his defeat at the battle of Jaura-Alipur (in Gwalior State), Tantia Tope forged into Rajputana from the side of Sar Mathura near the borders of Bharatpur State in March 1858.⁹⁴ He was endowed with a charismatic personality and qualities of a great Military General. It was because of this reason that during his march through Rajputana almost all the sections of the society extended him support except their rulers owing to British alertness and the dread of losing their kingdom. For instance, on his arrival at Hindaun (in Jaipur State), the Jaipur State sepoys did not attack him.⁹⁵ On his approach, the Nawab of Tonk took shelter in his fortress but a portion of his force deployed at the outside gate of the town, welcomed the freedom fighters under Tantia Tope and made over four guns to them. Further, the Maharaja of Bundi did not oppose Tantia openly but closed the gates of his city against him.⁹⁶

In contrast to their rulers, the people and sepoys of Rajputana States sympathised with Tantia’s forces during his forced march through the States of Rajputana. They facilitated his march by sympathising with him and extending him assistance according to their means. Rawat Jodh Singh, the *jagirdar* of Kotharia (in Mewar State), provided him food and provisions.⁹⁷ Moreover, it is alleged that on the advice of Nasruddin Mohammad Khan and Imamuddin of Tonk, Tantia attacked Jhalawar State.⁹⁸ It is notable that during the battle at Jhalawar, the Purbia sepoys of the Jhalawar State fraternized with Tantia, while Maharajrana Prithi Singh of Jhalawar escaped in disguise and sought shelter in the camp of Col. Locharts at Susner as a sign of his loyalty to the British government.⁹⁹

Pursued by the British Columns, Tantia Tope left Jhalawar on 4 September, 1858 and after wandering around in Central India, he again entered through the thick jungles of Banswara State in Rajputana on 10 December, 1858.¹⁰⁰ He was defeated by the combined forces of the State of Pratapgarh and the Mewar Bhil Corps in the battle of Pratapgarh

(24 December 1858), but the military support of the Bhil *jagirdar* of Sodulpur to him in the battle was indicative of the patriotic role of the Bhil Chief.¹⁰¹

Equivalently, Thakur Kesari Singh of Salumber (in Mewar State) was opposed to the British policy of abolishing *Sati*, enforcing doctrine of lapse, and marginalizing the rights of nobles for strengthening the monarchical system in Mewar.¹⁰² He gave vent to his pent up passions against the British government by furnishing Tantia Tope with supplies of food and provisions at Salumber on 14 December 1858.¹⁰³ However, his plan of attacking and deposing pro-British Maharana of Mewar with the support of Tantia Tope was thwarted due to the prudence of C.L. Showers, Political Agent in Mewar State.¹⁰⁴

In the same way, Rao Raja Fateh Singh, *jagirdar* of Uniara (in Jaipur State) sided with Tantia Tope by creating hurdles for the British forces in pursuing the freedom fighters under him. On the approach of the British forces on 15 January, 1859, he refused them supplies and entry into the town of Uniara while the people showed insolent demeanour towards them. Of course, under the pressure of Thakur Bishanji, Commander of the Jaipur State troops, he provided supplies to the force under Lieut. Shakespeare to avoid armed conflict.¹⁰⁵ However, it was not an indicator of a change in his anti-British feelings. When Her Majesty's 8th Hussairs approached the Uniara town, its gates were closed against them. An officer of the 95th Regiment who could enter the town, was stopped by a party of matchlockmen and forced to leave the town.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, Rao Raja refused to surrender to the British authorities his people who had insulted and fired at Lieutenants M. Burd and Anderson of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, near the tank at Uniara. In his patriotic zeal, he preferred to suffer by paying a fine of Rs.10,000 to the British Government than to surrender his camp followers to it.¹⁰⁷

Tantia continued his march in Rajputana, and finally, the British forces under Lieut. Col. T. Rice Holmes, defeated him in a battle at Sikar (in Jaipur State) on 21 January 1859. The Uprising had run its course in Rajputana with the seizure of Tantia Tope by a British force in the jungles of Paron (in Central India) and by his execution for rebellion against the British Government on 18 April 1859 at Sipri.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, the British Government emerged more stronger in Rajputana in April 1859 than in May 1857.

VIII. Response of the rulers

In contrast to the anti-British activities of their people, the officers, the *jagirdars* and Purbia sepoys, the rulers of Rajputana in the beginning of the revolt silently watched its growth and looked for guidance towards their acknowledged head — the *Hinduan Suraj* (Sun of the Hindus) Maharana Swaroop Singh of Mewar.¹⁰⁹ Surprisingly, on the advice of C.L. Showers, Mewar Political Agent, the Maharana sided with the British government during the 1857 war as he could only control the powerful coterie of the *jagirdar* of Salumber and receive back his much coveted district of Nimbahera from the Tonk State with his support during the rebellion. Taking a queue from the Maharana, the Rajput rulers collaborated with the British power and stood by and large, 'firm in their allegiance' to it during the rebellion.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the continuance of British hold over Ajmer, in the centre of Rajputana States persuaded them to remain loyal to the British government.

This passive attitude of the Rajput rulers weakened the cause of the revolutionaries in Rajputana and that of their leaders — Thakur Kushal Singh, Rao Fateh Singh, Lala Jayadaya, Mehrab Khan, Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and Tantia Tope to overthrow the British power. It may be surmised that specially the selfish, traitorous and pusillanimous role of the Maharana of Mewar during the 1857 war had turned the large number of Rajput rulers in favour of the British and facilitated the suppression of rebellion not only in Rajputana but also in Delhi, Lucknow and other parts of North India. This lack of farsightedness of the Maharana gave a further lease of life to the British rule in India till its liquidation on 15 August 1947.

It is interesting to note that in the midst of the rebellion, some of the Rajput rulers like those of Kota, Jaipur, Jhalawar and Bundi wavered in their loyalty towards the British Government because of their varied ulterior motives. Maharao Ram Singh, the Hada Rajput ruler of Kota, played a dubious role during the people's revolt at Kota, as he was enraged with the British Government for burdening him with the payment of tribute and maintenance of Kota Contingent even after depriving him of one third of territory for the creation of Jhalawar State (1838). His dubious role was glaringly visible in shifting his loyalty from the cause of the rebels in Kota to that of the British Government after receiving the news of the reoccupation of Delhi by the British in September 1857.¹¹¹ In the same way, the Hada Rajput ruler of Bundi and Jhala Rajput ruler

of Jhalawar had disregarded the orders of the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana by not providing military assistance in the suppression of the rebellion in the Kota State. Further, the ruler of Bundi demonstrated his patriotic zeal by harbouring the fugitive rebel sepoys of Kota, who were the 'enemies' of the British government.¹¹² Moreover, he did not cooperate in providing information about the movements of the forces under Tantia Tope to W.F. Eden in March 1858 nor did he make arrangements at this time for sending supplies to his camp.¹¹³ It was his persistent hostile behaviour, which had forced George Lawrence to count him among the 'enemies' of the British Government.¹¹⁴ It may be pointed out that it was the decision of the Court of Directors in 1856 to set aside the doctrine of lapse and to recognise the adoption of Madan Pal as the ruler of the State of Karauli,¹¹⁵ that prompted a host of Rajput rulers to remain loyal to the British government during the crisis of 1857. Of course, Maharana Swaroop Singh's support to the British Government, the success of George Lawrence to maintain the British power at the central position of Ajmer in Rajputana, and the restoration of British power in Delhi (September 1857) saved the British paramountcy during 1857 war in Rajputana.¹¹⁶

IX. Ajmer saved British power in Rajputana

On receiving the news of the revolt of the native sepoys at Meerut on 10 May 1857, Col. C.G. Dixon, the Commandant of the Merwara Battalion and Commissioner of Ajmer, posted a Company of the Mer sepoys in place of the 15th Regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry of Purbia sepoys on the guard duties in the arsenal and treasury at Ajmer.¹¹⁷ Thereafter, Dixon died on 25 June 1857 due to sudden illness but his prudent action in transferring the 15th Regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry from Ajmer to Nasirabad Cantonment preserved the arsenal, averted a sepoy revolt in the city of Ajmer and a general Uprising all over Rajputana States.¹¹⁸

George Lawrence, the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana after assuming the additional charge of Commissioner of Ajmer and Brigadier-General of the British forces during the rebellion in Rajputana,¹¹⁹ kept Ajmer as his headquarters to keep surveillance on the Rajput rulers during the period of the 1857 war. After the sepoy revolts at Nasirabad and Neemach Cantonments, he restored the British power there by deploying the detachments of Native and European troops of the Bombay

Presidency from Deesa as they were not imbued with the patriotic feelings like the native sepoys of the Bengal Presidency. He also reinforced the British military position of Ajmer by adding troops from Deesa to the Company of Mers.¹²⁰ Moreover, he kept British position stable and strong by refusing to Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces for sending reinforcement from Ajmer to Agra for strengthening British position at the Agra Fort Cantonment in July 1857.¹²¹ Consequently, he carried his administrative duties in Ajmer without interruption. Of course, on his mingling with the people, he saw, sometimes, sullen faces, but he was treated with respect specially because of the dread of the stringent security in the city of Ajmer.

Therefore, when a group of patriot prisoners broke the Ajmer jail under the spell of the rebellious 1st Bombay Lancers at the Nasirabad Cantonment, he peremptorily arrested them from the bazar.¹²² So also, he maintained peace there with the support of a strong force on *Moharram* during the procession of *Tajias* on 31 August 1857.¹²³ Of course, with the cooperation of George Lawrence, the *Khadim* (Chief Priest) protected the Dargah (shrine) and the fort on Taragarh,¹²⁴ still the British officers suspected perfidy in the pursuits of Syeds during the tumultuous period of 1857, and kept a watch over them. For instance, R. Whitelock, the Political Agent in Mahikanta (Gujarat) construed treason in the visits and presentation of a green flag, an iron hand and a staff by seven Syeds of Ajmer and Taragarh to the rulers of Idar, Junagarh (Kathiawar) and Amjhera (in Malwa) during July and August 1857. Hence, the Syeds were forced to return to Ajmer.¹²⁵

Thus, George Lawrence could preserve British power throughout Rajputana by the support of British officers and the Rajput rulers and above all, by remaining vigilant and maintaining military control on Ajmer. Hence, his announcement on 2 November 1858 in the *Durbar* of the Agency *Vakils* at Mt. Abu about Queen Victoria's direct assumption of the Government of India from the East India Company was heartily received by the Princes of Rajputana.¹²⁶ It further revealed the restoration of the British paramountcy in Rajputana after the 1857 war.

X. Retribution, General Amnesty and Rewards

At the end of the Indian War of Independence, the British Government adopted the policy of strengthening its power and improving its public image by the policy of kick and kisses in Rajputana. The

supporters of the British power were given rewards¹²⁷ while the rebels were either sentenced to imprisonment for several years or death,¹²⁸ or granted general amnesty under Queen Victoria's proclamation.¹²⁹ Maharaja Sardar Singh of Bikaner appealed to the British Government to pardon several rebels belonging to the groups of Rao Sahib, Prince Feroz Shah and Tantia Tope under the proclamation of amnesty¹³⁰ for restoring peace and tranquillity in Rajputana and its neighbouring regions and with the desire to earn 'good name' among people and strengthen ties of 'friendship' with the British Government.¹³¹ Accordingly, six hundred rebel sepoys of Tantia Tope were pardoned by the British Government.¹³²

The British Government bestowed rewards on those loyal rulers who intercepted the rebels on their borders, extended shelter to British officers and their families, and facilitated the process of recovery of the British power from the mass upsurge by not extending military assistance to the Mughal Emperor during the rebellion. It expressed its appreciation for the cooperation of rulers during the Uprising by issuing them *Kharitas*¹³³ of appreciation for their loyal services, by announcing remission in their debts, by commutation of the amount of their annual tributes, by increasing the number of their gun salutes or by granting them lands and adoption *Sanads*. For instance, the tribute of Sirohi State was commuted and all of its tribute arrears were remitted.¹³⁴ The Karauli State was granted remission of Rs.1,17,000 due to the British Government for extending military assistance in the suppression of the rebellion in Kota. The number of the gun salutes of the rulers of Karauli and Tonk was increased from 15 to 17, while the gun salutes of Maharao Ram Singh of Kota was reduced from 17 to 13 for not saving the life of C.E. Burton, the Harauti Political Agent and also relegated his position among the Rajput rulers by transferring the headquarters of the Harauti Political Agency from Kota to Deoli, two hundred miles from Kota. The rulers of Udaipur and Bikaner were conferred *Khilat* of the value of Rs. 20,000 and Rs.10,000 respectively.¹³⁵ In 1862, Maharaja Sardar Singh of Bikaner was granted forty-one villages in Hissar,¹³⁶ while Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur gained the *pargana* of Kot Kasim in perpetuity.¹³⁷ The British Government abandoned the dreadful Doctrine of Lapse, and relaxed the Rajput rulers by granting them *Adoption Sanads* in 1862 as it assured them of the continuation of their dynastic rule in their respective States.¹³⁸

Tribals : Rewards and Retribution

Along with the Rajput rulers, the British government also rewarded the Bhil and the Mina sepoys of the Political Corps of the Jodhpur Legion, the Kota Contingent and the Mewar Bhil Corps for their loyalty during 1857 rebellion, besides the Mers of Merwara Battalion stationed at Beawar in the British territory of Ajmer-Merwara.

(a) Rewards :(i) In place of disbanded Kota Contingent which had revolted at Agra in July 1857, a Mina Battalion was organised at Deoli in August 1857. It was mainly manned by the Mina sepoys to ensure peace and protection to the neighbouring districts. In this way, the Mina and Bhil sepoys were rewarded for not joining the Purbia sepoys of the Kota Contingent in the revolt at Agra.¹³⁹

(ii) Similarly, the Bhil Companies of the Jodhpur Legion which had not joined the Purbia sepoys in the mutiny at Erinpura on 22 August, 1857, formed the nucleus of the new Corps, known as the Corps of Bhils in Sirohi. On 12 June, 1860, it was gazetted as the Erinpura Irregular Force, consisting of 90 per cent of Bhils and Minas and remainder, Sikhs and Muslims.¹⁴⁰

(iii) So also, the Bhil sepoys of the Mewar Bhil Corps were granted pension for their loyalty during 1857 Uprising. It may be surmised that the Bhil sepoys who were in the employment of the British government willingly fought for the government and those who were unemployed preferred fighting with patriotic zeal in support of the rebels and against the British government as they had no attachment with the latter.¹⁴¹

(iv) Besides, these Political Corps, the British government also praised the 'devotion' of the Mer sepoys of the Merwara Battalion in safeguarding the British territory of Ajmer-Merwara during the 1857 war. They cooperated with the British government by protecting the arsenal at Ajmer, in the military campaign at Ahwa, and in resisting Tantia Tope's force at the Piplia Pass (February 1859). As a reward, the British government raised the pay of the Mer sepoys "to the same standard as that of the regular regiments of the army."¹⁴²

(b) Retribution : In contrast to this, the British government adopted repressive measures, after the end of 1857 Uprising, towards the tribals for restoring the British power and the authority of their Rajput allies in their States. In 1860, the rebel Minas of Kherar were subdued by a military expedition, and their movement was restrained by imposing

the system of regular attendance in their villages. On the other side, the rebellious Bhils of the State of Banswara could not be disarmed owing to the plea of the Banswara State that they required their traditional arms for their safety from wild animals and security. However, the British government suppressed their rebel Bhil Chief, Dalla Rawat of Sodulpur and others between 1859 and 1876 by military force and forced them to accept agreements enjoining upon them to maintain peace in their *jagir* villages.¹⁴³

Thus, the British government built up its image as a protector and benefactor of Rajputana States by the policy of awards and retribution after the end of tumultuous period of the Indian War of Independence of 1857.

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72. *Petition of Ghulam Muin-ud-din Khan, Principal Risaldar, No date to the*

- petition, date of final orders, 2 August 1857. Cf. Proceedings of the trial of Emperor Bahadur Shah, p.134.*
73. *Dalrymple, op.cit., p.266.*
74. *Showers to George Lawrence, dt. 27 August, Cons. 30 October 1857, No.524, F&Sc, NAI.*
75. *Showers, op. cit., pp.99-112.*
76. *Showers to George Lawrence, dt. 28 September 1857, File No.23 - Tonk (Old), Vol.I, List No. 1, S.No. 374, pp.41, 58-61, RAR.*
77. *Vashishtha, op.cit., p.268.*
78. *Thomas Holbein Handley, General Medical History of Rajputana, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900, p.51.*
79. *Sunder Lal, Bharat me Angrezi Raj, Pt.2, Publications Department, Government of India, New Delhi, 2016, p.805.*
80. *Ibid., See also, Prichard, Op.cit., pp.199-201; Munshi Jwala Sahai, Loyal Rajputana, 1902, p.276.*
81. *George Lawrence to G.P. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government of India, dt. 26 February 1858, Cons. 22 April 1859. Nos 232-236, F&P, NAI, See also, Rajputana Gazetteer, Vol.II, 1879, p.73.*
82. *Captain R.M.S. Annesley, Offg. Commandant, Mewar Bhil Corps to Captain C.L. Showers, Offg. Political Agent in Mewar, dt. 25 February 1858, Cons. 30 December 1859, Nos.801-815, F&P, NAI.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. *J.C. Brooke, Commandant of Mewar Bhil Corps to C.L. Showers, Offg. Political Agent in Mewar, dt. 17 February 1858, Cons. 30 December, 1859, Nos.801-815, F&P, NAI.*
85. *Report on the Political Administration of Rajpootana States, 1865-67, pp.320-23. For details see, V.K. Vashishtha, "The Tribal and the National uprising of 1857 in Rajputana States," in Indian Historical Review, Supplement to Vol. 49, Number 1, June 2022, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, p.64.*
86. *Captain C.L. Showers, Offg. Political Agent in Mewar to Brigadier G.St.P. Lawrence, Offg. A.G.G. for Rajputana, dt. 26 December 1858. Cons. 8 April 1859, Nos. 738-45, F&P, NAI, See also, C.L. Showers, A Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, 1888, pp.140-41.*
87. *Showers to Lawrence, dt. 26 December 1858, Cons. 4 March 1859. No.470, F&P, NAI.*
88. *For details see, V.K. Vashishtha, "The Tribals and the National Uprising of 1857 in Rajputana States," in Indian Historical Review (IHR), Supplement to Vol.49, Number 1, June 2022, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, pp.54-65.*
89. *List of Persons eminent for disloyalty in the State during the Mutiny of 1857, Cons. 31 December 1858, No.4033, F&P, NAI.*
90. *Captain H.E. Forbes, Assistant to A.G.G. in Rajputana to George Lawrence, File No.1-Mutiny, Vol.I, List No.1, p.4, No.38, RAR, NAI.*
91. *Lieut. A.G.St. John Mildmay, Assistant to A.G.G. Rajputana to George*

- Lawrence, dt. 7 August 1857, Cons. 29 January 1858, No.244, F&Sc, NAI.
92. S.A.A. Rizvi, ed., *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh, Vol.I.* p.373.
 93. George Lawrence to Edmonstone, 16 August 1858, Cons. 17 September 1858, No.165, F&Sc, NAI.
 94. Major S. Charles Macpherson, Political Agent Gwalior to R. Hamilton, A.G.G. Central India, dt. 30 September, Cons. 31 December 1858, Nos.4281-83, F&P, NAI. See also, R.G. Burton, *Compl., The Revolt in Central India, 1857-59, Intelligence Branch Division of the Chief of the Staff Army Headquarters, Shimla, 1908*, pp. 163-66; See also, *Progs. December 1860, Part-A, Nos. 560-63, paras 2, 7, F&P, NAI.*
 95. George Lawrence to Secretary to Government dt. 16 August, Cons. 17 September 1858, No. 165, KW, F&P, NAI.
 96. Burton, *op.cit.*, p.205.
 97. Shyamaldass, *Vir Vinod, Udaipur, V.S. 1953*, p.1977.
 98. *Progs. December 1860, Part- A, Nos.560-63, para 29, F&P, NAI.*
 99. *Ibid.*, para 31.
 100. *Ibid.*, para 50.
 101. Showers to George Lawrence, dt. 26 December 1858, Cons. 8 April 1859, Nos.738-F&P, NAI.
 102. Major Whitelock, Political Agent Mahikanta to H.L. Anderson, Secretary to Government of Bombay, dt. 22 June 1857, File No.1, *Mutiny, Vol.I, (March-June 1857), List No.1, S.No.38, File pp.385-86, RAR, NAI.*
 103. *Progs. December 1860, Pt-A, Nos 560-63, para 56, F&P, NAI,*
 104. Showers, *op. cit.*, p.128.
 105. Lieut. R. Shakespeare, First Assistant to A.G.G. Central India to Capt. W.F. Eden, Jaipur Political Agent, dt. 17 January, Cons. 19 August 1859, No.275, F&P, NAI.
 106. *Ibid.*
 107. Capt. W.H. Beynon, Offg. Jaipur Political Agent to Major W.F. Eden, Off. A.G.G. Rajputana, dt. 19 May, Cons. 19 August 1859, Nos 271-76, KW, F&P, NAI; Major R.L. Taylor, Jaipur Political Agent, dt. 27 July 1859, Cons. 19 August 1859, Nos.277-78, F&P, NAI. For details see, V.K. Vashishtha, "Anti-British Ferment in Uniara Thikana during 1857 Uprising", *Proceedings of the Bikaner Session (1984), Rajasthan History Congress, Jodhpur, 1986*, pp.198-204.
 108. Burton, *op.cit.*, p.232.
 109. The Maharana of Mewar had enjoyed the highest rank and dignity among the Rajput Princes of India. He belonged to Sisodia clan of Rajputs and bore the title of Hindaun Suraj (Son of the Hindus). The Hindus considered him as "the representative of Ram, the deified king of Ayodhya". Cf. Aitchison, *op. cit.*, p.9.
 110. For fuller discussion see, C.L. Showers, *Missing Chapter of the Indian Mutiny, London, 1888*; Also see, Khadgawat, *op.cit.*, Forward, p.i. The role of the Maharana in the suppression of the 1857 revolt could also be studied from the following books: (i) Sahivala, *op.cit.*, pp.57-81; (ii) Shyamaldass, *op.cit.*,

- pp.1987-90; (iii) G.S. Ojha, *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas, Part II, Rajasthani Granthagar, Jodhpur, First edn., 1928. Reprint 1996-97, pp.767-77.*
111. *Tr. of a Kaifiyat from the army of Kota to Govind Rao and Mehta Sahib Subhash of the district of Subalgarh in Gwalior (Encl.H), Cons. 5 August 1859, Nos.324-26, F&P, NAI.*
 112. George Lawrence to Secretary o Government, dt. 27 July 1858, File No.37, paras 171-73, 176, RAR, NAI.
 113. Capt. W.F. Eden, Political Agent, Jaipur to Brigadier General G.St.P. Lawrence, A.G.G. Rajputana, dt. 24 July, Cons. 17 September 1858, No. 166, para 15, F&P, NAI.
 114. George Lawrence to Secretary to Government, dt. 27 July 1857, File No.37, para 171, RAR, NAI.
 115. C.U. Aitchison, *Compl., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Calcutta, Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1932*, p.339.
 116. Prichard, *op. cit.*, pp.39-40.
 117. Col. C.G. Dixon to J.R. Colvin, Lieut-Governor, N.W.P., Agra, dt. 19 May 1857, Confidential Files, Commissioner Office, Ajmer, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner. See also, George Lawrence to Secretary to Government, dt. 27 July 1858, File No.37, para 12-14, NAI; Pitchard, *op.cit.*, pp.39-40
 118. George Lawrence to Secretary to Government, dt. 27 July 1858, File No.37, para 33, RAR, NAI.
 119. C.B. Thornhill, Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor, N.W.P., to George Lawrence dt. 8 June 1857, File No.1, *Mutiny, Vol.I, List No.1, Sr.No.38, RAR, NAI.*
 120. George Lawrence to Secretary to Government, dt. 27 July 1858, File No.37, para 33-36, RAR, NAI.
 121. George Lawrence to Lieutenant-Governor N.W.P. dt. 24 July 1857, File No.1-Mutiny, Vol.II, List No. 1, S.No.39, para 64, Vol.II.,RAR, NAI.
 122. Burton, *op.cit*, p.58; See also, Prichard, *op.cit.*, pp.199-201.
 123. George Lawrence to C.B. Thornhill, Offg. Secretary to Government. N.W.P. Agra, dt. 1 September, 30 October 1857, No.487, F&Sc, NAI.
 124. George Lawrence to Secretary to Government, dt. 27 July 1858, File No.37, para 36, RAR, NAI.
 125. Major R. Whitelock, Political Agent Mahikanta, dt. 3 July 1857, File No.1, *Mutiny, Vol.II, List.1, p.4, S.No.39, RAR, NAI.*
The names of seven Syeds of Ajmer and Taragarh are as follows: 1. Arzuz Ali, Kallandar Ali; 2. Gulam Husain, Karim Ali;
3. Murabuksh, Surfarozi; 4. Abdulkarim, Gulam Hussain
5. Hussain Ali, Zoolup Ali; 6. Murdan Ali, Nur Ali; and
7. Gul Mohammad, Kalandar Ali.
 126. George Lawrence to Edmonstone, dt. 5 November, Cons. 31 December 1858, Nos. 1190-96, F&P, NAI; Shyamaldass, *op.cit.*, pp.1987-1990.
 127. For instance, the British Government conferred a Sword of Honour on Rao Bakht Singh, jagirdar of Bedla (in Mewar State) for assisting and escorting 16 fugitive British officers along with their 15 women and children from

- Neemach to Udaipur in June 1857. For details see, File No.2, RAR, NÁÉ.*
128. *Mehrab Khan and Iwaj Khan, the leaders of the rebellion at Kota were sentenced to death.*
129. *Eleven rebel sepoy were pardoned in the Bharatpur territory. They had taken shelter in Bharatpur. Among them one was Mathura Singh, late Havaladar in the 2nd Troops of the 1st Cavalry and the remaining had served as sepoy at Gwalior, Bhopal and Kota. For details see, Captain J.P. Nixon, Offg. Political Agent, Bharatpur, to George Lawrence, dt. 15 March 1858, and enclosure No.18 of 1859, File No.118, Mutiny, 1858-59, RAR, NAI.*
130. *Translation of a note from the Wakil of Bikaner and its enclosures. File No.18-Mutiny, 1858-59, RAR, NAI.*
131. *Translation of a note addressed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to Mehta Jeth Mal (Kochul), enclosed with a letter of the Maharaja dt. 30 January 1859, File No.18-Mutiny, 1858-59, RAR, NAI.*
132. *Jwala Sahai, op. cit., p.184.*
133. *Cf. Tr. of a Kharita from the Governor-General to the Maharaja of Jaipur, dt. 30 November, Cons. 18 December 1857, No.195, F&Sc, NAI.*
134. *R. Simon, Offg. Under Secretary to Government of India to George Lawrence, dt. 18 December, Cons. 18 December 1857, No.3, F&P, NAI.*
135. *For details see, Bhupen Qanungo, "A Study of British Relations with the Native States of India, 1858-62," "The Journal of Asian Studies, Vol.XXVI, No.2, February 1957, pp.262-63.*
136. *Karni Singh, The Relations of the House of Bikaner with Central Powers, 1465-1949, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1974.p.156.*
137. *File No.91-Jaipur (1869-61), List No.1, S.No.200, RAR, NAI.*
138. *Aitchison, op. cit., pp.35-36.*
139. *Major H.R. Woolbert, A Medico-Topographical Account of Deoli, Rajputana, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1899, p.1.*
140. *Captain B.B. Paymaster, A Medico-Topographical Account of the Erinpura Regiment, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1907, p.2.*
141. *V.K. Vashishtha, "The Tribals and the National Uprising in Rajputana States," in Indian Historical Review (IHR), Supplement to Vol.49, Number 1, June 2022, p.67.*
142. *Major H.R. Woolbert, A Medico-Topographical Account of the Merwara Regiment, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta, 1899, p.2.*
143. *Vashishtha, IHR, Supplement to Vol.49, Number 1, June 2022, p.67.*

Prof. G.N. Sharma Memorial Lecture

लिपि, हिन्दी साहित्य एवं संग्रहालय के क्षेत्र में इतिहासकार गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा का अवदान

डॉ. हुकम चन्द जैन

माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, राजस्थान इतिहास कांग्रेस के 37वें अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष, सचिव, कार्यकारिणी सदस्यगण, स्थानीय सचिव एवं उनके सहयोगी, सम्मानित अतिथिगण, विद्वज्जन, शोधार्थी एवं इतिहास कांग्रेस के सभी प्रतिभागी! प्रो. एस.पी. व्यास, सचिव, राजस्थान हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस एवं उनकी पूरी टीम ने मुझे प्रोफेसर गोपीनाथ शर्मा के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने हेतु चुना, इसके लिए मैं आप सबका आभारी हूँ।

राजस्थान के सपूत गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा का इतिहास के अतिरिक्त अन्य क्षेत्रों में भी अतुलनीय योगदान रहा। ओझा हिंदी साहित्य के प्रकाण्ड पण्डित, रचनाधर्मी लेखक, भारतीय संस्कृति के उन्नायक, ऐतिहासिक निबन्धों के प्रणेता, मुद्रा शास्त्र के ज्ञाता, पत्रकारिता के आलोक स्तम्भ, म्यूजियम संस्कृति के अपवाहक, लिपि शास्त्र के विश्व प्रसिद्ध अध्येता एवं हिन्दी भाषा के प्रतिष्ठित विद्वान थे।

ओझा ने इतिहास पर प्रकाश डालने वाली सामग्री जैसे – सिक्के, ताम्रपत्र, शिलालेख, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदि प्रभूत मात्रा में खोजे। प्राचीन अभिलेखों की खोज, प्रतिलिपि तकनीक, पठन एवं संग्रह प्रबन्ध में उनकी कोई सानी नहीं था। प्राचीन लिपियों के ज्ञान ने ओझा की पुरातात्विक समझ में अद्भुत वृद्धि कर दी थी। इसके प्रमाण ओझा के ग्रन्थ हैं, जो पुरातात्विक सामग्री से ओतप्रोत हैं। ओझा के राजपूताने के इतिहास को लीडन (हॉलैण्ड) से निकलने वाली कर्न इंस्टीट्यूट की 'Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology' नामक पत्रिका में 1928 में स्थान मिलना आश्चर्यजनक तथ्य था, क्योंकि इसमें पुरातत्व विषयक खोज को ही स्थान दिया जाता था। परन्तु पत्रिका ने नियम का अपवाद करके ओझा के ग्रन्थ को उसके महत्त्व के कारण स्थान दिया। ऐसी विश्वस्तर की पत्रिका में स्थान मिलने का कारण ओझा की विद्वता एवं उच्चकोटि का

पुरातत्त्ववेत्ता होना ही था। अजमेर से प्रकाशित 'त्यागभूमि' (वैशाख संवत् 1985) नामक प्रसिद्ध पत्र ने ओझा के बारे में लिखा था, "आपकी खोज, इतिहास तथा पुरातत्त्व की प्रौढ़ विद्वता का लोहा भारत एवं यूरोप के सभी विद्वान मानते हैं। आपके ग्रन्थों का देश और विदेश में बड़ा सम्मान हुआ और आप प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास और राजस्थान के इतिहास पर सर्वोच्च प्रमाण हैं।"

'इंडियन एण्टीक्वेरी' और 'एपिग्राफिया इंडिका' जैसी उच्चस्तरीय पुरातत्त्व सम्बन्धी शोध पत्रिकाओं में ओझा के लेखों का प्रकाशित होना पत्रिकाओं के लिए गौरव की बात हुआ करती थी। यह स्मरणीय है कि राजस्थान के इतिहास का अध्ययन शुद्धतः शिलालेखों के माध्यम से प्रथम बार ओझा ने ही किया। ओझा ने शिलालेखों और सिक्कों की सहायता से प्राचीन इतिहास के अंधकार को हटाया ही नहीं अपितु पूर्व मध्यकालीन भारत के अध्ययनार्थ सर्वाधिक प्रयुक्त फारसी स्रोतों के दबाव को पुरातात्विक सामग्री के माध्यम से भारहीन भी किया। उदाहरणार्थ, नागदा में इल्लुतमिश की रावल जैतसिंह द्वारा पराजय पर मिन्हाज की 'तबकाते नासिरी' मौन है, वहीं चौरवा की प्रशस्ति (1273 ई.) में जैतसिंह की विजय दिखाई गई है।

लिपि के क्षेत्र में योगदान

प्राचीन भारत के इतिहास के अध्ययन के लिये पुरालेखों के महत्त्व को जितना ओझा उजागर कर पाये, उसके लिए इतिहासकार एवं साहित्यकार उनके ऋणी हुए बिना नहीं रह सकते हैं। पुरालेखों की अर्न्तवस्तु का वास्तविक मूल्यांकन ओझा जैसे पुरालिपि शास्त्री की सहायता के बिना सम्भव नहीं था।

(1) लिपिमाला का प्रकाशन-ओझा की प्रसिद्ध कृति 'प्राचीन लिपिमाला' का प्रकाशन 1894 ई. में हुआ जिसका, संशोधित एवं परिवर्धित द्वितीय संस्करण 'भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला' शीर्षक से 1918 ई. में प्रकाशित हुआ।¹ यह कृति पुरालेखों के प्रारम्भिक अध्ययन के लिए बेजोड़ है। ओझा ने इस कृति के द्वारा भारतीय लेखन कला के सम्बन्ध में पाश्चात्य विद्वानों की भ्रामक स्थापनाओं का सप्रमाण खण्डन किया। अब तक यह माना जा रहा था कि—

(क) तीसरी-चौथी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व भारतवर्ष में लेखन कला अज्ञात थी और उस समय तक समस्त भारतीय वाङ्मय मौखिक परम्परा में ही सुरक्षित था।

(ख) भारत की प्राचीनतम लिपि अशोक के शिलालेखों में प्राप्त होने वाली ब्राह्मी लिपि है, जो किसी विदेशी लिपि से उत्पन्न हुई है, अर्थात् भारतीयों ने विदेशियों से लेखन कला का ज्ञान अर्जित किया।²

उक्त भ्रामक मान्यताओं को जन्म देने वाले और उसका पोषण एवं प्रचार करने

वाले प्रख्यात विद्वानों में मुख्यतः जेम्स जॉर्ज, ब्यूलर, मैक्समूलर, अल्फ्रेड मूलर, प्रिन्सेप, सेनार्ट, विलियम जोन्स, राइस डेविड्स और बार्नेट शामिल थे। दूसरी ओर, विदेशी विद्वानों में कुछ ऐसे भी थे जिन्होंने उपर्युक्त मान्यताओं को भ्रामक बताते हुए उनके प्रति असहमति प्रकट की थी। इनमें हुल्स, लीट, कर्निंगम, लासन आदि के नाम विशेष महत्त्व के हैं। इस परिप्रेक्ष्य में ओझा की खोज उल्लेखनीय है। ओझा ने भारतीय लेखन कला की प्राचीनता सिद्ध की तथा पांचवीं शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व से लेकर आधुनिक युग तक की समस्त भारतीय लिपियों का चित्र देते हुए उनका पारम्परिक सम्बन्ध एवं क्रमबद्ध इतिहास प्रस्तुत किया। यह ग्रंथ आज भी अपनी पद्धति और प्रकार का अकेला ग्रंथ है तथा हिन्दी के अन्यतम गौरव ग्रंथों में परिगणनीय है।³ ओझा के 'भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला' के प्रकाशन के पश्चात् भारतीय लेखनकला के सम्बन्ध में अनर्गल कल्पनाओं का युग समाप्त हो गया तथा ब्यूलर आदि कतिपय विद्वानों को भी अपनी पूर्व मान्यताओं में संशोधन करने को विवश होना पड़ा।

(2) भारतीय उत्पत्ति मूलक सिद्धान्त-ओझा ने ब्राह्मी लिपि का आविष्कार भारतभूमि बताकर देश का गौरव बढ़ाया और देशभक्ति की भावना जागृत की। यह सब लिखने के पीछे हमारी मंशा ओझा का गुणगान करना नहीं है। सच तो यह है कि ओझा भारतीय लेखन-कला से सम्बद्ध सभी प्रश्नों के अन्तिम उत्तर नहीं दे पाये थे। वस्तुतः उनका अध्ययन इस दिशा में प्रामाणिक होते हुए भी अन्तिम नहीं माना जा सकता है क्योंकि इस विषय से सम्बद्ध अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्नों का सन्तोषजनक उत्तर उनसे न बन पड़ा। उदाहरणार्थ, उन्होंने भारतीय लेखन-कला की प्राचीनता तो सिद्ध की, किंतु वे यह नहीं बता सके कि उसका ठीक-ठीक प्रारम्भ कब से माना जाये। इसी प्रकार उन्होंने ब्राह्मी को भारतीय आर्यों का अपनी खोज से उत्पन्न किया हुआ मौलिक आविष्कार तो कहा, किंतु ईसा पूर्व पांचवीं शताब्दी के पहले उसका क्या रूप था तथा प्रारम्भ में उसका विकास किस प्रकार हुआ, इस सम्बन्ध में वे कुछ भी बताने में असमर्थ रहे। इस प्रकार के और भी कई प्रश्न उठते हैं, जिनका पूर्ण समाधान उनके ग्रंथ से नहीं होता। किंतु, ओझा के अध्ययन की ये सीमाएँ थीं। उन्होंने इस समय तक उपलब्ध एतद्विषयक सभी प्राचीन सामग्रियों का समुचित उपयोग किया था और उसी के आधार पर निष्कर्ष दिये थे। उस समय जिन प्रश्नों से सम्बद्ध सामग्री तथा प्रमाणों का सर्वथा अभाव था, उनके सम्बन्ध में कोई उनसे निश्चित उत्तर की अपेक्षा कैसे कर सकता है।

ब्राह्मी लिपि का भारतीय उत्पत्ति मूलक सिद्धान्त ओझा ने ठोस आधार पर रखने का सफल प्रयास किया था। इस सन्दर्भ में ओझा का कई विद्वानों से विचार-विमर्श होता रहा। वे लिखते हैं, "1894 ई. में मैंने 'प्राचीन लिपिमाला' का प्रथम संस्करण छपा, जिसकी एक प्रति डॉ. ब्यूलर को भेंट की। उसकी पहुँच स्वीकार करने के साथ डॉ.

ब्यूलर ने लिखा कि, “तुम ब्राह्मी लिपि को भारतवासियों की निर्माण की हुई स्वतंत्र लिपि मानते हो, यह ठीक नहीं, ब्राह्मी लिपि सेमिटिक लिपि से निकली हुई है।” इसके उत्तर में मैंने लिखा है कि “यदि ब्राह्मी और खरोष्ठी दोनों लिपियां एक ही मूल लिपि की शाखाएं हैं तो 700 वर्ष के भीतर ही उनमें परस्पर एक भी अक्षर की समानता न रही, इसका क्या कारण है। सो आप कृपा कर सूचित कीजिए।” परन्तु इसका कुछ भी उत्तर वे न दे सके और न अब भी कोई दे सकता है।⁴

सम्भवतः ओझा के प्रभाव के कारण ही ब्यूलर को बाद में यह स्वीकार करना पड़ा, “इस अनुमान को रोकने के लिए कोई कारण नहीं है कि वैदिक समय में भी लिखित पुस्तकें मौखिक शिक्षा और दूसरे अवसरों पर सहायता के लिए काम में ली जाती थीं।⁵ अभी-अभी मिले प्रमाणों से मुझे स्वीकार करना पड़ता है कि भारतवर्ष में लिपि के प्रवेश का समय ईसा पूर्व की दसवीं शताब्दी या उससे भी पूर्व स्थिर करना होगा।⁶

(3) ब्राह्मी लिपि का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन-संसार की लिपियों का तुलनात्मक परिचय देते हुए ओझा ने लिखा है कि, “इस बीसवीं शताब्दी में भी हम संसार की बड़ी उन्नतिशील जातियों की लिपियों की तरफ देखते हैं, तो उनमें उन्नति की गंध भी नहीं पायी जाती। कहीं तो ध्वनि और उनके सूचक चिह्नों (अक्षरों) में साम्य नहीं है, जिससे एक ही चिह्न से एक से अधिक ध्वनियां प्रकट होती हैं और कहीं एक-ही-ध्वनि के लिए एक से अधिक चिह्नों का व्यवहार होता है और अक्षरों के लिए कोई शास्त्रीय क्रम ही नहीं, कहीं लिपि वर्णात्मक नहीं, किन्तु चित्रात्मक ही है। ये लिपियां मनुष्य जाति के ज्ञान की प्रारम्भिक दशा की निर्माण स्थिति से अब तक कुछ भी आगे नहीं बढ़ सकीं, परन्तु भारतवर्ष की लिपि हजारों वर्ष पहले भी इतनी उच्चकोटि को पहुंच गयी थी कि उसकी उत्तमता की कुछ भी समानता संसार भर की कोई दूसरी लिपि अब तक नहीं कर सकती। इसमें प्रत्येक आर्यध्वनि के लिए अलग-अलग चिह्न होने से जैसा बोला जावे, वैसा ही लिखा जाता है और जैसा लिखा जावे, वैसा ही पढ़ा जाता है और वर्णक्रम वैज्ञानिक रीति से स्थिर किया गया है। यह उत्तमता किसी अन्य लिपि में नहीं है।”⁷

ओझा ने ब्राह्मी लिपि की विशेषताओं की चर्चा करते हुए लिखा है कि “इसमें स्वर और व्यंजन पूरे हैं और स्वरों में ह्रस्व-दीर्घ के लिए तथा अनुस्वार एवं विसर्ग के लिए उपयुक्त संकेत न्यारे-न्यारे हैं। व्यंजन भी उच्चारण के स्थानों के अनुसार वैज्ञानिक क्रम से जमाये गये हैं। उसमें किसी प्रकार की त्रुटि नहीं है और आर्य-भाषा की ध्वनियों को व्यक्त करने के लिए इसमें किसी प्रकार के संशोधन या परिवर्तन की अपेक्षा नहीं है। व्यंजनों के साथ स्वरों के संयोग को मात्रा के चिह्नों से प्रकट करने की इसमें ऐसी विशेषता है, जो किसी और लिपि में नहीं है। साहित्य और सभ्यता की अति उच्च अवस्था में ही ऐसी लिपि का विकास हो सकता है।⁸

ओझा के मत का समर्थन करते हुए एडवर्ड थॉमस लिखते हैं, “ब्राह्मी अक्षर भारतवासियों के ही बनाये हुए हैं और उनकी सरलता से उनके बनाने वालों की बड़ी बुद्धिमानी प्रकट होती है।”⁹ प्रोफेसर डॉसन का विचार महत्वपूर्ण है, “ब्राह्मी लिपि की विशेषताएं सब तरह विदेशी उत्पत्ति से उसकी स्वतन्त्रता प्रकट करती है और विश्वास के साथ आग्रहपूर्वक यह कहा जा सकता है कि सब तर्क और अनुमान उसके स्वतंत्र आविष्कार ही होने के पक्ष में हैं।¹⁰

(4) राष्ट्र लिपि के पक्षधर-ओझा ने स्पष्टतः अपने उद्बोधन में भरतपुर में सत्रहवें अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में लिपि की एकता के बारे में कहा था, “....पर जहां हमारी एक राष्ट्र भाषा हो, वहां हमें एक राष्ट्र लिपि की उतनी ही जरूरत है। एक राष्ट्र लिपि का प्रश्न राष्ट्र भाषा के प्रश्न से किसी प्रकार कम महत्व का नहीं। मेरा तो ख्याल है कि लिपि की एकता हमें एक दूसरे के और अधिक सामीप्य में लाकर हमारी संस्कृति की सुदृढ़ एकता का कारण होगी। इसमें तो किसी को संदेह हो ही नहीं सकता कि हमारा एक राष्ट्र हो, हमारी एक राष्ट्र भाषा हो और हमारी एक राष्ट्र लिपि हो। पर अब प्रश्न यह है कि हम किस लिपि को अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा बनावें।”

“....पर मुझे विश्वास है कि कभी भी रोमन लिपि हमारे देश की लिपि न हो सकेगी। तब हमें अपनी संस्कृति के अनुकूल अपने ही देश की एक लिपि को अपनी लिपि बनानी होगी और एक ऐसी लिपि हमारे पास मौजूद भी है। जैसे देवनागरी से भारत की प्रांतीय भाषाओं का घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क है, वैसे ही देवनागरी लिपि से सभी भारतीय लिपियों का गहरा सम्बन्ध है, क्योंकि यह सब लिपियां एक ही स्रोत अर्थात् ब्राह्मी लिपि से निकली हैं। देवनागरी लिपि सुन्दरता, सरलता और शुद्धता में सर्वोच्च है। बस इसी लिपि को हमें निःसंकोच भाव से राष्ट्र लिपि का स्थान प्रदान करना चाहिए।¹¹

गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा की लिपिमाला तुलनात्मक अध्ययन के लिए अत्यन्त उच्चकोटि की हैं। ओझा का ग्रंथ इतना उत्तम है कि भारतीय पुरालिपियों के अध्ययन के लिए आज भी “देश-विदेश के पंडित इस ग्रंथ की शरण में जाते हैं।”¹²

निःसन्देह ओझा का लिपि विषयक ज्ञान तत्कालीन संसार के पुरालिपिशास्त्रियों से कम नहीं था। ब्राह्मी लिपि के विकास एवं अन्य भारतीय शैलियों से उसकी सम्बद्धता पर ओझा ने गहराई से विचार-विमर्श किया। विश्व के ज्ञान-पटल पर भारतीय लिपि की श्रेष्ठता को प्रतिस्थापित कर ओझा ने वह कार्य किया जो उससे पहले कोई नहीं कर सका। इस अकेले कार्य ने ओझा को अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर पहचान प्रदान की।

हिन्दी साहित्य के क्षेत्र में योगदान

हिन्दी में अपने ग्रंथ प्रस्तुत करने वाले इतिहासकारों में ओझा का स्थान बहुत ऊंचा

है। इतिहास, संस्कृति और साहित्य के अनुसंधायक, हिन्दी भाषा के अनन्य प्रेमी ओझा निःसंदेह अपने युग में शिखर पर थे।

(1) रचनाओं का प्रणयन हिन्दी में-हिन्दी साहित्य में महामहोपाध्याय ओझा का विशेष स्थान है। उनके ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथों और निबन्धों की हिन्दी साहित्य में अपनी पहचान है। भारतेन्दुकालीन एवं द्विवेदीकालीन लेखकों में भी ओझा अपरिचित नहीं है। उल्लेखनीय तथ्य यह है कि ओझा ने ऐतिहासिक लेखन हिन्दी में उस समय शुरू किया जब हिन्दी की कम पूछ थी। यह ओझा का साहस था जो हिन्दी को अपनाया। हिन्दी से गहरा लगाव ही उन्हें हिन्दी में लिखने के लिए प्रेरित करता रहा। हिन्दी में पुस्तकें लिखने के साथ ही वे पत्र-व्यवहार भी हिन्दी में किया करते थे। वे बहुत व्यावहारिक एवं प्रौढ़ भाषा लिखते थे।

ओझा द्वारा 'राजपूताने का इतिहास' खण्ड-2 के प्रकाशित होने पर उसकी समीक्षा करते हुए एक पत्र ने लिखा था, "ऐसी सुन्दर पुस्तक का हिन्दी में निकलना हिन्दी के लिए गौरव की बात है। ओझाजी से सादर निवेदन करते हैं कि इसके शेष खण्डों को शीघ्र निकालकर मातृभाषा का महोपकार साधन करें।"¹³ इसी प्रकार 'राजपूताने का इतिहास' खण्ड-3 पर चित्ताकर्षक समीक्षात्मक टिप्पणी समसामयिक रही, "हिन्दी के इतिहासज्ञाताओं में ओझाजी का स्थान सबसे ऊंचा समझा जाता है।"¹⁴

ओझा इतिहास जगत् के उन श्लाघ्य पुरुषों में से हैं, जिन्होंने ब्रिटिश काल में राजस्थान के देशी राज्यों का प्रामाणिक एवं वैज्ञानिक इतिहास हिन्दी भाषा में लिखकर स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम की अलख जगाने में अपने तरीके से काम किया। ओझा भारतीय इतिहास व संस्कृति को हिन्दी के माध्यम से जन-जन तक पहुँचाने वाले एक महान् पुरोधा थे।¹⁵

(2) राष्ट्रभाषा की सेवा-ओझा जनभाषा हिन्दी के महत्त्व से भली-भाँति परिचित थे। उन्होंने एक स्थान पर लिखा है, "भारतवर्ष का शुद्ध इतिहास वही लोग प्रकट कर सकते हैं, जो भारतीय विद्वान होकर सर्वभाषाओं से परिचित हों।"¹⁶ ओझा का हिन्दी प्रेम और हिन्दी भाषा का आधिकारिक ज्ञान किसी से छिपा नहीं था। भारतवर्ष का शायद ही कोई नामी साहित्यकार होगा जो ओझा को न जानता हो अथवा पत्र-व्यवहार न किया हो। तत्कालीन प्रकाण्ड विद्वान एवं साहित्यकार श्यामबिहारी मिश्र ने कहा था, "मेरे प्राचीन व प्रतिष्ठित मित्र महामहोपाध्याय रायबहादुर पंडित गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा ने हिन्दी एवं विद्वता की जो प्रकाण्ड सेवा की है, वह केवल हिन्दी संसार ही क्यों वरन् भारतीय एवं यूरोपीय विद्वत्मण्डली को भी भली-भाँति विदित है।"¹⁷

ओझा की जीवन के अन्तिम वर्षों में भी हिन्दी के प्रति उनकी चाहत में कमी नहीं

आयी। जब 1946 ई. में ओझा ने युवा इतिहासकार दशरथ शर्मा, पुरातत्ववेत्ता अगरचंद नाहटा एवं साहित्यकार नरोत्तमदास स्वामी के प्रयासों से 'राजस्थानी रिसर्च इंस्टिट्यूट' का बीकानेर में खुलने का समाचार पढ़ा तो उन्हें अपार खुशी हुई। उन्होंने लिखा, "प्रसन्नता की बात है कि यह संस्था राजस्थानी और हिन्दी दोनों की उन्नति और संरक्षा के लिए प्रयत्नशील होगी। मैं इस संस्था की हृदय से सफलता चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि राजस्थानी और हिन्दी की उन्नति के द्वारा यह संस्था राजस्थानवासियों में नवजीवन का संचार कर सकेगी।"¹⁸ साहित्यकार एवं इतिहासकार जयचंद्र विद्यालंकार ने ओझा के हिन्दी साहित्य के क्षेत्र में योगदान पर टिप्पणी करते हुए उपयुक्त ही लिखा, "महामहोपाध्याय गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा का हिन्दी साहित्य के निर्माताओं में एक अद्वितीय स्थान है।"¹⁹

ओझा ने अपने सभी ग्रंथ हिन्दी में लिखकर इतिहास और साहित्य की वह सेवा की है, जिसकी प्रशंसा जितनी की जाये कम है। विद्वानों की यह सोच तर्कसंगत नहीं है कि उन्हें अच्छी अंग्रेजी नहीं आती थी, इसलिए उन्होंने हिन्दी में ग्रंथ मजबूरीवश लिखे। वस्तुतः उनकी अंग्रेजी उच्चकोटि की थी, जिसका प्रमाण मेयो स्कूल में उनके द्वारा दिये गये व्याख्यानों की शृंखला (फरवरी, जुलाई, दिसम्बर, 1913 एवं फरवरी, 1914) से होती है। विदेशी पत्रिकाओं में उनके एकाधिक शोध आलेख भी छपे। उनका 1933 ई. में सातवीं प्राच्य सम्मेलन बड़ौदा में दिया गया अध्यक्षीय भाषण उनकी आंग्ल भाषा के आधिकारिक ज्ञान का साक्ष्य है। इनके अतिरिक्त देश की कई पत्रिकाओं में भी आपने यदा-कदा अंग्रेजी में लिखा। कई विदेशी विद्वानों के साथ उनका अंग्रेज भाषा में पत्र-व्यवहार उनके निजी संग्रह में देखा जा सकता है। ओझा ने बार्नेट को 1918 ई. में पत्र लिखा, जिसका प्रत्युत्तर बार्नेट ने ओझा को 2 अप्रैल, 1918 के पत्र के द्वारा दिया।²⁰ ओझा ने अपनी शंका के समाधान के लिए ब्यूलर को 1894 में एक पत्र में लिखा था।²¹ इसी प्रकार डब्लू. ऑलधम सह-सम्पादक, इंडियन एंटीक्वेरी, लन्दन को ओझा ने 4 जुलाई, 1928 को अपने राजपूताना इतिहास की प्रथम एवं द्वितीय जिल्द भेंट करते हुए पत्र लिखा था, जिसका प्रत्युत्तर ऑलधम ने 25 जुलाई, 1928 को ओझा को दिया।²² कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि ओझा का आंग्ल भाषाई ज्ञान काफी संतोषजनक था। भारत भर के कई विद्वानों, शासकों, उच्चाधिकारियों एवं जन-साधारण से उनका पत्र-व्यवहार नियमित था, जो अंग्रेजी एवं हिन्दी दोनों भाषाओं में था। उनके निजी संग्रह में आज भी सैंकड़ों पत्र उपलब्ध हैं।²³

(3) 'नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका' का सम्पादन-पंडित ओझा की साहित्यिक प्रतिभा का ही परिणाम था कि अनेकानेक दिग्गज साहित्यकारों एवं विद्वानों के होते हुए भी प्रतिष्ठित 'नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका', काशी के सम्पादन का भार 1977 विक्रम संवत्

में उन्हें सौंपा गया। उनके योग्य नेतृत्व में पत्रिका ने बहुत ऊंचाई प्राप्त की। “ओझाजी के सम्पादनकाल (1977-1989 विक्रम संवत्) में पत्रिका ने बहुत उन्नति की और विद्वानों में उसकी प्रतिष्ठा भी बहुत बढ़ गई। हिन्दी भाषी विद्वानों में तो इसका विशेष आदर हुआ ही, पाश्चात्य देशों के विद्वानों तथा पुरातत्त्व सम्बन्धी संस्थाओं में भी इसका आदर दिन-प्रतिदिन बढ़ता गया।²⁴ वस्तुतः विद्वानों ने ओझा सम्पादित पत्रिका का बहुत आदर किया। प्रसिद्ध विद्वान ग्रियर्सन ने रॉयल एशियाटिक सोसाइटी की पत्रिका में इसके विषय में सुन्दर सम्मति प्रकट करते हुए लिखा था, “हम वास्तव में एक गम्भीरतापूर्वक पत्रिका को प्रकाशित करने पर सभा का अभिवादन करते हैं। इसका संपादन इस ढंग पर हो रहा है, जो पश्चिमी विद्वानों को भी प्रिय होगा।²⁵”

हिन्दी के प्रति ओझा के लगाव एवं योगदान का ही प्रतिफल था कि काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा द्वारा प्रकाश्य ‘हिन्दी शब्दसागर’ हेतु जिस प्रबन्ध कृति कमेटी का गठन (9 दिसम्बर, 1907) किया गया था और उसमें जिन 67 प्रख्यात भारतीय एवं पाश्चात्य विद्वानों का नाम था, उसमें पंडित गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा, उदयपुर का नाम सबसे ऊपर था।²⁶

(4) ‘कोशोत्सव स्मारक संग्रह’ का सम्पादन-मार्गशीर्ष, विक्रम संवत् 1984 (11 सितम्बर, 1927) को सभा की प्रबन्ध समिति के निर्णयानुसार बाबू श्यामसुन्दर दास के सम्पादकत्व में रचित विशालकाय ‘हिन्दी शब्दसागर’ के पूर्ण होने के उपलक्ष्य में कोशोत्सव कार्यक्रम के आयोजन का निश्चय किया गया। बाबू श्यामसुन्दर दास के सम्मानार्थ ‘कोशोत्सव स्मारक संग्रह’ का प्रकाशन (1928 ई.) सम्भवतः भारत भर में अपने ढंग का अनूठा सफलतम् प्रयास था। यह प्रकाशन नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा, काशी के द्वारा किया गया। बसन्त पंचमी पर्व पर आयोजित कोशोत्सव कार्यक्रम (14, 15, 16 फरवरी, 1928) के अंतर्गत यह ग्रंथ प्रख्यात साहित्यकार एवं कोशकार बाबू श्याम सुन्दरदास को भेंट किया गया। यह कार्यक्रम अभूतपूर्व एवं भव्य था तथा स्वयं महामना मदनमोहन मालवीय वहां उपस्थित थे। इस संग्रह का सम्पादन गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा के योग्य नेतृत्व में सम्पन्न होने से ग्रंथ की विश्वभर में मांग बढ़ी। विश्व के अनेक बहुश्रुत विद्वानों के मूल लेखों का संग्रह इस प्रकाशन की विशेषता थी। वृहत् आकार के 511 पृष्ठों के इस संग्रह में 30 विद्वानों का अभीष्ट योगदान भारतीय साहित्य जगत् के लिए एक अप्रतिम उदाहरण है।

इसके अतिरिक्त संग्रह के प्रारम्भ में संपादक पंडित ओझा द्वारा लिखित 18 पृष्ठों की भूमिका में हिन्दी साहित्य की प्रगति, नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा और उसके द्वारा कतिपय मुख्य-मुख्य कार्यों का इतिहास तथा बाबू श्यामसुन्दर दास का संक्षिप्त जीवन चरित भी दिया गया। ओझा लिखते हैं, “आज तो हिन्दी साहित्य की उन्नति बड़े वेग से हो रही

है, परन्तु आज से करीब सौ वर्ष पूर्व हिन्दी साहित्य की अवस्था अच्छी नहीं थी। यद्यपि उस समय हिन्दी का पद्य साहित्य बहुत उन्नत अवस्था में था, तथापि हिन्दी गद्य साहित्य तो न के बराबर था।²⁷”

ओझा आगे लिखते हैं, “इसके बाद गद्य साहित्य की उन्नति होने लगी। राजा शिवप्रसाद सितारेहिन्द और राजा लक्ष्मणसिंह ने हिन्दी में कई ग्रंथ लिखे। महर्षि दयानंद ने गुजराती होते हुए भी अपने सभी छोटे-बड़े ग्रंथ-‘वेदभाष्य’, ‘सत्यार्थ प्रकाश’ आदि हिन्दी में ही लिखे। भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र ने हिन्दी में नाटक, काव्य आदि अनेक ग्रंथ लिखकर हिन्दी प्रेमियों के समाज की स्थापना की। हिन्दी के कई लेखक उत्पन्न करके उन्होंने हिन्दी की बहुत सेवा की और हिन्दी गद्य को एक सुव्यवस्थित मार्ग पर लगाकर उसके भविष्य का मार्ग प्रशस्त और कंटकशून्य कर दिया।²⁸”

ओझा के उक्त उद्गार उनकी साहित्य में गहरी पैठ के प्रमाण हैं। ‘कोशोत्सव संग्रह’ का सम्पादन ही तत्कालीन हिन्दी संसार में ओझा की विशिष्ट पहचान का प्रमाण है। ‘कोशोत्सव संग्रह’ कोई सामान्य अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ नहीं था। यह संग्रह जहां बाबू श्यामसुन्दर दास की महान सेवाओं की स्वीकृति थी, वहीं ओझा का सम्पादकत्व उनकी बुद्धिवाद का प्रमाण। विशाल कोशोत्सव कार्यक्रम में ओझा का उद्बोधन असाधारण घटना थी।

(5) अनुशीलन ग्रंथ से सम्मानित-यह कहने अथवा लिखने की अधिक आवश्यकता नहीं है कि ओझा के जीवन का बड़ा भाग हिन्दी की सेवा में व्यतीत हुआ। हिन्दी के प्रचार और हिन्दी साहित्य की वृद्धि दोनों में ओझा ने समान रूप से सतत एवं अनवरत प्रयत्न किया। उन्होंने नवयुवकों को सदैव हिन्दी सेवा के लिए उत्साहित किया। उनका हिन्दी भाषाई ज्ञान उस समय पूरे भारत में अग्रणी था। 23वें हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, दिल्ली (1933 ई.) में उनके सम्मान में विश्वस्तरीय ‘अनुशीलन ग्रंथ’ का प्रकाशन स्वयं में इस कथन का प्रमाण है। इस अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ के प्राक्कथन में तत्कालीन सभापति रायबहादुर श्यामबिहारी मिश्र ने जो कुछ लिखा वह उनके हिन्दी के प्रति सेवा की विनम्र झलक है।²⁹ हिन्दी मर्मज्ञ जनता के सम्मुख ओझा की विद्वता की ऐसी स्वीकृति पूरे हिन्दी जगत् के इतिहास में इस समारोह से पूर्व कभी पढ़ने-सुनने में नहीं आयी।

(6) मंगलाप्रसाद पारितोषिक से सम्मानित-1924 ई. में ओझा को 12वें हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में दूसरा ‘मंगलाप्रसाद पारितोषिक’ प्रदान कर उनकी हिन्दी के प्रति सेवाओं को स्वीकारा गया। यह ध्यातव्य है कि उस जमाने में मंगलाप्रसाद पारितोषिक हिन्दी भाषा के लिए एक गौरव की बात थी। किसी भी भारतीय भाषा में दिया जाने वाला यह पुरस्कार सबसे अधिक सम्मान का था। हिन्दी संसार में इस पारितोषिक का वही

स्थान था जो पाश्चात्य जगत् में नोबेल पुरस्कार का है।³⁰ यह स्मरण रहे कि यह पुरस्कार 1923 ई. में कलकत्ता के प्रसिद्ध हिन्दी प्रेमी और धनी बाबू गोकुलचंद ने कलकत्ता में एकादश हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन को चालीस सहस्र रुपये प्रदान कर अपने भ्राता 'मंगलाप्रसाद' की स्मृति में प्रारम्भ किया था।³¹ पारितोषिक के लिए यह शर्त रखी गयी थी कि यह पुरस्कार उस हिन्दी लेखक को दिया जाये जिसकी रचना सर्वोत्तम और मौलिक समझी जाये। इस शर्त को ध्यान में रखते हुए कमेटी ने यह पुरस्कार पंडित ओझा को उनकी अमर रचना 'भारतीय प्राचीन लिपिमाला' पर दिया।³²

ओझा के बारे में उनके प्रसिद्ध शिष्य इतिहासकार दशरथ शर्मा का यह कथन विचारणीय है, "ओझाजी के नाम से हिन्दी साहित्य और भारतीय इतिहास का प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी परिचित है। जब विद्वानों के क्षेत्र में हिन्दी की इस समय से कहीं कम पूछ थी, ओझाजी ने अपने ग्रंथों को हिन्दी में लिखने का निश्चय कर अपनी दूरदर्शिता और देश-भक्ति का परिचय दिया था। हिन्दी साहित्य के अनेक अंगों की श्रीवृद्धि इस महान् निश्चय का आनुषंगिक फल है।"³³

(7) हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन का सभापतित्व-हिन्दी संसार ने 17वें हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन, भरतपुर के अधिवेशन (29 मार्च, 1927) में ओझा को सभापति बनाकर सम्मान किया। इस सम्मेलन के स्वागतकारिणी समिति के अध्यक्ष पं. मयाशंकर याज्ञिक ने अपने उद्बोधन में ओझा के लिए कहा, "यह बड़े गौरव की बात है कि आपकी खोज और प्राचीन लिपि सम्बन्धी असाधारण ज्ञान का लाभ हिन्दी जगत् को ही समर्पण किया गया है। यदि आप अपनी पुस्तकों को अंग्रेजी में लिखते तो यूरोप में आपका यश कदाचित्त और भी अल्प समय में फैल जाता परन्तु आपको यश से अधिक प्रिय मातृ भाषा है और उसी को आपने अलंकृत किया है।"³⁴

ओझा का मातृभाषा के प्रति प्रेम निःस्वार्थ रहा। पंडित ओझा ने सम्मेलन में सम्बोधन की शुरुआत में कहा, "मातृभाषा के पुजारी भाइयों और बहनों तथा मेरे देश बन्धुओं।" इस सम्बोधन से उनका मातृभाषा के प्रति प्रेम का अभिज्ञान होता है। यह मातृभाषा के प्रति ओझा के संकल्प की ठोस एवं सकारात्मक अभिव्यक्ति है।

ओझा द्वारा भरतपुर में दिये गये अध्यक्षीय भाषण की अनेक समसामयिक समाचार पत्रों ने प्रशंसा की। दिल्ली से प्रकाशित होने वाले 'हिन्दू संसार' ने 7 अप्रैल, 1927 को अपने अंक में लिखा, "उन्होंने जो विद्वतापूर्ण भाषण दिया, वह कई दृष्टियों से महत्त्वपूर्ण है। उसका कोई अंश ऐसा नहीं जिसे कम किया या अनावश्यक कहा जा सकता है। सारा भाषण काम की बातों से परिपूर्ण है और हिन्दी प्रेमियों को उसका मनन करना चाहिए।"³⁵

हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन में आपने कहा कि, जहां 10-5 हिन्दी भाषी भी हों, वहां एक हिन्दी संस्था हो और उसके सदस्य दूसरों को हिन्दी प्रेमी बनाकर उसके साहित्य का रसास्वादन करने के योग्य बनावे।³⁶ हिन्दी प्रचार-प्रसार के बारे में ओझा के विचार एवं तत्सम्बन्धी आयोजना उनकी गहरी पैठ की परिचायक है। मातृभाषा हिन्दी को वे सम्पूर्ण भारत की भाषा बनाने के लिए न केवल लालायित थे बल्कि प्रयत्नशील भी थे। हिन्दी भाषा के प्रचार एवं साहित्य की उन्नति के लिए ओझा के मन में उत्कट लालसा ही नहीं थी अपितु गहरी समझ थी। इतना ही नहीं वे व्यावहारिक बुद्धि वाले विद्वान थे। इसलिए उन्होंने जब-जब भाषा के प्रचार एवं साहित्य की उन्नति के विचार रखे, उनकी देश भर में सराहना की गयी।³⁷ ओझा का हिन्दी प्रेम उनके उत्तर-जीवन में भी बना रहा। उनके पास कई हिन्दी कार्यक्रमों में भाग लेने के लिए देश-भर से आमंत्रण आते थे, जिनका अभिज्ञान उनके निजी संग्रह से होता है। 14 जनवरी, 1947 को कांग्रेस स्वदेशी प्रदर्शनी, बनारस ने ओझा को साहित्यिक प्रदर्शनी हेतु अपना संदेश भेजने के लिए संस्था की ओर से उपेन्द्र नारायण वाजपेयी ने आग्रह किया, यह जानते हुए भी कि ओझा पूर्ण अस्वस्थ हैं। ओझा ने सन्देश में लिखवाया, "मैं हृदय से इस साहित्यिक प्रदर्शनी के लिए शुभकामना करता हूँ कि यह सफल होगी। ऐसे आयोजन हिन्दी को लोकप्रिय बनाने और उसके गौरव की वृद्धि करने में बहुत लाभदायक सिद्ध होंगे। आपका प्रयत्न सराहनीय है।"³⁸

म्यूजियम कल्चर के अपवाहक

यह तथ्य भी रेखांकित करने योग्य है कि ओझा ने राजस्थान में पहली बार 'म्यूजियम कल्चर' को जन्म एवं बढ़ावा दिया। विक्टोरिया हॉल म्यूजियम, उदयपुर एवं राजपूताना म्यूजियम, अजमेर को आकार-प्रकार देने में ओझा ने कम पसीना नहीं बहाया। इस हेतु ओझा ने 55 वर्षों तक खोजपरक यात्राएं कीं।

(1) कला, संस्कृति और इतिहास की समृद्ध विरासत की झांकी को भौतिक शोध सामग्री के रूप में प्रदर्शित करने तथा सांस्कृतिक उत्सव के स्रोत के रूप में उसकी उपयोगिता को ओझा ने राजस्थान के इतिहासकारों में सम्भवतः सबसे पहले महसूस किया। शासकों ने भी इस महत्त्व को समझा। अपनी विरासत के वैभव और सांस्कृतिक धरोहर के प्रदर्शन का विचार कालान्तर में इतना प्रबल हुआ कि राजस्थान निर्माण के पूर्व ही विभिन्न रियासतों में दस संग्रहालय स्थापित हो गये।

संग्रहालयों की स्थापना के क्रम में सर्वप्रथम संग्रहालय जयपुर में 1881 ई. में शुरू हुआ। इसके पश्चात् उदयपुर में महाराणा फतहसिंह (1884-1930 ई.) के शासनकाल में गुलाबबाग, उदयपुर में शुरू हुआ। इसका नाम विक्टोरिया हॉल म्यूजियम रखा गया

और 2 नवम्बर, 1890 ई. में तत्कालीन वाइसराय लॉर्ड लैंसडाउन द्वारा इसका उद्घाटन किया गया। म्यूजियम के क्यूरेटर के पद पर प्रथम नियुक्ति गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा को प्राप्त हुई। ओझा इस पद पर फरवरी, 1908 ई. तक कार्यरत रहे।

विक्टोरिया हॉल म्यूजियम एवं पुस्तकालय के क्यूरेटर एवं पुस्तकालयाध्यक्ष के पद पर रहते हुए ओझा ने बड़े परिश्रम से प्राचीन मूर्तियों, सिक्कों, अभिलेखों और पाण्डुलिपियों एवं पुस्तकों का संग्रह किया। आज इस संग्रहालय की शिलालेख दीर्घा में सज्जित शिलालेखों में अधिकांश का संकलन ओझा द्वारा किया गया था।³⁹ इनमें दूसरी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व से 18वीं शताब्दी ई. तक के सिक्के एवं अभिलेख हैं। इनमें से कुछ काफी महत्वपूर्ण एवं ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व के हैं। मेवाड़ क्षेत्र की प्रस्तर एवं धातु की अनेक प्रतिमाओं का संग्रह ओझा द्वारा किया गया। यहीं की सांस्कृतिक दीर्घा की सबसे मूल्यवान निधि शाहजादा खुर्रम की पगड़ी है, जिसके संग्रह का श्रेय ओझा को जाता है।⁴⁰

(2) नवनिर्मित राजपूताना म्यूजियम, अजमेर के क्यूरेटर पद पर ओझा की नियुक्ति मार्च, 1908 में हुई। किले में स्थित इस संग्रहालय का उद्घाटन ब्रिटिश गवर्नर जनरल के तत्कालीन एजेण्ट काल्विन ने किया था। यह याद दिलाने की जरूरत नहीं है कि इस संग्रहालय की स्थापना गवर्नर जनरल लॉर्ड कर्जन एवं डायरेक्टर जनरल सर जॉन मार्शल (1902-1934 ई.) के प्रयासों के परिणामस्वरूप 19 अक्टूबर, 1908 को हुई। राजपूताना संग्रहालय की परिकल्पना को मूर्त रूप देने का भार लॉर्ड मिन्टो के समय गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा को सौंपा गया। ओझा के नेतृत्व में राजपूताना म्यूजियम अल्प समय में ही भारत प्रसिद्ध हो गया।

उदयपुर के पश्चात् ओझा ने जब अजमेर के म्यूजियम का स्वतन्त्र भार संभाला, तो उन्हें तीन तरह से लाभ हुआ -

(i) म्यूजियम के लिए वे 30 वर्षों तक संग्रह करते रहे। इस हेतु उन्हें पूरे राजपूताने में भ्रमण करने का मौका मिला और स्रोतों को देखने, पढ़ने एवं संग्रह करने का अवसर अवसर मिला। स्रोतों को समझने के लिए यह मौका ओझा के लिए फलदायक साबित हुआ।

(ii) ओझा को म्यूजियम के पुस्तकालय का लाभ इस रूप में मिला कि उन्होंने इसमें कई नवीन पुस्तकें मंगवाकर इसे समृद्ध बनाया। साथ ही, अपने ज्ञान को अद्यतन किया।

(iii) राजपूताना का एकमात्र ब्रिटिश म्यूजियम होने से वे राजस्थान की अधिकांश देशी रियासतों के सम्पर्क में रहे और इसका लाभ उन्हें निश्चय ही मिला।

राजपूताने की रियासतें ही नहीं उत्तर भारत की अनेक रियासतें उनसे सम्पर्क साधने के लिए प्रयासरत रहीं। उन्होंने राजपूताने की रियासतों में सामान्यतः राजकीय अतिथि की हैसियत से यात्राएँ कीं। जरूरत हुई तो इन राज्यों से शिलालेख तथा मुद्राएं मंगवा कर, अजमेर म्यूजियम में संगृहीत कीं और इस प्रकार उनका उपयोग करने का उन्हें सुअवसर मिल गया।

ओझा द्वारा राजपूताना में सघन सर्वेक्षण अगले 30 वर्षों तक किया जाता रहा। ओझा ने “रात-दिन परिश्रम कर राजपूताना की विभिन्न रियासतों के प्राचीन स्थलों का सर्वेक्षण कर जिस विशाल मूल सामग्री-प्राचीन सिक्कों, शिलालेखों, ताम्रपत्रों, विभिन्न देवी-देवताओं की कलात्मक मूर्तियों का संग्रह किया, वह उनके जीवन का जीता-जागता स्मारक है। यह अमूल्य सामग्री धौलपुर से आबू तथा बांसवाड़ा से बाड़मेर जैसे स्थलों से प्राप्त की गई। नगरी (प्राचीन मध्यमिका, जिला चित्तौड़गढ़) की खुदाई से मिली गुप्तकालीन मृणमूर्तियों का विशाल संग्रह अवाप्त कर इस म्यूजियम को समृद्ध किया गया। अढ़ाई दिन का झोंपड़ा (अजमेर) से ‘ललित विग्रहराज’ तथा ‘हरकेलि नाटक’ के शिलांकित नाटकों की खोज कर इन्हें संग्रहालय की निधि बनाया। 12वीं शताब्दी में रचित ये महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ हैं।”⁴¹

राजपूताना म्यूजियम को समृद्ध बनाने में ओझा को राजाओं के साथ विद्वानों का भी भरपूर सहयोग मिला। उन्हें कनिंघम, कार्लाइल, एस.आर. भण्डारकर, आर.डी. बनर्जी आदि का मार्गदर्शन मिला। फलस्वरूप यह संग्रहालय प्राचीन इतिहास, कला एवं संस्कृति के परिचायक पुरातात्विक महत्त्व की वस्तुओं का संग्रह बन गया।⁴²

ओझा ने पुरातत्त्व की जो सेवा की, उसकी झलक उनके द्वारा की गई यात्राओं से मिलती है। उन्होंने पनघटों, मन्दिरों, धर्मशालाओं, महलों, स्मारकों, खण्डहरों, किलों, बावड़ियों आदि तक पहुंचने के लिए सोदेश्य यात्राएं कीं। शिलालेखों, ताम्रपत्रों, पट्टे-परवानों और अन्य रिकॉर्ड तक पहुंचने के लिए ओझा बैचैन रहे और इस हेतु उन्हें कई बार अपने वेतन से धन खर्च करना पड़ा, इसलिए अपने अन्तिम वर्षों में उन्हें धनाभाव की चिंता सताने लगी थी। राजपूताना म्यूजियम के वार्षिक प्रतिवेदन से ज्ञात होता है कि ओझा पुरातत्त्व की खोज में कष्टसाध्य यात्राएं किया करते थे। यात्राएं 1908 ई. से 1938 ई. तक निरन्तर की जाती रही।⁴³

ओझा की देख-रेख में इस संग्रहालय में अनेक प्राचीन प्रतिमाएं, मृणमय (टेराकोटा) प्रतिमाएं, शिलालेखों, सिक्कों, ताम्रपत्रों, पाण्डुलिपियों, उत्खनन-सामग्री, राजपूतकालीन वेशभूषाएँ, धातुप्रतिमाएँ तथा कला-उद्योग से सम्बन्धित बहुमूल्य सामग्री संगृहीत हुई। ओझा ने अजमेर, पुष्कर, पीसांगन, अर्थूणा, ओसियां, मंडोर, चन्द्रावती, कामां, बयाना, हर्षनाथ आदि स्थानों से अनेक प्रतिमाएं अवाप्त कर संग्रहालय को समृद्ध बनाया। ये

प्रतिमाएं गुप्तकाल से लेकर सोलहवीं शताब्दी तक की हैं। गुप्तकालीन मूर्तिकला की परिचायक मूर्तियों का महत्वपूर्ण संग्रह इस संग्रहालय में देखने को मिलता है। संग्रहालय की प्रतिमा दीर्घा में ओझा के प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप चौहान काल के दसवीं से बारहवीं शताब्दी के मध्य निर्मित शिल्प के उत्कृष्ट नमूने सुसज्जित हैं।

ओझा ने राजपूताना संग्रहालय में दूसरी शताब्दी पूर्व से लेकर मध्य युग तक के अनेक शिलालेखों का संग्रह कर इतिहास के अध्येताओं की बड़ी सेवा की। बरली (अजमेर) का शिलालेख (दूसरी शताब्दी), नगरी (चित्तौड़) का लेख (पांचवीं शताब्दी), प्रतिहारवंशीय बाउक का जोधपुर लेख (नौवीं शताब्दी), उत्कीर्ण हरकेली नाटक (अढ़ाई दिन का झोंपड़ा, अजमेर) आदि शिलालेखों का संग्रह एवं वाचन ओझा की निजी उपलब्धि है। इतना ही नहीं ओझा ने सरवानिया (बांसवाड़ा) से प्राप्त 2407 क्षत्रप सिक्कों का संग्रह कर अजमेर संग्रहालय को विशिष्ट पहचान दी। उनके प्रयासों के कारण पुरातात्विक महत्त्व की वस्तुओं का अकूत खजाना आज भी यहाँ मौजूद है।⁴⁴

मूर्तिशिल्प का अद्भुत संग्रह 'राजपूताना म्यूजियम' की पहचान है। भरतपुर जिले के कामां से प्राप्त दो शिव चतुर्मुख शिवलिंग प्रतिहार कला के प्रतीक हैं। बघेरा की कतिपय शिल्पाकृतियाँ भी पर्याप्त महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। हर्षनाथ (सीकर) की विश्वविख्यात लिंगाद्भव विषयक 10वीं शताब्दी की सुरक्षित प्रतिमा भी अजमेर संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित है।⁴⁵ यहाँ ओझा द्वारा संगृहीत सूर्य, कुबेर, वराहस्वामी एवं जैन तीर्थकरों की मूर्तियाँ तथा नक्षत्र-फलक भी उल्लेखनीय हैं। ओझा द्वारा सिरौही के कौसम से प्राप्त पार्वती की मूर्ति भी दर्शनीय है।⁴⁶ ओझा इतिहास एवं पुरातत्त्व में गहरे ज्ञान के कारण उदयपुर और अजमेर के संग्रहालयों में संगृहीत पुरातात्विक सामग्री भारत भर के तत्कालीन अध्येताओं को आकर्षित करने लगी तो इसमें आश्चर्य की क्या बात है।⁴⁷

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- (61) सभा के मंत्री
- (62) बंगाल, संयुक्त प्रदेश, मध्यप्रदेश और पंजाब के गवर्नमेन्ट्स के एक-एक प्रतिनिधि
- (63) आरा नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा का एक प्रतिनिधि
27. (सं.) गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा (सं.) 'कोशोत्सव स्मारक संग्रह' भूमिका, वि.सं. 1985, काशी
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38. पत्र संख्या 3-12, निजी संग्रह रोहिड़ा
39. Dr. Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha , the doyen among historians of Rajasthan, was appointed as incharge of the Victoria Hall Museum and the library. Though the contents of the museum at its initial stage, comprised mainly of historical objects besides a few zoological and anatomical specimens but the ceaseless efforts mad by Ojha enriched the collection in no time....The museum soon acquired excellent collections of inscriptions, numismatics, sculpture etc. and specimens of royal costumes, textiles and local handicrafts were also added to the galleries for display. & Vijay Shankar Srivastava, 'Museums and Art Galleries' Rajasthan State Gazetteer, Vol II, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

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44. 'Excellent collections of Archaeological Antiquities viz-stone sculptures, terracottas, coins, inscriptions, copper plates etc. acquired from the length and breath of Rajputana from Dholpur to Sirohi and Banswara to Barmer. &Rajputana State Gazetteer, Vol. II, Jaipur, 1995, p.255
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46. *Catalogue and guide to Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, Rajasthan, 1960-61, Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur, 1961, Introduction.*
47. 'The assiduous efforts of the curator, who was well known in Rajputana and whose knowledge of the history and antiquities of this province was very extensive, soon resulted in making the Rajputana Museum one of the best museums of antiquities in India. It attracted distinguished scholars and visitors from all parts of India on account of its exhibits. The central building was found too small to accommodate all the collected objects and a number of the Southern, Northern and Western side rooms of the Magazine had to be utilized for keeping the exhibits. &Har Bilas Sarda, Ajmer Historocial and Descriptive, Ajmer, 1941, p. 118.

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Professor R.P. Vyas Memorial Lecture

Gender and Political Participation in Medieval Marwar

Dr. Kalpana Malik

Honorable President, Vice Chancellor, President of the 37th Session of Rajasthan History Congress, Secretary, Executive members, local secretary and associates, esteemed scholars, delegates and guests, I express my gratitude to Professor S.P. Vyas, Secretary Rajasthan History Congress and the Executive Committee for bestowing the responsibility of delivering the prestigious Professor R.P. Vyas Memorial Lecture upon me. I feel extremely honored and humbled at the same time.

Respected Professor R.P.Vyas commenced his vocation as a schoolteacher at Rajput High School, Chopasni and rose to be the head of the Department of History of the erstwhile Jodhpur University, now Jai Narain Vyas University. He was awarded the doctorate degree for his research on "Role of Nobility in Marwar 1800-1873 A.D." Professor Vyas had a glorious career that has inspired generations of scholars associated with him. With more than three decades of teaching and two decades of research experience, Professor Vyas was a founding member of the Rajasthan History Congress, Shri Jai Narayan Vyas Shiksha Samsthan and Mahila P.G. Mahavidyalaya, Jodhpur. The versatile interests of Professor Vyas and his unstinted support to augment the study of history, literature, culture and services rendered to the society have been duly appreciated and acknowledged. His efforts have won him great laurels at local, state, national and even international forums. Some of the accolades awarded to him include the 'Durgadas Gold Award', 'Maharana Kumbha Award', the 'Palki Siropav' conferred by the Jodhpur Royal House, 'Itihas Shri' honored by Shri Shodh Samsthan Churu

Dungargarh, 'Marwar Ratna' for Lifetime Achievement award by Mehrangarh Museum Trust, 'International Man of the Year' – a prestigious award conferred by International Biographical Centre, Cambridge. These are just a few of the many tokens of appreciation for our highly acclaimed, generous and humane Professor Vyas, the pride of Rajasthan historians.

As a founding member of Rajasthan History Congress (1967), Prof. Vyas accomplished the Herculean task of pioneering research and study in the history of Rajasthan. Among the versatile interests of Professor Vyas, his efforts towards promoting girls' education reveal the visionary aspect of his personality. Therefore, while commemorating his memory, paying homage and seeking his blessings, I have chosen to deliver the 'R.P. Vyas Memorial Lecture' on the Marwar region to which he belongs, highlighting the aspect of 'Gender and Political Participation in Medieval Marwar.' History writing has come a long way and evolved over time. For the past many years now, scholars are not restricting themselves merely to the political aspect of Indian history. Just as aspects of economy and society and the interface between the two have emerged as important areas of investigation, similarly, women's history has generated immense interest among historians. From the notion, 'Did women have history?', today, academicians are exploring a wide range of themes such as gender in the context of polity, economy, society and religion. In fact, their space is being reclaimed even through depiction in the various art forms. The 1990s writings in Indian historiography drew attention to the presence of relations of power that existed within the family as well as interpersonal relations. A survey of sources in the context of the existing historiography, some of which in whole or part, pivot around women, though mainly focusing on the Mughals include Rekha Mishra's, *Women in Mughal India*,¹ K. S. Lal's *The Mughal Harem*,² Harbans Mukhia's *the Mughals of India*.³ Mukhia refrains from describing the Mughal women as powerful or powerless. Rather, he focuses on images that are diverse and at times even mutually conflicting. Ruby Lal in her pathbreaking work, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*⁴ challenged the Oriental historiography that perceived the Mughal *harem* as a domestic world of sexual exploitation. In the context of Rajasthan, some of the early works include G.H. Ojha, *Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihas*⁵, G.N.Sharma's *Social Life in Medieval Rajasthan*,⁶ Shashi Arora's *Rajasthan mein Nari ki Stithi (1600-1800)*⁷ Pramila Puniya's *Rajasthan ke Itihas mein Raniyon ki Bhumika*⁸. Among the recent publications, Kiran Shekhawat's *Janana Dyodhi*⁹ highlights

the political and cultural aspects of the women belonging to the Marwar royal family. Sabita Singh's *The Politics of Marriage in Medieval India: Gender and Alliance in Rajasthan*¹⁰ has delved into the practices of dowry, polygamy and concubinage. To this survey of sources in the context of gender can be added yet another interesting work entitled as *Tritiya Prakriti, Paswan aur Das: Bhartiya Itihas mein Yug-Yugeen Adhyayan*¹¹, edited by S.P. Vyas and Manorama Upadhyaya. However, as research is an ongoing process, new dimensions come into perception and the same sources are interpreted with a new understanding. Therefore, the present study is undertaken with this spirit to hopefully provide a new insight in the context of the women associated with the royal household of Marwar, especially during the medieval period.

Objective and Nature of Sources

Political formation in Rajasthan during the early medieval period indicate the process of emergence of many powerful Rajput clans. They held their control in different parts of the region. In Rajasthan the emergence of Rajput polity is associated with a shift in political jurisdiction that lacked definite political boundaries. The sources indicate that terms like *mewas*, *thakurai*, *chaurasi* as well as *bhom* were applicable universally to both – Rajput clan dominated and tribal settlements. There were some areas that did not belong to anyone in particular and the sources mention the use of the term *khali des* indicating a space that was not yet occupied or colonized. So, the unclaimed land was occupied and colonized.¹² In this way territory was acquired and colonization of new area commenced. This in turn led to the expansion of the agrarian economy.¹³ It is interpreted as a transition from a tribal to a state polity. This is evident from the bardic legends of Pallival Chand¹⁴ in the context of Marwar. The Rathor kingdom's foundation can be traced to the end of the thirteenth century. It is traditionally believed that Asthan along with his brothers, safeguarded the rights of Pali's brahmin traders as well as the *chaudharies* of the villages nearby from Kanha Mer's atrocities.¹⁵ Rao Asthanji appropriated 84 villages from Kanha Mer in Pali as well as 84 villages of Bhadrarajun.¹⁶ Thus, the process of state formation commenced with the elimination of the local and autonomous bases of power. However, it was with the help of the clan and kinship network of the lineage that further expansion of the territory was expedited. Matrimonial alliances became yet another important factor in acquiring or augmenting territory. Sometimes marriages were performed to

strengthen ties while at other times they were used for the purpose of negotiation. The practice of polygamy prevalent among the Rajputs gave further impetus to such alliances. In such circumstances, women are generally projected as being invisible to the gaze. In a patriarchal society they are seen as subjugated.

Often seen as marginalized, history is now written from the vantage point of women. From being labeled as 'saints', 'rebels' or 'conformists',¹⁷ we come across strong and assertive women who could avert political distress. Sometimes their modesty and compassion could win thrones while at other times they mediated to harmonize relations. Their overt or covert role in the politics of the day is getting acknowledged. Sometimes they were used as political tools and at other times they would take advantage of the political situation and assert their will. Their role was significant, yet not highlighted so and was often undermined. The present study is undertaken to retrieve and reconstruct the past of some of the royal and 'other' women in the state of Marwar in the medieval period. An effort has been made to seek answers to questions like - how did the women contribute to the political world of the Marwar Rajas? What was the level of their participation? What was their position? Do we see any specific occasions when they are seen as being assertive? Were they used as a political tool? Did they play an active, passive or assertive role or was it just an advisory role? Whether their intervention was direct or indirect in comparison to the women associated with the Mughal household? An effort has been made to look into some of these aspects with the help of some known and other less visible women associated with the household of the Marwar *Raos* and *Rajas*. The present study focuses on the political participation of these women at two levels – when they decided to take political initiative on their own, and when they were used as a tool through matrimonial alliances. For this purpose, a few selective case studies have been cited.

To reconstruct the history of medieval Rajasthan (c.1500-1800), the most valuable primary sources are the traditions, genealogies and clan histories of the Rajputs.¹⁸ However, from among the non-archival sources, the apex place is occupied by the *Khyats*. The word *Khyat* has its origin from the Sanskrit term *khyati* which means reputation, fame or eminence. In Rajasthan, the expression *Khyat* is used as being synonymous with history. In fact, *Khyat* is considered to be one of the best forms of Rajasthani prose that incorporates *Baat*, *Vigat*, *Vanshavali*, *Hakikat* etc. All of these deal with history and are mainly written in

Dimgal bhasha. The term *Dimgal* defines the *Marwari* or western Rajasthani dialect.¹⁹

The *Khyat* (traditional history) as a contemporary source is very significant, as we get a lot of information in the context of the matrimonial relations established by the Rathor *Rajas* of Jodhpur with the other Rajput states and the Mughal emperors. Polygamy was prevalent at that time. We get details about the marriages, such as when a certain *Maharaja* married the daughter or sister of other *Rajas*; name of the queen before and after marriage, the dates of her birth and marriage, details of her progeny, the princes and *pattas* given to them. Apart from queens, we get valuable information about *khawasins*, *bhagtins*, *patars* etc., women of the *ranivas*. They also illuminate their political and social relations. In fact, as rightly pointed out by Neelima Vashishth, the queens of the Rajput dynasty were known only by the name of their paternal lineage even after marriage, neither by their husband's clan nor by their first name. Not addressing them by their first name was a mark of respect whereas not addressing them by their husband's clan name was a sign of their ideological freedom and autonomy. They were generally addressed as Sisodani, Bhatiyani, Chauhan ji etc.²⁰

The primary sources used for the present work include *Munhta Nainsi ri Khyat*,²¹ written by Munhta Nainsi. It occupies a place of pride among all the *Khyats* and is highly acclaimed in the academic world. He was the *diwan* (from 1658 to 1666 A.D.) of *Maharaja* Jaswant Singh of Marwar (r.1638 to 1678). Kalika Ranjan Kanungo called him as the Abul Fazl of Rajasthan.²² Not only this, Kanungo goes even a step further when in his lecture on Rajput history, he remarked that libraries and royal patronage may produce an Abul Fazl but not a Nainsi.²³ Nainsi's *Khyat* is very exhaustive and covers a span of six hundred years. It depicts the rule and rulers of Rajput clans belonging to Rajasthan, Gujarat and Central India.

The other work attributed to Munhta Naini is the *Marwar ra Pargana ri Vigat*.²⁴ Nainsi, in his *Vigat*, has provided an exhaustive survey of the seven *parganas* of Marwar. Both the *Khyat* and the *Vigat* are of immense historical value as Nainsi did not limit the scope of his study to the different ruling dynasties of the states of Rajasthan, but also deals with the Rajput society and other castes related to it as well. Nainsi had prepared these works in the middle of the 17th century A.D. His father, Jaimal and brother, Sundersi both had been in the service of the

Marwar Rajas. All this facilitated him to access, collect and verify information in an authentic manner that helped him to compile his works of immense repute.

Another *Khyat* of importance is *Rathoran ri Khyat (Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihas)*,²⁵ penned by Aidaan Khidiya Charan. He claims to have studied 21,000 *granths* and completed the work at Jodhpur. At Maharaja Man Singh's insistence Aidan wrote the *Khyat*. Joshi Sahibram made a copy of the *Rathoran ri Khyat* and also added some more information after editing the original *Khyat*. Later *Rathoran ri Khyat* became the source of many new *Khyats*. Some of these are *Rao Maldev ri Khyat*, *Rao Chandrasen ri Khyat* etc. The importance of the *Rathoran ri Khyat* lies in the fact that it commences from Siha, the earliest traceable ancestor to Maharaja Man Singh. Furthermore, it gives the information chronologically.

*Marwar ri Khyat*²⁶ written by Tilokchand Joshi is a work of immense historical value. *Maharaja* Man Singh facilitated him with important records in 1803 and he completed the work in 1814. The *Khyat* writer covered a very important time from 1749 to 1813, spanning the reigns of *Maharaja* Ram Singh, *Maharaja* Bakht Singh, *Maharaja* Bijay Singh, *Maharaja* Bhim Singh and the first ten years of *Maharaja* Man Singh. As it commences from the reign of *Rao* Jodha - the founder of Jodhpur, it covers many broad areas. There is detailed information about *Maharaja* Bijay Singh's *paswan* Gulabrai, and her ever growing influence in the state's administration.

The list of sources can be further enriched with an interesting contemporary source, the *Marwar-Maratha Aitihāsik Patrawali*²⁷ written by Krishnaji Jagannath. Mughal decline led to Maratha supremacy in the Rajput states. As a result, the Marathas had appointed their *vakils* to keep them updated about the political developments. In Marwar, the Peshwa had appointed Krishnaji Jagannath as the Maratha *vakil*. As the name suggests, *Marwar-Maratha Aitihāsik Patrawali* contains twenty-eight letters written in Marathi. The time span within which these letters were written was from 10th May 1785 to 24th October 1794. This contemporary work is invaluable, as it gives us an insight in the context of *paswan* Gulabrai wielding immense political power as well as how she had enticed the Marathas to secure the throne for her son.

Assertions of Authority: Circumstances or Political Will

There is convincing contemporary evidence to suggest that the Rajput royal women asserted their authority sometimes under compulsion

of circumstances. At other times we find them taking centerstage and displaying their political prowess. The following information shows how *Rao* Chunda's life was saved by the foresight of his mother. *Rao* Salkha's son Viramde got killed in a fight with the Johiyas. One of his sons, Gogade, avenged his father's death by killing Dalla Johiya - though he himself also lost his life. Viramde's wife Mangalyani ji decided to save her son, Chunda. As per Nainsi's *Khyat*, it was her resolution to commit *sati*. But before that she made necessary arrangements to protect Chunda and handed him over to the *dhai* (wet nurse), to be raised at the house of Aalah Charan in the village Kalau,²⁸ whereas *Rathoran ri Khyat* informs about Chunda being raised by his mother, the Mangalyani herself. She saved her son Chunda's life by going to Marwar, stayed in hiding at Alha Charan's house in the village Kalau and raised her son as a cowherd.²⁹ A few years later, Alha Charan accompanied Chunda to the *pradhan* Bhopa Ji. On being asked about who he was, Chunda replied that he was Viram's son (*hoon Viram ro Chundo chhoon*).³⁰ When Bhopa ji enquired from Chunda about his mother, he informed him that she was in the village. The *pradhan* then went to visit her, paid his respects and even presented some money as *nazrana* (*tare pardhan bhopo mangalyani ji kanai jai mujro kiyo nai rupiya nijar kiya*).³¹ The queen was quite overwhelmed at this respectful gesture. She said that he was the *pradhan* of her house and so he should help Chunda. Whether she committed *sati* or not, the fact remains that it was her decision that Chunda ji should be brought up in secrecy for the sake of his safety and that too by Alha Charan. Later, Chunda was called *Rao* when he conquered Mandovar.³² Thus, the foresightedness of his mother saved Chunda's life. It was his line of successors who laid the foundation of Jodhpur.

Polygynous households generally aggravated succession disputes.³³ Sometimes the huge age difference between the *Raja* and his young wife also turned the course of succession to the throne. *Rao* Chunda and his Mohil *Rani* is a classic example of this. His constant intervention in the Mohila land compelled them to think for a long-term solution to the problem. They married Aasrao's daughter, Sona Mohilyani to Chunda. *Rao* Chunda was quite advanced in age by this time. Later, a son, Kanha was born out of this wedlock. Rinnal was not only the eldest son but he was also very capable to be *Rao* Chunda's successor. But the Mohil *Rani* was quite ambitious in this regard and used her influence on *Rao* Chunda to secure the throne for her son. She refused to tend to her newborn baby. On being queried by the *Rao*, she made herself clear that

she would not do so till the *Rao* asked Rinmal to leave the *Rao*'s territory (*Rinmalnu vida deo to ghunti deun*).³⁴ This implied that Rinmal had to give up his claim to the throne. Accordingly, Rinmal complied and went to Sojat with *Rao Chunda*'s permission. This proves that the law of primogeniture was not always followed. The Mohilyani used her charm to advance the claim of her son to the throne.

Generally, the factors that played a pivotal role in deciding the question of succession to the throne included the law of primogeniture, wherein the eldest son ascended the throne or the stronger son staked a claim. But *Rao Ganga* owed his coronation to his mother's humility. This is the impression one carries at the outset. *Rao Suja*'s son, *Kunwar Bagha* was not keeping good health. Bagha was aware that he himself would not live to succeed his father. Therefore, he requested his father *Rao Suja* that he would die in peace if he was assured that his son would be given the *tika* (anointing ceremony).³⁵ *Rao Suja* granted his son's last wish and declared, that after his death, *Viramde* (*Kunwar Bagha*'s eldest son) would be given the *tika*.³⁶ *Viramde* was *Kunwar Bagha*'s eldest son from his wife *Rangade*. She was the daughter of *Kharband Devda* and was given the *Ranipada* (chief queen). From his Chauhan wife *Uda Bai*, *Kunwar Bagha* had a son called *Ganga*. Hence, it became a known fact that *Viramde* would succeed to the throne after his grandfather *Rao Suja*. When *Rao Suja* fell seriously ill, many *thakurs* came to meet him. Since it got late, they requested *Viramde*'s mother to arrange for their food. But she retorted with a flat denial saying that she was not their maid to get food prepared in the middle of the night. Such a haughty reply was perhaps on account of her having known in advance that the day of her son's coronation was quite near. As the queen mother of the future *Rao*, how could the *thakurs* even think of making such an unreasonable request. But this vain attitude ruined her son's prospects. Hearing the request of the *thakurs*, *Ganga*'s mother, the Chauhan *Rani Uda Bai* got the food prepared from her own Chauhan attendants. She facilitated the *thakurs* with warm water and oil to refresh themselves and then they had their meal. However, though the Chauhan queen had acted out of kindness, little did she know that her compassionate behavior would win the throne for her son, *Ganga*. The *thakurs* ate to their hearts content and conveyed the message that they were *Gangaji*'s Rajputs and hence decided to enthrone him as their *Raja*. Therefore, they conveyed that he should make haste to occupy the crown prince's apartments. *Ganga* did likewise. The *Devadi* queen, *Rangade*, made all

sorts of efforts to prevail her wish with the *thakurs* but to no avail. No threats could make them change their minds.³⁷ When the auspicious time for applying the *tika* arrived, there was no *roli* (vermilion) with which the *tika* had to be applied. Apprehensive that the delay may ruin their efforts in making *Ganga* the ruler, the *Jaitawat thakur* of *Bagdi* came forward. By making a cut in his thumb, he applied the *tika* on *Ganga*'s forehead with his blood and also invested him with his own sword.³⁸ Ever since then it became a tradition that *Bagdi thakur Jaitawat* would apply the *tika* to the *Jodhpur Rao* and tie the sword.

Thus, as per our source, it was the empathetic attitude of *Uda Bai* that reversed the fate of *Viramde* and secured the throne for her son, *Ganga*. One cannot see it as a deliberate attempt on her part to take advantage of the situation. At the outset it looks that most likely, *Uda Bai* was concerned to preserve the honor of her household. At the same time, we cannot rule out that *Ganga*'s mother did not have any motivation. She would have known the importance of the *thakurs* as this was the time when the nobles were very assertive. Though the way events turned out was unprecedented, it also reflects the strength of the *thakurs* and reinforced the popular couplet in *Marwar*, "*rinmal thapiya tike raja*",³⁹ implying that the support of the nobles determines the *Raja*. This also proved that the prolongation of a clan chief's rule depended on the nobility.⁴⁰ The above incident shows lack of foresight on the part of the *Devadi Rani*, *Rangade*. In her arrogance, she overlooked the fact that the *thakurs* were the deemed nobles and descendants of the same clan. They were the kith and kin of the *Marwar Raja*. Their demand for food was not unreasonable, especially when they had come to enquire about the health of *Maharaja Shuja* and it was quite late at night. This also goes to prove how the change in circumstances could either help or ruin one's chance of getting coronated.

Sometimes, a chance ridicule acts like an open sore for life, leading to long term political repercussions. The wound caused by the hurt pride, instead of healing, perhaps gets deeper with time. A classic example of this is *Rao Suja*'s wife and chief queen, *Rani Laxmi*. As per *Nainsi's Khyat*, when *Laxmi* was born at the house of her maternal grandfather *Harbu ji Sankhla*, the head of *Baihangti* village in *Pokharan*, it was assumed that she was born under bad *nakshatras* (group of stars/constellations). Therefore, she was abandoned at the forest. At this time her grandfather *Harbu ji* had gone to *Falaudi*. On his return journey, he

heard the cries of a baby and ordered his attendants to carry her home. When he was informed that the abandoned baby was his own grandchild, he addressed the concern of his family members. Harbu ji had good astrological knowledge. He said that the girl was born under auspicious stars, that she would prove to be a support for the family. In fact, after marriage, she would enhance the honor of both the houses, maternal as well as her inlaws. So Harbu ji named her as Laxmi. When Laxmi reached marriageable age, Harbu ji sent a coconut with the brahmin to propose her hand in marriage to Pokharan Rao Khiwa. But the Rao refused to get engaged to marry her as he had heard that the girl had very big teeth. In this way he not only ridiculed but even made fun of Laxmi's appearance. The Rao did not just stop here but further added insult to injury when he said that if Harbu ji agreed then he could marry his daughter but not Laxmi. Though deeply saddened, Harbu ji did likewise and married his own daughter with the Rao.⁴¹ Time passed by and as luck would have it, Harbu ji married Laxmi to Rao Jodha's son, Suja. Rao Jodha was succeeded to the throne by Rao Satal who had no son. As a result, Suja was enthroned and in this way as predicted by Harbu ji, Laxmi became the chief queen (*tiko Sujai ji nu diyo. Ranipado Likhmi nu diyo*).⁴² Laxmi's brother Jaisa, went and stayed with Rao Suja. Jaisa's progeny became famous as Jaisa Bhati.

Many years later, Rani Laxmi had gone to stay with her younger son Naro at Falaudi. On a certain day, Naro was sitting with his mother and having his meal. It was raining and lightning had struck. The attendant looked out of the *jharokha* (window) and uttered, "today's lightning would strike Pokharan." At this, Rani Laxmi gave a deep sigh that moved Naro. He enquired from his mother "*Maa nisaso kyun mukiyo*."⁴³ He further asked about what troubled her, as she was blessed with sons like Vaagha and Naro, she was the chief queen and her husband, Rao Suja was alive and blessed with a long life. It was then that Rani Laxmi shared her hurt pride and humiliation that she bore all those years, saying that the Pokharan Rao had ridiculed her when she was unmarried. Naro promised to avenge that insult. However, Rani Laxmi bore the insult silently for years but struck when the opportune time came. Laxmi prodded her son not to delay and that he should do it at the earliest when she said, "*beta dheel na karo, vega huvo*."⁴⁴ Ultimately Naro established his control over Pokharan. Rao Khiwa's men informed him that, "*Narai Sujawat ri aan phirai chhai... Pokaran Narai Sujawat lidhi*."⁴⁵ Rani Laxmi made her son take the retribution. If Laxmi had wished, she

could have avenged this insult by telling her husband who was in a stronger position. But most likely it was her pride that held her back. Nara, who had been assigned Falaudi by his father was contemplating to bring Pokharan under control. Thus, we cannot rule out that establishing his control over Pokharan must have been his political ambition, but avenging his mother's insult further emboldened him. We find that if Rani Laxmi had not been ridiculed, she would not have made any political intervention. Therefore, the reasons were more personal rather than political.

The valorous conduct of Maharaja Jaswant Singh's chief queen, Rani Hadi is worthy of being mentioned. She distinguished herself for her intrepidity on two decisive occasions. Hadi Jaswantde was the daughter of Bundi Rao Chhatrasal. Her maiden's name was Ramkanwar and she was bestowed with the *Ranipada* (chief queen) by Jaswant Singh in 1670.⁴⁶ *Ranipada* occasion was celebrated as a grand event.⁴⁷ On account of Shah Jahan's illness when his sons fought against each other to claim the throne, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was deputed to fight against Alamgir and Murad. Though he put up a stiff resistance, some of his men, such as Kasif Khan, joined hands with the other side. The Maharaja then decided to go back to Jodhpur. On getting this news, the Rani thought that her husband had defamed Rajput chivalry by showing his back and leaving the battlefield. So, she ordered the gates of the fort to be closed and refused to recognize him as her husband. In fact, she asked the pyre to be prepared for her to immolate. It took a long time and great efforts for the Rani's mother to convince her that the Maharaja would be going back with another army to fight with Alamgir.⁴⁸ He needed time to make preparations for the same. Only then did she relent. However, Rani Hadi is often confused with being the daughter of the Mewar Rana and her ancestors being Rana Sanga and Pratap.⁴⁹

The second occasion was when Rani Hadi held out against emperor Aurangzeb with sheer grit and boldness to defend Maharaja Jaswant Singh's *watan* right over Jodhpur. Though the *Hukumat ri Bahi* mentions her role in a rather casual manner, the *Waqai* indicates that she played the leading role till the time when Durga Das, along with the infant Ajit Singh had reached Jodhpur.⁵⁰ Maharaja Jaswant Singh was utterly bereft when his last surviving son died and he had no direct male descendent to the throne. Marwar was headed for a succession dispute among the clan's collateral branches.⁵¹ Jaswant Singh's queens,

Jaskanwar and Naruki ji gave birth to two posthumous sons, Ajit Singh and Dalthambhan respectively, at Lahore.⁵² Therefore, they ought to be the main claimants for succession to the Marwar *gaddi* (throne). Their cause was supported by the Jamrud officials who were with the *Maharaja* at the time of his death. They immediately informed Shyamal Das, the *Maharaja's* *svakil* at Delhi and instructed him to secure Jodhpur, and if that was not possible then he ought to try for the *jagirs* of Sojat and Jaitaran.⁵³ These were the traditional holdings of the *Maharaja* and their imperial recognition would have ensured the hold of the ruling sept of the clan. At Jodhpur, it was *Rani* Hadi who led the Rathors to resist the Mughal intervention. She held out against vacating the town and the fort of Jodhpur as it was the *watan* of Jaswant Singh. His descendants could not be dispossessed of their rightful claim. *Rani* Hadi wanted to delay the decision of the emperor till both the expectant *Ranis* could deliver their babies and they would be able to secure the throne for Jaswant Singh's progeny. At Jodhpur, *Rani* Hadi's claim was supported by a strong section from among the Rathors and by the *Rana* of Mewar.

However, Iftekhar Khan, the Imperial *faujdar* at Ajmer pointed out on behalf of the emperor that *mansab* and *raj* were not meant to be conferred on women and servants.⁵⁴ But Aurangzeb created a rift among the Rathors when he decided to make Indra Singh the Raja of Jodhpur. He was the grandson of Amar Singh, the disinherited older brother of Jaswant Singh. Aurangzeb also decided to partition the state by granting the two *parganas* of Sojat and Jaitaran to the two posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh.⁵⁵ The decision was strongly protested by *Rani* Hadi along with the Rathors at Jodhpur. She said that instead of giving the *tika* to Indar Singh, it would have been better if Jodhpur had been brought under *khalisa* as per the earlier imperial order.⁵⁶ The death of one of the infant sons raised the concern among the Jamrud officials regarding the safety of the other, Ajit Singh. They were now led by Durga Das. He had no recourse left except to save the infant Ajit Singh with whom he escaped towards Mewar. It is said that prior to this decision of the emperor, in her desperation, *Rani* Hadi had made an astonishing offer that the Rathors would destroy all the temples in Marwar if it could secure the *tika* in favour of Jaswant Singh's son.⁵⁷ However, the offer was not accepted. In September 1680 Alamgir granted the *jagir* of Baran to *Rani* Hadi for her maintenance.⁵⁸ However, *Rani* Hadi would always be remembered for her calm dignity and unflinching courage against the might of none other than emperor Aurangzeb. She had got a '*Raika*

Bagh' laid out outside the Jodhpur city and even laid the foundation of Hadipura after her name.⁵⁹

In the Rajput aristocracy, besides polygyny, the system of concubinage also existed. The ruling family was an extended household that incorporated women who were kept without marriage.⁶⁰ Though all of them were concubines, yet there was a visible hierarchy among them. At the top rung was the *pardayat*, below that was *paswan* and then *khawas*. It was either on account of their beauty or some special quality that attracted the Raja towards them. There was yet another category that was known as *patar*. They were at the lowest rung of the ladder. *Patar* has its origin in the Sanskrit word *part*; in Brajhasha its pronunciation becomes *patar*. *Patr* means someone who is accomplished in various arts, such as literature, dance etc.⁶¹

Sometimes, a favorite *khawas* also prevailed her will successfully. It could even have far reaching political repercussions. Anara was one such *khawas* who rose to be very dear to *Maharaja* Gaj Singh. Our sources indicate that Anara was some *Nawab's* wife (*Anara kini nawab ri bahu thee*).⁶² One day, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh saw Anara and became enamored with her. Their meetings continued in secrecy for quite some time until it became the talk of the town. At last Anara requested the *Maharaja* that either he should make arrangements to take her with him or else he should stop visiting her. The *Maharaja* kept Anara secretly in his own quarters. (*chhanai dera mai rakhi*).⁶³ The incident also came to the knowledge of the emperor Shah Jahan. The emperor, while being careful not to offend the *Maharaja's* dignity, secretly got it enquired through a *khoja* but he was not granted access to the *janana* (seraglio) (*Khojai nu maeliya...so janan mai javan dina nai*).⁶⁴ As informed by Nainsi, it was during the reign of the Rathor *Raja* Sur Singh (r. 1599-1620) in the year A.D. 1609 (V.S. 1666) that the *janana* was organized as per the Mughal emperor's *harem*. The work was supervised by the *Maharaja's* minister, Bhati Goyandas. The wives of the *sardars*, *mutasaddi*, *khas-paswan* etc. who earlier had access to the *janana*, were forbidden entry. Even a male child over five years of age was not permitted inside and the practice of appointing *khojas* and *najars* (*nazir* in Persian, they were the eunuchs) as servants, was initiated from this time.⁶⁵ Even the wives of the *sardars*, *mutasaddis*, *khas*, *paswan* were forbidden entry on marriage and other occasions.⁶⁶ During Sawai Raja Sur Singh's reign, the existing system of administration was replaced on

the lines of the imperial system.⁶⁷ This was the reason why no information could be availed regarding Anara. Finally, the emperor confronted the *Maharaja* and enquired whether he had kept Anara with himself and that he should send her to Jodhpur (*ees Anara ku des mein bhej devo, tare Jodhpur mel divi.*) The *Maharaja* was more than happy to do so. Accordingly, outside the Chandpol a *veri* was constructed and was named as *Anara ri Veri*. She was the *Maharaja*'s closest *marzivaan* (*Mharaj ri nipat marjivan thee*).⁶⁸

Once when the *Maharaja* was with Anara at her palace, his younger son, Jaswant Singh paid them a visit. Both, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh and Anara got up to receive the prince. In modesty, Jaswant Singh quickly picked up their footwears and placed them not only before his father, the *Maharaja*, but Anara as well. Anara was pleasantly surprised as she did not expect to be treated with so much respect and that too from a prince. She immediately greeted the prince as “*khama-khama*” and further said that she was just an attendant of the *Maharaja* (*Lalji sa hun to maharaj ri chakar chhoon*).⁶⁹ Hearing this, Jaswant Singh said that she was like a mother to him. Anara was overwhelmed with emotions. The prince's humbleness and regard given to her as a mother touched Anara to the core. She told the *Maharaja* that Amar Singh was the elder of the two. Whatever new lands he would gain in life would be meant only for his own consumption. He could take care of himself and requested that the throne of Jodhpur should be given to Jaswant Singh (*Jodhpur ro raj to Jaswant Singh ji nai diravo*). By this, she perhaps meant that a *Raja* should be one who is concerned about other people. In her case, she was just a *marzivan* of the *Maharaja* and yet he treated her with so much dignity. Shyamaldas has mentioned that “*Maharaj Anara se nihayat khush thai, uske kehne se Jaswant Singh ko valiahad kiya.*”⁷⁰ The *Maharaja* vowed to prevail her wish. Another reason for preferring Jaswant Singh over Amar Singh was that Anara was not on good terms with Amar Singh's mother, the Songari *Rani*, Mansukhde. Perhaps this could be the reason why Amar Singh never cared to be respectful towards Anara. Shyamaldas refers to her being a *patar* and that Amar Singh had a hatred for her as her status was low.⁷¹ Jaswant's mother, *Rani* Pratapde was a Sisodiya princess. She was bestowed with the *Ranipada* in 1622.⁷² The Sisodiya princess being granted the *Ranipada* also indicates that the *Maharaja* had greater fondness for her in comparison to the other wives. *Badshahnama* mentions that the *Maharaja* was pleased with Jaswant's mother and hence nominated him

as his successor.⁷³ Amar Singh's turbulent and ever-boiling impetuosity along with constant complaints also contributed in compelling the *Maharaja* to disinherit him.⁷⁴ Therefore, Anara's emphasis to the *Maharaja* regarding the *tika* being granted to Jaswant Singh was perhaps one of the factors that worked in his favor.

When *Maharaja* Gaj Singh was at Agra, he fell very ill. Even emperor Shah Jahan paid a visit to enquire about his health and asked him to share his thoughts. The *Maharaja* then requested the emperor to promise to give the *tika* of Jodhpur to Jaswant Singh. The emperor gave his word for the same (*Maharaj araj kari ke Jodhpur ro tiko Jaswant Singh nai den ro vachan diravo. Tare Patsah vachan diyo*).⁷⁵ In 1634, four years prior to his death, when Gaj Singh was in Kashmir with the emperor Shahjahan, he had requested the emperor to give *tika* to Jaswant Singh rather than his elder son, Amar Singh. Therefore, as per the *Maharaja*'s wish and request after his death Shah Jahan applied the *tika* on Jaswant Singh at Agra on Friday, 25th May 1638.⁷⁶ During Shah Jahan's reign, Jaswant Singh had the goodwill of the emperor and he was held in high esteem among the Rajput *Rajas* at the Mughal court.⁷⁷

Paswan Anara was with *Maharaja* Gaj Singh at Agra when his health had deteriorated. The *khyat* informs that as per prior instructions of the *Maharaja*, she was killed along with two Muslim *khawasins* before the performance of the last rites of the *Maharaja*.⁷⁸ The source is silent about the reason behind such a decision. We can only surmise that this was done perhaps to avoid any complications related to their maintenance as the *Maharaja* must have been apprehensive about their future status in his state.

Sometimes the status of the *khawas-paswans* arched over the persona of even the queens. At least this was evident in the case of *paswan* Gulabrai. In 1766 (V.S. 1823) Bhurat Anadram's *badaaran*, caught the eye of the *Maharaja* so she was brought to the fort. She was the disciple of Chaupasani's Vithhahnathji and used to sing *kirtans* (devotional songs).⁷⁹ Initially she got a place among the singers, later she was given the title of *khawas*. Then she became the *marzidaan* and in A.D. 1774 (V.S. 1831) she was given the title of *paswan*.⁸⁰ This is how she rose up in the hierarchy. Though Gulabrai was a concubine, *Maharaja* Bijay Singh lavished her with the honors that were due only to his legitimate wives.⁸¹ She gave birth to a son, Tej Singh in 1768, who was married to the daughter of Sawai Prithvi Singh's *khawas*.⁸² Unfortunately,

he died. The date however, is not specified. Marriages of the progeny of the *up-patnees* (concubine) were performed with the children of similar status women.⁸³ In 1755 A.D. (V.S. 1812) *Maharaja* Bijay Singh got Manibai, the daughter of *Maharaja* Bakht Singh and his *khawas*, (*up-patni*/concubine) married to Khetsar's Bhati Bhawani Singh Fatehsinghot. A *patta* of 10,000 was given along with Pancholi Lal's *haveli*.⁸⁴

A recent study perceived that there was a bond of friendship that developed between the *Maharaja* and the *paswan* Gulabrai. This was evident in the day-to-day spheres of interaction between the two and that they shared a whole range of emotions like grief, trust, love and loyalty. Besides this, they also shared a partnership in the context of religion and administration.⁸⁵ However, contemporary sources indicate that there was a tremendous increase in the *paswan's* influence (*pachhe paswan ro hukam vadiyo*),⁸⁶ and she emerged as a dominant personality. The year A.D. 1773 (V.S. 1830) saw an immense increase in the power of the *paswan*. She undertook a pilgrimage to the Ganga. In 1775 she laid the foundation of the *bagh* and the *bowri* was dug (*paswan vag ri neev dirayi. bawdi ro jhalaro karayo*). In 1776 another pilgrimage was undertaken by her to Dwarka. She was accompanied by *thakur* Fateh Singh, Chawan Jalim Singh, Khichi Rawat, *thakur* Akhe Singh Jaaniwal, *thakur* Jet Singh and the Baakra Chawan. They came back after a long stay of two and a half months. This indicates not only the high profile of the *paswan*, it also shows the immense authority that was wielded by her. Hence, the *paswan's* power was on the rise (*ne paswan ji ro chalan vadiyo*).⁸⁷ *Maharaja* Bijay Singh did everything as per the wishes of the *paswan* Gulabrai. In fact, Kaviraj Shyamaldas compared Bijay Singh and Gulabrai to Jahangir and Nur Jahan.⁸⁸

The year 1777 had great implications for the state of Marwar. *Maharaja* Bijay Singh and Shekhawat Queen's son Fateh Singh and the *paswan's* son, Tej Singh were of the same age. One fine day while playing they started fighting with each other. The fight between the children took a serious turn when the Shekhawat queen and the *paswan* embroiled themselves in it. The situation became grave as the *paswan* exhibited a very strong reaction. She boarded the *palki* (palanquin) and went to the *bagh*. Since that day, she continued to stay at the *bagh*. Under normal circumstances this would have been an insignificant incident. But in the context of the *paswan* Gulabrai, it had long and tremendous implications. The *Maharaja* too started staying with the

paswan at the *bagh*. The foundation of a palace was laid at the *bagh* and instructions were given to complete the work.⁸⁹ This indicates the control and influence of Gulabrai over the *Maharaja* and suggests her increasing power. It also indicates that the *Maharaja* left the palace to stay with her, thereby giving preference to her over his wives.

In the year 1789 Govardhan Khichi, who had been managing the administrative work, fell ill and Gulabrai *paswan's* influence increased further. Important appointments were made at her behest. Bhandari Bhawanidas was appointed as the *diwan*. She got *dand* (cess) collected from the *mutasaddis* (civil officers) and the *khawas paswans*. The details were worked out and all the *mutasaddis* who had to pay the dues were asked to do so. Those who were unable to pay were enlisted separately. The *Maharaja* was well aware that the *chakars* were not in a condition to pay the dues as they had no money in their homes. But he kept silent because of the *paswan's* pressure. The *Maharaja* tried to delay this as much as he could but the *paswan's* stature had grown to the extent of compelling him and sought orders to not only capture Govardhan Khichi but also to get him killed. Shri ji, the *Maharaja*, knew that it would not be good to annoy such a faithful *chakar*. Therefore, he secretly informed Govardhan Khichi, got him alert and saved him from the *paswan's* ire. But the *paswan* had made up her mind to recover the said amount. Hence, she dispatched 25 soldiers to pursue her demand. Having reached Karwar, they conveyed the *paswan's* message that the Khichi should present himself before the '*Hajoor*' (*paswan*). The expression, "*dhani bulavai hai*", is loaded with immense significance.

In A.D. 1791 (V.S. 1848), the *Maharaja* allotted Jalore in *patta* to the *paswan*. The following appointments were made: Singhvi Jorawarmal as the *hakim*, Sawairam as the *Karkun*, Chhagani Pannamal as the *potdar*. All the new office bearers were appointed as per the *paswan's* wishes.⁹⁰ *Maharaja* Bijay Singh's eldest son, Kunwar Fateh Singh and the *paswan's* son Tej Singh, both had died. The *paswan* then requested the *Maharaja* to make Sher Singh as the *Yuvraj*. She took care of Man Singh as her adopted son and kept both Sher Singh and Man Singh with her at the palace *bagh*.⁹¹ However, the Marwar *sardars* were in support of the Devadi queen's son, Bhim Singh. Since the *paswan* was ruling the roost, she had her way and prevailed her influence over the *Maharaja*. She made him declare to the *sardars* that Sher Singh would be made the *Yuvraj* (crown prince). This was not liked by the *sardars*. Singhvi Khubraj

requested that Sher Singh should not be declared as the *Yuvraj*. She offered to pay two lakh rupees to Mahadaji Shinde for his concurrence regarding Sher Singh's tika.⁹² Gulabrai got the *tika* from Patel ji (Mahadaji Shinde) through Dhan Singh.⁹³ Despite opposition, the *paswan* carried forward her will and on *kati sudi* 9, V.S. 1847 (1790 A.D.) she made Sher Singh as the *Yuvraj*. (*paswan ji ... Sher Singh ji nu jugraj padvi divi*). The *sardars* had to present *nazar* (offerings made to the prospective ruler).⁹⁴ The senior *thakurs* had to offer one elephant each and the others had to offer a horse each.⁹⁵ The Maharaja resided at the Bagh, where the *paswan* used to stay. Bhairji's influence prevailed near the *paswan* and at his request Singhvi Khubchand was killed.

There was an immense increase in the power of the *paswan* (*Jodhpur mein paswan ji ro chalan thairiyo*).⁹⁶ This gets corroborated by another contemporary source, the *Marwar-Maratha Aitihāsik Patrawali*. In a letter dated 1st February 1791, written by the Maratha *vakil* Krishnaji Jagannath at Jodhpur, he expressed his concern that the Raja's beloved wielded all administrative power due to which the state was plunging into dire straits. Due to ill will towards many of the *mutasadis*, she sent them to Mahadaji Shinde as security for paying the money due to the Marathas. She imprisoned many of them and had even ordered to kill the *vakil*. In fact, the Raja secretly sent his own men to protect the Maratha *vakil*.⁹⁷ The same letter further mentions about how the *vakil* saved his own life by feigning madness.

After the declaration of Sher Singh as the *Yuvraj*, many of the *sardars* expressed their unhappiness and alienated themselves. Seeing the disturbance in the state, the *paswan* sent both Sher Singh and Man Singh to Jalore (considering it to be secure as it was in her *patta* and she had got appointed men faithful to her). She herself stayed at the *bagh* along with the *Maharaja*. The *sardars* who had walked out in protest and had left the *Maharaja* had done so deliberately. They were in secret collusion with Bhim Singh and ultimately hatched a plot to kill the *paswan* and she was murdered.⁹⁸ Her entire wealth was taken by Sawai Singh and Jawan Singh. The extent to which Gulabrai wielded political power had no precedent in the history of Marwar. More so as even the wives of any *Raja* who were given the *Ranipada* had never got a chance to exercise their political will the way fortune favored the *paswan* Gulabrai.

Matrimonial Alliances or use of Royal Women as Political Tools

Seeking political support through marriage was generally the norm

in the period under study. In the context of royalty, it was quite common to do marriages as a part of political alliances.⁹⁹ Sometimes they were done on account of long-term strategy as initiated by Akbar especially in the context of Rajputs. The Mughal-Rajput relations were strengthened through matrimonial relations. Such affiliations were advantageous to the Rajputs as they facilitated additional claim to the imperial resources. Through the *mansabdari* system, a tributary status was built by the Mughals with the *Rajas* that provided military support and revenue. Marriage alliances was the norm among the Rajput *Rajas* also. However, they were performed for a variety of reasons ranging from political to economic, sometimes to end enmity, to enhance one's prestige or just to have cordial relations. Ziegler has emphasized that in Rajput politics, alliances were affirmed by marriage. In fifteenth and sixteenth century Rajasthan, in Rajput society marriage was a central mechanism through which alliances were built and *vair* (hostility) was settled.¹⁰⁰ The following information will help us understand how the women are mentioned in a particular context, to achieve a target through them which may be to acquire resources, to mediate, to resolve issues or to settle a dispute.

Sometimes even relations on the maternal side turned out to be very helpful. There are instances where prudence and timely intervention exhibited by women saved their principality from ruin. One such instance can be attributed to the Songari wife of *Rawat* Luna Devraj of village Setrawa. At the time when *Rao* Jodha was staying at the Kahuni village, Napa Sankhla represented him at the court of the Mewar *Rana* Kumbha. He sent a message to *Rao* Jodha that if he intended to avenge his father *Rao* Rinmal's murder, then the time was most suitable.¹⁰¹ After his father's murder, Jodha wandered for more than a decade until circumstances finally favored him.¹⁰² Harbu Sankhla, the *shakuni*, had predicted that it was an opportune time and luck was on *Rao* Jodha's side. When he would attack, whatever land as his horses could cover would belong to him. (*Jitri thod jhunbsa ne ghodo pherso jitri thaari fateh hosi, jisri daabso jitri dharti thaari hosi*).¹⁰³ On his way, *Rao* Jodha reached *Rawat* Luna Devraj's village Setrawa. Thus, *Rao* Jodha wanted *Rawat* Luna to spare two hundred horses. In Rajput history, horses have played an important role. Local sources have often related that the rise to prominence of different clans was on account of their possession of horses and their use in campaigns.¹⁰⁴ But the *Rawat* showed reluctance thinking that if he helped the *Rao*, it would annoy the Mewar *Rana*.

Rao Jodha became upset as he saw lack of warmth in the *Rawat*. But hiding his displeasure, he was very courteous and conveyed his greetings to the *Rawat's* wife, the Songari with whom *Rao* Jodha was related from his maternal side. She invited *Rao* ji, reassured him saying that their land as well as all it contained belonged to the *Rao* and that he should have some food, everything would be all right.¹⁰⁵ With this assurance, though *Rao* Jodha relented and had his meal, his anger did not subside. After taking the *Rao's* leave, *Rawat* Luna retired for the night. His wife, the Songari then locked the palace and informed *Rao* Jodha. He brought all the horses and wealth under his control.¹⁰⁶ This not only scared other people but all the other *bhomias* came to pay their respect to the *Rao*. Others on the way also came and joined him. In this way, Jodha commenced on the path of regaining the lost territories.

This also proves that *Rao* Jodha did not have the required resources at his disposal. He decided to seek help from Luna Devraj, as the *Rawat's* wife Songari was the maternal aunt of *Rao* Jodha and he was confident of acquiring the assistance that he was seeking for. It also goes to prove that acquiring good quality horses was the need of the hour. Without horses the task would have been difficult. If it had not been for the wise handling of the situation by the Songari, not only Setrawa would have been devastated but her husband, the *Rawat*, could have lost his life as well. This proves that sometimes timely and bold decisions by women of authority can avert political calamity. *Rao* Jodha was not only Songari's nephew but she was well aware of his might and the imminent danger her husband might have had to face had she not tackled the situation wisely. Hence, timely decisions taken by women of strong will averted unpleasant consequences.

Rao Jodha then reached Roon, where he was given a very warm reception by the Sankhala's. The Sankhla *Rao*, Manda Jetawat, even offered coconut, proposing his daughter Ranagde's hand in marriage. This marriage further strengthened the political support of the Sankhla to *Rao* Jodha. He managed to establish his control over Mandovar and Sojat. Later, *Rao* Jodha burnt the gates of the Mewar fort (*Rav Jodhoji jai Chittaur ra gadh ra kivaad baalia*).¹⁰⁷ Finally, an understanding was reached and the boundary between Mewar-Marwar was defined.¹⁰⁸

Acquisition of territory had all along been the primary concern of the Rajput *Rajas*. However, at times they were so obsessed with this thought that they would not even spare their own daughter's husband.

At such times the women tried to prevent their husband from committing such a sin. *Rao* Jodha had married his daughter *Raja Bai* to the Mohil Ajit, the chief of the Mohilas of Chhappar Drona.¹⁰⁹ The Mohils were prosperous and Ajit was very dynamic. *Rao* Jodha had been contemplating to acquire the Mohil territory but it was not an easy task. Therefore, he decided to kill his son-in-law (*tahra Ajitnu Jodhai ji maran ro vichar kiyo*)¹¹⁰ treacherously when he came to visit them at Mandor. Ajit's fault was that he was in possession of the territory that was coveted by Jodha.¹¹¹ But *Rao* Jodha's queen, *Rani* Bhatiyani and the mother-in-law of Ajit got the wind that the *Rao* was planning to kill their son-in-law (*su Rav Jodhaiji ri rani Bhatiyani, Ajitri sasui, tin nu khabar hui, Ajit nu Rav maarsi*).¹¹² She immediately alerted Ajit's *khawas* and *pradhan* that the *Rao* had a vicious plan; if they stayed any further, then they would regret it. To take Ajit safely out of Mandor, his officials played the ruse with him that Bachhraj Sangawat needed their help. Just when they had moved out of Mandor, *Rao* Jodha realized that someone had alerted Ajit about his treachery and he thought that after the conspiracy had been leaked it became even more pertinent to kill him, though Ajit had no inkling about all this. When Ajit saw *Rao* Jodha chasing him, he was very surprised. Then the officials shared everything as to how they were alerted by the *Rani*. It was she who ensured that they save the life of her son-in-law. Instead of taking flight and saving himself, Ajit decided to stay and fight. In the battle that was fought at Gadona, Ajit died fighting along with forty-five men. *Raja Bai* committed *sati* and *Rao* Jodha came back to Mandor. Though Ajit died fighting bravely, *Rani* Bhatiyani made every possible effort, though discreetly to save her son-in-law. Jodha established Marwar's control over Merta, Phalaudi, Bhadrarjun, Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana, parts of Nagaur as well as Godawar.¹¹³ In 1459 A.D. the foundation of the fort of Jodhpur was laid by *Rao* Jodha and he shifted the capital from Mandor to Jodhpur.¹¹⁴ In this way, Jodha not only recovered the lands that were under the control of his father and grandfather but also gained new territories like Chhappar Drona of the Mohilas.

The rulers of Marwar married their daughters to Muslims for the sake of political alliances. *Rao* Maldeo married Kanhawati to *Badshah* Mahmud of Gujarat and Ratnavati *Bai* to Haji Khan.¹¹⁵ *Mota Raja* Udai Singh married one of his daughters to the Khan of Nagaur and another to Salim¹¹⁶ (future emperor Jahangir). It is generally believed that the commencement of Marwar-Mughal matrimonial relations started from

the time of *Mota Raja* Udai Singh. But the Rajasthani sources mention that Maldeo had sent the *dola* of his *patar*'s (concubine's) daughter.¹¹⁷ The *Rathora ri Khyat* mentions that Maldeo had a daughter Rukhmawati Bai, from his *patar*, Tipu. He married her to emperor Akbar (*Rukhmawati Bai patsah Akbar nu parnai*).¹¹⁸ But this seems to be highly unlikely as a *patar* was considered to be at the lowest level in the hierarchy of concubines. Though their children were accepted socially but when it came to marriage they were married off into families of same status.¹¹⁹ Therefore, it sounds more of a hyperbolic expression that Maldeo either sent a *dola* or married his daughter from a concubine to emperor Akbar, especially when they did not have harmonious relations. On the other hand, *Mota Raja* Udai Singh and his successors, Sur Singh as well as Gaj Singh had cordial relations with the Mughal emperors. Jaswant Singh also benefitted from his relations with the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan but the same was not true with Aurangzeb. In fact, they got so strained and vitiated as to initiate the Rathor rebellion. The explanation behind the large number of Rathor marriages with the Mughals was on account of the inter-Rajput rivalries at the Mughal court and the challenge posed by the recalcitrant *thikanedars*. Hence, they had to renew their marital alliances with the Mughals.¹²⁰ In A.D. 1587 (V.S. 1644) *Mota Raja* Udai Singh married his daughter Mani Bai to *shahzada* Salim.¹²¹ Khurram (Shah Jahan) was born from this wedlock.¹²² There was yet another significant marriage between the two households. *Maharaja* Suraj Singh and his wife *Rani* Saubhagde had a daughter, *Bai* Manbhavati. She was married to emperor Jahangir's son, Parvez in A.D. 1623 (V.S. 1680).¹²³

S.R. Sharma's assertion that Shahjahan did not have a Rajput wife is not correct as the Rajasthani sources provide information in this regard.¹²⁴ One of the sons of *Mota Raja* Uday Singh was Sakat Singh. In A.D. 1599 (V.S. 1655) emperor Akbar gave him a *mansab* of 3000, the title of *Rao* along with the *patta* of Sojat, Phulia and Kekadi. After a year, Sojat was replaced by Jaitaran.¹²⁵ He had married his daughter Lilawati with the emperor Shah Jahan. The time of this marriage has not been specified by our sources. At the time of emperor Jahangir's death, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh (r. 1619-1637) along with Hindu Nawab and others was in the Deccan at Burhanpur. On hearing about the emperor's demise and that Shah Jahan was the new emperor, the *Maharaja* after informing *khan-i-jahan* came back to Marwar. While serving the emperor Jahangir, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh had to fight with Khurram (now emperor Shahjahan) on multiple occasions. This was an uncomfortable situation for both the

sides. In order to end this estrangement, the emperor Shah Jahan sent *Rao* Sakat Singh's daughter Lilawati *Bai* from Juner to Jodhpur (*Rav Sakat Singh ri beti Lilawati Bai Juner Saahjahan kane huti, tin Bai Lilawati nun Paatsah Saahjahn Shri ji ri dolasan karan meli*).¹²⁶ Therefore, Lilawati *Bai* was *Maharaja* Gaj Singh's paternal uncle Sakat Singh's daughter. The emperor gave her a *siro-pao* and two rings (*sirpav ek binti do*) for *Maharaja* Gaj Singh. As she travelled to Jodhpur at the emperor's behest, arrangements were made for her comfortable stay there. *Maharaja* Gaj Singh also exhibited great regard for Lilawati *Bai*, as she was his cousin. He welcomed her by making separate arrangements for her stay. She met the *Maharaja* and gave him the *siro-pau* and the gifts sent by the emperor. She then requested him to get over the past antagonistic feelings and to reconcile with the emperor Shah Jahan.¹²⁷ Lilawati praised the *Maharaja* and reminded him about his glorious services to the Mughal throne and how he had always worked hard to enhance its prestige. In this way she succeeded in convincing the *Maharaja*. At his insistence, Lilawati stayed at Jodhpur for eight days and then returned. *Maharaja* Gaj Singh, without further delay travelled to Agra along with his prominent nobles to meet the emperor. The emperor was very pleased to meet *Maharaja* Gaj Singh and honoured him by giving a horse, an elephant, *siro-pau* along with *Raja* Vasu's *haveli* for accommodation. Shah Jahan used to call him his brother as he was the son of his maternal uncle, Sur Singh.¹²⁸

The above incident shows that Lilawati's efforts averted an unpleasant situation and brought about reproachment between the two sides. She emerges as a very prominent and respectful Rajput princess. This event on the one hand shows emperor Shah Jahan's sagacity in his choice of Lilawati *Bai*. It was very well thought out and shows the importance of political alliances through marriages. Shahjahan was confident that she would handle the delicate situation with dexterity. Hence, we can say that the daughters of the Marwar household acted as mediators to resolve strained relations. At the same time, it gets proven once again that just like Lilawati *Bai*, even Manbhawati *Bai*, was used as a tool for political gains.

The contribution of Manbhawati *Bai*, the paternal aunt of *Maharaja* Jaswant Singh assumes great significance in resolving a long-standing territorial issue in the context of Pokharan. *Rao* Shuja's son Naro was the first to establish his control over it. He laid the foundation

of Satalmer after Satal, his paternal uncle. Naro had been adopted by Satal. When Naro died, Rao Shuja gave the *tika* to Naro's son Govind. In order to maintain peace in the area, Govind divided the area of Pokharan. He kept thirty villages with himself and gave the other thirty to Rao Lunka Khinwavat, the earlier chief of Pokharan.¹²⁹ However, it was Rao Maldeo who established his complete sway over Pokharan and even established a *thana* there in A.D. 1550 (V.S. 1657). Pokharan continued to be under Maldeo's control as long as he was alive.¹³⁰ In A.D. 1581 (V.S. 1638) the Mughal emperor Akbar granted the state of Jodhpur to Maldeo's son, Udai Singh (*Mota Raja*) and gave Satalmer in *jagir* (Pokharan was mentioned as Satalmer in the emperor's official records). However, no control could be established over it. After the Raja's demise, the *tika* was given to his son, Suraj Singh and Pokharan was given as *jagir*. Once again, no authority could be established. It was Jaswant Singh who decided to tackle the problem when he was given the *tika* of Jodhpur by emperor Shah Jahan. This time also Pokharan was allotted in *jagir*. He conveyed the concern through his paternal aunt Manbhavati Bai, the daughter of Maharaja Suraj Singh who had been married to *shahzada* Parvez.¹³¹ Maharaja Jaswant Singh had been ignoring the control of the Jaisalmer *Rawal* over Pokharan, because it's chief, Manohardas Kalyanot had been related through marriage. Now that he was no more, Jaswant Singh decided to assert himself. He met Manbhavati Bai at Jahanabad and made her understand that though Pokharan had been allotted to him in *jagir*, his authority was not prevailing there. If the emperor would permit, he could establish his control over there, though forcefully. Manbhavati Bai raised the matter with the emperor Shah Jahan. At this, the emperor said that if he gave him the whole of Jaisalmer, then who would prevent Maharaja Jaswant Singh from establishing control over Pokharan. Manbhavati Bai then conveyed this to Jaswant Singh but he was only interested in Pokharan and not Jaisalmer as it belonged to the Bhatias. Once again Manbhavati Bai became the bearer of the message to the emperor and strongly put up the claim of her clan. This time the emperor issued the *farman* on *Vaishakh Sudi 3*, V.S. 1706 (A.D. 1649) granting Pokharan to Jaswant Singh and sent it to the Bhatias of Jaisalmer who refused to comply.¹³² At Jaswant Singh's behest, the emperor gave the *tika* to Bhati Sabal Singh Dayaldasot for Jaisalmer.¹³³ In this way, Jaswant Singh established his control over Pokharan. The role of Manbhavati Bai emerges as very significant in this context. She supported her clan, more so because it

was not an unreasonable demand, rather it was a just cause. Although her presence is seldom projected, she facilitated the resolution of a longstanding problem. It becomes even more noteworthy as the issue was related to establishing control over land which was always so dear to the Rajputs. Jaswant Singh could have directly conveyed this to the emperor but he thought it more prudent to maneuver through his paternal aunt who was also the emperor's sister-in-law. This also shows that the Mughal-Rajput matrimonial relations were mutually beneficial to both.

To bring cordiality in the strained relations between the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar and Ajit Singh, the Saiyyad brothers arranged a marriage alliance. Maharaja Ajit Singh married his daughter with emperor Farrukhsiyar. In September A.D. 1715 (V.S. 1772) the *dola* of Indrakanwar Bai was sent to Delhi. Bhandari Khinvisi had accompanied her along with some women attendants. The emperor emphasized that the marriage should take place as per the Hindu customs.¹³⁴ At the same time, the princess had been converted to Islam. Due to certain political developments, when the emperor decided to hatch a plot to kill the Maharaja, it was Indra Kunwari, the princess, who alerted her father. But when she became a widow, the Sayyid brothers, Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan, allowed her to not only renounce Islam but even return to her father at Jodhpur.¹³⁵ This was unprecedented as this was perhaps for the first time when a Rajput princess had left the imperial *harem* and returned home.¹³⁶ She died after sometime at Jodhpur. The Jodhpur *tawarikh* mentions that she died after consuming poison. The reason however, remained unknown.¹³⁷ In the perspective of these matrimonial relations, the *khyat* sheds new light on many historical developments. Such marriages were a result of the prevailing situations, though it was a distinct loss of caste to the queens.¹³⁸ It is said that when the *Rathoran ri Khyat* writer asked Maharaja Man Singh that would it be suitable to mention such marriages in the *khyat*, the Maharaja replied that it should be definitely mentioned so that it becomes known to everyone as to how their ancestors, in order to save their land and people, did not hesitate to hand over their sisters and daughters to the Mughals.

In Jaipur, the *mutasadis* suggested to Sawai Madho Singh that the daughter of his elder deceased brother Ishwari Singh had been engaged to Ram Singh, and that this would be helpful to unite and get the support of all the *sardars* for Ram Singh. Marriage with the Kachhwaha house

could entice the Bikaner *Maharaja* Gaj Singh, and in this way, he could be weaned away from Bijay Singh. When the latter would come to Jaipur, he could be captured and would not be released till he gave assurance to give up his claim on Jodhpur. In this way Ram Singh would feel obliged that Madho Singh's efforts facilitated his control over Jodhpur.¹³⁹ In the meanwhile, when Jayappa was killed and the Marathas did not lift their siege, *Maharaja* Bijay Singh left the Nagaur fort in the safety of his *sardars* and himself went to Bikaner. From here both the *Maharajas*, Bijay Singh and Gaj Singh went to Jaipur to seek the support of *Sawai* Madho Singh but the latter was on the side of Ram Singh.¹⁴⁰ Madho Singh wanted to imprison Bijay Singh treacherously but Bijay Singh did not fall into the trap as when *Maharaja* Bijay Singh went to pay a visit to *Sawai* Madho Singh, he was cautioned by Aijan Kanwar, daughter of the reigning Kishangarh *Raja*. *Raja* Kishan Singh was one of the seventeen sons of *Mota Raja* Udai of Jodhpur. In A.D. 1609 (V.S. 1666) he had laid the foundation of Kishangarh and after being given *jagir* by the Mughal emperor Jahangir, he established it as a separate state.¹⁴¹ However, our sources only indicate that Aijan Kanwar had alerted *Maharaja* Bijay Singh but there are no details about whom was she married to. The fact that she had access to such an important information makes it amply clear that she must have been married to a person of influence, someone belonging to the inner circle of the Kachhwaha *Raja* *Sawai* Madho Singh. Due to the close family relationship with the house of Marwar, Aijan Kanwar alerted *Maharaja* Bijay Singh and even addressed him as '*Babaji*' (the term is used for father's elder brother) and said that he should not trust the Kachhwahas as they had some vicious plan. She further said that he should not have come at all. May Goddess Hinglaj protect you. (*Jaran Bai* Kaiyo Babaji... the aithai aaya chho to kachhwawan ro bharoso mat karjo. *In ro mato khoto disai chhai*).¹⁴²

Having been alerted timely, both the *Maharajas* then left Jaipur and went to village Rini. It was here that they got the information that the *Dikhnis* had lifted the siege after agreeing to take twenty lakh rupees. It was only then that *Maharaja* Bijay Singh went back to Jodhpur while *Maharaja* Gaj Singh went to Jaipur. This time to marry *Sawai* Jai Singh's daughter in A.D. 1756 (V.S. 1812).¹⁴³ Therefore, Aijan Kanwar's act of alerting *Maharaja* Bijay Singh saved him from falling into the trap of the Jaipur *Raja*. But she could not have openly executed this, yet her timely intervention was of great significance.

Conclusion

On the basis of the evidence used for the lecture, an effort has been made to look at the political participation of royal women in Marwar at two levels - when they asserted themselves by taking initiative politically and when they were used as a political tool through matrimonial alliances. In the medieval period, when women are generally understood as being subjugated in a patriarchal society, we can retrieve and reconstruct the history of some royal women associated with the royal household in Marwar. In this context, a comparison with the royal and other women of the Mughal household has also been taken into consideration. From the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar can be discerned the strict segregation of the physical spaces as private (*harem*) and public (court). A similar pattern was imitated by the Rathor *Raja* Sur Singh in Marwar. He got the *janani dyodhi* (seraglio) reorganized along Mughal lines. It was a vast space that was inhabited by women who were zealously guarded by *najar/nazir* and *khwajasara* (eunuchs). In fact, some recent works have established that the Rathor *janani dyodhi* was even better organized than the Mughal *harem*. The Marwar royal women were more sensitive and aware about works of public welfare. Since this was a private space where interaction with the outside world was very limited, therefore, we find that there was not much scope for political intervention. Our sources indicate that before the reorganization of the *janani dyodhi*, the *thakurs* had access to the inner quarters. Once when they visited Rao Shuja on account of his ill health, they communicated to the prospective *Raja* Viramdev's mother the Dewadi *Rani* about arrangement regarding food to be made available. Though direct communication of this sort may not have been possible once the segregation of the *janana* was implemented. The women were secluded and we find their rare visibility in public spaces, yet there was scope to influence the politics in one way or the other. This was probably possible with help of the *nazir* and *khoja* as well as the royal women's personal attendants.

In the context of the Mughals, we get to know about the influence and authority of the most senior imperial women who were referred to with titles that were illustrious. Gulbadan *Begum*, Akbar's paternal aunt addressed as the "chamber of chastity", organized the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1578, Hamida Banu *Begum*, the emperor's mother was given the exalted title of "Maryam Makani." "Veil of chastity" and "pillar of purity" were other references given to her. There are frequent references

to their prominent status and public appearances. During Akbar's reign, his mother the "Queen Empress," held the most honored position. In fact, she had to head the province of Delhi when Akbar marched to Kabul to quell a rebellion in 1570. Akbar's senior wife, Salimeh Sultan Begum "the cupola of chastity", was asked by the emperor to personally convey to Salim having been granted forgiveness and to bring him back to the court. We generally see the women associated with the Mughal harems taking positions of public authority besides playing advisory roles and mediating amidst dissenting kinsmen. Senior women like Khanzadeh Begum and princesses like Jahanara even collaborated in the promotion of kings.

It is visible how the position held by women and their proximity to the emperor had an impact on the politics of the day. Akbar's principal wet-nurse, Jiji Anageh (Anageh primarily means a wet-nurse) and Maham Anageh (the head-nurse) were held in high esteem by the emperor. Maham Anageh was even given the title of "cupola of chastity" by Akbar. She had a great influence on the politics of the court. However, no one could match the power and sagacity that Nur Jahan had. She had the exalted status of being the "Empress of Mughal India." It was her close proximity to the emperor Jahangir and her own wisdom along with capability that she stands out as a prominent and powerful woman managing the administrative affairs with dexterity. Mention may also be made of Lal Kunwar, made queen by the Mughal emperor Jahandar Shah. Though called a "dancing girl," she was not a concubine. She belonged to a class of people called *kalawant*, or professional musicians. Due to Lal Kunwar's position as the queen and a constant companion of the emperor, people tried to seek imperial favor. She had a childish fondness for festivities and was no match to Nur Jahan.

If we compare the women of the Marwar royal household with the women associated with the Mughal harem, most of the time we do not find their direct involvement in the politics of the day. Neither were they addressed with exalted titles like the prominent and senior women of the Mughal harem. There are few occasions when we see their participation. As polygyny was practiced, a king had several wives. One of them was given the *Ranipada* but she may or may not be the first wedded wife of the king. Senior wife was addressed as *badi bahu* along with her clan's name like *badibahu* Bhatiyani etc., other wives were addressed simply as *bahu* along with her clan's name. The law of

primogeniture was often ignored and the son of a *Raja's* favorite *Rani* was given preference to ascend the throne. This was a peculiarity, especially with the state of Marwar. History of the state is replete with several such examples. *Rao* Chunda asked his eldest son, Rinmal to let Kanha, his younger brother ascend the throne. Similarly, instead of the eldest son Ram Singh, the younger son Chandrasen was declared as successor by *Rao* Maldeo. Later, *Maharaja* Gaj Singh ensured that the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan gave the *tika* to the younger son Jaswant Singh instead of the elder son Amar Singh.

Our sources reveal that the participation level of the royal women in the political world may not be very pronounced but they are not entirely missing from the political scenario. Their initiative may be small but it was very crucial and helpful at the same time. Sometimes, we find that their participation was not active, rather, they acted in a very discreet and subtle manner. We understand that their role was most pronounced as mothers. In this capacity they always tried to safeguard the prospects of their son so that they could be enthroned. This was because they were raised in an atmosphere where their motherhood came first. Besides mothers, the royal women - as daughter, maternal and paternal aunts, niece and mother-in-law, also played a very significant role in protecting their own state, clan, sons, father, nephew, and son-in-law. In marriage alliances done for political purposes, the women, who are otherwise not very visible are used as a political tool to augment resources and to settle pending issues as well as to integrate uncordial relations. Due to their assertions, most of the times they were able to resolve either a long pending territorial issue or they mediated to harmonize strained relations. Sometimes they even tried covertly to save the life of their daughter's husband by foiling a murderous plot. The help extended had to be secret as facing the husband's ire could be unfortunate. At times, their intervention came into play to avenge a personal insult. But mostly we find that they interceded to safeguard and protect their son and clan.

The other set of women were the concubines. There existed a hierarchy among them depending on their closeness with the *Raja*. They enjoyed the privileges of the *Rajas* household and generally were well taken care of. However, two times they managed to change the course of succession to the throne. One of them, *paswan* Gulabrai wielded unprecedented political power when she literally ran the administration, levied taxes, punished officials and even plotted to get some of them

killed. Thrice she went on pilgrimages to various Hindu places of worship. This was just like the *hajj* organized by Gulbadan Banu Begum. However, she was the paternal aunt of the emperor Akbar. Gulabrai wielded political power like Nur Jahan, though there was a marked difference in their relation to the ruler. Nur Jahan was the legally wedded wife and the “Empress” while Gulabrai was a concubine and yet both wielded immense political powers. Her stature grew to the extent where she negotiated with the Marathas. Ultimately, her unwieldy power and arrogance brought about her downfall when she was murdered. This can be cited as an exceptional case.

The canvas of emotions is quite wide among the royal women in Marwar. When the situation demanded, we can see them taking quick, bold and firm decisions. They could think with fortitude, grit, compassion and modesty. Furthermore, they are often understood to promote the interest of both their natal family, as well as the one into which they were married. There are occasions, though few, where we find the women’s intervention in the political world of the Marwar *Rajas*, sometimes direct while at other times indirect. This study has been undertaken with the help of some selective instances, only those where we see some political impact as a result of their efforts. This is on account of having limited evidence. There may be more such information but that requires to be further explored. Therefore, it is a small step towards seeking unexplored information for which more evidence is required.

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Tracing History Through Threads: Unearthing Beads from Kalibangan

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Introduction - Kalibangan, situated near the Ghaggar River in Hanumangarh District, Rajasthan (29°29' N; 74°08' E), derives its name from the abundance of weather-stained or black terracotta bangles scattered across its surface. Located about 310 km northwest of Delhi, on the left bank of the Ghaggar River (ancient Sarasvati), Kalibangan is reachable by rail from Pilibangan, covering approximately 6 km on the Hanumangarh-Suratgarh section of the Northern Railway. The ancient site, characterized by two prominent mounds, dominates the landscape, revealing remnants of the Indus Civilization. The present-day village, located about half a km southeast, is mostly inhabited by displaced persons who migrated following the partition of the subcontinent in 1947. Remarkably, some families trace their origins back to Harappa, continuing a tradition spanning millennia. Kalibangan stands as a significant archaeological site, offering valuable insights into the Harappan Civilization, also known as the Indus or Indus-Sarasvati Civilization.

Previous Undertakings - The earliest mention of Kalibangan as an ancient site date back to James Tod's records, where it is referred to as 'Kalibung'. However, Tod provides limited details about its historical or archaeological significance. Subsequently, during 1916-19, L. P. Tessitori, an Italian scholar, conducted exploration in the Bikaner State as part of a bardic and historical survey. Tessitori visited Kalibangan twice, in April 1917 and December 1918, documenting his findings. Tessitori's accounts reveal that in 1900, during the construction of the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway, Warren, an engineer, extensively excavated the two mounds at Kalibangan for rail-track ballast. This predatory digging

unearthed significant quantities of baked bricks, terracotta cakes, and other artifacts, which were subsequently repurposed for the railway construction. Tessitori himself conducted trial excavations and surface collections at the site, uncovering structures such as a brick platform and a well lined with trapezoidal bricks. Despite the absence of specific dating, Tessitori's meticulous documentation of brick sizes, terracotta cake shapes, and artifact types provides valuable insight. His findings include terracotta bangles, perforated jars, bull figurines, steatite beads, shell bangles, and fragments of copper objects—distinctive features associated with the Indus Civilization. Tessitori's work contributes significantly to our understanding of Kalibangan's archaeological significance, particularly in its association with the broader context of the Indus Civilization. Systematic exploration carried out by A. Ghosh in the dried-up river valleys of northern Bikaner, including areas previously surveyed by Aurel Stein, revealed the presence of more than twenty-five mounds exhibiting Harappa Culture. Under the leadership of B.B. Lal, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) initiated the first excavation of Kalibangan from 1960-61 to 1969-70. Joining Lal were esteemed team members including B.K. Thapar, M.D. Khare, K.M. Shrivastava, and S.P. Jain. Together, they undertook extensive archaeological investigations, unearthing the rich historical layers of Kalibangan and shedding light on its significance in ancient Indian history. Following B.B. Lal's tenure, Excavation Branch-I took charge of the Kalibangan site during the 2019-20 field season. They conducted excavations and conservation efforts, uncovering a diverse range of antiquities. Kalibangan's significance became apparent due to its large size, comprising two independent mounds parallel to each other, with a valley between them. The primary mound, identified as KLB-1, measured approximately 457.2 m x 245.4 m, while the secondary mound, KLB-2, covered an area of about 45.2 sq. m. Despite their similar age, some distinctions between the mounds were noted later on.

Antiquity - Kalibangan, much like other Harappan sites, has unearthed a remarkable assortment of artifacts. Among the treasures discovered during excavation and exploration are terracotta items, including fragments of toy carts, animal and human figurines, various beads, gaming pieces, sling balls, and bangle remnants. Steatite beads and seals, stone objects like sling balls, shell fragments like bangles, faience beads, copper artifacts such as beads, bangle fragments, pendants,

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spearheads, and wire, as well as chert blade fragments, constitute the majority of the findings. Steatite beads, chert blade fragments, and terracotta bangle pieces represent significant portions of the collection. Additionally, a selection of semi-precious stone beads, including carnelian, etched carnelian, jasper, lapis lazuli, and agate, further enriches the repository. The collection comprises approximately 300 objects, with steatite beads featuring typical Harappan varieties such as disc beads and micro beadsexhibit distinct Harappan characteristics.

Beads - The recent excavation conducted in Kalibangan has yielded a substantial collection of over 170 beads, each contributing to the rich tapestry of archaeological findings from the site. These beads, meticulously classified based on their material composition, provide invaluable insights into the ancient civilizations and cultural practices that once thrived in the region. The diverse array of materials represented among these beads reflects the sophisticated craftsmanship and trade networks that characterized the society of Kalibangan.

Sizes - The collection comprises beads crafted from various materials, each exhibiting unique dimensions and characteristics. Agate beads vary in size from 7.1mm to 18.15mm in length and 5.05mm to 18.15mm in width. Carnelian beads range from 2.6mm to 11.7mm in diameter and 1mm to 5.35mm in thickness. Copper beads measure approximately 9.1mm to 9.95mm in diameter and 3mm to 9.8mm in width. Etched carnelian beads exhibit lengths from 6.2mm to 9.6mm and widths from 3.55mm to 7.35mm. Faience beads vary in diameter from 5.6mm to 13.45mm and thickness from 2mm to 6mm. Jasper beads range from 4.15mm to 14.85mm in diameter and 1mm to 5.35mm in thickness. Lapis lazuli beads measure approximately 3mm to 5mm in diameter and 2.3mm to 3mm in thickness. Shell beads exhibit diameters from 4.4mm to 6.5mm and thickness from 1.3mm to 5.1mm. Sodalite beads range from 6.75mm to 7.3mm in diameter and 5.6mm in thickness. Steatite beads show varying diameters from 1.7mm to 26.6mm and thickness from 0.5mm to 3.55mm. Terracotta beads vary in diameter from 5.25mm to 39.4mm and thickness from 3.8mm to 15.2mm. The assortment of beads offers a diverse range of sizes suitable for various creative attempts.

Materials - The collection comprises a diverse array of beads crafted from various materials. These materials include Carnelian, Steatite, TC (Terracotta), Copper, Faience, Shell, Jasper, Agate, Etched Carnelian,

Sodalite, and Lapis Lazuli (see Fig.1). Each of these materials carries its own historical significance, offering clues about the artistic preferences, technological capabilities, and economic activities of the ancient inhabitants of Kalibangan. These beads not only serve as tangible artifacts of the past but also as windows into the social, economic, and religious practices of ancient Kalibangan. Through meticulous analysis and interpretation, archaeologists can unravel the stories encapsulated within each bead, shedding light on the intricate networks of exchange, the symbolic significance of adornment, and the technological innovations of bygone eras. As we continue to explore and excavate the archaeological treasures of Kalibangan, these beads stand as enduring testaments to the ingenuity and creativity of past civilizations, inspiring wonder and fascination for generations to come.

Shapes - The shapes of the beads vary widely, reflecting the skill and creativity of the artisans. Shapes include barrels (elongated, long, standard, and short), bicones (long, short, and truncated), discs (flat, micro, and standard), cylindrical (long and short), tubular (long, short, and micro), oval, rectangular, roughly circular, roughly squarish barrel, pendant (rectangular and sword-shaped), and spherical. Additionally, some beads feature unique shapes such as conical, elongated flat barrel, elongated short barrel, flat elongated barrel, flat rectangular, flat round, long truncated cylindrical, oval-shaped, and short barrel-shaped. This assortment of shapes adds depth and variety to the collection, making it suitable for a wide range of creative endeavors.

Perforations - The collection comprises beads made from various materials, each exhibiting distinct perforation characteristics. Agate beads feature horizontal or longitudinal perforations, while carnelian beads display longitudinal perforations predominantly. Copper beads generally exhibit longitudinal perforations, except for the copper pendant, which features a perforation on one end for threading and a narrower plain end. Etched carnelian beads and jasper beads also showcase longitudinal perforations. Faience beads vary, with some having large perforations, others featuring longitudinal or vertical perforations, and some exhibiting big horizontal perforations. Lapis lazuli beads typically lack perforations, while shell beads vary in size and may have longitudinal or large perforations. Steatite beads come in various sizes with perforations ranging from small to big, horizontal or longitudinal, and even some with small or big horizontal perforations. TC beads predominantly have longitudinal

perforations, although some may feature multiple perforations or other variations. TC spacer beads commonly have four perforations. Overall, the assortment offers a diverse range of perforation types suitable for different design and threading preferences.

Area wise distribution: -

The distribution of beads across various excavation areas, such as N1, N2, N2(XD3), N3, N4, N4(XE3), N6, N7, S2, S2(XD4), S3, XC3, XF6, XF7, XG7, YL4, YL5, YM5, YM6, underscores the extensive scope of the archaeological investigation and the widespread cultural influence of Kalibangan. Furthermore, the inclusion of materials collected from exploration activities around the village and the Kalibangan site expands the geographical and chronological context of the findings, enriching our understanding of the broader cultural landscape in which these beads were produced and utilized. This description organizes the bead collection data by the specific areas of the Kalibangan: where they were found, providing a clear and structured overview of the quantities collected from each location. The bead collection data reveals the distribution of beads collected from various areas of the Kalibangan, with a total of 65 beads collected from surface collections and an additional 15 beads from exploration activities (see Fig.2).

Exploration: Fifteen beads were collected from exploration activities conducted around the village and Kalibangan site. These beads likely represent surface finds from areas adjacent to the main excavation sites, providing supplementary evidence of human activity in the surrounding landscape.

Northern End: Nineteen beads were collected from the northern end of the Kalibangan site. This area may have been a focal point of ancient settlement or activity, as evidenced by the presence of a significant number of beads.

Southern End: Eleven beads were collected from the southern end of the Kalibangan site. While fewer in quantity compared to the northern end, these beads still contribute to our understanding of the spatial distribution of artifacts within the site.

Site Surface: Twenty beads were collected directly from the surface of the Kalibangan site itself. These surface finds may provide valuable clues about the types of activities that took place at the site and the materials used by its inhabitants.

Overall, the bead collection data highlights the importance of systematic surface surveys and exploration activities in archaeological research, as they contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of site distribution patterns and human behaviour across different areas of the Kalibangan site.

Here's a chart showing the quantity of beads found in various materials and various areas:

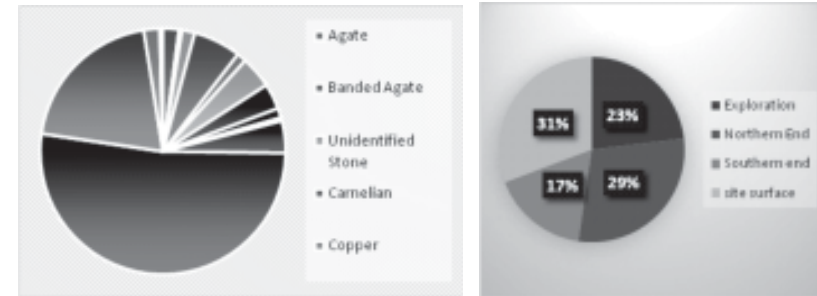


Fig.1 Percentage distribution of materials

Fig.2 Area wise distribution

Discussion - During the 2019-20 field season, three trenches were excavated, revealing seven partially excavated layers. Among the findings were three mud brick structures and two kilns, all of which were covered by humus. Interestingly, pits were discovered near the kilns, suggesting a connection between the two. Among the antiquities uncovered were terracotta bangles, beads, sling balls, steatite beads, and chert blades, with only a small quantity of pot sherds collected. This indicates that the excavated area likely belonged to common individuals, specifically used for activities such as pottery or bead firing. Despite being a small-scale excavation, this season yielded crucial evidence, notably the kilns, which were previously only speculated to exist. The excavation also revealed Mature Harappan features and provided insights into activities outside the fortified area. This discovery supports previous assumptions about the presence of kilns at Kalibangan and suggests potential for further discoveries in future excavations. The percentages provided offer a breakdown of the materials found among the beads from the recent Kalibangan excavation, providing insights into ancient craftsmanship and cultural practices. Steatite dominates the findings at 33.79%, suggesting its widespread use due to its smooth texture and ease of carving. Terracotta follows at 18.60%, indicating its significance

in local craftsmanship and cultural traditions. Carnelian (5.47%) and faience (3.12%) likely represent imported materials, prized for their vibrant colors and versatility in bead production. Other materials like agate, bloodstone, copper, jasper, lapis lazuli, sandstone, and shell, though in smaller quantities, highlight the diverse resources utilized by ancient artisans. The presence of unidentified stone beads underscores classification challenges in archaeology, requiring further analysis for precise identification. Overall, these findings reflect the complex cultural landscape of Kalibangan, shedding light on resource utilization, technological innovation, and ancient trade networks.

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The Painted Grey Ware Culture in Hanumangarh District (Rajasthan)

Dr. Vikas Pawar*

First time, Painted Grey Ware (PGW hereafter) was found at Ahichchhatra¹ (Bareilly, U.P.) and its full significance was realized only after B.B. Lal's excavations at Hastinapura² (Meerut, U.P.). It is universally accepted that PGW people is associated with Vedic period (traditional history) and marked by the commencement of the use of iron tool implements or iron technology. After the decline of the great Harappan civilization created a political vacuum which was taken advantage of by the new ethnic group/s nomads or pastoral nomads to create separate small class/caste societies in these regions not large cities like those of Harappan civilization. On the other hand, after the decline of the Harappan civilization, the nearby area witnessed the earliest uninterrupted phase of this culture found from Bhagwanpura³, Madina⁴, Dadhedi⁵, Nagar⁶ and Kathpalon⁷.

The PGW culture had an area of expansion covering a vast area such as on the western side, the culture expanded up to the erstwhile Bahawalpur state (Pakistan) on the dried bank of river Hakra (River Ghaggar is known as Hakra in Pakistan), towards the east a regular expansion may be seen up to Kaushambi near Allahabad. On the northern side, a few sites located in Kumaon-Garhwal (Uttarakhand); a few sherds of Plain Grey Ware were found by Joshi from Manda in Jammu. In the south it has been found as far as Kaytha and Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh⁸.

The PGW culture flourished in a particular eco-region which is known to us from the known archaeological sites of this culture. Hence, for a proper understanding of the pattern of life of the authors of the PGW culture, we have to look in detail at the prevailing land, soil,

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environment and climate conditions during the life of the culture. This is the reason why we find archaeological remains of this culture in the dry beds of these Saraswati-Drishadwati (modern Ghaggar and Chautang) rivers and in the valley of Sutlej and Ganga-Yamuna. The study area falls in the dried bed of Saraswati-Drishadwati river valley. The area under study has been described by Pithawala⁹ in the following words, *“A special feature of it is that there is a large number of dry river beds and ancient channels, now waterless and abandoned, but flanked by continuous ridges of sand hills, even protected by growth of scrub in the midst of riverine belts.”* This shows that there was plenty of water in these rivers in the past. But the picture today is altogether a changed one.

The clay of this ware in the region is not of superior quality like Ganga-Yamuna region and is not completely free from particles. It gives evidence of unskilled baking under uncontrolled fire. So, this does not give a good metallic sound. The ware, including dishes and bowls are mainly found thick and sturdy except a few sherds. Though the designs are so simple likewise, only line/s, strokes, wavy line, dots, dashes. Criss-cross, loops, spiral, arch and circle are few in the explorations material (see in Plate-I&II). Some plain or unpainted sherds of grey ware also found during the explorations, are not fine. They are also thicker in section and inferior in treatment (see in Fig.1) . Paintings are usually done in black.

The total number of PGW sites in the study region is 8 (see in Map-1) and all these are located in the middle and in alluvium soil of the river Saraswati (Ghaggar). These settlements show that the Saraswati river might be dried or un-flooded during this period because all sites are located in the middle of the river bed. The total floor area occupied during the PGW period is 28 hec. The average size of the PGW settlements in the study region as a whole is 4 hec.

Interestingly, during the PGW period the total population was 1440 persons which inhabited 8 sites, all in the alluvium plain. The density of the population during this period was 0.14 people per square kilometre. Only one site has a variety of big villages (5-9 hec.) and average spacing of this period in the study region was 39.18 kilometre¹⁰.

Settlement Data for the Painted Grey Ware Culture

(Estimates of settled area)

Total Sites known	08
Sites with known size estimate	01
Sites with unknown sizes	07
Settled area of sites with known size	04 hec
Estimated settled area of sites with unknown size	28 hec
Estimated total settled area	32 hec
Average site size	04 hec

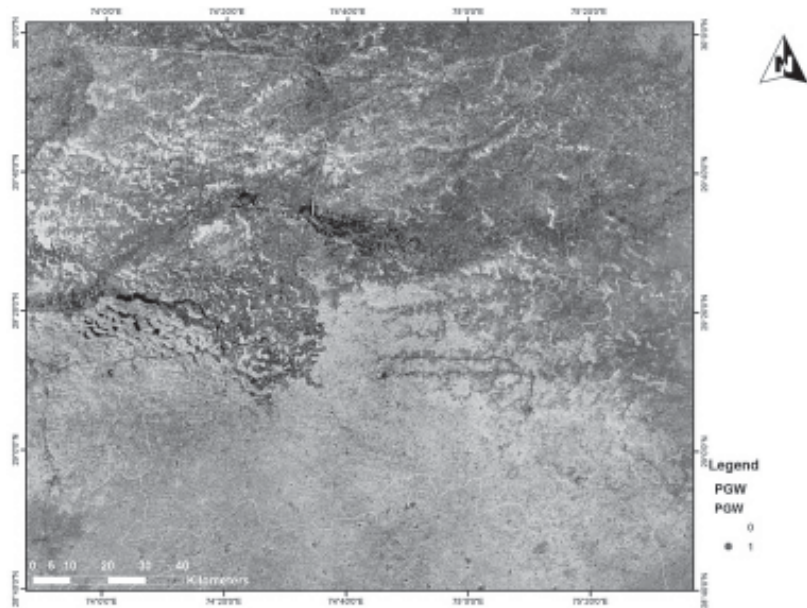
Discussion

Very scanty data is available about the material culture of PGW people in the study region. After Harappan what happened in the region. Only future excavations and explorations may bridge up this gap. Without any excavated site of PGW in the region, it is difficult to understand various aspects of this cultural period and its chronology. In the early fifties, Rajasthan has only 2 sites of this culture period viz. Noh and Jodhapura¹¹, but these sites are very far from the study area. In the adjoining area (Ganganagar District) excavation at Chak 86¹² excavator gives some light of its cultural period and chronology. Excavator divided its pottery in eight major groups viz. red ware, red slipped ware, black on red ware, black and red ware, grey ware, Painted Grey ware, black ware and decorated ware. At Chak-86 excavators claimed that PGW yielding sites of this part of Rajasthan do not occur over the previous Harappan culture mounds, but are located at a little distance from them and demonstrate. But nearby areas where uninterrupted evidence of Harappan period and PGW were found together namely Bhagwanpura, Madina (both in Haryana), Dadhedi, Nagar and Kathpalon (all in Punjab). But these excavations do not give a very realistic or broad idea about this gap. All the PGW sites in the study region, which flourished after the 1st urbanization, are not now in the condition of excavations because of uplift of the soil of the sites for agriculture purposes and due to modern habitation. Nowadays, it is very difficult to prove any aspect of PGW culture in the region.

Earlier data of this particular culture of the region of Rajasthan established the date of this culture around 1100 BC and generally accepted that PGW culture moved west to east is also a waxing problem. The

dates of PGW culture from the region of Rajasthan at Noh¹³ 820±225 and Chak-86 viz., 650±130 BC and 215±185 BC¹⁴ only gives us a broad idea about this particular hot topic but not a conclusive aspect of the region.

Lastly, a few PGW sites need to be horizontally excavations in order to know in better understanding of their habitation pattern and other aspects of the life of these people.



Map.1 : PGW sites in the study region

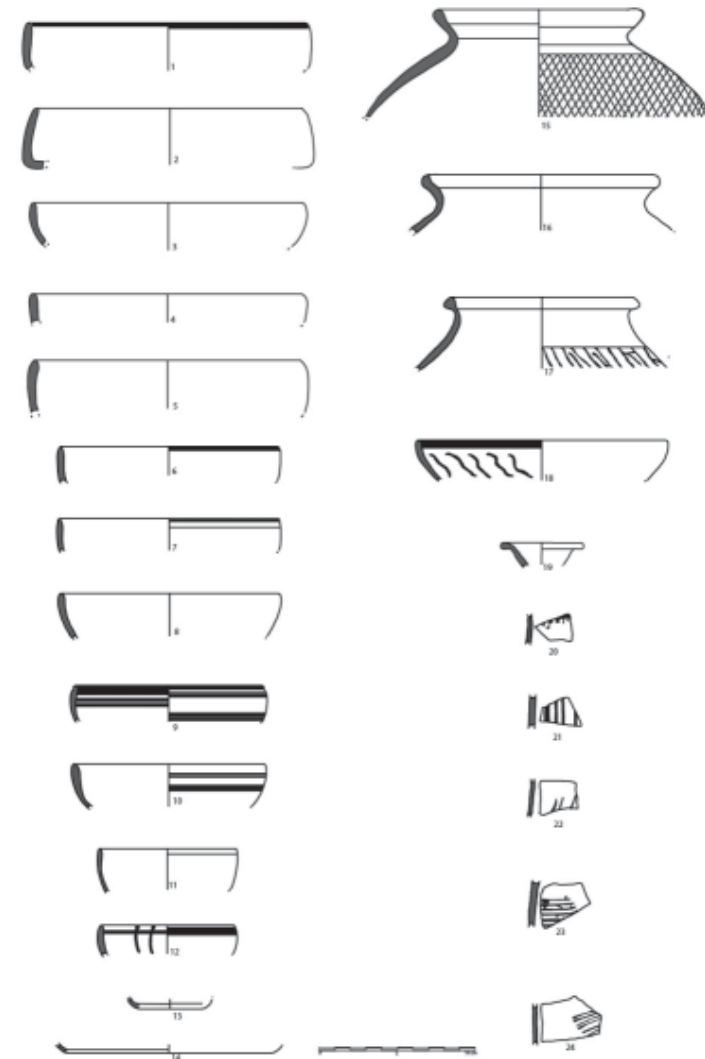
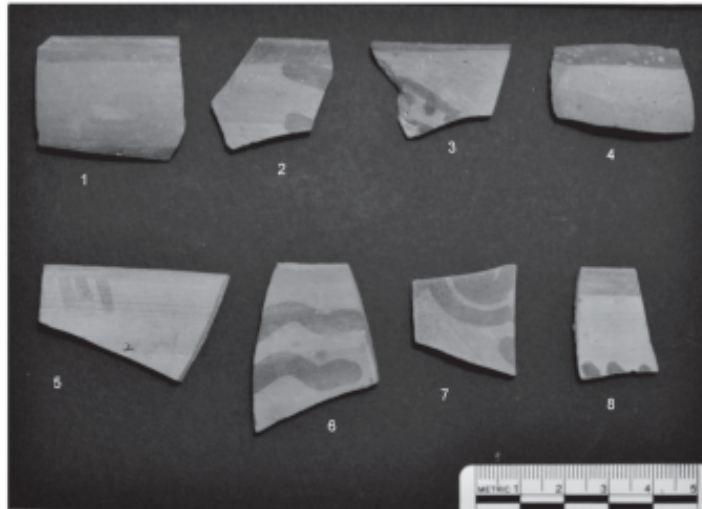
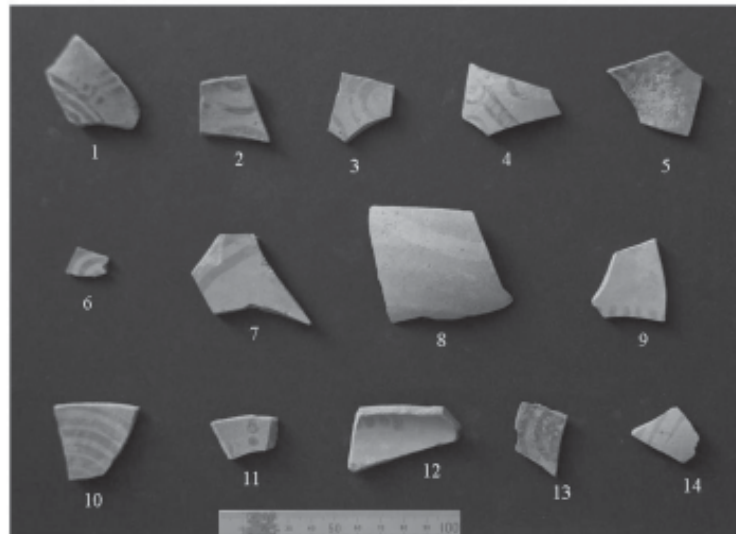


Fig. 1: PGW & Associated Red Ware Pottery.



PGW Sherds from Study Region (Plate-I)



PGW Sherds from Study Region(Plate-II)

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Jagat Shiromani Temple- A Historical, Social and Cultural Analysis

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The Rajasthan is a 'land of Kings' or Rajputana. The people of Rajasthan devoted themselves to the gods. It can be observed that temple of Jagat Shiromani is located in the Amer, a place of Jaipur which is situated in capital of Rajasthan i.e., Jaipur.¹ It is considered as one the popular temple of Rajasthan. It is a temple which is devoted to the Lord Krishna. It is a temple which is considered as famous and a sacred place in Amer, Jaipur. The queen of ruler Man Singh 1 who was married to queen *Kankawati* and it is temple which was built in the memory of her son Jagat Singh.

The temple is dedicated to the Lord Vishnu. The temple has an idol of Lord Krishna along with Meera Bai. It is believed that idol of Lord Krishna housing this temple is same idol that Meera Bai use to worship in the state of Mewar 600 years ago. The idol was saved from being destroyed during the Mughal invasion on the Mewar by the rulers of Amer and it was brought to the Amer.

The temple is purely dedicated to Lord Krishna where people come to worship. Both men and women used to worship over here. One the day of *Janmashtami* large number of people visit this temple who belongs from the different corners of the world. It was observed that, the This statue was saved from rulers of Amer during the Mughal war with Mewar state who wanted to destroy the idol but it was brought safely to Amer and a statue was set in a temple. Even the statue of Meera Bai has been installed with Lord Krishna by witnessing her devotion. The temple is devoted to Hindu gods Lord Krishna and Lord

Vishnu. 'Jagat Shiromani', meaning 'Head Jewel of Lord Vishnu', is an epochal facet of the ancient history of Rajasthan. The temple houses the idols of Lord Krishna, Lord Vishnu and Meera Bai. If we were to go by archaic religious texts, the idols within the temple are actually the ones that Meera Bai, the Hindu mystic poet and devotee of Krishna, worshipped in the State of Mewar. The Temple's architecture is quite interesting – it is a riveting amalgamation of various architectural styles including Jain, Hindu, Mughal and South Indian. Carved out of white marble and black stone, the walls and ceilings of the temple are covered in exquisite bas relief carvings of elephants, horses, *Puranas* and other legends. The most prodigious feature of the temple is the marble Torans (pylon) or ornamental arches at the entrance, carved out of a single piece of marble. The entrance of *Jagat Shiromani* temple is engraved with the animals as Elephant on its *toran* or gateway. The temple is having a spacious platform which is located in the centre called *mandapa* and having *shikar* in the south direction and *gaurda-puran* statue in the north direction of the temple.²

The gateways or *torans* which are made on its entrance describes the Hindu culture as it can be observed that *torans* are having huge entrance. The mandapa houses images of Vishnu and Radha in white stone and black statue of Girdhar-Gopal. These images were brought to Jaipur by Raja Man Singh from Chittor, and were the same statues worshipped by *Mira Bai*. The south Indian style of temple architecture has been used. The temple can be considered as universally renowned temple and hence Jagat Singh Mani i.e. Head Jewel of the idol of Lord Vishnu. The sanctum or *garbhagriha* of the temple is made up white and black marble. The temple's domes are constructed in a magnificent way that as it depicts the uniqueness of the craftsmanship. The temple stands in such a way that it describes the religion, culture and tradition of the society in Rajasthan. It is made up with the blend of the Mughals and the Rajput style of architecture. The temple is considered to be an important part of local history within Amer Town. The temple contains a statue of Krishna which has significance to the Hindu faith. According to religious doctrines the statue is the same statue that Meera Bai worshipped in the State of Mewar. The entrance of this temple is designed in a beautiful manner which had a white marble called as *Sangamarmar*. According to the tourism department of Rajasthan there is no entry fee for the visitors where the devotees can do their worship from 6am to 8

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pm every day. Maximum tourist come to worship over here from the different corners of India.³



According to *Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, the temple was dedicated to the Radha & Krishna which was built by the princes *Kanakvati* who was mentioned as wife of Raja Mansingh 1st. The temple was built in the memory of his son named as Jagat Singh. It consists of a sanctum, *mandaps*. Temple *Sri Jagat Shiromani* stands on a high raised platform. The *garbhgraha* is situated at three storey which was crowned by the *shikhar* which means the top point. The *mandapa* of temple was built on the two storeys with a lateral concept on their either

side. Another important place i.e., *garuda-mandpa* which is built in the front side of temple and intricately carved. The *torans* or gateways of temple were flanked with the elephants on both the sides. It was mentioned that construction of temple was started in 1599 A.D. and which was completed in 1608. AD.⁴



Meera Bai was the wife of a Mewar king; since she devoted her life towards Lord Krishna and her husband, the Mewar king, the temple became popular as a Meera bai temple. It is also said that the temple was built by the 1st wife of King Man Singh, Queen *Kanakwati* in the respect of her son Jagat Singh. The name Jagat Shiromani Temple was given to the temple. The Jagat Shiromani Temple is also known for its architecture as few structures of the temple like the elephants at the entrance were made with single marble stone. These stones were carved into various designs to decorate the temple; therefore, it is a kind temple in Rajasthan. The idols of the gods were also carved from a single stone. Pilgrims and devotees visit the Jagat Shiromani Temple to pay homage to Lord Krishna and to connect with the spiritual legacy of Meera Bai.⁵

The architecture and surroundings of the temple contribute to a serene and devotional atmosphere, making it a sacred site for both locals and visitors. The temple stands with a majestic and devotion of people towards the lord Krishna. In relation to the temple architecture, it was observed that, the temple architecture has a blend of the Hindus and Mughal style. The *garbhagriha* of the temple includes the sculptures of

Lord Krishna with holding flute in the hands. The temple includes the *chariots* on its entrance which resembles it with the Rajput's architecture. The craftsmanship on the walls and the pillars portrays the different scenes related to the Hindu mythology. In the premises of the temple there is a small pond which can be called as *kund* which holds the spiritual significance of the temple. The devotees who come to worship over here they believed that, if an individual takes a dip into the pond the holy water purifies his or her soul completely by the help of blessings. The *Jagat Shiromani* temple situated presently in the Amer which holds the repository of spirituality, art & architecture etc. The temple belongs to the Vaishnav cult of the Hindus and it is being universally worshipped. One of the interesting features of the temple is that *torans* or the gateway are made up with the marble and the ornamental arches on its entrance. It gives the prosperous look to the temple.⁶



In relation to the historical perspective, the Jagat Shiromani Temple, during the battle of Haldighati it was Maharaja Mansingh who himself brought the sculpture of Lord Krishna from Haldighati to Jaipur in 1575 A.D. It was observed that this sculpture of Lord Krishna was being worshipped by *Meera Bai* in her fort which was situated in merta city near to nagor. The Man Singh as a ruler had decorated the sculpture of

Lord Krishna in his temple. This temple is also known by another named i.e., temple of *Meera*. At that time it was observed that it was nearly 11 crore spent on the construction of this temple. The temple has sculpture of lord Krishna and Meera. The overall temple shows the blend of Hindu, Mughals and Jain style of architecture. Lord *Narayan* vehicle i.e., *garud* its sculpture which is giant in size located inside the temple. After the independence both sculptures of lord Krishna and *Meera* both were taken and carried to the city palace in Jaipur where both sculptures being worshipped on the day of *Shravanmaas*. Both the sculptures reside over here and being worshipped by the devotees in a large number even today.⁷

To conclude, it can be observed from the above-mentioned information about the magnificent temple which is known by *Jagat Shiromani Temple, Amer*. As a researcher I had visited the Jagat Shiromani Temple which had helped me to enrich my knowledge and gathered lots of information related to the temple. It was designed in magnificent way. It had blend of the Hindu, Muslim and Mughal style of architecture.



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Ghantiyālā Inscriptions æ Reassessing some aspects of the History of Pratihāras

Virendra Singh Rathore*

Introduction

There is no doubt that Pratihāras left an indelible mark on Indian history. Their oldest known branch is from Mandore, Rajasthan; with three administrative hubs - Mātā, Osiyān, and Mandore. Ghantiyālā, aka Rohinsakūpa, was the kingdom's commerce hub 35 km NW of Mandore's district headquarters. The Mandore Pratihāras' inscriptions shed light on many long-term trends of early-medieval Rajasthan including population dispersal, Agriculture & Trade based urbanization.

History of Pratihāras has previously been elucidated by stalwarts like Dr. Dasharath Sharma, Shanta Rani Sharma in their works including *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, and *Pratihāras of Rajasthan*. These sources cover two key inscriptions belonging to Mandore Pratihāras: one of Bāuka, from Jodhpur (836 CE), other of Kakkuka, from Ghantiyālā (861 CE). Mandore Pratihāras fostered a variety of enterprises, most notably - constructing trade centers, temples, water preservation, and establishing law & order by eradicating the Abhira marauders. Their traditions fittingly include the kings taking sanyāsa upon appropriate āyu-bhoga. Bauka-Kakkuka inscriptions contain the genealogy of this family up to mid 9th century CE. Paucity of other evidence had earlier compelled historians toward broad estimates of 25-50 years per generation. Thus the Mandore Pratihāras' progenitor Harishchandra was arguably dated toward the end of 6th century CE.

More than fifteen inscriptions on slabs and pillars among the rocks

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at the Ghantiyālā village further our understanding in this aspect. Of these, presented here are ten un-circulated inscriptions. Three of them relate to Śīluka Pratihāra of the royal family, known already from the Bāuka-Kākkuka inscriptions.


I'm grateful to members of the Save Our Heritage Foundation for insightful feedback on reading of the text. I visited the site in last September 2023. I also thank Dr. Jagdish Parshad (Dept. of History, Central Univ. of Himachal Pradesh) for selflessly toiling to curate the paper per the relevant academic conventions.



Reading tips

- () - Recommendation for identifying illegible engraving. When for an identification two
- / - Segregates multiple distinct options for an identification.
- _ - Represents a completely unreadable character.

Inferring words via differing groupings of the same set of characters leads to varying interpretations. So to prevent infusing personal bias into otherwise unbiased data, the individual characters spaced evenly when the word construction wasn't immediately obvious.

Table 1: Inscription images and their reading

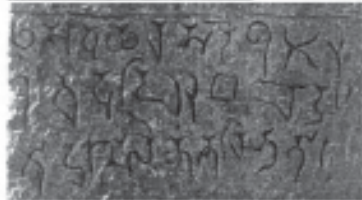
<p>Inscription : 1</p> <p>1. (अथवा) शिक 6. यमुष्वादिनि</p> <p>2. यद्वयत्तकत्त (मुष्प?)</p> <p>3. शिकन (शिक) य 7. श्रीशिलुका</p> <p>4. शेषु श(श्रीश्री)(म) 8. शय्या-</p> <p>5. शय्यपद उम _ 9. यं शिक</p> <p>10. शय्य सु प</p>		
<p>Summary:</p> <p>Line 1 – Aum, let there be well being.</p> <p>Lines 2-3 : ...by a lot (adhikena)...</p> <p>Lines 3-4 : In/among Hundreds (shik?)</p> <p>Line 5 : Bhādrapada month</p> <p>Line 6 : ...Satisfaction...</p> <p>Line 7-8 : Sri Śīluka obtained</p> <p>Lines 9-10: Fourth lunar day, waxing fortnight of Bhādrapada (Vikram) 747 (Sat Aug 16, 690 CE).</p>		

<p>Inscription : 2</p> <p>1. सत्यमेकं शिव</p> <p>2. ताम्रत(द्वे) शिपु</p> <p>3. (हि:) सोहेयुण</p> <p>4. _ श्रीशिलु</p> <p>5. केन(ष्णा:)सा</p> <p>6. प_ घ _ या</p> <p>7. हि(से) जन्मवित्तं</p> <p>Summary</p> <p>Starts with a slogan 'Truth is one'.</p> <p>L2: ... 'whoever/whichever enemy'</p> <p>...</p> <p>L4-5: By/From Śīluka</p> <p>L7: in interest of ...</p>	
<p>Inscription : 3</p> <p>1. ॐ संव ७७७</p> <p>2. शय्य सु प श्री</p> <p>3. श्रीशुका पत्नी</p> <p>4. संपुल्लदेवी</p> <p>5. _ _ _</p> <p>Translation</p> <p>L1 : Aum, year 747</p> <p>L2 : fourth lunar day, waxing lunar fortnight of Bhādrapada (Sat Aug 16, 690 CE).</p> <p>L2-3 : wife of Shri Śīluka</p> <p>L4 : SampullaDevī</p>	

Inscription : 4

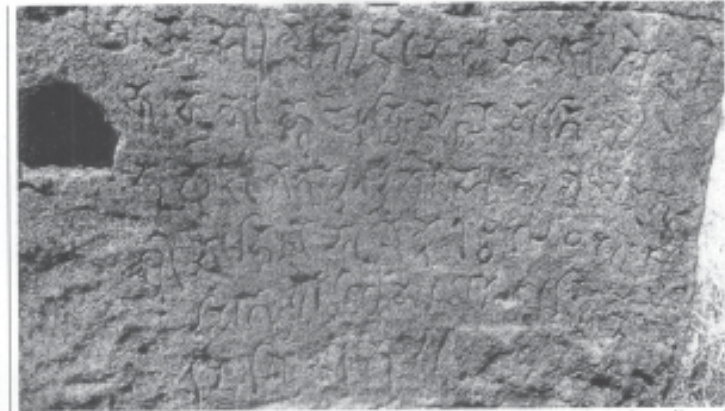
1. ॐ (म) व ल संवते ७४२
2. ष ष व टि १२०६ क जु (टिदि)
3. (त्वं) द्वा (रा) नेनं त रि तु ता

Summary: Dated samvat 742 (685 CE), it is the oldest record in cluster and requires further reading attempts. No calendar is named 'Mavaṅga' (line 1), 'Mālava' is a known synonym of Vikram era. Data is insufficient to conclude this as an inscribing mistake. Second line seems to have number 1206 whose significance is unknown. The 'Taritu' (cross-over) in last line, and lamp-hole at top confirm a memorial.



Inscription : 5

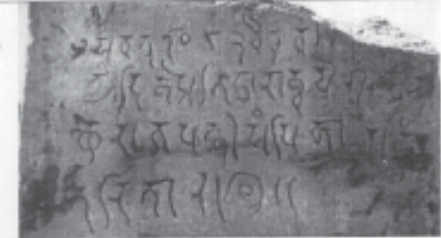
1. ॐ असीत्पतीहार (त) स जीअ दी
2. ककुका(शु/कु)ल्वै (धु/धि)मलमति
3. हछ जतसु शुतो सत्य वत
4. श्री चाहिन संवतु १:(०) १०
5. सित य गुमापा हि
6. दिति सत



Summary: Line-1 has 'Pratibhāra'; 2 to 4 contain – 'Kakuka', 'Dhumalamati', and 'Chāhila'. The year is (Vikram) 1090, though only after considering an apparent visarga as zero.

Inscription : 6

1. ॐ संवत् १०८३ चैत्र वदि (र)
- (र)
2. व दिने प्रतिहारान्वये श्री शुभ
3. पछराज पत्नी संपिका शोका
4. तरिताः॥ॐ॥



Translation:

L-1. Om, Sunday, waning fortnight of *Chaitra* (Vikram) 1083 (April, 1026 CE)

L-2. Pratihara-boen Shri SubhachchaRāja's wife Sampikā

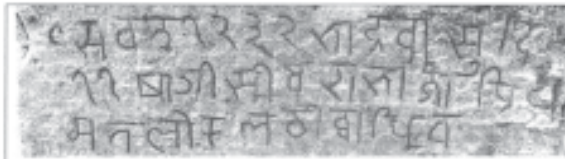
L3. passed away. Om

The slab's top is broken and thus it has no reliefs.

Inscription : 7

1. ॐ संवत १२३२ भाद्रवा शुदि
2. ११ भा मी शी (ध/घ) रा भा (जी)
- धिय
3. म (त) लो (क) न ठी धापि (त)





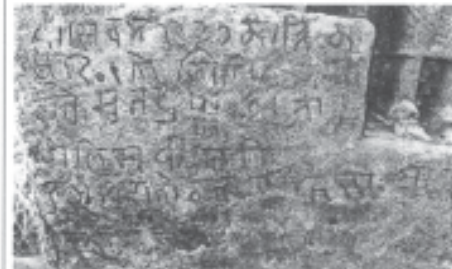
Summary: Dated eleventh lunar day, waxing fortnight of *Bhādrapada* month, (Vikram) 1232 (Friday August 29, 1175). End in "hāpita" suggests a construction/installation. Relief indicates shiva worship by a couple.

Inscription : 8

1. (ॐ)॥ सवत् १२३२ कार्तिक
2. सु (दिदे) ०१ गो मि (मि) ---
3. (केके) सुत उधेःलक
4. निमको ि द

5. त स े त तमा

6. ---
Summary : Dated first lunar day, waxing fortnight of *Kārtika* month, (Vikram) 1277 (Tuesday September 29, 1220). Interpretation has been elusive and the relief includes a couple worshipping lord Shiva.



Inscription : 9

1. संवत् १२७५ आशीज वदि १३ (रे) रत्नपाल मति कन्हर्णै आ मा कक्क
2. (अ) र(ह/ल्पा)पाल सरविगती

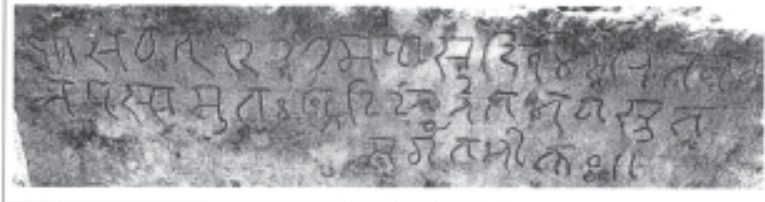


Summary: Dated thirteenth lunar day, waning fortnight of *Āśvina*, (Vikram) 1275 (Friday October 19, 1218). There is a vague indication of another number (3) between 7 and 5 in the year but it stands inconclusive. Second line's 'Saragigato' tells of the (male) hero named 'Ratnapāla' departing to heaven. Female reliefs alongside the mounted hero obviate a memorial wherein the wives committed Satī, as was the contemporary Rajput norm in those centuries.

Inscription : 10

1. ॐ॥ संवत् १२२७ मघ सुदि १५(सु)रतनम
2. ल प (स्स) सुतः ि (स) तल टा सुत
3. समंतमीलः॥

Summary: Dated fourteenth lunar day, waxing fortnight of *Māgha*, (Vikram) 1227 (Saturday January 31, 1181). It has brief genealogy of a deceased male. Across lines 1-2 is 'son of Suratana Mala', with 'स्स' being a distortion of genitive case 'sya' i.e. 'of'.



To corroborate my reading of these inscriptions, I have mapped their material to similar identifications from other known & published inscriptions from the same era as of the presented records.¹ Table-2 below documents this mapping.

Interpretation and further observations

The inscriptions 1 to 3 relate to Śiluka Pratihāra of Mandore branch. He was named in the 9th century inscriptions mentioned above. Before proceeding further, I must state that Dr. Bhandarkar had made a succinct reference² to what might be the inscription 3, although the details vary. The year he gives is V.S. 947, against the presently read 747. The wife's name was read by him as Sampalladevī, against the presently read Sampulladevī. Instead of Śiluka, the husband's name is given as Rāuka.

The language and script of Śiluka's inscriptions are Sanskrit-Nagari.

These records prove that Śīluka was alive and married in 690 CE. Based on the record 3 and partial reading of record 1, one may be tempted to conclude that the subject is demise of Śīluka after which his wife had committed Satī. But a detailed perusal of data suggests that such a swift inference is unwarranted:

1. A female figurine is depicted in inscription 3, sitting in prayer position. Inscription refers to Sampulla Devī, wife of Śīluka. Record commemorates Sampulla Devī's demise. However, it doesn't mention about her becoming a Satī, nor uses prevalent equivalents like Anugamana, Sahagamana, Upagata, etc. The record doesn't indicate loss of much material after its last word 'Sampulla Devī'.
2. Inscription 3 pre-dates the Arab invasions of early 8th century CE. Up to the 8th-9th century, incidents of Satī were still rare.³ Hence it can't be assumed that the partially legible inscription 1 is about the demise of Śīluka Pratihāra leading to Sampulla Devī's supposed Satī in record 3.
3. Mandore Pratihāras' genealogy places three rulers between Śīluka and Bāuka. Latter's exploits mentioned in the 836 CE inscription and his reign being squeezed between father & stepbrother indicate that he was throned around 825 CE. The confirmation comes in his father Kakka going on an arduous campaign against Gaudas in the far East (Mudgagiri battle) around 812 CE. Meaning that Kakka wasn't in the last leg of his reign/age then, and so departed in the 820s. These conclusions drive us to the issue that if Śīluka's death was assumed in 690 CE, we're left with only three rulers to cover a gap of at least 135 years (690-825) which isn't feasible.
4. When a male chief passes away and his consort follows in Satī Anugamana, the Indian epigraphs reflect so about the couple in the same inscription, rather than in two separate records, as is the case here. Other records from Ghantiyālā, such as record 9, also follow the same pattern for Satī cases - demise of both (husband-wife) is recorded within a single inscription. Another instance mentioning of only the wife's demise (thus not a Satī case) is from record 6 above. It tells of Sampikā, the spouse of Subhachcha Rājā Pratihāra.

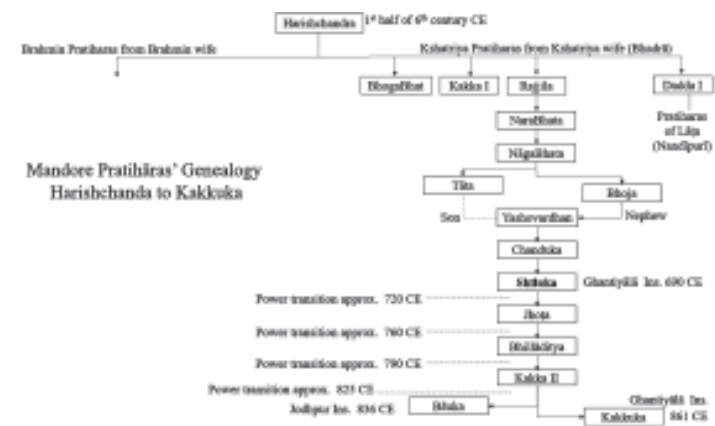
No record indicates that the husband, Subhachcha Rājā, had also passed away.

Inscription 3 establishes Sampulladevī's demise. The likely purpose of Inscriptions 1-2 is recording Śīluka's ritual activity, donation, etc. pertaining to his wife's death. The instrumental singular case 'by/from Śīluka' in lines 4-5, and locative singular 'in interest of' at the inscription 2 suggest that some action was being performed by (an alive) Śīluka. As record 1 and 2 share the pillar & subject, they were likely engraved on the same date.

The following genealogy chart (Fig. 1) of Mandore Pratihāras flows in father-son mode, except Tata to Bhoja and Bāuka to Kakkuka where the reign switches among brothers/cousins. This distinction is relevant in traversing backward in genealogy to date this line's progenitor.

It is uncertain if Śīluka was throned by 690 CE. But since only three rulers exist between Śīluka and Bāuka (825 CE) i.e. Jhota, Bhillāditya, and Kakka Pratihāra; Śīluka must be young at his wife's demise in 690 CE. Only then would his reign extend well into the 8th century (till approx. 725 CE), leaving a reasonable gap of 100 years for the remaining three rulers before Bāuka.

Fig. 1: Genealogy of Mandore Pratiharas from Harishchandra to Kakkuka



This is feasible given that a longer age and reign are indicated for:

a) Śiluka's son Jhota who took sam?dhi in the end. b) Kakka Pratihāra. The plentiful exploits of Kakka's sons Bāuka and Kakkuka show that their reign wasn't too short, and that these step-brothers ruled the same lands sequentially (without overlap). Thus both were born to Kakka with a considerable gap, i.e. Kakka had a long life, and a long reign.





















Tracing back seven reigns from a married Śiluka Pratihāra in 690 CE, we find this lineage's progenitor (Harishchandra Pratihāra) in the first part of the 6th century CE, not in the often asserted end of 6th century CE. The records of Nandipuri (Lādeśa) based Pratih?ras support this when their king Prashānta Rāga aka Dadda II mentions his grandfather as āDaddā in the Khe?? plate of 629 CE.⁴ Since the name āDaddā appears in no other contemporary genealogies, this occurrence points to none other than Dadda I, the son of Harishchandra Pratihāra. Even by only 25 years per ruler from estimated 620 CE as the start of Prashānta Rāga's reign, we see his grandfather Dadda I's rule starting around 570 CE and thus Harishchandra reigning in the bracket of 545-70 CE.









Beyond the Kakkuka and Śiluka inscriptions, many others stand at Ghantiyālā, of whom seven are dated 685 CE to 1220 CE. They reinforce Pratihāras' continuous political presence in the region. Not only Śiluka is already known as a Pratihāra royal, but inscription no. 6 dated 1026 CE bears the word 'Pratihārānvaye' i.e., 'born in the Pratihāra lineage'. Similarly, inscription no. 5 starts with 'Pratihāra'. The history of this branch is relevant to the larger context of early-medieval as well as early-sultanate historiographic segments in the timeline.

The consistency of worshipping, meditative reliefs in Ghantiyālā reiterates the Mandore Pratihāras' stress on religious piety. This theme is visible also in the textual narration where these rulers are seen, as noted previously, donating to the temples, excavating tanks, and taking sanyāsa.

Table 2: Letter-matching against other inscriptions.

Letter	Sample image from Ghantiyālā Ins.	Ghantiyala Ins. & Line	Sample from other contemporary Ins.
त्य/त्या Tyā		1 - 2	
य Ya		2 - 1	
उ U		1 - 2, 5	
त Ta		1 - 4	
भा Bhā		1 - 5	
द्र Dra		1 - 5	
ष्य □ya		1 - 6	
प्त Pta		1 - 8	
त्त Tta		1 - 6	

प्र Pra		1 - 8	
श्री Śrī		1 - 7	
श्री Śrī		3 - 3 2 - 4 1 - 7	
(उ)भ (U)bha		1 - 5	
भृ Bhr		1 - 6	
ज Ja		2 - 7	
ण्णः □□□□		2 - 5	
के/क Ke/Kam		2 - 1	
धि Dhi		1 - 3	
नृ Nṛi		5 - 2	

छ Cha		5 - 3 6 - 3	
श Sha		1 - 3	
णु □u		2 - 4	
नृ Nṛu		6 - 2	

Conclusion

Ghantiyālā is a cluster of important personalities' memorials. The aforementioned inscriptions augment our understanding of the Mandore branch of Pratihāras. Following three statements summarize the fresh perspective:

1. The starting point of Mandore royal line from Harishchandra Pratihāra should be shifted from the current theory, i.e., the end of the 6th century CE, to the first half of the 6th century CE.
2. The continuity of Pratihāra rule in & around Mandore is confirmed for the minimum span of the 6th - 13th century CE.
3. Mandore Pratihāras exhibit an unrelenting religious fervour in both act and figure.

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Harshat Mata Temple : The storytelling stones of the past

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Introduction - The Harshat Mata temple is located in the village of Abhaneri in the Dausa district right in front of the world renowned Chand Baori. The remains of the temple have been dated to the 8th- 9th century. The site was first reported in the '*List of objects of Antiquarian interest in the states of Rajputana*' in 1903. This temple is said to have been originally in a quite different form, and was vandalized by the Afghan ruler Mahmud of Ghazni. The sculptures present there are a living proof of the foresaid. The temple seems to have been renovated in the past as some parts of it are visibly younger than the others. The idol currently worshipped in the temple seems to be a recent addition and the real idol has been stolen according to the villagers. Not to exaggerate but the Harshat Mata Temple of Abhaneri has one of the finest sculptures of the Indian art carved in stone. It has not just religious but also secular sculptures in abundance which depict about the daily chores of life. There is not much in depth information about specifically when and who built the monument but the board of Archeological Survey of India mentions the name of Raja Chand of Nikumbh dynasty. Who were possibly some subordinate branch of Parihars.

"Of this race (as Tod says), to which celebrity attaches in all the genealogies, we can only discover that they were proprietors of the district of Mandalgarh prior to the Gahlots," that is, they preceded the Sisodiyas in Mewar. The foundation of Alwar and Indor of Mewar is attributed to them, *and the ruined city of Abhaneri, near Alwar, is said to have been their capital.*¹ We also find the mention of Nikumbh Rajputs in the book entitled 'Temples of Rajasthan' by R.V. Somani. Also in a

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book named 'Rajasthan ke Pramukh Durga' by Dr. Raghavendra Singh Manohar we find the mention of Nikumbh Rajputs and Raja Chand which adds to a fact that some ruler of the dynasty named Raja Chand actually existed. These are some of the historical justifications about the existence of Nikumbh Rajputs and Raja Chand respectively. On studying about the temple of Harshat Mata in Abhaneri we cannot skip the views and folklores of the locals who believe that the village was founded by the legendary kind Chand. They recite few lines regarding the same :

शहर गढ़ी घर परगना, अलवर गढ़ के पास।
बस्ती राजा चंद की, आभानेरी निवास।।²

Thus from the local sources and different views, we can draw some inferences regarding the historical background of Harshat Mata Temple at Abhaneri. On stylistic grounds it is closely related to the Pratihara style of art and architecture.

Architectural marvel - The Harshat Mata Temple is best known for its iconography, sculpted panels and the grand historical remains. On the basis of its architectural details M.W. Meister dates the complex at Abhaneri c. AD 800 to 825 (Meister & Dhaky 1991:237).³ The overlook of the architecture states that it is a sandharaprasada temple. Ash grey, buff and white spotted sandstone have been used to build the temple, which have been mentioned in the book 'Sculptural Art of Abhaneri' by Rajendra Yadav. The Harshat Mata Temple is adorned with beautifully carved pillars with kirtimukhas (face of glory), lotuses and a variety of mythological and decorative beings. These pillars are one of the major attraction of the temple. The lower portion (jangha) of the temple is elaborately decorated with intricate sculptures, nayikas, dikpalas and couple sculptures. On its architectural basis it can be compared with Kumbhasvami temple of Chittaurgarh and Harihara temple of Osian.

Sculptural abundance of the Temple - The Harshat Mata Temple is excessively dominated with sculptural art. It is adorned with religious as well as secular sculptures. On the religious grounds, the temple has not just shakt cult sculptures but also various other deities including Vaishnav and Shaiva sculptures. This indicates a subtle form of religious tolerance. *Chaturbhuja Vishnu, Kesi Nisudan, Balrama*, are some of the Vaishnav sculptures of the temple. *Uma Maheshwar, Kalyan Sundar, Ardhanareshwar, Kartikeya sculptures, Ganesha sculptures*, indicate the presence of Shaiva element. Among the Shakt (Devi) cult the temple

has sculptures such as *Tapasya Rat Parvati, Mahishasura- Mardini, Durga, Chamunda, Saptmatrika Panel*. The temple also has the sculptures of *Surya, Revant, Surasundari or Mythical attendants, Makarvahini Ganga, Kurmavahini Yamuna*.

On discussing about the less known or unique sculptures, some of them of the Harshat Mata Temple have a special place in the known sculptures of all time. *Ravana Anugraha, Gajlakshmi-Ganesha-Kubera, Shringar Durga, War panel of Durga and Mahishasura's army, Veenadhar Shiva*, are some of them. The list of sculptures at the temple is not over yet. The *Couple sculptures* which have been beautifully carved depict the daily chores of life and are worth focusing. The *hairs, hairstyles, seats, intricate detailing, clothing jewellery*, is a pleasure to the eyes and wonder how during those times such defined sculptures were possibly made.

There are variety of things to note about the Harshat Mata Temple when observing, the sculptures here have been made within pillars on both sides which adds to the beauty of it. Motifs of Ghat- Pallava, Peacock, Lotus, Kirtimukhas, Vidyadhar, Vyal, Naag sculptures, are abundantly present in the sculptures of the temple. In the sculptural context of the temple Pupul Jayakar reveals, "*In the post Gupta sculptures of Abhaneri, inspiration has borne fruit and the sculpted stones pulsate with surging life that gives the female form the poise and tenseness of rising sap. The secular sculptures of Abhaneri illustrate scenes of music, dance, nature, beauty, and the meeting of lovers. The forms are ancient, the idiom lyrical, there is a flesh of abandon, of richness and fullness handled with a restraint that is masterly.*"

The Harshat Mata Temple is not only important from sculptural point of view but it serves an intangible heritage. It speaks of the past where not just religious diversity but the daily chores of life have been beautifully carved in the temple. Places like these should always be looked from multiple dimensions. On visiting the temple twice on 26th November, 2019, and 19th August, 2021, the temple not only just soothes the soul but on looking at those sculptures one gets lost in the beauty of the past. We need to preserve such places to the core because imagining of such dynamic artistic thoughts is not possible in today's world. The temple is of utmost artistic importance to us cause it serves as a record of matchless grandeur of art and architecture. It gives us the vital idea of the political, cultural and historical situation prevailing during the times.

Many articles and books have been written about Abhaneri mainly focusing on the sculptural tradition. The historical justifications are missing in most of the writings as the sole focus is laid on sculpture and artistic grounds. But the history of the place is equally important when studying in depth about it. It should be looked upon historically, culturally, religious scenario and with the aspect of preservation and conservation of the site. This is a humble attempt to look at it with an holistic approach without neglecting the historical part.



Harshat Mata Temple (www.alamy.com)



Pillar



Motifs



Instruments and hairstyles

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Raja Man Singh's Contribution to Architecture in Different States

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Historical Background

Raja Man Singh is the most celebrated Kachhwaha ruler of Rajasthan, then Rajputana. He was born to Raja Bhagwant Das of Amber and Rani Bhagoti in 1550.¹ When his aunt Marium-Uz-Zamani got married to Mughal emperor Akbar, Kunwar Man Singh was also taken into service in 1562.² He was given tutelage under Akbar regarding military. He, with his father, accompanied Akbar in conquest of Ranthambore and Gujarat but as a subordinate personality. It was only in the Battle of Haldighati in 1576, he was the chief commander of the Mughal army against Maharana Pratap where he won.³ Man Singh successfully subjugated North-Western provinces, including Kabul. After this, he was sent to Bihar, but before he could accommodate himself, his father, Raja Bhagwant Das died in 1589.⁴ In 1590, 'Kunwar' was replaced by 'Raja' and sat on the throne of Amber.⁵ After his coronation, he again got engaged on the eastern side. He successfully defended the rebellions and erected an efficient administration while being governor of Bihar and Bengal. Raja Man Singh destroyed the hopes of Afghans for establishing their supremacy over Bengal in 1604 by defeating them. For this he was rewarded by Akbar a Mansab of 7000 Zat and 6000 Sawar in 1605. Till then, this distinction was reserved only for Princess of Mughal empire.⁶ Thus, during Akbar's reign, Man Singh was at the zenith of his power and position as he was also one of the Navaratnas in his court. After the death of Akbar in 1605 i.e., during the reign of Jahangir, Raja Man Singh was given secondary role in the expeditions

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led by the emperor. He died a natural death in 1614 when he was at Elichpur (South) for the Conquest.⁷ Thus, Raja Man Singh played a pivotal role in annexation, expansion and consolidation of Mughal Empire. But his achievements are not restricted only to the military campaign. He was a great admirer of learning, especially poems. He patronized many poets and had relations with the great poets of Akbar's court like Dursajee, Holrai, Gang, etc. Also, he was a good friend of legend Tulsidas. Moreover, Art and Architecture include buildings, forts, palaces, temples, etc. like Amber Fort, Baikatpur temple, Govinddeva Temple, Rohtas Fort, etc., too found place in his cultural interests. So, when he was governor or leading an expedition to places, he either built or repaired many temples, forts, villages, which testifies his love for architecture. Therefore, this paper will unfold the architecture by Raja Man Singh in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Amber Fort, Jaipur, Rajasthan

Amber was initially the capital of Meena, who were the original rulers of it. It was later occupied deceitfully by the Kachhwaha Rajput Dulhe Rai and remained Kachhwaha's capital till 18th century as afterwards capital was shifted to Jaipur. This Palace was built by the Raja Man Singh on the leftovers in 1599. This magnificent Palace is made of red sandstone and white marble. It is located on a hilltop and at its bottom lies a lake known as Mahota lake which testifies to its beauty by reflecting it.⁸ This lake is a main source of water to the palace and protects the kingdom from intruders. The lake comprises of three gardens with flowerbeds laid out in geometrical patterns. One of these is the Kesar Kyari Bagh where Kesar and other exotic herbs were grown. The fort has four entrances, each having different aspects, its own gate and courtyard. The main entrance is the Suraj Pol. The name is due to the morning sunrise on its gate and is carved with the graceful Chhatris. This Pol will lead to the Jalebi Chowk i.e. the first courtyard.⁹ This was the passage for the royal people. Thus, the gate was much protected, and entry was restricted. This courtyard also has the passage of Shila Devi Temple installed by Raja Man Singh, which he took from the Bengal during his expedition. Opposite Suraj Pol is the Chand Pol, which was the main entrance of commoners. Above it is the Naubat Khana, where musical instruments were played. Beside this gate, are the quarters for the elephants and horses.¹⁰ The passage of stone through Chand Pol leads to the temples and the old town. There is also Ganesh Pol which

has lord Ganesh image on it. It is a three-gateway constructed for ceremonial royal procession. This is the most decorated Gateway of the Fort, which is painted with the vibrant natural dyes, characterizes Rajasthani motifs of gods and goddesses, fresco and mosaic work and walls are pierced by arched windows and doorways. This leads into a courtyard where royal apartments are surrounded by a beautiful garden.¹¹ Above Ganesh Pol is Suhag mandir, from where Royal ladies watch the happenings in Diwan-i-Aam through carved marble Jallis.¹² In the second courtyard is Diwan-I-Aam i.e. Hall of public audience built by Raja Man Singh. It is a copy of Agra Fort and is fashioned of red sandstone. According to local tradition, complaints were made to Akbar about how Raj Man Singh had copied the imperial Diwan-i-Aam of Agra and to escape emperor's speculation, he installed marble pillars against red stone.¹³ It is raised on a platform and here the rulers meet with the people to hear their complaints and petitions. It consists of 40 columns with the carved brackets which displays variety of Rajput motifs, like, lotus buds, elephants etc.¹⁴ The third courtyard is a personal place for the members of Royal family along with their attendants. Sheesh Mahal is also known as Diwan -I-Khas (Hall of Private Audience). Here, the Maharaja met high ranking nobles in the Central Hall, which is surrounded by a verandah. The ceiling and walls of this Palace are decorated with mirrors, hence the name.¹⁵ This is also the Winter Palace as the inner rooms were kept warm by thick velvet curtains, mirrors reflecting the light and due to the heat of the oil lamps. Opposite this is Sukh Niwas, which has rooms for the Queens, on either side of the Central chamber. The doors of the rooms were made from sandalwood decorated with ivory. In front of the Sukh Niwas is a garden called Arambagh where the queens spend hours for leisure.¹⁶ The garden is decorated with fountains and pools filled with colored water. The fourth courtyard is The Zenana, where the 12 wives of Raja Man Singh lived. It consists of high walls, long galleries, covered balconies and screened area from where royal ladies could watch the happenings of the courtyard. The walls have murals of the life of Lord Krishna. Within the Amer Palace, which was constructed in twenty-five years, the Palace of Man Singh is thought to be the oldest part. At the heart of Amber Fort is a pavilion supported by pillars that features colorful tiles and murals. Because the royal queens used this "baradari," or pavilion, as a place for formal gatherings, it was covered with curtains to preserve privacy. The Palace at Amber is an

object of architectural beauty among the Rajput's palaces in Rajasthan.¹⁷ The residential palace of Raja Man Singh at Amber was built in simple style. It did not involve any very complicated, elaborate and ornamental style.¹⁸

Govinddeva Temple, Brondaban, Uttar Pradesh

Raja Man Singh was an ardent Hindu devotee of gods and goddesses and built temples of Lord Shiva, Lord Ganesh, Lord Vishnu, etc. In the later part of his life i.e. during his expedition to Bengal, he was partly influenced by the Bengal School of Vaishnavism.¹⁹ Raja Man Singh constructed temple of Lord Krishna known as Govinddeva Temple at Brindaban which is 5 miles from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.²⁰ This temple was built in 1590 and is made of red sandstone. This temple is the most impressive religious edifice that the Hindu art has ever produced, at least in upper India.²¹ To Ferguson, it appeared to be one of the most interesting and eloquent temples in India and the only one, perhaps from which a European architect might borrow few hints.²² The structure consists of a cross shaped covered entrance with columns that is finished on the inside, but incomplete on the outside. It has an arch ceiling made of radiating arches with the measurement of 117 feet east and west and 105 feet north and South. The portico is enclosed by a pointed arch made up of overlapping brackets on all four sides. The temples exterior is incredibly beautiful. The openings are picturesquely arranged and pleasingly divided. Moreover, the angles are underlined with the singular force and decision.²³ Ferguson rightly says, Govinddeva Temple is the combination of vertical with horizontal lines, covering the whole surface that forms the great merit of the design.²⁴ Although the Baradari's pillars are intricately carved, the figures on them have been defaced due to either the harshness of iconoclasts or the passage of time. The Baradari's western corner is where the Sanskrit and Hindi inscriptions are located. While the Hindi inscription is incomplete but still quite distinct, states that Govindas, the architect of Delhi and the son of Manik Chandra Chhappar, the obedient son of Kalyan Das, was responsible for building the temple.²⁵ Whereas the Sanskrit inscription, which is complete despite many words having vanished, tells us that at the request of victorious Raja Man Singh whose flag flies high in the sky, Shri Govindas built the temple.²⁶ The Kachwaha Raja Man Singh spent half a million rupees building the Govinddeva Temple.²⁷ According to Catherine B. Asher, the Govinddeva temple does not merely reflect

existing Mughal building, but in many ways anticipates trends yet to develop in Imperial Mughal Architecture.²⁸ Thus, we can infer from this statement that Mughal Architecture was inspired by Rajput Architecture. The walls of the temple have an average thickness of 10 feet and are pierced in two stages, with the upper tier being a typical triforium accessible via an internal stairway. The art above and below triforium is entirely Hindu. There is a modest, 15 feet deep narthex at the east entrance of the nave. At the west end, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a 20 by 20 feet chamber, between two niches and covered in a beautiful canopy of sculpture. Past this was the sacrarium, which was surrounded by a lateral chapel on both sides. The three cells were all the same size as the choir and shared a tall dome. It appears that the original plan was for five towers, one above the Central Dome and the other four, covering the choir, sacrarium, and two chapels, in that order. The Chapel towers were never finished, the sacrarium was destroyed, and even the choir, which was the most flawless, lost some of its higher levels.²⁹ To further deface the structure, a simple brick wall has been built along the top of the central dome though it's also alleged that the Hindu themselves erected it to help with some great illumination. It is generally accepted that Aurangzeb built this to dishonor the temple.³⁰ Jahangirnama too pointed the fact that temple of Raja Man Singh at Mathura is still incomplete.³¹ According to R.N. Prasad, the temple is a huge structure of imposing dimensions.³² According to Growse, Govinddeva Temple has the harmonious combination of dome and spire which is still quoted as the great crux of modern art.³³

Rohtas Fort, Shahabad, Bihar

Rohtasgarh Fort is one of the ancient forts of India. It was passed from ancient to medieval hands under Sher Shah Suri and from him to Mughal Empire. So, when Raja Man Singh became the governor of Bihar in 1587, he made Rohtasgarh (in Shahabad District) his base and had his fiefs there. He undertook repair and remodeling work in Rohtas Fort.³⁴ Raja Man Singh constructed a huge palace for himself in the Fort, which was completed in 1597. His investment in the palace may explain why Akbar and later Jahangir allowed Mansingh to hold Rohtas for 20 years when most jagirs were shifted after about two years.³⁵ Rohtas Palace was situated in the most heavily populated portion of the Fort. This was the finest Zamindari estate. Rohtas Fort is devoid of interior pavilions and has only exterior walls. The palace or Mahal Sarai

is about 500 feet north to South and 300 feet east to West. The main entrance of the palace is referred to as the Elephant gateway or Hathi Pol. It is arguably the palace's most ornate area and is composed of stone having stucco paintings. The gate has two oriel balconies that add to the area's grandeur and under these are 3 feet tall, sculpted elephants.³⁶ While going near to Palace are two temples of which the higher one is for the Rohitasva God, and the base temple built by Raja Man Singh is dedicated to King Harishchandra³⁷. The Baradari is the most symmetrically arranged area of the entire palace, located on a huge platform. The lower level comprised four tiny rooms at the four corners and large hall with pillar verandah having sloping roof in the middle. At either end of the verandah is a flat roof chamber with four doors. There are two narrow stairs, leading up to the second floor at the east and west end of the building. Chamber having arched doorways in south leads to the governor's residence which is double storey having finest rooms. A long gallery with a hall and a dark chamber makes up the lower floor. The most alluring part of the palace is the second story having fine gallery with the hall, known as Takhta Badshahi or throne room and was used as Diwan-i- Khas by Raja Man Singh.³⁸ From the Governor's residence, a big arch gateway leads to the Zanana known as Phulwari or Khana Bagh. This consists of Aina Mahal or Sheesh Mahal, which is a two-story building in the middle. Apartments provide housing to the wives of Raja Man Singh and are fine rooms with sloping Chajjas on the side of interior court.³⁹ The inner gateway provides one Sanskrit and two Persian inscriptions of which the latter written in Nastaliq characters. It states that may Akbar's supremacy continue to rule and when this strong gateway was built, the arch of heaven became weak with jealousy and this strong building is built by Raja Man Singh. The second inscription tells us about the Priest Sridar, Darogha Bal Bhadra and Architect Ustad Mubarak. The Sanskrit one states Man Singh as king of kings, overlord who constructed and repaired the palace on the great mountain Rohitasva and Akbar was nowhere mentioned.⁴⁰ The Palace and other structures at Rohtas are really works of great architectural beauty.⁴¹

Conclusion

Thus, we can say that Raja Man Singh was not only a warrior in military field but also in the cultural field of Architecture. His requirement in the various conquests and expedition did not restrain his love for art and architecture. What is to be noted is that he contributed to architecture

as a various personality - a Ruler, a Devotee and a Governor in Amber Fort, Govinddeva Temple and Rohtas Fort respectively and that too in different states.

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Role of small Urban Centres in Early Medieval Rajasthan

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Through the critical engagement with the theory of urban decay in early medieval India given by RS Sharma,¹ KC Jain² proved that there were several new urban centres developed in this period. With the rise of new dynasties i.e. Pratiharas, Guhilas, Chahamanas, Parmaras, the process of urbanization showed at all of the important locations of Rajasthan. Pratihara dynasty and its different branches emerged with their new capitals³ i.e. Mandvyapura (Mandor), Bhinmal; Chahamanas⁴ with Shakambhari and Ajmer; Guhila⁵ with Chittor and Nagada; Parmaras⁶ with Abu, etc. According to Jain, 'In early times, the process of urbanization was very slow. Only a few towns were in existence and their size and population was small. It was only after the seventh century A.D., when the Rajput dynasties built up vast empires and established peace and order for the development of trade and commerce, that towns and cities became more numerous and the degree of urbanization rose higher'.⁷ But most of the concerns regarding the urban centres were based on study of the capital towns and royal centres. The role of minor urban centres and non capital cities and town has been a less focus area for researches. Most of the work has been done regarding them are about their religious pictures, their trading and commercial activities, etc.⁸ Here, by this paper, I am trying to locate them and identify their role in mainstream. But before discuss their role we need to throw light on some examples of such type of urban centres.

The first town in this manner was Kamyaka.⁹ The main architectural complex in this town was a temple of god Shiva. The contents of inscription found here are about taxes and rents which were

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allotted to this temple. But it also provides the references of different organizations of artisans which also includes gardeners and potters. There is also mention of Avaris and Vithis. The first one was a complex of shops and second indicates an individual shop. Besides these, there is mention of a cattle market (Kambali Hata) situated near the complex. The second in these cities was Ghatiyala.¹⁰ It was a centre of Gurjara-Pratihara. The Pratihara ruler Kakkuka lived here for some times and he established a market for local and migrated people. According to the inscription found here, it was settled with different Avaris and Vithis. The third town of this type mentioned in the Harsha stone inscription.¹¹ This is a record of donations given to the god Shiva who was celebrated with name of Harsha Deva in the region. Besides these, it also gives the knowledge regarding horse dealer and salt merchants who came from Shakambhari and other region (Uttarapatha) to here for trade. They were assigned to pay taxes and cesses to the welfare of temple.

The another such centre was Rajyapura which was situated near the present Rajor, in Alwar district.¹² It was under the control of a Pratihara feudatory. The details mentioned in the inscription found here are about different shops and traders of grains and butter who came outside from the city. They had to pay certain taxes to sell their products in local market (Hata). Then we come across the city of Nadula which was the under control of local Chaham?n ruler or feudatory.¹³ The inscription found here tells us the details about the taxes and cess assigned to different deities. It also mentions the different traders, merchants and agriculturists households. The main important objects regarding economy were a Mandapika and an Ahvamalla. It is certain that both were post or centres to collect taxes and cesses from merchants and farmers. The difference between both is uncertain but it is possible that Mandapika was a larger unit as compare to Ahvamalla.

In early medieval times, the Parmaras had also control of some parts of Rajasthan. Site of Shergarh in Kota district was also in control of Parmaras.¹⁴ According to the record found here it was held by a relative of Parmara ruler Bhoja. The record gives a broad detail of the commercial life of the city. All of the donations and endowments made here in favour of the famous temple Somanath. It mentions the different merchants and traders, a Mandapika and a toll gate at gate to collect taxes. According to the editor of this inscription, it was a part of Siyado?i inscription which somehow misplaced. Another such important site is

situated in Arthuna, Banswara.¹⁵ The inscription found here was recorded by a nominal Paramara king, Chamundaraja. It gives the detail knowledge of Paramara genealogy from which he claims to be successor. But the main important content regarding our study is mention of the different commercial activities of town. We get the information regarding merchants and sellers of different fruits, salt, ghee and butter, oil, clothes, braziers, a gambling house, gold, sugar, etc. There is also mention of construction of another city which name is not given in the record. There is also mention of a Mandapika attached to the town. We can go further with the list of such type of cities but due to limitation of words we have to stop here and discuss their role in their perspective state.

As we know that in early medieval times, the main source of income for state was revenue from the land and agriculture. Farmers had to pay revenue in cash or kinds to state. We cannot ignore the argument of Sharma that this period witnessed a drastic decline in trade and merchant activities. Most of the early historic cities disappeared from the map of India. The nature of the new economy emerged in this period was totally depended on the agriculture production. In the early phase of early medieval India, besides royal capitals, only a few urban centres had developed. There is very little evidence found for the transaction based on cash as compare to distribution of land revenue. It created an economy which was based on the distribution of land revenue which in most of the cases given to land holder for their life time (Pradata Chandrakrkalinam). In starting periods, the lands were assigned to the religious institutions and priest class for religious purposes and integration of tribal society and uncultivated area. It brought large part of forest and waste land under cultivated area and helped in peasantization of newly settled tribes. With the passing times, lands were also assigned to administrative officers for the exchange of their services. The process of the distribution of lands created a new class in the society which was based on land hierarchy. A different class of feudal (Samanta) emerged between the ruler and people and based on their land holdings, they were given the titles and rights. Sometimes, these feudatories acted like independent ruler and when they gained power more than their ruler, they declared their independence from ruler. When the Pratihara ruler became weak and vulnerable, other Rajput clans became independent to rule their own land which they obtained for their services.

As we discussed earlier, in this period, land revenue was the main

source for income of state. According to the inscriptions, most of the land revenue came from the rural area. We also get knowledge that those Rajput rulers of Rajasthan had given away a major part of the land as endowments, donations and for the services of feudatories. The given away of land means loss of land revenue for the state and this loss was happened for the lifetime. But when the small towns and urban centres emerged in different part of regions, the sources for the income of state became diversified. The main source of the revenue from the rural area only came from the land. When such urban centres came into the lights, they also brought the revival of local trade and commercial activities. We have discussed earlier some cases of small urban centres and their commercial activities. As we see in the inscriptions, different merchants activities were happening and many other sellers were coming from the other parts of regions in such centres. When they came into the city they had to pay certain amount of taxes and cesses at the toll house. Some merchants were also assigned to pay taxes to the local religious institutions of their respective centres. So, these taxes, cesses, and rents for form the different sources opened new means of revenue for the state. The land revenue from the rural area was in uniformity and limited source. But in such urban centres, state was getting it from different sources and in many cases; state was also getting land revenue from the urban centres. So, even state had given away its most of the land in form of donations, such urban centres i.e. Kamyaka, Ghatiyala, Harsha hill, Rajyapura, Nadula and sites of Shergarh, Arthuna, etc. emerged as another centres of obtaining source of income. We do not have clear information regarding statistics share of such income in state revenue. But it is clear that these small urban centres served well in their roll in the economy of early medieval times.

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The Royals and Resources

Manisha Choudhary*

On entering Hindustan, Babur experienced the *Garmsir* for first time. The hot region of Thar was a reality. Any region that was given to environmental hardships or threats was considered as 'no-goers' area. During medieval times, the forest of Jharkhand was a safe abode for the rebels to state. Most of the rebels used to hide in the thick forests of Jharkhand after failing in the attempts of challenging the state. Hence, the forest became a synonym for 'home of rebels', 'abode for the ones who have fallen from righteous path' and 'a place for the unfortunates whose virtuous and fate is going to dust'. Similar kinds of expressions were employed to describe the desert and its dunes. The desert of Marwar and Jaisalmer were referred as 'wilderness of mirages' and 'evil halting-place'. Thus, the forest and desert were both unappreciated regions that were mainly representing the anti-state elements and the unmannered sections and savages.

This paper is an effort to explore the interests of the non-desert states in the regions of desert. To take if forward an insight in their respective activities will be attempted, to understand the nature and aim of their activities. The distance of desert from the imperial centres was no excuse for the latter, to leave former in isolation. The Mughal sources will be used to explore these connections. Through a careful study of the regional and vernacular sources, the reciprocation of the desert states will be highlighted. A close perusal of these sources reflects the mutually benefitting partnership, relationships and connects between the Mughal and various desert states. Besides the interactions between the desert states and imperial centre, the other rings of power were also working at the local level in which the states of desert were contesting and negotiating, aspiring for a better stability within region. In order to gain stability in the region of Thar Desert, the desert states formed alliances and made

truce. At the intra-desert state level, the matrimonial alliances were the most preferred mode to ensure associations and avert rivalries. Besides, the associations amongst the ruling clans and classes, the politically and militarily dominant groups also collaborated with the ruling class. Similarly, both these dominant groups fraternized with the local lobbies. All these efforts were mainly to ensure peace and safety in region and to avert battles, killings and raids, concerning safeguard of the economic activities to secure their respective share in economy of Thar.

The aspirations from desert were not many, but surely existed due to the complex and vast networks of the trade that were connecting the north India into Central Asia. The efficiency of local groups- *Ounti* (camel riders), *Rebaris*, *Banjaras*, horse-traders and breeders, facilitated the trade activities as they facilitated the smooth and effective means of transportation across desert. Availability of a large variety of animals and their best breeds opened-up the avenues of cattle trade. Therefore, traders in large numbers came to desert. Apparently, interactions and negotiations of these groups helped-in building a subjective environment for the objective region of Thar Desert, which was generally avoided due to its harsh objective realities.

An envoy accompanying Toden-route to Marwar, defined the capital (Marwar) of desert as: '*Ak ra jhonpra, phogri var, Bajra ri roti, motham (moth) hari dal, dekho ho raja, teri Marwar* (Huts of the ak, barriers of thorns, bread of maize, lentils of the vigna (vetch), behold raja, your Marwar!)'.¹ Later, a official notes '*Bajri ka sogra, monthakedaar (daal), Akre ke jhupri, phogan ke baar, dekhi raja Man Singh teri Marwar!* (The bread of *bajra*, curry of green pulses, the hut of *akra*, the peripheral wall of *phog*, oh! Raja Man Singh, have seen your Marwar!)'.² The envoy also requested Tod to mark the territories between, Mewar and Marwar, as per the geographical features and availability of flora (*Anwal anwal Mewar; Bawal, bawal Marwar*). Tod himself repeatedly referred the Thar Desert- '*Marusthali*'. This highlights that not only the outsiders, but even the people living in the nearby surroundings were in-fear with the idea of desert. And, they avoided interaction with this intense ocean of sand.

The agricultural activities were entirely rain dependent. The inhabitants survive in this ecology with their cattle, which is the only reliable sources of subsistence in desert. For survival, water-harvesting was a must. The moisture required for rabi-crop was obtained from flood-waters. A few wells and other irrigation sources sustained biotic

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components. Thus, the difficulties posed by the nature were immense and acute human-labour was constantly required to secure the best possible deal for survival.

The inhabitants of Thar always awaited monsoon eagerly. The categorization and usage of terms like *kaal*, *su-kaal*, *du-kaal* and *tri-kaal* indicates the mental-preparedness of inhabitants, for the unpredictable monsoon-rains. They channelized their efforts to co-operate with the environment as per the aforesaid categorizations, depending upon the visible indications that were received from the nature. Accordingly, they featured the requirements.

The agro-pastoral economy of western Rajasthan emphasized on the risk-management and oriented its efforts for effective-management of the environmental-crisis. In this, migration is a risk-management reaction. Migrations have been classified as permanent; permanent migration with maintenance of ties; life-cycle migration; dual residence; casual-migration and crisis-migration.³ There is no debate that migration was one out of the many ways to deal with the drought. However, migration was not the first and only choice. There were many other techniques that were applied in-between, the failure of rains and migrations. The formulas for averting migrations were dependence of villages on each other's water-sources, sending-out of cattle in collective-herds, registration as wage-earners or seeking refuge in some neighbouring village or town, etc. Thus, even in droughts, the entire population didn't exit from Thar Desert. Definitely, the cattle were send-out as they were the only wealth of the modest inhabitants. Animals were moved-out in batches depending on their capacity to endure drought conditions. In this sequence, the cows compose the first-batch for moving-out from the drought-hit regions, followed by goats. Sheep and camelleave in last.

Before coming to Hindustan (1526AD), Babur never saw 'the *Garmsir* nor the country of Hindustan'.⁴ This expression of Babur was mainly guided by the environment of the land from where he was chased-out. After the death of Babur, Humayun ascended the throne of Mughal Sultanate. Humayun's struggle with Sher Shah pushed him in exile. During the years of exile, this Mughal emperor travelled through some parts of the Thar Desert in search of asylum. He experienced the region of Bikaner, Nagaur, Phaludi, Satalmer and Jaisalmer.⁵ The illusionary nature of Thar Desert 'whilst the officers who had been dispatched to check them, had lost their way and gone-off in another direction'.⁶ Maldeo denied asylum

to Humayun, so the later turned towards Jaisalmer. It seems that troubles were awaiting upon Humayun in the desert when after turning towards Jaisalmer 'Rai Lonkaran took-out of wickedness, the position of hostility and set guard over the water-pond, so the royal army which has experienced the toils of the desert and has come from a wilderness of mirages to this evil halting-place, was put to trouble from want of water'.⁷ Humayun came to Jaisalmer looking for asylum. Lonkaran denied him refuge and charged him for killing cows.⁸ The Thar Desert has been described as 'waterless and grain-less Sahara where it was difficult to find any trace of corn, the caterers for the holy court were in despair, when suddenly a man brought a bag full of millet (*jawar*) for sale'.⁹ In Thar, Sher Shah also experienced troubles. After ensuring victory, 'against Maldeo the lord of Ajmer, Nagor and many other cities',¹⁰ said in despair that 'for a handful of *bajra* (millet) he had nearly lost the empire of Hindustan'.¹¹ In the 19th century, Tod noted, 'the sand, since we crossed Luni, had become gradually heavier, and was quite fatiguing as we approached the capital of "the region of death", but the Marwaris and camels appeared to move through it as briskly as our men would on the plains of the Ganges'.¹² The extensive desert of Jaisalmer and its miseries were defined as 'the barren ridges...the lofty undulating *tibas* of sand are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of the regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the acacia or mimosa family, some succulent plants, or prickly grasses, as the bharut or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries...northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation" forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise'.¹³ All the above instances hint to nearly similar experiences that were perceived and endured by different souls while navigating through Thar Desert, in different times. Thus, it brings out well that the Thar Desert was a 'no-goers area' and all the states that were seated at the imperial centre of India, controlling the political and economic affairs of the subcontinent, never wanted to willingly liaison with this dry land mass. However, the reality proved contrary!

From the 11th century onwards, various Rajput clans made active efforts in the Thar Desert for establishing (Rathors), shifting (Bhattis) and consolidating their respective kingdoms. Rajputs inhabiting in desert were trying-to take control over the resources. For it, they mainly relied

on the principles of caste, clan and kin. Prior to the establishment of Jodhpur city as capital of Marwar, the efforts of Rao Siha, Solanika, Aasthan, Kanha Dev, Rao Raipal, Rao Viram Dev and Chunda towards the formation of Marwar State (Jodhpur) were immense.¹⁴ Rao Ranmal was a noble expansionist who was the crowned prince of Marwar state. As state policy, he tried to maintain cordial relationship with the adjoining state. Thus, he made a nuptial proposal for Rana Chunda, the heir apparent of Mewar. But this marriage could not solemnize. Thus, Hans Bai was married to Rana Lakha, the ruler of Mewar. The progeny of Hansabai and Rana Lakha will succeed to the throne of Mewar was the primary condition for formation of this marriage alliance. Rana Chunda was removed from the line of succession under the condition of treaty, so Rana Mokal came to the throne. On succession Rana Mokal was a minor, thus, Rana Chunda served as his regent. After serving for some time as a regent, Rana Chunda left Mewar and established himself in the region of Malwa.

Rana Kumbha killed Rao Ranmal in order to get rid of his colossal participations in the activities of Mewar state. After killing Ranmal, Kumbha didn't allow anyone to perform the cremation ceremony (*mar nai, loth padirakhi, daagdewa, ndiyonahi*) of Rao. Risking his life, Chandan Khadiya performed the cremation and took the ashes of Rao to Gangaji (*pach ephool gale bandh nai gangaji le gayo*).¹⁵ Kumbha constantly attacks forced Rao Jodha in exile. Jodha was son of Rao Ranmal. He was a skilled warrior and the credit for consolidation of the Marwar kingdom goes to him. Later, he laid the foundation of Jodhpur city in 1459 AD.

During exile, Jodha travelled in the desert and collected horse-riders for composing troops and met Sankhla Harbuji Mahrajot who was living near Phalodi. Being a man of resources, Harbuji used to arrange feasts (*ghani mung bajri ro khichran, ddaal rotiya pahte kheer gorassa rotaiya arkar nai rakhiya*) and fed people. On receiving Jodha and his retinue, the feast of fest was also offered to them.¹⁶ On expression of query by Jodha about regaining the control over lost territories, Harbuji replied – '*Jodha tharo aaj su dil (din) baliyo. Tha epaga dai pag dewao, mahoro mung thara pait mai, thako jitri dharti maathe ghodo fir si, titri dharti thari, beta pota su kade dharti jaawasi nahi* (from this day onwards your days have turned around. You mount your horse. My grain is in your stomach, in whatever land your horse will roam, that

entire territory will be yours, even your sons and grandsons will not lose-it).¹⁷ Tod mentions that Harbuji also drew allies (chieftain of Mewa and Pabuji) to support Jodha in his project of regaining *bapoti* (hereditary property).¹⁸ Subsequently, Jodha regained his lands. Jodha also sought support of his contemporary hero-deities for gaining control over the vast territories that later formed the kingdom of Marwar. He also reclaimed the lands that were annexed by Khumbha. Mandor was taken as *bapoti*, along with Sojat and Jaitran which were till then in kingdom of Mewar. When the clash between Jodha and Khumbha was not settling, the locals came forward and fixed the boundaries for both, Marwar and Mewar by purposing '*taree utha re Aawal Aawal rana ro, no bawal Babal ra waro*'.¹⁹ This distribution of territory was drawn upon the natural availability of flora. This demarcation of territories between the two rivals is unique for many reasons. Primarily, the flora has been used to distinguish the difficult terrains. Secondly, the ordinary locals have decided it for the fighting royals. Thus, it highlights the significant role of the inhabitants in the regional matters and depicts their prudence as social partners. Since then this saying is popular.²⁰

Later, Jodha subjugated the states of Jalore and annexed Ajmer and Sambhar. With these annexations, the territories of Marwar state expanded immensely. Before Jodha, Marwar was a sovereign monarchy limited to a small territory. After gaining control over many smaller regions, he declared Jodhpur as capital of the Marwar kingdom. In 1455, Jodha got back his land and laid the foundation of Mehrangarh fort on *jaithsudi* 11 vs 1515/1458 AD.²¹ Rathors started their journey for formation of kingdom from Kher (Mallani district) under leadership of Siha in around 1243 AD. Nearly after two centuries, during Jodha's reign (1438-1488 AD), the territories of Marwar included Merta, Phalodi, Mandor, Pokhran, Bhandrajan, Sojat, Jaitrana, Shiva, Siwana, Sambhar, Ajmer and large parts of Nagaur. In the 14th century, Rathors got control over Pokhran, after marriage of Pir Ramdeo's daughter to Rathor Hamir. Ramdeo left the region in favour of his son-in-law, Hamir, and moved to village Runicha. At Runicha, he established his abode. In vs 1600/1543 AD, Maldeo challenged Sher Shah. In vs 1604/1547 AD and vs 1607/1550 AD, Maldeo took control of Phalodi and Pokhran respectively. After victory over Pokhran he moved to west and took Barmer.²² All these instances indicate that Rathors were constantly acquiring territories in order to expand their influence. Jodha was first to consolidate the continuity of clan efforts by laying the foundation of Jodhpur, as capital of Marwar.

The foundation of Marwar state validated the contestations and struggles of Rathorancestors.

Amongst the desert states, Jaisalmer holds a distinct identity. As per the traditional belief, the foundation of Jaisalmer fort was laid down in vs 1212/1155 AD. Devidas of Jaislamer was succeeded by his son Jait Singh II in 1496 AD. In c.1528, Karan Singh II came to throne but later stepped down, when his elder brother Lunkaran returned from Kabul. Lunkaran died in c. 1550 and was succeeded by his son Maldev. During the reign of Maldev, Jaisalmer was constantly under attacks from Qandharis and Rathors. These attacks considerably weakened the defence of state, to the extent that once Rathors of Jodhpur besieged and captured Jaisalmer. Later, on payment of huge sum of money, Jaisalmer was resorted to Bhattis.²³ Maldev was succeeded by Rawal Har Rai, who was a political animal. In order to stabilize his authority, Rawal Har Rai formed matrimonial alliances with Mughals and Governor of Sindh. In 1577 AD, after death of Rawal Har Rai, Bhim came to the throne of Jaisalmer. Bhim was in service of Mughal court and was a trusted servant of the state. After a few weak successors in between, Rawal Sabal Singh came to the throne. He was in service of Shahjahan's imperial army. He proved himself outstanding at Peshwar by protecting the royal treasure from the Afghans. This remarkable act of bravery helped him to secure the throne of Jaisalmer and he ruled till 1659.²⁴ Amar Singh, son of Sabal Singh, succeeded to *Gaddi* of Jaisalmer after death of his father. As an able ruler, Amar Singh was successful to put an end to robberies in his kingdom. He built the Amreshwar shiv temple and Amarsar dam. These activities (of public works) indicate that Jaisalmer was regaining its health under the sovereignty of Mughal empire. The cordial relations between the Mughals and Bhattis lasted long. Though, the Mughal state withered away in the 18th century, even then the fading association between the Mughals and the Jaisalmer house continued till the nineteenth century. It comes out explicitly in the letter written by emperor Bahadur Shah to the Maharawal Ranjit Singh of Jaisalmer, requesting him to send armies to help the cause of 1857 and further he requests Maharawal to finish all englishmen that were in the territories of Jaisalmer.²⁵

The John Company was also interested in the Thar Desert due to the available resources. The presence of limestone, stone and gypsum mines were main attractions along with the riches in a variety of buff, or brown colour sand stone of extremely fine texture. The camels were the

only successful means of transport to negotiate through the dense deserts. The camels of Jaisalmer were famous for their speed and hardiness. During Afghan wars in 1838-9, the British took assistance from Jaisalmer state that provided valuable assistance to the British army by supplying them camels and other articles for which company tendered special thanks.²⁶ The Jaisalmer state also supported the Company during conquest of Sindh, and in return the forts of Gharsia, Ghotaru and Shahgarh were handed over to the king of Jaisalmer, which were earlier taken by the Amirs of Sindh.²⁷ Thus, it can be asserted that all the non-desert states that were ruling from the distant political centres of Indian subcontinent during different centuries were averting from the environmental challenges posed by the Indian desert, but, none of them could kill their aspiration of securing a share, in the economic resources of Thar Desert.

Prior to the coming of Mughals, all the contemporary resident Rajput clans (Rathors, Sisodiyas, Bhattis) were contesting and negotiating in the Thar Desert. With establishment of Mughals control in the territories of Thar, all the intra-desert states accepted the subordinate status and enrolled in Mughal service. Henceforth, the Mughal emperor decided the questions of succession and certified by granting *panja* (a mark of emperor's palm on a piece of paper). Even after putting the Rajput states of desert in the subordinate status, the Mughal emperor Akbar granted them twin-*jagirs-watan-jagir* and *tankhwah-jagir*. Here onwards, the Rajput allies of Mughal state got hands-on large economic resources. During reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, the territories of the *watan-jagirs* of Marwar state were constantly altered and shifted²⁸ as per the needs of contemporary politics. Some land assignments were not sufficient for meeting the expanses as they had scarce agricultural production. So the recipients requested for a change in allotted assignment. Jalor was a no-income area so most of the recipients returned it. In vs 1712/1655 AD, Ratan Maheshdasot declined the land-grant of Jalor as there was no production and requested for land assignment at Ratlam.²⁹ After this denial, Shah Jahan gave Jalor to Jaswant Singh of Marwar and told him to release Malrno. The recipient (Jaswant Singh) requested for keeping the carts and people of Ratlam in his share as region of Jalor didn't had potential of agricultural production.³⁰ In vs 1682/1625 AD, Fidayi Khan intervened to get Medta for Gaj Singh.³¹ These events indicate that the Mughals were interested in the desert. Through these interventions and land-assignments they assured information from the

interiors of desert, and direct control over certain regions of Thar for managing political balance that ensured safety and longevity of the empire. Jointly, these safeguards helped in effective management of state affairs.

Rao Bika was son of Rao Jodha. In 1488 AD, he founded an independent principality in Bikaner with support and under guidance of Karni, the *charni*. By dauntless wars he included Sirsa, Ladnu, Bhatner, Bhatinda, Singhana, Rini, Nohar and Pungal in his domain. The Bhatti Rajputs settled down in Jaisalmer (Mad) in the 8th century and by 15th century 'the limits of Jaisalmer touched Amarkot in the west and Mallani in east'.³² Thus, the Thar of the 15th century housed Mad (Jaisalmer), Maru (Marwar) and Jangal (Bikaner) states. The constant struggles within the intra-desert states make it evident that all the ruling classes had interests in the dry lands of Thar and everyone was attempting to secure more and more lands of this desert.

The experiences of the Mughal personalities in the dry region could not puncture their aspirations of controlling the economic resources of the Thar Desert. Even, the near death experiences didn't dissuade the imperial centres, from exercising control over this vast desert. The interest of Mughals in desert persisted and they made prompt and aware efforts to keep this distant territory under control. After subjugation of the desert states the Mughal imperial forces were regularly appearing in the dry region. A share in the revenues arising from the desert trade activities was the chief inspiration for Mughals to participate in the activities of desert. In order to gain a direct control over the passages into western India, desert region, its trade routes, Nagaur, Ajmer and Jalor were made the outposts of the Mughal empire. Plethora of evidences indicate that the Mughal state was constantly working to keep Nagaur safe and under control. The strategic importance of Nagaur depicts through the facts that as a *jagir* it was always assigned to the most trustworthy officials. During early years of Akbar's reign, Nagaur was a *jagir* to Bairam Khan. Later, it was allotted to Munim Khan and many other officials who enjoyed the trust of emperor. When Bairam Khan rose in rebellion, he was the *jagirdar* of Nagaur. To take back Nagaur under imperial control, 'Nagaur and its territory were given to M. Shrifuddin Hussain'.³³ After reconciliatory round, Bairam Khan escaped from Agra. On knowing this, Akbar immediately ordered 'the word-traversing standards should advance from Delhi and establish themselves at Nagaur, so that Bairam Khan might not be able to plant his foot in that region'.³⁴ Thus, Shrifuddin

Hussain got charge of Nagaur, as one of Akbar's most trusted official only during Bairam Khan's rise in rebellion. In 1562 AD, Shrifuddin's credentials of 'real worthlessness and insubstantiality became' manifested when he escaped from the capital of Agra for 'Ajmer and Nagaur which were his *jagirs*'.³⁵ As the information of his escape was received, Akbar declared 'that one of his trusty servants should be appointed to the province of Nagaur'.³⁶ To execute emperor's orders immediately, Husain Quli Beg was promoted with title of Khan. Consequently, the *jagir* of Sharafuddin Husain was assigned to him and he was sent-off to take charge of Nagaur.³⁷ In 1572, Nagaur was granted to Rai Singh of Bikaner.³⁸ The significance of Nagaur, Jalore, Sojat, Jaisalmer, Ajmer, Bikaner and Pali was due to their strategic geographical locations, trade networks and immense trade that passed and exchanged through these centres, before getting dumped into the destined markets.

Akbar was no exception to aspire for authority over Nagaur. Besides him, many others kings irrespective of their influence tried to acquire jurisdiction over Nagaur. All these aspirations were mainly governed by the objective of safeguarding the share in trade activities. Nagaur became a popular centre for trade activities due to its geo-position. Its economic significance multiplied manifold, being a cross-road for commercial purposes. During reign of Rao Chunda, Mandor was the capital of Marwar. But after gaining victory over Nagaur, he shifted his capital to Nagaur.³⁹ In vs 1428/1361 AD, he died while fighting against Salem Khan of Multan, who was called by Bhatti (Kelan). There was a rivalry between Bhatti Kelan and Chunda. To take revenge, Bhatti (Kelan) called Salem Khan of Multan to attack on Chunda.⁴⁰ So, it is evident that the cultural significance of Nagaur also attracted the competitors who had the ability to wield power.⁴¹ During sultanate times many 'muslim nobles and military commanders similarly attempted to take Nagaur. As a result of this, Nagaur and its surrounding area often changed masters. Nagaur seems to have remained important for Delhi sultanate, right from the early period...'.⁴²

Abul Fazal noted that 'he for political reasons, and for subduing oppressors, etc., under the veil of indulging in hunting, proceed... towards Nagaur... and halted at the city'.⁴³ In c.1570, after taking control of the Nagaur affairs, Husain Quli Beg addressed the next imperial order that was for 'taking of the fort of Jodhpur, which was the strongest fort in that country'.⁴⁴ Tod also confirms that the Mughal governor Husain

Quli Khan seized the fort of Jodhpur and called it 'the strongest fort in that country'.⁴⁵ A good number of forces were sent to assist Husain Quli Beg and soon the control of fort was taken. In vs 1638/1571 AD, Akbar gave Jodhpur to Mota Raja.⁴⁶ The royal princes were also granted *jagirs* in the desert. In vs 1680/1623 AD, the *jagir* of *suba* Ajmer was granted to Pervez, under which he received all the *parganas* of *suba* Ajmer. In this land assignment, he also got Medta as part of his *jagir*.⁴⁷ In AD 1649, *patta* of Pokhran came in the territories to Jodhpur that too after intervention of queen Manbhavati. The reigning Mughal emperor responded '*chaho to Jaisalmer thanu da* (if you wish Jaisalmer can also be given to you)'.⁴⁸ Then the queen requested that 'Jaisalmer serves no purpose for them. It is an area where Bhattis dominate. Pokharan was always ours'. This is how on her pursuance Pokharan was granted to Marwar.⁴⁹ A *farman* was issued with immediate effect to communicate the decision of emperor to the concerned parties. King of Jodhpur showed the copy of *farman* to Rawal Ramchand and Rathor Sadul Gopal Dasot.⁵⁰ All the above instances clearly reflect that the desert was no wasteland for the empire and control over its territories was always desired for ensuring the economic wellbeing of empire.

Another pivotal reason for the Mughals to extend sovereignty over the regions of desert was the 'horse-trade'. The dry environment and sandy dunes of Thar Desert were conducive for horse breeding. The *johads* and pastures of Thar were supplying nutritious grass for horses. Economy of few villages was entirely dependent on the horse-breeding as '*ghodasakhraghodiyachrae* (horses of good-breed and freely grazing mares produce good calves)'.⁵¹ The entire economy of Sahaniyariwaasani was dependent on *ghodamukrechute* (good horses are produced).⁵² Village Nehwai of *pargana* Siwan was famous for producing good horses.⁵³ Horses from Multan and Lakhi Jungle were chief attraction at animal fairs of Gajner and Kolait in Bikaner.⁵⁴ Lakhi Jungle in India was well-known for its celebrated breed of horses.⁵⁵ A horse market was functional in *pargana* Pokhran.⁵⁶ Around Pali, Gough, was 'rambling to the south-west amongst Sahariys, Khosas, and all the wild beings of these uncivilized tracts, in search of new breeds of horses'.⁵⁷ Horses bred in *pargana* Dewa were beautiful and in originality were of Ajhad breed that was popular for speed, robustness and strength.⁵⁸ Good horses were produced in *ghoda ka khet* (breeding-grounds) of Ahalajulkayaas, Khueyala, Harrajsar, Khariga and Uparla.⁵⁹ *Johad* Uprla in *pargana* Dewa of Jaisalmer was exclusively meant for

grazing horses. At times the grasses were not sufficient, so liaison with other pastures were made. *Johad* of village Basnapi (*pargana* Jaisalmer) was exclusively used by Thakurs of village Lathi and Lanola for grazing and breeding horses.⁶⁰ Once a mare from the *khet* (breeding ground) of *pargana* Dewa was taken by Purohit Indraj to Jodhpur to compete with the horse of Maharaja Shri Partap Singh, on a bet of Rs. 400. The mare ran 42 miles in 90 minutes. Her commendation was published in Report Jodhpur.⁶¹

In the landscape of Marwar, 'there were several horse-fairs, especially those of Balotra and Pushkar where the horses of Cutch and Kathiawar, the Jungle and, and Multan, were brought in great numbers. Valuable horses were also bred on the western frontier, on the Luni, those of Rardara being in high estimation'.⁶² The events of nineteenth century dried-up all the sources of horse-supply. The breeding studs of Rardara, Cutch and the Jungle were almost extinct, and supplies from the west of Indus were intercepted by the Sikhs. The destruction of predatory system, which created a constant demand, appeared to have lessened the supply.⁶³ The horse consignments for Mughal cavalry were received from distant lands of Central Asia. The routes through the desert were popular with the horse-traders for ensuring health of the animal. Lakhi Jungle was a breeding-ground for a celebrated breed of horses.⁶⁴

The limited agricultural activities made Thar a region of irregular agricultural incomes. Thus, large varieties of new taxes were introduced like *dhuna*, *dand*, *anga*, *charai*, *paan-charai* etc. Besides, these taxes, the raids, *rahdari* (toll-tax) and the money earned by extending protection and security services (*ghughari*) were also means of income. *Ghughari* and *khichado* were other ways employed by the state to shift the fiscal burden onto the populace. In *pargana* Medta, the population of Jats was highest. Being agriculturists, the members of Jat community of Medta kept oxen and camels for executing agricultural activities. In vs 1718/1661 AD, the state took a separate tax on both the animals.⁶⁵ The taxes levied by the state of Marwar under *Amal Dastur* (tax on succession to throne) in the *pargana* of Medta on succession of Rao Gaj Singh, in year 1634 AD, were *ghassmaarion* the animals [cow, buffalo, bartho, jhota (calf), *chali-gadar* (goat-sheep), *jhunpe* (hut)], and *pan-charai* on the grazing animals like camel and goats, *bhog* on the agricultural produce (*shiyalu* and *tarkari*) and fodder (*kadbi*).⁶⁶ The rates of these

taxes hint that a large amount of money was levied. Similar types of taxes were levied in other *parganas* as well. At times, the exploitation by the state made the peasants to approach to the Mughal court. In year 1661 AD, the exploited peasants of *pargana* Medta approached the court of Aurangzeb for relief in taxes. Their request was accepted. Thus, from taxes, *vakil* Manohar Das struck-off the excess amount that was levied on the peasants under new heads and later, it was accepted by the king.⁶⁷ After taking control of the Thar region, the Mughals collected large amount of taxes. Until 1625 AD, the tax assessed for Medta was two lakh *daam*. With the interventions of Khoja Awal Hussian, it was enhanced to 2.5 lakh *daam*.⁶⁸ Later, Medta was also taken into *khalisa*. Until the intervention of eunuch Awal Khan, Medta was under Rajsingh as *jagir* that was allotted to him on recommendations of Mahabat Khan.⁶⁹ These instances prove that the lucrative revenue opportunities in the trading-towns were sufficient motivation for the imperial centre to keep a constant check of this region as it offered immense economic opportunities.

Thus, it can be proposed that there were sufficient avenues in desert for both, the imperial states and, intra-desert states. In order to stabilize the political scenario of Thar region and to ensure economic mobilization various other types of efforts were also initiated. Under these efforts the matrimonial alliances were most successful means to ensure long term associations and collaborations. Aforementioned, marriage of Hansa Bai in the house of Mewar was a step in that direction only. The political and military influence of Asthana rose while he was in territories of Pali. Looking at his success and fame, Raja Pratapse of Gohla Thakurai offered Asthana to marry his daughter.⁷⁰ Maldeo married nearly in all the Rajput houses that were active in the Thar region during his lifetime. He married in dynasties of Jhala, Bhatti, Hada, Kachhwaha, Tank, Ahada, Surawat, Chauhan, Jadam, Sodhi and Jasad.⁷¹ In nutshell, the dry Thar Desert was a no-goer area but, its revenue resources compelled the imperial centres to stay connected.

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41. Nagaur was much contested domain even during the sultanate period. In 1228 AD, Illtutamish re-conquered it and kept it as his domain. In 1242 AD, Khishlu Khan was governor of Nagaur. Later, Balban held Nagaur as iqta for a long time.
42. Hooja, *op.cit.*, p. 302.
43. Akbarnama, vol. 2, p. 517.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
45. *Tod*, vol. 2, pp. 958-9.
46. MRPRV, vol. 2, p. 297.
47. MRPRV, vol. 1, p. 108.
48. MRPRV, vol. 2, p. 298.
49. Norman P. Ziegler through his impressive work provides an insight in the culture of saga (in-laws) which defined the patron-client relationship and provided access to land, rank and prestige. Till the death of Rawal Manohar Das Bhatti, Rao Jaswant Singh didn't contest the hereditary right over Pokhran, because the former was his saga. But as he came to know about the death of Manohar Das and accession of Bhatti Ram chandSinghot to the throne of Jaisalmer, he forwarded his claim for Pokhran. For details see, Ziegler, 'Rajput Loyalties During the Mughal Period', in J. F. Richards (ed.), *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, pp. 215-250.
50. MRPRV, p. 298.
51. MRPRV, vol. 1, p. 354.
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64. *Tod*, vol. 2, p. 1184.
65. MRPRV, vol. 1, p. 93.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.
67. MRPRV, vol. 2, p. 93.
68. MRPRV, vol. 1, p. 109.
69. *Ibid.*
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Understanding the Geographical Ecological Continuum in North-Western Rajasthan and Sindh region

Priyanka Sharma*

Societies adapt and transform the environments they inhabit. They depend upon the use of resources and reduction of hazards for their survival and material well-being. They also assign meanings to the environment that vary over place and time. It depends upon the adaptability of a society or lack of it, to climatic conditions that necessarily brings in the socioeconomic setup developed along with its interaction with the environment. This paper studies the main components of society focussing majorly on pastoralists, traders, agriculturalists, etc. and the process that framed their surroundings and their relationship with environment and argues that climatic variability afflicts the human social systems at various levels. For studying the Early Medieval North west Rajasthan, it is important to look further west, towards the Sindh region, to get a better understanding of the region. As the regions although experienced similar climatic casting, but the hydrological (changing course of river Indus) and environmental variations and political developments (Arab, Turk and Mongol invasions) in the Sindh region had direct bearings on the North Western Rajasthan region, affecting the migration of wandering pastoralists, agriculturalists and the trading communities, which further amalgamated into the process of Rajputization, formation of agro-pastoral groups and building of local societies in the Rajasthan region. The paper follows this turn of geographical, ecological, political, economic events in the Sindh region and studies the relations and their influence on the north West Rajasthan region. The paper further

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tries to show how ecological 'continuity' (in terms of how there was rise in pastoral tendencies due to frequent changing course of Indus river, reviving the hopes of emergence of new settlements, which further continued even after migration or displacement, also bhaiyat system) rather than 'crisis' led to intensification of resource use and social transformation.

Narayan Singh Bhati in his commentary on the 17th Century chronicle of Munhata Nainsi refers to an old myth that says, "at one time a distributary of Sutlej passed through Sindh, because of which the region was fertile. Umar Soomra evoked the ire of Goddess Sangviyan, the presiding deity of the Bhatias, by expressing a desire to marry her, who then changed the course of the river and made it to flow through Multan. Ever since there is a famous saying that the water went to Multan".¹ Similar examples can be found in the Arab sources, between 1011 and 1333 CE, the Indus experienced three major changes in her lower course the Chroniclers of Sindh associate such incidents with the fall of local Sumra and Sama dynasties that succeeded after the fall of Arab regime. A good number of historical tales of Sindh elaborate that the tyrannical and unjust rule of these local dynasties offended the river goddess. Hence, she decided to move from her original path and flow in another direction. G.S.L Devra notices Rajasthani tales related to the incidents of *Awad* or *Karni Shakti* or goddess worship also support such occurrences. Oppressive regimes and growing desiccation probably compelled a large number of people from the Charan community to migrate from Sindh to Rajasthan. On one hand, these sayings and traditions view the desertification and aridity of the region as part of an older process resulting from natural causes and brings in the supernatural causing's for the same but at the same time, they allow us to go beyond the political boundaries to study the ecological past. Hence, to study the geography and environment of North western Rajasthan it is necessary to investigate the geography of Sindh area as both regions has much of the same character.

In understanding the history of north west Rajasthan, it is equally important to investigate the Arab sources. For this paper I have used Chachnama to get a glimpse into the region. In the 7th century due to the Arab invasions, many tribes and clans migrated towards different regions in Rajasthan. According to Chachnama, "The attitude of Rajput Princes towards the Jats and the Meds does not appear to have been hostile, but

Chach who was opposed by these tribes not only disarmed them but degraded them. They were not at liberty to wear silks or satins, or to ride on saddled horses, or even to wear shoes or a turban."² Navsari inscription (738-39 AD) also highlights the continuous attacks by the Arabs after the invasion of Mohammad Bin Qasim. Chach, of Chachnama had relations in Rajasthan; and the ancient ballads of that country as well as Gujarat and Rajasthan tell of many Rajput Chiefs who had kinsmen in Sindh area. G.S.L Devra argues in the *Chachnama* phrases, like, *Saka* or *Jauhar* are not mentioned yet the resolution taken by the warriors and their family members in the besieged fort reflects the presence of the same spirit. From the *Chachnama* it also appears that these rituals of *Saka* and *Jauhar* were already present in the societies of warrior communities in Sind before the coming of the Arabs.³ Therefore, as Sindh lies in the vicinity of Rajasthan, hence, the sources can be used for the better understanding of Rajasthan region. But our intention here, is to look at the geographical, ecological and political settings of the region to understand the continuum mainly in the early medieval period, without diluting the sources available for the period.

Understanding Climatic Optimum in Sindh region

Around 612-714 AD, the Brahman dynasty started well under its founder Chach. But in 669 AD, things seem to have deteriorated due to some changes in the course of River Indus in the lower Sindh disturbing the economic life and creating chaotic conditions. There is a report of mass migration of leading and populous Kathia tribe of Sindh to Kutch and from thence to Kathiawar to which they gave their name. M.H. Panhwar argues, "the enblock migration of such a big community was due to a major change in the course of river Indus abandoning its old channel and causing thereby destruction of the irrigation system. Thereby, we notice that during the seventh century irrigation was well-established and managed, but some changes in the course of the River Indus in the lower Sindh at the end of the century i.e., around 700 AD caused ruination of the irrigation system thereby putting some area out of cultivation." Onset of dry weather and change of the course of River Indus led to the political changes.

Around the eighth century, during the conquest of Mohd. Bin Qasim, two important factors were already at work against Dahar, the Brahman ruler of Sindh. The first was change of course of the River Indus and second, neglect of maintenance of canals led to the reduction

in area under cultivation. Between the periods from 950 to 1050 CE due to tectonic changes, the Sukkur gorge of Indus became deep and wide and result of that adjacent Alore gorge which remained very short failed to divert the water in the *Nara* or eastern arm of the river. By that time, the river Hakra or Ghaggar once supported *Nara* had also run dry. The decrease of water in *Nara* was disastrous for the lives of thousands of people in Sindh. Pre occupied by internal problems, the new Arab rulers did not pay attention to restoration of the canal or irrigation system. The chances of resettlement of the people became meagre. In Sindh, the changing course of the river Indus decided the changing concentration of settlements. Comparing the river Indus courses in Habari (854-1011 AD) era with Soomra period (1011-1351 AD) it is clear that the river had abandoned its old course ruining the irrigation system. The upper Sindh changed hands frequently and shifting of population accordingly took place.⁴ Therefore, the people who knew needs of irrigation in Sindh introduced *Bhaiyat system*, under which communities were assigned common lands to be cultivated as per needs of people, which were met. In Kutch in 1147 AD, a system adopted by immigrant Sammas of Sindh must have been copy of Sindh's *Bhaiyat* or brotherhood.⁵ After 1351 AD Sammas finally overthrew Soomras and in the period the river had comparatively stabilised itself, leading to stable time period.

During early medieval period both ecological and military factors paved the way for ecological disturbances and mass migrations. Rajasthani and Gujarati inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries have also listed the plunder and destruction by invaders, like Ghatiyala Inscription⁶ describes the village of Rohinsakupaka which was unfit for habitation by good people since it was 'infested by Abhiras' which depopulated the vast areas. In both regions we notice, there is continuous contest between wandering pastoralists and settled peasants in order to dominate the political and economic space.

Linkages via trade routes

The trade through the territory of Rajasthan was facilitated by its favourable geographical position lying between the prosperous Punjab on the North; Gujrat and Malwa on the South; Agra and Delhi on the North, - east and Sindh and Multan on the West. Early medieval epigraphic records mention trade-routes through the territories of Marwar and Mewar which connected various popular commercial towns like

Pali, Jalore, Jaisalmer, Nadaul, Merta, Barmer etc. From Mandari in Cutch to the Northern Provinces and from Malwa to Bahawalpur in Sindh roads from Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Ajmer to Ahmedabad, a big commercial centre of Gujrat also passed through Pali. Not only foreign trade but an equally vibrant network of internal trade in western India is evident both from literary and epigraphical sources of the period. Merchants in western India traded in both essential and luxury commodities, ranging from grains, salt, jaggery, oil, ghee, textiles, leather goods, metal goods, animals, spices, betel-leaves and arecanuts to saffron, ivory, coral, gold, semi-precious stones such as carnelian, onyx, etc.⁷ Some of these commodities found markets in West. The initiative of the local states in helping the trade to thrive can be seen in the political measures undertaken.

The early Turkish rulers were keen to control the leading commercial towns of Rajasthan to establish their trade links with Gujrat and Sindh. The towns of Bhatner and Saraswati (Sirsa), which were the bordering posts of the Thar desert, were the important centres. Territorial extension in the eleventh century expanded the source of land. Northward expansion of the Nagda-Ahada) evident from Kadmal plates of Guhila King Vijayasimha (A.D. 1083), diverted some of Godwaras resources towards Mewar. Later in the 15th century, the place of 'Rati-Ghati', where modern Bikaner town was founded by Rao Bika as the capital town of his newly established kingdom in the desert area of Jangal Pradesh in 1488 A.D. was a meeting centre for the four different directional trade routes from Sindh, Hisar, Nagar and Phalodi. According to Morkhana inscription of V. S. 1573,⁸ there were roads to Multan from the territory of Rajasthan of which Morkhana, a town to the south-east of Bikaner and Derawar were very important centres.

Therefore, these major trade routes had their direct connection with the other popular routes of the country, Rajgarh, Churu, Bhatner, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Pugal, Jaisalmer, Pali, and Nagor were the chief commercial centres at that time in the Northern and Western India. These centres had their direct links with the other popular routes of the eastern and Southern Rajasthan and Central India like Delhi-Ahmedabad route through Rajasthan, Agra to Ahmedabad through Rajasthan; Agra to Malwa through Rajasthan; Delhi to Multan via. Hissar, Bhatinda and Lahore to Delhi via-Bhatinda and Hissar. A trader from Sindh who could also travel from his place to Delhi and Agra through these routes.

According to the Bahis in the later centuries, food grains were exported to the various towns of the upper and lower Sindh. In the famine and drought times the export of the food grains increased with the concessional trade duties from one part to the others for the relief purposes in the desert areas of different provinces. The wool of the sheep pastures in the desert was staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. Though camels were also exported to Sindh and Multan but camels of Sindh and Kutch were more popular in Rajasthan.⁹

In the history of the trade development in the Sindh and Thar region, though topographical conditions, lack of the sufficient water supply and non-availability of proper road facilities were the main hinderances, to add in the misery was the rebellions attitude of the various nomadic and semi nomadic tribes of this. But in spite of hurdles, elements of continuity can be noticed in flourishing of these trade networks in the region with the help of local residents and political authority.

Linkages between Sindh and Bhatias

James Tod in his firm opinion considers their descent from Indo-Scythians and Sistan word is the corruption of *Shakasthan*.¹⁰ In their records, Bhatias have also used the application of *Yaka*, in several contexts.¹¹

In the Chachnama of Sindh, the references of Bhatias as ruling clan have come up repeatedly but description of them in the form of various hordes suggests that in the part of Sindh and its neighbouring regions of south Punjab and Rajasthan they had emerged but in small groups. This development suggests that they had been disintegrated both socially and politically. The Bhatias before their coming to the desert parts of Rajasthan were natives of the Punjab and frontier regions of India. The kingdom of Ramel was ruled by one Bhati king Sohan or Sursen, that was lying between the Sindh and Hind whereupon other small chiefs recruited themselves either into the services of the king of Sindh and others operated independently in the different terrains of region. Sursen was contemporary of both Chach and his successor, Dahir.¹² Marot and Bhatner, capital towns of this forgotten Ramel kingdom flourished on the banks of Ghaggar and Hakra rivers. Arab travellers explain that Ramel was located in the country of Budhia or in the modern Thar-Parkar and Bhawalpur regions of Sindh. This newly established kingdom of Bhatias was addressed as 'Ramel' by a number of travellers

and scholars of that period. At the same time in the epigraphic evidences of Rajasthan the region stretched from the northern boundary of Mad (Jaisalmer) to the south end of the river Sutluj. This is mentioned as Stravani or Travani.¹³ But the Bhatias after the presence of Arabs in Sind for a long time could not make advances towards the territories lying on the eastern bank of the river Indus. Rather the Arabs went on to occupy some of their forts. Ultimately, the Bhatias lost the cause and found themselves pushed back in the Thar Desert. There they established themselves at the newly constructed fort of Tanot, near Ramgarh in the modern district of Jaisalmer.¹⁴

After the ninth century this kingdom of Ramel went into oblivion, however, Bhatner as written earlier survived to remain a leading centre of north Rajasthan and Sind. Bhatner continued to resist almost every invader coming from Khurasan and Iran. The history of Bhatner clearly suggests human activity as largely responsible for its corrosion. The environmental fate of Bhatner remained closely linked to survival of the Lakhi Jungle. During 985-1006 AD Vijay Rao Bhati Prince succeeded in reviving the power and glory of his clan and became the lord of forts, like, Bhatner, Kehror, Marot and Mumanwaha. Later, around the middle of the eleventh Prince Devraj Bhati, son of famous king Vijay Ray of Bhatia or Bhatner. Devraj after the loss of Bhatner to the forces of Mahmud of Ghazna founded the fort of Derawar, on the bank of Hakra in upper Sindh, however, soon left the place and moved towards the present region of Jaisalmer.¹⁵ This was the time when the military campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazna destroyed the natural resources in the mountains and affected the economic and ecological conditions leading to migrations. From time to time, Bhatias went on to disintegrate on different occupational lines. Most of them were absorbed in the agricultural and pastoral communities. This Mobility promoted connections of economies and cultures, which is visible even now in the oral and written traditions of the region.

The adaptation to the arid environment didn't take much time due to the already accustomed material environment. The interactions with living resources and more importantly, the control over these resources becomes crucial to understand the impact of ecological factors on the building of socio cultural political identity of the region. The geography and topography of the region exerted a significant influence over its socio-economic conditions. The three important resources i.e. *jand*

or khejri trees, cattle raids and low water table formed the lifelines of the region.

According to Anthony Gordon O'Brien, water must have been important to early bhattikas.¹⁶ There is a story of Devraj Bhatti and his access to political authority through the construction of water tanks. Devraj bribed the chief minister of Paramaras and constructed the water tanks of Tanasur, Vijayarayasara and Devasara. Representatives from Paramara domain visiting these tanks were asked to give gifts. Thus, Devaraj Bhatti transferred the loyalty of local chiefs from Paramaras to Bhattis.¹⁷ The inscriptional records highlight the construction of water tanks played a crucial role in not only the ecological development but also in the political development. The Asnikot inscription of the Parambhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameshwar Vijayarajadeva commemorates the building of Vijayadasar tank in BS 541 (AD 1164-65).¹⁸ The Dandh Tank inscription¹⁹ of Bhatti king, Keharideva adopting a pompous title of Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Umapativalabha-praudha Pratapa Abhinava- Martanda-Jadava-Vamsa-Chudamani-Ripurajyasm-Svayamvara-Bal-Narayanavatara-SrimadKeharideva, dated BS769 (AD1392), tanks of Maldesar and Kasmiradesar, Inscriptions of Sri' Jayatsimha dated BS 676 (AD 1299) and BS 677 (AD 1300) respectively highlight the efforts of the local chief (as his clan name is not mentioned) commemorating his visit to the tanks,²⁰ etc. the following examples show how the construction of water tank in such water scarce area attached both economic and political importance, the processes of military conquests and political integration ran simultaneously with the process of legitimation.

Therefore, the historical processes in both the regions focusses on existence of strong linkages. The political and ecological upheavals in one region led to entry of so many groups in the neighbouring area of north western Rajasthan. What is interesting here to study the elements of links and 'continuity' which were practised by different communities of agriculturists, pastoralists, traders, etc adapting peacefully to the not so different ecological surroundings. The shift in the course of Indus river and process of desertification gave rise to the pastoral tendency, reviving the hopes of emergence of new settlements, the tendency continued in later social transformations, trade continued to benefit both the regions and the construction of water tanks and advancement in irrigation techniques impacted the seasonal agriculturalists in the society.

Hence, environment remained a crucial component to regulate the relationship between society and nature, which amounts to conservation and judicious utilization of natural possession, which was dominated by political and economic space.

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Bhakti Saints Meera Bai and Sankara Deva's Role in Bhakti Movement

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The Bhakti Movement, a spiritual and social revolution in medieval India, advocated devotion (bhakti) as the means to connect with the divine, transcending caste and societal barriers. Emerging around the 7th century CE, it gained momentum between the 14th and 17th centuries, with proponents like Meera Bai playing a pivotal role. Meera Bai, a prominent figure in the Bhakti Movement, hailed from Rajasthan, India, born into a royal family in the 16th century. She defied social norms by openly expressing her devotion to Lord Krishna, irrespective of caste and gender constraints. Meera's poetry, infused with love and longing for Krishna, became an emblem of devotion and rebellion against societal norms.

Chief features of Meera Bai's Bhakti

Meera Bai, a leading figure in the Bhakti Movement, exemplified its core principles through her life and teachings. Here are some chief features that define her contribution to the movement:

Devotion to Lord Krishna:

At the heart of Meera Bai's Bhakti was her unwavering love and devotion to Lord Krishna. Her poetry, known as "bhajans," expressed her deep longing and connection with the divine. Meera's devotion was not merely ritualistic but intensely personal, reflecting her belief in the divine as the ultimate source of love and fulfillment.

Rejection of Social Norms:

Meera Bai defied societal conventions and norms to pursue her

devotion to Krishna. Despite being born into royalty, she renounced worldly comforts and embraced a life of austerity and devotion. Her disregard for caste and gender barriers challenged the rigid social hierarchy of her time, making her a symbol of rebellion and spiritual freedom.

Simplicity and Humility:

Despite her noble birth and stature, Meera Bai embodied simplicity and humility in her lifestyle. She lived modestly, often wandering as a wandering ascetic (sadhu), singing praises of Krishna and sharing her devotion with all who crossed her path. Her humility endeared her to people from all walks of life, regardless of their social status.

Perseverance in the Face of Adversity:

Meera Bai faced numerous challenges and hardships due to her devotion to Krishna. She endured opposition from her family, who disapproved of her devotion, and faced persecution from the orthodox establishment. Despite these obstacles, she remained steadfast in her faith, embodying the Bhakti ideal of unwavering devotion and surrender to the divine.

Literary Legacy:

Meera Bai's poetry remains one of the most enduring legacies of the Bhakti Movement. Her bhajans, composed in the vernacular language of Braj Bhasha, continue to inspire millions with their simplicity, beauty, and depth of devotion. Through her verses, Meera Bai conveyed profound spiritual truths in accessible language, making the teachings of the Bhakti Movement accessible to the masses.

While Meera Bai and Sankar Deva were both influential figures in the Bhakti Movement, there are significant differences in their backgrounds, teachings, and contributions.

Background:

Meera Bai:

Born into a royal Rajput family in Rajasthan, Meera Bai defied societal expectations by embracing a life of devotion to Lord Krishna. Her journey from a life of privilege to one of renunciation and devotion symbolized the transformative power of Bhakti. Meera Bai is a saint of Rajasthan. Her song verses have been sung all over India. Poetry in India has always been closely connected with religious movements. Most

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of India's saint poets were of high literary merit, devoting their creative genius to writing or singing about their deity. Meera Bai is best known for her lyrics. Her poems follow the pada⁵ form. The pada form was a very popular style for singing the devotional songs in the medieval period. The first line of the pada is called 'tek' which express the central theme of the song, and the second part 'antara'⁶ which elaborates the idea and is repeated while singing. Meera Bai's padas can be divided into two categories: the padas of self surrender and salutation, and the padas of love and realistic phenomenon. There are about seventy ragas in her padas. Each raga⁷ presents a particular rasa. Meera Bai's poems indicate the literary language of a mixture of Braja Bhasa and Marwari. Her verses hold on an important place in the medieval Hindi literature.

Her verses, known as "bhajans," resonated with common people, spreading the message of love and devotion. Meera's unwavering dedication and fearlessness in the face of opposition from her family and society exemplified the spirit of the Bhakti Movement. She symbolized the idea that true devotion transcends societal boundaries and rituals. Meera Bai's life and teachings continue to inspire generations, emphasizing the universal nature of love and devotion. Her legacy underscores the transformative power of bhakti in breaking down social barriers and fostering spiritual liberation. In the tapestry of the Bhakti⁸ Movement, Meera Bai's contribution shines brightly, illuminating the path of devotion for seekers across time and space.

Sankar Deva: Sankar Deva, on the other hand, was a saint, scholar, and social reformer from Kamarupa–Kamata region (present Assam and Kuchbehar). Born into a Brahmin family, he received a traditional education in Sanskrit scriptures but later renounced worldly pursuits to devote himself to spiritual pursuits. Sankardev advocated for devotion to Krishna (bhakti), which mainly involved singing (kirtan) and listening to (sravan) accounts of his actions. Ekasarana worships according to the dasya attitude (bhava), in which the practitioner regards oneself as God's servant. Unlike other Vaishnava groups, Krishna and Radha are not worshipped together.

Teachings:

Meera Bai: Meera Bai's teachings revolved around the central theme of love and devotion to Lord Krishna. Through her poetry, she conveyed the message that true devotion transcends social barriers and

rituals, emphasizing the importance of a personal relationship with the divine.

Sankar Deva: Sankar Deva's teachings were rooted in the Vaishnavite tradition of Assam, known as Eka Sarana Nama Dharma, which emphasizes surrender to the one true God. He propagated the worship of Lord Vishnu as the supreme deity and emphasized the importance of living a righteous life. (The basic idea of Sankaradeva's teachings was humanism. His humanistic ideology was grounded in spiritualism and religion. Sankaradeva imparts the importance of unity. He seeks to dismantle all forms of human classification and establish the harmony, contentment, and universality found in nature.)

Chief educational idea of Sankaradeva: Sankaradeva attempted to create a classless society by eliminating intolerance and untouchability via the use of religious principles. Bhakti philosophy also emphasizes the adoption of proper values like love, affection, peace, and so on, as well as the teaching of democratic values like brotherhood, togetherness, and equality.

Meera Bai's philosophy: The majority of stories about Mirabai highlight her bold disobedience to family and societal norms, her love for Krishna, how she treated him as her spouse, and how her in-laws persecuted her for her religious beliefs.

Contribution:

Meera Bai: Meera Bai's most significant contribution to the Bhakti Movement lies in her poetry, which continues to inspire millions with its depth of devotion and spiritual insight. Her fearless defiance of social norms and unwavering commitment to her faith made her a symbol of Bhakti idealism.

Sankar Deva: Sankar Deva's contributions to the Bhakti Movement were multifaceted. He not only composed devotional songs (Borgeets) but also laid the foundations for a socio-religious movement known as the Neo-Vaishnavite movement. He established monastic orders (satras) and initiated social reforms aimed at eradicating caste-based discrimination and promoting spiritual equality.

Significance:

Meera Bai and Sankar Deva both played significant roles in shaping the Bhakti Movement and influencing the socio-religious

landscape of their respective regions. Meera Bai's fearless devotion and poetic expression challenged the rigid social hierarchy of medieval India, inspiring countless individuals to seek a deeper connection with the divine beyond societal constraints. Her legacy continues to resonate with seekers of spiritual truth, serving as a beacon of hope and inspiration for generations to come.

Sankar Deva's efforts to propagate the message of devotion and righteousness laid the foundation for a cultural renaissance in Assam. His emphasis on social equality and spiritual upliftment helped bridge the gap between different strata of society, fostering a sense of unity and community among the people of Assam.

Both Meera Bai and Sankar Deva exemplified the transformative power of Bhakti in transcending social barriers and fostering spiritual liberation. Their teachings continue to influence millions, reminding us of the timeless relevance of love, devotion, and righteousness in the pursuit of a meaningful and fulfilling life.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, Meera Bai and Sankar Deva were two luminaries of the Bhakti Movement who left an indelible mark on the socio-religious landscape of medieval India. Despite coming from different regions and cultural backgrounds, they shared a common commitment to the ideals of love, devotion, and spiritual liberation. Meera Bai's life exemplified the transformative power of Bhakti in breaking down societal barriers and fostering spiritual liberation. Her unwavering devotion to Lord Krishna, expressed through her poignant poetry, continues to inspire millions with its depth of emotion and spiritual insight. Sankar Deva, on the other hand, played a pivotal role in reviving the Vaishnavite tradition in Kamrupa-Kamata (present Assam and North Bengal) and promoting social reform. Through his teachings and organizational efforts, he sought to eradicate caste-based discrimination and promote spiritual equality among all sections of society.

