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General Information

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Editorial

Kolkata hopes that the apprehension and fear of pandemic due to COVID 19 will soon come to an end and life will flow peacefully. The present volume shows that the Kolkata Society for Asian studies was not daunted and is able to bring out this volume.

Late Professor Vinay Kumar Srivastava, the then Director of Anthropological Survey of India and Vice President of Kolkata Society for Asian Studies fell victim to COVID 19. The society mourned the loss and instituted annual lecture in his memory. Dr. Satyabrata Chakrabarti, President of the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies delivered the first lecture in his memory. Dr. Chakrabarti has given an account of the importance of peasant/ village study in India with special focus on agronomic sector for understanding the situation in the present changed condition both in the global and in the micro level.

Authors Harekrishna Halder and Professor Mahua Mukhopadhyay wrote বাংলার কীর্তনে মৃদঙ্গ / শ্রীখোলের গুরুত্ব (Banglar kirtane mridanga/ shrikholer gurutwa), importance of a certain type of drum in the religious hymns of Bengal, known as *Kirtan*. They have discussed the change and development of the music through the period of Sree Chaitanya and after wards.

Keshavananda case, also known as Fundamental rights case, is written by Brijesh Yadav from Defence Academy, in the article, 'Supreme Court as the Saviour of Indian Democracy: Reflections on the Kesavananda Bharati Judgment.' Supreme Court is given the authority by constitution to give verdict on any dispute, which may threaten democracy of the country. The case is discussed not only to point out the role of the Supreme Court but also to show that in India, the largest democracy of the world is in safe hands of its judiciary.

The paper 'Sunda through the Eyes of Foreign Travellers' by Poornima Vithal Naik dealt with the principality of Sunda, which grew up in the sixteenth century, in North Kanara and was ruled by the Nayaks. Though Sunda was a small kingdom but it had played a vital role in the contemporary history of north Kannara and Goa. The paper throws light on the views of foreign travelers and their treaties on Sunda kingdom.

Development of Urbanization in India between the years 1991 and 2011, the years after liberalization *vis a vis* globalization. Is discussed in the paper **'**Pattern and growth of urbanisation in India during 1991-2011: An inter-state analysis', jointly by the authors Pritha Kundu and Prankrishna Pal. The paper is based on statistical analysis of data available on growth of urban features in different states in India, within the time frame mentioned.

Rinzing Ongmu Sherpa in the paper 'A Search for an Identity: A Study of the Sherpas of Sikkim', had done an emic study in order to establish unique ethnicity of Sherpas in the midst multi ethnic makeup of the population of Sikkim.

The borderland at the states of Assam and Meghalayas, specially the southern part of Kamrup district of Assam, where the hill meets the plains of Assam existence of tribal people like, Garo, Khasi and Karbi and ancient system of trade and commerce among them and traditional practice of erection of

megaliths, opens up opportunity for studying the cultural continuity and heritage for the anthropologists.

Going back to the last five years of eighteenth century, Dr. Swapan Kumar Pain had given account of the generally little known phase of the life of William Carey at his first stint as an Indigo planter in the undivided district of Dinajpur of Bengal. The paper, written in Bengali, entitled, 'উইলিয়াম কেরী ও অবিভক্ত দিনাজপুর (১৭৯৪-১৭৯৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দ): একটি ঐতিহাসিক অনুসন্ধান'. (William Kerry o obibhakta Dinajpur: ekti oitihasik anusandhan), has put forward Carey's contribution for the development and education of the local people, in contrast to the then British indigo planters.

'ঔপনিবেশিক বাংলায় চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীর উত্তরণ : ঊনবিংশ শতকের তিন মহিলা চিকিৎসকের অবদানের ভিত্তিতে একটি ফিরে দেখা অধ্যায়'. (Ouponibeshik banglay chikitsavidyar narir uttoran: Unobingsha shotoke tin mohila chikitsoker obodaner bhittite ekti fire dekha adhay) is a paper in Bengali written by Nupur Dutta about three lady doctors of nineteenth century. The author has done her research mainly from literary sources. She has given a vivd picture of the struggle of the three Indian lady doctors, not only in their professional life but also in the social life and at home.

'Nutritional status of Children in Slums of Kolkata Municipal Corporation' is outcome of research by Mitali Ghosh. She has taken samples from registered, *busties* or slums of Kolkata Municipality Corporation located along the east bank of River Hoogly. Her work is mainly based on anthropometry. She had found severe malnutrition resulting into stunting and conditions of underweight. She had suggested some preventive measures.

Malika Basu (Ghosh) has discussed the introduction and development of pharmaceutical education in India by the British Government. She has shown development of the process as colonial endeavour in her paper, 'Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Education in British India: A Historical Perspective'.

Bula Rani Hawlader has written about 'dalits' of India in her paper entitled, 'Conscientization of *dalit* women in India: a study in historical and political discourse'. She has emphasized on the term *conscientization* and had followed post Marxian concept of Paulo Freire. She pointed out the role of feminist movement to bring out the reality of the position of dalit women in the society.

Dr. V. Vijay Devanesan and Rohit Thomas Abraham had made a review of the sanitation condition, especially for excretion by the people in the open. This is done in the light of Government of India's programme entitled *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan,* in their paper, 'A Review on Open Air Defecation post Swachh Bharat Abhiyan in Tamil Nadu: Prevalence and Determinants',. The discussion was whether there was any change in the mode of defecation after the programme was launched in Tamil Nadu.

Biodiversity as reflected through language is pointed out in the paper entitled, 'Language, Culture and Biodiversity: Issues Concerning North East India ', written by Joy Das Gupta and Sarit Kumar Chaudhuri. Arunachal Pradesh is the land of a number of indigenous people. Authors have selected three tribes, namely, Nyishi, Adi, Apatani and Galo and other tribes of the state, in order to understand not only the diverse bio-cultural data but have also specified their way of conserving biodiversity. Their study is based on linguistic variability and has shown how language preserves and retains the

biodiversity in the cultural milieu of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh. The scientific as well as local names are provided for proper understanding.

This version of the Journal has papers on diverse subjects, which has much enriched this volume. Though we had received a large number of articles but after going through the process of plagiarism test and peer reviewing, we could include only fourteen of the papers in this issue. The editors wish to thank the contributors. We are grateful to the scholars who have reviewed the articles and gave valuable suggestions.

Ranjana Ray

Sarmistha De Basu

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Studies on Peasant Communities: Changing Time and Context*

Satyabrata Chakrabarti

Respected Chairman, Prof. Siva Prasad Ramvatla, the Secretary, Office-bearers of the Executive Council and the Members of the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies, the Advisory Board Members and other Committee Members, its well wishers, Prof. Kumkum Srivastava, wife of late Prof. Vinoy Kumar Srivastava and friends, let me at the outset express my heartfelt gratitude to the organizers for initiating this First Memorial Lecture in honour of late Prof. Vinoy Kumar Srivastava, as well as for bestowing on me this difficult assignment by reposing their faith in me for this task. Personally I feel myself extremely inadequate and unequal to the given responsibility. Friends, before the havoc of the prevailing pandemic situation set in, sometimes in March, 2020, in a massive way, Prof. Vinoy Kumar Srivastava, the then Director of the Anthropological Survey of India and a very loveable friend of mine, one day hinted to me that the Foundation Day Oration of the Survey for the year 2020 will have to be delivered by me. In the remotest imagination it did never occur to me that this encouraging proposal will ever turn into a painful proposition by way of this Memorial Lecture on him, due to the cruel infliction of COVID-19, which snatched his ever vibrant life, little prematurely, bringing gloom to a person like me who stands clearly ten years elder to him. Therefore, notwithstanding my academic limitations, I accepted the request of the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies where both of us got associated since few years back. The task became obviously challenging to me for more than one reasons–first, choosing a topic and next doing justice to that. Vinay in our generation was one of the brilliant and foremost scholars–both as a dedicated teacher as well as an ardent researcher in anthropology, specially social/cultural anthropology. He had a versatile interest in the subject, particularly focused in theoretical and methodological issues, based on various cotemporary field situations. It would be eloquent from the list of his publications–professional as well as popular[1]. His meticulous and critical touch in any presentation–either in print or in public communication–even in private discussions were so lucid and immensely attractive.

In the context of what I have narrated so far, let me pick up a broad theme based on my personal research engagements in Cultural Anthropology for the last several years. My special area of interest has been the study of peasant communities[2], by and large. This interest got initially rooted in my thought when as part of the post-graduate curriculum, we had to carry out a brief field work for about two weeks during mid 1960s. During our term we were taken into a Midnapur village (now Medinipur), near Kharagpur, West Bengal. My assignment was to study some Munda families in a

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*First Prof.Vinay Kumar Srivastava Memorial Lecture delivered on 20.11.2021 in virtual mode, organized by the Kolkata Society for Asian Studies.

village with special focus on their economic activities. Incidentally, that was a time when the Mundas were deeply involved in a festival *(Sohrai)*, related to the agricultural practices. Another requirement in the said curriculum was a special field for those who opted for Cultural Anthropology. This time my assignment was to study kinship pattern and behaviour among the Santals in a village situated near Belpahari, Midnapur district, West Bengal. In this case also I could observe how this kinship network played an important role in their primary productive activities, that is agricultural practices. This preliminary apprenticeship induced me to get fully involved at a later stage to study socio-economic and cultural aspects of agricultural production in some villages of West Bengal and followed up through other related research programmes carried out in some villages of South India, North-East India and Andaman Islands. In the backdrop of my academic interest mentioned above, I conducted a field work between 1971-73 centering around a village in the district of Burdwan (now Bardhaman), West Bengal. The village is situated in the agriculturally advanced region of the district known as the rice bowl which was by then exposed to the modern inputs such as irrigation water (through canal, deep and shallow tubewell) high yielding variety (H.Y.V.) of seeds, chemical fertilizers and insecticides and so on. The region was covered under Intensive Agricultural District Programme (I.A.D.P.)[3] since early 1960s, in other words, the prime time of the green revolution.

Let me just mention in passing that the management of natural, mechanical and manual water supply play significant role in specific elevation of contagious plots of land among different categories of land owners. This itself is a separate subject of discussion. Meanwhile, I have quickly reviewed a number of available village studies as well as studies broadly on peasants, communities at that point of time. What haunted me most was that even though agriculture continues to be the primary source of livelihood of the largest number of rural population, there was hardly a detailed account of its socio-cultural context which sustained this major productive activities. I framed initially two questions to go about it–one, whether technology alone could help us understand the intricacies of this major organization of production for livelihood activities of a majority of rural population or one was required to probe into other related socio-cultural parameters affecting the prevailing agricultural practices in specific field situations even in the face of emergent techno-economic inputs, and two, in spite of a given inequality in the prevailing socio-economic structure in the agrarian productive base, how did the people still manage to continue with an apparent, cohesive feeling of a moral community, mutually sharing many common cultural traits among themselves? A special focus of enquiry obviously remained in the centre which was the cognitive aspect of the peoples' perception centering around the cultivation of land and management of its inputs–both in traditional as well as in the evolved agrarian milieu[4].

Looking back, in order to capture the historicity of these question posed above, may I bring here some observations made by Charles Metcalfe in 1832 as to the perpetuation of the village communities in India, which, in other words, were the peasant communities in India. I quote, "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution…but the village community remains the same…This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes, which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their

happiness, and enjoy of a great portion of freedom and independence."[5] Karl Marx[6], while indicating on the economic stagnation of India observed that this source of stagnation lay in the isolated character of the Indian villages which were known also for the apparent economic self-sufficiency. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose[7], a Gandhian scholar and renowned anthropologist, in his various studies on the peculiarities of the caste mode of production in agriculture primarily based his arguments in favour of a minimum social and economic security in the system, this was fortified by the cultural and religious autonomy by the respective participants as a formidable group in this major productive enterprise, that is agricultural practices throughout the country side. I may quickly take up a brief look into the survey on the village/peasant studies in India prior to and after independence. It is already known that Sir Thomas Munro[8], Karl Marx[9], Henry Main[10] and Baden Powell[11], brought into limelight in the world about the importance of the Indian villages during the early to late 19th century. P.C. Joshi's[12] review in 1975 in Land Reforms in India covered in details of this survey during pre and post independence period in India, done not only by the scholars but even by the administrators, litterateurs, social and political thinkers and so on. The academic stimulations in social science research in this country reached through various sources from abroad. Systematic village studies specially in the field of sociology and cultural anthropology got a kick start in the early 1950s onward. Mckim Marriott[13], M.N. Srinivas[14], S.C. Dube's[15]' village studies came out in 1955 followed by F.G. Bailey[16], Ramkrishna Mukherjee[17] in 1957 and Oscar Lewis[18] in 1958. These studies were commissioned at a time when most of the scholars in Sociology/Anthropology were engaged with the issues of family, caste kinship, ritual etc. Even in the village studies just mentioned these aspects were reflected primarily including a bit on economic life. But some scholars in the 1960s and 1970s maintined a definite shift of emphasis subsequently on economic and political issues of rural India. For example, T.S. Epstein[19], Andre Beteille[20], Dharma Kumar[21], Kathleen Gough[22], Joan Mencher[23] and others. Indian Census Organistion conducted nearly 500 village surveys during 1961 onward, and typified them based on variant demographic and socio-economic structures. A number of Agro-Economic Research Centres in the country conducted farm management studies in terms of relationship between input-output ratio. The National Sample Survey also covered a good ground on the problems of land holding pattern, live stock position, level of rural poverty, the condition of rural labourers and so on and so forth in their different rounds in the 1970s. The National Institute of Community Development (later renamed as National Institute of Rural Development), continued its interest in village studies mainly in terms of these innovative characteristics of the progressive farmers. In the collection of two thousand village studies conducted by Village Studies Programme (VSP) of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, England nearly half of the total studies account for India. The mode of production in Indian agriculture became a major concern for the scholars in economics, history, political science, sociology and anthropology during the 1970s and 1980s. Later on peasant movements had registered as another academic engagement of the scholars across many academic disciplines.

Before entering into other substantial aspects of my field observations, let me just point out to one very important issue in the theoretic discourses on village studies. A vital debate started with a question whether the village is a myth or a reality posed by Louis Dumont and D. Pocock[24] in 1957 in the journal, Contributions to Indian Sociology. This argument, among others, got around the criticality on village solidarity. Their emphasis was that the caste was the social reality in a vllage situation. M.N. Srinivas[25] took a position in this context and emphasized that the village was the unit

as observation centre, where one could study in detail the social processes and problems occurring in larger parts of the country, if not in the greater part of the world. He mentioned, and I quote "the village is not only the architectural and demographic entity, but also a social entity, in that, the villagers have some loyalty to it. Rural Indians live in a system of complex loyalties, each loyalty survives in a particular context". One may like to juxtapose the similar expressions made earlier on the village/village life, propounded by our visionaries like Mahatma Gandhi[26], Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay[27] or Rabindranath Tagore[28] in this context.

In the backdrop of this broad framework on village/peasant studies, I decided to probe into the initial questions that were proposed for my empirical study in an agriculturally developed multicaste village in the Burdwan district, West Bengal, which was already exposed to various development programmes related to the cultivation of paddy mainly (summer and winter variety) substantiated by other crops like potato, jute, wheat, mustard and other types of vegetables etc. I began by employing the existing tools of research, such as structured questionnaire, case studies, free observations, group interviews and the like. I emphasized on the notional or perceptional ideas of the cultivators that is, the cognitive aspect regarding each step/stage of cultivation, starting from preparing the land upto the harvest and storing of the product. The organization of production technology involved, technical inputs used were the points of enquiry including the management of land, its ownership pattern, market factors affecting the production and distribution and so on and so forth. Finally, the ritual complex around the entire agricultural universe covering the management of livestock, handling of the seasonal climatic variations etc. was noted in details. While comprehending the entire set of phenomena during the cultivation, it appeared that the panorama of agriculture was embedded in an unique situation. This could be easily divided into three major domains, namely, technological, socio-economic and cultural. These three sets again may be broken into six operative parts, such as day to day field strategy, management of input, pattern of land management, organization of production, ritual obligations and notional/cognitive base. These dimensions are clearly observable in a micro situation. In addition to that there are other vital aspects related to the agrarian system and they are basically historical and politico-economic in nature and are operative in the macro-situation beyond the village. Put together these endogenous and exogenous factors make the entire agrarian social set up with an all India dimension on the one hand and regional/local context on the other.

Over the years, I tried to understand more and more about the existing realities in the agricultural production in the specific context of my village studies in certain other areas also as mentioned in the beginning of my presentation. Eventually, by and large, I noted that the majority of the cultivators managed to continue to a great extent their traditional agro-oriented moral and emotional living in spite of the massive technological changes due to mechanization of agricultural production as well as commercialization of its produce. The practitioners in this pursuit, call them cultivator, peasant or farmer, even though are variously placed in the local social hierarchy and are differentially affected by all the emergent factors of modernization, still share some common cultural traits in their ideas and practices. Therefore, in the same agro-ecological setting they are apparently divided into two distinct categories or clusters. One is internally encapsulated in a set of micro-socio-cultural parameters including their use of traditional technological know-how, and characterized by labour intensive production, self-consumption and internal re-distribution of produce for a meaningful and somewhat manageable living. The other, comparatively less in number than the earlier category, is

externally impacted by a set of macro-economic parameters including the management of modern techno-innovative inputs and characterized by capital intensive production, surplus generation and marketization of produce for emergent and adaptive living. It may also be mentioned here that there is but a small number of cultivators who could be placed between these two distinct clusters for their tendentious behaviour while adopting the modern inputs in a limited way. But on the whole, in a given village situation, all these groups individually as well as collectively tend to share a common agro-climatic environment and a common cumulative cultural value-orientation inherent to the cultivation of land and its related other management practices. Their belief systems, ritual observances, use of local proverbial utterances and many folk cultural usages, put together help them building up a moral community of cultivators–whether landowners, share-croppers and marginal agricultural labourers and the like. In a sense they live and work under a natural and a super-natural cultural milieu enmeshed in an age-old social complex of agrarian spectrum. Perhaps, there is an innate impulse and also an imperative urge on their part to maintain this mutually co-operative and emotive living in spite of all the perennial contradictions inbuilt in the existing agrarian situation in the areas under study. Though some of them, because of various outside exposures, have to a certain extent absorbed certain urban behavioral characteristics in their otherwise long drawn rural pattern of living, yet they have not been fully internalized in the core of their inherited peasant culture. On the other hand, the majority of the cultivators in the face of the aggressive modernization in agriculture feel virtually threatened and helpless by the increasing financial constraints for managing the modern inputs required for the new cultivation. This condition has been thrust upon them exogenously. They find no option also to suddenly withdraw themselves from the existing systems which has put them at the receiving end. This is the praxis as well as the predicament of the whole agrarian network[29].

Let us now turn our attention to some macro factors affecting the agrarian structure and the agrarian system. The foremost among them is the land reforms in India. Since the independence various land reforms measures have been announced and implemented, both at the level of central and state governments, such as abolishing the Zamindary system, introducing the land ceiling measures on the one hand and initiating various palliative measures, specially focusing on the relatively under privileged sections of the rural population engaged in the cultivation of land on the other. The result so far has been less than satisfactory, notwithstanding the introduction of various schemes for specific target groups under various Five Year Plan periods. I am not elaborating them here. I have primarily summarized my observations from my direct field-based experiences in different locations of the country as already mentioned in the beginning. While my initial focus was on the socio-cultural context of farming, yet my studies eventually touched upon the conditions of the marginal farmers, share-croppers and the agricultural labourers in all studied locations. In the overall context of these studies there appear some common findings, so far the conditions of the so called rural poor are concerned. Though the system of share-cropping has been pronounced by its demise in capitalist countries, it has been still playing a very formidable role in a transitional multiplex agrarian system, such as in India. They are variously known as *bataidar*, *sajehadar*, in the north; *varamtar*, *shiknider* in the south; *bargadar*, *adhiar* in the east and *halapoti* in the west. The agricultural labourers also exist in all parts of the country in different names and identities. This follows beyond doubt that the question of poverty in India is basically characterized by the status of its rural population who visibly remain below the poverty line as well as belong to the social categories of scheduled castes, scheduled

tribes, other backward castes etc.; share-cropping as a regular practice prevails in spite of the promulgated laws in different states abolishing it on paper; the number of agricultural labourers is not only increasing but more often than not they are deprived of the officially declared agricultural wages; the pace of the increasing rate of production has not been commensurate with the target of judicial re-distribution of food grains to the poor; non-farm job opportunities have remained inadequate for suitably absorbing the surplus labourers from the field in other alternative engagements and so on. This scenario exists almost commonly in all the studied locations so far, in spite of the massive investment made and periodic monitoring done. It appears unambiguously that at the height of liberalization, globalization and privatization the conditions of the so called rural poor and marginal peasants have remained at a precarious level due to the lack of responsive politico-economic structure of governance in the country[30].

I will now proceed towards the end of my present discourse. As most of you might be aware that my friend Vinoy was very keen in discussing theoretical context of any presentation. It was his passion in teaching as well as in research in cultural anthropology. It will be eloquent from his valuable publications – both in the form of papers or books which constitute a huge volume. I am not entering into that now. The Anthropological Survey of India perhaps could organize such discussion as a fitting tribute to his memory. However, let me reflect in brief as a synoptic summary on some theoretical postulates prevailing in the context of the studies on peasants and its relevance in the changing time. P.C. Joshi (ibid) in his brilliant survey on the studies on agrarian aspects with reference to India in a small book mentioned earlier brought out in historical perspective the importance of the subject. He had mentioned the major trends of research on agrarian situation – before and after independence, citing references from across different academic disciplines. It established that this very subject was not an exclusive preserve of any particular discipline. Therefore, lot of scholars from various academic backgrounds took interest in this particular area of study and contributed different ideas and concepts – some of which moved towards a probable theoretical construct. A few of them still holds good so far the existing reality is concerned. For example, Karl Marx's "mode of production"[31] has been very critically reviewed specially by a group of historians and economists for a long time. Apart from any other sources the Economic and Political Weekly and the Journal of Peasant Studies together brought out many important papers with original insight or critically analytical contributions for the last several years. Karl Polanyi's 'reciprocity re-distribution and market exchange'[32] were embedded in the concept of economy being a socially instituted process. This led to a serious debate among the anthropologists who were divided into the 'substantivist' and 'formalist' school of thought[33]. A.V. Chayanov's 'peasant mode of production'[34], Daniel Thorner's 'peasant economy'[35], Marshall Sahlin's 'domestic mode of production'[36], were some of the other approaches to the study of peasant communities. Marx's 'Asiatic Mode of Production' (AMP)[37] highlighted certain salient features where classical Indian village as a referent came to fit well; for example, self-sufficiency in agriculture and handicraft, the absence of surplus, little circulation of money, strong sentimental connection between village and the village community as obligated by the prevailing customary laws, weak formation of private property and capital and so on. The village community occupied a central place in the concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production.

If one probes singularly into the analytical/conceptual contributions of the anthropologists alone, one would meet with a number of such insights with regard to the studies either on village/village

communities or interchangeably on the peasant communities. From Robert Redfiled's 'folk culture' or 'peasant culture'[38] to Eric Wolf's[39] 'peasant rebellions', anthropological literatures are replete with such focal directions having some theoretical implications. I am not going into other elaborations right at the moment on the citations of earlier periods. Much later, scholars like Michael Lipton[40], T.J. Byress[41], Henry Burnstein[42] brought some newer angles into the study on the peasant communities or agrarian questions. The Village Studies Unit of the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, England at one point of time gave a lead in this direction. T.J. Byress's seminal essay entitled "The Agrarian Question and Differing Forms of Capitalist Agrarian Transition: An Essay with Reference to Asia" is a reference in point. He had a special fascination for India as a case study. In Indian context the village/peasant studies, in other words, the changing agrarian relations over time were very intimately carried out combining both micro and macro milieu by T.S. Epstein, Kathleen Gough, Joan P. Menchar, M.N. Srinivas, Ramkrishna Mukherjee, Andre Betille, F.G. Bailey, to name only a few (ibid). They had focused on various social, cultural, economic and political issues mainly addressing the questions of social and economic inequality, factors of cultural cohesion or integrity and political polarization within the ambit of villages or village communities and beyond. Simultaneously, some historians, economists and sociologists like R.S. Sharma[43], Irfan Habib[44], Harbans Mukhia[45], Daniel Thorner[46], A.R. Desai[47], Dharma Kumar[48] to mention only a few, made profound attempts in understanding the particular mode of production in Indian rural economy in historical as well as in contemporary context.

Edmund Leach[49], a renowned anthropologist, once mentioned that organized cultivation started about ten to twelve thousand years back. Archaeologists demonstrated that drainage and irrigation were associated with some of the very earliest forms of horticulture. It connects us with K. Witfogel's[50] 'hydraulic civilization' much later. Thus, it has been a long human history since then combining the factors in economy, culture and polity along with the variety of historical social formations. In order to understand the agrarian performance, one needs to consider the agrarian systems along with the agrarian laws, agrarian programmes, various reports of the committees or commissions such as M.S. Swaminathan Commission Report of 2006[51], Arjun Sengupta Commission Report of 2007[52], Radha Krishna Commission Report of 2008[53] and so on.

Finally, the interplay of capital vis-à-vis the management of environment has of late been another changing dimension of studying the problematics of agrarian transition. In the core of it the question of food security has been a central concern. The later part of twentieth century has been marked by the huge number of cases of farmers' suicides in our country vis-à-vis substantial amount of farmers' subsidy in the United States. The latest World Conference on Environment, COP 26[54], could only indicate the direction for searching out the appropriate answers to these disturbing questions. I stop here by mentioning only the latest and the long struggle of the peasants/farmers in our country and its victorious end would bring back the importance of the agrarian issues responsible for the overall development of our future.

To conclude my presentation of this evening, let me once more reiterate that the micro-level field situation which present the unique phenomena of socio-economic intricacies and interactions among different sections of rural cultivators in different agro-ecological regions, may perhaps suggest to study with greater clarity of the more wider macro-dimensional agrarian questions such as the major

mode of productions and their many regional varieties in Indian agriculture in contemporary changing context as well as in the changing time frame.

Endnote:

1. Prof. Vinay Kumar Srivastava's biodata including a detailed list of publications available at Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.
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3. Intensive Agricultural District Programmes were initiated in the early 1960s, in Burdwan District, West Bengal, for popularizing the use of high yielding varieties of rice mainly.
4. See Around the Plough by S.B. Chakrabarti, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1986, p6.
5. Quoted from M.N. Srinivas, 1955 Introduction in India's villages, Calcutta, Govt. of West Bengal Pubn.
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8. Dumont Louis, 1966 "The Village Community from Munro to Maine", in *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* 9:67-89.
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11. B.H. Baden-Powell, 1972 *The Indian Village Community,* Cosmo Publications, Delhi, (originally published in 1896).
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15. S.C. Dube, 1955. *Indian Village,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
16. F.G. Bailey, 1957. *Caste and the Economic Frontier,* Manchester, Manchester University Press.
17. Ramkrishna Mukherjee, 1957 *The Dynamics of a Rural Society,* Berlin, Akademic Veralds.
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23. Joan Mencher, 1978. *Agriculture and Social Structure in Tamil Nadu,* Bombay, Allied Publishers.
24. Louis Dumont and D. Pocock, 1957. "For a Sociology of India", in *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* No. 1, Paris, Moutan and Co. The Hague.
25. M.N. Srinivas, 1955. "Village Studies and their Significance", *Eastern Anthropologist,* 8: 215-228.
26-28. References are replete in their respective Collected Essays and other writings.
29. S.B. Chakrabarti, 1985. "Peasants Environment and Planners' Enigma: A Paradigmatic Approach", in *Agrarian Situation in India,* Vol. II, Calcutta, Anthropological Survey of India, pp181-184.
30. S.B. Chakrabarti, 2014 "The Context of Anthropological Knowledge and the Future of Humankind: Some Speculative Arguments", in *Anthropology and the Future of Humankind,* INCAA and IGRMS, pp 153-165.
31. Karl Marx, ibid.
32. Karl Polanyi, 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process", in *Trade and Market in Early Empire,* K. Polanyi etal, Glencoe, the Free Press.
33. George Dalton, (Ed).1981. *Research in Economic Anthropology,* London, JAI Press Inc.
34. A.V. Chayanov, A.V., 1931. "The Socio-Economic Nature of Peasant Farm Economy", in *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology,* P.A. Sorokin etal, Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press.
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36. Marshall, Sahlin, *Stone Age Economies,* London, Tavistock Publications.
37. Karl Marx, see Lawrence Krader, 1975. *The Asiatic Mode of Production,* The Netherlands: Van Goreum and Co.
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42. Henry Burnstein and Tom Brass, 1996-97. “Questioning the Agrarians: The Work of T.J. Byress”, in *Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol. 24, Nos. 1-2.
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44. Irfan Habib, 1985. “Classifying Pre-Colonial India”, *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* Vol. 12, 2013, pp 44-53.
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46. Daniel Thorner, “Peasant Economy as a Category of Economic History”, in *The Economic Weekly,* Special No., July 1963.
47. A.R. Desai, 1961. *Rural Sociology in India*, Bombay.
48. Dharma Kumar, ibid.
49. Edmund Leach, 1961. *Pul Eliya*: *A Village in Ceylon*, Cambridge University Press, 1961.
50. K.A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, London, Oxford University Press.
51-53. For a synoptic review see Arjun Sen Gupta etal, “India’s Common People: Who Are They? How Many Are They? And How Do They Live?” *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. XLIII, No. II, pp 49-63, 2008.
54. COP-26, United Nations Climate Change Conference (Conference of the Parties), was held at Glasgow, Scotland, U.K. from 31.10.2021 to 13.11.2021.

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বাংলার কীর্তনে মৃদঙ্গ / শ্রীখোলের গুরুত্ব

[১]হরেকৃষ্ণ হালদার এবং [২]মহুয়া মুখোপাধ্যায়

ভূমিকা:

সাধারণ শ্রোতা হিসাবে কীর্তন গানের নানা উপকরণ সমন্বিত অর্থাৎ শ্রীখোল করতালের ধ্বনি আর সবে মিলে একসঙ্গে গান শুনেই কীর্তন গান বলে চিহ্নিত করে থাকি। ঈশ্বরের কৃতীকথায় গাঁধা যে গান তাকেই কীর্তন বলা হয়। কীর্তন কথাটি এসেছে "কৃ" ধাতুথেকে। কীর্তন কথার আভিধানিক অর্থ হল প্রশংসা। কোন দেবদেবীর লীলাগুনগান বা কোন মহাপুরুষের গুণ গরিমার বর্ণনাকে কীর্তন বলা হলেও মূলত রাধাকৃষ্ণবিষয়ক লীলাগুণগান করা বা শ্রীচৈতন্য মহাপ্রভুর লীলাগুণগান বৈষ্ণব মহাজন পদকর্তাদের লেখা পদাবলী এক বিশেষ সুরে তালে আখর যোজনা করে, মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোল করতাল সহযোগে কীর্তনীয়া দোহারবাদকগণ মিলে পরম্পরা গায়ন বাদন রীতিকে কীর্তন গান বলা হয়।

শ্রীমদ্ভাগবতে যে নববিধ ভক্তির কথা বলা হয়েছে, তা হল-

"শ্রবণংকীর্ত্তনংবিষ্ণুস্মরণংপাদসেবনম্।
অর্চ্চনংবন্দনংদাস্যংসখ্যংআত্মনিবেদনম্।"

এই শ্লোকে "শ্রবণ ও কীর্তন" প্রথমেই উল্লেখ করেছে। অর্জুনের প্রপুত্র অভিমন্যুপুত্র রাজা পরীক্ষিত তক্ষক দংশনে সাতদিনের মধ্যে মৃত্যু সংবাদ পেয়ে মুনিঋষিগণের পরামর্শে ব্যাসনন্দন শুকদেব মুনির কাছে ভগবৎ কথা শ্রবণ করেন। এই থেকেই ভাগবৎ সপ্তাহ বা পাঠকীর্তন চলে আসছে।

অন্যদিকে মহামুনি নারদ বীণাযন্ত্রে সদাই প্রভুর নাম গুণকীর্তন করেন। এই কীর্তন ধারাই পরবর্তীতে প্রচলিত কীর্তনগানের ধারা হিসাবে প্রবহমান। এই কীর্তন গান প্রধানত দুই প্রকার। পদাবলী কীর্তন এবং লীলা কীর্তন। লীলা কীর্তন আবার দুই প্রকার- নিত্যলীলা ও নৈমিত্তিক লীলা। এছাড়াও শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব কলির জীবের কল্যানার্থে তারকব্রহ্ম ভূবন মঙ্গল হরিনাম সংকীর্তনের প্রবর্তন করেন।

এই কীর্তন গানের সহযোগী বাদ্যযন্ত্র হিসাবে ব্যবহার হয়ে থাকে মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোল এবং করতাল বা কংস নির্মিত বাদ্যাদি ঘড়ি, কাঁসর, ঝম্পু ইত্যাদি।

কীর্তনের আসরে কীর্তনীয়া ও বাদকগণ নৃত্য সহকারে কীর্তন পরিবেশন করে থাকেন, যা গৌড়ীয় নৃত্যধারা হিসাবে বাংলায় তথা বাংলার বাইরেও পরিচিত। তাই কীর্তন গান কখনও বসে বা কখনও বা দাঁড়িয়ে গাওয়া হয়।

ভক্তিমূলক সঙ্গীতের ধারা হিসাবে কীর্তন সাধারণ মানুষের অতি প্রিয় অনাদি কাল থেকে একথা বলার অপেক্ষা রাখে না।

সুপ্রাচীন কাল থেকে ভারতে শাস্ত্রীয় সঙ্গীতের ধারা বিদ্যমান। যে গানগুলি গাইতে "ও","হা" ইত্যাদি বর্ণগুলি ব্যবহার করা হত, সেই গানগুলিকে "ওহাটি গান" বলা হত। গৌড়ভূমির জন্য নির্দষ্ট "ওহাটি গান" ছিল। কীর্তন গানে "ও","হা","আরে" ইত্যাদি বর্ণগুলির প্রয়োগ রয়েছে এবং কীর্তন গানে বিলম্বিত গতির প্রাধান্য দেখে কীর্তন গানকে "ওহাটি গান"-এর ধারা বলেই গ্রহণ করা হয়েছে।

কীর্তন গানের মূল ধারাটি প্রাচীন এবিষয়ে সন্দেহ নেই। কারণ দলগঠন পদ্ধতি বিচারে কীর্তন গানে "বৃন্দ গান" দলের সংগঠন পদ্ধতির নিয়মটি স্পষ্ট। নাট্যশাস্ত্রে তার উল্লেখ আছে। "বৃন্দ গান বা ওহাটি" গানের যুগে প্রচলিত ছিল- ১) ভ্রমরগীত, ২) ভিক্ষুগীত, ৩) গোপীগীত, ৪) বেণুগীত, ৫) গোপীকাযুগল গীত, ৬) রুদ্রগীত, ৭) রাসগীত, ৮) এলাগীত। এইসব গীতের উল্লেখ শ্রীমদ্ভাগবত গ্রন্থে পাওয়া যায়। অপ্সরা ইলার বিরহে গান রচিত হয়েছিল, তা-ই "ইলাগীত" বা "এলা প্রবন্ধ" বলা হত। এই এলা প্রবন্ধের একটি নির্দিষ্ট ধারা গৌড় অঞ্চলে প্রচলিত ছিল যাকে বলা হত "গৌড়েলা" বা "গৌড়েলা প্রবন্ধ গীত"।

গৌড় ছিল পাঁচ খন্ডে বিভক্ত। এই পঞ্চ গৌড়ের অধিকর্তাকে "পঞ্চ গৌড়েশ্বর" বলা হত। "পঞ্চ গৌড়েশ্বর, ভোজ পুরন্দর, ভণে যশোরাজ খান।" বৈষ্ণব পদকর্তাগণও তার উল্লেখ করেছেন। মতঙ্গের বৃহদ্দেশী গ্রন্থে- গৌড়ী রীতি, গৌড়ী গীতি, গৌড়ী রাগ (গৌড়কৌশিকী, গৌড়কৌশিক পঞ্চমা ইত্যাদি)-এর পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। শার্ঙ্গদেব রচিত "সঙ্গীত রত্নাকর" গ্রন্থে লাট, কর্ণাট, দ্রাবিড়, অন্ধ ও গৌড় এই পাঁচপ্রকার প্রবন্ধ গীতিতে ভারতভূমির উল্লেখ আছে, তাছাড়াও গৌড়ীয় গীত, রীতি, রাগ, ধর্ম ইত্যাদির আলোচনা করেছেন। অগ্নিপুরাণে গৌড়ীয় রীতি, কাব্য সঙ্গীত ইত্যাদি সম্পর্কেও আলোচনা আছে।

চর্যাপদগুলি ধর্মীয়, সাহিত্য ও সঙ্গীতের (গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্য) ক্ষেত্রে যথেষ্ট গুরুত্ব আছে। পদকর্তা ভুসুক্ পাদ বঙ্গাল নামক লৌকিক রাগের প্রয়োগ করেছেন। ভাগবত ও অন্যান্য বৈষ্ণবীয় গ্রন্থে শাস্ত্রীয় সঙ্গীতের (গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্য) বহু প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।

"ললিতা বাজায় বীণা, বিশাখা মৃদঙ্গ।
সুচিত্রা বাজায় সপ্তসরা রাই দেখে রঙ্গ।"

"উজ্জ্বল নীলমণি", "ভক্তিরসামৃতসিন্ধু", "বিদগ্ধমাধব", "ললিতমাধব", এছাড়াও জীব গোস্বামীর "গোপালচম্পূ" কৃষ্ণদাস কবিরাজের "গোবিন্দলীলামৃতম্" এবং জয়দেব গোস্বামীর "গীতগোবিন্দ" প্রভৃতি বৈষ্ণীয় সাহিত্যে ও শাস্ত্রীয় গ্রন্থে গৌড়ীয় শাস্ত্রীয় সঙ্গীত কীর্তন (ওহাটি বা গৌড়েলা বা কীর্তন) গৌড়ীয় নৃত্য এবং গৌড়ীয় বাদ্যযন্ত্র মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোলের বিস্তারিত আলোচনা রয়েছে।

এছাড়াও মন্দিরের গায়ে স্থাপত্য, ভাস্কর্য ও চিত্রকলায় নৃত্যভঙ্গিমায় বাদ্যরত বৃন্দগীত প্রথার গৌড়ীয় রীতির পরিচয় লক্ষ্য করা যায়।

মন্দির নগরী বাঁকুড়ার বিষ্ণুপুরে বিভিন্ন মন্দিরের গায়ে টেরাকোটাগুলি বাংলার সেই প্রাচীন সঙ্গীতরীতির পরিচয় বহন করে চলেছে। হুগলীর বাঁশবেড়িয়ায় হংসেশ্বরী মন্দিরের পাশে অনন্ত বাসুদেব মন্দিরেও তা লক্ষ্য করা যায়।

গৌড়বঙ্গের সঙ্গীত (গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্য) গৌড়, বঙ্গ, বঙ্গাল বিভিন্ন নামে পরিচিত ছিল এবং বাংলার গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্য ও শিল্প, ভাস্কর্য প্রভৃতি গৌড়ীয় নামেই পরিচিত ছিল। তাই প্রাচীন ঐতিহ্যের উপর ভিত্তি করেই গড়ে ওঠেছে গৌড়ীয় তথা বাংলার গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্য ধারা একথা অস্বীকার করা যায় না। প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায় ইতিহাসের পাতায়, পুঁথি, শাস্ত্রে, চিত্রকলায়, ভাস্কর্যে। শুধুমাত্র আমাদের অন্বেষণের অপেক্ষা।

কীর্তন বাংলায় প্রচলিত এক বিশেষ ভক্তিমূলক সঙ্গীত ধারা। এই কীর্তন গান তিনটি উপাদানের সমন্বয়ে সংগঠিত হয়ে (সাঙ্গীতিক, সাহিত্যিক, পারমার্থিক) অতি প্রাচীন কাল থেকেই প্রবহমান। এই কীর্তনের মাধ্যমে ভক্তিরাজ্যে প্রবেশ করেন ভক্তগণ। কীর্তন গানের নিজস্ব কিছু বৈশিষ্ট্য আছে। যেমন- গাছগান, দাগীগান, আখর, ঘটকালী, মূল গায়েন, দোহার, বায়েন ইত্যাদি। তাল প্রকরণেও রয়েছে লোফা, দাসপেড়ে, তেওট, দশকুশি ইত্যাদি খেতুরি মহোৎসবে তিনটি ঘরানার পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়| ১) মনোহরশাহী, ২) গড়ানহাটি, ৩) রেনেটি এবং পরবর্তীকালে আরও দুটি ঘরানার পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। যথা- ১) ঝাড়খন্ডী, ২) মন্দারিনী।

কীর্তনে রয়েছে অপ্রাকৃত রসানুভব। শ্রীমতি রাধারানী এবং শ্রীকৃষ্ণ এই দুইয়ের লীলাবিলাসের কেন্দ্রস্থ লীলারস, মহাজন পদকর্তাদের কলমে, বিচিত্র লীলারসের সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। যেমন- গোষ্ঠ, সূর্যপূজা, রূপানুরাগ, রাসলীলা, অলস ও কুঞ্জভঙ্গ ইত্যাদি।

শ্রীচৈতন্য মহাপ্রভু জীবের কল্যানার্থে হরিনাম সংকীর্তনের প্রবর্তন করেন। এই হরিনাম সংকীর্তনে সহজ সরল সুর ও তালের সংযোজন করে গাওয়া হয় তাতে মানুষের চিত্ত বা মন মার্জিক হয় এবং আধ্যাত্মিক ঐক্য স্থাপন করেন।

নাম সংকীর্তনে হয় সর্ব্বানর্থ-নাশ।
সর্ব্ব-শুভোদয়, কৃষ্ণ-প্রেমের উল্লাস||
সংকীর্তন হৈতে পাপ-সংসার নাশন।
চিত্তশুদ্ধি, সর্ব্বভক্তিসাধন-উদগম||[২]

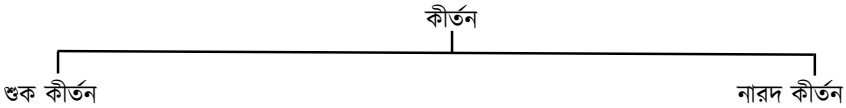
শ্রীখোল ও করতালসহযোগে ভাবময় নৃত্য ভঙ্গিমায় অগণিত ভক্ত সঙ্গে সপার্ষদ নিয়ে হরিনাম সংকীর্তন করতেন শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব। তাঁর ভাবাদর্শে জাতপাত ভুলে উঁচুনিচু ভেদ মুছে ফেলে অসংখ্য মানুষ দলে দলে যোগদান করে এই হরিনাম সংকীর্তনে। তাই শাস্ত্রে রয়েছে-

খোল করতাল গোরা সুমেল করিয়া।
তার মাঝে নাচে গোরা জয় জয় দিয়া||[১]

শার্ঙ্গদেবকৃত"সঙ্গীত রত্নাকর" গ্রন্থে রয়েছে "গূতং বাদ্যং নৃত্যং ত্রয় সঙ্গীতসমুচতে" অর্থাৎ গীত, বাদ্য, নৃত্য এই তিনের সমন্বয়ে "সঙ্গীত"।

কীর্তন কি?

ঈশ্বরের কৃতীকথায় গাঁধা যে গান তাকেই কীর্তন বলা হয়| কীর্তন কথাটি এসেছে "কৃ" ধাতুথেকে। কীর্তন কথার আভিধানিক অর্থ হল "প্রশংসা"। কোন দেব দেবীর লীলা গুনগান বা কোন মহাপুরুষের গুনগরিমার বর্ণনা কে কীর্তন বলা হলেও মূলত রাধাকৃষ্ণ বিষয়ক লীলা গুনগান করা বা শ্রী মহাপ্রভুর বিষয়ক বর্ণনামূলক পদাবলী এক বিশেষ সুরে তালে আখর যোজনা করে গাওয়ার রীতিকে কীর্তন গান বলা হয়।



শুক কাতন – ব্যাসনন্দন শুকদেব মুান অজুনের প্রপুত্র রাজা পরাাক্ষৎকে জাবনের শেষ সাতাদন যে ভগবৎ কথা শ্রবণ করান তাকে বলে"শুক কীর্তন"।

নারদ কীর্তন – নারদ মুনি বীণা যন্ত্রে সুর ও তাল সংযোজন করে যে কীর্তন করতেন তাকে নারদ কীর্তন বলা হয়।

উদ্দেশ্য – কীর্তনের মূখ্য উদ্দেশ্য হল ভক্তি ও প্রেম। এই উদ্দেশ্য সাধনের জন্য শাস্ত্রে নয়টি পন্থার কথা উল্লেখ রয়েছে- শ্রবণ, কীর্তন, স্মরণ, বন্দন, অর্চন, দাস্য, সখ্য, আত্ম নিবেদন, পাদ সেবন।

"শ্রবণং কীর্ত্তনং বিষ্ণো: স্মরণং পাদসেবনং।
অর্চ্চনং বন্দনং দাস্যং সখ্যমাত্মা নিবেদনং||"[৪]

কীর্তনের মূল বিষয় কি?

কীর্তনের বিষয় অপ্রাকৃত রস, শ্রীমতি রাধারানী রসবতী এবং শ্রীকৃষ্ণ রসময় এই দুয়ের রসবিলাসের ভিত্তিতে কীর্তনের বিভিন্ন পর্যায় রচিত হয়, যা অপ্রাকৃত রসের পূর্ণসম্পূট বা কৌটা শাস্ত্রে আছে-

"রাধাকৃষ্ণ এক আত্মা দুই দেহ ধরি।
অন্যোনে বিলাসে রস আস্বাদন করি।"[২]

রাধাকৃষ্ণ তত্ত্ব আস্বাদনই হল কীর্তনের মূল বিষয়বস্তু। এই রস আস্বাদন করতে যে পাঁচটি পথের স্মরণ নেয় ভক্তগণ তা হল- শান্ত, দাস্য, সখ্য, বাৎসল্য ও মধুর।

এই মধুর ভিয়ানে (রসে) রয়েছে নায়ক ও নায়িকার ভেদ। কৃষ্ণলীলা নায়কের ছিয়ানব্বইটি রসের প্রকারভেদ পাওয়া যায়। নায়ক মূলত চারপ্রকার। ১) ধীরোদাও, ২) ধীরললিত, ৩) ধীরোদ্ধত ও ৪) ধীরশান্ত। এই চারপ্রকার আবার তিন অবস্থা প্রাপ্ত হয়ে মোট ১২ প্রকার হয়| এই তিন অবস্থা হল- ১) পূর্ণতম, ২) পূর্ণতর ও ৩) পূর্ণ। এই ১২ প্রকারে আবার দুইটি ভেদ আছে- ১) পতিভেদ ও ২)উপপতিভেদ। অর্থাৎ এই নায়ক প্রকার হল ২৪টি। এই নায়ক আবার ১) অনুকুল, ২) দক্ষিণ, ৩) শঠ ও ৪) ধৃষ্টভেদে মোট ২৪x৪ = ৯৬ প্রকার হয়। লীলা প্রকটের জন্য নায়কের সহায়ক পাঁচটি চরিত্র থাকে। যেমন- চেট, বিট, বিদূষক, পিঠমর্দ এবং প্রিয়নর্ম। তাই শ্রীকৃষ্ণের নায়কত্ব শ্রেষ্ঠ বলে বৈষ্ণব ভক্তগণের সিদ্ধান্ত।

তেমনি নায়িকা বিচারেও মূল দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী তিনটি- স্বকীয়া, পরকীয়া এবং সাধারণী। এই স্বকীয়া ও পরকীয়ার আবার তিনটি করে ভেদ আছে- মুগ্ধা, মধ্যা, প্রগলভা। এর মধ্যে মধ্যা ও প্রগলভা নায়িকার তিনটি প্রকার ভেদ আছে- ধীর, অধীরা ধীরধীরা অর্থাৎ এ পর্যন্ত স্বকীয়া এবং পরকীয়া ভেদে নায়িকা হল (৩x২+১) x ২ = ১৪ + সাধারণী (কন্যা) মোট ১৫টি প্রকরণ। এদের আবার আটটি করে প্রকার আছে। যথা- অভিসারিকা, বাসকসজ্জিকা, উৎকণ্ঠিতা, খন্ডিতা,

বিপ্রলব্ধা, কলাহন্তরিতা, প্রোষিতাভর্তৃকা, স্বাধীনভর্তৃকা। প্রতিটি আবার তিনটি ভেদ আছে- উত্তমা, মধ্যমা ও কনিষ্ঠা অর্থাৎ নায়িকার মোট প্রকারভেদ হল = (১৫x৮x৩)= ৩৬০।

এই প্রকার গুণগুলি নায়িকা হিসাবে কেবল শ্রীমতি রাধারানীতেই বর্তমান। শাস্ত্রে আছে-

"রাধিকা হয়েন কৃষ্ণের প্রণয় বিকার।
স্বরূপ শক্তি হ্লাদিনী নাম যাহার||"[২]

প্রাকচৈতন্য যুগ

বৈষ্ণব কবি জয়দেব গোস্বামী

বীরভূম জেলার অন্তর্গত কেন্দুবিল্ব গ্রামে ১১১০ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে ঈশ্বর ভক্তি পরায়ন, ব্রাহ্মণ ভোজ দেবের ঔরসে তৎপত্নী বামদেবীর গর্ভে কবি জয়দেবের জন্ম হয়। জগন্নাথদেবের আজ্ঞায় পদ্মাবতীর পানিগ্রহণ করেন জয়দেব এবং পৈতৃক আধকাঠা ভিটেয় কুটির নির্মাণ করে রাধামাধবের যুগল বিগ্রহের সেবা প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন এবং কৃষ্ণধ্যান ও কৃষ্ণলীলা রচনায় নিয়োজিত হন। শ্রীমদ্ভাগবত ব্রহ্মবৈবর্ত পুরাণ অবলম্বনে রাধাকৃষ্ণের লীলাকথামৃত "গীতগোবিন্দ" অমর সৃষ্টিতে পরম কৃপার স্পর্শ লাভ করেন।

"প্রিয়ে চারুশীলে" প্রমুখ গীত রচনা কালে "স্মর গরল খন্ডন মমশিরসি মন্ডলম্"-এ পর্যন্ত লিখে তাঁর কলম থেমে গিয়েছিল। এর পরবর্তী অংশ "দেহিপদপল্লবমুদারং" স্বয়ং ভগবান লিখে দিয়েছিলেন।

জয়দেব একাধারে তবি অন্যদিকে গায়ক ও বাদক তাঁর রচিত পদাবলীর "বদসি যদি কিঞ্চিদপি দন্তরুচি কৌমুদি হরতিদর তিমির মতি ঘরম্"- এই অংশটি নিয়ে অষ্টতাল গুচ্ছ সংকলন করেছিলেন তা আজও বাংলার কীর্তনের ইতিহাসে অমর কীর্তি হয়ে রয়েছে। নিম্নে সংক্ষিপ্ত বিবরণ দেওয়া হল-

১। *নাম* — *বোল*

	+	০	২	৩	০
আড় -	ধোগুরুরু	দিও	ধোগা	তি	-
	১	২	৩	৪	৫

২। *নাম* — *বোল*

	+	০	২	০	৩	০
দোজ -	গুরুরুধো	তাতাখেটে	তাগুরুরু ধোগা	তিনি নাও	তি	নাও
	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬

৩| *নাম* *বোল*

	+	০	২	০	৩	৪	০
যতি -	ধোধো	তাতধো	দেতা খেটা	তাগুরুরু ধোগা	তিনি নাও	তি	নাও
	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭

বোল

৪| *নাম*

	+	০	২	০	৪	০	৬	০	৮	০
শশিশেখর -	ধো	- দিত্তা	গুরুরুধো	দিত্তা	তাধো	দেতা খেটা	তাগুরুরু ধোগা	তিনি নাও	তিনাও	--
	১	২	৩	৪	৬		৮	৯	১০	১১

৫ *নাম* *বোল*

	+	০	০	২	০	৩	০	৪	০
গঞ্জন -		ধোগুরুরু	ধোগা	তিৎঝাঁ	নাওগুরুরু	তিৎঝাঁ	তিনিতিনি	নাও	--
		১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮

৬| *নাম* *বোল*

	+	২	০	৩	০	৪	৫	০
পঞ্চম -	ধোধো	তাতধো	তাতাখেটা	ধোগুরুরু	দিত্তা	ধোগা	তি	--
	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮

৭| *নাম* *বোল*

	+	২	০
রূপক -	তাতা খেটা	খেটা নাও	নাও নাও
	১	২	৩

৮| *নাম* *বোল*

	+	০	২	০	৩	৪	০
সম: -	ধো খেটা	তাৎধো	তাতাখেটা	ঘেনাতিনি	তাঘেনতা	ঘেনাও	তাততা--
	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭

অতুলনীয় কবিত্ব গুণসম্পন্ন ও সঙ্গীতজ্ঞ মহাবৈষ্ণবকে সভাকবি রূপে বরণ করে নিয়েছিলেন, বঙ্গের সেন রাজকুল তিলক লক্ষ্মন সেন। অপরিমিত সম্মান ও ঐশ্বর্য পেয়েও শ্রীকৃষ্ণের চরণ মুহূর্তের জন্যও বিস্মৃত হননি ভক্ত কবি জয়দেব গোস্বামী।

বড়ু চন্ডীদাস – বাংলা ভাষায় সর্বপ্রথম রাধাকৃষ্ণ লীলা বিষয়ক গান রচনা করেন কবি চন্ডীদাস। বসন্তরঞ্জন রায় মহাশয় বাঁকুড়ার কাঁকিল্য গ্রাম থেকে গ্রন্থটি আবিষ্কার করেন ১৬৮২ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে এবং "শ্রীকৃষ্ণকীর্তন" নামে প্রকাশ করেন।

গ্রন্থটির রচনাকাল সম্পর্কে নির্দিষ্ট মতে পৌঁছানো সম্ভব হয়নি। তবে গতি প্রকৃতি বিচার করে রাখালদাস বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় মহাশয় বলেছেন প্রাকচৈতন্য যুগে কোন এক সময়ে রচিত হয়েছে।

কীর্তন গানের জন্যই কৃষ্ণকীর্তন গ্রন্থখানি রচিত হয়েছিল।

১| কীর্তন সুলভ ঝংকার আছে।

২| রাগের নাম উল্লেখ আছে। যেমন,- পাহাড়ী, গৌড়ী ইত্যাদি।

৩| কাব্যের রচনা শৈলীতে সমকালীন নাট্যসঙ্গীতের ছাপ সুস্পষ্ট। যেমন-

"যবে রাধা গোয়ালিনী পাতাল কৈল গাত্র

হে হে লহে।"[৪]

এই রচনার ছন্দে কতকগুলি নিরর্থক শব্দ প্রয়োগ করেছেন তা থেকে অনেক সময় যাত্রাগানের মত অঙ্গভঙ্গির সুযোগ করে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

ভগবত পুরাণাদি থেকে উপকরণ আহরণ করে কবি প্রতিভার সাহায্যে বিচিত্র আখ্যায়িকার মধ্য দিয়ে রাধাকৃষ্ণ বিরহের যে রূপ আলেখ্য রচনা করেছেন, তা পরবর্তীকালে রসিক শ্রোতা, ভক্ত বৈষ্ণবগণের বিশেষ আস্বাদ ও লীলার আধ্যাত্মিকতার গুরুত্ব এনে দিয়েছে। চন্ডীদাসের সাহিত্য কাহিনী প্রকরণ বা ভাষা যথেষ্ট রসসমৃদ্ধ।

জন্মখন্ডে : কৃষ্ণের পূর্বরাগ ও বাসনা সঞ্চার এবং বড়াইকে দিয়ে প্রেমের অভিজ্ঞান স্বরূপ কর্পূর, তাম্বুল, পুষ্প প্রেরণ, রাধা কর্তৃক প্রত্যাখ্যান ও বড়াই লাঞ্ছনা।

দানখন্ডে : শ্রীকৃষ্ণের দানীবেশ ধারন করে, শ্রীরাধার যৌবন সম্ভোগ প্রার্থনা।

নৌকাখন্ডে : শ্রীকৃষ্ণের নৌকাবিলাস এবং গোপীদের সঙ্কটে নিক্ষেপ ও উদ্ধার।

বৃন্দাবনখন্ডে : বড়াইয়ের পরামর্শে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে লাভ করার জন্য শ্রীরাধার অভিসার।

রাধা বিরহ খন্ডে : শ্রীরাধা সঙ্গে দায়িত কৃষ্ণের মিলন, তারপর শ্রীকৃষ্ণের অন্তর্ধান।

এমন বিচিত্র কাহিনী ইতিপূর্বে আর রচিত হয়নি| এই সরস কাব্যের সূত্র ধরেই পরবর্তীকালে শ্রীকৃষ্ণের পূর্বরাগ, শ্রীরাধার পূর্বরাগ, দানলীলা, নৌকাবিলাস, অভিসার ইত্যাদি উল্লেখযোগ্য পালাগুলি সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। চন্ডীদাসের রচনাতেই বাংলা পদাবলীর প্রধান উদ্দীপনা ও উৎকর্ষ হয়ে দাঁড়ায়। যেমন-

ক) উত্তরবঙ্গের জাগগান

খ) রাঢ়বঙ্গের ঝুমুরগান

গ) আসামের কুশলগান ইত্যাদি।

মালাধর বসু – বাংলা প্রাকচৈতন্য যুগে বর্ধমান জেলার কুলীন গ্রামে মালাধর বসুর জন্ম হয়। কৃষ্ণবিজয় বা গোবিন্দমঙ্গল কাব্য ১৪৭৪ থেকে ১৪৮০ খ্রীষ্টাব্দের মধ্যে তিনি লিখেছিলেন। তৎকালীন গৌড়ের বাদশাহ রুকনুদ্দিন বরবক তাকে গুনরাজ উপাধি দেন। তাঁর সমগ্র গ্রন্থটি তিনটি খন্ডে বিভক্ত-

১| আদি কাহিনী - শ্রীকৃষ্ণের জন্ম থেকে মথুরা গমন।

২| মধ্য কাহিনী - কংসবধ থেকে দ্বারকা গমন।

৩| অন্ত কাহিনী - দ্বারকা ধ্বংস থেকে তনুত্যাগ।

মালাধর বসুর পুত্র সত্যরাজ খাঁন গ্রন্থখানি পুরীতে মহাপ্রভুকে অর্পন করেন। খুব খুশী হয়ে চৈতন্যদেব বলেন-

"কুলীন গ্রামের অধবাসী যে হয় কুকুর।

সেহো মোর প্রিয় অন্যজনে বহুদূর||"

যশোরাজ খান – বঙ্গদেশে প্রথম ব্রজবলী ভাষায় পদরচয়িতা হিসাবে যশোরাজ খানকে ধরা হয়। তাঁর ব্রজবুলি ভাষায় লেখা শ্রীরাধার অভিসার পর্যায়ে একটি পদ হল-

এক পয়োধর চন্দনে লেপিত
আবর সহজই গোর
হিম ধরাধর কনক ভুধর
কোলে মিলন জোর||
.....
পঞ্চ গৌড়েশ্বর ভোজ পুরন্দর
ভনে যশোরাজ খান||[৩]

এই বংশেই শ্রীখন্ড গ্রামে নরহরি সরকার ঠাকুর মহাশয়ের জন্ম হয়। এই শ্রীপাঠ শ্রীখন্ড কাটোয়ার কাছে বর্ধমান জেলায় অবস্থিত।

কবি বিদ্যাপতি – রাধাকৃষ্ণ লীলা বিষয়ক কাব্যস্রষ্টাদের অন্যতম কবি বিদ্যাপতি। ব্রজবুলি ভাষায়"কীর্ত্তিলতা" এবং "গঙ্গাভক্তি তরঙ্গিনী" ইত্যাদি গ্রন্থ রচনা করেন।

রাজা শিব সিংহের সভাকবি ছিলেন বিদ্যাপতি। কবিত্ব শক্তির জন্য ১৪০৮ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে "বিসফী" নামক গ্রামটি উপহার স্বরূপ পান। তিনি একাধারে সঙ্গীত তত্ত্ববিদ অন্যদিকে কবি ও গায়ক যার কৃতি জগতের বুকে চিরন্তন হয়ে বেঁচে রয়েছে। যার প্রভাব বাংলাতেও পৌঁছে গিয়েছিল। তাই কবিরঞ্জনকে বলা হত ছোট বিদ্যাপতি এবং গোবিন্দ দাসকে বলা হত দ্বিতীয় বিদ্যাপতি। বিদ্যাপতির কিছু পদ গোবিন্দ দাস সম্পূর্ণ করেছিলেন-

"বিদ্যাপতি কহ নিকরুন মাধব।
গোবিন্দ দাস রস পুর||"[৩]

বিদ্যাপতির রচনাতে প্রকৃত রসের প্রভাব বেশী একথা সত্য। কিন্তু সমস্ত রচনার মধ্যে অন্তসলিলা ফল্গুধারার মত যে ভক্তিবাদ তথা বৈষ্ণববাদের সংস্কার রয়ে গেছে তা অস্বীকার করা যায় না। ভাবময় তার কাব্য কিন্তু ভাবের উচ্ছ্বাসকে যথোচিত সংযত করে কিভাবে কাব্য সম্পূটে আবদ্ধ রাখা যায় তার যথার্থ নির্দশন হল কবি বিদ্যাপতির পদাবলী।

"প্রেম কি অঙ্কুর আত জাত ভেল।
না ভেল যুগল পলাশ||"

শ্রীচৈতন্য যুগ

শ্রীচৈতন্য মহাপ্রভুর ভগবৎ সত্ত্বার মহিমা যখন প্রকাশ পেল তখন তাঁর পার্ষদবর্গ ছাড়াও ভক্তবৃন্দগণ এমনকি মুসলমান কবিও শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবের গুণ কীর্তন গাইতে এবং লিখতে লাগলেন, ফলে সাহিত্যের ভান্ডার পূর্ণ হতে লাগল| এছাড়া বৃন্দাবনে মহাপ্রভুর নির্দেশে রূপ ও সনাতন যাদের পূর্বনাম "দাবির খাস", "শাখর মল্লিক" তাঁদের দ্বারা গোস্বামী পরম্পরা অসংখ্য গ্রন্থ রচনা ও প্রচার শুরু হয়ে যায়| এই পদ রচয়িতাদের মধ্যে রয়েছে।

১| মুরারী গুপ্ত ছিলেন মহাপ্রভুর সহপাঠী – কবি ও গায়ক

২| বৃন্দাবন দাস ঠাকুর বর্ধমান জেলার দেনুর গ্রামে অবস্থিত "দেনুর পাঠবাড়ী| সেই গ্রামেই জন্ম হয় বৃন্দাবন ঠাকুরের – তিনি মহাপ্রভুর মানসপুত্র, তার প্রধান রচনা- "চৈতন্য ভাগবত", তত্ত্ববিলাস, দধিখন্ড, বৈষ্ণব বন্দনা ইত্যাদি।

অধিবাস কীর্তনের তাঁর বিশেষ পদ-

নানা দ্রব্য আয়োজন করি করে নিমন্ত্রন।
কৃপা করি কর আগমন।
.....
শ্রীকৃষ্ণের লীলা গান করিবেন আস্বাদন
পূরিবে সবার অভিলাষ।
শ্রীকৃষ্ণ চৈতন্য চন্দ্র সকল ভকত বৃন্দ
গুণগান বৃন্দাবন দাস||[৪]

৩| বলরাম দাস - পিতা- আত্মারাম দাস, মাতা- সৌদামিনি, জাতিতে বৈদ্য, নিত্যানন্দপ্রভুর বিশেষ অনুগত।তাঁর বিশেষ পদ-

"গৌর বরণ মণি আভরণ, নাটুয়া মোহন বেশ।
দেখিতে দেখিতে ভুবন ভুলল, টলিল সকল দেশ||"[৩]

৪| জগন্নাথ দাস -উড়িষ্যা কানাই খুঁটিয়া মহাশয়ের পুত্র জগন্নাথ দাস। তাঁর লেখা নৌকাবিলাস পর্যায়ের একটি বিশেষ পদ-

"বড়াই ঐকি ঘাটের নেয়ে, কোথা হতে আসি দিল দরশন,
বিনোদ তরণী বেয়ে।"[১]

৫| জগদানন্দ দাস–পদকর্তা জগন্নাথ দাস ছিলেন যেমন শাস্ত্রজ্ঞ, তেমন সঙ্গীতজ্ঞ। বহুবিধ তিনি রচনা করেছিলেন। তাঁর লেখা একটি বিশেষ পদ-

"জাগহু বৃষভানু নন্দিনী, মোহন যুবরাজ।[১]
এবং দামিনী দাম দমন রূচি দরশনে
দূরে গেও দরপকি দাপ||"[১]

৬| নরহরি সরকার ঠাকুর -বর্ধমান জেলার শ্রীপাঠ শ্রীখন্ডে কহিরাজ পরিবারে তাঁর জন্ম। শ্রীভজনামৃত নামে একটি সংস্কৃত গ্রন্থ তিনি রচনা করেন।

"পদ কল্পতরু" গ্রন্থে পাওয়া যায় তাঁর অনেক পদ-

"শয়নে গৌর স্বপনে গৌর, গৌর নয়ন তারা।
জীবনে গৌর মরণে গৌর, গৌর গলায় হারা||"

.....