Despite the differences in their backgrounds and teachings, Meera Bai and Sankar Deva shared a common commitment to the core principles of the Bhakti Movement. Both emphasized the importance of love, devotion, and surrender to the divine as the path to spiritual liberation. In today's world, where divisions based on caste, creed, and religion continue to plague society, the teachings of Meera Bai and Sankar Deva

hold particular significance. Their message of universal love and spiritual equality remains as relevant today as it was centuries ago, serving as a beacon of hope and inspiration for all those who seek a deeper meaning in life.

In essence, the legacies of Meera Bai and Sankar Deva remind us of the transformative power of Bhakti in transcending divisions and fostering a more compassionate and inclusive society. As we navigate the complexities of the modern world, their teachings serve as guiding lights, illuminating the path to a more harmonious and spiritually fulfilling existence.

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2. *Madeleine Biardeau, Hinduism: The Anthropology of a Civilization, Oxford University Press, 1994, pp.89-91.*
3. *Bhagavad Gita, Chap.12, Verses-12-20.*
4. *Shvetashvatara Upanishad, 6.23, wiki source. Also available Max Muller, Shvetasvatara Upanishad, The Upanishad Part II, Oxford University Press, 1884, p.267.*
5. *'Pada' - most of the Meera Bai's poem are of a form called 'pada' means verse.*
6. *The word 'antara' is meaning the ending or middle part of the song.*
7. *'Raga' is a collection of pitches, kind of like a scale or mode of Western Music.*
8. *Pechilis Prentiss, Karen, The Embodiment of Bhakti, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.24.*

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The Devotional literature of the Jasnathi Sampraday of Bikaner

Etee Bahadur*

The Devotional literature of the Jasnathi Sampraday of Bikaner

The Jasnathi sect was founded by Guru Jasnath in 1561 VS (1504 AD) after initiating a Jat Chaudhri from the Lalandesar village by giving the *Chulu* and the tying of the *Seli* (woven out of black wool around the neck).¹ The main Gaddi of the sect is located at the Kathriarsar village, a few kilometres away from Bikaner.

Dominique Sila-Khan claims that the coalescence with Nath Sampraday in the Indian subcontinent operated on the basis that which gave birth to an acculturated Nizarism, as in the Ginanic tradition a number of elements point to the idea that there was a strong interaction between the Nizari Pirs and the yogis of the Nath sect. It is due to this we find yogic references in the Ginans, which include the concept of *Sabd*, the *samadhi* and the eighty-four *asans* of the hatha-yoga to the *siddhs*.² Jasnath is identified with the Nikalank Avatar, and is called *Kayam Raja* (the king who is eternal, i.e. God). It is believed that he would save the remaining twelve crores which were to be saved since the time of Prahlad. Guru Jasnath is revered as the Guru / Sant by the Hindus, however their disciples would view them as Gods.³ In the *Sabd Granth* it is stated that he would be born as avatar in Kaliyuga as '*Nikalanki*'.⁴ He would in the Kaliyug, thereby destroy the *raksha*, named *Kalanga*.⁵ Dominique Sila – Khan remarks that the literary tradition of the religious movements in Rajasthan and Gujarat have songs which are of an eschatological, messianic nature.⁶ Thus there was a similarity between the Vaishnava

Hindu concept of *avatara* and the Ismaili concept of the *Imam*. Some scholars have looked at this heterogeneity as portraying inter-culturalism in pre-modern times where this sort of poetic borrowings are not uncommon. The prevalence of the performances of the songs of Narasinha Mehta (ca.1414-1480), who was the poet of the Guajrati language, in Rajasthani versions in modern India testifies this assumption. Neelima Shukla –Bhatt in her book acknowledges Ali Asani for directing her to the Ismaili sources of Narasimhas times, whose popularity has also been observed in many parts of Rajasthan.⁷ The compositions which are of the Pir and Sayids and can be regarded as signatures (*Chhap*), these are the same as Bhajans which are ascribed to the poet saints, *sants*.⁸ The signature (*Chhaps*) of these devotional compositions are a matter of interest since we see similar *chhaps* in the Jasnathi tradition and the literature of other traditions. These have been taken from the Bishnois, according to Maheshwari since she had been the Muslim disciples of Jambha.⁹ The devotional compositions of the Jasnathi's being the Vanis, Pads, Simbhu dharas, (of Shiva) long poems (*lokgathas*). The *Agni Jagran* (fire - dance) begins with a Pad devoted to Jasnath, followed by a composition by Samsoji (Samas Din, Pir Shams Sabzwari). Among the literature of the Khojas we find Ginans ascribed to Pir Sadruddin, the fifteenth century *dai* (missionary of the Nizari dawa), who was also referred to by the Hindu names of Harchand and Sahdev.¹⁰ Ginans are attributed to Pir Sadruddin and are the main themes of the messianic songs which deal with events taking place at the day of the resurrection (*Qiyamat*) which is said to coincide with the Kaliyuga.¹¹ According to the ginans, the Nikalank avatar will come from the west, to fight against the *Danavas* (hindu demon) and Kalinga (Kalingo) the personification of Hindu Kali yuga and evil.¹² With the destruction of the Kalingo (the fiercest one), the Lord was to wed Visav Kunari (Visva Kumari) as symbolic of the converted community and the faithful were to rule for centuries and not to forget to attend the Jama't (assemblies) and pay the obligatory *Dasondh*.¹³ The Jasnathi disciples had to give a *dasondh* which was a tenth of their income. The Jammo / Jagran (from the Arabic word *Jammat*) are gatherings of the Jasnathis and they are on different occasions.¹⁴ Some characteristic elements as seen during fieldwork by Dominique-Sila Khan for the followers of Ramdev Pir, derive from the tradition of the Nath Jogis.¹⁵ These are the presence of a wood plank symbolic of the *gaddi* and an invisible god (*Alakh*). Symbols

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particular to the tradition may be seen on the *path*, these are indigenous symbols representative of the sun, moon, Om or pair of footprints (*pagliyas*), a flag and more.¹⁶ The *Jyot* (light) is another object of worship which was represented by a clay lamp with ghee (butter) , this is a symbol of Hindu worship and is used during the ceremonies of the Khojas, the Imamshahis the Nizarpanthis along with indigenous mantras and contain Hindu as well as Islamic reference.¹⁷ The Nizaris therefore transformed the indigenous terminologies and concepts to fit into their own ideology and this recast models have been referred to as 'Ismailized Hindu patterns'.¹⁸

Dominique Sila- Khan writes that despite the various Nath elements which can be traced in the sect, Guru Jasnath is said to have a direct disciple of Gorakhnath and the Jasnathi Siddhs like the Jogis, as they suffix – Nath to their names.¹⁹ Their hagiography tells us that the Guru of Jasnath, the founder of the Jasnathi Sampardaya as he had been initiated by Gorakhnath. hands and was given the name Jasnath.²⁰ The *Sabd Granth* raises the question as to how a person born in the sixteenth century and a person born in the eleventh century be reconciled. It states that one of the meanings of 'Gorakh' is 'knowledge'.²¹ The word 'Guru' signifies the aspect of bringing an end to the 'darkness' of 'ignorance'. It is the Guru who spreads the light of 'knowledge'.²² It has been made clear that the Siddha Jasnath ji refereed to 'Gorakh' as their Bhagwan. and is intended to take the form of the Guru. *Sabd Granth*, has referreed to the various forms of Gorakh this does not prove the form of historical person Gorakh. Siddheshwar Jasnathji has clearly remembered Gorakh as the divinity. Siddheshwar has used 'Gorakh' in his compositions - Alakh Niranjana Gorakh Simbhu' and many more. It states that there is a lot of difference between the principles of Jasnathi sect and 'Nathpanthi' principles. They are 'Vaishnav siddhs'. The ideals of the religion of 'Jasnathi-sect' are the devotees Prahlada, the Satyavada King Harishchandra, Pandavas and Raja Bali.²³ Another very significant aspect to be mentioned here is of Avatarism and the Nathpanthis did not believe in avatars. It is stated that the 'Jasnathi-Sampradaya in all their religiosity is a follower of Vedic Sanatana Dharma.²⁴ However according to the Tawarikh the presence of Gorakhnath can be testified to being two thousand years earlier since the Raja Gopichand who was the disciple of Jaldharnathji and the Bhartari raja who was a disciple even before Gopichand belonged to the same family (uncle and nephew) who had

both become yogis after Gopichand renounced the throne.²⁵ The Nath Yogi Gopichand and the Ismaili Govarchand are both said to be disciples of Jalandarnath and were the same. A text titled *Raja Govarchand tatha teni Beni Katha* is an Ismaili version of the renouncer king Gopichand. The twelve disciples of Gorakhnath, henceforth were to begin the twelve Panths in the name of Gorakhnath, indicative of the fact that the Panth of Gorakhnath began with Gorakhnath and it spread to the entire hindustan because of the conversion of Raja Bharthari and Raja Gopinath to the sect as Jogis. The *Mardum Shumari*, which also states that Jaldharnath has been mentioned as a disciple.²⁶ It also states that the Bharthari raja and the Raja Gopichand were kings who had renounced their throne to become disciples of Gorakhnath.²⁷ The *Sabd Granth* does not testify to this claim and deny that their Panth is an offshoot of the Nath Samparday and nor do the Goraknath Jogis regard the Jasnathi's as Nath.²⁸

Dominique- Sila Khan remarks that the process of re-Hinduization may have modified many features of the Jasnathi tradition , the Jasnathis are regarded as Hindus connected with the Nath Sampraday and an essential point is of the association of the Nath Jogis with the Jasnathi Sampraday.²⁹ The Bishnoi Panth contains lesser amount of Nath concepts, according to Dominique Sila-Khan. She has done a brief survey of the Nizarpanthi, the Aipanthis and Jasnathi traditions. The Bishnoi community as stated in the *Mardum Shumari*, are an offshoot of the Jats however besides the Jats a lot of others also joined the Panth, this was not liked by the Nagaur Hakim Muhammad Khan who wished to thereby stop this however Jambhaji was able to convince him by incorporating a few Islamic teachings into the Panth practices.³⁰ These included (MS) i) the Vishnois should be buried ii) The Bishnois should take the name of Bismillah along with Vishnu iii) The marriage rituals were not to include the Pheras but Hathleva and a Hom among others iv) Not to keep a braid and be clean shaven v) to keep a beard, the Bishnois were seen to have no characteristic elements of the Vaishnav dharm nor wore a *tilak* or a necklace and did not worship Vishnu in an idol form. Dasbastanmul Mazahib comments that those Hindus and Musslamans who have taken to the Panth do not disturb the animals nor dine with others not belonging to the Panth, they are to pray looking towards the West and read the Namaz, and it does not seem that there has not been any attempt to identify the Bishnoi *sadhus* with the Nath.³¹

However the Jasnath Sampraday writes Dominique-Sila Khan identifies itself more with the Gorakhnath sect.³² The compositions associated with the Jasnathi sect have been classified as 'sant poetry' by the authors of Rajasthan, while Dominique Sila-Khan adds to it the fact of the similarity between Gorakhvani and the devotional compositions of Jasnath and Jambha.³³

Dominique Sila-Kha writes that Chulu was introduced by Siddh Jasnath to divert the people from the former practices.³⁴ This confirms her hypothesis that the Nizari Pirs imitated and transformed the tantric rites which had been prevalent among the converts so that it was easier for them to take onto to the new path.³⁵ It consisted of mixing of in a brass bowl a little water, raw milk, hom, pure sugar (*Khand*) a copper coin.³⁶ The *Chulu* (consecrated water) was given after a Jagran was held at the Bari.³⁷

In the Nizarpanthi tradition, the female saints play an important role and they have developed their own version of a sacrificed *Sati*. According to the followers the sati is endowed with supernatural powers and they work themselves into a state of meditation Samadhi before they are buried alive. *Chabutras* and *Chatris* of this tradition are found in Aipanthe cemeteries and so are the *Chhatri*- tombs of the Jasnath gurus.³⁸ The worship of these buried *Satis* are attested to in the Jasnath Sampraday but they do not have *chabutras* or *chatris* but graves (*mazars*) in the Muslim style.³⁹ *Sabd Granth* tells us Kalal De (daughter of Jat from village Malash was engaged to Jasnath at the age of ten, took living *Samadhi*) is seen as the manifestation of Goddess Parvati and the way in which Parvati is with Shiva in the same way Sati Kallde is with Srijasnathji.⁴⁰ The Jasnathi festivals and the *mela* (fair) and other events fall on *Saptami* (the seventh day) and the day when Kalal De and Pyar De (sister of Kalal De) became *Satis* as a *sati ka mela* brings lots of devotees to Bhamblu and Kathriarsar.⁴¹ Sati Kaladeji's 'Bari' has the same importance similar to Srijasnathji's 'Bari'.⁴² This is located a kilometre away from the 'Jasnathji ki Bari' and the area also has a small size temple of Sati Kaladeji.⁴³ Sati Kaladeji is specially worshiped on Shukla Chaturthi every month, the festival of Satiji is celebrated on Ashwin, Magha and Chaitra Shukla Chaturthi every year.⁴⁴

Dominique Sila-Khan is of the belief of the Ismaili origin of the Jambha and the Jasnath and does not agree to the theory of mutual influences through free exchange of ideas, since a number of specific

elements, which are to be found in these traditions were not to be given to the non- initiated, referred to as the *nugras* (those who have no guru).⁴⁵ These converted groups may have with time come back to the fold of Hindusim and eventually by the nineteenth centuries chosen to identify themselves with clear cut identities. This process was easy since because of the presence of secrecy in the traditions of the Nizarpanthis, Bishnoi and the Jasnathis.⁴⁶ The gradual reevaluation of the religious identity of the Khoja heritage had led to the elimination of the Hindu elements and themes and the motif of the *Das Avatar* (ten incarnations of Vishnu) was seen to be abandoned after the 1866 Aga Khan case of Bombay. This process was paralleled by a rehinduziation of the former Nizari groups known as Jasnathi, Nizarpanthi, Aipanthe, and Bishnois presently.⁴⁷

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Rao Ganapat Singh Chitalwana Prize Paper

Commodities and Commerce of the Bayana Region in the 17th Century

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The Bayana region is situated in south-eastern Rajasthan. Within this region, besides including the town of Bayana itself, was included Khanua, Niberna, Henna, Mango, Hindaun, Toda Bhim and Bhasawar.¹ The town of Bayana, specifically, stands at a distance of 45 km south-west of Bharatpur and 76 km from Agra.² The historic town is on the eastern foot of a hill, while the fort stands 6 km to the west of the town, on the summit of the hill at a height of between 250 and 350 m. The terrain is dry and inhospitable, with agriculture depending on sometimes insufficient seasonal rainfall and irrigation from wells, the water of which is often brackish. The River Gambhir, which passes about 1 km to the east of the town, irrigates some of the fields, but the river is seasonal and has little or no water in the dryer years.³

In spite of the arid climate, Bayana was the centre of a relatively prosperous province and was well known for its products. Combined with an almost impregnable fort and natural and agricultural resources, Bayana remained a prized possession in the eyes of its medieval Hindu rulers as well as the Muslim conquerors of India quite until the end of the Delhi Sultanate.⁴ This continued further after the establishment of the Mughal Empire in the 16th century. Besides, the internal trade routes from Gujarat to Northern India one via Malwa and the other via Ajmer passed through Bayana during Mughal times.⁵ Also, this was the same period during which township of Bayana expanded enormously both in its size and function.⁶ The importance which Bayana must have enjoyed can be gauged from the fact that the great cities of the Mughals, Agra

and Fatehpur Sikri were once merely villages under the territory of Bayana.⁷ However, in the latter part of the 16th century the situation got reversed with Ain-e-Akbari mentioning Bayana as a mere pargana of Sarkar Agra.⁸ But it must be said that in spite of this reversal in positions, Bayana continued to play its role as a major centre of economic powerhouse. Moreover, it acted as a catalyst for the growth of Agra.⁹ Simultaneously, the capital city of Agra too assumed the role of an entrepot for the popularity and consequent marketing of the products which the region of Bayana manufactured.¹⁰ Thus, in other words, Agra besides serving as a centre of politico-administrative headquarter was, equally, an important commercial entrepot and this fact finds its due space in the contemporary writings of many foreign travellers and enthusiastic merchants. Hence, the region of Bayana must be studied in context of the capital city of Agra as this will be more helpful in its correct and meaningful economic assessment.

From the travelogues of 17th Century India, it is evident that different kinds of small-scale manufactures flourished in the region of Bayana. Among the various commodities produced, it was indigo that made this region famous all over the world.

Indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*) is believed to be a native of India.¹¹ The crop, in itself, was an example of commercialized agriculture of 17th Century India.¹² The writings of various travellers who mentioned about this plant and the various processes that played their part in its marketing has shown that the best indigo became synonymous with the Bayana tract¹³ and “besides being sent to all parts of India, it had an international market”.¹⁴ Thus, John de Laet says “from this town (Bayana) the best indigo exported from India to Europe takes its name”.¹⁵ Prior to the opening of the direct sea-borne trade to Europe, it used to be taken to Lahore for sale to merchants from the Middle East but from 16th century onwards, Agra assumed the position of being “its chief, if not sole, emporium”.¹⁶

While describing about Bayana’s prime product ‘indigo’,¹⁷ William Finch (1610)¹⁸ reports that ‘Nill’¹⁹ or indigo grows “in forme not much unlike cives [the chive or Allium] or cich-pease [chickpea], having a small leafe like that of Sena, but shorter and broader and set on a very short foot-stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not above a yard high and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not nauch exceeding a mans

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thumbé".²⁰ Then, he describes the peculiarities of the plant²¹ and its types. Thus, he says "That of one yeere is tender, and thereof is made notee [naudha, noti], which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called Cyeree [jari], very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water : in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called Catteld [Khutiyal], being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three".²² He concludes by saying "Fowre things are required in nill : a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water or burning in the fire it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes".²³ Pelsaert's (1626) description is found to be more comprehensive.²⁴ While mentioning about the indigo grown in Bayana region, he attested that it was "much superior to the produce of other neighbouring villages. This superiority is due to the brackish water in the wells near the town, for the use of sweet water makes the indigo hard and coarse".²⁵ On the three kinds of Indigo, his anthropomorphic comparison is quite interesting. Thus, he says "The best comparison I can give to illustrate these three kinds of indigo is that the nauti [naudha, noti] is like a growing lad who has still to come to his prime and vigour; the ziarie [jari] is like a man in his vigorous prime; the katel [Khutiyal] is like an old, decrepit man, who in the course of his journey has had to cross many valleys of sadness and many mountains of misery, not only changed and wrinkled in the face, but falling gradually into helpless senility".²⁶ Therefore, he places the second one before the first one in quality²⁷ while the third and last one finds its place as being "of extremely bad quality, hard, dull, without gloss or colour, almost like charcoal".²⁸ At the same time, Pelsaert also mentions about the different places of the Bayana region where indigo was grown,²⁹ specifically enumerating 26 Bayana villages that produced indigo like Ebrahemedebat, Serco, T'sonoua (Sanowa), etc. to name a few.³⁰ Likewise, Peter Mundy while dedicating a part of his text on "making of indico"³¹ enumerates "Byana" (Bayana) as one of the "divers Townes about Agra.....where it growes and is made' and also 'heere is made the best Indico in all India".³² Continuing his observation he says "About the begining of the raynes they labour the grounds and soe the seeds (of indigo) which by the end of it, is growne a good hight, being a litle sprigge bearinge a litle small leafe consistinge of many parts"³³ and "that which is made the first yere is called Nautee [naudha, noti], the

second yere Jeree [jari] and the third yere Coteale [Khutiyal]. Jeree is the best, then Nautee, and lastly, Coteale, the worst".³⁴ Lastly, Tavernier, in his itinerary, has also mentioned about Bayana (Baniana) indigo along with that of Hindaun (Hindoo). Thus, he says "These two last places are towns where, as in all the surrounding country, round indigo cake is made, and being the best of all the varieties of indigo it is consequently twice as dear".³⁵

The profitability of the Bayana indigo can be guessed from the fact that it stalks were kept in the fields to give three cuttings in two years.³⁶ Moreover, the main factor behind the special quality of Bayana indigo rested on the fact that it was cultivated with the help of well-irrigation.³⁷

Among the crops of 17th century India, indigo is, perhaps, the only crop for which contemporary estimates of production are available. Pelsaert has put the yield of the Bayana region at 4000 bales or 884,800 lb. during favourable times and half of it during bad years.³⁸ In 1633, Bayana has been assigned one-third of the total production of Hindustan which stood at 830,000 lb.³⁹

It must be said, however, that the quantity of production fluctuated along with the seasons. Thus, it was subjected to "excessive rain in 1621⁴⁰ and again in 1640, was destroyed by locusts for three seasons around 1625, and was much damaged by drought in 1646".⁴¹

As already said, Bayana indigo was a highly sought-out commodity in the eyes of the foreign merchants and hence the bulk of indigo produced must have been exported. "The indigo produced in the neighbourhood of Biana was adapted to overland transit, being comparatively pure, and it is often spoken of as 'round' from the fact that it was made up in balls" observed Moreland.⁴² Pelsaert has given the names of Dutch and the English as well as Armenian merchants, Mughal and Persian merchants among the buyers of Bayana indigo. The Armenian merchants find their mention in quite a poor taste in his text especially, in the context of the indigo market. Thus, he says "the Armenians do quite enough of that, running and racing about like hungry folk, whose greedy eyes show that they are dissatisfied with the meal provided, who take a taste of every dish, [and] make the other guests hurry to secure their own portions, but directly they have tasted each course, they are satisfied, and can hold no more. In the indigo market they behave just like that, making as if they

would buy up the whole stock, raising prices, losing a little themselves, and causing great injury to us and to other buyers who have to purchase large quantities”⁴³ whereas regarding the Mughal merchants, he says “the latter classes (Mughal) export it to Ispahan, whence some of it goes to Aleppo”.⁴⁴ This is to be noted that Indigo was it was exported to Middle East & Europe and every class of merchant was eager to participate in its trade.

INDIGO EXPORT FROM BAYANA

YEAR (A.D)	QUANTITY EXPORTED		
	(bales)	(mans)	(sers)
1615	33	132	5,200
1617	355	1,420	56,800
1621	400	1,600	64,000
1618-21	2,090.5	8,362	334,480
1634-36	5,713	22,852	914,080
1637-41	1,037	4,148	165,920
1642-45	500	2,000	80,000
1643	2,000	8,000	320,000
TOTAL	12,128.5	48,514	1,940,560

Source: Rajeev Bargoti, ‘Bayana Under the Mughals’, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 51, 1990. Appendix A, pp. 231-232.

However, this scenario got completely changed in second half of the 17th century specifically after 1667.⁴⁵ While during the first half of the 17th century, as reported by Pelsaert and De Laet, a significant number of villages in Bayana were producing Indigo, an Arhsatta of 1693 A.D. indicates that out of 191 villages of pargana Bayana, only two villages were still producing indigo.⁴⁶ This decline in the production of indigo is generally linked to the introduction of a synthetic substitute in Europe. This reduction in production of indigo impacted production of other crops, especially, wheat and cereals, for it had great fertilizing properties and did not necessarily conflict with the Rabi cropping.⁴⁷ This went hand-in-hand with the sudden decline of the general trade passing through Bayana, the reason of which is sought in the shifting of the bulk trade between Agra and the ports of Gujarat to the Agra-Gwalior-Burhanpur route due to several political and economic reasons. Also, the re-alignment of the Mughal imperial highway between Agra and Ajmer away from Bayana acted quite detrimentally to its economic prospects in the 17th century.⁴⁸ Besides, the Portuguese loss of Hormuz

combined with that of Mughal-Safavid disturbances along with the reduction in freight rates in Surat, all the more accelerated the decline in the commercial prospects of Bayana Indigo.⁴⁹

The organization of trade for this high-grade crop typically involved buyers contacting cultivators in their villages.⁵⁰ Its price history is primarily sourced from British commercial literature⁵¹ and travel accounts.⁵² Also, Bayana Indigo prices fluctuated, with buyers paying 30-60% higher as compared to indigo obtained from other places.⁵³ Despite fluctuations, a consistent increase in demand persisted, even after European demand declined in the 1660s. This, in turn, increased the prices as is evident in the year 1669-70, which was one of plentiful harvests and Bayana Indigo then stated to be “indifferently cheap”, but the anticipated price was twice the normal highest limit for the price set in 1609.⁵⁴ However, it must be said that the published English records do not provide a trace of Bayana indigo prices after 1669-1670. Van Santen’s work, which includes a table of Bayana indigo prices from Dutch sources and supplements for years without British records, also ends around the same time frame.⁵⁵

However, at times when a very large number of peasants were not able to reach the open market at all, they were, in turn, forced to sell their commodities to their creditors, who often happened to be merchants, on contracted terms. This phenomenon led to the depression in prices received by the peasants from the merchants.⁵⁶ Thus, in 1628 the English managed to obtain indigo from the villages near Bayana “by money advanced beforehand” at Rs. 24½ per man although the prevailing market rate was 12 rupees higher at Rs. 26 ½ per man.⁵⁷ Their urgent need for cash to pay the revenue forced them to sell as soon as the harvest came into their hands, while the merchants could usually afford to wait.⁵⁸ The latter point, in turn, has been highlighted by Thomas Roe as among the advantages enjoyed by the local merchants over the English when purchasing indigo from the cultivators.⁵⁹ Also, as Pelsaert has shown, the peasants were commonly defrauded in weighing of their produce during the process of sale.⁶⁰ He says, however, that with the rise in the demand for their produce, the peasants were becoming more vigilant against this abuse.⁶¹ It must be mentioned that indigo, during the period under study, had to face the scourge of monopoly as well as engrossing, or ihtikar. While the former was condemned by moralists, the latter was officially prohibited.⁶² Thus, in 1633 an imperial monopoly in indigo was established that was to run for three years⁶³ and covered the whole

empire.⁶⁴ As a direct effect, it immediately raised the price of indigo especially in the Bayana region.⁶⁵ However, it got abandoned in its second year only, after facing a strong backlash from the peasants⁶⁶ and merchants,⁶⁷ alike.

Besides indigo, the other commodities for which the region of Bayana was well-known were oranges,⁶⁸ refined white sugar as well as high quality hena.⁶⁹ Pelsaert has praised its oranges as “very large”⁷⁰ and has also given some specific information regarding them. Thus, he says “Oranges are plentiful in December, January and February, and are obtainable also in June and July”.⁷¹ The melons of Bayana are also mentioned in his text in a very good light specifically for the quantities that can be obtained from there.⁷² At the same time, this region was equally famous for its red sandstone. The quarries of the region provided stone for forts, cities and some of the most elegant edifices of northern India, including Fatehpur Sikri, was built almost entirely of stone from a quarry at Garh a few miles south of Bayana.⁷³ Also, within this region near Toda Bhim, mines of copper and turquoise existed, making this area all the more economically vibrant.

As already mentioned Agra served as entrepot of Bayana and hence the goods imported into Agra must have reached Bayana as part of the commodities required by the latter. Thus, Bengal and Patna supplied Agra not only raw silk and sugar but the city also “obtained such provisions as rice, wheat and butter from the eastern provinces, without which, it was said, it could not have fed itself”.⁷⁴ In return, Agra exported salt to Bengal, by river, in large quantities⁷⁵ along with cotton and opium.⁷⁶ From Kashmir saffron was imported into Agra⁷⁷ while from Lahore came ormesines and carpets along with other commodities like fruits from Kabul, hing (asafoetida) from Kandahar⁷⁸ and a variety of other commodities obtained from Multan region. Sal ammoniac, obtainable from Thanesar or Sirhind region, was also imported from the Lahore route.⁷⁹ Besides, Agra was home to numerous Christian and Muslim merchants, as well as numerous Hindu banyas.⁸⁰ Foreign merchants like Armenians, French, English, and Dutch were present,⁸¹ but the leading ones were Indians, particularly from the Bania community.⁸² Lastly, evidence suggests that Jain communities, in addition to the baniya and Muslim merchants, were also prospering as merchants in Agra.⁸³

Hence, to sum-up, the region of Bayana was one of the most important economic areas of 17th century India as is evident in the light

of both contemporary as well as later sources. Besides, the role of Agra as its entrepot was equally important in sustaining the commerce of the region and satisfying it with the products it needed.

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Marginalisation from a Different Angle: Understanding the Depressed Status of Low Service Jatis in Late Medieval Marwar

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‘Notion of practice is always embedded in relations of power and inequalities.’¹

In caste society, the living standard of every social entity more-often-than-not demonstrated its socio-economic status, and this status was inextricably intertwined with its social power and equal/unequal status. This status reflected in the indices of everyday life and being of the incumbents. Food, water, apparel, residence, occupation and the like constituted the socio-economic and cultural practices of jatis, that showed their continuous linkage with the functioning of the power structures.² These power structures corresponded with the caste state and society, and they undersigned specific socio-economic status to different communities by way of rules and observances. Such ingrained practices were replete with the idea of the maintenance of caste order, which in turn saw wide ranging inequalities as both cause and effect.³ In the case of the service jatis or castes of Marwar, such differentiation or inequalities was gleaned from over-viewing their life conditions in general. Over and above the indices of everyday life, there existed other social observances/practices that differentiated them from the higher caste/class groups.

This article attempts to focus on names and suffixing of names as markers or indices for examining the depressed status of the lower service caste units in the pre-colonial state of Marwar or Jodhpur. It presents a telescopic view of their social status by examining their names, and

references made to the same in state office or kachedi.

Locating the region and the Lower Service Caste in 18th century

Marwar⁴ roughly coincided with the medieval state of Jodhpur⁵ in the Thar desert region of modern western Rajasthan. It was a hot and arid zone divided into two halves by the Luni

River.⁶ While the eastern region was well inundated, fertile, and hilly, the western was dry, sandy, a hotbed of famine and drought, and therefore largely inhospitable.⁷

The inhabitants of Marwar belonged to various caste, tribe and religion, and they were engaged in numerous occupations such as seasonal agriculture, animal husbandry, trade and commerce, handicraft making, menial and other services, etc.⁹ The professions practised by them, especially agriculture was practised by many jatis for the maximum utilization of economic resources, thereby reaping more profit/income.¹⁰

The dominant jatis in most of the regions were the Brahmins, Rajputs, Mahajans, Jats¹¹, etc. Their dominance was mostly in terms of their ritual status, economic position, political power, numerical strength, etc. Most of the lands, state offices, trade networks, etc were held by this section of the Marwari society. The census data of 1891 shows that around forty percent of the population was from these four jatis alone.¹² On the other hand, the mass population mainly consisted of various artisanal and menial service jatis mostly catering to the needs of the high caste/class groups.

This study focusses on one aspect of social history of the lower service jati groups of 18th century Marwar. The selection of pre-colonial period or 18th century is led by the interest in understanding the social conditions of the lower service jati groups before the start of British paramountcy in Marwar by the nineteenth century.

These jatis were the ones which stood at the lowest rungs of the social ladder. As their traditional occupation, they were mainly involved in providing ‘dirty’ services, which necessitated regular and permanent contact with ‘polluted’ substances such as human and animal refuse, excreta, cadavers, bones, skin, hair, etc. This study has been restricted to four *neech* or ‘low’ jatis of the *Nai* or barber, the *Dhobi* or washerman, the *Balai/Meghwal/Dhedh* or carcass remover and the *Bhangi* or scavenger.¹³

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In this study, the *Jodhpur Sanad Parwana Bahis* (or JSPBs), numbering 1- 54, roughly covering the period from C.E. 1764-1800 have largely been used. The bahis comprised of state documentation of judicial cases, state orders, intelligence reports, *kasid* or news runners reports, etc. The judicial cases of the common people were seen as the most significant official account for studying the social conditions of a diverse group of people. These records comprised of petitions from a disparate section of people, both high and low regarding a wide range of social issues. The *arzees* or lodged complaints/ petitions were always followed by the state's order for enquiry of the cases for restitution of *wajabi* or the customarily appropriate order.

It is to be noted that the primary judicial authorities at both village and city levels were *nyat* or caste council and panchayat or village council.¹⁴ When the complaints remained unresolved here, the complainants approached the official bodies like the *pargana kachedi* at the pargana level or *kotwali chauntara* or city magistrate's office for the restitution of justice.¹⁵ The importance of these accounts in writing social history can be gleaned from the following expression of N.K. Singhi and Rajendra Joshi - 'A careful analysis of these written documents depicts meaningful understanding of inter and intra-community relations, patterns of patronage and occasions, and types of exchange relationships between royalty, feudal lords and different castes.'¹⁶

In judicial documentation, the JSPBs showed a sequential listing of the complainant's name, jati, village, description of dispute between conflicting sides, and lastly the state's response respectively. It ended with the signature of the high caste scribe who used to lodge complaints. The language used was monotonously official, as also authoritative towards the officials for undertaking proper enquiry of cases.

These archival records are the most important source for the elucidation of the history of lower service jatis of Marwar because they revolved around their everyday problems or conflicts, thereby giving a sketchy yet readily available picture of the life and conditions of subordinate jatis. They help in constructing a 'history from below,' which most elitist sources of medieval history discourage due to negligible available knowledge on these groups.

The second primary source in this work is the *Report Mardum*

Shumari Raj Marwar or the Marwar Census Report of 1891. It was a survey of the Marwari population by the British colonial government. It enumerates the different jatis and tribes of Marwar with their further categorization into six classes mostly on the occupational basis. Since *Mardum shumari* gives a wide range of information on the social life of the all jatis, it stands out as a very important source again. It helps in understanding the socio-economic and religious position of different jatis of Marwar.

Naming Practices:

Name being one of the most important markers of one's identity is largely an 'important dimension of power'.¹⁷ In the context of the service jatis of Marwar, it was seen to be a significant criterion for assessing the social standing of an individual. Both the type/nature of names as well as the ways of addressing a person, and the degree of respect shown in the process, spoke abundantly about one's status. As far as the menial jatis were concerned, they mostly had names which were not as 'high sounding' or 'weighty' as those of the high jatis¹⁸, for example, Bija, Chiram, Khusyal, Jagga, Farsa, etc for nais, Suja, Bhaeriya for dhobis, Jeev, Roopla, Champla, Jooda, etc for bhambhis, and the like. Further, a conspicuous observation in the JSPB documents was of the 'derogatory' portrayal of lower caste jatis as far as their names were concerned. While referring to neech jati contingents, the kachedi or kotwali officials often added suffixes such as, '-ya', '-ye', '-o', etc to their names. For example, dhobi Khushal (-ae),

balai Andi(-ya), bhambhi Rupal(-ae), meheter Nanag(-ae), and so on and so forth.¹⁹ It is to be noted that in Indian societies such corruption of names were mostly done for people with low status in society²⁰ or ones who were not as worthy in status/respect as the ones using such suffixes. Here, since the ones documenting the cases of the lower jati members were the state officials, they were in a relatively better position than the former. It also could have been a more informal way of addressing people.

Nonetheless, in comparison to the lower jati units, many high caste and class members had 'appealing' and 'weighty' names like Govardhan, Dharma, Radhakistan, etc for brahmins, Lodha Sultanmal, Surajmal, Jorawar Singh, etc for rajputs, Navalrai, Bhagwatidas, etc for banyas and so on.²¹ In a way, their names signified their high temporal

or religious position in society. These names were fancier if the members happened to be men of considerable economic or political strength. In fact, unfailingly the members from the category of jagirdars were not referred to by their respective names. They were mostly referred to only by the term 'jagirdar'. This demonstrated the 'intentional or unintentional' politics behind differentiating between the strong/weak in common language.

Further, as in the case of lower jatis, derogatory or informal attribution to some high caste members was also evidenced in a few documents. In such cases, similar suffixes were seen to have been used while referring to them in official records. For example, rajput Kana Bhagli- ya²², Viraman Kusal-ae²³, etc. Therefore, such observations in the official accounts point towards something more substantial that gave suffixes to even high caste members.

It could be suggested that perhaps suffixing of names could be correlated with class status, and not alone caste. While the absence of the high economic or political status gave a few people relative disrespect, those possessing them got due respect and honour in society. The latter ones had heavy names without 'derogatory' suffixes; rather they were addressed with high sounding titles. The correlation between one's economic position and acquisition of social respect finds its proof and appropriate corroboration from the following Marwari idiom:

*Maya tu hai sulakhni, nam dharyo Jagram,
een hi angan phir gayo, dharyo Jhokiyo nam.*

(O Money! you have good attributes, when I had you, my name was Jagram, 'lord of the world', But, now when I am hovering in this portico, my name is Jhokiyo or a gust of wind)

Eric. R Wolf contends that ideology is 'a complex of ideas selected to underwrite and represent a particular project of installing, maintaining, and aggrandizing power in social relationships. The selection and management of interpretants and control over verbal communication are strategic operations in ideological construction'.²⁴ This helps in understanding that under caste ideology the use of specific words or phrases for a particular strata of people of a definite caste status or economic stature had its own underlying meaning, which was necessarily embedded in the social power constructions. The absence of social, political or economic power allowed the society to intentionally or

unintentionally demean a particular set of people by way of verbal communication and usage. Along with the economically weak higher caste groups, the menial jati members of Marwar fell in this category, and the usage of suffixes can be understood in this light.

Therefore, as concluding remark on the social status of lower service caste category, suffice it to say that their depressed status was manifold and multi-dimensional. This was quite evident from the different socio-economic indices of their everyday life. Complementing these, their names in general, as also the way they were addressed in caste society further elucidated their subservient position. Names or suffixing of the same in common usage reflected and created conceptions of their personal identity, and their depressed position was evident even in this context. Being a low service caste member, one could not have had heavy-sounding and meaningful names that were addressed respectfully. Undoubtedly, the nature/type of names or the ways of addressing those depended considerably on their caste identity, but class was another predominant index in this regard. Class horizontally stratified society, so much so that the names or addressing of the same of high caste but low-class units were seen to be the same. Nonetheless, the low caste/lower service caste members were mostly doubly subservient or depressed by way of both caste and class identities.

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5. *It comprised of the parganas of Merta, Nagore, Phalodhi, Sojhat, Pachpadra, Didwana, Sheo, Malani, Sanchore, Jaswantpura, Jalore, Pali, Jaitaran Parbatsar, etc.*
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- Therefore, in this thesis the names have been written in according to the they were found in the sources, irrespective of what the uncorrupted or original names may have been.*
20. This has been an anthropological finding or knowledge.
 21. This politics behind naming in a specific manner had an underlying function of depicting the honour and status of a person or group. This was atypical of the other states of Rajputana, for instance, the rulers in the state of Medieval Mewar used the affix Pal (or protector of the masses) to symbolically emphasize on their duty of protecting their subjects. Such a duty was one of the constituents that embodied the Rajput notion of honour and heroism, see Pratibha Jain and Sangeeta Sharma, *Honour, Status and Polity*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 42, 55.
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Historical Geography of River Chambal

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It is interesting to note that while working on the sacred geography of Aravalli mountains, which we presented in the previous session of Rajasthan History Congress, notices two very distinctive features of river Chambal: first despite its beginning in Rajasthan it does not originate from Aravalli range of mountains; a range which to a large extent defines the geography of Rajasthan. Secondly and more importantly, this river is not considered sacred rather it carries a curse which prohibits use of its water for potable purposes. These two distinguishing features prompted us to explore the historical geography of river Chambal.

River Chambal originates from the southern slope of Vindhya ranges in the Malwa region near MHOW (Military Headquarter of War) which is very close to Indore. Initially it drains the Malwa while flowing in the north-easterly direction and then drains the Southern Rajasthan along with Banas, a tributary which originates from the Aravalli range of mountains. For a larger part in Rajasthan it defines the boundary with Madhya Pradesh. In Rajasthan river Chambal primarily flows through Harauti region¹ that is Kota-Bundi region and soon after Bundi river Chambal receives water from Banas, which merges with river Chambal. Nainsi has described this region very vividly by giving detailed description of nature of villages, agrarian pattern and drainage system.

Describing the *pargana* or the landscape of Harauti region Nainsi informs that there are 700 villages located in the plains and around 740 villages are located on mountains.²

बूंदी री पाखती हाडोती रा परगना-

परगनो मऊ खीचियांरो । उतन मऊरा परगना मां है । सिंध भली नदी सदा बहती

रहे छै । मऊसूं कोस 7 गांव धूलकोट छै तठै नीसरै छै ।

पांणी मूल घुंडवांणरो आवै छै । आहीज नदी गढ़ गांगुरणरै हेठै नीसरै छै । तिको मऊरो परगनो राव रतन मार लियौ । बूंदीथी कोस 30 गांव....लागै । मऊ छोटे सो सहर पिण छै । पीपाड़ सारीखो रड़ी ऊपर वसै । भाखर छै । अगवारै गांव 700 चौड़ै छै । पछवारै गांव भाखर झाड़ छै । मऊरा कोटरा पठा हेठै नदी उतार सदा वही रहै । सेझो को नहीं । सेवज गोहूं चिणा घणा । धरती काली, वाड चावल घणा । रैत लोधा, किराड़, मीणा वसै । हाडा भगवंतसिंघरी जागीरीमें पाई छै । सु भगवंतसिंघ वडा-वडा मोहल, तलाव नवा संवराया छै । घर हजार दोय....वसै छै ।

1 कोटो, बूंदीथी कोस, 12, गांव 360 लागै । निपट वडी ठोड़ । जोधपुरा धरगीरै सोझत ग्रासवेधरी ठोड़ त्यूं बूंदी दूजी ठोड़ कोटो । नदी चंबल ऊपर हाड़ै मुकन्दसिंघरा कराया बड़ा मोहल छै ।

Harauti region slopes gently northwards from the high tableland of Malwa and is drained by the Chambal³ with its tributaries, all flowing in a northerly or north-easterly direction. There are four major rivers in the region: Chambal, Sindh,⁴ Par and Purar.⁵ The Mokandarra range from 1200 to 1600 feet above sea level runs from the south-east to north-west, forming the southern border of the region. The hills are for the most part clothed with a thick jungle of striated trees and undergrowth.

The climate is moderately healthy. From November to February the climate is pleasant; in March it begins to get hot, and by the middle of June it is extremely sultry. The rains usually arrive in this area during the first half of July, and from then till the middle of October the climate is pleasant. The rainfall varies in the different parts of the region.⁶

The northern part of the region is covered with the alluvium of the Chambal valley. The central Bundi range divides this region in two parts. For many miles the precipitous scarp on the southern face of this range forms an almost impassable barrier between the plain country on either side.⁷

Coming back to river Chambal, let us share the historical references of the river, which might explain why Chambal is perhaps least polluted river of the region. In ancient times river Chambal was known by the name of Charmavati or Charmanvati. There is story in the Mahabharat about the origin of river Chambal and the names Charmavati or Charmanvati. It is said that King Rantidev performed so many sacrificial yagna that led to accumulation of lot of wet animal skin or leather. The

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water which flowed from the heap of leather of sacrificed animals that led to the origin of river Charmavati or Charmanvati.⁸ It is difficult to understand the rationale behind this story but what it suggests for sure is that during those times sacrifice of good number of animals was a regular feature especially in the region of origin of the river Chambal. Moreover it also suggest that this region sustained good number of wild animals, which could be captured for the sacrifice. Not much is known about the flora and fauna of the region for ancient period except few scattered references. However, Munhto Nainsi provides a vivid description of hunt of a wild boar and bear. Nainsi ri Khyat mention a *Baat*, which is a story told by Nainsi. He says that 'it is heard that once Hada king Surajmal invited Rana Ratansi for a hunt. They decided to hunt wild boar. People were sent to draw animals towards the rulers. However, they could not hunt wild boar. Meanwhile, fortunately for them, they came across two bears. Surajmal got involved in a duel with one of them and killed with one bear with dagger. Soon after Surajmal killed another bear in the same manner.⁹

Padam Purana associates river Chambal with the river Narmada and it is not surprising as the place of origin of river Chambal is very close to river Narmada in Malwa region. Narmada was considered very pious river during ancient times, at times equated with River Ganga.¹⁰

Kalidasa in his Meghdutam also mentions ruler Rantidev. He says:

आराध्यैर्न शदवनभवं देवमुल्लघिताध्वा,
सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकण भयाद्वीणिभिदैत्त मार्गः।
व्यालम्बेथास्सुरभितनयालंभजां मानियष्यन
स्रोतो मूल्यभुवि परिणतां रंतिदेवस्य कीर्तिः।¹¹

Mahabharat has few other references of river Chambal. Sahdev during his expedition towards South India met son of Jambhak on the banks of river Charmavati or Charmanvati. Sahdev after defeating the son of Jambhak continues his victory march towards South.¹² Mahabharat in another context says that river Ashva merges with river Charmavati or Charmanvati and in turn Charmavati or Charmanvati merges with Yamuna and Yamuna finally merges with river Ganga.¹³

मंजूषात्वक्त्रनद्याः सा ययौ चर्मण्वती नदीम
चर्मण्वत्याक्त्र यमुना ततो गंगा जगामह।

Thus, a very apt description of the river courses and historical

geography can be seen.

Though it is popularly believed that the river Chambal is a cursed river and it is not worshipped, perhaps it has something related to the tales of origin of the river as discussed above. There is another folktale which is also held responsible for the cursed image of the river Chambal. It is believed that the region of river Chambal was once under the control of prince Shakuni of Gandhar and Draupadi after her infamous incident during game of dice cursed the river.¹⁴ This story cannot be corroborated through written historical sources. However, Mahabharat says that after his defeat by Drona, Drupada also ruled the southern Panchalas upto the banks of river Charmanvati.¹⁵

Nevertheless, we find references that there are quite a few important sacred places on the bank of the river Chambal in Rajasthan. Most famous among these has been the temple of Keshavrai, Patan, near Bundi. On the Kartik Purnima, a big fair is organised every year and people take bath in the river Chambal.

Even Mahabharat says that this is important place of pilgrimage. It says that if a worshipper stays on this sacred place for five days. Then on the sixth day he is blessed with all the goodies of life and life after death.

तत्रोष्य रजनीः पंचषष्ठकालक्ष्मी नरः।
न दुर्गातिमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं प्राप्नोति चोश्रमाम्।।¹⁶

Padampurana, says that person who wins over his senses and eats less and takes bath by seeking permission from Rantidev in the river Charmanvati attains immortality.

चर्मण्यवर्ती समासद्य नियतो नियताक्त्रनः।
रंतिदेवाभ्यनुज्ञातो अनिष्टोमफलं लभेत्।।

It is said that the Keshavrai Pattan has been very important place of pilgrimage at least since early medieval times.¹⁷ There is an old Varah temple and it is a well-established fact that in Rajasthan the tradition of Varah worship can be traced back to 11th century AD. There is inscription of King Raghuvir Singh dated 1902 CE on the gate of Keshavrai Patan temple. It says that this temple was constructed by king Shatrushalya in 1698 vs. (1621 CE), where he installed two statues of Vishnu recovered from an old, dilapidated temple. As per one local saying god appeared in the dream of King Rantidev and in another version, god appeared in the

dream of king Shartushalya Singh and said that in the middle of river Chambal two statues; one dark coloured and another white coloured, are lying. He was instructed to recover both the statues and installed them in a temple. Since statues were recovered and installed in the temple on the 11th day of bright half of month of Kartik, a big fair is organised every year on the day of full moon of month of Kartik.¹⁸ Given the association of river Chambal with sacred and place of pilgrimage being located on the banks of the river contradict the popular saying that the river Chabal is a cursed river. Whatever has been the reason it is true to a great extent river Chambal is less polluted compared to the other rivers of the Indian subcontinent.

Any examination of historical geography of river Chambal is incomplete, unless we address another feature of Chambal; formation of ravine in the lower valley needs to be investigated (although ravine area does not primarily pertains to Rajasthan, but its area closer to Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh shows tendencies of ravine formation). Ravine formation is primarily concentrated in the area after river Kunwari merges with Chambal. The region is highly dissected and becomes inaccessible due to steep ridges, deep trenches, especially in the areas where rivers forms broad meanders. There are occasionally low-sloping hills. Soil in the region is primarily has sandy loam and clayey loam with low phosphorous and salt content. This region like large part of river Chambal is semi-arid and sub-humid with moderate rainfall averaging 685mm annually. Winters and summers are severe ranging between 48 degree centigrade in summers and as low as 3 degree centigrade in winters.¹⁹ Although, ravines have expanded in the past few decades due to increased human activities, however, recent researches have pointed out that formation of ravines has been a long term process which has not only affected the character and course of the river Chambal, but has also resulted in the formation of ravine.²⁰ Authors have suggested that the formation of ravines can be attributed to neo-tectonic movements, and youngest gully with sediments can be dated back to ca.35 thousands (\pm 4 thousand) years back. They also highlighted the role of intensification of south west monsoon in the late Pleistocene-Holocene era.

Authors have argued that:

“Mishra and Vishwakarma (1999), while studying morphotectonics along the lower reaches of the Chambal River, observed a 74 km long palaeochannel on the left flank of the Chambal River (a part of which is

shown in figure 2). They further opined that the palaeo-channel was a tributary to the Chambal River and it has dried up before the incision of the latter. During the satellite interpretations, many similar toned dark linear/curvilinear features were observed running parallel to the lower reaches of the Chambal River, on its right flank. Interestingly, these features seem broken links and appeared to come from and diminish into the Badlands. Therefore, to they seem to present a strong link to badlands. Unlike the identified palaeochannel (by Mishra and Vishwakarma 1999), these features are straighter, interconnected and devoid of any apparent meandering. To the best of our knowledge, these features are not revealed so far in literature except in the Survey of India topographic sheets where these are marked as local drains...²¹ The palaeo-channels are conspicuously visible on satellite images as well as on the field. The palaeo-channels are typically 200–300 m wide except where they seems either to have aggregated or a pond formed due to soil quarrying by local people. Headward erosion seems to be favoured by the palaeo-channels once they are encountered with gullies or ravines. Thus palaeo-channels played a significant role in shaping up the spatial patterns of badlands.”²²

Chambal, not as a river but as a region has been unfortunately for a long period was associated with bandits. Geography of the region, especially the lower part of Chambal played very important role in sustaining the bandits and it took special efforts by the governments to check the menace. At present we will not dwell into this aspect, but it is important to realise that geography plays very important role in influencing the character of human-nature interaction. Historical geography of Chambal is one more testimony to this.

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Neo-Emporia in Colonial India: Exploring Western Rajasthan as a Trade Multiplier in the 18th and 19th centuries

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This paper attempts to understand the trading and commercial apparatus of the Marwari business communities from the period of the mid-eighteenth century to the late-nineteenth century with the epicentre of the studies located in the western Rajasthan. While discussing some of the salient features of these communities it examines the economic structures initiated by these communities which resulted in the nodal centres for various economic and cultural activities. These nodal centres may not have resulted in direct retail value, but they added to trade and commerce on the macro level. These structures symbolized power and authority, commercial prosperity, religious affiliation, and family prestige. Some of these nodal centres could be assessed through the idea of emporia also, mainly in terms of the markets that facilitated the commercial exchange in the region. The prominence of these communities was also enhanced through these structures. The role of migration in the dissemination of information is emphasized in this paper along with the role of family and kinship. These conventions helped the Marwari business communities to take a distinct trajectory in modern Indian business history.

The Emergence

Marwari merchants from Rajasthan have been one of the most enterprising communities of the Indian subcontinent. Marwari, as a geographic designation, is often loosely applied to the communities from north-west India, irrespective of their background in Marwar. However, most of the prominent business houses in modern India have their historical roots in the region called *Shekhawati*. *Shekhawati* region was

sandwiched between former princely states of Jaipur and Bikaner.¹

The eighteenth century saw the collapse of the Mughal empire and its disintegration gave rise to many successor states.² In the changing circumstances, the merchants from the region of Rajputana had been at the forefront of seizing the newly created opportunities in form of expanding colonial state, rise of new commercial centres etc. The successor states also attracted the Marwari traders and bankers to their territories. Due to the consistent influx of the Marwari merchant houses in new regions and trading ventures, they ushered new commercial opportunities up to the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the metropolises of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.³

The social base of the Marwari mercantile community in various states of Rajputana was not limited to a specific caste or religion as it comprised a wide spectrum of Hindus, Jains, and Muslims. However, the commercial landscape was dominated by the Vaishya community which had prominent sub-units like the Oswals, Maheshwaris, and Agarwals.⁴ These communities had subcastes like Daga, Damani, Pugaliala, Bagri, Ladha, Mohta, Sadani, Mundhra, Baghlo and Lohiya.⁵ From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, the region was a centre of brisk trading activities, and the trading classes could be classified based on types of occupation or nature of work. First came the traders who engaged in wholesale business were the *seth*, *shah* or *sahukar* and also dealt with moneylending, *hundi*, export and import.⁶ Next were the small traders or retailers known as *bichayats*, *pothias* etc, who used to operate within a smaller commercial space with limited transacting capital. The third category of traders dealt with banking, *hundis*, *dalali*, *sauda*, money changing, *hawala*, *muqata*, etc.

Trade and Urbanisation

With the breakdown of the Mughal empire, the local rulers became practically independent in their respective regions. Due to financial constraints and economic necessities, they were keen to promote trade and commerce in their region. As many of them ceased to be the Mughal *mansabdars*, they were eager to search for new avenues of income. The immediate need was to balance their state budgets with the growing income from transitory customs duties.⁷ In the arid areas of western Rajasthan, the state's share in agricultural produce was not as lucrative as in the neighbouring regions of eastern Rajasthan, Punjab plains and

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Ganga-Yamuna doab. Like in the Bikaner state, the income from the *hasil* was less than forty percent of the state's total income and became substantial only after the addition of the non-agricultural taxes in the *hasil*.⁸ In such circumstances, the efforts for higher revenue from the *zaqat* or custom duty were fostered in the state. Regional archival sources point out the establishment of new commercial towns and incentivising of the traders. Like, at times the excise and customs duties were remitted to the extent of fifty percent.⁹ The Bikaner ruler issued letters to the traders of Sindh and Multan to pass through his territory with goods, promising complete support and safety.¹⁰ Such type of letters were also sent to the traders of Barmer, Phalodi, Loderva and Sanchor. In times of drought and famines, numerous concessions were offered for the supply of the necessary goods in the state for relief purposes. Rulers were also keen on ensuring that traders and businessmen settle permanently in their regions. Bikaner ruler Surat Singh invited a prominent trader Seth Mirzamal Poddar from Ramgarh in the *Sekhawati* region to relocate in the state and arranged land for his settlement in Churu.¹¹ His family was granted various privileges for business activities in the state.¹²

As a result, towns like Anupgarh, Rohania and Kumbhana were established and served as *mandis* in such a land which was once known as "no mans' land".¹³ The *Huvaldar*, a local administrative official, of Anupgarh mentions in his letters that trade routes through Anupgarh and various adjoining areas were busy with goods to and from Sindh and Multan.¹⁴ Letters were despatched to the traders at the check posts of the neighbouring regions with the assurances of safe passage through the routes in the territory of the Bikaner state. At the same time, letters were also issued to the local officials like *pattedars* and *chowdharies* of the *thikana* and *khalisa* villages situated on the routes for ensuring safety and provisions for the food and water to the traders.¹⁵ Instructions were also issued to the local officials for the ensuring grazing facilities for the trader's animals. The local rulers were also eager to recover the robbed goods of the traders who were looted while passing through these routes.¹⁶ Hence, one of the factors that contributed to the increase in trade activities through the lesser used desert routes was the worsening political and administrative conditions in the subcontinent during the century. This had a trickle-down effect in multiple ways on the trade of the region. For instance, the Maratha inroads and plundering activities of the *Pindaris* in central India, eastern and southern parts of Rajasthan,

compelled the traders to make more use of the alternative routes available in the desert region.¹⁷

Owing to these factors, the *zaqat* income from the custom duties in the Bikaner state increased by eight times in 1755 CE compared to what it was at the end of the seventeenth Century.¹⁸ Further, in 1795 CE the percentage of *zaqat* income was around twenty-two percent of the total income of the state, while it was less than one percent in 1699 CE.¹⁹ The archival records at Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner and Mehrangarh Museum Trust Library, Jodhpur have preserved a number of letters written by the rulers of the various states of Rajasthan to the traders in the neighbouring regions of Gujarat, Sindh, Punjab etc promising them various concessions like full or partial exemption from various commercial duties and other facilities if they relocate or open shops of their firms in these states. Tek Chand, Lila Ram and Dwarka Das Khatri who were the renowned traders of Multan, were given fifty percent exemption from taxes, *don* and *rahdari*, on establishing their business firms in Jodhpur.²⁰ Some other concessions were in form of grant of free land to construct shops and houses like that of Sahab Rai Navneet Rai Bhiyani and Navneet Rai Bhawani Das Meghani of Multan who came to Nagaur in 1778 CE.²¹ Traders were also assured that there will be no harassment by the government officials and help will be provided to realise their loans from the borrowers. They were also assured to be compensated in case plundered by the dacoits. Bidala Sultan of Multan whose two camel loads of cloth were looted by Rawal Zalim Singh Raghunath Singhot near Khangarh for which a compensation of Rupees 250 was given by the Maharaja of Bikaner.²² At times, Siropas or robes of honour were also bestowed on some prominent traders by the king to show royal favour.²³

A list of traders (compiled from various primary and secondary sources), from the neighbouring regions, settling down in western Rajasthan is as follows:

S. No.	Trader	Place of origin	Place of migration	Year of migration
1	Seth Brij Gopal Das	Bhavnagar	Jodhpur	1797 AD
2	Bula Arora	Sindh	Phalodi	1775 AD
3	Bohra Daud Yar Khan	Surat	Jodhpur	1767 AD
4	Khushal Chand Mahajan	Patan	Pali	1808 AD
5	Abhai Chand Luniya	Radhanpur	Pali	1808 AD
6	Muhammad Khan			

	Shamsher Khan	Qandahar	Bikaner	1781 AD
7	Kesho Ram Khusyal Chand Brahman	Multan	Jodhpur	1768 AD
8	Bohra Kesho Ram Kripa Ram Srimali	Ratlam	Jodhpur	1767 AD
9	Shah Bholu Nath	Agra	Jodhpur	1767 AD
10	Shah Jewat Kapoor	Radhanpur	Jodhpur	1769 AD
11	Jiwan Das Askaran	Bahawalpur	Jodhpur	1796 AD
12	Yar Khan Pathan	Multan	Bikaner	1748 AD
13	Jagroop Arora	Multan	Bikaner	1748 AD
14	Jot Nath Daga	Multan	Bikaner	1750 AD
15	Bidal Sultan	Multan	Bikaner	1806 AD
16	Ranmal Das Bhusariya	Shikarpur	Bikaner	1802 AD
17	Tula Ram Kalra	Multan	Bikaner	1750 AD
18	Chain Rai Kalla	Multan	Churu	1750 AD
19	Sagato Kirpal	Sindh	Bikaner	1750 AD
20	Thakur Das Bulaki Das Khatri	Multan	Nagaur	1791 AD

The traders from Sindh dominates the above list and went on to establish their business firms in Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Nagaur, Pali, Churu etc. This was one of the reasons which led to the rise of these towns as foremost commercial centres in Rajasthan and north-west India during the eighteenth century. These traders engaged in different commercial activities like money-lending, hundi business and some of the traders were engaged in import-export trade between Rajasthan and its neighbouring provinces. For example, Musa Khan and Ibrahim Khan Pathan carried on brisk trade in Indigo and cloths between Rajasthan and Qandahar. Thakur Das Mool Chand Multani was heading a prominent business firm of Jodhpur which carried trade between Jodhpur and Multan.²⁴ Multani traders like Jogi Das, Gopal Khatri and Jeth Nath Daga were renowned bankers of Bikaner engaged in money-lending and hundi business.²⁵ This migration of the traders to Rajasthan during the period of our discussion contributed considerably to the development of trade and commerce in Rajasthan. This influx of the traders also points out that the Maratha attacks, as is generally believed, had not caused much harm to the growing trade and commerce in Rajasthan and there were favourable conditions for trading during the eighteenth century.

Routes and Nodes

Claude Markovits has argued that there were several 'Indian world economies', which were loosely interconnected.²⁶ This argument could be further augmented with the nodal points that connected these loosely

connected economies. Some of these nodal points or emporia in western Rajasthan were connecting the various trade routes. Rajgarh, Churu, Bhatner, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Pugal, Jaisalmer, Pali, and Nagaur were the chief commercial centres in the region. These centres had links with the other routes of the eastern and southern Rajasthan and central India like the Delhi-Ahmedabad through Rajasthan, Agra-Ahmedabad through Rajasthan, Agra-Malwa through Rajasthan, Delhi-Multan through Hisar etc.²⁷ Popularity of these trade routes in the eighteenth century not only accelerated the commercial activities but also strengthened the local feudal chiefs to consolidate their power in the region.²⁸ Pali served as an important entry point for goods of various regions in north western India. Here, wide range of commodities from mainland India, Kashmir, China and even from Europe, Africa and Persia were exchanged and traded. James Tod has praised Pali as an emporium of Rajputana in his writings. Rajgarh in the Bikaner region was also a major commercial mart. Products from Punjab and Kashmir came directly via Hansi-Hisar route and products from eastern parts of the country like silk, indigo, iron, tobacco etc. came through Delhi-Rewari-Dadri route. These goods were further exported to Multan and Sindh via Bhatner and Anupgarh. Numerous commodities from Multan, Sikarpur and Khairpur were also exchanged here.

The trade history of the region has had a rich inventory of goods for import and export. The main item was the *dhan* or food grains predominantly consisted of *bajra*, *moth*, barley and wheat and *mandis* of Mahajan, Rajgarh, Bhatner, Nagaur, Pali etc dealt extensively in food grains.²⁹ Sheep were also exported from Rajasthan to Sindh and Multan and Multani traders dominated this business.³⁰ The wool from the sheep reared in the desert pastures was a sought after commodity. Camels were also exported to Sindh but camels of Sindh and Kutch were more popular in Rajasthan.³¹ As the traders from Multan and beyond the territory of Indus were invited for the purchase of horses like them traders from Sindh and Kutch were also welcomed by the various chieftains in Rajasthan, for the purchase of camels. Camel and sheep held a prominent place in the economic life of pre-modern western Rajasthan. Other export commodities from western Rajasthan included *moong*, *Multani mitti*, camel skin or *khal* leather goods, arms, textiles, brass-bronze utensils, salt, tobacco, dyed blankets, potash, shawls etc.³² The imported goods included Multani horses, cloths, date, palm, coconut,

glass, dried fruits, rice, ivory goods, drugs, sandalwood, molasses or *gur*, gold and silver threads etc.³³

The following is the compilation of trade routes through western Rajasthan and adjoining regions (compiled from various primary and secondary sources):

Major Routes

1) Delhi to Multan: Delhi-Rohtak-Rajgarh Reni-Bhadra-Nohar-Rawatsar-Bhatner- Suratgarh - Anupgarh - Bhawalpur- Multan.

2) Multan to Jaipur: Multan-Bhawalpur-Anupgarh-Mahajan-Lunkaransar-Bikaner-Jasrasar-Ladnu-Sambhar- Jaipur.³⁴

3) Multan to Patan: Multan-Derawar-Nayakot-Jaisalmer-Barmer-Sanchor Patan.³⁵

4) Multan to Pali and Patan: Multan-Pugal-Bikaner-Nagaur-Jodhpur-Pali or Bikaner-Phalodi- Pali-Patan.³⁶

5) Malwa to Bikaner via Pali: Chitor-Mandalgarh-Bednur- Pali-Jodhpur-Nagore-Bikaner; and via Ajmer: Bundi-Mandalgarh-Ajmer-Kisangarh-Merta-Didwana-Churu-Rajgarh-Bikaner.³⁷

6) Rajgarh to Khairpur: Churu-Bikaner-Pugal or Barsalpur-Nayakot-Khairpur.³⁸

7) Delhi to Pali and Patan-Ahmedabad: Delhi-Hisar-Bhiwani-Rajgarh-Churu-Sujangarh-Ladnu-Didwana-Nagaur-Jodhpur-Pali-Palanpur-Patan-Ahmedabad.³⁹

Important Local Routes

1) Nagaur to Jaisalmer: Nagor-Phalodi-Pokaran-Jaisalmer.

2) Mahajan to Multan: Mahajan-Kumbhana-Anupgarh-Bahawalpur-Multan.⁴⁰

3) Multan to Bikaner: Multan-Bahawalpur-Anupgarh-Kumbhana-Lunkaransar-Bikaner.⁴¹

4) Bhatinda to Bikaner: Bhatinda-Bhatner-Suratgarh-Mahajan-Lunkaransar-Bikaner.

5) Bikaner to Sindh-Mirpur via Barsalpur.

6) Pali to Jaisalmer and Sindh via Phalodi-Pokaran.

7) Ajmer to Bikaner: Kishangarh-Ladnu-Churu-Nagaur-Bikaner.⁴²

Migration and Information Networks

Historians like Timberg have emphasized on migration of the

traders from Rajasthan to various parts of the country in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.⁴³ But, we do find substantial evidence of traders from neighbouring regions coming to Rajasthan and settling down during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While discussing the factors of migration, E. B. Ravenstein has argued for the ‘oppressive laws, an unattractive climate, heavy taxation and uncogential surroundings’ as push factors for migration.⁴⁴ Helen Safa argues in favour of the economic opportunity at the foreground while making a case for migration.⁴⁵ Western Rajasthan was no exception to these theories, and it is to the credit of the evolving economic conditions of the region that it attracted numerous business communities.

Migrations gave impetus to better control over information and credit within the trading communities, enabling greater opportunities.⁴⁶ The trade routes also give us valuable details about the process of transmission of information through post and speculation. In Rajasthan, the news courier like harkara was paid on the basis of distance and swiftness while covering distances. For covering a distance of 170 miles in 3 days and nights, they were paid Rupees 9. In case the information was urgent the same distance was covered in 42 hours for which they were paid Rupees 32.⁴⁷ *Meh ka sauda* (rain speculation) and *afeem ka sauda* (opium speculation) were the two most popular examples of speculation.⁴⁸ Under opium speculation, commercial trading of opium did not occur in the region but the final rates for buying and selling were auctioned in Calcutta. As soon as the auction finished in Calcutta, the information regarding the closing rates were relayed back to the speculators in north-western Rajasthan. With the arrival of final information, the speculations on opium also got closed. Local governments levied licence taxes on traders involved in speculation.⁴⁹ British officer, captain Burton who visited the region in 1872-73 CE explains these taxes but considers them to be objectionable as they involved gambling. After the modern communication systems of telegraph and telephone were established in this region, these systems lost relevance. At the end of nineteenth century, the traders also shifted their focus on speculations on cotton, gold, silver etc at Bombay and Calcutta.

After migrating to new commercial towns in British India, many of these traders continued their activities of brokerage and speculation. Now they were speculating on silver, gold, opium and cotton. It was known as fatka or satta.⁵⁰ Opium fatka was extensively popular among these traders. Government auctioned opium boxes every month and the

fatka traders indulged in gambling on the basis of the averaging the previous auctioning rates. In Calcutta and Bombay, these traders indulged in gambling of other commodities too and then bought-sold them at an opportune time making huge profits.⁵¹ Traders from Bikaner like Pinaychand Sindhi, SurajmalNagarmal and Kanhaiyalal Lohiya were major names in fatka trading in Calcutta. In Bombay, NarayandasMohta, BhikhamchandBalkishandas and Ramratan Bagdi were the major players.⁵²

In the period from 1890 to 1914 CE, when brute imperialism and sophisticated finance heralded a new global staging of capital, criminal law directed itself at vernacular forms of hedging and speculation. Associated for the first time with the dangerous habit of gambling, these practices had until this time been free of regulation, civil or criminal. According to government officials and social reformists, burgeoning informal futures markets were driven by irrational habits and were an example of commercial ethics gone wrong.⁵³ The very speculative nature of these markets depended on kinship and caste-based information networks which extended from city markets to towns to village trader-moneylenders who were in direct contact with primary producers. These private and elusive channels carried information that was thought to distort spot prices and predictions for supply and demand.⁵⁴

Marwari migration from their homeland Rajasthan reflected the geography of antigambling legislations beginning in the 1880s. Migrating in large numbers to Bombay and Calcutta, they earned huge profits through speculation particularly in opium and jute.⁵⁵ According to Timberg during late nineteenth and early twentieth century, marwari businessmen like SarupchandHukumchand, HardutaiChamaria and J.K. Birla made windfall fortunes trading in opium.⁵⁶ The second important commodity was raw jute and its product hessian, whose world market was controlled by India by twentieth century.⁵⁷ The profits made by Marwaris enabled them to finance managing agencies during the inflationary years of the 1920s, when many British firms found themselves undercapitalised.

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An Urban-Environmental History of Mining: Metal Mining and Urban Appropriation of Nature in Zawar, Rajasthan

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Introduction

This paper locates the history of Zawar metal mines as an integral part of a worldwide and uneven process of capitalist urbanisation. In the context of this study, urbanisation refers to a geographically extended process of modifying nature as infrastructures for capital and its geographical concentration as cities. The existing studies on mining focus majorly on the visible but geographically confined processes of landscape modification, environmental degradation, technological transformations and labour relations in the mining sites. Moreover, metal mines are generally depicted as interior regions located outside the process of urbanisation. However, the growing awareness about the Anthropocene conditions- the planetary consequences of the capitalist modification the nature- requires a global environmental history focus on mines and mining. Moreover, a critical environmental history of mining requires a *longe durée* perspective to understand how large-scale modification of nature as mines and auxiliary infrastructures played a crucial role in shaping social relationships including gender, labour relations and urban-rural divide.

Zawar metal mines in Rajasthan are a good example of the combined issues of natural resource depletion and the social issue of pollution and resource depletion caused by the industrial appropriation of natural wealth. Zawar is one of the oldest zinc-producing regions in the Indian subcontinent. Currently, the mines cover the geographical area of 3620 hectares. However, the socio-environmental impacts of

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Zawar mines penetrate into an extended landscape beyond these mineral deposits. The production and functioning of these mines require the modification of extended landscapes – surrounding rivers, fertile soil, people and animals as mining infrastructures. This paper shall map an extended landscape of mining in the Zawar region by examining issues raised by environmental movements of the surrounding regions- including water scarcity, depleting soil nutrients, loss of livelihoods, and health hazards. Locating the production of regional mining landscapes as a part of planetary urbanisation can help us to provide a historical and global perspective on the contemporary concerns related to the environmental impacts of mining.

An aerial view of Zawar hills shows that the hills, forest and waterbodies around the mines are intensely appropriated as infrastructure for mining and metal processing works (see Image 1). The mines are underground and not visible on the surface. However, centuries-long mining operations have transformed not just the underground, but also the surface land, waterbodies and the air. The mining activity generates wastes that contaminate water a precious gift of nature that sustains life and livelihood in the Mewar region. Laskhmi Devi, a Bhil indigenous peasant woman from Kanpur, a village near the contaminated waterbody, failed to cultivate food crops for her family's survival.¹ Waste deposit accumulated in the tailing dam damaged their crops and severely affected their health. She lives in a region predominantly inhabited by indigenous social groups of Bhils and Meena. The fifth schedule of Article 244 of the Indian constitution identified this area as a space to be preserved for autonomy, justice, and socio-cultural empowerment of the tribal groups.² The everyday life of Lakshmi Devi and several other indigenous peasant women are shaped by the long history of mining and related changes in the nature of human interactions with the environment. Now the village depends on the water tanks sent by the corporate mining company. Consequently, water, a cultural memory and nature's gift has become an expensive commodity for the indigenous peasants of Zawar. Poor women who depends on food crop cultivation and cattle domestication for their survival spend a major share of their time to travel longer distance to fetch water for cooking and drinking. The lived experience of the villagers suggests that the strengthening of environmental consciousness in the era of the climate crisis entangles the long history mining with the present Anthropocene predicaments. Consequently, there is an emerging interest

among Environmental historians and political ecologists to turn to the past for insight into the present environmental issues.³

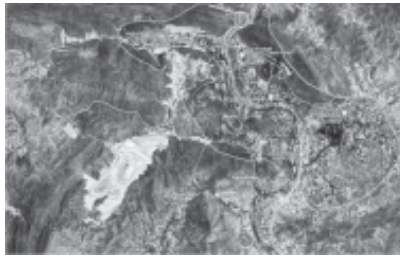
The hills of Zawar (Jawar) carry layers of memories in its mining landscapes. For centuries, metal mining activity dominated all other forms of landscape modification in this region. These ancient mining spaces with a history of mines dating back to 3000 BCE years are known for lead and zinc concentration.⁴ Extracting zinc from ore is an energy-intensive process since the boiling point of the furnace is 906 degrees Celsius. The ancient distillation apparatus found in the region, especially clay retorts, charred milling sites, and open holes produce a landscape of mining memories that has been inscribed on land form the 9th century CE (See image no. 2).

The historical impacts made by mining on landscapes and people persist. The political elites of the region in the pre-colonial period dominated the hilly landscapes by building magnificent forts and communication as well as water harvesting infrastructures. From an environmental history perspective these built spaces manifests landownership relations and nature of control over resources. The reopening of the Zawar underground mines by the British colonial administration in the eighteenth century initiated the process of industrialised mining. Subsequently, the networks of roads, electricity supply infrastructures and water supply facilities actively integrated the Aravalli and its subordinate hills landscapes as mining infrastructures that connected the mines to a global web of metal trade. Industrial requirements for metal, especially zinc in the context of Zawar superimposed an urban social space in the form of transport and energy infrastructures for mining. Urban theorist Neil Brenner uses the term 'planetary urbanisation' to show how spaces that have been generally considered non-urban spaces were involved in a worldwide process of the urban concentration of natural resources.⁵

Urbanisation in the context of this study refers to the tendency of the capitalist development process to manifest as geographical clustering of infrastructures. For instance, the rapid urbanisation of Udaipur involved a process of appropriating the natural resources of the surrounding regions. In the Zawar region converting the ecological specificities as mining infrastructures dispossess the indigenous communities from their livelihoods and memories. The rapidly urbanising spaces of Zawar consisted of mines, mills, water supply systems, a township and electric

energy infrastructures. The same process releases a large quantity of wastes that affect the socio-environmental conditions of extended geographical landscapes. These interconnected processes suggest that the urban environment of Zawar mines needs to be understood as a social space consisting of diverse actors- the state, mining capitalists, regulatory authorities, labourers and local inhabitants. An environmental history perspective in the context of Zawar needs to seek more voices.

Image 1: Zawar mining landscape (google map image. Accessed on 20 Feb. 2024)



The Past and Present of the Mining Landscapes of Zawar

The location of mineral resources influenced the development of trade routes, markets and the capital cities of the empires. Almost no place on earth existed without a mining site. The mined materials, including granite stone, copper, iron, silver, gold, and salt, represented the main form of wealth. Societies and state systems fought over, controlled, taxed and relentlessly searched for mineral resources. In the process, iron replaced bronze and copper as the preferred metal for making tools and implements in ancient societies. For instance, the Ancient Greek city-states grew wealthier due to the development of large-scale mining of silver, especially at Laurion Mines. Athens and Sparta, two prominent Greek city-states struggled to control the mines. Civilisations progressed by exploiting natural resources. Moreover, metallurgy played a crucial role in economic development based on intensified agricultural production and craft industries. Throughout history, mining involved large-scale modification of landscapes including deforestation, and air and water pollution.

Mining and metallurgy required a massive mobilisation of labour power and natural resources including water, coal, wood and clay. The smelting of metal ore required large quantities of charcoal. Making

charcoal required a large-scale collection of teak, sal, bamboo and other trees from the forests. Burning of trees to prepare charcoal was carried out near a river or lake to quench the burning trees at some suitable stage. Moreover, the production of metal involved long hours of work inside the underground mines crushing solid rocks. The subsequent smelting also involved the labourious task of cutting trees and firing them to make charcoal and to make clay furnaces. The process also involved the modification of landscapes to build furnaces to refine metal. Large-scale mining activity involved the transformation of landscapes and natural resources. The expansion of mining was not without environmental costs. For instance, ancient metallurgy added pollutants to soil and water. However, the pollution was on a regional scale. Inefficient smelting technologies increase air pollution by sending 15 to 20 percent of metal into the air.

Image 2: Ancient Slag retorts, Zawar, Rajasthan.⁶



Recognising the significance of Zawar mining and metal trade in the past, the American Society of Metal described Zwar as an 'International Historical Landmark'. The Geological Society of India declared Zawar a National Geological Monument in 2016. These recognitions show that the dominant historical memory associated with Zawar is its glorious past of mining and its prominent place in the maps of the world metal trade. The glorious memories of the mining landscape are entangled with pilgrim sites. It is believed that the demon king Hiranyakashyap ruled the Zawar Hills. Zawarmata is an avatar of the goddess Durga (Mahishasura Mardini). These pilgrim sites allow the indigenous communities to negotiate between their environmental hardships and memories and hopes related to sacred spaces.

Operation of four underground mines- Mochia, Balaria, Zawarmala and Baroi – involves intensified mechanised landscapes. The main mining method is long-hole open stoping mining method involves

the blasting of stone to separate metal ores. Blasting leads to the atmospheric spread of metal dust. Liquid waste generated by mining sites and mills leads to aquatic contamination. Metal pollution is a defining problem of the aquatic environment in the region.⁷ Water is precious in this semi-arid region with limited rainfall. Water preservation methods include the construction of dykes and dams to preserve water during the short rainy season. Preserving groundwater is a memory embedded in the cultural landscape of the region. The Tiri River, a tributary of the river Gomati, carries a heavy amount of metal components discharged from the milling plants.⁸ The mining activity exerts greater control over the water resources of the region by managing the reservoirs. This process can be called the commodification of water for the urban appropriation of nature's elements as metal. The dominance of mining activities in the management of water has a long history in the Zawar region. Archeological excavation in the Aravalli ranges, especially in Zawar, Agucha, and Dariba in Udaipur district in Rajasthan provides evidence of mines that are 100 meters in depth during the third century CE.

Zinc metallurgy has been practiced in the Indian subcontinent since the fourth century BCE. Archeological excavation at Zawar mines shows evidence of zinc in 400 BCE and later. Zinc is a difficult metal to smelt, which required sophisticated technologies to control heat to immediately cool down to solidify zinc. Therefore, zinc production required specifically designed retorts with furnaces. The *Rasaratnakara*, an ancient Indian text on alchemy, discussed the method of zinc production. Brass production also existed in Taxila in the third century BCE. Kautaliya's *Arthashastra*, a fourth-century BCE text, described the production of Zinc, brass and silver. The production of zinc required 500 degrees Celsius heat and large-scale cutting of trees to produce charcoal. This shows that ancient metal mining and smelting added new pollutants to the atmosphere. The pollutants, including copper and lead, were found in places including Greenland, ancient Rome and the Song dynasty in China. Limited developments in smelting technology led to high levels of emission of metal pollutants into the atmosphere. As J. R. McNeill observed, "total copper emission in the Roman and Song eras came to about a tenth of those of the 1990s, even though copper production was less than a hundredth of modern levels."⁹

References to the zinc mines of the Rajasthan region available in Persian texts is evidence for long-distance trade. Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-*

Akbari, a text compiled in the sixteenth century refers to zinc produced in the Zawar region.¹⁰ The socio-environmental impacts of metallurgy before the modern period had regional-scale impacts. However, the period starting from the eighteenth-century European colonial expansion represented a period of a massive expansion of mining as a large-scale industry in the Indian subcontinent. William Champion, the British metallurgist started using charcoal to process zinc in the early eighteenth century. The colonial geographical idea of earmarking landscapes as resource belts has continued in South Asia after the end of colonialism. However, the citizenship right consciousness facilitated by the Constitution of India had its early manifestation in environmental movements.

As a process of aligning the Zawar mines with the logic of corporate capitalism, in 1945 the Metal Corporation of India Ltd took over the Zawar mines. Later with the rationalisation of the mining industry, Mewar mines were handed over to Hindustan Zinc Limited. In 2002, Vedanta Group partly acquired the Zawar mines with the changing policy of the Government to allow the privatisation of natural resources. The privatization of the mines led to a scaling up of production. The post-1950s industrial expansion based on iron and steel mining, quarrying, and earthmoving was crucial in the emergence of environmental justice movements and various environmental regulations of mining activities. After the end of colonial rule, the independent Indian government considered mine as crucial for the rapid industrialisation of the national economy. The Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act of 1948 and Article 48 (A) of the Indian constitution made it obligatory for the state to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country. In addition to this, according to an interpretation provided by the Rajasthan High Court the Right to a clean environment is based on the right to life guaranteed by Article 21 of the constitution. In addition to these, Articles 39 (c), 39 (e), 42, and 43 guarantee citizens' rights to have humane conditions of work, living wage, and facilities to improve public health. The legislation on mines interconnected the issues related to the environment and public health.

By 1956, the Government of India made mining a state-controlled sector. The Government also developed institutions to promote mining activities, including the Geological Survey of India, the Indian Bureau of Mines, and the Office of the Coal Controller. However, the history of Independent Indian Mine laws from the first Mines Act of 1952 to the

Mines Regulations of 1986 gave limited attention to environmental regulations. In 1986, the Government of India amended the Mines and Minerals (Regulation and Development) Act 1957 to include specific provisions related to mines and environmental protection. The Act included provisions to control mining-related environmental issues, including floods, pollution, toxic chemicals, the safety of buildings and monuments, and the conservation of mineral resources.

The Mines Concession Rules of 1987 included provisions to make the state assess environmental damages associated with mining and held the owners of mines responsible for deforestation and compensation by planting trees. The Mineral (Conservation and Development) Rules of 1988 included provisions to minimize environmental damages, including deforestation, land degradation, air pollution, freshwater contamination, and noise pollution. Subsequent Government notifications and judicial innervations made environmental clearance a mandatory condition for mining industries. The Government of India in the 1970s nationalised coal and petroleum mines. In 1994, the National Mineral Policy was revised to permit private domestic and foreign investors to explore for and exploit the following minerals: iron ore, copper, manganese, lead, chrome ore, zinc, sulphur, molybdenum, gold, tungsten ore, diamond and platinum group of metals. The National Mineral Policy was also aimed to encourage large-scale private investment and to increase the export of mineral resources. Subsequent expansion of mining without adequate attention to regenerate forest and water resources in Zawar region led to a massive conversion of landscapes and operational landscape with mining, energy and transportation infrastructure complexes.

Conclusions

J. R. McNeill considers fossil energy-based industrialisation after World War II as a phase of the 'great acceleration' of capitalistic growth with a major impact on global ecology.¹¹ 'Great acceleration' is an apt terminology to describe the mining-related environmental modification and rapid urbanisation of Zawar and the adjacent growing city of Udaipur. The industrialisation of mining challenged the traditional social relationship with water resources in the Mewar region. Rainwater harvesting in Mewar included techniques of constructing dams, wells, step wells and tanks.¹² The expansion of mining radically transformed the traditional social relationship with water, a socio-environmental condition based on rainwater harvesting and dry farming methods of crop cultivation. Protest

of the indigenous people reflects their memory about how the massive expansion of mining resulted in the transformation of land surfaces through soil erosion, deforestation, flood, and choking of rivers and inland waterbodies.

Metal has always been the backbone industrialisation of production and transportation. Thus, the capitalists realised that control over metal production is the key to maximise profit. The insatiable appetite of modern industries promotes the ideology of commercial capitalism to earmark landforms such as mining belts, cotton belts and indigo belts and so forth. The states and mining corporations' depiction of the Zawar region as a mining belt with a very long history that dates back to the ancient days justified for massive changes in land use patterns to expand mining activities. The farmers and pastoralists have always been experiencing mining as a forceful redefinition of their relationship with land and waterbodies. For a peasant in Mewar, the coming of a mining industry involves a major change in land-use patterns by converting farms and fields into townships, and thermal power plants to supply electricity for mines and mills, and water storage and supply facilities. The Anthropocene threat that the indigenous people experience demands deeper engagements of historians to write environmental histories for the future.

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Significance of Rajasthan Trade Routes in the Overseas Commerce Till 1650

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Rajasthan is the largest state of the Republic of India by area and is located in the western part of it. Presently, it shares its borders with five states that are Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.¹ The present area of Rajasthan in the 17th century has been crossed by a number of travellers who gave information not only about the routes they took, but also about a number of economic products that were associated with the places that came within their route. It is from their accounts only, that a rough idea can be formed regarding the trade routes of Rajasthan in the first half of 17th century. John Jourdain was possibly the first who travelled through Rajasthan to reach Gujarat in the early 17th century. He served as a captain in the English East India Company and was also the first President of East India Company Council at Suart. In the year 1611, he took his journey from Agra to Surat. He started from Agra in the month of July and reached Surat via Rajasthan in the month of October. His travel account testifies to the economic importance of the various places of Rajasthan besides helping us to reconstruct the trade routes which arguably could have played an important role in shaping the overseas commerce of India.

Thus, while he was at "Fettpore" [mod. Fatehpur Sikri],² near Agra, he says "indico is made near this cittie att another towne a side of, called Biana [mod. Bayana],³ where Mr. Finch brought his indico".⁴ From Fatehpur Sikri he took the road to Ajmer which he reached on 10th of August, 1611. On his way to Ajmer, he happened to cross and visit a number of places like 'Primabado,⁵ which he found as "a prettye towne, where there is alsoe made much indico."⁶ Scandra sarraye [mod.

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Sikandra,⁷ Hindone [mod. Hindaun],⁸ Lulsee [mod. Lalsot],⁹ Jampeth [mod. Jampda],¹⁰ Churse [mod. Chatsu],¹¹ Luddayna [mod. Ladana]¹² and Muzaban [mod. Mozabad].¹³ From Mozabad, he came to ‘Sittill [mod. Kuchil]’,¹⁴ which was thirteen coses (Kos) away from it. It must have been a pretty town in his time as is evident from his travelogue. The city of “Asmiere” [mod. Ajmer]¹⁵ was seven coses (kos) away from Kuchil. “This is a citty where the Kinge hath a howse for his recreation when hee goeth a huntinge. It hath alsoe a castle and is a walled towne, butt not stronge”, is what Jourdain observed about Ajmer.¹⁶ Continuing his journey from Ajmer, Jourdain reached Merta [mod. Merta]¹⁷ after crossing both Alsmura¹⁸ as well as Crowe [mod. Garao],¹⁹ that were twelve coses (Kos) apart from each other. He writes about Merta: “a pretty towne which doth abound with all sorts of druggs”.²⁰ From Merta, Jourdain continued his journey to his destination Suratt [mod. Surat]²¹ via “Amadavar” [mod. Ahmedabad],²² which was “the principall cittye of Guzaratt [mod. Gujarat]”,²³ and “where there is a Vizeroy for the Mogol”.²⁴ Before reaching Ahmadabad, he crossed over several small towns and villages in Rajasthan like Berghee,²⁵ Handolla,²⁶ Goodpore [mod. Jodhpur],²⁷ Donnara [mod. Dundara],²⁸ Imburrie [mod. Bharwani],²⁹ Jalor³⁰ which he calls ‘Gilburd’, Beerwall [mod. Bhinmal],³¹ Gundawe, Cooga and Sarrand.³² He left Rajasthan and entered Gujarat probably somewhere near Semmee (Semmen)³³ [mod. Sami],³⁴ which was only ten cose (Kos) away from Serarpoore.³⁵ Beyond Sami, came Sodde [mod. Sadra],³⁶ Hoghepore [mod. Hajipur]³⁷ and Ahmadabad. The city of Cambaia [mod. Cambay]³⁸ came just before his final destination Surat. For Cambay, he wrote “this cittye of Cambaia is one of the best cittyes in all India for beautye and trade”.³⁹

Among the commodities of Rajasthan, Jourdain mentions Indigo holding the premier position. The places that were well known for its production were Bayana, Primabado,⁴⁰ Hindaun, Lalsot and Mozabad.⁴¹ The next important commodity was Saltpeter, which was associated with the town of Churse or Chaksu⁴² [mod. Chotsu].⁴³ Likewise, Ajmer also produced Saltpetre. Besides, it also produced fabrics like white cotton which was very fine in its texture.⁴⁴ The town of Merta was well known not only in producing fine white cotton clothes but was also renowned for its high-quality woollen fabrics. It was also a centre of multi-colour dyeing.⁴⁵ Lastly, the city of Jodhpur was renowned for its pomegranate and it had been testified by rulers⁴⁶ and traders, alike. It

must be said that Ajmer besides being famous for its commodities, served also as an imperial mint. Thus, during the reign of Akbar, an imperial copper mint was established here.⁴⁷ Likewise, his great-grandson Aurangzeb also established silver or rupee mint at Ajmer.⁴⁸

A brief idea of his route taken and the names of the places visited by him—

Agra, Crowley [mod. Kiraoli],⁴⁹ Fettyore, Primaboda, Scandra, Hindone, Lushi, Jampeth, Churse, Luddayana, Muzaban, Sittill, Asmiere, Alsmura, Crowe, Merta, Bergee, Handolla, Goodpore, Donnara, Tundacke, Conducke [mod. Khandap, near Dundara],⁵⁰ Imburrie, Gilburd, Ingebor, Meerghee [mod. Modra],⁵¹ Beerwall, Gundawe, Cooga, Sarrand, Bonnopp, Sarompore, Serrarpore, Semmee, Scolconpore [mod. Sankhalpur],⁵² Sodde, Hoghepore, Doolpon, Ahmadaver, Cambaia and Suratt.⁵³

The next important traveller who gave some specific information about the routes as well production in Rajasthan was Peter Mundy. He was a 17th century British factor, merchant, traveler and as well as an enthusiastic writer. He took his journey from Agra to Surat in the year 1633 as part of his trading activity. His account is quite valuable as it gives some very specific details about the places he visited. Thus, he describes about its geography, history, monuments, as well as, about the commodities that were produced in that particular place.

As regarding the route which he took, he started from Agra on 25th of February 1633 and reached Surat on 25th of May 1633. On his way to his destination, “with a Caphila Consistinge of 268 Cammells And 109 Carts, whereon was laden 1493 fardles⁵⁴ indico and 12 fardles of Saltpeter Etts.”,⁵⁵ Peter Mundy visited several small towns and places about which he gives some very interesting details. Thus, from Agra he reached Futtapore [Fatehpur Sikri] which was not only 12 course (Kos) away from it but was “built by Kinge Echar (Akbar) aforesaid att his returne from the Conquest of Guzaratt, nameinge it the Towne of Victorie”.⁵⁶ Continuing his journey he visited Neembera [Nibhera], Connoway [Khanwa], Biana [Bayana], Hendowne [Hindaun], Lollsoote [Lalsot], Jampa [Jampda], as well as, Chatsoo[Chaksu], Mozabad [Mozabad], Sambar [Sambhar], Kissunguure [Kishangarh] and finally reached Adgemeere [mod. Ajmer] on 14th of March, 1633.⁵⁷ He stayed there for one day after which he started again for his destination

Ahmadabad. After Ajmer came “a poore Towne Budwarree [Badhwara] which was only 7 course (Kos) away from it. The road then went into another “Towne called Arrea [Rea], which was 8 course (Kos) away from his last destination. He found the “Countrie plaine, without either wood or water”, having a “great store of Chace, or Antelopps, Hares, partridges, etts”.⁵⁸ Also, at this place he faced the problem of carrying further his journey as he says “Wee had much trouble by a parcell of sand in a Bottome [hollow], soe that it was almost two nights and one day before wee could gett our Carts hither”.⁵⁹ After that came in his course “Mirta” [Merta] about which he found having “litle wood and water, but better peopled and manured [cultivated] then former dayes Journys. This Towne was auntiently the head of this province called Marwa”.⁶⁰ At the same time, about the mode of transportation that was used in this place, he comments that “Hereabout instead of horses, they ride on high Cammells, commonly 2 and 2 in a long Sadie, which goe a great pace”. He found the town as “reasonable bigg, verie well peopled, although of noe great Traffique and Commerce”.⁶¹ About the law and order of this place, Peter Mundy said, “Here wee spake with a Puttamare (Pathmar) or foot post, whoe told us that under Abbooghurre [Abugarh] there were certaine Cammells laden with Indico violently taken out of the Dutch Caphila by Theeves, and [who had] slaine one of their Bulloaches [Baluchi]. Also that beyond Seedpore [Sidhpur] eleven Cammells were carried away as they were feeding. Also att Arreea [Rea] wee were told of 12 more carried away feedinge, all belonginge to ditto Caphila”.⁶² On 21st of March 1633, Peter Mundy arrived at Betun [Bitan], that was 7 course or Kos away and where he found “noethinge extraordinarye”. From here to Ahmadabad, he again crossed several small towns and villages like Peeparee (Pipar), where he indulged himself in hunting, Joogee ca Talao (Jogi ka Talao) for which Peter Mundy said “The Countrie a litle better refreshed with water. This is called Joogee ca Talao by the reason of the residence of a Joogee [jogi] or Faqueere [fakir] by it”.⁶³ From here onwards, came Cacanee (Kakoni)⁶⁴ and Danoora (Dandara) [mod. Dunara].⁶⁵ For the latter town, he said “Wee past by a great Channell wherein runneth very much water in tyme of Raine, but now drie, and verie fine white Salt in the bottome, the earth all hereabouts saltish and consequently the water brackish, soe that there are but few Wells, Travellers beinge supplied by Pooles of water rather then Tancks”.⁶⁶ Ckunducke (Khandap), Bowrane

(Bharwani) and Jallore (Jalor) came after that.⁶⁷ At Ckunducke, that was 9 course (Kos) away he found “somewhat large, environed with your usuall thornie fence, every howse standinge by itselfe, in forme like our round Corne Stacks in the feild though not soe bigg nor soe high, hetherto not havinge seene any other of this sorte”.⁶⁸ Just before reaching Jalor, Peter Mundy writes “This morninge wee came in Companie of a Caphila and Tanda [tanda] with graine bound for Guzaratt. Wee stayed by this Towne Bowrane [Bharwani], 3 course), being out of possibillitie to attaine Jalore..... there beinge noe other place to stay by the way that had any water. Hetherto from Adgemere is accompted Marwa [Marwar], and from henceforward Guzaratt [Gujarat], and heere our Carters supplied themselves with Oxen, about 200 bought and Changed”.⁶⁹ Regarding Jalor, Peter Mundy found standing “under a verie high hill [1200 ft.] whereon stands a faire Castle about two miles in Compasse, the Towne inhabited generallie with Rashpootes”. It must be said that at Jalor the route got divided into two branches that rejoined at Magarvada and Peter Mundy himself followed the Eastern branch of the road.⁷⁰ Thus, he said, “I went by way [in the direction] of Dantewaree [Dantwada] to dispeede the Cammells, along with Backur Ckaun whoe proceeded forward that way with all expedition, myselfe with the Carts to goe by waye of Sheroy [Sirohi], It beinge impossible for our Oxen to hold out, haveinge made tryall, but beinge come thither, our Cammellers affirmed that their Cammells Could neither hold out, soe resolved to goe together”.⁷¹ Thus, in other words the road which he took went through Sirohi and which alone could carry carts. On 3rd of April, Peter Mundy reached Shehana [Siwana]. It was 3 course (Kos) away from Bagra, which was itself 7 course (Kos) away from Jalor. He found Shehana as a “great Towne of Hindooes, whoe not only refraine from killinge any liveing Creature but (as they say) also from Cuttinge downe Trees”. For Sirohi, he wrote, “This Towne lyes under the Hills, plentie of all things, one only Beawly (baoli) which serves both the Inhabitants and strangers”.⁷² He informs us, at the same time, that Sirohi had also a custom house regarding which he says, “Wee made Moccames to agree and pay the Jaggatt (jagat) or Custome, which att this place is extorted for all Merchandize passing this way Upon rept of 600 to 700 Coolees⁷³ said to lye in waite for this Capila, wee hired 8 horsemen and 115 Footmen to goe with us to the places of Suspected danger”.⁷⁴ Peter Mundy also informs us about a tragic event in which his Kafila or caravan

was attacked and looted somewhere near Macrouree [Makrora] on 10th of April, 1633. Thus, he writes “Wee sett forward by Morninge accompanied with our afore mentioned Convoy and entred the straghts of the Hills; in many places but one way to passe, there being bancks and thick Woods on each side. About the midle of this passage is a plaine, the place where the Dutch Caphila was assaulted, being alone without People. Signior Solomon with the Cheife of the Cammellers etts., about some occasion stayed behinde att Sheroy [Sirohi], soe that 60 theeves or thereabouts issued out upon that part of the Caphila that was neerest and scattered many Cammells laden with goods, of which they carryed away 8 Cammells and 11 Fardles Indico. The rest of the Cammells and fardles they [the Dutch] found in the wood. One bulloache [Baluchi] was slaine and buried by the high way side, Signior Solomon left 2 servants to demaund and recover the goods, whereof they had gotten in parcells about 3 fardles Indico. The rest, with the Cammells irrecoverable, being carryed away by the people of Rana,⁷⁵ a great Raja hereabouts”. Continuing his narration, he thanked God as his life got spared. He says, “God bee praised, wee escaped from forraigne violence, but our ovvne disorder and dissention amonge our selves had like to have wrought us more hurt, for the Cammellers and Carters fell out about the way, the Carts breakeing into the files of the Cammells, soe that from words they fell to blowes and wounds”.⁷⁶ From there onwards, he carried forward his journey to Surat during which he mentions about Nytora [Nitara], Mungtola [Mungthala], Sheroutra [Sarrotra], Godora [Ghod], Mogurwarra [Magarwada] along with Seedpore [Sidhpur], Nowa [Unawa], Messana [Mehsana] Pansere [Pansar], Adulla [Adalaj], Chandungame [Chandkhere], Ahmudavad [Ahmadabad], Charsoo [Karchia], Saron [Sarang] as well as Bereawe [Vario], near Surat.⁷⁷

As regarding the information on commodities as supplied by Peter Mundy, he too like his predecessor John Jourdain, has written about “indico” or indigo. Thus, he says, “There are divers Townes about Agra, some 40, some 30, some 20 and some 15 course (Kos) distant, as Hindowne, Byana, Panchoona, Bashavor [Bisaur], Connoway [Khanwa] etts., where it growes and is made”.⁷⁸ Also, he describes Lollsoote as a place where “basic indigo is made”.⁷⁹ In town of Mozebad was “made yearly four to five hundred maunds of base indigo”.⁸⁰ He reached Sambar [Sambhar] from Mozabad, where he found “a Myne (mine) of Excellent white salte much esteemed of, and serves for great mens uses, being

carried to all parts”.⁸¹ Besides saltpetre, this area was also rich in Salt⁸² and had a copper mint under Aurangzeb.⁸³ Describing about Nurnoulee [Narwar],⁸⁴ which was between Sambar and Kishangarh, he writes that it was a place “where all Marble stones are brought and this place supplied marbles to kings for their buildings, there being noe lesse then 500 Carts Comeing and goeing in its carriage [i.e., for its transport]”.⁸⁵ By marbles stones, it is generally inferred that, he meant pink marble.⁸⁶ However, the veracity of this place along with its modern name is somewhat doubtful.⁸⁷ It can be inferred with the neigbouhood at Tonkra where marbles were quarried.⁸⁸ In the vicinity of Kishangarh, was a “copper myne” (mine) and “from hereabouts is brought greate store of that wee call Muscovia glasse, which is digged out of the ground”.⁸⁹ This “Muscovia glasse” is an obsolete term for common mica.⁹⁰ At the same time, Kishangarh was also famous as a centre where high quality sheilds were manufactured.⁹¹ Similarly, at Pipar he found stones similar to that found in Cornwall (a dutchy in England) and “which wee call Moore stone”.⁹² It was, in actual, a kind of granite.⁹³ Regarding the agricultural tracts that came in his way, he described about many agricultural products like “fruitfull vallie of Corne, as wheat, barley etts.” which were there “along by a Channell of a River [Jojri, Jhojri]”. Thus, the town of Pipar besides being a mineral storehouse was equally famous as a production centre of both wheat and barley.⁹⁴ Sirohi was famous as a centre of sword manufacture.⁹⁵ Peter Mundy has also, in his text, supplied us detailed information about “many feilds of Poppie of which they make opium, called heere aphim (afim) by this Countrie people, much used for many purposes”.⁹⁶ He also says that the seeds of white poppy were used by the local people to apply them on their head. Also, from its husks was made a beverage called “Post”. He then goes on to identify the similarities of this particular beverage with ‘Bhang’ while also giving the surname that were given to a drunken man like ‘Aphimee’, ‘Postee’ or ‘Bangguee’. Similarly, “Muttwallee (matwala)” was used “for a drunken man”.⁹⁷

A brief itinerary of his journey is mentioned below-

Agra, Futtapore, Neembera, Connoway, Biana [Bayana], Soroto [Surot],⁹⁸ Hendowne, Somt-ca-sara [Sop],⁹⁹ Bamangame [Bamanwas],¹⁰⁰ Lollsoote, Jampa, Chatsoo, Lohari-ka-pura,¹⁰¹ Peepeelegame [Pipalgam, Piplo],¹⁰² Mozebad, Sambar, Bandersunder [Bandar Sindri],¹⁰³ Setila [Satpura],¹⁰⁴ Nurnoulee, Kissunguure, Adzmeere¹⁰⁵ or Adgemeere,

Budwarree, Arrea, Mirta, Betun, Peeparee, Joogee ca Talao, Cacanee, Danoor, Ckunducke, Bowrane, Jalore, Modra, Bagra,¹⁰⁶ Shehana, Oonde (Ud),¹⁰⁷ Sheroy, Macrouree, Nytora, Ametola (Amtharo),¹⁰⁸ Mungtola (Mungthala), Roe (Roha),¹⁰⁹ Sheroutra, Godora, Goola [Gola],¹¹⁰ Mogurwarra (Magarwada), Seedpore, Nowa, Messana, Jurnucke (Jornang), Pansere, Adulla, Chandungame, Ahmudavad, Mahmud Avad [Mehmadabad], Borabee [Boriavi], Charsoo, Brodera [Baroda],¹¹¹ Caravan Sarae [Karvan],¹¹² Saron, Barroche [Bharuch, Broach],¹¹³ Unclesere [Ankleswar],¹¹⁴ Bereawe, Suratt.¹¹⁵

It needs to be mentioned here that among the many places mentioned above, Muhnot Nainsi (1638-1678),¹¹⁶ the author of *Marwarra-pargana-ri-Vigat* and a near contemporary of Peter Mundy, has provided us information on pargana Merta of Marwar state. In providing detailed information about the revenue rates of different commodities, he enlisted opium, cotton, vegetables as well as musk-melon as crops produced in Merta.¹¹⁷

The next in order, whose travelogue is equally valuable for tracing the possible trade routes in Rajasthan was that of Jean Baptiste Tavernier, more commonly known as Tavernier. He was a French gem merchant and traveller who travelled at his own expense and covered, according to his account, 60,000 leagues (a unit of distance) in making six voyages to Persia and India between the years 1630 and 1668. He went from Surat to Agra via Ahmadabad during which course he passed through the present state of Rajasthan and the route which he took was somewhat different from his early two predecessors discussed before.

The main route or Shahrah from Ahmadabad to Delhi passed through Ajmer; and this route finds mention in the travelogues of both John Jourdain and Peter Mundy. However, there was another route, described as a convenient one, which took off from Merta and before joining Ajmer-Delhi Road at, or before, Sambhar, passed through Bharunda. From Bharunda, another route issued to join the Agra route at Bandar-Sindri, thus offering a shorter pathway to Agra as well.¹¹⁸ It was taken by Tavernier on his journey from Ahmadabad to Agra.¹¹⁹

On his journey from Agra to Ahmadabad, Tavernier has left some very valuable information which help us to fill the gaps left by John Jourdain as well as Peter Mundy. Thus, he mentions about Hindaun and Bayana and the areas surrounding them as 'Indigo producing area'. Here round indigo cake was made and were regarded as 'the best among

all other varieties of indigo'. He also says that because of their superior quality they were able to fetch twice the price as compared to the ordinary ones in the market.¹²⁰ Besides, he found Midra [mod. Merta] as "a large town, but badly built".¹²¹ Also, for Vettapour [mod. Fatehpur Sikri], he writes, "Vettapour is a very old town where they make woollen carpets".¹²²

The following itinerary can be traced of his journey from Ahmadabad to Agra-

Surat, Baroche [Broach], Cambay, Chiidabad [Sayyidabad], Ahmadabad, Baroche, Baroda, Neriade [Nadiad], Amadabat, Panser [Pansar], Masana [Mehsana], Chitpour [Sidhpur], Balambour [Palanpur], Dantiuar [Danta or Dantawara], Bargant [Bergam], Bimal, Modra, Chalaour [Jalor], Cantap [Khandap], Setlana [Sitalwana], Palavaseny [Palasni], Pipars [Pipar], Midra [Merta or Mairta], Boronda [Bharunda], Coetchiel [Kuchhel], Bandar-Sonnery [Bandar-Sindri], Ladona [Ludana], Chasou [Chaksu], Nuali, Hindoo [Hindaun], Baniana [Bayana], Vettapour [Fatehpur Sikri], Agra.¹²³

It must be said that from Chiidabad he took the road to Broach¹²⁴ henceforth which he took the ordinary route to Agra.

Lastly, a brief idea of the trade routes in Rajasthan can be gauged from the travelogue of Joseph Salbancke who wrote his account in the early decades of the 17th century. As it is evident from his account, he went from Agra to Qandahar via Rajasthan, thus giving us valuable information on the trade routes of Rajasthan which finally joined at Lahari Bandar in Sindh.

In his account he has described about 'Biamy' [Bayana]¹²⁵ as the "chiefest place for indigo in all the East India", and also speaks about the "twelve indico milles".¹²⁶ He also delves on describing about the plant and processes associated with indigo extraction.¹²⁷ He concludes by saying "best indico is there worth eight pence a pound".¹²⁸ Besides, in his journey from Bayana to Merta he came across many towns and villages about which he stated that in some of them was "store of course indico, in others calicoes, and store of cotton-wools". At the same time, he informs us about the markets in Merta. Thus, he says "in Merta there are three Basars or Markets every week, where is sold great store of indico, cotton wool, yarne and Cotton Cloths".¹²⁹ He says from Merta he travelled for the next five to twenty days through three chief

towns namely “Reuree [Lohri or Rohri],¹³⁰ Buckar [Bhakkar],¹³¹ and Suker [Sukkar]”.¹³² Regarding the first one, ‘Reuree’, he said that it was a town “consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deale also in Merchandise, as Cotton cloth, Indico, and other commodities”. As for Buckar he says that it stood towards or in the direction of ‘Lahor [Lahore]’¹³³ and where “Swordblades are very good chaffer in this Towne”, the blade of which were “worth a Noble in England”.¹³⁴ Then he came to the town of Sucker which was situated on “an Iland in the middle of the river (Indus)”.¹³⁵ His itinerary is given below-

Agra, Biani or Biamy,¹³⁶ Merta or Menta,¹³⁷ Reuree, Buckar, Suker, Candahar¹³⁸ [mod.Qandahar].¹³⁹

It must be said that while the eastern part of Rajasthan had well known centres of Indigo production, the western region was abundant in salt, primarily sourced from natural salt lakes of Sambhar and Didwana along with the artificial pits at Pachbhadra, and from depressions at Phalodi, Pohkaran, Bhatki, and many other places.¹⁴⁰ Marble was abundant in Makrana and nearby Ghanerao, while sandstone and gypsum (khadi) were abundant in many parganas of Marwar or Western Rajasthan. Multani mitti, or fuller’s earth, was abundantly found in Kapuri and was sold to Umarmote in Sindh, Jodhpore, and Bikaner.¹⁴¹ Agricultural productivity was highly satisfactory with tobacco, cotton, and sugar cane grown on a small scale.¹⁴² While Jaisalmer was a major exporter of yellow marble, the sacred marble in Khuiala pargana as well as Bhadasar sandstone was equally famous. Lime carbonate and sulphate were common throughout the western part, along with iron and lignite.¹⁴³ Lastly, Jawar village boasted of lead and zinc mines, with significant copper mines were there in Khetri and Singhana (Jaipur). Also, notable iron ores were found in Jaipur, Alwar, and Udaipur.¹⁴⁴

Regarding the trading communities in Rajasthan, many of them came from adjoining territories of Gujarat, Malwa and Delhi-Agra region for livelihood. They were provided with many facilities such as allotment of land at concessional rate, exemption from taxes in the initial stage by the government.¹⁴⁵ Kothiwal, a group of exporters, controlled trade through substantial investments, distributing locally manufactured articles to other parts of the country and owning branches in Rajasthan.¹⁴⁶

Thus, in the light of the abovementioned travel accounts and other contemporary sources, one can easily say that the trade routes that passed through Rajasthan served as important links in connecting

major economic centers of India. At the same time, the commodities that the different areas enroute produced, provided a greater impetus to the growth of overseas commerce in the first half of the 17th century India. This went hand in hand with the high level of political stability that the Mughals in India especially Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan provided.

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Description of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur in Persian, Gurmukhi and Rajasthani Sources

Dr. Kulbeer Singh Badal*

This study delves into the fascinating life of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, exploring his character and his fierce opposition to the Mughal Empire's expansionist rule. Born in 1670 CE in Rajouri, Jammu and Kashmir, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur began life as a Hindu Rajput but met his end as a Sikh warrior in June 1716 CE in Delhi. The goal of this paper is to trace his remarkable transformation from a spiritual seeker to the inaugural sovereign ruler of the Sikhs.

During his tenure, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur established Sikh governance in Panjab and minted currency bearing the names of Sikh Gurus. However, his persona and military campaigns against the Mughals in Panjab have been portrayed differently across Persian, Gurmukhi, and Rajasthani narratives. This paper aims to shed light on Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's life and times by examining these three distinct viewpoints: Islamic, Sikh, and Hindu (Rajput) chroniclers.

Introduction

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur was born on 27th October, 1670 CE at Rajouri.¹ In those days Rajouri was part of Kashmir and it was administrated by the Mughals. His father Ram Dev was an ordinary farmer associated with Bhardwaj clan of Rajputs.² Although little is known about the early life of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur but historians agree with the fact that he had received no formal education and like other children of his age he spent most of his time in ploughing and hunting. Sohan Singh, the author of *Life & Exploits of Banda Singh Bahadur*

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states that “Once it so happened he caught a female deer, and when he stabbed her with his weapon, her two young ones, to which she was about to give birth that very day, fell from her womb, and died fluttering there and then. This moved the impressionable youth Laxman Das (Baba Banda Singh Bahadur), to regret and repent his relentless conduct; he pledged not to go for hunting anymore. His sense of penitence grew so strong that he turned his mind from everything mundane, and become a man of an ascetic’s turn of mind.”³ This incident left a deep imprint on the mind of young Laxman Das (Baba Banda Singh Bahadur), and he left his home and became an ascetic (*Bairagi*) and adopted Janki Prasad as his Guru and changed his name from Laxman Das to Madho Das.⁴ In 1686 CE on the occasion of Baisakhi fair, Madho Das along with his Guru, Janki Prasad visited the shrine of Baba Ram Thamman (Kasur,⁵ Panjab) and here he meet another *Bairagi* saint Ram Dass and became his disciple, wandered for years with him in search of peace and later choose a historical place Panchbati for meditation. It was here at Panchbati he meet a Yogi named as Aughar Nath and learned Yoga and Tantric science from him. After the death of Aughar Nath (around 1691CE) he left Panchbati and chose banks of Godavari at Nanded⁶ for his Yogic and Tantric practices until he met Guru Gobind Singh in the autumn of 1708 CE.

While Guru Gobind Singh and his Sikhs were fighting against the tyrant rule of Mughal’s, Madho Das was practicing his Yogic and Tantric sciences at Nanded. Ganda Singh states in *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur* “During the closing days of his life, the Emperor (Aurangzeb) had either foreseen the grave consequences of his religious persecutions or his sense of penitence had over-powered his fanaticism. Inspired by some such feelings he addressed a conciliatory letter to Guru Govind Singh (Guru Gobind Singh), inviting him to Deccan for negotiations. The Guru in reply sent his famous epistle *Zafarnama* inviting the Emperor’s attention to his unkingly behaviour towards his subjects, and telling him, in so many words, that he had taken to the sword as the last resort and would willingly enter into peace negotiations if the Emperor were to come to the Parganah of Kangra.”⁷

Although Guru Gobind Singh had clearly mentioned that he was willingly to meet the Emperor if he comes to Kangra but the Emperor was not well and secondly the Guru’s messenger, Bahi Daya Singh did not return on time so Guru Gobind Singh decided to set out for Deccan

for negotiations for peace. While, Guru Gobind Singh was in Bagore (Rajputana), he received the news about the death of Aurangzeb. According to Sainapat’s *Sri Guru Sobha* after knowing about the Aurangzeb’s death Guru Gobind Singh was his way back to Panjab and at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) prince Muhammad Muazzam begged for help against his brother Muhammad Azam and with the help of true Guru, he defeated his brother and enthroned himself onto the Mughal Throne in 1707 CE.⁸ Later the new Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah I (Muhammad Muazzam) invited Guru Gobind Singh to Agra for his blessings and presented him a dress of honour, including a jeweled scraf, a *dhukhdhukhi*, as a mark of admiration.⁹ But suddenly Emperor received a news of rebellion by his brother Kam Bakash in Deccan, so he had to leave for Rajputana and then for the Deccan.¹⁰

Balwant Singh Dhillon observes “Our sources reveal that since July 1707 CE, Guru Gobind Singh had been in contact with the newly crowned Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah. The Mughal chronicles as well as the Sikh sources confirm that Guru Gobind Singh had travelled to the Deccan in the company of the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah. The purpose of the Guru’s itinerary was to continue the parleys with the Emperor to apprise him about the injustice done by the Mughal officials of Panjab. However, on reaching Nanded towards the beginning of September 1708 CE, the Guru realised that the Emperor would not take any action against the officials responsible for the wrongs done to him and the Sikhs. Therefore he separated himself from the Emperor and decided to encamp at Nanded. Here he met Madho Das, a *Bairagi*, who was well-known to all the mendicants roaming in and around Nanded.”¹¹

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur’s Meeting With Guru Gobind Singh

According to Gurmukhi sources, when Guru Gobind Singh had meet Mahant Jait Ram, head of Dadupanth in Naraina (Rajasthan) he had come to know about the personality of Madho Das. During this meeting Mahant Jait Ram had informed the Guru about the utter disrespect shown to spiritual and religious personalities by Madho Das.¹² The author of *Amarnama* states that Guru Gobind Singh went to the hermitage of Madho Das on 3 September 1708 CE and sat on his bed, which was probably his seat, meanwhile Sikhs captured a goat kept in his hermitage and slaughtered it and cooked its meat. It all offended the

followers of Madho Das and he was informed about the arrival of Guru Gobind Singh and his Sikhs. Interestingly instead of being annoyed he sat under the feet of Guru and listened with engrossed attention. Guru admonished Madho Das for his derision to saintly persons. After this Madho Das asked for forgiveness and stated “now onwards you are my master and I am your Sikh. Whatsoever order you will give to me I will follow”.¹³ Later he was baptised into Khalsa brotherhood and was given a new name of Banda Singh. After being acquainted with Sikh struggle against the imperialistic Mughals in Panjab, he also observed the helplessness of non-Muslim subjects at the hands of the Mughal officials. But, the tale of martyrdom of two younger sons (Baba Zorawar Singh and Baba Fateh Singh) of Guru Gobind Singh at Sirhind drew tears in his eyes and drove him into a sort of frenzy.¹⁴

Although the negotiations between the Mughal Emperor and Guru Gobind Singh yielded no desired results but it had alarmed the *faujdar* of Sirhind and after reaching Nanded Guru had separated from the royal Camp and stayed back at Nanded while Mughal Emperor had moved towards Hyderabad. Meanwhile *faujdar* of Sirhind hired two Pathans (Jamshed Khan alias Gul Khan¹⁵ and Wasil Khan¹⁶) (who were officials of the Mughal army) and sent them to Nanded with a motive to assassinate the Guru, these assassins developed acquaintance with the Guru and one evening one of them struck the Guru fatally with his dagger. The assassinator (Jamshed Khan) who had made fatal attack on the Guru was killed on spot by the Guru.¹⁷ The other one (Wasil Khan) was killed by the Sikhs accompanying the Guru. In the days leading up to his death on October 7, 1708, Guru Gobind Singh granted Baba Banda Singh's request to lead the Sikh military forces. Before Baba Banda Singh left for Panjab, Guru Gobind Singh bestowed upon him the title of “Bahadur” (meaning “brave” or “courageous”). Within two years of departing from Nanded, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur had succeeded in establishing the first independent Sikh kingdom in Panjab.

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's description in Persian and Gurmukhi Sources

The important Persian works that deal with the activities of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur as a sovereign Sikh king are *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Muala* written in the years: July 1708 CE; 1708 December 1710 CE; April 1711 CE and June 1716 CE.¹⁸ Another important works are *Dastar-al-insha* authored by Muhammad Qalandar Yaar in 1710 CE,¹⁹ *Ibratnama*

of Mohammad Qasim authored in 1719,²⁰ *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Khali Khan and *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* of Sayyid Ghulam Husain.²¹ As Ganda Singh writes ‘The Persian sources especially *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* of Khafi Khan and *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* of Sayyid Ghulam Husain readily accepted false and flimsy rumors as historical truths and have charged Banda Singh with the highest degree of cruelty and barbarism.’²² An anecdote of this can be solitary digging of grave and that too of a Sikh lady named as Anup Kaur, (a Sikh lady who was abducted by Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla but she committed suicide to save her honor). As Khafi Khan states in *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* and passes derogatory remarks against the Sikhs, he states ‘they (Sikhs) tore open wombs of pregnant women, dashed every living child upon the ground and dishonored mosque.’²³ However the remarks made regarding the desecration of mosques is equally untrue, especially regarding the mausoleum of Ahmad Shah (Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi). The mausoleum ‘still stands as it did before the battle is testified by Narang Gokul Chand, in 1912 CE.’ Many mosques still stand in Sirhind especially those constructed during the Mughal era provide sufficient evidence of the exaggeration of Khafi Khan's Narrative.²⁴

Let's move back to Anup Kaur's episode. Bibi Anup Kaur was serving as a maid to the family of the Tenth Guru of Sikhs, when she fell into the hands of Sher Mohammed Khan of Malerkotla.²⁵ According to Gurmukhi Sources she was carried away by Sher Mohammed Khan to Malerkotla but the brave lady, however, sacrificed her life to save her honor and her faith. She thrust a dagger into her heart and committed a suicide. Sher Muhammad Khan knew that it would lead to crisis for him in coming times, so he quietly buried her inside a wall.²⁶ As Bibi Anup Kaur had not embraced Islam, and had died as a Sikh, so it was evident that the Sikhs would recover the body of Bibi Anup Kaur. So, when Sikh rule was established in Panjab and the whole matter came to light, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, decided to recover her body, to give proper last rites according to the Sikh traditions, So, Baba Banda Singh Bahadur marched to Malerkotla for this cause. When he went to Malerkotla, the sons of Sher Muhammad Khan along with their families left Malerkotla and moved to another place. The Sikhs didn't destroy Malerkotla. However they cremated the body of Bibi Anup Kaur.²⁷

Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's description in Rajasthani Source

Rajasthani historical sources covering Banda Singh Bahadur's

campaigns from 1710 to 1715 CE are uniquely important. While they don't encompass his entire life and military career, these sources are particularly valuable because they lack the bias often found in contemporary Persian or Gurmukhi accounts.

However, like Persian sources, Rajasthani authors mistakenly identify Baba Banda Singh Bahadur as Guru Gobind Singh or as the Guru of the Sikhs. This error requires historians to exercise caution when analyzing these sources.

The contemporary study has taken only three types of sources namely *Farmans*, *Vakil Reports*, and *Arzdashts*.²⁸ Majority of these sources were compiled by the *Vakil's* or diplomats appointed by the Rajput Kings in the Mughal Court. The sources are written in pre-modern Devanagari as well as in Persian. These documents are mainly attributed to different persons but the present study has taken the documents authored by Pancholi Jagjiwan Das, Bhandari Khiwasi and Chaube Jeth Mal. The present study is not sure whether these documents were authored by these gentlemen themselves or were authored with the help of professional scribes.²⁹

The important aspect of these sources is that they not only provide detail what is happening in the Mughal court Vis-à-vis Baba Banda Singh Bahadur which are usually not mentioned in the Persian sources. For example, these sources inform us that Emperor Bahadur Shah I was so sure regarding his success against the Sikhs that he had already made special cage for Baba Banda Singh Bahadur, but the defeats of Mughals and escape of Banda Singh Bahadur into the Hills of Sirmaur and the subsequent role played by the Raja of Nahan frustrated Bahadur Shah I that he is said to have gotten physiologically ill. Another example that one find in these sources is that when Bahadur Shah Zafar was still in Sadhaura,³⁰ Banda Singh Bahadur had showed a swift theatre of war in the Bari-Doab region and it took imperialistic powers with a surprise.³¹

Impact of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur's Campaigning in Lahore

Historical evidence that one doesn't find in Persian and Gurmukhi sources is the impact of Sikhs in the area of Lahore and its surrounding areas. For example a *Vakil Report* sent on 6 March 1711 CE, tells us about the influence of Sikhs and their uprising in all directions, especially in Lahore;³² another *Vakil Report* sent on 7 March 1711 CE describes the establishment of complete control of Sikhs up to the outskirts of Lahore.³³ Another *Vakil Report* sent on 13 March 1711 CE states how

Shamas Khan and Bayzaid Khan were routed by the Sikhs. Reports states 'Shamas Khan and Bayzaid Khan along with their 1500 hundred men attacked Guru ka Chak (Amritsar) to expel Sikhs from there but they were bravely defeated by the Sikhs. It also describes the assault of the Sikhs on Lahore in retaliation.'³⁴ Interestingly, these reports also confirm that Sikhs had taken complete control over the outskirts of Lahore and Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah I died at Lahore in 1712 CE without achieving any success against the Sikhs.³⁵

Kharita ascribed to Chaube Jeth Mal dated June 1, 1711 CE informs that no Mughal officials dared to interfere in the affairs of Sikhs. The veterans like Rustom Dil Khan feared Baba Band Singh Bahadur. The text cites an anecdote 'in spite of various orders from the Royal Court, he (Rustom Dil Khan) had withdrawn from the battlefield against the Sikhs.'³⁶ *Arzdasht* dated 6 August 1713 CE, informs that Mughals soldiers lacked the courage to challenge the supremacy of Sikhs in general and particularly Sikh armies lead by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. Chaube Jeth Mal in his *Arzdasht* dated 27 and 29 August 1713 CE, August 1713 CE narrates about the cowardliness of Mughal Commander, he states 'Samad Khan, the commander of the Mughal army was a coward'.³⁷

Local's endorsed Sovereignty of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur

The crucial information which is present in these Rajasthani sources³⁸ is that the Sikh's received cordial support from the local inhabitants of Panjab during the times of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. This kind of information is not present in Persian chronicles. Although it is mentioned in Gurmukhi sources that Sikh's were welcomed by all Panjabi's, but Rajasthani sources confirms that local Panjabi Muslims and Hindus contentedly joined the Army of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur. *Vakil Report* of 11 May 1711 CE informs that after the control of administration by the Sikh's and states 'Muslims and Hindus voluntary enlisted themselves in the army of Baba Banda Singh Bahadur.'³⁹ Another *Vakil Report* dated 28 May 1711 CE states 'Banjara's settled near Sadhaura had voluntarily joined the Sikhs and had welcomed them to their area'. In fact, they also inform us about the support Baba Banda Singh Bahadur received from Raja of Nahan (who was later imprisoned by the Mughals).⁴⁰

Impact on Mughal Economy

The important information which is not usually observed and

analysed by the historians working on Medieval Indian history is the impact made by Baba Banda Singh Bahadur on the economic and financial system of the Mughal Empire. For example, it is informed in the Rajasthani sources, especially in Vakil reports that Mughal Zamindars, *Jagir* holders and revenue collectors had left their villages and went to safer places. For example a report sent on 29 August 1715 CE, refers to a petition put before Mughal Emperor Farukhsiyar that Taqarab Khan who had got pargana of Sirhind on *ijarah* of rupees 52,00.00 had failed to deposit the money into the royal treasure because it was laid waste by the Sikhs under Banda Singh Bahadur.⁴¹ Baba Banda Singh Bahadur declared those villages as a part of *Khalisa* land and provided them with protection. According to Gurmukhi sources Baba Banda Singh Bahadur had distributed the land to tiller and the corrupt Mughal officials (*Zamindars* and *Jagirdars*) were put to trail for their crime, in order to save their skin they left their villages and moved out.

Rajput Kings in Dilemma

After a careful analysis of Rajasthani sources one can explore that Mughal emperors (right from the times of Bahadur Shah I) sought that Rajputs in the Mughal aristocracy such as Raja Jai Singh, Raja Ajit Singh should be part of the Mughal expedition against the Sikhs but these Rajput kings followed the policy of wait and watch. Evidences also suggest that Baba Banda Singh Bahadur had requested Rajput chiefs to make a league against the imperialistic Mughals. A report dated 16 September 1711 CE states that Mughal court had strong apprehension that Rajput Kings were in league with Banda Singh Bahadur. But Rajput Kings remained neutral to the both sides as they were not sure about the power of Banda Singh Bahadur but somehow they were sure that Mughal were in the better position than the Sikhs. On the dilemma of Rajput Kings, Balwant Singh Dhillon has passed significant remarks ‘the Mughal authorities had been successfully to keep Rajput Raja to their side.’ He further illuminates that ‘however, the alliance failed to take off chiefly because of the indecisiveness on the part of Rajput chiefs. Instead of entering into collaboration with (Baba) Banda Singh Bahadur to overthrow away the Mughal yolk they were satisfied to hold to their hereditary fiefdoms.’⁴²

Conclusion:

Historians sometimes misinterpret Baba Banda Singh Bahadur’s

life. As Ganda Singh correctly noted, Guru Gobind Singh did not commission a mission to avenge his sons’ deaths or seek revenge for his father. Instead, Guru Gobind Singh fought defensively and inspired his father to sacrifice himself for their faith.

Unlike Persian sources, Rajasthani accounts do not portray Banda Singh Bahadur as bloodthirsty or as a destroyer of Muslims. They don’t mention any destruction of Muslim places. Instead, these sources show how Sikhs fought against corrupt Mughal imperial administrators in Panjab.

Importantly, Rajasthani authors do not use derogatory language or insults when referring to Sikhs, contrasting with some Persian sources.

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State's Responses to Climate, Soil, and Vegetation: A Physiographical Study of Pre-Colonial Rajasthan

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The description of the physical features of the Rajputana state during the Mughal period based on contemporary records is a difficult task, as there are no extant contemporary treaties that compressively deal with the geography of the entire region.¹ The earliest geographic reference to Rajasthan is in connection with its aridity landscape. The word *maru* is found in the *Rigveda* signified desert region.² However, Rajasthan cannot be summarised by this term as *Maru Desh* stood explicitly only for the desert area of Rajasthan. In this context, it is essential to keep in mind that as far as the Rajasthan desert is concerned, 'scientists agree that the northern boundary of the desert never remained in fixate; it is changing.'³

To better understand Rajasthan's terrain, it can be divided into the northwest of Aravalis and southeast of Aravalis. Nearly two-thirds of the territory lies in the northwest of Aravalis. In the northwest Aravali region, the land had undulating topography, soils were sandy in texture, rainfall was scanty and precarious, and sub-soil. There is a large tract of excellent soil drained by a number of the rivers in the southeast of Aravalis. There is a significant variation in the annual rainfall and its distribution in the State's different regions. The south-eastern area is a higher plateau. In the south lies the hilly tract of Mewar.⁴ On the other hand, the Thar Desert is an important physical part of the Rajasthan state, the Pat, the Ghaggar area; the Steppe desert comprises the physiographic divisions of the vast expanses of land which has been

once a *cul-de-sac* for eons.

On the other hand, H.D. Sankalia argued that the *Thar* was once fertile with a perennial river like the Saraswati. Perhaps an extreme stage of desiccation now stretches with apparent indefiniteness over the heart of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The main river of this part of Rajasthan is the Luni with several tributaries like Lirli, Guhiya, Bandi, Sukri, Jawai, Jori, etc. The rivers have long derided up rendering the area (Jaisalmer, Barmer, Bikaner, a significant portion of Jodhpur, and a part of Jaipur), a form barrier to overcome before the arrival of the machine age. However, it is pertinent to observe that the desert is not a barren or dead land devoid of either like or human activities. Like other organisms, livestock beings have learned to live in challenging conditions and make the best use of scarce resources.

Geological studies further curiously added that a considerable portion of this tract was initially covered by a wing of the presence of salt in the desert of Rajasthan, which evaporated due to the rains and accumulated in the depression as could be seen in lakes of Sambhar, Didwana, and Pachapadra. Shell oysters and cowries are also mainly mixed with sand which again is a pointer to the same fact.⁵

Epigraphical sources and literary works of Rajasthan like *Nainsi's* account, *Arshattas*, *Vir-Vinod*, and *Twarikh-i-Jaisalmer*, generally report only about the contemporary politico-administrative history of the region. Whatever information we find about the region's physical features was either attributed to production purposes or agrarian production. In addition to it, Rajasthan is a portrait with the identity of a desert landscape. However, it may be wrong to portray Rajasthan as a desert land. The construction of the Rajasthan image with a desert landscape seems to be a recent phenomenon.⁶ Besides, a closer interrogation of the pre-colonial landscape amply substantiates our argument that large tracts of land are left uncultivated or under forest cover. The contemporary sources have also made clear that there were sparse habitations. Similarly, the extensive pervasiveness of diverse wildlife has been corroborated in many contemporary sources, which suggests a spare agricultural landscape.⁷

In the line of the topography of the Rajasthan, Ajmer is the part of south-eastern Rajasthan lying between 25°24' and 26°42' North latitude and 73°47' east longitude. The province comprises two districts, Ajmer and Marwar, and the native states surround it. It is placed at the foothill

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of Taragarh, a high plateau in a rocky natural. Still, a beautiful valley and picturesque has surrounded by Nagapahar or Serpent hill (Parts of Aravali range). “Ajai-mercoo”, Ajai’s hill”, or “invincible mountain”, occupied an important strategic position in Rajasthan during the pre-colonial time.⁸

The Aravali ranges divided the whole Ajmer *suba* into two parts. On the western side, the ranges pass through the *sarkars* of Chittor, Kumbhakwer, Ajmer, and Nagaur. Thus, the *sarkars* Jodhpur, Bikaner, and a small part of *sarkar* Ajmer and Nagaur lay on the western side, largely a desert. On the eastern side lay the *sarkars* of Chittor, Ranthanmbor, and the remaining portion of the *sarkars* were Ajmer and Nagaur.⁹

Climate

Rajasthan’s climate is separated into two distinct climatic zones: western Rajasthan and eastern Rajasthan. A tropical desert, dry and scorching with a moderate winter season, characterizes Rajasthan’s west side. West Rajasthan includes the cities of Barmer, Bikaner, Churu, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur, and Nagaur. Eastern Rajasthan has a drought-prone environment, with less than 75% annual rainfall. Ajmer, Alwar, Udaipur, and Jaipur are featured on the site. The Rajasthan climate is characterised by various temperatures and aridity, while it experiences the monsoon’s seasonal fluctuations throughout the year. It is India’s warmest area. The heat is highest in Rajasthan’s western and northwestern regions, where scorching winds and dust storms are typical throughout the day.¹⁰ The dunes of the desert are the result of a dry climate with very limited or no rainfall. About the general weather condition of Rajasthan is concerned, except for some hilly regions; the entire Rajasthan was under the influence of scorching heat-wave. On his way into the subcontinent, Zahuruddin Muhammad Babur noticed the region of northeast Rajasthan was scorching.¹¹ Mughal chronicle Abul Fazl and Emperor Jahangir¹² have placed Rajasthan in the second category out of the seven. The whole world seemed to be divided into climatic categories, and Rajasthan was in second place in an overall climatic class which denoted quite a heat and winter zone.

In the case *suba* of Ajmer, the winter is comparatively temperate, and the summer is intensely hot, which is an essential description of Ajmer’s climate. Further, Ajmer is placed in the second climatic zone as

per the prevailing climatic condition of the region. The spring harvest in Ajmer is inconsiderable.¹³ Ajmer is a physically very distinct region from most of its area, either hilly or narrow plain. Moreover, evidence suggests that Ajmer was composed of a mixture of sandy soil and stiff yellow loam, in a proportion of one to two, which is ideally not suitable for agriculture. However, the nutrient richest soil is found only in the Pushkar area, where sugarcane was a crop that could be quickly grown without irrigation. Abul Fazl mentioned in *Ain-i-Akbari* that Ajmer had to be primarily dependent on rainfall for irrigation.¹⁴ The soil is sandy, and water can be obtained only from a great depth.¹⁵ Thus, the variability in monsoon, *jowari*, *lahdarah*, and *moth* is the most preferred agricultural crop in Ajmer.¹⁶

Mr Wilder believes that though the land of Ajmer is sandy, yet fertile.¹⁷ Ajmer is also considered a zone of dry land. Thus, millets cultivation was a predominant crop over the cereals crop in Ajmer.¹⁸ The success of harvest depends on the rainfall, and in case of rainfall failure, the peasants shifted to artificial irrigation from tanks and wells. From *Waqai Sarkar-i-Ajmer*, there was a reference to the *istisga* (rain prayers) during the drought time, where the people of the town gathered outside the city for *namaz-e-barish*.¹⁹ Despite Ajmer being considered a zone of low rainfall, there were two important tanks of Malluser, near Taragarh fort, Ana Sagar Lake, and the number of *Bagris Jhalras* that had met the irrigation requirement if rainfall was in deficit.²⁰ Some sources suggest that the rulers permanently extended their helping hand to the sufferers during natural calamities. The ruling class continuously aspired to make the landscape more cultivatable and fertile for agriculture production.

Vegetation: Bushes, Grass, and Tress

The vegetation was fragile and sparse, especially in the central and western parts of the Rajasthan. There were very few forests in the region. In such conditions, it was necessary to protect the already existing ones. Lal Chand complained to the ruler of Amber about the tree falling in his *pargana*, and he expected punishment from the ruler for the culprits. We also have a reference from Jaipur records about cash punishment for such crimes.²¹

The attitude towards tree conservation is reiterated in the following anecdote written by Nainsi in *Khyat*. He informed us that Maldevji got

the *babool* trees of Merta cut. In response to it, Viram Deo said that he would cut the mango trees of Jodhpur. However, people advised him not to do so as trees were preceded. In his anecdote, the chief is reiterated from cutting trees by his advisors and supported conservation. A significant example in this regard was the representation of the *khejari* tree in the official flag of the Bikaner kingdom. It is ascribed to the accordance of due recognition to the region's natural vegetation.

It is difficult to compare the above instance and environmental conservation practices with today. It is essential to keep in mind that the present-day environmental movement results from the emergence of industrialization and colonialism. However, in this context, Rajasthan in the pre-colonial period was part of an attempt made by state or religious sects to protect the natural resource base.

The attempt made by states cannot be separated from their concerns to protect and maximize revenue from natural resources. There is plenty of evidence that suggested punishment was awarded for cutting green trees. The punishment was always demanded in cash, and its amount became the source of state revenue. In village Saithal, *pargana* Bahatri, a person was punished for cutting down a *neem* tree.²² *Neem* has excellent medicinal properties and thus, needs protection. It was considered inauspicious to cut neem. Therefore the punishment is a medicinal plant. Similarly, cutting of *peepal*²³ and *harmful*²⁴ trees was deemed to be inauspicious. At the same time, it is essential to point out that *peepal* and *bad* had been worshipped; thus, religious consideration also led to punishment.

We also have instances of punishments for cutting *Jamun* trees, etc.; cutting *babool* trees was also punishment. *Babool* had been part of the natural vegetation of Rajasthan, and it needed little or no care. In the arid part, *babool* was the dominant tree and provided food for the camels. Considering *babool's* economic and ecological value, punishing people who tried to cut it was necessary.

In sum, Rajasthan is much diversified in nature, influx with an all ecological characteristic. However, the fact is that despite climate austerity, Rajasthan remains one of the most densely populated regions not only in India but even in an arid and semi-arid region of the world. This densely populated region is dependent upon the development of water as a resource. The adoption of local hydraulic water management

seems to have played a significant role in the emergence of permanent settlements. Therefore, which led to the penetration of settled agriculture into the region well beyond the immediate vicinities of rivers. It led to better connectivity and agrarian economies integrated along the north, south, and central India. Furthermore, exploration of pre-colonial Rajasthan may help synthesize it with the period's broader political and socio-cultural milieu.

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Budda Dal and Saheed Nagar Gurudwara Baba Budha Johar

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After the death of Guru Gobind Singh (1708) and the execution of Banda Singh Bahadur (1716), the Sikhs in the Punjab slowly and gradually have started their struggle for political power against the Mughals and the Afghans. In 1721, Mata Sundari (wife of Guru Gobind Singh), who was residing at Delhi sent Bhai Mani Singh to Amritsar and in consultation with the notables of the city and put the affairs of the Golden Temple in order.¹ Now the Centre of Sikh activities shifted to Majha Amritsar. In the second decade of the 18th century the Sikhs came back to plains, those earlier ran away to their rendezvous in forests or other places difficult to access. This fight or story of persecution and revenge between the Sikhs and the Mughals went on for some years. The early eighteenth century was by all contemporary Persian and later European accounts a period when Khalsa Sikhs faced vicious persecution by their Muslim enemies.² In 1733, Zarkrya Khan (the governor of Lahore from 1726 to 1745) got tired of this method and represented his difficulties to the Delhi government, and suggested that a grant should be made to the Sikhs and a title of 'Nawab' should be entrusted to make peace with them, aforesaid task of negotiation was given to the government contractor, named Subeg Singh. He went to the Khalsa assembled at the Akal Takhat, Amritsar gone through the ceremony of exculpation, called *tankhah*, for having been co-operator with the Mughal government. After serious discussion the Khalsa agreed to accepted the Mughal governor offer. Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, who was then waving a great respect among the Khalsa was selected for the honour. He accepted it, but not

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before it had been sanctified by the touch of *Panj Payaares* (Five beloved Sikhs).³ Afterwards the Sikhs have enough time to consolidate their power.

This negotiation gave a breathing space to the Sikhs and they started coming back to their homes. However, this phase did not last for long time as the Sikhs had tasted of political liberty under the leadership of Banda Singh Bahadur. At same time the Khalsa witnessed two main Sikh divisions, one consisting of the veterans, many of whom had seen the days of Guru Gobind Singh. They were called the *Budha Dal*, the army of elders, and were led by Nawab Kapur Singh, with Sham Singh Naroke, Gurbaksh Singh Roranwala, Bagh Singh Hallowalia and Bhamma Singh, as prominent members. The other, consisting of junior men, was called the *Taruna Dal* or the Army of the Young. The *Taruna Dal* was led by Dip Singh and others.⁴ The Sikhs of the Budha Dal were comparatively more stationary, but those of the Taruna Dal were always on the move. The Khalsa was again free to have it out with the government. In 1730s, the Budha Dal was driven out of the Bari Doab by Lakhpat Rai, Diwan of Lahore and came to Malwa, where it was welcomed by Ala Singh at his capital Barnala. The Budha Dal helped Ala Singh to extend his territory and annex the whole area of Sunam and punished Sarhind than returned to Amritsar to celebrate Diwali. Passing through Goindwal and Tarn Taran they were stationed at Baserke, near Amritsar, when they were attacked by an army of seven thousand under the command of Diwan Lakhpat Rai.⁵ They were defeated and pushed away towards Chunian. The Taruna Dal hearing of their reverse hurried to their assistance, and their combined Dals fell upon the Mughal army, which had not yet reached back Lahore. The Sikhs inflicted a heavy defeat on the Mughal army and overran the whole area bordering on Amritsar. The Mughal state aroused to severe action and the Golden temple was taken into possession and its approaches were picketed by military men to prevent the Sikhs from assembling in their favorite shrine.

In 1738, Bhai Mani Singh as a head priest (*Granthi*) in the Golden Temple, Amritsar applied to the governor of Lahore for permission to hold the Diwali festival in the Golden Temple, Amritsar permission was granted on the condition that Bhai Mani Singh should pay Rs. 5000 after the fair, which was to last ten days. The Sikhs started gathering in large number. The governor, however under the pretext of keeping order, sent a force under Diwan Lakhpat Rai to Amritsar and asked them to

stationed themselves at Ram Tirath and to march towards the city just on the day of the fair, so that the Sikhs might be frightened and disperse of themselves. The trick succeeded and the *Meela* broke up at the approach of the Mughal army.⁶ Bhai Mani was arrested for not paying the stipulated sum, and was condemned to death.

In 1739 Nadir Shah's invasion created an opportunity for the Khalsa to increase their resources. They plundered cash, horses, and other goods, believing that the destruction of Mughal prestige and power by the Iranian conqueror was the result of the Guru's prophecy.⁷ On his way back to Persia, in order to avoid the heat of the plains and to have fresh fields for plunder, he took a northern route the Shivalik hills until he came to Akhnur. The Sikhs who were passing their days in those hills thought it a good chance to replenish their resources and falling upon his rear relieved him of much of his war booty. While his stay in Lahore, Nadir Shah questioned Zakriya Khan about the Sikhs who had dared to interfere with his march: 'Who are these mischief-makers?' Zakariya Khan replied, 'They are a group of fakirs who visit their Guru's tank twice a year, and bathing in it disappear.' 'Where do they lived? Asked Nadir Shah. 'Their homes are their saddles.' Was the reply. Nadir Shah warned him saying, 'Take care, the day is not distant when these rebels will take possession of thy country.' After Nadir Shah's departure from Lahore in May 1739, Zakriya Khan adopted a policy of systematic persecution of the Sikhs. Rattan Singh Bhangu narrates the stories of some Sikhs who defied the repressive measures of the local authorities and deliberately courted martyrdom.⁸ The previous orders to local officials were repeated and rewards were offered for the capture and destruction of the Sikhs. Ten rupees would be paid to anyone giving information which would lead to arrest of a Sikh, and fifty for bringing his head. In the end of 1739, this is the time when the Sikh party or elder members of the Budha Dal moved towards the deserts of Rajasthan and in the Bikaner Division to save their lives from the persecution of the Mughal state or Zakariya Khan orders. In 1739, one party (or Jatha) of the Sikhs encamped under the leadership of Sham Singh Narla, who at that time popularly known as Baba Budha Singh in the place, where present day Saheed Nagar Budha Johar Gurdwara was located.⁹

While the Jatha of Buddha Dal encamped in the Bikaner division which was ruled Bika Rao, a person named Bulakha Singh, a Sikh devotee from village Sanghana of Amritsar district informed the Baba

Budha Singh about the notorious activities of the Massa Ranghar in the Golden Temple, Amritsar. Massa Ranghar was a Muslim convert of Mandiala village and indulged in acts of sacrilege at the Golden Temple, Amritsar. Being a great sinner and a notorious evil doer, He had been desecrating the sanctity of Harmandir. He had turned the holy precincts into a stable and the inmost sanctuary into a nautchhouse, where he used to smoke and drink and to enjoy the dance of public women. The news of this disrespect reached to a party of Budha Dal residing in Jaipur.¹⁰ Baba Budha Singh the leader of Budha Dal on hearing this said that, 'Nor were there any Singhs who sacrificed their lives with the shouts of Akal. Only the likes of him, the fugitive Singhs, had been left behind, Who had hastily escaped to save their skins.' Hearing of this desecration, Mehtab Singh felt greatly incensed, As if he had been stung by a poisonous scorpion. He asked if there were no Singhs present there, Who could crush the head of such a defiler? So much mortified did he feel by these remarks, That he resolved to sacrifice his life without any fear. Mehtab Singh was a son of Hara Singh belongs to Bhangu clan of Mirarikot village of Amritsar district. There was one Sukha Singh of village Mari Kamboki, Who belonged to the community of carpenters. He volunteered to accompany Mehtab Singh, As he too was a devout Sikh of the Guru.' Both the Singhs bade farewell to the Singhs with Fateh, after seeking their permission for their mission with reverence. They declared their resolve to decimate the Mughals and thereafter touch the sacred feet of Khalsa Panth.¹¹

After covering the distance from Bikaner to Amritsar in stages, the two Singhs reached the Punjab, but they could not enter the periphery of Amritsar. For the successful accomplishment of their cherished mission, they made a plan. They decided to disguise themselves as revenue collecting officials before the Mughals security guards of the Golden Temple. The two Sikhs invoked the protection of the God Almighty, as they planned to hit their coveted target after reaching there. They prayed that they might succeed in beheading Massa Ranghar, that there be no impediments to block their way. As the scorching heat made the guards recede into shade, The rest of the troops receded to their barracks to escape rain. Massa Ranghar ordered the Court dancer to play Rag Sarang, along with the melodies from the Rag Malhar. With some of the guards dozing off or half-asleep, none of them could notice the entry of the Singhs. The two Singhs were able to reach the main entrance, without

any let or hindrance on their way. Positioning their horses on each side of the main entrance, they concealed their spears behind the wall. They hid their swords beneath their loose robes, So that no security guard could object to their arms. Both the Singhs finally reached the central spot, Where the musicians were playing on the music. Pulling out his sword from its sheath beneath his dress, Mehtab Singh lunged it courageously at Mass Ranghar's head, he chopped off Massa Ranghar's head as easily, As one plucks a pumpkin from a creeper. Whatever jewels Massa Ranghar was wearing around his neck, The other Sukha Singh took these off his neck quickly. As there was raised a lot of hue and cry all around. The two Singhs mounted their horses and fled away. As the two Singhs, spurring their horses, disappeared into the wilds, their brave act ended the (notorious) tale of Massa Ranghar. By the time, the Mughal soldiers mounted their horses, The Singhs had gone too far to be caught by them. This all took place on 11th August 1740.

Bhai Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh brought the head of Massa Ranghar came to northern Rajasthan, that time this was jungle area. At the present site of Buddha Johar Gurudwara, they presented the head of Massa Ranghar to Baba Budha Singh, the leader of Budha Dal and then they hung the head of Massa Ranghar on a *Jand* tree.

When Zakariya Khan, the Governor of Lahore, came to know of murder of Mass Ranghar his anger knew no bounds. He immediately summoned village heads of all villages around Amritsar and ordered them to find out and arrest the culprits forthwith. Harbhagat Niranjania suspected it to be the handi-work of Bhai Mehtab Singh of Minarkot village. He told Zakariya Khan about his suspicion. Noorudin Faujdar, proceeded to Mirankot village accompanied by a band of soldiers with orders to arrest Bhai Mehtab Singh. Bhai Mehtab Singh was not present at his home but his infant son, Rai Singh was there. While leaving the village, Bhai Mehtab Singh had left his son in the safe custody of a noble person and his friend Natha Khaira. When Natha Khaira came to know of arrival of Govt. soldiers for arresting Bhai Mehtab Singh, he escaped from the village accompanied by Mehtab Singh's son Rai Singh with the help of his friends. Nooruddin Faujdar come to know of the escape of the child Rai Singh and hotly pursued Natha's party and caught up with the escapes. Natha and his trusted friends put up a brave fight and died fighting. The child Rai Singh was also gravely injured. Taking the child

as dead, the Govt. soldiers went away. A kind woman passing that way happened to notice the child who was still alive. She took the child home and with her care and proper treatment the child recovered from the injuries fully.

Five years later, in 1745 A.D., Bhai Mehtab Singh voluntarily surrendered himself to Harbhagat Niranjania because Bhai Mehtab Singh was so inspired by the martyrdom of Bhai Mani Singh and Bhai Taru at Lahore. He thought that what was his sacrifice or wealth if he is living like a life of fugitive. After voluntarily surrender, he was brought to Lahore.¹² Zakariya Khan ordered his execution through a most dreadful method.

Bhai Mehtab Singh was put on the *Charkhari* (Consisting of two wheels fitted with sharp nails). The *Charkhari* (the two wheels) was rotated and the body of Bhai Mehtab Singh was cut by the iron nails fitted on the wheels, bit by bit. Thus Bhai Mehtab Singh was put to death in a brutal manner, but he was happy to lay down his life with the satisfaction that the desecration of the Sacred Golden Temple, Amritsar had been avenged by him by the killing of Massa Ranghar. By his action, he proved that Sikhs do not tolerate desecration of their holy places and hold sanctity of their holy places dearer than their lives.

Bhai Sukha Singh attained his martyrdom in 1752 while fighting the Mughal army on the banks of the river Ravi. As for Bhai Sukha Singh, after the death of Massa Rangar, Bhai Sukha Singh was given a charge of a Jatha. In early 1746 he joined Jassa Singh Allhuwalia and entered Eminabad in Gujjaranwala District, here they were attacked by Jaspat Rai the brother of Lakhpat Rai, a Revenue officer of Yahiya Khan the governor of Lahore. Jaspat Rai was killed in this battle and Lakhpat Rai swore revenge against all the Sikhs, they met at Kahnunan village in what is known as the *Chotta Ghalugharra* (Small Holocaust), this was on the 1st May 1746, Bhai Sukha Singh was badly injured in the battle but he managed to escape with few remaining Sikhs to the sandy plains of the Malwa area. During the third invasion of Ahmed Shah Durrani in January 1752, Durrani had camped on the norther bank of River Ravi near Shahdara preparatory to attack Lahore. It was while out on foraging expedition that Bhai Sukha Singh and few Sikhs encountered a strong body of enemy troops, a fierce battle took place and all the Sikhs died fighting, this was in early January 1752.

II

The second section focused on the organisational structure of the present day Saheed Nagar Gurudwara Baba Budha Johar located on the Padampur-Jaitsar road, near the Dabla village of the Raisinghnagar tehsil of Ganganagar district, Rajasthan. The present day Gurudwara got its name from Baba Budha Singh, who is the leader of the Budha Dal group who came to this place to save themselves against the atrocities of the Mughal and Johar means a water pond, this place has natural capacity to store water since early days. Therefore, the Sikhs in the 18th century took shelter here as this place has water access.

To commemorate the brave act and the sacrifice of Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh, Saint Fateh Singh and Chanan Singh laid down the foundation stone of the present day Gurudwara in 1953. He has started the construction work of some *kaccha* or mud houses with a small water pond which was completed in 1954. On 27th February 1956 the construction of concrete building had begins. The Gurudwara has its own independent trust named as Saheed Nagar Gurudwara Sahib Buddha Johar formed in 1972. The Gurudwara has successfully running the Sikh institutions of the *Sangat* (Sikh congregation) and the *Pangat* (Community Kitchen) in its premises. The *Pangat* hall is opened for 24 hours and it is open for all without any discrimination. The *Jand* tree still stood where Sukha Singh and Mehtab Singh tied their horses and handed over the head of Massa Ranghar to Jathedar Baba Budha Singh but the large part of the tree fell down in 2000. The gurudwara has large *sarovar* (a holy water pond) and it has great admiration among the devotees and on their visit to Gurudwara they always have holy dip in the *sarovar*. The devotees have great faith in the Gurudwara, they belief by paying fixed number of holy visits on the occasion of *Amasya* to the Gurudwara their all desires or wishes will be fulfilled such as birth of the son, cure from medical illness, good crop or harvesting season, wellness of all and any other. The annual fair of the gurudwara held on the *Bhadon di Amasya*, where approximately more than one lakh people gathered to pay their homage. On other hand on the occasion of every *Amasya*, approximately forty to fifty thousand devotees from all religious groups specifically among the Hindus and the Sikhs pay their visits to Gurudwara. The presence of the Hindu devotees showed their faith the sanctity of the Gurudwara. The Gurudwara is a symbol of the religious unity among the people of the Ganganagar district.

With this Saheed Nagar Baba Buddha Johar Gurudwara have significant social impact in the region. The Budha Johar has a Sikh religious study institution college, Sant Fateh Singh Chanan Singh Sikh Missionary college, worked under the Dharam Parchar Committee, Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC), Amritsar. The college is a great source of Gurmat sangeet teaching in the region and Rajasthan State. The students become well verse in the Gurmat sangeet and settled down in the various Gurudwara as a *Granthis* (head priest) in the different parts of the country and abroad. The Gurudwara premises has a Sikh Museum, that has great collection of the photographs of the various events and sacrifices of the Sikhs. With this Gurudwara trust, runs a general hospital named as Bhai Sukha Singh Mehtab Singh Memorial General Hospital, Budha Johar which is providing various healthcare services to the region on minimal charges. However now this hospital is run out of funds. This way Gurdwara trusts provides various religious and social welfare services to the local people of the region.

With this there is a controversy in relation to the compilation of the *Dasam Granth* (is a collection of various poetic compositions attributed to Guru Gobind Singh) was associated with Bahi Mehtab Singh and Bhai Sukha Singh. In 1738, after the Martyrdom of Bhai Mani Singh, who compiled the final copy of *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib Ji* was sent to Damdama Sahib, Talwandi Sabo, Bathinda district Punjab. The scholars of the time were in discussion of whether to separate the Bani in *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib Ji*, in particular *Charitro Pakhyan*, which is a long composition of *Dasam Granth*, form over one third of the *Dasam Granth* having 404 distinct chapters. Bhai Mehtab Singh of Mirankot suggested to the leaders of the Khalsa that if he and Bhai Sukha Singh are successful in their mission to eliminate Massa Rangar, then the Bani should be kept in one *sarop* or single copy. However, if they would not return then the Bani should be shortened into pieces. Bhai Mehtab Singh and Sukha Singh was successful in putting Massa Ranghar to an ignoble death and hence the volume of the *Dasam Granth* was preserved as it now is. They decapitated Massa Ranger and reached triumphantly at Damdama Sahib. A great honour was showered on these brave warriors and *Sri Dasam Granth Sahib Ji* was left in the form prepared by Bhai Mani Singh Ji. This whole controversy is a popular belief of the major part of the Sikh devotee, we did not find any direct reference in the primary sources.

To conclude, the Budha Dal and the Golden Temple Amritsar has great relation and history with the deserts of the Rajasthan. The Bikaner province provided the Budha Dal a breathing space and a time to consolidate their resources and authority, as the Sikhs were severely persecuted by the Mughal State in the 1730s and 1740s. The coming of the Budha Dal to Bikaner helped in the development of Sikhism in this region. As a result, at present there were different Gurudwaras present in Rajasthan associated with Budha Dal and the Saheed Nagar Gurudwara Baba Budha Johar is most important and had great sanctity among the people. Baba Budha Johar Gurudwara is a great symbol of the sacrifice and brave act of two Sikh warriors, Bhai Mehtab Singh and Bhai Sukha Singh. In recent times Gurudwara trust is associated with various social-religious welfare tasks by running a college and hospital. The Dharam Parcharak Committee, Amritsar is imparting a religious singing training in the Sikh Missionary college. The Budha Johar Gurudwara is a symbol of religious unity as the people from all religious communities like the Sikhs, the Hindus and the Muslims paid their holy visits with deep faith on every *Amasya*. With this the district of Ganganagar witnessed a tremendous increase in the Sikh population from 1951 to 2011. The *census of 1951* showed that the Ganganagar district has recorded the increase of 7.16% from 17.5% (1951) to 24.66% (2011) which can be attributed to the Baba Budha Johar Gurudwara in one and other way. The Saheed Nagar Budha Johar Gurudwara is a symbol that taught us to take a stand against the unjust.

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Rule for the Guidance of the Courts of Vakils in Rajputana: A Case of British Legal Imperialism

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Historical Background

The British influence in Rajputana began with treaties that promised protection and arbitration between the states. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, played a key role in formalizing the British role as arbiters of justice in Rajputana. In 1828, Bentinck introduced a set of principles to guide British political officers in settling disputes between Rajput states, particularly focusing on frontier aggression, criminal acts, and depredation by the subjects of one state against another.¹ The creation of these principles laid the foundation for British legal intervention. Initially, disputes between states were handled through negotiation and arbitration, but this process proved inefficient. The British responded by instituting new legal mechanisms, including the courts of *Vakils*,² which were used to formalize legal proceedings and ensure British oversight. In the states of British Rajputana, Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, the Governor-General's Agent, established a series of panchayats before which litigants could "seek redress for any robbery or loss of property." These panchayats were comprised of local pleaders and adopted the impressive title of the *International Courts of Vakils*.³

British Legal Imposition: The International Courts of Vakils in Rajputana

The administration of the Vakil courts in the early British judiciary of Rajputana reflected a legal framework designed to address the unique political and social landscape of the region. During British India,

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Rajputana was composed of several princely states under indirect British rule. The Courts of Vakils were established to adjudicate criminal cases that could not be resolved within a single state due to jurisdictional issues, especially concerning matters of inter-state crime or issues with travellers or persons suffering injuries outside their home state's territory. These courts played a vital role in enforcing justice across the diverse territories comprising the Rajputana. The courts of *Vakils* were established to handle disputes between Rajputana states and facilitate justice in cases of cross-border criminal activities. British agents frequently oversaw these courts, ensuring that decisions aligned with British legal standards.

The British Government, in addition to forming contingents, established a system to resolve border disputes between States through the intervention of its officers. For instance, in 1835, Assistant Lieutenant H. W. Trevelyan was sent on a mission to the Western States of Rajputana to mediate a feud between Jaisalmer and Bikaner. He persuaded the Vakils of both states to agree not to commit aggression against each other and to hand over any criminals seeking refuge within their territories. However, the British could not compel states to surrender offenders for trial. To ensure justice, they created International Courts of Vakils at Political Agencies in Rajputana between 1842 and 1847. These courts handled disputes between states and ensured a fair judicial process.

The Ajmer Court, established in 1842, dealt with cases involving Kishangarh, Dholpur, and the Ajmer province, and served as the appellate court for other courts. The Neemuch Court (1842) oversaw Udaipur, Banswara, Dungarpur, and Partabgarh, while the Harauti Court (1847) at Kota handled cases for Kota, Bundi, and Jhalawar. The Jaipur Court (1847) covered Jaipur, Bharatpur, Tonk, and Alwar, and the Jodhpur Court managed disputes between Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, and Sirohi.⁴

Jurisdiction and Powers

The International Court of Vakils at Ajmer had original as well as appellate jurisdiction. When it worked as the appellate court, it was presided over by the AGG.) The Vakils of various states entered into compromises on behalf of their states.⁵

These Courts took cognizance of cases committed on the soil of a state by citizens of a different state. The offences were divided into two broad categories against persons and against property. The Courts could award punishment by imprisonment or by fine. The imprisonment

had to be in the jails of the states to which the offender belonged; the fine was paid by the urer to the person concerned.⁶

The Courts of Vakils, made up of representatives from different states, were presided over by the Political Agent, ensuring that rulers could not object to their subjects being tried by British officers. At Ajmer, the Assistant to the A.G.G. oversaw the court, though the A.G.G. could choose to preside when necessary. Verdicts from subordinate political agencies required the A.G.G.'s approval.⁷

These courts only handled international criminal cases, with their authority stemming from the voluntary delegation of power by Rajputana rulers, reducing their full sovereignty. These court used to hear the problems like other courts and decided on the appeals of the remaining four regions. Criminals sheltered by the rulers in this court, who came from another state or committed crimes in one state and fled to another state, were imprisoned there and fined. Looting compensation was also paid from the treasury of the agency and then from the state or feudatory over whose territory it is in charge was recovered. Generally, heinous crimes were very few and ordinary crimes were more than that.⁸

British Legal Imperialism and its Impact

While these courts were an attempt to provide a structured legal system in a complex political environment, they were not without challenges and criticisms. The system's success relied on cooperation between the rulers and the Rajputana Agency. While the contingents curbed border depredations, the courts addressed international crimes, promoting good governance across Rajputana. Sutherland created this interstate judicial system. The effective operation of these courts improved security and reduced crime along Rajputana's borders.

Though these courts were successful in settling border disputes and they were also successful in reducing international crimes, but the power of the kings from these courts became insignificant and the supremacy of the British government was established. Sometimes, due to the displeasure of political agents, court decisions were against the rulers and justice was also strangled, because the decisions were politically influenced. In contrast to where the criminal was punished, the state or the feudal lords were obliged to pay damages, because the crime was committed in their territory. Apart from this, difficulty was faced in collecting the fine amount.⁹

By the 1870s, property crimes far outnumbered offenses against persons, with an annual average of 488 property crimes from 1870-80, mainly cattle theft, petty theft, and highway robbery. Serious crimes like counterfeiting or kidnapping were rare. Between 1870 and 1885, the Appellate Court of Vakils, led by the Attorney General, reviewed 484 cases. Despite limited time, the AGG often reversed or revised lower court decisions, particularly in Marwar and Hadauti, where two out of every five or six cases were overturned. This diminished the effectiveness of the local Vakil courts.¹⁰

The functioning of the Vakil Courts led to an issue where the Agency treasurer remitted fines to the plaintiff and sought reimbursement from the Durbar. If the Durbar delayed payment, interest was levied, which was then debited to the account of the thikanedar whose jagir was involved. These payments were often claimed after significant delays, causing tension between the Durbar and jagirdars, who were unaware of the cases and unable to provide necessary information. By 1875, the system was seen as exploitable, and in 1876, Lyall recognized the deficiencies in the Vakil Courts. Ultimately, the system's flaws in prosecuting and punishing offenders led to its disuse.¹¹

The Vakil Courts addressed trans-state criminality, but issues remained regarding crimes committed on British Indian soil by individuals from the states who had returned home or by British citizens seeking refuge in neighbouring areas like Rajasthan. Likewise, criminal activities in Rajput states by those seeking refuge in British territory were unresolved. The British government insisted that states hand over criminals who sought refuge, creating tension between the British and the rulers/jagirdars, who were reluctant to surrender these individuals. To address this, the British proposed extradition treaties with the states, which were finalized between 1869 and 1870. These treaties included provisions for extraditing individuals convicted of serious crimes such as cattle theft, child stealing, and violent offenses like murder and rape. While signed on terms of equality, the treaties effectively established inequality and allowed for interference in the states' internal affairs.

This administrative structure allowed for an amalgamation of British legal principles and existing Rajput customs, aiming to provide a fair and efficient system of justice that would be acceptable to both the British authorities and the local princely states. The Vakil courts of Rajputana, therefore, became an instrumental part of the early British

judiciary system in the region, reflecting an early form of integrated judicial governance during colonial rule.

The Vakils Courts upheld the authority of the state while aligning with its decisions, proving highly effective in resolving interstate disputes despite limited communication. These courts enhanced the Political Agent's influence over the states, with vakils acting as intermediaries to convey the A.G.G.'s approval. This system allowed British influence to grow subtly.

Conclusion

The imposition of legal rules through the courts of *Vakils* in Rajputana exemplifies British legal imperialism:

- Firstly, the establishment of the Vakil Courts was part of the British strategy to maintain control over the princely states by integrating them into a judicial system that reflected British legal principles, sometimes at the expense of local customs and judicial practices. This could be seen as a form of legal imperialism.
- Secondly, while the rules provided a guideline for handling cases, their implementation could vary, and there was potential for unequal application of justice. The reliance on local customs and practices allowed for a level of flexibility, but it also opened the door to inconsistencies and potential bias in judgments.
- Thirdly, the structure of the courts, with final confirmations needed from British political officers, meant that the British had the ultimate say in legal outcomes. This reinforced their power over the local rulers and could lead to perceptions of biased or unfair rulings in favour of British interests.
- Furthermore, the hierarchy within the court system – with the Courts of Vakils at different levels – might have led to complex bureaucratic procedures that could delay justice. The need for confirmation of decisions by higher authorities also implied a lack of trust in the local judiciary.
- Finally, the Vakil Courts were established to handle cases involving multiple jurisdictions within Rajputana, yet they still faced the challenge of extradition and cooperation among princely states, which could be influenced by political and economic considerations.

By inserting themselves into the judicial processes of the princely

states, the British effectively eroded local legal traditions and established their authority as the ultimate arbiters of justice. The use of *Vakils* to mediate disputes, under British supervision, highlights how the colonial administration sought to control not only political governance but also the legal framework of the region. The transformation of the courts in Rajputana reflects a broader pattern of British legal intervention across India, where colonial authorities restructured indigenous legal systems to align with British interests. The long-term impact of this legal imperialism was the consolidation of British power and the marginalization of local legal practices, setting the stage for the eventual integration of Rajputana into British India.

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Some Aspects of The Criminal Tribes of Rajputana with Special Reference to Criminal Tribes Act of 1871

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Introduction:

The Criminal Tribal Act, a draconian instrument of colonial control, unleashed state-sponsored oppression against over two million Indians belonging to nomadic and semi-nomadic indigenous communities. Branded as "born criminals" under this discriminatory legislation, entire tribes suffered the stripping of their dignity, the throttling of their mobility, and the devastation of their lives under a relentless regime of surveillance, harassment, and displacement. The Act's stain extended beyond its immediate victims, etching itself onto the societal fabric of India, leaving behind a legacy of stigma and marginalization that continues to cast a long shadow even today.

The paper analyzes the oppressive impacts of the controversial Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) of 1871 and subsequent legislation that criminalized and marginalized nomadic communities across the princely states of Rajputana. This paper examines how the Act's provisions enabled the branding of entire tribes as "criminal by birth", the restriction of their movement, heightened surveillance over them, and forced labor - all of which inflicted sustained misery. For a better understanding of the acts and their impacts, the geo-cultural territory defined for this paper is the Rajputana region. The paper will also highlight the provisions used to target mobile indigenous groups, like the Sansis, Berias, Bawarias, and others, in the Rajputana region in western India. Additionally, the paper explores the rationale behind bringing these formerly autonomous communities under the ambit of such a draconian law.

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The aim of this paper is to understand the most oppressive aspects of the Act along with how its provisions unleashed state-sponsored marginalization of vulnerable groups in Rajputana. It also highlights the enduring social, economic, and humanitarian impacts of this injustice on the native people.

Historical Background of the Nomadic Tribes in the Indian Sub-Continent:

Nomadic communities have been referenced across Indian literature, from ancient governance treatises like the Arthashastra to epic texts including the Ramayana and Mahabharata as well as Buddhist Jataka tales. Historically, many of these mobile groups were involved in oral storytelling, acting, singing, and other performative arts. Specifically, the Suta were wandering bards and genealogists who maintained royal dynastic records before the Puranic age. Additionally, these tribes served as soldiers, healers, and horse and elephant handlers - crucial roles across medieval kingdoms.¹

Early Indian texts on governance were apprehensive of nomadic communities, advising kings to keep a close eye on their movements and limit their activities.² Village life and the economy were tightly controlled by the state, and nomadic groups were often seen with suspicion. Kautilya's Arthashastra, a key text on politics, suggests barring performers and entertainers, like actors, dancers, and musicians, from entering villages entirely.³

Nomadic and semi-nomadic communities that were criminalized under The Criminal Tribes Act 1871 and subsequent legislation were very diverse communities and followed the diverse socio economic and cultural practices. During medieval times in India, a few of the nomadic communities occupied important economic roles, especially the Banjaras.⁴ Much of the trade within the subcontinent depended on the caravans operated by these wandering groups. They were pivotal in facilitating long-distance commerce and carrying foodgrains from agricultural surplus areas to deficit regions, including during famines. The communities acted as merchants themselves while also serving as carriers for other traders and dealers.⁵

As research on oral histories shows, groups like the Lambadas (formerly called Banjaras) had a long established presence across Indian political regimes - from the Delhi Sultanate and Vijayanagara empire in

the 13th-15th centuries, through the Mughals in the 16th-17th centuries, to the Nizam and British in the 18th century. The presence of banjaras in the North - West part of the subcontinent can be traced from the work of Manisha Chaudhary, which elaborates how apart from being the traders and suppliers, Banjaras were also important strategically as they were the important for the food and ordnance need of the army and to take goods to the imperial camp and capital. The role of Banjaras was important not only in the economic sense but also because they contributed immensely to the culture and settlement pattern of the places they were travelling for trade and related activities of transportation.⁶ They were the primary transporters of commodities and provisions throughout precolonial India. Their mobility and transport skills made them vital allies for military campaigns across the subcontinent's kingdoms as well, with armies utilizing them as baggage trainers and food supply carriers through harsh terrain.⁷

Moving ahead in this direction, researchers have also indicated that certain sections of some of the group/tribes that were declared criminal followed trading and raiding or agriculture and raiding, dacoity etc as case maybe.⁸ In some cases a certain section of the community began to regard raiding as a hereditary calling and had developed an elaborate code of discipline, formalities, and even, rituals. They lead more or less a nomadic life and wander from place to place in search of opportunities. There were numerous examples of piety crimes, road robbery, and dacoity in the medieval period. Even the firman of Jehangir talked about the thieves and robbers carrying away people's goods in isolated places and pressed on the need to populate the qasbas by arranging water tanks, sarais and masjid at the uninhibited and "wasteland".⁹ The modus operandi of crime of these people differs from tribe to tribe and from locality to locality. The specialization in certain crimes by a tribe in a particular area depends very much on the local conditions or the surroundings and environments of the place concerned.¹⁰ Particularly, in Rajasthan the raids conducted on the traders, settled people or caravans for animals, treasure and other items are significant to prove that raids were norms due to absence of the settled economic activities.¹¹

Mapping the Nomadic Tribes in the Rajasthan Region:

There is limited definitive historical information about the origins of the Criminal Tribes of the Rajputana region. They generally point to

the siege of Chittorgarh by Alauddin Khilji in 1308 AD as the time when their social status began to decline. According to their oral histories, their nomadic lifestyle developed primarily as a strategy to evade persecution, save themselves, and preserve their religion in the face of advancing Islamic conquests in the region.¹²

The Bawariyas were a prominent nomadic and tribal group located in the mainlands of present-day Rajasthan. They are said to be divided into three subgroups: the Bidawatis originally from Bidawar village in Jaipur state, who now reside in Bikaner; the Kalkataliyas of Punjab's Ferozepur and Sirsa districts, who are black blanket weavers by occupation; and the Kapariyas near Delhi. Of these, the Kalkataliyas and Kapariyas have retained their traditionally nomadic lifestyle, sustaining themselves by hunting while constantly on the move from place to place.¹³

Certain subgroups among these tribes were notorious for brazen crimes like dacoities (armed robberies) in broad daylight, theft from government officials' encampments, and "nakabazi" - gaining access into buildings by breaking holes in walls to steal goods from the interiors.¹⁴

The Harburas were another major tribal group in Rajasthan.¹⁵ Folklore among the Haburas states that one of their forefathers named Rig cruelly hunted and killed a hare. Upon witnessing this cruel act, Sita (the wife of Lord Rama) cursed Rig and his descendants to eternally lead degraded lives begging, stealing, and hunting for survival. This myth of divine condemnation has been culturally woven into the Harburas' identity.¹⁶

According to William Crooke, the nomadic tribe "Kanjars", is derived from the Sanskrit words "Kananchara", meaning wanderers of the forest. The Kanjars living in Punjab and Rajputana claim they originally served as bards (Bhats) for Jat and Rajput patrons. Over time as that occupation became less lucrative, they had to supplement their income through other means. Some still remember the ancestral lineages of the families they served and receive customary payments. Colonel Tod wrote that the Kanjars performed menial jobs for various castes, gradually developing exclusive service relationships - effectively causing sub-divisions among them based on which caste they served.¹⁷ This is further evidenced in Rajasthan where Kanjar subgroups align with specific castes - the Bamnavats serve Brahmins, Bhangawats serve the sweeper caste, Shedawats serve the Rawat warriors, Jalfawats serve the Koli fishermen, and Thiyawats serve the Ahir cowherders.¹⁸

The nomadic tribe "Sansi" is thought to derive from the Sanskrit word "Shvasa" meaning breath or life.¹⁹ The Sansis trace ancestry to a founding figure called Sahasmal. Some scholars classify related communities like the Berias, Haburas, Bhatu and Kanjars as Sansi subgroups. Their claimed place of origin is Bharatpur, where they supposedly served as bards and minstrels for the Jat patrons. The Sansis have two broad divisions - the Kalkas considered pure Sansis, and Malas deemed mixed ancestry since only one parent was Sansi. In Sialkot, Sansis state that once a king banished his immoral daughter who then birthed an illegitimate male child named Sansi.²⁰

This Sansi grew up to be a notorious criminal with two sons, Baindu and Mala, who fathered 23 Sansi gotras (clans). In Rajputana and Bengal, the core ancestor is said to be Sahasmal, a famous dacoit from Lekhi jungle. Sansis in Jhang, Punjab claim descent from Panwar Rajputs. In Rohtak, they are called Kanjar-Sansis. While Sansis in Gujranwala and Gujrat are Muslim, elsewhere in Punjab they are Hindu.²¹

Minas are another important tribal group and stand out as a particularly significant community dominating much of the state's current demography and landscape. Historically, they split into two groups - the Zamindari (landowners) and Chaukidari (watchmen). This happened after the fall of the Mina kingdom of Ambar. Those Minas who surrendered to invaders were granted lands, while rebels were dispossessed. Eventually, some of the deprived rebels resorted to crime. The authorities appointed certain Minas as village watchmen (chaukidars) to curb offenses and catch offenders from their tribe. Over time, these watchmen also got labeled "Chaukidari Minas". Further, even some among them who were entrusted with guard duties ended up being declared as criminal tribes due to habitual crimes. Their main tactic was disguising themselves as mendicants, woodcutters, or grass sellers to gain people's trust and survey target areas before robbing them when opportunities arose.²²

Thus, these designated tribes encompassed individuals from diverse backgrounds, comprising both men and women hailing from nearly all castes, tribes, and social strata. Nevertheless, certain commonalities can be discerned among these groups. Predominantly, the majority of criminal tribes originated from underprivileged backgrounds, lacking land ownership, formal income, economic sources, or a recognized standing within the caste system.²³ Many among them

were descendants of communities compelled to abandon their traditional lands and occupations, a consequence of subjugation by dominant powers.

These communities were brought under the purview of the British colonial administration's Criminal Tribes Acts (CTAs) of 1871 and 1924, leading to the categorization of these nomadic communities in Rajputana as "criminal tribes." The implementation of these Acts marked a significant chapter in the history of social regulation, as they brought under legal scrutiny and categorization various groups that were often marginalized and already grappling with socio-economic challenges.

Understanding the Criminal Tribes Act:

Even before the enactment of the controversial Criminal Tribes Act in 1871, certain indigenous groups had already been branded as "criminal tribes" by administrations in British India. The Thuggee and Dacoity Department established in 1835 was one such measure under which occupiers of property were made responsible for the movement of "predatory tribes".²⁴ Specifically, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab as well as the Local Government of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh had issued orders during the second half of 1850s and 1860s regarding the registration, detention or strict monitoring of nomadic tribes they deemed as habitual offenders.²⁵

Scholars have also tried to relate the criminalisation of the Banjaras with the simultaneous introduction of railways in the northern part of the subcontinent. As with the growth of railways (a organised and monitored transport system) there was no more need of the Banjaras (Who were heterogeneous and not easy to monitor) for the transportation.²⁶ Also, it was the British rule that considerably changed the ecological, social, political and economic system of the rural India, due to which many communities lost their traditional means of livelihood and resorted to illegal activities such as resort to theft, stealing and other criminal activities.²⁷

The Criminal Tribe Act (Act No. XXVII of 1871) or the Act for The Registration of Criminal Tribes and Eunuchs was legislated as the name suggests for the registration, surveillance and control of certain criminal tribes and eunuchs. This act was majorly applicable to the Northwest Province, Punjab and Chief Commissionrate of Oudh²⁸ but with the criminal tribe amendment act 1897 (Act No. II of 1897) a provision was added that allowed for the extension of the Criminal Tribe

Act of 1871 to any local government (means British Indian provincial/ commissioner province), "provided that any local government with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, can declare the application of the all or any provisions of the act applicable to the whole or part/parts of territory under its government in the local official Gazette."²⁹

With the passage of the Criminal Tribes Act 1911 (Act No. III of 1911) which replaced the Criminal Tribes Act 1871 and amendments to it, the law was made applicable to the whole of British India.³⁰ Some more changes to the act were made in 1924 through the Criminal Tribes Act 1924 (Act No. VI of 1924), which continued to be in force till the repeal of this act through The Criminal tribes (Repeal) Act, 1952 (Act No. XXIV of 1952).³¹

The Criminal tribes Act, of 1871

This act was divided into two parts and 31 sections of which part one and section one to section twenty-three deal with the criminal tribes while part two and remaining sections had provisions related to Eunuchs.

In this act, if the local government has reasons to believe that any tribe, gang or class of person is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offenses, it may report the case to the Governor General in Council and request their permission to declare such tribe, gang or class to be a criminal tribe.³² The report shall note down the reason for addiction to the crime and the nature and circumstances of the offense in which the tribes concerned are involved.³³ The local government shall also see if the tribe has any fixed place of residence or not and check whether the place of stay or occupation is just for the pretext of committing the crime or real.³⁴ If the Governor General in Council is satisfied with the report of the local government to declare a tribe, gang or class as a criminal tribe, he may authorize the local government to declare such tribes, gang or class as a criminal tribe with publication in the local gazette notifying the same.³⁵ The notification declaring the tribe, gang or class as a criminal tribe cannot be questioned in a court of law.³⁶

The act also had provision that proposals should be made for the settlement and livelihood of the tribe, gang and class in the report to the Governor General in Council for the declaration as criminal tribes.³⁷ This provision imposed additional burden and responsibility on the part of the government which many times hindered the implementation of

act in case of certain tribes. Due to this it was relaxed in the future amendment to the act.

Through simple reading of the above provisions, it can be gazed that the aim of the act was to control the crime by keeping watch on the member of the tribe, gang or class and to help them to reform and rehabilitate themselves. but as can be seen from the actual working of the act, it was the surveillance and punishment which took precedence over resettlement.³⁸

After declaring the tribe, gang or class as a criminal tribe in the local gazette by local government, the District Magistrate has to make a register of all the members of such tribe, gang or class.³⁹ The members of such tribes have to come to register themselves at the designated place failing which without lawful excuse they have to face action under the IPC 174 (Non-attendance in obedience to an order from public servant) or 176 (Omission to give notice or information to public servant by person legally bound to give it.) or 177 (Furnishing false information) as the case may.⁴⁰

The register made was kept with the District Superintendent of police who shall report to the district magistrate for the alteration by erasure or addition in the said register.⁴¹ No alteration was made to the said register except by the order of the District Magistrate.⁴² The complaint of an aggrieved person who feels their name ought not to be there was taken by the district magistrate who has the power to erase, add or retain the name of the aggrieved person. The appeal against the order of the district magistrate can be taken by the Divisional Commissioner who has the power to review the decision of the District Magistrate.⁴³

Any tribe, gang or class declared as criminal tribe, which has no fixed place of residence may be settled by the local government to a place specified by the local government⁴⁴ and the criminal tribes with residence can also be removed to any other place of residence.⁴⁵ Before doing so, the local government has to make arrangements for settlement or removal to another place with the concurrence of the Governor General in the Council.⁴⁶ The local government may also put the tribe, gang or class declared a criminal tribe in the reformatory settlement.⁴⁷

Local government also has the power to prescribe the extent of the area to which a person registered as the member of criminal tribe

can reside⁴⁸, the condition on which a pass can be given to such person to go beyond the specified area⁴⁹, the condition for answering roll call to see whether a person has been residing in a designated place or not⁵⁰, for the inspection of the residences of criminal tribes⁵¹, control and supervision of reformatory settlement.⁵² The people in the reformatory settlement were also made to work at the wages determined by the local government.⁵³

Through this control measures local government compelled the members of criminal tribes not to wander without permission, thus by means of registration, pass, roll call and inspection make them under perpetual surveillance of the state machinery.

Anyone not following the above rules made by the local government were subjected to the punishment of rigorous imprisonment which may extend the 6 months, or with a fine or with whipping or with all or any of the two punishments. And on the second conviction on the breach of these rules, the punishment shall be rigorous imprisonment which may extend to one year, or with a fine or with whipping or with all or any of the two punishments.

If person registered under this act was found anywhere in British India without valid pass or run away from reformatory settlement, that person has to be arrested without a warrant by police officer or village watchman and must be taken before district magistrate who after checking all the facts shall order the removal of such person to the district to which he ought to have resided or the reformatory settlement from which he has escaped.⁵⁴

It was the duty of village headmen, village watchman and occupier of land in which such a tribe, gang, or class of person who has been notified as criminal tribe dwells to inform the nearest police station if that person hasn't appeared or given information for registration under section 8 of this act and departure or arrival of such person from/to village.⁵⁵ Failing this village watchman, headman, and occupier of land can be prosecuted under part 1 of section 176 of IPC.⁵⁶

The act provided too much discretion to the local government and district magistrate from making rules to categorizing a band or tribe as criminal and registering the members of such a tribe. Many times, this led to generalisation and blanket declaration of the whole community as criminal, although this was not always the case as shown by some scholars.

Research on tribes and their related aspects is not easy due to the lack of relevant data. The research related to tribes in Rajasthan is mostly related to the social and cultural aspects of the tribes. The internal differences within the large communities such as Mina tribes of Rajasthan were easily blurred under such scenarios. The Mina community in the Eastern Rajasthan was primarily agriculturist while Minas of Marwar and Shekhwati were into banditry and Chowkidari. Historians such as Suraj Bhan Bhardwaj has criticised the reliance of historians on British state agencies' data that categorised the whole community as a criminal tribe under the Criminal Tribe Act of 1871. He has thoroughly analysed the peasantization of the tribal structure of Meenas during the early phase of the Kachhawa-Meena struggles beginning from the 10th century.⁵⁷

Further Changes to the Act

The Criminal Tribe Act was amended in 1897 which not only allowed for the extension of the criminal tribe act 1871 to the whole British territory by the permission of Governor General in Council⁵⁸ but also made provisions that empowered the local government to establish separate reformatory settlements for children (aged 4-18) away from the reformatory settlement for the parents - who belong to tribe, gang or class (or portion or members of it) declared as criminals.⁵⁹

The 1897 amendment also enhanced punishment for certain offenses, second convictions, and violations of the rules of local government.⁶⁰ Mere suspicious circumstances were enough to punish the member of the criminal tribe for the reason that they might be there to commit theft or robbery and was punishable with imprisonment that may extend to 3 years and also liable for a fine.⁶¹

The criminal tribe act 1911 made the law applicable to the whole of British India. This act repealed the previous Criminal Tribe Act of 1871 and amendments (1876 and 1897) to it, although a major portion of this act was similar to the previous legislation. Through this act, the local government was empowered to declare the section or part of a tribe, gang, or class as a criminal.⁶² Application of the Act of 1871 involved certain practical difficulties which the new Act of 1911 was designed to remove. One of the objectives of the Act of 1911 was to enable the local governments to proclaim criminal tribes by their own authority and provide for the registration of their members without reference to the question of settlement or the provision of the means of livelihood as necessitated by the old legislation.⁶³

It also empowered the Governor General in Council and local government to establish industrial and agriculture settlements along with reformatory settlements.⁶⁴ For the children of criminal tribes industrial, agricultural, and reformatory schools were established through this act, away from the parents.⁶⁵ the age of children was however changed this time to 6 to 18. The children in the reformatory school were "youthful offenders" and were placed under the guardianship of a super indent under sections 18-22 of the Reformatory School Act of 1897. The decision of the Governor General in Council and Local Government regarding the declaration of criminal time, restriction on their movement, and addition of area to the restriction cannot be "questioned" under any court of justice.⁶⁶

The Criminal tribe act 1924 which replaced the Criminal Tribe Act 1911 and amended it made certain new provisions like the power to take a finger impression of any registered member of the criminal tribe.⁶⁷ Person belonging to the notified tribe have to report themselves to the authorities at fixed intervals⁶⁸ and notify their place of residence, intended change of residence, and absence and intended absence from residence.⁶⁹

The criminal tribe act was repealed after independence on the recommendation of the Ananthasayana committee by the criminal tribe's law (Repeal) Act, 1952.

Criminal Tribals Act, A Colonial Tool for State Machinery:

The British administrators essentially viewed these so-called "criminal tribes" as entire communities predisposed by culture and ancestry to criminality, rather than as individual lawbreakers or deviants in an otherwise law-abiding society. Colonial sources described these communities as hereditary "guilds of felons" who were innately committed to the robber's trade by upbringing and bloodline.⁷⁰

In the early 1870s, J.F. Stephen, a British official on the Viceroy's Council in India, characterized the so-called "Criminal Tribes" in the following manner:⁷¹

"The caste system is India's distinguishing trait. By virtue of this system, merchants are constituted in a caste, a family of carpenters will remain a family of carpenters for a whole century from now, or five centuries from now, if it survives that long. Let us bear that in mind and grasp quickly what we mean here by professional criminals. We are dealing here with a tribe whose ancestors have been criminals since the

very dawn of time, whose members are sworn by the laws of their caste to commit crime ... for it is his vocation, his caste, I would go to the extent of saying his faith, to commit crimes (from Fourcade 2003)"

Under British rule in India, the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 labeled over two hundred communities as 'criminal tribes' in an effort by the British to consolidate control over entire regions. H.L. Williams's "The Criminal and Wandering Tribes of India," offered through the lens of a British Raj police officer, presents a nuanced perspective on the colonial rationale on the nomadic tribes of India.⁷² In his description of the Bantu tribe, originally living between Aravalli Hills and Indus, he acknowledges their criminal activity with the statement, "The tribe is atrociously criminal," yet subtly undermines this generalization by noting "this criminality is attributed to a band of young bloods" who operate outside the main community. This distinction is crucial, as it suggests that the Criminal Tribes Act, rather than addressing genuine widespread criminality, served as a tool for exerting colonial control over nomadic communities.⁷³

Furthermore, Williams recognizes the tribe's diverse occupations. Some members, he notes, are skilled artisans, crafting brushes, sieves, and winnowing baskets. Others, particularly in Jat communities, fulfill specialized roles as genealogists, bards, and minstrels. This highlights the internal heterogeneity of the Bantu and underscores the dangers of making over-generalizations based on the actions of a subset of individuals.⁷⁴

Such ethnographic insights showcase that the Criminal Tribes Act served as a pivotal tool within the state machinery, strategically employed to reinforce and perpetuate the colonial state's dominance in India, the legislation was instrumental in advancing the agenda of the colonial administration by asserting control over specific communities deemed as "criminal tribes." the legislation was instrumental in advancing the agenda of the colonial administration by asserting control over specific communities deemed as "criminal tribes."

According to historian Nicholas Dirks the British colonial administrators arrived in India with an orientalist worldview aligned to their mission of domination. Anthropology in colonial India was officially a project to manage information about Indian social life. Even senior police officers were being appointed as anthropologists. Data became the basis for the marginalization and stigmatization of many communities, especially in the periphery of mainstream society.⁷⁵

The arbitrary notion of 'criminality' was unjustly imposed upon ethnic groups, divorcing the label from any actual criminal behavior. Among the more than two hundred communities subjected to this unfair classification as so-called "criminal tribes" by the British Raj, the Bawariyas, Minas, Sansis etc. The ramifications of the Criminal Tribes Act extended beyond mere categorization, significantly impacting the lives of nomadic tribes by depriving them of basic rights and criminalizing their traditional livelihoods and way of life.⁷⁶

This oppressive legislation not only targeted specific communities but also delved into their traditional livelihoods, movements, and habitats, providing a framework to further marginalize them. Rooted in dubious anthropological theories, entire communities, including the tribes in the Rajputana region, witnessed the stripping of their dignity as they were branded innately criminal. The far-reaching consequences of such unfounded categorizations affected not only individuals but also entire generations, leaving a lasting impact on the socio-cultural fabric of these communities. Radhakrishna Meena's work sheds light on the historical injustice perpetuated by the Criminal Tribes Act and underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics that unfolded during this period.⁷⁷

Conclusion:

The Criminal Tribes Acts imposed by British colonial rulers in India stand out as a stark example of state-sponsored oppression, enabled by dubious anthropological theories, that deliberately targeted indigenous communities. In the Rajputana region, tribes like the Sansis, Berias, and Minas are still facing the consequences of this injustice. Driven by questionable anthropological theories and ethnographic profiling, the British administration unleashed state-sponsored oppression that deprived entire communities of basic rights.

By branding native tribes as inherently and hereditarily criminal, the Acts enabled restrictive measures like registration, surveillance, confinement, and forced labor which shredded tribal autonomy and inflicted misery. The fallout was not limited to direct victims - the legislation also etched a lasting stigma into the socio-cultural fabric that continues to marginalize tribes to this day.

While the Acts were eventually repealed after independence, their shadow still lingers. The injustices enabled by the state machinery have

crippled generations and entrenched inequality that manifests even now through continued harassment and socio-economic vulnerability for these communities. There is an urgent need for substantive measures focused specifically on uplifting tribes that faced historical persecution under British rule. Affirmative actions, along with legal protection, are key to restoring dignity and enabling vulnerable tribal groups to shape their destinies.

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Forging a Community: Sindhi-Sipahis of the Thar in 20th Century

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Introduction

Historically, The Thar Desert and its surrounding areas have been an area of intense migration. The desert, spread between India and Pakistan has been at the centre of south Asia's western boundary. The desert comprises of Sindh and Rajasthan regions of India. Before the partition of India and the British colonial intervention, the area was distinguished by the "wanderings" of Agro-pastoralists, traders, musicians, bards, ascetics, soldiers, and adventurers for a very long time.¹ The Thar desert was home to a nomadic culture that was so prevalent that troops who were always on the move found the first state to be located there.² Many communities even lacked a distinct identity and didn't follow any institutional faiths like Islam or Hinduism.³ All of this was lost when the state established territorial restrictions and set clear-cut requirements for social profiling.

Since the 19th century, due to the influence of colonialism, orthodox reform movements and nationalism, some threshold communities were forced to choose between being Muslim or Hindu and project an effective traditional system of belief.⁴ Since the 19th century, British officials moved these liminal groups into rigid, religiously defined categories, specifically in census data.⁵ Apparently, this led to an artificial barrier between these communities, which is still at work and incomplete. Hinduism and Islam didn't develop into distinct religions naturally or organically. Political aspects of partition emphasized existing divisions even more and solidified the idea that Hindus and Muslims are fundamentally different groups with clear, competing borders.⁶

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Literature Review

The historiography of the Thar Desert mainly revolves around the political and economic aspect of the region. Recently, a few attempts have been made in social, cultural and environmental aspects which reflects a vivid picture of Thar Desert, which is much vibrant than royal houses. *Mardumshumari* is a detailed report of Marwar state,⁷ which is a collection of different caste and communities living in the Marwar state. Report also highlights the religion, caste and occupations of the inhabitants. *Mardumshumari*, states that, a group of Muslim Rajputs known as Siphai are further divided into Sindhi-Sipahi, Deshwali-Sipahi, Qaimkhani and Nayak.⁸ This is the first description of Sindhi Sipahi community with some details.

R.P. Vyas's work⁹ on nobility discusses about the state of Marwar which was dominated by Rajputs of the Rathore clan. Rulers of Bikaner were also offshoot of this same Rathore clan. His work gives detailed picture of the nobles of Marwar and its state machinery. It also talks about the origin, the growth, the relations of the nobles with their sovereign in a proper historical perspective and changing status of nobles. This work mainly deals with political aspect of Marwar in 19th century. This work is completely silent on the Muslim nobility in Marwar state.

Dominique Silla Khan¹⁰ provides details about the forgotten branches of the Ismailis in Rajasthan. According to her, many communities of the Thar Desert area exhibit more Nizari Ismailism or Nizarpanth. She examines Hindu folk traditions in Rajasthan (particularly cults linked with Ramdev, Jambha, Jasnath and I Mata), where the presence of Muslim elements is noticeable, using a combination of anthropological data based on the descriptions of the shrines and rituals and popular literature. The author concludes that missionaries working under the guidance of the central Ismaili dawa in the Multan region, converted the followers of these cults to Ismailism in the 13th and 14th centuries. Apparently, these groups split apart from the main body and came under the authority of different Pir and Gurus as the central authority began to erode in the 15th century. Although they retain traces of their former Ismaili affiliation, these communities have in modern times come under increasing pressure either to adopt a more conventional Hindu identity or assimilate to Sunni or Twelver Shia Islam.¹¹ However, her work is silent on Muslim communities of the Thar which exhibit heterogeneous identities same like Bishnoi, Jasnathi etc.

The latest work on the Thar Desert, Manisha Choudhary¹² focuses on the environment, economy and culture of Thar Desert. She explores the role of environment in shaping economic as well as socio-cultural lives of inhabitants of the Thar region. According to her harsh environmental condition of the Thar allowed different groups of people to come together and connect for forming association in order to carry out the joint exercises or day to day activities. Her work shows the desert as a place where ideas from many groups might come together to achieve, shared objectives,¹³ her work examines the question of Region along with mobility and identity through historical relation among different communities. She also gives impressive details about the inhabitant communities of the region with their caste, religion and occupations. According to her wide range of tribal communities, Agro-Pastoralist groups, traders, professional groups, nomads and religious groups were involved in shaping the social-cultural and economic space of Thar Desert where each group was contributing in its own way.¹⁴ Although her work does not specify whether Sindhi Muslims mentioned by her are Sindhi-Sipahis or it's a different group. Still, it mentions Mangaliyaas tribal community, which is a group of Sindhi-Sipahi community.

Divya Cherian's work,¹⁵ which is set in the 18th century Marwar kingdom, follows the development of the social and financial capital of the Vaishya and Jains, who make up the merchant class. The two social groups, the Vaishya and Jains as well as Brahmin and Rajput groups, who were already dominant envisioned and define themselves as a group known as Hindu. This creation of "other" that included Muslims but mostly the lowest caste group known as untouchable allowed them to define themselves against the non-Hindu or "other". This dominating Hindu group also ascribed themselves, the position of the rescuer of all life, especially non-human life, which stimulated this imagination and conceptualisation. As a result, eating meat or causing, any other kind of harm to animals was frowned upon and punished severely, with those found guilty facing equal or greater punishment. Animal slaughter, which is connected to both Muslims and lower castes was also made into a highly penalised offence. Cherian highlights, however, that the penalty for killing animals was even harsher when the perpetrator was a Muslim or untouchable rather than a member of the larger Hindu community. Cherian points out that not all Muslims were treated unfairly on the charges of animal slaughter, but she does not specify the group of Muslims

who were exempted from harsh punishment like their hindu counterparts. It also indicates stratification among muslim castes in the Thar region.

Above given historiography deals with polity, society, economy, culture and religion of the Thar desert. However, there is no direct work available on identity formation of Sindhi-Sipahicommunity. Thus, I intend to examine different aspect of the community through available sources.

Origins of Sindhi-Sipahis

Sindhi-Sipahi, a cattle herder community in the Thar desert, was once a liminal community. The name Sindhi Sipahi suggests that they were once soldiers from the Sindh and are now a caste of pastoralists known to have been Rajputs.¹⁶ During the medieval and early medieval periods, some sections from the Rajput caste of Hindus, such as Bhati, Chouhan, Sodha and Tanwar, were said to convert to Islam. They are also called Muslim Rajputs or Musalman Sipahi. However, there is hardly any difference in their customs and traditions from the hindurajputs. They still use torans during marriages and worship Mataji. Their conversion dates back to the time of Shahabuddin Ghori.¹⁷ However, we don't have any other source to support this claim. Another view is that they were converted to Islam when Mohammad Qasim invaded Sindh (AD 712).¹⁸ Yet, name of the community gives impression that the members of this community migrated from Sindh. Tod in his seminal work also talks about Samma dynasty's origin and conversion.¹⁹ Interestingly, Samma is a caste group within the Sindhi-Sipahi community. The Samma and Sameja caste is also distributed in north western Bikaner.²⁰ This indicates that the Sindhi-Sipahi community continuously migrating across the desert. The exact time and circumstances in which Sindhi-Sipahis converted to Islam are historically unknown. However, dual identity of Sindhi-Sipahis can be contextualised in terms of Ismailism or Nizarpanth.

Sindhi-Sipahis are divided into a number of clans. Chief of which are Samma, Sanad, Gajju, Bhia, Panno, Sithar, Somra and Mohar.²¹ *Mardumshumari* report add some more castes like Sameja, Ramdeva, Kallar, Chenya, Ishar, Rahuma, Nohri, Jinj, Mangliya, etc.²² The Samma tribe derives its name from the name of its progenitor and can be traced back to the Bhati Rajputs. Originally, Sanad and Gajju were Sodhas. Sithar claimed to be of Rathore origin, while Bhia and Panno were reported to be converted from Tanwars. Somra and Mohar take great

pride in their pure Mohammedan ancestry, although they were also converted.²³ Most community members are still nomadic pastoralists.²⁴ The Sindhi-Sipahis live in Dhannies or small villages, which are barely a cluster of six to ten thatched houses. Every dhani is identified by either name of the community's subcaste or name of the group leader. There are not many Sindhi-Sipahis residing in the main hamlet, which serves as a local market and is home to a variety of castes. Sindhi-Sipahis are mostly cattle keepers or herdsmen noted above. They have a sizeable number of sheep, goats or cows and calves. The dhani provides them with the facility of big fields as grazing land for their animals. They do, however, possess a sizeable amount of land that they may cultivate provided the monsoon is favourable.²⁵

Langa records the genealogy of Sindhi-Sipahis.²⁶ Sindhi-Sipahis community also patronizes the Langa community of folk musicians.²⁷ *Langasings* for Sindhi-Sipahis and receive remuneration in the form of cash, cattle or camles. *Langaas* a matter of duty have to attend functions related to Sindhi-Sipahi's marriage, birth and funeral rites. They must also show up for other ceremonial events upon invitation or request. Sindhi-Sipahis treat the *Langa* with respect and treat them like guests.²⁸ Langa also considers themselves originally Sindhi Sipahis and associates themselves with the rajput identity. It would ordinarily be very unlikely that the patrons and their genealogist musicians would have origin in the same group. Kothari point out that, it is actually quite common for the musician castes and indeed other service castes to claim Rajput origins, and share a number of clan names that are clearly rajput in origin.²⁹ Kothari also highlights that there are two distinct Sindhi Sipahi groups, and two distinct Langa groups, each with its own kind of Langa. The classification of Langa as Sarangiya and Surnaiya Langa resulted from a group of Sindhi Sipahi, breaking away or being expelled from the main group, and it appears that they required their genealogist to accompany them on their separation. Both Langa are sufficiently different to be regarded as two distinct groups, even though they have been viewed as subcategories of the same caste and connected in the same manner. Sarangiya Langa is known for playing Sindhi Sarangi, while Surnaiya Langa is known for playing Surnai. Both communities don't intermarry or inter dine.³⁰

The relationship between both types of Langas, both similarity and difference can be summarised and represented by their patronage

systems. All the Langashas a single community as their patrons, the Sindhi-Sipahis. But the Sindhi-Sipahi themselves are divided into several sections and the Sarangiya and Surnaiya Langa serve different sections.³¹ Its isomorphic structure is what makes the particular Sindhi-Sipahi-Langa relationship intriguing. The Sindhi-Sipahi has no other genealogist groups. It is most interesting that Langa are not patronized by any community.³²

As per the occasions, the singing session of, *Langa* and their songs can be split into two sections. They sing both, for their patron's amusement (Sindhi-Sipahis) and during specific rites. While other songs express the general impulses of human emotions. The ceremonial songs are directly related to the occasion. The songs associated with the marriage ceremony cover a variety of ceremonial topics, such as the bridal procession, the bride's decorations and clothing or the happy mockery of one partner by the other. Similar type of songs also sung at other ceremonies such as childbirth. The songs that are sung for popular enjoyment have themes of love, heroism and charity on the one hand, and the seasons, months and festivals on the other. Legendary tales and love stories hold a significant position in the repertoire of *Langa* folklore.³³ *Langa* do not sing songs composed or written by non-*Langa* poets or composers.³⁴ *Langa* songs reflect social imagery of the Sindhi-Sipahi community. Interestingly, Hindu themes and symbols were blended into the songs sung by *Langas* in Sindhi-Sipahi homes. Therefore, a male child born in a Sindhi-Sipahi household can be called Krishna, along with all the accompanying references to Mathura and Gokul.³⁵ In their socio-cultural space Sindhi-Sipahi community exhibit Hinduised culture. However, since the last decade of 20th century core socio-cultural structure of the community has been changing rapidly and shifting towards institutionalized Arab Islamic traditions.³⁶ Hindu themes in the imaginations are disappearing due to the growing Islamisation of the community.³⁷

Conclusion

The above discussion come to the conclusion that; this could be the result of the fact; the Sindhi-Sipahi community once imagined themselves with Rajput identity has started portraying itself with the Arabic Islamic identity. There is a noticeable difference, especially in Jaisalmer and Barmer regions of Rajasthan. This growing tendency is chasing away their indigenous desert culture and becoming a source of conflict for their identities. This Arabisation is inciting conflict amongst

the people of the Sindhi-Sipahi community itself where elders still love to practice folk religious faiths of region while younger generation are moving towards more defined Muslim identity. It also indicates cultural changes happening in western frontier region as community identities are being homogenised.

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Dalits in Rajasthan: A Study in Socio-Religious and Economic marginalization during the Post colonial period

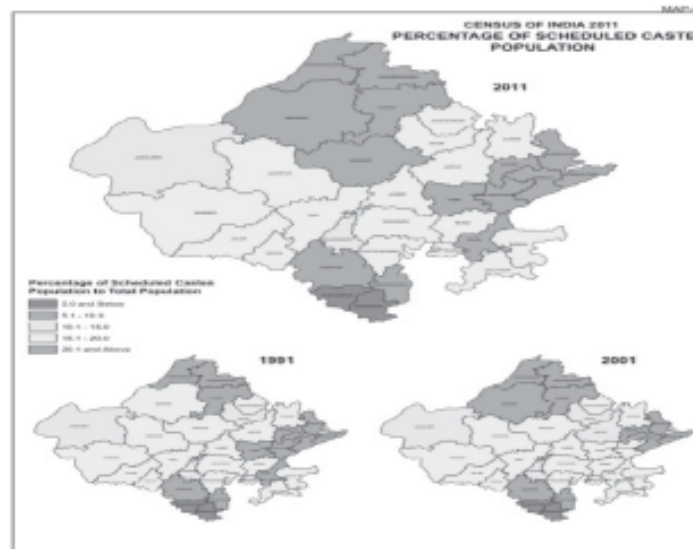
Bindusar*

Introduction

Rajasthan, a state renowned for its rich cultural heritage and historical significance, is also home to a sizable Dalit population. Despite progress in various spheres, Dalits in Rajasthan continue to confront deep-rooted socio-religious biases and economic disparities. Rajasthan is located in the north western part of Indian. It is surrounded on the west and northwest by Pakistan, on the north and north east by the state of Panjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh on the south east and south west Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat.¹ According to 2001 and 2011 censuses mostly Dalits population is living in Bharatpur, Jodhpur, Tonk, Kota and Ganganagar districts in Rajasthan. Jodhpur and Ganganagar are located in western Rajasthan in the desert zone, other side Bharatpur and Kota are in eastern Rajasthan, and Tonk is located in central Rajasthan which is predominantly Scheduled caste, district near Capital of the state (See the Map).² In tourism Rajasthan plays the great contribution in state Gross domestic product and provide the employment to local vendor's situated near tourist place. This paper examines the interplay between socio-religious factors and economic structures in shaping the experiences of Dalits in Rajasthan, with a focus on understanding the multifaceted nature of their struggles. To identify with the contemporary challenges faced by Dalits in Rajasthan, it is critical to contextualize them within the historical trajectory of caste-based discrimination and social exclusion in India. The caste system is not a divine proclamation and with its

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hierarchical structure and rigid social norms, has perpetuated inequalities and exploitations for centuries, relegating Dalits to the lowest rungs of society. Historical injustices, such as untouchability and caste-based violence, have left lasting scars on Dalit communities, shaping their collective identity and socio-economic status.³ However in Rajasthan Dalits often encounter barriers to accessing education, employment, and basic amenities. It's also important to acknowledge the resilience and agency within Dalit communities. Over the years, there have been movements and initiatives led by Dalit activists and organizations in Rajasthan, advocating for their rights and dignity. These movements have challenged entrenched caste-based discrimination and sought to empower Dalits through education, awareness, and political mobilization.



The objectives of this paper is to explore socio-economic status of Dalit communities in Rajasthan, including access to education, employment, land ownership, and other resources. Examining discrimination, marginalization, and oppression faced by Dalits in Rajasthan and advocating for policies and interventions to address these injustices. And, examining the caste-based social structures prevalent in Rajasthan, including their impact on Dalit communities, and exploring

avenues for social reform and empowerment. For better understanding of this paper, I have been done a deep systematic enquiry about Dalit community since post independence.

Historical evolution of 'Dalit' identity

In beginning of Vedic civilization, Original habitant of India are socio-political and economical exploited by the Aryans, who's known as Shudra, Panchma, Atyanja, Ash-prash , and Achhut in later Dalit and Harijan. So they were out of mainstream from Hindu social order before the colonial period. Dalits are often characterized ⁴as the impoverished and marginalized members of society. In administrative terminology, Dalits encompass those referred to as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes. They are castes identified by the president of India under the article 341 put under a schedule. The term Schedule Caste (SC) was used by the british in the government of India Act, 1935.⁵ The present usage of the term "Dalit" is attributed to the 19th century social reformer Mahatma Jyotirao Phule.

Meaning of 'Dalit'

The origin of the term "dalit" can be traced back to the Sanskrit root "dal," meaning split, break, crack, or crushed. Originally used as an adjective, it conveyed the sense of being broken or ground down. Over time, its meaning evolved to signify those who are oppressed, exploited, and downtrodden.⁶ The contemporary use of the term "Dalit" traces back to the 19th-century social reformer Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, who employed it to denote the oppressed and exploited individuals belonging to the outcaste and untouchable communities, particularly highlighting their subjugation by the Dwija caste.⁷ In a recent article, scholar Christian Lee Novetzke shed light on the earliest recorded usage of the term by revolutionary activist Savitribai Phule in 1869. This significant discovery unveils the historical context surrounding the term's inception and its association with the Mahar community.⁸ Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in use various terms to refer to the community historically marginalized in India. These included terms like 'Untouchables,' 'Depressed Classes,' and 'Boycotted Community.' While he infrequently used the term 'Dalit' himself, there is evidence from the 1930s and 1940s, found in his published speeches, writings, and pamphlets, suggesting that he and his associates did use it. This usage is particularly noted in translated Marathi writings.⁹

Harijans (beings of God)

In this paper, I have discussed and used another term Harijan for untouchables by Mahatma Gandhi in an issue Young India 6, August 1931 to replace the term untouchable and Gandhi first used this term in his weekly publication Harijan which he started in 1933.¹⁰ In 1993, the centre for Dalit Human Right, in a letter to Rajasthan State Human right commission as reported in the Hindu, expressed concern that the term “Harijan” is derogatory, insulting and undermines the dignity of millions of Dalits and oppressed individuals in India. They highlighted a previous circular from the union Home Minister two decade ago which banned the use of the term “Harijan” in all official documents and function.¹¹

Socio-religious condition of Dalit in Rajasthan after Independence:

Treatment by non-Dalit often serves as a means to assert authority and humiliate the entire Dalit community. Dalit women specifically face a range of serious issues:

- The prevalence of alcoholism facilitated by the abundance of local liquor shops in around villages, leading to various crimes such as teasing, brawls and even murder · Wage discrimination persists in their employment opportunities.
- As bonded labour, Dalit women endure sexual harassment, exploitation and rape by members of the dominant castes. This results in physical suffering, unwanted pregnancies, and sexually transmitted diseases, while the emotional and psychological trauma is often overlooked.
- Dalit girls attending schools are vulnerable to eve teasing harassment and violence from boys of higher castes, even when schools are located far from villages, this insecurity intensifies, contributing to a high drop-out rate among the Dalit girls. Consequently, parents opt for early marriage leading to further issues such as early child birth, limited earning potential and poor health.¹² Dalits often lack awareness of the abuse or exploitation they endure because such treatment is normalized and viewed as necessary for societal integration. For instance, they may not object to being addressed by their caste name, as this is the customary practice across all societal strata. Similarly, actions like relegating a child to the back of the classroom or assigning them to sweep are not perceived as discriminatory or exploitative by either upper or lower castes.¹³

On the Views regarding the SC/ST Act and cases registered under it varied significantly between administrators, police, judiciary, public prosecutors, NGOs, academicians, and Dalits. The disparities centered on perceptions of misuse of the Act, the roles of police and public prosecutors, and allegations of caste-based discrimination against Dalit women. Many administrators, police officers, and judicial officials believed the SC/ST Act was heavily misused, citing reasons such as false cases being registered by Dalits to exploit provisions for monetary compensation, insufficient investigation leading to false final reports, frequent compromises leading to witness hostility, and pressure on police to file cases even without strong evidence, resulting in frequent acquittals. Additionally, police expressed a preference for independent witnesses from upper castes in SC/ST Act cases, which they claimed rarely, occurred.¹⁴ Recently news of Rajasthan a Dalit child

Indra Meghwal was student of a school; child touched a water pot so the teacher Chhail Singh beat them on bases of discrimination after that child was died.

Economic struggle of Dalit in Rajasthan:

In traditional Hindu society Dalits, also known as Shudras, Harijans, or Panchmas, faced social, economic, and political oppression, being positioned at the lowest rung of the caste hierarchy. They primarily engaged in menial tasks such as scavenging and leatherwork for survival. During the colonial period, Dalits formed the majority of the agricultural labor force, working as farm servants and casual laborers, with very few owning agricultural land. They lacked land ownership rights and were not recognized as peasants or cultivators. Despite working as tenants and sharecroppers, they were not granted the status of occupancy tenants due to prevailing social customs. This led to a direct correlation between their social and economic status. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, Dalit activism across India primarily focused on identity issues, rejecting labels such as Harijans and Ati-shudras and advocating for equal rights instead.

Land sharing and prominence of Dalit:

In ancient times, Dalits were prohibited from owning land due to religious and socially enforced caste restrictions. During the feudal era, they were excluded from the systems established by rulers for efficient

tax collection. Even during Communist struggles against exploitative landlords, Dalits faced challenges in accessing land in proportion to their rightful share. Land reform policies also fell short of fulfilling the state's commitments to Dalit agricultural laborers without land. The persistent nexus between feudal economics, caste dominance, and a vested-interest bureaucracy continues to deprive Dalits of their rightful land holdings. Currently, 89 percent of Dalits remain either landless or own small plots of less than an acre.¹⁵ According to the National Statistical Survey (NSS) 1999 to 2000, data revealed that approximately 10 percent of Scheduled Caste (SC) households were landless, a decrease from 13.34 percent in 1992 and 19.10 percent in 1982, although the decline rate was minimal. Conversely, 6.15 percent of non-SC/ST households were landless in 1999-2000, compared to 10.53 percent in 1992. The percentage of landless and near-landless households (owning less than 0.40 hectares of land) was 79.20 for SCs and 52.90 for non-SC/STs in 1999-2000. As of September 30, 1996, out of 52.13 lakh acres distributed nationwide, approximately 18.08 lakh acres were allotted to SCs and 26.74 lakh acres to non-SC/ST individuals, with 18.49 lakh SC beneficiaries and 25.53 lakh non-SC/ST beneficiaries. However, the average land distributed per beneficiary was 0.977 acre for SC/ST individuals, less than the 1.047 acres allotted to non-SC/ST beneficiaries.¹⁶ Despite land distribution efforts, a significant portion of land allocated to Dalits remains under the encroachment of non-Dalits. Land distribution exists only on paper, with actual possession based on site measurements not being implemented. In cases where Dalits do manage to acquire land, they are often dispossessed of it eventually.

The Rajasthan Tenancy Act of 1955 serves to safeguard tenants from exploitation by landlords. Section 31 stipulates that tenants, agricultural workers, or artisans have the right to reside in a residential area within the village free of charge. Section 42 (b) prohibits members of scheduled castes or tribes from selling, gifting, or bequeathing their land to non-SC or ST individuals, effective since May 1, 1964. Additionally, transactions between SC and ST members are deemed void, as established in the case of *Bhorilal v. Ramnivas* (1993 RRD 94 at p. 94). This legislation acknowledges the historical coercion and intimidation that led socially downtrodden SC members to sell land to more powerful upper castes, often under duress termed as 'distress sale'. To safeguard the interests of weaker sections, the law eliminates

the possibility of collusion. Distinguishing between forced sales and voluntary transactions can be challenging.¹⁷

Concluding Remarks

In summary, the examination of Dalits in Rajasthan during the post-colonial era highlights the deep-rooted socio-religious and economic marginalization endured by this community. Despite the assurance of independence, Dalits continued to confront discrimination, exploitation, and systemic disparities. The enduring caste-based social structure, fortified by historical biases and power dynamics, perpetuated the oppression of Dalits, depriving them of essential resources, opportunities, and fundamental rights. Economically, Dalits in Rajasthan remained marginalized, facing obstacles to land ownership, education, and job prospects.

Historical legacies of colonial land policies, compounded by caste-based prejudices, impeded their socio-economic progress and prolonged cycles of poverty and vulnerability. Moreover, within traditional Hindu frameworks, Dalits encountered exclusion and mistreatment, manifested through practices like untouchability and social segregation. These discriminatory norms constrained Dalits' social mobility, undermining their dignity and equitable participation in communal and religious life. Nevertheless, amid these adversities, the resilience and agency of Dalit communities in Rajasthan have been evident. Despite enduring centuries of oppression, Dalits have mobilized for social reform, advocating for their rights, challenging discriminatory practices, and striving for socio-economic empowerment.

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Beyond the Raj: Perceiving Wild in Princely States of Colonial India

Sharafudheen Tc* Prof. Mohd Parwez**

The role of wild animals in the ecosystem must be understood in the context of their relationship with human beingsthroughout the long journey; their vital presence in ecology and its subsequent existence passed through various struggles due to human intervention in the forest. This could be seen from the various works of renowned environmental historians who started their journey inthe 1990s onwards.¹ When it comes to princely states the earliest author's contribution was very minimal. It may have been due to various reasons, at first they focussed only on the colonial exploitation of forestry and tried to unearth various facts and reality about the hidden nature of imperial rule over the environment. On top of that, due to the emergence of various environment protective organizations inthe 21st century, some historians tend to explore Colonial wildlife history in a very broad form, in which how wildlife became so destructive to human progress, in colonial times due to modernization and enormous demand of resources, clearly pointed out here² because of which these writers debarred from disclosing the nature of wildlife in princely ruled states.

In the Indian context, It must be understood that 'approximately two fifth of colonial South Asia landmass and more than a quarter of its population were governed by the rulers between five hundred and seven hundred Princely states'.³ The strategy the British applied over them throughout the period, in fact, transformed the internal 'sovereignty and self-determination' of princely states that could be seen through some autocratic policies such as: subsidiary alliance system and doctrine of

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lapse. This intervention, after 1857, emphasized the implementation of 'Paramountcy' that indeed more or less changed the attitude of princes in India.⁴ As full imperial state supervision came into being, the intervention in forestry also been curtailed by the British, which really affected its pre-colonial prerogative to occupy or supervise the jungle. But, in the real sense, it was a continuous process that, Princely states primarily asserted control over certain wild animals or a jungle separately reserved for them to hunt.⁵ C.B Fry writes about the past time of king Ranjit Singh, a prince belonging to Nawanagar states, 'There were panthers in nearly all the outlying district of his state, but his show spot was around his shooting bungalow about seventy miles from the capital in the southern corner along the borders of the state of Porbandar; his famous jungles in the Burdar hills'.⁶ Inter-clash between princely states was not that effective during colonial rule (that was very recurrent pre-colonial times, therefore, their efficiency was fully utilized in hunting activity, that perhaps would be yet another 'masculinity showcasing to pupils'. Saberwal posit that, 'The Raj did not allow Indian princes to wage war against each other, instead hunting became a major outlet for their energies'⁷ the power of acquiring new territories or wage war was curtailed by the British through stringent law execution, therefore 'Princes turned hunt into a ritual, one which was symbolic of their coercive strength'.⁸ But that is not the reality to assume that because of imperial stringent policy led them to engage in large wildlife hunts; In contrast to this, it is nothing but their long-lasting greed to engage in stalking wild beasts.

Hunt: a royal 'Masculinity'

It begins with the statement of Hughes, who has done magnificent work on hunting in princely states, narrated that, 'Hunting was an essential aspect of rulership that tempered the urbanity of palace-dwelling princes with masculinity affirming adventures in the wilderness, built martial valour in contests against worthy foes, and fortified royal constitution with the potent meats and raw powers of jungle'.⁹ Peasants and local people have had very close interrelations with forestry and wildlife since time immemorial, tributes paid by these people to princes and landed classes were in different kinds; such as 'a fawn, a rare falcon, a leopard skin, poles for ceremonies' and importantly 'venison from the forest was placed on the royal table, even as honey and herbs were essential for many courtly rituals'.¹⁰ Rangarajan, who has done very extraordinary work on wildlife history, pointed out that, hunting in princely

states primarily 'outstripped the scores of their British masters';¹¹ Extensive involvement of princely rulers in hunting party is very relevant here, Raja of Udaipur and Raja of Gauripur, in a different period, seemed to be achieved 500 tigers on each bag, and renowned Nawab of Tonk grabbed as many as 600 tigers; Ramanuja Charan Singh Deo of Sargujastuffed his bag over 1100 tigers, 2000 leopards or Panthers, He has been grabbed thirteen of them in a single night.¹²

An interesting hunting story can be explained through Maharana Fatehsingh's journey, who was the ruler of Mewar, along with his nobles and favourite guests killed around '82 tigers, 222 leopard, 1186 wildboar, 65 sambhar, 21 chinkara, and 8 chital' in Mewar region.¹³ Fateh Singh 'Personally accounted for about 60 percent of all tigers, 65 percent of all leopards, and 30 Percent of all wild boars killed' during his time.¹⁴ Famous author Tanwar pointed out in his two magnificent works, the Fateh Singh 'killed 339 tiger, 853 leopard and 1178 wildboars during the last decade of his life'.¹⁵ Hughes calculated as the total killing of *Maharana* since 1920 to 1930s, which was around '565 tigers, 1312 leopard and 3927 wild boars'.¹⁶ By 1921 he lost all powers in Mewar, because of which who tend to be very aggressive and trapped in extreme frustration, that Hughes pointed out leads to him very large scale hunting expedition; in this rigorous journey *Maharana* had 'killed an average of just one preferred game animal a tiger, leopard or boar, every 25 days after 1921 he killed an average of two every three days'.¹⁷ Apart from that, *Maharana* organised number of animal fights, and twenty eight of which reported to have took place in between 1884-1912, and most of the victims were wild boar, tiger, leopard.¹⁸ There are many tactics were used to catching wild boar for animal fights; Tanwar pointed about a method, that was 'laying out a trail of maize and hog plum' and added little bit of opium which really attracted them, beside this, pit trap also were widely used to catch them.¹⁹

Bikaner, one of the main princely state in India, giving a very drastic history of hunting practices; Ruler Ganga Singh, Hughes pointed out that, he 'bagged his first tiger, leopard, and bear in 1896 at the age of sixteen' and continued this process throughout the life, 'by 1921, he had shot 107 tigers and 33 leopards at various locations out of date, in addition to one Asiatic lion, by 1942 he would bag an additional 159 tigers, twenty-eight leopard and six lions'.²⁰ During an exclusive shooting in 1907, that barely took place two and half hours, Ganga Singh 'brought

down 475 imperial sandgrouses and a duck, his companions collected an additional 349 Birds that day, bringing the total bag to 825'.²¹ Total bag of tigers by 1942 was around 266 in which 137 of them were collected from neighbouring states such as; 'thirty six from Mewar, thirty one in Gwalior, twenty eight in kotah, twenty in British India, seven each in Danta and Bundi, three each in Bhopal and Dholpur, and one each in Alwar and palampur'.²² Overall throughout his lifetime, he has killed around 700 Chinkara and 800 blackbucks.²³ Rangarajan pointed out that, *Maharajkumar* of Bikaner, Sadul Singh, who was so passionate about hunting activity, during his tenure 'nearly 50,000 heads of animals and a further 46,000 game birds fell to his gun, among these were thirty-three tigers, thirty great Indian bustards, over 21,000 sandgrouse and a lone Asiatic lion'.²⁴

Gayatri Devi, was the prince of Cooch Behar (Bengal) after her marriage with the ruler of Jaipur, had been largely engaged in game hunting, 'Devi would go out on tiger shoots in Sawai Madhopur (Now is Ranthambore tiger reserve) and on buck hunts with captive cheetah's'.²⁵ Mewar, one of the main site for hunting expedition, *Maharana* recurrent greed over game led to large scale stalking, by 1921, he had 'speared thirty one and shot 315 wildboars. While hunting as part of royal party, the Rawat of Amet had speared four and shot twenty five'.²⁶ William rice in his famous work of tiger shoot in India, reported that, the abundant number of tigers and chital herds in Mewar region, and criticized that during the rigorous shooting between 1850 to 1854, 'he and his party wounded or killed almost a hundred tigers and over fifty bears'.²⁷

Princely Rulers were very inquisitive to invite travellers, viceroys, sportsmen and kings from England since the latter half of the twentieth century. British intervention in forestry with complete state supervision and implementation of stringent law and order more or less obstructed the ongoing process of hunting practices in states, at this juncture, welcoming travellers and sportsmen to their native state became a new tradition to strengthen the relationship of Paramountcy. It was a kind of exhilarating experience for them, welcoming foreigners to their state and going with them for hunting animals, it is a kind of rejoicing past time.²⁸ Roussellet, who was a famous French traveller and writer, visited India during 1870s, and he himself became the part of many hunting parties, has written about the way native prince proceeded hunting activity was; King carried by

'the royal palanquin, carried by eight men, in the midst of a group

of servants holding up parasols and fly-flaps made of yak-tails took the lead; then followed a long line of elephants, with their hunting howdahs and motley trappings; and these were succeeded by men on foot, and the horse men leading their horses by the bridles, the animals leaping from rock to rock like goats'.²⁹

Louis pointed out that, a large number of pupils have also been employed in hunting excursions (bushrangers hunting party in Gobindgarh comprised around 1200 in number.³⁰ On the four days of hunting in Gobindgarh Louis writes that 'the booty of these four days comprised, besides boar, Nilgais, and stags in abundance, two black bears of a small species, some petty Chinkara gazelles, and a fine lynx'.³¹ Louis was astonished the way prince treated him and considered him as a prime guest, he wrote that;

'I again repeat to the prince that we are only simple travellers, and that nothing in our position calls for this avalanche of honours; which gives him the opportunity for putting in another fine speech. We can exhibit all our curiosities, photographs, and water colour sketches; then the nautchinis execute their dances by torch light, and finally a few crackers and two fire balloons are started off, bringing the ceremony to a brilliant termination. The king on taking leave of us, can imagine no better way of expressing his gratification than to say to us, You are my brother's, my kingdom is yours'.³²

Lord Hardinge, who was governor general and viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916, engaged various hunting parties in princely states; along with princes, it brought a big catastrophe to wildlife resources. How far did princely rulers maintain good relations with the viceroy? Since 1857, the British retained a good relation with princes, for them, it would be an excellent opportunity to coalesce.³³ He pointed that, 'of all the provinces and states of India the state of Bikaner is the most sporting' he knows that which is not famous for big game stalking but 'states provides the most varied list of smaller game such as blackbuck, Chinkara, sandgrouse, duck, demoiselle crane, wild boar, smaller bustard and partridge'.³⁴ He was not well when he reached Bikaner and the doctor pressurised him to take a rest, but when the maharaja approached with good news about a fine blackbuck was ready to shoot, he exhilarated and on the next day after killing the blackbuck, who wrote that 'it was fine buck, but during the course of my visit to the maharaja I killed several others with much finer heads, some measuring over twenty seven inches'.³⁵ Chinkara widely found in Bikaner and which was the best

place to hunt for them, he writes 'I shoot two or three Chinkara by pursuing them from a motor car, but on the whole I do not think that a very sporting way of shooting them'.³⁶ Sandgrouse are very abundant and which were the regular victim of sportsmen; Maharaja urged him to get ready in the early morning sharp 7.30 Am because that is the time for sandgrouse used to come at pool for drinking water that would be an good opportunity to bag them; he writes 'the best morning I ever had was one thousand four hundred grouse to thirty guns, but I have heard that sometimes as many as four thousand have been shot in one morning' and emphasised these grouse are relishes and good to eat if it is cooked properly.³⁷ Hunting ducks were regressive, and put heavy destruction on their numbers, he writes, at Tulwara 'shoot 550 ducks to eight guns in the afternoon' and at the vicinity of palace 'shoot 600 ducks in one afternoon to six guns'.³⁸ For appreciating Maharaja he wrote; 'I still cherish a very warm feeling of friendship for the maharaja of Bikaner, a progressive ruler of his own state, and a loyal supporter of British Raj in India'³⁹ and again put forward;

'I have never had a better time than those most enjoyable days of sport with the maharaja, who is the very best of sportsmen and marvellous shot, and many hours we spend together in long expeditions were certainly very helpful to me in many ways, and I hope also of some advantage to his highness'.⁴⁰

Hardinge yet another great hunting activity in Bharatpur, was really a big catastrophe for ducks: which is nothing but big onslaught unleashed over them, the influence of imperial sportsman over the princely wild, in fact opening a new different story from here. A big shoot took place in 1912, and he writes that 'the grand total was 3511 duck, amongst which I counted no less than 13 distinct varieties, many of which were quite unknown to me' and highlighted 'the biggest scores were Mr Crvickshank 250, the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur 150, Colonel Impey 157, Major Munn 15, there were thirteen centuries in all, my own scores was 110'.⁴¹ This process continued for the next years as well, and on 3rd December 1914, at the same place Duck shoot took place in which 'total bag to 49 guns was 4112 ducks' and highlighted 'there were three scores of over two hundred, the highest being the Mr Rowans 260, closely followed by Mr Crvick shank 256' and Hardinge himself scores 183.⁴² Another bag took place on 13 Nov 1915, who writes, 'there were only 30 guns, and the total was 1716, the best scores were Captain G. Herbert 155, and Mr Gamble 105' he scored 79.⁴³ If calculate properly the

overall number of ducks killed by Hardinge group reveals a dark side of this story, which brought down around 9339 ducks in a three different cycles of hunting activity, in the real ecological balance which was highly destructive to this species.

King of Nepal, tried many times to invite the prince of England to his state, and in 1908 The maharaja of Nepal (Sir Chandra Shamser Jang Bahadur Rana, and who was the prime minister and Marshal of Nepal) got an opportunity to visit England as highly honoured chief guest of king Edward.⁴⁴ On that occasion, maharaja invited King Edward to visit Nepal. And finally, king planned to visit India in 1911, and all programs of which official visit unfolded, but the maharaja health condition at this time did not favour to him and finally passed away on 18 Dec 1911, and this incident should not be affected the visit of king Edward, ordered by the maharaja.⁴⁵ King reached at Biknathori, border of Nepal, welcomed by all with full pompous, and began his expedition, highlighted that, 'his majesty left Biknathori in a motor car for the first days shooting ground, accompanied by brigadier general Grimston, the remainder of the suite in attendance following in four other cars. The rest of the party formed a long procession of thirty-five vehicles and thirty elephants which went direct to the camp'.⁴⁶ On the way General Babur Shamser Jang (who was the second son of Maharaja) welcomed and informed him about the tiger in the neighbourhood; 'the spot was most successful, the first tiger being shot by his majesty in mid air as it was leaping a small stream' and by evening 'four tigers and three rhinoceros were secured'.⁴⁷ Apart from this, at Sukhi scored around 'thirty nine tigers, eighteen rhinoceros and four bears'.⁴⁸ King Edward recognised the maharaja by announcing the bestowal of knight commandership and gifted two thousand rifles to his troops, and most importantly majesty did not forgot to recognise the valuable role played by Shikaris and Mahouts by giving presents.⁴⁹

Larry Collins gives a different picture of princely Ruler's exorbitant royal life and its connection with animals are very interesting to narrate here. About the Nawab of Junagadh, Larry posit that, who conducted the marriage ceremony of his favourite bitch named 'Roshana' to a labrador named 'Bobby' in which attended many celebrities and various dignitaries; and the most interesting fact is that who financed such a exorbitant amount to this function that nearly £60,000.⁵⁰ About the Mysore 600 room palace Larry pointed that, in which twenty of those rooms

giving extra glimpses of princes extensive hunting, these rooms were 'devoted exclusively to housing the collection of tigers, panthers, elephants and bison killed by those generations of princes in the jungles of the state'.⁵¹ Raja from Bharatpur was so fond of hunting animals, Larry writes that 'by the time he was 35, the skin of the tiger he had killed, stitched together provided the reception room of his palace with what amounted to wall to wall carpeting'.⁵²

The Bounty system, in the real sense, was a new political tool introduced by the British in India.⁵³ Saberwal highlighted that 'the bounties for killing dangerous beasts, a centuries-old practice in the British Isles, were perhaps new to India'.⁵⁴ Rangarajan in his outstanding work on India's wildlife history explained in detail about the expansion and implementation of the reward system in British provinces. However, the explanation concerning Princely states was very minimal and the rest of the Indian historians did not largely focus on that and omitted those Princely areas. The Reward system to exterminate wild animals could be seen in princely states itself, but that in fact not that much extensive like British provinces. Rangarajan emphasize that, most of the princes in Rajputana did not believe carnivores are a big threat to princely dominance, on the other side they were considered hunting as the best way to control them.⁵⁵ Alwar region, not far away from Delhi, could be seen an abundant number of tigers in Aravallis, Reward system implemented only in exceptional cases when there is any cases reported to man-eating.⁵⁶ In Ajmer, Mahirwara region, was reported to have large-scale killing of livestock by tigers and leopards, at this juncture, reward system was the option to them exterminate dangerous carnivores.⁵⁷ Mysore and Hyderabad were not behind the background in this case, they were largely involved to announce numerous rewards for killing animals; Jhalawar region, Rajrana issued bounties for exterminating dangerous beasts; Kotah region, where could be seen reward '10Rs for tiger and 5Rs for bears, wolves and leopards'; in Kashmir state, reward giving was a new phenomenon influenced by British policy in India, where announced bounties targeting to snow leopards and 5 or 10Rs were given.⁵⁸

Concluding Remarks

A deep systematic approach to wildlife history in princely states did not carry out by any historian properly; as they were primarily focussing on forestry and wildlife in British provinces. The scope of

exploring these areas is vast and diverse, and most importantly, to unearth the real differences between princely rulers and British counterparts. The involvement of princely rulers in hunting animals more or less impacted the stability of their numbers, those changes I tried to uncover with proper evidence, able to substantiate the drastic transformation unfolded in princely India. There is little room for doubt that large scale hunting took place in princely states, and regular invitation to viceroy's, sportsman and princes from England directly resulted the decline of vast number of wild animals. Apart from this, reward system, which explained only in a few points, cannot be ruled out at this juncture, because which really influenced princely rulers (from British) to adopt such a disgraceful policy in order to exterminate such dangerous beasts from certain areas; and how far or to what extent which badly affected the number of the beast in a certain locality or to investigate in a regional perspective will be an excellent opportunity for upcoming research scholars.

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Navigating Colonial Modernities: Administrative Progression and Cultural Continuities in the Princely State of Jaipur, 1750–1950

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Introduction

Since the nineteenth century, colonial metropolises have significantly influenced the urban landscape of India. Research on these urban centres principally examines how colonial authorities applied control over spaces and individuals, linking narratives of education, public health, sanitation, and development. This resulted in the emergence of ‘dual contours’ of control. The urban centre thus became a site for both ‘autonomy’ and ‘control’. It further led to the conflict between the native rulers and colonial masters. The colonial urban setting was increasingly recognized as an important factor for the development of nationalist identities and a channel for capital flow. Within the dominant historical narratives of urban India, though, princely cities have been mainly ignored. The complex tapestry of their historical context, spatial practices, and socio-political intricacies has remained mostly unmapped in academic discourse. The existing historiography of the princely cities has been primarily analysed through the view of political economy, described as an area of conflict between the landed aristocracy and the merchant class.¹ Nevertheless, mercantile class played a pivotal role in the evolution and expansion of princely cities. The ruling prince, together with the modern bureaucratic system, facilitated the advent of a new elite within these urban spaces. However, this form of modernity remained extremely embedded within the old-fashioned power structures.

Janaki Nair contends this complex modernity within princely states as a historically specific phenomenon, shaped by exercises of sovereignty

that forged a distinctive ‘monarchical modernity’.² Adding to Nair’s analysis, in the Rajputana states, the emergence of modernity in cities was characterized by the rise of the nationalist bourgeois class. This shift marginalized the traditional ‘feudal’ classes. Therefore, the power of the monarchy was adapted to align with new concepts of property ownership and participation in the democratic public space. This replicates a significant change in the distribution of power and the structure of society.

This paper examines the city of Jaipur, the capital of the Kachhawa Rajput state in the Rajputana region of north-western India, now known as Rajasthan. It aims to study the history of the modernisation of Jaipur with the interconnected developments of Knowledge (astronomy), infrastructure and capital (trade and commerce), that paralleled the various stages of change in the city. By employing historical progression to examine the evolution of modernity in Jaipur from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, this study defines the unique phases of its urban development. To begin with, the modern characteristics of Jaipur in the eighteenth century are apparent through its engagement in scientific dialogues, predominantly in the domain of astronomy, under the leadership of Jai Singh II.³ Second the more definitive shift towards ‘modernity’ was catalysed by colonial intervention, leading to the creation of novel visual elements like exhibitions, expansive urban vistas, and Indo-Saracenic architectural styles. Concurrently, the British Arts and Crafts movement influenced the emergence of new forms of knowledge and craftsmanship within the city.⁴

The Celestial, Observational, and Imagery Constellation

The foundation of Jaipur in the eighteenth century by Sawai Jai Singh II (1688-1743) represented a significant urban development. The Kachhawa dynasty transitioned from the hill fort of Amber to the undeveloped plains of Dhoondar. The urban design centred around the garden palace of *Jainivas*, extending towards the south of the Aravalli hills. As noted by V.S. Bhatnagar, the strategic selection of the site aimed to establish a connection with the Amber Fort through the Kali Khoh range, culminating in the construction of Sudarshangarh (*Nahargarh*) at the apex of the range, which provided a commanding view over the nascent capital.⁵ The city was strategically positioned along major trade routes of the time, attracting traders from Persia, Sindh, Delhi, and

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Agra. This influx of commerce turned it into a thriving hub of crafts and business activities.⁶ The urban layout of Jaipur is unique, featuring a grid-like pattern of nine squares or *chowkris*, inspired by the mandala concept from *Vastu Shastra* traditions. This design not only organizes space but also aligns with specific deities and social groups. Temples and the palace are central to this mandala architecture, reflecting the cultural and spiritual heritage of the city.⁷

In Jaipur, a triad of parallel major roads bisects the east-west axis, delineating the urban squares or *chaupars*. Commercial zones, or bazaars, are strategically located along these mainroads, whereas the internal lanes are reserved for residential areas, typically featuring *havelis* with one or more courtyards. The entire city is encircled by a robust wall, punctuated by seven gates. Historical topographical descriptions from the nineteenth century reference an elaborate system of wells and reservoirs that facilitated water distribution via an extensive network of subterranean and surface-level canals.⁸ In her analysis of kingship in Jaipur, Monica Horstmann connects the layout of Jaipur city to royal ceremonies. She observes that kingship was ‘established in public spaces, which are in turn shaped by and for the expression of governance.’⁹ Thus, the city itself becomes a symbol of kingship and sovereignty. The geometric layout of Jaipur city, established in the eighteenth century, is often cited as an early example of modern urban planning. The study of M.F. Soonawala reinforced this view by examining the five Jantar Mantar observatories built by Jai Singh II. The study positioned him as a pioneer of ‘science’ in medieval India, elevating Jai Singh II to a celebrated figure within the narratives of nationalist modernity, and scientific temperament.¹⁰

In the late nineteenth century, princely states witnessed the emergence of a new visual regime, shaped by colonial dominance and the ‘modernizing’ prince, affecting urban spaces in Jaipur as well. The concept of the ‘modernizing prince’ has garnered significant interest in historical narratives of the Indian subcontinent under British imperial rule.¹¹ In Jaipur, Ram Singh II (1830–51) was a key figure in initiating the number of transformations. Immersed in colonial education, he was tutored in English customs by a private instructor from Agra. Additionally, Ram Singh was an avid photographer and a supporter of the arts and Parsi theatre in the city. His reign saw the establishment of a Public Works Department and a municipality in Jaipur, in 1860 and 1869 respectively.¹² Various types of public infrastructure were constructed,

including public restrooms and a waste collection train (*kachra rail*) that transported garbage from the walled city to a dumpsite near its southern edge. Outside the walled area, open boulevards and grand vistas characterized the urban landscape, and Jaipur emerged as a hub for industrial arts and crafts.¹³

Similar to how the Jainivas garden was the conceptual foundation of the new capital of Jai Singh II, the interconnected discourse of capital, infrastructure, and knowledge manifested in the architectural developments within the city during the nineteenth century. This era also saw the introduction of new technologies such as street lighting, proscenium stage theatres, and photography. Ram Singh II, a photography aficionado, established a ‘*Foto ka Karkhana*’ (Photography Workshop) in the City Palace. This workshop housed a collection of 2,700 collodion glass plate negatives, 7,000 albumen prints, various photo albums, cameras, printing boxes, lenses, and photo frames.¹⁴ During the rule of Ram Singh, a clock tower was built, serving as a regulator of time for the city it overlooked. Similar to the role it played in mid-nineteenth-century Europe, the clock tower functioned as an ‘ever-present public observer.’¹⁵ The establishment of new public parks like Ramniwas Garden created a sense of openness beyond the walled city, inspired by European urban designs of that era. It is also significant to note that during the nineteenth century, urban planners in Europe were focused on addressing congestion and advocated for open green spaces in the form of public gardens and parks.¹⁶ A key component of the colonial visual complex in the nineteenth century was the exhibitions in Europe that showcased the ‘Orient.’ However, the ‘exhibition complex’ extended beyond Europe with the institutionalization of arts and crafts in the colonies as well. The Department of Science and Arts, established in 1857 under the Board of Trade in Britain, standardized art education in both colonial and princely India.¹⁷

The establishment of the ‘*Jeypore School of Art*’ was a part of this initiative, with its artists notably assisting British ‘experts.’ Two key figures brought their expertise to Jaipur: Swinton Jacob, the chief engineer of the newly founded Public Works Department (PWD), produced seven volumes of the *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details* between 1890 and 1913, intended as a design guide for artisans. Art School teachers like Lala Ram Baksh were instrumental in compiling the portfolio by training the draftsman students.¹⁸

By this time, the 'global market' projected by Jai Singh had become a reality in Jaipur, with capital diversification driven by the growth of tourism and trade. The exhibition complex manifested through construction, beautification, and reshaped urban space and its perception. This transformation was mediated by British experts and English-educated Bengali administrators, presenting a sovereign spectacle. Consequently, the princely figure was reimagined under indirect rule to resemble an Oriental monarch with modernizing ambitions, both contending with and collaborating with paramount power. The arena for this contention was the 'spectacular city.'

Investigating the Dynamics of Radical Distributive Modernity

During the tenure of Mirza Ismail as prime minister in the state of Jaipur under the rule of Man Singh II, the region experienced significant changes. This era can be viewed through the concept of 'radical distributive modernity.' His policies redirected capital from colonial trading hubs to smaller inland urban centres like Jaipur, leading to a new set of political and economic negotiations among the sovereign, his kin, and bourgeois subjects. He introduced a fresh approach to urban 'improvement,' influenced by both European urban planning and emerging nationalist development ideals. The twentieth century in Jaipur saw the establishment of new political, financial, and governance institutions, along with a reconfiguration of revenue administration and the initiation of economic planning. In the Jaipur state, the English-educated bureaucratic elite, who circulated through princely states with a set of developmental and governance practices, replaced the Bengali bureaucrats of the nineteenth century.¹⁹

In 1942, Sawai Man Singh II appointed Mirza Ismail as the *Diwan* (prime minister) of the state. During his brief four-year tenure, Ismail elicited both admiration and criticism, catalysing the development of the city. Before this role, he had been the *Diwan* of Mysore and later went on to become the prime minister of Hyderabad, earning the moniker 'serial Diwan.' And transformed his ideas from Mysore to Jaipur.²⁰ Mirza Ismail also recruited several professional administrators from Mysore to join him in Jaipur. Among them, S. Hiramiah was appointed as the chairman of the Jaipur Constitutional Reforms Committee (CRC), while Mr. Rollo assumed the role of special education officer.²¹ The movement of personnel and policies between princely states facilitated the

development of essential infrastructure in these regions, which ultimately smoothed their integration into postcolonial India. Under Mirza's leadership, the administrative overhaul of the Jaipur state contributed to the emergence of a bourgeois-democratic sphere in the city. The establishment of the Constitutional Reforms Committee (CRC), the Legislative Assembly, the Board of Industries and Commerce, and a partially elected Municipal Board served as the institutional foundations for this transformation. In 1949, a memorandum submitted to the Capital Enquiry Committee by prominent city-based businessmen and nationalist politicians commended the 'modernist' approach by Ismail towards urban development.²² Ismail's close ties with these groups played a crucial role in shaping the post-integration urban politics in Jaipur. Many members of the urban bourgeoisie were also affiliated with the Congress-backed Praja Mandal in the state. Some of them were elected to the Legislative Assembly and the Municipal Board, where they continued to advance Ismail's vision for the city. For example, Devishankar Tiwari, a member of the Praja Mandal, later became a key figure as the chairman of the Urban Improvement Trust in the 1950s. His appointment was welcomed by the Jaipur Praja Mandal.²³ However, the appointment of Mirza also sparked controversy, as some criticized the 'progressive' government of Jaipur for choosing an 'outsider' as the prime minister. This reignited the long-standing bureaucratic competition in Jaipur, which dates back to the eighteenth century when the Rajput nobility and mercantile elite vied for power with Bengali ministers like Vidyadhar or Kanti Chander Mukherjee. The Rajasthan Times, established in 1941, rallied against Ismail's appointment with the slogan '*Jaipur Jaipurionkeliye*' (Jaipur for the Jaipuris). The newspaper was banned from 1944 to 1947.²⁴

The controversy surrounding the appointment of Mirza also influenced his urban development policies in Jaipur, which blended Western modernist urbanism with the vision of the city's founder, Jai Singh II. A 1942 New York Times article likened his efforts to those of Robert Moses, known for his transformative yet contentious approach to urban planning in New York City.²⁵ His policies in Jaipur similarly revitalized the urban land market, transitioning land from traditional networks of patronage and kinship to alienable 'private property.' By the 1940s, all saleable land in Jaipur was annually assessed for revenue, payable by the owner or buyer. This significantly reduced hereditary land ownership, impacting the priestly class and Rajput nobility that had

risen to power over the previous two centuries. Old havelis within the walled city were demolished to make way for new markets, such as Agarwal Bazar and Dhamani Market, which were built on the sites of these demolished havelis.²⁶ Many of these locations eventually became warehouses and commercial centres.

The modernist approach by Mirza was strategically blended with references to Jaipur's princely past through beautification efforts. He spearheaded the initial revitalization of the walled city, which included applying fresh coats of pink paint, renovating verandahs, and removing slums.²⁷ The tenure of Mirza in Jaipur was marked by both support and resistance. He played a crucial role in boosting the confidence of the business elite and was credited with establishing Jaipur as the capital of postcolonial Rajasthan. Prominent businessman Ghanshyam Das Birla, a close associate of Gandhi, personally welcomed Ismail to Jaipur. However, local merchants with significant investments in the walled city's infrastructure opposed his policies. Shyamlal Verma, editor of *Jaipur Samachar* and a member of the Hindu Mahasabha, resisted Ismail due to his identity as part of the Urdu-speaking elite.²⁸

Since the 1930s, when Man Singh II assumed full powers after a period of minority administration under British guidance, the nationalist bourgeoisie of Jaipur and the royal court had maintained amicable relations. During this time, two notable members of the mercantile community, of the city Jawaharlal Jain and Kesharlal Ajmera, published the 'Jaipur Album' (1935). This publication, intended as a directory with a compilation of various aspects of the city, clearly expressed its organizers' loyalty to the young Maharaja.²⁹ The 1940s were favourable for the rise of industrial capital in Jaipur due to several reasons. Firstly, revenue policy and fiscal assessment of urban property facilitated the availability of land for industrial use. Consequently, numerous *jagirdaris* (noble estates) in the state were transferred from the Rajput nobility to the industrial elite and the newly emerging, educated 'middle class' in Jaipur. Secondly, the lands owned by the nobility in rural areas were being reassessed and tenancy regulations were implemented. Revenue payments were converted to cash. In some instances, lands were allocated to Praja Mandal leaders like Shastri and industrialists such as G.D. Birla for establishing educational institutions. As a result, Pilani became a centre for engineering education in the postcolonial era.³⁰

The 'radical distributive modernity' reflected in Ismail's urban improvements bolstered a segment of the educated middle class in Jaipur. This group expanded with the growth of industries, banking institutions, education, and other sectors. The Urban Improvement Trust (UIT) of Jaipur, established in the mid-1950s, further reinforced the middle class in the city. The 1941 census recorded a significant increase in the population of Jaipur.³¹ To accommodate the population growth, new housing schemes were introduced, offering plots at nominal prices to residents, including members of the business elite and the emerging professional class. Jaipur also evolved into a cultural and educational hub, attracting All India Conferences of writers, scholars, and political parties, which further spurred land development in the city. For example, the site of the 1948 Congress session was transformed into three residential colonies: Gandhi Nagar, Bapu Nagar, and Bajaj Nagar, which housed government employees, small traders, and urban professionals from the new middle class.³² The urban development initiatives led by Mirza Ismail resulted in a significant reorganization of space beyond the walled enclave, facilitating the establishment of educational institutions, residential areas, and administrative buildings. This spatial transformation continued into the postcolonial era, contributing to the evolution of Jaipur as the designated capital city of Rajasthan.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the historical trajectory of Jaipur offers a compelling narrative of urban modernity, intricately woven with the threads of capital, infrastructure, and knowledge. The genesis of the city, under the visionary leadership of Sawai Jai Singh II, was marked by an ambitious endeavour to harmonize scientific innovation with religious and cultural traditions. This foundational ethos set the stage for the distinctive path of development of Jaipur, characterized by its unique urban planning and architectural splendour. As the city navigated through the colonial era, it encountered new influences and challenges that shaped its modernity. The nineteenth century saw the introduction of British administrative practices and visual aesthetics, which intersected with local dynamics to redefine the urban landscape of Jaipur. The engagement of city with modernity was further complicated by the interplay between the traditional elite and the emerging nationalist bourgeoisie, who sought to assert their influence in the changing socio-political context.

The twentieth century brought about transformative changes under the leadership of figures like Mirza Ismail, whose policies catalyzed industrial growth and urban expansion beyond the walled city. This period witnessed the rise of the educated middle class and the reconfiguration of urban space to accommodate educational institutions, residential colonies, and government offices. The evolution of the city continued into the postcolonial era, as Jaipur adapted to the demands of a newly independent India and positioned itself as the capital of Rajasthan. Throughout its history, Jaipur has exemplified the complexities of urban modernity, balancing the preservation of its heritage with the imperatives of development and progress. The journey of Jaipur from its astronomical origins to its contemporary status as a vibrant urban centre offers valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of modernity and the ongoing negotiation between tradition and change in the urban context. As Jaipur continues to evolve, its past serves as a rich repository of lessons for understanding the dynamics of urban transformation in India and beyond.

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Prof. Pema Ram Prize Paper

Sanitation measures to contain Cholera in Colonial Ajmer-Merwara

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Cholera was considered to be endemic to the Indian Subcontinent. The second decade of the 19th Century witnessed the first wave of the cholera epidemic. Incidentally the epidemic broke out in colonial India in 1817, just a year before the British acquisition of the province of Ajmer in 1818. The disease was not as fatal as the plague because the native body had become acclimatized to it, however the white population could not bear it nor the troops that served the British dream of paramouncy. By 1832 cholera spread globally and got ingloriously named 'Asiatic Cholera' in the international arena. The British Government was under pressure to take effective measures to contain the disease. John Snow traced the connection of the disease with drinking water (1854) while Robert Koch discovered the Comma-shaped bacteria (1884). Officials like James McNabb Cuningham penned down monographs like *Cholera; What can the State do to prevent it?* (1884), stating that 'sanitary improvements have diminished cholera'.¹ Thus, drainage and water supply became the key words to contain the disease for the colonial administration; albeit the improvements suggested by Cunningham were more holistic. He wrote,²

Pure air, pure water, pure soil, good and sufficient food, proper clothing and suitable healthy environment for both mind and body these are the great requisites for resisting the cause or combination of causes which produce cholera. The avoidance of overcrowding is just as important as the provision of pure water; good drainage and good conservancy are essential, just as it is essential that the people should be well housed. In all these matters the State may give most valuable aid.

A bacterial disease born due to usage of contaminated water, cholera waves occurred in quick succession in Ajmer in 1861, 1862, 1865, 1867, and 1869.³ It usually appeared in the rainy season when the sources of drinking water became contaminated with faecal matter due to lack of proper sanitation of the latter. Bad meat and stale vegetables added to the condition. The situation worsened in years of drought and famine. The disease deteriorated the health conditions of the people, especially the poor and the low caste. The rain-fed wells were preserved for the high castes while the open water bodies like lakes and 'johads' provided drinking water to the low and marginalized castes. The latter were strictly prohibited to access drinking water from the wells. The poor rainfall resulted in further constricting the surface area of the johads which supplied the drinking needs of both the cattle as well as low castes in the suburbs and rural areas. Such contaminated water led to the spread of cholera, endangering the lives of the natives and the Europeans in the vicinity. Even the laws for the conservation of local forest cover were part of the government's attempt to increase the natural rainfall to prevent the recurrence of droughts and the entailed epidemics.

As stated by Robert Hamilton Irvine (1841) in his Medical Topography of Ajmer, there were not many wells in Ajmer, especially in the countryside. The most coveted water in the city was that of 'Koomar Bowlie, Lakha Bowlie, Khatun Bowlie, Doodiya Kooan and Teliyon ka Kooan'.⁴ Besides these the natives used the Ana Sagar water for drinking purpose⁵ and the practice continued till 1875 when La Touche in his Settlement Report on Ajmer-Merwara also complaint that the natives of Ajmer lacked all sense of hygiene and with no hesitation consumed the unfiltered waters of Ana Sagar for drinking purposes. He also mentioned the 'Madar Kund' and 'Diggi' reservoir constructed by the efforts of Col Dixon (1842-57).⁶ During the famine of 1891-92, the colonial government supplied piped water from Budha Pushkar to the citizens of Ajmer, however due to the cost entailed with the whole exercise they had to look for other options. The coming of railways and the health concerns of its attached establishments propelled the Britishers to construct the Foy Sagar in 1892 which supplied piped drinking water to Ajmer city. D Jocelyn, the Superintending Engineer PWD, in Pank's topographical account (1900), clearly stated that although the water quality of Budha Pushkar was far better than the water in Foy Sagar in spite of the two filter tanks attached to the latter, the former could only

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be used as a famine insurance due to the cost attached to it.⁷ The colonial concerns of hygiene regarding the Foy Sagar led to the displacement of the hamlet of Kazipura in spite of repeated appeals and applications by its inhabitants.⁸ A set of rules prohibiting hunting and fishing in the lake was also adopted by the State and implemented with utmost strictness as evident from the number of requests rejected for hunting and fishing from the elite residents of the city by the administrators in the official correspondence.⁹ From the princes of Sikar and Tonk studying in Mayo College, to the whites and Anglo Indians employed in railways, officers in the cantonment, to the Chishti community of Dargah, everyone who was anyone, sought permission to hunt but the white authorities blatantly refused. After the construction of Foy Sagar, the Ana Sagar was primarily used for irrigation and washing clothes, albeit an attempt was made by the administration to shift the washermen from the banks of Ana Sagar to Bisla for hygienic concerns but they continued to use the same and pay fines for doing so.¹⁰

The city of Ajmer is built on the slopes of Taragarh Hills and is provided with a natural surface drainage. Other than this natural slope there was no proper system of drainage in Ajmer and the centre and lower part of the valley which inhabited nearly 26,569 people as per the 1872 census, remained water-clogged.¹¹ In 1875, as a measure to provide drainage to these congested parts a deep drain was cut from Dowlat Bagh to the Bisla that channelized the sewage to this thousand years old reservoir that at one time served the water needs of the city. The decision was taken in spite of the protests from the bathers, washermen and cattle owners who used the tank for everyday needs. By 1883 the banks of Bisla were encroached by the houses of railway employees and the foul stench emanating from the tank forced the appointment of a Special Committee to look into the matter. The committee suggested draining out the lake which in few years adversely affected the water level of the wells serving the general water needs in the valley. Suggestions came by Engineers to divert the dirty water and let the Bisla hold only clean water from the occasional overflow of Ana Sagar, but the threat it may impose on the railway establishments as well as the cantonment, made the British administrators reject the scheme. Thus by 1900, the Bisla 'received the entire drainage of the Ajmer city and Suburbs', carrying with it all the refuse and filth of the streets and lanes.¹²

The arrangement of houses and courtyards in the old city looked

like an inescapable maze to the alien administrators. The streets appeared narrow and 'wanting in cleanliness'¹³ by Irvine. Even as late as 1900, P Durrell Pank in his *Medico Topographical Account of Ajmer* shared the same observation and saw no means of improving the living conditions of the people inhabiting the area and insisted on the population shifting to the outside suburbs.¹⁴ The municipalities of both Ajmer and Beawar considered important to keep down the multitude of street dogs for sanitation reasons. However, in keeping with the sentiments of the local population, the vagrant dogs were not killed but sent to 'Dharamsalas' maintained by the Mahajan community in both the towns.¹⁵ The sanitation reforms in the region go back to 1876. Previously, the night soil was trenched in and about the city and upon the fields in the valley. Since 1876 it was trenched in a confined area referred to as 'Lungya'. The worse scenario was that the drainage of the hills passed over this site and there were drinking wells below it. However, with the opening of the new tramway system in May 1886, the night soil was carried to the Nasirabad Road. The private latrines were cleaned by a class of sweepers called 'Birat' sweepers who had been serving the high caste since generations, while the public latrines and urinals were cleaned by municipal sweepers. It was difficult for the local administration to supervise the 'Birat' system as some of them had nearly seven hundred houses with them. The poor could not afford to hire 'Birats' leaving their premises and small streets untended. The night soil tramway had nine wagons pulled by bullocks. The 'Birats' as well as the municipal sweepers deposited their loads into the wagons. Inspectors, sub-inspectors, jamadars, peons, sweepers, bhishties, cartmen, all formed part of the conservancy.¹⁶ With time, women sweepers were also hired to add more hands. As per the 1931 Census, there were a total of 1486 females employed in scavenging in the province.¹⁷ Other steps included, removing the tanneries and slaughter house for sheep and goats outside the city and under the supervision of an inspector.

On 15th January 1851, the first charitable public dispensary was opened in Ajmer. The idea of starting a charitable dispensary in Ajmer had originated from Col. Dixon. Soon branch dispensaries were opened. By 1875, there were seven dispensaries functioning at Ajmer Sadr, Kekri, Masuda, Pisangan, Ramsar, Beawar and Todgarh. The Ajmer dispensary continued to serve the city till a 55-bed General Hospital was started in 1895 funded by the wealthy citizens of Ajmer and the local

municipality.¹⁸ A new Jail was constructed in 1858 at 'one of the healthiest sites' in Ajmer to check the mortality rate of the prisoners dying due to unsanitary conditions and location of the old jail building. Official correspondence also proves the rising concern of the government official on the subject. On 15th January, 1897, the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara, Mr Martindale sent a letter to the Commissioner regarding measures to be adopted for the improvement of sanitation in Ajmer-Merwara. He recommended appointment of a Health Officer to superintend sanitary measures not only in the municipalities but in the whole district of Ajmer-Merwara.¹⁹ Regular talks were organized on health and sanitation by the different government departments, for instance even the Department that promoted Co-operative Credit in the rural regions of the district conducted seminars and film shows on home and village sanitation.²⁰ Special care for public sanitation was taken during religious fairs as Ajmer witnessed a large turn-out of pilgrims during Urs as well as Pushkar Fair. In 1915, some latrines and urinals had been provided at the Solah Khamba by the Municipal Committee with the Dargah Committee looking after the salaries of the sweepers. The arrangement had been made at the Solah Khamba for the ease of the visiting pilgrims. In 1927, a letter is submitted to the Commissioner of Ajmer-Merwara by a pilgrim from Bareilly (UP) who had come to pay homage to the Dargah of Khwaja Sahib and was appalled by the overflowing pots and foul smell emanating due to the unsanitary condition of the urinal so near the inner portion of the revered mausoleum. The complainant called the poorly maintained temporary arrangement 'a blot on the standing of the municipal authorities', and requested a personal surprise visit of the place by the Commissioner himself and asked for more stools, sweepers and watering pipes for the toilets. The petition made the authorities look into the matter and it was finally decided in 1930 to construct more urinals and latrines with proper purdah for the men and women visiting the Durgah. Also, more sweepers and peons were to be employed for the upkeep of the structure, with the night soil being removed through 'maila' loading carts.²¹ Records show that the colonial authorities were concerned with the cleanliness of the Pushkar Lake also. The draft rules prepared by the Extra Assistant Commissioner, submitted to the Assistant Commissioner through Letter No 668 Dated 24th August 1897, contained provisions prohibiting washing of dirty clothes within or by the side of the sacred lake as well as construction of 2

ponds towards that side of the lake where the cattle stop so that it may not drink water from the sacred lake turning it foul through its dung. The authorities also wished to erect latrines inside that area in Pushkar within which the performance of the office of nature was prohibited but the Brahmins and others objected due to the sacred status of the town.²² However, the records show that by 1905 latrines for the usage of visitors were finally constructed at Pushkar also.²³

Even though, concerns for the troops and European civil population who were suffering due to malaria, cholera, typhoid, dysentery, diarrhoea, etc., made the colonial government see the link between environmental sanitation and disease, yet the setting up of special Commissions and Departments to address the issues of Sanitation and Public Health in different provinces of British India was a significant step. Although, the outbreak of cholera waves had made the local administration vigilant about adopting some basic sanitary reforms yet it was the formal publication of the Government of India Resolution of 1888 that clearly outlined the functioning and allocation of duties for the Sanitary Boards and local municipalities.²⁴ The Indian Medical Congress convened at Calcutta in December 1894 stressed the constitution of a Sanitary Department in India. This led to the passing of the Home Department Resolution, dated 26th October 1895 for the future organization of the Sanitary service in India.²⁵ In 1896 regulations were framed for the upkeep of village sanitation also.²⁶ By 1904 Sanitary Commissioners were appointed by the Government of India to direct and coordinate with the local governments for sanitary reforms in future.²⁷ The efforts bore fruits as observed in the tables given below.

Mortality Table, Cholera, 1876 to 1895, Ajmer City

Month	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	Total	Average	
January	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
February	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
March	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
April	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
August	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
September	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
October	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
November	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
December	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Mortality Table, Cholera, 1876 to 1895, Ajmer City²⁸

Mortality Table of Cholera from 1876 to 1895, whole District Ajmer

Month	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	Total	Average	
January	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
February	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
March	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
April	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
May	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
June	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
July	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
August	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
September	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
October	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
November	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
December	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Mortality Table, Cholera, 1876 to 1895, Ajmer District²⁹

The Mortality tables for Ajmer City as well as District (1875-1896) reporting deaths due to Cholera needs a brief analysis. The table shows that the cholera cases had come under some control by 1888, due to the introduction of a special tramway to take away the night soil. The mortality table shows an epidemic spurt in cholera cases in 1892 due to the drought conditions in previous years. In 1894 Ajmer was declared cholera free. The credit can be given to the fresh water supply provided from Foy Sagar which had become operational in 1892. The last serious outbreak of cholera, according to C. C. Watson, was in 1900 because of the 1899-90 famine in the province.³⁰ The measures did bring down the number of cases registered under Cholera in the region of Ajmer-Merwara as seen in different tables containing the year-wise data, however the nature of the disease was such that it did make an appearance with the commencement of the rainy season nevertheless, albeit the intensity and contagion had definitely been reduced. The successive years hardly registered any cases in the district, whatever cases were registered in later years were due to the general outbreak of cholera as an epidemic outside the province as can be observed through the figures given in the Reports of the Census of India, for e.g., the total number of deaths in the province due to Cholera in 1931 were 213 which was an impressive figure when seen in context of the population recorded in the 1931 GOI Census.³¹

- Ajmer – 119,525
- Beawar – 28,842
- Nasirabad – 31,397
- Kekri – 7,179

On a closer look at the official files and administrative reports, the basic attitude of the colonial government remained ‘mercantile’, only the ‘general supervision and control’ was outlined as the state responsibility, whereas the cost of sanitary works was to be borne by the local and municipal bodies that taxed the general public for the services provided.³² Nevertheless, whatever narcissist and pecuniary concerns must have forced the Colonial State to introduce the sanitary measures pertaining to supply of pure water or improvement of drainage, yet the reforms did go a long way in laying the foundation of the present infrastructure for the same. The recent attempts of the Rajasthan Government to once again use Foy Sagar as a source to fulfil the death

in fresh water supply to the city of Ajmer bears testimony to the afore stated lines.³³

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An Analytic Study of Pandemics in the Princely State of Pratapgarh During British Era

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Geographical and historical background of Pratapgarh State:

Geographically, Pratapgarh State is located in the south of Rajputana. The state has its borders on the north, north-west, and to some extent on the west by Mewar; on the west and south-west by Banswara; on the south by Ratlam and Jaora; on the east by Mansour (Gwalior State) and detached portions of Jaora and Rampura-Bhanpura (Indore State); and on the north-east by Nimach (Gwalior State). Hence the influence of Malwa culture along with Rajasthani culture is also seen here. The rulers of Pratapgarh were Suryavanshi Kshatriyas, and they belonged to the Sisodiya ruling dynasty of the Mewar. They used to assume the title of Maharawat. About five hundred years ago, Surajmal, son of Kshemkarna separated and migrated from Mewar and established this State. The area of Pratapgarh is also known as Kanthal due to its being connected to the borders of Vagad (Dungarpur-Banswara), Malwa, and Mewar. The word Kanthal is derived from Sanskrit kanth, which means sea, river, or area with a definite boundary. In medieval times, the capital of Pratapgarh State was Devalia, hence it was called Devalia State. But in 1699 AD, Maharawat Pratap Singh founded a city named Pratapgarh in place of the village named Dodaria Kheda, and Maharawat Udai Singh made it his capital since then it came to be called Pratapgarh-State.¹ After independence, it was included in the State of Rajasthan, and on 26 January 2008 AD, it was recognized as 33 districts of Rajasthan.

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Pandemic in Pratapgarh state

Cholera- Cholera was the first such disease of modern times which took the form of a Pandemic. It ravaged the whole of India and engulfed the entire world. Many medical historians have referred to the history of cholera from 1817AD to the 1920AD as the 'History of Pandemics'. Cholera officially first appeared as a Pandemic in Bengal in the early nineteenth century, but it is clear from several sources that the disease occurred in South Asia before 1817 AD. In 1783 AD a major outbreak of cholera occurred at a Hindu bathing festival at Haridwar on the upper Ganges resulting in the deaths of 20,000 people.² Unlike many Pandemics, cholera was caused by a bacillus, not a virus. Its entry into the human body takes place through water and food, through the mouth and digestive tract, and not through the upper respiratory tract. Of all the modern Pandemics, cholera was the only one that had its undisputed origin in India. Britain lost an estimated 130,000 lives due to cholera during the nineteenth century; In the same period and the first quarter of the 20th century, the same disease claimed more than 25 million lives in India.³

Cholera used to peak during the summer season, fairs were the main source of its spread in Pratapgarh. The residents of Pratapgarh used to attend fairs at Ujjain and Pushkar pilgrim centers etc. During these fairs, pilgrims from almost all parts of India used to gather over these holy places and take holy dip bathe in the ponds and rivers. Due to this the water of ponds and rivers used to get contaminated and the bacteria of cholera used to enter into the human body of people through water. This caused widespread disease of cholera. The people infected by the epidemic traveling back from these holy places caused cholera in Pratapgarh State. Apart from this, due to the scorching heat and scarify rainfall, the water level of the ponds, lakes, etc. used to get drastically reduced. As a result of that in the villages and cities, the problem of the scarcity of water and drought occurred. Due to this all the animals and residents used to take bathe in the same ponds. The contaminated water was used by the people for drinking and cooking purposes. Viral diarrhea was also not uncommon in such cases, and it is easy to understand that if cholera pathogens were introduced, they would thrive and severe outbreaks would result in many people getting cholera.

In the state of Pratapgarh cholera was the major cause of the loss of life. The data on the spread of cholera in the region and the death toll

caused by the cholera reported in the year 1892 AD was very high. In the year 1895 AD, 263 cases were reported in Pratapgarh state, out of which 198 people died.⁴ In the year 1900 AD itself, 831 cases of cholera were reported in Pratapgarh city, out of which 533 people died due to cholera.⁵ From 1891 AD to 1900 AD, 3175 people died in Pratapgarh city and 10503 people in Pratapgarh state due to the cholera Pandemic.⁶ From 1895 AD to 1900 AD, the cholera Pandemic created havoc in the state of Pratapgarh. But after 1900 AD there was no major outbreak of cholera in the State for almost 5 years. In the year 1906 AD, there were 17 cases of cholera in Pratapgarh state, out of which 9 people died.⁷

Plague-Plague has been a most dangerous Pandemic since ancient times. The first official records of plague in India in modern times date back to the first decade of the 19th century. But the biggest devastation caused in India was the bubonic plague in 1896 AD. Initially, it was confined to the port cities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Karachi. In the first year, it assumed alarming properties in a large number of people lost their lives. Of comes Bombay where other parts of the country were also affected. In the second year, it engulfed Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Rajputana, Punjab, Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir huge loss of life were reported from these provinces. Around 1899 AD it had destroyed almost the whole of India. According to government statistics, from 1894 to 1938 AD, more than 13 million people died due to the plague Pandemic in the entire world, in which India was very badly affected. The plague Pandemic in India killed 12.5 million people, which was 90 percent of the total people killed by the plague Pandemic in the whole of the world.⁸ The disease was highly contagious and humans were an important source of transmission of the disease as they carried the germs with them. The ruler of Pratapgarh and the British Government therefore recommended necessary preventive measures to be taken by disinfecting and evacuating infected places, controlling public transport, and improving sanitary conditions. To control Pandemics the government, the “Pandemic Diseases Act 1897 AD” was passed and the Governor General of India who had given special powers to local authorities to implement necessary measures for the control of Pandemics. The act was vigorously executed. Colonial Government used to forcibly isolate infected individuals, disinfect, evacuate, and even demolish infected places. Medical and administrative officers had the right to inspect any suspicious person or place; the Government also

asked to detain any persons on ships and railways who might have been infected. These gave rise to many concerns among the natives and riots were reported in some areas but the colonial government used military force to ensure proper enforcement of all the necessary preventive measures.⁹

In Pratapgarh State too, this Pandemic created havoc. In Pratapgarh State, the Plague Pandemic used to spread from central India and engulfed the entire state. The dreadfulness of the Pandemic in Pratapgarh State can be estimated from the data available in Table No. 1. The available figures are official in which the figures of the Pandemic are very low. The first case of this Pandemic in Pratapgarh state came to light in Gandher village, located near the Central Province.¹⁰

Table Number 1- Plague Pandemic cases and casualty figures in Pratapgarh State.

Year (AD)	Cases	Deaths	Number of Town and Village
1899-1900	9	6	-
1903-04	171	122	3
1904-05	2153	1876	42
1905-06	8	7	1
1906-07	33	19	1
1907-08	73	25	5
1910-11	82	73	4
1917-18	285	189	4

Sources-Rajputana Sanitary, Vaccination, Dispensary and Jail Report for 1894-1917.

If we take into account the official statistics, The Pratapgarh State suffered the most in the states of Rajputana. By the year 1917-18 AD, 2.67 percent of the total population died due to the plague Pandemic in the entire Rajputana. In the Pratapgarh state, the number of people who died was 3.67 percent of the total population was the highest in the whole of Rajputana.¹¹

Persons from infected areas were screened by the government to contain the flu Pandemic. Suspected “Cases and Persons Suspected of Infection” were detained for disinfection and observation, while the rest were kept under observation for 10 days in the state and then they were allowed to retain. Evacuation, disinfection and isolation of infected persons

were carried out on a large scale in the infected villages by the people themselves. Disinfection by the government was carried out by administering chemicals and free ventilation whenever possible in the state. In Rajputana, a weekly plague statement was issued for each infected town and village in the state for information and general guidance on the Pandemic. Vaccination for the plague with Haffkine's serum was employed in only two states because of general opposition to the measure. The patients of the plague pandemics were also treated by indigenous methods of treatment by **Hakims** and **Vaidyas**. For this, the patient isolated puss from the wound of the plague was removed with the help of a needle. People also used to apply the juice of the madar (Akra) plant on the wound and cover the wound by putting a bandage. Cauterize the wound or lump of the flag. Sometimes the wound was covered by madar leaves and tied with a repel thread so that the wound could be cured. The patients were also orally administered juice of neem and madar plant to provide relief and cure.¹²

Influenza - The influenza pandemic has been one of the most horrible pandemics in world history. This Pandemic spread across the globe in the year 1918 AD, and the death toll caused by this disease was highest among all other pandemics. According to S. E. Maimond, "About one-third of the total population of the world got infected by this Pandemic and 50-100 million people died in less than a year.¹³" There are differences of opinion among scholars regarding the origin of an influenza pandemic. According to Frank Mc Farlane Burnett, this Pandemic started spreading from America in March 1918 AD.¹⁴ According to S.E. Memond, Chinese soldiers who were brought to work in the First World War were the source of this Pandemic. However, this Pandemic soon engulfed the whole of the world.¹⁵ This virus used to spread in the patient's body terribly., especially through the person's lungs. People affected by this used to cough, and blood used to come out of the nose. In many cases, blood also came out from the ear and mouth. The color of the patient's body used to turn blue or black. The symptoms of this virus were suddenly visible in a person. People used to collapse suddenly while walking. Within 24 hours to 48 hours of the appearance of symptoms, it used to spread very rapidly in the patient's body.¹⁶

This Pandemic came to India with the soldiers returning from the First World War. In June 1918 AD. Cases affected by this Pandemic started pouring in and between September to November 1918 AD, the

whole of India came under its grip. Pratapgarh State also did not remain untouched by this Pandemic. According to Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, the effect of this Pandemic remained in Pratapgarh state for three weeks, due to which hundreds of people died. This Pandemic has infected people cutting across all classes, rich and poor. The number of patients was so high and alarming that it was almost impossible to count and record their names. Maharajkumar Mansingh of Pratapgarh fell victim to this pandemic and death.¹⁷

Vaccination Program in Pratapgarh State

The vaccination program was also run by the state governments to control the Pandemic spread in the state, but the speed and level at which this program was being run was like cumin in the camel's mouth. The English government had criticized the vaccination program going on in the state several times in its reports. The vaccination schedule can be examined in Table No. 2. The first vaccination program was in 1869 AD in Pratapgarh State.¹⁸

Table number 2- Vaccination in the state of Pratapgarh and its expenditure.

Year (AD)	Total Population	Male	Woman	Total	Vaccinator	Expenditure (Rs.)
1894	87975	123	170	293	1	48
1895	87975	211	199	410	1	98
1896	87975	204	185	389	1	100
1897	87975	190	203	393	1	100
1898	87975	183	182	345	1	84.1
1899	87975	242	245	487	1	100.8
1900	87975	160	124	284	1	78.11
1901	52025	158	144	302	1	100.1
1902	52025	184	202	386	1	104.3
1903	52025	122	104	226	1	80.4
1904	52025	145	99	244	1	101.14
1905	52025	218	163	381	1	100
1906	52025	311	239	544	1	100
1907	52025	436	312	748	1	100
1908	52025	377	245	622	1	100
1909	52025	438	337	775	1	100
1910	52025	469	329	788	1	106.3

1911	62704	448	383	831	1	98.9
1912	62704	461	393	854	1	102.3
1913	62704	412	438	850	1	93.4
1914	62704	499	449	948	1	85.8
1915	62704	515	434	949	1	82
1916	62704	614	445	1059	1	108
1917	62704	126	90	216	1	120

Sources- Rajputana Sanitary, Vaccination, Dispensary and Jail Report for 1894-1917.

According to the above data, the process of vaccination in the state was very limited and slow. The state-appointed only 1 person for vaccination in 23 years. The expenditure incurred by the state on vaccination was also a maximum of only Rs 120 during 23 years. All the above figures demonstrate the apathy of the state. The proof of this can be understood by looking at the expenditure being incurred by the state government on treatment. Pratapgarh state spent only about 2 percent of its budget on medical care. Even after Pandemics like cholera, flu and influenza, there was no additional expenditure on the improvement and strengthening of the medical system of the state government.

Expenditure on Medical in Pratapgarh State- The state government was not very sensitive to the strengthening of the Medical System. This can be testified by the fact that the expenditure incurred by the state government on medical treatment was very meager or normal. The Pratapgarh state used to spend only around 2 percent of its budget on medicine. Even after Pandemics like cholera, flu and influenza, no 3 budgetary provision was made for additional expenditure to improve and strengthen the medical system of the state of Pratapgarh. The following table gives data on budgetary allocation for the medical department in support of this argument.

Table Number 3- Medical Expenditure of Pratapgarh State.

Year (AD)	Total Budget (RS.)	Total Expenditure on Medical (RS.)	%
1907-08	300545	3682	0.12%
1908-09	293649	4043	1.38%
1910-11	293267	4238	1.45%
1911-12	293649	4769	1.62%

1912-13	268172	4678	1.74%
1913-14	713842	6097	0.85%
1914-15	432794	7210	1.67%
1915-16	435001	6947	1.60%
1916-17	376950	7651	2.03%

Sources- Rajputana Sanitary, Vaccination, Dispensary and Jail Report for 1894-1917.

Organization of Public Health System - In the State of Pratapgarh First Medical Institution was opened in 1867 AD, and the accommodation for indoor Patients was arranged in 1889 AD. But as the building provided for the hospital was not altogether suitable, a new hospital with 4 beds was constructed in 1893-94 AD at the cost of about Rs. 6000.¹⁹ Out of these 4 beds, 2 beds were reserved for males and 2 beds for the female Patient.²⁰ The dispensary at Deolia was also established in January 1895 AD, mainly for the benefit of the members of the ruling family, and was placed under the charge of His Highness's private physician a qualified Hospital Assistant. But this hospital submitted no report of its work progress to the Chief Medical Officer in Rajputana. And the information necessary on this matter was supplied by the Darbar. Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel A.K. Adams, officiating Residency Surgeon and Chief Medical Officer who inspected these medical institutions from time to time.²¹ Pratapgarh Dispensary was a First-Class Dispensary. In 1894 AD the dispensary was staffed by medical officers, compounders, dressers, and servants. The government used to pay medical officers Rs 460, compounders and dressers Rs 72, and menial servants Rs 24. The total expenditure of medical in 1894 AD was Rs 945 only.²² The following table gives data on the number of patients undergoing medical treatment in hospitals in Pratapgarh state.

Table Number 4- Number of patients undergoing treatment in government hospitals.

Year (AD)	Total Population	Total Patient	%
1894	87975	17530	20%
1985	87975	14994	17%
1896	87975	11413	13%
1897	87975	10807	12%
1898	87975	11858	13%

1899	87975	13995	16%
1900	87975	16627	19%
1901	52025	15983	31%
1902	52025	19083	37%
1903	52025	11680	22%
1904	52025	7571	15%
1905	52025	10361	20%
1906	52025	11896	23%
1907	52025	10860	21%
1908	52025	10645	20%
1909	52025	11771	23%
1910	52025	12348	24%
1911	62704	11689	19%
1912	62704	14298	23%
1913	62704	15155	24%
1914	62704	17767	28%
1915	62704	16763	27%
1916	62704	18833	30%
1917	62704	15075	24%

Sources- Rajputana Sanitary, Vaccination, Dispensary and Jail Report for 1894-1917. & Administration Report of Pratapgarh State for 1939 to 1944.

The above figures show that the people of the state of Pratapgarh were not getting the benefit of even the hospitals run by the state government. By the end of the 20th century only 15. 11% of people got their medical treatment from these institutions. During the pandemic, on average only 22% of people were treated in government hospitals. During the 23 years of the pandemic, a maximum of 37% of people went to government hospitals for treatment.

Conclusion- Pratapgarh state suffered immense loss of life and wealth during the pandemic of almost 23 years. During the plague Pandemic, the maximum loss of life in the entire Rajputana occurred in the state of Pratapgarh. During the pandemic, the efforts made by the state government were minimal and beyond the reach of the public.

Approximately 80% of the public was deprived of government medical aid. The people of Pratapgarh state fought these Pandemics with their traditional medical knowledge. Covid 19 has also highlighted the importance of traditional medicine. Therefore, keeping human history in mind. One should always be alert about Pandemics, so that loss of immense public wealth can be avoided.

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Interrogating Inter - community Conflicts and notion of *wajabi* in 18th century Rajasthan

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Inter community disputes arises while people of different castes and communities share spaces where there may be having overlapping interests. Amidst the heterogeneous people that the state had to deal with, it mostly relied on the notion of *wajabi* or customary laws to arbitrate several disputes involving matters of rights and obligations. Charans of Rajasthan shared a relationship of both conflict and cooperation with members of other communities. In *Jodhpur sanad parwana bahi* records (*JSPB*) we find substantial number of these conflicts emerging between charans and people of Jat community on a number of issues. One such issue was payment of taxes and cesses. In a charan village given to a Barhat who received this land under *Mudhyad patta*, the charan appealed that the Jat owed him some taxes dues that were pending for forty years. The state ordered that whatever was pending should be taken from the Jat and be given to the Barhat of the village.¹ Innumerable issues like these where Jats were unable to pay or were refusing to pay dues to charans on their land grant were recorded at various *kachedis* of Jodhpur. Moreover, many disputes emerged as a consequence of illegal extortion of charans' land by Jats. For instance, in the *sasan* village of Barhat Karnidan, a state honoured charan; Jat Kheevraj forcefully encroached the fields, cattle and seeds of Barhat Karnidan. The Jodhpur state was swift in acquiring everything that the Jat had illegally exacted however the Jats of other village in support of Kheevraj assembled themselves in protest. The state strictly ordered the Jats to avoid any assembly or give any support to Kheevraj and that the community should let the state function smoothly in resolving mundane

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matters.² Barhat Karnidan in almost all the cases related to everyday disputes with other communities received full support and protection. The above case also reflects state's firmness to deal with issues that acted as obstacles in state's functioning and matters relating to honourable charans were always dealt with clarity and swiftness.

Even people of jat community petitioned to the state for redressal against charan's illegal exactions and intimidation. Here, interestingly the state attempted to be pragmatic and fair in its dispute resolution. For instance, Jat Asa petitioned at the state *kachedi* against charan of village Hidoli who violently threw him out of the village. The state issued an order stating that the Jat should be brought back to the village and should be allowed to take benefit of his produce. Other matters relating to this case, the *kachedi* directed would be dealt later.³ The priority of the state was to protect its people across communities rather than siding with any one and in matters where the favoured one's like the charans were involved in any devious act, action was taken against them too.

In the Charan-Rajput relationship, it would be alluring to see a very smooth and affable relationship between the two communities. By merely seeing this relationship based on a patron-client one would only be convinced of an uncomplicated space between the two. This is because so far whatever we have known about their relationship is mostly through the official chronicles, that very cogently highlighted an intimate, friendly and respectful relationship between them and here as such we find rare instances of conflict or contestation. Conversely, the *kachedi* records show us a different picture where myriad issues get uncovered that resulted in disputes between the Rajputs and the Charans in their mundane social lives. A case was reported in Parbatsar *kachedi* where the appellant charan Sadhan reported that he had his *sasan* grant in village Kalyanpur. In the same village Salim Singh of Merta cultivated his *bhom* land and also had a well in his field. The charan complained against Salim Singh of extortion that he exacted from everyone in that village. On this, the state issued an order to instruct Salim Singh to stop this illegal collection and all the money he had collected should be returned to the respective people of the village. If he failed to comply to state's orders then he would be given strict punishment.⁴ Widely known is the patronage Rajput chiefs and jagirdar gave to charan men in their royal court yet another aspect of their relationship gets highlighted in *bahi* records where we see charans playing role as moneylenders often lending money and other

assets to the Rajputs.

The decision of Panchas many a times could not bring any resolution. In this scenario the state administration preferred to send the case for a discussion to knowledgeable persons of the village who were expected to amicably resolve the issue.⁵ A policy of minimal intervention was followed by the state administration especially in these routine matters and civil suits; for sure they were 'non-issues' for them. Quite simply, when there was dearth of dependable sources to testify the dispute; Panchas opinions was sought and if the case still remained unsettled, divine sanction through making the defendants go through torturous ordeals to prove his innocence was practised. Without having to incur large expenditure in erecting full-fledged judicial mechanism, interesting practises like the above stated one was observed in redressing the conflicts especially in the cases of boundary disputes. One such practise was known as *aalo chamblo*, whereby to prove the truthfulness and genuineness of one's claim the person had to bear wet flesh of an animal on his head and take it around the village. Interestingly this strange practise had legitimate sanction from the state and was followed by all district *kachedis* of Jodhpur to dispense decisions in many boundary disputes. One such case emerged between villages Nibi and Gor, who were contesting over issues of boundary. The state administration instructed four jats⁶ of Nibi village to perform *aalo chamblo* in order to sort the dispute. Further to this order, the administration demanded that incase the jat was unable to do the act, then the barber (*nai*) of the village named Jairam should be told to execute the act. Finally in this case, the state ordered charan Surto to carry wet flesh on his head and take rounds of the village to prove the claims of villagers of Nibi regarding their village boundary.⁷ An undertaking (*muchalka*) was also taken from both the parties for maintaining good and trustworthy behaviour to avoid any further altercation in future. The state practically stayed out of the conflict and very lucidly resolved the quarrel over the boundaries of the villages. At times charan men were preferred especially for this practise because of their good will and trustworthy behaviour and most importantly as they belonged to the upper caste of the Rajasthani society.⁸

Apart from regular civil cases arising from quotidian matters, there were many cases of criminal and deviant activities committed by charans like robbery, burglary, rape, murder, attack while travelling etc. Unravelling this dimension of charan's social lives makes the narrative

of social and individual histories of charan community not only complex but more fascinating. By and large conventionally they have been viewed through their own lens and literature (the chronicles and other writings) that usually portrayed them in a uni-dimensional manner. The analysis of petitions however opens a whole lot of issues that reflect the 'other' side of charans vis-a-vis the state and society. Despite the fact that charans as a community was popularly respected as sacral and elite, garnering honour, prestige and social position from across sections of society, nonetheless they were not bereft from deviant activities. It is also intriguing to observe the response of the state which was placed at the apex of the penal regime while it dealt with escalated matters from its subjects. In comparison to punishments that were generally meted out to communities in Rajasthan, we notice that the so called 'punishments' dispensed to charans were minor. By and large these 'mild' reactions to redress disputes between charans and other communities reflect their moderate stance while addressing issues related to them which otherwise would call for crippling fines, heavy punishments and trials for the culprit.

In his study of the Indian Penal Regime in Maharashtra in the eighteenth century, Sumit Guha argued that 'in context to criminal justice under the Maratha state, the influence of scriptural law and customs was very limited, and that the Maratha regime drew upon a set of punitive techniques that had evolved over centuries in which arbitrarily violent yet politically unstable regimes had sought to sustain their power against challenges from within and without'.⁹ Conversely in Rajasthan instances suggests that the customs or customary practices and privileges - endorsed and transmitted through the rural community in their diverse regional and local variations, constituted the informal structures of law. Thus, the parameters of law in medieval Indian society were characterized by both administrative regulations and customs.

Despite its limitations, through these documents one is able to enter the complex spaces of charans lives that mostly formed a part of the 'private matter' but when reported at the state's *kachedi*, it came in the foray of 'public matter'. Through the analysis of such sources, we can gauge state's reaction to various concerns of everyday lives of charans where they are engaging with not only Rajputs but also with members of other communities and also with people of their own community. Normally the state's decision was objective, giving the ruling to follow

what was legitimate and conventional but many a time, in cases where people from upper echelon (like the charans) were present, state's decision was tinted with biasness. Studies on petitions have highlighted that even the lower castes asserted their rights through filing grievances at the state *kachedis* and while addressing these cases the Jodhpur state could not ignore their concerns. As far as our study of petitions of charans is concerned we notice phenomenal number of petitions filed by them in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This only goes on to suggest that despite being from the upper echelon of the society their lives were wrought with many challenges and obstacles. Not all was well with them and their issues of livelihood and status needs to be explored, rather than accepting a uni-dimensional image about them.

Considerable firmness was seen in the tone of the state when its decision was not complied with by the parties involved in disputes. Although the soft attitude of state was visible towards the charans in its dealings of various conflicts, nevertheless when the petitioners did not adhere to state's decision, the authority took strict note of it. In the dispute between charan Asiya and Barhat Bakhta, the latter reported that the residents of village Peetholav were not allowed to go to the *kachedi* and were instructed by the state not to assess the crop until resolution of some impending issue. Despite this strict injunction from the state, the Jat of the village got the assessment done of his crops. The state's firmness was visible in its reaction and order to summon the villagers to know the details of the event. What was objectionable to the state was that if an order from the state was issued regarding non assessment of land, then how could the Jat fail to adhere to it.¹⁰ The state did not accept dishonour of any contracts and promises. Even the charans were expected to honour all contracts and fulfil promises made. In case of non-compliance strict letters were issued by the state. Thus, when a petition came to Maroth *kachedi* about charan Ume, who had promised to pay Rs. 1/- to the temple for some event but later refused to pay, was ordered by the state to make the payment as per the contract signed.¹¹

Though couched in deferential language and to a great extent contributed in maintenance of an ideology of dominance by the state administration; petitions laterally also represented resistance, as they articulated charan's plight. These petitions were methods through which the charans applied relentless pressures upon the state to abide by its

high moral claims to legitimate authority. Petitions as a path of resistance may be docile, conciliatory and non-provocative, but the objective was definitely one of self-preservation, if not promotion. The charans through these petitions preserved their privileges especially their claims to tax concessions, exemptions or any illegal dominance on their assigned land grant (*sasan*). In the garb of *wajib* or legitimate that was followed by the state in its dispute resolution; charans were quick in assertion of their traditional claims and privileges.

The Jodhpur state in the eighteenth century worked within the bounds of customary laws which were referred to as *wajabi* in the documents. Indeed, different interactions of charans with other communities that we saw through the conflicts reflect that the state always dispensed justice by ordering legitimate actions (*ju wajibi huve ju karaye dejo*). The issue worthy of discussion is whether there were some particular norms in the *wajibi* injunction that was to be homogeneously followed by people from all community or was it distinct for each caste and community. Further what did the state mean by *wajib* decisions and was there any limit or restrictions on these laws or were they generally followed by the state in absolute terms. Weren't there any clashes or overlaps among different customary laws when the parties involved in disputes belonged to different communities? These questions are very critical to our study as they help us define different connotations of *wajib* and its relevance to the state that made it, its foundation in dispensation of justice. The Jodhpur state often resolved matters with orders towards a *wajib* decision be taken after conducting an enquiry. It is the traditions and conventional customary practices of different castes, that structured a range of interactions whereby practise of certain norms over generations had a certain hold over the psyche of charans that could not be thrown to the winds very easily. Thus, the state felt constrained in its observance of this conventional standards of *wajabi*. What is clear is that the relations between the state and charans continued to be implicated in the notions of *wajabi*, though the gap between the state's reading and the charan's interpretation had widened considerably towards the close of the eighteenth century. Innumerable decisions of the state that ordered '*jo wajabi hoye woh karaye dijiyo*', i.e. to have appropriate done. These standards of legitimacy were quite fluid that result in variable reading and differing interpretation of the '*wajabi*' by different castes.¹² The state administration aware of this

heterogeneity, preferred sorting the matter through what was the precedence or conventionally done in a situation.

As the disputes moved from the relatively 'private' to the 'public' domain and litigants sought direct state intervention, collaboration with their respective caste panchayats was the norm. Given the proximity of the panch to their caste members, the state did caution them not to show any favour to anyone (*harkora rakhjo matti*), and to be totally impartial in the discharge of their judicial obligations.¹³ 'Age old practices and customary laws were accepted as being of supreme importance in the disposal of disputes, and the state deliberated with all those who could help it determine the *wajabi* course of action, even if the reading and interpretation of *wajabi* was constantly manipulated to suit the state's immediate agenda'.¹⁴ Despite several layers for dispensation of justice whereby the state was trying to reach to every individual from elite to subordinate, we notice laxity in central control within the state that led to localization of administrative authority. It is perhaps a reflection of such localization of authority that the state's instructions to the pargana official on complaints from charans were at times disregarded and complaints were repeatedly registered.¹⁵

Thus, rather than viewing the relationship of Jodhpur state with charans as merely that of power and privileges; the petitions discussed in this paper compels us to think about the state and its administration differently. The Rajput state exercised an overarching authority and did not hesitate in employing its administrative apparatus to full use in regulating affairs of the state and society down to the level of reaching out to every distinct social group, family and even individual members of every community. It is crucial to take cognisance of the heterogeneity within the charans in terms of their class and material wealth as they followed different vocations - as genealogists, cultural transmitters, conservers, preservers, money lenders, sureties, traders, agriculturists etc. Whereas the chronicles on one hand highlighted the elitist status of charans; the study of petition records depicts the limited status of large number of charans who were humble and poor. The state's relation with them was often of a different nature, it was in context of *wajabi* rights and laws that the state functioned vis-a-vis them.

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A Study of Royal Kitchen of Jodhpur State, with Special Reference to 19th and 20th Century

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This research paper, highlights the establishment organization, rules and regulations of the kitchen of the royal family of Jodhpur State. Besides it deals with manners of eating, cuisine, the suppliers of the fruits, vegetables, condiments, spices, utensils along with the wages of the workers, transportation of the goods to the fort and other menial workers of the *Royal Rasoda*. The paper also traces the Mughal and British impact on the royal kitchen of the Jodhpur State.

The paper is based on the *Modi Khana files of Desi Rasoda*, files of Household and English Kitchen of Maharaja Man Singh Pustak Prakash Research Centre, Jodhpur, the *Hakikat Bahis*, *Jama Kharch Bahis* of the Maharanis and Pardayats and several khyats of the period of the study.

Though kitchen forms an integral part of human life, the first reference of the establishment of *Kothar Rasoda* of the royal kitchen of Jodhpur State is found during the reign of Mota Raja Udai Singh in 1584 AD¹. A kitchen having a temporary *Chapra* (roof) was constructed behind the Agarni Palace of Badi Mahal of the Jodhpur Fort by Maharaja Ajit Singh. Subsequently, a new kitchen was built during the reign of Maharaja Vijay Singh in 1767 AD.

Organisation of Royal Rasoda – The royal kitchen was headed by an official designated as *Daroga Rasoda*. Later on, during the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh I, another official namely, *Rasoda Musraf* was appointed to the royal kitchen³. Initially there were two types of the Rasoda, (i) the *Khasa Rasoda*, (ii) the *Desi Rasoda*. As the name suggest *Khasa Rasoda* was the kitchen where special delicacies were prepared.

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The *Desi Rasoda* means the kitchen where local food was cooked. The third category of *Rasoda*, *Angrezi Rasoda* (British Kitchen) came into existence during the rule of Maharaja Jaswant Singh II. The ruler, the zenana and the other members of the royal family partook their meals from these *Rasodas*. The *Zenana* had their personal *Rasodas* also.

The post of *Daroga* kitchen was important as he was entrusted with the security of the King and members of the royal family. Looking to the safety and security of the royalty, honest, faithful and trusted persons were appointed as the *Daroga Rasoda*. Generally, the *Dhandhal Rathores* were trusted for this job. The *Rathora ri Khyat* cites an example of the loyalty of *Dhandhal Panchayan*, who showed an audacity to refuse to be a part of the conspiracy hatched by Maharaj Kunwar Amar Singh for poisoning his father Maharaja Gaj Singh I. Moreover *Panchayan* himself took the poison to save the life of his master. Impressed by the loyalty of *Panchayan*, Maharaja Gaj Singh I appointed, his son, *Ishwar Das* as the *Daroga Rasoda*⁴. *Dhandhal Jagannath* and *Shobhavat Dayaldas* were *Daroga Rasoda* during the time of Maharaja *Ajit Singh*. Later on Maharaja *Man Singh* also appointed *Dhandhal Mooljidhan* as the *Daroga Rasoda*⁵. In V.S. 1877, *Dhandhal Gordhan* was the *Daroga Rasoda*⁶.

Generally, Brahmans were appointed as *Musharaf Rasoda*. *Kanwalpat Ramdeo*⁷ and later on, his nephew *Joshi Devidutt*, occupied the post of *Mushraf Rasoda* of Maharaja *Ajit Singh*⁸. *Changani Kachar Das* was *Mushraf Rasoda* during the rule of Maharaja *Man Singh*⁹. *Thanvi Hardev* was *Mushraf Rasoda* in V.S. 1910¹⁰. At times the *Rasoda* was called *Bawarchi Khana* also under the influence of *Mughals*.

Besides the *Daroga*, there were a number of employees in the royal kitchen such as, *Rasodadar*, *Phulkawala* and *Nais*¹¹. Under the British influence the *Jodhpur* royal kitchen turned into English kitchen, as could be gauged by the designation of employees in the royal kitchen of the *Jodhpur State* such as *Head Cook*, *Assistant Cook*, *Mate*, *Butler*, *Baker*, *Waiters* etc. The cooks, mates and the butlers were generally *British*¹².

In 1920 after the reorganization of *Mehkama Khas*, all the three *Rasodas* were placed under the charge of an officer, known as *Comptroller* of this Highness's, Household. He was a paid by the his Highness's *Privy Purse Budget*¹³.

A new post of waiter was created after the establishment of English Royal Kitchen in grade of Rs 25-1-30 with effect from 01 September 1946, owing to the increase in table serving work. The job of waiter was transferable. Waiter *Ratan* was transferred from the *Guest House Department* to the *English Royal Kitchen*. In his place waiter *Faiz Ali* of the *English Royal Kitchen* was absorbed in the guest house¹⁴. Similarly, a letter indicates that *Farash Chaina Ram* of the *Umaid Bhawan Farash Khana* was transferred to *Desi Royal Kitchen* as *Mashal* in the grade of Rs 12-1-18 from 01 October, 1945.

Promotions of the *Daroga Rasoi* were also held from time to time. *Nathu Singh, Daroga, Desi Rasoda* was promoted as *Senior Daroga*¹⁶. The employees in the *English Royal Kitchen* were as follows in the order of their seniority-*Head Butler (Peter)*, *Head Cook (Santan)*, *Cook (John Perera)*, *Cook (Lawrence)*, *Assistant Cook (Subhan)*, *Mashal (Chand Khan & Chaina Ram)*, *Prabhu ((Khidmatgar)*, *Baker (Amira)* and *(Abdar) Zalim Singh*¹⁷. Clerical staff was also appointed in the kitchen department on the newly sanctioned post. As most of these employees were ex-military men, they were appointed on higher salary according to the merit. The table below indicates the details of the *Executive Section* and *Office Section*¹⁸.

Executive Section

Name	Designation	Grade	Pay	Date of Appointment
1. Shiv Singh	Asstt. Ex. Clerk	30-248-3-60	Rs.42	13.04.46
2. Heer Singh	Ration Supervisor	30-248-3-60	Rs.51	01.03.47
3. Ragu Nath Singh	Mess Supervisor	30-248-3-60	Rs.42	10.11.46
4. Narpat Singh	Store Keeper	30-248-3-60	Rs.30	01.09.46

Office Section

5. Kalyan Singh	Senior Clerk	80-4-100	Rs.88	11.11.46
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It was under the influence of *British Government* that pension was granted to the employees of the *Royal Kitchen*. *Rasordar Kaloo* of *Desi Royal Kitchen* was granted full pay pension of Rs. 30/- on January 11th, 1936. He served for twelve years with integrity and honesty¹⁹.

Supply and Suppliers of Raw Material:- There was also a regular system of supplying goods to the royal kitchen. Grains and other raw material were supplied from the *Ann Ka Kothar* of the State. *Modi Khana* was the State grocery store. There is a long list of local Hindu

and Muslim merchants and suppliers, such as Modi Murlidhar- Somdutt, Modi Faujraj- Ramdayal, Bastimal & Sons, Laxmi Supply Store, R.M.R. Cooperative, Sanghi Bros, Gainda Lal- Babu Lal, Gulam Mustafa Ramjani, Mohammad Yusuf, Mohammad Hanif, Mohammad Ishar & Sons, M/S Hafizulla etc. Local vegetables were supplied by the vendors of Mali caste in the royal kitchen. There is a reference of application of a woman named Kani of Mali caste, seeking the renewal of her contract of supplying green vegetables in the royal kitchen dated 21st November, 1917 along with her terms and conditions²⁰.

Types of Utensils:- All the kitchen utensils which are used today find place in the records of *Desi* kitchen also. Iron, bronze, copper and brass utensils were utilized. Even German silver utensils, china clay crockery and glassware were put into service in the English Kitchen²¹. On special occasion like festivals, birthdays, marriages etc. the Maharaja partook his meals in gold and silver thals. An account of these utensils was regularly maintained and they were physically verified in the *Rasodas* from time to time²². There is an elaborate survey report of the damaged cutlery of the English Kitchen²³. Tinning of the utensils was done when required²⁴. Besides the general utensils, ice cream moulds, jelly moulds, baking pans of tin, sauce pan, fry pan etc. were also used in the English Kitchen.

Cuisine of the Royalty:- Richness and variety were two chief characteristics feature of the food consumed by the royal family. The dinner plates of the royalty included both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes, distinct varieties of curries, different rice preparation, varied *puris* or *chapatis*, all kind of fruits and drinks besides mouth watering sweet dishes. A large variety of sweets are listed in the contemporary records, such as *Laddu*, *Dahithadi*, *Jalebi*, *Peda* and *Ghewar* which formed the part of sweet dishes of royalty²⁵. *Khand ro seero*²⁶, *Malpua*, *Lapsi*²⁷, *Kheer* and *Phini* were also the favourite dishes among the royalty. *Namkins* like *Kofta*, *Kachori*, *Sev of Besan* (gram flour)²⁸, *Papad*, *Salevada*, fried pulses and *Bhujia* formed the part of royal plate²⁹. A number of vegetables such as lady finger, sweet potatoes, amaranth beans, potatoes³⁰, dried vegetables such *ker*, *Sangari*, *Khelda*, *Rabodi*, besides ginger, garlic, radish and onion also formed a part of royal food³¹. Other vegetables referred to in the records are white pumpkin, carrot, *Parwal*, *Chandaliya*, *Toru*, *Karela*, *Ratalu*, lemon etc. Mali Panchalal Champalal supplied lettuce salad and tomatoes to the Maharaj Kumar of

Jodhpur who was studying at Mayo College, Ajmer³².

There was no dearth of fresh fruits as well as dry fruits. A bill of May 1937 showing payment of Rs. 383, 10 *annas* and 06 *paisa* to M/S Shankar Das Deshraj, fruit contractor, Sri Nagar for supply of fruits record the date of supplying fruits such as Bombay oranges, apples, plantains, green Australian grapes, mangoes, Alphonso, strawberry, Punjabi melon, ordinary mangoes, cherries, litchies, apricots, Peshawari plums, along with their weights and rates, (Alphonso @ Rs. 4/dozen and Australian grapes @ Rs. 3/ser). Dry fruits such as almonds, pistachio, raisins, dates were either eaten raw or used in cooking.

As far as non-vegetarian supply is concerned, M/S Edulji Nauroji & Co., Jodhpur supplied fish to the royal kitchen. The files of expenditure show the rates of fish, eggs, mutton, brain, leg mutton, salmon, kidneys, liver, pomphret, soup meat etc.³⁴. Butchers were supplied by one Gulam Mohd, S/o Sulekhan of Srinagar³⁵. There were local vendors also. Meat of goat, hens, duck, gini fowl, *teetar*, *bater* was ordered by *Daroga*, *Bawarchi Khana* Faquir Mohammed³⁶.

There are also references of evian water, lemonade, ginger soda, ice-cream soda, raspberry biscuits, ice wafer biscuits, ginger mint biscuits, pineapple juice, pepper mint, combination biscuits in the fourth decades of 20th Century³⁷.

Ice was also used by the royal family and Bishanchand was one of the ice vendor of the state. Bakery and confectionary items were supplied to the Jodhpur royal household by M/S C.B. & Sons and R.M. Cooperative Associate Ltd., Ajmer.

Some of the items were loaves, mader cakes, currant loaves, buns, twists, plum cakes, iced plum cakes, pastry cake rolls etc. An interesting letter head of the afore-mentioned firm, mentions, “*wonderful Rs. 50 prize on proving adulteration in the contractors butter*”³⁸. The records also inform about the consumption of local liquor i.e *asha daru* and *kesar kasturi*.

We also get reference of English liquor such as white label whisky, sherry, John haig whisky in the records³⁹. Mushrooms, lipton tea, corn flakes, tomato sauce, mixed fruit jam, strawberry jam, milk chocolates, k.s. chocolates, orange squash, table water, marie biscuits, quaker oats, players cigarettes, cadbury chocolate powder which find place in the today's pantry also find a place in the records⁴⁰.

Hierarchy was maintained in the quality of food to be served also. The food served was classified into four grades as is evident in the case of *Maji Sahiba* Chauhanji, who was residing at Rai-Ka-bagh, with her guests and followers. *Maji Sahiba* was served the *Khasa Thal*, her guests Ram Chandri Bai got the first class *thal*, the Brahmans who accompanied them were fed with second class *thal*, while ordinary *thal*, was given to the servants.⁴¹ The Bengali musician and his daughter who had been appointed to teach *Santoor* to Baiji Lal were served with first class *thals*⁴². Similarly, when His Highness suffered from cold, the two nurses who were hired to attend him on 04 December 1943 were served first class *thals*⁴³.

A detailed account was maintained of the supply of the delicacies served to the members of the royal family, the Raniji, Maharaj Kunwars and Baiji Lal. In the year 1943, all the four Maharaj Kunwar were supplied daily a bottle of liquor and liver (*kaleji*) by Abdul Sakur and dry fruits by Fauji Ram. Baiji Lal received all the items except liquor.⁴⁴

The food items sent for the Maharaj Kunwar pursuing studies in Mayo College, Ajmer were also noted down. The *Daroga Desi Rasoda*, Nathu Singh's letter states that by the order of *Nazar Bachna Ram, Laddu, Jalebi, Sev, Dal, Mogar* etc. were sent to Ajmer. These items were bought by *Kandoi Suva Lal*. In the last permission was sought from Comptroller Household for sending the items to the Maharaj Kunwar⁴⁵.

Interestingly sanction was sought by the *Daroga Desi Rasoda* for organising a tea party at the Zenani-Deori of her Highness. Lots of snacks were served in the tea party, out of which *Samosa*, eggs and Kebabs were arranged by contractor Hanif, while *Kandoi Jethmal* supplied *Sev* and *Mogar*. He asked to debit all these items to *Khasa Tasli* charges.⁴⁶

A sanction was solicited by the *Daroga* in case by debit to *Agarni Dastoor* (a ceremony performed for a pregnant lady), for the preparation of special thali for the *Yuvrani Sahiba*, who was pregnant and the Maharaj Kunwar.⁴⁷

The Jama Kharch Bahis of Maharanis and Pardayats gives a day to day and *paisa to paisa* account of the ingredients procured for the use in their private kitchen. The records contains information about the transportation of grain, grinding the wheat, pounding and seiving the wheat flour by women and the payment of labour charges along the names of the women worker⁴⁸.

Royal Banquets and Feasts:- The banquets and feasts of the royalty were conspicuous for their grandeur, elaborate dainties and other necessary arrangements. Feasts were organised on the occasion of all the major festivals⁴⁹ and other special occasion like marriages and birthdays of the members of the royal family in the court. Col. James Tod gives a vivid description of the dinner thrown in his honour by Maharaja Man Singh on July 04, 1820. He states that, "we were ushered into a hall, where we found the table literally covered with curries, pulavs and ragouts of every kind———" ⁵⁰ A.H.E. Boileu, a British Engineer, who toured Jodhpur in 1835 records that though specimen of delicious served up from the Raja's Kitchen might not be very tempting to a European palate, yet it is said that this department of Man Singh's house hold is exceedingly well managed.⁵¹ Banquets were held in the honour of King Emperor's birthday also⁵². At times food was sent to the residence of guests. On the occasion of welcoming (*mijmani*) of the Political Agent Malcolm, two bottles of Liquors namely *Asha Daru* and *Kesar Kasturi*, sweets, dry fruits, rice, ghee, bottle of perfume (*itar*), betel (*paan*) and basket of flowers were sent.⁵³ Sometimes dry ingredients (*Kori-jinas*) were sent to the house of the person who did not partake the feast⁵⁴. The Maharanis⁵⁵ and top officials of the state like *Kiledar, Kamdaar*⁵⁶ etc. also hosted dinner on several occasions.

Thus the royal kitchen was exceedingly a well organised and a well managed department of the Royal household. Initially, the Dhandhal Rajputs adorned the post of *Daroga Rasoda*. Later on, Brahmans were appointed on a newly created post of *Rasoda Mushraf*. At times the name of *Rasoda* was replaced by *Bawarchi Khana* because of Mughal impact. The merchants and the suppliers of fruits, vegetables and other ingredients of food were generally Hindu, while meat was sold by the Muslims. Merchants from as far as Srinagar and Bombay supplied fruits to the royal kitchen. With the addition of English Kitchen to the already existing *Khasa Rasoda* and *Desi Rasoda*, the impact of the west crept in the dining hall of the royal family of Jodhpur. China clay crockery and glassware appeared in the kitchens. The English sweetmeats, delicacies, deserts, soft drinks, hard drinks etc. were added to the menu of the royal family. *Bawarchi Khana* was replaced by pantry, which also reflected the British influence.

On special occasion, it was customary for the Maharaja to have the food sitting on the ground in a line with all the nobles (sardars) on a

long piece of cloth called *Pantiya*. However, this customary system of dining was changed, under the British influence as was evident by the appearance of dining table and chairs in the royal dining halls. Generally men dined on the tables. I could not find a single reference of female of the royal family having their meals on the dining table. It is interesting to note that sanction was to be obtained by the member of royal family for the order of food from the kitchen for the guests etc. Not only this, a day to day and paisa to paisa account of the delicacies and ingredients procured for the use in the kitchen was kept, no matter to whose kitchen it was supplied. Similarly the minutest details of the wages of the menial work, labour charges along with the names of the laborers both men and women are also mentioned in the records. Different grades of *thals* served to the guests indicates the existence of the hierarchy in the dinner plate also. The thumb impression on the applicant of a woman of *Mali* caste who supplied green vegetables to the royal kitchen, suggest that illiteracy was rampant among the common people specially women. But it further indicates that women also shouldered the responsibility of earning the livelihood. In a nutshell it could be concluded that the royal kitchen was an institution in itself having its own customs, rules and regulations but it could not escape from the Mughal and British impact on that of the cuisine and dining formalities.

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**Interwoven Legacies: Diplomatic Exchanges
 and Cultural Splendours between Bikaner and
 Travancore (1936-1939)**

Dr. Sresh J.*

Introduction

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, accompanied by Her Highness the Maji Saheb and Her Highness the Maha-rani Saheb C. I., visited the State of Travancore in the last week of January 1939. The distinguished party arrived at the Trivandrum Central Railway Station precisely at 9:02 A.M. on Thursday, the 26th of January 1939, immediately following the visit of His Excellency the Crown Representative. The exploration into the histories of the kingdoms of Bikaner and Thiruvithamkore reveals crucial insights into the diplomatic interactions between the two regions. Notably, delving into Thiruvithamkore's visit to Bikaner in 1936 and the reciprocal journey of the Bikaner king to Travancore in 1939, a pact was signed with the British in 1723, making Thiruvithamkore a province under their rule. Similarly, in 1818, Bikaner signed a friendly pact with the British, securing its status as a province. Chithira Tirunal governed Thiruvithamkore from 1931 to 1949, while Maharaja Gangai Singh ruled Bikaner from 1888 to 1943. Chithira Tirunal's visit to Bikaner in 1936 marked a historic event in the region's history. Maharaja Gangai Singh played a pivotal role in the comprehensive development of Bikaner, participating in both domestic and international conferences. This exchange highlighted the strong relationship between the two provinces, both actively supporting technological modernizations. The mutual respect and dignified position of both regions during the British era are evident. The Maharajas of

Bikaner and Travancore, along with their respective parties, drove in a procession to the State Guest House, where a salute of 19 guns was fired. During the visit, there was a Military Parade held in honour of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. Additionally, His Highness laid the foundation stone for a statue of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, to be erected by the public in commemoration of the famous Temple Entry Proclamation. The Maharaja's itinerary suggests a diplomatic and cultural exchange, with a focus on understanding and appreciating the local institutions and landmarks.

Aims and Objective of Study

This study aims to comprehensively examine and analyze the diplomatic relations between the Raja of Bikaner and Travancore during the pivotal period of 1936-1939. The primary objective is to unravel the intricacies of this diplomatic exchange, shedding light on the historical context and geopolitical landscape within which these interactions occurred. The investigation seeks to understand the motivations and outcomes of the diplomatic visits between King Chithira Tirunal of Travancore to Bikaner in 1936 and Maharaja Gangai Singh of Bikaner to Travancore in 1939. The study aims to decipher the tangible and intangible benefits that both kingdoms derived from these exchanges. The objective is to explore the impact of British colonial rule on the diplomatic engagements between these two regions. The study aspires to contribute how diplomatic ties provided avenues for mutual support in areas such as technological modernization and progressive governance, transcending the constraints imposed by British colonial administration.

Source and Review of Literature

The sources for the study on diplomatic relations between the Raja of Bikaner and Travancore present a well-rounded approach, combining primary documents, archival materials, personal narratives, and secondary analyses. The Travancore Administrative Report (1936-1939) serves as a foundational document, providing crucial administrative insights into Travancore's socio-economic and cultural landscape. The exploration of diplomatic correspondence and official documents between Travancore and Bikaner offers an invaluable behind-the-scenes perspective. This primary source provides insights into the negotiations and decision-making processes, enabling a deeper understanding of the motives and considerations of both parties involved. Access to Bikaner's

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archival records, particularly those related to Maharaja Gangai Singh's reign, adds depth to the study. These records offer a unique viewpoint from Bikaner's standpoint, providing information on motivations, outcomes, and the overall diplomatic strategy during the specified period. These sources contribute to contextualizing the diplomatic relations within the broader geopolitical dynamics, British colonial policies, and the global situation of that era. Scrutinizing contemporary newspapers and media reports offers a glimpse into the public perception and reaction to the diplomatic visits. Consulting academic works and secondary sources on Indian princely states, diplomatic history, and British colonial rule enhances the scholarly context of the study.

Methodology of Study

This research employs a comprehensive and multi-faceted methodology to investigate the diplomatic relations between the Raja of Bikaner and Travancore from 1936 to 1939. The approach combines archival research, historical analysis, biographical examination, colonial perspective exploration, media and public perception analysis, and secondary source analysis to construct a well-informed and detailed narrative. The methodology involves a detailed examination of biographies and memoirs of key figures involved in the diplomatic exchanges, such as King Chithira Tirunal and Maharaja Gangai Singh. While the predominant focus of the research is qualitative, some aspects, such as population figures, economic data, and statistical information derived from administrative reports, may involve quantitative analysis. This approach ensures a thorough examination from multiple perspectives, fostering a holistic understanding of the historical exchanges between these two kingdoms.

Research Gap

The study extensively explores the diplomatic relations and cultural exchanges between the two kingdoms during the specified period. However, certain research gaps warrant consideration for a more comprehensive analysis. Additionally, the study briefly touches upon public perception but lacks an in-depth analysis of how the general population perceived and reacted to the diplomatic visits. The study mentions cultural exchanges but lacks an in-depth analysis of how these interactions influenced societal norms, cultural practices in both regions emphasizing the need for a more thorough exploration of the

broader cultural impact. Addressing these research gaps would contribute to a more holistic examination of diplomatic relations and cultural exchanges between Bikaner and Travancore.

Scope and Relevance Study

The visits of Chithira Tirunal to Bikaner in 1936 and Gangai Singh to Travancore in 1939 are highlighted for their significance illustrating a commitment to preserving prosperity despite the challenges posed by British colonial administration. It underscores a notable dedication to technological modernization, symbolizing a lasting friendship between the provinces. The meticulous planning of cultural events, military parades, and foundation stone laying ceremonies is emphasized as a crucial aspect of these diplomatic encounters. The study significantly contributes to our comprehension of the diplomatic relations between Bikaner and Travancore offering valuable insights into princely state's dynamics during a challenging historical era.

A Glimpse into the Future of Transcending Borders Fostering Diplomatic Bonds

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Thiruvithamkoor and Bikaner both signed pacts with the British, leading to their status as provinces under British rule. King Chithira Tirunal of Thiruvithamkoor ruled from 1931 to 1949, and Maharaja Gangai Singh governed Bikaner from 1888 to 1943. King Chithira Tirunal's diplomatic visit to Bikaner in 1936, a rare occurrence among Thiruvithamkoor kings, covered economic, educational, cultural, and trade discussions, demonstrating a commitment to prosperity during British rule.¹ Maharaja Gangai Singh reciprocated by visiting Thiruvithamkoor in 1939, leading to cultural exchanges and the unveiling of a statue in remembrance of Thiruvithamkoor's temple entry proclamation in 1939.²

A common thread emerges as both provinces actively support technological modernization, indicating a bond beyond geographical boundaries. Maharaja Gangai Singh's contributions to Bikaner's development, international participation, and shared interests during his visit to Thiruvithamkoor showcase global connections.³ The enduring friendship between Thiruvithamkoor and Bikaner, evident in these historic visits, signifies enduring bonds that transcend borders. The visit of the Maharaja of Bikaner to Trivandrum was marked by meticulously organized and culturally enriching programs. A grand State Banquet at

Kanakakunnu Palace set the tone, followed by a Classical Dance Performance and dinner at Kaudiar Palace. A Kathakali performance at Golf Links offered a glimpse into local cultural heritage. A visit to Cape Comorin on January 28th, accompanied by the Maharaja of Travancore, explored historical places, deepening connections with the region's cultural tapestry. The Maharaja of Bikaner continued his journey to Edapalayam shooting camp and Theni outside the State. The Maharanis of Bikaner participated in cultural and historical visits in Trivandrum and Cape Comorin, with a thoughtful itinerary showcasing meticulous planning, cultural exchange, and royal hospitality. Departing on January 31st, the Maharanis bid farewell at the State Guest House, concluding a comprehensive and culturally immersive visit. The detailed itinerary reflected a harmonious blend of tradition, cultural exchange, and royal hospitality.⁴

Travancore Maharaja Enchanting Visit to Bikaner State in 1936: A Historical Sojourn

The visit of Travancore Maharaja Chithira Thirunal to Bikaner State in 1936 stands as a testament to aristocratic camaraderie, blending regal elegance and ceremonial grandeur.⁵ Initiated by a gracious invitation from the Maharajadhiraja of Bikaner, this tour transcended mere formality, evolving into a harmonious exchange of hospitality, mutual respect, and shared cultural affinities. The tale began with a regal invitation, draped in tradition and diplomacy, beckoning Their Highnesses to the opulent realms of Bikaner. This invitation, met with a gracious acceptance, set the stage for a journey destined for the chronicles of time.⁶ It was not just a visit; it was a cultural dialogue, an exchange of traditions, and a celebration of shared heritage. As the journey unfolded, warmth and cordiality resonated through every encounter. The camaraderie between the host and distinguished guests became the guiding theme, transforming the tour into a harmonious exchange of hospitality and cultural affinity.^{7,8} The tour surpassed ceremonial obligations, evolving into a chapter of genuine connection. Bikaner, with its regal splendor, provided a perfect backdrop for the zenith of this historic sojourn.⁹ The pageantry and grandeur of the visit were unmatched, as the city hosted a spectacle blending tradition and opulence. Each event and ceremony became a note in a symphony of grandeur, leaving an indelible impression on the collective memory of Bikaner.¹⁰ Embarking on a special train from Delhi junction on the evening of March 22nd, 1936, Their Highnesses were

welcomed at the Bikaner railway station with a ceremonious reception. A State procession to the Lallgarh Palace followed, where the Maharaja of Bikaner hosted the royal guests during their stay.¹¹ The evening unfolded in a spectacle of military honour, featuring a meticulously executed Military Review in honour of the distinguished guests. The famed Bikaner Camel Corps showcased its prowess, paying homage to its storied contributions during the Great War.¹² The night concluded with a State banquet, a lavish affair befitting the occasion. A delightful detour led Their Highnesses to Gajner, a picturesque shooting resort. This tranquil retreat provided a scenic backdrop for leisure and relaxation. The royal entourage, accompanied by the Maharaja, explored various public institutions of the State upon returning from Gajner.¹³ Their Highnesses witnessed the traditional Gangore procession from the old fort. The procession, steeped in tradition, unfolded below, offering a glimpse into the rich heritage of the region.¹⁴ The royal guests explored the historic armoury of the Bikaner Maharajas, a treasure trove of military antiquities.

The visit of Travancore King, Sree Chitrathirunal to Bikaner State in 1936, stands as a testament to intertwining threads of history, culture, and camaraderie.¹⁵ The cultural exploration woven into this visit created a memorable chapter in the collective memory of Bikaner and its esteemed guests. The echoes of that regal journey continue to resonate, capturing the essence of an era marked by elegance and tradition.¹⁶

Cultural Grandeur and Ceremonial Precision

The Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony at Iron Villa, Thokketheruvu, on January 26, 1939, was a meticulously organized event marked by ceremonial precision and cultural significance. The proceedings commenced with the departure of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner from Quest House, setting the stage for the ceremonial event. Upon arrival at the designated site, the Iron Villa in Thokketheruvu, His Highness signified the official commencement of the Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony.¹⁷ The Dewan, an important dignitary, received His Highness, introducing him to the President of the Temple Entry Proclamation Memorial Committee expressing traditional honour and respect. The President then introduced the Committee's 59 members collectively, emphasizing the collaborative effort involved in the memorial project.¹⁸ Following the introductions, the Dewan delivered a welcoming

speech, setting the tone for the ceremonial proceedings.¹⁹ The President presented a comprehensive report, outlining the significance and progress of the Temple Entry Proclamation Memorial Committee's work, providing context for the Foundation Stone Laying Ceremony. During this pivotal moment, the Nagaswaram, a traditional musical instrument, played, adding a cultural and festive dimension.²⁰ The Special Officer ensured smooth coordination with ceremonial musicians. C.O Karunakaran, the Joint Secretary of the Committee, expressed gratitude to attendees, organizers, and contributors, concluding the program with the presentation of mementos, appreciating the military's role and fostering a sense of unity and partnership.²¹ The well-choreographed event blended cultural traditions, formalities, and expressions of gratitude, contributing significantly to the historical legacy of the Temple Entry Proclamation Memorial Committee's endeavours.

A Welfare Model in Action

The Special Cinema Show scheduled at New Theatres on January 26, 1939, is poised to be a grand affair, meticulously planned to provide a regal experience for the esteemed guests, including the Highnesses of Bikaner and Travancore. Commencing at 10:00 P.M., the cinema show is a significant highlight of the visit, with the royal party occupying an exclusive box on the upper floor.²² The audience, primarily levee officers and their wives, adheres to a government-directed dress code of Evening Dress, enhancing the formality of the occasion.²³ The Guest Department ensures bespoke service for the Royal Party and honoured guests, offering drinks and smokes. Special arrangements, such as Gosha, are made for the arrival of the Highnesses.²⁴ The absence of garlanding or bouquet presentations underscores the sophistication of the gathering, while standard police arrangements maintain security during the event.²⁵ Simultaneously, meticulous planning is underway for the Military Parade on January 26, a symbol of discipline and grandeur. Every aspect, from choreography to participant positioning, undergoes scrutiny to ensure a display of military precision.²⁶ The orchestration of both events reflects a commitment to delivering a day of unparalleled grandeur and cultural richness on the 26th of January.

Conclusion

The exploration of diplomatic exchanges and cultural splendours between Bikaner and Travancore from 1936 to 1939 reveals a history

of cooperation and shared values. This historical journey involved reciprocal visits by King Chithira Tirunal of Travancore to Bikaner in 1936 and Maharaja Gangai Singh of Bikaner to Travancore in 1939. During a challenging historical era, both kingdoms engaged in diplomatic relations amid their status as British provinces. The research aimed to understand the benefits derived from these interactions, highlighting a commitment to preserving prosperity and mutual understanding despite challenges from British colonial administration. The diplomatic visits, such as King Chithira Tirunal's journey to Bikaner and Maharaja Gangai Singh's reciprocal visit to Travancore, reflected mutual respect and a progressive mindset. The shared commitment to technological modernization symbolized enduring friendship beyond geographical boundaries. The examination of Bikaner in 1936 emphasized its military legacy, cultural ties, and Maharaja Gangai Singh's visionary leadership. Meticulously planned cultural events, military parades, and foundation stone laying ceremonies highlighted the significance of these diplomatic encounters. The shared commitment to social equality and technological modernization contributes to broader discussions on diplomatic history, princely states, and cultural exchange, laying the foundation for further scholarly exploration.

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Popular Movements and Political Authority in the Princely States of Rajputana: Conflict, Cooperation or Accommodation?

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The paper explores the historical context of Colonial India, with a particular focus on the region known as Princely India or Indian India. This region encompasses approximately six hundred states that were under the suzerainty of native ruling princes. These territories have often been characterised as ‘quaint anachronistic spaces’ and they have frequently been marginalised in academic discourse. This is because they served the British colonial narrative, which portrayed them as a contrast to the supposedly ‘British India’, where Western thought was presumed to be reflected. The study aims to challenge the marginalisation of these rulers by presenting a rigorous historical analysis that recognises them as more than mere British allies or colonial components. Instead, it acknowledges their status as legitimate subjects for academic exploration. In contrast with the prevailing perceptions of them, a significant number of twentieth-century rulers were characterised by uprightness, cultural refinement and industriousness. The analysis aims to shed light on their political insight and acumen, acknowledging their substantial contributions to pan-Indian politics. The objective is to provide a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted roles played by these rulers, moving beyond the oversimplified characterisations prevalent in historical discourse.

The administrative structure of the Rajputana princely states during colonial rule was a multi-layered and complex system characterized by the presence of multiple authorities. At the apex were the rulers or maharajas of these princely states, who maintained a degree of sovereignty within their domains. Beneath them were the jagirdars, a class of feudal

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landlords who were granted land by the rulers in exchange for military service or administrative duties. The jagirdars' primary responsibility was revenue collection from their jagirs (land grants) and ensuring military support to the ruler when required. This feudal arrangement embedded local hierarchies, creating a decentralized system of governance within the princely states. The third layer of authority was the colonial state, which exerted indirect control over these princely states through treaties and suzerainty. Although the British did not directly administer the princely states as they did in British Indian provinces, they had Resident Officers who ensured the states' loyalty to the colonial government. The overlapping jurisdictions, where local rulers retained significant power, yet were subject to British suzerainty created a tangled governance system. Unlike the British Indian provinces, which were under direct colonial rule, the princely states had to navigate their authority amidst British political pressures while maintaining their internal autonomy. This complex governance structure presents a range of responses from the authorities such as conflict, cooperation or accommodation with respect to popular resistance.

During the colonial period, initial resistance in Rajasthan was rooted in social reformist endeavours aimed at addressing entrenched social injustices and improving the conditions of marginalized communities. These early reform movements sought to challenge oppressive practices within the princely states. However, the broader currents of resistance were shaped by both tribal uprisings and agrarian movements, which later merged with the Praja Mandal movement, creating a united front against colonial and princely rule by the 1930s and 1940s. The Bhil tribal uprisings, emerging in southern Rajputana in the 19th century, were among the earliest forms of resistance, driven by the tribes' desire to preserve their autonomy against increasing encroachment from colonial and princely authorities. The Bhils, with their long-standing traditions of independence, rebelled against the imposition of taxes, forced labour, and the loss of their forest lands. Their confrontations with the state often involved violent revolts and non-cooperation. Simultaneously, in the agrarian sector, peasants began organizing against the heavy taxation and exploitative practices of local jagirdars and zamindars. The Bijolia movement in Mewar stands out as a significant peasant-led resistance. It was spearheaded by leaders like Vijay Singh Pathik and his association, the Rajasthan Seva Sangh, who played a pivotal role in mobilizing the rural population against oppressive land revenue systems. The Bijolia

peasants demanded the reduction of taxes, the abolition of feudal dues, and relief from the exploitative practices of the jagirdars. By the 1930s, these various strands of resistance converged into the Praja Mandal movement, which sought to democratize governance in the princely states and secure civil rights for the people. The Praja Mandals, formed by local populations, advocated for political reforms, the introduction of representative institutions, and greater accountability from the rulers. As the culmination of popular resistance, the Praja Mandal movement in the 1930s and 1940s unified diverse societal elements in their demand for responsible government and democratic institutions.

This combined resistance across various segments of society highlighted the diverse forms of opposition to established authority structures in Rajasthan. These movements produced a range of responses from the princely states and the colonial government, including conflict, where violent confrontations and rebellions occurred; cooperation, as seen when local rulers made concessions to avoid unrest; and accommodation, when authorities introduced reforms or negotiated with resistance leaders. Together, these dynamics not only weakened the hold of traditional and colonial power structures but also paved the way for broader political participation and representation in the region.

This section focuses on how the population of Rajasthan engaged with various layers of authority, particularly during the colonial period, revealing a complex and often tense relationship between the people, local rulers, and the colonial state. This dynamic was characterised by both collaboration and resistance, with local populations pushing back against oppressive practices and asserting their rights in various forms. The Praja Mandal Movement adopted a cautious and measured approach with regard to its stated objectives and proposed programmes of action. The declared objective of the Praja Mandal was the 'achievement of responsible government under the aegis of the Maharana.' It is noteworthy that the statements issued by the leaders continued to reflect a sense of allegiance and regard towards the royal houses and rulers, while concurrently advocating for the establishment of a responsible government. Veteran Leader of Mewar, Manikya Lal Verma, stated that the Mewar Praja Mandal 'respects Maharana Sahib and his throne. He should be respected and there should be no difference in his style of living, but people should have their say in the administration of the state.' In their pamphlets and speeches, the bureaucracy was held responsible for misleading the Maharana and for the poor state of affairs

in the region. While subsequent historians have characterised this ambivalence in political attitude as a paradox, it was in fact a consequence of popular sentiment for kingship.

The princely states of Rajputana in British India were not immune to the politically charged atmosphere in British India. Significantly, during the 1940s, the states witnessed heightened political activism, marked by the emergence of organisations such as *praja mandals* and *lok parishads*. Although these political entities proclaimed their commitment to responsible and democratic governance within the states, they refrained from pursuing radical goals that would challenge the authority of the ruling establishment. Notably, their stated objectives consistently emphasised working “*under the aegis of the ruler*”,¹ suggesting a pragmatic understanding of the extent of their influence in the region.

With the introduction of the Cabinet Mission Plan, it became clear that the existing status of the princely states would not be sustainable in the long term. In response to this unfolding scenario, among the Rajputana princely states, such as Bikaner, took proactive measures. In June 1946, the ruler of Bikaner issued a proclamation in his state providing for the earliest possible establishment of a responsible government. However, this proclamation did not fully encapsulate the ruler’s intentions, as he was reluctant to relinquish his long-standing dynastic position and authority. While these proclamations may have carried weight, they lacked substance in terms of initiating measures to regulate the administrative machinery, especially in safeguarding even the ‘preliminary rights’ of the populace. The situation was made clear by the state’s repressive action against members of the Bikaner Praja Mandal.³ Furthermore, the ruler retained the prerogative to “announce the outlines of the constitution” to personally appoint “committee or committees consisting of officials and non-officials” for the purpose. In assessing the feasibility of responsible government, it is imperative to ask whether the Maharaja’s retention of the veto is consistent with the principles of responsible governance. This dilemma is succinctly summed up in a newspaper statement, “very little of the scheme is now known, but it is hardly possible that His Highness of Bikaner will announce any measure that will endanger his position in the Future India. The choice of his birthday as the date for making the announcement is itself an almost sure indication that the Maharaja is *not prepared to contemplate any diminution of his importance*”.⁴ The deliberate choice of the ruler’s birthday as the date for the announcement is indicative of his unwillingness to contemplate any diminution of his

importance in the evolving political landscape.

In the pre-independence negotiations, the princely states were acutely aware of their precarious position and sought to exhaust all available avenues to preserve their authority and autonomy, aspects ostensibly safeguarded and guaranteed by the central governing body. The maintenance of their independent position and autonomy depended to a large extent on the special status of their respective states within the framework of the Indian Union, for which they fought vigorously, even in vain. In the cases examined in this study, the Rajputana states asserted their autonomy vigorously and consistently implemented strategies to mitigate both internal and external pressures. The advent of Indian independence in 1947 marked a significant shift in the power structure, introducing new symbols and meanings to reinforce the establishment of a nascent order. These symbols serve as carriers and signifiers of power and value, exemplified by the replacement of the ‘Union Jack’ with the ‘National Tricolour’. In the midst of this transition, however, the princely states maintained their independent status and retained their distinctive flags and symbols. A compelling example is the firm stance of the Maharaja of Bikaner, who insisted on the continuation of his state’s flag as a potent symbol of regional sovereignty. In his view, the state flag served as a direct and visible manifestation of the state’s autonomy and sovereignty, evident from his remark, “The State’s flag is the direct visible symbol of that sovereignty and autonomy enjoyed by the state.”⁵

The Centre had to concur with their demand and allowed them to continue with their flag. It was only on two or three days in the year that the National Flag was allowed to be flown but “not in exclusion to the Flag of the State”.⁶ Despite the concession to fly the national flag on certain occasions, the state flag retained a superior status. The importance attached to the State flag was underlined by strict measures; any disrespect for it could lead to imprisonment for up to twenty years. Furthermore, the historical record reveals a deliberate distribution of the state flag in abundance, while at the same time discouraging the display of the national flag.⁷ This nuanced interplay between the two flags reflects not only their symbolic significance but also the political dynamics surrounding the assertion of regional autonomy within the broader framework of post-independence India.

In response to perceived inadequacies in the assurances provided by the new Government to safeguard their domains, the Princes

recognised the imperative need to fortify their positions within the States. Implementing stringent measures, they undertook actions to suppress any opposition and neutralise elements posing a threat to their rule. The Maharaja, in a decisive move, proclaimed a zero-tolerance policy towards *satyagraha* or protests against the ruler or the state, emphasising the sole dedication of the ruler to the 'welfare and prosperity of his people'.⁸ In addition to these suppressive actions, the Maharaja engaged in negotiations with Praja Parishad leaders, resulting in a consensual understanding aimed at preserving the separate status of the State.⁹ This agreement, however, followed a Praja Parishad meeting held just months prior, during which the State's administration was criticised, highlighting the flaws in the Maharaja's rule. At this meeting, the Parishad articulated its objective to advocate for a responsible and democratic government.¹⁰ A press note circulated during this period called for a reduction in Maharaja's powers, leaving him with only control over personal expenditure while allocating the rest to an elected government.¹¹ This sentiment was reiterated in a subsequent bulletin issued by the Parishad.¹² Interestingly, the agreement was later declared null and void when it came to the attention of higher authorities within the Parishad, jeopardising the organization's credibility and authenticity. In the unrelenting attempts to fortify their standing, the Maharaja started favouring certain communities, such as the *Rajputs*, with means and power and had kinship relations with them. He out rightly supported and defended the *Rajputs* and argued, on the *Lok Parishad* of Bikaner's objection to the increasing activism among the *Rajputs*, that it is in retaliation of the *Parishad's* moves to instigate the *Jats* and the *kisans* to hold meetings and rallies.¹³

Similarly, Jodhpur also witnessed its ruler's persistent efforts to hold on to his position. It made an interesting case owing to its proximity to the Pakistan border, which caused much anxiety to the centre. The ruler and the *Praja Mandal* leaders had quite uneasy and hostile relations. Both were loggerheads with each other, the former made all efforts to suppress all opposition, and the latter also stood against these moves. The situation, further, exacerbated with an incidence, came to be known as the "Dabra Tragedy". It was about the murder of the *Jat* and *Kisan* families, which came to centre stage when it was alleged that some prominent *Praja Mandal* members were involved in it. What was noteworthy was their arrest after twenty-two days of the occurrences and just a day before the assembly election that was not without significance. It further gained momentum with the ruler's declaration

that appealed to the voters to abstain from voting for the 'irresponsible and useless Assembly whose very inception is stained with blood.'¹⁴ The *Parishad* members saw another dimension where the Princes were seen organizing certain communities as the *Jats*, and the *Rajputs* against the *Parishad*.¹⁵ The episode saw arbitrary suppression of civil liberties and similar moves to gather the support of the communities as the *Rajputs*. The ruler even reportedly attended and addressed large meetings of the *Rawats*, the Hindu converted as *Rajputs*, to organise them under his banner.¹⁶ The Jaipur State presents a slightly different paradigm from the above-stated cases where the rulers' political activism and ambition to maintain their sovereign domain observed their aggressive manoeuvres. The H. H. of Jaipur was a bit withdrawn from active politics and "doubtlessly left everything to Mirza", his *diwan*.¹⁷ He maintained amiable relations with the local *Praja Mandal* leader. It is well depicted from the fact that the Jaipur State was among the first States to have a legislature, where even the demands of the *Praja Mandal* were heard and accepted if they fell within some reasonable limits. Unlike the other States, where the rulers retained a grasp over their Prime Ministers, the Jaipur Prime Minister Sir Mirza Ismail still had proper space to move his hands.¹⁸ Hence, the activism in the State was not much against the ruler then the local authorities as the *jagirdars*. But this should not be taken as that the ruler was not keen on holding on to his State and his position. The Jaipur State was among the three major States that were unwilling to merge with the Union of the Rajputana States. Through his decent relations with the *Praja Mandal* leaders such as Hiralal Shastri etc., he was often made to convince that the Center had "no intention of insisting on the merger of Jaipur."¹⁹

In conclusion, the colonial period in Rajasthan was characterised by a complex and layered authority structure that encompassed the Rajput rulers, jagirdars and the British colonial state. The Rajput rulers retained a degree of autonomy within the British colonial system, while the jagirdars, despite their influence at the local level, witnessed the erosion of their traditional prerogatives as a result of colonial policy. Popular resistance to these structures manifested in various forms, including peasant movements like the Bijolia uprising and tribal revolts such as the Bhil Rebellion. These were responses by the local populace to oppressive taxation and exploitation. Furthermore, the emergence of the *Praja Mandal* movements signified an increasing demand for civil rights and accountable governance, posing challenges to both feudal and colonial authorities.

Collectively, these elements illustrate the complex interplay between power dynamics and resistance in colonial Rajasthan, where the relationship between political authority and popular movements in the Rajputana principalities was not uniform but encompassed a range of dynamics, from conflict and opposition to accommodation and collaboration.

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Sewa-Sangh, Dungarpur (Gandhian Constructive program among the tribes of Bagar)

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Introduction

Rajasthan Sewa Sangh was founded in 1938 in Dungarpur by Bhogilal Pandya to serve the tribes of *Bagar*.¹ The tribes had peculiar socio-cultural systems and their socio-economic conditions were as degraded as that of the depressed classes. In the structure of constructive programs of Gandhi, the work of Sewa Sangh was conducted under the aegis of Harijan Sevak-Sangh. In course of time, the workers of Sewa Sangh formed the Prajamandal of Dungarpur, a political organization which affiliated to the All-India States? People?s Conference through its Rajputana Regional Council. The motive of the paper is to explore the constructive and political profiles of the Sangh and its impact on the national movement in Rajputana. To achieve that end, primarily, it is necessary to analyse the ideas of Gandhi regarding the place of constructive program in the national movement and the relation between the political and constructive programs. Secondly, both the constructive and political profiles of Sewa Sangh be elaborated. Lastly, the ramifications of the movement as such, be unravelled to comprehend the dialectics of Satyagraha in national movement in Rajputana.

The history writing on Gandhi has made Satyagraha the subject of analysis. But by satyagraha they mean the political activism of Gandhi or the civil-disobedience, largely. The constructive programs were looked upon as an obsession of Gandhi not only in his times but also, they have not been found eligible to occupy place in the strategy of Gandhi to fight

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with the British domination, in historiography. Present paper is a testimony as to how the pursuance of constructive program can yield results unparalleled of the civil-disobedience.

Satyagraha: Constructive versus Political

The independence or Swaraj of Gandhi consisted of political independence, economic independence, moral and social (non-violence) and religion in the highest sense of the term (truth).² The means to achieve swaraj was Satyagraha which had two branches, the Civil-disobedience and the Constructive Program.³ Gandhi introduced Charkha as a tool to win Swaraj, for the first time in 1918.⁴ The components of the constructive program kept increasing until they became the full-fledged 18-fold constructive program including the uplift of tribes, untouchables, peasants, labours, women and students.⁵ The motive of the constructive program was reconstruction of the lives of people on self-sufficient basis in all aspects; moral, social, economic and political.

In general perceptions, a binary had been created between the constructive program and the civil-disobedience.⁶ As they were called the 'Constructive Program', hence they were not considered political in nature. The 'Civil-Disobedience' was called destructive and considered political. It implied that anything which opposed the British Rule directly with the motive of expelling them was considered 'political' which they felt that the constructive program didn't do. Gandhi didn't approve of this dichotomy. 'There was no absolute division between the so-called political and the so-called constructive programs'⁷ The constructive programs were part of 'solid political work'⁸ because they were the integral part of the national movement to win freedom. The civil-dis-obedience was constructive according to Gandhi⁹ because it was based on truth and non-violence without causing or intending to inflict any harm on the British. The constructive program and the civil-disobedience 'two branches of satyagraha, and hence are akin. One cannot be complete without the other.'¹⁰ In Gandhian measures of politics, between the constructive program and the civil-disobedience, the value added to the constructive program was that the constructive programs were capable of winning complete Swaraj by themselves¹¹ while the freedom acquired only through the pursuance of civil-disobedience would be mere political freedom.

There was value added to the constructive program at many other levels. The constructive programs were there for everyone to execute¹²

and they could be performed perpetually.¹³ Governments could also enjoin them.¹⁴ Civil-resistance, on the other hand, was occasional, positioned against the governments and was to be observed by limited number of people. It was prone to intermittent postponements.¹⁵ The constructive programs could bear no harmful effects in any case. They were necessary as a preparation before the civil-disobedience was adopted¹⁶ and the civil-disobedience could be truly fruitful only if performed with the backing of constructive program.¹⁷ 'Civil-disobedience without the backing of constructive program is criminal and a waste of effort.'¹⁸

It can be deduced from the preceding arguments that satyagraha could not be divided into water right compartments of constructive and political work and a satyagrahi could partake any of the activities, the constructive or the political or both simultaneously. It was a matter of one's capacity.¹⁹ For the sake of efficiency, according to Gandhi, it was necessary to confine a worker to one activity at a time or to such activities which could run conveniently together.²⁰ As more workers were ready to join the activities considered as political, Gandhi wanted for those who had faith in the constructive program, to go exclusively with them. If they were to court arrest, it should be with the prior approval of Gandhi.²¹ Gandhi felt it necessary for the success of the constructive program. What was important in this concern was that while doing the constructive work, one should not be oblivious of its relevance with the national struggle. It was opinion of Gandhi and was proven by evidences that constructive work done in right spirit somewhere created better preparedness for the national struggle among people.²²

The Indian National Congress did not agree to heading of political agitations in native states but constructive programs could be carried out there by the resolution of Nagpur session in 1920.²³ Anyone who believed in resisting the British Rule could pursue them, there were no bars of any kind in pursuance of constructive program.²⁴ But, it was perceived that a public worker could be a member either of a constructive or of a political organization.²⁵

Sewa Sangh: Constructive and Political

Bhogilal Pandya²⁶ established Rajasthan Sewa Sangh with himself as the founder president on March, 15, 1938 (or in 1939²⁷) in Dungarpur²⁸ to carry out the 15-fold constructive program of Mahatma Gandhi.²⁹ Bhil service constituted major part of the Sangh though other castes

were not out of its preview.³⁰ The dominant tribe in the region of Bagar was Bhil. According to the census of 1941, Bhil population was 58 percent in Dungarpur.³¹ To work for the socio-economic uplift of the Bhil, Meena and peasants was the motto of the Sangh.³² The depressed classes and Harijans were to be brought up at par with other communities and untouchability was to be abolished.³³ The constitution of Rajasthan Sewa Sangh projected as its motto the elevation of educational, social, economic and political conditions of the people of Rajputana.³⁴ Practically it was confined to the region of Bagar and to the state of Dungarpur specifically. Rajasthan Sewa Sangh was popular by the name of Sewa Sangh.

The Maharawal of Dungarpur was instrumental in founding and substantiating the work of Sewa Sangh.³⁵ Major tendencies of the Sangh related to spread of education (girls, boys and adults), self-sufficiency in cloth, distribution of medicines, prohibition, sanitation, social reform, care of orphans, animal husbandry and agricultural reforms, flood-relief, digging and deepening of wells etc. Sewa Sangh evolved into a bunch of institutions to carry out these activities. They were Harijan Sewak Samiti, Dungarpur, Harijan Sewak Samiti, Partapur (Banswara), Bagar Sarvajanik Chhatrawas, Dungarpur, Bapa Bhil Chhatrawas (for Bhil students seeking for higher education), Dungarpur and Chhatra Hitkarini Sabha, Bhiluda, Flood Relief Committee, Sagwara and Famine Relief Committee³⁶ along with the Sewa Sangh itself.

Sewa Sangh made a three-year plan and published reports of its progress every year. In the span of three years, they set a target of making five percent population of the state literate, training of 500 males and females in spinning, spread of Khadi throughout the state, persuasion of the Bhils to give up liquor consumption at places where activities of Sewa Sangh were running and to abolish other evils from among them, constitute Gram-Panchayats and Cooperative Committees, improvement of the economic, political and social condition of the Bhils through founding of Navyuvak-Mandals.³⁷ The plans are progressive, assimilative and wholesome in nature. They focus on the organization of the people and help them elevate themselves with the direction and assistance of the Sangh.

The progress reports of the Sangh of first two years of its establishment are not found though their references are seen in the records. During the third year (from 1-10-1940 to 30-9-1941), the

progress of the Sangh in its different focus areas is illustrated. In the field of literacy, Sangh was running nine day and thirteen-night schools for the Bhils wherein 1356 boys and 140 girls were studying. Two day and two night-schools were running for the Harijans wherein 96 boys and seven girls were studying. 52 students were residing in the Bagar-Chhatrawas and 14 in Bapa-Bhil-Chhatralaya.³⁸

The social reform initiatives of the Sangh attempted at social evils rampant among the Bhils and Harijans. They adopted a two-pronged approach. On one hand, they preached and tried to persuade them to abandon observance of certain unwholesome practices. On the other, they tried to move the government pass statutes prohibiting them. The punitive measures of laws enacted in Dungarpur state prohibiting the practice of *Dapa* (selling of girls), *Padla* (clothes, jewellery etc. fineries given by the groom's side to the bride at the time of marriage) and *Jhagra* (absconding of women), were explained to them. Reconciliatory methods, like Bhajans, speeches and dialogues were applied to persuade them to leave the evil practices including *nukta* (death-feast). As a result of these efforts and tactics, it was proclaimed that Balais of 35 villages in Sagwara stopped practicing *dapa* collectively and resolved to punish those who would abscond with others' wives.³⁹ Heads of Chamars of 25 villages stopped eating carrion in their villages. The Bhil women were exhorted successfully to discard the brass ornaments. During the third year 1000 Bhil women gave up the brass rings be worn in the legs.⁴⁰

The Sewa Sangh persuaded the Bhils for temperance.⁴¹ It is claimed that the Bhils of ten villages and Harijans of twenty-five villages forsook liquor and opium collectively through efforts of the Sangh.⁴² It might be an over estimated account of Rajasthan Sewa Sangh by Ramnarayan Choudhary that the Harijans gave up drinking and eating carrion, social evils in them diminished and they rose economically by the efforts of the Sewa Sangh, which was successful in Dungarpur and Banswara in particular and in whole of Rajputana in general.⁴³ Conversely, the project of service in Rajputana under the Rajasthan Sewa Sangh had materialized especially in the Bagar region. Bhils to a mass of six lac people were proclaimed to be benefitted by the reformative enterprise of Sewa Sangh.⁴⁴

The basic modes of subsistence, agriculture and animal husbandry were tried to be reformed so that the livelihood for the people could become easier. Spinning could have been an addition to their meagre incomes. The agricultural reforms consisted of manufacturing compost,

providing seeds for harvesting crops like potatoes, lentils, cotton and millet, hedging of the fields, deepening of old wells and digging of new wells, etc. During the third year of the Sangh, 66 wells were deepened and 25 new wells were dug up. All the centres of the Sangh ran spinning and ginning and one of the centres, weaving. A production centre of Khadi was opened and second one was anticipated to be opened. 74 families were provided cotton seeds to do cotton harvest.⁴⁵ These reforms were crucial, especially to survive the famines which was not so infrequent phenomenon in Rajputana. There was famine in Bagar between 1936 and 1941 with a slight relief in 1939.⁴⁶

The Sangh received financial help from varied sources to sustain its activities; the Thakkar-Jayanti-Fund, the government of Dungarpur and from the emigrant capitalists of Rajputana inhabiting across India, prominent among them being the Birlas, Bhagirathmal Kanoria, Ram-Niwas Ruiyan and others.⁴⁷ For the third year, Sangh received a sum of 4918 rupees and 4 annas out of which 2286 rupees were local, 2628 were from outside and rupees 4 and 4 annas were from miscellaneous sources.⁴⁸ In addition to the aids in cash, the assistance of the government of Dungarpur was in form of loans at low interest rates, rent free buildings like that of Bagar-Sarvajanic-Chhatrawas, agricultural tools and other things (medicine etc.). Sometimes the government deployed its employees for various causes at the disposal of the Sangh. The Sangh gave account of the funds received and disbursed, every year.

The Sewa Sangh used to celebrate days, events and festivals of national movement like the Gandhi-Jayanti and Harijan-Divas etc., at all of its centres, carrying out Prabhat-Pheries and organizing meetings of people. It also joined in festivals related to the tribal culture like Shri Vijay Mela, Beneshwar Mela, Neela Pani and Padli Gujreshwar to popularize its activities.⁴⁹ It availed the Sangh opportunities for connecting with larger population of the land for spreading awareness about the programs of Sangh and raising national consciousness among them. The Sewa Sangh incorporated as much persons from among the tribes and Harijans who could serve as workers, in its fold. Thus, the service work of the Sewa Sangh became their own cause and they attached to it in a strong bond of reciprocity and togetherness.

By the year 1942, 25 centres were running under the Sangh. These centres were nucleus of all the activities of Sangh including spread of education.⁵⁰ One day and one night school were run by Harijan-

Sewak Samiti, Dungarpur. Harijan-Sewak Samiti, Partapur (Banswara) also ran one day and one night school.⁵¹ Chhatra Hitkarini Sabha, Bhiluda ran one reading-room and one night-school.⁵² Sewa Sangh had opened separate schools for tribal girls in villages Doja, Kalaria, Jhonthari and Gandhwa where lady teachers were appointed. An aid of Rs.15 /- per-month for each of these schools was granted by the All India Harijan Sewak Sangh.⁵³ Amritlal V. Thakkar, secretary of Harijan Sewak Sangh and Rameshwari Nehru had visited Dungarpur to inspect the work of Sewa Sangh.⁵⁴ In a period of almost ten years while the service work lasted, the number of schools reached to 10-day schools and 40-night schools carrying 1600 Bhil boys and 250 Bhil girls.⁵⁵ 80 percent of the peasant population was proclaimed to have been benefitted by the 15-fold constructive program of Gandhi in Dungarpur.⁵⁶

Sewa Sangh received a jolt in the year 1942. Gandhi invoked the people from princely states to join in the Quit-India movement.⁵⁷ The call was also from All-India States' People's Conference to 'line up with those who stand up for the freedom of India.'⁵⁸ Sewa Sangh passed a resolution supporting the Quit-India movement on 27-8-1942 and urged the Government of Dungarpur to sever relations with the Government of India.⁵⁹ The government warned the Sangh to abstain from any political agenda. Seeing the Sangh not moved, the government attempted at the very constructive work of Sewa Sangh. Order no. 2701 dated 22.9.43 was circulated to the police stations to capture the schools of Sangh.⁶⁰ Subsequently, the statutes banning the opening of private schools and hostels, '*Private Pathshala sanchalan niyam?*' and '*Kavayad vaste chhatrawas?*' were enacted (on 8.11.1943).⁶¹ This was despite the fact that opening of private schools was not permitted without prior permission of the state. Nine schools of the Sangh carrying 1500 Bhil boys and 250 Bhil girls had been closed during the year 1942.⁶²

Until 1-8-1944, the political agenda was carried out by Sewa-Sangh when it postponed its constitution and founded Dungarpur Rajya Prajamandal for the establishment of responsible government under the aegis of the ruler of Dungarpur through peaceful and legitimate means.⁶³ The very first job the Prajamandal did was condemnation of the order and the statutes passed by the government to ban the activities of Sangh.⁶⁴ The political agenda against the state policies caught pace under the Prajamandal and so widened the rift with the government. During this, the source of strength of the Prajamandal were the very tribal people who had been associated with the Sangh. It is evident from the fact that

the scavengers (Bhangis) of Dungarpur went on strike against the arrest of the leaders of Prajamandal in 1946.⁶⁵ The state slightly slackened the ban imposed on the constructive activities of Sangh. Sewa-Sangh opened its dysfunctional school again in April, 1946. The modified constitution of the Sangh was adopted on November 27, 1946 in the Sangh Bhawan, Dungarpur. The name adopted this time was Sewa- Sangh, Dungarpur and field of service, the tribes of Dungarpur.⁶⁶

Clashes with the police and men of state kept occurring time and again which entangled the villagers and the leaders of the Prajamandal alike, came to be known as the *Punavada Kand* and the *Kuwan Kand*⁶⁷ wherein the state authorities trying to force shut the school of Sangh faced adamant resolve on part of the people to not let shut them down. The most horrible of the clashes took place at Bhil village Rasta-Pal on 19-6-1947. A student of the school, Kali Bai, a thirteen-year-old Bhil girl, trying to save her teacher Senga Bhai from being assaulted and a Bhil worker-cum-teacher Nana Bhai Khant who had pledged to not let shut down his school at Rasta-Pal until he was alive, were martyred on 21-6-1947 and 19-6-1947 respectively. The final processions of both the martyrs were hugely followed by the people and strike was observed in Dungarpur. They were cremated on the banks of river Gagli in Dungarpur.⁶⁸ The tribals had paid off the service done to them by laying their life for their ameliorators. The incident turned out to be such a setback for the state the government couldn't ward off. The Maharaval excused that a bullet after striking to a stone hit Kali Bai and led her to death.⁶⁹

In the last Instance

Gandhi gave priority to the constructive program over civil-disobedience and the parliamentary program. The constructive program were not loose activities to be carried out in spare time or when the civil-disobedience was not being observed. Rather, the constructive program was 'the truthful and non-violent way of winning Poorna-Swaraj' while the civil disobedience, mass or individual, was an aid to constructive effort.⁷⁰ From this point of view, the constructive program should not have been compromised for the civil-disobedience in Dungarpur especially when the government was supportive. The motive of the national movement was building Swaraj of individuals (which will culminate into the Swaraj of the nation) in villages, irrespective of the government (native or alien). "To make people self-reliant, fearless, self-

supporting, resourceful and healthy is to make them keep swaraj always in view. There is nothing in the name of swaraj apart from the qualities I have mentioned."⁷¹ Sewa Sangh was engaged in achieving this motive through its constructive work.

From another perspective of Gandhi, the constructive program was a preparation for the civil-disobedience⁷² to incorporate the qualities required for the direct action of Satyagraha. Gandhi was happy with the fact that wherever intensive Charkha work was done the people shown 'greater grit, unity and capacity for organization in the struggle for independence'.⁷³ This happened to be true of the Sewa Sangh too. Sewa Sangh's constructive work had awakened the people of Dungarpur to self-amelioration with a national perspective in view. So, when civil resistance was launched in Dungarpur, they came alongside with their ameliorators and became the strength of the movement.

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi do not refer to Sewa Sangh or Bhogilal Pandya. So, we are not able to assume whether Gandhi was acquainted with Bhogilal Pandya himself or the constructive work of Sewa Sangh as he was with all major activities taking place in Rajputana regarding the national movement. In absence of any remarks of Gandhi, it is not possible to know what his reaction could have been towards the decision of Sewa Sangh's launching political agitation. Most probably, he would have persisted upon the constructive program. The constructive program could be an extremely dear cost for the civil-disobedience which Gandhi might have reluctant in paying. Just to fall in fashion with others was not what Gandhi sought for, instead he wished for 'all concentrate on our own work and our own place'.⁷⁴ For Gandhi, it could have been a case of breaching the trust of the government too, the because the government was joining hands in elevating the lives of his subjects along with the nationalist workers themselves. The paper is also conducive of the conclusion that the native rulers were not opposed to the Gandhian constructive program as they were to the civil-disobedience. There are instances when Gandhi had advised the Prajamandals in Rajputana (as in case of Udaipur⁷⁵ and Jaipur⁷⁶ in 1939) to suspend the Satyagraha and indulge in constructive program. The reverse is less amenable to thought.

But, from the theoretical propositions of Gandhi, the stance taken by Sewa Sangh was not wrong. A constructive organization, Sewa Sangh for that matter, could traverse to the political arena and vice versa because

they were organically aligned to each other. Sewa Sangh had an inherent right to carry out political agenda. But from the point of view of practicability or efficiency, as Gandhi pointed it out, the apprehensions of Gandhi turned to be true.

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Freedom Struggle in Rajasthan: Reflections in Urdu Press and Literature

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The role of a language in the socio-cultural and political life of a society is significant as well as historical. Urdu, which evolved through a proper linguistic process spanning many centuries in medieval India, has served the Indian society in every civilizational aspect. During its initial stage in medieval times it had been a medium of exchange of ideas and spiritual values by the Bhakti and Sufi saints.¹ In fact the exchange of Bhakti-Sufi mystic values in the form of a common language had resulted in the formation of *Hindavi* in the sub-continent, which later developed into a standardized language and became the lingua-franca of the major portion of Indian sub-continent.² Though the language fell into the trap of politics during the colonial period and got divided on the basis of scripts i.e. Persian and *Devnagri*³ but its role in pluralism and the multicultural co-existence of Indian society is historically trailblazing.

With the advent of colonial rule in India, the significance of vernacular languages increased because the shift from Persian to English as the official language had changed the political scenario of the country laying a direct impact on the linguistic aspect of Indian society. In addition, the localization of the sufferings of the masses and their response in the vernacular literature had become a breakthrough in the history of the colonial India. In this context we find increase in the vernacular literature and the development of regional languages like Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, Marathi, Bhojpuri, and Bengali and so on. This resulted in the publication of a plethora of writings in vernacular languages and Urdu with Persian script was one of the prominent languages in this case. There were a number of poets and prose writers who wrote extensively in this language.

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The arrival of print culture in India set the trend of the establishment of printing press in the sub-continent. Urdu press and literature had also emerged out of this process and ‘*Jam-e-Jahan Numa* was the first Urdu newspaper issued from Calcutta on 27 March 1822’ with Munshi Sada Sukh Mirzapuri as its editor, printed at Mission Press under the supervision of Harihar Dutt.⁴ Similarly the tradition of writings in Urdu prose and poetry in the form of books had emerged in the public sphere since the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁵ Going through the Urdu writings of the period one understands the fact that Urdu prose and poetry had responded eloquently to the contemporary situation and it lamented the socio-political and economic turmoil in the form of *shahr ashoob* (city in mourning).⁶ Since 1822, hundreds of Urdu periodicals were also printed and published across the length and width of the Indian subcontinent. During the revolt of 1857, the Urdu press and literature played a vital role in mobilizing the masses against the British colonial state. That is the reason we find the suppression of the publication houses by the British and stern punishments to the editors/publishers of these papers. Publishers like Maulvi Mohammad Baqar were a few of the examples who paid the price of their lives for writing against the British colonial state.⁷

With the emergence of the Indian national movement in the last quarter of 19th century, the importance of Urdu as a language of masses based in a large portion of the country increased and it responded comprehensively to every event of socio-religious, political and economic importance. Urdu prose and poetry propagated patriotism, communal harmony and opposition to the colonial state and it contested particularly the divisive politics of the Muslim league in the last decade of the British colonial rule.⁸ The Urdu press and literature played its role significantly in every province of the British India; similarly its contribution in addressing every aspect of the society in Rajasthan is also worth reading.

Urdu’s Response towards Freedom Struggle in Rajasthan

Contrary to general belief that Rajasthan was more or less quiet during the revolt of 1857, the situation was critical and alarming in some parts of the region. Places like Nasirabad, Neemuch, Huwa and Kota had witnessed anti-British activities and rebellions.⁹ Many prominent rebel leaders of the region including Tonk, Dholpur and Kota had strong sympathies with the rebels.¹⁰ A mild response was observed in the region

during the initial stages of mass struggle in the country. However, during the Rowlatt Satyagraha there were many protests in Ajmer. Chand Karan Sarada, a revolutionary of Ajmer had strongly advocated Satyagraha and non-payment of taxes, leading finally to his arrest and one year’s imprisonment. The Non-Cooperation movement had continued in the region for a long time and it had contributed a lot in the mobilization of masses along the mainstream nationalist politics of the country.¹¹ There was a significant impact of Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement on the people of Rajasthan which led to the nationalist awakening of the people.¹²

Urdu language has played an important role in representing the nationalist aspirations of the people of Rajasthan province. Urdu writings in Rajasthan had least mention of the revolt of 1857, presumably because of mild response to the rebellion in Rajputana but the Urdu poets of the region had mourned its failure in other regions of the country.¹³ Many prominent poets and their students had shifted to Rajasthan because of the chaos in their regions inflicted by the revolt. Taking asylum in the small kingdoms of Rajputana they mourned the state of affairs in the regions they actually belonged to. Mir Mehdi Majrooh, Zaheer Dehlavi, Mohd Ali Tashna and Qurban Ali Beg Salik were some of the poets who had migrated to Rajputana and expressed eloquently the turmoil of the revolt in their poetry.¹⁴

With the beginning of twentieth century there emerged a few writers who had started discussing social issues in their writings, which seems to be the influence of other social and political platforms working in other parts of India. Some reflections of social appeal can be found in Urdu poetry published by two prominent journals of the region, namely *Qaum* (1902) and *Shayari ki Kaya Palat* (1909), published from Jaipur and Jhalawar respectfully.¹⁵ Moreover there were a number of poets and prose writers in the region who wrote a plethora of material on the national movement. Urdu journals and periodicals in the region continuously depicted and addressed the anti-British mass movements of the nation. Periodicals like *Jaam* (Bikaner), *Jauhar-e-Sukhan* (Jaipur), *Roshni* (Jaipur), *Kaif* (Ajmer), *Aftab* (Jhalrapatan), *Alamgir* (Jodhpur) and many others had contributed holistically in this case.

Emphasis on Nationalism and Communal Harmony in Rajasthan

Al-Ikhlaq was a prominent Urdu periodical published from Jaipur

by the Bal Chandra Press, with a huge following of readers. In 1905, the editor of the periodical wrote a long editorial with the title *Hindu-Musalmanon mein ittifaq kyunkar ho sakta hai?* (How unity among Hindus and Muslims can be possible?). In this comprehensive writing the editor analyzed the cultural similarities between Hindus and Muslims and argued that both have many things similar in nature viz. food habits, dress codes, languages and so on, then why it is difficult for them to maintain unity and harmony?¹⁶ A poem in the same journal entitled as *Qabil-e-Tawajjuh Buzurgan-e-Qaum* has discussed in verses the problems faced by Indians at socio-economic and political level and it has appealed the people to struggle united to overcome all these challenges. In one of the stanzas the poet has emphasized upon the fact that Indians have wasted their time, energy and talent in mutual quarrels. The poet says,

Jo rashq-o-raqabat tha isi qaum mein aaya.
Aapas ki adawat ne mafar qaum mein paya.¹⁷

The jealousy and rivalry that had come to this nation.
That mutual enmity has destroyed the nation.

The editor of *Al-Ikhlaq* published another long editorial with the title *Bakri Eid ya Baqr Eid* in which he discussed in detail a misconception prevailing among Muslims about the nomenclature of the Eid-ul-Azha (the Muslim festival famous for sacrifice). The author elaborated that unfortunately Muslims have misunderstood *bakri eid* (goat's festival) with *baqr eid* (cow's festival) thus leading to the emphasis upon the sacrifice of cow on the festival of *eid-ul-azha*. He says that it is totally wrong and misleading and in fact the real name for the festival is *eid-ul-azha* which have been replaced, with the passage of time, with the name *bakri eid* (goat's festival) and now some passionate people are confusing it with *baqr eid* (cow's festival) to emphasize upon the cow's sacrifice on the festival. He further says that in Islamic *sharia* there is no compulsion for the sacrifice of any particular animal but it is the piety which has been focused in the celebration of every festival and performance of every ritual.¹⁸ The *Al-Ikhlaq* was writing these articles and editorials at a time when the province of Bengal was divided by the British on communal lines and in response the Swadeshi and boycott movement had started in Bengal province, while having a significant influence upon other provinces of the country also.¹⁹ The periodical also

published a long article with the title *Swadeshi Tehreek* (Swadeshi Movement) in which the author elaborated the causes, course and consequences of the movement and emphasized upon unity of Indians to fight against the unjust British rule. The author made some suggestions in the following words, to those who were protesting against the partition of Bengal:

Doubting the essence of the (Swadeshi) movement is condemnable but those who are leading it should take into attention the ethical and moral principles because it would be disastrous for the nation if we lack it. Another important point to be taken into consideration is that there are two kinds of the supporters of the movement. First are the passionate youth, who have brought shame to the nation by their immoral and shameful activities; second are those elderly men who have wisdom and farsightedness. The movement should be in the hand of those elders.²⁰

It is imperative to mention here that the focus of harmony didn't remain limited to inter-community relations (Hindus and Muslims), rather the editor of the periodical emphasized in an editorial, upon intra-communal harmony among various religious communities of India.²¹ Apart from *Al-Ikhlaq* almost all of the Urdu periodicals and literature works in Rajasthan contributed significantly in emphasizing upon the communal harmony and mutual co-existence of Hindus and Muslims and their united efforts for the freedom of the country. The love for the nation can be seen expressed eloquently in the following couplet of Urdu poet Mir Ahadi Ajmeri published by *Alamgir* (Jodhpur),

Jan bhi jaye toh bas jaye watan ke ishq mein.
Mein rahun mar kar bhi ya rab zer-e-daman-e-watan.²²
If I lose my life, it should be in the path of nation.

May I remain under the shadow of nation even after my death.

A long drama titled as *Pehli Kiran* written by the editor of *Aftab* (monthly) describes a detailed conversation between a Hindu Pandit and a Muslim about the importance of unity among the Indians.²³

Contestation of Two-nation Theory and Partition of India

The contestation of Muslim League's politics and Two-nation Theory and yearning for freedom of the country finds elaborate description in Urdu press. The Indian National Congress's consent to the provinces

to carry nationalist activities through their own efforts had led to detailed and eloquent expression in the literature in Hindi, Rajasthani and Urdu.²⁴ Many popular poems were composed in Urdu at that time; thus 'hasti ki masti', 'Azad hoga', 'hukumat ya khudai', 'gulbang-e-qafas', 'O des jane wale bata' and Amin Wasqi's untitled poems were some of the masterpieces of the time. A long poem of Nayaz Sherani titled as 'Naqais Qawanin-e-Hindustan ke' was also an important poem.²⁵ The revolutionary Urdu poetry at this stage had gained currency in every corner of Rajasthan; Urdu poets belonging to Jaipur, Ajmer, Bikaner, Tonk and other regions had expressed eloquently the yearning for freedom and the passion of sacrifice for the motherland.²⁶ Thus a beautiful couplet of Shafaq Tonki describes the situation,

Ab hogi baar awar aqwam ki tehreek-e-azadi.

Jo faal-e-nau watan ke waastey hai ab who saal aaya.

Now the movement of people for freedom would be successful.

The year with good wishes has arrived.²⁷

The yearning for freedom and the hatred for colonial subjugation can be found expressed in a couplet of Nayaz Sherani,

Gayee azadiyan dil se mere shakhsi hukumat ki.

Musallat aaj kal toh qalb par hai daur-e-jamhoori.

The loves for dictatorship has vanished from my heart.

Now the heart is yearning for democratic rule.²⁸

It is imperative to understand that Urdu press and literature in Rajasthan had struggled a lot given the existing political circumstances²⁹ but it was successful in representing the sentiments of Indians at the national level. Thousands of publications of great repute were the product of this phase of Indian history which expressed eloquently the aspirations of Indians.

Conclusion

Urdu has been one of the prominent languages of the Indian subcontinent. Likewise its role in the province of Rajasthan during the Indian freedom struggle is also historical. As discussed in detail, there was a huge plethora of writings in Urdu during this phase of history which depicts the multilingual as well as multicultural diversity of the nation. Urdu's role in the advocacy of communal harmony and mutual co-existence and its contribution in contesting the communalisms of both

types i.e. majority and minority are also worthwhile.³⁰ Its existence in Rajasthan and the role it played in the socio-economic, political and cultural efflorescence of the province needs a holistic attention through historical approach.

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Jaipur Lunatic Asylum: Navigating Institutional History amid Colonial Rule (1895-1940s)

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The present study traces the institutional history of present-day Jaipur Psychiatric Centre (1952) within the purview of the relationship between the princely State of Jaipur and the British colonial State and the evolving ideas of colonial psychiatry. Mental hospitals have been a central part of psychiatric services in India over the years, yet the concept of mental institutions is not very distant in history.¹ The inception of mental hospitals as an institution dates back to the colonial period. The segregation of lunatics in mental asylum and their supervision was entirely of British origin.² In the State of Rajputana, ten of the States maintained small lunatic asylums, while elsewhere; 'dangerous' lunatics were usually kept in jails.³ A Lunatic Asylum outside Brahma Pol, the historical gate of Udaipur, was constructed by Maharana Fateh Singh in 1899-1900.⁴ Repeated suggestions by the Residency Surgeon and Chief Medical Officer in Rajputana, Lt. Col. D. FF Mullen, to start a central asylum at Ajmer supported by the Native States for the scientific treatment and care of lunatics could not reach fruition.⁵ The paper focuses on the lunatic asylum of Jaipur to show how the lunatic asylum became a tool of colonial control which the British used to exercise their authority over princely durbars. However, the princely State of Jaipur appropriated this colonial institution to assert its autonomy and project self-sufficiency and progressiveness.

Relationship between the princely State of Jaipur and the British colonial State

The Treaty of 'Subsidiary Alliance' between the ruler of Jaipur

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princely state Sawai Jagat Singh and the British was signed in April 1818. This Treaty made the British the 'protector' of the interests of Jaipur rulers, their heirs, and successors against internal and external aggression and non-interference in the State's internal affairs.⁶ In return, the Treaty also entailed Jaipur state's acknowledgement of British 'paramountcy', foregoing of external relations and disputes to be settled by the British and non-participation in any aggressive acts against other states. Jaipur state was also required to pay a tribute. The Treaty was followed by the transformation of the traditional administrative, legal, and revenue structures and 'modernization' and 'westernization' of certain socio-economic practices, education, medical and health care.⁷

The Treaty also brought significant changes in the administration of Jaipur state, like the introduction of British political agents in the Jaipur court to superintend its administration and to "ascertain and improve *darbar's* revenues and gather political intelligence."⁸ This provision made it possible to interfere routinely in Jaipur state's internal affairs. The Company also continued the Mughal legacy by endorsing the succession to the Jaipur *gaddi* as a suzerain. In 1832, a single political authority known as 'Agent to the Governor General for the states of Rajputana and Commissioner of Ajmer' was created, which had the Residents of four different agencies (of Rajputana Agency) under his control. The Jaipur Agency comprised Jaipur, Alwar, Kishangarh, Shahpura, Tonk and the chief-ship of Lawa. The post of Resident to Jaipur was made permanent in 1839 on the recommendation of Lt. Col. Sutherland.

In 1838, the death of the regent of minor Ram Singh II (r. 1835-1880) led to the creation of the "Council of Regency" of 5 principal Rajput nobles headed by a political agent. This body became the highest administrative and judicial authority of the State.⁹ In 1854-55, during the rule of Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II, the Council was expanded to include two independent offices of the Revenue Department (under the *Diwan*) and *Bakshi* to command the Army. Further attempts at decentralization of the ruler's power and division of functions among ministers were made, with the creation of four new departments, namely, (1) the Police, (2) the Medical Department, (3) the Education Department, and (4) the Survey and Settlement Department. In 1921, towards the end of his reign, Maharaja Madho Singh II (r. 1880-1922) appointed a *Mahakama Khas*, which finally evolved into a Council consisting (1) the Maharaja as President, also in charge of Army department (2) the Prime

Minister as Vice-President and head of Political Department, along with five other ministers as in-charge of Education, Finance & Public Works, Judicial, Home and Revenue Departments. According to Robert W. Stern, in 1922, the British gained an opportunity to regain control over the Jaipur Durbar by increasing the bureaucratization of the Jaipur state.¹⁰ The British administration indirectly ruled Jaipur by being the regent for minor Sawai Man Singh II (r. 1922-1949) and placed ministers and officials of their choice. Thus, as Barbara Ramusack suggests, princely states' autonomy was restricted through treaties that never indicated defined doctrines of usage and paramountcy.¹¹ However, some crevices gave the possibility for autonomous activity by the Princely rulers as well.

Lunatic Asylums under British rule and Jaipur Lunatic Asylum

The beginning of Lunatic Asylums in India is concurrent with the expansion of colonial rule. Various scholars have broadly demarcated the growth of lunatic asylum in three phases. The first phase was between 1745 and 1857 when the earliest lunatic asylums were built in presidency towns of British like Bombay (1745), Calcutta (1787), and Madras (1794), apart from one in Monghyr (1795) and Patna (1821) in Bihar and Murlī Bazaar, Dacca (1855). Initial asylums were built for the incarceration of insane European soldiers and later extended to the 'natives'.¹² The Second phase (1858-1914) witnessed the passing of the first Lunacy Act of 1858, which gave guidelines for establishing mental asylums and procedures to admit mental patients. Asylums were built in Bhowanipore (Calcutta), Patna, Dacca, Cuttack, Waltair, Trichinappally, Poona, Dharwar, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Tezpur, Jabalpur, Benaras, Agra, Bareilly and Lahore during this phase. This period was dominated by 'moral management' as the mode of treatment, i.e. cleanliness, liberal diet, recreation or occupation and development of self-control.¹³ The third phase of the early 20th century saw the introduction of the Indian Lunacy Act 1912 and the beginning of the Central European Hospital at Ranchi (now Central Institute of Psychiatry) in 1918. There was also a shift of nomenclature of 'lunatic' asylums to 'Mental' Hospitals after the amendment of the Indian Lunacy Act 1912, in 1922. It saw more Indian doctors being trained in modern psychiatry and a few attaining positions of seniority, like Banarsi Das, the first Indian Superintendent of the Agra Mental Hospital. Royal Indian Medical Psychological Association, a professional body of Indian psychiatrists, was founded in 1932.

Asylum architecture in India remained archaic and was based on the notions of prison architecture.¹⁴ Insane asylums were first established towards the end of the eighteenth century, and up to the mid-nineteenth century, there was reluctance by the British to build asylum buildings. Existing structures like jails and dispensaries were used to incarcerate insane 'natives'. The rationale was to limit the cost of building new asylum structures and reduce the living costs. Even in the late nineteenth century, asylums remained either as an extension of jail structures or located near existing jails to ensure proximity to ensure the shift of 'criminal' lunatics or use corrective instruments as required.¹⁵ Native lunatics were considered as 'dangerous' and senseless, and thus the guiding principle behind colonial architecture was 'segregation', 'order', and 'punishment'.¹⁶ They were not designed to adapt to Indian needs and practices, and Western models of psychiatry and asylum architecture were implemented without any concern for the 'native' environment and bodily necessities. Mark Harrison makes an interesting argument on the 'medical topography' process where a detailed survey of Indian climates and their categorization was done as healthy and unhealthy.¹⁷ Thus, several asylum sites were built and abandoned based on their suitability or unsuitability for the Europeans.

The present-day Jaipur Mental Hospital (Psychiatric Centre) in Janta Colony, Jaipur, was built in 1952. Since the concept of Lunatic Asylum was an import of British colonialism, asylum building in Jaipur was also a product of the prevailing ideas of colonial psychiatry. Lt. Col. T.H. Hendley, based on his vast cumulative experience as a Residency Surgeon and Superintendent of Dispensaries at *Jeypore* (Jaipur), published two important works on medico-topography namely, "A Medico-Topographical Account of Jeypore" in 1895 and "General Medical History of Rajputana" in 1900. He writes that initially, the cases of violent forms of insanity that were beyond the control of the family were kept in jails, secured by heavy chains attached to the walls. Treatment was not the focus. Gradually, a small asylum called *Pagal Khana* under the jail establishment was located near one of the historical gates of Jaipur called *Ghat Gate*, i.e. the southern rampart of the walled city. Even today, in local colloquial terms, the place is often recalled as '*pagalkhane wali gali*', long after the shift of asylum to a new location. Interestingly, the Central Jail, built in 1854, was also located in 'south of the city walls' near *Ghat Gate*. There were, on average, about 40 inmates.¹⁸ Thus, the

initial construction of the Jaipur lunatic asylum could not move beyond the often blurry line between prison and asylum.

Reform to build a new lunatic asylum was long under consideration. Hendley, in his book "A Medico-Topographical Account of Jeypore" (1895), mentions, "*It has long been felt that the accommodation and supervision were inadequate and a new series of buildings has been erected in a walled garden near the Government Telegraph Office outside the south-west corner of the city at a cost of about Rs. 22,000.*"¹⁹ It contained a separate enclosure for women with day and night wards and suitable offices. There is a large garden and a '*Baradari*' or summer house for the men with trees, in the midst of which are the ward for day and night use, separate cells, a small hospital and dispensary, with quarters for the hospital assistant in charge and for attendants.²⁰ It seems unlikely that the females got access to the same fresh air and *baradari* in the day as men. Lt. Col. T.H. Hendley was the Surgeon General who approved all the arrangements during his visit to the constructed Asylum on November 10th, 1894. The Annual Report of 1894 also remarked that "*the lunatics will now be treated, as they ought to be, as sick persons, instead of being regarded as criminals.*"²¹ The improvement in the accommodation of the Jaipur lunatic Asylum can be linked to the series of progressive reforms in institution building undertaken by the erstwhile ruler Maharaja Sawai Madho Singh II (r. 1880-1922). Also, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, more buildings were being turned into lunatic asylums, thus marking a shift from asylums outside the periphery of punitive institutions like jails. His Highness the Maharaja inspected and formally opened this new Asylum on April 15th 1895.²² Lt. Col. Hendley, the Superintendent of Dispensaries and Vaccination, Jaipur, also dedicated his best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja, Rao Bahadur Kantee Chunder Mookerjee, and other Members of Council for their interest in and liberal support to hospitals and dispensaries.²³ In the Report (1895), Lt. Col. T.H. Hendley proclaims the Asylum is "one of the best in India". There are separate cells for violent cases, cook-rooms and latrines, and housing facilities for doctors and female wardens. An old Hospital Assistant is in charge and lives on the spot.²⁴ In 1896, at the request of the Kishangarh Durbar, the Jaipur Durbar consented to admit lunatics from that State on payment of expenses unless accommodation was insufficient.²⁵

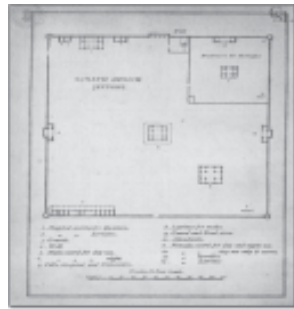


Figure 1: Plan for Lunatic Asylum near Government Telegraph Office. (A *Medico-Topographical Account of Jeypore* by Lt. Col. T.H. Hendley)²⁶

The Mental Hospital was moved to another building near the historical gate on the western side of the walled city of Jaipur called the Chandpole Gate on May 27th 1922, which was opposite the present Zanana Hospital.²⁷ The Annual Administrative Report of the Jaipur State of the years 1926-28 states that the Asylum is "an unsuitable place and a new building, to be constructed behind the Central Jail when funds permit, has been sanctioned."²⁸ Financial considerations thus inhibited the evolution of the Jaipur Lunatic Asylum despite concerns about its suitability. The various annual reports of the administration of Jaipur State inform us that since its inception, the Jaipur lunatic asylum had been under the administrative control of the Superintendent of Jails, who provided food, protection, and clothing for the inmates. The part-time doctors from the Jail Department provided the medical supervision.²⁹ The lunatic asylums in different British-administered states were also headed by a Superintendent, who often was a Civil Surgeon with myriad responsibilities as the supervisor of other institutions like jails and hospitals. Only on September 2nd 1944, did the Jaipur Mental Hospital come under the direct control of the State Medical Department as an independent unit. Two medical officers- One Medical graduate and the other a Medical licentiate- administered the institution. The slow progress of psychiatry as a discipline and specialization in India during the colonial period significantly delayed the separation of treatment of insanity from the punitive state control through the Jail Department to the more humane and professional Medical Department. Truly, as Shilpi Rajpal argues, the 'medicalization' of psychiatry in India was different from the West since here it was a by-product of colonialism.³⁰

Jaipur Mental Hospital: Modernization and Assertion of Autonomy

The colonial State exhibited profound unease, bordering almost on psychosis, over its relationship with the colonized. The focus of policies of colonial psychiatry was to bring irascible individuals and groups that could not be brought into the fold of law under the political control of the State.³¹ Shilpi Raj suggests that the asylums played a significant role in colonial governance. 'Lunacy' as a term was all-encompassing and gave the State the power to bring within its purview of control the vagrants, alcoholics, drug users, etc. An attempt by the Colonial State to propose the establishment of a joint lunatic asylum for Rajputana can be seen in 1938. Correspondence is available between the Secretary and the Resident for Rajputana, suggesting the same to the Resident of Jaipur and other Rajputana states since the '*existing arrangements for the maintenance of State lunatics in Rajputana are far from being adequate.*'³² At present, non-violent lunatics are mostly kept in state jails, while violent lunatics are interned in the Lunatic Asylums of Agra or Lahore. The scope of building a joint lunatic asylum for Rajputana was thus explored. In response to this suggestive exploration, the Prime Minister of Jaipur, a member of the *Mahakama Khas*, assertively replied that the "necessity of Central Asylum does not, for the present, apply to Jaipur state as it has its lunatic asylum."³³ The State displayed its self-sufficiency in managing its lunatics. It mentioned that in rare cases, lunatics of the wealthy and educated tend to call for admission to British Indian institutions rather than State Asylums (primarily meant for the poor) and necessary arrangements and expenses for the same are borne by the private individuals and not by the State. The princely State of Jaipur asserts its autonomy in maintaining its State's institutions and does not surrender to the demands of the British.

Princes assimilated elements of the British gospel of social improvement through disciplinary institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons.³⁴ The Maharajas of Jaipur undertook several reforms in health, education, public works, prisons, police, etc., gaining them a progressive reputation. However, they subverted the attempt of reform from above not only by denying the need for a common lunatic asylum for Jaipur state but later by modernizing the mental hospital on their own from the early 1940s. Finding the present institution more of a *concentration camp*, the Government had already undertaken the building of an up-to-date Mental Hospital on the Mysore pattern.³⁵ The Jaipur

Mental Hospital, attached to S.M.S. Medical College (presently, Psychiatric Centre, Janta Colony, Jaipur) and began in 1952, is a product of that effort.

To conclude, segregation and confinement of the 'dangerous' and not curative treatment was the colonial agenda. Thus, lunatic asylums were certainly institutions of social control for the British. The building of a mental hospital in Jaipur was also a product of the indirect colonial rule of Jaipur state. Financial considerations, defiance of colonial assertion of control and attempts at modernization by the State itself guided the growth of Jaipur Mental Hospital. By tracing the institutional history of Jaipur Lunatic Asylum, one can suggest that the institution was a product of the contemporary milieu of colonial psychiatry and the ground of struggle for autonomy and control between the Jaipur State and the British.

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Social History of Ganganagar through the Lens of Popular Fairs and Festivals.

Shubham Sihag*

In British India, the Princely states of Rajasthan (Rajputana) comprised of 18 States, and two Chiefships, of which 15 were Rajput states (Jaipur one among them), 2 Jat states and 2 Rajput Chiefships.¹ The British rule produced a deep impact on the social life of the Indian people. In fifteenth century Ganganagar was a part of Bikaner region, which was established by Rao Bika in 1488. The Bikaner region situated on the south of the river named as *Ghagghar*. The area of present Bikaner was called as *Jangladesh*, territory was under of Jat clans who ruled by their own chiefs. In fifteenth century, Rao Bika a son of Jodha at Bikaner region was possessed by the eight Jat cantons namely Sihag, kaswan, Beniwal, Johiya, Dhaka, Poonia, Godara, and Saharan. According to the James Tod, Bika selected this capital with a purpose on the condition that name should be linked. Bika added to his own was future capital as Bikaner.² After independence, the Ganganagar became the part of the Rajasthan with the integration of the Bikaner state into Rajasthan in April 1949.³

The district Ganganagar comprised of the Hindu, the Sikh and the Muslim. It can be observed that, the religious background of district Ganganagar includes predominantly as the Hindus (72.11%), followed by the Sikh (24.66%) the Muslims (2.37%) and Jains in the society. The district had its own variety of festivals which are being celebrated by the people living in a society. The main festivals of the Hindus are *Diwali*, *Dussehra*, *Holi*, *Gangaur*, *Rakhshabandhan* and *Basant Panchami* and main festivals of the Muslims are *Moharram*, *Idul- Fitr*, *Id-ul-Zuha* and *Barawafat*. Ganganagar tradition can be captured through the lens of

fairs and festivals as it can be observed that people who belong to the different religion has different festivals which are being celebrated in the state.⁴ There are some vibrant festivals of Ganganagar like *gangaur*, *teej*, *Navrata's*, *Makar Sankranti* etc. and some have local popular religion such as *Om Banna ji* called as *Bullet Baba*.

Gogaji - In relation to the prominent deities of Rajasthan. One among them is named as Shri *Gogaji*. The temple of *Gogaji* is situated in *Gogamedi* which falls in the Nohar tehsil, in district of Hanumangarh. The temple is managed and controlled by the Office of the Assistant Commissioner Hanumangarh. The tomb of *Gogaji* was constructed by the use of marble which is situated in the sanctum of the temple. It is regarded as the symbol of communal harmony where the people belong to different religions, culture are being welcomed and allowed to worship in the temple. The people from the different religions like the Hindus, the Sikhs, the Muslims come here and it was observed that most of them includes the Hindus and the Muslims. An annual fair is organised in the place called as Gogamedi, which held every year and it lasts for the tenure of one month. The fair commenced from the Shraavan Purnima or Rakhshabandhan to the *Shraddapada Purnima*. Basically, the fair is divided into two different parts as during the first fifteen days it was noticed that the devotees come from the region like Uttar-Pradesh who used to wear the yellow clothes and in the fifteen days of this month the devotees come to worship they belongs to the different regions like the Punjab, Haryana and New Delhi. The temple named after the local deity of Rajasthan i.e., *Gogaji* who was the disciple of Gorakhnath. The birth of *Gogaji* is a village named as dadreva which falls in the Churu district. He was born on the days of *Bhadrapada Navami*, and that's why lots of people come here to worship and take blessings. The people used to call them by some other names too which include like *Gugga Pir*, *Zahir-Veer*, *Jahar-Peer*. It is one of the popular beliefs that, if a person or individual who got affected by the snake bite, then he/she should be taken to the pond then that person becomes free from the poison of snake. People used to come for the worship and it is meant that if any person suffering from the skin disease that person use to come at this place regularly and if he/she do the *pheri* around their sculpture, that person will be cured.⁵

Ramdev Ji – The *Ramdev Ji* God who worshipped in the Rajasthan on a large scale. According to the *Rajasthan Devasthan*,

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Ramdevji a local folk-deity of Rajasthan which was called by another name as *Raampeer*, *Ramsapeer*, *Runecha Ra Dhani* etc. He became evident at his early age when he had vanquished one of the cruel *Bhairav* and put an end to the different atrocities and made him committed to the inhabitants of *Pokhran* a place in the Jaisalmer. He had made huge contribution in the coming up of the village called *Runecha* which is presently famous as *Ramdevra*. It can be observed that the largest fair of the state is held at the *Ramdevra* during the month of *Bhadrapadh*. *Ramdevji* is worshipped on the one hand by the Hindus as an incarnation of Lord Krishna and other hand by the Muslims as a saint *Rama Peer*. He opposed the concept of casteism and welcomed the people of lower caste to his cult or to worship him. In Ganganagar, there is *Ramdevra* temple where women used to worship in the early morning during the fair. The temples which are dedicated to *Ramdevji* were called as *than* where he used to have his feet placed which were called as *pagaliyas*.⁶

Teja Ji, another hero who laid down his life for the protection of the cows. A gigantic fair is organised at a place named as *parbatsar* in Nagor district to commemorate this day on which his soul set forth in its journey to the heaven. At this fair, *Byavalas* are recited and *Khyalas* related to his life are being performed by the men and women of the society. His followers used to wear amulets which are made up of silver which depicts him a great warrior who is sitting on the horse with his sword in his hands and a snake biting his tongue. It is believed that if a person affected by the snake bite, it was by using the right foot *Teja ji*, himself cures him completely. The worship of deity is performed in the Vaishnav tradition but the deity is worshipped by the all sects of the society such as the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims. Every year a fair named as cattle fair is organised by the tourism department of Rajasthan which lasts from the *Sharvan Shukla Poornima* to the *Amavasya* of the month in *Bhadrapadh*. The cattle sellers join this festival from the different states like Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. It was the animals being sold and purchased during this festival. Therefore, a religious fair which held during the half of the month in *Bhadrapadh*.⁷

Buddha Johar fair, A fair which held on the day of *Amavasya* at the Gurudwara Sahib Ji in the village named as Budha-Johar. It is located in the Raisinghnagar which is also known as Budha-Johar Gurudwara Sahib. The main fair used to take place on the day of *Bhadhon ki Amavasya*. It was found that Mahtab Singh was one person who belonged

to the party of Budha Singh Jatehdar of the Sikhs. He returned to this place on the day of *Bhadhon ki Amavasya* along with the head of Massa Ranghar after killing him at Amritsar. It was believed that in the occasion of him returning from Amritsar an annual fair is being held since that time. There are various fairs held at the district Ganganagar such as *Vijayadashami*, it is a fair which was held in the Ramleela Maidan, here at this place huge number of people come to celebrate it and enjoy this festival. There are some shops for the traditional items such as clothes, handicraft items are arranged during the different fairs which held at this place. Another fair takes place named as *Bhadrakali* fair at the district Hanumangarh. There are numerous types of festivals of the Hindus which takes place in the society such as *Holi*, *Diwali*, *Gangaur*, *Sheetla Asthami*, *Akshya Tritiya* etc. It was observed that the birth of the Ten Gurus is celebrated by the Sikh community on a large scale.⁸

Gangaur is a festival of Rajasthan which can be seen as a colourful celebration dedicated to the goddess *Parvati*. “Gan” is a synonym for Lord Shiva and “Gauri” or “Gaur” stands for Goddess *Parvati*, the heavenly consort of Lord Shiva. It is observed and celebrated throughout the state with a great devotion by the women who worship the goddesses *Gauri*, the wife of lord *Shiva*. The festival being celebrated by both married and unmarried women in the society of Rajasthan. It usually falls in the month of March and April and it lasts up to 18 days. This worship which starts from the first day of the *Chaitra* month culminates on the 18th day into *Gangaur* festival with a great religious fervour. The women dressed themselves in their best attire and they wore colourful *saree*'s. The central idea behind the festival of *gangaur* was that the women used to worship for their husband wellbeing as well as longevity of their husband. It can be observed that, large number of functions are organized and women participate in large number which depicts the culture and tradition of the state. *Gangaur* is one of the most important local festivals in Rajasthan. In some form or the other it is celebrated all over Rajasthan. *Gangaur* celebrates the union of the two and is a symbol of conjugal and marital happiness. On the eve of *Gangaur* festival, women decorate their palms and fingers with henna. The idols of Gan and Gauri are immersed in a pond or in a nearby lake on the last day of the festival. It is a festival of marital fidelity. The festival had a religious importance too for the women as they worship lord *shiva* and goddess *Gauri* on the day of *gangaur*. It was observed that *Gangaur* holds a

great significance among the Hindus as on this day, the Hindus used to dedicate this festival to worship goddess *Gauri* and Lord *Shiva*. In district Ganganagar the festival is celebrated with lots of enthusiasm as this festival is much for significant for the people because it reflects the deep-rooted significance for gods and goddess.⁹

Laila-Majnu ki Mazar, another important sacred site of district Ganganagar. Many people associate this place with the lovers of *Laila* and *Majnu*. It was observed that both of them ran away from the clutches of parents of *Laila* as they were against the love of *Laila-Majnu*. It was due to the lots of sandunes and arid are in Rajasthan they got died in search of food and water. After the parents of *Laila* who followed them and found them as dead, they declared the place as *Laila-Majnu ki Mazar* and this place becomes the scared of love and both men and women comes here to worship for their better future by seeking the blessings of *Laila-Majnu*. It was observed that the local people of district Ganganagar, especially the couples come to worship for their lifelong togetherness. The *Laila-Majnu Ki Mazar* is situated in Bijnor village in Anupgarh that falls in district Ganganagar. Both of them got died they believed to have been buried here together. The tomb has today become a symbol of eternal love and people come here from the distinct places to worship and to seek the blessings of their pair. A fair is held here every year to commemorate the love of *Laila* and *Majnu* and it is attended by the newlyweds couples. During the annual fair which used to organise on 14th June in year, couples get lined up in this tomb to seek the blessings. It was observed that the visitors lay a piece of cloth called a *chaddar* on the holy shrines and they offer prayers. The newly married couples especially the women they used to worship and take their blessings by attending the annual fair.¹⁰

Khetrapal Ji, another important deity among the people of Rajasthan. The temple is constructed nearly 200 years old in the memory of local folk deity which had its historicity. The temple is established in 1593 by *Rawat Raghodas Ji* of Bikaner. there was a terrible famine which occurred due to which huge loss appeared in terms of live of the people. It was observed that a *Mahatma* sitting in the front of a hut in a meditation posture. The Rai Singh said that he got separated from his army due to a battle which made his condition worse. Then, *Mahatama Ji* offered a *kamandal* to drink water. It was the king had quenched his thirst by drinking that water but, seeing that the same amount of water

still left in that *Kamandal*. It is situated in the *Kharagada* village of Dungarpur district. It is 600 km approximately far from Ganganagar. the popularity of this temple is because of the temple of *Khetrapal Bahirav*. The hands of statue are being decorated with the *trishul*, *damru* and shield.

The people belong to the different religions like the Hindus, the Sikhs they used to worship over here. In this temple, there is a tradition of offering *Khichra* i.e., carried out every year. On the festival of Holi, the couples having their first child go and visit the temple along with the other family members and the people of rural areas they go to the *Khetrapal mandir* and played drums and women used to sing the auspicious songs. It was the women with their first baby they carry the pots full of rice and moong dal on their heads reaches to the temple. The mothers place their baby in the front of God and seeks blessings for their long lives. It was due to the several miracles of *Khetrapal Ji*, his fame spread in the whole state. The devotees make offerings of *laddu's*, *batashey's*, oil etc to fulfil their dreams. People comes from faraway places to worship in the 15 days long fair which held in the month of *asoj*, *Chaitra* and *Magh*. It was when the temple was made there were dense bushes and forest but after the temple was constructed in which the descendants used to light the lamps and worship every day. It was from that day and till today, the oil lamp in his temple keeps lighting u regularly for 24 hours.¹¹ According to the *Tourism Department of Rajasthan*, there are several theories which are associated with this temple. One among them was prominent as on the day of Saturday or *Shravan Shukla* of *Navami Samvat* when a farmer who belongs to the *Ghintala* caste in the Nagor district, he unearthed a piece of stone i.e., an idol of *Balaji* while ploughing his fields. It is said that lord *Balaji* appeared in his dreams asking him to send forth the idol to *Salasar* which is presently located in the district Churu. *Shree Salasar Balaji*, One of the prominent gods of the Hindus in Rajasthan. It was the *Ramdoot Shri Hanuman Ji* who was delighted and pleased with a great devotion of the *Shiddhpurush Shri Mohandas Ji Maharaj* in 1755 A.D. in the *asota* village. The *Balaji* was appeared as an idol for the Hindus and fulfil all the desires of his devotee in the temple of *Salasar*. The village named as *Salasar* which is situated in the district Churu. It is a temple in Rajasthan which is regarded as prominent religious place for the devotees of Lord *Hanman*. It is located 300 kilometres far from district Ganganagar.

The temple attracts the innumerable devotees throughout the year and it can be observed that most of the devotees are the Hindus and the Sikhs which used to come and worship over here. It can be observed that it is only temple in India where lord *Hanuman Ji* is being worshipped with the beard and moustaches. The lord *Hanuman ji* seems so much devoted to his followers that when he saw his devotee in any problem then he returns to them immediately and solves their problems. Thousands of the devotees come to the temple and worship to get fulfil their desires. Every year big fairs are organized on the day of *Chaitra Purnima*. It was observed that during this fair near about six to seven lac people come to have *darshan* of *Balaji*. It is only the temple of *hanuman ji* where *Balaji* appears with a beard throughout India.¹²

Om Banna Ji, a local deity of Rajasthan. In India, there are numerous ancient temples which can be found located at a distance of few kilometres which have their own believes and identity and people visit these temples from the different places. The shrine of *Om Banna Ji*, which is called by another name as *Bullet Baba* temple located presently in the chotila village near to the town Pali.

At the present, there are some new minor *dera's* made their presence such as *Dera Sacha Sauda*, it is a social welfare and spiritual organisation that believes in the practice of humanitarian and social services to the people of society. The oldest centre of the *dera* is located in district Sirsa, Haryana. On 29th April 1948, the *dera* was established by Saint *Sawan Singh Ji Maharaj*. He was blessed with the divine powers and ordered him to emancipate the people who belongs to the region of *Bagar*. The *Maharaj ji* along with his devotees started looking for a site to establish an *ashram*. Then, he finalised this place where *Shah Mastana Ji Dham* stands in today's era. This was place which was a barren land which was covered with lots of bushes but it was due to his holiness towards this place, it made it most auspicious place where people from different religions like the Hindus, the Sikhs and the Muslims all of them come and worship over here. It is located 150 km far from district Ganganagar. On the occasion of the foundation of the *dera saccha sauda* a disciple who belongs from Mumbai sung a spiritual rhyme as "*Hari Ki Katha Kahaanyiaan*" which means the stories and legends of the lord, narrated by the beloved guru. In these *dera's* the men and women used to come in the *ashrams* to attend the *Satsang* programme of *Babaji*. In these *satsang's* both men and women used to participate

in the by doing the *seva*. It was due to endless efforts of *Maharaj ji*, by the help of the *satsang* people get lots of awareness regarding the social evils which are still being practised in the society. It can be observed that people who become the part of these *dera* are called as *premi's* and they used to follow all the rules and regulations as per directed by the *guruji*. Here, people came to do the *seva* by doing *seva*, cleaning the society, roads, helping the needy ones, providing the food, shelter and giving job opportunities to the poor ones. The women of district Ganganagar played important role within the organisation as their main focus seems to give spiritual teachings to the people and to serve the humanity, involves in the social and welfare activities, giving education to the children. They participated in the religious gatherings and made huge contribution in the overall functioning of the *dera's*. It can be highlighted that the *Dera Sacha Sauda* encourages the gender equality and women empowerment and providing opportunities to the women to serve their society as a leader.¹³

Khejri and Pipal tree of Rajasthan which is considered as significant among the people of Rajasthan. It is recognized as a state tree of Rajasthan and known as *Kalpavrikhsa* or tree of desert. The *Khejri* tree is known by another local names in the region of Rajasthan as *Janti*. The tree is highly being worshipped by the Hindus on the occasion of *dusshera*. It was declared as a state tree of Rajasthan in 1982-1983 as it covers about two-third of the total geographical area of the state. According to the report of Central Arid Zone Research Institute which entitled *Khejri the Indian Desert*, the state tree of Rajasthan i.e., *Khejri* which seems to be found mostly found in the arid or the waste land tracts of Rajasthan. The tree symbolizes the strength and fertility in relation to the women and it is regarded mostly as a symbol of motherhood. It was observed that the women of Ganganagar used to worship the *Khejri* on the occasion like *Gangaur* and *Teej* and they do practice their fast or *varta* on the several festivals which are directly related to the women of Rajasthan. *Khejri*, a tree which generally can be found in the arid areas of Rajasthan and it grows mostly in the desert area which is known by another name as *maru* or desert. It is a tree which has multiple uses like having maximum nutritional value, rich in plant and fodder. The pod of bean of *Khejri* is called as *Khokha* or *phali* and it is a sacred tree of Rajasthan which is widely being protected for the socio-economic and cultural benefits.¹⁴

In Rajasthan the animals are being worshipped on a large number by the people living in the society. Animal like cow which is regarded as *gau-mata*, they are treated as a sacred in the state. The women used to worship them during the festivals in the various forms like worship a cow, feeding the first *chapati* while making and along with these the women used to offer the prayers to the cows as they are being considered as symbol of prosperity and divinity. The women offer them food during their *varta*. This unique form of animal worship attracts the devotees to visit Rajasthan during the festive seasons. Rajasthan is a land of vibrant cultures, traditions and temples all of them became the first choice of the visitors to visit the state.

In relation to the rat temple in Rajasthan, it can be highlighted that, rat temple of *deshnok* which is one of the biggest and interesting tourist places in Rajasthan. It is a place where thousands of rats can eat, sleep and multiply themselves without having any fear to their lives. Presently the *Karni-Mata temple* is located in city called *deshnok* in the district Bikaner which is approximately 300 kilometres from Ganganagar. The temple is dedicated to the goddesses *durga*. It is basically famous for the rats which are found in a large number. It is believed that, soul of *Karni Mata* resides in these rats which are called as *kaba*. Eating food that has been nibbed on by the *kaba* is considered to be a high honour for the devotees. It is one of the popular beliefs that, if an individual accidentally step on any one of these rats and kill it, then they must replace it with a rat made up of silver or gold.

To conclude, the fairs and festivals of Ganganagar basically highlights participation of the women and men at different levels like *Gangaur*, *Akha Teej*, *Navrata's*, *Rakhshabandhan*, *Ramdevji ka mela* etc. it can be observed that the dresses, customs traditions help to analysing these festivals. The fairs and festivals are called as lifeline of people of Rajasthan as they are the mirror to the society.

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A comparative analysis of tribal cultures in North Bengal and Rajasthan

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Introduction: Exploring the Cultural Richness of Rajasthan and North Bengal Tribal Communities.

India's cultural landscape is as diverse as it is captivating, with each region boasting its own unique traditions, customs, and heritage. Among the many facets of this cultural tapestry are the tribal communities of Rajasthan and North Bengal, whose rich traditions offer a glimpse into the country's ancient roots and cultural vibrancy. Rajasthan, known as the "Land of Kings," is renowned for its majestic forts, vibrant festivals, and rich cultural heritage. At the heart of this heritage lie the diverse tribal communities that have inhabited the region for centuries, each contributing to the colorful tapestry of Rajasthan's cultural identity. Among these communities, the Bhil and Meena tribes stand out for their unique customs, traditions, and way of life. The Bhil tribe, one of the largest tribal communities in Rajasthan, is known for its skilled craftsmanship, vibrant artwork, and deep connection to nature. From intricate wood carvings to colorful textiles, Bhil⁵ artisans showcase their talent and creativity in various forms, reflecting their reverence for tradition and craftsmanship.

Similarly, the Meena tribe, with its rich history and cultural heritage, adds another layer of diversity to Rajasthan's tribal landscape. Renowned for their valor and martial traditions, the Meena people have a strong sense of community and identity, which is reflected in their festivals, rituals, and social customs. Festivals like Holi and Teej are celebrated with great fervor among the Meena tribe, serving as occasions for community bonding and cultural expression. Moreover, Rajasthan's tribal

communities have preserved their traditional music, dance, and oral traditions, passing them down from generation to generation. From the soulful melodies of the Bhil folk songs to the energetic rhythms of Meena dance performances, these cultural expressions serve as a testament to the resilience and creativity of Rajasthan's tribal communities.

North Bengal Tribal Culture : In contrast to the arid landscapes of Rajasthan, North Bengal's tribal culture thrives in the lush greenery and fertile plains of the region. Home to a diverse array of tribal communities, including the Santhal, Oraon, and Munda tribes, North Bengal offers a glimpse into the cultural mosaic of India's northeastern frontier. The Santhal tribe, one of the largest indigenous communities in North Bengal, is known for its rich oral tradition, vibrant festivals, and intricate handwoven textiles. Storytelling plays a central role in Santhal culture, with myths, legends, and folktales passed down through generations. Additionally, Santhal artisans are skilled in various crafts, including pottery, basket weaving, and traditional painting, which reflect their close relationship with nature and their surroundings.

Similarly, the Oraon and Munda tribes, with their strong ties to agriculture and traditional livelihoods, embody the spirit of resilience and self-sufficiency. These communities have developed intricate farming techniques, herbal remedies, and social rituals that are deeply rooted in their cultural heritage. Moreover, festivals like Sohrai and Tusu are celebrated with great pomp and splendor among the Oraon and Munda tribes, symbolizing the richness and diversity of North Bengal's tribal culture.⁶

The tribal cultures of Rajasthan and North Bengal offer a fascinating glimpse into India's rich cultural heritage. From the vibrant traditions of the Bhil and Meena tribes in Rajasthan to the diverse customs of the Santhal, Oraon, and Munda tribes in North Bengal, each community adds its own unique flavor to the cultural mosaic of India. As we celebrate this diversity, it is essential to recognize the importance of preserving and promoting indigenous traditions and heritage. By supporting initiatives that empower tribal communities, preserve their cultural heritage, and celebrate their contributions to society, we can ensure that India's tribal cultures continue to thrive for generations to come.

Cultural Similarities : Both Rajasthan and North Bengal boast vibrant cultural festivals that showcase the rich heritage and traditions of their respective tribal communities. In Rajasthan, festivals like Teej,

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Gangaur, and Diwali are celebrated with great enthusiasm across the state, including among tribal communities like the Bhil and Meena tribes. These festivals often involve colorful processions, traditional music and dance performances, and rituals that reflect the cultural identity and values of the tribes.

Similarly, in North Bengal, festivals like Sohrai, Tusu, and Bihu are celebrated with fervor among tribal communities such as the Santhal, Oraon, and Munda tribes. These festivals are marked by rituals, traditional dances, and music, as well as community feasts and gatherings, emphasizing themes of unity, renewal, and gratitude towards nature.

Despite the geographical and cultural differences between Rajasthan and North Bengal, both regions share a commonality in the importance placed on festivals as a means of preserving cultural heritage, fostering community bonds, and celebrating the rhythms of rural life. These festivals serve as occasions for joy, reflection, and collective expression, highlighting the resilience and cultural pride of India's tribal communities.

Cultural different between Rajasthan and North Bengal : While Rajasthan and North Bengal both boast vibrant cultural festivals, they differ significantly in terms of the specific festivals celebrated, their cultural significance, and the rituals associated with them.

Rajasthan : In Rajasthan, festivals are deeply rooted in the state's rich history, mythology, and cultural traditions. One of the most significant festivals is Teej, celebrated primarily by women to honor the goddess Parvati and her union with Lord Shiva. Teej is marked by fasting, colorful processions, traditional folk music and dance performances, and the exchange of gifts among married women. The festival is especially popular among the Bhil and Meena tribes, who participate in the festivities with great enthusiasm.

Another notable festival in Rajasthan is Gangaur, dedicated to the goddess Gauri, an embodiment of marital bliss and fertility. Celebrated predominantly by women, Gangaur involves elaborate rituals, including the creation of clay idols of the goddess, colorful processions, and traditional dances. The Bhil and Meena tribes actively participate in Gangaur celebrations, contributing to the vibrant cultural tapestry of the state.

Diwali, the festival of lights, is another significant festival celebrated

with great fervor in Rajasthan. While Diwali is observed across India, Rajasthan's celebrations are characterized by the lighting of oil lamps, bursting of firecrackers, and the exchange of sweets and gifts. The Bhil and Meena tribes join in the Diwali festivities, adding their unique customs and traditions to the celebration.

North Bengal : In contrast, North Bengal's tribal festivals are influenced by the region's distinct cultural heritage and ethnic diversity. One of the most prominent festivals in North Bengal is Sohrai, celebrated primarily by the Santhal tribe to mark the harvest season. Sohrai involves rituals to honor cattle, agricultural tools, and the earth, as well as traditional dances, music, and community feasts. The festival symbolizes gratitude towards nature and the bountiful harvest.

Another significant festival in North Bengal is Tusu, celebrated by the Oraon tribe to worship the goddess Tusu and seek her blessings for a prosperous harvest. Tusu involves the decoration of clay idols of the goddess, singing of folk songs, and offering prayers for good fortune and abundance. The festival reflects the Oraon tribe's deep connection to agriculture and the rhythms of nature.

Additionally, Bihu is a popular festival celebrated by the Munda tribe in North Bengal, especially in the tea-growing regions of the state. Bihu marks the Assamese New Year and is characterized by traditional dances like the Bihu dance, accompanied by music played on indigenous instruments like the dhol and pepa. The festival is a time for community gatherings, cultural performances, and the exchange of traditional delicacies.

Main festivals of Meena and Bhil Tribes in Rajasthan : One of the main festivals celebrated by the Bhil tribe is Bhagoria, also known as Bhagoria Haat.¹⁴ This festival is celebrated in the month of March, just before the festival of Holi. Bhagoria is primarily a tribal festival of matchmaking, where young men and women gather in a fair-like atmosphere to choose their life partners. It is a colorful and lively celebration filled with music, dance, traditional attire, and playful interactions among the youth. Bhagoria also involves rituals and customs symbolizing the community's social cohesion and the continuation of age-old traditions.

The Meena tribe celebrates several festivals throughout the year, with Holi being one of the most significant. Holi, the festival of colors, is

celebrated with great fervor by the Meena community, where people come together to rejoice in the victory of good over evil and the arrival of spring. Meena women prepare special dishes like gujiya and thandai, while everyone indulges in playful color fights and traditional folk dances. The festival strengthens social bonds within the community and fosters a sense of unity and joy.

Another important festival for the Meena tribe is Teej, which holds special significance for married women. Teej is celebrated during the monsoon season and is dedicated to the goddess Parvati, commemorating her union with Lord Shiva. Meena women observe fasts, perform rituals, and participate in colorful processions to mark the occasion. Teej is also a time for women to pray for the well-being and longevity of their husbands, as well as to seek blessings for a happy and prosperous married life.

Both Bhagoria among the Bhil tribe and Holi and Teej among the Meena tribe are emblematic of the cultural heritage, traditions, and social fabric of Rajasthan's tribal communities. These festivals not only provide an opportunity for celebration and merriment but also serve as platforms for reinforcing cultural identity, fostering community cohesion, and passing down age-old customs and rituals to future generations.

Main festival of Santal, Oraon and Rabha Tribes in North Bengal : The Santal, Oraon, and Rabha tribes, prominent indigenous communities of North Bengal, celebrate a variety of festivals that hold deep cultural significance and are integral to their way of life.

Among the Santal tribe, one of the main festivals celebrated is Sohrai. Sohrai is a harvest festival that typically falls in the month of October or November and marks the end of the harvesting season. It is a joyous occasion characterized by rituals, traditional music and dance performances, and communal feasting. During Sohrai, Santal families decorate their homes with colorful paintings, offer prayers to their deities for a bountiful harvest, and express gratitude to nature for its abundance. The festival also involves the worship of cattle, considered sacred by the Santal community, as they play a vital role in agricultural activities.

For the Oraon tribe, one of the main festivals is Tusu Parab or Tusu Puja. Tusu is celebrated primarily by the womenfolk and falls around the time of Makar Sankranti, typically in January. It is a festival dedicated to the worship of the goddess Tusu, who is believed to bring

prosperity and fertility. During Tusu Puja, Oraon women create colorful clay idols of the goddess, decorate them with flowers and vermilion, and offer prayers for the well-being of their families and the success of their crops. The festival is accompanied by traditional songs and dances performed by women, expressing their reverence for the goddess and their deep connection to the land.

Among the Rabha tribe, one of the significant festivals is Baikho. Baikho is celebrated to welcome the spring season and typically falls in the month of April. It is a time of joy and renewal, marked by rituals, cultural performances, and community gatherings. During Baikho, Rabha families clean and decorate their homes, offer prayers to their deities for prosperity and good health, and engage in traditional dances like the Baikho dance, which symbolizes the spirit of unity and harmony among the community members. The festival also features various games, sports, and cultural competitions, fostering a sense of camaraderie and solidarity among the Rabha people.

Overall, Sohrai among the Santal tribe, Tusu Puja among the Oraon tribe, and Baikho among the Rabha tribe are emblematic of the rich cultural heritage, traditions, and spirituality of North Bengal's indigenous communities. These festivals not only serve as occasions for celebration and thanksgiving but also play a crucial role in preserving and perpetuating the unique identity and customs of these tribes for generations to come.

Findings or Conclusion : The festivals celebrated by the Bhil and Meena tribes of Rajasthan, along with those celebrated by the Santal, Oraon, and Rabha tribes of North Bengal, reveal fascinating insights into the cultural, social, and spiritual dimensions of these indigenous communities.

One notable finding is the deep connection between these tribal festivals and agricultural cycles. Festivals like Bhagoria among the Bhil tribe and Sohrai among the Santal tribe are centered around the harvest season, reflecting the tribes' dependence on agriculture for their livelihoods. These festivals not only celebrate the bounty of nature but also serve as occasions for expressing gratitude to the land and its resources. Moreover, these festivals play a crucial role in fostering social cohesion and community bonding. Events like Teej among the Meena tribe and Tusu Puja among the Oraon tribe provide opportunities for tribal members to

come together, strengthen familial ties, and reinforce cultural identity through shared rituals, songs, and dances. Additionally, festivals often serve as platforms for matchmaking and social interaction, as seen in Bhagoria among the Bhil tribe, where young men and women gather to find life partners.

Furthermore, the festivals reflect the tribes' spiritual beliefs and reverence for their deities. Rituals performed during festivals like Diwali among the Meena tribe and Baikho among the Rabha tribe are steeped in religious symbolism, conveying a deep sense of devotion and piety. Through these rituals, tribal members seek blessings for prosperity, well-being, and protection from malevolent forces, highlighting the spiritual underpinnings of their cultural practices.

Overall, the festivals celebrated by the Bhil, Meena, Santal, Oraon, and Rabha tribes provide valuable insights into the rich tapestry of India's tribal cultures. These festivals serve as expressions of gratitude, unity, and spirituality, reaffirming the tribes' connection to their land, their communities, and their ancestral traditions. Studying these festivals not only enriches our understanding of tribal life but also underscores the importance of preserving and celebrating indigenous cultures in a rapidly changing world.

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Symbol of Excellent Metal Art of Jaipur : Rasithal

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Introduction

Jaipur, often referred to as the "Pink City," stands as a beacon of artistic excellence that captivates admirers from across the globe. Its rich cultural heritage and tradition of craftsmanship have earned it a distinguished reputation in the realm of artistry. One of the hallmarks of Jaipur's artistic legacy lies in its diverse range of artistic expressions. From the intricate designs adorning its textiles to the vibrant hues of its blue pottery, each art form reflects the city's distinctive aesthetic sensibilities. Jaipur's artisans demonstrate unparalleled skill and dedication in their craft, producing works that are not only visually stunning but also deeply imbued with cultural significance. The city's artistic journey is intertwined with its historical evolution, with key figures and events shaping its creative landscape.

Central to this narrative is the patronage of royalty, which played a pivotal role in nurturing artistic talent and fostering creativity within the former Jaipur state.

In the realm of diverse artistic endeavors, the metal craft of Jaipur stand out significantly. Notably, between the 18th and 20th centuries, a remarkable progression in skills emerged, credited largely to the support of artisans by the royal court within the distinguished workshops known as karkhanas¹. These karkhanas, function in gas hubs of creativity within fortified walls, served as venues where skilled artisans meticulously fashioned various items for regal use. Among these artisans, the brass workers, known as thathera, held a prominent position, contributing

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significantly to Jaipur's renowned brasswork. The brassware of Jaipur is celebrated for its intricate artistry, with Hendley highlighting its superiority over that of Muradabad². Enduring examples of this craftsmanship include embossed brass salvers depicting scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, preserved to this day within the hallowed halls of the Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur.

Historical Background of Albert Hall Museum

Upon the founding of Jaipur in 1727 by Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, the city emerged as a vibrant hub of artistic activity. Recognizing the importance of art and craftsmanship in defining the city's identity, Maharaja Jai Singh extended invitations to artists and craftsmen from various regions to relocate to Jaipur³. This influx of talent contributed to the city's flourishing arts scene, catering to the tastes and demands of both the royal court and the local populace. During the reign of Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II in the 19th century, concerted efforts were made to elevate Jaipur's artistic heritage to new heights. Under his patronage, the city witnessed a renaissance of sorts, with a renewed focus on promoting artistic excellence and innovation.

One notable initiative during this period was the commissioning of Alexander Hunter, a noted artist from the Madras School of Art, to assess Jaipur's natural resources and artistic potential⁴.

Hunter's comprehensive evaluation provided valuable insights into the city's landscape, resources, and artistic traditions. His recommendations laid the groundwork for future endeavors aimed at further enhancing Jaipur's artistic offerings. The legacy of Jaipur's artistic endeavors endures to this day, with the city continuing to serve as a vibrant center of creativity and innovation. Its artisans, drawing upon centuries-old traditions and techniques, create works of unparalleled beauty and craftsmanship that resonate with audiences worldwide. Through their dedication and passion, they ensure that Jaipur's artistic heritage remains alive and thriving for generations to come.

This initiative led to the establishment of the Jaipur School of Art in 1866, with the objective of honing the skills of local craftsmen. Under the guidance of F.W. de Febeck, the school played a pivotal role in training and advancing Jaipur's artisans⁵. Concurrently, Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II envisioned the creation of a museum to showcase the artifacts crafted by these skilled artisans. The foundation stone for the "Economic

and Industrial Museum" was laid on August 26, 1881, which later transformed into the Albert Hall Museum situated in Ram Niwas Bagh in 1887⁶.

Artistic Portrayal of Rasithal

Currently, the museum is brimming with stunning galleries exhibiting exquisite artworks. Among these, one gallery stands out for its metal art, showcasing an array of brass artifacts. The pieces are intricately engraved and carved, predominantly featuring religious themes such as Bal Krishna, scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata, Shiva Panchayat, and more. Notably, among these artifacts is the Rashithal, crafted by the artist Raghunath in the nineteenth century⁷, shown in Figure 1. It is a sizable circular brass salver adorned with an engraved image of Suryanarayana at its center, shown in Figure 2. Encircling this central motif are twelve zodiac signs arranged in a circular manner, while on the outer circumference, twenty-eight symbols represent the twenty-eight nakshatras.

1. 28 Asterisms in the outer circle (Figure 1): Asterisms are configurations of stars observable in the night sky, often forming distinct patterns or constellations. In Indian astronomy, they are often associated with groups of stars that create recognizable arrangements. The outer circle of the depicted artwork probably represents these asterisms, potentially aligning with the lunar mansions or Nakshatras.
2. 12 Zodiac Signs in the inner circle (Figure 1): The Zodiac Signs play a pivotal role in astrology, partitioning the ecliptic into twelve equidistant sections. Each sign embodies specific personality traits and attributes associated with individuals born within its influence. The inner circle, portraying the Zodiac Signs, serves as a focal point of astrological symbolism.
3. The Sun on the celestial chariot at the center (Figure 2): This represents the Sun (Surya) positioned at the center, symbolizing its significance as the lord of the planets in Hindu astrology. The celestial chariot is a common motif in Hindu mythology, often associated with the Sun god's journey across the sky. The Kachwaha dynasty, alternatively spelled Kachawaha or Kacchwaha, is traditionally thought to have its roots in the ancient Suryavanshi lineage, which traces its ancestry to the Hindu sun

god, Surya. Legend has it that the Suryavanshi dynasty was established by the revered king Ikshvaku, who was believed to be a direct descendant of Surya. As such, the Kachwahas assert their lineage from Ikshvaku, affiliating themselves with the wider Suryavanshi dynasty⁸.

Name - Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces

Table 1: Zodiac Signs⁹

Nakshatra	Nakshatra
Ashwini	Bharani
Krittika	Rohini
Mrigashira	Ardra
Punarvasu	Pushya
Ashlesha	Magha
PoorvaPhalguni	UttaraPhalguni
Hasta	Chitra
Swati	Vishakha
Anuradha	Jyeshtha
Moola	Poorvashadha
Uttarashadha	Shravana
Dhanishta	Shatabhisha
PoorvaBhadrapada	UttaraBhadrapada
Revati	Abhijit

Table 2: List of Nakshatra¹⁰

This art work probably originates from the 19th century A.D., highlighting the profound legacy of Indian astronomy and astrology, deeply interwoven with cultural, religious, and societal customs over many centuries. Given Jaipur's renowned cultural heritage and talented artisans, it would be an apt location for the creation of such a piece. These artifacts not only serve as exquisite decorative items but also offer valuable insights into the historical comprehension of the cosmos and the intricate interplay between celestial phenomena and human existence as perceived across various cultures and periods.

It is noteworthy that the central depiction on this salver is not that

of the sun god, Surya, but rather Suryanarayana, shown holding a chakra in one of his arms. Surya is initially mentioned in the Rigveda as the dispeller of darkness and bestower of knowledge¹¹. In this brass artifact, Suryanarayana, the Sun god, is portrayed riding a chariot pulled by seven horses, symbolizing the seven days of the week. His charioteer, Arun, directs the horses. A triangular flag with five layers adorns the chariot, possibly inspired by the royal pachranga flag of Jaipur state¹². The chariot wheel has twelve spokes, representing the twenty-four hour so faday. The entire depiction of Suryanarayana on his chariot is circled by flames of illumination.

The outer circle encompasses twenty-eight nakshatras, which are detailed in Table 2. In the Rigveda twenty-seven of these nakshatras are described as the daughters of Prajapati Daksh, who were wedded to the moon god, Chandra. The creator (Raghunath) behind the intricate design of Rasithal demonstrates a remarkable fusion of artistic insight and technical mastery. Their craftsmanship adeptly captures the celestial symbolism, weaving together intricate elements imbued with profound significance. Each symbol comes to life under their skilled hand, infused with vitality and layers of meaning. Through their creative genius, Rasithal exudes a timeless allure, drawing admirers into a journey through the intricate threads of Indian culture and spirituality. The artist's unwavering passion and commitment shine through every stroke, leaving an enduring impression on the artistic heritage of the Albert Hall Museum.

The Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur serves as a testament to the rich heritage of brass craftsmanship in India. Within its walls, visitors can marvel at a diverse array of brass artifacts, ranging from beautifully sculpted figurines to elaborately adorned water pitchers. Each piece reflects not only the skill and creativity of its makers but also the cultural depth and spiritual significance associated with brass in Indian society. Among the museum's treasures, the Rasithal stands out as a unique representation of traditional Indian astrological knowledge. This artifact intricately weaves together elements of artistry and symbolism, offering insight into ancient beliefs and practices. Such pieces not only serve as reminders of India's rich cultural heritage but also inspire efforts towards their conservation and preservation.

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Tracing Transcendental Love in Select Stories by Rani Laxmi Kumari Chundawat

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Folk tales are a rich repertoire and treasure house of the culture and communal consciousness of an ethnic group or a community and are carriers of rich meaning. In the oral tradition they take one on a fascinating journey of a world which is both enchanting and magical, and disconcerting at times, raising existential dilemmas, the questions of right and wrong, the issues of honour and glory juxtaposed with love, longing and desire. The wandering minstrels and troubadours have for ages sung the heroic tales of love, honour and supreme sacrifice of warrior heroes, intrepid heroines, feuding clans, and the like. The collection of stories '*Rajasthan kin Prem Kathaye*' by Rani Chundawat are finely etched stories of passionate love and sacrifice which very often transcend the material and the mundane. As Dr. K. Dinesh in her translated version of Chundawat's stories as a collection '*Jasma of the Odhs and Other Tales*' remarks: "The story teller, like the artist with a palette, worked upon the characters investing it not only with flesh and blood but also exemplifying through the individual, a cultural value."(iii).

How does Cultural Feminism portray women?

Cultural feminism celebrates women's special qualities, women's ways and vicissitudes and shapes their polyphonic voices traversing different trajectories. Women's stories locate women's cultures, women's ways of seeing; they designate nuanced meanings and make women's consciousness visible to us through folklore, folks-songs and folk festivals. In '*Tapestries of Life*' Bettina Apthekar contends that women try to find a meaning in their daily activities even when their lives are fragmented, dispersed and episodic."

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As Michelle Rosaldo states: “. . . woman’s place in human social life is not in any direct sense a product of the things she does (or even less, a function of what, biologically, she is) but the meaning her activities acquire through concrete social interactions.”(18).

The difference between Euro-centric and Third world representation of women.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s original, acute critique of Western feminist authors who construct “third world women” as a “homogeneous ‘powerless’ group often located as implicit victims of particular socioeconomic systems” (Mohanty 1991:57). Mohanty in *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses* argues: “An analysis of “sexual difference” in the form of a cross-culturally singular, monolithic notion of patriarchy or male dominance leads to the construction of a similarly reductive and homogeneous notion of what I call the “Third World Differences—that stable, ahistorical something that apparently oppresses most if not all the women in these countries. And it is in the production of this “Third World Difference” that Western feminisms appropriate and “colonize” the fundamental complexities and conflicts which characterize the lives of women of different classes, religions, cultures, races and castes in these countries. (335)

What is problematical, then, about this kind of use of “women” as a group, as a stable category of analysis, is that it assumes an ahistorical, universal unity between women based on a generalized notion of their subordination. Instead of analytically demonstrating the production of women as socio-economic political groups within particular local contexts, this move limits the definition of the female subject to gender identity, completely bypassing social class and ethnic identities. What characterizes women as a group is their gender (sociologically not necessarily biologically defined) over and above everything else, indicating a monolithic notion of sexual difference. Because women are thus constituted as a coherent group, sexual difference becomes coterminous with female subordination, and power is automatically defined in binary terms: people who have it (read: men), and people who do not (read: women). Men exploit, women are exploited. As suggested above, such simplistic formulations are both reductive and ineffectual in designing strategies to combat oppressions. All they do is reinforce binary divisions between men and women. (344 *Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses* Chandra Talpade Mohanty boundary 2, Vol. 12, No. 3, On Humanism and the University I: The Discourse of

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In her essay ‘*Outspoken Women: Representations of Female Voices in a Rajasthani Folklore Community*’ Ann Grodzins Gold, who has worked extensively on women in Rajasthan, argues; “In rural North India relations between husband and wife are publicly restrained by prescribed attitudes of shame and modesty for the woman and a less formally enjoined but nonetheless stylized act of detachment or demonstrative authority for men. Women, especially young wives, affect postures of modesty that include silence or extreme reticence in speech, lowered eyes, and covered face. If a woman speaks to her husband at all, she may employ one or more modes of self-effacement: turning her head away, whispering, speaking obliquely in the third person, or pointedly addressing someone else in the room with a message intended for him. Yet both male and female folklore traditions portray women addressing their husbands in ways that are nothing if not bold, forthright, direct. The communications they thus brazenly deliver may range from material demands to personal criticism, and may include thinly veiled invitations to sexual intimacy and severe threats. Why, in a society that prescribes and values wifely modesty, should cultural performances present so much wifely boldness? How shall we reconcile the tongue-tied submissive brides of “reality” with the articulate, demanding brides of folklore? (Gold 106)

She further reiterates: “In private relationships between spouses, moreover, rural South Asian culture allows and imagines intimacy. Despite the near universality of arranged marriages between strangers—and in rural Rajasthan these strangers are even today often children—the private marital relationship is surrounded by romantic ideals. Rajasthani women and men are far from indifferent to the possibility of intense personal love between spouses. (Gold 106).

Chundawat in these stories weaves a rich tapestry of stories embedding them with the rituals, customs and ways of life of the people of Rajasthan. The characters range from those belonging to the royalty or the feudal households to the humblest excavators of soil and lake diggers. The women portrayed in the stories are an epitome of not only physical pulchritude but the beauty of the soul that transcends mere physical love and can make the supreme sacrifice of embracing death for their virtue and honour and for their motherland. Jasma of the Odh community, is a story of a woman who belongs to the tribe of excavators and pond diggers. a humble nomadic tribe. Chundawat portrays Jasma

as a resplendent, delicate beauty with a tremulous voice. The ruler Rao Khangar spies her working at the site of a pond being dug in his kingdom and immediately entranced by this doe-eyed beauty tries to win her over by using temptation, coercion and even threats but an intrepid Jasma spurns his lecherous advances. Nothing can sway the virtuous Jasma who is happy with her labourer husband and her humble Odh community. Khangar tells himself: "This peerless gem has not been created by the Almighty to live in a poor labourer's hut, she should adorn the palace of a king." (Dinesh 4) Rao Khangar persists in his entreaties and keeps stalking her and when he blocks her path, a furious Jasma reminds him his that his duty as a ruler is to protect his subjects. But unbridled are the misdeeds of the wayward monarch when wealth, youth and unbridled power are compounded with indiscretion.

Maddened at her refusal Khangar threatens Jasma with the murder of her husband and kinsmen. Undeterred, Jasma roaring like a lioness threatens Khangar that she would not hesitate to break open his skull, using the terms – 'harami Raja, akal rakho.' As professor Dinesh writes; "The fiery ardour of the chaste wife surpasses even the splendid brilliance of the mighty sun."(9). The Odhs decide to leave the vicinity. Khangar sends his men in pursuit telling them; "Persuade her, force her, abduct her, what you will, but bring her to me at any cost." Rather than bring death and destruction to her community Jasma ultimately immolates herself to save her honour. "What is this life worth, if the honour and sanctity of a wife's devotion is violated? Is it not better to die?(10).

The second story is about the newly-wed Haadi Rani chops off her head and sends it to her love-struck husband fighting in the battlefield. The emperor Aurangzeb seeks for the hand of the princess Charumati of Rooangarh, leaving the Rajaji and his men clenching their fists in impotent rage while the womenfolk and the queen sit aghast and stunned at the imperious proposal. Charumati's blood boils and her anger blazes into flame. She declares that rather than submit to the tyrannical dictates of Aurangzeb she would choose to embrace death. Her helpless father tries to persuade her. Pensively musing over her plight Charumati recalls the handsome image of Rana Raj Singh, the noble scion of Chittor, renowned for his valour and his confrontations with Aurangzeb, whom she had had a glimpse of in a picture. She pens a letter to Raj Singh telling him of her passionate love that she harboured for him in her heart, and implores him to rescue her just like Krishna had Rukmini. The Rana of Chittor decides to protect the honour of the woman who

has sought his protection. He asks for Rawatji, the noble scion of Salamber to come and lead his army. The newly-wed Rawat Ratan is lost in the mesmerizing, sensuous beauty of his young bride, drinking in her beauty with eyes full of intoxicated love and ardour. Upon reading the letter of the Rana, a stunned Rawatji refuses to fight the Emperor. Haadiji knows that it is his passionate love that is holding her groom back. But for a Rajput to turn away from his duty would bring nothing but disgrace and shame. When she entreats him to go fight she reprimands him by asking as to how he could refuse to fight for his motherland and its people. She says: "A scion of Chundaji and a coward!"(18). And reminds him of how his forefathers had fought to save the honour of his clan. Haadiji asks him to go and gird his sword. When the Rawat accuses her of being hard-hearted she tells him that she would prefer to be called the widow of a brave warrior rather than to hold a coward in her loving embrace. A reluctant Rawatji, all accoutered for battle leaves but his heart is with his bride. "The horse was trotting under Haadiji's apartment when Rawatji reined it to a stop and looked up. Behind the latticed window, still wearing her wedding dress, the mehndi fresh on her palms, stood the Rani like a bright streak of lightning."(20). Rawatji sends an attendant to bring a token of love from his newly-wed bride. The Rani thinking that her husband, so enamoured of her, would not be able to fight courageously. Recalling her brave ancestors- the Chundawats, Particularly her aunt the Haadi Rani of Jodhpur who cut open her own womb to take up cudgels against Aurangzeb. She asks the attendant for his sword and unsheathing it from its scabbard, with one stroke chops off her head to be sent to her husband. An enraged Rawatji, maddened with grief and furious, hangs her head around his neck with her locks and 'Like one possessed he descended on the field of battle. A frenzied Mahadev.'" (21). He did not yield till he was cut into shreds by the enemy. And thus Charumati's honour was saved.

Piyusindi's wit and intelligence in outwitting the Nawab.

The story of Piyusindhi focuses on how a young Baluch girl, the only daughter of a chieftain of Baluchistan pledges to a dying father that she would avenge the wrongs of her tribe and fight with their arch enemy- the Pathans. She disguises herself as a boy, rides, becomes a splendid shot, is an excellent horsewoman and hunts fearlessly with her kinsmen, earning their admiration. None of the Baluch youth can outshine her in archery. While out hunting one day, she befriends a Bhati chieftain Bhimji, introducing herself as the son of Kangra Baluch. Together they

plan to plunder the camps of the Pathans and steal away their horses. While Bhimji has three hundred Rajput men with him Piyusindhi has none. When questioned she replies: "Look not for your companions, O warrior, when you set out to fight; your dagger, the strength of your arms and a courageous heart; know that in these three alone lies your might." (15). She even challenges Bhimji to a fight when he refuses to part with half the share of the horses they have taken away from the Pathans. Soon Bhimji discovers her true identity and having fallen madly in love with her ethereal beauty persuades her to marry him saying that both Rajput men and Baluch Muslims have one creed- valour. Piyusindhi and Bhimji have two brave sons- Jakhda and Mukhda. These two intrepid youngsters once kill a lion during hunting, but since the lion is a royal hunt and the preserve of the Nawab of Sindh, Bhimji, along with his two sons, is summoned to the Nawab's court for an explanation. Jakhda boldly owes up having slain the lion. His boldness and dignified demeanour leaves the Nawab wondering as to the clay in which he was cast- meaning thereby his mother. Bhimji is commended to produce his wife before the Nawab but Piyusindhi realizes the danger she would put herself into if she presented herself at court. She disguises herself as Shikar Khan, Kangra Baluch's son and presents herself before the Nawab as a young huntsman. Already the reputation of Kangra Baluch's son as an archer par excellence has preceded him and together the Nawab and the disguised Piyusindhi go hunting armed with elaborate preparations as befits a Nawab. Piyusindhi with her matchless skills leaves behind a trail of dead animals. Pleased with the young Baluch's feat, the Nawab presents her with a bracelet as a token of royal favour. The next day when the Nawab asks Bhimji to present his wife Bhimji laughingly presents the bracelet to him saying that the Nawab has already had her in his presence. Outwitted by this clever ploy on the part of Piyusindhi, the Nawab is rendered speechless. He can only exclaim: "O wonderful Shikar Khan! Only a mother like you can give birth to worthy sons." (32). Thus Piyusindhi saves herself from the overtures of the Nawab through her intelligence and wit.

Love beyond the material confines of marriage.

The story of Sourath and Binzha is a portrayal of love that goes beyond the confines of marriage for the sake of passionate, intense love. Sourath is found in a casket floating down the river and is adopted by a young potter and his wife, a childless couple. The baby, born to Raja Ramchand Deora of Sanchore, but under inauspicious stars is cast on

the river in a casket. Sourath grows up into a great beauty like a brilliant moon shining in its splendour in a cloudless sky. Once when she stood at the village outskirts with her friends Binzha, the nephew of Rao Khangar, who was with the entourage of the Rao, the ruler of Girnar, saw her and immediately fell in love with her. Rao Khangar too was entranced by her beauty and offers the potter Chaapa to buy her. When he refuses to sell her Khangar asked for her hand in marriage. The potter afraid of the ridicule that Sourath would face as the daughter of a lowly, humble potter at the hands of the other royal ladies refuses. Back in Girnar Binzha couldn't get the thought of Sourath out of his mind. Meanwhile Sourath is married off to the Banjara, Rao Rudd, the wealthy nomad. He has a latticed palanquin made for her and it was drawn by a pair of oxen. In a space of six months the moving caravan of the Banjara reaches Girnar where Khangar offered them his hospitality. A sleepless Binzha enters Rudd's camp as soon as it was dawn. Both Sourath and Binzha, love struck, open up their hearts to each other wordlessly. To win over Sourath Binzha has Rao Khangar play chauper with the Banjara chief who loses everything in the game, including Sourath. When Khangar sends Sourath's palanquin to his women's quarters Binzha is dejected and listless. Chundawat describes her beauty thus:

Saurath of the areca nut complexion,
Sourath of the spicy body odour,
Exquisite, enchanting."(77).

Saurath made the Rao to pander to all her whims, while in her heart it was for Binzha that she clamoured. She sent for him and when Binzha expressed his plight she said that the Rao may have won over her body in the dice game but her heart was the 'unquestioned master' and that belonged to Binzha. Sourath and Binzha experienced supreme bliss while Udiya sang of love and enthralled them both. He sang; "Saurath and Binzha were one like milk and water. They were one like a flower and its fragrance, one soul and two bodies." (79). Both were acutely aware of the danger they were running into but each promised the other of their unfailing love till death. The Rao coming back from battle saw Binzha in Sourath's bedchamber. Enraged he left his dagger strike the bed but both the lovers slept on unawares. Sourath warned Binzha but he preferred death to leaving her. A bold Sourath told Rao Khangar that her heart belonged to Binzha and she had accepted him as her soul mate. Khanagar exiled Binzha from his kingdom and tried to win over Sourath. Binzha persuaded a Nawab to attack Girnar and to his dismay the

victorious Nawab took away Saurath as his booty. Binjha begged him for Sarath but to no avail. Crazy with grief for his lost love he smashed his head against the palace walls and died. Saurath, overcome with grief asked the Nawab to send her where Binjha's tomb was and kept calling out Binjha's name. Upon reaching his tomb she invoked the Sun God praying that if her love for Binjha was true and pure, the Sun god would help her immolate herself. The sun rays turned to flames and Saurath's ashes mingled with those of her beloved.

The most popular of the stories of Mahendra and Mumal, still said to be carried over the undulating sands of the Thar Desert by whiffs of the Aeolian wind, is a beautiful rendering of the passionate love between the two and reveals the nobility of character, even when it has a tragic end. Similarly the stories of Jethwa and Ujali, Jalal and Bubna - all portray how love can transcend the barriers of looks and intimacy to become almost spiritual in its aspect. Chundawat in all these stories portrays women as delicate in demeanour but strong and empowered, those who would love not only with their hearts but also their souls and also lovingly embrace death if required.

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Urdu Historiography within the Literary Landscape of Rajasthan

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Urdu and Urdu Historiography

Language is a structured means of communication, enabling people to share a wide range of information, from knowledge and beliefs to emotions and commands. There are over 7,100 languages globally, grouped into more than 90 language families, with similarities seen in languages within the same family.¹ Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, and others belong to the Indo-European language family. It uses the Nastaliq script, derived from Persian calligraphy, and is read from right to left.²

Urdu is a language that emerged from the contact situation which developed as a result of the invasions of the Indian subcontinent by Persian and Turkic dynasties from the 11th century onwards. The earliest invasions were led by Sultan Mahmud of the Ghaznavid Empire, who conquered Punjab in the early 11th century.³ The Ghurids invaded northern India in the 12th century, and establishing the Delhi Sultanate was the most decisive event that led to the development of Urdu. Persian was the official language of the Ghurids, Delhi Sultanate, the Mughal Empire, and their successor states, as well as the cultured language of poetry and literature. In contrast, the language of religion was Arabic. During the Sultanate period, most of the sultans and nobility were Turks from Central Asia who spoke Turkic as their mother tongue. The Mughals, on the other hand, were initially Chagatai Turks but later adopted Persian.⁴ Muzaffar Alam asserts that Persian became the lingua franca of the empire under Akbar for various political and social factors due to its non-sectarian and fluid nature. During the medieval period, the armies,

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merchants, preachers, Sufis, and later the court incorporated the local people and the medieval Hindu literary language, Braj Bhasha. This new contact language soon incorporated other dialects, such as Haryanvi, Panjabi, and, in the 17th century, Khariboli, the dialect of the new capital at Delhi.⁵ By 1800, Khariboli had become the dominant dialect.

The language went by several names over the years: Hindawi or Hind?, “[language] of India”; Dehlavi, “of Delhi”; Hindustani, “of Hindustan”; and Zaban-e-Urdu, “the language of the [army] camp”, from which came the current name of Urdu around the year 1800.⁶ When Wali Mohammed Wali arrived in Delhi, he established Hindustani with a light smattering of Persian words, a register called Rekhta, for poetry; previously, the language of poetry had been Persian. When the Delhi Sultanate expanded south to the Deccan Plateau, they carried their literary language with them, and it was influenced there by more southerly languages, producing the Dakhini dialect of Urdu.⁷ During this time, Hindustani was the language of both Hindus and Muslims. The communal nature of the language lasted until it replaced Persian as the official language in 1837 and was made co-official along with English in the British Raj. This triggered a Hindu backlash in northwestern India, which argued that the language should be written in the native Devanagari script. This “Hindi” replaced traditional Urdu as the official register of Bihar in 1881,⁸ establishing a sectarian divide between “Urdu” for Muslims and “Hindi” for Hindus, a divide that was formalized with the division of India and Pakistan after Independence from the British, though there are Hindu poets who continue to write in Urdu to this day.

Although there have been attempts to purge Urdu and Hindi, respectively, of their Sanskrit and Persian words, and new vocabulary draws primarily from Persian and Arabic for Urdu and Sanskrit for Hindi, this has primarily affected academic and literary vocabulary, and both national standards remain heavily influenced by both Persian and Sanskrit. English has exerted a heavy influence on both as a co-official language.

The entire western boundary of the state shares a border with Pakistan. At the same time, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh surround Rajasthan to the north, northeast, and southeast, with Gujarat situated southwest. In terms of area, Rajasthan holds the distinction of being the largest state in India. Before Independence, the region was referred to as Rajputana, denoting the homeland of the

Rajputs—a martial community that governed this expanse for centuries. The process of consolidating the dispersed princely states commenced in 1948, culminating in promulgating the States Reorganisation Act in 1956. The initial step was the formation of the Matsya Union in 1948, comprising a few princely states. Subsequently, other states gradually merged into this union.⁹

In the present context of Rajasthan, Hindi is the official language. While there are Urdu speakers in the state, it is less prevalent than in some other states of India. However, Urdu has significantly influenced the linguistic landscape of the Rajasthan subcontinent, and various historical and cultural factors have shaped its development. The advent of Urdu in Rajasthan can be traced back to the Mughal era when Persian, the court language of the Mughals, played a significant role. During the medieval period, Rajasthan saw the influence of Mughal rule, and this cultural incorporation likely contributed to the presence and adoption of Urdu in the region.¹⁰ The vibrant exchange of ideas, trade, and administrative interactions under the Mughals enabled the spread of Urdu. The specific timeline of Urdu’s arrival in Rajasthan may need to be more precisely documented, as language evolution is a gradual process influenced by social, political, and cultural dynamics. However, it is reasonable to assume that Urdu became more prominent in the region during the Mughal period and subsequent centuries.

Urdu Historiography in Rajasthan

The Urdu historiography of Rajasthan presents an exciting and diverse perspective on the region’s past. The commencement of historical writing in Urdu was relatively late, with the newly evolving Urdu prose inheriting its historical narrative tradition from Persian. This adoption encompassed Persian historiography’s form, expression, and approach, primarily shaped by medieval Persian chronicles. The final three decades of the nineteenth century they were emerged as a crucial period for the development of Urdu historiography, prompting a change among writers who progressively chose Urdu as their medium. Historians employed both prose and poetry during this period, although the prevalence of prose in Urdu writing was predominant.

A wealth of literature about Rajasthan in Urdu exists, often overlooked and consigned to anonymity. Moreover, the State Archives of Bikaner and Jaipur preserved significant archival records in Urdu,

shedding light on previously inaccessible facets of Rajasthan's history. Similarly, numerous writings in Urdu, directly or indirectly connected to the history of Rajasthan, remain in the form of manuscripts, *Mubayyizat*, and *Musawwadat* within Oriental Institutions, Libraries, and private collections.¹¹ A substantial collection of Urdu and Persian manuscripts has been centralized at the Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Arabic and Persian Research Institute in Rajasthan's Tonk. Additionally, many manuscripts are contained in the Punjab State Archive Patiala, Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan Institute of Advanced Studies in Urdu, Persian and Arabic, Malerkotla and Ganda Singh Reference Library.

Rajasthan's History through Urdu Writings

Several Urdu chronicles provide intricate narratives of individual Rajput kingdoms, squarely chronicling their lineages, victories, and internal conflicts. Among these historical accounts, noteworthy examples include *Tarikh-e-Mewar*,¹² authored by Kaviraj Bankidas and *Mirat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, penned by Muhammad Ibrahim.¹³ These chronicles probe into the rich array of Rajput history, shedding light on the courageous exploits and dynastic complexities that defined each kingdom. Kaviraj Bankidas, through *Tarikh-e-Mewar*, meticulously traces the history of the Mewar region, summarizing the sagas of its rulers and the pivotal events that shaped its destiny. Meanwhile, Muhammad Ibrahim's *Mirat-i-Sikandar Shahi* provides insights into the socio-political landscape, military campaigns, and cultural shades of the Rajput rulers. Together, these chronicles contribute significantly to our understanding of the Rajputana heritage, offering a rich depiction of the complex dynamics within these kingdoms.

Some Urdu works offer glimpses into the social customs, traditions, and religious practices of different communities in Rajasthan. For instance, *Makhzan-e-Mewar* by Muhammad Hussain Khan¹⁴ provides valuable information on Mewar's social structure and courtly practices. Several Urdu chronicles document the complex relationship between Rajput states and the Mughal rulers, often offering Rajput and Mughal viewpoints on critical events and battles. *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin* by Ghulam Hussain Salim¹⁵ is a notable example. Urdu historical writing often incorporated elements of storytelling and poetry, making them more engaging for a wider audience. This literary influence is evident in works like *Tarikh-e-Rajasthan* by Munshi Amichand.¹⁶

Munshi Debi Prasad stands out as a prominent Urdu writer in Rajasthan's history, with his significant contribution being the book titled *Iftikharul Tawrikh*. This meticulous work reflects the author's dedicated efforts in depicting the accomplishments of Nawab Ameer Khan distinctively and supremely. Munshi Debi Prasad devoted years to the arduous task of producing this historical narrative, a fact evident from the author's depictions at the commencement and completion of *Iftikharul Tawarikh*.¹⁷ Meanwhile, *Khawab-I-Rajasthan*, another work penned by Pandit Debi Prasad, offers a perceptive critique of the governance and practices prevalent in the princely states of Rajasthan. Notably, Pandit Debi Prasad draws insightful parallels between the administrative systems of these states and the efficient governance exemplified by the East India Company. His comparative study sheds light on both strengths and shortcomings, providing a thought-provoking perspective on the socio-political landscape of the time.

Another Urdu writer is Maulvi Atta Mohammed, whose keen interest lies in improving the Qaim Khani community. He penned two books, *Tashrihul Ahkam* and *Hayatul Islam*, to enrich their condition. Subsequently, he wrote *Waqiat-i-Qaum Qaim Khani*, a work subsequently completed and published by his nephew Liaqat Husain Khan Qayam Khan and dedicated to Nawab Ghulam Moinuddin Khan Saheb. The book serves the purpose of preserving and documenting the achievements of the Qayam Khanis, offering inspiration to future generations.¹⁸

Hadiqa-I-Rajasthan, authored by Asghar Ali Abroo of Tonk and compiled in Urdu, was published in Agra in 1901. This comprehensive work provides an in-depth and exhaustive history of Tonk, presenting brief sketches of Rajasthan's history within the political context of Tonk's relations with other regional states. Another significant historical account is *Tarikh-I-Pargant I Tonk*, written by Pandit Ram Kiran Joshi in ornate Urdu in 1872. Commissioned by Nawaab Ibrahim Ali Khan, this local history of Tonk offers valuable insights into the princely states of Rajasthan. Furthermore, the author examines the history of Jaipur, Marwar, Mewar, and Jhalawar, enriching the narrative with detailed information about Rajasthan regions.

Mahasra -I- Ranthambore is a precious Urdu manuscript that digs into the historical context of Ranthambore. It was written by Munshi Giradhari Lal in 1846. *Tarjuma-Suleh- Namajaat -wa -Ahdo-Peman* is

an Urdu translation of Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, initially published in 1866.¹⁹ This compilation comprehensively records all treaties and engagements the East India Company forged with the various Princely States of Rajasthan. Offering an extensive insight into the historical agreements and relationships between the East India Company and the princely states, this work serves as a valuable resource, shedding light on the diplomatic and legal aspects of the interactions between the East India Company and the Princely state of Rajasthan.

Numerous Urdu writings explore the life of Muin ud din Chishti Ajmeri, providing detailed accounts and narratives about this well-regarded figure. Some notable works include *Zafar-ul-Islam*, written by Zafar, *Waqa-I-Shah Muin ud Din* by Babu Lal, and *Jawhar-I-Fridi* by Asghar Ali. These writings comprehensively explore Muin ud din Chishti's life, highlighting his teachings, spiritual journey, and thoughtful impact on the region, particularly in Ajmer. These works go beyond mere biographical sketches, exploring the cultural, religious, and historical context of Muin ud din Chishti's time, capturing the crux of his teachings and the legacy he left behind. These Urdu compositions serve as valuable resources for those seeking a deeper understanding of the spiritual and historical dimensions associated with Muin ud din Chishti Ajmeri.

This paper illuminates specific Urdu sources that provide extensive accounts of the history and culture of Rajasthan. These sources have been overlooked or forgotten despite their significance, making them less readily available. These historical works shed light on Rajasthan's history and culture and reveal inaccessible aspects without consulting these informative materials. Indeed, these sources can be likened to coral reefs in the realm of historical documentation for Rajasthan during the early 19th century, acting as crucial sources of knowledge that offer valuable insights into the multifaceted historical narrative of the region.

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Paraphrasing the Story of Phad : The History, Significance and Future of the Folk Art of Rajasthan

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The History and Story of Pabuji and Phad

Pabuji was a fourteenth century historical figure who helped safeguard the pastoral nomadic community along with their animals in his kingdom, especially during the time of drought. Gradually, he acquired the status of a folk-deity for the pastoral nomads who began worshipping him as the guardian of their livestock and themselves, also providing him with the identity of Lakshmana's incarnation. Here, it is interesting to note that popularity and divinity of Pabuji arose from very specific regional and practical needs of arid Rajasthan and the Rabri tribals lifestyle, and developed into a sacred legend over time. However, there was no aversion to flexibility and the epic of Pabuji interacted well with the 'mainstream' Hindu mythical characters and stories like Ramayana and Mahabharata. Besides co-existing with the 'greater' tradition of the Indian subcontinent, the performative art of Pabuji ka Phad encompassed another fascinating feature- of embedding episodes around relevant social issues, either directly or indirectly in the performed narrative.

There are several features in the folk-art of Pabuji ka Phad which can be traced to the common religious Hindu brahmanical practices. These include, but are not limited to the practices like the treatment of the scroll, i.e., Phad itself as a temple of Pabuji. Even during the painting of the scroll, the eyes are painted as the last step, after which the scroll is supposed to be infused with divinity; one can see parallels with the

temple sculptures where eyes of the deity are covered under the pran-pratishtha ceremony, which transforms a normal stone into the divine element. And once the Phad is deemed out of use, it is to be disposed of respectfully in the holy waters of Ganga River or Pushkar lake, accompanied with proper rites and rituals. Similarly, Bhopas and Bhopis, the performers of the epic, believe themselves to be performing the divine duty of mediating between Pabuji and his counterpart, Mataji, on the one hand and the ordinary, devotees on the other hand; not unlike the Brahmin priests, vedic/puranic Gods and Hindu devotees. Interestingly, while the performers themselves and even the devotees are from lower castes and tribal communities, the act of painting and preparing the Phad itself can only be performed by the Joshi, i.e., a Brahmin sub-caste.

Here, it is pertinent to note that the symbolic similarities traced above doesn't stop the art-form from being the voice of the lower-castes and subsided or marginalized social groups like women or from direct/indirect commentaries on contemporary society. Ranging from the belief of Pabuji curing the ill cattle or peace for the dead ones or reviving barren lands and drought-prone areas to the problematic dowry practice. The folk performance around Pabuji ka Phad is a social, cultural, religious as well as entertaining performance in line with the nomadic lifestyle where Bhopas and Bhopis travel to perform and even take up pastoralism seasonally during less demanding months. Another notable element is how the future generations are trained from childhood, both boys and girls, to take up the profession along with their spouse once they are old and start living together (they are married in childhood only). Such elements along with the female participation create an interesting gender dynamic which has been focused and researched by scholars in recent years and is taken up briefly in the next section.

The Female Presence in the Epic of Pabuji

While the name "Pabuji Ki Phad" (the Phad painting or story of Pabuji) suggests the epic hero as the sole and central motif of the legend and the element of valor, battle, and pride carries masculine overtones, the making of Phad paintings and the story it depicts has a rich presence of female actors, marked by several researchers as a unique factor of the art form (Wickett 2010, 1).

Giving a rich overview of the Phad tradition, John D. Smith underlines the presence of the female element in the Phad story through

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the figure of the Goddess, named Deval, a Charan woman, who brings an almost unwilling Pabuji into action at different junctures of the story (Smith 1991,62). This dichotomy of the dormant male and active female reminds one of the Hindu concept of Shiva-Shakti, where to bring Shiva out of his Yogic meditation, the great goddess has to take the form of Sati and Parvati (and Kali), to include him in the acts of creating, sustaining and destroying the Universe. As a mirror of the cosmic play, the story of Pabuji resonates with this popular idea of Hindu tradition, which in turn can be rooted in the ancient non-Hindu or goddess-centric traditions, where it is the female that takes center stage in every act.

Beyond the goddess who takes human forms, the story also features the Sodhi princess named Phulvanti, who is a reincarnation of the sister of Ravana, Shurpanakha (Smith 1991,59), whose wish to marry Lakshman is fulfilled in this birth, when He comes to earth as Pabuji (an incarnation Lakshman). According to Smith, the reincarnation trope is meant to fulfill the tasks of the characters that remained unfinished in the previous birth. However, if one sees the story of Phulvanti- her wait for Pabuji, her consistent urging to the celibate Pabuji to marry her, the marriage ceremony with a yet reluctant Pabuji who rushes to the battlefield only after the initial Pheras (thus remaining celibate) and her act of Sati after Pabuji goes back to heaven having finished his work, it becomes clear the degree of presence of women in the process of Phad making and its story has to be celebrated with a tinge of scrutiny towards the limited scope of their participation, both in the narrative landscape and human world. In comparison to many other folk-art forms, such as Madhubani where women as goddesses and human females are not only subjects but active participants in making the art, Phad becomes relatively limited by the restrictions it puts on female actors. The attempts of Sri Lal Joshi to teach the idiom of Phad to students including women of his family met with heavy criticism from the local art fraternity, which shows a degree of reluctance towards the involvement of women. In a time where the iconography of Phad is used by the government to spread awareness of women's empowerment, the active inclusion of women in the making of Phad, not only in certain ritualized or traditional contexts but as artists could be the key to achieving the twin goal of women empowerment and preservation of this rich art tradition.

Phad in the Contemporary Art Market

In the present context, where Capitalism and commodification

make many of us calculate the "value" of anything in terms of its "market value", it is a sad reality that faces the folk art form, that in order to survive modernization, are expected to keep up with the changing time. This expectation however stems less from an interest in preserving the art and more from finding the trendiest aesthetic which suits the demand of the art collector or buyer. Any art form- classical or folk, that does not fit the expectations of the market is deemed "ancient" and a part of what is often called the "little traditions". In his "Who Needs Folklore? The Relevance of Oral Traditions to South Asian Studies", A.K. Ramanujan declares "The past never quite passes". Ramanujan dwells in detail on the utility of folk art, the need for its existence (if any), and why even in the modern context, folk art continues to stay relevant, not only as a source of history but as a link for the surviving successors, to their ancestors and as a mode of expression and dialogue (Ramanujan 1994, 4). However, the market runs on things like re-sell value, aesthetic trends of the period, and socio-political context. Staying relevant for the folk art forms in such a scenario is a tricky fete.

In the journey of folk art from its local context to the commodity market, one of the biggest fears of the artist is its vulgarization and distortion due to interaction with modern concepts and audience (Chatterji 2012, 8). Phad, which is essentially an expression of people's beliefs and a symbol of links with the ancestors, has a sacred value, which is always in danger of being diminished if the art form reaches national and international audiences and is experimented with. Between this constant search for novelty by the art market and the need of the folk artists to "preserve" their stories and traditions, the idea of primitivism returns, accusing the folk and artists of being rigid in iconography and archaic in the idea.

Is Phad Receptive to Change?

In a recent art exhibition at Bikaner House, Delhi (conducted by Rooftop, a company working for the preservation of India's art forms), several paintings of Mr. Kalyan Joshi shared a hall with artworks from across the country. Other than the traditional Pabuji Ki Phad, what caught the attention of many gallery visitors was a square canvas, depicting the story of Mahabharata by juxtaposing the narrative in a limited space, with the Chaupar, Dhritarashtra, and Gandhari as the central motifs and the battle of Kurukshetra in the background. What struck many of them the most was how the artist was able to bring the entire saga of

Mahabharata on such a small canvas!

During a conversation with Mr. Yash Goel of Exotic India Art, a company that began in 1998 as a bridge between art, artists, and art collectors, and recently got Phad included in its collections, Mr. Goel talked about the beautiful aesthetics of Phad which are somehow not enough to create a bustling market for the art, as compared to the demand, market and popularity that exists for other art forms of Rajasthan, especially Rajput miniatures. According to him, the unawareness of people about the story of Phad and Pabuji causes a disconnect of the art with the audience, leading to a shrinking and stagnation of the market for Phad. One is a case of appreciation and intrigue caused by the experiments of Phad artists and the other is the perspective of the seller. So which of the two is the "truth"? Both observations are correct in their own ways. The first shows the reaction and reception of the changes in art by modern audiences, or audiences beyond the locality of Phad, which is able to appreciate the idiom, colors, and iconography of Phad and have a connection with the art due to their previous knowledge about the story of Mahabharata. The second case is a generic market overview, where in comparison to the other art forms that have either found buyers for their traditional idioms or have transformed as per the market demand, a space where Phad stands at an intersection, with two options- whether to continue with its traditional story or to follow the example of artists who are already involved in experimenting with the theme. So which one of the two paths should Phad choose? What if it could choose both?

The reluctance of many artists to experiment with the theme of Phad or the limited perception of modern audiences and buyers towards the art form emerges from the belief that it is sacred and eternal (unchanging) in essence. However, if one looks closely at the themes, their complexities, layers, and dichotomy of narrative, it becomes clear that Phad and its story have been transforming, experimenting, and editing itself from the very beginning. If we juxtapose the image of Pabuji, who is an incarnation of Lakshman, the brother of Ram from the Valmiki Ramayana, who emerges in the Phad tradition as the central hero, and the one who fights with and defeats the incarnation of Ravana Jindrav Khichi and compares it with the story of the Jain version of Ramayana, Paumachariyu by Vimalsuri, where Lakshman and not Ram is the hero of the epic, the similarities, though few, are striking.

Switch to the modern times, where the Phad artist Kalyan Joshi,

following the legacy of his father Sri Lal Joshi who transformed the nature of Phad, is working on a comic book with the idiom of Phad, an exemplary case of the astuteness of the artist and the role of individual artists in preserving the art form. In his study of the "Epic of Pabuji", Smith noted that the performance of Pabuji ki Phad was not only a religious occasion but a space where interaction with the audience, humor, and lighter emotions were also experienced by people, who participated in the long enactment of the saga by the Bhopa and Bhopi. The Hukariyo, a member of the audience who is entrusted with the task of repeating the last word of every line during the performance of the Phad (Smith 1991, 9) represents the idea of audience participation as integral to the experience of art, a concept mentioned since the ancient times, in works like *Natyashastra* of Bharata. This performative aspect and interactiveness of Phad marks the transformation and aliveness of the art, which comes to life everytime a Phad scroll is unfolded, thus contradicting the image of folk as unchanging. Ramanujan opines that in studying the performance of texts which is orally transmitted in front of an audience, every retelling should be seen as a different text, in order to understand the changes that occur with each performance. Similarly in the case of Phad, the many retellings in itself are proof for the transformative nature of the tale, which though similar in central story, differs in ways, tone, dialogues and context.

Suggestions: The Future of Phad

In the modern world, exhibitions and art fairs are "trans-local spaces" (Chatterji 2012, 30) where the folk art and artists mingle with people and audience different from their locality, an audience which does not necessarily carries the cultural tools to comprehend the symbols unfolding in front of them. Such a scenario presents a future prospect to the art, but also a challenge. A few steps have been taken by the government and artists in the recent times, such as the formation of Bhilwara-Udaipur craft cluster, and the painting of Jodhpur and Bhilwara train stations with Phad style paintings. Newer themes and modern campaign posters have been included in Phad style of painting and people are appreciating the rich colors and idiom of the art. As in the case of Bengal Patta art, discussed by Roma Chatterji, the artists of Phad need to be trained for an interaction with non-regional audience and buyers so that they can approach a wider market and art collectors, enthusiasts. Several government programs and organizations associated with art have

been conducting workshops for art lovers, where folk artists of Bhil, Gond, Mata Ni Pachedi and other art forms teach the audience through online and offline mediums. Government universities, too, conduct courses (short and long term), where the folk artists reach enthusiasts and teach them basic and advanced courses, a positive step towards preservation of the art, something which can be done more actively in case of Phad. Lastly, the folk artists should be given more space to interact with artists of other style and modern art, so that they can look for ways of experimenting with their art, develop their individual style in Phad, and solutions can come from within the community of Phad artists and performers, so that a balance can be maintained between the inevitable forces of modernisation and the traditional language of Phad, without beauty being lost in visual translation.

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Poetic expressions as archive of economic conditions of Rajasthan: A study of twentieth century pre-independence compositions

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This research paper utilizes poetic compositions created in twentieth century pre-independence Rajasthan and locates the reflections about contemporary economic concerns in them. A poet tends to observe his surroundings and pen his observations with creativity and sensitivity. The expression of the economic problems of Rajasthan can be found in the poetic expressions of poets and popular leaders of the region. These compositions can be seen and utilized as an archive of economic conditions of the selected socio-temporal context. Some trends are identified in the compositions included in this paper. Firstly, compositions spread awareness about the unprecedented economic hardships and poverty of the people, especially the peasants of the region and inspire them to struggle for the eradication of these problems. It is interesting that as the observation of poverty and social injustice inspired changes in trends of literature, the literature also played role of catalyst in political agitations and social reforms. Secondly, a longing for what E.P. Thompson has termed as 'Moral Economy' is seen in these compositions, the persisting absence of which inspired the spirit of revolutionizing the existing feudal system of socio-economic functioning into a more modern and egalitarian one. Thirdly, these songs suggest the ways out of economic hardship which generally aligns with the ideas of cooperatives and home-based or small scale industry. An understanding of Economic conditions of Rajasthan in this period is necessary to comprehend the observations of this paper.

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Economic Problems in Rajasthan in first half of twentieth century

The pre-independence twentieth century Rajasthan, the economic front, witnessed dual hardship as most of the area of this region was under princely states which in turn recognized British paramountcy. This historical period had in its backgrounds the problems which originated in the previous century. The economic exploitation of people increased as a result of land settlements adopted in 1870. This settlement snatched the secure right of peasants over their land, regardless of the quantity of agricultural produce. The demand of revenue and the rigidity in collection was also increased.¹ Numerous famines, including the *Trikaals*² of 1868-70 and 1899-1900, created problems like loss and emigration of population and cattle, increased indebtedness, conditions of selling members of family and induced decline in agricultural production.³ As British officials used to frequently interrupt or even virtually form the internal policies of the states in name of paramountcy, the rulers of Rajasthan became negligent towards the matters boiling up in the countryside. Taking advantage of the situation, many feudal chiefs, known as *thakurs* or *thikanedars* tended to overuse their traditional right to extract *lag-bag* and *begar* (occasional money and labour extracted from peasants by the feudal chiefs as a privilege, without any payback).⁴ Monopoly on the production of salt and opium contributed in increasing the dependence of trading class over agriculture. The emigration of business class from Rajasthan delayed the industrial development of the region and in the period under consideration, virtually no modern industry existed in Rajasthan which provided no alternative sector of earning livelihood to the population.⁵

Poetic expressions as archive of economic conditions of Rajasthan: Some observations

1. Spreading Awareness about economic hardships of Peasantry

The writings of this period depict the sensitivity of the educated middle class of early twentieth century towards the concerns of masses of Rajasthan, especially the poor. The poverty depicted in these songs is not merely a literary exaggeration but a statement about unprecedented poor living conditions of the masses. The problems of increased obligation of *lag-bag* and *beggar* along with the extreme poverty generated due to the reasons mentioned in the beginning constitute the large portions of these compositions. These songs have played part in spreading awareness about the poor living conditions of the peasantry of Rajasthan among

the peasantry itself and among the ruling and feudal classes. They motivated the peasants to struggle for changing their miserable conditions and urged the power to reform the persisting problems in order to keep their authority safe from resistance. They have played prominent role in the success of peasant movements of Rajasthan and bringing socio-economic reforms.

The problem of *Begar* was highlighted in the book *Begari Vilap* Written by Param Singh Prem in Karauli in 1924.⁶ A poem in this book depicts the hardship of a woman who is obliged to work under beggar and leave her newborn baby unattended as her husband and eldest child are also engaged in *Begar*. The poet says that this type of suppression in unprecedented in India. The poet warns the power that as peaceful requests against this suppression go unheard, a fire of resistance will soon ignite which would not be extinguishable and the moths (suppressors) will be burnt in it. The words of the poet came to be true as Karauli witnessed a Peasant Movement in 1927.

A very prominent composition titled as *Peeditan ro Panchheeda*⁷ written by Manikyalal Verma depicts the conditions of stark poverty which the people of Uparmal region of Rajasthan were forced to live in. this song was sung during the activities of Bijolia peasant movement to inspire people to carry on with the struggle of the movement. The lyrics of this song tell that the people have lost even the clothes from their bodies and are metaphorically washing themselves with tears. Manikyalal Verma opines that the *Hakim* (revenue official) unjustly claim the whole crop during *Kunta* (the process of calculating estimated revenue). It is mentioned in this song that the fence is itself eating the crop, which metaphorically refers to the discrimination done by feudal chiefs who are ideally supposed to protect the peasants. The poet says that this problem can be cured through Satyagrah (Gandhi's method of peaceful agitation adopted in Bijolia Movement) only.

The depiction of extreme poverty and urge to the state to stop discrimination was penned down by Purushottamlal Soni of Hadauti region. In his composition *Mhane Chusya hi jawola kaayin ji*,⁸ he wrote, "Will you keep sucking us dry like this?" After giving description of poverty the poet says, "Four dogs are the thieves of country, listen O Hada king! Patwari, Kanungo, Nazim and Thanedar." A song by Premchand Bhil of Barad, *Mhara Dholaji*,⁹ is a motivational song for inspiring people to participate in assemblies of Prajamandal. A very

famous poem *Kala Badal*,¹⁰ written by Bhairulal Meena says, “O dark cloud! Rain down fire here. Let lightning fall in the rule of the British. Remove the slavery and bring our own rule. The income of villagers is destroyed and we have sold our possessions. Additional to the British Rule, this is the rule of king.” Ganeshilal Vyas ‘Ustad’ of Jodhpur depicted the problems of Peasants of Marwar in his poem *Hey Marwar ra Karsan*¹¹ and suggested that education is the appropriate solution of their problems.

2. Concern over decline of Moral Economy

The concept of Moral Economy was first brought to the historical agenda by E. P. Thompson’s 1971 article ‘The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century’.¹² He defined it as a traditional consensus of crowd rights that were swept away by market forces. Although he used the concept in case of eighteenth century working class of England, subsequent historians have expanded the notion of its usage and have proved that it can be used in other socio-temporal contexts as well.¹³ This paper tries to apply this concept over twentieth century Rajasthan. The tradition of feudalism and moneylending were not new for Rajasthan but the poets of the compositions included in this paper seem to be nostalgic about the traditional moral and paternal role of feudal chiefs and moneylenders towards the peasants. The concern in these songs is shown about the divergence of feudatories and moneylenders from playing role of patron to the peasants and exploiting them. This nostalgia does not essentially depict their longing to return into the past; on the other hand, they advocate changes in socio-economic structure if the exploitation continues. The agents of this change were various peasant movements and *Prajamandals* in wake of which most of these poets wrote their songs. The metaphors such as ‘the fence is eating the crop’ show anger towards the change in the morality of rural elite under the framework of colonial exploitation.

Ganeshilal Vyas ‘Ustad’, in his poem *Kahta Bohra Su mat ghalyo*,¹⁴ wars the peasant against the trap of moneylenders. In this poem, the wife of a peasant asks her husband not to open an account with the *bohra* (moneylender). She requests him “I will manage living in poverty but she will not let you take debt from the moneylender. These moneylenders speak sweetly while giving debts but they hide knives in their belly. He will give you seeds, foodgrain and sari (Clothes) but will

take double money in return. His love is limited only to the time of Lata (estimation of revenue) after which they will ask for money. His trap will destroy the whole family. Do not serve milk to a snake, I am warning you about the truth.”

The poetry of Ganeshilal Vyas ‘Ustad’ also includes complain towards the migrating *Seths* (business class) of Rajasthan for leaving the region for their own economic benefit. In his poem *Banda Menat ri Jai bol*,¹⁵ he urges commonfolk to uplift themselves and to not rely on the *seths*, “The *seth* have gone to other regions along with their belongings. They have left their *Dharm* (moral duty) and only care about filling their moneybags. The bellies of seths have turned into *Dhol* (a large musical instrument) by eating.

Gaurilal Gupt of Bundi made the ruler of Bundi aware about the tragic conditions of the people of Bundi through his poem *Jag Jag Bundipat thari Praja Dukhari re*.¹⁶ He writes, “O master of Bundi! O Hada king! Awake! Wheat sells for eight *ser* and Jowar sells for ten *ser* only. How are we supposed to survive by this meagre income? The officers suppress us as they make us work under begar. You do not know about their vices.”

Shri Puran Singh of Bharatpur, an activist of Bharatpur Prajamandal, wrote against the economic discrimination done by two-tier governance of the king of Bharatpur and the Bureaucracy of British Empire. He wrote a poem *Chakarshahi ka Changul*¹⁷ in 1939. The contradiction in the word *Chakarshahi* (the rule of servants) highlights the dual meaning of dictatorship of bureaucracy and the uselessness of the capacity of the king of Bharatpur as his servants are ruling in his stead.

Some poems have counselled the feudal chiefs resume fraternal ties with peasants. *Mile na tukda khaba ne*¹⁸ by Prabhudayal Mital of Hadauti says, “What is this policy where the *tikayat* (elder brother) is living with proud while the younger brothers are deprived of necessities? This Jagiri system is doing nothing except for dividing brothers.”

3. Suggesting ways of Economic Upliftment

The poets of these compositions have not only sympathised with the peasants but as members of the shared society and having relatively more exposure towards politics, knowledge about nature of colonial exploitations, programmes of freedom struggle in wider Indian context

and situation of peasantry and industries in other regions of British India; they have also suggested measures for improvement in the economic conditions of the masses of Rajasthan. For these poets, cooperatives and home-based or small scale industry, especially making of Khadi can be the harbinger of Economic change in the society of Rajasthan. Their compositions favour the Gandhian view of economic development through decentralised distribution of resources as the benefits of this model could reach to the wider range of people instead of concentrating resources in hands of few. The reason behind this alignment of idea was context of Swadeshi and constructive program, the popularity of Gandhi, his moral support to the activities of peasant movements and Prajamandals in Princely states and the identification of the poets towards the economically exploited masses rather than the migrated business class of Rajasthan.

Vijaysingh 'Pathik' wrote the poem *Kisanon ka Jhanda*¹⁹ in this regard. In a stanza, he wrote, "We will run cottage industries and produce good quality goods. We will go door to door and spread awareness about this. We will become strong like this as everything in the world belongs to strong people."

Ganeshilal Vyas Ustad supported the idea of cooperatives in order to bring economic parity in villages. He has written some short compositions in which he opined that when we cultivate the same field under cooperatives, the fraternity of the village will be strengthened and the whole village will become like a family. The era of cooperatives will be a new one in which the sins of old regime, which was full of class discrimination, shall be eradicated.²⁰

Pt. Hiralal Shastri wrote some songs which promote the beauty and economic benefits of Khadi cloth. His song *Pindan Bisaola*²¹ states that having a cotton carder in home is as important as having a *chulha* (place to cook) as both of them fulfil basic needs and both save cost of living. He asks the people of Banasthali village (where he used to do the work of rural welfare) to save some money and bring a cotton carder in each household as that will save more money in future. In another song, *Chundaro*,²² he has glorified the beauty on the *Chundari* (popular Rajasthanian drape) which is completely homemade. He says that a woman wears a very beautiful chundari. It is ..., spun and woven at her home. Just like we make roti (bread) at home and never order it from outside, we should make our own cloth too. He urges to peasants that homemade

chundari will bring your sinking boat to the riverbank i.e. it will improve your grim economic conditions.

Sadhu Nandram Das wrote a song *Geet Swadeshi*²³ in which a woman requests her husband that he should not live foreign made goods and should promote *Swadeshi*. She wants to have her bangles, *chunri* and complete attire made in her own country. The poet says that through this way only will the conditions of Bharat improve. Vijay Shankar Shastri wrote *Bhanwar Mhane Charkho Lyado ji*²⁴ in which the wife urges to her husband to bring her a spinning wheel. The husband argues that it is the work of poor people, a woman of a reputed family will not look good spinning on the wheel. The wife answers that a house in which *Chulho, Chaki aur Charakhla* (chulha, flour-grinding stone and spinning wheel) are functional, the men and women of that house stay happy.

Conclusion

As concluding remark, this research paper has tried to use poetic expressions as major source of historical analysis and derive some historical trends in economic conditions and thoughts in twentieth century pre-independence Rajasthan while keeping in mind the historical context of that period and reading these expressions with historian's craft and criticism.

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Harmony in the Sands: Exploring the Cultural Tapestry of the Manganiyars

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Introduction:

Picture the vast, sun-kissed landscapes of the Thar Desert in Rajasthan, where a remarkable group of musicians, the Manganiyar, breathe life into the arid surroundings with their enchanting melodies. This paper embarks on a journey into the borderlands of the desert state, unveiling the intricacies of a community that not only defies categorization but also transcends the boundaries of religious identity, geopolitical identity as well as musical traditions. This paper is an attempt to explore the world of the Manganiyar who are proudly living at the crossroads of faith, region as well as musical traditions. It is within this liminal space that the Manganiyar find their voice, echoing the harmonious coexistence of diverse influences. They follow Islam and self-identify as Sunni Muslim, but are visibly Hindus as they follow all the regional rituals and culture. Their geographical identity also transcends the border making it semipermeable through their art form, their art form is also an amalgamation of myriad music traditions which finds influences from Hindustani *ragas* as well as also draws from Sindhi *surs*. This paper seeks to illuminate the threads that connect the Manganiyar's unique cultural identity with the broader human experience, where the beauty of their music lies in its ability to unite rather than divide. Against the backdrop of this dual religious identity, we also witness a metamorphosis in the patron-client relationships that have historically sustained the Manganiyar. In the wake of post-colonial transformations, the traditional dynamics of patronage have evolved, reshaping the landscape upon which the Manganiyar practice their art. Through this multifaceted exploration,

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this paper seeks to shed light, not only on the captivating melodies of the Manganiyar but also on the intricate layers of their cultural identity while understanding how they skillfully reinvented their cultural and economic value in postcolonial India where traditional patronage relations faded due to new political conditions, technological shifts, and cultural change. Therefore, the story that unfolds is one of resilience, adaptability, and of harmonious existence of diversity.

The Manganiyar community comprises hereditary caste musicians residing along the India-Pakistan border, spanning the western Rajasthan region of India and the eastern Sindh region of Pakistan. In India, they are found in Jaisalmer, Barmer, parts of Jalor, Bikaner, Jodhpur, and other Western Rajasthan districts. Like other hereditary musicians, they foster close ties with patrons, offering musical services in exchange for gifts like cattle, camels, goats, or cash. Additionally, they serve as record keepers, preserving family histories through songs, passed down purely through oral tradition for centuries.¹ Their affiliations extend beyond individual patrons to entire family lineages, creating a social and economic interdependence. Performing primarily in the Marwari language, they participate in various life-cycle ceremonies such as births, weddings, and festivals.²

The term “Manganiyar” originates from “Mangan” or “Mangano,” meaning ‘to beg,’ reflecting their lower status compared to patrons.³ Manganiyars claim a history of Hinduism, with a conversion to Islam during Aurangzeb’s reign,⁴ driven by reasons such as escaping Aurangzeb’s tax on non-Muslims and a desire to break free from Hindu casteism.⁵ These conversions were often only partial and/or selective as preconversion practices persisted among the communities. As Muslims with predominantly Hindu patrons, especially Rajputs, the Manganiyars maintain a unique blend of Hindu and Muslim traditions in their cultural and musical expressions, devoted to both Hindu and Muslim (most often Sufi-derived) mythological and devotional themes.⁶ This cultural synthesis underscores the harmonious coexistence of diverse influences within the Manganiyar community.

Patron-Client relationship then and now: As is the case in any Patron and client system, the client is survived by their patrons (*Jajman*) and same goes for these Manganiyar. This patron client system is part of *Jajmani* system where these Manganiyar provide non-physical services to their patrons and in return they are provided in kind for these services.⁷

The Manganiyars were genealogist and these genealogists connected the Rajput rulers with ancient heroes and dynasties. The Manganiyars were therefore, custodian of history preserved through ages by these folklore and genealogical artisanal castes. Not only Rajputs, but *Rahumas* (a caste among Muslims) living in western Rajasthan, Gujarat and Sindh region of Pakistan were also the patrons of the Manganiyar.⁸

The tradition of singing and composing for their *Jajmans* has been going for generations. They sing songs praising their patrons and narrate the genealogical history (*Shubhraaj*) of their family with great pride and honour. Such is the art of these people that they recite all the names of the previous generations of their *Jajmans* in a single breath, while including all their achievements and in return received rewards from their patrons. This system is a part of an old tradition belonging to rural communities in India as well as in the Sindh region of Pakistan. They consider their patrons to be their *Mai-Baap* so they usually sit on the floor in front of them even if the Manganiyar is older and their patron is younger. Male members of the Manganiyar wear same type of clothes as their patrons. Despite their low social ranking, Manganiyar also held an important position in the society. If a Manganiyar is not pleased by his patron, he takes several steps; initially they stop greetings their patrons then they ultimately tie an effigy of the patron to a donkey and go around the village with that which ultimately leads to complete isolation of the patron from the society as nobody will marry in such disregarded and isolated family.⁹

However, the advent of modernization has brought about significant changes in the way their lives. On one hand it has jeopardized the traditional patron-client relationship but on the other hand it has also fostered resilience within the community enabling them to actively promote their art and culture thereby keeping them alive in the contemporary times. In contrast to their predecessors, contemporary musicians no longer enjoy the same access to a vast musical repertoire, and their reliance on patrons for financial support has diminished. Likewise, the majority of *jajman* families are no longer obligated to provide Manganiyars with a stable financial future, and they lack the same level of musical knowledge and enthusiasm as their ancestors.¹⁰

In response to these changes, numerous small-scale development initiatives, often funded by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) at various levels, have emerged particularly in western Rajasthan. Instead

of perceiving this local developmental shift as a threat, the Manganiyars actively engage with and reshape institutional spaces to navigate beyond prescribed borders and categorizations. Many Manganiyar musicians have broken free from the constraints of their low caste status and social standing by integrating NGO-inspired organizational structures and development rhetoric into their daily lives. Organizations with objectives such as music preservation, communal uplift, ecological rehabilitation, and economic sustainability through music-making have been established.

In recent times, the Manganiyars have found new hosts globally, including Bollywood, coke studio, Paris Opera in France, and the Royal Festival Hall in London. have garnered widespread recognition, with leading vocalists like Anwar Khan and the late Sarkar Khan receiving prestigious accolades such as the Padma Shri. Similarly, the music of Mame Khan, Kachra Khan, and Swarup Khan has captivated the imaginations of millions across the globe.

Being Hindu and Muslim simultaneously: The Indian subcontinent has experienced a significant cultural transformation with the advent of Islam and Christianity, leading to dual religious identity resulting in evanescent Muslimness in some cases while unrecognizable Hinduness in other cases.¹¹ Caste and communities associated with storytelling and performing arts, such as the Langas and Manganiyars in western India, defy straightforward classification. Despite being labeled as Muslims, these artists transcend simplistic categorizations of 'Hindu' and 'Muslim,' expressing their identity through one of the world's profound traditions of classical and spiritual music.¹² The difference among these musicians lies in their individual religious beliefs or those of their patrons. While the Langas are Muslim and aligned with Muslim patrons, the Manganiyars, also Muslim, find association with Hindu patrons.¹³ Identifying as Sunni Muslims and considering themselves descendants of Rajputs, the Manganiyars, like many marginalized communities in South Asia, amalgamate aspects of both Hinduism and Islam in their religious practices.¹⁴

This community serves as a testament to religious coexistence and cultural synthesis. The harmonious blending of Hindu and Muslim influences not only highlights their unique cultural heritage but also stands as a powerful example of religious tolerance and unity. The Manganiyars seamlessly incorporate elements from both faiths into their music and daily lives, showcasing the richness and fluidity of religious identity. The

Manganiyar community have created for themselves an interesting and complex multicultural identity. Despite their adherence to Muslim practices like Sunnah, Nikaah, Eid, and namaz, the Muslimness of the community remains indistinguishable, mirroring the appearance and lifestyle of their Hindu patrons.¹⁵ Having been under the patronage of caste Hindus for centuries, they appear to be gradually embracing Hindu practices akin to their *Jajmaans*. This multicultural existence is evident in Manganiyar weddings, where rituals involve a tilak, arti, coconuts, pujas for homemade mud Ganesh idols, and songs dedicated to various Hindu deities leading up to a Nikaah.¹⁶ On the one hand they sing praises for Hindu gods on the other they consider themselves as the follower of Baba Bulleh Shah and Shah Abdul Lateef.¹⁷ The adoption of the surname 'Khan,' originally a title of Muslim nobles of Mughal or Pathan descent,¹⁸ alongside generic Hindu names further exemplifies the complex and adaptable nature of their religious identity.¹⁹

Interfaith Harmony in Musical Expression: The melody and the rhythm of Manganiyar folk music combined with their high energy quotient transcends the borders of words and language and draw you into a web of musical magic. At the heart of Manganiyar performances lies a celebration of interfaith harmony, where Hindu and Islamic influences coalesce seamlessly. This synthesis is a true representation of the Manganiyars' dedication to inclusivity rather than just a stage tactic. Scholars have long regarded Manganiyars as the keepers of folklore and tradition. Consequently, their music, genealogical keeping, and live performances are considered to convey an essentialized sense of history. This essentialization of the Manganiyar community inevitably influences how Manganiyar music is perceived in connection to Hindustani classical music. Ethnomusicologist like, Nazir Jairazbhoy's description of Manganiyar music as an "embryo of Hindustani classical music" is probably based on the initial impression that Manganiyar music does share structural similarities with Hindustani classical music.²⁰ Their music showcases the amalgamation of both Hindustani ragas and Sindhi surs with striking sufi influences in their qawwali style singing that is reminiscent of that which is heard at Muslim shrines rather than that which is commonly heard over the radio.

The Manganiyars however, are famous for singing at the night-long music sessions in the homes of their patrons, these old fables set as dohas (couplets) and had evocative names like *Dhola Maru*, *Moomal*

Mahendra, Umar Marvi, Ratan Raiko, Ridmal, Ugda Bhanej and Katha Nimbuchand and were elaborate old fables. They were sung to a unique raga system, in Marwari or Sindhi, and grew over centuries of memory building and oral transmission. But like most oral traditions deprived of patronage and context, they too are fading fast and are remembered mostly through few song verses. The music of the Manganiyars is a music that is pulsating and is earthy in its percussion and ethereal and haunting in its melodies. Let us look at some song extracts to understand the various cultural/musical influences on their music/songs.

Halariya: This is one of the most famous traditional welcome songs for the new born children and is attributed to Lord Krishna. This song is famously sung by the Manganiyars. One of the famous Manganiyar Lakha Khan – Sindhi sarangi player – has often played Krishna Bhajans at the tune of his Sindhi sarangi.²¹ One rendition of this song is sung by Mame Khan, an extract from the song is as follows:

*Are hilo re Halariyathanahilosa
Hilo re chidaklithanahilosa
Thee dudhbatasapiyoahaay
Jug meinghana the jiyohaay
JanamMubarak thane sa
Are Janam Mubarak thane sa*

The birth of Lord Krishna is the main topic of this song, and is sung to welcome a new born child, as a newborn child in its pure nature is compared to Lord Krishna himself. This song remains popular among the Manganiyars.

Banna: These are wedding songs and are generally given preference by many Manganiyar singers. “Banna”²² refers to the groom and the lyrics of the “Banna” song typically describe the groom’s appearance, attire, and the festive atmosphere surrounding the wedding ceremony. Manganiyar musicians infuse their renditions with a lively and rhythmic melody that complements the festive spirit of weddings. One such song is *Hasotohmitholage*, and the lyrics are as follows:

*Bole to mitholaage, Hase to pyarolaage
Bethodosovemhareaangane
Oh, saawalisuratjedojaanidomharo
Bethodosovemhareaangane*

*Allah abaadraakhe
Maulaabaadraakhe
Bole to mitholaage
Bethodosovemhareaangane
Betho to sahi mere samne*

The above song is also a prayer to God, referred in the song as “Allah” or “Maula.” The Manganiyars often use the word ‘Maula’ for God to bring God as close to the ground as possible.

Poetry of Baba Bulleh Shah: Baba Bulleh Shah, a prominent Punjabi Sufi poet from the 18th century, is revered for his profound and spiritual poetry. His verses, rich with metaphor and deep philosophical insights, have found resonance across various communities, including the Manganiyar musicians. Manganiyar’s rendition of Baba Bulleh Shah’s poetry into their repertoire, creating a captivating fusion of Sufi philosophy and Rajasthani musical traditions. One of Baba Bulleh Shah’s notable verses that is frequently sung by Manganiyar singers is:

*Anthbahar di khabarnakae rang hi rang banaya
rang hi rang banaya, maulaadamibaanaya*

The above verses express that nobody knows the nature of Allah and God’s divine manifestation. Manganiyar musicians infuse their renditions with emotional depth, capturing the essence of spiritual yearning and devotion embedded in Bulleh Shah’s words.

Conclusion: The exploration into the enchanting world of the Manganiyar community reveals a rich tapestry woven with threads of culture, religion, and music that defy simple labels. Nestled in the borderlands of the Thar Desert, the Manganiyars have crafted a unique identity that goes beyond conventional boundaries—both geographical and cultural. The Manganiyar are faithful to their ancient legacy of songs that have been handed over from generation to generation and preserve their sanctity, however, they are not averse to trying new and innovative music too. It is this dynamism rooted in tradition that makes their music so appealing. What stands out is the Manganiyars’ remarkable ability to embrace interfaith influences with harmony. This seamless fusion extends to their music, where Hindustani ragas entwine with Sindhi surs, creating a melodic celebration of Sufi and Hindu devotional themes. This cultural synthesis and their multicultural identity that defies oversimplified labels

becomes an interesting area for further research. Another area worth exploring is the musical influence of the Sindh region along with close resemblance to Hindustani classical music that tends to make their art one of a kind. Their music has the power to connect with your heart and soul and resonate through your being for a long, long, time. Through their enchanting melodies and cultural layers, the Manganiyars offer a timeless ode to the power of music and the enduring spirit of a community that defies boundaries—celebrating unity amidst the winds of change.

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Ink Trails: Rajasthani Women's Stories in Chand, 1922-1950

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Development of the Hindi Public Sphere and Emergence of Journals

Numerous studies have examined the extent of access different segments of society have to the public sphere across various regions worldwide. For example, Sandria Freitag's research illustrates how various forms of oratory performances attracted 'semi-literate' and 'rural audiences' to the public sphere. In the urban setting of the United Provinces, two distinct activities, Katha and street theatre, were prominent in the public arena. Bayly's work also highlights the existence of a public sphere in northern India, where cultural performances conveyed strong political messages, bridging the gap between elites and the general populace in shared enjoyment. However, the role of print media has consistently been crucial in shaping public sphere activities. Scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis have linked the emergence of the Renaissance with the proliferation of print, while others like Benedict Anderson have emphasized the significance of print capitalism in shaping national identities. In India, the spread of printing occurred relatively late but rapidly accelerated after 1820, with not just elites but also other segments of society contributing to its dissemination. This study endeavours to examine and analyse the access of women to print media within the literate segments of northern Indian society and representation of Rajasthani women in prominent Hindi journals. This study seeks to comprehend how the concept of nation, community, and identity was conceptualized within the Hindi public sphere through the medium of print in the modern era. The following are some prominent Hindi journals of the time and their editors:

- *Stri Darpan* 1909-28 ed by Rameshwari Nehru
- *Grihalakshmi* 1909-29 ed by Thakur Srinath Singh but in Smt Gopaldevi's name
- *Arya Mahila* 1917-48 ed by Smt Surathkumari Devi
- *Chand* 1922-40s ed by Ramrakh Singh Sehgal and Vidhyavati Sehgal(1922-33) and then by Mahadevi Verma till 1938
- *Madhuri* 1922-50 had section 'mahila manoranjan'(woman's entertainment). Different women wrote in this column.

Feminine Voices: Terms Women Writers Used to Navigate the Public Sphere

Within these journals, women writers employed various pre-existing categories, positioning themselves as central figures in contemporary nationalist discourse. They selectively utilized categories that aligned with external societal demands, indicating a strategic approach. Additionally, the utilization of these categories served to channel women's energies. During this period, there were concerted efforts to underscore the collective interests of women for the nation's advancement. Women writers utilized numerous terms to articulate their perspectives in *Chand*, exemplified by-

- *strijati /narimandal*- it referred to Indian womankind
- *strisamaj*- was used synonymously for women's societies
- *strijan*- to highlight small groups of women
- *hindi bhashini*- to show women speaking Hindi
- *narishakti*- power of women

The journal *Chand* emphasised on numerous *charitras* or portraits of ideal women, both Indian (Rani of Chittor) and foreign (like Joan of Arc), who, disguised as traditional models, actually embodied new gender roles. These women were portrayed as virtuous, chaste, and pure. The sketches, along with columns offering advice on household duties, largely avoided discussions on social reforms. Unlike vernacular papers targeting the general public, which extensively deliberated on women's status in Hindu society, these journals catered more to the emergent middle class's self-perception, where consensus on such issues was crucial.

Nationalism and Social Reforms

Moreover, there were attempts to highlight how women could serve the nation (*seva*). This notion of *seva* was frequently used by

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women. The idea of service was seen as a useful way getting women into national public affairs. For example in 'seva sadan', Kumari V.A described Indian women serving the nation as well as their households as Sita.¹ The concept itself was employed in such a way that it gave agency to women and the example of woman like Sita was associated with the term *seva*, and women were asked to serve the nation without crossing boundaries. As a result, it allowed women to enter the public sphere and it was used strategically which to help women move beyond traditional roles.² Numerous female authors, like Shanti Devi, endeavored to cite Rajasthani historical figures such as Mirabai as examples, leveraging the ancient history of the nation to demonstrate women's historical agency and involvement in the nation.³ Several photos of women were also published in *Chand* who were involved in nationalistic activities to highlight their role in nationalist activities. A photograph of Vijay Laxmi Pandit was published as someone was responsible for stimulating nationalism amongst women in Allahabad. Another photograph of Krishna Nehru was published who was involved in picketing foreign clothes in Allahabad. Apart from such prominent women, *Chand* also published photographs of ordinary Rajasthani women who practiced *satyagraha* or went to jails.

Women from Hindi Public Sphere were constantly trying to highlight social evils of Rajasthani women. For instance, in an article titled- *Rajasthan ki Striyan*, the editor highlighted the absence of education, status of Rajasthani women and presence of orthodox ideas in the state, which were highlighted with cynical parameters.

आज सारे हिंदुस्तान की महिलाएँ पिछड़ी हुई हैं लेकिन राजस्थान की महिलाओं की स्थिति सबसे ज्यादा खराब है। राजस्थान में महिलाओं की स्थिति को इस प्रकार क्रमबद्ध किया जा सकता है -

1. शिक्षा का उनमें अभाव है।
2. समाज में उनका कोई खास दर्जा नहीं है।
3. रूढ़ियों का गुलाम होने के कारण उनमें आधुनिकता बिलकुल भी नहीं है।⁴

'Samachar sangrah' section also published lists of women who were sent to jail. For example, the following list of names was published: Rukmani Laxmipati who was associated with Madras University was imprisoned for 1 year, Kamladevi Chattopadhyay associated with All India Woman Association was imprisoned for 6 months and Sarojini Naidu was imprisoned for 1 year. On the occasion of Diwali there was a

picture published which showed that women were painting Lakshmi and Tiranga to celebrate Diwali. Thus, an attempt was made to equate *Bharat Mata* with the goddess *Lakshmi*. Periodicals for women were treated as serious organs of political information in the Hindi Public Sphere.⁵ *Chand's* nationalistic propaganda was evident under several titles and it was censored under the Press Act of 1920.⁶ The Press Act was openly criticised by *Chand*, in *Sampadakiya Vichar*. In an editorial note it was written. From last six months, due to Press Ordinance Act, our national presses have been hit badly. As a result of it several journals and magazines were shut down.

पिछले छः महीनो से प्रेस आर्डिनेंस के कारण हमारी राष्ट्रीय प्रेसों पर भारी विपत्तियाँ आई हैं और परिणाम स्वरूप अनेक अखबारों और मासिक पत्रिकाओं को बंद होना पड़ा।

From 1920-40 it can be seen that *Chand* was the only journal, in the Hindi Public Sphere, which discussed women-centric issues in a way that challenged hegemonies and myths. Amongst the major themes discussed in the magazine were women's education, widow remarriage and the teaching of domestic science. *Chand* served as a site where women exposed and challenged patriarchal and social norms thus illustrating how demands were made by women through their writings for the redefinition of their position in society. *Chand* provided a platform where writers and contributors could engage in discussions. Apart from creating political awareness the magazine became a forum for the discussion of social evils in Rajasthan. The editor of the journal *Chand* also questioned the presence of purdah system in Rajasthan and asked the readers to give up the practice of veil for emancipation of women.

मारवाड़ में सभी जातियों में पर्दा है। यदि वे अपना सुधार करना चाहती हैं तो उन्हें पर्दा प्रथा को खत्म करना होगा।⁷

Ancient Hindu texts like the Vedas were used to highlight importance of education for women in times of crisis. In 'Striyo ke Adhikar aur Veda' it was argued that Maharshi Vyas had argued in favour of imparting knowledge to women.⁸

Advent of women education is not new and it is quite old. But women didn't entered public sphere then. If they will still not enter the public sphere then the pace of nationalism will remain slow.

“यद्यपि स्त्री-शिक्षा का श्रीगणेश बहुत पहले हो गया था पर उन्होंने सार्वजनिक

क्षेत्र में कदम नहीं रखा था, यदि अब भी वे घर रहेंगी तो देशभक्ति की गति मंदी रहेगी।'⁹

The editor was trying to convince women to enter the public sphere. Vidyavati Sehgal was co-editor of *Chand* in 1922-23. In 'Samajik Sudharako ki Avashyakta' she emphasised that only education could help women in eradicating bad practices.¹⁰

Conclusion

A thorough examination of *Chand's* content reveals how women endeavored to insert their writings into the existing unequal gender framework. Through print, women voiced their opinions alongside men. Nevertheless, it's crucial to recognize that *Chand's* impact cannot be broadly applied to all women in India's Hindi-speaking public sphere due to the widespread illiteracy. Nonetheless, *Chand* served as a medium for educated Hindu women of the middle class to challenge their circumstances and articulate their perspectives on education and reform. The intricate issues addressed by women in journals like *Chand* shed light on their sense of marginalization and belonging. These journals fostered a community of female readers who, despite never meeting in person, united through shared pages to amplify their voices and discuss common concerns. In Anderson's terminology, these journals constructed an imagined community of literate women.

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Prof. Neelima Vashishtha Prize Paper

Art and Architectural Appropriation and Reuse of the Early Medieval Temples at Kolu Pābuji, Phalodi, Rajasthan

Dr. Tamegh Panwar* and Gopal Joge**

Western Rajasthan which is mostly covered by Thar Desert has limited resources, for subsistence. However, the region inherits rich cultural heritage in various forms of material evidence. This perhaps was due its geographical position that has been extensively utilised for a long distance trade and commerce. Once the region was serve to form the connectivity with Central Asia and the Middle East¹. This arid and semi-arid region was home to multiple dynasties and their political contestation, including the Gurjara-Pratiharas, Chauhans, Paramaras, and later, the Rajputās. Each of these dynasties was observed left their presence and helped to enhance the cultural landscape of the region under consideration in which main was monumental and trade and commercial activity². The period in between c. 7th to 12th century CE the region has witnessed the significant temple building activities; nonetheless, it has shaped the architectural morphology of *Maru* style³.

The architecture of early temples in Western Rajasthan, especially in present administrative regions like Jaisalmer, Barmer, and Jodhpur, reflects a unique conglomeration of socio-religious trends and architectural mode and forms. The early temple architecture in Western Rajasthan evolved over several centuries, mainly seen affiliated to Brahmanical sects,

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such as Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta and Saur, Jain, and allied religious beliefs which were seen formed from the local background of folk traditions⁴.

The noted site such as Mandor and Osian appears to be was a main centre of the early formative phase of the temple architecture in western Rajasthan. These places were active centers of the constant temple building activity for a long period, as observed by scholars it also said to be was guiding force for a further development of temple art and architecture in the region⁵. The site Mandor, also believed to be served as early political sit of an imperial branch of the Pratihara⁶. The remains of the temples reported at Mandor showcases intricately carved sculptures, various decorative motifs and symbols, which later helped to define the artistic language of the region. Same can be said about Osian. The site contains a number of temples dedicated to diverse traditions of Brahmanical as well as Jain faith⁷. This temple complex displays stylistic upbringing of '*Maru-Gurjara*'. The Surya and the Mahavira temple complex represent the zenith of the temple architecture of the Gurjara-Pratihara period, at Osian. These temples in its exterior and interior are embellished with the iconographic depictions, renowned for their ornate pillars, elaborate facades, and symbolism⁸. In general the temples of this period are small and modest in scale compared to the later grandeur temples built during the Rajput period.

The group of temples at Kiradu near Barmer, date back to the c. 11th century CE, are prime examples of the maturity of the Brahmanical temples in the region. These temples, particularly the Viṣṇu temple, showcase intricate and graceful carving and the thoughtful arrangements of the imageries of the various deities⁹.

Western Rajasthan, particularly regions like Jaisalmer and Barmer, has a deeply rooted connection to Jain traditions. Jain traders, who were prominent in the region, offered generous grant for the construction of several temples¹⁰. These Jain temples were characterized by elaborate carvings and a high degree of ornamentation. The temples such as the Jain temples at Osian and Lodurva represent some of the earliest examples of Jain temples in the region. The art and architectural diffusion of the '*Marudeśa*' and '*Gurjaradeśa*' was noticed well accommodated in these

Jain temples¹¹. The usage of sandstone, which is locally available in abundance, allowed artisans and sculptors eye soothing intricacies and innovative latticework, which became a hallmark of temple construction.

Rajasthan is a state characterized by its diverse regional cultures, each of which has significantly influenced temple architecture. Dhaky has classified these temples of Rajasthan and Gujarat into various sub regional sections based on the early medieval historical geography, primarily distinguished between '*Mahā-Marū*' and '*Mahā-Gurjara*.'¹²

During c. 7th to 10th centuries, in this long period of span the temple architecture in Rajasthan developed a distinct identity; lead Dhaky to further categorize it into several regions: Marudeśa, Maru-Sapaladakṣa, Meḍapāta, Uparamala, Surasena, and Arbud Deśa¹³ etc. Each of these regions reflects unique architectural styles and cultural influences, showcasing the rich heritage of Rajasthan's temple construction during this period. This classification not only highlights the diversity of temple designs but also emphasizes the historical and cultural contexts that shaped them.

This phenomenon of consistent temple building activity somehow declined at the end of c. 12th early 13th century CE. This process of decay in traditional temples is in general believed that it was happened due to the political turmoil, unsettled conditions in brief it was a period of major transitions. In this phase of transitions perhaps several temples were either desecrated or left abandoned. It also needs to be mention that social affiliation to such a sacred places might was surviving in public memory. Therefore, when the conditions turnaround and become favourable in all the respect, the desecrated and abandoned temples probably was started to get appropriate in various forms. It can be said that it was a movement of temple restoration and revival.

This phenomenon of the post thirteen century temple revival and restoration needs to be observed in various perspective. In this context the region like Rajasthan bears the great importance to explored and examined socio-religio-political dynamics. This paper attempts understand this aspect of appropriation and reuse of early medieval temples; with the case study of Kolu Pābuji temple complex.

Kolu Pābuji is located on the Jodhpur-Phalodi road. From Jodhpur it is at a distance of 145 km and 28 km from Phalodi. The place is known as a birthplace of Pābuji one of the popular deity of Rajasthan. In Western Rajasthan, the deity Pābuji holds a prominent position as a revered folk deity. The birth legends of folk deities in Western Rajasthan are often associated with various divine associations, and there are several local beliefs surrounding the birth of Pābuji. These folk traditions are noticed to be immensely contributed to the rich cultural narrative of the region.

The authors have long been aware of its socio-religious significance. There is a temple dedicated to Pābuji that we often pass by, and we've always felt, and was curious about its *śikhara*, visible from the road, suggests a structure that harks back to the medieval period. Subsequently, surprisingly we had come across the information cited in journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal¹⁴. In this journal the series of inscriptions reported the site dated to 1414 CE, 1483 CE, and 1515 CE. Despite passing by numerous times, we never gave it much thought. However, in December 2020, while traveling to Phalodi for fieldwork by bus, we noticed some early burials near the temple, which annoyed our interest. We decided to stop at the Kolu Pābuji temple to explore further and inspect these early burials.

To our surprise, we noticed that the temple not only had burials nearby but also contained significant remains of early medieval structures, dating back to a period before the birth and legends of Pābuji and the establishment and spread of its cult in Western Rajasthan. This unexpected find fascinated us, as the architecture of the temples and its surrounding features provided insights into its early medieval roots.

Currently, there are two temples in worship. Among these, the lower part of; one of the temple, constructed with red sandstone (Onward can referred temple No. 01), is notable. The lower part of the temple no. 1; exhibits architectural elements that suggest a traditional and diagnostic forms of moldings. Additionally, on the eastern side of the temple complex, we noticed a main doorjamb (*dvārasākhā*), which also displays distinct characteristics of the typical early medieval artistic treatment and execution.

The text '*Nainsi ki Khyāt*'¹⁵ suggests that Pābuji was born to a celestial *apsarā* (divine nymph), a claim supported by historical records of Jodhpur and the couplets¹⁶ (*dohās*) dedicated to Pābuji¹⁷. However, Pemaram refutes this supernatural account, stating that 'nothing definitive can be said about his mother.'¹⁸ Despite this, local traditions and genealogical records from Kolu Khās, the *Dhandhlot* clans historical accounts, indicate that Pābuji's birth took place in Vikram Samvat 1296 *i.e.* 1239 CE.¹⁹

Pābuji is remembered as a significant figure within the Rathore lineage of Jodhpur and is considered a descendant of the fourth generation of Seoji, the founder of the Rathore dynasty²⁰. The folk and oral traditions state that the Pābuji's mother left him in his early childhood, ascending to the divine realm (*devaloka*). This incident is quite popular and well-known narrative in the desert region of Rajasthan. Further, the Pābuji's father was Dhandhalji, and his grandfather was Aasthan²¹, both were prominent figures in the Rathore descent. The village of Kolu is regarded as Pābuji's ancestral home, where his legacy continues to be celebrated. His life, marked by extraordinary deeds and reverence as a folk deity, reflects his deep-rooted connection to the Rathore family and the cultural heritage of Western Rajasthan.

Temple No. 1

This temple is observed most exquisite in the entire complex at Kolu Pābuji, showcasing numerous intricate artistic features. It is constructed on a high platform (*jagati*). The temple's plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) is divided into two distinct registers. The first section consists of *bhitti*, the *jaḍyakumbha*, *karikā*, and *kapotapāli*. The second register of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is further divided into several elements. That includes, *bhitti*, *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *Kapotapāli* (repeated twice to enhance the visual rhythm), and *karikā* (appearing again to create a harmony in a structure). These detailed architectural elements not only add aesthetic value but also symbolizes traditional norms and craftsmanship. The *kuñbh* section displays the carving of a *thakarikā* (a decorative feature), which extends from the *khura* part to a significantly higher point on the *kumbha*. The *janghā* of this temple is plain, without any ornamentation. However, the

all *bhadras* (the projections) are having a depiction of three figures. The central, west *bhadra* showcases a finely carved image of Viṣṇu in a standing (*sthānaka*) posture, with four arms. In the two right hands, Viṣṇu is shown holding a mace (*gada*) and a *padma* (Lotus), while the two left hands hold a discus (*cakra*) and a conch (*śankha*). The attendance is shown flanking to Viṣṇu.

The sculpture appears to be intentionally kept simple, with limited adornment, aside from the *kiriṭamukutā* (crown). The stylistic feature of this figure shows its close affinity to the sculptural style at Osian art, evident in the composition and simplicity of the image.

The north *bhadra* niche, there is a magnificent depiction of Nṛsiṅha, fourth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. It is standing, exudes a strong and captivating presence. Unlike the Viṣṇu figure, this image also bears four arms. The upper two arms are raised, conveying a sense of divine power and strength, while the two lower arms are engaged in subduing the demon Hiraṇyakaśyapu.

In this dynamic scene, Nṛsiṅha's left hand is shown gripping Hiraṇyakaśyapu, forcing him downward, symbolizing his dominance over the demon. Simultaneously, the right hand is shown strangling Hiraṇyakaśyapu, demonstrating the avatar's fierce and protective nature. Adding to the intensity, Nṛsiṅha's right foot is pressing down on Hiraṇyakaśyapu's weapon, an attempt to crush it and render the demon powerless.

On left, a companion of Hiraṇyakaśyapu is depicted holding a *kheṭaka* (shield), while on the right side; a *gadā* (mace) is seen standing upright, possibly as a symbol of strength or battle. Despite the action and movement suggested by the sculpture, the overall depiction remains simple but effective, much like the main figure on the central niche.

However, sculptures are carved sandstone; a material prone to erosion, much of the detailed ornamentation has worn away over time, leaving the figure less intricate than it likely was originally.

In the south niche, there is a magnificent depiction of Varāha, a third incarnation of Viṣṇu. In this *avatāra*, Viṣṇu is portrayed with four arms. Bhudevi (the Earth Goddess) is shown seated on the elbow of his

upper left arm, symbolizing his act of rescuing the Earth, and also holds a conch (*śankha*). The lower left hand grasps a discus (*cakra*), a symbol of divine power. In his right hand, Viṣṇu holds a mace (*gadā*) in the upper hand and a *padma* in the lower one. One of his feet is elegantly raised and placed upon a blossomed lotus (*padmapith*), symbolizing purity and divinity. Unlike the sculptures in the other *bhadra* niches, this depiction of Varāha is simple yet powerful in its essence. The entire section of the thigh is plain, with no visible ornamentation. The *janghā* is divided in two layers separated by a *paṭṭikā* (band). Above *janghā*, pair of *kapalpālī* has been placed, followed by the use of a large cornice to form the *varaṇḍikā*. Additionally, the *śikhara* was reconstructed during the late medieval period. It does not belong to the same period which can clearly be seen based on texture and fabric. There is a clear distinction in the artistic style, treatment given to it and the use of stones.

Furthermore, the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) of the temple is square, based on stylistic features of doorjamb the sanctum can be dated back to the c. 9th/10th century CE. The upper part (*lalāṭabīṅba*) of the doorjamb has been reused as a plaque, with a depiction of Viṣṇu at its center. This plaque also features representations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Siva, along with their respective attendants. The upper section of both doorjambs is connected by plain stone, which is defiantly said to have been added later. Below the plain stone, the doorframes begin. On the right and left sides of the doorframe, various forms of the Viṣṇu are depicted. At the lower section (*pedyā*), images of a doorkeeper (*dvārapāla*) can also be seen. The base (*udumbara*) of the doorframe shows a representation of a navel (*nābhi*), although it is significantly damaged. The temple's *maṇḍapa* appears to be from a much later period. In the *maṇḍapa*, *gr̥samukha* motifs and some other fragments of earlier temple have been observed reused.

Temple No. 2

This temple is located towards south, in close proximity to temple no. 1 and appears to have been constructed roughly a century later. Unlike temple no. 1, its structure has been kept quite simple. The portion extending from the plinth (*jagati*) to the *varaṇḍikā* seems to belong to the early medieval period, while the rest of the structure appears to have been

rebuilt and extensively restored during the late medieval period. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the temple is divided into two sections.

The first section includes the *bhitti*, *jāḍyakumbha*, *karika*, and *kapotapāli*. The second register of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is further divided into the *khura*, *kumbha*, a second *kapotapāli*, and a smaller *karika*. The *kumbha* bears a depiction of a *thakarikā* which is bound by a *Paṭṭibandha*. The *janghā* of the temple is plain, divided in two layers. Above the *janghā*, the *kapotapāli* and the *varāṇḍikā* are constructed as projecting eaves.

The overall structural form of this temple is a replication of temple no. 1. The *śikhara* (spire) seems to have been added during the late medieval period. The *bhadra* of the temple displays the sculptures of the late medieval period, including standing image of *Gaṇeśa* with four arms facing south. The west *bhadra* houses a seated image of *Lakṣmi-Nārāyaṇa* riding on *Garuḍa*, depicted in a human form. The north *bhadra* has a representation of *Bhairava*. These sculptures without any doubts can be placed to c. 17th-18th centuries.

The *antarāla* has been enlarged, making the *kāpili* appear more prominent from the exterior. The rest of the temple is quite simple and is believed to have been constructed in the c. 17th-18th centuries. Inscriptions inside the temple bear the dates 1683 CE and 1776 CE.

Early Doorjamb

In addition to these two temples, there is an early doorjamb, used towards west of the temple complex. This is not a common entry, therefore restricted for a public use. This early doorjamb is be used at the entrance of Kolu Pābuji temple. It is comparatively bigger than the rest of the doorjambs noticed at the site. This doorjamb with its style and typical features can safely be placed around of c. 9th-10th century CE. This magnificent doorjamb often missed by visitors due to its unusual location.

The doorjamb is made of white sandstone, having *triśākhā* and is well-preserved. It features two vertical floral patterns of creepers (*latā*) and the vertical arrangement of human figures (*naraśākhā*). This *naraśākhā* on is left is divided into three sections. In the central section, seated figures are depicted, surrounded by individuals shown playing musical instruments such as the *dholak*, *algoza*, and *bānsuri*, while others are

shown dancing, creating a lively and festive scene.

The right *naraśākhā* shows a similar depiction, though at one point, there is a human figure, riding on a horse, which adds a unique variation to the overall visual narration of the carvings. Both doorframes also display a gatekeeper (*dvārapaāla*) flanked by two attendants, enhancing the grandeur of the door.

Above the doorframe, a plain slab has been placed, which seems to have been added in a later period when the temple complex was massively went through the restorations and architectural alteration. Additionally, between the doorframe and the base (*pedyā*), another plain stone has been inserted to maintain the overall height of the structure.

The *Pedyā* part is intricately carved and showcases exceptional craftsmanship. On one side, there is a depiction of Kubera, shown with its attendants; while on the other side is the depiction of goddess Saraswati. In between two *kirtimukhas*, there is a *nābhi*, symbolizing cosmic creation. The detailed carvings, combined with the harmonious arrangement of divine figures, elevate the doorframe as a remarkable example of early medieval temple architecture.

Observations:

In conclusion, the temples at Kolu Pābuji, particularly temple no. 1 and the temple no. 2, offers a fascinating glimpse into the architectural evolution and cultural appropriation of religious structures in Western Rajasthan. The findings of early medieval architectural elements within these temples, especially at the *adhiṣṭhāna* portion of the temple no. 1, provides significant evidence of a pre-existing structures that predates to the cult of Pābuji. This highlights the practice of reusing and the reconfiguration of religious structures in the region. One of the common things which can intrigue in the temples Rajasthan is that there are several such places where during the late medieval centuries local popular deities were installed. Among them one such example is Pābuji whose sacred sit became integrated into older, sacred space.

The architectural features of the temples, including the ornate doorjambs, intricate carvings, and the depictions of Brahmanical deities, reflect a blend of artistic traditions, particularly from the Gurjara-Pratihara

and *Maru-Gurjara* styles. The templesâ distinct sections, from the plinth to the *varāṅḍikā*, exhibit a continuity of craftsmanship while also showcasing different time periods, suggesting phases of construction and reconstruction that took place at Kolu Pābuji. The presence of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva images across the temples emphasizes the religious diversity and sectarian syncretism of the region. The well balanced integration of this earlier legacy in later periodâs reconfiguration of the available structure indicates to observe these architectural changes socio-cultural stand points.

Furthermore, the siteâs location in the Thar Desert, along ancient trade routes, underscores its historical importance, not only as a religious center but also as a place of cultural interaction. The blending of artistic styles, religious symbolism, and the appropriation of older architectural features reveal the dynamic interaction between religious, social, and artistic forces over the centuries in Western Rajasthan. This study of Kolu Pābuji temples thus contributes to our understanding of the broader trends of temple reuse, architectural continuity, and cultural heritage in the late medieval Rajasthan.

Figures



Temple No. 01



Temple No. 02



West Niche



North Niche



South Niche



Early Doorjamb

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Piety and Patron: Gaudiya Vaishnavism and Sawai Jai Singh

Ms. Bushra Khatoun*

Introduction:

Sawai Jai Singh, a follower of Ram, had a strong affinity for Gaudiya Vaisnavism.¹ He sought to reconcile the different sects of India by organizing conferences and engaging in debates with religious leaders about their philosophies and principles. As a result during his reign, there was a great deal of literary activity, as he invited scholars and poets, and provided full facilities for their studies. He also constructed a sanctuary for them, known as *Brahmapuri*, which has become well-known among modern poets.² His reign was marked by religious reforms, and religious court debates were held. Two important Vaisnava sects, vrindavana's and Gokul's, had their headquarters in the region of Dhundhar.³ Jai Singh believed in the principles of Dharmic statecraft.

Through the analysis of the proposed texts, it is possible to gain an understanding of the religious beliefs and practices of certain religious groups, as well as their influence on the formation of religious policies, especially those related to the concept of *karma*. During the middle of the eighteenth century, there was an increase in the production of religious texts that sought to reconcile *bhakti* (dedication) with *karma* (action). At the court of Jai Singh, there were several well-known scholars and poets who made significant contributions to Sanskrit literature, based on theological concern. Some of them are mentioned here.

There are various texts are, such as *Karma-vivrti* by Krsnadev Bhattacharyya, *Karmadhikar-nirnaya*, *Gita-Bhushana* etc. These text deals with the relationship between *Karma* and *bhakti*. The purpose of

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this text is to elucidate the verses of the religious scriptures so that they cannot be misinterpreted and lead to misconduct which would eventually affect the religious and social fabric of the nation. These texts were written on the request of Sawai Jai Singh. In order to satisfy and assist the King in his administration, the group of sects in Jaipur and in return for the long-term patronage from the Royal Family, three prominent figures contributed in unique ways to legitimize the Gaudiya sect and supported the efforts of Jai Singh in this time period: Visvanatha Chakaravarti, and his two disciples Krsnadeva Sarvabhauma Bhattacharya, Baldeva Vidyabhushna.

Gaudiya Vaishnavites

The Gaudiya Vaishnava tradition had discussions with Sawai Jai Singh, a ruler who believed in public engagement through the caste system (*Varnasrama*) and prescribed duties (*karma*). To reconcile this emphasis on worldly action with their devotional path focused on love, a new literary trend emerged within the tradition. This engagement was partly driven by Govind Deva's influence. As Governor, Jai Singh actively engaged with the Gaudiya Vaishnava community in Mathura and Agra. He even built a building in Vrindavan for theological debates. To support the King and legitimize their own position, three key figures emerged: Visvanatha Chakaravarti and his disciples Krsnadeva Sarvabhauma Bhattacharya and Baldeva Vidyabhushana. These scholars worked to reconcile Gaudiya Vaishnavism with the ruler's focus on public duty, receiving his patronage in return.⁴

Vishvanatha Chakaravarti's commentary on Gita: *Sararthavarsini*

The Gita is one of the most famous works in the Hindu canon and is often associated with world events (*karma*). The *Gita* first received significant attention in the tradition in 18th century, when Sanskrit commentary on the Gita was written by Vishvanatha Chakaravarti, known as *Sararthavarsini* (Shower of Essential Meaning). It is also the theological basis for describing social and public interaction. In the *Sararthavarsini*, he portrays *bhakti's* unique and exalted position.

In his *karma-vivrti*, we find that krsnadeva criticizes Vishvanatha's presentation of *karma* found in his *Bhagvat Purana* commentary where Visvanatha appears to dismiss the value of *karma* in light of the practice of *bhakti*, so in regard to a text like the *Gita* which devotes substantial portions of content to discussions on *karma* (action) one would expect it

to be avoided or solely the recipient of criticism in favor of *bhakti* from Visvanatha. However, Vishvanatha's later commentary on the Gita seems much more in line with Krishnadeva's works, that it outlines the duties and responsibilities of people who do not give up and supports those involved in public life in both the personal and social spheres. This was also a departure from Vishvanatha's own literary style. Although Vishvanatha accepted the importance of *karma*, the superior status of *bhakti* is never compromised. The composition of Visvanatha reflects Gaudiya's changes in his Vaishnava tradition in response to the changing socio-political circumstances of the time. The *Gita* is a special tool of this flexible tradition to unite socially and politically committed people with the practice of *Bhakti*. It also gave the king flexibility in ruling over a diverse population with different and conflicting traditions.

Role of *Bhakti* to *Karma*

In his commentary, he claims that *bhakti* is special and superior in terms of *karma* and *jnana* (knowledge), and that it is only *bhakti* that gives life and value to both the *karma* and *jnana* processes.⁵ In another passage he claims that *karma* can only be effective if it is combined or linked with *bhakti*.⁶ He emphasizes the importance of *bhakti* in the Gita. He says *skarma* can be renounced at the very beginning of *bhakti* practice, and for those of weak faith, he always insists that they have another obligation *Varnasrama* to perform *karma* according to his *dharma*. However, he suggests that one should not practice *bhakti* alone from the beginning, as one is not qualified for it, and practices *karma* as an intermediate path to *bhakti* until reaching advanced *bhakti* graces. In this case, this means that practicing *bhakti* requires the qualification of giving up given *karma*. Therefore, one must continue to perform the prescribed *karma* until that time.

Vishvanatha accepts *karma* in his commentary on the *Gita*, the spirit of selfless *bhakti* is also included in the *karma* offering, and also brings people as soon as possible to pure *bhakti*. It also shows his intention to guide us on the path. In his commentary on the *Gita*, he also states, " *Bhakti* mixed with *Karma*" and not "*Karma* mixed with *Bhakti*". So who is qualified to renounce the practice of *Karma misra bhakti*? Vishvanatha says that those who seek *bhakti*, should first engage in the practice of *Krishna-karma-bhakti*, which is explained in verses such as *Bhagvad Gita* and *karma-misra-bhakti* can be abandoned only when one attains grace from advanced *bhaktas*. It means when once one attains

the firm faith, which relinquish the jurisdiction of *karma* and adopt the superior process of *bhakti* solely can abandoned *karma misra bhakti*.

There is no clear explanation as to why Visvanatha shifted his emphasis from the *Gita* to the *Gita* commentary. It could also have been that he was responding to changing societal trends and concerns, or that he was addressing a different audience than his previous exegesis. The target audience for each of these texts may have varied, with the *Bhagwat Purana* commentary perhaps intended for the renunciation community in Vrindavana that Visvanatha was familiar with, while the *Gita* commentary may have been intended for a wider audience reaching as far as Jaipur. However, there is a commonality across his writings, such as *bhakti*'s causeless nature, *karma*'s dependence on *bhakti*, *bhakti* for effectiveness, *bhakti*'s independent power, and the need to abandon *karma*.

Krsnadeva Sarvabhauma Bhattachraya

Krsnadeva was closely associated with Chaitanya and belonged to a lineage tracing back to Gadadhara Pandit, Chaitanya's mentor. Around 1715, he became the chief religious advisor to King Sawai Jai Singh in Jaipur, serving in this role until about 1745. He frequently advised the King on theological matters, often navigating delicate situations due to the King's dual interests in *Karma-yoga*, public duty, and devotion to Govinda. During 1719-1723, Krsnadeva wrote several texts responding to the King's concerns. Sawai Jai Singh emphasized the importance of various schools endorsing public engagement related to the caste system (*Varnasrama*) and prescribed duties (*Karma*). In response, Krsnadeva spearheaded a 'concerted effort' within the Gaudiya Vaishnava tradition to reconcile their devotional path with the King's emphasis on *Karma*. At the request of Sawai Jai Singh, Krsnadeva wrote three key works: *Karma-vivrti*, *Gyanvivrti*, and *Bhakti-vivrti*. These explored work, knowledge, and devotion, the core principles of Gaudiya Vaishnavism. It's believed these works were influenced by the King's political and religious agenda.

***Karmavivrti* (Exposition on *Karma*) of Krsnadeva Sarvabhauma Bhattacharya**

View on relation of *Karma* and *Bhakti*:

On the order of king Sawai Jai Singh, Krsnadeva composed

Karmavivrti. This is evident from the opening passage of the text where Krsnadeva states: 'Homage to Sri Ram'. By the order of the glorious king of kings, Sawai Jai Singh, after paying respects at the feet of Chaitanya, for the sake of purification of *karma*, I have written this exposition on *karma*.⁷

This text is written to address the King's desire to combine social responsibility with devotional liberation by purifying *karma*. He argues strongly that *Karma* and *Bhakti* are inextricably linked and that *Karma* has a vital role to play for *Bhakti* practitioners and even for those who have achieved perfection on the *Bhakti* path. Jai Singh's influence on the writing of this text is evident, as evidenced by the King's dedication to the work in the introduction. This subject was constantly being examined by different scholars of sects at that time, says Horstmann.⁸ Jai Singh was interested in how orthodox *dharma* played a role in *Bhakti* practice, so a lot of commentators, including Krishnadeva himself, wanted to firmly establish *dharma* and hence *karma* as the true path to *Bhakti*.⁹ He showed how the practice of *Karma* was conducive to *Bhakti* in his *Karmavivrti*. Krsnadeva, as a close advisor to the king, was critical of the connection between *dharma* and *Bhakti*, and was willing to take drastic measures to prove it. He argues that the *Bhagvat Purana* (1.2.6) proves categorically that *Karma* leads to *Bhakti*. Krsnadeva analyzes various teachers' commentaries on the verse, and rejects a significant teacher's position that contradicts his own viewpoint.⁹

By 1733 A.D. he was a well-known figure within Jaipur, and was a key player in the Jai Singh proposal. Because Jai Singh had directly contributed to the creation of many of his writings, his own works were highly regarded in the courts, and his writings were often quoted.¹⁰ He also acted as an ambassador for the king, and was responsible for campaigning for the king, who was seeking broad consensus on theological matters beyond Jaipur's borders. The King was particularly eager to secure alliances with other vaishnava kingdoms for his religious ideas, and he relied on Krsnadeva to canvass these views.

Baladeva Vidyabhushana Commentary on *Bhagvat Gita* and *Brahma-sutra*

Baladeva Vidyabhushana is another one of the most well-known scholars who studied under Visvanatha Chakravarti.¹¹ It is believed that while he was in Puri he was inspired by the priest of Gaudiya Vaisnava,

who is said to have been a great inspiration to him. Later, he moved to Vrindavana and settled in Vriandavana, where he studied from Visvanatha.¹²

Baladeva's primary function was to protect the Gaudiyavaishnava sect during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh. Baladeva's main function was to legitimize the Gaudiyavaishnava sect. He wrote a commentary on *Bhagvad Gita*. This commentary was attached to the Gaudiya Vaishnava *sampradaya*. This was a compulsory mandate at that time. Since there was no commentary according to the tradition, the sect attracted criticism. The king who had appointed Govinda deva deity as state deity also came under criticism. So, the king asked Gaudiya vaishnavas to provide him with a commentary. Thus, Baladeva wrote *Brahma-sutra karika-bhahasya* as an instant response to Sawai jai Singh's appeal. After that, he wrote a more complex commentary on the *Brahmasutras* Known as *Govinda-bhasyam*, it was named after the famous Govinda deva deity.¹³ The intention was to graft the the Chaitanyite tree onto philosophical Madhavite root¹⁴ and the commentary *Gitabhushana*.

Relationship between karma and bhakti according to Baladeva

Baladeva discusses the relationship between *Karma* and *Bhakti* in his commentary on *Bhagvad Gita*, *Gita Bhushana*. He mentions three types of Bhakti practitioners: the *Svanishtha*, the *Parinishtha* and *nirpeksha bhakta*, which introduces us to a unique classification of *bhaktas* which summarizes his outlook on karma-bhakti relations.

In his commentary Baladeva says *Svanishtha* and *parinishtha* is obliged to execute *Karma* or prescribed duties pertaining to *Varnasrama*, but *svanishtha* should execute *dharma* for purification of the heart and the *parinishtha* should execute *dharma*s for the sake of benefiting the people of the world.¹⁵ It is probably that this typology by Baladeva was a theological response to the pressure of conforming to the prescribed modes of public conduct curated by Sawai Jai Singh.

Karma is not to ever be abandoned for the *svanishtha* bhakta as it accrues knowledge, which is the goal, and, more knowledge is not disadvantageous. Baladeva states that even after attaining self-realization, the practice of *Karma* is not harmful as a practice, as it supports the knowledge of Brahma. Baladeva describes the first type of *bhakta* in the *Brahma-Sutra* commentary.¹⁶ Baladeva presents quite an endorsement for the practice of *karma*, suggesting that even after gaining knowledge

of *Brahman*, attaining effectively a self-realized or liberated state that one should still continue to engage in *varnasrama*, which have similarity with Vishvanath point of view. In his *Bhagvad Gita* commentary 9.27,¹⁷ he stated about the *parinishtha bhakta*. Baladeva recommends that that all *karma* should be offered up to the Supreme, and that they should also be performed in the *Bhagavat-dharma* (such as chanting the glory of the Supreme).

Parinishtha bhakta offers all acts just like the *Karma mishra Bhakti* and not only Vedic actions.¹⁸ So far, we have seen that the *Parinishtha Bhakta* has two primary duties; firstly, to perform the *Bhagwat-dharma*, and secondly, to perform the *Varanashram-dharma*, for the benefit of others. However, he always emphasized the activities related to the *Bhagavat-dharma*. Therefore, if there is a conflict between the two practices, he always advocates the practice of the *Parinishtha-dharma* rather than the practice of the *varnashrama-dharma*.¹⁹

Bhagavata-dharma activities such as chanting the names of the lord, offering respects to the Supreme, and so on as delineated in *Bhagwat Gita* 9.14.²⁰ He further says in his commentary of *Brahma Sutra* 3.4.37²¹ that due to actions in previous lives and by the power of saints, one is eligible to relinquish all obligations to perform *varnasrama-dharma* acts for the purpose of purification (*svanishtha*) or for the sake of educating others (*parinishtha*) and is subsequently considered a *nirapeksa bhakta*.²² *Nirapeksas* do not partake in *Varnasrama-dharma* acts, and only perform *bhagavata-dharma* activities such as chanting the names of the lord, offering respects to the Supreme, and so on as delineated in *Bhagwat Gita* 9.14.58.²³ In his commentary on *Bhagvad Gita*, *Gita-Bhushana* 12.13-19 some ideal qualities characterizing *bhaktas* are delineated. The qualities are imbibed to its highest degree in the *nirapeksa* and in its lowest concentration in the *svanishtha*. This demonstrates the hierarchy between these categories.²⁴

The concept of *Loksangrah* by Baladeva

Baladeva, in his commentary on specific verses from the *Bhagavad Gita*, explains the concept of *loksangrah* for a particular type of devotee: the *parinishthabhakta*. *Parinishthabhakta* are advanced devotees who theoretically transcend the limitations of *karma* (prescribed duties). Despite this, they voluntarily engage in activities related to their caste and social roles (*varnasramadharmas*) for the benefit of society. Baladeva

emphasizes proper conduct to uphold traditional societal structures, not out of obligation, but to please the Lord and alleviate the burdens of others. Simply put, highly devoted individuals, even though free from the limitations of prescribed duties, choose to act responsibly within their social roles to improve the lives of others and bring joy to the divine.

Karmadhikara-nirnaya* - Determining the jurisdiction of *Karma

The *Karmadhikar-nirnaya* was compiled to explain the relationship between *Karma* and the *Bhakti*. The authorship of this text is not clear, but it is believed to have been written by the king himself, indicative of its significant utility in this period. It is listed in Bahura's catalogue under the title of Sawai Jayasimha-charitragrantha, or works done by Sawai Jai Singh.²⁵ Karma-Yoga was a question asked by the king, whether the Chaitanya bhakti could practice it without hindrance, or if such a practice was contrary to their spiritual ideal. The answer was that it was permissible, and the king was content to accept it. The text aims to show that *bhakti* practice and *Karma* practice can co-exist under certain conditions, without it interfering with the pure state of *bhakti* as one progresses.

The nature of work-

Rupa Goswami stated that a *Bhakti* practitioner does not have any fundamental obligation in the form of prescribed *karma*, even though there are obligations for *bhakti*. Even if you commit some sin, there is no need to atone for it, *bhakti* is enough to purify you.²⁶

This would be a matter of worry for a ruler like Sawai Jai Singh who was seeking the support of orthodox forms of public involvement such as *karma* from the sects in his domains. The lack of attention to social conventions and obligations posed a problem for Sawai Jai Singh's administration, and so he inspired the creation of works like *Karmadhikara-nirnaya* to address this growing problem. This sudden interest in the subject of *karma* indicates a shift in the theological concerns that were taking place at that time, even if not directly called upon by a religious ruler dealing with public affairs.

Karmadhikar-nirnaya's aim was to define a systematic enquiry as to whether *varnasrama* is required for the Lord's *bhaktas*.²⁷ The *Karmadhika-nirnaya* makes an interesting claim, as it extrapolates that

the use of phrases such as by the firmness of *bhakti* and relishing *bhakti* shows firm faith (*dradha-sraddha*), which in turn is synonymous with the concept of mature faith (*praudh-saraddha*). *Karmadhikar-nirnaya* defines the scope of the scriptural injunctions relating to *karmakanda* exclusively in sridhara swami's comments on *Bhagwat purana* (11.20.8).

Karmadhikara-nirnaya refers passages from *Haribhaktivilasa* of Sanatana Goswami, concerning the jurisdiction of *Karma*.²⁸ It further refers *Haribhati-vilasa*,²⁹ which illustrates for whom *karma* practices are irrelevant. *Karmadhikara-nirnaya* refers to Sanatana Goswami's *Haribhakti-vilasa* to reiterate that until one achieves mature faith in *bhakti*, one is obligated to follow rules and regulations pertaining to the *varnasrama* social system.

View on Morality in *Karmadhikar-nirnaya*:

The *Karmadhikar-nirnaya* contains a series of verses that illustrate the transcendent status of the Vaisnavas with their mature faith. The work is heavily reliant on Jiva Goswami and shows that despite the fact that *bhakti* people have a privileged position, it is still important to live according to the moral norms of the past, based on the scriptural orders and the exemplary models of the saints

Sawai Jai Singh's reign may have exacerbated this problem when certain groups were accused of undermining the authority of governing authorities and established norms. Thus, it is clear that there was a tension between the laws of good government and the theological attitudes of popular traditions that allowed the violation of such laws. *Bhagwat Purana* (11.20) 11.27-28 is not the only troublesome passage in this regard, Even the popular *Gita* verse 18.66 is problematic, because here Krsna says, "If you submit to Him, you will not incur any sin." These verses may be manipulated by dishonest people who seek to justify their sins based on the fundamental idea that *bhakti* replaces the need for orthodox ways of conduct or elaborate systems of atonement. The danger of this interpretation would be that the effectiveness of the reprimands initiated by the king would be diminished as a result of such an interpretation.

In order to counter balance these dangers, the *karmadhikara-nirnaya* mentions the *Bhakti-sandarbha* (Jiva Goswami) to offer a corrective interpretation to these verses that counteracts the theological rationalizations for indulging in immoral acts. Jiva intentionally refers to

the central vaishnava texts in order to reinforce his point of view. Scripturally, he shows that abstaining from sinful acts, pleases Visnu. In fact, Visnu's pleasure is the ultimate goal of all Vaisnava works. For example, *Vishnu-dharma* says, 'If a man breaks the limit that he has created, then he is not a Vaisnava-*bhakta* because *Hari* is worshipped with good deeds.³⁰ When he abstains from sin and desires to be devout, then he can know *Hari* in his heart.' It is also said in the *Vishnu Purana*³¹ that Kesava is very pleased with those who do not enjoy other's wives, other's wealth, or harm others.

Jiva Goswami also mentions *Bhakti-sandarbha*, where he quotes *Garuda Purana*, which states, 'One who thinks of the lotus-eye Lord is pure both externally and internally'.³² This could be interpreted to mean that codes of conduct that are imposed by established behavioral norms no longer need to be followed. To prevent this danger Jiva counteracts these ideas by emphasizing that this unorthodox behavior would be contrary to the noble conduct of holy men like Narada, Vyasa, etc. Thus, these holy men have set a good example for the whole world to avoid bad actions.³³ To neutralize the misconception derived from such passages, the *karmadhikara-nirnaya* refers to Jiva Goswami, who suggests that one should emulate these *bhakti* examples who have understood the true meaning of statements like the reference to the *garudapurana*.

The concept of *Lokasangrah*

In the concept of *Lokasangrah*, there is a responsibility to benefit humanity or the world. The *Karmadhikara-nirnaya* refers to Jiva Goswami citing *Bhakti-Sandarbha*³⁴ states that there are two types of devotees: those who are pure and free from any scriptural injunction, and those whose worship is intermingled with *karma* and thus require them to perform Vedic rituals. Here, the *Loka Sangrah* proposes that a mature believer should engage in *karmic* practice for the benefit of the society as a whole, without compromising their *bhakti*.

In the second category of the worshipper, there are pure householders, who even though they have a mature faith, are still obligated to practice Vedic *karma* in order to promote such religious principles among the general public. The second type of *archana*, (mixed with *karma*), is said to include those whose faith is characterized by excessive attention to worldly matters and the occasional practice of

bhakti. It also includes those who, even though their faith is contrary to that of the public, do not neglect to practice general Vedic *karma* even though they are unaware of the way of *bhakti*.³⁵ These comments are meant to assuage any apprehensions that the *bhakta* has about practicing Vedic *karma* and emphasize the obligation to Vedic *karma* that he has, if he gets into public life.

In addition, on the basis of *Bhakti-sandarbha*, *Karmadhikara-nirnaya* provides clarification, *Bhakti* is nothing else but *shuddha-bhakti*. The work also states that although the practices described by *Bhakti* are mixed with *Karma*, it is not stained by *Karma*, even though *Karma* is enacted.³⁶

Conclusion:

These writings aim to guide mature devotees (*bhaktas*) in navigating worldly duties while assuring them that even ritualistic worship, if done correctly, won't hinder their spiritual progress. Therefore, an active devotee should perform prescribed duties (*karmas*) while focusing on Vishnu. By following these guidelines, they can maintain strong devotion according to these texts. In modern times, works like '*Karmadhikara-nirnaya*' offer theological justifications for responsible public conduct. These works assure devotees that participating in duties won't disrupt their spiritual growth, which solely depends on their faith's focus. They then provide precautions and guidelines to ensure that faith remains focused on devotion. Thus, devotees are expected to act wisely and responsibly, fulfilling public obligations while staying true to their faith, regardless of their circumstances.

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Legislation and Legacy: A Closer Look at the Hindu Code Bill in Rajasthan

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Introduction

In world history, codifying religious laws was not a new phenomenon. Some countries, such as the Romans¹ and Arabs,² codified their laws earlier. Similarly, a few Muslim laws were codified during the Mughal period, while Hindu laws, or ‘Gentoo’³ remained untouched.⁴ In 1832, John A. Banningan argued that the colonial administration needed to codify Indian religious texts. As a result, a Royal Commission was initially appointed to codify Hindu and Muslim laws, and this work was entrusted to Lord Macaulay.⁵ However, the codification process, which began in 1833, can be traced back to legal reforms and discussions between two British officers, Sir Charles Metcalfe and the then-Judge of Bengal, in 1829.⁶ After the British conquest of Punjab in 1848, officials recorded, translated, and codified local traditions, culture, and customs.⁷ The major province of Hindustan, still unconquered by foreign powers, lacked uniformity in religion and customs. These provinces were governed by traditional laws set by lawgivers and the local rajas or chiefs, and the areas were often named after these rulers.⁸ Like other regions, Rajputana⁹ was administered under the same ruling principles. Two major schools of Hindu law, the *Mitkashra*¹⁰ and Banaras school¹¹ governed Hindu society in this area.

The Hindu Code Bill in Rajputana

The local rulers or chiefs took some measures to reform Hindu family laws like the Bikaner Hindu Marriage Act 1928 etc.¹² The origin of the Hindu Code Bill (henceforth HCB) can be traced to the Hindu

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Law Committee 1941 (B.N Rao¹³ Committee). The Government of India appointed this on 25 January 1941 to examine the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act 1937 and other acts related to women's property.¹⁴ In addition, on 20 January 1944, the Government of India again appointed a committee to draw up the Hindu Code of Law. This committee constituted a report and presented it on 21 February 1947, known as the Report of Hindu Law Committee 1947.¹⁵ The report stated that public opinion was divided, with some people opposed to codification and others in favour of a provision of the Hindu Law Committee. The table below provides the data for the divided public opinion on this:

Table.1 Opposition and support codification of the Hindu Code 1947.¹⁶

Against codification	Support of codification
1. Chand Karan Singhar	1. Manmal Jain
2. Rai Bahadur Triloknath Sharma	2. Ghisu Lal
3. Rai Pandit Mithan Lal Bhargava	3. The District Judge (Ajmer- Mewar)
4. Rai Sahib J.L Rawat	
5. The Bar Association	

Debate on the Hindu Code Bill by Rajputana Parliamentarians in Parliament

The Hindu Code Bill was referred to the Select Committee from 17 November 1947 to 9 April 1948. The Bill, introduced by B. R. Ambedkar, aimed to amend and codify certain branches of Hindu law.¹⁷ Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava ((Ajmer-Merwara) and Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava both voiced strong opposition, highlighting its potential negative impact on Hindu society. Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava argued that the Bill affected both residential and agricultural properties, particularly in regions like Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi. He criticized the lack of public awareness surrounding the Bill and emphasized that its effects on inheritance laws were not well understood. Bhargava also argued that the revised version of the Bill proposed by the Select Committee was unjust and unlawful, rendering it invalid. However, B. R. Ambedkar countered Bhargava's claims, stating that the Select Committee had reviewed the original Bill thoroughly.¹⁸ Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava's speech strongly opposed the Hindu Code Bill, criticizing its attempt to codify Hindu law and introduce changes that he believed distorted traditional Hindu values. He argued that the Bill

disrupted the joint family system and stripped minors, widows, and women of their rights. Bhargava claimed that the notion of equality promoted by the Bill was superficial and would lead to confusion within Hindu society. He emphasized that there was no public demand for codification, and judicial opinion did not support it. According to Bhargava, the evidence presented by the Rau Committee overwhelmingly opposed the innovations introduced by the Bill, particularly those relating to divorce, marriage, and the joint family system. He asserted that the Bill was unnecessary and subversive, threatening the stability of Hindu society. On the topic of marriage, Bhargava criticized the Bill's shift from sacramental to civil marriage, arguing that this change undermined the institution of sacramental marriage. He viewed it as an attack on Hindu culture, blending it with principles from Islamic and Christian practices, and suggested that this change was a deceptive manoeuvre. Bhargava also denounced the provisions on adoption, which allowed any Hindu to adopt anyone, regardless of Gotra, caste, or status. He warned of disastrous consequences, stating that this approach went against the traditional purpose of adoption in Hindu law—specifically, to ensure that a son could perform spiritual duties after death. He accused Bill's sponsors of harbouring an inherent disdain for Hindu culture. In conclusion, Bhargava warned against tampering with Hindu law, which he saw as a centuries-old system that had developed organically in response to societal needs. He cautioned that rural India, deeply rooted in traditional customs, would resist any forced changes. He believed the Bill would benefit only a select few while undermining Hindu traditions and creating social unrest.¹⁹

Bhargava further argued that the Bill, once introduced, belonged to the House and had to adhere to established rules. He warned against making changes simply to pass it and stressed the House's responsibility for any mistakes. Bhargava also raised concerns about Bill's handling of inheritance laws, especially regarding agricultural property, and opposed changes that favoured daughters over brothers. He challenged the claim that daughters' equal inheritance rights were rooted in Hindu scriptures, arguing that these texts primarily referred to unmarried daughters. Bhargava expressed concern that the Bill's involvement of courts in family matters would worsen tensions and disrupt family harmony.²⁰

The opposition and support came not only from individuals and officers but also from some political and religious organizations.²¹

Divided Opinions in Rajputana: As Gleaned from Sources

Chand Karan Sarda, the president of the Rajputana Provincial Hindu Sabha in Ajmer, raised objections on several points as follows: First, the Hindu Code had not been published in the vernacular language. Second, the code should be delayed until the formation of a new assembly, as the current one was not a fully representative body. Third, if the code were passed into law, it would abolish many principles, customs, and traditions that people had followed for generations.²²

Another person, Rai Bahadur Pandit Triloknath Sharma, Railway Magistrate at Ajmer, raised his concerns as follows: Uniformity in law is prima facie desirable, but I am afraid such revolutionary changes as are contemplated by the draft will not be acceptable by the Hindu public in general. Those who still rely upon *Sruti*, *Smriti*, Caste, and family customs and usages will find it difficult to reconcile with the changes proposed to be introduced.²³

Rai Sahib J. L. Rawat, Additional Commissioner for Assistance at Ajmer, stated the following: The Bill seeks to make unjustifiable inroads on the religious sentiments of the Hindus and Hindu Society. Customs and usages are sought to be done away with. The framers wrongly assume that the Indians have reached a stage when the laws of Western civilisation can be enforced on the Indians.²⁴

The Ajmer Bar Association expressed its views as follows: The proposed Code, instead of codifying the tenets of the Hindu Law obviously aims at engrafting upon the Hindu society practices repugnant to the Hindu *Dharma-shastra*. The proposed codification is therefore undesirable.²⁵

Rai Bahadur Pandit Mithan Lal Bhargava, President of the meeting of the Hindus at Ajmer, expressed his concerns about the bill as follows: The Code was not a complete one. The code supersedes all ancient customs or usages. The present draft Hindu code should not be introduced in the Legislative Assembly and the Hindu Law Committee should be dissolved.²⁶

There was also some support for the bill from Rajputana, as observed by Ghisu Lal, who stated the following: But in so much as the majority of the Hindus live in villages and the number of those who can read and fully understand English is almost negligible, it is most necessary and desirable that the proposed draft of the Code should be translated in

Hindi and distributed, broadcast before it is put before the Assembly, and this must be done even if we may have to put it before the next Assembly after the war.²⁷

The District Judge of Ajmer-Merwara had concerns about the bill: He is in general agreement with the opinion of the Bar Association though in one important matter, I disagree e.g., divorce.²⁸

Strong opposition to the HCB came from Jaipur. The All-India Anti-Hindu Code Convention took place from 16 to 18 December 1948 in the district, where several objections to the bill were raised, and a resolution was passed against it²⁹. In addition, the Sikh community from Bikaner also opposed the HCB. Guru Gobind Singh's birthday was celebrated from 26 to 29 December 1949 in various Gurdwaras across Rajasthan. A meeting was held at the Gurdwara in Morjand village (Bikaner), where Sampuren Singh of Ramo Mandi criticized the HCB.³⁰

Opposition from Various Hindu Organizations:

Ram Rajya Parishad's Opposition to the HCBA - The secret session of the Ram Rajya Parishad's Working Committee was held in Jodhpur on 2 January 1950. Jaghirdars from different areas of Rajasthan, including Col. Mohan Singh Bhati, Thakur Madan Singh, and Kunwar Devi Singh, reportedly went to Delhi to participate in a meeting of the Ram Rajya Parishad held from 7 to 8 January 1950. After the arrest of 50 Ram Rajya workers in Delhi during a demonstration against the HCB, Swami Karpatri issued an instruction that all branches of the Parishad should be ready to launch a satyagraha if the government did not accept their demand and withdraw the HCB. Kunwar Raghubir Singh of Jalvi (Alwar) served as the Chairman of the Reception Committee for the Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat Political Conference held in Delhi on 6 January 1950. A press statement was issued, criticizing the government's policy for endangering Hindu religion and culture through the HCB.³¹ The report indicated that a small group of Rajputs planned to participate in the satyagraha against the HCB. Volunteers for the satyagraha were enlisted by Thakur Madho Singh of Anwara.³² The Ram Rajya Parishad held a public meeting in Ranoli (Sikar District) on 29 January 1950, during which the HCB was criticized.³³ Ram Rajya Parishad workers in Bikaner were issued handbills to oppose the HCB. They also collected signatures for a memorandum sent to both the Central and State governments against the HCB.³⁴

Jagirdars of Udaipur held a private meeting at Badnore House (Udaipur) on 13 February 1950. Raj Rana Khuman Singh of Dilwara chaired the meeting. In this meeting, a decision was made that every Jagirdar should send volunteers to Delhi for the satyagraha against the HCB.³⁵ The Ram Rajya Parishad also held several meetings in Jhunjhunu, Sikar, and Jaipur. The HCB was criticized during these meetings, and attendees were urged to join the Parishad.³⁶ The Ram Rajya Parishad organized two meetings in Churu and Ratangarh in Bikaner, where the people were encouraged to oppose the HCB.³⁷ A public meeting was also organized at Minda (Tehsil Nawa) and Sujangarh, where the subject of the HCB was discussed.³⁸

Arya Samaj - The Arya Samaj organized meetings in Bharatpur to protest against the HCB. A decision was made to send a deputation to the Prime Minister to request the withdrawal of the Bill. From 13 to 15 January 1950, the annual session was held at Bhinmal (Jodhpur), where it was strongly criticized.³⁹ The Arya Samaj workers of Sardarpur (Jodhpur) held a protest on 3 March. In this protest, some attendees included Pandit Ram Sehay, Ishwarlal, Vidyannad of Benaras, and Swami Akhilanand. Public meetings were held at Gandhi Maidan (Jodhpur) from 3 to 4 March 1950. Additionally, a second meeting was held in which the HCB was criticized.⁴⁰

Hindu Maha Sabha - The Hindu Maha Sabha organization in Bikaner was once again active in this area. The Bikaner branch of the All-India Dharm Sangh organized a public meeting where a resolution was adopted to condemn the HCB on 1 February 1950.⁴¹ B.G. Deshpande, the secretary of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, issued a secret instruction to the Jaipur Hindu Maha Sabha to organize manpower for the Satyagraha against the HCB unless it was withdrawn.⁴²

Rajput Sabha - The Working Committee of the Rajput Sabha decided to hold its annual session in the first week of April 1950. In this meeting, they sharply criticized the HCB.⁴³

Dharma Sangh - The Seth Ram Rikh Dass Parasram Puria formed the Dharma Sangh to carry out propaganda against the HCB.⁴⁴ Furthermore, meetings were held in Sironj, Jhunjhunu, and Tonk, where the HCB was opposed.⁴⁵

The Marwar Rajput Association

The Marwar Rajput Association was preparing to contest the next

election. Several meetings were held in Jaipur under the Ram Rajya Sabha, where the HCB was discussed. Furthermore, a meeting was held at Ramgarh (Sikar) in which they demanded the removal of Ambedkar from the Central Cabinet. This might have been one of the reasons for Ambedkar's resignation from the ministry of the Nehru government.⁴⁶

Again, when the Hindu Childless Widows Rights to Property Bill (henceforth HCWRPB) of 1953 was discussed in the Rajya Sabha, the Bill provided a provision to give a childless widow the right to her husband's absolute property.⁴⁷ Some Rajya Sabha members from Rajasthan,⁴⁸ like Sharda Bhargava and Sardar Singh (non-Congress members), talked about the HCB.⁴⁹ During the discussion, Sharda Bhargava replied to one of her fellow members, Seeta Parmanand, stating that up to now, nothing had been done regarding a widow's rights related to her husband's property. She further stated that a Bill should be introduced; something is better than nothing. It was not my intention to say that our government was doing nothing; they had passed a lot of acts regarding it. I know that all the features will be incorporated when the Hindu Code Bill passes.⁵⁰

Sardar Singh also demanded that the government introduce the HCB. We have waited for it for four or five years, but nothing concrete has happened.⁵¹ We may conclude from their statements that they were in favour of the HCB.

Table. 2 During the debate on the HCWRPB of 1953.⁵²

Support of Hindu Code Bill	Against Hindu Code Bill
1. Sharda Bhargava	
2. Sardar Singh	

Initially, Parliament aimed to introduce the Hindu⁵³ Code Bill, encompassing various civil matters concerning Hindu families, as a single bill known as the Hindu Code. However, it was later divided into four separate acts and passed individually by the legislative body. These acts collectively formed the Hindu Code Bill. The first act passed was the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, followed by the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act of 1956, and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act of 1956.⁵⁴ The Bill aimed to reform Hindu personal laws related to inheritance, property, marriage, divorce, guardianship, and adoption.⁵⁵ The proposed law applied to all followers of Hinduism as well as Sikhs, Jains, Lingayats, and Buddhists, but did

not apply to the personal matters of Muslims, Parsis, Christians, and Jews.⁵⁶ On 15 May 1956, the government once again faced opposition to the Bill. The main objection raised by the opposition was that the Hindu Code Bill posed a threat to the Hindu community. Critics often referred to religious beliefs and occasionally cited Hindu texts. For example, Jaswant Singh, an Independent Member of Parliament from Rajasthan, claimed that the Bill contradicted the principles of the Shastras and the Vedas.⁵⁷

Conclusion

Our study reveals that when the Hindu Code Bill was introduced in the parliament from 1955 to 1956. The government faced opposition within the house by Members of the House from Rajasthan as well as from the common people, community and organisation compared to support. The Rajasthan was one of the major centres against HCB. However, in our findings, we found that the opposition was majorly political rather than religious. In our opinion, it was the tool to mobilise the people on different issues of Rajasthan. The opposition was coming majorly from the higher caste where the provision of HCB was not so common. In some lower classes, divorce, and widow remarriages were already allowed.