গৌর শব্দ গৌর সম্পদ সদা যার হৃদে জাগে।
নরহরি দাস অনুগত তার চরণে শরণ মাগে||[৪]

তাঁর আরও দুই ভাই মাধব দাস ও মুকুন্দ দাস তাঁরাও পদ রচয়িতা ছিলেন।

৭| লোচন দাস -শ্রীনরহরি সরকার মহাশয়ের শিষ্য ছিলেন লোচন দাস ঠাকুর| পিতা- কমলাকর দাস, মাতা- সদানন্দী দেবী| জন্ম ১৪৪৫ শকাব্দে, তিরোভাব ১৫৩০ শকাব্দে| তিনি বহুপদ রচনা করেছিলেন-

"নিতাই গুণমণি আমার গৌর গুণমণি।
আনিয়া প্রেমের বন্যা ভাসাইল অবনী||"[৪]

৮| জ্ঞান দাস -বর্ধমানের কাঁদড়া গ্রামে জন্মগ্রহণ করেন। তিনি অসংখ্য পদ রচনা করেন| যেমন-

"রূপলাগি আঁখি ঝুড়ে গুণে মনভোর।
প্রতি অঙ্গ লাগি কাঁদে প্রতি অঙ্গ মোর।"[১]

৯| বাসুদেব ঘোষ -বৃন্দাবন লীলার অনুরূপ প্রায় সমস্ত গৌরাঙ্গ লীলার পদ রচনা করেন। যেমন- রাসলীলায় তার লেখা গৌর চন্দ্রিকার পদ-

"বৃন্দাবন লীলা গোরার মনেতে পড়িল
যমুনার ভাব সুর ধুনীরে করিল||"[১]

বাসুদেব ঘোষের আরও দুই ভাই মাধব ঘোষ ও গোবিন্দ ঘোষ তাঁরাও পদ রচয়িতা ছিলেন। এছাড়াও এই সময়ে অনেক পদকর্তা গৌর বিষয়ক পদ রচনা করে, সাহিত্য সম্পদের ভান্ডার সমৃদ্ধ করেছিলেন।

১০| বংশী দাস–পদকর্তা বংশী দাস বহু পদ রচনা করেন| তাঁর অধিবাস কীর্তনের একটি বিশেষ পদ-

"জয় জয় নবদ্বীপ মাঝ।
গৌরাঙ্গ আদেশ পাইয়া ঠাকুর অদ্বৈত্য যাইয়া
করে খোল মঙ্গলের সাজ||
আজি খোল মঙ্গলি রাখিয়া আনন্দ করি।
বংশী বলে দেহ জয় রব||"

শ্রী চৈতন্যোত্তর যুগ

মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলার তেলিয়া বুধূরি গ্রাম। পদ্মানদীর এপারে ভগবান গোলার নিকটে, কবিরাজ পরিবারে দুই ভাই রামচন্দ্র কবিরাজ ও গোবিন্দ কবিরাজ জন্মগ্রহণ করেন। রামচন্দ্র ছিলেন বৈষ্ণব আর গোবিন্দ দাস ছিলেন শক্তির উপাসক। একদিন গোবিন্দ অসুস্থতার কারণে রামচন্দ্র সেবা নিবেদন করেন মায়ের মন্দিরে কিন্তু গোবিন্দ প্রসাদে এক অপূর্ব স্বাদ অনুভব করেন। তাঁর মনে কৌতুহল মেটাতে মায়ের স্বপ্নাদেশ হয়। রামচন্দ্র রাধাগোবিন্দের প্রসাদ আমায় নিবেদন করেছে, তাতে আমি খুব খুশি হয়েছি। তারপর থেকেই গোবিন্দ শ্রীনিবাস আচার্য্যের নিকট শিষ্যত্ব গ্রহণ করে বৈষ্ণব হয়ে যান। তাঁর প্রথম পদ-

"ভজহুঁরে মন শ্রীনন্দনন্দন অভয় চরণার বিন্দুরে।
মনুষ্য দুর্লভ জনম সংসঙ্গ, তরহ এ ভব সিন্ধুরে||"[৪]

.....

শ্রবণ কীর্তন স্মরণ বন্দন, পাদ সেবন দাসী রে।
পূজন সখীগণ আত্মনিবেদন, গোবিন্দ দাস অভিলাষী রে||[১]

এমন অসংখ্য পদ তিনি লিখেছিলেন। বলা বাহুল্য এখন যে কোন পালায় গোবিন্দ দাসের পদ এবশ্যই গেয়ে থাকেন কীর্তনিয়াগণ, যাকে বলা হত দ্বিতীয় বিদ্যাপতি, তাঁর প্রায়ই পদ খুব জনপ্রিয়। শ্রীকৃষ্ণের রাসলীলায় প্রধান পদটিই হল গোবিন্দ দাসের-

"শারদ চন্দ পবনমন্দ বিপিনে ভরল কুসুম গন্ধরে।
ঐছনে মিলল গোকুল চন্দ, গোবিন্দ দাস বোলনী||"[১]

নরোত্তম দাস ঠাকুর – রাজশাহী পরগণার খেতুরী গ্রামে নরোত্তম ঠাকুরের জন্ম হয়। পিতা কৃষ্ণানন্দ দত্ত, মাতা নারায়নী। নরহরি চক্রবর্তী কৃত "ভক্তি রত্নাকর" গ্রন্থের দশম তরঙ্গে আছে-

"গীত প্রথা রক্ষা ক্ষোভ নিবৃত্ত নিমিত্তে।
প্রচারিতে সম্যক বিচার কৈল চিতে||
সে সময়ে তাহা প্রেম সম্পূটে রাখিল।
নরোত্তম দ্বারে প্রভু তবে উজারিল||"[২]

অর্থাৎ গীতপ্রথা রক্ষার জন্যই বা কীর্তন সঙ্গীতের উৎকর্ষের নিমিত্তে ঠাকুর নরোত্তমের প্রয়োজন ছিল। নরোত্তম ঠাকুর বৃন্দাবনে যাবার সময় বন্দনা করতে লাগলেন-

"আর কবে নিতাই চাঁদ করুণা করিবে।
সংসার বাসনা মোর কবে তুচ্ছ হবে।
বিষয় ছাড়িয়া কবে শুদ্ধ হবে মন।
কবে হাম হেরব মধুর বৃন্দাবন||"[৫]

তার মনের ইচ্ছা বৃন্দাবনের যুগলকিশোর ভজনা, তাই তিনি লিখেছিলেন-

"রাধা কৃষ্ণ প্রেম মোর যুগল কিশোর।
জীবনে মরণে গতি আর নাহি মোর||"

.....

শ্রীকৃষ্ণচৈতন্য প্রভুর দাসের অনুদাস,
সেবা অভিলাষ মাগে নরোত্তম দাস||[৬]

রাধামোহন – রাধামোহন দাসের জন্ম হয় বর্ধমান জেলার যাজীগ্রামে। তিনি ছিলেন শ্রীনিবাস আচার্য্যের প্রপুত্র| তিনি বহু পদ রচনা করেছিলেন-

১| মধুকর রঞ্জিত, মালতি মন্ডিত, জিত ঘন কুঞ্চিত কেশম্।

২| মান বিরহ জ্বরে পঁহু ভেল ভোর, ও রাঙ্গা নয়নে বহে তপতহিঁলোর|| ইত্যাদি অসংখ্য গৌর বিষয়ক এবং অসংখ্য রাধাকৃষ্ণ বিষয়ক পদ রচনা করেছিলেন রাধামোহন ঠাকুর মহাশয়।

ঘনশ্যাম দাস – পদকর্তা ঘনশ্যাম দাস গৌর বিষয়ক এবং রাধাকৃষ্ণ বিষয়ক বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ের বহু পদ রচনা করেছিলেন।

"যা দেখিনু যমুনার তটে, সেই দেখি এই চিত্রপটে
যার নাম কহিলে বিশাখা, সেই এই পটে আছে আঁকা||
পুন কহে পাইয়া চেতন কি দেখিনু দেখাও সেজন
সখীগণ করয়ে আশ্বাস, ভনে ঘনশ্যাম দাস||"[১]

এমন বহু পদকর্তাদের নাম শ্রীচৈতন্যোত্তর যুগে পাওয়া যায়। যেমন- শশীশেখর দাস, চন্দ্রশেখর দাস, দ্বিজভীম দাস, উদ্ধব দাস, মনোহর দাস, বলরাম দাস, নয়নানন্দ দাস, দীনকৃষ্ণ দাস, বিশ্বম্ভর দাস, পল্লবী দাস, জগন্নাথ দাস, বিপ্রদাস ঘোষ, দাস পূর্ণানন্দ, দাস রঘুনাথ, দীনবন্ধু দাস, শিবরাম দাস, যাদবেন্দ্র দাস।

এছাড়া আরও অসংখ্য পদকর্তা শ্রীচৈতন্যোত্তর যুগে গৌরাঙ্গ এবং রাধাকৃষ্ণ বিষয়ক পদ রচনা করেছিলেন। এসব পদকর্তাদের বলা হয় "মহাজন"। কারণ এঁনারা সকলেই কবি ও গায়ক অর্থাৎ বৈষ্ণব কুলচূড়ামণি ভক্ত বিশেষ। তবে এঁদের মধ্যে বেশিরভাগই ছিলেন মহাপ্রভুর পার্ষদবর্গের বংশাবতংস।

তবে নরোত্তম ঠাকুরের সাহিত্যের অনুপ্রেরণাতেই পরবর্তীকালে অনকেই পদ রচনার দিকে দৃষ্টি নিক্ষেপ করেছিলেন। খেতুরী কীর্তন মহোৎসবের পরবর্তীকালে কীর্তনধারার কিছু বাহকগণের নাম, যেমন- কৃষ্ণদয়াল চন্দ্র, মনোহর চক্রবর্তী, রসিক দাস, অবধূত বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়।

শ্রীচৈতন্য যুগে নবদ্বীপে শ্রীবাস আঙ্গিনা ছিল তৎকালীন বৈষ্ণব ধর্মপ্রচারের প্রধান কেন্দ্র। যেখানে মহাপ্রভু অন্তরঙ্গদের নিয়ে রস আস্বাদন করতেন এবং বহিরঙ্গ ভক্তদের নিয়ে নাম সংকীর্তন করতেন। জাতি-ধর্ম-বর্ণ নির্বিশেষে ভক্তি আন্দোলনের জোয়ারে ভেসে গেল সমাজ, নামে আশ্রয় নিল জগাই মাধাই-এর মতো মহাপাপী, উদ্ধার হলেন চাঁদ কাজী। মহাপ্রভুর সম্পত্তি ছিল শ্রীখোল ও করতাল। এই সকল যন্ত্রের সাহায্যে অগণিত ভক্তগণকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে শ্রীচৈতন্যমহাপ্রভুর নর্তন কীর্তন গৌড়ীয় বৈষ্ণব ধর্মের গৌরবময় অধ্যায় রচিত হল।

"প্রেমে মত্ত নিত্যানন্দ কৃপা অবতার।
উত্তম অধম কিছু না করে বিচার||"[৬]

শান্তিপুরে ছিলেন অদ্বৈত্যাচার্য, যার গৃহে গৌরনিতাই হরিনাম সংকীর্তনের বিধান দিতেন। নামাচার্য্য ব্রহ্মহরিদাস ছিলেন মহাপ্রভুর অন্তরঙ্গ পার্ষদ| তিনি ছিলেন হরিনাম প্রচারের বিশেষ কান্ডারী| কাজীর নির্দেশে বাইশ বাজারে বেত্রাঘাত করেও তাঁর মুখ থেকে হরিনাম বন্ধ করতে পারেনি কাজীর চরগণ।

তাই দেখা যায় সমস্ত বাধা অতিক্রম করে বৈষ্ণবধর্মের প্রভাব চতুর্দিকে ছড়িয়ে পড়ে।

শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব বললেন-

"পৃথিবীতে যত আছে নগর আদি গ্রাম।
সর্বত্র প্রচার হইবে এই হরিনাম||"[৩]

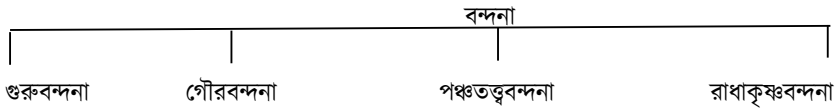
কীর্তনের শ্রেণী

সাধারণ শ্রোতা হিসাবে কীর্তনগানের নানা উপকরণ সমন্বিত অর্থাৎ শ্রীখোল করতালের ধ্বনি আর সবে মিলে একসঙ্গে গান শুনেই কীর্তন বলে চিহ্নিত করে থাকি। কীর্তন নিজে একটি গানের শ্রেণী হলেও কীর্তনের আবার বিষয়ভিত্তিক বা প্রয়োগভিত্তিক কয়েকটি ধরন আছে- এগুলিকেই কীর্তনের শ্রেণী বলে অভিহিত করা হয়। প্রাথমিক আলোচনায় কীর্তনকে দুটি শ্রেণীতে ভাগ করা হয়েছে- যার একটি হল কথাকীর্তন বা পাঠকীর্তন যাকে বলা হয় "শুককীর্তন"। অপরটি হল "নারদ কীর্তন" বা "কীর্তন গান"। এই কীর্তন গানের শ্রেণীগুলি নিম্নরূপ-

১| বন্দনা কীর্তন, ২| প্রার্থনা কীর্তন, ৩| আরতি কীর্তন, ৪| অধিবাস কীর্তন, ৫| পরব কীর্তন, ৬| সূচক কীর্তন, ৭| নাম কীর্তন ও ৮| লীলা কীর্তন।

১| বন্দনা কীর্তন –

বন্দনা হল বৈষ্ণবীয় নববিধা ভক্তির একটি বিশেষ অঙ্গ, সেজন্যই নানাবিধ বন্দনা নানাভাবে লেখা হয়েছে। যেমন- ক) গুরু বন্দনা, খ) গৌর বন্দনা, গ) পঞ্চতত্ত্ব বন্দনা, ঘ) রাধাকৃষ্ণ বন্দনা ও ৫) বৈষ্ণব বন্দনা। "বন্দনা গান" মঙ্গলগান কড়চা সূত্রেই উদ্ভূত। প্রাচীনকালের নিয়ম অনুযায়ী যেকোন গ্রন্থকার গ্রন্থ সৃষ্টির প্রারম্ভেই যে যার উপাস্য দেবতা সকলকে উদ্দেশ্য করে বিভিন্ন ভাষায় একটি করে বন্দনা লিখতেন। মঙ্গলগানের ক্ষেত্রে অর্থাৎ চৈতন্যমঙ্গল, কৃষ্ণমঙ্গল এছাড়াও মনসামঙ্গল, শীতলামঙ্গল, ধর্মমঙ্গল, দেবীমঙ্গল ইত্যাদি সব গানেরই প্রথম অংশে গায়ক পরিচিতি ও বন্দনা থাকে এবং এই বন্দনার অংশটি খুবই আকর্ষণীয়। তবে এসব ক্ষেত্রে বন্দনা অংশটি হল মঙ্গলগানের আঙ্গিক কিন্তু কীর্তনের ক্ষেত্রে বন্দনা নিজেই একপ্রকার গান। সব বন্দনা গানই সহজ তালে এবং পরিচিত সুরে গাওয়া হয়, যেন সকলেই এ গানে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে। ভাবুক গায়ক এসব বন্দনা গানের সঙ্গে ভক্তদের অন্তরের কিছু কিছু ভাবের উপযুক্ত আখর সংযোজন করে, বন্দনা গানকেই কীর্তনের একটি বিশেষ শ্রেণীতে রূপান্তরিত করে থাকেন।



ক) গুরু বন্দনা বিষয়টি বৈষ্ণব সাধনার একটি মৌলিক নীতি, কারণ ভজনের মূল পথপ্রদর্শকই হলেন গুরু এবং গুরু কৃষ্ণ অভিন্ন সত্ত্বা বলে কৃষ্ণ বুদ্ধিতে নানাবিধ সেবা করে থাকেন।

মূলপদ - "শ্রীবৃন্দাবন যুগল ভজনধন
তাহে করল উপদেশ||"

আখর - ১| নিরজনে ভজ গিয়া
২| শ্রীরাধামদনগোপাল পদ
৩| ভজিলে আনন্দ পাবে। -ইত্যাদি

মূলপদ - "নির্মল গৌর প্রেমরস সিঞ্চনে
পুরওয়ল সব মন আশ।"

আখর - ১| কেউত বাকী রইল নারে
২| আমি বাকী রইলাম পরে
৩| ভবসংসার পারাবারে। -ইত্যাদি

মূলপদ - "সোচরণাম্বুজে রতি নাহি হোয়ল

রোয়ত বৈষ্ণব দাস।"

আখর - ১| কি হবে গতি, এখন আমার

২| শ্রীগুরুপদে না হল মতি

৩| বৃথা হল আসা যাওয়া। -ইত্যাদি

এমন আরও অনেক গুরুবন্দনা গান আছে। ঠাকুর নরোত্তম খুব স্পষ্টভাবে, সুশৃঙ্খল ও সরল বাংলা ভাষায় বর্ণনা করেছেন।

খ) গৌর বন্দনা কীর্তনের প্রাক্কালে আবশ্যকীয় বলে নানা পদ রচনা হয়েছে। বিশেষত: নরহরি সরকার এবং নরোত্তম দাসের পদগুলি নানাভাবে গাওয়া হয়ে থাকে। লীলা কীর্তনে গৌরচন্দ্রিকা প্রচলিত হওয়ার দরুন পৃথকভাবে কোন গৌরবন্দনার পদ গাওয়ার প্রয়োজন থাকে না। কিন্তু প্রাচীন গায়কগণ আপত্তনের সূত্রে গৌরবন্দনা বা আবাহন করে থাকেন। আপত্তনের দুটি অংশ- পূর্বরূপ এবং উত্তররূপ যার আলাপ পর্যায়ে-

"এস হে, গৌর হে, তোমার ভাই নিতাইকে সঙ্গে করে
একবার দয়া করে এসো হে,
তুমি আসিলে আনন্দ হবে, একবার দয়া করে এসো হে,
তোমার ভক্তগণ তোমাকে ডাকে,
একবার দয়া করে এসো হে, তোমার সাঙ্গপাঙ্গ সঙ্গে লয়ে,
একবার দয়া করে এসো হে।"[৫]

নানাভাবে এই কথাগুলি উচ্চারণ করে গৌরবন্দনা করা হয়। গৌর ও নিতাইকে আহ্বান করার জন্য প্রচলিত একটি পদ-

"এস গৌরাঙ্গ এস নিতাই।
এস দুটি ভাই গৌর নিতাই
দ্বিজমণি দ্বিজরাজ হে।
পূজিব চরণ এই আকিঞ্চন
রাখিব হৃদয় মাঝে হে
যন্ত্র যদি পড়ে থাকে
লক্ষ জনার মাঝে।
যন্ত্রিক বিহনে যন্ত্র
কেমনে সে বাজে||"–ইত্যাদি

খ) পঞ্চতত্ত্ব বন্দনা –পঞ্চতত্ত্ব বন্দনা হল শ্রীমদ্ভাগবত পাঠের আদ্যন্ত কীর্তন। এই গানটিতে গৌর, নিত্যানন্দ, অদ্বৈত্য, শ্রীবাস ও গদাধর এই পঞ্চতত্ত্ব ছাড়াও গৌরপরিকরগণের জয়সূচক গান থাকে। অত্যন্ত সহজ সুরে চতুর্মাত্রিক ছন্দের চঞ্চপুট তালে গাওয়া হয়। বোলটি হল-

ঝাঁ – দাঘি নাৎ তেই / খি – গুরুগুরু জাজজা /

এমন ছন্দে করতালের তিনটি করে আঘাত আর ভক্তদের মনের মত আখর সংযোজন করে গানটিকে ভরিয়ে তোলা হয়। এর পরবর্তী অনুষ্ঠানটি হল ভাগবত পাঠ। গানটির প্রথম চরণটি দাস পেড়ে তালের মধ্যগতিতে অথবা আলাপের মত করে গাওয়া হয়-

"জয় জয় নিত্যানন্দাদ্বৈত গৌরাঙ্গ।
নিতাই, গৌরাঙ্গ নিতাই গৌরাঙ্গ||"

পরবর্তী অংশ চঞ্চপুট তালে গাওয়া হয়-

"জয় জয় যশোদানন্দন শচীসুত গৌরচন্দ্র।
জয় জয় রোহিনীনন্দন বলরাম নিত্যানন্দ।
জয়জয় মহাবিষ্ণুর অবতার শ্রীঅদ্বৈতচন্দ্র।
জয় জয় গদাধর শ্রীবাসাদি গৌরভক্তবৃন্দ||
জয় জয় স্বরূপ রূপ সনাতন রায় রামানন্দ।
জয় জয় খন্ডবাসী নরহরি মুরারী মুকুন্দ||
জয় জয় পঞ্চপুত্র সঙ্গে ভজেন রায় ভবানন্দ।
জয় জয় তিন পুত্র সঙ্গে নাচেন সেন শিবানন্দ
জয় জয় দ্বাদশগোপাল আদি চৌষট্টিমহান্ত।
জয় জয় ছয় চক্রবর্তী অষ্ট কবিরাজাচার্য্য||
জয় জয় উড়িয়া গৌড়ীয় যত গৌর ভক্তবৃন্দ।
তোমরা সবে মিলে কর কৃপা আমি অতি মন্দ||
যেন আকুল প্রাণে গাইতে পারি হা নিতাই গৌরাঙ্গ।
তোমরা কৃপা করে দাও গৌরচরণারবৃন্দ||
(এবার আমায় দাও গৌর চরণ)"

ভক্তদের অতি প্রিয় এই গানটির সবকটি চরণ একই সুরে, সেজন্য প্রতি ক্ষেত্রেই দ্বিতীয় চরণটি একটু চড়িয়ে শুরু করা হয় মাত্র।

ঘ) রাধাকৃষ্ণ বন্দনা- পাঠের আঙ্গিককীর্তন, পাঠ শেষ হলে গাওয়া হয়। সুর, তাল ও পরিবেশনের দিক থেকে পঞ্চতত্ত্ব বন্দনা ও রাধাকৃষ্ণ বন্দনা অবিকল একই, কেবল গানের কথাগুলি ভিন্ন। রাধাকৃষ্ণ গানটি হল-

যেমন- "জয় জয় রাধেকৃষ্ণ গোবিন্দ
রাধে গোবিন্দ রাধে গোবিন্দ||"

এই অংশটুকু দাসপ্যারী তালের মধ্যগতিতে এবং পরের অংশটি দাসপ্যারী তালের ছোট গতিতে অর্থাৎ চঞ্চপুট তালে গাওয়া হয়।

"জয় জয় শ্যামসুন্দর মদনমোহন বৃন্দাবনচন্দ্র।
জয় জয় রাধারমণ রাসবিহারী শ্রীগোকুলানন্দ||
জয় জয় রাসেশ্বরী বিনোদিনী ভানুকূলচন্দ্র।

জয় জয় রাধাকান্ত রাধাবিনোদ শ্রীরাধাগোবিন্দ||
জয় জয় ললিতা বিশাখা আদি যত সখীবৃন্দ।
জয় জয় শ্রীরূপ মঞ্জরী আদি মঞ্জরী অনঙ্গ||
জয় জয় পৌর্ণমাসী কুন্দলতা জয় বীরাবৃন্দ।
তোমরা সবে মিলে কর কৃপা আমি অতি মন্দ ||
যেন আকুল প্রাণে গাইতে পারি হা রাধে গোবিন্দ।
তোমরা সবে মিলে দাও যুগল চরণারবৃন্দ||
(এবার আমায় দাও যুগল চরণ)"

ঙ) বৈষ্ণব বন্দনা- বৈষ্ণব বন্দনার পদ মহাজন পদাবলীতে অনেক আছে| কীর্তনের শেষে সবাই মিলে গানটি করে থাকেন। গানটির প্রথম চরণ- "হরি হরয়ে নম কৃষ্ণ যাদবায় নম"-। যার উল্লেখ চৈতন্য ভাগবতে পাই। গানটি হল-

হরি হরয়ে নম কৃষ্ণ যাদবায় নম।
যাদবায় মাধবায় কেশবায় নম||
গোপাল গোবিন্দরাম শ্রীমধুসূদন।
গিরিধারী গোপীনাথ মদনমোহন||
শ্রীচৈতন্য নিত্যানন্দ শ্রীঅদ্বৈত সীতা।
হরিগুরু বৈষ্ণব ভাগবত গীতা||
জয় রূপ সনাতন ভট্ট রঘুনাথ।
শ্রীবীজ গোপাল ভট্ট দাস রঘুনাথ||
এই ছয় গোঁসাইর করি চরণ বন্দন।
যাহা হৈতে বিঘ্ননাশ অভীষ্ট পূরণ||
এই ছয় গোঁসাই যাঁর মুঁই তাঁর দাস।
তাঁ সবার পদরেণু মোর পঞ্চগ্রাস||
তাঁদের চরণ সেবি ভক্তসনে বাস।
জনমে জনমে হয় এই অভিলাষ||
এই ছয় গোঁসাই যবে ব্রজে কৈলেন বাস।
রাধাকৃষ্ণ নিত্যলীলা করিলেন প্রকাশ||
মনের আনন্দে বল বরি ভজ বৃন্দাবন।
শ্রীগুরু বৈষ্ণবপদে মজাইয়া মন||
শ্রীগুরু বৈষ্ণব পাদপদ্ম করি আশ।
নাম সংকীর্তন করেন নরোত্তম দাস||[৫]

পদটি সরল সুরে সহজ তালে সকলেই দাঁড়িয়ে সমবেত কণ্ঠে গাওয়া হয়।

২| প্রার্থনা কীর্তন -

ভক্তপ্রাণের আকুতি প্রকাশের জন্য আত্মনিবেদন দৈন্যবোধ বৃন্দাবন লালসা গৌরনিত্যানন্দনের চরণে শরণাগতি, বৈষ্ণবের কৃপাভিক্ষা, শ্রীগুরুপাদপদ্মে শরাণাগতি ও অভিলাষজ্ঞাপন ইত্যাদির অভিপ্রায়ে গানের উপযুক্ত করে বিভিন্ন সময়ে বৈষ্ণব মহাজনগণ যেসব পদ রচনা করেছেন সেগুলিই হল প্রার্থনার পদ এবং সে গানগুলিই হল প্রার্থনা কীর্তন। এই প্রার্থনাগুলি বৈষ্ণবদের কণ্ঠহার, অনেক বৈষ্ণব মহাজন পদকর্তা যেমন- গোবিন্দ দাস, জ্ঞানদাস, নয়নানন্দ, রাধামোহন, বাসুদেব ঘোষ, বলরাম দাস প্রমুখ বহু প্রার্থনা পদ লিখেছেন। সমসাময়িক কবিদের মধ্যে নরোত্তম ঠাকুরের পদাবলী সম্পূর্ণ স্বকীয় সত্ত্বা নিয়ে আজও অব্যাহত রূপে সকলকে আনন্দ দান করে। এই প্রার্থনা গানগুলিরও শ্রেণী আছে।

নিত্যানন্দের প্রতি আর্তি:

ক) প্রার্থনা কীর্তন – নরোত্তম ঠাকুর

নিতাই পদ কমল, কোটী চন্দ্র সুশীতল, যে ছায়ায় জগত জুড়ায়।
হেন নিতাই বিনে ভাই, রাধাকৃষ্ণ পাইতে নাই।
দৃঢ় করি ধর নিতাইর পায়।
সে সম্বন্ধ নাহি যার, বৃথা জন্ম গেল তার, সেই পশু বড় দুরাচার।
নিতাই না বলিল মুখে, মজিল সংসার সুখে,
বিদ্যাকুলে কি করিবে তার||
অহঙ্কারে মত্ত হৈয়া, নিতাই পদ পাশরিয়া, অসত্যেরে সত্য করি মানি
নিতাইর করুণা হবে, ব্রজে রাধা কৃষ্ণ পাবে,
ধর নিতাইর চরণ দুখানি||
নিতাইর চরণ সত্য তাহার সেবক নিত্য, নিতাই পদ সদা কর আশ
নরোত্তম বড় দু:খী, নিতাই মোরে কর সুখী,
রাখ রাঙ্গা চরণের পাশ||

৩| আরতি কীর্তন:

আরতি কীর্তন বেশীর ভাগ ঠাকুর বাড়িতে নিত্যকৃত। কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে নিত্য না হলেও কোন উৎসব বা অনুষ্ঠান উপলক্ষ্যে ভক্তদের সমাগম হলে আরতির সময় কীর্তন গান হয়ে থাকে। সাধারণত শ্রীখোল, করতাল, কাঁসর, ঘন্টা ইত্যাদি সহযোগে। আরতি কীর্তন তিন প্রকার।

ক) মঙ্গল আরতি
খ) মধ্যকালীন ভোগ আরতি এবং
গ) সন্ধ্যা আরতি

৪| অধিবাস কীর্তন

শুভ অধিবাস কীর্তন হল মাঙ্গলিক আনুষ্ঠানিক কীর্তন| যার প্রবর্তক স্বয়ং শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব। পরদিন প্রাত:কাল থেকে কীর্তনমহোৎসব শুরু হবে এমন সংকল্প করবার জন্যই এই অধিবাস কীর্তন। আট, ষোল, চব্বিশ ইত্যাদি বহু প্রহরব্যাপী নাম সংকীর্তন হতে পারে। আবার অষ্টকালীন লীলাকীর্তনও হতে পারে অথবা পছন্দমত নানাপ্রকার লীলা হতে পারে। এসব ক্ষেত্রেই অধিবাস কীর্তন শুরু হয় আগের দিন সন্ধ্যায়। নাটমন্দির বা প্যান্ডেলকে আমের পল্লব দিয়ে সাজিয়ে বিগ্রহের পূজা অভিষেক করা হয়। পূর্ণঘট স্থাপন করে, একটি প্রদীপ জ্বালিয়ে রাখতে হয়| গায়ক, বাদক ও শ্রোতা বৈষ্ণবদের নিমন্ত্রণ করতে হয়। ঠাকুর নয়নানন্দের রচিত "জয় রে জয় রে গোরা" এই গানটি বড় দশকুশী তালের গান হিসাবে খুবই প্রসিদ্ধ এবং অতি বিলম্বিত লয়ে গাওয়া হয়। বৃন্দাবনে গানটি মধ্যম দশকুশী তালে গাওয়া হয়। আখরের মাধুর্য নিয়ে মূল গানটি ভরপুর হয়ে উঠত। মূল গানটি হল-

জয় রে জয় রে গোরা শ্রীশচীনন্দন
মঙ্গল নটন সুঠাম।
গোবিন্দ মৃদঙ্গ লৈয়া বাজায় তাত্তা থৈয়া থৈয়া
করতালে অদ্বৈত চপল।
হরিদাস করে গান শ্রীবাস ধরয়ে তান
নাচে গোরা কীর্তন মঙ্গল||
চৌদিকে বৈষ্ণবগণ হরি বলে ঘন ঘন
কালই হবে কীর্তন মহোৎসব
আজু খোল মঙ্গলি রাখয়ে আনন্দ করি
বংশী কহে দেহ জয় রব||

এই গানটি পরে নামকীর্তন করে খোল করতাল রেখে বিশ্রাম দেওয়া হয়। পরের দিন সকালে মঙ্গল আরতির সময় পর্যন্ত এই অধিবাস পর্ব থাকে।

৫| পরবগান

"পরবগান"-কে বলা হয় "পর্বগান" অর্থাৎ রাধাকৃষ্ণ লীলা বিষয়ক গান, বিশেষ পরবের দিনে গাওয়া হয় বলে এগুলি "পরবগান" বলা হয়। এই পর্বগুলি হল- হোরী, ঝুলন, রাস ইত্যাদি।

ক) হোরীলীলা – হোরীলীলা ফাল্গুনী পূর্ণিমা তিথির লীলা এবং বসন্তের বিশেষ লীলা। বৃন্দাবনে প্রাচীন পদ্ধতি অনুসারে মহাসমারোহে মুক্ত মঞ্চে লীলাটি স্মরণ করা হয়। সকলেই ঠাকুরকে আবীর, রং ইত্যাদি দিয়ে থাকে। এই তিথির অপর আকর্ষণ হল শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবের আবির্ভাব।

সঙ্গীত বিষয়ে এই হোরীলীলাটি বিভিন্ন ক্ষেত্রে বিশেষ গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে। ধ্রুপদে হোরীগান গাওয়া হয়, হোরীতালে অর্থাৎ "ধামারতালে"। আঞ্চলিক পর্যায়ে লোকসঙ্গীত হিসাবে এই হোরীলীলার এসব প্রসিদ্ধ গান যখন গায়কের কণ্ঠে মধুর সুরে নির্গত হয় তখন লীলা মূর্তিমান হয়েওঠে। কালোচিত লীলা বলে ঋতুরাজ সমাগমের সরাজগোবিন্দের আচরণ যেমন মূর্তহয়, তেমনই রাইরসবতীর ফাগুয়া মাখা বদনচাঁদ প্রত্যক্ষ উদয় হয় শ্রোতার সমক্ষে। বসন্ত মাখানো সুরের

ভাঁতি, কুসুমনাচা ঠমকি ছন্দ, ভক্তহংস বৃন্দের প্রেমসুধা পানের আকুতি আর গায়ক-বাদকের শৈল্পিক সংকলনবৃত্তি সবমিলে হোরীলীলার যে চমৎকারিতা সৃষ্টি হয়, তা থেকে উপলব্ধি হয় বাংলার সঙ্গীতের চিরন্তন এবং অবিনশ্বর ধারা।

খ) ঝুলনলীলা – ঝুলনলীলা হল বর্ষাকালোচিত লীলা। শ্রাবণ মাসের শুক্লাপক্ষ থেকে পূর্ণিমা পর্যন্ত এই লীলা স্মরণ করা হয়। এই সময়ে প্রতিটি ঠাকুরবাড়িতে অতি সুন্দর দোলা সাজিয়ে, "হিন্দোলা"-য় রাধাকৃষ্ণের বিগ্রহ বসিয়ে ঝোলানো হয়। একেই বলে ঝুলনলীলা বা হিন্দোললীলা।

এই লীলা প্রসঙ্গটি শুরু হয় রাধারানীর অভিসার দিয়ে-

"ঝুলা ছলে ধনী চলে বিনোদিনী।
ললিতাদি সখি সঙ্গে||"[৫] –ইত্যাদি।

যার গৌরচন্দ্রিকা তেওট তালের - "ঢর ঢর কাঞ্চন নিন্দি কলেবর", গড়াণহাটি ধারায়। এছাড়াও তেওট তালে-

"নওল নওলি নব রঙ্গমে, দুহু ঝুলত প্রেম তরঙ্গমে"

এর পরের অংশ-

"বদত ময়ুর চাতক চকোর
কীর কোকিল অনগনি।
রটতা দরদা তোয়ে দাদুরী
বুন্দ সুন্দর নেনি নেনি||"[৫]

"বুন্দ সুন্দর" অর্থে ঝিরঝির বৃষ্টি মকরন্দ বিন্দুর মত ঝুলন আয়োজিত হর্ষ-বর্ষদ কুঞ্জকে শোভা করেছে।গোবিন্দলীলামৃত গ্রন্থে এই প্রসঙ্গটি বিন্যাসের অপূর্ব বৃত্তান্ত পাওয়া যায়।

হিন্দোলা রচনার বিষয়ে যোগমায়ার অপূর্ব নিপুণতা, কদম্ববৃক্ষের সরল শাখা সংশ্লিষ্ট বঙ্গীয় চালাঘরের ভঙ্গিমা, তাঁরনীচেয় বেদী নির্মিত হয়- তারই নাম "মণিকুট্রিম"। তার উপরেই থাকে "রতন হিন্দোল", তার উপরে থাকে পরাগ রচিত পুষ্পশয্যা, এই হিন্দোলে রাধা গোবিন্দ যুগল হয়ে বসেন এবং সখীগণ ঝুলনা দুলাতে থাকেন।

আবার কখন স্বয়ং শ্রীকৃষ্ণ পদযুগলের সাহায্যে দোলনাটি জোরে দোলাতে থাকেন।

রাধারানী ভীত হয়ে পড়েন-

"ঝুলনা ধমকে চমকে রাই, বিহসি মাধব ধরই তাই।
আনন্দে অবশ পরশ পাই, চাপি ধরই কোলরি||"[৫] –ইত্যাদি।

তখন শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে অনুরোধ করে- "শ্যাম নাগর অতি বেগে ঝুলাইওনা"- এটি আড় তালের একটি প্রসিদ্ধ গান। রাধাগোবিন্দ মুখোমুখি গতিশীল ঝলনায়- প্রতিফলিত রশ্মি একে অন্যের অঙ্গে বর্ষিত হতে থাকে। শ্রীমতি রাধারানী ভাবেন হায়! প্রাণ বধু বুঝি নাই। আবার শ্রীকৃষ্ণও তেমনি প্রেমকাকে নিমেষে হারান। কাছে থাকা সত্ত্বেও যখন উভয়ে উভয়ের অভাব বোধ করে থাকেন তখনই প্রেমবৈচিত্র্য এবং এই ভাবের সুন্দরতার প্রকাশ পাওয়া যায় ঝুলনলীলায়।

গ) শ্রীকৃষ্ণের জন্মলীলা – ভাদ্র কৃষ্ণাষ্টমী তিথিতে আবির্ভাব হন শ্রীকৃষ্ণচন্দ্র। ঐ দিনটিকে বলা হয় জন্মাষ্টমী। কংসের কারাগারে চতুর্ভুজ নবজাত শিশুকে দেখে মাতা দেবকী স্তুতি শুরু করেন। বসুদেব দুরাচারী কংসের হাত থেকে

সন্তানকে রক্ষা করতে বজ্র-বৃষ্টি মাথায় করে যমুনা পার হয়ে নন্দালয়ে পৌঁছে দেন। নন্দালয়ে মা যশোদা এক কন্যা সন্তান জন্ম দেন। এই কন্যা সন্তানটিকে নিয়ে ফিরে এলেন বসুদেব দেবকীর কাছে। ঐ শিশুই কংস-নিধনের ভবিষ্যবাণী করে বললেন-

"তোমাকে বধিবে যে
গোকুলে বাড়িছে সে||"

পরদিন প্রাত:কাল থেকে নন্দালয়ে শুরু হয় নন্দোৎসব| তবে এই লীলার গৌরচন্দ্রিকায় শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব স্বয়ং পিতা নন্দের ভাবে বিভাবিত-

"পূরব জনম দিবস দেখিয়া
আবেশে গৌর রায়।
নিজগণ লৈয়া হরষিত হইয়া
নন্দ মহোৎসব গায়||"[৬] –ইত্যাদি।

শ্রীকৃষ্ণের জন্মের সময়ে স্বর্গে যে আনন্দ উৎসব ও দেবগণের পুষ্প বরিষন তা পদাবলীতে উল্লেখ রয়েছে-

"স্বর্গে দুন্দুভি বাজে নাচে দেবগণ
হরি হরি হরিধ্বনি ভরিল ভুবন।
ব্রহ্মা নাচে শিব নাচে আর নাচে ইন্দ্র
গোকুলে গোয়ালা নাচে পাইয়া গোবিন্দ||"[৬]

নন্দ নাচেরে গোবিন্দ পাইয়া, নন্দ নাচেরে, আনন্দ পাইয়া নন্দ নাচেরে, এই উৎসবে নন্দের মন্দিরে গোয়ালাগণ ধেয়ে এলেন-

"নন্দের মন্দিরে রে গোয়ালা আইল ধাঞা।
এ দাস শিবাইর মন ভুলিয়া রইল||"[৬]

ঘ) রাসলীলা – পরবগানের মধ্যে সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রচলিত হল রাসলীলা। এর দুটি প্রকারের মধ্যে একটি হল নিত্যরাস বা মহারাস, অপরটি শারদীয় রাস বা নর্তক রাস। নিত্যরাস সর্বকালীন- যেকোন সময়ে গাওয়া চলে। আর শারদীয়া রাস দেবী ভাগবতীর শুভ বিজয়ার পরদিন যে একাদশী, সেদিন থেকে শুরু করে শারদীয়া পূর্ণিমা পর্যন্ত এই লীলাটির গায়নকাল। বৈষ্ণবীয় মতে রাসের সূত্র ধরেই সঙ্গীতের উৎকর্ষ সৃষ্টি হয়েছে। সেখানে রাগিনী ও নৃত্যের বিভিন্ন তালের উদ্ভব ঘটেছে। এখানে রাধা পূর্ণশক্তি, কৃষ্ণ পূর্ণশক্তিমান- উভয়ের সম্পর্ক ভেদ হয়েও অভেদ। এই লীলাবিলাসের পরিণতি, রাই-কানু একাকৃতি হয়ে গৌরসুন্দরের আবির্ভাব।

রাসলীলা প্রসঙ্গটি শ্রীমদ্ভাগবতের দশম স্কন্ধে ২৯ থেকে ৩৩ অধ্যায় পর্যন্ত পাঁচটি অধ্যায়ে অপূর্বভাবে বর্ণিত হয়েছে এবং সেই আদর্শকে আশ্রয় করে পদরচয়িতা মহাজনগণ সুন্দরভাবে বর্ণনা করেছেন, যেগুলি সাঙ্গীতিক বিন্যাসে অপূর্ব রূপ ধারণ করেছে। এই লীলার গোরচন্দ্রিকা। যেমন-

১| গোরা নাচে প্রেম বিনোদিয়া। মধ্যম দশকুশী তালের গান
২| নাচে গৌর রাসরস অন্তর। বড় দশকুশী তালের গান

৩| বৃন্দাবন লীলা গোরার মনেতে পড়িল
যমুনার ভাবে সুর ধূনীরে করিল। সমতালের গান।

শ্রীকৃষ্ণ স্বয়ং কলেবর পৃথকীকরণের কারণ হল লীলারস আস্বাদন অর্থাৎ গোপীও কৃষ্ণ, পশু, পাখী ও বৃক্ষলতাদি সকলেই কৃষ্ণ। তাই-

"যাহাযাহা নেত্র পড়ে, তাহা কৃষ্ণ স্ফূরে।"

দেহান্তর্গত বিভিন্ন অঙ্গ উপাঙ্গের পারস্পরিক ক্রিয়া সংকল্পেই ভগবানের লীলারূপে প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। সাধারণ সামাজিক বিচারে নরলীলা হলেও এটি ভগবৎলীলা, তাই চৈতন্যচরিতামৃতে বলা হয়েছে-

"অকৈতব কৃষ্ণপ্রেম জিনি জম্বুনদ হেম
সে প্রেম নৃলোকে না হয়।
যদি হয় তার যোগ কভু না হয় বিয়োগ
বিয়োগ হলে কভু না জীয়য়||"[৫]

সমগ্র লীলার মূল আদর্শ হল প্রেম, আপাত বিচারে মনে হতে পারে সখীদের সঙ্কল্পে আত্মতুষ্টির প্রেরণা থাকতে পারে কিন্তু প্রকৃতপক্ষে তা নয়। এটি হল কামগন্ধ-বিবর্জিত লীলা-

"আত্মেন্দ্রিয় প্রীতি ইচ্ছা তারে বলি কাম।
কৃষ্ণেন্দ্রিয় প্রীতি ইচ্ছা ধরে প্রেমনাম||"

সকলেই অভিলাষী- কেহদাস্য, কেহসখ্য, কেহশান্ত, কেহবাৎসল্য, কেহ মাধুর্য কিন্তু লক্ষ্য একটাই শ্রীকৃষ্ণ প্রাপ্তি। অর্থাৎ জীবআত্মা ও পরমাত্মার মিলন স্থানই হল রাসস্থলী। রাসলীলায় প্রথম পদই হল-

"শারদচন্দ্রপনমন্দ,

বিপিনে ভরল কুসুমগন্ধ||"[৬] –ইত্যাদি।

৬| সূচককীর্তন

বৈষ্ণবআচার্য বৃন্দের বা গুরুবর্গের তিরোধান তিথিকে উপলক্ষ করে নির্দিষ্টতালে ও সুরে নির্দিষ্টচরিত গীত গেয়ে আচার্যকে স্মরণ করা হয় তাকে সূচক কীর্তন বলা হয়| যেমন- শ্রী গুরুপূর্ণিমা বা আষাঢ় মাসের পূর্ণিমা তিথিকে জগদ্গুরু শ্রীসনাতন গোস্বামীর সূচক গাওয়া হয়| সূচক গানের ক্ষেত্রেও প্রথমে গৌরচন্দ্রিকা করে নিতে হয়| এই গৌরচন্দ্রিকার নির্দিষ্ট গানটি হল বড়দশকুশীতালের-

"প্রেম সিন্ধু গোরারায় নিতাই তরঙ্গতায়
করুণা বাতাস চারিপাশে।
ভক্ত হংস চক্রবাকে পিবি পিবি বলি ডাকে
তাপ তৃষ্ণা সবাকারনাশে||"[৫] –ইত্যাদি।

এই গোরচন্দ্রিকা পরে সূচক কীর্তন শুরু হয়।
ঠাকুর নরোত্তম সূচক কীর্তন। যেমন-

"ও মোর করুণাময় শ্রীঠাকুর মহাশয়
নরোত্তম প্রেমের মুরতি।
কিবা সে কোমলতনু শিরীষ কুসুম যনু
জিনিয়া কনক দেহি দ্যুতি||"[৫] –ইত্যাদি।

৭| নাম সংকীর্তন

কীর্তন হল "বহুগণর্ভিমিলিত্মাতদ্ গান সুখম্"(নারদীয় পঞ্চরাত্র) অর্থাৎ অনেকে মিলে ভগবৎ - সুখ – নিমিত্ত ভগবৎ - সম্পর্কিত যে যে গান গেয়ে থাকেন তাই হল কীর্তন গান| ভাগবৎ- সম্পর্কিত গান বলতে কি? এই প্রশ্নের সমাধান হয় শ্রীজীব গোস্বামীর উক্তিতে- "ভগবদনামগুণলীলাদি উচ্চৈর্ভাষা তু কীর্তনম্।" ভগবানের নাম গুণ লীলা ইত্যাদির গান।

শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব সর্বাধিক গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছেন অনেকে মিলে গাওয়া গান নাম সংকীর্তনের উপর। তাই শিক্ষাষ্টকের প্রথম শ্লোকেই তিনি বলেছেন-

"চৈতদর্পণ মার্জ্জনং ভবমহাদাবাগ্নিনির্বাপণং
শ্রেয়:কৈরবচন্দ্রিকাবিতরণম্ বিদ্যাবধুজীবনম্।
প্রতিপদপূর্ণামৃতাস্বাদনম্ সর্বাত্মসমর্পণং
পরং বিজয়তে শ্রীকৃষ্ণসংকীর্তনম্ ||"[৫]

আবার বলেছেন- নাম সংকীর্তন কলৌ পরম উপায়। অর্থাৎ সংসারের দাবানলের দগ্ধ হতে হতে মানুষ যখন নিরুপায় এবং অসহায় হয়ে পড়বে, তখন তার রক্ষা পাবার একমাত্র পরম উপায় হবে নাম সংকীর্তন।

তাই শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব অঙ্গীকার করেছিলেন-

"পৃথিবীতে আছে যত নগরাদিগ্রাম।
সর্বত্র প্রচার হইবে মোর নাম||
ঘরে ঘরে প্রবর্তাইমু নাম সংকীর্তন||"[৫]

শাস্ত্রমতে চারযুগের নাম-

১| সত্যযুগের নাম-

"নারায়ণ পরা বেদা নারায়ণ পরাক্ষরা।
নারায়ণ পরা মুক্তি নারায়ণ পরা গতি||"[৫]

২| ত্রেতাযুগের নাম-

"রামনারায়ণানন্ত মুকুন্দ মধুসূদন।
কৃষ্ণ কেশব কংসারে হরে বৈকুণ্ঠ বামন||"[৫]

৩| দ্বাপরযুগের নাম-

"হরে মুরারে মধুকৈটভারে।

গোপাল গোবিন্দ মুকুন্দ সৌরে||
যজ্ঞেশ নারায়ণ কৃষ্ণ বিষ্ণো
নিরাশ্রয়ং মাং জগদীশ রক্ষ||"[৫]

৪| কলিযুগের নাম-

"হরে কৃষ্ণ হরে কৃষ্ণ কৃষ্ণ কৃষ্ণ হরে হরে।
হরে রাম হরে রাম রাম রাম হরে হরে।"[৫]