References

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2. William Bolts, *Consideration on Indian Affairs; particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its dependencies*, London, 1772, pp. 20-21
3. The term 'Gentia' derived from Portuguese, was originally used to refer to all natives of India, regardless of their religion, as 'gentile'. English later adopted the term 'Gentoo' to specifically refer to Hindus, distinguishing them from Muslims, who were often referred to as 'Moors' or 'Moormen' though this usage is considered incorrect. *Ibid.*, p. 2
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21
5. Banningan, John A, 'The Hindu Code Bill', *Far Eastern Survey*, No. 17 (Dec. 3, 1952), p. 174
6. *Report of the Law Commission of India, 14 Report, Universal Law Publishing, vol. 2, 2007, p. 14.14; See also, Thakora, B. K, Indian Administration to The Dawn of Responsible Government 1765-1920, 1922, p. 59. https://tile.loc.gov/storage/service/public/gdcmassbookdig/indianadministra00thakpdf. (Accessed July 22, 2023)*
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 73; also, Neeladri Bhattacharya, 'Remaking Custom: The Discourse and Practice of Colonial Codification' in *Tradition, Dissent and*

- Ideology*, ed. R. Champak Lakshmi & S. Gopal, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, pp. 21-22
8. *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; See also, *Rajasthan the Living Traditions, Rajasthan Tourism Parkash Book Depot, New Delhi, 1999, p. 14*
 9. *The term 'Rajputana' was used during the British rule of India, encompassing nineteen states and one British district, Ajmer. The chiefs governed all the states, except Ajmer, and had autonomy. The Rajputana Gazetteer, vol- I, 1879, pp. 1-54*
 10. *The Mitakshara school was founded by Vijnaneshwara and was followed in most parts of India, except where the Dayabhaga school was dominant.*
 11. *The concepts of law laid down in the Mitakshara were expanded in the Benaras school by Viramirodaya.*
 12. *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58
 13. *Bengal Ram Rau was an advisor to the Constituent Assembly and also played a major role in drafting the Indian Constitution. He worked as a Hindu social reformer and was the chief architect of the Hindu Code Bill concerning divorce and property rights for women. See, 'The Evening Star', Washington, D. C. Monday. November 30. 1953, p A-12, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov. (Accessed March 5, 2023).*
 14. *Report of the Hindu Law Committee 1941, Shimla, pp. 1-24-49, See also, Report of the Hindu Law Committee 1947, New Delhi, p. 40.*
 15. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-39
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-108
 17. *Ambedkar, B. R. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol. 14, Part One (Sections I to III). Edited by Vasant Moon. Reprinted by Dr Ambedkar Foundation, January 2014, pp. 1-3.*
 18. *Ibid.*, p. 247
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 580-584.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 564-584.
 21. *This map was created by Faiz Habib, a cartographer in the CAS, Department of History at A.M.U., Aligarh.*
 22. *Report of the Hindu Law Committee 1947, New Delhi, p. 106*
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 108
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 25. *Ibid.*, p. 108
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 29. *Radha Kumar, The History of Doing - An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800-1990, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1993, p. 98*
 30. *File No. 13(4)-P/50, 1950, Fortnightly Reports from the Chief Secretary, Rajasthan, National Archive of India, p. 5*
 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4-5

32. *Ibid.* pp. 26-27
 33. *Ibid.* pp. 26-27
 34. *Ibid.* p. 42
 35. *Ibid.* pp. 45-46
 36. *Ibid.* p. 118
 37. *Ibid.* p. 150
 38. *Ibid.* p. 162
 39. *Ibid.* p. 15
 40. *Ibid.* p. 52
 41. *Ibid.* p. 27
 42. *Ibid.* p. 4
 43. *Ibid.* pp. 26-27
 44. *Ibid.* p.78
 45. *Ibid.* p. 95
 46. *Ibid.* p. 129
 47. *Rajya Sabha Debate, 4 December 1953, p. 1323*
 48. *The term Rajasthan first appeared on a stone inscription in 625 A.D. and was later found in 18th-century texts such as Muhnot Nainsi Ki Khyat and Veer Bhaan's Rajroopak. During colonial rule, Rajputana replaced Rajasthan to denote the regions where Rajput rulers resided. After independence, the Indian government reverted to using Rajasthan instead of Rajputana. The modern state of Rajasthan was politically and territorially shaped between 1948 and 1956 through the reorganization and consolidation of princely states into what we now know as Rajasthan. K. S Singh (Edited), People of Rajasthan, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, Vol, XXXVII, Part, 2, 1998, p. xvi*
 49. *Op. cit., pp.1329-1337*
 50. *Rajya Sabha Debate, 4 December 1953, p. 1329-1349*
 51. *Op. cit., p. 1337*
 52. *Op.cit., pp. 1329-1337*
 53. *The term Hindu was derived from the word Indio, which the Greeks used to denote the inhabitants of the Indus Valley. This term was first used to refer to a community in 1442 A.D. by Krishnadeva Raya II in a plate called Satyamangala, to differentiate themselves from the Muslim sovereigns. Flavia Agnes, Law and Gender Inequality: The Politics of Women's Rights in India, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 22.*
 54. *Op.cit., p. 59.5, op. cit., p. 173; See also, Halsbury, Law of India, Family Law-1, Lexis Nexis Butterworths, New Delhi, vol-26, 2007, p. 22.*
 55. *Jawahar Lal Nehru Letter to chief minister, vol-1, 1985, p. 381*
 56. *Op. cit., p. 173*
 57. *Rina Verma Williams, 'The More Things Change: Debating Gender and Religion in India's Hindu Laws', 1920-2006, p.716.https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118833926.ch18.(Accessed on February 11, 2024)*

शैलचित्रों का ऐतिहासिक, सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक महत्व (उत्तर-पूर्वी राजस्थान के संदर्भ में)

वंशिका करार

कला मनुष्य के सहज ज्ञान और भावना की मौलिक अभिव्यक्ति है। जिसकी उत्पत्ति एवं विकास सतत प्रक्रिया के रूप में मानव जीवन के विकास के साथ हुई है। पाषाणकालीन मानव ने हजारों वर्षों तक गुफाओं को अपना आवास स्थान बनाया शायद इसी दौरान सर्वप्रथम पाषाण औजार का भी निर्माण शुरू किया। इस पाषाण औजार निर्माण के युग को पाषाण काल के नाम से जाना जाता है। पाषाण युग को तीन भागों पुरापाषाण, मध्यपाषाण तथा नवपाषाण में विभाजित किया गया है।

भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में पाई गई अधिकांश शैलचित्रकला मध्यपाषाण, नवपाषाण युग तथा घटिहासिक युग संबंधित है। प्रागैतिहासिक गुफा चित्रकला वास्तव में मानव जाति के कलात्मक विकास में शैलकला का एक दौर है। शुरुआती पाषाणकालीन समुदाय ने अपने पर्यावास व दैनिक क्रियाकलापों को अपने गुफा निवास की दीवारों पर उकेरना शुरू किया तथा शनैरू शनै यह परंपरा इन समुदायों में अभिव्यक्त व संचार का माध्यम बन गई। यह गुफा चित्रकला विश्व के लगभग सभी भागों यूरोप, अफ्रीका, एशिया, आस्ट्रेलिया तथा अन्य भागों में भी पाई गई है। स्पेन के आल्तामीरा में शैलकला की पहली खोज आकस्मिक थी।

भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में अलग-अलग स्थलाकृतियों तथा भू-जलवायु क्षेत्रों में शैलकला विद्वानों द्वारा खोज व विश्लेषण किया जा रहा है। जिसमें व्यक्तिगत प्रयास, अनुरेखण, युक्तहस्त नकल का भी अहम योगदान है। शैलकला को पारिस्थितिक, नृवंशविज्ञान, प्रागैतिहासिक और विश्लेषणात्मक दृष्टिकोण के रूप में वर्गीकृत किया गया है। शैलकला पेंटिंग, ब्रशिंग, पिकिंग आदि की सहायता में दो स्वरूपों रंगीन चित्रांकन तथा पेट्रोग्लिफ फार्म में पाई गई है। भारत में अवस्थित सर्वाधिक शैलचित्रकला मध्यपाषाण काल से संबंधित है जिनका संचय मुख्यतः मध्य भारत के भीमबेटका, मिर्जापुर, पंचमढ़ी, कोटा आदि क्षेत्रों में है।

प्रस्तुत शोध पेपर के द्वारा उत्तर-पूर्वी राजस्थान क्षेत्र के पाषाणकालीन इतिहास व संस्कृति की विविध पहलुओं को प्रकाश में लाने का प्रयास किया गया है। इस उद्देश्य हेतु शैलचित्र विश्लेषण एवं पुरातात्विक सर्वेक्षण के तथ्यों को मुख्य आधार बनाया गया है। इस क्षेत्र में पुरातात्विक साक्ष्यों की खोज ने निश्चित रूप से यह सिद्ध कर दिया कि विवेच्य क्षेत्र प्रागैतिहासिक काल से मानव आवास के लिए सर्वथा उपयुक्त स्थान रहा था।

वर्तमान में इतिहासकारों में यह सर्वमान्य मत है कि मानव का प्रारंभिक निवास स्थान प्राकृतिक रूप से निर्मित गुफाएं व शैलाश्रय ही थे। भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में हजारों की तादाद में शैलाश्रय पुरास्थलों की खोज पिछले एक शताब्दी के दौरान पुरातत्वविदों व कला प्रेमियों ने की है इन पुरास्थलों पर हमें विशाल संख्या में रंगयुक्त चित्रण के साक्ष्य प्राप्त हुए हैं पिछले दो दशकों के दौरान उत्तर पूर्वी राजस्थान में भी शैलचित्रों की खोज का कार्य तीव्रता से किया गया है, जिसमें अलवर,² जयपुर³ व सीकर⁴ जिले में नए शैलचित्र पुरास्थलों की खोज की गई है इनमें से अधिकांश चित्रण धुंधले व अस्पष्ट रूप में पाए गए हैं इन चित्रों के स्वरूप, विषयवस्तु व पैटर्न के अनुसार इन्हें मानव द्वारा निर्मित प्राचीनतम चित्रकारी कहा जा सकता है। इन शैलाश्रय निवास स्थलों की अवस्थिति ने प्रारंभिक मानव के दैनिक जीवन व आसपास के पर्यावरण माहौल के परिचय को हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया है इन शैलाश्रय की वर्तमान अवस्थिति से पता चलता है कि यहां तक पहुंचना बहुत ही दुसाध्य कार्य था सामान्यतः इन ऊंचे पहाड़ों के मध्य संकरे रास्ते के द्वारा ही पहुंचा जा सकता है। इस मार्ग पर केवल दो पैरों वाला जीव ही जा सकता है बड़े चौपाया जानवरों का इन स्थानों तक पहुंचना बहुत कठिन कार्य है इन गुफाओं के प्रवेश मार्ग भी आति संकरें हैं जिसमें चौपाया जानवरों का प्रवेश करना मुश्किल है इन क्षेत्रों पर सुरक्षा के अलावा मानव ने अपनी सुविधाओं का भी ध्यान रखा है इन शैलाश्रय की स्थिति ऐसी है जिसमें धूप, गर्मी और सर्दी सभी से वर्तमान में भी बचाव संभव है।

उत्तर पूर्वी राजस्थान के विभिन्न शैलाश्रय चित्रों का निर्माण नवपाषाण काल से लेकर ऐतिहासिक युग के दौरान किया गया है। जैसे- हरसौरा,⁵ काला पहाड़,⁶ (अलवर) पुरास्थल से मध्यपाषाण कालीन औजारों की प्राप्ति हुई जिससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि इस क्षेत्र के चित्रों का निर्माण मध्यपाषाण काल व उसके बाद किया गया है। इसी प्रकार कुजोता पुरास्थल के पेट्रोग्लिफ में तलवार युक्त योद्धाओं को दर्शाया गया है जिससे इस चित्रण को ऐतिहासिक युगीन माना जा सकता है।⁷

शैलचित्रों के संबंध में हमारे मस्तिष्क में दूसरा प्रश्न यह आता है कि इनका निर्माण क्यों किया गया होगा इसके उत्तर में विभिन्न इतिहासकारों ने भिन्न-भिन्न व्याख्याएं की हैं जैसे आधुनिक मानव की तरह आदिमानव भी अपने आवास क्षेत्र को

चित्रित कर स्वयं को प्रफुल्लित महसूस कराता होगा शायद यह प्रक्रिया उसके विलासतापूर्ण जीवन को प्रदर्शित करती होगी या फिर उसने अपने बचे हुए समय समय का प्रयोग चित्रण में किया होगा। शैलचित्रों के निर्माण के संबंध में अन्य मत यह भी है कि यह समाज अपने जीवन के महत्वपूर्ण इवेंट को इन स्थानों में समेट रहा था। जैसे - शिकार के शय किसी महत्वपूर्ण अवसर पर नृत्य करने को दर्शाना या शक्तिशाली जानवरों अथवा सूर्य-चंद्रमा को अपने चित्रण में दर्शाना।

सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण से देखे तो कुछ विद्वान इन्हें अनुष्ठान से संबंधित करते हैं जिसमें मनुष्य अपने आसपास के प्रातिक पर्यावरण को दर्शाने का प्रयास करता है।⁸ जैसे सूर्य चंद्रमा का अंकन, आसपास के पर्यावास के जानवरों का चित्रण आदि।

इन चित्रों के निर्माण का एक अन्य कारण यह भी है कि यह चित्रण तत्कालीन पर्यावास में आजीविका के तरीकों को दर्शाते हैं जिससे यह लगता है कि यह चित्रण अगले प्रवासी समूह या संतति तक जीवन निर्वाह के इस संदेश को पहुंचाने के रूप में निर्मित किए गए हैं इस प्रकार से चित्रों के माध्यम से हजारों शब्दों को एक चित्र के में समेकित कर आदिमानव ने संप्रेषण और अभिव्यक्ति की तकनीक विकसित की थी। हमें शैल चित्रण में दैनिक जीवन के विभिन्न क्रियाकलापों जैसे आखेट दृश्य, वन्य जीव, मानव आतियां तथा और चंद्रमा को के आति मिली है इस प्रकार यह समाज में विचार संप्रेषण का दीर्घकालीन व अहम माध्यम बने।

ऐतिहासिक स्रोत के रूप में देखे तो प्राचीन मानव के इतिहास की पुनर्रचना में इन चित्रों का अहम महत्व है क्योंकि जहां लिपि का अस्तित्व नहीं है उस काल के इतिहास लेखन के लिए इस ऐतिहासिक स्रोत का महत्व बहुत अधिक है। चूंकि विश्व के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में इंडिपेंडेंट रूप से हजारों लिपियों व भाषाओं का समय के साथ विकास हुआ जिसके कारण दूसरे क्षेत्र के लोग इनको समझने पढ़ने में सक्षम नए नहीं हो पाये।⁹ लेकिन इन शैलचित्रों दृश्य ने विश्व के लगभग सभी लोगों के मध्य एकरूप अभिव्यक्ति के माध्यम के रूप में कार्य किया। इस प्रकार शैलचित्रों ने लिपि की उद्भव से पहले मानव के मध्य संप्रेषण का कार्य किया है।

हाल के दशकों में उत्तर-पूर्वी राजस्थान के अरावली पर्वत श्रृंखला के शैलाश्रयों का यह क्षेत्र क्वार्टजाईट व चूना चट्टानों से युक्त है। वर्तमान में यह अधिकांश क्षेत्र मानव बसावट से युक्त है। भौगोलिक दृष्टि से यह क्षेत्र बहुत विशिष्ट है क्योंकि पाषाणकाल में यहाँ प्रातिक रूप से प्रचुर मात्रा में जल व अन्य खाद्य संसाधनों की उपलब्धता रही है। इस क्षेत्र के सैंकड़ों शैलचित्रों की खोज व अन्वेषण इस शोध कार्य में किया गया है जो कि डढीकर-हाजीपुर, हरसौरा, चूला, कुजोता, सोहनपुरा ढ्ढपायगाऋ तथा अजीतगढ़ व विराटनगर में पाए गए हैं। उत्तरी-पूर्वी राजस्थान के शैलाश्रय पुरास्थलों के शैलचित्रों की

शैली, विषयवस्तु और रंगों में सामान्यतः समानता है। हालांकि इन सभी चित्रांकन में विभिन्न स्तर पर असमानता निहित है। क्षेत्र व कार्यक्रम भिन्नता के अनुसार गहन अन्वेषण से रंग पैटर्न में विविधता पहचानी जा सकती है। यहाँ के अधिकतर चित्रांकन में गहरे गेरू से हल्के गेरू रंग के विभिन्न छायांकित प्रतिरूपों को वर्तमान में पहचाना जा सकता है। अलवर जिला मुख्यालय के पास अवस्थित ढडीकर-हाजीपुर पुरास्थल के शैलचित्रों में सफेद व काले रंग का भी प्रयोग किया गया है। इसी प्रकार कोटपूतली कस्बे के नजदीक बुचारा बांध पुरास्थल क्षेत्र से चाल्सीडोनी युक्त हरे रंग के साक्ष्य प्राप्त हुए हैं।

विभिन्न पुरास्थलों की चित्रण शैली में भी विविधता व्याप्त है। इन पुरास्थलों में जंगली जानवरों के अनगिनत चित्रण किए गए हैं, जिनमें बैल, मृग, हाथी, मोर, सरीसृप आदि को दर्शाया गया है। मानव को एकल व सामूहिक दोनों तरीके से दर्शाया गया है। जिसमें वह शिकार, नृत्य या अन्य दैनिक क्रियाओं में व्यस्त दिखलाया गया है। लिहाजा इस काल के मानव ने जो कुछ चित्रांकित किया वह उसके आसपास उपस्थित पर्यावास का चित्रण है। जिससे सिद्ध होता है कि इस क्षेत्र में हाथी, शेर जैसे जानवर तथा शतुरमुर्ग जैसे बड़े पक्षी कभी इस क्षेत्र में विचरण करते थे। बुचारा बांध क्षेत्र पुरास्थल के पास से शतुरमुर्ग अण्ड शल्क की प्राप्ति ने इस क्षेत्र के चित्रांकन को भी सिद्ध किया है।¹⁰

उत्तरी-पूर्वी राजस्थान के शैलचित्रों में मानव के साथ वृषभ व अन्य पालतू पशुओं के चित्रण इससे यह अंदाजा लगाया जा सकता है क्षेत्र के पाषाणकालीन मानव का आर्थिक जीवन का मूल आधार आखेट पशुपालन था।¹¹ यहाँ के चित्रित शैलाश्रय हमारे समक्ष जीवंत इतिहास के समरूप हैं जिससे हमें पाषाणकालीन मानव से संबंधित अनेकों सवालों के जवाब मिलते हैं जैसे प्रारंभ में प्रागैतिहासिक मानव द्वारा आश्रय स्थलों की पहचान करना, फिर आश्रय स्थल पर स्वयं को हिंसक जानवरों सुरक्षित रखने के लिए बचाव के कौनसे प्रयास किए।

मध्यपाषाण काल तक मानव सूक्ष्म औजारों की सहायता से कुशल शिकारी बन गया था। ये शैलचित्र आखेटक से कुशल शिकारी के रूप में मानव के विकास को भी दर्शाते हैं। इस प्रकार दैनिक क्रियाविधियों के साथ मानव एकाकी शिकार पद्धति से सामूहिक आखेटक बना। मानव ने कुछ छोटे पशुओं कुत्ते, बकरी को पालतू बनाना शुरू किया। मवेशी जैसे पशुओं को सवारी के रूप में प्रयोग करने की शुरुआत की ये क्रियाएं शुरुआती परिवार व सामाजिक गठबंधन की शुरुआत करती हुई नजर आती हैं। यद्यपि प्रागैतिहासिक काल में परिवार एक निश्चित सामाजिक संस्था के रूप में विकसित नहीं हो पाया था लेकिन इस समय मानव ने समूह के रूप में रहना शुरू कर दिया था।

उत्तरी-पूर्वी राजस्थान के शैलचित्रों से हमें यहाँ के पाषाणकालीन मानव की संस्कृति का ज्ञान भी प्राप्त होता है। इन शैलचित्र में अनेक ज्यामितिय आकृतियों

फूल-पत्ती चित्रण तथा अन्य सांस्कृतिक चिन्हों को अंकित किया गया है। कुछ चित्रों को स्वास्तिक, सूर्य-चंद्रमा का चित्रण मानव द्वारा प्रकृति को पवित्र मानने से सम्बंधित धार्मिक विश्वास के शुरुआती साक्ष्य हैं। उपरोक्त के अलावा इस क्षेत्र के चित्रण में मनोरंजन के साधन को भी दर्शाया गया है जैसे आखेट, नृत्य एवं अन्य चित्रांकन आदि।

इस शोध कार्य में आखेट के विभिन्न पद्धतियों को पहचानने की कोशिश की गई है। जिसमें औजारों के प्रयोग की तकनीक सामूहिक आखेट आदि को पहचानने की कोशिश की गई है। वन्य पशुओं के साथ कुछ पालतू पशुओं जैसे मवेशी, बकरी, कुत्ते की चित्रांकन से मानव व पशुओं के मध्य संबंध की प्रथम कड़ी ने सामाजिक-आर्थिक विकास में अहम भूमिका निभाई। जानवर व औजारों के चित्रांकन से ही तत्कालीन मानव की पर्यावास के प्रति समझ तथा औजार तकनीकी के बारे में पता चलता है। सीकर व अलवर जिले के शैलचित्रों में विभिन्न ज्यामितीय आ तियां भी अंकित की गई है। इनसे संबंधित समरूपता रखने वाले चित्रांकन कलाकृतियों को आज भी ग्रामीण परिवेश व जनजातियों के घरों में देखने को मिलती है जैसे स्वास्तिक, सूर्य चाँद की अल्पना, हस्तछाप आदि। ये मानव द्वारा प्रकृति के धार्मिक विश्वास के रूप में पूजा-अर्चना का संकेत प्रदान करते हैं। इस परंपरा ने मानव को एक सामाजिक संगठन के रूप में बांधने का कार्य भी किया है। कुछ चित्रांकन में महिलाओं को नृत्यरत भी प्रदर्शित किया गया है।¹² शैलचित्रों के अध्ययन में इस विधि से चित्रकला शैली के क्रमिक विकास का पता चलता है। जिसमें आरंभ से अंत तक चित्रकला को विभिन्न शैली में दर्शाया गया है। प्रकृतिवादी से शैलीगत, शैलीगत से प्रतीकात्मक और वापस प्रकृतिवादी की ओर शैली के माध्यम से चित्रांकन किया गया है।

रंगयुक्त चित्रांकन के अलावा पेट्रोग्लिफ चित्रण दीर्घकाल तक सुरक्षित रह पाता है क्योंकि इसका निर्माण किसी चट्टान पर दूसरे पाषाण या धातु औजार की सहायता से ठोक-ठोक कर किया गया था। ये चित्रण ऐतिहासिक युग से संबंधित है जिसमें हमें पाषाणयुगीन विषयवस्तु के साथ ऐतिहासिक युग के धातु के औजार, ऊँट तथा युद्ध दृश्यों का अंकन भी देखने को मिलता है।

हाल के वर्षों में शैलकला विद्वानों द्वारा संपूर्ण भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में हजारों शैलचित्रों की खोज की गई है। साथ ही यह भी स्वीकार किया जाने लगा है कि शैलचित्र मानव विकास के सभी चरणों से संबंधित है हालांकि अधिकांश चित्रकला मध्यपाषाण व उसके बाद के कालक्रम में निर्मित की गई है। इस प्रकार यह कहा जा सकता है शैलकला मानव अभिव्यक्ति का प्रथम स्रोत है। मानव जाति की अभिव्यक्ति उसकी इंद्रिय दृष्टि से उत्पन्न होती है। कला में निहित इस जीवतता के कारण वर्तमान में प्रागैतिहासिक चित्रांकन अतीत, वर्तमान तथा भविष्य की पीढ़ियों के मध्य एक संचार के स्रोत के

माध्यम है।

शैलचित्रकला के फील्ड अध्ययन व विभिन्न शोध कार्य के गहन जांच-पड़ताल के उपरांत हम यह निष्कर्ष निकाल सकते हैं कि पाषाणकालीन मानव ने अपने पर्यावास में उपलब्ध सामग्री की सहायता से अपने मनोवैज्ञानिक संवेगों को इन शैलों की सतह पर उकेरा था। संयोग से इन शैलचित्रों में प्राकृतिक खनिज रंगों के प्रयोग के कारण ये दीर्घकाल तक सुरक्षित बचे हुए हैं। ये शैल चित्रांकन प्रागैतिहासिक मानव की रचनात्मकता, क्रियाशीलता, सृजनात्मकता तथा सामाजिक संगठन के रूप में उद्भव को रेखांकित करने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान देते हैं। इस प्रकार अलवर, सीकर व जयपुर जिले के शैलाश्रय से प्राप्त अंकन भारतीय कला के इतिहास की समृद्ध विरासत के साक्ष्य उपस्थित करने के साथ राजस्थान के पाषाणकालीन इतिहास की धरोहर को वर्तमान तक संजोए रखने के कारण महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

संदर्भ

1. शैलाश्रय सतह पर उत्कीर्ण या चित्रित की गई कला को शैल चित्रकला के रूप में जाना जाता है। ये शैलाश्रय आदिम जन समूहों को वर्षा, धूप, ठण्ड व जंगली जानवरों से सुरक्षा के लिये उपयुक्त थे। इन शैलाश्रयों में शैलचित्रों के अलावा मानव के सांस्कृतिक साक्ष्यों के साथ शैलचित्रकारी भी प्राप्त होती हैं। शैल चित्रकारी में आखेट दृश्य, कलात्मक रूचि, काल्पनिकता एवं सामाजिक जीवन के पक्षों को बखूबी संजोया गया है। चित्रित शैलकला के अध्ययन का प्रारम्भ 19वीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध में हुआ, जिसका श्रेय विदेशी विद्वानों एवं पुरातत्त्ववेत्ताओं को है। सन 1840 से प्रागैतिहासिक सामग्री पर अंकित उत्खचित व उत्कीर्ण चित्रों का वर्णन किया जाने लगा था। लेकिन 1879 ई. में स्पेन के उत्तरी भाग में स्थित अलतामीरा की चित्रित गुफाओं की खोज के पश्चात् ही प्रागैतिहासिक चित्रों की ओर इतिहासकारों व शैलकलाविदों का ध्यान आ पट्ट हुआ। हालांकि भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में 1867 में ही आर्चिबोल्ड कार्लाइल तथा जान काकबर्ग ने मिर्जापुर के पास विंध्य क्षेत्र की कैमूर पहाड़ियों में शैलचित्रों खोज की।
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अलवर जिले के प्रागैतिहासिक शैलचित्र कला पुरास्थल

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मानव के जैविक विकास के विभिन्न चरणों का इतिहास पाषाणकालीन पुरास्थलों से प्राप्त अस्थि-पंजरों के वैज्ञानिक अध्ययन से पुनर्रचित किया जा सकता है, लेकिन उसकी मानसिक चेतना को केवल उसके द्वारा निर्मित पुरातत्वसामग्री तथा शैलचित्रों के अध्ययन से समझा जा सकता है। चित्रित शैलकला के अध्ययन का प्रारम्भ 19वीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध में हुआ, जिसका श्रेय विदेशी विद्वानों एवं पुरातत्वविदों को है। सन् 1840 से प्रागैतिहासिक सामग्री पर अंकित उत्खनित व उत्कीर्ण चित्रों को पहचाना जाने लगा था। लेकिन 1879 ई. में स्पेन के उत्तरी भाग में स्थित अल्तामीरा की चित्रित गुफाओं की खोज के पश्चात ही प्रागैतिहासिक चित्रों की ओर इतिहासकारों व शैलकलाविदों का ध्यान आकृष्ट हुआ। हालाँकि जानना दिलचस्प होगा कि भारत में शैल-चित्रों की सर्वप्रथम खोज वर्ष 1867-68 में पुराविद् आर्किबोल्ड कार्लाइल ने स्पेन में हुई अल्तामीरा की खोज से भी 12 वर्ष पहले की थी।¹ कॉकबर्न, एंडरसन, मित्र और घोष पहले अनुसंधानकर्ता थे जिन्होंने भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में ऐसे अनेक स्थल खोजे थे। भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में 1867 में आर्किबोल्ड कार्लाइल तथा जॉन कॉकबर्ग ने मिर्जापुर के पास विन्ध्य क्षेत्र की कैमूर पहाड़ियों में शैलचित्रों की खोज की। पुराविदों एवं शैलकलाविदों द्वारा प्राचीनतम शैलचित्रों का कालक्रम लगभग 10,000 ई.पू. निर्धारित किया है।² हालाँकि भारतीय संदर्भ में शैलकला की प्राचीनता उच्च पुराप्रस्तर युग के अंतर्गत स्वीकार की जाने लगी है।³ जैसे निम्न पुराप्रस्तर युगीन बसावों से भी कलात्मक तत्व जैसे सिंगी तालाब से क्वार्ट्स क्रिस्टल, हुंसगी से हेमेटाइट के टुकड़े एवं दर की चट्टान तथा भीम बैठका स्थित ऑडिटोरियम गुफा से अश्मनिकष का प्रतिवेदन किया गया है जो कला के उद्भव को ओर भी अधिक पूर्वकाल में सिद्ध करते हैं।

राजस्थान में प्रारंभिक चित्रकला अनुसंधान

राजस्थान, अरावली पर्वतमाला की पर्वत श्रृंखला के द्वारा मध्य से लगभग दो

भागों में विभाजित है जिससे पाषाणकालीन मानव को चूना पत्थर संरचना में नैसर्गिक आवास स्थान तथा घने जंगल में शिकार, खाद्य सामग्री तथा जल की प्राप्ति हो सकी थी। यह क्षेत्र ग्रेनाइट व क्वार्टजाइट चट्टानों में भी समृद्ध है जिसके कारण यहाँ शैलचित्र उत्खनित कपमार्क पुरास्थलों की प्राप्ति हुई है।

राजस्थान में सर्वप्रथम विष्णु श्रीधर वाकणकर ने 1953 में कोटा में चंबल घाटी व दर्श तथा झालावाड़ में गागरोन आदि पुरास्थलों पर अन्वेषण किया। तत्पश्चात राजस्थान में शैलचित्रों का व्यापक प्रचार-प्रसार अलनिया में प्राप्त शैलचित्रों की खोज से हुआ।⁴ यहाँ के शैलाश्रयों चित्रों को प्रकाश में लाने का श्रेय जगत नारायण श्रीवास्तव को है। 1986 में जगदीश सिंह व डॉ. जगतनारायण ने भीलवाड़ा के उपरमाल क्षेत्र में भी मेनाल, मेडली महादेव, व गोपीचंद का छाजा व हाथी टोल में चित्रित शैलाश्रयों की खोज की। 1989 में उत्तर पूर्वी राजस्थान के सीकर व जयपुर जिले में अजीतगढ़ ग्राम व विराटनगर ग्राम की पहाड़ियों के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों का सर्वेक्षण एम.एल. शर्मा व विजय कुमार के सहयोग से किया गया। जिससे इस क्षेत्र में आदिमानव की उपस्थिति के प्रमाण मिलने से क्षेत्र के ऐतिहासिक योगदान को सामने लाया जा सका है।⁵

2010 के दशक में डॉ. फूलसिंह सहरिया, डॉ. एम.एल. मीना, डॉ. आर.जी. मीना तथा गोविंद सिंह मीणा के सहयोग से अलवर व उसके आसपास के क्षेत्रों में सर्वेक्षण व अनुसंधान कार्य किया गया है। डॉ. फूलसिंह सहरिया ने अपनी कृति 'अलवर का इतिहास' में पाषाणकालीन अलवर में मानव पदचिह्न सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक विकास प्रक्रिया को दर्शाया है। उनकी कृति क्षेत्र में मीणा जनजाति की उपस्थिति को उपर्युक्त साक्ष्यों के साथ प्रदर्शित करने में सहायक रही है।⁶

सीकर जिले के गुहाला पुरास्थल से उच्चपुरापाषाण कालीन कपमार्क्स की खोज एम.एल. मीणा ने 2003 में की तथा 2005 में झुंझुनू जिले के निकट 'रसोड़ा' ग्राम में चित्रित शैलाश्रय की खोज की। यहाँ उन्हें मध्यपाषाण युगीन उपकरण प्राप्त हुए। दक्षिणी पूर्वी राजस्थान के दर्राकी पहाड़ी श्रृंखला में 20 से अधिक शैलाश्रय पुरास्थलों का अनुसंधान कार्य तेजसिंह मावई ने किया जिससे हाड़ौती क्षेत्र के प्रागैतिहासिक काल के इतिहास को उजागर करने में सहायता मिली है।

ये शैलचित्र लिपि के उद्भव से पहले दीर्घ काल तक संप्रेषण के माध्यम के रूप में भी प्रयोग में लिए गए हैं। वैश्विक स्तर पर शैलचित्रों की शैली व विषयवस्तु को देखा जाए तो अधिकांश स्थलों के शैलचित्रों में साम्यता में दिखाई पड़ती है। जैसे- इनमें दैनिक मानवीय क्रियाकलापों खाद्य संग्रहण, शिकार पद्धति, मनोरंजन दृश्य तथा धार्मिक कर्मकाण्डों आदि को दर्शाया गया है। उपरोक्त तथ्यों से वैश्विक संदर्भ में, मानव व्यवहार व सोच-विचार क्षमता के बारे में हमारे मानस पटल में उनके समान आचार-विचारों की

* आचार्य, बाबू शोभाराम राजकीय कला महाविद्यालय, अलवर

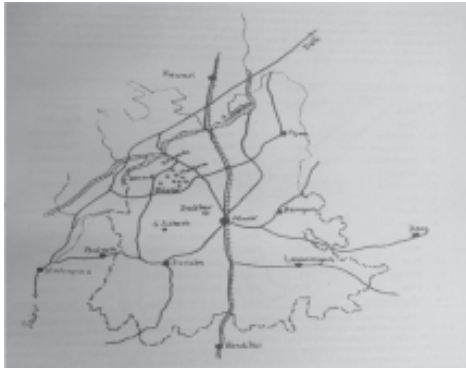
** शोधार्थी, बाबू शोभाराम राजकीय कला महाविद्यालय, अलवर

छाप पड़ती है। क्योंकि इस काल में निर्वाह व आवास के साधनों में समानता थी।

मध्यपाषाण काल तक के पुरातत्व स्रोतों में लिपि से आपस में संवाद के साक्ष्य नहीं मिले हैं। हालांकि ताम्रपाषाण काल में लिपि का उद्भव हो चुका था। जिसके साक्ष्य सुमेर से मिले हैं जो लगभग 3200 ईस्वी पूर्व के है।⁷ जिससे यह जाहिर है कि बोली का प्रयोग इससे पहले पाषाणकाल में शुरू किया जा चुका था जिससे व्यक्ति समूह व परिवार के रूप में नवपाषाण काल तक बस्तियों में रहने की शुरुआत कर चुका था। यही परिवेश 3000 ईस्वी पूर्व के आस-पास मेसोपोटामिया व सिंधु जैसी विशाल सभ्यताओं के विकास का अग्रणी सहायक बना।⁸ भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप के मैदानी क्षेत्रों में नवपाषाणकालीन बस्तियों के उद्भव से पहले मानव निवास के अधिकांश साक्ष्य पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में मिले हैं, जैसे- भीमबेटका, अलनियाँ, दर्रा, मिर्जापुर आदि। इसी परम्परा अनुरूप उत्तर-पूर्वी राजस्थान में भी मानव आवास के प्रारंभिक साक्ष्य अरावली पर्वत श्रृंखला के तलहटी में अवस्थित शैलश्रयों में पाये गये हैं।

ढडीकर-हाजीपुर शैलकला पुरास्थल की अवस्थिति

यह अलवर जिले का प्रमुख पुरास्थल है जो जिला मुख्यालय से पश्चिम दिशा में अरावली पर्वतमालाओं के मध्य 13 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर अवस्थित है। वर्तमान में यह क्षेत्र सरिस्का बाघ रिजर्व क्षेत्र का हिस्सा है। प्रशासनिक रूप से यह क्षेत्र डहरा ग्राम पंचायत के अंतर्गत 27°36' से 27°35' उत्तरी अक्षांश में तथा 76°34' देशांतर पर उपस्थित है। यहाँ पहुँचने के दो मार्ग हैं पहला, अलवर शहर से कबीर कालोनी से दूसरा, अलवर-बहरोड मार्ग पर अवस्थित विजयमंदिर किले से आने वाले मार्ग से भी पहुँचा जा सकता है।



चित्र 1. रूढडीकर-हाजीपुर पुरास्थल की स्थिति

ढडीकर-हाजीपुर गाँव चारों तरफ से पहाड़ियों से घिरे हुए हैं जिससे यह क्षेत्र एक बड़े तालाबनुमा आकृति के रूप में दिखाई देता है। यहाँ प्राचीनकाल में जलसंग्रहण क्षेत्र रहा होगा। इस क्षेत्र की कटोरेनुमा सुरक्षित अवस्थिति प्राचीनकाल में मानव आवास की शरणस्थली बन पायी। दूसरी तरफ वर्तमान में भी यह क्षेत्र अरावली पहाड़ियों तथा सघन वनावरण से आच्छादित है तथा यहाँ हिंसक जानवरों का आवास भी है जिसके कारण यहाँ पर आधुनिक मानवीय हस्तक्षेप अधिक नहीं है जो पाषाणकालीन अवशेष के संरक्षण में सहायक रहे हैं। मार्च 2003 में अलवर जिले के पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में प्रेमलता पोकराना व जे.एस.बक्शी (स्थानीय पत्रकार) ने ढडीकर व हाजीपुर नामक दो गाँवों की पहाड़ियों में शैलचित्रों की पहचान की।⁹

वर्तमान में ढडीकर ग्राम के घरों का निर्माण धातुमल¹⁰ अवशेष के जमाव पर स्थित है। जिससे यह स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ मध्यकाल व प्राचीनकाल में धातु निष्कर्षण किया जाता रहा होगा। इस क्षेत्र में मध्यपाषाण काल से ऐतिहासिक काल तक की पुरातत्व सामग्री प्राप्त हुई है तथा पुरातत्व स्तरों की डेंटिंग ताम्रपाषाण काल की आंकी गई है। यह सामग्री तत्कालीन मानव समूह की दैनिक गतिविधियों को अभिव्यक्त करती है।

ढडीकर व हाजीपुर शैलाश्रय पुरास्थल

यह शैलाश्रय पुरास्थल छोटी-छोटी पहाड़ियों में 5 से 6 किलोमीटर के क्षेत्र में विस्तृत रूप से फैला हुआ है। इन पहाड़ियों को स्थानीय स्तर पर विभिन्न नामों से पुकारा जाता है। जिनका विवरण निम्नानुसार है-

1. लपाला, 2. टोडा, 3. काला बोर, 4. गणमानक, 5. श्यामसा, 6. गद्दाज, 7. बुक्की, 8. कुड़ी पापड़ा।

विवरण

I. कुड़ी पापड़ा

यह पुरास्थल ढडीकर गांव के दक्षिण में अवस्थित है। इसमें 6 चित्रित शैलाश्रय हैं। इसमें चित्रित के स्वरूप के आधार पर इन्हें मध्यपाषाण से लेकर ताम्रपाषाण काल तक में वर्गीकृत किया जा सकता है। इस पुरास्थल के शैलाश्रय संख्या 1 भूतल से 20 फिट की ऊँचाई पर अवस्थित है। यह पाषाण कालीन मानव को आवास की उत्तम अवस्थिति प्रदान करता है (चित्रसंख्या-2) जो मौसमी बदलावों से बचाव में सक्षम है। इस शैलाश्रय की छत पर गेरू रंग से बड़े चित्रण का अंकन किया गया है। हालांकि इसका स्पष्ट अर्थ लगाना मुश्किल है।

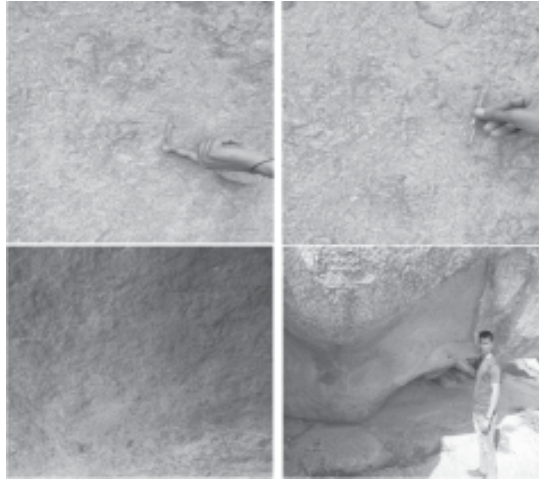


चित्र 2-शैलाश्रय अवस्थिति



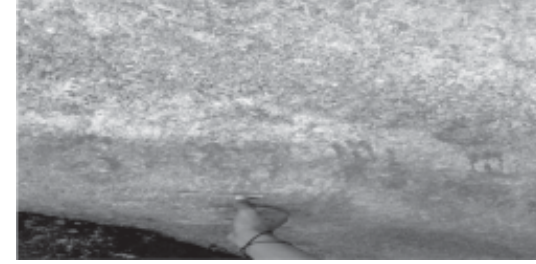
चित्र 3-गेरू से अस्पष्ट चित्रांकन

शैलाश्रय संख्या 2 पूर्व दिशा की ओर खुली हुई है। इसमें ज्यामितीय आकृतियों का अंकन किया गया है। अंकन में महीन रेखाओं तथा गेरू का प्रयोग किया गया है। यहाँ पर मानव, पुष्प तथा स्वास्तिक का चित्रण भी किया गया है। इसमें मानव का नृत्य मुद्रा में अंकित किया गया है। एक अन्य चित्रण में उसे सवार के रूप में दर्शाया गया है।



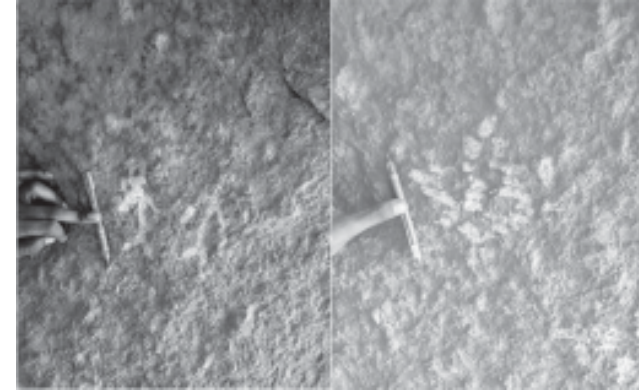
चित्र 4-ज्यामितीय आकृतियों मानव तथा पुष्प एवं स्वास्तिक

शैलाश्रय संख्या 3 की आकृति में मानव का अंकन विस्तारित है। यह इस पुरास्थल पर सबसे सुरक्षित आश्रय प्रदान करता है। इस पुरास्थल पर हस्तक्षेप का स्पष्ट अंकन किया गया है। इसके अंकन में गेरू रंग को ही प्रयुक्त लिया गया है। लगभग सभी हस्तक्षेप का आकार वर्तमान महिलाओं के हाथों जितना ही है। यहाँ हस्तक्षेप को कई रूपों में अंकित किया गया है। यहाँ दोनों हाथों अंकन किया गया है।



चित्र 5-हस्तक्षेप

शैलाश्रय संख्या चार में पहाड़ी के पश्चिमी ढाल पर अवस्थित है। इसमें चित्रांकन हेतु सफेद तथा गेरू दोनों रंगों का प्रयोग किया गया है। जिसमें गेरू से निर्मित चित्रण अस्पष्ट है तथा सफेद रंग से युगल मानवाकृति का अंकन किया गया है।



चित्र 6-सफेद रंग से मानव चित्रांकन चित्र 7-ज्यामितीय आकृति का अंकन

शैलाश्रय संख्या 5 धरातल से लगभग 20 फिट की उँचाई पर अवस्थित है। यह शैलाश्रय भी मौसमी व बदलावों से सुरक्षा का अच्छा आवास स्थल है। इस शैलाश्रय में गेरू के प्रयोग से सागर तथा पक्षियों का अंकन किया गया है।

II. गद्दाज-

यह शैलाश्रय पुरास्थल ढाणी गांव के दक्षिण-पश्चिम दिशा में लगभग दो किलोमीटर की दूरी पर अवस्थित है। इस पुरास्थल में 10 चित्रित शैलाश्रयों को चिन्हित किया गया है। इस क्षेत्र के अधिकांश चित्रांकन पहाड़ी के मध्य भाग में लगभग 250 फिट की उँचाई पर अवस्थित है।



चित्र 8-शैलाश्रय में मानव चित्रांकन



चित्र 9-स्वास्तिक का अंकन

वर्गाकार ज्यामितीय संरचना का किया अंकन गया है जिनमें गेरू रंग का प्रयोग किया गया है। पुष्पा आकृति करती को वर्गीकृत के कोनों पर प्रदर्शित किया गया है। वर्गा के दक्षिण में एक पक्षी का अंकन किया है। यह पक्षी सिर के ऊपर कलंगी धारण किए हुए हैं। जिससे यह मोर जैसा प्रतीत होता है।



चित्र 10-वर्ग का चित्रांकन चित्र 11-मोर का चित्रांकन

शैलाश्रय संख्या दो

इसी शैलाश्रय के पार्श्व भाग में ही मोटी रेखा से मानवा ति का अंकन किया गया है। जिसमें उसे मुखोटे या बालों के साथ दर्शाया का प्रयास किया गया है। यह अंकन दोहरी रेखा से किया गया है। इस मानवा ति की लंबाई लगभग 30 से.मी. है। इसने बाईं तरफ लगभग 15 से.मी. क्षेत्र में स्वास्तिक का निर्माण किया गया है। जिसके अग्रभागों को त्रिभुजनुमा आकृति से सुसज्जित किया गया है। यह अंकन तात्कालिक अनुष्ठानिक कर्मकाण्डों से संबंधित लगता है।

शैलाश्रय संख्या तीन में चित्रांकन हेतु सफेद व गेरू दोनों रंगों का प्रयोग किया गया है। शैलाश्रय के मध्य में सफेद रंग से वर्गाकार आकृति आकर्म का अंकन किया गया है। यह संरचना आवास के संकेत के रूप में बनाई हुई प्रतीत होती है। जिसके चारों तरफ त्रिभुज या तीरनुमा बाड़ाबंदी की गई है। जिससे आवास जंगली जानवरों में सुरक्षित प्रतीत होता है। इस शैलाश्रय के उत्तरी हिस्सों पर पुष्पाकृति मुख्य ज्यामितीय आकृति व स्वास्तिक का निर्माण भी किया गया है। इनके रेखांकन में भी मोटी रेखाओं का प्रयोग किया गया है।

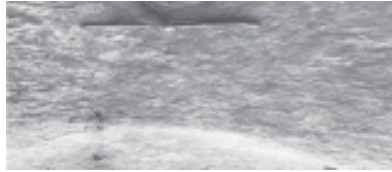
इस चित्रण में बायीं तरफ में भी कुछ अस्पष्ट चित्रण किया गया है। इनमें दो पैरों वाले किसी पक्षी पशु को भी प्रदर्शित किया गया है। जिस पर मानव को सवार बार दर्शाया गया है। जिसके हाथ के में कोई औजार भी दर्शाया गया है।



चित्र 12-सफेद रंग से बाड़नुमा आकृति का अंकन



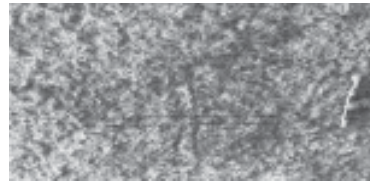
चित्र 13-बाड़नुमा आकृति का अंकन व अन्य चित्रांकन



चित्र 14-मानव का अंकन



चित्र 15-नृत्यरत मानव अंकन



चित्र 16-श्वेत वर्ग, पुष्पाकृति, स्वास्तिक, सवार मानव

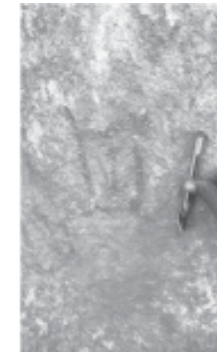
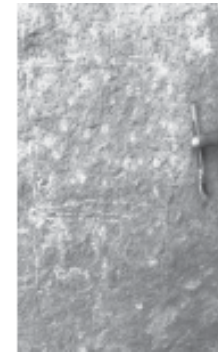
शैलाश्रय संख्या-4 यहां के पश्चिम में लगभग 20 फीट की ऊँचाई पर अवस्थित है। इस चित्रांकन में ज्यामितीय आ ति, मानव चित्रण व पशु सवार को दर्शाया गया है। मानव को बैठा हुआ तथा समूह में खड़े हुए दर्शाया गया है। इस शैलाश्रय दोहरी सफेद रंग से एक वर्गाकार आ ति का चित्रांकन किया गया है इसको दोहरी सफेद लाइनों से उकेरा गया है।



चित्र 17-मानव समूह का अंकन



चित्र 18-नृत्यरत मानव अंकन

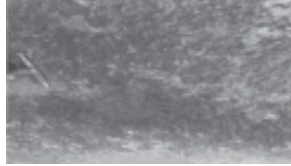


चित्र 19-चित्रण-सफेद रंग की वर्ग आकृतिचित्र 20-ज्यामितिय अंकन

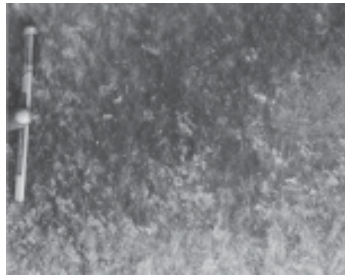
शैलाश्रय संख्या पांच—यह शैलाश्रय अपेक्षा त उँचाई पर है। जिसके कारण इस पर पैटीनेशन कम है तथा इस क्षेत्र के सबसे स्पष्ट चित्रांकन में से एक है। चित्रांकन में गहरे गेरू का प्रयोग किया गया है। शैलाश्रय के पूर्ववर्ती दीवार पर जुड़वा वर्गों को अंकित किया गया है। इनके किनारे पर श्रृंगार स्वरूप पुष्पाकृति का अंकन किया गया है। वर्ग के अंदर मानवाकृति को नृत्य की मुद्रा में दर्शाया गया है। इनमें समूह के रूप में एक-दूसरे की तरफ मुख्य कृति के रूप में दर्शाने की कोशिश की गई है। इसमें बिल्कुल इसके नजदीक गहरे गेरू स्वास्थ्य का आंगन किया गया है। इसके अग्रभाग में दोहरे त्रिभुज की आकृति को जोड़ा गया है तथा ज्यामितीय आकृति जोड़कर उसे पुष्पनुमा दर्शाने का प्रयास किया गया है।



चित्र 21-मानव का अंकन



चित्र 22-चित्रण-वर्गाकार आकृति, स्वास्तिक



चित्र 23-युगल आकृति

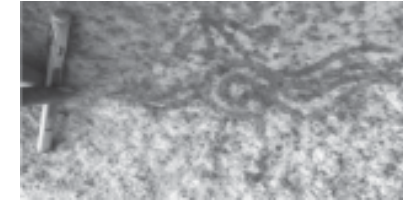
वर्गाकृति के दक्षिण में एक युगल मानवाकृति (चित्र संख्या 23) का अंकन किया गया है। इनका चित्रण गेरू रंग से किया गया है। इसमें इन्हें घघरीनुमा वस्त्र पहने

हुए दर्शाया गया है। जिससे प्रतीत होता है कि मानव ने इस समय वस्त्र या अन्य पेड़-पौधों के पत्तों को उद्योग में लेना शुरू कर दिया था। चित्रण में दांयी तरफ की, मानव आकृति में उसकी अंगुलियों का स्पष्ट चित्रांकन किया गया है। उपरोक्त दोनों आकृतियों को गतिशील अवस्था में दिखाया गया है।



चित्र 24-धातु औजार

शैलाश्रय की छत पर किसी चाकूनुमा औजार (चित्र संख्या 25) का अंकन किया गया है तथा इसको अलग हथके के साथ भी दर्शाया गया है। यह चित्रांकन धातु के प्रचलन का स्पष्ट संकेत प्रदान करता है। क्योंकि इस चित्रांकन के माध्यम से दर्शायी गयी औजार की धार को पाषाण औजार में शामिल करना मुश्किल है। इसका अग्रभाग नुकीला तथा औजार का नीचे का भाग धार युक्त दर्शाया गया है।

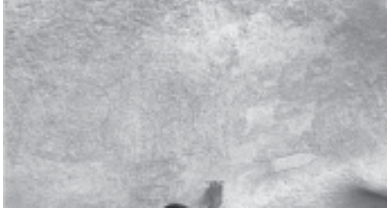


चित्र 25-मयूर

शैलाश्रय की छत पर मयूराकृति का भी आंकलन किया गया है। जिसमें मयूर की चोंच, कलंगी, पंखों तथा लंबे पैरों को स्पष्ट अंकन किया गया है। इस शैलाश्रय में भी पूर्व के शैलाश्रय की तरह त्रिभुज युक्त स्वास्तिक अंकन किया गया है। जिसमें दोहरी रेखाओं का प्रयोग किया गया है। शैलाश्रय के लगभग सभी हिस्सों में मानव का विभिन्न मुद्राओं में जैसे- खड़े, बैठे, नृत्य, अंकन में किया गया है।

शैलाश्रय संख्या 6— यहाँ शैलाश्रय क्षेत्र की सबसे बड़ी गुहा के रूप में विद्यमान है। यह पाषाणकालीन मानव के लिए उपयुक्त आवास स्थान रहा होगा। यह धरातल से लगभग 300 फीट की उँचाई पर अवस्थित है। जिसके कारण बड़े जानवरों से मानव सुरक्षित रहा होगा। इस शैलाश्रय में चित्रांकन के लिए सुरक्षित स्थान उपलब्ध था जिसके कारण यहाँ लगभग 15 फीट × 10 फीट के क्षेत्र में चित्रांकित किया गया है। जिसमें

हस्ति, सूर्य, वृषभ तथा आखेट दृश्य को दर्शाया गया है।



चित्र 26-सूर्य का अंकन (ढडीकर)

विवरण

आखेट दृश्य- शैलाश्रय के सबसे बयी तरफ लगभग छह फिट की ऊँचाई पर आखेट तकनीक का आंकलन किया गया है। जिसमें चार परिकल्पनाएँ समाहित हो सकती हैं। पहला मानव इस चित्रांकन में हिरण/बकरी/जंगली कुत्तों को मारने का प्रयास कर रहा है, दूसरा इस चित्रांकन में नीचे की तरफ कुछ मानव की आकृतियों का भी अंकन किया गया है जो शायद ऊपरी जानवर को बाड़े की तरफ धकेल रहे हैं, जिससे छुपा हुआ आखेटक उसे पकड़ सके।

विभिन्न इतिहासकारों द्वारा यह निष्कर्ष भी निकाला गया है कि मानव द्वारा सर्वप्रथम आसानी से पकड़े जा सकने वाले जानवर जैसे- भेड़-बकरी को सर्वप्रथम पालतू बनाया गया होगा, जिनसे व मांस के साथ दूध की प्राप्ति भी कर सके। वहीं तीसरी परिकल्पना में व्यक्ति को खतरनाक जानवरों से स्वयं को सुरक्षा करने के तरीके के रूप में भी देखा जा सकता है।

सामान्यतः आखेट के दौरान जानवर शिकारी से दूर भागता है लेकिन उपरोक्त चित्रण में इस जानवर को मानव पर आक्रमणकारी के रूप में तथा व्यक्ति को शैलाश्रय या गुफा में बचाव मुद्रा में दिखाया गया है, शायद यही वह प्रक्रिया थी जिसके कारण मध्य पाषाणकालीन मानव आवास रूपी संरचनाओं व सुरक्षित गुफाओं में निवास करने लगा था। इस प्रकार गुफा शैलाश्रयों में मनुष्य समूहों के रूप में रहने लगा जिससे धीरे-धीरे एक दूसरे की तरफ बढ़ते लगाव से सामुदायिक भावना का उदय हुआ होगा तथा पारिवारिक संरचना की नींव पड़ी।

चौथा इतिहास के अनुसार यहा किसी बड़ी मछली का चित्रण किया गया है। जिसमें मछली से मानव की उत्पत्ति को दर्शाया गया मानते हैं। यह क्षेत्र मछलियों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण था साथ ही इसका नाम मत्स्य भी मछली पालन से पड़ा होगा। इस क्षेत्र की मीणा जनजाति की उत्पत्ति को भी मत्स्य से जोड़ा जाता है।¹¹

अलवर के चित्रित शैलाश्रयों में अधिकांशतः लाल (गेरु) रंग का प्रयोग किया गया है। यह लाल रंग गेरु (आयरन ऑक्साइड) नामक खनिज से लिया गया है।¹² इस रंग का प्रयोग वर्तमान चित्रकारियों में भी देखने को मिलता है। जैसे ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में चूल्हे पर गेरु के द्वारा रंगाई कार्य, त्यौहार पर संबंधित देवता का अंकन करना आदि में लाल गेरु रंग का प्रयोग किया जाता है। कुछ ग्रामीण बस्तियाँ जहाँ अभी भी कच्चे आवासों का प्रयोग किया जा रहा है। वहाँआज भी त्यौहारों व विशेष अवसरों पर साज-सज्जा व चित्रांकन में गेरु का बहुतायत में प्रयोग किया जाता रहा है। इसके अलावा ताम्रपाषाणकालीन व ऐतिहासिक कालीन पुरास्थलों में भी गेरु चित्रांकन से निर्मित मृदभाण्ड प्राप्त किए गए हैं।¹³

शैलचित्रों में प्रयुक्त खनिज एक से अधिक रंगों को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। जिसके कई कारण हो सकते हैं जो कि निम्न प्रकार से हैं-

1. चित्र की आयु के साथ पर्यावरणीय प्रभाव के कारण उसके रंगों में भिन्नता उत्पन्न हो जाती है।
2. चित्रांकन हेतु प्रयुक्त शैलाश्रय की धरातल से ऊँचाई भी रंगों के स्वरूप को प्रभावित करती है। जैसे ढडीकर शैलाश्रय में गद्दाज नामक स्थान की चित्रकला धरातल से लगभग 100 मीटर की ऊँचाई पर अवस्थित है जिससे इस पर पेटिनेशन¹⁴ नहीं है तथा चित्रांकन सुरक्षित अवस्था में बचा हुआ है। जबकि ढडीकर के 'कुड़ी पापड़ा' नामक स्थान की शैल चित्रकला भूतल से मात्र 10 मीटर की ऊँचाई पर अवस्थित है जिसमें वायु में पानी के प्रभाव से अधिक मिट्टी का लेपन (पेटिनेशन) हो रखा है।
3. चित्रांकन हेतु प्रयुक्त शैलाश्रय की रासायनिक संरचना भी चित्र के रंग निर्धारण में अहम भूमिका निभाती है। जैसे चूना प्रस्तर पर चित्रांकन अधिक समय तक टिकाऊ नहीं होता है। जबकि क्वार्टज शिला पर यह लंबे काल तक स्थायी रहता है। इसके अलावा एक ही शैलाश्रय के अलग-अलग स्थानों पर भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार का पर्यावरण प्रभाव पड़ता है, जिससे भी रंगभेद दिखने लगता है।
4. खनिज के संगठनात्मक अवयवों के अनुपात या मिश्रण में अंतर होने के कारण भी रंग में स्वाभाविक रूप से अंतर हो जाता है। भीमबेटका के विभिन्न समकालीन चित्रांकन में यह स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ता है।
5. पाषाणकालीन मानव द्वारा चित्रण हेतु घोल या पेस्ट की सांद्रता में अंतर आ जाने के कारण भी रंग में भिन्नता दिखने लगती है। ढडीकर शैलाश्रय में हस्तछाप के अंकन को देखकर यह स्पष्ट पहचाना जा सकता है।

6. खनिज के टुकड़ों से सीधे शैलाश्रय की सतह पर चित्रांकन करने से रंग के गहरे या हल्के होने के प्रभाव स्पष्ट परिलक्षित नहीं होता है।

सामान्यतः हमारे पर्यावरण की विभिन्न वस्तुएं समय के साथ आच्छादित होती रहती हैं जिसमें जल, वायु तथा तापमान में दैनिक बदलाव मुख्य भूमिका निभाता है। शैलाश्रय भी पर्यावरण में बदलावों के प्रति संवेदनशील होते हैं। उदाहरण के रूप में देखें तो अधिकांश चित्रित शैलाश्रय वर्षा से सुरक्षित क्षेत्रों पर मिले हैं। इन शैलाश्रयों के भीतरी भागों में अपेक्षा त निम्न तापमान व निम्न आर्द्रता होता है ऐसी स्थिति में सूक्ष्म जीवाणु की उत्पत्ति हेतु अनुकूल दशाएं नहीं होती हैं। जबकि शैलाश्रयों के किनारों पर तापमान व आर्द्रता अधिक होती है जिससे यहां सूक्ष्म जीवाणु की उत्पत्ति हेतु अनुकूल दशाएं होती हैं ये जीवाणु चित्रांकन को नष्ट करने में भी सक्षम होते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए देखें तो जीवाणु सफेद रंग के चित्रण को धीरे-धीरे काले रंग में परिवर्तित कर देते हैं। हालांकि खनिज रंगों से निर्मित चित्रांकन में बदलाव नहीं आता है लेकिन दूसरे शैलचित्रों में चित्रांकन के समय घोल या पेस्ट में प्रयोग किए वनस्पति तेल या जानवरों की चर्बी के तेल के कारण बदलाव आ सकता है क्योंकि समय के साथ सूक्ष्म जीव इनके लवणों का अवशोषण कर उसे कमजोर बना देते हैं। इसके अलावा चारकोल (कोयला) द्वारा निर्मित चित्र, शैलाश्रय की सतह पर बहुत अधिक समय तक नहीं टिक पाते हैं। ये ऑक्सीकरण प्रक्रिया द्वारा भी शैलाश्रय की सतह का शीघ्रता से क्षरण हो जाता है। लेकिन संबंधित चट्टान पर इसकी छाप अवश्य शेष रह जाती है।

इस प्रकार आदिकाल से ही मानव द्वारा व्यक्तिगत संवेगों एवं मनोभावों की कलात्मक प्रस्तुति की शुरुआत की जाती रही है। मानव द्वारा बनाये गये त्कालीन चित्रों में आकृति एवं भावानुकूल सतुंलन तथा विषय की गंभीरता उस युग का तद्भव चित्रण करती हुई संवेगों¹⁵ की चरम सीमा को स्पष्ट करती है।¹⁶ इसके जीवंत प्रमाण स्वरूप हमें उपरोक्त वर्णन के अनुसार उतर-पूर्वी राजस्थान में अनेक स्थानों पर पाषाणकालीन चित्रकला मिली है। इन शैलचित्रों की रुप्योजना में भाव, भय, आवेग, उन्माद, उल्लास, आदि का प्रभावपूर्ण अंकन देखने को मिलता है। इसके आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि मानव ने इन चित्रों के निर्माण की परंपरा को एक लम्बे कालक्रम के दौरान विकसित किया है।

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राजस्थान के अरबी-फारसी शिलालेख और सूफी सन्त (1200 ई. से 1600 ई. तक)

डॉ. शमा बानो*

राजस्थान भारत के दक्षिण-पश्चिम में स्थित वीर-योद्धाओं की कर्म भूमि रहा है और ऐतिहासिक तथा पुरातात्विक एवं पुरालेखीय सामग्री की उपलब्धता की दृष्टि से प्रारम्भ से ही इतिहासकारों, विद्वानों और लेखकों के लिए आकर्षण का केन्द्र रहा है। जिस कारण राजस्थान की भूमि से प्रागैतिहासिक एवं पुरैतिहासिक पुरावशेष पश्चिमी, दक्षिणी और पूर्वी क्षेत्रों में प्रचुर मात्रा में उपलब्ध होते हैं। जिससे यह निष्कर्ष सहज ही निकाला जा सकता है कि अतीव प्राचीनकाल में ही इस क्षेत्र में मानव जीवन पल्लवित हो गया था। इस सम्बन्ध में लूणी और बनास आदि नदियों की उपत्यकाओं में किये गये उत्खनन और स्थल सर्वेक्षण उल्लेखनीय है। राजस्थान के इतिहास में आधुनिक विद्वानों की रुचि इस प्रदेश की वीर-परम्परा जनित गाथाओं से प्रारम्भ हुई, जो पुरातात्विक अन्वेषणों के परिणाम स्वरूप प्राप्त सामग्री के कारण अनेकशः बढ़ी। भारत के इतिहास को जानने के स्रोतों को दो वर्गों में बांटा जा सकता है। प्रथम साहित्यिक स्रोत एवं द्वितीय पुरातात्विक व पुरालेखीय स्रोत।

पुरातात्विक स्रोतों एवं पुरालेखीय स्रोतों में अभिलेख, मृदाभाण्ड, मुद्राएं, स्मारक इत्यादि शामिल किये जाते हैं। पुरातात्विक स्रोत एवं पुरालेखीय स्रोत प्रायः साहित्यिक स्रोतों से अधिक प्रामाणिक स्वीकार किये जाते हैं, इसका कारण इसका अपरिवर्तनशील रहना है। यह अतीत के मानव के ऐसे हस्ताक्षर हैं जिनमें परिवर्तन नहीं किया जा सकता है। इन पुरातात्विक एवं पुरालेखीय स्रोतों में अभिलेखों का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है। किसी भी कठोर वस्तु पर खुदी हुई अथवा लिखी हुई लिखावट को सामान्य रूप से अभिलेख के नाम से जाना जाता है और इन अभिलेखों का अध्ययन करने वाले शास्त्र को पुरालेखाशास्त्र कहा जाता है। भारत में प्राचीन काल से ही प्रस्तर, शिला, धातु, लकड़ी व मिट्टी के स्तम्भ, फलक, पट्टिका, ईंट, सीप एवं हस्तदन्त इत्यादि को अभिलेख

उत्कीर्ण करने हेतु प्रयुक्त किया जाता था।¹ शिलालेख अभिलेखों के अन्तर्गत आते हैं। किसी शिला, चट्टान, गुफा अथवा दीवार, शिला मूर्ति अथवा स्तम्भ, गुम्बद, मीनार, मेहराब इत्यादि पर उत्कीर्ण लेख शिलालेख की श्रेणी में आते हैं।

भारत में शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण करवाने की परम्परा सिन्धु-सरस्वती सभ्यता से प्रारम्भ हुई मानी जाती है, परन्तु व्यवस्थित रूप से शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण करवाने का श्रेय मौर्य शासक अशोक को जाता है। उसके आदेश शिलालेखों और स्तम्भों की शक्ति में देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से प्राप्त हुए हैं। जो ब्राह्मी, खरोष्ठी, यूनानी एवं ऐरमइक आदि लिपियों में महत्वपूर्ण स्थानों, नगरों के निकट, प्रसिद्ध व्यापारिक और यात्रा मार्गों पर तथा धार्मिक स्थलों के आसपास उत्कीर्ण करवाए गए जिसको उत्कीर्ण करवाने का उद्देश्य अधिक से अधिक लोगों को इन आदेशों से परिचित करवाना था। प्रायः अधिक महत्वपूर्ण आदेश बड़ी-बड़ी शिलाओं पर अंकित किये गये हैं। स्तम्भ लेखों का निर्माण सम्भवतः किन्हीं महत्वपूर्ण घटनाओं की स्मृति में कराया गया हो।²

प्रारम्भ से ही शिलालेख की गणना इतिहास-लेखन के उपयोगी स्रोतों के रूप में की जाती रही है लेकिन वास्तव में इनका उपयोग इतिहास-लेखन में या तो हुआ ही नहीं या अगर हुआ भी है तो अत्यंत सीमित मात्रा में हुआ है। इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में इतिहासकार की अरुचि से अधिक इनकी उपलब्धता तथा उनकी लिपि एवं भाषा को समझने की कठिनाई रही है। हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थों एवं दस्तावेजों की तरह सामान्यतः ये व्यवस्थित अथवा अव्यवस्थित रूप से इतिहासकारों को उपलब्ध नहीं हो पाते इसलिए वे इसके लिए विशेष प्रयास नहीं करते। इसका कारण सम्भवतः स्रोत के रूप में उसका स्थान सबसे नीचे होना भी हो सकता है। इसके अतिरिक्त काफी लम्बे समय तक पुरातत्व का अंग बने रहने के कारण भी ये इतिहासकारों की प्राथमिक आवश्यकता के दायरे के भीतर प्रवेश नहीं कर पाए। इसी कारण ही इतिहासकार इनसे काफी परहेज करते रहे हैं।

18वीं-19वीं सदी में इतिहास-लेखन में अंग्रेजी अधिकारियों एवं इतिहासकारों की रुचि ने भारत में पुरातत्व को जन्म दिया। एशियाटिक सोसायटी ऑफ बंगाल की स्थापना इस दिशा में प्रथम सार्थक कदम था, जिसकी नींव 1784 ई. में विलियम जोन्स ने डाली थी। इस संस्था के शोध प्रयास संस्था द्वारा प्रकाशित हुई रिपोर्ट के रूप में हमारे सम्मुख आए। इनके माध्यम से शिलालेखों के विषय में व्यवस्थित रूप से जानकारी उपलब्ध होने लगी।

शिलालेखों के क्रमबद्ध अध्ययन का कार्य सन् 1837 में जेम्स प्रिन्सेप ने प्रारम्भ किया। इस कार्य को प्रगति 1861 ई. को मिली, जब ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वारा भारत में पुरातात्विक सर्वेक्षणकर्ता का पद सृजित किया गया। शिलालेखों के अध्ययन की दृष्टि से एलेक्जेंडर कनिंघम का काल (1871-85 ई.) जब वे भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण

* गेस्ट फेकल्टी, इतिहास विभाग, जय नारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

विभाग के महानिदेशक रहे महत्वपूर्ण रहा। उन्होंने अपने कार्यकाल के दौरान मौर्य शासक अशोक के शिलालेखों का संग्रह एवं सम्पादन का कार्य किया। इसी प्रकार फ्लीट ने वैज्ञानिक रूप से अभिलेखों एवं शिलालेखों का अध्ययन करते हुए गुप्त शासकों के शिलालेख एवं अभिलेखों को सम्पादित करने का महत्वपूर्ण कार्य किया। दक्षिण भारत के अभिलेखों को सम्पादित करने में ई. हुलज (1886-1903) का योगदान महत्वपूर्ण रहा। 1886 ई. में जब बर्गैस कनिंघम पुरातत्व विभाग में महानिदेशक बने तो उन्होंने एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका का प्रकाशन प्रारम्भ कर शिलालेखों के अध्ययन के इतिहास में एक ऐसा भागीरथ प्रयास किया, जो अभिलेख एवं शिलालेख के अध्ययन के इतिहास में सदैव स्मरणीय रहेगा। ऐसे भारतीय एवं यूरोपीय विद्वानों में जिन्होंने शिलालेखों को एकत्र कर सम्पादित एवं अनुवादित करने में अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है उनमें जी. व्यूहलर, ई. सेन्ट, एफ. कीलहर्न, ई. हुलज, एल. राइट, डब्ल्यू. इलियट, जे.एफ. फ्लीट, एल.डी. बोर्नेट, भगवानलाल इन्दजी, आर.एल. मिश्र, आर.जी. भण्डारकर, कविराज श्यामलदास, आर.डी. बनर्जी, पी.एन. भट्टाचार्य, डी.आर. भण्डारकर, एच.पी. शास्त्री, वी. विनायक, ए. कृष्णाशास्त्री, एन.जी. मजूमदार, एन.पी. चक्रवर्ती, पं. गौरीशंकर हीराचन्द ओझा, कर्नल जेम्स टॉड, एल.पी. टेस्सीटोरी, विश्वेश्वरनाथ रेड, रामकण आसोपा, डॉ. दशरथ शर्मा, डॉ. गोपीनाथ शर्मा इत्यादि का नाम शिलालेखों के संग्रह, सर्वेक्षण एवं सम्पादन में उल्लेखनीय रहा है।³

भारतीय पुरातत्व विभाग ने व्यवस्थित रूप से देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में फील्ड सर्वे का कार्य प्रारम्भ किया एवं पुरातत्व के महत्व की बहुमूल्य सामग्री की जानकारी का संकलन किया एवं अपने विभाग की सर्वे रिपोर्ट्स में इसे प्रकाशित करके पुरातत्वविदों एवं इतिहासकारों को उपलब्ध करवाया। इस प्रकार के प्रयास करने वाले विद्वानों में एलेक्जेंडर कनिंघम का नाम अग्रणी है जिन्होंने भारत के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की यात्राएं करके हर उस सामग्री को प्रकाशन में लाने का प्रयास किया जो पुरातत्व एवं इतिहास की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण थी। इसमें दुर्ग, भवनों, छतरियों, तालाबों, पुलों, बांधों, कुओं, धार्मिक स्थलों तथा यथा-मन्दिरों, मठों, मस्जिदों, दरगाहों, मजारों, मकबरों, खानगाहों, कब्रगाहों इत्यादि से प्राप्त पुरातत्व की महत्वपूर्ण सामग्री एवं शिलालेख आदि सम्मिलित हैं। इन रिपोर्ट्स के माध्यम से अर्द्धमागधी, प्राकृत, संस्कृत, अरबी, फारसी, उर्दू एवं अंग्रेजी भाषाओं के शिलालेख इतिहासकारों तक पहुंचे। इन सरकारी प्रयासों के अतिरिक्त व्यक्तिगत स्तर पर विद्वानों एवं इतिहास में रुचि रखने वाले इतिहास जिज्ञासुओं ने भी शिलालेखों एवं पुरातत्व महत्व की सामग्री को प्रकाश में लाने में महती भूमिका का निर्वाह किया। उनके द्वारा की गई ये खोजें अधिकांशतः पत्र-पत्रिकाओं एवं कभी-कभी पुस्तकों के रूप में इतिहास जगत के सम्मुख आईं।

राजस्थान प्रदेश शिलालेखों की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त समृद्ध है। यहां हजारों शिलालेख सम्पादित एवं लिप्यान्तरित होकर अब तक प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। अधिकांश शिलालेखों का मूल पाठ एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका, इण्डियन एन्टिक्वेरी बंगाल तथा बिहार की एशियाटिक सोसायटी की पत्रिकाओं, नागरी प्रचारिणी पत्रिका, बॉम्बे गजेटियर, अजमेर एवं जोधपुर स्थित राजकीय संग्रहालयों की रिपोर्ट, पुरातात्विक रिपोर्ट, मरुभारती, वरदा, विश्वम्भरा, शोध पत्रिका, प्रोसिडिंग्स ऑफ राजस्थान हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस इत्यादि में प्रकाशित हुआ है। राजस्थान में शिलालेखों की खोज का कार्य निःसंदेह व्यापक स्तर पर हुआ है। यहां के विद्वानों ने देवनागरी के शिलालेखों को प्रकाश में लाने का तो प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है लेकिन फारसी में शिलालेख दस्तावेजों की ओर इतिहासकारों एवं विद्वानों ने विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया है। जबकि मध्यकाल में फारसी भाषा का व्यापक प्रचलन रहा था। राजकीय स्तर के अतिरिक्त फारसी भाषा को माध्यम बनाकर व्यापक रूप से साहित्य सृजन भी हुआ। लेकिन इतिहास लेखन में फारसी शिलालेखों का प्रयोग न के बराबर ही हुआ है। राजस्थान के इतिहास लेखन में इनकी भूमिका को उचित स्थान अब तक नहीं मिल पाया है।

राजस्थान में फारसी भाषा के चलन का सिलसिला सम्भवतः 11वीं शताब्दी में या इससे पूर्व शुरू हुआ, जब फारसी भाषा बोलने वाले सूफी सन्तों एवं दरवेशों ने इस वीर भूमि को अपनी खानगाह (रहने का स्थान) बनाना प्रारम्भ किया। कालान्तर में राजपूताना क्षेत्र मुस्लिम सत्ता के अधीन हुआ और मुस्लिम शासकों, सैनिकों एवं अधिकारियों का यहां आने का सिलसिला प्रारम्भ हुआ तो यहां फारसी भाषा का प्रचलन तीव्र गति से बढ़ा। मुगल काल आते-आते फारसी भाषा राजकीय भाषा के साथ-साथ जन साधारण द्वारा बोली एवं लिखी जाने लगी। उस काल में राव मनोहर फारसी के प्रखर कवि थे। जिस कारण से उन्हें 'मिर्जा मनोहर' कह कर सम्बोधित किया जाता था। नागौर कस्बे में शेख मुबारक जैसे प्रसिद्ध फारसी कवि एवं विद्वान हुए। शेख मुबारक के दो पुत्रों फली एवं अबुल-फजल फारसी के प्रखर विद्वान एवं मुगल शासक अकबर के दरबार के प्रमुख कवियों एवं नौ रत्नों में शामिल थे, जिनकी रचनाएं आज भी मध्यकालीन इतिहास को जानने के महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक स्रोत हैं। इसी समय राजस्थान के टोडा भीम कस्बे में मुल्ला अब्दुल कादिर बदायूनी जैसे इतिहासकार ने जन्म लिया जिनकी फारसी रचनाएं ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से उपयोगी हैं। परगना सांभर के राजा लूणकरण के यहां मनोहर दास तोरनी जैसे फारसी कवि एवं विद्वान हुए। मुगल काल के फारसी कवि एवं विद्वान अब्दुल रहीम खां-ए-खाना का ननिहाल राजस्थान के अलवर जिले में ही था।⁴ इस प्रकार राजस्थान कई महान् फारसी कवियों, इतिहासकारों, विद्वानों की जन्म भूमि एवं कर्म भूमि रहा है। इसी आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि इस क्षेत्र में अन्य भाषाओं

की तरह निश्चित ही फारसी भाषा के काफी शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण होने चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त इस दिशा में जो भी प्रयास किए गए, उनके संकलन का प्रशंसनीय कार्य डॉ. जियाउद्दीन अहमद देसाई ने अपनी पुस्तक 'पब्लिशड मुस्लिम इन्स्क्रिप्शन ऑफ राजस्थान' में किया है। आर.सी. अग्रवाल द्वारा सम्पादित 'द रिसर्चर' के संस्करण X-XI (वर्ष 1970-71) में भी राजस्थान के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से प्राप्त अरबी एवं फारसी भाषा के शिलालेखों के विषय में उपयोगी जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका अरेबिक और पर्शियन सप्लीमेंट, एपिग्राफिया इण्डो मोस्लेमिका, एन्युवल रिपोर्ट ऑफ दी आर्क्योलोजिकल सर्वे आफ इण्डिया आदि की भूमिका भी महत्वपूर्ण रही है।

स्वरूप की दृष्टि से शिलालेख प्रशस्ति, सुरहलेख, स्मृतिलेख, पुण्यार्थ लेख, संघ यात्रा लेख, मूर्तिलेख, गोवर्धन लेख इत्यादि के रूप में प्राप्त हुए हैं। शिलालेखों को उनके प्राप्ति स्थल के आधार दो भागों में विभाजित किया जाता है। प्रथम- स्तम्भ लेख (पिलर-एडिक्टस्), जो पत्थर की शिला यथा मीनार, मेहराब, स्तम्भ इत्यादि पर उत्कीर्ण होते हैं। द्वितीय- गुहालेख (रॉक-एडिक्टस्) जो गुफाओं की पथरीली दीवारों पर खुदे होते हैं। मौर्य शासक अशोक के कई लेख गुफाओं की पथरीली दीवारों पर उत्कीर्ण मिले हैं। शिलालेखों को अध्ययन की दृष्टि से दो वर्गों में बांटा जा सकता है। प्रथम- सम्प्रभु द्वारा अथवा उनके लिए उत्कीर्ण शिलालेख तथा द्वितीय निजी व्यक्ति अथवा किसी संगठन द्वारा उत्कीर्ण शिलालेख। गुरु वशिष्ठ की स्मृति ग्रन्थ चन्द्रिका में शिलालेखों को लौकिक एवं राजकीय दो वर्गों में विभाजित किया गया है। इसी प्रकार ऋषि याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति ग्रन्थ में शिलालेखों का विभाजन-शासनम् (शासकों के आदेश), जयपत्रम् (विधिक निर्णय), आज्ञापत्रम् (आदेश) एवं प्रज्ञापत्रम् (घोषणा) में किया है। इसके अलावा शिलालेखों को विषय-वस्तु के आधार पर वाणिज्यिक, तांत्रिक, धार्मिक, प्रशासनिक, प्रशंसात्मक, समर्पणात्मक, दातव्य, स्मरणात्मक एवं साहित्य शिलालेख इत्यादि में विभाजित किया जाता है।⁵

विचाराधीन काल तक भारत में तुर्की सत्ता की स्थापना हो चुकी थी तथा हमारे अध्ययन काल में भारत में सल्तनत काल के दौरान क्रमशः मामलुक वंश, खल्जी वंश, तुगलक वंश, सैय्यद वंश एवं लोदी वंश का शासन रहा जिसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव भारत की सामाजिक, राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक व्यवस्थाओं पर पड़ा।⁶ जिसकी जानकारी इस काल के फारसी शिलालेखों से प्राप्त होती है।

राजस्थान के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों यथा- अजमेर जिले के अजमेर शहर, पुष्कर, नागौर जिले के नागौर शहर, बड़ी खाटू, डीडवाना, लाडनू, मेड़ता, मकराना, जयपुर के आमेर, नारायणा, सांभर, चाकसू, भाऊपुरा, टोडी, अलवर के नौगांवां, तिजारा एवं बहरोर कस्बे, भरतपुर जिले के बयाना, एटमदा, कोटी खास, कामा एवं डीग, करौली, चित्तौड़, जैसलमेर,

जालोर जिले के जालोर, सांचौर, जोधपुर जिले के जोधपुर शहर, मण्डोर इत्यादि से विचाराधीन काल एवं इसके बाद के अनेकालेक फारसी शिलालेख प्राप्त हुए हैं जिनका उल्लेख डॉ. गोपीनाथ शर्मा, डॉ. दशरथ शर्मा, डॉ. मोहम्मद हलीम सिद्दीकी, डॉ. डी.बी. क्षीरसागर एवं डॉ. नवल कृष्ण, डॉ. जियाउद्दीन अहमद देसाई, डॉ. आर.सी. अग्रवाल ने अपनी-अपनी पुस्तकों में किया है। वहीं इन फारसी शिलालेखों के विषय में विस्तृत जानकारी एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका अरेबिक एण्ड पर्शियन सप्लीमेंट, एपिग्राफिया इण्डो मोस्लेमिका, एन्युल रिपोर्ट ऑफ इण्डियन, एपिग्राफी, जनरल ऑफ द एशियाटिक सोसाइटी ऑफ बंगाल, आर्क्योलोजिकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया की रिपोर्ट इत्यादि से प्राप्त होती है। उदयपुर, अलवर, अजमेर एवं जोधपुर स्थित राजकीय संग्रहालयों की रिपोर्टें तथा पुरातात्विक रिपोर्टें, मरुभारती, वरदा, विश्वम्भरा, शोध-पत्रिका, प्रोसिडिंग्स आफ राजस्थान हिस्ट्री कांग्रेस इत्यादि में भी विचाराधीन काल के राजस्थान के ऐतिहासिक एवं सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण फारसी शिलालेख प्रकाशित हुए हैं। राजस्थान के विभिन्न जिलों से विचाराधीन काल एवं उसके बाद के अनेकानेक फारसी शिलालेख प्राप्त हुए हैं।

फारसी शिलालेखों में सूफी-सन्त

मुसलमान समुदाय में विशिष्टाधिकार वर्ग में उल्माओं के अलावा सूफी सन्त, दरवेश, धार्मिक एवं पवित्र व्यक्ति भी शामिल थे। वे सल्तनत में जगह-जगह फले हुए थे। सर्वसाधारण से जुड़े होने के कारण उनका समाज में अत्यधिक प्रभाव था। जन-साधारण की सूफी सन्तों के प्रति निष्ठा थी। गरीब, अमीर, बड़े-छोटे, स्त्री-पुरुष तथा सभी समुदाय एवं धर्म के लोग उनके पास ज्ञान प्राप्त के लिए आया करते थे और उनका आशीर्वाद प्राप्त कर अपने जीवन को सफल बनाने का प्रयास करते थे।

विचाराधीन काल के राजस्थान से प्राप्त फारसी शिलालेखों से सूफीवाद एवं सूफी सन्तों के विषय में महत्वपूर्ण सूचनाएँ प्राप्त होती हैं। तत्कालीन समय में सूफी एक ऐसा समूह था जिन्होंने अल्लाह के बन्दों की निःस्वार्थ भावना से सेवा का अपना परम लक्ष्य बनाया तथा समस्त मानव जाति को बिना किसी भेद-भाव के एक सूत्र में बांधने का प्रयास किया। जिसकी प्रार्थना ईश्वर को स्वीकार है जिनसे असंख्यक व्यक्तियों ने स्वास्थ्य लाभ प्राप्त किया, बेसहारों के सहारे बने। सूफी सन्तों के खानगाहों के द्वार सभी धर्मों के व्यक्तियों के लिए सदैव खुले थे, उसके आशीर्वाद से लोगों की मनोकामनाएँ पूर्ण होती थी। उनके फकीरी जीवन में भी आश्चर्य जनक रूप से अल्लाह (ईश्वर) की शान झलकती थी। सूफी-सन्तों ने सदैव शान्ति, एकता, सुलह एवं भाईचारे का उपदेश दिया।⁷

सूफी मत इस्लाम-धर्म का रहस्यवादी रूप है। सूफी सन्त इस्लाम-धर्म के

अनुयायी थे लेकिन उन्होंने आवश्यकता अनुसार इस्लाम-धर्म के रूढ़िवादी नियमों में परिवर्तन किये तथा इस्लाम-धर्म के पवित्र ग्रन्थ कुरान के आधार पर अपने आचरण के औचित्य को सिद्ध किया।⁸ सूफीवाद का आरम्भ ईराक से माना जाता है किन्तु मंगोलों के आक्रमण के कारण ईराक में अव्यवस्था के चलते वहाँ के विद्वान, लेखक, अमीर, सूफी-सन्त शान्ति व सुरक्षा की खोज में भारत आए तथा यहीं अपना निवास स्थान स्थायी रूप से बसा लिया। समकालीन इतिहासकारों के अनुसार 13वीं शताब्दी में दिल्ली एवं उसके आस-पास बड़ी संख्या में सूफी सन्तों के आश्रय-स्थल एवं खानगाहें थीं, परन्तु भारत में तुर्की सत्ता की स्थापना के पश्चात् सूफी सन्तों के भारत में आगमन का सिलसिला ओर तीव्र हुआ और उत्तर-भारत में लाहौर, मुल्तान, हाँसी, दिल्ली, पानीपत, अजोधन, सरहिद, उच्छ, अजमेर, नागौर इत्यादि क्षेत्रों में सूफी मत प्रचारित हुआ। सूफी मत के प्रचार-प्रसार हेतु राजस्थान सबसे अनुकूल स्थान बना, यहाँ तुर्की सत्ता की स्थापना से पूर्व ही सूफी सन्तों के आगमन की प्रक्रिया आरम्भ हो चुकी थी।⁹

विचाराधीन काल के प्रारम्भ से ही भारत में विभिन्न सूफी सम्प्रदायों की स्थापना का दौर शुरू हो गया। यहाँ चश्ती सम्प्रदाय की स्थापना शेख मोइनुद्दीन (चश्ती) ने की थी। उनका आध्यत्मिक शक्ति से अनेक लोग इतने प्रभावित हुए की लोग उनके शिष्य बन गए। मुस्लिम देशों में भ्रमण करने के बाद उन्होंने भारत की ओर प्रस्थान किया। कुछ समय लाहौर ठहरकर बाद में वे अजमेर पहुँचे और उन्होंने अजमेर को ही अपनी कर्म-स्थली बनाया। अजमेर इस समय चौहानों की राजधानी व पवित्र धार्मिक स्थल था। अतः यहाँ दूर-दूर से लोग आया करते थे।¹⁰ सूफी सन्त मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती ने अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन अजमेर में ही व्यतीत किया एवं 1236 ई. में इनका स्वर्गवास हो गया। उसकी आस्था एवं जन-साधारण में उनकी लोक प्रियता के कारण तुर्क आक्रमणकारी मुहम्मद गौरी ने उन्हें 'सुल्तान-उल-हिन्द' की उपाधि प्रदान की थी।¹¹ अजमेर शहर स्थित ख्वाजा मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती की दरगाह परिसर से प्राप्त हि.सं. 939 (1532-33 ई.) के फारसी शिलालेख¹² एवं इसी दरगाह परिसर से प्राप्त हि.सं. 987 (1579 ई.) का फारसी शिलालेख¹³ सूफी सन्त ख्वाजा मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती के विषय में जानकारी प्रदान करता है। सूफी मत के सिलसिले चश्ती सम्प्रदाय के राजस्थान में प्रचार-प्रसार में सूफी सन्त शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी का नाम भी विख्यात है। वे ख्वाजा मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती के प्रमुख शिष्यों में से एक थे। सूफी मत के प्रति उनकी आस्था को देखकर शेख मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती ने उन्हें 'सुल्तान-ए-तारिकी (दरवेशों का सुल्तान) की उपाधि प्रदान की थी। शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी ने नागौर के सुवाल गाँव को अपनी कर्म-स्थली बनाया।¹⁴ नागौर शहर स्थित शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी की दरगाह के बुलन्द दरवाजे से प्राप्त मोहम्मद-बिन-तुगलक के शासन काल के हि.सं. 733 (1333 ई.) के फारसी शिलालेख¹⁵ से ज्ञात होता है कि इस

दरवाजे का निर्माण सूफी सन्त शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी के प्रति जन साधारण एवं शासन वर्ग की आस्था को व्यक्त करने हेतु करवाया गया था इस लेख से निर्माण कार्य के विषय में अन्य जानकारी भी प्राप्त होती है। इस लेख में वर्णित है कि मोहम्मद-बिन-तुगलक के शासन काल में शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी के मकबरे का निर्माण करवाया गया था। नागौर क्षेत्र में इनके अलावा हमीदुद्दीन रेहानी, काजी हमीदुद्दीन शेख खालिद, शेख कादिर, शेख अहमद मजद शैबानी, शेख-खिज़्र, ख्वाजा जिया नक्शबी इत्यादि सूफी सन्तों ने अपने मतों का प्रचार-प्रसार किया।¹⁶ राजस्थान में मुख्य रूप से चश्ती एवं सोहरावर्दी सूफी सिलसिलों का विकास अधिक हुआ।

विचाराधीन काल में चश्ती सम्प्रदाय के सभी सन्तों का जीवन बहुत ही साधारण था। वे मानववाद, भ्रातृत्व, प्रेम, हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता, समन्वयवाद, सहिष्णुता, उदारता तथा नम्रता में विश्वास रखते थे। वे जाति-पाति, छुआ-छूत, भेद-भाव, बाह्य आडम्बर के सर्वथा विरोधी थे। उन्होंने सदैव शासकों, सम्पत्ति, धन, लोभ, मोह-माया से दूर रहकर बड़ी सादगी से अपना जीवन व्यतीत किया। वैष्णव सन्तों के भाँति सूफी सन्त भी अपने को शुद्ध करके अपनी आत्मा को शुद्ध बनाने में विश्वास करते थे। वे अपनी इच्छाओं को कम करने व अपनी इन्द्रियों को नियंत्रित करने हेतु उपवास एवं व्रत का सहारा लेते थे। शेख फरीदुद्दीन गज-ए-शंकर एक गिलास शर्बत, कुछ मुनक्के, ज्वार की रोटी का एक टुकड़ा 24 घण्टे में एक बार खाया करते थे। सर्दी के तीन महीनों में वे अपने पेट में घुटनो को दबाकर कम्बल को ओढ़कर आग के किनोर सोया करते थे। केवल शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया को छोड़कर चश्ती सम्प्रदाय के लगभग सभी सूफी सन्तों ने वैष्णव सन्तों की भाँति वैवाहिक जीवन व्यतीत किया शेख मोइनुद्दीन चश्ती ने वृद्धावस्था में विवाह किया। चश्ती सम्प्रदाय के सूफी सन्तों के जीवन के विपरीत जीवन सोहरावर्दी सम्प्रदाय के सन्तों का था। वे राज्य से आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त कर खुशहाल जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। तुर्कों एवं मंगोलों के आक्रमणों के कारण अनेक सोहरावर्दी सूफी सन्तों ने भारत में शरण ली। जिनमें शेख शिहाबुद्दीन सोहरावर्दी के अनेक शिष्य यथा-काजी हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी, सैयदनुरूद्दीन मुबारक गजनवी, शेख बहाउद्दीन जकारिया इत्यादि प्रमुख थे।¹⁷

आलोच्यकाल से प्राप्त फारसी शिलालेखों से सूफी सन्तों, महात्माओं, दरवेशों इत्यादि के प्रति आमजन तथा शासन वर्ग की आस्था की पुष्टि होती है क्योंकि इन फारसी शिलालेखों से प्राप्त जानकारी के आधार पर यह ज्ञात होता है कि समय-समय पर सूफी सन्तों की मजारों, दरगाहों एवं खानकाहों जैसे आस्था के केन्द्रों की आमजन तथा शानक-वर्ग के लोगों द्वारा यात्राएँ की गई तथा यहाँ श्रद्धालुओं की सुविधा हेतु जलाशय, बरामदों, मीनारों, गुम्बदों, दुकानों, मस्जिदों इत्यादि का निर्माण करवाया गया। चित्तौड़

की धाईबीपीर की दरगाह के अलाउद्दीन खल्जी के शासन काल के हि.सं. 709 (1310 ई.) के फारसी भाषा व नस्ख शैली में उत्कीर्ण फारसी शिलालेख¹⁸ से ज्ञात होता है कि वहाँ के तत्कालीन गवर्नर मलिक आसुद्दीन द्वारा यात्रियों की सुविधा हेतु एक सराय का निर्माण चित्तौड़ में करवाया गया था। शिलालेख में चित्तौड़ का नाम खिज्रबाद अंकित है। यह फारसी शिलालेख अलाउद्दीन खल्जी के शासन काल का है। गागरौन (जिला झालावाड़ा) हजरत मिट्टेशाह की दरगाह से प्राप्त हि.सं. 987 (1580 ई.) तथा हि.सं. 991 (1583 ई.) के द्विभाषी (फारसी एवं स्थानीय भाषा) शिलालेख¹⁹ में अंकित है कि बीकानेर के कल्याणमल के पुत्र एवं वहाँ के गवर्नर सुल्तान राठौड़ के कार्यकाल में मिया ईश पुत्र अलावत खाँ ने यहाँ दरवाजे का निर्माण करवाया। अलावत खाँ थानेश्वर का निवासी था। उक्त फारसी शिलालेख स्थानीय शासकों द्वारा सूफी सन्तों के प्रति श्रद्धा को दर्शाता है। सम्भवतः यही कारण है कि राजस्थान सूफी सन्तों की पहली पसन्द रहा तथा बहुत से सूफी सन्तों ने इस क्षेत्र को अपनी कर्म-स्थली बनाया।

लाडनूँ कस्बे (जिला-नागौर) के उमराव शाह घासी की दरगाह से प्राप्त फिरोजशाह तुगलक के शासन काल के हि.सं. 772 (1371 ई.) के शिलालेख²⁰ से ज्ञात होता है कि नष्ट प्रायः जामा मस्जिद का पुनः निर्माण मलिक-ए-मुलुकी की गवर्नरशिप, मलिकू शाह की नायब हाकमी तथा मुहम्मद की सिपहसालारी में करवाया गया। नागौर शहर स्थित बड़े पीर साहब की दरगाह के काला गुम्बद के खानजादा फिरोज खाँ के शासनकाल के हि.सं. 885 (1480-81 ई.) के शिलालेख²¹ में उल्लेख है कि सलह खाँ के पुत्र खान-ए-आजम मजलिस-ए अली फिरोज खाँ के समय बड़े पीर साहब की खानगाह का निर्माण हुआ था। नागौर के कुम्हारी गाँव में स्थित बाबा पीर की दरगाह के समीप स्थित मस्जिद के केन्द्रीय मेहराब से प्राप्त हि.सं. 902 (1496-97 ई.) के फारसी शिलालेख²² में उल्लेखित है कि खानजादा नागौर फिरोज खाँ के द्वारा दरगाह के समीप श्रद्धालुओं के सुविधा को ध्यान में रखते हुए, मस्जिद एवं उद्यान को बनवाया गया। साथ ही साथ यहाँ मकबरों का भी निर्माण करवाया गया। बहरोर (जिला-अलवर) के कादीर शाह की दरगाह परिसर से प्राप्त मुहम्मद शाह के शासन काल के हि.सं. 842 (1439) एवं हि.सं. 846 (1442 ई.) के फारसी शिलालेख²³ द्वारा यह ज्ञात होता है कि अबुल लेथस ने यहाँ एक बावड़ी का निर्माण करवाया ताकि यहाँ आने वाले यात्रियों को जल उपलब्ध हो सके। इस शिलालेख के अनुसार अबुल लेथनस मुगिथ-अल-लाहोरी का पुत्र था और मुगिथ-अल-लाहोरी हजरत मखदूम शेख फदुल्लखाँ बुखारी का सेवक था। यह फारसी शिलालेख सूफी सन्तों की तत्कालीन सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक क्षेत्र में विशिष्ट स्थित के विषय में तथ्यात्मक जानकारी प्रदान करता है। तथा शासन-वर्ग द्वारा समय-समय सूफी सन्तों की दरगाहों खानगाहों एवं मकबरों आदि का निर्माण करवा उन्हें

आर्थिक सहायता दिये जाने की पुष्टि करते हैं।

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महाराणा प्रताप के जीवन मूल्य तथा उनकी प्रासंगिकता

डॉ. जे.के. ओझा

शाश्वत आदर्शों के लिए सर्वस्व त्याग कर अपने जीवन का बलिदान करने वाले अमर हो जाते हैं, उनमें प्रातः स्मरणीय महाराणा प्रताप का नाम विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। 1568 ई. में चित्तौड़ में अकबर द्वारा किये गये नृशंस हत्याकाण्ड से उसके मन में मुगलों के प्रति प्रतिरोध की भावना स्पष्ट रूप ले चुकी थी। यों भी अपने पिता उदयसिंह द्वारा उपेक्षित किन्तु जनमानस द्वारा समर्थित प्रताप जब मेवाड़ की गद्दी पर बैठा तब तक अपने राज्य की स्वतंत्रता व संस्कृति को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखने का दृढ़ निश्चय कर लिया था। जनता की प्रगाढ़ आस्था भी उसको प्राप्त हो गई थी। यह एक योगायोग ही था कि प्रताप ने विरासत में मिली विषम परिस्थितियों से युक्त मेवाड़ की बागडोर गोगुन्दा में साधारण स्थिति में संभाली और राज्याभिषेक उत्सव कुंभलमेर में मनाया गया। वास्तव में प्रताप के भाग्य की भी विचित्र विडम्बना थी या उसके कठोर भाग्य की परीक्षा कि विपत्तियां पहाड़ बन कर आईं। राजस्थान के अधिकांश राज्यों ने मुगल आधीनता स्वीकार करने में गौरव समझा। मुगल बादशाह अकबर संपूर्ण भारत पर छा जाना चाह रहा था। अतः उसने इस छोटे से अरावली पर्वत श्रेणियों से युक्त मेवाड़ राज्य की ओर पुनः चुनौती के साथ ध्यान आकर्षित किया किन्तु प्रताप ने किसी भी अवस्था में न झुकने का सुदृढ़ संकल्प कर लिया था। अपने इस प्रण को निबाहने के लिए वह जीवन पर्यन्त आदर्श सिद्धान्तों पर अड़ा रहा। कई इतिहासकारों ने इसे प्रताप की हठधर्मिता भी माना है। प्रताप द्वारा अकबर से समझौता न करने को भूल भी कहा है। कई तरह से अपने विचारों के अनुरूप तथ्यों को तोड़ मरोड़ कर इतिहास की व्याख्या करते हुए प्रताप को यह-वह करना चाहिये था, आदि राय प्रकट की है किन्तु हम तत्कालीन परिस्थितियों एवं परिवेश में विचरण करते हुए निष्पक्ष रूप से यह देखें कि प्रताप ने अपने देश, राज्य की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षार्थ सर्वस्व न्योछावर कर दिया था। यदि उसके क्रिया-कलापों एवं भावनाओं में कहीं पर भी नीतिगत दोष होता तो प्रताप समय के साथ भुला दिया जाता किन्तु तब भी उतना ही अधिक राष्ट्रनायक, चरित्रनायक के रूप में उभरा जितना आज। वास्तव में युग पुरुष वही

होता है जिसके जीवन मूल्यों की प्रासंगिकता हर युग महसूस करता है। प्रताप ऐसा ही नायक था जिसकी प्रासंगिकता निरंतर बनी ही रही। व्यक्ति का व्यक्तित्व और चरित्र तो तब उभरता है जब अपने पक्षधर के अतिरिक्त विपक्ष उसके कृत्यों से प्रभावित होकर अनायास उसका गुणगान करें।¹ प्रताप के समकालीन तथा अकबरी दरबार के आश्रित कवियों ने भी प्रताप का यशोगान किया जिनमें पृथ्वीराज राठौड़, दुरसाआढ़ा आदि विशेष उल्लेखनीय हैं।

पृथ्वीराज राठौड़ कृत पद्य²-

घर बांकी दिन पाधरा, मरद न मूकै माण।

घणां नरिदां घेरियो, रहै गिरदां राण।।।।।

भावार्थ - जिसकी भूमि अत्यन्त विकट है और दिन अनुकूल हैं, जो वीर अभिमान को नहीं छोड़ता है, वह राणा (प्रताप) बहुत से राजाओं से घिरा हुआ पहाड़ों में निवास करता है।

माई एहा पूत जण, जेहा राण प्रताप।

अकबर सूतो ओधकै, जाण सिराणै सांप।।।।।

भावार्थ - हे माता! ऐसे सुपुत्रों को जन्म दे, जैसा कि राणा प्रताप है, जिसकी याद आने से ही सोता हुआ अकबर इस प्रकार चौंक उठता है मानो उसके सिरहाने सांप बैठा हुआ हो।

पातल पाघ प्रमाण, सांची सांगाहर तणी।

रही सदा लग राण, अकबर सूं ऊभी अणी।।।।।

भावार्थ - राणा सांगा के पोते प्रताप की पगड़ी ही वस्तुतः सच्ची है, जो अकबर के सामने सदैव सीधी ही (बिना झुके) खड़ी रही।

दुरसा आढ़ा रचित पद्य³ -

अकबर गरब न आण, हींदू सह चाकर हुवा।

दीठो कोई दीवाण, करतो लटका कटहड़ै।।।।।

भावार्थ - हे अकबर! सब हिन्दुओं के (तुम्हारे) सेवक हो जाने से तू (मन में) गर्व न कर, क्योंकि क्या किसी ने दीवाण (राणा प्रताप) को (आपके सिंहासन के) कटहरे के सामने लटका (हाव-भाव) करते देखा था।

अकबर पथर अनेक, के भूपत भेला किया।

हाथ न लागो हेक, पारस राणा प्रतापसी।।।।।

भावार्थ - अकबर ने राजा रूपी अनेक पत्थर एकत्र कर लिए (परंतु) पारस रूपी एक राणा प्रतापसिंह (उसके) हाथ नहीं लगा।

बड़ी बिपत सह बीर, बड़ी ऋत खाली बसू।

धरम धुरंधर धीर, पोरस घिनो प्रतापसी।।3।।

भावार्थ – हे वीर! बहुत विपत्तियां सहकर तुमने पृथ्वी पर बड़ी कीर्ति प्राप्त की है। धर्म की धुर को धारण करने वाले धीर प्रतापसिंह तुम्हारा पुरुषार्थ धन्य है।

इतना ही नहीं प्रताप के देहान्त के उपरान्त भी जो साहित्य सृजन हो रहा था न केवल मेवाड़ अपितु बाह्य राज्यों में भी प्रताप का जिक्र किसी न किसी रूप में किये बिना कवि, नाटककार, कहानीकार आदि की लेखनी आगे नहीं बढ़ रही थी। निःसंदेह प्रताप पर भारतीय साहित्य में विपुल साहित्य लिखा गया है, जिसमें प्रबन्ध काव्य, स्फुट काव्य, श्लोक-काव्य, नाटक, उपन्यास, कहानी, जीवनी आदि आते हैं। भारत में अनेक प्रादेशिक भाषाओं में उन पर साहित्य-सृजन किया गया। संस्कृत, राजस्थानी, हिन्दी, मराठी, गुजराती, पंजाबी, बंगला, उड़िया-साहित्य के अलावा दक्षिण की भाषाओं के साहित्य (कर्नाटक अथवा कन्नड़) में तो प्रताप जन-देवता हैं।⁴

यों प्रताप के आदर्शों से युक्त साहित्य भावी पीढ़ी के लिए प्रेरणा स्रोत बना। सुदूर महाराष्ट्र के छत्रपति शिवाजी ने भी अपनी वंश परम्परा प्रताप के सिसोदिया वंश से जोड़ने में गौरव समझा। प्रताप के आदर्शों से प्रेरित शिवाजी स्वयं आदर्श बन गया।

प्रताप के स्वातंत्र्य प्रेम व राष्ट्रीय भावना ने बाद के शासकों को भी मुगलों से लोहा लेने के लिये प्रेरित किया था। अंग्रेजों के काल में भी पराधीनता की बेड़ियां काटने के प्रयास यत्र-तत्र किये जा रहे थे। तब प्रताप के नाम की दुहाई देकर अंग्रेजी-सरकार एवं अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध जनमानस तैयार किया जा रहा था। अंग्रेजों के शोषणपूर्ण स्थायी एकाधिपत्य से पराधीन भारत के प्रमुख उग्रवादी (गरम दल के) राष्ट्रीय नेता भी तिल-मिला उठे थे। स्वाधीनता प्राप्ति के लिए किये जा रहे सतत् प्रयत्नों में अत्यधिक विफलताओं तथा निरंतर निराशाओं का सदैव सामना करते-करते उनमें गहरी विवशता भर गयी थी और सारा दृष्टिकोण सर्वव्यापी विद्रोह की नकारात्मक भावना से ही पूर्णतया रंग गया था। तब राणा प्रताप के आजीवन अनवरत विरोध तथा उसकी अडिगता को ही उन्होंने अपना महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रमुख आदर्श बनाया तथा प्रताप का वह संघर्षमयी इतिहास शक्तियों बाद भी सफलता का आधार बन गया। ईसा की 19वीं सदी के अंतिम दशक में जब महाराष्ट्र में 'गणेशोत्सव' विशद आयोजन के रूप में मनाया जाने लगा तब वहां के आराध्य छत्रपति शिवाजी के साथ ही महाराणा प्रताप का भी वृहद् चित्र प्रदर्शित किया जाने लगा।⁵

महाराणा फतहसिंह (1903 ई.) दिल्ली पहुंचकर भी दिल्ली-दरबार में उपस्थित नहीं हुआ था क्योंकि कवि केसरीसिंह बारहठ ने 'चेतनावनी का चुंगट्या' में प्रताप का स्मरण कराते हुये निम्नांकित पंक्तियां लिखी-

पग-पग भम्या पहाड़, धरा छोड़ राख्यो धरम।

इन्सू महाराणा र मेवाड़, हिरदे बसिया हिन्द रे।।

घण घालिया घमसाँणा, (तोई) राण सदा रहिया निडर।

(अब) पेखतौं फुरमाँण, हलचल किम फतमल हुवै।।

भावार्थ – (प्रताप) पांव पैदल पहाड़ों में विचरते रहे। धरती को गंवाकर भी (उन्होंने) अपना धरम रखा। (इसी कारण) महाराणा और मेवाड़ हिन्द (भारत) के हृदय में बस गए। अत्यधिक घमासान युद्ध के समय भी राणा सदैव निडर रहे। अब (अंग्रेजों का) फरमान देखते ही (महाराणा) फतहसिंह यह हलचल क्यों मच गई है?⁶ निःसंदेह ये पंक्तियां महाराणा के लिए चेतनावनी और चुंगट्या दोनों ही हो गई थी। महाराणा दिल्ली जाकर भी दरबार में उपस्थित नहीं हुआ। गणेशशंकर विद्यार्थी ने अपने अखबार का नाम ही 'प्रताप' रखा जो 9 नम्बर 1913 को कानपुर से साप्ताहिक निकलता था और बाद में 1920 ई. से यह समाचार पत्र दैनिक भी हो गया। 1915 ई. से उदयपुर में प्रताप जयन्ती मनानी शुरू हुई। युवा वर्ग ने 'प्रताप सभा' की स्थापना कर स्वतंत्रता, स्वाभिमान एवं स्वदेशी की अलख जगानी प्रारंभ की।⁷

द्वितीय गोलमेज सम्मेलन (1931 ई.) के समय अंग्रेजों ने महात्मा गाँधी से आजादी दे देने की बात कहते हुए कहा कि भारतवासी इसे सुरक्षित कैसे रख सकेंगे? तब गाँधीजी ने प्रत्युत्तर में कहा कि यूरोप में सिर्फ एक थर्मोपॉली है जिस पर अंग्रेजों को गर्व है किन्तु भारत में ऐसे स्थान चप्पे-चप्पे में हैं। साथ ही उस समय महाराणा प्रताप की स्वातंत्र्य प्रियता एवं निर्भीक साहसिकता एवं वीरता को भी याद किया गया था, जिस पर अंग्रेज निःशब्द हो गये। इंग्लैंड में अपने अध्ययन को आगे जारी रखने वाले तथा भारत के राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन के प्रति सहानुभूति रखने वाले विद्यार्थियों को क्रांतिकारी श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा ने तीन छात्रवृत्तियां (हरबर्ट स्पेन्सर, स्वामी दयानंद, प्रताप) देना प्रारम्भ किया। जिसमें 'प्रताप' के नाम से भी दी जाती थी।⁸

स्वाधीनता-प्राप्ति के पश्चात् भी प्रताप का महत्त्व और उसके नाम का प्रभाव यथावत रहा। भारतीय राज्यों के विलय के समय और स्वतंत्र भारत के अंतर्गत उसी के एक अविभाज्य विभाग के रूप में राजस्थान प्रदेश को एक सुसंगठित प्रान्त बना देने वाले प्रमुख भारतीय जननायक सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल ने भी महाराणा प्रताप की दुहाई देकर अपने इस आयोजन को चिरवांछित अपूर्ण आदर्शों को पूरा करने की ही एक सफल व्यवस्था घोषित किया था। राजस्थान की राजनैतिक विचारधारा के साथ महाराणा प्रताप की उस उच्च परम्परा का यों जो अमेद्य संबंध स्थापित हो गया है, उसका भविष्य में भी वहां के इतिहास पर विशेष प्रभाव पड़ता रहेगा। यह बात सुस्पष्ट रूपेण दीख ही नहीं पड़ रही है परन्तु प्रमाणित भी होती जा रही है।⁹

“स्वाधीनता-प्राप्ति बाद के विभिन्न संदर्भों में महाराणा प्रताप की गाथा तथा उसमें प्रस्तुत उन अनुकरणीय आदर्शों का महत्त्व आज तो अत्यधिक बढ़ गया है। अनेकों कठिनाइयों, घोर विपत्तियों, उत्कट विरोधों का धैर्य तथा दृढ़ता के साथ सतत् सोत्साह सामना करते हुए जिस प्रकार महाराणा प्रताप ने आजीवन एकनिष्ठ अडिग स्वातंत्र्य साधना की। उसे जनसाधारण तक को अनिवार्य रूपेण पूर्णतया राष्ट्रीय जीवन में अपनाया होगा। तब ही भारतीय राष्ट्र को सर्वतोमुखी समुन्नत, सर्वथा सुसंगठित, यथेष्ट शक्तिशाली और वस्तुतः स्वाधीन बनाया जा सकेगा।”¹⁰

किसी भी देश का विकास योग्य नेतृत्व पर ही निर्भर करता है। इसके अभाव में देश के विखंडित होने की संभावना बढ़ जाती है। आदर्श नेतृत्व के अभाव में आज हमारा देश जाति, धर्म, भाषा, क्षेत्र व चारीत्रिक पतन आदि समस्याओं के शिकंजे से ग्रसित है। स्वार्थी तत्त्व विदेशी साम्राज्यवादी शक्तियों से मिलकर अपने ही देश की स्वतंत्रता एवं संस्कृति के साथ खिलवाड़ करने में तनिक भी हिचकिचाहट महसूस नहीं कर रहे हैं। चंद चाँदी के टुकड़ों के लिये ही सही, मानव मूल्यों में तीव्रता से ह्रास हो रहा है। भारतीय संस्कृति की अस्मिता एवं आदर्श पर जंग लगाने की पुरजोर कोशिशें हो रही हैं। किसी भी देश की धरोहर उस देश की संस्कृति होती है, जब वही धूमिल होती हुई दिखाई दे तो उस देश का भविष्य क्या होगा? विघटनकारी शक्तियाँ अपने पूर्ण यौवन पर हैं। सीमा पार के देश भारत विरोधी षडयंत्रों के अड्डे बने हुए हैं। सर्वत्र असंतोष, अशांति, आतंक और अलगाव जैसी विकराल समस्याएँ मुँह फाड़े हमारे सामने खड़ी हैं, तब प्रताप जैसा चरित्र नायक का नेतृत्व ही हमारे लिये संबल हो सकता है, प्रताप के आदर्श चरित्र की प्रासंगिकता की ओर ध्यान जाना सहज एवं स्वाभाविक ही है।

धर्म-निरपेक्षता अथवा साम्प्रदायिक निरपेक्षता की चादर ओढ़ने के पश्चात् भी आज हमारे समक्ष यह एक विकट एवं विराट समस्या बनी हुई है। रात दिन इसी समस्या को सुलझाने अथवा अंत की उधेड़बुन में निरत है। प्रताप जातिगत रूप से क्षत्रिय हिन्दू होते हुए भी एक सच्चा शासक अथवा मानव पहले था। उसने अपने व्यवहार में व्यक्तिगत विश्वास को कभी किसी पर थोपा नहीं और उसे भुनाया भी नहीं था। हल्दीघाटी के युद्ध में राजपूतों के अतिरिक्त सभी जाति के, सभी धर्मों के लोग बिना किसी भेदभाव के अपने देश अथवा राष्ट्र के खातिर लड़ रहे थे। तब उस युद्ध के हरावल की कमान हकीम खां सूर के हाथों में थी। निसारदी प्रमुख चित्रकार था जिसने राजधानी चावंड में रहते हुये ‘रागमाला’ को चित्रित किया जो चावंड-चित्र शैली के नाम से सुप्रसिद्ध है। जालोर के ताजखां का सहयोग भी प्रताप को मिला था। निःसन्देह जैन, वैष्णव, शैव आदि विभिन्न मतावलंबियों, आदिवासी भील-मीणे सभी उसकी प्रशासनिक-व्यवस्था में यथोचित दायित्व निभा रहे थे। प्रताप का धार्मिक समभाव एवं सहिष्णुता अनुकरणीय है।

प्रताप प्रथम पुरुष एवं प्रशासक था जिसने वनवासी जातियों भील-मीणा आदि की शक्ति एवं योग्यता को समझते हुए उन्हें समानता के साथ अपनी सेना में स्थान दिया तथा उनका उसे पूरा सहयोग मिला।¹¹ इस प्रकार अनुसूचित जाति एवं जन-जाति की समस्या को हल कर के प्रताप ने मेवाड़ की सुरक्षा एवं विकास में एक नवीन आयाम जोड़ा। वर्तमान में हमारे समक्ष अनुसूचित जाति एवं जन-जाति की समस्या का हल एक ही नजर आता है कि प्रताप ने किस मानवीय संवेदना के साथ उनकी शक्ति, सत्ता एवं साधना को संजोया था।

आर्थिक समस्या के रूप में देखें तो प्रताप ने किस प्रकार से आपत्तियों का सामना करते हुए आर्थिक समस्या को मेवाड़ के लिए कभी भी समस्या नहीं बनने दिया। कृषि-व्यवस्था को युद्ध के दौरान मैदानी क्षेत्र से पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में और शांति के समय पुनः पहाड़ों से निकाल कर मैदानों में लाया, ले गया किन्तु अर्थ-व्यवस्था का ह्रास नहीं होने दिया। वह इस बात से भली भाँति परिचित था कि अर्थ-व्यवस्था के बिगड़ जाने से मेवाड़ राज्य की समस्त व्यवस्थाएँ डगमगा जाएगी। फलतः यहाँ के निवासियों, सैनिकों आदि का मनोबल बना रहा और वे हर क्षण, हर स्थिति में अपने शासक का साथ देने के लिये तत्पर रहे।

जहाँ तक सम्बन्धों का प्रश्न है प्रताप ने आंतरिक एवं बाह्य संबंधों में एक तारतम्य बनाये रखा। उसने प्रशासनिक, सैनिक एवं अन्य सभी कार्यों में जन-जन का सहयोग लिया था। निःसंदेह भावनात्मक एकता के अग्रदूत का जो कार्य प्रताप ने किया उसकी तो पुनरावृत्ति भी नहीं हुई है। यों अपनी जनता का आंतरिक सहयोग उन्हें भरपूर मिल रहा था। तब प्रताप ने पड़ोसी राज्यों के साथ भी कूटनीतिक संबंध स्थापित किये। अकबर के मित्र को प्रताप ने कभी अपना शत्रु नहीं समझा अपितु उससे मित्रता पूर्ण संबंध स्थापित करने की चेष्टा ही की। यदि यह कह दिया जाय कि प्रताप दलगत राजनीति के दलदल से ऊपर उठकर एक आदर्श व्यक्तित्व का धनी था तो कोई अतिरेक नहीं होगा।

प्रताप के उज्ज्वल आदर्श चरित्र का उदाहरण इस से बढ़कर और क्या होगा कि जब अब्दुरहीम खानखाना का हरम कुँवर अमरसिंह के हाथ लगा और प्रताप को इसकी जानकारी मिली तो प्रताप ने खानखाना की स्त्रियों एवं बच्चों को ससम्मान सुरक्षित रूप से लौटाने का आदेश भेजा। खानखाना भी राणा की इस उदारतापूर्ण महानता से बड़ा प्रभावित हुआ। वर्तमान में ऐसे नैतिक चरित्र की आवश्यकता है।

यों भावनात्मक एकता के अग्रदूत राष्ट्रीयता के स्वरूप, स्वतंत्रता के मोहक, अपने आप में एक सिद्धांत, जन-मानस के प्रतीक, आदर्श एवं उच्चता के पुंज, नैतिकता और एक दर्शन के ज्योति रूप महाराणा प्रताप के क्रिया-कलाप, सिद्धांत, नीतियां, चरित्र आदि की प्रासंगिकता समय एवं सीमा से सदा अक्षुण्ण रहेगी।

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डॉ. प्रियदर्शी ओझा*

प्रातः स्मरणीय महाराणा प्रताप आजीवन संघर्षरत रहते हुए स्वतंत्रता और स्वाभिमान की रक्षार्थ कभी झुके नहीं। विजयी प्रताप शत्रु को छकाने के लिए जंगलों एवं पहाड़ों की ओर भी गये किन्तु मेवाड़ राज्य का प्रशासन एवं अन्य कार्य वहाँ से भी यथावत चलाते रहे। मेवाड़ में प्रायः कहा भी जाता है 'जहाँ राणाजी रहे वहीं मेवाड़' चहुँओर घोर विपत्तियों से घिरे प्रताप ने साहित्य-संरचना की अविरल धारा को बनाये रखा। जैन मुनि हेमरतन ने 'गोरा बादल पद्मिनी चौपाई' की रचना की ताकि मेवाड़ के जनमानस में संघर्ष के कारण निराशा न आ जाये। हेमरतन की महिपाल चौपाई, सीता चौपाई और लीलावती आदि रचनाएं मिलती हैं। प्रताप की सेना के रामा सांदू, माला सांदू जैसे चारण कवि भी अपनी लेखनी चला रहे थे।² कीरतदास ने 'गीत गोविन्दाख्यान' की रचना की। इस गद्य रचना की भाषा वागड़ी मिश्रित मेवाड़ी भाषा है। इस रचना में कुल 30 पत्रात्मक व 28 लघु चित्र हैं। निसारदीन की 'रागमाला' चित्रित ग्रन्थ भी प्रताप के समय की उत्कृष्ट रचना है।³ इस तरह संघर्ष एवं साहित्यिक वातावरण में महाराणा प्रताप के दरबारी साहित्यकार चक्रपाणि मिश्र ने प्रताप के राज्यगद्दी पर आरूढ़ होने से लेकर चावंड में राजधानी स्थापना करने (28 फरवरी 1572-1585 ई.) तक कोई 15 वर्षों तक, अपनी कुल की परम्परानुसार राज्य के आश्रय में रहते हुए तत्कालीन आवश्यकताओं एवं प्रताप के निर्देशानुसार साहित्यिक ग्रन्थों की रचना की। चक्रपाणि मेवाड़ राजवंश द्वारा प्राचीनकाल से ही सम्मानित परिवार से संबंधित पुरुष रहा है। वह नसवारिया अवंटकधारी माथुर चौबे ब्राह्मण था। उसके कुल की उपाधि मिश्र थी। उसके पूर्वज आशानंद व सुखदेव महाराणा कुंभा के समय साहित्य सेवा करते थे। सुखदेव का पुत्र गजाधर था, जिसे महाराणा रायमल ने 'विद्याधर' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया। गजाधर का पुत्र उग्र मिश्र भी अपने समय का प्रसिद्ध विद्वान था। चक्रपाणि मिश्र इसी उग्र मिश्र का पुत्र था। चक्रपाणि चारों वेद, 6 दर्शनों, समस्त धर्मशास्त्रों का ज्ञाता और

* उदयपुर (राजस्थान)

ज्ञान-विज्ञान में निपुण था। चक्रपाणि को महाराणा प्रताप ने साहित्य-संरचना की आज्ञा दी और उसने तीन ग्रन्थ संस्कृत भाषा में लिखे।⁴ ये तीनों ग्रन्थ चक्रपाणि ने कभी गोगुंदा तो कभी चावंड में प्रताप के आश्रय में रहते हुए लिखे थे—

1. विश्ववल्लभ, 2. मुहूर्तमाला, 3. राज्याभिषेक पद्धति।

ज्ञान-विज्ञान की विभिन्न शाखाओं से पूरित विश्ववल्लभ ग्रन्थ महत्वपूर्ण है। इस ग्रन्थ की रचना हल्दीघाटी युद्ध के बाद वि.सं. 1634 (1577 ई.) में की गई। ग्रन्थ में कुल 9 अध्याय हैं—

प्रथम अध्याय का विषय है – उदगल निरूपण अर्थात् मरुधन्व, जांगल अनूप, पर्वत आदि प्रदेशों में भूमिगत जलस्रोतों की खोज का विज्ञान।

दूसरा अध्याय में जलस्रोतों का पता लग जाने पर कुएं, बावड़ियों, ताल-तलैयों, कुंडों आदि को खोदने और निर्माण का तरीका।

तीसरा अध्याय- विभिन्न प्रकार की मिट्टियों का वर्गीकरण, परीक्षण और तदनुसार उनमें वृक्षों पौधों, लताओं की बुवाई व रोपण का ज्ञान।

चौथे अध्याय में – पेड़-पौधों आदि के रोपण की विधियां।

पांचवे अध्याय में – पेड़-पौधों की ऋतुओं के अनुसार सिंचाई या जल के छिड़काव आदि की विधि समझाई गई है।

छठे अध्याय में – आंधी, तूफान, हिमपात, वर्षा, आग और कीटाणुओं से वृक्ष लताओं आदि की रक्षा, अनावश्यक पौधों, झाड़ियों, घास खरपतवार आदि के उत्पादन और कीटनाशक रसायनों, औषधियों आदि के प्रयोग व रक्षात्मक बाड़ आदि का विधान दिया गया है।

सातवें अध्याय में – विभिन्न प्रकार के खाद और पोषक तत्वों व रोग से रक्षा करने वाली दवाओं के बारे में बताया गया है।

आठवें अध्याय में – रोगों के निदान और औषधियों आदि से उपचार पर प्रकाश डाला गया है।

नवें अध्याय में – फल-फूल, पत्रादिक के रंग, स्वाद, गंध आदि में औषधि प्रयोग या पैबंद (कलम) आदि से परिवर्तन तथा उनकी जातियों में विकास की विधियां बताई गई हैं।

इस प्रकार चक्रपाणि ने प्रताप के निर्देशानुसार तत्कालीन समस्याओं को ध्यान में रखते हुए कृषि वैज्ञानिक ग्रन्थ की रचना की। आज हमारा राष्ट्र इन्हीं समस्याओं से ग्रसित है। मेवाड़ में कुएं, बावड़ियों, कुंडों और गांव-गांव में निर्मित ताल तलैयों की

अधिकता और सरवा (हरवा) की मौजूदगी इसके प्रमाण है कि हमारे यहां के शासक इन विषयों के महत्व को समझते थे। वृक्षारोपण को तो यहां सर्वाधिक महत्व दिया गया। स्पष्ट है कि वे लोग उस समय से ही पर्यावरण के प्रति पूर्ण सचेष्ट थे।

इस ग्रन्थ की रचना से महाराणा प्रताप की रूचि का भी ज्ञान होता है, साथ ही किसी एक विषय पर संपूर्ण सामग्री का शोधपूर्ण संचय कराने की उनकी ललक का भी बोध होता है। महाराणा प्रताप के अपने परिवेश और पर्यावरण से लगाव तथा उनके विकास के प्रति सचेष्ट रहने की जानकारी भी मिलती है। विश्ववल्लभ के रचनाकाल से यह ज्ञात होता है कि हल्दीघाटी युद्ध के लगभग एक वर्ष बाद यह ग्रन्थ लिखा गया था। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इस समय राणा प्रताप कोल्यारी या झाड़ोल के निकट स्थित आवरगढ़ में अपनी अस्थाई राजधानी बसाने में संलग्न थे और चावण्ड को विकसित करने पर विचार कर रहे थे। यदि देखा जाय तो आवरगढ़ में पानी और वाटिका के निर्माण की आवश्यकता थी, ऐसे में प्रताप ने निश्चित रूप से चक्रपाणि को इस दिशा में पारंपरिक जानकारियों के संग्रह हेतु निर्देश दिया होगा।

ग्रंथ में स्वयं चक्रपाणि मिश्र लिखता है कि जिन विषयों पर सामग्री इधर-उधर, जहां-तहां भी कम या अधिक रूप में उपलब्ध है उस सामग्री को एक साथ संचय कराने की राजाज्ञा है और इसीलिए वह विश्ववल्लभ विषय का चयन कर रहा है।⁶ चक्रपाणि ने राजाज्ञा का उल्लेख किया है। इतना ही नहीं पहाड़ी प्रदेश की विशेषताओं के साथ वहां चट्टानों में प्राप्त जलस्रोतों का वर्णन किया है। पहाड़ों के बीच द्रोणी बनाने का उल्लेख किया गया है। यह समस्त वर्णन झाड़ोल व चावंड जैसे पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों के बारे में ही दिया गया है। आवरगढ़ में जिस जलाशय के अवशेष मिलते हैं, उसका निर्माण भी चक्रपाणि के ग्रन्थ लेखन के समय ही हुआ हो तो कोई आश्चर्य नहीं। चावंड का कुण्ड तो सुस्पष्ट रूप से चक्रपाणि के निर्देशानुसार ही बना हुआ है।⁷

स्पष्ट है कि मेवाड़-राज्य पर्वतीय प्रदेश है। यहां वर्षा व जल की समस्या प्रायः बनी हुई थी। जल-प्रबंधन भी समुचित नहीं था। अतएव इस प्रदेश में भूमिगत जल शिराओं की जानकारी देने वाली विधा का शोधपूर्ण लेखन हो। जल प्रबंधन हेतु कुएं, बावड़ी, कुण्ड, जलाशय, द्रोणी का निर्माण हो और प्रमुख नगरों, पुरों में वाटिकाओं तथा उद्यानों का विकास करते हुए वृक्षों का संरक्षण किया जाये।

महाराणा प्रताप के आदेश से चक्रपाणि ने ज्योतिष शास्त्र पर भी 'मुहूर्त माला' ग्रन्थ लिखा ताकि प्रत्येक कार्य में सफलता और निश्चित परिणाम की प्राप्ति हो सके। इस विधा के उपांगों-मुहूर्त, शकुन तथा स्वरोदय पर ध्यान दिया जाये। मेवाड़ में शासक के राज्याभिषेक की पद्धति निश्चित करते हुए शास्त्र सम्मत रूप से उत्तराधिकारी को

सिंहासनारूढ़ किया जाय और इस उपलक्ष्य में उत्सव मनाया जावे। अतः 'राज्याभिषेक पद्धति' ग्रन्थ की रचना की गई। चक्रपाणि मिश्र ने लेखन से पूर्व तत्कालीन उपलब्ध ग्रन्थों का संग्रहण-शोधन और विश्लेषण भी किया है तथा संक्षिप्त रूप से संस्कृत के ग्रन्थों की रचना की।⁸

चक्रपाणि मिश्र का लेखन प्रौढ़ता लिये हुए है। संस्कृत के व्याकरण एवं छंद-अलंकार पर उसका अच्छा आधिपत्य था। उपलब्ध सामग्री को उसने निपुणता के साथ संपादित करते हुए उपयोग में लेने का प्रयास किया है। उसने विषय की गंभीरता को समझते हुए लेखन कार्य किया। उसने स्वयं का परिचय अत्यधिक संक्षिप्त रूप से दिया है तथा कहीं पर भी अपनी स्वयं की प्रशंसा नहीं की। उसने लिखा कि वह राजाज्ञा से लोकोपकार के लिए लिख रहा है। वह अपने कर्त्तव्य के प्रति निष्ठावान बना रहना चाहता है।⁹ उसने प्रताप की प्रशंसा में भी एक आध श्लोक ही लिखा और सीधे अपने लेखन पर आ गया। वह कहता है कि राज्य और राजा कई हैं, वे सब प्रताप के चरण कमलों में वंदना करते हैं क्योंकि प्रताप उनके मुकुटों में कोटि-हीर की तरह प्रभुविष्णु युक्त दैदीप्यमान है। यह बात हल्दीघाटी युद्ध से लगभग एक वर्ष पूर्व लिखी गई थी। यह प्रताप के प्रति अनेकानेक राजाओं के समर्पित और विश्वासपात्र होने की जानकारी देती है। मुहूर्तमाला में ही एक श्लोक के अंश में चक्रपाणि पुनः इस बात को दोहराता है कि प्रताप ने कई सुरक्षित जनपदों को बनाया और उनके चरणों में कई राजा शीश झुकाते हैं।¹⁰

पं. चक्रपाणि ने राज्याभिषेक पद्धति के लिए वेद से लेकर विष्णु धर्मोत्तर पुराण का शोधपरक अध्ययन किया और विधि-विधान का निरूपण किया। उसने वैदिक ग्रन्थों कर्मकाण्डीय ग्रन्थों, ज्योतिष विषयक ग्रन्थों, वास्तुविषयक ग्रन्थों, आयुर्वेद विषयक ग्रन्थों आदि का गंभीरता पूर्वक अध्ययन करने के उपरान्त अपने ग्रन्थों की रचना की। पं. चक्रपाणि के लेखन पर गुप्तकालीन वराहमिहिर (505-587 ई.) का प्रभाव विशेष नजर आता है। एक प्रकार से पं. चक्रपाणि मिश्र महाराणा प्रताप के दरबार का वराहमिहिर हैं उसके तीनों ही ग्रन्थों पर वराहमिहिर की वृहत्संहिता, योगयात्रा, वृहत्जातक व दैवज्ञ वल्लभा का पर्याप्त प्रभाव दिखाई देता है।¹¹

इस प्रकार हम कह सकते हैं कि महाराणा प्रतापकालीन मेवाड़ ज्ञान-विज्ञान का केन्द्र था। अतः प्रताप ने भारतीय मानक ग्रन्थों के मूल्यों को समझते हुए तत्कालीन परिवेश की समस्याओं का समाधान कराते हुए भविष्य के लिए अनमोल विरासत के रूप में भारतीय विधा का शोधन-अन्वेषण व लेखन में रुचि प्रदर्शित की जिसमें पं. चक्रपाणि मिश्र प्रतापकालीन साहित्यकार के रूप में अमूल्य हीरक की भांति सदैव चमकता रहेगा।

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डॉ. भगवान सिंह शेखावत*

बत्तीसा की जेठ सुद, आठें मंगलवार।

फतै करी सेखावता, जस राख्यो करतार।।

राजस्थान शौर्य व पराक्रम की क्रीड़ास्थली रही है, जहाँ के अप्रतिम वीरों ने मातृभूमि प्रेम, स्वधर्म निष्ठा, स्वाभिमान, शरणागत वत्सलता, नारी रक्षार्थ त्याग व बलिदान की वीरोचित परम्परा का प्रेरणादायी इतिहास लिखा। इतिहास लेखन में क्षेत्रीय इतिहास के ऐसे कोई अज्ञात (UNSUNG) वृत्तान्त (घटनायें) हैं जिन पर इतिहासकारों की दृष्टि नहीं गई है जिन पर व्यापक अनुसंधान अपरिहार्य है ताकि नवीन तथ्यों के आलोक में इतिहास लेखन को नई दिशा दी जा सके। राजस्थान के ऐसे अल्पज्ञात घटनाओं में 'माण्डण का युद्ध' है जिस पर तात्कालिक समय में शेखावटी के लोककवि मीटूलाल ने 'माण्डण का युद्ध' लघु काव्य में उक्त युद्ध घटना को काव्य रूप में लिखा है जिसमें 6 जून 1775 ई. को रेवाड़ी (हरियाणा) के पास माण्डण नामक स्थान पर शेखावतों तथा मुगल शाही सेना के मध्य भीषण युद्ध का वर्णन है जिसमें मुगल सेना की करारी हार हुई व शेखावत सेना विजय रही। कवि मीटूलाल की रचना साहित्यिक के साथ ऐतिहासिक महत्व की भी है क्योंकि कवि इस युद्ध का प्रत्यक्षदर्शी था फिर भी प्राथमिक व द्वितीयक स्रोतों के माध्यम से इसका परिपुष्ट होना आवश्यक है। माण्डण युद्ध का ऐतिहासिक वर्णन शेखावाटी के ठिकाना रिकार्ड्स व अन्य स्रोतों से भी होता है जिस पर विस्तृत शोध की अभी भी आवश्यकता है।

शेखावत कुल के मूल पुरुष राव शेखा थे जिन्होंने नारी गरिमा रक्षार्थ गौड़ाटी के शैतान गौड़ों से रक्त रंजित संघर्ष किया था।¹ राव शेखा के पुत्र राव रायमल द्वारा दिल्ली के सुल्तान सिकन्दर लोदी के सेनापति से लड़ा युद्ध² व उनके वंशजों द्वारा मुगल बादशाह हुमायूँ के भाई व अलवर के हाकिम मिर्जा हिंदाल के आक्रमण का कडा प्रतिरोध³ देवली के पास हरिपुरा रणक्षेत्र में अजमेर के शाही सूबेदार अब्दुल्ला खाँ के साथ खंडेला के केशरी सिंह का स्वतंत्रता हेतु किये संघर्ष⁴ में राव शेखा के वंशजों ने मातृभूमि हेतु प्राण

उत्सर्ग किये जो शेखावत शक्ति का परिचायक है। सुस्पष्ट है सल्तनत व मुगल काल में केन्द्रीय सत्ता का स्थानीय शक्तियों ने कड़ा प्रतिरोध किया।

माण्डण का युद्ध ऐतिहासिक महत्व का युद्ध था जिसमें शेखावतों ने मुगलों को केन्द्रीय को सीधी चुनौती ही नहीं दी अपितु उद्देश्य में सफल भी रहे। इस युद्ध से संबंधित स्रोतों के अनुसार, शेखावतों के अनेक परिवार की तीन-तीन पीढ़ियाँ एक साथ काम आई थी। इस युद्ध की विशिष्ट बात यह भी है कि शेखावाटी के राजपूतों के मुगलों के विरुद्ध लड़ाई में भरतपुर के जाटों ने भी उनका साथ दिया था।

मुगल सेनापति नजफ उली खाँ ने जयपुर रियासत के क्षेत्र में जब अतिक्रमण करते हुए नारनौल के पश्चात, बैराठ, कोटपूतली आदि क्षेत्र पर कब्जा कर लिया। नजफ अली खाँ के इस दुस्साहस पर खेतड़ी के बाघ सिंह, हणुत सिंह डूंडलोद, सूरजमल बिसाऊ हाथी सिंह सुल्ताना, सालम सिंह टोई, ज्ञान सिंह चिराणा, रघुनाथ सिंह कोछोर, समरथ सिंह अलसीसर, इन्द्र सिंह हीरवा⁵ आदि ठा. नवल सिंह शेखावत झुंझुनु के पास आये। नवल सिंह शेखावत के पास शाही दूत भिजवाकर वार्ता का संदेश दिया गया, नवल सिंह अपने साथियों सहित शाही सेना के पड़ाव पर पहुंचे जहाँ शेखावत संघ के सरदारों को विश्वासघात कर नजरबन्द कर लिया। शाही दगाबाजी से क्रोधित शेखावत सरदारों ने मुगलों के विरुद्ध युद्ध की घोषणा का दबाव नवलसिंह पर डाला लेकिन कूटनीतिज्ञ नवल सिंह ने अनुकूल अवसर की प्रतिज्ञा करते हुए कहा -

“इस समय हम फिरंगियों के तोपखाने से घिरे हुए हैं, हमारे साथ सेना नहीं है, ऐसी अवस्था में लड़कर प्राण गंवाने के सिवाय कुछ लाभ नहीं होगा। बुद्धिमानी इसी में है कि हम शाही सेनापति को कुछ नजराना देकर इस नजरबन्दी से मुक्ति पायें उसके बाद सेना सजाकर नजफकुली (मुगल) से एक ऐसा युद्ध लड़े जिससे सभी जान जावें कि शेखावतों से दगा करने का क्या परिणाम हो सकता है। हम देश भक्ति और तलवार के धनी माने जाते हैं, इस टेक को निभाने के लिए हमें शाही सेना से खुला युद्ध लड़कर इतिहास में नाम अमर कर देना चाहिए।”⁶

नजरबन्द शेखावत सरदारों का शाही सेनापति नजफकुली के साथ समरू की मध्यस्तता से समझौता हुआ जिसमें शेखावतों के द्वारा दो लाख रुपये देने की जमानत जयपुर राज्य ने दी। शेखावत सरदारों के नाम नजफअली व समरू की मुद्राओं से युक्त तसल्ली का परवाना प्रसारित किया गया जो फारसी भाषा में लिखित है जिसका हिन्दी अनुवाद इस प्रकार है।⁷ “यह सूचित किया जाता है कि ठाकुर बाघ सिंह नवलसिंह हणुत सिंह और सूरजमल को मान और इज्जत दी गई है। ईश्वर को साक्षी रखकर उनसे यह वादा किया गया है कि बशर्ते वे सब शाही तख्त के वफादार रहेंगे और मामला वक्त पर अदा करते रहेंगे तो दिनों दिन उनकी इज्जत अधिकाधिक होती रहेगी। उनके दुश्मनों की मदद नहीं की जावेगी। यह तसल्लीनामा मोहरम के 9वें दिन, 16वें जुलूस में लिखा

* सहायक प्रोफेसर, इतिहास विभाग, जयनारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

गया।⁸

मुहर- जफरयाबखा खाँ

सन् 1188 हिजरी

मुहर - नजफउली खाँ बहादूर

सन् 1188 हि.

यह सशर्त समझौता शेखावतों के कूटनीतिक दूरदर्शी दृष्टिकोण को इंगित करता है क्योंकि शक्ति संसाधन सम्पन्न मुगल शाही फौज से लड़ने हेतु सैन्य व मानसिक तैयारी हेतु कुछ समय चाहिए था जो इससे मिल गया। समझौते के कुछ समय बाद ही शाही फौजें शेखावतों के गांवों में जाकर लूटपाट करने लगी इस पर सभी सरदारों ने ठा. नवल सिंह से आग्रह किया कि अब मुगलों को जवाब देने का समय आ गया है, इस तरह शेखावतों व शाही सेना का समझौता असफल रहा। झुंझुनूं में शेखावतों ने ठा. नवल सिंह शेखावत के नेतृत्व में बैठक कर मुगलों से युद्ध करने का निश्चय किया व निर्णय लिया कि प्रारंभ में शेखावतों की एक संयुक्त सेना चिड़ावा के धाबाई ग्यानीराम और हीरानन्द बाढां की ढाणी की अधीनता में सिंघाणा भेजी गई जहाँ मुगलों का थाना था। सिंघाने के युद्ध संबंधी एक गीत में इस प्रकार वर्णन किया गया है-

जाय सिंघाणे पर पट्या जद तुरकां भय खाई।

दल सादावत ऊरड्या या फिर चोगड़दाई।।¹⁰

ऐतिहासिक माण्डण युद्ध से पूर्व सिंघाणा की इस लड़ाई में ग्यानीराम धाबाई और हीरानन्द मुलकपुरिया काम आये, इस पर क्रोधित शेखावतों ने मुगलों से आर पार सीधा मुकाबला करने का निश्चय किया। माण्डण युद्ध से पूर्व शेखावतों द्वारा कूटनीतिक संयुक्त मोर्चा बनाया गया और जयपुर रियासत कच्छवाहा सेना व भरतपुर की जाट सेना को सहयोगी के तौर पर रखा गया। मुगलों के साथ जाटों के जो भी युद्ध हुये थे उनमें कच्छवाहों (जयपुर) ने जाटों की मदद की थी। शेखावतों द्वारा बनाए गये संयुक्त मोर्चे का समाचार जब मुगल बादशाह के पास पहुंचा तो बलोच काले खां के नेतृत्व में एक मुगल सेना भेजी गई तथा शाही आज्ञा देकर रेवाड़ी के दीवान, मित्रसेन अहीर¹¹ को शाही सेना का सहयोग हेतु आदेशित किया गया। मुगलों के सेना के प्रयाण के साथ शेखावतों के सभी सरदार व उनके सहयोगी एकत्र हुये, जिनमें बाघ सिंह खेतड़ी, हणूत सिंह डूंडलोद, हाथी सिंह सुल्ताना, सालम सिंह टाई, फतह सिंह जाट (भरतपुर सेना प्रमुख), ज्ञान सिंह चिराणा, इन्द्रसिंह हीरवा, समरथ सिंह, अलसीसर, संग्राम सिंह उदयपुरवाटी, रघुनाथ सिंह कोछेर आदि शामिल थे। शेखावतों की आक्रामक नीति के भय से मुगलों का एक दूत शेखावत दल के नेतृत्वकर्ता नवलसिंह के पास आया और उन्हें शाही सुविधाओं का प्रलोभन दिया जिसे नवल सिंह ने ठुकराते हुए कहा आपने हमारे सूबो पर अनधिकृत कब्जा किया जिसे हटा लीजिए, और यदि ऐसा करते हैं तो लौटती मुगल सेना पर शेखावत हमला नहीं करेंगे एवं यदि आपको यह स्वीकार नहीं तो युद्ध की तैयारी कीजिए।

माण्डण के मैदान पर मुगलों व शेखावतों का यह भीषण ऐतिहासिक युद्ध राजनीति के साथ सैनिक दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण था जिसमें तोपखाना, घुड़सेना, हाथी सेना, बंदूकों आदि का प्रयोग दोनों पक्षों द्वारा हुआ। शेखावतों द्वारा कुशल सैन्य पद्धति का अनुसरण करते हुए व्यूह रचना बनाई, सेना की तीन अणी-हरावल, गोल तथा चन्दावल बनाई गई। हरावल का नेतृत्व नवल सिंह के पास था, हरावल के आगे एक हाथी पर शेखावतों का केसरानी झंडा लाल गोटा का था जिसमें हनुमान जी का चित्र था, फहरा रहा था। हाथी के पीछे तोपखाना व उनके पीछे बन्दूकचियों की टुकड़ियां थी, मध्य में ढाढी उच्च स्वर में शेखावतों के पूर्वजों की वीरगाथाओं के सिन्धु राग दे रहे थे जिससे वीरों पर सूरतन चढ़ रहा था। ढोल, नौबत, शहनाई, सुथटी, रणसींगे, वीण आदि रण वाद्यों के तुमुल घोष से युद्ध स्थल गूंज रहा था।¹² सेना के दायीं और पचरंग निसाण वाली जयपुर रियासत की सेना थी तो बायीं और फतेह सिंह के नेतृत्व में भरतपुर की जाट सेना थी। उधर मुगल सेना का नेतृत्व काले खाँ बिलौच कर रहा था व सहयोग हेतु रेवाड़ी का दीवान मित्रसेन अहीर मौजूद था। युद्ध में दोनों पक्षों के मध्य तोपों के द्वारा संघर्ष हुआ। जाट सैनिकों ने मित्रसेना अहीर सेना पर धावा बोला जिसमें कई जाट योद्धा हताहत हुये। कवि ने लिखा है-

हुई हिन्दवाण तुरकां हल्ल।

जाट बढया रणबाजि उथल्ल।।¹³

जाट योद्धाओं के हताहत होते ही सूरसिंह के पुत्र पहाड़ सिंह ने (चिराणा) अपनी घुड़सवार सेना के साथ मुगल सेना पर धावा बोल कर प्रचंड युद्ध किया और मुगल सेना सेनापति काले खाँ बिलौच को मार गिराया और अन्त में कबन्ध युद्ध (मस्तक कट जाने के बाद धड़ का लड़ना) करते हुये जूझार हुये। इस लोमहर्षक युद्ध में पुत्र पहाड़ सिंह के साथ पिता सूरसिंह शेखावत की दो पीढ़ियों (पिता-पुत्र) के बलिदान पर कवि मीठूलाल लिखता है-

मांडण के ताल भिड़ै जोड़ बांके।

भाल लड़े सूरजी को पूत मांच्यो खूब जो अखाड़ो है।।

खड़यो बाप जी के आगै लड्यो आछी राड़।

सूरजी के आगे लड्यो कंवर पहाड़ो हैं।।

माण्डण युद्ध में धूला के राव दलेल सिंह राजावत ने अपनी तीन पीढ़ियों (पिता, पुत्र व पौत्र) का बलिदान मुगलों से लड़ते हुये किया। इस युद्ध में अपने सगे संबंधी (शेखावतों) की सहायता हेतु आये स्योदान सिंह व दलजी मेड़तिया ने भी योगदान दिया जिसमें एक काम आया। दूसरे जीवित योद्धा को युद्ध पश्चात ठा. नवल सिंह ने सुल्ताना ग्राम में 501 बीघा जमीन देकर सम्मानित किया।¹⁴ माण्डण युद्ध में ही शेखावत सेना के सेनापति ठा. नवल सिंह शेखावत के पांचवें पुत्र कु. लालसिंह जो युद्ध प्रारम्भ होते समय

झुंझुनु था, अपनी सेना लेकर रणस्थली पर पहुंचा और शत्रु सेना पर आक्रमण प्रहार किया। मुगल सेना अचानक हुये इस अप्रत्याशित आक्रमण से हतप्रभ रह गयी। कु. लाल सिंह की आक्रमकता से मुगलों का हौंसला कमजोर हो गया हालांकि शत्रु द्वारा हाथियों के होदों में छिपकर हुये आक्रमण से कु. लाल सिंह वीर गति को प्राप्त हुये। सेनापति ठाकुर नवलसिंह शेखावत मृत पुत्र के शव को देखकर अधीर और शोकाकुल हुये ओर घोड़े से उतरकर 'हाय लाला हाय लाला' कहने और विलाप करने लगे। बड़ा गांव के उगर सिंह ने बाहु पकड़कर उन्हें उठाया और गंभीर आवाज में कहा कि "आप इस एक लाला को क्यों रोते हो? देखो ये सैकड़ों लाला कटे पड़े हैं जिनके हाथों के कंकण-डोरड़े¹⁵ अभी खुले ही नहीं। यदि धरती को पैरों नीचे रखा है तो एक लाला क्या, हजारों लालों का खून देने को तैयार रहना पड़ेगा।" इस प्रकार सेनापति ठा. नवल सिंह को धैर्य देकर घोड़े पर सवार कराया और अमल (अफीम) की मात्रा देकर उनके दिल को मजबूत किया।¹⁶ कु. लाल सिंह का दाह संस्कार माण्डण की युद्ध भूमि पर ही किया गया जहाँ आज भी स्मारक के रूप में बनी छतरी मुगलों के विरुद्ध मातृभूमि रक्षार्थ सर्वोच्च बलिदान देने वाले उस युवा रणबांकुरे का स्मरण कराती है। लघुकाव्य 'माण्डण युद्ध' में लोक कवि मीटूलाल ने कु. लाल सिंह की वीरता की प्रशंशा में लिखा है-

जूझ पड़यो रण कंवर लाल

रूद्रहि चढ़ाय निज मुण्डमाल¹⁶

कु. लाल सिंह की मृत्यु उपरान्त शेखावत सेना मुगलों द्वारा बनी खाइयों को पार कर मित्रसेन अहीर तक जा पहुंची। मित्रसेन शेखावतों के उन्माद से भयाक्रान्त होकर युद्ध भूमि से भाग खड़ा हुआ। मित्रसेन के भागते ही मुगल सेना में भगदड़ मच गई। शेखावतों में मुगलों की बख्तरबन्द सेना को काटना प्रारम्भ किया और भागते हुये मुगल सैनिकों को पीछा करते हुए उनके डेरे (तम्बुओं) तक पहुंचकर उनके डेरे व बाजार (बहीर) लूट लिये। कहा जाता है कि शेखावतों को लाखों का माल लूट में मिला। शेखावतों के हाथों काले खाँ व पीरू खाँ दोनों मारे गये और ऐतिहासिक मांडण युद्ध में शेखावत सेना की विजय हुई। मुगलों द्वारा छीने गये स्थान पुनः हस्तगत कर लिये। शेखावतों की जीजविधा, शौर्य, स्वाभिमान से प्रभावित होकर मुगल बादशाह ने दोस्ताना हाथ बढ़ाते हुए ठा. नवल सिंह शेखावत को 3000 जात और 2000 सवार का मनसब बहुदर का खिताब और नक्कारा प्रदान किया। ठा. नवल सिंह ने भी दूरदर्शिता दिखाते हुए इस युद्ध में मुगलों की तरफ से लड़े कायमखानियों को जाजोत, ढाढोत, बड़वासी, नवलड़ी आदि गाँवों की जागीरे देकर राजनीतिक संबंध स्थापित किया।

माण्डण युद्ध राजपूताना की मातृभूमि प्रेम की विरोचित परम्परा की ही कड़ी है जिसमें सिमित साधनों के बावजूद स्वाभिमान व स्वातंत्र्य हेतु मुगल सल्तनत को चुनौती

ही नहीं दी अपितु अद्भुत रण कौशल व कूटनीति से निर्णायक इस समर में उन्हें परास्त भी किया। लघु काव्य 'माण्डण युद्ध' में लोक कवि मीटूलाल ने इस महायुद्ध में शेखावतों के प्रायः सभी प्रमुख शाखा-उपशाखाओं में काम आने वाले वीरों का कीर्ति का काव्यात्मक वर्णन किया है। माण्डण युद्ध भारतीय इतिहास का अल्पज्ञात (UNSUNG) युद्ध है जिसे कितने ही शेखावत परिवारों की 3-3 पीढ़ियों ने एक साथ मुगलों को सबक सीखाने के लिए सर्वस्व बलिदान दिया। शेखावत सेना माण्डण (नारनौल वर्तमान हरियाणा) से विजय होकर शेखावाटी वापस लौटें तो जनता ने अबीर व गुलाल से अदाभुत स्वागत किया, द्वारों पर नक्कार व नौबत बज उठी व नजर-नछरावल की गई। राजपूताना में विविध घटनाएं व व्यक्तित्व है जिन्हें इतिहास में स्थान नहीं मिला है, यह इतिहास लेखन की विडम्बना ही है कि केन्द्र बिन्दु को ही महत्व मिला है, पार्श्व परिवेश को नहीं। हमें शोध के आधार को विस्तृत करते हुए लोकांचल पर अनुसंधान करना होगा तभी इतिहास अध्ययन व शोध की सार्थकता सिद्ध होगी।

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लोक देवी-देवताओं के बदलते स्वरूप : मध्यकालीन राजस्थान का एक अध्ययन

डॉ. मोनिका*

स्थानीय लोक देवी देवताओं की पूजा अर्चना मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के लोगों के धार्मिक जनजीवन का महत्वपूर्ण अंग था। लोक देवी देवताओं के सम्बन्ध में उनसे जुड़े स्थलों पर समय-समय पर उत्सवों, मेलों का भव्य आयोजन इन स्थानीय देवी-देवताओं की लोकप्रियता को सिद्ध करता है। इन उत्सवों में सभी क्षेत्रों एवम् प्रदेशों के विभिन्न जातियों के लोग इकट्ठा होकर उत्साह से अपने आराध्य देवी-देवता की पूजा अर्चना करते हैं। प्रारम्भ में राजस्थान के सामाजिक एवम् धार्मिक इतिहास लेखन में इन स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवताओं को मध्यकालीन भक्ति आंदोलन के सुधारवादी रूप में देखने की कोषिष की गई है।¹ परन्तु वास्तव में इन स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवताओं से जुड़ी धार्मिक मान्यताओं तथा धार्मिक सम्प्रदायों को पूर्णतः हिन्दुवादी के रूप में न देखकर इन्हें एक मिली-जुली समन्वयवादी धार्मिक परम्परा के रूप में देखना चाहिए जो मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के पशुचारी एवं कृषक समुदायों के बीच पनपी व लोकप्रिय होकर प्रसिद्ध हुई। वास्तव में ये स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवता अपने समय के प्रचलित विभिन्न धार्मिक मान्यताओं को स्वतंत्र रूप से ग्रहण कर एक भिन्न रूप में विकसित हुए थे जो निम्न वर्गों की चेतना से जुड़े थे।²

भारतीय इतिहास लेखन में परम्परावादी उच्चवर्गीय ब्राह्मणवादी, पौराणिक परम्पराओं एवं धार्मिक मूल्यों से परे मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के निम्न वर्गों के संदर्भ में उनकी धार्मिक मान्यताओं के जो अध्ययन हुए हैं वे एक भिन्न प्रकार की प्रति-विरोधी जन-चेतना को दिखाते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में लोक देवी-देवताओं से जुड़ी धार्मिक मान्यताओं का मध्यकालीन राजस्थान में उभार दिखाई देता है।³ इनसे जुड़े सम्प्रदायों का विकास जन संस्कृति के धार्मिक जीवन का महत्वपूर्ण अंग था। ये लोक देवी-देवता किसी रूप में

भी उच्चवर्गीय, ब्राह्मणवादी, पौराणिक, धार्मिक संस्कृति का अंग न होकर वास्तव में अपने समय के ऐसे ऐतिहासिक पात्र थे जो जन साधारण के बीच रहे और जन-साधारण के हितों के लिए कार्य करते हुए अपने प्राणों की आहुति दी। इनके ये कार्य वास्तव में प्रभुत्वशाली उच्चशासक वर्गीय शोषण के विरुद्ध थे एवं निम्न वर्गों की सामूहिक उच्चवर्गीय विरोधी चेतना के प्रतीक बने। अपने इन्हीं कार्यों के लिए ये ऐतिहासिक पात्र आरम्भ में निम्न वर्गों के बीच वीर पुरुष के रूप में लोकप्रिय हुए तथा बाद में स्थानीय देवी-देवताओं के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित हुए। ये नये प्रकार के स्थानीय धार्मिक सम्प्रदाय वास्तव में निम्न वर्गों का उच्चवर्गों के प्रति असंतोष को प्रकट करने का माध्यम थे।

लोक देवी-देवताओं का आरम्भिक अनुयायी वर्ग प्रभुत्वशाली उच्च जाति न होकर गैर राजपूत-निम्न जातियों में था। राजपूतों के द्वारा लिखवाये गये राजस्थानी ख्यातों, विगत, भाट चारणों के गीतों इत्यादि में इन देवी-देवताओं को स्थान कम ही दिया गया है।⁴ यद्यपि जो सामग्री मिलती है वह राजपूती दृष्टिकोण से लिखी गई है। इन लोक देवी-देवताओं का उल्लेख राजपूती साहित्य में 17-18वीं शताब्दी में होने लगा जब राजपूत वंशों ने अपने राज्य की वैधता के रूप में इनको स्वीकार करना शुरू किया। अतः इन देवी-देवताओं की सामग्री मौखिक रूप से इनके अनुयायियों द्वारा जीवित रखी गई यद्यपि वह समय के बदलावों से अछूती नहीं रही।

लोक देवी-देवताओं की उन परिस्थितियों का जिन्होंने इन्हें व्यापकता तथा लोकप्रियता प्रदान की उनका ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोण से अध्ययन करना आवश्यक है। आरम्भिक अध्ययनों से यह प्रमाणित होता है कि अधिकतर लोक देवी-देवता जो विशेषकर पश्चिमी राजस्थान के ऐतिहासिक पात्र थे जो किसी न किसी समय में इस क्षेत्र से सम्बन्धित थे। यद्यपि इनका निश्चित समय बताना तथा इनके ऐतिहासिक जीवन का पुनर्निर्माण सही ढंग से करना काफी दुष्कर कार्य है। जो प्रमाण इस संदर्भ में मिलते हैं वे किंवदंतियों, किस्से-कहानियों से लिपटे हुए हैं। परन्तु इन किस्से-कहानियों, मिथकों का ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों से तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करके हम लोक देवी देवताओं से जुड़े लोगों की मानसिकता तथा स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवताओं के ऐतिहासिक महत्व को जान सकते हैं।

क्र.सं.	नाम	ऐतिहासिक काल	प्रमुख कारण/विषय	अनुयायी वर्ग
1	गोगाजी	11वीं-12वीं शताब्दी	पशुधन रक्षा, निम्नजाति सुरक्षा	पशुपालक, कृषक वर्ग
2	तेजाजी	12वीं शताब्दी	कृषक, पशुपालन, सामाजिक वर्गों के हितों की रक्षा	गुर्जर, जाट
3	पाबूजी	14वीं शताब्दी	पशुधन रक्षा, निम्नजाति सुरक्षा	थोरी, रैबारी, जाट

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4	रामदेवजी	14वीं-15वीं शताब्दी	पशुधन रक्षा, निम्नजाति सुरक्षा	भांभी, मेघवाल
5	करणी माताजी	15वीं शताब्दी	स्थानीय जलाशयों की खोज, पशुधन रक्षा	चारण, जाट, राजपूत

मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के प्रमुख लोक देवी-देवता एवं अनुयायी वर्ग

इस सन्दर्भ में कुछ प्रसिद्ध लोक देवी-देवताओं की अवस्थाओं में आए बदलावों का वर्णन किया जा सकता है। तेजाजी (गोदारा जाट) 12वीं शताब्दी के आसपास मारवाड़, अजमेर और किशनगढ़ के जाटों द्वारा पूजे जाने वाले प्रमुख देवता थे। तेजाजी को नागों के देवता और गायों के मुक्तिदाता के रूप में पूजा जाता है। ग्रामीण समुदाय में यह माना जाता है कि अगर किसी व्यक्ति को सांप ने कांट लिया है तो उसके दाहिने पैर में एक रस्सी बांध दे और तेजाजी शब्द का उच्चारण करें तो वह ठीक हो जाएगा।⁵ परब्रतसर (पर्वतसर, नागौर) जो इनकी पूजा का मुख्य केन्द्र था वहां पर तेजाजी की याद में विशाल पशु मेला भरता है। ऐसा माना जाता है कि तेजाजी ने लाछ गूजरी की गायों को मेर (आमेर) के आदिवासियों से छुड़वाया तथा उनके खिलाफ लड़ाई लड़ी जिससे तेजाजी गुर्जरों में भी पूजनीय हो गए।⁶ गोगाजी चौहान वंशी थे। जो ददरेवा राजस्थान के चुरू जिले में लोक देवता के रूप में उभरे। गोगाजी के काल के बारे में इतिहासकार एकमत नहीं है। लोक गीतों और दयालदास के अनुसार गोगाजी ने मुसलमानों के सर्पधर्मियों के हाथों से गायों को छुड़ाने में अर्जन और सरजन के खिलाफ साहसिक कार्य किया।⁷ गोगाजी की पूजा का प्रमुख केन्द्र गुगाजी री मेड़ी (नोहर, हनुमानगढ़) पर उनकी स्मृति में एक वार्षिक धार्मिक मेले का आयोजन किया जाता है।⁸ गोगाजी को भी सांप देवता के रूप में पूजा जाता है। सर्पदंश से प्रभावित व्यक्ति के जीवन को बचाने के लिए गोगा जी के नाम का जाप किया जाता है। किसानों, मवेशियों की रक्षा, पशुचारी वर्गों की सहायता और अपने समुदाय के कल्याण के लिए अपने जीवन का बलिदान करने के रूप में गोगा जी और तेजा जी को पूजा जाता है।

इसी तरह राठौरवंशी पाबूजी 13वीं-14वीं शताब्दी में मारवाड़ में फलौदी के पास कालू गांव में राठौरवंशी के रूप में उभरे। पाबूजी ने थोरी, रैबारी निम्न जाति के हितों की (पशु सम्पत्ति) रक्षार्थ अपने जीवन का बलिदान दिया।¹⁰ पाबूजी के वीरतापूर्वक कार्यों के कारण उन्हें देवता के रूप में पूजा जाने लगा। 14वीं-15वीं शताब्दी में तंवरवंशी लोक देवता रामदेव जी जिन्होंने राजपूती मूल्यों को न अपनाकर निम्न वर्गों की सहायता की और निम्न जाति के देवता के रूप में लोकप्रिय हुए।¹¹ मेघवाल उनके मुख्य अनुयायी बने। रामदेवजी ने इस वर्ग को सम्मानजनक स्थान दिलाने का प्रयास किया। रामदेवजी

ने भी पोखरण के क्षेत्र में मेघवाल जाति के हितों की रक्षार्थ अपने जीवन को न्यौछावर किया। रामदेव जी ने कर्मकांडों, मूर्तिपूजा का विरोध तथा सभी सामाजिक वर्गों की समानता पर जोर दिया।¹² इसी प्रकार देशनोक क्षेत्र में चारण कुल¹³ से सम्बन्धित करणी माता ने पशुपालक, कृषक समाज विशेषकर जाटों में अपनी अलग पहचान बनाई। करणी माता ने पानी के साधनों की खोज, चारागाह की तलाश एवं पशुपालक वर्ग के हितों की रक्षा कर लोक देवी का दर्जा प्राप्त किया।

ऐतिहासिक विकास के साथ इन लोक देवी-देवताओं की एक अलग ही तस्वीर उभरकर सामने आती है। राजस्थान के अधिकांश भागों में राजपूतों के विभिन्न वर्गों, वंशों के अधीन राज्य निर्माण की प्रक्रिया ने तेजी पकड़ी जिसके कारण विभिन्न भागों में अनेक राजपूत कुलों, वंशों के नेतृत्व में छोटे-बड़े अनेक राज्यों का उभार हुआ। राजनीतिक संकट बढ़ने से राजपूती समाज में जो तनाव बढ़े उनसे राजपूती राज्यों के सामने अपने शासन की वैधता तथा सामाजिक आधार बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता पड़ी। जिसमें शासक और स्थानीय लोगों की धार्मिक आस्था-लोक आस्था की सहसम्बन्धता से राज्य को वैधानिकता दिलाने के प्रयास किए गए।

यही कारण था कि बीकानेर राठौर राज्य की नींव और विकास तथा करणी माता के बढ़ते पंथ के बीच घनिष्ठ संबंध था। बीकानेर राज्य के संस्थापक के रूप में राव बीका ने राज्य की वैधता के लिए करणी माता का समर्थन प्राप्त किया। करणी जी ने बीका को जांगल क्षेत्र में अपना प्रभुत्व स्थापित करने में बहुत सहयोग दिया। क्योंकि इस समय करणी माता स्थानीय लोगों-पशुपालक और कृषक समाज के बीच अपने लोकहितकारी कार्यों से प्रमुख हो चुकी थी। बीका को अपने प्रतिद्वंद्वी दूसरे राजपूतों की तुलना में स्थानीय गैर राजपूती वर्गों के समर्थन एवं सहयोग की भी आवश्यकता थी। तभी बीका स्थायी रूप से इन विजय अभियानों को एक शक्तिशाली राज्य के रूप में रूपांतरित कर सका।¹⁴ बीका ने स्थानीय जनता विशेषकर जाटों में करणी माता के बढ़ते प्रभाव को देखते हुए करणी माता के साथ सहसम्बन्ध में राज्य के स्थायित्व को देखा। जैसे कि 1485 ई. में करणी जी के हाथों से बीकानेर दुर्ग की नींव का पत्थर रखवाना, बीका के सिंहासन का नया शासक देशनोक (बीकानेर) की यात्रा करेगा और दीपावत पुजारियों से आशीर्वाद ग्रहण करेगा जिसे सत्ता की अंतिम परीक्षा माना जाता था। राज्य द्वारा समय-समय पर प्राचीर भवन का विस्तार किया गया तथा देशनोक में करणी माता के एक भव्य मंदिर की स्थापना संभव हो पाई। राज्य द्वारा समय-समय पर करणी माता की स्थानीय आस्था को बढ़ावा देने के लिए करणी माता को समर्पित ओरण (राज्य का कोई कानून लागू नहीं होता, जिस पर लकड़ी काटना मना और पशु चराने पर कोई शुल्क नहीं) भूमि छोड़ने की परम्परा। मैक्स हारकोर्ट ने बीकानेर राज्य के निर्माण को करणी माता के प्रयासों का ही प्रतिफल माना है।¹⁵

राठौड़ों के नेतृत्व में मारवाड़ (जोधपुर राज्य) का उत्कर्ष 13वीं-14वीं शताब्दी की महत्वपूर्ण राजनीतिक घटना थी। राठौड़ों द्वारा इस क्षेत्र में दूसरे प्रतिद्वंद्वी राजपूतों भट्टी, गुहिल को हराते हुए एक विस्तृत स्थाई राज्य की स्थापना हुई। इसी समय मारवाड़ की प्रमुख पशुपालन जाति थोरी या रेबारी के सहायतार्थ के रूप में स्थानीय राजपूत पाबू जी द्वारा दूसरे राजपूतों के साथ संघर्ष और अन्ततः निम्नवर्गीय हितों के स्वार्थ अपने प्राणों के बलिदान से पाबू जी को निम्नवर्गीय हितों के लिए वीर पुरुष का स्थान प्राप्त हो चुका था।¹⁶ 18वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व पाबू जी को राठौड़ राजपूतों द्वारा राजपूती धर्म का निर्वाह न करने के कारण (गैर-राजपूतों की सहायता) घृणात्मक दृष्टि से देखा गया क्योंकि वे निचली जाति के लोगों के हितैषी थे। लेकिन 18वीं शताब्दी के बाद पाबू जी की बढ़ती लोकप्रियता तथा राजनीतिक अस्थिरता के दौर में राजपूत राठौड़ों की एक अलग छवि देखने को मिलती है। राजपूत वर्ग ने पाबूजी के मंदिर में जाना शुरू कर दिया एवं कालांतर में महाराजा अजीत सिंह और अभय सिंह ने पाबूजी मंदिर में तीर्थयात्रा की तथा दान भी दिया।¹⁷

18वीं शताब्दी की शुरुआत में लोक देवी-देवताओं को राज्य प्रत्यक्ष संरक्षण प्राप्त हुआ जब लोक देवी-देवताओं को राजपूत नायकों के रूप में दिखाने की कोशिश की गई। सबसे पहले उन देवताओं की पूजा के साथ सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने की कोशिश की गई जिनका उदय राजपूत जाति से जुड़ा था। इन देवताओं के मंदिर में नियमित रूप से जाना और प्रसाद चढ़ाना शाही दिनचर्या का महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा बन गया। मंडोर जो जोधपुर के राठौड़ शासकों की पुरानी राजधानी थी की मूर्तियों में गोगाजी, पाबूजी, रामदेवजी, तेजाजी को देवताओं के रूप में न दिखाकर मारवाड़ के योद्धाओं, नायकों के रूप में दिखाया गया है। गोगाजी, पाबूजी, रामदेवजी को घुड़सवार के रूप में दिखाया गया है। 19वीं शताब्दी में बीकानेर के शासक महाराजा गंगासिंह ने रूपेचा गांव में रामदेव मंदिर और गोगामेड़ी में गोगा के मंदिर का विस्तार और जीर्णोद्धार करवाया। बीकानेर में गोगा जी के नाम से एक जलाशय और एक द्वार बनवाया गया।¹⁸

इन सभी उपरोक्त विश्लेषणों से यही तथ्य उभर कर सामने आता है कि मध्यकालीन राजस्थान में लोक देवी-देवताओं के बदलते हुए रूपों में सबसे पहले ये लोक देवी-देवता ऐसे महान पुरुष और स्त्रियां हैं जो सामाजिक और लोकहितकारी कार्य करते हुए स्थानीय जनता के बीच लोकप्रिय हुए तथा लोक देवी-देवता का स्थान प्राप्त किया। मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवताओं का आरम्भिक आधार स्थानीय था। 17वीं व 18वीं शताब्दी में स्थानीय देवी-देवताओं के प्रतिरूपों में हमें पुनः बदलाव देखने को मिलता है जो सीधे रूप से राजपूतों के इनके प्रति दृष्टिकोणों में बदलावों को रेखांकित करता है। 17वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व राजपूतों का इन सभी लोक

देवी-देवताओं के प्रति घृणात्मक व्यवहार दिखाया गया है जिसमें इन्हें निम्न और गैर राजपूती वर्गों का सहायतार्थ, हितकारी बताया गया है परन्तु 18वीं-19वीं शताब्दी में स्थानीय जनता में लोक देवी-देवताओं के बढ़ते हुए प्रभाव को देखते हुए स्थानीय लोक देवी-देवताओं के इर्द-गिर्द बनी धार्मिक परम्पराओं, मान्यताओं को शासकों के द्वारा अपनाया गया तथा राज्य की वैधता के लिए स्थानीय लोगों की धार्मिक आस्था-लोक आस्था से राज्य को सहसम्बन्ध किया गया।

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मध्यकालीन भारत में स्थल परिवहन राजस्थान के विशेष संदर्भ सहित

प्रेमराज चौधरी*

किसी भी राज्य की आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, धार्मिक एवं सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के सुसंचालन के लिए परिवहन एवं संचार व्यवस्था का विशेष महत्व होता है। मध्यकाल में परिवहन व्यवस्था के संचालन के लिए स्थल एवं जल मार्गों का प्रयोग किया जाता था। मध्यकालीन शासक परिवहन एवं संचार व्यवस्था के महत्व से परिचित थे इसलिए उनके द्वारा इस क्षेत्र में विशेष प्रयास किये गए। परिवहन व्यवस्था के संचालन के लिए मध्यकालीन राज्य सरकारों के द्वारा, चाहे वह सल्तनकालीन केन्द्रीय सरकार हो चाहे मुगलकालीन सरकार हो, विशेष प्रबंध किया जाता था। केन्द्रीय सरकारों द्वारा परिवहन एवं संचार मार्गों के प्रबंधन के लिए निरन्तर प्रयास किया जाता था। सल्तनकाल एवं मुगल काल में परिवहन एवं संचार मार्गों के निर्माण एवं सुरक्षा के लिए अलग से विभाग स्थापित किये गये थे और इन विभागों में बहुत से अधिकारी और कर्मचारी नियुक्त किये गये थे। केन्द्रीय सरकारों के साथ-साथ प्रान्तीय सरकारों, धनी व्यापारी, जमीदारों एवं अन्य रजवाड़ों द्वारा भी परिवहन व्यवस्था के सुसंचालन के लिए प्रयास किया जाता रहा था। मध्यकाल के राजस्थान के विभिन्न रजवाड़ों द्वारा भी परिवहन एवं संचार व्यवस्था के विकास के लिए विभिन्न यात्रियों के विवरण से हमें परिवहन एवं संचार व्यवस्था के विकास के बारे में बहुत सी उपयोगी जानकारी प्राप्त होती है।

भारत की भौगोलिक स्थिति के कारण मध्यकाल में स्थल मार्ग से परिवहन का विशेष महत्व रहा और अधिकांश यात्री एवं व्यापारी यात्रा के लिए स्थल मार्गों का प्रयोग किया करते थे। राजनीतिक, आर्थिक एवं सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के लिए स्थल परिवहन मार्गों एवं साधनों का विशेष महत्व रहा था। एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान पर व्यापारिक वस्तुओं को पहुंचाना हो या फिर राज्य की सामरिक गतिविधियों का संचालन हो अथवा तीर्थ यात्रियों की यात्रा हो सभी में स्थल परिवहन का विशेष महत्व रहा।

तत्कालीन शासक परिवहन व्यवस्था के महत्व से अच्छे से परिचित थे। इसलिए उनके द्वारा इसके विकास के प्रयास किये गये थे।

मध्यकालीन शासकों द्वारा स्थल परिवहन का प्रशासनिक प्रबंधन – सल्तनत कालीन विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक स्रोतों से जानकारी मिलती है कि साम्राज्य के विभिन्न औद्योगिक बाजार एवं बंदरगाह आपस में स्थल मार्गों के जाल से जुड़े हुए थे, और यात्रियों को इन मार्गों पर सार्वजनिक सुविधाएं प्राप्त थी। यद्यपि इन मार्गों की देख-भाल में कई समस्याएं भी थी।¹ शासकों एवं व्यापारियों द्वारा परिवहन व्यवस्था को सुविधाजनक बनाने के प्रयास हुए। सल्तनकाल में परिवहन प्रणाली व्यवस्थित बनाने के लिए अधिकारियों की नियुक्ति भी होती है।² खाने-सामा नामक अधिकारी पर सड़क निर्माण एवं देखरेख का दायित्व था।³ कोतवाल पर भी सड़क निर्माण एवं सैनिक किलों की रक्षा का दायित्व था।⁴ मोहम्मद तुगलक ने अमीर-ए-बहर नामक मंत्री नावों की सुरक्षा के लिए शहना-ए-जफर की नियुक्ति की थी।⁵ फिरोजशाह तुगलक ने ऊंट की सुरक्षा के लिए शहना-ए-जफर की नियुक्ति की थी।⁶ उपरोक्त मंत्रियों के अतिरिक्त समकालीन अन्य स्रोतों एवं यात्रा वृत्तांतों से पता चलता है कि व्यापारी सेठ, साहुकार एवं सामान्य जनता से मार्ग निर्माण और सुरक्षा प्रबंधन में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई मुगल प्रशासन में भी सड़क निर्माण तथा अन्य परिवहन संबंधी कार्य एक सार्वजनिक निर्माण विभाग द्वारा नियंत्रित एवं निर्देशित होते थे।⁷ यह विभाग दीवाने-ब्यूतात के नाम से जाना जाता था। जब भी मुगल बादशाह किसी यात्रा अभियान अथवा शिकार अभियान पर निकलता था तो मंत्रालय द्वारा सैकड़ों की संख्या में उत्खननकर्ता और श्रमिकों को सड़कों की स्थिति सुधारने के लिए भेज दिये जाते थे। ये श्रमिक मार्ग की बाधाओं को दूर कर शाही यात्राओं को सुगम बनाते थे।⁸ फादर मोहम्मद कासिम यात्रा संबंधित व्यवस्था से काफी प्रभावित हुए और वे बताते हैं कि अकबर की काबुल यात्रा के दौरान तत्कालीन मीर बहर के पद पर आसीन मोहम्मद कासिम खान सड़क तथा पुल संबंधी प्रभारी के रूप में सारे व्यवधानों को दूर कर यात्रा को सुगम बनाया।⁹ एक साधारण शाही यात्रा में भी कम से कम नौ सौ मार्गदर्शन और दूसरे श्रमिक अग्रिम रूप में शामिल होते थे।¹⁰ जंगलों एवं पहाड़ों को पार करने के लिए सेना के पास हजारों की संख्या में लकड़ी काटने वाले और संगतरास हुआ करते थे। कभी-कभी ये श्रमिक जमीदारों द्वारा मुहैया करवाये जाते थे। जमीदारों को भी एक निश्चित संख्या में श्रमिक भर्ती करने होते थे, जो सड़कों की देखभाल के लिए अथवा आपातकालीन परिस्थिति का सामना करते थे। महत्वपूर्ण एवं अन्य व्यस्त मार्गों की तुलना में छोटे मार्गों की मरम्मत बादशाह द्वारा प्रयोग करने की स्थिति में ही होती थी।

यद्यपि मुगल कालीन मार्ग निर्माताओं एवं श्रमिकों ने परिवहन को सुगम बनाते

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के हर संभव प्रयास किए किन्तु वैज्ञानिक ज्ञान, उचित सामग्री एवं उचित औजारों के अभाव के कारण सल्तनत काल की तुलना में इस काल में मार्ग निर्माण संबंधी प्रौद्योगिकी में अधिक सुधार नहीं हुआ। मुगल बादशाहों ने देश के विभिन्न भागों में समय-समय पर कई यात्राएं की जिससे हमें समकालीन मार्ग निर्माण प्रौद्योगिकी के विषय में सूचना मिलती है। कश्मीर मुगल सम्राटों की सर्वप्रिय ग्रीष्मकालीन स्थली थी, यद्यपि यहाँ तक पहुंचने के लिए कई मार्ग थे किन्तु वे सभी अत्यंत बिहड़ थे। इन मार्गों में से पीर पंजाल का मार्ग अपेक्षाकृत सुगम था। अकबर ने इस मार्ग से कश्मीर की तीन बार यात्रा की थी।¹¹ इसी प्रकार जहांगीर ने पीर पंजाल के मार्ग को अधिक सुगम बनाने के लिए नूरुकादीन कुली को भेजा जो अपने साथ बड़ी संख्या में श्रमिक, उत्खननकर्ता, बड़ई ले गया और मार्गों की विभिन्न बाधाओं को दूर किया, जिससे भारवाहक पशु भी इसे सरलता से पार कर सके।¹² यद्यपि मुगल अभियंता एवं मार्गों के निर्माण संबंधी कारीगरों ने समकालीन यात्राओं की बाधाओं को दूर करने में अपनी सम्पूर्ण योग्यता का प्रयोग किया। फिर भी समकालीन परिवहन संबंधी सीमाओं के कारण यात्रियों एवं भारवाहक पशुओं को कई बार अपने प्राण गंवाने पड़े।

सड़कों की माप, कोस मीनार, सड़कों का निर्माण - सल्तनत काल में सड़कों की लम्बाई मापने के लिए कई प्रकार के माप प्रचलित थे, मरहला, मंजिल (एक दिन की यात्रा) आवश्यक यात्रा, करसंग, मील, कोस, आदि।¹³ मिन्हाज के अनुसार साधारणतया एक व्यक्ति प्रतिदिन लगभग आठ कोस की यात्रा करता था। मंजिल को कोई निश्चित मान नहीं था। मंगोल लगभग 20 कोस पर मंजिल स्थापित करते थे।¹⁴ तैमूर अपनी यात्रा लगभग 6 कोस पर या कभी-कभी 6 से 10 कोस के अन्तराल पर समाप्त करता था। संभवतः कोस फरसंग का एक तिहाई भाग था। मोरलैंड ने लिखा है एक कोस डेढ़ मील के बराबर था।¹⁵ मुगल शासकों के द्वारा सड़क माप की निश्चित तकनीक विकसित की गई। अकबर ने शेरशाह की मापन प्रणाली की कुछ फेरबदल के साथ अपनाया किन्तु इसमें एक रस्सी से माप लेने के कारण अनियमितता होती थी क्योंकि रस्सी गीली या सूखी होने पर लम्बाई बढ़ या घट जाती थी। 1575 ई. में अकबर ने मापन की एक नई प्रणाली विकसित की जिसमें बांस का प्रयोग होता था जो लौह के छल्लों से जुड़े होते थे।¹⁶ अकबर जब यात्राएं करते थे तब दूरी को इसी माप के आधार पर मापा जाता था। अधीक्षक द्वारा बाद में इसकी गणना की जाती थी।¹⁷ मुगल काल में दूरी की के लिए अकबर ने कोस मीनार का प्रयोग किया। अकबर ने आगरा और अजमेर के मार्ग पर प्रत्येक कोस पर कोस मीनार का निर्माण करवाया ताकि यात्री यात्रा करते समय अपना मार्ग ने भूले।¹⁸ इसी तरह जहांगीर 1619 ई. में आगरा से बंगाल के मार्ग पर प्रत्येक दो मील के अन्तराल पर कोस मीनार का निर्माण करवाया। थेवनाट ने

केवल आगरा और दिल्ली के रास्ते पर ही 79 मीनार देखी।¹⁹ कुछ बड़े शहरों में देश के विभिन्न मार्गों को दर्शाने के लिए पट्ट भी होते थे। इनमें से कुछ अभी भी सुरक्षित हैं।

सल्तनत काल में शासकों ने सड़क निर्माण में व्यक्तिगत रुचि दिखाते हुए प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों की भी नियुक्ति की थी। कुतुबदीन ने सड़कों की सुरक्षा के लिए सूबेदार की नियुक्ति की थी। इलतुतमिश एवं बलबन ने भी मार्गों पर कानून व्यवस्था बनाए रखने एवं विद्रोहों को शांत रखने के लिए प्रयास किये जैसे- जंगलों को साफ कर मार्गों का निर्माण करवाया। मुहम्मद तुगलक काल के मार्गों का वर्णन करते हुए इब्नबतूता ने इन्हे व्यवस्थित बताया है।²⁰ फिरोज तुगलक ने भी राजकीय अधिकारियों को सड़क निर्माण के लिए सख्त निर्देश दिये थे। फिरोज ने सड़क निर्माण एवं देखरेख और यात्रियों की सुरक्षा का विशेष प्रबंध करवाया। यद्यपि समकालीन सड़क तकनीक के बारे में जानकारी के स्रोत उपलब्ध नहीं हैं फिर भी अप्रत्यक्ष स्रोतों से इसके बारे में जानकारी मिलती है। सल्तनत काल में सड़कें आमतौर पर चौड़ी, सीधी और लम्बी होती थी। थेनवाट ने दिल्ली की दो और पक्की सड़कों को चौड़ी सीधी और लम्बी बताया है।²¹ सल्तनत काल में सड़कें कच्ची और पक्की दोनों प्रकार की थी। फायर ने सड़कों को पक्का बताया है। डेला वेला सल्तनत कालीन सड़कों के बारे में बताते हुए लिखा सड़कें इतनी धूल से भरी थी कि उसका पैर नीचे धंस गया और धूल से सन गया। सल्तनत कालीन सड़कें बहुधा संकरी और आड़ी-टेढ़ी होती थी जिस पर मवेशी एवं पैदल यात्री ही चल सकते थे।²² अर्थात् सल्तनत काल में सड़कें आमतौर पर कच्ची होती थी जिससे मार्ग पर चलने में यात्रियों को परेशानी होती थी। आगरा और दिल्ली जैसे प्रशासनिक नगरों में सड़कें काफी दूर तक पक्की थी। फिर भी सामान्य सामान्य कार्य वाली सड़कें इस प्रकार नियोजित होती थी लंबे समय तक उन्हें मरम्मत की आवश्यकता नहीं होती थी। सल्तनतकालीन सुल्तानों द्वारा परिवहन साधनों की सुविधा हेतु मार्गों के निर्माण में विशेष भूमिका निभाई जिससे सल्तनत काल में स्थल मार्ग अच्छी दशा में पाये जाते थे।

मुगल कालीन मार्ग निर्माण तकनीक की व्याख्या करना बहुत ही दुष्कर है। अपने अध्ययन में देखा कि हजारों की संख्या में श्रमिक, लकड़ी और संगतरास मिलकर मार्गों की विभिन्न बाधाओं को दूर करते हुए यात्रा के लिए सुगम बनाते थे। यद्यपि मुगल काल में विस्फोटकों का प्रयोग किया जाता था परन्तु अक्सर किलों की घेराबंदी ही प्रयोग कभी-कभी मार्गों को चौड़ा करने के लिए भी प्रयोग किया जाता था। मुगलकालीन स्रोतों से सड़क निर्माण पद्धति पर अस्पष्ट जानकारी मिलती है। मसिरे-आलमगिरी में औरंगजेब के 1701 ई. के खेलना अभियान की जानकारी मिलती है जिसमें वर्षा ऋतु के कारण दुर्ग तक पहुंचने का मार्ग दुर्गम हो गया था। ये क्षेत्र चारों तरफ से पहाड़ों और घने जंगलों

के कारण बहुत मुश्किल से ही पार करना संभव था। मुगल काल में मार्ग निर्माण का कार्य शीत ऋतु या ग्रीष्म ऋतु की शुरुआत में ही होता था। इस काल में अधिकांश सैनिक अभियान सूखे मौसम में ही नियोजित किये जाते थे, किन्तु फिर भी बेमौसम बारिश से परिवहन संबंधी बाधाएं बढ़ जाती थी। अकबर के 1562 में अब्दुल्ला खां के विरुद्ध अभियान में शाही सेना को बेमौसम बारिश से प्रभावित होना पड़ा था।²³ इस प्रकार समकालीन सड़कें केवल सूखे मौसम में ही यात्रा के अनुकूल थी और कारवा यात्राएं विरले ही मानसून के दौरान नियोजित होती थी। पीटरमुंडी ने मानसून काल की आगरा से पटना की यात्रा के अपने अनुभव को बताते हुए कहा कि उन्होंने अपनी यात्रा आठ बैलगाड़ियों के साथ शुरू की और उनका करवा मुश्किल से पूरे दिन में छः सात मील दूरी तय कर पाते थे। उनकी पटना तक की यह यात्रा 44 दिनों में पूर्ण हुई जो कि अत्यन्त दुष्कर थी। दूसरी तरफ ट्रेवनियर ने दिसम्बर माह में आगरा में पटना की यात्रा 27 दिनों में ही पूर्ण कर ली थी।²⁴ इस प्रकार समकालीन सड़कें केवल सूखे मौसम में ही यात्रा के ज्यादा अनुकूल होती थी।

प्रमुख नगरों के मध्य मार्ग और सड़कें - सल्तनत कालीन नगर एक दूसरे से निश्चित मार्गों से जुड़े हुए थे। दिल्ली सल्तनत कालीन सुल्तानों की राजधानी थी, जो कि देश के लगभग सभी प्रमुख नगरों से राजमार्गों से जुड़ी हुई थी। दिल्ली से एक मार्ग ग्वालियर नागौर होता हुआ उज्जैन से जुड़ा हुआ था। दिल्ली से देवगिरि मार्ग विशेष प्रचलन में था। इसी तरह दिल्ली से लाहौर का मार्ग सोनीपत, पानीपत, थानेसर होकर गुजरता था। दिल्ली से पाँच प्रमुख राजपथ विभिन्न दिशाओं में जाते थे, पहला काबुल, दूसरा कंधार, तीसरा कैम्बे, चौथा बुरहानपुर और पाँचवा सोनारगाँव को जाता था। इन मार्गों का व्यापार-वाणिज्य पर गहरा प्रभाव था। इन मार्गों से विभिन्न व्यापारिक वस्तुएं देश के कौने-कौने में पहुंचती थी। इन मार्गों से जुड़े कई छोटे-छोटे मार्ग थे। उत्तर पश्चिम में लौहार से कश्मीर, दिल्ली से मुल्तान, मुल्तान से कंधार और आगरा से लाहौर इत्यादि। केन्द्रीय भाग में आगरा फतेहपुर सीकरी मार्ग, आगरा से जोधपुर मार्ग, आगरा से चित्तौड़, आगरा से सरहिंद, आगरा से इलाहाबाद आदि प्रमुख छोटे मार्ग थे। पूर्वी भारत में उड़ीसा से बंगाल मार्ग, बंगाल बिहार मार्ग, जौनपुर मालवा मार्ग थे। दक्षिण भारत में बुरहानपुर से उड़ीसा, बहापुर से गोवा, रंगपत्तनम से सिवा समुन्द्र तक, कोचीन से मालाबार इत्यादि। एक अन्य मार्ग चन्द्रगिरी, तिरुपति, कांची, मालाच, मदुरै और रामेश्वरम से गुजरता था।

सल्तनत काल में भारत विदेशों के साथ भी विभिन्न मार्गों से जुड़ा हुआ। थल मार्ग द्वारा भारत मध्य एशिया, अफगानिस्तान, ईरान, चीन, क्वेटा, मुल्तान, खैबर के दर्रा तथा कश्मीर के मार्गों से जुड़ा हुआ था।

मुगल काल में आगरा से कमोबेश सभी दिशाओं में मार्ग जाते थे। आगरा से पटना, बनारस से पटना के मार्ग प्रमुख मार्ग थे। उत्तर-पश्चिम का प्रमुख व्यापारिक मार्ग आगरा से कंधार तक जाता था जो मध्य एशिया का प्रमुख व्यापारिक केन्द्र था। गुजरात से उत्तर भारत दो प्रमुख मार्गों से जुड़ा हुआ था। प्रथम मार्ग पश्चिमी राजस्थान से होते हुए सूरत, आगरा से जुड़ता था फिर अजमेर, मेड़तासिटी, जोधपुर, जालौर, अहमदाबाद, कैम्बे और भड़ोच को जोड़ता था। दूसरा मार्ग मालवा और खानदेश से होकर गुजरता था। यह मार्ग ग्वालियर, सिरोंज, उज्जैन, मांडू, और बुरहानपुर को जोड़ता हुआ ताप्ती और सूरत के तटों को स्पर्श करता था।²⁵ सर थॉमस रो ने सूरत से बुरहानपुर जाने के लिए पूर्वी मार्ग और मांडू से पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में अजमेर जाते हुए धार, जालौर और चित्तौड़गढ़ उनके मार्ग में आए राजस्थान में यह मार्ग मारवाड़ के स्थान पर मेवाड़ से गुजरता है।²⁶ कुछ महत्वपूर्ण और व्यस्त मार्गों पर प्रमुख व्यापारिक नगर एवं कस्बे बसे हुए थे। यहाँ पर देश के विभिन्न भागों से आने वाले व्यापारी अपनी वस्तुएं बेचने के लिए आते थे। मुगल काल के अधिकांश मार्ग संकरे होते थे जिन पर मुश्किल से एक बैलगाड़ी चल पाती थी किन्तु सभी मार्ग संकरे नहीं होते थे जैसे दिल्ली के मुख्य मार्ग चौड़े और सुन्दर थे। बर्नियर ने आगरा के विषय में लिखा है कि यहाँ की सड़कों पर 25-30 सार्वजनिक स्थल बने हैं। दिल्ली की सड़कों के दोनो तरफ बने मेहराब एवं छायादार स्थलों पर दुकानें हैं। बर्नियर ने अन्य विभिन्न मार्गों में भी यही समानताएं पाईं। अहमदाबाद अपने चौड़े मार्गों तथा विभिन्न प्रकार की बहुसंख्यक दुकानों के लिए जाना जाता था। जॉन जॉर्डन और डेला वेला के अनुसार ये भारत का सबसे सुन्दर नगर था। अधिकांश नगर एवं कस्बों में कुछ पक्की सड़कें भी थी। किलेबन्द नगरों में बहुत ईंटों से पक्के किए गए थे। बंगाल में पक्की सड़कें सर्वप्रथम मोहम्मद आज़म के कार्यकाल में बनवायी गईं। लौहार में भी उत्तम सड़कें होने की जानकारी मिलती है। भारत कमोबेश प्रत्येक भाग में यहाँ तक कि छोटे शहरों और कस्बों में भी हमें ईंटों से बनी सड़कों के उदाहरण मिलते हैं। इस प्रकार मध्य काल में सम्पूर्ण भारत विभिन्न मार्गों एवं परिवहन के साधनों से जुड़ा हुआ था।

मध्यकालीन राजस्थान में स्थल परिवहन - सम्पूर्ण भारत की तरह ही राजस्थान भी मध्य काल में विभिन्न मार्गों एवं परिवहन के साधनों से भारत के विभिन्न भागों से जुड़ा हुआ था। सल्तनत काल एवं मुगल काल के विभिन्न राजमार्ग राजस्थान से होकर गुजरते थे। गुजरात को उत्तर भारत से जोड़ने वाले मार्ग राजस्थान के मेवाड़ और मारवाड़ से होकर गुजरते थे। सल्तनत एवं मुगल शासकों के समान ही राजस्थान के शासकों ने भी मार्गों एवं परिवहन के साधनों के विकास में रुचि ली। राजस्थान के राजपूत शासकों ने अपनी सामरिक एवं व्यापारिक आवश्यकता की पूर्ति के लिए परिवहन व्यवस्था पर विशेष ध्यान दिया। राजस्थान के विभिन्न औद्योगिक एवं व्यापारिक शहर एवं कस्बे

विभिन्न मार्गों से भारत के अन्य व्यापारिक केन्द्रों के साथ वैश्विक व्यापारिक केन्द्रों से जुड़े हुए थे। राजस्थान के भौगोलिक स्थिति के कारण यहाँ पर स्थल परिवहन का ही विशेष विकास हुआ था।

16वीं-17वीं शताब्दी में तो राजस्थान की मरुभूमि का जुड़ाव भी अनेक व्यापारिक मार्गों से हो गया। व्यापारिक विकास में शासकों की गहन रुचि के कारण इसको अच्छी गति प्राप्त हुई। भटनेर, बाड़मेर, डीडवाना, पाली, मेड़तासिटी, नागौर, जैसलमेर, का विकास व्यापारिक केन्द्रों के रूप में हो गया था। पाली तो सड़क मार्ग से सिरोही, फलौदी, अजमेर, मेड़तासिटी और उदयपुर से जुड़ गया था।²⁷ आगरा से अहमदाबाद मार्ग चित्तौड़, चाकसू, मेड़तासिटी तथा जालौर आदि स्थानों से होकर गुजरता था। मध्यकाल में व्यापारिक दृष्टि से राजस्थान का विशिष्ट महत्व था। इस दृष्टि जुड़ा हुआ था।²⁸

अलबिरूनी ने अपनी पुस्तक किताब-उल-हिन्द में विभिन्न मार्गों का वर्णन किया है जिसमें बहुत से मार्ग राजस्थान से होकर गुजरते थे। इनमें से एक मार्ग कन्नौज से वनवास, बजाना, महरा, मेवाड़ का मार्ग महत्वपूर्ण था। अलबिरूनी बताते हैं कि बजाना के दक्षिण में मेवाड़ प्रदेश मौजूद है, जो बजाना से 25 फरसख दूर है। उसने मेवाड़ की राजधानी जहरूर बताई है।

मध्यकाल में राजस्थान के मारवाड़ में कई नगर व्यापारिक केन्द्र के रूप में विकसित हो चुके थे। राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग पर स्थित होने के कारण व्यापारियों के कारवां बैलगाड़ी ऊंटों और घोड़ों पर लादकर जोधपुर, पाली नागौर, मेड़तासिटी और भीनमाल होते हुए आगे बढ़ते थे। राजपूत शासकों के प्रभाव क्षेत्र में होने के कारण यहाँ के नगर एवं मार्ग सुरक्षित होते थे और समान चोरी होने अथवा लुटे जाने का यहाँ पर डर नहीं था।²⁹ इसी प्रकार एक अन्य मार्ग मारवाड़ की मरुभूमि से होकर बयाना होते हुए लहरी बंदरगाह या कराची तक जाता था। मोहम्मद गोरी गुजरात के लिए उच्छ होकर किराडु पहुंचा और फिर सोमनाथ मन्दिर को लूटा।³⁰ 1228 ई. में अब्बासी खलीफा का राजदूत बगदाद से कीमती उपहार लेकर दिल्ली आया तक वह नागौर होकर गुजरा था। खिलजी शासकों के समय मंगोल आक्रमणकारियों ने नागौर के आसपास विध्वंस किया। शेरशाह सूरी के समय आगरा से जोधपुर एवं महत्वपूर्ण मार्ग था। मध्यकाल में मारवाड़ सड़क मार्ग से गुजरात से जुड़ा हुआ था। एक मार्ग अजमेर से प्रारम्भ होता था जो कि यहाँ से मेड़ता, सिरोही, पचन, डीसा, होकर अहमदाबाद तक जाता था। अजमेर से अहमदाबाद से आगरा जाने का मार्ग, मैसाना, सिधपुर, पालनपुर, भीनमाल, जालौर, मेड़तासिटी, बयाना होकर फतेहपुर सीकरी को जाता था परन्तु यह मार्ग पूर्णतया सुरक्षित नहीं था, कई बार जंगली जातियों के लोग लूटपाट कर लिया करते थे।³¹ मुहता नैणसी री ख्यात से ज्ञात होता है कि पाली अन्तरदेशीय व्यापार मुख्य केन्द्र था जो सिरोही, बीकानेर, फलौदी,

जैसलमेर, अजमेर, आमेर, मेड़ता और उदयपुर से सड़क मार्ग से जुड़ा हुआ था।³² इस प्रकार मध्यकालीन राजस्थान स्थल मार्ग द्वारा न केवल भारत के विभिन्न भागों अपितु विश्व के विभिन्न भागों से भी जुड़ा हुआ था। हालांकि इस समय अधिकांश सड़कें कच्ची होती थीं फिर भी बैलगाड़ी ऊंट और घोड़े आसानी से दौड़ सकते थे। मध्यकालीन राजस्थान के राजपूत शासकों कि विशेष रुचि के कारण स्थल परिवहन का विकास हुआ फलस्वरूप नगरीकरण की प्रक्रिया को गति मिली। परिवहन व्यवस्था के विकास के कारण शासकों को सामरिक एवं प्रशासनिक गतिविधियों में भी सहायता प्राप्त हुई।

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ठिकाना रोहित के आर्थिक विकास में

पशुपालक वर्ग का योगदान

डॉ. नयना आचार्य*

ठिकाना रोहित पाली जिले में स्थित है। यह आईदंनोत चांपावत का ठिकाना था। चांपावत राठौड़ मारवाड़ के इतिहास में अपने शौर्य एवं वीरता के लिए जाने जाते हैं। यहाँ के ठिकानेदारों में उन्हें उच्च स्थान प्राप्त था। ठिकाना में पशुपालन करने वालों में मुख्यतः राइका, गुजर, घांची आदि प्रमुख जातियाँ थीं, जो पशुपालन करती थीं। ये जातियाँ पशुपालन के साथ-साथ खेती भी करती थी जिसका उल्लेख बहियों में मिलता है।

पशुपालक जातियाँ - इस वर्ग मुख्यतः रेबारी जिन्हें राइका कहा जाता था। यह प्रमुख पशुपालक जाति थी। यह मुख्यतः ऊँट को चराते थे। रेबारी की मुख्यतः दो शाखाएँ हैं (1) मारू (2) चलकिया। मारू रेबारी की स्थिति उस समाज में उच्च थी। यह वर्ग सिर्फ ऊँटों को पालता था। जबकि चलकिया रेबारी भेड़ों और बकरियाँ पालते थे। पाली क्षेत्र के रेबारी पीतलिये के नाम से पुकारे जाते थे, क्योंकि इनकी स्त्रियाँ भारी मात्रा से पीतल धातु के आभूषण पहनती थी। पाली और सिरोही जिलों में रेबारी बहुतायत में पाये जाते हैं।¹ रेबारी के अतिरिक्त पशुपालक जातियों में घांची और गुजर आते थे।

ठिकाना में पशुपालन करने वालों में मुख्यतः राइका, गुजर घांची आदि प्रमुख जातियाँ थी। जो पशुपालन करती थी। ये जातियाँ पशुपालन के साथ-साथ खेती भी करती थी जिसका उल्लेख बहियों में मिलता है। राइका भेड़, बकरियाँ और ऊँट पालने का कार्य करके ठिकाना के पशुधन में वृद्धि करते थे। ठिकाना के विकास में सहयोग करते थे क्योंकि पशुओं का उपयोग बोझा ढोने होता था तथा उनसे दूध, घी, मक्खन, ऊन, चमड़ा आदि प्राप्त होता था। रोहित की बहियों के अध्ययन से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि रोहित में राइका बाना, राइका राना, राइका गोकुल, राइका देवराज आदि भेड़, बकरी, ऊँट आदि का व्यवसाय करते थे।² इन पशुओं से ऊन प्राप्त होती थी। जो कंबल, आसन आदि बनाने के काम में आती थी। राइका जाति से अनेक कर लिये जाते थे परन्तु अकाल

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पड़ने पर उनको करों में छूट दी जाती थी। राइका पशु पालते थे इसलिए उनसे घासमारी और ऊनबाब (यह कर राइका जाति से लिया जाता था क्योंकि ये भेड़ बकरी और ऊँट पालते थे। जिससे ऊन प्राप्त होती थी) नामक कर लिया जाता था।³

मारवाड़ रा परगनां री फरसत के अनुसार परगना सिवाना के गाँव आसोतरों में भेड़, बकरी आदि पशुओं से घासमारी के 100 जानवरों आठ आना लिया जाता था।⁴ गाँव देवदो में राइका से ऊनबाब के 14 रु. लिए जाते थे परन्तु वि.सं. 1869 रेबारियों की मृत्यु होने जाने से उनके घरों की संख्या कम रह गई इसलिए अब ऊनबाब के 10 रु. लिये जाने लगे।⁵ सीवाणा के गाँव तलवाडों में राइका से ऊनबाब के 7 रुपये लिए जाते थे परन्तु राइका जाति के घर कम होने जाने से अब ऊनबाब के पाँच रु. लिये जाने लगे।⁶

घांची - यह गुजरात से मारवाड़ आयी थी इसका परम्परागत व्यवसाय तो तेल निकालना था परन्तु अब ये गाय, भैंस आदि आदि पालते हैं। दूध, दही, घी, पनीर आदि बेचते थे। इसके साथ खेती भी करते थे।⁷

गुजर - ये भेड़ और बकरी को चराते हैं। कृषि कार्य कम करते थे। इनका मुख्य कार्य पशुओं को पालना था। यह मारवाड़ में अजमेर की तरफ से आये थे। मारवाड़ के पूर्वी परगनों में बहुतायत पाये जाते हैं। गुजर पुरुष धोती, कपूर और पोतिया पहनते थे। कोई-कोई पुरुष पगड़ी भी बांधते थे और लम्बी अंगररखी पहनते थे और औरतें हाथ में पीतल का चूड़ा पहनती थी।⁸ गुजर जाति की स्त्रियाँ राजकुमार और राजकुमारियाँ की देखभाल के लिए नियुक्त की जाती थी। इसलिए उनको धाय कहा जाता था। उनसे उत्पन्न पुत्रों को राजघरानों में धाय भाई कहा जाता था। महाराजा विजयसिंह के शासन काल में धाय भाई जगन्नाथ उनका प्रमुख सलाहकार था।⁹

ठिकाना रोहित में पशुपालक जातियों में प्रमुख रूप से राइका, घांची और गुजर आते थे परन्तु अधिक संख्या में राइका थे। ठिकाना रोहित और उसके गाँवों में राइका तीजो, राइका बेनो, राइका रूगीयो प्रभुरो, राइका रूपलो, राइका हीरा शिवजी आदि पशुपालन का कार्य करते थे।¹⁰ ये ऊँट, भेड़ और बकरियाँ चराते थे। इन पशुओं की ऊन से कम्बल, नमदे और आसन बनाये जाते थे। ठिकाना में महाराजकुमार के जन्म के अवसर पर राइका पगलिया (बधाई लेने) लेने आया तब उसे पाली की कसूमल पाग दी गई थी।¹¹

ठिकाना रोहित में इन पशुपालक जातियों से ऊनबाब, घासमारी, फरोई, खालड़ा आदि कर लिये जाते थे। जो इस प्रकार है—

घासमारी - राइका जाति से लिया जाता था जो पशुओं का पालन करते थे और उनके पशु बाहर चरने के लिए जाते थे। ठिकाना रोहित की बही के अनुसार रोहित में

राइको से घासमारी के 100 जानवरों पर 12।।) साढ़े 12 रु. लिये जाते थे। कीवाड़ी के।) 4 आना लिये जाते थे। जैसे- राइका जोगा भभूत से 50 जानवरों के 6।) रु. 6 रु. 4 आना और क्वाड़ी का।) चार आना मिलाकर 6।।)6 रु. आठ आना कुल लिये गये थे।¹²

खाजरू लाग - जो लोग बकरों को पालते थे उन से प्रति घर 3) रु. खाजरू कर लिया जाता था जैसे राइका भभूतरो 3) रु. राइका कालियो 3) रु. आदि।¹³

ऊनबाब - पशुपालक जातियों से लिया जाने वाला कर। ठिकाना रोहित में राइकों से ऊनबाब के 3 रु. लिये जाते थे इसमें भेड़ों की गिनती की जाती थी वह इस प्रकार थी- चैत्र से वैशाख तक (जब तक भेड़ों की ऊन नहीं काटी जाती थी) उन्हें दोवड़ी गिना जाता था। वैशाख से कार्तिक तक इकेवड़ी गिना जाता था, जैसे-

राइका आसूलाल	- 3) रु.
राइका केनो	- 3;) रु.
राइका हुक्मा	- 3) रु.
राइका धीमनो	- 3) रु.
राइका ईन्दो	- 3) रु. ¹⁴

खालड़ा लाग - यह कर की पशुओं की खाल के रूप वर्ष में एक बार एक खाल के रूप में लिया जाता था। ठिकाना रोहित में मरे हुए पशुओं की खाल जटीया जाति से ली जाती थी। जैसे-

जटीया शीवजीयो । खाल
जटीया छोगलीयो । खाल
जटीया लच्छीयो । खाल। ¹⁵

राइका जाति के पशुपालक जब एक स्थान से दूसरे स्थान अपने पशुओं को लेकर जाते थे और अकाल के समय पशुओं को लेकर मालवा तथा की तरफ जाते थे तो रास्ते में उनको कोई तंग नहीं करे इसलिए ठिकाना की तरफ उनको परवाना (अर्थात् प्रशासनिक कार्य हेतु ठिकानेदार द्वारा राज्य कर्मचारियों तथा चौधरियों तथा अन्य व्यक्तियों को दिया जाने वाले पत्र को परवाना कहा जाता था।) लिख कर दिया जाता था जैसे- ठाकुर दलपतसिंह के समय देवासी बीरदा, हिमता, सीबु साडेल ने अर्जी पेश की थी कि इस साल मारवाड़ में केतसाली (अकाल) है। ठिकाना के सांडों को लेकर बाहर चराने के लिए ले जाने चाहता है तब उनको परवाना लिखकर दिया गया था। वह सांडों के समूह को लेकर जहाँ जाना चाहते हैं, जा सकते हैं। वहाँ पर यह परवाना बता देना कोई तकरार

नहीं करेगा।¹⁶ गाँव कलाली के चांपावत रावतसिंह को भी इसी तरह परवाना दिया गया था वह अपने मवेशी लेकर मालवा की तरफ चराने के लिए लेकर जायेगा उसे भी कोई रोक-टोक नहीं करेगा।¹⁷

गाँव अरटीया के राइका जीगा का पुत्र नवला जिसके पास 125 जानवर थे वह उनको चराने के लिए मालवा लेकर जाना चाहता था उसे भी परवाना लिख कर दिया गया था उसे कोई रोकटोक नहीं करेगा यह परवाना दिखा देना।¹⁸ इस प्रकार ठिकानेदार इन पशुपालकों को विपरीत परिस्थितियों में करों में छूट देता था तथा उनकी समस्या को हल करने के लिए उनके नाम का परवाना लिखकर भी दिये जाते थे। जिससे रास्ते में कोई उनको तंग नहीं करे। इसके अतिरिक्त ठिकानेदार पशुपालक जाति को गाँव में बसाता था। उनको खालसा भूमि में से जमीन भी दी जाती थी। जैसे- रोहित के कसाई मीरीया मैमदा ईस्माईल को रोहित में भूमि दी गई। उससे सुकराना के 21) रु. लिये गये।¹⁹

फरोई यह कर पशुपालकों से लिया जाता था रोहित की बही अनुसार गांव तीगरा के राइका से फरोई कर 4) रु. लिया गया।²⁰ यह कर उन राइको से लिया जाता था जिनके पशु किसी की खड़ी फसल को खराब करते थे अथवा उसको नुकसान पहुँचाते थे। ठिकाना के पुरालेखनीय स्रोतों के गहन अध्ययन के उपरान्त यह कहा जा सकता है कि पशुपालक जातियों (राइकों) से लिया जाने वाला घासमारी कर में नये करों को लागू किया गया था। ठिकाना के गाँव कलाली में घासमारी में खरड़ा लाग (श्रमजीवी जातियों से लिया जाने वाला कर अथवा लिखावट के रूप लिया जाने वाला कर जो राइकों से 100 जानवरों पर 3) रु. लिया जाता था) को लागू किया, जैसे-

गाँव कलाली में राइका जाति से घासमारी के 100 जानवरों पर 3) रु. कीवाड़ी के 1) और खरड़ा के 3) रु. लिये जाते थे। जो इस प्रकार है-²¹

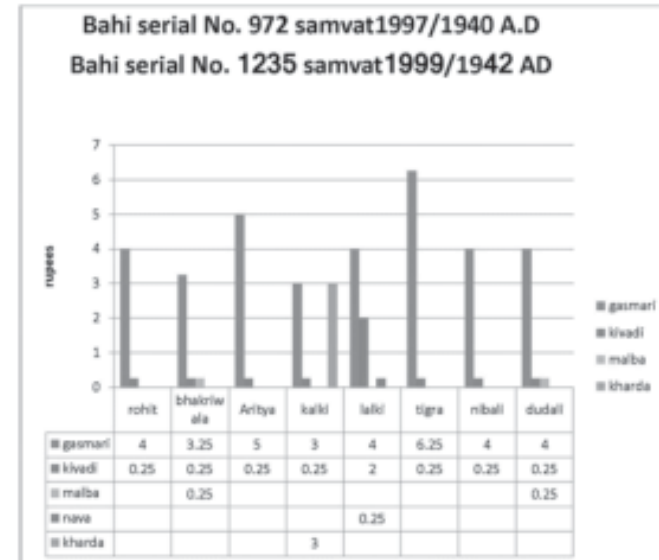
क्र.सं.	कुल राशि	आसामी/नाम	किवाड़ी	खरड़ा	घासमारी	जानवर
			1) चार आना	3) रु. 100 जानवरों पर	100 जानवरों पर 3) रु.	
1.	12 11) 12 रु. 8 आना	राइका राणो सरपरो	1)	6=)	6=)	204
2.	8-) 8 रु. 1 आना	राइका सरदारो लच्छरो	1)	3 111=) 11	3 111=) 11	130

ठिकाना के गाँव लालकी में घासमारी कर के साथ में नया कर नांवा कर (नाम अंकित करने के 1) 4 आना लिया जाने लगा) को लागू किया गया, जैसे- गाँव लालकी में राइका जाति से घासमारी के 4) रु. तथा कीवाड़ी के 2) रु. तथा नावां के 1) चार

आना और खाजरू के प्रति घर 3) रु. लिये जाते थे। जो इस प्रकार है-²²

क्र.सं.	कुल राशि	आसामी/नाम	किवाड़ी	खरड़ा	घासमारी	जानवर
			2) रु.	1)	100 पर प्रति घर 4) रु. 3) रु.	
1.	16 1) 1६ रु. 4 आना	राइका राणो	2)	1)	11) 3)	275
2.	17 11) 11 रु. 8 आना और 2 पैसे	राइका बेनो	2)	1)	12 1) 11 ३)	307

घासमारी कर रोहित और उसके जागीरी गाँवों में समान दर से नहीं ली जाती थी उसमें भिन्नता दिखाई देती है जो इस प्रकार है-²³



1 unit= 1 rupees

1 rupees = 16 anna

1 anna= 4 paise

ठाकुर दलपतसिंह के समय वि.सं. 2006/1949 ई. में घासमारी कर की दर में और वृद्धि की गई थी। परन्तु वह रोहित और उसके जागीर गाँवों में समान रूप से ली जाती थी। ठिकानेदार द्वारा अकाल तथा विपरीत परिस्थितियों में करों में छूट दी जाती थी जैसे वि.सं. 2001 में घासमारी के साथ लिया जाने वाला किवाड़ी माफ कर दिया गया था। ठाकुर दलपतसिंह के समय वि.सं. 2006/1949 ई. राइका जाति से एवड़ की घासमारी के 12।।) 12 रु. 8 आना लिया जाता था। रोहित एवं उसके जागीर गाँव में यह दर समान थी।²⁴

क्र.सं.	स्थान/गाँव	घासमारी	किवाड़ी	मलबा
1.	रोहित	12।।)	।)	।)
2.	भाखरी वाला	12।।)	।)	।)
3.	अरटीया	12।।)	।)	।)
4.	लालकी	12।।)	।)	।)
5.	नीबली	12।।)	।)	।)
6.	तीगरा	12।।)	।)	।)

राइका जाति से लिया जाने वाले खाजरू कर जो 3) रु. लिया जाता था। उसको माफ किया गया, जैसे- राइका नैनिया से खाजरू कर 2) रु. माफ किया गया तथा 1) रु. लिया गया।²⁵

राइका जाति से लिया जाने वाला ऊनबाब कर में आड़त (दलाली) को जोड़ा गया था जो राइको से 100 जानवरों पर 2) रु. लिया जाता था।²⁶ ठिकाना में ऊनबाब, खाजरू, झूपी आदि कर में वृद्धि भी नहीं हो रही थी वह समान दर से ली जाती थी। ठाकुर दलपतसिंह के समय 1954 ई. में ज्वारी तथा झूपी लाग को समाप्त कर दिया गया।²⁷

इस प्रकार ठिकानेदार अपने ठिकाने में रहने वाली विभिन्न पशुपालक जातियों से कर लेता था जिससे उसे आय प्राप्त होती थी। वह सूझ-बूझ ठिकाने की प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था का संचालन करता था उसी आय से ठिकाने का आर्थिक विकास कर के राज्य के आर्थिक विकास में भी सहयोग देता था।

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डॉ. अर्चना शर्मा*

राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों में जोधपुर एक प्रमुख राजपूत राज्य है जिसका संस्कृत शिलालेखों, पुस्तकों आदि में नाम मरु, मरुस्थली, माख, मरुमेदिनी, मरुदेश, मरुकांतार मिलता है जिसका अर्थ रेगिस्तान या निर्जल देश होता है और भाषा में उसको मारवाड़ और मरुधरा कहते हैं।¹ जब से जोधपुर नगर बसा तब से यह जोधपुर राज्य के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ। जोधपुर का राठौड़ राजवंश सूर्यवंशी राठौड़ राजवंशीय घराना है। 'रणबंका राठौड़ों' का अस्तित्व भारतवर्ष में वि.सं. से पूर्व की तीसरी शताब्दी के आस-पास था परन्तु वर्तमान राठौड़ वंश का राजपूताने में आगमन वि.सं. की 14वीं शताब्दी में हुआ। वि.सं. 1300 के आस-पास जोधपुर के राठौड़ों का मूल पुरुष सीहा कन्नौज की तरफ से सर्वप्रथम राजपूताने में आया और उसने तथा उनके वंशजों ने यहाँ राठौड़ राज्य की नींव डाली, जो क्रमशः बढ़ती गई।² राठौड़ सीहा के वंशज राव जोधा ने चिड़ियानाथ की टूंक नामक पहाड़ी पर वि.स. 1516 (12 मई, 1459) को एक नये दुर्ग की नींव रखी और इस दुर्ग के चारों ओर जो नगर बसा, वही जोधपुर दुर्ग के नाम से विख्यात है।³ मारवाड़ में यह जोधाणा या जोधाजी की ढाणी के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। इसके बाद लगभग 500 वर्ष तक यही किला मारवाड़ की राजनीतिक एवं सामरिक गतिविधियों का सर्वप्रमुख केन्द्र रहा।

भारत में प्राचीन समय से शैव और वैष्णव सम्प्रदायों का प्रभाव रहा है, जिन्होंने आमजन को उच्च आदर्श एवं उन्नति का मार्ग दिया। इसी श्रृंखला में भारत में नाथ सम्प्रदाय का प्राचीन काल से ही सांस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है। इस सम्प्रदाय के सन्तों ने अपने प्रभाव से राजपूताना की राजनैतिक एवं सामाजिक जन-जीवन को प्रभावित किया और अपने अनुकरणीय सिद्धान्तों से अपनी अमिट छाप

छोड़ी है। नाथ सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक आदिनाथ भगवान शंकर माने जाते हैं।⁴ नाथ शब्द 'ना+थ' के संयोग से बना है। राजगुरु ग्रन्थ के अनुसार 'ना' का अर्थ है 'अनादि रूप' और 'थ' का अर्थ है (त्रिलोक का) स्थापित होना। नाथ-मत का स्पष्ट अर्थ वह अनादि धर्म है, जो भुवन त्रय (तीन लोक) की स्थिति का कारण है।⁵ 'नाथोक्ति' अर्थात् नाथ द्वारा कथित होने के कारण यह नाथ सम्प्रदाय कहलाया। नाथ पंथ की साधना 'हठयोग' साधना कहलाती है जिसमें हठात सिद्धि मिल जाने की आशा की जाती है जिसका लक्ष्य मुक्ति है। नाथ दर्शन में गुरु को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त है क्योंकि योग साधना में गुरु का मार्गदर्शन अनिवार्य है। 'सिद्ध-सिद्धान्त पद्धति' नामक धार्मिक ग्रन्थ सम्प्रदाय का प्रामाणिक ग्रन्थ माना गया है जिसमें सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायियों से संबंधित आचार संहिता का उल्लेख हुआ है।⁶

भारत में छठी शताब्दी में विकसित नाथ सम्प्रदाय का प्रभाव राजस्थान के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों जैसे बीकानेर, जोधपुर, अजमेर, किशनगढ़, कोटा, जयपुर, उदयपुर आदि में प्रमुखता रहा परन्तु विशेषतः मारवाड़ में सन् 1803 से 1843 तक जोधपुर के शासक महाराजा मानसिंह ने नाथ सम्प्रदाय के प्रचार-प्रसार में अपनी गहरी पेट स्थापित कर शैव धर्म में अपनी विशेष रुचि दिखाई थी। जोधपुर नरेश मानसिंह के शासनकाल की विभिन्न गतिविधियों ने मारवाड़ में नाथ सम्प्रदाय के प्रचार-प्रसार में योगदान दिया। जोधपुर नरेश मानसिंह के प्रारम्भिक राजनैतिक जीवन की उथल-पुथल को शांत करने में नाथ गुरु आयस देवनाथ की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही थी। जोधपुर नरेश मानसिंह नाथ गुरु आयस देवनाथ जी के अनन्य भक्त थे और अपने आध्यात्मिक गुरु आयस देवनाथ के निर्देशन में नाथ सम्प्रदाय हेतु 1861, चैत्र सुदी 10 (9 अप्रैल, 1804) के दिन महामन्दिर की नींव रखी और विशाल पैमाने पर इसका निर्माण कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ और वि.स. 1861, माघ मास की शुक्ल पंचमी (4 फरवरी, 1805) को महामन्दिर की प्रतिष्ठा हुई।⁷ कलात्मक मन्दिर, आवास महल, बाग, झालरा आदि गुरुदेव आयस देवनाथ को भेंट किये गये। 23 सितम्बर, 1805 के दिन महाराजा मानसिंह नाथ सम्प्रदाय में दीक्षित हुए। आयस देवनाथ ने गुरु मंत्र दिया और महाराजा मानसिंह ने जीवन भर नाथ सम्प्रदाय और नाथ जोगियों में अक्षय आस्था रखी। महाराजा मानसिंह ने अपने शासनकाल में नाथ सम्प्रदाय के मठ, मन्दिर, जलस्थापत्य, साहित्य, कला एवं संस्कृति, आचार विचार आदि हेतु अथक प्रयास कर नाथ सम्प्रदाय के विकास में बढ़ोतरी की थी।

जोधपुर महाराजा मानसिंह नाथ सम्प्रदाय के अनन्य भक्त थे। उनकी इसी भक्ति भावना के कारण उस समय मारवाड़ में लोग नाथ सम्प्रदाय में दीक्षित होने लगे। दीक्षित होने वाले अनुयायियों को राजकोष से भोजन, वस्त्र, आभूषण दान-दक्षिणाएँ प्रदान की जाती थी, साथ ही सम्पूर्ण भारत में रचित नाथ साहित्यों को एकत्र करने के साथ-साथ

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मन्दिरों में कीर्तनियों को पदस्थापित करने के प्रयास किये गये। नाथ सम्प्रदाय के सन्तों को आर्थिक सहयोग देने के लिए राजस्व में से कर प्राप्त करने के अधिकार भी दिये गये। राज्य पोषण से नाथ सम्प्रदाय अद्योषित राज्य धर्म बन गया। महाराजा मानसिंह के शासन काल में राजकार्यों में नाथ सन्त इतने प्रभावशाली हो गये कि मारवाड़ प्रशासन के दस्तावेजों के प्रारम्भ में 'श्री जलंधर नाथ सहाय छै' लिखा जाने लगा।⁸ सम्प्रदाय के गुरुओं को विशेष सम्मान प्रदान किया जिसमें हाथी सिरोपाव, पालकी सिरोपाव, पृथक न्याय व्यवस्था के साथ-साथ प्रत्येक सप्ताह के सोमवार को राजकोष से मन्दिरों, मठों में पूजा साग्रगी भी भिजवाई जाती थी। स्वयं महाराजा प्रत्येक सोमवार अपने गुरु के दर्शन के लिए महामन्दिर जाया करते थे। महाराजा मानसिंह जब विभिन्न अवसरों पर नाथ मन्दिरों में दर्शनार्थ जाते और नाथ सन्त महाराजा के दुर्ग में आते, तत्सम्बन्धी शिष्टाचार के नियम बने हुए थे। आयस देवनाथ जी जब दरबार में आते थे तो महाराजा अपना शीश भूमि में लगाकर उनका अभिवादन तथा श्रद्धा अर्पित करते थे। महाराजा मानसिंह को जब सिरे मन्दिर, महामन्दिर एवं निज मन्दिर के पुजारी मार्ग में मिल जाते थे तो वे पालकी में बैठे-बैठे ही उनका नमस्कार करते थे। जब महाराजा मानसिंह महामन्दिर जाते तब अपने साथ अस्त्र नहीं रखते थे और 200 कदम दूरी से नगाड़ा नहीं बजाते और न ही महाराजा को परम्परागत ढंग से कोई नजर भेंट की जाती थी। जब आयस देवनाथ पालकी से किले पर आते थे तो पालकी सिरह ड्योढी तक ले जाई जाती और वे घोड़े पर सवार होते, तब सूरजपोल पर उतरते थे। महाराजा मानसिंह के द्वारा अनेक गांव दइजर, थबूकड़ा, तनवादा नाथ सम्प्रदाय एवं महामन्दिर को दान दिये गये और इन गाँव की समस्त आमदनी का चौथा हिस्सा महामन्दिर को भेंट किया जाता था।⁹ इन शिष्टाचार के नियमों एवं व्यवस्थाओं से स्पष्ट है कि महाराजा मानसिंह नाथों के प्रति विशेष श्रद्धा रखते थे।

ऐसी मान्यता है कि जोधपुर नरेश महाराजा मानसिंह (ई.1803-43) को नाथों के आशीर्वाद से राज मिला था इस कारण उन्होंने राज्य मिलने पर राज कार्य में नाथों की भूमिका को महत्व दिया। महाराजा मानसिंह जी के जालौर दुर्ग में संकट के समय आयस जी द्वारा उन्हें पूर्ण सहायता जैसे गाँव-गाँव घूम कर अनाज, घोड़े, कोष, सैनिक इकट्ठे किये ये, सरदारों ने अपने जेवर तक गिरवी रखकर इनकी सहायता की थी तो मानसिंह जी ने भी राजा बनने पर नाथों एवं अन्य सरदारों को पदवियां देकर सम्मानित किया तथा स्वयं ने नाथ पंथ में दीक्षा लेकर 1805 में देवनाथ आयस जी को अपना गुरु बनाया।¹⁰ राजकार्य में मानसिंह जी नाथ गुरु से परामर्श लेते जैसे सन् 1808 में जोधपुर बीकानेर संधि, सन् 1810 में जोधपुर तथा जयपुर की संधियाँ देवनाथ जी के प्रयासों से हुई थी। मेवाड़ राजकुमारी कृष्णा कुमारी के विवाद के समय मानसिंह को जयपुर के जगत सिंह एवं बीकानेर की सेनाओं ने घेरा तब मानसिंह जी के साथ घेरे में देवनाथ एवं सूरतनाथ

भी थे।¹¹ महाराजा मानसिंह जब गद्दी पर आसीन हुए तब से अपने रिश्तेदारों से अस्वीकृत थे एवं रिश्तेदार मारवाड़ सरदारों के साथ मिलकर महाराजा मानसिंह के विरुद्ध षडयंत्र किये, ऐसे में मानसिंह आयस देवनाथ को अपना संरक्षक मानकर उनकी सलाह मानते थे। परन्तु मारवाड़ प्रशासन में नाथों की बढ़ती भूमिका के कारण मानसिंह को मारवाड़ के सरदारों एवं सामन्तों की आँख की किरकिरी भी बनना पड़ा जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप महाराजा के विपक्षियों ने नाथ गुरु आयस देवनाथ एवं इन्द्रीराज की हत्या कर दी एवं अपने गुरु के स्वर्गवास में महाराजा मानसिंह को गहरा आघात लगा।

मारवाड़ प्रशासन में नाथ गुरुओं के मार्ग दर्शन से ही मानसिंह ने 1817 में अपने पुत्र छत्रसिंह को युवराज बनाया। आयस देवनाथ के निधन के पश्चात् इनके पुत्र लाडूनाथ को महामन्दिर के सर्वोच्च पुजारी की गद्दी पर बैठाया लेकिन उस समय लाडूनाथ अल्पवयस्क थे अतः भीमनाथ वास्तव में महाराजा के गुरु बन गये जिसे लाडूनाथ और भीमनाथ (चाचा-भतीजा) में विद्रोह के स्वर उभरने लगे परिणामस्वरूप महाराजा ने भीमनाथ के लिए उदयमिदर की प्रतिष्ठा करवा कर उन्हें अधिकार दिए।¹² महाराजा मानसिंह की नाथ भक्ति का कतिपय नाथों ने नाजायज फायदा उठाया। नाथ जोगियों ने समाज में शराब, मांस, अफीम आदि का सेवन कर विलासी जीवन व्यतीत करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। 1803-1843 तक मारवाड़ के नाथों को रहने, खाने-पीने आदि की व्यवस्था शासक द्वारा पूर्ण रूप से मिलती रही। शासक द्वारा अनेक अवसरों यथा जन्मदिन, होली दीपावली, तीर्थस्थल से लौटने पर, नाथ गुरुओं के जन्मदिन आदि विशेष आयोजनों पर नाथ पंथ के लिए दान-दक्षिणाएँ, वस्त्र, नकदी आदि भेंट की जाती थी। 1823 ई. में महाराजा मानसिंह ने धर्मपुरा देवस्थान नाम से पृथक विभाग स्थापित किया जो धार्मिक मठों व स्थानों को रकम आवंटित करते जिसे राज्य की आर्थिक दशा खराब होने लगी और महाराजा द्वारा प्रजा पर नये कर लगाए गये जिससे सामान्य जनता में नाथों के विरुद्ध काफी असन्तोष व्याप्त होने लगा।¹³ नाथ मन्दिर धीरे धीरे अपराधी, चोर, डाकू आदि के शरण-स्थल बनने लगे जिससे आम जनता में प्रशासन के विरुद्ध असन्तोष पनपने लगा परिणामस्वरूप मारवाड़ सरदार एवं सामन्तों ने तत्कालीन स्थिति की शिकायतें अंग्रेजों को भेजी। नाथों के प्रबंध के सम्बन्ध में महाराजा एवं कर्नल सदरलैण्ड का पत्र व्यवहार प्रारम्भ हुआ। राज्य की बिगड़ती आर्थिक स्थिति के कारण अंग्रेजों द्वारा नाथों के पट्टे जब्त करने की कार्यवाही की गई यद्यपि मानसिंह जी ने नाथों के साथ हुए दुर्व्यवहार को रोकने का प्रयास किया परन्तु तात्कालिक परिस्थितियाँ महाराजा मानसिंह व नाथ सम्प्रदाय के विपरीत थी क्योंकि मारवाड़ के सरदार व जनता नाथों के विरुद्ध थी।

फलतः महाराजा मानसिंह नाथों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही न रोक सकने के कारण राज कार्य त्याग दिया तथा संन्यासी बन गए तथा शरीर पर भभूत (भस्मी) लगा ली।¹⁴

संक्षेपतः महाराजा मानसिंह जी द्वारा अपना तन, मन, धन न्यौछावर कर सच्चे भक्त होने की मिलास कायम की परन्तु संरक्षण देने वाले शासक का अंत होने पर उसके पीछे निर्भर रहने वाले का अंत होना स्वाभाविक ही है। तथा तत्कालीन परिस्थितियाँ भी अनुकूल न होने के कारण महाराजा मानसिंह जी की अंतिम सांस भाद्रपद 11 संवत् 1900 (ई. 1843)¹⁵ के बाद मारवाड़ की राजनीति से नाथ सम्प्रदाय के हस्तक्षेप का पटाक्षेप हो गया।

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अठारहवीं शताब्दी कालीन राज मारवाड़ में प्रचलित गैर कृषि कर - एक अध्ययन

डॉ. कनिका भनोत*

‘राज मारवाड़’ अठारहवीं शताब्दीकालीन पश्चिमी राजस्थान का सबसे बड़ा राज्य था।² इसकी सीमाएं उत्तर में जांगल देश (बीकानेर), दक्षिण में पालनपुर एवं सिरोही, पूर्व में ढूंढाड़ प्रदेश (जयपुर) एवं मेरवाड़ा (अजमेर), पश्चिम (उदयपुर) को छूती थी।³ इस कालावधि के दौरान मारवाड़ राज्य में छः शासकों ने शासक किया था।⁴ राज्य के राजस्व प्रशासन में राजस्व की आमद की दृष्टि से जितना महत्त्वपूर्ण एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर है जिसकी मुख्य राजस्व मद लैण्ड-रेवेन्यू अर्थात् भू-राजस्व है तथा अन्य मदें अन्य एग्रेरियन या कृषि सम्बन्धी कर हैं; उतना ही महत्त्वपूर्ण गैर कृषि क्षेत्र है जिसके तहत विविध मदों के अंतर्गत राजस्व या कर वसूली हुआ करती थी। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र का ध्येय अठारहवीं शताब्दी कालीन राज मारवाड़ में प्रचलित रहे विविध गैर कृषि करों का प्राच्य पुरालेखीय स्रोत सामग्री के आधार पर एक सर्वेक्षणात्मक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत करना है। यह अध्ययन इस तथ्य को रेखांकित करता है कि एग्रीकल्चरल टैक्सेज के अलावा भी समसामयिक राज मारवाड़ में ऐसे विविध कर वसूले जाते थे जो विक्रय योग्य वस्तुओं, मर्चेन्ट्स, ट्रेडर्स, पशुओं आदि पर लगाए जाते थे तथा राज्य के राजस्व अर्थात् शाही आमदनी का एक अहम स्रोत बनते थे। हुकूमत बहियां, जमाबन्धी बहियां तथा कतिपय अन्य पुरालेखीय स्रोत इस विषय में प्रचुर मात्रा में प्रामाणिक जानकारियां प्रदान करते हैं।⁵

I

यह गैर कृषि कर विविध प्रकार के थे जिन्हें मोटे तौर पर निम्नांकित वर्गों में वर्गीकृत कर देखा जा सकता है - विविध सेवाओं पर कर; सैन्य कर; व्यापार-वाणिज्य सम्बन्धी कर; पशुओं पर कर; सजा या दण्ड स्वरूप कर; सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक कर

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तथा प्रोफेशनल अर्थात् व्यावसायिक कर। इनमें से विविध सेवाओं के लिए देय करों में 'नजराना' या 'नजर रो घोड़ा', 'पेशकसी' या 'हुकमनामा', 'अमल री चिट्ठी', 'रेख-बाब', 'चौधर-बाब' विशेष उल्लेख के योग्य थे। राज मारवाड़ में प्रत्येक ठाकुर या पट्टायत के द्वारा दरबार विशेष के समय दरबार की सेवा में कृतज्ञता व्यक्त करने के लिए नगद या वस्तु के रूप में नजराना⁶ पेश करना होता था, जिसे 'नजर रो घोड़ा' कहा जाता था। 17वीं शताब्दी के अंत में मारवाड़ राज्य में पट्टायतों को अपने गांवों की 'रेख' पर प्रति हजार रुपए पर एक घोड़ा दरबार को नजराने स्वरूप पेश करना होता था परन्तु अठारहवीं शताब्दी में महाराजा विजय सिंह (1752-93 ई.) के काल में यह कर घोड़े के बजाए नकदी में लिया जाने लगा था क्योंकि मारवाड़ पर मराठा आक्रमण शुरू होने के कारण युद्ध खर्च तथा मराठों को दी जाने वाली 'ट्रिब्यूट' अर्थात् शुक्राना अदा करने के लिए राज्य को नगदी की आवश्यकता रहा करती थी तथा घोड़ों की आपूर्ति भी अपर्याप्त तथा असुसज्जित रहने लगी थी। इसी कारणवश राज्य के द्वारा इसे नगदी में तब्दील कर गांव-रेख राशि पर प्रति हजार रु. 25 का 'घोड़ा' या नजराना तय कर दिया गया था।⁷ शासक अथवा शासन-सत्ता को भेंट अथवा दण्डस्वरूप पेश की जाने वाली राशि 'पेशकस' या 'हुकमनामा' शीर्षक से जानी जाती थी। शासन सत्ता से कोई नियुक्ति पाने⁸ अथवा पट्टे के नवीनीकरण के समय⁹ भी यह भेंटस्वरूप दी जाती थी। महाराजा अजीतसिंह (1707-1724 ई.)¹⁰ के समय में 'पेशकस' के लिए 'हुकमनामा'¹¹ शब्द का प्रयोग सर्वप्रथम हुआ जो महाराजा विजयसिंह के समय में सन् 1765 ई. के बाद सामान्य रूप से प्रयोग में लाया जाने लगा था।¹² ऐसा आभासित होता है कि पेशकस या हुकमनामा की राशि के निर्धारण के लिए कोई निश्चित नियम नहीं थे, राज्य द्वारा जागीरदार या ठाकुर आदि की वित्तीय स्थिति व जागीरी आय के आधार पर इसे अलग-अलग तय किया जाता था। उत्तराधिकारी उसकी अदायगी एकमुश्त अथवा किशतों में भी कर सकता था।

शासक की अल्पवयस्कता के दौरान रेवेन्यू ग्रान्ट्स अर्थात् पट्टे जारी नहीं किए जाते थे परन्तु स्टेट ऑफिसर्स के द्वारा जागीरदारों व पट्टायतों को राजस्व की सूचना का पत्र या आदेश जारी किया जाता था, जिसे 'अमल-री-चिट्ठी' कहा जाता था।¹³ मारवाड़ राज्य के अलग-अलग परगनों में इस अवधि के दौरान अमल-री-चिट्ठी की दरों में अंतर देखने को मिलता है। उदाहरण के लिए परगना जालौर में यह 2 रु. की दर से चार्ज की गई¹⁴ किन्तु परगना जोधपुर में 9 रु. की दर रखी गई थी।¹⁵ 1768 ई. में परगना परबतसर में अमल-री-चिट्ठी कर 32 रु. की दर से¹⁶ तथा 1792 ई. में परगना जैतारण में 143 रु. की दर से चार्ज किया गया।¹⁷

मारवाड़ राज्य में शासक के मातहत सामंतों व ठाकुरों को अर्थात् जागीरदारों व पट्टायतों को राज्य के द्वारा प्रदत्त भूमि या गांवों की एवज में शासक को अपनी सेवाएं

प्रदान करने के अलावा अपनी 'रेख'¹⁸ के आधार पर कुछ कर वार्षिक रूप में राज्य को अदा करना पड़ता था जिसे 'रेख बाब' कहते थे। यद्यपि जागीर से होने वाली आमदनी प्रति वर्ष बदलती रहती थी परन्तु रेख का निर्धारण एक बार कर दिया जाता था जो दस से बीस वर्ष तक यथावत् रहा करती थी। मारवाड़ राज्य के पुरालेखों में इस कर का इन्द्राज 'रेख बाब रा' शीर्षक से देखने को मिलता है।¹⁹ गांव के चौधरियों के द्वारा अपने गांवों के काश्तकारों से अपने पारिश्रमिक के रूप में एक लाग वसूली जाती थी, जिसे 'चौधर बाब' कहा जाता था। राज्य के द्वारा हर गांव के मुखिया के रूप में चौधरी नियुक्त किया जाता था।²⁰ उल्लेखनीय है कि चौधरी का पद वंशानुगत नहीं होता था। जागीरदार या ठाकुर के द्वारा जिस किसी को इस पद पर नियुक्त किए जाने के लिए उपयुक्त समझा जाता था, उसी को चौधरी नियुक्त कर दिया जाता था।²¹

II

मारवाड़ राज्य में प्रजाजनों से कतिपय ऐसे कर भी वसूले जाते थे जो राज्य के सैन्य खर्च की आपूर्ति के लिए जुटाए जाते थे। इस श्रेणी में आने वाले करों में 'फौज बल', 'खिचड़ी', 'घोड़ा-कम्बल', 'रसद-बाब' तथा 'तगीरत-बल' प्रमुख थे। राज्य की सेना के संधारण पर होने वाले खर्च की आपूर्ति के लिए लिया जाने वाला प्रमुख कर 'फौज-बल' के नाम से जाना जाता था। इस कर की वसूली उन जागीरदारों के द्वारा की जाती थी जिन्हें उनके इलाके/गांवों से निकलने वाली शाही सेना को नगद या खाद्यान्न के रूप में मदद उपलब्ध करानी होती थी। यह कर खरीफ की फसल से संगृहीत किया जाता था तथा छोटे गांव में 3 रुपए प्रति घर की दर से या गांव की रेख के दस फीसदी की दर से वसूला जाता था।²² गांवों से गुजरने वाली सेना को भोजन और अनाज आदि सुलभ कराने के लिए 'खिचड़ी' नाम से एक कर वसूला जाता था जिसकी दर निर्धारित नहीं थी।²³ गांव में आने वाले राजकीय मुलाजिमों की भोजन व्यवस्था आदि के लिए भी इसकी वसूली हुआ करती थी। यद्यपि इसकी दर फिक्स नहीं थी तथापि कभी-कभी यह सभी गांवों से एक ही दर से वसूली जाने के उल्लेख भी मिलते हैं। जैसे सन् 1768 ई. में परबतसर परगने के सभी गांवों से इसे 2 रुपया प्रति गांव की दर से वसूला गया था।²⁴ सर्दी के मौसम में शाही घोड़ों के चारे तथा गर्म कपड़े जुटाने पर होने वाले खर्च के पेटे 'घोड़ा कम्बल' नामक कर वसूला जाता था।²⁵ हमें इस आशय के उल्लेख देखने को मिलते हैं कि, 1768 ई. में परगना परबतसर से 2157 रु.²⁶ तथा 1783 ई. में परगना मेड़ता से 8062 रु.²⁷ इस पेटे वसूले गए थे। मारवाड़ राज्य में जो गांव 'खिचड़ी' का भुगतान नहीं करते थे, उन्हें 'रसद-बाब' नामक एक अन्य कर देना होता था जिसे 'रसद-पारना' भी कहा जाता था।²⁸ इसे भिन्न-भिन्न दरों से वसूल किए जाने की जानकारी मिलती है। हमें इस आशय के उल्लेख देखने को मिलते हैं कि महाराजा अजीत सिंह के समय में मारवाड़ राज्य के लोगों ने अपने महाराजा को मुगल बादशाहत से अपने

पैतृक सिंहासन को पुनः प्राप्त करने के लिए किए गए संघर्ष में मदद करने के लिए आर्थिक सहयोग किया था। यह आर्थिक सहयोग 'तागीरत बल' के नाम से जाना गया।²⁹ यद्यपि अजीत सिंह ने इस कर की वसूली अपना तख्त हासिल हो जाने के उपरांत भी जारी रखी थी। सन् 1766 में परगना जालौर के द्वारा जहाँ इस पेटे 260 रु. जमा कराए गए थे³⁰ वहीं परगना जोधपुर ने 1106 रु. की राशि इस कर के रूप में जमा कराई थी।³¹

III

अठारहवीं शताब्दीकालीन मारवाड़ राज्य में व्यापार तथा वाणिज्य में लगे व्यापारियों से उनकी वाणिज्यिक गतिविधियों के लिए विविध टॉल टैक्सेज तथा ट्रान्जिट-ड्यूटीज के रूप में विविध शीर्षकों के अंतर्गत कर वसूल किए जाते थे जैसे- राहदारी, धान-तुलावत, धान-मापा, खूटा-धान, मवेशी रा आदि। इनमें से 'राहदारी' नाम से वसूल किया जाने वाला कर व्यापारियों से उन्हें संरक्षण एवं सुरक्षा प्रदान करने के लिए वसूला जाता था। इसे एक ट्रान्जिट-ड्यूटी के रूप में भी देखा जा सकता था। हमें इस कालावधि में मारवाड़ राज्य में राहदारी की कोई एक समान दर देखने को नहीं मिलती। यह वस्तु, स्थान, व्यापारी के अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न दरों पर वसूली जाती थी। सन् 1769 ई. में परगना मेड़ता से जोधपुर के बीच जहाँ राहदारी रु. 385 वसूल की गई वहीं इसी वर्ष मेड़ता से परबतसर के बीच यह रु. 357 वसूल की गई थी।³² 'धान-तुलावत' नामक एक कर व्यापारियों से सामान की तुलाई पर वसूल किया जाता था। इसकी दर हर परगने में भिन्न थी। परगनावार इसकी वसूली राशि के आंकड़ों में भी काफी भिन्नता देखने को मिलती है।³³ मारवाड़ राज्य में ठाकुरों के द्वारा अपने-अपने जागीरी क्षेत्रों में विविध जिन्सों से जुड़े क्रियाकलापों तथा बिक्री पर एक कर वसूला जाता था, जिसे 'धान-मापा' कहा जाता था। सामान्यतः इसे खरीददार से वसूला जाता था परन्तु कभी-कभी इसे विक्रेता से भी वसूल किया जाता था।³⁴ समसामयिक मारवाड़ राज्य में व्यापारियों³⁵ के द्वारा सामान के लदान हेतु विविध पशुओं का प्रयोग किया जाता था जैसे - ऊँट, घोड़ा, बैल आदि। उन्हें अपने व्यापार-वाणिज्य में इन पशुओं के प्रयोग के लिए भी एक कर अदा करना होता था, जिसे 'खूटा-धान' कहा जाता था। यह कर पशुओं के खूंटों की संख्या के अनुपात में वसूला जाता था, जिसकी दर को लेकर एकमत नहीं है।³⁶ समसामयिक मारवाड़ राज्य में पशुओं के बिक्री पर सम्बन्धित पशु मालिकों से एक कर वसूला जाता था जिसे 'मवेशियों-रा' शीर्षक से जाना जाता था। मारवाड़ राज्य से गाय, बैल, बकरी, भेड़ आदि पशु पड़ौसी राज्यों को निर्यात किए जाते थे।³⁷

IV

हमें इस आशय के उल्लेख मिलते हैं कि अठारहवीं शताब्दी कालीन मारवाड़ राज्य में पशु-प्रजनन, पशुपालन कार्य में संलग्न लोगों से भी इस निमित्त कर वसूला जाता

था जिसे समसामयिक बहियों में 'ऊँट बाब', 'बलद-बाब', 'भैंस-बाब', 'एवड़-बाब', 'बर्थो-बाब' तथा 'घोड़ां रा हासल' आदि शीर्षकों से उल्लेखित देखा जा सकता है। इस मरुस्थलीय राज्य में ऊँट एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण पशु था जिसका उपयोग ट्रांसपोर्टेशन के अतिरिक्त खेती तथा युद्ध आदि में भी किया जाता था। अतः ऊँट रखने वाले लोगों को राज्य को 'ऊँट-बाब' नामक एक कर अदा करना होता था। हमारी जानकारी में यह तथ्य आता है कि इस कर की वसूली दर अलग-अलग कम्प्यूनिटीज के लिए अलग थी। बिश्नोई जाति के लोगों से यह जहाँ 2 रु. प्रति ऊँट की दर से वसूली जाती थी,³⁸ वहीं महाजनों से 3 रु. प्रति ऊँट।³⁹ समसामयिक मारवाड़ राज्य में बलद अर्थात् बैलों की जोड़ी रखने के लिए उनके स्वामी से एक कर वसूला जाता था जिसे 'बलद-बाब' के नाम से जाना जाता था। समसामयिक मारवाड़ राज्य में दूध के लिए भैंस पालन करने वाले लोगों से 'भैंस-बाब' नामक कर वसूला जाता था। यह कर भैंस की किस्मों के अनुसार वसूल किया जाता था। दुजानी-भैंस के लिए जहाँ 2 रु. प्रति भैंस वसूल किया जाता था, वहीं 'आहिनी-भैंस' के लिए 1 रु. प्रति भैंस वसूला जाता था।⁴⁰ भेड़ों का झुण्ड रखने वालों के लिए तत्कालीन मारवाड़ राज्य में 'एवड़-बाब' नामक कर वसूला जाता था। यह कर प्रति आना प्रति भेड़ की दर से वसूल किया जाता था। उस समय के मारवाड़ राज्य में नर भैंसों पर 'बार्थो-बाब' नाम से एक कर वसूला जाता था जो 1793 ई. में 8 आना प्रति भैंसे की दर से वसूल किए जाने के उल्लेख मिलते हैं।⁴¹ तत्कालीन मारवाड़ राज्य में घोड़ों को पालने और उनका प्रजनन कराने के लिए स्थान विशेष का प्रयोग करने के लिए इस कार्य में लगे लोगों से भी एक कर वसूल किया जाता था, जिसे 'घोड़ां-रा-हासल' शीर्षक से जाना जाता था। सन् 1841 में यह कर कचहरी सिवाना में 56 रु. प्रति घोड़े की दर से वसूले जाने के उल्लेख मिलते हैं।⁴²

V

तत्कालीन राज मारवाड़ को विविध आपराधिक एवं अनुचित कृत्यों के लिए देय आर्थिक-दण्ड के पेटे भी अच्छा राजस्व प्राप्त होता था। फरोही, गुनेहगारी, चामचोरी, नाता-रा इत्यादि नामों से ली जाने वाली दण्ड-राशि को ऐसे करों के रूप में उल्लेखित किया गया है। 'फरोही' नामक दण्ड-राशि चोरी, मिलावट, पशुओं की अवैध चराई, अवैध विक्रय, अपराधियों को शरण दिए जाने जैसे विविध आपराधिक प्रकृति के कृत्यों के लिए ली जाती थी जिसकी दर व्यक्ति और दण्ड की प्रकृति के अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न रहा करती थी।⁴³ परगना जोधपुर में सन् 1766 ई. में रु. 3877 तथा सन् 1784 ई. में रु. 10799 की राशि 'फरोही' मद में हुई आमद के रूप में उल्लेखित मिलती है।⁴⁴ 'गुनेहगारी', शासकीय आदेशों/नियमों के उल्लंघन, गाली-गलौच, मानहानि आदि विविध प्रकार के गलत कार्यों के लिए वसूल की जाती थी, जिसका फलक काफी व्यापक था। इसकी दर भी अपराध या कृत्य की प्रकृति तथा व्यक्ति के अनुसार

भिन्न-भिन्न रहा करती थी।⁴⁵ बलात्कार जैसा सैक्सुअल कुकृत्य करने के लिए 'चामचोरी' नामक दण्डात्मक कर लिया जाता था। सन् 1779 ई. में परगना मेड़ता के छीपा विरधा को छीपा भीमा की पुत्री का बलात्कार करने पर रु. 71, चामचोरी-दण्ड देना पड़ा था।⁴⁶ किसी पुरुष या स्त्री के द्वारा दूसरा विवाह किए जाने पर पूर्व पति या पत्नी को क्षतिपूर्तिस्वरूप नाता-राशि अदा करनी होती थी। इस प्रकार के तथा अवैध विवाह पर देय यह राशि भिन्न-भिन्न हुआ करती थी।⁴⁷

VI

राज मारवाड़ में कतिपय सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक कर भी वसूल किए जाते थे जिनमें झूंपी, घर-गिनती, कांसा-लाग, चंवरी-लाग, मेला-पाड़कती आदि को शुमार कर देखा जा सकता था। 'झूंपी' अथवा 'छप्परवासी' नाम से लिया जाने वाला कर, अस्थाई निर्माण के पेटे लिया जाता था। हर परगने में इसकी दर भिन्न-भिन्न थी। सन् 1761 ई. में परगना जैतारण में रु. 37 तथा सन् 1766 ई. में सांचोर परगने में रु. 16 इस पेटे में वसूल किए गए थे।⁴⁸ राज मारवाड़ में 'घर-गिनती' नामक एक गृह-कर भी वसूल किया जाता था जिसकी दरें परगना तथा वर्ष अनुसार भिन्न-भिन्न रही थीं।⁴⁹ किसी घर में किसी व्यक्ति के जन्म अथवा मृत्यु पर भोज आयोजित किए जाने पर राज्य को निर्धारित व्यक्तियों को भोजन अथवा भोजन-राशि स्वरूप एक कर देना होता था जिसे 'कांसा-लाग' नाम से वसूला जाता था।⁵⁰ इसी प्रकार घर-परिवार में विवाह आयोजित होने पर 'चंवरी-लाग' ली जाती थी, जो प्रायः हर परगने में रु. 1 की दर से वसूल की जाती थी।⁵¹ विविध मेलों के आयोजन पर वसूला जाने वाला एक अन्य कर 'मेला-पाड़कती' कहलाता था। सन् 1768 ई. में परगना परबतसर में आयोजित तेजा जी मेला से राज को इस पेटे रु. 992 प्राप्त हुए थे।⁵²

VII

राज मारवाड़ में विभिन्न व्यावसायिक काम-धन्धों में लगे लोगों से विविध नामों से कतिपय व्यावसायिक कर भी वसूल किए जाते थे जिनमें साल-बाब, ऊन-बाब, पिंजर-बाब, रंगरेज-रा, तेलियां री घाणी, चूड़ीगर री चौथाई इत्यादि को शुमार कर देखा जा सकता है। चमड़े का काम करने वाली मेघवाल कम्प्यूनिटी से 'साल-बाब' नामक कर वसूला जाता था। परगना जोधपुर में इस मद में सन् 1774 में रु. 97.25, सन् 1780 में रु. 109.25 तथा सन् 1783 ई. में रु. 101.75 प्राप्त होने के उल्लेख देखने को मिलते हैं।⁵³ भेड़पालन करने वाली रैबारी जाति के लोगों तथा ऊन बनाने के काम में लगे लोगों से 'ऊन-बाब' नामक कर वसूला जाता था। राज मारवाड़ ने परगना फलौदी में सन् 1769 ई. में रु. 67.50 तथा परगना सिवाना में सन् 1782 ई. में रु. 136 इस मद में प्राप्त किए थे।⁵⁴ रूई की पिंजाई करने में लगे पिंजारों से 'पिंजर-बाब' नामक कर की वसूली की

जाती थी जो सामान्यतः रु. 1.25 प्रति परिवार की दर से वसूली जाती थी। सन् 1794 ई. में परगना जैतारण में इस मद में रु. 18.75 की राशि वसूल होने के उल्लेख मिलते हैं।⁵⁵ इसी प्रकार राज मारवाड़ में रंगरेजों से 'रंगरेज-रा'; तेलियों से 'तेलियां री घाणी' तथा चूड़ीगरों से 'चूड़ीगर की चौथाई' नामक कर वसूल किए जाने के उल्लेख भी देखने को मिलते हैं।

निष्कर्षतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि अठारहवीं शताब्दी कालीन राज मारवाड़ में राज्य की राजस्व-आमदनी में भू-राजस्व से होने वाली आय से इतर गैर-कृषि मदों से होने वाली आय की भी एक महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी। यह गैर-कृषि कर उपर्युक्त विविध मदों में विभिन्न नामों से वसूल किए जाते थे तथा राज्य की आर्थिक स्थिति में इनका महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। प्राप्त होने वाले इन गैर-कृषि करों की हर मद इतनी महत्वपूर्ण है कि इन पर पृथक् से शोध की आवश्यकता का मार्ग प्रशस्त होता है।

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कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने का बांसवाड़ा राज्य के साथ संबंध (कलिंगरा थाने की घटना के विशेष सन्दर्भ में 1866-69 ई.)

डॉ. रश्मि मीणा*

कुशलगढ़ ठिकाना, बांसवाड़ा राज्य का प्रथम वर्ग (सोलह) का ताजीमी ठिकाना था। कुशलगढ़ के स्वामी रामावत राठौड़ थे। उन्हें बांसवाड़ा राज्य की ओर से तांबेसरा जागीर का पट्टा प्राप्त था।¹ कुशलगढ़ को रतलाम राज्य की ओर से भी 65 गांव जागीर में मिले हुए थे।² जोधपुर के सुप्रसिद्ध राव जोधा के एक पुत्र बरसिंह के द्वितीय पुत्र आसकरण को बादशाह औरंगजेब के द्वारा कुशलगढ़ की जागीर प्रदान की गई थी।³ आसकरण के पौत्र रामसिंह के तेरह पुत्र थे, जो रामावत राठौड़ कहलाए। रामसिंह के तृतीय पुत्र जसवन्तसिंह कुशलगढ़ के स्वामी बने। तत्पश्चात् क्रमशः अखैराज, कल्याणसिंह, कीर्तिसिंह, दलसिंह, केसरीसिंह, अचलसिंह, भगवन्तसिंह व जालिमसिंह कुशलगढ़ के शासक बने।⁴ ठाकुर जालिमसिंह को मेवाड़ के महाराणा भीमसिंह द्वारा 1783 ई. (वि. सं. 1840) में 'राव' का खिताब देकर सम्मानित किया गया था। जिससे उनके वंशजों की उपाधि 'राव' हुई।⁵ सन् 1857 के विद्रोह के समय कुशलगढ़ के ठाकुर राव हम्मीरसिंह द्वारा विद्रोहियों को कुशलगढ़ होकर गुजरने से रोकने का असफल प्रयास करने पर अंग्रेज सरकार द्वारा उनकी प्रशंसा की गई एवं 'खिलअत' देकर सम्मानित किया गया।⁶ बांसवाड़ा शासक महारावल लक्ष्मणसिंह (1844 ई.-1905 ई.) के समय घटित कुछ घटनाओं के परिणामस्वरूप कुशलगढ़ के ठाकुर राव हम्मीरसिंह के साथ उनका मनमुटाव हो गया, जो निरन्तर बढ़ता ही गया तथा कुशलगढ़ के ठाकुर राव हम्मीरसिंह अपने को स्वतंत्र मानकर बांसवाड़ा राज्य की आज्ञाओं की उपेक्षा करने लगे। इसी सन्दर्भ में वर्ष 1866 में कलिंगरा थाने में घटित एक घटना का उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है, जिसने बांसवाड़ा राज्य के साथ कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के सम्बन्धों को निर्णायक रूप से प्रभावित किया। इस घटनाक्रम का उल्लेख दिनांक 1 नवम्बर, 1867 को लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नल जे.पी. निक्सन (पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट, मेवाड़) द्वारा कर्नल डब्ल्यू.एफ.

ईडन (एजेन्ट, गवर्नर जनरल फोर द स्टेट्स ऑफ राजपूताना) को प्रेषित, उक्त घटनाक्रम सम्बन्धी रिपोर्ट में मिलता है। इस रिपोर्ट में बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा दिनांक 9 सितम्बर, 1866 को कर्नल निक्सन को लिखे गए एक पत्र का उल्लेख मिलता है, जिसमें बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा कुशलगढ़ के राव हम्मीरसिंह पर आक्षेप लगाया गया कि उनके पुत्र जोरावर सिंह ने बांसवाड़ा राज्य की सीमा के अन्तर्गत आने वाले कलिंगरा (Kalingra) थाने पर आक्रमण किया तथा वहां कैद अपराधियों, हीरा गरासिया और पूजा (कुशलगढ़ स्थित चुरकुनी गाँव के निवासी) को जबरन छुड़ाकर ले गए, जिन्हें झाबुआ, टंडला तथा रतलाम में डकैतियां डालने के आरोप में गिरफ्तार किया गया था।

बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा यह भी उल्लेख किया गया कि इस घटनाक्रम में कलिंगरा थाने के तीन सिपाही मारे गए तथा चार सिपाही घायल हुए।⁷ इस पत्र के साथ उक्त थाने के जमादार दीन मोहम्मद का बयान भी जोड़ा गया था जिसमें थाने पर हमले के समय जमादार दीन मोहम्मद के वहां मौजूद होने एवं कैदियों की जबरन रिहाई का उसके द्वारा प्रतिरोध करने का उल्लेख किया गया था। कर्नल निक्सन द्वारा दिनांक 02 जनवरी, 1867 को कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के राव हम्मीरसिंह के गोपनीय एजेंट रामराव को बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा प्रेषित पत्र एवं जमादार दीन मोहम्मद के बयान की प्रति भिजवाई एवं 'राव' को उनके समक्ष उपस्थित होकर इस आरोप का उत्तर देने हेतु बुलवाया। परन्तु कुशलगढ़ के राव उनके समक्ष उपस्थित नहीं हुए। दिनांक 22 जनवरी, 1867 को पुनः कुशलगढ़ के राव को आदेश भिजवाया गया कि वह अपने पुत्र कुंवर जोरावर सिंह को कर्नल निक्सन के पास भेजे तथा उन पर लगे आरोपों का उत्तर दे। परन्तु इस आदेश का पालन भी नहीं किया गया।⁸ तत्पश्चात् कुशलगढ़ के राव हम्मीरसिंह बांसवाड़ा जाकर कर्नल निक्सन से मिले और अपना पक्ष रखते हुए कहा कि वे स्वयं को बांसवाड़ा राज्य से स्वतंत्र मानते हैं तथा जब बांसवाड़ा के रावल द्वारा उनकी प्रजा को बन्दी बनाया जाएगा तो उनके द्वारा उन्हें बांसवाड़ा के रावल की कैद से छुड़वाया जाना बिल्कुल न्यायसंगत होगा। इस सन्दर्भ में कर्नल निक्सन ने कुशलगढ़ के राव को सूचित किया कि उनके पूर्ववर्ती अधिकारियों- कर्नल जी. सेन्ट पी. लॉरेन्स, कर्नल टेलर और कर्नल ईडन द्वारा कुशलगढ़ के राव को पूर्व में भी ये निर्देश दिए गए थे कि वह बांसवाड़ा के रावल के प्रति आज्ञाकारी रहे तथा यदि वह ऐसा नहीं करेगा तो उन्हें उचित दंड दिया जाएगा। हालांकि कुशलगढ़ के राव द्वारा कर्नल निक्सन की इस चेतावनी को ज्यादा महत्त्व नहीं दिया गया। क्योंकि उनका मानना था कि राजनीतिक अधिकारियों को राजाओं एवं उनके सामन्तों के मध्य हस्तक्षेप करने का अधिकार नहीं था।⁹ भारत सरकार द्वारा कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के बांसवाड़ा राज्य से स्वतंत्र होने के दावे के सन्दर्भ में सबूत मांगे गए। इस सन्दर्भ में कहा गया कि कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने की भूमि बांसवाड़ा राज्य की सीमा के अन्तर्गत ही आती है (नजराना)

* सह आचार्य, इतिहास विभाग, जयनारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

एवं कुशलगढ़ के राव सदैव से ही बांसवाड़ा राज्य के सामन्त रहे हैं वे बांसवाड़ा दरबार को नियमित ट्रिब्यूट देते हैं, उसके विरुद्ध सभी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय फ़रमान बांसवाड़ा दरबार के माध्यम से लागू करवाए जाते हैं तथा बांसवाड़ा के वर्तमान राव लक्ष्मणसिंह जब अल्पायु थे तब बांसवाड़ा की रीजेन्सी की पंचायत में कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के राव हम्मीरसिंह सदस्य थे। जिनके अनुचित आचरण के कारण कर्नल जी. सेन्ट पी. लॉरेन्स (पॉलिटिक एजेन्ट मेवाड़) द्वारा उन्हें इस पंचायत से निष्काषित कर दिया गया था। इस एजेन्सी के सभी दस्तावेज सन् 1857 के विद्रोह में जलकर नष्ट हो गये थे।

अतः इस सन्दर्भ में कोई लिखित प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं था। परन्तु उपरोक्त अधिकारियों (कर्नल जी. सेन्ट पी. लॉरेन्स, कर्नल टेलर एवं कर्नल ईडन) के पत्रों से यह स्पष्ट था कि कुशलगढ़ ठिकाना सदैव से ही बांसवाड़ा राज्य के अधीन रहा है तथा यदि वह एक स्वतंत्र राज्य होता तो अंग्रेज सरकार के साथ उसके गठबन्धन की अलग सन्धि सम्पन्न की जाती।¹⁰ दिनांक 03 जून, 1867 को कर्नल निक्सन द्वारा कुशलगढ़ के राव को 'सरकारी आदेश पत्र संख्या 491, दिनांक 22 मई, 1867 भेजकर दिनांक 1 जुलाई, 1867 को, हीरा गरासिया सहित, उदयपुर में उनके समक्ष उपस्थित होने का आदेश दिया गया तथा यह चेतावनी भी दी गई कि यदि उन्होंने इस आज्ञा का पालन नहीं किया तो रतलाम में उन्हें जागीर में प्राप्त 65 गांवों को जब्त कर लिया जाएगा। उदयपुर एजेन्सी के चौबदार गंगादीन के साथ यह आदेश पत्र कुशलगढ़ के राव को भेजा गया, जिन्होंने दिनांक 04 जुलाई, 1867 को इसका उत्तर देते हुए उनपर लगे सभी आरोपों का खंडन करते हुए कहा कि उन्होंने किसी भी कैदी को कालिंगरा थाने से जबरन नहीं छुड़वाया है।¹⁰ दिनांक 04 जुलाई, 1867 को कर्नल निक्सन ने मेवाड़ एजेन्सी के गोपाल नामक चौबदार के माध्यम से एक आदेश पत्र कुशलगढ़ के राव को प्रेषित किया जिसमें उन्हें चेतावनी दी गई थी कि या तो वे हीरा गरासिया का बिना विलम्ब समर्पण कर दें अन्यथा रतलाम स्थित उनके गांवों को जब्त कर लिया जाएगा तथा बांसवाड़ा के रावल को उन्हें दंडित करने के निर्देश भी दिए जाएंगे। दिनांक 09 अगस्त, 1867 को कुशलगढ़ के राव ने प्रत्युत्तर में कर्नल निक्सन को लिखा कि अभी वर्षाकाल है तथा इसके समाप्त होने पर वे हीरा गरासिया के साथ उनके समक्ष उपस्थित हो जाएंगे।

अन्ततः 'राव' के रतलाम के उनके गांव जब्त कर लिए गए। तब उन्होंने हीरा गरासिया को कर्नल निक्सन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत किया। दिनांक 16 अगस्त, 1867 को कर्नल निक्सन के समक्ष बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा उक्त घटना के तीन गवाह प्रस्तुत किए गए। प्रथम गवाह जमादार दीन मोहम्मद (जिसने पूर्व में कालिंगरा थाना को लिखित बयान दिया था कि उसने कुशलगढ़ के राव के पुत्र को थाने पर हमला करते हुए स्वयं देखा था) से पुनः उक्त घटना के सन्दर्भ में पूछताछ की गई तो उसने कहा कि वह

कालिंगरा थाने पर हमले के समय अनुपस्थित था तथा उसने कुशलगढ़ के राव के पुत्र को भी नहीं देखा था। हालांकि उसने मृत सिपाहियों के शवों को देखने का दावा किया।¹¹ उसने अपने बयान में कहा कि "गत वर्ष सावन के महीने में मैं जब थाने के 10 सिपाहियों के साथ गश्त पर था तब मैंने हीरा गरासिया और पूंजा राणा नामक दो भीलों को गिरफ्तार किया। तब गांव के लोग थाने आए तथा उन्होंने उन्हें बड़े डकैतों के रूप में पहचाना। मैंने उन्हें थाने के सिपाहियों को सौंप दिया तथा वहां से दूसरे सिपाहियों को लेने चला गया। रात्रि 12 बजे कुशलगढ़ के राव के पुत्र कुंवर जोरावर सिंह ने थाने पर हमला किया, जिसमें सर्गुर, छोटा, कीया नामक सिपाही मारे गए तथा दोस्तीन, उधा बक्श, लल्ला, दिल मूरन्द नामक सिपाही घायल हुए। जब मैं सुबह वापस थाने आया तो थाने के सिपाहियों ने पूरा घटनाक्रम मुझे बताया। इस समय तक घायल उदा बक्श भी मर चुका था। मैंने ही सबका अन्तिम संस्कार किया। इनमें से तीन सिपाही तलवार के चार से और एक सिपाही गोली से मारा गया था।¹² कर्नल निक्सन को जमादार दीन मोहम्मद के बयानों में विरोधाभास लगा तथा उन्हें सन्देह हुआ कि संभवतः बांसवाड़ा के रावल द्वारा ही उसे उक्त घटना में मारे गए व्यक्तियों के बारे में बयान देने के लिए सिखाया गया है।

इस घटना के दूसरे गवाह रहीम खान (सिपाही, कालिंगरा थाना), जो कि बांसवाड़ा के निवासी थे, ने अपने दिनांक 16 अगस्त, 1867 को दर्ज बयान में कहा कि "गत वर्ष सावन माह में जमादार और मैं 8 सिपाहियों के साथ गश्त पर गए तथा चुरकुनी गांव निवासी हीरा गरासिया और पूंजा राणा को गिरफ्तार किया और थाने में बन्द कर दिया। गांव वालों ने इनकी पहचान डकैतों के रूप में की। अगली रात को 12 बजे जोरावर सिंह 100 लोगों के साथ आया तथा हीरा गरासिया को छुड़ाकर ले गया। तीन व्यक्ति मारे गए, जिनके नाम मैं नहीं जानता। मैं घायलों के नाम भी नहीं जानता क्योंकि वे सब सिपाही नवनि्युक्त थे। मैंने अपनी आंखों से जोरावर सिंह को वहां देखा था। घटना के पश्चात् गांव से गुलाब जी और दो अन्य व्यक्ति आए थे, जिन्होंने मृत एवं घायल व्यक्तियों को देखा था।"¹³ इस घटना के तीसरे गवाह गुलाब जी (कालिंगरा के महाजन) ने अपने बयान में कहा कि उक्त घटना के समय उसने कुशलगढ़ के कुंवर जोरावर सिंह को तो नहीं देखा था, परन्तु अपने घर के दरवाजे के पीछे से उसकी आवाज़ सुनी थी। वह हीरा गरासिया से कह रहा था कि "दोबारा कभी इनके शिकंजे में नहीं फंसना। तुम एक भील हो, जो भी तुम कर सकते हो, वो करो।"¹⁴ गुलाब जी महाजन ने मृत सिपाहियों के शव स्वयं देखने का भी दावा किया।

इस घटना के सन्दर्भ में चुरकुनी ग्राम (कुशलगढ़) निवासी हीरा गरासिया से दिनांक 31 अगस्त, 1867 में पूछताछ की गई जिसने अपने बयान में बताया कि वह कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के चुरकुनी गांव का निवासी है तथा कुशलगढ़ के राव को नियमित

भूराजस्व अदा करता था। उसे कभी भी किसी अपराध के लिए गिरतार नहीं किया गया था न ही कालिंगरा थाने में बन्दी बनाकर रखा गया था। कुशलगढ़ के राव के पुत्र जोरावर सिंह द्वारा उसे छुड़वाने के लिए थाने पर आक्रमण की घटना कभी घटित ही नहीं हुई थी। अपितु उसने बताया कि लगभग 14 महीने पहले रहीम खान एवं थाने के एक अन्य सिपाही द्वारा सारून गांव (कुशलगढ़) के तीन निर्दोष भीलों की हत्या की गई थी, जो कि 'डामुर' (Damur) जाति के थे। जिनके शवों को उसने स्वयं देखा था तथा उनके अन्तिम संस्कार के समय वह उपस्थित था। बांसवाड़ा के रावल और कुशलगढ़ के राव विवाद का मुख्य कारण उसने 'राव' द्वारा बांसवाड़ा के रावल को 'चुवुर' अदा नहीं करना तथा कृषि उत्पादन पर कर नहीं देना बताया।¹⁵ तत्पश्चात् दिनांक 31 अक्टूबर, 1867 को बांसवाड़ा राज्य के रावल के दो सवारों- वज़ीर अली और अबू ने हीरा गरासिया की पहचान की तथा बताया कि वह कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के चुरकुनी गांव का निवासी है तथा वहीं पर कृषि कार्य करता है। दिनांक 14 नवम्बर, 1867 को लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नल आर. एच. कीटिंग्स (C.S.I., V.C., एजेन्ट, गवर्नर जनरल, राजपूताना) द्वारा लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नल जे. पी. निक्सन (पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट, मेवाड़) को प्रेषित एक पत्र में उल्लेख मिलता है कि रतलाम राज्य में स्थित कुशलगढ़ के 65 गांवों की जागीर को इसलिए जब्त किया गया था, ताकि कुशलगढ़ के राव को निम्नलिखित बातें मानने के लिए मजबूर किया जा सके-

- I. हीरा गरासिया का समर्पण।
- II. कालिंगरा थाने से लूटी गई सम्पत्ति के पुनर्भरण करवाने, एवं
- III. अपने प्रमुख (बांसवाड़ा के रावल) के प्रति अपने कर्तव्यों का पालन करवाने।

कर्नल कीटिंग्स ने लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नल निक्सन को यह विवाद सुपरिटेण्डेन्ट (Hilly Tracts in Mewar) को सौंपने का परामर्श दिया।¹⁶ इस घटना के सन्दर्भ में जनवरी, 1868 में, मेजर जी. एफ. हेवर्ड (Assistant Political Agent, Mewar) द्वारा घटनाक्रम की पुनः जांच कर एक रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की गई। इस रिपोर्ट में उक्त घटना को मनगढ़ंत बताया गया तथा कुशलगढ़ के राव पर आरोपित सभी आरोपों को गलत पाया गया। मेजर एफ. एल. मैकसन (Officiating Political Agent, Mewar) द्वारा दिनांक 23 जनवरी, 1867 को लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नल आर. एच. कीटिंग्स (C.S.I., V.C., एजेन्ट, गवर्नर जनरल राजपूताना) को प्रेषित पत्र में यह उल्लेख भी मिलता है कि पूर्व में भी दो बार बांसवाड़ा राज्य द्वारा इस प्रकार के झूठे दावे प्रस्तुत किए जा चुके थे। एक विवाद में बांसवाड़ा राज्य द्वारा मेवाड़ के विरुद्ध झूठे गवाह प्रस्तुत कर 17548 उदयपुरी रुपये के मुआवजे की मांग की गई थी। एक अन्य विवाद में नरवाली के ठाकुर (बांसवाड़ा राज्य के अन्तर्गत) पर बांसवाड़ा दरबार द्वारा, उक्त मुआवजे के लिए, झूठे आरोप लगाकर उसे उसके गांव में

रहने से पाबंद कर दिया था तथा नरवाली के ठाकुर द्वारा उसे पॉलिटिकल सुपरिटेण्डेन्ट (Hilly Tracts, Mewar) द्वारा अपने राजनीतिक संरक्षण में लेने हेतु अनुरोध किया गया था।¹⁷ मेजर हेवर्ड ने कुशलगढ़ के कुंवर जोरावर सिंह तथा कुशलगढ़ एवं बांसवाड़ा के वकीलों की उपस्थिति में स्वयं कालिंगरा थाना जाकर इस घटना की जांच की। उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट में लिखा कि कालिंगरा थाना पूर्व में किसी ठाकुर का निवास स्थान था। यद्यपि यह अब नष्ट हो चुका था। परन्तु इसके जिस भाग में थाना स्थित था वह काफी मजबूत और कॉम्पैक्ट था। जिस व्यक्ति ने थाने में घटित घटनाक्रम की शिकायत की थी उसे वहां से कार्यमुक्त कर दिया गया था तथा वर्तमान में नियुक्त थानेदार द्वारा उनके समक्ष दो गवाह प्रस्तुत किए गए। जो कि उक्त घटनाक्रम के चश्मदीद गवाह थे। कालिंगरा थाने के चारों तरफ 12 व्यक्ति निवास करते थे, जो कि बनिया, लखेरा, बोहरा इत्यादि थे। पूछताछ में इनके द्वारा घटनाक्रम के सम्बन्ध में विरोधाभासी बयान दिए गए और अन्ततः उनके द्वारा स्वीकार किया गया कि उन्होंने घटनाक्रम के सन्दर्भ में मनगढ़ंत कहानी बनाई थी। इस सन्दर्भ में भीलड़ी के ठाकुर केसरी सिंह के पुत्र का बयान भी महत्वपूर्ण था, जिसमें बांसवाड़ा राज्य एवं कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के मध्य विवाद का मूल कारण आपसी अहंकार एवं कुशलगढ़ की बढ़ती हुई समृद्धि से बांसवाड़ा की जलन की भावना को बताया।¹⁸

मेजर हेवर्ड ने हीरा गरासिया के सन्दर्भ में लिखा कि "निसंदेह वह एक चोर था तथा आसपास के क्षेत्रों में सभी उसे जानते थे। उसकी पाल चुरकुनी मजबूत पर्वतीय शृंखला की तलहटी में स्थित थी, जो कि कुशलगढ़ और बांसवाड़ा सीमा के निकटवर्ती क्षेत्र था। कुशलगढ़ की सहायता के बिना बांसवाड़ा इन क्षेत्रों में निवासर भीलों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने में असमर्थ था।" इस जांच के उपरान्त हीरा गरासिया को रिहा कर दिया गया, कामदार केसरी सिंह और लिखमनचन्द, दीन मोहम्मद (पूर्व थानेदार, कालिंगरा थाना) तथा कीमा (तत्कालीन थानेदार, कालिंगरा थाना) को गिरफ्तार करने के आदेश दिए गए तथा पंडित राम राव सदाशिव (कुशलगढ़ के राव का एजेन्ट) को गिरफ्तार करने हेतु बांसवाड़ा दरबार को निर्देशित किया गया।¹⁹ जांच प्रक्रिया के दौरान मेजर हेवर्ड के समक्ष उन सात विधवा भील युवतियों को भी उपस्थित किया गया था, जिन्होंने अपने पतियों की हत्या के लिए बांसवाड़ा राज्य पर आरोप लगाए थे। वस्तुतः कुशलगढ़ ठिकाने के अन्तर्गत आने वाले भील पालों के व्यक्ति जब आजीविका के लिए गांवों से दूर जाते थे तब उनके विरुद्ध बांसवाड़ा राज्य के द्वारा इस तरह की कार्यवाहियों को अंजाम दिया जाता था। मेजर एफ. एल. मैकसन (Officiating Political Agent, Mewar) द्वारा उक्त घटना की जांच करने हेतु मेवाड़ भील कोर के तीन सम्मानित सिपाहियों- 'हूका' (7 नं. कम्पनी), 'कोदरा' (2 नं. कम्पनी), तथा 'माना' (8 नं. कम्पनी), को नियुक्त

किया गया, जिन्होंने दिनांक 2 सितम्बर, 1867 को अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की।

इस रिपोर्ट में उन्होंने खूमा गमेती (सारून गांव) के बयान लिया तथा वास्तविक घटनाक्रम का उल्लेख किया, जिसके अनुसार- “सारून गांव के भील ने दूलिया मुकवाना (पाड़ला गांव, बांसवाड़ा राज्य) की बहन से दूसरा विवाह किया था। दूलिया भील को इस विवाह के बदले 22 रुपये देने के लिए भुगला, अपने भतीजे, बहरिया एवं उरजुनिया के साथ पाड़ला गांव जा रहे थे तब पाड़ला गांव के निकट स्थित एक नाले के पास कालिंगरा थाने के 8 सिपाही उन्हें मिले, जो वहां पर मक्का सेककर खा रहे थे। सिपाहियों ने उन्हें रोका और वहां बैठकर उन्हें मक्का सेकने के लिए कहा। भुगला भील एवं उसके भतीजे-बहरिया एवं उरजुनिया ने सिपाहियों की आज्ञा का पालन किया तथा जब वे वहां से जाने लगे तो सिपाहियों ने उनकी पगड़ियों से उनके हाथ बांध दिए तथा थाने की ओर ले जाने लगे। रास्ते में उन्हें दूलिया मुकवाना (भुगला की पत्नी का भाई) मिला, जिसने पुलिसवालों से उन्हें छोड़ देने का अनुरोध किया। सिपाहियों ने उसे धमका कर भगा दिया तथा नाले से लगभग 500-600 गज की दूरी पर सिपाहियों द्वारा उनके सिर काट दिये तथा उन्हें थाने ले गए। पाड़ला एवं चुनोवला गांव के भीलों द्वारा मृत भीलों का अन्तिम संस्कार किया गया।”²⁰ इस सन्दर्भ में मेवाड़ भील कोर के इन सिपाहियों ने मुकुडडा गांव के एक जोगी ‘सोमा’ से भी पूछताछ की जिसने यही घटनाक्रम बताया। निकटवर्ती गांव के भीलों द्वारा भी यही घटनाक्रम प्रस्तुत किया गया। ये सिपाही घटनास्थल पर भी गए जहां उन्होंने पत्थरों के ढेर से बनी समाधि भी देखी थी जिसे ‘पाल्या’ (Pallya) कहा जाता था, जो कि पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में निवासरत उन मृत भीलों की याद में बनाई जाती थी, जिनकी हत्या हुई हो या जो मारे गए हों।²¹

उक्त घटना के सन्दर्भ में बांसवाड़ा के रावल ने कर्नल निक्सन को प्रेषित पत्र में लिखा था कि जब कालिंगरा से बांसवाड़ा राज्य का राजस्व धन ले जाया जा रहा था तब भीलों द्वारा उनपर आक्रमण किया गया, जिसमें एक ‘विलायती’ (बाहरी ठेकेदार) मारा गया। इसके बदले की कार्यवाही में विलायतियों द्वारा ये भील मारे गए। उक्त घटनाक्रम के सन्दर्भ में कुशलगढ़ के राव हम्मीर सिंह द्वारा कर्नल निक्सन (पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट, मेवाड़) को प्रेषित अपने पत्र (दिनांक 30 नवम्बर, 1867) में लिखा गया कि कर्नल निक्सन का पत्र (29 अक्टूबर, 1867) उन्हें प्राप्त होते ही उन्होंने पंडित राम राव सदाशिव को हीरा गरासिया के साथ खैरवाड़ा (मेजर हेवर्ड के पास) जाने के लिए नियुक्त किया था, परन्तु बिना किसी से अनुमति लिए वह मध्य रात्रि को डूंगरपूर के भीलाड़ा गांव में चला गया। कुछ समय पश्चात् उन्हें मेजर हेवर्ड का पत्र (आदेश सं. 43, वर्ष 1867) मिला तथा उन्होंने कादर बोरा एवं मोतमिद पटवारी को डूंगरपूर भेजा, जिन्होंने पंडित राम राव को पकड़कर सागवाड़ा के थानेदार कुंवलजी को सौंप दिया। गूढा (Goora) के

ठाकुर दौलत सिंह इस घटनाक्रम के गवाह थे। राव हम्मीरसिंह ने उनपर लगाए गए सभी आरोपों का खंडन किया तथा इस सन्दर्भ में तथ्यात्मक जांच करवाकर दोषी व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध कार्यवाही करने का निवेदन किया।²² उक्त घटनाक्रम के सम्बन्ध में दिनांक 24 दिसम्बर, 1867 को मेजर जी. एफ. हेवर्ड के समक्ष उदयसिंह (कालिंगरा निवासी, बनिया) के बयान दर्ज किए गए, जिसमें उसने उक्त घटना के समय बांसवाड़ा में होने तथा वापस कालिंगरा आने के पश्चात् भी उक्त घटना के विषय में कुछ भी नहीं सुनने की बात कही।²³ कालिंगरा निवासी बनिया फत्तेसिंह ने दिनांक 24 दिसम्बर, 1867 को मेजर हेवर्ड को दिए अपने बयान में उक्त घटना के सन्दर्भ में कहा कि कुशलगढ़ के कुंवर जी द्वारा हीरा गरासिया को थाने से जबरन ले जाने, गोली लगने से सिपाहियों की मृत्यु होने तथा तीन सिपाहियों के तीर लगने से घायल होने तथा एक सिपाही के तलवार से घायल होने की बात कही। अन्ततः उदयसिंह ने यह स्वीकार कर लिया कि वास्तव में हीरा गरासिया कभी कालिंगरा थाने में बन्द ही नहीं रहा तथा कालिंगरा थाने के तत्कालीन थानेदार ‘कीमा’ के कहने पर ही यह मनगढ़ंत कहानी बनाई गई थी।²⁴

दिनांक 24 दिसम्बर, 1867 को रमजान तेली (कालिंगरा निवास) द्वारा मेजर हेवर्ड के समक्ष दर्ज बयान में बताया गया कि उसे तीन व्यक्तियों के अन्तिम संस्कार के लिए ‘थाने’ बुलाया गया था, जिन पर तलवार के वार के घावों के निशान थे। बाद में रमजान तेली ने भी स्वीकार किया कालिंगरा के तत्कालीन थानेदार ‘कीमा’ के निर्देश पर ही यह मनगढ़ंत कहानी बनाई गई थी। हीरा गरासिया वहां कभी भी कैद नहीं रहा तथा उसे छुड़ाने एवं तीन सिपाहियों को मारने की बात भी झूठी थी। रमजान तेली ने यह भी कहा कि यदि उनकी सुरक्षा का आश्वासन दिया जाए तो वह सत्य घटनाक्रम बताने को भी तैयार था।²⁵ बांसवाड़ा निवासी कासिम बोरा, जिसकी दुकान कालिंगरा में थी, ने हीरा गरासिया सम्बन्धी किसी भी घटनाक्रम के विषय में उसके द्वारा नहीं सुनने की बात अपने बयान में कही। कालिंगरा निवासी मंगूरजी बनिया द्वारा वहां एक सेना आने की बात सुनकर वहां से भाग जाने की बात अपने बयान में कही। रहीम खान (थानेदार द्वारा पूर्व में प्रस्तुत गवाह) द्वारा घटनाक्रम के समय बांसवाड़ा में होने तथा वहां से कालिंगरा लौटने के पश्चात् हीरा गरासिया को थाने से छुड़वाने, तीन सिपाहियों के मारे जाने तथा चार सिपाहियों के घायल होने की बात सुनने का बयान दिया गया।²⁶ भीलड़ी (बांसवाड़ा) के ठाकुर केसरी सिंह (पुत्र, जोधा सिंह) द्वारा दिनांक 24 दिसम्बर, 1867 को मेजर हेवर्ड को दिए गए अपने बयान में कहा गया कि कुशलगढ़ के कुंवर जी पर लगाए गए सभी आरोप गलत हैं। बांसवाड़ा का रावल कुशलगढ़ की बढ़ती हुई शक्ति तथा उसके द्वारा ‘रावल’ की उपेक्षा किए जाने से नाखुश हैं। इसलिए यह मनगढ़ंत कहानी बनाई गई थी। उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि बांसवाड़ा के फौजबक्शी ने उन्हें

निर्देशित किया था कि उन्हें अपने बयान में क्या कहना है। परन्तु अभी उनके द्वारा जो बयान दर्ज करवाया गया है। वह पूर्णतः सत्य है।²⁷

इसी प्रकार कालिंगरा निवासी - देवचन्द बनिया, जुरोसिंह बनिया, थावलचन्द बनिया, नूरा लखेरा, नानजी लखेरा, हकूरचन्द बनिया द्वारा भी मेजर हेवर्ड के समक्ष दर्ज अने बयानों में कालिंगरा थाना घटनाक्रम को पूरी तरह असत्य एवं मनगढ़ंत कहानी बताया।²⁸ इस घटनाक्रम की सम्पूर्ण जांच के पश्चात् कुशलगढ़ के राव हम्मीरसिंह को निर्दोष माना गया। अंग्रेज सरकार द्वारा बांसवाड़ा के महारावल से नाराज होकर दिनांक 1 अगस्त, 1869 की उनकी 'सलामी' तोपों की संख्या 15 से घटाकर 11 कर दी गई। कुशलगढ़ के 'राव' की रतलाम की जागीरें जब्त होने के बदले बांसवाड़ा के महारावल द्वारा उन्हें 6367 रुपये का हर्जाना देने एवं भविष्य में कुशलगढ़ के आन्तरिक मामलों में किसी भी प्रकार का हस्तक्षेप नहीं करने, कुशलगढ़ के इलाके से गुजरने वाली व्यापारिक वस्तुओं पर 'महसूल' कुशलगढ़ के 'राव' द्वारा ही वसूल किए जाने, 1100 रुपये (सालिमशाही) वार्षिक खिराज पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट के मार्फत बांसवाड़ा राज्य के आदेशों का पालन कुशलगढ़ के 'राव' द्वारा किए जाने का निर्णय लिया गया।²⁹

इस निर्णय के पश्चात् कुशलगढ़ के 'राव' बांसवाड़ा राज्य से पूरी तरह स्वतंत्र हो गए तथा उसकी गणना अंग्रेज सरकार के संरक्षित ठिकानों में होने लगी। कुशलगढ़ के न्याय सम्बन्धी अधिकार सीमित कर दिए गए। कुशलगढ़ द्वारा बांसवाड़ा राज्य को नियमित वार्षिक खिराज देने तथा खास अवसरों (महारावल की गद्दीनशीनी, कुंवर एवं कुंवरियों के विवाह के अवसरों पर 'राव' की उपस्थिति) के अतिरिक्त उसका अन्य कुछ भी सम्बन्ध बांसवाड़ा राज्य से न रहा।³⁰ भारत सरकार के फॉरेन सेक्रेटरी डब्ल्यू. एस. सेटनकार द्वारा दिनांक 22 जुलाई, 1869 को जारी एक आदेश की अनुपालना के अनुसार कुशलगढ़ के राव द्वारा दिनांक 6 अप्रैल, 1870 को बांसवाड़ा में असिस्टेंट पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट के पास अपना वकील नियत कर दिया तथा जनवरी, 1873 को बांसवाड़ा राज्य को वार्षिक खिराज भी अदा कर दिया। परन्तु 'तलवारबंधी' का नजराना बांसवाड़ा के महारावल को अदा नहीं किया। अन्त में पॉलिटिकल एजेन्ट, मेवाड़ की सिफारिश पर वर्ष 1875 में नजराने (तलवारबंधी) की राशि को अंग्रेज सरकार ने माफ कर दिया।³¹ इस घटनाक्रम के पश्चात् कुशलगढ़ ठिकाना बांसवाड़ा राज्य के नियंत्रण से निकलकर अंग्रेजी संरक्षण में आ गया, जो कि एक महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक घटनाक्रम कहा जा सकता है।

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आधुनिक काल में मारवाड़ का सैन्य संगठन एवं युद्ध पद्धतियाँ

डॉ. महेन्द्र सिंह राठौड़*

सैन्य संगठन - 1818 में मारवाड़ की सेना पैदल, घुड़सवार, हाथी, ऊँट, तोपची इत्यादि वर्गों में विभाजित थी।

पैदल सेना - 19वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भिक वर्षों में मारवाड़ राज्य की सेना में पैदल सैनिकों का बाहुल्य था। इन्हें राज्य में 'पाला' सैनिक भी कहा जाता था।¹ पैदल सैनिकों को तलवार, भालें एवं बन्दूक आदि राज्य की ओर से दिये जाते थे। सैनिकों की इस श्रेणी में लड़ाकू और गैर-लड़ाकू दोनों प्रकार के सैनिक सम्मिलित थे। इस काल में राजपूत जाति के सैनिकों के साथ-साथ रूहेला, अफगान, नागा, पूरबिया इत्यादि विभिन्न जातियों के सैनिकों को भी राज्य की पैदल सेना में स्थान दिया जाने लगा।² पैदल सैनिक विभिन्न ब्रिगेडों में विभक्त थे। प्रत्येक ब्रिगेड का एक सरदार हुआ करता था। युद्ध में पैदल सैनिकों को जहाँ एक तरफ विभिन्न प्रकार के अस्त्र-शस्त्र दिये जाते थे, वहीं उन्हें अपनी रक्षा करने के लिए कवच व हेलमेट आदि देना भी प्रारम्भ हो गया था।³

अश्वारोही सेना - 1818 ई. की ब्रिटिश-मारवाड़ सन्धि के उपरान्त अश्वसेना का आधुनिकीकरण हुआ क्योंकि मारवाड़ के राजपूतों का लगाव पैदल सेना की बजाय घुड़सवार की तरफ अत्यधिक था। यहाँ के राठौड़ शासक भी राजपूत जाति की इस मनोवृत्ति को जानते थे। अतः ब्रिटिश कम्पनी ने इसी तथ्य को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए राज्य में घुड़सवार सेना को महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्रदान किया। मारवाड़ राज्य में अश्व सेना में उत्तम किस्म, नस्ल के घोड़े थे। सेना के लिए, तुर्की, ईरान, ईराक आदि देशों से घोड़ों की खरीद की जाती थी। मारवाड़ राज्य की घुड़सवार सेना में घुड़सवारों को घोड़ों की नस्ल के अनुसार वेतन दिया जाता था।⁴

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* सहायक आचार्य, इतिहास, राणा उगम सिंह इन्दा राजकीय महाविद्यालय, बालेसर (जोधपुर)

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यद्यपि उपर्युक्त तालिका एक माह के वेतन की है, किन्तु समय-समय पर वेतन में वृद्धि आदि भी की जाती रही हैं।

राज्य के अलावा मारवाड़ के सामन्तों के पास भी पर्याप्त मात्रा में घुड़सवार सैनिक थे। राज्य में सामन्तों को 'रेख' के हिसाब से घोड़ों को रखना पड़ता था। रेख प्रथा का प्रचलन 18वीं शताब्दी के अन्त में हुआ। गाँव की रेख निर्धारित करके सैनिकों की संख्या निर्धारित की गई। प्रति हजार की रेख पर एक सवार निर्धारित किया जाता था।⁵ यहाँ रेख से मतलब गाँव की जमा से हैं। रेख के अनुसार एक हाथी रखने पर राजा द्वारा पट्टेदार या सामन्त को 6 घुड़सवार रखने से मुक्त किया जाता था। मारवाड़ राज्य में 20,000 की रेख पर रावल भारमल एवं महेशदास को 25 घोड़े रखने पड़ते थे।⁶ वि.सं. 1845 में 21,475 की रेख पर महेशदास को 23 घोड़े रखने का पट्टा दिया था। जबकि अभयराजोत को 28,500 की रेख पर 20 घोड़े रखने का पट्टा दिया गया था।⁷ इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि एक हजार (1000) टके की रेख पर एक घोड़ा रखना सामान्य नीति थी। परन्तु यह कोई निश्चित नियम नहीं था और राजा की इच्छा ही सर्वोपरि थी। राज्य की तरफ से घोड़ों की देखरेख के लिए तबेले बने हुए थे। तबेले की व्यवस्था दरोगा तथा मुसरिर्फ करते थे।⁸ 1822 ई. में पड़ियार मानसिंह तबेले का दरोगा था। 1823 ई. और 1827 ई. में शिवदास और दयाल भैया मुसरिर्फ थे। घोड़ों की खरीद-फरोख्त के लिए महाराजा स्वयं व्यक्तिगत रुचि लेते थे एवं अपने विश्वासपात्र उच्चाधिकारियों को खरीद का कार्य सौंपते थे। फौज बही नं. 13 (जोधपुर) से हमें अश्वों की खरीद की निम्नलिखित जानकारी मिलती है।⁹

भण्डारी ज्ञानमल व सिंघवी कालूराम रे हस्ते रा जमा खर्च रा नावो-

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महाराजा मानसिंह मारवाड़ ने अंग्रेजों से सम्पर्क में आने के बाद अपनी अश्व

सेना की तरफ विशेष ध्यान दिया। जहाँ एक तरफ उन्होंने अश्वारोही सैनिकों के वेतन, सुविधाएँ आदि की पूर्ण व्यवस्था की, वहीं दूसरी तरफ घोड़ों की देखभाल के लिए कई कदम उठाये। तबेले के कर्मचारियों को इस बात का निर्देश दिया कि राज्य निर्धारित खुराक घोड़ों को मिलती रहे। खास घोड़ों के लिए अच्छे अनाज के दाने के साथ-साथ चीनी, घी, गुड़, नमक, फिटकरी आदि की मात्रा निश्चित की गई।¹⁰ सामान्यतः घोड़ों की खुराक के लिए इन खाद्य पदार्थों की आपूर्ति राज्य के भण्डार से होती थी।

महाराजा मानसिंह के काल में अंग्रेजी सम्पर्क के कारण घुड़सवारों के प्रशिक्षण की भी पूरी व्यवस्था की गई। नियमों के अनुसार घुड़सवार को सैन्य एवं युद्ध कला, कौशल का प्रशिक्षण देने के साथ-साथ घोड़ों को भी युद्ध का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाने लगा। सैनिकों को प्रशिक्षण के दौरान घोड़े को लगाम से पकड़ना तथा युद्ध के विभिन्न आयाम सिखाये जाते थे। इस समय घोड़ों को अनेक सामान तथा वेशभूषा से सुसज्जित किया जाता था।¹¹ घोड़ों को दागने एवं उनका हुलिया लिखने की प्रथा भी इस काल में थी। प्रत्येक घुड़सवार सैनिक की राज्य सेना में भर्ती के समय कारकून के दतर में घोड़ों की उम्र, मूल्य, रंग एवं शारीरिक चिन्ह रजिस्टर में दर्ज किया जाता था। जालौर परगने में भर्ती सैनिक का विवरण प्रकार है।¹²

फतेहसिंह, बखतसिंह, रणछोड़दास खाँप चांपावत गाँव मोदाश

मुसारले बरस 26-बन्दूक

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गजसेना - 19वीं सदी के प्रारम्भ में गजसेना का भी अंग्रेजों ने आधुनिकीकरण किया। मोटे रूप में युद्ध के समय युद्ध संचालन के लिए शासक स्वयं अथवा उसके द्वारा नियुक्त अधिकारी हाथी की पीठ पर बैठकर युद्ध का संचालन करता था। युद्ध संचालन में हाथी की उपयोगिता इस बात में थी कि युद्ध संचालनकर्ता युद्ध क्षेत्र की समस्त गतिविधियों को देख सकता था। जोधपुर राज्य में हाथियों की संख्या नगण्य थी। इस काल में दिये गये पट्टों के अध्ययन से ज्ञात होता है कि सैन्य विभाग में केवल राजकीय सेना में ही हाथियों को रखने की अनुमति दी जाती थी। लेकिन कभी-कभार सम्मान स्वरूप राज्य के सामन्तों को भी हाथी रखने की अनुमति प्रदान की जाती थी। महाराजा मानसिंह ने अपने शासनकाल में बगड़ी के ठाकुर शिवनाथसिंह, पोकरण ठाकुर सवाईसिंह को हाथी रखने का सम्मान दिया था।¹³ मारवाड़ राज्य में गजसेना के प्रबन्ध-व्यवस्था के लिए 'पीलखाना' विभाग था।¹⁴ पीलखाने विभाग की देखभाल के लिए दरोगा, मुशरिर्फ एवं पोतेदार इत्यादि अधिकारियों, कर्मचारियों को नियुक्त किया जाता था।¹⁵ हाथियों को

युद्ध के लिए प्रशिक्षित किया जाता था। कभी-कभी दो हाथियों के मध्य लड़ाई करवाई जाती थी एवं युद्ध के लिए उन्हें इस प्रकार का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता था कि वे अपना बचाव भी कर सके। युद्ध के समय इन्हें सुरक्षात्मक हथियारों से भी सुसज्जित किया जाता था। जिससे सुरक्षा के साथ ही वार करने के काम में भी लिया जाता था। इसके अलावा हाथी युद्ध के समय शत्रु के सिपाहियों को अपनी सूंड से पैरों के नीचे पटक कर कुचल देते थे। युद्ध के समय हाथियों को भी अश्वों की तरह ही विभिन्न प्रकार के सार्जों-सामान से सुसज्जित किया जाता था।¹⁶ हाथियों की कीमत निश्चित नहीं थी, फिर भी साधारणतया इस काल में एक हाथी की कीमत 5600 रुपये से 13800 रुपये तक होती थी।¹⁷ अंग्रेजी सम्पर्क से मारवाड़ की गजसेना की स्थिति एवं उसकी व्यवस्था में काफी सुधार हुआ।

शुतुर सेना - मारवाड़ का अधिकांश भाग रेगिस्तानी होने के कारण यहाँ ऊँट सेना का विशेष महत्त्व था। ऊँट एक ऐसा प्राणी है जो लम्बे समय तक बिना भोजन एवं पानी के रह सकता है। कठिन से कठिन रेगिस्तानी इलाका पार कर सकता है। इसी उपयोगिता के कारण मारवाड़ के राठौड़ शासकों ने अपने सैन्य विभाग में ऊँट रिसाले को स्थान दिया। ऊँटों की उपयोगिता एवं उनकी बढ़ोतरी की आवश्यकता को देखते हुए मारवाड़ के शासकों ने “शुतुर खाना” विभाग खोला।¹⁸ दरोगा नामक एक पदाधिकारी इस विभाग का मुखिया होता था। मुशरिफ इस सैन्य विभाग में कार्यरत सैनिकों, ऊँट सवारों एवं ऊँटों का हिसाब-किताब रखता था। इनकी भर्ती एवं व्यवस्था का कार्य भी दरोगा एवं मुशरिफ करते थे। 19 1818 ई. की ब्रिटिश सन्धि के बाद इसमें काफी हद तक सुधार किया गया था।

युद्ध पद्धति एवं प्रमुख युद्ध

मारवाड़ के राठौड़ शासकों ने समय-समय पर युद्ध करने की भिन्न-भिन्न पद्धतियों का अवलम्बन किया। ब्रिटिश सम्पर्क से पूर्व तक मारवाड़ की सेना के विभिन्न सैन्य अभियानों का विस्तृत वर्णन ख्यातों, विगतों, बहियों आदि अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थों में मिलता है। डॉ. साधना रस्तौगी ने भी अपने शोध-प्रबन्ध ‘मारवाड़ का शौर्य युग-राव मालदेव’ में युद्ध पद्धति एवं सैन्य अभियानों के बारे में विस्तृत जानकारी दी है।²⁰ उपरोक्त स्रोतों का अध्ययन कर युद्ध पद्धति को चार प्रमुख भागों में बाँटा जा रहा है- इस काल में मारवाड़ का प्रत्येक राजपूत²¹ युद्ध अपने जातिगत नेता को सहयोग देने के लिए लड़ता था। सैनिक अभियानों से पूर्व पूरी तैयारी कर ली जाती थी। किसी विशिष्ट व्यक्ति द्वारा सभी ठाकुरों-सामन्तों को युद्ध में भाग लेने के लिए निमन्त्रण भेजा जाता था। राजपूताना के अन्य राज्यों की परम्परा की भाँति मारवाड़ में भी सैनिक अभियान वियजदशमी या दशहरों के बाद किया जाता था।²² जिसे लाभन्दी का मुहूर्त्त कहा जाता। जब सेना युद्ध

अभियान पर निकलती तो शस्त्रागार²³ शस्त्रों की पूर्ति करता। बख्शी सेना का निरीक्षण करता था। शासक के आदेश पर सेना अपने झण्डे के तले सैनिक अभियान के लिए प्रस्थान करती। सेना शगुन देखकर गन्तव्य स्थान के लिए प्रस्थान करती थी। राव मालदेव ने बीकानेर पर आक्रमण के लिए शगुन निकालकर प्रस्थान किया था।²⁴

इस काल में मारवाड़ की सेना चार पद्धतियों द्वारा युद्ध लड़ा करती थी-

(1) **सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध पद्धति** - मारवाड़ की सेना द्वारा प्रथम पद्धति सुरक्षात्मक अपनायी जाती थी। शत्रु दल के सैनिकों की संख्या अधिक होने अथवा खुले मैदानों में युद्ध करने की स्थिति में नहीं होने पर शासक सेना सहित दुर्ग में चला आता एवं दुर्ग में सुरक्षित रहते हुए शत्रु से मुकाबला करता था। इस प्रकार के युद्ध को ‘गढ़ चढ़णों’ या ‘गढ़ झालणों’ कहा जाता था।²⁵ इस प्रकार का युद्ध रक्षात्मक दृष्टिकोण से ही किया जाता था। राठौड़ साम्राज्य के इतिहास में हमें ऐसे कई युद्धों का वर्णन मिलता है। जब राव मालदेव ने पोकरण के स्वामी जैतमाल पर आक्रमण किया (ई.स. 1550) तो जैतमाल ने इसी युद्ध पद्धति का सहारा लिया था।²⁶ लेकिन इस युद्ध में जैतमाल सफल नहीं हो सका एवं राजकीय सेना ने उसे दुर्ग में से बाहर निकलने पर बाध्य कर पोकरण पर अधिकार कर लिया।²⁷

विक्रम संवत् 1594 आषाढ़ वदी 8 (20 जून सन् 1538) को राव मालदेव ने सिवाणा के ठाकुर राठौड़ डूंगरसी जैतमलोत के विरुद्ध सेना भेजी।²⁸ डूंगरसी ने सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध पद्धति का आश्रय लेते हुए अपने को दुर्ग में बन्द कर लिया, लेकिन यहाँ पर भी राजकीय सेना ने डूंगरसी की इस युद्ध पद्धति को विफल करते हुए सिवाणा के दुर्ग पर अधिकार कर लिया। मुगल सेना के मेड़ता अभियान के समय भी मालदेव की ओर से मालकोट पर नियुक्त देवीदास ने भी इसी युद्ध पद्धति का सहारा लिया था।²⁹ मालदेव के बाद राव चन्द्रसेन ने भी मुगलों के आक्रमण के समय जोधपुर दुर्ग में रहकर सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध पद्धति का पालन किया था। दुर्ग में रहकर सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध लड़ते समय युद्ध सामग्री की कमी होने पर सैनिकों की कमी होने पर अथवा खाद्य सामग्री की कमी होने पर सेना दुर्ग से बाहर निकलने पर बाध्य हो जाती थी। ऐसी स्थिति हो जाने पर शत्रु के साथ संधि करनी पड़ती थी। इस प्रकार सन्धि कर बाहर निकलने वालों को ‘धर्मद्वार’ निकलना कहा जाता था। राठौड़ देवीदास इसी प्रकार से मेड़ता के दुर्ग मालकोट से निकला था।³⁰

(2) **छापामार युद्ध पद्धति** - यह सच है कि मध्यकाल में राजपूत सैन्य प्रबन्ध में खुले मैदान में युद्ध करने को ही अच्छा समझा जाता था और इसी युद्ध प्रणाली को प्रमुखता दी जाती थी, लेकिन शत्रु दल द्वारा अत्यधिक अनीति पर उतर जाने पर राजपूत सेनाओं के छापामार युद्ध प्रणाली का भी उपयोग किया।

मारवाड़ के दक्षिण एवं दक्षिण-पूर्वी पहाड़ी शृंखला इस प्रकार के युद्ध के लिए

उपयुक्त थी। जब शासक खुले मैदान या सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध करने की स्थिति में नहीं होता था या सैनिकों की संख्या कम होती तो ऐसी स्थिति में छापामार युद्ध पद्धति को अपनाता था। इस युद्ध पद्धति को 'भाखर चढ़णों' या 'भाखर झालणों' कहा जाता था।³¹

मारवाड़ के शासक राव चन्द्रसेन ने सर्वप्रथम इस युद्ध पद्धति को अपनाया था। 22 मई, 1564 ई. (वि.सं. 1620, ज्येष्ठ सुदी 12) को बादशाह अकबर की शाही सेना ने जोधपुर का घेरा डाला। 17 दिन तक शाही सेना ने जोधपुर दुर्ग को घेरे हुए रखा। राव चन्द्रसेन ने स्वयं को दुर्ग में बन्द कर सुरक्षात्मक युद्ध लड़ा। शाही सेना ने जब सफलता मिलते नहीं देखी तो वह वापस चली गई। 17 जनवरी, 1565 ई. एवं 13 मार्च, 1565 ई. को शाही सेना ने पुनः जोधपुर दुर्ग का घेरा डाला। 45 दिन तक राव चन्द्रसेन ने दुर्ग में रहते हुए शाही सेना का मुकाबला किया, परन्तु अन्तोगत्वा अन्न-जल के संकट के कारण राव चन्द्रसेन अपने सैनिक साथियों सहित भाद्राजून चले गये।³² एवं जोधपुर दुर्ग पर शाही सेना का अधिकार हो गया। शाही सेना राव चन्द्रसेन का पीछा करते हुए भाद्राजून पहुँची। यहाँ पर राव चन्द्रसेन ने छापामार अर्थात् गुरिल्ला युद्ध पद्धति से मुगलशाही सेना को कुछ दिन उलझाये रखा, लेकिन बाद में वह सिवाना चला गया। सिवाना दुर्ग में रहते हुए राव चन्द्रसेन ने अपने समर्थकों एवं सैनिकों की संख्या में वृद्धि कर अपनी स्थिति को सुदृढ़ कर लिया। परन्तु बादशाह अकबर राव चन्द्रसेन की बढ़ती हुई शक्ति एवं गतिविधियों से अप्रसन्न था। अतः उसने राव चन्द्रसेन के विरुद्ध शाही सेना सिवाना भेजी। कुछ ही दिनों में शाही सेना ने सिवाना पर अधिकार कर लिया। सिवाना गढ़ हाथ से चले जाने पर राव चन्द्रसेन का अंतिम सुदृढ़ आश्रय स्थल भी जाता रहा। वहाँ से पहले पीपलूद के पहाड़ों में गया और बाद में काणूजा की पहाड़ियों में चला गया। कई महिनों तक राव चन्द्रसेन इन पहाड़ी प्रदेशों में रहकर छापामार युद्ध करता रहा। जब शाही सेना ने राव चन्द्रसेन को इन गतिविधियों पर अंकुश लगाने की कोशिश की तो उसने शाही सेना पर छापे मारकर उसे परेशान करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया।³³ इसके बाद राव चन्द्रसेन डुंगरपुर एवं बाद बाँसवाड़ा में चला गया। इस प्रकार छापामार युद्ध पद्धति द्वारा राव चन्द्रसेन ने लगातार शाही सेना को परेशानी में डाले रखा एवं अपनी स्वतंत्रता को बनाये रखा।

(3) रात्रि आक्रमण - इस काल में युद्ध प्रायः दिन के समय ही हुआ करते थे लेकिन कभी-कभी युद्ध की ज्वाला रात में भी धधक उठती थी। रात्रि आक्रमणों को उस समय की प्रचलित भाषा में 'रातीबाहा' कहा जाता था।³⁴ राव मालदेव, राव चन्द्रसेन आदि ने मशालों के प्रकाश में रात्रिकाल में युद्ध किये। मारवाड़ के शासक जसवन्त सिंह की मृत्यु जब मुगलों की सेवा करते हुए उत्तर-पश्चिमी सीमान्त प्रदेश में हो गई, तब औरंगजेब ने मारवाड़ राज्य को खालसा घोषित करने का आदेश देकर शहजादें अकबर

द्वितीय को जोधपुर भेजा। जोधपुर की ओर बढ़ती हुई मुगल सेना जो राजपूत युद्ध कला से पूर्णतया: परिचित था, निश्चिन्तता से जोधपुर से 10 मील की दूरी तक पहुँच गई।³⁵ दिन भर की वार्ता के पश्चात् जब रात्रि में मुगल सेना ने युद्ध विश्राम समझ कर अपने खेमों की तरफ लौटना प्रारम्भ किया तो रात्रि में बढ़ते हुए अन्धकार में राजपूतों ने युद्ध की तैयारी पूर्ण कर अर्धरात्रि को 500 सांडों के सींगों पर जलती हुई मशालें बाँध कर उनके प्रकाश में मुगल सेना पर भीषण आक्रमण किया। मुगल सेना को यहाँ की भौगोलिक स्थिति की पूर्ण जानकारी नहीं थी, अतः अंधेरे में वे कुछ भी समझ न पाये एवं उन्हें अपनी रक्षा करते हुए पलायन करना पड़ा।³⁶ मारवाड़ के शासक व सैनिक रात्रिकालीन युद्ध अभियानों में काफी सफल होते थे। यहाँ के सैनिकों को अपनी इस वसुन्धरा की समस्त जानकारी होती थी। रेतीले टीलों, समतल मैदानों की पूर्ण जानकारी के कारण वे रात्रि में विचलित नहीं होते जबकि शत्रु को यहाँ की भौगोलिक स्थिति की जानकारी नहीं होने के कारण वे सफल नहीं हो पाते थे।

(4) खुले मैदान में युद्ध - खुले मैदान में युद्ध सत्ता के निर्णय के लिए होते थे। इसके लिए दोनों पक्ष एक मैदान विशेष में उपस्थित हो जाते एवं युद्ध प्रारम्भ हो जाता। इस प्रकार के युद्ध को 'खेत बुहार लड़णों' कहा जाता था। इस युद्ध के निर्णय में कई तत्त्व सहायक होते थे। जैसे-सैनिकों का जमाव, रणनीति, युद्ध पद्धति, सैनिकों की संख्या, युद्ध परीक्षण, अस्त्र-शस्त्रों की कोटि इत्यादि। इन युद्ध में पैदल व ऊँट सवार ही अधिकांशतया भाग लेते थे। रणक्षेत्र उसी स्थान को चुना जाता था, जहाँ सेना के लिए पानी एवं सुरक्षा की उचित व्यवस्था होती थी।³⁷

ब्रिटिश सम्पर्क से पूर्व तक मारवाड़ के राठौड़ शासकों द्वारा खुले मैदान में लड़े गये युद्धों का संक्षिप्त वर्णन किया जा रहा है। राठौड़ सत्ता की स्थापना के प्रारम्भिक वर्षों में राव सातल द्वारा मुसलमानी सेना से वि.सं. 1549 में लड़ा गया, कोसाणा का युद्ध महत्वपूर्ण है।³⁸ इस यु. का प्रमुख कारण अजमेर के सूबेदार मल्लूखां द्वारा पीपाड़ की तीजणियों को पकड़कर ले जाना था। इस युद्ध में राव सातल देव भी घायल हो गया और उनकी मृत्यु हो गई। वि. सं. 1577 (सन् 1520ई.) में महाराणा सांगा ने ईडर के राजा रायमल को पुनः ईडर दिलवाने³⁹ के लिए ईडर के हाकिम निजामुल्मुल्क पर सैन्य चढ़ाई की, इस अवसर पर सांगा ने वागडिया डूँगरसिंह को जोधपुर के राठौड़ राजा राव गांगा के पास भेजकर सहायता का अनुरोध किया, राव गांगा ने इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करते हुए ईडर के युद्ध में भाग लिया, जिसमें उसकी विजय हुई।⁴⁰ खानवा के युद्ध में भी राव गांगा ने सांगा की सहायता की थी।

उपर्युक्त विवरण से स्पष्ट होता है कि ब्रिटिश सम्पर्क से पूर्व तक मारवाड़ राज्य की सैनिक व्यवस्था, प्रशासन कई उतार-चढ़ाव से गुजरा। मारवाड़ के राठौड़ों द्वारा सत्ता

स्थापित करने के साथ ही उन्हें इस बात की आवश्यकता महसूस हुई कि शक्तिशाली केन्द्रीय सेना का निर्माण किया जाए। राव जोधा ने इस आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखते हुए एक राजकीय सेना का निर्माण करने का प्रयास किया, लेकिन वह अपने उद्देश्य में आंशिक सफल रहा। राव जोधा के काल में मारवाड़ राज्य अनेक ठिकानों में विभक्त था और इन ठिकानों पर राजवंश से सम्बन्धित ठाकुर शासन करते थे। ऐसी परिस्थिति में राज्य को कोई विशेष राजस्व प्राप्त नहीं होता था। अतः आर्थिक स्थिति सुदृढ़ नहीं होने के कारण राव जोधा अपने उद्देश्यों में सफल नहीं हो पाया।

शक्तिशाली राजकीय सेना का गठन नहीं होने में सामन्तों-ठाकुरों ने भी अहम भूमिका निभाई। इस समय तक तो शासक सामन्तों, जागीरदारों, ठाकुरों की सैनिक शक्ति पर ही निर्भर था। अतः सैनिक मामलों में सर्वेसर्वा होने के कारण वे राजा पर अपना प्रभाव डालते थे। अतः उन्हें इस बात का भय उत्पन्न हुआ कि यदि शक्तिशाली राजकीय सेना का गठन हो गया, तो उनकी स्थिति में परिवर्तन आ जायेगा। राव जोधा के बाद राव मालदेव ने सैनिक-प्रणाली में सुधार करने का प्रयास किया। उन्होंने 30 हजार सैनिकों की उचित व्यवस्था की, लेकिन इस काल में सामन्तवादी सैनिक प्रथा ज्यों कि त्यों विद्यमान थी। राव चन्द्रसेन के बाद मारवाड़ पर मुगलों का प्रभाव, नियन्त्रण हो जाने से यहाँ के राठौड़ शासकों को किसी बाहरी आक्रमण या आन्तरिक विद्रोह का भय नहीं रहा। जब युद्ध की संभावनाएं या आवश्यकता ही समाप्त हो गई, तो सैनिक प्रबन्ध की तरफ यहाँ के शासकों ने ध्यान देना न तो आवश्यक समझा और न ही उचित। राव चन्द्रसेन के बाद यहाँ के वीर सैनिकों की वीरता का उपयोग मुगलों ने अपने साम्राज्य-विस्तार एवं साम्राज्य सुरक्षा के लिए किया।

शासकों के इस दृष्टिकोण, नीति के आगे चलकर कई ऐसे परिणाम निकले जो उनके वंश या सत्ता के लिए अत्यन्त हानिकारक सिद्ध हुए। परिणामस्वरूप महाराजा जसवन्त सिंह की मृत्यु के बाद अजीत सिंह को शासक बनाने के लिए सैनिक अभाव में वीर दुर्गादास जैसे वीरों को कई कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ा एवं औरंगजेब की मृत्यु तक वे अपने उद्देश्य में सफल नहीं हो सके। मुगल साम्राज्य के पतन से मारवाड़ न तो कोई राजनीतिक लाभ प्राप्त कर सका एवं न ही अपने राज्य का विस्तार कर सका।

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ब्रिटिशकालीन धाट में शिक्षा व्यवस्था

डॉ. पंकज चाण्डक

मारवाड़ और सिन्ध प्रदेश के मध्य स्थित रेगिस्तानी भू-भाग धाट कहलाता है। भारत विभाजन के दरम्यान इस क्षेत्र का लगभग 70 प्रतिशत हिस्सा वर्तमान पाकिस्तान में और शेष 30 प्रतिशत भाग हिन्दुस्तान में आ गया। पूर्व-पश्चिम में उमरकोट (अमरकोट) से लेकर चौहटन की पहाड़ियों तक और उत्तर-दक्षिण में जैसलमेर के सता सुन्दरा गांव से लेकर बाड़मेर जिले के सेडवा कस्बे तक और पाकिस्तान में सभी डेहरा तक का क्षेत्र 'धाट' कहलाता है।¹

ब्रिटिश प्रशासन (ई. 1843 से ई. 1947)

सन् 1843 ई. की मियानी के युद्ध में मीरों के पराजय के बाद सिंध में ब्रिटिश शासन स्थापित हुआ। सिंध के गवर्नर चार्ल्स नेपियर ने पूरे सिंध को चार प्रशासनिक इकाइयों कराची, हैदराबाद, शिकारपुर व अपर सिंध में बांट दिया।² इस व्यवस्था के तहत धाट प्रदेश हैदराबाद डिवीजन के अधीन था।³ सम्पूर्ण धाट क्षेत्र को छाछरो, मिट्ठी, खेनसर, चेलहार, गडरो, अमरकोट व दीपलो तहसीलों में विभक्ति किया।⁴ धाट क्षेत्र का भावनात्मक जुड़ाव सिंध के बजाय जोधपुर व कच्छ से ज्यादा रहा था इसलिए धाट वासियों ने मांग की उनके क्षेत्र को सिंध के हैदराबाद डिवीजन की जगह कच्छ प्रान्त में मिलाया जाए।⁵ इस मांग पर अमल करते ब्रिटिश सरकार ने धाट क्षेत्र के पारकर, कंटो, नगरपारकर, वीरवाह, आधीगांव, पीथापुर, मामकेरो, बोहराणो, चूंडीयो, शक्करवेरो, बलहारी, दीपलो, मिट्ठी, इस्लामकोट इत्यादि गांवों व कस्बों को कच्छ के सहायक पश्चालिटिकल एजेंट के अधीन कर दिया।⁶ जबकि अमरकोट तहसील समेत बाकी धाट क्षेत्र को हैदराबाद डिवीजन में ही रखा गया। उस वक्त अमरकोट तहसील में छाछरो, चेलहार, दाहिली, खीमसर, गडरो, जूडो, नवकोट, डेगान, जेम्सबाद, बरेची, सादीपल्ली, गुलाबनबीशाह, ददेलो, कंडीयालो आदि गांव थे।⁷ सन् 1844 ई. से सन् 1855 ई. तक थर और पारकर का ऊपर वर्णित हिस्सा कच्छ के सहायक पॉलिटिकल एजेंट के अधीन रहा था लेकिन सन् 1855 ई. में सम्पूर्ण थर और पारकर क्षेत्र को सिंध प्रांत में मिलाया

गया, जो आज तक है।⁸ सन् 1886-1887 ई. को धाट क्षेत्र को हैदराबाद डिवीजन से अलग कर जिला थारपारकर के रूप में पुनर्गठित किया गया जिसमें उस समय सात तहसीलें अमरकोट, नारों, सांगड, मिट्ठी, छाछरो, दीपलो व नगरपारकर थी।⁹ धाट क्षेत्र में सर्वप्रथम प्रशासनिक सुधार करने का श्रेय पॉलिटिकल सुपरीटेंडेंट तरवट को जाता है।¹⁰ जो प्रारंभ में बम्बई प्रेसीडेंसी का अधिकारी था। सिंध विजय के पश्चात् इनका स्थानांतरण सिंध में हुआ। सन् 1865 में पॉलिटिकल सुपरीटेंडेंट के पद पर पदोन्नति के बाद सन् 1875 ई. तक थारपारकर के पॉलिटिकल सुपरीटेंडेंट के रूप में अभूतपूर्व प्रशासनिक सुधार किये।¹¹

सन् 1847 ई. से सन् 1947 ई. तक धाट क्षेत्र में प्रत्यक्ष ब्रिटिश शासन होने के कारण ब्रिटिश धाट की शिक्षा, यातायात, चिकित्सा, पुलिस व सामाजिक व्यवस्था में अभूतपूर्व सुधार हुए जिनका वास्तविक चित्रण हमें इंडिया ऑफिस लाइब्रेरी, लंदन में मौजूद माइक्रोफिल्मस से मिलता है।¹² इंडिया अश्वफिस लाइब्रेरी, 96 यूस्टन रोड, लंदन स्थित एक ब्रिटिश लाइब्रेरी है। यह लाइब्रेरी ब्रिटिश लाइब्रेरी भवन की तीसरी मंजिल अवस्थित एशियन अफ्रीकन स्टडी सेंटर का एक भाग है। यहाँ पर उपलब्ध पत्रावलियों में लगभग आधा हिस्सा जीर्ण शीर्ण स्थिति में होने के कारण माइक्रोफिल्म वी शेष में उपलब्ध है शेष हिस्सा मूल अभिलेखों के रूप में मिलता है।¹³

शिक्षा संबंधी पत्रावली

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10. फाइल पेपर्स रिलेटिंग टू द एक्शन एन सिंध
11. न्यूजपेपर्स रिगार्डिंग थरपारकर

उपरोक्त पत्रावलियों व माइक्रोफिल्मस से तत्कालीन ब्रिटिश धाट की शिक्षा संबंधी परिस्थितियों की विस्तृत जानकारी मिलती है। धाट क्षेत्र में ब्रिटिश आगमन से पहले केवल ढाटी माहेश्वरी समाज ही शिक्षित था।¹⁴ अंग्रेजों ने यहाँ आकर शिक्षा व्यवस्था में सुधार किया। 48 कार्ड्स की एक पत्रावली से मालूम चलता है कि किस प्रकार अंग्रेजों ने स्कूली शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने के लिए कार्य किये हैं। अंग्रेजों ने छाछरो, अमरकोट व मिट्ठी में सन् 1850 ई. में एंग्लो वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूल खोले।¹⁵ पत्रावली अनुसार सन् 1850 ई. में अमरकोट की स्कूल में नियुक्त हेडमास्टर बुलाकीदास को 80 रु. वेतन मिलता था। जिसमें से 20 रु. इम्पीरियल फण्ड व 60 रु. लोकल फंड से दिये जाते थे। सन् 1901 ई. के बाद धाट के छोटे-बड़े गाँवों में प्राइमरी स्कूल खुल गये। उस समय चेल्हार, छाछरो, मिट्ठी व अमरकोट शिक्षा के बड़े केन्द्र थे। सातवीं पास करने को सिंधी फाइनल क्लास पास करना कहते थे, जिसके बाद इन विद्यालयों में शिक्षक बन सकते थे। सन् 1934 तक कुल 12 मेघवाल शिक्षक बन गये थे। शिक्षा को बढ़ावा देने के लिए 'नगर' तहसील में 'जोरी तालीम' शुरू की गई। जिन अभिभावकों के बच्चे शिक्षा नहीं ग्रहण करते थे उन पर भारी अर्थ दण्ड लगाया गया।¹⁶ इन सभी कारणों से धाट क्षेत्र में शिक्षा का स्तर पड़ोसी मारवाड़ रियासत से कई उच्च स्तर का था।

ब्रिटिश काल में अमरकोट शहर में शिक्षा

ब्रिटिश राज आरंभ होने से पहले धाट में केवल माहेश्वरी जाति ही शिक्षित होती थी।¹⁷ ब्रिटिश राज में स्कूली शिक्षा का आरंभ होने से अमरकोट में शिक्षा का प्रचार प्रसार तेजी से हुआ। समवर्ती रियासती क्षेत्रों की तुलना में ब्रिटिश धाट में साक्षरता तेजी से बढ़ी जिसका कारण जोरी तालीम नीति व अनुदान नीति थी।¹⁸ इस क्षेत्र में 1887 ई. तक कुल 13 एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूल थे जहाँ पहले गुजराती माध्यम और बाद में सिंधी माध्यम में शिक्षा दी जाती थी।¹⁹ ब्रिटिश काल में अमरकोट शहर में स्कूली शिक्षा हेतु एक-एक एंग्लो वर्नाक्यूलर मर्दाना स्कूल, जनाना स्कूल, संस्कृत विद्यालय व मदरसा थे।²⁰

विद्यालय का नाम	प्रारंभ होने का वर्ष	कुल विद्यार्थी की संख्या	लड़कियाँ	हिन्दू विद्यार्थी	मुस्लिम	अछूत
मर्दाना नगरपालिका स्कूल	1867 ई.	115	0	77	23	15
जनाना नगरपालिका स्कूल	1897 ई.	53	53	48	2	3
संस्कृत पाठशाला	1916 ई.	110	14	91	5	0
मदरसा	1927 ई.	47	7	0	40	0
कुल संख्या	-	327	74	216	70	18

सिंधी मर्दाना नगरपालिका स्कूल की स्थापना सन् 1867 ई. में की गई थी। इस एंग्लो वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूल में प्रारंभ में गुजराती व अंग्रेजी माध्यम में शिक्षा दी जाती थी।

अठारह सौ अस्सी के दशक में सिंधी माध्यम से भी शिक्षा दी जाने लगी। गुजराती माध्यम को केवल पांचवी कक्षा तक सीमित कर दिया। सिंधी फाइनल अर्थात् सिंधी में सातवी कक्षा का पूरे थारपारकर जिले का यह परीक्षा केन्द्र था।²¹

जनाना नगरपालिका स्कूल की स्थापना सन् 1897 ई. में की गई इस बालिका स्कूल में पहली कक्षा तक गुजराती व छठी कक्षा तक सिंधी भाषा में शिक्षा दी जाती थी। अमरकोट और धाट के जनाना स्कूल सिंध व मारवाड़ रियासत के जनाना स्कूलों से अधिक पुराने हैं जिसका कारण यहाँ पर्दा प्रथा न होने के कारण यहाँ के लोगों ने शिक्षा विभाग के साथ मिलकर बालिका शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहन दिया था।²² इसलिए 1900 ई. तक थारपारकर जिले में 8-10 जनाना स्कूल खुल गए थे। शिक्षा अधिकारियों ने बालिका शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए छात्राओं को छात्रवृत्तियाँ दिलवाईं। स्कूली बालिकाओं को आठ रुपये महीने की छात्रवृत्ति दी जाती थी। घरेलू हुनर जैसे सिलाई-कढ़ाई-भरत सिखाने के लिए कढ़ाई शिक्षिकाओं को भी नियुक्ति किया गया। जो अभिभावक अपनी बालिकाओं को शिक्षा देने के लिए इच्छुक नहीं थे वो भी वजीफे की लालच में आकर अपनी बच्चियों को सिलाई-कढ़ाई सहित प्राथमिक शिक्षा दिलाने लगे।²³ गरीबी के कारण पढ़ने में असमर्थ बालिकाओं की पुस्तकों का वहन इन स्कूली शिक्षिकाओं ने विशेष छात्रवृत्ति देकर किया। इस कारण अमरकोट व धाट क्षेत्र की जनाना स्कूल व स्त्री शिक्षा तेजी से प्रगति करने लगे। यहाँ से शिक्षित कितनी महिलाएं सिंध के कई गाँवों व शहरों में अध्यापिकाओं के रूप में नियुक्ति हुईं।²⁴ कढ़ाई शिक्षिकाओं के पद पर हुनरमंद विधवाओं को वरीयता देकर विधवाओं को आर्थिक रूप से सशक्त किया गया था। फंड की कमी के कारण साल 1932 ई. में अमरकोट के मर्दाना व जनाना स्कूल को अमरकोट नगरपालिका के नियंत्रण से निकालकर थारपारकर लोकल बोर्ड के अधीन कर दिया गया था। जिससे स्कूली शिक्षा और तेजी से विकसित हुई।²⁵

संस्कृत पाठशाला की स्थापना सन् 1916 ई. में श्रीमाली ब्राह्मण भैरूलाल महाराज व महाराज लालचंद प्रहलाद राय शर्मा ने की थी। इस पाठशाला में संस्कृत व अंग्रेजी की तीसरी कक्षा, हिन्दी की छठी कक्षा व सिंधी की सातवीं कक्षा की पढ़ाई कराई जाती थी।²⁶ यह पाठशाला पूर्ण रूपेण निःशुल्क थी साथ ही बाहर से अमरकोट आये विद्यार्थियों के लिए पाठशाला का वार्षिक खर्चा 2500 रुपये था जिसमें से 500 रुपये वार्षिक अनुदान अमरकोट नगरपालिका व 700 रुपये वार्षिक अनुदान ब्रिटिश सरकार देती थी।²⁷ शेष खर्चा जनता द्वारा वहन किया जाता था। वर्तमान में इस पाठशाला में जिला शिक्षा अधिकारी का ऑफिस संचालित होता है।²⁸

इन स्कूलों व पाठशालाओं के अतिरिक्त कौशल विकास हेतु 16 दिसम्बर, 1887 ई. में बढ़ाई का काम सीखने हेतु हुनरी स्कूल खोला गया। इसी प्रकार का एक अन्य हुनरी

स्कूल 11 अगस्त, 1893 ई. में खोला गया जहाँ पर लौहार का कार्य सिखाया जाता था। लेकिन जातिगत व्यवसाय होने के कारण इन स्कूलों में विद्यार्थियों के अपर्याप्त संख्या होने के कारण यह दोनों हुनरी स्कूल 1 अगस्त, 1908 ई. में बंद कर दिए गये।²⁹

1931 ई. की जनसंख्या गणना के अनुसार अमरकोट तहसील में शिक्षित लोगों की संख्या सारणी इस प्रकार है-

जाति	कुल जनसंख्या		शिक्षित व्यक्ति	
	पुरुष	स्त्री	पुरुष	स्त्री
ब्राह्मण	410	378	101	8
शेष हिन्दू	10597	8198	931	112
अछूत (हरिजन)	2508	2193	32	18
जैनी	29	20	19	1
सिख	13	3	6	0
मुसलमान	10766	8349	714	32
ईसाई	5	0	5	0
अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे	-	-	74	3

अमरकोट तहसील 1469 वर्गमील में फैली हुई थी। ई. 1931 में इस तहसील में एक शहर, 101 गांव व 8595 मकान थे। 1931 की जनगणना के अनुसार इस दशक में 4 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या में गिरावट हुई थी। इसकी कुल जनसंख्या 43,469 थी जिसमें से 2,056 लोग पूर्ण शिक्षित थे।³⁰

1931 की जनसंख्या गणना के अनुसार जिला थरपारकर (धाट क्षेत्र) में शिक्षित लोगों की संख्या सारणी इस प्रकार है-

जाति	कुल जनसंख्या		शिक्षित व्यक्ति	
	पुरुष	स्त्री	पुरुष	स्त्री
ब्राह्मण	2357	2318	643	41
शेष हिन्दू	100261	77671	7362	570
अछूत (हरिजन)	19092	17151	1394	131
जैनी	172	148	89	45
सिख	1637	1154	406	89
मुसलमान	138349	107615	4824	381
ईसाई	74	38	18	13
अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे	-	-	1338	79

थरपारकर जिला 13,626 वर्गमील में फैला हुआ। ई. 1931 में इस जिले में दो शहर-अमरकोट व मीरपुरखास, 946 गांव व 95314 मकान थे। सन् 1931 की जनगणना के अनुसार इसकी कुल जनसंख्या 4,68,040 है जिसमें से 17,426 व्यक्ति पूर्ण रूपेण साक्षर थे। उपरोक्त सारणी से स्पष्ट है कि ब्रिटिश काल में शिक्षा का प्रसार हुआ तथा अछूत समझे जाने वाली जातियाँ भी शिक्षित हुई।³¹

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झुंझुनू जिले में शिक्षा का ऐतिहासिक विकास (1901-1950 ई.)