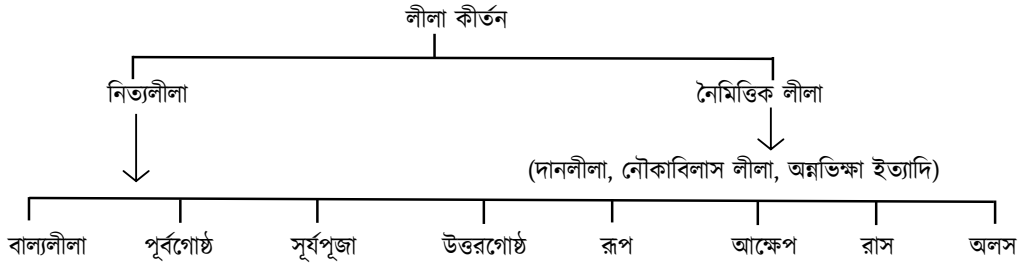
এছাড়াও চৈতন্য যুগে আরও কিছু নামকীর্তন শুরু হয়-

১| "রাম রাঘব রাম রাঘব রাম রাঘব রক্ষ মাম্।
কৃষ্ণ কেশব কৃষ্ণ কেশব কৃষ্ণ কেশব পাহি মাম্||"[৫]

২| "হরি হরয়ে নম: কৃষ্ণ যাদবায় নম:।
যাদবায় মাধবায় কেশবায় নম:||"[৫]

লীলা কীর্তন –

যখন কোন ঘটনাকে কেন্দ্র করে সেই ঘটনা প্রসঙ্গে বিভিন্ন বৈষ্ণব পদকর্তাদের রচিত পদগুলি মালা আকারে সাজিয়ে পরিবেশন করা হয় তাকে বলে পালা কীর্তন বা লীলা কীর্তন। এই লীলা কীর্তন আবার দুই প্রকার। যেমন- নিত্যলীলা ও নৈমিত্তিক লীলা।



নিত্যলীলা - ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণ প্রতিদিন নিয়মিত সকাল থেকে পরদিন সকাল পর্যন্ত যে লীলাগুলি করতেন সেই লীলাগুলিকেই নিত্যলীলা বলা হয়।

বাল্যলীলা - যেমন সকাল ৬টা থেকে ৯ টা পর্যন্ত তিন ঘন্টা যে লীলা হয়, তাকে বলে বাল্যলীলা অর্থাৎ সকালে মা যশোদা গোপালকে ঘুম থেকে জাগিয়ে রাখাল বেশে সাজিয়ে, গোপালের জন্য বিভিন্ন দেবদেবীর আশীর্বাদ প্রার্থনা করে দাদা বলরাম ও সখাদের হাতে প্রাণের গোপালকে তুলে দিয়ে বিলাপ।

প্রধান পদ- কোলেতে করিয়া রাণী নিরখিয়া মুখ।

সুখের সাগরে ডুবে সব দু:খ||[৬]

পূর্বগোষ্ঠ - দাদা বলরাম ও সখাগণ সঙ্গে গোবৎস নিয়ে মহানন্দে গোচারণ ক্ষেত্রে গমনানন্দকেই বলে পূর্বগোষ্ঠ।

প্রধান পদ- জননী বিদায় করি, গোঠরে চলিলা হরি, কহয়ে শুনরে ওরে ভাই।
না যাইব কোন মাঠ, চলু সবে গিরিতটে, হাঁকারিয়া দেহ সব গাই||[৬]

সূর্যপূজা – শ্রীকৃষ্ণের সঙ্গে বন দর্শনের অভিলাষে সখিগণকে সঙ্গে লয়ে শাশুড়ী ও ননদীকে ফাঁকি দিয়ে সূর্যপূজার ছলা করে বনে গমন ও সূর্যদেবতা সাজিয়ে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে পূজা করাই সূর্যপূজা।

প্রধান পদ- কুসুমিত কুঞ্জ, কলপ-তরু- কানন, মণিময় মন্ডপ মাঝ।
আইলা কলাবতি সবজন সংহতি, করে লই পূজন সাজ||[৬]

উত্তরগোষ্ঠ – সারাদিন বনে ধেনু ফিরিয়ে ক্লান্ত রাখাল বালকগণ ঘরে ফিরছেন পাঁচুনি কাঁচনি দ্বারা ধেনু বৎসগুলিকে একত্রিত করে এবং ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণ বেণু বাজিয়ে ধেনু বৎসগুলিকে ডাকিতে লাগিলেন- শ্যামলী, ধবলী, পিয়ালী আয়-আয়-আয়-আয় শ্যামলী, আয় ধবলী, আয় পিয়ালী এবং দাদা বলরাম শৃঙ্গা বাজাতে লাগলেন যেন আদেশ দিলেন আমাদের ফিরতে হবে কারণ মা আর্তি করছে, তাই বারবার বিষম লাগছে- এই উত্তরগোষ্ঠের একটি প্রসিদ্ধ পদ মুসলমান কবি নাসির মামুদের লেখা- "খেলত রাম সুন্দর শ্যাম মোহন মুরলী মধুর ধাম, নাসির মামুদ করত আস, চরণে স্থান দানরে|"

প্রধান পদ- পাল জড় কর শ্রীদাম শান দাও শৃঙ্গায়।
সঘনে বিষম খাই নাম করে মায়।[৬]

রূপ – ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণের রূপ দেখে শ্রীমতি রাধারাণী তার অন্তরঙ্গ সখীদের বলেছেন, সখিরে বেলি অবসানকালে, শ্রীযমুনার জল আনতে গিয়ে যে অপরূপ রূপের মানুষ দেখে এলাম সেই রূপ বর্ণনা আমি এক মুখে আর কি বলবো, আর সেই রূপ আমার এই দুচোখে আর ধরে না, আক্ষেপ করে বলেছেন, বিধাতা দিল মাত্র দুটি নয়ন, তাই যদি দিলে বিধি কেন মীনের নয়ন দিলে না, আমি অপলকে চেয়ে রইতাম। তাই রাধাভাবাবৃষ্ট পদকর্তা দ্বিজ ভীমদাস বললেন-

"আমি কি রূপ হেরিনু মধুর মুরতি। পিরিতি রসের সার।
হেন লয় মনে এ ত্রিনো ভুবনে। তুলনা নাহিক তার ||"[৬]

আর কীর্তনীয়া আখর যোজনা করলেন, তাঁর তুলনা তারই সাজে, তার তুলনা নাহি এই ত্রিভুবনে, যার তুলনা তারই সাজে। ওরে ও বিশাখা তোদের কে আমি কি বা বলবো। সে যে অকলঙ্ক গুণনিধি।

রাধারাণী বললেন, জানিস সখী বিধাতা ভেবেছিলেন নিস্কলঙ্ক চাঁদ নির্মাণ করবেন, আর সেই পূর্ণ চন্দ্র গোবিন্দের রূপের সঙ্গে তুলনা করবেন। কিন্তু দু:খের বিষয় হল বিধাতা পনের দিন ধরে নির্মাণ করার পর দেখলেন গোবিন্দের মতো হল না। তাই আবার পনের দিন ধরে ভাঙলেন। এইভাবে ভাঙাগড়ার খেলা চলেই আসছে, তাই রূপের তুলনা আজও হলো না।

আক্ষেপানুরাগ – রাধা ভাবাবিষ্ট পদকর্তা জ্ঞানদাস তার পদে লিখেছেন-

"শ্রীমতি রাধারাণী বড় আক্ষেপ করে বলছেন সখিরে

আমি দেখে এলাম তারে গো সই। দেখে এলাম তারে।
তার এক অঙ্গে এত রূপ দুনয়নে না ধরে।"

আখর – আমার দুনয়নে ধরে না সই তাঁর এক অঙ্গে এত রূপ, তাই বিধিকে বড় আক্ষেপ করে বলেছেন- বিধি যদি দুটি নয়ন দিলে বিধি তবে কেন মীএর নয়ন দিলে না গো আমি অপলেকে চেয়ে রইতাম।

এই আক্ষেপ মুরলীর প্রতিও করেছেন শ্রীমতি রাধারাণী, শ্রীকৃষ্ণের সঙ্গী হিসাবে। যে মুরলীর সুরে রাধারাণীকে ঘরছাড়া করতেন যখন তখন তাই পদকর্তা রাধা ভাবাবিষ্ট হয়ে বললেন-

"বাঁশি তুমি যে ঝাড়ের বাঁশের বাঁশি
যদি ঝাঁড়ের নাগাল পেতাম।
ঝাঁড় উল্টে যমুনার জলে
ভাষায়ে দিতাম।" - তুক কীর্তন।

তেমনি আবার রাধারাণীকে বলা হচ্ছে-

রাসলীলা- ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণের সর্বশ্রেষ্ঠ লীলা হল রাসলীলা। রাধা-কৃষ্ণের পণ রেখে নৃত্য প্রতিযোগীতাই এই লীলার মূল বিষয়। তাই শ্রীকৃষ্ণ রাধারাণীকে বললেন।

"বিষম সংকট তালে বাজাইব বাঁশি।
ধনু অঙ্কের মাঝে নাচ বুঝিব প্রিয়সি||
হারিলে তোমার লব বেশর কাঁচলি।
জিনিলে তোমারে দিব মোহন মুরলী||"[৬]
"যেমন বলেন শ্যাম নাগর তেমনি নাচে রাই।"

হেরে যাবেন শ্যাম নাতার এমত সময়ে-

"মুরলী লুকান শ্যাম চারিদিকে চায়
সবাই বলে রাইয়ের জয় নাগর হারিলে
দুখিনী কহিছে গোপীমন্ডলী হাসালে||"[৬]

তাহলে রাসলীলায় দেখা যায় গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্যের চূড়ান্ত পর্ব। সমস্ত দিকের শ্রেষ্ঠ অংশগুলির সমন্বয়ে এই সর্বশেষ্ঠ রাসলীলা।

অলস – যখন সারা রাত্রি নৃত্য, গীত আনন্দ করে শয়নে যান তাকে শয়নলীলা বা অলসলীলা বলে। পদাবলীতে পদকর্তা লিখলেন-

"রাস জাগরণে নিকুঞ্জ ভবনে, এলুয়া অলস ভরে||
শুতলি কিশোরী, আপনা পাশরি, পরাণনাথের কোরে
নাগরের বাহু, সিথান করেছে, বিথান বসন ভূষা।
নাসার নিশ্বাসে, বেশর দোলিছে হাসিখানি আছে মিশা

পরিহাস করি, নিতে চাহে হরি, সাহস না হয় মনে।
ধীরে করি বোল, না করিহ রোল দাস জগন্নাথ ভনে||"[৬]

নৈমিত্তিক লীলা – ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণের একদিকে যেমন রয়েছে নিত্যলীলা, অন্যদিকে তেমনি নৈমিত্তিক লীলা। ভগবান শ্রীকৃষ্ণ কোন কোন সময়ে বিশেষ কারণবশত কোন লীলা করলে তাকেই বলা হয় নৈমিত্তিক লীলা। যেমন- দানলীলা, নৌকাবিলাস লীলা, মৃত্তিকা ভক্ষণ, দামবন্ধন ইত্যাদি।

বৈষ্ণব সাহিত্য

শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবের "নৃত্য সংকীর্তন"-এর যে ব্যাপক প্রচার ও প্রসার, আজও তার জনপ্রিয়তা মন্দিরগুলিতে, বৈষ্ণব আখড়ায় এবং পাড়ায় পাড়ায়। চৈতন্যদেব বলেছিলেন-

পৃথিবী পর্যন্ত যত আছে নগরাদি গ্রাম
সর্বত্র প্রচার হইবে মোর নাম||

তার প্রমাণ আজ সারা বিশ্ব জুড়ে অগণিত মানুষ নাম সংকীর্তনে নৃত্যানন্দে বিভোর।

যদি নাট্যশাস্ত্রের যুগে ফিরে যাই, সেখানে দেখতে পাই বাংলায় নাট্যশাস্ত্র পদ্ধতি অনুসারে ধ্রুপদী নৃত্যের চর্চা হত। "অঙ্গ বঙ্গ উৎ-কলিঙ্গ বৎসাশ্চৈবৌড্রমাগধা" অর্থাৎ বাংলায় "ঔড্রমাগধী" নৃত্য ধারার প্রচলন ছিল এবং ঐ নৃত্যের বৃত্তি ছিল ভারতী ও কৈশিকী। ভারতী অর্থাৎ কথোপকথোনের সঙ্গে উচ্চন্ড এবং কৈশিকী অর্থাৎ লাবণ্যমন্ডিত নৃত্য। যা কীর্তনে দেখা যায়। অষ্টম শতকে কলহণের রাজতরঙ্গিণীতে এরকম স্পষ্ট নজির আছে। নাট্যশাস্ত্র পদ্ধতি অনুসারে বাংলার মন্দিরে দেবদাসীরা নাচত। দেবমন্দিরের দেবতাদের যশোমহিমা অর্থাৎ কীর্তনের সঙ্গে নৃত্য করতেন। এখনও মন্দির প্রাঙ্গণে দেখা যায় শ্রীখোল করতালসহ দেবদাসীদের নৃত্যকীর্তন করতে।

চৈতন্য মহাপ্রভুর সময় থেকে নৃত্য কীর্তন নবকলেবর ধারণ করে। নাট্যশাস্ত্রের যুগে কথোপকথোন সংস্কৃতে হত, এখন বাংলায় হয়। মহাপ্রভু সংকীর্তনে দুই প্রকার নৃত্য করতেন- উচ্চন্ড ও মধুর।

নাট্যশাস্ত্রে যে বৃন্দগানের দলের উল্লেখ আছে, সাংগঠনিক বিশ্লেষণে কীর্তনের দলও ঠিক তাই। বৃন্দগানে মূখ্যগায়ন, সমগায়ন, মার্দ্দঙ্গিক ইত্যাদি যে ভাষা প্রয়োগ দেখি, বাংলার কীর্তনের দলে সে পরিভাষাগুলি পাই- মূলগায়েন, সমগায়েন বা দোঁহার, বায়ান ইত্যাদি। অধমবৃন্দে একজন মূখ্য গায়ন, চারজন সমগায়ন এবং দুজন মার্দ্দঙ্গিক থাকে। কীর্তনের দলেও ঠিক তাই। তাই বলা যায় দল গঠন বিশ্লেষণে বৃন্দগানের ধারাই কীর্তনে বিদ্যমান। শার্ঙ্গদেব "এলা" প্রবন্ধের যে রূপটি উল্লেখ করেছেন কীর্তনে সাথে তার সাদৃশ্য রয়েছে।

"সঙ্গীত রত্নাকর" গ্রন্থে সঙ্গীতের স্বরূপ ভিত্তিক ভারতভূমিকে যে পাঁচটি অঞ্চলে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে। তার মধ্যে গৌড় অর্থাৎ ভারতের পূর্বাংশে প্রচলিত এলাকে গৌড়েলা বলা হয়েছে।

চৈতন্যদেব সন্ন্যাস গ্রহণের পর লীলাচলে বঙ্গদেশের সাত সম্প্রদায় ভক্তদের নিয়ে যে "মহা নৃত্য সংকীর্তন" করেছিলেন, সেখানে দেখা যায়, চৌদ্দ মৃদঙ্গ আর ছাপান্ন জোড়া করতাল বেজে ছিল। মূখ্য চার সম্প্রদায়ের বিবরণ-

ক্র: নং	প্রধান গায়েন	দোহার	মৃদঙ্গ	নর্তক
১।	স্বরূপ	পাঁচজন	গোবিন্দ	অদ্বৈত
২।	শ্রীবাস	পাঁচজন	শ্রীমান শুভানন্দ	নিত্যানন্দ
৩।	মুকুন্দ দত্ত	পাঁচজন	শ্রীকান্ত	হরিদাস
৪।	গোবিন্দ ঘোষ	পাঁচজন	বিষ্ণুদাস	বক্রেশ্বর

এছাড়াও বঙ্গদেশের তিন সম্প্রদায় হল- ১) কুলীন গ্রামের, ২) শান্তিপুরের, ৩) শ্রীখন্ডের। এখানে নৃত্য করেছিলেন- সত্যরাজ, রামানন্দ, অচ্যুতানন্দ, নরহরি ও রঘুনন্দন। এই সাত সম্প্রদায়ের এই কীর্তন ও মহাপ্রভুর "উচ্চন্ডনৃত্য" মানুষের মনে বিস্ময় জাগিয়েছিলেন। শেষে তিনি "মধুর নৃত্য" করেছিলেন।

নৃত্যের প্রারম্ভে মহাপ্রভু কীর্তনীয়াদের সাত সম্প্রদায়ে বিভক্ত করে এক একজন মহাজনকে নৃত্য করতে আদেশ দেন।

নিত্যানন্দ অদ্বৈত হরিদাস বক্রেশ্বর।
চারিজনে আজ্ঞা দিল নৃত্য করিবারে||
প্রথম সম্প্রদায় কৈল স্বরূপ প্রধান।
আর পঞ্চজন দিল তার পালি গান||
দামোদর নারায়ণ দত্ত গোবিন্দ।
রাঘব পন্ডিত আর গোবিন্দানন্দ||
অদ্বৈত আচার্য তাঁহা নৃত্য করিতে দিল।
শ্রীবাস প্রধান আর সম্প্রদায় কৈল||
গঙ্গাদাস হরিদাস শ্রীমান শুভানন্দ।
বাসুদেব রঘুনাথ মুরারি যাঁহা গায়।
মুকুন্দ প্রধান কৈল আর সম্প্রদায়||
শ্রীকান্ত বল্লভ সেন আর দুইজন।
হরিদাস ঠাকুর তাঁহা করেন নর্তন||
গোবিন্দ ঘোষ প্রধান কৈল আর সম্প্রদায়।
হরিদাস বিষ্ণুদাস রাঘব যাঁহা গায়||
মাধব বাসুদেব আর দুই সহোদর।
নৃত্য করে তাঁহা পন্ডিত বক্রেশ্বর||
কুলীন গ্রামের এক কীর্তনীয়া সমাজ।
তাঁহা নৃত্য করে রামানন্দ, সত্যরাজ||
সত্যরাজ আচার্যের এক সম্প্রদায়।
অচ্যুতানন্দ নাচে তাঁহা আর সব গায়||
খন্ডের সম্প্রদায় করে অন্যত্র কীর্তন।

নরহরি নাচে তাঁহা শ্রীরঘুনন্দন||

শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব জগন্নাথ মন্দির প্রদক্ষিণ করে সংকীর্তন সহযোগে, যা "বেঢ়া কীর্তন" নামে প্রসিদ্ধ। প্রভাতী বেঢ়া কীর্তনে শ্রীচৈতন্যদেব সাত সম্প্রদায় নিয়ে নৃত্য সংকীর্তন করেছিলেন। উচ্চন্ড নৃত্যের শেষে তিনি নিজেই এই চমৎকার ওড়িয়া পদটি গেয়ে মধুর নৃত্য করেছিলেন-

জগমোহন পরিমুন্ডা যাই
মনমাতিলা রে চকা চন্দ্রকু গাঞি।

অদ্বৈত, মুকুন্দ ও স্বরূপ- এঁনারা শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবকে জয়দেব, বিদ্যাপতি, চন্ডীদাসের পদাবলী শুনিয়ে তাঁর কৃষ্ণবিরহ দাহে শান্তির প্রলেপ দিতেন। বৈষ্ণব সমাজে পদাবলী কীর্তনের সূত্রপাত হয়েছিল। কীর্তনে মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোল ও করতাল বাদ্যযন্ত্র হিসাবে গৃহীত হয়েছিল।

দ্বাদশ শতকের পন্ডিত গোবর্ধন আচার্য রচিত "আর্যা সপ্তশতী"-তে নৃত্য গীতের সঙ্গে হস্ত তালের দ্বারা সংগত করা হত- "কৃতহসিত হস্ত তালং"। এই তালির দ্বারা তালের প্রকৃতি বোঝাবার রীতি সুপ্রাচীন। চৈতন্য ভাগবতে উক্ত রয়েছে "দিশা দেখায় প্রভু হাতে তালি দিয়া"।

বৈষ্ণব পদাবলীতে নৃত্য সমন্ধীয় বর্ণনায় উজ্জ্বল। যেমন- গোষ্ঠলীলার একটি পদ-

নাচরে নাচরে মোর দামোদর।
যত নাচ তত দিব ক্ষীর-ননী-সর||
আমি নাহি দেখি বাছা নাচ আর বার।
গলায় গাঁথিয়া দিব মণিময় হার||

চামর ব্যঞ্জন সহ নৃত্যের একটি বর্ণনা পাই মণিপুরী নৃত্যের একটি গানে -

চারিদিকে সূচাতরী ধরল চামর রে।
দোলাইয়া রাধার অঙ্গে সেবন করে||
নানা ছন্দবদ্ধ নাচে চামর লইয়া।
তারা মাঝে চাঁদ যৈছে রাধারে ঘিরিয়া||

অষ্টাদশ শতকে নরহরি চক্রবর্তী রচিত বৈষ্ণব গ্রন্থ "শ্রীশ্রী ভক্তি রত্নাকর"-এ বলরাম নর্তনের বর্ণনা পাই-

নৃত্যতি বলদেব বিপুল পুলকিত প্রতি অঙ্গ
দাঁ দাঁ দৃমি দৃমি দৃমি কট, ধা দৃগু দৃগু ধা
ধিথুঙ্কট তক তক ধিকি তক থোতি কুকু বাজত মৃদু মৃদঙ্গ||

"গীত রত্নাবলী"-তে রাসের একটি পদে পাই-

চাঁদ বদনী নাচত দেখি -

তা তা থোই থোই তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ-
তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ- তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ-
তা তা থোই থোই তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ-
দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি দিগি ধেই,
তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তাঙা তা,
গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি গড়ি ঝাঁ- ঝাঁ-
তা তা থোই থোই তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ-

শর্ত রইল -

না হবে ভূষণের ধ্বনি না নড়িবে চির।
দ্রুতগতি চরণে না বাজিবে মঞ্জুর||
বিষম সঙ্কট তালে বাজাইব বাঁশী।
ধনু অঙ্কের মাঝে নাচ বুঝিব প্রিয়সি||
হারিলে তোমার লব বেশর কাঁচুলি।
জিনিলে তোমার দিব মোহন মুরলী||

তখন নৃত্যে হেরে গিয়ে শ্যাম নাগর মুরলী লুকায়ে চারিদিকে চাইছেন| বুঝি এবার সাধের মুরলীটি গেল।

সবাই বলে রাইর জয় নাগর হারিলে।
দুখুনী কহিছে গোপীমন্ডলী হাসালে||

এর উত্তর পদাবলীতে কিভাবে দিয়েছেন পদকর্তা| শ্রীমতি রাধারাণীকে যেভাবে বিষম সঙ্কট কালে পণ রেখে নৃত্য করিয়েছেন, ঠিক তেমনিভাবে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকে গোপিনীগণ পণ রেখে নৃত্য করালেন-

শ্যাম তোমাকে নাচতে হবে-

দিগেদা ঝিনে কেটা থোরলাগ জিগ ঝাঁ,
থোরলাগ জিগ ঝাঁ, থোরলাগ জিগ ঝাঁ,
থোর উরলাগ ঝিনি, থোর উরলাগ ঝিনি, থোর উরলাগ ঝিনি ঝাঁ-
তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি তিনিকিটি ঝাঁ- (বাজে)
লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি ঝাঁ- (বাজে)
লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি ঝাঁ- লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি ঝাঁ- লাগঝিনি লাগঝিনি ঝাঁ-

শর্ত রইল –

না নড়িবে গন্ড মুন্ড নূপুরের কড়াই।
না নড়িবে বনমালা বুঝিব বড়াই||
না নড়িবে ক্ষুদ্র ঘুন্টি শ্রবণের কুন্তল।
না নড়িবে নাসার মোতি নয়নের পল||
ললিতা বাজায় বীণা বিশাখা মৃদঙ্গ।
সুচিত্রা বাজায় সপ্তসরা রাই দেখে রঙ্গ||
তুঙ্গবিদ্যা কপিলাস তুম্বুরা রঙ্গ দেবী।
ইন্দ্ররেখা পিনাক বাজায় মন্দিরা সুদেবী||
উদ্ভট তালে যদি হার বনমালী।
চূড়া বাঁশী কেড়ে লব দিব করতালি||

যদি জিন রাইকে দিব আমরা হব দাসী।
নইলে কারাগারে রাখিব দুখিনী শুনি হাসি||

পদাবলীতে প্রমাণিত হয় শ্রীকৃষ্ণ যেমন ভাবে পণ রেখে রাধারাণীকে নৃত্য করিয়েছেন ঠিক তেমনিভাবে শ্রীকৃষ্ণকেও রাধারাণীর সখীগণ নৃত্য করালেন পণের শর্ত রেখে।

এককথায় বলা যায়, নৃত্যের প্রতিযোগিতা। নর্তন রাসেই কীর্তনের গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্যের চরম অবস্থাটি পরিগণিত হয়। যেখানে তালের নাম পাওয়া যায়- বিষম সঙ্কট ও উদভট্ট এবং পণ রাখা হয় রাধারাণী হারলে সখীসহ রাধারাণী শ্রীকৃষ্ণের দাসী হবেন। আর শ্রীকৃষ্ণ হারলে তাঁর সাধের মুরলী সখীদের হাতে দিয়ে দেবেন।

বৈষ্ণব পদাবলীতে গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্যের বর্ণনা শুধু যে হিন্দু পদকর্তাগণই করেছেন তাই নয়, মুসলমান পদকর্তারা লিখেছিলেন অসংখ্য পদাবলী- "গৌরপদ তরঙ্গিণী"-তে আকবর সাহার একটি ভণিতা যুক্ত পদ পাওয়া যায়-

জিউ জিউ মন চোর গোরা।
আপহি নাচত আপন রসে ভোরা||
খোল করতাল বাজে ঝিকি ঝিকিয়া।
আনন্দে ভকত নাচে লিকি লিকিয়া||
পদ দুই চারি চলু নট নটিয়া।
থির নাহি হোয়ত আনন্দে মাতোলিয়া||
ঐছন পহুকে যাহু বলিহারি।
সাহা আকবর তেরে প্রেম ভিখারী||

শ্রীচৈতন্যদেবের সংকীর্তনে নৃত্যরূপ দেখে পদকর্তা আকবর সাহা কতখানি আনন্দে বিহ্বল হয়েছিলেন, তার সাক্ষ্য এই পদটি বহন করছে।

অর্থাৎ বাংলা সাহিত্যের ইতিহাস পর্যালোচনা করলে এটাই প্রমাণিত হয় যে বাংলায় নৃত্যের গভীর অনুশীলন ছিল। ফলে নানা সাহিত্যে নৃত্যের বর্ণনা পাই।

শ্রীখোল বা মৃদঙ্গের গুরুত্ব

কীর্তন গানে ও গোড়ীয় নৃত্যে মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোলের গুরুত্ব জানার আগে বাদ্যযন্ত্রটি সম্বন্ধে কিছু তথ্য জানা দরকার।

সঙ্গীতের ইতিহাসে বাদ্যযন্ত্রের উৎপত্তি, গঠন এবং ক্রমবিবর্তনের ইতিহাস অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। সঙ্গীত ত্রিধারার সমন্বয়ে (গীত, বাদ্য, নৃত্য) গঠিত। বহু প্রাচীন সঙ্গীত সাহিত্যে তার বিবরণ পাওয়া যায়। যদিও মতান্তর রয়েছে।

১| সামবেদ সূত্র
২| নাট্যশাস্ত্র
৩| ভরতার্ণব

৪| সঙ্গীত মকরন্দ

৫| সঙ্গীত চূড়ামণি

৬| সঙ্গীত রত্নাকর

৭| সঙ্গীত দামোদর

শাস্ত্রগ্রন্থগুলিতে বাদ্যযন্ত্রগুলি চার শ্রেণীতে বিভক্ত করা হয়েছে। যথা-

১| ততযন্ত্র - তন্ত্রীযুক্ত বীণাদি

২| সুষির যন্ত্র - বায়ুচালিত বংশীআদি

৩| আনদ্ধ যন্ত্র - চর্মাচ্ছাদিত মৃদঙ্গাদি

৪| ঘন যন্ত্র - ধাতু নির্মিত করতালাদি

আমার আলোচ্য বিষয় হল আনদ্ধ বাদ্যযন্ত্র মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোল।

নাট্যশাস্ত্র বিচারে স্বাতিমুনি বর্ষাকালে পদ্মপুকুরে বৃষ্টির ছোট বড় তির্যক শব্দ শুনে আশ্রমে এসে বিশ্বকর্মার সহায়তায় মাটির মৃদঙ্গের অসমান মুখদ্বয় চর্ম দ্বারা আচ্ছাদিত করলেন। পরবর্তীকালে পণর, দদ্দুর নানা পুস্করজাতীয় বাদ্যযন্ত্র বানালেন।

অপর একটি মতে শ্রীহরির কর্ণমূল থেকে জন্ম নেয় মধু ও কৈটভ। অসুরদ্বয় বাহুবলে ব্রহ্মাকে বধ করতে উদ্যত হন। এই দেবাসুরের যুদ্ধে অসুরগণ পরাজিত হন। স্বয়ং বিষ্ণু বিশ্বকর্মাকে আদেশ দিলেন ঐ মাটি দিয়েই মৃদঙ্গ নির্মাণ করতে। মৃদঙ্গের প্রণাম মন্ত্রে রয়েছে-

"মৃদঙ্গ ব্রহ্ম রূপায় লাবণ্যম্ রস মাধুরী

সহস্রগুণ সংযুক্তম্ মৃদঙ্গায়ৈ নমো নম:||"[৭]

খ্রীষ্টোত্তর দ্বিতীয় শতক পর্যন্ত-

১| মৃদঙ্গ, ২| পণর, ৩| দদ্দুর, ৪| মরজ ইত্যাদি বহু প্রকার বাদ্যাদির নাম পাওয়া যায়| তাছাড়া কিছু বাদ্য নতুন সংযোজন ঘটে|

খ্রীষ্টত্তর ত্রয়োদশ থেকে পঞ্চদশ তারপর থেকে ভারতীয় সঙ্গীতে আরও পরিবর্তন ঘটে এবং বাদ্যযন্ত্র ক্ষেত্রেও একইভাবে পরিবর্তন ঘটে। যেমন- পাখোওয়াজ (মৃদঙ্গ), ২| খোল (মৃদঙ্গ), ৩| ঢোল, ৪| তবলা বাঁয়া, ৫| নাল, ৬| চর্চ্চরী।

বাদ্যযন্ত্র গুলির ব্যবহার ভেদে শ্রেণীবিন্যাস

১| সংগ্রামিক- যে বাদ্য যুদ্ধের সময় বাদিত হয়। ২| বহির্দ্বারিক- দ্বারের বাহিরে বাদিত হয়। ৩| আনুষ্ঠানিক- যে বাদ্য আনুষ্ঠানিক ক্রিয়াদিতে বাদিত হয়, ৪| মাঙ্গলিক- যে বাদ্য মাঙ্গলিক ক্রিয়াদিতে বাদিত হয়।

মৃদঙ্গ মাঙ্গলিক শ্রেণীর বাদ্য তাই যুগে যুগে দেবতার সান্নিধ্য লাভ করে এসেছে। বৃন্দাবন লীলায় বিভিন্ন পদাবলীতে মৃদঙ্গ নামের উল্লেখ আছে। যেমন, রাসলীলায়-

"ললিতা বাজায় বীনা বিশাখা মৃদঙ্গ।

সুচিত্রা বাজায় সপ্তসরা রাই দেখে রঙ্গ||"[১]

আবার গৌরচন্দ্রিকায় রয়েছে-

"খোল করতাল গোরা সুমেল করিয়া।

তার মাঝে নাচে গোরা জয় জয় দিয়া||"[১]

এই বাদ্যযন্ত্রের ব্যবহার

অতি বাদিত (হাতুটি) সমবাদিত (সঙ্গত) অনুবাদিত ছোট অলঙ্কার।

তবে বর্তমানে শ্রীখোলের নানাপ্রকার ব্যবহার ঘটেছে শিল্পীদের চর্চ্চাচিন্তার উৎকর্ষতায়। এইভাবেই সঙ্গীতের বিবর্তন ঘটেই চলেছে নিরন্তর এবং বাদ্যযন্ত্রগুলিরও বিবর্তন ঘটে চলেছে।

এই শ্রীখোল বাদ্যযন্ত্রটির যুগে যুগে বিবর্তনের পথে মুখাকৃতির অনেক পরিবর্তন ঘটেছে নানা কারণে। কিন্তু সনাতন ভারতের প্রধান ভক্তিমূলক সঙ্গীত ধারা কীর্তনে তার ব্যবহার ক্ষেত্রে কোন বিচ্যুতি ঘটেনি। আবার এই বাদ্যযন্ত্রটির বিশেষ আকর্ষণীয় পরিবেশ হল নৃত্য ভঙ্গিমা যাকে আমরা গৌড়ীয় বলে থাকি। পরিশেষে বলতে পারি নৃত্য কীর্তনের গান পরিবেশনের যে ধারা, তার সহযোগী বাদ্য হিসাবে একমাত্র খোল বা মৃদঙ্গ শ্রেয়।

উপসংহার:

"কীর্তন কী রতন" আস্বাদনেই তো অনুভব করা যায়। কীর্তন এক অমূল্যরতন যার মূলে রয়েছে আধ্যাত্মিকতা এবং ফুলে রয়েছে সঙ্গীতের চরম মাধুর্য্য। তাই কীর্তন গানে ব্যবহৃত সুর ও তালের সতন্ত্রতা ও সঙ্গীতের এক অন্যতম বৈশিষ্ট্যের নির্দশন। যেমন, একটি বিষয়কে অবলম্বন করে পালা বা লীলা, বিভিন্ন বৈষ্ণব পদকর্তাদের পদাবলী গুলি সাজিয়ে। আবার বিভিন্ন পালাগুলি সাজিয়ে কখন আস্টোকালীন, কখন চব্বিশপ্রহর, কখন আটচল্লিশপ্রহর, কখনও চৌষট্টিপ্রহর ইত্যাদি। আবার কখন নিত্যলীলা, আবার কখন নৈমিত্তিকলীলা।

কীর্তনের মধ্যে দেখা যায়, আপত্তনকীর্তন, বন্দনাকীর্তন, প্রার্থনাকীর্তন, সূচককীর্তন, নামকীর্তন, লীলাকীর্তন বা পালাকীর্তন।

কীর্তনের মধ্যে রয়েছে ভনিতা আখর, শাস্ত্রীয় ব্যাখ্যা এবং সুরের মাধুর্য।

অন্যদিকে তালের ক্ষেত্রেও যথেষ্ট গুরুত্ব রয়েছে। যেমন- লোফা, দাসপেড়ে, তেওট, দুঠুকি, শশীশেখর, দশকুশি (ছোট, মধ্য ও বড়)।এছাড়াও বিরম দশকুশি, কাটাদশকুশি ইত্যাদি তালের ব্যবহারও যথেষ্ট সতন্ত্রতা রয়েছে। কাটান, মাতান, মেলমূর্চ্ছান ইত্যাদি। শ্রীখোলবাদ্যের বিশেষ চমকপ্রদ রূপ সেইসঙ্গে কীর্তনের আনন্দ মানুষের মনকে করে তোলে মাতোয়ারা।

"কীর্তন কি ধন, বোঝে সেইজন

যে করিয়াছে কণ্ঠভূষণ।

পাইয়া রতন না বুঝিল যতন

জনম করিলি দূষণ।"

কীর্তন ও শ্রীখোল অঙ্গাঙ্গীভাবে জড়িত অর্থাৎ একে অপরের পরিপূরক। কীর্তনের আখর সেই সঙ্গে শ্রীখোলের কাটান, মাতান অবশেষে মূর্চ্ছান আর কোন গান বাদ্যের মধ্যে এভাবে দেখা যায় না। কীর্তনের ভাবকে প্রকাশ করতে যে শব্দের মধুরতা প্রয়োজন তা মধুর মৃদঙ্গেই সম্ভব। কীর্তন গানে শ্রীখোলের মাতনে মানুষের যে উদ্দন্ড নৃত্য, ভাব নৃত্য শ্রীখোল নৃত্য এসব গৌড়ীয় নৃত্যেই সম্ভব। গীত-বাদ্য-নৃত্যে যে পূর্ণনিন্দ এই গৌড়ীয় সঙ্গীত কীর্তন, গৌড়ীয় নৃত্য এবং গৌড়ীয় বাদ্য মৃদঙ্গ বা শ্রীখোলেই প্রকাশ পায়।

গ্রন্থপুঞ্জী

১| সাহা, বঙ্কুবিহারী. *শ্রীশ্রী গীতরত্নাবলী,* অক্ষয় লাইব্রেরী, ৭৯/১এ, মহাত্মা গান্ধী রোড, কোলকাতা-৯, পুন:মুদ্রিত আশ্বিন, ১৪২৪।

২| ঠাকুর গোস্বামী, ভাগবৎ শ্রীল, ১৪১০ বঙ্গাব্দ. প্রবন্ধাবলী, মিত্র আর্ট প্রিন্টার্স, ৩৩ বি রাজা রামমোহন রায় সরণি, কোলকাতা-৯,

৩| চক্রবর্তী, মৃগাঙ্গশেখর. ফেব্রুয়ারী-১৯৯৫. *বাংলার কীর্তন গান,* সাহিত্যলোক, ৫৭এ কারবালা ট্যাঙ্ক লেন, কোলকাতা-৬।

৪| দাস, সনাতন. আষাঢ় ১৪২০ বঙ্গাব্দ. *শ্রীভক্ত কন্ঠভূষণ,* চিকণ প্রিন্টিং ওয়ার্কস, ৩বি নরেন্দ্রনাথ মুখার্জী ২য় লেন, উত্তরপাড়া, হুগলী।

৫| মহারাজ, হরিজন. ২২শে ফাল্গুন ১৪১০ বঙ্গাব্দ। *শ্রীভক্তিজীবন ত্রিদন্ডীস্বামী, শ্রীশ্রী গৌরপার্ষদ চরিতাবলী,* গৌড়ীয় মিশন বাগবাজার, কোলকাতা-৩

৬| রায়, বুদ্ধদেব (সম্পাদনা), দাস, ব্রজরাখাল (সংকলন),আগষ্ট ১৯৯৩, *শ্রেষ্ঠ কীর্তন স্বরলিপি,* আদিনাথ ব্রাদার্স, ৯নং শ্যামাচরণ দে স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-৭৩।

৭| চক্রবর্তী, মৃগাঙ্কশেখর. ফেব্রুয়ারী-১৯৮৬. *তালতত্ত্বের ক্রমবিকাশ,* সাহিত্যলোক, ফার্মা কে এল এম প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড ২৫৭বি, বিপিনবিহারী গাঙ্গুলী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১২।

৮| চক্রবর্তী, মৃগাঙ্কশেখর. ফেব্রুয়ারী-১৯৯৫. *বাংলার কীর্তন গান,* সাহিত্যলোক, ৫৭এ কারবালা ট্যাঙ্ক লেন, কোলকাতা-৬।

৯| মুখোপাধ্যায়, শ্রীহরেকৃষ্ণ. আগষ্ট ১৯৯০ . *বাংলার কীর্তন ও কীর্তনীয়া,* পশ্চিমবঙ্গ রাজ্য পুস্তক পর্ষদ, ১ বঙ্কিম চ্যাটার্জী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-৭৩।

১০| বসুমতী কর্পোরেশন লিমিটেড, বিদ্যাপতি পদাবলী, ১৬৬, বিপিনবিহারী গাঙ্গুলী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১২।

১১| বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, সুরেশ চন্দ্র ও চক্রবর্তী ছন্দা, মার্চ ১৯৮০. *বঙ্গানুবাদ ভরত নাট্যশাস্ত্র,* নব প্রকাশন, ৬ বঙ্কিম চ্যাটার্জী স্ট্রীট, ওকলকাতা-৭৩ ।

১২| মুখোপাধ্যায়, মহুয়া. অক্টোবর ২০০৯. *অনুবাদ সঙ্গীত দামোদর,* দি এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি, ১ পার্ক স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১৬,।

১৩| মুখোপাধ্যায়, মহুয়া. জানুয়ারী ২০০৪ . গৌড়ীয় নৃত্য, দি এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি, ১ পার্ক স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১৬।

১৪| মুখোপাধ্যায়, শঙ্করলাল. ১৯৯৭. *ভারতীয় নৃত্যধারার সমীক্ষা,* কে.এল.এম প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড, ২৫৭ বি, বিপিনবিহারী গাঙ্গুলী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১২।

১৫| বসুমতী সাহিত্য মন্দির, জ্ঞানদাস পদাবলী, ১৬৬, বিপিনবিহারী গাঙ্গুলী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১২।

১৬| বসুমতী সাহিত্য মন্দির, গোবিন্দ দাস পদাবলী, ১৬৬, বিপিনবিহারী গাঙ্গুলী স্ট্রীট, কোলকাতা-১২।

১৭| দাসগুপ্তা মানস, দাসগুপ্তা মমতা, জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১৪০২ . *তাল অভিধান,* পূর্বচল এস্টেট, কোলকাতা-৯১।

লেখক পরিচিতিঃ

[১] শ্রীখোল বাদক এবং অতিথি প্রভাষক, রবীন্দ্রভারতী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
এ-গ্রেড শিল্পী, অল ইন্ডিয়া রেডিও
রির্সাচ ফেলো, ভারত সরকার
প্রতিষ্ঠাতা- শ্রীখোল একাডেমি এবং পরিচালক- মৃদঙ্গ আশ্রম

[২] অধ্যাপক, নৃত্য বিভাগ, রবীন্দ্রভারতী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
প্রাক্তন, চারুকলা অনুষদ প্রধান, রবীন্দ্রভারতী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়

Supreme Court as the Saviour of Indian Democracy: Reflections on the Kesavananda Bharati Judgment

Brijesh Yadav

Abstract:

The Indian Supreme Court being the sentinel of the Constitution also assumes the role of conscience keeper in a deepening democracy. Entrusted with the responsibility to protect fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens while ensuring constitutional governance, the Supreme Court also has to shield the soul and spirit of the Constitution from the onslaught of legislative majority by thwarting authoritarianism and autocracy. In post independence period, the apex Court has its own share of glory and controversies at various moments in performance of its above role through exercise of its power of judicial review. This paper argues that the Supreme Court judgment in Kesavananda Bharati case was instrumental in saving of Indian democracy from dangerous onslaught on skeleton of the constitution by a dominant executive and pliant legislature. The milestone judgment in the case resulted in restoration of public faith and trust in an independent judiciary as a strong pillar of democracy, which holds important lessons and inspiration for an institution, which is facing crisis of credibility in recent times.

Keywords: *Supreme Court, Democracy, Constitution, Parliament, Amendment, Rights, Freedom.*

Introduction:

India is the largest democracy in the world with evident signs of a sanguine outlook towards its further deepening in the coming decades. A strong and independent judiciary is an important necessity and constituent in the process of deepening of democracy in a post-colonial polity like India with lack of fertile and germane condition for functioning of representative democracy. Independent Judicial behavior by apex Court and its judges in their functioning imparts a vibrant character to Indian democracy by upholding rule of law and securing the basic rights guaranteed in the Constitution. Not only this, the creative judicial interpretation of the Constitution leads to expansion of the basic freedoms and rights inscribed in the constitution, which has been of critical

importance in onward march of Indian democracy from a credible procedural democracy towards achievement of its substantive goals.

Kesavananda case judgment by the apex court marks a moment of immense significance in the constitutional history of India. Popularly known as the Fundamental Rights case, its outcome affected the country's democratic process in an eventful decade in its polity. The twin pillars of Indian democracy i.e. Parliament and Judiciary differed in their wavelengths in the working of the democratic process after the landmark verdict in Golaknath case (AIR 1967 SC 1643), which marked a breakdown of the institutional consensus visible in the earlier decades after independence. In the Kesavananda judgment (AIR 1973 SC 1461), the enunciation of the "basic structure" principle by the apex court as a curb on amending power of legislature has proved as a bulwark for the Indian democracy against any blitz by majoritarian regime. The courage and judicial craft exhibited by the apex court in the Kesavananda judgment has proved to be an emulative example for the Supreme Court, which is currently facing accusation and criticism for putting fate of Indian democracy in peril by surrendering the constitution to a majoritarian government and a yielding legislature with absence of effective numerical opposition.

Judicial Supremacy vs. Parliamentary Sovereignty: Contest for Control over the Constitution

The key issue raised in the Kesavananda case was about the nature and amplitude of amendment power granted to legislature under Article 368. The Court and the executive adopted a mutually opposed stance on question that whether such exercise of power can extend to provisos of Part three of the Constitution and amount to their abrogation. The above proposition appeared settled before Golaknath judgment, with judicial approval to legislative authority to amend the Fundamental rights in order to achieve and further the socio-economic objectives of the Constitution (Shankari Prasad vs. Union of India AIR 1951SC 458; Sajjan Singh vs. State of Rajasthan AIR 1965 SC 845). However, the Supreme Court altered this position by its decision in Golaknath case, citing legislative power of amendment as a limited power and not extending to fundamental rights provisions, which it declared as sacrosanct and immune to abrogative amendment in its opinion. Such a judicial overture made Parliament to take recourse to Constitutional amendments (24th, 25^{th,} and 29th constitutional amendments) in order to restore the status quo and clear the controversy regarding the scope of its amending power with respect to fundamental rights provisions.[i]The above-mentioned constitutional amendments inspired challenge in the Kesavananda case and made it a flash point of struggle between the two constitutional organs of the Indian state.

The scholarship on Indian constitutional law has perceived the key issues in Kesavananda case differently. Granville Austin states that Kesavananda case embodied two issues of substantive and institutional character, which hold vital importance in a Parliamentary democracy. *Firstly*, in substantive terms, the contention of unrestricted amending power to legislature under the constitutional scheme was confronted with the assertion of Supreme Court led Judiciary as the final interpreter of the Constitution. *Secondly*, in institutional terms, the case was an instance of row between the apex court and the legislature (Austin 1999:259). Rajeev Dhavan attributes the

controversy to dispute between "right based approach" and "goal oriented approach" in the constitutional scheme, which was left unresolved by the Constituent Assembly (Dhavan 1976: 243). N. R. Madhava Menon and T R Andhyarujina term it as conflict between judicial supremacy based on constitutional principles and parliamentary sovereignty hinging on popular democratic credentials (Andhyarujina 2013; Menon 2006). Upendra Baxi highlights the significance of this case in constitutional and political development in India by citing it as an instance of judicial activism with an assertive apex court assuming role of a political institution (Baxi 1983). S. P. Sathe also echoes a similar sentiment perceiving this as court's attempt to carve out a creative jurisprudence for itself by shedding the black letter tradition in its constitutional interpretation (Sathe 2002:3).

Political Climate and Constitutional Storm: 1970s, A Tumultuous and Testing Decade

The decision in Golaknath case did not augur well with the political establishment drawing criticism against the Judiciary for being pro-rich, conservative, as well as insensitive to the needs of time and acting against democratic spirit of the Constitution. The instant legislative response to the judgment came in form of Nath Pai bill, a private member bill, which sought to restore the supremacy of Parliament over the constitution through an amendment to the Constitution (Austin 1999:236). The Joint Parliamentary Committee report in 1968 was a revelation with opposition views making an impact in Parliament shorn of Congress dominance, since committee members not only opposed Nath Pai's position but also wished to give the Fundamental Rights fresh protections without being as rigid as the judicial declaration of entrenchment of rights in Golaknath case. The bill failed to draw support from the ruling party, which was in a mood of a full- fledged assault on judicial assertion of custody over Constitution through unfettered Parliamentary power of amendment. The ruling Congress Party was waiting for the opportune moment with hope to garner substantive strength in form of electoral majority in the Parliament before such a combat.

Parliament's authority and singular exclusive control over constitution was challenged more sharply by the Court in two other subsequent case judgments pertaining to Bank nationalisation and Privy purses, which involved right to property at the heart of the legal dispute (R. C. Cooper vs. Union of India AIR 1970 SC 564; M. R. Scindhia vs. Union of India AIR 1971 SC 530).[ii] Supreme Court's decision received welcome by certain conservative sections in the Parliament both within the ruling party and in the opposition. Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who was facing challenge to her leadership from all political quarters, found an opportunity in attacking not only the Supreme Court as an obstacle to the socio-economic revolution but also opposition led by Swatantra Party and Jan Sangh, as well as rival faction within her Party led by old guards like Morarji Desai and K.Kamraj. Mrs Gandhi attacked these political elements and groups as an advocate of vested feudal interests and blamed them for obstructing the socio-economic revolution intended by the Congress for universal equality and removal of poverty among populace (Austin 1999: 236). The 1970, was an eventful decade in Indian constitutional and political history particularly, developments in the year 1971 in both domestic politics and international arena (Baxi 1983:68). The signing of the 1971 Indo –Soviet mutual Friendship treaty and the East Pakistan crisis leading to Second Indo-Pak war and creation of Bangladesh heavily influenced the trajectory of domestic politics too. The signs of

huge factionalism in the political system within the Congress and in the opposition ranks, which suggested emergence of coalition government at the Union as well at the federal level, in the 1971 elections, proved erroneous after the results. The diplomatic and regional developments greatly increased the political prestige of the country in the international realm as well as elevated stature of Indira Gandhi in domestic politics, which resulted in an emboldened and assertive executive leading to a standoff with the Supreme Court in Kesavananda Bharati case.

Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala: The Precipitation of the Crisis

The case comprised of six different writ petitions, which advocated right to property as basic, inviolable and sacrosanct under the constitution. The leading petitioner in the case, Swami Kesavananda pleaded for enforcement of his fundamental rights sanctioned under Article 32. Kesavananda challenged constitutionality of twin Kerala land reforms Acts, which imposed restrictions on the management of property by his religious institution and was declared as immune from judicial scrutiny being placed in Ninth Schedule to the Constitution.[iii] The evolution of legal proceedings in the case witnessed the gradual emergence of issue of nature and extent of legislative amendment power with spotlight on right to property. On the behalf of the petitioners, Nani Palkhivala argued that Parliament could not abridge or annihilate basic human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. Petitioners posed Right to Property as a key element of the constitution and termed it as essential for the meaningful exercise of other Fundamental Rights. Palkhivala pointed out that if Parliament is granted power to amend the Constitution at its own will, it would lead to loss of liberty and establishment of an authoritarian government. Palkhivala argued that the legislative power to alter the constitution did not lend constitutional sanction to measures resulting in abrogation or condensation of Fundamental Rights.[iv]

The Twenty- fifth amendment Act was the focal point of attack by the advocates of the petitioners and accused of granting unbridled powers to the Parliament without placing any check on its misuse. Palkhivala while targeting Article 31C, which barred judicial review of any legislation giving effect to Directive Principles, described it as a "blank charter" to legislative bodies to flout and destroy the supremacy of the constitution.[v] C.K. Daphatry added fear of endangering of minority rights and providing ruling party with power to curb the Constitution twenty as additional concerns resultant from unbridled powers granted to the Parliament by the 24th and 25th constitutional amendments.[vi] Soli Sorabjee, who assisted Palkhivala in the case also deplored Article 31 C for usurpation of authority of judicial review and termed it as inconsistent with the principle of limited democratic government. The arguments echoed the "argument of fear" expressed in the Golaknath case judgment, which regarded it as misconceived to trust the representatives of People to not act irresponsibly against the liberty and rights of the people in wake of availability of unbridled powers to curb the rights and liberty.[vii]

H. M. Seervai appearing for the government considered fear of abuse of unlimited legislative power as irreverent and rejected that assumption of an unrestricted legislative authority to alter the Constitution amounts to an abuse of power. Seervai made the argument that the Fundamental rights

inscribed in the Constitution were not "human rights and only social rights" and was not available to the Indians before the enforcement of the Constitution.[viii] Seervai conceded to the basic feature argument of the petitioners, but contended that the Constituent Assembly had not meant them to be permanent and a self-governing government possessed unlimited constituent power, which empowered it to alter or abrogate these basic features.[ix] The Attorney General, Niren De, representing the government in the court, argued that inherent limits on the amendment power in a written Constitution are implausible. Mr. De denied existence of constitutional precincts on the power to modify the constitution entrusted to the legislature and argued that it will result in defeat of the very rationale, if it did not extend to the fundamental features of the Constitution. The Attorney General conferred the word "amendment" a wide meaning within ambit of constitution extending it to repeal, addition, variation, and substitution of all the provisions, including basic rights.[x]

The Judgment: An Act of Judicial Courage and Craftsmanship

A bench of thirteen judges, which delivered eleven judgments with decision made by a thin majority with a ratio of seven against six in the case exemplifies the complexity of the issues and reveals the judicial cognisance of larger implications of the judgment. [xi] The thin majority on the bench in arriving at the decision and diverse interpretations leading to confusion in the fragile political scenario propelled Chief Justice Sikri led Supreme Court to manufacture a "view of majority" signed by nine judges of the bench.[xii] The apex courts sustained the constitutional validity of the 24th constitutional amendment, which restored to the Parliament the authority to alter any part of the constitution inclusive of the provisions on fundamental rights. On the other hand, the bench partially upheld the constitutionality of the 25th constitutional amendment by striking down sub section of Article 31 C, which barred judicial review of a policy certified by legislature purported to give effect to Directive principles. This paper for the purpose of study would consider opinion by nine judges who signed the declaratory paper titled as "view of the majority" as the main opinion in the case.

The majority opinion judges employed different reasoning to reach the above conclusions and diverged on the scope and extent of amending power of Parliament, theory of implied limitations on amendment power as well as the "argument of fear" regarding granting unfettered powers to legislature. CJI Sikri held that constitution must be interpreted in the light of the preamble, which does not show any intention to configure the word 'amendment' in its widest sense of meaning.[xiii] CJI stated that the amendment powers of the Parliament were under implied limitations and any demand of absolute amending powers in name of democratic principles is misplaced. CJI emphatically rejected the contention and instead argued that the acceptance of such a proposition would result in disappearance of democratic principles and give rise to over looming threat of a revolution. CJI Sikri emphasized the sacrosanct nature of fundamental rights as well as other features and observed:

"It was the common understanding that fundamental rights would remain in substance as they are and they would not be amended out of existence. It seems also to have been a common

understanding that the fundamental features of the Constitution, namely, secularism, democracy and the freedom of the individual would always subsist in the welfare state."[xiv]

In the same vein, Justice Mukherjee and Hegde argued that the Parliament's authority to alter the Constitution was not a super power and extent of its exercise-needed configuration in context of the constitutional scheme. They pointed that unbridled amending power to legislature was not intended in the constitution, as it would result in destruction of constitutional ideals. They expressed that Constitution resembled religion in the sense that "the core of a religion always remains constant but the practices associated with it may change. Likewise, a Constitution like ours contains certain features, which are so essential that they cannot be changed or destroyed."[xv] They rejected the argument that every amendment carried out by the Parliament is an attempt to adapt the constitution in accordance with the need of people as false proposition. Instead, they argued that such a notion of unlimited power creates a potential danger of its usage against people themselves or in preservation of the interest of ruling dispensation. Justice Mukherjee and Hegde expressed such a fear being particularly conscious of India as a Parliamentary democracy with the prevalent operation of party system and cabinet form of government providing the masses virtually "little control in the matter of detailed law-making."[xvi]

Justice Shelat and Grover configured that the expression amendment in the text of the Constitution can be attributed a wide range of meanings depending on perspective and approach towards constitutional law. Interestingly Justice Shelat and Grover accepted the argument regarding potential fear of abuse of unlimited amending power and ruled that it was not unfounded with occurrence of several such illustrations in various democratic nations. They were of the opinion that court cannot ignore the consequential impact of such a wide power to legislature with existence of prominent fear of its misuse, which can wipe out the preamble and may result in India ceasing "to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic and can have a polity denuded of sovereignty, democracy, and Republican character."[xvii] Justice Shelat and Grover pointed that constituent power was distinct from legislative power and stated that only a Constituent Assembly can repeal and abrogate the Constitution and exercise unlimited power, not a amending body like Parliament. They borrowed from the dictum expressed by Justice Das in the Kerala Education Bill case judgment that any infringement of key features of the Constitution would strip the constitution of its identity. They discerned the basic constitutional structure in light of the Preamble and scheme of Constitution and stated that its contains features namely, "the supremacy of the Constitution, Republican and Democratic form of Government, sovereignty, secular and federal character of the Constitution, separation of powers, individual dignity and unity and integrity of the nation."[xviii]

Justice Jagmohan Reddy agreed to the contentions of the petitioners that there were implied limitations on the legislative authority to alter the constitution. Justice Reddy argued that "with the recognition of the truism that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely has been the wisdom that made practical men of experience in not only drawing up a written Constitution limiting powers of the legislative organs but in securing to all citizens certain basic rights against the State ."[xix] Justice Reddy drew upon the ideals in the Preamble to enumerate the essential features of the Constitution as "sovereign, democratic and republic state, equality, liberty of

thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship along with justice in social, political, and economic spheres of national life." [xx] Justice Reddy stated the significance of basic features as pillars of the constitutional edifice and warned that any abrogation or removal of the key features will result in collapse of entire constitutional structure.

However, three judges on the bench who form part of the majority opinion (Khanna. J, Chandrachud J. and Palekar J) did not accept the theory of implied limitations in their separate judgments. Justice H. R. Khanna's ruling was most significant, since it broke the deadlock in the equally divided bench by siding with majority opinion and he was the one who used the term 'basic structure' in his judgment leading to it being the focal point of agreement among the eleven judges who signed the document "view of the majority". Justice Khanna differed from the other six judges of the majority opinion in following aspects – *Firstly*, he rejected the argument that unbridled amending power to legislature will result in its potential abuse as a misplaced fear. Justice Khanna expressed that, "The fact that a prescribed majority of the people's representatives is required for bringing about the amendment is normally itself a guarantee that the power would not be abused. The best safeguard against the abuse or extravagant use of power is public opinion and not a letter on the right of people's representatives to change the Constitution by following the procedure laid down in the Constitution itself."[xxi] Justice Khanna was optimistic about the potency of public opinion in a democracy like the framers of the constitution. He dispelled the fear of misuse of unlimited amending power by Parliament by expressing that the "legislature as the ultimate guardians of the liberties and welfare of the people in quite as great a degree as the courts."[xxii] *Secondly*, Justice Khanna, making a distinction between "vesting of a power, the exercise of the power and the manner of its exercise," affirmed that Article 368 vested power of amendment to the constitution in legislature, which permitted alienation or abridgment of the fundamental rights.[xxiii] Justice Khanna orchestrated a different scope of amending power granted to Parliament under Article 368 by stating that amendment to the Constitution means change in the old constitution and retention and survival of it without loss of its identity. Justice Khanna interpreted "retention of the old Constitution" as "retention of the basic structure or framework of the old Constitution."[xxiv] Justice Khanna called for exercise of judicial caution and expressed that courts should restrict itself only to examining legality of the amendments on the yardstick of basic structure with substantial judgment regarding amendment being a improvement to the constitution or not left to the legislative majority in each of the two houses. However, Justice Khanna also imposed structural constraints upon exercise of amendment power by legislature and observed:

> "It would not be competent under the garb of amendment, for instance, to change the democratic government into dictatorship or hereditary monarchy nor would it be permissible to abolish the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. The secular character of the state according to which the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on the ground of religion only cannot likewise be done away with."[xxv]

Justice Y.V. Chandrachud and Justice D. J. Palekar who were not part of the majority judgment but signed the paper, which was circulated as "views of majority" also conceived the power of amendment granted to the Parliament as wide, unfettered and inclusive of power to amend the

fundamental rights. Justice Chandrachud rejected the arguments that legislative enactments can be struck down merely on the ground of it being in conflict with "spirit of the Constitution." Justice Chandrachud influenced by views of legal luminaries such as Dieter Conrad, William Marbury, and George Skinner ruled that an absolute amendment power granted to the legislature could not include the powers to change the basic pillars supporting constitutional authority or the power to "damage or destroy the essential features or the fundamental principles of the Constitution."[xxvi] Justice Palekar was of the opinion that the court should not examine a constitutional amendment based on fear regarding consequences of abuse of unbridled powers. However, he reemphasized like other majority judges that power of amendment of the Constitution was for "orderly change in accordance with the Constitution" and not for repeal of the Constitution itself.[xxvii]

Emergence of the Supreme Court as the Saviour of democracy

The apex court during emergency phase faced significant criticism from civil society and rights groups in India for its jurisprudence and discharge of its constitutional responsibility as a caretaker of Indian democracy. The SC led judiciary faced attacks for its failure to check the contravention of rights and liberties by the executive orders, detentions, and policies. The Court drew accusations of being solely concerned about its own institutional interests and survival in adopting a reticent and pliant behavior, which further led to questioning of its independence as well as invited aspersions for abdication of its constitutional responsibility as vanguard of rights and liberties in a constitutional democracy. The rise in executive dominance with lack of any legislative control as well as erosion of inner party democracy in ruling regime combined with decline in ethical and moral values in general in Indian polity drew attention of the court. It led to a realisation in the judicial circles that democratic institutions and constitution were in danger, if not checked by invoking constitutional limitations on powers of legislature. The Kesavananda case provided such an opportune moment for the court intervention to stamp its authority as an arbitrator as well as conscience keeper of Indian democracy.

The Supreme Court in its judgment overruled the Golaknath verdict, which interpreted the amending powers of the Parliament as limited powers under the Constitution and making fundamental rights immune to constitutional amendment. The majority judges accepted that amendment power under the Article 368 was of wide amplitude for making changes to the Constitution including the provisos dealing with fundamental rights but did not sanction destruction of the cardinal features or the "basic structure" of the Constitution. A. R. Blackshield remarks that the judgment removed the doctrinal inadequacies of the Golaknath judgment and settled the issue on sound legal principles, which averted any institutional tussle outside the legal domain (Blackshield 1968). The Court elevated the argument in Golaknath case regarding existence of certain basic features to an established law through its ruling in the case and at same time introduced flexibility in its stand through judicial creativity by accepting sovereignty of legislature to modify the constitution. The Court ensured that any future amendments to the Constitution would require a broad national consensus certifying the change as being in national interest and not dictated by a single party or majoritarian interest. The Court through its ruling ensured survival of constitution rooted in democracy with all its heart and soul in future decades of Indian polity.

The SC Judgment in Kesavananda restored the constitutional balance between the parliamentary sovereignty and judicial supremacy, which was disturbed due to its earlier pronouncements in Golaknath judgment creating acrimonious relationship between the two institutions. The future progress of Indian democracy hinged upon the Supreme Court judgment in the case, which got huge attention owing to the political scenario in the country and institutional disharmony. Upendra Baxi praises the Court for not surrendering power of judicial review over amendment of Constitution and ensuring a check and balance mechanism despite giving a freedom to Parliament to bring changes to the Constitution (Baxi 1974). An institutional harmony among various democratic institutions is a necessity in smooth working of democracy in a developing country with daunting task of socio-economic upliftment of the multitude, which suffered for two hundred years of colonial rule.

The basic structure doctrine enunciated in the case has served as an effective bulwark against challenges of majoritarianism and authoritarianism in a democratic society by preventing attempts to distort the structure and spirit of the constitution as evident in various instances in post emergency period. The judgment with its enumeration of rule of law, fundamental rights, judicial review, federalism, secularism, parliamentary democracy, separation of powers and multiple other features as part of basic structure in its subsequent pronouncements has provided a shield to the constitution against any attack on character of Indian democracy. The judgment also has secured the powers and autonomy of the judiciary as a vital organ of Indian democracy. The SC, emboldened with the basic structure doctrine, was able to thwart assault on its jurisdiction and independence at various instances with most recent being the National Judicial Appointment Commission bill case.[xxviii] The judicial verdicts involving claims of individual rights and freedoms such as right to life (inclusive of right to food and health), right to privacy, as well as right to information have led to broadening of rights and liberties of citizens, which has enriched and strengthened the procedural and substantive aspects of democracy.[xxix] The lack of judicial redressal of such demands and concerns against state intervention both in negative and positive sense would not have been possible in absence of entrenchment of fundamental rights and judicial review as part of “basic structure” of the constitution.

Neil Roberts has pointed out that law has a paradoxical function in a democratic society and it must achieve a balance between responsibility to maintain a stable social order and mechanism for achieving socio-economic change and progress (Roberts 1972). The judgment accepted Constitution as a living document and did not dispute the necessity of changes in the Constitutional document in an orderly manner for meeting the needs and aspiration of masses in a Parliamentary democracy. Supreme Court expressed that it was not the duty of Judiciary to sit over the wisdom of legislative policy and amendments but only to ensure that the due constitutional procedure of amendment was observed in entirety, both in its letter and spirit. The Supreme Court ensured a balance between change, progress, and stability by pronouncing that legislative obligations for realizing goals of socio-economic revolution necessitated incremental change in the Constitution while preserving its key features and identity. The above delicate balance invoked in Kesavananda case and its observance in democratic governance has secured stability of Indian democracy amidst

decline and upheavals in adjoining region and world. The apex Court was also able to absolve itself from the criticism for being a conservative institution resisting progress and change for welfare of masses and from being blamed as vanguard of propertied interests in the country. In fact, after this episode, the Supreme Court led judiciary was able to carve out an image of messiah of poor and weaker sections of society for itself in 1980s by its social action litigations pronouncements and strengthen the belief of people in Indian democracy and constitutional ideals. The later phase of emergent judicial activism has been a largely a story of positive implications for a developing country like India in broad basing of democracy by ensuring equity, justice, and dignity to its masses in political, economic and social spheres of life.

Conclusion:

Democracy necessitates protection and nurturing in its evolutionary and deepening phase with a degree of more caution and care in a developing country like India. The role of judiciary acquires preeminence in endurance of stable political climate, smooth political transition, and shaping of development model by principles of equity, justice, and human dignity. The apex court is also endowed with responsibility to secure rights and freedom in accordance with rule of law, which is strongly entrenched in a progressive constitutional document, both in theory and practice. In a diverse and heterogeneous society like India, with widening social divide and rise in disputes, the protection and promotion of rights and liberties of marginalized and minority groups based on religion is an arduous task with growing role of religion in political mobilization and rise of majoritarianism, which is a worldwide phenomenon in recent times. A democratic constitution, with an independent and assertive judiciary, as its custodian, inspires faith in minorities as a shield against majoritarian sentiments. The SC verdict in the Kesavananda case can serve as a lighthouse for judiciary in India to ensure democratic governance in accordance to constitutional letter and spirit without acting as a retarding force in ensuring positive incremental change grounded in needs and popular aspirations of masses. The Supreme Court in the Kesavananda case was able to achieve the same in an adverse political scenario with tremendous pressure on it as an institution, which deservedly merits recognition for its courage and craftsmanship and augurs well for Indian democracy being in safe hands during social and political upheavals in future.

End Notes

[i] The Constitution (Twenty-Fourth Amendment) Act, 1971, the Constitution (Twenty-Fifth Amendment) Act, 1971, the Constitution (Twenty-Ninth Amendment) Act, 1972.

[ii] R. C. Cooper vs. Union of India AIR 1970 SC 564; Madhava Rao Scindhia and others vs. Union of India AIR 1971 SC 530.

[iii] Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1969, Kerala Land Reforms (Amendment) Act 1971.

[iv] Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala AIR 1973 SC 1461, para 650.

– http://indiankanoon.org/doc/257876 (accessed on 13 July 2019)

[v] Ibid; para 1070.

[vi] Ibid; para 190-193.

[vii] Ibid; para 1470.

[viii] Ibid; para 973-975.

[ix] Ibid; para 1007.
[x] Ibid; para 621.
[xi] Ibid; Chief Justice S. M. Sikri, J. M. Shelat, A.N. Grover, B. Jaganmohan Reddy, H R Khanna, A.K. Mukherjee.
[xii] Ibid; Chief Justice S. M. Sikri, J. M. Shelat, K.S. Hegde, A.N. Grover, B. Jaganmohan Reddy, D.G. Palekar, H R Khanna, A.K. Mukherjee and Y.V. Chandrachud.
[xiii] Ibid; para 306.
[xiv] Ibid; para 307.
[xv] Ibid; para 690.
[xvi] Ibid; para 702.
[xvii] Ibid; para 555.
[xviii] Ibid; para 621.
[xix] Ibid; para 1190.
[xx] Ibid; para 1206.
[xxi] Ibid; para 1473.
[xxii] Ibid; para 1474.
[xxiii] Ibid; para 1476.
[xxiv] Ibid; para 1480.
[xxv] Ibid; para 1480.
[xxvi] Ibid;para 2245-2247.
[xxvii] Ibid; para 1314.
[xxviii] Supreme Court Advocate on record vs. Union of India, WP (C) No- 13, 2015(Popularly known as NJAC Case).
[xxix][xxix] Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs. Union Of India, AIR 802 1984(Right to health case); People Union of Civil Liberties vs. Union of India, WP(C) No - 196,2001(Right to food case);Justice K Puttaswamy vs. Union of India, WP (C) No - 494,2012(Right to Privacy case).

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Sunda through the Eyes of Foreign Travellers

Poornima Vithal Naik

Abstract

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Kanara attained significance due to a shift in the Portuguese pepper trade. The pepper trade had a significant impact on the political developments of the region; which at the time was ruled by several major and minor ruling houses such as Nayakas of Ikkeri, Nayakas of Sunda, and Bilgi etc. The focus of this paper is the principality of Sunda in the North Kanara ruled by the Nayakas of Sunda. The kingdom was known by various names such as Sode, Sudhapur, Swadi, Sondabhidana, Sunda, and Sonda. Although a minor kingdom, it has played a significant role in the history of North Kanara and Goa. Several foreign travellers visited the region. They have left behind an account of what they witnessed and understood. Their writings have helped to fill any missing gaps created due to the non-availability of the indigenous sources.

Here is an attempt to reconstruct the history of Sunda kings based on the writings of foreign travellers, such as Pietro Della Valle, John Fryer, John Francis Gemelli Careri, Captain Alexander Hamilton, Anquetil Duperron and Francis Buchanan. The account left behind by these travellers is significant to join the missing pieces of the region's history. Although these are valuable sources, one has to take utmost care while using them. Here is an attempt to critically evaluate the writings of these travellers and understand the history of the Sunda kingdom.

Keywords: *Uttara Kannada, Sunda, pepper, Portuguese, Pietro Della Valle, John Fryer, John Francis Gemelli Careri, Captain Alexander Hamilton, Anquetil Duperron, Francis Buchanan.*

Introduction

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, Kanara attained significance due to a shift in the Portuguese pepper trade. Portuguese who earlier largely depended on Malabar and the Cochin for their supply of pepper, found Kanara to be the place from where they could get good quality pepper. This new interest in the Kanara pepper, especially the Uttara Kannada (North Kanara) awarded new importance to the region. Besides the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch too were interested in the trade in the Kanara. This pepper trade had a significant impact on the politics of the region, which at the time was ruled by several major and minor ruling houses such as Nayakas of Ikkeri, Nayakas of Sunda, Bilgi etc.

This region was visited by several foreign travellers. They have left behind the account of what they witnessed and understood. Some of the information left behind them is valuable and provides important information about the politics of the region between the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. While most of the past and present historians focused on Ikkeri and its rulers, seldom anyone paid attention to Sunda. Sunda rulers rarely find a place of significance in the writings of those who covered the Kanara region and its trade, especially the pepper trade. The focus of this paper is the principality of Sunda in the North Kanara, ruled by the Nayakas of Sunda. Several foreigners had visited the place in the past . Their writings have helped us to fill any missing gaps created due to the non-availability of the indigenous sources. In this paper, an attempt is made to understand the politico-economic history of the Uttar Kannada region and more significantly the principality of Sunda, known for pepper.

Background

Sunda kingdom in the North Kanara was known by various names such as Sode, Sudhapur, Swadi, Sodhbinagar, Sunda, and Sonda.[1] In a Kannada work, named 'Keladi Nripavijayam', the Sunda rulers are referred to as Sonde rulers.[2] The Sunda kingdom on the Karnataka side was comprised of four taluks of Kanara, such as Sirsi, Yallapur, Halyal and Supa.[3] Present-day areas of Goa such as Ponda, Bali, Chandrawadi, Zambaulim, Sanguem and Cancona too formed the kingdom of Sunda. Some sources believed that Sunda chiefs descended from the Vijayanagara ruling house.[4] Francis Buchanan supported the above view.[5] However, other sources did not agree with the view. Suryanatha Kamat in the State Gazetteer maintains that there was no relationship between Vijayanagara and Sunda kings except that, Sunda was the tributary of Vijayanagara.[6] In the absence of reliable sources, it is difficult to establish the blood relation between the Sunda and the Vijayanagara royal house. However, the fact remains that Vijayanagara rulers were the overlords of Sunda kings. Many scholars considered Arsappa Nayaka II to be the founder of the kingdom and were a feudatory of the Vijayanagar Empire.[7] However, sources indicate that Arasappa Nayaka II in the sixteenth century was not the founder but the first recognized Chief of Sunda.[8] A. K. Shastry believed that the Sunda kingdom originated in the eighth century, much before the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire. It is in the sixteenth century the dynasty started getting prominence in the polity of the North Kanara.[9] The argument put forward by prof. Shastry holds merit since Arasappa Nayaka mentioned in the year 1555, succeeded his father Arasappa I. Except for Shastry, no other scholar seconded this view. According to Vasanth Madhava Sunda made its appearance in the fourteenth century and attained prominence in the seventeenth century.[10] After the decline of the Vijayanagara empire, following the battle of Talikota (1565), Sunda became the tributary of Bijapur Sultans.[11] Before 1674, the Sunda kings used the title of Nayakas.[12] In the same year, Sadashiva taking advantage of the declining power of Bijapur assumed the title of *raja* (king).[13]

In 1686, Bijapur was conquered by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and with the help of the chief of Savanur, the Mughals established their rule over the Kanara region, forcing Sunda king to pay tribute.[14] Maratha warrior King Shivaji Bhonsle defeated Sunda Raya in 1679 and forced him to pay tribute. At a time Sunda was the tributary of more than one power.[15] In 1763, Immadi Sadashiv

Raya had to take refuge in Goa with the Portuguese, as his kingdom in the North Kanara was overran by Haider Ali of Mysore.

Except for a few works, not much has been done to reconstruct the history of these rulers from the North Kanara. Some Portuguese, English and indigenous sources throw light on the history of said kings. Few foreign travellers had visited the region of Uttara Kannada over a different period and have left their accounts. Few of them had visited the kingdom of Sunda while others passed through the North Kanara. These travellers have left behind their observation and whatever they could understand. These travellers have made significant observations about the Sunda rulers and their kingdom. These hold significance as they are more objective and without any bias or favouritism. These people were distant observers. There are possibilities of misinterpretation by them due to a lack of understanding of language and culture. However, their objective observations and narrations make these travelogues valuable for the study and understanding of the Sunda rule.

Pietro Della Valle

In 1623 Kanara was visited by the Italian composer, musicologist, author and traveller Pietro Della Valle. *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, vol. II provided a detailed version of his travel and understanding of India. He had accompanied the Portuguese embassy sent to Venkatappa Nayaka, who had defeated the Portuguese. Della Valle did not mention the Sunda kingdom. In 1623, Venkatappa Nayaka ruled over Honnavar along with other territories. Formally, he was the vassal of Vijayanagara; however, he rejected its authority.[16] Bombay Gazetteer suggested he ruled independently.[17] Although he threw off the vassalage of Vijayanagara, Ikkeri became the tributary of Bijapur.[18] Della Valle called Venkatappa the powerful ruler and opined that since he was a powerful ruler, the Portuguese sent an embassy to him.[19] The embassy was sent to negotiate with Venkatappa who earlier had a conflict with the latter involving help given to the chief of Bangar and siege of Mangalore factory.[20] Following this conflict, a peace treaty was signed. However, the Bangar chief complained to the Portuguese about the non-fulfilment of the terms of the treaty by Venkatappa.[21] Portuguese therefore, had decided to send an embassy to Ikkeri, which included Pietro Del Valle. In November 1623 he visited the kingdom of Ikkeri.

Della Valle visited Gersoppa. He described Gersoppa and its queen. Queen of Gersoppa was called, "*Reyna da Pimenta*", (pepper queen).[22] He described Venkatappa Nayaka's conquest of Gersoppa. He did not visit the principality of Sunda. The reason for not visiting the region perhaps may be his inclusion in the diplomatic mission to Ikkeri and therefore, did not visit the other regions of the North Kanara**.** Although Della Valle did not visit Sunda nor he mentioned anything about Sunda, still, it is an important account to understand the political condition of the North Kanara region and pepper trade in the region.

From the writings of Della Valle, it appears that the region was very famous for pepper production and he pointed out Gersoppa to be the main region for pepper production. Between 1611 to 1615 out of the total export of the pepper to Lisbon the seventy-five per cent of the pepper was taken from the Kanara.[23] However, this trade-in pepper saw a decline especially after 1615. One of the main reasons for this decline could be the competition in the trade between the English and the Dutch and the Portuguese did not have enough resources to meet this challenge from the English

and the Dutch.[24] Moreover, the corrupt practices by the officials who privately sold the pepper and other items hurt the Portuguese trade interest.[25] Della Valle did not mention Sunda and nor its pepper which was quite surprising as the Sunda pepper was considered to be the best both by the Portuguese as well as the English. Portuguese often demanded and insisted on the Sunda pepper.[26] Even the British regarded Sunda pepper to be the best.[27] From the omission of Sunda, it is clear that Sunda was a minor kingdom and for him, it was inconsequential. Therefore, he did not find it necessary either to visit the territory or to mention them. Della Valle considered Ikkeri Nayaka to be the main player in the pepper trade. He was a strong ruler who had rejected Vijayanagara might and therefore, for Della Valle Sunda was not worthy of mention.

John Fryer

John Fryer a well-known English traveller visited Kanara twice between 1673 and 1675. He has left an account of his travels in the form of *A New Account of East-India and Persia, Being Nine Years Travels 1672-1681*. In October 1675 during his second visit to Kanara, he passed through the region of Sunda king. Fryer has left behind his account of Sunda territory. According to Fryer, "The best pepper in the world is of the growth of Sunda, known in England Carwar pepper."[28] Sunda was known for pepper. Fryer was unhappy about the fact that a small amount of pepper was sold to the Europeans since it was the best. Sunda king preferred to sell it in the local markets as he got the best price for it.[29] Sunda pepper was estimated to yield revenue of £1, 00,000. Out of this, he had to pay one-half to Bijapur and at a time even to the Maratha ruler Shivaji.[30] Sunda king made a good amount of money on his pepper trade. Sunda at this time was a tributary of two powerful players in Deccan politics, namely Shivaji and Bijapur sultan. The money out of the pepper trade helped the Sunda king to protect his minor kingdom from these powerful forces.

What is quite interesting about the account left behind by Fryer an Englishman was that for Fryer Sunda pepper was the best pepper and therefore, the English were interested in this pepper trade. Portuguese too were interested in the same. However, when Della Valle visited the region, his focus was on the kingdom of Ikkeri and he termed pepper from Gersoppa to be the best. Between the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, the Sunda region established itself as one of the significant players in the pepper trade. Even the Portuguese acknowledged the superiority of the Sunda pepper.[31] Portuguese therefore, made every attempt to eliminate the foreign competition in the trade. This is evident from the fact that, in the war that took place between the Sunda king Sadashiva Raya and the English in 1717-18, Portuguese though did not directly involve themselves, however, prevented the English from getting any help from Goa.[32] Moreover, the Portuguese saw to it that the Sunda raja compel the English to close their factory at Karwar in 1752.[33] One of the reasons for the Portuguese attack on Sunda Raya in 1752 was the Sunda Raya's permission to build a factory at Karwar, which was closed in the same year.[34]

John Francis Gemelli Careri

An Italian traveller Gemelli Careri conducted a tour around the world in the seventeenth century. He began his world tour in 1693. While on his world tour he visited India and passed through some of the territories of the Sunda king. He strangely addressed the Sunda king as *Sonde-kirani-*

karaja.[35] One is not sure the reason for calling the Sunda king *Sonde-kirani-karaja*. Perhaps he meant *Saunde-kar-raja*. Marathas addressed Sunda kings as *Saundekar raja* (King of Sunda). However, this could be an error on the part of Gemelli who was not familiar with the language of the region. He regarded him merely as the lord of some villages among the mountains. Sunda king at this time was a tributary of Mughals and was required to serve in his army whenever such need arose.[36] Law and order was an issue in the Sunda territory as Gemelli found out that it was difficult to travel due to the presence of robbers in the region. From the account of Gemelli, it is evident that the Sunda chief lived not at Sunda but at a place called Sambrani about twelve kilometres south of Haliyal in an earthen fort with walls seven-span high.[37] This village, he said, was like the rest of the country, however, had a good market at Sambrani.[38] He was critical of the Sunda king for extracting £30,000 (Rs.3, 00,000), out of this one village and called him and Muslim rulers of the region cruel for imposing high taxes on people.[39] In the account of Gemelli, one can understand the plight of the ordinary people who were burdened by the demands of the state. Not only the Muslim rulers even the Hindu rulers did not show compassion when it came to the collection of revenue. Whether the state was oppressive only in one aspect of the rule, i.e., the collection of revenue or the people were oppressed due to misrule was not very clear, as Gemelli did not give further details on the Sunda king. Gemeli was suspected to be a spy by the Portuguese missionaries and hence he could not have open access to many places and therefore could not provide an elaborate account of the places he visited. Although he did not write much on Sunda, still it is an important source as one gets some idea about the condition of the time.

Captain Alexander Hamilton

Captain Alexander Hamilton has left behind a vivid description of the region he visited in his work. The account was first published in 1727. Hamilton has written A *New Account of the East Indies*, a travelogue while he was serving the East India Company. This is an account covering a period from 1688 to 1723. Besides other aspects, he described his encounters with the Portuguese and descriptions of various places he visited, such as Africa, India, Japan, Sumatra and China. It is a valuable source on the history Sunda kingdom and its kings, especially the relation of the Sunda king with the English company over the port of Karwar.

Sunda kingdom began with *Cabo de Rama* (Canacona, Goa) or as English would call *Cape Ramus* towards the North.[40] Sunda king had built one castle *Cabo de Rama*. However, there was no river or harbour for shipping till one reached Sevaseer (Shiveshwar) in Karwar. From his account, it is learnt that the harbour was in bad shape, although few guns were mounted on it.[41] Hamilton pointed out that towards the south of *Cabo de Ram* lies the Karwar harbour. Karwar harbour, unlike Shiveshwar, was in a good condition.[42] The river at Karwar was capable of receiving ships of 300 tons.[43]

At the time of Hamilton's visit, the Sunda king was a tributary of Mughals, who previously paid tribute to the Bijapur sultan.[44] By 1686, Aurangzeb defeated Bijapur and since then Sunda became a Mughal tributary. The year of the Mughal conquest of Bijapur has given wrongly by Hamilton, as Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur in 1786 and not 1768.[45] The Sunda kingdom extended from *Cabo de Rama* to Mirjan, around 51 miles across the sea coast and around 150 to 180 miles within the

land.[46] Sunda was a mountainous region. Corn and pepper cultivated in the kingdom were considered to be the best in India.[47] From the writing of Hamilton, it was evident that the country was thickly forested and inhabited by various kinds of wild animals. This forest benefited the Sunda king as he traded extensively in timber. The English were not considered enemies, on the contrary, they were respected. He gave an interesting account of the English factory and the people. "The chief of the English factory was held in very great esteem and when he went hunting, was generally accompanied with distinguished people in the vicinity, who brought their vessels and servants with them, armed with firearms and other weapons, both massive and defensive, with trumpets, hautboys and drums".[48] However, all was not well between the Sunda king and the British. Perhaps the people of Sunda were on friendly terms with the English. The same could not be said about the Sunda King, as on many occasions' hostilities broke out between the king and the company, over Karwar. Both wanted to control the lucrative port of Karwar.

Karwar region at that time was a forested area inhabited by a variety of wild animals. He mentioned a hunting expedition where a large number of animals were killed by English for example, dozens of deer, two wild cows, four or five sows and pigs.[49] The region produced good quantities of timber. The teak wood was useful for building ships and houses. It was considered to be better than Oak.[50] This is the one reason; the Portuguese were not happy with the Sunda king when they appealed to the English for help against the Maratha invasion in 1697.[51] Portuguese were threatened by the presence of English in the region as it would cost them trade in timber and pepper. Fortunately, for the Portuguese, the English put a condition before the Sunda king to surrender the Karwar port which was an unacceptable condition to the latter.[52] Port of Karwar would have given the British access to the rich pepper and timber trade. Needless to say, the Sunda king did not surrender the said port. Ultimately, it was the Portuguese who came to the rescue of the Sunda king. Both the parties signed a treaty in 1697 promising protection to the latter from the Marathas.[53]

Hamilton spoke about the muslin of this region was the finest.[54] However, he did not mention exactly which part of the region. Muslin was probably brought from Hubli. The English had profitable trade in muslin and had employed around fifty thousand people in their factory.[55] However, all these things were before the conquest of Bijapur by Aurangzeb as the conquest of Bijapur resulted in disruption of the trade. Mughal soldiers looted and plundered the area forcing the weavers to leave the area in search of a better and safer place.[56] English factory at Karwar was burnt and destroyed by a Mughal general who had taken possession of Sunda territory on behalf of his master

The English factory was burnt by treachery. The said Mughal general invited the English officer for dinner and while the officer was with the general, the Mughal soldiers went and burnt down the factory.[57] English however, rebuilt the factory. Hamilton was critical of the same. According to him, " …he who built it where it is, had no great foresight in choosing his ground, for it ought to have been built in a place of free communication with the sea, but now it stands a league from it."[58]

In 1718, the English realized their mistakes when they were attacked by Sunda king Basavalinga Raya. The reason for this confrontation was attributed to the mistake of George Taylor, who was then the chief of the English factory at Karwar.[59] In 1715, Basavalinga Raya had removed the old

fort from Karwar, about three miles from the British factory. Taylor annoyed Sunda Raya by seizing the wreck for his use which came ashore about four miles from the factory.[60] Basavalinga besieged the Karwar factory of British for two months. Due to rain, the English could not get reinforcement. After two months, reinforcement of four thousand troops arrived for the English from Bombay. However, due to the rough sea, they found difficulty in fighting the enemy. After six weeks the situation turned in favour of the English. Sunda king's men who were on higher altitude above the English men would open fire at daybreak with little effect. English fired at the enemy with success. English caused a lot of harassment to the Sunda king. They burnt down villages at night and killed nearly two hundred men of the king, captured some vessels meant for the king laden with salt and three ships coming from Arabia with one hundred and fifty horses.[61] English too, suffered a loss. Around 250 soldiers lost their lives in the war.[62] In this war, around seven thousand men of the king were engaged in a fight against the English. This war put a lot of strain on the resources of Basavalinga who appealed for peace.[63] He sent a Brahman to negotiate peace with the commodore of the English fleet. Commodore heard the Brahman and advised him to make his proposal to Taylor. However, Brahman refused to do so as King would not agree as the king was miffed with Taylor. He was the reason for the war between Sunda Raya and the English and before the war, said Taylor had done some activities that were detrimental to the king and his subjects.[64] Taylor made the servants of the company sell out some company pepper in retail in the Sunda king's villages, resulting in the ruin of many poor villagers, who were left with no other means of livelihood, but by huckstering. Moreover, the English were given a concession of free trade by the king and his ancestors, which deprived the king of revenues.[65] However, being tired of the war he wanted to negotiate for peace. English too, were in favour of peace. Due to the mediation of a Siddi, who was a friend to both the parties, peace was proclaimed on easy terms for both the parties.[66] Hamilton did not mention the terms of the treaty. However, the terms of the treaty included the English desire to sign a contract of pepper trade with the Sunda King amounting to a thousand *Candys* of pepper per year. Sunda king to allow the English trade unharmed. He was to return the ship and *galvats*, and other goods looted by him.[67] In reply to these, Sunda King asked the English to stop fortification and reduce the number of guns mounted on the factory at Karwar. He asked them to pay war compensation amounting to 5000 pagodas and 25 guns.[68] The Sunda king disliked English and Taylor in particular and due to this maintained a hostile attitude towards the English.[69] This dislike and the pressure from the Portuguese resulted in the latter leaving Karwar.[70] The Bombay quarterly did not mention the Sunda rulers as kings; rather they were addressed as *Desais.* English factory according to the journal was not besieged by Sunda Raya but by *Desais.*[71] *Desais* who styled themselves as *Raja*, thrown off allegiance of the Raja of Satara (Shahu).[72] In 1718 it was Basavalinga who ruled over the Sunda kingdom. Portuguese every year sent a fleet to Kanara for corn.[73] There were two islands on the mouth of the Karwar river, both belonging to the king of Sunda. The Sunda king's dominion besides included harbours such as Ankola and Mirjan.[74]

The account of Hamilton provided a piece of valuable information on Sunda king and English and their confrontation in Karwar. Hamilton's account threw light on the geography of the region with the description of the forest and the animals in it. His account is significant from the point of view that he travelled the region towards the closing years of the seventeenth century and the beginning

of the eighteenth. His account is a good primary source to understand the history of Kanara and the tussle between the Sunda, English and the Portuguese over the port of Karwar.

Anquetil Duperron

Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron a French man reached India in 1756. He passed through the district of North Kanara in February 1758. By this time lot of changes had taken place in the politics of the North Kanara. The English were trying to gain ground however, their efforts to strengthen their position in the North Kanara were met with failure as its Karwar factory was closed down by the Sunda king. The Marathas at this time was a dominant power. The power of Ikkeri Nayakas had declined. The region was somewhat disturbed on account of the murder of the young prince of Bednur, after the death of Basavappa Nayaka.[75] Since the murder of the young chief, the people had risen in revolt. Around this time the region came under the Maratha invasion. The kingdom was asked to pay the tribute of £50,000 to £60,000 (Rs. 5 to 6 lakhs) to the Marathas. Since the amount was big, a heavy tax was imposed by the state resulting in an adverse impact on trading activities. Even the Sunda king was at war with the Marathas.[76] Duperron claimed that the Sunda which was a former tributary of the Savanur chief paid tribute to the Marathas.[77] Duperron wrote that the Sunda king built a fort on the Karwar River, however, the Portuguese held the mouth of the river. The Sunda territory extended to the Assolna stream, five miles north of Cabo de Rama. On 24 October 1760, as the Portuguese dreaded a Marathas attack on Goa, the treaty of 1756 between the Portuguese and the Sunda chief was renewed.[78] On 12 September 1762, the Portuguese agreed to restore the island and fort of Shimpi (Ximpi) which they had held for some months. However, the year of the treaty between the two parties is not given correctly by Duperron. The said treaty was signed in 1755, and not in 1756.[79] This treaty was signed after the confrontation between the Sunda king and the Portuguese. This confrontation had taken place as Sunda king permitted the English to establish a factory at Karwar. The Sunda king's failure to provide religious freedom to Christians in his land and his attack on some Portuguese vessels were some of the causes of this confrontation.[80] Permission given to the English to build a factory at Karwar was another cause of this confrontation. The Portuguese viceroy attacked Sadashivgad and Ximpi (Kumargad). This hostility ended with both parties signing a peace treaty on 2 November 1755. As per the clause of the said treaty, the Portuguese were to expel the English from Karwar and ensure the freedom of Christians.[81] However, those areas were not restored to the Portuguese as the Sunda king failed to fulfil the conditions.[82] However, at a later stage, those areas were returned to them as they feared attack by the Marathas.[83] Duperron's account threw important light on the history of the region in the eighteenth century. The nature of Sunda- Portuguese relations can be understood from the writings of Duperron.

Francis Buchanan

Francis Buchanan was a medical officer with the East India Company. He spent some time in Asia in 1785, and from 1788 to 1789 and then again in 1791. He was finally employed as an assistant surgeon in Bengal from 1794-1815. This allowed him to travel extensively to India. In 1800 he was appointed a surveyor of South India following the British victory in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore against Tipu Sultan. He has written a travelogue A *Journey from Madras Through the Country of*

Mysore, Canara and Malabar in three volumes. When he visited the North Kanara region, the Sunda king no longer lived at Sunda. He was forced to take shelter in the Portuguese Goa following the attack on his kingdom by Hyder Ali of Mysore. At the time of his arrival, the entire region was under the control of the East India Company, which had captured it after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799. His account was based on the information provided to him by the people of the region and the few inscriptions of the Sunda king. Although he visited the place long after the extinction of the Sunda king from the region, his account is valuable in joining the missing pieces of information on the rule of Sunda kings.

According to his travelogue, he reached Sunda on 13 March 1801. The kingdom of Sunda was called Sunda by Europeans and Muslims, however, in Kannada, it was called Sudha, a corruption from Sanskrit word Sudhapura.[84] The Sunda Kingdom was unfit for growing rice while, fit for growing betel nuts. The area was mainly occupied by *Haiga* (Havyaka) Brahmins who according to Buchanan were sole cultivators in the region.[85] Although Sunda pepper was considered as best by many, from the writing of Buchanan it appears that not much attention was paid at its cultivation as he says, "The pepper growing spontaneously; but it is neglected; and many of the trees that would bear it are stripped of their leaves and branches, which are used manure for the gardens".[86]

Buchanan gave an account of the family of Sunda chiefs. The particular list was provided to him by the family *purohit* (priest) of Sunda kings, who had a written account of the family of Sunda, with a copy of each prince's seal.[87] From the information provided to Buchanan by the said priest it appears that, during the reign of Krishnadevaraya, the region was occupied by Polygars, who were Jains. The Brahmin informed Buchanan that Polygars paid tribute to the Vijayanagara ruler Venkatapati, the father of Achuta and Krishnadevaraya.[88] Buchanan however, did not agree with this. Buchanan relied on the Gokarna inscription. According to an inscription, the name of Krishnadevaraya's father was Sadashiva. Venkatapati did not have an heir for many years hence promised the kingdom to his nephew (sister's son) Arasappa Nayaka. However, later two sons were born to him; therefore, he made Arasappa the chief of Sunda.[89] However, the account given by Buchanan is not accurate. Venkatapati did not have any issue and he died in 1614 nominating his nephew Sri Ranga to the throne.[90] Moreover, Krishnadevaraya's father was Narasa Nayaka; Sadashiva was the nephew of Krishnadevaraya and the son of Ranga.[91] He was supposed to have built the capital Sudhapura *by* defeating Jain Polygars and settled Haiga (Havyaka) Brahmins.[92] Arasappa was succeeded by his son, Ramchandra Nayaka, who ruled till 1618. He was succeeded by his son Raghunatha Nayaka till 1638, followed by his son Madhulinga Nayaka, who became a *Shiva- bhakta* (devotee of Shiva) and embraced the Lingayat faith, ruled till 1674. Madhulinga was succeeded by Sadashiva Raya till 1697, followed by Basavalinga Raya till 1674 and then by his Immadi Sadashiva till 1763, who was defeated and made to run away from the Sunda territory by Haider Ali. He took refuge in Goa under the protection of the Portuguese with a pension.[93]

During the reign of the Sunda king, the region was brought under cultivation and towns were big and most of the region was fully inhabited.[94] In the reign of Immadi Sadashiva, the town was suffered due to the attack from the Marathas and Sadashiva was forced to pay Chauth to the Marathas.[95] For some time Basavalinga Raya was not able to pay the amount of Chauth to the

Marathas therefore, the Sunda king had to keep Panch-mahal,(Ashtagar, Hemadbarse, Baali, Chandrawadi and Kakode, (all Goan side of Sunda kingdom) obtained by Sadashiva Raya as a mortgage with a Maratha chief Gopal Rao, who restored them after the payment was made to the Marathas.[96] Panch -mahal areas were obtained by Sadashiva Raya on lease from the Mughals in return for Rs. 80,000.[97] After the conquest of Sunda by Haider Ali, Basavalinga was forced to take asylum with the Portuguese. He handed over Panch-mahal to the Portuguese for a Pension of Rs. 48, 000 per annum.[98] However, Buchanan believed that these areas were worth Rs. 80,000 per annum.[99] The Portuguese took advantage of the situation of the Sunda king and obtained the areas for almost half the actual worth.

Buchanan has given interesting information as to who founded the town of *Sudhapura*. Based on the inscription dated 1198, the town was founded by Sadashiva Raya of Sudhapura and not by Arasappa Nayaka as widely believed by many. Buchanan is not sure whether Sadashiva Raya mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of the Belalla family or the Kadamba family.[100]

Buchannan referred to the two inscriptions of Sunda kings Arsappa Nayaka II. One is on a stone at Honavully (Honnavalli) *Muth* and the second one at another *Muth* belonging to the Udupi Sanyasis. He did not mention anything about the two inscriptions of Sadashiva Raya. There is one inscription of Arasappa Nayaka about the gift of land he made Madhukeshwara temple dated 1598 and two inscriptions of Sadashiva Rajendra both Pillars, one in the above-mentioned temple and the other in the shrine of Virabhadra in the Madhukeshwara temple.[101]

Buchannan was the only foreign traveller who had written the detailed account of Sunda kingdom. His work dealt with the origin of the Sunda kingdom, and its decline. He was the only foreign traveller who has provided a list of rulers that ruled the kingdom from Arasappa Nayaka II to Sadashiva II. This detailed account makes Buchannan's work different from rest of the accounts by other travellers such as Fryer, Hamilton or Duperron. These travellers mainly focused on one event or one aspect of the Sunda kingdom. For example, Fryer was mainly concerned about the Sunda pepper with little description of Sunda, while Hamilton concentrated only on the Sunda-English relations. Buchannan travelled the region long after the decline of the Sunda kingdom in North Kanara and therefore, had to depend on the information provided by people in the region. While other travellers visited the kingdom when Sunda rulers were ruling over the region and hence they wrote their observations about the region. However, they did not provide any information about rulers. Buchannan's account is significant to construct the history of the Sunda dynasty. While the account of the other travellers is more reliable than it was eyewitness's accounts, Buchannan's used various sources. Again, the information provided by Buchannan's on Sunda rulers is based on a list provided to him by the *Purohit* (priest). Nevertheless, accounts of these travellers are significant to understand the history and political condition of the North Kanara region especially, the kingdom of Sunda.

Conclusion

Few scholars have written about the history of Sunda kings and their kingdoms. In Karnataka, they are regarded as the minor rulers and insignificant players in the history of Uttara Kannada. Scholars from Karnataka have written extensively on Nayakas of Ikkeri, or the rulers of Gersoppa or for that

matter even the Wodeyars of Mysore. However, they have neglected the contribution made by Sunda kings and therefore one may find only occasional references to these kings. Very little information has come down to us on the Sunda and their contribution to the history of Uttara Kannada. This information is mainly based on the account left behind by the foreign travellers who visited the region. From the Goan side too, where they took asylum after their southern territories from the Karnataka side were conquered by Haider Ali, not enough is written about them.

Accounts left behind these travellers not only shed light on the political developments of the region moreover but also provide useful information about the pepper trade of the region. The pepper trade played a significant role in the political developments of the region. These accounts threw light on the role played by the foreign powers in the pepper trade. Portuguese, English often competed to get pepper from the region since it was considered to be the superior quality compared to the Malabar or Cochin pepper. The account left behind by these travellers helped us to reconstruct the history of the Sunda kings. They are valuable in joining the missing pieces of the history of the region. In this regard Francis Buchanan's work is important. He has not only written about the geography of the region moreover a considerable light on the dynastic history of rulers of Sunda kings. He has provided the list of monarchs up to Sadashiv Raya II, which no other writer or traveller before him or after him have done. The list provided in the District Gazetteer of North Kanara is the same given to us by Buchanan. Although it is an important source it too has some inaccuracies and have to be used carefully and should be substantiated with other sources.

Through the works of these travellers, one can understand the political, economic and social conditions prevailing during the time of their visit to the place. These sources help us to understand the nature of the relationship Sunda rulers had with their neighbours. Although these travelogues are important, it is necessary to use them as carefully. Most of these were written or translated in old English, so it is necessary to get familiar with the words used, moreover, these people were foreigners and not familiar with the customs and usages of the region therefore, there can be the possibility of misinterpretation of certain facts. Even the names of some places written by them have changed; therefore it is necessary to verify the facts provided by them.

Although there are some inaccuracies, no one can deny the fact that without these sources our understanding of the history of Sunda kings and their kingdom would be incomplete. These travelogues gain more importance especially when the indigenous scholars have done little work to investigate the history of these rulers, whom we call Rayas of Sunda.

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Pattern and Growth of Urbanisation in India during 1991-2011: An Inter-State Analysis

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Abstract

Urbanisation is a long-term process for any country, where more and more people are living in the urban sectors and people living in the rural areas are decreasing. From the ancient days this process has been continuing in every country. In urban areas the urban amenities, employment opportunities attract many rural people, and due to rural-urban migration the rate of urbanization is increasing in any economy like India. The urban population has increased from 21.75 crores in 1991 to 28.61 crores in 2001 and to 37.71 crores in 2011. This shows that rate of urbanization has increased from 25.71% in 1991 to 27.78% in 2001 and to 31.14% in 2011. Indian states have varied their total population as well as urban population during the period 1991-2011. Due to globalization, industrialization and infrastructural development of the states have been increasing. Urban growth in the post-liberalization phase would be very high as well as very much diversified among different states. The paper has focused on the pattern, growth, index of urbanization in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. This paper also discusses the decomposition of growth rates of total population, urban population and urbanization during 1991-2011.

Urban population in India has been increasing, but still the number of populations live in urban area is less than the rural population in 2011. Among the bigger states Tamil Nadu and Kerala have shown a satisfactory level of degree of urbanization with above 90% level. But some states like Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh etc. have very low rate of degree of urbanization. Also, the growth of urbanization is not very satisfactory in some states. As the growth of urbanization is taken as a growth of an economy so some urban development policies should be reformulated to attract people. As a result, due to industrialization and infrastructural development our country will become more urbanized. For this we require the formulation and implementation of rigorous urban development policies by the Government of India as well as the State Government.

Keywords: *Urbanization, Total Population, Urban Population, Degrees of Urbanization,*

Introduction:

Urbanisation is a long-term process for any country, where more and more people are living in the urban sectors and people living in the rural areas are decreasing. From the ancient days this process

has been continuing for every country like India. In urban areas the urban amenities and employment opportunities attract many rural people, and due to rural-urban migration the rate of urbanization has been increasing. In the developed economy it has commensurate with its level of development and in fact come into being as a result of the necessity to organize and consolidate the expanding economic activities. On the other hand, in the developing economy it is often not associated with economic growth and it is too low for that level of urbanisation. There are inequalities among different states of a particular country. Industrial and infrastructural developments of some states are the main reason behind the rapid urbanization of those states. So, urbanization mainly occurs in the developed portions of a country.

According to the estimation of 2018, among total land area 2.4% has situated in India. On the other hand, 17% populations are the residents of India. Being a second populous country in the world, India is continuously witnessing a huge increase in population. The urban population of India has been growing very fast due to natural increase and migration.

According to Census of India, all municipality, corporation, cantonment board are regarded as town area, all other places whose population is more than 5000, at least 75% of male working population engaged in non-agricultural activities and the density of that are is at least 400 people per sq. km. In India the proportion of urban population to the total population has continuously increased from 17.97 % in 1961 to 25.71 % in 1991, to 27.78% in 2001 and 31.14 % in 2011. The urban-rural population ratio has also increased from 34% in 1991 to 38.5% in 2001 and to 45% in 2011.

In this paper we are to examine the changing pattern and trends of urbanisation in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. Section I deals with the pattern of urbanisation in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. Section II contains the urbanisation rate in India and its constituent states during the period 1991-2011. Degree of urbanisation in India and its constituent states is analysed in section III. Section IV contains the decomposition analysis of growth rate of urbanisation in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. Concluding remarks are in section V.

Literature Review:

Urbanisation is an index of long-term process of transformation of agricultural sector to industrial sector. Due to poverty in the rural areas, many people are leaving the rural areas and they are migrated towards urban areas. Urban areas are not attracting new people but rural areas force some people to migrate towards urban areas (Datta, 2006). In the developed countries it depends on a product of industrialisation. But in the developing countries it had been the product of population explosion in the rural areas which has accelerated migration towards urban centres (Haggell.1972).

Urbanisation depends on several factors. These are: a) natural increase of population b) net migration c) reclassification and declassification and d) the emergence of new points of concentration (Premi, 1981 & Kundu, 2003). In the developing countries it has occurred mainly due to natural increase of urban population. Bhagat (2017) has observed that the urban population in India has experienced rapid urban population growth during 2001-2011, due to very high urban natural increase. Huge numbers of new towns has emerged during this period, by which the

urbanization increases. During the last decade, there is an increasing concentration of population in big cities, especially in million plus cities. But not only the big cities are growing but also small and medium sized cities are also increasing. Also, urban India has been experiencing the rapid urbanization flow from rural to urban migration (Bhati, 2015). In India, Mathur (1993) has observed that net urban migration becomes the principal component of urbanisation. Rural-urban income gap increases the migration towards urban area from rural area (Sridhar, 2016). During 1961-91, urban population is increasing more for larger cities than the smaller towns. These are known as "size-class jumping". Considering just the immediate effect, natural increase of population is greater contributor of urbanisation in India, but migration has a long-term effect (Keyfitz & Philipov,1981). Giri (1998) has found that the level of urbanisation of West Bengal had shown a special concentration on Kolkata. During 1970-80 there was faster population growth in the small & medium urban centres as because of the location shift of various secondary and tertiary sectors. As rapid population growth could not be absorbed by agricultural sector so there was an increase in workforce participation in low-income urban activity. Chatterjee & Ayadi (2001) have examined that the urban population growth rate in West Bengal was higher than that of India. As an impact of urbanisation, they measured that the extent of poverty was higher in West Bengal than India where the mortality and birth rate is lower and literacy rate is higher in West Bengal than India. Kundu (2003) has observed that in 1990's the developed states in India have attracted migration to their urban centers through industrialisation. Singh & Singh (2017) have observed that though India ranks the second about urban population, but it has very low level of urbanisation. Patterns of urbanisation are very diverse among the states. Delhi, Goa & Mizoram have recorded the significant level of urbanisation. In 2011, only 15 states and union-territories have showed the increasing population growth. Rajagopalan, Kumar, Ranjan & Singh (2018) have noticed that there is biasness of urban population towards urban towns and also found that utrbanisation ratios in 2011 are higher for those states than the others for which the urbanization ratios were significantly high. Urbanisation occurs not only because of urban pull but also mainly due to rural push. Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life. Due to unequal development throughout the country, migration trends and patterns are unequal (Shukla, K, Sanjay, M & Tripathi, S, 2010).

Different cities in India have contributed nearly two-third of India's GDP. Growth rate of per-capita income in India and urbanization rate have a direct relationship between them (Sridhar, 2016). Growth rate of urban per-capita income is greater than the national per capita income in India during 1991-2011. Urban infrastructural development depends on different urban development policies and programs (Tripathi, 2015). But for different cities, the speed of urbanization is not matched by adequate housing and other basic facilities. The living condition of urban area is very much pathetic (Kumar & Rai, 2014). Chetana & Tripathi (2016) have suggested that Govt. should provide good public services like transport facility, electricity in different class-size cities so that urbanization can be improved more and also investment in different kind of industries are required for the development of urban sectors.

So, from these literatures we came to know that the urbanization rates among the different states in India are very much diversified. Also, the increase in urbanization rate increases the growth rate of per-capita income.

Section I: Pattern of Urbanization in India during 1991-2011

In this section we are to estimate the pattern of urbanization in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. Our estimates (Table 1) reveal that there is a wide variation of pattern of urbanization in the Indian states during the period of 1991-2011. In 1991 among the states Maharashtra has achieved the highest share of urban population followed by Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Assam has achieved the lowest share of urban population. In 2001 and 2011, Maharashtra has also taken the highest position and Assam the lowest one. Thus, we observe that there is no change in the position of highest and lowest states namely Maharashtra and Assam respectively. Interestingly, we note that the share of urban population has decreased in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal during 1991-2011. Interestingly, we also observe that Maharashtra though achieved the highest position in urban population but its share has shown a declining trend during the period 1991-2011.

Section II : Rate of Urbanization in India During 1991-2011: An Inter-State Analysis

In this section we are to examine the urbanisation rate among the states in India during 1991-2011. The urbanization rate of any economy like India is the ratio between urban population and total population of the economy. Our estimates (Table 2) reveal that irrespective of sex the urbanisation rate has varied in India and its constituent states during the period under study. At the all-India level, it has increased from 25.43% in 1991 to 27.82% in 2001 and to 31.14% in 2011. It has increased in all the states excepting Bihar during 1991-2011. In 1991, irrespective of sex among the bigger states Maharashtra has shown the highest position in terms of urbanisation rate, whose position has lost by Tamil Nadu both in 2001 and 2011. Among the smaller states, Goa has taken the highest position for the three census years. Six bigger states namely Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, Karnataka, Kerala, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu, two other states namely Goa & Mizoram have shown the higher urbanization rate than all India level for the three census years irrespective of sex. All the union territories have the higher urbanization rate than the all India level during 2001 - 2011. During 1991-2011, three major states namely Haryana, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and three smaller states namely Goa, Nagaland, Sikkim have shown an increase in rank. Among them, Kerala has shown the highest increase in rank with an increase in urbanisation rate. Tripura is the only state which has shown the equality in ranking of urbanisation during 1991-2011. It is observed that the smaller states and the union territories have recorded a significant urbanisation level with Delhi topping the list where 93% are the urban population. The union territories have taken the first five ranking in urbanisation rate in the three decades except in 2001and Goa has taken the sixth position. Among the bigger states, Assam and Bihar have respectively achieved the lowest urbanisation rate in 1991and in 2011. Among all the states and union territories, Dadra & Nagar Haveli is the least urbanised union territory in 1991, but Himachal Pradesh has occupied the same position with only 10% level of urbanisation in the last two decades. During 1991-2011, only few

states have shown the higher female urbanization rate than the male one. The rate of male urbanization rate as well as the total urbanization rate has increased but the female rate has decreased during 1991-2001 in the states of Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh. During 1991-2001, Nagaland is the only state where the total urbanization rate has increased only due to increase in female rate. During 2001-2011, Himachal Pradesh has shown an increase in total urbanization rate but its male urbanization rate has shown a slightly decreasing rate. In 1991, the female urbanization rate is greater than the male one in the states of Haryana, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Delhi and Pondicherry. In 2001, no bigger states have the higher female urbanization rate than the male one whereas in 2011, Kerala and Tamil Nadu have the higher female urbanization rate than the male one.

Thus we observe that the rate of urbanization has shown a rising tendency in the states and union territories of India during 1991-2011. Among the states the variation in urbanization rate for female has decreased more than the male one during this period. In 2011 the variation among the states in urbanization rate is more or less same for male and female.

Section III: Degree / Index of Urbanisation in India during 1991-2011

In this section we are to examine the degree of urbanisation among the states in India during 1991-2011. The degree of urbanization (DU) of any economy like India is defined as the ratio between urban population (UP) and rural population (RP) of the economy, i.e.

$$DU = UP/RP \times 100 .$$

Now, $DU=100$, when $UP=RP$,

<100, when $UP<RP$,

>100, when $UP>RP$.

Thus the degree of urbanisation refers to the relative number of people who live in urban area compared to the rural area in any economy. Our estimate (Table 3) reveals that the degree of urbanisation has increased in India and its constituent states during 1991-2011. The degree of urbanisation for the all India level has increased from 34% in 1991to 45% in 2011. In 1991, only the union territories namely Chandigarh, Delhi, Lakshadweep and Pondicherry have shown a very high rate of degree of urbanization in India (greater than 100). This shows that in these union territories the urban population is higher than the rural one. In 2001, Lakshadweep has shown a 80% degree of urbanization i.e. the urban population is lower than the rural one. No states have shown a higher than 100% degree of urbanisation. In 2011, only two states namely Goa and Mizoram have shown more than 100% degree of urbanisation.

We also observe that in 1991, among the bigger states, three states namely Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and among the smaller states, two states namely Goa and Mizoram have more than 50% degree of urbanisation. Irrespective of sex, in 1991, Maharashtra among the bigger states has achieved the highest degree of urbanisation, followed by Tamil Nadu in the next two decades. Irrespective of sex, Delhi has the highest degree of urbanisation during 1991-2011. Among the smaller states, Goa has achieved the first position both in 2001 and 2011, though in 1991 Mizoram was in this position. In 2001, irrespective of sex among the bigger states, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Punjab and Gujarat have more than 50% degree of urbanisation. In 2011, all the union territories

have more than 50% degree of urbanisation though in 1991 this value was very small in case of Dadra & Nagar Haveli. Most of the states have shown an increasing trend in their degree of urbanisation excepting Bihar and Manipur during 1991-2001. Excepting Bihar all the States and Union Territories have shown an increasing trend of the degree of urbanisation during 1991-2011 irrespective of sex. Among the states, Himachal Pradesh has achieved the lowest position during the period under study. Dadra & Nagar Haveli has the lowest degree of urbanisation in the first two decades. But in 2011, Andaman & Nicobar Island have achieved the lowest degree. Among the bigger states, Kerala has shown a significantly increasing trend in degree of urbanisation from 25% in 1991 to 91% in 2011. In most of the states the degree of urbanisation is higher for male than for female during 1991-2011 excepting Haryana, Manipur, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Delhi and Pondicherry in 1991, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Tripura, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu, Delhi and Pondicherry in 2001; and Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura, Uttaranchal, Chandigarh, Delhi, Pondicherry in 2011. During 1991-2001 Nagaland has shown an increase in urbanization index but its male urbanization rate has been decreasing. In 1991, seven bigger states namely, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Punjab, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat have greater index of urbanization than the all-India level. In 2001, all the states excepting Andhra Pradesh have shown the same tendency. Among the smaller states Goa & Mizoram have greater urban-rural ratio than India during 1991-2011. Among the states, few states have shown greater index of urbanization for female than for male. The states are: Haryana, Kerala, Manipur, Mizoram & Tripura in 1991; Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram & Tripura in 2001 and Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram & Tripura in 2011.