धीरसिंह* एवं डॉ. देवेन्द्र कुल्हार**

शेखावाटी क्षेत्र आजादी पूर्व जयपुर रियासत का भाग था। यह क्षेत्र जयपुर रियासत के उत्तर-पूर्व में स्थित था।¹ जयपुर राज्य का कुल क्षेत्रफल 15601 वर्गमील था।² इसमें शेखावाटी क्षेत्र का कुल क्षेत्रफल 5400 वर्गमील था।³ शेखावाटी क्षेत्र में वर्तमान के सीकर एवं झुंझुनू जिले का सम्पूर्ण भाग आता था। आजादी से पूर्व इस क्षेत्र में शिक्षा जयपुर रियासत के अधीन ही हुआ था। इसलिए इस क्षेत्र पर राज्य की प्रचलित शिक्षा प्रणाली का प्रभाव पड़ा।⁴

प्रारम्भ में स्वदेशी शिक्षा के केन्द्र जैसे चटशाला, पाठशाला, मकतब, मदरसे और जैन उपासरे के माध्यम से दी जाती थी। इन शिक्षा के केन्द्रों में कोई भी किताब तथा विद्यालय की इमारत नहीं होती थी। इन शिक्षा के केन्द्रों में व्यवहारिक शिक्षा में लिखना, पढ़ना व अंक गणित सिखाया जाता था। फिर भी आमतौर पर इन शिक्षा के केन्द्रों में संस्कृत की अमरकोश, सारस्वत, चन्द्रिका, रघुवंश व फारसी व अरबी की कुरान, अहमदनामा, गुलिस्तान व बोस्तान पुस्तकों का प्रयोग होता था।⁵ जयपुर व शेखावाटी क्षेत्र में प्रचलित इस प्रकार की शिक्षा से विदेशी भी प्रभावित थे। मेजर एर्स्किन ने लिखा है कि कक्षाएँ खुली हवा में छायादार वृक्षों या गाँव के मंदिरों में लगती थी।⁶

झुंझुनू जिले की सबसे प्राचीन स्कूल राजकीय जयसिंह हाई स्कूल खेतड़ी थी जिसकी स्थापना 1867 ई. में की गई थी।⁷ इसके बाद खेतड़ी में ही 1883 में राजकीय प्रवेशिका संस्कृत विद्यालय की स्थापना की गई।⁸ इसके बाद 1884 ई. में सेठ सूर्यमल्ल शिव प्रसाद ने राय बहादुर सेठ सूर्यमल्ल शिव प्रसाद वेद-वेदांश आचार्य विद्यालय चिड़ावा में खोला गया।⁹

1887 ई. में चिड़ावा में ही सेठ हरसुखदास संस्कृत विद्यालय प्रारम्भ हुआ।¹⁰ इसी

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समय बिसाऊ में भी ज्येष्ठ कृष्ण 14 को जैड आर. प्राथमिक स्कूल स्थापना हुई थी। 17 जून 1886 में बगड़ में श्री एस. पी. रूंगटा आचार्य संस्कृत विद्यालय का प्रारम्भ हुआ।¹¹

झुंझुनू समेत शेखावाटी में अधिकांश स्कूल गैर सहायता प्राप्त संस्थान थी। झुंझुनू जिले में उस समय केवल 12 स्कूलों को 18 रुपये वार्षिक अनुदान मिलता था।¹² 1897-98 की जयपुर रिपोर्ट अनुसार राज्य में शिक्षा की प्रगति में शेखावाटी निजामत ने तीसरा स्थान प्राप्त किया था। राज्य के द्वारा प्राथमिक प्रबंधन के 34 विद्यालय में दो बिसाऊ व चिड़ावा व मलसीसर, मंडावा, बबाई, निरधना व बगड़ में एक-एक विद्यालय थे। राज्य के उच्च प्राथमिक पाँच विद्यालय में एक झुंझुनू में स्थित था। शेखावाटी में हाई स्कूल केवल उस समय खेतड़ी ठिकाना में ही था। जयपुर राज्य में कुल 663 स्वदेशी स्कूलों में 107 शेखावाटी में थी।¹³

जयपुर राज्य में 1903-04 में स्कूल व छात्रों में 37 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई। इस समय दो सैकेण्डरी स्कूल खेतड़ी व झुंझुनू में थी। जयपुर सरकार के द्वारा प्रतिवर्ष 8733/- रुपये खर्च किये जाते थे जिसमें खेतड़ी ठिकाना में 5450/-, मलसीसर 180/-, नवलगढ़ 96/- रुपये खर्च करते थे। गैर राजकीय में बिसाऊ का सेठ जोरावरमल 965/- रुपये व चिड़ावा के सेठ सूरजमल 684/- रुपये प्रतिवर्ष खर्च कर रहे थे। इस समय शेखावाटी के सेठों के द्वारा अनेक संस्कृत पाठशालाएँ चिड़ावा, बिसाऊ, मंडावा, नवलगढ़ व डूँडलोद में संचालित थी। शेखावाटी में उस समय कुल 183 स्कूल संचालित थे जिसमें 6216 विद्यार्थी अध्ययन कर रहे थे।¹⁴

जयपुर राज्य में कुल पाँच एंग्लो वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूलों में केवल एक स्कूल खेतड़ी में था। 1908 में नवलगढ़ व मंडावा में अकुशलता के कारण राजकीय प्राथमिक विद्यालय बंद हो गये, परन्तु सेठों का शिक्षा में रुचि के कारण शेखावाटी में कुल स्कूलों की संख्या 226 तक पहुँच गई।¹⁵ 1916 में सेठों के द्वारा 20 स्कूलों को खोला गया था जिसमें पाँच स्कूलों को एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूलों में क्रमोन्नत कर दिया गया। बिसाऊ, मंडावा, नवलगढ़, पिलानी व चिड़ावा में उस समय लड़कियों के लिए निजी स्कूल थे। मिडिल स्कूल खेतड़ी, नवलगढ़ व झुंझुनू में स्थित थे। हाई स्कूल केवल खेतड़ी में था। पूरे शेखावाटी में कुल 96 स्कूल थे उसमें से एक राज्य द्वारा व 95 निजी प्राथमिक स्कूल थे। गाँव-ढाणियों में कुल 197 स्वदेशी स्कूल थे।¹⁶

जयपुर राज्य के द्वारा 1921 से 1926 के बीच जिला स्कूलों में शिक्षकों की गुणवत्ता के सुधार हेतु उनको प्रशिक्षण, बेहतर वेतनमान व छात्रवृत्ति प्रदान करने प्रयास किया गया। इसके साथ उन छात्रों को भी छात्रवृत्ति देने का प्रयास किया जो अपनी आगे कि शिक्षा जारी रखना चाहते हैं।¹⁷ 1924-25 में सेठ सूरजमल प्रसाद चिड़ावा को व्यवसाय में वित्तीय घाटा लगा तो इसका प्रभाव जिले की शिक्षण संस्थानों पर पड़ा।

वित्तीय घाटे के कारण झुंझुनू जिले के 108 स्कूलों (प्राथमिक व स्वदेशी) को बंद करना पड़ा और 2500 विद्यार्थियों को स्कूलों से निकाल दिया।¹⁸ इस समय राज्य के आठ उच्च विद्यालय में तीन खेतड़ी, चिड़ावा, पिलानी में थे। चार एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूल बिसाऊ, चिड़ावा, नवलगढ़ व पिलानी में थे, जो सेठों द्वारा संचालित थी। दो एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर खेतड़ी में थी। अजीतगढ़ चूड़ी, बिसाऊ, चिड़ावा, मलसीसर, मंडावा, पिलानी व सूरजगढ़ में लड़कियों के लिए निजी प्राथमिक विद्यालय थे। 1926 में शेखावाटी में 279 स्कूल व 15,672 विद्यार्थी अध्ययन कर रहे थे।¹⁹

1926 ई. में जयपुर राज्य ने मुसलमानों के लिए एक प्रतिनिधि निकाय बनाया गया, जिसे इस्लामिया पंचायत नाम दिया गया। इस इस्लामिया पंचायत ने झुंझुनू व नुँआ में स्कूल खोले। भारतीय सेना के कायमखानी अधिकारियों द्वारा एकत्रित राशि की सहायता से झुंझुनू में एक मुस्लिम राजपूत मिडिल स्कूल खोला गया था।²⁰

1926 ई. में केशवदास नेवटिया, रामेश्वरदास बिड़ला और सेठ जमनालाल बजाज के संयुक्त प्रयासों से राजपूताना शिक्षा मण्डल की स्थापना हुई। इसके कारण शेखावाटी व झुंझुनू जिले में शिक्षा की मसाल जल उठी।²¹ यह मसाल झुंझुनू के सभी गाँवों तक पहुँची और इस क्षेत्र को एक शैक्षिक क्रान्ति के रूप में परिवर्तित कर दिया। 1926-1954 के मध्य झुंझुनू जिले में शिक्षा का विकास राजपूताना शिक्षा मंडल के माध्यम से हुआ।

झुंझुनू जिले में 1926 से 1931 ई. के मध्य राजपूताना शिक्षा मंडल और खेतड़ी ठिकाने के अन्तर्गत एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर व वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूलों की संख्या कुल 70 थी जिसमें कुल 273 अध्यापक तथा कुल 6019 छात्र अध्ययन कर रहे थे। इन एंग्लो-वर्नाक्यूलर व वर्नाक्यूलर स्कूलों में कुल व्यय 150002/- रुपये प्रतिमाह हो रहा था। इसमें 17 विद्यालय खेतड़ी ठिकाने के शिक्षा विभाग से व बाकी राजपूताना शिक्षा मंडल के सेठों द्वारा संचालित थे।²²

इसी समय झुंझुनू जिले में कुल 25 संस्कृत विद्यालय थे जिसमें एक विद्यालय का संचालन खेतड़ी ठिकाना व 24 संस्कृत विद्यालयों का संचालन व प्रबंधन राजपूताना शिक्षा मंडल द्वारा होता था। इसमें कुल 561 विद्यार्थी और 29 अध्यापक थे। इन संस्कृत विद्यालयों का खर्च 3345/- रुपये प्रतिमाह हो रहा था।²³ इस समय कुल 12 कन्या पाठशालाएँ थी जिसमें कुल 17 अध्यापक व 619 छात्राएँ थी। इन कन्या पाठशालाओं का प्रतिमाह खर्च 640/- रुपये प्रतिमाह था। इस समय झुंझुनू जिले में खेतड़ी, चिड़ावा, पिलानी, बगड़, झुंझुनू, गुड़ा, महनसर, बिसाऊ, मण्डावा, मुकुन्दगढ़, नवलगढ़ में कन्या पाठशाला थी।²⁴

झुंझुनू जिले में राजपूताना शिक्षा मण्डल के द्वारा सन् 1931 ई. तक कुल 50 से अधिक चटशालाएँ केवल झुंझुनू में ही थी। इन चटशालाओं में अध्यापन हेतु शिक्षकों की व्यवस्था सेठों के द्वारा होती थी और चटशालाओं का खर्च व व्यय स्थानीय गाँवों द्वारा या छात्रों से ली गई फीस द्वारा भरण-पोषण होता था। इन चटशालाओं में सर्वाधिक संचालन व प्रबंधन सेठ सूर्यमल्ल शिव प्रसाद झुंझुनूवाला द्वारा किया जाता था। उनके द्वारा संचालित चटशालाएँ प्रमुखतः झुंझुनू जिले के भडून्दा, बजाबा, सांगा, कुहाड़वास, डूमौली, सिहोड़, ककराना, बड़ाऊ, तातीजा, अडूका, बुगाला, दयाराला, चिड़ावा, झुंझुनू, लोयल, नरहड़, कोलोठ, भावठड़ी, डुलानियाँ, डाबड़ी, कसेरू, भगेरा, कुमांस, सिंगनौर, बड़वासी, टीटणवाड़, किठाना, चवंरा, कारी, डॉंगर, झाझौत, सेही, मोई का बास, सारी बारी, बीजूसर, बाजरोली का बास, सुल्ताना हीरो का, धीगड़ियाँ, किशनपुरा, लाम्बी, खैतपुर, कूमास, माँडी, गड़ानिया, फतेहपुरा, अरड़ावता, उरीका, इस्मालपुर, पालौता, डाबड़ी में प्रमुख थी।²⁵ 1936-37 में बिड़ला ट्रस्ट ने खेतड़ी ठिकाने के अन्दर 14 स्कूलों को और खोला।²⁶ 1931 में जहाँ जयपुर राज्य में कुल 93339 लोग साक्षर थे वही 1941 में 1,62,243 लोग साक्षर हो गये। इसमें से 10,183 लोग शेखावाटी से व 4581 लोग खेतड़ी के थे।²⁷ वर्ष 1941-42 में सेठ जी. बी. पौद्दार हाई स्कूल नवलगढ़ को एक इंटरमीडिएट कॉलेज का दर्जा दिया गया था²⁸ और जुलाई 1943 में बिड़ला इंटर कॉलेज पिलानी को आगरा विश्वविद्यालय से संबद्ध करके एक डिग्री कॉलेज के स्तर तक बढ़ा दिया था। झुंझुनू, मुकुंदगढ़, बगड़ और पिलानी की मिडिल स्कूलों को जुलाई 1944 में हाई स्कूल में बदल दिया गया।²⁹

अगस्त 1946 को जयपुर राज्य ने प्राथमिक शिक्षा अधिनियम पारित किया गया³⁰ जिसके अनुसार प्राथमिक शिक्षा को अनिवार्य कर दी गई। यह एक्ट पिलानी में भी लागू करने का प्रयास किया गया। पूर्व प्राथमिक शिक्षा में शिशुओं के लिए मॉटेसरी स्कूल प्रारम्भ करने वाला प्रथम ट्रस्ट बिड़ला एजुकेशन ट्रस्ट ही था। बिड़ला एजुकेशन ट्रस्ट पिलानी द्वारा संचालित प्राथमिक विद्यालयों को धीरे-धीरे राज्य के शिक्षा विभाग ने अपने कब्जे में ले लिया। इसके बाद ट्रस्ट ने उच्च शिक्षा में अपना ध्यान लगाया।³¹ 1947 में बिड़ला व जी. बी. पौद्दार कॉलेजों में स्नातकोत्तर कक्षाएँ प्रारम्भ की गई। इस प्रकार 1951 की जनसंख्या अनुसार झुंझुनू में दो डिग्री कॉलेज नवलगढ़ व पिलानी में थी जिसमें कला, विज्ञान व इंजीनियरिंग की पढ़ाई होती थी।³²

निष्कर्ष में कहा जा सकता है कि जिस शिक्षा का प्रारम्भ झुंझुनू जिले में खेतड़ी ठिकाने के द्वारा प्रारम्भ किया था उसे स्थानीय सेठों के द्वारा अपने तन-मन-धन से शैक्षिक क्रान्ति में परिवर्तित कर दिया। आजादी पूर्व जली शिक्षा की मिसाल ही थी कि आज भी सम्पूर्ण राजस्थान में झुंझुनू जिला शिक्षा में शिरमौर हैं।

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1899-1900 ई.के अकाल के दौरान मेवाड़ राज्य द्वारा किए गए राहत कार्यों का अध्ययन

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अकाल राजस्थान की स्थायी विपदा रहा है। जब कभी बारिश की कमी से अनाज, घास या जलाभाव के कारण लोगों को संकट का सामना करना पड़ता तो अकाल की स्थिति बन जाती है। कर्नल टॉड ने तो अकाल को 'प्राकृतिक महामारी' की संज्ञा दी। मेवाड़ को भी अनेक बार इस प्राकृतिक विपदा का सामना करना पड़ा। चूंकि मेवाड़ की आर्थिक स्थिति केवल कृषि पर निर्भर थी, अतः जब बरसात की कमी के फलस्वरूप सियाली (खरीफ) व उनाली (रबी) की फसल नहीं होती थी तब अकाल माना जाता था।¹ मेवाड़ में 1661-62 ईस्वी के अकाल का उल्लेख 'राज प्रशस्ति शिलालेख' जो कांकरोली में राजसमुद्र झील पर खुदा है, में मिलता है।² कर्नल टॉड ने 1662 के अकाल का भयावह वर्णन करते हुए लिखा, आषाढ़ का महीना बीत गया, लेकिन आकाश से एक बूंद भी वर्षा नहीं हुई थी। इसी प्रकार सावन और भादो के महीने बीत गए। पानी के अभाव में लोग निराश हो गए तथा भूख से व्यथित होने लगे। अभक्ष्य खाया जा रहा था। पति ने पत्नी को और स्त्री ने पुरुष को छोड़ दिया। माताओं ने संतानें बेच दी और समय के साथ बढ़ता हुआ संकट दूर-दूर तक फैल गया। खाने योग्य कुछ भी नहीं होने से कीड़ों का भी खात्मा हो गया था। विभिन्न आयु के हजारों लोग भूख से मर गए। जिन्हें आहार मिल जाता, वे उसी दिन स्वभाविक खुराक से दुगुना खा लेते थे। पश्चिम से आ रहा पवन घातक धुंआ सा बन गया। हमेशा पूरी रात नक्षत्र समूह नजर आते, किसी भी दिन आकाश में बादल दिखाई नहीं देते और बिजली तथा गर्जन अज्ञात बन गए थे। इन लक्षणों ने लोगों को आतंकित कर दिया। नदियां झीलें और झरने सूख गए। धनाढ्यों ने अन्न निकाला, साधुजन अपने दायित्व भूल गए। जातिगत प्रभेद जाता रहा, शूद्र तथा ब्राह्मण में अंतर करना असंभव हो गया। बल, विवेक, जाति, खांप सभी बिसर गए, मात्र भोजन ही ध्येय रह गया। भूख में सब कुछ खो गया। क्षुधा शांति हेतु फल-फूल, जड़-मूल यहां तक

कि प्रत्येक पेड़ की छाल तक काम में ले ली गई। इतना ही नहीं आदमी ने आदमी को खाया। नगर उजड़ गए, परिवारों के बीज नष्ट हो गए, मछलियां लुप्त हो गईं, सभी की आशाएं मर गईं।³

महाराणा राजसिंह ने अकाल से पीड़ित लोगों को रोजगार देने, पेयजल एवं सिंचाई सुविधा के लिए छियानवें लाख रुपये खर्च करके राजसमुद्र झील का निर्माण करवाया।⁴ राजपूताना में यह प्रथम अकाल राहत कार्य माना जाता है। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में मेवाड़ में 1868-70, 1896-98 और 1899-1900 ई. के अकाल काफी कष्टदायक थे। यद्यपि शासकों ने राहत पहुंचाने के कार्य किए, फिर भी जनता को काफी कष्ट उठाने पड़े। विशेष रूप से पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के लोग प्रत्येक अकाल के समय काफी पीड़ित हुए।

1885 ई. में ब्रिटिश भारत सरकार ने देशी रियासतों को अकाल राहत कार्यों के संबंध में 'कानून कहतसाली' नाम से एक सुझावात्मक परिपत्र जारी किया, जिसमें अकाल नीति के संबंध में निम्नलिखित सुझाव थे—

1. रियासतों के प्रत्येक परगने में एक अधिकारी नियुक्त किया जाए, जो महीने में एक बार फसल, पशुओं व प्रजा की स्थिति के बारे में जानकारी भेजे।
2. जब कभी मासिक रिपोर्ट को देखने से अकाल की संभावना बने तो राज्य को तुरंत अकाल से निपटने के लिए बंदोबस्त करने चाहिए।
3. अकाल के दौरान लोगों से तालाबों की मरम्मत, नालियों की सफाई, नहरें तैयार करना, सड़कों के लिए कंकड़ जमा करना, सड़कें तैयार करना आदि कार्य करवाए जा सकते हैं।
4. अकाल के दौरान प्रजा के उपचार की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए।
5. अकाल राहत कार्य पर लगे लोगों के बच्चों की देखभाल के लिए राज्य को व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।
6. अकाल राहत पर कार्य करने वाले मजदूरों को 7 दिनों में 1 दिन का अवकाश दिया जाए।
7. अकाल राहत पर कार्य करने वाले लोगों की स्वास्थ्य जांच की व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिए।
8. असहाय व्यक्तियों को उनके गांव में ही खाना दिया जाना चाहिए या उन्हें गरीबखाने में भेजा जाना चाहिए।
9. पागल, अंधे, कोढ़ी, लंगड़े, बीमार, बूढ़े या कमजोर लोगो, अनाथ बच्चों एवं शरीफ खानदान की महिलाओं को खैरातखानों से अनाज या पका हुआ भोजन

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दिया जाना चाहिए।

देशी राज्यों द्वारा अकाल राहत कार्य इसी परिपत्र के सुझावों के अनुसार चलाए गए। मेवाड़ राज्य ने भी अकाल के दौरान पीड़ित जनता को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए कानून कहतसाली में जारी सुझावों के मद्देनजर राहत कार्य किए। राज्य में सड़कों व तालाबों का निर्माण करवाया गया, करों में छूट दी गई तथा खाद्यान्न की मुक्त गतिविधियों पर रोक लगाकर उसका भंडारण और आयात किया गया।⁶

1868 ईस्वी के अकाल के दौरान अनाज की कमी होने पर राज्य ने अनाज पर मापा एवं अन्य शुल्क बारह महीने के लिए निलंबित कर दिए।⁷ जिला हाकिमों को निर्देश दिए गए कि वह अनाज व्यापारियों के अनाज खरीदने के मामले में दखलंदाजी ना करें। साथ ही अनाज खरीदने के लिए राज्य की ओर से व्यापारियों को अग्रिम रूप दिए गए।⁸

अनाज व्यापारियों को निम्न प्रकार से अनाज खरीदने एवं उसके भंडारण हेतु अग्रिम राशि दी गई-

25,000 रुपये	सेठ चंदनमल को,
25,000 रुपये	पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के प्रबंधक को अनाज व्यापारियों में वितरण हेतु,
10,000 रुपये	सेठ खेमराज हुक्मीचंद को,
25,500 रुपये	सेठ हैदर हबतुल्ला, ईसा और ताजखान को,
11,000 रुपये	सेठ इब्राहीम को,
4,000 रुपये	सेठ रसूल बोहरा को,
2,000 रुपये	सेठ ईसा और ताजखान को,
5,000 रुपये	सेठ रामनरेश मूंदड़ा को,
2,000 रुपये	सेठ धनराज चौधरी को।

राज्य से बाहर के व्यापारियों को भी, विशेष रूप से नीमच छावनी के व्यापारियों को राज्य में अनाज लाने पर करो में छूट दी गयी। सेठ गंगाधर नंदराम को 50%, सेठ हनुवंत, बलदेव, सोजीराम, रामरतन और गणेशराम को कर में 25% छूट दी गयी।⁹ 25,000 रुपये का अनाज राज्य की ओर से उदयपुर शहर में बाजार भाव से सस्ता बेचा गया।¹⁰ व्यापारियों को 3,45,000 रुपये की कीमत का अनाज भंडार करने तथा उसको 26 अप्रैल, 1869 तक नहीं बेचने के लिखित सहमति पत्र लिए गए। जिलाधिकारियों को जिलों में अनाज की इसी तरह की व्यवस्था बनाये रखने के निर्देश दिए गए।¹¹ इन सब उपायों से अनाज की कमी दूर हो गयी।

उदयपुर शहर व जिलों में 'सदाव्रत' खोले गए, जहां आटा व पकाया हुआ भोजन वितरित किया गया।¹² जिलाधिकारियों को निर्देश दिए गए कि उनके जिले के निवासियों को खाने एवं बोनो के लिए अनाज उपलब्ध करवाया जाए तथा गरीब किसानों एवं उनके परिवारों को सूखे से बचाने के लिए पर्याप्त प्रबंध किए जाएँ। किसानों को तालाबों एवं कुओं के पास वाली जमीन पर खेती करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित किया जाए तथा उन्हें हर संभव सहायता दी जाय।¹³ जिलाधिकारियों ने जिलों में राहत कार्य शुरू किए और स्वस्थ व्यक्तियों को रोजगार दिया। राज्य ने राहत कार्यों पर दो लाख रुपये खर्च किए।¹⁴

अकाल के दौरान राज्य व्यापारियों एवं जमींदारों से कर की वसूली भी अनाज के रूप में करने का प्रयास करता था।¹⁵ राज्य स्वयं भी अनाज खरीदता था तथा उसे सस्ती कीमतों पर या जरूरतमंद व्यक्तियों को निःशुल्क भी वितरित करता था। 1896 ई. में अकाल के दौरान राज्य ने सहाड़ा, कपासन, चित्तौड़गढ़, हुरड़ा, भीलवाड़ा, सादड़ी और राशमी के हाकिमों को पत्र लिखकर राज्य की ओर से अनाज खरीदने के आदेश जारी किए, साथ ही यह निर्देश भी दिए कि किसानों से अनाज खरीदने में जबरदस्ती ना की जाए तथा जो किसान अनाज बेचना चाहे, उसी से अनाज खरीदा जाए। जो अनाज खरीदा जाय वह अच्छी किस्म का हो।¹⁶

1899-1900 ई के अकाल के दौरान मेवाड़ राज्य द्वारा किए गए राहत कार्य

1899-1900 ई. के अकाल ने मेवाड़ के तीन चौथाई भू-भाग को प्रभावित किया। मेवाड़ के 12670 वर्गमील क्षेत्रफल में से 9513 वर्गमील क्षेत्र अकाल की चपेट में आया। खालसा क्षेत्र में हुरड़ा, भीलवाड़ा, जहाजपुर, मांडलगढ़, सहाड़ा कुंभलगढ़ और मगरा क्षेत्र तथा देवगढ़, बदनोर, सलूंबर, भींडर, सादड़ी और कुरावड़ का जागीर क्षेत्र इस अकाल से विशेष रूप से प्रभावित हुआ। राज्य की 70 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या इस अकाल से प्रभावित हुई।¹⁷

प्रारंभ में महाराणा अकाल की भंयकरता का अनुमान नहीं लगा पाए। ए.जी.जी. मिस्टर मार्टिण्डले के 29 सितंबर, 1899 को उदयपुर आने पर उसने महाराणा को राहत कार्य शुरू करने का सुझाव दिया। महाराणा ने तत्काल ही कैप्टन पिन्हे को अकाल प्रभावित क्षेत्रों में राहत कार्य शुरू करने के लिए नियुक्त किया।¹⁸ सितंबर, 1899 में राहत कार्य शुरू किए गए जो 11 महीने तक निरंतर चलते रहे।¹⁹ खालसा क्षेत्र में राहत कार्य स्टेट इंजीनियर विलियम के निर्देशन में चलाए गए। उदयपुर रेलवे के मैनेजर लीली को महाराणा ने अकाल अधिकारी नियुक्त किया और उसे देवगढ़ व बदनोर में अकाल राहत कार्य चलाने की जिम्मेदारी सौंपी गई।²⁰ महाराणा ने गिरवा, मगरा, छोटी सादड़ी पारसोली, शाहपुरा आदि के हाकिमों को पत्र भेजकर अकाल राहत कार्य शुरू करने के

निर्देश दिए, साथ ही हाकिमों को यह भी निर्देश दिए कि जिन महाजनों ने गांवों से सस्ते भाव में अनाज खरीदा, उसे सस्ते भाव में ही किसानों को वापस उपलब्ध करवाएं तथा राहत कार्य शुरू करें, ताकि लोग पलायन ना करें।²¹

राज्य ने राहत कार्य के रूप में तालाब एवं कुओं का निर्माण, नहरों की खुदाई तथा भवन निर्माण के कार्य शुरू करवाए। खेमली में एक विशाल तालाब के निर्माण का कार्य शुरू करवाया गया और अकाल पीड़ित लोगों को रोजगार दिया गया। मगरा जिले में भील एवं मीणों को कार्य देने के लिए जयसमंद झील पर निर्माण कार्य शुरू करवाया गया। 264 नए तालाबों का निर्माण करवाया गया। राहत कार्यों पर तीन चौथाई कार्य मेवाड़ के सार्वजनिक निर्माण विभाग द्वारा और एक चौथाई कार्य जिलों के हाकिमों द्वारा करवाया गया।²² राज्य की ओर से अनाथों, बेसहारा लोगों और असहायों को भोजन देने के लिए जिला मुख्यालयों पर मोहताजखाने (मुफ्त भोजनशालाएं) खोले गए, जहां इन लोगों को घूघरी का वितरण किया जाता था।²³

अकाल राहत कार्यों पर लगे श्रमिकों एवं मुक्त भोजन पाने वालों की संख्या²⁴-

माह	अकाल राहत पर लगे श्रमिकों की संख्या	मुफ्त भोजन पाने वालों की संख्या
नवंबर, 1899	42,568	15762
दिसम्बर, 1899	73,942	24,481
जनवरी, 1900	1,40,035	41,414
फरवरी, 1900	3,55,703	76,873
मार्च, 1900	5, 30,655	1,22,143
अप्रैल, 1900	3,86,309	1,03,100
मई, 1900	3,57,321	1,03,560
जून, 1900	4,26,212	1,49,321
जुलाई, 1900	2,75,046	1,01,947
अगस्त, 1900	1,67,305	48,352
सितंबर, 1900	19,433	17,295
अक्टूबर, 1900	5,370	1261

नवम्बर, 1899 से अक्टूबर, 1900 तक राहत कार्यों पर 27,79,899 कार्य दिवस का रोजगार दिया गया और 8,05, 509 लोगों को मुफ्त भोजन दिया गया।

राज्य द्वारा उदयपुर-चित्तौड़ रेलवे की मावली-नाथद्वारा लाईन के निर्माण पर 35000 रुपये अकाल राहत कार्य के दौरान खर्च करना प्रस्तावित किया गया तथा बारां-अजमेर, मारवाड़ रेलवे का कार्य भी इस दौरान राहत कार्य के तौर पर शुरू किया गया। इस पर 2,42,500 रुपये खर्च करके 14,722 लोगों को रोजगार दिया गया।²⁵

अकाल राहत कार्यों की मजदूरी का भुगतान प्रारंभ में प्रतिदिन किया गया, लेकिन बाद में चार दिन कार्य करने के बाद मजदूरी का भुगतान किया जाता था। पुरुषों को अधिकतम 3 आना, महिलाओं को 2 आना और बच्चों को 1 आना के हिसाब से मजदूरी दी जाती थी।²⁶

अकाल के दौरान अनाज की कमी होने पर बनियों ने ऊंची दर पर अनाज बेचा। इस पर राज्य ने अनाज की दरें निश्चित कर दी, लेकिन बनियों पर इसका असर कम ही पड़ा और उन्होंने निश्चित दरों से भी ऊंची दर पर बेचा।²⁷ जहां रेल की सुविधा थी, वहां अनाज सस्ता था। पन्द्रह लाख मन विभिन्न प्रकार का अनाज आयात किया गया, जिसे रेलवे द्वारा विभिन्न स्टेशनों पर उतरवा कर, बैलगाड़ी, ऊंट और अन्य साधनों के द्वारा राज्य के विभिन्न हिस्सों में पहुंचाया गया।²⁸

अकाल के कारण बढ़ते अपराधों पर अंकुश के लिए अतिरिक्त पुलिस की व्यवस्था पर 12931 रुपये व्यय किए गए। 55,415 रुपये की छूट अनाज पर दी गई तथा 1,27,722 रुपये जेलों एवं अस्पतालों पर खर्च किए गए।²⁹

1899-1900 ई. के अकाल के दौरान खालसा क्षेत्र के किसानों को कुएं गहरे करवाने एवं नए कुएं खोदने के लिए 152297 रुपये 8 आने का ऋण राज्य ने स्वीकृत किया। स्वीकृत राशि में से 76,661 रुपए 2 आने उक्त कार्य में खर्च हुए और शेष रुपये पुनः राज्य को लौटा दिए गए।³⁰

जिसका विवरण इस प्रकार है-

क्र.सं.	जिले का नाम	स्वीकृत रु.	खर्च रु.	शेष बचे रु.
1.	माण्डलगढ़	7,000	4,660	2340
2.	हुरड़ा	8,000	1025 रु. 8 आने	6,974 रु. 6आने
3.	चित्तौड़गढ़	16,000	10534 रु. 8 आने	5465 रु 8 आने
4.	राशामी	12,000	4,224	7,776
5.	सायरा	4,660	1542	3118
6.	खमनोर	4,200	1091	3109
7.	गिरवा	11,400	8,750	2,650
8.	राजनगर	2,000	1334	666

9.	कुम्भलगढ़	5,000	3672	1328
10.	सादड़ी	2,000	0	2,000
11.	मगरा	30667 रु 8 आने	13845	16822 रु. 8 आने
12.	कपासन	19,000	7,948	11052
13.	सहाड़ा	19,000	9,260	9740
14.	भीलवाड़ा	10,000	7420	2580
15.	बागोर	1370	1355	15

राज्य की ओर से किसानों को बीज खरीदने के लिए भी ऋण उपलब्ध करवाया गया। ये ऋण किसानों को इस शर्त पर दिया गया कि वह फसल पैदा होने पर रुपए राज्य को लौटा देंगे। जिलेवार बीज के लिए स्वीकृत राशि इस प्रकार थी³¹—

क्र.सं.	जिले व परगने का नाम	बीज के लिये स्वीकृत रुपये
1.	राशमी	8,000
2.	सहाड़ा	10,000
3.	कपासन	10,000
4.	चित्तौड़गढ़	7,000
5.	भीलवाड़ा	7,000
6.	हुरड़ा	5,000
7.	मांडलगढ़	5,000
8.	राजनगर	2,000
9.	जहाजपुर	8,000
10.	सादड़ी	6,000
11.	गिरवा व लसाड़िया	9,000
12.	खमनोर	3,000
13.	सायरा	2,500
14.	कुम्भलगढ़	5,000
15.	बागोर	4,000

कुल 91,500 रुपये राज्य ने किसानों को बीज वितरित करने के लिए स्वीकृत किए।

1899-1900 ई. के अकाल के दौरान विभिन्न राहत कार्यों पर किया गया खर्च³²

1. 11,60,000 रुपए खालसा क्षेत्र में राहत कार्यों पर खर्च, (8,10,000 रु. इंजीनियरी

- विभाग द्वारा खर्च, 3,00,000 रु. जिला हाकिमों द्वारा कुएं खोदने के लिए किसानों को दिए गए, 50,000 रु मिस्टर विलियम द्वारा राहत कार्यों पर खर्च।)
- 2,75,000 रु. खालसा क्षेत्र में मोहताजखानों पर खर्च, (75,000 रु. जिला हाकिमों द्वारा मोहताजखानों पर खर्च, 2,00,000 रु. राज्य द्वारा मोहताजखानों व निगरानी पर खर्च।)
- 1,15,000 रु. खालसा क्षेत्र के किसानों को जिला हाकिमों के माध्यम से कुएं खोदने के लिए दिए गए।
- 4,00,000 रु. बारां-मारवाड़ रेलवे पर लोगों को राहत कार्य देने पर खर्च।
- 65,000 रु. अकाल का बंदोबस्त करने वाले कर्मचारियों पर खर्च।
- 6,15,000 रु. देवगढ़ व बदनोर के जागीरदारों को राज्य की ओर से अकाल से निपटने के लिए दिए गए।
- 1,20,000 रु. अन्य जागीरदारों को अकाल से निपटने के लिए दिए गए।

मेवाड़ राज्य ने 1899-1900 ई. में अकाल से निपटने के लिए कुल 27,50,000 रुपए विभिन्न मदों पर खर्च किए। भारत सरकार ने मेवाड़ राज्य को अकाल राहत के उद्देश्य से 50,00,000 रुपये का ऋण स्वीकृत किया।³³ मेवाड़ के शासकों ने अकाल के दौरान प्रजा को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए बहुत अच्छे कार्य किए। उन्होंने सिंचाई कार्यों एवं यातायात व्यवस्था के विकास पर विशेष ध्यान दिया। पुरानी सड़कों की मरम्मत करवाई तथा नई सड़कें बनवाई। पुलों का निर्माण करवाया तथा रेल लाइनें बिछाई। राज्य ने जलाशय एवं तालाबों के निर्माण की नीति जारी रखी। 1887 ई. में राजसमंद की मरम्मत करवाई और प्रथम बार इसका सिंचाई के लिए उपयोग किया, जिससे लगभग 2500 बीघा भूमि में सिंचाई की गई अनेक निर्माण कार्य शुरू करवा कर लोगों को रोजगार दिया गया।³⁴

अकाल राहत कार्यों की समीक्षा

मेवाड़ के शासकों ने अकाल के दौरान प्रजा के पलायन को रोकने और उन्हें रोजगार देने के लिए अकाल राहत कार्य शुरू करने की नीति अपनाई। अकाल के दौरान जनसाधारण के लिए रोजगार एवं अनाज की व्यवस्था करना प्राचीन काल से ही राज्यों ने अपने दायित्व में शामिल किया था। कौटिल्य अकाल या अन्य प्राकृतिक आपदा के दौरान जनता की सहायता करने का उल्लेख करता है। अकाल के दौरान भू राजस्व का स्थगन मध्यकालीन शासकों द्वारा भी किया जाता था। किसानों को हल- बैल तथा कुंओं के लिए तकाबी उपलब्ध करवाई जाती थी। महाराणा राज सिंह द्वारा 1661-62 ई. के अकाल के समय राजसमुद्र झील का निर्माण राजस्थान का प्रथम अकाल राहत कार्य माना

जाता है। जिसका तत्कालीन उद्देश्य प्रजा को रोजगार देकर उसे राहत पहुंचाना था, मगर दीर्घकाल में अकाल की भयंकरता को कम करने में भी राजसमुद्र ने अपना योगदान दिया। पशुओं और मनुष्यों को पेयजल तथा सिंचाई के लिए पानी इस झील से मिला, जिससे प्रजा को राहत मिली।

आलोच्यकालीन समय में मेवाड़ के शासकों ने अकाल की भयावहता को कम करने एवं जन सामान्य के कष्टों को दूर करने के लिए यथासंभव प्रयास किए। अकाल के दौरान लोगों को रोजगार दिया गया। राहत कार्यों में सिंचाई एवं यातायात के साधनों पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया। 1899-1900 ईसवी के अकाल के दौरान 264 नए तालाबों का निर्माण करना राज्य की दूरदर्शिता को प्रकट करता है।³⁵ यातायात के साधनों का विकास भी भविष्य में लोगों को लाभ पहुंचाने वाला था। अकाल के दौरान सड़कों एवं रेल मार्गों पर व्यय यद्यपि ब्रिटिश प्रशासन की इच्छा के फलस्वरूप शुरू किया गया, फिर भी अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से जनसाधारण भी इससे लाभान्वित हुआ। अकाल के दौरान अनाज के परिवहन में रेलों ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।³⁶

इस प्रकार राज्य द्वारा स्वयं या हाकिमों के माध्यम से अनाज खरीदकर उसे सस्ती दरों पर लोगों को उपलब्ध करवाना, अनाज की पूर्ति बनाए रखने के लिए अनाज व्यापारियों को अग्रिम देना, अनाज पर विभिन्न करों को स्थगित करना तथा अनाज का भंडारण कर उसे आवश्यकता के समय जनता को उपलब्ध करवाना आदि कार्य वर्तमान में राज्य की जनकल्याण संबंधी विचारधारा के समान थे।

अकाल के दौरान और तत्काल बाद में किसानों को बीज एवं कुएं खोदने के लिए भी सहायता दी गई, जो निःसंदेह अकाल से पीड़ित किसानों की स्थिति पुनः संभालने में सहायक सिद्ध हुई। राज्य ने असहायों, अपंगों, वृद्धों एवं बीमार लोगों की सहायतार्थ मोहताजखाने (मुफ्त भोजन शालाएं) खोले। जहां लोगों को रहने, खाने की सुविधा थी। सदाव्रत में लोगों को आटा और अनाज का वितरण किया जाता था, जो अकाल पीड़ित जनता के लिए वरदान साबित हुआ।

राज्य ने जिला हाकिमों को भी निर्देश दिए कि बरसात शुरू होने के बाद भी जो व्यक्ति गांवों में न लौटे, उन्हें काम से नहीं निकाला जाए। साथ ही जो लोग खेती करते हैं, उन्हें बोहरों एवं महाजनों से ऋण दिलवाया जाए तथा बीज एवं गुजारे के लिए राशन-पानी या नकद रुपया दिया जाए। जो लोग काम नहीं कर सकते हैं, उनके लिए माहवार राशन-पानी उनके निवास स्थान पर देने की व्यवस्था की जाए। किसी भी स्थिति में मोहताज खानों को बंद नहीं किया जाए। प्रत्येक मोहताज के खाने तथा बारिश से बचाने का पुख्ता बंदोबस्त किया जाए।³⁷

यद्यपि मेवाड़ राज्य की अकाल नीति ब्रिटिश सुझावानुसार और ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों द्वारा क्रियान्वित की गई एवं ब्रिटिश इच्छा अनुसार ही राहत कार्य, जैसे -सड़क एवं रेल मार्ग निर्माण करवाए गए, फिर भी इसने पीड़ित जनता को राहत पहुंचाई। तत्कालीन समय में राज्य के ये कार्य सराहनीय रहे, लेकिन राज्य के आदेश और उनके क्रियान्वयन के बीच की दूरी इन राहत कार्यों के अधिकतम परिणाम उपस्थित नहीं कर सके। यही कारण रहा होगा कि मुनाफाखोर व्यापारी ऊंची दर पर अनाज बेचने बाज नहीं आये। ऐसे में तमाम राहत उपायों के बावजूद बड़ी संख्या में लोग भूख और बीमारी से मरे। लोगों का मरना तत्कालीन शासन व्यवस्था में चिंता का सबब बना। वस्तुतः इसके मूल में उपलब्ध संसाधनों के अपर्याप्त वितरण को माना जा सकता है।

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रियासतकालीन टीकाकरण कानून, प्रभाव और जनजागरुकता अभियान

डॉ. हंसराज सोनी*

प्राचीनकाल में टीकाकरण पद्धति

भारत में टीकाकरण पद्धति प्राचीनकाल से ही प्रचलन में रही है। प्रारम्भिक शोध यह बताते हैं कि चेचक का टीकाकरण लगभग 1000 ई. में चीन, भारत, तुर्की और अफ्रीकी देशों में प्रचलन में था।¹ पौराणिक संस्कृत साहित्यिक ग्रंथों में चेचक का 'मसूरिका' के रूप में उल्लेख मिलता है तथा चेचक के प्रकोप के समय शीतला देवी, जिसे आमजन 'गूसी का तगूरा' या 'चेचक की देवी' कहते थे उनकी पूजा व अराधना करने का वृत्तान्त भी है।² संस्कृत साहित्य में वर्णित निम्न श्लोक टीकाकरण की प्राचीन पद्धति एवं कार्य का उल्लेख करता है-

धेनुस्तन्य मसूरी वा नराणाञ्च मसूरिका।
तज्जलं वाहुमूलाच्च शस्त्रान्तेन गृहीतवान्।।
वाहुमूलेच शस्त्रेण रक्तोत्पत्तिकरेण च।
तज्जलं रक्तमिलितं स्फोटकज्ज्वर सम्भवम्।।

(धनवन्तरी कृत शाक्तेय ग्रन्थ)³

अर्थात्- 'मसूरिका या चेचक की घाव की पीक को गाय के स्तनों से निकले हुए दूध के साथ किसी व्यक्ति के भुजा पर पैने शस्त्र से रक्त निकालकर उसमें ये चेचक को धूली को लगाया जाता है, जो रक्त में मिलने पर उस व्यक्ति को ज्वर अथवा बुखार उत्पन्न होता है।'

भारत में टीकाकरण कार्य का विस्तृत विवरण डॉ. धर्मपाल ने अपनी कृति 'इण्डियन साइंस एण्ड टेक्नोलॉजी इन एटीथ सेंचुरी' में किया है। जिसमें उन्होंने 10 फरवरी 1731 में रॉबर्ट कोल्ट के द्वारा डॉ. ओलिवर कोल्ट को भेजे पत्र का उल्लेख

* सहायक आचार्य, इतिहास, श्री प्रतापसिंह बारहठ राजकीय महाविद्यालय, शाहपुरा (भीलवाड़ा) राजस्थान

करते लिखा है कि – “टीकाकरण लगभग 150 वर्षों से बंगाल में प्रचलन में था। ब्राह्मण अभिलेखों के अनुसार कासिम बाजार में चम्पानेर के वैद्य धनवन्तरी के द्वारा सर्वप्रथम टीका लगाया गया था।”⁴

टीका पद्धति का अन्य महत्वपूर्ण विवरण 1767 में जे.जेड. हॉलवेल के द्वारा लंदन में रॉयल कॉलेज ऑफ फिजिशियन के सदस्यों के समक्ष प्रस्तुत रिपोर्ट "An account of the manner of inoculating for the smallpox in the East Indies" में मिलता है। जिसमें उन्होंने बंगाल प्रेसीडेन्सी में वृदावन, इलाहाबाद और बनारस से आये हुये ब्राह्मण वैद्यों द्वारा विशेष तः मार्च से मई के मध्य अनेक पथ्य व अपथ्य का पालन करने के पश्चात् टीका लगाने का उल्लेख किया है। इन ब्राह्मण वैद्यों के द्वारा एक बड़ी पैनी सुई से चेचक के घाव की पीक लेकर उसे रोगी के शरीर में लगाया जाता था। जिससे उसके हल्का ज्वर होता था, तदुपरांत उस व्यक्ति पर चेचक का प्रकोप नहीं होता था। इसके साथ ही शीघ्र स्वास्थ्य लाभ प्राप्ति के लिये शीतला माता की पूजा कर अनुग्रह प्राप्त किया जाता था। बंगाल में इस कार्य को 'टीका' तथा इसे लगाने वाले ब्राह्मण वैद्य 'टीकादार' कहलाते थे। इस प्रकार की उपचार पद्धतियाँ बंगाल और बिहार में प्रचलित थी। टीका लगाने की यह प्रारम्भिक व प्राचीन पद्धति इनोक्यूलेशन Inoculation कहलाती थी।⁵

भारत में विभिन्न रोग प्रतिरोधी टीकों का प्रचलन

विगत कई शताब्दियों तक चेचक, हैजा, प्लेग आदि महामारी मानव त्रासदी के रूप में सामने आई। जिसकी अति संक्रामकता तथा उच्च मृत्यु दर ने दुनिया भर के चिकित्सा वैज्ञानिकों को इन संक्रामक महामारियों के उपचार व रोकथाम की पद्धति की खोज करने के लिये प्रेरित किया।

1796 में प्रसिद्ध जीव वैज्ञानिक एडवर्ड जेनर ने चेचक के सुरक्षात्मक प्रभावों पर विस्तृत अध्ययन कर काउपॉक्स टीके द्वारा उत्पन्न रोग प्रतिरोधी सिद्धान्त के आधार पर 1798 में चेचक के टीके की खोज की। एडवर्ड जेनर का यह शोध "An Enquiry into the Causes and effects of Variolae Vaccine" के नाम से प्रकाशित हुआ, जिसे चेचक के उन्मूलन के अभिनव योगदान के लिये दुनियाभर में प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त हुई और इसलिये उन्हें 'फादर ऑफ वैक्सीनेशन' भी कहा जाता है।⁶

एडवर्ड जेनर द्वारा चेचक के टीके का प्रसार शीघ्र ही विश्व के अनेक हिस्सों विशेष रूप से यूरोप और अमेरिका में हुआ। 1802 में औपनिवेशिक सरकार ने भारत में टीकाकरण अभियान शुरू करने तथा इस कार्य का पर्यवेक्षण करने हेतु सुपरिडेंट जनरल ऑफ वैक्सीनेशन की नियुक्ति की, जिसके प्रयासों से जेनर के प्रकाशन के 4 वर्ष के

भीतर ही चेचक का टीका भारत पहुँचा। 14 जून 1802 को बॉम्बे प्रेसीडेन्सी में तीन वर्ष की बच्ची, अन्ना डस्टहॉल को चेचक की पहली वैक्सीन लगाई गई। इसके पश्चात् यह वैक्सीन मद्रास, पुणे, हैदराबाद, सूरत और अजमेर मेरवाड़ा में प्रसारित की गई। मद्रास में डॉ.जेम्स एण्डरसन (फिजीशियन जनरल) के निर्देशन में तथा अजमेर में डॉ. लार्ड (सिविल सर्जन) द्वारा टीकाकरण अभियान शुरू किया गया।⁷

19वीं शताब्दी में चेचक की भांति ही हैजा व प्लेग का प्रकोप भी था। 1893 में कलकत्ता में हैजा का प्रकोप होने पर ब्रिटिश सरकार ने इस महामारी पर नियंत्रण हेतु प्रो. हॉफकिन को भारत आमंत्रित किया। प्रो. हॉफकिन ने 1893 में आगरा में हैजा वैक्सीन का सफल परीक्षण किया। इसी प्रकार 1896 में बम्बई में ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग महामारी फैली। ब्रिटिश सरकार के पुनः अनुरोध पर प्रो. हॉफकिन बॉम्बे आये।⁸ उन्होंने वहां ग्रांट मेडिकल कॉलेज में प्लेग लैबोरेटरी स्थापित की। इस लैब में उनके द्वारा एण्टी प्लेग वैक्सीन तैयार की तथा 1896 में बारकूला कारगाह में उसका परीक्षण किया। तदुपरांत जनवरी 1897 में उन्होंने स्वयं पर भी प्लेग वैक्सीन का परीक्षण किया जो सफल रहा। हॉफकिन द्वारा विकसित यह एंटी प्लेग वैक्सीन भारत में बनने वाली पहली वैक्सीन थी।⁹



चित्र 1 प्रो. हॉफकिन (हैजा एवं प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीकाकरण के जनक) चित्र 2 प्रो.

हॉफकिन बॉम्बे में हैजा का टीकाकरण करते हुये¹⁰

राजपूताना: महामारियों का विस्तार एवं प्रभाव

19वीं शताब्दी में राजपूताना में प्लेग, हैजा, चेचक, इन्तूएंजा आदि वायरस जनित महामारियों का भीषण प्रकोप रहा है। जिनकी संक्रामकता तथा उच्च मृत्यु दर थी। चेचक महामारी से बच्चे विशेषतया प्रभावित होते थे, जिसे शीतला माता का प्रकोप माना जाता था। टीकाकरण के द्वारा इस महामारी को कुछ सीमा तक नियंत्रित किया गया था।¹¹ हैजा महामारी प्रवासियों एवं तीर्थयात्रियों के द्वारा राजपूताना में फैली तथा 1894 से लम्बे समय तक इसका प्रकोप राजपूताना में बना रहा। 1895 में राजपूताना में हैजा के प्रकोप को दर्शाता मानचित्र¹²—



चित्र 1. राजपूताना में 1895 में हैजा महामारी के प्रकोप को दर्शाता मानचित्र

1906 से 1917 तक राजपूताना की अधिकांश रियासतों में हैजे का भीषण प्रकोप रहा। इस दौरान 19614 व्यक्तियों की मृत्यु हुई।¹³ 1914-1916 तक हैजे संबंधी आँकड़े निम्न हैं¹⁴-

वर्ष	हैजा से संक्रमित व्यक्ति	मृत्यु संबंधी आँकड़े	मृत्यु दर
1914	3195	1627	50.2
1915	2961	1981	66.9
1916	7941	5065	63.71

सारणी 1. राजपूताना में हैजा संक्रमित व्यक्तियों के मृत्यु संबंधी आरेख 1914-1916

राजपूताना के उपर्युक्त सारणी 1 द्वारा प्रदर्शित आरेखों के विश्लेषण से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि जहाँ 1914 से 1916 तक निरंतर हैजे के संक्रमण में वृद्धि हुई थी, वही इसकी उच्च मृत्यु दर (66.9) ने तत्कालीन समय की भयावह स्थिति को प्रदर्शित करता है।

1836 में मारवाड़ क्षेत्र के पाली में प्लेग अथवा 'गांठ-की-ज्वर' का संक्रमण हुआ। जिसे तात्कालिक चिकित्सकीय संसाधनों के द्वारा नियंत्रित कर लिया गया।¹⁵ 1897 में बॉम्बे में प्लेग का संक्रमण हुआ। वहाँ से व्यापारिक आवागमन के परिणामस्वरूप सिरोही क्षेत्र के तेउरी और कलंदरी गावों में यह संक्रमण फैला।¹⁶ जिसने शीघ्र ही सम्पूर्ण राजपूताना को अपने प्रभाव में ले लिया। 1905-06, 1910-11 और 1917-18 में प्लेग ने राजपूताना की अधिकांश रियासतों में भयावह रूप धारण कर लिया। इस दौरान अनेक रियासतों की जनसंख्या में कमी देखी गई, जिसका मुख्य कारण महामारी के कारण लोगों का पलायन या मृत्यु था।¹⁷

1917-18 में स्पेनिश फ्लू (इन्फ्लूएंजा) वैश्विक महामारी का पूरे राजपूताना में भीषण प्रकोप रहा। जिसकी संक्रामकता तथा मृत्यु दर उच्च थी। 1917-18 में कर्नल हेग के अनुसार हैजा, प्लेग व इन्फ्लूएंजा के मृतकों की संख्या में 98192 तथा 1918-19

में 16268 रही। जो कि पूर्व के वर्षों से बहुत अधिक थी।¹⁸ इस समय अधिकांश रियासतों के बाजार, अदालतें और विद्यालय बंद किये गये। महामारी को नियंत्रित करने हेतु रियासतों के द्वारा तत्काल रिलिफ कमेटी बनाकर आमजन को राहत पहुंचाने के प्रयास किये गये थे।¹⁹

राजपूताना में टीकाकरण अभियान

ऐतिहासिक साक्ष्य से ज्ञात होता है कि प्राचीनकाल में मेवाड़ क्षेत्र में टीकाकरण प्रचलन में था। मेवाड़ में भील समुदाय के द्वारा चेचक की धूल अथवा पीक को पैनी सुई द्वारा लेकर रोगी के शरीर में लगाया जाता था। टीकाकरण की यह पद्धति 'कनाई' नाम से प्रचलित थी।²⁰ राजपूताना में सर्वप्रथम 1853 में अजमेर में डॉ. लार्ड (सिविल सर्जन) द्वारा टीकाकरण अभियान शुरू किया गया।²¹ इसके पश्चात आबू में 1859 में, जयपुर में 1860 में, मेवाड़, बीकानेर में 1860-61 में, मारवाड़ में 1866 में तथा अधिकांश रियासतों के द्वारा उन्नीसवीं सदी के अन्त तक चेचक, हैजा महामारियों का टीकाकरण प्रारम्भ किया गया।

राजपूताना की विभिन्न रियासतों में टीकाकरण प्रारम्भ संबंधी समयरेखा²²

वर्ष	स्थान
1853	अजमेर मेरवाड़ा (डॉ. लार्ड, सिविल सर्जन)
1859	(आबू व अनादरा) सिरोही स्टेट
1860	जयपुर स्टेट (डॉ. बुर)
1860-61	मेवाड़ स्टेट
1860-61	बॉसवाड़ा स्टेट
1860-61	बीकानेर स्टेट
1861	भरतपुर स्टेट
1866	मारवाड़ स्टेट
1866-67	कोटा स्टेट
1870	अलवर स्टेट
1870-71	झालावाड़ स्टेट
1869	धौलपुर स्टेट
1890	जैसलमेर स्टेट
1896-97	डूंगरपुर स्टेट

राजपूताना में चेचक, हैजा, मलेरिया आदि संक्रामक बीमारियों से बचाने के लिए

निरंतर टीकाकरण अभियान सितम्बर से मार्च तक चलाये जाते थे।²³ रियासतों में टीकाकरण के लिए विशेष मेडिकल टीम उपलब्ध रहती थी। 1866 में अजमेर में घर-घर जाकर टीकाकरण अभियान शुरू किया गया तथा प्रथम बार सुपरिडेंट ऑफ वैक्सीनेशन की नियुक्ति की गई। इस प्रकार टीकाकरण कार्य प्रथम बार प्रशासकीय उत्तरदायित्व का विषय बनाया गया।²⁴

1889-90 में मारवाड़ राजशासन द्वारा टीकाकरण को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिये मेडिकल विभाग का पुनर्गठन किया गया। जिसके तहत मारवाड़ को 6 वैक्सीनेशन जिलों में विभाजित किया गया। सभी वैक्सीनेशन जिलों में सहायक अधीक्षकों को प्रभारी बनाया गया, जिनके कार्यों का पर्यवेक्षण करने हेतु एक उप-अधीक्षक वैक्सीनेशन नियुक्त किया गया। जो रेजीडेंसी सर्जन के अधीन कार्य का सम्पादन करते थे। इस प्रशासनिक उत्तरदायित्व ने टीकाकरण कार्य को प्रोत्साहन दिया, जिसके परिणामस्वरूप मारवाड़ में आगामी 12 वर्षों में 866960 बच्चों का टीकाकरण किया गया।²⁵ राजपूताना की विभिन्न रियासतों में 1893-98 तक के टीकाकरण संबंधी आँकड़े जो निरंतर इसके विस्तार को दर्शाते हैं, निम्न हैं²⁶-

वर्ष	रियासतों में टीकाकरण कार्य			
	कुल वैक्सीनेटर	कुल टीकाकरण	सफल टीकाकरण	प्रतिशत
1893-94	197	241841	236798	97.91
1894-95	200	262100	258123	98.48
1895-96	215	299099	294628	98.50
1896-97	234	273413	269300	98.50
1897-98	235	296933	292630	98.55

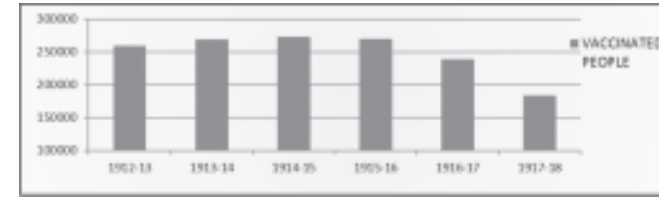
सारणी 2. राजपूताना की विभिन्न रियासतों में टीकाकरण संबंधी आँकड़ें 1893-98

राजपूताना में टीकाकरण हेतु रियासतों ने चिकित्सालयों के साथ-साथ ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में तथा आवागमन के प्रमुख स्थानों पर टीकाकरण क्रेन्ड्र स्थापित किये। बीकानेर में टीका कार्य 9 से 11 बजे तक तथा सायं 5 से 7 बजे तक इन क्रेन्ड्रों पर लगाया जाता था। परन्तु यदि किसी स्थान पर 25 से अधिक व्यक्ति टीका लगवाने वाले हो, वहा डॉक्टर को भेजकर टीका लगवाने की व्यवस्था की गई थी।²⁷ 1889 में मारवाड़ में निम्न जाति के व्यक्तियों का टीकाकरण करने हेतु स्वीपर वैक्सीनेटर तथा पर्दा प्रथा वाले परिवारों की महिलाओं के लिए महिला वैक्सीनेटर की नियुक्ति की गई।²⁸

1899-1900 में राजपूताना में छप्पनियाँ अकाल का प्रकोप रहा तथा इसी समय ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग ने भी राजपूताना की अधिकांश रियासतों में भयावह रूप धारण कर

लिया। इसी प्रकार 1905-06 में भी अकाल के साथ-साथ प्लेग व हैजा का भी प्रकोप था। इस दौरान न केवल टीकाकरण में कमी हुई वरन् जनसंख्या में कमी देखी गई। जिसका मुख्य कारण अकाल एवं महामारी के कारण लोगों का पलायन या मृत्यु था।²⁹ इन अकाल एवं महामारियों से मारवाड़ सर्वाधिक प्रभावित हुआ इसलिए जे. ई. स्कॉट ने इसे 'दी लैण्ड ऑफ डैथ' भी कहा था।³⁰

इन सभी कठनाइयों और चुनौतियों के बावजूद भी रियासतों द्वारा निरंतर टीकाकरण अभियान को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाता रहा। शाहपुरा रियासत में चिकित्सा विभाग के द्वारा वर्ष में चार बार ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों का दौरा किया जाता था और आमजन को सम्भावित महामारियों के रोकथाम एवं उपचार हेतु प्रोत्साहित कर टीकाकरण किया गया था।³¹



ग्राफ 1. राजपूताना में टीकाकरण संबंधी आरेख 1912-1928

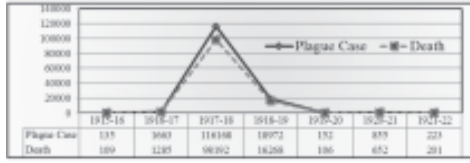
उपर्युक्त आरेख से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि राजपूताना में रियासतों द्वारा प्रोत्साहन के फलस्वरूप टीकाकरण अभियान चलाये गये तथा व्यापक स्तर पर बच्चों का टीकाकरण किया गया। यद्यपि 1916-1918 के मध्य टीकाकरण में आंशिक गिरावट भी आई है। सभंभवतः इसका कारण पर्याप्त मात्रा में टीकों का उपलब्ध नही होना, प्लेग का प्रकोप तथा अकाल के कारण लोगो का पलायन था।

राजपूताना में प्रो. हॉफकिन के प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीकाकरण

प्रो. हॉफकिन ने ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग के समय एक प्रभावी एंटी प्लेग वैक्सीन विकसित की तथा एंटी प्लेग टीकाकरण के अनेक अभियान शुरू किये गये। राजपूताना में ब्यूबोनिक प्लेग के समय सर्वप्रथम 1898-1899 में प्रो. हॉफकिन के रोगनिरोधी टीकाकरण को शुरू किया गया, जो प्लेग महामारी के प्रकोप को कम करने में कारगर रहा था।³²

1911 से 1918 तक राजपूताना में पुनः व्यापारिक गतिविधियों द्वारा प्लेग का भीषण प्रकोप रहा। जिससे मारवाड़, मेवाड़, जयपुर, बूंदी, कोटा, अजमेर, बीकानेर, अलवर, भरतपुर आदि क्षेत्र प्रभावित हुए। इस समय राजपूताना में प्लेग के संक्रमण को रोकने के लिए हॉफकिन के प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीकाकरण अभियान शुरू किये गये।³³ वर्ष 1917-1918 में सम्पूर्ण राजपूताना में 90948 तथा 1918-1919 में 3572 व्यक्तियों

के टीकाकरण किया गया।³⁴ राजपूताना में वर्ष 1915-1922 प्लेग संबंधी आरेख निम्न प्रकार है³⁵-



ग्राफ 2. राजपूताना में प्लेग के संक्रमण तथा मृत्यु संबंधी आरेख 1915-1922

राजपूताना के उपर्युक्त ग्राफ 2 द्वारा प्रदर्शित आरेखों के विश्लेषण से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि 1917-1918 में प्लेग संक्रमण का प्रभाव व मृत्यु दर उच्च थी। ऐसे में रोकथाम के अन्य उपायों के साथ ही हॉफकिन के प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीकाकरण के परिणामस्वरूप 1919-20 में प्लेग संक्रमण कम हो गया। इससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि महामारियों को नियंत्रित करने में टीकाकरण अभियान कारगर सिद्ध हुए थे।

टीकाकरण : प्रबंधन एवं जनजागरुकता अभियान

भारतवर्ष में टीकाकरण कार्य को संक्रामक महामारियों के प्रति एक जीवनरक्षक उपाय के रूप में अपनाया गया था। टीकाकरण आँकड़ों का विश्लेषण यह बताता है कि राजपूताना जैसे विशाल क्षेत्रफल वाले भू-भाग में यह कार्य सदैव चुनौतिपूर्ण रहा है। यहाँ ग्रामीण बहुल संस्कृति रही है जिसकी जटिल सामाजिक संरचना, अशिक्षा, वैक्सीनेशन के प्रति पूर्वाग्रह व असुरक्षा की भावना और भौगोलिक विविधताओं ने समय-समय पर टीकाकरण कार्य को अवरुद्ध किया है। इसी प्रकार की चुनौतियाँ हमें वर्तमान में कोविड-19 के टीकाकरण के समय भी देखने को मिली हैं। रियासतकाल में टीकाकरण को नियमबद्ध और योजनाबद्ध तरीके से लागू करने तथा आमजन को लाभान्वित करने हेतु किये गये चिकित्सा एवं स्वास्थ्य प्रबंध निम्न प्रकार हैं-

टीकाकरण नियमन हेतु बनाये गये कानून

महामारियों के संक्रमण पर प्रभावी नियंत्रण स्थापित करने के लिए ब्रिटिश सरकार ने केन्द्रीय स्तर पर तथा राजपूताना में विभिन्न रियासतों के द्वारा अपने राज्य की परिस्थितियों को ध्यान में रखकर जन स्वास्थ्य की दृष्टि से अनेक वैक्सीनेशन कानून बनाये। जिनका उल्लंघन करने पर सख्त कार्रवाई का प्रावधान किया। रियासतों में इस संबंध में निम्न कानून बनाये गये-

टीकाकरण अधिनियम, 1880

ब्रिटिश सरकार के द्वारा महामारी नियंत्रण हेतु टीकाकरण को प्रोत्साहन करने के

लिये 'दी वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट, 1880 (एक्ट न. 13) पारित किया गया। जो 9 जुलाई 1880 को लागू हुआ। जिनके तहत नगरपालिका क्षेत्रों में बच्चों का टीकाकरण अनिवार्य किया गया। इस अधिनियम में कुल 23 धाराएँ थी। जिसके अन्तर्गत में निम्न महत्वपूर्ण प्रावधान किये गये-

- इस एक्ट की धारा 3 के द्वारा स्थानीय सरकार को विशेष परिस्थितियों में इस एक्ट को अपने नगरपालिका क्षेत्र के किसी भाग अथवा सम्पूर्ण भाग में लागू करने का अधिकार दिया गया।
- एक्ट की धारा 6 के द्वारा आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक शोध जनित टीकाकरण को बढ़ावा दिया गया, वही टीकाकरण की प्राचीन पद्धति इन्फ्यूलेशन पर प्रतिबंध लगाया गया।
- एक्ट की धारा 7, 8 में स्थानीय सरकार को सुपरिडेंट ऑफ वैक्सीनेशन, वैक्सीनेटर आदि की नियुक्ति करने तथा प्राइवेट वैक्सीनेटर को लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार दिया गया।
- एक्ट की धारा 9 में प्रत्येक सफल टीकाकरण पर सम्बंधित बच्चे अथवा व्यक्ति को 'वैक्सीनेशन सर्टिफिकेट' देने का प्रावधान किया गया।
- एक्ट की धारा 16 के तहत टीकाकरण पूर्णतया निःशुल्क किया गया। प्राइवेट वैक्सीनेटर के अलावा किसी भी वैक्सीनेटर के द्वारा किसी भी प्रकार का शुल्क नहीं लिया जायेगा।³⁶

इस एक्ट के पारित होने के पश्चात अक्टूबर 1895 में अजमेर मेरवाड़ा क्षेत्र में चेचक और हैजा के प्रकोप के समय चीफ कमीश्नर ऑफ अजमेर ने इस एक्ट की धारा 3 के तहत इसे अजमेर मेरवाड़ा में लागू किया। अजमेर शहर और उपनगरों को भी इसमें सम्मिलित कर लिया गया जिससे नगरपालिका क्षेत्र के सभी व्यक्तियों के लिए टीकाकरण अनिवार्य हो गया। इसके परिणामस्वरूप टीकाकरण में व्यापक बढ़ोतरी हुई। जहाँ 1894-1895 में 1503 व्यक्तियों का टीकाकरण हुआ, वहीं 1895-96 में वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट के पश्चात 3188 व्यक्तियों का टीकाकरण किया गया।³⁷ 1901 में केकड़ी तथा 1902 में ब्यावर क्षेत्र को भी इस एक्ट में सम्मिलित कर लिया गया था।³⁸

दी मारवाड़ वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट, 1927

जोधपुर राजशासन के द्वारा मारवाड़ सीमा क्षेत्रों में टीकाकरण अभियान को बढ़ावा देने तथा योजनाबद्ध तरीके से टीकाकरण करने हेतु 1927 में 'दी मारवाड़ वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट' बनाया गया। जिसमें 1933 में संशोधन भी किया गया था। इस अधिनियम के तहत संक्रामक बीमारी चेचक की रोकथाम हेतु 14 वर्ष तक के बच्चों का

टीकाकरण अनिवार्य किया गया। प्रत्येक सफल टीकाकरण पर प्रमाणपत्र भी दिये जाने की व्यवस्था की गई। इस एक्ट के तहत जोधपुर सहित मारवाड़ में जगह-जगह टीकाकरण केन्द्र स्थापित किये गये।

यद्यपि मारवाड़ में वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट के तहत औषधालयों में टीकाकरण पूर्णतया निःशुल्क था, लेकिन यदि कोई व्यक्ति अपने निवास स्थान पर चिकित्साकर्मी अथवा मेडिकल टीम को बुलाकर टीका लगवाना चाहे तो उसे 8 आने के हिसाब से शुल्क भुगतान करना होता था। मारवाड़ में इस समय प्रत्येक सफल टीकाकरण पर लगभग 8 आने 4 पैसे का व्यय आता था।³⁹

दी बीकानेर स्टेट वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट, 1928

बीकानेर राज्य द्वारा 1928 में 'दी बीकानेर स्टेट वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट' बनाया, जो 6 सितम्बर 1928 से रियासत में लागू हुआ। इस एक्ट में भी पूर्ववर्ती रियासतों के एक्ट की भांति नगरपालिका क्षेत्र में बच्चों का टीकाकरण अनिवार्य किया गया। इसमें भी सफल टीकाकरण के पश्चात टीकाकरण सर्टिफिकेट जारी करने का तथा निःशुल्क टीका लगाने का प्रावधान था। उक्त नियमों का उल्लंघन करने पर सख्त कार्रवाई का प्रावधान किया गया।⁴⁰ 1934 में इस एक्ट का विस्तार करते हुए इसे रियासत की अन्य नगरपालिका क्षेत्रों में भी लागू किया गया। जिससे बीकानेर क्षेत्र में टीकाकरण कार्य को निरंतर बढ़ावा मिलता रहा।⁴¹

दी वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट बूंदी स्टेट, 1938

बूंदी राज्यशासन द्वारा 1938 में 'दी वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट बूंदी स्टेट' बनाया। इस एक्ट के तहत सभी 12 वर्ष तक के बच्चों का उनके परिवारजनों की देखरेख में टीकाकरण को अनिवार्य किया गया। नगरपालिका क्षेत्रों में मेडिकल टीम के द्वारा तथा ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में 6 माह से अधिक के सभी बच्चों का रिकार्ड पटवारी के द्वारा रखा जाता था, जिससे समय पर उनका टीकाकरण किया जा सके। टीकाकरण यद्यपि निःशुल्क था, परन्तु कोई परिवार घर पर अपने बच्चों का टीकाकरण करवाना चाहे, तब उसे 2 आने का शुल्क देना होता था। इस एक्ट का उल्लंघन करने पर 10 रुपये तक जुर्माना लगाने का प्रावधान था।⁴²

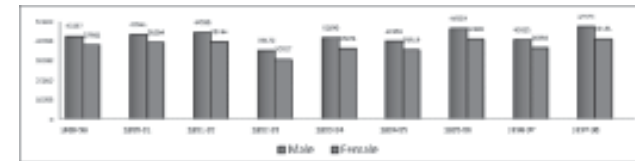
इस प्रकार अलवर, सिरोही, मेवाड़ आदि रियासतों में भी वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट को बच्चों के लिए तथा नगरपालिका क्षेत्रों में अनिवार्य करने के सुखद परिणाम भविष्य में मिलते हैं। टीकाकरण आँकड़ों का विश्लेषण यह बताता है कि वर्तमान समय में भी नियमबद्ध और योजनाबद्ध टीकाकरण अभियान चलाया जाये तो महामारी पर नियंत्रण सम्भव है।

टीकाकरण जनजागरुकता अभियान

जनजागरुकता अभियान - राजपूताना में शताब्दियों से सामाजिक जन जीवन में अनेक रीति-रिवाज, प्रथाएँ व मान्यताएँ प्रचलन में रही हैं। सामाजिक रूढ़िवादिता जैसे पर्दा प्रथा, अंधविश्वास तथा अनेक मिथ्या भ्रांतियों ने टीकाकरण के प्रति असुरक्षा की भावना उत्पन्न कर निरंतर इस कार्य को अवरुद्ध किया था। अभिलेखीय दस्तावेजों से ज्ञात होता है कि 1895 में अजमेर में पर्दा प्रथा के कारण महिलाओं व बच्चों के टीकाकरण में कमी हुई।⁴³ टीकाकरण के प्रारम्भिक प्रयासों की आंशिक सफलता से भी आमजन में यह विश्वास व्याप्त हो गया कि इससे मनुष्य को कमजोरी, दुर्बलता, बुखार जैसे लक्षण आ जाते हैं। जिससे टीकाकरण के समय आमजन के द्वारा पलायन किया जाता रहा था।⁴⁴

राजस्थान राज्य अभिलेखागार, बीकानेर की विभिन्न पत्रावलियों में रियासतों द्वारा आमजन में टीकाकरण के प्रति व्यापक असुरक्षा व अविश्वास को समाप्त कर उन्हें जागरूक करने हेतु जारी किये पथ पर्दर्शक 'चेतावनी' 'ताउन से बचने के उपाय' 'विसूचिका संबंधी उपाय' 'स्वास्थ्य विज्ञप्ति' आदि प्रपत्र प्राप्त होते हैं। जो सामान्यजन के निहितार्थ हिन्दी एवं उर्दू भाषा में जारी कर शहर के प्रमुख मार्गों और तहसीलों के महत्वपूर्ण स्थानों पर लगाये गये तथा वितरित किये गये।⁴⁵

1889 में मारवाड़, 1896 में अजमेर में तथा आगामी वर्षों में सभी रियासतों में पर्दानसीन महिलाओं के टीकाकरण हेतु महिला वैक्सीनेटर की नियुक्ति की गई। अलवर में 1944 में प्रतिदिन पर्दानसीन महिलाओं के वैक्सीनेशन का रिकार्ड रखा जाता था।⁴⁶ जिनके द्वारा महिलाओं का व्यापक स्तर पर टीकाकरण कार्य किया गया। निम्न आरेख मारवाड़ में टीकाकरण के आँकड़ों को दर्शाते हैं⁴⁷ -



ग्राफ 3. मारवाड़ में महिला और पुरुषों के टीकाकरण संबंधी आरेख 1889-1898

मारवाड़ के उपर्युक्त ग्राफ 3 द्वारा प्रदर्शित आरेखों के विश्लेषण से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि 1889 में प्रशासनिक पुनर्गठन के पश्चात टीकाकरण कार्य निरंतर प्रगति की ओर रहा है। महिलाओं का टीकाकरण करने में महिला वैक्सीनेटरों की नियुक्ति का प्रयोग भी सफल रहा है। अप्रैल 1927 में बीकानेर रियासत के नोहर में प्लेग के प्रकोप के समय सामान्यजन टीकाकरण के प्रति आशंकित था। इस दशा में क्षेत्र में नियुक्त सब-असिस्टेंट

सर्जन डॉ. हरप्रसाद ने गांव के सभी आमजन के समक्ष न केवल अपनी वैक्सीनेशन टीम के समस्त कर्मचारियों बल्कि स्वयं के भी वैक्सीन लगाकर एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत कर यह विश्वास व्याप्त किया कि टीकाकरण से किसी भी प्रकार की कमजोरी एवं असुरक्षा नहीं होती है।⁴⁸

टीकाकरण स्पेशल ट्रेन - बीकानेर में 1948 में व्यापारिक गतिविधियों तथा सीमावर्ती हैजा संक्रमित क्षेत्रों से आवागमन के कारण हैजा का प्रकोप हो गया। रियासत के सीमावर्ती हरियाणा के हिसार, महेन्द्रगढ़ तथा फिरोजपुर क्षेत्र इस समय हैजा से व्यापक स्तर पर प्रभावित थे। इन क्षेत्रों से बीकानेर के रेलवे स्टेशनों से जुड़े हुए नोहर, भादरा, राजगढ़ आदि क्षेत्रों में हैजा व प्लेग का विस्तार हो रहा था। बीकानेर राजशासन ने तत्काल सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में रेलवे चैक पोस्ट स्थापित कर संक्रमित क्षेत्रों से आने वाले सभी व्यक्तियों का टीकाकरण अनिवार्य कर दिया।

राजशासन के द्वारा राज्य अधिकारियों, रेलवे के कर्मचारियों तथा उनके परिवारजनों को हैजा का टीका लगाने हेतु टीकाकरण स्पेशल ट्रेन भेजने की व्यवस्था की गई। इस प्रकार की रेल शादुलपुर-रेवाड़ी, शादुलपुर-हनुमानगढ़ तथा हनुमानगढ़-भटिण्डा रेलवे लाईन पर प्रारम्भ की गई। बीकानेर राज्य का यह प्रयास निःसन्देह महामारी नियंत्रण हेतु टीकाकरण कार्यों के प्रोत्साहन हेतु अहम कदम माना जा सकता है।⁴⁹

दूरस्थ व दुर्गम क्षेत्रों में टीकाकरण अभियान - पश्चिमी राजपूताना की बीकानेर, जैसलमेर तथा मारवाड़ रियासती क्षेत्र अधिकांशतः रेगिस्तानी भू-भाग का हिस्सा रहा है। इन क्षेत्रों में टीकाकरण कार्य सदैव कठिन व चुनौतिपूर्ण रहा था। बीकानेर के महकमा खास के दस्तावेजों से ज्ञात होता है कि बीकानेर राजशासन ने 1900 में प्लेग व हैजा के प्रकोप के समय राज्य के विभिन्न स्थानों के दूरस्थ व दुर्गम क्षेत्रों में संक्रमण को रोकने तथा टीकाकरण के लिए विशेष मेडिकल वैक्सीनेटर टीम का गठन किया तथा इन क्षेत्रों में भ्रमण करने हेतु राजदरबार द्वारा उन्हें व्यक्तिगत ऊंट उपलब्ध करवाये गये। इस प्रकार की ये टीम निम्न प्रकार थी-

क्रम संख्या	वैक्सीनेटर का नाम	स्थान
1.	कल्याण राय	रतनगढ़
2.	फूलचरण दास	सुजानगढ़
3.	ब्रजनाथ	चुरू
4.	गुलाम नबी	डुगरगढ़
5.	उमरूद्दीन	सरदारशहर
6.	कैन्हालाल	हनुमानगढ़

इसी प्रकार मारवाड़ में राजशासन के द्वारा 1906 तक मेडिकल वैक्सीनेटर टीम को दूरस्थ क्षेत्रों के लिये ऊंट की सुविधा तथा 6 रुपये अलाउन्स दिया जाता था। 1906 के पश्चात ऊंट सेवा को समाप्त कर वैक्सीनेटर को 13 रुपये 'ऊंट भत्ता' दिया जाता रहा था। आगामी वर्षों में टीकाकरण कार्य हेतु 'साईकल भत्ता' दिये जाने का भी उल्लेख मिलता है।⁵⁰

अनिवार्य एवं निःशुल्क टीकाकरण कार्य - राजपूताना में वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट के तहत चेचक का टीका बच्चों के लिए अनिवार्य था। राजपूताना में मेलों व त्यौहारों का आयोजन होता रहता था। जिसमें विभिन्न प्रांतों से हजारों व्यक्ति इनमें सम्मिलित होते थे, जिससे संक्रमण फैलने की सम्भावना रहती थी। ऐसे में ब्रिटिश सरकार ने 1939 में तीर्थयात्रियों के लिए हैजा का टीकाकरण अनिवार्य कर दिया और ये व्यवस्थाएँ राजपूताना में भी लागू की गईं, जहाँ पुष्कर, उर्स तथा अन्य क्षेत्रीय मेलों के आयोजन के समय टीकाकरण प्रमाणपत्र दिखाना अनिवार्य था।⁵¹ टीकाकरण, यद्यपि सामान्यजन के लिए पूर्णतया निःशुल्क था और इसके लिए आमजन के अनुरोध (25 व्यक्तियों) पर टीकाकरण केन्द्र स्थापित की जाने की व्यवस्था थी। परन्तु यदि कोई व्यक्ति अपने घर पर मेडिकल टीम को बुलाकर टीकाकरण करवाना चाहे तो इसके लिए शुल्क निर्धारित किया हुआ था।⁵²

वैक्सीनेशन प्रमाण पत्र तथा पास व्यवस्था - दी वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट, 1880 में सर्वप्रथम टीकाकरण के पश्चात 'वैक्सीनेशन सर्टिफिकेट' जारी किये जाने का प्रावधान किया गया था। इसे दृष्टिगत रखते हुए बीकानेर, मारवाड़, बूंदी, अलवर तथा अन्य रियासतों के द्वारा अपने क्षेत्र में लागू टीकाकरण अधिनियम के तहत चेचक के सफल वैक्सीनेशन के पश्चात सर्टिफिकेट जारी किए। आगामी वर्षों में हैजा, प्लेग आदि के टीकाकरण के सम्बंधित प्रमाण पत्र जारी किये गये। चेचक का प्रमाण पत्र 3 वर्ष के लिए तथा हैजा का 6 माह तक मान्य होता था। इस प्रकार के प्रमाण पत्र संक्रमित क्षेत्रों से आने वालों को रेलवे चैक पोस्ट पर दिखाना आवश्यक था।⁵³

1912 में माउण्ट आबू में चेचक व प्लेग के संक्रमण को रोकने तथा प्रभावी नियंत्रण हेतु 17 अप्रैल 1912 को एन. प्रिटीहार्ड (मजिस्ट्रेट ऑफ आबू) ने यात्रियों और तीर्थयात्रियों को निम्न प्रकार के पास जारी किये गये-

पीला पास - अथवा प्लेग निगरानी पास - इन पासधारकों को 12 दिन की अवधि तक मेडिकल टीम की निगरानी में रखा जाने तथा इस हेतु इन्हें तत्काल टीका लगाने का प्रावधान था।

लाल पास - फ्री पास - इन पासधारकों को निगरानी अथवा सतर्कता में रखने से छूट दी गई, बशर्त उनके पास टीकाकरण किये जाने का प्रमाण पत्र हो।

हरा पास – इन पासधारक तीर्थयात्रियों को उक्त नियमों में छूट दी गयी तथा इन्हें दिलवाड़ा अथवा अचलगढ़ में भ्रमण की अनुमति दी गई।⁵⁴

अंतरराष्ट्रीय वैक्सीनेशन प्रमाण पत्र – अजमेर सहित विभिन्न रियासतों से प्रतिवर्ष अनेक यात्री हज, तीर्थान एवं अन्य प्रायोजनों से विदेश भ्रमण के लिये जाते थे। विश्व स्वास्थ्य सभा के द्वारा 1944 में अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्वच्छता विनियमों को स्वीकार किया गया तथा इन नियमों के निर्धारित मानकों के तहत अंतरराष्ट्रीय वैक्सीनेशन प्रमाण पत्र जारी किये जाने का प्रावधान किया गया। इन नियमों में 1953 में संशोधन किये गये जो मार्च 1953 से भारत में लागू हुए।⁵⁵

अंतरराष्ट्रीय वैक्सीनेशन प्रमाण पत्र के नियमों के तहत विदेश यात्रा करने वाले प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को एक सप्ताह के अन्तराल में दो बार वैक्सीन लगवाना तथा मेडिकल अधिकारी के द्वारा निर्धारित मुहर द्वारा इसको प्रमाणित करना आवश्यक था। इस सन्दर्भ का चेचक के टीके का प्रमाण पत्र 3 वर्ष तथा हैजा का 6 माह की अवधि तक मान्य था। मेडिकल दस्तावेजों से ज्ञात होता है कि अजमेर में राजकीय चिकित्सा अधिकारियों तथा प्राइवेट चिकित्सा अधिकारियों को इन विनियमों के तहत विदेश यात्रा करने वाले व्यक्तियों को अंतरराष्ट्रीय वैक्सीनेशन प्रमाण पत्र जारी किये जाने का अधिकार दिया। सार्वजनिक स्वास्थ्य विभाग, अजमेर द्वारा 1953-54 में लगभग 250 से 300 प्रमाण पत्र इस सन्दर्भ में जारी किये गये।⁵⁶

भारत एवं राजपूताना में टीकाकरण संबंधी प्रयासों की समयरेखा

वर्ष	टीकाकरण की सफलता
1798	जेनर द्वारा चेचक के टीके का आविष्कार
1802	चेचक का टीका प्रथम बार भारत में लगाने का प्रमाण
1853	अजमेर में डॉ. लॉर्ड द्वारा टीकाकरण प्रारम्भ
1880	वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट (एक्ट न. 13ए 1880)
1892	भारत सरकार के द्वारा अनिवार्य वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट बनाया गया
1893	प्रो. हॉफकिन के द्वारा हैजा के टीके का भारत (आगरा) में प्रथम सफल प्रशिक्षण किया गया
1894	अजमेर मेरवाड़ा वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट
1897	प्रो. हॉफकिन द्वारा भारत में प्रथम प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीके का आविष्कार
1898-99	राजपूताना में प्रो. हॉफकिन के प्लेग प्रतिरोधी टीकाकरण प्रारम्भ
1927	दी मारवाड़ वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट, 1927

1928	दी बीकानेर स्टेट वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट (एक्ट न. 6ए 1928)
1938	वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट बूंदी स्टेट, 1938
1944	दी अलवर स्टेट वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट
1945	दी सिरोही वैक्सीनेशन एक्ट

निष्कर्ष– आज से 100 वर्ष पूर्व आधुनिक चिकित्सा पद्धति एवं विज्ञान की दृष्टि हम इतने साधन सम्पन्न नहीं थे। फिर भी सीमित साधनों, योजनाबद्ध तरीकों और सम्मिलित प्रयासों के द्वारा टीकाकरण अभियानों को गति दी जिसके तात्कालिक परिणामस्वरूप हम कुछ सीमा तक महामारियों को नियंत्रित करने में सफल रहें। वही दीर्घकालीन परिणामों की दृष्टि से देखे तो हमारे इन पूर्वकालिन प्रयासों के परिणामस्वरूप ही 1977 में भारत तथा 1980 में विश्व स्वास्थ्य सभा ने विश्व को चेचक से मुक्त घोषित किया। हमने टीकाकरण अनुसंधान को बढ़ावा देकर नई वैक्सीनों की खोज की तथा वर्तमान तक हम चेचक, प्लेग, पोलियो आदि महामारियों से मुक्ति प्राप्त कर चुके हैं। वहीं 2020 में कोविड-19 के भीषण प्रकोप के समय हमने इतिहास से प्रेरणा लेते हुए तत्काल वैक्सीन अनुसंधान पर ध्यान केन्द्रित किया तथा एक वर्ष से कम समय में ही भारत ने कोवैक्सीन को इजाद किया, जिसके व्यापक अभियानों के परिणामस्वरूप हम आज कोरोना से भी मुक्त हो चुके हैं।

सन्दर्भ

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ब्रिटिशकालीन मारवाड़ में रेलवे का विकास (1882-1947 ई.)

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ब्रिटिश शासन द्वारा भारत में रेलवे के विकास के पीछे प्रमुख उद्देश्य व्यापार एवं संचार के साधनों को सुगम बनाना था। 1857 के स्वतन्त्रता संग्राम के पश्चात् एक तरफ तो ब्रिटिश सरकार ने यातायात के साधनों के विकास का सैनिक महत्व समझकर भारत के वक्षस्थल पर रेलों का जाल बिकाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया था, वहीं दूसरी तरफ भारत के दूर दराज के क्षेत्रों में फैला राजस्थानी व्यवसायी तो इसे वरदान समझने लगे। महिनों की यात्रा कुछ ही दिनों में हो जाने के कारण राजपूताना के नरेशों ने इसका लाभ अपनी प्रजा को देकर दुनिया की इस प्रगति की दौड़ में सम्मिलित करने का निश्चय किया जिसके फलस्वरूप राजस्थान में रेलों का आगमन हुआ।¹

1853 ई. में भारत में पहली रेल सेवा प्रारम्भ होने के बाद राजस्थान में भी रेल परिवहन सेवा स्थापित करने के प्रयास किये गये। उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में अंग्रेजों के साथ मेल-जोल तथा राजस्थानी नरेशों की विदेश यात्राओं से इनमें राजनीतिक, सामाजिक जागृति आई। ये नरेश भी पश्चिम की तरह अपने राज्यों को सम्पन्न बनाना चाहते थे। जिनमें एक प्रक्रिया तीव्र परिवहन व्यवस्था स्थापित करना था। राजस्थान के नरेशों ने अपनी रियासतों में रेल विकास की प्रक्रिया को ब्रिटिश सरकार तथा निजी कम्पनियों के सहयोग से और कुछ ने अपने स्तर पर आरम्भ किया। राजस्थान में रेल मार्गों का निर्माण प्रारम्भ करने का कार्य बॉम्बे बड़ौदा एण्ड सेन्ट्रल इण्डिया रेलवे कम्पनी और ग्रेट इण्डियन पेनिनसुला रेलवे कम्पनी ने किया। इनके अलावा नरेशों ने भी अपनी रियासतों में रेल विकास का कार्य किया। स्थानीय शासकों ने धौलपुर स्टेट रेलवे, बीकानेर स्टेट रेलवे, जोधपुर स्टेट रेलवे इत्यादि रेलवे कम्पनियों का गठन कर इस प्रक्रिया में योगदान दिया।²

रेल मार्ग निर्माण के संबंध में पूर्व में एक समिति ने निम्न कारण दिये थे-

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1. आंतरिक बाह्य व्यापार का विकास। 2. रेल मार्गों की पहुँच वाले भूभाग में अधिक लाभप्रद फसलों की वृद्धि। 3. कोयला क्षेत्रों को जोड़ना। 4. लोगों की आर्थिक हालत में सुधार करना। एवं 5. अकाल की रोकथाम। 1899 ई. में अकाल के दौरान राजपूताना रेलवे के दोहरीकरण का कार्य अकाल राहत कार्यों के अंतर्गत किया गया। बारां, अजमेर, मारवाड़ रेलवे का कार्य भी अकाल राहत कार्यों के अंतर्गत किया गया।³ अकाल में राहत देने के लिये रियासतों ने अपने स्तर पर भी रेल निर्माण के कार्य आरंभ किये। जोधपुर रेलवे ने अकाल राहत अभियान अधिकारी के कहने पर 4 फरवरी, 1940 ई. को राहत कार्य प्रारम्भ किये। जुलाई के अंत तक अकाल राहत कार्य 12 केन्द्रों पर चल रहे थे। योजना कार्य करने वाले श्रमिकों की संख्या इन राहत केन्द्रों पर 63 हजार 398 थीं।⁴ 1905-06 के अकाल के समय जोधपुर रेलवे ने अनाज और चारा कम कीमतों पर मँगाने का विशेष प्रबंध किया। माल परिवहन का शुल्क भी कम किया गया।⁵ हालांकि राजपूताना में रेलवे के विकास का प्रमुख कारण व्यापारिक (नमक व अफीम के व्यापार पर नियंत्रण) के साथ-साथ सामरिक (राजपूत रियासतों पर नियंत्रण रखना) भी था।

1866 में मारवाड़ महाराजा तख्तसिंह से 19 जुलाई 1866 को ब्रिटिश सरकार ने करार किया कि मारवाड़ राज्य में होकर निकलने वाली रेलवे के लिए बिना किसी मुआवजा के भूमि देने और उधर से जाने वाले माल पर चुंगी नहीं लेंगे।⁶

1875 में राजस्थान में राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे के नाम से प्रथम रेल 24 किलोमीटर लम्बी सांभर झील से नमक झील को पार करती हुई कुचामन रोड़ तक दौड़ी।⁷ राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे पूर्व में बर स्टेशन से मारवाड़ में प्रविष्ट हुई और 184 कि.मी. दक्षिण पूर्व में नाणा तक मारवाड़ क्षेत्र में से गुजरती थी।⁸

मारवाड़ महाराणा तख्तसिंह के उत्तराधिकारी जसवन्तसिंह ने सन् 1878 में अजमेर से आबू तक जाने वाली राजपूताना मालवा रेलवे की लाईन के लिए मारवाड़ की सीमाओं की आवश्यक भूमि अपने पिता के इकरार के अनुसार सौंप दी।⁹

सन् 1881 में जिस समय अजमेर से अहमदाबाद तक की रेलवे लाईन बनाने की योजना चल रही थी, उस समय जोधपुर महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह ने उसे पाली होकर निकालने का सुझाव ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेन्ट को भेजा। साथ ही यह भी सुझाव भेजा कि यदि ऐसा सम्भव न हो सके तो उसकी एक शाखा द्वारा पाली को अजमेर अहमदाबाद मुख्य लाईन से अवश्य जोड़ दिया जाये क्योंकि पाली नगर अच्छा व्यापारिक केन्द्र है। उनका यह सुझाव ब्रिटिश सरकार के रेलवे अफसरों ने इस आधार पर अस्वीकार कर दिया कि इससे रेल मार्ग 11 किलोमीटर लम्बा हो जायेगा और अधिक खर्चीला हो जाएगा। वह रेलवे लाईन पाली से 7 कोस दूर स्थित खारची ग्राम होकर निकाली। इस प्रस्ताव के

अस्वीकार होने पर इसी वर्ष 1881 के नवंबर माह में महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह ने अपने राज्य की जोधपुर से पाली होती हुई खारची तक निजी रेलवे लाईन बनाने का प्रस्ताव रखा और इस सम्बन्ध में रेजीडेन्ट से सलाह लेकर राजपूताने के गवर्नर जनरल के एजेंट (ए.जी. जी.) को इसकी सूचना भेजी महाराजा के इस प्रस्ताव को उचित समझते हुए ब्रिटिश सरकार ने राजपूताना के पब्लिक वर्कर्स के सेक्रेटरी रॉयल इन्जीनियर कर्नल स्टॉल के माध्यम से दो अंग्रेज अफसरों को इस लाईन के सर्वेक्षण के लिए नियुक्त किया। सर्वे पूरा होने पर पाली से खारची तक की रेलवे लाईन के निर्माण में 5 लाख रु. की लागत का अनुमान किया गया। महाराजा द्वारा यह खर्च अंगीकार कर लिए जाने पर 31 मार्च 1882 तक पाली से खारची तक 19 मील लम्बी रेल लाईन बनकर तैयार हो गयी।¹⁰ जिस पर 3,77,283 रुपये खर्च हुए जो 18864 रु. प्रतिमील बैठता था। खारची स्टेशन पर स्टाफ क्वार्टर्स भी बनाये गये जिनमें अधिशासी अभियंता का बंगला भी था। पाली से खारची लाइन पर लोहे की पट्टी का उपयोग किया गया जिसका वजन 36 पौण्ड प्रतिगज था जिन्हें राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे से आधे मूल्य में खरीदा गया था।¹¹

मि. जुसलेन जोधपुर रेलवे के एक भाग का निर्माण हो जाने के बाद अप्रैल 1882 में छुट्टी लेकर इंग्लैण्ड लौट गया। मि. वाल्टर होम को जोधपुर रेलवे का प्रथम प्रबन्धक नियुक्त किया गया। उन्होंने 20 अप्रैल 1882 को अपना पदभार सम्भाला। मारवाड़ जंक्शन पाली रेलवे शाखा का निर्माण हो जाने पर भारत सरकार के रेलवे परामर्श अभियन्ता द्वारा इसका निरीक्षण किया गया और 24 जून, 1882 को सार्वजनिक विभाग निर्माण में ए. जी. जी. के सचिव की उपस्थिति में यह रेलमार्ग यातायात के लिए खोल दिया गया। उद्घाटन समारोह हेतु हाथी दांत के हथके का एक चाँदी का हथोड़ा और एक चाँदी की कसी (कोल) बनायी गयी परन्तु समारोह में इसका उपयोग नहीं किया गया।

इस रेल की गति सीमा 12 मील प्रति घंटा निश्चित की गयी थी जिसके कारण एक कहावत चल पड़ी कि मारवाड़ की रेल से कम गति वाला कोई भी वाहन दुनिया भर में नहीं मिलेगा।¹² 9 जुलाई 1882 को आर. एम. आर. के साथ एक अनुबन्ध दिया गया जिसके अनुसार यात्रियों माल और डिब्बों की अदला बदली प्रारम्भ हुई।¹³ रेल व्यवस्था को लोकप्रिय बनाने के लिए ऐसे आदेश जारी किये गये कि यात्रियों को मारवाड़ और पाली के बीच कहीं से भी बिठाया जा सकता था और पिछले स्टेशन से किराया वसूल किया जाता था। इस व्यवस्था से रियासत के राजस्व में वृद्धि हुई और पहला वित्त वर्ष 1882-83 जोधपुर रेलवे के लिए लाभ का वर्ष रहा।¹⁴

1883 में महाराजा के आदेशानुसार मि. होम ने भारत सरकार को पत्र लिखकर पाली से लूनी रेलवे मार्ग की स्वीकृति चाही जो तुरन्त मिल गयी और इसके साथ ही मारवाड़ में रेल मार्ग निर्माण का दूसरा चरण प्रारम्भ हुआ। मार्ग की नाप होने पर इस लाइन

पर 3,55,482 रु. खर्च होने का अनुमान लगाया गया। इसे स्वीकार कर लिए जाने पर यह लाइन भी गई 1884 ई. तक बनकर तैयार हो गई। पाली से लूनी 25 मील लम्बे रेल मार्ग को यातायात के लिए जून 1884 में खोल दिया गया। पाली से लूनी तक 21 मील की दूरी थी परन्तु डब्लू ओ होम का प्रस्ताव अतिरिक्त 4 कि. मी. जोड़कर एक ऐसा छोर छोड़ देने का था जिससे बाद में इस मार्ग को पचपदरा की नमक झील तक बढ़ाया जा सके उन दिनों ब्रिटिश सरकार नमक उत्पादन का केन्द्रीयकरण करने का सोच रही थी इसलिए इस प्रस्ताव को दरबार के निकटस्थ परामर्शदाताओं का समर्थन नहीं मिल सका।

एक बार पचपदरा का प्रस्ताव स्थगित हो जाने पर दरबार के निकटस्थ सूत्रों की रूचि रेल मार्ग मारवाड़ की राजधानी जोधपुर शहर तक लाने की हुई। लूनी से जोधपुर तक 20 मील रेलवे मार्ग का निर्माण प्रारम्भ हुआ जो 31 जनवरी 1885 तक 2,82,750 रु. की लागत से सम्पन्न हुआ। 9 मार्च 1885 को प्रथम ट्रेन ने जोधपुर शहर में प्रवेश किया। इसी वर्ष टेलीग्राफीक लाइन क्लीवर सिस्टम की व्यवस्था भी की गयी थी। गाड़ी की रफ्तार पर से 12 मील प्रतिघंटा की गति की पाबन्दी भी हटा ली गयी।¹⁵

सन् 1886 में रेलवे वर्कशॉप और भण्डार का जोधपुर में निर्माण किया गया। मारवाड़ की 1887-88 की प्रशासनिक रिपोर्ट के अनुसार वर्कशॉप की स्थापना पर 4774 रु. खर्च हुए इसमें रेलवे चल सम्पत्ति की मरम्मत रेलवे स्टेशनों की मरम्मत रेलवे स्टेशनों पर लगाये जाने वाले लोहे के छप्पर सिगनल्स राजमहल के वाहनों की मरम्मत दरबार व उच्च अधिकारियों के भवनों के लिए इमारती लकड़ी का काम और इस तरह के कई छोटे बड़े कार्य किये जाने लगे।

इसी वर्ष मैनेजर मि. होम ने अपना कार्यकाल और निवास मारवाड़ जंक्शन से जोधपुर में परिवर्तित किया, जोधपुर स्टेशन पर महाराजा के निजी रेल डिब्बों को रखने के लिए गैरेज शेड बनाया गया। साथ ही साथ रेलवे स्टेशन पर पोस्ट ऑफिस का निर्माण भी हुआ।

सन् 1886 में वायसराय की जोधपुर यात्रा आयोजित हुई जिसके दौरान वायसराय ने स्वयं जोधपुर सरकार के प्रशासन में संचालित रेल व्यवस्था का निरीक्षण किया।¹⁶

सन् 1885 में साम्भर झील से नमक की आपूर्ति कम होने के कारण पचपदरा से इसकी मांग की गयी इसलिए लूनी से पचपदरा 60 मील लम्बी रेलवे लाइन का निर्माण कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ। फरवरी 1887 तक इस लाइन के बन जाने पर 22 मार्च 1887 को इसे आवागमन के लिए खोल दिया गया।¹⁷

जोधपुर बीकानेर रेलवे : सन् 1887 में सिन्ध की जनता ने हैदराबाद को पचपदरा से जोड़ने की मांग की तथा वहाँ से बम्बई को मिला दिया जाय। इसी समय यह प्रस्ताव

भी रखा गया कि जोधपुर को अन्य महत्वपूर्ण कस्बों से जोड़ा जाये जैसे नागौर, मकराना आदि अन्त में बीकानेर को भी जोड़ने का विचार किया गया।¹⁸ उपर्युक्त दोनों प्रस्तावों के मूल्यांकन में यह पाया गया कि प्रथम प्रस्ताव में तो रेगिस्तानी इलाकों में कई मील लम्बा रेल मार्ग बनाने का अलाभकारी कार्य था जबकि दूसरे प्रस्ताव में मारवाड़ के कुछ बहुत ही उपजाऊ और धनी इलाकों में रेल निर्माण का प्रस्ताव था।¹⁹

अतः प्रस्तावों के मूल्यांकन और उनकी उपादेयता के आधार पर दूसरे प्रस्ताव को अपनाकर बीकानेर दरबार के साथ जोधपुर, बीकानेर संयुक्त रेल मार्ग के निर्माण का 1889 में समझौता हुआ। रेल समझौता होने के बाद जोधपुर बीकानेर रेलवे का निर्माण प्रारम्भ हुआ। प्रत्येक दरबार ने अपनी सीमा में रेलवे लाइन को बिछाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। प्रत्येक को मरम्मत तथा कार्य संचालन के लिए धन देना था। 8 अप्रैल 1891 को यह लाइन मेड़ता तक यातायात हेतु खोली गयी जो 64 मील लम्बी थी उसे नागौर तक 16 अक्तूबर 1891 को कार्यशील बनाया गया यह 35 मील लम्बी थी। नागौर से बीकानेर तक 72 मील लम्बी लाइन को 9 दिसम्बर 1891 को प्रारम्भ किया गया।²⁰ इस प्रकार जनवरी से दिसम्बर 1891 के दौरान कुल 171 मील रेलवे मार्ग का निर्माण कर उसे यातायात के लिए खोल दिया गया जो निर्माण कार्य की दुर्तगति का परिचायक हैं।

मेड़ता तक रेल मार्ग खोल दिये जाने से ही मारवाड़ रियासत में साम्भर लेक तक पश्चिमी की ओर से रेल मार्ग को बढ़ाने के बारे में विचार प्रारम्भ हुआ ताकि नमक के स्थान से राजस्व प्राप्त हो सके। इस उद्देश्य से जयपुर दरबार और जोधपुर दरबार के बीच समझौता हुआ क्योंकि सांभर जोधपुर और जयपुर दरबार की संयुक्त सम्पत्ति थी, दक्षिण पश्चिमी खंड का जोधपुर रियासत के तत्वाधान में व उत्तर-पूर्व का जयपुर दरबार के नियन्त्रण में निर्माण कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ। 1875 में जयपुर के भू-क्षेत्र पर राजपूताना - मालवा रेलवे की एक उपशाखा खोली गयी थी जिसका 1876 में जापोग और 1879 में झावरा तक विस्तार किया गया। राजपूताना मालवा रेलवे की उपशाखा की कुल लम्बा 33.4 मील हो गयी थी और इसके माध्यम से सांभर लेक से बनने वाला नमक ढोया जाता था।²¹

दक्षिण-पश्चिम दिशा में संचार साधनों की कमी के कारण कुचामन और पड़ौसी क्षेत्र में नमक का उत्पादन सीमित था। जोधपुर के महाराजा ने अब मेड़ता शाखा को सांभर तक बढ़ाने का निश्चय किया ताकि झील के इस ओर भी नमक का लाधान हो सके। 73 मील लम्बा मेड़ता रोड़ कुचामन रोड़ खण्ड 13 मार्च 1893 को यातायात के लिए खोला गया, इससे कुछ ही समय पश्चात कुचामन रोड़ सांभर को जोड़ने वाला मार्ग बन गया था और जोधपुर बीकानेर रेलवे के लिए दो जंक्शन पोंट (बिन्दु) राजपूताना मालवा रेलवे के साथ मारवाड़ जंक्शन और फुलेरा बन गए थे।

1 जून 1895 को बम्बई-बड़ौदा और सेन्ट्रल इण्डिया, जिसमें राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे सम्मिलित थी और जोधपुर-बीकानेर रेलवे के बीच एक समझौता हुआ जिसके अनुसार यात्री डिब्बे मालगाड़ियों के डिब्बे आदि का कुचामन रोड पर आदान-प्रदान किया जायेगा।²²

सन् 1892 में भारत सरकार ने दिल्ली और कोटरी के बीच रेल निर्माण करने वाले किसी भी राज्य को रियायतें देने की घोषणा की इस घोषणा का उद्देश्य कराची को उत्तर भारत के शहरों से सीधे सम्पर्क में लाना था, कराची को जोड़ने वाला अधिकांश भाग रेगिस्तानी इलाके से होकर गुजरने के कारण किसी ने उस प्रस्ताव में रुचि नहीं ली। इस स्थिति का लाभ उठाकर जोधपुर दरबार ने पचपदरा से सदी-पल्ली तक जो कि सिन्ध में है और दूसरी मकराना से रेवाड़ी जंक्शन जो कि राजपूताना मालवा रेलवे पर है तक रेल लाइन अपने खर्च पर निर्मित करने का प्रस्ताव रखा। इस प्रकार भारत सरकार द्वारा प्रस्तावित मार्ग के लिए दो विकल्प प्रस्तुत हो सके।

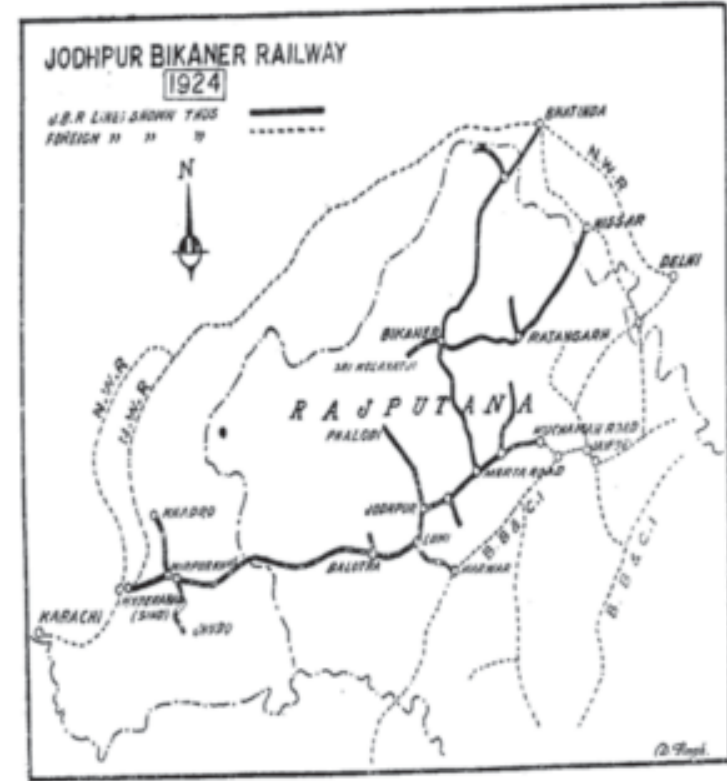
भारत सरकार ने दरबार की इस योजना को दो भागों में विभाजित किया क्योंकि बम्बई बड़ौदा और मध्य भारत रेलवे की पहले से ही योजना रेवाड़ी-फुलेरा लाइन को जोड़ने की थी जिससे राजपूताना मालवा रेलवे की लाने ले जाने की क्षमता में वृद्धि हो प्रस्तावित मकराना से रेवाड़ी तक रेलवे लाइन इस योजना का दूसरा पहलू था तथा बी. बी. एण्ड सी.आई. रेलवे की समानान्तर अथवा मुकाबले की योजना थी अतः बी. बी. एण्ड सी.आई. रेलवे इसका घोर विरोध करता इसलिए भारत सरकार ने पहले प्रस्ताव को ही मन्जूरी दी और उसमें भी पचपदरा के बजाय बालोतरा से सदी पली तक रेल निर्माण का परिवर्तन भी किया।

इस मन्जूरी के तुरन्त पश्चात् निर्माण कार्य प्रारम्भ कर 22 दिसम्बर, 1900 को यह रेल मार्ग यातायात के लिए खोल दिया गया। उसी समय सदी-पल्ली से हैदराबाद की बड़ी लाइन को, जो 1892 में 55 मील बनकर तैयार हुई थी, मीटर गेज में परिवर्तित किया जिसके कारण जोधपुर मीटर गेज द्वारा सीधा हैदराबाद से जुड़ गया।²³ इस लाइन का प्रबंध जोधपुर राज्य को दिया गया। उपरोक्त लाइन जो कि हमेशा नुकसान में चलती थी, अब फायदे में चलने लगी।

मेड़ता रोड से मेड़ता सिटी तक एक छोटी गावा 8.95 मील 1905 में बनी। डेगाना से बीकानेर सीमा तक 61.11 मील का रेल मार्ग सितम्बर 1909 में बनकर तैयार हुआ। 79.19 मील लम्बी फलौदी शाखा म 1914 में पूरी हुई। लाडनू शाखा 4.56 मील 1915 में निर्मित हुई परन्तु सुजानगढ से मुख्य लाइन को 1932 में जोड़ा गया और तभी 3.11 मील के निर्माण कार्य के साथ लाडनू को मुख्य लाइन के साथ जोड़ा जा सका। एक शाखा जोधपुर से फिदुसर की पत्थर की खानों तक 9.39 मीला मार्च 1924 में पूरी

हुई।²⁴

1 नवम्बर 1924 को जोधपुर बीकानेर रेलवे अलग अलग हो गये। अधिकांश पूर्वी जिले जिनका मुख्यालय बीकानेर में था बीकानेर स्टेट रेलवे के अधीन बीकानेर दरबार की सीमा में रहे, दो मध्यवर्ती जिले जिनका मुख्यालय जोधपुर में था जोधपुर रेलवे के अन्तर्गत रहे।²⁵



जोधपुर-बीकानेर रेलवे (1924)

1 अगस्त 1928 को परबतसर में जानवरों के मेले के कारण मकराना से 13.21 मील लम्बी लाइन द्वारा परबतसर को जोड़ा गया। इसी वर्ष 25.72 मील पीपाड़-बिलाड़ा नैरोगेज रेलवे को मीटर गेज में परिवर्तित किया गया।²⁶

1932 में जोधपुर रेलवे ने 50 वर्ष पूरे किये जिसके कारण उसकी स्वर्ण जयन्ति मनायी गयी। 6 रेल कर्मचारियों को सनद, 159 कर्मचारियों को स्मृति चिह्न प्रदान किये गये। इन कर्मचारियों ने पूरे 25 वर्ष उत्कृष्ट सेवाएँ जोधपुर रेलवे को प्रदान की थी ये पुरस्कार स्वयं महाराजा द्वारा प्रदान किये गये वेतन वृद्धि, अतिरिक्त अवकाश और अतिरिक्त रेलवे पास भी इस वर्ष जारी किये गये।²⁷

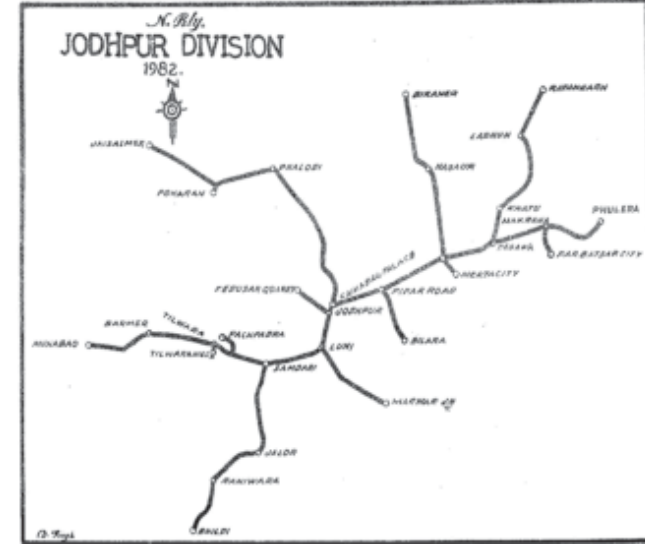
1930 में मेवाड़ के महाराणा ने मेवाड़ स्टेट रेलवे के अन्तर्गत 18 मील लम्बी मावली जंक्शन कांकरोली लाइन का निर्माण करवाया। 1932 में इसी रेल मार्ग को खामली घाट तक बढ़ाया गया। 47 मील कांकरोली से 4 फरवरी 1936 को मारवाड़ जंक्शन से खामली घाट को जोड़ने के लिए 16 मील लम्बा रेल मार्ग जोधपुर रियासत की सीमा में और 13 मील मेवाड़ सीमा में बनाया गया। यह मार्ग पहाड़ी रास्तों में से था और जोधपुर रेलवे की अन्य रेलवे लाइन से बिल्कुल भिन्न था। फुलाद स्टेशन पर रेलवे इन्जन को पीछे घुमाने की सुविधा अनिवार्य हो गयी और फुलाद दोनों रेलवे के बीच जंक्शन बन गया।²⁸

बालोतरा और पचपदरा को जोड़ने वाला एक छोटा टुकड़ा जो केवल 6.75 मील था, 26 सितम्बर 1939 को यातायात के लिए खोला गया। पचपदरा- पचपदरा सॉल्ट 7.76 मील सभी प्रकार के यातायात के लिए 11 अप्रैल 1940 को कार्य प्रारम्भ कर सका और तब इन स्थानों को जोड़ने वाली बालोतरा पचपदरा सॉल्ट 10 मील की लाइन को उखाड़ दिया गया क्योंकि नयी लाइन से यह दूरी 2.22 मील कम हो चुकी थी। इधर फलोदी पोकरण विस्तार जो 35.48 मील था 27 जुला 1940 को यातायात के लिए खुला। इस समय तक जोधपुर राज्य में रेलवे की कुल लम्बा 806.95 मील हो चुकी थी।

इसके अतिरिक्त जोधपुर सरकार ने निम्नलिखित संभागों में सिन्ध इलाके में भारत सरकार के साथ एक समझौते के अन्तर्गत निर्माण कार्य प्रशासित कर रहा था।

1. जोधपुर हैदराबाद सिन्ध रेलवे। ब्रिटिश सीमा में 238.52 मील।
2. मीरपुर खास - खादरो रेलवे 49. 50 मील। यह लाइन सिन्ध लाइट रेलवे कम्पनी से 31 दिसम्बर 1942 को 11,92,948 रू. में खरीदी गयी थी।
3. खादरो मोहता नगर सम्भाग 105.6 मील 10 मार्च 1939 को खुला।
4. खादरो नवाबशाह लाइन का एक भाग जो 20.66 मील लम्बा था 20 नवम्बर 1939 को खुला।

इस प्रकार जोधपुर सरकार के प्रबन्ध के अन्तर्गत प्रशासित रेल मार्ग की कुल लम्बा 1125.69 मील हो गयी।²⁹



जोधपुर डिविजन नोर्थ रेलवे (1982)

रियासतों के विरोध के चलते राजस्थान में रेल विकास का कार्य देरी से तथा धीमी गति से प्रारम्भ हुआ। जोधपुर महाराजा रेलवे का प्रशासन एवं नियंत्रण अपने पास रखने के इच्छुक में थे। परन्तु ब्रिटिश सरकार चाहती थी, इस क्षेत्र को राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे कम्पनी को ठेके पर दे दे।³⁰ महाराजा ने इसे स्वीकार नहीं किया। अंत में ब्रिटिश सरकार ने रेलवे विकास की आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखकर रेल निर्माण की सभर्त अनुमति महाराजा जोधपुर को प्रदान कर दी। जोधपुर रियासत में रेल लाइन के निर्माण का कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ और खारची से पाली तक पाली से लूनी तक तथा लूनी से पचपद्रा तक रेल मार्गों का निर्माण कर इसे यातायात के लिए खोल दिया गया।

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मारवाड़ का अल्प ख्यात स्वतंत्रता सेनानी : कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री

डॉ. दिनेश राठी*

भौगोलिक दृष्टि से राजस्थान भारत के पश्चिम में स्थित एक शुष्क क्षेत्र है। किन्तु इसी राजस्थान की पावन धरा पर अनेक वीर, दानी, संत और स्वतंत्रता सेनानी हुए हैं जिन्होंने अपनी वीरता, धैर्य, भक्ति व कार्यों के द्वारा समाज में उच्च स्थान प्राप्त किया है। मीरा की भक्ति सम्पूर्ण भारत में विख्यात है। इसी तरह राणा कुम्भा, राणा सांगा जैसे वीरों की वीरता, पन्ना का त्याग, भामाशाह का दान जग प्रसिद्ध है। अंग्रेजी शासन के दौरान अनेक स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों ने अंग्रेजों की नीतियों के विरुद्ध लोगों में जन जागृति पैदा करने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। इनमें विजयसिंह पथिक, केशरीसिंह बारहठ व प्रतापसिंह बारहठ आदि प्रमुख हैं। इन स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों ने सम्पूर्ण राजस्थान (राजपूताना) में जन जागृति लाने में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। साथ ही इन स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों ने समाज सुधार के भी प्रयास किए। राजस्थान विभिन्न रियासतों व अंग्रेज शासित क्षेत्रों में विभक्त था। बड़ी रियासतों में मेवाड़, मारवाड़ मुख्य थी।

राजस्थान की सबसे महत्वपूर्ण रियासत मारवाड़ थी। 1857 की क्रांति के समय भी मारवाड़ ने महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई थी। मारवाड़ में भी अनेक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी हुए जिन्होंने देश के लिए अपने प्राणों का त्याग करने से पीछे नहीं हटे। मारवाड़ के इन स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों में जय नारायण व्यास, बाल मुकुन्द बिस्सा का नाम सर्वप्रमुख है। ऐसे अन्य कई स्वतंत्रता सेनानी थे जिनका नाम इतिहास में बहुत कम उल्लेखित हुआ है अर्थात् अल्प ख्यात सेनानी। इस शोध में ऐसे ही एक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी का वर्णन किया गया है। जिसने अपने सम्पूर्ण जीवन को राष्ट्र के लिए समर्पित कर दिया।

जननी जने तो ऐसा जने के दाता के सूर।

नी तो रिजे बांझणी, मत ना गवा जे नूर।।

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जैसे वाक्य को यथार्थ करने वाला ऐसा ही एक अल्प ख्यात स्वतंत्रता सेनानी कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि थे। जिन्होंने अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक जागृति में बिताया। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने दलितों व महिलाओं के उत्थान के लिए प्रयास किए। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने कांग्रेस व गांधी के आन्दोलनों में सक्रिय भाग लिया। साथ ही कांग्रेस के अधिवेशनों में शामिल हुए। गांधी व नेहरू जैसे राष्ट्रीय नेताओं के सम्पर्क में आए। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने मारवाड़ में जन जागृति पैदा करने में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की।

मारवाड़ में अनेक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी हुए जिन्होंने अपने विचारों व कार्यों से लोगों को जाग्रत करने का प्रयास किया। इन्हीं में एक कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि प्रमुख स्वतंत्रता सेनानी थे। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि का जन्म जुलाई 1895 ईसवी में जोधपुर के फलौदी के निकट खींचन गांव में हुआ था। वे खींचन गांव के माहेश्वरी समाज के सेठ सूरजमल व माता चुन्नीबाई के घर में जन्मे थे। घर का माहौल पूर्णतया घार्मिक था यही कारण है कि घर के माहौल का प्रभाव कन्हैयाजी पर भी पड़ा।¹ कलयंत्रि जी ने 1914 ईसवी में कलयंत्रि ने श्वेत खादी (स्वदेशी वस्त्र) पहनने लगे। कालान्तर में पाली में होने वाले 1916 ईसवी के अखिल भारतीय माहेश्वरी महासभा में भी उपस्थित हुए।²

दलितों में जनजागृति

1923 ईसवी में कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि बीकानेर गए। इस समय यहां के दलित समुदाय की स्थिति बहुत खराब थी। शराब व अफीम से उनका पतन हो रहा था। ऐसे में कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने दलित वर्ग के बहुत से लोगों को नषे से मुक्त करवाया।³ स्वयं द्वारा संचालित एवं सम्पादित पत्रों राजस्थान केसरी, तरुण माहेश्वरी, माहेश्वरी जगत एवं माहेश्वरी साप्ताहिक के द्वारा जन-जन में चेतना जगाई। समाज में अस्पृश्य समझें जाने वाले दलितों के सम्पर्क में रहने एवं उनके हित के लिए कार्य करने की वजह से कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि को समाज से बहिष्कृत भी किया गया।⁴

वर्ष 1923-24 का समय कन्हैयालाल के लिए बहुत ही कठिनाइयों से भरा था। जब मेवाड़, सिरोही, बूंदी व दांता जैसे क्षेत्रों के गरीब भीलों पर गोलियां चली तब बिना प्राणों की चिंता किए कन्हैयालाल ने सामन्तशाही अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध व्यापक आन्दोलन का प्रचार कर पीड़ित भीलों की मांगों को मनवाया। इसी तरह अलवर के नीमूचणा काण्ड के समय 1926 ई. को एक जांच कमीशन नियुक्त किया। इस जांच कमीशन में कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि को भी रखा गया।⁵ साथ ही जब अलवर का शासक जयसिंह इंग्लैण्ड जाने के लिए जब बम्बई पहुंचे तो कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने काले झण्डे दिखाकर विरोध किया।⁶

जनजागृति के प्रयास

इस समय समाज में विभिन्न प्रकार की कुप्रथाओं के कारण महिलाओं की स्थिति अच्छी नहीं थी। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने सामाजिक कुरीतियों का विरोध कर स्त्री शिक्षा पर बल दिया।⁷ साथ ही माहेश्वरी समाज में 'महिला परिषद्' की स्थापना का श्रेय कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि को ही जाता है। इस परिषद् की प्रमुख कन्हैयालाल की पत्नी सत्यवती कलयंत्रि थी।⁸

राजस्थान केसरी का सम्पादन 1919 में विजयसिंह पथिक द्वारा सम्पादित किया गया। 1920 ईसवी में इस पत्र के ओ. जी. एम. बने। कालान्तर में 1921-25 ईसवी के मध्य में विजयसिंह पथिक द्वारा स्थापित 'राजस्थान सेवा संघ' के सदस्यों में से एक कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि भी थे। सदस्य के साथ ही वे इस संघ के खर्च का वहन भी उठाते थे।⁹ 'राजस्थान केसरी' पत्र के माध्यम से कन्हैयालाल ने जन जागृति पैदा की।

जन आन्दोलनों में कन्हैयालाल की भूमिका

महात्मा गांधी ने 1920 ईसवी में असहयोग आन्दोलन की शुरुआत की। इसी आन्दोलन के दौरान कन्हैयालाल महात्मा गांधी से मिले। गांधी जी ने कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि को अपने जन-जागृति के कार्य को सुचारू रूप से चालू रखने के लिए कहा। यहीं से कलयंत्रि गांधीजी के असहयोगी आन्दोलन के असहयोगी-कार्यकर्ता बन गए। उन्होंने अंग्रेजी सरकार का असहयोग किया। यही कारण है कि मध्यप्रान्त व बम्बई की पुलिस कलयंत्रि को खोज रही थी।¹⁰

1923 ईसवी में कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने राजद्रोही और उत्तेजक पैम्पलेट एवं पुस्तिकाएं लाकर वितरित करवाईं। जिसके कारण इन पर मुकदमा चलाया गया गया। वे वहां से भागकर फरार हो गए। इस दौरान वे बम्बई व मध्यप्रान्त में रहने लगे।¹¹

राजनीतिक संस्थाएं एवं कन्हैयालाल

'इण्डियन स्टेट्स रिपब्लिकन लीग' की स्थापना 1931 ईसवी में हुई जिसके उपसभापति कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि नियुक्त किए गए। इस संस्था के द्वारा उन्होंने अनेक प्रकार के जन चेतना के प्रयास किये। इस संस्था से जुड़े रहने का ही प्रतिफल था कि उन्हें बीकानेर, अलवर, बूंदी, हैदराबाद व मेवाड़ जैसी रियासतों में प्रवेश निषेध कर दिया।¹² मारवाड़ राज्य प्रजा परिषद् का प्रथम अधिवेशन 1931 ईसवी को पुष्कर में हुआ जिसमें एक सक्रिय सदस्य के रूप में कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि ने भाग लिया।¹³

'अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य लोक परिषद्' की स्थापना सन् 1927 ईसवी में हुई। लोक परिषद् का उद्देश्य देशी राजाओं के अधीन उत्तरदायी शासन की स्थापना व नागरिकों को मूल अधिकार दिलाना था। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्रि इस परिषद् के सदस्य

थे। बम्बई में हुए परिषद् के मई 1929 ईसवी के सम्मेलन में मारवाड़ राज्य के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में कन्हैयालाल ने भाग लिया।¹⁴

इस परिषद् के चतुर्थ अधिवेशन 24 जुलाई 1039 ईसवी (बम्बई) में भी भाग लिया। इसमें कलयंत्री व जयनारायण व्यास दोनों जनरल सेक्रेटरी थे। इस परिषद् के पांचवें अधिवेशन में शामिल होने के लिए कन्हैयालाल व जय नारायण दोनों कराची गए। यहीं पर जोधपुर के प्रतिनिधियों ने पण्डित जवाहर लाल नेहरू से मिलकर विभिन्न विषयों पर चर्चा की।¹⁵ कालान्तर में अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य लोक परिषद् की कार्यकारी परिषद् के फरवरी 1939 ईसवी के लुधियाना अधिवेशन में जोधपुर का प्रतिनिधित्व किया।

‘अखिल भारतीय लोक परिषद्’ की कार्यकारी परिषद् के 1931 से 1931 ईसवी तक सदस्य रहे। इस समय ‘अखिल भारतीय लोक परिषद्’ के अध्यक्ष नेहरू थे।¹⁷ कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री ‘राजपूताना-मध्यभारत सभा’ के प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता थे। कालान्तर में 1936 ईसवी से 1941 ईसवी तक वे इस सभा अध्यक्ष भी रहे।¹⁸ इस सभा का 18वां अधिवेशन नवम्बर 1936 ईसवी को पुष्कर में हुआ।¹⁹ इस सभा के 24वें अधिवेशन दिसम्बर 1942 ईसवी के प्रधानमंत्री कन्हैयालाल ही थे।²⁰

कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री एक स्वतंत्रता सेनानी ही नहीं थे वे एक अच्छे लेखक भी थे। उन्होंने 1938 ईसवी में ‘जागीरों की समस्या’ एवं ‘मारवाड़ी महिला एवं पर्दा’ नामक दो पुस्तकें लिखीं।²¹ ‘जागीरों की समस्या’ नामक पुस्तक में देशी राज्यों में व्याप्त जागीरदारी व्यवस्था का उल्लेख ही नहीं किया बल्कि इस प्रथा से होने वाले कुप्रभावों का भी वर्णन किया। इस पुस्तक को निःशुल्क वितरित की। इन पुस्तकों में कलयंत्री ने समकालीन राजनीतिक-सामाजिक समस्याओं को उजागर करने का सफल प्रयास किया है। ऐसे देशभक्त एवं समाज सुधारक कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री की यात्रा जोधपुर के खींचन गांव से 1895 में शुरू होती है। समाज व जाति की बिना चिंता किए अपने स्वतंत्रता सेनानी के कर्तव्य को पूर्ण करने में लीन रहे हैं। ऐसे राष्ट्र चिंतक कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री का देहावसान 26 अक्टूबर 1972 ईसवी में बम्बई में हो गया।²²

विभिन्न प्रकार सम्मान व उपाधियां

बिना किसी स्वार्थ के कलयंत्री जी जनजागृति व समाज सुधार करते रहे। यही कारण है कि कालान्तर में 1949 में सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल द्वारा राजस्थान मंत्रिमण्डल में शामिल होने के प्रस्ताव को भी सहर्ष मना कर दिया। इस प्रकार जन चेतना व सेवा के कारण विभिन्न समान व उपाधियां प्राप्त हुईं। शेखावाटी के चिड़ावा की सेवाओं के लिए कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री को 1922 में ‘राजस्थान वीर’ की उपाधि मिली। वहीं बम्बई के प्रथम हिन्दू-मुस्लिम दंगों के दौरान शांति व्यवस्था स्थापित करवाने के कारण 1929

ईसवी में ‘वीर सेनानी’ की उपाधि मिली। इसी तरह ‘राजपूताना-मध्यभारत सभा’ के ‘रौप्य महोत्सव’ पर डॉ. एस. के. बोस ने अजमेर में ‘राजस्थान केसरी’ की उपाधि से विभूषित किया। पं. हरिभाऊ उपाध्याय द्वारा चांदी का कासकेट कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री को भेंट में दिया।²³

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से निष्कर्ष है कि इतिहास में कई स्वतंत्रता सेनानी एवं समाज सुधारक हुए किन्तु उनका कोई विशेष उल्लेख नहीं मिलता है। कन्हैयालाल कलयंत्री भी ऐसे ही एक अल्प ख्यात स्वतंत्रता सेनानी थे। जिसे इस विवेचन द्वारा प्रकाश में लाने का प्रयास किया गया।

सन्दर्भ

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चूरू के स्वाधीनता संघर्ष में पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ का योगदान

डॉ. वीरेंद्र शर्मा*

राजस्थान के अनेक स्वाधीनता सेनानियों ने ब्रिटिश शासन और तत्कालीन रियासती शासन के विरुद्ध जीवत संघर्ष कर अपना योगदान दिया जिसमें चूरू के अमर स्वतंत्रता सेनानी पं. चन्दनमल बहड़ का भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है जिन्होंने तत्कालीन निरंकुश सामन्तवाद और शासन के अत्याचारों और प्रताड़नाओं का वीरतापूर्वक मुकाबला किया और बीकानेर रियासत के पीड़ित, प्रताड़ित, दलित और शोषितों के मुक्तिदाता के रूप में जाने गए। इनका जन्म 20 मार्च 1905 को प्रसिद्ध संगीतज्ञ पंडित बंशीधर बहड़ के घर हुआ। पिता के बाल्यकाल में निधन के बाद इनके ताऊ पंडित शिवनारायण द्वारा किया गया और उनके द्वारा ही इनकी शिक्षा का प्रबंध पंडित कन्हैयालाल ढण्ड को सौंपा गया। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ ने अपने गुरु पं. कन्हैयालाल ढण्ड द्वारा ही संस्थापित समाजसेवा और जन-जागृति की प्रमुख संस्था सर्वहितकारिणी सभा, चूरू के माध्यम से सार्वजनिक जीवन में प्रवेश किया। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ को सर्वहितकारिणी सभा के माध्यम से ही अर्जुनलाल सेठी, विजयसिंह पथिक, हरिभाऊ उपाध्याय, जयनारायण व्यास, रामनारायण चौधरी और जमनालाल बजाज आदि का सानिध्य प्राप्त हुआ।

सन् 1921 में महात्मा गांधी ने जब रोलट एक्ट के विरोध में देश भर में 'उपवास' रखने की अपील की तो पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़जी ने भी गांधीजी के निर्देशानुसार उपवास रख कर सक्रिय राजनीति में पदार्पण किया। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़जी की राजनीतिक आन्दोलनों और सभा-सम्मेलनों के प्रति पूरी दिलचस्पी थी। हृदय में देश और देशभक्तों के प्रति श्रद्धा की अटूट भावना थी। बहड़जी कांग्रेस के सम्मेलनों में लगातार सम्मिलित होते रहे और राजनीतिक गतिविधियों में अपनी भागीदारी सुनिश्चित करते रहे। इसी क्रम में कलकत्ता में श्रीबहड़ को गुरुदेव रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर, देशबन्धु चितरंजनदास, जे. एम. सेनगुप्ता, बी. चक्रवर्ती, लाला लाजपत राय, पीयूष क्रान्ति घोष, 'माडनरिव्यू' पत्रिका

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के सम्पादक रामानन्द चटर्जी एवं 'विशाल भारत' के सम्पादक बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी का सान्निध्य भी प्राप्त हुआ।

सन् 1921 में सर्वहितकारिणी सभा के निजी भवन के उद्घाटन के सिलसिले में पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ चूरू आना हुआ। इस अवसर पर पंडित चन्दनमल ने भी अपने अनेक साथियों व अनुयायियों को स्वदेशी अपनाने एवं खहर धारण करने की प्रतिज्ञाएँ करवायी। श्री बहड़जी का महान् क्रान्तिकारी अर्जुनलाल सेठी और देशभक्त चांदकरण शारदा से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध यहीं से स्थापित हुआ। सन् 1924 में बहड़जी कलकत्ता से चूरू आ गये। चूरू आने के बाद बहड़जी ने युवकों के मध्य नव-चेतना के प्रसार एवं संगठन की भावना को प्रोत्साहित करने के उद्देश्य से डिबेटिंग क्लब की स्थापना की। इस क्लब के माध्यम से युवकों में अपनी भावनाओं की अभिव्यक्ति के लिये वाक्शक्ति एवं भाषणकला में निपुणता का प्रयास आरम्भ किया गया। क्लब की ओर से प्रत्येक रविवार को एक गोष्ठी आयोजित की जाती थी जिसमें पूर्व निश्चित विषयों पर वाद-विवाद, स्वरचित कविताओं और लेखों का पठन, महापुरुषों व राजनीतिक नेताओं के जीवन चरित्रों के विवरण की प्रस्तुति के साथ उनकी जयन्तियाँ मनाना आदि कार्य होते थे। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़जी चाहते थे कि क्लब के युवक राष्ट्र-निर्माण के कार्य में जुटें और इसके माध्यम से राजनीतिक गतिविधियाँ भी आरम्भ करें।

बीकानेर राज्य की स्थिति :

तत्कालीन समय में बीकानेर राज्य की जनता अन्य राज्यों की जनता की अपेक्षा बुरी तरह उपेक्षित और अत्याचारों से पीड़ित थी। विजयसिंह पथिक और अर्जुनलाल सेठी से बहड़जी की गहरी मित्रता थी। बहड़जी इन क्रान्तिवीरों से अत्यधिक प्रभावित थे तथा बीकानेर राज्य में भी बिजोलियां के समान किसान आन्दोलन चलाना चाहते थे। किन्तु यहाँ की परिस्थितियाँ मेवाड़ राज्य से बहुत कुछ भिन्न थीं। बहड़जी सामन्ती शासन और जागीरी अत्याचारों से दुःखी प्रजा के दुःख को मिटाना चाहते थे। इसके लिये उन्होंने बीकानेर रियासत के कस्बों एवं शहरों की यात्रा कर जन-मानस को टटोला और प्रस्तावित आंदोलन के लिए जनता के मन को समझने का प्रयास किया।

हितकारी दल का गठन :

श्री चन्दनमल बहड़ लोकतंत्र के प्रबल समर्थक थे। वे चाहते थे कि जनता को शासन में हिस्सेदारी प्राप्त हो। बहड़जी ने जनता के मनोबल ऊँचा उठाने और स्वायत्त शासन की भावना को कार्य रूप में परिणित करने के लिये नगरपालिका के मंच का उपयोग करना उचित समझा। बहड़जी ने 'हितकारी दल' नामक संगठन की स्थापना कर 1929 में चूरू नगरपालिका के चुनावों में भाग लिया जिसमें वे आशातीत सफलता प्राप्त

करते हुए अपने साथियों सहित नगरपालिका के सदस्य निर्वाचित हुए। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ ने नगरपालिका के सदस्यों को अधिक अधिकार दिये जाने पर जोर दिया और तत्कालीन नगरपालिका अधिकारियों की मनमानी नीतियों एवं तानाशाही के विरुद्ध संघर्ष किया। उन्होंने अपने साथियों के साथ मिलकर राज्य में अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा लागू करने के लिये आन्दोलन किया जिसके कारण बीकानेर राज्य में अनिवार्य शिक्षा अधिनियम बना। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़जी के प्रयत्नों से ही चूरू नगर में चार अनिवार्य शिक्षा शालाएँ खुलीं, जिनके प्रबन्ध का भार बहड़जी ने अपने ऊपर लेते हुये अवैतनिक अधिशासी अधिकारी का पद संभाला।

जनजागरण का शंखनाद :

नगरपालिका सदस्य बनने के बाद बहड़जी ने सामन्ती शासन एवं उसकी जन-विरोधी नीतियों को नजदीक से समझा। उनमें सामन्ती शासन के अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध साहस व निर्भीकता से लोहा लेने की भावना जागृत हुई। पंडित चन्दनमल बहड़ ने श्री सत्यनारायण सर्राफ, जो कि कानूनों के निष्पणात ज्ञाता थे, से मिलकर राज्य की पीड़ित प्रजा के सम्बन्ध में अनेक प्रकार के तथ्य एकत्र कर राजस्थान एवं बाहर के समाचार पत्रों में लेख व समाचारों के रूप में प्रकाशित करवा कर सामन्ती शासन की तानाशाही का पर्दाफाश करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया।

जनजागरण अभियान :

श्री बहड़ ने सत्यनारायण सर्राफ के साथ मिलकर एक नया घोषणापत्र 'राजस्थानियों का उद्धार कैसे हो' शीर्षक से तैयार किया जिसे श्री विजयसिंह पथिक, बाबा नृसिंहदास, श्री अभिन्न हरि, श्री देशराज और श्री लक्ष्मीचन्द्र सुराणा के नाम से प्रकाशित कराया गया। बीकानेर के किसानों, ग्रामीणों और मजदूरों पर होने वाले अत्याचारों से दुःखी एवं अधीर होकर श्री बहड़ एवं श्री सत्यनारायण सर्राफ ने एक घोषणा पत्र प्रकाशित करवाया जिसमें किसानों, ग्रामीणों एवं मजदूरों से ली जाने वाली बेगार, उन पर होने वाले अत्याचारों, शोषण, रियासत द्वारा वसूले जा रहे टैक्सों में 50 प्रतिशत की कमी करने तथा भूमि जोतने वालों को भूमि का हक देने की मांग की गई थी। इस घोषणा पत्र में इन परजीवी सामन्तों की संस्था को सर्वथा समाप्त करने की भी मांग की गई, जो सर्वथा मौलिक तत्त्व था। यह घोषणा पत्र क्रान्तिकारी श्रमजीवी पार्टी की ओर से प्रकाशित किया गया था।

'इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद' का प्रकाशन :

श्री बहड़ ने अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से बीकानेर रियासत में हो रहे शोषण को 'इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद' नामक पैम्पलेट के जरिये देशी रियासतों के आधार पर प्रकाशित कराया

जिसमें शासकीय अत्याचारों को आधार बनाकर आक्रोश व्यक्त किया गया। इस पैम्पलेट की प्रतियाँ गाँव-गाँव में बाँटवाई गईं। इसका इतना प्रभाव पड़ा कि जिस किसी व्यक्ति को यह पैम्पलेट पढ़ने को मिला, उसने उसे बहुमूल्य वस्तु के समान छिपाकर रखा। इस क्रान्तिकारी पैम्पलेट में श्री बहड़ ने 'राजा' नामक संस्था को सर्वथा समाप्त करने का आह्वान किया था तथा देश के उन नेताओं का अनुसरण न करने, उनसे कोई आशा न रखने की बात भी कही थी, जो देशी नरेशों को कायम रखना चाहते थे। बल्कि उन नेताओं को अपना पथ-प्रदर्शक मानने की प्रेरणा जनता को दी गई थी जिनके विचार क्रान्तिकारी और सामन्तवाद के कट्टर विरोधी थे।

श्री बहड़ ने पैम्पलेट को 'महाराजा के नाम खुली चिट्ठी' के शीर्षक से एक बीकानेरी के नाम से 'प्रिंसली इण्डिया' पत्र में छपवाया। श्री बहड़ के सतत प्रयासों से इस पैम्पलेट की प्रतियाँ साइक्लोस्टाइल कराकर देश के समाचार पत्रों और नेताओं के पास पहुँचाई गईं जिससे बीकानेर रियासत के द्वारा किए जा रहे अत्याचारों की हर तरफ आलोचना होने लगी। इससे महाराजा गंगासिंह तथा उनका प्रशासन बुरी तरह तिलमिला उठा। इस पैम्पलेट में सामन्ती शासन द्वारा किये जा रहे शोषण, अत्याचार तथा प्रशासन की जन-विरोधी नीतियों की पोल खोलने के साथ-साथ महाराजा के प्रिवीपर्स पर हो रहे अनाप-शनाप खर्च का उल्लेख भी किया गया था जिसे महाराजा एवं उनके परिवार के विरुद्ध अपराधिक कदम माना गया और इसकी प्रतिक्रिया स्वरूप शासन की ओर से इसे राजद्रोह का अपराध घोषित कर दिया गया।

बीकानेर राज्य द्वारा पंजाब से आने वाले गेहूँ पर भारी 'जकात' (कर) लागू करने के विरोध में पं. चन्दनमल बहड़ ने स्वामी गोपालदास एवं अन्य साथियों के साथ मिलकर बीकानेर के इतिहास में पहली बार राज्य के विरुद्ध एक संगठित आन्दोलनात्मक अभियान आरम्भ किया। इन्होंने 10 जनवरी, 1932 को चूरू में एक सभा की। इस सभा में एक ज्ञापन भी तैयार किया गया जिसमें बीकानेर महाराज से अनुरोध किया गया कि 'जकात' को कम किया जाय तथा कस्टम अधिकारियों द्वारा तलाशी के नाम पर अपमान एवं अभद्र व्यवहार की घटनाओं को रोका जाए।

बहड़ पर पुलिसिया जुल्म का कहर :

निरंतर बढ़ते राजनीतिक प्रभाव और शासन विरुद्ध गतिविधियों के चलते पं. चन्दनमल को 15 जनवरी, 1932 को सायंकाल पुलिस ने हिरासत में लेकर कमरे में बंद कर दिया गया। पं. चन्दनमल को पुलिस हिरासत में लेने की खबर सब जगह फैल गई जिसकी गूँज समाचार पत्रों में भी दिखाई देने लगी। बीकानेर राज्य द्वारा की गई इन गिरफ्तारियों के समाचार लगभग सारे देश के समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित हुये। अवैधानिक रूप से बिना मुकदमा चलाए लम्बे समय तक पुलिस हिरासत में रखकर अमानुषिक

यातनाएँ देने का भारी विरोध किया गया। इन समाचार पत्रों में दैनिक अर्जुन (20 जनवरी, 1932), प्रताप (21 जनवरी, 1932), मिलाप (28 जनवरी, 1932), प्रिन्सली इंडिया (3 फरवरी, 1932), लोकमान्य (कलकत्ता) और हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स (दिल्ली) मुख्य थे जिनमें बीकानेर के सामन्ती शासन की कड़ी आलोचना की गई। लेकिन सामन्ती पुलिस ने अपनी यातनाओं में कमी करने के बजाय उन्हें और बढ़ा दिया।

सामन्ती पुलिस ने बीकानेर महाराजा बीकानेर और उनकी सरकार के विरुद्ध पं. चन्दनमल पर घृणा व द्वेष फैलाने के नाम से पेश किये गये इस इस्तगासे में 360 दस्तावेजात प्रस्तुत किये तथा चालीस व्यक्ति मौखिक गवाही के लिये राज्य सरकार की ओर से पेश किये गये। इस पर जनता के हस्ताक्षर करवाना, देशी राजाओं और उनके हक में बोलने वाली अनेक संस्थाओं, इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस, अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य लोक परिषद् आदि राजनीतिक संस्थाओं, उनके नेताओं के साथ मिलकर राजद्रोह फैलाने वाला आन्दोलन करना तथा इस आशय को लेकर पत्र-व्यवहार करने के आरोप पं. चन्दनमल पर लगाये गये।

समाचार पत्रों ने बीकानेर रियासत द्वारा अभियुक्तों के विरुद्ध की जा रही ज्यादतियों को लेकर आक्रोशपूर्ण समाचारों का प्रकाशन किया। 'राजस्थान सन्देश', 'धर्मवीर', 'ट्रिब्यून', 'प्रताप', 'हिन्द', 'अर्जुन', 'रियासत', 'बोम्बे क्रानिकल', 'राजस्थान', 'इंडियन डेली मेल', 'विश्वमित्र', 'मिलाप', 'स्वतन्त्र भारत', 'लोकमान्य', 'हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स', 'प्रिंसली इंडिया' तथा 'वेंकटेश्वर समाचार' आदि का नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं जिनमें इन घटनाओं को प्रमुखता से प्रकाशित किया गया। बीकानेर रियासत के शिकार राजनीतिक बन्दियों को लेकर अब तक किये जा रहे व्यक्तिगत प्रयास जब सफल नहीं हुये तो जून, 1933 में 'बीकानेर पोलिटिकल केस कमेटी' का गठन किया गया जिसके सभापति राजा बहादुर पिप्ती तथा मंत्री नृसिंहदास (बाबाजी) को बनाया गया। उन्होंने बीकानेर रियासत के शिकार आठों व्यक्तियों के समर्थन में पैम्पलेट समाचार प्रकाशित कराकर जन समर्थन जुटाने तथा सामन्ती शासन पर मुकदमे की कार्यवाही को निपटाने के लिए दबाव बनाने में आशातीत सफलता हासिल की।

पंडित नेहरू की प्रतिक्रिया:

बीकानेर शासन के सम्बन्ध में पंडित नेहरू ने अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य प्रजा परिषद् के उदयपुर में हुये अन्तिम खुले अधिवेशन में विचार व्यक्त करते हुये कहा कि मैं जब से जेल से छूट कर आया हूँ, बीकानेर के बारे में मेरे पास सबसे ज्यादा शिकायतें आ रही हैं। बीकानेर सरकार की तरफ से घटनाओं को गलत ढंग से छिपाने की कोशिश की जा रही है। मुझे यकीन है कि बीकानेर सरकार बिल्कुल गलत रास्ते पर है।

राजद्रोह के अभियुक्तों के पक्ष में जन-आन्दोलन :

राजनीतिक केस कमेटी ने सामन्ती शासन पर दबाव बनाने के लिये 17 दिसम्बर को बीकानेर दिवस मनाने का निश्चय किया। इसी सन्दर्भ में पूरे भारत में कमेटी के पदाधिकारियों को भेजा गया ताकि वे देश भर के राजस्थानियों को समाज एवं स्वराज के हितार्थ सोचने वाले प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तियों के साथ बीकानेर का सामन्ती शासन किस अमानवीय रूप में पेश आ रहा है यह बताया जाय तथा उन्हें 17 दिसम्बर को बीकानेर रियासत के विरुद्ध सभाएँ करने को तैयार किया जाय। इसी संदर्भ में राजनीतिक कमेटी के मंत्री बाबा नृसिंहदास ने कलकत्ता जाकर राजस्थानियों की एक सभा की तथा उसमें 8 व्यक्तियों के विरुद्ध चल रहे राजनीतिक षड्यन्त्र केस की जानकारी देने के साथ ही वहाँ के प्रवासी राजस्थानियों को बीकानेर रियासत पर दबाव बढ़ाने के लिये 17 दिसम्बर, 1933 को बीकानेर दिवस मनाने की अपील की। इस आव्हान का सकारात्मक और प्रभावी असर हुआ।

बीकानेर दिवस का आयोजन :

बीकानेर दिवस के आयोजन को लेकर देश भर के सभी प्रमुख शहरों में भी तैयारियाँ की गईं। फलतः प्रबुद्ध नागरिकों ने भारी उत्साह का परिचय देते हुये देश भर में बीकानेर दिवस मनाया जिसमें पूर्व प्रसारित प्रस्ताव पारित किये गये। ये प्रस्ताव थे— (1) स्वामी गोपालदास एवं सात अन्य प्रतिष्ठित व्यक्तियों पर बीकानेर स्टेट जो अमानवीय अत्याचार कर रही है, उसके प्रति राजस्थानियों की यह सार्वजनिक सभा रोष प्रकट करती है तथा राज्य की इस उग्र नीति की निन्दा करती है। (2) देश और बीकानेर की मूक जनता के लिये दो वर्ष से जिस धैर्य के साथ ये मित्र कष्ट सहन कर रहे हैं, उनकी यह सभा प्रशंसा करती है। (3) इस सभा का आग्रह और अनुरोध है कि बीकानेर स्टेट दमन के उन उपायों का परित्याग करे और बीकानेर षड्यन्त्र केस में बन्द व्यक्तियों के साथ उनकी प्रतिष्ठा के अनुसार व्यवहार करें।

कलकत्ता, बंबई, ब्यावर, दिल्ली, अजमेर आदि शहरों में बीकानेर दिवस के आयोजन को भारी समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ। सन् 1936 में लम्बी सजा काटने के बाद पं. चन्दनमल बहड़जी जेल से रिहा हुये। इस समय पूरे भारत में महात्मा गांधी द्वारा चलाया गया 'सत्याग्रह' चरम पर था। बहड़जी ने जयपुर सत्याग्रह के लिये सेठ जमनालाल बजाज के अनुरोध पर बंगाल, बिहार व उड़ीसा का दौरा किया तथा वहाँ से सत्याग्रही, स्वयंसेवक तथा आन्दोलन की सहायतार्थ धनराशि भिजवायी। इससे सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन को भारी लाभ मिला।

चूरू की प्रसिद्ध संस्था सर्वहितकारिणी सभा श्री बहड़जी के जेल में रहने के

कारण अस्त-व्यस्त हो गई थी अतः इसको पुनर्गठित कर 1943 में बहड़जी इसके महामंत्री बने और 1952 तक इस पद पर रहे। श्री बहड़ ने सर्वहितकारिणी सभा के तत्वावधान में रात्रि कॉलेज की स्थापना की व सेठ कन्हैयालाल लोहिया को चूरू की इस महत्ती आवश्यकता की पूर्ति के लिये कॉलेज भवन बनाकर देने की प्रेरणा दी। चूरू में कॉलेज खुले इसके लिये बीकानेर राज्य सरकार से भी प्रयास किये गये। अन्ततः महाराजा गंगासिंह ने भी पं. चन्दनमल बहड़ के नाम से ही लोहिया कॉलेज खोलने की स्वीकृति भिजवाई। जब सन् 1944 में लोहिया कॉलेज भवन 10 लाख की लागत से बनकर तैयार हुआ तो श्री बहड़ के कारावास काल के सुखद सपनों की पूर्ति हुई। उन्होंने 'एडल्ट एकेडमी' की स्थापना की जो परीक्षा में असफल रहने वाले छात्रों के लिये एक नया आशादीप बनी।

बहड़जी ने न केवल राजनीतिक आंदोलन में भाग लिया बल्कि सामाजिक दायित्वों के निर्वहन के क्रम में उन्होंने हरिजनोत्थान के लिये भी ऐतिहासिक कार्य किये। उन्होंने चूरू जिले के सुदूर अंचलों में फैले बैरवा जाति के हरिजनों के एक ऐतिहासिक सम्मेलन की अध्यक्षता की। इस सम्मेलन में इकट्ठे हुये हजारों बैरवाओं (हरिजनों) को श्रीबहड़ ने मनोवैज्ञानिक प्रभाव में लाकर शराब, मांस व अन्य सामाजिक कुप्रथाओं के परित्याग की प्रतिज्ञा कराने में सफलता हासिल की साथ ही पं. चन्दनमल बहड़जी के प्रयासों से हरिजन बस्ती में जल-संकट निवारणार्थ कुंआ बनाकर दिया गया। इसके साथ साथ दलित उत्थान के लिए उन्होंने इन कोशिका प्राप्त के लिए भी प्रेरित किया। इस प्रकार पं. चन्दनमल बहड़ ने न केवल राजनीतिक आंदोलनों में भाग लेकर चूरू में राजनीतिक अलख जगाई बल्कि सामाजिक दायित्वों की भी पूर्ति कर सामाजिक समरसता के विकास में भी अपना योगदान दिया।

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डूंगरपुर रियासत में जनजातीय जागृति : भोगीलाल पण्ड्या के योगदान के संदर्भ में

डॉ. दिनेश चन्द शर्मा*

डूंगरपुर रियासत राजस्थान का दक्षिणतम भाग में स्थित थी। यह लगभग 1460 वर्ग मील क्षेत्र में विस्तृत थी तथा पहाड़ियों एवं जंगल से आबद्ध थी। 1941 ईस्वी की जनगणना के अनुसार राज्य की कुल जनसंख्या 2,74,282 थी, जिसमें 1,70,460 भील जनजाति से सम्बन्धित थे। यह कुल जनसंख्या का 54 प्रतिशत था।¹ यहाँ पर सीमलवाड़ा में 13 नवम्बर, 1904 ईस्वी को त्रिवेदी मेवाड़ा ब्राह्मण परिवार में भोगीलाल पण्ड्या का जन्म हुआ। इनकी प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा गाँव में ही हुई। बाद में वे उच्च शिक्षा के लिये डूंगरपुर चले गये। यहाँ पर ये महन्त सरयूदास के आश्रम में निवास करते थे। महन्त द्वारा अध्ययन करने वाले ग्रामीण छात्रों को आवास उपलब्ध करवाया जाता था। इसी दौरान जब भोगीलाल पाण्ड्या ग्रामीण भील बालकों के सम्पर्क में आये। इन्होंने पिछड़े बालकों के लिए शिक्षा के साधनों के अभाव महसूस किया और यहीं से इनकी सहायता करने का संकल्प मन में पैदा हुआ।²

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या ने 1921 ईस्वी में महन्त सरयूदास की प्रेरणा से डूंगरपुर में सार्वजनिक छात्रावास की स्थापना की। 1926 ईस्वी में इसे वागड़ छात्रावास नाम दिया गया। इसमें सभी वर्गों के छात्रों को प्रवेश दिया जाता था। हरिजन छात्रों के प्रवेश पर कुछ रूढ़िवादी तत्वों ने इसका विरोध भी किया, लेकिन पण्ड्या के प्रगतिगामी सामाजिक विचारों के कारण यह कार्य निरन्तर बढ़ता रहा। 1942 ईस्वी तक सभी जातियों के छात्र यहाँ एक साथ बैठकर खाना खाने लगे।³ वागड़ क्षेत्र में यह छात्रावास सामाजिक उत्कर्ष एवं जागृति का माध्यम बन गया।

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या ने हरिजन सेवा कार्य द्वारा सार्वजनिक जीवन में प्रवेश किया। 1926 ईस्वी में हरिजनों के लिए रात्रि पाठशालायें प्रारम्भ की। 1932 ईस्वी में महात्मा

गांधी हरिजन सेवा कार्य की ओर उन्मुख हुए।⁴ भोगीलाल पण्ड्या भी इस कार्य से प्रभावित हुए। वे हरिजनों के मध्य यह संदेश प्रसारित करते थे कि वे मुर्दा मवेशियों का माँस न खावें। झूठन प्राप्त नहीं करें और अपने बालकों को शिक्षित करें। वे अस्पृश्यता को हिन्दू समाज के लिए कलंक मानते थे। 1933 ईस्वी में हरिजनों को मंहत सरयूदास की अगुवाई में श्री जगदीश मंदिर में प्रवेश करवाया। 1934 ईस्वी में डूंगरपुर हरिजन समिति की स्थापना हुई, महन्त सरयूदास इसका अध्यक्ष और पण्ड्या मंत्री बनें।⁵ इस समिति के माध्यम से उच्च वर्ग में सामाजिक परिवर्तन का सूत्रपात हुआ, वहीं हरिजनों में भी स्वाभिमान पूर्ण जीवन जीने की भावनाएँ उत्पन्न हुईं।

1934 ईस्वी में राजस्थान सेवक मण्डल के मध्यम से भीलों में रचनात्मक कार्य करने के लिए वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर की स्थापना हुई। माणिक्यलाल वर्मा इसके प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता थे। इस समय भोगीलाल पण्ड्या यहाँ पहले से ही हरिजन सेवा कार्य में लगे हुये थे। उन्हें महारावल का भी नैतिक समर्थन प्राप्त था। माणिक्यलाल वर्मा के साथ पण्ड्या भी वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर से जुड़े और भील सेवा कार्य में जुट गये।⁶ वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर और खण्डलाई आश्रम द्वारा किये जाने वाले कार्यों में वे प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता थे। 1938 ईस्वी में माणिक्यलाल वर्मा द्वारा इस क्षेत्र में पलायन के पश्चात् पण्ड्या द्वारा डूंगरपुर में सेवा संघ की स्थापना की गई। सेवा संघ द्वारा डूंगरपुर राज्य के साथ-साथ निकटवर्ती क्षेत्रों में भी भील एवं हरिजन लोगों की सेवा करने का उद्देश्य रखा गया।⁷

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या द्वारा भील एवं अन्य जनजातियों के समग्र निवास का प्रयास किए गये। सभी क्षेत्रों में सुधार किये गये।

(अ) शैक्षणिक सुधार

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या स्वयं शिक्षक थे और वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर एवं खंडलाई आश्रम के प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता थे। वे भील क्षेत्र में जाकर बालकों को आश्रम की पाठशालाओं में पढ़ने के लिए प्रेरित करते। इसका लिए उनके परिवार वालों को मनाते। इसके साथ ही वे शराब सेवन से होने वाले दुष्प्रभावों को भी बताते। सेवा संघ का गठन होने पर पुरानी पाठशालाओं को जारी रखने के साथ-साथ नयी पाठशालाएँ भी खोली गईं। विभिन्न स्थानों पर वाचनालय एवं पुस्तकालय खोले गये। साथ ही कर्मनिष्ठ कार्यकर्ताओं को जोड़ने के लिए 'नवयुवक मण्डल' स्थापित किये गये।⁸

1939 ईस्वी में भील बस्तियों में सेवा संघ द्वारा 10 पाठशालायें चलाई जा रही थीं, इनमें 709 लड़के और 70 लड़कियाँ पढ़ रही थीं। साथ ही 14 वाचनालय, डूंगरपुर में एक सार्वजनिक पुस्तकालय और एक हरिजन पाठशाला भी चलाई जाती थीं। औषधि वितरण हेतु भी 30 केन्द्र खोले गये।⁹

* असिस्टेंट प्रोफेसर, इतिहास एवं भारतीय संस्कृति विभाग, राजस्थान विश्वविद्यालय, जयपुर

(ब) सामाजिक सुधार

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या भीलों के सामाजिक उत्थान के लिए प्रयासरत थे। उन्होंने सेवा संघ के माध्यम से यहाँ सुधार कार्यक्रम प्रारम्भ किये। इन सामाजिक सुधार कार्यक्रमों में जनजाति वर्ग में व्याप्त अंधविश्वासों और अवांछित तत्वों को दूर करने का आग्रह था। इसके अन्तर्गत वधू मूल्य की दापा प्रथा को निरूत्साहित करना, स्त्री अपहरण बंद करना, कुंवारी लड़कियों को भगा कर ले जाने को अमान्य करवाना, फिजूलखर्ची रोकना, मद्यपान निषेध करवाना, सम्मिलित था। साथ ही भील स्त्रियों द्वारा पहने जाने वाले आभूषणों को कम करवाकर उनका खर्चा कम करवाना था।¹⁰

4-6 फरवरी, 1939 को वेणेश्वर मेले के अवसर पर सेवा संघ द्वारा प्रदर्शनी आयोजित की गई। इसमें भील जीवन की विषमताओं को बड़े अच्छे ढंग से प्रदर्शित किया गया। इसमें भील छात्रों का विशेष योगदान था। इस दौरान रात्रि के समय करीब छः सात हजार लोगों की उपस्थिति में वस्त्र स्वावलम्बन, कृषि सुधार, नशा निषेध, अस्पृश्यता निवारण, स्वच्छता, सदाचार, सामाजिक सुधार पर भीली भाषा में भजन, प्रवचन, संलाप और भाषण हुए।¹¹ भीली भाषा होने का कारण इसका व्यापक प्रभाव हुआ।

(स) आर्थिक सुधार

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या ने भीलों की आर्थिक उन्नति हेतु विशेष प्रयास किए। 1936 ईस्वी के अकाल के समय वे वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर के मंत्री थे। अकाल सहायक समिति द्वारा उन्हें बाहरी प्रदेशों से सहायता प्राप्त करने का कार्य सौंपा गया।¹² इस दौरान वे विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में जाकर वहाँ से आर्थिक सहायता प्राप्त करते थे, अमृतलाल ठक्करदास बापा से सहायता प्राप्त करने में इनका बड़ा योगदान था। माणिक्यलाल वर्मा के नेतृत्व में नए कुएं खोदने, पुराने कुएँ गहरे करवाने के लिए औजार खरीदने और भीलों के बीच उनका निःशुल्क वितरण करवाने में इनका बड़ा योगदान था।¹³ इस दौरान ग्राम उत्थान कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत सहकारी समितियों का माध्यम से पशु चारण, स्वच्छता आदि पर विशेष ध्यान दिया गया। गांधीवादी कार्यक्रमों का तहत खादी का प्रचार-प्रसार किया गया।¹⁴ सेवा संघ द्वारा वागड़ सेवा मंदिर के सभी रचनात्मक कार्यों को जारी रखते हुए जनजाति वर्ग के आर्थिक हितकारी कार्यक्रम लागू किये गये। भीलों को स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिए उन्हें कुटीर उद्योगों को प्रशिक्षण दिया जाता था।¹⁵ कृषि सुधार कार्यक्रम लागू किये गये, जिससे उनकी आमदनी में वृद्धि हो। भील क्षेत्रों रोगों से बचने के लिए औषधि वितरण एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य था, हीरालाल वैद्य को यह कार्य सौंपा गया।¹⁶ इस तरह भील क्षेत्र में आर्थिक स्वावलम्बन की दिशा में विशेष प्रयास किये गये।

सेवा संघ एवं भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन

सेवा संघ द्वारा वागड़ का भील क्षेत्र में सामाजिक, आर्थिक सुधार एवं शैक्षणिक उन्नति के प्रयास किये गये। इससे भीलों में जागरूकता आई और वे अधिकाधिक संख्या में संघ से जुड़ने लगे। 1942 ईस्वी में महात्मा गांधी के नेतृत्व में अखिल भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस द्वारा भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन प्रारम्भ किया गया। इस आन्दोलन को डूंगरपुर में भी भोगीलाल पण्ड्या द्वारा विस्तारित किया गया, जिसमें भील लोग भी मुख्य भूमिका में शामिल थे।

17 अगस्त, 1942 को सेवा संघ द्वारा डूंगरपुर में इस आन्दोलन को प्रारम्भ किया गया।¹⁷ अगले दिन सूथरी पाल में हरंग भील और झूथरी गधावा पालों में मानकलाल ने इसका प्रचार किया। 27 अगस्त, 1942 को डूंगरपुर में हुई सभा में कृष्ण गोपाल, दीनबन्धु, सुखदेव, प्रताप एवं गणेश भाई इत्यादि भील व्यक्ति उपस्थित हुए एवं आन्दोलन का समर्थन किया। आंदोलन को व्यापक बनाने के लिए भोगीलाल पण्ड्या ने विभिन्न पालों का दौरा किया एवं गमेतियों का सक्रिय समर्थन प्राप्त किया।¹⁸ इस आन्दोलन का डूंगरपुर राज्य में व्यापक प्रभाव हुआ लेकिन बाद में रियासती प्रशासन द्वारा इसे दबा दिया गया। संघ की पाठशालाओं पर प्रतिबन्ध भी लगाया गया। रियासत द्वारा आंदोलन को समाप्त कर दिया गया, लेकिन इस सबके बावजूद आन्दोलन का सकारात्मक पक्ष यह रहा है कि भील नवयुवकों ने इसमें बढ़-चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया। जनजातीय वर्ग में राजनैतिक जागृति अब प्रारम्भ हो चुकी थी।

भोगीलाल पण्ड्या एक सामान्य परिवार से सम्बन्धित थे। अपने क्षेत्र में भीलों की दयनीय स्थिति देखकर वे सुधार कार्य हेतु प्रेरित हुए और अपने त्यागमयी कार्यों से इनके उत्थान में लगे रहे। उनके सेवा कार्य गांधीवादी रचनात्मक कार्यों पर आधारित थे और इनका मुख्य उद्देश्य जनजाति वर्ग में शिक्षा एवं कृषि कार्य में रूचि उत्पन्न कर आर्थिक स्वावलम्बन का मार्ग प्रशस्त करना था। प्रारम्भ में पण्ड्या वागड़ सेवा मन्दिर के कार्यकर्ता के रूप में कार्य किया, बाद में सेवा संघ की स्थापना की और इसके द्वारा भील क्षेत्र में सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक सुधार हेतु महत्ती कार्य किया। इन्होंने सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं और राज्य के मध्य एक सेतु का कार्य किया। जिससे राज्य का भी सहयोग मिला। हालांकि बाद में भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन का दौरान इन्हें स्वयं राज्य का कोपभाजन बनना पड़ा। लेकिन विषम परिस्थितियों में भी ये अपने कर्तव्य पथ पर डटे रहे और वागड़ क्षेत्र में राजनैतिक जागृति का प्रसार किया।

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राजस्थान के स्वतंत्रता सेनानी व समाज सुधारक लक्ष्मी नारायण झरवाल

अंकलेश कुमार*

लक्ष्मी नारायण का जन्म 2 नवम्बर 1914 ई. को मोती डूंगरी रोड स्थित काली माता मंदिर के पास झरवाल सदन में हुआ। इनके पिता का नाम भूरामल झरवाल एवं माता का नाम म्होरी बाई था। इनके पिता भूरामल रामनिवास बाग में उच्च पद पर सरकारी अधिकारी थे। इन्होंने जैन मिडिल स्कूल से मिडिल तक की शिक्षा तथा उत्तर प्रदेश परिषद से आर्युवेद विशारद एवं आर्युवेद शास्त्री की परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण की थी। 1934 से 1938 तक रामनिवास बाग के सेवाकाल में इन्होंने अनेक साधुओं और विद्वानों के साथ आध्यात्मिक सत्संग किया। इनकी इच्छा भी सामाजिक बुराइयों को दूर करने के प्रति जागृत हुई।¹

20 अक्टूबर, 1938 को जयपुर में एक अधिवेशन के तहत इनकी मुलाकात हीरालाल शास्त्री, विजय शंकर शास्त्री इत्यादि नेताओं से हुई। लक्ष्मी नारायण झरवाल की रुचि भी प्रजामंडल के कार्यों में बढ़ी। ये महात्मा गांधी से काफी प्रभावित थे और उनके सत्य और अहिंसा के मार्ग पर चलकर रचनात्मक कार्य, जैसे- खादी वस्त्र पहनना, अंध विश्वास, जागीरदारी के खिलाफ, जनजागरण, जरायम पेशा कानून के खिलाफ इत्यादि कार्यों में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई।

1938 ई. में जमनालाल बजाज की अध्यक्षता में प्रजामण्डल का अधिवेशन हुआ, उसमें लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल की मुलाकात ओमदत्त शास्त्री व बलवंत राय देशपाण्डे से हुई। जमनालाल बजाज वर्धा से जयपुर आना चाह रहे थे तो उन पर जयपुर सरकार ने प्रतिबंध लगा दिया था, लेकिन 12 फरवरी, 1939 ई. को इन्होंने जयपुर सरकार की आज्ञा तोड़कर जयपुर में प्रवेश किया तो इन्हें बंदी बना दिया गया। इसके विरोध में सत्याग्रहियों ने आंदोलन किया तो हीरालाल शास्त्री, रामकरण जोशी, बाबा हरिचन्द्र

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शास्त्री, लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल इत्यादि नेताओं को पुलिस ने मारपीट कर बंदी बना लिया।²

अखिल भारतीय मीणा सम्मेलन जून, 1942 ई. में उत्तर प्रदेश के बुलंदशहर जिले के अजीबाबाद गांव में सम्पन्न हुआ। इसकी अध्यक्षता लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने की थी तथा इसका उद्घाटन अजमेर के चांदकरण शारदा ने किया था। इस सम्मेलन में मीणाओं से जागरूकता से संबंधित बातों पर चर्चा तथा महात्मा गांधी, सुभाषचन्द्र बोस, पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जैसे लोगों के बताये हुए मार्ग पर चलने की सलाह दी गई।³

अप्रैल, 1944 ई0 में नीमकाथाना में मुनिमगन सागर की अध्यक्षता में सम्मेलन हुआ जिसमें समाज सुधार तथा जरायम पेशा कानून के बारे में चर्चा की गई। इसमें शामिल होने कार्यकर्ताओं को गिरफ्तार किया गया, जिसमें लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल भी शामिल थे।⁴

नयाबास सम्मेलन, नवम्बर, 1944

इस सम्मेलन में गोविन्दगढ़ खादी भंडार के मास्टर रामाकरण, खोरा बिसाल के बद्रीनारायण और अमरसर के सुंदरलाल ब्राह्मण ने मीनाओं को सलाह दी कि जिन्हें पहले दोषी नहीं ठहराया गया था कि वे खुद को आपराधिक जनजाति अधिनियम के तहत दर्ज न कराए और पुलिस को अपनी उंगलियों के निशान देने से इनकार करें। आई.जी. पुलिस, जयपुर का कहना था कि इसे बैठक का आयोजन मीणाओं के नेता बनने की कोशिश कर रहे लक्ष्मीनारायण द्वारा आयोजित की गई थी। लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल को एस.पी. सी.आई.डी. द्वारा अपने समुदाय को गलत सलाह देने के खिलाफ चेतावनी दी गई थी।⁵

नीमकाथाना सम्मेलन, 18 मार्च, 1945

श्रीमाधोपुर के बंशीधर शर्मा और लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने मीणों को नीमकाथाना में संबोधित किया। इन्होंने मीनाओं के साथ पुलिस का दुर्व्यवहार और उनको थाने में बुलाकर परेशान करने का आरोप लगाया। इन्होंने सलाह दी कि यदि एक कांस्टेबल के माध्यम से बुलाया जाए तो वे उपस्थित न हो और कहा गया कि यदि पुलिस परेशान करना जारी रखे तो मंत्रियों को तार भेजे।⁶

झरवाल की गिरफ्तारी

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने 1945 ई0 में श्रीमाधोपुर में मीणा प्रतिनिधियों की बैठकें जरायम पेशा कानून के खिलाफ बुलवाई तथा गुढ़ा पोंख में उनके द्वारा आयोजित किसान सम्मेलन में लक्ष्मी नारायण झरवाल ने जरायम पेशा कानून तथा मीणों के साथ होने वाले

अपमानजनक व्यवहार के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई तो झरवाल को भारत सुरक्षा कानून के तहत गिरफ्तार कर काठ में रखकर यातनाएँ दी गई।⁷

जयपुर शहर सम्मेलन, 10 अगस्त, 1945

इस सम्मेलन में 300 लोगों की एक जनसभा हुई। इसमें मुख्य वक्ता पण्डित बंशीधर शर्मा व लक्ष्मीनारायण मीना थे। इन्होंने जरायमपेशा कानून तथा पुलिस की आलोचना की तथा पुलिस पर यह आरोप लगाया कि भारत के नियमों के तहत पुलिस द्वारा उन्हें गलत तरीके से गिरफ्तार किया गया था।⁸

अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य लोक परिषद अधिवेशन, उदयपुर (31 दिसम्बर, 1945-2 जनवरी, 1946)

इस अधिवेशन में 2 जनवरी, 1946 ई. को प्रस्ताव नं. 11 आदिवासियों से संबंधित पारित किया गया⁹ कि उन लोगों को अपराधी जनजाति कहना और उनके आंदोलनों और गतिविधियों को प्रतिबंधित करना आपत्तिजनक है, इसे तुरन्त समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए। इस अधिवेशन में जयपुर से बंशीधर शर्मा व लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने आपराधिक जनजाति कानून से संबंधित अपनी बात रखी।¹⁰

कोटपुतली प्रांतीय मीणा सम्मेलन (10 फरवरी, 1946)

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने इस सम्मेलन में प्रस्ताव रखा था कि जबरन लादी हुई चौकीदारी प्रथा मीणों को चोरी करने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करने वाला एक प्रमुख कारण है, जब तक यह प्रथा समाप्त नहीं हो जाती, तब तक आशाजनक सुधार संभव नहीं है।¹¹

सीकर प्रांतीय मीणा सम्मेलन (31 मार्च - 1 अप्रैल, 1946)

इस सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन अजमेर के क्रांतिकारी ज्वालाप्रसाद शर्मा ने किया।¹² इस सम्मेलन में बंशीधर शर्मा ने प्रस्ताव रखा और अखिल भारतीय देशी राज्य लोक परिषद की बातें दोहराकर; उन आदिवासियों के लिए राज्यो को विशेष विभागों का निर्माण कर इन लोगों को शिक्षा, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक दशा ठीक करने के लिए विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने किया।¹³

खाटु सम्मेलन (5 मई, 1946)

इस सम्मेलन में नरैना के बलदेव शर्मा, लक्ष्मीनारायण और अरिसाल मीना ने इसमें भाग लिया। इसमें मीनाओं को शराब, आपराधिक आदतों और चौकीदारी छोड़ने के लिए कहा गया। साथ ही इसमें चेतावनी दी गई कि जो लोग उचित सलाह नहीं मानते हैं और अपराध करना जारी रखते हैं; उन्हें समाज से बहिष्कृत कर दिया जाएगा।¹⁴

खेतड़ी प्रांतीय मीणा सम्मेलन (11 जुलाई, 1946)

इस सम्मेलन में बंशीधर शर्मा ने एक प्रस्ताव रखा, जिसका समर्थन लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल द्वारा किया गया कि जयपुर राज्य मीणा सुधार समिति मीणाओं की एकमात्र संस्था है, और इसके अलावा मीणा पंचायतों को बनाना अहितकर है, क्योंकि संरकारी पंचायतों के बनने से दण्डस्वरूप इकट्ठी की गई राशि महकमा पुलिस के तहत दे देना अनुचित है।¹⁵

खेजड़ोली इलाका मीणा सम्मेलन (24 दिसम्बर, 1946)

इस सम्मेलन में लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने प्रस्ताव रखा कि मीणाओं को चौकीदारी करने का कोई दबाव नहीं है, यदि फिर भी कोई मीणा इस प्रथा को चालू रखता है तो उसे जाति की तरफ से कड़ा से कड़ा दण्ड दिया जायेगा।¹⁶

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल द्वारा जयपुर सरकार को चेतावनी

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने जयपुर सरकार को मीणा सत्याग्रह मोर्चे को लेकर चेतावनी दी कि “जब तक हम पूर्ण नागरिक अधिकार प्राप्त नहीं कर लेंगे, तब तक चैन से नहीं बैठेंगे, जयपुर सरकार को चाहिए कि वह अपनी दूरदर्शिता और नैतिकता का परिचय दे। यदि जाति जरापमपेशा कानून के खिलाफ खड़ी होगी तो उसकी जिम्मेदार सरकार होगी।”¹⁷

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल का गृहमंत्री को पत्र (31 दिसम्बर, 1946)

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने 31 दिसम्बर, 1946 ई. को गृहमंत्री को पत्र लिखा कि श्री आई.जी. साहब पुलिस की मौजूदगी में कुछ मीणा प्रतिनिधियों ने मुलाकात की थी और आशा थी कि सरकार कुछ लिखावट में आदेश जारी करेगी, लेकिन अभी तक ऐसा कुछ नहीं किया गया है और पुलिस मीणाओं को हमेशा हाजिरी के लिए मजबूर करती है तथा उन्हें ऊँट रखने तथा बिना लाइसेंस वाले हथियार रखने के हक को स्वीकार नहीं करती तथा उन लोगों पर मुकदमा चलाती है।¹⁸

पावटा मीणा सम्मेलन (1 जनवरी, 1947)

इस सम्मेलन में लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल व अड़ीसाल सिंह के द्वारा एक प्रस्ताव का समर्थन किया गया कि मीणाओं को जमीन से बेदखल न किया जाए और उन जमीनों से वाजिब लगान ले लिया जाए। साथ ही इस सम्मेलन में जरापमपेशा कानून की आलोचना की गई।¹⁹

बस्सी सम्मेलन (5 मई, 1947)

जयपुर राज्य मीणा सुधार समिति के तत्वावधान में 5 मई, 1947 ई. को बस्सी

में सम्मेलन हुआ। इस सम्मेलन में भेरूलाल काला बादल, राजेन्द्र कुमार अजेय के साथ लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने भी अपना भाषण दिया और उन्होंने कहा कि इस समय भी मीणा लोग गुलामी की जिन्दगी जीने को बेबस हैं और जागीदारी शोषण के शिकार हो रहे हैं।²⁰ 1947 ई. में बस्सी क्षेत्र के लालूराम, उसके पुत्र रणजीता और सन्डा व मांगू बड़े कुख्यात डकैत थे, जिन पर पुलिस ने दस हजार का इनाम घोषित कर रखा था, इन्होंने लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल के सामने समर्पण कर, समाज सेवा में जुट गए।²¹

जरायम पेशा कानून का विरोध, जयपुर (6 जून, 1947)

जयपुर सरकार की 15 अगस्त, 1946 ई. की अधिसूचना के तहत मीणाओं को रियायत देने की बात को अस्पष्ट मानते हुए लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल व राजेन्द्र कुमार अजेय के नेतृत्व में 6 जून, 1947 ई. को जयपुर में 10 हजार मीणाओं ने प्रदर्शन किया जो टोंक, सीकर, झुन्झुनु, बैराठ, दौसा इत्यादि जगह से आए थे। यहाँ धारा-144 लागू होने के बाद भी लोगों ने प्रदर्शन किया और यहाँ एक सभा हुई जिसकी अध्यक्षता रामस्वरूप हिन्दा तथा सिद्धराज ढड्डा ने की। सभा में लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने जरायम पेशा कानून और धारा-28 का पुतला दहन किया। यहाँ पर पुलिस ने लगभग 150 मीणाओं को गिरफ्तार किया।²²

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल का जयपुर सरकार को पत्र (27 जुलाई, 1947 ई.)

इस पत्र में लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने सरकार को लिखा कि “27 जुलाई 1946 ई. को हीरालाल शास्त्री ने बागावास मीणा सम्मेलन की अध्यक्षता की थी, जिसमें मीणाओं को सुधारने के लिए उनको खेती के लिए जमीने देने की बात कही गई थी, जिसके आधार पर सरकार ने अगस्त, 1946 ई. में गजट संख्या 5568 में प्रकाशित करवाया था, लेकिन मीणाओं को चौकीदारी के तहत मिली हुई सारी जमीने जब्त कर ली गई और उनको खालसा कर दिया गया और चौकीदारी न करने के कारण मीणाओं को गांवों से निकाला गया और उनकी जमीने छीन ली गई हैं।²³ मानपुर खुर्द नेवर पड़ासौली के बीड़ की जमीनों को दरख्वास्त करने पर भी कई बेरोजगार मीणाओं को जमीनें नहीं मिली व गैर जिम्मेदार अधिकारियों ने मीणाओं से रिश्वत ले ली।”²⁴

बड़वा सम्मेलन, दौसा (19, 20, 21 मार्च, 1948 ई.)

इस सम्मेलन की अध्यक्षता पण्डित ज्वाला प्रसाद शर्मा ने की। इसमें अरीसाल सिंह, भेरूलाल काला बादल, लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल, सुलतान सिंह जैसे तमाम लोगों ने भाग लिया और इसमें जर्मीदार-चौकीदार के भेदभाव को समाप्त करने तथा भैंस की कुर्बानी को दशहरे के दिन देने की प्रथा को समाप्त करने का निर्णय लिया गया।²⁵

जयपुर के न्याय सचिव से भेंट (26 जून, 1948 ई.)

जयपुर राज्य मीणा सुधार समिति के शिष्टमंडल जिसमें लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल, सुल्तानाराम, भगताराम, राजेन्द्र कुमार अजेय, भौरीलाल मास्टर ने जयपुर के न्याय सचिव मेजर जनरल रावल अमर सिंह से मुलाकात की। इस अवसर पर डी.आई.जी. पं. काशी प्रसाद और हुकुमत राय भी मौजूद थे। इस शिष्टमंडल ने मीणाओं के लिए सम्पूर्ण अधिकारों की मांग की।²⁶

मत्स्य प्रदेश के शिक्षा सचिव से भेंट (29 जून, 1948 ई.)

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने मत्स्य प्रदेश के शिक्षा सचिव श्री युगल किशोर चतुर्वेदी से मुलाकात कर मीणा जाति के होनहार छात्रों को वजीफे, छात्रवृत्ति इत्यादि तरीके से प्रोत्साहन देने का आवेदन किया तथा जरायम पेशा कानून को हटाने की चर्चा की गई।²⁷

पुरानाबास गांव का निरीक्षण

जयपुर राज्य मीणा सुधार समिति के अध्यक्ष गणपतराम बगराणियां, कोषाध्यक्ष अरीसालसिंह व संयुक्त मंत्री लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने अन्य मीणा मुखियाओं के साथ पुरानाबास गांव का निरीक्षण किया, जिसमें पाया गया कि यहाँ कि मीणाओं के पास रहने तक को मकान नहीं है, खेती के लिए जमीन नहीं है। यहाँ एक घर में 30-30 व्यक्ति छपरों में रहते हैं। स्थानीय भूमिये इनसे ज्यादाती करते हैं और गैर कानूनी ढंग से इनके बाड़े ले लिए हैं तथा यहाँ पर सरकारी फँसलों तक की उपेक्षा की गई थी।²⁸

जनजागृति अभियान (1948)

गणपतराम बगराणियां, लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल, एरीसाल सिंह इत्यादि के मार्गदर्शन के मीणाओं को जागरूक करने के लिए अभियान चलाया गया और अलग-अलग जत्थे तैयार करके उन्होंने नयाबास, भोड़की, बजावा, गुड़ा पौख इत्यादि गांवों में जाकर लोगों से शराब, चोरी, अन्य सामाजिक बुराइयों को छोड़ने की कसम दिलाते तथा गांधी, नेहरू, सुभाषचन्द्र बोस की जय बोलते हुए आगे बढ़ते, ताकि मीणा जाति को कलंकित करने वाले लोगों को सही राह पर लाया जा सके।²⁹

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल का राजस्थान के प्रधानमंत्री, जयपुर को पत्र (29 अक्टूबर, 1949 ई.)

इस पत्र में झरवाल ने प्रधानमंत्री को लिखा कि “राजस्थान मीणा सुधार समिति गांधी जी के बताये हुए रास्ते के अनुसार रचनात्मक कार्य करने वाली सामाजिक संस्था है।³⁰ इन्होंने लिखा कि जयपुर सरकार ने उन्हें जो रियायतें देने की बात की थी, उनकी

उपेक्षा कर हजारों मीणों, सांसी, कंजर, बावरियों आदि जातियों के लोगों के साथ मानवता का व्यवहार नहीं किया जाता है। ये लोग अपना गुजारा ऊँट वगैरह रखकर व मजदूरी द्वारा करते हैं, उनको ऊँट रखने का भी अधिकार नहीं है। उनके पास न जमीनें हैं और न कोई काम धंधा, बल्कि पीढ़ियों से जो कुछ मामूली जमीनें थी उनको जोतते, बोते थे, उनको भी जागीरदार लोग छीन रहे थे। चोरियां कोई करता है और उनमें भले आदमियों को बुलाकर थाने में परेशान किया जाता है और उनसे रिश्वतें ली जाती हैं। जिसको लक्ष्मीनारायण द्वारा कई बार चोरों की सूची दिये जाने पर भी उन पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई।³¹ इन्होंने लिखा कि सार्वजनिक कार्यों से चौकीदारी व जमींदार के भेद को प्रोत्साहन न दिया जाए। इन्होंने जयपुर में 400-500 बच्चों के लिए छात्रावास के लिए जमीन की मांग की तथा भूमिहीन लोगों को काश्त के लिए जमीन देने की मांग की।”³²

बगरू सम्मेलन (11 जून, 1952 ई.)

राजस्थान मीणा सुधार समिति का यहाँ वृहद सम्मेलन हुआ, जिसकी अध्यक्षता लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने की तथा इसमें राजेन्द्र कुमार अजेय, झूथालाल नाढ़ला, नारायण चतुर्वेदी, गुलाबचंद गोठवाल शामिल थे। इस सम्मेलन में मीणाओं के सुधार एवं उत्थान के बातों की चर्चा के साथ-साथ झूथालाल नाढ़ला ने एक प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया, जिसका अनुमोदन गुलाबचंद गोठवाल ने किया। इस सम्मेलन में मीणाओं को भी अनुसूचित जनजाति की सूची में शामिल करने की मांग कर प्रस्ताव पारित किया गया, ताकि अन्य आदिवासियों के समान उन्हें भी वे सुविधाएँ मिल सकें।

काका कालेलकर से मुलाकात (22 जुलाई, 1954 ई.)

भारत सरकार ने काका कालेलकर की अध्यक्षता में एक जाँच कमीशन की नियुक्ति की। लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल, बंशीधर शर्मा, भैरव लाल काला-बादल, गणपतराम बगराणियाँ, बद्री प्रसाद दुखिया इत्यादि लोगों ने सचिवालय में जाकर काका कालेलकर से मुलाकात की और मीणाओं को अनुसूचित जनजाति में शामिल करने का ज्ञापन सौंपा।

अचरोल गांव का निरीक्षण (नवम्बर, 1954 ई.)

पिछड़ी जाति कल्याण विभाग के निदेशक जगन्नाथ सिंह मेहता के साथ लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने अचरोल गांव का दौरा किया और पाया कि उनकी जमीनें अनुपजाऊ हैं और बड़ी कठिनाई से डेढ़ महीने का खर्च चला पाते हैं और दस-ग्यारह महीने में लोग मजदूरी, शराब निकालने और बेचने, नदी में गाय-बैल, भैंस, बकरी, ऊँट का अपहरण लेकर फिरौती लेने जैसे कामों में गुजर-बसर करते हैं। इस प्रकार निदेशक ने जमवारागढ़ तहसील के गांव महंगी कूदा का भ्रमण किया और पाया कि मीणों के कच्चे टूटे-फूटे घर थे, 10-12 वर्ष तक के बच्चों के पास फटे पुराने कपड़े पहनते थे।³³

लक्ष्मीनारायण झरवाल ने आजादी के बाद भी तहसील दूदू के गांव महलां सम्मेलन (1960), धोवली सम्मेलन (1964), जयपुर सम्मेलन (1966), जयपुर सम्मेलन (1969) इत्यादि सम्मेलनों में प्रमुखता से भाग लिया और समाज में फैली कुरीतियों जैसे- शराब बंदी, चोरी, बाल विवाह, मृत्यु भोज, मीणा जाति के वर्ग भेद को समाप्त करना, पुलिस की बर्बरता इत्यादि की आलोचना की और जागरूकता फैलाने का प्रयास किया और शिक्षा, छात्रावास का निर्माण, भूमिहीन मीणों को भूमि उपलब्ध कराने इत्यादि मांगों के लिए सरकार के पास हमेशा प्रयत्न करते रहे।

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ब्रिटिशकाल में मालानी की राजनीतिक स्थिति

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धारी रावल माल रूपांदे मालानी।।¹

इस दोहे से स्वयं को आल्हादित करने वाली इस पवित्र पावन मरु का जितना बखान किया जाये, वह कम है। मालानी क्षेत्र बाड़मेर जिले का पश्चिमी भू-भाग है जो कि पाकिस्तान के सिन्ध प्रान्त से सटा हुआ है।² ब्रिटिशकाल में यह जोधपुर राज्य का सीमान्त परगना था। मालानी का विस्तार जसोल से लेकर सिन्ध तक लम्बाई में 100 मील एवं धोरीमना से लेकर थोब तक चौड़ाई में 75 मील था। स्वतन्त्रता से पूर्व इसमें 503 गांव थे। जिसमें 502 जागीरी गांव एवं एक गांव नेतराड़ खालसा में आता था।³ सन् 1891 की जनगणना के अनुसार यहां की जनसंख्या 221184 थी। जबकि सन् 1901 की जनगणना के अनुसार मालानी की जनसंख्या 172330 हो गई। दशक में जनसंख्या में गिरावट का कारण सन् 1899 का भयंकर अकाल, सूखा एवं मलेरिया की महामारी एवं भूखमरी थी जिससे इस क्षेत्र की 25 प्रतिशत आबादी काल का ग्रास बन गई।⁴

मालानी क्षेत्र की भौगोलिक स्थिति-

मालानी क्षेत्र 25° 45'N से 71° 23'E के मध्य अवस्थित है। इसका कुल क्षेत्रफल 5750 वर्गमील था। मालानी के उत्तर में शिव, दक्षिण में सांचोर, पूर्व में पचपदरा तथा पश्चिम में अमरकोट रियासत की सीमा लगती थी।⁵ इस क्षेत्र के संबंध में यह दोहा द्रष्टव्य है-

रावल माल कौ तेज निहार कै, मेछन के मुश होत हैं पीरे।

होत जहां अति आछे तुरंगम, हीरे की शान में होत ज्यूं हीरै।।

लोक मजीठ के रंग रंगे जित, ओढ़त ग्रीशम में पट सीरे।

लौनी बहैरू लसै थल तुंग, महेवे सुधारस होत मतीरे।।

अर्थात् मालानी क्षेत्र में रावल मल्लीनाथ का तेज, यहां के घोड़े, मीठे तरबूज, मजीठ का रंग एवं लूणी नदी की छटा निराली है।

मालानी क्षेत्र में अरावली पर्वतमाला की शृंखला भी होकर गुजरती है जिसकी सबसे ऊंची चोटी चौहटन में स्थित है। इसके अलावा बाडमेर, बिषाला, रामसर, धोरीमना एवं मांगता में भी अरावली पर्वतमाला की शृंखला है।⁶

18वीं शताब्दी के मध्य में मालानी क्षेत्र में आन्तरिक अराजकता चरम पर थी। मालानी में जागीरदारों के उत्तराधिकार की भोमीचारा पद्धति प्रचलित थी।⁷ भोमीचारा को चारानियां बंट भी कहते थे।⁸ इसके अन्तर्गत जागीरदार की मृत्यु के पश्चात भूमि व सम्पत्ति का बंटवारा सभी पुत्रों में बराबर होता था।⁹ इससे कालान्तर में जागीरों की संख्या धीरे-धीरे बढ़ती चली गई एवं उनका क्षेत्रफल घटता चला गया जिससे जागीरें कमजोर होती गईं।

19वीं शताब्दी के मध्य में जोधपुर महाराजा तख्तसिंह की सलाह पर जसोल, नगर, गुड़ा व सिणधरी के जागीरदारों ने भोमीचारा के स्थान पर पाटवी पद्धति को अपना लिया।¹⁰ इस तरह इन जागीरों का और अधिक बिखराव रुक गया। मालानी क्षेत्र की बाड़मेर जागीर के जागीरदारों में परस्पर हिंसक प्रतिस्पर्धा के कारण यहां पर अराजकता की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई।¹¹

ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य में मालानी का पुनर्गठन -

मालानी के जागीरदारों द्वारा जैसलमेर के भाटियों पर आक्रमण से घबराकर जैसलमेर रावल अखैराज ने अंग्रेज सरकार से अपने राज्य के संरक्षण की गुहार की।¹² दूसरी ओर मारवाड़ दरबार के मुसाहिब भाटी गजसिंह ने बाड़मेर के सामन्तों को सजा देने के लिए जोधपुर दरबार से प्रार्थना की।¹³ मालानी क्षेत्र अजमेर एवं सिन्ध के रास्ते के बीच में पड़ता था अतः उनकी नजर में मालानी का खास महत्व था।

ब्रिटिश सरकार ने 1835 ई. में डीसा एवं एरिनपुरा छावनियों से दो टूप्स मालानी पर आक्रमण के लिये भेजी।¹⁴ इनके साथ जोधपुर एवं जैसलमेर राज्य की सैन्य टुकड़ियों ने मिलकर बाड़मेर एवं चौहटन दोनों पर एक साथ आक्रमण किया।¹⁵

चौहटन के सामन्त श्यामसिंह को पराजित करके सिराईयों के सरदार मलिखान के साथ मार डाला गया।¹⁶ दूसरी ओर बाड़मेर के रावत भभूतसिंह ने स्थानीय 26 सरदारों के साथ आत्म समर्पण कर लिया। इन सभी सरदारों को कैदी के रूप में राजकोट जैल भेज दिया गया।¹⁷

1837 ई. में राव दलसिंह ने राजकोट जाकर उन सभी कैदियों की जमानत दी तथा उन्हें रिहा कराकर बाड़मेर लाया।¹⁸ अंग्रेज सरकार ने मालानी के शासन प्रबन्ध के लिए जसोल में अपना मुख्यालय स्थापित कर यहां पर सुपरिण्टेण्डेन्ट कप्तान जैक्सन को नियुक्त किया एवं उसके अधीन बम्बई एवं बड़ौदा की पलटने रखी गईं।¹⁹ जिनके स्थान

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पर 1844 ई. में एरिनपुरा की पैदल सेना एवं मारवाड़ के सवार रखे गये।²⁰ तथा जसोल, बाड़मेर व सियाणी में सैनिक छावनियां स्थापित की गईं। जब कप्तान जैक्सन 1849 ई. में बीमारी के कारण स्वदेश लौट गया। तब इस क्षेत्र का प्रबन्ध मारवाड़ के पोलिटिकल एजेण्ट के सुपुर्द किया गया।²¹ 1854 ई. में यहां से ब्रिटिश सेना हटा ली गई व जोधपुर राज्य के 50 ऊंट, 50 घोड़े और 50 पैदल सैनिक रहने लगे।²²

मालानी में ब्रिटिश सत्ता द्वारा शान्ति स्थापना-

ब्रिटिश सरकार को जब शिकायत मिली कि मालानी के डकैत गुजरात राज्य में डकैतियां डालते हैं, तब अंग्रेज अधिकारियों ने स्थानीय जागीरदारों से डकैतों के बारे में जानकारी हासिल कर उनकी धरपकड़ तेज कर दी एवं शीघ्र ही सभी डकैतों को गिरफ्तार कर आगरा व कच्छ जेल भेज दिया।²³ फलतः मालानी के डकैतों की गतिविधियां समाप्त हो गईं। मालानी की जनता भी सिन्ध की सिराई जाति के डकैतों की लूटमार से त्रस्त थी। अंग्रेजों द्वारा 1843 ई. में सिन्ध पर अधिकार करने के पश्चात मालानी क्षेत्र में सिराईयों की डकैतियां बंद हो गईं एवं शान्ति स्थापित हो गई।²⁴

मालानी का जोधपुर राज्य को हस्तान्तरण

मालानी में स्थित सैनिक छावनियों का पूरा खर्च अंग्रेजों द्वारा ही वहन किया जाता था।²⁵ जब जोधपुर राज्य से इसमें सहयोग देने का प्रस्ताव रखा तो उसने साफ तौर से इन्कार कर दिया। मालानी के ब्रिटिश सत्ता के अधीन आने के पश्चात यहां पर धीरे-धीरे शान्ति स्थापित होने लगी। मालानी में शान्ति स्थापित होने की जानकारी जब जोधपुर महाराजा तख्तसिंह को मिली तो उसने अंग्रेजों से मालानी को वापिस जोधपुर राज्य को सौंपने की मांग रखी किन्तु अंग्रेज सरकार ने इसे अनसुना कर दिया।²⁶ वर्षों तक इस प्रकार जोधपुर राज्य व ब्रिटिश सत्ता के बीच लिखा पढ़ी चलती रही।

अन्त में जोधपुर राजा जसवन्तसिंह द्वितीय के समय में अंग्रेजों ने उसकी मांग मान ली तथा सन् 1891 ई0 में मालानी को वापिस जोधपुर राज्य को सौंप दिया।²⁷ किन्तु कुछ वर्षों तक फौजदारी व न्यायालय के अधिकार अंग्रेजों ने अपने पास ही रखे।²⁸ जोधपुर राज्य में मालानी के केन्द्र बिन्दु बाड़मेर में माधोप्रसाद को अपना हाकिम नियुक्त किया।²⁹ जब मालानी को जोधपुर राज्य को सौंपा गया तो निम्न शर्तें रखी गई थीं³⁰-

- * कुछ वर्षों तक पुलिस व फौजबल अंग्रेजों के पास रहेंगे व फौजदारी मुकदमों की अदालत अंग्रेजों की रहेगी।
- * फौजबल व रेख चाकरी का टैक्स अंग्रेजों की पूर्वानुमति के बिना नहीं बढ़ाये जा सकेंगे।
- * अंग्रेजों द्वारा 1 अगस्त 1891 तक किये गये फ़ैसलों को बदला नहीं जाएगा।

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मारवाड़ में रेलवे का आगमन एवं विस्तार

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उन्नीसवीं सदी तक भारत में स्थल यातायात एवं परिवहन पशुओं पर ही आधारित था। उन्नीसवीं सदी के अन्तिम तीन दशकों में रेल एवं सड़क निर्माण के कार्य आरम्भ होने से यातायात एवं परिवहन के आधुनिक साधन अस्तित्व में आये तथा बीसवीं सदी में ये साधन प्रमुख एवं महत्वपूर्ण बन गये। भारत में रेलमार्गों का निर्माण लार्ड डलहौजी के काल में 1850 ई. में शुरू हुआ। भारत में प्रथम मालगाड़ी के रेल इंजन माल इंजन का परिक्षण सड़कों पर दिसंबर 1851 ई. को हुआ जिसके डेढ़ वर्ष बाद अप्रैल 1853 को बोरीबंदर (मुम्बई) से ठाणे के बीच देश की पहली यात्री रेल सेवा का श्री गणेश हुआ।¹ इसके दो दशक उपरांत ही राजस्थान में स्थानीय रियासतों शासकों ने रेलमार्गों के विकास की ओर ध्यान देना शुरू किया।

राजस्थान में रेल मार्गों का निर्माण 1874-1881 के मध्य हुआ था 1881 में रेल मार्गों की कुल लम्बाई 652 मील, 1891 में 943 मील, 1901 में 1359 मील तथा 1906 में 1576 मील थी। इनमें से 739 मील रेल मार्ग ब्रिटिश सरकार की सम्पत्ति थी एवं शेष विभिन्न रियासतों के स्वामित्व में थी तथा 48 मील के अतिरिक्त सम्पूर्ण रेलमार्ग छोटी नाप का था।² राजस्थान का सबसे पुराना एवं महत्वपूर्ण रेल मार्ग राजपूताना मालवा था जिसका स्वामित्व ब्रिटिश सरकार का था एवं इसकी लम्बाई लगभग 720 मील थी। इस रेल मार्ग का निर्माण 1874 से 1881 के मध्य हुआ तथा यह मार्ग भारत सरकार की ओर से बोम्बे, बड़ौदा एवं सैण्ट्रल इण्डिया रेलवे कम्पनी द्वारा संचालित था।³ राजस्थान में ब्रिटिश सरकार का दूसरा रेल मार्ग ग्रेट इण्डिया पेनिसुला रेलवे का मध्य भाग भारतीय अनुभाग का था, जो आगरा से ग्वालियर के मध्य धौलपुर राज्य से होकर 19 मील का था, जो आगरा से ग्वालियर के मध्य धौलपुर राज्य से होकर 19 मील का था। यह बड़ी नाप का रेलमार्ग था तथा 1878 में आरंभ हुआ था।⁴

1881 ई. तक राजस्थान में 652 मील और 1891 ई. तक 943 मील लम्बे

रेलमार्ग का निर्माण हो चुका था। 19वीं सदी के अन्त तक 1930 मील लम्बा रेलमार्ग का निर्माण हो चुका था।⁵ इसका अधिकांश हिस्सा अंग्रेज सरकार का था और शेष भाग कुछ राजपूत राज्यों का था। राजस्थान के रेल-मार्ग में सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण दिल्ली-अहमदाबाद मार्ग था, जिसका संचालन तत्कालीन राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे द्वारा होता था। अहमदाबाद से शुरू होकर आबू के निकट यह रेलमार्ग राजस्थान की सीमा में प्रवेश करता था और उत्तर पूर्व दिशा में बांदीकुई तक जाता था। जहां से एक शाखा अजमेर से नीमच और दूसरी शाखा फुलेरा से रेवाड़ी तक जाती थी। यह सम्पूर्ण रेलमार्ग 1874-81 ई. में बनकर तैयार हुआ और इसकी कुल लम्बाई 720 मील थी।⁶ राजस्थान में भारत सरकार का दूसरा महत्वपूर्ण रेल मार्ग ग्वालियर-आगरा मार्ग था जो धौलपुर राज्य में लगभग 19 मील का मार्ग तय करता था। यह रेलमार्ग 1878 ई. में खुला। 1880 ई. में राजपूताना-मालवा रेलवे की एक शाखा फुलेरा से कुचामन रोड तक चालू की गई थी। सांभर झील उसी मार्ग पर स्थित है। राजपूत राज्यों द्वारा संचालित रेलमार्गों में जोधपुर-बीकानेर रेल का विस्तार सबसे अधिक था। शुरू में यह रेलवे जोधपुर और बीकानेर राज्यों की साझेदारी में थी। जोधपुर रेलवे के अधीन खारची-पाली 20 मील रेल निर्माण का कार्य 16 फरवरी 1881 ई. को शुरू हुआ तथा 28 फरवरी 1882 ई. को पूरा कर लिया गया।⁷ 24 जून, 1882 ई. में मारवाड़ जंक्शन से पाली तक के 19 मील लम्बे रेल मार्ग का निर्माण कर लिया गया। इसके बाद जून, 1884 ई. में पाली से लूणी तक और 9 मार्च 1885 ई. में लूणी से जोधपुर तक का रेल मार्ग भी बन कर तैयार हो गया।⁸ मारवाड़ जंक्शन से जोधपुर तक 64 मील लम्बे रेल मार्ग के निर्माण कार्य शुरू किया और मार्च 1887 ई. में इस रेलमार्ग को यातायात के लिए चालू कर दिया। इस रेल मार्ग का निर्माण मुख्य नमक निर्यात की दृष्टि से किया गया था।

उल्लेखनीय है कि 1869-70 ई. में अंग्रेजों ने जोधपुर व जयपुर रियासतों को 'नमक-संधि' के द्वारा सांभर के नमक पर अपना एकाधिकार जमा लिया था।⁹ अंग्रेजों की इस नीति के कारण पश्चिमी राजस्थान में नमक चारगुणा अधिक महंगा हो गया।¹⁰ मारवाड़ रियासत को ऐसी परिस्थितियों में लूणी-पचपदरा रेलवे लाईन ने समुचित राहत प्रदान की।

ब्रिटिश राजपूताना में रेल प्रबंधन में निजी क्षेत्र-

राजपूताना की रियासतों में रेलमार्ग के विकास हेतु ब्रिटिश सत्ता ने दोहरी नीति अपनाई। इसके पीछे अनेक कारक उत्तरदायी रहे। राजस्थान में रेलों के निर्माण के सम्बन्ध में एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न रेलों के प्रबन्ध पर नियन्त्रण का था। भारत की अंग्रेजी सरकार रेलों के विस्तार पर पूंजी लगाने की स्थिति में नहीं थी। निजी कम्पनियाँ भी उसी क्षेत्र में रेल विस्तार की इच्छुक थी जहाँ सम्भावित आय अधिक हो सके। अंग्रेज

* सहायक आचार्य, इतिहास विभाग, श्री नाकोड़ा पार्श्वनाथ जैन महाविद्यालय, जोधपुर

अधिकारी यह तो चाहते थे कि राजपूत राज्य रेलों के विस्तार में पूंजी लगाएँ लेकिन रेलों के प्रबन्ध पर नियंत्रण राज्यों को सौंपना नहीं चाहते थे। इसलिए राज्य सरकार और अंग्रेज अधिकारियों के मध्य काफी समय तक पत्र-व्यवहार होता रहता। किसी भी रेल योजना के समझौते में उसी प्रकार की शर्तें हो सकती थीं जितनी राज्य सरकार में वाद-विवाद की क्षमता थी तथा जितनी अंग्रेजी योजना में उस रेल लाइन की उपयोगिता थी। इस तर्क को स्पष्ट करने के लिए दो रेल योजनाओं की तुलना पर्याप्त है-

जोधपुर बीकानेर और उदयपुर-चित्तौड़ रेल योजनाएँ। बीकानेर के पोलिटिकल अधिकारी ने 1888 में जबकि वह बीकानेर शासन की संरक्षक समिति का संचालन कर रहा था एक रेल योजना बनाई जिससे जोधपुर और बीकानेर राज्यों के भीतरी क्षेत्रों को अंग्रेजी व्यापार के प्रभाव में लाया जा सके। अंग्रेजी सरकार का मन्तव्य यह भी था कि सिन्धु नदी के क्षेत्रों को राजस्थान के राज्यों से जोड़ा जा सके जिससे प्रशासनिक और सैनिक सुविधा हो जाए।¹¹ इसलिए जोधपुर-बीकानेर रेल योजना को सरलता से स्वीकृति भी मिल गई। अन्य रेल कम्पनियों विशेषकर बी.बी.एण्ड सी.आई.आर. ने इस प्रस्तावित रेलवे योजना के समानान्तर अथवा मुकाबले में अन्य किसी रेल योजना के संचालन से इन्कार किया। बीकानेर के पोलिटिकल अधिकारी की योजना को बीकानेर दरबार की योजना के समानान्तर अथवा मुकाबले में अन्य किसी रेल योजना के संचालन से इन्कार किया। बीकानेर के पोलिटिकल अधिकारी की योजना को बीकानेर दरबार की योजना बताकर इसे स्वीकृति दे दी गई। जोधपुर भी इस समय पूरी तरह से अंग्रेजी प्रभाव में था और वहाँ के पोलिटिकल अधिकारी को महाराजा को सहमत कराने रेल निर्माण के लिए धन देने को तैयार था। बीकानेर को ऋण देने में आपत्ति इसलिए नहीं थी क्योंकि अंग्रेजी सरकार उसके चुकाये जाने का आश्वासन देने को तैयार थी। यह आश्वासन भी इसलिए दिया गया कि अंग्रेजों को सांभर झील के नमक की वार्षिक रायल्टी देने पड़ती थी।¹² जोधपुर को जोधपुर-मारवाड़ रेल लाइन के संचालन का बड़ा सुखद अनुभव था इसलिए उसे इस रेल योजना के स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं थी। कुछ विलम्ब इस कारण हुआ कि अंग्रेजी सरकार ने इस रेल के क्षेत्रों पर दीवानी और फौजदारी न्याय का अधिकार लेने की मांग की। दोनों में से कोई भी राज्य अंग्रेजी इच्छा को रोकने की स्थिति में नहीं था। दोनों राज्यों के साथ पृथक्-पृथक् समझौते 1889 में किए गए।¹³ जोधपुर राज्य के क्षेत्रों से रेल निर्माण आरंभ हुआ और उसका नियंत्रण जोधपुर दरबार को दे दिया गया। भारत सरकार अपने अधिकारियों से इस रेल योजना का निरीक्षण करवा सकती थी। अपने-अपने क्षेत्रों के संचालन का व्यय और लाभ राज्य सरकारों को उपलब्ध हो गया। मारवाड़ के रेलवे प्रबंधन में स्थानीय कार्मिकों के मार्गदर्शन हेतु ब्रिटिश अफसरों की नियुक्ति की गई। नवंबर 1939 के रिपोर्ट के अनुसार शीर्ष पदों पर 12 अंग्रेज

अधिकारी थे।¹⁴ इस प्रकार राज्यों द्वारा निजी प्रबंधन किया जाता रहा तथापि उन पर अप्रत्यक्ष रूपेण ब्रिटिश नियंत्रण झलकता था।

ब्रिटिश नियंत्रण से मुक्त रियासती रेलमार्ग-

ब्रिटिश सरकार ने केवल उन्हीं व्यापारिक मार्गों पर रेलमार्ग बिछाने की ओर ध्यान दिया जहाँ से बदले में भरपूर आर्थिक लाभ मिल सकें। विभिन्न रियासतों द्वारा जनहित में रेलमार्ग बिछाने के लिए अंग्रेजी सत्ता से निवेदन किया परंतु उन पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। रेल निर्माण के कार्य का दूसरा चरण उस समय आरम्भ हुआ जब राज्यों ने रेल प्रबन्ध अपने हाथों में रखा और अपनी ही पूंजी से राज्य में रेल निर्माण करवाया। यह प्रक्रिया उस समय आरंभ हुई जब अहमदाबाद की रेल लाइन को पाली से होकर ले जाने का जोधपुर राज्य का अनुरोध इस आधार पर अस्वीकृत हो गया कि इससे रेलमार्ग 11 किलोमीटर लम्बा हो जाएगा और अधिक खर्चीला हो जाएगा। राज्य को विवश होकर स्वयं ही पूंजी निवेश करना पड़ा। पं. विश्वेश्वरनाथ रेड के अनुसार तत्कालीन महाराजा ने राज्य और प्रजा के हित के लिए जोधपुर से पाली होते हुए खारची तक को अपनी निजी रेलवे लाइन बनाने का इरादा किया।¹⁵

इस प्रकार मारवाड़-पाली-जोधपुर रेलमार्ग का निर्माण अपने ही खर्च पर करना पड़ा। इस बात पर शोधकर्ताओं को ध्यान देना चाहिए कि अंग्रेजी सरकार ने इस रेल लाइन के निर्माण की अनुमति सरलता से नहीं दी जबकि जोधपुर उसके लिए पूंजी लगाने को तत्पर था।¹⁶ बहुत अनुरोध करने पर तथा अजमेर के सेठ सुमेरमल उम्मेदमल द्वारा तीन लाख की अमानती राशि देने पर अंग्रेजी सरकार ने रेल लाइन के सर्वेक्षण और निर्माण और अनुमोदन को जोधपुर द्वारा स्वीकार कर लिए जाने के पश्चात् ही रेल के चलाने की इजाजत दी गई। जुलाई 1882 में मारवाड़-पाली क्षेत्र में रेल यातायात आरंभ हुआ और मार्च 1885 तक जोधपुर तक रेलमार्ग खुल गया। रेल के निर्माण और विस्तार का खर्च अनुमान से बहुत कम हुआ। आरंभ से ही रेल प्रबन्ध ने जोधपुर राज्य को लगभग का शुद्ध लाभ दिया यद्यपि अंग्रेज अधिकारियों ने इसका तदर्थ कारण बताने का प्रयत्न किया। 1886-87 में जोधपुर रेलवे ने का शुद्ध लाभ दिया। अंग्रेजी सरकार के पास इस तथ्य पर आश्चर्य करने के अतिरिक्त कोई विकल्प न था। यह कहकर अंग्रेजों ने अपने आपको और रिपोर्ट पढ़ने वालों को भुलावे में रख कि इतना अधिक लाभ स्थायी नहीं हो सकेगा क्योंकि टूट-फूट और पटरी तथा डिब्बों को ठीक रखने में बहुत व्यय होगा।¹⁷ उनकी यह भविष्यवाणी भी सही नहीं निकली। उपलब्ध तथ्यों के प्रकाश में वर्ष 1886 से 1946 तक की अवधि में जोधपुर रेलवे प्रबंधन के लिए गर्व की बात थी कि इसे किसी भी वर्ष हानि नहीं उठानी पड़ी।¹⁸

रेलवे का मारवाड़ में प्रारम्भिक दौर अधिक कठिन नजर आता है किन्तु जैसे जैसे रेलवे की उपयोगिता बढ़ती गई वैसे वैसे मारवाड़ में रेलवे का विकास भी क्रमिक रूप से बढ़ता गया और मारवाड़ में रेलवे यातायात सुगम होता चला गया। प्रारम्भिक रूप में यह रेलवे ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के अधीन आर्थिक हितों के लिए संचालित हो रहा था किन्तु धीरे धीरे स्थानीय शासकों के प्रयासों से यह आम जन की यात्रा के लिए सुलभ हुआ। अर्थात् स्थानीय शासकों का भी मारवाड़ के रेलवे के विकास में विशेष योगदान रहा।

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डॉ. महेन्द्र पुरोहित*

एकीकरण और जोधपुर रियासत

मारवाड़ के लोकप्रिय शासक महाराजा उम्मेदसिंह के स्वर्गवास के पश्चात् गद्दीनशीन उनके युवा पुत्र हनवंतसिंह ने एकीकरण के इस नाजुक दौर में ऐसी दिशा में कदम बढ़ाने का सोचा जो रियासत एवं समस्त राष्ट्र के लिए प्राणघातक सिद्ध होता। एक हिन्दू रियासत को पाकिस्तान में मिलाने के बारे में सोचना ही अचिंतनीय बात थी। वी. पी. मेनन की पुस्तक 'द स्टोरी ऑफ इंटिग्रेशन ऑफ इंडियन स्टेट्स', मन्मथदास की पुस्तक 'पार्टीशन एंड इन्डिपेन्डेंस ऑफ इंडिया', लियोनार्ड मॉस्ले की कृति 'द लास्ट डेज ऑफ ब्रिटिश राज', लेरी कॉलिन्स व डोमिनिके लेपियर की कृति 'फ्रीडम एट मिड नाइट' व बीकानेर के तत्कालीन प्रधानमंत्री सरदार के.एम. पणिकर की आत्मकथा में इस प्रसंग का प्रामाणिक विवरण उपलब्ध है। उन्हीं के आधार पर इस शोध पत्र में इस घटना का सिलसिलेवार वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

लियोनार्ड मॉस्ले के अनुसार रियासती विभाग के सचिव वी.पी. मेनन को उनके खुफिया सूत्रों ने सूचित किया कि विभाग के ब्रिटिश अधिकारी जोधपुर के महाराजा हनवंतसिंह को भारत में विलयपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर करने के बजाय पाकिस्तान में मिलने हेतु प्रेरित करने में सक्रिय रूप से लगे हुए थे। ऐसा करने का महाराजा को पूर्ण वैधानिक अधिकार था। राजाओं की स्वतंत्रता के विषय में वॉयसरॉय का स्पष्ट ना था पर उसने यह बात जोर देकर कही थी कि रियासतों को दोनों अधिराज्यों में से किसी में भी मिलने की स्वतंत्रता थी जिससे उनकी सीमाएँ मिलती हों। जोधपुर की सीमाएँ दो अन्य राजपूत रियासतों बीकानेर व जैसलमेर की भाँति भारत और पाकिस्तान दोनों को छूती थीं। अधिकांश राजाओं की भाँति जोधपुर को भी कांग्रेस से विद्वेष था और उसे डर था कि भारतीय अधिराज्य में उसके अच्छे भविष्य की विशेष गुंजाइश नहीं थी।

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उसने जिन्ना से गुप्तरूप से भेंट करने का निश्चय किया जिसके बारे में महाराजा को आशा थी कि उसका रुख अधिक अनुकूल था। इस भेंट की व्यवस्था भोपाल के नवाब हमीदुल्ला खान ने की थी। इस मुलाकात में जैसलमेर का महाराजा भी साथ था जिसकी रियासत भी पाकिस्तान सीमा से जुड़ी थी। दोनों राजाओं को देखकर जिन्ना की खुशी का कोई पार नहीं था।¹ वह जानता था कि यदि ये दो बड़ी रियासते पाकिस्तान में मिल जाती है तो अन्य राजपूत रियासते भी उनका अनुसरण कर सकती है। पाकिस्तान में उनका विलय बँटवारे के फलस्वरूप आधे पंजाब व बंगाल को खोने की क्षतिपूर्ति से कही बढ़कर होगा साथ ही यह अधिकांश रियासतों को भारत में मिलाने की योजना पर प्रबल आघात होगा। इसलिये उसने मेज की कोरा कागज निकाल कर जोधपुर महाराजा के सम्मुख रखते हुए कहा, “महाराजा साहब, आप पर जो चाहे शर्तें लिख दीजिये। मैं उन पर दस्तखत कर दूँगा।” महाराजा जोधपुर ने जैसलमेर महाराजा से पूछा, क्या आप मेरा साथ देंगे? जैसलमेर का उत्तर था, एक शर्त पर। मुझे लिखित रूप से यह वचन दिया जाय कि हिन्दुओं व मुसलमानों के बीच संघर्ष होने पर कर रियासत को पूर्णतः तटस्थ रहने का अधिकार होगा।

जिन्ना ने उसे आश्वासन दिया कि ऐसी कोई दिक्कत नहीं आएगी और उसे ऐसी मामूली बातों की चिन्ता नहीं करनी चाहिये। इस बातचीत से जोधपुर महाराजा को पहली बार इस बात का आभास हुआ कि पाकिस्तान में मिलने का अर्थ होगा एक हिंदू रियासत का हिंदू राजा मुस्लिम देश में मिल जाए। उसने इस पर सोचने के लिये समय माँगा और देहली में अपनी होटल में लौट आया। वी.पी. मेनन को इस घटनाक्रम की भनक मिल चुकी थी अतः वे महाराजा से मिलने होटल आए। दोनों वध्वयसराय भवन पहुँचे। जहाँ मेनन ने वॉयसरॉय को जोधपुर महाराजा की जिन्ना से मुलाकात और राजपूत रियासतों को पाकिस्तान में मिलाने के मुस्लिम लीग के षड्यंत्र के बारे में बताया। वॉयसरॉय भवन के प्रतीक्षा कक्ष में यह बात हुई। लॉर्ड माऊंटबेटन का कहना था कि यदि महाराजा चाहें तो उन्हें पाकिस्तान में मिलने का पूरा हक है लेकिन क्या उन्होंने सोचा है कि इसके परिणाम क्या होंगे? एक हिन्दू रियासत के हिन्दू राजा होने के नाते वे इस सिद्धांत के सर्वथा विपरीत आचरण कर रहे थे कि भारत का विभाजन एक मुस्लिम व गैर मुस्लिम अधिराज्य में हो रहा था। उनके पाकिस्तान में मिलने के निर्णय से जोधपुर में प्रबल साम्प्रदायिक संघर्ष उठ खड़ा होगा।

महाराजा ने तुरंत दर्पोक्ति की—जिन्ना ने मुझे एक खाली कागज देकर उस पर अपनी शर्तें लिखने का प्रस्ताव रखा है। आप मुझे क्या देंगे? मेनन का उत्तर था, “मैं भी आपको खाली कागज देने को तैयार हूँ लेकिन आप दूसरों की तरह भ्रामक आशाएँ संजोए हुए हैं। इससे कोई ठोस उपलब्धि नहीं होने वाली है।” माऊंटबेटन ने दोनों पक्षों को समझौते के लिए राजी करते हुए मेनन से जोधपुर को कुछ रियासतें देने का आग्रह किया।

इसी समय वॉयसरॉय के थोड़ी देर के लिए अन्दर जाने पर महाराजा ने मेनन के सिर पर पिस्तौल तानते हुए कहा, ‘मैं तुम्हारी बात मानने से इंकार करता हूँ।’ मेनन ने संयत स्वर में उत्तर दिया कि यदि आप यह सोचते हैं कि मुझे मारकर आप अधिक रियासतें प्राप्त कर सकेंगे, तो आप गलती पर हैं। ये बचकानी हरकतें मत कीजिये। माऊंटबेटन के पुनः कक्ष में आने पर मेनन ने उन्हें रिवाँल्वर वाली घटना बताई। इस पर वॉयसरॉय का कहना था कि यह मजाक करने का समय नहीं है और धीरे से पूछा— विलयपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर का क्या हुआ? इसके तीन दिन बाद महाराजा ने विलयपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर कर दिये। इसके लिये वी.पी. मेनन कागजात लेकर स्वयं जोधपुर आए। राजमहल के सामने एकत्र भीड़ ने मेनन व कांग्रेस के खिलाफ नारेबाजी की।²

इस विषय में लेरी कॉलिन्स व डोमिनिके लेपियर अपनी प्रसिद्ध कृति ‘फ्रीडम एट मिडनाईट’ में लिखते हैं—‘किसी रियासत का विलीनीकरण इतना तूफानी नहीं था जितना जोधपुर के युवा महाराजा ने इस बारे में पैदा किया। अपने साथी महाराजा जैसलमेर के साथ उसने दिल्ली में जिन्ना के साथ एक गुप्त भेंट की व्यवस्था की। वे मुस्लिम नेता से यह मालूम करना चाहते थे कि यदि वे अपनी हिन्दू रियासतों को उसके मुस्लिम अधिराज्य में मिलाते हैं तो उन्हें क्या रियासतें और विशेषाधिकार प्राप्त होंगे?’