Thus we observe that irrespective of sex the degree of urbanization in different states has shown an increasing trend during 1991-2011. The variation in female urban-rural ratio in different states in India is higher than the male one during the period of study.

Section IV: Relationship among the Growth rates of Urbanization Rate and Total Population and Urban Population

Urbanisation rate (UR) is defined as the ratio between Urban Population (UP) and Total Population (TP) of any economy like India at any time t, i.e,

$$UR=UP/TP \quad \ldots\ldots (1),$$

Taking log in both side of equation (1) we have:

$$\ln(UR)= \ln(UP/TP)$$

$$= \ln UP - \ln TP \quad \ldots\ldots (2).$$

Taking total differentiation of equation (2) with respect to 't' we get,

$$d/dt\ (\ln UR) = d/dt\ (\ln UP) - d/dt\ (\ln TP)$$

From this we can get the growth rate of urbanization:

$$g_{UR} = g_{UP} - g_{TP},$$

where, g_{UR} : Growth Rate of Urbanisation Rate,

g_{UP} : Growth Rate of Urban Population,

g_{TP} : Growth Rate of Total Population.

The Growth rate of urbanization rate is the difference between the growth rates of urban population and total population of any economy like India at any time. Now the sign of the growth rate of

urbanisation rate depends on the resultant effects of the growth rates of urban population and total population. We shall now consider two cases here:

Case-1 : $g_{UR}>0$, when (i) $g_{UP}>0, g_{TP}>0$ but $g_{UP}> g_{TP}$.
(ii) $g_{UP}>0, g_{TP}<0$.
(iii) $g_{UP}<0, g_{TP}<0$ but $|g_{UP}| < |g_{TP}|$.

Thus we observe that for the positive growth rate of urbanization rate, situation (i) is desirable.

Case-2 : $g_{UR}<0$, when (i) $g_{UP}<0, g_{TP}<0, |g_{UP}| > |g_{TP}|$.
(ii) $g_{UP}<0, g_{TP}>0$.
(iii) $g_{UP}>0, g_{TP}>0$ but $g_{TP} > g_{UP}$.

Here all the cases are not desirable from the economic point of view.

Our estimates (Table 4) reveal that the growth rates of total population as well as urban population have been positive in India and its constituent states and union territories excepting Lakshadweep having negative urban population growth rate during 1991-2001, 2001-2011 and 1991-2011. As a result, the growth rate of urbanization rate has been positive in India and its constituent states and union territories during the period under study. During 1991-2011, in India the growth rates of TP, UP and UR are respectively 1.55%, 2.42% and 0.8%. During 1991-2011, only Bihar has shown a negative urbanization growth. The growth rate of total population has increased in the states of Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Manipur & Pondicherry from the period of 1991-2001 to 2001-2011. On the other hand, the rest of the states have shown a declining growth rate in the total population. On the other hand, urban population growth rate has decreased in the states of Haryana, Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Andaman & Nicobar Island, Chandigarh, Daman & Diu and Delhi from the period of 1991-2001 to 2001-2011. Thus we observe that the variation in growth rates of total population, urban population and urbanization rate have decreased in these states during this period.

We also observe that during 1991-2001 the growth rate of urbanisation rate is positive in most of the states excepting Bihar, Kerala, Manipur, Daman & Diu and Lakshadweep. In most of the states the growth rate of urbanization rate is positive. This is due to the fact that growth of urban population is greater than growth of total production. During 1991-2001, Madhya Pradesh is the only state which has positive urbanisation growth rate where growth rate of urban population is positive but growth rate of total population is negative. The growth rate of urbanization rate is equal to zero only in Nagaland and Chandigarh, where the growth rate of urban population and that of total population are equal i.e. the increasing rate of urban population is same as the increasing rate of total population. During this period, in Bihar the growth rate of urbanization is negative since both the growth rates of urban population and total population are negative and absolute value of urban population growth is greater than that of total population growth. On the other hand, in Kerala, Manipur and Daman & Diu the growth rate of urbanization is negative as the growth rate of urban population is less than that of total population. In Lakshwadeep, the growth of urbanisation is also negative as the growth rate of urban population is negative but the growth rate of total population is positive and the difference between the growth rate of urban population and total

population is less than zero. i.e. decrease in urban population is greater than the increase in total population. During 2001-2011, Nagaland has achieved the negative growth rate of total population, i.e. the total population is decreasing but the value is very low but the urban population is increasing and that is the reason the growth rate of urbanization is positive. During 1991-2011 all the states have positive urbanisation growth rate excepting Bihar where the growth of urban population is less than that of total population.

Section V: Concluding Remarks:

Urban population in India has been increasing over time, but still the number of populations live in urban area is less than that in rural area in 2011. Among the bigger states Tamil Nadu and Kerala have shown a satisfactory level of degree of urbanization with above 90% level during the period of 1991-2011. But some states like Orissa, Assam, Bihar, and Uttar Pradesh have shown a very low rate of urbanization during the period under study. Also, the growth rate of urbanization rate is not very satisfactory in some states. As the growth of urbanization is taken as a growth of an economy of India so some urban development policies should be reformulated to attract people. With industrialization and infrastructural development our country will become more urbanized. For this we require the formulation and implementation of rigorous urban development policies by the Government of India as well as the State Government.

Table 1: Percentage shares of Urban Population among in India during 1991 – 2011: Inter State Analysis

India/State/ Union Territories	1991	2001	2011
India	100	100	100
Bigger States			
Andhra Pradesh	8.29	7.27	7.48
Assam	1.15	1.20	1.16
Bihar	5.26	3.03	3.12
Gujrat	6.60	6.61	6.82
Haryana	1.88	2.14	2.34
Karnataka	6.45	6.28	6.27
Kerala	3.56	2.89	4.23
Madhya Pradesh	7.11	5.58	5.32
Maharashtra	14.15	14.36	13.48
Orissa	1.96	1.93	1.86
Punjab	2.78	2.89	2.76

Rajasthan	4.67	4.62	4.52
Tamil Nadu	8.84	9.61	9.26
Uttar Pradesh	12.79	12.07	11.79
West Bengal	8.67	7.84	7.71
Smaller States			
Arunachal Pradesh	0.05	0.08	0.08
Chhattisgarh	-	1.46	1.57
Goa	0.22	0.23	0.24
Jharkhand	-	2.09	2.10
Himachal Pradesh	0.21	0.21	0.18
Jammu & Kashmir	-	0.88	0.91
Manipur	0.23	0.20	0.22
Meghalaya	0.15	0.16	0.16
Mizoram	0.14	0.15	0.15
Nagaland	0.10	0.12	0.15
Skikim	0.02	0.02	0.04
Tripura	0.20	0.19	0.25
Uttaranchal	-	0.76	0.81
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Island	0.03	0.05	0.04
Chandigarh	0.27	0.28	0.27
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.01	0.02	0.04
Daman & Diu	0.02	0.02	0.05
Delhi	3.93	4.51	4.34
Lakshadweep	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pondicherry	0.24	0.23	0.23

Source: Author's own calculation based on Census of India, Govt. of India

Table 2: Rate of Urbanization in Indian States by sex during 1991-2011: Inter-State Analysis

India/States/ Union Territories	1991			2001			2011		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
India	25.43	25.87	24.97	27.82	28.29	27.31	31.14	31.37	30.91
Bigger States									
Andhra Pradesh	26.89	27.08	26.70	27.30	27.49	27.12	33.36	33.45	33.27
Assam	11.10	11.61	10.54	12.90	13.33	12.44	14.10	14.18	14.01
Bihar	13.14	13.62	12.62	10.46	10.75	10.14	11.29	11.43	11.15
Gujrat	34.49	34.98	33.95	37.36	38.16	36.49	42.60	43.48	41.64
Haryana	24.63	24.58	24.68	28.92	29.14	28.67	34.88	34.98	34.76
Karnataka	30.92	31.40	30.42	33.99	34.39	33.57	38.67	38.87	38.46
Kerala	26.39	26.43	26.36	25.96	25.97	25.96	47.70	47.54	47.85
Madhya Pradesh	23.18	23.64	22.67	26.46	26.75	26.14	27.63	27.82	27.44
Maharashtra	38.69	39.90	37.40	42.43	43.54	41.22	45.22	45.85	44.55
Orissa	13.38	14.13	12.60	14.99	15.60	14.36	16.69	17.09	16.27
Punjab	29.55	29.77	29.30	33.92	34.41	33.36	37.48	37.88	37.04
Rajasthan	22.88	23.25	22.47	23.39	23.77	22.97	24.87	25.06	24.67
Tamil Nadu	34.15	34.39	33.91	44.04	44.17	43.91	48.40	48.31	48.48
Uttar Pradesh	19.84	20.04	19.62	20.78	21.02	20.52	22.27	22.48	22.04
West Bengal	27.48	28.35	26.53	27.97	28.58	27.32	31.87	31.97	31.77
Smaller States									

Arunachal Pradesh	12.80	13.77	11.66	20.75	21.60	19.81	22.94	23.52	22.31
Chattishgarh				20.09	20.69	19.49	23.24	23.65	22.83
Goa	41.01	41.80	40.20	49.75	50.45	49.04	62.17	62.74	61.59
Jharkhand				22.24	23.09	21.35	24.04	24.53	23.54
Himachal Pradesh	8.69	9.37	7.99	9.80	10.75	8.82	10.03	10.67	9.37
Jammu & Kashmir				33.00	34.78	31.06	37.96	39.09	36.16
Manipur	27.52	27.28	27.78	26.58	26.17	27.01	29.21	28.62	29.81
Meghalaya	18.60	19.04	18.13	19.58	19.48	19.69	20.07	19.95	20.19
Mizoram	46.10	45.84	46.37	49.63	49.31	49.97	52.11	51.54	52.70
Nagaland	17.21	18.56	15.69	17.23	17.90	16.48	28.86	29.20	28.49
Sikkim	9.11	9.77	8.34	11.07	11.34	10.76	25.15	24.85	25.50
Tripura	15.29	15.19	15.41	17.06	16.96	17.16	26.17	25.99	26.35
Uttaranchal				25.67	27.31	23.96	30.23	31.51	28.91
Union Territories									
Andaman & Nicobar Island	26.71	27.46	25.79	32.64	33.17	31.98	37.70	37.75	37.65
Chandigarh	89.69	88.69	90.95	89.77	88.79	91.03	97.25	97.05	97.51
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	8.47	9.10	7.81	22.89	24.52	20.87	46.72	49.26	43.44
Daman & Diu	46.80	45.52	48.13	36.25	31.25	43.30	75.17	78.45	69.87
Delhi	89.93	89.82	90.06	93.18	93.14	93.23	97.50	97.48	97.53
Lakshadweep	56.31	56.68	55.90	44.41	44.78	44.13	78.07	78.13	78.00
Pondicherry	64.00	63.83	64.17	66.57	66.38	66.76	68.33	68.18	68.48
CV(%)	70.16	68.36	72.19	62.22	60.82	64.00	60.24	60.03	60.37

Source: Author's own calculation based on Census of India, Govt. of India

Table 3: Index of Urbanisation in Indian States by sex during 1991-2011: Inter-State Analysis

India/States/ Union Territories	1991			2001			2011		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
India	34.12	34.90	33.28	38.53	39.45	37.56	45.23	45.70	44.74
Bigger States									
Andhra Pradesh	36.79	37.14	36.43	37.56	37.91	37.21	50.07	50.27	49.86
Assam	12.48	13.14	11.78	14.81	15.39	14.21	16.41	16.53	16.29
Bihar	15.33	15.77	14.44	11.68	12.05	11.29	12.73	12.91	12.55
Gujrat	52.64	53.81	51.41	59.64	61.70	57.46	74.20	76.93	71.34
Haryana	32.68	32.60	32.77	40.69	41.11	40.20	53.56	53.80	53.28
Karnataka	44.76	45.77	43.73	51.48	52.41	50.53	63.05	63.59	62.51
Kerala	24.72	23.98	25.48	35.07	35.08	35.05	91.21	90.62	91.75
Madhya Pradesh	30.17	30.97	29.32	35.98	36.53	35.38	38.19	38.54	37.81
Maharashtra	63.11	66.39	59.73	73.69	77.10	70.13	82.56	84.67	80.34
Orissa	15.44	16.45	14.42	17.63	18.49	16.77	20.03	20.62	19.43
Punjab	41.94	42.39	41.44	51.33	52.47	50.05	59.96	60.99	58.82
Rajasthan	29.66	30.28	28.99	30.52	31.18	29.81	33.10	33.44	32.74
Tamil Nadu	51.87	52.41	51.32	78.70	79.11	78.29	93.79	93.47	94.11
Uttar Pradesh	24.78	25.07	24.41	28.65	28.99	28.26	28.65	28.99	28.26
West Bengal	37.89	39.57	36.10	38.84	40.01	37.60	46.79	46.99	46.57
Smaller States									
Arunachal Pradesh	14.67	15.97	13.20	26.19	27.55	24.70	29.76	30.75	28.72

Chattishgarh				25.14	26.08	24.21	30.28	30.98	29.58
Goa	69.53	71.82	67.21	99.04	101.81	96.23	164.36	168.35	160.38
Jharkhand				28.61	30.01	27.14	31.66	32.51	30.78
Himachal Pradesh	9.51	10.34	8.68	10.86	12.04	9.67	11.15	11.94	10.34
Jammu & Kashmir				32.99	34.78	31.06	37.69	39.08	36.16
Manipur	37.98	37.58	38.47	36.21	35.44	36.99	41.26	40.09	42.47
Meghalaya	22.84	23.52	22.15	24.35	24.19	24.52	25.11	24.92	20.19
Mizoram	85.51	84.65	86.46	98.53	97.27	99.90	108.82	106.34	111.42
Nagaland	20.79	22.80	18.61	20.81	21.80	19.73	40.56	41.24	39.85
Sikkim	10.02	10.83	9.10	12.45	12.79	12.06	33.61	33.06	34.22
Tripura	18.06	17.91	18.21	20.57	20.43	20.71	35.45	35.12	35.78
Uttaranchal				34.53	37.57	31.52	43.33	45.99	40.67
Union Territories									
Andaman & Nicobar Island	36.44	37.85	34.75	48.43	49.63	47.02	60.52	60.64	60.38
Chandigarh	870.02	784.42	1005.39	877.68	792.25	1015.16	3540.61	3285.79	3909.69
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	9.25	10.01	8.47	29.68	32.49	26.38	87.70	97.10	76.81
Daman & Diu	87.97	83.54	92.78	56.86	45.45	76.354	302.75	363.96	231.94
Delhi	892.67	881.90	906.02	1366.09	1357.08	1377.21	3906.27	3871.05	3947.62
Lakshadweep	128.86	130.86	126.78	80.06	81.09	78.99	355.93	357.31	354.48
Pondicherry	177.78	176.48	179.12	199.13	197.47	200.81	215.78	214.26	217.26
CV(%)	229.01	222.28	238.66	254.65	251.40	259.16	318.15	313.03	324.92

Source: Author's own calculation based on Census of India, Govt. of India

Table 4: Growth Rates (%) of Total Population, Urban Population & Urbanisation Rate in Indian States

India/States/ Union Territories	1991-2001			2001-2011			1991-2011		
	TP	UP	UR	TP	UP	UR	TP	UP	UR
India	0.84	1.23	0.39	0.71	1.20	0.49	1.55	2.42	0.88
Bigger States									
Andhra Pradesh	0.59	0.66	0.09	0.45	1.32	0.84	1.04	1.98	0.94
Assam	0.75	1.41	0.65	0.68	1.07	0.39	1.44	2.47	1.04
Bihar	-0.17	-1.17	-0.99	0.98	1.32	0.33	0.81	0.15	-0.66
Gujrat	0.89	1.23	0.35	0.77	1.34	0.57	1.65	2.57	0.92
Haryana	1.09	1.78	0.70	0.79	1.60	0.81	1.87	3.39	1.51
Karnataka	0.70	1.11	0.41	0.63	1.19	0.56	1.33	2.30	0.97
Kerala	0.37	0.32	-0.08	0.21	2.85	2.64	0.61	3.17	2.57
Madhya Pradesh	-0.41	0.17	0.57	0.80	0.99	0.19	0.41	1.17	0.76
Maharashtra	0.89	1.29	0.40	0.64	0.92	0.28	1.53	2.21	0.68
Orissa	0.65	1.15	0.49	0.57	1.04	0.47	1.22	2.12	0.96
Punjab	0.80	1.39	0.60	0.56	1.00	0.43	1.36	2.39	1.03
Rajasthan	1.09	1.18	0.09	0.84	1.11	0.27	1.92	2.29	0.36
Tamil Nadu	0.49	1.59	1.10	0.63	1.04	0.41	1.11	2.63	1.51
Uttar Pradesh	0.77	0.97	0.21	0.80	1.10	0.30	1.57	2.07	0.50
West Bengal	0.71	0.79	0.08	0.56	1.13	0.57	1.27	1.92	0.64
Smaller States									
Arunachal Pradesh	1.04	3.14	2.10	1.00	1.44	0.44	2.04	4.58	2.53
Chattishgarh				0.89	1.52	0.63			
Goa	0.61	1.45	0.84	0.34	1.31	0.97	0.96	2.77	1.81
Jharkhand				0.88	1.22	0.34			

Himachal Pradesh	0.72	1.23	0.52	0.53	0.63	0.10	1.23	1.86	0.62
Jammu & Kashmir				0.92	1.35	0.43			
Manipur	0.72	0.57	-0.15	1.20	1.61	0.41	1.92	2.17	0.26
Meghalaya	1.16	1.39	0.22	1.07	1.18	0.11	2.23	2.56	0.33
Mizoram	1.10	1.42	0.32	0.92	1.13	0.21	2.02	2.55	0.53
Nagaland	2.16	2.16	0	-0.03	2.22	2.24	2.14	4.38	2.23
Sikkim	1.24	2.09	0.85	0.53	4.09	3.56	1.77	6.18	4.41
Tripura	0.65	1.12	0.47	0.60	2.46	1.86	1.25	3.58	2.33
Uttaranchal				0.75	1.46	0.71			
Union Territories									
Andaman & Nicobar Island	1.03	1.90	0.87	0.29	0.92	0.63	1.32	2.82	1.50
Chandigarh	1.47	1.47	0	0.69	1.04	0.35	2.16	2.51	0.35
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2.02	6.34	4.32	1.93	5.03	3.10	3.95	11.37	7.42
Daman & Diu	1.92	0.81	-1.11	1.87	5.04	3.17	3.79	5.85	2.06
Delhi	1.67	1.88	0.15	0.84	1.03	0.20	2.51	2.86	0.35
Lakshadweep	0.69	-0.33	-1.03	0.27	2.71	2.45	0.96	2.38	1.42
Pondicherry	0.81	0.99	0.17	1.07	1.19	0.11	1.89	2.17	0.28
CV(%)	62.79	94.57	223.26	50.00	78.79	119.10	53.05	145.24	122.5

Source: Author's own calculation based on Census of India, Govt. of India
Notes: TP: Total Population, UP: Urban Population, UR: Urbanisation Rate

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A Search for an Identity: A Study of the Sherpas of Sikkim

Rinzing Ongmu Sherpa

Abstract:

Being a multi-ethnic state, Sikkim has witnessed ethnic politics, more so after the advent of the British. This created ethnic boundaries between the Bhutia, the Lepchas, and the Nepalis which furthered a quest towards asserting their individual political rights. The present paper specifically takes the case of the Sherpas of Sikkim and endeavours to bring to light the issues and challenges they have been facing in asserting their rights, the culmination of which has altogether led them to question their identity within the state. This paper historically analyses their migration pattern, their contested political identity, the role of ethnic associations in asserting their identity and the status of their language within the state. Therefore, it overall critically explores the identity formation of the Sherpas in Sikkim.

Keywords: *Sherpas, identity, ethnic politics, ethnic groups, associations, language, state and Sikkim.*

Introduction

We create inter-ethnic politics of "belongingness" and "othering", and give birth to exclusive internal groups while intentionally separating ourselves from the rest. This factor paints the reality of most multi-ethnic states today. Sikkim, being one has witnessed politics of identity and predominance of ethnic politics, ever since the monarchy. The identity politics and conflict over resource entitlements established the contours of fault-lines in the Himalayan borderland (Arora, 2006: 4065). Today, a small state like Sikkim has recognized the importance of ethnicity as a political resource which can be used as a negotiating tool. It has witnessed the emergence of ethnic competition and rivalry over state resources, which are, however, subtle and fewer than in many other multi-ethnic states of India. Such ethnic competitions have also of late encountered the emergence of small ethnic groups and communities, whose voices and demands are more often unheard or even suppressed, vis-à-vis the interest of the dominant or the majority groups in the state. This paper specifically focuses on bringing forth the voice of one such small group, namely, the Sherpas of Sikkim.

According to Brass (1991), ethnic identity formation takes place in three sets of struggles. Firstly, it is within the ethnic group itself for control over its material and symbolic resources that create group boundaries and a rule for inclusion and exclusion. Secondly, it is between ethnic groups as competition for rights, privileges, and available resources. Thirdly, it occurs between the state and the dominant group (ibid:16). However, these three sets of struggles occur at different times and in different ways. Brass further argues that ethnicity and nationalism are largely the studies of politically-induced cultural change. A process through which elites and counter elites within an ethnic group select aspects of a group's culture, attach new values and thereby use them as symbols to mobilize the group to compete with other groups (ibid:75).

On the 16th of May 1975, Sikkim was integrated into the Indian Union as its 22nd state, ending the age-old monarchy which lasted for over 300 years from 1642 to 1975. It was accorded Article 371F that guaranteed "all existing laws in force immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or replaced by a competent legislature or competent authority" (Vandenhelsken 2010: 179). The Parliament also made Provisions for seats in the legislative assembly, for protecting the rights and interests of different sections of people in the state. However, those at the political forefront continued to retain their position.

Today, Sikkim houses numerous communities and ethnic groups due to the influx of people from neighbouring countries of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and parts of India. Therefore, the ethnic composition of the state remains a very complex one. The three predominantly identified ethnic groups are, the Bhutias (Lhopos) the Lepchas (Mons) and the Nepalis[1]. The Bhutias migrated to Sikkim in the thirteenth century from the eastern and central part of Tibet via the neighbouring valleys of Chumbi and Ha (Balikci 2008: 66). Their first descendent went on to become the Chogyals[2] of Sikkim who ruled over for more than 300 years. The Lepchas were in Sikkim before the monarchy, alongside the Limbus and the Magars, who comprised the first few inhabitants in the state. According to Mullard (1979), the Lepchas were the Western Tibeto-Burmese migrants, who came to the Brahmaputra basin and later extended to various parts of South-East Asia and Assam hills and thereby made their way to Sikkim (Mullard 1979: 3). The Bhutias and the Lepchas are today recognized as the indigenous ethnic groups. The Nepalis constitute a cluster of communities namely the Newar, Bahun, Chettri, Jogi, Sanyasi, Limbu, Rai, Magar and Thami, and the Scheduled Castes like Kami, Damai, Sarki and Maji (Chakraborty 2000: 3806). Many made their way from Nepal during the "Anglo-Gurkha War" of 1814-16, which was the direct result of stimulation by the British, who encouraged them to settle there, occupy wastelands and bring about economic growth and development in the then newly emerging state of Sikkim (Sinha 1975:15).

Today the Bhutias constitute 20 per cent, the Lepchas 13.16 per cent while the Nepalis constitute 66.84 per cent of the total population of the state which was 611 thousand as per the Census of 2011. We also find the presence of groups, like Marwaris, Bengalis and Biharis, who were in Sikkim since the 1917s, to profit from the expansions of the British cardamom trade (Balikci 2008: 6).

Given such a backdrop, this paper specifically focuses on positioning the Sherpas of Sikkim, by bringing to light their issues and challenges within the state. It critically throws reflects on the question of their contested indigeneity, their political identity, the role of the ethnic associations and the status of their language, all of which are essential tools for the identity formation of an ethnic group. As identity formation is backed by both psychological and political factors (Allahar, 2001: 197). Therefore, the paper overall looks at the broader question of what being a Sherpa mean in Sikkim.

Methodology

The study was carried out in three villages of West Sikkim, namely Upper Martam, Lower Sanku and Srinagey. These settings have been chosen, as they comprise the oldest Sherpa settlements holding a majority of their population in the state today.

Situated at an altitude of 5200 feet, Upper Martam is a remote village under Bermiok Martam Gram Panchayat Unit of Geyzing Bermiok constituency, located at a distance of 119kms from the capital Gangtok. There are around 50 Sherpa houses, belonging to Pankarma, Khamba Chen and Lama clans. The Government Primary School there is among the few schools where the Sherpa language is taught up till class five.

Situated at an altitude of 7200 feet and 6500 feet respectively, Lower Sanku falls under the Sanku Radhu Khandu Gram Panchayat Unit and Srinagey under the Baugten Sapung Gram Panchayat, both of which are a part of Manebony Dentam constituency of West Sikkim. Lower Sanku is 18kms from Upper Martam and 133 km from Gangtok. There are around 20 Sherpa houses where Lama, Chen and Lama Sherpa clans are found. While Srinagey is 11kms from Lower Sanku and 138kms from Gangtok. There are around 60 Sherpa houses where Pang, Kham and Lama Sherpa clans reside.

The study is based on qualitative research where both primary and secondary sources are used. Primary data was collected through purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling was used for selecting respondents belonging to various backgrounds like school teachers, religious preachers, members of ethnic associations, women and senior citizens, from the Sherpa community. An unstructured interview which included both personal interviews and focused group discussions was conducted. A total of 35 respondents from the three villages have been interviewed.

The data was collected for a period of one month from 22nd November to 25th December 2018, as a part of a pilot study for my doctoral research. The arguments, observations and cases put forth in the paper are a critical analysis of both the secondary sources and data gathered from the field.

Who are the Sherpas?

The origin of Sherpas can be traced back to the Kham region of Eastern Tibet where they were known as *sharpa* meaning the easterners, with the word *Shar* meaning east and *pa* denoting the people (Furer-Haimendorf 1964). They also called themselves *serwa*, a Tibetan term denoting people from the east. Kunwar (1989) argues that according to the Sherpas of Solu in Northeastern Nepal, the word *Sharpa* originated much later, before which they were called *Bhote*, a term given by the Nepalese[3] to people who migrated from Tibet (Kunwar 1989:35). He postulated that the term

Sherpa came much later to differentiate them from *Bhote*. Nevertheless, over the years the descriptive term Sherpa has come to be accepted and identified for and by the ethnic group.

Locating and Identifying the Sherpas in Sikkim

The Sherpas today are found in all four districts of the East, West, North and South regions of the state. The majority of their population is confined to the villages in West Sikkim, namely Bharang, Begha, Buriakhop, Okhrey, Ribdi, Singling, Siribadam, Srinagey, Upper Bermiok, Upper Martam, Upper Thambong, and in higher regions of Tashiding constituency. They are also found in regions of South Sikkim such as Damthang., Nayabusty, Ranlang, and Wok. While in the East they are confined to Khamdong, Pathing and Regu. The least number of their population is in the North, specifically in Kabi and Tingda (Subba 2011: 281).

As the Sherpas are represented under the Bhutia census their appropriate share of the population cannot be determined. However, according to a report surveyed and compiled by the Denzong Sherpa Association (DSA) in 2017, there are at present around 50,000 Sherpas in Sikkim. As per the report, the Sherpas comprise 8.18 per cent of the total population of the state, which is far from being an accurate one. So a need of having a distinct census of one's ethnic group becomes essential to ascertain their appropriate population. Therefore, a demand for the same is being carried out by the Sherpa. The Sherpas are *Nyingmapa*[4] Buddhists who follow Lamaistic-Buddhism. They celebrate the Tibetan Losar[5] as one of their important festivals. Their dialects and written scripts belong to the larger Sino-Tibetan language family.

After Sikkim's integration with the Indian Union in 1975, the Bhutias and Lepchas were given the "political minority" position, which was considered a discriminatory provision by a few Nepali politicians (Arora 2006: 4065). They were recognized as Scheduled Tribes in 1978, which further also extended to eight Bhutia subgroups like the Chumbipa, Dopthapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopo and Yolmo (Arora 2007: 199). The Nepalis conferred that the Scheduled Tribe (ST) status given to Bhutias was unjustifiable, given their background of monarchical rule for over 300 years. However, Bhutia-Lepchas contended that they were educationally, socially, politically and economically still backward.

As a virtue of this new ST identity, the Sherpas were entitled to the assembly seats, reserved for the Bhutia-Lepchas. This platform gave them a new identity. However, this move was in no time met by a series of protests from the Bhutias who formed the Sikkim Bhutia Lepcha Apex Committee (SIBLAC), the Sikkim Bhutia Committees followed by other Tribal Organisations to safeguard their mutual interests and "redefine" their identity. They argued that the inclusion of the eight sub-groups within their fold in the constitution under the Sikkim ST order had distorted the distinctive "Bhutia identity" and had threatened their "indigeneity". This prompted the DSA to write a letter to the then President of India Shri. Shankar Dayal Sharma on July 7, 1995, demanded: that "the Sikkim Scheduled Tribe Order 1978 and People's Representation (Amendment) Act 1980 be upheld and the attacks on the rights of Sherpa Community by some tribal organisations of Sikkim be stopped."

Despite several endeavours, the Sherpas today are recognised as one of the indigenous communities of Sikkim, under the Sikkim Scheduled Tribe Order of 1978 along with Chumbipa, Dopthapa, Dukpa, Kagatey, Tibetan, Tromopo and Yolmo**.**

Mapping the Origin and Migration Pattern of the Sherpas

The Sherpas have had a long history of trans-Himalayan migration, between Tibet, Nepal, and India. Therefore, to better understand their migratory pattern it becomes essential in mapping their migratory root between these adjoining borders. Their initial migration from their place of origin in Kham of Eastern Tibet was mostly driven by religious imperatives. Ortner (1989) and Oppitz (1973), who worked intensively on the Sherpas of Nepal, pointed out that the Sherpa ancestors migrated between 1480 and 1850s from Kham to specifically escape politico-religious and internal turmoil, then being carried out by the powerful Mongol neighbours in the north. Ortner (1992) in her other famous book *High Religion: A Culture and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism*, postulates that they first moved to Tinkey, in the southern central part of Tibet, but due to the rumours of an invasion from the West decided to move via the *Nangpa La* pass and reached Khumbu in Northeastern Nepal, and settled in parts of Pangbonche and Dingboche, in 1533, that were already sites of meditation for Tibetan lamas (Ortner 1992: 2). This group of Sherpas then constituted twenty-five to fifty persons (ibid). While Jestard (1969) argues that they migrated due to frequent conflicts between the *Gelukpa*[6] and the *Nyingmapa*s in the seventeenth century. The Sherpas belonging to the later sect escaped persecution by moving southward to Khumbu via the *Nagpa La* pass. Paul (1989), points out that there were no monasteries or *gompas*[7], in Khumbu before the seventeenth century, that proves the Sherpa's arrival there only thereafter, as *gompas* constituted a significant feature of their society.

The famous anthropologists Furer-Haimendorf (1964), argued that the Sherpa ancestors migrated south of Rolwaling Himal, thereby turning towards the east and settling in Solu and later moving to Khumbu. On the contrary, Kunwar (1989), stated that after leaving Kham they went to Lhasa, Dingri, Khumbu and Solu, finally settling in Junbesi previously known as *gomba dzyung* (ibid:120). The Sherpas population eventually grew in parts of Northeastern Nepali namely in Solu, Khumbu and Pharak, emerging as the major Sherpa settlement regions. They were also found in Taplejung, an area originally inhabited by the Limbus population of Nepal (Furer-Haimendorf 1964:3).

Such early scholars and researchers who worked on the Sherpas mostly depended on oral narratives and folklores to construct their arguments, as there were no proper references found before the seventeenth century. However, one can draw an idea that the Sherpas specifically migrated to regions that were conducive to carrying out agriculture, herding or were of religious significance.

Trade formed an important economic activity of the Sherpas besides agriculture and animal husbandry. Therefore, frequent contact with Tibet continued through trade and also through visits made for religious purposes. Thus, they retained their uniqueness in terms of religion, dress, kinship, language, marriage and social life, which still resembled the people of Tibet (Fisher 1990: 32). In addition, “trade with Tibet formed the subject of several Government orders and decisions embodied in documents, copies of which are still in possession of individual Sherpas” (Furer-Haimendorf 1975: 61). Therefore it was significant for the Government of Nepal to not disappoint

the Sherpas to ensure smooth trans-Himalayan trade roots. Moreover, due to their geographical isolation in Northeastern Nepal from the Central Government in Kathmandu, the Sherpas were able to retain their authentic traditional practices for a very long time. They were also exempted from many Government imposed rules, most of which were "Hindu centric" in nature.

The Sherpa Migration to Sikkim

The Sherpas were first mentioned in the Gazetteer of Sikkim by Risley[8] (1891), where he referred to them as *Shar-pa*. According to him, the Sherpas along with other Tibetan groups, who came from Tibet at various points in time, were admitted to Pemayangtse Monastery in West Sikkim, on heavy entrance fees (Risley 1891: 29). He further mentions a person known as Rabden Sher-pa, who came to Sikkim in the 1750s from Tibet as a regent, during the rule of Chogyal Gurmye Namgyal, the fourth Chogyal of Sikkim (ibid). This proved their presence dating back to the eighteenth century. Few scholars argue that the Sherpas mostly migrated to Sikkim during the Nepalese wave of migration starting from the end of the eighteenth till the early nineteenth century, encouraged by the British. A contrary view was postulated by Nepal (2009), who argued that the Sherpas were hunters who had descended from the Bhutia-Lepcha cross-group (Nepal: 2009). Such differences in interpretation among scholars occur as, besides their migration record from Kham to Northeastern parts of Nepal, there are hardly any documented writings or research mapping their migration to Sikkim.

Contrary to my knowledge from the secondary sources that mostly reflected on the Sherpas of Nepal, my respondents had a different narrative. They disagreed with having any migration history from parts of Northeastern Nepal and denied any association with the Sherpas there. Phurba Sherpa an 80-year-old respondent from Lower Sanku, stated "we are the Sherpas who migrated from Pang and Kham to Sikkim, we came here directly from Tibet, we have no connection with Khumbu Sherpas or Darjeeling Sherpas." Most respondents shared a similar view. According to them even when they shared a similar origin, they were both different as after the persecution in Kham, few Sherpas migrated to Sikkim, while few made their way to Nepal and to Darjeeling. Yangki Sherpa from Srinagey argued, "they are Nepali Sherpas and we are Sikkimay Sherpa". Their basic contestation is a difference in their nationality that differentiated them today as a "Nepali Sherpa" and a "Sikkimay Sherpa". However, this persistent disassociation or disagreement on having any similarities with the "Nepali Sherpas" also points towards their resistance to being clubbed as a Nepali in Sikkim, who is still considered a "later comer" and is therefore not entitled to many state privileges. Their claim of direct migration from Tibet to Sikkim is their way of proving their "indigeneity", which has been threatened and questioned on several occasions within the state.

Therefore, the question of their migratory history almost always intersected with their need to prove their indigeneity as a "Sikkimay Sherpa". In addition, the respondents were quick in pointing out their migration from Tibet as early as the twelfth century when the state was ruled by local Lepcha Chiefs. Almost everyone interviewed, vehemently put forth that they migrated before the Bhutia wave of migration and so before the establishment of the Chogyal dynasty in 1642. They agreed to the presence of two other communities then namely the Limbus and the Magars. Sangay a Sherpa monk at Upper Martam, skilled in Vajrayana or the Tantric Buddhism, stated that they in fact came

four to five generations earlier than the Chogyals. Such early migration narrative was backed by their mention of a *lal paisa* or a red coin circular in shape with a hole in between. It was then used for allocating land among the people by randomly tossing it in the air to mark their land entitlements for livelihood. Only after the establishment of the monarchy did land come under the Chogyals preview and was distributed accordingly amongst his subjects. Such mention of the *lal paisa* was their way of justifying their presence in the state much before the arrival of other ethnic groups. However, such narratives contradict what is found in the existing studies that mention only the presence of the Lepchas, Limbus and the Magars before the establishment of the monarchy.

According to a few respondents especially the Sherpa religious monks, Sherpas came to Sikkim around the twelfth century from the Pang and Kham of Tibet, on hearing rumours of the great Guru Padmasambhava[9] paying his visit to Sikkim before Tibet. Therefore, the Sherpas being a highly religious group ventured into the "holy land", to seek his blessings.

The majority of the responders pointed out that they first made their way through a place known as Dentam Tar with Tar meaning the valley. Being an agriculturalist group, they were drawn by the fertile land, suitable weather, dense forests and the river there which provided a perennial source of water; where few of them went on to settle. Thus, Dentam Tar proved to be an apt region for the Sherpas for carrying out their livelihood through hunting and agriculture, specifically through shifting cultivation. However, the inevitable heat and humidity of this low lying region, to which the Sherpas were not accustomed, quickly made way for mosquito-borne diseases like malaria and dengue. Thereafter, they moved uphill to nearby high altitude regions of Begha, Lower Sanku, Okhrey, Srinagey Siribadam and Upper Martem where we today find them in majority.

One interesting factor to be taken note of is that their migration usually happened in clans. Due to this very reason, the Sherpas found in these villages are mostly a cluster of similar clans. As they practice exogamy, marriage between the Sherpas of Sanku, Sirinigri, Jaw Bari, Soshing, Panding, Begha, Matam and Okhrey was predominantly found. However, there were no restrictions found on marrying people from outside the Sherpa communities.

The Denzong Sherpa Association (DSA) of 1984

The existence of grievances among ethnic groups leads to politicisation and eventually mobilization of its people. This in turn leads to the formation of ethnic associations (political or non-political), where the socioeconomic grievances of its people are accelerated. Therefore, associations have become an important instrument in mobilising their people to raise their voices and put forth their demands and grievances. The redress of ethnic interests and the fulfilment of demands also require an organisational form of interest groups and unions to perpetuate stability (Arora and Kipgen 2012: 431).

Sikkim has over the years witnessed the instrumental role played by such associations in the everyday lives of its people. The DSA, established in 1984, has today, emerged as the only relevant Sherpa association in the state and has gained immense popularity among its people. It claims to be "non-political", however, the demand that it usually brings forth are political in nature, thereby blurring the boundary between the two. Over the years, it has also been instrumental in bringing

forth Sherpa unity and their voice of dissent, by together recognising various subjugations and injustices inflicted on them. The DSA has over the years specifically brought forth three major demands as discussed below.

1. The Demand over Protection of Land under the Revenue Order No.1 of 1917

According to the Revenue Order No. 1 of 1917, "the Lepcha-Bhutia group were not allowed to sell, mortgage or sub-let any of their lands to any person other than a Lepcha or a Bhutia" (Sinha 2009:77). In other words, no Bhutia-Lepcha can sell, mortgage or sublet any of their lands to any person besides a Bhutia or Lepcha without permission from the Durbar, thereby also cancelling land transfers passed without the government approval during the previous twenty-five years." (Moktan 2004:157).

Despite the Sherpas being a sub-group of the Bhutias, they are denied inclusion under the Order on claims of the violation of Article 371F, which safeguarded all the hitherto existing rights and privileges of its people. Therefore, the Sherpas were not entitled to the Order, on grounds that it dated back to 1917 which was now a protected right under Article 371F. However, the DSA backs their demands for the Sherpa's inclusion within the Order No.1 as the Sherpas were a sub-group of Bhutias; a historical fact that dates back to 1891 when the first census operation was conducted by Risley. Even then the Sherpas were included as a Bhutia sub-group, alongside other "Tibetan" groups (Sikkim Express: 16th July 2017). Such a claim is further strengthened by Sarkar (2017) in her book *The Sherpas Across Eastern Himalayas* where she argues that the Sherpas, were found in a region called Dorji Ling, today known as Darjeeling in the 1800s when it was still under the territoriality of Sikkim before the British took it over in 1835. They were then clubbed under *Bhotia* meaning they were a sub-group of the Bhutias who had migrated from Tibet (Sarkar 2017: 122). Therefore their inclusion under the Bhutia fold dates back to the 1800s and much before the Order No.1, came into existence in 1917. This entitled them to all the privileges, including the Revenue Order No. 1 of 1917. In an interview with Mr Pasang Sherpa, the spokesperson and an active member of the DSA, he stated:

> *There is a misconception and a misrepresentation of history regarding the Sherpas. We were a part of the Bhutias ever since the 1890s, or maybe even before that and certainly much before the Order No.1 of 1917. Either, the people do not read the history or they do not want to understand it. Either way, we are facing the brunt. We are being undermined time and again.*

The association have been proactively taking the matter as far as to the Union Ministers of India, for their rightful inclusion under the Order No.1. However, even to date, the demand does not find its significance within the state.

2. Demand for Four Sherpa seats in the State Legislative Assembly

The "Representation of People (Amendment) Ordinance 1979, laid down the new formula for the distribution of seats on ethnic lines. Out of the 32 State Assembly seats, 12 were reserved for the Bhutia-Lepcha, 1 for the Sangha (monastery monks) 2 for the Scheduled Castes, and the remaining 17 were for "general" in which any group could contest including the business community of Marwaris, Biharis, Bengalis and Banias who were in Sikkim ever since 1917. In May 1999, the

DSA submitted a memorandum to the then President of India Shri. K. R. Narayanan, demanding 4 of the 12 seats of Bhutia-Lepcha in the State Assembly, to be reserved for the Sherpas. This was born out of direct discontent due to the persistent absence of their representation from the 12 seats reserved for the Bhutia-Lepchas. Even this demand has been a long drawn one, with the DSA even in twenty years, still postulating for the same.

3. The Demand for Separate Census Representation of the Sherpas

The Sherpas, are till today represented under the Census representation of the Bhutias. A separate reliable data on a population ascertains the ethnic community's exact numerical strength and thereby legitimises their demand for a proportionate share of reserved seats for political representatives, jobs in government employment, and seats in educational institutions (Arora 2007: 215). Anthony D. Smith in his book *The Ethnic Revival*, argues that names are important, for not just self-identification but also as an expressive emblem of the collective personality. Until a collective cultural identity receives a proper recognition or name, it lacks in an important sense, a recognizable sense of community both among members and outsiders (Smith 1981).

Therefore, it becomes important for the Sherpas to have A separate Census, to further legitimise their demands. The DSA has so far requested the Department of Economics, Statistics, Monitoring & Evaluation (DESMI) for a Census of the Sherpa population in Sikkim. Their delegation even approached the then Chairperson of the National Commission of Scheduled Tribe Sir. Nand Kumar Sai, demanding a separate Census for the indigenous Sherpa of Sikkim in 2016. However, the path towards achieving the same still seems long driven.

The Sherpa Language and the Question of their Identity

Language and culture are often referred to as ethnicity, which matters the most and is one of the pronounced markers of distinctiveness (Xaxa 2005:1365). It plays an important role in the ethnic politics of the state, amidst a scenario where having a distinct language and culture becomes essential in claiming the rights and entitlements of a group. Till the 1850s the Lepcha and the Bhutia language were used in the administrative affairs of Sikkim (Arora 2007: 206). In 1911, Charles Bell, the then political officer of Sikkim, declared that as 75 per cent of Sikkim's population were Nepalis, there were administrative requirements for Nepali speaking citizens. This was followed by an increase in Nepali nomenclatures for places in Sikkim, which were hitherto known by Bhutia-Lepcha names. Today Nepali has emerged as the lingua franca of the state, narrowing the boundaries between various ethnic groups and thereby building inter-ethnic relations (ibid: 206). The twentieth century witnessed increased usage of Nepali as the administrative language, which brought forth the Nepali identity into a broader platform. On August 31st 1992, it was officially included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

The 1980s witnessed a cultural revival of the tribes in Sikkim, with the Lepchas, Bhutias and Limbus establishing their tribal associations, languages, rituals and practices. Their languages were however already recognized, established and taught as a part of the education curriculum from the very inception. In 1995, the Sikkim Official Languages (Amendment) Act, further recognised and included Newari, Rai, Gurung, Magar, Sherpa and Tamang languages to its list (Thapa 2000: 100).

Their presence and participation can today be found in politics, judiciary, administration, media and also in the educational spaces of the state. However, the basic problem with these later recognized languages is the disappearance they are facing amongst their people with very less conversing in the same on a daily basis. It has also failed to find a significant place in the education system, with their recognition only till the secondary level vis-à-vis Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbus and Nepali that are well established till the University levels. The Centre for Endangered Languages, Sikkim University has already categorised languages such as Sherpa, Bhujel, Gurung, Magar and Rai-Rokdung as being endangered.

The Sherpa language belongs to the larger Sino-Tibetan language family and is marginally a tonal language written best and represented in Sambota (Tibetan script) script. It has evolved over thousands of years in its span and space resulting in a considerable size of vocabulary (4000+ content words), and unique phrasal or clausal structures (Sherpa: 2005). The language however only found its recognition in schools in 2002, nearly after half a decade of its recognition as a state language.

In Sikkim, there are only a few Sherpa settlements that have been capable of preserving their language for their younger generations. Upper Martam is one such village that is known for having preserved its old Sherpa customs, traditions and also their language. The Government Primary School there is among the few schools which teach the language. In interviewing Tshering Palden Sherpa, a Sherpa language teacher who was also my moderator in the field, on the relevance of learning one's language in today's scenario, he stated:

> *Today there are only 36 schools out of a total of the 766 Government schools that teach the Sherpa language with only 55 Sherpa teachers across the state. I think language is the only tool that can now keep the voice of our community alive, we should treasure it and spread awareness about learning it.*

According to him, the children had stopped taking interest in learning the language for two reasons. Firstly, there were fewer qualified Sherpa teachers and secondly, the curriculum required an update to bring in new interesting ideas into the present teaching pattern. Upper Martam may be among the few places where the Sherpas have been successful in preserving the importance of their language to date. Few elderly respondents seemed highly critical of those who did not know the language, which today ironically comprised the majority of them. Sonam the old 91-year-old Sherpa pointed out "we only knew the Sherpa language before and that was enough, now my children hardly talk to me in Sherpa, my grandchildren, do not even speak the language."

The culture of embracing other languages cannot altogether be blamed upon the newer generation, as the education system itself gives more importance to Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbus and Nepali, which also promises more opportunities in return. Phurba Sherpa another Sherpa language teacher from Okhrey put forth "it is important that we learn our language before it disappears, it is also our duty to converse with our children in Sherpa. Look at us; even we are conducting this interview in Nepali, which is a problem." Ugen an independent Sherpa writer from Srinagey who has been working on compiling a Sherpa English dictionary stated:

> *What is the use of teaching the Sherpa language when the children forget about it later, we cannot force them. So I believe in preserving it through my writing, so later when they seriously want to learn the language, it will be made easier through my dictionary. That will be my contribution to my community.*

While the respondents are aware of their disappearing language, only a few like Ugen Sherpa have been instrumentally active in taking steps towards preserving it through his writings, while the majority were not found to be takings any effective steps. The DSA has made its contribution by producing a Sherpa Multilingual Dictionary. However, one cannot ignore the indirect pressure from the state to learn Bhutia, Lepcha, Limbus and Nepali, after the secondary level that also promises one more job prospects. Amidst such a scenario, the Sherpa language has been struggling to find recognition, a significant place, and a future within the state.

In a multi-ethnic state, where language is significant, Nepali has become its lingua franca surpassing all other "indigenous" languages. The irony also lies in the fact that despite such ethnic-linguistic consciousness, very few converse or manage to read or write in their language. Many ethnic groups struggle to assert their identity amidst constant interactions with others. Thus, the younger generations cannot be altogether blamed, as the education system itself is structured around only a few languages. Such phenomenon directs toward various complex ethnic issues and crises, especially among groups whose language has already been categorized as endangered by the Centre for Endangered Languages, Sikkim University.

The Sherpas in Search of an Identity

The Revenue Order No.1 of 1917, protected the Bhutias-Lepchas as the indigenous groups while misrepresenting and "othering" its sub-groups. Dawa a young conscious Sherpa of Lower Sanku stated:

> *In all respect, we fall under the Bhutia-Lepcha indigenous group but the ball was never in our court. The groups at the political forefront have used us to serve their political gains and excluded us from them when we posed a threat to their hegemony. But the question is did we ever have a choice here?*

The arguments put forth by the DSA were also simple, as they are politically a sub-group of the Bhutias, they are entitled to all the rights and privileges that came with being one. "As the identity of an individual speaks subjectively based on how they feel or how they interpret their position in the social context" (Allahar 2001: 197).

Therefore, till today the Sherpas are a group who is misrepresented in the political, economic and social realms, of the state, despite being among the earliest inhabitants. Due to a lack of proper representation, this ethnic minority also lacks a sense of belongingness to an ethnic group. In addition, their frustration over their land rights and their disappearing language within the state has led them to a feeling of what Narang (1995) termed "cultural deprivation". According to the term, one of the significant inducements of ethnicity comes from the feeling of insecurity and a fear of disappearance amidst a sea of majority. This insecurity is back by discrimination, oppression and

the state also identifying with the majority which may lead to a homogenization process due to modernization leading to the creation of synthetic state culture (Narang 1995: 35). One such example can be drawn from my fieldwork, which interestingly coincided with the political parties campaigning for the May 2019 State Assembly Elections. Any meetings, talks and programmes organized by the DSA or any Sherpa organisations raised suspicion and were even tagged as "anti-Government" in nature by the then Government. Therefore, most respondents were initially even reluctant to participate in interviews and group discussions, to avoid drawing unwanted attention. It was after my constant assurance of their safety that they finally agreed to participate. This projects an attempt toward suppressing the emerging voice of dissent. "Unfortunately in the inter-and intra-ethnic rivalry or conflicts within the state, rather than acting as an impartial arbiter, the state assumes the role of sword arm of the prominent ethnic group" (Narang 1995: 35). Therefore, the dominant groups have been sharpening their identity, with state-makers, leading political parties and socio-cultural organisations in their favour. Ethnic identification has become a decisive variable among groups in their relationship and quest for political privileges (Kom 2011: 162).

Over the years, this has resulted in the Sherpas unitedly becoming more assertive as an ethnic minority. There has been a cultural resurgence among ethnic or linguistic groups that conveys a loss of identity due to increased social pressure from dominant modern society (Narang 1995: 36). Such long-term negligence, misrepresentation and "othering" ironically within their own state have led them on a journey towards a search for an identity, while leaving behind a task for us to understand on a deeper level what being a Sherpa means in Sikkim.

Conclusion

The introduction of political, economic and social forums in the state made ethnic identity a more attractive tool. This saw the emergence of many groups, coming to the forefront and instrumentally asserting their identity. We see how the "politically marginalised groups" namely the Sherpas, reconstruct their identity discourse by galvanising the Government and associations for resource-related struggles, land rights, seats in legislatures, and a proper census representation. Thus, identity politics stimulates an endless process of deconstruction. An identity can be internalised, re-shaped, re-constructed and transformed and therefore is very dynamic. The Sherpas in Sikkim, are in a process of instrumentally creating a unique identity and recognition for themselves in the state, even when the path towards achieving the same has not been easy. However, identity assertion requires more recognition; there is a need for an emergence of more Sherpa associations catering to their socio-economic and political demands individually, especially when we today find only the DSA overall working for their wellbeing. There is also a necessity for more research and discussions on the Sherpas, who still struggle to construct an answer around "who are they". Thus, there remains a task to deeply reflect on them both historically and politically. Only then can they afford to promote and define a distinct Sherpa identity that can be used as a tool to put forth their rights and demands more vocally, eloquently and systematically within the state.

Notes

1. Nepalis are the Nepali speaking population of India
2. Chogyals means the king/Raja of the state.
3. Nepalese is a term used to refer to the citizens of Nepal.
4. *Nyingmapa* is the oldest school of Tibetan Buddhism, where celibacy for its monks and nuns is an option.
5. Losar is the first day, first month of the Tibetan Calendar, and so a Tibetan New Year, that falls in winters.
6. *Gelukpa* is a new school of Tibetan Buddhism that follows the Dalai Lama. Their monks and nuns practise celibacy.
7. *Gompas* are fortified Buddhist monasteries that are spaces for prayers, meditations and learning centres for Buddhist monks and nuns.
8. He was a British ethnographer and an administrator of Indian Civil Service who carried out extensive studies on the tribes and castes of the Bengal Presidency.
9. He was the 8th Century Buddhist Master from the Indian Subcontinent.

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Anthropological Interface between the Hills and Plains: An understanding from Assam –Meghalaya Border Region

[1]Smita Devi Bora & [2]Dwipen Bezbaruah

Abstract

Traditional practices are always informative and can be used as a tool to reconstruct the past culture. In many societies of Northeast India such kind of practices still continue to exist and which had many elements passed on from ancestral generation. The Assam- Meghalaya border area towards the southern part of Kamrup district of Assam is inhabited largely by Khasi, Garo, Karbi and few other caste populations. The subsistence pattern, economic as well as socio-cultural practice and geomorphological location of the region drew attention which leads to exposure of many significant ethnographic and archaeological data. In Assam –Meghalaya border region, there is the prevalence of traditional market system, where there is the evidence of age old practice of barter exchange in the form of Basket exchange, especially by the women, locally known as Hora Solua. Prolific occurrence of ceramic sherds of which the reconstructed versions show close resemblance with respect to shape and size with the utensils used by the present day inhabitants. Erection of megaliths in the memory of deceased clan members has raised the anthropo-archaeological significance of this area. In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the area the researcher tried to analyse the findings from the ethno-archaelogical perspective. The present study reveals that though the culture under study is chronologically modern but economically and anthropologically they are Neolithic or may be later.

Keywords: *Trade, Pottery, Megalith, Ethno-archaeology, Tradition*

Introduction

Trade is always been a fascinating and engrossing affair for anthropologists as it can give an insight about the economic condition of the society. Trade can be defined as the "mutually appropriate movement of goods between hands" (Renfrew 1975). Apart from economic condition it can provide information about socio-cultural practices, the changes that happened within it and interregional contact over time. Many such studies done on trade and exchange of stone, ceramics and metals in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean region, Near east and North America reveal important information about their raw material procurement, fashioning techniques and socio-economic condition of the society. Trade is recognized in archaeological record by the discovery of objects

exotic to the material culture or economy of the host society. For instance Glass was never manufactured in Sub Saharan Africa during prehistoric times, yet the evidence of imported glass beads was common finds in archaeological sites of 1st millennium A.D. (Beack and Schoefield 1958). Anthropologists always tried to establish a cultural biography for the exchanged goods, starting from the anthology of their raw materials and ending with their disposal. Thus the study of trade through artefacts and raw material is critical to archaeology, as it provides a unique opportunity to examine the mechanics of trading networks and the changing social institutions that regulate them (Fagan 1987).

Anthropologists have defined three modes of exchange: reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. Reciprocity refers to balanced exchange between relatively equal individuals, whether it involves everyday items or a gift that creates an obligation for a reciprocal return gift later on; this exchange occurs in all societies. Redistribution, however, requires a centralized organization in the acquisition of goods and typically is associated with chiefdom or state-level societies. The centralized authority may acquire goods through control of production, taxation, or tribute collection. Market exchange combines the existence of a central location where trade can take place with a socio-political system in which free bargaining is possible.

Trade originated from human communication in prehistoric times. Trading was the main facility of prehistoric people who exchanged goods and services from each other in a gift economy before the innovation of modern-day currency. Peter Watson dates the history of long-distance commerce from c. 150,000 years ago (Watson 2005).

Polanyi (1964) noted that the institution of market was fairly common since the late Stone Age. Adam Smith and Herbert Spencer contended that some of the traits found in "market economy" was present even in barter system of economy although it was more compatible with modern economic system. Market existed in preindustrial, pre urbanised tribal and primitive society also. In economic anthropology, for a comprehensive understanding of market system, distribution and exchange has become fundamental issues. It is argued that market should be studied as interacting social phenomena where the exchange process is the focus of attention. Market can be considered as a cohesive entity in the society as a whole not merely an economic institution. Epstein (1982) also opined the market should be understood in its socio-cultural aspects. When markets become one of the controlling forces of the entire society it ultimately gives rise to a market society. In the market society social organization has to adapt to market needs to acquire goods (Dalton 1961).

When people started to settle in an area and the community started to grow in size the exchange of different goods became necessary for survival. This process of exchange gradually took the shape of barter and ultimately it gave rise to system of trade in any particular area. In the beginning trade was in the form of barter that is exchange of goods (or service) against goods (Gupta 1969). The Vedic hymns clearly indicate that barter trade was known to the people of early Vedic period (Raychoudhary 1997).