अपने कांग्रेसी प्रतिद्वन्द्वियों से दो बड़े महाराजाओं को झटक लेने के विचार से परम आल्हादित जिन्ना ने अपने दराज से खाली कागज निकाल कर जोधपुर नरेश की ओर बढ़ाया। उसका कहना था, ‘इस पर अपनी शर्तें लिख दीजिये’ और ‘मैं इस पर हस्ताक्षर कर दूँगा।’ दोनों व्यक्तियों ने अपनी होटल जाकर इस पर विचार करने का समय माँगा। वहाँ उन्होंने वी.पी. मेनन को अपनी प्रतीक्षा करते पाया। महाराजा जोधपुर की इस पहल के बारे में मेनन को अपने रहस्यपूर्ण स्रोतों से भनक लग चुकी थी जिसकी परिणति अंततः उसकी रियासत की पाकिस्तान में विलीनीकरण में होती। मेनन ने महाराजा से कहा, वॉयसरॉय उनसे तुरंत मिलने के इच्छुक है। वॉयसरॉय भवन पहुँचकर मेनन ने उन्हें तुरंत महाराजा से बात करने का आग्रह किया।

महाराजा के सद्य दिवंगत पिता से माऊंटबेटन की छब्बीस वर्षों से मैत्री थी। उस मैत्री का हवाला देते हुए वॉयसरॉय ने युवक महाराजा से कहा कि उनके पिता को ऐसे व्यवहार से भारी धक्का लगता। उन्होंने महाराजा को भरोसा दिलाया कि मेनन और वह स्वयं पटेल को उनके लिए अधिकाधिक उदार दृष्टिकोण अपनाने को लिए राजी करेंगे। अंतरिम समझौते पर राजा के हस्ताक्षर कराने का काम मेनन पर छोड़कर वॉयसरॉय कक्ष से निकल गए। उनके जाने के बाद जोधपुर के महाराजा ने जेब से अपने वर्कशॉप में बना फाऊन्टेन पेन निकाला और समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर किये। फिर इसकी टोपी खोलने पर . 22 का पिस्तौल प्रकट हुआ जो उसने मेनन के सिर पर तान दिया। मेनन चिल्लाए— ‘मैं तुम्हारी धमकियों से डरने वाला नहीं हूँ।’ आवाज सुनकर माऊंटबेटन लौट आए और

पिस्तौल छीन ली। तीन दिन बाद मेनन अंतिम विलयपत्र लेकर जोधपुर पहुँचे जहाँ खिन्न मन से राजा ने उस पर हस्ताक्षर कर दिये।³

प्रो. मन्मथनाथदास ने अपनी शोधपूर्ण कृति 'पार्टीशन एंड इनडिपेन्डेंस ऑफ इंडिया (इन साइड स्टोरी ऑफ़ माऊंटबेटन डेज)' में इस घटना पर प्रकाश डालते हुए लिखा है - 'अपने ब्रिटिश सलाहकारों से प्रभावित जोधपुर के महाराजा हनवंतसिंह का सोचना था कि चूंकि उनकी रियासत भौगोलिक रूप से पाकिस्तान से जुड़ी हुई है, वह विलीनीकरण के मुद्दे पर जिन्ना से बेहतर शर्तों की उम्मीद कर सकता। कांग्रेस के प्रति अपनी शत्रुता के कारण महाराजा ने इस तथ्य से भी आँखें मूँद ली कि रियासत की हिन्दू प्रजा के मन में हिन्दू राजा के इस कृत्य की प्रतिक्रिया क्या होगी? पाकिस्तान के सीमान्त पर अवस्थित दूसरी रियासत जैसलमेर के महाराजा के साथ उसने जिन्ना से गुप्त भेंट की। दो राजपूत राजाओं का एक मुस्लिम राज्य में मिलने के इरादे से भेंट करने आना जिन्ना के राजनैतिक जीवन में गौरवपूर्ण क्षण थे। अतः वह उनकी हर शर्त मानने के लिए तैयार था लेकिन जब जिन्ना ने एक खाली कागज पर महाराज हनवंतसिंह से अपनी शर्तें लिखने के लिए कहा तो महाराजा के पैरों तले जमीन खिसक गयी। अपनी प्रजा की प्रतिक्रिया के भय ने महाराजा को आत्मघात करने से रोक दिया। विलयपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर कराने से पूर्व महाराजा के व्यवहार के बारे में जानकारी माऊंटबेटन पेपर्स से मिलती है। वश्वयसरश्वय के अनुसार, मैंने अपने अध्ययनकक्ष में वी.पी. मेनन की विलयपत्र पर जोरपुर के हस्ताक्षर कराने के लिए छोड़ दिया क्योंकि मुझे उसी समय पास में ही अपनी पत्नी के अध्ययन कक्ष में हैदराबाद के शिष्टमंडल से निपटना था। मेरी अनुपस्थिति में जोधपुर के युवा महाराजा ने एक रिवाल्वर तानकर मेनन को धमकी दी कि यदि उसने भूखों मरते जोधपुर के लोगों के साथ धोखा किया तो वह उसे मार डालेगा, लेकिन उसने विलयपत्र पर हस्ताक्षर कर दिये।'⁴

स्पष्ट है कि यह घटना समकालीन राजस्थान के इतिहास में एक शोकान्तिका बन सकती थी। इससे यह भी जाहिर हो जाता है कि भोपाल के नवाब, जोधपुर महाराजा व जूनागढ़ जैसे रियासती शासकों ने राष्ट्र व प्रजाजनों के हितों में कैसे मुँह फेर लिया था। रियासती विभाग की चौकसी से यह दुर्घटना होते होते टल गयी। उस समय के समाचार पत्रों में भी यह बात सुर्खियों का विषय बनी थी। स्वाधीनता सेनानी सुमनेश जोशी द्वारा संपादित अखबार 'रियासती' ने इसे मुख पृष्ठ पर छापा था। यह एक ऐसा भयानक दुःस्वप्न था जिसकी कल्पना मात्र थरा देने वाली है। जिन्ना ने जोधपुर महाराजा को फुसलाने के लिये क्या सब्जबाग दिखाये थे, इसका प्रभावी वर्णन सरदार के.एम. पणिकर की आत्मकथा में उपलब्ध है।⁵ जो इस प्रकार है- "6 अगस्त 1947 को सवेरे एक मित्र कर्नल केसरीसिंह (महाराजा हनवंतसिंह के ए.डी.सी.) एक पत्र लेकर जोधपुर से आए जिसने परिस्थितियों की गंभीरता के बारे में हमारी आँखें खोल दीं।

भोपाल के नवाब महाराजा जोधपुर को जिन्ना से मिलाने ले गए थे। जिन्ना ने पेशकश की थी कि वे जोधपुर को स्वतंत्र राज्य के रूप में मान्यता देकर संधि करने को तैयार हैं। उन्होंने यह भी पेशकश की कि जोधपुर राज्य को जो हथियार चाहिये वे पाकिस्तान के बन्दरगाह कराची का मार्फत बिना सीमा शुल्क दिए जाए सकते हैं। जिन्ना ने महाराजा को राजस्थान का सर्वेसर्वा बनाने की पेशकश की जिससे जोधपुर महाराजा चकित रह गए और उनके मन में इच्छा जागी कि वे राजस्थान के सम्राट बन जाएंगे। केसरसिंह ने उन्हें समझाया कि उन्हें हस्ताक्षर करने से पहले अपनी माता व अन्य सम्बन्धियों से विचार विमर्श करना चाहिये। जोधपुर लौटने पर केसरीसिंह ने राज्य के दीवान वेंकटाचारी को तथ्यों से अवगत कराया। षड्यंत्र की गंभीरता देखकर वेंकटाचारी ने मेरे पास पत्र भिजवाया।" 15 अगस्त 47 से पहले हैदराबाद, जूनागढ़ और कश्मीर को छोड़कर बाकी सभी रियासतें भारत संघ में मिल चुकी थी। रियासतों का विलीनीकरण भारतीय नीति निर्माताओं की उल्लेखनीय उपलब्धि थी।⁶ विलयपत्र पर सर्वप्रथम हस्ताक्षर बीकानेर के महाराजा शारदूलसिंह ने किये।

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भीमप्रबन्ध महाकाव्य : एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन

डॉ. नितेश व्यास*

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदार्थं समुपबृंहयेत्¹

इतिहास एवं पुराणों की सहायता से ही वेदार्थ का उपबृंहण किया जाता है। भारतीय साहित्यपरम्परा में हर देश-काल में ऐसे रससिद्ध कवीश्वर हुए हैं जिन्होंने अपने साहित्य में न केवल तात्कालिक समय का वर्णन किया बल्कि हस्तामलकवत् षि तुल्य उन मनीषियों ने कालातीत का वर्णन भी अपनी गीर्वाणभारती से किया है। भारतीय काव्य शास्त्रीय परम्परा इतिहास को आधार बनाकर रचे गये ग्रंथों में बाणभट्ट विरचित हर्षचरित सम्भवतः प्रथम ऐतिहासिक काव्य माना जाता है। जिसके बाद 1008 ई. में धारा नरेश मुंज की राजसभा में विराजित पण्डितप्रवर पद्मगुप्त परिमल विरचित नवसाहस्रचरित, बिल्हण द्वारा चालुक्य नरेश विक्रम के जीवन पर आधारित विक्रमांकदेवचरितम् महाकाव्य। इसके अतिरिक्त भी समय-समय पर विविध स्थानों पर अनेक ऐतिहासिक काव्यों-महाकाव्यों का लेखन हुआ जिससे तात्कालिक समाज, संस्कृति, जन-जीवन, प्रकृति, स्थापत्य आदि कलाओं के बारे में विविध जानकारियाँ उपलब्ध होती हैं।

राजस्थान प्रदेश भी संस्कृत साहित्य एवं कलाओं की दृष्टि से अपने शैशव काल से ही समृद्ध एवं प्रणवन्त रहा है। राजाओं के दरबार में रहने वाले सभापण्डितों ने समय-समय पर उत्कृष्ट काव्यसर्जना कर सरस्वती के कोषागार की श्रीवृद्धि की है। जिनमें अजितोदय महाकाव्यम्, अजीतचरित्रम्, अभयोदयमहाकाव्यम् आदि महाकाव्य अपनी ऐतिहासिकता के साथ ही कलात्मक अवदान हेतु स्मरण किये जाते हैं। इनमें से अन्यतम है- जोधपुर दरबार के दरबारी कवि पण्डित हरिवंश भट्ट विरचित भीमप्रबन्ध महाकाव्य।²

जोधपुर नरेश महाराज विजयसिंह के पौत्र तथा महाराज फतहसिंह के दत्तक पुत्र भीमसिंह, जिनका समय 1793 से 1803 ई. रहा, को आधार बना कर ग्रंथ रचा गया है।

बीस सर्गात्मक इस महाकाव्य में ऐतिहासिक वंशावली के अलावा राजपरिवार के विविध उत्सवों, वैवाहिक अवसरों पर होने वाले आयोजनों, प्राकृतिक उद्यान-सरोवरों के निर्माण एवं रखरखाव, वृक्षारोपण संबंधि जानकारी, वसन्तोत्सव या मदनोत्सव की राजशास्त्रीय परम्परा किलों, महलों, बावड़ियों से सम्बन्धित स्थापत्यादि का विशद विवेचन 20 सर्गीय महाकाव्य में अतिविस्तार से किया गया है। इस महाकाव्य के प्रत्येक सर्ग का नामकरण सर्ग की विषय सामग्री के अनुसार किया गया है। जैसे - प्रथम अध्याय-वंशवर्णनम्, तृतीय-विवाहवर्णनम् चतुर्थ-वसन्तऋतुवर्णनम्, पंचम-अमात्यादि-राजप्रकृति, सप्तम-वसन्तक्रीड़ावर्णनम्, दशम-मण्डोरपंचकुंडबैद्यनाथभोगिशैलवर्णनम्, द्वादश-गौरीयात्रावर्णनम्, सप्तदश-कोष्ठरक्षकादिवर्णनम्, एकोनविंशति-सकलहर्म्य-स्थापत्यवर्णनम्, विंशति-दुर्गादिवर्णनम्।

प्रसाद-गुण सम्पन्न इस काव्य का प्रत्येक पद्य उपजाति छन्द में निबद्ध है। माँ सरस्वती की प्रेरणा से ही उपजाति छन्द में काव्य सर्जना की प्रसक्ति को व्यक्त करते हुए कवि स्वयं लिखते हैं-

वाणी प्रसन्तेत्यवदञ्च सिद्धिं वृत्तेन गन्तास्युपजातिकेन।

तेनैव वृत्तेन करोमि काव्यं सश्लाघनीयं कविपुंगवैश्च।।³

विविध विषयों से समलंकृत इस महाकाव्य में एक पक्ष प्रकृति एवं स्थापत्य का भी है चूँकि प्रकृति का भी एक स्थापत्य होता है और स्थापत्य की एक प्रकृति भी।

सत्ता कभी प्रकृति की विरोधी नहीं हुई। इस बात का पता हमें चलता है भीमप्रबन्ध काव्य के तृतीय सर्ग के आरम्भ में जहाँ राजा भीम की बारात अपने गन्तव्य स्थान पर पहुँचने से पूर्व जहाँ-जहाँ रुकती है राजाओं द्वारा वहाँ प्रकृति एवं स्थान का किस तरह संरक्षण किया गया है पुष्कर तीर्थ के वर्णन प्रसंग में वह दर्शनीय है।

यः पुष्कराख्योऽपि च तीर्थराजो यो वै सुराणां च विहारभूमिः।

यस्मिन् कृतं स्नानजपादिकं च तदक्षयं वै कवयो वदन्ति।।⁴

तटेषु यस्यास्ति च शोभनानि पूरातनैर्भूपवरैर्कृतानि।

हर्म्याणि देवापतनानि चैव विरेजिरे योगिजनाश्रुतानि।।⁵

केवल प्रकृति नहीं अपितु पुष्कर के महलों के स्थापत्य की चर्चा भी तृतीय सर्ग में प्राप्त होती है। विन्ध्य पर्वतमाला की गोद में विराजमान यह पावन तीर्थस्थल महर्षि अगस्त्य के तपःप्रभाव का परिपाक है। इस महातीर्थ पर ऐसे मण्डप सुशोभित है जो शरदकालीन बादलों के समान महान् एवं अद्भुत है तथा राजाओं के विलास हेतु उपयुक्त है। विविध प्रकार के मण्डपों, परकोटों से सुशोभित अन्तःपुर में मणिजड़ित शय्या एवं शिविर बने हुए हैं -

* सहायकाचार्य, संस्कृत, महिला पीजी महाविद्यालय, जोधपुर 342001

प्राकारकक्षा प्रतिशोभितानि नानाविधान्येव च मण्डपानि

अन्तःपुरस्यापि महीपतेश्च तथैव शय्या शिविराणि रेजुः।।⁶

कीलों पर स्तम्भों को आश्रित कर स्थापित करने का अद्भुत स्थापत्य यहां दर्शनीय है। चौबीस कीलों पर लटके हुए स्तम्भ, पूर्व और पश्चिम में 62 स्तम्भ तथा चारों कोणों में चार स्तम्भ ये सभी स्तम्भ कीलों पर आश्रित एवं खुले हुए पट्टमण्डपों से सुशोभित थे।⁷ आदि-आदि इन महलों की शोभा एवं समता इन्द्र एवं कुबेर के प्रासादों से की गयी है। दलाभ्र नामक विशेष मण्डप जो कि चार महास्तम्भों की पंक्ति पर आश्रित है मध्यभाग अष्टादश स्तम्भो से युक्त एव रमणीय है आदि विवेचन भरतमुनि के नाट्यगृह का स्मरण दिलाते हैं। इससे विदित होता है कि कवि को नाट्यशास्त्र का भी पर्याप्त ज्ञान था। इस प्रकार संपूर्ण तृतीय सर्ग उत्कृष्ट स्थापत्य कला के निदर्शन के रूप में राजस्थानी सभ्यता संस्कृति का परिचायक बनता है।

वसन्तु ऋतु आदि काल से कवियों-रसिकों की प्रीतिकर रही है। गीता में भगवान कृष्ण कहते हैं ऋतूणां कुसुमाकरः⁸ अर्थात् ऋतुओं में वसन्त में हूँ। भीमप्रबन्ध महाकाव्य के अवलोकन से पदे-पदे दृग्गत होता है कि कहीं प्रकृति स्थापत्य को संधारित कर रही है तो कहीं स्थापत्य प्रकृति की निर्दिष्ट गोद में बैठ इतरा रहा है। वसन्तोत्सव अथवा मदनोत्सव प्रकृति का एक विलास उत्सव है जो कि संस्कृत साहित्य की कविपरम्परा को प्रिय रहा है कालिदासादि महाकवियों से लेकर अद्यतनीय कवि परम्परा में वसन्त के अनेक रूप दृग्गोचर होते हैं। सिन्दूर चूर्णयुक्त जल से जलयन्त्र द्वारा क्रीड़ा का उल्लेख हमें भीमप्रबन्ध के कई सर्गों में देखने मिलता है। कवि कहता है यन्त्रयुक्त दैवीय जल क्रीडाओं का वर्णन मनुष्य के वश में नहीं है-

क्रीडा वसन्ते जलपत्रयुक्ता उद्यानमध्ये च विचित्र रूपा।

सीन्दूरचूर्णेन च चूर्णितं तां कथं समर्थाः मनुजा पृथिव्याः।।⁹

(यह पुनरावृत्त श्लोक भी है जिसकी आवृत्ति दो बार अर्थात् चतुर्थ सर्ग के 23वें तथा षष्ठ सर्ग के 13वें श्लोक के रूप में यही पुनः उद्धृत है।¹⁰)

गणिकाएं गीत गाती हुई पतले उदर एवं कटिभाग वाली, चंचल नेत्रों एवं विचित्र वेशभूषा वाली सभी लोगों को आनन्दित करती थी। मोतियों से जड़े महल में वसन्त ऋतु के अनुसार महाराज भीम तथा सभी अन्तःपुर की स्त्रियाँ वस्त्राभूषण धारण कर उत्सव मनाते थे-

यदा हि मुक्ताफलहर्म्यरम्ये वसन्तवेषाभरणादियुक्ताः

भीमो महाराज वसन्तकाले रामाश्च सर्वाः रमयाञ्चकार।।¹¹

इसी प्रसंग में राइका बाग उद्यान का सुरम्य वर्णन हमें मिलता है जिसे ग्रन्थ में 'राजिकोद्यान' कहा है ग्रन्थ सम्पादक ने इसे 'राइका बाग' के नाम से ही अभिहित किया

है। उस विशाल उद्यान एवं उसके नैसर्गिक सौन्दर्य का जहाँ अशोक, चिंचा, पीपल, नीम, कर्दम, एडिम आदि के वृक्ष व नानाविध लताएं उद्यान का शृंगार करती हैं-

यद्राजिकोद्यानमिति प्रणीतमुद्यानवर्गाच्च महत्तरं हि।

देशे च देशे विदितं जनैश्च सेना निवेशाय हितं नृपाणाम्।।¹²

अशोकचिंचावटपिप्पलैश्च निर्बादिभिर्वै करमर्दकैश्च।

मुखश्च निंबूफलदाडिमाम्लै वल्लीभिरन्याभि विरोचमाना।।¹³

प्रकृति कितनी ही सुन्दर हो उसमें आत्मतत्त्व का संचार पक्षि-कुल द्वारा ही होता है। राइका बाग उद्यान केवल वृक्ष-लताओं से ही समृद्ध नहीं था अपितु हंस, तोते, कोयल, कबूतर, तीतर-चकवाक आदि जाति के खग-विशेषों द्वारा अहोरात्र गुंजरित-मुखरित भी था। कवि हरिवंश भट्ट लिखते हैं-

हंसैः शुकैः कौकिल नीलकण्ठैः चकोरपारावरतीतिरैश्च।

वात्यूह भृंगैरपि चक्रवाकैः घुष्टं तथान्यैरपिवानरैश्च।।¹⁴

उद्यानों में लगे हुए जलपत्र मात्र क्रीड़ा के हेतु नहीं थे अपितु सैन्यवर्ग उससे युद्धाभ्यास भी करते थे।

तत्कुण्ड पार्श्वे च समीपतश्च युद्धं त्वभूद् वारिकुतुहलेन।।¹⁵

यह ग्रंथ हमारा परिचय मारवाड़ के प्राचीन स्थानों से भी करवाता है भोगिशैल पर्वतमाला जो भी मारवाड़ को अपनी क्रीड़ा में लिए हुए विराजमान है उसका इतिहास भी हमें उक्त ग्रंथ के आलोक में विदित होता है। दक्षिण दिशा की ओर नगर की स्थिति तथा पूर्व की ओर नागनदी जिसे कालान्तर में (नागादड़ी) कहा गया का प्रवाह क्षेत्र था। नागलोक से दो नाग निकल पृथ्वी पर आ गये तथा आतंक मनाने लगे, वे लोगों को भयभीत करते उन्होंने इन्द्रादि देवताओं को भी भयभीत किया। ब्रह्माजी ने अपने पुत्र भोगिशैल को आज्ञा दी उसने आकर नाग गुहा में प्रवेश कर उन पर अधिकार किया तब से सभी नागों के साथ भगवान् शंकर इसी पर्वत शृंखला में निवास करते हैं। नाग नदी को भी देवी रूप में पूजा जाने लगा।

तदभोगिशैले च महेश्वरोर्धपि देवैः समस्तैः कृपया ह्युवासः।

तीर्थानि सर्वाणि सरिद्वाराया नगाश्च देव्यो वसतिं प्रचक्रुः।।¹⁶

महाकाव्य का 19वां तथा 20वां सर्ग 'सकलहर्म्यवर्णनम्' तथा 'दुर्गादिवर्णनम्' नाम से अभिहित है इसमें दुर्ग स्थापत्य के सुन्दरतम निदर्शन प्रस्तुत होते हैं। ग्रन्थ के अनुसार शीतल महल, सूर्यमहल, मोतीमहल, विजय महल, फतह महल इत्यादि महलों के स्थापत्य यथा स्तम्भों, अट्टारिकाओं, वीथियों, शृंगार चौकियों, पाकशालाओं आदि का विचित्र एवं वैविध्यपूर्ण विवेचना इन अध्यायों से मिलता है। दौलतखाना जिसमें 30

स्तम्भ एवं 30 द्वार हैं। पाँच बाहरी गवाक्ष तथा पंचपट्टकों से सुशोभित है-

स्तम्भैस्तथाविंशतिभिर्युतश्च द्वारैर्वसुत्रिंशतिभिर्महद्भिः।

बहिर्गवक्षैरपि ब्राणसंख्यैः रम्यं तथा रक्तकपट्टकैश्च।।¹⁷

इन महलों एवं दौलतखाने के वर्णन के साथ ही इनकी व्यवस्था एवं देखरेख करने वाले अधिकारियों की नामावली भी यथास्थान दी गयी है।

दुर्ग में स्थित देवस्थानों के बारे में, उनके निर्माण रख-रखाव, भगवान् की वस्त्र सज्जा, श्रृंगारादि करने वालों के निवास भोजनादि की व्यवस्था राजा के द्वारा करवाना आदि महत्त्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक जानकारियाँ भीमप्रबन्ध महाकाव्य से मिलती है। इस ग्रंथ में प्रत्येक सर्गान्त में फलश्रुति भी दी गयी है जो कि महाकाव्य परम्परा में दुर्लभ है। मारवाड़ के इतिहास के एक कालखण्ड विशेष को सांस्कृतिक परिदृश्य से समझने में यह ग्रन्थ हमारी पूरी सहायता करता है।

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मारवाड़ की रानियों का सहित्य सृजन में योगदान

उषा राठौड़*

साहित्य समाज की संस्कृति का प्रमुख अंग होता है और साहित्य का माध्यम होती है भाषा। लिखित साहित्य अपने क्षेत्र तथा समाज की संस्कृति का परिचय कराता है। साहित्य व कला के क्षेत्र में मारवाड़ अछूता नहीं रहा। जोधपुर की मरुभूमि केवल वीरों की ही भूमि नहीं है, अपितु साहित्य व कला में भी अग्रणीय है। साहित्य के क्षेत्र में महिलाओं की भूमिका और योगदान ने भी साहित्य सृजन क्षेत्र में अपने नाम इतिहास के पन्नों में दर्ज किये हैं। मारवाड़ राजवंश की रानियाँ धार्मिक एवं लोक कल्याणकारी कार्यों के साथ-साथ साहित्यिक ज्ञान से भी ओत-प्रोत थी। मारवाड़ राजघराने में काव्य लेखन एवं चर्चाओं का वातावरण था जहाँ रानियाँ भी भाग लेती थी। यहाँ भक्त एवं संतों का समागम होता था। रानियों की भक्ति-साधना ने काव्य एवं श्रृंगार रस की धारा को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखा। राजवंशीय स्त्रियों के लिए प्रेम एवं भक्ति ही ई वर का प्रतीक था। रानियों के साहित्य प्रेम एवं रचना उनके अद्भुत गुणों एवं रचनात्मक कौशल को प्रदर्शित करता है। मारवाड़ राजवंश की साहित्य प्रेमी विदुषी रानियों ने मारवाड़ की वीर भूमि को साहित्य रस में घोल कर नया इतिहास रचा।

रानी हरिजी चावड़ी - महाराजा मानसिंह जी की द्वितीय रानी चावड़ी जी का जन्म गुजरात के चावड़ा राजपूत वंश में हुआ था।¹ उनका बचपन का नाम हरिजी था। हरिजी को बालपन से ही काव्य रचना का शौक था। राजा मानसिंह स्वयं विद्वान व साहित्य में रूचि रखने वाले थे।² अतः राजा जी के सानिध्य से कविता और ज्ञान विद्या दोनों में ही वह निपुण हो गई। महाराजा के साथ रानी जी को कविता व गायन का काफी अच्छा अभ्यास हो गया। एक बार महाराजा जी उनसे किसी बात से रूठ गये थे तथा छः मास तक रूठे रहे। इसी दौरान वर्षा ऋतु का उनका लिखा एक विरह गीत मिलता है जो इन्होंने लिखकर महाराज के पास भेजा-

बेगा नी पधारो म्हरा आलीजा जी हो।

छोटी सी नाजक धण रा पीव।।

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास विभाग, जय नारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

ओ सावणियो उमंग रयो छै।
हरिजी ने ओडण दिखणी चीर।।
इण औसर मिलणो कद होसी।
लाडीजी रो थां पर जीव।।
छोटी सी नाजक धण रा पीव।³

रानी हरिजी चावड़ी की ख्याल, टप्पे और गीत इत्यादि रचनाएं विविध राग-रागनियों में उपलब्ध होती है। लोकगीतों से प्रभावित होकर उनकी रचनाओं में श्रृंगार रस की प्रधानता दृष्टिगोचर होती है। इन्होंने स्वतन्त्र पदों की रचनाएं की हैं। रानी चावड़ी जी की रचनाओं में कल्पना, अनुभूति, माधुर्य का सुन्दर समावेश देखने को मिलता है। नारी हृदय की अनुभूति सहज ढंग से अपनी भावभरी भाषा में अभिव्यक्त की गयी है। इससे चावड़ीजी का काव्यानुराग और साहित्य प्रेम प्रकट होता है।⁴ रानी चावड़ी जी की अन्य रचनाएं भी मिलती हैं। इसी प्रकार की एक रचना है जब महाराजा मानसिंह के एक विवाह के अवसर पर जब महाराजा दुल्हा बनकर घोड़े पर सवार हुए तो रानी चावड़ी जी ने ख्याल रचा-

चालो मगानैणिया जी चम्पा बड़िया
जटे लाल तम्बूड़ा ताणिया।
पनो सुमेर सगरा साथी
ज्यू मालारा मणियां।।
रसीलो राज बींद मदमाती।
सुख समाज रंग वणिया।
फेर बधावण चालो सखिया।।
थ्यव केसरिया बणिया।।⁵

उक्त पद में रानी की भावुकता सहृदय और विवशता एक साथ व्यंजित हो गई है। इनके लिखे कई ख्याल, टप्पे और गीत विविध राग रागनियों में उपलब्ध होते हैं। इनकी भाव भरी भाषा पर लोकगीतों का प्रभाव विशेष दिखाई देता है। इसकी दृष्टि से इनके समस्त पद श्रृंगार रस प्रधान हैं।

रानी जामसुता प्रताप कुंवरी जी - प्रताप कुंवरी जी का जन्म वि.सं. 1873 में जोधपुर के ठिकाणा जाखण निवासी गोयंददास के घर हुआ।⁶ बाल्यकाल से ही प्रताप कुंवरी एक होनहार, कुशाग्र व विलक्षण बुद्धि की धनी थी। काव्य रचना में इनकी अत्यधिक रुचि थी। सौभाग्य से जोधपुर के महाराजा मानसिंह से उनका विवाह हुआ। ठाकुर गोयन्ददास जी ने इनकी किशोरावस्था से ही भक्त पूर्णदास से परामर्श कर उनकी शिक्षा का समुचित प्रबन्ध कर दिया। विवाहोपरान्त प्रताप कुंवरी जी तीजा भटियाणी कहलाती थी। जागीरी में इन्हें जो गांव दिये गये थे उनसे प्राप्त होने वाली आय को वे

परमार्थ में ही व्यय करती थी।⁷ इन्होंने अनेक पदों व हरजसों की रचना की। इनकी कविता में भक्ति भावना ही प्रधान थी। भटियाणी जी द्वारा भगवद्भक्ति के अनेक ग्रंथों की रचना की जिनमें मुख्य निम्नलिखित हैं- प्रेमसागर, ज्ञान-सागर, ज्ञान प्रकाश, प्रताप पच्चीसी, राम-गुण-सागर, रामचन्द्र महिमा, रघुवर-स्नेह लीला, राम सुजस पच्चीसी, राम प्रेम सुखसागर, पत्रिका सं. 1923 चेत्र वदी की, रघुनाथ जी के कवित, भजन पद हरजस, प्रताप विनय, श्री हरिजस विनय, हरिजस गायन आदि।⁸ भटियाणी जी की रचनाओं में श्रृंगारिक भावों व सांसारिक प्रेम की बजाय राम भक्ति की भावना प्रबल रूप से अभिव्यक्त होती है। प्रताप कुंवरी जी की भाषा सरल, सुबोध व सरस राजस्थानी है। आपकी राम भक्ति पर गहरी आस्था थी जबकि महाराज मानसिंह जी नाथ सम्प्रदाय में अटूट श्रद्धा रखने वाले थे।⁹ इनका सर्वप्रमुख ग्रंथ ज्ञान सागर माना जाता है। ग्रंथ का आरम्भ भगवान राम की स्तुति से हुआ है। इस काव्य ग्रंथ द्वारा उन्होंने अपने बाल्यकाल तथा वैवाहिक जीवन के संकेत भी किये हैं। वह अपने पितृकुल का वर्णन करते हुए कहती है कि उनके पिता उनके प्रति अधिक वात्सल्य रखते थे।

माता पिता नित मोहि लड़ावाहिं। हमकूं देख परम सुख पावहिं।।
या पुत्री अति प्राणपिथारी। इनके वर अब करो विचारी।।
नगर जोधपुर मान महीपा। सब राठोर वेस में दीपा।।
जेही संग चलत सेन चतुरंगा। धवल महल झुक रहे तुरंगा।।¹⁰

भटियाणी जी ने अपने आराध्य भगवान श्री राम का गुणकीर्तन करते हुए उन्होंने पावस ऋतु में अयोध्या और सरयू नदी के नैसर्गिक सौंदर्य का बहुत सुन्दर वर्णन किया है। यथा -

अवधपुर घुमड़ि घटा रही छाय।
चलत समुन्द पवन पुरवाई, नथ घनघोर मचाया।
दादुर और पपीहा बोलत दामिनी दमक दुराय।
भूमि निकुंज सघन तरुवर में लता रही लिपटाय।
सरजू उमगत लेते हिलोरे निरखत सियरधुराय।
कहत प्रतापकुंवरि हरि ऊपर बारबार बलिहार।¹¹

भटियाणी जी द्वारा राम मन्दिर के निर्माण के मार्मिक प्रसंगों की विवेचना की है। इन्होंने राम परिवार के साथ ही शिव की मूर्ति प्रतिष्ठित की थी। रानी जी द्वारा भगवान राम का मंदिर निर्माण कराकर रामनवमी पर उसकी प्रतिष्ठा की गयी। इस दिन विभिन्न पकवान बनाने का उल्लेख कवयित्री ने किया है-

पार उच्छव दिन आवत जब ही। उच्छव अधिक होत है तबही।।
नौबत घुरत बजत सुरनाई। जय-जय सबद होत सुखदाई।।
भांति-भांति भोजन पकवाना। खीर खांड ध्रित विजैन नाना।

*सिरो लाडू पूरी पकोरी। घेवर केसरी पाक कचोरी।।
पड़ा दही तड़ी अरू पूवा। नुकती सेव जलेबी सूपा।
और हि भोजन विविध प्रकार। भोग लगत रघुवर के सारा।।¹²*

प्रताप कुंवरी जी का दूसरा महत्त्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ पत्रिका है इसमें भगवान राम को कालिकाल से मुक्ति पाने के लिए एक पत्र लिखा गया है। राम शक्ति के पुंज है इसलिए प्रकृति के विराट उपकरण भी अनुचर हैं और रात दिन उनकी सेवा में संलग्न रहते हैं। प्रताप कुंवरी जी द्वारा भगवान राम की कुशलक्षेम की प्रार्थना पत्र लेखन शैली द्वारा की गई उनसे अपने भक्तों पर कृपा दृष्टि बनाये रखने की याचना भी की है। इन दो प्रमुख ग्रंथों के अतिरिक्त इनके राम भक्ति संबंधी सैकड़ों पद मिलते हैं जिनमें भगवान राम की स्तुति की गई है। महाराजा मानसिंह पुस्तक प्रकाश के हस्तलिखित गंथांक 205 में प्रताप कुंवरी जी के अनेक पद मिलते हैं। जिनमें राम भक्ति का बारहमासा विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है। उसमें चैत्र मास से प्रारम्भ करके फाल्गुन तक के महीनों का उल्लेख है और राम की अनुकम्पा हेतु याचना की गई है।¹³ इसी प्रकार एक अन्य ग्रंथांक नं. 349 में लिखे पद में प्रताप कुंवरी जी श्री राम से दर्शन देने की विनती करती है।

*दरसण दिया रघुनाथ, मारै मन मै चाह घणैरी
दरसण दिया रघुनाथ, हरे दरसण दिया करौ दिन रात,
सीता जी रो हौ साथणै हेली मन मय की साथ।
मारा मन मै चाह घणैरी दरसण दिया करो दिन राम।।
हाथ जोड़कर करू सुं बीनती करू मारै मनड़ा री बात।।
प्रताप कंवर की या ही है बीनती, बसो म्हरां हिरदा रै माय।।¹⁴*

इनकी रचनाओं में एक भावुक तथा सहृदय कवयित्री की कुशलता उपलब्ध होती है। रानी प्रताप कुंवरी विदुषी होने के साथ ही उच्च कोटि की कवयित्री भी थी।¹⁵

रानी प्रताप कंवर जाड़ेचा - महाराजा तख्तसिंह की रानी प्रतापकंवर जाड़ेचा जामनगर, गुजरात के महाराजा रिड़मल की कन्या थी। इनका जन्म वि.सं. 1891 माना जाता है। जाड़ेचा जी अपने युग की पुण्यात्मा और धर्मपरायण स्त्री रत्न सिद्ध हुईं। जोधपुर में वि.सं. 1925 में अकाल पड़ा तब इन्होंने प्रजा के लिए मुक्त खाद्यान्न वितरण किया था। इस दान-पुण्य और इनके द्वारा दिये गये ब्रह्मभोजों से इनकी दानवीरता और उदारता प्रकट होती है। महाराजा तख्तसिंह जी का माघ सुदी पूनम वि.सं. 1929 को देहावासन हो गया।¹⁶ महाराजा की मृत्यु के बाद उन्हें संसार से विरक्ति हो गई तथा वह अपना अधिकांश समय भक्ति-भाव में बीताने लगी। जाड़ेची प्रताप कुंवरी जी राम की भक्त थी तथा रामस्नेही सम्प्रदाय का इन पर अत्यधिक प्रभाव था। प्रताप कुंवरी काव्य गुण सम्पन्न थी, आपने भक्ति भाव के कई पदों की रचना की। इनके पदों की सरसता, मधुरता तथा विभिन्न राग-रागिनियों की रचनात्मकता पाठकों का मन मोह लेती है। अपने

रचित पदों में इन्होंने स्वयं के लिए विभिन्न नाम भेदों का प्रयोग किया जैसे- जामसुता, दुलारी जाम, परतापकोर, परतापबाला आदि। जाड़ेची की काव्य विद्या व भक्ति भाव का कौशल इनके रचित पदों से पहचाना जा सकता है।¹⁷ आपने अपने पदों में भगवान श्री कृष्ण के पीताम्बर एवं मोर मुकुटधारी रूप को चित्रित किया है-

*चत्रभुजा श्यामा लागैछै मानु प्यारो है।
मोरमुगत पीतांबर सोवे, कानां कुंडल वारो
गल मोतियन की माल विराजे,
भाजे नंद दुलारो है।
जामसुता कहै जनम-जनम को
जीवन प्राण हमारो हो।*

रानी चावड़ी जी ने 'प्रताप कुंवरी पद रत्नावली' नाम संग्रह में कुछ रचनाओं में भगवान श्री कृष्ण को 'प्रीतम' पद से संबोधित किया है -

*प्रीतम प्यारो चतुरभुज बारो री।
हिय ते होत न न्यारो मोरे,
जीवन नंददुलारो री।
जामसुता को है सुखकारी,
सांचो श्याम हमारो री।।¹⁸*

प्रताप कुंवरी जाड़ेची जी ने श्री कृष्ण के प्रति अपनी विरह व्याकुलता को भी काव्य के द्वारा प्रकट किया है-

*प्रीत करी मे स्याम सुंदर से, जा दिन से दुख नां सजनी।
वा वीर हमकां विन हमका, लागत है दुख सी रंजनी।।
चेत चीकोर चंद को चावे, जैसे आप करूं जजनी।
मैं श्याम सजन को सजन को ध्यान धरूं मन का मंडली।।
तलफत है मछली विन पानी, तेसे प्राण करूं तजनी।
ताऊ मीलन की मीलन की, आवत ना उनका लजनी।। प्रताप बाला जी ने
अपनी रचनाओं में संसार की मोह-माया का विरोध किया है। वे स्वयं
रनिवास के सुख त्याग कर भक्ति में स्वयं को डुबो देने के लिए आतुर थी।
प्रताप कुंवरी जी ने अपने पदों में प्रकृति का सुंदर चित्रण भी किया है। इस
प्रकार जामसुता जाड़ेची जी अन्तःपुर में रहते हुए भी काव्य द्वारा जन
सामान्य से जुड़ी विरल कवयित्रियों में से एक है। इनके काव्यों, गीतों को
आज भी मरुप्रदेश और गुर्जर प्रदेशों में भक्ति पूर्वक गाया जाता है।¹⁹*

राणी बाधेली रणछोड़ कुंवरी - बाधेली रणछोड़ कुंवरी ठिकाना रीवां के महाराजा विश्वनाथ सिंह के भाई बलभद्र सिंह की पुत्री थी। इनका विवाह जोधपुर के

महाराजा तख्तसिंह जी के साथ हुआ। रणछोड़ कुंवरी जी मारवाड़ में बाघेली जी कहलाती थी। रणछोड़ जी अत्यन्त भगवद् भक्त थी। इनके पिता जी से राधा वल्लभ जी मूर्ति को विवाहोपरान्त अपने साथ ले आयी थी। बाघेली जी ने ठाकुरजी को अपने पुत्रवत् गोद लिया मानकर ही उनकी वात्सल्य भाव से पूजा की।²⁰

काव्य रचना में निपुण राणी बाघेली जी ने श्री कृष्ण भक्ति के कई पदों की रचना की। आपने ब्रदीनारायण तीर्थ पर सोने चांदी के दीपक बनवाकर भिजवाये तथा दो लाख बत्तियाँ अपने हाथों से बनाकर जगदीशपुरी व रामेश्वरम तक भिजवाई। रानी जी कृष्ण भक्ति से ओत-प्रोत थी। इन्हें भागवत से बड़ा प्रेम था व उसी के रस में वे डूबी रहती थी। कृष्ण भक्ति में लीन रहने वाली बाघेली जी की वाणी में माधुर्य गुण की प्रधानता थी। उनकी कविता में लोक नीति और उपदेशात्मकता के दर्शन भी होते हैं। रणछोड़ कुंवरी जी ने कृष्ण की लीलाओं को विभिन्न राग-रागनियों में वर्णन किया। उनके पद में कृष्ण का गायों को चराकर पुनः नन्द के घर लौटने सुन्दर वर्णन किया है—

धन संग आवत श्याम बिहारी

अंग रज छाजत छुवत नैनन में, कज छरी कर धारी।

निरखत नन्द ग्वाल सब निरखत, निरखत सबै ब्रजनारी।

गुंजमाल उरमाल फुलन की, वंशी वर सुर भारी।

तखतराज नन्दलाल कुंवर कू, निरखत नैन बिहारी।²¹

इस प्रकार विभिन्न ख्यातों, बहियों, पुस्तकों का अवलोकन के बाद यह दृष्टि होता है कि जोधपुर की संस्कृति के फलने-फूलने व विकास में यहां राजघराने की शोभा विभिन्न ठिकानों की कन्याओं की परोपकारिता, विद्वता, कौशलता, दूरदर्शिता, शिक्षा-दीक्षा व संस्कार भली प्रकार से परिलक्षित होती है। ठिकाने से विवाहित हो राजघराने में आने के बाद इन्हें कई प्रकार की सुख-सुविधायें उपलब्ध होती थी।

रानियों द्वारा किये गये धार्मिक कृत्य जहां धार्मिक भावना के प्रवाह के सांस्कृतिक पक्ष एवं सामाजिक मान्यताओं को संरक्षण प्रदान करता है, रानियों द्वारा रचित साहित्य उनकी विद्वता का दर्पण है। साहित्य समाज को व्यापक रूप से प्रभावित करने का माध्यम होता है। साहित्य समाज को संस्कारित करने के साथ-साथ जीवन मूल्यों की शिक्षा भी प्रदान करता है। साहित्य में जीवन दृष्टि व लोक कलाओं का संरक्षण होता है। साहित्य का सृजन कर राजघराने की रानियों ने अपने भक्ति-भाव प्रकट कर समाज को धर्म की राह दिखाई। रानियों के साहित्य में ईश्वर भक्ति का बड़ा ही हृदयकारी चित्रण हुआ है। साहित्य जहां एक ओर समाज-समाज को पोषित करता है वहीं दूसरी ओर साहित्यकार को जीवन जीने की प्रेरणा, शक्ति देता है। सारांशतः यही कहा जा सकता है कि राजघराने की रानियों में अपने जीवन को धार्मिक, आनन्दित बनाने के साथ ही प्रजा जनो के सुख व समाज की संस्कृति को पोषित किया।

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‘मुंहता नैणसी री ख्यात’ में गुजरात के इतिहास संबंधी विवरण

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मध्यकालीन भारतीय इतिहास अंतर्संघर्षों का इतिहास रहा है। जहाँ एक तरफ तुर्क-अफगान और मुगल सत्ता ने दिल्ली में अपनी सत्ता को स्थापित करने और उसके विस्तार के लिये अन्य शक्तियों के साथ संघर्ष और सहयोग का संबंध रखा वहीं इन गैर तुर्क-अफगानी राज्यों के बीच भी सहयोग और आपसी प्रतिद्वन्द्विता निरन्तर जारी रही। भारतीय इतिहास को उत्तर भारत केन्द्रित अथवा दिल्ली केन्द्रित नजरिये से अधिकतर देखा जाता रहा है और इस संदर्भ में दिल्ली की सत्ता को राष्ट्रीय एवं अन्य सत्ताओं को स्थानीय अथवा तो क्षेत्रीय स्वरूप में देखा जाता रहा है। राष्ट्रीय इतिहास के निर्माण में इन तथाकथित क्षेत्रीय राज्यों की भूमिका के महत्व को प्रतिपादित करते हुए अब इतिहासकारों ने क्षेत्रीय इतिहास के विमर्श को महत्वपूर्ण बना दिया है। जहाँ किसी समय में मध्यकालीन भारतीय इतिहास जानने के लिये मुख्य रूप से फारसी साहित्यिक स्रोतों को प्राथमिक स्रोत एवं सबसे प्रमुख स्रोतों के रूप में देखा जाता था और भारतीय भाषाओं में रचित साहित्य को क्षेत्रीय इतिहास जानने के साधनों तक सीमित कर दिया जाता था, वही अब इन क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में रचित साहित्य के दायरे की व्यापकता का विमर्श भी जोर पकड़ रहा है और उस साहित्य को राष्ट्रीय इतिहास के प्रतिनिधि साहित्यिक स्रोतों में शुमार किये जाने के तर्क विकसित हो रहे हैं। इस संदर्भ में राजस्थानी भाषा में रचित ख्यातों का महत्व समझा जा सकता है। सोलहवीं सदी से उन्नीसवीं सदी के मध्य पश्चिमी राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों में रचित इस विशिष्ट साहित्य को समकालीन इतिहास ग्रन्थों की संज्ञा दी जा सकती है।

राजस्थानी भाषा में रचित इन ख्यातों में मुंहता नैणसी री ख्यात एक महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ माना जाता है। सोलहवीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध में मारवाड़ राज्य के दीवान मुंहता नैणसी ने पश्चिमी भारत के विभिन्न राजपूत राज्यों के इतिहास के प्रति अपनी रूचि के चलते इस संदर्भ की सामग्री का संकलन किया था। यही संकलन वर्तमान में मुंहता नैणसी री

ख्यात के रूप में जाना जाता है। यद्यपि इसकी भाषा राजस्थानी है और इसका संकलन मारवाड़ राज्य के दीवान ने किया है किन्तु इसमें राजस्थान के अतिरिक्त गुजरात और मध्य भारत के समकालीन राजपूत राज्यों के इतिहास के लिये महत्वपूर्ण सामग्री उपलब्ध है। इस प्रकार यह ख्यात किसी एक क्षेत्रीय राज्य के इतिहास से संबंधित नहीं अपितु भारत के एक बड़े भू-भाग के इतिहास जानने के लिये एक महत्वपूर्ण साधन है। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में मुंहता नैणसी री ख्यात में गुजरात के इतिहास से संबंधित विवरणों के आधार पर इसे राष्ट्रीय इतिहास के प्रतिनिधि साहित्यिक स्रोत के रूप में देखे जाने की संभावनाओं की पड़ताल की जाएगी।

मुंहता नैणसी मारवाड़ राज्य में विभिन्न राजकीय पदों पर कार्यरत रहते हुए राज्य के दीवान जैसे महत्वपूर्ण पद पर पहुँचा था। मारवाड़ के शासक महाराजा गजसिंह के समय में 1637 ईस्वी सन् में उसने अपने प्रशासनिक जीवन की शुरुआत की थी। 1666 में महाराजा जसवंतसिंह द्वारा उसे अपने पद से पदच्युत कर दिया गया। इस पूरे समयकाल में विविध पदों पर रहते हुए नैणसी के संपर्क अन्य राज्यों से भी रहे। इसी दौरान उसने विविध राज्यों के इतिहास से संबंधित महत्वपूर्ण सूचनाएँ एकत्र करने का यत्न किया। इतिहास संबंधित सूचनाओं के एकत्रीकरण कार्य 1743 से प्रारम्भ किया होगा जो कि लगभग 1666 तक चलता रहा।¹ इस समयकाल में नैणसी ने पश्चिम एवं मध्यभारत के अनेक राज्यों से इतिहास से संबंधित जानकारियों को मंगवाया और उनका संकलन किया था। इसमें गुजरात के विभिन्न राजपूत राज्यों के इतिहास से संबंधित सामग्री का संकलन भी किया था। इस तरह की सामग्री प्रत्यक्षतः गुजरात के इतिहास से संबंधित है किन्तु इसके अलावा भी अनेक तरह के तथ्य गुजरात के इतिहास से संबंधित ख्यात में हैं जो कि राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों के विवरणों में आते हैं।

‘वात अणहलवाड़ा पाटण री’ में वनराज चावड़ा के द्वारा अणहलवाड़ा पाटण शहर की स्थापना से संबंधित विवरण दिया हुआ है। पाटण में कितने गाँव थे, सत्रहवीं सदी के पूर्वार्द्ध में वहाँ की आय का विवरण भी यहाँ पर दिया गया है।² पाटण पर चावड़ाओं के राज्य के समयकाल से संबंधित कवित्त है जिसमें कहा गया है कि वनराज ने 60 साल, जोगराज ने 10 साल, राजादित ने 3 साल, वरसिंघ ने 11 साल, खेमराज ने 39 साल, चूंडाराव ने 27 साल, गूंडराज ने 19 साल और भोवंडराज ने 29 साल राज किया था।³ चावड़ा के बाद सोलंकी आए और फिर वाघेला। वाघेला के पश्चात सुल्तानों ने शासन किया। पाटण के शासकों का नाम और उनके शासन का कालक्रम भी दिया हुआ है।⁴

‘वात सोलंकिया पाटण आया री’ में सोलंकियों के पाटण में आने से संबंधित विवरण है।⁵ ‘वात पाटण चावोड़ां थी सोलंकिया रे आवै जिण री’ में पाटण का शासन चावड़ाओं के हाथ से निकल कर सोलंकियों के हाथ में किस तरह से आया उसका

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विवरण है।⁶ 'वात एक जाड़ेचा लाखोनुं सोलंकी मूलराज मारियां री' में जाड़ेचा लाखा और मूलराज सोलंकी के संघर्ष और उसमें मूलराज के द्वारा लाखा को मारने का विवरण है।⁷ 'वात रूद्रमाळो प्रासाद सिद्धराव करायो तिण री' में सिद्धराज जयसिंह के द्वारा रूद्रमहालय प्रासाद बनवाने से संबंधित विवरण है। जिसमें अलाउद्दीन खिलजी के द्वारा रूद्रमहालय के प्रासाद को तुड़वाने का उल्लेख भी किया गया है। रूद्रमहालय के पूर्व दिशा की तरफ बहने वाली नदी का नाम नैणसी सरस्वती नदी बताता है। सिद्धपुर शहर की समकालीन स्थिति का विवरण भी नैणसी देता है और वहाँ की जनांकिकी का उल्लेख करते हुए बताता है कि वहाँ पर दो हजार घर बनियों के, सौ घर ओसवालों के, सात सौ घर ब्राह्मणों के, एक हजार घर बोहरा मुसलमानों के थे। इसी प्रकार सिद्धपुर की धार्मिक महत्ता का उल्लेख भी किया गया है।⁸

सौराष्ट्र के सरवहिया राजपूतों का विवरण दिया हुआ है। सरवहियाओं के विवरण में मुख्य रूप से राव मांडलिक का विवरण और उसके बाद सौराष्ट्र पर महमूद बेगड़ा के अधिकार होने और फिर का अकबर के समयकाल का विवरण दिया गया है।⁹ मांडलिक के पश्चात जैसा सरवहिया और उसके संघर्ष का विवरण दिया गया है।¹⁰ गुजरात के ही एक अन्य राजपूत वंश जाड़ेचा से संबंधित संक्षिप्त जानकारी नैणसी अपनी ख्यात में देता है जिसमें उनकी वंशावली के अलावा सामा-जाड़ेचा के विषय में भी जानकारी देता है।¹¹ भुज के शासकों का विवरण 'वात रायधण भुज रा धणियां री' में दिया गया है।¹² हाला और रायधण शाखा के राजपूतों का वर्णन विस्तार से किया गया है जिसमें रायधण शाखा के हमीर और खंगार का विवरण किया गया है।¹³ रावल जाम ने विक्रम संवत् 1596 में नवानगर नामक नगर बसाया था। इस नवानगर में उससे पहले जेठवा, वाडेल और काठी राजपूतों की बस्ती थी। ये चार हजार गाँवों का पूरा विस्तार हालार कहा जाता था।¹⁴ नैणसी ने भुज के शासक फूल और लाखा की बात विस्तार से दी है।¹⁵ जाम उनड़ सांवलसुध का विवरण भी दिया हुआ है।¹⁶ अकबर ने गुजरात की सुबेदारी आजमखान को दी तब गिरनार पर अमीखान गौरी का शासन था। जाम सता और अमीखान के बीच हुई लड़ाई का विवरण नैणसी देता है।¹⁷ झाला रायसिंह मानसिंहोत और जाड़ेचा जसा धवलोट तथा जाड़ेचा साहिब हमीरोत के बीच हुई लड़ाई का विवरण भी दिया गया है।¹⁸ झाला रायसिंह और जाड़ेचा साहिब के बीच हुए संघर्ष के दो अलग-अलग विवरण उस समय उपलब्ध थे। नैणसी ने दोनों ही विवरण दिये हैं।¹⁹ वांकानेर के झाला वंश की वंशावली दी गई है। वांकानेर, हलवद, पाटड़ी के विवरण देते हुए नैणसी यहाँ के झाला राजपूतों के कतिपय विवरण देते हैं और झालावाड़ प्रदेश का उल्लेख करता है।²⁰ झालावाड़ का राजनीतिक-भुगोल के आँकड़े देते हुए नैणसी बताता है कि वीरमगाम में 747 गाँव शामिल थे और उसकी कुल उपज तीन लाख रुपये थी। झालावाड़ के ही पाटडी का उल्लेख करते हुए नैणसी बताता है कि वहाँ पर कोली, बोहरा, बनिया और गरासिया ज्यादा रहते हैं। वहाँ से नमक निकलने का भी उल्लेख

किया गया है।²¹ झाला और मकवाणा एक ही है और उनका मूल स्थल हलवद है। इसको पाटडीया कहा जाता था। 'अथ गुजरात देश राज्य वर्णनम्' में नैणसी पुनः अणहलवाड़ पाटण की स्थापना, चावड़ा वंश की वंशावली, मूलराज के द्वारा पाटण पर शासन स्थापित करना और सोलंकी वंश की नींव डालने संबंधी विवरण है। पाटण पर तुर्क सत्ता की स्थापना और बाद में गुजरात में मुस्लिम सल्तनत की स्थापना, तुर्कों को सिसोदियों से मिली चुनौति, मुगल सत्ता के साथ संघर्ष और गुजरात में मुगलों की सत्ता के अमल संबंधी विवरण दिया गया है।²² झाला नामकरण से संबंधित कथा भी संक्षिप्त रूप में दी गई है।²³

इस प्रकार नैणसी अपनी ख्यात में उत्तर गुजरात, सौराष्ट्र और कच्छ के राजपूत राजवंशों से संबंधित विस्तृत विवरण देता है। उक्त विवरणों में मुख्य रूप से समकालीन प्रचलित आख्यानों को लिया गया है। नैणसी के द्वारा एकत्रित ये विवरण समकालीन प्रचलित आख्यानों के आधार पर तैयार किये गए थे। प्रत्यक्ष रूप से गुजरात के इन विवरणों के अतिरिक्त भी विविध संदर्भों में गुजरात से संबंधित विवरण नैणसी की ख्यात में देखने को मिलते हैं। राजस्थान के विविध राजपूत राज्यों विशेष तौर पर मारवाड़ के राठौड वंश और मेवाड़ के गुहिल वंश के शासकों का गुजरात के साथ घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा। गुजरात में सल्तनत की स्थापना के पूर्व के विभिन्न राजपूत राज्यों के साथ मारवाड़ और मेवाड़ का संपर्क लगातार बना रहा था। गुजरात में मुस्लिम सत्ता की स्थापना के पश्चात सल्तनत काल में विशेष तौर पर मेवाड़ के साथ लगातार संघर्ष की स्थिति बनी रही थी। मारवाड़ का संपर्क भी उत्तर गुजरात की ईडर और पाटण से लगातार बना रहा। अकबर ने जब गुजरात को विजय कर लिया उसके बाद मारवाड़ के शासक मुगल मनसबदार के रूप में गुजरात के सूबेदार भी नियुक्त किये गए। इस वजह से मारवाड़ और मेवाड़ के शासकों के कार्यों का विवरण देते समय गुजरात के संदर्भ आना स्वाभाविक है।

इस तरह के विवरणों में सर्वाधिक उल्लेख पाटण, ईडर, अहमदाबाद, कच्छ, सोरठ, हलवद, नवानगर का हुआ है। मेवाड़ राज्य के लिये ईडर एक महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र था। नैणसी उदयपुर से ईडर तक के रास्ते का विवरण देता है। उदयपुर से ईडर की दूरी 50 कोस बताते हुए रास्ते के प्रमुख पड़ावों और उनके बीच की दूरी का भी उल्लेख करता है।²⁴ उत्तर गुजरात के थराद, वाव और सुईगाम का उल्लेख करते हुए नैणसी बताता है कि यहाँ पर नाडोल के चौहान वंशी राव लाखा के वंशजों का शासन है। इनमें पता वाव का और पंचायण सुईगाम का शासक है।²⁵ यदुवंशी भाटियों का उल्लेख करते हुए नैणसी जाड़ेचाओं को भुज का स्वामी, सरवहियाओं को जूनागढ़ का स्वामी, चूडासमा को भखछ के स्वामी और बाद में ग्रास के रूप में धंधुका की जागीर पाने वाला बताया है।²⁶

मुंहता नैणसी ने अपनी ख्यात के लिये राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों के इतिहास के साथ-साथ गुजरात के राजपूत राज्यों के इतिहास को भी प्राधान्यता दी थी। गुजरात के

इतिहास के साहित्यिक स्रोतों में जैन-साहित्य सबसे प्रमुख स्रोत हैं, किन्तु नैणसी के द्वारा एकत्रित विवरण भी समकालीन प्रचलित मान्यताओं का प्रतिनिधित्व करते हैं इसलिये गुजरात के इतिहास लेखन में नैणसी की ख्यात के विवरणों को देखा जाना चाहिये। यद्यपि गुजरात के राजकीय एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास की श्रृंखला के संपादकों ने समकालीन जैन-साहित्य और शिलालेखों का प्रचुर मात्रा में उपयोग करते हुए एक पुष्ट इतिहास को उत किया है किन्तु उसमें नैणसी की ख्यात के संदर्भों का अभाव है जो कि उस इतिहास को और अधिक पुष्ट करने में सहायक हो सकता है। साथ ही राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों के गुजरात के राज्यों और गुजरात के विविध क्षेत्रों के साथ संबंधों के संदर्भ में तो नैणसी की ख्यात एक महत्वपूर्ण और प्रामाणिक स्रोत-ग्रन्थ है। इस प्रकार नैणसी की ख्यात को महज राजस्थान के इतिहास के लिये ही नहीं किन्तु पश्चिमी भारत के इतिहास के लिये एक महत्वपूर्ण आधार सामग्री की तरह माना जाना चाहिये और उसका उपयोग इतिहासलेखन में किया जाना चाहिए।

नैणसी की ख्यात का एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण पहलु ये है कि ख्यात में मौखिक स्रोतों से प्राप्त जानकारियों का संकलन किया गया है। वर्तमान में जिस तरह से इतिहासलेखन में मौखिक स्रोतों के उपयोग को लेकर जो विमर्श हो रहा है उस विमर्श को पुष्ट करने के लिये नैणसी की ख्यात एक महत्वपूर्ण साधन सिद्ध हो सकती है। नैणसी की ख्यात में जिस तरह से समकालीन प्रचलित बातों का उल्लेख किया गया है उससे समकालीन सांस्कृतिक इतिहास को लिखने में मदद मिल सकती है। ये बातें सिर्फ राजस्थान के राजपूत राज्यों तक ही सीमित नहीं हैं बल्कि गुजरात के इतिहास के संदर्भ में भी ये बातें प्रचुर मात्रा में मिलती हैं। अतः गुजरात के इतिहास के मौखिक स्रोतों को जब सूचिबद्ध किया जाएगा तब नैणसी के द्वारा संकलित ये बातें उनमें महत्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त कर सकेंगी।

सन्दर्भ

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शोध-पत्रिका 'परम्परा' में राजस्थानी गद्य साहित्य - एक अध्ययन

डॉ. जसवंत शर्मा*

मध्यकालीन राजस्थानी गद्य अपनी समकालीन गद्य शैली में लिखा जाता रहा है। मध्यकाल में ऐतिहासिक गद्य प्रचुर मात्रा में लिखा गया है। जिसमें राजस्थानी ऐतिहासिक साहित्य का अपना विशेष स्थान रहा है। ऐतिहासिक गद्य साहित्य में ख्यात साहित्य, बात साहित्य, विगत, पीढियां, दवावैत, वचनिका इत्यादि रूपों में प्राप्त होता है।¹ डॉ. नारायणसिंह भाटी ने भी 'राजस्थानी गद्य री परम्परा नै आधुनिक विकास' लेख में प्राचीन राजस्थानी गद्य के विभिन्न रूपों को गिनाया है- "बात, ख्यात, वंशावली, विगत, हकीकत, बही, हवालोलो, याददाश्त आदि कई रूपों में यह गद्य मिलता है।"²

राजस्थानी का गद्य साहित्य बहुत प्राचीन रहा है। 14वीं सदी से लेकर आज तक राजस्थानी गद्य साहित्य की रचनाएं होती रही हैं। राजस्थानी के प्राचीन गद्य साहित्य को प्रमुख पांच भागों में विभाजित किया गया है।³ यथा-

1. धार्मिक गद्य साहित्य
2. ऐतिहासिक गद्य साहित्य
3. कलात्मक गद्य साहित्य
4. वैज्ञानिक गद्य साहित्य
5. प्रकीर्णक गद्य साहित्य

(1) धार्मिक गद्य साहित्य- जैन धार्मिक गद्य टीकाओं के रूप में मिलता है और स्वतन्त्र रूप से टीकाएं दो रूप में मिलती हैं- बालावबोध व टब्बा।

1. बालावबोध - बालावबोध का अभिप्राय सरल और सुबोध टीका से है। इसमें मूल की व्याख्या ही नहीं है, अपितु मूल सिद्धान्तों को स्पष्ट करने वाली कथाएं भी होती हैं। ये बालावबोध सैकड़ों की संख्या में लिखे गये और लोकप्रिय भी हुए हैं।⁴ बालावबोध जैनागम 'भगवती-सूत्र' सबसे बड़ा ग्रन्थ है, जिसका परिणाम करीब एक लाख श्लोकों तक का है।⁵ 1411 संवत् में आचार्य तरुणप्रभ सूरि की 'षडावश्यक

बालावबोध' राजस्थानी गद्य की पहली कृति है।⁶

2. टब्बा - 'टब्बा' शब्द संस्कृत का रूप स्तवक है, टब्बा का अर्थ किसी बात का सार कहना है। टब्बा की लेखन शैली अलग होती है। इसमें मूल शब्द का अर्थ उसके ऊपर व नीचे तथा पार्श्व में लिखा जाता है। संक्षिप्त टीकाओं को टब्बा कहते हैं। "टब्बा पद्धति भी राजस्थानी गद्य में 14वीं शताब्दी से प्रचलित है। बालावबोध की तुलना में टब्बा का स्वरूप बहुत लघु होता है।"⁷

(2) ऐतिहासिक गद्य साहित्य - इसके अन्तर्गत मुख्यतः जैन विद्वानों द्वारा रचित आता है। जैन ऐतिहासिक साहित्य से तात्पर्य साहित्य की उस श्रेणी से है जो जैन विद्वानों द्वारा सर्जित किया गया और जिसमें जैन धर्म के विषय में जानकारी के साथ-साथ तत्कालीन युग की सामाजिक, राजनीतिक एवं सांस्कृतिक तथा आर्थिक व्यवस्थाओं से सम्बन्धित जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। यह मुख्यतः पट्टावली, वंशावली, दतर बही, ऐतिहासिक टिप्पण और उत्पत्ति ग्रन्थ के रूप में मिलता है। वंशावली में किसी जाति विशेष की वंश परम्परा का वर्णन होता है। दतर बही में समय-समय के विहार और दीक्षादि की बातों को लिपिबद्ध किया जाता है।⁸

(3) कलात्मक गद्य साहित्य- राजस्थानी के कलात्मक गद्य साहित्य में ख्यात, बात, विगत, वचनिका, दवावैत सिलोका व वर्णक ग्रन्थ आदि रूपों में मिलता है। यह गद्य साहित्य ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। यह निम्न रूप में उपलब्ध है-

ख्यात- ख्यात शब्द संस्कृत के 'ख्याति' शब्द से बना है। ख्याति प्राप्त प्रख्यात एवं लोकविश्रुत पुरुषों की जीवन घटनाओं के संग्रह को ख्यात की संज्ञा दी गई है। राजस्थान के राज्यों पर लिखी गई ख्यातों में वहाँ के शासकों के जीवन घटनाओं का क्रमबद्ध विवरण मिलता है। इसलिये राजस्थान के इतिहास के अध्ययन हेतु ख्यात ग्रन्थों का सर्वाधिक महत्व रहा है। 16वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में अकबर के समय में अबुल-फजल ने आईने-ए-अकबरी की रचना की। इसके उपरान्त देशी राज्यों में भी ख्यातों का लिखा जाना प्रारम्भ हुआ।⁹

डॉ. ओझा के अनुसार ख्यात ऐतिहासिक गद्य रचना को कहा जाता है, जिसमें राजपूत राजाओं के इतिहास की घटनाओं का वंशक्रमानुसार चित्रण मिलता है।¹⁰

प्रोफेसर राधेश्याम त्रिपाठी ने ख्यातों को चार भागों में विभाजित किया है-"इतिहास परक ख्यात, वार्ता-परक-ख्यात व्यक्ति परक ख्यात, स्फुट ख्यात।"¹¹ हमारी सम्मति अध्ययन की दृष्टि से कुछ महत्वपूर्ण ख्यातों का संक्षिप्त विवरण प्रस्तुत करना आवश्यक है जो निम्न हैं-

मुंहणोत नैणसी री ख्यात- मुंहणोत नैणसी द्वारा संवत् 1709 में लिखी ख्यात बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। 'नैणसी री ख्यात' में बातें बहुत बड़ी-बड़ी हैं जो कई पृष्ठों तक

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चलती है। अगर इन बातों को क्रम से व्यवस्थित कर दिया जाये तो उससे क्रमवार इतिहास बन जाता है।¹² “मुंहणोत नैणसी जोधपुर के महाराजा जसवन्त सिंह जी का दीवान था। उसे इतिहास से प्रेम था। अतः उसने अपने राज्य और पड़ोसी राज्यों के प्रसिद्ध पुरूषों, बड़वों, चारणों और भाटों से सम्पर्क स्थापित कर 1650 ई. के कुछ पूर्व से 1665 ई. के कुछ पीछे तक की घटनाओं का संग्रह किया। इसमें उदयपुर, डूंगरपुर, प्रतापगढ़, जोधपुर, बीकानेर, बूंदी, जालोर आदि वंशों का वर्णन, भौगोलिक तथा सामाजिक विवरण और लड़ाइयों का इतिवृत्त मिलता है, जो इतिहास की दृष्टि से बड़ा उपयोगी है।¹³

दयालदास री ख्यात- राजस्थानी के ख्यातकारों में ‘दयालदास सिंढायच’ का नाम महत्वपूर्ण है। राजस्थानी ख्यात लेखन की परम्परा में वह अंतिम उल्लेखनीय लेखक है, जिसने न केवल बीकानेर राज्य के इतिहास अपितु राजस्थान के राठौड़ों के इतिहास पर भी यथाचित प्रकाश डाला है।¹⁴ 19वीं शताब्दी के लगभग मध्य में दयालदास सिंढायच अपनी रचनाओं से बीकानेर व राजस्थान के ख्यात साहित्य को समृद्ध कर देता है।¹⁵ महाराजा रतनसिंह के आदेशानुसार दयालदास ने ‘बीकानेर की ख्यात’ लिखी जिनमें राव बीका से लेकर महाराजा सरदार सिंह जी के राज्यारोहण तक का इतिहास दिया गया है।¹⁶

डॉ. दशरथ शर्मा ने ख्यात के एक भाग को सम्पादित व प्रकाशित करने के पश्चात् भाग के अन्त में परिशिष्ट के अन्तर्गत दोनों प्रतियों में आये अंतर का उल्लेख भी विस्तार के साथ किया है।¹⁷ ख्यात के प्रथम खण्ड में राठौड़ों की उत्पत्ति से लेकर बीकानेर के पांचवे शासक राव कल्याणमल के शासनकाल अर्थात् 1574 ई. तक का वर्णन है। यह भाग प्रथम खण्ड से होकर 201 पृष्ठों तक फैला हुआ है।¹⁸ द्वितीय खण्ड में राजा रायसिंह के शासनकाल (1574 ई.) से प्रारम्भ होकर महाराजा रतनसिंह के शासनकाल के अंत (1851 ई.) तक का है। ख्यात की अन्तिम पृष्ठ संख्या 394 है।¹⁹ यह बृहदाकार ग्रन्थ न केवल इतिहास बल्कि भाषा की दृष्टि से भी उपयोगी है। तत्कालीन स्थानीय भाषा का बोध होता है। जोधपुर महाराजा अभयसिंह ने वि.सं. 1793 में बीकानेर पर चढाई की ख्यात में गढ़ के घेराव का वृत्तांत वर्णन है-

बांकीदास री ख्यात- यह ख्यात राजस्थानी गद्य में लिखी हुई है। पं. नरोत्तमदास स्वामी ने इसका सम्पादन किया है। बांकीदास ने ख्यात की इन बातों का संग्रह बिना किसी क्रम के किया है। उनमें कोई श्रृंखलाबद्ध वृत्तांत नहीं मिलता, एक ही व्यक्ति के सम्बन्ध की बातें अनेक भिन्न-भिन्न स्थानों पर आई है। कई बातें पुनरावृत्त भी हुई है। अर्थात् दुबारा-तिबारा भी आ गई है।²⁰ इन्होंने अपनी बातों में विविध विषयों को लेकर 200 बातों का संग्रह किया है, जिसमें चौहान, हाडा, गहलोत एवं राठौड़ वंशीय राजाओं का इतिवृत्त दिया है। साथ ही साथ मुसलमान शासक जिनमें अलाउद्दीन, बाबर, हुमायु, तैमूर आदि बादशाहों का भी उल्लेख किया है।²¹

मारवाड़ री ख्यात-²² इसमें जोधपुर के महाराजा रामसिंह, बख्तसिंह, विजयसिंह, भीमसिंह और मानसिंह के शासनकाल का वर्णन दिया गया है। शासकों की उपलब्धियों, सामन्तों की भूमिका और मुत्सद्दियों के योगदान का जहाँ पता चलता है वहीं उनकी मनोदशा और विचारों का बोध भी होता है। भवन निर्माण, शासन प्रबन्ध, पड़ोसी राज्यों के साथ सम्बन्ध आदि अनेक नये पक्ष उद्घाटित हुए हैं। भाषा की दृष्टि से भी यह ग्रन्थ बहुत उपयोगी है।

राठौड़ों री ख्यात-²³ यह बृहदाकार ख्यात-ग्रंथ इतिहास और साहित्य दोनों दृष्टियों से महत्वपूर्ण है। इसमें मारवाड़ के शासक राव सीहा से महाराजा मानसिंह तक के शासकों पर विस्तार से प्रकाश डाला गया है। राठौड़ों के अतिरिक्त भाटी, चौहान, प्रतिहार, सीसोदिया आदि योद्धाओं की भूमिका के साथ ही ओसवाल, पंचोली, ब्राह्मण आदि जाति के ओहदेदारों के बारे में समुचित जानकारी ख्यात में प्राप्त होती है। यहाँ के राठौड़ शासकों का मुगल, मराठों और अंग्रेजों आदि केन्द्र सत्ता के साथ सम्बन्धों का जहाँ पता चलता है वहीं उदयपुर, जैसलमेर बीकानेर, और जोधपुर आदि पड़ोसी राज्यों के साथ उनके व्यवहार का बोध होता है। ख्यात ग्रंथ में शासन प्रणाली, सैन्य प्रबन्ध, न्याय व्यवस्था, रीति-रिवाज, सिक्के, माप-तोल, अकाल-सुकाल, रेख-चाकरी आदि अनेक पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला गया। भाषा की दृष्टि से इस ख्यात का विशेष महत्व है। ख्यात का विषय इतिहास है। परन्तु पढ़ते हैं तो एक उपन्यास की तरह लगता है। ख्यात के लेखक आईदान खिड़िया ने मुहावरों एवं अलंकृत वाक्यों का प्रयोग किया है और घटनाओं के बीच में कवित्त व दोहे भी दिये हैं। राजस्थानी भाषा का एक मौलिक स्वरूप इसमें दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

मुंदियाड़ री ख्यात - इस ख्यात में मारवाड़ के शासक राव सीहा से महाराजा विजयसिंह तक के शासकों का वर्णन है। युद्ध अभियानों के अतिरिक्त जनकल्याण कार्य पड़ोसी राज्यों एवं केन्द्र सत्ता के साथ सम्बन्ध और शासकों से अंकुरित हुई राठौड़ों की शाखाओं के बारे में जानकारी मिलती है। मुंदियाड़ के बारहठ चैनदान के द्वारा यह ख्यात लिखी गई इसलिए इसका नाम ‘मुंदियाड़ री ख्यात’ रख दिया गया। इस प्रकार राजस्थानी गद्य साहित्य में ख्यात साहित्य का अपना विशेष महत्व रहा है। इन ख्यातों में तत्कालीन युग के रीति-रिवाज, खान-पान, रहन-सहन, विवाह, कोट-कचेड़ी, गढ़ परकोटों का निर्माण, कुआं, बावड़ियों की जानकारी मिलती है।

वचनिका - राजस्थानी के कलात्मक गद्य साहित्य में ‘वचनिका’ भी अपना विशेष स्थान रखती है। ‘वचनिका’ शब्द संस्कृत के ‘वचन’ शब्द से उत्पन्न है। वचनिका लेखन का समय 14वीं शताब्दी से शुरू हुआ है। इसमें छोटे-छोटे वाक्य वाले तुकान्त गद्य की प्रधानता होती है। वचनिका को हम ‘चम्पू काव्य’ भी कह सकते हैं यह

गद्य पद्य का मिश्रण है। 'रघुनाथ रूपक गीता रो' ग्रन्थ में कवि मंछाराम सेवक ने वचनिका के दो भेद बताए हैं - पद्यबद्ध और गद्यबद्ध वचनिका।²⁴ पद्यबद्ध वचनिका में 8-8 मात्राएं तथा 20-20 मात्राओं के तुकयुक्त गद्य भी होते हैं जबकि गद्यबद्ध वचनिका में मात्राओं का कोई नियम नहीं होता गद्यबद्ध वचनिका में भी दो शैलियों में वचनिकाएं मिलती हैं-चारण शैली एवं जैन शैली की वचनिकाएँ।

चारण शैली की वचनिका-

(1) **अचलदास खींची री वचनिका** - यह वचनिका चारण साहित्य के कलात्मक गद्य की प्रथम रचना है। डॉ. टेस्सीटोरी ने इसे 'द ग्रेट क्लासिकल मॉडल' की संज्ञा दी है।²⁵ इस वचनिका के रचयिता शिवदास गाडण रहे हैं। इसमें गांगरूण गढ़ के स्वामी अचलदास खींची की वीरता का वर्णन है। कथा के दो प्रधान विषय हैं - एक युद्ध प्रधान व दूसरा जौहर प्रधान।

(2) **वचनिका राठौड रतनसिंह महेश दासोत री** - यह कृति जग्गा खिड़िया द्वारा रचित है।²⁶ डॉ. टेस्सीटोरी ने सन् 1660 ई. के आसपास इस कृति का रचनाकाल माना है।²⁷ जोधपुर के महाराजा जसवंतसिंह व मुगल बादशाह शाहजहां के विद्रोही पुत्रों में औरंगजेब व मुराद के बीच लड़े गए धरमत उज्जैन के युद्ध की पृष्ठभूमि पर आधारित वचनिका ऐतिहासिक काव्य है। जिसमें रतलाम के नरेश रतनसिंह राठौड के बलिदान को केन्द्र मानकर क्षत्रिय धर्म का निर्वाह किया गया है।

जैन शैली की वचनिकाएं-

(1) **जिन समुद्र सूरि री वचनिका** - इसमें जैसलमेर के खरतरगच्छीय आचार्य श्री जिनसमुद्र सूरि की अपनी राजधानी में सम्मान आमंत्रित करने वाले राव सातल के यश और कीर्ति का वर्णन है। संवत् 1548 के वैशाख मास में आचार्य श्री जोधपुर पधारे थे।²⁸

(2) **शांतिसागर सूरि री वचनिका** - यह खरतरगच्छ की आध्यक्षीय शाखा के प्रमुख खरतरगच्छाचार्य श्री शांतिसागर सूरि से सम्बद्ध है। ये आचार्य विक्रम की 16वीं शताब्दी के मध्य विद्यमान थे।²⁹

(3) **माताजी री वचनिका** - जैन यति जैचंद द्वारा मारवाड के कुचेरा ग्राम में संवत् 1776 में रचित यह वचनिका भी जैन वचनिकाओं में विशिष्ट स्थान रखती है।³⁰ इसमें शक्ति के अवतार को दुर्गापाठ की पृष्ठभूमि में वर्णित किया गया है। इस रचना के रचनाकार जयचंद यति हैं।

दवावैत - दवावैत राजस्थानी के कलात्मक गद्य में 'दवावैत' भी प्रमुख रहा है। 'वैत' शब्द अरबी भाषा का है। दवावैत लेखन की परम्परा मध्यकाल में मुगलों के समय रही है। फारसी का एक और रचना प्रकार 17वीं शताब्दी से हिन्दी में विकसित हुआ।

उपलब्ध दवावैतों में सबसे पुरानी और छोटी रचना 'नरसिंह दास गौड़ की दवावैत' है। जो बड़वा मालीदास गंगादास के पौत्र ने कहीं है। इसका प्रारम्भिक अंश तो राजस्थानी में है, आगे का अंश खड़ी बोली में है।³¹ दूसरी चारण कवि रचित दवावैत बीकानेर के महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी की है। ये काफी बड़ी है। इसमें राठौडो की वंशावली से प्रारम्भ कर महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी तक का वर्णन किया गया है। इसमें भी प्रारम्भ और मध्य से दोहा कवित दिए गए हैं।³² 'तीसरी चारणी दवावैत बीकानेर के इतिहास लेखक दयालदास सिंढायच ने अपने रत्नाकार नामक इतिहास ग्रन्थ में दी है। इसमें बीकानेर के महाराजा रतनसिंह का वर्णन मिलता है।³³

विगत - राजस्थान में ख्यात की भांति ही विगत का भी बड़ा महत्व है। विगत में किसी वंश, स्थान, गांव, शहर, परगना, पर्वत, कुआ गढ़ इत्यादि का क्रमबद्ध विवरण मिलता है। यह एक प्रकार से ऐतिहासिक टिप्पण मात्र है, जिसमें बीते हुए युग की घटनाओं का उल्लेख मिलता है। विगत साहित्य की कुछ प्रमुख रचनाएं इस प्रकार हैं -

(1) **मारवाड़ रा परगनां री विगत** - जिस प्रकार आईन-ए अकबरी में मुगल साम्राज्य के विभिन्न सूबों एवं प्रशासनिक पहलुओं का क्रमबद्ध विस्तृत विवरण दिया है उसी प्रकार विगत में मारवाड़ के 7 परगने-जोधपुर, सोजत, जैतारण, फलोदी, मेड़ता, सीवाना और पोकरन का भौगोलिक, आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, प्रशासनिक सांस्कृतिक और धार्मिक पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। प्रत्येक परगने का विवरण बड़े ही वैज्ञानिक ढंग से नैपसी ने प्रस्तुत किया है। परगना कब किसके अधिकार में रहा, परगने के अन्तर्गत पड़ने वाले गाँवों की रेख, भूमि की किस्म, फसलों का हाल, सिंचाई के साधन, आबादी परगने से गाँवों की दूरी सांसण व डोली के गाँवों की सूची आदि अनेकानेक महत्वपूर्ण हैं। सूचनाएँ दी गई हैं। परगनों का जो वृत्तांत दिया है वह ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण है।

(2) **मेवाड़ जागीरदारों री विगत**³⁴ - मेवाड़ के इतिहास में वहाँ के ठिकानेदारों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। प्रत्येक महाराणा के समय अलग-अलग शाखा के कितने जागीरदार थे उनकी जागीर के गाँवों की रेख कितनी थी उसका ब्यौरा बहियों में अंकित किया जाता था। रेख के आंकड़ों से जागीरदार के स्तर का बोध होता है।

(3) **मारवाड़ रा ठिकाणां री विगत**³⁵ - इसमें चांपावत, कूपावत, जैतावत, करमसोत, करनोत, और मेड़तिया राठौड़ ठिकानेदारों को पट्टे में मिले गाँवों, रेख, चाकरी, सामरिक उपलब्धियों, हुक्मनामा, नजराना आदि अनेक बातों का विवरण दिया गया है। इतिहास के साथ ही राजस्थानी भाषा की दृष्टि से इसका महत्व है।

सिलोका - सिलोका भी कलात्मक गद्य साहित्य में बहुत महत्वपूर्ण रहा है। इसमें देवी-देवताओं और वीर पुरुषों की महिमा का गुणगान मिलता है। इसे बोलने की एक विशेष लय शैली होती है। 'सलोके' का मूल शब्द श्लोक है। जन भाषा में

‘सिलोका’ या ‘सलोका’ शब्द प्रचलित हो गया इसकी रचना का प्रारम्भिक कारण वर की शिक्षा एवं बुद्धि की परीक्षा लेना है अर्थात् जब वर विवाह के समय ससुराल जाता था तो तोरण पर उसकी शिक्षा एवं बुद्धि की परीक्षा लेने के लिए साले के द्वारा कुछ श्लोक कहे जाकर वर को कुछ वर्णात्मक श्लोक कहे जाने की प्रेरणा दी जाती थी और उसके उत्तर में वर कुछ श्लोकों में अपने वंश आदि का परिचय देकर अपनी प्रतिभा का परिचय देता था³⁶ मूल्यांकन की दृष्टि से इसे पांच भागों में बाँटा गया है- धार्मिक सिलोका, जैन सिलोका, ऐतिहासिक सिलोका, उपदेशात्मक और अनन्य-विविध सिलोके।³⁷

(1) **धार्मिक सिलोका**- धार्मिक सिलोके प्रायः हिन्दू देवी-देवताओं व धार्मिक उपकरणों को लेकर लिखे गए हैं, जैसे सरस्वती रो सिलोको, राम-लक्ष्मण रो सिलोको, सूरज जी रो सिलोको।³⁸

(2) **जैन सिलोके** - जैन सिलोके प्रायः जैन समाज में ही प्रचलित हैं, उनमें अनेक धार्मिक गुरुओं, तीर्थकरों और धार्मिक स्थानों आदि का बखान किया गया है, जैसे महावीरजी रो सिलोको, रिषभदेव जी रो सिलोको, आबू-तीरथज रो सिलोको।³⁹

(3) **ऐतिहासिक सिलोके** - ऐतिहासिक सिलोके इतिहास के कुछ प्रसिद्ध वीरों और महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं को लेकर लिखे गए हैं।⁴⁰

(4) **उपदेशात्मक सिलोके** - कुछ ज्ञानी साधकों ने ज्ञान प्रसार हेतु भी सिलोके लिखे हैं। जिनमें नीति और व्यवहार की बातों को प्रमुख रूप से लिया गया है।⁴¹

(5) **अन्य सिलोके (विविध)** - सूरज जी रो सिलोको, राव अमरसिंह रो सिलोको, अजमालजी रो सिलोको, राठौड़ कुशलसिंह जी रो सिलोको, भाटी केहरसिंह रो सिलोको, महाराजा मानसिंह रो सिलोको।⁴²

बात - ‘बात’ शब्द संस्कृत के ‘वार्ता’ से उत्पन्न है। राजस्थानी कहानी का प्राचीन रूप ही बात है राजस्थानी बातें बहुत ही सरल व सहज होती हैं। इसे कहने सुनने की विशेष प्राणाली होती है। ये लोकसाहित्य की धरोहर हैं। सभी बातों के कथानक तत्कालीन समाज को चित्रित करते हैं। इसलिए इनमें देशकाल का सुन्दर वर्णन होता है।⁴³

वर्णक ग्रन्थ - राजस्थानी में कई वर्णात्मक ग्रन्थ लिखे गए हैं। जिनमें आश्चर्य वाली छटा निराली होती है। इसमें अलग-अलग स्थान, कार्य, ऋतु आदि का विस्तार से चित्रात्मक वर्णन मिलता है। वागविलास, कुतुहलम्, सभा-श्रृंगार आदि इसी तरह की रचनाएँ हैं।

वैज्ञानिक गद्य साहित्य-

राजस्थानी में वैज्ञानिक गद्य साहित्य अनुवाद के रूप में मिलता है या टीका के रूप में, आयुर्वेद, ज्योतिष, शकुनावली, सामुद्रिकशास्त्र, तंत्र मंत्र आदि अनेक विषयों को

संस्कृत ग्रन्थों के राजस्थानी अनुवाद या इन्हीं के आधार पर लिखी हुई राजस्थानी गद्य की रचनाएं मिलती हैं।⁴⁴ वैज्ञानिक गद्य को दो रचनाएं इस काल में प्राप्त होती हैं। इन दोनों के विषय गणित से सम्बन्धित हैं-गणितसार,⁴⁵ गणित पंचविशतिका बालावबोध।⁴⁶

प्रकीर्णक गद्य साहित्य-

इसके अन्तर्गत पत्रों और अभिलेखों में प्रयुक्त गद्य लिया जा सकता है। पत्रात्मक गद्य मुख्यतः राजकीय पत्र व्यवहार में उपलब्ध है। प्रशस्ति लेख, शिलालेख, ताम्रपत्र आदि में संस्कृत का प्रयोग ही मिलता है, पर उनमें राजस्थानी गद्य का भी प्रयोग हुआ है।⁴⁷

निष्कर्ष - इस प्रकार राजस्थानी के प्राचीन गद्य साहित्य की विभिन्न गद्य विधाओं का राजस्थान के इतिहास में अपना विशेष महत्व रहा है। राजस्थानी साहित्य की इस प्राचीन गद्य विधाओं का शोध पत्रिका ‘परम्परा’ के मार्फत बहुत बड़ा योगदान रहा है। ‘परम्परा’ शोध-पत्रिका राजस्थानी साहित्य के इतिहास को दर्शाने में अपना विशेष महत्व रखती है। ये गद्य साहित्य अपने आप में बहुत सुंदर रहा है। नाना तरह के इन गद्य विधाओं में राजस्थानी संस्कृति, समाज, इतिहास की जानकारी सहज, सरल एवं सुबोध रूप में प्रस्तुत की गई है।

शोध पत्रिका ‘परम्परा’ राजस्थानी साहित्य, इतिहास व संस्कृति की त्रिवेणी है जिसके विशेषांकों में इस प्रदेश की परम्पराओं का वर्णन होता है राजस्थान की संस्कृति पर जब भी कुछ लिखने या कहने की बात आयेगी तो उस समय हमें परम्परा के अंकों अध्ययन अनिवार्य रूप से करना होगा।

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बीकानेर उद्योग जगत को महाराजा गंगासिंह का योगदान

डॉ. जगदीश नारायण ओझा*

बीकानेर रियासत काल में 1924 ई. में सर्वप्रथम राज्य के औद्योगीकरण में व्यापारी वर्ग का सहयोग प्राप्त करने के लिए एक कमेटी का निर्माण किया गया जिसमें गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों के रूप में सेठ विश्वेश्वरदास डागा, चांदमल ढड्डा व शिवरतन मोहता को नियुक्त किया गया।¹ इसके कुछ समय बाद राज्य में उद्योग-धंधों को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए राज्य की ओर से अनेक सुविधाओं की घोषणा की गई। सस्ते दामों पर रेल लाइन के पास भूमि, पानी व बिजली की सुविधा, उद्योग स्थापित करने में काम आने वाली वस्तुओं पर जगात में माफी एवं उद्योगों में प्रतिस्पर्द्धा रोकने हेतु दस वर्ष तक का एकाधिकार देना आदि मुख्य सुविधाएं थीं।² इसके परिणामस्वरूप राज्य में अनेक लघु व बड़े पैमाने के उद्योग अस्तित्व में आए। 1943 ई. में महाराजा गंगासिंह की मृत्यु के बाद उसके उत्तराधिकारी महाराजा शार्दूलसिंह ने राज्य के औद्योगिक विकास में सलाह देने के लिये चार्ल्स टोडूनटर को नियुक्त किया एवं औद्योगिक विकास से सम्बन्धित प्रश्नों को सुलझाने हेतु एक सर्वाधिकार सम्पन्न डेवलपमेंट डिपार्टमेंट की स्थापना की। 8 अप्रैल, 1944 को राज्य के व्यापारिक वर्ग के प्रमुख व्यक्तियों को औद्योगिक विकास के मामलों पर विचार करने का निमंत्रण दिया। राज्य के बीस प्रतिष्ठित व्यापारियों ने मंत्रीमण्डल की उपस्थिति में भाग लिया। राज्य सरकार ने राज्य में पुनः उद्योग खोलने वाले उद्योगपतियों के लिए अनेक सुविधाओं की घोषणा की। इससे राज्य में उद्योग स्थापित करने के उद्देश्य से व्यापारिक वर्ग के लोगों ने अनेक 'जॉइंट स्टॉक कम्पनियां' स्थापित की और उन्हीं के माध्यम से अनेक बड़े, मध्यम व लघु उद्योग अस्तित्व में आए।³

ग्लास (कांच) फैक्ट्री - 1927 ई. में बीकानेर के सेठ रायबहादुर बंशीलाल अबीरचन्द डागा को राज्य में प्रथम ग्लास फैक्ट्री खोलने की इजाजत दी गई। 1930 ई. में बंद कर देनी पड़ी।⁴ इसका मुख्य कारण इसके उत्पादन की मांग का न बढ़ना था। दस वर्ष बाद अबीरचंद डागा को अनेक नई छूट एवं दस वर्ष का एकाधिकार दिया गया। इसके परिणामस्वरूप 1945 ई. में इसमें उत्पादन प्रारम्भ किया गया। इस उद्योग की अधिकृत पूंजी आठ लाख रुपया थी तथा इसमें लगभग 800 मजदूर काम करते थे।

फैक्ट्री का प्रतिदिन का उत्पादन तीस हजार यूनिट तक पहुंच गया और इसमें 125 प्रकार की कांच की वस्तुएं बनती थी। 1947 ई. में इसे पुनः बन्द कर दिया गया।

सुगर (चीनी) मिल - 1937 ई. में राज्य के व्यापारियों द्वारा स्थापित एक लिमिटेड कम्पनी को गंगानगर में चीनी मिल लगाने की इजाजत दी गई, किन्तु पर्याप्त पूंजी एवं मशीनरी के अभाव में इसमें उत्पादन नहीं हो सका।⁵ इस प्रकार यह मिल आठ वर्ष तक बंद पड़ी रही। 1945 ई. में इस मिल को दीवान बहादुर सेठ केशरीसिंह ने साठे सात लाख रुपये में खरीद कर उत्पादन शुरू किया। राज्य की ओर से मालिक को दस वर्ष का एकाधिकार स्वीकृत किया गया। इस फैक्ट्री को चलाने के लिये एक लिमिटेड कम्पनी की स्थापना की गई जिसकी अधिकृत पूंजी एक करोड़ रुपये थी। 24 फरवरी, 1946 ई. से 26 मार्च, 1946 के एक माह के समय में करीब 74000 मन गन्ने को उपयोग में लेकर 1172 मन सफेद चीनी, 295 बोरी, 2740 मन गुड़ का उत्पादन किया।

वूल बैरिंग (ऊन से कांटे अलग करना) फैक्ट्री - ऊन को राज्य से बाहर निर्यात करने योग्य बनाने के लिए उसके कांटे आदि साफ करना आवश्यक था। इस उद्देश्य हेतु राज्य के अनेक व्यापारियों ने वूल बैरिंग फैक्ट्री स्थापित करने की स्वीकृति मांगी।⁶ किन्तु 1929 ई. में सेठ चांदमल ढड्डा को स्वीकृति मिली। स्वीकृति के साथ सेठ चांदमल को राज्य की ऊन साफ करने की मांग को पूरा करते रहेंगे, तब तक अन्य किसी व्यक्ति को आश्वस्त किया गया कि वे इस प्रकार की फैक्ट्री लगाने की स्वीकृति नहीं दी जायेगी। 1935 ई. में सेठ चांदमल ढड्डा की आर्थिक स्थिति खराब हो जाने के कारण इस फैक्ट्री को सैठ भैरूदान सेठिया ने खरीद लिया।⁷ यह फैक्ट्री राज्य में स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति तक चलती रही। इसके अतिरिक्त 1932 ई. में गंगानगर क्षेत्र के लिये सेठ शिवचंद झाबक को भी वूल बैरिंग फैक्ट्री लगाने की स्वीकृति मिली। यह फैक्ट्री भी बराबर चलती रही।

वूल (ऊन) प्रेस (पक्की गांठे बांधना) - राज्य की ऊन के अंग्रेजी भारत की मण्डियों एवं ब्रिटेन निर्यात करने के लिये जिस प्रकार से उसे साफ करना आवश्यक था, उसी प्रकार उसकी पक्की गांठे बांधना भी आवश्यक था।⁸ राज्य में ऊन प्रेस स्थापित होने से पूर्व यहां की ऊन की पक्की गांठे बांधने हेतु अंग्रेजी भारत के फाजिल्का नगर में भेजा था। इसलिये राज्य में अनेक ऊन प्रेस अस्तित्व में आये। 1926 ई. में सेठ भैरूदान सेठिया ने खरीद लिया और वह बड़ी सफलतापूर्वक चलाता रहा। इसके अतिरिक्त बाद में मैसर्स सिद्धकरण ताराचंद डागा ने पूगल में व सेठ जोरमल पेड़ीवाल ने हनुमानगढ़ में वूलन प्रेस स्थापित की।⁹

कॉटन जीनिंग (रूई से बिनौले अलग करने) एण्ड प्रेसिंग (दाब) फैक्ट्री - राज्य में गंगानगर के आने के बाद रूई का काफी उत्पादन होने लगा था। यहां से अधिकांश

रूई का अंग्रेजी भारत में निर्यात होता था। अतः रूई को ओट कर उनकी पक्की गांठे बांधना आवश्यक था। इसलिए राज्य में अनेक जीनिंग एण्ड प्रेसिंग फैक्ट्रियां अस्तित्व में आईं। 1930 ई. में गंगानगर जिले के करणपुर, रायसिंहनगर व विजयनगर नामक स्थानों पर इस प्रकार की फैक्ट्रियां स्थापित की गईं। इसके बाद (1943 ई. पश्चात्) राज्य के अनेक व्यापारियों ने मिलकर जीनिंग व प्रेसिंग कार्य को सम्पन्न करने हेतु 'द गंगानगर इण्डस्ट्रीज लिमिटेड' कम्पनी की स्थापना की। इन व्यापारियों में सेठ पूरनचंद चौपड़ा, रायबहादुर सेठ रामेश्वरनाथ नाथानी, सेठ जयचंदलाल पुगलिया, सेठ तेजपाल चौपड़ा, सेठ केशरीचंद बोथरा, सेठ चम्पालाल बैद व सेठ छगनलाल तोलाराम के नाम उल्लेखनीय थे। इस कम्पनी ने गंगानगर क्षेत्र में अनेक स्थानों पर कॉटन, जीनिंग एवं प्रेसिंग फैक्ट्रियों की स्थापना की।¹¹

आईस (बर्फ) फैक्ट्री - 1929 ई में राज्य में सर्वप्रथम सेठ केदारनाथ डागा ने नरसिंग डागा आइस फैक्ट्री स्थापित की। 1943 ई. के बाद सेठ मोहनलाल रामपुरिया ने 'रामपुरिया आइस फैक्ट्री लिमिटेड' की स्थापना की।¹² इसकी स्वीकृति पूंजी दस लाख रुपये थी। राज्य सरकार ने इस फैक्ट्री को पाँच साल का एकाधिकार स्वीकृत किया था। इसके अतिरिक्त गंगानगर में सेठ जोरमल पेड़ीवाल चुरू में सेठ धनपतसिंह कोठारी व रतनगढ़ में सेठ एच.एम. माहेश्वरी ने बर्फ फैक्ट्रियां साथ स्थापित की। इन तीनों फैक्ट्रियों को भी राज्य सरकार की तरफ से दो वर्ष का एकाधिकार स्वीकृत किया गया था।¹³

पॉवर लूम विविंग (बुनाई) फैक्ट्री - राज्य में अनेक हैण्डलूम फैक्ट्रियाँ कार्य कर रही थी परन्तु राज्य की प्रथम पॉवरलूम फैक्ट्री सरदारशहर¹⁴ में मैसर्स सागरमल स्वरूपचंद ने स्थापित की थी यद्यपि धागे की कठिनाई के कारण यह फैक्ट्री अधिक तरक्की नहीं कर सकी, फिर भी इसका कपड़ा अपने विभिन्न रंग-रूप और नमूनों के कारण से काफी प्रसिद्ध था।¹⁵

बोन क्रसिंग एण्ड बटन मेकिंग (हड्डी का चूरा व बटन बनाने) फैक्ट्री - मैसर्स पदमचंद भागचन्द एण्ड कम्पनी ने राज्य में हड्डी का चूरा व बटन बनाने की फैक्ट्री स्थापित की। उसे पांच वर्ष का एकाधिकार स्वीकृत किया गया।¹⁶

आयरन (लोह) फैक्ट्री - राज्य में सर्वप्रथम लोहे की जाली बनाने हेतु लोहे का प्रथम छोटा कारखाना सरदारशहर में स्थापित किया गया था।¹⁷ 1943 ई. के बाद बीकानेर में सेठ मूंधड़ा ने अन्य लोहे का कारखाना स्थापित किया जो स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति तक चलता रहा।¹⁸

इसके अतिरिक्त राज्य में अनेक लघु उद्योग भी अस्तित्व में आए। इनमें शोप फैक्ट्री, टाईल फैक्ट्री गोटा फैक्ट्री (चांदी का गोटा बनाना), सोडा वॉटर फैक्ट्री, आटा दाल व तेल मिल आदि मुख्य लघु उद्योग थे।¹⁹

राज्य में व्यापारी वर्ग द्वारा स्थापित उद्योगों के अध्ययन से यह पुष्टि होती है कि राज्य में वे उद्योग पनप सके जो अंग्रेजी भारत अथवा ब्रिटेन में यहां के कच्चे माल को पहुंचाने में सहयोगी थे। इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य उद्योग या तो अस्तित्व में आते ही बंद हो गये अथवा बड़ी कठिनाई से उन्हें चलाया जा सका।

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वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के सेवा क्रम में राग सेवा और बीकानेर के कीर्तनकार

शिवकुमार व्यास*

विषय प्रवेश :

महाप्रभु श्रीमदाचार्य वल्लभ ने सांसारिक जीवों को दीक्षा प्रदान करते हुए भगवान श्रीकृष्ण का सेवक बना पुष्टिमार्गी सेवा प्रणालिका प्रारम्भ कर भक्त सेवकों को श्री ठाकुर जी के स्वरूप पधराये (प्रदान किये) व उन्हें राग भोग एवं श्रृंगार सेवा आधारित आध्यात्मिक जीवन में प्रेम आधृत प्रभु सेवा में रत रहने का उपदेश दिया।¹ जैसलमेर के मन्दिर पैलेस में स्थित 1810 ई. के एक शिलालेख में वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के लिए प्रचलित रीति के अनुसार निज मन्दिर में सेवा का अधिकार सांचिहर एवं गिरनार के ब्राह्मणों को ही प्राप्त है।²

वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय की राग भोग एवं श्रृंगार सेवा में ठाकुर जी की प्रेम लक्षणा भक्ति से विरहि भक्त का भावात्मक हृदय, अपने पुष्टि प्रभु के प्रति स्नेह पूरित हो, भक्ति रस के अमृत से सराबोर सर्वात्म सर्व शक्तिमान श्री कृष्ण की मधुर अनुग्रहमयी लीलाओं के अलौकिक गुणों के आलोक में भोग, श्रृंगार एवं राग सेवा भावना का प्रगटीकरण करता है।³ राग सेवा अर्थात् अर्थात् सेव्य स्वरूप के सन्मुख किया जाने वाला कीर्तन। पुष्टि स्वरूपों की सेवा (झाँकी) के समय कीर्तनकार परिसर में अष्टयाम सेवा, मनोरथ सेवा, उत्सव आदि सेवाओं के अनुरूप राग एवं निर्धारित कीर्तन पदों का गायन कर राग सेवा प्रस्तुत करते हैं।⁴

पुष्टिमार्गी कीर्तन सेवा में अष्टसखाओं⁵ श्रीमदाचार्य वल्लभ, गो. विट्टलनाथ जी एवं गो. हरिराय महाप्रभु द्वारा रचित पदों का मंगला से शयन पर्यन्त अष्टयाम सेवा एवं मनोरथ, उत्सव, महोत्सव आदि सेवा प्रकारों के दौरान धुपद गायकी (हवेली संगीत) परम्परा में गायन किया जाता है। अष्टसखान् वाग्गेयकार अर्थात् काव्य रचना के

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साथ-साथ अद्वितीय संगीतज्ञ भी थे। वैष्णव घरू सेवा⁶ में भी इन पदों का गायन करते हैं। पुष्टि सेवा की प्रमुखतम विशेषता है कि सिंहासन का चढ़र या कपड़ा भी षड् ऋतु⁷ नियम के अनुसार ही उपयोग में लाया जाता है। अतः वर्ष भर ऋतुओं के अनुसार ही विशेषीकृत रागों में ही कीर्तन किया जाता है।

ग्रीष्मकालीन सेवा में राग :

ग्रीष्म ऋतु में श्री महाप्रभु जी, श्री गुसाई जी एवं यमुना जी के पद राग भैरव में, जबकि गंगा जी के पदों का गायन राग विभाष एवं बिलावल में किया जाता है। जगायवे (श्री प्रभु जी को नींद से जगाने के पद) राग विभाष, राग भैरव, रामकली, बिलावल आदि में किया जाता है। कलेवे के पदों का गायन राग भैरव एवं रामकली के अलावा राग विभाष में भी किया जाता है। मंगला सन्मुख सेवा में राग भैरव व राग विभाष के अतिरिक्त राग देवगंधार एवं राग खट में किया जाता है। श्रीप्रभु को अभ्यंग एवं श्रृंगार के समय कीर्तनकार द्वारा राग देवगंधार के पदों का गायन किया जाता है।

श्रीप्रभु जी को विभिन्न वस्त्र, आभूषण इत्यादि पहनाते समय भी विभिन्न राग के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। जैसे धाती, ग्वालपगा, तनिया, परदनी, बागा, मोर चंद्रिका, सेहरा, स्यामपगा आडुबन्ध, पहनाते समय राग सारंग जबकि मुकुट धराते (पहनाते) समय राग धनाश्री के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। राजभोग में बीड़ी (पान का बीड़ा) धराते समय राग सेवा में राग सारंग एवं धनाश्री के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। श्री प्रभु के चन्दन धराने के समय, उसीर महल, दुपहरी, कुंज, खसखाना धराने पर, नाव उत्सव आदि सभी उत्सव के समय राजभोग में राग सारंग के पदों का गायन कर श्री प्रभु जी को राग सेवा समर्पित की जाती है। वहीं उत्थापन भोग में राग नट, संध्या आरती एवं श्रृंगार बड़ो (हटाने) के समय राग गौरी के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। शयन सन्मुख दर्शन के समय राग कल्याण, राग ईमन, राग कान्हरो, राग नायकी, राग अडानो के पदों का गायन किया जाता है।

अष्टयाम सेवा में फूलमंडली में राग धनाश्री एवं राग कान्हरो, मान के पदों में राग कान्हरो के साथ राग पूरबी, राग अडानो, राग केदारो का गायन किया जाता है। पोढवे में ललित राग सोरठ एवं राग केदारो का गायन किया जाता है। इस प्रकार पुष्टि भक्ति मार्ग की प्रभु सेवा में ग्रीष्मकालीन सेवा में राग सेवा के विभिन्न पदों को गाना ही वैशिष्ट्य को दर्शाता है।⁸

वर्षाकालीन सेवा में राग सेवा :

वर्षा ऋतु की निर्धारित सेवा में श्री प्रभु की सेवा में मंगला सन्मुख से शयन सन्मुख दर्शन प्रभृति राग सेवा में मल्हार राग के पदों का ही गायन किया जाता है।⁹

शीतकालीन सेवा में राग सेवा :

शीतकालीन सेवा में मंगला सन्मुख से शयन सन्मुख दर्शन तक सेवा में राग रामकली, राग विभाष, राग टोडी, राग धनाश्री, राग आसावरी, राग नट, राग गौरी, राग कल्याण आदि का विशेष रूप से गायन किया जाता है।¹⁰

वर्षोत्सव में राग सेवा :

जन्माष्टमी की बधाई राग धनाश्री के साथ राग जैतश्री, राग बिलावल, राग मल्हार, राग सारंग आदि में गायी जाती है। जबकि श्रीप्रभु के पंचामृत स्नान के समय राग देवगंधार के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। इसी प्रकार जन्माष्टमी के महामहोत्सव के विशेष दिन राग बिलावल, राग सारंग, बाललीला के पदों में रामकली, सारंग, टोडी आदि के पदों का गायन होता है। नन्दोत्सव के लिए राग सारंग एवं धनाश्री के पदों का गायन कर नन्द के गृह-उत्सव को कीर्तन के द्वारा मनाया जाता है। दीपावली के त्यौहार को पुष्टि भक्ति परम्परा में हटरी उत्सव के रूप में मनाया जाता है। हटरी उत्सव के अन्तर्गत धनतेरस के दिन राग बिलावल, रूपचर्तुदशी के दिन राग बिलावल एवं राग देवगंधार के पदों का गायन किया जाता है। दीपावली के दिन राग सेवा के परिपाक हेतु राग कान्हरो, राग हमीर एवं राग बाघेश्वरीव के पदों का गायन किया जाता है।¹¹

वसन्त ऋतु में राग सेवा :

वसन्त ऋतु में राग सेवा में अष्टपदी एवं राग वसन्त के पदों का गायन किया जाता है।

बीकानेर में पुष्टिमार्गी परम्परा का आरम्भ :

यद्यपि बीकानेर में पुष्टिमार्ग का प्रारम्भ महाराजा रायसिंह (1571-1611) के, महाप्रभु श्रीमदाचार्य वल्लभ के पौत्र एवं पंचम पीठ के प्रथम अधीश्वर गोस्वामी रघुनाथ तथा उनके पुत्र गोस्वामी देवकीनन्दन जी प्रथम से नांव श्रवण अर्थात् पुष्टि मार्ग की मंत्र दीक्षा प्राप्त कर गुरु दक्षिणा के रूप में रु. 300/- की आय का गांव रैवासी की आय प्रदान करने से मानी जाती है।¹² उनके भाई पृथ्वीराज पीथळ गो. विट्ठलनाथ जी के समकालीन एवं प्रिय सेवक थे। श्री गो. गोकुलनाथ जी द्वारा रचित दो सौ बावन वैष्णवन की वार्ता की वार्ता संख्या 241 में उनका वर्णन मिलता है।¹³

राज्य के राजा सूरसिंह (1613-1631), महाराजा करणसिंह (1631ई.-1669 ई.), महाराजा गजसिंह (1746-1787) आदि शासकों ने भी अपने काल में पुष्टि परम्परा की सेवा की। महाराजा रत्नसिंह (1828-1851) ने सन् 1950 ई. बीकानेर में पुष्टि भक्ति के एक मन्दिर का निर्माण करवा कर गोस्वामी गोविन्द लाल जी को भेंट

किया।¹⁴ इसी प्रकार महाराजा सरदार सिंह ने भी रसिक शिरोमणि मन्दिर का निर्माण कर पंचम पीठ के सेव्य स्वरूप श्री गोकुल चन्द्रमा जी को पधरा (विराजमान) कर बीकानेर की धार्मिक-सांस्कृतिक विरासत को आगे बढ़ाया।¹⁵

बीकानेर के मन्दिरों में राग सेवा :

बीकानेर में जागरण, भजन, राती जोगा, लोक कला रम्मत, विभिन्न मर्यादामार्गी मन्दिरों इत्यादि में आरम्भिक काल से ही संगीत का बोलबाला रहा है। वहीं वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के पुष्टि भक्ति मन्दिरों में राग सेवा का अति विशिष्ट महत्त्व है। पुष्टि भक्ति में वर्ष पर्यन्त विभिन्न सेवाओं में भोग एवं श्रृंगार के साथ ही अलग अलग राग एवं पदों के साथ कीर्तन की विशिष्ट परम्परा रही है। अबूल फजल ने आइने अकबरी में इन भक्त कीर्तनकारों को कलावंत या कीर्तनिया नाम दिया।¹⁶ बीकानेर में सन् 1574ई. में महाराजा रामसिंह के काल में गुणीजनखाने के अन्तर्गत संगीत शाला चलाई जाती थी। महाराजा गंगासिंह के समय में कुल पैतालीस (45) विद्यार्थियों के संगीत शिक्षा की व्यवस्था थी। बीकानेर के ध्रुपद कलाकरों में श्री लाभु जी महाराज, जेठा महाराज, आसकरण एवं जगत नारायण गोस्वामी उर्फ दूढ़ महाराज के नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं।¹⁷ पंचम पीठ के अधीश्वर श्रीमद् गोस्वामी देवकीनन्दनाचार्य जी स्वयं राग सेवा कला से निपूण थे। 17वीं शताब्दी के लगभग जयपुर के ब्रह्मपुरी में स्थित गोकुलनाथ जी के मन्दिर में परम्पराधारित पुष्टिमार्गीय पदों का ध्रुपद धमार राग में गायन करते थे।¹⁸

पुष्टि परम्परा के बीकानेर में प्रस्थापन के समय से ही श्रेष्ठ व उल्लेखनीय कीर्तनकारों ने रतन बिहारी, रसिक बिहारी आदि मन्दिरों में कीर्तन सेवा को अपनाया। श्रुति परम्परा पर आधारित इस कीर्तनिया परम्परा का बीकानेर में प्रारम्भ श्री चैनधर जी से माना जाता है। उनके पुत्र जेठा महाराज (1851 ई.) श्री मदनमोहन लाल जी के सन्मुख मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर के कीर्तनकार एवं पौत्रों श्री वल्लभ जी मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर के कीर्तनकार एवं मद्दंग वादक, बंशी जी मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर में कीर्तनकार एवं मन्दिर सेवा हेतु रचनाकार की सेवाएँ भी समर्पित भाव से देते थे, और उनके छोटे भाई अबीरचंद जी शौकिया कीर्तनकार थे। शिष्य परम्परा में श्री मदनगोपाल गोस्वामी, जगन्नाथ व्यास एवं कृष्ण व्यास तथा सुगन चंद दोषी भी कीर्तनकार के रूप में सेवाएँ देते थे।¹⁹

श्री चैनधर जी की वंश परम्परा में भतीजे सोहन लाल जी ने भी श्री राजरतन बिहारी मन्दिर में कीर्तनकार के रूप में अपनी सेवाएँ दी। अन्य भतीजे सनोहर लाल (मनोहर लाल) ने कलकत्ता के सांवलिया जी एवं बनारस के गोपाल जी मंदिर में कीर्तनकार के रूप में विधिवत ध्रुपद-धमार की सेवाएँ प्रदान करते रहे थे।²⁰ कीर्तनकार परम्परा में कोटा से बीकानेर आए रघुनाथ महाराज के शिष्य श्याम सुंदर महाराज मदन

मोहन जी मन्दिर (मूँधड़ा बगेची घरू सेवा) के कीर्तनकार थे। श्याम लाल जी, ग्वाल जी एवं जगत नारायण जी गोस्वामी (दूढ़ महाराज) ने लगभग 25 वर्ष तक कीर्तनकार के रूप में मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर में श्री ठाकुर जी के सन्मुख अपनी सेवाएँ दी। इनके शिष्य मोती लाल जी रंगा ने भी सरल एवं सरस भावों से ध्रुपद गायकी की मधुर रागों से श्री ठाकुर जी के समक्ष पदों के रूप में कीर्तन प्रस्तुत कर स्वयं को तार्थ किया।

प्रख्यात शिक्षाविद् डॉ. मदन केवलिया ने पुष्टि राग सेवा प्रणालिका की बारीकियों को समझने के लिए मूँधड़ा बगेची के तत्कालीन कीर्तनकार श्री जगतनारायण गो. से ब्रज भाषा अकादमी के अध्यक्ष डॉ. विष्णु चन्द्र पाठक के साथ सम्पर्क किया। दूढ़ महाराज ने उन्हें संध्या समय पर नन्ददास जी के निम्नांकित पद सुनाएँ हैं²¹ -

क्रम सं.	राग	पद के प्रारम्भिक बोल
1.	राग वसंत	ऋतु बसन्त फूली जात मानो
2.	राग सारंग	वृंदावन सूधन कूज माधुरी
3.	राग सारंग	सूर आयो शीश पै
4.	राग मल्हार	बोले माई गोवर्धन पर मुख
5.	राग रामकली	सांवरो मंगल रूपनिधान
6.	राग नट	दानमांगत ही में आन कहु
7.	राग बिलावल	कान्ह कहै सोई
8.	राग ललित	कमल सी अंखिया

इनके अतिरिक्त गो. गोपाल जी गोस्वामी (सनोहर लाल जी के शिष्य), गिरिराज जी मदन मोहन प्रभु मन्दिर, दम्माणी चौक में कीर्तनकार एवं मणिराम जी पुरोहित के शिष्य गोस्वामी लाभू जी महाराज, गोस्वामी गोपीकृष्ण जी की वंश परम्परा में काशीनाथजी, गो. बुला महाराज, गो. नरेन्द्र जी, गोस्वामी मदन जी, दाऊजी एवं गोवर्धननाथ जी मन्दिर में कीर्तनकार (लाभू महाराज के वंशज) मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर में व बालकिशन जी गोस्वामी ने गोवर्धन नाथ जी के मन्दिर में कीर्तनकार के रूप में अपनी सेवाएँ प्रदान करते थे।²² मथुरा के करेला गाँव, निवासी देवीराम ब्रजवासी मदन मोहन लाल जी विग्रह (मूँधड़ा बगेची) के सन्मुख पखावज बजाते थे। देवीराम ब्रजवासी की मृत्यु के दो माह पश्चात् लाभू महाराज गो. के शिष्य शिव किशन श्रीमाली ने मूँधड़ा बगेची मन्दिर में पखावज बजाने का कार्य पेशेवर पखावज वादक के रूप में 40/- महिना व दो पूड़ी, हलुआ प्रसाद व न्यौछावर पारिश्रमिक में प्रारम्भ किया। मनोरथी उत्सव में पखावज वादक को 25 पैसे एवं सरकारू²³ मनोरथी उत्सव में कीर्तनकार व पखावजिया को 1

रुपया 25 पैसे (सवा रुपया) न्यौछावर मिलती थी।²⁴ शिवजी महाराज कीर्तनकार एवं पखावज वादक थे। उन्होंने पखावज वादन के साथ वृन्दावन में हवेली संगीत की औपचारिक शिक्षा प्राप्त की। श्री जगत नारायण गोस्वामी उर्फ दूढ महाराज ने संगीत कला विज्ञान केन्द्र नामक स्वयं की संस्था बनाई थी जिसमें राग साधना से रोगों के प्रभावों को नियंत्रित करने का प्रयास करते थे।²⁵

सन् 1983ई. में श्री जगत नारायण गोस्वामी ने मूँधड़ा बगेची में श्री मदन मोहन लाल जी के सन्मुख, पंडित जसराज की उपस्थिति में राग मारू का गायन किया। पंडित जसराज भी उत्कृष्ट कीर्तनकार की ध्रुपद गायकी की कला से विस्मित हो गये। उस समय बीकानेर के शिवजी महाराज, श्री मोती लाल जी श्री ब्रज रतन जी एवं वर्तमान संगीतकार मूँधड़ा बगेची श्री नारायण जी रंगा भी उपस्थित थे।²⁶

सार संक्षेप :

उपर्युक्त विवेचित पुष्टि राग सेवा के कीर्तनकार मंदिरों में श्री ठाकुर जी के समक्ष कीर्तन करते हुए, श्री प्रभु जी के प्रसाद एवं नेग (विशेष उत्सवों व मनोरथों पर प्रदत्त दक्षिणा इत्यादि) पर ही आश्रित रहते थे। यद्यपि ये पुष्टि परम्परा के कीर्तनकार गैर पेशेवर थे, तथापि पुष्टि राग सेवा एवं ध्रुपद गायकी के शुद्ध सात्विक गायन से पदों के भाव सम्प्रेक्षण में सक्षम एवं निपूण थे।

अतः स्पष्ट है कि श्री प्रभु जी की सेवा में अनन्यचित्त संलग्न रहते हुए पूर्ण भाव से प्रेम लक्षणा भक्ति का वास्तविक संवहन राग सेवा एवं कीर्तन के माध्यम से ही सम्भव है। इस प्रकार बीकानेर के कीर्तनकार पुष्टि सम्प्रदाय की राग सेवा की कीर्तन शैली; ध्रुपद गायकी के साथ शास्त्रीय संगीत के भी महारथी हो कर सेवा में सन्न; रहे कर संगीत की अद्भुद राग कला ध्रुपद की सेवा कर मानवता की सेवा करते रहे हैं।

सन्दर्भ

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कराणो कदेक सणगार करे का जल री झारी भरे इतरो काम करावणो तथा रसोई तो गिरनार रे सांचोरे आद उण जातो कने सर्वथा करावणी तथा जल लावण नूं सारे ई जात रो लावे पण सावधान जो ई जे बुदावे नहीं संवत् १८६७/1810 आसाड सुदि ९ कओड़ श्री हजूर हुकम सां लिषी(खी)

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14. मन्दिर परिसर में स्थित शिलालेख में वर्णितानुसारतया श्री राज रत्न बिहारी चरणारविंदा द्वैत निश्चल भक्ति निष्ठांतः करणया परम पतिव्रत धर्मरतया सकल सौभाग्ययुक्तया सेषावत रिणजीत सिंह जी कस्य पुष्या श्री राज कवर देव्या स्वभर्तु कृपा प्रशादतः शुभ संवत्सरे शुभ लगने शुभ मूहर्ते पंचांग शुद्धे दिने अस्य प्रासादस्य पादत्यासः कारितस्तदनंतरं प्राशादं कारियित्वातस्य प्रासादस्य संवत् १९०७/१९५० शाके १७७२ प्रवत्तमाने महामंगल प्रदायके मासोत्तमे मासे फाल्गुन मासे शुभे शुक्ले पक्षे तृतीयायां गुरुवासरे घट्य ८ पलानि ४४ रेवति नक्षत्रे घट्य १० पलानि ४६ ब्रह्म नाम योग घट्य ५३ पलानि १५ गिर कर्णे एवं पंचांग शुद्ध दिने श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज राज राजेश्वर नरेन्द्र शिरोमणि श्री रत्न सिंह जी केन सपत्नीकेन सपुत्रेण सपरिवारेण गो गोप सखि सहित श्री राज रत्न विहारी मर्तेश्च शास्त्रोक्त विधिना महता हर्षोत्सवेन प्रतिष्ठा कारिता स मूर्तिक एषः प्राशाद् चिरंतरतिष्ठतु ।। कल्याण मस्तु ।। श्री रस्तु ।।

15. श्री रसिक शिरोमणि मंदिर परिसर में स्थित मंदिर स्थापना लेख-वि. सं 1927/1870ई. के शिलालेख का मूल पाठ एवं भावार्थ (श्री) रत्नसिंहो नृपोयेनेयं खलु नंदितार्थं चरितै राजन्वती भूर कृत ।। यः सर्वांगम सर्व देव सकल श्रेयांसि सं भाव यशजर्षीति पदं बधै निर्गदितं भेते प्रतापोन्तः ।। ८ ।। जातः श्री सिरदार सिंह नृपतिः श्री रत्न सिंहः प्रभोः शौर्योदार्य सुशीलतार्थ सुगणैर्नैवोय मेयो नृपोः । यश्चाक्षय्य वटत्व माय कलि जा धर्मा... नृपतिः रक्षायै यु .तस्य खेलन .ते श्री गोकुलेंद्रोवरे ।। ९ ।। तस्य श्री सिरदासिंह धरणी पालस्य भोगांगना लक्ष्ययाया जठरे सुताल्वर भुजोलल्लोर्दरोजितः ।। शिष्याचार्य शिरोमणेर्भगवतो गोविंद गोस्वामिनो लोकानंदक मेघसिंह जननी सौभाग्य भू पार्वती ।। १० ।। सोयं श्री सिरदार सिंह नृपतिर्दानिंद्र चूडामणिः प्रेममैरवन्मुखवास जीति विरदः श्री पार्वती प्रार्थितः ।। श्री मद्गोकुल चंद्र मंदिरवरं .त्वा प्रतिष्ठापयन् जीयान्मित्र कलत्र संदऽदयैर्जी वत्सुता चिंदनु ।। ११ ।। अथ श्री मन्त्रपति विक्रमादित्य राज्यतः संवत् १९२४/१८६७ मिते फाल्गुन कृष्णे २ तिथौ सोमवासरे पूर्वा फाल्गुनी नक्षत्रे कुंभ लग्नोदये अस्य श्री हरि मंदिरस्य प्रासादस्य खातस्समजनि ।। तत संवत् १९२५/१८६८ मिते ज्येष्ठ कृष्णे १ प्रतिप तिथौ गुरुवासरे घट्यः ४२ पलानि ११ विशाखा नक्षत्रे घ. २२ प. २७ वरीयो योग घ. २७ प. ५९ कौलव करणे । कन्या लग्नोदयेऽस्ये पादन्यासः समभवत् ।। तत संवत् १९२७/१८७० मिते वैशाख कृष्णे ९ नवम्यां तिथौ रविकासरे घट्य १९ पलानि ४८ धनष्ठा नक्षत्रे घ. ५० पला. ४९ शुक्ल योगे घ. ५३ प. ३० णि करणे घ. १९ प. ४८ सिंह लग्नोदयो परिवाम दक्षिण भागा धिष्ठित श्री राधा चंद्रावलीभ्या सहितस्य श्री गोकलेंद्र मूर्ते भगवतो हरि प्रासादस्य च प्रतिष्ठा संपन्ना श्रीमत्प्रभुनाम श्री रसिक शिरोमणी नाम निर्वचन श्लोकश्चायं रसिकः खलु पार्वती मुखः शिरदारोपिधरां भृतां शिरः ।। रसिकादि शिरोमणिर्यतो मणिवन्मुख्य धनं तयोरयं ।। १ ।। प्रतिष्ठापितः हरि प्रासादः सेवा सत्र निर्वाह क्षम परिकरा जीव्य सहितः उपलोकित विधयादत्ती .त्य श्री वल्लभीय गोस्वामिवर श्री ६ श्री गोविंद प्रभु जी महाराज गुरुवार चरणेभ्यो राज्ञा समर्पितः । तेन श्री कृष्णः प्रसन्नेस्तु ।। सोरठा ।। परवती जुखवास वितनी सै सिरदार नृप ।। किय हरिको सुख वास विसो रसिक शिरोमणी १ श्री जी द्वार निवास शास्त्रि कन्हैयाप्रभु जू कीरति लता विकास रची सु निरखो साधुजन २ प्रशस्ति कर्त्ता प्रतिष्ठा प्रयोगोपदेष्टागिद्वोपाद्ध भट्ट शास्त्रि गंगाधर सुत शास्त्रि कन्हैया प्रभु कार्याध यक्ष ठाकुर राम नारायण शिल्पी उस्ता कालु प्रशस्ति लेखक प्रतिष्ठाचार्य सि. भट्ट गोपी . षण्जी ।। ।। शुभ भवतु ।। व्यास, राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, वहीं, पृ. 188, 189 श्रीरसिकशिरोमणीजीरै मींदर ।। श्रीरसिकशिरोमणीजी कोट कनै विराजै । श्री गोविन्दलालजी । स्वस्ति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज राजराजेश्वरनरेन्द्रशिरोमणी श्रीसिरदारसिंहजी वचनातु..... संवत् १९२८ मीती आसोज सूद १२ मुकाम पाय तख्त श्री बीकानेर कोट दाखल हुआ श्री मुख । पट्टा बही रिकार्ड, अनलिस्टेड सावा बही, बही परवाना 1800-1900, बही नं-4, पृ. 13
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अलवर के महाराव विनयसिंह : कला के कद्रदान और संरक्षक

आस्था शर्मा*

अलवर रियासत के तृतीय शासक विनयसिंह का जन्म 16 सितम्बर 1808 ई. को थाना के ठाकुर सलेह सिंह के यहाँ हुआ।¹ बख्तावर सिंह की मृत्यु के बाद उत्तराधिकार को लेकर विवाद पैदा हो गया, क्योंकि बख्तावर सिंह की कोई भी वैध संतान नहीं थी। राजपूत सामन्त विनय सिंह को अपना राजा बनाना चाहते थे। अहमद बख्श खाँ व अन्य मुस्लिम सरदार, पासवान रानी मूसी के पुत्र बलवन्त सिंह को अलवर की शासक बनाने का प्रयत्न करने लगे। जब झगड़ा खत्म नहीं हुआ, तो सामन्तों ने विनयसिंह और बलवन्त सिंह दोनों को 12 फरवरी 1815 ई. को समान मानते हुए गददी पर बैठा दिया।² 1826 ई. में अलवर राज्य को दो भागों – अलवर व तिजारा में विभक्त कर दिया गया। अलवर का राजा विनयसिंह (बन्नेसिंह) तथा तिजारा का राजा बलवन्त सिंह को बनाया गया। बलवन्त सिंह ने एक बाग लगवाया जिसे महल बाग कहते हैं, इन्होंने ने एक किला भी बनवाया। 1845 में बलवन्तसिंह के निःसंतान देहान्त हो जाने के कारण तिजारा को पुनः अलवर राज्य में मिला दिया गया।³ वर्तमान में जो इन्द्र विमान, मकराना हाथी, भवानी तोप व कई अन्य कला के बेजोड़ नमूने बलवन्त सिंह की संपत्ति हैं।

विनयसिंह ने कुल 42 वर्ष अलवर महाराज के रूप में शासन किया, इस अंतराल में ना केवल प्रशासनिक व सैन्य क्षेत्र अपितु कला के क्षेत्र में भी बहुत योगदान दिया। विनय सिंह ने जयपुर की नगर योजना को ध्यान में रखते हुए अलवर शहर को नया रूप दिया। विनय सिंह ने विद्वानों, साहित्यकारों एवं कलाकारों को भी संरक्षण प्रदान किया। 1842 ई. में अलवर में प्रथम आधुनिक स्कूल खोला गया।⁴ विनय सिंह को कलात्मक वस्तुएं खरीदने का शौक था, वर्तमान में भी अलवर संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित अधिकांश कलाकृतियाँ विनयसिंह के समय में खरीदी गयी थी।⁵ विनय सिंह के समय में ही 1857 का विद्रोह हुआ था। उत्तरी भारत में अंग्रेजों की स्थिति निरन्तर बिगड़ती जा रही थी,

यद्यपि उस समय विनय सिंह बीमार थे, फिर भी विद्रोह को दबाने में विनय सिंह ने अंग्रेज सरकार को पूर्ण सहायता दी।⁶ विनय सिंह (बन्ने सिंह) का लकवे की बीमारी के कारण 11 जुलाई 1857 ई. को देहान्त हो गया।⁷

महाराव विनयसिंह : कला के संरक्षक व कद्रदान के रूप में

विनय सिंह का काल अलवर के इतिहास में बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण रहा है। इन्होंने रण क्षेत्र में विजय पताका फहराई, वहीं शांति काल में कला के संरक्षक के रूप में भी कार्य किया। इन्होंने ना केवल स्थानीय कलाकारों को संरक्षण दिया, बल्कि बाहर से भी कलाकारों को लेकर आए व उन्हें राजकीय संरक्षण दिया। विनय सिंह को कलात्मक वस्तुएं खरीदने का बहुत शौक था। साथ ही वे अपने राज्य में होने वाले मेलों, रथ यात्राओं को भी आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान करते थे। बख्तावर सिंह द्वारा बनाए गए राज महल को इन्होंने वर्तमान रूप दिया व कई निर्माण करवाए। राजमहल के आस-पास के विशाल मंदिर विनय सिंह की कलाप्रियता के प्रमाण हैं। इन्होंने चित्रकारों को संरक्षण दिया व नवीन अलवर चित्रशैली विकसित करके चित्र बनवाये।⁸ विनय सिंह ने स्थापत्य, चित्रकला, अस्त्र-शास्त्र, सुलेखन, वस्त्राभूषण जैसे बहुत से क्षेत्रों में योगदान दिया व अलवर के कलात्मक खजाने को बढ़ाया। इन्होंने बहुत से संगीतकारों को भी राज्याश्रय प्रदान किया।⁹

स्थापत्य क्षेत्र में योगदान : विनय सिंह ने अलवर के स्थापत्य में अमूल्य योगदान दिया है। इन्होंने 1835 ई. में अपने निवास के लिए विनय विलास पैलेस बनवाया, जो वर्तमान में राजर्षि कॉलेज (मत्स्य विश्वविद्यालय) के नाम से जाना जा रहा है। विनय सिंह का श्रेष्ठ कलात्मक निर्माण बख्तावर सिंह की छतरी है। आमजन में यह स्मारक मूसी महारानी की छतरी के रूप में प्रसिद्ध है। यह मध्यकाल में विकसित राजपूत स्थापत्य कला का एक उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण है।¹⁰ मूसी महारानी की छतरी को महाराजा बख्तावर सिंह और उनकी रानी मूसी की याद में विनय सिंह ने बनवाया था। कहा जाता है कि वे महाराज बख्तावर सिंह की पासवान थी तथा उनकी मृत्यु के बाद बख्तावर सिंह की चिता पर सती हो गई थीं। यह छतरी लाल पत्थर व संगमरमर से बनी दो मंजिला इमारत है। इसकी निचली मंजिल लाल पत्थर से बनी है, जो कि बहुत अलंकृत नहीं है, परंतु यह तल बहुत ही विशालकाय है। इसकी संरचना पर इस्लामिक प्रभाव देखने को मिलता है। इस छतरी की दूसरी मंजिल पर संगमरमर की संरचनाएँ बनी हुई हैं। निचले तल के विपरीत यहाँ पर जटिल नक्काशी की गई है, दीवारों पर नक्काशीदार मूर्तियाँ उकेरी गई हैं तथा एक अलंकृत गुंबद है, जिसके अंदर विभिन्न रंगों व सोने से पुष्प रूपांकनों के द्वारा बारीक अलंकरण किया गया है, जो समय को भेदते हुए आज भी उतने ही चमकदार हैं। छत पर की गई नक्काशी में राजदरबार की कार्यवाही, शिकार, युद्ध

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं भारतीय संस्कृति विभाग, वनस्थली विद्यापीठ

के दृश्य आदि दर्शाये गए हैं। खिले हुए कमल की संरचना खंभों को और अधिक आकर्षित बना देती है। स्मारक के ऊपरी भाग में चबूतरे पर राजा व रानी के पदचिह्न बनाए गए हैं, स्थानीय मान्यताओं के कारण अलवर निवासी इनकी पूजा करते हैं, माना जाता है कि इन पद-चिह्नों के पानी को किसी भी चर्मरोग पर लगाने से वह ठीक हो जाता है।¹¹ इसी के सामने सागर नाम का एक कुंड अवस्थित है, जिससे इसकी खूबसूरती और बढ़ जाती है। इस कुंड का जीर्णोद्धार भी बने सिंह ने ही करवाया था। मूसी महारानी की छतरी इंडो-इस्लामिक वास्तुकला के आधार पर बनी है तथा अपनी नक्काशी व विशालता के लिए जानी जाती है। मूसी महारानी की छतरी वास्तुकला का बेजोड़ नमूना है।

फर्ग्यूसन इस स्मारक के बारे में कहते हैं- It makes up with its domes and pavilions as pleasing a group of its class as is to be found in India, of its age at least.

1844 ई. में विनयसिंह ने अपनी रानी के लिए अलवर से थोड़ी दूर सिलिसेढ़ में एक महल बनवाया, साथ ही रुपारेल नदी पर एक झील का निर्माण भी करवाया। अरावली की पहाड़ियों के बीच झील के ऊपर बने इस महल का सौन्दर्य देखते ही बनता है। विनय सिंह ने मोती डूंगरी का निर्माण भी करवाया था, यह शाही निवास था।¹² वर्ष 1928 तक यह अलवर के शाही परिवार का मुख्य निवास स्थान था। 1928 ई. के बाद, महाराजा जयसिंह ने पुराने महल को ध्वस्त करने का फैसला किया और बाद में उसके स्थान पर एक और महल बनवाया। मोती डूंगरी पैलेस वास्तुकला की इंडो-सारसेनिक शैली का एक अच्छा उदाहरण था। यह एक बहुत अच्छे और विस्तृत बगीचे के भीतर स्थित था, अलवर में रहने वाले कई यूरोपीय अधिकारियों ने इस महल की प्रशंसा की है। वर्तमान में इसमें सुंदर उद्यान है।

चित्रकला व सुलेखन : विनय सिंह ने चित्रकला को बहुत प्रोत्साहित किया। उनके समय में अलवर चित्रशैली एक नए आयाम तक पहुँच गई थी। चित्रकारी के साथ ही उन्हें सुलेखन व जिल्दसाजी का भी बहुत शौक था। वे स्वयं भी सुलेखन किया करते थे। रावराजा बख्तावर सिंह के समय के बलदेव और सालिगराम दो प्रमुख चित्रकार इनके दरबार में भी थे, साथ ही अनेक सुलेखकों और चित्रकारों को उन्होंने सम्मान देकर अपने राज्य में प्रश्रय दिया। दिल्ली का बादशाही वैभव क्षीण होते ही कलाकार अन्य राज्यों में संरक्षण प्राप्त हेतु आने लगे। विनय सिंह ऐसे ही सुअवसर की प्रतीक्षा में थे, इसलिए उन्होंने गुलाम अली जैसे सिद्धहस्त कलाकारों, आग मिर्जा देहलवी जैसे सुलेखकों और नत्थाशाह दरवेश जैसे जिल्दसाजों को राजकीय सम्मान देकर दिल्ली से बुलवाया।¹³ इनके समय के उपर्युक्त कलाकारों ने मिलकर सुंदर व कलात्मक लघुचित्रों एवं सचित्र पोथियों का निर्माण कर अलवर की चित्रकला को समृद्ध बनाया। अलवर की पुस्तकशाला

को स्थापित करने का श्रेय भी बने सिंह को है।¹⁴ श्रीमद्भागवत, रामायण, गीतगोविंद, गुलिस्तान, कुरान आदि ग्रंथों का सुलेखन व चित्रांकन विनय सिंह के राजाश्रय में होना इनकी कलप्रियता का परिचायक है। वे स्वयं भी चित्रकारी किया करते थे, बलदेव उन्हें चित्रकारी सिखाया करता था।¹⁵

इन्हीं में से एक प्रमुख कार्य गुलिस्तान की प्रति तैयार करना था। शेख सादी ने गुलिस्तां लिखकर मध्य एशिया में प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त की, जब मुस्लिम शासकों के साथ उनकी कृति भी भारत आई, तब उनकी ख्याति भारत में भी फैली। अलवर संग्रहालय के सूचीपत्र से पता चलता है कि रावराजा विनयसिंह ने गुलिस्तां की प्रति तैयार करने की आज्ञा दी थी।¹⁶ 287 पृष्ठों की इस पांडुलिपि में 17 रंगीन कलात्मक चित्र हैं। इसके हर पृष्ठ को तैयार करने में 15 दिन का समय लगता था। यह हस्तलिखित ग्रंथ 1 लाख रुपये की लागत के साथ 1856 में 12 वर्ष में तैयार हुआ था।¹⁷ इस ग्रंथ की 3 प्रतियां तैयार की गई थी। इनमें से एक प्रति महाराजा ने स्वयं के पास रखी, दूसरी संग्रहालय में तथा तीसरी प्रति के बारे में यह माना जाता है कि रावराजा जयसिंह ने उसे अपने मित्र पटियाला के महाराजा को भेंट में दी थी। इस ग्रंथ का सुलेखन का कार्य अलवर के दरबारी सुलेखक आगा मिर्जा देहलवी ने किया। इस ग्रंथ में चित्रकारी का कार्य बलदेव व गुलाम अली ने किया तथा हाशिया-नक्काशी (ग्रंथ के किनारों को अलंकृत करना) का कार्य नत्थाशाह पंजाबी एवं कारी अब्दुल रहमान ने किया तथा इसकी जिल्दसाजी का कार्य भी कारी अब्दुल रहमान ने किया।¹⁸ यह ग्रंथ कला के साथ-साथ विषय वस्तु की दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण है, इसके 8 अध्याय चरित्र निर्माण एवं सदाचार के नियमों पर बल देते हैं। इस कलात्मक ग्रंथ के 17 चित्रों को बलदेव तथा गुलाम अली ने तैयार किया था। इसके चित्र मुगल शैली से प्रभावित अलवर शैली के बहुत अच्छे उदाहरण हैं। यहाँ एक बात और दृष्टनीय है कि विनयसिंह ने भी गुलिस्तां की एक प्रति के आठवें अध्याय का सुलेखन किया था, जिसमें 23 पृष्ठ हैं।¹⁹ जिससे महाराजा की सुलेखन में रुचि दिखाई पड़ती है। महाराज ने अरबी में लिखित व चित्रित कुरान 3000 रुपए में खरीदी थी, जो एक मुस्लिम यात्री से खरीदी थी।

अलवर कारखाने में लगभग डेढ़ दर्जन सुलेखक थे, जिन्होंने समय-समय पर ग्रंथों का सुलेखन किया। 1841 ई. में विनय सिंह के सानिध्य में सुलेखक अब्दुल बेग ने 469 पृष्ठों का आखलकुल मोहसनन नामक ग्रंथ तैयार किया, जिसकी जिल्दसाजी अब्दुल रहमान कारी ने की। प्रेम काव्य से संबंधित मीरहसन के उर्दू ग्रंथ बदरे मुनीर का सुलेखन भी 136 पृष्ठों व 24 सुंदर चित्रों के साथ अब्दुल्ला बेग द्वारा 1832 में किया गया। इसी समय में मदाद अली ने दसतीर, तोफातुल इराकीन जैसे ग्रंथों का सुंदर सुलेखन किया। नूरउल्ला नामक सुलेखक ने 1835 ई. में एक काव्य ग्रंथ 'हस्तबंद काशी' को

हाथीदांत के तेरह पृष्ठों पर उतार कर एक नवीन चमत्कार किया। विनय सिंह के शासन काल में तुलसीदास त रामचरित्रमानस का भी सुलेखन व चित्रांकन हुआ।²⁰

अस्त्र-शस्त्र : अलवर का शस्त्रागार राजस्थान में एक अलग स्थान रखता है, अलवर हथियारों की गुणवत्ता के साथ-साथ उनकी कलात्मकता पर भी बहुत ध्यान देते थे। अलवर शस्त्रागार में बने हुए अस्त्र-शस्त्रों पर सोने, मोती व अन्य बहुमूल्य रत्नों से भी नक्काशी की जाती थी। वर्तमान में अलवर संग्रहालय के तृतीय कक्ष में अस्त्र-शस्त्रों को प्रदर्शित किया गया है। अलवर शस्त्रागार हमेशा विनय सिंह जी का ऋणी रहेगा, उनके समय ना केवल स्थानीय स्तर पर कलाकारों ने हथियार बनाए अपितु उन्होंने बाहर से भी उतने ही अस्त्र-शस्त्र खरीदे।

महाराव विनय सिंह के आदेश पर शेख मुहम्मद इब्राहिम (जो कि तत्कालीन राजकीय तलवारसाज था) ने एक विशाल कृपाण बनाई, जिसे महाराज स्वयं प्रयोग में लाते थे। इसकी मूठ पर कोतगर शेख रहीमुल्ला ने अत्यंत सुंदर नक्काशी की गई है, जिसमें मंदिर, मस्जिद तथा वाटिका आदि को बड़ी बारीकी से दिखाया गया है।²¹ इसी शेख मुहम्मद ने विनय सिंह के समय में एक और तलवार बनाई। ऐसी ही एक तलवार 1847 में हाजी नूर मोहम्मद ने बन्नी सिंह के लिए बनाई, इसे शमशेर-दो-अलमी का नाम दिया गया था। इसकी मूठ सोने की है, जिसकी लागत 300 रु. थी तथा इस तलवार की कुल लागत 1000 रु. थी। शमशेर-अलमानी नामक तलवार 1845 ई. में मोहम्मद सादिक द्वारा बनाई गई थी।²² इस पर इसके निर्माणकर्ता व बनवाने वाले का नाम लिखा है। इस पर बहुत ही बारीक नक्काशी की गई है, जिसमें मगरमच्छ व अन्य कई प्रकार के पशु-पक्षी तथा बहुत प्रकार के फूलों से अलंकरण किया गया है।

विनय सिंह ने सिपार-ए-फौलादी नामक ढाल भी खरीदी थी, जो कि लाहौर में बनी थी। इस पर सोने से बारीक नक्काशी (कोतगीरी का काम) की गई है। इसकी कुल लागत 1000 रुपये थी, जिसमें 400 रु. स्टील, 100 रु. सोना, श्रम 500 रु. लगी थी तथा इसका व्यास 21 इंच था।²³ 1855 ई. में महाराजा बन्नी सिंह द्वारा मस्तान शाह दरोगा (उसके शस्त्रागार के प्रमुख) से एक खंजर खरीदा गया था। खंजर तलवार का छोटा रूप होता है, यह फारस में बनाया गया था। इसके ऊपरी और निचले भाग में लेख लिखे हुए हैं, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यह विजय के प्रतीक के रूप में लिया गया था।

विनय सिंह के समय एक अस्त्र 'शक्ति बाला' अलवर में बनाया गया। इसको बनाने वाले कलाकारों का नाम नहीं मिलता है। इसको प्रतिवर्ष दशहरे पर पूजा जाता था। एक लोकोक्ति है कि लक्ष्मण जी को जो शक्ति लगी थी, वह इसी अस्त्र के डंक से लगी थी। इसी प्रकार लोहे का कुदाली जैसा एक हथियार जागेनौल था। शेख मुहम्मद इब्राहिम ने इसे बनाया था। यह लोहे के कवच की कड़ियाँ काटने में काम आता था। यह भी

विनय सिंह के आदेश पर बनाया गया था।²⁴

वस्त्राभूषण : महाराव विनय सिंह जी ने स्थापत्य कला व अस्त्र-शस्त्र के क्षेत्र में जितना योगदान दिया, उतना ही वस्त्राभूषण में भी अपनी कलप्रियता दिखाई। इनके समय के विभिन्न प्रकार के हार, चोगे, कड़े व अन्य आभूषण मिलते हैं, जो बहुमूल्य होने के साथ कला की दृष्टि से भी उल्लेखनीय हैं। विनय सिंह जी ने अपने लिए एक पगड़ी बनवाई जिस पर पन्ने से बना अर्धचंद्राकार आभूषण लगा हुआ है, जिसकी तत्कालिक कीमत 1500 रु थी। 125 17 इंच लंबा मोती की लटकन के साथ पन्ना और माणिक से बना सुंदर कारीगरी का हार विनय सिंह कलप्रियता का एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है। महाराजा ने इसे दीवान अम्मार जान के माध्यम से 35,000 रुपये में खरीदा था। इसके अलावा अलवर संग्रहालय में विनय सिंह के विवाह का चोगा, पगड़ी व उनके स्वयं के उपयोग की बहुत सी वस्तुएं आदि रखी हैं।

अलवर में गुणीजनखाने का सुव्यवस्थित स्वरूप विनयसिंह जी के समय से देखने को मिलता है। यह बात निश्चित है कि विनयसिंह जी को स्थापत्य एवं चित्रकला से प्रेम था, परंतु उनके दरबार में शास्त्रीय संगीत के गायक व वादक भी विद्यमान थे। महाराव विनय सिंह कला के संरक्षक थे और कलाकारों को सहायता और संरक्षण प्रदान करते थे। उन्होंने चित्रकला, मूर्तिकला और वास्तुकला, सुलेखन, हस्तकला सहित विभिन्न कला रूपों के विकास को प्रोत्साहित किया, साथ ही जहाँ से भी उनको दुर्लभ कलाकृतियाँ प्राप्त हुईं, उन्होंने सब एकत्रित किया, जिसके अवशेष अलवर संग्रहालय में देखे जा सकते हैं। इस संरक्षण से अलवर की समृद्ध कलात्मक परंपराओं को संरक्षित और बढ़ावा देने में मदद मिली। इन्होंने अपने शासनकाल के दौरान महलों, किलों, मंदिरों और अन्य संरचनाओं का निर्माण और नवीनीकरण किया। उनके संरक्षण और प्रोत्साहन ने कलात्मक प्रतिभा को पोषित करने और क्षेत्र की समृद्ध सांस्कृतिक परंपराओं को मजबूत करने में मदद की, जिसके लिए विनय सिंह को अलवर की कलाओं के संरक्षक के रूप में सदैव याद किया जाएगा।

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पश्चिमी राजस्थान जिले के प्राचीन जैन शिलालेख

प्रो. सुशीला शक्तावत*

पश्चिमी राजस्थान जिसमें मरुमंडल, पूगल, जांगल, माड, सूरचन्दा रायबड़ा इत्यादि के प्राचीन क्षेत्र प्राते हैं। पुरातनकाल से हो जैन-धर्म और संस्कृति का महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र रहा है। वर्तमान पुरातत्वीय खोजों के अनुसार यह क्षेत्र सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता के अन्तर्गत आता है और उपलब्ध प्रमाणों के अनुसार सिन्धु घाटी की सभ्यता जैन धर्म व संस्कृति से प्रमुख रूप से प्रभावित थी। सील ऑफ मोहनजोदड़ो में वृषभ जो कि प्रथम तीर्थंकर भगवान् आदिनाथ अथवा ऋषभदेव का चिह्न है, स्वस्तिक जो कि जैन अष्टमंगलों में से एक है। मीन युगल जिनका अष्ट मंगलों में स्थान है। नाग जो सातवें तीर्थंकर श्री सुपाशर्वनाथजी को अनेक मूर्तियों पर मिलता है तथा तेईसवें तीर्थंकर श्रीपाशर्वनाथ का चिह्न है, एक जैन प्रतीक के रूप में महत्वपूर्ण संकेत है तथा नग्न साधुओं का जैनों की काऊसगग ध्यान मुद्रा में अंकन इस शिलालेख पर जैन प्रभाव अथवा सिन्धु घाटी सभ्यता के जैन सम्बंधों के रूप में एक उल्लेखनीय प्रमाण प्रस्तुत करता है।¹ वासुदेव कृष्ण व बाईसवें तीर्थंकर श्रीअरिष्टनेमि के जैन ग्रन्थों में उल्लेख इन दोनों महापुरुषों का सम्पूर्ण पश्चिमी भारत पर प्रभाव प्रकट करते हैं जिसमें कृष्ण जरासन्ध युद्ध का तत्कालीन वैदिक सरस्वती नदी के किनारे नाकोड़ा तीर्थ मेवानगर के पास सोनवल्ली (वर्तमान सोनली) के पास युद्ध वर्णन को इस क्षेत्र को जैन ऐतिहासिकता के साथ जोड़ते हैं।²

भगवान् पाशर्वनाथ के गणधरों व पट्टघर आचार्यों ने भारत में अपने अखिल भारतीय साधुओं की गण व्यवस्था को अथवा गच्छ व्यवस्था को व्यवस्थित करने हेतु भारत को नौ क्षेत्रों में विभाजित किया था जिसमें एक क्षेत्र सिन्धु सोवरि भी था जिसका यह भू-भाग भी एक हिस्सा था। जिससे स्पष्टतया इस क्षेत्र में भगवान् पाशर्वनाथ के समय जैन प्रभाव का विशद स्वरूप दृष्टिगोचर होता है और इसी पाशर्वनाथ परम्परा के पट्टघर आचार्य रत्नप्रभसूरि ने ओसवाल समाज की स्थापना की थी जो घटना महावीर-निर्वाण के पश्चात् की प्रथम व द्वितीय शताब्दी की घटना है।³ मरुमंडल क्षेत्र में अनेक मन्दिरों

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में प्राचार्य रत्नप्रभसूरि के समय के प्रतिबिम्ब प्रतिष्ठाओं के उल्लेख मिलते हैं जो महावीर के पूर्व तेईसवें तीर्थंकर पार्श्वनाथ के समय में इस क्षेत्र के जैन प्रभाव की पुष्टि करते हैं।⁴ यह उल्लेखनीय है कि पश्चिमी राजस्थान व सिन्ध में भगवान् पार्श्वनाथ जिनालयों की भरमार है जो उपर्युक्त कथन के महत्वपूर्ण प्रमाण हैं।

भगवान् महावीर के मोक्षगामी अन्तिम राजर्षि शिष्य सिन्धु सौवीर के राजा उदायन थे जिनकी राजधानी वीतभया नगरी थी। इसी वीतभया से अवन्ति नरेश प्रद्योतसेन चमत्कारी काष्ठ प्रतिमा अपनी प्रेयसी के आग्रह पर रात्रि में उठाकर ले गये थे जिसके कारण उदायन ने प्रद्योत पर हमला किया था व उसे परास्त कर कैद कर लिया था, पर एक आकाशवाणी के आधार पर वह प्रतिमा अवन्ति में हो छोड़ दी गई थी। अनेक विद्वानों का मत है कि बड़ौदा के म्युजियम में रखे हुए जैन काष्ठ प्रतिमा वही वीतभया नगरी की जिन प्रतिमा है।⁵

यह वीतभया नगरी कालान्तर में रेत भरे तूफानों में बालू-समाधि प्राप्त कर गई पर निश्चित ही महावीर के काल में इस क्षेत्र के विस्तृत जैन प्रभाव को प्रकट कर रही है। महावीर के काल में ही राजर्षि उदायन को दर्शन देने हेतु महावीर का इस क्षेत्र में विचरण होने की सम्भावना है तथा सांचोर के महावीर मन्दिर तथा सिरोही क्षेत्र में जीवितस्वामी की प्रतिमायें इस सम्भावना को प्रबल करती हैं।⁶ प्रस्तुत शिलालेखों में विक्रम संवत् १२८० का एक महत्वपूर्ण शिलालेख (गुड़ा) नगर के महावीर मन्दिर से प्राप्त हुआ है। और उस शिलालेख में उस स्थान का नाम राड़धड़ा उल्लिखित होना इस स्थान, शिलालेख व क्षेत्र में अत्यन्त प्राचीन महावीर व जैन-प्रभाव को प्रकट करता है।⁷

इस क्षेत्र में कुछ प्रतिमायें सम्प्रति राजा के काल की सिद्ध हुई हैं। सम्राट् सम्प्रति सम्राट् अशोक के पौत्र व कुणाल के पुत्र थे व एक प्रसिद्ध जैन प्रनुयायी के रूप में विख्यात हैं। सम्राट् सम्प्रति के प्रशासन में तक्षशिला पंजाब व मरुमंडल क्षेत्र इत्यादि थे और इन क्षेत्रों में सम्प्रति-कालीन जैन प्रतिमाएं मिलती हैं जो कला की दृष्टि से एक विशेष रूप से पहचानी जाती है। उस काल में चूँकि प्रतिमानों पर लेख लिखने की परिपाटी नहीं थी इसलिये इन प्रतिमानों का सही काल-निर्धारण करना सम्भव नहीं है, परन्तु यह प्रतिमायें इस क्षेत्र में जैन प्रभाव को प्रमाणित करती हैं।⁸

इसी सम्बन्ध में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि सिकन्दर व उस काल में इस क्षेत्र में रहने वाले मालव, क्षुद्रक इत्यादि जातियों का संघर्ष व उस संघर्ष में सिकन्दर का पराजित होना व घायल होना एक महत्वपूर्ण ऐतिहासिक तथ्य है। चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य जैन सम्राट् थे सैल्युकस से युद्ध में इन मालवों व क्षुद्रकों का चन्द्रगुप्त को सहयोग इस क्षेत्र के निवासी मालवों क्षुद्रकों पर भी जैन प्रभाव की सम्भावना प्रकट करता है।⁹ तत्पश्चात् सम्राट् सम्प्रति का इस क्षेत्र पर प्रशासनिक प्रभाव इस मैत्रिक सम्बन्ध की पुष्टि करता है। चूँकि सिकन्दर

का काल रत्नप्रभसूरि के काल से समकालीन है अतः यह भी उपयुक्त जैन प्रभाव शृंखला की पुष्टि करता है। संप्रति का काल गुप्तकाल का पूर्वार्द्ध था। एक ओर इतिहासकारों का यह मत है कि सिकन्दर का सामना करने हेतु मालव व क्षुद्रकों ने अपने आपसी विवाद भुला कर उन्हें स्थायी एकता में परिवर्तित करने हेतु आपस में शादी ब्याह कर लिए थे व दूसरी ओर इसी काल में विभिन्न जातियों का रत्न-प्रभवसूरि द्वारा ओसवाल जाति की स्थापना कर उन्हें शादी ब्याह हेतु स्थायी एकता में बाँधना इतिहास का एक अद्भुत सामन्जस्य है व एक ऐतिहासिक तथ्य की पुष्टि का संकेत है।¹⁰

जैन ग्रन्थों के प्राचीन उल्लेखों के अनुसार वीरमसेन नामक दो भाइयों ने वीर निर्वाण की दूसरी शताब्दी में नाकोड़ा व बीरमपुर नाम के दो नगर बसाये और दोनों ने अपने अपने नगरों में जिन मन्दिरों के निर्माण करवाये। नाकोड़ा नगर में भगवान् पार्श्वनाथ का मंदिर बनवाया व बीरमपुर में तीर्थंकर चन्द्रप्रभुजी को मूलनायक के रूप में स्थापित किया गया।¹¹ वीरमपुर में कालान्तर में जीर्णोद्धार के समय चन्द्रप्रभु के स्थान पर भगवान् महावीर की प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई जो पुनः जीर्णोद्धार के समय नाकोड़ा के नागद्रह से प्राप्त भगवान् पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा से परिवर्तित हुई है। अभी नाकोड़ा में पंचतीर्थी मन्दिर में जो महावीर की विशाल पीत पाषाण-प्रतिमा विराजित है वह यही मूलनायक जी की प्रतिमा है। इस प्रतिमा पर पीछे की ओर एक लेख है जिसमें इसे महावीर-बिम्ब के रूप में उल्लिखित किया गया है। लगता है यह उल्लेख इसे किसी जीर्णोद्धार में पुनः स्थापित करते समय लिया गया है क्योंकि यह शारीरिक भाग जहाँ यह उल्लेख किया गया है, लेख लिखने का स्थान नहीं है। स्पष्ट है जिस काल की यह प्रतिमा है उस समय लेख लिखने की परम्परा नहीं थी। इस प्रतिमा की कुछ और विशेषताएँ भी हैं। इस प्रतिमा के पीठसन पर सुन्दर उत्कीर्ण हैं जो बहुत पुरानी प्रतिमाओं में ही मिलती हैं। 15वीं शताब्दी की अन्य प्रतिमाओं में यह उत्कीर्ण नहीं है। प्रतिमा की नाक विशेष रूप से तीखी, हाथों की कोहनियाँ शिल्प में पीछे से सहारे के पत्थर से जुड़ा होना, कानों के कुण्डलों का हिस्सा लम्बा होता तथा पीठ से चिपका हुआ होना, प्रतिमा को संप्रति काल की अथवा उसके समीपस्थ उतरार्द्ध की होना प्रदर्शित करता है।¹²

श्री नाकोड़ा तीर्थ के दो काउसग संवत् १२०३ वि. के हैं। इन पर श्रीवच्छ चैत्य लिखा है श्रीवत्स भगवान् शीतलनाथ का चिह्न है जिससे प्रतीत होता है कि या तो इस वर्तमान आदिनाथ मंदिर में कभी शीतलनाथ भी मूलनायक थे अथवा इस क्षेत्र में शीतलनाथ का अलग मंदिर था व किसी भूमिगृह स्थापन के पश्चात् जीर्णोद्धार के समय इन काउसगयों को इस जिनालय में स्थापित किया गया हो। शिलालेखों के अनुसार मूलरूप से यह मंदिर विमलनाथ मन्दिर था व भगवान् आदिनाथ का यहाँ स्थापन इसके पश्चात् का है जो संभवतया संवत् १५०५ के आसपास का हो। तीर्थ के भण्डार

में धातुप्रतिमा पर संवत् 109 उत्कीर्ण है। उसके आगे का कुछ भाग घिसा हुआ है। संभव है यह प्रतिमा 1090 से 1099 विक्रमों की हो। अर्थात् ईसा की नौवीं शताब्दी में इस क्षेत्र में जैन प्रभाव असंदिग्ध है।¹³

किराडू जूना देवका, चौहटन, गुढ़ा नगर के मंदिर भी अति प्राचीन हैं। किराडू में वर्तमान घनीभूत मंदिरों में जैन मंदिर भी थे व उनके शिलालेखों का ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व है। डा. वाकरणकर के अनुसार देवका के सूर्य मन्दिर तथा किराडू के विभिन्न मन्दिर खेड़ के विष्णु मंदिर इत्यादि गुप्तकाल व उसके पूर्व के हैं।¹⁴ खेड़ का जैन शिलालेख जो वहां एक टांके के मन्दिर क्षेत्र में ही खुदाई के समय प्राप्त हुआ था संवत् १०२६ के आसपास का है और वर्तमान विष्णुमन्दिर के पास से प्राप्त होने का अर्थ है कि प्राचीनता में जैन संस्कृति का यहाँ प्रभाव इस नगर के समृद्धिकाल से ही होना चाहिए। खेड़ एक प्राकृत शब्द है जिसका उल्लेख कल्पसूत्र में भी हुआ है। प्राकृत में खेड़ का अर्थ 'समृद्धिशाली नगर' है।¹⁵

नाकोड़ा तीर्थ पर अनेक प्रतिमाओं पर खेड़ नगर व महेवा का उल्लेख है, जिनमें कुछ बिना संवत् की है। विक्रमी की प्रारम्भिक शताब्दियों में प्रतिमाओं पर संवत् लगाने अथवा लेख अंकित करने की प्रथा नहीं थी अतः यह मूर्तियाँ अत्यन्त प्राचीन होना प्रतीत होती हैं। खेड़ के वर्तमान विष्णु मन्दिर व प्रदेश के समीप के मन्दिरों का शिल्प गुप्त-काल व उसके पूर्व का है।¹⁶

आचार्य कालक की बहिन साध्वी सरस्वती का गर्दभिल्ल द्वारा हरण, कालकाचार्य का पार्श्वकुल अर्थात् पारसियों के कुल स्थान वर्तमान ईरान की ओर इस मरुप्रदेश के मार्ग से जाना व शकों का इसी प्रदेश से आगमन व यहां से समुद्री मार्ग से गुजरात की ओर से मालवा क्षेत्र पर आक्रमण एक ऐतिहासिक घटना है।¹⁷ आचार्य कालक का काल ईसा से पूर्व पहली व दूसरी शताब्दी के मध्य का है व इस काल में किराडू, जूना, खेड़ व वीरमपुर, ओसिया, सत्यपुर (सांचौर), भीनमाल में विशाल जैन प्रभाव ने ही कालकाचार्य को इस पथ से ईरान तक जाने का मार्ग प्रशस्त किया था।

गर्दभिल्ल को परास्त करने के तुरन्त बाद शकों की निरंकुशता के कारण कालकाचार्य ने उनका साथ छोड़ दिया व विक्रमादित्य ने शकों को पुनः इसी मार्ग से भारत के बाहर खड़े दिया विक्रमादित्य के गुरु आचार्य सिद्धसेन दिवाकर थे व इस विजय के पश्चात् जब यह क्षेत्र गुप्तों के अधीन आया तो आचार्य सिद्धसेन दिवाकर का विचरण भी इस क्षेत्र में हुआ।¹⁸

गुप्तों के काल के पश्चात् सम्राट हर्षवर्धन अथवा वृहद भोज के समय चीनी यात्री ह्वंगचांग भारत आया था। हर्षवर्धन के दरबार में बाणभट्ट व मयूर भट्ट इत्यादि विद्वान थे और उनकी विद्वता से अधिक प्रभाव प्रमाणित करते हुए आचार्य मानतुंगसूरि ने

भक्तामरस्तोत्र की रचना की। आचार्य मानतुंगसूरि के जीवन वर्णनों में उनका खेड़ वीरम-पुर आने का उल्लेख मिलता है।¹⁹ ह्वंगचांग की यात्राओं में उसका भीन-माल से खेट (खेड़) उडम्बर (शेरगढ़ तहसील में औदम्बर व उंडू), पीत-शीला (जैसलमेर के पास वर्तमान में पीतला) होते हुए मुलतान जाने का उल्लेख है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि खेड़ उस काल का महत्त्वपूर्ण नगर था।²⁰

सिंध में दाहर पर मुस्लिम आक्रमण ७१२ ई. में हुआ।²¹ इस काल में मौर्यों व गुप्तों के पश्चात् प्रतिहारों व परमारों का इस क्षेत्र पर अधिकार हुआ। मोहम्मद बिन कासिम के पश्चात् सिंध के मुसलमान शासकों ने इस क्षेत्र पर आक्रमण प्रारम्भ कर दिये थे जो गजनवी के सोमनाथ आक्रमण तक चालू रहे।²² खेड़ मन्दिर व सिनली में मन्दिरों को मुस्लिम आक्रमणों से बचाने हेतु 'गधी गाल' की मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं जो इस क्षेत्र पर लगातार मुस्लिम हमलों का प्रमाण है।²³ इन आक्रमणों में मन्दिरों की तोड़-फोड़ व कला मूर्तियों को विकृत करना, मन्दिरों को मस्जिदों में परिवर्तित करना आम बात थी। पूरे बाड़मेर क्षेत्र में इस प्रकार के भग्नावशेषों की भरमार है। खेड़ के वैष्णव मन्दिर की समस्त कलाकृतियाँ विकृत रूप में हैं व इसी काल में जैन मन्दिर भी तोड़े गये व उनके अवशेष जसोल व मेवानगर में प्राप्त हैं। नाकोड़ा तीर्थ पर खण्डित परिकर भी इसके प्रमाण हैं, पर चूँकि ऐसे आक्रमण स्थायी आधिपत्य में परिवर्तित नहीं हुए अतः जब भी आक्रमण होते अथवा समीप के क्षेत्रों में अशांति होती तो प्रतिमाओं को भूमिगत कर दिया जाता व स्थिति सामान्य होने पर पुनः जीर्णोद्धार करा दिया जाता व प्रतिमाएँ प्रतिष्ठित करा दी जाती थी।

परमारों के काल में ही गुजरात के सोलंकी सम्राटों का प्रभाव इस क्षेत्र पर बढ़ा व गुजरात के सभी सोलंकी सम्राट जैन धर्म से प्रभावित थे व सिद्धराज जयसिंह व विशेष रूप से कुमारपाल तो प्रसिद्ध जैन सम्राट हुए हैं अतः इस काल में इस क्षेत्र में भी जैन प्रभाव को पर्याप्त सहयोग मिला। किराडू व बाड़मेर जिले के अनेक स्थानों पर सोलंकी राजाओं के लेख मिले हैं। प्रस्तुत संग्रह के नाकोड़ा तीर्थ के संवत् १२०३ के काउ-सगियों पर सोलंकी राज्य होने का उल्लेख है।²⁴

विक्रमी १०८२ में मुहम्मद गजनवी लुद्रवा को रौंदते हुए किराडू जूना (बाड़मेर) से धोरीमन्ना, पालनपुर होते हुए सोमनाथ पहुँचा।²⁵ इस अशांति के समय समस्त जिले में संकट का आभास हुआ अतः प्राप्त लेखों में इस काल के लेखों का अभाव है, और उसके पश्चात् पुनः कुमारपाल के समय शांति स्थापन होने पर भूमिगत प्रतिमाओं का जीर्णोद्धार होने से उस समय की बहुत सी प्रतिमाएँ प्राप्त होती हैं। गजनवी व गोरी के बीच सौ वर्षों के काल को इस क्षेत्र में जैन संस्कृति के फैलाव का स्वर्णिम युग कहा जा सकता है व इस लेख संग्रह में इस काल के शिलालेखों की पर्याप्त सूची उपलब्ध है।

पृथ्वीराज की पराजय के पश्चात् इल्तुमिश व अजमेर में स्थित उरु के हाकिम

बाबाशाह के समय में सिंदरी के समीप नाकोड़ा नगर पर मुस्लिम हमला हुआ और इसी हमले में संभवतया यह नगर ध्वस्त हुआ और सम्भव है इसी समय नाकोड़ा तीर्थ की वर्तमान पार्श्वप्रभु की प्रतिमा को भूमिगत किया गया हो।²⁶ यह समय संवत् १२७० मे १३१० वि. के मध्य होना चाहिए। शिलालेखों में महेवा क्षेत्र के इस काल के शिलालेख नहीं है।

भारतीय सभ्यता के ध्वंस व विनाशलीला रचने में अलाउद्दीन खिलजी अग्रणी रहा जिसने सिवाना, बाड़मेर, सांचोर व जालोर पर अपना आतंककारी अभियान चलाया संवत् १३६० से १४०० वि. के चालीस वर्षों में ही सिवाना का दुर्ग खेड़ व वीरमपुर के नगर व मंदिर ध्वस्त हुए, जूना बाड़मेर किराडू व सांचोर का विनाश हुआ व जालौर के कान्हड़देव व वीरम को वीरगति प्राप्त हुए और वहाँ मुसलमान हाकिम बैठा। इन सभी ध्वस्त मंदिरों में कुछ तो नगर व मंदिर सदा के लिए ध्वस्त हो गए व कुछ का जीर्णोद्धार विक्रम की पूरी पन्द्रहवीं सदी में बिखरे रूप में हुआ क्योंकि जालौर क्षेत्र में लगातार पुनः सत्ता प्राप्ति हेतु हिन्दू राजाओं के मुसलमानों से युद्ध होते रहे व इसी काल में कन्नौज से आये राव सीहा व व उनके वंशजों ने पाल व बाड़मेर क्षेत्र में अपना प्रभाव बढ़ाना प्रारम्भ किया।²⁷

गुजरात में सोलन्की सत्ता के शिथिल होते ही गोहिल राजपूतों ने जो सोलंकीयों के सरदार के रूप में खेड़, महेवा क्षेत्र में अवस्थित थे खेड़, पर अपना राज्य स्थापित कर दिया। कहावत है कि 'पोल देख ने गोहिला घसोया' पर शीघ्र ही राव आस्थान ने खेड़ पर कब्जा कर लिया व राठौड़ों का प्रभाव सिवाना व आसपास के क्षेत्रों पर बढ़ने लगा।²⁸ राठौड़ों के काल में जैन-संस्कृति को पर्याप्त संरक्षण मिला व ओसवालों के मोहनोत व छजेड़ गौत्रों की इन्हीं राठौड़-परम्परा से उत्पत्ति हुई है। राठौड़ राजवंशों पर भी जैन प्रभाव था। ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है कि तपागच्छ के एक साधुजी ने मोह-नगी को मोहनोत बनाया। उनका गच्छ तपागच्छ था पर राठौड़ों का गच्छ खरतर था।²⁹ इस क्षेत्र की अनेक प्रतिमाओं व मंदिरों के शिलालेखों पर राठौड़ राजाओं के उल्लेख मिलते हैं।

बाड़मेर के इतिहास में मल्लिनाथ वीरम व जगमाल के समय में माढ़ के नवाब व दिल्ली के तुगलक सम्राटों की सम्मिलित फौजों से युद्ध की घटना अपना ऐतिहासिक महत्व रखती है। मल्लिनाथ का काल संवत् १४३०-५६ के करीब रहा है।³⁰ इस काल में महेवा क्षेत्र अशांत रहा व इस क्षेत्र में इस काल के शिलालेखों का अभाव है। इस युद्ध में राठौड़ों ने। फिरोजशाह तुगलक वा मांडू के मोहम्मद एबक पर विजय प्राप्त की।³¹

विक्रम की सोलहवीं शताब्दी अर्थात् संवत् १५००-१६०० तक की काल इस क्षेत्र में राजनैतिक शान्ति का काल रहा। इसी काल में अनेक मंदिरों के जीर्णोद्धार हुए जिसमें नाकोड़ा तीर्थ नगर, गुडा, कनाना, इसानी, विशाला, भादरवा, आसोतरा, पाटोदी,

बालोतरा, पचपदरा, बाड़मेर, खण्डप, पारलू, सणपा, मोकलसर कोटड़ा, राणीगांव, कर्मावास, जेठन्तरी अर्थात् बाड़मेर जिले के हर क्षेत्र में जिन मंदिरों के निर्माण, प्रतिष्ठाएँ इत्यादि के शिलालेख मिलते हैं। इसी काल में खरतरगच्छीय दादा गुरुदेव कोर्तिरत्न सूरिजी जो इसी क्षेत्र के मेवानगर के रहने वाले थे, धर्म व जिनालय बनाने का विशालरूप से कार्य किया। आचार्य कीर्ति-रत्नसूरि की स्तुति में इस क्षेत्र में गुरु प्रतिमायें, गुरु पादुकायें व शिलालेख अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं। इस सदी के विभिन्न मंदिरों में नाकोड़ा तीर्थकर मंदिरों में निर्माण व जीर्णोद्धार एक ऐतिहासिक उपलब्धि है जिसके लिखित नाकोड़ा ग्राम के नागद्रह से प्राप्त श्रीपार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा का मेवानगर (चीरमपुर) से मूलनायकजी के रूप में विराजमान करना इस क्षेत्र का एक सौभाग्यपूर्ण प्रसंग कहा जा सकता है।³²

राजस्थान के लगभग सभी क्षेत्रों में कई जैन शिलालेख जैन मंदिरों में मूर्तियों की स्थापना से संबंधित हैं। साहित्यिक स्रोतों के साथ-साथ शिलालेखों के सावधानी पूर्वक अध्ययन से पता चलता है कि जैन मंदिरों की योजना मूल रूप से काफी सरल थी। लेकिन बाद में त्रिक मंडप, रंग मंडप, देव कुलिका आदि जैसी अतिरिक्त संरचनाओं के शामिल होने से श्वेतांबर जैन मंदिर और अधिक विस्तृत हो गए, समय के साथ, पदमशिला के साथ बारीक नक्काशीदार मंडप और छते बनाई गईं। उक्षिप्त या क्षिप्त लुंबिका और इसी तरह के अन्य सजावटी तत्व सितंबर जैन मंदिर वास्तुकला की प्रमुख विशेषताएं बन गए। यहां पर प्राचीन काल के दसवीं शताब्दी तक के पश्चिमी राजस्थान के प्रमुख जैन मंदिर व उनसे संबंधित शिलालेखों का विवरण प्रस्तुत है। लामा तारानाथ की टिप्पणी है कि मारु देश के राजा शिल, जिनकी पहचान मंडोर के राजा शिलक से की जा सकती है, ने एक कलाकार श्रृंगधर को संरक्षण दिया, जो कला की एक विशिष्ट व्यक्तिगत शैली को पेश करने के लिए जिम्मेदार था।³³

प्रारंभिक काल से ही सूत्रधारों (मास्टर वास्तुकारों) के कई नाम देखे गए हैं। 743 ई. (686 ई.) के नगर (जिला टोंक) शिलालेख में चार सूत्रधारों का नाम है, जो सभी भीनमाल से आए थे। बीई 744 के बसंतगढ़ शिलालेख में सूत्रधार शिवनाग का नाम दर्ज है, जिन्होंने तीर्थकर की कांस्य छवि बनाई थी।³⁴ कुवल्यमाला भीनमाल और जालौर में विशाल जैन मंदिरों की बात करता है। नागौर के जैन मंदिरों का उल्लेख धर्मोपदेश माला में मिलता है।

घटियाला गांव जोधपुर के उत्तर-पश्चिम में प्राकृत शिलालेख वि.सं. 918 (861 ई.) के आधार पर, उसी तिथि के पांच संस्कृत शिलालेख और हाल ही में खोजे गए कक्कुका का शिलालेख वि.सं. 939 (882 ई.) यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह एक समृद्ध शहर का स्थल था। संस्कृत के एक अच्छे कवि कक्कुका ने अन्य धार्मिक समूहों

के बीच जैन को संरक्षण दिया। उनके द्वारा वि.सं. 918 (861 ई.) में एक जैन मंदिर बनवाया गया था, जिसके खंडहर अब स्थानीय रूप से माताजी की शाल के नाम से जाने जाते हैं। शिलालेख में उल्लेख है कि उपरोक्त मंदिर धनेश्वर-गच्छ के जाम्बव और अंबक नामक जैन तपस्वियों के नेतृत्व में जैन समुदाय को सौंपा गया था।³⁵ यह भी दर्ज है कि कक्कुका ने दो कीर्तिस्तंभ बनवाए, एक मंडोर में और दूसरा घटियाला में, घटियाला में एक स्तंभ अभी भी खड़ा है जिसे स्थानीय लोग खाखू देवला के नाम से जानते हैं। इस स्थान से गणेश की एक आकृति और शेर पर बैठी हुई पार्वती की एक बारीक नक्काशीदार मूर्ति प्राप्त हुई है। इस शहर पर अभीरों और अन्य शत्रु सेनाओं द्वारा बार-बार आक्रमण किया गया था। कई शिलालेखों के साक्ष्य से पता चलता है कि स्थानीय शासकों ने हमलावर ताकतों के खिलाफ बहादुरी से प्रतिरोध किया।³⁶

ओसिया यह स्थल अब अपने समृद्ध नक्काशीदार प्राचीन मंदिरों के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। उपकेश-गच्छ पट्टावली के अनुसार इस शहर की स्थापना भीनमाल के एक राजकुमार ने की थी। वि.सं. 883 (746 ई.) वि.सं. 885 (826 ई.) वि.सं. 1010 आदि स्मारकों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह शहर काफी पुराना ही यहां महावीर और सच्चिका के दो जैन मंदिर हैं। महावीर मंदिर मूल रूप से प्रतिहार राजा वत्सराज (783-92 ईस्वी) के शासनकाल के दौरान बनाया गया था। यह एक जगती (आधार) पर स्थित है और इसमें गर्भ गृह, 11 गूढ़ मंडप, त्रिक-मंडप, तोरण, शामिल हैं।³⁷

भ्रमन्तिका और अन्य संरचनात्मक भाग मूल में जो बचा है वह केवल गर्भगृह है, जो 8वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी के अंत में बनाया गया प्रतीत होता है और यह पास के हरि हर मंदिर के समान है। इस मंदिर के अन्य हिस्सों में बाद के जीर्णोद्धार के स्पष्ट संकेत मिलते हैं। वहां एक स्तंभ (मानव स्तंभ) था जिस पर वि.सं. 952 (895 ईस्वी) का शिलालेख था, लेकिन अब वह टूट गया है। मंदिर का जीर्णोद्धार वि.सं. 1813 (957 ईस्वी) में श्रेष्ठी जिंदक द्वारा किया गया था। उन्होंने संभवतः मंदिर में मंडप जोड़ा। तोरण का निर्माण 10वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी की अंतिम तिमाही (वि.सं. 1035) में किया गया था। मंदिर के पास एक धर्मशाला के निर्माण के दौरान वि.सं. 1011 (954 ईस्वी) के शिलालेख वाली एक कांस्य छवि का पता चला था। वि.सं. 1100 के शिलालेख वाली एक छवि का टूटा हुआ हिस्सा भी खोजा गया था। वि.सं. 1011 के शिलालेख के अनुसार, कर्काचार्य के शिष्य देवदत्त द्वारा उपकेशीय चौत्य में शांतिनाथ की एक प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई थी।³⁶ इस स्थल से वीई 1088, 1231, 1234, 1259, 1438, 1492, 1512, 1534, 1549, 1612, 1683, 1758 आदि तारीखों वाले कई शिलालेख मिले हैं, जिससे पता चलता है कि यह मंदिर एक बहुत प्रतिष्ठित पवित्र स्थल बना हुआ है। सदियों से श्वेतांबर जैना कर्क सूरी द्वारा लिखित नाभिनंदन-जिनोदधर (26) में ओसियां और एक अन्य

प्राचीन शहर किराडू का विशद वर्णन है। यह ओसिया के मंदिरों, बावड़ियों और अन्य स्थलों को संदर्भित करता है। यह रथ यात्रा के वार्षिक उत्सव की भी बात करता है, जो नियमित रूप से मनाया जाता था।³⁸ यहां प्रदर्शन किया गया। वि.सं. 1245 के दो शिलालेखों में यशोधर की पत्नी पल्हिया द्वारा महावीर के रथ के लिए गैरेज के रूप में काम करने के लिए एक घर के अनुदान का उल्लेख है।³⁹

सच्चिका देवी मंदिर राजस्थान का एक महत्वपूर्ण जैन मंदिर है। उपकेश-गच्छ पट्टावली से पता चलता है कि वीर संवत् 70 में, रत्न प्रभा सूरी ने हिंदू देवी महिषासुर मर्दिनी को सच्चिका में परिवर्तित कर दिया था। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यह किंवदंती जैनियों के बीच बहुत लोकप्रिय हो गई है और इसका उल्लेख कई साहित्यिक कृतियों के साथ-साथ 17वीं शताब्दी 1655 (1598 ईस्वी) के एक शिलालेख में भी किया गया है। इस मंदिर में एक प्रतिमा के आसन पर वि.सं. 1234 (1178 ई.) का एक शिलालेख मिलता है, जिसमें चंडिका, शीतला, सच्चिका की प्रतिमाओं की स्थापना का उल्लेख है। क्षेमकारी, क्षेत्रपाल, आदि। 1236 (1179 ईस्वी) के एक अन्य शिलालेख में भोजकों को कुछ रकम के भुगतान का रिकॉर्ड है, जो वहां पुजारी के रूप में तैनात थे।⁴⁰ सच्चिका की पूजा पश्चिमी राजस्थान के अन्य भागों में भी लोकप्रिय थी। सच्चिका की एक टूटी हुई छवि पर उत्कीर्ण वि.सं. 1237 (1180 ई.) का एक शिलालेख (जोधपुर संग्रहालय) इसकी स्थापना और समर्पण का स्मरण कराता है।⁴¹ महावीर और सच्चिका के दो मंदिरों ने इस स्थल को जैन तीर्थ बना दिया है। ओसवाल इसी स्थान से अपनी उत्पत्ति का दावा करते हैं। वि.सं. 918 (861 ई.) के घटियाला शिलालेख में दो कीर्तिस्तंभों के निर्माण का उल्लेख है, एक घटियाला में और दूसरा मंडोर में जाहिर तौर पर 9वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी के दौरान यह एक समृद्ध स्थल था।

दो अप्रकाशित शिलालेखों में सच्चिदेवी और भोजदेव का नाम है। वि.सं. 1152 कार्तिक बुदी 12 (सितंबर 28, 1095 ईस्वी) का एक अप्रकाशित शिलालेख 19वीं मंडोर के पास पाया गया और अब राज्य संग्रहालय में संरक्षित है, जिसमें कुछ जैन धरकट परिवार के नाम दर्ज हैं, जिन्होंने मंदिरों आदि का निर्माण किया था।⁴² मंडोर के जैन परिवारों का एक और महत्वपूर्ण उल्लेख आबू के शिलालेखों में मिलता है। वि.सं. 1378 (1321 ई.) से वि.सं. 1395 (1338 ई.) के बीच के विमल वसती के शिलालेख में बिजाद के परिवार और अन्य लोगों के नाम हैं जिन्होंने वसती के नवीनीकरण की व्यवस्था की थी।⁴³ हम वि.सं. 1497 के जैसलमेर शिलालेख में खरतरगच्छ के प्रसिद्ध आचार्य जिनभद्र सूरी की मंडोर यात्रा का संदर्भ मिलता है।⁴³ 15वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी के दौरान जब पश्चिमी राजस्थान में जैन आचार्यों की गतिविधियों विकसित हुई, तो मंडोर में कई उत्सव भी आयोजित किए गए थे।⁴⁴ वि.सं. 1527-28 और वि.सं. 1534 में मंडोर

और जोधपुर में बड़े समारोह आयोजित किए गए।⁴⁵ नाहटा सज्जा ने अपने बेटों (मंडोर के एक जैन परिवार) के साथ वि.सं. 1518 में पार्श्वनाथ (जैसलमेर) के जैन मंदिर में नंदीश्वरपट्ट स्थापित किया था।⁴⁶

घांघणी और घंगबनक मारवाड़ के दो पुराने जैन स्थल हैं। घांघणी में खोजी गई आदिनाथ प्रतिमा पर वि.सं. 937 (880 ईस्वी) का एक शिलालेख है, जिसमें दर्ज है कि इसे उद्योतन सूरी के शिष्य वछाहलदेव द्वारा प्रतिष्ठित किया गया था। यह राजस्थान के महत्वपूर्ण जैन प्रतीकों में से एक है।⁴⁷ घंघानियाक या घंघना चौहान स्मारकों वाला एक अन्य स्थल है। इससे कई शिलालेख प्राप्त हुए हैं। वि.सं. 1241 (1184 ई.) का एक शिलालेख महावीर के ग्रंथी (वर्षा ग्रंथी) उत्सव का खर्च वहन करने के लिए भंडारी गुणधर और अन्य लोगों द्वारा मंडोर के मंडपिका से मासिक रूप से आधा नाटक दान करने का स्मरण कराता है। वि.सं. 1249 के अन्य शिलालेखों में जैन मंदिरों को कुछ दान का रिकार्ड है।⁴⁸

पाली :

पाली या पल्लिका लंबे समय से व्यापार का केंद्र रहा है। यशोधर सूरी, जो गोदावर और मेवाड़ में बहुत प्रभावशाली थे, ने वि.सं. 965 (908 ईस्वी) में इसी शहर में अपना आचार्यपद प्राप्त किया था।⁴⁹ यहां का नवलखा मंदिर पुराना है, यहां कई शिलालेख मिले हैं, जो इस मंदिर के इतिहास पर प्रकाश डालते हैं। अंतिम शिलालेख पाटन के महामात्य आनंद और ३० पृथ्वीपाल के परिवार से संबंधित है, जो वंशज थे विमल शाह। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि जब कुमारपाल ने वि.सं. 1201 (1144 ई.) में अजमेर के अर्णोराज के विरुद्ध चढ़ाई की तो वह पाली से होकर गुजरा।⁵⁰ पाली पर कुमारपाल के दूसरे आक्रमण का एक दिलचस्प विवरण उपलब्ध है, जिसमें दर्ज है कि जब दुश्मन सेना पाली पहुंची, तो स्थिरचंद्र, मुंशी अपना काम अधूरा छोड़कर अजमेर भाग गए। यहां के एक शिव मंदिर में कुमारपाल का वि.सं. 1209 का एक शिलालेख देखा जा सकता है।⁵¹

घाणोराव :

यहां का महावीर मंदिर काफी पुराना है। इसमें एक गर्भ गृह, एक गूढ मंडप, एक त्रिक-मंडप, एक रंग-मंडप, एक पट्ट सालिका और चौबीस देवकुलिकाएँ हैं। इस मंदिर को मुछाला महावीर के नाम से भी जाना जाता है।⁵² शिलालेखों और स्थापत्य शैली के आधार पर, यह स्थल निश्चित रूप से प्राचीन प्रतीत होता है और मंदिर को 10वीं शताब्दी ई. का माना जा सकता है। पुराना शिलालेख वि.सं. 1033 (976 ई.) का है और गूढ मंडप की छत पर खुदा हुआ है।⁵³ एक अन्य शिलालेख वि.सं. 1214 (1157 ईस्वी)

का है जिसमें श्रेष्ठी सोबन का नाम शामिल है जिन्होंने एक नया प्रतीक बनवाया था।⁵⁴

महावीर मंदिर : सेवाड़ी :

यह एक पुराना मंदिर है और गोदावर के प्राचीन जैन मंदिरों में बहुत प्रसिद्ध है। मंदिर स्पष्ट रूप से काफी पुराना है और उचित रूप से 10वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी में रखा जा सकता है। वि.सं. 1172 (1115 ईस्वी) का एक शिलालेख हमें बताता है कि थल्लक के दादा यशोदेव ने मंदिर में शांतिनाथ खट्टक का निर्माण कराया था।⁵⁵ गुडमंडप की कुछ मूर्तियां 10वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी की शैली में हैं।⁵⁶ संडेराकागच्छ के आचार्य गुणरत्न सूरी की एक प्रतिमा वि.सं. 1244 में स्थापित की गई थी।⁵⁷ वि.सं. 1251 में शालिभद्र सूरी की प्रतिमा की पूजा के लिए कुछ दान किए गए थे।⁵⁸ वि.सं. 1167, 1212, 1297 और के शिलालेख कुछ अनुदानों के उपहार को दर्ज करते हैं।⁵⁹ वि.सं. 1198 के शिलालेख में अरिस्टनेमी और अन्य देवताओं के छोटे मंदिरों की दीवार और द्वार के निर्माण के लिए संघ द्वारा दिए गए आदेश से संबंधित दिलचस्प विवरण शामिल हैं।⁶⁰

नदलाई मंदिर :

नदलाई अपने प्राचीन जैन मंदिरों के लिए प्रसिद्ध है, जिनमें से अधिकांश का निर्माण चौहान काल के दौरान किया गया था।⁶¹ इनमें आदिनाथ, नेमिनाथ, सुपार्श्वनाथ और आदिनाथ (जेकला) के मंदिर सबसे उल्लेखनीय हैं। रंग मंडप में मेवाड़ के महाराणा रायमल के समय के वि.सं. 1557 (1500 ई.) के एक शिलालेख के अनुसार, यह मंदिर मूल रूप से वि.सं. 964 (907 ई.) में बनाया गया था।⁶² इसे बार-बार पुनर्निर्मित किया गया और मूल अवशेष केवल गर्भगृह है, जो 10वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी का है। यह मंदिर शुरू में आदिनाथ को समर्पित था। बाद में महावीर और मुनि सुव्रत स्वामी के प्रतीक भी मूलनायक के रूप में जोड़े गए। इस महावीर मंदिर का उल्लेख रायपाल के वि.सं. 1282 (1145 ई.) के एक शिलालेख में भी मिलता है।⁶³

इस मंदिर से जुड़ी एक किंवदंती है, जिसके अनुसार इसे यशोधर सूरी, जो गुप्त कला में विशेषज्ञ थे, जादुई तरीके से खेड़ (बाड़मेर) से यहां लाए थे। यह किंवदंती, जाहिरा तौर पर बहुत लोकप्रिय थी, इसे वि.सं. 1557 (1500 ई.) के एक शिलालेख में भी दोहराया गया इस स्थान के साथ संदेरकगच्छ के यशोधर सूरी का घनिष्ठ संबंध कई तीर्थमालाओं और अन्य जैन कार्यों में बताया गया है।⁶⁴ शहर के दक्षिणी भाग में एक प्राचीन चबूतरा है, जिसमें यशोधरसूरी का तराशा हुआ चित्र है। इस शिलालेख के कई अक्षर मिटा दिए गए हैं लेकिन 'यशोधराचार्यादि' शब्द अभी भी सुपाठ्य हैं।

तोरण को वि.सं. 1168 (1111 ईस्वी) में श्रेष्ठी महादित्य द्वारा जोड़ा गया था, जैसा कि एक अन्य शिलालेख में दर्ज है। वि.सं. 1203 (1146 ई.) में शांतिनाथ और

नेमिनाथ की दो कायोत्सर्ग प्रतिमाओं की प्रतिष्ठा महेंद्र सूरी द्वारा की गई थी।⁶⁵ उसी वर्ष सेवा के दौरान उपयोग किए जाने वाले फूलों (नेचकस) पर खर्च के लिए 18 ड्राम दान किए गए। यह मंदिर एक विशिष्ट अनूठी योजना पर बनाया गया है।⁶⁶

राता महावीर मंदिर :

हटुंडी से एक मील की दूरी पर 'राता महावीर' मंदिर स्थित है। वर्तमान में मंदिर का स्थान उजाड़ है। और आस-पास कोई बस्ती नहीं है। यह मंदिर स्थल एक चारदीवारी से चिह्नित है। मंदिर का डिजाइन काफी सरल और सरल है। इसका महत्व इसकी प्राचीनता में है। मौके पर बड़ी संख्या में खंडित वास्तुशिल्प के टुकड़े पड़े हुए देखकर यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि किसी समय इस स्थान पर कई मंदिर खड़े थे। वि. सं. 972, 996 और 1053 के शिलालेखों में उल्लिखित मंदिर शायद कुछ हमलावर ताकतों द्वारा नष्ट कर दिया गया था। ऐसा माना जाता है कि इसका जीर्णोद्धार 1299 (1242 ई.) में किया गया था, जब शिखर, अलक आदि की मरम्मत पूर्णचंद्र के निर्देशों के तहत की गई थी। संभवतः 'राता महावीर' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध प्रतिमा भी उसी समय स्थापित की गई थी।⁶⁷ यदि यह धारणा सही है, कह सकते हैं कि प्राचीन हटुंडी मंदिर और राता महावीर मंदिर एक ही है। वि.सं. 1335 के शिलालेख में इस मंदिर का नाम राता महावीर दर्ज है, जबकि उसी मंदिर के वि.सं. 1345 के शिलालेख में इसे हटुंडी महावीर मंदिर कहा गया है।⁶⁸ 13वीं और 14वीं शताब्दी के दौरान राता महावीर मंदिर में लगातार पूजा होती थी वि.सं. 1335, 1336 और 1345, 1346 आदि के शिलालेख मंदिर में किए गए विभिन्न दान को दर्ज करते हैं।⁶⁹

बरकाना :

बरकाना गोदावर के पंच तीर्थों (पांच पवित्र स्थलों) में से एक है। बरकाना जैन मंदिर पुराना है, लेकिन बार-बार इसका जीर्णोद्धार किया गया, इतना कि चौहान काल के एक शिलालेख को छोड़कर, कोई प्रारंभिक अवशेष नहीं बचा है। यह मंदिर पार्श्वनाथ को समर्पित है।⁷⁰ आनंद सुंदर ग्रंथ (वि.सं. 1549) में का उल्लेख है 'बरकाना पार्श्व प्रसन्नो भुवा'। इससे पता चलता है कि यह एक अत्यन्त पूजनीय लोकप्रिय तीर्थस्थल था।⁷¹

नाडोल :

नारलाई के उत्तर पूर्व में इसे गोदावर के पंच तीर्थों में भी शामिल किया गया है। यह लम्बे समय तक चौहान राजाओं की राजधानी रही। इस स्थान से वि.सं. 1024 और 1039 शिलालेख पाए गए थे जो इसकी प्राचीनता को साबित करते हैं।⁷² यहां पद्मा को समर्पित एक प्रसिद्ध जैन मंदिर है। इसके गूढ़ मंडप में नेमिनाथ और शांतिनाथ की दो

खड़ी आकृतियाँ हैं, दोनों पर वि.सं. 1215 के शिलालेख हैं।⁷³ शिलालेख में इस मंदिर का नाम 'रे-विहार' भी दर्ज है।⁷⁴ वि.सं. 1209 के शिलालेखों में नाडोल के श्रेष्ठी लक्ष्मीधर के पुत्रों के नाम दर्ज हैं जिनके अनुरोध पर जानवरों के वध पर प्रतिबंध लगाने वाला एक चार्टर प्रख्यापित किया गया था। इससे साबित होता है कि कई महत्वपूर्ण जैन परिवार नाडोल निवास कर रहे थे।⁷⁵

जालौर :

जालौर को स्वर्णगिरि, नंदी वर्धन गिरि आदि नामों से भी जाना जाता है।⁷⁶ चौहानों को सोनागिरस के नाम से जाना जाने लगा क्योंकि वे लंबे समय तक यहां रहते थे। यह राजस्थान के सबसे महत्वपूर्ण जैन स्थलों में से एक है। प्रबंध-चिंतामणि, पुराण-प्रबंध संग्रह और अन्य जैन इतिहास में दर्ज है कि प्रतिहार राजा नागभट्ट प्रथम, जिन्हें नाहदय के नाम से भी जाना जाता है, ने जालौर किले में यक्ष-वसति (जैन मंदिर) का निर्माण कराया था।⁷⁷ प्रतिहार राजा वत्सराज के शासनकाल के दौरान, ऋषभदेव को समर्पित एक बड़ा जैन मंदिर था, उद्योतन सूरी ने वि.सं. 778 में अपनी प्रसिद्ध कृति कुवलयमाला की रचना इसी मंदिर में की थी।⁷⁸ श्रेष्ठी यशोविर ने 12वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी में इस मंदिर में एक मंडप जोड़ा था। वि.सं. 1239 (1182 ईस्वी) के शिलालेख में कहा गया है कि यह मंडप जो कि सबसे सुंदर तरीके से नक्काशीदार था, कला का एक अदभुत नमूना था।⁷⁹ शहर में एक महावीर मंदिर भी था। इसका उल्लेख वि.सं. 1294 (1237 ई.) के एक शिलालेख में मिलता है।⁸⁰ वि.सं. 1175 (1118 ईस्वी) के एक शिलालेख में, जो सांडेलाव टैंक के पास स्थित एक प्रतिमा के आसन पर खुदा हुआ है, शब्द जाबालिपुरिया चैत्य का उल्लेख है, जबकि वि.सं. 1294 (1237 ईस्वी) के उपरोक्त शिलालेख में नाम जाबालिपुरिया महावीर के रूप में आता है।⁸¹

एक ही मंदिर में वि.सं. 1320 (1263 ई.) के एक शिलालेख के अनुसार भट्टारक लक्ष्मीधर ने नानकियागछिया चंदन-विहार नामक मंदिर को सौ ड्राम का दान दिया था।⁸² इस मंदिर में 50 नाटकों का एक और योगदान ओसवाल नरपति द्वारा वि. सं. 1323 (1266 ई.) में किया गया था।⁸³ खरतरगच्छ पट्टावली में इस काल के जैनियों की गतिविधियों के बारे में कई विवरण दर्ज हैं। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि जिनवल्लभ सूरी द्वारा प्रारंभ किये गये विधिचैत्य आंदोलन को इस क्षेत्र में बहुत लोकप्रिय समर्थन प्राप्त हुआ। कई समारोह आयोजित किए गए और जैन मंदिरों में बड़ी संख्या में प्रतीकों की प्रतिष्ठा की गई। ऐसा बताया जाता है कि जब जिनेश्वर सूरी ने वि.सं. 1368 ई. (1310 ई.) में जालौर का दौरा किया था, तो उपरोक्त महावीर मंदिर में भव्य उत्सव आयोजित किए गए थे।⁸⁴ एक अन्य प्रसिद्ध मंदिर कुमार विहार था। इसका निर्माण राजा कुमारपाल के आदेश से वि.सं. 1221 (1164 ई.) में करवाया गया था, जैसा कि एक शिलालेख

में दर्ज है।⁸⁵ वि.सं. 1234 (1178 ई.) को मुहम्मद गोरी का आक्रमण इस मंदिर की तबाही के लिए जिम्मेदार था। इसका जीर्णोद्धार वि.सं. 1242 (1185 ई.) में चौहान समर सिंह के आदेश पर किया गया था। वि.सं. 1265 (1208 ई.) के शिलालेख से पता चलता है कि उचित समारोह और ध्वजारोहण के साथ एक स्वर्णकलश स्थापित किया गया था।⁸⁶ इसका निर्माण कार्य आगे भी जारी रखा गया और वि.सं. 1268 (1216 ई.) में प्रेक्षा-मंडप का निर्माण किया गया। शिलालेख में यह भी कहा गया है कि प्रतिष्ठा उत्सव का संचालन राम चंद्राचार्य द्वारा किया गया था।⁸⁷ वि.सं. 1296 ई. (1239 ई.) के आबू शिलालेख में दर्ज है कि नागपुरिया बरहुदिया परिवार ने जालौर के पार्श्वनाथ मंदिर में आदिनाथ की एक प्रतिमा स्थापित की थी। वि.सं. 1274 (1217 ई.) का नाना शिलालेख जालौर में पार्श्वनाथ के एक अन्य प्रतीक की स्थापना का स्मरण कराता है।⁸⁸ धनदेवा एवं अन्य जिन मंदिरों के शिलालेखों की ऊपर चर्चा की गई है उनमें से अधिकांश को अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने ध्वस्त कर दिया था। सौभाग्य से जालौर के टोपकवाना में कुछ शिलालेख और मंदिरों के अन्य खंडित हिस्से अभी भी देखे जा सकते हैं।⁸⁹

सांचौर :

यह शहर गुजरात की सीमा पर स्थित है।⁹⁰ गुजरात में सोलंकी शासन के दौरान, यह लंबे समय तक उनके कब्जे में था, जैसा कि मूलराज प्रथम के वि.सं. 1050 (933 ई.) और भीम द्वितीय के वि.सं. 1242 (1185 ई.) के शिलालेखों से स्पष्ट है।⁹¹ यह एक प्रसिद्ध जैन नगर है। धनपाल द्वारा रचित सत्य-पुरिया महावीर उत्साह में कहा गया है कि हमलावर यवन सेनाएं सांचौर के महावीर मंदिर को ध्वस्त नहीं कर सकीं, इस तथ्य के बावजूद कि उन्होंने पहले ही श्रीमाल, चंद्रावती, सोमनाथ आदि मंदिरों को नष्ट कर दिया था। इस मंदिर में तब तक पूजा होती रही इसे अलाउद्दीन की सेना ने ध्वस्त कर दिया था।⁹² जैन साहित्य में इस शहर के कई संदर्भ मिलते हैं। वि.सं. 1242 (1185 ई.) के शिलालेख से हमें पता चलता है कि मंदिर की चतुष्किका की मरम्मत एक निश्चित भंडारी परिवार द्वारा की गई थी। इसे फिर से वि.सं. 1322 (1265 ई.) में भंडारी छगक द्वारा पुनर्निर्मित किया गया।⁹³ अजयपाल का एक मंत्री अलाहादा वि.सं. 1236 (1179 ई.) के दो शिलालेख बताते हैं कि सांचौर के महावीर मंदिर को मुस्लिम आक्रमणकारियों ने नष्ट कर दिया था। बाद में ब्राह्मणगच्छ के प्रद्युम्न सूरी के निर्देशों के तहत इसका जीर्णोद्धार किया गया। ये चिह्न अब अचलगढ़ मंदिर में संरक्षित हैं।⁹⁴

भीनमाल :

भीनमाल, जिसे श्रीमाल के नाम से भी जाना जाता है, गुर्जरात्रा की प्राचीन राजधानी के रूप में प्रसिद्ध है। यह जैनियों से भी जुड़ा है; ऐसा कहा जाता है कि इसके

बाद जैनों की श्रीमाल जाति प्रमुखता में आई, यदि जैन परंपरा पर विश्वास किया जाए तो भगवान महावीर ने भी अपने जीवन काल के दौरान इस स्थान का दौरा किया था।⁹⁵ कुवल्यमाला (778 ई.) में उद्योतन सूरी ने उल्लेख किया है कि उनके पूर्वज शिवचंद्र गनी उनकी शिक्षाओं का प्रचार करने के लिए पंजाब से भीनमाल आए थे।⁹⁶ यह सूर्य पूजा का एक प्रमुख स्थान भी था और जगत स्वामी नामक सूर्य का एक प्रसिद्ध मंदिर भी यहाँ मौजूद था। क्षेत्र में जैन धर्म का विकास निश्चित रूप से प्रतिहार काल में हुआ। निम्नलिखित जैन मंदिरों के सन्दर्भ विभिन्न साहित्यिक और अभिलेखीय स्रोतों में उपलब्ध है।⁹⁷

(1) महावीर मंदिर : यह काफी पुराना था जैसा कि धनपाल ने अपने सत्य पुरिया महावीर उत्साह में इसका उल्लेख किया है। बारीक नक्काशीदार सजावट वाला एक तोरण भी यहाँ दिखाई देता है। चाचिगदेव सोनगरा के समय के एक शिलालेख 80 वि.सं. 1333 के अनुसार उनके मंत्री ने इस मंदिर के लिए 13 ड्राम और 7 विशोपका दान किए थे।⁹⁸

(2) शांतिनाथ यह भी एक पुराना मंदिर था। सभा मंडप में उपलब्ध एक शिलालेख वि.सं. 1212 के अनुसार, मंदिर के भंडार में एक सौ सोने के ड्राम जमा किए गए थे।⁹⁹

रत्नपुर :

रत्नपुर अपने पार्श्वनाथ मंदिर के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। इस स्थान से जानवरों आदि के वध पर प्रतिबंध लगाने वाला एक शिलालेख (लगभग वि.सं. 1269) देखा गया था।¹⁰⁰ पार्श्वनाथ मंदिर का जीर्णोद्धार वि.सं. 1238 में किया गया था, जब इसके स्तंभों का निर्माण उधरन की पत्नी उतामा और धवल की पत्नी संतोष ने करवाया था।¹⁰¹ 1338 ई. के एक शिलालेख के अनुसार, श्रेष्ठी डूंगरसिंह ने मंदिर में एक प्रतिमा स्थापित की। मंदिर के निम्नलिखित शिलालेखों में समय-समय पर दिए गए विभिन्न दान का विवरण दर्ज है।

(1) वि.सं. 1333 में, जब यह स्थान 86 चाचिग देव के अधीन था, पोश कल्याणिका यात्रा के प्रबंधन के लिए दो दुकानें दान में दी गई थीं।¹⁰² वि.सं. 1348 में श्रेष्ठियों मांडलिक महान और अन्य लोगों द्वारा मंदिर में नेचक (फूलों की माला) की व्यवस्था के लिए दो दुकानें दान में दी गईं।¹⁰³

नागौर :

नागौर जिसे नागपुर और अहिछत्रपुर भी कहा जाता है, जैन धर्म का एक महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र था, जिसमें दिगांबर और श्वेतांबर दोनों के कई मंदिर थे। वि.सं. 915

(858 ई.) के धर्मोपदेशमाला में नागौर के नारायण वसती नामक एक जैन मंदिर का उल्लेख है।¹⁰⁴ जहां काम पूरा हो गया। यह क्षेत्र में बड़ी संख्या में जैन मंदिरों की बात करता है। वि.सं. 1066 के एक शिलालेख में दर्ज है कि हरि नाम के एक श्रावक (जैन गृहस्थ) ने वहां पार्श्वनाथ की एक प्रतिमा स्थापित की थी।¹⁰⁵ चौहान काल के दौरान कई जैन आचार्यों ने अपनी शिक्षाओं का प्रचार करने के लिए इस स्थान का दौरा किया।¹⁰⁶ प्रारंभ में यह चौत्य वासी जैनियों का केंद्र था। लेकिन जिनवल्लभ सूरी और जिनदत्त सूरी के प्रभाव से यह खरतरगच्छ की गतिविधियों का केंद्र भी बन गया।¹⁰⁷ जिनवल्लभ सूरी के निर्देशों के तहत इस घटना को रिकॉर्ड करने के लिए एक शिलालेख के साथ एक जैन मंदिर बनाया गया था। यह शिलालेख अब लुप्त हो गया है लेकिन चित्तौड़ के एक शिलालेख में इसका उल्लेख मिलता है।¹⁰⁸

फलोदी (मेड़ता रोड) :

फलोदी एक प्रसिद्ध जैन तीर्थ है, जहां कई जैन भिक्षुओं ने मोक्ष प्राप्त किया है। विविध तीर्थ कल्प का वर्णन है। यह शहर, पार्श्वनाथ के तीर्थ के रूप में धर्मघोष सूरी ने वहां एक मंदिर बनवाया था।¹⁰⁹ परंतु वह अधिक समय तक अपना प्रभाव कायम नहीं रख सका। इसके तुरंत बाद यह शहर खरतरगच्छ का केंद्र बन गया, शहर के एक शक्तिशाली चैत्य वासी संत पद्मप्रभा को 1239 में नरेना में पृथ्वीराज चौहान के दरबार में आयोजित खरतरगच्छ के जिन पति सूरी द्वारा धार्मिक चर्चा में पराजित किया गया था।¹¹⁰ मंदिरों का निर्माण किया गया चौहान काल के दौरान वहां अधिकांशतः ध्वस्त कर दिये गये। वि.सं. 1221 के शिलालेखों के अंशों के आधार पर, पता चलता है कि वहाँ एक चित्रकूट शिलापट्ट स्थापित किया गया था। पार्श्वनाथ की मूलनायक प्रतिमा को 1178 ई. में मुहम्मद गौरी ने ध्वस्त कर दिया था, बाद में 15वीं शताब्दी के दौरान इसकी मरम्मत की गई, हेमराज सुराना को इसे फिर से मरम्मत करनी पड़ी।¹¹¹ उनके द्वारा उत्कीर्ण शिलालेख खो गया है, लेकिन इसे सुश्री प्रति के आधार पर विनय सागर द्वारा संपादित किया गया है।

ग्राम खेड़ :

यह ग्राम बालोतरा स्टेशन से 8 किलोमीटर पर बाड़मेर-जोधपुर लाइन पर रेलवे स्टेशन है। किसी समय बड़ा नगर था तथा मारवाड़ के राठौड़ों की प्रथम राजधानी थी। आज कोई जैन बस्ती या मन्दिर नहीं है। परन्तु पुराने मंदिर के अवशेष जसोल से प्राप्त हुए हैं जो यथास्थान उत्कीर्ण हैं। इससे मालूम पड़ता है कि यहाँ पर दो जैन मन्दिर थे। एक श्री आदिनाथजी का तथा दूसरा श्रीमहावीर स्वामी का। इसी श्री ऋषभदेव मन्दिर के स्तम्भ का लेख श्रीरणछोड़रायजी के मन्दिर के परकोटे में लगा हुआ है।¹¹²

ग्राम चौहटन :

जैन समाज के दो मन्दिर व एक दादावाड़ी है। एक टीले की खुदाई में कुछ मूर्तियाँ प्राप्त हुई हैं जो सातवीं आठवीं शताब्दी की हो सकती है। श्री शान्तिनाथजी के शिखरबन्द नवीन मन्दिर व दादावाड़ी की प्रतिष्ठा अभी शेष है। प्राचीन घर मन्दिर श्री पार्श्वनाथजी का है। श्रीमूलनायकजी की श्याम पाषाण प्रतिमा है, लेख कोई नहीं है।¹¹³

जूना बाहड़मेर :

बाड़मेर से दक्षिण पश्चिम में जूना बाहड़मेर प्राया हुआ है। 1600 ई. से पहले बाड़मेर के लोग वहीं रहते थे। यह बाड़मेर से लगभग 22 किलोमीटर पर आया हुआ है। बाड़मेर जिले में तीन नगर हैं जहाँ परकोटा व किला बना हुआ है। इसमें जूना बाहड़मेर एक है। यहाँ श्री आदीश्वर भगवान् का उत्तुंग तोरण मन्दिर प्राजकल खण्डहर रूप में विद्यमान है। गर्भगृह व सभामण्डप की कारीगरी देखने लायक है। सभा मण्डप के स्तम्भ पर वि.सं. 1352 का लेख है वह ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से महत्त्वपूर्ण है।¹¹⁴ यह लेख इसलिये महत्त्वपूर्ण है कि इस लेख में जालोर के चौहान राजा सामन्त सिंहदेव का नाम आया हुआ है। इन्हीं के पुत्र कान्हड़देव पर वि.स. 1367 में अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने आक्रमण किया था। कान्हड़देव प्रबन्ध के अनुसार उस समय सिवाना, बाड़मेर व सांचोर पर भी हमला किया गया था। उसी समय यह मन्दिर तोड़ा गया होगा। इस लेख से मालूम होता है कि कर लगाने में दस ऊंट माल व बीस बैलों पर माल बराबर माना जाता था। कर महाजनों की राय से वसूल किया जाता था।

मेवानगर :

यह ग्राम बालोतरा से 11 कि. मी. तथा जसोल से 8 किमी. पहाड़ों के बीच में आया हुआ है। प्रसिद्ध जैन तीर्थ नाकोड़ाजी इसी गांव की सीमा में स्थित है जिनके लेख अलग से नाकोड़ाजी के नाम से दिये गये हैं। इस गांव का प्राचीन नाम शिलालेखों में वीरमपुर लिखा मिलता है। मन्दिर से गांव एक किमी. दूर है। मन्दिर व गांव के बीच एक कुप्रा आया हुआ है जिसके पास काफी छतरियां बनी हुई हैं उनमें से काफी तो राजपूतों की देवलियां हैं, परन्तु दो जैन सती देवलियां प्राप्त हुई हैं।¹¹⁵

कसिन्द्रा :

कसिन्द्रा एक महत्त्वपूर्ण जैन स्थल था। जिसमें एक विशिष्ट गच्छ को जन्म दिया जो कसिन्द्रा गच्छ के नाम से जाना जाता है। यह एक और प्राचीन स्थल है, शान्तिनाथ को समर्पित इसका जैन मंदिर श्रेष्ठी वामन द्वारा वि.स. 1891 (1034 ई.) में बनवाया गया था। मुख्य चिह्न अब देवकुलिका में स्थापित है।¹¹⁶

मुंगथला :

यह एक महत्वपूर्ण प्राचीन स्थल है। वि.स. 894 (837 ई.) के एक शिलालेख के अनुसार रखरखाव के लिए भूमि अनुदान दिया गया था।¹¹⁷ जैनियों का मानना है कि भगवान महावीर ने इस स्थान का दौरा किया था, यह विश्वास इस स्थान के वि.स. 1426 (1369 ईस्वी) के एक शिलालेख में भी दर्ज है।¹¹⁸ हालांकि, यह विश्वास प्राचीन जैन सिद्धांत द्वारा समर्थित नहीं है। वि.स. 1287 (1230 ईस्वी) के लुनिंग वसाती शिलालेख में उल्लेख है कि मुंगस्थल महातीर्थ के निवासियों को अस्थानिका समारोह में भाग लेने की अनुमति दी गई थी।¹¹⁹ यहां जैन मंदिर 10वीं शताब्दी ईस्वी में बनाया गया था। स्तंभों के निर्माण से संबंधित शिलालेख दिनांक वि.स. 1216 (1159 ई.) जब सुल्तान अलाउद्दीन ने आबू पर आक्रमण किया तो उसकी सेना ने इस जैन मंदिर को भी नष्ट कर दिया।¹²⁰ इसके बाद इसका जीर्णोद्धार किया गया।

नियमित पूजा की व्यवस्था :

हमारे पास न केवल दैनिक पूजा के खर्च से निपटने के लिए, बल्कि धार्मिक गतिविधियों के लिए आवश्यक फूल, तेल और अन्य सामग्री की व्यवस्था करने के लिए भी मंदिरों को दान देने के संदर्भ हैं। इस तरह के दान की व्यवस्था मुख्य रूप से दो तरीकों से की जाती थी (1) शासकों द्वारा प्रत्यक्ष कर लगाना और (2) भक्तों से नकद या वस्तु के रूप में प्राप्त जमा या दान ऐसे करों का विवरण जैसा कि वि.सं. 973 और 995 के हटुंडी शिलालेखों, वि.सं. 1195 और 1282 के नदलाई शिलालेख, वि.सं. 1352 के जूना बाड़मेर शिलालेख और कई अन्य में वर्णित है।

धारावर्ष परमार के शासनकाल के वि.सं. 1255 के झाड़ोली शिलालेख में नियमित रूप से माला आदि की आपूर्ति के लिए एक बगीचे के अनुदान का उल्लेख है। मंदिर में दीपक के लिए तेल की व्यवस्था एक अन्य महत्वपूर्ण वस्तु थी। स्थानीय अधिकारियों ने स्थानीय तेल मिलों से कर के रूप में प्राप्त संग्रह से भी दान दिया। कभी-कभी प्रत्येक तेल मिल के आधार पर तेल की मात्रा तय की जाती थी। इस तरह के कर की दर अलग-अलग जगहों पर अलग-अलग होती थी। वि.सं. 1218 की नाडोल शिलालेख में कहा गया है कि नाडोल के महावीर मंदिर में धूप के खर्च को पूरा करने के लिए मासिक रूप से 5 ड्रामों का भुगतान किया जाता था।

अहिंसा :

जैन हमेशा अहिंसा को बढ़ावा देने वाली गतिविधियों को प्राथमिकता देते हैं। वे इसे धर्म दायित्व की तरह पालन करने पर जोर देते हैं। किराडू दिनांक वीई 1289 और रत्नपुर (लगभग 1289) के शिलालेखों में उल्लेख है कि जैन श्रेष्ठी शुभंकर के पुत्रों

सालिंग और पुटिंग के अनुरोध पर जीवित प्राणियों की हत्या पर प्रतिबंध लगाया गया था। (प्राणि मात्र) महीने में कुछ निश्चित दिन और इसके उल्लंघन पर जुर्माना लगाने का प्रावधान किया गया। वीई 1686 के मुंगथला शिलालेख में उल्लेख है कि प्रत्येक पखवाड़े के 11वें दिन और महीने में अमावस्या को सभी राजपूत, महाजनों, सूत्रधारों, लुहारों, किसानों और अन्य श्रमिक वर्गों द्वारा 'गैर-कार्य दिवस' के रूप में सख्ती से मनाया जाना था। महारावल समरसिंह के शासनकाल में मेवाड़ में अहिंसा लागू करने की व्यवस्थाएँ की गईं।

छोटे देवताओं की पूजा :

पुरालेखीय साक्ष्यों से पता चलता है कि शासन-देवताओं सचिका, क्षेत्रपाल, सरस्वती, जिन मातृका आदि के कई चिह्न उकेरे गए थे। शासन देवताओं में अंबिका और चक्रेश्वरी की स्वतंत्र प्रतिमाएँ बड़ी संख्या में स्थापित की गईं। अनादरा (सिरोही) में एक सुंदर जिन मातृका पट्ट है जिसमें 24 आकृतियाँ हैं और प्रत्येक के नीचे उनके नाम खुदे हुए हैं। क्षेत्रपाल का प्रतीक आम तौर पर जैन मंदिरों के मंडोवर भाग पर स्थापित किया गया था। वीई 1352 के बाडमेर शिलालेख में उल्लेख है कि क्षेत्रपाल की पूजा के लिए कर लगाए गए थे। इन शिलालेखों के अध्ययन से इस क्षेत्र के जैन-जीवन पर महत्वपूर्ण प्रकाश पड़ता है। मूर्ति कला की दृष्टि से अनेक परम्परायें सामने आती हैं। जैन साधुओं की गच्छ-परम्परा की एक विशाल सूची चौरासी गच्छ की मान्यता को प्रमाणित करती है। अधिकांश लेखों में उपकेश अथवा ओसवंशी अथवा ओसवाल या उकेश नामों से एक ही श्रावक समुदाय की सम्बोधन दृष्टिगोचर होता है जिसका क्षत्रिय परम्पराओं से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध प्रकट होता है। जूझारों के लेख, सतियों के लेख, श्रावक नामावली के साथ श्राविकाओं का नारी महत्व परम्पराओं की एक विशेष गुणवत्ता प्रकट करता है। इस विषय में शोधकार्य हेतु लेखों का यह संकलन महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दे पायगा ऐसी कामना है।

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पानरवाका शिलामाता मंदिर शिलालेख

डॉ. जगदीश प्रसाद* एवं डॉ. यशवीर सिंह**

राजस्थान के मेवाड़ क्षेत्र में उदयपुर जिले के झाड़ोल तहसील में स्थित पानरवा गांव जो मेवाड़ राज्य का एक प्रमुख ठिकाना हुआ करता था, जिसके शासक सोलंकी राजपूत शाखा से थे।¹ मेवाड़ रियासत का दक्षिणी पश्चिमी भाग भोमट² कहलाता है। ईडर, सिरोही, गोगुंदा, झाड़ोल आदि के बीच अरावली पर्वतमाला के सघन वनों से छाये इस पहाड़ी क्षेत्र पर 12वीं सदी तक भीलों की स्वायत्त सत्ता थी। विभिन्न कबीलों में बटे होने के कारण ये आदिवासी आपस में लड़ते रहते थे और सघन व दुर्गम क्षेत्र होने के कारण आसपास के बड़े राज्यों के लिए भोमट कोई विशेष आकर्षण का क्षेत्र भी नहीं था। लेकिन 12वीं सदी के बाद यहाँ राजपूतों का प्रवेश हुआ एवं उन्होंने अपनी स्वतंत्र सत्ता कायम कर ली। सर्वप्रथम यहाँ गुजरात से यदुवंशी क्षत्रिये आये और पानरवा पर अपनी सत्ता कायम की। इनके बाद बागड़िया चौहान आये और उन्होंने पहाड़ा व जवास क्षेत्र पर अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित किया। 1299 में गुजरात से सोलंकियों का शासन समाप्त होने के बाद वे देश के विभिन्न भागों में बिखर गये। उनमें से एक शाखा भिणाय की तरफ आई जिसे राणकिया कहा गया। उसी राणकिया शाखा के रायमल के नेतृत्व में कुछ परिवार सिरोही रियासत के लास गाँव के रहवासी हुए। 1398 ई. में यहाँ चौहानों की एक अन्य शाखा सोनिगरा चौहान ईडर की तरफ से प्रविष्ट हुई और जूड़ा कोटड़ा पर अपना आधिपत्य स्थापित किया।

1477-78 ई. में सिरोही के राव ने इनको लास से निकाल दिया और इनमें से अधिकांश मेवाड़ के महाराणा के अधीन देसूरी क्षेत्र में आ गए। कुछ परिवार अक्षयराज के नेतृत्व में भोमट में आये और पानरवा के यदुवंशी शासक जीवराज यादव से युद्ध करके 1478 ई. में पानरवा पर अधिकार कर लिया तथा अक्षयराज स्वयं शासक बन गया और

इस प्रकार पानरवा में सोलंकी शासन की स्थापना हुई।³ भोमट के इस बीहड़ क्षेत्र के सभी राजपूत शासकों ने स्वयं अपने पुरुषार्थ के बल से इस भूमि को जीतकर अपना राज्य स्थापित किया था, बल्कि उन्हें किसी बड़े शासक द्वारा ये ठिकाने उपहार में नहीं दिए गये थे इसलिए इन्हें भोमिया सरदार भी कहा गया तथा इस प्रकार 1550 मील क्षेत्रफल वाले क्षेत्र को भोमट कहा गया।

सोलहवीं शताब्दी में रावत हरपाल पानरवा का शासक बना। जब महाराणा उदयसिंह ने भोमट में प्रवेश किया तो रावत हरपाल ने राणा उदयसिंह की बहुत सहायता की थी जिससे प्रसन्न होकर रावत हरपाल को महाराणा उदयसिंह ने राणा की पदवी दी। तभी से पानरवा के सोलंकी शासकों की पदवी राणा की चली आ रही है।⁴ राणा हरपाल के दूसरे पुत्र नाहरसिंह ने ओगणा पर अपना अधिकार स्थापित कर लिया तथा इस प्रकार उनके वंशज ओगणा के शासक बने।

राणा हरपाल के बाद राणा दूदा पानरवा का उत्तराधिकारी बना लेकिन वे अल्प समय ही शासक रहे। उसके बाद उसका पुत्र राणा पूंजा पानरवा का शासक बना। राणा पूंजा ने महाराणा प्रताप की हल्दीघाटी के युद्ध में सहायता की थी।⁵ राणा पूंजा 20 फरवरी, 1572 ई. को महाराणा प्रताप के राज्याभिषेक समारोह में भी अपने भील सैनिकों के साथ शामिल हुए थे। इतिहास प्रसिद्ध हल्दीघाटी के युद्ध में राणा पूंजा अपने इन्ही भील सैनिकों के साथ महाराणा की फौज के चंदावल (पीछे का भाग) में शामिल थे। उन्होंने अपने भील सैनिकों के साथ खुले मैदान की अपेक्षा पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में मोर्चा ले रखा था। क्योंकि पूरा भोमट क्षेत्र मूल रूप से आदिवासी भीलों का निवास स्थान था इसलिए उनकी पूरी सेना भीलों की थी। मेवाड़ राज्य की तरफ से पानरवा के सोलंकी राजपूत शासकों को सर्वप्रथम द्वितीय श्रेणी और फिर प्रथम श्रेणी की न्यायिक शक्तियाँ प्रदान की गईं।⁶

हल्दीघाटी के युद्ध में महाराणा द्वारा खुले मैदान से पहाड़ियों में लौटने के साथ ही राणा पूंजा भी सेना सहित महाराणा के साथ कोल्यारी पहुंचे और वहीं से गोगुंदा का घेराव किया जहाँ मानसिंह मुगल सेना सहित ठहरे थे। यह घेराव इतना विकराल था कि मुगल सेना से बाहरी संपर्क के सभी मार्ग अवरुद्ध हो गये और उन्हें कच्ची केरियाँ खाकर समय गुजारना पड़ा। इसके बाद चले लम्बे छापामार संघर्ष में राणा पूंजा अपने सैनिकों सहित महाराणा के सक्रिय सहयोगी बने रहे।

1579 ई. में महाराणा ने पानरवा क्षेत्र को छोड़कर चावंड को अपनी राजधानी बनाया। दिवेर के निर्णायक युद्ध के बाद शान्ति काल में भी राणा पूंजा का महाराणा प्रताप के साथ संपर्क, सहयोग एवं सम्मान बना रहा। राणा पूंजा के बाद राणा राम, महाराणा अमरसिंह के सहयोगी बने रहे एवं महाराणा राजसिंह के समय राणा चन्द्रभान उनके

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औरंगजेब से हुए संघर्ष में प्रमुख सहयोगी थे। मेवाड़ के प्रमुख सहयोगी होते हुए भी पानरवा के सोलंकी शासकों ने अपना स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व बनाये रखा। वे मेवाड़ के अन्य उमरावों की भाँति महाराणा को वार्षिक खिराज नहीं देते थे और ना ही महाराणा के प्रति अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा में बंधे थे। ब्रिटिश कालीन भारत में यह व्यवस्था कायम नहीं रह पायी और अंततः 1838 ई. में वे मेवाड़ के महाराणा के औपचारिक मातहत बन गए एवं अपने ठिकाने की वार्षिक आय का 10वां भाग (दशूद) मेवाड़ के राजकोष में देना स्वीकार कर लिया। आजादी के समय यहाँ राणा मोहब्बतसिंह शासक थे। इस प्रकार रावत अक्षयराज से लेकर राणा मोहब्बतसिंह तक की 21 पीढ़ियों का पर्याप्त वर्णन मौजूद है जिसके अनुसार पानरवा के शासक सोलंकी राजपूत थे।⁷

लेख प्राप्ति स्थान

उदयपुर से दक्षिण पूर्व में स्थित पानरवा क्षेत्र उदयपुर मुख्यालय से लगभग 88 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर बसा मानपुर ग्राम कभी पानरवा का प्रशासनिक मुख्यालय हुआ करता था। मानपुर में ही शिलादेवी का एक मंदिर स्थित है, जहाँ से यह महत्वपूर्ण शिलालेख प्राप्त हुआ है। यह काले ग्रेनाइट पत्थर की एक पट्टिका पर अंकित है, जिसकी लम्बाई 12 इंच व चौड़ाई 17 इंच है। पट्टिका पर नागरी लिपि के अक्षर उकेरे हुए हैं। इन अक्षरों की औसत लम्बाई करीब एक सेंटीमीटर है।

भाषा व लेखन

इस अभिलेख की भाषा अधिकतर अपरिष्कृत संस्कृत है। जिसमें पर्याप्त देशी शब्दों के साथ 'कारकून' जैसे कुछ फारसी शब्दों का उल्लेख भी हुआ है। अभिलेख में मुख्यतः 23 पंक्तियाँ हैं, और इनके अतिरिक्त पट्टिका की बांयी धिरे पर पड़त में दो पंक्तियाँ अधोवत लिखी गयी हैं। लेख में आए भौगोलिक शब्द - पानरवा भांडेर का एक भाग है। भांडेर मेवाड़ के अंतर्गत आए 'भूमट' का वह भाग है जिसमें सघन वन युक्त पर्वत हैं। देषसरी उदयपुर में जरगा व रागा पहाड़ियों के बीच का क्षेत्र सदा हरा-भरा रहने के कारण देषसरी कहलाता है तथा चंपाकपुर गुजरात के चांपानेर का प्राचीन नाम है।

विषय सार

यह अभिलेख शिलादेवी परिसर में भवन का जिर्नोद्वार की जानकारी देने के अलावा तात्कालीन समय की ऋतुचर्या, सम्वत्, कल्प, मनवांतर, मास, वार आदि काल गणना व पंचांग के घटकों का उल्लेख भी करता है। शिलालेख स्थापना के समय उपस्थित प्रतिनिधियों में कायस्थ व सूत्रधार आदि जनों के नाम मिलते हैं; जैसे कि- वर्धमान सिंघवी, श्रीनाथ, विप्र जोशी, आदि।

इस शिलालेख में अच्छे योद्धाओं के वंशक्रम को पहचानते हुए राणा पूंजा सोलंकी की वंशावली दी गई है। चूंकि यह अभिलेख स्थानीय और विषयवस्तु के समकालीन है, अतः एव इसमें दी गयी सोलंकी वंशावली, सदियों बाद आई ख्यातों व पोथियों पर आधारित वंशावली से अधिक सटीक है। शिलालेख में वर्णित राणा पूंजा का वंश सोलंकी, ऋषि गोत्र भारद्वाज, शासन काल 1576 ई. तथा शासन क्षेत्र पानरवा, भांडेर आदि विषय इतिहास के अन्य ज्ञात स्रोतों से पूर्णरूपेण मेल खाते हैं।

राजस्थान के वरिष्ठ इतिहासकार देवीलाल पालीवाल ने भी अपनी पुस्तक पानरवा का सोलंकी राजवंश में शिला माता के मंदिर में स्थित एक शिलालेख का उल्लेख किया है पर किन्ही कारणों से उस समय इस शिलालेख की सफाई नहीं होने के कारण यह अपाठ्य ही रह गया था।⁸

परिसूचक

निम्नलिखित पठन में जहाँ भी सुधार हेतु संभावित अक्षर/शब्द सुझाया गया है वो सामान्य कोष्ठक () में हैं। जहाँ अर्थ में सरलता के लिए स्पष्टीकरण देय था, जैसे पं-पंडित तथा जो. - जोशी। अपाठ्य अक्षरों को कोणीय कोष्ठक [] में इंगित किया गया है।

पंक्तिवार पठन⁹

1. श्रीः।। सा पानेरवा सूभट क्रमानि आ सासन राण श्री (पू)जे जी ए अ च अ प भाडेर माहि।। गंगा गोरेअ भट स
2. श्री जगदंबे जय।। आदित्याद्या ग्रह सर्वे सनक्षत्रा सराषय सर्वान् कामान् प्रयच्छंतु य-
3. स्य प्रासाद पत्रिका स्वस्ति श्रीमं नृप विक्रमार्क समयातित संवत् 1632 वर्षे 1498 प्रवर-
4. तमाने तारण नाम विभुवत्सरे श्वेतवाराह कल्पे विवस्वत मनवंतरे उत्तरायनगते श्री-
5. सूरये शिशिररतौ माहा मांगल्य प्रद फागुण मासे शुक्लपक्षे तिथि सातम वार भौम¹⁰ ए-
6. व विधे समये राजकुल मुगट वरधन श्रुति स्मृत्याग्रा परिपालक धर्म न्याय पंथा प्रवर्तक
7. संग्राम विजयि शोलंकी श्री भारद्वाजु ज गौत्रों चारवहमान गोत्र देव्यानाभीधेय जयक-

8. रिणी षिमिज नाम प्रसिधं तस्या प्रसादात् प्रसाद्यं आधारं योग्यं महाराजा राणा श्री डुंगरजीत-
9. स्य सुत राणों श्री रामजी तस्य सुत राणोंश्री वीर जी तस्य सुत राणो श्री छत्रमल्ल जी तस्य सुत
10. सर्व उपमा योग्य निर्मलान्तकःरण, सरोज गो ब्राह्मण प्रतिपालक प्रथश्व चुड़ामणि स-
11. वार्तकःरण जात विचार चतुर चुड़ामणि राणो श्री प्रंजा जी पाटो धरणधीर विजयरा-
12. जे एवं विधे समय वहमाने आदिशेकति श्री शिला विनो जीरण प्रसाद उध रो नुत-
13. न करो तस्य राज्ञः पूंजा जी राणाकस्य भार्या येष्ठा पूत्रवती महीडी बाई श्री धनबाइ इ-
14. ति नामं प्रसिध ।। तस्य राज्ञः येष्ट पुत्र कूअर श्री देपाल जी तथा कनिष्ठ पुत्र कूं-
15. अर श्री हरपाल जी तथा कुंअर श्री गोपाल जी अस्य राज्ञः सुतस्य एतत् नाम प्रसिधं
16. अस्य राज्ञः भ्राता राज श्री जिमल जी तस्य हाथी जी नाम तथा भ्राता श्री भीम जी तथा भ्रा-
17. त्र सुत कुंअर चांदो जी तथा वीरो जी नामाभीधेय गणेश गोत्र देव्या प्रसादात् कल्याणमस्तु
18. जयमस्तु बहुधनमस्तुः।।छ।। अस्मिन् समये गुरुधे पूजनी गुरु पं(पंडित) श्री गोइआ तथा
19. द्वितीव गुरु पं(पंडित) । श्री फहात नाम प्रसीधं तदा देषसरी श्री ळगंगं जी तथा द्वितिये (छ/ला) दादो
20. प्रसिधं तथा ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठ रा ओल कृष्णदास कारकून संघवी वरधमान विप जो. [जोशी]
21. श्रीनाथ तथा चंपाकपुरे नीवासू व भट कृष्ण श्री भागवतस्य वाचनं तुतं तेन शिला
22. तस्य पतिसु ज ता तेन लिपीतं पा(प्रा)सादकारक सूत्रधार देधर सुत लडणेन प्रासाद करो अचल
23. महता (मुंहता) अचला सुत संकर सुत राण (सु)त्त हीरा सुत जहआ

पूर्वोक्त है कि बार्यो पड़त पर दो पंक्तियाँ अधोवत लिखी मिलती हैं। इनमें दो स्थानों पर शिला क्षतिग्रस्त होने से कुछ अक्षरों का लोप हुआ है। जितना पठन हो सका वो इस प्रकार है :

23. नु म -- र धी श तानी यवत आरोग्यमस्तु
24. देरासरी की ताल जी का -- र गो म वा स ण गे -- रा म द स मद्र सा-

संक्षिप्त अनुवाद

यहाँ बताना आवश्यक है कि कई शब्द ऐसे हैं जिनका पठन तो हुआ है, किन्तु आसपास के शब्द अपाठ्य होने से सन्दर्भ व अर्थ निकालना दुष्कर रहा। अतःएव अनुमान लगाने के स्थान पर ऐसे शब्दों को संक्षिप्त अनुवाद में सम्मिलित नहीं किया गया है। पाठक गण उपरोक्त पठन व आगे दिए छायाचित्र के माध्यम से अपना मत निर्मित कर सकते हैं।

- पंक्ति 1 : भांडेर में स्थित पानरवा के शूरवीर योद्धाओं के वंशक्रम में जन्मे राणा पूंजा जी का यहाँ शासन है।.....
- पंक्ति 2 : जगदम्बे की जय हो! सूर्य आदि सभी ग्रह, नक्षत्रों व राशियों सहित.....
- पंक्ति 3-5 : वर्तमान में राजा विक्रमादित्य के बाद से बीता हुआ समय है द्विक्रमऋतु सम्वत 1632, वर्ष है 1498 (शक सम्वत); मंगलवार, 07 फरवरी, 1576 ईस्वी। ब्रह्मा वर्ग के चलित संवत्सर का नाम विभव, और वर्ष (18वें) का नाम तारण है। वर्ष के भीतर ब्रह्मा जी के चलित दिन (कल्प) का नाम श्वेतवाराह है। कल्प के भीतर चलित (7वें) मनवांतर का नाम विवस्वत है। सूर्य उत्तरायण में शिशिर ऋतु (northern solstice) में रत हैं। इस मंगल अवसर पर फाल्गुन मास में शुक्ल पक्ष की सप्तमी तिथि को मंगलवार का दिन है।
- पंक्ति 6-7 : ऐसे विधि और समय पर राजकुल की प्रतिष्ठा को बढ़ाने वाले; श्रुति व स्मृति ज्ञान परम्पराओं की अग्रणी होकर पालना करने वाले; (सभी) धर्मो, पंथों व न्याय की (अपने राज्य में) स्थापना करने वाले; युद्ध में विजयी; सोलंकी वंशी; व भारद्वाज गोत्रीय.....
- पंक्ति 7-8 : (जो)देवियों में उल्लेखनीय हैं और यश-विजय देने वाली हैं; जिनका नाम क्षितिज में व्याप्त है, उन (देवी) का प्रासाद (मन्दिर).....
- पंक्ति 9-11 : महाराजा राणा डूंगरजी; के पुत्र राणा रामजी; के पुत्र राणा वीरजी; के पुत्र राणा छत्रमलजी; के पुत्र सर्व उपमा योग्य निर्मल कमल के समान मन वाले, गो-ब्राह्मण के रक्षक; आभूषण रूपी चतुर विचारक और विजयी योद्धा; धैर्य से सिंहासनस्थ राणा श्री पूंजा जी ने

- पंक्ति 12-13 : ऐसे विधि और समय में आदेश दिया कि शिला माता के जीर्ण हो चुके प्रासाद (मन्दिर) का नवीनीकरण किया जाए।
- पंक्ति 13-14 : उस राजा पूंजा जी की ज्येष्ठ पत्नी, पुत्रवती महीडी बाई तथा धनबाई के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं।
- पंक्ति 14-15 : उस राजा के पुत्रों में ज्येष्ठ पुत्र कुँवर देवपाल (देपाल) जी, छोटे पुत्र कुँवर हरिपाल जी तथा गोपाल जी के नाम प्रसिद्ध हैं।
- पंक्ति 16-17 : इस राजा के भाई राजा की उपाधी वाले, जिमल (जयमल) जी, श्री हाथी जी, खीम (खेम) जी और भतीजे (खेम जी के पुत्र) चांदो जी तथा वीरो जी के नामों से जाने गए।
- पंक्ति 17-18 : कल्याण हो, जय हो, प्रचुर धन हो।
- पंक्ति 18-19 : इस समय पूजनीय गुरुदेव पंडित श्री गोइआ तथा द्वितीय गुरु पंडित फहात नाम ही प्रसिद्ध थे तथा देषसरी वासी श्री गंगा जी द्वितीय श्री दादो प्रसिद्ध श्रेष्ठ ब्राह्मण थे।
- पंक्ति 20-21 : राजा कृष्णदास प्रबंधकर्ता है, इस समय वर्धमान सिंघवी, विप्र जोशी, श्रीनाथ तथा चंपाकपुर निवासी कृष्णन भट्ट आदि ने
- पंक्ति 21-22 : भगवान जिन शिला माता के पति की वन्दना करके यह शिलालेख मंदिर में लिखवाया, जिसके व्यवस्थापक देवधर पुत्र लडणेन थे, जिन्होंने इस मन्दिर के जीर्णोद्धार का कार्य पूर्ण करवाया।
- पंक्ति 23 : इस अवसर पर अचल महता पुत्र शंकर पुत्र राण पुत्र हीरा पुत्र जहआ भी उपस्थित थे।

महत्त्व

पानरवा का यह शिलालेख हमें भूमट में बसे सोलंकीयों के इतिहास पर नया दृष्टिपात करने का अवसर देता है। लेख में राणा पूजा के वंश, गोत्रादि का स्पष्ट वर्णन होने से इतिहास की कई उलझी गुत्थियाँ सुलझाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाता है। लगभग 25 वर्ष पूर्व पानरवा के सोलंकीयों की एक वंशावली देवीलाल पालीवाल द्वारा बड़वा पोथियों और ख्यातों के बल पर तैयार की गई थी। उनके अनुसार सोलंकी पानरवा में 1478 ई. में आकर बसे। उस वंशावली की तुलना यदि हम राणा पूंजा के शिलालेख की वंशावली से करें, तो दोनों ओर से नामों का आंशिक मेल ही मिलता है।

शिलालेख राणा पूंजा के समकालीन होने के कारण तथा प्रयोग में आई ख्यातों व पोथियों के समकालीन नहीं होने से शिलालेख को अधिक प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए।

14वीं सदी से आगे के सोलंकी इतिहास पर ख्यातों व बहियों में ही परस्पर साम्य ना होने की बात इतिहासकार गौरीशंकर हीराचंद ओझा ने भी लिखी है। बड़वा पोथियों में जानकारी के प्रवाह और संवत् आदि का उलटफेर होना सामान्य सी बात थी, यह बात केवल पालीवाल ही नहीं, बल्कि डॉ. देव कोठारी¹¹ जैसे अधिकांश अनुभवी इतिहासकार भी मानते हैं। अतएव इस मामले में शिलालेख और पोथियों के बीच पूरा साम्य होना वैसे भी असंभव है। नीचे दी गई तालिका में हमने बांयी ओर शिलालेख की वंशावली पीढ़ीवार रखी है, और दांयी ओर ख्यात-पोथियों से प्राप्त वे नाम लिखे हैं जो शिलालेख के नाम से मेल खाते हैं।

यह शिलालेख स्वयं राणा पूंजा ने लगवाया था। इसमें उनका नाम तीन बार आता है और पहले व बाद की छह पीढ़ियों के नाम हैं। यह संयोग है कि इनमें कुछ नाम हमे अपनी पोथियों में भी नहीं मिलते, जो कि श्यामलदास के अनुसार 17वीं सदी के पहले के नहीं हो सकते हैं।

अभिलेख से ज्ञात होता है कि ग्राम पानरवा एक शासन क्षेत्र था और बभट (भोमट) को पूर्व नाम के साथ जाना जाता था। राणा पूंजा यहां पर अपने भाइयों के साथ शासन करते थे। यह अभिलेख 16वीं सदी की देवनागरी लिपि का है जिसमें 'ऐ' की मात्रा का अक्षर से पूर्व प्रयोग सर्वत्र है। यह अभिलेख फागुन शुक्ल 7 विक्रम संवत् 1632 तदनुसार 7 फरवरी 1576 ई. का है। हमें इसको सोलंकी प्रशस्ति कहने में कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं है क्योंकि इसमें 'राजकुल मुकुट', धर्म, न्याय परिपालक, न्याय पंथ के प्रवर्तक सोलंकी वंश को ऋषि भारद्वाज वाला बताया गया है।

अभिलेख में दी गई वंशावली के अनुसार इसमें 'महाराज राणा' जैसी उपाधि वाले डूंगर जी का नाम प्रथमतः आया है जिन्होंने संभवतः यह क्षेत्र शासन में प्राप्त किया होगा। उनके पुत्र श्रीरामजी हुए। रामजी के पुत्र श्रीवीरजी हुए। वीरजी के एकमात्र पुत्र छत्रमल हुए। छत्रमल के पुत्र पूंजा हुए जिनकी उपाधियां भी अभिलेख में हैं- प्रसाद-योग्य, निर्मलान्तःकरण सरोज, आत्मस्थ रूपवाले, कमल जैसे, गौ और ब्राह्मणों के प्रतिपालक, विचार चतुर, चुड़ामणि आदि-आदि।

राणा पूंजा ने मंदिर का जीर्णोद्धार जब करवाया, तब ज्येष्ठ रानी महीडीबाई और धनबाई थीं। उनके ज्येष्ठ पुत्र कुँवर देपाल, कनिष्ठ पुत्र कुँवर हरपाल तथा कुँवर गोपाल हुए। पूंजा के भाई राजा की उपाधि वाले थे और उनके नाम क्रमशः जिमल, हाथीजी और खीमजी। उनके पुत्र थे-चांदोजी तथा वीरोजी। ये सब मंदिर की प्रतिष्ठा के समय उपस्थित थे। मंदिर की प्रतिष्ठा गुरु श्री गोइया तथा कादात ने करवाई थी। कारकून वर्द्धमान सिंघवी, ब्राह्मण, ज्योतिषी, चंपाकपुर के भट्ट कृष्ण थे। सूत्रधार देवधर था।

शिलालेख में नाम	शिलालेख में स्थिति	ख्यात-पोथियों में नाम	ख्यात-पोथियों में स्थिति
डूंगर जी	राणा पूंजा से 4 पीढ़ी ऊपर	डूंगर सिंह	ये नाम पानरवा से पृथक हुए ओगणा ठिकाने में मिलता है। क्रम : राणा पूंजा के समकालीन अथवा ठीक बाद। निश्चित नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वही व्यक्ति है।
राम जी	राणा पूंजा से 3 पीढ़ी ऊपर	रामा	राणा पूंजा के पुत्र
वीर जी	राणा पूंजा से 2 पीढ़ी ऊपर	(नहीं मिलता)	
छत्रम(ले)जी	राणा पूंजा से 1 पीढ़ी ऊपर	(नहीं मिलता)	
पूंजा जी		पूंजा	
देपाल (देवपाल)जी	राणा पूंजा के ज्येष्ठ पुत्र	देवराज	ये नाम पानरवा से पृथक हुए ओगणा ठिकाने में मिलता है। क्रम : राणा पूंजा के समकालीन। निश्चित नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वही व्यक्ति है।
हरपाल जी	राणा पूंजा के कनिष्ठ पुत्र	हरपाल	राणा पूंजा के पितामह (दादा)
गोपाल जी	राणा पूंजा के कनिष्ठ पुत्र	(नहीं मिलता)	
जिमल जी	राणा पूंजा के भाई	(नहीं मिलता)	
हाथी जी	भतीजे, जिमल जी के पुत्र	(नहीं मिलता)	
खीम जी	राणा पूंजा के भाई	(नहीं मिलता)	
चांदो जी	भतीजे, खीम जी के पुत्र	चंद्रभान	राणा पूंजा के पौत्र
वीरो जी	भतीजे, खीम जी के पुत्र	(नहीं मिलता)	

सन्दर्भ

1. Sukhdeo, Mewar Under Maharana Bhupal Singh (Allahabad, 1935), 22.
2. भोमट (जिसे भूमट भी कहा जाता है) दक्षिणी राजस्थान में एक पहाड़ी और जंगली क्षेत्र है, जो उदयपुर जिले के कोटरा, झाड़ोल और खेरवाड़ा की सभी तहसीलों या उनके कुछ हिस्सों को कवर करता है। ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान, इस क्षेत्र को मेवाड़ का पहाड़ी क्षेत्र भी कहा जाता था। यह एक ऐसा क्षेत्र था जहां के भीलों को कोई हरा नहीं सका, भोमट उस क्षेत्र को भी कहते हैं जहां सबसे अधिक भील रहते हैं।
3. Devlal Paliwal, Panarwa ka Solanki Rajvansh (Udaipur: Janak Prakashan, 2000), 19.
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5. Paliwal, Panarwa ka Solanki Rajvansh, 96.
6. Sukhdeo, Mewar Under Maharana Bhupal Singh, p. 22.
7. The Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages in Rajputana and Ajmer (Calcutta: Govt. of India, Publication Branch, 1924), 91-92.
8. Paliwal, Panarwa ka Solanki Rajvansh, 94.
9. हम विरेन्द्र सिंह राठौर, जयपुर निवासी, जो टी.सी.एस. कम्पनी में सेवारत हैं, जिन्होंने शिलालेख को पढ़ने में तथा इसके अनुवाद में हमारी बहुत सहायता की है, अनुज राठौर जी का दिल की गहराईयों से बहुत बहुत धन्यवाद। इसके साथ ही विरजानन्द देवकरणि, निदेशक, स्वामी ओमानन्द सरस्वती संग्रहालय, गुरुकुल झज्जर का तथा डॉ. राजेन्द्र कुमार, बिकानेर का भी धन्यवाद करना चाहते हैं जिन्होंने शिलालेख को पढ़ने में हमारा मार्गदर्शन किया।
10. डॉ. श्री कृष्ण 'जुगनु' ने भी इसको 7 फरवरी, 1576 ई. का ही बताया है।
11. देव कोठारी, राणा पूंजा के संदर्भ में कुछ ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण, राजस्थान पत्रिका, 5 नवम्बर, 1997

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मारवाड़ के सूर्य मंदिरों का वास्तुकला सौंदर्य - कलात्मक दृष्टि

डॉ. दीपक सालवी*

देवका का सूर्य मन्दिर

देवका का सूर्य मन्दिर बाड़मेर जिले में जैसलमेर जाने वाली सड़क पर लगभग 115 किलोमीटर दूर स्थित है। ऐतिहासिक एवं कलात्मक दृष्टि से यह मन्दिर भव्य है। पूर्वाभिमुखी यह मन्दिर शिखर शैली का है। सभामण्डप की उत्तर एवं दक्षिण दिशा में तोरण द्वार बने हुए हैं। इन तोरण द्वारों का शिल्पांकन दर्शनीय है। सभामण्डप के एक स्तम्भ पर विक्रम संवत् 1631 एवं दूसरी ओर विक्रम संवत् 1674 का अभिलेख खुदा हुआ है। इससे यह प्रतीत होता है कि यह जीर्णोद्धार का समय रहा होगा। सभामण्डप के सामने गर्भगृह बना हुआ है। गर्भगृह के ललाट बिम्ब पर सूर्य की स्थानक मुद्रा की प्रतिमा है। इसके साथ द्वारपालों की आकृतियाँ भी बनी हुई हैं। मंदिर के शिखर के कर्णश्रृंग एवं ऊरुश्रृंग को छोटी-छोटी पट्टिकाओं से जोड़कर बनाया गया है।



चित्र 93. मंदिर का बाहरी भाग, देवका

शिखर की पश्चिम, उत्तर एवं दक्षिण दिशा में क्रमशः परशुराम, कुबेर तथा ब्रह्माजी की प्रतिमाएँ हैं। इसके अलावा कुछ अस्पष्ट देवों की आकृतियाँ भी बनी हुई हैं। मूल मन्दिर की चतुष्किका से उतरने के पश्चात् उत्तर दिशा में एक स्तम्भ गढा हुआ है जिस पर उमा, महेश, सूर्य, गणेश एवं गोवर्धन धारी कृष्ण की प्रतिमाएँ बनी हुई हैं। मन्दिर के उत्तर एवं दक्षिण दिशा में दो देवलियाँ दृष्टव्य हैं। उत्तर दिशा की देवली कुबेर की है। इस देवली के बाहरी भाग पर पूर्व में शिव-पार्वती, पश्चिम में ब्रह्मा एवं दक्षिण भाग सपत्नी कुबेर की प्रतिमाएँ हैं। इसके सामने ही शिव देवली बनी हुई है। इसके बाह्य भाग पर पूर्व में गणेश एवं दक्षिण में सूर्य की प्रतिमा बनी है।

मन्दिर के पृष्ठ भाग के अर्न्तपत्र पर नवग्रह और मध्य में शिव की मूर्तियाँ बनी हैं। वास्तु विन्यास की दृष्टि यह मन्दिर अन्य मन्दिरों की अपेक्षा छोटा है किन्तु कलात्मक दृष्टि से मूर्तिकला में अति सुक्ष्मता एवं भव्यता है जो इस मन्दिर की कला को अति आकर्षक रूप से प्रस्तुत करती है। वास्तु विन्यास में यह मन्दिर अन्य मन्दिरों की तुलना में छोटा है किन्तु कलात्मक दृष्टि से चक्षुप्रिय है।

करोड़ी ध्वज का सूर्य मन्दिर

अरावली पर्वतमाला की मारवाड़ अपने प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य के लिए विश्वविख्यात है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह मन्दिरों एवं तीर्थ स्थलों के रूप में भी प्रसिद्ध है। राजस्थान की पश्चिम दिशा में राजस्थान के सिरोही जिले के अनादरा गाँव से लगभग 2 किलोमीटर दूर पहाड़ी पर श्री सूर्य भगवान् का अत्यन्त प्राचीन मन्दिर है जो श्री 'करोड़ी ध्वज' तीर्थ स्थल के नाम से विख्यात है। यह मन्दिर अर्बुदगिरी के विशिष्ट तीर्थ स्थलों में से एक है। कई वर्षों पूर्व अनादरा और आसपास का क्षेत्र कण्ठपुर पाटण नगरी के नाम से जाने जाते थे जो कालान्तर में इतिहास प्रसिद्ध चंद्रावती नगरी कहलाई जो अर्बुद भूमि की राजधानी भी रही। इस नगरी पर परमार वंश के क्षत्रिय शासकों का शासन था।



चित्र. करोड़ी ध्वज मंदिर



चित्र. सोमशायी विष्णु

विक्रम संवत् 13वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में चंद्रावती के महाराजा राणा यशोधवल के बाल्यावस्था में ही सन्यास ग्रहण कर बाल योगी के रूप में यहाँ रहे। इसका उल्लेख सभामण्डप के स्तम्भों पर उल्लेखित है। प्राचीन काल में यह आध्यात्मिक चेतना का स्थल भी माना जाता था एवं विभिन्न स्थलों से यहाँ पर करोड़ों ध्वजाएँ चढ़ने हेतु आती

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थी इस कारण भी इस स्थान का नामकरण करोड़ी ध्वज पड़ा। यह स्थान रामानंद सम्प्रदाय का पीठ भी है। गर्भगृह में श्याम रंग के पत्थर की सूर्य प्रतिमा अवस्थित है।



चित्र. मंदिर प्रांगण में प्राचीन मूर्ति शिल्प

सभामण्डप के पास ही एक और छोटा सूर्य मन्दिर दृष्टव्य है। इसके पास ही संगमरमर की मूर्ति रखी हुई है। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि यह मूर्ति मुख्य मंदिर की पहली मूर्ति होनी चाहिए। खण्डित होने के कारण इसे हटाकर श्याम रंग के पत्थर की अन्य मूर्ति लगा दी गई है। सभामण्डप के मध्य एक स्तम्भ पर सूर्य का सुन्दर चक्र रखा हुआ है। सभामण्डप के नीचे एक प्राचीन शिव मंदिर भी है जिसके प्रांगण में कुछ प्रतिमाएँ रखी हुई हैं यथा सूर्य, शेषशायी विष्णु, आदि। इस मन्दिर की सबसे प्रमुख विशेषता यह है कि सभामण्डप के ऊपर की ओर एक कुत्ते की मूर्ति भी जड़ी हुई है इस दृष्टिकोण से भी यह एक अनूठा मन्दिर है। पूरे मन्दिर प्रांगण में कई छोटे-छोटे मन्दिर बने हुए हैं। लगभग यहाँ 18-20 मूर्तियाँ मन्दिर प्रांगण में इधर-उधर रखी हुई हैं। सबसे ज्यादा प्रतिमाएँ सूर्य की हैं जिसमें से कुछ खण्डित अवस्था में हैं उपरोक्त विशेषताओं के कारण यह मन्दिर अपने आप में वास्तुकला एवं धार्मिक दृष्टिकोण से सर्वश्रेष्ठ है।

बालार्क का सूर्य मन्दिर, बाड़मेर

राजस्थान का बाड़मेर जिला प्राचीन कला एवं संस्कृति के लिए प्रसिद्ध रहा है। जिले में किराडू, जूना, देवका आदि अनेक धार्मिक एवं ऐतिहासिक स्थल स्थित हैं। समय-समय पर यहाँ मुगलों द्वारा आक्रमण किए गए एवं अनेक कलात्मक मन्दिरों को क्षति पहुँचाई गई। मुगलों के आक्रमण से बचाकर सूर्य की दूर्लभ प्रतिमा नगर के जोशी मोहल्ले में बालार्क मन्दिर में स्थापित की गई। बालार्क से तात्पर्य बाल सूर्य भगवान् का मन्दिर है। यहाँ पर स्थित प्रतिमाओं के बारे में माना जाता है कि यह प्रतिमाएँ मूल रूप से सतीपुर-सत्यपुर (सांचोर) में प्रतिष्ठित थीं।

सूर्य के यहाँ चार मन्दिर थे जो सूर्य के चार रूपों के आधार पर बने हुए थे। प्रातः बाल स्वरूप के कारण बालार्क, तरुण अवस्था के कारण तरुणार्क, वृद्धावस्था के कारण वृद्धार्क एवं संध्याकाल में सिद्धार्क के नाम से प्रसिद्ध थे। बालार्क का यह सूर्य मन्दिर, ठाकुर जी के मन्दिर के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। प्रस्तुत मन्दिर का प्रवेश द्वार ग्यारह

सीढियों चढ़ने पर दक्षिणाभिमुख किए जमीन की सतह से करीबन 15 फीट की ऊँचाई पर बना हुआ है, जिसके आगे का भाग पाँच स्तम्भों पर आधारित है। प्रवेश द्वार के दोनों ओर द्वारपाल और पश्चिम की ओर ऊँचाई पर श्री गणेश जी की प्रतिमा ताक में स्थित है। मन्दिर का आन्तरिक भाग प्रवेश द्वार से सीधा सामने सात स्तम्भों पर टिका हुआ है। इसमें से मध्यभाग ऊपर से खुला है जिसमें पश्चिमाभिमुख किए सूर्य की काष्ठ की खड़ी प्रतिमा अवस्थित है। प्रतिमा की लम्बाई लगभग सवा छः फीट है। प्रस्तुत मन्दिर में स्थित काष्ठ मूर्तियों के सम्बन्ध में बताया जाता है कि यह हरित चन्दन की लकड़ी पर उत्कीर्ण हुई है, जो सूखने के पश्चात् काली हो जाती है।

आश्चर्य की बात है कि यह काष्ठ की भारी प्रतिमाएँ वर्षों से ही नहीं अपितु सदियों से प्राकृतिक थपेड़े झेलने के बाद भी सुरक्षित हैं। गर्भगृह में लकड़ी पर सूर्य को रथ पर खड़े एवं दोनों हाथों में सनाल पद्म लिए बनाया है। नीचे दोनों ओर द्वारपाल (दण्डी और पिंगल) स्थित हैं। गर्भगृह का द्वार बिम्ब चन्दन की लकड़ी का बना हुआ है। जिस पर अनेक अलंकरण देखने को मिलते हैं। मुख्य प्रतिमा के निर्माण का समय अनुमानतः 7-8वीं सदी माना जाता है। सूर्य की प्रतिमा में विदेशी प्रभाव (ईरानी) स्पष्टतः परिलक्षित होता है बालार्क का यह मन्दिर हवेली शैली में निर्मित है। बाहर से देखने पर ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता है कि यह देवालय है। वर्तमान समय में मन्दिर में पूजा होती है जिसका कार्यभार बालार्क मन्दिर व्यवस्था समिति देखती है। उक्त मन्दिर निःसंदेह राजस्थान के विशिष्ट मन्दिरों में अपना स्थान रखता है।

वसन्तगढ का सूर्य मन्दिर

वसन्तगढ, पिंडवाडा से आठ किलोमीटर दूर दक्षिण दिशा में स्थित है। विविध ग्रन्थों में इस स्थान का उल्लेख वेतालिया, वटस्थान, वटनगर एवं वशिष्ठपुर के रूप में मिलता है। यहाँ पर खण्डित अवस्था में तीन प्राचीन मन्दिर देखने को मिलते हैं। इन मन्दिरों में सूर्य, ब्रह्मा और जैन तीर्थंकर के मन्दिर हैं।



चित्र. वसन्तगढ मन्दिर के भग्नावशेष

तीनों मन्दिर लगभग नष्ट हो चुके हैं किन्तु पुरावशेषों का अवलोकन करने के पश्चात् ही इन देव मन्दिरों का अनुमान लगा सकते हैं। यहाँ से प्राप्त एक शिलालेख के अनुसार यह मन्दिर सातवीं सदी में बने थे।



चित्र: मन्दिर परिसर में सूर्य मूर्ति फलक, वसन्तगढ़

प्रस्तुत सूर्य मन्दिर ऊँची जगती पर निर्मित है। मन्दिर प्रांगण में कई कलाकृतियाँ खण्डित अवस्था में बिखरी पड़ी हैं। एक फलक पर जो कि द्वार शाखा का होना चाहिए सूर्य की प्रतिमा दो देवाकृतियों के बीच में विराजमान है। फलक की लम्बाई और चौड़ाई क्रमशः 6 × 1.5 फीट है।



चित्र: द्वारशाखा की देवाकृति, वसन्तगढ़

सातवीं-आठवीं सदी में निर्मित इस मन्दिर का जीर्णोद्धार (तोरणद्वार एवं सभामण्डप) भावगुप्त ने दसवीं सदी में करवाया था। प्रांगण में एक और फलक पर मिथुनाकृतियों का शिल्पांकन देखने को मिलता है। मन्दिर के चारों ओर प्रदक्षिणा पथ है जिसकी छतें साधारण प्रकार के अठपहलु स्तम्भों पर टिकी हैं। गर्भगृह के दाएं-बाएं दो तारकें हैं जिनकी लम्बाई-चौड़ाई क्रमशः 4 × 3 फीट है।

वर्तमान समय में इनमें कोई प्रतिमा नहीं है। द्वार शाखा के बाएं स्तम्भ पर कई देवों का अंकन है। खण्डित होने के कारण इन देवाकृतियों का अनुमान लगाना असहज है। गर्भगृह का शिखर पूर्णतया नष्ट हो चुका है। मन्दिर परिसर में लगभग 25 से 30 शिल्प मंदिर के कलात्मक सौंदर्य को मुखरित कर रहे हैं। संरक्षण के अभाव में यह आर्कषक मंदिर अपनी भव्यता एवं वैभव को खोता जा रहा है।

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बांके बिहारी मन्दिर उदयपुर की मूर्तिकला में परिलक्षित लोक जन-जीवन

डा. हेमेन्द्र चौधरी*

भारतीय मूर्तिकला, भारतीय सभ्यताओं की परम्पराएं, संस्कृति और शैलियों का संगम है। मूर्तिकला भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में हमेशा से कलात्मक अभिव्यक्ति का प्रिय माध्यम रही है। भारतीय देव मन्दिर प्रचुर रूप से मूर्तिकला से अलंकृत है।

उत्तर मध्यकाल में मन्दिर निर्माण कला और स्थापत्य नागर शैली के मन्दिरों के नियमों की पालना करते हैं। इस युग में मेवाड़ के महाराजाओं ने इस कला को बढ़ावा दिया। महाराणा जगतसिंह, महाराणा राजसिंह के काल में अनेक मन्दिर एवं बावड़ियों का निर्माण हुआ। इस काल में बने मन्दिर बड़े भव्य हैं। प्रताप के बाद अमरसिंह की मेवाड़-मुगल सन्धि के पश्चात मेवाड़ के शासकों ने मेवाड़ में सांस्कृतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक दृष्टि से पुष्ट किया, जिसमें मेवाड़ परिक्षेत्र में हमे मन्दिर निर्माण की परम्परा नजर आती है।

17वीं शताब्दी से 19वीं शताब्दी तक अनेक मन्दिरों का निर्माण हुआ। इन मन्दिरों का मूल विषय धार्मिक है। इस मूल विषय के साथ मन्दिरों के बाह्य भाग मण्डोवर भाग पर लोक जगत के दर्शाने वाले हर पहलू को शिल्पकारों ने मूर्तिशिल्पों के माध्यम से प्रदर्शित किया है।

राजस्थान के दक्षिणी भाग में स्थित उदयपुर शहर के प्रसिद्ध जगदीश चौक में स्थित जगदीश मंदिर के पीछे बायीं की ओर श्री जवान सूरज बिहारी मंदिर स्थित है। इसे बांके बिहारी मंदिर भी कहा जाता है, महाराणा जवान सिंह ने अपने नाम से संगमरमर का शिखरबद्ध मंदिर बनवाया। परन्तु महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह ने इस मन्दिर का निर्माण कार्य (1842-1861 ई.) में पूर्ण करवाया।¹

* सह आचार्य, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति विभाग, माश्रम, जनार्दन राय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ (डीम्ड-टू-बी विश्वविद्यालय), उदयपुर

प्राचीन बांके बिहारी का मंदिर नागर शैली में निर्मित शिखरबद्ध मंदिर है। इस मंदिर को वर्तमान में आधुनिक बना दिया गया है। यह मंदिर एक विशाल जगती भाग पर 20 × 30 फीट में फैला हुआ है। प्रवेश सीढ़ियों के प्रवेश मण्डप है, सादा सभामण्डप है। सभा मण्डपों के गवाक्षों को सीमेन्ट की जालियों से पैक कर दिया है, सादा वितान है। सभामण्डप में कई स्तम्भ हैं। जिन पर पुरुष किचक बने हुए हैं। सभामण्डप के बाद अन्तराल है, अंतराल के बाद गर्भगृह है, जिसमें भगवान श्रीकृष्ण की बांसुरी बजाते हुए त्रिभंगी मुद्रा में श्याम पाषाण में निर्मित प्रतिमा स्थापित है, पास ही सफेद संगमरमर से निर्मित राधा की मूर्ति है। इस मंदिर के चारों तरफ परकोटा बना हुआ है। इस मंदिर वैदिका भाग एवं मण्डोवर भाग पर कोई भी प्रतिमा स्थित नहीं है। पीठ के बाद गजथर फिर अश्वथर भाग है, फिर नरथर भाग है। इस मंदिर का नरथर भाग में बनी मूर्तियाँ 18-19वीं शताब्दी के सामाजिक-धार्मिक एवं आर्थिक जीवन को प्रभावशाली तरीके से संकेत करती हैं।

इस मंदिर के नरथर भाग में पारिवारिक जीवन के कर्तव्य को निभाते एवं कर्म करते हुए स्त्री-पुरुष दोनों का अंकन किया है। इस भाग पर लोक जन-जीवन के सामाजिक पक्ष के संयुक्त परिवार, दाम्पत्य जीवन, प्रेम-सम्बंध, पारिवारिक नोक-झोंक, वात्सल्य प्रेम, दैनिक जीवन के घरेलु कार्य, कृषि एवं पशुपालन, सांस्कृतिक पक्ष में नृत्य, संगीत, वस्त्र, आभूषण, धार्मिक जीवन में शिव, कृष्ण, की पूजा करते संन्यासी तथा मनोरंजन से सम्बंधित अनेक विषयों को लेकर मूर्तियों का अंकन है।

सामाजिक जीवन

(1) पारिवारिक जीवन-संयुक्त परिवार - पारिवारिक जीवन स्वयं एक संस्था है। जन्म से लेकर मृत्युपर्यन्त दैनिक कार्य, संस्कार, उत्सव, व्रत, यज्ञ, विवाह, मिलना-जुलना, शोक, हर्ष आदि परिवार के सदस्यों के साथ संपादित होते हैं। ये परिवार एक पीढ़ी की परम्परा न होकर अनगिनत पीढ़ियों के सोपान है। प्राचीनकाल से चली आ रही परिवार में संयुक्त परिवार प्रणाली हमें देवमन्दिरों की मूर्तिकला में भी परिलक्षित होती है।

संयुक्त परिवार की अनेक मूर्तिफलक बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग से प्राप्त हुयी है। एक फलक में परिवार का मुखिया कुर्सी पर बैठा है, सामने उसका पुत्र खड़ा है, उसके शारीरिक हाव-भाव से लगता है कि वे अपने पिता या मुखिया को किसी बात का जवाब दे रहा है, वही दायी तरफ एक महिला खड़ी है, उसके पांव में एक बालिका का अंकन है, जिसका एक हाथ माँ की पैरों की तरफ है तथा माँ का हाथ उसके सिर पर रखा है, जो संभवतः आशीर्वाद दे रही है (चित्र संख्या 1)²। परिवारों में संस्कारों की

झलक इस फलक में प्रदर्शित होती है। इसी तरह अन्य शिल्प में परिवार के सदस्य आपस में बातचीत करते हुए प्रदर्शित है (चित्र संख्या-2)³।



(चित्र संख्या 1)



(चित्र संख्या 2)

(2) दाम्पत्य संबंध - परिवार की व्यापकता और भावनात्मक स्थिति की संभावना का सूत्र विवाह है। विवाह से जुड़ी परम्पराओ वाली कोई भी फलक हम इन मन्दिरों में प्राप्त नहीं हुआ, परन्तु यौन सम्बन्धों एवं प्रेम सम्बन्धों में रत अनेक फलक हमें इन मन्दिरों के नरथर भाग पर प्राप्त होती है। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में भी प्रेम-सम्बंध में रत अनेक प्रेमी युगल को जोड़ी का प्रदर्शन किया है।

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग के एक फलक में एक पुरुष ने महिला को पकड़ रखा है, (चित्र. सं. 3)⁴। वही दूसरी फलक में प्रेमरत्न बातों में मशगूल है (चित्र. सं. 4)⁵। एक अन्य फलक में संभवतः पुरुष महिला को फुल देते हुए उत्कीर्ण है (चित्र. सं. 5)⁶।



(चित्र. सं. 3)



(चित्र. सं. 4)



(चित्र. सं. 5)

पुरुष के सिर पर पगड़ी, लम्बी अचकन, पायजमा तथा महिला ने साड़ी-लहंगा पहन रखा है। जो उच्च वर्गीय परिवार से सम्बंधित प्रतीत होते हैं तथा सामान्य परिवार के प्रेमी युगल की अनेक मूर्तियाँ प्राप्त होती है।

(3) पारिवारिक नोक-झोंक - पारिवारिक जीवन में जहाँ प्रेम सम्बन्ध होते हैं, वही विचारों के मतभेद भी परिवार के पति-पत्नी के बीच चलते रहते हैं। शिल्पकार ने परिवार की इस नोक-झोंक को भी मन्दिरों में कई स्थानों पर उत्कीर्ण करने का प्रयास किया है।

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग पर एक पति-पत्नी की फलक है, जिसमें

दांयी तरफ अंकन में पत्नी, पति को मना रही है वही पति मुंह बाये बैठा है, कुछ भी नहीं सुनने की मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है, वही बायीं तरफ फलक में दोनों पति-पत्नी गंभीर मुद्रा में बैठे हैं, (चित्र सं. 6)⁷। साथ ही एक मूर्ति शिल्प को देखने से लगता है कि पति-पत्नी का रूठना, रिझाना एवं मनाना हो गया है (चित्र सं. 7)⁸।



(चित्र सं. 6)

(चित्र सं. 7)

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में कुछ ऐसे भी अंकन प्राप्त हुए हैं, जिसमें पत्नी अपने पति को परमेश्वर का दर्जा देते हुए अंकित है। बांके-बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की मूर्ति फलक में पुरुष उच्च सिंहासन पर आसीन, अपने हाथ को तकिये पर टिकाये, सिर पर हाथ रखे आराम अवस्था में सो रहा है, वहीं महिला भी एक पत्थर पर आसीन है और पुरुष के पैर दबा रही है (चित्र संख्या -8)⁹।



(चित्र संख्या -8)

(4) वात्सल्य प्रेम - पारिवारिक जीवन के सन्दर्भ में कौटुम्बिक जीवन की सृजनात्मक प्रवृत्ति को जीवित रखने का श्रेय नारी को है। स्त्री अपने जीवन में माँ, पत्नी, पुत्री, बहू परिवार में अनेक भूमिकाओं का निर्वाह करती है। इन सभी में माँ की भूमिका बड़ी महत्वपूर्ण होती है। वात्सल्य प्रेम को दर्शाते माँ-पुत्र के अंकन हमें मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों के मूर्तिशिल्प में भी प्राप्त होते हैं।

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में माँ-पुत्र के वात्सल्य प्रेम से सुज्जित अनेक मूर्तिशिल्पों के अंकन मिलते हैं। एक फलक में माँ मुंह को दायीं तरफ करके बैठी है, वही पुत्र सामने चुपचाप बैठा है, इस फलक में माँ-पुत्र के नाराजगी के भाव परिलक्षित होता है, (चित्र

सं. 9)¹⁰। एक मूर्तिशिल्प में माँ कुर्सी पर बैठी है, और पुत्र हाथ जोड़े अभिवादन कर रहा है, (चित्र सं. 10)¹¹।



(चित्र सं. 9)

(चित्र सं. 10)

(5) दैनिक जीवन के कार्य - पूर्व मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों की तरह उत्तर मध्यकालीन देवालियों के नरथर भाग पर लोक जीवन के नाना क्रियाकलापों का सुन्दर अंकन मूर्तिशिल्पों में किया गया है। उत्कीर्ण मूर्तिफलक तत्कालीन सामाजिक जीवन के स्तर की ओर भी संकेत करते हैं।

दैनिक जीवन के कार्यों में खान-पान की विशेष भूमिका रहती है। मनुष्य को दोनो समय के भोजन की आवश्यकता होती है। खाने में चपाती गेहूं या मक्की के पीसे हुए आटे को गूँथकर बनायी जाती है। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में शिल्पकार ने इस कला बड़ी कुशलता के साथ उत्कीर्ण किया है।

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की अनेक फलकों में एक महत्वपूर्ण फलक इस कार्य को प्रदर्शित करते हुए हैं। जिसमें एक महिला को आटा गूँथते हुए प्रदर्शित किया है (चित्र सं. 11)¹²।



(चित्र सं. 11)

मेवाड़ के खान-पान में मसाले पीसने की परम्परा रही है। इससे सम्बन्धित अनेक फलक इन देवमन्दिरों के नरथर भाग पर उत्कीर्ण हैं। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक महत्वपूर्ण फलक जिसमें स्त्री-पुरुष दोनों पास-पास बैठे हैं, दोनों के मध्य मसाला पीसने का उपकरण 'सीलबट्टा' प्रदर्शित है। ग्रामीण परिवेश में जिसमें पुरुष ने एक कपड़े को सिर पर लपेट रखा है, वही महिला की साड़ी का पल्लू सिर पर प्रदर्शित है। महिला के एक हाथ में बट्टा है, तथा दूसरा हाथ मसाले को एकत्र करते हुए परिलक्षित हो रहा है (चित्र सं. 12)¹³।



(चित्र सं. 12)

खान-पान के अलावा पारिवारिक गतिविधियों में अनेक कार्य भी होते हैं जिनको शिल्पकार ने मन्दिरों की मूर्तिकला में उत्कीर्ण किया है। जैसे बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के एक फलक में महिला किसी कार्य में मगन है, इसमें वह महिला एक हाथ से अपने पीछे रखे जल के पात्र का संभाल रही है तथा सामने की तरफ कुछ अन्य पात्र रखे हुए हैं। इस फलक से ऐसा अहसास होता है कि महिला सामने की तरफ कुछ कार्य कर रही है और उसे जल की आवश्यकता होती है तो जल पात्र को दूँढ रही है (चित्र सं. 13)¹⁴। अन्य फलक में एक महिला के सिर पर तगारी या कुछ बोझा है, जिसको पुरुष मदद कर रहा है (चित्र सं. 14)¹⁵।



(चित्र सं. 13)



(चित्र सं. 14)

इस मन्दिर में घरेलू कार्यों के साथ नहाने-धोने तथा बालों के बनाने की मूर्तिफलकों का अंकन भी नरथर भाग में प्राप्त होती है। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर की नरथर भाग की एक मूर्तिफलक में दो महिलाओं का अंकन है, जिसमें एक महिला दूसरी महिला के पीछे बैठकर बाल बना रही है (चित्र सं. 15)¹⁶।



(चित्र सं. 15)

कृषि और पशुपालन

दैनिक जीवन क्रियाकलापों में कृषि एवं पशुपालन भी जुड़ा हुआ है। ग्रामीण परिवेश में पारिवारिक गतिविधियां चलाने के लिए कृषि एवं पशुपालन की बड़ी महत्वता है। कृषि एवं पशुपालन इन परिवारों के आर्थिक जीवन से भी जुड़ा है, परन्तु रोजमर्रा की जिन्दगी की आवश्यकता खेती, गाय, बेल, भैंस, मुर्गे, बकरी, ऊंटों के द्वारा ही सम्पन्न होती है। उत्तर मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों में हम किसानों के साथ इन सभी पशु-पक्षियों के अंकन भी मूर्तिकला में प्राप्त करते हैं। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में गाय को चराते हुए, खिलाने हुए, नहलाते हुए किसान के साथ अंकन अनेक फलकों में है। इन सभी फलकों में से एक फलक में गाय आगे चल रही है, उसके पीछे ग्वाला या किसान डंडा लिए चल रहा है (चित्र सं. 16)¹⁷।



(चित्र सं. 16)

इसी मन्दिर की एक महत्वपूर्ण फलक, जिसमें दायीं तरफ तीन पुरुष आकृतियाँ हैं जो आपस में बाल-चीत कर रहे हैं। इन आकृतियों के पहनावे में धोती है, कमर के ऊपर बदन नग्न है तथा मध्य में खड़े पुरुष के कंधे पर वस्त्र रखा हुआ है, निरन्तर बायीं तरफ की फलक में एक गाय का अंकन है, जिनकी गर्दन नीचे की तरफ है, जो संभवतः कुछ खा रही है, गाय के पास खड़ी महिला गाय को चारा खिलाने की मुद्रा में है। यह फलक तत्कालीन समाज में किसान परिवार को प्रदर्शित करती है। पुरुष आकृतियाँ सभी किसान वर्ग से संबंधित लगती है। (चित्र सं. 17)¹⁸।



(चित्र सं. 17)

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में बैल या सांड का अंकन भी प्राप्त होते हैं जैसे एक फलक में एक पुरुष के साथ एक बैल खड़ा है, शिल्पकार ने बैल के सींग तथा गर्दन वाले भाग को लटकन सहित उत्कीर्ण किया है, (चित्र सं. 18)¹⁹। इसी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक मूर्तिफलक में दायीं तरफ एक पुरुष है तथा उसके आगे भैंस खड़ी है, बायीं तरफ पुरुष के साथ बैल प्रदर्शित है तथा मध्य में एक किसान महिला-पुरुष का अंकन है, पुरुष के हाथ में लम्बा डण्डा है, तथा महिला के सिर पर जल का पात्र है, (चित्र सं. 19)²⁰।



(चित्र सं. 18)



(चित्र सं. 19)

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग पर एक महत्वपूर्ण फलक है, जिसमें दो बकरियों का अंकन किया है और एक पुरुष हाथ में डण्डा लिए प्रदर्शित है। (चित्र सं. 20)²¹ तथा एक फलक में एक पुरुष एवं एक श्वान का भी अंकन है (चित्र सं. 21)²²।



(चित्र सं. 20)



(चित्र सं. 21)

दैनिक जीवन में आने वाले व्यवहारिक कार्यों में माल लाने-ले जाने के लिए, खेतों में काम करने के लिए साधनों की आवश्यकता रहती है। वर्तमान ग्रामीण परिवेश में यांत्रिकी उपकरण आ चुके हैं, लेकिन बैलगाड़ियों एवं काठ गाड़ियों की उपयोगिता आज भी मिल जाता है। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर ने इन कार्यों को भी शिल्पकार ने मन्दिरों की मूर्तियों में उत्कीर्ण किया है।

बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में एक काठगाड़ी या बैलगाड़ी का अंकन है, जिसमें आगे गाय या अन्य वस्तु चला रहा है। इस गाड़ी को एक पुरुष चला रहा है, जिसके हाथ संभवतः एक डण्डा है (चित्र सं. 22)²³। इसी तरह एक बहुत ही अनुपम फलक बांके बिहारी के मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में है। जिसमें शिल्पकार ने एक काठ की गाड़ी बनायी है जिस पर एक महिला बैठी है, इस गाड़ी को एक पुरुष खींच रहा है। इस गाड़ी में पहियों का अंकन तथा गाड़ी खींचने के लिए हैंडल का अंकन किया है (चित्र सं. 23)²⁴।



(चित्र सं. 22)



(चित्र सं. 23)

सांस्कृतिक जीवन

(1) **संगीत एवं नृत्य** - मेवाड़ की मूर्तिकला में परिलक्षित नृत्य एवं संगीत संबंधी मूर्तियाँ मेवाड़ की प्रजा के कलात्मक माधुर्य, सौन्दर्य, कलागत आकर्षण की अभिव्यक्ति है। मेवाड़ के उत्तर मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों में उत्कीर्ण चित्र वल्लरियों एवं चित्रपट्टों पर संगीत एवं नृत्य के दृश्य तत्कालीन समाज के संगीतकला एवं नृत्यकला के प्रति लोगों का अनुराग प्रदर्शित करते हैं। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में स्त्रियों एवं पुरुषों की आकृतियों को नृत्य एवं संगीत की विभिन्न मुद्राओं में उत्कीर्ण किया है। इन चित्रपट्टों पर नर्तक दल के साथ वाद्य यंत्रों का अंकन भी किया है।

एक मूर्तिफलक में एक महिला-पुरुष का युग्म है जिसमें पुरुष ढोल बजा रहा है, तथा महिला नृत्यरत् है (चित्र संख्या 24)²⁵। वही अन्य फलक में मंजीरे एवं तुराही बजाते प्रदर्शित है (चित्र सं. 25)²⁶।



(चित्र सं. 24)



(चित्र सं. 25)

इन मन्दिरों में उत्कीर्ण नृत्य की विभिन्न मुद्राओं से जानकारी मिलती है कि मेवाड़ के निवासी शास्त्रीय शैलियों के नृत्यों के ज्ञाता थे। कथक नृत्य की विभिन्न शैलियों के नृत्य की मुद्राएं भी हमें नृत्यकीयों के भाव-भंगिमाओं में दृष्टव्य होती है (चित्र सं. 26)²⁷।



(चित्र सं. 26)

इन मन्दिरों की मूर्तियों में कृष्ण प्रधान नृत्य भी हमें मिलते हैं, जैसे बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक फलक में दायीं तरफ एक युग्म नृत्य एवं गायन में रत है

और बायीं तरफ की फलक में कृष्ण है, जो बांसुरी बजा रहे हैं तथा साथ में दो महिलाएं राजस्थानी वेशभूषा में नृत्यरत हैं (चित्र संख्या 27)²⁸।



(चित्र सं. 27)

(2) **वस्त्र और आभूषण** - मेवाड़ (17वीं से 19वीं शताब्दी) में पुरुष और स्त्री की पोशाकों में एक परिवर्तन आया। यह परिवर्तन मेवाड़ के मन्दिरों की मूर्तिकला में प्रत्यक्ष दर्शन होता है। सम्माननीय व्यक्ति या दरबारी जो प्रतिदिन दरबार में जाया करता था, आवश्यक रूप से पगड़ी, अंगरखी, चूड़ीदार पाजामा, कमरबन्ध तथा गले में रूमाल पहनते थे। राजपरिवार की महिलाओं की पोशाक में मुख्य रूप से कांचली, कुर्ती, लहंगा, घाघरा तथा साड़ी अथवा ओढ़नी पहनी जाती थी। सामान्य परिवारों के स्त्री-पुरुषों का पहनावा भी लगभग समान ही था लेकिन स्त्रियों एवं पुरुषों की पोशाकें भी अलग-अलग आर्थिक स्थिति के अनुसार किमती एवं साधारण होती थी।²⁹

उत्तर मध्यकाल में पहनी जाने वाले परिधान या वेशभूषा के मूर्तिफलक हमें बांके बिहारी मन्दिरों के नरथर भाग पर मिलते हैं। जिसमें एक फलक को शिल्पकार ने बड़ी निपुणता से उत्कीर्ण किया है। इसमें पुरुष एवं स्त्री दोनों हैं, जिसमें पुरुष खड़ा है, जो महिला को नृत्य करते हुए देख रहा है। पुरुष ने लम्बी अचकन एवं चूड़ीदार पायजमा पहना हुआ है तथा महिला ने कांचली एवं घाघरा पहना हुआ है। इस लंहगे या घाघरा को शिल्पकार ने लहराते हुए उत्कीर्ण किया है, जिसमें कई कलियाँ नजर आ रही हैं (चित्र सं. 28)³⁰। यह शिल्प उच्च वर्गीय वेशभूषा का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है। साथ ही अन्य फलक (चित्र सं. 29)³¹ साधारण परिवार के पहनावे को दर्शाती है, इस फलक में महिला ने साड़ी, लहंगा, कांचली पहन रखी है तथा पुरुष ने उत्तरीय में धोती पहन रखी है एवं ऊपर का बदन नग्न है। (चित्र सं. 30)³²



(चित्र सं. 28)



(चित्र सं. 29)



(चित्र सं. 30)

(3) **आभूषण** - पोशाक की तरह राजपरिवार एवं साधारण परिवार के सदस्य आभूषण भी कई किस्म एवं शैली में पहना करते थे। स्त्री के आभूषणों में सिर से लेकर पांव तक अनेक आभूषण पहनती थी तथा पुरुष भी पाग के आभूषणों के साथ गले, हाथ एवं पांव के आभूषण पहनते थे। इन आभूषणों को सामाजिक-आर्थिक प्रतिष्ठा, पद और सम्मान के साथ-साथ जातिगत नियमानुसार ही आभूषण में धातुओं का प्रयोग किया जाता था।³³ बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में अनेक स्त्री-पुरुषों के अंकन हैं एक मूर्तिफलक में स्त्री ने गले में हार, हाथ में कड़े, चूड़ियां, बाजुबंध पहन रखा है तथा पुरुष के कानों में कुण्डल, गले में हार, बांह में कड़ा प्रदर्शित है (चित्र संख्या 30)³⁴ (चित्र संख्या 31)³⁵।



(चित्र संख्या 30)



(चित्र संख्या 31)

धार्मिक जीवन

(1) **पूजा अर्चना** - मेवाड़ में 19वीं शताब्दी में धार्मिक जीवन से सम्बन्धित साधु सन्यासियों, आचार्यों एवं पूजा-अर्चना के रीति-रिवाजों का अंकन उत्तर मध्य-कालीन मन्दिरों के नरथर भाग में बहुतायत मिलते हैं।

इन मूर्तिकलाओं से जानकारी मिलती है कि 16वीं शताब्दी के बाद मेवाड़ में कृष्ण के अनेक मन्दिर भी बने एवं कृष्ण के अनेक उपासक भी हुए तथा साथ ही प्राचीनकाल से चली रही वैष्णव परम्परा को मेवाड़ निवासियों ने निरन्तर रखते हुए, विष्णु के विभिन्न अवतारों की पूजा-अर्चना करते रहे। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के गर्भगृह में बासुंरीरत श्रीकृष्ण की मूर्ति प्रतिष्ठित है, मन्दिर के नरथर भाग पर श्रीकृष्ण की अनेक मूर्तिशिल्प है, जिसमें श्रीकृष्ण को रासलीला में नृत्य करते हुए एवं गोपियों के साथ उत्कीर्ण किया है। (चित्र संख्या 32)³⁶



(चित्र संख्या 32)

मेवाड़ का राजपरिवार शिव भक्त रहा है, और इसका प्रमुख केन्द्र एकलिंगनाथ रहा है। मेवाड़ के मूर्तिशिल्प में शिवलिंग की पूजा-अर्चना करते हुए सामान्यजन एवं साधु सन्यासियों का अंकन हमें पूर्व के मन्दिरों में भी मिला और उत्तर मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों में भी प्राप्त होता है। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक मूर्तिफलक में बायीं तरफ एक साधु हाथ जोड़े पूजा में मग्न है, वही दायीं तरफ एक पीपल के पेड़ के नीचे शिवलिंग है और सामने हाथ जोड़े एक भक्त पूजा में लीन है (चित्र संख्या - 33)³⁷। अधिकांश शिवलिंग जहां स्थापित है, वहां पीपल का पेड़ अवश्य होता है। शिव मन्दिरों के आस-पास पीपल पूजा के रूप में पीपल की पेड़ अवश्य नजर आते हैं।



चित्र संख्या 33

साधु-सन्यासियों की पूजा एवं योगीवस्था में अनेक मूर्तियों का अंकन बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में भी किया हुआ है। जैसे एक फलक में एक साधु पाट पर आसीन है, सभवतः नग्नावस्था में है, उसके सिर पर पाग है और हाथों को ऊपर किए हुए है तथा सामने जमीन पर एक महिला अंजलि मुद्रा में बैठी है (चित्र संख्या-34)³⁸, इसी मन्दिर के चित्रपट्ट पर निरन्तर तीन फलक है, जिसमें बायीं तरफ पदमासन अवस्था में एक साधु का अंकन है और उसके दोनों हाथ अभय मुद्रा में है, मध्य वाली फलक में एक महिला एवं एक पुरुष खड़े हैं तथा दायीं तरफ की फलक में पुरुष के हाथ में कलश है महिला खड़ी है, (चित्र संख्या-35)³⁹। ये दोनो फलक मेवाड़ में धार्मिक जीवन में साधारण परिवार की पूजा-पद्धति को दर्शाते हैं।



(चित्र संख्या-34)



(चित्र संख्या-35)

शिक्षा

उत्तर मध्यकालीन मन्दिरों की मूर्तिशिल्प में शिक्षा के बहुत कम प्रमाण मिलते हैं। अध्ययन-अध्यापन सम्बन्धी साक्ष्यों में कुछ फलक बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग

में मिलती है। इस मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में उत्कीर्ण एक मूर्तिशिल्प में दायीं तरफ की फलक में एक गुरु जो दाढ़ी-मुँछ युक्त है, इसके सामने एक पुस्तकासन है, तथा इस पर एक पुस्तक खुली हुयी प्रदर्शित है, वही दूसरी फलक में हुबहू इसी गुरु को हाथ बांधे हुयी की अवस्था में खड़ा प्रदर्शित किया है तथा पास ही एक पुरुष आकृति या शिष्य गुरु के चरणों में नमन की अवस्था में अंकित है (चित्र संख्या-36)⁴⁰। दूसरी फलक में शिष्य गुरु का लम्बे कागज पर कुछ पढ़ कर सुना रहा है (चित्र संख्या-37)⁴¹।



(चित्र संख्या-36)



(चित्र संख्या-37)

आमोद-प्रमोद या मनोरंजन

जिस प्रकार भारतीय समाज में प्राचीनकाल से आमोद-प्रमोद का विशिष्ट स्थान रहा है, उसी प्रकार राजस्थान में भी प्रत्येक युग में इसका महत्व दिया गया है। मध्यकाल तक आते-आते समाज में अनेक प्रकार की मनोविनोद सम्बन्धी क्रीड़ाओं का प्रचलन हो गया है। उत्कीर्ण मूर्तिकला के आदर्शों से पता चलता है कि मल्लयुद्ध, मुक्केबाजी, घुड़दौड़, मुर्गेबाजी, शिकार आदि बड़े लोकप्रिय मनोरंजन के साधन थे।

(1) **मल्लयुद्ध**- बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में मल्लयुद्ध या कुश्ती की अनेक मूर्तिशिल्प मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की चित्रवल्लरियों या चित्रपट्टों पर उत्कीर्ण हैं। मन्दिर के नरथर भाग में स्थित दो फलक जिसमें पहलवान अपने विभिन्न दावों से कुश्ती लड़ रहे हैं और चित करने में मग्न है (चित्र संख्या-38)⁴² (चित्र सं. 39)⁴³। कुश्ती लड़ते हुए अनेक मूर्तियों का अंकन है। मन्दिर में मुद्गल हाथ में लिए पहलवान वर्जिश करते हुए (चित्र संख्या-40)⁴⁴, मुक्केबाजी (चित्र संख्या-41)⁴⁵ तथा योग करते हुए अनेक आसन की मूर्तियां नरथर भाग पर हैं (चित्र संख्या-42,43,44,45,46)⁴⁶।



(चित्र संख्या-38) (चित्र संख्या-39) (चित्र संख्या-40) (चित्र संख्या-41)



(चित्र सं. 42) (चित्र सं. 43) (चित्र सं. 44) (चित्र सं. 45) (चित्र सं. 46)

(2) **शिकार** - राज परिवारों में शिकार का शौक हुआ करता था। इस काल में राजा एवं परिवार के सदस्य जंगलों में शिकार के लिए जाते हैं। शिकारियों का घेरा कई दिनों तक चलता रहता था, जब शेर घेरे में आ जाता तो राजा उसका शिकार करता। शिकार में सूअर, चीता, शेर आदि का शिकार किया जाता था। बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक मूर्तिफलक में एक जंगली सूअर के शिकार का अंकन है। इस मूर्तिफलक में सूअर दौड़ता हुआ उत्कीर्ण है तथा उसके पीछे एक व्यक्ति हाथ में कटार लिए उसके पीछे प्रदर्शित है (चित्र सं. 47)⁴⁷। साथ ही एक मूर्तिफलक में एक शेर हिरण पर आक्रमण करते हुए प्रदर्शित है (चित्र सं. 48)⁴⁸।



(चित्र संख्या 47)



(चित्र संख्या 48)

(3) **हुक्का पीना** - बांके बिहारी मन्दिर में हुक्का पीते हुए अनेक मूर्तिशिल्पों का अंकन किया हुआ है। तत्कालीन समाज में लोग हुक्का पीने का शौक रखते थे, तभी शिल्पकार ने हुक्का पीते हुए अनेक मूर्तियों को उत्कीर्ण किया है।

बांके-बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग की एक मूर्तिफलक में एक पुरुष, जिसने पाग पहनी हुयी है, मुह पर दाढ़ी-मुँछ है तथा मुंह में हुक्के का पाईप है। इस मुद्रा से लगता है कि वह हुक्का गुड़गुड़ा रहा है (चित्र सं. 49)⁴⁹। ऐसी अनेक फलक मन्दिर के नरथर भाग पर हैं।



चित्र संख्या 49

सैन्य जीवन और युद्ध प्रणाली

राज्य में शान्ति व्यवस्था, सुरक्षा तथा सीमाओं की वृद्धि के लिए हर राज्य सैन्य व्यवस्था करता था। सैन्य जीवन में मन्दिर की मूर्तिफलकों में अनेक साक्ष्य मिलते हैं। बांके बिहारी के मन्दिर में भी सैन्य जीवन एवं युद्ध प्रणाली को प्रदर्शित करने वाले अनेक अंकन हैं। एक मूर्तिफलक में दो सैनिक घुटनों के बल बैठकर युद्धरत हैं, इस फलक में एक सैनिक के हाथ में तलवार और ढाल है। दूसरे सैनिक की तलवार पहले वाले सैनिक की ढाल पर प्रदर्शित है (चित्र सं. 50)⁵⁰। इस तरह की अनेक फलक कटार, लट्टु आदि लिए सैनिक मन्दिर में हैं।



चित्र संख्या 50

राजसी परिधान में भी सैनिकों ने पाग पहने तथा लम्बा कोट पहने हाथों में तलवार लिए अनेक अंकन बांके बिहारी मन्दिर के नरथर भाग पर उत्कीर्ण हैं।

19वीं शताब्दी के मानवीय जीवन के अनेक पक्षों की जानकारी इस समयावधि में बने बांके-बिहारी मन्दिर के मूर्तिशिल्पों से प्राप्त करते हैं। पारिवारिक जीवन की विभिन्न क्रियाकलापों के साथ कृषि-पशुपालन से सम्बन्धी गाय, भैंस, बैल, बकरी आदि पशुओं के साथ किसानों का अंकन अति महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

सामाजिक जीवन को प्रदर्शित करने वाली मूर्तियाँ पुरुष प्रधान समाज को दर्शाती हैं, परिवार में महिला की भूमिका गृहकार्यों के साथ अन्य गतिविधियों में भी नजर आती है। सांस्कृतिक जीवन में महिला परिधानों में राजस्थानी संस्कृति परिलक्षित होती है। पुरुष परिधानों में मुगल प्रभाव परिलक्षित होता है और पूजा अर्चना सम्बन्धी फलकों से यहां के शासकों द्वारा धार्मिक सहिष्णुता नीति की पालना की गयी।

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जगत का अम्बिका मंदिर की मूर्तिकला में परिलक्षित नायिकाएं

डॉ. आमोस मीणा*

मेवाड़ में विष्णु एवं शिव के साथ शक्ति पूजा भी अधिक प्रचलित थी। इस क्षेत्र में शाक्य सम्प्रदाय की लोकप्रियता जगत और उन्नवास के अवशिष्ट प्राप्त मंदिरों एवं विभिन्न स्थानों पर बने शिव, विष्णु आदि मंदिरों में शक्ति के विविध रूपों की प्रतिमाओं से ज्ञात होती है। इन मंदिरों में दुर्गा की मूर्तिकला में महालक्ष्मी, सरस्वती, महिशासुर मर्दिनी, चामुण्डा, घण्टाकर्णी, अम्बा-गौरी, पार्वती, गोधासन पार्वती एवं सप्तमातृका ब्रह्मी, माहेश्वरी, वैष्णवी, वाराही, ऐन्द्रिय, कौमारी और चामुण्डा आदि मूर्तियों का अंकन इनके लक्षणों एवं आयुधों के साथ किया गया है।

मातृदेवी का एक प्रमुख मंदिर जगत का अम्बिका मंदिर, जहां मातृ देवियों और दिग्पालों के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी देव की प्रतिमा नहीं है। यह मन्दिर उदयपुर से 52 किमी. दूर कुराबड़ गांव के नजदीक गांव जगत में है। यह 10वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वाद्ध बना हुआ है। जैसा कि वहां से प्राप्त स्तम्भ अभिलेख तथा अंकन शैली के आधार पर अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। मंदिर के स्तम्भ पर उत्कीर्ण अभिलेख विक्रम संवत् 1017 (960 ई.) के वैशाख माह के कृष्ण पक्ष की पंचमी को वल्लक पुत्र सम्बपुरा द्वारा अम्बिका देवी के मंदिर के जीर्णोद्धार का उल्लेख करता है।¹

प्रो. निलिमा वशिष्ठ ने मंदिर निर्माण की शैली के आधार पर जोर दिया है कि इस मंदिर का निर्माण वि.सं. 1017 (960 ई.) में कम से कम 25 वर्ष पहले अवश्य हो चुका था। यह तथ्य वास्तु के विकास के सन्दर्भ में मुख्य शिखर के सपाटपन को देखकर निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि यह मंदिर 10वीं शताब्दी का बना हुआ है।²

वहीं डॉ. विष्णु माली इस मंदिर के वास्तुकला, मूर्तिकला, फरनाल तथा मंदिर निर्माण के आधार पर कहते हैं कि इस मंदिर का निर्माण दो बार हुआ। पूर्व में बना मंदिर

* सहायक आचार्य, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति विभाग, जनार्दन राय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ (डीम्ड-टू-बी विश्वविद्यालय), उदयपुर (राज.)

चबुतरों पर बना छोटा मंदिर है तथा प्रवेश मण्डप 10-11वीं शताब्दी के हैं तथा अन्दर सभामण्डप गर्भगृह और बाह्य भाग पर बनी सुन्दर आर्कषक एवं निश्चित मापदण्डों से बनी मूर्तियां 9वीं शताब्दी को इंगित करती हैं तथा लेख के अनुसार सम्बपुरा नामक व्यक्ति द्वारा कुण्ड, बाग एवं भवन का जीणोद्धार करने का वर्णन मिलता है, लेख में ऐसा कहीं उल्लेख नहीं है कि श्री सम्बपुरा द्वारा अम्बिका मंदिर का निर्माण करवाया गया हो।³

इस मन्दिर की शैली से यह पता चलता है कि यह मन्दिर गुर्जर प्रतिहारकालीन शैली का बना हुआ है। यह प्रदेश 8-9वीं शताब्दी में प्रतिहारों के अधीन रहा। इस काल की आर्थिक, सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास जानने के लिए स्रोतों की उपलब्धता कम होने की वजह से समकालीन इतिहास जानने के लिए यह मन्दिर एक महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत है।



चित्र सं. 1

सामाजिक जीवन

सामाजिक इतिहास में लोगों के सामान्य जन जीवन, रहन-सहन, खान-पान, आचार-विचार, आमोद-प्रमोद, व्यवसाय, आदि का अध्ययन अपेक्षित है। भारतीय संस्कृति के ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन और उसके समुचित जानकारी के लिए मूर्तिकला का अध्ययन आवश्यक है। भारतीय मूर्तिकला का विषय मुख्यतः धार्मिक रहा है, लेकिन भारतीय शिल्पकारों ने धार्मिक पक्ष के साथ-साथ लौकिक पक्ष एवं वानस्पतिक जगत को भी इन मूर्तियों पर विराट स्वरूप दिया है। मूर्तिकला तत्कालीन लोक जीवन की सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत करती है। जिसके द्वारा उस युग की दैनिक क्रियाओं का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। यद्यपि साहित्य, इतिहास एवं काव्य में लोक जीवन का उल्लेख मिलता है, परन्तु मूर्तिकला द्वारा लोक क्रियाओं की प्रमाणिकता की पुष्टि होती है।

विद्वानों ने जगत का अम्बिका मंदिर स्थापत्य संरचना की दृष्टि से अम्बिका मंदिर को दो खण्डों में विभाजित किया है। (1) प्रवेश मण्डप (2) मूल मंदिर।

प्रवेश मण्डप पर सामाजिक इतिहास के विभिन्न स्रोतों की जानकारी मिलती है। मण्डप के स्तम्भों के ऊपर की टोडियों में चारों ओर रति-क्रीडा, व्यायाम, मनोरंजन के दृश्यों को तराशा गया है। मण्डप के वैदिक भाग पर दिग्पाल, अप्सराएं एवं राजसेन भाग में सामाजिक जीवन के विभिन्न दृश्यों यथा पानी भरना, वार्तालाप करते हुए, डोली ले जाते हुए, नृत्य करते हुए, व्यायाम करते हुए आदि विषयों का अंकन है।

प्रवेश मण्डप से मुख्य मंदिर के प्रवेश द्वार की दूरी लगभग 52 फीट है। मूल अम्बिका मंदिर तल छन्द गर्भगृह, अन्तराल एवं सभामण्डप में विभाजित है। सभामण्डप के दायें एवं बायें भाग पर सप्तमातृका देवियों, अप्सराओं, गजारूढ स्त्रियों, शार्दूलों की मुख्य मूर्तियां हैं। साथ ही सामाजिक जीवन की विभिन्न विषयों का भी जगत के अम्बिका मंदिर में राजसी वैभव, सैनिक, साधु-संन्यासी, युद्ध, शिकार, मनोरंजन, खेल-कूद, योग, साधना, नृत्य, संगीत, पारिवारिक, दैनिक क्रिया-क्लाप, प्रेम एवं वात्सल्य का मूर्तियों द्वारा अंकन किया गया है। इसमें तत्कालीन सामाजिक जीवन में स्त्री-पुरुषों की वेशभूषा, आभूषणों केशविन्यास एवं प्रयुक्त भौतिक उपकरणों का भी परिज्ञान होता है। वहीं समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों के आर्थिक जीवन, नारी की स्थिति, भूमिका एवं महत्वता की जानकारी मिलती है।⁴

सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप मंदिरों में जो नायिका होती है, वह योगिनी, अप्सरा, यक्षणी, गणिका के रूपों में उत्कीर्ण की जाती हैं। योगिनी कथासरित्सागर व महाकवि सोमदेव रचित कथासरित्सागर के अनुसार योगिनी तंत्र सिद्ध दैवीय स्वरूपा स्त्रियां हैं जिनके पास कोई विशिष्ट सिद्धियां नहीं होती हैं। मंदिर में जब से शिल्प तंत्र विधान आरम्भ होता है, तो मंदिर में योगिनी, अप्सराएं, नायिका, गणिका का अंकन आरम्भ होता है। इन्हीं अंकनों के आधार पर नायिकाओं व अप्सराओं के नाम अंकन किया जाता है। यहां तंत्र का मतलब किसी प्रकार के जादू-टोने से नहीं है। योगिनियों को प्रकृतिष्ठ शक्तियों की देवी कहा गया है। ऋग्वेद में कृता से कृताया तक 108 योगिनियों का वर्णन है। इनमें सावित्री, गायत्री या सूर्य की रोशनी या किरणों की देवी हैं।

मंदिर के नाट्य शाला में लगाया जाता है। वह अप्सराएँ जो मंदिर के जंघा भाग में लगायी जाती हैं ये नायिकाएं भी होती हैं, नायिका क्या है - जीवन के विभिन्न पक्षों में प्रदर्शित या उपस्थित स्त्री स्वरूपा, सौन्दर्य की प्रदायिका यही नायिका है। नायिका को अप्सरा, गणिका, नृत्यकी, मातृकी सभी स्वरूपों को मंदिरों में उत्कीर्ण किया जाता है।⁵

पुत्र वल्लभा - संसार की सर्वश्रेष्ठ कृति मनुष्य है, उसमें भी स्त्री का स्थान

सर्वोपरि है। मूर्ति कला में माता एवं पुत्र की ललित क्रीड़ाओं को प्रदर्शित किया गया है। मंदिरों के मण्डोवर भागों में प्रत्येक माता के पास उसके मातृत्व का प्रतीक शिशु बालक अवश्य दिखाई देता है। माता शिशु को गोद में उठाए हुए है। शिशु माता की ओर देख रहा है। सम्भवतः वह स्तनपान करना चाहता है। माँ आभूषणों से सुसज्जित है। माता के पैरों के नीचे यक्ष खड़ा है। जिसका मुह खंडित है।⁶



चित्र सं. 2

दर्पण सुन्दरी - इसमें नायिका को बैठी अवस्था में दिखाया गया है। स्त्री के एक हाथ में गोल आकार का दर्पण है। वह अपने सौन्दर्य को पूरा कर अन्तिम में एक हाथ में कांच व एक हाथ में मांग में सिंदूर भरते हुए दिखाया गया है। यहां पर प्रतीत होता है कि स्त्री जब तैयार होती है, तो वह अपने आपको कांच में निहारती हुई दिखाई गई है। यह प्रतिमा मंदिर के जंघा भाग पर उत्कीर्ण है। दूसरी मूर्ति में नायिका खड़ी हुई कांच को देख रही है। कांच का आकार चौकोर बताया गया है, यह मूर्ति आभूषणों से अलंकृत है।⁷



चित्र सं. 3

चवर धारणी - (चामरा) नायिका के एक हाथ में चामरा व दूसरे हाथ में बिजोरा लिये हुई खड़ी हुई है। द्विभंग अवस्था में खड़ी है। वस्त्राभूषण अलंकृति है। नीचे एक बच्चा खड़ा हुआ दिखाया गया है जिसे वह बिजोरा देती हुई प्रतीत हो रही है।



चित्र सं. 4

गेंद खेलती नायिका - इस मूर्ति में नायिका को गेंद से खेलती हुई दिखाया गया है। यह पीठ करके दूसरी महिला को गेंद पकड़ा रही है। इसने बालों का जुड़ा बना रखा है। इसके आभूषण दिखायी दे रहे हैं। त्रिभंग मुद्रा में प्रदर्शित है। यह नायिका अपनी ही मस्ती में मस्त होकर गेंद खेलती प्रदर्शित हो रही हैं।⁸



चित्र सं. 5

कपूर सुन्दरी (सुंदर कानों वाली) - यह नायिका बहुत ही सुन्दर ढंग से उत्कीर्ण की गयी है। इसमें इसके नितम्ब बाहर निकलते हुए बताया गया है और उन्मत्त उभरते हुए उरोज दिखाए गये हैं। कमर पर करधनी बंधी हुई है, कानों में बड़े-बड़े कुण्डल पहने हुए हैं। पीछे की तरफ से साड़ी का पल्लु देखते हुए दिखाया गया है। जिसे बन्दर पकड़ते हुए बताया गया है। उसी को भगाने के लिए वह दूसरे हाथ से जिसमें फूलों का गुच्छा है, उससे उसको भगाते हुए दिखाया गया है।⁹



वीणा वादिनी - इस मूर्ति में स्त्री सामान्य अवस्था में खड़ी हुई है। यह नायिका हाथ में एक वीणा लिए हुए जो हमें यह बताता है कि वह गाने की तैयारी में खड़ी हुई है। इसके एक हाथ में एक वीणा है और दूसरा हाथ ऊपर उठाये खड़ी हुई है। नीचे एक बच्चा खड़ा है। कमर में करधनी या कंदोरा बन्धा हुआ है। गले में हार पहना हुआ है। कानों में कुण्डल पहने हुए हैं जो नजर आ रहे हैं। हाथों में चूड़ियां पहन रखी हैं।¹⁰



चित्र सं. 6

शल करणी (शुभ कंटक) - पैर का कंटक निकालती स्त्री का अंकन यह नायिका जगत की अम्बिका मंदिर के जंघा भाग पर बनी हुई है, पैर में से कांटा निकालती हुई अतिभंग मुद्रा में है। यह स्वरूप अत्यन्त मनमोहक है। वस्त्राभूषण परम्परागत ढंग से ही पहने हुए हैं। बायें हाथ की मुद्रा लुभावनी है।¹¹



चित्र सं. 7

आलस्य सुन्दरी - यह सुन्दरी आलस्य से युक्त होती है। नायिका दोनों हाथों को ऊपर उठाये आलस्य युक्त त्रिभंगी मुद्रा में उत्कीर्ण है। यह प्रतिमा परम्परागत वस्त्राभूषणों से सुसज्जित है। ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा है कि यह अभी- अभी सो कर उठी है। दोनों हाथ ऊपर ले जाकर आलस्य ले रही है। गले में हार पहने हुए है। कमर में कंदोरा पहना हुआ है पांव में पायल पहने हुए है। हाथों में चूड़ियां पहनी हुई हैं। बालों का जुड़ा बना रखा है। पांवों के नीचे छोटी महिला का अंकन नजर आ रहा है।¹²



चित्र सं. 8

शुक्रप्रिया/शुक सारिका - यह मूर्ति द्विभंग अवस्था में खड़ी है। एक हाथ में तोता है। दूसरा हाथ निचे पल्लू पकड़े दिखाया गया है। तोता उसकी तरफ देख रहा है। सिर पर मुकुट जैसा प्रतीत हो रहा है। पास में एक बालिका खड़ी है, जो सामान्य नजर आ रही है। आभूषणों का अंलकार सामान्य है।



चित्र सं. 9

मोहिनी - मोहिनी अप्सरा का रूप माना गया है। उसने विष्णु के द्वारा समुद्र मंथन के दौरान मोहिनी का रूप धारण किया था। सिर पर किरिट मुकुट धारण कर रखा है। एक हाथ में कलश लिये हुए एक हाथ निचे किये हुए हैं। एक तरफ बालिका खड़ी है, दूसरी तरफ बालक खड़ा प्रतीत हो रहा है। आभूषण सामान्य पहन रखे है।¹³



चित्र सं. 10

आत्म मुग्धा - खुद को निहारती हुए स्त्री है। एक हाथ ऊपर रख कर खड़ी है। दुसरा हाथ ऐसा प्रतीत हो रहा है, जैसे गले की माला पकड़ रही है। कमर में करधनी है। पांव में पायल पहन रखे हैं। सामान्य अवस्था में खड़ी प्रतीत हो रही है।



चित्र सं. 11

सदय: स्नाता (बाल निचोड़ती हुई) - यह महिला द्विभंग अवस्था में खड़ी है। आभूषणों का अलंकार सामान्य है। यह नहाकर अपने बालों को धोकर बाल निचोड़ती हुई खड़ी है। नीचे एक बालिका है, जो वह बाल निचोड़ रही है। वह बालों के पानी को हाथों में लेती हुई सी प्रतीत हो रही है। इस मूर्ति का अलंकरण बहुत ही सुन्दर ढंग से प्रस्तुत किया गया है।¹⁴



चित्र सं. 12

भारतीय कला और वास्तु दोनों एक दूसरे के पूरक हैं। ये दोनों समाज के दर्पण है। जैसा समाज वैसा ही ललित कला और वैसा ही उसका वास्तु है, यदि प्राचीन भारतीय समाज का अध्ययन किया जाए, तो स्पष्ट होता है कि व्यक्ति समाज और व्यवहार में सौन्दर्य, उपासना का साधन है। जब हम इष्ट की कल्पना करते हैं, तो हम उसे राजीव लोचन, मृग, गतिसिंहासा, शौर्य और अद्भूत इन्द्र के समान पराक्रम को देखते हैं। जब नायिका का विचार किया जाता है तो मृगनयिनी, उन्नत उरोज, कलित (पतली) कंठी (कमर), विशाल नितम्ब ऐसा स्वरूप का वर्णन किया जाता है। इसी सौन्दर्य को लेकर मंदिरों में नायक व नायिकाओं की रचना की है और उनके शारीरिक आंगिक और उनके ललित बौध के आधार पर उनका नामकरण किया गया है। यह उनका सामाजिक,

प्रतिउतपाद, साथ ही सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप में यह सभी स्त्रियाँ समाज में दृष्टव्य हो ही जाती हैं। किसी भी मंदिर में नायिका अंकन वहां के तत्कालीन समाज के स्त्री भाव को प्रदर्शित करता है। ये नायिकाएं अश्लील और श्लील के भाव क्षेत्र से मुक्त हैं, क्योंकि यह आदर्श परक समाज में उन्मुक्त जीवन का परिचायक है। इस आदर्श परक समाज को ही स्वर्ग की परिकल्पना की है नायिका का मंदिर में अप्सरा स्वरूप अंकन व्यक्ति को वहां जाने पर स्वर्ग की अनुभूति करता है यही इसका सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक निरूपरेखा है।

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13. जगत का अम्बिका मंदिर के मण्डोवर जंघा भाग में प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण, चित्र सं. 10
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ओसियाँ मन्दिर की देव मूर्तियों में कृष्णलीला का अंकन : एक विवेचन

डॉ. रविन्द्र टेलर*

किसी भी देश की संस्कृति का मूल्य उसके प्राचीन शिल्प स्थापत्य, मूर्तिकला और साहित्य पर से आँका जाता है। विद्या और कला देश का अनमोल धन है। मूर्तिकला मानव जीवन का अत्यन्त मार्मिक अंग है। कला हृदय और नेत्र दोनों का आकर्षित करती है, सारी दुनिया में भारतीय शिल्पकला उत्तम कोटि की है। शिल्पाकला धर्म के साथ संलग्न है उसका देवोपासना से गहरा संबंध है। धर्मवृत्ति से प्रेरणा पाकर देश में स्थान-स्थान पर मन्दिरों का निर्माण हुआ चौसठ प्रकार की कलाओं में से स्थापत्य मूर्तिकला उस श्रेणी की कला में आती है जो बिना वाणी के केवल मूकभाव से व्यक्त की जाती है।

भारत के विभिन्न स्थानों पर निर्मित मन्दिरों जैसे- खजुराहो, भुवनेश्वर, एलोरा, सोमनाथपुरा ओसियाँ तथा अन्य स्थानों से कथात्मक अंकन मिलता है जिसमें रामायण, महाभारत एवं कृष्णलीला से संबंधित दृश्यों का अंकन सभी स्थानों पर निर्मित मन्दिरों में मिलता है। राजस्थान के ओसियाँ मन्दिर समूह पर कृष्ण की बाललीलाओं को मूर्तिकला के माध्यम से अंकित किया गया है।¹ ओसियाँ (प्राचीन उपकेश) जोधपुर से लगभग 65 कि.मी. उत्तर पश्चिम में स्थित छोटा ग्राम है जो पूर्वमध्यकाल की कला का एक प्रमुख केन्द्र है 8वीं से 12वीं शती ई. के मध्य के मन्दिर और इसके विभिन्न भागों में उत्कीर्ण मूर्तियों कला का अनुपम उदाहरण है। ओसियाँ में ओसवालों की कुल देवी सचियामाता का मन्दिर (मूलतः महर्षि मर्दिनी स्वरूप को समर्पित) की पूजा आज भी होती है। ओसियाँ में 20 स्वतन्त्र ब्राह्मण मन्दिर एवं जैन मन्दिर और 7 जैन देवकुलिकाएँ हैं। जिनका निर्माण प्रतिहार शासकों के संरक्षण में हुआ। ओसियाँ में 8-9वीं शताब्दी ई. में कृष्णलीला दृश्यों का मन्दिरों पर उत्कीर्णन हुआ है। जो अल्पधिक विस्तृत सुनियोजित, परम्परा निर्दिष्ट है। भगवान विष्णु के अवतारों में कृष्ण अवतार अत्यधिक लोकप्रिय है- कृष्ण के जीवन चरित्र में हरिवंश, भागवत तथा विष्णुपुराण आदि ग्रन्थों में विवरण मिलता है पुराणों में कृष्ण की लीलाओं का विस्तृत वर्णन मिलता है। मूर्तिकला में कृष्ण

की बाल लीलाओं का अंकन मिलता है। कृष्ण लीला के दृश्यों का प्राचीनतम निरूपण कृष्ण काल में मथुरा में हुआ।² गुप्त काल के बाद सभी क्षेत्रों में कृष्णलीला का अंकन अत्यधिक लोकप्रिय हुआ, विविध स्थानों की तुलना में ओसियाँ में कृष्णलीला का विरुद्ध विविधतापूर्वक एवं सुन्दर अंकन हुआ है। ओसियाँ में भी कृष्ण के बाल जीवन चरित्र को अंकन किया गया है। ये अंकन मुख्यतः 8-9वीं शताब्दी ई. के मन्दिरों सूर्य मन्दिर-3 तीन हरिहर मन्दिरों तथा विष्णु मन्दिर-1 पर किया गया है।³ सूर्य मन्दिर-3 के अन्तराल के सिरदलों के चारों ओर कृष्णलीला दृश्यों का अंकन मिलता है। जबकि हरिहर एवं विष्णु मन्दिरों की बाज़ जंघा के काष्ठ पर तीन दिशाओं में इसका अंकन मिलता है।¹¹ 7वीं शताब्दी ई. के विष्णु मन्दिर 5 के अधिष्ठान पर नरथल भाग में कृष्ण लीला के दृश्यों का अंकन मिलता है। ओसियाँ के कृष्णलीला दृश्यों की शैली, रचना और विषय वस्तु की दृष्टि से संतुलित एवं गतिमान है।

ओसियाँ मन्दिर समूह से कृष्ण लीला के निम्न दृश्य दृष्टिगत होते हैं-

हरिहर मन्दिर-1 पर क्रमशः कृष्ण जन्म, गोकुल गमन, शिशु परिवर्तन दधि-मंथन एवं कृष्ण की माखन चोरी, योगमायावध, पूतना वध, गोरधनधारण, धेनुकवध, कल्यादमन तथा कालिया द्वारा क्षमायाचना, कृष्ण के गोकुल से प्रस्थान एवं मथुरा आगमन, रजक से मिलन, कुलयापीतवध, चाणूर एवं मुष्टि से मल्लयुद्ध तथा सूत लोमहर्षणवध दृश्यों का अंकन मन्दिर के वरण्ड भाग पर क्रमशः उत्तर पूर्व एवं दक्षिण दिशाओं में हुआ है। हरिहर मन्दिर-3 के पूर्वाभिमुख होने के कारण घटनाओं का क्रम दक्षिण से उत्तर की ओर है। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 एवं विष्णु मन्दिर पर हरिहर मन्दिर-1 का ही क्रम मिलता है। सूर्य मन्दिर-3 पर कृष्णलीला दृश्यों का अंकन अन्तराल भाग से पश्चिम दिशा से आरम्भ होकर चारों ओर हुआ है।⁴

कृष्ण जन्म एवं गोकुल गमन

हरिहर मन्दिर-1 के उत्तरी कण्ठ पर प्रथम दृश्य में बन्दीगृह के अधखुले कपाट के दूसरी ओर यह दृश्य अंकित है जिसमें दाएँ करवट लेटी देवकी कृष्ण को स्तनपान करा रही है। पैरों के समीप चामरधारिणी की आकृति है। कपाट के बाहर एक-पहरी खड्ग लिये खड़ा है। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 तथा विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में प्रहरी खड्ग लिये खड़ा है। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 तथा विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में प्रहरी आसीन या सुप्तावस्था में दृष्टिगत होता है। ओसियाँ मन्दिर में डॉ. दुर्गानन्द तिवारी के अनुसार कृष्ण जन्म के 6 उदाहरण मिलते हैं। इन सभी दृश्यों में कृष्ण-जन्म का एक जैसा अंकन हुआ है। ओसियाँ में कृष्ण जन्म का जितना विस्तृत अंकन मिलता है वैसा विस्तृत एवं स्पष्ट अंकन कहीं और नहीं मिलता है। खजुराहों में स्तनपान कराती माँ शिशु की आकृतियों के आधार पर कृष्ण जन्म के दृश्य की पहचान की गई है।⁵ इसके प्रकार के अन्य उदाहरण ग्वालियर संग्रहालय

और धुबेला संग्रहालय से प्राप्त होते हैं। जिसकी पहचान एन.पी. जोशी ने माता शिशु के रूप में की है।⁶ राजस्थान के लूनवसही (1230 ई.) का मन्दिर जो दिलवाड़ा से प्राप्त हुआ वहाँ कृष्णजन्म का विस्तृत अंकन मिलता है।

गोकुल गमन का दृश्य सूर्य मन्दिर-3 पर अंकित है जिसमें वासुदेव को बालक लिये अश्वारूढ़ दिखाया गया है जिनके एक हाथ में लगाया है। आगे गोकुल में वासुदेव और यशोदा के बीच शिशुओं के आदान-प्रदान से संबंधित दृश्य प्रदर्शित है।⁹

कंस द्वारा योगमाया का वध

हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में यह दृश्य दर्शाया गया है। ऐसी घटना का अंकन हरिहर मन्दिर-2,3 एवं विष्णु मन्दिर-1 पर भी मिलता है। हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में कंस को बालिका के पैरों को पकड़े बताया गया है। बालिका रूप में पहचान के उद्देश्य से शिल्पी ने बालिका के साथ नारी वक्ष को दिखाया है। वही हरिहर मन्दिर-2 बालिका को कंस के हाथों से निकल जाने की स्थिति में दिखाया गया है।¹⁰ विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में कंस को वासुदेव से बालिका (योगमाया) को प्राप्त करते हुए दिखाया गया है। वासुदेव के दाहिने पार्श्व में खड्गधारी पुरुष खड़ा है जो सम्भवतः वासुदेव से कंस को शिशु देने के लिये कह रहा है। आर.डी. त्रिवेदी ने इस दृश्य की पहचान योगमाया वध से की है।¹¹

माखन चोरी

कृष्ण द्वारा माखन-चोरी एवं यशोदा के दधिमंथन का दृश्य यहाँ से दृष्टिगत होता है। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 के दृश्य में कृष्ण की छोटी आकृति माखन पात्र पर चढ़कर मखन निकालते हुए प्रदर्शित है। इस दृश्य में कृष्ण की बाल चपलता को स्वभाविक रूप से प्रदर्शित किया गया है। सूर्य मन्दिर 3 में यशोदा को कृष्ण को माखन चोरी करते हुए आश्चर्य से निहारते हुए दिखाया गया है। भारतीय मूर्तिकला कृष्ण के माखन चोरी के दृश्य का अंकन बहुत कम प्राप्त होता है।

पूतनावध

पूतनावध का अंकन हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में मिलता है।¹² जिसमें पूतना के भयंकर स्वरूप को दर्शाया गया है विस्फारित नेत्र, धंसे कपोल, उर्ध्वकेश वाली राक्षसी का स्तनपान करते कृष्ण को दिखाया है। कृष्ण द्वारा स्तनपान की असह्य पीड़ा से पूतना दोनों हाथ ऊपर उठाये प्रदर्शित है।¹³ कृष्ण लीला के दृश्यों में यह दृश्य अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय है। यमलार्जुन उदार-हरिहर मन्दिर 2 व 3 सूर्य मन्दिर-3 और विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में इसका अंकन मिलता है। इस दृश्य में बालक कृष्ण को दो बड़े वृक्षों (यमल और अर्जुन) के मध्य ओखली से बंधे दिखाया गया है। कृष्ण वृक्ष के मध्य फंसी हुई ओखली को मुड़कर देख रहे हैं और अपनी बाईं भुजा से उखड़ते हुए वृक्ष को सम्भाल रहे हैं। ऐसा अंकन

हरिहर मन्दिर 2 व 3 और सूर्यमन्दिर -3 में मिलता है जबकि विष्णु मन्दिर-1 उखल वृक्षों के मध्य न होकर कृष्ण के कमर में बंधी है और कृष्ण ने अपने दोनों हाथों से वृक्ष के डाल पकड़ रखे हैं। इसी तरह का अंकन बादामी तथा सीरपुर से भी मिलता है।¹⁴

प्रलम्बासुर वध

प्रलम्बासुर वध भारतीय शिल्प कला में बहुत कम दृष्टिगत होता है। ओसियाँ के प्रारम्भिक 5 मन्दिरों से इसका अंकन मिलता है। प्रलम्बासुर वध की कथा विष्णु पुराण¹⁵ एवं भागवत पुराण में इसका वर्णन मिलता है।¹⁶ हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में कृष्ण, बलराम एवं अन्य गोपों को कुन्दक खेलते हुए दिखाया गया है। इस दृश्य में बलराम को प्रलम्बासुर की पीठ पर सवार होते हुए दिखाया है। हरिहर मन्दिर 2 एवं 3 में इस वध का अंकन कम मिलता है सूर्य मन्दिर-3 में बलराम को आयुध से प्रलम्बासुर पर प्रहार करते हुए दिखाया गया है। विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में तीन आकृतियाँ दृष्टिगत होती हैं जिनमें बलराम को प्रलम्बासुर की पीठ पर चढ़ते हुए दिखाया गया है। इस प्रकार ओसियाँ के विभिन्न मन्दिरों में इस घटना के अंकन में भिन्नता दृष्टिगत होती है।¹⁷

गोवर्धन पर्वत को श्री कृष्ण द्वारा धारण करना

भारतीय कला में श्री कृष्ण द्वारा गोवर्धन पर्वत को धारण करने का दृश्य बहुत से स्थानों से दृष्टिगत होता है। श्रीकृष्ण द्वारा इन्द्र का मार्गदर्शन करने के लिये गोवर्धन पर्वत को धारण किया गया था इसका उल्लेख भागवत पुराण में मिलता है।¹⁸ इस दृश्य का अंकन हरिहर मन्दिर 1, 23 एवं सूर्य मन्दिर-3 से मिलता है। हरिहर मन्दिर 1-2 में श्री कृष्ण द्वारा बाएं हाथ में पर्वत उठाए दिखाया गया है। उनके साथ बलराम, गोप एवं गाये दृष्टिगत होती है। हरिहर मन्दिर-1 का अंकन हरिहर मन्दिर-2 की तुलना में अधिक सजीव प्रतीत होता है। हरिहर मन्दिर 3 में कृष्ण एवं बलराम को सुन्दर वस्त्रों एवं आभूषणों से सुसज्जित बताया है।

सूर्य मन्दिर 3 में इन दृश्य को मनमोहक दृष्टि से अंकित किया गया है। यहाँ कृष्ण के साथ गोपियों को दिखाया गया है। बलराम को सर्प फणों से आच्छादित दिखाया गया है। हलेबिड, मोढेरा, से भी श्रीकृष्ण गोवर्धन धारण के दृश्य का अंकन मिलता है।¹⁹

शकट भंग

इसकी कथा भागवतपुराण में मिलती है।²⁰ शकट भंग का दृश्य मन्दिरों की अनुपमि में तथा सूर्य मन्दिर-3 के पश्चिमी कण्ठ के कर्ण भाग पर उत्कीर्ण है। हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में भी इस दृश्य को सुन्दरता से अंकित किया गया है। हरिहर मन्दिर 2, 3 में शकट भंग का अंकन है। सूर्य मन्दिर 3 में कृष्ण को दोनों पैरों से गाड़ी को उलटते हुए बताया गया है। ऐसे ही दृश्य देवगढ़, मण्डौर, बादामी, खजुराहों से भी मिलते हैं।²¹

कालिया दमन

ओसियाँ के कृष्ण लीला दृश्यों में कालियादमन का सर्वाधिक विस्तार के साथ अंकन हुआ है। कदम्ब वृक्ष से कृष्ण के कूदकर कालिया नाग के दमन करते हुए इससे भयभीत होकर उसकी पत्नियों तथा कालिया नाग द्वारा क्षमायाचना करते हुए अंकन है।²² कृष्ण को वृक्ष पर चढ़ते वृक्ष से यमुना के जल में कूदते एवं कालिया नाग से युद्ध करते हुए दिखाया गया है। हरिहर मन्दिर-1 के शिल्पी ने कृष्ण के बाल स्वरूप एवं चपलता को दर्शाया है। हरिहर मन्दिर 3 के दृश्यों में अधिक स्वाभाविकता दृष्टिगत होती है।²³ सूर्य मन्दिर 3 में बालक कृष्ण को वृक्ष से यमुना में छलांग लगाने और उसके पश्चात् कालिया नाग से युद्ध करते हुए दिखाया है। कालिया नाग ने कृष्ण के पैर पकड़ रखे हैं जिसे कृष्ण छुड़ा रहे हैं। दूसरे दृश्य में पराजित कालिया नाग और उसकी पत्नियाँ कृष्ण से क्षमायाचना कर रही हैं। खजुराहो मन्दिर में कालिया दमन का दृश्य अंकित है। भुनवेश्वर में कृष्ण को कालिया नाग के नागफल पर नृत्य करते दिखाया गया है।²⁴

कुबलयापीड़ गज वध

ओसियाँ मन्दिर समूह में इस वध को प्रभावशाली ढंग से अंकित किया गया है। हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में दौड़ते हुए हाथी की सूंड पकड़े कृष्ण उसे रोकने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं जबकि हाथी अपने दोनों पैर उठा कर प्रहार मुद्रा में है। सूर्य मन्दिर-3 में कृष्ण को हाथी के दांत उखाड़ते हुए दर्शाया है। हरिहर मन्दिर-3 में हाथी अपेक्षाकृत बड़ा दिखाया है। यहाँ कृष्ण के पीछे हल लिये बलराम भी दिखाये हैं।²⁵ हरिहर मन्दिर 2, 3 और विष्णु मन्दिर-1 में हाथी की पीठ पर महावत की आकृति भी अंकित है। जो हाथी को कृष्ण से युद्ध हेतु प्रेषित कर रहा है। कुबलयापीड़ वध दृश्य को कृष्ण की विजय से हर्षित गोपियाँ प्रसन्न मुद्रा में उछलती हुई दिखाया गया है। खजुराहो में कुबलयापीड़ वध दृश्य करते समय कृष्ण के एक हाथ में गदा प्रदर्शित है।

अरिष्टासुर वध

हरिहर मन्दिर-1 में अरिष्टासुर वध दृश्य में कृष्ण को एक हाथ से अरिष्टासुर के वृषभ रूप की पूंछ पकड़े तथा उस पर प्रहार करते दर्शाया है। दाएँ घुटने से कृष्ण ने अरिष्ट के मुख को दबा रखा है। जिससे अरिष्ट दर्द से नेत्र बन्द तथा मुंह खोलता दर्शाया है। यहाँ बलराम को भी दिखाया गया है। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 में कृष्ण को अरिष्ट के पैर दिखाया है तथा बाएँ पैर से अरिष्ट के मुख को दबाकर रखा है। यहाँ बलराम की आकृति नहीं है। मण्डौर तथा बादामी की गुफाओं से भी अरिष्टासुर वध के दृश्य मिलते हैं।²⁶ कृष्ण के मुख पर शांति का भाव है तथा असुर की पीड़ा जनक स्थिति को शिल्पी ने कुशलता से प्रदर्शित किया है।

केशीवध

अरिष्टसुर वध दृश्य के साथ केशीवध का दृश्य भी दिखाया गया है। जिसमें केशी रूप में अश्व को अपने दो पैरों पर खड़े होकर कृष्ण पर प्रहार करते हुए और कृष्ण के पीछे हलधर बलराम मुस्कुराते हुए दृश्य का आनन्द ले रहे हैं। हरिहर मन्दिर-2 में कृष्ण बाएं हाथ से केशी का मुख पकड़े तथा दाहिने हाथ से उस पर प्रहार करते दिखाए गए हैं। विष्णु मन्दिर-4 में प्रस्तुत घटना का अधिक सजीव अंकन मिलता है।²⁷ भागवत पुराण में कृष्ण को केशी के मुख में हाथ डालकर उसके वध का उल्लेख है।²⁸

चाणूर वध

कृष्ण लीला के अन्तिम दृश्य में कृष्ण एवं चाणूर के मध्य मल्लयुद्ध का अंकन है। भागवत पुराण में इस वध का उल्लेख मिलता है।²⁹ हरिहर मन्दिर 2,3 विष्णु मन्दिर-1 सूर्य मन्दिर-3 पर कृष्ण एवं चाणूर के मल्लयुद्ध का अंकन है। खजुराहो में चाणूर वध का अंकन है।³⁰ माइकल डब्लू माइस्टर³¹ तथा आशा कालिया³² ने चाणूर या मुष्टिक अथवा दोनों से युद्धरत होने का दृश्यांकन बताया है।

इसके रजन से भेंट, धनुष भंग, संगीत दृश्य समुद्र मंथन के दृश्यों का अंकन भी ओसियाँ मन्दिर समूह पर मिलता है। यहाँ के मन्दिरों पर कृष्ण लीला के दृश्यों का सजीव अंकन मिलता है। जो जनसामान्य को अपनी और आकृष्ट करता है।

संदर्भ

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कुम्भलगढ़ में गणेश मंदिर

बिन्दियाँ पँवार*

कुम्भलगढ़ उदयपुर से उत्तर पश्चिम में सबसे ऊँची चोटी अरावली पर्वतमाला की सातवीं पहाड़ी पर बना दुर्ग है, जो उदयपुर से लगभग 70 मील दूरी पर स्थित इसकी तलहटी में बसा कस्बा केलवाड़ा नाम से जाना जाता है। इस कस्बे से दुर्ग की चढ़ाई प्रारम्भ हो जाती है। कुम्भलगढ़ का किला कई छोटी-मोटी पहाड़ियों को मिलाकर बनाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त इसके चारों ओर पहाड़ और घाटियाँ जिससे दूर से किला दिखाई नहीं देता। मार्ग में बांध के पास तथा उसमें ऊपर पर्वत को काटकर भवन निर्माण किये गये हैं जिससे इस क्षेत्र का पर्यावरण संतुलन बिगड़ रहा है।



चित्र संख्या - 1

दुर्ग तक पहुँचने के लिए हमें ओरट पोल, जो केलवाड़ा से 1.5 कि.मी. दूर है, हल्लापोल, हनुमान पोल और रामपोल पार करने पड़ते हैं। राम पोल से हम सीधे दुर्ग के खुले प्रांगण में पहुँचते हैं। विजयपोल रामपोल के पूर्व में है जिससे भी किले में अलग से प्रवेश किया जा सकता है। रियासत काल में रामपोल से राजकीय प्रशासन सम्बन्धी तथा राज परिवार के लोग प्रवेश करते थे। इस खुले चौगान में महलों पर जाने का अलग मार्ग है, जो आन्तरिक दुर्ग से सुरक्षित है। इस भाग को कठारगढ़ के नाम से जाना जाता है। यही कुम्भा के महल हैं। यहाँ छोटे-बड़े 70 मंदिर हैं जो सुरक्षा के अभाव में काल-कवलित हो गये। अबुल फजल ने आइने अकबरी में लिखा है कि दुर्ग को कोस पहले

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति विभाग, माणिक्य लाल वर्मा श्रमजीवी महाविद्यालय, उदयपुर (राज.)

से दिखाई देता है। लेकिन दो कोस के दायरे के अन्दर आने पर दिखना बंद हो जाता है फिर सीधे मुख्य द्वार के सामने ही दिखता है। यहाँ पहुँचने पर दुर्ग देखने के लिए गर्दन उठती है तो पगड़ी गिर जाती है।¹

महाराणा कुंभा-

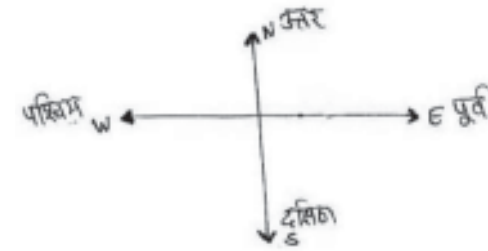
राजस्थान की वीर भूमि ने अनेक वीरों को जन्म दिया है, जिसमें महाराणा कुंभा का एक ऊँचा स्थान है। महाराणा कुंभा संगीतकला के आचार्य, नाट्यकला के प्रवीण, कवियों में शिरोमणि होने के साथ-साथ चित्र एवं स्थापत्य कला के भी पोषक एवं संबद्धक थे। मेवाड़ की इस गौरवपूर्ण मंदिर स्थापत्य परम्परा को 15वीं शताब्दी में महाराणा कुंभा के प्रश्रय में एक नयी दिशा प्राप्त हुई। धार्मिक सहिष्णुता महाराणा कुंभा के युग की विशिष्टता है। अपने कुलदेव ऋशिवरुद्र के परम् उपासक थे।²

गणेश मंदिर-

गणेश के शब्द का अर्थ, गणो का ईश गणपति। इस युग में जो गणों का पति रहेगा वह गणपति है। महाराणा कुम्भा सन् 1443 में गणेश प्रतिमा को कुम्भलगढ़ लेकर आए थे। कुम्भलगढ़ दुर्ग में मन्दिर की स्थापत्य कला के महाराणा कुंभा ने बनवाये। गणेश का मंदिर ऐतिहासिक कुम्भलगढ़ दुर्ग पर मंदिर मूर्ति शिल्प एवं स्थापत्य के नियमानुसार तैयार मंदिर में स्थापित भगवान गणेश की प्रतिमा विराजमान है। हालांकि यह मंदिर पूरे साल बंद ही रहता है, लेकिन गणेश चतुर्थी के दिन फतहनगर से सोनी परिवार यहाँ कई सालों से आकर पूजा करते हैं।³

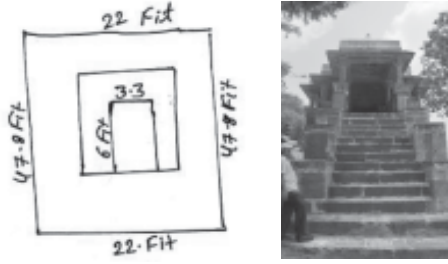
प्रवेश द्वार-

गणेश मंदिर रामपोल में प्रवेश करने पर बायी ओर गणेश मंदिर दिखाई देता है। यह मंदिर दक्षिणाभिमुख है। इसका निर्माण महाराणा कुम्भा ने दुर्ग के साथ ही करवाया था। यह मंदिर तंत्र विद्या का गणेश मंदिर है।



चित्र संख्या - 2

गणेश मंदिर के प्रवेश मात्र में जाने के लिए मंदिर के दक्षिण से ही चौदह सीढ़ियाँ हैं। चौदह सीढ़ियाँ चढ़ने के पश्चात् प्रवेश चौकी आती है। प्रवेश मंडप रतिका हीन है।⁴



चित्र संख्या - 3

शृंगार चवरी-

मंदिर में प्रवेश करने के बाद शृंगार चवरी है। जो चार स्तम्भों पर बनी है। इसमें दो कक्षासन है। दायीं व बायीं तरफ से खुला हुआ है। शृंगार चवरी में लोग अपने आप को सज-संवर कर आत्मा को शुद्ध करने के बाद मंदिर में प्रवेश करते हैं। इस मंदिर का शृंगार-चवरी चारों तरफ से खुला हवादार है।⁵

सभा मण्डप-

मंदिर में शृंगार चवरी के बाद सभा मण्डप है। यह पूर्व और पश्चिम से कक्षासन पीठ से घिरा हुआ है और उसके ऊपर स्तम्भों पर मण्डपट्टिका है। सभा मण्डप चौदह स्तम्भों पर टिका है। आमने-सामने कक्षासन बने हैं। सभा मण्डप का वितान गोल आकार की छत से बना है। छत पत्थरों से बनी है। पत्थरों का आकार समान रूप से बना हुआ है। प्रवेश चौकी और सभा मण्डप पर गुम्बज है, जो गज पृष्ठाकार है।⁶



चित्र संख्या - 4

गर्भगृह का द्वार एवं गर्भगृह-

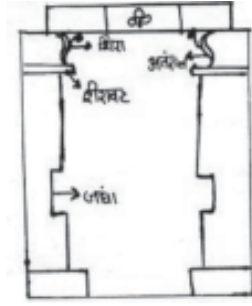
प्रासाद का सबसे प्रमुख भाग गर्भगृह होता है। गर्भगृह का तात्पर्य गूढस्थल से है। इसमें ही देवता की प्रतिमा का प्रतिष्ठित किया जाता है। यह पूर्व और पश्चिम में कक्षासन पीठ से घिरा हुआ है और उसके ऊपर स्तम्भों पर मण्डपट्टिका है। आगे अंतराल और उसके आगे गर्भ गृह है। इस गर्भगृह में गणपति का विग्रह प्रतिष्ठित है।⁷ गर्भगृह पर ही शिखर स्थित है। गर्भगृह में मूर्ति दिखाई नहीं देती है। क्योंकि मंदिर का दरवाजा बंद रहता है। मंदिर साल में एक बार ही खुलता है। गणेश चतुर्थी के दिन बताया जाता है कि गर्भगृह में बनी गणेश प्रतिमा खड़ी अवस्था में है। प्रतिमा के पास मूसक (चूहा) भी विराजमान है। मंदिर के गर्भगृह ईंटों से निर्मित है।⁸



चित्र संख्या - 5

मंदिर का प्रवेश द्वार-

मंदिर के गर्भगृह में प्रवेश के लिए मंदिर का यह मुख्य प्रवेश द्वार है, जिससे मंदिर के गर्भगृह में प्रवेश किया जा सकता है। प्रवेश द्वार के दायीं और बायीं तरफ दो स्तम्भ व दो रतिकाएँ (आलिया) बने हुए हैं। प्रवेश द्वार के ललाट बिम्ब पर देवता विराजमान है। उस पर मालीपना लगा रखी है। सम्भवतः वह गणेशजी की ही प्रतिमा है।⁹ प्रवेश द्वार त्रिशाखा द्वार से निर्मित है, जो प्रथम पुष्प शाखा, द्वितीय-पत्र शाखा, तृतीय रूपस्तम्भ से अलंकृत है। दरवाजे पर एक उतरंग से निर्मित है। उत्तानलता-पारिजात परिमूलक लता है। यह मंदिर के सौभाग्य वर्धन के लिए बनाई जाती है। दरवाजे दायीं व बायीं ओर प्रतिहार (द्वारपाल) स्थापित है। दरवाजे की लम्बाई 6 फिट व चौड़ाई 3.3 है। मुख्य दरवाजे के उतरंग पर ऊपर गणेश प्रतिमा स्थापित है। प्रवेश द्वार आदर्श प्रवेश द्वार के आकार और आयाम का है।¹⁰



चित्र संख्या - 6

उदुम्बर (देहरी)-

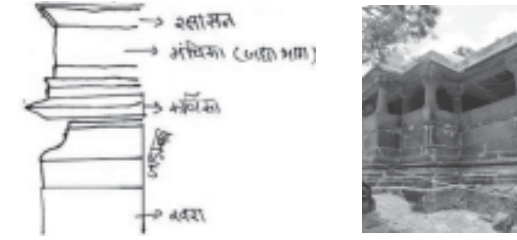
गणेश मंदिर के गर्भगृह के अन्दर प्रवेश करने के लिए एक ओर प्रवेश द्वार है। जिस पर एक चौखट एवं देहरी बनाई गई है। चौखट में नीचे की आकृति को उदुम्बर या देहरी कहा जाता है। ऊपर की आकृति को उतरंग कहा जाता है। प्रवेश या निर्गम करते समय देहरी के ऊपर से जाया जाता है। उपासक मंदिर में प्रवेश करने से पूर्व देहरी को नमन करते हैं। उसके पश्चात् भीतर प्रवेश करते हैं। देहरी के आगे बनाई जाने वाली आकृति अर्धचन्द्राकृति रचना की शंखवर्त आकृति है। यह देहरी के आगे की अर्ध चन्द्राकार शंख और लताओं वाली आकृति है। उदुम्बर पट दो सिंह (कीर्ति) मुख बनाये गये हैं।¹¹



चित्र संख्या - 7

मंदिर की जगती थर-

गणेश मंदिर का जगती भाग देखने में सामान्य लगता है। सभी थर सामने ही नजर आती है। कुछ हिस्सा जमीन में चला जाने से थर पूरी नहीं दिखाई दे रही है। मंदिर के अग्र भाग में खुरा, जाडम्य, कर्णिका, मंचिका (जो मंदिर का जंघा भाग कहलाता है।) मंचिका के बाद कक्षासन दिखाई देता है। इसके बाद हम मंदिर का छज्जा देख सकते हैं। इस भाग पर दो गुम्बज दिखाई देते हैं। गुम्बज पर गोल आकृति बनी हुई है। उसी पर आमलक, ग्रीवा, कलश, बिजोरा, बनाये गये हैं। इसका अलंकरण बहुत ही सुन्दर है।¹²

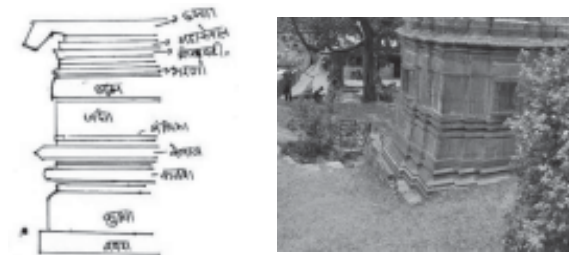


मंदिर का अग्र भाग

चित्र संख्या - 8

मंदिर का मण्डोवर भाग-

मंदिर का निर्माण पीठ पर किया जाता है। पीठ के ऊपर दीवार बनायी जाती है। इस दीवार को ही मण्डोवर की संज्ञा दी गई है। मण्डोवर शब्द को समझने के लिये इसे तोड़ना होगा- मण्ड अर्थात् पीठ या आसन, इसके ऊपर जो भाग बनाया जाये वह मण्डोवर कहलाता है।¹³ मंदिर की प्रमुख दीवार अर्थात् मण्डोवर के ऊपर शिखर का निर्माण किया जाता है। खरा से लेकर छज्जे के प्रहार थर के मय का भाग मण्डोवर भाग कहलाता है। पीठ, वेदिबंध तथा जंघा से मिलकर मण्डोवर की रचना होती है। गणेश मंदिर में मण्डोवर भाग दस थर का है। उनके नाम व प्रमाण इस प्रकार है। खरा, कुम्भा, कलश, केवाल, मंचिका (जो मण्डोवर का जंघा भाग होता है।) इस भाग में भगवान की मूर्तियां स्थापित की जाती है। उदम, भरणी, शिखावटी, महाकेवाल, छज्जा है। इस मंदिर की कूर्मशिला जमीन के नीचे दबी है। यह मंदिर थर हीन जगती पर बना हुआ है। इसमें कर्णिका बनी है। इसलिए यह सामान्य प्रासाद है। अलंकरण शिखर के अलावा कहीं नजर नहीं आता है। मण्डोवर में आठ आलिये (रतिका) यह सामान्य अंकन से बने हैं।¹⁴



मंदिर का मण्डोवर भाग

चित्र संख्या - 9

मंदिर का शिखर-

गणेश मंदिर के छज्जे के ऊपर शिखर का निर्माण किया गया है। इस मंदिर के शिखर को नंदिश शिखर बताया गया है। इस शिखर में इक्कीस (21) अण्डक है। यह शिखर परमार शैली का शिखर बताया गया है। शिखर का अलंकरण बहुत ही सुन्दर दिखाई देता है। हर अण्डक पर शिखर नजर आता है और उसे पूरी तरह से अलंकृत किया गया है। शिखर पर कमल की आकृति, आमलक, ग्रीवा, कलश, बिजौरा सामने ही दिखाई देता है। शिखर का अलंकरण इस मंदिर की शोभा को बढ़ाती है और अपनी ओर आकर्षित करती है। शिखर में शुकनास के स्थान पर निच बना हुआ है।



चित्र संख्या - 10

कुंभलगढ़ उदयपुर से उत्तर-पश्चिम पर्वत पर बना दुर्ग है जो उदयपुर से 70 मील दूर स्थित है। गणेश मंदिर राम पोल में प्रवेश करने पर बायीं ओर गणेश मंदिर दिखाई देता है। यह मंदिर दक्षिणाभिमुख है। इसका निर्माण महाराणा कुम्भा ने दुर्ग के साथ ही करवाया था। इस मंदिर में प्रवेश चौकी आती है। इससे सभामण्डप में प्रवेश किया जाता है। सभा मण्डप कक्षासन से घिरा हुआ है। यह मंदिर में 14 स्तम्भों से घिरा हुआ है, खुला व हवादार है। मंदिर का अग्रभाग व पश्चिम भाग (मण्डोवर) में कहीं थरों को बताया गया है, जिसमें खरा, कुंभा, कवश, जाडम्ब, मंचिका, भरणी, शिरावटी, महाकेवाल छज्जा आदि शिखर का अलंकरण भी बहुत सुन्दर है। इस शिखर को नंदिश शिखर कहा गया है। यह शिखर परमार शैली का है। गणेश मंदिर का स्थापत्य और वास्तुकला एक दर्शनीय आकर्षण है और यह भारतीय स्थापत्य कला का महत्वपूर्ण उदाहरण है। मंदिर की भव्यता और उसकी सुन्दर स्थापत्य भारतीय संस्कृति धरोहर का महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा है।

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पार्श्वनाथ जैन मंदिर कुंभलगढ़

पायल कुमारी लौहार*

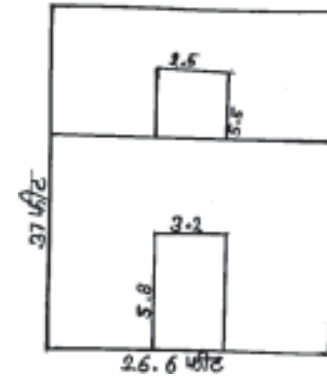
मेवाड़ राजस्थान राज्य का एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग है। जिसे मेड़पात (मेदपाट) भी कहा जाता है। इस मेड़पाती मेवाड़ के ऐतिहासिक सांस्कृतिक संदर्भों के साथ-साथ कलाओं का भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। इस भूभाग पर देवारियां, छतरियां, स्तम्भ, किले, उन्नत शिखर युक्त बहुमंजिले भवन, महल आदि अपनी सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक परम्परा को दर्शाते हैं।

कुम्भा के समय मेवाड़ में श्वेताम्बर मूर्ति पूजक थे, मुख्य रूप से देलवाड़ा, चित्तौड़, करेड़ा, मांडलगढ़, नागदा, कुम्भलगढ़ आदि केन्द्र स्थान थे और दिगम्बरों के बिजोलिया ऋषभदेव आदि। राणा कुम्भा वि.सं. 1490 से 1525 के समय में जैन धर्म का काफी प्रभाव रहा। कुंभलगढ़ का किला महाराणा कुम्भा ने विक्रम संवत् 1515 में बनवाया था। यह किला समुद्रतल से 3567 फीट और नीचे कि नाल से 700 फीट ऊँचा है। जो 27-7 उत्तरांश में है। यह किला उदयपुर से लगभग 70 मील की दूरी पर स्थित है यहाँ बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ हैं और कहीं-कहीं तो चौगान का नाम तक नहीं है। इसे 'कुंभलमेरू' के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। किले में प्रवेश के लिए सर्वप्रथम ओरठ पोल नामक दरवाजा आता है। उसके बाद हल्लापोल और रामपोल के पूर्व में विजयपोल है। जिससे किले में अलग से प्रवेश किया जाता है। इस कोट के भीतर समतल भूमि में किले के अनेक खंडहर हैं तथा जैन एवं हिन्दुओं के कई मंदिर हैं, जिनमें से अधिकतर इस समय जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में पड़े हुए हैं। वे अपने प्राचीन गौरव की याद दिला रहे हैं।

कुंभा कालीन मंदिर नागर शैली के शिखर से अलंकृत तथा ऊँची प्रासाद पीठ पर निर्मित है जो इस मंदिर में देखा जा सकता है। इसमें प्रायः भूरे बलुआ पत्थर का प्रयोग किया गया है। उनमें सभी गर्भगृह, अर्धमंडप, सभामंडप, प्रदक्षिणापथ एवं आमलक युक्त शिखर पाए जाते हैं। गर्भगृह के द्वार खंडों, मंडप के छतों तथा स्तंभों पर सुन्दर कलाकृतियाँ

प्राप्त होती हैं। बाहर की मुख्य ताकों में विष्णु के विविध रूपों की भव्य मूर्तियाँ तत्कालीन कला समृद्धता का परिचायक हैं। उसमें राजकीय सूत्रधार मण्डन ने कहा है कि पाषाण के मंदिर बनाने से अनंत फल की प्राप्ति होती है।

यह मंदिर कुंभलगढ़ किले में स्थित नीलकण्ठ मंदिर के बहुत ही पास है। यह मंदिर एक कठोर चट्टान पर बना हुआ जो पार्श्वनाथ मंदिर के नाम से जाना जाता है। जिस चट्टान पर यह मंदिर बना है वह थोड़ी ऊपर उठी हुई है। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि इस मंदिर की स्थापना श्री नरसिंह पोखड़ द्वारा वि.स. 1508 में कराई गई। इस मंदिर को ऊंचे परकोटे ने घेर रखा है। जिसका द्वार उत्तर दिशा की ओर है। यह मंदिर भी उत्तराभिमुख है। मंदिर में प्रवेश के लिए सर्वप्रथम छः सीढ़ियां बनी हुई हैं, प्रवेश के बाद एक खुले प्रांगण में पहुंचा जाता है। उसके पश्चात् मंदिर के अन्दर अर्थात् गर्भगृह में पहुंचने के लिए सात सीढ़ियाँ बनी हुई हैं। यह मंदिर नागरशैली से बना मंदिर है। यह मंदिर शिखरयुक्त मंदिर है जो मंदर शिखर कहा जाता है। इसके बाद मुखमण्डप के ऊपर कमलाकार गुम्बद है। इस मंदिर के गर्भगृह के प्रवेश द्वार के ललाट बिम्ब पर गणेश की प्रतिमा उत्कीर्ण की हुई है। शिखर जो है वह पुराना है, ऐसा लगता है कि पार्श्वनाथ की प्राण प्रतिष्ठा (वि.स. 1508) इस मंदिर में बाद में की गई है।¹



चित्र संख्या - 1



चित्र संख्या - 2

शृंगार चंवरी-

इस मंदिर के अन्दर प्रवेश करने के लिए एक प्रवेश द्वार है, उसके पश्चात् प्रतिमा के दर्शन करने के लिए सर्वप्रथम शृंगार चंवरी में प्रवेश करना पड़ता है। इस मंदिर में मंडप की कमी होने के कारण इसमें सीधा शृंगार चंवरी का निर्माण किया गया है। इसके पश्चात् शृंगार चंवरी वह होती है जहां पर उपासक गण अपने आराध्य के दर्शन करने से

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति विभाग, माणिक्य लाल वर्मा श्रमजीवी महाविद्यालय, उदयपुर (राज.), जनार्दन राय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ (डीम्ड-टू-बी विश्वविद्यालय), उदयपुर (राज.)

पूर्व तैयार होकर खड़े रहते हैं अर्थात् शुद्ध होकर अपने आराध्य देव के दर्शन करते हैं। इस मंदिर में शृंगार चंवरी के ऊपर गोल कमलाकार गुम्बद बना हुआ है। शृंगार चंवरी को मुख मण्डप भी कहा जाता है। इसकी कमलाकृति आकर्षित करने वाली है। मुख मण्डप में दायीं व बायीं तरफ कक्षासन भी बने हुए हैं।²



चित्र संख्या - 3

गर्भगृह-

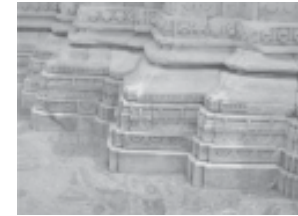
प्रासाद का सबसे प्रमुख भाग गर्भगृह होता है। गर्भगृह का तात्पर्य गूढस्थल से है। जिनेन्द्र प्रभु अथवा पूज्य देव की प्रतिमा की स्थापना इसी में की जाती है। इस मंदिर में गर्भगृह के अन्दर वेदी का निर्माण किया गया है और उस पर प्रभु पार्श्वनाथ की स्थापना की गई है। इस गर्भगृह के द्वार के ललाटबिम्ब पर गणेश प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई है जिसे प्रतीत होता है कि पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा बाद में स्थापित की गई होगी। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि इस मंदिर की स्थापना श्री नरसिंह पोखड़ द्वारा वि.स. 1508 में की गई तथा पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा बाद में स्थापित की गई। गर्भगृह का द्वार एक शाखा द्वार है जिस पर बहुत ही कम अलंकरण किया हुआ है। द्वार की देहरी भी साधारण है जिसके दायीं व बायीं ओर जाड्यकुंभ बने हुए हैं। इस मंदिर में जो पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई वह पद्मासन में विराजमान है। (जिन प्रतिमाओं में पालथी लगाकर दोनों हाथ गोद में रखे जाते हैं उसे पद्मासन या योगासन कहते हैं।) गर्भगृह के द्वार के दायीं व बायीं तरफ रथिकाएं भी बनी हुई हैं।³



चित्र संख्या - 4

पीठ भाग-

पीठ भाग की विभिन्न थरें हैं, जिसमें सर्वप्रथम भिट्ट, खरशिला, जाड्यकुंभ, कर्णिका, अंतरपट्टिका एवं ग्रासपट्टिका का ही निर्माण किया गया है, इस मंदिर में पीठ भाग की ऊँचाई कम होने के कारण थरों का निर्माण भी कम ही हुआ है। जाड्यकुंभ तथा कर्णिका वाली दो थर वाली पीठ को कामद पीठ कहा जाता है। क्योंकि लतिन जाति के प्रसादों में बाहर निकलता हुआ भाग कम होता है जबकि सांधार जाति के प्रासादों के पीठ का निकलता हुआ भाग अधिक होता है।⁴



चित्र संख्या - 5



चित्र संख्या - 6

मंडोवर भाग-

प्रासाद/मन्दिर का निर्माण पीठ पर किया जाता है। जगती पर पीठ का स्थान बनाया जाता है। पीठ को मन्दिर का आसन कहते हैं। पीठ के ऊपर दीवार बनायी जाती है। इस दीवार को ही मंडोवर की संज्ञा दी जाती है। मंडोवर शब्द को समझने के लिये इसे तोड़ना होगा- मण्ड अर्थात् पीठ या आसन।⁵ इसके ऊपर जो भाग बनाया जाये वह मण्डोवर कहलाता है। मन्दिर की प्रमुख दीवार अर्थात् मंडोवर के ऊपर शिखर का

निर्माण किया जाता है। कुम्भ के थर से लेकर छाद्य के प्रहार थर के मध्य का भाग मंडोवर भाग कहलाता है पीठ, वेदिबंध तथा जंघा से मिलकर मण्डोवर की रचना होती है मण्डोवर में तेरह थर होते हैं- उनके नाम व प्रमाण इस प्रकार हैं। पीठ के ऊपर खुरा से लेकर छाद्य तक मंडोवर का भाग होता है। इस मंदिर की विभिन्न थरों का नाम इस प्रकार है। जिसमें खुरा, कुंभ, कलश, अंतराल, केवाल, मंचिका, जंघा, उद्दम, भरणी, शिरावट, महाकेवाल, अंतराल, छज्जा आदि।⁶



चित्र संख्या - 7



चित्र संख्या - 8

शिखर भाग-

पारश्वनाथ मंदिर के शिखर को 'मंदर' शिखर कहा गया है। इस शिखर में पच्चीस (25) अण्डक है जो इसकी विशेषता को दर्शाते हैं। जैन मंदिर में शिखरयुक्त जिनालय को मंदिर तथा शिखर विहीन जिनालय को चैत्यालय कहा जाने लगा था। इस मंदिर का शिखर बहुत ही सुन्दर ढंग से अंलकृत किया गया है इसका अलंकरण आकर्षित करने वाला है, शिखर में छोटे-छोटे शिखर भी देखने को मिलते हैं जिन्हें उरुश्रृंग कहा जाता है। शिखर के ऊपर आमलसार, ग्रीवा, चंद्रिका, कलश, बिजौरा सभी शिखर के ऊपर स्थापित किए हुए हैं। इस शिखर में शुकनासिका बनी हुई है जिस पर सिंह को स्थापित किया गया है जो विजय का प्रतीक है, जिससे लगता है कि यह मंदिर भी विजय का प्रतीक होगा। शिखर के चारों तरफ चार रथिकाएं भी बनी हुई हैं।⁷



चित्र संख्या - 9



चित्र संख्या - 10

इस मंदिर को नर सिंह पोखड़ द्वारा वि.सं. 1508 में बनवाया गया था। यह एक कठोर चट्टान पर बना मंदिर है, जिसमें पारश्वनाथ भगवान की प्रतिमा को स्थापित किया गया है। इस मंदिर को ऊंचे परकोटे ने घेर रखा है। जिसका द्वार उत्तर दिशा की ओर है। मंदिर भी उत्तराभिमुख है। मंदिर में प्रवेश के पश्चात् श्रृंगार चंवरी अर्थात् मुखमण्डप का निर्माण किया गया है। उसके बाद गर्भगृह में प्रवेश किया जाता है गर्भगृह के अन्दर भगवान पारश्वनाथ की प्रतिमा को वेदी पर स्थापित किया गया है। इस मंदिर के बाह्य भाग पर विभिन्न थरों का निर्माण भी किया गया है, जिसमें कामद पीठ, मंडोवर भाग के सभी भागों का वर्णन देखने को मिलता है। इसमें बड़ा ही सुन्दर व आकर्षित करने वाला शिखर निर्माण भी देखने को मिलता है। जिसमें पच्चीस (25) अण्डकों के निर्माण के कारण उसे 'मंदर' शिखर कहा जाता है। इसमें शुकनासिका बनी हुई है जहां पर सिंह को स्थापित किया गया है। सिंह को विजय का प्रतीक बताया गया है।

इस प्रकार इस मंदिर को शिल्प दृष्टि से भी महत्वपूर्ण माना गया है। इस देवालय के चप्पे-चप्पे को शिल्पियों ने अपने कौशल से गढ़े मूर्तिशिल्पों के द्वारा अंलकृत किया है। भारत में अतिप्राचीन मूर्तिशिल्पों का मुख्य माध्यम पत्थर होता गया प्रारम्भ में शिल्प निर्माण में बलुआ पत्थर या रेतीदाना पत्थर काम में लिया गया। बलुआ पत्थर में शिल्पियों ने रूप सृजन में तो सिद्धहस्ता हासिल कर ली।

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ऋषभदेव मंदिर की मूर्तिकला में अप्सराओं द्वारा परिलक्षित सामाजिक जीवन

डॉ. ममता पूर्बिया*

प्राचीन भारत के इतिहास को जानने में मूर्तिकला का पुरातात्विक स्रोतों में महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत है। मूर्तियाँ हमारे अतीत के गौरव को प्रतिबिम्बित करने वाला दर्पण है। भारतीय संस्कृति के ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन एवं उसके समुचित ज्ञान के लिए मूर्तिकला का अध्ययन आवश्यक है। किसी देश की संस्कृति में स्थापत्य कला तथा ललित कलाओं की स्थिति उनमें अधिगत कुशलता, उस देश की सांस्कृतिक प्रगति का मापदण्ड प्रस्तुत करती है। भारतीय मूर्तिकला का विषय मुख्यतः धार्मिक रहा है और धार्मिक इतिहास के विकास के कलात्मक अवशेषों का अध्ययन पर कलाकारों ने महत्वपूर्ण प्रकाश डाला है। मूर्तिविज्ञान से हम न केवल प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक एवं सांस्कृतिक जीवन में परिचित होते हैं, अपितु लौकिक जन-जीवन की तस्वीर भी सामने प्रकट होती है। भारतीय सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं लौकिक जन-जीवन से ओत-प्रोत विशेषताएँ ऋषभदेव की मूर्तिकला का विषय भी धार्मिकता लिये हुए हैं लेकिन कलाकारों ने भारतीय सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक जीवन के उन सभी तत्वों यथा दर्शन, अध्यात्म, अभिव्यक्ति, प्रतीक-चिहनों, नृत्य, वादन, गायन आदि को बड़ी कुशलता, गम्भीर एवं प्रभावित करने की क्षमता के साथ उकेरा है।

ऋषभदेव मंदिर के मण्डोवर भाग पर स्थित मूर्तिकला में उत्कीर्ण चित्र तत्कालीन लोक जीवन के सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक जीवन को सफलतापूर्वक उत्कीर्ण किये गए हैं। शिल्प में समाज के विभिन्न वर्ग तथा क्रियाओं यथा-पारिवारिक जीवन, नारी जीवन, वस्त्र, आभूषण, सैनिक, साधु-सन्यासी, युद्ध, शिकार, मनोरंजन, योग-साधना, गणिका, वाद्य यन्त्र, नृतक-नृतकी, संगीतज्ञ, श्रृंगार-प्रसाधन, केश-विन्यास आदि का अंकन किया गया है।

* सहायक आचार्य, इतिहास एवं संस्कृति विभाग, जनार्दन राय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ (डीम्ड-टू-बी विश्वविद्यालय), उदयपुर (राज.)

ऋषभदेव (केसरिया जी)-

श्री ऋषभदेव (केसरियाजी) या धुलेव कई नामों से विख्यात जैनियों के प्रथम तीर्थंकर श्री आदिनाथ का यह देवालय उदयपुर-अहमदाबाद मार्ग पर उदयपुर से दक्षिण दिशा में 65 कि.मी. दूर अरावली पर्वत मालाओं से आच्छादित कुमारिया या कोयल नदी के तट पर स्थित है। जैन तीर्थ स्थलों की प्राचीनतम शृंखलाओं में भगवान ऋषभदेव का यह तीर्थ भव्यता, चमत्कार तथा कला की दृष्टि से आलौकिक है। मेवाड़ के चार तीर्थ धामों में श्री एकलिंगजी, श्रीनाथजी, श्री चारभुजाजी एवं श्री ऋषभदेव (केसरियाजी) का विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों के लिए विशिष्ट महत्व है लेकिन श्री ऋषभदेव तीर्थ जैन, अजैन, हिन्दू आदिवासी सभी धर्मावलम्बियों की आस्था का केन्द्र है। यहाँ आदिनाथ की प्रतिमा का पूजन भक्तगण प्राचीन समय से ही केसर से करते आ रहे हैं एवं यहा आने वाले श्रद्धालु कई तोला केसर चढ़ाते चले आ रहे हैं। इस कारण यह तीर्थ केसरियाजी के नाम से भी प्रसिद्ध है।¹ एक जनश्रुति इस प्रकार है कि ऋषभदेव की प्रतिमा एक आदिवासी युवक धुलिया भील को भूगर्भ से प्राप्त हुई थी, तब से इस क्षेत्र को धुलेव के नाम से भी जाना जाता है।² स्थानीय आदिवासी भील इन्हें कालियाबाबा, केसरियाबाबा, धुलेवाधणी एवं केसरियालाल इत्यादि नामों से पुकारते हैं।

भील लोग कालाजी को अपना इष्ट देव मानते हैं और उन लोगों में इनकी भक्ति यहाँ तक है कि केसरियानाथ पर चढ़े हुए केसर को जल से धोकर पी लेने के बाद चाहे जितनी विपत्ति उनको सहन करनी पड़े वे झूठ नहीं बोलते हैं। पूरे भारत में यही एक ऐसा मंदिर है, जहाँ दिगंबर तथा श्वेतांबर जैन और वैष्णव, शैव, भील एवं समस्त लोकजन स्नान कर समान रूप से मूर्ति का पूजन करते हैं।³

ऋषभदेव मंदिर का स्थापत्य-

ऋषभदेव जैन मंदिर स्थानीय बस स्टेण्ड से एक किलोमीटर की दूरी पर मुख्य बाजार में स्थित है। मंदिर के चारों ओर परकोटा बना हुआ है जो इस देवालय को अन्य स्थानों के जैन मंदिरों से अलग बना देता है। ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणानुसार यह जैन मंदिर चौदहवीं सदी से ज्यादा पुराना ज्ञात नहीं पड़ता है, किन्तु जन श्रुतियों के अनुसार यह मंदिर अतिप्राचीन माना जाता है।

इस मंदिर के विषय में यह प्रसिद्ध है कि यहाँ ईंटों का बना हुआ एक जिनालय था, जिसके टूट जाने पर उसका जीर्णोद्धार कर नया मंदिर बना। यहाँ के शिलालेखों से पाया जाता है कि इस मंदिर के भिन्न-भिन्न विभाग अलग-अलग समय के बने हुए हैं। सभामंडप की दीवार पर लगा सबसे पुराना शिलालेख वि.सं. 1431 का है, जिसका आशय यह है कि दिगंबर सम्प्रदाय के काष्ठासंघ के भट्टारक श्रीधर्मकीर्ति के उपदेश से

साह (सेठ) वीजा के बेटे हरदान ने इस जिनालय का जीर्णोद्धार करवाया।⁴ इससे यह प्रमाणित होता है कि वि.स. 1431 से पूर्व भी पुराना मंदिर यहाँ मौजूद था। मंदिर में और भी लेख अंकित हैं जो 14वीं शताब्दी से 18वीं शताब्दी के मध्य के हैं जिससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि समय-समय नए विभागों का निर्माण और जीर्णोद्धार का काम होता रहा। मंदिर के मुख्य प्रवेश द्वार में प्रवेश करने के बाद सभामण्डप से होकर निज मंदिर में पहुंचते हैं। द्वार के दोनों तरफ द्वारपाल व परिचारिकाओं का अंकन किया गया है। प्रवेशद्वार पर चाँदी की चद्दर चढ़ा दी गयी है। आदि तीर्थकर ऋषभदेव की प्रतिमा गर्भगृह में एक फुट ऊँचे धातु के आसन पर स्थापित हैं। कृष्ण पाषाण की यह प्रतिमा साढ़े तीन फुट की है एवं इसके सिर पर तीन छत्र सुशोभित है तथा सिर के पृष्ठ भाग में आभामंडल है। तीर्थकर के दोनों ओर अखंड दीपक का स्निग्ध मधुर प्रकार सदा विकीर्ण रहता है।⁵

ऋषभदेव देवालय के बाह्य मण्डोवर में परिक्रमा से अनेक दिग्पाल, अप्सरा व दैविय स्वरूप, व्याल सर्प, सामाजिक जीवन से सम्बन्धित विषयों का निरूपण हुआ है। स्वरूपों की अनेक स्थानों पर पुनरावृत्ति हुई है। अप्सरा स्वरूपों में वीणावादिनी, लीलावती, वीणा बजाते हुए गोपालासन में अप्सरा, तीर से सिंह का मर्दन करती अप्सरा, गौरी, शुकसारिका, सद्यः स्नाता आदि अनेक अप्सराओं का अंकन मण्डोवर में जगह-जगह पर हुआ है। चित्र सं. 1



चित्र सं. 1 (ऋषभदेव मन्दिर)

पुराने ग्रन्थों आदि में अप्सराओं के भिन्न-भिन्न नाम वर्णित हैं। निःसन्देह हस्त, मुख और रूप लक्षण में भिन्नता होने के कारण इनके नाम भी अलग-अलग दिये गए हैं। प्रासादों के मण्डप, स्तम्भों, मण्डोवर, वितान आदि स्थानों पर ये अप्सराएं रमती दिखाई देती हैं। शिल्पगण लोक भावनाओं में इन्हें 'पुतली' कहते हैं। ये सर्व प्रकार के आभूषण धारण करती हैं।⁶ मण्डोवर, स्तम्भों, छाजन, आदि पर अनेक देवी-देवताओं, दिग्पालों, नायिकाओं, अप्सराओं एवं मानवीय लौकिक जीवन को दर्शाने वाली अनेक मूर्तियाँ उत्कीर्ण हैं। मन्दिर स्थापत्य में शास्त्रों के अनुसार मन्दिर में एक जगत की कल्पना की जाती है, उसी आधार पर पृथ्वीलोक एवं स्वर्गलोक के जीवन को कलाकारों द्वारा उत्कीर्ण किया जाता है। जगती में प्रायः नरथर भाग होता है, जहाँ मानवीय सांसारिक जीवन के विभिन्न पक्षों को उजागर किया जाता है, वहीं मण्डोवर के जंगा भाग पर देवी-देवताओं, अप्सराओं, नायिकाओं, साधु-सन्यासियों, गंधर्वों की मूर्तियाँ उत्कीर्ण कर स्वर्ग की कल्पना की जाती है। ऋषभदेव (केसरियाजी) मन्दिर में भी सांसारिक जीवन एवं स्वर्गलोक का कलाकार ने उत्कीर्ण किया है।

ऋषभदेव (केसरियाजी) मन्दिर के मण्डोवर के जंघा भाग पर अनेक युग्म देवी-देवताओं, देवी-देवताओं की प्रतिमाएँ, गन्धर्व, नायिकाएँ, साधु-सन्यासी, अप्सराओं का अंकन किया गया है। मैंने इस शोध-पत्र में इन मन्दिरों के जंघा भाग पर उत्कीर्ण नायिकाओं एवं अप्सराओं के भेद एवं विशेषताएँ बताने का प्रयास किया है।⁷

नायिका के भेद-

विभिन्न साहित्यिक शास्त्रों में विद्वानों ने अलग-अलग नायिकाओं के भेद बताये हैं—

- भरतमून के नाट्य शास्त्र के अनुसार नायिका के आठ भेद होते हैं— वाकसज्जा, विरहोत्कण्ठित, स्वाधीनपतिका, कलंहातरिता, खंडिता, विप्रलब्धा, प्रोषितभर्तृका, अभिसारिका।
- परवर्ती लेखकों के अनुसार, जिसे प्रकृति भेद कहा गया है। नायिका तीन प्रकार की होती हैं - उत्तमा, मध्यमा, अधमा।
- अग्निपुराण के लेखक ने नायिका के केवल एक वर्गीकरण का उल्लेख किया है— स्वकीया, परवीकया, पुनर्भू, सामान्या।⁸
- इन चार भेदों में पुनर्भू को आगे चलकर मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं हुई रूद्रा (काव्यालंकार, 9वीं शताब्दी) तथा रुद्रभट्ट (शृंगारतिलक, 900-1100 ई.) ने एक पौडश भेद वर्गीकरण प्रस्तुत किया, जिसे परवर्ती लेखकों द्वारा सर्वाधिक प्रधानता दी गई। यह वर्गीकरण इस प्रकार है - नायिका, स्वकीया, परकीया, सामान्या, मुग्धा,

मध्या, प्रगल्भा, धीरा, मध्या (धीराधीरा) अधीरा, ज्येष्ठा, कनिष्ठा, उद्गा, अनुठा (कन्या)।

- काव्य शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में नायिका भेद-नायिका की चर्चा काव्यशास्त्र के अग्निपुराण में है। भरतमूनि के मत का अनुसरण करते हुए भोजदेव ने नायिका भेद का विरूपण-विस्तार किया है। भोज ने भी यह भेद स्वीकारा है-

गुणतो नायिका अपि स्यादुत्तमामध्य माधमा।।

मुग्धा-मध्या प्रगल्था च वयसा कौशलेन वा।।

धीरा अधीरा च धैर्येण स्यान्वदीया परिग्रहात्।।

ऊढान ढोपयमनात् क्रमाज्येष्ठा कतीयसी।।

मानद्वेरुद्रतोदात्ता शान्त च ललित च सा।

सामान्या च पुनर्भूश्च स्वैरिणी चेति वृत्तितः।।

आपीन वस्तु गणिका रूपाजीवा विलासिनी।

‘शृंगार प्रकाश’ में नायिका भेद अधिक विस्तार के साथ वर्णित है। यह अधमा और ज्येष्ठा नायिकाएं उल्लिखित नहीं है। स्वकीया एवं परकीया के पृथक-पृथक भेद बताये गये हैं।⁹

नायिका क्या है-

जीवन के विभिन्न पक्षों में प्रदर्शित या उपस्थित स्त्री स्वरूपा सौन्दर्य की प्रदायिका ही नायिका है। नायिका को अप्सरा, गणिका, नृत्यांगना, मातृका सभी स्वरूपों में अंकित किया जाता है। अप्सराएं आठ होती हैं- उर्वसी, मेनका, रम्भा, शशी, पुंज्यशथला, तिलोत्तमा, कृत्य स्थला, कंचन माला। इनको मंदिर के नाट्य शाला में लगाया जाता है और मंदिर के बाहर जंघा भाग में भी इनकी मूर्तियों को लगाया जाता है।¹⁰

मंदिर तीन तरह के होते हैं - वैष्णव, शाक्य एवं शैव वैष्णव। प्रायः शाक्य एवं शिव मंदिरों में स्त्री स्वरूपा नायिकाओं के अंकन प्रभावित है। मंदिरों में जिन स्त्री के रूप में नायिका का अंकन है वह देवी स्वरूप में बना जाती है। वैष्णव मंदिर में जो नायिका बना जाती है वह मोहिनी स्वरूप होती है, जिनका अंकन नाट्यशाला में किया जाता है। वैष्णव मंदिर में प्रायश्चित स्वरूप नायिका गणिका एवं मातृका रूप में मिलती है तथा शिव मंदिर में मात्र स्त्री स्वरूप में मूर्तियां मिलती हैं।

ऋषभदेव (केसरिया जी) मंदिर में मंडोवर, नरथर भाग, सभा मंडप के स्तंभों पर नायिकाओं का अंकन है जिसको कलाकार ने उनके स्वरूपों ने शास्त्रों के अनुसार अंकन किया है। नायिका को उनकी मुद्राओं के साथ अंकन कर देवालय में मूर्ति शिल्प को उत्कृष्ट बना दिया है। नायिका सोलह तरह की बना जाती है।

ऋषभदेव (केसरिया जी) मंदिर में भी अप्सराओं का सुन्दर अंकन हुआ है। इस शोध पत्र के मंदिर में उत्कीर्ण अप्सराओं को दर्शाने का प्रयत्न किया है, जिनमें प्रमुख है-

1. **ढोलकवादिनी** - ऋषभदेव मंदिर में ढोलकवादिनी अप्सरा की कई प्रतिमाएं उत्कीर्ण हैं। सभी की विशेषताओं में भिन्नता है। इनमें से कुछ प्रतिमाओं के हाथ में छोटा ढोलक है तो किसी के हाथ में बड़ा ढोलक है। इनके वस्त्रों व आभूषणों में भी भिन्नता है, कुछ प्रतीमा साधारण है तो कुछ पूर्ण रूप से आभूषणों से सुसज्जित है। इनके कानों में कुण्डल, हाथों में भुजबन्ध, कंकण, कण्ठाभरण, हारसूत्र, पादवलय आदि धारण किये हुए हैं। ढोलक पर थाप दे रही ये प्रतिमाएं मंदिर के मूलप्रसाद मण्डोवर, स्तम्भों पर, जंघा भाग पर व अनेक स्थानों पर उत्कीर्ण हैं।¹¹ (चित्र सं. 2 से 5)



चित्र संख्या 2 चित्र संख्या 3 चित्र संख्या 4 चित्र संख्या 5

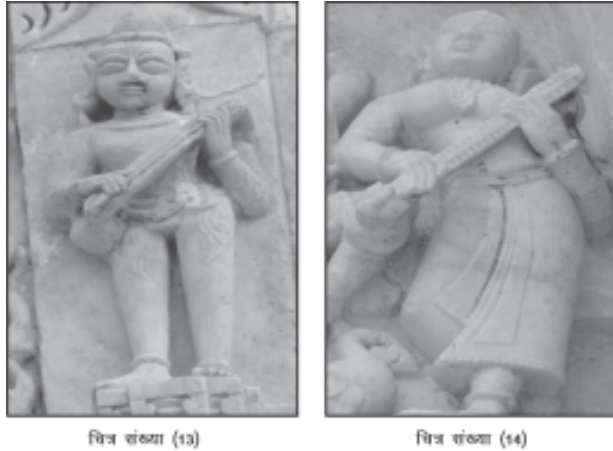
2. **पुत्रवल्लभा** - इसमें अप्सरा ने अपनी कमर पर पुत्र धारण किया है, वह चित्ररूपा पुत्र वल्लभा है। मंदिर के अनेक स्थानों पर इस अप्सरा का उत्कीर्ण हुआ है। सभी प्रतिमाओं में भिन्नता है। इनके केश व आभूषण भिन्न है कुछ प्रतिमाओं के केश हवा में उड़ते हुए दर्शाये गये हैं, कुछ प्रतिमा पूर्ण रूप से आभूषणों से सुसज्जित है तो कुछ साधारण है। इन सभी में समान बात यह है कि इन सभी ने अपनी बायें गोद में शिशु को पकड़ रखा है। इनमें शिशु अपनी माँ के वक्षस्थल को पकड़े हुए दर्शाया गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त इन सभी के वस्त्रों में भी समानता है।¹² चित्र सं. 6-9



3. **मरीचिका** - धनुष-बाण लिए देवांगना मंदिर के मण्डोवर के जंघा भाग, स्तम्भों, वितानों क अनेक स्थानों पर मरीचिका अप्सरा स्वरूप का अंकन हुआ है। अप्सरा के साथ सिंह का भी अंकन हुआ है। इन सभी प्रतिमाओं में अप्सरा अपना बायां पैर उठा कर सिंह पर निशाना साध रही हैं। इन सभी प्रतिमाओं के आभूषणों में भिन्नता है, कुछ साधारण है व कुछ पूर्ण रूप से आभूषणों से सुसज्जित हैं।¹³ (चित्र सं. 10 से 12)



4. **वीणावादिनी** - ऋषभदेव मंदिर में वीणा वादन करती हुई अप्सरा उत्कीर्ण है। मंदिर के मण्डोवर जंघा भाग पर व अनेक स्थानों पर अंकित है। अधिकांशतः इनका त्रिभंगी मुद्रा में उत्कीर्ण हुआ है। इन प्रतिमाओं में आभूषणों का ज्यादा प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है।¹⁴ (चित्र सं. 13 से 14)

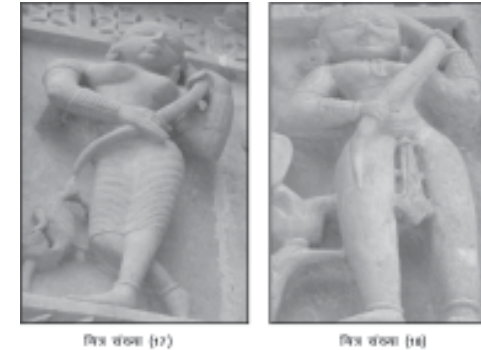


5. **हंसावली** - ऋषभदेव मंदिर में हंसावली अप्सरा का कई बार अंकन हुआ है। नक्कारखाने, स्तम्भों पर, मण्डोवर जंघा में, भित्ति आदि अनेक स्थानों पर इस अप्सरा का अंकन देखा जा सकता है। सभी स्थान पर अतिभंग मुद्रा में यह अप्सरा पैरों में पायल से

शृंगार करने में मग्न है। आकृति वस्त्राभूषणों से सुसज्जित है। शिल्पी ने इस शिल्प में अप्सरा को सुरुचिपूर्ण शृंगार करते हुए बड़ी कलात्मकता से अंकित किया है।¹⁵ (चित्र सं. 15 से 16)

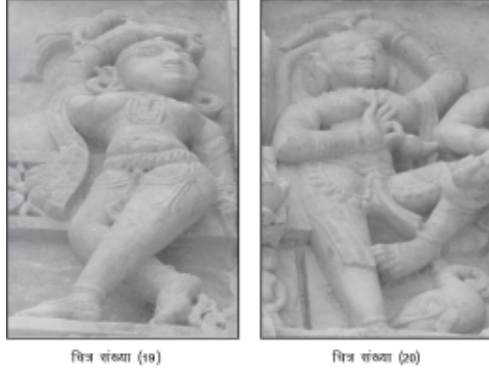


6. **सद्यः स्नाता (बाल निचोड़ती हुई)** - ऋषभदेव मंदिर के कई स्थानों पर इस अप्सरा का अंकन हुआ है। इस अप्सरा के बाल आगे कंधे के सहारे नीचे की ओर लटक रहे हैं। बालों से झरते पानी की बूंदों को नीचे उत्कीर्ण हंस अपनी चोंच से ले रहा है। अप्सरा के अंग-प्रत्यंग पारदर्शक वस्त्रों में दिखाई दे रहे हैं। इसे देखकर लगता है कि अप्सरा स्नान के तुरन्त पश्चात गीले वस्त्रों में अपने बालों को निचोड़ रही है।¹⁶ (चित्र सं. 17 से 18)



7. **शुकसारिका** - दाहिना हाथ स्कन्ध की ओर किए हुए, उस पर शुक (तोता) बिठाया हुआ है। बायां पैर ऊँचा और दायां पैर स्थिर। ऐसा ही रूप शुकसारिका का होता है। परन्तु ऋषभदेव मंदिर में मण्डोवर के जंघा भाग पर बनी दो प्रतिमाएं बिलकुल भिन्न हैं। एक का दाहिना हाथ सर पर है, जिस पर तोता बैठा है और दोनों पैर जमीन पर हैं।

दूसरी प्रतिमा का बायां हाथ सर पर है जिस पर तोता बैठा है और वह नृत्य की मुद्रा में हैं। यह अप्सराएं वस्त्र आभूषणों से सुसज्जित हैं।¹⁷ (चित्र सं. 19 से 20)



चित्र संख्या (19)

चित्र संख्या (20)

8. नृत्यांगना - नृत्यांगना अप्सरा का अंकन, ऋषभदेव मंदिर के सभी स्थान पर हुआ है। अन्य अप्सराओं और दिग्पाल आदि के मध्य अनेक स्थानों पर ये रमती हुई अंकित हुई हैं। इन सभी अप्सराओं की प्रतिमाओं में वस्त्र और आभूषणों में पूर्णतः भिन्नता नजर आती है।¹⁸ (चित्र सं. 21 से 24)



चित्र संख्या (21)

चित्र संख्या (22)

चित्र संख्या (23)

चित्र संख्या (24)

9. चामरा/चवर धारिणी - ऋषभदेव मंदिर के शृंगार चवरी, मूलप्रसाद, बाह्य मण्डोवर आदि अनेक स्थानों पर चवर धारिणी अप्सरा का उत्कीर्ण हुआ है। सभी के एक हाथ में चामर व दूसरे हाथ में कोई अन्य वस्तु है, किसी के हाथ में पात्र तो किसी के हाथ में शंख पकड़े हुए हैं। इस अप्सरा के वस्त्र और आभूषण अन्य अप्सराओं की तुलना में सामान्य है।¹⁹ (चित्र सं. 25 से 27)



चित्र संख्या (28)

चित्र संख्या (29)

चित्र संख्या (30)

10. दर्पणा - हाथ में दर्पण लेकर मुखदर्शन करती या स्वयं को संवारते हुए अप्सरा मंदिर के नक्काखाने के स्तम्भों पर इस स्वरूप का अंकन हुआ है। सभी प्रतिमा हाथ में दर्पण लेकर मुख दर्शन कर रही है। यह प्रतिमाएं वस्त्राभूषणों से सुसज्जित हैं।²⁰ (चित्र सं. 28 से 29)



चित्र संख्या (31)

चित्र संख्या (32)

सौन्दर्यप्रियता तथा सजावट एक मानवीय प्रवृत्ति है, जिसके कारण वह हर वस्तु चाहे प्राकृतिक हो या मानव निर्मित उसे वह सजी-संवरी देखने में आनन्द प्राप्त होता है। मनोहारी वस्तुओं की ओर आकर्षित होना मानव की विशिष्ट अभिरुचि है। सम्भवतः इसी कारण शिल्पियों ने देवालियों में देव प्रतिमाओं के साथ ही जगह-जगह पर मंदिरों के प्रवेश द्वार, स्तम्भों, वितानों, बाह्य मण्डोवर आदि स्थानों पर विभिन्न प्रकार की अप्सराओं के अलंकरणत्मक स्वरूप उकेरे हैं। ऋषभदेव के मंदिर में भी मूर्तिकारों ने अप्सराओं का सुन्दर अंकन किया है। सभी स्थानों पर बनी अप्सराओं की प्रतिमाओं के कानों में कुण्डल, हार स्तनसूत्र, कटिसूत्र, हाथों में कड़े, पादवलय, पाद जालक आदि आभूषणों का अंकन किया है। केश सज्जा में जूड़े के अलावा गूँथी हुई वेणी व बीच में मांग का अंकन किया गया है। अप्सराओं के वस्त्रों में अन्य स्थानों के मंदिरों की तरह पारदर्शिता नहीं है। लम्बे अपारदर्शी वस्त्रों का अधिक प्रयोग किया गया है। इनमें स्थानीय प्रभाव स्पष्ट झलकता है। इसके अतिरिक्त मूर्तिकारों ने सांस्कृतिक परिवेश ढोलक, वीणा, डमरू, बांसुरी आदि वाद्ययंत्रों को बजाते हुए उत्कीर्ण किया है व नृत्य

करती हुई अप्सराओं इनके बीच उत्कीर्ण की गई। इस प्रकार ये अप्सराएं उस समय की सांस्कृतिक परिवेश का उल्लेख कर रही हैं कि पहले भी संगीत, नृत्य और वाद्ययंत्रों को कितना महत्व दिया जाता था। इस प्रकार मूर्तिकारों ने इन प्रतिमाओं के माध्यम से सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक परिवेश को दर्शाने का प्रयत्न किया है।

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देरासेरी जैन मंदिरों का समूह : सिरोही जिले के विशेष संदर्भ में

सुरेश कुमार*

राजस्थान की सांस्कृतिक विरासत अपने आप में एक अलग ही विशिष्टता लिए हुए है। यहां कई अनूठे और भव्य मंदिरों की श्रृंखला आयी हुई है। सिरोही जिला राजस्थान का बहुत ही खुबसूरत अरावली पर्वतमाला की गोद में बसा हुआ एक धार्मिक नगरी के रूप में विख्यात है। सिरोही यानी देवों की नगरी, अर्द्धशत्रुंजय, देवनगरी, मंदिरों की नगरी कहलाती है। सिरोही जिला छोटा-सा होने के बावजूद संपूर्ण जिला कहीं जैन मंदिरों का समावेश लिए हुए हैं। सिरोही जिला गागर-रूपी घड़ा है और इस घड़े में कहीं जैन मंदिर समाए हुए सागर को चरितार्थ करते हैं। इन जैन मंदिरों की अपनी प्राचीनता, ऐतिहासिकता व सांस्कृतिक विभिन्नता रही है। यहां पर जैन मंदिरों की प्राचीनता की बात करें तो ऐसा माना जाता है कि जैन धर्म के चौबीसवें तीर्थंकर भगवान महावीर स्वामी जब वर्द्धमान थे, छद्मवस्था में विचरण किया था। इस बात की जानकारी भीनमाल का शिलालेख वि. सं. 1333 एवं सिरोही के मुंगथला का शिलालेख वि. सं. 1426 में मिलती है। महावीर स्वामी के गणधर केषी श्रमण ने तो यहां एक मूर्ति की प्रतिष्ठा की थी।¹



वर्तमान परिप्रेक्ष्य में देखे तो सिरोही में काफी अधिक जैन मंदिर हैं। जैन मंदिरों

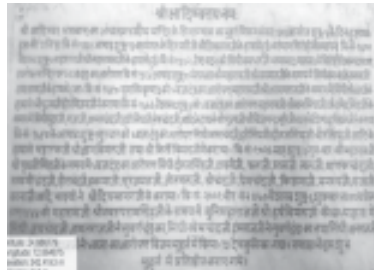
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से समृद्ध सिरोही नगरी से यह प्रमाणित होता है, कि यहां पहले जैनों का बाहुल्य रहा होगा तथा वे काफी सम्पन्नशील रहे होंगे। यहां के प्राचीन मंदिरों की भव्यता, शिल्पता और वास्तुकला की बनावट ऐसी थी कि आज भी जीवंत नजर आती है। समय-समय पर यहां के राजा-महाराजाओं, ठिकानेदारों और भामाशाहों ने भी जैन धर्म को प्रश्रय दिया। सिरोही नगरी में एक गली ऐसे भी है, जहां एक साथ चौदह जैन मंदिरों की एक श्रृंखला आयी हुई है। यह गली एक अजूबे का अहसास करवाती है। ऐसी गली ओर कहीं नहीं मिलेगी शायद ही ऐसा कोई शहर या गांव होगा जिसकी एक ही गली में चौदह जिन मंदिर आए हो, इसलिए इसे मंदिरों की गली भी कहा जाता है। यहां पर विभिन्न स्थानों पर अलग-अलग तेईस जैन मंदिर हैं जिसमें से चौदह एक ही गली में हैं। राजमहल की तरफ जाती गली से ही जैन मंदिरों की श्रृंखला शुरू होती है।²

ये सभी राजमहलों के नीचे जैन मंदिरों का समूह है, जो 'देरासेरी' नाम से प्रसिद्ध है, इन जैन मंदिरों में चौमुखजी का मुख्य मंदिर है, जो वि. सं. 1634 ई. सं. 1577 मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ल पंचमी को बना था। कहां जाता है कि इस नगर में जगत् गुरु श्री हीरसूरीश्वर माराज सा. को आचार्य पद से अलंकृत किया गया था। अकबर प्रतिबोधक के प्रति यहां के श्रावकों की गुरुभक्ति इस हद तक थी कि एक समय उनके प्रवेश की प्रभावना में सोने के सिक्के दिए गए थे।³ इन चौदह जैन मंदिरों की अपनी-अपनी विशेषताएं हैं।

पहला मंदिर : श्री आचलियां आदेश्वर भगवान

इस मंदिर का नाम आचलियां आदेश्वर इसलिए है कि इस मंदिर की प्रतिष्ठा अचलगच्छ के आचार्य द्वारा संपन्न हुई थी।



यह मंदिर सिरोही नगर बसने से पहले का निर्मित है। यहां अंकित लेखानुसार इस मंदिर का निर्माण वि. सं. 1323 आश्विन शुक्ल पंचमी को कराया गया और प्रतिष्ठा यति श्री शिवलालजी द्वारा वि. सं. 1339 आषाढ शुक्ल त्रयोदशी मंगलवार के दिन करवाई गयी। यह सिरोही नगर में स्थित अचलगच्छ का प्राचीन जिनालय है। इसमें श्री आदिनाथ

भगवान की पंचतीर्थी युक्त श्वेत पाषाण की प्रतिमा स्थापित है, जिस पर वि. सं. 2001 वैशाख शुक्ल षष्टमी का लेख अंकित है। यहां पर इस मंदिर की प्राचीनता को दर्शाता हुआ एक शिलालेख मौजूद है। सर्वप्रथम इस मंदिर पर ध्वज दंड का आरोपण महाराव श्री जगमाल के समय सिंधी समरथजी, नानकजी तथा शामजी के द्वारा वि. सं. 1534 आषाढ शुक्ल अष्टमी मंगलवार के दिन सम्पन्न हुआ। इस मंदिर की विशेषता यह है कि यहां पर माता मनुदेवी हाथी की सवारी पर आसीन होकर अपने पुत्र ऋषभ को देख रही है। इस परिसर के एक देवरी भाग में शिव मंदिर है, जो एक धार्मिक सहिष्णुता का प्रतीक है। आचार्य पूर्णचंद्रसूरी द्वारा 1434 ईस्वी में सरस्वती माता की प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित की गई थी। इसके आगे भट्टराओं की एक जैन पोल भी बनी हुई है तथा मंदिर में रंगमंडप, नवचौकी निर्मित है। मंदिर में गौतम स्वामी, चक्रेश्वरी देवी, भरत चक्रवर्ती की अन्य प्रतिमाएं भी स्थापित हैं। इस मंदिर पर सुवर्ण दंड व सुवर्ण इंद्रा वैशाख शुक्ल षष्टमी को महाराव श्री स्वरूपरामसिंह के समय मुनि महाराज सा. हर्षविमलजी के सानिध्य में सिंधी जयचंदजी जामतराजजी व सिंधी खेमचंदजी हंसराजजी और सिंधी अनराजजी ने ध्वजा का आरोपण किया था।⁴

दूसरा मंदिर : श्री नेमिनाथ भगवान

श्री नेमिनाथ भगवान का शिखरबंद मंदिर है, जिसकी प्रतिष्ठा सेठ रणछोड़दासजी ने 1625 ई. में आचार्य विजयदेवसूरिजी महाराज सा. की निश्रा में करवाई गई थी। इस मंदिर की प्रतिमा को सिरोही के दोशी जोधाजी परिवार ने विराजमान करवाई थी।⁵

तीसरा मंदिर : श्री शांतिनाथ भगवान

इस मंदिर के मूलनायक की प्रतिमा पीले पाषाण में श्री शांतिनाथ भगवान की है। इसकी प्रतिष्ठा श्री धीरज राजमलजी शाह द्वारा 1889 ई. में वैशाख शुक्ल षष्टमी को सम्पन्न हुई थी।⁶ यहां पास में ही यतिराजजी का एक उपाश्रय भी बना हुआ है।

चौथा मंदिर : श्री संभवनाथ भगवान

श्री संभवनाथ भगवान का शिखरबंद जिनालय है, जिसमें भगवान की प्रतिमा पंचतीर्थी परिकर युक्त पद्मासन मुद्रा में विराजित हैं। इस मंदिर का निर्माण शाह खीमचंद राजिंग ने करवाया था तथा इसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1476 ई. यानि वि. सं. 1534 वैशाख शुक्ल एकादशी को सम्पन्न हुई। इस देवनगरी की परम पावन धरा पर अकबर प्रतिबोधक जगद्गुरु श्री हीरविजयजी महाराज सा. को आचार्य पद से अलंकृत किया गया था। यहां के रहवासियों की कितनी उच्च भावना की उस दिन सोने की मोहर की अद्भुत प्रभावना उदार भाग्यशालियों द्वारा की गई थी। यहां पर एक चबूतरा बना हुआ है जिस पर वि. सं. 1703 का स्तूप निर्मित है।⁷

पांचवा मंदिर : श्री अजितनाथ भगवान

श्री अजितनाथ भगवान के मंदिर के बाहर दो बड़े हाथियों की प्रतिमाएं हैं। यह मंदिर प्राचीन सिरौही नगर की स्थापना के पूर्व का है, जिसका निर्माण सेठ केसरीमलजी चौधरी ने करवाया था। यह मंदिर विशाल शिखरबंद प्राचीनतम बावन जिनालय को दर्शाता हुआ 13 वीं व 14 वीं शताब्दी की प्रतिमाएं आसीन हैं। मंदिर में स्थापित प्रतिमाओं पर वि. सं. 1520 का लेख है। इसके साथ-साथ कलात्मकता को लिए हुए समवशरण स्थापित है। इस मंदिर की प्रतिष्ठा 1585 ई. में हुई थी। मंदिर में रंगमण्डप, श्रृंगारचौकी, गूढ मण्डप, नवचौकी तथा मंदिर में सुंदर व आकर्षक चित्रकारी किए हुए स्तंभ/तोरण मंदिर का वास्तुशिल्प कलात्मक है। मंदिर में भावी चौबीसी भूत-वर्तमान-भविष्य की माताएं बालक तीर्थकर को गोद में लिए हुए विराजमान हैं तथा बसंतगढ़ से लाई गई प्रतिमाएं भी प्रतिष्ठित की हुई हैं। मूलनायक के गंभारे में श्री सुविधिनाथ भगवान की प्रतिमा पर वि. सं. 1491 का लेख अंकित है।⁸

इस मंदिर में विभिन्न जैन तीर्थकरों की मूर्तियां के साथ आसीन अजीतनाथ भगवान की प्रतिमा बहुत-ही मन-मोहक नजर आती है। इन पर 1462 ई. का शिलालेख है, जिनसे यह ज्ञात होता है कि इनकी पुनः प्रतिष्ठा 1586 में हुई थी। मूलनायक के गर्भगृह के बाहर कायोत्सर्ग मुद्रा में दो खड़ी मुद्रा है। प्रभु के राज्य व्यवस्था को दर्शाती हुए मुकुट, गले में हार, दोनों भुजाओं में बाजूबंद, दोनों हाथ पैरों में कड़े एवं वस्त्र अलंकार सहित विश्व की यह दुर्लभ प्रतिमा है। इस मंदिर की परिक्रमा में पीतल का तीर्थपट्ट, पंच धातु की चिंतामणी तथा सांवलियां पार्श्वनाथ भगवान की मूर्तियां विराजित हैं जिनके बाहर दोनों ओर कायोत्सर्ग मुद्रा में आने वाली 24वीं के पद्मनाभ प्रभु और संपत्ति प्रभु की खड़ी प्राचीन प्रतिमा है। इस मंदिर के पीछे की ओर पाषाण चक्र स्थापित हैं। इसके अलावा जिनालय के परिसर में आचार्य हीरसूरीश्वरजी महाराज सा. की प्रतिमा, श्री रत्नप्रभसूरि की प्रतिभा और आचार्य श्री चंद्रसूरिजी की प्रतिमा है। आचार्य श्री कमलप्रभसूरि के उपदेश से वि. सं. 1520 में आचार्य श्री हरिभद्रसूरिजी ने चिंतामणि पार्श्वनाथ की प्रतिष्ठा सम्पन्न करवाई।⁹

छठा मंदिर : श्री शांतिनाथ भगवान

श्री शांतिनाथ भगवान का यह एक छोटा मंदिर है, जिसमें श्वेत पाषाण की प्रतिमा लगभग 500 वर्ष प्राचीन विराजित है। मूलनायक शांतिनाथ भगवान गंभारे के बाहर एक ओर जिंदससुरीश्वर की प्रतिमा और दूसरी ओर जिनकुशल सूरिश्वरजी की प्रतिमा स्थापित हैं। सिरौही में एक शत्रुंजय की प्रतिकृति के साथ बाहुबलीजी का मंदिर भी है।

यहां हर साल वैशाख शुक्ल दशमी यानी शासन स्थापना दिवस के दिन शासन ध्वज फहराया जाता है। इसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1421 ईस्वी और 1593 ई. में सम्पन्न हुई थी।

इस मंदिर में 64 पाषाण तथा 33 धातु की प्रतिमाएं स्थापित की हुई हैं। इन सभी मंदिरों का शिल्प अत्यंत दर्शनीय व भव्यता को लिए हुए पहाड़ के पास ये मंदिर बहुत सुन्दर दिखाई देते हैं।¹⁰

सातवां मंदिर : श्री आदिनाथ भगवान

श्री आदिनाथ भगवान का यह मंदिर शिखरयुक्त बावन जिनालय श्रेणी का प्राचीन, कलात्मक एवं विशाल बना हुआ है। इसे बड़े आदेश्वर भगवान के नाम से भी पुकारा जाता है। यह सिरौही नगर बसने के पूर्व ओसवाल जाति के सेठ रतनचंद्र देवचंद्र द्वारा निर्मित कराया गया जिसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1425 ई. में की गई थी। इस मंदिर की कलाकृति, स्थापत्य कला भी प्राचीन है। यहां के मूलनायक भगवान की प्रतिमा बहुत ही मनभावन एवं सुन्दर है तथा प्रतिमा पर वि. सं. 1644 का लेख है। मूलनायक के पास ही श्री मुनिसुव्रत भगवान की प्रतिमा है जिस पर वि. सं. 1691 का लेख है। इसके पास में शिल्पकला आकर्षण युक्त श्री हीरविजयसूरीजी की प्रतिमा है। इस जिनालय की श्रृंगार चौकी में तीनों भव वर्तमान-भूत-भविष्य के 72 जिन माताओं का सुंदर चित्रण बड़ा ही दर्शनीय प्रतीत होता है। दूसरी ओर शत्रुंजय तीर्थ का पट्ट है।¹¹

इस मंदिर की मुख्य विशेषता है कि मूलनायक के मंदिर परिसर के पीछे एक बड़ा दरवाजा है, जो पहले एक सुरंग के रूप में बना हुआ था और इसका रास्ता राजमहल की तरफ जाता था। कहते हैं कि प्राचीन काल में रानियां दर्शन करने के लिए इसी मार्ग से आया-जाया करती थी। राजपरिवार की राजसत्ता से जैनों के संबंध हमेशा अच्छे रहते थे। इसलिए मंदिर भी ज्यादातर राजमहलों या किलो के नजदीक ही बनाये जाते थे ताकि संकट हो या राजमहल पर आक्रमण के समय ये सुरंगे बचने के लिए सुरक्षित और सहायक होती थी। सिरौही की स्थापना के समय इस मंदिर के पास ही भोयरे में बहुत बड़ी संख्या में लगभग 1000 धातु की प्रतिमाएं हैं। इन पर 12वीं शताब्दी से 14वीं शताब्दी तक का समय अंकित है। इन प्रतिमाओं में रोहिणी, मरुदेवी, इन्द्र, चक्रेश्वरी देवी, मणिभद्र की प्रतिमाओं का शिल्प अत्यंत दर्शनीय तथा इसके अलावा मंदिर में नन्दीश्वर द्वीप, समवशरण प्रतिमाएं, मंदिर के भट्टारकों, गुरु भगवंतों व दादागुरुओं के चरण एवं पुष्प वाड़ी आदि स्थापित हैं।¹²

आठवां मंदिर : श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान

मूलनायक श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान का एक छोटा-सा शिखरबंद जिनालय बना हुआ है। इसका निर्माण जगमाल कागरेचा द्वारा 1663 ई. में करवाया गया था।¹³

नौवां मंदिर : श्री महावीर स्वामी भगवान

यह मंदिर श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान मंदिर के पास ही स्थापित हैं। मूलनायक

परिकर युक्त महावीर स्वामीजी की प्रतिमा विराजित है, इनको बामणवाड परमात्मा जी का मंदिर भी कहते हैं। इस शिखरबंद मंदिर के मूल गंभारे में तीन प्रतिमाएं हैं जिसका निर्माण सेठ ऋषभदास द्वारा 1668 ई. में प्रतिष्ठा करवा कर संपन्न की।¹⁴

दसवां मंदिर : श्री कुंथुनाथ भगवान

श्री कुंथुनाथ भगवान का मंदिर लगभग सवा चार सौ वर्ष प्राचीन है। इस मंदिर का निर्माण सेठ देवजी कोठारी द्वारा करवाया गया था। इसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1565 ई. में संपन्न हुई। यह मंदिर ऊंचाई पर बना हुआ है।¹⁵ इस मंदिर में रंगमंडप, नव चौकी निर्मित है। श्री कुंथुनाथ, गौड़ी पार्श्वनाथ व श्री शंखेश्वर पार्श्वनाथ भगवान के तीनों मंदिर एक-दूसरे से जुड़े हुए हैं। मूल दरवाजे अलग-अलग होते हुए भी प्राय एक दरवाजे का प्रयोग किया जाता है।

ग्यारहवां मंदिर : श्री शंखेश्वर पार्श्वनाथ भगवान

श्री शंखेश्वर पार्श्वनाथ भगवान का शिखरबंद मंदिर लगभग 340 वर्ष प्राचीन है। महाराव वेरीसाल के समय में सेठ वर्धमान वजेचंदजी द्वारा निर्मित जिसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1678 ई. में की गई थी। इसमें 5 पाषाण व धातु की प्रतिमाओं पर वि. सं. 1651, 1721, 1736 का लेख है। यह मंदिर आरास द्वारा निर्मित होकर कलात्मक व आकर्षक सभामंडप, स्तंभ, श्रृंगार चौकी बनी हुई है।¹⁶

बारहवां मंदिर : श्री गौडीय पार्श्वनाथ भगवान

श्री गौडीय पार्श्वनाथ भगवान का शिखर बंद मंदिर लगभग 300 वर्ष प्राचीन है। इस मंदिर के प्रवेश द्वार के पास दो पाषाणी हाथी प्रतिमाएं हैं। इस मंदिर को शाह दीपखीमाजी ने बनवाया तथा इसकी प्रतिष्ठा वि. सं. 1788 को मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ल पंचमी को संपन्न करवाई गई थी। मूल प्रतिमा के पास ही दो खडी प्रतिमाएं स्थित हैं। मंदिर में 116 पाषाण की व 8 अष्ट धातु की प्रतिमा, रंगमंडप और सभामंडप बना हुआ है। इसके बाहर एक चौक है जो 'आजाद चौक' के नाम से जाना जाता है।¹⁷

तेरहवां मंदिर : श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान

श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान का शिखरबंद मंदिर बड़ा जिनालय के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसमें मूलनायक श्री शीतलनाथ भगवान के अलावा गौतम स्वामी महाराज एवं अंबिका देवी गोद में बालक लिए आसीन है। इस मंदिर का निर्माण शाह भीखचंद मणिकचंद ने वि. सं. 1963-68 में बनवाया जिसकी प्रतिष्ठा वि. सं. 1984 ज्येष्ठ शुक्ल द्वितीया को बोथरा समरथमल रतनजी ने सम्पन्न करवाई। इस मंदिर में देवी अंबा की प्रतिमा भी स्थित है।¹⁸

चौदहवां मंदिर : श्री आदिश्वर भगवान

श्री आदिश्वर भगवान का यह चतुर्मुखी (चौमुखजी) मंदिर भूमितल से 108 फीट ऊपर बना हुआ है। यह 3 मंजिल और कुल 5 खंडों में विभक्त है, जिसमें प्रत्येक में चौमुखजी की प्रतिमाएं विराजित हैं। नीचे मूल गंभारे में मूलनायक आदिनाथ भगवान की चौमुखजी के रूप में आसीन हैं। इस परिसर में लगे हुए स्तंभ रणकपुर मंदिर की याद दिलाते हैं। यहां सुंदर एवं अति दर्शनीय चौमुखजी हैं। यहां एक भोयरा है जिसमें सरस्वती माता विराजित हैं और यहां पर सरस्वती साधना मंत्र भी दीवार पर अंकित किया है। यहां के वातावरण में साधना की ऊर्जा फैली हुई है वे साधक आत्मा उसका अनुभव कर सकते हैं। सरस्वती माता के सामने की और अकबर प्रतिबोधक हरिसुरीश्वर महाराज सा. की प्रतिमा विराजित हैं। दूसरी मंजिल पर पार्श्वनाथ भगवान की चतुर्मुखी प्रतिमा विराजित है।¹⁹

तीसरी मंजिल पर श्री सुमतिनाथ भगवान की चतुर्मुखी प्रतिमा विराजित है। चौथी मंजिल पर श्री महावीर भगवान की चतुर्मुखी प्रतिमा विराजित हैं। चौदहवां मंदिर इन मंदिरों का समूह है, जो आदिनाथ भगवान का है। इसकी ऊंचाई लगभग 100 फिट है तथा इसमें 4 मंजिला बना हुआ है। इस मंदिर का निर्माण राव सुरताण के समय में हुआ था तथा इसकी प्रतिष्ठा 1566 ई. में आचार्य हरिविजय सूरेश्वर द्वारा की गई थी। इसके गर्भगृह से 963 प्रतिमाएं प्राप्त हुई थी जिन्हें बाद में परिक्रमा में स्थापित किया गया था। इस मंदिर में 116 पाषाण तथा 8 धातु की प्रतिमाएं स्थित हैं। इस मंदिर का विशाल रंगमंडप, नवचौकी सुंदर, आकर्षक व कलात्मक तोरण द्वार, स्तंभ और नौबत खाना बना हुआ है। इस मंदिर का निर्माण महाराव सुरतान व कुंवर राजसिंह के समय में श्री संघवी सीमाजी पोरवाल ने वि. सं. 1634 मार्गशीर्ष कृष्ण पंचमी को विजयहीरसूरीजी तत्पट्टे श्री विजयसेनसूरीजी की निश्रा में प्रतिष्ठा संपन्न करवाई गई।²⁰

मूल गंभारे के बाहरी दीवार पर निर्माण का लेख उत्कीर्ण मिलता है। खनन कार्य के समय भूमि में से वि. सं. 1021 की प्रतिमा प्राप्त हुई तथा अंबिका देवी की आकर्षक प्रतिमा आसीन है। विशेषरूप से वि. सं. 1985 फाल्गुन शुक्ल पंचमी को जिनालय का ध्वजादंड प्रतिष्ठा समारोह श्री शांतिविजयजी महाराज सा. की निश्रा में संपन्न हुआ था। मंदिर की बनावट ऐसी है कि मंदिर में कहीं भी खड़े होने पर भी भगवान के दर्शन किए जा सकते हैं। मंदिर के पीछे की ओर विशाल दीवार परकोटा बनी हुई है। इसके बीच फुलवाड़ी बनी हुई है। यहां पर कल्पवृक्ष स्थापित है। कल्पवृक्ष ऐसा वृक्ष है जिसकी जैन धर्म के अनुसार इस वृक्ष द्वारा मनवांछित फल देने वाला है।²¹

पहले के जमाने में इस गली के आस-पास अपने जैन श्रावकों के घर, यहां के मंदिर के पुजारियों के घर, मंदिर बनाने वाले सोमपुरा के परिवार यही रहते थे। इस गली

में शांतिनाथ भगवान मंदिर के नीचे और चौमुख मंदिर के पास महावीर भगवान के अधिष्ठायक देवजी का मंदिर है जिसे बाबाजी का मंदिर भी कहते हैं। इस सम्पूर्ण मंदिर संरक्षण का कार्य कल्याणजी परमानन्दजी जैन पेढी के द्वारा किया जाता है। इसके अलावा मंदिर की इस गली में भोजनशाला और रहने की उत्तम व्यवस्था के लिए जैन धर्मशाला आयी हुई है।

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मेवाड़ राजवंश सदैव धर्म परापूर्णा अपनी स्वाधीनता एवं संघर्ष के लिए विश्व विख्यात है। मेवाड़ राज्य ने धर्म की रक्षा हेतु अपने प्राणों का परित्याग करने में कोई भी कसर नहीं छोड़ी है। मेवाड़ क्षेत्र प्राचीन काल से ही सनातन धर्म का प्रवर्तक तथा यही के शासक सदैव इस धर्म के रक्षक रहे हैं। मेवाड़ में सनातन धर्म के सभी सम्प्रदायों चाहे वह वैष्णव हो, शैव हो, शाक्त हो, ब्रह्म हो, जैन हो, बौद्ध हो या अन्य लोक देवता, सभी सम्प्रदायों को प्रश्रय तथा उत्थान प्रदान किया है। मेवाड़ में पग-पग पर देव स्थान और कण-कण में देवता निवास करते हैं। यहाँ प्राचीन काल से ही मानव निवास के प्रमाण प्राप्त होते हैं जो पाषण युग से ही बनास, बेड़च व अन्य नदियों के किनारों पर निवास करके सनातनी परम्परा को उस समय से ही आस्था-विश्वास के रूप में पूजते आये हैं।

मेवाड़ में प्रमुख रूप से देखा जाए तो वैष्णव, शैव, शाक्त और लोक देवी-देवताओं की पूजा व प्राचीन काल से ही चला आ रही है। मेवाड़ में वैष्णव धर्म भागवत का प्राचीन साक्ष्य नगरी (माध्यमिका) से प्राप्त नारायण वाटिका, घोसुण्डी अभिलेख, भंवर माता मंदिर ढ़छोटी सादड़ीऋ में मिलते हैं जबकि मेवाड़ के आराध्य देव भगवान शिव को तो साक्षात् राजा मानकर उनकी पूजा एकलिंग जी सहित सम्पूर्ण मेवाड़ में होती है तथा यहाँ के शासक भी शैव मत के अधिक अनुयायी मानते जाते हैं।¹ मेवाड़ में मंदिर निर्माण की परम्परा गुप्त काल से मानी जाती है और गुप्त साम्राज्य के पतन के बाद केन्द्रिय शक्ति का ह्रास होने के कारण कई स्थानीय शक्तियों व राजवंश का निर्माण हुआ जिसमें मेवाड़ भी माना जाता है। जहाँ के शासकों ने गुप्त शैली के कई कलाकरों, विद्वानों आदि को प्रश्रय देकर उस कला को जीवित रखा तथा मेवाड़ में चित्रकला एवं मंदिर निर्माण को नागर शैली का बहुधा विकास किया।²

मेवाड़ में गुहिलोत/सिसोदिया राजवंश द्वारा ज्ञात सबसे पुराना मंदिर रावल

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अपराजिक के शासन का मैं निर्मित कैटपरिभु मंदिर, कसनियावाड़ तथा कुण्डेश्वर महादेव मंदिर, कुण्डा माना जाता है।

कैटभरिपु मंदिर

यह मंदिर प्राचीन नागदा के समीप वर्तमान में ईसवाल पंचायत समिति के सेलू गांव के पास आता है। यह मंदिर उदयपुर से गोगुंदा मार्ग पर घसियार से उत्तर पूर्व दिशा में कुंडा एवं सेलू गांव की तरफ जाने पर घसियार से 10 किमी की दूरी पर पहाड़ी की तलहटी में अवस्थित है। यह मंदिर 24° 44' 31.71'' उत्तरी अक्षांश एवं 73° 38' 56.72'' पूर्वी देशांतर पर स्थित है। मंदिर खुले मैदान में स्थित है जो की सुरक्षात्मक रूप से एक पहाड़ी से गिरा हुआ है। यह मंदिर मुख्य मार्ग से बिल्कुल दिखाई नहीं देता है जिसकी प्रमुख वजह इस क्षेत्र में रिसोर्ट एवं होटलों का निर्माण होना तथा मुख्य मार्ग एवं मंदिर के रास्ते पर स्थानीय लोगों का कब्जा होना है।

मुख्य मार्ग से 20-25 कदम की दूरी पर खेतों के बीच में पहाड़ी की तलहटी में यह मंदिर विशालकाय बना हुआ है। यह मंदिर दूर से ही दिखाई दे जाता है। मंदिर की जगती 13 फीट की है जो कि एक नाव के समान दिखाई देती है। 18 सीढ़ियां चढ़ने के बाद मंदिर प्रांगण में पहुंचा जाता है जिस पर जाने पर यह एक पंचायतन मंदिर स्पष्ट होता है। मंदिर प्रांगण 111 फीट लंबा एवं 68.6 फीट चौड़ा है इस संपूर्ण प्रांगण पर पांच मंदिर बनाए गए हैं जिसमें वर्तमान में 3 मंदिरों का जीर्णोद्धार हुआ है बाकी के 2 मंदिर अभी भी क्षतिग्रस्त अवस्था में हैं।

मुख्य मंदिर भगवान श्री कृष्ण-चारभुजा को समर्पित है। उसके आगे बाईं तरफ गणेश मंदिर, बाईं तरफ देवी मंदिर तथा पीछे की तरफ वाले दो मंदिर अज्ञात हैं लेकिन पंचायतन मंदिर के बारे में जब अगर पढ़े तो पता चलता है कि उसमें से एक मंदिर सूर्य मंदिर होना चाहिए जो कि अभी स्पष्ट दिखाई नहीं देता है। दूसरा मंदिर जो की खंडित अवस्था में है वह शिव मंदिर माना जाता है। उक्त पांचों मंदिर बहुत ही सुंदर एवं कलाकृति युक्त हैं मुख्य मंदिर का गुंबद एवं आंतरिक वास्तुकला अभी भी अपनी प्राचीनता को स्पष्ट बताती है।

कलात्मक स्तम्भों से युक्त सभा मंडल में गर्भ ग्रह के ऊपर एवं समस्त दीवारों पर कला.ति यां बनी हुई है इनमें सबसे आकर्षक प्रतिमाएं सभा मंडल में 12 नर्तकियों की प्रतिमा है जो विभिन्न तरह के वाद्य यंत्रों को बजाती हुई है। उक्त मंदिर के गर्भगृह में वर्तमान में काले ग्रेनाइट की चारभुजा जी की परिग्रह युक्त प्रतिमा है जो 2 फीट लंबी एवं डेढ़ फीट चौड़ी है। प्रतिमा पर वागा पोशाक धराई हुई है तथा वाद्य यंत्रों एवं साफ सफाई से सुबह-शाम सेवा पूजा होना प्रतीत होता है बाहर उपस्थित चारों मंदिरों में कोई भी

प्रतिमा नहीं है केवल आगे वाले मंदिरों में मंदिर के बाह्य भागों पर स्थित गणेश एवं दुर्गा प्रतिमाओं से उक्त दोनों मंदिरों का गणेश एवं दुर्गा मंदिर होना देवी मंदिर होना इससे पता लगता है। उक्त मंदिर की व्यवस्था एवं बनावट को देखकर यह मंदिर सातवीं आठवीं शताब्दी का प्रतीत होता है।

मंदिर के आसपास देखने पर पहाड़ी की तलहटी में कुछ भग्नावशेष एवं दीवारों के अवशेष स्पष्ट दिखाई देते हैं। यह भावना अवशेष एवं दीवारें लगभग 2 फीट की चौड़ाई युक्त है जो कि किसी प्रसाद या महल के अवशेषों को दर्शाती है। सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र में लगभग 7 बावड़ियां होना पाया जाता है जिसमें से वर्तमान में सभी बावड़ियां उजाली खुली हुई सही अवस्था में हैं। उसमें से एक बावड़ी को गंगा जी की बावड़ी भी कहा जाता है। स्थानीय निवासी मांगीलाल ब्राह्मण ने बताया कि यह स्थान पहले बहुत बड़ा नगर था तथा यह सभी बावड़ियाँ एवं गंगा जी की बावड़ी भी इसी मंदिर के साथ बनवाई गई थी। मांगीलाल जी बताते हैं कि इस मंदिर से जुड़ी एक किवंदती भी है कहते हैं कि आज से हजार वर्ष पूर्व यह धारा नगरी जो कि वर्तमान में मध्यप्रदेश में है उसी के समान धारानगर था इसमें एक धनिक सेठ धनराज जिसे स्थानीय लोग धीराम, धेनु राम या धन राम आदि नाम से बुलाते थे। यह समृद्ध नगर नागदा राजधानी के साथ ही विकसित हुआ था। उस धनराज की दो बहने थी।

एक बार दोनों बहनों से भाई ने कहा कि मैं एक अच्छा मंदिर बनाऊंगा जिससे मेरी कीर्ति ओर बढ़ेगी, इस पर बहनों ने भी कहा कि हम भी एक ऐसा तालाब बनाएंगे और उसके पाल इतनी ऊंची बांधेंगे कि उस तालाब का पानी तुम्हारे मंदिर की सीढ़ियों तक आएगा और उन सीढ़ियों पर बैठकर हम मंजन (टूथपेस्ट) किया करेंगे। उक्त तालाब का निर्माण दोनों बहनों के आदेश अनुसार पहाड़ की तलहटी में छपरा नामक जगह पर शुरू हुआ। जैसे-जैसे मंदिर की जगती ऊंची होती गई वैसे वैसे तालाब की पाल भी ऊंची होती गई। लेकिन निर्माण के समय ही उन दोनों बहनों की मृत्यु हो गई थी जिस पर भाई ने उसी अवस्था में ही मंदिर का निर्माण करवाया तथा पंचायतन मंदिर बना कर उस बहनों को श्रद्धांजलि दी। ग्रामीण बताते हैं कि उस तालाब की पाल पर धनराज ने बहनों की स्मृति में छतरी भी बनवाई थी जो वर्तमान में खंडित हो चुकी है।³ इस किवंदती को इतिहास के पन्नों पर ढूंढने पर पता चला कि यह मंदिर अपराजित के समय उसके सेनापति वाराह सिंह पत्नी यशोमती ने बनवाया था जिससे कैटभरिपु मंदिर कहा जाता है। मेवाड़ में मूर्तिकला पर कार्य कर चुके डश्व विष्णु प्रकाश माली ने सर्वप्रथम इसे कैटभरिपु मंदिर बताया था।⁴

यह मंदिर शिलादित्य के पुत्र अपराजित के सेनापति वराह सिंह एवं उसकी पत्नी यशोमती ने लक्ष्मी, यौवन और वित्त को क्षणिक मानकर संसार रूपी विषम समुद्र को

तैरने के लिए नाव रूपी यह मंदिर बनवाया था। दामोदर के पौत्र और ब्रह्मचारी के पुत्र दामोदर ने उक्त प्रशस्ति की रचना की और अजीत के पौत्र तथा वत्स के पुत्र यशोभट्ट ने उसे उत्कीर्ण किया था। इस लेख (प्रशस्ति) की कविता बड़ी ही मनोहर है तथा इसकी कुटिल लिपि को भी लेकर ऐसा सुंदर लिखा है कि यह एक छापे के समान दिखाई देता है। इस प्रशस्ति को कविराजा श्यामलदास ने अपनी पुस्तक वीर विनोद एवं इस प्रशस्ति का हिंदी अनुवाद डॉ. श्रीकृष्ण जुगनू ने अपनी पुस्तक में किया है। इस प्रशस्ति में गोहिल वंश के तेजस्वी राजा अपराजित द्वारा सभी दुष्टों का विनाश किया तथा उसके सम्मुख सभी राजा नतमस्तक में थे। इस प्रशस्ति का समय विक्रमी संवत् 718 मार्गशीर्ष 5 (2 नवंबर 661 ई.) मिलता है।⁵ इस प्रकार यह मंदिर वासुदेव को अर्पित था तथा इस मंदिर के आसपास उस समय नगर का होना स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है क्योंकि यह मंदिर उस प्राचीन मार्ग पर स्थित था जो गोगुंदा, आहड़, नागदा, कुंडा, सेलू, एकलिंग तक जाने का मार्ग था।

उक्त मंदिर के आस-पास सूर्य व अन्य शिव मंदिर भी थे, जो जमीन में धंस गये हैं। मंदिर प्रांगण में 5 नन्दी की प्रतिमा मिली है, जिससे 5 शिव मंदिरों का होना प्रतीत होता है। मंदिर के सामने ही एक देवी का चबूतरा है, जिस पर हरे पत्थरों (पलेवा घाटी) के तोरण द्वार खण्डित अवस्था में पड़े हुए हैं।

उक्त पत्थर काफी पुराने प्रतीत होते हैं। पाँचों मंदिर स्थानीय बलुआ व चिकने पत्थरों से बने हुए हैं, जो ईसवाल के आस-पास आसानी से मिल जाते हैं। लेकिन देवी मंदिर के यहाँ पड़े पत्थरों का पैटर्न तथा रंग अलग है। उक्त स्थान पर देवी की दो छोटी प्रतिमाएँ हैं, जिसमें एक छोटी प्रतिमा पूर्ण रूप से खण्डित हो चुकी है व इस पर सीमेन्ट का घोल चढ़ा दिया है। दूसरी प्रतिमा थोड़ी बड़ी तकनीबन 1 फिट की होगी, जो अपने आप में विशेष है। उक्त प्रतिमा मां काली के पूर्ण रूप में है। मेवाड़ व अन्य स्थानों में दुर्गा-महिषासुरमर्दिनी आदि की प्रतिमाएँ मिलती हैं लेकिन यह प्रतिमा काली मां की है, जो पुरानी है। इस प्रतिमा के आठ हाथ हैं, जिनमें तलवार, खड़ग, नरमुण्ड (खोपड़ी) स्पष्ट दिखाई दे रहे हैं। उक्त प्रतिमा में काली के रूप का सबसे स्पष्ट उदाहरण भगवान शिव का होना है।

आसुर संहार के समय काली मां को शांत करने हेतु शिव उनके चरणों में लेट गये थे तथा पति के ऊपर चरण रखने पर काली का क्रोध शांत हुआ तथा अपराध का बोध हुआ। उक्त प्रतिमा में भी माँ के चरणों में लेटे हुए शिव की प्रतिमा बनी हुई है। शिव की प्रतिमा से यह काली की प्रतिमा होना स्पष्ट हो जाता है। उक्त सम्पूर्ण मंदिर बहुत ही आकर्षक है। यहाँ कोई शिलालेख नहीं मिला है लेकिन मंदिर निर्माण के कारीगरों ने अपने नाम जैसे खेता, पल्लव, केशव, खेता ४, ५, पल्लव ६ आदि जरूर लिखे हैं।

उक्त मंदिर के पीछे पश्चिम दिशा में स्थानीय लोक देवता 'मामादेव' का स्थान

है। यह एक विशाल चट्टान का अंश है जो पहाड़ी से टूटकर आ गया होगा। यह चट्टान मंदिर से कुछ कदम की दूरी पर थी, अचानक रूक गयी। ग्रामीण इसे दैवीय चमत्कार मानते हैं तथा इसे मामादेव भगवान मानकर पूजा करते हैं। मामादेव देव भगवान कृष्ण के मामा कंस के अवतार के रूप में है। वैसे तो कंस अधर्मी तथा असुर था लेकिन स्थानीय लोग उसे गायों के रक्षक के रूप में मानते हैं। हर रोज यहाँ पूजा अर्चना होती है तथा ठण्डी राखी के दिन विशेष पूजा व भोग लगता है। सम्पूर्ण भोग मीठा जिसमें खीर, नारियल व मिठाई मामादेव को चढ़ाते हैं। लगभग हर बड़े गांव में मामादेव का देवरा अवश्य होता है। उक्त मंदिर को पिछले वर्ष ही पुरातत्व विभाग द्वारा संरक्षित किया गया है। उक्त मंदिर में कहीं भी कोई लेख नहीं मिला, केवल गर्भगृह में प्रतिमा के नीचे लेख मिला। उक्त लेख 'सं. १७१४ वर्षे सवराम' लिखा है जो सं. 1714 (ई. 1657) का है तथा सवराम नाम है। इससे यह ज्ञात होता है कि मंदिर गर्भगृह में स्थित प्रतिमा की स्थापना सं. 1714 में सवराम द्वारा की गई होगी। यहाँ स्थित पुरानी प्रतिमा खण्डित हो गई होगी, जिसके स्थान पर वर्तमान प्रतिमा की स्थापना इस वर्ष की गई होगी। क्योंकि मंदिर की बनावट, पत्थरों व ईंटों के आकार से इस मंदिर का निर्माण प्राचीन प्रतीत होता है।

उक्त मंदिर बहुत ही रमणीय तथा स्थान भी प्राकृतिक है। बड़े बड़े वृक्ष तथा चारों तरफ हरियाली में पर्यटकों हेतु स्थान सुन्दर है। यहाँ से कुण्डेश्वर महादेव अन्य प्राचीन तथा रमणीय पर्यटक स्थान है, जिससे पर्यटक घसियार, धनराज मंदिर व कुण्डेश्वर महादेव तीनों के दर्शन एक साथ कर सकते हैं। यह मंदिर कसनियावाड़ गांव के बाद हनुमान मंदिर के पश्चिम दिशा में कुछ दूरी पर है। यह गांव व छपरा राजराणा किशनसिंह तथा खुमाणपुरा गांव राजराणा खुमाणसिंह के कारण किशनगढ़ या किशनयावाड़ व खुमाणपुरा पड़ा है। यह गांव किशनसिंह तथा छपरा गांव जो खुमान सिंह द्वारा पुनः निर्मित किया गया था। अतः उनके नाम पर कसनियावाड़ व खुमाणपुरा नाम पड़ गया है उक्त दोनों गांव देलवाड़ा ठिकाने में आते थे। इस प्रकार यह स्थान जो पहले कैटभरिपु के नाम से जाना जाता था वो अब कृष्ण के कारण तथा स्थान की रमणीय के कारण कृष्णा वन या किशनियावाड़ हो गया है।

यह मंदिर वर्तमान में अतीत के पन्नों एवं अतिक्रमण के आगोश में छुपा हुआ है। यहां चारों तरफ बहुत ही सुंदर दृश्य के साथ प्राकृतिक सौंदर्य देखने मिलता है लेकिन आम जन के लिए यह मंदिर खुला नहीं है। इस मंदिर तक जाने हेतु मार्ग भी प्रमुख मार्ग से बंद कर रखा है, फाटक खुली होने पर ही इस मंदिर के मार्ग पर जाया जा सकता है। वर्तमान में भी पुरातत्व विभाग द्वारा का इसका संरक्षण किया गया है लेकिन मंदिर एवं बावड़ियों का संपूर्ण जीर्णोद्धार अभी होना शेष है क्योंकि मेवाड़ सहित संपूर्ण राजस्थान में यह बहुत दुखद बात है कि इतने पुराने मंदिरों की वर्तमान स्थिति बहुत दयनीय है। अतः

इतिहास के शोधार्थी एवं ऐतिहासिक रूप से सभी जनमानस को यह इन मंदिरों को फिर से चालू करना एवं इसमें वैभवशाली इतिहास को किताबों में लाना बहुत जरूरी है।

कुण्डेश्वर महोदव, कुण्डा

उक्त मंदिर कसनियावाड़ से 6 कि.मी. की दूरी पर पहाड़ों में अवस्थित है। कुण्डेश्वर महादेव (कुण्ड के कारण) आसपास के क्षेत्र में प्रसिद्ध व प्राचीन स्थान है। इस स्थान पर मुख्य मार्ग से पूर्व दिशा में एक सिंगल मार्ग से जाया जा सकता है। बहुत ही विहंगम तथा नैसर्गिक दृश्यों से युक्त मार्ग पर ढलान पर कुण्डेश्वर महादेव का मंदिर स्थित है। यह बहुत प्राचीन मंदिर है। उक्त स्थान पर मेवाड़ के प्रारम्भिक शासक अपराजित का सं. 718 (ई. 661) मार्गशीर्ष सुदी 5 का शिलालेख मिलने से यह स्थान मेवाड़ राज्य के प्रारम्भिक स्थानों में से है।⁶

उक्त स्थान पर दो शिलालेख हैं। प्रथम बड़माल की पट्टिका पर 2 फीट लम्बा है। यह लेख मुख्य मंदिर के बाहर पूर्व दिशा में स्थित है। उक्त लेख सती लेख है, जिसमें स्त्री की जगह आदमी बना हुआ है। उक्त स्तम्भ पर चन्द्रमा व सूरज दोनों बने हुए हैं। व्यक्ति के सिर पर पगड़ी है तथा दोनों हाथ जोड़े हुए हैं। साथ ही व्यक्ति ने जूते भी पहने हुए हैं। उक्त पर लेख भी हैं लेकिन रंगारोहन से लेख पढ़ने में नही आ रहा है। उक्त लेख 5 पंक्तियों का है, जो निम्न है-

“संवत् १८२ (सं. 182) रा वर्षे जेठ वदी (वद) ७ (7) परमार जो (नाम अंकित नहीं है) कमल पूजा की संवत् १८४३ (सं. 1843) जेठवदी ३ (3) या ७ (7) फाल्गुनी” लिखा हुआ है। उक्त लेख के अनुसार सं. 182 (125 ई.) में परमार जाति के किसी व्यक्ति ने कमल पूजा कर अपना शीश भगवान के अर्पित किया था। सं. 1843 (ई. 1786) में उसके वंश में किसी ने अपने पूर्वजों की स्मृति में इस सती लेख का निर्माण करवाया था।

दूसरा लेख मुख्य गर्भगृह के बाहर विशालतम वटवृक्ष के नीचे स्थित नंदी व गणेश प्रतिमा पर लिखा हुआ है। उक्त प्रतिमा स्थानीय पत्थरों से बनी हुई है तथा नंदी व गणेश की प्रतिमा एक साथ बनी होना प्रतीत होता है। बाहर खुले में रहने के कारण पत्थर काफी घिस गया है। नंदी प्रतिमा के पीछे गणेश की चार भुजा वाली खड़ी मुद्रा प्रतिमा है। उक्त प्रतिमा में गणेश जनेऊ धारण किये हुये है। गणेश प्रतिमा के हाथ में कमंडल भी हैं, उक्त गणेश प्रतिमा के नीचे तीन पंक्तियों में लेख लिखा हुआ है। यह लेख भी काफी घिसा हुआ है। उक्त लेख में तीन पंक्तियां हैं तथा तीनों में संवत् लिखा हुआ है। उक्त संवत् १७४६ (सं. 1746-1689 ई.) तथा ४८ (48) लिखा हुआ है।

इन दो लेखों के अलावा यहाँ तीन-चार मंदिर छोटे-बड़े अवस्थित हैं, जो भूमि

में धंसे हुए हैं। कुण्डेश्वर महादेव का मंदिर शिखरबद्ध तथा नवीन बनाया गया है। उक्त मंदिर पहले भी इतना विशाल व ऊंचा था। शिवलिंग तो वर्तमान में नवीन लगता है। शिवलिंग बड़ा तथा जमीन से ऊपर उठा हुआ है। भूमि से लगभग 2-3 फीट ऊंचा यह शिवलिंग सफेद पत्थर से बना हुआ है, उक्त लिंग की परिधि की बड़ी है तथा शिवलिंग के सामने नवीन नंदी व कच्छुआ विराजित है। उक्त मंदिर के तीनों तरफ द्वार हैं। सम्पूर्ण मंदिर नवीन प्रतित होता है लेकिन प्लास्टर उखडने पर पुराने मंदिर के अवशेष, स्तम्भ, कीचक दिखाई देते हैं।

मंदिर का चबूतरा काफी बड़ा है तथा चबूतरे के उत्तर दिशा में प्राचीन जल कुण्ड बना हुआ है। उक्त कुण्ड तथा आसपास का क्षेत्र विशेषकर वट-वृक्षों को देखने पर स्थान बहुत प्राचीन लगता है। कुण्ड काफी प्राचीन है तथा उक्त जगह भी बारह महीनों जल भरा रहता है, यहाँ भी अस्थि विसर्जन संबंधी कार्य होते हैं। कुण्ड के घाट पर कई शिवलिंग व नंदी प्रतिमाएँ हैं। समस्त क्षेत्र वनों से ढका हुआ है तथा स्थानीय लोग ही यहाँ ज्यादा आते हैं। मंदिर चबूतरे के पास स्तम्भ बना हुआ है, जिस पर चारों तरफ सामाजिक स्थिति को बताने वाले चित्र बने हैं।

उक्त स्तम्भ में एक तरफ स्त्री व पुरुष हाथ जोड़े हुए, दूसरी तरफ पुरुष शयन मुद्रा में दाड़ी युक्त धोती व पावों में कड़े पहने व स्त्री उसके पास में बैठी हुई है। गले में हार व कानों में कुण्ड पहने किसी घर के हिस्से को पकड़े हुए हैं। उक्त पुरुष के खाट के नीचे तीन मटके भी बने हुए हैं। एक व्यक्ति घोड़ों पर हाथों में तलवार लिये हुए। अंतिम में पूजारी (जटायुक्त) शिवलिंग की पूजा करते हुए। इसके अतिरिक्त अन्य एक तरफ वाला स्तम्भ, जिसमें हाथ जोड़े पुरुष, घोड़े पर तलवार लिये पुरुष, नीचे झुका हुआ गुम्बद अर्थात् गुफा में लेटा पुरुष व गुफा में शिवलिंग पूजा करती स्त्री बनी है।

यह स्थान अध्यात्म, धार्मिक तथा पर्यटन की दृष्टि से समृद्ध हैं। प्राकृतिक वातावरण के साथ यहाँ वर्षा तु में झरना भी गिरता है। मंदिर से उत्तर-पूर्व दिशा में कुण्ड का पानी वेग से बहता हुआ कुछ दूरी पर एक पहाड़ी से मध्यम चौड़ाई में झरने के रूप में गिरता है। उक्त स्थान पर लोकदेवता की स्थापना है। मंदिर व आसपास से प्राप्त अन्य प्रतिमाओं को पूजनीय मानकर लोगों ने इन्हें एकत्रित करके छोटे-खुले देवरे के रूप में स्थापित कर दिया है। मंदिरों के यह भाग काफी पुराने हैं तथा नीम के वृक्ष के नीचे स्थापित है।

उक्त झरना काफी मनमोहक है तथा पर्यटन के हिसाब से भी यह स्थान उपर्युक्त हैं। भोजन व फल की व्यवस्था के साथ यहाँ खुला मैदान है, जो एक ही वटवृक्ष के द्वारा निर्मित अनेक वटवृक्षों की छाया से ढका हुआ है। नैसर्गिक सौन्दर्य, शांति तथा पुरातत्व के संयोग से यह स्थान पर्यटनों, शोधार्थी हेतु दर्शनीय है।

झरने के पास कई प्रतिमाएं अवस्थित हैं। जो कलात्मक रूप में मेवाड़ी मूर्तिकला का खूबसूरत उदाहरण हैं। उक्त स्थान पर 20 के लगभग खण्डित व पाषाण प्रतिमाएं हैं। उक्त प्रतिमाओं में देवी की प्रतिमा है, जो महिषासुर मर्दिनी के रूप में है। लेकिन इसमें काली अवतार के समान नरमुण्डों की माला पहनी हुई है। एक हाथ में पात्रा भी हैं तथा खण्डित अवस्था में है। दूसरी प्रतिमा खड़ी मुद्रा में हाथ में खड़ग लिए हुए है तथा पावों के समीप लपटी हुई, कुछ वस्तु है। शायद फूलहार या नागहार हो।

योगी शिव की खण्डित प्रतिमा, युगल प्रतिमा (स्तम्भ लेख) समान, गणेशी, गणेश के समान मुख व नाक वाली स्त्री की प्रतिमा, जिसके चार हाथ हैं पुष्प, दण्ड युक्त (खण्डित), स्त्री प्रतिमा जिसके हाथों में छोटी मूर्ति भी है। देवी महिषासुरमर्दिनी की चारभुजा वाली खड़ग, त्रिशूल, चक्र, महिष (भैंस), राक्षस युक्त प्रतिमा, एकदंत गणेश की प्रतिमा, सफेद प्रतिमा, 2 फीट की महिषासुरमर्दिनी की खड़ग, त्रिशूल हाथों में चुड़ियां, शेर, भैंस असुर युक्त प्रतिमा, घुंघराले बालों युक्त बड़े बाजुबंद, हार, कुण्डल, मत्स्य या जलीय अवतार की प्रतिमा प्रमुख हैं।

चर्तुमुख दो हाथ युक्त ब्रह्मणी की क्रमशः 4 हाथ व 2 हाथ वाली स्थानक प्रतिमा व अन्य खण्डित प्रतिमाएं उक्त देवरे में लगी हुई हैं। उक्त प्रतिमा बहुत ही सुन्दर तथा मेवाड़ के प्राचीन व मध्यकालीन शिल्प को समझने हेतु विशेष है। अन्य प्रतिमाओं में माहेश्वरी, वाराही, वैष्णवी, ऐन्द्रिय, कोमारी, गणपति, चामुण्डा व अन्य प्रतिमाएं मंदिर के टूटने के बाद यहाँ लगा दी गई हैं।

इस प्रकार ये दोनों मंदिर मेवाड़ में नागर शैली के साथ धार्मिक प्रचलन के प्रमुख व प्राचीन मंदिरों में से एक है। ये मंदिर वर्तमान में अपना स्थान खोते जा रहे हैं लेकिन इतिहास के विद्यार्थी शोधार्थी होने नाते इस क्षेत्र को प्रकाश में लाना आवश्यक है तथा इन मंदिरों को एकलिंग जी, नागदा, घसियार श्रीनाथ मंदिर, चारभुजा पंचायतन मंदिर, गोतमेश्वर महादेव मंदिर, ईसवाल आदि के साथ जोड़कर मेवाड़ धार्मिक पर्यटन के रूप में विकसित कर सकते हैं।

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ठिकाना श्री गोविन्द देव जी मन्दिर : एक ऐतिहासिक एवं धार्मिक विवेचन

डॉ. राकेश कुमार धाबाई*

जयपुर के सैकड़ों मंदिरों में एक प्रसिद्ध मंदिर श्री गोविन्द देव जी का है जो जयपुर के मध्य में जलेबी चौक में बना हुआ है जिसे जयपुर के शासको ने ठिकाने का दर्जा ही प्रदान नहीं किया अपितु स्वयं को गोविन्द देव जी का दीवान कहा तथा उन्हें जयपुर का राजा माना। उनके दरबार में हजारों भक्त हाजिर होते हैं और राधा-कृष्ण की लीलाओं के भजन कीर्तन से सारे जयनिवास उद्यान को मनोहरी करते रहते हैं। वृन्दावन की सी-धूम अनेक अवसरों पर तो उससे भी अधिक, गोविन्द देव जी के मंदिर में रहती है। इत्र और फूलों की महक यहाँ की हवा में तैरती है। यह गौड़िय सम्प्रदाय का प्रसिद्ध मन्दिर है। गौड़िय सम्प्रदाय की स्थापना चैतन्य महाप्रभु के द्वारा की गई थी। जयपुर का प्रत्येक नागरिक अपने दिन की शुरूआत अर्थात् व्यवसाय की शुरूआत श्री गोविन्द देव जी के दर्शन के बाद प्रारम्भ करता है अतः ये न केवल जयपुर राजघराने के अपितु जयपुर के जनसामान्य के आराध्य देव है।



यह विख्यात मंदिर उस बारहदरी में स्थित है जो 'सूरज महल' के नाम से जयनिवास बाग में चन्द्रमहल और बादल महल के मध्य में बनी है। बताया जाता है कि सवाई जयसिंह जी ने जब जयपुर शहर बसा रहे थे तो सबसे पहले इसी बारहदरी में रहने लगे थे। उन्हें रात में स्वप्न में गोविन्द देव जी आये तथा अनुभव हुआ कि यह स्थल भगवान का है अतः उन्होंने इसे छोड़ दिया तथा अगले दिन वे चन्द्रमहल में रहने लगे जहाँ आज भी राजपरिवार निवास करता है तथा सूरज महल में गोविन्द देव जी की प्राण प्रतिष्ठा की गई जो आज श्री गोविन्द देव जी मन्दिर के नाम से जाना जाता है। इस मन्दिर में विराजमान गोविन्द देव जी की प्रतिमा के दर्शन चन्द्रमहल से सीधे होते हैं।¹ जयपुर में इसके बाद वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय का प्रचार-प्रसार काफी बढ़ा। जयपुर में कापी संख्या में मंदिर स्थित होने के कारण इसे छोटी-काशी कहा जाता है।²

गोविन्द देव जी की प्रतिमा सचमुच मनोहारी जिसके दर्शन मात्र से ही आप प्रत्यक्ष भगवान के दर्शन होने जैसा अनुभव करते हैं यह प्रत्यक्ष मेरा स्वयं का अनुभव है। इस मन्दिर का मैंने छः महीने तक लगातार भ्रमण कर यह शोध पत्र लिखने का प्रयास किया है अर्थात् प्रत्यक्ष यात्रा तथा प्रत्यक्ष साक्षात्कार पर आधारित है।³

श्री गोविन्द देव जी का मन्दिर राजस्थान के उन मन्दिरों में आता है शिखर विहीन मन्दिर है। यह बनावट में हवेली जैसी संरचना में बना है अतः इसे हवेली शैली का मन्दिर कहा जाता है।⁴ जिसका निर्माण सवाई जयसिंह ने 1735 में जयनिवास उद्यान में जयपुर की स्थापना के समय करवाया था। इस मन्दिर के बारे में बताया जाता है कि इसके गर्भगृह में वह विग्रह/मूर्ति विराजमान है जिसका निर्माण श्री कृष्ण के प्रपौत्र वज्रनाम ने करवाया था। अतः इसे कृष्ण का प्रत्यक्ष स्वरूप माना जाता है। वज्रनाम जी ने अपनी दादी से श्रीकृष्ण के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त कर तीन विग्रह बनाये जिसमें प्रथम विग्रह श्री मदनमोहन जी मन्दिर करौली में स्थित है, द्वितीय विग्रह श्री गोपीनाथ जी मन्दिर, पुरानी बस्ती, जयपुर, तृतीय विग्रह - श्री गोविन्द देव जी मंदिर, जयनिवास उद्यान, जयपुर में स्थित है।

इन तीनों विग्रहों में कृष्ण का मुख श्री गोविन्द देव जी विग्रह में, वक्षस्थल श्री गोपीनाथ जी मन्दिर विग्रह तथा चरण श्री मदनमोहन जी मन्दिर करौली में माना जाता है तथा बताया जाता है कि तीनों विग्रहों का एक दिन में दर्शन करने से प्रत्यक्ष श्री ण के दर्शन हो जाते हैं।⁵

* सहायक आचार्य, एस.एस. जैन सुबोध पी.जी. महाविद्यालय, जयपुर



धार्मिक ग्रंथों में प्राप्त जानकारी के आधार पर चैतन्य महाप्रभु ने ब्रज-भूमि के उद्धार और वहां के विलुप्त लीला-स्थलों को खोज निकालने के लिए अपने दो शिष्यों रूप और सनातन गोस्वामी को वृन्दावन भेजा। ये दोनों भाई थे और गौड़ राज्य वे मुसाहिब थे लेकिन चैतन्य महाप्रभु से दीक्षित होकर संसार की मोहमाया का परित्याग कर सन्यासी बन गये।



रूप गोस्वामी जी ने गोविन्द देव जी की प्रतिमा को गोमा टीला नामक स्थान पर वृन्दावन में भूमिगत थी- निकालकर 1525 ईस्वी में प्राण-प्रतिष्ठा करवाई। अकबर के सेनापति और आमेर के प्रतापी राजा मानसिंह प्रथम ने इस पवित्र मूर्ति की आराधना की तथा वृन्दावन में 1590 ईस्वी में एक विशाल चार मंजिला लाल पत्थर (बंशी पत्थर) से भव्य मन्दिर बनवाया। यह उस समय उत्तर भारत का सर्वोत्कृष्ट मन्दिरों में से एक था। यह पूर्व से पश्चिम 117 फुट लम्बा तथा उत्तर से दक्षिण 105 फुट चौड़ा है।⁶ स्वयं मुगल बादशाह अकबर ने इस मंदिर की गायों हेतु 135 बीघा भूमि का पट्टा प्रदान किया था।⁷



वृन्दावन का गोविन्द देव जी मन्दिर

(महाराजा मानसिंह द्वारा निर्मित, 1590 ए.डी.)

वृन्दावन में गोविन्द देव मन्दिर में चार नागरी-लेख सुरक्षित हैं, जिनसे इसके निर्माण काल के साथ इसे बनाने वाले अधिकारियों व कारीगरों का भी पता चलता है। जो अधिकांश में आमेर राज्य के ही थे।⁸ अकबर के 34वें राज्य वर्ष (1590 ए.डी.) का लेख इस प्रकार है- “संवत् 34 श्री शकबन्ध अकबर शाह राज श्री कूर्मकुल श्री पृथ्वीराजाधिराज वंश श्री महाराज श्री भगवंतदास सुत श्री महाराजाधिकराज श्री मानसिंह देव श्री वृन्दावन जोग पीठ स्थान मंदिर कराजो श्री गोविन्द देव को काम उपरि श्री कल्याणदास आज्ञावादि माणिकचन्द चौपाडु शिल्पकारि गोविन्ददास बाल कारिगरूः गोरखदास वीमवल।”⁹

जब इस मन्दिर का निर्माण पूरा हुआ तो चैतन्य महाप्रभु की अपनी निजी सेवा वाली श्री गोविन्द देव जी की लघु प्रतिमा भी किसी काशीश्वर पण्डित के साथ वृन्दावन आ गई तथा इनके साथ स्थापित की गई। गोविन्द देव जी के साथ राधा का विग्रह तो बाद में प्रतिष्ठित हुआ जो उड़ीसा के शासक प्रतापरूड ने बनवाकर भेंट किया था।¹⁰

अप्रैल 1669 ईस्वी में जहां औरगंजेब ने शाही फरमान जारी कर ब्रजभूमि के देव मन्दिरों को गिराने और उनकी मूर्तियों को तोड़ने का हुक्म दिया तो इसके कुछ आगे-पीछे की सभी प्रधान मूर्तियों को सुरक्षा के लिए अन्यत्र भेजी गई। माधव गौड़ या गौड़िया सम्प्रदाय ने श्री गोविन्द देव जी, गोपीनाथ जी तथा मदन मोहन जी, ये तीनों विग्रह/स्वरूप राजस्थान में भेजे गये। इन तीनों विग्रहों में से गोविन्द देव जी तथा गोपीनाथ जी जयपुर में तथा मदन मोहन जी करौली में स्थापित कर वर्तमान मन्दिरों का निर्माण किया गया।

श्री गोविन्द देव जी का विग्रह पहले गोविन्दपुरा तथा बाद में आमेर में स्थापित हुआ तथा जयपुर की स्थापना के पश्चात् जयनिवास उद्यान अर्थात् वर्तमान स्थान पर स्थापित हुआ जिसका न केवल जयपुर अपितु राजस्थान में अपना विशेष धार्मिक महत्व है। जयपुर राजपरिवार अपना प्रत्येक कार्य गोविन्द देव जी की पूजा-अर्चना के पश्चात्

ही प्रारम्भ करता है।¹¹

जयपुर नगर के इतिहास में ए.के. राय ने वृन्दावन से जयपुर तक गोविन्द देव जी की यात्रा का क्रम इस प्रकार निर्धारित किया है-

1590 से 1667 - 1670 ई. के बीच वृन्दावन के गोविन्द देव जी मन्दिर को

1670 ई. से 1714 ई. तक कामां में विग्रह को छिपाया रखा गया।

1714 - 1715 ई. गोविन्दपुरा गाँव

1715 ई. से 1735 ई. - आमेर के निकट कनक वृन्दावन में।

1735 ईस्वी - वर्तमान मंदिर का निर्माण तथा प्राण प्रतिष्ठा एवं वर्तमान समय तक।

गोविन्द देव जी के भोग-राग तथा गोस्वामी के निर्वाह के लिये जयपुर के महाराजा ने जागीर दी और स्वतन्त्रता के बाद जागीर उन्मूलन हो जाने पर 32063.93 रू. का वार्षिक अनुदान जयपुर के इस सर्वप्रमुख मन्दिर को दिया।

श्री गोविन्द देव जी की सेवा-पूजा गौड़िय वैष्णवों की पद्धति से की जाती है। सात झांकियां होती हैं और प्रत्येक झांकी का समय तथा झांकी के समय गाये जाने वाले भजन और कीर्तन निर्धारित है।¹²

श्री गोविन्द देव जी मन्दिर के मूल गर्भगृह में श्री कृष्ण तथा राधा जी की प्रतिमाओं के अलावा दोनों ओर दो सखियां खड़ी हैं। इसमें एक 'राधा ठकुरानी की सेवा के लिए' सवाई जयसिंह ने चढ़ाई थी तथा दूसरी सवाई प्रताप सिंह ने चढ़ाई जो इसकी झांकी सुन्दरता व शोभा बढ़ाती है। इसमें एक ललिता सखी है तथा दूसरी विशाखा सखी है जो इंद्र तथा पुष्प अर्पित करती है।



सवाई प्रतापसिंह के काल में राधा-गोविन्द का भक्ति भाव बहुत बढ़ गया था। गोविन्ददेव को यह राजा अपना इष्टदेव मानता था। अपनी कविताओं में उसने कहा है-

हमारे इष्ट है गोविन्द!

राधिका सुख-साधिका संग-रमत बन स्वच्छन्द।

प्रताप सिंह जी अपने उपनाम 'ब्रजनिधि' को गोविन्द का इनायत किया हुआ कहते हैं। उनका एक दोहा है-

दिल तड़पता है हुस्न तेरे को

कब मिलेगा मुझे सलौना स्याम।

अब तो जल्दी से आ दास दीजै

जो इनायत किया है 'ब्रजनिधि' नाम।।¹³

गोविन्द देव जी के इस विग्रह के सामने राजा मानसिंह जैसे वीर योद्धा का सिर झुका और अकबर जैसे बादशाह ने सम्मान किया। माधव गौड़ वैष्णव सम्प्रदाय की इस सर्वोच्च और शिरोमणि मूर्ति का जयपुर के लोग अपना इष्ट मानते हैं तथा चैतन्य के हजारों अनुयायी बंगाल, बिहार, मणिपुर और आसाम से जयपुर दर्शन हेतु आते हैं। जयपुर इसी के कारण भक्तों के लिए वृन्दावन बना हुआ है।

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राजस्थान की रागमाला चित्रकला का उद्भव एवं विकास : एक ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन

डॉ. सुरेश कुमार*

चित्रकला, कला का वह सूक्ष्मतम प्रकार है, जो रेखाओं एवं रंगों के माध्यम से मानव चिन्तन एवं भावनाओं को अभिव्यक्त करता है। किसी एक तल पर, जो सम हो। यह समता खमदार¹ भी हो सकती है। पानी, तेल या किसी अन्य किसी अन्य माध्यम से घोले हुए अथवा सूखे, एक या अधिक रंग की रेखाएँ तथा रंगमेजी द्वारा किसी रमणीय आकृति के अंकन को दर्शाना चित्रण कहलाता है और ऐसी प्रस्तुत वस्तु को चित्र कहते हैं। इस प्रकार की आधारभूत सतह मुख्यतः भित्ति (दीवार, भीत), पत्थर, काठ, कच्ची या पक्की मिट्टी के पात्र या फलक, हाथी दांत, चमड़ा, कपड़ा, तालपत्र, कागद आदि हैं। प्राचीन भारत में विशेषतः भित्ति पर चित्रण होता था। अतः चित्र के किसी भी आधारभूत सतह को भित्ति कहते थे तथा इस पर अंकित चित्र भित्ति-चित्र कहलाते थे।²

रागमाला चित्रकला मध्यकालीन भारत की चित्रकारी की एक श्रृंखला है। जो भारतीय लघु चित्रकला का एक रूप है। यह कई भारतीय संगीतमय रागों को दर्शाती है। वे मध्ययुगीन भारतीय कला, कविता और शास्त्रीय संगीत के सम्मिश्रण का एक बेहतरीन उदाहरण है। 16वीं तथा 17वीं शताब्दी, भारतीय चित्रकला के अधिकांश विद्यालयों में रागमाला चित्रों का निर्माण किया गया। वर्तमान में इसे पहाड़ी रागमाला, राजस्थान या राजपूत रागमाला, डेक्कन रागमाला और मुगल राममाला के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसकी उत्पत्ति राजस्थान में हुई है। इन चित्रों में प्रत्येक राग को एक रंग, मनोदशा, नायक एवं नायिका के बारे में एक कहानी का वर्णन करने वाला छंद, मौसम, दिन व रात का समय जिसमें एक विशेष राग गाया जाना है का चित्रण किया गया है। अधिकांश चित्र राग से जुड़े विशिष्ट हिन्दू देवताओं जैसे- भैरव या भैरवी से शिव, श्री से देवी आदि का भी सीमांकन करते हैं। ये चित्र न केवल रागों को चित्रित करते हैं, बल्कि उनकी पत्नियों (रागिनियों), उनके कई पुत्रों (राज-पुत्रों) एवं पुत्रियों (राज-पुत्री)

को भी चित्रित करते हैं।³ संगीत रत्नाकार भारतीय रागों के वर्गीकरण पर 12वीं सदी का एक महत्वपूर्ण ग्रंथ है, जिसमें प्रथम बार राग के अधिष्ठाता देवता का उल्लेख है। 14वीं शताब्दी के बाद से उन्हें ध्यान के लिए संस्कृत में लघु छन्दों में वर्णित किया गया है। बाद में चित्रों की एक श्रृंखला में चित्रित किया गया, जिसे रागमाला पेंटिंग कहा जाता है। रागमाला की कुछ सर्वोत्तम उपलब्ध कृतियां 16वीं एवं 17वीं शताब्दी की हैं। जब यह रूप राजकीय संरक्षण में फला-फूला।

रागमाला में मौजूद छः प्रमुख राग - भैरव, दीपक, श्री, मलकौंस, मेघा तथा हिंडोला हैं और इन्हें साल के छः मौसमों-वर्षा, ग्रीष्म, शरद, हेमंत, शिशिर, वसंत के दौरान गाया जाता है।⁴

दिल्ली में जब सुल्तानों की नींव जमने लगी, उस समय बगदाद बुखारा और समरकन्द बौद्धिक एवं सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के केन्द्र थे। मंगोल शासक हुलागूखान ने जब 1258 ई. में बगदाद जीता तो बहुत से बुद्धिजीवी दिल्ली की शरण में आ गये। इल्तुतमिश ने दो महत्वपूर्ण पुस्तकें अपने बेटों के लिए बगदाद से प्राप्त की। अलाउद्दीन खिलजी के समय (1296-1329 ई.) दिल्ली एवं बगदाद के सम्बन्ध अच्छे थे। बहुत सी वस्तुओं का आदान-प्रदान ईरान, ईराक, मिश्र एवं मध्य एशिया तक होता था। इन वस्तुओं के साथ-साथ ज्ञान का भी आदान-प्रदान हुआ। मुहम्मद तुगलक ने भी बाहर से बहुत सी पुस्तकें मंगवाई थी। इस समय ईराक व ईरान से चित्रित पुस्तकें आती जो सुल्तानों, विद्यापीठों एवं विद्वानों के संग्रह में रहती थी। इनमें मकमाने-अल-हरीरी, बिदपई की कहानियाँ रशीदुद्दीन की जामियत तवारिख तथा निजामी के शहनमें लोकप्रिय थे।⁵

अधिकतर दिल्ली सुल्तानों ने कला के स्थान पर भवन निर्माण कला को प्रोत्साहन दिया। चौदहवीं शताब्दी के अंत में सुल्तान फिरोज (1351-1388 ई.) ने मुस्लिम कानून के खिलाफ होने के कारण सूरतगिरी (चित्रकला) पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया, जबकि नक्श (फूलों आदि का अंलकरण) की छूट दे दी। इससे पूर्व सुल्तानों के निजी कक्ष हिन्दू विधि से चित्रित होते थे। सब प्रकार के प्रतिबन्धों के बावजूद भी चित्रकारों का कारखाना होता था। वह महलों की सज्जा का कार्य करता था। फिरोजशाह की मृत्यु के पश्चात् चित्रित पुस्तकें मिलती हैं।⁶ सल्तनत काल में अवधी प्रणय कथा लोरचन्दा का लेखक मुल्ला दाउद फिरोज तुगलक के समकालीन था। इसकी रचना में एक महल में चित्रों का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है।⁷ सोलहवीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में मण्डू में चित्रित नियतनामा (लगभग 1500 ई. से 1510 ई.) सुल्तानों द्वारा कला संरक्षण का पुख्ता प्रमाण है।⁸ दिल्ली के समीप पालम में चित्रित महापुराण, तिथि अंकित 1540 ई. की रचना है। 1525 ई. से 1570 ई. के बीच चौरपंचाशिखा, भागवत पुराण एवं गीत-गोविन्द आदि उत्तरप्रदेश के आस-पास चित्रित हुए। इन्हीं के समान्तर रागमाला-चित्र भी बनने

* सहायक-आचार्य (इतिहास विभाग), जयनारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर (राज.)

लगे जिनमें ईरानी रंगों एवं अलंकरण के साथ भारतीय विषय चित्रित हुए।⁹

बेसिल ग्रे के अनुसार दक्षिण की मुस्लिम कला एवं ईरान की कला विजयनगर की हिन्दू कला से मिल गई। यह अन्तिम हिन्दू राजा था, जिसे 1665 ई. में पराजय का मुख देखना पड़ा। विजयनगर की पराजय के बाद यहाँ के कलाकार अहमदनगर एवं बीजापुर चले गये, जहाँ उन्हें पूरा आदर मिला। यहाँ पर 1570 ई. के आस-पास रागमाला चित्र बने।¹⁰ 1600 ई. के पश्चात रागमाला चित्रों का प्रचुर प्रमाण उपलब्ध है। इस पर मुगल प्रभाव स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है। जिसका अध्ययन हम राजस्थान के संदर्भ में करेंगे। 16वीं शताब्दी के अन्तिम चरण में आमेर में छिन्तचित्र एवं भित्तिचित्र मिलते हैं। यशोधरा चरित्र¹¹ राजा भंगवतदास के चित्रित हुआ। लगभग 1615 ई. में चित्रित बादशाह बेगम का चित्र¹² राजा मानसिंह के संरक्षण में बना। आमेर में मानसिंह की छतरी जो भावसिंह के काल में बनी, वहाँ 1620 ई. के आस-पास बने श्रेष्ठ चित्र है।¹³ 1650 ई. का पंचम राग का चित्र इस परम्परा की महत्वपूर्ण कड़ी है। तिथि अंकित रागमाला सेट 1709 ई. जो वर्तमान में कला संग्रह कांकरौली में सुरक्षित है, सवाई जयसिंह के काल में बना। इस पर कलाकार का नाम अंकित नहीं है। इस समय के बने कुछ चित्र संग्रामसिंह जयपुर के संग्रह में भी है। मिर्जा राजा जयसिंह के साथ मोहनदास का नाम मिलता है। इसके द्वारा चित्रित नायिका के सामने साध्वी वेश में बैठी गायिका वीणा बजा रही है। पीछे चंवरी खड़ी है। रात के दृश्य में उजले चटक रंगों, सज्जा एवं अलंकरण में बारीकी इस चित्र में दर्शनीय है। कलाकार ने चित्र पर हस्ताक्षर उर्दू में किये हैं।¹⁴



पंचम रागिनी, रागमाला, 1680-1690



वीणा बजाते गायिका

सवाई जयसिंह के काल में बने चित्रों में मुगल प्रभाव दिखाई पड़ता है। 17वीं शताब्दी में आमेर के समान्तर बैराठ, भावपुर, भोजमाबाद आदि स्थानों पर भित्ति चित्र बने। बैराठ के चित्रों में रागमाला के चित्र भी हैं। 1700 ई. के लगभग आमेर में श्रेष्ठ रागमाला चित्र बने।¹⁵

जयपुर की स्थापना के समय प्रारम्भ में आमेर के कलाकार ही निश्चित रूप से जयपुर आये होंगे। सवाई जयसिंह के पश्चात ईश्वरसिंह (1743-1750 ई.), सवाई माधोसिंह (1750-1767), पृथ्वीसिंह (1767-1779 ई.), सवाई प्रतापसिंह (1779-1803 ई.) तक कला का स्वर्णिम काल कहा जा सकता है। 18वीं शताब्दी के मध्य चित्रित 'सियाह हजूर' में ताना, साहिबा, हीरा एवं उदा का नाम मिलता है। 1777 ई. से 1802 ई. के बीच चालीस चित्रों की रागमाला सेट तिथि अंकित है। इस पर मंगल चितेरा का नाम अंकित है।¹⁶ इसी समय का जीवण कलाकार द्वारा प्रदर्शित रागमाला सैट सिटी पैलेस जयपुर में प्रदर्शित है। इसके छः चित्र सिटी पैलेस कलादीर्घा में प्रदर्शित किये गये हैं। इन चित्रों में कलाकार ने राग का रूप लक्षण आदि ऊपर पीली जमीन पर लिखा है। साथ ही चित्र में मूल आकृति के पास स्वर्णाक्षरों में पुनः राग-रागिनी का नाम लिखा है।¹⁷



रागिनी कान्हडा



जयपुर रागमाला चित्र

ईसरदा के रागमाला चित्र चावंड से प्राप्त चित्रों से तुलना में अच्छे थे। मालपुरा का एक ही रागमाला सैट मिला है, जिसका एक चित्र इबलिंग के संकलन में है।¹⁸ इस शैली के चार चित्र राजकीय संग्रहालय उदयपुर में संकलित है। इन चित्रों में तकनीकी कौशल तो है पर आकारों के अनुपात अधिक प्रभावित नहीं करते हैं दृश्य चित्रण भी

कमजोर है। भिलाय में अन्य विषयों के अतिरिक्त रागमाला के चित्र भी बने हैं। इन चित्रों में आकृतियों के चेहरों में सौन्दर्य एवं तैयारी दोनों दर्शनीय है। यहाँ के चित्र 18वीं शताब्दी के बाद के दशकों के हैं। अलवर के राजा प्रतापसिंह के बाद कला को प्रोत्साहन एवं कलाकारों को उचित सम्मान दिया। मुगल कलाकार जो तिरस्कृत होकर इधर-उधर भटक रहे थे, उन्हें विनयसिंह ने अपने यहाँ आश्रय दिया। यहाँ के समीपवर्ती गाँव तिजारा, रामगढ़, जावली माचेड़ी के ठाकुरों एवं सेठों ने भी चित्रण कला को प्रोत्साहन दिया।¹⁹

मारवाड़ का प्रथम रागमाला चित्र 1630 ई. के आस-पास मिलता है। इसी प्रकार 17वीं शताब्दी में अन्य चित्र भी मिलते हैं। 17वीं शताब्दी में सूरसिंह (1595-1620 ई.) व गजसिंह (1620-1636 ई.) ने राज्य किया। काल निर्धारण के आधार पर गजसिंह रागमाला चित्रों का संरक्षक कहा जा सकता है। यह रागमाला चित्र परम्परा प्रारम्भ होने से लेकर जसवन्तसिंह की मृत्यु (1681 ई.) तक चली होगी। इसके पश्चात जोधपुर का सिंहासन खाली रहा। 1701 ई. में नाबालिग अजीतसिंह जोधपुर के सिंहासन पर बैठा। जसवंतसिंह, अभयसिंह एवं बख्तसिंह के समय मारवाड़ की कला पुष्पित-पल्लवित हुई। 1750 ई. के लगभग चित्रित गूजरी रागिनी का चित्र उपलब्ध है।²⁰ इस सैट का एक अन्य चित्र गुनकली रागिनी है।²¹ जोधपुर का शिव-पुराण धीरा, मधु, दाना, मोतीराय, वीदा, महेशदान, शिवदत्त और सतीदास द्वारा चित्रित किया गया था।²²



गुनकली रागिनी मारवाड़ शैली



रागिनी बिलावल मारवाड़ शैली 1630 ई.

पाली के रागमाला सैट में मोहनदास का नाम भी आता है। 1623 ई. में चित्रित होने के कारण इसे विट्ठदास के संरक्षण में निर्मित माना जाता है इस रागमाला चित्र पर चित्रकार का नाम विरमजी अंकित है। वीरम जी की शैली पर लोक प्रभाव की छाप

स्पष्ट दिखाई देती है। तकनीकी दृष्टि से चित्र अलग है। कलाकार ने हल्के रंगों का प्रयोग कर चित्रों को वांछित उभार दे दिया। कलाकार को आकार सौन्दर्य का ज्ञान एवं संयोजन की गहरी समझ थी। यही कारण है कि इतने विलक्षण, दुरूह, विषय पर उसने बहुत ही सहज चित्र बना दिये। जिनके आकारों की गति में ताल और वस्त्र में संगीत का स्पंदन सहज ही अनुभव किया जा सकता है।



पाली रागमाला

राजसिंह एवं अखेराज द्वितीय (1677-1730 ई.) के काल में सिरोही में चित्र बने। उपलब्ध चित्रों में रागमाला (वसन्तराग 1675-1700 ई.) एवं इसी काल का देवी महात्म्य²³ तथा 1675-1690 ई. के लगभग चित्रित सैट के चित्र इस पक्ष को प्रभावित करते हैं कि सिरोही में अखेराज द्वितीय ही कला का प्रमुख संरक्षक रहा होगा। इन चित्रों में उस समय का नैसर्गिक एवं माननीय सौन्दर्य का प्रदर्शन दिखाई देता है। इन चित्रों में चटक रंगों का प्रयोग हुआ है। जो राजस्थान की अन्य किसी शैली में देखने को नहीं मिलता है। मारवाड़ के अन्तर्गत इसे उपशैली कहा जा सकता है।



वसन्त राग

बीकानेर के कल्याणमल अकबर की सेना के नायक थे। इनके पश्चात मुगल दरबार से बीकानेर के सम्बन्ध निरन्तर बढ़ते रहे। जो रामसिंह, राजसिंह, करणसिंह एवं अनूपसिंह ने कायम रखे। इन सभी ने 17वीं शताब्दी में कला को संरक्षण दिया। अनूपसिंह के समय बीकानेर में श्रेष्ठ चित्र बने और यहाँ की कलम का अपना व्यक्तित्व बन गया।²⁴ 18वीं शताब्दी में अनूपसिंह के बाद सुजानसिंह, राजसिंह एवं सूरतसिंह ने भी कला को प्रश्रय प्रदान किया। मुगल सानिध्य के कारण यहाँ काफी मुगल कलाकार आये। 1700 ई. के आस-पास बने अच्छे चित्रों में रूकनुद्दीनी का नाम मिलता है। बीकानेर कलम पर प्रारम्भ से ही मुगल प्रभाव की अधिकता से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि संभवतः दैनिक जीवन में यह प्रभाव अधिक रहा होगा। बीकानेर के चित्रकर्मी उस्तादों में जयपुरिये एवं दरबोण (दरबार) दो घराणे थे। दोनों को दी गई जागीरों का उल्लेख बही सरदारन में मिलता है।²⁵ बीकानेर की बही संभालेरी में नत्थु, नूरा, हसन, रकनुद्दीन आदि द्वारा निर्मित चित्रों की सूची है।²⁶ हमीर रूकनुद्दीन ने रागमाला चित्र संगीत महफिल में हल्के रंगों का प्रयोग किया है। यद्यपि इसमें रात का दृश्य प्रदर्शित है। लेकिन एक मोमबती जलाकर कलाकार ने दिन का आभास दे दिया है। पृष्ठभूमि में सपाट जमीन पर केवल दो पेड़, नारी आकृतियों को वांछित उभार दे दिया है। अग्रभाग में भी क्यारियों एवं फव्वारों में हल्कापन ही रखा है। अतः चित्र के सारे आकार एक साथ दिखाई देते हैं।



संगीत महफिल बीकानेर शैली

अजमेर में चित्रित रागमाला का पुरा सैट देखने को नहीं मिलता है। अजमेर के आस-पास जूनियां में चांद, मेवाड़ में पीपजी तथा तैयबजी, नन्द के रायसिंह भाटी, खैरवा

के नारायणसिंह भाटी, मंसुदा में नाथजीराम, अलाबक्श और साहिबा (महिला) कलाकारों के नाम मिलते हैं।²⁷ किशनगढ़ शैली में रागमाला चित्र नहीं बने, लेकिन नवीन व मौलिक शैली होने के कारण यहाँ के कलाकारों की सृजन क्षमता एवं कल्पना क्षमता अद्भुत थी। सांवतसिंह नागरीदास के नाम से चित्र और कविता करते थे। इन दोनों विधाओं के मेल से अकल्पनीय शैली जन्मी, जो अपनी शैलीगत विशेषता के कारण विश्व भर में प्रसिद्ध है। निहालचन्द के समय अमरचंद ने 1760 ई. में संगीत महफिल का चित्र बनाया।²⁸ अमरचंद और निहालचंद के बरों में मान्यता है कि इन्हें दिल्ली से चित्रकला में प्रशिक्षण मिला था। सांवतसिंह ने अधिक समय रूपनगर में व्यतीत किया। उसके समय पर अधिकतर चित्र यहीं बने।²⁹

उदयपुर की स्थापना से पूर्व चित्तौड़ मेवाड़ की राजधानी थी। अमरसिंह ने प्रताप के बाद राजगद्दी संभाली। चांवड का रागमाला सैट इसी काल में बना हुआ है। करणसिंह के काल में रागमाला चित्र प्राप्त नहीं होते हैं। 1628 ई. में साहिबदीन का रागमाला चित्र मिलता है। जो जगतसिंह के काल में बना। इसके बाद जैम पैलेस सैट मिलता है। जो नेशनल म्यूजियम नई दिल्ली में है। 1653 ई. का राजसिंह (1652-1680 ई.) के समय का तिथि अंकित सैट भी उत्कृष्ट कला परम्परा का परिचायक है। मेवाड़ के चांवड रागमाला पर कलाकार नसीरुद्दीन का नाम मिलता है। चांवड के चित्रों में स्पष्ट हिन्दू प्रभाव दिखाई देता है। मनोहर ने आचार्य जसवन्त के लिए रामायण चित्रित की।³⁰ मेवाड़ वंश की शुद्धता चित्रों में स्पष्ट परिलक्षित होती है। जो मुगल प्रभाव स्वीकार किये उन्हें हिन्दूकृत करके ही आत्मसात किये गये। महाराजा संग्रामसिंह के समय जगनाथ चित्रकार ने सतसई 1720 ई., गीत गोविन्द 1724 ई. में चित्रित की।³¹



चावण्ड रागमाला चित्र श्रृंखला

बूंदी की प्रथम रागमाला चित्र चुनार में राजा भोज के संरक्षण में (1591 ई.) बना।³² उसके पश्चात् भागवत का सैट 1640 ई. के आस-पास बना एवं 1660 ई. में

कई चित्र तथा 1670 ई. में जानने बाग का चित्र 1680 ई. में नायिकाओं के बाग का चित्रित तथा गोवर्धन धारण का चित्र आदि कई महत्वपूर्ण चित्र बने।³³ भोज के पश्चात रावरतन, छत्रसाल, भावसिंह, अनिरुद्ध आदि रागमाला-चित्र के संरक्षक रहे। इस काल के कलाकारों में तुलसीराम एवं मोहन के नाम मिलते हैं। कला की समझ, उसके प्रति प्रेम व कारखाना विरासत में मिलने कारण कोटा के सभी शासकों ने कला को प्रोत्साहन दिया। महाराजा मार्षोसिंह के पश्चात मुकन्दसिंह ने कला का प्रश्रय दिया। जगतसिंह के काल में कला के प्रचुर प्रमाण मिलते हैं।³⁴ इस परम्परा को किशोरसिंह ने भी बनाये रखा। मुकन्दगढ़ में शिकार करते रामसिंह प्रथम, कोटा के श्रेष्ठ चित्रों में कहा जा सकता है। शिकार चित्रों की नवीन शैली प्रारम्भ होने का पूर्वाभास इस चित्र में मिल जाता है।³⁵ दुर्जनशाला के समय रागमाला के चित्र बने। इस समय के चित्रों में नाक बहुत तीखी नीचे से सीधी ओठ तक आ जाती है। उम्मेदसिंह के समय भी रागमाला चित्र बने।³⁶ कोटा कलाम की उम्मेदसिंह काल की रागमाला चित्र दीपक के आखिरी लौ के समान थी। क्योंकि उसके पश्चात रामसिंह द्वितीय ने कोटा शैली को ही बदल कर रख दिया। उम्मेदसिंह के समय ही भीमसेन कलाकार का नाम मिलता है। निश्चित ही इसने कई रागमाला चित्र बनाये होंगे।³⁷

कोटा को एक समय नन्दगांव नाम दे दिया गया था। इस काल में चित्रकला अपने उत्कृष्ट रूप में पल्लवित हुई। यहाँ की तिथि अंकित 1766 ई. का मेघ मल्हार रागमाला चित्र हस्ताक्षरित सैट है। जिस पर डालू का नाम मिलता है।³⁸ इससे 6 वर्ष बाद बूंदी में चित्रित चित्र मेघमल्हार ऐसा ही है। बूंदी के चित्र में यह बहुत चौड़ा है। जिस पर सफेद अक्षर से राग का पूर्ण स्वरूप लिखा हुआ है। इस कारण इन चित्रों को सहज ही नन्दगांव का पहचाना जा सकता है।



मेघमल्हार रागमाला

विक्रमजीत एवं बलभद्र के समय बने रघुगढ़ के चित्रों में कोटा एवं जयपुर दोनों कलमों का प्रभाव देखा जा सकता है। यहाँ 1750 ई. में चित्रित टोडी-रागिनी का चित्र मिलता है। यह बिलकुल अलग ही शैली में है।³⁹

कला-इतिहास में रागमाला चित्र परम्परा के समान कोई परम्परा सम्पूर्ण विश्व में प्रचलित नहीं रहीं। राग-रागिनी सिद्धान्त भारतीय रहा है। विश्व के किसी भी देश ने अपने संगीत को इस रूप में चित्रित करने की कल्पना भी नहीं की जो रूप भारतीय राग-रागिनियों के चित्रण में मिलता है। यद्यपि कई देशों में गायक या गायिकाएं, संगीत वाद्य यंत्रों के साथ, गाने बजाते हुए अवश्य चित्रित हुए हैं। इनका यह स्वरूप यथार्थवादी है। कलाओं एवं विज्ञान को, सभी देशों में देवी स्वरूप या व्यक्तियों से जोड़ा गया है।⁴⁰ इन्हें वाद्य यंत्रों के साथ चित्रित करना और बात है तथा स्वयं संगीत को चित्रित करना और बात है। रागमाला-चित्रों में यद्यपि कुछ कविता पंक्तियों को चित्रित किया जाता है, पर परोक्ष रूप से इसमें भारतीय संगीत की भावना और रूप का चित्रण होता है।⁴¹

अकबर के समय गोपाल नायक को राग-दीपक गाने का हुकम दिया गया। गोपाल ने बादशाह को काफी अनुनय-विनय करते हुए इसके दुष्परिणामों से अवगत करवाया। किन्तु वह बादशाह की इच्छा को न बदल सका। अन्ततः छः मास के अज्ञातवास के पश्चात आकर वह जमुना के पानी में गर्दन तक खड़ा होकर गाने लगा। शुद्ध स्वर वातावरण में प्रभाव उत्पन्न करने लगे। जिससे जमुना का पानी गर्म होते-होते उबलने लगा। इस पर भी बादशाह को दया नहीं आयी तो, गोपाल ने पूरी शक्ति के साथ गाना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। वातावरण की आग उत्तेजित हो गई तथा शब्द स्वर ही आग बन गये। अन्तः गायक का शरीर जल गया।⁴²

रागमाला चित्र अपने समय एवं समाज के दर्पण है। शैलीगत विशेषता के अतिरिक्त, वेश-भूषा, भवन अन्य प्रचलन आदि की झलक इन चित्रों में सहजता से उपलब्ध है। इनमें राजपूत एवं मुगल प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है। मुगलों के पश्चात यह कला अंग्रेजी की प्रभाव से भी अछूती नहीं रही। 19वीं शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में सिर पर टोप, कोट, कुत्ते के पिल्ले आदि नायक नायिकाओं के साथ खूब चित्रित होने लगे। रागमाला-चित्रकला राजस्थान की ही नहीं अपितु सम्पूर्ण भारतीय कला की एक अमूल्य धरोहर है। जिसमें चित्रकला की आत्मा के रूप में संगीत को समाहित किया गया है।



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राजस्थान। १६२०



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भैरव का रागपुत्र वेलावाला । १७१०

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15. कार्ल खंडालावाला, पेंटिंग्स फ्रॉम आमेर, पृ. 3
16. डा. जी.एस. शर्मा : सोशियल लाईफ इन मिडाईवल राजस्थान, पृ.स. 308, मानसिंह पुस्तक प्रकाश।
17. सिटी पैलेस आर्ट गैलेरी जयपुर, चित्र न. ए.बी. 554 से 559
18. क्लाज इबलिंग, रागमाला पेंटिंग में पृ. 69 पर प्रकाशित चित्र।
19. रामगोपाल, विजयवर्गीय, राजस्थानी चित्रकला, पृ. 28
20. क्लाज इबलिंग, रागमाला पेंटिंग में पृ.स. 93 पर प्रकाशित चित्र।
21. केन्द्रीय संग्रहालय जयपुर में न. 440 का चित्र।
22. डा. जी.एस. शर्मा : सोशियल लाईफ इन मिडाईवल राजस्थान, पृ. 308, मानसिंह पुस्तक प्रकाश।
23. प्रतिपादित्य पाल : द क्लासिकल ट्रेडिशनल ऑफ राजपूत पेंटिंग, पृ. 89 एवं 91 पर प्रकाशित चित्र
24. वही, पृ. 93, 95 एवं 97 में प्रकाशित चित्र।
25. बही सरदारनू : पृ. 243 एवं 249, राजस्थान राज्य अभिलेखागार बीकानेर।
26. बही संभाले री, संवत् 1754, पृ.स.15,16 एवं 22, राजस्थान राज्य अभिलेखागार, बीकानेर
27. कुंवर संग्रामसिंह, अजमेर मिनीयेचर पेंटिंग प्रदर्शनी केटलॉग
28. इरिक डिकिन्स व कार्ल खंडालावाला, किशनगढ़ शैली, पृ. 16
29. वही, पृ. 17,18
30. डा. मोतीचन्द: पेंटिंग पोर्टफोलियो, चित्र न. 6 पृ. 4

31. आर.बी. सोमानी, हिस्ट्री ऑफ मेवाड, पृ. 334
32. माईलो.सी.बीच: राजपूत पेंटिंग एट बूंदी एण्ड कोटा, चित्र : 1, 2,11,13,17-20,22,26-31
33. वही : फलक 22,23
34. वही : चित्र 62, 68, 69, 70 एवं 72
35. वही : चित्र 60
36. वही : चित्र 100
37. वही : चित्र 92
38. वही : फलक 115, चित्र 126
39. प्रतापदित्य पाल : दी क्लासिकल ट्रेडिशन इन राजपूत पेंटिंग के पृ. 129 पर प्रकाशित चित्र।
40. बी.सी. देवा, इन इन्ट्रिक्शन टू इण्डियन म्यूजिक, पृ.स. 01
41. स्टॉफ एंड खंडालावाला : द लार्ड रागमाला मिनीयेचर्स, पृ. 8
42. वही, पृ. 115

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राजस्थान-मारवाड़ चित्रकला में विभिन्न रंगों का संयोजन

वर्षा सेजू*

राजस्थान की चित्रण परम्परा अपनी प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में इस क्षेत्र के जनमानस की अपनी उद्भावना थी। विगत शताब्दियों के राजनैतिक और सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनों एवं बाहरी प्रभाव को आत्मसात कर यहाँ के चित्रकारों ने इस चित्रण परम्परा को विश्व में बेजोड़ रखते हुए विषय, शैली और तकनीक के माध्यम से शास्त्रों में वर्णित विधि-विधान के अनुरूप अपने अनुभवों से नूतन रूप दिया। मारवाड़ के राठौड़ शासकों की कला परम्परा ने राजस्थान के अधिकांश क्षेत्रों को प्रभावित किया है। मारवाड़ में मुख्यतः पाली से विकसित होती स्थानीय चित्रशैली जोधपुर राठौड़ शासकों द्वारा राज्याश्रय प्राप्त कर अपने चर्मोत्कर्ष तक पहुँची। इसी प्रकार राजस्थान का भारतीय चित्रकला में विशिष्ट स्थान रहा है। वास्तव में राजस्थानी शैली का पादुर्भाव 16वीं शती में अपभ्रंश शैली (प. भारतीय चित्र शैली) से हुआ राजस्थानी चित्रकला में मारवाड़ शैली का विकास राव मालदेव (1531-1562) के समय हुआ, तारानाथ के अनुसार मारवाड़ शैली का समबन्ध श्रृंगार से है। मारवाड़ में मण्डोर के द्वार की कला तथा शिवनाग द्वारा निर्मित धातु की एक मूर्ति यह सिद्ध करती है कि मारवाड़ी चित्रकला तथा मूर्तिकला दोनों ही इस समय तक अच्छी प्रगति कर चुके थे।

मारवाड़ भित्तिचित्र परम्परा के प्रमुख विषय

जोधपुर के महान् राठौड़ योद्धाओं ने इस कला के प्रति अपनी रुचि को बराबर बनाये रखा, जोधपुर के किले में विभिन्न भागों एवं महलों में प्रमुख विषयों पर भित्ति चित्रों को अंकन किया गया है।

जोधपुर के किले में निर्मित फूल महल को महाराजा अभयसिंह (1724-1749) में बनवाया था, जिसमें डॉ. आर.ए. अग्रवाल के अनुसार फूल महल के अन्तर्गत 36

रागिनियों का चित्रांकन हुआ है जिन पर राग-रागिनियों का नाम भी अंकित है। 29 राग-रागिनियों के चित्रों में स्त्री परिधान पूर्ण रूपेण राजस्थानी तथा पुरुषों के परिधान में राजस्थानी तथा मुगलकालीन परिधान का प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

फूल महल में शिकार के चित्रण को महत्वता दी गई है। जंगली सुअर के शिकार का एक दृश्य अंकित है, महल के अन्दर कृष्ण विषयक (प्रेम संबंधित), नर्तकियों तथा ढोला-मारू आदि का चित्रण हो रखा है।

जोधपुर के तीजा माता में मंदिर का निर्माण महाराजा मानसिंह (1803-1843) की महारानी भटियानी ने 1857 में करवाया था, इस मंदिर के बरामदे में फ्रेस्को-सेस्को पद्धति के आकर्षक चित्रों का अंकन कराया गया है यहाँ पर शिव-पार्वती, गणेश, रामदरबार, रासलीला के दृश्यों को चित्रांकित किया गया है।¹

महाराजा मानसिंह द्वारा नाथ पन्थी सम्प्रदाय को विशेष महत्व दिया गया था जिसके प्रमाणित भित्ति चित्र चित्र जोधपुर के महामन्दिर में योगियों के योग साधन मुद्रा अंकित है।

मारवाड़ के प्रमुख चित्रकार

1. मीताराम (900 ई.), 2. शिवदास अली (1860 ई.), 3. शंकर भाटी (1843 ई.), 4. सरताज सत्रिदास (1830 ई.), 5. रामकिशन मथेरण (1774 ई.)

चित्रण सामग्री एवं निर्माण पद्धतियां

प्राचीन काल से ही चित्रण सामग्री का निर्माण स्वयं चित्रकार करता आया है वह अपने चित्रण के अनुरूप सभी सामग्री स्वयं के अनुभवों एवं आवश्यकता अनुरूप उनका प्रयोग करता है। इनमें रंगों, तुलिकाओं आदि की सम्पूर्ण जानकारी स्थानीय पद्धतियों एवं प्राचीन परम्परा से चित्रकार को विरासत में मिली जान पड़ती है। मारवाड़ के चित्रों में खनिज रंगों का सर्वाधिक प्रयोग मिलता है, इस प्रदेश की मिट्टी के कण-कण में रंग विद्यमान है। यही कारण है कि विभिन्न प्रकार कि मिट्टियों तथा प्राकृतिक खनिज रंगों का प्रयोग चित्रण कार्य में हमें अधिकता से प्राप्त हुआ है। प्राय सभी चित्रों की पृष्ठभूमि भूरे रंग की है जो मरुस्थली की मिट्टी का प्रतीक है पीले, बैंगनी, लाल, नीला, तेज रंगों का प्रयोग कुशलता से किया गया है। बारिश वाले दृश्य की पृष्ठभूमि हरी है, जिसमें लाल, पीला रामरज, सफेद तथा विभिन्न रंगों के पत्थर-हरा भाटा, हिंगलू आदि को बारीकी से पीसकर उसमें गोंद, पानी डालकर मिश्रण करके आवश्यकतानुसार चित्रण कार्य हेतु तैयार किया जाता था, घोट कर काम में लेने की यह निजी पद्धति प्राचीन काल से ही चली आ रही है।² इसी प्रकार प्राकृतिक खनिज रंगों में बहुमूल्य धातुयें जिनमें सोना, चांदी, रांगा, जस्ता तथा भूमि से प्राप्त अन्य रंगों का विधिवत निर्माण कर प्रयोग में लाया

* एम.ए. अंतिम वर्ष (इतिहास), महिला पीजी महाविद्यालय, जोधपुर, जय नारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

जाता है। इसमें बनने वाले रंग बहुमूल्य एवं टिकाऊ होते हैं। हरा-भरा, पीला-पत्थर, हिंगलू-पत्थर अधिक कार्य में आता था, सुवर्ण व चांदी के पत्रों को घोटकर रंग बनाये जाते थे। विभिन्न तकनीकों का प्रादुर्भाव अपभ्रंश शैली से संबंधित भारतीय चित्रण पद्धति के अनुरूप मिलता है। यहां अनेक प्रकार के चित्रण कार्य हुए हैं।

1. ताड़ पत्रों पर, 2. कागज पर, 3. लघु चित्रण, 4. भित्ति चित्रण

इसी आधार पर मारवाड़ के चित्रकारों ने जिन रंगों का प्रयोग किया है उन्हें चार श्रेणियों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है।

1. खनिज/प्राकृतिक रंग - जो रंग प्राकृतिक रूप में पृथ्वी से प्राप्त होते हैं, उन्हें खनिज की श्रेणी में रखा जाता है इनमें निम्न रंग है - नीला/लाजवर्द, हरा भाटा, रांगा, लाल कसूमल, खडिया, सफेद मुल्तानी मिट्टी, हरिताल, सोना-चांदी सुरमा दाना फारंग।

नीला/लाजवर्द - यह खनिज रंग है और मयूर की गर्दन जैसा गहरा होता है मारवाड़ क्षेत्र के भीनमाल में चित्रित 'कल्पसूत्र 6' में इसका उत्कृष्ट प्रयोग है।

हरा-भरा - यह काफी सख्त होता है रंग की गहराई के अनुसार प्रायः इसकी तीन किस्में पाई जाती हैं। हरा आटा को पहले पत्थर पर घिसकर पानी निथार कर साफ करके गांड़े या सरेस मिलाकर काम में लिया जाता रहा है। चित्र सं. 4 के वाली रागमाला व संग्रहिणी सुत्र आदि में इसका उत्कृष्ट प्रयोग है।

रांगा - इसका प्रयोग चांदी के स्थान पर अधिक हुआ है। यह स्थाई रंग है व काला नहीं पड़ता है। इसको सरेस के साथ ही लगाकर सुखने के बाद पत्थर से इस पर हल्की-हल्की छुटाई की जाती है जिससे इसके रंग में चांदी की भांति ही चमक आ जाती है इसे भित्ति चित्रों में उपयुक्त स्थान पर प्रयोग लिया गया है।³

सफेद (खडिया) - यह पत्थर के ढेले के समान पृथ्वी से प्राकृतिक रूप में उपलब्ध होता है। हल्के वजन के ढेले ही रंग के लिये सर्वोत्तम माने जाते हैं। खडिया दो प्रकार के होते हैं- 1. मुलायम (फूल खडिया), 2. काठ खडिया। मुलायम जिसे फूल खडिया कहते हैं यह ज्यादा सफेद नहीं होती है दूसरी काठ खडिया जो पत्थर के समान सख्त होती है। दोनों से स्थाई रंग बनाये जा सकते हैं। चित्रकार इसे अन्य रंगों में मिलाकर भी काम में लेते थे। इससे चित्र की आकृति में मोती की माला आदि बनाई जाती थी।

लाल कसूमल रंग - मारवाड़ की एक अपनी निजी पहचान है जिसका यहां सर्वत्र प्रयोग हुआ है प्रकृति से प्राप्त लाल पत्थर, हिंगलू व गैरू से लाल रंग बनाया जाता है। हिंगलू खनिज पत्थर है और हिंगलू का रंग चित्रों में लगाने की प्राचीन परम्परा रही है। हिंगलू रंग स्कारलेट रेड के समान होता है।

2. रासायनिक रंग - इन रंगों को रासायनिक प्रक्रिया द्वारा बनाया जाता है। इनमें सफेदा, सिन्दुर, मेवड़ी, गोगुली, काजल, रसोई का धुआ, जंगाल, सीलू, गन्धक मसिल, नील आदि का प्रचलन रहा है।

1. सिन्दुरी रंग - यह अपभ्रंश चित्रों में भी बहुतायत में प्रयोग में लाया गया यह सफेद लेड को खुली हवा में पकाने से प्राप्त किया जाता था जब तक कि यह गहरा लाल न हो जाता। शिल्प रत्न के अनुसार सिन्दुर को आधा दिन पानी के साथ घोटा जाता व पुनः पांच दिन बाद 24 घंटे तक यही क्रिया दोहराई जाती है। माध्यम के रूप में नीम के गोंद का प्रयोग किया जाता था। इसमें अतिरिक्त इसका प्रयोग हिन्दू धार्मिक कार्यों हेतु भी करते थे।

2. गरुगोली का पीला रंग - मारवाड़ में यह विशेष उल्लेखनीय रहा है वर्तमान में यह रंग बहुत कम प्राप्त हो पाता है, इसे बनाने में अधिक परिश्रम लगता है। राजस्थान में मुख्यतः मारवाड़ में गाय की विभिन्न किस्में रही, जो कि भारत में विख्यात है इस रंग के निर्माण की प्रक्रिया इस प्रकार है कि किसी गाय को आम के पत्ते खिलाकर किसी विशेष प्रकार की मिट्टी के बर्तन में उसमें मूत्र को एकत्रित किया जाता है। उसे एकत्रित कर मिट्टी को पानी के साथ किसी कपड़े द्वारा छानकर गन्दी मिट्टी को फेंक दिया जाता था। पुनः बचे पीले रंग के पदार्थ को ठण्डा करने के बाद गोलियां बनाली जाती थी व उन्हें धुप में सूखने के बाद सुरक्षित रख कर प्रयागे में लिया जाता था। इसे मेगनिशियम या केलिशियम साल्ट ऑफ एग्जांथिक एसिड कहा जाता था।⁴

3. काजल - इसे स्याह या काला रंग कहा जाता है। इसके बनाने की अनेक विधियां हैं। मानासोल्लास में एक मात्र काजल का उल्लेख चित्रकारों द्वारा प्रयोग में आना लिखा है। शिल्प रत्न में काजल इकट्ठा करने की जो विधियां दी हैं उनके अनुसार काले रंग हेतु तिल्ली के तेल से बनाये गये काजल से रंग बनाने की विधि अधिक प्रचलित रही, जिसका प्राचीन सचित्र ग्रंथों में प्रयोग है।

4. सेलू रंग - यह शुद्ध चमक युक्त हरा रंग है चित्रों में इसका प्रयोग 19वीं सदी में अधिक हुआ है। यह रंग स्थायी होने के कारण चित्रों में अधिक प्रयुक्त हुआ है। इसे खूब खरल कर सुखा लिया जाता था। इसका यहां के चित्रों में राजसी टाट-बाट व वैभव दर्शाने के लिए चित्रकारों ने वृक्षों तथा बादलों घुमावदार आकारों हेतु विशेष प्रयोग किया गया है।

3. वानस्पतिक रंग - वानस्पतिक रंगों में नील, लाख, रसोत, केसूला के फूल।

1. नील/नीला रंग - वनस्पतियों से जो नीला रंग प्राप्त किया जाता है वही देशी नील कहलाती है। अनेक स्थानों पर इसकी प्राप्ति हेतु नील की खेती की जाती थी।

इसकी निर्माण विधि में लम्बी-लम्बी शाखाओं के गठ्ठर को पानी के एक विशेष हौज में पत्थरों के नीचे 24 घंटों तक दबाकर रखा जाता था। बाद में नील की पत्तियों व डालियों को हौज से निकाल देने पर पानी कुछ-कुछ अंगुरी का हो जाता है पानी का यह हौज 10 फीट के घेरे में बड़ी कठाई के आकार का एक पक्का गोल कुण्ड होता था, जिसके पेंदे में एक-डेढ़ फीट गहरी छोटी कुण्ड बनायी जाती थी तथा दोनों के मध्य एक छेद रखा जाता था जिससे पानी बाहर निकलने की प्रक्रिया की जाती थी, पत्तियां व शाखाओं को हौज से हटाने के पश्चात् रहते। पानी जब कुण्ड नीला होता तो एक-मटका चुने के पानी का डालकर पानी को चक्री देकर घुमाते, शाम तक पानी निथरकर गुलाबी झाँई देने लगता। नीले रंग के कण हौज के नीचे छोटी कुण्ड में इकट्ठे हो जाते। इसमें से पानी निधार कर रात भर रखने से यह घोल जम जाता। प्रातः काल उसकी छोटी बतासियडां बनाकर सुखा लेते एवं इस प्रकार नील का रंग तैयार हो जाता है।⁵

2. केसूला - फूलों के पीले रंग हेतु चित्रकारों में केसूला के फूलों को सुखाकर गर्म पानी के साथ उबालकर रंग बनाने की एक विशेष विधि मारवाड़ में प्रचलित रही जिससे वे तीव्र पीला रंग बनाते थे, इसी प्रकार केसर के पीले रंग द्वारा चित्रकारों ने धार्मिक प्रवृत्ति दर्शायी है। इसका भी चित्रों विधिवत प्रयोग हुआ है।

4. जैविक रंग - जीव-जन्तुओं द्वारा उपलब्ध होते थे इनमें कृमिदाना/किरमस, शंख, सोन-किरवा आदि इनका प्रायः मारवाड़ के लघुचित्रों में प्रयोग होता है।

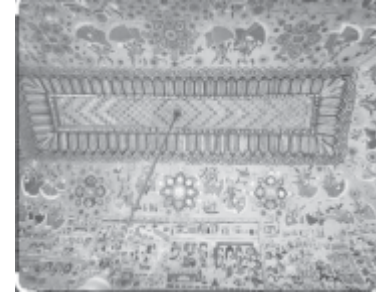
1. कृमिदाना/किरमस - इससे गुलाबी रंग बनाया जाता है। कृमिदाना एक कीट है। जो केकती पेड़ से पाया जाता है, रंग हेतु मादा कीड़े को एकत्रित किया जाता है। इसकी उत्पत्ति का मूल केन्द्र समरकन्द तथा फारस था। रंग निर्माण हेतु कृमिदाना तथा पठानी लोध व जनक को सूती कपड़े में बांधकर पोटली को निर्मल जल में रात भर भिगोये रखा जाता है व पुनः उसे धूप में गर्म किया जाता है। जब उसके गुलाबी गहरा लाल अर्क निकलने लगे तो उसे छान कर सुखा लेते हैं। इसे सुखाने पर दही मिलाकर काम में लिया जाता है इससे गुलाबी रंग प्राप्त होता है।

2. शंख व सीप का सफेद रंग - शंख व सीप द्वारा प्राप्त सफेद रंग अत्यधिक स्थाई होता है। लघुचित्रों में इसका प्रयोग बहुत अधिक हुआ है इसे कपित्थ तथा नीम के गोंद के साथ प्रयोग में लेते हैं। मारवाड़ में राजा-रानियों के गले में मोती की श्वेत माला हेतु इसका अत्यधिक प्रयोग रहा है।

तुलिका निर्माण पद्धति - मुगल काल से तुलिका का चयन सतर्कता से लिया जाता था। तुलिका बनाने हेतु परसियन बिल्ली, बकरी, गिलहरी आदि के बालों को काम में लिया जाता था, मुगल काल में गिलहरी के पुछ के बालों का उपयोग प्रमुख रूप से किया जाता था। मारवाड़ के चित्रकारों ने भी चित्र में बारीक कार्य हेतु गिलहरी की पूँछ

के बालों से निर्मित की गई तुलिका को सर्वश्रेष्ठ माना है। इस तुलिका से चित्रों में पदराज कार्य व पतली रेखा आदि का कार्य अच्छा होता है।

जिस जन्तु के बालों से तुलिका को बनाना होता है उसने बालों को काटकर कागज में एक तह में रखने के बाद उसकी दूसरी तह बनाकर तुलिका के लिए कटे बालों के गुच्छों को भली-भाँति जमा कर रख दिया जाता था। तुलिका निर्माण में उत्तम बालों का होना, परगजा, बास की पतली डंडी आदि सामग्री महत्वपूर्ण है। बालों को सही तरह जमाकर ऊपरी सिरे बराबर करने हेतु मिट्टी का एक ऐसा साँचा बना लिया जाता, जिसमें जिस प्रकार के बुश बनाने होते उसने उसी प्रकार के छेद बनाकर उस साँचे को आग में बना लिया जाता, बाद में साँचे के सुराख वाले भाग में बालों के पॉइन्ट को इस प्रकार डाला जाता है कि ऊपरी सिरे वाला भाग नीचे कि ओर व शेष भाग बाहर निकला होता। ऊपर वाले भाग की ओर से थोड़ी साफ राख डालकर उस साँचे को हाथ से हल्का-हल्का जमीन पर ठोका जाता है।



1. तीजा माजा मंदिर भित्ति जोधपुर



2. महामंदिर भित्ति चित्र जोधपुर



3. फूल महल मेहरानगढ़ जोधपुर

रंग स्थायित्व के माध्यम - रंगों के कणों को बांधने के लिए चिपकाने की प्रवृत्ति रखने वाले विशेष पदार्थ को मिलाया जाना आवश्यक माना गया है। यह पदार्थ रंगों को नष्ट करने वाले एवं हानि पहुंचाने वाला नहीं होना चाहिए। विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण मानसोल्लास एवं चित्र लक्षण के अनुसार भैंस की चमड़ी को उबालकर बनाया गया पदार्थ उत्तम माध्यम है। जब तक पानी में उबलते-उबलते चर्म मक्खन के समान मुलायम न हो जाये, तब तक पानी को वाष्प के रूप में उठा दिया जाता है व शेष गाढे पदार्थ की छडे बनाकर इन्हें सूर्य के प्रकाश में सुखा दिया जाता है। काम में लाने हेतु किसी मिट्टी के पात्र में पानी के साथ आवश्यकतानुसार गर्म कर इसका घोल बनाकर रंगों को स्थायित्व देने हेतु इसका प्रयोग किया जाता है। यह रंगों को स्थायित्व के साथ-साथ रंगों हल्का होने से भी रोकता है। चित्र लक्षण में इसे वज्रलेप कहा गया है। सरेस मछली ने छिलको, भैंस व अन्य जानवरों के चर्म व उनके खुर, सींग इत्यादि को पकाकर भिगोकर रखने से सरेस कुछ नरम पड़ जाता है। उसे किसी मिट्टी के बने पात्र में पानी की मात्रा बढ़ाकर आग पर खूब अच्छे से पकाया जाता है। उसमें किसी प्रका सरेस का टुकड़ा साबुत न रह जाये व सभी को गलाकर एक घोल बनाले इसलिये पकाते समय इसने किंचित नमक की मात्रा डाल दी जाती है जिससे सरेस एक दो दिन तक दुर्गन्ध नहीं देता और जल्द खराब नहीं होता। रंगों में सरेस का प्रयोग, थोड़ा गर्म रहते ही करना उचित रहता है। शुद्ध किये हुए रंगों के चूर्ण को किसी प्याली में आवश्यकतानुसार लेकर उसमें कुछ गर्म सरेस डालकर दोनों को मिला लेते हैं व पेस्ट बन जाने पर उसमें हल्के गर्म पानी

की कुछ बुंदे डालकर रंग को पतला बनाकर चित्र में प्रयुक्त किया जाता है।⁶ रंगों में स्थायित्व लाने हेतु चित्रकारों ने सरेस के अलावा गोंद को भी प्रयुक्त किया है। इसमें धोक व बबलू के गोंद को ही अधिक उपयुक्त माना गया है। रंगों में प्रयुक्त करने से पूर्व गोंद की भली-भांति जाँच करना अनिवार्य होता था तथा गोंद की मात्रा को सही नाप-तोल के आधार पर ही रंगों में मिलाया जाता था। रंगों में गोंद की मात्रा कम होने पर रंग रगड़ने से उतर जाता है व यदि गांड़े की मात्रा अधिक होती है तो चित्र में रंगों में धब्बे पड़ने लगते हैं अथवा पपड़ी बनने लगती है तथा शीघ्र ही इसके काले पड़ जाने का भय रहता है।

सन्दर्भ

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कोटा के बड़े देवता श्रीधरलालजी की हवेली के भित्तिचित्र

डॉ. प्रतिभा सांखला*

कोटा राज्य राजपूताना प्रान्त के दक्षिण पूर्वी भाग में स्थित है। इस राज्य की राजधानी कोटा का नाम कोटिया नाम के भील नेता के कारण पड़ा। इस राज्य के उत्तर पश्चिम में चम्बल नदी है जो इसे बून्दी राज्य से अलग करती है।¹ कोटा का नाम 14वीं शताब्दी में कौटिया भील के नाम पर पड़ा तब यहाँ भीलों का राज्य था। वि.सं. 1321 (1274 ई.) में बून्दी के जेतसिंह ने भीलों को हटाकर अपना राज्य स्थापित किया।² रेलवे स्टेशन से लगभग 10 किमी दूरी पर है। रेलवे स्टेशन से शहर जाते हुए शहर के बीच में विशाल तालाब है। मुख्य नगर की बस्ती में जाने के लिए कैथूनी गेट, किशोरपुरा गेट, लाडपुरा गेट आदि मुख्य द्वार हैं। इन्हीं द्वारों से नगर को बाँधती हुई एक दीवार है जो नगर को एक परकोटे के रूप में बाँधती है। इसी परकोटे में सभी पुराने बाजार, हवेलियाँ तथा कोटा शहर का राजमहल गढ़ पैलेस स्थित है। जो अत्यन्त ही आकर्षक सुन्दर भित्तिचित्रों से सजे हुए हैं।³

चौहान वंशी हाड़ाओं का प्रसार और प्रताप बून्दी, कोटा और झालावाड़ क्षेत्र में रहा, इसलिए यह हाड़ौती क्षेत्र कहलाया⁴ सम्पूर्ण हाड़ौती भू-भाग प्राकृतिक सम्पदा की दृष्टि से राजस्थान में अपना एक विशिष्ट स्थान रखता है।⁵ कोटा नगर संस्कृति एवं कला का एक मुख्य केन्द्र रहा है। यहाँ के शासकों ने प्रचलित परम्पराओं, मान्यताओं धर्म एवं व्यक्तिगत रुचियों के आधार पर चित्रकला को बढ़ावा एवं संरक्षण प्रदान किया।⁶ कोटा हाडा राजपूतों के स्वतंत्र राज्य के रूप में वि.सं. 1688 (सन् 1631) में शाहजहाँ के काल में राव माधोसिंह ने स्थापित किया था तब से यह हाडा राजपूतों की माधाणी खांप का राजनैतिक केन्द्र 1948 ई. तक रहा।⁷ कोटा में भी राजनैतिक स्वतंत्रता से नवीन शैली का आरम्भ होता है। वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय जिसका प्रभाव यहाँ 18वीं सदी के प्रारंभिक चरण में पड़ा, में राधा कृष्ण का अंकन विशेष रूप से हुआ परन्तु कोटा शैली अपनी स्वतंत्रता

न रखकर बून्दी शैली का ही अनुकरण करती है।⁸

कोटा के शासकों में वास्तु शिल्प निर्माण के प्रति गहरी अभिरुचि थी। उन्होंने कई भव्य और अनुपम महल, मन्दिर बनवाये और उन्हें कलात्मक भित्तिचित्रों से अलंकृत करवाया जो उनकी कला अभिरुचि का परिचायक है। राज प्रसाद की यह भित्ति अंकन परम्परा हवेलियों, मन्दिरों तथा जनसामान्य के भवनों तक पहुँचकर व्यापक एवं लोकप्रिय हो गई।⁹ कोटा के महाराव महल (रंग महल, अर्जुनमहल, लक्ष्मी भण्डार, बड़ा महल) झालाजी की हवेली, बड़े देवताजी की हवेली, अन्य हवेलियाँ, सूर्यनारायण मंदिर, नगर द्वारा आदि में आज भी भव्य भित्तिचित्रों के जीते-जागते उदाहरण हैं।¹⁰ कोटा राज्य के शासक वर्ग के अलावा दीवान, पुरोहित तथा अन्य श्रेष्ठ वर्ग भी अत्यन्त प्रभुतासम्पन्न थे जिसका प्रमाण दीवान जालिम सिंह जी की हवेली तथा देवता श्रीधरजी की हवेली है। ये हवेलियाँ अपनी कलात्मकता व राज प्रासादों से किसी भी तरह कम नहीं है। इसी कारण कोटा चित्र वैभव न केवल राज्य के शासकों तक सीमित रहा वरन् शासकों के साथ रियासत के दीवानों, मंदिरों तथा सामान्य जन तक फैला हुआ दिखाई देगा।¹¹

कोटा में चम्बल नदी के तट के पास ही बड़े देवता श्रीधरजी की हवेली है। कोटा रेलवे स्टेशन से लगभग 10 किमी. दूर, कोटा कैथूनी पोल, टिपटा में कोटा के गढ़ पैलेस से 200 मीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है। इस हवेली के भित्तिचित्र अत्यन्त ही मनमोहक है। यह हवेली कोटा के पुराने राजमहल, गढ़ पैलेस के पास राधा विलास में स्थित है। इस हवेली में बने झरोखों से चम्बल नदी पर बना हुआ कोटा बैराज के सुन्दर दृश्य दिखाई देते हैं।¹²

इस हवेली का निर्माण श्रीधरजी के पूर्वज श्रीधरलालजी द्वारा 1855 ई. में कराया गया था। श्रीधरलालजी कोटा के महाराज उम्मेदसिंहजी के राजगुरु थे। राजगुरु श्रीधरलालजी को उस समय के दीवान जालिम सिंह झाला का पूर्ण आश्रय प्राप्त था।¹³ पाँच मंजिला इमारत पुराने दिनों में वापस ले जाती है। जब लकड़ी के दरवाजे, खिड़कियाँ, कमरे, बरामदे, फर्श, छत सभी सजाये गए थे। बड़े देवता श्रीधरलालजी का परिवार पुराने कोटा राज्य के शाही परिवार से जुड़ा था। बड़े देवता 'शीर्षक' 'राजगुरु' की स्थिति को दर्शाता है। यह उल्लेखनीय है कि 200-250 साल पहले की गई चित्रकारी अभी भी ताजा और चमकदार है।¹⁴ हवेली में अंकित भित्तिचित्रण का उत्कृष्ट कार्य स्वयंमेव यह दर्शाता है कि श्रीलालजी की चित्रकला प्रेमी और कलाप्रशंसक थे।¹⁵

बड़े देवताजी की विशाल हवेली की दीवारें, दरवाजे, छते, फर्श, खम्भे, खिड़कियाँ आदि सब कुछ कलात्मक और परम्परागत शिल्प तथा सौन्दर्य को समेटे हुए है। बेहतरीन कलात्मक आकारों में बने लकड़ी की किवाड़, जालियाँ और बरामदों के चित्र एक मोहक वातावरण की सृष्टि करते हैं। इनमें अधिकांश चित्र धूमिल पड़ चुके हैं। हवेली के इस रंग-संसार के अवलोकनार्थ जब द्वार खुलता है तो कमरे में बंद रंगों और रेखाओं

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का एक समृद्ध संसार नेत्रों के सामने घूमने लग जाता है। लगभग 250 वर्षों का लंबा सफर तय करने के बाद भी आकृतियों के चेहरों पर अंकित पारदर्शी-भावरंगों की चमक और रेखाओं की लयात्मकता को कामय रखने वाले चित्र मन मस्तिष्क को सुखद अनुभूति प्रदान करते हैं।¹⁶

200-250 साल पहले की गई चित्रकारी अभी भी ताजा और चमकदार है। जीवन से भरे पारदर्शी चेहरे, विभिन्न पैनलों में चित्रित, एक मनमोहक वातावरण बनाते हैं। हवेली के कमरों में एक भी जगह, खिड़की, खंभा या छत नहीं है जहाँ चित्र न बना हो।¹⁷ हवेली में प्रवेश करते ही अन्दर वाले भाग में कमरे से लगे हुए बरामदे में दीवार पर भित्तिचित्रों का विशाल कोष दिखाई देता है। इसी बरामदे में हाथीदाँत के काम का दरवाजा भी विद्यमान है।¹⁸ इस हवेली के विभिन्न कमरों में विविध विषयों पर चित्र बने हुए हैं। बड़े-बड़े चित्र लोकपर्वों या उत्सवों की झाँकी प्रस्तुत करते हैं। कोटा के गढ़ पैलेस से दशहरा मैदान तक विजयदशमी के अवसर पर घोड़ों, हाथियों, तोपखाने आदि सम्पूर्ण लवाजमे के साथ तत्कालीन शासक की परम्परागत रीति से निकालने वाली सवारी का चित्रण एक पैनल के माध्यम से बारीकी से किया गया है। हाथी पर सवार महाराव का लोगों के साथ होली खेलने और गणगौर का चित्रण करने वाले भित्तिचित्र भी मनमोहक हैं। पर्वों एवं त्योहारों के अतिरिक्त अधिकांश चित्र कृष्ण लीलाओं से संबंधित हैं।¹⁹ बड़े देवता की हवेली में चित्रों को तीन प्रमुख समूहों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है-शिकार के दृश्य, शाही जुलूस और त्योहार के दृश्य तथा भगवान कृष्ण की लीला के दृश्य। बड़ी संख्या में भित्तिचित्र पौराणिक घटनाओं को दर्शाते हैं।²⁰ हवेली के चित्रों में-गोवर्धन पर्वत को धारण किये हुए भगवान कृष्ण, बांसुरी बजाते हुए श्री कृष्ण भगवान। रासलीला के साथ अन्य विषय भी दिखाये गए हैं लेकिन अधिकांशतः नष्ट होने के निकट हैं। हवेली के कमरों के आले और सपाट स्थानों को भित्तिचित्रों से सजाया गया है। दरवाजों पर सुन्दर संगमरमर के उलटे कमल बनाये गये हैं।²¹ ये भित्तिचित्र तब बनाये जाते थे जब दीवारें नमी लिये होती थी या प्लास्टर नया-नया किया गया होता था। 'विजय दशमी' के पर्व को दर्शाने के लिए 15×3 फीट एक चित्र बना हुआ है जिसके पैनल में कोई भी जोड़ नहीं है। इसी प्रकार एक अन्य चित्र में कोटा के तत्कालीन शासक महाराव उम्मेदसिंह एक हाथी पर सवार होकर लोगों के साथ होली खेल रहे हैं। हवेली के एक अन्य कमरे में कृष्ण लीला के उत्कृष्ट चित्र है। कोटा के महाराव भगवान कृष्ण के भक्त थे और वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय के अनुयायी थे यहाँ केन्द्रीय मूर्ति नाथद्वारा में श्रीनाथजी की है, जो उन्हें अपने बाएँ हाथ में गोवर्धन पर्वत को ऊपर उठाते हुए दिखती है। इसके साथ ही बालकृष्ण को चमकीले नीले और सोने से चित्रित किया गया है, कृष्ण लीला को अन्य गतिविधियाँ भी चित्रित की गई हैं।²² एक अन्य कमरे में शृंगार चित्रों का बाहुल्य है। चकरी घुमाती, कांटा निकालती हुई नायिकाओं के चित्र चित्राकर्षक हैं।

दर्पण से झाँकती नायिका, ढोला-मारू, पुरुष वेश में नायिका आदि चित्र दर्शनीय हैं। 'बारहमासा' की चित्र शृंखला भी अत्यन्त रोचक रंग से चित्रित की गई है।²³ बड़े देवताजी की हवेली में बारहमासा का अंकन काफी उत्कृष्ट रूप में हुआ है। वर्ष भर में बारहमास में नायक-नायिका की अंगारिक विरह एवं मिलन की क्रियाओं के चित्रण को बारहमासा नाम से संबोधित किया जाता है।²⁴

कोटा पुराने जमाने से ही वन, वनस्पतियों और जीव-जन्तुओं से समृद्ध था। इसके जंगलों में शेर, जंगली सूअर, हिरण और अन्य जंगली जानवर रहते थे। इन्हीं समृद्ध परिदृश्यों (परिवेश) को अभिव्यक्त करते हुए बड़ी संख्या में भित्तिचित्रों का चित्रांकन किया गया। जिसने शाही परिवार के द्वारा बड़ी संख्या में शिकार करते हुए चित्रों को दिखाया गया है। एक चित्र में घोड़ों पर सवार महाराव और उनके दरबारी शेरों के शिकार में लगे हैं। दूसरे चित्र में मचान में बैठे हुए, तीसरे चित्र में शाही महिलाएँ एक राजकुमारियों को शेर का शिकार करते हुए दिखाया गया है।²⁵ एक अन्य चित्र में झूला झूलती स्त्रियाँ अंकित हैं।²⁶ आतिशबाजी भी उस समय का लोकप्रिय विषय था जिसमें दरबार की स्त्रियाँ आनन्द लेती थी। एक चित्र में एक यूरोपियन स्त्री को अंकित किया गया है जो एक वेदिका में बैठी हुई है जिसके हाथमें एक गुलाब का फूल है। एक अन्य कमरे में बना एक चित्र अत्यन्त उत्कृष्ट है जिसका विषय राज्य में विजयदशमी के अवसर पर चोगानीय अवसर है। चित्र में राजा और दरबारियों को हाथी व घोड़ों पर सवार होकर एक जंगली भैंसे को तीर कमान से प्रहार करते दिखाया गया है और उसको चारों तरफ से दर्शक देख रहे हैं। एक अन्य बड़ा चित्र शेरवानी तीज के त्योहार पर महाराज उम्मेदसिंहजी को अमर निवास से एक जुलूस में निकलता हुआ दिखाया गया है। इस चित्र में कोटा के सभी मुख्य स्थान चित्रित किए गए हैं-जैसे अधर शिला, किशोरपुरे की बस्ती तथा सूर्यमन्दिर आदि।²⁷

बड़े देवताजी की हवेली में राग-रागिनी के निम्न चित्र बने हैं। जैसे-राग-पीलू, राग बसन्त, मधुमास, सारंग, भूपाली, गुणकारी, तोड़ी, नहार, मालकौस, मनहार, तिलक, कामौद, हिन्दोल और राग ललित²⁸ बड़े देवताजी की हवेली के भित्तिचित्रों की तकनीक पर जयपुर फ्रेस्को पद्धति का प्रभाव है। जिसमें गीले पलस्तर पर चित्रांकन किया जाता है। किसी भी चित्र का अंकन टुकड़ों में किए जाने से फलक पर जोड़ आने का खतरा रहता है। अतः इन्हें बड़ी सावधानी से बनाया गया है।²⁹

हवेली के चित्र कोटा शैली में बने हैं³⁰ कोटा चित्र शैली वास्तव में पुरानी बूंदी शैली का परिवर्तित रूप थी। इसको पृथक नाम इसलिए दिया जाता है कि इस परिवर्तित बूंदी शैली में कुछ अन्य तत्व भी आकार मिल गये और कुछ तत्व बूंदी से बिल्कुल भिन्न हो गए।³¹ इस प्रकार देवता श्रीधरजी की हवेली के भित्तिचित्रों का अगर हम विस्तृत

विश्लेषण करें तो पता चलता है कि मानव आकृतियाँ लम्बी और पतली बनाई गई हैं। आकृतियों के चेहरे छोटे तथा गहरे सिन्दूरी रंग से बनाये गये हैं। उन पर कुछ गहरे रंगों का प्रभाव भी झलकता गया है। गाल गोल और उभरे हुए दर्शाये गए हैं। आँखें बड़ी और उनके पिछले सिरों को पीछे की ओर झुके हुए बनाया गया है। कलाई पतली तथा हथेलियाँ लाल रंग से अलंकृत हुई चित्रित की गई हैं। कमर पतली बनाई गई, स्त्री आकृति की वेशभूषा में पेशबाज, पाजामी घाघरा तथा औढ़नी बनाई गई है।³² इन भित्तिचित्रों की महत्वपूर्ण विशेषता कलाकारों की फिनिश, सटीकता और कल्पना है। सोने का भी व्यापक रूप से उपयोग किया है। भित्तिचित्रों में मुगल शैली भी दिखाई देती है। लाल, पीला, हरा और सफेद रंग प्रमुख हैं।³³ इस हवेली के चित्रों का जब हम तकनीकी दृष्टि से अध्ययन करते हैं तो ज्ञात होता है कि इनचित्रों के समस्त हाशिए तो फ्रेस्को तकनीकी में बनाए गए हैं और मुख्य चित्र कोटेम्परा तकनीक द्वारा अंकित किया गया है। चित्रों के नीचे लेप वाली सतह अवश्य बनाई गई है। चित्र भूमि तो फ्रेस्को की तरह ही बनाई गई है लेकिन उस पर गीले प्लास्टर पर रंग नहीं लगाये गये। इसी कारण रंग दीवार के प्लास्टर के अन्दर तक नहीं रंग पाये। टेम्परा तकनीक फ्रेस्को तकनीक के समान स्थायी नहीं होती। चित्रों को देखने से उनकी विशेषताएं बूंदी शैली से मिलती प्रतीत होती है।³⁴ कोटा शैली की समस्त विशेषताओं के साथ बनाए गए बड़े देवताजी की हवेली के भित्तिचित्रों में चित्रकारों द्वारा निर्मित प्राकृतिक रंगों के साथ स्वर्ण हिलकारी का खुलकर प्रयोग हुआ है। लाल, पीले और हर रंग का सर्वाधिक उपयोग हुआ है। भवनों की बनावट में संगमरमर का प्रभाव इन चित्रों में बेजोड़ है। ये चित्र रंगों, रेखाओं, छाया-प्रकाश, अंकन की बारीकियों चेहरों पर कोमल पारदर्शी भावों को लिए हुए दिखाई पड़ते हैं। रचना कौशल, शैली की प्रौढ़ता और प्रभाव की दृष्टि से हवेली के चित्र अपने समय के श्रेष्ठ चित्र कहे जा सकते हैं।³⁵

हाड़ौती क्षेत्र की प्राचीन भित्तियों में देवता श्रीधरजी की हवेली के चित्र अपने आप में बेजोड़ है।³⁶ बड़े देवताजी की हवेली के चित्र कोटा कलम की समस्त विशेषताओं और परिपूर्णता का परिचय देती है।³⁷

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महाराजा के समय सचित्रित ग्रंथों तथा रचनाओं जैसे मन्नालाल सिंघी कृत चरित्रसार की वचनिका, केसरी सिंह कृत वर्धमान पुराण वचनिका (1873), द्रव्यसंग्रह (1866), परीक्षा मुक्तिका रत्नमाला (1866), अष्टपद (1867), ज्ञानअर्णव (1869), भक्तमहास्रोत वचनिका (1870) तथा सम्यकपथ चंद्रप्रभा काव्य (1870) का सचित्र लेखन कार्य सम्पादित किये गये।⁴

जयपुर चित्रशैली में नवोन्मेष (महाराजा रामसिंह द्वितीय के विशेष संदर्भ में)

रामदेव जाट*

राजस्थानी चित्रकला का सबसे पहला वैज्ञानिक विभाजन 'आनन्द कुमार स्वामी' ने राजपूत पेंटिंग नामक पुस्तक में सन् 1916 ई. में किया। राजपूत चित्रकला को उन्होंने दो भागों में विभाजित किया - राजस्थानी तथा पहाड़ी। राजस्थानी चित्रकला का प्रसार बीकानेर से गुजरात तथा जोधपुर से उज्जैन तक रहा तथा आमेर, ओरछा, उदयपुर, बीकानेर, उज्जैन आदि कला केन्द्र रहे।¹ महाराजा रामसिंह की अच्छी शिक्षा-दीक्षा हुई। वह हिन्दी, अंग्रेजी, संस्कृत, उर्दू तथा ढूंढाडी भाषाएँ जानता था। उसने 1857 ई. में 'महाराजा स्कूल ऑफ आर्ट' की स्थापना की जिसका नाम 'हुनरी मदरसा' था। इसके अतिरिक्त फोटो कारखाने की स्थापना की गयी।²

महाराजा प्रतापसिंह कलाप्रेमी तथा साहित्यिक रुचि का राजा था। इनके समय चित्रकला की विशेष उन्नति हुई। राधाकृष्ण की लीलाओं, नायिका भेद, रागरागिनी, बारहमासा आदि का चित्रण प्रमुखतः हुआ। वरिष्ठ चित्रकार साहिबराम और उसकी शिष्य परम्परा ने जयपुर शैली को ओर आगे बढ़ाया। सवाई जगतसिंह के दरबार तक यह परम्परा चलती रही। महाराजा रामसिंह द्वितीय के समय तक जयपुर शैली भी कम्पनी शैली के प्रभाव में आ गयी क्योंकि जयपुर महाराजा तथा ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी के मध्य मैत्री संबंध बने रहे थे जिसके फलस्वरूप जयपुर दरबार में पाश्चात्य जीवन शैली का प्रभाव दृष्टिगोचर होने लगता है।

महाराजा रामसिंह द्वितीय कालीन चित्रकार एवं सचित्रित ग्रंथ

महाराजा के समय जयपुर दरबार में बिहारी, रामदास, अमृतराव, शिवलाल, पन्नालाल, जीवा, फकीरा, शंभुराम, संगन लाल और कंजुराम जैसे दरबारी चित्रकार, कवि एवं विद्वान सुशोभित करते थे।³

महाराजा रामसिंह द्वितीय के काल में जयपुर शैली की विषय-वस्तु

जयपुर शैली के चित्रों में मुखाकृति चित्रों तथा व्यक्ति चित्रों का अपना विशेष स्थान है जयपुर के राजाओं के बड़े आकार में भी व्यक्ति चित्र बनाए गए। इन चित्रों में राजस्थानी परम्परा बलवती रूप में दिखाई पड़ती है। इन चित्रों के अतिरिक्त शिकार, दरबार आदि के चित्र भी बनाए गए। श्रीकृष्ण की विभिन्न लीलाओं, रास तथा बाल क्रीड़ाओं से सम्बंधित चित्रों की संख्या अधिक है तथा दूसरी ओर नायिका-भेद पर आधारित विषयों पर भी चित्र बनाए गए। इन चित्रों में परमात्मा का प्रतीक कृष्ण को माना गया है।⁵ जयपुरी चित्रों का विधान सुंदर और सुकोमल है। योजनाएं आलंकारिक और संतुलित हैं। यद्यपि यत्र-तत्र जहाँगीर तथा शाहजहाँकालीन मुगल प्रभाव है। रेखाएँ कोमल हैं और प्रवाहपूर्ण डौल लिए बनायी गई हैं। चित्र की सीमा रेखा से ही चित्राकृति में गोलाई लाने का सफल प्रयास दिखाई पड़ता है। काली रेखाओं का प्रयोग चेहरे की सीमा रेखा के किनारे हल्की गोलाई लाने के लिए किया गया है, साथ ही छाया का भी यथोचित प्रयोग किया गया है। अधिकांश चित्रों में एकचश्म चेहरे का प्रयोग किया गया है जिसमें मुद्राएँ सुंदर और भावपूर्ण हैं। कपड़ों, साज-सामान तथा आभूषणों में सुंदर आलेखन बनाये गए हैं। स्त्रियों का पहनावा कुछ चित्रों में मुगल ढंग का है परन्तु अधिकतर चित्रों में मुगल शैली के भवनों का प्रयोग किया गया है।⁶ महाराजा के समय खेल, मनोरंजन, सामाजिक, धार्मिक विषयों पर चित्रण कार्य प्रमुखता से किया गया था, प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में कतिपय महत्वपूर्ण चित्रों को प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

रामसिंह द्वितीय कालीन चित्रों की प्रकृति

जयपुर शैली के चित्रों की खुलाई मुगल चित्रों के समान काले रंग या काली स्याही से की गई है। पशु-पक्षियों का बहुत स्वाभाविक और यथार्थ अंकन किया गया है। पीले, लाल, नीले, सफेद तथा काले रंगों की चित्रों में प्रधानता है। वृक्ष, पौधे, लता, पुष्प समस्त वनस्पति तथा प्राकृतिक वातावरण और आलंकारिकता मेवाड़ शैली के समान है। अधिकांश चित्र बड़े आकार के हैं।⁷

महाराजा रामसिंह द्वितीय कालीन चित्रों के हाशिए

जयपुर शैली के चित्रों में हरे रंग की प्रधानता है। अधिकांश चित्रों के हाशिए

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रजतवर्णी काली या हरी तथा लाल पट्टियों से बनाये गए हैं। जयपुर शैली में रेशमी कपड़े पर, दीवार पर (भित्तिचित्र) तथा कागज पर चित्र (लघुचित्र) बनाए गए हैं।⁸

महाराजा रामसिंह कालीन सूरतखाना

इस समय चित्रकला की प्राचीन पद्धति का हास अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गया। दरबारी कलाकार यर्थाथवादी शैली में चित्रण करने लगे थे। इस दौरान चित्रकला पूर्ण रूप से यूरोपियन कला से प्रभावित हो चुकी थी। फोटोग्राफी का प्रचलन बढ़ जाने से छाया-प्रकाश एवं परिप्रेक्ष्य का प्रयोग चित्रों में किया गया। पुरोहित जी की हवेली के भित्ति चित्रों का निर्माण हुआ।⁹

तिथियुक्त चित्रों में 1838 ई. का 'संत संजीवनी' तथा 1846 ई. का 'श्री सील वृद्धि साहित्य' 1848 ई. का 'महाभार सेतु' 1850 ई. की 'भागवत गीता' जिसमें 10 चित्र हैं। जिन पर यूरोपियन प्रभाव झलकता है।¹⁰

महाराजा के समय सूरतखाने में अनेको चित्र बनाये गये थे प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में कतिपय प्रसिद्ध चित्रों का उल्लेख किया जा रहा है। चित्रकार रामचन्द्र मुस्सबिर द्वारा दुर्गापाठ श्रृंखला 2 के 28 चित्रों का निर्माण किया गया।¹¹

1848 में 'महाभारत श्रृंखला' के 71 चित्र निम्न चित्रकारों द्वारा तैयार किये गये।

मोहनलाल (ए.जी. 978) - महल से भूमि का आंकलन

रामलाल (ए.जी. 990) - कृष्ण का द्वारका छोड़कर दिल्ली पहुँचाना

गंगाबख्श (ए.जी. 991) - 84 राजाओं को मुक्त करना

दस महाविद्या श्रृंखला के 10 चित्र निम्न चित्रकारों द्वारा बनाये गये।¹²

रघुनाथ (ए.जी. 1049) - काली

श्यामसुन्दर (ए.जी. 1050) - सोढ़सी (सूरतखाने का आखिरी कलाकार)

श्यामलाल (ए.जी. 1501) - घूमवती

मोहनलाल (ए.जी. 1053) - मतांगी

महाराजा के द्वारा प्रोत्साहित चित्रशैली कार्यों के परिणामस्वरूप जयपुर शैली के भित्तिचित्रण का सर्वाधिक प्रभाव शेखावाटी पर पड़ा है। उन्नीसवीं शती मध्य से लेकर बीसवीं शती प्रारम्भ तक शेखावाटी के सेठों ने बड़ी-बड़ी हवेलियां बनाकर उन्हें विस्तार से चित्रित करवाया।¹³

अतः ढूँढाड़ स्कूल के अन्तर्गत शेखावाटी शैली का स्थान आजकल अधिक उजागर होने लगा है। नवलगढ़, रामगढ़, फतेहपुर, मंडावा, मुकुन्दगढ़ तथा अजीतगढ़ आदि स्थानों का भित्तिचित्रण विशेष दर्शनीय है।¹⁴

अतः सवाई रामसिंह द्वितीय के समय सूरतखाने में अधिकतर चित्रकार वंशानुगत थे। वे जल रंग में विभिन्न उत्सवों, अवसरों व महाराजा के जन्म दिन पर भेंट करने के लिये छोटे चित्र तैयार करने लगे। इस समय परम्परागत चित्रण कार्य नगण्य रहा है व विदेशी प्रभाव सामने आने लगा। तैयार रंग, तैल चित्र और विदेशी विषय और फोटो का वृहद् रूप आदि की शुरुआत हुई, क्योंकि महाराजा फोटोग्राफी में अधिक रूचि लेते थे। वे अपना अधिक ध्यान फोटो कारखाने में लगाते थे इस कारण महाराजा का तुलनात्मक रूप से सूरतखाने की तरफ ध्यान कम हो गया। इनके समय चित्रकारों ने अल्बर्ट हॉल के बरामदे की दीवारों को चित्रों से सजाया। कुछ चित्रकार रामसिंह द्वितीय द्वारा स्थापित राजस्थान स्कूल ऑफ आर्ट में अध्यापन करने लगे।

सन्दर्भ

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राजस्थानी मांडणा व कुमाऊँनी ऐपण : साम्यता एवं विविधता का संतुलन

विदुषी* एवं डॉ. शिल्पी गुप्ता**

आभार—मैं अपने शोध पत्र राजस्थानी मांडणा व कुमाऊँनी ऐपण : साम्यता एवं विविधता का संतुलन के लेखन में सहयोग के लिए श्री बृजमोहन जोशी (नैनीताल, उत्तराखण्ड), श्रीमती हरिप्रिया शाह (भीमताल, नैनीताल, उत्तराखण्ड), श्रीमती कंचन गुर्जर (चाकसू, जयपुर, राजस्थान), एवं श्रीमती ज्योति जोशी (देहरादून, उत्तराखण्ड), की हृदय से आभारी हूँ जिनके ज्ञान एवं अनुभव के फल स्वरूप यह शोधपत्र सम्भव हुआ है।

किसी भी समाज का महत्वपूर्ण अंग उसकी संस्कृति होती है। संस्कृति में समाज की परम्परार्ये, संस्कार, धर्म-विश्वास, व्रत-त्यौहार और रीति-रिवाज आदि का संकलन होता है। भारत की संस्कृति इन सभी विशिष्टताओं के साथ-साथ रचनात्मकता से भी समृद्ध है जिसकी झलक देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में स्थानीय लोक कलाओं के रूप में देखी जा सकती है। एक स्थान की लोक कलाएँ उस क्षेत्र विशेष का सांस्कृतिक स्वरूप होती हैं जो स्थानीय विशेषताओं के जुड़ने से मौलिकता प्राप्त कर लेती हैं। ऐसी ही पारम्परिक लोक कलाएँ हैं राजस्थानी मांडणा व कुमाऊँनी ऐपण। भारत की इन दोनों लोक कलाओं की विशेषताओं को इनके तुलनात्मक अध्ययन से समझा जा सकता है। राजस्थानी मांडणा व कुमाऊँनी ऐपण में साम्यता व विविधता अग्रलिखित बिन्दुओं में स्पष्ट होती है—

1. **लोक कलाओं का भौगोलिक परिवेश** – मांडणा एक ग्रामीण क्षेत्रीय लोक कला है।¹ यह राजस्थान की उष्ण और शुष्क जलवायु वाले मालवा एवं हाड़ौती क्षेत्र भूमि से प्रारम्भ हुई लोक कला है, जिसके अन्तर्गत झालावाड़, कोटा, प्रतापगढ़, बूंदी, बांरा और सवाईमाधोपुर आदि जिले आते हैं, कालान्तर में मांडणा राजस्थान के अन्य क्षेत्रों में विकसित हुई। वहीं ऐपण उत्तराखण्ड के कुमाऊँ

मण्डल के हिमाच्छादित पर्वतों के अंचल में प्रचलित लोक कला है। कुमाऊँ के अन्तर्गत नैनीताल, अल्मोड़ा, बागेश्वर, चम्पावत, पिथौरागढ़ और उधमसिंह नगर आदि छह जिले सम्मिलित हैं। इस प्रकार यह दोनों लोक कलाएँ दो विपरीत भौगोलिक परिवेश में प्रसारित हुई लोक संस्कृतियों से संबंध रखती हैं।

2. **पौराणिक पृष्ठभूमि** – मांडणा एवं ऐपण की उत्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में विशेष प्रमाण प्राप्त नहीं होते परन्तु मान्यता के अनुसार मांडणा तथा ऐपण के पुरातन प्रमाण आज भी कुछ प्राचीन मन्दिरों एवं पूजा वेदियों पर प्रतिबिम्बित हैं। लोक कला ऐपण के पौराणिक प्रमाण जैसे श्रीराम के जन्म के समय रामायण में, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण के चित्रसूत्र में तथा हर्षचरित में विवाह के अवसर पर आदि परिप्रेक्ष्य में आलेखन या ऐपण के उल्लेख स्वरूप प्राप्त होते हैं।² कुछ तथ्यों के अनुसार चन्द वंश के काल में ऐपण को शासकीय प्रश्रय प्राप्त हुआ। महर्षि वात्स्यायन की कृति में चौसठ कलाओं का वर्णन है, जिसमें से छठी कला आलेखन है जो मांडणा एवं ऐपण से सम्बन्ध रखती है।³
3. **लोक कला में वर्ग विशेष की भूमिका** – राजस्थान में मांडणा बनाने का कार्य पारम्परिक तौर पर मालवा व हाड़ौती की मीणा महिलाओं द्वारा किया जाता था।⁴ वहीं कुमाऊँ में ऐपण देने की कला के प्रारम्भ का श्रेय ब्राह्मण व शाह परिवारों को जाता है।⁵ कालान्तर में मांडणा व ऐपण का निर्माण समाज के अन्य वर्गों द्वारा भी किया जाने लगा।
4. **शब्दावली** – मांडणा शब्द की उत्पत्ति 'मंडन' से हुई है जिसका अर्थ है सज्जा करना या सजाना।⁶ राजस्थान की स्थानीय भाषा में मांडणा चित्रण के लिए 'मांडणा बनाना' शब्दावली का प्रयोग किया जाता है। वहीं ऐपण शब्द का अर्थ है 'अर्पण करना', जिसके लिए कुमाऊँनी भाषा में 'ऐपण देना' शब्दावली का प्रयोग किया जाता है।
5. **सामग्री** – राजस्थान एवं कुमाऊँ में भू अलंकरण के लिए सर्वप्रथम कच्ची मिट्टी को गोबर से लीपकर तैयार किया जाता है इस पर मांडणा निर्माण के लिए गेरू या हिरमिच से लाल पृष्ठभूमि तैयार कर उस पर खड़िया (जिसे स्थानीय भाषा में 'खड्डु' कहा जाता है)⁷ या चूना पत्थर से आलेखन किया जाता है। कुमाऊँ में गेरू से तैयार सतह पर चावल को पीसकर तैयार किए गए सफेद घोल (जिसे स्थानीय भाषा में 'बिस्वार' कहा जाता है) के द्वारा चित्रण किया जाता है।
6. **तकनीक** – मांडणा एवं ऐपण दोनों के चित्रांकन में मुख्यतः अनामिका उंगली का प्रयोग किया जाता है, जिसमें तर्जनी व मध्यमा उंगलियाँ सहायक की भूमिका में रहती हैं। राजस्थान में सहज सुलभ खजूर की टहनी पर कपास या कपड़ा

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लपेटकर निर्मित तूलिका से मांडणा का निर्माण किया जाता है।⁸ मांडणा एवं ऐपण दोनों के रेखांकन में केन्द्र से बाहर की ओर डिजाईन का निर्माण करते हैं अर्थात् मध्य भाग जहाँ मुख्य प्रतीक चिह्न अंकित होता है सर्वप्रथम उसका अंकन होता है तत्पश्चात् बाह्य रूपरेखा पूर्ण की जाती है, जिसे राजस्थान में 'भारण अथवा भारवा' कहते हैं।⁹

7. **लोक कला का अंकन स्थल** - मांडणा एवं ऐपण पारम्परिक रूप से धरातल, मुख्य द्वार, दहलीज, कच्चे चूल्हों एवं ओखल आदि पर अंकित किए जाते हैं।¹⁰ कुमाऊँ में ऐपण का निर्माण पूजा एवं संस्कार की चौकियों, थाली एवं सूपे पर भी किया जाता है।¹¹



1. मिथि चित्र - राणेश जी मांडणा



2. कले की धाली पर माँ लक्ष्मी का अंकन - ऐपण

8. **लोक चित्रांकन के अवसर** - मांडणा एवं ऐपण का आलेखन लोक संस्कृति के पारम्परिक त्यौहारों व संस्कारों पर निर्भर करता है। दीपावली, देवोत्थान एकादशी आदि वे पर्वोत्सव हैं जो राजस्थान व कुमाऊँ में समान रूप से प्रचलित हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त मांडणा गणगौर, नवरात्र, मकर संक्रान्ति, होली, विवाह, बालक के जन्म आदि अवसरों पर बनाया जाता है।¹² वहीं ऐपण धार्मिक अनुष्ठानों एवं संस्कारोत्सवों में चौकी अथवा पीठ के रूप में अंकित किये जाते हैं।
9. **मांडणा एवं ऐपण के प्रकार** - दीपावली का पर्व भारतीय संस्कृति में विशेष स्थान रखता है अतः लोक संस्कृतियों में भी इसे हर्षोल्लास से मनाया जाता है। राजस्थान में दीपावली पर 'पगल्या' एवं 'लक्ष्मी रथ' का अंकन किया जाता है तथा कुमाऊँ में इस अवसर पर लक्ष्मीपीठ का अंकन किया जाता है, इसके अतिरिक्त राजस्थान में चौका या चतुर्भुज, सतिया, चौकड़ी आदि ज्यामितीय आकृतियाँ बनाई जाती हैं।¹³ इसके साथ ही सौंदर्य के उद्देश्य से विभिन्न बेलें तथा

फूलडियें आदि बनाई जाती हैं। वहीं कुमाऊँ में शिव पूजा अर्चना हेतु शिर्वाचन पीठ, अक्षरारम्भ संस्कार पर सरस्वती पीठ, नामकरण चौकी, विवाह पर धूलिअर्घ चौकी, आचार्य चौकी तथा सूपे पर भुईयाँ आदि का अंकन किया जाता है।¹⁴



3. पगल्या - मांडणा



4. लक्ष्मी पीठ - ऐपण

10. **निहित दर्शन एवं अध्यात्म** - मांडणा एवं ऐपण दोनों कलाओं में बिन्दुओं का अत्यंत महत्व है क्योंकि इनका निर्माण बिन्दु से ही प्रारंभ होता है जो आत्मा और परमात्मा के मिलन का प्रतीक माना जाता है। 'पगल्या' एवं 'लक्ष्मी पीठ' में माँ लक्ष्मी के पद्चिन्ह का अंकन घर में सुख-समृद्धि के आगमन को दर्शाता है। कमल का अंकन शुभ और श्रेष्ठ का द्योतक है।¹⁵ राजस्थान व कुमाऊँ की लोककला में स्वास्तिक का चिह्न कर्मयोग को प्रदर्शित करता है यह चार वेद, चार आश्रम, चार दिशाओं का स्वरूप है, सूर्य एवं चंद्रमा का रेखांकन दिन एवं रात अर्थात् समयचक्र को बताते हैं।¹⁶ इस प्रकार राजस्थानी मांडणा एवं कुमाऊँनी ऐपण में प्रयुक्त प्रत्येक प्रतीक एवं चिह्न के अंकन का एक उद्देश्य और अर्थ है जिनका निर्माण घर में श्री, सुख-सौभाग्य, एवं सकारात्मकता की कामना से किया जाता है।
11. **चुनौतियाँ एवं संभावनाएँ**-लोक संस्कृति का अभिन्न अंग होती है उसकी लोककलाएँ, जो स्थानीय जनजीवन से प्रभावित होती हैं। राजस्थानी मांडणा व कुमाऊँनी ऐपण दोनों पारम्परिक लोक कलाएँ कुछ लोक जीवन जनित कारणों जैसे - पक्के घरों का निर्माण, शिक्षा एवं रोजगार के लिए पलायन, संयुक्त परिवारों में कमी एवं एकल परिवारों की वृद्धि आदि के परिणामस्वरूप ह्रासोन्मुख है।¹⁷ यह लोक कलाएँ संस्कृति की वाहक हैं अतः भविष्य हेतु इनका संरक्षण आवश्यक है जिसके लिए राजस्थान सरकार एवं उत्तराखण्ड सरकार द्वारा क्रमशः मांडणा

प्रशिक्षण एवं ऐपण प्रशिक्षण कार्यक्रम क्रियान्वित किए जा रहे हैं। लोक कलाकारों को वांछित सहायता व समर्थन हेतु योजनाएँ आरम्भ की गयी हैं¹⁸ जिससे इन पारंपरिक लोक कलाओं एवं इनके महत्व को भावी पीढ़ी भी समझ सके।

इस प्रकार उपरोक्त बिन्दुओं से स्पष्ट है कि राजस्थानी मांडणा एवं कुमाऊँनी ऐपण लोक जीवन की धार्मिक आस्था से सम्बद्ध लोक कलाएँ हैं, जो समाज में पारम्परिक रूप से विद्यमान हैं। इन लोक कलाओं से मानवीय संवेदनाओं की अभिव्यक्ति की जाती है। जिनके लिए प्रतीक रूपों एवं चिह्नों का प्रयोग किया जाता है वास्तव में यह लोक कलाएँ अध्यात्म और सृजन का अलौकिक संयोजन है जो इन लोक संस्कृतियों की समृद्धि का द्योतक है।

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उदयपुर में जल-संरचना : ऐतिहासिक अनुशीलन

डॉ. पूनम पाठक*

राजनैतिक इकाई के रूप में मेवाड़ का विकास गुहिल वंश अथवा गहलोत वंश से होता है जिसका संस्थापक गुहिल था। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि 6ठी शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में इस वंश की स्थापना हो गई थी।¹ तब से निरंतर मेवाड़ एवं कालान्तर में उदयपुर में राजधानी स्थापित करने पर जल संरचना कार्य प्रगति की ओर बढ़ता रहा है। धार्मिक दृष्टि से मेवाड़ में जल संरचना करना अत्यावश्यक था जिससे कृषि का उत्तरोत्तर विकास हो सके और मानव एवं पशुओं द्वारा उपयोग किया जा सके। वैसे भी विश्व की प्राचीन सभ्यताओं का विकास जल के किनारे पर हुआ उसी तरह मेवाड़ की प्राचीन सभ्यता के उद्गम स्थल, गांवों, नगरों का विकास भी जलाशयों के किनारे पर ही हुआ था। गहलोत वंश का अन्य महत्वपूर्ण शासक 'कालभोज' या 'बापा' था जिसने मोरी वंश के मानसिंह से 734 ई. में चित्तौड़ का दुर्ग छीन लिया² और 'रावल' की उपाधि धारण की। मानमोरी ने चित्तौड़ दुर्ग पर एक बावड़ी और मानसरोवर तालाब का निर्माण कराया।³ 10वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध से भारत में तुर्क आक्रमण प्रारंभ हो गए किन्तु मेवाड़ पर इनका तब कोई विशेष प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा। 12वीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्द्ध में मेवाड़ परिवार दो भिन्न-भिन्न शाखाओं में विभक्त हो गया- 'रावल' चित्तौड़ पर शासन करते रहे तो 'राणा' सिसोद गांव के जागीरदार बने।⁴ 1222 ई. के करीब जैत्रसिंह के काल में इल्तुतमिश का आक्रमण और मेवाड़ की राजधानी 'नागदा' पूर्णतया नष्ट कर दी गई। तब स्थाई रूप से सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से मेवाड़ की राजधानी चित्तौड़ स्थापित की गई। 1303 ई. में चित्तौड़ पर अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने अपना अधिकार स्थापित किया और 'रावल' शाखा के हाथ से चित्तौड़ निकल गया किन्तु 1326 ई. के लगभग 'सिसोद' के राणा हमीर ने चित्तौड़ पर अपना अधिकार कर मेवाड़ में गुहिल वंश की सिसोदिया राणा शाखा का आधिपत्य प्रभावी हुआ और मेवाड़ के शासकों के लिए 'महाराणा' संबोधन प्रचलित हुआ। तब से लेकर मेवाड़ के राजस्थान में विलय तक यहां पर सिसोदियों का राज्य चला आ रहा था।⁵

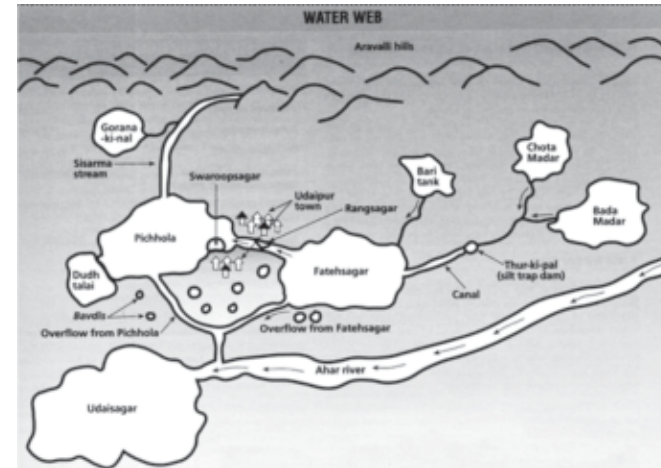
* उदयपुर

हम्मीर ने चित्तौड़ दुर्ग पर मोकलजी के मंदिर के पास एक जलाशय का निर्माण कराया था।⁶ महाराणा लाखा ने चित्तौड़, केलवाड़ा और लखावली में तीन तालाब बनवाये। लाखा के पुत्र मोकल ने चित्तौड़ दुर्ग पर जलाशय सहित द्वारिकानाथ मंदिर बनवाया, श्रृंगीऋषि के स्थान पर वापी बनवाई तथा अपने भाई के नाम बाघेला नामक तालाब बनवाया।⁷ मोकल के बाद उसका पुत्र कुंभा 1453 ई. में मेवाड़ का सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण शासक हुआ जिसने रामकुंड, जलयंत्र सहित कई बावड़ियां और कई तालाब बनवाये।⁸ कुंभलगढ़ दुर्ग पर एक जलाशय का निर्माण करवाया।⁹ वसंतपुर (सिरोही राज्य में) को पुनः बसा कर वहां विष्णु के निमित्त 7 जलाशयों का निर्माण करवाया। अचलेश्वर के पास कुंभ स्वामी का मंदिर और उसके निकट एक सरोवर व चार जलाशय बनवाये।¹⁰ इसके बाद महाराणा रायमल की बहिन रमा बाई ने कुंभलगढ़ दुर्ग पर एक तालाब तथा जावर में एक कुंड बनवाया। महाराणा रायमल द्वारा राम, शांक और समया संकट नामक तीन तालाब बनवाने का उल्लेख मिलता है।¹¹ महाराणा सांगा द्वारा पीछोला तालाब के फूट जाने पर इसे पुनः ठीक कराया गया।¹²

महाराणा उदयसिंह ने चित्तौड़ की नवीन राजधानी 1553 ई. में सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से उदयपुर बनाई। तब 1559 ई. में उदयसागर का निर्माण करवाया था। यह आहाड़ नदी के बांध के रूप में निर्मित किया गया था। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि उदयसागर तालाब का निर्माण यहां के आगामी शासकों के लिए एक प्रेरणा का स्रोत बन गया जिसका अनुकरण कर मेवाड़ में सुंदर एवं विशाल झीलों का निर्माण कराके एक अनुपम उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया। इतना ही नहीं यहां के शासकों के साथ-साथ मेवाड़ एवं उदयपुर में सेठ साहूकारों, जनसामान्य के लोगों, स्त्रियों एवं विधवा महिलाओं आदि ने भी जल संरचना कर इस पुण्य कर्म अभिवृद्धि की।

उदयपुर के निकट आहाड़ भर्तृभट द्वितीय के समय आदिवराह नामक व्यक्ति ने गंगोदभव या गंगोबेव तीर्थ कुंड में आदिवराह का मंदिर बनवाया।¹³ उदयपुर बसने से पूर्व छीतर नामक बंजारे द्वारा दूध तलाई का निर्माण करवाया गया। पीछोली नामक ग्राम के ग्रामवासियों के साथ-साथ इस क्षेत्र के पशुओं के लिए जलसंकट को दूर करने के उद्देश्य से इसका निर्माण किया गया। ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि तत्कालीन गिर्वा एवं वर्तमान उदयपुर बेसिन में सबसे पहले जलसंचयन एवं प्रबंधन के रूप में इस तलाई का निर्माण किया गया था। पीछोला झील को 634 वर्ष पूर्व 1387 ई. में महाराणा लाखा के समय इसी धनाढ्य छीतर बंजारे ने पीछोला तालाब बनवाया जो वर्तमान में उदयपुर नगर के पश्चिम में स्थित है। माछलामगरा तथा वर्तमान में सिटी पैलेस परिसर (राणाओं की मगरी) के बीच बांध बनवा कर इस झील का निर्माण किया गया था।¹⁴ 17वीं शताब्दी के मध्य पीछोला झील की मरम्मत करवाई गई थी। जिसमें महाराणा अमरसिंह प्रथम ने

इसकी पाल को ऊँची व पक्की बनवाई।¹⁵ 1625 ई. में महाराणा कर्णसिंह ने पीछोला को चौथी बार बंधवाया था।¹⁶ महाराणा जवान सिंह और महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह ने अपने अपने शासन काल में पीछोला झील की मरम्मत करवाकर जल संचयन किया। महाराणा जगतसिंह प्रथम ने उदयपुर के आहाड़ वर्तमान केशव नगर के समीप रूपसागर तालाब का निर्माण करवाया था।¹⁷ महाराणा राजसिंह ने अपने कुंवरपदे के समय में देवारी में एक छोटा तालाब निर्मित करवाया था।¹⁸ बड़ी का तालाब महाराणा राजसिंह प्रथम ने अपनी माता जनादे की स्मृति में उदयपुर से 10 किमी. पश्चिम में बड़ी गांव में 1664 ई. बनवाना प्रारंभ किया। यह उबेश्वर की छोटी नाड़ी (छोटी नदी) पर बांधा गया है जो जनासागर में पश्चिम से मिलती है।¹⁹ यह बड़ी, लियो का गुड़ा, हवाला कला और हवाला खुर्द आदि गांव में पेयजल के साथ साथ कृषि सिंचाई के उपयोग में लिया जाता है। साथ ही वर्तमान फतहसागर और तत्कालीन देवाली तालाब में पानी की आवक को नियंत्रित कर इसमें वर्ष भर पानी उपलब्ध कराना था। यह इतना मजबूत बनाया गया था कि 1875 ई. की अतिवृष्टि के समय अपार जलराशि इसके ऊपर से निकल जाने पर भी इसका कुछ नहीं बिगाड़ा।



रंगसागर का निर्माण 1668 ई. में महाराणा राजसिंह के बड़े पुत्र सुरत्राण सिंह (सुल्तान सिंह) की स्मृति में करवाया गया। कुम्हारिया तालाब का निर्माण उदयपुर की स्थापना के साथ महाराणा उदयसिंह ने कुम्हारों के लिए करवाया था। महाराणा सज्जनसिंह के समय में 1874 ई. में इस तालाब को रंगसागर में मिला दिया गया। गोवर्धनसागर झील, पीछोला झील से करीब तीन किमी. दूर दक्षिण में स्थित वर्तमान गोवर्धन सागर के

पास कोई 290 वर्ष पूर्व 1734 ई. से 1751 ई. के मध्य महाराणा जगतसिंह द्वितीय के समय धाय-भाय माना द्वारा एक छोटा कुंड बनवाया गया। महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह ने 1857 में इस कुंड के पास एक तालाब और गौशाला बनवाई। फलतः इस झील को गोवर्धनसागर झील के नाम से जाना जाने लगा। महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह के काल में चट्टानों को हटा कर एक नहर द्वारा गोवर्धनसागर को पीछोला से जोड़ा गया। अमरकुंड पीछोला झील का एक हिस्सा है। मेवाड़ के प्रधान अमरचंद बड़वा ने इस कुण्ड का निर्माण करवाया था जिसे महाराणा सज्जनसिंह ने 1874 ई. में पीछोला में मिला दिया। महाराणा स्वरूप सिंह ने स्वरूप सागर का निर्माण करवाया। पहले इस स्थान पर कलालों का शिव मंदिर और एक छोटा कुंड था जिसे कलालिया शिव सागर कुंड कहते थे। 1845 ई. में महाराणा स्वरूपसिंह ने इस कुंड को तालाब के रूप में बदल कर, झील का रूप दे दिया जिसे स्वरूपसागर कहा जाने लगा।²¹ देवाली का तालाब का निर्माण महाराणा जयसिंह ने उदयपुर से 2.5 किमी. दूर देवाली गांव के पास 1687 ई. में करवाया गया था। इसे मोतीमहल से नीमज माता के पहाड़ तक लम्बा बनवाया जिसे देवाली का तालाब कहा जाता था।²² महाराणा भीम सिंह के समय में अतिवृष्टि होने से इसका बांध टूट गया और सहेलियों की बाड़ी भी वीरान हो गई थी।²³ इस तालाब का बांध अधिक ऊंचा ना होने तथा जल की आवक कम होने के कारण उसका जल दूर दूर तक नहीं फैल सकता था। अतः महाराणा फतहसिंह के समय अप्रैल 4 1889 ई. को इस बांध की नींव इंग्लैण्ड के ड्यूक आफ केनाट द्वारा रखी गई। ड्यूक ऑफ केनाट ने पुनः निर्मित बांध का नाम फतहसागर रखा। फतहसागर में जनासागर (बड़ी का तालाब) बनने से पूर्व मोरवानी नदी का पानी आता था किन्तु जनासागर बनने से इसमें केवल हाथीधारा नदी और चिकलवास नहर द्वारा पानी की आवक उस समय भी होती थी जैसी वर्तमान में हो रही है। जनासागर जब तब भी छलकता है तो उसका अधिशेष जल फतहसागर में आता है। पीछोला भर जाने पर उसका पानी रंगसागर, स्वरूपसागर की नहरों द्वारा फतहसागर में पहुंचा दिया जाता है।²⁴

इस भांति मेवाड़ के विभिन्न महाराणाओं द्वारा लोक कल्याणकारी योजनाओं के साथ साथ जलसंरचना, प्रबंधन, संरक्षण के कार्य संसार भर में जाने जाते हैं। इतना ही नहीं यहां के शासकों ने आक्रमणों से राज्य सीमा की सुरक्षा एवं अकाल एवं सूखे का सामना करने के लिए वर्षा के समय जलसंरचना की ओर विशेष ध्यान देते हुए विभिन्न झीलों, सरोवर, बांध व नहरें आदि बनवाई जिसमें उदयपुर अपने आप में अद्वितीय रहा है।

सुप्रसिद्ध भूगोलवेत्ता प्रो. एन.एस. राठौड़ के अनुसार “नदी संगम अवधारणा के जनक महाराणा फतहसिंह थे।” ग्लोबल वार्मिंग की वजह से विश्व के जलस्रोतों पर जलसंकट दिखाई दे रहा है जबकि उदयपुर की झीलों व नदियों आपस में जुड़ी होने के

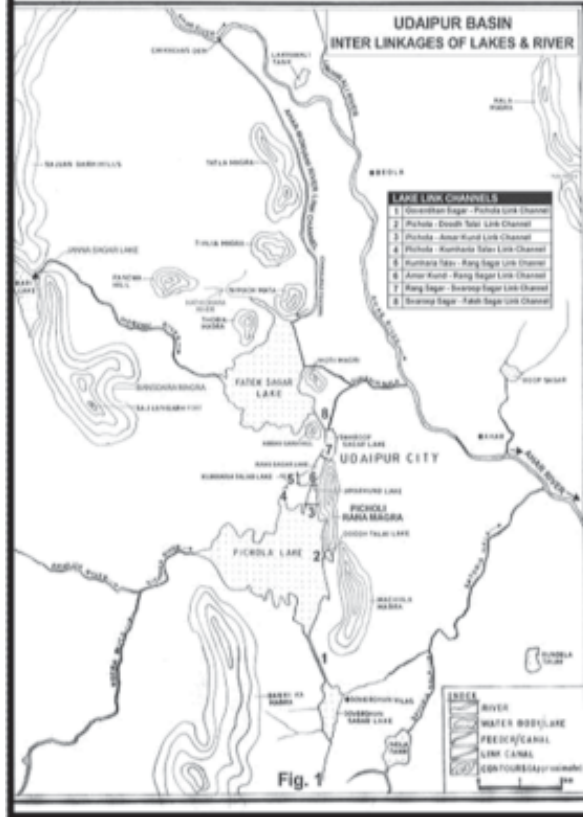
कारण इससे पूर्णतः सुरक्षित हैं। संसार में पहली बार नदियों और झीलों को जोड़ने का काम मेवाड़ में 130 वर्ष पूर्व हुआ था। प्रो. राठौड़ ने बताया कि जिस काल खण्ड में मिश्र में सागरों को जोड़ गया उसी दौर में मेवाड़ (उदयपुर) में महाराणा फतहसिंह ने चिकलवास नहर में पानी छोड़कर मदार तालाब के पानी को आहाड़ में जाने से पहले चिकलवास नहर में छोड़कर मोरवानिया व कोटड़ा (सिसारमा) नदियों का संगम कर दिया था। महाराणा फतहसिंह की डायरी ‘हकीकत बहीड़ा’ के अनुसार “चिकलवास के समीप आहाड़ नदी पर बांध बनाकर वर्षा ऋतु में प्रवाहित अतिरिक्त जल को फतहसागर में पहुंचाने हेतु चिकलवास नहर का निर्माण किया। महाराणा फतहसिंह ने पहली बार अगस्त 13, 1890 ई. को चिकलवास नहर में पानी छोड़कर आहाड़, मोरवानिया व कोटड़ा नदियों को आपस में जोड़ने का करिश्मा कर दुनिया के सामने उदाहरण प्रस्तुत किया। यह उस समय की बात है जब अमेरिका की टैनसी नदी घाटी योजना सहित विश्व में कहीं भी नदियों को जोड़ने का काम शुरू नहीं हुआ था।” विश्व में पहली बार महाराणा राजसिंह प्रथम ने नदी बहाव को कृत्रिम रूप से मोड़कर उसे स्थायित्व प्रदान किया। मेवाड़ के प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ स्थल उबेश्वर क्षेत्र से निकलने वाली उबेश्वर नदी को मोड़कर मोरवानी नदी में मिला दिया। यह कार्य 1653 ई.-1680 ई. के बीच किया गया। इस प्रकार यह जल जनासागर व फतहसागर में पहुंचा। इससे पूर्व उबेश्वर का जल छोटा मदार में मिलता था। महाराणा राजसिंह प्रथम का यह कार्य वर्षा-जलसंरचना व प्रबंधन का अनूठा उदाहरण है। वर्तमान समय में उदयपुर शहर के पश्चिम में 18 किमी. दूर स्थित धार गांव से 2 किमी. आगे पश्चिम की ओर उबेश्वर नदी को मोरवानी नदी में मिलाने के लिए 350 वर्ष पूर्व बनाया गया पक्का बांध आज भी पूर्ण रूप से सुरक्षित है।” निःसंदेह मेवाड़ विश्व में एक मात्र ऐसा राज्य था जिसने समय से कई वर्ष पूर्व चलते हुए जलसंरचना, संरक्षण व संवर्धन की ओर सार्थक प्रयास किये।

जैसा कि पूर्व में बताया गया कि विश्व में सर्वप्रथम सागरों को जोड़ने का काम मिश्र के शासकों ने नवंबर 18, 1769 में स्वेज नहर बनाकर भूमध्य सागर व लालसागर को जोड़कर किया था। उदयपुर जलसंरचना में जलाशय इस भांति जुड़े।²⁶

1. मदार तालाब से आहाड़, फतहसागर और उदयसागर।
2. स्वरूपसागर लिंक नहर से पीछोला व फतहसागर।
3. दूसरी लिंक नहर से गोवर्धनसागर व पीछोला।
4. गोवर्धनसागर से आहाड़ और उदयसागर।
5. आहाड़ के माध्यम से फतहसागर, पीछोला और उदयसागर।
6. उदयसागर से वल्लभनगर (उंटाला) और अन्य गांवों के जलाशयों से होकर जल

बनास नदी में जाता है।

7. वर्तमान में देवास बांध से सिसारमा व पीछोला।



प्रो. राठौड़ के अनुसार “उदयपुर बेसिन में योजनाबद्ध तरीके से विकसित जलाशय जलसंरचना, संरक्षण एवं प्रबंधन में विशेष रूप से अत्यंत आश्चर्यचकित किये जाने वाले हैं। मात्र 470 वर्ग किमी. में फैली छोटी घाटी गिरवा में क्रमबद्ध जलाशयों को निर्माण तथा नदियों को आपस में जोड़कर यहां के तत्कालीन शासकों ने स्थानीय स्तर पर उपलब्ध वर्षा जल प्रबंधन एवं संरक्षण की तकनीक को महत्व दे कर आज विश्व के सामने जल संचय के महत्व को विगत 600 से 150 वर्ष पूर्व ही मान्यता प्रदान कर दी।

उदयपुर शहर में गोवर्धनसागर, दूध तलाई, पीछोला झील, अमरकुंड, कुम्हारिया तालाब, रंगसागर, स्वरूपसागर व फतहसागर जलाशयों का निर्माण जलसंरचना की दृष्टि से विश्व भर में श्रेष्ठ उदाहरण है। यद्यपि इन सभी जलाशयों की गहराई अलग अलग होने के साथ साथ समुद्र तल से ऊंचाई भी अलग अलग है। वर्षा ऋतु में जब यह जलाशय जल से लबालब हो जाते हैं तो इन सभी जलाशयों का जलस्तर एक समान हो जाता है और पानी आपस में मिल जाता है। इस तरह की जल संरचना विश्व भर में एक मात्र उदयपुर में ही विकसित की गई थी।

इस प्रकार महाराणा राजसिंह द्वारा नदियों के बहाव को मोड़ने एवं महाराणा फतहसिंह द्वारा नदियों को नहरों द्वारा जोड़ने की स्थापित अवधारणा को आधार बनाकर वर्तमान समय में भारतीय नदियों को आपस में जोड़ने का प्रयास आने वाले जल संकट से त्राण दिलाने में सहायक भूमिका अदाकर सकता है।

वापिकाएं, कुंड एवं कुएं – यदि देखा जाए तो मेवाड़ में वापिकाएं, कुंड एवं कुएं प्रारंभिक शासकों के समय से बनाये जाते रहे हैं। ये प्रायः बस्तियों से दूर मार्गों, हवेलियों, नोहरों, बगीचों, व्यापारिक मार्ग, धार्मिक स्थलों आदि पर अत्यधिक मिलते हैं। बावड़ियों एवं कुंडों में सीढ़ियां अधिकांशतः एक ओर ही बनी होती है। सीढ़ियों के आगे और मध्य में स्तम्भ पर टिके मांड या मंडप बने होते हैं। परंतु कुछ वापिकाओं ऐसी हैं जिनमें तीन तरफ सीढ़ियां हैं और बीच में मण्डप बना है। कतिपय ऐसी हैं जिनमें तीन तरफ सीढ़ियां हैं और बीच में स्तम्भों पर आश्रित मण्डप (चतुरस्र या आयताकार छतवाला या सीढीदार प्रासादों के मण्डपों की आकृति की छतवाला) बना है। कुछ कुंड ऐसे भी हैं जिनमें चारों ओर से अंदर उतरने के लिए सीढ़ियां व उनके ऊपर मंडप बने हुए हैं। कुंडों पर प्रायः देवालय बनाये गये हैं। ये अधिकांश पक्के होते हैं तथा कारीगरों की कलात्मक दक्षता स्पष्ट नजर आती है। बावड़ियों एवं कुंडों में सीढ़ियां बनाने से यही तात्पर्य था कि कोई भी राहगीर उसमें उतरकर पानी पी सके। इन पर बने ढाड़ों से स्पष्ट होता है कि इनका उपयोग सिंचाई के लिए भी होता था। कुंडों में सीढ़ियां नहीं होती थीं। प्रायः इसके पास रस्से से बंधी एक बाल्टी रहती थी जिसे कुएं से भरकर प्यासा अपनी प्यास बुझाता था। ये कुएं कच्चे और पक्के दोनों तरह के बनते थे। इनका उपयोग भी सिंचाई व पेयजल के लिए किया जाता था।²⁸ निःसंदेह जलसंरचना के क्षेत्र में इनका निर्माण का भी महत्वपूर्ण योगदान था। उदयपुर जल संरचना के क्षेत्र में 1553 ई. से 1557 के बीच महाराणा उदयसिंह की भट्टियानी राणी एंजन कुंवर ने एक बावड़ी और धर्मशाला बनवाई।²⁹ उदयसिंह की सोनगिरी राणी ने 1554 ई. में बड़ला वाली सराय व पनघट की बावड़ी बनवाई।³⁰ वर्तमान बी.एन. स्कूल के सामने बनी हुई थी। महारानी झाली वीरा बाई ने अपने मायके के रास्ते पर देवारी के बाहर 1557 से 1559 ई. के बीच

एक बावड़ी बनवाई।³¹ महाराणा कर्णसिंह ने उदयपुर में सर्वत्रुतु विलास में एक बावड़ी का निर्माण करवाया।³² महाराणा राजसिंह ने कुंवरपदे में कर्णबाव के पास सर्वत्रुतु विलास नामक महल व बावड़ी बनवाई।³³ 1659 में महाराणा राजसिंह ने देबारी घाटे के वहां एक बावड़ी का निर्माण करवाया।³⁴ 1660 ई. खवासन सुंदर बाई ने एक विशाल एवं सुंदर बावड़ी बनवाई।³⁵ जो मोहनलाल सुखाड़िया विश्वविद्यालय परिसर में आज भी सुरक्षित है। सुंदरबाव की प्रतिष्ठा पर महाराणा राजसिंह ने गोविन्द राय व्यास को भुवाणा (उदयपुर) में 75 बीघा जमीन दी। इस भूमि गोविन्द राम की मां ने बावड़ी निर्मित करवाई।³⁶ महाराणा राजसिंह के मंत्री फतहचंद भटनागर ने उदयपुर के पास बेड़वास गांव में 1669 ई. में एक सुंदर बावड़ी बनवाई।³⁷ महाराणा राजसिंह की रानी रामरसदे ने देबारी में 1675 ई. में 'जया' नामक त्रिमुखी बावड़ी निर्मित कराई जो स्थापत्य कला की दृष्टि से अनुपम है।³⁸ 1680-1698 ई. के समय में महाराणा जयसिंह की पुत्री जिसकी शादी सादड़ी की गई थी जब वह विधवा हो गई तब उसने दिल्ली दरवाजे (उदयपुर में) के पास बाई जी राज का कुंड बनवाया।³⁹ महाराणा जयसिंह ने कुंवरपदे में कृष्ण विलास (वर्तमान में उदयपुर का जेलखाना) में एक वापी निर्मित करवाई।⁴⁰ महासतियों के पास भाणा गणेशजी मंदिर परिसर में महाराणा कर्णसिंह ने 1620 ई.-1628 ई. के मध्य एक बावड़ी बनवाई।⁴¹ इसी महाराणा के समय में एम.बी. कॉलेज के पास चम्पा बाग में एक वापिका का निर्माण करवाया गया।⁴² 1667 ई. में नौलखा महल (गुलाबबाग के पास) एक बावड़ी बनवाई गई।⁴³ मई 4, 1734 ई. को हरबेन ने एक बावड़ी बनवाकर शिवालय को यह बावड़ी व बाड़ी भेंट की।⁴⁴ महाराणा जगतसिंह द्वितीय के मंत्री देवजी भटनागर ने अप्रैल 12, 1744 ई. को एक बावड़ी बनवाई।⁴⁵ जून 24, 1763 ई. को महीदोज (दर्जी) जाति की तुलसा की पुत्री प्रभूबाई ने एक बावड़ी बनवाई।⁴⁶ धाय-भाय रूपा ने 1762 ई. को बेड़च नदी के पास तथा दासी रामप्यारी ने जून 13, 1791 ई. को समोर-बाग स्थित एक बावड़ी बनवाई।⁴⁷ इस भांति उदयपुर में जलसंरचना की सोच शासक से सामान्य वर्ग तक रही है। अतः इस सुंदर नगर की सुंदरता में चार चांद तब से अब तक लगते रहने के कारण ही इस झीलों की नगरी को राजस्थान के कश्मीर की संज्ञा दी हो तो कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं है। इस नीति की पालना रियासती काल में यहां के सामन्तों, जागीरदारों, सेठ साहूकारों, जनसामान्य के लोगों, स्त्रियों, विधवा महिलाओं और यहां तक कि नाजरों ने भी की है जिससे हमें जल संरचना की सीख लेते हुए आने वाले जलसंकट का सामना करने की क्षमता पैदा करनी होगी।

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मीनक्षी रावल*

मारवाड़ के मरू क्षेत्र में जलापूर्ति के लिए विभिन्न राजाओं, रानियों, पासवानों द्वारा विभिन्न स्थानों पर समय-समय पर जलाशयों का निर्माण किया गया, जिसमें झीलों का अहम स्थान है। इन झीलों को सुखे के समय वर्षा जल को संचित करने, सिंचाई, जल, विद्युत उत्पादन, अतिवृष्टि के समय बाढ़ को रोकने के लिए निर्मित किया जाता था। साथ ही इन कृत्रिम झीलों को अपनी ख्याति, पूर्तकर्म (पुण्य का काम), अकाल के समय रोजगार देने, पये जल की व्यवस्था करने, प्राकृतिक सुन्दरता बढ़ाने तथा राजाओं के मनोरंजन के केन्द्र के रूप में बनवाई गई थी। इनमें जोधपुर की बालसमन्द झील, कायलाना झील, तखतसागर झील, उम्मेद सागर झील तथा सुरपुरा झील है।

तखतसागर झील

यह झील जोधपुर शहर के मुख्य रूप से लगभग 10 किलोमीटर दूर है। वर्तमान तखतसागर को 'तखतसिंह जी री ख्यात' के अनुसार सन् 1848 में केवड़ा की गाद में (संकरी दो पहाड़ियों के बीच) महाराजा तखतसिंह जी ने बनाया था जिसकी पुष्टि 'मारवाड़ रा परगनां री विगत' (प्रथम भाग) मुहंता नेणसी री लिखी से भी होती है। जोधपुर राज्य की हथबही में इसे कायलाना झील का भाग माना जाता है। जो कायलाना रोड पर स्थित है। इसके समीप सिद्धनाथ शिव मंदिर भी स्थित है। इस झील का नामकरण, जोधपुर के तत्कालीन राजा तखतसिंह जी के नाम पर किया गया। यह संवत् 1905 में बनकर तैयार हो गया था, जिसके पट्टे और रिटेशनवॉल के बीच करीब 30 फीट मिट्टी डाली हुई है। यह किसी समय टूट गया था अथवा कायलाना झील तथा इसको अनदेखा कर आने-जाने के रास्ते के लिए एवं पाइप लाइन बिछाने के लिए इसे तोड़ दिया गया। वर्तमान तखतसागर के निर्माण का कार्य महाराजा उम्मेदसिंह जी ने सन् 1938 में सम्पूर्ण करवाया। यह लिट केनाल नहर से जुड़ा हुआ है। 46 फीट पानी भरा हुआ है। इसका तल समतल न होकर पहाड़ी क्षेत्र है तथा झाड़ियों से घिरा है। तखतसिंह

* एम.ए. (इतिहास), महिला पीजी कॉलेज, जय नारायण व्यास विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

री ख्यात से ज्ञात होता है कि इसके बाँध के निर्माण का ठेका पूसाराज जी कच्छवाहा ने लिया था। यहाँ पर मिट्टी डालने के लिए सिंधी गयो' को काम में लिया गया था। उम्मेद सिंह जी ने इसके नहर के निर्माण में बहुत से ठेकेदारों को सभी प्रकार की सहायता दी। इस चैनल की लम्बाई करीब 60 मील (90 किमी.) है और इस पर करीब 24 लाख रुपये खर्च हुए। कुड़ी गाँव के पास इस नहर के पानी को रखने हेतु एक बड़ा हौज बनाया जिसके गाद को समय-समय पर निकाला जाता था। वहीं एक पम्प लगाया गया है जो आज भी काम करता है। यह 64 अश्व शक्ति का है। कालान्तर में तखतसागर तक कुल 8 पम्प लगाए गए। इसी बाँध में सुमेर बाँध जो महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी ने सन् 1906-11 में बनवाया था, बाद में महाराजा कुमार श्री सुमेर सिंह जी के नाम पर सुमेर समन्द वाटर स्कीम के तहत एक नहर निकालकर इस नये तखतसागर में डाली गई जिससे तखतसागर बाँध में पानी आने लगा। इस नहर को लाने में तब 18 लाख रुपये लगे थे। चौपासनी के पास फिल्टर हाऊस भी बनवाया गया। इस चैनल निर्माण का कार्य निर्धारित अवधि में और बहुत अच्छे से हो जाने पर महाराजा उम्मेद सिंह जी ने दिनांक 29 अप्रैल, 1938 को एक बड़ा उद्घाटन समारोह आयोजित किया। इसमें काम करने वाले 15 अधिकारियों एवं ठेकेदारों को सनद एवं चाँदी का मेडल तथा 169 कर्मचारियों को सनद एवं नकद इनाम देकर 23 जनवरी, 1940 को सम्मानित किया।

सामाजिक पक्ष - इस नहर के बन जाने पर जोधपुर शहर में पानी की कमी दूर हो गई, क्योंकि तखतसागर से फिल्टर किया गया पानी मिलने लगा। यह जोधपुर की जनता का आकर्षण केन्द्र बन गया, साथ ही यह तखतसिंह जी, उम्मेद सिंह जी आदि के ठहरने, शिकार आदि के लिए प्रिय स्थान बन गया था।

प्रारम्भिक और वर्तमान स्थिति - सन् 1936, 1939 में अकाल पड़ गया, जिससे जोधपुर शहर और पूरे राज्य में तालाब खाली हो गये। जोगी चिड़ियानाथ जी के श्राप से, सिंध व पंजाब के लोगों के जोधपुर में बसने पर उनकी पानी के अधिक अपव्यय और बावड़ियों एवं तालाबों के पानी का उपयोग न कर झील से करने पर पानी का अधिकाधिक उपयोग से तखतसागर में पानी की कमी हो गई।

सन् 1945 में महाराजा उम्मेद सिंह जवाई बाँध बनाकर जिसके जरिये सुमेर समन्द की नहर तक एक और नहर बनाकर उसके जरिये पानी जोधपुर तक पहुँचाने के लिए जवाई बाँध के पास बाँध का शिलान्यास किया जो आजादी के बाद सम्पूर्ण हुआ, 1960 ई. में फिर अकाल पड़ा तो इस जवाई बाँध को साई बाँध (मेवाड़) से सुरंग द्वारा जोड़ा गया, परन्तु फिल्टर हाऊस की कमी के कारण पानी के सप्लाई गड़बड़ा गई और पानी का खर्च भी बढ़ गया। उधर फौज एयरफोर्स की नफरी भी बढ़ गई। नहर जगह-जगह से टूट गई और पानी की चोरी भी होने लगी। जिसके कारण जवाई बाँध से छोड़े गए पानी का केवल 35 प्रतिशत पानी ही जोधपुर पहुँच पाता था। इस झील का

कोई औटा नहीं है जो कि तालाब व झील के लिए आवश्यक अंग होता है। यह जोधपुर की आबादी के लिए पानी सप्लाई का मुख्य स्रोत था, लेकिन आज तखतसागर लगातार सुखता चला जा रहा है इसके चारों तरफ उचित प्रबन्ध न होने के कारण लोगों के आत्महत्या करने का केन्द्र बनता जा रहा है, इसलिए इसे वर्तमान में सुसाइड पॉइन्ट के नाम से जाना जाता है। वही मछलियाँ के लिए आटा डालने से झील में उत्पन्न हो रही है जिस पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। पर्यटक यहाँ आते तो हैं, परन्तु स्वच्छता का अभाव रखा जाने से इसकी महत्ता ओझल सी हो गई हैं।

कायलाना झील

यह बाँध शहर के पश्चिम में 3 मील के फासले पर है। जोधपुर राज्य की हथ बही से ज्ञात होता है। पीने के स्वच्छ जल की सप्लाई की समस्या तथा कृषि हेतु जल का संग्रह दोनों के प्रयास किए गए, जिससे कायलाना बाँध का निर्माण किया गया। कायलाना में स्थित कीर्ति स्तम्भ के अनुसार इसका निर्माण भीमसिंह जी ने करवाया था। तखतसिंह जी कि ख्यात तथा मारवाड़ रा परगना री विगत में यह जानकारी मिलती है कि यहाँ तखतसिंह जी के बनाये हुए महल और बाग थे, किन्तु उन्हीं के स्थान पर यह बाँध तैयार किया गया जिसका ठेका सालगराम जी को दिया गया था। इसी के आस-पास की पहाड़ी में सुअर बहुत पाये जाते हैं। इस झील का मंथला M.S.L. 904.7 है। ओटे के लेवल तक इसमें पानी 290 मिलियन घन फुट समाता है। जिसकी तादाद 11,90,000 गैलन है। इसके लिए सर प्रतापसिंह जी साहिब बहादुर ने 1892 इस्वी में अपनी जेब से 65,000/- रुपये खर्च किये। यह एक वर्ष में बनकर तैयार हुआ। यह समुद्र तल से 858 फुट ऊँचा है। 1902 में इसकी ऊँचाई को बढ़ाया गया, उस समय इसकी गहराई 58 फुट हो गई, जिसमें 17 करोड़ घन फुट पानी एकत्र हो सकता है। बाँध के चारों ओर पक्की दीवारें बनवाई गई थी, साथ ही पानी की आवक के लिये दीवारों में लोहे की रोड़े वाली जालियाँ लगवाई गई थी। इसके भर जाने पर इसका पानी उम्मेद सागर में छोड़ा जाता था। सर प्रताप के सहयोग के कारण इसे प्रताप सागर कहा जाने लगा।

महाराजा उम्मेद सिंह जी ने 1934 में पानी के निजी कनेक्शन देने पर पानी के मीटर लगाने का प्रावधान किया। पानी का दुरुपयोग रोका जा सके। 1936 में नागौर में जल व्यवस्था के समुचित प्रबन्ध के लिए प्रताप सागर झील की सफाई की गई। 1939 तक उम्मेद सिंह के कार्यकाल में कायलाना फीडर चैनल में सुधार किया गया। इन सब प्रयासों से पानी के वितरण में वृद्धि हुई तथा इन सब प्रयासों से पानी के वितरण में वृद्धि हुई तथा बाद में इसके लिए 211982 रुपये की एक नई योजना का निर्माण किया जिसमें पाइप लाइन वगैरह बदलना शामिल था।

1870 तक जोधपुर शहर में जल आपूर्ति का साधन आस-पास की पहाड़ियों थी, जहाँ से पानी बहकर शहर के छोटे-छोटे जलाशयों में एकत्रित हो जाता था। 1883-85

में प्रताप सागर को बालसमंद से नहरों द्वारा जोड़ा गया। वर्तमान में इसे इंदिरा गाँधी नगर शाखा से जोड़ा है।

सामाजिक स्थिति – यहाँ चारों दिशाओं में चार तालाबों के पास लगे कीर्ति स्तम्भ पर सगंमरमर के पत्थर पर लेख उत्कीर्ण है। यह वर्तमान में आकर्षण का केन्द्र बन गया है। यहाँ मूर्तियों का विसर्जन भी किया जाता है पर्यटन इसकी ऐतिहासिकता तथा प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य से प्रभावित होकर आवागमन को सुचारू बनाए रखा है। इसके पास के बाग जो तखतसिंहजी की ख्यात तथा विगत के अनुसार तखतसिंह जी तथा भीमसिंह जी ने बनाए थे। पास ही चिडियानाथ जी के लिए एक छतरी भी बनाई गई है। यहाँ नौकायान भी सलुभ है तथा आवागमन के लिए सड़क पक्की बनाई गई है।

उम्मेदसागर झील

वर्तमान उम्मेद सागर जोधपुर मुख्य शहर से 11.06 किलोमीटर चौखा गाँव के पास, चौपासनी गाँव में स्थित है। महाराजा उम्मेदसिंह ने उम्मेद सागर जल को जोधपुर शहर में वितरण करने की योजना को अपनी मंजूरी प्रदान की। इस योजना में 235272/- रुपये का प्रावधान किया गया। दिसम्बर, 1931 को उम्मेद सागर बाँध (चौपासनी बाँध) के निर्माण की योजना बनाई गई। 4 जनवरी, 1932 को महाराजा ने इसे अनुमोदित कर इसका नाम उम्मेद सागर बाँध रखने के आदेश दिये। महाराजा ने राज्य बजट में से 1 लाख रुपये तथा निजी कोष से 2 लाख रुपये देने की घोषणा की। जिस स्थान पर आज यह उम्मेद सागर बना हुआ है। उसके पहले एक बाँध व बगीचा महाराजा अभयसिंह जी ने बनाया था। जसवंत सिंह जी की ख्यात के अनुसार जसवंत सिंह जी द्वितीय ने 1893 में उसको चौपासनी का बाँध नाम दिया। इसकी मरम्मत महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी ने 1908 में तथा 1918 के आस-पास महाराजा सुमेरसिंह जी ने कराई थी। इस बाँध के टूट जाने के कारण इसकी मरम्मत न करवाकर इसे चौपासनी का बाग बना दिया गया, जिसे आज चौपासनी बाग के नाम से पहचाना जाता है। 1918 में पुनः इसकी मरम्मत न कराकर एक नये तालाब का निर्माण कराने की सोचते हुए, नया बाँध बनाने की योजना बनाई गई और वर्तमान जगह का चयन किया गया, लेकिन इस बीच में से नया पुरा मालियों के शमशान की शाल का रास्ता जाता था जिससे सर प्रताप तथा बिरदो जी साँखला (चौखा गाँव वालों) में मनमुटाव चल रहा था। 1918 में इसकी पुनः मरम्मत की गई तथा इस योजना का नाम चौखा हटाकर गोलासनी रिजरवायर नाम से स्वीकृति ली। सन् 1920 में अल्प समय में बना बाँध पहली वर्षा में ही टूट गया। इसकी पुनः मरम्मत 1933 के लिए उम्मेद सिंह जी ने निजी खर्च से 2 लाख रुपये दिए। इसका ठेका मगजी कच्छवाहा नागौरी बेरा वालों का था। मिट्टी डालने के लिए नेरोगेज की लाइने बिछाकर हैण्ड ट्रॉलियों से काम लिया गया था। इसकी भराव क्षमता 348 M.C.F.T. और गेज 38 फीट है। इसको पाइप के साथ जोड़कर जल-कल योजना बनाई गई। कुछ

समय पश्चात् ये पुनः खाली हो गई। 1936 में सुमेर समंद वाटर केनाल से पानी लिया गया, बाद में 1936 में उम्मेद सिंह जी ने इस्ट केनाल उम्मेद सागर के नाम से बनाई थी। यह नहर चौपासनी फिल्टर हाऊस के आगे पहाड़ी में सुरंग के आगे नथु बाँध की नहर का पानी आता था। तखतसागर का अतिरिक्त पानी भी लिया जाता था।

वर्तमान स्थिति – साफ-सफाई के अभाव के कारण उम्मेद सागर निरन्तर जन सामान्य की दृष्टि से ओझल होता जा रहा है। इसका जल स्तर अति न्यून है। इसकी नहर एक गन्दे नाले का काम कर रही है। नहरों में आगौर में कुछ अवरोधों के कारण पानी नहीं पहुँच पा रहा है। अतः उम्मेद सागर की स्थिति निरन्तर क्षीण होती जा रही है जिससे इसकी ऐतिहासिकता को खतरा है।

बालसमन्द झील

जोधपुर शहर से 3 मील मंडोर के रास्ते में बायें हाथ की पक्की सड़क पर बाल समंद नामक सुन्दर झील है जिसे परिहार राजा बालकराव ने सन् 1159 में सम्पूर्ण करवाया था। यह जोधपुर की सबसे पुरानी झील है। नैणसी की ख्यात, मारवाड़ रा परगनां की विगत से ज्ञात होता है कि राव जोधा ने भी बाल समंद झील में पुर्ननिर्माण करवाया था। सूरसिंह जी ने इसके पट्टे को बड़ा करवाया, महाराजा जसवन्तसिंह जी और अभयसिंह जी ने भी इसका जीर्णोद्धार करवाया था। महाराजा भीमसिंह जी ने इसकी घाटी को बंधावाया। झील का विस्तार जसवन्त सिंह के काल में हुआ जिसकी पुष्टि हमें जसवन्त सिंह जी की ख्यात से होती है। इसका क्षेत्रफल 8 वर्गमील है। जब यह बरसाती पानी से भर जाता है, तब इसमें 5 करोड़ 60 लाख क्यूबिक फुट जल समाता है। यह 40 फुट गहरा है और इसका पैदा पहाड़ियों की चट्टान का है। झील के दक्षिण में मेवाड़ के एक सेनापति अहाड़ा की छत्री है जो वि.सं. 1511 में बनी थी। इस पट्टे पर तखतसिंह जी ने भव्य महल बनवाया जो अभी भी मौजूद है तथा जसवन्त सिंह जी द्वितीय ने भी एक सफेद रंग का महल बनवाया जो किसी कारणवश टूट गया। यहां वृक्ष लगाए गए थे। इस बाँध के पट्टे को 20 फीट ऊँचा करवाया। 1885 में इस पानी की आवक आगौर बढ़ाने के लिए दर्जूर के पास की पहाड़ी पर एक बाँध बनाया गया, जिसे नहर पोर्ट कहते हैं जिसका ठेका साहेबराम को दिया गया। इस बाँध से 12 किलोमीटर लम्बी नहर बालसमंद तक बनाई गई, इसकी दिवार 5 फीट थी। इसके पानी के सदुपयोग के लिए नहर के पास बेरीगंगा की पहाड़ी पचकुण्डा की पहाड़ियों, पीपली की पहाड़ी में चने के बाड़ियों के पास स्टाफ बाँधों का निर्माण करवाया गया।

सामाजिक – वर्तमान में इस नहर को शहर के लोगों ने व प्रशासन ने अतिक्रमण करके लगभग नष्ट कर दिया है। इसमें एक कुआँ भी है जिसमें से आज भी जन स्वास्थ्य अभियांत्रिकी विभाग पानी लेता है। नहर के मुहाने पर लेटिंग गेट लगाये हुए हैं। उसके आगे बालसमंद की तरफ पीपली खाई के पहले नहर में खम्भे चुनकर उनमें लकड़ी के

गेट लगाये हुये थे, उसके पास ही एक वाल्व एक फुट का लगा हुआ है। ब्राह्मणियां टांके वाला वाल्व व लकड़ी के गेट के पास वाला वाल्व खोलने पर पानी नहर से निकल जाता है। यह पानी जोधेलाव बाँध के पास गुलाब सागर की नहर के दोनों गेटों के बीच में से जाता था। इस क्षेत्र में खनन होने के बाद भी, आज भी दोनों वाल्वों का पानी इसी स्थान से गुलाब सागर की नहर में होता हुआ गुलाब सागर में जाता है।

प्रारम्भिक वर्तमान स्थिति – यह राजाओं व रानियों के निवास के लिए प्रिय स्थान बन चुका था। इस झील पर अनेक बार बहुत से अन्य राज्यों के राजा, महाराजाओं एवं सेनापतियों को ठहराया गया। महाराजा जसवंत सिंह प्रथम, भीमसिंह जी को इन महलों में शरण लेनी पड़ी। इस झील का सौन्दर्य और महल की भव्यता के साथ सुन्दर बाग-बगीचों ने पर्यटकों को आकर्षित किया है।

जसवंत सागर झील/सुरपुरा बांध

यह मुख्य शहरों से 12.6 किलोमीटर दूर स्थित है। इस बाँध का निर्माण महाराजा जसवंत सिंह जी द्वितीय ने 1892 के आस-पास करवाया था। इसका गेज 35 फीट था। बाद में इसका गेज 26 फीट कर दिया गया। इसकी अब भराव क्षमता 764 M.C.F.T. है यह कार्य महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी के समय में हुआ। इसका आगोर बहुत बड़ा है जो मण्डलनाथ-बैधनाथ के मंदिरों की पहाड़ियों से हुआ। दर्रजर, मण्डोर, बालसमंद, मगराज जी के टाँके तक की पहाड़ियों तक फैला हुआ है। नागादड़ी, नहर सागर, बालसमंद एवं गुलाब सागर, फतेहसागर, नया तालाब आदि के भर जाने पर उनकी नहरों से इस तालाब को भरा जाता है। जीवन सिंह जी के बाग, बालसमंद, जोपेलाव, नागादड़ी के ओटों का पानी इसी बाँध में जाता है। इसमें बहुत पानी आता था। इसके अलावा एक बड़ी नहर बिराई से भवाद, दर्रजर होती हुई भी बनाई गई है जिसकी लम्बाई करीब 65 किलोमीटर है और चौड़ाई 18-20 फीट है। इस नहर में उजलिया के पहाड़ियों से भी बहुत पानी आता है। रामपुरा मथानिया क्षेत्र के वर्षा का पानी इस नहर में मिलता है। सुअरों की तलई के कारण पास गाँवों का नाम सुरपुरा रख दिया गया। उस गाँव के पास होने के कारण इसका नाम भी सुरपुरा बाँध हो गया। इस तालाब से एक नहर द्वारा पानी रातानाड़ा तक आता था जो पीने के काम में लिया जाता था फिर पुराने पब्लिक पार्क के लिए आता था। यह नहर मगरा-पूजला, चुतरावंता, महामंदिर, राईकाबाग तक आज भी देखी जा सकती है। इस नहर में लगी हुई मोरी का गेट तो कई ले गया, किंतु मोरी अभी मौजूद है। महाराजा सरदारसिंह जी ने दूसरी नहर इसके पट्टे के पास पहाड़ में सुरगं खोदकर बनाई जिस पर जो लोहे का गेट है। वह जोधपुर की ही फर्म अब्दुल्लाह एण्ड सन्स फ्लोर मिल्स द्वारा बनाया हुआ है। यह नहर सिंचाई के लिए बनाई गई थी। यह झील मण्डोर-नागौर रोड़ से सिर्फ 1 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है और जोधपुर से करीब 13 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर जोधपुर-नागौर रोड़ के पास बनी हुई है।

सामाजिक स्थिति – जब इस झील में पानी आता है तब यहाँ पर विदेशी एवं देशी बहुत से परिंदे आते हैं। जोधपुर शहर के पास इतनी बड़ी झील का होना एक सौभाग्य की बात है परंतु इस झील को भी अनदेखा किया जाता रहा है। इसकी मुख्य नहर बिराई से खारी तक तो छोटे-छोटे रेत की टीले नहर में दिखाई देते हैं। खारी के बाद भवाद इस नहर को रोककर खेतों में पानी दिया जाता है और कुछ लोग तो नहर में खेती भी करते हैं। भवाद के पास नहर की दीवार इतनी नीचे कर दी गई है कि उसकी ऊँचाई 10 फीट की बजाय सिर्फ डेढ़ फीट रह गई है। उजलिया गाँव के पास की पहाड़ी का सब पानी जो बड़ी तादाद में आता है वह तो निकल जाता है पर नहर धीमी होने पर बासनी गाँव के पास सड़क पर डिप बनाया गया है। इस नहर से करीब-करीब 2 फीट ऊँचा है जिससे कम वर्षा का पानी वही रुक जाता है क्योंकि वहाँ पर करीब 5 फीट मिट्टी मुख्य नहर में आई हुई है। इसी जगह पूर्व में एक चार फाटकों वाला अवरोध भी लगा हुआ था जो अब टूट चुका है। यह इसलिए आटिये नाले का पानी, नहर की विपरीत दिशा में चला जाता है। वर्षा के होते ही इन गेटों को बन्द कर दिया जाता था जिसकी वजह से पानी बड़ी नहर जोन पर पुनः इन गेटों को खोल दिया जाता था जिससे मुख्य नहर का पानी झील की तरफ जाता रहे।

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किशनगढ़ की ऐतिहासिक धरोहर

डॉ. मधु कुमावत*

किशनगढ़, राजस्थान का एक ऐतिहासिक शहर है, जो राज्य के अजमेर जिले में स्थित है। इसका पूरा नाम मदनगंज-किशनगढ़ है, जो जोधपुर के महाराजा उदयसिंह के राजकुमार किशन सिंह द्वारा 1609 में बसाया गया था। यह शहर औपनिवेशिक काल के दौरान यहां की रियासत की राजधानी भी हुआ करता था। यह स्थल कई ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं का साक्षी रहा है। उस दौरान बनाई गई कई ऐतिहासिक संरचनाओं को आज भी यहां देखा जा सकता है। पर्यटन के लिहाज से यह एक आदर्श स्थल है, जहां आप किले, महल से लेकर झीलें और आकर्षक चित्रकारी भी देख सकते हैं। किशनगढ़ में अनेक प्राचीन धरोहरें हैं यहाँ का किला, गुन्दोशाह की हवेली, मोर्चे, शिकार बुर्ज, चोबुर्जा, छतरियाँ, मोखमविलास, कुँए-बाबड़ियां, छपाई मशीन, पीताम्बर की गाल, नवग्रह मंदिर, फूल महल आदि धरोहर हैं जिनका विवरण निम्न है-