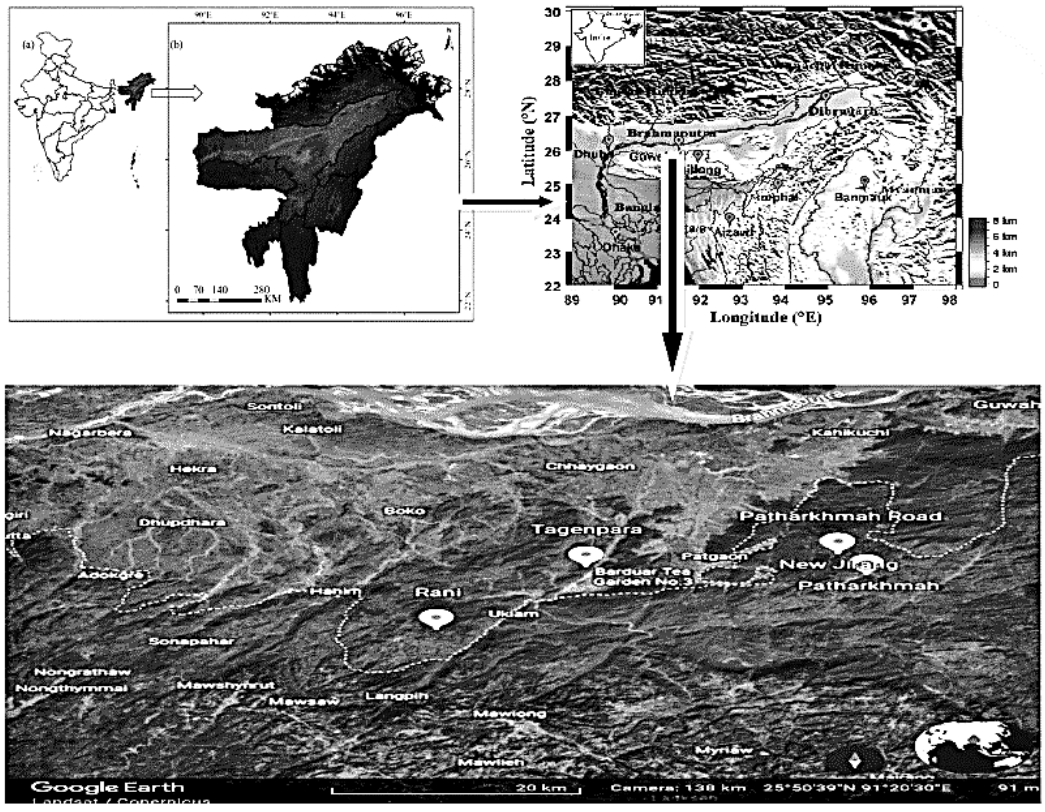
Trade is a natural economic activity where there is flow of commodities from producers to customers. It is transaction of goods or exchange of things for the purpose of earning and meeting

needs. Exchange of things can take place in kind and cash. Socio-cultural relation and economic linkage developed automatically for mutual benefit of the persons or groups involved in the trade activity. Trade is the result of law of comparative advantage and exchange of relationship and goods between people having different mode of production. However different physical and cultural environment of the borders govern the intensity and nature of border trade practice (Das and Purkayastha 2000).

Markets played a vital role in socioeconomic life of people since time immemorial. Market were the place where agricultural, forest and other produces were being exchanged and sold (Mawnai 1984). Markets also served as a meeting point for people, as information centre to circulate messages issued by competent authority (Bareh 2001). Therefore market can be viewed from different angles. It can be studied as a centre for business transaction, venue for flow of goods and currency, a forum for exchange of socio-political ideas, a platform for inter-ethnic communication and a place for recreation (Dasgupta 1984).

In this paper an attempt is made to understand the Anthropo-archaeological significance of Assam–Meghalaya border region under aegis of prevalent trade system, pottery remains and megalithic practice.

Fig.1 Location map of the study area



Material and Methods

The study was conducted in Assam-Meghalaya border area located about 45 kilometres away from Guwahati towards south west direction adjoining Rani in Assam –Meghalaya Border. The study area is located on the south bank of the lower reaches of the river Brahmaputra towards the western part of Assam. The area is bounded by Brahmaputra River in the north, Meghalaya in the south, Kamrup district in the east and Goalpara district in the west. Five weekly markets i.e. Rani, Sukurberia, Tagenpara, Jirang and Patharkhama had been considered for the present study. All the markets are located near Assam- Meghalaya border area.

Exploration had been conducted in the weekly market places, jhum fields, in the neighbouring villages, exposed road cutting sections, towards the bank of Umchi Rani and at megalithic sites. Survey schedules were used both with sellers and buyers to collect data from the markets. Anthropological methodology, such as, non participant observation, interview with both structured and unstructured schedules and case study method were used to collect relevant information about *jhuming* system, implements used and final outputs from the field. Interviews were conducted with knowledgeable elderly persons who were continuously engaged with trade in the markets, persons involved in market committee, sellers and buyers who came from different neighbouring villages. Interviews were also conducted with villagers who are associated with megalithic practice.

Findings

Mostly the area is inhabited by Garo, Khasi and Karbi people. Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood and *jhum* cultivation is practiced extensively by the people living in the border region. The *jhuming* activity is carried out with simple implements like hoe, chopper and digging stick etc. They produce food grains, vegetables and also cash crops. Among the food grains coarse varieties of rice is the principal crop, followed by maize, millet etc.

Table 1: Implements used in *Jhum* Cultivation

Name of the Implements	Primary used	Local terms
Axe	Felling the big trees while jungle is cleared	*Rua*
Two varieties of hatchet	Clearing jungle , branches of the trees and undergrowth	*Athe , athe-mangren*
Hoe	Turning up soil to make ready for cultivation	*Gitchi*
Digging stick	Making holes on the ground for planting the seeds	*Matham*
Rake	Collecting leaves, small branches, unwanted weeds scattered all over the field	*Ku-sohkrak*
Winnowing fan	Separating the food grains from the unwanted particles	*Beleng*

Apart from different varieties of rice, vegetables like pumpkins, cucumbers and verities of yam have also been cultivated in the *jhum* field. Few varieties of fruits and herbs like chillies, ginger, indigo and also tobacco are grown apart from seasonal leafy vegetables. Noteworthy to mention here that the population in the study area live in a low technological level, where they try to follow their subsistence economy with very simple implements (Table 1). By and large, these products are

sold in the market by which the people get cash money or other daily commodities. Apart from cultivated items, livestock like pig, goat, duck, chicken, fish are also soldl by the villagers. Moreover locally prepared food items like dry fish, smoked pork, rice beer, *Bakhar* (ingredient use in rice beer preparation), *teel pitha* (local snack) are also brought by the villagers and sold regularly in the markets.

Both male and female participate in the market system. Sometimes they bring the items from the villages or sometimes they buy few items which are in demand in early hours and sell those in high price during peak time in the market.



Fig.3 Women with traditional basket

Women from neighbouring hills also visit these markets with a traditional basket known as *Hora*, filled with varieties of items like leafy vegetables, nutritious herbs, rice beer, dry fish etc. In these five markets there is an age old traditional system of barter known as *Hora Solua.* In this barter system the women from the hills exchange their basket (*Hora*) with the items they needed from their plain counterparts. In present day modern economy where money plays a vital role in the market system, the villagers along with the neighbouring hill population maintain their age old tradition of Barter and Exchange which not only makes them economically sufficient but develop cordial relation among them.

Apart from the traditional market system where the researchers record the evidence of barter system, another important discovery, with importance on historical grounds is the remains of pottery fragments. Since prehistoric times, various tribal societies have been culturally involved in the manufacture of pottery. In this view, we can see the earliest traces of pottery reported from the North Cacher Hills area in this region in the site Daojali Hading (Goswami and Sharma 1963). In

the later phase , many such traces of pottery was reported by different scholars and particularly significant of them are the Sarutaru and Marakdola (Rao 1977), Bambooti (Ashraf and Duarah 2014). They sites lie in Assam – Meghalaya Border region (Bezbaruah 2019). A brief account of pottery recovered from Jirang is given below.

Ceramic remains from Jirang :

Pottery remains of small to medium size have been recovered from the Jirang village near the foot hills of Khasi hills. The stream Umchi- rani flows near the site and a portion of the site is swept away by the high energy condition during rainy season. As a result potsherds have been scattered not only in the exposed section but also in the hilly foot track towards Khasi hills. The prolific occurrence of potsherds from this area becomes significant from archaeological perspective as it provides a basis on which past economic condition and technological level of the population can be outlined. Recoveries were made in two conditions: i) Exposed road cutting - section I & II; and ii) River bed of Umchi- rani.

A village road was constructed near a mound in the foothills and this led to two exposed sections due to road cutting. Intensive system exploration in the road cutting sections resulted in recovery of numerous potsherds in embedded situation. The GPS reading of the site is Elevation =175 meter and the Coordinates are 26°01’189’’N latitude 91°35’937’’ E longitude.

Road cutting section I

The vertical extension of the road cutting section 1 is located towards western direction about 5.41 meters vertically and horizontal extension is about 0.88 meters. From this section 1 total 30 numbers of potsherds were recovered. Out of which 14 pieces were sherds with rim, 3 were sherds with neck, 6 pieces were sherds with body and 7 pieces were sherds with base.

Road cutting section II

Towards the eastern direction the road cutting section II is reported, whose vertical length is about 3.10 metres and horizontal length is about 1.04 meters. Total 49 pieces of potsherds were recovered where 13 pieces were potsherds with rim, 20 pieces were potsherds with body, 7 pieces were potsherd with neck and 9 pieces were potsherds with base.

Umchi-Rani River bed

From the river bed which is directly connected with the newly constructed village road total 30 pieces of potsherds were collected, out of which 9 are potsherds with rim portion, 7 are potsherds with neck, 10 are potsherds with body and 4 are with base.

Table 2: Combined Inventory of Pottery

Sl.no.	Parts Recovered	Section I		Section II		River Bed		Total	Percentage
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	Rim	14	46.66	13	26.53	9	30	36	33.02
2	Neck	3	10.00	7	14.28	7	23.33	17	15.59
3	Body	6	20.00	20	40.81	10	33.33	36	33.02
4	Base	7	23.33	9	18.36	4	13.33	20	18.34
	Total	30	100 %	49	100%	30	100%	109	100 %

From the three context all together 109 pieces of ceramics are recovered, where 33.02 % are potsherd with rim, 15.59 % are potsherds with neck, 33.02% are body portion and 18.34 % are ceramic with base (Table 2). Potsherds are analyzed considering various parameters like types of body parts, colour, texture, nature of firing, mode of construction, presence of carination and types of rim etc. From the collection of both the contexts, almost all the sherds exhibits corrugation marks which implies that majority are wheel made. The use of well levigated clay and controlled firing is another observable characteristics in the entire collection, which gave an uniform texture and colour. Inverted or out turned rim types show predominance with a few occurrence of different rim types like straight, recurved and everted types. Carination is also present in 50% of the total collection. Moreover, as most of the potsherds are highly weathered, it is difficult to give any opinion regarding their surface treatment. The reconstructed version of these potsherds indicates that probably these were used for storing, cooking and ritualistic purposes. The enthographic data collected from the villages also support this as the reconstructed shapes and sizes of the pottery resemble the utensils used by the present day inhabitants of the study area.

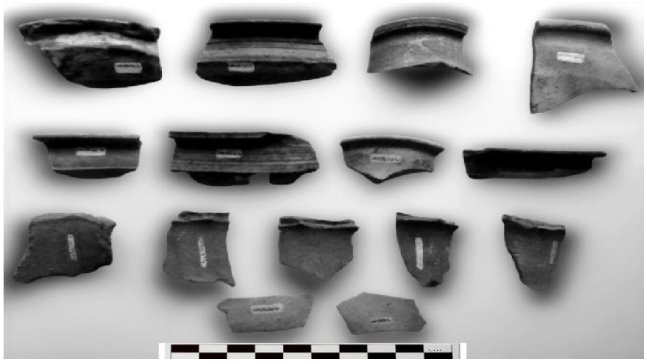


Fig.3 Few Potsherds from exposed road sections and River bed

The Living Megalithic practice:

Megaliths are defined as stone structure, which may contain remains of the dead, burial goods generally constructed of stones. Renfrew (1983) emphasized that the concept of megalithic tombs may have emerged at the beginning of the Neolithic era in response to social changes associated with the introduction of new economies and ideologies. New pressure from agricultural groups across northern France from the east could lead to pressure on land and resources that stimulates the construction of monumental tombs that act as territorial markers. Megaliths are reported to be found in different parts of the world, especially in the European region of the British Isles, western France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and western Mediterranean islands, North Africa, Scandinavia, Myanmar, Bangladesh and India.

The prolific occurrence of megaliths in different parts of Northeast India leads to place this region in archaeological map of the world. It is one of the few places in the world where megaliths have survived as living trend. In North Eastern India, megaliths are found in Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Meghalaya, also in few parts of Assam like North Cachar hills, Karbi Anglong, Nagaon, Morigaon and Kamrup district etc. The megalithic tradition of tribal societies in this region has attracted the attention of ethnographers and archaeologists for over a century. This tradition is still practice by the Khasis, Nagas and Karbis in Northeast India.

The pioneering ethnographers Godwin Austen (1872), H. Yule (1842), J.P. Mills (1926) and several others have rendered graphic accounts based on their direct observation of the megalithic rituals of the people. Austen while conducting geological investigations in Assam in the last century made profuse reference to the megalithic stone monuments of Khasis hill tribes. A systematic and detailed study of the megalithic culture of the Khasis with special reference to Mawion village was carried out by Bareh(1981). A Khasi historian Hamelt Bareh, wrote on the history and culture of the khasi people (1967), He had drawn close association of megalith of the Khasi people with their religion.

Ivor Evens (1927), a diffusionist, made a comparative study of the megalithic monuments from Malay Peninsula, with those of Indonesia and Northeast India. He observed close parallels in the monoliths and table stones found in theses three regions. Further he implied that all megalithic practice are associated in one way or another with the cult of the dead all over the world. Ruben (1939) surmised that the custom of constructing megalithic tombs reached India by way of Palestine and Persia in the early Iron Age and one of its branch moved eastwards as far as Chota Nagpur region and the other moved into southern part of India.

According to Clark (1874), the practice of megalithic structures hae been widespread since prehistoric times, but megalithic structures in north-eastern India have not yet been dated. Sharma (1984) stated that the largest concentration of megaliths especially of menhir type in north-eastern India was found in the hills of Khasi and Jaintia in Meghalaya (Bora and Bezbaruah 2018). Elaborate associated rites and rituals are other significant aspects of this Megalithic tradition in North East India. In this context mention may be made about Shadap-Sen (1981) who opined “that the megalithic ritual were at the centre of the whole religious life of the Khasis- Synteng People in earlier times. At all these rites the Khasis express their clan solidarity.” An analysis of the hymns that are sung by the Karbis at the time of erection megalithic shows that in addition to propitiation of the soul of the deceased, there also is an implication of their fertility aspect (Bezbaruah 2012).

Table 3 : **Combined Inventory of Megaliths**

Megaliths recovered condition	Sites						Total	%
	Sukurberia	%	Tagenpara	%	Borjirang	%		
Erect	32	35.55	3	60	2	100	37	39.10
Totally fallen	49	54.44	1	20	-	-	50	51.63
Partially fallen	9	10	1	20	-	-	10	10.52
	90	100	5	100	2	100	97	100

Three megalithic sites were noticed in course of exploration in Assam –Meghalaya border region in western part of Kamrup district i.e. Sukurberia, Tagenpara and Bor-Jirang (Table 3).The GPS location of the site Sukurberia is 26◦00'16.7'' N latitude and 91◦33'23.8" E longitude with an elevation 55 amsl. From the site Sukurberia total 90 numbers of megaliths have been reported, out of which 32 are standing erect, 49 are totally fallen and 9 are partially fallen. The communal megalithic site is extended in about 32 sq. km located near road which leads to Jirang reserve forest. All the megalthis are oriented in circular fashion where largest menhir which is 203 cm in height and 140 cm in breadth is standing at the centre. From the enthnographic data it can be implied that this site is a communal site where the Karbis practiced to erect megaliths in the name of their clan members since ancient time.



Fig. 4 Few Megaliths from site Tegenpara

In present day also the Karbi People from neighbouring hills come to the site to perform few annual rituals in the name of their forefathers. Among them only a few families still practice this tradition in this site whenever any family member died. But majority of the population prefer to continue this tradition inside their house boundaries as the communal site is quite far from their residential area. This change of place has facilitated the Karbi villagers to perform the necessary rites and rituals more conveniently and also helps in looking after the megaliths under their own jurisdiction. Though stone erection practice in the name of deceased person in this site gradually decreased, yet the whole area occupies a significant place in the socio-religious life of the Karbi population. They consider the place to be sacred and perform the annual ceremony in order to propitiate their forefathers with rituals and elaborate feast by the villagers. Therefore from the findings it can be inferred that this long-established megalithic site holds a remarkable position in the minds and stands as a symbol of clan solidarity among the Karbis.

Five megaliths are reported from another village named Tagenpara, situated about 7 kms away from Sukurberia. The GPS reading of the site is 26◦00'10.0" N and 91◦30'19.6" E latitude and longitude respectively with an elevation of 46 amsl. Out of the total reported megaliths, 3 (60%) are found in standing erect position, 1 (20%) is found in totally fallen condition and other one i.e. 20% is found

in partially fallen condition. Another site reported at Bor-Jirang village, where two quite large blocks of stones were erected in the front courtyard of two households in memory of the deceased.

As numbers of megaliths are not very significant and neighbouring population also cannot provide information about its origin, so it is difficult to comment about this. But no one can deny about the fact that these megaliths, especially those of menhir type were quite old bearing untold history after them. In case of structural type, the monoliths reported from the present study are mainly menhir and menhir with stone platform. The tallest menhir is generally placed in the middle position. At Sukurberia menhirs are placed in circular manner while in Tagenpara they are oriented in a straight alignment. Further this reporting has lead to open a direction to explore more in neighbouring areas which will definitely give a more comprehensive clear picture about this tradition in this region.

Concluding Remark

From the present study it can be said that the tribal population living in the Assam –Meghalaya border region provide ample evidences which can be fruitfully utilized to reconstruct the past. Though they are living in modern era yet they follow few of their indigenous practices like traditional barter system in the form of exchange of basket (*hora salua*) in market place; a type of horticulture i.e. shifting cultivation with simple implements; use various types of utensils in their day to day activities, which have close resemblance in respect to shape, size and probable use with the reconstructed potsherd recovered from the study area. Further the reporting of megaliths and the ongoing practice among the Karbis residing in the foothills region provides another dimension to trace archaeological continuity from past to present. In this direction one cannot deny the fact put forward by Roy (1981) that chronologically, the culture under study is modern but economically Neolithic.

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উইলিয়াম কেরী ও অবিভক্ত দিনাজপুর (১৭৯৪-১৭৯৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দ): একটি ঐতিহাসিক অনুসন্ধান

স্বপন কুমার পাইন

প্রবন্ধসার:

বাংলায় আগত মিশনারীদের মধ্যে অন্যতম গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ছিলেন ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী। যদিও নীলকর সাহেব হিসাবে ১৭৯৪ খ্রীঃ তৎকালীন দিনাজপুর জেলার মদনাবতীতে তাঁর আবির্ভাব ঘটেছিল, কিন্তু দিনাজপুরের সমাজ ও শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থায় তিনি যে ছাপ রেখে গিয়েছিলেন তা আজও ঐতিহাসিকদের মনে বিস্ময়ের উদ্রেক করে। তিনি নীলকর সাহেব হিসাবে কতটা সফল হয়েছিলেন সেবিষয়ে ঐতিহাসিক মহলে বিতর্ক থাকলেও দিনাজপুরের সমাজ এবং শিক্ষাজগতে তাঁর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অবদান ছিল সেবিষয়ে কোনো সন্দেহ নেই। কারণ তাঁর অধীনস্থ মদনবতীর নীলকুঠী অঞ্চলে তিনি শুধুমাত্র শিক্ষালয় স্থাপন করেননি, শিক্ষালয়ে শিক্ষার স্বার্থে তিনি সেখানকার নীলচাষীদের বাধ্যতামূলক নীলচাষ থেকেও অব্যাহতি দিয়েছিলেন। কেরী তাঁর জীবনের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ৬ বছর (১৭৯৪-১৭৯৯ খ্রি.) দিনাজপুরের মদনাবতী নামক অখ্যাত একটি গ্রামে কাটিয়েছিলেন এবং সেখান থেকেই প্রথম সমাজ ও শিক্ষা সংস্কারের বীজ বপন করেছিলেন। দিনাজপুরে উইলিয়াম কেরীর কর্মকাণ্ডের বিষয়ে গবেষকরা খুব বেশি তথ্য সরবরাহ করতে পারেননি। অর্থাৎ 'তল থেকে দেখা ইতিহাস' এই স্লোগান যদি বাস্তবায়িত করতে হয়, তাহলে উইলিয়াম কেরীর স্মৃতি বিজড়িত দিনাজপুরের এই ছোট্ট মদনাবতীতে কেরীর অবস্থানের পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খ বিচার বিশ্লেষণ করা প্রয়োজন। লেখকের এই প্রবন্ধের মূল উদ্দেশ্য হল, মদনাবতী তথা দিনাজপুরের ইতিহাসে উইলিয়াম কেরীর সমাজ ও শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে যে অবদান এখনও অনাবিষ্কৃত রয়েছে, তাকে ইতিহাসের পাতায় তুলে আনা।

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প্রাক্-কথন:

পর্তুগিজ, ফরাসী ও ব্রিটিশরা যখন নিজ নিজ ব্যবসার প্রয়োজনে ও লুণ্ঠনের তাগিদে লোলুপ দৃষ্টি নিয়ে বসে আছে বাংলা তথা দিনাজপুরের ভূখণ্ডগুলির দিকে, তখন বিহার ও উড়িষ্যার রাজনৈতিক বিশৃঙ্খলা ও অপশাসন চূড়ান্ত

পর্যায়ে। একমাত্র ব্যতিক্রম ছিল বাংলার মুর্শিদকুলী খাঁ, যার রাজনৈতিক দূরদৃষ্টি, কৌশল ও তৎপরতা ছিল প্রশংসাযোগ্য। মুর্শিদকুলীর কৌশলকে পরাভূত না করতে পেরেই ইংরেজরা তাকে নৃশংস নবাব আখ্যা দিয়ে তাঁর চরিত্রকে কলঙ্কিত করেন। আসলে মুর্শিদকুলী খাঁ রাজস্বের ক্ষতি করে ইংরেজদের বাংলায় উদ্ধত থাবা বসাতে দেয়নি। সে কারণে তাঁর মৃত্যুর পর ইংরেজরা তাঁর চরিত্রে কলঙ্কের ছাপ বসাতে বদ্ধপরিকর হয়ে উঠেছিল। আর একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ন বিষয় ছিল, অক্ষম দিল্লীর নবাব ইংরেজ ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানিকে বিনা ব্যায়ে টাকশালে কোম্পানির মুদ্রা ছাপানোর সনদ দিলে মুর্শিদকুলী খাঁ বাংলায় তা নাকচ করে দিয়েছিলেন। স্বাভাবিক কারণে ইংরেজরা তাঁর প্রতি বিরূপ মনোভাব পোষণ করবে এতে আর আশ্চর্য হওয়ার কি আছে? কিন্তু মুর্শিদের পরবর্তীকালে ইতিহাসের কালচক্রে ইংরেজরা ধীরে ধীরে কুচক্রীদের সহায়তায় বাংলার ক্ষমতা দখল করে। সেই সূত্রে, বিভিন্ন ইংরেজ কোম্পানির কর্মচারী এবং মিশনারিদেরও বাংলায় আগমন ঘটে। বাংলায় আগত মিশনারীদের মধ্যে অন্যতম গুরুত্বপূর্ন ছিলেন ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী। যদিও নীলকর সাহেব হিসাবে ১৭৯৪ খ্রিস্টাব্দে তৎকালীন দিনাজপুর জেলার মদনাবতীতে তাঁর আবির্ভাব ঘটেছিল, কিন্তু দিনাজপুরের সমাজ ও শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থায় তিনি যে ছাপ রেখে গিয়েছিলেন তা আজও ঐতিহাসিকদের মনে বিস্ময়ের উদ্রেক করে।

ড. উইলিয়াম কেরীর বিষয়ে জানার সবচেয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য উপাদান হল উইলিয়াম কেরীর নিজস্ব লেখনী এবং Eustace-এর রচনাবলী। এছাড়াও কেরী সম্পর্কে স্বদেশ এবং বিদেশের বহু পত্র-পত্রিকা এবং গ্রন্থাবলী গবেষকদের ঐতিহাসিক তথ্য অনুসন্ধানে সাহায্য করে। কিন্তু কেরী যে তাঁর জীবনের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ৬ বছর দিনাজপুরের মদনাবতী নামক অখ্যাত একটি গ্রামে কাটিয়েছিলেন এবং সেখান থেকেই প্রথম সমাজ ও শিক্ষা সংস্কারের বীজ বপন করেছিলেন, সেবিষয়ে গবেষকরা খুব বেশি তথ্য সরবরাহ করতে পারেননি। অর্থাৎ 'তল থেকে দেখা ইতিহাস' এই স্লোগান যদি বাস্তবায়িত করতে হয়, তাহলে উইলিয়াম কেরীর স্মৃতি বিজড়িত দিনাজপুরের এই ছোট্ট মদনাবতীতে কেরীর অবস্থানের পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খ বিচার বিশ্লেষণ করা প্রয়োজন। লেখকের এই প্রবন্ধের মূল উদ্দেশ্য হল, মদনাবতী তথা দিনাজপুরের ইতিহাসে উইলিয়াম কেরীর সমাজ ও শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে যে অবদান এখনও অনাবিষ্কৃত রয়েছে, তাকে ইতিহাসের পাতায় তুলে আনা।

দিনাজপুর জেলার পটভূমি :

বঙ্গদেশে ব্রিটিশ শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার পর প্রশাসনিক সুবিধার্থে বেঙ্গল প্রেসিডেন্সির উত্তরাংশে অবস্থিত জলপাইগুড়ি, রংপুর, দিনাজপুর, মালদা, বগুড়া, পাবনা, রাজশাহী এই জেলাগুলি নিয়ে গঠিত হয়েছিল রাজশাহী বিভাগ। ১৭৬৫ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ইংরেজ ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির দেওয়ানী লাভের পর পরই দিনাজপুরের গুরুত্ব বৃদ্ধি পায়। কারণ দিনাজপুর ছিল জলপথ দ্বারা পরিবেষ্টিত একটি জনপদ। সুবিস্তৃত এই ভূখণ্ড অষ্টাদশ শতকের দ্বিতীয়ার্ধে দিনাজপুর নামে ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির কাছে পরিচিতি লাভ করে। ফ্রান্সিস বুকানন 'দিনাজপুর রিপোর্টে' দিনাজপুরের জমিদারিকে 'দিনাজপুর রাজ' বলে অভিহিত করেছেন। E.V. West Macott-এর 'The Territorial Aristocracy of Bengal : The Dinajpur Raj'[১] নামক প্রবন্ধ থেকে জানা যায়, 'দিনাজ' বা 'দনুজ' নামে এক ব্যাক্তি ও তাঁর পরিবার সেখানে বাস করতেন, সেখানে তাঁর বহু অনুগামীরাও বাস করতেন। দিনাজের নাম অনুসারে ধীরে ধীরে ঐ অঞ্চল দিনাজপুর নামে

পরিচিতি লাভ করে। তবে একথাও জানা যায় যে কোন এক হিন্দু জমিদার ধীরে ধীরে ক্ষমতা সঞ্চয় করে প্রতিপত্তিশালী হয়ে ওঠে। ঐ হিন্দু জমিদার ছিলেন রাজা গণেশ।[২] তিনি 'দনুজমর্দন দেব' উপাধি ধারণ করেছিলেন, যার থেকে দিনাজপুর নামটি এসেছে। রাজা গণেশ ছিলেন অত্যন্ত প্রভাবশালী এবং দরিদ্রের উদ্ধারকর্তা অর্থাৎ 'দিনরাজ'। এই দিনরাজ থেকেই জেলার নাম হয় দিনরাজপুর এবং পরবর্তীতে নামটি পরিবর্তীত হয়ে 'দিনাজপুর' এ পরিণত হয়। অনেক ঐতিহাসিকদের মতে দিনাজপুর নামটির উৎপত্তি হয়েছে ১৪১৪ সালে। দিনাজপুরের রাজা রামনাথ রায় যত্ন সহকারে এই শহরটিকে গড়ে তুলেছিলেন।[৩] এই রামনাথ প্রথমে বানগড়ে ছিলেন পরে, তিনি দিনাজপুরে চলে আসেন। ঐতিহাসিকদের মতের ভিন্নতা যাই থাকুক না কেন, দিনাজপুর জেলা গঠন নিয়ে যে কথাটি বলা যায় তা হল ১৫৮২ খ্রি. মোঘল সম্রাট আকবরের ভুমিরাজস্ব মন্ত্রী টোডরমাল বাংলা প্রদেশকে ১৯টি সরকার ও ৬৮২টি পরগণায় ভাগ করেছিলেন। তার মধ্যে সরকার তাজপুর, সরকার পিঞ্জরা এবং সরকার ঘোড়াঘাট দিনাজপুর ভূখণ্ডের অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। ১৭৬৫ খ্রি. ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানি কর্তৃক শাহ আলমের কাছ থেকে বাংলা, বিহার ও উড়িষ্যার দেওয়ানী লাভের পরই দিনাজপুরের জমিদারি ব্রিটিশ শাসনাধীনে আসে। ব্রিটিশরা ১৭৭৩ খ্রি. তাদের প্রশাসনিক সুবিধার্থে বেঙ্গল প্রেসিডেন্সিকে পাঁচটি ভাগে ভাগ করেন। এগুলি ছিল যথাক্রমে কোলকাতা, বর্ধমান, মুর্শিদাবাদ, দিনাজপুর ও ঢাকা। অর্থাৎ ১৭৭৩ খ্রি. দিনাজপুরের পরগনা ছিল ১২১টি এবং আয়তন ছিল ১১১৯ বর্গ মাইল।[৪] অতঃপর কোম্পানির সরকার রাজস্ব আদায়ের সুবিধার জন্য ও শান্তি-শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষার্থে ১৭৮৬ খ্রি. দিনাজপুরকে স্বতন্ত্র জেলা হিসাবে ঘোষণা করে এবং সেসময়ে দিনাজপুর জেলার প্রথম কালেক্টর হিসাবে নিযুক্ত হন মি. জর্জ হ্যাচ। ১৭৮৬ খ্রীঃ ২রা মে জর্জ হ্যাচ দিনাজপুর জেলার কালেক্টর পদে নিযুক্ত হন। একই সঙ্গে ১৭৮৬ খ্রি. ডিসেম্বর মাসে জর্জ হ্যাচ দেওয়ানী আদালতের বিচারক হিসাবেও নিযুক্ত হন। অর্থাৎ, জর্জ একই সঙ্গে জেলা কালেক্টর, জেলা জজ এবং জেলা ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট এই তিনটি পদে নিযুক্ত হন। একই ব্যক্তিকে জেলার তিন শীর্ষপদে নিয়োগের পেছনে ব্রিটিশ ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানি সরকারের মূল উদ্দেশ্য ছিল দিনাজপুরের অশান্তি দূর করে বেশি পরিমানে রাজস্ব আদায় করা এবং কোম্পানির কোষাগার সুরক্ষিত রাখা। আসলে জেলার রাজস্ব, শাসন ও বিচার ব্যবস্থায় ভিন্ন ভিন্ন চিন্তাধারা প্রকাশ পেয়ে অশান্ত দিনাজপুর জেলা যাতে কোম্পানির বিশেষ চিন্তার কারণ না হয়ে দাঁড়ায় এইসব কথা মনে রেখেই কোম্পানি হ্যাচ কে সর্বোচ্চ ক্ষমতার অধিকারী করে দিনাজপুর জেলায় তাকে কোম্পানির প্রতিভূ নিযুক্ত করেন।[৫]

উইলিয়াম কেরী : নীলকর থেকে সমাজ সংস্কারক :

ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী ১৭৯৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দের শেষদিকে স্বদেশ থেকে কোলকাতায় স্বপরিবারে পৌঁছান। সেখান থেকে প্রথমে ব্যান্ডেলে এবং পরে যশোহর জেলার সাতক্ষীরার সুন্দরবন অঞ্চলের তাঁর জীবন কাটে। সেখান থেকে দেবহাটা যাবার পথে কালতলা গ্রামে সেখানকার লবন তৈরীর কারখানার কর্ণধার চার্লস শর্টের সাথে তার পরিচয় হয়। চার্লস শর্টই প্রথমে তাকে ড. টমাসের সাথে পরিচয় করিয়ে দেন। অতঃপর ড. টমাস কেরীর আর্থিক দুর্গতি নিবারণের জন্য উদ্যোগ নেন। তাঁর ঐকান্তিক প্রচেষ্টায় দিনাজপুর ও মালদহ নীলকুঠির মালিক উডনি সাহেবের মাদনাবতী নীলকুঠীতে চাকরি পান। ইংল্যান্ডে থাকাকালীন উইলিয়াম কেরী ব্যপ্তিস্ট মিশনারি সোসাইটির সক্রিয় সদস্য ছিলেন। সেকারনেই নীলকুঠীতে চাকরি করার পাশাপাশি দিনাজপুরে ব্যপ্তিস্ট মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠারও উদ্যোগ নেন।[৬] তৎকালীন বঙ্গদেশের

সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও ধর্মীয় অবস্থাকে তিনি হৃদয় দিয়ে উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন, যা ইতিপূর্বে কোন ইংরেজ করতে পারেননি। মিশনারী কর্মকাণ্ডের পাশাপাশি বঙ্গদেশে আধুনিক শিক্ষা বিস্তারের জন্য তিনি তাঁর জীবনের একচল্লিশ বছর ব্যয় করেন। সঙ্গত কারনেই বিশ্বকবি রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর ড. উইলিয়াম কেরীকে **'Father of Modern Bengal'** বা 'আধুনিক বঙ্গদেশের পিতা' বলে অভিহিত করেছেন।[৭] অন্যান্য নীলকরদের সঙ্গে উইলিয়াম কেরীর পার্থক্য বোঝানোর জন্য অষ্টাদশ শতকের শেষের দিকে দিনাজপুরের নীলকরদের কার্যাবলী কিছুটা আলোচনা করা প্রয়োজন।

ইংরেজ শাসকরা মূলত ব্যবসায়ী বুদ্ধি নিয়েই বঙ্গদেশে হাজির হয়েছিলেন। প্রখর বাস্তব বুদ্ধির কৌশলে তাঁরা খুব সহজেই পর্তুগিজ, ডাচ্ ও ফরাসীদের হটিয়ে দিয়ে নিজেদের সাম্রাজ্য কায়েম করেছিল। তাদের এই সজাগ বুদ্ধি বঙ্গদেশে উর্বর ফসল ফলার ক্ষেত্রেও প্রযুক্ত হল। তারা খাদ্য ফসলের পরিবর্তে বানিজ্য ফসল রূপে বাংলার মাটিতে নীলচাষ শুরু করল। এর মূল কারণ ছিল অষ্টাদশ শতকে ইংল্যান্ডের শিল্প বিপ্লব। শিল্প বিপ্লবের ফলে ইংল্যান্ডে তখন দ্রুত গতিতে বস্ত্রশিল্প এগিয়ে চলছিল এবং এই বস্ত্র রং করার জন্য নীলের খুব প্রয়োজন ছিল। অর্থাৎ সেই সময়ে ইংল্যান্ডে প্রচুর পরিমানে নীলের চাহিদা দেখা দেওয়ায় তৎকালীন ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির সরকার বাংলায় চাষীদের দিয়ে নীলচাষ করিয়ে প্রচুর মুনাফা লুঠতেন।[৮] সেই সময়কালে রাজ্যের বিভিন্ন জায়গায় প্রচুর নীলকুঠী তৈরি করা হয়। ১৭৮০ থেকে ১৮০১ খ্রিস্টাব্দের মধ্যে দিনাজপুরেও প্রচুর নীলকুঠী গড়ে ওঠে। দিনাজপুরের নীলকর সাহেবরা রাজা বৈদ্যনাথ এবং রাজা রাধানাথের কাছ থেকে প্রচুর জমি বন্দোবস্ত নিয়ে নীলচাষ শুরু করেন। দিনাজপুর জেলার সুজানগর, মাহিনগর, মথুরাপুর, দেলওয়ারপুর, বাজিতপুর, রাধাবল্লভপুর, কান্তনগর, সন্তোষপুর, সুলতানপুর, জাহাঙ্গীরপুর, সমঝিয়া, দেবীকোট, করদহ, জগদলপুরট, খিদিরপুর, মদনাবতী ও রায়গঞ্জের সুদর্শনপুর[৯]এলাকার নীলকুঠী বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। আসলে ১৭৯৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ফলে নতুন নতুন রাজন্যবর্গ সৃষ্টি হয়। এই সময়ে দিনাজপুরের কিছু কিছু জমিদার তাদের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী শরীক কিংবা পার্শ্ববর্তী জমিদারকে বিপদে ফেলার উদ্দেশ্যে নিজের এলাকায় নীলকরদের ডেকে এনে জমি দিয়ে বসিয়ে ছিলেন। নীলকর সাহেবরা এইসব পরগনার বিস্তর জমিতে নীলচাষ শুরু করেন। তারা চাষীকে সামান্য কিছু টাকা দাদন দিয়ে সমস্ত দায়িত্ব চাষীর উপর ন্যস্ত করত। কোনো চাষী নীল বুনতে অস্বীকার করলে নীলকরের কারাগারে বন্দি হয়ে তাকে অমানুষিক শারীরিক নির্যাতন সহ্য করতে হতো। এমনকি তাদের ঘরবাড়িও আগুন লাগিয়ে পুড়িয়ে দেওয়া হত। চাষীর সঙ্গে নীলকরদের চুক্তি ছিল চিরজীবনের দাসখত স্বরূপ। দিনাজপুরের নীলকুঠী গুলির মধ্যে সবচেয়ে লাভজনক ছিল মহিপাল দিঘী নীলকুঠী ও মদনাবতী নীলকুঠী। এই দুটি নীলকুঠীরই মালিক ছিলেন উডনি সাহেব। উডনি সাহেব উক্ত নীলকুঠী দুটির সাফল্য লাভ করায় ঐ অঞ্চলে ১৭৮৭ খ্রিস্টাব্দে আরো চারটি নীলকুঠী স্থাপন করেন। এগুলি হল যথাক্রমে- মাধববাটি নীলকুঠী, বংশীহারী থানার অধীন খিদিরপুর নীলকুঠী, বিরল থানার অন্তর্গত সাদামহল নীলকুঠী এবং ইটাহার থানার অধীনস্থ মহানন্দা নদীর পাড়ে চূড়ামন নীলকুঠী।[১০] দিনাজপুর জেলার নীলকুঠী গুলির মূল পরিচালক ছিলেন মি. হোয়াইট নামে একজন ইংরেজ নীলকর। ১৭৮৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দে দিনাজপুর জেলা শহর গঠিত হলে জর্জ হ্যাচ নামক একজন ইংরেজ কালেক্টর নিযুক্ত হন। কিন্তু নীলকর সাহেবরা জেলা কালেক্টরকে খুব বেশি গ্রাহ্য করতেন না। কারন জেলা কালেক্টর নীলকরদের শোচনীয় অবস্থা পর্যবেক্ষণ করে কলকাতায় ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানি সরকারের কাছে রিপোর্ট

পেশ করেছিলেন। অবশ্য নীলকর সাহেবদের মধ্যেও যথেস্ট ব্যতিক্রম ছিল। এই ব্যতিক্রমী নীলকর সাহেব ছিলেন ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী। তিনি নীলকর সাহেব হিসাবে কতটা সফল হয়েছিলেন সেবিষয়ে ঐতিহাসিক মহলে বিতর্ক থাকলেও দিনাজপুরের সমাজ এবং শিক্ষা জগতে তাঁর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অবদান ছিল সেবিষয়ে কোনো সন্দেহ নেই। কারন তাঁর অধীনস্থ মদনাবতীর নীলকুঠী অঞ্চলে তিনি শুধুমাত্র শিক্ষালয় স্থাপন করেননি, শিক্ষালয়ে শিক্ষার স্বার্থে তিনি সেখানকার নীল চাষীদের বাধ্যতামূলক নীলচাষ থেকেও অব্যাহতি দিয়েছিলেন। তাঁর এইসব সামাজিক কর্মকাণ্ডে মি. হোয়াইট অত্যন্ত বিরক্ত ছিলেন। স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই তিনি দিনাজপুরে খুব বেশিদিন থাকতে পারেননি। ১৭৯৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দে তাকে দিনাজপুর থেকে শ্রীরামপুরে চলে যেতে হয়।

উইলিয়াম কেরীর দিনাজপুর আগমন:

ব্রিটিশ ইষ্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির সরকার কর্তৃক দিনাজপুর জেলা গঠনের পরপরই জেলার বিভিন্ন প্রান্তে বেশ কিছু নীলকুঠী গড়ে ওঠে। এগুলির মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য ছিল কুশমন্ডীর ঐতিহাসিক মহীপাল দীঘির ধারে অবস্থিত নীলকুঠী এবং মদনাবতীর মেঘডম্বুর দীঘির পাড়ে অবস্থিত নীলকুঠী।[১১] ১৭৯৩ খ্রীঃ মি. টমাস কুশমন্ডীর ঐতিহাসিক নীলকুঠীর দায়িত্ব নিয়ে দিনাজপুর আসেন। ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী ছিলেন মি. টমাস এর ব্রিটিশ বন্ধু। টমাস তাঁর ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগে ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির সরকারের কাছে উইলিয়াম কেরীর নাম সুপারিশ করেন মদনাবতীর নীলকর হিসাবে নিযুক্ত করার জন্য। টমাস সাহেবের ব্যাক্তিগত উদ্যোগ এবং ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানি সরকারের অনুরোধে ১৭৯৪ সালে ১১ নভেম্বর উইলিয়াম কেরী মহানন্দা-টাঙ্গন নদী ধরে মদনাবতীতে আসেন। সেখানে মালদহের বিখ্যাত ইন্ডিগো প্ল্যান্টার মি. উডনীর অর্থানুকূল্যে ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী নীলকর হিসাবে তাঁর কার্যাবলী শুরু করেন।[১২] কিন্তু ব্রিটিশ ব্যাপ্তিস্ট মিশনারী ড. কেরী নিজেকে নীলকর হিসাবে সীমাবদ্ধ রাখেননি। কারণ তাঁর কাছে শিক্ষাই ছিল সর্বোচ্চ এবং তিনি বিশ্বাস করতেন শিক্ষাই মানুষকে কুসংস্কার ও জাতপাতের যন্ত্রণা থেকে মুক্তি দিতে পারে। ভারতে আসার আগে তিনি স্বদেশে শুধু শিক্ষকতাই করেননি, উদ্ভিদবিজ্ঞানী হিসাবেও তাঁর খ্যাতি ছিল, বিশেষতঃ কৃষিবিজ্ঞানে তাঁর দক্ষতা ছিল প্রশ্নাতীত।[১৩] শুধু শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রেই নয়, একজন মিশনারী হিসাবে তাঁর মধ্যে মানবসেবার ব্রতও কাজ করেছিল। নীলকর হিসাবে মদনাবতী এবং তাঁর পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকার ধর্মীয় বিবাদ লক্ষ্য করে তাদের কে খ্রীস্টধর্মে দীক্ষিত করার কাজেও মন দিয়েছিলেন।[১৪] নীলকর ব্যতীত উইলিয়াম কেরী মদনাবতী তথা দিনাজপুরের সামাজিক ও শিক্ষাক্ষেত্রে যে অবদান রেখে গেছেন তা ইতিহাস পিপাসুদের মনে অনুসন্ধিৎসার উদ্রেক ঘটায়। যদিও তিনি খুব বেশিদিন দিনাজপুরে থাকতে পারেননি, তথাপি তাঁর এই স্বল্প কালের (১৭৯৪-১৭৯৯ খ্রি.) মধ্যেই তিনি যে স্বাক্ষর রেখে গেছেন তার অনুসন্ধানই এই প্রবন্ধের মূল বিষয়।

উইলিয়াম কেরী ও মদনাবতী:

মালদা জেলা গঠনের পূর্বে মদনাবতী দিনাজপুর জেলার অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। ১৮১৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে মালদা জেলা গঠিত হলে মদনাবতী মালদা জেলার অন্তর্ভুক্ত হয়ে যায়। যদিও এই প্রসঙ্গে ঐতিহাসিক মহলে বহু বিতর্ক আছে, তথাপি উইলিয়াম কেরী তাঁর স্মৃতিকথায় বিষয়টিকে পরিষ্কার করেছেন। তিনি বলেছিলেন—

"My place is about thirty miles further north, from Malda and Mr. Thoma's sixteen or seventeen miles further than mine. We are situated between the rivers Tanquam (Tangan) and Purabudda (Punarbhava) in the district of Dinagepore, and within a hundred and twenty miles of Tibet. The name of my place is Maudnabatty, that of Mr. T. Moipaldiggy."[১৫]

দিনাজপুরের প্রথম গেজেটিয়ার এর লেখক F. W. Strong এবং মালদার প্রথম গেজেটিয়ার এর লেখক Lambourn বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখ করেছেন যে উইলিয়াম কেরীর স্মৃতিবিজড়িত মদনাবতী নীলকুঠী দিনাজপুর জেলার অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল। স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই মদনাবতী যে ১৮১৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে এর আগে অবিভক্ত দিনাজপুরের অন্তর্ভুক্ত ছিল সে বিষয়ে কোন সন্দেহ নেই। J. C. Sengupta-র গেজেটিয়ারেও বলা হয়েছে—

"Both Strong in his Gazetteers of Dinajpur and Lambourn in his Gazetteers of Malda stated that Madnabati where the famous missionary William Carey stayed at one time was situated in the district of Dinajpur. It may be recalled that the District Gazetteer of Dinajpur was published 1912 while that of Malda was published in 1918. As there is only one record of transfer of some village from the district of Dinajpur to Malda after 1918 and as these villages were originally situated in police stations of Parsha and Tapan and not in Bangshihari of the district of Dinajpur, it is only reasonable to conclude the village of Madnabati was not involved in this transfer."[১৬]

টাঙ্গন ও পুনর্ভবা নদীর মাঝখানে অবস্থিত মদনাবতীতেও একটা নীলকুঠী ছিল, যার কর্ণধার ছিলেন উইলিয়াম কেরী। এর দক্ষিণ দিকে ছিল বিখ্যাত সংস্কৃত পণ্ডিত গোলোকনাথ মুখোপাধ্যায় ও তাঁর ভাই কালীনাথ মুখোপাধ্যায়ের সংস্কৃত চতুষ্পাঠী। উইলিয়াম কেরী মদনাবতীর নীলকুঠীর দায়িত্বে থাকাকালীন সেই চতুষ্পাঠীতে প্রায়ই যেতেন এবং সেখানকার লোকেদের বিদ্যাভ্যাস ও সাংস্কৃতিক ধারা লক্ষ্য করতেন। দীর্ঘদিন ধরে যাতায়াতের ফলে ধর্ম বিষয়ে সেখানকার অধিবাসীদের গোঁড়ামী লক্ষ্য করে কেরী সাহেব বুঝতে পেরেছিলেন যে এখানকার মানুষের মধ্যে খ্রিস্টধর্মের মহান ব্রত প্রচার করে তাদেরকে ধর্মান্তরিত করা অত্যন্ত কঠিন কাজ। তাই কেরী সাহেব অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে খ্রিস্ট ধর্মের বদলে পাশ্চাত্য পদ্ধতিতে হাতের লেখা, গণিত শিক্ষা ও হিসাব শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা চালু করেন। কেরীর উদ্দেশ্য ছিল মানুষ শিক্ষিত হয়ে উঠলে ক্রমবিকাশের ধারা তারা স্বেচ্ছায় গ্রহণ করে নেবেন। এর সাথে সাথে শেখানো হত পবিত্র বাইবেলের পাঠ। তাই শিক্ষা সংক্রান্ত একটা পরিকল্পনা উইলিয়াম কেরী মদনাবতীতে এসেই তৈরী করেছিলেন। ইতিহাসের এই সুবর্ণরেখা সম্বন্ধে ঐতিহাসিক P. C. Ghosh বলেছেন— "In 1794 Carey started his first school there (Madnabati) with few local boys teaching them reading, writing, arithmetic, the local accounting system and Christianity."[১৭]

মদনাবতী কুঠীতে থাকাকালীন উইলিয়াম কেরী যে জার্নাল বের করেছিলেন তা থেকে জানা যায় যে তিনি দিনাজপুরে দুটো কলেজ তৈরীরও পরিকল্পনা করেছিলেন। উক্ত জার্নাল থেকে জানা যায়—

"Mr. Thomas and I founded a plan for creating two colleges- one here (Madnabati) and other at his residence (Mohipal) where we intended to educate twelve lads viz. six Hindoos and six Mousalmans at each place. A Pundit is to have the charge of them, and they are to be taught Sanskrit, Bengali and Persian; the Bible is to be introduced, and perhaps a little philosophy and geography. The time of their education is to be seven years, and we find them meal, clothing, lodging etc. We are now inquiring for children proper for the purpose. We have also determined to

require that the Society will advance money for types to print the Bengali Bible, and make us their debtors for the sum, which we hope to be able to pay off in one year; and it will also be requisite to send a printing press from England. We will, if our lives are spread, repay the whole, and print the Bible at our own expense, and I hope the Society will become our creditors by paying for them when delivered. Mr. Thomas is now preparing letters for specimens which we hope will be sent by this conveyance."[১৮]

তবে উইলিয়াম কেরীর এই শিক্ষা পরিকল্পনা এলাকায় কতটা প্রসার লাভ করেছিল সেই প্রসঙ্গে ঐতিহাসিক মতের ভিন্নতা থাকলেও, তৎকালীন ভৌগলিক পরিস্থিতি, যোগাযোগের অবিন্যস্ত অবস্থা, ধর্মীয় গোড়ামী, অবিশ্বাসী মনোভাব ইত্যাদি থাকা সত্বেও শিক্ষাপ্রতিষ্ঠান দুটি চালানোর তাগিদে তাঁদের ছাত্র সংগ্রহের অভিযান ছিল নিরবচ্ছিন্ন। আসলে উচ্চবর্ণের মানুষের অতিরিক্ত ধর্মীয় অনুশাসন মেনে চলার মানসিকতা লক্ষ্য করে, টমাস ও কেরী নিম্নবর্গীয়দের মধ্যে থেকেই ছাত্র-সংগ্রহ করার উদ্দীপনা নিয়েছিলেন। সেদিক থেকে চিন্তা করলে টমাস ও কেরী ছিলেন এই জেলার নিম্নবর্গীয় মানুষের মধ্যে শিক্ষা প্রসারের পূর্বসুরী।[১৯]

২০২১ সালের ১৭ আগস্ট উইলিয়াম কেরীর ২৬০তম জন্মদিনে প্রাবন্ধিক একদল গবেষকের সঙ্গে মদনাবতীর মেঘডম্বুর দীঘির পাড়ে কেরীর স্মৃতিবিজড়িত নীলকুঠী অঙ্গনে হাজির হয়েছিলেন। ঐ শিক্ষামূলক ভ্রমণের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল মদনাবতীতে কেরীর জীবন ও বাংলা ভাষা চর্চা, পুস্তক প্রকাশনা, মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র স্থাপন এবং মদনাবতীতে কেরীর কর্মকান্ড বিষয়ে তথ্যানুসন্ধান করা। মদনাবতী এবং কুশমন্ডীর ঐতিহাসিক মহীপাল দীঘি পর্যবেক্ষনের পর সংগতভাবেই মনে হয় শিক্ষাব্যবস্থায় কোন জাতপাতের বিধিনিষেধ থাকা চলে না এবং একই শিক্ষাব্যবস্থায় সমানভাবে শিক্ষা প্রসার হওয়া উচিত। সেদিক থেকে তাঁরাই এই জেলার প্রথম উদ্যোক্তা। উইলিয়াম কেরীর আরেকটি উল্লেখযোগ্য দিক ছিল, কোলকাতার বিখ্যাত পণ্ডিতদের মদনাবতীতে নিয়ে এসে তাদেরকে বিদ্যালয়ে নিম্নবর্গের এইসব শিশুদের পাঠদানের কাজে লাগানো। এইসব পণ্ডিতদের মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য ছিলেন- রামরাম বসু, কালীনাথ মুখোপাধ্যায়, গোলকনাথ মুখোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ।[২০] এইসব বাঙালী পণ্ডিতদের সহায়তায়ই উইলিয়াম কেরী শিশুদের পাঠ্যসূচী ও বাংলা বই রচনা করেন। অতএব, একথা বললে অত্যুক্তি হবে না যে বাস্তব জীবন অনুযায়ী বৈজ্ঞানিক শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার ভ্রূণ দিনাজপুরের মাটিতেই জন্ম নিয়েছিল। পাশাপাশি একথাও বলা যায় যে পুঁথি ছাপানোর প্রয়োজনে কেরী সাহেব তার সাথে যে মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র এনেছিলেন তার ব্যবহারও এই জেলায় প্রথম করা হয়। এটাও আধুনিক শিক্ষাক্রমবিকাশের একটা উল্লেখযোগ্য অধ্যায়। তবে আর্থিক সহযোগিতার অভাবে উইলিয়াম কেরীর এই প্রকল্প বেশিদূর এগোতে পারেনি। এর প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায় কেরীর জার্নালে, যেখানে তিনি বলেছেন– "The school would have been larger had we been bear the expense, but as among the scholars there are several orphans whom we wholly maintain, we would not venture presently on any further expense… ."[২১]

১৭৯৬ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ব্যপ্তিস্ট মিশনারি কর্তৃপক্ষ ফাউন্টেনের এক যুবককে কেরীর চিন্তাধারার সফল রূপ দিয়ে সাহায্য করতে মদনাবতীতে পাঠান। তার সহায়তায় ঐ বছরেই কেরী দিনাজপুর শহরে ব্যপ্তিস্ট মিশন এবং মাদনাবতীতে একটি প্রাথমিক বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করেন। পাশাপাশি বুনিয়াদপুরের খিদিরপুরেও এরকম আরেকটি স্কুল চালু করা হয়। উল্লেখযোগ্য বিষয় হল, উইলিয়াম কেরী স্থানীয় পরিস্থিতির পরিপ্রেক্ষিত বিবেচনা করে বাংলা মাধ্যমে ইংল্যান্ডের

শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার ঢঙে শিক্ষা প্রসারের উদ্যোগ নিয়েছিলেন । অর্থাৎ কেরী ছিলেন দৃষ্টির অগোচরে অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীর বাংলার নবজাগরনের অন্যতম অগ্রদূত।[২২]

মদনাবাতী ও দিনাজপুর শহর ছাড়াও তাঁর কর্মক্ষেত্র ছিল পার্শ্ববর্তী মালদহ ও সাদামহল নীলকুঠী অঞ্চল। ড. কেরী শুধু স্কুল প্রতিষ্ঠা করেই ক্ষান্ত হননি, স্কুলে কীভাবে শিক্ষার্থী জোগাড় করা যায়, সেই বিষয়ে তাঁর গভীর চিন্তাভাবনা ছিল। এইজন্য তিনি বেশ কিছু ব্যবস্থা নিয়েছিলেন, এগুলি ছিল যথাক্রমে—

১. স্কুলে ছাত্র জোগাড় করতে তাদের অভিভাবকদের জমির খাজনা মুকুব করা, যাতে অভিভাবকরা তাদের সন্তানদের স্কুলে পাঠাতে পারে।

২. বাধ্যতামূলক নীলচাষ বন্ধ করা। যেখানে ইংরেজ নীলকররা স্থানীয় চাষীদের নীলচাষে বাধ্য করতো, সেক্ষেত্রে কেরি ছিলেন একমাত্র ব্যতিক্রম, তিনি শিশুদের শিক্ষ্যাঙ্গনে আনার স্বার্থে তাদের অভিভাবকদের বাধ্যতামূলক নীলচাষ থেকে অব্যাহতি দেওয়ার কথা বলেছিলেন।

৩. অভাব এবং দারিদ্রের কারণে স্থানীয় শিশুরা স্কুলে আসত না, একথা উপলব্ধি করে ড. কেরী তৎকালীন সময়ে ছাত্রছাত্রীদের জন্য মাসে ২ টাকা টিফিনের ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন।

৪. বাংলা ভাষায় পাঠদানের ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন, যাতে তারা মাতৃভাষায় শিক্ষা লাভ করতে পারেন।

৫. বাংলা লিপি যাতে ছাত্রছাত্রীরা সুস্পষ্টভাবে চিনতে পারে তার জন্য মুদ্রণ যন্ত্র ব্যবহার করেছিলেন। মুদ্রণ যন্ত্রটি প্রথমে বাইবেলের বাংলা অনুবাদের কাজে ব্যবহার হলেও পরবর্তী সময়ে শিশুদের বাংলা লিপি ছাপার কাজে ব্যবহৃত হয়েছিল। সেদিক দিয়ে বিচার করলে কোলকাতা ও পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকার বাইরে দিনাজপুরে প্রতিষ্ঠিত উইলিয়াম কেরীর ছাপাখানা বাংলার জেলাগুলীর মধ্যে সর্বপ্রথম।[২৩]

মদনাবতীতে সতীদাহ প্রথা ও উইলিয়াম কেরীর ভুমিকা:

তৎকালীন হিন্দু সমাজে প্রচলিত এক অমানুষিক বর্বর কুপ্রথা ছিল 'সতীদাহ প্রথা' যা উইলিয়াম কেরী প্রত্যক্ষভাবে দিনাজপুরের মদনাবতীতে স্বচক্ষে দেখেছিলেন। মৃত স্বামীর জ্বলন্ত চিতায় তার বিধবা স্ত্রীকে পুড়িয়ে মারার এই প্রথা উইলিয়াম কেরীকে গভীরভাবে আহত করেছিল, যার প্রমাণ কেরীর স্মৃতিকথায় পাওয়া যায়। সেখানে বলা হয়েছে—

"On 1st April 1799, when I was returning from Calcutta I saw the Satiamoron, or a womon burning herself with the corpse of her husband, for the first time in my life. Being evening, we got out of the boat to walk, when we saw a number of people assembled on the river side. I asked them what they were met for and they told me to burn the body of a dead man. I inquired if his wife would die with him; they answered Yes, and pointed to the women. She was standing by the pile, which was made of large billets of wood, about 2.5 feet high, 4 feet long, and 2 feet wide, on the top of which lay the dead body of her husband."[২৪]

উইলিয়াম কেরী সতীদাহ প্রথার প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী হিসাবে ওখানকার সমবেত মানুষের সঙ্গে কথা বলেন এবং জানতে চান, কেন এই প্রথা দীর্ঘদিন চলে আসছে! তিনি উত্তর পান, এটা হচ্ছে হিন্দু সমাজের নারীদের সতীত্ব রক্ষার জন্য প্রচলিত একটি পবিত্র প্রথা। তিনি তাদেরকে অন্যান্য ধর্মশাস্ত্র থেকে উদ্ধৃতি দিয়ে বিষয়টিকে অমানবিক এবং অশাস্ত্রীয় বলে বোঝানোর চেষ্টা করলে সমবেত জনতা তাকে স্থান ত্যাগ করার পরামর্শ দেন। কিন্তু উইলিয়াম কেরী দীপ্ত কণ্ঠে

ঘোষণা করেন আমি এখানেই থাকব এবং পুরো সতীদাহ প্রথা না দেখে স্থান ত্যাগ করব না। অতঃপর তিনি গভীর ভারাক্রান্ত হৃদয়ে ঐ পৈশাচিক ঘটনার বিবরণ দিয়ে ইস্ট-ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির গভর্নর জেনারেলকে চিঠি লিখেছিলেন। কিন্তু গভর্নর জেনারেলের দিক থেকে কোনও উত্তর না আসায় তিনি অত্যন্ত ব্যথিত হন এবং ১৭৯৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দে ডিসেম্বর মাসে মদনাবতী ত্যাগ করার সিদ্ধান্ত নেন।[২৫] অর্থাৎ সেদিক থেকে দেখতে গেলে ড. উইলিয়াম কেরী ছিলেন প্রথম মানবতাবাদী, যিনি হিন্দু-সমাজের কুপ্রথার বিরুদ্ধে রুখে দাঁড়িয়েছিলেন। এক্ষেত্রে উইলিয়াম কেরী ছিলেন রাজা রামমোহন রায়ের পূর্বসুরী।

প্রাপ্তি-সিদ্ধান্ত-মূল্যায়ন:

উপরোক্ত পর্যায়ক্রমিক আলোচনার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সিদ্ধান্তে উপণীত হওয়া যায় যে—

১. দিনাজপুরের মানুষ এবং দিনাজপুরের বৃহত্তর সমাজ পাশ্চাত্যের শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার সঙ্গে পরিচিতি লাভ করে উইলিয়াম কেরীর উদ্যোগেই। একথা ঠিক যে তার শিক্ষা বিস্তারের প্রচেষ্টা দিনাজপুরের সকল শ্রেণীর মধ্যে প্রসারিত না হলেও টোল্, পাঠশালা, মাদ্রাসা এবং স্থিতবস্থা শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা থেকে কেরীর উদ্যোগে প্রথম আধুনিক শিক্ষার আলো দিনাজপুরে প্রস্ফুটিত হয়েছিল।

২. অষ্টাদশ শতকের আর্থ-সামাজিক পরিস্থিতির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে কেরীর শিক্ষা বিস্তারের প্রচেষ্টা ছিল সমাজ সংস্কারের অঙ্গ, কারণ তৎকালীন সামাজিক ধর্মীয় গোড়ামীকে অগ্রাহ্য করে কেরী সাহেব নিম্নবর্গীয় সমাজকে আধুনিক শিক্ষার আলোয় আলোকিত করতে চেয়েছিলেন। মাতৃভাষায় শিক্ষাব্যবস্থা চালু না হলে, নিম্নবর্গীয় শিক্ষার্থীরা যে শিক্ষাঙ্গনের প্রতি আকৃষ্ট হবে না একথা তিনি হৃদয় দিয়ে উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন এবং সেই অনুযায়ী ব্যবস্থাও নিয়েছিলেন সেই সময়ে।

৩. অষ্টাদশ শতকের শেষার্ধে সমগ্র বাংলা তথা দিনাজপুর ব্রিটিশ পুঁজিপতিদের কাঁচামাল সরবরাহের কেন্দ্রে পরিণত হয়। যার ফলে উপনিবেশিক শাসকের মদতপুষ্ট নীলকরদের অত্যাচার চরমে ওঠে। মানুষের দারিদ্র্যতা ও অত্যাচারের অবলীলা দিনাজপুরের আর্থিক, সামাজিক ও শিক্ষার ভারসাম্যকে নষ্ট করে দেয়। ঠিক সেই সময়ে দিনাজপুরে কেরী সাহেবের আগমণ এবং সমাজ ও শিক্ষা সংস্কারের প্রচেষ্টা মানুষের মনে কিছুটা হলেও দাগ কাটতে সমর্থ হয়েছিল।

৪. ১৭৯৯ খ্রিস্টাব্দে উইলিয়াম কেরী দিনাজপুর জেলার মদনাবতী কুঠী ছেড়ে শ্রীরামপুর চলে যান। কেন তিনি মদনাবতী ত্যাগ করে শ্রীরামপুর চলে গেলেন এবিষয়ে গবেষকদের মধ্যে যথেষ্ট বিতর্ক আছে। তবে একটা বিষয়ে সকলেই মোটামুটি একমত যে, সন্ন্যাসী ও ফকির বিদ্রোহের ফলে দিনাজপুরে প্রবল অস্থিরতা সৃষ্টি হয়। ঘটনাটা একটু খুলে বলা যাক- প্রথমত, ১৭৯৩ খ্রিস্টাব্দে লর্ড কর্নওয়ালিস প্রবর্তিত চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত দিনাজপুরের জমিদাররা মানতে বাধ্য হলেও কৃষকরা তাতে সন্তুষ্ট হতে পারেননি। স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই ইংরেজ শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে সন্ন্যাসী ও ফকিরদের বিদ্রোহ দিনাজপুর জেলায় আরো ৭ বছর জীবিত ছিল। বিদ্রোহীদের সঙ্গে ইংরেজদের বিরোধ প্রায় যুদ্ধের আকার নেয় এবং বহু মানুষের প্রাণহানি ঘটে। এমতাবস্তায় উইলিয়াম কেরী মদনাবতীতে থাকা সুরক্ষিত বলে মনে করেননি। দ্বিতীয়ত, উইলিয়াম কেরী ইংরেজ কোম্পানির শোষণ প্রবৃত্তি জনিত অনুদারতায় অনেকটা হতোদ্যম হয়েই ১৭৯৯

খ্রিস্টাব্দে মদনাবতী ত্যাগ করেছিলেন। তৃতীয়ত, মাত্র পাঁচ বছর বয়সে তাঁর প্রিয় পুত্র পিটার কেরীর মৃত্যু উইলিয়াম কেরীর মনে গভীর রেখাপাত সৃষ্টি করেছিল।

৫. তৎকালীন সময়ের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সতীদাহ প্রথার বিরুদ্ধে একজন খ্রিস্টান মিশনারীর প্রতিবাদ হিন্দু সমাজের আধুনিকীকরণের পথকে অনেকটা প্রসারিত করেছিল।

৬. উইলিয়াম কেরীর লেখায় দিনাজপুরের তৎকালীন কৃষিব্যবস্থার বর্ণনা বিশেষত্, জমির প্রকারভেদ অনুযায়ী শস্য উৎপাদন প্রণালী এবং অষ্টাদশ শতকের সামাজিক অবস্থার বর্ণনা স্থান পেয়েছে, যা আজকের ইতিহাস গবেষকদের কাছে এক জীবন্ত দলিল।

আলোচনার নির্যাস হিসেবে বলা যায়, উইলিয়াম কেরী প্রথম জীবনে ব্যাপ্তিস্ট মিশনারী সোসাইটির জন্য সর্বাধিক সময় অতিবাহিত করেন এবং সেইসূত্র ধরেই তাঁর মধ্যে মানবসেবার বীজ রোপিত হয়। দ্বিতীয় পর্বে তিনি যখন ভারতবর্ষের মাটিতে উপনীত হলেন তখন অনিবার্য আর্থিক প্রতিকূলতা এবং জীবিকা নির্বাহের উপায় তাঁকে ব্যথিত করে। এমতাবস্থায় অনেকটা বাধ্য হয়েই তিনি মদনাবতীর নীলকুঠীতে চাকুরিতে যোগ দেন। কিন্তু মনে-প্রাণে বিশ্বাসী একজন মিশনারীর পক্ষে শুধুমাত্র নীলকর হিসেবে জীবন অতিবাহিত করা সম্ভব ছিল না। নীলকুঠীর চাকুরির পাশাপাশি তিনি দিনাজপুরে ব্যাপ্তিস্ট মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠার কাজেও নিজেকে নিয়োজিত রাখেন। কেরীর ব্যক্তিত্বের সবচেয়ে বড় গুণ ছিল, তিনি যেকোনো বাস্তব পরিস্থিতিকে খুব সহজেই অনুধাবন করতে পারতেন। স্বভাবত তৎকালীন বঙ্গদেশ তথা দিনাজপুরের সামাজিক-ধর্মীয় পরিস্থিতিকে তিনি গভীর ভাবে উপলব্ধি করে তার সংস্কার কাজে আত্মদানে ব্রতী হন। দিনাজপুরে মাত্র ছ'বছরের মধ্যে তিনি যেসব সামাজিক সংস্কারকর্মে মনোবিবেশ করেছিলেন তা একজন নীলকর সাহেবের পক্ষে যথেষ্ট 'বেমানান' ছিল। কেননা ঔপনিবেশিক যুগে নীলকর এবং শোষণ-অত্যাচার সমার্থক— ইতিমধ্যে এই ধারণা ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে বদ্ধমূল হয়ে গিয়েছিল। কেরী সেই প্রচলিত ধারণা থেকে বেরিয়ে এসে শুধুমাত্র বিজ্ঞাননিষ্ঠ শিক্ষাবিস্তারের পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করে থেমে থাকেননি, পাশাপাশি সামাজিক সংস্কারের প্রতিও মনোনিবেশ করেছিলেন এবং স্থানিক জনপদ পরিসরের আস্থা অর্জনেও সফলতা অর্জনে সমর্থ হয়েছিলেন। তাঁর মনে-প্রাণে বিশ্বাস ছিল, সমাজ সংস্কারের প্রাথমিক শর্তই হল বিজ্ঞাননিষ্ঠ শিক্ষার প্রসার। পাশাপাশি তিনি এও অনুধাবন করেন মাতৃভাষাই হতে পারে সেই শিক্ষা প্রসারের একমাত্র বাহন। একারণে শুরুতেই তিনি মাতৃভাষায় শিক্ষাবিস্তারের উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করেন যা সেই সময়ের প্রেক্ষিতে এক অভূতপূর্ব ঐতিহাসিক পদক্ষেপ। ধর্মীয় শিক্ষার প্রথানুগ ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তে মদনাবতীর মত প্রান্তিক জনপদে বাংলা ভাষায় গণিত ও হিসাব শিক্ষার প্রচলন— এই বিজ্ঞানভিত্তিক শিক্ষা প্রসারের সিদ্ধান্তটিও একটি ঐতিহাসিক সিদ্ধান্ত বলে মনে হয়। তৎকালীন সময়ে কেরী কর্তৃক সতীদাহ প্রথার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ এবং আত্মজীবনে তার অনুপুঙ্খ বিবরণ ঐতিহাসিকদের নতুন কিছু ভাবনার অভিমুখ নির্দেশ করে। অর্থাৎ বর্তমান প্রেক্ষিতে উইলিয়াম কেরীকে শুধু একজন মিশনারী হিসেবে নয়, নীলকর হিসেবেও নয়, একজন মানবতাবাদী সমাজ সংস্কারক হিসেবেও আলোচনার পাদপ্রদীপে নিয়ে আসাটা প্রাসঙ্গিক বলে মনে হয়।

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২। ঐ, পৃ. ৫১

৩। দেব, রণজিৎ. ২০১৩, দিনাজপুরের উৎস, নামকরন ও রাজবংশাবলী। *উত্তরবঙ্গের ইতিহাস,* প্রথম খণ্ড, দেশ প্রকাশন, কোলকাতা, পৃ. ৩১-৩৫

৪। তদেব, পৃ. ৩৫

৫। দাস, জীবেশ. ১৯৯৮, *উত্তর দিনাজপুর জেলার ইতিহাস,* বিশ্বজ্ঞান, কোলকাতা, পৃ. ৩৮

৬। চক্রবর্তী, ইন্দ্রজিৎ এবং গুপ্ত, শুভাশীষ. ২০১৪, *দিনাজপুর* (১৭৫৭–১৯৪৭), নিজস্ব প্রকাশনা, কোলকাতা, পৃ. ৭৭

৭। অধিকারি, মার্টিন. ২০১২, *উইলিয়াম কেরী এন্ড বেঙ্গল রেনেসাঁস,* দ্যা ডেইলী স্টার, ১৬ আগস্ট, বাংলাদেশ

৮। রায়, ধনঞ্জয়. ২০০৬, *দিনাজপুর জেলার ইতিহাস,* কে পি বাগচী অ্যান্ড কোম্পানী, কোলকাতা, পৃ. ২০২-২০৪

৯। ২১ জানুয়ারী ২০২২, রায়গঞ্জের নীলকুঠী এখন ভুতুড়ে বাড়ি, *উত্তরবঙ্গ সংবাদ,* মালদা এডিশন, পৃ. ১

১০। রায়, ধনঞ্জয়, ঐ, পৃ. ২০৪

১১। সেনগুপ্ত, যতীন্দ্র চন্দ্র, ঐ, পৃ. ৫১-৫২

১২। দাস, জীবেশ. ১৯৯৮, *উত্তর দিনাজপুর জেলার ইতিহাস,* বিশ্বজ্ঞান, কোলকাতা, পৃ. ২২

১৩। সেনগুপ্ত, যতীন্দ্র চন্দ্র, ঐ, পৃ. ৫৩

১৪। দাস, জীবেশ, ঐ, পৃ. ২২-২৩

১৫। Eustace, Carey. 1836, *Memoir of William Carey*, Boston, pg.190

১৬। West Bengal Notification No. 49 PI, Dated 8th January, 1941

১৭। দাস, জীবেশ, ঐ, পৃ. ২২-২৩

১৮। Eustace, Carey. 1836, *Memoir of William Carey*, Chapter-IV: Six Years in North Bengal; Missionary and Indigo Planter, Boston, PP. 102-103

১৯। দাস, জীবেশ, ঐ, পৃ. ২২-২৩

২০। ঐ, পৃ. ২৩

২১। ঐ, পৃ. ৩৮

২২। Eustace, Carey. 1836, *Memoir of William Carey*, Boston, pg. 182

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২৪। Eustace, Carey. 1836, *Memoir of William Carey*, Chapter-IV: Six Years in North Bengal; Missionary and Indigo Planter, Boston, PP. 107-108

২৫। ঐ

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ঔপনিবেশিক বাংলায় চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীর উত্তরণ : ঊনবিংশ শতকের তিন মহিলা চিকিৎসকের অবদানের ভিত্তিতে একটি ফিরে দেখা অধ্যায়

নূপুর দত্ত

সারাংশ

উনবিংশ শতকের প্রারম্ভে সমাজ সংস্কারের ফলে স্ত্রী শিক্ষা বিষয়েও অনেক সংস্কার করা হয়। খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারীদের উদ্যোগে এই শিক্ষার সূত্রপাত হয়। নবজাগরণের ফলে সমাজে আলোকিত বুদ্ধিজীবীর সম্প্রদায়ের আবির্ভাব ঘটে। এরা পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষাকে বরণ করার সাথে সাথে স্ত্রী শিক্ষাকেও সমর্থন করে। স্ত্রী শিক্ষা সম্পর্কিত যে সব কুসংস্কার সমাজে প্রচলিত ছিল তারা সেগুলি দূর করতে তৎপর হয়। বিভিন্ন পত্র-পত্রিকায় লেখনীর মাধ্যমে স্ত্রী-শিক্ষার বিষয়টি জোরালো হয়ে ওঠে। ব্রাহ্মসমাজের উদ্যোগে স্ত্রী-শিক্ষা বহুলাংশে বিস্তারলাভ করে। এছাড়া ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র বিদ্যাসাগর রামমোহন রায়, কেশবচন্দ্র সেন, শিবনাথ শাস্ত্রী প্রমুখ সমাজ সংস্কারকরা এ বিষয়ে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা নিয়েছিলেন। প্রথম দিকে ঔপনিবেশিক সরকার এ বিষয়ে উদাসীন ছিলেন। তারা ভারতের অন্দরমহলে প্রবেশ করতে চাননি। কিন্তু খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারীদের উদ্যোগে ও ভারতের সমাজ সংস্কারকদের চাপে ব্রিটিশ সরকার কিছু ইতিবাচক পদক্ষেপ নিতে বাধ্য হন। ব্রাহ্ম মেয়েরা ও খ্রীষ্টান ধর্মান্তরিত ভারতীয় নারীরা উচ্চ শিক্ষার পথে অগ্রসর হয়। শিক্ষা ও চিকিৎসা – এই দুটি বিষয় ছিল তাদের মূল আগ্রহের বিষয়।

ধীরে ধীরে মেডিকেল কলেজগুলি নারীদের ভর্তির অনুমতি দিলে চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীদের অনুপ্রবেশ ঘটে। কিন্তু তাদের এই পথ মোটেও সুগম ছিল না। নানা সামাজিক ঘাত প্রতিঘাতের মধ্যে দিয়ে চিকিৎসা বিদ্যায় কিছু ভারতীয় নারী কৃতিত্ব অর্জন করেছিল। এই লেখনীর মাধ্যমে আমরা ঔপনিবেশিক বাংলার তিনজন কৃতি চিকিৎসক কাদম্বিনী গাঙ্গুলী, যামিনী সেন ও হৈমবতী সেনের কৃতিত্ব ও কার্যাবলী বিশ্লেষণ করে তাদের উত্তরণের পর্যায়টি ফিরে দেখব।

শব্দসূচক: *চিকিৎসা বিদ্যা, স্ত্রী-শিক্ষা, ঔপনিবেশিক বাংলা, পাশ্চাত্য চিকিৎসা, হাসপাতাল, অন্তঃপুরবাসিনী, মহিলা চিকিৎসক।*

ভূমিকা

ঊনবিংশ শতকের ভারতে সমাজ সংস্কারের হাত ধরে শিক্ষার দ্বার ভারতীয় মহিলাদের সামনে খুলে যায়। পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষার আলোকে শিক্ষিত নব্য বুদ্ধিজীবি সমাজ স্ত্রী শিক্ষার প্রয়োজনীয়তা উপলব্ধি করে। নারীরা শিক্ষালাভ করলে তাদের বৈধব্যপ্রাপ্তি হবে; এমন কুসংস্কার নব্য শিক্ষিত ভারতীয়দের মন থেকে দূর হতে থাকে। সমাজ সংস্কাররা উপলব্ধি করলেন যে স্ত্রী-শিক্ষা পরিবারকে শক্তিশালী ও স্থিতিশীল করবে এবং নতুন প্রজন্মের হিতার্থে ব্যবহৃত হবে। এর সাথে আরও একটি বিষয় যুক্ত হয়েছিল। নব্য শিক্ষিত যুবকরা তাদের সহধর্মিণী হিসেবে নিরক্ষর নারীদের বিবাহ করতে অস্বীকার করে। তারা স্ত্রীরূপে এমন কাউকে প্রত্যাশা করা শুরু করে যারা তাদের বৌদ্ধিক ও চিন্তাশীল মননকে বুঝতে পারবে। এরকম চাহিদার জন্যে বিবাহযোগ্য কন্যার পিতারা তাদের কুসংস্কারকে দূরে সরিয়ে সুপাত্র পাবার আশায় মেয়েদের লেখাপড়া শেখাতে বাধ্য হন। Geraldine Forbes মন্তব্য করেছেন যে, এই নতুন প্রজন্মের নারীরা তাদের স্বামীর যোগ্য সহধর্মিণী হয়ে সভ্য সমাজের অংশে পরিণত হয়েছিলেন। (Forbes, 2008)

প্রথম থেকেই স্ত্রী-শিক্ষার বিষয়টি নিয়ে বিতর্ক ছিল। ১৮৮২ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে শিক্ষা কমিশনের রিপোর্টে ছেলে ও মেয়েদের জন্য পৃথক পাঠ্যক্রমের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। মেয়েদের পাঠ্যক্রমে স্বাস্থ্য, সূচিকর্ম, সঙ্গীত, গার্হস্থ্য বিজ্ঞান প্রভৃতি সংযুক্ত করা হয়েছিল। অন্যদিকে গণিত, রসায়ন ও পদার্থবিদ্যা ছেলেদের পাঠ্যক্রমে সংযুক্ত হয়েছিল। স্ত্রীশিক্ষা সম্পূর্ণরূপে আদর্শ পত্নী ও আদর্শ মাতা হবার লক্ষ্যে পরিচালিত হোত। সক্রিয়ভাবে কোনো পেশার সাথে নারীদের সংযুক্তিকরণ তখন ধারণার অতীত ছিল, এইরকম একটা সামাজিক প্রেক্ষাপটের মধ্যে দিয়ে ঊনবিংশ শতকে কিছু আত্মপ্রত্যয়শীল নারী চিকিৎসাবিদ্যাকে পেশারূপে গ্রহণ করেন। এই লক্ষ্যে উপনীত হবার পথ বিশেষ সহজ ছিল না। স্ত্রী শিক্ষার বিস্তারে খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারী, ভারতীয় সমাজ সংস্কারকগণ ও সর্বোপরি ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের অবদান ছিল। (Mukherjee, 2012)

• স্ত্রী শিক্ষা থেকে চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীর উত্তরণের বিভিন্ন পর্যায় :

ক) খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারীদের অবদান

উনবিংশ শতকের প্রারম্ভে নারীরা পর্দার অন্তরালে জীবন অতিবাহিত করত। Janaki Nair দেখিয়েছেন যে Zenana was considered to be a place of dirt, darkness and disease" — অর্থাৎ মহিলামহল বলতে অপরিস্কার অন্ধকার ও রোগগ্রস্থ একটা পরিবেশকে বোঝাত (Nair, 1990)। এই রকম পরিবেশে প্রথম পা রাখেন খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারীরা। ১৮৬০ খ্রীষ্টাব্দের শেষের দিকে আমেরিকা ও ইংল্যান্ড থেকে বহু মিশনারী মহিলা ভারতে আসেন। এদের কতগুলি বিশেষ উদ্দেশ্য ছিল। পর্দার আড়াল থেকে জরাগ্রস্থ নারীদের উদ্ধার, স্ত্রী শিক্ষার বিস্তার ও খ্রীষ্ট ধর্ম প্রচার। এরা নিজেদের উদ্যোগে দেশীয় মহিলাদের চিকিৎসা ও প্রসবকারিণী বা দাই-দের প্রশিক্ষণের জন্য চিকিৎসালয় স্থাপন করেন। ভারতীয় পিতারা যখন সুপাত্র পাবার আশায় তাদের কন্যাদের লেখাপড়া শেখাবার সিদ্ধান্ত নেন, তখন এই মিশনারী মহিলারা শিক্ষিকারূপে বাড়ির অন্দরমহলে প্রবেশ করেন। এরা খুব কাছ থেকে তাদের ছাত্রী ও অন্যান্য পরিবারের সদস্যাদের দুঃখ দুর্দশা প্রত্যক্ষ করে ব্যথিত হন। অল্পবয়সে মাতৃত্বের ফলে শিশুমৃত্যু, মায়েদের

প্রসবজনিত পীড়া দেখে তারা খুবই বিচলিত হয়ে পড়েন। এছাড়া স্ত্রীশিক্ষার বিস্তারকল্পে তারা 'জেনানাস্কুল' প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন। ১৮৪০-৮২ সালের মধ্যে এই স্কুল অতিমাত্রায় সাফল্যলাভ করে। বাঙালী বিধবারাও খ্রীষ্টান মিশনারীদের অনুকূল্য পান। তারা উপলব্ধি করেন যে শিক্ষাগ্রহণের ফলে বৈধব্যযোগের ধারণা সম্পূর্ণ মিথ্যে। তারা নতুন উদ্যমে লেখাপড়া শুরু করেন, এদের মধ্যে অনেকেই গণিত ও বিজ্ঞান চর্চা করেন ও পরবর্তীকালে শিক্ষিকা বা চিকিৎসকের পেশা গ্রহণ করেন (Mukherjee, 2012)। ১৮৪০ সালে মহিলাদের একশো (১০০) শয্যার একটি হাসপাতাল কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজের মধ্যে তৈরী হয়। তবে পর্দার ওপার থেকে খুব কম সংখ্যক মেয়েদেরই এখানে দেখা গিয়েছিল। এই হাসপাতালে প্রসবকালের সহায়ক হিসেবে ছেলেদের প্রশিক্ষণ দেওয়া হত। এমনকি forcep এর সাহায্যে প্রসবের অত্যাধুনিক কৌশলেরও প্রশিক্ষণ দেওয়া হয়েছিল কিন্তু লজ্জা পেয়ে বেশিরভাগ নারীই এই হাসপাতালে আসতেন না (Mukherjee, 2017)।

খ) ভারতীয় সমাজ সংস্কারকদের অবদান

ভারত তথা বাংলার বুদ্ধিজীবি সম্প্রদায় স্ত্রী শিক্ষাকে সমর্থন করেছিল। বিদ্যাসাগর মহাশয়, রাজা রাধাকান্ত দেবের মতো সমাজ সংস্কারকরা স্ত্রী শিক্ষার বিষয়ে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা নিয়েছিলেন। অন্যদিকে রামমোহন রায় ও কেশবচন্দ্র সেনের উদ্যোগে ব্রাহ্ম সমাজ সামাজিক সংস্কারে ব্রতী হয়েছিল। তবে কেশবচন্দ্র সেনের স্ত্রী শিক্ষার ধারণা একটু ভিন্ন ছিল। তিনি মনে করতেন নারীদের জ্যামিতি, প্রাকৃতিক বিজ্ঞান, দর্শন প্রভৃতি পাঠের কোনো প্রয়োজন নেই। তার পরিবর্তে গার্হস্থ্য বিজ্ঞান, রন্ধন কৌশল প্রভৃতি বিষয়ে শিক্ষাদান করলে তারা আদর্শ স্ত্রী এবং মা হতে পারবেন (Mukherjee, 2012)।

তবে ব্রাহ্ম সমাজের বহু সদস্য শিবনাথ শাস্ত্রী, দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, শশীপদ ব্যানার্জী, দ্বারকানাথ গাঙ্গুলী, আনন্দমোহন বোস প্রমুখ স্ত্রী- শিক্ষার সম্প্রসারণে নিরলস প্রয়াস করে গেছেন। মিস অ্যানেট অ্যাকরয়েড ১৮৭২ সালে কলকাতায় আসেন ও ১৮৭৩ সালে 'হিন্দু মহিলা বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করেন। প্রগতিশীল ব্রাহ্মনেতা দ্বারকানাথ গাঙ্গুলী এই স্কুলের প্রবীণ শিক্ষক পদে নিযুক্ত হন। শিবনাথ শাস্ত্রী, দুর্গামোহন দাস, শিবনাথ শাস্ত্রী দ্বারকানাথকে সমর্থন করেন। তারা সমদর্শী দল নামে একটি সংগঠণ প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন ও একই নামে একটি পত্রিকা প্রকাশ করেন। ১৮৭৬ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে সমদর্শী দলের উদ্যোগে 'বঙ্গ মহিলা বিদ্যালয়' প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়। এই বিদ্যালয়ের প্রথমদিকের ছাত্রীদের মধ্যে ব্রাহ্ম নেতা দুর্গামোহন দাসের কন্যা সরলা ও অবলা, জগদীশ চন্দ্র বোসের সহোদরা স্বর্ণপ্রভা, মদনমোহন ঘোষের সহোদরা বিনোদিনী ও ব্রজকিশোর বসুর কন্যে কাদম্বিনী বসু ছিলেন উল্লেখযোগ্য। কাদম্বিনী বসু ও চন্দ্রমুখী বসু ১৮৮২ সালে কলকাতার বেথুন কলেজ থেকে প্রথম কলাবিভাগের স্নাতক হন। ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের প্রথম দুজন মহিলা স্নাতকরূপ এদের কৃতিত্ব অনস্বীকার্য। (Mukherjee, 2012)

স্ত্রী শিক্ষার অন্যতম পথিকৃত ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র বিদ্যাসাগর। তিনি বাংলার বিভিন্ন জেলায় ৩৫ টি মহিলা বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করেছিলেন। লেফটনেন্ট গভর্নর F.J. Halliday বিদ্যাসাগরকে এই স্কুলগুলির আর্থিক অনুদান দেবার প্রতিশ্রুতি দিলেও তিনি শেষ পর্যন্ত তার প্রতিশ্রুতি রাখেননি। হতদ্যম না হয়ে বিদ্যাসাগর মহাশয় নিজ খরচে এই স্কুলগুলি পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব নেন। বাংলার জমিদারদের মধ্যে স্ত্রী শিক্ষার বিস্তারে অগ্রণী ভুমিকা নিয়েছিলেন। উত্তরপাড়ার

রাজকৃষ্ণ ও জয়কৃষ্ণ মুখার্জী এ বিষয়ে অন্যতম। এছাড়া লাখোটিয়ার জমিদার রাখালচন্দ্র রায় চৌধুরী ও ঠনঠনিয়ার দিগম্বর মিত্র স্ত্রীশিক্ষা খাতে অনুদান দিয়েছিলেন (Mukherjee, 2012)।

গ) সরকারী উদ্যোগে স্ত্রী-শিক্ষার বিস্তার

১৮৫৪ খ্রীঃ চার্লস উডের নির্দেশনামায় স্ত্রী শিক্ষার বিষয়ে কিছু ইতিবাচক পদক্ষেপ গ্রহণ করা হয়। বাংলা প্রেসিডেন্সীর দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব বিভাগের Inspector of Schools, R.L Martin উপলব্ধি করেন যে উপযুক্ত শিক্ষিকা না পাওয়া গেলে বালিকা বিদ্যালয় প্রতিষ্ঠা অর্থহীন হয়ে পড়বে। ১৮৬৩ সালের ১১ই মে তিনি শিক্ষিকা প্রশিক্ষণের জন্য একটি স্কুল প্রতিষ্ঠা করেন। ২৫ জন ছাত্রী নিয়ে এই প্রতিষ্ঠান শুরু হয়েছিল। পেশাগত জগতে বাংলার মহিলাদের এটাই ছিল প্রথম পদক্ষেপ। তবে একমাত্র কলকাতার বেথুন কলেজ ছাড়া ভারতের কোথাও মহিলাদের জন্য কলেজ শিক্ষার প্রচলন ছিল না। ১৮৭৭ সালে কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের সিন্ডিকেট ঘোষণা করে যে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রবেশিকা পরীক্ষা, নারী ও পুরুষ উভয়েও অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারবে (Mukherjee, 2017)।
এইভাবে নারীরা ধীরে ধীরে শিক্ষা এবং চিকিৎসা বিদ্যাকে পেশারূপে গ্রহণ করার প্রথম পদক্ষেপ নিতে সক্ষম হল। ১৮৮২ সালের সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে পন্ডিতিয়া রামাবাঈ শিক্ষা কমিশনকে জানান যে শিক্ষা ও চিকিৎসার পেশায় থাকা নারীদের জন্য সরকারকে আরও যত্নবান হতে হবে। শিক্ষার সাথে সাথে চিকিৎসা বিদ্যাতেও নারীদের অভাব অনুভূত হল। বাড়ীর অন্দরমহলে পুরুষ ডাক্তার ঢোকা নিষিদ্ধ ছিল। যে সব হাকিম বা বৈদ্য বাড়ির অন্তঃপুরে ঢুকত, তারা রোগীনির নাড়ি টিপে দেখতে পারত। রোগীনির কোন সমস্যা থাকলে তাকে পরীক্ষা করার অনুমতি তাদের ছিল না। বিলেত থেকে যে সব মেম ডাক্তার এসেছিল তাদেরকে দেশীয় নারীরা ভয় পেত। এছাড়া এদের সাথে ভাষাগত ব্যবধানও ছিল। রোগীনির সমস্যা সঠিকভাবে এরা অনুধাবন করতে পারত না। তাই দেশীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকের প্রয়োজন হয় (Mukherjee, 2017)। চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় মহিলা ছাত্রী সর্বপ্রথম মাদ্রাজ মেডিকেল কলেজে ভর্ত্তি হয়। ১৮৭৪ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে মাদ্রাজের ইংরেজ ব্যারিস্টারের পত্নী মেরি-স্কারলিব মাদ্রাজ মেডিকেল কলেজে দেশীয় ছাত্রীদের ভর্ত্তির জন্য প্রস্তাব রাখেন। ১৮৭৫ সালে মাদ্রাজ মেডিকেল কলেজে তিন বছরের সার্টিফিকেট কোর্স করার জন্যে চারজন ছাত্রীকে সুযোগ দেওয়া হয়, তার মধ্যে মেরি নিজেও ছিলেন। ১৮৮১ সালে ব্রাহ্ম নেতা দুর্গামোহন দাসের কন্যা অবলা দাস ও Miss Allen D'Abreu বাংলার সরকারের থেকে বৃত্তিলাভ করে মাদ্রাজ মেডিকেল কলেজে পড়ার জন্যে যাত্রা করেন। (Mukherjee'2012) ১৮৮৩ সালে কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজের দ্বার ছাত্রীদেরজন্য উন্মুক্ত হল (Burton 1996) । দ্বারকানাথ গাঙ্গুলীর স্ত্রী কাদম্বিনী গাঙ্গুলী কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজের প্রথম ছাত্রী ছিলেন। ওই বছরই বোম্বাই মেডিকেল কলেজে ম্যাট্রিকুলেশন পরীক্ষায় কৃতকার্য ছাত্রীদের একটি পাঁচ বছরের পাঠক্রমে ভর্ত্তি হবার সুযোগ প্রদান করে।

• চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীর অনুপ্রবেশ

চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় নারীর অনুপ্রবেশ সকলে সঠিক মেনে নিতে পারেনি। সমকালীন পত্র পত্রিকাগুলি মূল্যবান জীবনগুলি নিয়ে সরকারের খেলা করার তীব্র প্রতিবাদ করতে শুরু করে। নারীদের ডাক্তাররূপে দেখতে তখনো ভারতীয় সমাজ

প্রস্তুত ছিল না। তারা নারীদের সেবিকারূপে দেখতেই বেশি অভ্যস্ত ছিল। খুব সম্ভবত, পুরুষ ডাক্তারদের হিংসা, মহিলা ডাক্তারকে নিজেদের সহকর্মী হিসেবে মানার অনীহা ও নিজেদের প্রতিপত্তি হ্রাসের ভীতি মহিলা ডাক্তারদের সামনে নানা প্রতিকূলতার কারণ ছিল। এই সমস্ত বিষয়কে কেন্দ্র করে মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের পথ চলা শুরু হয়েছিল। গোঁড়া পিতৃতান্ত্রিক পরিকাঠামো থেকে বেরিয়ে এসে সমাজে নিজেকে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করা ছিল একটি যুগান্তকারী ঘটনা এবং সাথে সাথে কর্মজীবনের কঙ্করময় অভিজ্ঞতাও ছিল। এই অধ্যয়নের মাধ্যমে আমরা বাংলার তিনজন কৃতী চিকিৎসক কাদম্বিনী গাঙ্গুলী, যামিনী সেন ও হৈমবতী সেনের অভিজ্ঞতার কাহিনী পর্যালোচনা করব।

ক) কাদম্বিনী গাঙ্গুলী

কাদম্বিনী বসু ছিলেন ভারতের প্রথম স্নাতক মহিলা। ব্রাহ্ম সমাজ সংস্কারক দ্বারকানাথ গাঙ্গুলীকে বিবাহ করে তিনি কাদম্বনী গাঙ্গুলী নামে পরিচিত হন। ১৮৮৩ সালে কাদম্বিনী কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজে ভর্তি হন। কিন্তু MB ডিগ্রীর পরিবর্তে GBMC ডিগ্রী লাভ করেন। কারণ মেডিসিন বিভাগের অধ্যক্ষ প্রফেসর আর.সি চন্দ্র তাকে চূড়ান্ত practical পরীক্ষায় অকৃতকার্য ঘোষণা করেন প্রফেসর চন্দ্র মেডিকেল কলেজে ভারতীয় ছাত্রীদের ভর্ত্তির বিরোধিতা করতেন। কাদম্বিনীর পাঁচ বছরের ছাত্রী জীবনে তিনি মাসিক ২০ টাকা সরকারী বৃত্তি পেতেন। ১৮৮৬ খ্রীঃ তিনি Graduate Medical College of Bengal সার্টিফিকেটের সাহায্যে চিকিৎসকরূপে স্বীকৃতি পান। পাস করার পরে তিনি ইডেন হাসপাতালে যোগদান করেন। সেখানে তাকে চিকিৎসকের মর্যাদা দেবার পরিবর্তে প্রসবকালীন সেবিকার মত ব্যবহার করা হত। হাসপাতালে ডাক্তাররাও বর্ণবৈষম্য করতেন। ভারতীয় মহিলাদেরই অধিক গুরুত্ব দেওয়া হোত। আর ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা এই শ্বেতাঙ্গ চিকিৎসকদের সহকারী হিসেবে কাজ করতেন। হতাশ হয়ে কাদম্বনী চাকরি থেকে ইস্তফা দেন। (Mukherjee, 2017)

মনক্ষুন্ন হয়ে কাদম্বিনী বিদেশে গিয়ে ডিগ্রী অর্জন করার পরিকল্পনা করেন তিনি নিজস্ব উদ্যোগে একটি চিকিৎসালয় স্থাপন করেন। দুপুর দুটো থেকে তিনটের মধ্যে এই চিকিৎসালয়টি দাতব্য চিকিৎসালয় হিসেবে কাজ করত। কিন্তু এবারেও তিনি দেশীয় মানুষের আস্থা অর্জন করতে বিফল হন। এরপর কলকাতার জেনানা হাসপাতালে যোগ দেন। কিন্তু ১৮৯১ খ্রীষ্টাব্দ পর্যন্ত তাকে কোনো স্থায়ী পদ দেওয়া হয়নি। ১৮৯৩ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে কাদম্বিনী স্কটিশ কলেজ থেকে চিকিৎসাবিদ্যায় আরও একটি ডিগ্রী লাভ করেন। (দেব, ২০১০) ফেরার পরে ডাফরিন হাসপাতালে উচ্চপদে চাকরী লাভ করেন। এবার তিনি তার যোগ্য মর্যাদা পান। মাসিক ৩০০ টাকা বেতনের বিনিময়ে তিনি ডাফরিন হাসপাতালে কাজ শুরু করেন। সমকালীন অনেক পুরুষ ডাক্তারের তুলনায় তার বেতন বেশি ছিল। এই হাসপাতালে শিশু ও মহিলাদের চিকিৎসার ওপর জোর দেওয়া হোত। শীঘ্রই পুনরায় ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগে চিকিৎসালয় স্থাপন করেন। কাদম্বনী নিজের পেশায় অত্যন্ত সাফল্য অর্জন করেছিলেন। (দেব, ২০১০)

১৮৯৫ সালে কাদম্বিনী নেপালের রাজমাতার চিকিৎসার জন্যে নেপাল যান। খুব অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই তিনি নেপালের রাজপরিবারের মহিলাদের ভালোবাসা ও আস্থা অর্জন করেন। কাদম্বিনীর ব্যবহার ও চিকিৎসার দ্বারা তারা এতটাই সন্তুষ্ট হয়েছিলেন যে তারা তাকে বহু মূল্যবান উপঢৌকন দিয়েছিলেন। পুণ্যলতা তার আত্মজীবনীতে লিখেছেন যে রাজপরিবারের পক্ষ থেকে কাদম্বিনীকে মূল্যবান গহনা, রূপোর দ্রব্যাদি, দামি দামি বস্ত্র, হাঁতির দাঁতের কারুকার্য করা

সামগ্রী, এমনকি একটি সাদা টাট্টু ঘোড়াও উপহার দেওয়া হয়েছিল। কাদম্বিনী বেশিদিন নেপালে থাকতে পারেননি। তিনি স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তন করেন।

ব্যক্তিগত জীবনে কাদম্বিনী স্বামী দ্বারকানাথ গাঙ্গুলীর থেকে বহু অনুপ্রেরণা পেয়েছিলেন। ব্রাহ্ম দ্বারকানাথ সর্বদা নারী মুক্তির পক্ষপাতী ছিলেন। কিন্তু খুব বেশিদিন তাদের সংসার স্থায়ী হয়নি। সাতটি সন্তান ও কাদম্বিনীকে রেখে দ্বারকানাথের মৃত্যু হয়। তখন একাধারে মাতৃত্ব ও অন্যদিকে কর্মজগতের দায়িত্ব – উভয় নিয়ে কাদম্বিনী হিমসিম খেতে থাকেন (চক্রবর্তী , ১৯৯৭)। কিন্তু তিনি হার মানেননি। পরবর্তীকালে তিনি সকল দায়িত্ব পালন করে জাতীয় আন্দোলনে সামিল হয়েছিলেন। ১৮৮৯ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে বোম্বাইতে কংগ্রেসের যে অধিবেশন হয়েছিল তাতে প্রথম দশজন প্রতিনিধির মধ্যে কাদম্বিনী ছিলেন অন্যতম। এছাড়া কাদম্বিনী গান্ধীজীর নেতৃত্বে পরিচালিত সত্যাগ্রহ আন্দোলনে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন। বিহার ও উড়িষ্যার কয়লাখনির মহিলা শ্রমিকদের পাশে গিয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিলেন ও তাদের জন্য অনেক কাজ করেছিলেন (Bandyopadhyay, 2011)।

তবে কর্মজগতে তিনি বহু প্রতিকূলতার সম্মুখীন হয়েছিলেন। সমাজ তখনো মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের মেনে নেয়নি। কাদম্বিনী আক্ষেপ করে বলেছিলেন হাসপাতালের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পদগুলি কখোনো ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের দেওয়া হোত না। ওই পদে কাজ করার যোগ্যতা থাকা সত্বেও তাদের কখনো স্বীকৃতি দেওয়া হয়নি। দক্ষতা থাকা সত্বেও মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা বড় বড় হাসপাতালে উপযুক্ত পদে চাকরী পেতেন না। বড় বড় হাসপাতালের শল্য চিকিৎসা বিভাগে ইওরোপীয় ডাক্তার, ভারতীয় পুরুষ চিকিৎসকদের নিয়োগ করা হত। ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা তাই নিজেদের দক্ষতা দেখাবার বিশেষ কোনো সুযোগ পেতেন না। এই আক্ষেপ শুধু কাদম্বিনীর নয়, সমকালীন প্রায় সকল মহিলা চিকিৎসকের এই আক্ষেপ ছিল।

• যামিনী সেন

যামিনী সেন একটি শিক্ষিত ব্রাহ্ম পরিবারের কন্যা ছিলেন। তার পিতা চন্ডীচরণ সেন ছিলেন Sub-Judge। যামিনী সেনের পিসি ছিলেন বিখ্যাত কবি শ্রীমতী কামিনী রায়। ১৮৯০ সালে যামিনী কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজে যোগদান করেন। ডিগ্রীলাভ করার পরে তিনিও কাদম্বিনীর ন্যায় সমস্যার সন্মুখীন হন। তিনি যে চিকিৎসালয় স্থাপন করেছিলেন তাতে নামমাত্র রুগী আসত। রুগী পাবার জন্য তখনকার মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের পুরুষ চিকিৎসকদের সুপারিশের ওপর নির্ভর করতে হোত। হতাশ হয়ে যামিনী শোলাপুরের জেনানা হাসপাতালে যোগদান করেন। তবে এখানেও তিনি বেশিদিন কাজ করতে পারেননি । তিনি নেপাল, আগ্রা, শিমলা, শিকরপুর, পুরী প্রভৃতি জায়গায় চিকিৎসা করেছেন। কাদম্বিনীর সুপারিশে যামিনী সেন নেপালের রাজপরিবারের মহিলাদের চিকিৎসা করতে ১৮৯৯ সালে নেপালে গিয়েছিলেন। তিনি প্রায় ১০ বছর নেপালে চিকিৎসা করেছেন। তিনি নেপালের রাজমাতার অত্যন্ত প্রিয়পাত্রী ছিলেন। রাজমাতার স্নেহধন্য যামিনী রাজমাতার মৃত্যুর পরেই কলকাতা ফিরতে পেরেছিলেন নেপালে থাকাকালীন যামিনী সেন কাঠমুন্ডু জেনানা হাসপাতালেরও দায়িত্বে ছিলেন (দেব, ২০১০)।

১৯১৪ সালে Women Medical Service কে ডাফরিন ফান্ডের সাথে যুক্ত করা হয়। খুব অল্প সংখ্যক ভারতীয় মহিলাকে ওই পদে বহাল করা হয়েছিল। যামিনী সেন ১৯১৪ সালে এই পদটি পান। (Balfour &Young,1929)

১৯১৪ খ্রীষ্টাব্দে কোনো অপ্রীতিকর ঘটনার জন্য আগ্রা মহিলা হাসপাতালের তিনজন মহিলা ডাক্তারকে সিমলাতে বদলি করে দেওয়া হয়। তাদের জায়গায় কাজ করার জন্য যামিনী সেনকে ডাকা হয়। যামিনী মুখ বুজে একা তিনজন সাহেব ডাক্তারের কর্তব্য পালন করতে থাকেন, ছয়মাস পরে যখন পূর্বর্তন সমস্যা মিটে যায় তখন ওই তিনজন মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের আবার আগ্রায় ফিরিয়ে আনা হয়। এবার যামিনীকে ওই তিনিজন মহিলা ডাক্তারের কাজ করার জন্য সিমলায় বদলি করে দেওয়া হয়। সিমলাতে মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের থাকার সুবন্দোবস্ত ছিল না। এই সমস্যার সমাধানকল্পে যামিনী মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের থাকার জন্য একটি পৃথক ব্লক নির্মাণ করেন। গ্রীষ্মকাল এলে যামিনীকে আবার শিকরপুরে বদলি করে দেওয়া হয়। সুতরাং একমাত্র ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসক বলে তাকে এরূপ লাঞ্ছনা ও অবমাননার শিকার হতে হয়েছিল (দেব ২০১০)।

দীর্ঘদিন ভারতের বিভিন্ন জায়গায় চিকিৎসা করে তিনি উপলব্ধি করেছিলেন যে এসব হাসপাতালে কাজ করলে উন্নত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে জানা সম্ভব নয়। তিনি ডাফরিন ফান্ডের বৃত্তি গ্রহণ করে ১৯১১ সালে ব্রিটেনে যান। সেখানে ডাবলিনের রোটুন্ডা হাসপাতাল থেকে LM ডিগ্রী লাভ করেন। ১৯১২ সালে গ্লাসগো বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থেকে তিনি 'Royal Faculty of Science and Physicians and surgeons'- এর ডিপ্লোমা পান। তিনি ছিলেন প্রথম ভারতীয় মহিলা , যিনি এই সম্মান লাভ করেছিলেন। তিনি ব্রিটেন ও বার্লিনের বিভিন্ন চিকিৎসা বিভাগে দীর্ঘদিন কাজ করেছেন এবং চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্রে ব্যবহৃত উন্নত যন্ত্রপাতি সম্পর্কে জ্ঞানলাভ করেছেন। এরপরে তিনি 'London school of tropical Medicine থেকে সার্টিফিকেট পান। এই সর্টিফিকেটের দ্বারা তিনি কেম্ব্রিজে অধ্যয়ন করার সুযোগ পান। অবশেষে তিনি Public Health এর উপরে ডিপ্লোমা অর্জন করেন। ১৯২৪ সালে ভারতে প্রত্যাবর্তন করেন বিবাহিত জীবন ও কর্মজগতের মধ্যে সমতা আনা কঠিন উপলব্ধি করে যামিনী সেন আজীবন বিবাহ করেননি (দেব ২০১০)।

• হৈমবতী সেন

কাদম্বিনীর ন্যায় হৈমবতী সেনও ব্রাহ্ম পরিবার থেকে এসেছিলেন। কিন্তু ব্রাহ্ম হওয়া সত্বেও হৈমবতীর স্বামী উদার মনোভাবাপন্ন ছিলেন না। তিনি কখনই স্ত্রীর স্বাধীনতা পছন্দ করতেন না। হৈমবতী সংসারের একমাত্র রোজগারের মাধ্যমে হওয়া সত্বেও পেশার প্রতি নিবেদিত প্রাণ হবার অপরাধে ও সাংসারিক কাজকে অবহেলার জন্য তার স্বামী তার ওপর দৈহিক ও মানসিক নির্যাতন করতেন। কিন্তু তাতেও হৈমবতী হার মানেননি। সফলভাবে তার পাঁচজন সন্তানকে লালন পালন করেছিলেন। তিনি নিজের গৃহে একটি অনাথ আশ্রম চালাতেন। এখানে তিনি দুস্থ মহিলা, শিশু ও বিধবাদের দেখাশুনা করতেন । আশ্রমের মেয়েরা হৈমবতীকে এত ভালবাসত যে তার গৃহকর্মগুলি তারা হাতে হাতে করে দিত (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)।

হৈমবতী সেনের কর্মজগত প্রসঙ্গে বলা যায় যে তিনি কলকাতা মেডিকেল স্কুল থেকে Vernacular Licentiate for Medicine and Surgery'— ডিগ্রীলাভ করেছিলান। তিনি হুগলী ডাফরিন হাসপাতালে প্রথম মহিলা চিকিৎসকরূপে যোগদান করেন। যেখানে তার সহকর্মী পুরুষ চিকিৎসক ও স্বাস্থ্যকর্মীরা অনবরত হেনস্থা করত। (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)। এই হাসপাতালের সহকারী শল্য চিকিৎসক ছিলেন ড. মুখার্জী হৈমবতী তার তত্ত্বাবধানে কাজ করতেন। তিনি নানাভাবে হৈমবতীকে শারীরিক ও মানসিক নির্যাতন করতেন। হৈমবতী তাকে বহুবার সতর্ক

করা সত্বেও তিনি হৈমবতীর বাড়িতে চর পর্যন্ত পাঠাতেন। একদিন ধৈর্যচ্যুত হয়ে এমন একজন চরকে হৈমবতী শারীরিক আক্রমণ করেছিলেন (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)।

হৈমবতী সেনের আত্মজীবনী থেকে তার সংগ্রামের এক মর্মান্তিক প্রতিচ্ছবি পাওয়া যায়। একবার ডঃ দয়াল সোম হৈমবতীকে তার সহকারী হিসেবে এক ইওরোপীয় রোগীর বাড়িতে নিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন। মেমসাহেবের প্রসব প্রক্রিয়া দীর্ঘ সময় যাবৎ চলেছিল। প্রসবের পরে ড: সোম পারিশ্রমিক রূপে এক হাজার টাকা পেয়েছিলেন। কিন্তু দুঃখের বিষয় তার মধ্যে থেকে তিনি হৈমবতীকে মাত্র পঞ্চাশ টাকা দিয়েছিলেন। তাদের সাথে যে প্রসব প্রক্রিয়ায় সহকারী মহিলা গিয়েছিলেন তার পারিশ্রমিকও হৈমবতীর থেকে বেশি ছিল। এই ঘটনা হৈমবতীকে যারপরনাই আঘাত করেছিল এবং নারীরূপে জন্মগ্রহণ করার জন্য তিনি দুঃখ প্রকাশ করেছেন (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)। আর একবার একটি এগারো বছরের বালিকা তার স্বামীর দ্বারা বলপূর্বক যৌন নির্যাতনের শিকার হয়েছিল। বালিকাটিকে যখন হাসপাতালে ভর্তি করা হয় তখন হৈমবতী হাসপাতালে কর্মরতা ছিলেন, প্রচুর রক্তক্ষরণের ফলে বালিকাটিকে বাঁচানো যায়নি। ওই হাসপাতালের চিকিৎসক তার রিপোর্টে লেখেন যে বালিকাটির বয়স চোদ্দ বছর ঋতুমতী হবার কালে তার স্ত্রীরোগজনিত সংক্রমণ হয় এবং তার ফলে বালিকাটির মৃত্যু হয়। হৈমবতী এই অন্যায় ঘটনাটির প্রত্যক্ষদর্শী ছিলেন বলে ওই চিকিৎসক তাকে ৫০০ টাকা দিয়ে তার মুখ বন্ধ রাখতে নির্দেশ দেন। এই ঘটনায় হৈমবতী খুব অপ্রতিভ ও ভীত হয়ে পড়েন (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)।

হৈমবতী আরও লেখেন যে একবার শহরে ভয়ানক কলেরার প্রাদুর্ভাব হল। প্রতিদিন পঞ্চাশ থেকে ষাট জন আক্রান্ত হাসপাতালে ভর্তি হতে থাকল। তাদের চিকিৎসা করতে করতে হৈমবতী নিজে কলেরায় আক্রান্ত হন। যে চিকিৎসক হৈমবতীর চিকিৎসা করছিলেন তিনি হৈমবতীর মেরুদন্ডে স্যালাইন দেবার পরামর্শ দেন। হৈমবতী সেই চিকিৎসা অগ্রাহ্য করে নিজেই নিজের চিকিৎসা করেন। তিনি মরফিয়া ইনজেকশন নিয়ে ধীরে ধীরে সুস্থ হয় ওঠেন। এই ঘটনা প্রমাণ করে যে বিদেশী ডিগ্রীধারী ডাক্তারদের তুলনায় হৈমবতীর অভিজ্ঞতা ও বুদ্ধিমত্তা কিছু কম ছিল না। শুধুমাত্র মহিলা হবার জন্য তার বুদ্ধিমত্তা কদর পায়নি (Forbes & Raychaudhuri, 2000)।

স্বামীর দ্বারা নির্যাতিত ও অত্যাচারিত হওয়া সত্বেও হৈমবতী তার গৃহকার্যকে কখনো অবহেলা করেননি। তার আত্মজীবনী থেকে জানা যায় যে প্রতিদিন ভোর চারটের সময় ঘুম থেকে উঠে তিনি স্বামী ও সন্তানদের জন্য জলখাবার প্রস্তুত করতেন। এরপর তার গৃহের একতলায় যে-কজন রুগী থাকত তাদের জন্যে গরমজল ও জলখাবার নিয়ে যেতেন। রুগীদের সেবা করে তিনি বাড়ি ফিরে আসতেন। সন্তানদের ঘুম থেকে তুলে তাদের প্রাতরাশ করাতেন। তারপর স্বামীর প্রাতরাশ গুছিয়ে রেখে তৈরী হয়ে হাসপাতালে যেতেন। (Forbes, 2000)। হাসপাতালে রুগীদের দেখার পরেও চুঁচুড়ার বিভিন্ন গৃহে তিনি রূগী দেখতে যেতেন। এত নির্যাতনের পরেও হৈমবতী তার কর্তব্যপরায়ণতাকে বিসর্জন দেননি, একদিকে সংসার ও অপরদিকে কর্মজীবন উভয়ের মধ্যে এত সুন্দর করে তিনি সমতা বজায় রেখেছেন যা প্রশংসার দাবি রাখে। তার অনমনীয় প্রত্যয় তাকে তার লক্ষ্যে উপনীত করতে সাহায্য করেছিল।

উপসংহার

উপরে উল্লিখিত তিনজন মহিলা চিকিৎসক বহু সামজিক প্রতিকূলতাকে উপেক্ষা করে তাদের লক্ষ্যে উপনীত হয়েছিলেন। যামিনী সেন বিবাহ করেননি। কিন্তু কাদম্বিনী গাঙ্গুলী ও হৈমবতী সেন সংসারী ছিলেন। পেশাগত কারণে দুজনের কেউই সাংসারিক দায়-দায়িত্বকে উপেক্ষা করেন নি। এখানেই এদের সাফল্য নিহিত আছে। এখানেই এই রমণীদের সাথে ইওরোপীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের জীবনযাত্রার পার্থক্য পরিলক্ষিত হয়। ইওরোপীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা হাসপাতাল গুলিতে দায়িত্বপূর্ণ পদগুলি গ্রহণ করতেন। তাদের অধীনে বহু সহকারী থাকত, যারা তাদের নানাভাবে সাহায্য করত এবং মেম ডাক্তারের আজ্ঞা পালন করার জন্য সর্বদাই সতর্ক থাকত। আর অপরদিকে ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের ভাগ্যে নিরন্তর মানসিক নির্যাতন, অবজ্ঞা ও অবহেলা জুটত। তাদের যোগ্যতা সম্পর্কে সকলের মনে সবসময় প্রশ্ন থাকত। নিজেদের ক্রমাগত প্রমাণ করতে করতে এরা ক্লান্ত হয়ে পড়েছিলেন। অনেক সময় তারা শারীরিক নির্যাতন ও যৌন আকাঙ্খারও শিকার হয়েছিলেন।

কিন্তু তাও তারা হার স্বীকার করেননি। তারা রুগীদের মন জয় করতে সক্ষম হয়েছিলেন। প্রথম দিকের মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা স্ত্রী ও শিশুদের চিকিৎসা, শল্য চিকিৎসা, দাঁতের চিকিৎসা সর্প দংশনের চিকিৎসা প্রভৃতি সব রোগেরই চিকিৎসা করতেন। তখনো স্ত্রী চিকিৎসকরা বিশেষজ্ঞ হতে পারেননি বা তাদের জন্য এই বিশেষ বিষয়গুলি উন্মুক্ত করা হয়নি। ধীরে ধীরে এদের সুনাম চারিদিকে ছড়িয়ে পড়ে। অন্তঃপুরবাসিনীরা দেশীয় মহিলা ডাক্তার পেয়ে অনেক স্বাচ্ছন্দ্যবোধ করে। তাদের কুণ্ঠা, ভয় দূর হয়। অনেক প্রসবকারিনী মা ও শিশু মৃত্যুর হাত থেকে রক্ষা পায়। অনেক মহিলাদের দূরারোগ্য ব্যাধি সারানো সম্ভব হয় । প্রথমদিকে হাসপাতালে হৈমবতীর রুগীর সংখ্যা ছিল বাৎসরিক ২৩০ জন । বাৎসরিক প্রায় ১৫০ জন রুগীকে তিনি গৃহে গিয়ে সেবা করতেন । ১৯০৫-০৬ সালের পরিসংখ্যান অনুযায়ী ড: সেন হাসপাতালে প্রায় ৪০০ রুগীর সেবা করতেন। বাইরের বিভিন্ন চিকিৎসালয়ে তার রুগীর সংখ্যা ছিল প্রায় ৬০০০। ঢাকা ও মনময়নসিংহ থেকে পাওয়া একটি পরিসংখ্যান অনুযায়ী মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা হাসপাতালের তুলনায় বাড়িতে প্রায় ১০ গুন বেশি রুগী দেখতেন। ১৯০৩ সালের লেডি ডাফরিন হাসপাতালের একটি তথ্য থেকে জানা যায় যে প্রায় ৩৯৯ জন পর্দানসীন মহিলাকে হাসপাতালে চিকিৎসা করা হয়েছিল। অপরদিকে প্রায় ৩৪৪ জন পর্দানসীনকে গৃহে চিকিৎসা করা হয়েছিল। এক্ষেত্রে ঘরের তুলনায় হাসপাতালের রুগীর সংখ্যা বেশি ছিল। এর থেকে ক্রম-পরিবর্তনশীল সমাজ ব্যবস্থার ইঙ্গিত পাওয়া যায়। (Bandyopadhyay, 2011)

একথা অনস্বীকার্য যে পাশ্চাত্য চিকিৎসাবিদ্যা ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকদের হাত ধরে অন্তঃপুরে পৌঁছেছিল। ভারতীয় মহিলা চিকিৎসকরা রুগীদের সাথে বন্ধুর মতো ব্যবহার করতেন, যার ফলে তাদের সঙ্কোচ দূর হয়। তারা জাতপাতের ভেদাভেদ করতেন না, অন্তঃপুরে তাদের অবাধ যাতায়াত ছিল। তাদের পারিশ্রমিক ইওরোপীয় চিকিৎসকদের থেকে অনেক কম ছিল। তাই সাধারণ মানুষ খুব সহজেই এদের পারিশ্রমিক বহন করতে পারতেন (দেব, ২০১০)। এইভাবে ভারতীয় সমাজে একটি নতুন অধ্যায়ের সূত্রপাত হয়। মহিলারা ঘরের চার দেওয়ালের বাইরে এসে নতুন পৃথিবীকে দেখলেন এবং চিকিৎসার মতো একটি মহান পেশাকে গ্রহণ করলেন। যদিও এদের সংখ্যা খুবই নগণ্য ছিল, কিন্তু এই কতিপয় নারীর তেজস্বী পদক্ষেপ চিরাচরিত সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় একটা আমূল পরিবর্তন ঘটাতে সক্ষম হয়েছিল।

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Health and Nutritional status of working slum women residing on natural lavee of the River Hugli in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation, Hugli, West Bengal

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Abstract:

Slum women never reach the ultimate growth potential due to nutritional deprivation. The urban slum women, particular among the lower income group with body mass index below or above the normal level would have a higher risk. The present paper explains the interrelationship between Body Mass Index and other socio-economic as well as demographic variables of women slum dwellers residing on natural lavee of the river Hugli in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation in Hugli District, West Bengal. It also scrutinizes the differences between working and non-working slum women in various aspects, such as age, income group, education level, food habits etc. A cross -sectional study was conducted between December, 2019 to February, 2020 and purposive sampling technique was applied to select the target population. The information is linkable to the 48 working and 52 non-working slum women aged between 15-49 of eleven slums. The results showed that the working women were significantly differed from the non-working women in case of education, family income and some food products consumed by them. Their BMI was significantly related their age, working hour and number of meal intake. This has direct bearing on the deficiency of protein consumption of slum women irrespective of their working pattern, in so far as women income and family income is concerned.