फूल महल

गुन्दोलाव झील किनारे सन 1870 में फूल महल बनाया गया था। यह एक समय में किशनगढ़ के शासक का शाही महल था। यह शहर के मध्य में स्थित है। वर्तमान में यह एक आलीशान होटल में तब्दील किया गया है। इसे फूल महल पैलेस के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसके दोनों ओर कमल रूपी बुर्ज है। छतरियों के ऊपर कमल की कली उकेरी गई हैं। तत्कालीन शासक ने ग्रीष्मकालीन निवास के लिये इसका निर्माण करवाया था।

चाँदी की टकसाल

यहाँ सालों तक चाँदी के सिक्कों की ढलाई कार्य भी किया गया। रियासतकाल में चाँदी के सिक्कों के साथ ही सोने की मोहरों की भी ढलाई का कार्य किया जाता रहा है। यहाँ के चाँदी के सिक्कों की पहचान के रूप में उन पर एक झाड़ का चिन्ह अंकित किया जाता था। यहाँ के सिक्के देशभर में सालों तक प्रचलन में रहे। इन सिक्कों पर

* सहायक आचार्य इतिहास, श्री रंकपा राजकीय स्नातकोत्तर महाविद्यालय किशनगढ़

तत्कालीन बादशाहों के नाम और उनके समय की भी जानकारी अंकित की जाती थी, लेकिन ब्रिटिश हुकूमत के आने के बाद यह ब्रिटेन का एक ही सिक्का प्रचलन में लाया गया। इसके बाद यहाँ की चाँदी की टकसाल में चाँदी के सिक्कों की ढलाई कार्य बंद हो गया। पुराना शहर गुर्जरों का मोहल्ला स्थित यह सालों पुरानी टकसाल अब जर्जर और खंडहर बन गई हैं।

पीताम्बर की गाल

कृष्णगढ़ के तत्कालीन शासक मानसिंह के समय ठाकुरजी श्रीनाथ जी का स्वरूप विक्रम संवत् 1727 में ब्रज से मेवाड़ ले जाते समय पीताम्बर की गाल परिसर में बसंत पंचमी से चौत्र प्रतिपदा तक ठाकुरजी यहाँ सात कदम्बों के नीचे विराजे थे। जो वर्तमान में नाथद्वारा में विराजित हैं। बाद में यहाँ जयकिशनदास पुरोहित ने निर्माण कार्य भी करवाया। इसका शिलालेख यहाँ वर्तमान में भी लगा हुआ है। पीताम्बर की गाल में स्थित श्री नाथ जी की बैठक में सन् 1914 का शिलालेख विद्यमान है इसमें निम्न प्रकार वर्णन किया गया है-“किशनगढ़ नरेश महाराजा श्री मान सिंह जी के समय ठाकुर जी श्री श्रीनाथ जी एवं नवनीत प्रिया जी संवत् 1727 में ब्रज से मेवाड़ पधारते समय इस पावन स्थल पीताम्बर जी की गाल पर बसंत पंचमी से चैत्र प्रतिपदा तक सात कदम्ब के नीचे बिराजे जिनकी यह बैठक भगवदीय श्री जयकिशन दास जी पुरोहित ने संवत् 1970 में निर्माण करवाया।”

नवग्रह मंदिर

पुराना शहर सुख सागर व्यायाम शाला परिसर में सालों पुराना नवग्रह मंदिर स्थापित है। यह मंदिर करीब 1100 साल पुराना है। इस मंदिर की विशिष्टता यह है कि खगोलीय स्थिति के अनुसार ही इस मंदिर में नवग्रह की प्रतिमाएं एक स्तम्भ पर स्थापित हैं। यहाँ सूर्य, चंद्र, मंगल, बुध, शुक्र, शनि, राहु और केतु ग्रह की प्रतिमाएं हैं। वैदिक प्रदिष्ट में सूर्य सभी ग्रहों का स्वामी हैं अतः सूर्य देवता सबसे ऊपर विराजमान है। इन सभी ग्रहों की प्रतिमाएं इनके वास्तविक रंग के अनुरूप ही हैं। इस मंदिर के लोकमान्य में काफी मान्यता है।

शिकार बुर्ज

रियासत काल में राज्य और किले की सुरक्षा के साथ ही पहाड़ी या ऊचाई वाले स्थान पर शिकार के लिये भी बुर्ज बनाई जाती थी य ऐसे ही एक शिकार बुर्ज किशनगढ़ के सिलोरा मार्ग की ऊंची पहाड़ी पर हैं। इस बुर्ज को शिकार बुर्ज के नाम से जाना जाता है। इसका इस्तेमाल शिकार करने के लिये किया जाता था। इस बुर्ज के भीतर से जंगली जानवरों का शिकार किया जाता था। इस पक्की बुर्ज के चारों तरफ खिड़कियाँ होती थी और इन खिड़कियों के माध्यम से ही निशाना बना कर शिकार किया जाता था।

किशनगढ़ रियासत का राज्य चिह्न

किशनगढ़ के राज्य चिह्न में ऊपरी तरफ एक चील है जो कि देवी का स्वरूप माना गया है छ साथ में दोनों तरफ एक एक घोड़े हैं जो बल का प्रतिक हैं। चिह्न में 2 शब्द नीति और रीति भी लिखे हैं। बताया गया है कि किशनगढ़ राज्य हमेशा नीति के ऊपर चलने की बात मानता है और रीति अर्थात् परम्पराओं को भी निभाना चाहता है। इस राज्य का मूल आधार भी यही रहा है कि अपना बल देवी की कृपा एवं नीति और रीति का अनुसरण कर इस राज्य की स्थापना का आधार स्तम्भ रखा गया।

चौबुर्जा

किशनगढ़ रियासत की सुरक्षा और नियमित निगरानी के लिये ऊँची पहाड़ी पर मोर्चा बनाया गया था जो वर्तमान में चौबुर्जा के नाम से जाना जाता है। तत्कालीन शासक बहादुर सिंह के समय में यह मोर्चा बनाया गया था। इसमें सशस्त्र सैनिक रखे जाते थे। अचानक आक्रमण ना हो इसकी निगरानी के लिये यह मोर्चा बनाया गया था। यह करीब 250 वर्ष पुराना है। वर्तमान में चौबुर्जा परिसर में हनुमानजी का मंदिर भी है जिसका निर्माण बाबा कृष्ण भारती द्वारा करवाया गया था।

यज्ञ भवन

रियासतकाल में तत्कालीन शासक मदनसिंह के समय में यह माजी महाराज की कोठी रही। इसके बाद यज्ञनारायण सिंह के नाम से इस भवन में हॉस्पिटल बना दिया गया और इसका नामकरण यज्ञनारायण चिकित्सालय रखा गया। 1950 ई से 1988 ई. तक इस भवन में यज्ञनारायण चिकित्सालय संचालित हुआ। बाद में इसके पास ही नये भवन का निर्माण कराया गया और इस हॉस्पिटल को इस नये भवन में स्थानांतरित कर दिया गया। वर्तमान में यह सेवा भारती की रसोई संचालित है। यहा से मरीजों को भी खाना खिलाया जाता है।

छपाई मशीन

करीब 210 साल पहले सलेमाबाद निवासी पंडित श्रीधर गौड़ ने मुम्बई में छपाई फैक्ट्री में कार्य करने के लिये छपाखाना मशीन खरीदी। यह मशीन मेड इन इटली है। मुम्बई में हुए दंगों के दौरान इनके पौत्र महावीर प्रसाद गौड़ परिवार समेत किशनगढ़ आ गये और यह मशीन भी मुम्बई से किशनगढ़ साथ ले आए। करीब 80 साल से यह मशीन यहाँ है और इस पर वर्तमान समय में भी पुराना शहर कचहरी चौक स्थित ब्रह्मपुरी मोहल्ले में नियमित रूप से धार्मिक पंचांग वगेरह छपाई कार्य किये जा रहे हैं। इस मशीन पर अभिषेक आशीष गौड़ के रूप में 10वीं पीढ़ी काम कर रही है।

सेठ गुन्दोशाह की हवेली

किशनगढ़ की स्थापना के 141 वर्ष पहले किशनगढ़ के नामी सेठ गुन्दोशाह ने पानी की व्यवस्था के लिये गुन्दोलाव झील बनाई। सेठ गुन्दोशाह उस समय धार्मिक कार्यों में आर्थिक सहयोग के लिये जाने जाते थे। किशनगढ़ के पुराना शहर ब्रह्मपुरी क्षेत्र में सालों तक इनके वंशज इस हवेली में रहे। बाद में इनके वंशज के अन्यत्र जाकर बस जाने से इस हवेली में कई सालों तक महाराजा मिडिल स्कूल भी संचालित हुई छ बाद में हवेली के जर्जर होने के कारण यह स्कूल अन्यत्र स्थानांतरित की गई। अभी यह हवेली सालों से वीरान है।

शराब बनाने के उपकरण

रियासत काल में सुख सागर के पास किशनगढ़ स्टेट की प्रसिद्ध शराब बनाई जाती थी। यहाँ जगमोहन और मनमोहन इन दो ब्रांड की देशी शराब बनाई जाती थी। दाख, काजू, पिस्ता एवं केसर कस्तूरी समेत अन्य सूखे मेवों से यहाँ ब्रांडेड शराब बनाई जाती थी और तत्कालीन शासकों और ब्रिटिश सरकार के कई बड़े अधिकारी इसे खासा पसंद करते थे और वह यहाँ निर्मित शराब को सेवन भी किया करते थे। रियासतों के विलय के बाद भी यहाँ आबकारी विभाग ने देसी शराब बनाई। वर्तमान में भी शराब बनाने में प्रयुक्त भट्टियाँ और चिमनियाँ एवं उपकरण मौजूद हैं, हालाँकि यहाँ का आबकारी विभाग पूर्णतः खंडहर बन चुका है और यह सभी उपकरण भी खराब और कबाड़ बन चुके हैं।

अनाज की चक्की

किशनगढ़ में काचरिया पीठ में 200 साल पहले की एक बड़ी लकड़ी की चक्की रखी हुई है। इस चक्की के दो चक्र हुआ करते थे और इसे बैल के माध्यम से चलाया जाता था और दूसरी तरफ इस चक्की को चलाने वाला व्यक्ति बैठा करता था। इसमें दो लकड़ी के ही 18-18 दांतों युक्त दो चक्र लगे होते थे। गाँव में शादी ब्याह या अन्य समारोह आदि होने पर इसी चक्की पर पिसाई कार्य किया जाता था।

मोर्चे

किशनगढ़ के सरगांव, सतोलाव तालाब आदि स्थानों पर विभिन्न स्थानों पर वर्तमान में भी मोर्चों के अवशेष विद्यमान हैं। मोर्चों पर बंदूक चलाने के लिये छोटी-छोटी नालियों नुमा संरचनाएं बनायी गई थी छ इनकी संरचना ऐसी है कि दुश्मन पास हो या दूर उस पर सैनिक सही से निशाना साध सके। सामने से मोर्चे के अन्दर तैनात सैनिक की स्थिति का आकलन भी मुश्किल होता था। दुश्मन की फौज यहाँ प्रवेश नहीं कर सके इसके लिये भौगोलिक परिस्थिति के अनुसार मोर्चे के पहले खाई भी बनाई गयी। इस

खायी को पानी से भर दिया जाता था और पेड़ों की बड़ी टहनियों से ढक दिया जाता था। इन्हें ऐसे लगाया जाता था कि जरूरत पड़ने पर टहनियों को खींचा जा सके और दुश्मन सैनिकों को खाई में गिरा कर उस पर हमला किया जा सके।

आसक माता बावड़ी

पुराना शहर बड़ी हाथीखान परिसर में आसक माता मंदिर के पास ही इसी नाम से बावड़ी भी है। कहा जाता है कि 1548 ई. को आसक माता की प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठित की गई। तत्कालीन दीवान आसकरण महणोत परिवार ने मंदिर में प्रतिमा की प्रतिष्ठा कराई। मंदिर के पास ही में एक प्राचीन बावड़ी है। इस बावड़ी का नामकरण भी माता के नाम से ही किया गया। कहा जाता है कि ये बावड़ी कभी नहीं सूखी और इसमें हमेशा पानी रहता है। मान्यता है कि इस बावड़ी में पुष्कर की सीर से पानी आता है और यही वजह है कि बावड़ी हमेशा पानी से भरी रहती है। वर्तमान समय में यह प्राचीन बावड़ी जीर्ण-शीर्ण अवस्था में है।

घुमटी

ये घुमटी गुन्दोलाव तालाब में बनी हुई है। इस पर हिन्दी में 1 से 12 तक अंक लिखे गये हैं जिन्हें चुने से उकेरा हुआ है। यह तालाब का जलस्तर मापने के काम आती थी।

मौखम विलास

मौखम विलास भवन का निर्माण महाराजा प्रथ्वीसिंह द्वारा अपने पिता महाराजा मौखम विलास की स्मृति में करवाया गया था जो तीनो और से पानी से घिरा हुआ था। गुन्दोलाव झील के भर जाने पर महाराजा को इस भवन में जाने के लिये नाव का प्रयोग करना पड़ता था।

1895 ई. में रियासतकाल में गुन्दोलाव तालाब के बीच स्थित मौखम विलास पर सोमयज्ञ किया गया था तत्कालीन शासक शारदूलसिंह द्वारा प्रजा की सुख-शांति के लिये इस यज्ञ का आयोजन किया गया था। यह स्तम्भ उस सोम यज्ञ का प्रणाम है। इस स्तम्भ पर शिलालेख लगाया गया। रियासतकाल में तत्कालीन समय में यदि कोई शासक द्वारा सार्वजनिक कार्य या अन्य किसी प्रकार का कार्य किया जाता था उस कार्य की स्मृति में शिलालेख लगाये जाने का प्रचलन रहा है। इसी तरह कृष्णगढ़ में हुए सोमयज्ञ के बाद मौखम विलास परिसर में यज्ञ स्थली पर सोमयज्ञ का शिलालेख भी लगाया गया। इस पर सोमयज्ञ के आयोजन की तिथियाँ, शामिल होने वाले शासकों समेत अन्य जानकारियाँ अंकित की गयी। यह शिलालेख बरसों बाद भी वर्तमान समय में इस यज्ञ स्थली पर मौजूद है और किशनगढ़ की ऐतिहासिक धरोहर भी है।

गोवर्धननाथ मंदिर

नया शहर की स्थापना के बाद प्राचीन कुंड परिसर में तत्कालीन शासक शारदूलसिंह के समय में गोवर्धननाथ मन्दिर का निर्माण हुआ और यह वर्तमान में नया शहर पांचबती के पास स्थित है। मन्दिर की प्रतिष्ठा कार्यक्रम को लेकर ब्रजकवि वंशज कविवर जयलाल ने प्रतिष्ठा प्रकाश नाम की पुस्तक लिखी। इसमें पूरे कार्यक्रम का विवरण कविता के रूप में लिखा गया।

ठाकुरजी मदनमोहन जी की बैठक

सिटी रोड स्थित सुभाष पार्क में ठाकुरजी मदनमोहन जी (कृष्ण स्वरूप) की प्राचीन बैठक है। यहाँ ठाकुरजी तत्कालीन शासक पृथ्वीसिंह के समय में यह विराजित हुए थे और उसी समय से यह बैठक सुरक्षित है। यहाँ ठाकुरजी सप्तम निधि स्वरूप भी बताये जाते हैं।

मिनी ताजमहल

किशनगढ़ के पास ही स्थित करकेडी में मिनी ताजमहल है। यह एक प्राचीन छतरी है। तत्कालीन समय में करकेडी के शासक रहे जवानसिंह की याद में इनके पुत्र यज्ञनारायण सिंह ने अपने समय में यह छतरी बनाई। इस छतरी में बड़ोदा के साथ साथ देश के अन्य भागों से पत्थर उपयोग में लिये गये हैं। यह सौन्दर्य और कला का बेहतरीन नमूना है। यही वजह है कि इसे किशनगढ़ का मिनी ताजमहल भी कहते हैं। इसके जो खम्बे हैं वो बटदार हैं। इस छतरी को किशनगढ़ की पहचान के रूप में जाना जाता है।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि किशनगढ़ में बहुत सी प्राचीन धरोहरें हैं। इस 400 वर्ष से अधिक पुराने शहर को संरक्षित किये जाने की आवश्यकता है। यहाँ की ऐतिहासिक धरोहर के साथ यहाँ की हवेलियाँ और निर्माण शैली भी बहुत पुरानी है। अभी भी बहुत सी विरासतें हैं जिन्हें सहेजा जा सकता है। किशनगढ़ के पुराने निर्माण क्षेत्र को विश्व धरोहर घोषित करवाने के प्रयास किये जाने चाहिए।

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ

1. पारीक, डॉ. अविनाश, किशनगढ़ का इतिहास, राजस्थान हिन्दी ग्रन्थ अकादमी
2. किशनगढ़ महारानी श्रीमती मीनाक्षी देवी से व्यक्तिगत साक्षात्कार द्वारा
3. निम्बार्क पीठ काचरिया मंदिर पीठाधीश्वर डॉ. जयकृष्ण देवाचार्य जी से व्यक्तिगत साक्षात्कार द्वारा प्राप्त जानकारी
4. व्यक्तिगत सर्वेक्षण द्वारा प्राप्त जानकारी

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मारवाड़ के राजपरिवार के प्रमुख सांस्कृतिक संस्कार : एक अध्ययन

डॉ. उपासना दाधीच*

राजसत्ता की बागडोर के संचालन में नरेश तथा उसके पदाधिकारियों की सहभागिता का होना आवश्यक होने के कारण राजदरबारों का आयोजन समय-समय पर होता था। राजवंश के राजकीय रीति-रिवाजों को राजदरबारों के आयोजन, वहां के नियम कायदे, उठने-बैठने के तौर-तरीके तथा शिष्टाचारों से भलीभांति समझा जा सकता है।¹

राजतिलक

राजतिलक समारोह सांस्कृतिक परम्पराओं पर आधारित एक राजनीतिक समारोह होता है। जब एक राजा का देहावसान होता है तो दूसरे राजा का राज्याभिषेक होता था। राजतिलक के 12 दिन पूर्व राजमहल एवं जनता शोक के गहरे सागर में डूबे होते थे और इस समारोह के आयोजन पर फिर खुशी की शहनाइयां गूँजने लगती हैं। राजपरिवार के सदस्यों की मनःस्थिति में खुशी और गम दोनों का सामंजस्य होता था। राजकीय परिपाटी एवं परम्पराएँ निभाना भी समय की मजबूरी एवं राज्य की आवश्यकता होती थी।

जोधपुर राज परिवार में भी ऐसे अवसर आते रहे और समय के साथ सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक परम्पराएं कभी परिस्थितियोंवश तो कभी मजबूरीवश बनती रही। परम्पराओं के अनुसार इस घराने में भी ज्येष्ठ पुत्र ही गद्दी का उत्तराधिकारी बनता था, परन्तु इस रिवाज को भी भूतकाल में परिस्थितियोंवश कई बार नहीं निभाया जा सकता।

“इतिहास में ऐसा भी हुआ जब अपने आलसी स्वभाव के कारण पाटवी पुत्र ने राजतिलक के मुहूर्त को गंवा दिया और मारवाड़ के सरदारों ने छोटे भाई का राजतिलक करके मारवाड़ का राजा घोषित कर दिया। वह अभागा राव जोधा का ज्येष्ठ पुत्र निंबा था और राजगद्दी पर बैठने वाला उसका छोटा भाई राव सातल था।”²

उत्तराधिकारी का नियम भंग होते हुए हमें अपने आलोच्यकाल में भी नजर आता

है। “महाराजा गजसिंह प्रथम का ज्येष्ठ पुत्र अमरसिंह था, परन्तु उसके हठी एवं उद्वंड होने के कारण महाराजा उसके विरुद्ध रहता था और प्रेमिका अनारां बेगम के कहने पर भी अपने छोटे पुत्र जसवन्त सिंह (प्रिय पुत्र) को अपना उत्तराधिकारी बनाया था।³

राजतिलक की प्रक्रिया

1. ज्योतिषी से मुहूर्त निकलवाना।
2. नगाड़ों एवं ढोलों की पूजा-प्रक्रिया।
3. नौबत बजनी प्रारंभ होती थी।
4. श्री गणेश पूजन व नरेश द्वारा पूजा स्थल पर दंडोत किया जाता था।
5. ग्रहशक्ति, महाशक्ति एवं इन्द्रशक्ति का होम।
6. आरती।
7. नाच-गान समारोह का आयोजन।
8. नवगह दान व बाह्य भोज का संकल्प।
9. नरेश द्वारा शस्त्रों की पूजा-उपासना।
10. सिंहासन-ग्रहण।

पूजन में कुलगुरु और राज व्यास की महती भूमिका होती थी। स्वस्तिवाचन पाठ के साथ जोशी एवं वेदिया बाह्य अभिषेक का कार्य करवाते तत्पश्चात् बगड़ी ठिकाना (जागीर) के पट्टायत परेश का तिलक करते तथा मोतियों के अक्षत चिपकाते/नरेश की कमर में तलवार बान्धते तथा अर्ज करते (अनुरोध) कि आपको जोधपुर राज्य नजर है।

सभी सरदार अपने परम्परागत पदानुसार महाराजा के दायें-बायें बैठते थे। मुंदियाड़ के बारहट द्वारा नरेश का प्रशस्ति-गान किया जाता। राज्याभिषेक के अवसर पर दुर्ग तथा परगनों के मुख्यालयों से तोपें दागने की परम्परा का भी निर्वाह किया जाता था।

महाराजा मानसिंह के राजतिलक का वर्णन निम्न है-

“महा (माघ) सुद 6 वि.सं. 1860 राजतिलक के अवसरपर नरेश ने जो वस्त्राभूषण पहने वह इस प्रकार थे-⁴

पाग (पगड़ी) जिस पर हीरे का सिरपेच एवं सोने का तुरा। गुलाबी रंग का वागा तथा गुलाबी रंग का ही दुपट्टा, जिस पर सोने के कोर गोटे का काम हुआ था। हीरे की जड़ाऊ कटारी लगाई गई। गले में तीन कंठियां पहनी एवं हाथों में हीरे लगी पुणचीया पहनी, पन्ने लगा हुआ भुजबंध पहना तथा हीरे की अंगूठियां पहनी। ढाल पर भी हीरे, पन्ने लगे हुए थे तथा साथ में तलवार ली।

युवराज पदवी दिये जाने का उत्सव

राजतिलक की प्रक्रिया के समान ही युवराज पदवी दिये जाने का उत्सव भी इतिहास में अपना स्थान रखता है, इस आयोजन में भी वही प्रक्रिया निभाई जाती थी।

* गेस्ट फ़ैकल्टी, इतिहास विभाग, जय नारायण विश्वविद्यालय, जोधपुर

राज्य में नरेश का पद सर्वोच्च होता था। वहीं नरेश के बाद युवराज या महाराज कुमार का स्थान शासन में बड़े महत्व का होता था।

बहुविवाह की परम्परा के कारण राजाओं के अनेक कुंवर होते थे। अतः उनमें से उत्तराधिकारी राजकुंवर चुनना आवश्यक होता था, जिससे नरेश की मृत्यु के पश्चात् उत्तराधिकारी की समस्या उत्पन्न न हो। नरेश जब पटसनी पदवी से किसी रानी को सुशोभित कर देते थे, तो उसका बड़ा पुत्र युवराज स्वतः ही हो जाता था। कभी-कभी नरेश अपने जीवनकाल में किसी पुत्र को (स्वेच्छा से किसी रानी के कहने पर एवं अन्य कारणों से) युवराज घोषित कर देते थे।⁵ कुंवर को युवराज पदवी राजकीय उत्सव के साथ प्रदान की जाती थी, जिसके तहत समस्त राजवर्ग के लोग उसे युवराज स्वीकार करते हुए नजर आदि पेश करते थे। उदाहरण - सवाई राजा सूरसिंह ने अपना युवराज महाराजा गजसिंह को नियुक्त किया था।⁶

राजकीय सम्मान एवं पदवियां दिया जाना

सवाई राजा सूरसिंह, गजसिंह, जसवन्तसिंह, अजीतसिंह एवं मानसिंह की गणना विद्वान साहित्य प्रेम नरेशों में की जाती है। इनके समय अनेक ग्रन्थों की रचनाएं हुईं तथा संस्कृत, डिंगल, पिंगल की अनेक कृतियां लिपिबद्ध की गईं। ख्यातों से प्रमाणित है कि नरेश विद्वानों, चारणों, ब्राह्मणों को दान था मान ईनाम देकर सन्तुष्ट करते थे एवं बाहर से आने वाले विद्वानों का सत्कार किया जाता था।⁷ कवि, कलाकारों एवं विद्वानों को दरबार की विशेष बैठकों एवं त्यौहार उत्सवों की बैठकों में भाग लेने के पश्चात् सम्मान एवं पदवियां प्राप्त होती थी तथा भेंट आदि देकर उनके विदा किया जाता था। सूरसिंह ने बारहठ लाखा, सांदूमाला, कवियां मानिदास एवं भट्ट गोपाल को लाख पसाव (प्रत्येक को 25 हजार रुपये) देकर सम्मानित किया।⁸ महाराज गजसिंह (प्रथम) ने 14 कवियों को 'लाखपसाव' दिये। इनके समय हेम कवि ने गुणभाषा तथा केशवदास ने गुणरूपक नामक काव्यों की रचना की।⁹ इसी प्रकार महाराज जसवन्त सिंह प्रथम ने (1638-1678 ई.) आढा किसना दुरसावत तथा लालस खेतसी को लाख पसाव देकर उनकी विद्वता का सम्मान किया। इन्होंने नाथावत व्यास के बेटे पदमनाभ को 'द्रोणाचार' की पदवी दी थी।

महाराजा मानसिंह के समय बांकीदास ने मान जसोमण्डन की रचना कर अपनी अद्वितीय कवित्व शक्ति का परिचय दिया। नरेश ने इन्हें अपना काव्य गुरु बनाया तथा 'कविराजा' की उपाधि से विभूषित किया। इन्हें पाव में सोना पहनने का सम्मान दिया गया एवं इन्हें कागजों पर लगाने के लिए अपनी मोहर में अपना शिक्षा गुरु तक लिखने की आज्ञा दे दी।

नरेश कवियों तथा कलाकारों को सम्मान, नगद रूप में न देकर, हाथी, घोड़े, ऊँट, वस्त्र, आभूषण, जमीन, अनाज आदि के रूप में भी देते थे। विद्वान ब्राह्मणों को व्यास तथा चारणों को बारहठ पदवी दी जाती थी। वि.सं. 1879 के मिंगसर माह में व्यास

पदवी छंगाणी कचरदास को प्रदान की गई। गायक को ईसरी की पदवी दी जाती थी।

दरबारी शिष्टाचार

राजसत्ता की बागडोर के संचालन में नरेश तथा उसके पदाधिकारियों की सहभागिता का होना आवश्यक होने के कारण राजदरबारों का आयोजन समय-समय पर होता था। राजवंश के राजकीय रीति-रिवाजों को राजदरबारों के आयोजनों, वहाँ के नियम-कायदे, उठने-बैठने के तौर-तरीके तथा शिष्टाचारों से भली भांति समझा जा सकता है।

राव जोधा का मारवाड़ पर सन् 1453 के बाद स्थाई रूप से अधिकार हो गया। उस समय जब वे दरबार लगाया करते थे तो उन्होंने अपने भाइयों को अपनी गद्दी की बायीं तरफ बैठाया और वे 'डावी मिसल' कहलाए। राव जोधा ने अपने पुत्रों को अपनी गद्दी के दायीं तरफ बैठाया और वे 'जीमणी मिसल' कहलाये।

राव जोधा से लगातार मोटा राजा उदयसिंह तक यही क्रम चला आया था। उसमें ठिकाने विशेष का नाम नहीं दिया गया था। मारवाड़ में सबसे पहले 'मिसल-First Class Nobles' का गठन सवाई राजा सूरसिंह के समय (1595-1616 ई.) में किया गया था। इन प्रथम श्रेणी के सरदारों को बायीं मिसल और दायीं मिसल कहते थे। उनकी संख्या 8 थी। बगड़ी, आऊवा, आसोप, कानाना (राव जोधा के भाइयों के वंशज), रीया, रायपुर, खेरवा, खींसवर (राव जोधा के बेटे के वंशज) इस सम्बन्ध में एक दोहा भी प्रचलित है। कर्नल टॉड ने अपनी पुस्तक में इसका उल्लेख इस प्रकार किया है -

रीया रायपुर आऊवा आसोप,

बगड़ी खेरवा खींसवर कानाना।

औं आटू हैं 'मीसलां' अनूप।।

यह क्रम 1595 से लगातार सन् 1873 महाराजा तख्तसिंह के देहान्त तक चला।

सवाई राजा सूरसिंह (महाराजा गजसिंह के पिता) के समय में मुगल दरबार की तरह उन्होंने भी दरबार लगाना शुरू किया। उस समय पहली बार डावी मिसलों और जीमणी मिसलों के ठिकानों के नाम लिखें गये। सवाई राजा सूरसिंह ने चार ठिकाने तो राव जोधा के भाइयों के वंशजों में से लिए और चार ठिकानें राव जोधा के पुत्रों के वंशजों में से लिए जो निम्न प्रकार से थे-¹⁰

1. बगड़ी - राव अखेराज के वंशज
2. आऊवा - राव चांपा के वंशज
3. आसोप - राव अखेराज के वंशज
4. कानाना - राव कर्ण के वंशज
5. रीया - राव दूदा के वंशज
6. रायपुर - राव ऊदा के वंशज

7. खींवर - राव करमसी के वंशज
8. खेरवा

अन्य राजपरिवारों के साथ निभाही जाने वाली परम्पराएँ

जोधपुर रियासत के शासक सदा से ही परम्पराओं एवं रिवाजों का आदर करते आ रहे हैं, 'अतिथि देवा भवः' अर्थात् मारवाड़ में अतिथि देव तुल्य माना जाता है। यहाँ के शासक ने सदेव ही आने वाले मेहमानों को आदर व सत्कार दिया और बदले में वैसा ही व्यवहार पाया। एक राजा जब दूसरी रियासत में मेहमान बनकर वहाँ जाता था तो उसके वैभव के अनुसार उसका आतिथ्य किया जाता था। मारवाड़ रियासत की भी अपनी परम्पराएँ रही जिसके अनुसार अन्य रियासतों के शासकों के साथ बर्ताव किया जाता था। अन्य शासकों के जोधपुर आगमन पर राजधानी से सामने जाकर भेंट करने की परम्परा को 'पेशवाई' का दस्तूर कहा जाता था। किस अतिथि राजा की अगवानी में जोधपुर नरेश को कितना दूर जाना है, इसका लेखा-जोखा दस्तरी बहियों में 'दरोगा दस्तरी' लिखा करता था।

अन्य रियासतों के नरेश जब जोधपुर आते, तो उनको ठहराने की व्यवस्था डेरों में की जाती थी। शेखावत जी का तालाब, राईका बाग, सूरसागर तथा कायलाना, नागोरी दरवाजे के बाहर बहू जी का तालाब इत्यादि ऐसे स्थान थे जहाँ नरेशों के रहने एवं खान-पान की तथा उनके हाथी, घोड़े, सेवक, चाकरों के लिए दैनिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति की जाती थी।

मिलाप का दस्तूर - जोधपुर में अन्य रजवाड़ों के राजा के आने पर 'मिलाप के दस्तूर' अलग-अलग रजवाड़ों के साथ भिन्न-भिन्न थे।

1. उदयपुर के महाराणा जब जोधपुर आते थे तो जोधपुर के महाराजा को जोधपुर से तीन कोस दूर सामने जाकर मिलाप का दस्तूर करना पड़ता था, यही बर्ताव उदयपुर महाराणा जोधपुर महाराजा के उदयपुर आगमन पर करते थे।
2. जयपुर के महाराजा जब जोधपुर पधारते थे तब परम्परानुसार से एक कोस सामने जाने का रिवाज था, कुछ समय बाद एक कोस और पचहतर कदम सामने जाने की परम्परा रही।
3. बूंदी के रावराजा का जोधपुर आने पर जोधपुर आने पर जोधपुर के महाराजा पूण कोस अगवानी में जाते थे, फिर डेढ़ कोस का इजाफा हुआ।
4. कोटा के महाराव जी - पूण कोस
5. जैसलमेर के महारावल जी - आधा कोस
6. सिरोही के रावजी - पूण कोस
7. ईडर के राजा - एक कोस
8. रतलाम के राज - एक कोस

9. सीतामऊ के राजा - पूण कोस
10. किशनगढ़ के राजा - पूण कोस
11. करोली के यादव - पूण कोस
12. बीकानेर के महाराजा - एक कोस
13. जूनागढ़ के यादव - दस्तूर दरवाजे से सिर्फ बीस कदम।
14. देवलिया के शासक - दस्तूर दरवाजे से सिर्फ बीस कदम पर।¹¹

दरबार के नियम कायदे

राजदरबार की परम्पराओं के अनुसार ब्रह्ममुहूर्त में दिन के प्रथम प्रहर से राजकीय नौबत बजनी प्रारम्भ हो जानी थी तथा नगाड़े एवं शहनाई वाद्यक होता था।¹²

नरोत्तमदास स्वामी कृत बाकीदास की ख्यात से प्राप्त होता है कि :-

“ब्रह्म मुहूर्त समै लाखों कूलाणी गठीजै, दोग घड़ी दिन चढिया में बाधों कोटाडियौ गवीजै, तीसरे पोर सामैरी में रिडमल, रात रो सोडो महंदरो गीत गवीजै।”

राजकीय उत्सवों तथा त्योहारों के अवसरों पर दरबार के समय नौबत खाने में विशिष्ट अवसरों की नौबत अपने परम्परागत रूप से बजती थी तथा तोपें छोड़ी जाती थी। नरेश एवं राजकुंवर की वर्षगाढ़ के अवसर पर उनके उम्र के वर्षों की गिनती मुताबिक तोपें छूटती थी।

पदाधिकारी दरबार में सिर पर पाग-पगड़ी धारण करके आते थे, नंगे सिर तथा सफेद पाग-पगड़ी पहन कर दरबार में आना वर्जित होता था। दरबार दिन में तथा रात में भी लगाये जाते थे। रात्रिकालीन दरबारों हेतु दीवतिये एवं मशालची रोशनी करने हेतु नियुक्त रहते थे।

दरबार का नक्शा

जीमणी मिसल के सिरायत	डावी मिसल के सिरायत
1. शहर के मुत्सद्दी	1. सरदार
2. स्टेट ऑफिसर	2. हाथ का कुरब एवं दोवड़ी ताजीम-पाटवी
3. यूरोपियन मेहमान - मिनिस्टर लोग	महाराज सरदार
	3. हाथ का कुरब एवं इकेवड़ी ताजीम-पाटवी
	महाराजा के पाटवी कंवर
	4. बांहपसाव एवं दोवड़ी ताजीम-थाटवी
	महाराज सरदार
	5. बांहपसास एवं इकेवड़ी ताजीम-राव राजा
	6. बांहपसाव
	7. मुत्सद्दी लोग

सारांशतः कहा जा सकता है कि नरेश के राजकीय कार्य-कलापों के अन्तर्गत विभिन्न अवसरों पर राजदरबार की परम्परा का सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक महत्व था। राजदरबारों के आयोजनों पर जहाँ अनेक प्रकार के रीति-रिवाजों कुरब कायदों की परिपालना की जाती थी, वहीं इन विशिष्ट अवसरों, समारोहों में राज समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों का प्रतिनिधित्व होता था एवं नरेश के सम्पर्क का श्रेष्ठ निरूपण होता था। इस आधार पर यह निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि इन अवसरों के माध्यम से राजवंश की प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था एवं नरेश के सामन्तों एवं पदाधिकारियों से आपसी व्यवहार-प्रगाढ़ होने का अवसर प्राप्त होता था, साथ ही त्योहारों के मनाने की श्रेष्ठ परम्परा का निर्वाह होता था। विद्वान एवं कलामर्मज्ञों को अपनी साहित्य रचना, संगीत साधना एवं अन्य कलाओं को प्रस्तुत करने का सुअवसर मिलता था एवं मान-सम्मान प्राप्त होता था।

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बादशाह मेला ब्यावर - ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में अध्ययन

डॉ. ललित कुमार पंवार*

राजस्थान का ब्यावर शहर अपनी अनूठी परंपराओं और सांस्कृतिक धरोहरों के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। इस शहर की एक विशेष पहचान इसके 'ब्यावर के बादशाह' के आयोजन से है। यह आयोजन न केवल स्थानीय जनता के लिए उत्साह और गौरव का विषय है, बल्कि इसे देखने देश-विदेश से भी लोग आते हैं। 'ब्यावर के बादशाह' का मतलब एक ऐसा राजा नहीं है जो सत्ता में हो, बल्कि यह एक सांस्कृतिक उत्सव और परंपरा का प्रतीक है, जो हर साल होली के पर्व पर आयोजित किया जाता है।¹

इतिहास और प्रारंभ

ब्यावर के बादशाह का प्रारंभ 1851 (19वीं सदी) में हुआ, जब ब्रिटिश राज के दौरान यहां के स्थानीय निवासियों ने होली के त्योहार को अपनी विशेष परंपरा के साथ मनाने की शुरुआत की। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि ब्रिटिश प्रशासन ने स्थानीय जनता पर कई पाबंदियाँ लगाई थीं, लेकिन ब्यावर के लोगों ने अपनी एकता और संस्कृति को बचाए रखने के लिए होली के अवसर पर 'बादशाह' चुनने और इस विशेष आयोजन की परंपरा को जन्म दिया। इस आयोजन के माध्यम से स्थानीय लोग यह संदेश देना चाहते थे कि उनकी सांस्कृतिक स्वतंत्रता और एकता को कोई दबा नहीं सकता।²

किंवदंती

बादशाह मेला की किंवदंती के अनुसार, यह मेला एक शाही परिवार के सदस्य की याद में आयोजित किया जाता है, जो अपने अलौकिक कार्यों के लिए प्रसिद्ध थे। कहा जाता है कि इस मेले में लोग अपने मन की इच्छाओं को लेकर आते हैं और मान्यता है कि यदि कोई व्यक्ति सच्चे मन से वहाँ जाता है तो उसकी इच्छाएं पूरी होती हैं। इस मेले में श्रद्धालु विशेष पूजा-अर्चना और भेंट-चढ़ावा करते हैं।³

बादशाह मेला की किंवदंती के अनुसार, एक समय राजा (बादशाह) अकबर ने

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अपने दरबार में एक बड़ा मेला आयोजित किया। इस मेले का उद्देश्य न्याय, समानता और सामूहिक उत्सव की भावना का प्रचार करना था। किंवदंती कहती है कि यह मेला इसलिए खास था क्योंकि इसमें समाज के हर वर्ग को बिना किसी भेदभाव के भाग लेने का मौका दिया गया।

जनता का जुड़ाव - कहा जाता है कि एक गरीब किसान या साधारण व्यक्ति किसी बड़े अन्याय का शिकार हुआ था और न्याय पाने के लिए बादशाह अकबर के दरबार पहुंचा। अकबर ने उसकी समस्या सुनी और टोडरमल जैसे अपने प्रमुख मंत्रियों से परामर्श कर तुरंत न्याय दिया। इस घटना के बाद अकबर ने एक मेला आयोजित किया, जिसे पचासवां मेला कहा गया, ताकि जनता बादशाह के न्याय को महसूस कर सके।⁴

सांस्कृतिक और सामाजिक मिलन - इस मेले में सभी धर्मों और वर्गों के लोग शामिल होते थे। यह किंवदंती बताती है कि अकबर ने इस मेले को धर्म-निरपेक्षता और सांप्रदायिक सौहार्द का प्रतीक बनाने का आदेश दिया। इसमें गीत, संगीत, नाटक, भोजन और धार्मिक प्रवचनों का आयोजन होता था।

लोक परंपराएं और भक्ति - इस मेले के दौरान गरीबों को खाना खिलाया जाता था, किसानों के कर्ज माफ किए जाते थे, और बड़े पैमाने पर दान किया जाता था। इसे जनता के लिए राजा के प्रेम और समर्पण का प्रतीक माना गया।

स्थानीय मान्यताएं

राजस्थान के कुछ इलाकों में यह मान्यता है कि यह मेला टोडरमल जैसे ईमानदार और कुशल मंत्री की सलाह पर आयोजित किया गया था, जिन्होंने इसे प्रशासनिक और सामाजिक सुधार का माध्यम बनाया। ब्यावर के बादशाह से जुड़ी परंपराएँ विशेष रूप से राजस्थान की रंगीन और समृद्ध संस्कृति को दर्शाती हैं।

बादशाह का चयन - आयोजन के दौरान बादशाह को चुना जाता है। यह चुनाव न केवल मनोरंजन के लिए है, बल्कि सामाजिक सम्मान और समर्पण का भी प्रतीक है। विभिन्न प्रतियोगिताओं, जैसे गीत-नृत्य और खेलों के माध्यम से पचासवां मेला का चयन किया जाता है।⁵

बादशाह की सवारी - चुने गए बादशाह को पारंपरिक वेशभूषा पहनाई जाती है और उन्हें शाही सवारी पर नगर भ्रमण कराया जाता है। इस शोभायात्रा में स्थानीय कलाकार, लोकनृत्य, और रंग-बिरंगे झाँकी शामिल होते हैं।

रंगों का उत्सव - रंगों की होली इस परंपरा का मुख्य आकर्षण है। गुलाल और फूलों से पूरा वातावरण रंगीन हो जाता है। इस दौरान लोग मिल-जुलकर नृत्य और गायन

करते हैं।

पारंपरिक व्यंजन और भोजन - इस आयोजन में पारंपरिक राजस्थानी भोजन का विशेष स्थान होता है। दाल-बाटी-चूरमा, मालपुआ और गुजिया जैसे व्यंजन मुख्य आकर्षण होते हैं।

लोकनृत्य और संगीत - राजस्थान के पारंपरिक लोकनृत्य, जैसे 'गेर' और 'कालबेलिया', इस उत्सव को और भी जीवंत बनाते हैं। मांड गायन और चकरी नृत्य भी इस आयोजन का अभिन्न हिस्सा हैं।

धार्मिक अनुष्ठान - मेला शुरू होने से पहले विशेष पूजाओं का आयोजन किया जाता है। लोग वहां आकर अपने श्रद्धा भाव से देवी-देवताओं की पूजा करते हैं।⁶

कला और संस्कृति - इस मेले में विभिन्न सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमों का आयोजन होता है। लोक नृत्य, संगीत, और अन्य कलात्मक प्रदर्शन होते हैं, जो इस मेले की रौनक को बढ़ाते हैं।

हाट-बाजार - मेले में विभिन्न तरह के हस्तशिल्प, आभूषण, कपड़े और खाद्य पदार्थों का बाजार सजता है। यहां पर आने वाले लोग इन चीजों की खरीदारी करते हैं।

खान-पान - मेला आने वाले लोगों के लिए विभिन्न प्रकार के पारंपरिक भोजन और स्नेक्स उपलब्ध होते हैं। स्थानीय व्यंजन, मिठाइयाँ और फास्ट फूड बिक्री के लिए मौजूद होते हैं।

सामाजिक संवाद - मेले में विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के लोग एक साथ आते हैं, जिससे सामाजिक मेलजोल बढ़ता है। यह एक ऐसा अवसर होता है जहाँ लोग नए दोस्त बनाते हैं और पुराने रिश्ते मजबूत करते हैं।

बादशाह मेला न केवल एक धार्मिक आयोजन है, बल्कि यह राजस्थान की समृद्ध संस्कृति और परंपराओं का भी प्रतीक है। यह मेलों का आनंद लेने और स्थानीय संस्कृति को अनुभव करने का एक बेहतरीन मौका है।

बादशाह मेला ब्यावर राजस्थान के अजमेर जिले में मनाया जाने वाला एक प्रमुख और प्रसिद्ध मेला है। यह मेला हर साल आमतौर पर शरद ऋतु में आयोजित होता है। इसकी स्थापना और इसके पीछे की किंवदंती में कई रोचक कहानियाँ जुड़ी हुई हैं।⁷

इतिहास से संबंध - ब्यावर शहर का यह आयोजन उस समय की याद दिलाता है, जब अंग्रेजों का शासन था और भारतीय संस्कृति पर पाबंदियाँ लगाई जा रही थीं। ब्रिटिश प्रशासन के विरोध में स्थानीय निवासियों ने 'ब्यावर के बादशाह' के रूप में अपनी सांस्कृतिक पहचान को सुरक्षित रखा।

सांस्कृतिक एकता का प्रतीक – इस परंपरा ने जाति, धर्म और वर्ग के भेदभाव को मिटाते हुए सामाजिक एकता और भाईचारे को बढ़ावा दिया।

लोकप्रियता – ब्यावर के बादशाह की परंपरा न केवल राजस्थान में बल्कि भारत के अन्य हिस्सों में भी प्रसिद्ध है। इस आयोजन में भाग लेने के लिए लोग दूर-दूर से आते हैं।

होली का संदर्भ – यह परंपरा होली के त्योहार से जुड़ी हुई है। होली को रंगों और उल्लास का त्योहार माना जाता है, और 'ब्यावर के बादशाह' इस पर्व में चार चाँद लगाते हैं।⁸

बादशाह मेला (दशहरे का मेला) – अकबर के समय यह मेला विभिन्न अवसरों पर आयोजित किया जाता था, जिसमें दशहरा विशेष रूप से महत्वपूर्ण था। इसका उद्देश्य न केवल साम्राज्य के लोगों को मनोरंजन और सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों में भाग लेने का मौका देना था, बल्कि यह एक प्रकार से शासकीय व्यवस्था का प्रचार भी था। इस मेले में शाही दरबार की वैभवता, सेना का प्रदर्शन और विभिन्न खेल-प्रदर्शन आयोजित किए जाते थे।⁹

अकबर की भूमिका – अकबर इस मेले का आयोजन साम्राज्य की एकता और धार्मिक सहिष्णुता को बढ़ावा देने के लिए करता था। मेले में हिंदू-मुस्लिम सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों का समावेश था, जिससे साम्राज्य में सामुदायिक समरसता बनी रहे। यह आयोजन अकबर की सुलह-ए-कुल (सार्वभौमिक मेलजोल) नीति का भी प्रतीक था।

टोडरमल का योगदान – टोडरमल, जो अकबर के शासनकाल में राजस्व मंत्री (दीवान-ए-अशरफ) थे, ने मेले की आर्थिक और प्रशासनिक व्यवस्था को कुशलतापूर्वक संभालने में भूमिका निभाई। मेले में लगने वाले कर, व्यापार और राजस्व के संग्रहण के लिए एक सुव्यवस्थित प्रणाली बनाई गई थी। टोडरमल ने इस बात का ध्यान रखा कि मेला लोगों के लिए आर्थिक रूप से फायदेमंद हो और व्यापारी वर्ग इसका लाभ उठा सकें।

प्रमुख उद्देश्य – मेले के माध्यम से अकबर ने आम जनता के साथ शाही संबंधों को प्रगाढ़ किया। व्यापार और सांस्कृतिक आदान-प्रदान को बढ़ावा देना। शाही सेना की शक्ति और संरचना का प्रदर्शन करना। विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से आने वाले कलाकारों और शिल्पकारों को प्रोत्साहन देना। ब्यावर के बादशाह का आयोजन होली के तीन दिन पहले से शुरू होता है और होली के दिन समाप्त होता है। इन दिनों में पूरे शहर में उत्सव का माहौल रहता है।

गुलाल उत्सव – पहले दिन गुलाल और फूलों से पूरा शहर रंगीन हो जाता है।

लोग अपनी खुशियों को व्यक्त करने के लिए एक-दूसरे पर गुलाल डालते हैं।

विशेष भोज – इस आयोजन के दौरान पूरे शहर में पारंपरिक व्यंजनों की दावत होती है। 'दाल बाटी चूरमा' और 'गुजिया' प्रमुख व्यंजन होते हैं।

खेल और प्रतियोगिताएँ – आयोजन के दौरान विभिन्न खेलों और प्रतियोगिताओं का आयोजन किया जाता है, जिसमें कुश्ती, पतंगबाजी और मेहंदी प्रतियोगिता शामिल हैं। ब्यावर के बादशाह से जुड़ी परंपराएँ विशेष रूप से राजस्थान की रंगीन और समृद्ध संस्कृति को दर्शाती हैं।¹⁰

महत्व

ब्यावर के बादशाह का आयोजन ब्यावर की सांस्कृतिक धरोहर का प्रतीक है। यह न केवल मनोरंजन का साधन है, बल्कि इस आयोजन के पीछे सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक एकता का संदेश छिपा है।

सांस्कृतिक पहचान – ब्यावर के बादशाह की परंपरा ब्यावर की विशिष्ट पहचान है, जो इसे अन्य शहरों से अलग बनाती है।

सामाजिक एकता – इस आयोजन में सभी जाति, धर्म और वर्ग के लोग मिलकर भाग लेते हैं, जिससे सामाजिक सौहार्द बढ़ता है।

पर्यटन का प्रोत्साहन – यह आयोजन पर्यटकों को आकर्षित करता है, जिससे स्थानीय व्यापार और पर्यटन उद्योग को बढ़ावा मिलता है। ब्यावर के बादशाह न केवल ब्यावर की सांस्कृतिक धरोहर का हिस्सा हैं, बल्कि यह राजस्थान और भारत की समृद्ध सांस्कृतिक विविधता का एक उदाहरण है। यह आयोजन हमें अपनी परंपराओं और मूल्यों को सहेजने और उनकी रक्षा करने का संदेश देता है। यह परंपरा न केवल ब्यावर के निवासियों को गर्व का अनुभव कराती है, बल्कि आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए भी प्रेरणा का स्रोत है।¹¹

पर्यटन का विकास – 'ब्यावर के बादशाह' का आयोजन राजस्थान के पर्यटन को बढ़ावा देने में मदद करता है। पर्यटक इस परंपरा का हिस्सा बनकर राजस्थान की संस्कृति को करीब से जान सकते हैं। ब्यावर के बादशाह की परंपरा केवल एक आयोजन नहीं है, बल्कि यह राजस्थान की सांस्कृतिक विरासत का जीवंत प्रतीक है। यह आयोजन न केवल ब्यावर बल्कि पूरे राज्य के लिए गर्व का विषय है। यह परंपरा हमें अपनी जड़ों से जुड़ने और संस्कृति को संरक्षित करने का संदेश देती है।¹²

निष्कर्ष

ब्यावर के बादशाह की परंपरा केवल एक आयोजन नहीं है, बल्कि यह राजस्थान की सांस्कृतिक विरासत का जीवंत प्रतीक है। यह आयोजन न केवल ब्यावर बल्कि पूरे

राज्य के लिए गर्व का विषय है। यह परंपरा हमें अपनी जड़ों से जुड़ने और संस्कृति को संरक्षित करने का संदेश देती है।¹³

बादशाह मेला ब्यावर राजस्थान के अजमेर जिले में मनाया जाने वाला एक प्रमुख और प्रसिद्ध मेला है। यह मेला हर साल आमतौर पर शरद ऋतु में आयोजित होता है। इसकी स्थापना और इसके पीछे की किंवदंती में कई रोचक कहानियाँ जुड़ी हुई हैं। बादशाह मेला न केवल एक धार्मिक आयोजन है, बल्कि यह राजस्थान की समृद्ध संस्कृति और परंपराओं का भी प्रतीक है। यह मेलों का आनंद लेने और स्थानीय संस्कृति को अनुभव करने का एक बेहतरीन मौका है।¹⁴

अकबर और टोडरमल का संबंध बादशाह के मेले (जिसे आमतौर पर दशहरे का मेला कहा जाता था) से उनके प्रशासनिक और सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिकोण को दर्शाता है। यह मेला अकबर के शासनकाल में विशेष महत्व रखता था और टोडरमल की नीतियों से भी प्रभावित था। बादशाह मेला अकबर की नीति और प्रशासन का एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा था, जिसमें टोडरमल की योजनाओं का योगदान इसे सफल और प्रभावी बनाने में महत्वपूर्ण था। यह आयोजन न केवल सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से बल्कि आर्थिक और राजनीतिक दृष्टि से भी अकबर के शासन की स्थिरता को मजबूत करने में सहायक था।¹⁵

बादशाह मेला से जुड़ी किंवदंती भारतीय लोककथाओं और धार्मिक-सामाजिक इतिहास का एक रोचक हिस्सा है। यह मेला मुख्यतः राजस्थान और उत्तर भारत के कुछ क्षेत्रों में प्रचलित कथाओं के माध्यम से प्रसिद्ध हुआ है। इस किंवदंती का संबंध अकबर के शासनकाल और उनकी न्यायप्रियता से जोड़ा जाता है।¹⁶

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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ऑनलाइन स्रोत

1. राजस्थान पर्यटन की आधिकारिक वेबसाइट। राजस्थान पर्यटन की आधिकारिक वेबसाइट पर स्थानीय मेलों का विवरण मिलता है, जिसमें ब्यावर का बादशाह मेला भी शामिल है।
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3. ब्यावर नगर पालिका की वेबसाइट पर बादशाह मेले की जानकारी मिलती है, जिसमें मेले की व्यवस्था, तिथियाँ और स्थानीय महत्व शामिल है।

समाचार-पत्र लेख

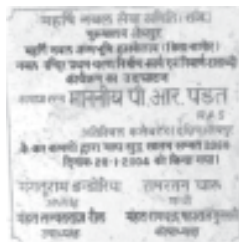
1. टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया। ब्यावर में वार्षिक बादशाह मेला का आयोजन। टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया, 18 मार्च, 2019। इस लेख में बादशाह मेले की हालिया कवरेज दी गई है, जिसमें तस्वीरें और प्रतिभागियों के इंटरव्यू शामिल हैं।
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नवल सम्प्रदाय के प्रवर्तक नवल स्वामी (संत शिरोमणी नवल महाराज नवल सम्प्रदाय)

रामप्रसाद कुम्हार*

भारत भूमि विभिन्न धर्मों, सम्प्रदायों, समुदायों का देश है यह सर्वविदित है हमारी संस्कृति व सभ्यता एवं साहित्य को अक्षुण्ण रखने के लिए अनेक ऋषि, मुनि, महानुभाव सन्त हुए जो हमारी परम्पराएं को जीवत रखा। भारतीय परम्परा में विभिन्न ऐतिहासिक काल खण्डों में कुछ ऐसे महापुरुष हुए हैं जिन्होंने सामाजिक व धार्मिक व्यवस्था में सुधार लाने के प्रयत्न किए हैं 6ठी शताब्दी में भक्ति आन्दोलन हुआ जिस दौरान अनेक कवि संत हुए जिन्होंने सामाजिक, धार्मिक सुधार कार्य किए 19वीं 20वीं शताब्दी में अनेक सन्त, महापुरुष हुए जिन्होंने अपने तप, भक्ति, आराधना से मानव जीवन को सद्गुणों की ओर ले जाने का प्रयत्न किया, ऐसे ही एक सन्त शिरोमणी नवल महाराज जो वाल्मिकी (हरिजन) समुदाय से सम्बन्ध रखते थे लेकिन उन्होंने मानव कल्याण पशु कल्याण, पर्यावरण हितैषी कार्य करके यह सिद्ध किया कि व्यक्ति अपनी जाति समुदाय से निम्न नहीं होता है वह अपने कर्म से होता है नवल महाराज के उच्च नेक कार्य ही उन्हें महान, तपस्वी, ज्ञानी, जनहितैषी बनाती है। यहां नवल स्वामी के नवल सम्प्रदाय को दुनिया से अवगत करवाना है जिससे समाज में अस्पृश्यता के भेदभाव को मिटाना और नवल महाराज के विचारों को जनमानस तक पहुंचाना।



संत शिरोमणी नवल महाराज का जन्म राजस्थान राज्य के नागौर जिले के गांव हरसोलाव में वाल्मिकी समाज (हरिजन समाज) के कुशल व सिणगारी के घर में विक्रम संवत् 1840 (1783 ई.) भादवा वदी अष्टमी के दिन नवल स्वामी का जन्म हुआ, नवल स्वामी के पिता कुशल व माता सिणगारी साधारण गरीब परिवार से थे। इनके माता-पिता इन्हें प्रेम से 'नवला' नाम से पुकारते थे। एक वर्ष की बाल्यावस्था में इनकी माताजी का देहान्त हो गया, इसके बाद पिता कुशल ने इनका पालन पोषण किया। नवल स्वामी की बाल्यावस्था से ही इनकी भगवान के प्रति अदृढ़ श्रद्धा थी तथा आध्यात्मिकता के प्रति झुकाव था नवल स्वामी ने बाल्यावस्था में ही आध्यात्मिक चिन्तन प्रारम्भ कर दिया, इनकी भक्ति, धर्मनिष्ठा, निश्छलता, शान्तप्रिय स्वभाव व आध्यात्मिक श्रद्धा को देखकर इनके पिता को अत्यधिक प्रसन्नता हुई 'होनहार बिरबान के होत है चिकने पात'¹

अर्थात् महान व्यक्ति के गुण छोटी उम्र में दिखने लग जाते हैं। बाल्यावस्था में इनके पिताजी ने संत करताराम जी से नवल स्वामी को मिलाया, संत करताराम जी हरसोलाव के मेघवाल जाति के धार्मिक सन्त थे। सन्त करताराम जी नवल स्वामी की तेज बुद्धि और गहन तर्कशक्ति को देखकर अचंभित हो गये। नवल जी भी करताराम जी से बहुत प्रभावित हुए और उनसे गुरु के रूप में उपदेश ग्रहण किए। इन्होंने करताराम जी से कबीर के निर्गुण भक्ति के सिद्धान्त सीखे तथा अन्य धार्मिक शिक्षाओं के बारे में ज्ञान अर्जित किया एक बार जब नवल स्वामी जंगल में अपनी गायों को चरा रहे थे तब एक संत उनसे मिले जो वास्तव में कबीरदास जी थे इस प्रकार नवल कबीर के शिष्य बन गये। इसके बाद नवल स्वामी ने 'नवल' सम्प्रदाय की स्थापना की।

नवल स्वामी का विवाह भूरी बाई से हुआ जो नागौर की रहने वाली थी भूरी बाई ने एक पुत्र को जन्म दिया जिन्हें भक्त लादूराम के नाम से जाना जाता है, भूरी बाई की मृत्यु के एक-डेढ़ साल बाद नवल स्वामी का दूसरा विवाह धापी बाई से हुआ जो नागौर के मुण्डवा की रहने वाली थी इनसे एक पुत्र हरिराम दो पुत्रियां राधा व दीपा हुईं तथा इनकी तीसरी पत्नी जम्मू बाई जिनसे एक पुत्र दयालराम हुए जो नवल स्वामी के बाद नवल सम्प्रदाय के सन्त हुए।² नवल स्वामी वाल्मिकी समुदाय से थे अतः हरसोलाव गांव में उनकी उच्च जातियों के ईष्या का केन्द्र बन गये ग्रामीण रूढ़िवादी उच्च जाति के लोग उन्हें कष्ट देने लगे तब गांव छोड़कर जोधपुर में कांतलिया के ठाकुर की हवेली के पास अपना आश्रय बनाया, नवल स्वामी जगह-जगह घूमे समस्त राजपूताना राज्यों, उत्तरी भारत के स्थानों का भ्रमण किया। विभिन्न भ्रमणों के पश्चात् वे सार्वजनिक रूप से एक धार्मिक गुरु व सामाजिक शक्ति के रूप में पहचाने जाने लगे। इन्होंने जोधपुर के बाईजी के तालाब के पास रहने लगे और यहीं से सामाजिक, धार्मिक सुधारक के रूप में कार्य

* सहायक आचार्य, चौपासनी महाविद्यालय, चौपासनी, जोधपुर

करते रहे विक्रम संवत् 1965 (1908 ई.) में 125 वर्ष की आयु में इस संसार से विदा ली तथा उनका अन्तिम संस्कार जोधपुर की मेहतर बस्ती में किया गया जिसे आज नवल बस्ती के नाम से जानी जाती है।³

नवल स्वामी के चमत्कार – कहते हैं कि चमत्कार को नमस्कार है वैसे ही नवल स्वामी एक महान चमत्कारिक संत के रूप में जाने जाते थे। लोग उनके पास विभिन्न उद्देश्यों से आते थे। लोग उनके पास रोगों से मुक्ति पाने तथा असाध्य रोगों के निवारण के लिए आते थे। नवल स्वामी के बारे में कहा जाता है उन्होंने अपने जीवनकाल में अनेक चमत्कार किए थे जिनमें कुछ प्रमुख इस प्रकार हैं कि एक बार जोधपुर के राव लोढ़ा जी का पुत्र सख्त बीमार हो गया, अनेक उपचार करने के बाद भी उनके पुत्र के स्वास्थ्य में कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ तब राव लोढ़ा जी अपने पुत्र को लेकर नवल स्वामी के आश्रम पहुंच तब तक उनके पुत्र की मृत्यु हो गयी मृत बालक को ले जाकर नवल स्वामी के पास रखा नवल स्वामी साधना में लीन थे नवल स्वामी जी अपनी जाग्रत अवस्था में आये तो उन्होंने देखा कि एक मृत बालक उनके पास लेटा है और उसके पिता के हाल बेहाल को देखते हुए स्वामी जी ने कुछ आध्यात्मिक मंत्र बोले और सतगुरु से प्रार्थना कि

*खांवदा किण दिस जायने अर्ज गुजारूं
सतगुरु बिना दीशे नहीं और स्वासं उस्वांस ब्रेहझड
लागी हिरदा में मय रही झामर झोर
असूर संगारण उठो अन्न दाता, रजवा तणों देखलो जोर
भक्त उभारो बेला आई, सतगुरु श्याम चरण री दुहाई*

कुछ समय में ही मृत बालक जीवित हो उठा। राव लोढ़ा जी ने स्वामी जी के चरण छुए।⁴

- एक बार नोखा मण्डी में हणुताराम जी का बालक पत्थरों की खान में गिर गया जिसे नवल स्वामी जी ने उसके प्राण बचाये।
- एक बार रेण गांव में अपने शिष्य रविदास के घर गये जहाँ उन्होंने उनके घर में मरी हुई गाय को देखा। नवल स्वामी ने उस मृत गाय को जैसे ही छुआ, वह गाय खडी होकर रंभाने लगी।
- एक बार सत्संग में प्रसाद की जगह लोगों ने पत्थर रख दिए लेकिन जब नवल स्वामी ने लोगों को बांटने के लिए उन पत्थरों को छुआ, तो पत्थर प्रसाद बन गये।
- एक बार जोधपुर राज दरबार में गाय मर गयी तब राजा जी ने भी नवल स्वामी जी को बुलाया और अपनी मृत गाय को पुनः जीवित करने की प्रार्थना की तब नवल स्वामी ध्यान लगाकर आध्यात्मिक मंत्र बोले जिससे गाय जीवित हो गयी।⁵

- एक घटना नागौर के हरसोलाव गांव के पास शिव ग्राम में दुर्गा का निर्माण कार्य चल रहा था तब नवल स्वामी भी मजदूरी करते थे। कार्य करते-करते आंखें मूंदकर भक्ति में लीन हो गए। तब ठेकेदार यह देखकर गुस्सा हुआ और उसने नवल स्वामी को अपशब्द कहने लगा जैसे ही नवल स्वामी की आंख खुली ही और उनकी दृष्टि दीवार पर पड़ी कि दीवार गरजकर दरार पड़ गयी उक्त दीवार को जब भी दुबारा बनाया वह फिर फट जाती और दरार पड़ जाती है जो आज भी उसी तरह है (चांगरा 98 : 5)⁶

नवल स्वामी के सामाजिक, धार्मिक सुधार उपदेश

परम्परागत प्रथाओं का विरोध, मृत्युभोज, मूर्ति पूजा, मांसाहार का विरोध, मदिरा सेवन का विरोध, ऊंच-नीच का विरोध। नवल स्वामी मांस सेवन के बारे में कहते थे 'मांस कुत्ते का खान है, जो आदम क्यों खाय'।

नवल स्वामी ने मानव जीवन के लक्ष्य बताये जो इस प्रकार हैं—

- अगर आप मारना चाहते हो तो इच्छा (तृष्णा) को मारो।
- अगर आप निगलना चाहते हो तो गुस्से को निगलो।
- अगर आप बोलना चाहते हो, तो मीठे शब्द बोलो।
- अगर आप कुछ पहनना चाहते हो, तो अच्छाइयों के आभूषण पहनो।
- अगर आप कहीं जाना चाहते हो, तो पवित्र तीर्थ स्थानों पर जाओ।⁷

(चांगरा सं. 2014, 18-19)

नवल स्वामी न तो एक लेखक थे व न धार्मिक समालोचक और कवि थे किन्तु फिर भी कबीर की तरह निर्गुण भक्ति के महान सन्त व समाज सुधारक थे। इन्हें मारवाड़ के कबीर के रूप में एक क्रान्तिकारी सन्त कह सकते हैं। इन्होंने नवल सम्प्रदाय की स्थापना की।

नवल स्वामी के भजन, प्रवचन, लेखों का संग्रह बद्रीराम महाराज, आफूराम चांगरा, मनीराम चांगरा, अजमेरी लाल द्वारा एकत्र किए गये। नवल सम्प्रदाय के प्रमुख मन्दिर नागौर के हरसोलाव, जोधपुर, हरिद्वार, पाकिस्तान में कराची, सिन्ध, रंगुन इत्यादि स्थानों पर है।⁸



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राजस्थान में मीना जनजाति की संस्कृति, विशिष्ट परम्पराएँ एवं प्रकृति सामीप्य

डॉ. रजनी मीना*

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8. शिलालेख, हरसोलाव

भारतीय समाज लम्बे समय से विविध संस्कृतियों एवं प्रजाति समूहों का संगम स्थल रहा है। भारतीय समाज को सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से समृद्ध बनाने में जनजातीय संस्कृति का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहा है।¹ भारतीय समाज में पाश्चात्य संस्कृति का प्रभाव दृष्टिगत होता है। कालान्तर में भारतीय संस्कृति में बहुत से परिवर्तन आये हैं। भारतीय संस्कृति का मूलस्वरूप बदलता जा रहा है, किन्तु जनजातीय संस्कृति आज भी अपना मूलस्वरूप बनाए हुए है। जनजातीय समुदाय का निवास स्थल जंगल, पहाड़, दुर्गम स्थानों में रहा है। जनजातीय समुदाय सभ्यता के मूल प्रभाव से वंचित रहा है, यही कारण है कि आज भी इनकी विशिष्ट परम्पराएँ एवं रिवाज कायम हैं। जनजातीय समुदायों की मुख्यतः संस्कृति प्रकृति एवं पर्यावरण से प्रभावित रही है। जनजातीय संस्कृति में व्यवहार के कुछ विशेष नियम, प्रथाएँ एवं परम्पराएँ होती हैं। जनजातीय समुदाय के लोगों में धार्मिक विश्वासों के अन्तर्गत जादुई क्रियाओं में विश्वास भी देखने को मिलता है।²

प्रसिद्ध समाजशास्त्री गिलिन और गिलिन के द्वारा अपनी पुस्तक 'कल्चर एन्थ्रोपोलोजी' में जनजाति की परिभाषा दी गई—“स्थानीय जातीय समूहों का ऐसा समुदाय जनजाति कहा जाता है जो कि एक सामान्य क्षेत्र में निवास करता है, एक सामान्य भाषा का प्रयोग करता है तथा जिनकी एक सामान्य संस्कृति होती है।”

हरस्कोविट्स के अनुसार संस्कृति पर्यावरण का मानव निर्मित भाग है। इस परिभाषा में पर्यावरण दो प्रकार के है— एक प्राकृतिक या ईश्वर प्रदत्त एवं दूसरा मानव द्वारा निर्मित। पिडिंग्टन के अनुसार, “व्यक्तियों के उस समूह को हम जनजाति के रूप में परिभाषित करते हैं, जो एक सामान्य भाषा बोलता है, एक सामान्य भू-भाग में रहता है तथा कुछ समान सांस्कृतिक विशेषताओं को प्रदर्शित करता है।” भारत में जनजातियों को संविधान में अनुसूचित जनजाति के रूप में सूचीबद्ध किया गया है।

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भारत में किसी भी समुदाय को जनजाति के रूप में विनिर्दिष्ट करने हेतु उस समुदाय का किसी निश्चित भौगोलिक क्षेत्र पर पारम्परिक अधिकार, विशिष्ट संस्कृति (जिसमें जनजातीय जीवन शैली का संपूर्ण चित्रण भाषा, प्रथाएँ, परम्पराएँ, धार्मिक विश्वास, कला एवं दस्तकारी सम्मिलित है) पारम्परिक व्यावसायिक ढाँचा, शैक्षणिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ापन इत्यादि सम्मिलित है।³

भारत में अनुसूचित जनजाति सदस्यों की कुल संख्या का बड़ा भाग राजस्थान में रहता है। राजस्थान मध्यप्रदेश के पश्चात् जनजातीय जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से द्वितीय स्थान पर है। राजस्थान में भील, मीना, गरासिया, डामोर, सहरिया, नायका, कथौडी, पटेलिया, कोलीठोर इत्यादि प्रमुख जनजातियाँ हैं। राजस्थान में अनुसूचित जनजाति का 12.44 प्रतिशत निवासरत है।⁴

जनसंख्या की दृष्टि से राजस्थान में निवासरत जनजातियों में मीना जनजाति प्रथम स्थान पर है। मीना जनजाति की उत्पत्ति का संबंध मत्स्यावतार से माना जाता है। मुनि मगनसागर द्वारा लिखित 'मीन पुराण' नामक धार्मिक ग्रंथ में मीना जाति को क्षत्रिय एवं शुद्ध आर्य के रूप में दर्शाया गया है।⁵



मीना जनजाति के अराध्य मीन भगवान ग्राम भजेड़ा, तहसील राजगढ़ (अलवर)

मीना जनजाति प्रमुखतः सवाईमाधोपुर, करौली, दौसा, उदयपुर, अलवर, जयपुर, कोटा इत्यादि में निवासरत है। राजस्थान में कुल जनजातीय जनसंख्या (जनगणना 2001 के अनुसार) 7117345 है जिसमें से मीना जनजाति की जनसंख्या 3751225 है।⁶

राजस्थान में मीना जनजाति की लगभग 24 खोंपें हैं। मीना जनजाति की 12 पाल, 32 तड़े तथा 5200 गोत्र हैं। पालों में देसपाल, प्राचीनपाल, खेतपाल, योंयतपाल, जवपाल, रावतपाल, मालपाल, चिमरपाल, पड़ियारपाल, मेलापाल, मेंदमाल, पाशपाल और मेवपाल है। पालों, तड़ों तथा गोत्रों के अतिरिक्त मीना जनजाति में अन्य सामाजिक समूह भी पाये जाते हैं तो निम्नांकित हैं⁷ -

1. **जमींदार-चौकीदार** - जमींदार मीणा वे हैं जो कृषि पशुपालन व्यवसाय से जुड़े हुए हैं। चौकीदार मीणा राजाओं के महलों, कोषागार आदि के रक्षक बनाए जाते थे।

2. **पुराणावासी-नयावासी** - पुराणावासी के मीणा कहलाए जो पुराने समय से निवासरत हैं, नयावासी वे जो बाद में आकर बसे। नयावास, नीम का थाना (सीकर) प्रमुखतः चौकीदार मीणाओं का निवास स्थान है।

3. **उजला मीणा-मैला मीणा** - इनके संदर्भ में दो मान्यताएँ हैं श्री जगदीश सिंह गहलोट ने अपनी पुस्तक जयपुर व अन्य राज्यों का इतिहास में लिखा है कि 'उजले' गाय-बैल का मांस नहीं खाते पर मैले खाते हैं। दूसरी मान्यता अनुसार ढूंढाढ़ के मीणा उजले तथा शेष मीना मैले माने जाते हैं।

4. **पड़िहार मीना** - टोंक, भीलवाड़ा, बूंदी जिलों में पड़िहार मीणाओं का आधिक्य है। लोकविश्वास के अनुसार भैंस एवं पड़डे का मांस खाने के कारण इन्हें पड़िहार मीणा कहा जाता है।

5. **रावत मीना** - रावत मीणा अधिकतर अजमेर-मेरवाड़ा में निवासरत हैं। मीना जाति के 5200 गोत्रों में 'रावत' एक गोत्र मात्र है, ये लोग अपनी उत्पत्ति राजपूतों से मानते हैं।

6. **चमरिया मीना** - चमड़े से संबंधित कार्य करने के कारण इनका नाम चमरिया मीना पड़ा। ये प्रमुख रूप से उत्तरप्रदेश में निवासरत हैं।

7. **भील मीना** - ये अधिकतर अजमेर, मेवाड़, डूंगरपुर व बांसवाड़ा में निवासरत हैं। भील और मीना जाति के संयोग से भील मीना जाति बनी।

8. **सुरतेवाल मीणा** - मीणा जाति के पुरुष एवं मालिन या अन्य ऐसी जाति के संसर्ग से उत्पन्न सन्तान 'सुरतेवाल मीना' कहलाती है।

9. **असली या आदू मीना** - कर्नल टॉड ने 'ऊषाहरा' वंश के को अमिश्रित मीणा वंश का माना है। उनके अनुसार 'मैना या मेना अमिश्रित जाति है जबकि मीना मिश्रित जाति के रूप में प्रयुक्त हुआ है।

10. **ढेढ़िया मीना** – गोड़वाड़ तथा जालौर क्षेत्र के मीना ढेढ़िया मीना कहलाते हैं ये लोग मांसहार को घृणित नहीं मानते हैं।

11. **चौथिया मीणा** – मारवाड़ क्षेत्र के आस-पास के गाँवों में जमींदारों व गाँव वालों ने स्वयं की सुरक्षा हेतु मीणा, भीलों व बावरियाँ के लिए चौथ कायम कर दी, इस कार्य को करने वाले चौथिया मीना कहलाएँ।⁸

मीना जनजाति की सामाजिक व्यवस्था

1. **परिवार** – मीना जनजाति में संयुक्त परिवार प्रथा है। परिवार माता-पिता, दादा-दादी विवाहित, अविवाहित भाई, अविवाहित बहन, भाई की विधवा स्त्री सभी साथ रहते हैं। मीना जनजाति में पितृसत्तात्मक परिवार होते हैं। परिवार में ज्येष्ठ पुत्र के विशेष अधिकार एवं उत्तरदायित्व होता है। पिता परिवार का मुखिया होता है। पिता की मृत्यु के पश्चात् ज्येष्ठ पुत्र को 'पगड़ी रस्म' के माध्यम से परिवार का मुखिया बनाकर परिवार संबंधी उत्तरदायित्व निभाने की जिम्मेदारी सौंप दी जाती है।⁹

2. **कुटुम्ब** – परिवारों का समूह कुटुम्ब के रूप में होता है। कुटुम्ब में दादा के भाइयों के परिवार भी सम्मिलित होते हैं। संकट के समय कुटुम्ब के सदस्य एक दूसरे की सहायता करते हैं। कुटुम्ब में भी किसी बुजुर्ग व्यक्ति को मुखिया माना जाता है।¹⁰

3. **विवाह से सम्बन्धित संस्कार** – मीना जनजाति में विवाह एक प्रमुख संस्कार है। विवाह पुरोहितों के द्वारा सम्पन्न करवाये जाते हैं। विवाह तय करने से पूर्व चार गोत्रों को बचाया जाता है, जिसमें माता-पिता एवं दादी एवं नानी के गोत्रों को बचाकर विवाह किया जाता है। मीना जनजाति में रिश्ता तय करने में बहन के पति या फूफा का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान होता है, जिसे 'बडियाल' कहा जाता है। सगाई की रस्म को 'टीका' कहा जाता है। मीना जनजाति में पुरुषों द्वारा एक से अधिक विवाह भी किये जा सकते हैं। मीना जनजाति में नाता प्रथा विद्यमान है। परित्याक्ताओं एवं विधवा स्त्री द्वारा दूसरा विवाह नाते के रूप में किया जाता है। पति की मृत्यु के पश्चात् स्त्री का विवाह पति के छोटे भाई से कर दिया जाता है। कई बार 'नाता' करते समय स्त्री दूसरे व्यक्ति के घर जाती है अथवा नाते बैठा दी जाती है तो लड़की के पूर्व ससुराल वाले लड़की की कीमत के रूप में नये ससुराल वालों से राशि प्राप्त करते हैं इस राशि को कगली/खत/मायस/झगड़ा कहा जाता है। मीना जनजाति में सामान्य विवाह और पुनर्विवाह की प्रक्रिया में अन्तर है। सामान्यतः विधवा विवाह या नाता प्रथा में पुनः फेरे नहीं होते हैं। मीना जनजाति में विशिष्ट कारणों से होने वाले तलाक को मान्यता प्राप्त है।¹¹ स्त्री एवं पुरुष दोनों को ही तलाक एवं पुनर्विवाह की स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त है। मीना जनजाति में पुरुष अपने रूमाल का टुकड़ा फाड़कर अपनी पत्नी को दे देता था वह स्त्री उस टुकड़े सहित अपने सर पर घड़ा

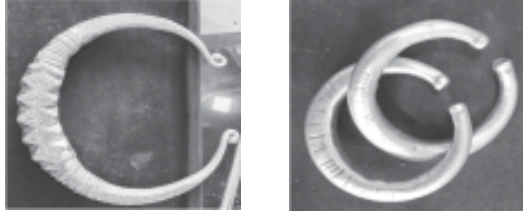
रखकर मनचाही दिशा में चल देती थी। राह में मिलने वाला जो पुरुष उसका घड़ा उतारता था वो उसका भावी पति होता था। सवाईमाधोपुर में इससे मिलती जुलती प्रथा 'हण्डूकड़ी' के रूप में पायी जाती थी जिसमें जल भर कर जाती हुई कुंवारी लड़की का घड़ा उतारने वाला उसका भावी पति होता था। मीना जनजाति में बाल विवाह, दहेज प्रथा जैसी कुरीतियाँ आज भी दृष्टिगत होती हैं।¹²

मीना जनजाति में परीक्षा विवाह की प्रथा भी प्रचलित रही है। इस प्रथा के अनुसार लकड़ी का एक त्रिभुज बनाया जाता है ओर उस त्रिभुज में लकड़ी की चिड़ियों को निर्मित कर दिया जाता है। इस त्रिभुज को विवाह स्थल पर लटका दिया जाता है। यह प्रमाणित करने के लिए कि वर व्यवसाय से शिकारी है वर पहले बंदूक से चिड़ियों पर निशाना लगाता है और पुनः छड़ी से उन पर प्रहार करता है। तोरण मारने की प्रथा संभवतः आदिवासी समाज की देन रही है।¹³

4. **आतिथ्य सत्कार** – मीना जनजाति में आतिथ्य सत्कार में अद्भुत है। अतिथि को 'पाहुणा' के नाम से सम्बोधित किया जाता है अपरिचित मेहमानों का भी इस जाति में बहुत सम्मान किया जाता है। ये दास बनकर मेहमानों की सेवा करते हैं एवं सामर्थ्य से अधिक अच्छा भोजन करवाते हैं। मीना जनजाति में बहन के पति को विशेष सम्मान दिया जाता है।¹⁴

5. **वेशभूषा एवं आभूषण** – मीना जनजाति में पुरुषों की वेशभूषा में कमीज, अंगररखी, धौती, पगड़ी प्रमुख हैं। मीणा पुरुष की वेशभूषा में कंधे पर रूमाल रखने का प्रचलन है। घाघरा, ओढ़नी, आँगी, कब्जा इत्यादि स्त्रियों के प्रमुख परिधान हैं। मीना स्त्रियों द्वारा 7-8 मीटर तक के घाघरा बनवाने को प्रमुखता दी जाती है। मीणा स्त्रियाँ पैरों में चाँदी के भारी कड़े पहनने को सम्पन्नता का प्रतीक मानती हैं। आभूषण स्त्रियों एवं पुरुषों दोनों में सामान्य रूप से प्रचलित है। प्रमुख आभूषणों में कानों में सोने की मुर्कियाँ, फूलपत्ती, बलेवड़ा, कमर में कणकती, हाथों में चाँदी के कड़े प्रमुख पुरुष ख्याल है। दाये पैर में कड़ा धारण करते हैं, इसे 'छैलकड़ा' कहा जाता है।

स्त्रियों के आभूषणों में बोरला, शीशफूल, नथ, बाँय, ओगनिया, मुरकी, झुमका, हंसली, तिमणियाँ, मोगरी, पंचलनलिया, गिलसरी, कण्ठी, गुलीबंद, खुंगाली, खंगवाड़ी, पूंची, नेवरी, बंगड़ी, हथफूल, कणकती, रकणा, बिछिया प्रमुख हैं। मीणा स्त्रियों एवं पुरुषों में अपने 'गोदना' गुदवाने की रुचि सामान्य रूप से पाई जाती है। गोदना सौन्दर्य संवर्धन के प्रतीक एवं आभूषण के विकल्प के रूप में देखा जाता है। हाथों में पैरों में ठोड़ी पर गुदवाये जाने वाले गोदने की विषयवस्तु बिन्दिया, फूल, पशु-पक्षियों केचित्र प्रमुख हैं। स्त्रियों द्वारा अपने हाथों में पति का नाम अंकित करवाया जाता है। मीणा स्त्रियों एवं पुरुषों में दातों में सोने और चाँदी की चोंप लगवाने का प्रचलन भी पाया जाता है।¹⁵



मीना स्त्रियों के आभूषण खंगवाली एवं कडूल्ये



मनौती देवी पैरों में कडूल्ये पहने हुए एवं पैरों में गोदने गुदवाये हुए ग्राम सालमपुर, तहसील महुआ, जिला दौसा

खानपान - मीना जनजाति में मांसहार व शाकाहार करने वाले दोनों ही वर्ग हैं। दक्षिणी राजस्थान के मीणाओं में मांसहार प्रवृत्ति देखने को मिलती है। जर्मीदार मीणाओं में मांसहार का प्रचलन कम है। मीणा जनजाति में खाद्यानों में मक्का, बाजरा, ज्वार, गेहूँ प्रमुख हैं।¹⁶ गेहूँ के आटे में चने का आटा मिलाकर जो मिश्रण तैयार होता है उसे 'गौचनी का चून' कहा जाता है। 'गौचनी के चून' की रोटियों को बड़े चाव से खाया जाता है। मीना समुदाय में सुबह के नाश्ते को 'कलेवा' एवं रात के खाने को 'ब्यालू' कहा जाता है। कलेवा में प्रमुख रूप से दूध अथवा छाछ के साथ राबड़ी का सेवन किया जाता है। मीना जनजाति में दुग्ध एवं दुग्ध से बनी खाद्य सामग्री के सेवन को प्रमुखता दी जाती है। त्योहारों या विशेष अवसरों पर बनने वाले प्रमुख भोजन में दाल-बाटी चूरमा और चावल-बूरा-घी प्रमुख हैं।¹⁷

मनोरंजन-उत्सव-मेले

मीना जनजाति में मनोरंजन का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। लोकगीत, नृत्य, उत्सव, मेले इत्यादि से मीणा समुदाय में मनोरंजन के साधन हैं।¹⁸ लोकगीत मीना जनजाति की

विशिष्ट संस्कृति की परिचायक है। मीना जनजाति की अन्तर भावनाओं की अभिव्यक्ति लोकगीतों के माध्यम से होती है। मीना जनजाति की महिलाओं को परिस्थितियों के अनुसार गीतों की शीघ्र रचना करने में महारथ हासिल होती है। लोकगीतों में प्रथम पंक्ति की पुनरावृत्ति होती है। पहली पंक्ति में जिन शब्दों का प्रयोग होता है बाद में कुछ शब्दों को जोड़कर दोहरा दिया जाता है। लोकगीतों को लय, ताल, ध्वनियों एवं वाद्ययंत्रों का अद्भुत समन्वय दृष्टिगत होता है। लोकगीतों के समय मंजीरा एवं झांझ का प्रयोग प्रमुख रूप से किया जाता है। लोकगीत मीना जनजाति में सूक्ष्म भावनाओं व क्रियाकलापों की अभिव्यक्ति का माध्यम है। लोकगीतों में विवाह गीत वधू विदाई, प्रेम प्रसंग, जच्चा-बच्चा गीत, मृत्यु के समय गाये जाने वाले, गंगाजी गीत, प्रकृति से संबंधित गीत, रिशतों की अभिव्यक्ति करने वाले गीतों का प्रमुख स्थान है।¹⁹

लोकनृत्य भी मीणा जनजाति में मनोरंजन का प्रमुख साधन है स्त्रियों और पुरुष दोनों के द्वारा नृत्य सामूहिक रूप से किये जाते हैं। मीणा स्त्रियों द्वारा गीत गोल घेरे में समूहबद्ध होकर गाए जाते हैं गोल घेरे के मध्य में स्त्रियाँ अपने नृत्य की प्रस्तुति देती हैं।²⁰ मीना समुदाय में पद दंगल समूहबद्ध होकर किया जाने वाला पदों का गायन एवं कन्हैया दंगल को पुरुषों द्वारा किया जाने वाला गायन एवं नृत्य है।²¹



वाद्ययंत्र मंजीरे एवं घेरा (ढप)

आदिवासी मीणा समुदाय में धोड़्या गीत गाये जाने की परम्परा रही है ये गीत होली से 15 दिन पूर्व से रात्रि के समय गाये जाते हैं, इस गीत को केवल स्त्रियों के द्वारा ही गाया जाता है। धोड़्या गीतों के गायन के समय 20-30 औरतें दो समूह में समानान्तर कतारबद्ध हो जाती हैं साथ ही हाथ पकड़कर एक दूसरे की ओर दौड़ते हुए इस गीत को गाया जाता है। इस प्रकार के गीतों के गायन के समय किसी प्रकार का वाद्य यंत्र का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया जाता है।²²

धार्मिक जीवन

आदिवासी मीना जनजाति टोटमवादी, प्रकृतिवादी एवं जीववादी रही है। मीना जनजाति मुख्यतः प्राकृतिक शक्तियों की उपासक रही हैं। मीना जनजाति में 5200 गोत्र विद्यमान है। प्रत्येक गोत्र के अनुसार कुल देवियों की अराधना की जाती है। कुलदेवी को कुल की रक्षक के रूप में देखा जाता है। कैलादेवी, बरवासिन माता, खुरा देवी, बांकी माता, जोबनेर माता, नारायणी माता, शीतला माता, घटवासन माता, जमवाय माता, पाली माता, बरवाड़ा की चौथ माता, लालसोट की पपलाद माता इत्यादि मीना समुदाय की कुल देवियां हैं।²³

मीना जनजाति के आस्था के केन्द्रों में श्री महावीर जी, भर्तृहरि, नई के नाथ के महादेव जी, सवाईमाधोपुर के गणेश जी, नरारा के पीपा भौमिया, पाँडूपोल हनुमान जी, मेंहदीपुर के बालाजी, गौतम जी (सिरोही) इत्यादि हैं। मीना जनजाति में शिव जी भी इष्टदेव के रूप में पूजे जाते हैं।²⁴



पथवारी माई (मार्ग के रक्षक के रूप में पूजनीय) लोक देवता भैरू बाबा

मीना जनजाति में लोकदेवताओं की विशेष रूप से उपासना की जाती है। भौमिया बाबा, भैरूबाबा, हीरामन बाबा एवं अन्य लोकदेवताओं के चबूतरे गाँवों के मध्य स्थित होते हैं। मीना जनजाति के गाँवों में "पथवारी माई" का चबूतरा भी स्थापित होता है। यात्रा से पूर्व विवाह इत्यादि के समय वर बारात को जाने से पूर्व लोकदेवताओं एवं पथवारी माई का आशीर्वाद लेकर जाता है। पथवारी माई को मार्ग की रक्षक के रूप में पूजा जाता है।²⁵ भौमिया बाबा पूरी बस्ती के रखवाले के रूप में पूजे जाते हैं।

मीना जनजाति के प्रमुख रूप से अमूर्त ईश्वर की अवधारणा की जगह लोकदेवताओं एवं लोकदेवियों, पितर-आत्माओं में आस्था की परम्परा पायी जाती है। मीना जनजाति आलौकिक शक्तियों में विश्वास रखती है। उनका व्यक्तिगत, पारिवारिक जीवन इन्हीं अलौकिक शक्तियों से प्रभावित एवं नियोजित होता है। मीना समुदाय के लोग रोगोपचार में ओझाओं, देवताओं इत्यादि की सहायता लेते हैं। मीना समुदाय में मान्यता है कि किसी व्यक्ति में देवता आते हैं और उनसे समस्याओं का समाधान पूछा जाता है, जिस व्यक्ति

में देवता आता है उसे 'घुड़ला' कहा जाता है। जादू, टोना, तंत्र-मंत्र इत्यादि में भी मीना समुदाय के लोग विश्वास करते हैं।²⁶

मीना जनजातियों दीपावली के अवसर पर पशुओं को सजाया जाता है मोर पंखों की माला बनाकर उसमें टोकर (घंटाली) पशुओं के गले में बांधी जाती है। पशु के दुग्ध की सबसे पहले खिरोण्डी (खीर का भोग) देवताओं के चढ़ाई जाती है फिर दूध को परिवार के या व्यवसाय के रूप में काम में लिया जाता है। मीना जनजाति में प्रत्येक माह की अमावस्या को पितरों को खीर का भोग लगाये जाने की परम्परा रही है।²⁷

मीना जनजाति में धार्मिक संस्कारों के निर्वहन में भी सामूहिकता का भाव प्रकट होता है। मीना जनजाति में दीपावली के दिन गोवर्धन के दिन और कार्तिक शुक्ल चौदस के दिन पितरों को जल तर्पण किया जाता है। पितरों के जल तर्पण में गाँवों के प्रत्येक परिवार का मुखिया शामिल होता है फिर सामूहिक रूप से पितरों को जल तर्पण किया जाता है।²⁸



समूहबद्ध होकर पितरों को जलतर्पण करती हुई मीना जनजाति (स्रोत : डॉ. आँचल मीना सह आचार्य, राजकीय महाविद्यालय, राजगढ़)

मीना जनजाति में कुल देवी के अलावा कुलवृक्ष को पूजने की विशिष्ट प्रथा विद्यमान थी जिसे 'धराड़ी' कहा जाता है। मीना समुदाय में एक गोत्र या एक से अधिक गोत्रों का एक कुलवृक्ष होता है जिसे 'धराड़ी' कहा जाता है। किसी भी पुनीत कार्य को सम्पन्न करने के समय धराड़ी ऋकुलवृक्ष की लकड़ी का इस्तेमाल किया जाता था।²⁹ बच्चे के जन्म के समय कुलवृक्ष की लकड़ी सिराहने रखी जाती थी, विवाह, अंतिम संस्कार इत्यादि में धराड़ी की टहनी का प्रयोग किया जाता था। किसी भी शुभ कार्य की शुरुआत धराड़ी की पूजा के साथ होती थी। मीना समुदाय में धराड़ी की सूखी लकड़ी को केवल शुभ काम में ही इस्तेमाल किये जाने की परम्परा विद्यमान रही है।

धराड़ी की गिली लकड़ी को काटना निषेध माना जाता है, केवल शुभ कार्यों के

लिए धराड़ी की सूखी टहनी का इस्तेमाल किया जा सकता है। मीना समुदाय में ऐसी मान्यता रही है कि धराड़ी (कुलवृक्ष) वंश की संवर्धक होती है। सरस, जाल, सीमल, पीपल, खेजड़ी, नीम, विल्वपत्र, कदम, वटवृक्ष, बांस, कैर, जामुन इत्यादि वृक्ष मीना समुदाय के गोत्रों के अनुसार कुलवृक्ष के रूप में (धराड़ी) पूजे जाते हैं। धराड़ी प्रथा के अन्तर्गत वृक्षों के साथ मीना समुदाय का जुड़ाव प्रकृति सामीप्य को ही प्रकट करता है।³⁰

माँडना

माँडना चित्रकारी मीना जनजाति के द्वारा प्रयुक्त कलाओं में प्रमुख है। इस कला का कला प्रयोग राजस्थान एवं मध्यप्रदेश में मीना समुदाय द्वारा विशेष अवसरों पर अपने घरों के आँगन एवं दीवारों को सजाने के लिए किया जाता है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में मीना समुदाय में प्रयुक्त इस कला को माँ द्वारा बेटियों को सिखाई जाती है। विवाह अवसर, त्यौहारों पर विशेष रूप से परिवार की महिलाओं द्वारा छोटी-छोटी रेखाओं और बिन्दुओं के माध्यम से इस कला का चित्रण किया जाता है। घर की महिलाओं द्वारा इस कला का प्रयोग सामूहिक रूप से किया जाता है। घर की दीवारों और आँगन को मिट्टी एवं गोबर को मिलाकर पहले लीप लिया जाता है उसके बाद बारीक चित्रकारी के रूप में माँडने को उकेरा जाता है। माँडना चित्रकारी में गेरू मिट्टी तथा सफेद रंग की खड़िया मिट्टी का प्रयोग होता है। मीना जनजाति में माँडना में प्रयुक्त होनेवाली विषयवस्तु में प्रकृति, पशु, पक्षी, वन्यजीव, पौधे इत्यादि जीवकार एवं मानवकार रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं। मीना जनजाति में मोर पक्षी का माँडना जिसे 'मोरड़ी' अथवा 'मोरड़िया' कहा जाता है सर्वाधिक प्रचलित है। माँडना के अन्तर्गत विषयवस्तु के रूप में प्रकृति एवं वन्यजीव इत्यादि मीना समुदाय के लोगों के प्रकृति सामीप्य को प्रकट करती है।³¹



मीना जनजाति में सर्वाधिक प्रचलित मोरड़ी माँडना

पंचायत व्यवस्था

आदिवासी मीना समुदाय में पंचायत व्यवस्था समाज को अनुशासन में रखने का सशक्त माध्यम रहा है। मीना जनजाति में सामाजिक विवादों के निपटारे में जाति के पंच पटेलों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रहती है। मीना समुदाय में विशाल पंचायत के रूप में मीना अटटाईसा की पंचायत, मीना समाज चौरासी महापंचायत प्रचलित रही है जिसके अन्तर्गत कई गाँवों के पंच पटेल एवं समाज के गणमान्य व्यक्ति भी भाग लेते हैं।³²

पूर्व में पंचायतों द्वारा जाति से बहिष्कार, शारीरिक दण्ड व आर्थिक दण्ड के रूप में जाति भोज, गंगा के स्थान, पंचों की जूतियाँ सर पर रखना, पंचों को भेंट देना, धूप में खड़ा रखना करवाया जाता था किन्तु उच्च न्यायालय में एक निर्णय के पश्चात् जातिगत पंचायतों को जाति से बहिष्कार शारीरिक आर्थिक दण्ड देने का अधिकार नहीं रहा।³³

आर्थिक व्यवस्था

मीना जनजाति का प्रमुख व्यवसाय कृषि है, कृषि के साथ-साथ ये पशुपालन भी अपनाएँ हुए है। मीना जनजाति में बंटाईदार कृषि व्यवस्था का प्रचलन है। इस व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत छोटा बट्ट, हाड़ी बट्ट तथा हाँसिल बट्ट प्रमुख है। छोटा बट्ट बंटाईदार व्यवस्था में भूमि को स्थायी जोतने के लिए भूमि देता है और उसके बदले एक चौथाई पैदावर लेता है। हाड़ी बट्ट व्यवस्था में भू-स्वामी राजस्व देता है और इसके अतिरिक्त बीज, सिंचाई आदि की व्यवस्था करता है। हाँसिल बट्ट में भूमि स्वामी राजस्व देता है उसके बदले एक तिहाई उपज लेता है।³⁴ कालान्तर में मीना जनजाति के लोग सरकारी सेवाओं में चयनित होने लगे हैं किन्तु ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में इनकी आर्थिक स्थिति पिछड़ी हुई है यद्यपि सरकार के इनके विकास के लिए कई प्रकार के कार्यक्रमों की शुरुआत की हुई है।

आदिवासी मीना समुदाय के लोकगीतों, लोकनृत्यों, उत्सवों, मेलों, त्यौहारों, चित्रकारी, धार्मिक क्रियाओं, आभूषणों इत्यादि में एवं जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु तक के सभी संस्कारों में विशिष्ट संस्कृति एवं प्रकृति से समीपता प्रकट होती है। मीना समुदाय सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक क्रियाकलापों में समूहबद्ध होकर नियमों और परम्पराओं का निर्वहन करते आए हैं। मीना समुदाय की 'धराड़ी प्रथा' पर्यावरण संरक्षण का स्पष्ट संदेश देती है।

आधुनिक युग की संस्कृति एवं जीवन शैली पर्यावरण ह्रास का कारण बन रही है। ऐसे समय में आवश्यकता है आदिवासी मीना समुदाय द्वारा अपनी परम्पराओं, रीति-रिवाजों, प्रकृति से प्रेम की सांस्कृतिक विचारधारा को पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी हस्तांतरित करने की एवं उनके इस प्रयास को सरकारी संरक्षण देने की तभी इस विशिष्ट संस्कृति

को जीवित रखा जा सकेगा।

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मीणा जनजाति के लोकगीतों में परिलक्षित सामाजिक चेतना (राजस्थान के सवाईमाधोपुर व करौली जिलों के विशेष संदर्भ में)

डॉ. निर्मला कुमारी मीणा*

लोकगीत लोकजीवन के दर्पण होते हैं, जिनमें किसी भी समाज का सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक प्रतिबिम्ब झलकता है। लोकगीतों में जीवन की वास्तविक झलक मिलती है। ये मानव मन के सहज व सरस उद्गार हैं। लोकगीतों की दृष्टि से राजस्थान भारत के समृद्ध प्रदेशों में गिना जाता है। जीवन का कोई भी विषय ऐसा नहीं है जिससे सम्बन्धित लोकगीत यहां उपलब्ध नहीं हो। लोकजीवन की सुख दुःखात्मक, हर्ष-उद्वेग तथा विभिन्न मनस्थितियों की लयतालमय अभिव्यक्ति का स्वाभाविक उद्गार का नाम ही लोकगीत है। लोकसाहित्य की समस्त विधाओं में लोकगीतों का सबसे अहम स्थान है। लोकविश्वास, मान्यताएं, परम्पराओं, रीतिरिवाज, संस्कार आदि का विश्वकोश लोकगीत है।

आदिवासी समाज में लोकगीतों का विशेष स्थान रहा है। इन्होंने अपनी विरासत, संस्कृति को इसी मौखिक माध्यम से संवारा तथा सहेजा है। मीणा जनजाति राजस्थान की प्रमुख जनजाति है जो कि मुख्यतः जयपुर, अलवर, करौली, दौसा, सवाईमाधोपुर, उदयपुर आदि जिलों में निवास करती है। मीणा जनजाति में पुरुष व महिला संयुक्त रूप से तथा दोनों एकल-एकल भी गाते हैं। मीणा जनजाति द्वारा मुख्य रूप से कीर्तन, कन्हैया, पद, सुड्डा, हेला ख्याल, ढांचा, रसिया आदि गाए जाते हैं। ये गीत आज भी अपने अनोखे रूप में अपनी संस्कृति को संजोये हुए हैं। यहां के लोग लोकगीतों के बहुत करीब हैं। सुबह उठकर काम पर लगने से लेकर रात को सोने तक वह कुछ न कुछ गुनगुनाता मिल जाएगा। खेतों में हल चलाते हुए, कुएं से पानी भरते हुए, चक्की पीसते हुए या बीहड़ में अपने पशुओं को चराते हुए अनायास ही हृदय से भाव, गीत के रूप में फूट पड़ते हैं। अत्यधिक शारीरिक श्रम, दारुण स्थिति में भी वह इन लोकगीतों के

माध्यम से संतोष ढूंढता रहता है। इनके गीत इनके भावों की सहज अभिव्यक्ति होती है। कृत्रिमता का पूर्णतः अभाव होता है। इन गीतों में कोई शास्त्रीय बंधन नहीं होने के कारण ये केवल अनुकरण मात्र से ही सीखे जाते हैं और पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी हस्तांतरित होते रहते हैं।

महात्मा गांधी का भी मानना था कि लोकगीत समूची संस्कृति के पहरेदार होते हैं।¹ आचार्य हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी के अनुसार 'ग्रामगीत आर्येत्तर सभ्यता के वेद हैं।'² द्विवेदी जी ने लोकगीतों की उपमा वेदों के साथ की थी। वहीं पारीक जी के अनुसार आदिम मनुष्य-हृदय के ज्ञानों का नाम लोकगीत है। मानव जीवन की उसके उल्लास की, उसकी उमंगों की, उसकी करुणा की, उसके समस्त दुःख-सुख की कहानी इनमें चित्रित है।³ मीणा समाज के लोकगीतों के विषय अत्यंत व्यापक है। लोकगीतों की विषय वस्तु समाज में निवास करने वाली विभिन्न जातियों एवं समुदायों की प्रथाएं, रीति-रिवाज, विश्वास, मान्यताएं तक विस्तृत रही है। जनजातियों के समाज की सच्ची तस्वीर एवं जीवन के विविध पक्षों की जानकारी का महत्वपूर्ण व मौलिक स्रोत लोकगीत ही रहे हैं। करौली व सवाईमाधोपुर क्षेत्र के मीणा जनजाति के सामाजिक जीवन की जानकारी हमें लोकगीतों से ही होती है। इनके गीतों में सामाजिक, धार्मिक परम्पराएं, राजनीतिक स्थिति तथा सांस्कृतिक विशेषता आदि विषयों को मुख्य आधार बनाया जाता है। इन लोकगीतों के माध्यम से इन्होंने दहेज, बाल विवाह, मृत्युभोज, भ्रूणहत्या, अशिक्षा व कन्या भेदभाव आदि पर प्रहार किया है। लोगों को इस संकुचित मानसिकता से बाहर निकलने का आगाज किया है।

इन लोकगीतों की विषय वस्तु समकालीन विषयों के अतिरिक्त सामाजिक समस्याओं को भी मुखरित करती है जैसे नुक्ता प्रथा। मीणा जनजाति में यह प्रथा निषिद्ध है क्योंकि यह प्रथा गरीब पर अतिरिक्त भार डालती है। परंतु कुछ लोग अभी भी इस तरह का भोज आयोजित करवाते हैं जिसकी शिकायत निम्नलिखित गीत में बहू अपनी सास से कर रही है-

टप टप आँसू टपके, सासू सुसरो मरगो म्हारो।

नुकतो पाँच गांव को राखे छोरो थारो रे।।⁴

x x x

गरीब को बाप मरे, पंचन को काँई जावै रे।

बारह दिन होता ई, वे तो धरे कड़ाई रे।।⁵

शराब सेवन वर्तमान में विकट समस्या का रूप धारण करता जा रहा है। नई पीढ़ी शराब का सेवन फैशन के रूप में ज्यादा कर रही है। इसका दुष्प्रभाव यह है कि युवा वर्ग नैतिक मार्ग से पथभ्रष्ट हो गया है। घर में कर्ज बढ़ता रहता है, परिवार वाले परेशान होते रहते हैं तथा घर का मुखिया बाहर शराब पार्टी करने में व्यस्त रहता है। पत्नी लोकगीत के माध्यम से अपने पति को उलाहना देती है यथा -

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दारू पीबो छोड़ बलम, थारो खेत बिकेगो मेंडा को
मोकू ले बैठ्यो बलम, काला मोहड़ा को।।⁶

X X X

गैर चलण का चालन सू भारी दुःख पावगो।
दारू छोड़ द जनम सुख पावगो।।⁷

इसी प्रकार दारू छोड़ने की विनती करती एक मीणा महिला अपने पति से कह रही है कि-

दारू न पितो बालमो का होती म्हारी धूण
तन का कपड़ा भी को छोड़्या, दारू बेगड़ी तनै
भूखो डोलगो कबिलो, दारू छोड़ परण्या।⁸

शराब का सेवन जनजातियाँ प्रारम्भ से ही करती आई है लेकिन वर्तमान में मीणा लोग भी शराबबंदी के लिए लोकगीतों के माध्यम से समाज में चेतना फैला रहे हैं।

दहेज प्रथा वर्तमान की एक ऐसी समस्या है जो निरन्तर बढ़ ही रही है। विरोधाभासी बात यह है कि जब मीणा जनजाति में शिक्षा का ज्यादा प्रसार नहीं था तब ये लोग बिना लेन-देन के पारम्परिक तरीके से विवाह किया करते थे परंतु जब से आधुनिक शिक्षा का प्रचार मीणा जनजाति समुदाय में हुआ है तब से शादी-विवाह सौदे जैसे हो गये हैं। लड़के की जितनी बड़ी सरकारी नौकरी, उतनी ही ज्यादा दहेज की मांग होती है। भले ही लड़की भी सरकारी नौकरी में हो, उसके बावजूद भी उसके पिता को दहेज देना ही पड़ता है। लोक कलाकार अपने लोकगीतों के माध्यम से समाज में दहेज प्रथा के खिलाफ चेतना पैदा कर रहे हैं जिसका प्रभाव निकट भविष्य में अवश्यम्भावी दिखेगा यथा-

लेबे-देबो बन्द करो, दहेज तड़ाकू ले ज्यागो।
कोई दिन पढ़्यो लिख्यो नोकर भी रण्डवो रह ज्यागो।।⁹

X X X

दसवीं में दो बार फेल मटाको।
रूपिया मांगे गौणा में।।¹⁰

X X X

भैंसन को सो मोल करे
छोरा की ड्यूटी लगता ई

शिक्षा प्राचीनकाल से ही व्यक्ति के सम्पूर्ण व्यक्तित्व के विकास का माध्यम रही है। शिक्षा के अभाव में कोई भी समाज व जाति प्रगति नहीं कर सकी है। वर्तमान में इस क्षेत्र में शिक्षा का बहुत प्रचार-प्रसार हो रहा है। हालांकि इस क्षेत्र ने हमेशा से ही बहुत

सारे भारतीय प्रशासनिक सेवा के अधिकारी, भारतीय पुलिस सेवा के अधिकारी दिये हैं परन्तु महिलाएँ लम्बे समय तक शिक्षा से वंचित रही हैं। अब स्थिति बदल चुकी है। इस क्षेत्र की मीणा जनजाति की बालिकाएँ भी बालकों के बराबर शिक्षा ग्रहण कर रही हैं व बड़े-बड़े सरकारी पदों को सुशोभित कर रही हैं। महिलाएँ अपने गीतों में भी इसी भाव को सहज रूप में गाती रहती हैं। वे इसके लिए कोई मंच का सहारा नहीं लेती हैं वरन् अपने मन के भावों को अपनी नई पीढ़ी तक इन लोकगीतों के माध्यम से पहुंचाने का प्रयास कर रही हैं यथा-

चलण चलगो दुनिया में नौकर कू छोरी दे बा को।
नम्बर बिना पढ़्या को आवगो, रण्डवो रहवा को।।¹¹

X X X

बिना पढ़्या क दे दी मैया।
लहंगो फटगो झाड़न म।
म्हारा काका की प्रियंका, डोले कार न म।।

ये गीत युवाओं को पढ़-लिख सरकारी नौकरी प्राप्त करने के लिए प्रेरित करती हैं। आदिवासी महिलाएँ अपने बेटे से उम्मीद कर रही हैं कि वह जल्दी नौकरी लग जाये, क्योंकि वैसे भी बारिश नहीं हो रही है तो फसल को भी नुकसान हो रहा है और यदि बेटा तू सरकारी नौकरी लग जायेगा तो सारी परेशानियाँ ही खत्म हो जायेगी-

पाणी कम पड़गो धरती म,
पढ़ लिख लाग जा ड्यूटी।।¹²

X X X

सुख सू बिते आगे सबकी जिन्दगी पूरी,
ड्यूटी न तो बिजनस कर ज्या,
पढबौ बहुत जरूरी।

लड़कियों की शिक्षा की ओर अब मीणा जनजाति में बहुत ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। लड़कियाँ स्वावलम्बी होना चाहती हैं, स्वयं विवाह के निर्णय लेने जा रही हैं। इस शिक्षा की बढ़ौलत ही सदियों से शोषित महिलाएँ पुरुषों के बराबर समाज में अपनी भागीदारी निभा रही हैं। नये लोकगीतों से स्पष्ट हो रहा है कि किस तरह शिक्षा लड़कियों के जीवन को नई दिशा की ओर ले जा रही है यथा-

आई रे आखातीज, अगाड़ी ब्याह करेगा छोरी को।
छोरी न्यो बोली, देखूंगी छोरो जोड़ी को।।¹³

शिक्षा की वजह से ही आज पर्दा प्रथा से महिलाएँ बाहर निकल पा रही हैं। महिलाएँ जो सदियों से पर्दे के पीछे घुटती रही हैं, उनके लिए इस पर्दे से निकलना आसान

नहीं था। आज पढ़ी-लिखी, नौकरीपेशा महिलाएं बेपर्दा होकर अपना जीवन व्यतीत कर रह रही हैं। यहीं दबे हुए भाव महिलाएँ निम्नलिखित लोकगीत के माध्यम से व्यक्त कर रही हैं -

*अनपढ़ महिला गांव न म घूंघट को परदो राखे रे।
होव पढ़ी लिखी बा, सिटी म खुल्ला झांके रे।।¹⁴*

ज्ञान-विज्ञान की इस सदी में शिक्षा को लेकर आधुनिक लोकगीतों का निर्माण भी हो रहा है जिसमें ज्ञान एवं विज्ञान को शिक्षा से जोड़ने का प्रयास किया गया है यथा-
*धरती बोले सौ बीघा को दिख्यो तेल कमाई में
दुनिया चन्द्रमा पर गई रे मजो पढ़ाई में।*

कन्या को देवी मानना हमारी संस्कृति की विशेषता रही है। परंतु कन्या का पालने-पोसने, उसकी अस्मिता की रक्षा करने, शादी में दहेज आदि मुसीबतों से बचने के लिए आजकल लोग कन्या जन्म को अभिशाप मान रहे तथा इससे बचने के लिए वे आधुनिक तकनीक का सहारा लेकर कन्या भ्रूण को माँ की कोख में ही हत्या कर देते हैं। महिला गीतों में इस तरह की संवेदना हमें दिखाई देती है-

*आछो घात घड़ो बेटी प,
माई क पेट क माया।।
खेत कु रूखाणो खा गो,
खेत क माया।।
आछो घात¹⁵*

वर्तमान में शिक्षा के प्रभाव, समाज-सुधार और लोकगीतों की सामाजिक चेतना से बाल-विवाह की समस्या को हल किया जा रहा है। यह समस्या पहले ज्यादा व्यापक थी अब इस पर काफी हद तक नियंत्रण कर लिया गया है। यथा-

*बालपण में मत परणाओं, छोड़ो रे पाछली रूड़ी
बंद करो दहेज मीणा, मत देवो गाड़ी।।
चोखी लागै रै फेरा में, ठारा साल की लाड़ी।।¹⁶*

अर्थात् अट्ठारह साल की वधू ही फेरों में बैठी हुई अच्छी लगती है।

पुत्र जन्म पर पिता व परिवार के समस्त लोगों की प्रसन्नता की कोई सीमा नहीं रहती। आज वह सर्वस्व लुटा देना चाहते हैं। ठीक इसके विपरीत स्थिति है पुत्री के जन्म लेने पर। प्रसव से पूर्व ही पति, पत्नी से कहता है कि यदि तुमने पुत्र को जन्म दिया तो तुम्हें घर के अंदर चौबारे में सुलाया जायेगा अर्थात् मान सम्मान होगा, साथ ही बधाई की पात्र बनोगी। यदि तुमने लड़की को जन्म दिया तो तुम्हारी बाहर कूड़े के ऊपर खाट बिछाई जायेगी साथ ही तुम्हें कोई भी सम्मान नहीं देगा-

*थे भल जणज्यो डावड़ी
थाँकी रेवड्यो बिछावेंगा खाट
बधाई सुंदर म्हें न करां जी ओ राज*

उपर्युक्त गीत उदयपुर क्षेत्र में भी प्रचलित है जिसकी मूल भावना समान ही है। यहाँ पिता ही परिवार का प्रधान होता है और उससे पुत्र अपने पिता के वंश को आगे बढ़ाता है। यहाँ की संस्कृति में पितृ-सत्तात्मक परिवार ही है। विवेचित क्षेत्रों के गाँवों में पानी भरने की समस्या सबसे भयंकर है। कुएं और बावड़ियों से जल भरकर प्रतिदिन लाना नारी के लिए दुर्लभ कार्य है। कई लोग तो अपनी बेटियों को ऐसे गाँवों में ब्याहते भी नहीं हैं। यदि विवाह हो जाए तो पानी प्रकरण में उसे सास कसाई के समान लगती है-

*पनघट ते पनियां भराई रे,
हाय मेरी सासू कसाई रे
सिर पर घड़ा, घड़े पर गागर
गागर पै चरी उचवाई रे
हाय मेरी सासू कसाई रे*

वर्तमान में मीणा लोक कलाकार शिक्षित होने की वजह से सामाजिक विषमता जैसे बौद्धिक विषयों पर विचार विमर्श करने लगे हैं जो समय-समय पर सार्वजनिक मंचों पर इनके आशुगीतों द्वारा प्रकट होते हैं जैसे यू-ट्यूब पर मास्टर रामकरण का निम्नलिखित गीत बहुत लोकप्रिय हो रहा है यथा-

*काई-काई उल्टी रीत चलाई रे,
म्हारा देश क मांया।
कोई क महल-मकान,
कोई क छपरा की छया।।¹⁷*

वर्तमान समय समय में नये कलाकारों को यूट्यूब, फेसबुक, इंस्टाग्राम, ट्यूटोर जैसे मंच मिल गये हैं जिसके माध्यम से ये अपने गीत लोकप्रिय करते रहते हैं। यह वर्तमान तकनीक का सकारात्मक प्रभाव है कि नये कलाकारों को अपनी प्रतिभा दिखाने का मौका मिल रहा है और ये कलाकार भी अपने फॉलोअर्स बढ़ाने की होड़ में समसामयिक सामाजिक मुद्दों पर तुरंत गीतों की रचना कर देते हैं। लोककलाकारों की संवेदनशीलता और रचना क्षमता में काफी परिवर्तन आया है। समसामयिक मुद्दों और घटनाओं ने यहां के लोकगीतों को प्रभावित किया है। उदाहरण के लिए भरतपुर की एक अमानवीय घटना को लेकर इस क्षेत्र के लोककलाकारों ने गीतों की रचना की और वे लोकप्रिय भी हुए। अक्टूबर, 2022 में भरतपुर में एक परिवार में जमीनी विवाद को लेकर छोटे भाई ने बड़े भाई की ट्रैक्टर से कुचलकर निर्मम हत्या कर दी गयी। इस घटना पर सर्वसमाज के लोगों का मन उद्वेलित हुआ। इस घटना की अभिव्यक्ति लोककलाकारों

ने अपने गीतों के माध्यम से की है। अपने मन के भावों को व्यक्त करने का अच्छा माध्यम यूट्यूब बना हुआ है जिससे आसानी से सारे समाज के सामने उनकी बात पहुंच जाती है यथा-

मौने मत मारे लौंडसा
बड़ो भाई चूं थारो
छोटो सो परिवार म्हारो
पालगो को नै
भाई को भाई दुश्मण बण गयो
दुश्मण का कारण तीन
तीन चीज का तै ने नाम बता दू
जर, जोरू ओर जमीन
भाई रे, मत मारे लौंडसा¹⁸

9 अगस्त को सरकार द्वारा आदिवासी दिवस घोषित किया गया तो करौली एवं सवाईमाधोपुर क्षेत्रों में इस दिवस पर भी लोकगीतों की रचना हुई। एक लोकगीत द्रष्टव्य है-

आदिवासी को कबीलो जय जौहार बोलगौ
बांधर धौणो तौलियो माथा प डौलगौ
आदिवासी दिवस मनावो बोलो जय जौहार
9 तारीक अगस्त को महिनो आयो बड़ो त्यौहार
आवाज उठाओ अपने हक की मत सहो अत्याचार
जल, जंगल, जमीन बचाओ चाहे खोणा पड़े प्राण
आदिवासी को ...¹⁹

इसी प्रकार जब कोरोना संक्रमण की महामारी का ताण्डव हुआ तब भी लोक कलाकार विष्णु मीणा ने इस तरह का गीत गाया था-

सबको हुई धणी सांवरिया मारेगो क छोडेगो
चीन देश से, आन शहर सूं आयो एक बंबाल
सारी दुनिया थर थर कांपे, सिर पे आगो काल, सबको ...²⁰

इस तरह की आशु तुकबंदी गीत महिलाएं व पुरुष खेतों में बाजरा, मूंगफली की निदाणी करते हुए गाते रहते हैं व अपने मन के भावों के गीतों के माध्यम से व्यक्त करते हैं। गीत गाते हुए महिलाएं उस कठिन परिश्रम को भी भूल जाती हैं तथा खेतों का काम भी उनके लिए गीत गाते हुए आसान हो जाता है। वास्तव में इस क्षेत्र के मीणा आदिवासी लोगों के गीत दैनिक दिनचर्या से बहुत ही सम्बंधित रहते हैं। इनके गीतों के विषय आदर्शात्मक नहीं होते हैं और न ही ये किसी संगीत के नियम में बंधे होते हैं वरन् एक

ही स्वर में तुकबंदी के साथ अपने गीतों के कलेवर को परिवर्तित करते रहते हैं।

इस प्रकार मीणा जनजाति के लोकगीतों में सामाजिक विसंगतियों को दर्शाया गया है। मीणा जनजाति के लोकगीत वर्षों से मौखिक परम्परा पर चले आ रहे हैं जो एक पीढ़ी से दूसरी पीढ़ी को हस्तांतरित होते रहते हैं। वास्तव में लोकगीत निश्चित रूप से मौखिक परम्परा के सार्थक शिलालेख हैं। मौखिक परम्परा का निर्वहन करते हुए ये लोकगीत मीणा जनजाति की सबसे बड़ी पहचान और सांस्कृतिक धरोहर है। जरूरत है हमें समय के प्रवाह में इनके मूल स्वरूप को सहेजकर रखने की ताकि हम अपनी आने वाली पीढ़ियों को एक अनमोल सांस्कृतिक धरोहर विरासत में दे सकें।

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डॉ. पूरन लाल मीना*

भरतपुर को राजस्थान का पूर्वी प्रवेश मार्ग भी कहा जाता है।¹ यह स्थान दिल्ली मुंबई ब्राडगेज रेलवेज लाइन पर भारत की राजधानी दिल्ली से 175 किलोमीटर दक्षिण में है। एक मान्यता के अनुसार भगवान राम के भ्राता भरत के नाम पर इसका नाम भरतपुर पड़ा था।² राम के दूसरे भाई लक्ष्मण की यहाँ के कुल देवता के रूप में पूजा भी की जाती थी राज्य के हथियारों और मोहरों के ऊपर प्रतीक रूप में इनका चित्र रहता था इस स्थल के समीप हरियाणा का गुरुग्राम जिला, भरतपुर के पश्चिम में राजस्थान का अलवर जिला व दक्षिण में राजस्थान का धौलपुर जिला पड़ता है।³ पूर्वी भाग से उत्तर प्रदेश का मथुरा जिला लगा हुआ है।⁴ कुछ ही दूरी पर मध्य प्रदेश से आ रही चम्बल के बीहड़ हैं।⁵ भरतपुर आने वाले पर्यटकों के लिए हवाई अड्डा आगरा तथा जयपुर एवं रेलवे स्टेशन भरतपुर जो कि मुंबई दिल्ली एवं जयपुर आगरा फोर्ट वाया टूंडला मार्ग पर भरतपुर पहुंचा जा सकता है।

भरतपुर जिले में तकरीबन 13 तहसील है जो कि क्रमश भरतपुर, बयाना, डीग,⁶ कामा, कुम्हेर, नदबई नगर, पहाड़ी रूपवास, वैर, भुसावर, सिकरी, उच्चाण है।⁷ इसके समीप से कई महत्वपूर्ण राजमार्ग गुजरते हैं। दिल्ली से भरतपुर, आगरा से भरतपुर फतेहपुर सीकरी से जयपुर इत्यादि महत्वपूर्ण मार्ग गुजरते हैं। भरतपुर सभी महत्वपूर्ण स्थलों से रेल एवं सड़क मार्गों से जुड़ा हुआ है।

घाना केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय पार्क के लिए भरतपुर पूरे भारत में जाना जाता है। ये राष्ट्रीय पार्क शहर से 3.5 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है। केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय पार्क को 1956 में पक्षी अभयारण्य घोषित किया गया था। कुछ समय पश्चात इसे राष्ट्रीय उद्यान में उन्नत अपग्रेड किया गया था।⁸

यूनेस्को ने इसे विश्व विरासत की सूची में शामिल किया है। केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय उद्यान में भारत के आलावा अफगानिस्तान, तुर्कमेनिस्तान, साइबेरिया, चीन, रूस, तिब्बत आदि से पंछी आते हैं। इनमें साइबेरियन क्रोन जैसे दुर्लभ पंछी भी शामिल है। भरतपुर में दिल्ली गेट दिल्ली दरवाजा भरतपुर किला जो कि पूरी तरह मिट्टी से बना है, परकोटे के चारों ओर गहरी खाए खोदी गई है जिसमें सदैव पानी रहता था एवं अभी भी रहता है। शायद इसका उद्देश्य दुश्मन सेना को सीधे किले तक पहुंचने से रोकना था तथा दोनों ओर एक धनुषाकार मार्ग है। दोनों तरफ दीवारें 1.5 मीटर चौड़ी 6 मीटर मजबूत प्रसिद्ध दीवार है। प्रवेशद्वार पूरा लाल पत्थर से निर्मित है जो धौलपुर का पत्थर है। वर्तमान में भरतपुर फोर्ट भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण की जयपुर ब्रांच के संरक्षण में आता है। भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण की जयपुर सर्कल की देखरेख में इसका जीर्णोद्धार किया जाता रहा है। किले की दीवार गारे एवं चुने से निर्मित की गई है पूरा किला समतल भूभाग पर निर्मित है।⁹

देशी विदेशी पंछियों की चहचहाट अठखेलियां निहारने विदेशों से आ रहे लोग राजस्थान के भरतपुर जिले में स्थित विश्व प्रसिद्ध केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय उद्यान में पंछियों की चहचहाट की गूँज पर्यटकों को खूब लुभाती रही है। देशी विदेशी परिंदे केवलादेव उद्यान की झीलों के पास लगे पेड़ों पर घोंसला अर्थात अपना घर अर्थात पंछी आसियाना बनाने में जुटे देखे जा सकते हैं। केवलादेव नेशनल पार्क में हर दिन हजारों की संख्या में स्थानीय व देशी विदेशी पर्यटक पंछियों की अठखेलियों को निहारने आते रहते हैं। केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय उद्यान का शीतकालीन सीजन तो स्थानीय लोगों के लिए अत्यधिक आर्थिक लाभकारी हो जाता है। शीतकालीन सीजन में प्रतिदिन हजारों की संख्या में देशी और विदेशी पर्यटक उद्यान का भ्रमण करने पहुंचते हैं। देशी और विदेशी पर्यटकों की भरमार से लोगों को रोजगार भी खूब मिलने लगा है।¹⁰

भरतपुर में आसपास के राज्य जैसे दिल्ली, उत्तरप्रदेश, मध्यप्रदेश, उत्तराखंड, हरियाणा, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश से भी नव वर्ष का सेलिब्रेशन करने के लिए काफी संख्या में देशी पर्यटक आते हैं। दिन में ये पर्यटक केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय उद्यान में पंछियों की अठखेलिया निहारते हैं और दिसंबर 31 की रात को नए साल का सेलिब्रेशन करते हैं। केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय पार्क में लगभग 300 से अधिक प्रजाति के देशी विदेशी लाखों की संख्या में पंछी डेरा डाले हुए रहते हैं। केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय उद्यान में दिसम्बर जनवरी फरवरी के महीनों के दिनों में चाइना कूट सबलर इंडियन सारस ओपन बिल स्टोर्क स्पून बिल समेत कई देशी विदेशी प्रजाति के पंछियों पर्पल हिरन की क्रीड़ाओं को देख पर्यटक मंत्र मुग्ध होते रहते हैं।¹¹ राष्ट्रीय उद्यान की छिछली उभरी हुई झीलों में पर्याप्त पानी होने से पंछियों को भी सूकून मिल जाता है और उन्हें पानी में से ताजा भोजन के रूप में ताजा

* एसोसिएट प्रोफेसर एवं विभागाध्यक्ष, सेंट्रल यूनिवर्सिटी उत्तराखंड L.M.No. 185

मछलियां व वनस्पति मिलती रहती है केवलादेव राष्ट्रीय पार्क में पानी में निरंतरता बनाये रखने के लिए प्रसिद्ध पांचना बाध जो कि करौली जिले में बना है और जो कि पूरी तरह से मिट्टी कि दीवार से निर्मित है, से निर्बाध जलापूर्ति होती रहती है।

भरतपुर फोर्ट में लोहा गढ़ एवं मोठ मस्जिद तथा एक बुर्ज जो कि मिट्टी के समतल ढेर पर बनी है जिस पर तोप को सेट कर रखा है। तोप ललाट से 6 मीटर लम्बी है, इसका व्यास 0.68 मीटर तथा पीछे कि और परिधि 2.67 मीटर है। तोप के व्यास स्लॉट का आकर 16.5 सेंटीमीटर है तोप को दो पत्थर कि शाटों के ऊपर रखा गया है। इसकी सरेखणा को पूर्व उत्तर पूर्व और पश्चिम दक्षिण पश्चिम रखा गया है। तोप के ऊपर मचान पर निरंतरता में मेहराबों कि पत्तियों को नक्काशी पुष्प और स्वस्तिक प्रतीक के डिजाइन तथा बिन्दीदार रेखाओं में सम्भवतया एक कुत्ते कि आकृति है, डिजाइन किया गया है। यहाँ की तोप को संभवतया ढाले गए लोहे से गढ़ा गया है। इसकी तिथि अठारहवीं शताब्दी ए.डी. मानी जाती है। इसका प्रशासनिक नियंत्रण भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण जयपुर व्रत जयपुर के आधीन है।

भरतपुर फोर्ट की दीवारों चिकनी मिट्टी से बनाने के पीछे मुख्य कारण दुश्मन फौजों से तोप बंदूकों के गोलों को मिट्टी की दीवार में ही आसानी से रोक लेना रहा होगा। मिट्टी गुरुत्वाकर्षण को शून्य कर देती है जिसके अंदर से गोली दूसरी ओर नहीं जा पाती है। तोप के गोले मिट्टी में धंस जाते हैं और किले के अंदर बैठा इंसान सुरक्षित रह जाता है। आज के समय में भी पुलिस एवं फौज मिट्टी के बोरे भरकर रख देते हैं जिससे बंकरनुमा सुरक्षित जगह बन जाती है, खासकर उन स्थानों पर जहां टेरिस्ट एक्टिविटी ज्यादा होने की सम्भावना बनी रहती है। वह इस तरह के मिट्टी के बोरे अस्थाई बंकर का कार्य कर देते हैं। भरतपुर फोर्ट इसका उदाहरण है। इस किले की रक्षा दीवार पर कुल आठ बुर्ज हैं, इनमें सबसे ज्यादा प्रसिद्ध जवाहर बुर्ज है। इस बुर्ज का नाम भी महाराजा जवाहर सिंह के नाम पर रखा गया है। भरतपुर किले में स्थित जवाहर बुर्ज को सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से प्रथम स्थान पर देखा जाता है।

दिल्ली की जीत पर यहाँ तीन मंडप बनाये गए थे जिसमे से एक में पौधारोपण भी किया गया था। महाकाव्यों के दृश्य एवं सामान्य ज्ञान युक्त एक खुदा हुआ लोह स्तम्भ खड़ा किया गया था। भरतपुर के दिल्ली गेट महाराजा जवाहर सिंह दिल्ली से लाये थे। इनका भी अव प्रशासनिक नियंत्रण भारतीय पुरातत्व सर्वेक्षण जयपुर वृत्त जयपुर के अधीन है। एक अन्य निर्माण लोहागढ़ अर्थात लोहे के किले के नाम से जाना जाता है क्योंकि ये लोहे के समान मजबूत है। यही वजह रही कि इस किले को मुस्लिम शासक और अंग्रेज भी नहीं जीत सके काफी कोशिश दोनों के द्वारा की गई थी मगर दोनों को ही इसमें सफलता नहीं मिल सकी थी इसलिए इसका लोहागढ़ किला नाम सही अर्थों में

साबित होता भी है। महाराजा सूरजमल एवं इनके पिता के जीवन काल की उपलब्धियों की शुरुआत इसी किले से हुई थी। सोगरिया कबीले के जाट रुस्तम के पुत्र खेमकरन ने नौ वर्षों में इसे पूरा किया था। भरतपुर किले में दोहरी किलेबंदी है, एक मिट्टी की दीवार है जो रक्षात्मक दीवार का काम करती है।

इसी किले में 34 मिट्टी के बुर्जों वाला एक विशाल क्षेत्र शामिल था। इसी किले में लंबवत पत्तियों के साथ एक जल चैनल से घिरा हुआ चार दीवारें लड़ाई के लिए मिट्टी पुआल और गाय के गोबर को मिलाकर बनायी गयी थी। तोपखाने की आग इसके नौ द्वारों में सामान संख्या में होती थी। अर्धवृत्ताकार आकार बाहर की ओर एक दीवार है। सबसे बाहरी दीवार की परिधि जो कि मिट्टी की दीवार है वो 11 किलोमीटर लम्बी है जो अब देखने में ही बहुत जर्जर लगती है। भीतर किले में सुरक्षित बुर्ज द्वार और सुरक्षित मीनार भी बनाई गई है।

भरतपुर के पास में ही एक अन्य पर्यटन स्थल अलवर है। यहाँ अलवर जिले का प्रसिद्ध सरिस्का बाँध अभ्यारण्य है जो कि भारत के श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्रीय पार्कों में से एक पार्क है। सरिस्का को 1955 में वन्य जीव आरक्षित भूमि बनाया गया था¹² एवं 1978 में बाँध परियोजना रिजर्व का दर्जा दिया गया। इसी स्थल का काकरबाड़ी किला है जो कि रिजर्व के केंद्र में स्थित है के बारे में मान्यता है कि मुगल शासक औरंगजेब ने दाराशिकोह को उत्तराधिकार के संघर्ष में इसी किले में बंद कर दिया था। इसी रिजर्व पार्क में पांडवों से सम्बंधित पांडुपोल में भगवन हनुमान का एक प्रसिद्ध मंदिर है जो अभी भी वैराठ पहाड़ी पर जाने वाले रास्ते पर स्थित है।¹³ अलवर पार्क रॉयल बंगाल बाघ के लिए प्रसिद्ध है।

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सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन में स्त्री विमर्श : राजस्थानी लोकगाथाओं के विशेष संदर्भ में

डॉ. रश्मि गुर्जर*

इतिहास के विभिन्न आयामों में राजनीतिक व सामाजिक इतिहास लेखन के साथ सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन की भी महती भूमिका होती है। भारतीय धर्म और दर्शन की जड़े इसकी सांस्कृतिक विरासत में निहित हैं। सांस्कृतिक इतिहास युग विशेष की चेतना तथा मानव चिंतन का प्रतिफल होता है। यह लोक साहित्य में काफी हद तक अभिव्यक्त होता है। राजस्थानी लोकगीत, लोकगाथाएं, लोककथाएं आदि में विभिन्न कालखण्ड के समाज, संस्कृति व राजनैतिक तत्वों का वर्णन है।

राजस्थानी लोक साहित्य श्रुति परम्परा का अकूत खजाना है जो सदियों से मौखिक स्मरणीय व कण्ठस्थ रहा है जो पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी आगे बढ़ा है।¹ राजस्थानी में बहुत सी लोक गाथाएं प्रचलन में हैं जो रोचक एवं महत्वपूर्ण हैं। ये लोक साहित्य स्वयं में पूर्ण व रोचक होने के साथ-साथ काव्यात्मक एवं सहित्यिक गुणों से इतना ओत-प्रोत है जहां सन्देह की कोई संभावना ही नहीं बचती है।²

इस प्रकार ये लोकगाथाएं सांस्कृतिक इतिहास को सच्चे अर्थ में अभिव्यक्त करती हैं। वास्तव में लोकगाथाएं लोकमानस की भावनाओं की सहज अभिव्यक्ति हैं। ये लोकमानस में अंकित जातीय गौरव की अमर गाथाएं हैं जो जनसमूह की वाणी में मुखरित हुई हैं।

राजस्थानी लोकगाथाओं के खजाने में बगड़ावत महागाथा, पाबूजी की गाथा, तेजाजी, डूंगी व जुवार जी तथा गोगाजी आदि की गाथाएं शामिल हैं जो वीर कथात्मक गाथाओं की श्रेणी में आती हैं। इनके अलावा प्रेम आधारित गाथाओं में ढोला-मारू की गाथा काफी लोकप्रिय है। भरथरी आदि की निवृत्ति कथात्मक गाथाओं में भी प्रारम्भ प्रेम से ही होता है। इन प्रेम गाथाओं में नायक-नायिका के बीच सहज सात्विक प्रेम होता है

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तथा इस प्रेम की परीक्षा के लिए लौकिक-अलौकिक बाधाएं नायक-नायिका को पार करनी पड़ती हैं।³ निहालदे सुल्तान कथा में रोमांचकारी घटनाओं का अधिक उल्लेख आता है।

इन गाथाओं में युद्ध का शुष्क वर्णन ही नहीं बल्कि स्त्री विमर्श के विभिन्न पक्ष भी समाहित हैं। नारी जगत के अन्तःसम्बन्ध, अन्तःप्रक्रियाओं और परस्पर संबंधों का द्वन्द्व इनमें एक साथ नजर आता है। स्त्री विमर्श की दृष्टि से राजस्थानी लोकगाथाओं में कुछ साम्य दिखाई देता है जैसे – प्रायः सभी नायिकाएं अपने प्रियतम पर आसक्त होती हैं और हठ कर उन्हें प्राप्त करती हैं।⁴ बगड़ावत देवनारायण महागाथा की नायिका रानी जैमती हर कीमत चुका करके भी सवाई भोज को पाना चाहती है। उसी तरह ढोला-मारू की नायिका मरवण भी बाधाओं की परवाह किये बिना अपने प्रियतम के प्रति समर्पित नजर आती है। लोकगाथाओं की नायिकाएं सती-साध्वी नारियां होती हैं जो सती होने के लिए भी तत्पर होती हैं। नागवंती नागजी के साथ सती हो जाती है।

प्रेम कथात्मक लोकगाथाओं की नायिकाओं को खलनायकों का भी सामना करना पड़ता है। ये नायिका पर आसक्त होते हैं और उन्हें जबरदस्ती पाने की चेष्टा भी करते हैं। उदाहरणार्थ निहालदे सुल्तान में खलनायक फूलसिंह व श्यामसिंह, ढोला-मारू में ऊमरा सूमरा आदि।

राजस्थानी लोकगाथाओं में माँ का चित्रण भी विशिष्ट प्रकार से हुआ है। बगड़ावत गाथा में सवाई भोज की विधवा पत्नी साडू माता के रूप में एक उच्च आदर्श स्थापित करती है। जिस प्रकार नदी निरन्तर बहती रहती है, ऊंचाइयों के मोह को छोड़कर बहुत निचली ढलान की ओर बढ़ती है, उसी प्रकार माता भी अपने पति से सन्तान की ओर अधिक अभिमुख होती हुई, उसी के सुख के लिए जीती है और उसी में अपनी पूर्ण सार्थकता पाती है।⁵

बगड़ावत गाथा में माता साडू का ममतामयी भाव और त्याग व समर्पण की गाथा एक अलग ही अंदाज में प्रस्तुत है जो आज भी जनमानस के लिए प्रेरणास्रोत है। इस गाथा में माता साडू के पूर्व जन्म की कथा का भी उल्लेख आता है। श्री देवनारायण पुराण सचित्र लीला के अनुसार पूर्व जन्म में माता साडू, माता कौशल्या जी हुई जिन्होंने रामचन्द्र भगवान की सारी लीलाएं देखी, चौथे जन्म में माता जसोदा हुई जिसके आंगन में श्री कृष्ण खेले। छठे जन्म में माता साडू देवनारायण जी की माता बनी।⁶ माता साडू का जन्म मध्यप्रदेश के पास देवास गांव के दूधा जी खटाणा और कमलावती के घर हुआ जिन्हें भगवान विश्वकर्मा ने आशीर्वाद दिया था।⁷ साडू के साथ रहने वाली हीरादासी साडू जी के विवाह के अवसर पर उनके साथ दहेज में आई थी जो सवाई भोज के ससुराल देवास के चन्दा जी अहीर की पुत्री थी। साडू भगवान शंकर की भक्त थीं। बगड़ावत भाइयों

को शंकर जी से काया और माया का आशीर्वाद प्राप्त था। शिव-पार्वती ने साडू से कहा कि इस माया को सदा बांटते रहना और पति सवाई भोज की आज्ञा का सदा पालन करना। माया और भक्ति पर किसी का भी हक नहीं है इसलिए माया को बांटने से ही वृद्धि होती है। जिसे सदा शुभ कार्यों में खर्च करना चाहिए। माता साडू सदा उसी मार्ग पर चली।

नाग पहाड़ पर्वत में जिस जगह शंकर भगवान ने सवाई भोज को माया दी थी वहां पर भगवान शंकर का मंदिर, कुण्ड, धूणी, तेल की डसी हुई भट्टी अभी भी मौजूद है। जो अजमेर राजस्थान के पश्चिम में स्थित है।⁸

माता साडू की दानशीलता का उल्लेख लोकगाथा में विशेष रूप से आता है। देवनारायण जी के भोपा जो फड़ का वाचन करते हैं उसमें उल्लेख आता है कि साडू माता रोज सन्तों को भोजन खिलाती, वस्त्र भेंट करतीं, मोर व कबूतरों को अनाज डालती, गायों को चारा डालती, पशुओं की खेलू में पानी भरवाती और दीन-दुःखियों की सहायता करती थी।

सवाई भोज आदि बगड़ावत भाइयों ने पुष्कर तालाब में घाट बनवाया। एक दलीचा नामक जमीन का टुकड़ा लिया जो आज भी प्रसिद्ध है। उस खेत में आज भी भूणा जी का मंदिर है। इस प्रकार ये स्थल ऐतिहासिक धरोहर भी है। बगड़ावतों ने आमेर गांव में एक बावड़ी बनवाई जिसका नाम ताम्बासेरी बावड़ी था, यह बावड़ी बाद में माता साडू के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुई क्योंकि माता साडू ने यहां भगवान देवनारायण को जन्म देने के बाद स्नान किया था और अजवायन बांटी थी जिसमें आज भी सुबह अजवायन की खुशबू आती है। यह बावड़ी गोठा से 9 किलोमीटर पूर्व की ओर है।

इस गाथा में पातूड़ी कलाली का भी उल्लेख आता है जिसका दम्भ भी बगड़ावतों ने दूर किया व उसे माफ कर मोहरें दान दी। वह बगड़ावतों की धर्म बहन बन गई थी। माता साडू ने भी उसे ननद का सम्मान दिया। जब माता साडू मालवा में से वापस आई थी। उस समय माता साडू ने एक परवाना भेजा जा था जिसमें उन्होंने कलाली को ननद बाई कहा था तो भूणा जी ने कागज पढ़कर छोटू भाट से पूछा कि ये पातूड़ी कलाली कौन है तो उन्होंने कहा कि वो बगड़ावतों की धर्म बहन है। इसी तरह लडुड़ी कुम्हारी का भी धर्म बहन के रूप में उल्लेख आता है जो साडू माता और बगड़ावतों के सर्वसमाज की समानता के सिद्धान्त में आस्था को दर्शाता है।

जब बगड़ावत भाइयों ने रानी जैमती को लाने का निश्चय किया तब भी माता साडू ने उन्हें समझाया था-

रानी रानी झण करो रानी है, खाण्डा की धार

एक रानी के कारण हो जायेगी राड़।।⁹

बगड़ावत गाथा की प्रसिद्ध नायिका जैमती का सवाई भोज के प्रति अमर प्रेम इस गाथा का मुख्य आकर्षण है। रानी जैमती बूढ़े राणा से विवाह के लिए मना कर देती है और सवाई भोज की कटार से ही फेरे ले लेती है। जैमती को कई स्थानों पर जेलू भी कहा जाता है। राजस्थान और मध्यप्रदेश के ग्रामीण स्थानों पर संघर्षशील व अपने हक तथा अधिकार तथा निजी स्वतंत्रता की बात करने वाली नारी को जैमती कह कर सम्बोधित किया जाता है।¹⁰ जैमती और सवाई भोज के प्रेम के गीत काफी लोकप्रिय हैं। मेवाड़ी भाषा में ऐसा ही एक गीत है-

हीरू ए पर्वत मांडन मोर।

भोज न मांडन जैमती।।

हीरू ए हिवड़ा रो मांडन नौसर हार।।

हीरू ए भोज न मांडन जैमती।।¹¹

अर्थात् जैसे पर्वत की शोभा बिजली है, वक्षस्थल की शोभा नौसर हार है, वैसे ही भोज की शोभा जैमती है।

इस प्रेमी जोड़े की लोकप्रियता और प्रेम की सशक्त भावना आज भी राजस्थानी लोकमानस में जड़ जमाए हुए हैं जो लोकसंस्कृति की विभिन्न विधाओं गायन व नृत्य, गोठ, फड़वाचन आदि के द्वारा अभिव्यक्त होती हैं।

स्त्री विमर्श की आधुनिक अवधारणा के आधार पर नजर डालने पर हम पाते हैं कि रानी जैमती ने तत्कालीन समाज को हिला कर रख दिया था। उन्होंने सामाजिक व्यवस्थाओं में चली आ रही कुप्रथाओं और प्रचलित अन्याय का विरोध किया। उन्होंने मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा अन्याय का प्रतिकार किया। उस समय के सामाजिक ढांचे में एक स्त्री का यह फैसला कि वो बूढ़े से विवाह करने से मना कर स्वयं अपना जीवन साथी तय करे, एक दुस्साहसिक कार्य माना जाता था लेकिन जैमती ने सभ्रान्त वर्ग की उन बेड़ियों को तोड़कर अपने प्रेम को पाया और उसके लिए वह तलवार उठाने में भी पीछे नहीं रही। यह स्त्री चरित्र राजनैतिक और सामाजिक ढांचे को खुली चुनौती थी जो बगड़ावत महागाथा में हम देखते हैं। रनवास का हलवा छोड़ रानी ने देशी छछ राबड़ी को अपनाया। इस गाथा में देवनारायण जी की पत्नी पीपलदे भी समर्पण और प्रेम की मिसाल पेश करती हैं।

इसी प्रकार पाबूजी की लोकगाथा में भी स्त्री चरित्र के रूप में सोढी का वर्णन आता है। पाबूजी की लोकगाथा में उल्लेख आता है कि पाबूजी के विवाह के समय तोरण गगनचुम्बी गढ़ के कंगूरों पर बंधा हुआ था। पाबूजी ने केसर कालमी घोड़ी को थपथपाया तो वह उछल पड़ी और गगनचुम्बी गढ़ के कंगूरों पर अपने चिह्न अंकित कर दिए और

तोरण मरवा दिया, यह देख सोढी जी की छाती फूल गई यथा-

चादें कामै फेर्या छै बो मूंछां ऊपर हाथ

कोई बाग-बाग होग्या छै रै राठौड़े कुल रा मानवी

नीचा तो झुकाया रै रीसालू सोढा सीस

कोई पाबू के रै कारजियै रै सोढी री छाती फूलगी।।

इसी प्रकार गोगाजी की एक अन्य लोकगाथा में माता बाछल व केलमदे का वर्णन आता है। एक दिन केलमदे ने वाटिका में भ्रमण के लिए बाछल (सास) से आज्ञा मांगी और येन-केन प्रकारेण अपनी सास को मना लिया, उसने सोलह-श्रृंगार किये चौसठ कली का घेर-घूमेर लहंगा पहना, दक्षिणी चीर को सिर पर ओढ़ा, हाथों में कंगन और पैरों में पायल पहनी। वाटिका में शुद्ध वायु का सेवन करती हुई, पुष्पक कलियों से खेलती हुई वह इधर-उधर घूमती रही। वाटिका में अरजन-सरजन ने उसका अपमान किया तो उसने कहा कि हाथ में तलवार दो और फिर देखो स्त्री का जौहर। यहाँ केलमदे का वीर चरित्र नजर आता है।

केलमदे ने घर आकर सास और गोगाजी को ये बात बताई। गोगाजी ने उनको मार दिया तो बाछल जो गोगाजी की मां थी उनको परिवारजन व भाई-बन्धुओं की मृत्यु पर दुःख हुआ और उन्होंने अपने बेटे गोगा को भी इसके लिए फटकारा। इस लोकगाथा में माता बाछल का कुटुम्बियों के प्रति विशेष स्नेह झलकता है जिसके लिए वे बेटे को भी फटकार देती हैं।

इस प्रकार सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन में स्त्री विमर्श के विविध आयामों को राजस्थान की वीर प्रसूता भूमि के परिप्रेक्ष्य में समझा जा सकता है। धार्मिक उपदेश स्त्री व पुरुष के जीवन को तराशते हैं।¹² जो इन लोकगाथाओं में समाहित हैं।

फ्रेजर ने यह स्थापित किया था कि लोकमानस के दो प्रधान लक्षण हैं, प्रथम कि वह विवेकपूर्ण होता है तथा द्वितीय, वह रहस्यशील होता है।¹³ इन लोकगाथाओं में लोकमानस की चेतना का यह तत्व हमें स्पष्ट दिखता है जो सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन की दृष्टि से उपयोगी हैं। स्त्री चरित्रों का इन लोकगाथाओं में विशेष महत्व रहा है। स्त्री को अपने अस्तित्व के बोध ने विमर्श की प्रेरणा दी।¹⁴ यही चिंतन हमें रानी जैमती, केलमदे, साडू माता आदि में दृष्टिगोचर होता है। आत्मचेतना, आत्मगौरव, समता व समान अधिकार की पहल ही स्त्री विमर्श को इन गाथाओं में मुखरित करती है। प्रेम, वात्सल्य, वीरता, बलिदान आदि मनुष्य जाति की सर्वमान्य भावनाएँ हैं।¹⁵ जो राजस्थानी लोकगाथाओं में विशेष रूप से वर्णित हैं तथा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास लेखन की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण हैं।

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भारतीय सिनेमा में परिलक्षित विकलांगता का चित्रण : राजस्थान के ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य में

मोनी*

प्रस्तावना- 18वीं शताब्दी में उदय हुआ राजस्थान, भारत का एक ऐतिहासिक राज्य है जो अपनी समृद्ध, संस्कृति, परम्परा, विरासत, वेशभूषा और स्मारकों द्वारा लोगों को अपनी ओर आकर्षित करता है। राजस्थान राज्य पहाड़ों और ऊबड़-खाबड़ दक्षिण-पूर्वी क्षेत्र, तथा उत्तर-पश्चिम रेगिस्तान के लिए भी जाना जाता है, जो सीमा पार पाकिस्तान तक फैला हुआ है।¹ भारत में राजस्थान राज्य को सबसे ज्यादा पर्यटन स्थलों के रूप में जाना जाता है और यही कारण है कि राजस्थान की सांस्कृतिक विरासत को दर्शाती हुई कुछ फिल्मों जैसे गाइड (1965), गुलामी (1985), जोधा-अकबर (2003), पहेली (2005), डोर (2006), गुलाल (2009), रोड (2009), पद्मावत (2018) और आइ एम कलाम (2010) आदि है। इन फिल्मों द्वारा राजस्थान के ऐतिहासिक समाज, भौगोलिकता, पारिस्थितिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक-आर्थिक संदर्भों की महत्वपूर्ण जानकारी हमें प्राप्त होती है जो पूर्वकालिक व वर्तमान स्थितियों को दिखाती है। (Yadav, 2022)² परन्तु राजस्थान के समाज को संदर्भित कर विकलांगता विषय का चित्रण करने वाली फिल्मों का क्रम हमें हिंदी सिनेमा में नाममात्र के लिए ही नजर आता है। अतः यह लेख राजस्थान को परिलक्षित करते हुए हिंदी सिनेमा में विकलांगता के चित्रण को प्रस्तुत करेगा। इस प्रकार मैंने इस लेख की तीन मुख्य उपशीर्षकों में चर्चा की है- इतिहास और सिनेमा, राजस्थान का सिनेमा से संबंध तथा राजस्थान के भौगोलिक परि.श्य में विकलांगता विषय को दिखाती फिल्मों।

इतिहास और सिनेमा - 20वीं सदी के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में सिनेमा भारत के विभिन्न वर्गों में एक लोकप्रिय माध्यम के रूप में प्रसिद्ध हुआ। शुरुआती दौर में हिंदी सिनेमा अपने विकास के क्रम में धीमा था, परन्तु 1930 के बाद सिनेमा लगातार

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प्रगतिशील, प्रभावकारी और विविधतापूर्ण रहा। सिनेमा की टिकटों को कम दाम पर आम लोगों के लिए उपलब्ध कराया गया, जिससे आम लोग भी सिनेमा का आनंद ले सके। (Hafeez, at al. 2016)³ सिनेमा में दर्शाया गया रहन-सहन, पहनावा, संस्कृति, नैतिक-अनैतिक, समावेशन, भौगोलिक परिदृश्य, भूमि, पठार, नदी, पर्वत, तथा मरुस्थल आदि जिन्हें महत्वपूर्ण कारक के रूप में देखते हुए हम किसी भी समाज की गतिविधियों की कल्पना कर परिदृश्यों का तुलनात्मक (पहले और बाद) अध्ययन कर सकते हैं। जो इतिहास लेखन में महत्वपूर्ण हो सकता है। पेड़-पौधे, पुल, स्मारक, मौजूदा वास्तुकला, दर्शक, नागरिक सुविधा या उनकी अनुपस्थिति, परिवहन के साधन, वेशभूषा, स्थानीय लोगों के चेहरे के हाव-भाव आदि फीचर फिल्मों के निर्माण से शायद ही बच पाते हैं। वैसे फिल्मों को दिनांकित किया जा सकता है और एक बार उनकी मौलिकता सुनिश्चित होने के बाद ये सभी सामाजिक इतिहास के लिए मूल्यवान सामग्री बन जाते हैं। सोर्लिन का मानना है कि “फिल्मों के वृत्तचित्र इतिहास की तुलना करने में अधिक महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत माने जा सकते हैं-क्योंकि जब कैमरा अनजाने में इतिहास को रिकार्ड करता है तो हमें संपादन के अलावा भौगोलिक या सामाजिक वास्तविकता देखने को मिलती है।” (Pierre, 2001)⁴ प्रो. अनिरुद्ध देशपण्डे के अनुसार इतिहास या इतिहास के स्रोत के रूप में सिनेमा को अब इतिहासकारों द्वारा एक नई खोजी गई गम्भीरता के साथ स्वीकार किया जा रहा है जिसने 19वीं सदी की बेड़ियों को तोड़ दिया है। विशेष रूप से मिडिया द्वारा समाज की प्रस्तुत तस्वीरों और पाठ का संयोजन, मत को प्रभावित करने के लिए एक शक्तिशाली उपकरण बन गया है। (Deshpande, 2004)⁵ इसीलिए यह इतिहास और इतिहास लेखन दोनों के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है।

इस तरह हिंदी सिनेमा भारत के विविध क्षेत्रों में फिल्म निर्माण कर क्षेत्र विशेष के अनुरूप पटकथाओं का निर्माण कर विविध विशेषता को दर्शाता है तथा ऐसे परिदृश्यों को हमारे मन मस्तिष्क पर उकेरता है जिससे हम वहां की सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक, आर्थिक स्थितियों से रूबरू हो पाते हैं। अर्थात् सिनेमा भारतीय विविधता को एक सांचे में ढालता है। इसके अलावा भारतीय व्यावसायिक सिनेमा की विषय वस्तु को भी जनता के आकर्षक के हिसाब से ढाला जाता है और युवा, भारतीय फिल्म निर्माता, सामाजिक जीवन और सांस्कृतिक तत्वों के साथ, पश्चिमी विचारों का फिल्मों में मिश्रण करने लगे हैं, जिससे हिंदी सिनेमा दुनिया भर के फिल्म बाजार में प्रसिद्ध होने लगा है।⁶ वर्तमान समय में सम्पूर्ण भारतीय संस्कृति व भौगोलिक परिदृश्यता को फिल्मों के माध्यम से आसानी से देखा व समझा जा सकता है क्योंकि विकास की विभिन्न अवस्था के बाद भी फिल्मों की आम जनमानस तक पहुंच अन्य की तुलना में सस्ती और अल्पकालिक है।

राजस्थान का सिनेमा - हिंदी सिनेमा की प्रसिद्धि के पीछे कुछ लोकप्रिय

परम्पराओं का सिनेमा में प्रयोग करना भी रहा है। इसके साथ ही समानांतर सिनेमा, जिसे कला सिनेमा और नयी भारतीय लहर के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। जो भारतीय सिनेमा का एक विशिष्ट आन्दोलन है। समानांतर सिनेमा यथार्थवाद और प्रकृतिवाद की अपनी गम्भीर सामग्री के साथ समकालीन सामाजिक-राजनीतिक माहौल पर अपनी गम्भीर नजर के रूप में जाना जाता है। यह मुख्यधारा का आन्दोलन बॉलीवुड सिनेमा से अलग है, और नयी फ्रेंच व जापानी लहर के आसपास ही शुरू हुआ है।

इस आन्दोलन का नेतृत्व शुरू में बंगाली सिनेमा (जिसमें सत्यजीत रे, मृगाल सेन, ऋत्विक् घटक और कई अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय फिल्मकारों को जन्म दिया) ने किया और बाद में अन्य भारतीय फिल्म उद्योगों में प्रसिद्धि प्राप्त की है। इस आंदोलन की कुछ फिल्मों ने व्यावसायिक सफलता भी प्राप्त कर कला और व्यावसायिक सिनेमा के बीच सामंजस्य बनाया है। इसका शुरुआती उदाहरण विमल रॉय की फिल्म ‘दो बीघा जमीन’ (1953) है। जिसने व्यावसायिक और समालोचनात्मक दोनों सफलताएँ प्राप्त की तथा नये हिंदी सिनेमा के लिए मार्ग प्रशस्त किया।⁷ वैसे हिंदी सिनेमा के शुरुआती विकास में मुंबई, कोलकता और चेन्नई तीन महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र थे। जो भारत में ब्रिटिशों के सम्राज्य संबंधी प्रमुख व्यापारी बंदरगाह शहर भी थे। लेकिन जैसा हम देखते हैं कि हिंदी फिल्मों में मुंबई में बनती है, जो पूरे भारत में फिल्मों का सबसे बड़ा बाजार है, परन्तु चेन्नई में तेलगु सिनेमा, कोलकाता में बंगाली सिनेमा और मुम्बई में मराठी सिनेमा भी अपने खुद के प्रसिद्ध मनोरंजन में सफलता प्राप्त कर चुका है। वही हिंदी सिनेमा मुख्यधारा और समानांतर सिनेमा में वर्गीकृत है ऐसे ही क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा भी अपनी मुख्यधारा और समानांतर सिनेमा में विकसित रहा है और क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा ही आज समकालीन समय में हिंदी सिनेमा (बॉलीवुड) को बनाने में महत्वपूर्ण है। क्योंकि एक तरफ तो भारत में विभिन्न भाषीय समुदाय हैं, तो वहीं दूसरी तरफ उनकी महत्वकांक्षाएँ हैं। जिसने कोलकाता में बंगाली सिनेमा, दक्षिण में तमिल, तेलगु, मलयालम और कन्नड़ सिनेमा, पश्चिम में मराठी और उत्तर में पंजाबी सिनेमा का विकास किया है। राजस्थान का सिनेमा और फिल्मों की विषय प्रधानता का क्रम भी इसी क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा से जुड़ा हुआ है। लेकिन सबसे महत्वपूर्ण बात जो हमें राजस्थान फिल्मों के संदर्भ में दिखाई देती है, वह है वहां की शानदार संस्कृति जिसका सीधा संबंध ऐतिहासिक विरासत और गुलामी में सामाजिक संबंधों व दृश्यों के अंकन से है। जो फिल्म मुगल-ए-आजम (1960), जोधा-अकबर (2003) व पद्मावत (2018) में दिखाई देता है। वहीं राजस्थान की भौगोलिक परिदृश्यता को फिल्म गाइड (1965), डोर (2006), रोड (2009) और आइ एम कलाम (2010) जैसी फिल्मों में साफ देखा जा सकता है।

लम्हे (1991) फिल्म में राजस्थानी संस्कृति, संगीत व लोकनृत्य और रुदाली

(1993) में राजस्थान की रुदालियों के जीवन को बहुत खूबसूरती से दर्शाया गया है। जो सच्ची घटनाओं पर आधारित है। जिसमें बारना गांव का रेगिस्तान, जैसलमेर किला, खुरई डेजर्ट, और कुलधरा को देखा जा सकता है। फिल्म पहेली (2005) जिसमें राजस्थानी परम्परा, कठपुतलियां, ऊँटों की दौड़, टोंक जिले के हाडी रानी की बावड़ी आदि देखने को मिलती है। फिल्म गुलामी (1985) में रेगिस्तान का दृश्य, मटकों में पानी लेकर महिलाओं का चलना, ऊँटगाड़ी, सारंगी वादन, घुघट युक्त महिलाएं और विशेष प्रकार के वस्त्र आदि तात्कालिक सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परिवेश को, तो वहीं डोर (2006) फिल्म में महल, ऊँट, रोड, पहाड़ी, झील, रेगिस्तान की सुन्दरता, हुक्का, खान-पान, पहनावा, गीत-संगीत, नृत्य आदि को दर्शाती है।⁹ इसके अलावा कालबेलिया नृत्य फिल्म गाइड में तो घूमर नृत्य पद्मावत फिल्म में देख सकते हैं जो परिधान व कला के संदर्भ में भी महत्वपूर्ण है।

राजस्थान के सिनेमा सेट को सामंती उपभोक्तावादी का उप-समूह माना जा सकता है। (Kaushik, 2011)⁹ क्योंकि राजस्थान के संदर्भ में हम सामंतवाद को फिल्म गुलामी, डोर और गुलाल में देख सकते हैं जिनमें समाज की मनोस्थिति उभर कर सामने आती है कि किस तरह समाज में पितृसत्तात्मक व्यवस्था, जमींदारी व्यवस्था अपने आरम्भिक स्तर से हावी रही है। जो सामाजिक भेदभाव, असमानता व वर्गीय समाज को दिखाती है। किस तरह कर्ज के दुष्क्रम में फंसकर कई पीढ़ियां बर्बाद हुई, गरीबी, भुखमरी, निर्वासन, शोषित लोगों द्वारा हथियार उठाना और अपराधिक गतिविधियों में उनकी संलिप्तता सामंती स्वरूप को दिखाती है। श्याम बेनेगल निर्देशित अंकुर फिल्म में दक्षिण भारत के क्षेत्र में ग्रामीण सामंतवाद देख सकते हैं। इस संदर्भ में सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक बातों पर ध्यान केंद्रित करना ऐतिहासिक है। सत्यजीत रे के फिल्मों में भी भारतीय समाज की आलोचना को भली-भांति देख सकते हैं। इसके विभिन्न तथ्यों को एस.आर. शर्मा अपने लेख राजस्थान में सामंती तथ्य (18वीं शताब्दी) में दिखाते हैं। जहाँ सामंती व्यवस्था का उदय वर्गीकरण व इसकी बातों का समावेश है। (Sharma, 1991)¹⁰

राजस्थान के भौगोलिक परिदृश्य में विकलांगता और सिनेमा - भारतीय समाज और कई अन्य विषयों की उत्पत्ति अलग-अलग समय और घटनाओं से हुई है। विभिन्न समुदायों, जनसांख्यिकी, धर्म, लिंग का प्रतिनिधित्व करना हमेशा सिनेमा का हिस्सा रहा है। फिल्मों का चित्रण कभी-कभी सच्ची घटनाओं या सिर्फ पटकथा लेखक की कल्पना से प्रेरित होता है। जैसे लोकप्रिय हिंदी सिनेमा दर्शकों को पर्दे से जोड़ने के लिए दृढ़ भावनाओं की आवश्यकता का बहुत हद तक प्रयोग करता है। रोग और विकलांगता भी इसी कहानी का एक हिस्सा हैं और हम देखते हैं कि कई बीमारियों का चित्रण मुख्य चरित्र के रूप में फिल्मों में किया जाता है या एक मजबूत भावनात्मकता

के साथ विकलांगता को मार दिया जाता है। विकलांगता को चित्रित करना कोई अलग बात नहीं है और हमने इस चित्रण को विभिन्न प्रकार के पात्रों में देखा भी है। (Mohapatra, 2012)¹¹ आम तौर पर, सिनेमा विकलांग पात्रों के भावनात्मक हिस्से, सहानुभूति, रोना और समस्याग्रस्त जीवन को दर्शाता है। कई फिल्मों में इनका इस्तेमाल उन किरदारों के द्वारा मस्ती और हास्य पैदा करने के लिए किया जाता है। ऐसा सिर्फ भारतीय सिनेमा में ही नहीं होता, बल्कि विभिन्न देशों के सिनेमा में भी इसी तरह के प्रयोग होते रहे हैं।

लेकिन राजस्थान के भौगोलिक परिदृश्य को दर्शाती विकलांगता विषय की फिल्मों की चर्चा करें तो हमें मुश्किल से एक-आधी फिल्में ही देखने को मिलती है। और न ही हम ये कह सकते हैं कि राजस्थान पर आधारित फिल्मों के अध्ययन के क्रम में जो पटकथा उपयुक्त कथानक/परिदृश्य में दिखाई जा रही है वह वास्तविक तथ्यों से किस हद तक संबंधित है क्योंकि फिल्म का निर्माण आर्थिक हित से जुड़ा होता है। इस प्रक्रम में हमें फिल्मों में दिखाए गए इतिहास को देखना दुष्कर होगा किन्तु फिर भी हमें फिल्मों के अध्ययन में अनुपयोगी व उपयोगी बातों को अलग करके देखना होगा जैसा हम मौखिक इतिहास के अध्ययन में करते हैं। (Ferro Marc, Nov. 2011)¹²

राजस्थान के भौगोलिक परिदृश्य और इतिहास की अगर बात करें तो इसी क्रम में हम लगान (2001) फिल्म को देख सकते हैं। फिल्म लगान एक ऐसी फिल्म है जो तीन मुख्य बातों को दिखाती है। पहली यह फिल्म भारत में स्थापित औनिवेशिक शासन के दुष्क्रम को दर्शाती है जब किसानों से लगान लिया जाता था फिर चाहे उनकी फसल अच्छी हुई हो या नहीं, उन्हें लगान देना ही होगा। दूसरा राजस्थान का भौगोलिक जीवन जिसमें गांव के लोगों का रहन-सहन, वेशभूषा, भाषा, और सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक परम्परा को आसानी से देख सकते हैं¹³ और तीसरा जातिवाद व विकलांगता से ग्रस्त व्यक्ति की हाशिए अवस्था। लगान फिल्म न सिर्फ ब्रिटिश शासन की कर व्यवस्था को ही बल्कि विकलांगता से ग्रस्त व्यक्ति के जीवन की महत्वता को भी दिखाती है कि कैसे कचरा नामक पात्र जहां एक ओर विकलांग है वहीं दूसरी ओर बुद्धिमता से भी भरपूर है। फिल्म दिखाती है कि जब हम एक विकलांग व्यक्ति पर भरोसा करते हैं तो वह हमें धोखा नहीं देता बल्कि उस पर किया गया विश्वास कायम रखता है।

दूसरा उदाहरण- फिल्म धनक (2015) राजस्थानी संस्कृति और परम्परा में पले-बड़े बच्चों के जीवन और सपनों को दर्शाती है।¹⁴ यह फिल्म दिखाती है कि कैसे एक विकलांग बच्चा अपनी बहन के लिए एक जिम्मेदारी बन जाता है। साथ ही कैसे एक बहन अपने भाई से किये गये वादे को पूरा करने के लिए कठनाइयों को पार कर उसे दृष्टि (आँखों की रोशनी) दिलाने के लिए संघर्ष करती है। फिल्म दिखाती है कि गरीबी में जीने वाले बच्चे कैसे अमीर फिल्म कलाकारों द्वारा किये गए दान को अपने

जीवन में परिवर्तन के लिए देखते हैं जिन्हें सच में उस दान की आवश्यकता होती है। तीसरी फिल्म हम साथ-साथ है (1999), जो पारिवारिक परिवेश को दिखाती है। जिसमें विवेक नामक पात्र के एक हाथ में विकलांगता होती है। जिस कारण वह शुरुआत में शादी करने से इंकार कर देता है क्योंकि उसे डर होता है कि उसकी विकलांगता के कारण कोई भी लड़की उससे शादी नहीं करेगी।¹⁵ वैसे यह फिल्म विकलांगता से ज्यादा परिवार के सदस्यों के प्रति प्यार और सम्मान की वकालत करती है। इसके अलावा इस फिल्म में राजस्थानी लोक संस्कृति और पहनावे को देखा जा सकता है।

वहीं अगर हम बजरंगी भाई जान (2015), नामक फिल्म को देखें जो देश प्रेम और मानवता को दर्शाती है। जिसमें मुन्नी नामक 8 वर्ष की छोटी बच्ची अपनी माँ से बिछड़ जाती है। मुन्नी सुन तो सकती है परन्तु बोल नहीं सकती, जिस कारण फिल्म का नायक उसे उसके परिवार से वापस मिलाने का फैसला करता है। फिल्म में पाकिस्तान और भारत के भौगोलिक परिदृश्य के साथ-साथ एक देश से दूसरे देश में जाने और भाईचारे व सद्भाव का संदेश दिया गया है।¹⁶ वैसे हिंदी सिनेमा में ज्यादातर फिल्मों का अंत विकलांगता से मुक्त खुशनुमा जिन्दगी के साथ होता है। जैसे धनक फिल्म में छोटू की आँखे ठीक हो जाती है। फिल्म हम साथ-साथ में भी अंत में विवेक का हाथ ठीक हो जाता है। तो वहीं बजरंगी भाई जान में मुन्नी अंत में बोलने लगती है। यानी विकलांगता के साथ एक खुशनुमा अंत नहीं हो सकता।

निष्कर्ष – इस प्रकार, भारतीय सिनेमा में फिल्म बनाने की प्रवृत्तियाँ दो तरह की हैं, जहाँ बहुत से फिल्म-निर्माता विकलांगता को हास्य अन्तराल के तौर पर या फिल्म की कहानी को नाटकीय रूप देने के साथ ही थोड़ा बहुत विकलांग समुदायों के अधिकारों के लिए प्रयोग करते हैं। हिंदी सिनेमा में विकलांगता के प्रति समाज की असंवेदनशीलता कई चरम सीमाओं के बीच झूलती है। पहला, जिसमें दया, मनोरंजन, भोंडी नकल बनाना, सहानुभूति और साहस होता है। वहीं दूसरी तरफ, भेदभाव, मुकाबला, उतार-चढ़ाव, भावुकतापूर्ण वर्णन आदि होते हैं। जो मानव को दूसरों के प्रति आत्मिक रूप से प्रेरणा देते हैं। (Mohapatra, 2012)¹⁷ आमतौर पर, फिल्में विकलांगता को विकलांगता की व्यक्तिगत प्रतिक्रियाओं के रूप में दिखाती हैं। इस तरह की प्रवृत्तियों पर हिंदी सिनेमा का ध्यान सन 2000 के दशक में विकलांगता पर बनी फिल्मों से उभरा और विकलांगता को लेकर बहुत अधिक संवेदनशीलता प्रकट हुई, क्योंकि इससे पहले कि फिल्में किसी एक खास तरह की विकलांगता को ही दर्शाती रही थी, परन्तु अब समाज में व्यक्त संवेदनशील मुद्दों को भी फिल्म के माध्यम से दर्शाया जाने लगा। इस कारण, सामान्य लोगों का विकलांगता के प्रति समझ का दायरा विकसित हुआ है। जहाँ पहले विकलांगता को उत्पीड़न के नजरिये से देखा जाता था, वहीं अब उसे विकलांग व्यक्ति के नजरिये के रूप में देखा जाने लगा है। इसी क्रम में सन 2005 में, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय

विकलांगता फिल्म महोत्सव मनाया गया। (First Disability Fest, 2005)¹⁸ इस महोत्सव का उद्देश्य सामान्य लोगों में विकलांगता के प्रति जागरूकता बढ़ाना और विकलांगता के प्रति बनी रूढ़िवादी सोच को मिटाना था। अतः यह कहना गलत नहीं होगा कि राजस्थान की ऐतिहासिकता को सिनेमा के संदर्भ में आसानी से देखा जा सकता है। लेकिन राजस्थानी परिदृश्य में विकलांगता पर बनी फिल्में बहुत अधिक नहीं हैं।

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सिनेमा में राजस्थान : एक ऐतिहासिक अवलोकन

अनुराग यादव*

भारतीय सिनेमा का विकास 1912 से आरंभ होकर तीव्र गति से आगे बढ़ा और इस प्रक्रिया में अलग-अलग संदर्भों से युक्त फिल्मों का निर्माण हुआ। औपनिवेशिककाल के दौरान 1930 तक साइलेंट सिनेमा में धार्मिक विषयों की प्रधानता रही। किंतु उसके उपरान्त आवाज युक्त फिल्मों का आगमन हुआ, जिसमें भारत के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की विविधता को फिल्मों के माध्यम से दर्शाया गया। इस क्रम में फिल्में समाज के विभिन्न पहलुओं को दर्शाया जिसमें छुआछूत, असमानता, महिलाओं की स्थिति, श्रम, मजदूरी, पितृसत्ता, गरीबी, सामाजिक कुंठा, प्रतिरोध, सामाजिक कुरतियों व अन्य मुद्दों को दर्शाया गया। इसी क्रम में फिल्मों की भांति राजस्थान में क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा का विकास हुआ जो की हिंदी फिल्मों के अनुरूप राजस्थान के संस्कृति, समाज व अन्य सम्बंधित मुद्दों को दिखाया। राजस्थान में बनी फिल्में नजराना, बाबा रामदेव, लाज राखो राणी सती, ढोला मारू, माटी री आण, म्हारी मां संतोषी, कन्यादान भी इसी तरह के विषयों को दिखाती है। हम अपने शोध में राजस्थानी क्षेत्रीय फिल्मों की विषय प्रधानता व उनके सामाजिक आयाम तथा ये फिल्में किस तरीके से उनके समाज, संस्कृति, इतिहास व अन्य को प्रदर्शित करती है, तथा उनकी उपयोगिता तथा प्रभाव का अध्ययन करेंगे। राजस्थान की फिल्में, राजस्थान के संस्कृति को किस तरीके से प्रदर्शित करती है तथा राजस्थान के समाज के विभिन्न पहलुओं जैसे सामंतवाद और सामाजिक विभिन्नता तथा सामाजिक कुंठा, गरीबी, राजपूताना वैभव व संस्कृति तथा समाज में वर्चस्व आदि कैसे प्रदर्शित करती है और इसका प्रभाव राजस्थान के विभिन्न स्तर के समाज पर कितना है। इस विमर्श का विश्लेषण हम अपने इस शोध पत्र में करेंगे।

बीज शब्द-समाज, संस्कृति, सिनेमा

राजस्थान पर आधारित भारतीय सिनेमा राजस्थान को एक विशेष दृष्टि को देखने का प्रयास करता है। कई बार ये परिपेक्ष्य राजस्थान का सटीक चित्रण न होकर

क्षेत्र से जुड़ी धारणाओं को सु.ढ़ करने का काम करती है। इसलिए ये जानना महत्वपूर्ण हो जाता है कि भारतीय सिनेमा में राजस्थान को किन किन तरहों से चित्रित किया गया है और क्या राजस्थान को कुछ खास क्षेत्रीय इकाइयों के आधार पर चित्रित किया जाता है। प्रस्तुत शोध में हम इस प्रकार के प्रश्नों पर आलोचनात्मक विश्लेषण करने का प्रयास करेंगे।

हम देखेंगे राजस्थान को लेकर अधिकतर सिनेमा राजस्थान से बाहर बना है। अर्थात् हम राजस्थान और इसकी संस्कृति को बाहरी चश्मे से देखते हैं। राजस्थान में सिनेमा की दशा बेहद खराब है यही कारण है कि ये राज्य स्वयं अपनी संस्कृति को सिनेमा पटल पर दिखाने में विफल रहा है। इसलिए ये महत्वपूर्ण हो जाता है कि सिनेमा में राजस्थान को दर्शाने वाले लोग कौन हैं और वो इस क्षेत्र को किस नजर से देखते हैं।

राजस्थान को हमारे सिनेमा में एक केंद्र बिंदु प्राप्त है और कई बार तो राजस्थान का चित्रण पूरे उत्तर भारत की चारित्रिक विशेषता बन जाता है। राजस्थान का सिनेमा में चित्रण हुआ तो है लेकिन ये चित्रण कितना सार्थक है और कैसे ये क्षेत्र के सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक बदलावों को अंगीकार करता आया है ये अवलोकन का विषय है।

अंत में हम ये देखने का प्रयास करेंगे कि सिनेमा को राजस्थान के सन्दर्भ में किस रूप में देखा जा सकता है। अर्थात्, भारतीय सिनेमा के केंद्र में राजस्थान को रखकर उसके विकास और प्रभाव को किस तरह से रेखांकित किया जा सकता है ये अपने आप में शोध का विषय है।

विचारकों के मत

करीन स्कोमेर, जोआन एर्डमैन, डेरिक लॉड्रिक और लॉयड रुडोल्फ (1996) के अनुसार राजस्थान का सिनेमा में चित्रण न केवल उनकी सांस्कृतिक धाराओं को परिलक्षित करता है बल्कि उसके सामंतवादी अतीत और बदलती राजनैतिक और आर्थिक स्थितियों के बीच एक बाँध बनाने का प्रयास करते हैं जिससे हमको राजस्थान की कई जटिल व्याख्याएं सिनेमाई पटल में देखने को मिलती है।¹

अग्नित्रा घोष के अनुसार पिछले पचास वर्षों में भारत के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास के समीकरणों में कई बदलाव आये हैं और उसी के अनुसार सिनेमा में इन क्षेत्रों को दर्शाने के तरीके में भी बदलाव आये हैं। 1970 के दशक के बाद सिनेमा दो धड़ों में बंटता चला गया- व्यवसायिक सिनेमा और कलात्मक सिनेमा जिसने राजस्थान के चित्रण को अपनी अपनी तरह से प्रभावित किया। जहाँ एक तरफ राजस्थान के राजपूती वैभव और सामंती सरोकारों को व्यावसायिक सिनेमा में जमकर उपयोग में लाया गया वहीं कलात्मक सिनेमा ने पितृसत्ता, जातिगत समीकरण और भ्रूण हत्या जैसे स्याह पक्षों को उजागर

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किया। पिछले कुछ सालों में ये दोनों धाराएं आपस में मिलने लगी हैं और इससे ये दोनों परस्पर विरोधाभासी चित्रण आपस में सामंजस्य बैठाने के लिए संघर्ष करते नजर आते हैं।²

इतिहासकार डर्क कोल्फ का मत है कि लगभग पूरे उत्तर भारत में राजस्थान कि राजपूताना सामंती प्रवृत्तियां परिलक्षित होती हैं, जिनमें शैव-तांत्रिक परंपराएं भी परिलक्षित होती हैं। इसी कारण से हमें उत्तर भारत की पृष्ठभूमि पर बनी अधिकतर फिल्मों में पुरबिया या पूर्वी राजपूतों की परंपराएं देखने को मिलती हैं। सुनील दत्त और जे पी दत्ता (गुलामी फिल्म) सरीखे फिल्मकारों ने इन्हीं प्रवृत्ति का अपनी फिल्मों के जरिये अवलोकन करने का प्रयास किया है। इन फिल्मों में कुछ विशेष लक्षण देखने को मिल जाते हैं जैसे सामंती वैभव का दर्शन, डकैत आधारित फिल्मों की बहुतायत और यौन प्रतिशोध की सामंती प्रवृत्ति।³ गुलामी फिल्म इसको स्पष्ट तौर पर दिखाती प्रतीत होती है।

गौतम राजाध्यक्ष के अनुसार राजस्थान की सामंती संस्कृति मुंबई की फिल्म इंडस्ट्री का एक प्रमुख विषय रही है जिसका केंद्र बिंदु मरदाना रुआब और हिंसा का महिमामंडन करना है। परन्तु इन्हीं सब के बीच हमें कुमार शाहनी और मणि कॉल जैसे फिल्मकार भी देखने को मिलते हैं जिन्होंने हिंसा की इस संस्कृति का विखंडन करने का प्रयास किया है और मानव संवेदनाओं का अध्ययन करके एक वैकल्पिक इतिहास दिखाने का प्रयास किया है जो हमें राजस्थान को एक अलग तरीके से देखने में मदद करता है और दर्शकों को हिंसा का उपभोगकर्ता बनने से बचाता है।⁴

होलाण्डेर के अनुसार, राजस्थान में कला और यहाँ की नाट्य विधा यहाँ के सामंती चरित्र और धार्मिक प्रवृत्ति के बीच का मिश्रण है। उनके अनुसार राजस्थान में जीवन, एक सामंती राज्य होने के कारण, विशेष रूप से विभिन्न अनुष्ठानों के लिए जाना जाता है, जिन्हें बड़ी धूमधाम से मनाया जाता है। राजस्थान के त्योहार आमतौर पर अपने चरित्र में धार्मिक होते हैं लेकिन उनका चित्रण और प्रस्तुतीकरण धार्मिक हो ये कदापि आवश्यक नहीं। बल्कि राजस्थान में नाट्य कला दैनिक जीवन की सामग्री से प्रभावित होकर तैयार की जाती है।⁵ इसका उदाहरण गाइड फिल्म में फिल्माया गया कालबेलिया नृत्य है।

एम पी गर्ग के अनुसार, भले ही राजस्थान हिंदी सिनेमा के लिए एक विशिष्ट स्थान रखता हो परन्तु राजस्थान में सिनेमा को कभी वो पहचान नहीं मिली जो कि बाकी स्थानीय सिनेमा को मिलती है। राजस्थान का सिनेमा ही राजस्थान के कथानकों को ठीक से उपयोग में लाने में विफल रहा है और गुणवत्ता के लिहाज से यहाँ की स्थिति अधिक निराशाजनक रही है। विगत 66 सालों के इतिहास में नजराना (1942) फिल्म से लेकर

2008 तक ओढ़ ली चुनरिया फिल्म तक एक भी राजस्थानी फिल्म ने राष्ट्रीय पुरस्कार नहीं जीता है। इसका प्रमुख कारण अच्छी गुणवत्ता की कमी व अवसंरचना की कमी है स राजस्थान में क्षेत्रीय फिल्म उद्योग ने अभी तक न तो परिपक्वता हासिल की है और न ही अपनी कोई पहचान बनाई है। या तो अधिकांश राजस्थानी उपक्रम संरक्षित पौराणिक फिल्मों हैं या किसी भी मूल सामग्री या तकनीकी मूल्यों से रहित, औसत हिंदी फिल्मों का प्रतिरूप नजर आती है।

रुचि गोस्वामी और मंजू कुमारी के अनुसार राजस्थान में सिनेमा का आना एक सामाजिक तनाव का कारण भी रहा है जिसने यहाँ के लोगों के मानसिक अवचेतन पर गहरा प्रभाव छोड़ा। अपनी पारम्परिक सामाजिक संरचना के कारण सिनेमा को हमेशा संशय की .ष्ट से देखा जाता रहा। राजस्थान के परिपेक्ष्य में ये विरोधाभास काफी साफ तौर पर देखा जा सकता है जहाँ राजपूती परंपरा का हवाला देकर हिंसा को सार्थक ठहराया जाता है वहीं इसके नैतिक आयामों पर चिंता व्यक्त करके इसके अस्तित्व पर प्रश्न चिन्ह भी लगाया जाता है। जयपुर में किये गए शोध से ये पता चला है कि यहाँ पर सिनेमा केवल मनोरंजन या ज्ञान के साधन के रूप में नहीं देखा जाता अपितु उनके व्यवहार, जीवनशैली और विचारों को भी प्रभावित करता है। इस तरह सिनेमा न केवल समाज से प्रभावित हो रहा है, अपितु उसे प्रभावित भी कर रहा है।⁶

कोमल कोठारी के अनुसार सिनेमा को लोककथाओं से पृथक करने का प्रयास किया जाता है क्योंकि दोनों विधाओं में कुछ बुनियादी अंतर पाए जाते हैं। एक स्पष्ट अंतर यह है कि सिनेमा के लिए दर्शकों को हर बार एक नई फिल्म, एक नई कहानी देखने को मिलती है। बार-बार देखने पर दर्शक सिनेमा से उकता जाते हैं। दूसरी ओर, लोककथाओं में कहानियों का एक निश्चित प्रदर्शन होता है जिसे बार-बार दोहराया जाता है। सिनेमा और ख्याल के बीच यह अंतर स्पष्ट है कि सिनेमा सिर्फ नएपन का ढोंग करता है, कि हकीकत में वह एक ही विषय को बार-बार दोहराता है। वास्तव में, भारत में एक नई फिल्म की सफलता में एक महत्वपूर्ण घटक यह है कि दर्शक यह अनुमान लगा सकते हैं कि यह अपने विषय को पहले से जानता है।⁷

एन तमिलसेल्वी के अनुसार राजस्थान पर केंद्रित अधिकतर फिल्मों एक पुरुष की नजर से समाज का अवलोकन करती हैं और इसी कारण हमें बड़े स्टार पर एक पितृसत्तात्मक समाज का चित्रण देखने को मिलता है। विरले ही राजस्थान पर केंद्रित ऐसी फिल्मों का निर्माण हुआ जहाँ स्त्रियां प्रमुखता से स्वयं को अभिव्यक्त करती नजर आती हैं। अधिकतर फिल्मों में उच्च वर्ण और वर्ण का प्रतिनिधित्व (गुलामी फिल्म) देखने को मिलता है और जहाँ कहीं स्त्रियों को अपनी नजर से दुनिया को देखने का अवसर मिलता है वो फिल्मों मुख्यधारा में नहीं आ पाती। यही कारण है कि सिनेमा में

राजस्थान का प्रतिनिधित्व एक तयशुदा प्रारूप का पालन करता नजर आता है।⁸

सेहरा फिल्म देहेज व स्त्री सन्दर्भ से जुड़े मुद्दे को उजागर करती है और मिर्च मसाला पुलिसिया अत्याचार को दिखाती है। इस क्रम में फिल्म भौगोलिक और सामाजिक स्थिति, संस्कृति से रूबरू कराती है। इस तरह के दृश्यों से हम अतीत व वर्तमान की तुलना कर सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक बदलाव व निरन्तरता को देख पाते हैं। यह दृश्य हमारे मनोमस्तिष्क पर क्षेत्र विशेष की विशेषता की अमिट छाप छोड़ता है। इस तरह से मीडिया किसी समाज से प्राप्त तस्वीरों और चलचित्र के माध्यम से वृहद समाज पर एक नया दृष्टिकोण बनाने का प्रयास करता है।

भारतीय इतिहास में राजस्थान अपनी भौगोलिक अवस्थिति व शासन के दृष्टिकोण से महत्वपूर्ण रहा है। मातृभूमि के लिए अपना सर्वस्व न्यौछावर कर देने वाले, जबकि स्त्रियाँ अगाध प्रेम और निष्ठा से ओतप्रोत होकर सम्मान और राष्ट्र की वेदी पर अपनी अन्तिम सीमा तक बलिदान करने को तैयार रहती हैं। सिनेमा और विशेष रूप से व्यापक दर्शक वर्ग वाले हिंदी सिनेमा ने ऐतिहासिक किंवदंतियों को अपने शुरुआती चरण से ही फिल्मों के लिए विषय वस्तु के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया है या ये दर्शा कर समाज की कल्पना को साकार करना चाहते हैं। इस तरह का उत्पादन तत्कालीन राजपूत अभिजात वर्ग की रूढ़िवादी छवियों पर आधारित है। इनमे ज्यादातर लोकप्रिय दृष्टिकोण, कहानियों, चित्र, रंगमंच, लोककथाओं से लिए गये हैं।⁹ जो की अतीत के लोकप्रिय दृष्टिकोण पर आधारित है न कि तथ्यों व प्रमाण पर आधारित है।

राजस्थान में सिनेमा सिर्फ मनोरंजन ही नहीं अपितु क्षेत्रीय पहचान को आकार देने तथा सांस्कृतिक विरासत को बढ़ाने व संरक्षित करने के क्रम में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई है। शुरुआती समय में बुनियादी ढांचे और संसाधनों की कमी के कारण अधिकांश राजस्थानी फिल्मों का निर्माण हिंदी में हुआ किन्तु बाद में स्थानीय भाषा में भी फिल्मों का निर्माण क्षेत्रीय विविधता की विशेषता के रूप में दिखाई देता है।¹⁰ राजस्थानी फिल्मों क्षेत्र से संबंधित सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक मुद्दों को संबोधित करती है और इसके विषय समय के साथ बदलती सामाजिक गतिशीलता और चिंता को दिखाती है।¹¹

राजस्थानी फिल्मों बाल-विवाह, जाति-भेदभाव लैंगिक असमानता, पर्यावरण संरक्षण, महिला सशक्तिकरण और ग्रामीण समुदाय से संबंधित चुनौतियों को भी दिखाती है।¹² तो साथ ही सांस्कृतिक विविधता से भी अवगत कराती है। राजस्थान की पहली फिल्म प्रेम-संन्यास (1936), राजस्थानी और हिंदी संवादों का मिश्रण थी।¹³ जो मुख्य रूप से राज्य की संस्कृति, परम्परा और सामाजिक विषयों पर केन्द्रित थी किन्तु 1950-60 के दशक के दौरान यहाँ के सिनेमा का विकास तेजी से हुआ। जिनमें राज्य

की समृद्ध सांस्कृतिक विरासत, ऐतिहासिक स्मारक, लोक संगीत व नृत्य को दिखाया गया। जिनमें 'चन्दन का पाला' (1954) और दुलारी (1960) प्रमुख फिल्म थी। जो कि व्यवसायिक तौर पर भी सफल रही। किन्तु 1970-90 के दौरान हिंदी सिनेमा के बढ़ते प्रभाव ने क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा को हतोत्साहित किया। 21वीं सदी के दौरान प्रौद्योगिकी के बढ़ते प्रभाव ने पुनः यहाँ के क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा को अधिक सुलभ और किफायती बनाया। जिसे क्षेत्रीय सिनेमा के पुनरुद्धार के तौर पर देखा जा सकता है।¹⁴ किन्तु हिन्दी फिल्मों के प्रभाव के कारण राजस्थानी फिल्मों का प्रभाव धीरे-धीरे कम होता जा रहा है। जो मुख्य तौर पर व्यवसायिक असफलता को भी दिखाती है। इस प्रक्रम में राजस्थानी फिल्मों अपनी सांस्कृतिक जड़ें बरकरार रखते हुए नाटक, कॉमेडी और रोमांस सहित अन्य मुद्दों पर फिल्मों का निर्माण किया।¹⁵

इस क्रम में नजराना, बाबा रामदेव, लाज राखो राणी सती, ढोला मारू, माटी री आण, म्हारी मां संतोषी, कन्यादान गोगा जी पीर, बाबासा री लाडली, हुकुम, मरुधर म्हारो घर अन्य का फिल्मांकन हुआ। जो राजस्थान के भौगोलिक पारिस्थितिक, राजनीतिक, ऐतिहासिक, सामाजिक व आर्थिक संदर्भों से भी रूबरू कराता है।

रूदाली (1993) फिल्म में राजस्थान के वारना गांव के रेगिस्तान और भव्य हवेली का फिल्मांकन, खुरई, डेजर्ट, कुलधरा का अवशेष व मुगल-ए-आजम (1960) में आम्बर फोर्ट के शीशमहल, पी.के. (2014) फिल्म में सांभर झील, जयपुर, मंडवा का क्षेत्र व पहेली फिल्म में म्यूजिक से लेकर पहनावा, कठपुतली, ऊँट की रेस तथा टोंक किला के हादरानी की बावड़ी को दिखाया गया है। लम्हें (1991) फिल्म में राजस्थानी लोकनृत्य, जोधा-अकबर (2008) में आमेर फोर्ट की भव्यता और हम दिल दे चुके सनम में जैसलमेर के थार डेजर्ट की भव्यता और खुबसूरती को फिल्माया गया है।

राजस्थानी मिथक, लोक कथा और किंवदंतियाँ जो स्थानीय लेखकों द्वारा लिखी जाती हैं इसको भी आधार बनाकर दुविधा (1973), पहेली (2005) जैसी फिल्मों का निर्माण किया गया। दर्शकों के लिए ऐसी फिल्में मृगतृष्णा की भूमि के अज्ञात और करामाती रहस्यों में झांकती हैं और उन्हें और अधिक के लिए तड़पाती हैं जिसे वे राजस्थान की अपनी यात्रा के दौरान खोजने का प्रयास करते हैं। पहेली फिल्म के निर्माण के बाद स्थानीय लोक परंपरा को भी राजस्थान की पारंपरिक कठपुतली कला की तरह पहचान बनाने में सफल रही।¹⁶ ऐसी कहानियों की पटकथा ऐतिहासिकता के संदर्भ में उपयुक्त नहीं है किन्तु लोक परम्परा और संस्कृति को प्रचारित प्रसारित करने में महत्वपूर्ण है।

किसी क्षेत्र या लोगों का दृश्यांकन न केवल बाहरी लोगों के बीच बल्कि उस राज्य के लोगों के भीतर भी पहचान बनाता है। किन्तु इस प्रक्रम में यह ध्यान रखना

महत्वपूर्ण है कि क्षेत्र विशेष की पहचान या विशेषता, सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र के लिए लागू ना हो जैसा कि डेरिक लोड्रिक का मानना है कि बाहरी पर्यवेक्षकों और प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों द्वारा राजस्थान को एक सीमित भौगोलिक क्षेत्र के रूप में परिभाषित किया है जो क्षेत्रीय और उप क्षेत्रीय पहचान के व्यक्तिपरक जागरूकता के साथ बनायी गई है स इसलिए अध्ययन व शोध के सन्दर्भ में क्षेत्रीय विविधता व अलग-अलग स्वरूप को ध्यान में रखना चाहिए जो व्यापकता युक्त हो।

निष्कर्ष

प्रस्तुत चर्चा से हिंदी सिनेमा में राजस्थान के चित्रण से जुड़ी कई बातों पर विमर्श किया गया। इन विमर्शों से हमें ये ज्ञात होता है कि राजस्थान का सिनेमा में चित्रण बहुआयामी है और बहुत सी विविधताओं और विरोधाभासों को अपने भीतर समेटे हुए हैं। लेकिन लंबे समय तक भारतीय सिनेमा में राजस्थान से जुड़ी दो छवियां प्रमुख रही हैं, एक-सामंती राजपूती शान और दूसरी-इसकी भौगोलिक और सांस्कृतिक वैभव का चित्रण। पर हाल के कुछ वर्षों में न केवल राजस्थान क्षेत्र के प्रति लोगों की समझ का विस्तार हुआ है बल्कि यहां के जीवन, लोगों और संस्कृतियों के अन्य पक्षों को भी सिनेमा के जरिए उजागर किया जाने लगा है। डकैती पर आधारित फिल्मों से लेकर राजस्थान पर केंद्रित नारीवादी सिनेमा तक हमारी फिल्मों ने एक लंबा रास्ता तय किया है। वास्तव में भारतीय सिनेमा राजस्थान में आए राजनीतिक और सांस्कृतिक बदलावों का गवाह रहा है और इन फिल्मों को राजस्थान की गतिशील यात्रा और प्रगति के दस्तावेज के रूप में देखा जा सकता है। पर साथ ही हमें इस बात को भी समझने की जरूरत है कि सिनेमा ने अक्सर राजस्थान को एक ढांचे में ढालने की कोशिश की है जैसा कि जॉन एर्डमैन का कहना है कि आधुनिक मल्टीमीडिया उत्पादन 'धरती धोरां री' एक कार्यक्रम के माध्यम से सभी राजस्थानियों के लिए एक क्षेत्रीय पहचान विकसित करना चाहता है जो की सत्य नहीं है।¹⁷ और इस कारण सिनेमा में राजस्थान के चित्रण को अक्षरशः स्वीकार न करके इसके आलोचनात्मक विवेचना की आवश्यकता है। तभी हम क्षेत्र और सिनेमा में क्षेत्र के चित्रण के बीच के अंतर्संबंध को भली भांति समझ पाएंगे और ये भी समझ पाएंगे कि सिनेमा ने कैसे राजस्थान की अस्मिता को प्रभावित किया और राजस्थान की विशिष्ट संस्कृति कैसे भारतीय सिनेमा को प्रभावित करती आई है।

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नागदा के सास-बहू मंदिर में महाभारत : सांस्कृतिक अन्तर्सम्बन्ध

राजकुमार खराड़ी*

संस्कृत शिलालेखोंमें उदयपुर राज्य का प्राचीन नाम 'मेदपाट' मिलता है व भाषा में इसे मेवाड़ कहते हैं। वर्तमान मेवाड़ में उदयपुर, प्रतापगढ़, सलुम्बर, भीलवाड़ा, राजसमन्द व चित्तौड़गढ़ जिले सम्मिलित किये जाते हैं। मेवाड़ पर पहले 'मेद' अर्थात् 'मेव' या मेर जाति का अधिकार रहने के कारण इसका नाम मेदपाट (मेवाड़) पड़ा।¹



मेवाड़ की प्राचीन राजस्थानी 'नागदा' जिसे संस्कृत शिलालेखों में 'नागहृद' तथा 'नागद्रह' कहा गया है। 661 ई. का कुण्डा अभिलेख नागदा की प्राचीनता को प्रमाणित करता है। मेवाड़ क्षेत्र की परिवर्तित सीमाओं के अनुरूप इस क्षेत्र की राजधानियाँ भी समय अनुसार बदलती रही परन्तु गुहिलों के मेवाड़ प्रवेश के समय यहाँ का प्रमुख शहर और राजस्थानी नागदा होने के स्पष्ट प्रमाण अभिलेखों और साहित्यों में मिलते हैं।

बप्पा रावल का 724 ई. का एकलिंग जी के मंदिर का अभिलेख भी यह स्थापित करता है कि नागदा मेवाड़ की राजधानी थी और यह 7वीं सदी मध्य से 13वीं सदी के प्रारम्भिक दशकों तक मेवाड़ की राजधानी बना रही।

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं संस्कृत विभाग, माणिक्य लाल वर्मा श्रमजीवी महाविद्यालय, उदयपुर। जनार्दन राय नागर राजस्थान विद्यापीठ (डीम्ड-टू-बी विश्वविद्यालय), उदयपुर (राज.)

1226 ई. में दिल्ली सुल्तान इल्तुतमिश ने नागदा पर आक्रमण करके इस नगर को तहस-नहस कर दिया और इस आक्रमण के पश्चात नागदा के निवासी इस नगर को छोड़कर आहड़ या धूलकोट नामक स्थान पर जाकर बसने लगे, किन्तु फिर कई सौ वर्षों तक नागदा में अनेक कलापूर्ण मन्दिरों का निर्माण होता रहा।²

सास-बहू मन्दिर :

नागदा से प्राप्त 1026 ई के एक अभिलेख के अनुसार गुहिल शासक श्रीधर ने यहाँ के कुछ मन्दिरों का निर्माण करवाया था, वर्तमान का सहस्र बाहु मंदिर इन्ही मंदिरों में से एक है। शैलीगत समानता के आधार पर भी ये मंदिर 10वीं व 11वीं शताब्दी में निर्मित प्रतीत होते हैं। नागदा के बाघेला तालाब के पश्चिम दिशा में स्थित विष्णु को समर्पित सहस्र बाहु (सास-बहू मंदिर) भारतीय स्थापत्य व शिल्प सौन्दर्य का अद्वितीय उदाहरण है।³ सास बाहु मंदिर का शिखर अब जीर्ण अवस्था में है, परन्तु मन्दिर के स्तम्भ उत्कीर्ण शिलापट्ट एवं सुन्दर मूर्तियाँ व मन्दिर के बाहरी भाग में सुन्दर मूर्तिकारी प्रदर्शित है। यही छज्जे पर एक श्लोकी रामायण व महाभारत का बहुत ही आकर्षक प्रदर्शन देखने को मिलता है। महाभारत के कुछ पात्र सास बाहु मन्दिर में मिलते हैं, जिसको कलाकार न सूक्ष्म व बारिक चित्रांकन किया है, जो निम्न है⁴-



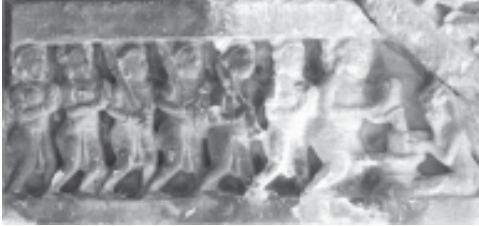
गुरु द्रोणाचार्य द्वारा गुरुकुल में शिक्षा देने का दृश्य :

श्रेष्ठ धनुर्धर द्रोणाचार्य भारद्वाज ऋषि व धृताची नामक अप्सरा के पुत्र थे। द्रोण अपने पिता के आश्रम में रहते हुए चारों वेदों तथा कई अस्त्र-शस्त्रों के ज्ञान में पारंगत हो गये एवं इन्होंने परशुराम से धनुर्विधा व दिव्यास्त्रों का ज्ञान भी प्राप्त किया था। शिक्षा प्राप्ति करने के पश्चात द्रोण का विवाह कृपाचार्य की बहन 'कृपी' के साथ हो गया, जिससे इन्हें अश्वत्थामा नामक पुत्र की प्राप्ति हुई।

एक बार द्रोणाचार्य के वन-गमन के समय कौरव-पाण्डव राजकुमार परस्पर गुल्ली-डंडा खेल रहे थे एवं अकस्मात उनकी गुल्ली कुँए में गिर गई। द्रोण को उधर जाता देखकर राजकुमारों ने उनसे गुल्ली कुँए से निकालकर देने की प्रार्थना की। द्रोण

ने अपने धनुर्विधा की कुशलता से गुल्ली को बाहर निकाल दिया। इसके बाद एक राजकुमार ने अपनी अंगूठी कुएँ में डाल दी, द्रोण ने उसी विधि व कुशलता से अंगूठी भी निकाल दी। द्रोणाचार्य के इस अस्त्र कौशल को देखकर सभी राजकुमार आश्चर्यचकित रह गए। राजकुमारों ने द्रोण को प्रणाम किया और इस अद्भूत अस्त्र-कौशल व अपना परिचय देने का आग्रह करने लगे। द्रोण ने उत्तर दिया-“मेरे रूप और अस्त्र-कौशल की बात तुम लोग भीष्म से पूछो, वही तुम्हें मेरा परिचय देंगे।” राजकुमारों ने जाकर सारी बातें भीष्म जी से बताई, भीष्म समझ गए कि द्रोणाचार्य के अतिरिक्त यह कोई व्यक्ति नहीं है, फिर राजकुमारों के साथ चलकर भीष्म ने द्रोणाचार्य का स्वागत किया और उनको आचार्य पद पर प्रतिष्ठित करके राजकुमारों की शिक्षा-दीक्षा का कार्य सौंपा।

सहस्र बाहु मन्दिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण दृश्य प्रथम को देखकर यह आभास होता है कि सम्भवतः इस दृश्य में मूर्तिकार ने राजकुमारों का गुरु द्रोणाचार्य के गुरुकुल में शिक्षा प्राप्ति के दृश्य को दर्शाया है।⁵



द्रौपदी के चीर हरण का दृश्य :

द्रौपदी पांचाल देश की राजकुमारी थी। इसका विवाह अर्जुन से हुआ था परन्तु माता कुंती ने अंजाने में दिये एक आदेश से द्रौपदी पाण्डवों यानी पाँचों भाइयों की पत्नी बन गई थी। इस समय पाण्डव इनद्रप्रस्थ व कौरव हस्तिनापुर की सत्ता सम्भाल रहे थे। हस्तिनापुर के राजकुमार दुर्योधन अपने चचेरे भाइयो, पाण्डवों से बहुत ईर्ष्या करता था, जिसमें कौरवों के मामा शकुनि दुर्योधन का सहयोगी था। शकुनि ने दुर्योधन को सलाह दी की पाण्डवों को जुए के खेल के लिए आमंत्रित करे व इस खेल में उन्हें छल से परास्त करके पाण्डवों का सारा राज्य अपने कब्जे में कर लें।

दुर्योधन द्वारा बुलाए जाने पर पाण्डव जुए के खेल हेतु तैयार हो गए और खेल को खेलने आ गए। एक सभा का आयोजन किया गया, जिसमें धृतराष्ट्र, भीष्म पितामह, द्रोणाचार्य और महात्मा विदुर जैसे ज्ञानी सम्मिलित हुए।

खेल शुरू होने पर कौरव अपने मामा शकुनि के छल-कपट से निरन्तर जितने लगे। धीरे-धीरे पाण्डव अपना राज्य और पाँच भाइयों को भी दांव पर लगाकर हार गए

जब पाण्डवों के पास कुछ नहीं बचा तो अपनी पत्नी द्रौपदी को भी दाँव पर लगा दिया और हार गए।⁶



चीर हरण :

द्रौपदी को जीतने के बाद दुर्योधन ने अपने भाई दुशासन को आदेश दिया की भरी सभा में द्रौपदी को घसीटते हुए लाया जाए। दुशासन द्रौपदी को लेने गये परन्तु स्वाभिमानि द्रौपदी ने आने से मना कर दिया, फिर दुशासन जबरदस्ती द्रौपदी को सभा में लेकर आये। द्रौपदी ने आकर सभा में देखा कि उनके पाँचों पति मुंह झुकाए बैठे थे, तब दुर्योधन ने द्रौपदी को जुए के खेल में हारने की बात बताई व दुशासन को आज्ञा दी की वो द्रौपदी को भरी सभा में निर्वस्त्र कर दे।

दुशासन ने जैसे ही द्रौपदी के वस्त्र को हाथ लगाया द्रौपदी ने अपने पतियों से मदद की गुहार लगाई परन्तु सभा में मौजूद सभी के हाथ शर्त के अनुसार बन्धे थे, अतः कोई मदद को आगे नहीं आया।

अग्निकुंड से भी वो जन्मी, सुंदरता की मूर्त थी।

द्रुपद सुता वा ज्ञान मान में, माँ वाणी की सूरत भी।।

आज भूमि पर गिरी पड़ी वो, आभा से भी हीन हुई।

इंद्रप्रस्त की थी वो रानी, पर वैभव से दीन हुई।।

अतः विवश द्रौपदी ने श्रीकृष्ण को मदद हेतु पुकारा, कृष्ण ने द्रौपदी की करुण पुकार सुनी और उन्होंने द्रौपदी की साड़ी को बढ़ाना शुरू कर दिया। दुशासन द्रौपदी का चीर खींचता रहा, लेकिन वो जितना खींचता वस्त्र उतना बढ़ता जाता, अंत में दुशासन थककर हार गया, किन्तु द्रौपदी का वस्त्र हरण नहीं कर सका। नागदा के सास-बहू मंदिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण दृश्य द्वितीय को देखकर यह प्रतीत होता है कि सम्भवतः मूर्तिकार ने इसमें द्रौपदी के चीर हरण के दृश्य को अंकित किया है।⁷

गीता उपदेश का दृश्य :

कुरुक्षेत्र के युद्ध में अर्जुन दुखी थे, क्योंकि महाभारत के युद्धभूमि में उन्होंने अपने कई प्रिय लोगों को खो दिया था एवं अर्जुन अपने रिश्तेदारों के खिलाफ भी लड़ना नहीं चाहते थे अतः युद्ध क्षेत्र में अर्जुन को दुखी देखकर श्रीकृष्ण ने अर्जुन के टूटे हुए मनोबल को मजबूत करने के लिए गीता का उपदेश दिया-

हे पार्थ! तुम्हें अपने शत्रिय धर्म का पालन करना चाहिए और एक शत्रिय की भांति अपने अधिकारों के लिए लड़ना चाहिए। भूत और भविष्य की चिंता करना व्यर्थ है, वर्तमान ही सत्य है। परिस्थितियों से भागों मत, उसके सामने डटकर खड़े हो जाओ। जो विषय अटल सत्य का है, उसे स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए और उसका दुख नहीं करना चाहिए।

मन्दिर में उत्कीर्ण उक्त दृश्य में श्रीकृष्ण के गीता उपदेश देने के दृश्य को मूर्तिकार ने सुन्दर व आकर्षक अंकन किया है।⁸



दुशासन के वध का दृश्य :

दुशासन कुरुवंश में कौरव वंश के अन्तर्गत हस्तिनापुर के कार्यकारी राजा धृतराष्ट्र का पुत्र था। दुशासन ने ही जुएँ के खेल में विजय के उपरान्त दुर्योधन के कहने पर द्रौपदी के चीर हरण का प्रयास किया था। दुशासन की इस गलत हरकत के बाद द्रौपदी ने प्रतिज्ञा ली थी कि वो तब तक अपने केश नहीं बाँधेगी जब तक अपने बालों को दुशासन की छाती के रक्त से ना धोले। 'भीम' ने द्रौपदी की प्रतिज्ञा को पूरा कराने का वादा किया था। कुरुक्षेत्र महायुद्ध के 17वें दिवस महाबली भीम ने दुशासन को ढूँढ निकाला एवं भीम ने अपनी गदा से दुशासन का मस्तक फोड़ा एवं दुशासन की बाँह को शरीर से उखाड़कर उसकी छाती चीरकर रक्त निकाल दिया व रक्त को द्रौपदी के पास ले जाकर उसकी प्रतिज्ञा पूरी करवाई एवं इस तरह महाबली भीम ने दुशासन का वध किया। सास बहू मन्दिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण चतुर्थ दृश्य में महाबली भीम द्वारा दुशासन के वध करने का दृश्य अंकित है।⁹



युधिष्ठिर की राज्य सभा का दृश्य :

युधिष्ठिर राजा पांडु की पहली पत्नी कुंती के पुत्र थे, एवं उन्हें 'धर्मराज' के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। युधिष्ठिर कुरुक्षेत्र युद्ध में सफल पाण्डव गुट के प्रमुख नेता था, इन्होंने शल्य जैसे कई सम्मानित योद्धाओं को परास्त किया व युद्ध की समाप्ति के बाद इन्हें हस्तिनापुर का सम्राट बनाया गया। महाराज युधिष्ठिर ने अपने बड़े से सुन्दर मणियों जड़ित सिंहासन पर बैठकर श्वेत पुष्प, अक्षत, भूमी, सुवर्ण, रजत और मणियों को स्पर्श किया, इसके बाद विधि-विधानपूर्ण उनका राज्याभिषेक हुआ। युधिष्ठिर की राजसभा में श्रद्धा उत्सव और सौहार्द का माहौल रहता था। मन्दिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण पंचम दृश्य में युधिष्ठिर की राज्य सभा के दृश्य को मूर्तिकार ने अंकित किया है।¹⁰



पाण्डवों के वन गमन का दृश्य :

महाभारत में पाण्डवों के बारह साल के वनवास और एक साल के अज्ञातवास में रहने का जिक्र मिलता है। जुएँ के खेल में सम्पूर्ण राज्य हार जाने के उपरान्त दुर्योधन ने पाण्डवों को बारह वर्ष वनवास और एक वर्ष अज्ञातवास दिया था। नागदा के सहस्त्रबाहु मन्दिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण छठे दृश्य में मूर्तिकार ने पाण्डवों के वन-गमन के दृश्य को अंकित किया है।¹¹

10वीं व 11वीं शताब्दी में निर्मित नागदा का सास बहू मन्दिर विष्णु को समर्पित प्रसिद्ध है। इसकी भव्यता और स्थापत्य कला अनायस ही पर्यटकों को आकर्षित करती है। यहाँ दो प्रमुख दशावतार मंदिर हैं, 'सास' एवं 'बहु' मंदिर, जिसमें सास मंदिर के छज्जे पर एक श्लोकी रामायण व महाभारत का बहुत ही सूक्ष्म व आकर्षक चित्रांकन देखने को मिलता है। छज्जे के एक तरफ रामायण व दूसरी तरफ महाभारत का चित्रांकन किया गया है।

महाभारत के छह दृश्य छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण हैं, जिसमें- गुरु द्रोणाचार्य द्वारा कौरवों एवं पाण्डव राजकुमारों को गुरुकुल में शिक्षा देने का दृश्य, द्रौपदी के चीर हरण का दृश्य, कृष्ण द्वारा अर्जुन को गीता उपदेश देने का दृश्य, दुशासन के वध का दृश्य, युधिष्ठिर की राज्य सभा का दृश्य एवं पाण्डवों के वन गमन का आकर्षक चित्रांकन किया गया है। कुछ दृश्य छज्जा क्षतिग्रस्त होने की वजह से खण्डित हैं।

सन्दर्भ

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6. पाण्डेय, पण्डित रामनारायणदत्त शास्त्री, महाभारत खिलभाग हरिवंश, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर
7. सास मंदिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण महाभारत पात्र का स्वयं द्वारा अवलोकन (द्रौपदी चीर हरण का दृश्य)
8. पाण्डेय, पण्डित रामनारायणदत्त शास्त्री, महाभारत खिलभाग हरिवंश, गीताप्रेस, गोरखपुर
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11. सास मंदिर के छज्जे पर उत्कीर्ण महाभारत पात्र का स्वयं द्वारा अवलोकन (पाण्डवों केवन गमन का दृश्य)

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सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक समरसता में चारभुजा मंदिर की भूमिका : एक अध्ययन

डॉ. संजय सैन*

मध्यकाल में मारवाड़ राज्य के मुख्य नगर व परगना रहे मेड़ता का वर्चस्व प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में रहा है।¹ यहां के मंदिरों की भव्यता ऐतिहासिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा प्राचीन समृद्धशाली गौरवपूर्ण इतिहास के महत्व को प्रकट करती है। अच्छी किस्म की भूमि के कारण यहां फसल भी काफी मात्रा में प्राप्त होती थी तथा व्यापार की दृष्टि से भी इस नगर का विशेष स्थान था।² मध्यकाल में मेड़ता परगने में 360 ग्राम शामिल थे। वर्तमान में यह नगर नागौर जिला मुख्यालय से 90 किलोमीटर व जोधपुर से 120 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर स्थित है।³ जो कि राष्ट्रीय राजमार्ग संख्या 89 पर अजमेर से बीकानेर जाने वाले मार्ग पर स्थित है। मध्यकाल में यह नगर वैष्णव धर्म का केन्द्र रहा।⁴ यहां से राष्ट्रीय व राज्य मार्ग भी निकलते थे, जिनमें प्रमुख रूप से अजमेर-मेड़ता, सिरोही, डीसा होता हुआ अहमदाबाद को जाता था।⁵ इसी प्रकार एक अन्य मार्ग मेड़ता, पाली, भगवानपुर, जालौर होता हुआ गुजरात के पाटन में जाता था। आगरा से चित्तौड़ जाने वाले मार्ग पर भी मेड़ता स्थित था जो कि चाकसू, लाडनूं, मेड़ता और इसके बाद जालौर को होते हुए अहमदाबाद से भी जुड़ा हुआ था। राव दूदा ने चारभुजा मंदिर की भी नींव रखी। राव दूदा के पश्चात् राव वीरमदेव मेड़ता का शासक बना जिसके राव मालदेव से वैचारिक मतभेद थे इस कारण राव मालदेव व वीरमदेव के मध्य लगातार युद्ध होते ही रहते थे। यही कारण रहा कि राव दूदा कोट का निर्माण भी अधूरा रह गया। बाद में राव मालदेव ने मेड़ता पर अधिकार कर लिया था।⁶ राव वीरमदेव के बाद जयमल मेड़ता की गद्दी पर आसीन हुए। राव मालदेव को मेड़ता व जयमल से इतनी खिन्नता थी कि उसने मेड़ता के सारे राजप्रासाद गिरवा दिये।⁷ राव जयमल ने कुंडल सरोवर खुदवाया तथा चारभुजा मंदिर के निर्माण को पूरा करवाया था।⁸ प्रसिद्ध कृष्ण भक्त कवयित्री मीराबाई का जन्म स्थान मेड़ता ही था इनका विवाह महाराणा सांगा के पाटवी यानी सबसे बड़े पुत्र भोजराज के

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साथ हुआ था जिनका देहान्त महाराणा सांगा की मौजूदगी में हो चुका था, मीरां राव वीरमदेव (खानवा के युद्ध में महाराणा सांगा की सहायता की) की भतीजी तथा राव दूदा की पौत्री थी।⁹ आज जो भी स्मारक व भवन मेड़ता में दिखाई देते हैं वे सभी मालदेव के बाद के ही हैं। केवल ठाकुर जी (चारभुजा मंदिर) का मंदिर व माताजी का मंदिर ही मालदेव के पूर्व के बने हुए हैं। राव मालदेव ने मालकोट के साथ ही मेड़ता री कोठड़ी का निर्माण भी इसी समय करवाया।¹⁰

यहां पर मध्यकालीन स्थापत्य कला के रूप में मालकोट, राव दूदा गढ़ के साथ ही लोक कला, संस्कृति एवं धार्मिक आस्था की त्रिवेणी का अनूठा संगम यहां के ऐतिहासिक चारभुजा नाथ मंदिर में देखने को मिलता है। पंद्रहवीं शताब्दी विक्रम संवत् 1615 (ईस्वी 1558) में मेड़तिया राव दूदा जी ने इस सुन्दर मंदिर को बनवाया था।¹¹ इसको पूर्ण जयमल व इनके पौत्र आदि ने करवाया था।¹² विक्रम संवत् 1610 में राव मालदेव की फौज ने राव जयमल वीरमदेवोत के विरुद्ध मेड़ता पर चढ़ाई की, इस युद्ध में राव जयमल की विजय हुई। कहा जाता है कि जयमल को ठाकुर जी श्री चारभुजा का इष्ट था। जिस कारण भगवान चारभुजा जयमल का रूप धारण कर घोड़े पर सवार होकर युद्ध भूमि में पहुंच गये और राव मालदेव को युद्ध में पराजित कर दिया। इस युद्ध में सोनगरा सूरजमल जयमल की तरफ से काम आये जिनका थान (देवली) चारभुजा मंदिर में अभी तक विद्यमान है।¹³

दोहा-जयमल रो जपमाला के भागा राव मडोवर वाला।

फिर राव मालदेव इस झगड़े में पीछे हट गया। विक्रम संवत् 1613 के वर्ष में फिर राव मालदेव व जयमल के मध्य युद्ध हुआ जिसमें जयमल मेड़तिया की हार हुई और उसको मेड़ता छोड़कर जाना पड़ा और मेड़ता में राव मालदेव का अधिकार हो गया। इस विजय के पश्चात् राव मालदेव ने मीरां मंदिर व अन्य मंदिरों को छोड़कर जयमल के रहने वाले राजप्रासाद, किलों आदि को तुड़वा दिया।¹⁴ कुछ पुस्तकों में इसका निर्माण जयमल द्वारा बताया जाता है।¹⁵ जयमल की भांति उसका पुत्र कल्याणदास भी चतुर्भुज का परम भक्त था।¹⁶ चारभुजा नाथ मंदिर को स्थानीय लोग मीरां बाई का मंदिर भी कहते हैं। इसके पास ही सत्यनारायण जी का मंदिर, भैरूजी का मंदिर तथा दूदा गढ़ में स्थित नागणेचिया माता का मंदिर है। चारभुजा मंदिर में गणेश मंदिर, बाबा रामदेव, वैष्णो देवी, सूरजमल जी सोनगरा का थान,¹⁷ शिव मंदिर है। इसी मंदिर प्रांगण में भगवान चारभुजा नाथ की प्राचीन प्रतिमा प्रकट हुई थी। पिछले पांच सौ वर्षों से लगातार मंदिर में प्रथम भोग मोची के द्वारा लगाया जाता है, मोची द्वारा चढ़ाया गया प्रसाद पुजारी अंदर ले जाकर भगवान को भोग लगाता है। यहां प्रथम मोची रामधन व प्रथम पुजारी कालूराम थे।¹⁸ इस प्रथा से ज्ञात होता है कि मीरां मंदिर में धार्मिक ऊंच-नीच को भुलाकर सभी लोगों को

एक समान माना गया है। भूमि से निकली मूर्ति अनेक प्रकार की सजावट के साथ-साथ कीमती रत्नों और हीरों की जड़ावट है। गर्भगृह में बिजली का काम ही नहीं है। वहां पर गाय के घी से दीपक और हीरों की चमक से ही भरपूर प्रकाश हो जाता है।¹⁹ मीरांबाई मंदिर में भगवान चारभुजा नाथ की प्रतिमा से लगभग 100 फीट की दूरी पर भक्त शिरोमणी मीरांबाई की आदमकद मूर्ति है। कहा जाता है कि मीरांबाई की मूर्ति को ऐसे कोण से स्थापित किया गया है कि जैसे ही सुबह पांच बजे मंगला आरती के समय चारभुजा नाथ के पट खुलते हैं तो सबसे पहले मीरां ही अपने आराध्य भगवान चारभुजानाथ के दर्शन करती हैं। इस अनूठी वास्तुकला की आज भी चर्चा होती है।²⁰ मीरांबाई की मूर्ति का व्यापक इतिहास भी है। डीडवाना के तत्कालीन भामाशाह मगनीराम बांगड ने मीरांबाई की मूर्ति बनवायी। उस समय जयपुर के सर्वाधिक प्रसिद्ध मूर्तिकार मालीराम गौड़ से बात की ओर उन्हें मीरांबाई की मूर्ति बनाने का जिम्मा सौंपा। मूर्ति छः माह में बनकर तैयार हुई।²¹ चारभुजा का मंदिर एक चौड़े खुले प्रांगण में बना हुआ है। मुख्य मंदिर चबूतरे पर बना है। यह चबूतरा प्रतिरक्षात्मक दिवाल से सुरक्षित है। मण्डप को सहारा देने वाले स्तम्भ जो वास्तुकला और तक्षणकला के सुन्दर नमूने हैं। इन स्तम्भों पर विभिन्न प्रकार की आकृतियां खुदे कर कलाकर ने अपनी भावाकृतियां प्रस्तुत की हैं। इन्हें देखकर ऐसा लगता है कि प्रत्येक स्तम्भ को प्लास्टर ऑफ पेरिस के सांचे से निकाला गया है। गर्भगृह के मुख्य द्वार की शिलाओं को भी कलाकार ने तक्षण कला से सजीव बनाया है। प्राकृतिक प्रवृत्तियों को इन शिलाओं पर अंकित किया गया है। मुख्य द्वार के दोनों ओर भगवान जय-विजय²² की मूर्ति व हनुमान तथा गरुड भगवान की मूर्ति है। गर्भगृह पर शास्त्रीय पद्धति से भव्य शिखर बनाया गया है, जिसे ऊपर की ओर उत्तरोत्तर संकीर्ण होता देखा जाता है। आज यह मंदिर अपना पूर्व मध्यकालीन कलात्मक वैभव खोता जा रहा है। जीर्णोद्धार के नाम पर उसे मौलिक रूप से विहीन किया जा रहा है। उत्कृष्ट कलाकारों से जीर्णोद्धार का कार्य कराके उसके मौलिक स्वरूप को बनाये रखना हमारी सांस्कृतिक आवश्यकता है। भगवान चारभुजा नाथ की मूर्ति काले पत्थर से उकेरकर बनाई गयी है जो लगभग एक मीटर ऊंची है तथा चारभुजाओं (चार हाथों) वाली है। 500 साल पुराने भग्नावशेष मीरांबाई की भक्तिमय कहानियों से गुंजते हैं। पर्यटक इस शहर के केन्द्र में स्थित चारभुजा मंदिर के नाम से मशहूर मीरांबाई के दर्शन कर अभिभूत होते हैं। इसके अंदरूनी भाग अत्यधिक सुन्दर है तथा इसकी दीवारों और फर्श हजारों पत्थरों, दर्पणों और रत्नों से सुशोभित है। दीवारों पर विस्तृत चित्र विभिन्न हिन्दू देवताओं की महिमा को प्रदर्शित करते हैं। मंदिर के पास एक छोटा संग्रहालय भी स्थित है जो मीरांबाई के जीवन के बारे जानकारी देता है।²³

चारभुजा मंदिर में साल भर में कई लोकोत्सव, पर्व, मांगलिक आयोजन एवं

त्योहारों की अनुपम झांकियां, मारवाड़ डांडिया नृत्य का आकर्षण, फागोत्सव की झांकियां तथा भारतीय शास्त्रीय संगीत पर आधारित महान कवियों के भजनों की स्वर लहरियां इस मंदिर की पहचान है। चारभुजा नाथ का मंदिर अपने कलात्मक वैभव, गौरवशाली परम्पराओं, धार्मिक सहिष्णुता एवं भावात्मक एकता के समन्वय के प्रतीक के रूप में नगर के मध्य में स्थित है। प्रत्येक माह की एकादशी पर जागरण व मंगलवार को सुन्दरकाण्ड का पाठ किया जाता है। श्रावण मास से यहां पर भक्तों का तांता लग जाता है और उत्सवों की शुरुआत हो जाती है। श्रावण मास के अंत में मीरां महोत्सव मनाया जाता है। महोत्सव में रजत रेवाड़ी स्थापना, ध्वजारोहण के बाद सात दिवसीय खड़ी सप्ताह के तहत अखंड हरिकीर्तन, भजन संध्या व सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम के साथ ही अंतिम दिन शोभायात्रा का आयोजन किया जाता है जिसमें हर जाति वर्ग के लोग सम्मिलित होते हैं और भजन मण्डलियां गीत गायन करती हैं।²⁴ जो मंदिर की सामाजिक एवं धार्मिक समरसता का प्रतीक है। वर्तमान में 519वां मीरां महोत्सव 22 अगस्त से 28 अगस्त 2023 को मनाया जाएगा। इस मेले के उपरान्त भादवा मास में रामदेवरा में लगने वाले मेले में आने वाले श्रद्धालु यहां होकर जाते हैं जिनमें इनकी संख्या दो लाख के आस-पास रहती है। यहां कई धार्मिक आयोजन किये जाते हैं जिनमें श्री कृष्ण जन्माष्टमी, नृसिंह जयंती तथा होली, दीपावली, अन्नकूट प्रमुख हैं। प्रत्येक एकादशी को यहां रात्रि भजन संध्या (जागरण) का आयोजन किया जाता है। इनके अलावा भी यहां पर सालभर में कई मेले व उत्सव मनाये जाते हैं।

निष्कर्ष - नागौर जिले के शासकों ने यहां पर समय-समय पर कई मंदिरों का निर्माण करवाया जिनमें चारभुजा नाथ का मंदिर भागवत पूजा के लिये जाना जाता है। मेड़ता में अन्य भी कई मंदिर जो अपनी स्थापत्य कला व ऐतिहासिकता के लिये प्रसिद्ध हैं। व्यक्ति विशेष के अलावा बहुत सारे मंदिरों और देवालयों के सेवा खर्च के लिये भी गांव व भूमि प्रदान की गयी थी। यहां के मंदिरों में साल भर कई उत्सव व त्योहारों का आयोजन होता ही रहता है। जो यहां की सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक सौहार्द बनाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभती है। साथ ही इन मंदिरों में होने वाले मेलों व त्योहारों के आयोजन से स्थानीय व्यापारियों को आर्थिक मजबूती प्रदान होती है। यहां स्थित मीरां स्मारक को देखने के लिये हर साल लाखों श्रद्धालु आते हैं। जिससे काफी मात्रा में राजस्व की आय प्राप्त होता है।

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SUMMARY / सारांश

A Brief Survey of Archaeological Sites of Vijaynagar Tehsil, Sri Ganganagar District, Rajasthan

Dr. Samunder*

Present paper discusses the village-to-village exploration of Vijaynagar tehsil, Sri Ganganagar District, Rajasthan. The earlier surveys carried out by previous scholars were not systematic; most of surveys were focused along with the bed of river Ghaggar (so called dried bed of 'lost Saraswati'). For the first time the systematic village-to-village survey was carried out present researcher. During the explorations 49 sites were explored. Except Chak- IKPM-II, Chak-15GB-III, Chak- 2 DM and Chak-7 APM most of the sites were placed on the archaeological map for the first time. Exploration yielded the Hakra ware culture, Early Harappan, Mature Harappan, Late Harappan, B&R ware, PGW and Rangmahal culture remains from this region. During the exploration many various shape and type of pottery and antiquity are collected on surface. The middle Ghaggar basin is one of the most important of the various urban centers of the Indus Valley Civilization and the evidence from this basin has provided significant information for our understanding of the various cultures.

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Exploring Tribal Medicine in nineteenth century with special reference to Southern Rajasthan

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Rajasthan is the largest state in India. The state has 13.47 percent tribal population among them are Bhil, Meena, Garasia, Damor, kathodi, Saharia and patelia. Living close to nature, the tribals have acquired unique knowledge about the uses of wild flora, most of which are not

known to the outside world. They are much known to indigenous healing system of medicine. Various medicinal plants support the tribal families in enhancing their source of income. In that case medicinal plants could be a substitute source of livelihood for the tribal people. The area of Southern Rajasthan has abandoned species of medicinal plants since ancient times to cure diseases and sickness. It is necessary to enhance the awareness regarding their importance and conservation and put them up as a substitute source of income with the help of tribal based government policy and various activities of NGO. The use and conservation of indigenous knowledge transfer in the study area was oral. Passing one generation to another by the word of mouth.

This research paper is highlighting tribal medicinal plants in the study area. A list of plants along with their botanical name, local name, plants part used and mode of cure aliment are given. Due to the advent of modern civilization, the traditional knowledge is eroding very quickly. In the present paper prioritised research area in the field of Ethnobotany. A rich heritage of indigenous medicinal plants use and knowledge will be recognised.

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Pundrika Vithal : A Vaishnavite Misician in the Cosmopolitan Lands of Amber

Gunjan Malhotra*

The 16th-century Dhundhar observed an influx of many itinerant groups like scribes, musicians and poets who carved the culture of the region. This paper examines the circulation and settlement of such groups through the case study of a peripatetic musician named Pundrika Vitthala. Vitthala, a Kannada Brahmin was a Vaishnavite musician patronized by Raja Man Singh I of Amber (r.1589-1614). Vitthalawrote a wide range of musical treatises in Sanskrit. His texts consisted of intricate intellectual expertise in the science of music and served as manuals for successive generations of Amber musicians. A text-critical analysis of Vitthala's compendium shows that it was emblematic of the cosmopolitan culture of the Mughal empire with vernacular textures of Dhundhar. His texts reflect a constant intermingling of the classical Raga-Ragini systems and the popular Mela system of music. Amber, the axial point of Vaishnavism

was an ideal locale for Vitthala to compose his writing in a vernacular VishnuBhakti paradigm. Thus, his treatises are also conduits to peep into the world of Vaishnava Bhakti as it operated in the Kachhwaha courtly milieu. I argue that Vitthalawas a self-cognizant musician who was aware of his networks of patronage that ranged from Raja Man Singh on an immediate level to the Mughal emperor Akbar at the imperial centre. This cognizancedisplayed the layers of political power that operated in the Early modern Kacchwaha courtly politics. Thereby through a micro-history of the musician PundrikaVitthala, this essay investigates the larger questions of Bhakti, cosmopolitanism and vernacular ethos as it operated in the early Modern Amber region.

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Reconstruction Ancient Rajasthan : Unraveling Tapestry of History

Dr. Brijesh Kuman*

The history of Rajasthan, a region rich in cultural heritage and historical significance, is a tapestry woven with threads of conquests, dynamics, and cultural exchanges. This abstract aims to provide a glimpse into the complex narrative of ancient Rajasthan, shedding light on key periods, rulers, and socio-cultural developments. The ancient history of Rajasthan spans several millennia, with evidence of human habitation dating back to the Stone Age. The region was witness to the rise and fall of numerous civilizations, including the Harappa civilization, which left its imprint on the landscape through archaeological sites like Kalibanga.

During the Vedic period, Rajasthan was inhabited by various tribes and clans mentioned in ancient texts such as the Rigveda and the Mahabharata. The region later became part of the Maurya Empire under Emperor Ashoka, who spread Buddhism and left his edicts carved on rocks and pillars across the land. The Gupta and Kushan dynasties also exerted their influence over Rajasthan, fostering a period of artistic and cultural flourishing. The emergence of Rajput clans in the early medieval period marked a significant shift in the region's power dynamics, as these warrior clans established their kingdoms and engaged in battle for supremacy.

The medieval period witnessed the rise of powerful Rajput kingdoms such as the Chauhan of Ajmer, the Rathores of Marwar and the Sisodias of Mewar. These kingdoms flourished amidst a backdrop of warfare, alliance and cultural patronage, leaving behind magnificent forts, palaces, and temples as enduring symbols of their legacy. The arrival of Islamic rulers, notably the Delhi Sultanate and later the Mughals, brought further changes to Rajasthan's socio-political landscape. The clash of cultures and ideologies shaped the region's history, leading to a synthesis of Hindu and Islamic architectural styles and traditions.

By the 18th century, Rajasthan had become fragmented into numerous princely states, each vying for autonomy and influence amidst the expanding domains of the Marathas and later the British East India Company. The colonial witnessed the gradual erosion of princely authority, culminating in Rajasthan's integration into independent India in 1947.

The reconstruction of ancient Rajasthan's history reveals a vibrant tapestry of diverse cultures, religions and civilizations. From the ancient Harappan settlements to the majestic Rajput kingdoms and the colonial era, the history of Rajasthan is a testament to the resilience and dynamism of its people through the ages.

* West Bengal

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Expansion of Rajputs of Rajputana in Himachal Pradesh: A Historical Study

Manor Kumar and Prakash Chand*

This study explores the historical migration of Rajputs to Himachal Pradesh. The migration and influence of the Rajputs comes out as a significant event that has left an indelible mark on the socio-cultural scenario of the region. It has light on extent of Rajput influence in the region. By examining historical records, oral traditions, architectural relics and socio-cultural practices, this work aims to study on the Rajput presence that has shaped the socio-political landscape of Himachal Pradesh. The state has diverse culture, history. The purpose of this paper is to trace the trajectory of Rajput migration and its impact on the hill state. Starting with an overview of the Rajputs and their historical significance in

Rajputana, the study bring out the factors that prompted their migration towards the Himalayas. Whether motivated by political turmoil, territorial expansion, or the quest for new opportunities, the Rajputs gradually extended their influence to the foothills of the Himalayas and beyond. The migration of Rajput clans to the region was not only a demographic change but also a cultural diffusion. Their arrival brought with it distinctive traditions, architectural styles, martial practices, and socio-political structures that interacted with the indigenous cultures of the region, creating a syncretic mix of influences.

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Decoding the Narratives of Famine Relief Reports of North Western Rajasthan : A Case Study of the Princely State of Bikaner

Tejmal Beniwal*

The earliest recorded famines, all associated with prolonged draughts are mentioned on the Egyptian steles (inscribed stone pillars) dating from the third millennium BC. From earliest times, Egyptian farmers relied on the Nile, swollen by annual monsoon rains in Ethiopia to burst its banks and 'water' the soil. The steles commemorated members of the ruling classes who were engaged in philanthropy during one of the many ensuing crises. Carmac O' Grada in the work 'Famine: A short History', brings into light two important theories about Famines, firstly, it sees Famine as a natural calamity and secondly it sees the role of ruler as philanthropist aiding the subjects affected by famine. However, this picturization is dealing with a different Historical time and space, by my paper deals with the 19th century, about the north-western Rajasthan with special references to Bikaner state. The 19th century saw the Metropolis starting a new ideology of rule to fulfil its colonial ambitions. Under the mask of Western ideas of Humanism, and Philanthropy, it tried to project itself as a Paternal and Benevolent State. The Metropolis started the Public Work Project such as building of Canals, Railways, Roads etc. to hide yet fulfil its intention of revenue appropriation and Flourishment of Commerce. Recent Scholarships have argued that Famine Relief measures were used as Colonial tools to initiate such Public Work Project to extract cheap labour. Throughmy analysis of

various Famine related archival reports in the National and Bikaner Archive and by reading along and against the grain. My major argument is that the Princely state blindly followed the Colonial Script of Famine relief measures due to the pressure after the Draft Farmer Code for Native States was circulated to Princely states in 1885, without taking into consideration the different Geographical milieu of Bikaner.

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Sculpted Expressions: Devangana Images Carved on the Temple Walls of Rajasthan

Dr. Shobha Singh*

The nymph entertains the gods in the heaven. They are imitated in the sculpture of Temples. These nymphs are known by different names like Devangana, Dev Kanya, Surasundari, Nratyangana and Alsha etc. These Devanganas symbolizes grace, beauty, divine, elegance, serving as a testament to the exceptional craftsmanship and artistic excellence prevalent in Indian sculptural tradition.

The concepts of vedic goddesses and apsaras develop in vedic literature but do not find a visual representation while principle of yakshi through its absorption in Buddhist art acquires a visual imagery which when compared with apsaras and other goddesses seems to be analogous. In order to understand origin and characteristics of apsaras in vedic literature it is clear that the nature and association of an apsara as an aqueons nymph, is also associated with trees, fertility and engaging in dance, song and play. This prompts us to connect them as predecessors of the devanganas shown in sculptures on the temple architecture. Brilliant attempt has been made by Stella Kramrich in 1940, Alice Boner in 1950, M.A. Dhaky in 190 and Ratan Parimoo in the 1980 to interpret Surasundaris and apsara sculputures in conjunction with temple architecture.

In meruprasada section of samrangana sutradhara, Bhoja describes that the torana should be adorned with makara, heads of elephants, leaves as well as group of apsaras. Vrksanrnava Ksiranaava and Diparnava are 15th century architectural texts of Gujarat. In these texts some verses throw light on the placement of specific devangass on certain directions

conjointly with the dikpalas. There are description of 32 devanganas who should be placed in pradakshina order on the jangha starting from the Isana corner that is north east with Menaka.

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Changing within the Court: Raja Man Singh, Jahangir and Ramdas Kachhwaha

Neeraj Kumar*

Salim succeeded Akbar as the Mughal emperor with the title Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi. During the lifetime of Akbar, there was a rift between Jahangir and Man Singh. When Jahangir (Salim) rebelled against his father in 1600 AD, Akbar had stated that he would prefer the name of Salim's eldest son Khusrau as his successor, Man Singh agreed. Salim's misgivings increased when Akbar named Man Singh guardian (Ataliq) of Khusrau before his demise. When Salim assumed the Mughal throne in 1605, he did express his dependence on Man Singh and sent him to Bengal while he kept Khusrau at his side and thereby he distanced and weakened the support of Khusrau. Further he eliminated. The possibility of the emper's eastern provinces as a constant base of opposition to the authority. Jahangir removed him from Bengal governorship immediately after Khusrau's defeat and never entrusted him on any other administrative position. Further, he looked for the advantage of the clan rivalry of Rajawat and Dhirawats and favoured the later incessantly at the cost of the former. Man Singh has enjoyed much privileges during the reign of Akbar and when power was shifted to another Mughal emperor things were also changed for Man Singh. How he managed to cope with new ruler, whom he didn't show his support during his succession? Ram Das and Man Singh these two Kachhwaha nobles and their role in succession should be understood in this light of primary sources. How vernacular sources are trying to portray these two historical figures in themselves? These questions should be answered, I have tried to give a vivid picture of the past within the frame of these question.

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Representation of Rajasthan in Contemporary Indian Advertisements: A 21st Century Study

Kaushalya G Rajpurohit*

Apart from the presence of a gendered narrative, the advertisements also promote nationalist feelings by showing the returning male craving to be one with both the motherland and the biological mother. The nationalist image of the land as motherland is also reinforced here. Also, the mother is the first person he meets and the wife/woman in his life is the last person he meets. This also underscores the notion that the wife or the love-interest in a man's life will always be treated as secondary and inferior to the mother figure. This again, reflects the deep matrix of patriarchy where the woman is, through gestures and customs made to feel inferior. This, is a price she is expected to pay for her sexual proximity with the man. This is an instance of cementing female subjugation. Also, the homeward returning male and the waiting woman can be traced back to "the village exogamy practiced throughout most of North India- marriage patterns prescribing that a husband be "foreign".

Earlier it was only the radio, the television and the print media which were the modes of dissemination for popularizing any product through advertisements. But today, with social media, this has changed drastically. There are ads even on You Tube now. This has increased the speed at which any advertisement gets circulated. With the increase in the speed of circulation, image construction and deconstruction have also become equally fast in the present times. So whatever technique advertisements apply, the resultant homogenization or deconstruction of cultural trends happens through all these platforms. To quote Koven here, "At one level folklorists are able to observe and trace the process of homogenizing cultural expressions through the mass media. On the other hand, a great deal of folklore scholarship has explored those traditional narrative types and motifs when they appear in popular film and television".

Contemporary advertisements, both private and state-sponsored, employ the cultural and historical context of Rajasthan to sell their products. This is done by employing varied techniques of representation like language, clothes, customs, and even history. The cultural and

historical image is also reaffirmed, contested, subverted and deconstructed in different advertisements and their varied contexts. This brings the discussion to where it started and that is that the super structure, here culture, in any given society, is intricately tied to the base, here the production houses like Siyaram's, Bisleri, Fevicol, Limca and the Rajasthan Tourism Department. The paper further proves that the image of Rajasthani culture, history and landscape does not remain constant or homogeneous.

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Preservation of Cultural Heritage with Special Reference to the Sangneri Prints of Jaipur

Priya*

A set of western scholars admitted that the block printing technique of India is not its indigenous technique. H.D. Havell Smith stated that the block printing technique in India has come down from China to Middle Asia and then to Iran, through the Muslims of Iran, this unique technique came down in India. Though this notion is completely denied, as the ancient Sanskrit literature like Divyavaadan, Lalitvistara, Kumarsambhav, Harshcharit, Kadambari mentioned the word 'Abhiprayay', which is identified by the scholars to the printing clothes. Pupil Jaikar mentioned of a stone block in the 5th century AD. All these evidences clearly testify that the art of printing on clothes has been existed in India since ancient times i.e. 5th century AD. Moreover, the word 'roop' has been used for blocks having designs. According to the documents of the East India Company Sangner was not a printing centre throughout 16th and 17th centuries. However the records of Dastur Al Amar of 1703 attested to the Sangner's existence as a well known centre of printing from the early 18th century. Jai Singh II laid the foundations of Jaipur in 1727 and by establishing 36 karkhanas he promoted craftsmanships and artisans. He gave patronisation to printing as well. The oral history records that the territorial expansion of Jaipur led to the migration of Chippa printers from Jaipur to Sangner. Moreover, due to

the population explosion in Jaipur, Jai Singh also gave land to the printing community in Sangner in order to settle them. The wide, sandy banks of the Aman-i-Shah river provided an abundant supply of running water, which was perfect for sun bleaching, which resulted in an astonishingly white substrate suitable for printing. Sangner was a renowned block printing centre by the end of 19th century and the early 20th century. In the words of Sir George Watt 'Sangner is the very metropolis of the calico printing craft of India the skilful treatment of the Sangner calico printers is quite as wonderful as the goods are beautiful.'

Chhippas:- The Jaipur hand-block printing community is one of the oldest, with a rich history that stretches back to 3000 BC. Hand block printing is a craft that is practiced traditionally in small, restricted areas. The printers of Sangner are called as Chippas. They are called as Namdev Chippas. A parable is included into the Sangner Chhipa community's oral history to explain the origin of their inherited expertise of dye and print. The story is told in different ways by their elders, but in every telling, the popular Sant Namdev of Maharashtra—a wandering mystical poet and Chhipa—is the main character. This version was recorded by Lalita Mishra, and it is thought that Namdeo was given an explanation of the vegetable dyeing process in his dream. He gave it to his companions the following morning, and they all acknowledged it as a gift from god. This widely held perception that Indian crafts are the outcome of the coexistence of artistic expression and religious devotion is strengthened by the popularity of this tale.

Traditional process of making Hand Block Sangneri Printing:

Creation of design:- Design creation is the initial stage in putting a design printed on cloth. The designs are typically influenced by nature, with floral motifs and patterns being a common choice. Usually, the pattern is sketched on paper and fabric before being transferred to the wooden blocks.

Creation of the wooden block:- To create dynamic, flowing designs with a wooden block requires a tremendous deal of talent. The number of colors necessary typically matches the number of blocks needed to complete a design. Designs typically don't go above five to six blocks due to expense increases every metre. Minimal designs, on the other hand, only employ one or two blocks to maximize impact. Indian rosewood, shisham, is usually used to make blocks. The tree trunk's

circular cross sections need to be flawless and devoid of flaws or knots. After smoothing and planed, blocks are painted white using chalk paste. The block makers are known as Batkade. Batkade belongs to both hindu and muslim community but the majority were muslims.

Carving designs and patterns on blocks:- Block carvers i.e. kharadiye, the one who carve out an intricate pattern and design on the surface of wooden blocks known as Kharadiye. Craftsmen mostly use conventional hand tools when working without the assistance of electrical gear, thus depending on how difficult the pattern is, complex blocks may take six days or longer to complete.

Preparation of the cloth/fabric:- After being cleaned, bleached, and dried, the cotton fabric is spread out over layer-covered tables (which helps to make the fabric softer and simpler to stamp).

Stages of Printing:- Usually, the quantity of colors in the print determines how many blocks are required for a certain design. Three to four datta blocks, one gudh, and one rekh make up a typical design. On the other hand, particularly complex patterns can need for two gudh blocks and two to three rekh blocks.

Blocks are classified into 3 types:-

Name of the Block	Function of the block
Gudh i.e. Background Block	First, the gudh stamps to complete the background and act as a starting point for the following block.
Rekhi.e. Outline Block	An outline and definition to the design are provided by the rekh.
Dattai.e. Filler Block	To complete the pattern, the datta stamps each one individually.

Preparation of Natural Dyes:- There are two principle colours used in the colouring of fabrics i.e. black and red called as syahi and begar respectively. Sanganeri prints were particularly well-known for their exceptional syahibegar designs.

Syahi:- Rusted horseshoes, nails, or other scrap iron ferrous sulphate are used to make syahi, a black printing paste. This mixture is made by fermenting molasses and water for around 15 days. The result is a rich brown liquor that is briefly heated with tamarind powder. The Rangrez i.e. Dyers prepares the fabric with harda, a powdered yellow

fruit from the Teminaliachebulamyroballan tree, prior to printing. Tannic acid from this natural source enables even absorption of successive dyes onto the fibers. The brown liquor immediately transforms into a rich black during printing. For one or two days, the fabric dries in the sun, allowing the dye to seep into the fibers. To fix the black, the dyers then immerses the cloth in an almost boiling alizarin dye solution for about an hour. Then gives the cloth a gentle wash to get rid of the printing gum and any remaining color, and dips it once more in harda to solidify the black.

Begar:- The fabric receives a harda pre-treatment, just as the syahi, to ensure uniform color development. With the help of alum, a mordant that helps the dye stick to the fibers, the chhippa imprints the designs on the fabric. After that, the cloth soaks in a hot alizarin bath for almost an hour. A rust-red color is created when the alizarin and printed alum mix. Since the paste is nearly colorless, adding black syahi to the begar gives deeper reds and maroons. Rangrez often tints the paste with short-term pigments like geru red clay to aid with printing.

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A portrayal of Rajasthan in the webseries

Saas, Bahu and Flamingo

Dr. Tamasha Acharya*

Viewing Rajasthan through the OTT lens- The Land of the Kings, Rajasthan, has a great historic and cultural fabric. The affluent heritage, mysterious legends and fables surrounding the state, the palaces, attractive architecture, colourful culture and attire make it a photographers' delight. Social commentator Shiv Viswanathan feels that television series have to cater to a certain stereotype and Rajasthan, offers all that. "The chaos, emotion, conservativeness of the state, and changing times make it a perfect platform to show the vulnerability of women..." Making it picturesque are also the jewellery and costumes, the colourful clothes, unique folk culture which include traditional folk songs, dances and puppetry.

Projection of Rajasthan in the series- Cultural anthropologist Geertz wrote that "the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts" and

included in this “ensemble” are the “stories we tell ourselves about ourselves” (p. 452, as in Pullen and Rhodes, 2011, p. 51). This ensemble is reflected in the cultural markers of identity and belonging depicted by the characters, who build a backdrop of a beautiful state within whose scenic landscape are people who live, laugh, love, kill but also observe festivals and customs with fervour, respect elders and give importance to kinship.

Using all the right markers to outline her identity Savitri appropriates the culture of Rajasthan as she dons black lehengacholis, ethnic tattoos and heavy jewellery, when she royally presides over her school, programmes and family gatherings. She strikes back at the society which has wronged her, with a self created identity which includes both guns and ghagras. The locale includes a haveli which is Rani ba's fortress and the series bring out the glory, mystery and beauty of Rajasthan's landscape- indescribable, massive and beautiful and mysterious. The mystery increases with the underground tunnels and rooms in the heavily guarded haveli of Savitri. It is her kingdom and she rules there. The bahu are shown wearing different dresses and sporting wigs outside the haveli but at home they wear the differently designed ghagracholis as opposed to Savitri who dons only the traditional one. Vandana Bhandari says, “The traditional costume of Rajasthani women is in a state of transition. The women are opting for new fabrics, designs and accessories. This transition becomes more apparent among the affluent, the educated and those, who through their work or otherwise have had exposure to a range of other influences. (50)

Traditional tattoos are flaunted by the bahu and despite their proficiency in languages, here English and Spanish outside the haveli, conversation at home includes the traditional lingo, native to them. Celebration of festivals like *Janmashtami*, is shown with traditional dance, folksongs, consumption of lassi with bhang.

Burns points out that mass media uses a variety of folkloristic materials “traditional music and song belief, gesture, narratives, proverbs, and custom. (100) One cannot envisage Rajasthan without its folkloristic appeal and we can identify all these aspects in the narrative which includes the traditional songs during the festivals, the background music, the dialect used interspersed with proverbs and the practice of traditional customs, the *mehmannawazi*, the lighting of the diyas, the milking of goats just to name a few.

Hierarchies of class and caste play a dominant role in the Rajasthani social fabric as in the story. Supported initially by her mentor Saheb-ji who enables her with his protection to start the cooperative, Savitri is chastised and ridiculed when she asks for her dues, and reminded of her *aukad*. Her birth as a banjaran would stigmatise her always. She realises bitterly that she would never have a hold in the power politics of the state, never be treated as an equal, even though she contributed heavily to his political party fund- she was just a pawn to be used and thrown the subaltern would never come to the mainstream.

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सहरिया और उरांव जनजातियों के त्योहारों में पर्यावरण की महत्ता

आरती*

सहरिया जनजाति - सहरिया जनजाति एक आदिवासी समूह है, जो मुख्य रूप से भारत में राजस्थान, छत्तीसगढ़ और मध्यप्रदेश राज्यों में निवास करता है। सहरिया ज्यादातर एक कृषि समुदाय है, जो खेती और पशुपालन पर निर्भर हैं। ये सदियों से अपनी अनूठी संस्कृति और परंपराओं का पालन करता आ रहा है। हर साल, वे पर्यावरण का सम्मान करने के लिए भोजली/भुजरिया त्योहार मनाते हैं। इस त्योहार में अच्छी वर्षा व अच्छी फसल के लिए प्रार्थना की जाती है।

वृक्ष पूजन संबंधी त्योहारों के संदर्भ में-(भोजली/भुजरिया उत्सव) - भोजली उत्सव राजस्थान के भंवरगढ़ एवं शाहाबाद क्षेत्र में सहरिया जनजाति द्वारा मनाया जाने वाला प्रसिद्ध लोक उत्सव है। यह त्योहार मुख्य रूप से महिलाओं द्वारा मनाया जाता है। यह त्योहार श्रावण के महीने में रक्षा बंधन के दूसरे दिन मनाया जाता है। पर्व की तैयारी श्रावण मास की अष्टमी से शुरू हो जाती है। छोटे-छोटे गमलों और टोकरियों में उगाए जाने वाले खेव या जौ जिसे भोजली कहा जाता है, उन्हें नागपंचमी के दिन महिलाओं द्वारा अपने घरों में बोया जाता है। लोकपर्व के दिन महिलाएं उगे हुए भोजली को सिर पर रखकर समूहों में नदी तक जाती हैं। वहां भोजली का आदान-प्रदान करके एक दूसरे के गले मिलती हैं। नदी पर पूजा-अर्चना के साथ भोजली गीत गाए जाते हैं। गीत में भोजली को देवी गंगा के रूप में बताया गया है-

अहो देवी गंगा, अहो देवी गंगा लहर तुरंगा हो।

तुहार लहर में मैया भीगे आठो अंगा हो।

कंवरसिंह सहरिया का मानना है, कि भोजली अनुष्ठान प्रकृति पूजा का एक रूप है, जिसमें लोग भू जली के लिए या भूमि को पानी से भरने के लिए प्रार्थना करते हैं। भोजली भुजरिया न केवल सहरिया संस्कृति का जश्न मनाता है बल्कि विभिन्न समुदायों के लोगों को एक साथ आने का अवसर भी प्रदान करता है।

उरांव जनजाति - उरांव जनजाति जनसंख्या के हिसाब से झारखंड की दूसरी सबसे बड़ी जनजाति है तथा ये झारखण्ड के अलावा मध्य प्रदेश, छत्तीसगढ़, बंगाल, उत्तर प्रदेश, असम, त्रिपुरा, अंडमान और निकोबार द्वीप समूह आदि राज्यों में निवास करती है। उरांव जनजाति प्रकृति से घनिष्ठ रूप से जुड़े हुए हैं। उरांव अपने त्योहारों के दौरान 'भूमि पूजा' करते हैं, जो धरती माता के प्रति आभार व्यक्त करने का एक समारोह है। यह अनुष्ठान यह सुनिश्चित करने के लिए किया जाता है कि उनकी गतिविधियाँ किसी भी तरह से पर्यावरण को नुकसान न पहुँचाए। जनजाति 'फूल उत्सव' (फूल महोत्सव) भी मनाती है, जहाँ वे प्रकृति माता को फूल चढ़ाते हैं और समृद्धि तथा कल्याण के लिए उनका आशीर्वाद मांगते हैं। इसके अलावा, वे प्रकृति के प्रति सम्मान के प्रतीक के रूप में वृक्षारोपण अभियान भी चलाते हैं। जनजाति प्रकृति के साथ अपने संबंधों को बहुत अधिक महत्व देती है। पर्यावरण उनके लिए दैनिक जीवन में भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है और यह उनकी लोक कलाओं, त्योहारों और संस्कृति में देखा जा सकता है। वे पर्यावरण के साथ अपने दो महत्वपूर्ण त्योहार भी मानते हैं : 1. करमा (अच्छी फसल के जश्न हेतु) 2. सरहुल (नए फूल के आगमन के जश्न हेतु) मनाया जाता है।

वृक्ष पूजन संबंधी त्योहारों के संदर्भ में -

करमा पूजा - करमा झारखंड की उरांव जनजाति का प्रमुख त्योहार है, जो पर्यावरण से संबंधित है। यह पर्व भादो मास के शुक्ल पक्ष की एकादशी को मनाया जाता है। इस पर्व को मनाने का मुख्य उद्देश्य प्रकृति से प्रार्थना करना और धान की बुवाई के बाद अच्छी फसल की कामना करना है। साथ ही बहनें अपने भाइयों के सुख-समृद्धि और दीर्घायु की कामना करती हैं। इस अवसर पर करम डाली की भी पूजा की जाती है। करमा पूजा के दौरान उरांव गांव के एक मंदिर में इकट्ठा होते हैं और अपने देवताओं की पूजा करके उन्हें प्रसाद चढ़ाते हैं। वे पारंपरिक नृत्य, संगीत और नाटक का आयोजन भी करते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त, वे सद्भावना और मित्रता के संकेत के रूप में एक दूसरे के साथ उपहारों का आदान-प्रदान करते हैं। त्योहार एक भव्य दावत के साथ समाप्त होता है, जिसमें मौसम के दौरान उनके खेतों से काटा हुआ भोजन शामिल होता है। करमा पर्व के कुछ दिन पूर्व युवतियां नदी या तालाब से साफ व महीन बालू उठाकर डाली में भर लाती हैं। इस डाली में जौ, गेहूँ, धान, मक्का, उड़द, चना और कुर्थी बोई जाती हैं। इसे एक साफ जगह पर रखा जाता है और दूसरे दिन से धूप धुवन दिखाकर मुख्य द्वार

पर पूजा करने के बाद हल्दी के पानी से सिंचित किया जाता है। पर्व के दिन बहनें अपने सबसे अच्छे कपड़े पहनती हैं और सजती-संवरती हैं। शाम को गांव के बुजुर्ग अपने खास कपड़े पहन कर करम की शाखा काटने जाते हैं। वे इसे उतारते समय गीत गाते और मांदर बजाते हैं। यह याद रखना महत्वपूर्ण है कि करम की शाखा जमीन पर नहीं गिरनी चाहिए। इसे काटने के बाद इसे घर के आंगन में ले जाकर पूजा की जाती है।

करम का पेड़ पर्यावरण के लिए बेहद जरूरी है। यह हवा को साफ और संतुलित रखने में मदद करता है। उरांव जनजाति के अनुसार करम का पेड़ 24 घंटे ऑक्सीजन प्रदान करता है। यह मनुष्यों के लिए पर्यावरण को स्वच्छ और स्वस्थ रखने में मदद करता है। उरांव जनजाति सदियों से करमा पूजा मनाते आ रहे हैं क्योंकि ऐसा माना जाता है कि यह उनके लिए सौभाग्य और भरपूर फसल लेकर आता है। यह भी माना जाता है कि इस त्योहार का आध्यात्मिक महत्व है क्योंकि यह पूरे समुदाय को एक साथ लाता है और उनके अच्छे भाग्य के लिए धन्यवाद देने का अवसर प्रदान करता है। त्योहार के दौरान, वे अपने देवी-देवताओं के सम्मान में स्तुति के गीत गाते हैं और उन्हें अच्छी फसल प्राप्त करने में मदद करने के लिए धन्यवाद देते हैं। उरांव करमा पूजा के दौरान विभिन्न अनुष्ठान करते हैं ताकि यह सुनिश्चित किया जा सके कि उनका आने वाला वर्ष समृद्ध हो। वे यह सुनिश्चित करने के लिए पूजा करते हैं कि देवता उनसे प्रसन्न हों और उन्हें आने वाले वर्ष के लिए पर्याप्त भोजन का आशीर्वाद दें। वे उन चीजों से सुरक्षा के लिए प्रार्थना करते हैं जो उनकी फसलों को बर्बाद कर सकती हैं, जैसे बाढ़ और सूखा। इस तरह से उपरोक्त दोनों त्योहारों में पर्यावरण की महत्ता को देखा जा सकता है। जनजातीय लोगों का प्रकृति के साथ गहरा संबंध है जो ना केवल पौधों बल्कि जानवरों के साथ उनके संबंधों में भी परिलक्षित होता है।

पशु पूजा संबंधी त्योहारों के संदर्भ में - जनजातियाँ, जो अक्सर शिकार से जुड़ी होती हैं, वास्तव में जानवरों के साम्राज्य के साथ एक जटिल और सम्मानजनक रिश्ता रखती हैं। वे जानवरों को अपने समुदाय के हिस्से के रूप में देखते हैं और उन्हें जीवित आत्माओं के रूप में सम्मान देते हैं, जिनकी सम्मान और रक्षा की जानी चाहिए। कुछ प्रजातियाँ जैसे कि हिरण, भैंस, बैल और गाय को आध्यात्मिक मार्गदर्शक या शिक्षक के रूप में देखा जाता है। उनके प्रति जनजातियों की श्रद्धा में यह स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है। सहरिया एवं उरांव जनजातियों के पशु संबंधित दो महत्वपूर्ण त्योहार भी मनाये जाते हैं-1. गोवर्धन 2. सोहराय।

गोवर्धन पूजा (सहरिया जनजाति) - मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान की प्राचीन सहरिया जनजाति की एकसमृद्ध संस्कृति और परंपरा है जो उनके लिए अद्वितीय है। सहरिया लोगों द्वारा मनाए जाने वाले सबसे महत्वपूर्ण त्योहारों में से एक गोवर्धन पूजा है।

यह त्योहार दोनों राज्यों में बड़े उत्साह के साथ मनाया जाता है और पीढ़ियों से चला आ रहा है। गोवर्धन पूजा के दिन सहरिया जाति के गाँवों में बैलों की शोभायात्रा भी निकाली जाती है, जहाँ लोग अपने बैलों को रंग-बिरंगे वस्त्रों और मालाओं से सजाते हैं। जुलूस के बाद, इंद्र पर भगवान कृष्ण की जीत को चिह्नित करने के लिए ग्रामीणों के घरों से गाय का गोबर एकत्र किया जाता है और एक बड़े क्षेत्र में फैलाया जाता है। ऐसा माना जाता है कि इस कार्य में भाग लेने वाले सभी लोगों के लिए समृद्धि और सौभाग्य का आगमन होता है। इस प्रकार, यह कहा जा सकता है कि गोवर्धन पूजा सहरिया संस्कृति का एक अभिन्न अंग है जो पीढ़ियों से चली आ रही है। इस त्योहार का उत्सव मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान दोनों के सदस्यों को एक साथ लाता है, क्योंकि वे अपने गौरवशाली अतीत को याद करने और एक समृद्ध भविष्य की आशा करने के लिए एक साथ आते हैं।

सोहराय त्योहार (उरांव जनजाति) – सोहराय मुख्य रूप से झारखंड और उसके आसपास के राज्यों के छोटा नागपुर पठार क्षेत्र में मनाया जाता है। यह आमतौर पर अक्टूबर से दिसंबर के महीनों के दौरान मनाया जाता है, जो फसलों की कटाई के लिए सबसे अच्छे महीने माने जाते हैं। यह त्योहार मानसून के अंत का भी प्रतीक है और सर्दियों की तैयारी शुरू करने के लिए एक अनुस्मारक के रूप में कार्य करता है। सोहराय के दौरान, मवेशियों को चमकीले रंगों से सजाया जाता है और उनके गले में घंटियाँ लगाई जाती हैं। सींगों को चमकीले रंगों से रंगा जाता है और फूलों को उनके पुतलों में बना जाता है। लोग पवित्र पशुओं के रूप में उनकी प्रशंसा करते हुए भक्ति गीत गाते हुए गायों की पूजा करते हैं। इस अनुष्ठान को इन जानवरों के प्रति सम्मान की पेशकश के रूप में देखा जाता है, जो इस क्षेत्र में प्राचीन काल से कृषि जीवन का अभिन्न अंग रहे हैं। उरांव लोगों का मानना है कि इस त्योहार के दौरान गायों की पूजा करने से उनके जीवन में सौभाग्य, समृद्धि, स्वास्थ्य और धन की प्राप्ति होती है। गायों को इस अवसर के हिस्से के रूप में दूध से बनी स्वादिष्ट मिठाई भी दी जाती है, जो इन जानवरों के लिए प्यार और प्रशंसा का प्रतीक है, जो उन्हें पूरे वर्ष भोजन और जीविका दोनों प्रदान करते हैं।

एक धार्मिक उत्सव होने के अलावा, सोहराय निकट और दूर से लोगों को एक साथ आने और एक ही छत के नीचे संगीत, नृत्य, दावत, कहानी आदि के माध्यम से एक साथ जीवन का जश्न मनाने का एक तरीका भी प्रदान करता है। यह स्थानीय संस्कृति का एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा है, जो सूखे या अकाल जैसे कठिन समय के दौरान भी समुदायों को एक साथ लाता है, जब मवेशी पानी या भोजन की उपलब्धता की कमी के कारण दुर्लभ संसाधन बन जाते हैं। गोवर्धन वसोहराय सिर्फ इन जानवरों का ही नहीं बल्कि प्रकृति का भी उत्सव मनाता है – यह मिट्टी, पानी आदि जैसे प्राकृतिक संसाधनों पर हमारी निर्भरता को पहचानने के बारे में है, जो पृथ्वी पर जीवन का समर्थन करते हैं, जिसके बिना कुछ भी जीवित नहीं रह सकता है। यह एक सुंदर अनुस्मारक है, कि हमें

अपने पर्यावरण का ख्याल रखना चाहिए यदि हम चाहते हैं कि हमारी आने वाली पीढ़ियाँ भी समृद्ध हों। सहरिया और उरांव जाति का एक लंबा और आकर्षक इतिहास है, जिसे भारतीय सभ्यता के प्राचीन युग में देखा जा सकता है। आज भी कई चुनौतियों का सामना करते हुए, ये दोनों समुदाय अपनी भाषा, परंपराओं और त्योहारों के माध्यम से अपनी सांस्कृतिक पहचान बनाए हुए हैं। यह स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है कि सहरिया और उरांव दोनों जनजातियाँ अपने त्योहारों को मनाते समय पर्यावरण संरक्षण को अत्यधिक महत्व देती हैं क्योंकि वे इसे अपनी पारंपरिक जीवन शैली को बनाए रखने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण मानती हैं, जो प्रकृति से निकटता से जुड़ी हुई है। यह उन्हें भारत की आदिवासी विरासत का एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा बनाता है, जिसे आने वाली पीढ़ियों के लिए संरक्षित किया जाना चाहिए। सहरिया एवं उरांव जनजाति के जीवन का पारंपरिक तरीका पर्यावरण और प्रकृति से गहराई से जुड़ा हुआ है। बढ़ती ग्लोबल वार्मिंग के साथ, इन लोगों को अपनी भूमि और जीवन के तरीके के लिए बड़े खतरों का सामना करना पड़ रहा है। उनकी संस्कृति की रक्षा में मदद करने के लिए इको-टूरिज्म एक व्यवहार्य समाधान है। इसके लाभ पर्यावरण संरक्षण और आर्थिक विकास से परे हैं, यह पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी परंपराओं को जीवित रखते हुए स्वदेशी जनजातियों की संस्कृति को संरक्षित करने में भी मदद करता है। इको-टूर के माध्यम से पर्यटकों को भाषा, रीति-रिवाजों, विश्वासों, संगीत और आदिवासी जीवन के अन्य पहलुओं के बारे में जानने के लिए प्रोत्साहित करता है। इस प्रकार का पर्यटन यह सुनिश्चित करता है कि औद्योगिकीकरण और वैश्वीकरण के आधुनिक दबावों के बावजूद ये संस्कृतियाँ भविष्य की पीढ़ियों में जारी रहेंगी। अतः यह कहा जा सकता है, कि इको-टूरिज्म भारत में सहरिया एवं उरांव जनजातीय समुदायों के लिए पर्यटन गतिविधियों से आर्थिक रूप से लाभान्वित होने के साथ-साथ अपने पर्यावरण और प्रकृति की रक्षा के लिए एक प्रभावी तरीका प्रदान कर सकता है।

* शोधार्थी, इतिहास एवं भारतीय संस्कृति विभाग, वनस्थली विद्यापीठ

मीरां पदावली में समर्पित भाव

लव वर्मा*

विश्व विख्यात सगुण वैष्णव भक्त मीरांबाई के जीवन, भक्ति साधना एवं भक्ति काव्य पर अनेक अध्येताओं ने अनुसंधानपरक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किये हैं। मीरां का युग भारतीय साहित्य का मध्यकाल कहलाता है जो राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं धार्मिक दृष्टियों से अस्थिरता एवं युद्धों तथा संघर्ष का युग था। मीरां का युग युद्ध, भक्ति और श्रृंगार का मिश्रित युग है। हम उस मीरां का बात कर रहे हैं जिसने

अपनी आध्यात्मिक भक्ति से समस्त विश्व में अपनी अलग पहचान बनाई है। इसी अनुरूप मीरां के जन्म स्थान की बात करें तो अलग-अलग मान्यताएं विभिन्न अध्येताओं द्वारा बताई गई परन्तु कुछ प्रामाणिक इतिहासकारों जिन्होंने अपना संपूर्ण जीवन मीरां को दिया है, ने बताया कि बाजोली, मेड़ता, कुड़की व चौकड़ी नामक स्थान पर विक्रमी संवत् 1555 को रतनसिंह के कुल में हुआ। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि मीरां के पिता रतनसी या रतन सिंह को राव दूदा द्वारा 12 गांव जागीर में दिये गये थे जिसमें वीबाड़ी, पालड़ी, आकोदिया, हफघर आदि थे। तत्पश्चात् मारवाड़ के रतन सिंह व मेवाड़ के संग्राम सिंह (सांगा) के कुल में प्रेम संबंध से मेवाड़ में मीरां का विवाह हुआ और भोजराज से मीरां का संबंध जुड़ा एवं मेवाड़ भक्ति का साधना स्थल बना।

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राजस्थान की रियासतों में जनानी ड्योढ़ी से सम्बन्धित विभाग एवं परिचारिका वर्ग

कविता*

राजस्थान के राजवंशों में अनेक नियमों तथा व्यवहारों की परिपालना निश्चित की गई, जो राजपरिवार के रीति-रिवाज कहलाये। राजस्थान के राजवंशों, रजवाड़ों व बड़े ठिकानों में जनानी ड्योढ़ी या जनाना महलों की अलग से व्यवस्था होती थी। इन जनानी ड्योढ़ियों का सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के संचालन के केन्द्र रूप में जनाना ड्योढ़ी का काफी महत्व होता था। राजपरिवार के लोगों के जीवन के समस्त संस्कार, जीवनयापन की पद्धति एवं उनसे जुड़ी सामाजिक, धार्मिक भावनाओं की अनुपम अभिव्यक्ति इन जनानी ड्योढ़ियों में होती थी। जनानी ड्योढ़ी से संबंधित अनेक विभाग होते थे जैसे कपड़ों का कोठार, वागा का कोठार, तातेड़खाना तथा अबदारखाना, गउखाना (ग्वालेरा), गुणीजनखाना, जवाहरखाना, अन्न का कोठार, कमठा कारखाना, फर्राशखाना, बग्गीखाना या पालकी खाना, नक्कारखाना आदि। इसी प्रकार जनानी ड्योढ़ी में परिचारकों के विभिन्न पद होते थे जैसे दरोगा, नायब दरोगा, ड्योढ़ीदार, नाजर, कामदार, खवास-पासवान, बडारण, पुरबिये, पातर, नर्तकी, धायमां, डावड़ी(दासी) आदि। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र द्वारा राजस्थान की रियासतों में जनानी ड्योढ़ी के विभिन्न विभागों एवं परिचारक वर्ग को प्रकाशन में लाने का प्रयास किया जाएगा।

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मारवाड़ के सांस्कृतिक इतिहास में हवेलियों का विश्लेषणात्मक अध्ययन

संतोष पंवार*

प्रस्तुत शोध आलेख में मारवाड़ की स्थापत्य सम्पदाएं तथा प्राचीन स्मारकों को उजागर किया है। प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में मारवाड़ की स्थापत्य कला का उल्लेख किया है तथा उसमें प्राचीन काल की परम्पराओं से लेकर वर्तमान समय के स्थापत्य व वास्तुकला के इतिहास संबंधी विभिन्न पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला है। किसी भी काल में बनी इमारत उस समय के समाज का दर्पण होती है। उस इमारत की रचना का अध्ययन करने से हम उस समय के समाज का भली प्रकार से आकलन कर सकते हैं। राजपूताना की प्राचीन इमारतें, प्राचीन स्थानों और प्राचीन वस्तुएं इतिहास लेखन के लिए मुख्य स्रोत हैं क्योंकि प्राचीन शिलालेखों, ताम्रपत्रों और धातुजात सिक्कों के सिवाय ये वस्तुएं अधिक समय तक जीर्ण-शीर्ण हो जाने पर भी अपना सम्पूर्ण अस्तित्व नहीं खोती हैं। मारवाड़ में कहावत प्रसिद्ध रही है कि 'कीर्तिर्यस्यस जीवित' अर्थात् जिसकी संसार में कीर्ति-यश है, वही जीवित है। यह जीविका के जीवित रहने के साधन दो ही हैं 'काव्य और पत्थर।'

नाम राखण ने गीतड़ा के भीतड़ा।

नाम गीतड़ा के भीतड़ा सूं रैवै।

अर्थात् मनुष्य जाति की कीर्ति को चिरस्थायी रखने वाली वस्तु या तो उसका इतिहास (गीतड़ा) है उसके कीर्तिस्तम्भ (भीतड़ा-भवन, गढ़, किले, हवेलियां, मंदिर, छतरियां, देवल-थड़े, तालाब, कुएं, बावड़ियां और झालरे) हैं।

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भीनमाल नगर का राजपूतयुगीन भारतीय इतिहास का महत्व (7वीं से 10वीं शताब्दी के विशेष संदर्भ में)

ममता विश्नोंई*

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास में विभिन्न नगरों का अपना ही विशिष्ट स्थान रहा है। यथा पाटलिपुत्र दीर्घकाल तक भारत के विभिन्न राजवंशों की कार्यस्थली रहा। इसी प्रकार हस्तिनापुर, इन्द्रप्रस्थ, अवंति, उज्जयिनी, कान्यकुब्ज आदि नगर भी समय-समय पर विभिन्न राजवंशों की राजधानी के रूप में उत्तर भारतीय इतिहास का केन्द्र बनते रहे। राजपूतयुगीन उत्तरी भारत में भीनमाल नगर (वर्तमान जालोर जिला राजस्थान प्रांत) भी

दीर्घकाल तक सौराष्ट्र, मालवा, मारवाड़, मेवाड़ एवं सिंध प्रदेश से संबंधित एक महत्वपूर्ण राजधानी के रूप में प्रसिद्ध रहा है। यह गुर्जरों के देश गुजरात की प्रथम राजधानी है आज भी गुजरात के अधिकांश निवासी अपना विकास श्रीमाल अथवा आसपास के छोटे-छोटे गांवों से लेते हैं। विदेशी इतिहासकार ह्वेनसांग की भारत यात्रा में वह लिखता है कि बलमी के ठीक 150 कोस (300 मील) उत्तर में भीन माल है। यहां की जमीन की उपज औन मनुष्यों का रहन-सहन सौराष्ट्र से मिलता-जुलता है। आबादी अत्यधिक है। ह्वेनसांग अपनी इस यात्रा वृत्तांत के वर्णन में यह बताते हैं कि 7वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्ध तक भीनमाल जो आबू पहाड़ से 50 मील पश्चिम में है, गुजरात की राजधानी था जिसका घेरा 380 मील था। 6ठी शताब्दी तक यहां गुर्जरों का शासन था। किन्तु पं. गौरीशंकर हीराचंद ओझा के अनुसार ह्वेनसांग के आने के पूर्व तक भीनमाल में गुर्जरों का शासन समाप्त हो गया था अथवा ब्रह्मगुप्त जो भिल्लमालाचार्य था उसने ब्रह्मस्फुट सिद्धांत की रचना की।

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हाड़ौती अंचल में उर्दू साहित्यिक प्रगति : समाचार पत्र-पत्रिकाओं के विशेष संदर्भ में

मुजम्मिल सईद*

राजस्थान में ब्रिटिश कालीन रियासतों में हाड़ौती अंचल की रियासतें अपना अलग स्थान रखती हैं फिर चाहे ये सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक उत्थान हो या साहित्यिक व पत्रकारिता का क्षेत्र में अपना योगदान हो। हाड़ौती में झालावाड़, कोटा, बूंदी तीन प्रमुख रियासतें थीं। उर्दू पत्रकारिता व साहित्यिक प्रगति की दृष्टि से यह क्षेत्र विशेष प्रभाव छोड़ता है। यहां के साहित्य प्रेमी शासकों ने साहित्यिक प्रगति के लिये वास्तविक अर्थों में उल्लेखनीय व प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है। झालावाड़ रियासत 1838 में स्थापित हुई तथा अपने प्रारम्भिक काल से ही कार्यालयी भाषा के रूप में फारसी का प्रयोग करने लगी। यहां के शासक महाराजा राणा पृथ्वीसिंह (1845-1875 ई.) के काल में फारसी के साथ-साथ उर्दू भाषा का भी प्रयोग होने लगा था। 1868 ई. में यहां एक प्रेस स्थापित हो चुका था। किन्तु वास्तव में महाराजा राणा जालिम सिंह (1875-1886 ई.) के शासन काल में उर्दू भाषा को प्रगति मिलनी शुरू हुई तथा सरकारी स्तर पर अनेक विषयों पर लेखन प्रारम्भ हुआ।

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राजस्थान की इतिहास और संस्कृति

मनोज कुमार टेलर* एवं मधु पाराशर**

लोक कला का मानव जीवन के इतिहास से घनिष्ठ संबंध रहा है। इसका विकास एवं पतन मानव जीवन के विकास एवं पतन के साथ ही हुआ है। किसी समय की लोक कला अपने युग की सभ्यता का प्रतीक होती है। लोक कला की परंपरा प्राचीन काल से भारत में दिखाई पड़ती है। इसी के द्वारा आज भी हम समाज की परंपरा, सभ्यता एवं भावना इत्यादि का इतिहास क्रमबद्ध रूप में पाते हैं। लोक कला ने अपना विकास कई क्षेत्रों में किया है जिसका एक रूप परंपरा गत् विश्वासों, संकेतों एवं संस्कारों पर आधारित है एवं दूसरे रूप में समाज के रीति रिवाजों का इस कला पर जो प्रभाव पड़ा है उसका चित्रण है, साथ ही इसमें कलाकारों की अनुभूतियों की स्वतंत्रता भी हमें देखने को मिलती है। लोक कला ने अपना विकास कई क्षेत्रों में किया है जिसका एक रूप परंपरागत विश्वासों, संकेतों एवं संस्कारों पर आधारित है एवं दूसरे रूप में समाज के रीति रिवाजों का इस कला पर जो प्रभाव पड़ा है उसका चित्रण है, साथ ही इसमें कलाकारों की अनुभूतियों की स्वतंत्रता भी हमें देखने को मिलती है।

लोककला का उदय समाज के रीति रिवाजों पर अवलंबित है क्योंकि यह परंपरागत धाराओं, विश्वासों, आस्थाओं, संकेतों पर आधारित है। यह समाज के रीति रिवाजों, विवाह, धार्मिक पूजन इत्यादि पर परों में चित्रित की जाती है। साथ ही इसका संबंध हमारी सांस्कृतिक भावनाओं से भी है। समाज के रीतिरिवाजों के बदलने पर लोक कला में भी परिवर्तन दिखने लगता है। जन साधारण की भावनाओं एवं संस्कारों से मिलकर इसमें अपने को समाज में स्थाई बना लिया है। परंतु समाज के परिवर्तनों के साथ यह भी बदलती गई एवं विकसित होती गई जिससे यह आज भी जीवित है तथा इसकी एक अपनी अलग आस्था है। लोक कला का नाम भिन्न-भिन्न प्रांतों में भिन्न-भिन्न दिया गया है परंतु इनकी मूल आत्मा सर्वत्र एक सी है जैसे महाराष्ट्र में 'रंगोली', गुजरात में 'साथिया', उत्तर प्रदेश में 'चौक पूरना', राजस्थान में 'मांडवाँ', गढ़वाल में 'आपना', बिहार में 'अहपन' एवं बंगाल में 'अल्पना' कहा जाता है।¹

कलात्मक सृजन की एक विशिष्टता विचित्रता यह भी है कि वह 'अर्थ' को वस्तुतः, स्फोट के द्वारा तन-मन को ज्योति से ज्योतित, कभी तो प्रचलित, कर देता है। कमल खिलते हैं, चन्द्रिका छिटकती है, नदी बहती है तरंगों के साथ। ये सब साधारण प्राकृतिक घटनाएँ हैं, जिनकी ओर मामूली तौर से ध्यान भी नहीं जाता। किन्तु जब सौरभ से सना कमल शकुन्तला के अछूते मुख पर खिलता है, यमुना के पुलिन पर राम लीला में चन्द्रिका छिटकती है, अथवा 'रोष तरंगिनि' कैकेयी के रूप में बढ़ जाती है, तो अर्थ

बुद्धि की सीमाओं में नहीं समेटा जा सकता है। तब अर्थ आलोकमयी समग्र चेतना की छवि-छटा से जगमगा उठता है, व्यावहारिक बुद्धि की सीमाओं को तोड़कर हमने यह भी प्रतिपादित किया है।³

मनुष्य को ज्ञान की सीमाओं में समेटने से वह क्षुद्र, क्षीण, निराश, हताश, पापविद्ध, उद्विग्न, भयभीत हो उठता है, जो आज के मानव की स्थिति हो गई है। वह या तो उदास हो गया है, अथवा अपनी स्वयं-स्वीकृत सीमाओं में छटपटाता हुआ एक पागल का व्यवहार कर रहा है, और, अन्त में, वह अपनी हताशा से विद्रोह करके सभी प्रकार का आत्म-नियन्त्रण खो बैठा है, दुराचार में निमग्न हो बैठा है। लगता है, अन्ततः, मनुष्य को अपनी समग्रता अखण्डता, एवं ऐक्य और अद्वैत स्वभाव को स्वीकार करना ही होगा। कला अपने प्रयास से इसी आत्म-स्वरूप की रूपायित अभिव्यक्ति है, सहज सुन्दर और समग्र सत्य, शुभ एवं शिव।

भीलवाड़ा की कला परम्परा - भीलवाड़ा की कला परम्परा आधुनिक कला एवं पारस्परिक कला का अनूठा संगम है। वहाँ आधुनिक कला भी अपने विशिष्ट शैली के आधार पर कलाकारों द्वारा विश्वस्तर पर अपनी पहचान बनाये है। वहीं उच्च स्तर पर लोककला फड़ चित्रण 200 वर्षों का कला सफर तयकर आज विश्वमंच पर अपनी पहचान बनाने में पूर्ण समर्थ है। दोनों की शैली में एक और जिसे समसामयिक कला के नाम से जाना गया है। वहाँ कलाकार अपने संवर्धन सृजन को श्रेष्ठतम स्थिति में पहुँचाता है। विशेष रूप से कुछ वांछनीय गुणवत्ता विशेषता घटक के अतिरिक्त या वृद्धि से समृद्ध का समृद्ध बनाना। विभिन्न विद्वानों में ने सोच-विचार कर विभिन्न लोक कलाओं को मोटे तौर पर लोक कथा, लोक गीत, लोक नाटक आदि चार प्रमुख श्रेणियों में विभाजित किया है। सभी लोक कलाकार अपनी कला को प्रायः पुरातैनी तौर पर अपनाते हैं। भीलवाड़ा की मुख्य कला लोककला फड़ चित्रण है। फड़ चित्रण विश्वप्रसिद्ध लोककला सृजन का रूप लिए है। भारतीय चित्रकला के विश्व दृश्यपटल पर प्रख्यात होना स्वाभाविक प्रक्रिया नहीं बल्कि उसमें निहित गुणात्मक पहलु है, जिसमें कला तत्वों के आधार स्तम्भ सुदृढ़ है। विश्व स्तर पर दृढ़ता से खड़े है। युगों-युगों से उनका साथी अभी नहीं विश्व में नहीं उपस्थित हुआ है। अजन्ता की गुफा में बौद्ध कला तीन शैलियों में देव शैली, यक्ष शैली तथा नागशैली में हुए हैं। आज तक कला के शीर्षक अध्याय के अन्तर्गत लोककला के उद्भव विकास के आधार पर भी कला के मूल तत्वों को माना है। जिस प्रकार भारतीय वाङ्मय का इतिहास भारतीय बोलियों के साहित्य बिना अधूरा है, उसी प्रकार भारतीय चित्रकला का इतिहास भी लोककला के बिना अपूर्ण है। वहीं स्थिति भीलवाड़ा की आधुनिक कला एवं लोककला के समायोजन की है। लोककला ने भीलवाड़ा को नई पहचान दिलायी, साथ ही वस्त्र उद्योग ने दोनों भिन्न-भिन्न कार्यक्षेत्र

है। एक व्यावसायिक और एक कलात्मक किन्तु आर्थिक एवं विश्व स्तर पर पहचान बनाने में दोनों ही स्तर के कार्यों ने जीवन्तता प्रदान की। साथ-साथ वर्तमान में आधुनिक कला एवं समसामयिक कला ने भी अपना परचम विश्व स्तर पर लहराया। आधुनिक चित्रशैली की सर्वश्रेष्ठ कृतियों का निर्माण भी भीलवाड़ा के कलाकारों द्वारा किया गया कम समय में आधुनिक कला ने जो प्रगति की है। उसका श्रेय वर्तमान पीढ़ी के उन कलाकारों को प्राप्त है, जिन्होंने परिस्थितियों की चिन्ता किये बिना अपनी साधना को अविरल रूप में बनाये रखा वहीं लोककला अपने सृजन के उत्कर्ष पर है। साथ ही लगभग सात सौ वर्ष पूर्व 'पुर' में विकसित परम्परागत फड़ चित्र शैली के प्रसिद्ध चित्रकार पांचांजी जोशी ने शाहपुरा में चित्र कथा शैली को आगे बढ़ाया उनके वंश परम्परा में मुकुन्द जी, धूलजी, जडावजी, घीसूजी, सूरजमल जी, बख्तावर जी, रामदयाल जी, चौथमल जी, रामप्रसाद जी जोशी आदि चित्रकारों ने फड़ चित्रकला में कुशल शैली का विकास किया। पाबूजी, रामदेवजी व तेजाजी नामक लोक देवताओं की गाथाएँ तथा अन्य सजावटी चित्र उनके देवों की भीतों पर प्राचीनकाल से फड़ चित्र शैली के कलाकारों द्वारा परम्परागत तरीके से चित्रित किए जाते रहे हैं।

शाहपुरा के प्राचीन देवों तथा राजमहलों में ई. 1700 से लेकर 1750 एवम् 1850 ई. के फड़ शैली के भित्ति चित्र दर्शनीय है। रामद्वारा तेलीयों का देवरा, बख्त-विलास, जल महल, सबत विलास, चमना बावड़ी, धोबियों व भाटियों का देवरा दिल-खुश बाग आदि की दिवारों पर विभिन्न विषयों पर आधारित सुन्दर चित्र बने।

* शोध निर्देशक, असिस्टेंट प्रोफेसर वनस्थली विद्यापीठ

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