Key words: *Body Mass Index, dietary habits, obesity, recommended Dietary Allowances, underweight*

Introduction:

Slum is a highly populated residential area consisting mostly of closely packed, decrepit housing units in a situation of deteriorated infrastructure including inadequate safe drinking water, poor sanitation, poor drainage with open sewer, uncollected rubbish and poor street lighting and inhabited primarily by impoverished persons with informal occupation. In the United Nations

Program on Human Settlements (UN-HABITAT, 2002), 'slum' was defined as "a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city". In India more than 1.3 crore urban slum households are recorded across the nation (Census of India, 2011). Large scale migration from rural to urban (towns and cities) sector for possible better life is responsible for rapid expansion of slums. The relationship among crowding, poverty and poor health is the driving mechanism of a slum in particular (Nolan, 2016). The slum dwellers are not aware about their nutritional status and thus they are deprived of good physical health. 'Nutrition' may be defined as "the sum of all processes involved in how organisms obtain nutrients, metabolize them, and use them to support all of life's processes" (Zimmerman & Snow,). It is manifested in biological, physiological and immunological aspects. The health status of a particular woman depends upon two basic concepts. The woman should consume adequate amount of food and beverage at particular interval. On the other hand, her body should absorb maximum portion of nutrients from the food she consumed. But in most of the cases, slum dwellers, especially women have poor health and nutritional status.

Slum people are engaged in various types of economic activities to sustain life. Slum dwellers, especially the women folk are not aware about their food habits and practices (Yadav & Krishnan, 2008). As they are belonged to low income group (LIG), have to earn for their children and family. In most of the cases, they are associated with marginal economic activities, such as, house maid, cook, small shop owners, casual labourers etc. Working slum women have double burden of fulfilling the family's need and also performing well in their workplace. Often, they skip their diet due to maintain the balance between the two aspects of their life. Inadequate supply of food is another reason behind their habit of skipping meal which lead them towards malnutrition. Hungers as well as malnutrition among the slum women were common scenario in almost every slum in India (Swaminathan & Mukherjee, 2012). The calories intake by them should be up to the mark as recommended by Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR). The nutritional status of a slum women depends on '*food habits'* as well as '*food practice'*. The first one is referred as the variety of vegetables, fruits, animal protein etc that are included in their regular diet. How many times they eat in twenty four hours are also associated with the eating habits. Food practice is the preparation techniques that applied by the slum women during their cooking. It is important to be concern about cleaning properly the food items brought from market. The procedure of preparing the meal must ensure that all nutrients or food values remain in the dish.

The nutritional status of the slum women plays the key role in association with Body Mass Index (BMI), anaemic tendency, reproductive outcome (Bentley & Griffith, 2003). Normal BMI refers to the balance condition between height and weight. Obesity is a preventable risk factor for chronic diseases and underweight is associated with poor physical capacity, reduced economic productivity, increased mortality and poor reproductive outcome. In India, 52 per cent women are anaemic in nature (National Family Health Survey [NFHS], 2018). Underweight and obesity are the major public health challenges in urban slum of India. Indian urban slum women were suffering from increasing BMI due to diabetic tendency and their sedentary lifestyle (Patel & Deonanda, 2017). Being the member of low-income group, the slum women are imposed to face double obstacles of

poor socio-economic structure with little or no education (Bansode, 2007). The disparities in women's nutrition status were primarily related to women's access to resource and income, including better diets and access to health care, regardless of whether they were belonged to working or non-working group (Chatterjee, 2008)**.**

The present study concentrates on the health and nutritional status of working and non-working slum women residing on natural lavee of the river Hugli in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation. Chandernagore, the former French colony, carries the legacy of French culture in its social structure, education system, cultural practice, roads pattern joining perpendicular with each other and so on. But *'pull factor*' of migration attracts the poor people from neighbourhood to settle down in this urban place. Thus, in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation, the slum population was rapidly increasing due to migration of the rural poor from villages of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa as well as from Calcutta Metropolitan region. Rural to urban and urban to semi-urban migration were eventuated in search of a possible better and affordable life. If there were any the possibilities of the impact of demographic structure upon the health condition of slum women was taken into account in this study. Chandernagore Municipal Corporation provided pure drinking water, metalled road, electricity, garbage cleaning at regular basis and other urban facilities but poverty, low literacy rate, lack of awareness, unhygienic surroundings were responsible for the unwell condition of these slum women. The river Hughi is flowing along the eastern part of CMC. The river has formed natural lavee on which slums are spread over as the migrated people occupied the vacant land (*Khas Jomi*) since pre-independence era. The area up to 900 metre from the water level was inundated in 1978, 2000 and so on during monsoon. Thus, the permanent residents were not willing to build up their houses on this natural lavee. People from Bangladesh came and settled down in this region during partition of Bengal (1947) and *Bhasa Andolan* (1971) and thus the slums spread over the natural levee. The women from Bihar and Jharkhand were seasonally migrated to the brick kilns in this region and engaged as marginal labourer.

The present study had tried to reveal the association of socio-economic and demographic variables with Body Mass Index of women slum dwellers. The slum women were segregated into two categories, such as, working women and non-working women. Non-working women were the house wives who are associated with house hold works and the adolescent girls who are basically continuing their studies. On the other hand, working women were mainly house maids, cooks, assistants in catering services, small business women etc. The authors tried to compare most of the possible variables associated with the health and nutritional status of working and non-working slum women.

Literature review:

Desai et Al. (1980) were associated with a collaborative study about food habit and health status of migrant workers in peri-urban (favelas) slums in Brazil. They revealed the fact that their rice and bean based traditional diet was nutritionally inadequate for pregnant and lactating slum women. Anthropometric examination indicated their poor nutritional status or malnutrition which adversely affected their capacity for physical work as well as their overall health status. Bentley and Griffiths (2003) opined that the disparities in women's nutrition status were primarily related to women's

access to resource and income, including better diets and access to health care, regardless of whether they lived in rural or urban areas. Chatterjee (2008) stated "In our society…there is a section that can't even afford to fill their stomach with sufficient amount of bread and rice only. As a result, often they feel hungry". A very high proportion of urban, urban slum and rural populations in Haryana reported inadequate intake of fruits and vegetables which influenced their physical activities by Yadav and Krishnan (2008). Khan & Kraemer (2008) extracted the secondary data from Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) conducted in 2004 and compared the health status of slum and non-slum women. They reported that education and access to media were the key factors for poorer health status including low mean BMI among the women residing in slums as well as non-slums regions. Lizmitha Godwin (2010) stated that negative deviation was reported in case of body weight with chronic energy deficiency among half of the respondents. He explained that the low level of their nutritional profile was subjected to the variables, such as unemployment, education level up to high school, monthly family income less than Rs. 3000 and low standard of living. Swaminathan and Mukherjee (2012) have established three nutrition status models (undernutrition, normal, overnutrition) using multinomial regression framework by which they explained that living in a census slum did not affect the nutritional status. James et al. (1988) used three cut-off points (18.5, 17.0 and 16.0) of Body Mass Index to analyse the relationship between BMI and chronic energy deficiency among the groups of African adults. Arthur et Al. (2015) were associated with the research conducted by the International Network for the Demographic Evaluation of Populations and their Health (INDEPTH) over a period of time of fifteen years on malnutrition in low and middle-income countries (LMICs). They found among the rural women in Bangladesh that highest body mass index (BMI) had a higher mortality risk than the women with intermediate BMI. They addressed those women suffering from chronic energy deficiency due to insufficient food intake in Purworejo in Java, Indonesia monitoring by Health and Demographic Surveillance Systems (HDSSs). They concluded that nutrition programmes should be implemented to give knowledge about proper dietary habits comprised of healthy natural foods and provide useful nutrition advice and treatments by trained health workers. Patel & Deonanda (2017) analysed the NFHS data (2005-06), especially focused on tribal status accompanied with other variables including demographic and behavioural factors. They came into decision that frequency of watching television, wealth index, age, suffering from diabetes, residential status was positively and significantly related with increasing BMI. In slums of Nairobi, the BMI value is high among men due to more bread consumption and among women due to sedentary lifestyle (Asiki et Al. 2018)). Zenk et Al. (2018) conducted longitudinal community survey on two ethnic groups (Blacks, Hispanics) and women in Detroit, Michigan using two sets of data (2002, 2008). They examined the association between BMI and availability of retail food outlets based on GIS data. They mentioned that neighbourhood food environment, especially availability of small grocery stores was positively associated with healthier BMI maintained by the people belonging from low to moderate income group over time. Patel and Deonandan (2018) explained that age, diabetes and sedentary lifestyle are associated with increasing BMI in slum women in India. Hakizimana et Al. (2019) came to the conclusion that public health intervention should consider the anaemic risk with geographical disparities. They analysed the data from Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey

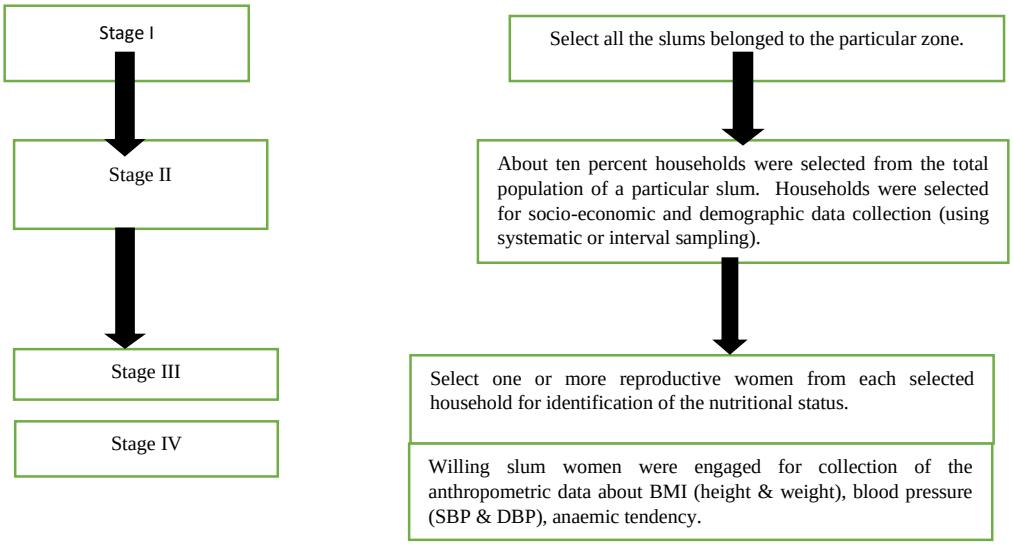
(RDHS) of the time period 2014-2015. They suggested that the economic status of women should be strengthened and iron supplementation should be regularised to reduce the risk of malaria. Joshi et Al., (2019) found that food insecurity which was caused by unemployment, low education, poverty, unstable housing, family relationship, was one of the key factors of low BMI and poor health.

Study Area:

The study concentrated on Chandernagore Municipal Corporation 22°52'12.00" N and 88° 22' 48.00"E with a total area of 19 square Km. It situated at an elevation of 9 metres above mean sea level. This is essentially a part of alluvial plain of the river Hugli. The study area was spread over the wards, no. four, five, six, eleven, twelve, seventeen which had eleven slums, namely, Kundughat, Sarkarpara Munsighat, Beltala colony, Kanai Sarkar Ghat, Surighat, Kanai Sarkar Ghat, Nichupati Dhankal Ghat, Kothi ghat, Chuna Gali, Sukhdev singh Road, Chalka Para Surki Gola [Fig no:1].

Methodology:

The slums were selected on the basis of their geographical situation of the natural lavee of the river Hugli. Systematic or interval sampling was used to select the household. The anthropometric data presented in this report were obtained from the cross- sectional survey conducted for a study on health and nutritional status of working women of eleven slums residing on natural lavee of the river Hugli in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation. The investigators approached one hundred and twelve working women. The sample size (more than 10%) was determined on the basis of total household of each slum. The investigators depended on the "SUDA List" (Slum and Urban Development Authority) prepared by Urban Development Department of CMC in 2016 for getting the total number of households. Primary data collection followed the following stages:



The survey included three components,

a) Information on socio-economic and demographic parameters including age, income, occupational structure, education, religion, caste.

b) Level of nutrition including food habits and practice.

c) Measurement of height and weight to calculate Body Mass Index (BMI).

The digital weight machine was kept on the flat surface and the subjects were requested to step on the scale in bare feet without holding on to anything. The weight was recorded to the nearest Kg. Height was measured in cm using measure tape. Socio -economic information were collected from sample survey through a structured questionnaire. Monitoring of nutritional status of twenty-four hours of slum women through the collection of anthropometric data was a simple approach.

The Body Mass Index (BMI) is a useful index of relative weight that can be applied to identify obesity and under-weight. It is calculated by using the following formula:

$$\textbf{Body Mass Index } (\boldsymbol{BMI}) = \frac{\boldsymbol{Weight\ (Kg)}}{\boldsymbol{Height\ (metre)^2}}$$

Following to classification of World Health Organisation (WHO), the subjects were classified into the categories of thinness or overweight. Overweight is defined as

(A) Grade 1 overweight (BMI = 25.00-29.99 Kg/m²),

(B) Grade 2 overweight (BMI =30.00-39.00 Kg/m²),

(C) Grade 3 overweight (BMI≥40.00 Kg/m²).

On the other hand, thinness is defined as

(D) Grade 1 mild thinness (BMI=17.00-18.49 Kg/m²),

(E) Grade 2 moderate thinness (BMI=16-16.99Kg/m²),

(F) Grade 3 severe thinness (BMI=>16Kg/m²).

The normal BMI ranges from 18.50- 24.99 Kg/m². The data was analysed by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version 18.0) for Windows10. The descriptive statistics were done for the analysis of socio-economic variables and were expressed as Mean ± Standard Deviation. The researchers also applied Chi-square test to determine the influence of nine variables upon BMI.

Objectives

The study deals with the various aspects of health and nutritional condition of working women of the slums on the natural levee of the river Hugli of Chandernagore Municipal Corporation. The main objectives are as follows:

1.To enumerate the diversities of nutritional status of the working slum women of undocumented squatters.

2. To identify the present health status of working women slum dweller through calculating BMI.

Results and discussion

1. Socio-economic background of working and non-working slum women:

The current study was conducted to appraise the health and nutritional status of working slum women and to explore the influence of the living environment on the health parameters. The collected data was analysed and the results were discussed under the following heads:

1.1 Family size: In India, three among the five households were nuclear comprised of a married couple living with one or two children and it was found higher in urban than rural areas. CMC slums revealed the same story. About fifty-eight percent families of working women were nuclear and forty-two percent working women lived in joint families. Families coming from Bihar or Jharkhand preferred to live together because of their community togetherness. Thus, Kundughat, Sukhdev Singh Road and Chalka Para Surki Gola had more joint families than other slums on the natural levee.

1.2 Religion and community: Most working slum women (96%) were Hindus followed by Muslims (four percent). Muslim women were found mostly in Kothighat and Chuna Gali in ward no eleven. Hindus were segregated into general (forty-one per cent) and rest of them were Schedule Caste, Schedule Tribe and Other Backward Community.

1.3 Age composition: Working women below eighteen were less in number (six per cent). They were larger (thirty-nine per cent) in number within the age group of eighteen to thirty, followed by thirty-one to forty [Fig no. 2]. Close to eighteen per cent of working women aged above forty had to continue their job due to poor economic condition and they were sole earning member in their family in most cases. The mean age of working women was 30.60 and ± 9.21 SD [Table no. 1].

1.4 Marital status: Most (eighty-eight per cent) of the working women were married and most of them (seventy-nine per cent) became married before age of eighteen. Women who stayed as single, continued their study in comparison to married women.

1.5 Educational background: The portion of literate working women was twenty- three of total working women. Maximum working women had to leave their study after class eight to the tune of thirty- seven per cent. Rather non-working women got the opportunity to continue their study [Fig. no 3]. Mean education level of working women was 2.5 (class four) and ±1.54 SD [Table no.1].

1.6 Occupational Status: All of 112 slum women were unskilled workers. Most of them (thirty - five per cent) were maidservants, followed by the cook (twenty- nine per cent). Some slum women were engaged in catering service, which was seasonal. In the bridal season, they get the job for fifteen days on average. A few working women had a small business, such as selling fish and vegetables, making puffed rice, *fuchka, papad, masala* powder etc. More than twenty-seven per cent of slum women were associated with other marginal works, such as wire making, "*Rakhi*"

making, sewing innerwear etc [Fig. no 4]. In the Kundughat slum area, some married women migrated from Bihar and Jharkhand, were associated with brick making and unmarried women were engaged with loading and unloading bricks from '*Itbhata*' (TBS brickfield in ward no four and Nalini brickfield in ward number five) to the construction site. Low income was a compelling factor for the woman folk to adjust with these petty jobs in unorganised sectors.

1.7 Income profile: As most working women (thirty-eight percent) were associated with various marginal works, they received fifty rupees to hundred rupees per day. Housemaids get Rs.2500 to Rs.3000 per month serving three to four households [Fig no. 5]. Some of them had experienced cutting salary due to their absence. In Sukhdev Singh Road slum, women helped their husbands make '*phuchka*' or papad, but they didn't get any remuneration. Females of Kanai Sarkar Ghat and Surighat sold fish and vegetables to make some profit which amounts to Rs.300 and above per day on an average. Migrated women residing in Kundughat slum, used to receive Rs.10,000 from the brickfield owners for a contract of six months. This advance money was locally known as '*Gadan*'. During this period, they had to satisfy their masters working in the brickfield.

In most cases, they became slaves and were compelled to work for twelve to fourteen hours per day. Mean income was 2.12, that means below Rs 100 and ±1.04 SD whereas the CV (Coefficient of Variance) value was 49.14, which indicated that the data was heterogeneous in character. The mean family income of working women was Rs 295 and ±172.53 SD. The mean value of family income of non-working women was Rs 154 and ±93.85 SD [Table no. 1].

2. Nutritional and health status of working slum women:

2.1 Frequency of consumption of food:

Working slum women consumed rice, dal, green leafy and other vegetables on a daily basis. They used oil and spices to prepare their food. About seventy- nine per cent working women included roti in their diet. Only ten per cent of working women had milk regularly. In Kothi Ghat slum, Muslim women took seasonal fruits like, banana, guava, apple, papaya etc in their diet.

About eighty- five per cent working women included eggs twice or thrice per week on an average because the egg was pocket friendly to this economically weaker section. People who were associated with fishing or fish selling had fish items regularly on their thalis. They usually ate small fresh fishes of local water bodies. Otherwise, fish was a weekly menu of other families. As chicken and mutton's price was high, these proteins rich food were very rare in the diet of slum women. Only twenty per cent working women rarely had meat in a month [Fig no. 6].

2.2 Mean food intake: Every slum woman should consume a balanced diet daily to meet all her daily life requirements to sustain. ***"The Recommended Dietary Allowances (RDA) are the levels of intake of the essential nutrients that are judged to be adequate or sufficient to meet the nutrient requirement of nearly all (97 to 98 per cent) healthy individuals in a particular life stage and gender group" (ICMR 2004).***

Slum women of the natural levee in CMC did not consume a balanced diet as recommended by RDA. Inadequate representation of fruits and leafy vegetables in the daily diet was brought out in the present study. The average daily intake of food was assessed and compared with RDA. Only the intake of oil and fats exceeded RDA, but almost in all food items, slum women took an inadequate amount of food. Intake of pulses was slightly less than RDA [Table no. 2]. In the case of protein, intake was found to be meagre with respect to fish, meat and milk [Fig no. 7].

2.3 Food habits and practices: About ninety-eight families followed non-vegetarian food habits barring two families who were Brahmin migrated from Bihar and lived in Kundughat slum. Working women prefered those items which were easy to prepare rather than considering the freshness and seasonality of food items. Food selection was influenced by the number of socio-economic, cultural and spiritual factors. About fifty-six per cent working women took their meals thrice a day. It is forty-one per cent in having a meal twice a day [Table no.3]. Working women did not have their meals in due time as they were busy handling both professional and personal life.

Homemakers of most of the families used to clean the rice at least three times before cooking. But they did not wash all the vegetables properly before peeling or cutting them. As most of them belonged to poor economic condition, they had only one or two curries in their lunch or dinner. So, they tried to make the dish delicious by overcooking it using more oil and spices. About ninety-three per cent of the total household were habituated to overcook their foods. Almost forty-three per cent of households used regular salt in powder form, whereas fifty- seven per cent of families purchased packed iodised salt.

3. Body mass index:

Body mass index is considered the most suitable, objective anthropometric indicator of the adult's nutritional status and it was the most widely used method to gauge obesity (Shetty, 2011). The Body Mass Index (BMI, weight in Kg/height in square metre) is a useful index of relative weight applied to identify obesity and under-weight. According to the WHO classification, the subjects were classified into the categories of thinness or overweight. Overweight is classified into (A) Grade 1 overweight (BMI = 25.00-29.99 Kg/m^2), (B) Grade 2 overweight (BMI =30.00-39.00 Kg/m^2), (C) Grade 3 overweight (BMI$\geq$40.00 Kg/m^2). On the other hand, thinness is defined as (D) Grade 1 mild thinness (BMI=17.00-18.49 Kg/m^2), (E) Grade 2 moderate thinness (BMI=16-16.99Kg/m^2), (F) Grade 3 severe thinness (BMI=>16Kg/m^2). Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation) were calculated for the total survey population and by age, education, income. All cases of missing data on income, education, BMI etc. were excluded. But there were three main categories, such as, underweight (<17.49 Kg/m^2), normal (17.50-24.99 Kg/m^2) and over-weight (>25.00 Kg/m^2). 73% of working women had normal BMI. Overweight and obesity were found to increase with age.

But sample analysis indicated that age had no binding on BMI status of women residing in slums of CMC. It was alarming that twenty- seven per cent of working women were facing the problems of obesity. Ten percent of working women including adolescent girls belonged to the category of underweight [Fig no. 8].

The investigators selected 18 variables to represent the socio-economic and nutritional status of working slum women residing on the river Hugli's natural levee in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation. Chi-square Test examined the association of BMI with other socio-economic and demographic variables. The correlation was significant at the 0.05 level. Age was the influencing factors in case of BMI rate of slum women (P= 0). The working hour period was established in working women as the influencing variable (P =0.008) with BMI. Number of meals taken by women was significantly related to BMI as its P value was 0.004, which was lower than 0.05. The calorie intake of slum women was not significantly poorer with their BMI, but its chi square value (p =0.099) was very close to its significance level [Table no. 4]. It was also the same scenario in the case of family income. The working women were deprived of education as they were forced to the labour market due to poverty before becoming adult. Skipping a meal is one of the reasons of ill health. Working women had to perform all the scheduled work, both professional and house activities. Sometimes it was quite impossible to manage to have a meal properly.

Conclusions and Recommendation:

The slums spread over the river Hugli's natural levee in Chandernagore Municipal Corporation were inhabited by the people of low- income group. Almost half of the women population having only primary education were associated with marginalised economic activities. In slums, poverty dragged out the women and forced them to join the labour market to sustain their family. The working women were too poor to spend money on protein-rich food products. They were dependent on rice, dal and potato throughout the year. Those families who belonged to the fishing community had fish in their meal. The fishes that were not sold in the market came back with the fisherman to their kitchen were added in lunch. The households having income at a comparatively satisfactory level were able to afford meat once or twice per month and it helped to compensate the protein deficit of their female members. Rest of women folk got the opportunity to be educated up to the upper primary level and engaged in household activities. Significant differences were not found between working and non-working slum women in consuming carbohydrates and vegetables as the staple food with the comparatively low market price. Residing at the river Hugli's left bank, a variety of fishes were available in the local market. Still, they could not afford it due to high market price except for the fishing community. The mean calorie intake of non-working women was greater than of working women. Skipping meal was quite natural in working women due to their overloaded work schedule. In so far as BMI was concerned, obesity was found with increasing age among both working and non-working group. It is alarming that thirty -one per cent of the non-working slum women and twenty- seven per cent of working slum women did not have normal BMI.

The socio-economic development is the priority for executing various slum and urban development plans by the State Government of West Bengal and the Government of India. The disparity and imbalance of literacy and education of women slum-dwellers should be minimized through more schooling provision by Chandernagore Municipal Corporation at a cheaper rate. The slum women should be provided skilled and unskilled jobs and loans for petty business to raise the economic status. Self-employment of the slum-poor women must be encouraged by an appropriate credit-support programme. Local administration should provide them more job options, skill enhancement

training, through Self Help Group that they can be capable of earning more to spend money for primary education, medical service, and purchasing of protein-rich food products and adding them in their regular diet.

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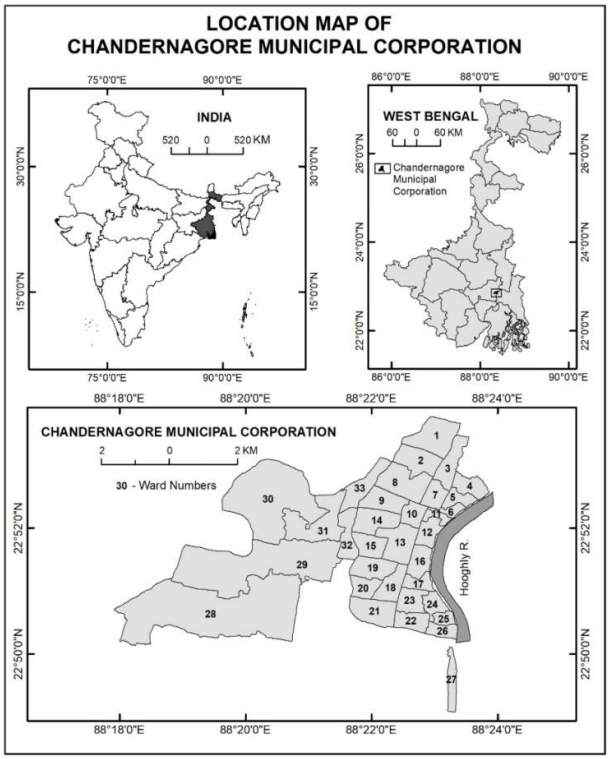


Fig. no 1: Study Area

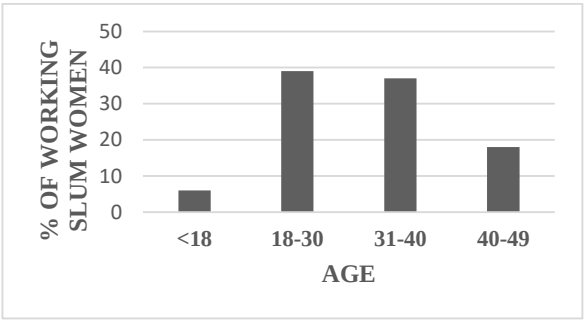


Fig. no 2: Age composition of working slum women.

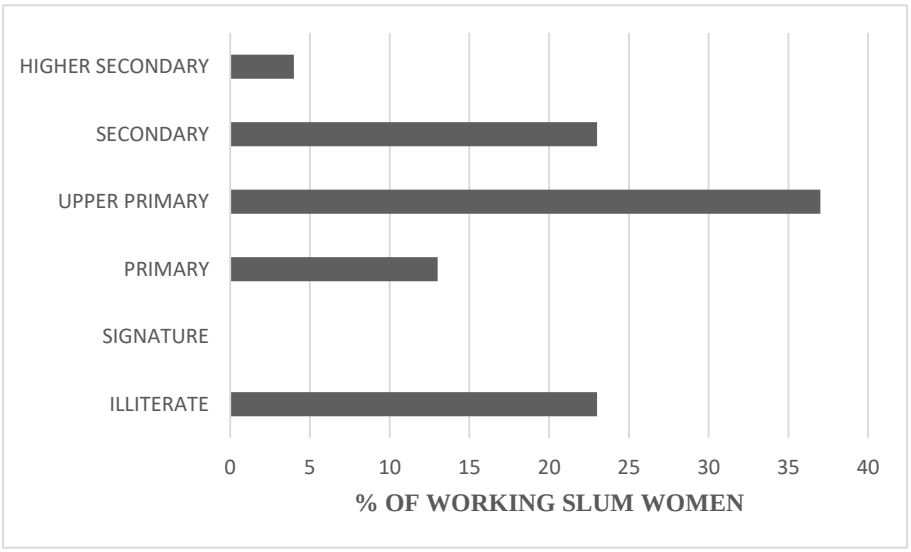


Fig no 3: Level of education of working slum women.

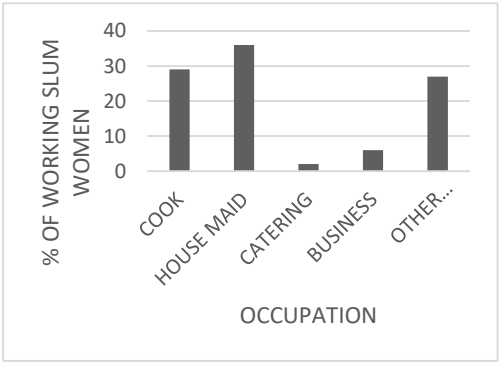


Fig no 4: Occupational Status.

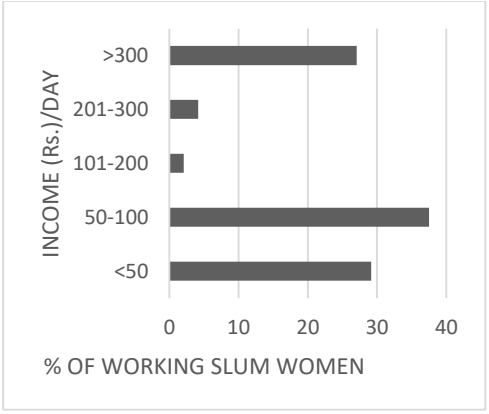


Fig no 5: Income (Rs.)/day of working slum women

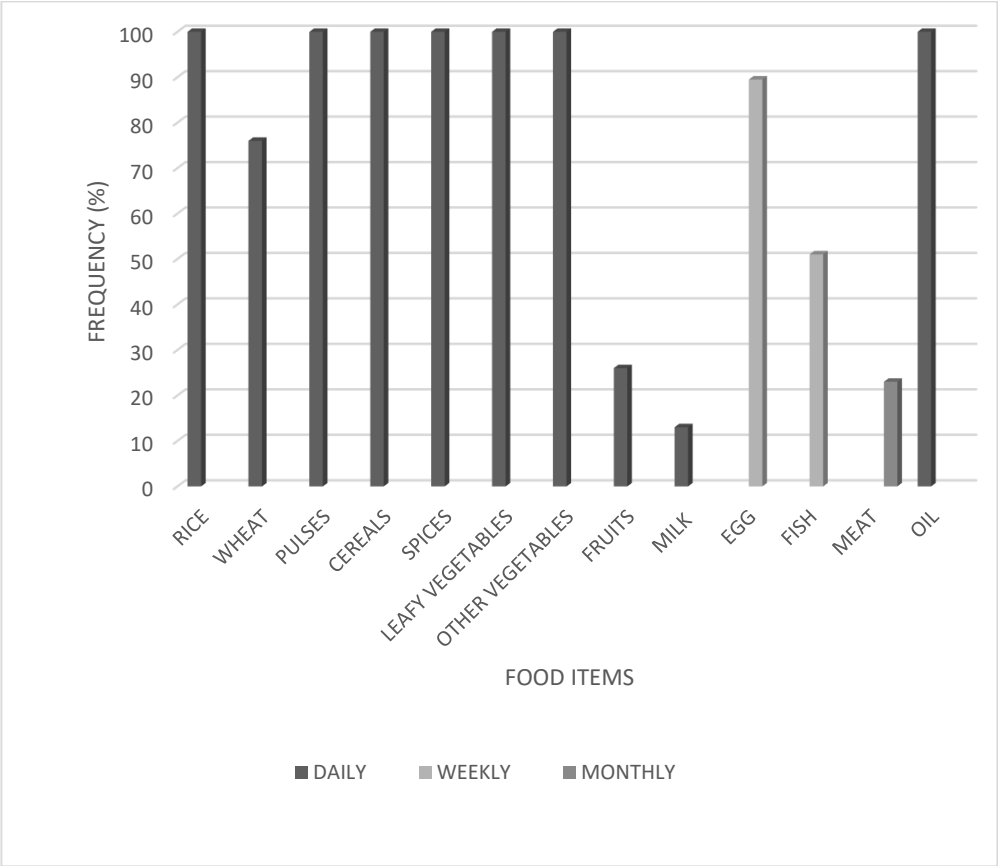


Fig no 6: Frequency of consumption of food

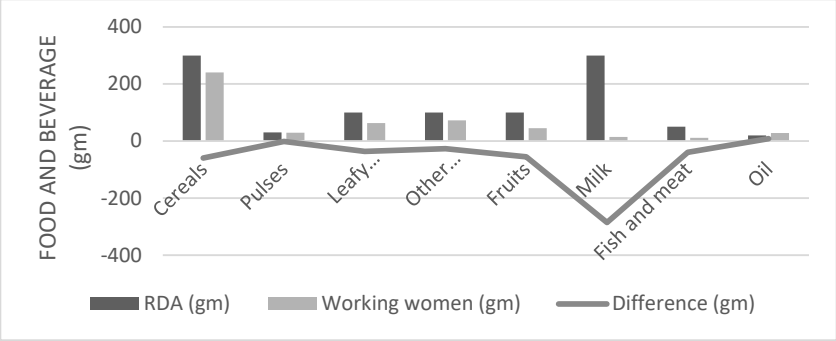


Fig no 7: Comparison of Mean Food Intake of working and non-working slum women with RDA.

Table no1: Socio-economic status of working slum women.

Variables	Mean	Standard Deviation	Coefficient of Variation
Age	30.6	9.21	30.1
Education	2.5	1.54	61.74
Income of women (Rs.)/day	2.12	1.04	49.14
Income of family (Rs.)/day	295.83	172.53	58.32

Source: Computed by Authors, 2019.

Table no 2: Comparison of Mean food intake with RDA (ICMR,2010)

Food items	RDA (gm)	Working women (gm)	Difference (gm)
Cereals	300	240.93	-59.07
Pulses	30	28.95	-1.05
Leafy vegetables	100	63.33	-36.67
Other vegetables	100	73.02	-26.98
Fruits	100	45.2	-54.8
Milk	300	14.58	-285.42
Fish and meat	50	11.1	-38.9
Oil	20	28.43	8.43

Source: Computed by Authors, 2019.

Table no 3: Food habits and practices

Variables	Sub Groups	Working women (%)	Mean
No of meal taken	One	2	2.60
	Two	1	
	Three	41	
	Four	56	
Nature of skipping meal	Always	4	0.81
	Sometimes	73	
	Never	23	

Source: Computed by Authors, 2019

Table 4: The Test result of Chi-square of association between body mass index category and other variables.

Variables	X^2	*P*
Age category	2.535	0*
Education	5.336	0.388
Age of marriage	3.907	0.278
Family Income/ Day	6.491	0.081
Working Status	90.785	0.104
Income of women/Day	4.113	0.095
Working hour/day	4.447	0.008*
No of meal	2.862	0.004*
Calorie intake/Day	1.726	0.099

*significance at 0.05

Source: Computed by Authors.

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Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Education in British India: A Historical Perspective

Malika Basu (Ghosh)

Abstract

Indian Civilization is undoubtedly one of the oldest civilizations in the world. The noteworthy role of Indian civilization is being revealed in medical science also. In this context, it is worth mentioning that introduction of western medicine and its allied pharmacy and pharmaceutical education in colonial India has nowadays become a rapidly expanding subject of research concern. Against such a backdrop, the present paper hopes to investigate the beginning of medico pharmaceutical profession and parallelly the beginning of pharmaceutical education in different Presidencies of British India in a condensed and unwavering manner. Both primary and secondary sources have been used for the present study. Finally, the paper reveals that the institutionalization of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education also acted as a vital agent to accept western medicine more convincingly

Keywords: *Pharmacy, Pharmaceutical, Education, Colonial, Medical, India*

Introduction

In this era of the 21st century, both pharmacy and pharmaceutical education occupy a significant space so far as medical education is concerned. In life and civilization, the pharmaceutical industry stands synonymous with human existence. It is one of the fastest-growing segments of the global economy and the world's largest developing industry. The present paper tried to chronicle the historical introduction of this discipline from the first half of the seventeenth century to mid-twentieth century.

Since later half of the nineteenth century, colonial India witnessed a significant change with new knowledge and experiments in the history of medical discourse in British India (Majumdar, 2018).The rise of western medicine was completely based on a different understanding of the body. The Imperial government was mainly concerned with the health concern of their European military personnel due to pervasiveness of dissimilar epidemic diseases. The emergences of medical education in colonial India mostly focus colonial medical policy as 'enclavist'. British had to take such type of medical policies to combat the tropical environment. In such a consequence, all related medical education policies aim to provide scientific medical facilities, proper hygienic atmosphere to the military personnel and civil population (Ramana, 2002). Initially, medical education facilities were restricted in urban areas only and the rural populace was neglected (Palit and Dutta, 2011).

But the gradual necessity and need to serve more population, medical education facilities rapidly spread throughout India.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that medical education was made essential in all Indian provinces under colonial domination. Two major reasons drove them to introduce 'western medicine' on a massive scale on the Indian sub-continent. First, the then India was are servoir of different epidemics and the only prevailing system of medicine was Ayurveda, which could not prevent death because of epidemics. Because of prophylactic effects of western medicine, quick recovery easily saved the population from epidemics. Second, the vast population and domestic necessity raised the commercial viability of western medicine to a great extent. In such connectivity, it added the practice of pharmacy and related pharmaceutical education as an inextricable consequence. Keeping these two interwoven factors in mind, the business-minded imperial administrator successfully introduced western medicine in all provinces under their colonial domination. In such a way, the Eurocentric mentality of the colonizers introduced western medicine as a double edged word, which conjointly helped them to pave their scientific superiority more convincingly.

In British India to familiarize western medicine, pharmacy and pharmaceutical education was introduced which in the present era becomes a speedily intensifying subject of concern. Initially, it was only the concern of historians, but gradually the subject attracted scholars from arrange of disciplines. To theorize this introduction of western medical education, earlier historiography proposed varied theoretical propositions like 'imperial metro pole' and 'colonial periphery'. Here mention maybe made of the Three Staged Diffusionist Model of Anglo-American historian George Basalla (1967). He mentioned about the diffusion of science from the centre to the periphery cultures. Though this model was highly criticized by scholars despite this model, simply trying to depict the global transmission process. Later, Mac Leod (1982), Sangwan (1991), Krishna (1991), Raina (1999) and Chakrabarti (2004) attempted to explain this transmission in their way. Being a social historian, this transmission starts a different theoretical understanding forme. Since time immemorial, we see an accumulating body of knowledge to which India had made its contributions by its methods of investigations in different spheres of life including medical science also. It is Ayurveda which attests to ancient medical heritage also. As a system of medicine, it was very much person-specific and, for this reason, commercialization of medicine was not possible. Here, the colonial invasion not only created a congenial environment for introducing western medical science or western medicine, but also scientific nature made it more convincing and commercially viable. Instead of any diffusionist perspective, this kind of cultural consequence acted as an important mediator in the receiving of colonial medicine vis-à-vis pharmacy practice and pharmaceutical education in a more considered manner.

In such a wider canvas, the present paper attempts to understand the beginning of pharmaceutical education specifically in British India and to do so the present paper hopes to investigate the beginning of medico pharmaceutical professions in British India and parallelly the beginning of pharmaceutical education indifferent Presidencies of British India in a condensed and unwavering manner.

However, the present author attests the importance of both primary and secondary sources. The archival sources contributed immensely. Personal papers, diaries, letters of correspondence,

minutes of meetings, news paper articles, government reports, proceedings, micro-films etc. were very significant to realize the stand point with diverse implications. Now the present author endeavours to discuss the discourse of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education in British India comprehensively.

Beginning of Medico Pharmaceutical Professions in British India

Western medical education occupied an important position during the colonial era. It was a two-edgeds word that not only emphasized the fundamental differences between the two but also aims to establish a scientific hegemony. (Kumar, 1997).

Mills (1999) in his study on Lunatic Asylums of British India mentioned that colonialism and medical discourse were interwoven with each other. It is noteworthy to mention that the imperial power not only introduced the western system of medicine in British India but also familiarized pharmacy and pharmaceutical education to pave their scientific sovereignty for controlling he Indian populaced exterously. The cultural negotiation between the colonial system of medicine and our indigenous system was neither smooth nor seamless enough rather; it was a cultural collision between the two. Most times, our indigenous system tried to accommodate the western hegemony, but they suppress edit with their supremacy. In India, western medicine was first introduced by the Portuguese in the 16th century. East India Company's medical officers took western medicine with them in 1600. Initially, East India Company established medical departments for the treatment of their soldiers and personnel. Basically, Indian Medical Service (IMS) was a military service. During two World War periods it provided medical officers (both British and Indian) with the Indian Army and remained operative till independence. Hospital board was formed by them in each presidency in 1775.This board included Surgeon, Physician and Commander-in-Chief of the British Indian Army. To provide medical care to the British personnel (both civilians and military) medical departments were established in three presidencies of British India, namely Bengal, Bombay and Madras in1785. In spite of several initiatives, a paradigm shift thus occurred after the 1857 rebellion. Several medical services were formed like Central and Provincial Medical Services, Subordinate Medical Services etc. The basic intention was to provide medical services and improved public health care.In1759, a hospital was built in Panelim. The first medical school in South East Asia was Escola Medica-Cirurgicade Nova Goa in 1842, in Panaji. Initially, it was started in 1801 and persists as the Goa Medical College. In Pondicherry, the French established the L'Hopital Militaire in 1690 and L'Écolede Médicinede Pondichery in 1823. In such a way, introducing the western medical system drastically altered health care practice in colonial India (Chukerbutty, 1864).

Therefore, for a concise and exhaustive understanding of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education in British India, the discussion first tries to cover the whole gamut of medico-pharmaceutical professions and then highlights the discourse of pharmaceutical education in different presidencies of British India. The author hopes to assume that such elaborative discussions will positively able to explore a comprehensive understanding of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education in British India in its entirety.

Medico Pharmaceutical Professions

Apothecaries

The term 'Apothecary' is derived from the Latin word 'apothecia,' which described a place where medicines and herbs were stored. However, the term 'apothecary' borrowed from Britain, where the apothecary profession developed a little differently (Matthews, 1962). Originally, the term 'Apotheke' or 'apotheca' mean tastore house. Apothecaries studied medicinal formulas, the rapeutic compounds, and even practised surgeries and diagnosed diseases. Apothecary shops were laboratories and dispensaries. The apothecary shops that developed into today's modern pharmacy, however, have their roots in Europe around the thirteenth century. During nineteenth century, the assistant surgeons trained apothecary and hospital assistants in compounding and dressing, besides their tuition in elementary medical science. In earlier times in England, drugs formed a part of commodities known as 'spicery'. In the mid-thirteenth century, 'apothecary' acquired a pharmaceutical meaning. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, it formed a distinct section of the Grocers' Company. In 1617, the apothecaries severed relations with the Grocers' Company and gradually formed the 'Society of Apothecaries (Trease, 1964). Apothecaries achieved some recognition as medico-pharmaceutical practitioners in the early part of the eighteenth century. However, the chemists and druggists were distinguished from the apothecary through practice of medicine. Apothecaries Act was passed in1815. The act not only controlled the practice of apothecaries but also helped the apothecarist to get an intermediary status between a chemist and a doctor (Poynter, 1965). This Act provided firm ethics, regulator for practice by the apothecaries and impetus to specialize in the practice of medicine. An active interest in pharmacy was taken by the Society of Apothecaries. The society offered a Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (LMS) which is also a registrable qualification and further it also held an examination for Assistants in Dispensing (Matthews, 1980).

In1825, a modification was made to the Apothecaries Act which allowed apothecaries to practice as apothecaries without any examination by the Society of Apothecaries (Matthews, 1962). Madras Medical College (MMC) admitted five candidates for the grade of a native apothecary in 1847. Madras Medical College is the oldest medical college in India. It was instituted after Ecolede Medicinede Pondicherry and Calcutta Medical College [1] on 2nd February 1835 (Annual Report of Madras Medical College, 1873-4). Three of them passed out in the year 1852. In1873, the natives were disqualified admission to the ranking of the apothecary. Regarding official status, right from the beginning, a feeling of inferiority had crept in among the apothecaries. In early 1850s, a society was formed by the apothecaries, which in1864, renamed as the Madras Apothecaries' Society which provided prospects to the apothecaries for skilled improvement and systematic study (Madras ApothecarySociety, 1865). Being a trainee in the apothecary class, their major duty was to serve European troops, hospitals, and depots (Subordinate Medical Department of India, 1868). Medical records thus reveal the skill enhancement of the apothecaries for the army hospitals. Here mention can be made of the context which published in the *Journal of Medical Profession in India*, 1877.

"……. A European boy between the age of fourteen and eighteen could take admission in a hospital of the British regiment to work as a hospital apprentice for two years. After successful

completion in an examination about the elements of anatomy, medicine and surgery, and more particularly in the preparation and doses of medicine, the boy was sent to the Medical College in Calcutta for three years. On completion of this term, he became an assistant apothecary and, after passing, moved up to become a first-class apothecary. In every hospital of the British troop, there was one apothecary, one assistant apothecary, and two or more hospital apprentices. An apothecary was in control of medicine and medical gadgets. He could make medicine as well as supervise the native compounder while he was making them (Medical Profession in India, 1877)."

However, any apothecaries styling himself as compounder, was not allowed. Ultimately in1894, the designation changed from Army Apothecaries to Assistant Surgeons (Indian Medical Record, 1894). Only the Madras Presidency organised the Civil Apothecary class which in 1875, it acquired the place of military apothecaries at Civil Stations (Medical Reporter, 1895). It was five years course. During first two years training was conducted at Civil Dispensary and then the rest three years were spent at the Madras Medical College including a periodical examination (Maclean, 1885). For gaining more popularity, the qualification at the entry-level was open even to matriculate. There was a similarity of this training with the training of the students of L.M.S. (Licentiate Medical Service). Here it should be mentioned that the Government took the financial responsibilities of the civil apothecaries while the L.M.S students borne their own cost. However, L.M.S students were recruited since 1883 (Medical Reporter, 1895). From 1895 onwards, civil apothecaries became the in charge of both hospitals and interior dispensaries. In spite of their sufficient qualifications, they were deprived both in designation and salaries which changed later on (Indian Lancet, 1901).Ultimately, in1904, those apothecaries who were possessing L.M.S qualifications were shifted to the Civil Assistant Surgeons (Rao,1929).

Hospital Assistants

The term 'hospital assistant' was considered being too vague. It also refers to a compounder or a ward boy. Initially, they were designated as 'dressers. Before the establishment of the Madras Medical College (initially Madras Medical School), they trained dressers at General Hospital, Madras, who assisted the East India Company regiments (Sibthorpe, 1896). In course of time, the 'dresser' designation was replaced by 'hospital assistants' (Public Department, Govt. of Madras, 1861) and (Education Department, Govt. of Madras, 1869). The essential qualification for this grade was to qualify in English and Arithmetic along with one year compounding at the Presidency hospitals. The two years course conducted at the Madras Medical College, and the curriculum comprised instructions in compounding anatomy and physiology, Materia Medica [2], genetics and surgery. Hygiene and child birth have been part of the curriculum. Social workers had their jobs in government hospitals and treatment centres, where as hospital assistants perform medical duties. However, during first half of the nineteenth century, military hospital assistants received training at selected schools in western and southern India including Lahore and Agra (Joubert, 1908). They had changed the curriculum from three to four years. Besides, three schools in Madras and two in Bombay where teaching was conducted in English where as in rest of the school teaching was conducted in native language. Although after matric, the students were able to take in Madras. There were entrance exams at all the other schools. In spite of everything, both social recognition

and salaries of the public hospital assistants were low. These consequences made them very much dissatisfied. Even they expressed their grievances in 'All India Hospital Assistants Journal' (Indian Medical Gazette, 1910). Finally, in1910, they succeeded in improving their position not only in the Assistant Physician but also in improving their leadership scales which continued more than half a century.

Compounder's community

The term 'Compounder' will not be found in any citizen pharmacy history activities. During the colonial period in India, the theme was very common. By a standard order dated 15June 1812, it was stated that' gatekeepers and dressers' were the first step of training as apothecaries assistant (Crawford, 1914). The word 'compounder' began to spread from the beginning. However, the compounders did not have the necessary technical condition. They were a lot depressed and neglected. However, for the first time, training as a facilitator began in Bengal in1881, followed by that in Madras. But no training pattern was developed for the whole of India.

They made official educational provision and testing of compounders in 1881(Indian Medical Gazette, 1881 and Municipal Department, Department of Medicine, 1882). Section 23 of Act 6(B.C.) of 1881(Calcutta Municipal Integration Amendment Act) made it mandatory for the owner of a Medicine Store to hire a man whose drug knowledge had been tested. Without contact with a trained producer, they could not register a European drug store. This amendment became mandatory throughout colonial Bengal. In Calcutta arrangements were made at Campbell Medical School [3], in Patna it was made at Temple Medical School, in Dacca it was made at Dacca Medical School and in Cuttack it was arranged at Orissa Medical School respectively (General Department, Department of Education, 1882). In order to be accepted, it was compulsory to read and write in English sufficiently, to read instructions and to write instructions on labels. It was also compulsory to go to the medical centre of this centre every year to get instructions at the Materia Medica pharmacy and to read the instructions from the apothecary or head compounder. The inspection was conducted by a committee comprising the superintendent of the centre, as well as any of the two teachers at the institute. After successfully completing his studies, the baptism candidate received a certificate that enabled him to compile and manufacture European drugs. Later, Scotland Mission Church Hospital was recognized, Kalimpong [4] (Darjeeling district) (Municipal Department, Medical Branch, 1894), Hospital of Dublin University Mission, Hazaribagh [5] (Municipal Department, Medical Branch, 1896). Besides, they established a class for female compounders in the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta (Municipal Department, Medical Branch, 1899). In this context, it should be mentioned that an Amendment made further (Bengal Act 3 of 1884) was instructed that no person will be eligible to compound, mix, prepare, dispense or sell any drug prescribed by the British Pharmacopoeia unless he had the eligibility (Wigley, 1914). Modifications were done and made it compulsory that besides knowledge of Materia Medica, pharmacy and reading of prescriptions, they examined the candidates to write English directions in prescriptions (Municipal Department, Medical Branch, 1895). However, there were modifications in the training process in 1928 (Report of the Drug Enquiry Committee, 1930) and (Government of Bengal Notification, 1928) through academic qualification to qualify for admission (matriculation), duration of the course (two years) and also in the course curriculum.

But this did not bring any material changes (Acharjee, 1954). For years, the compounders made up a category of employees who received poor emoluments. In 1888, their pay scale was improved (Education Department, Government of Madras, 1889) along with an instruction that a compounder must communicate and write English and should be familiar with the vernaculars of the district. Further, it was made compulsory that they have trained the probationers for the grade of compounders at a major dispensary for a term of six months and qualify for a suitable examination. Based on recommendations of the Committee, the Government decided that the training course for compounders should extend to at least nine months at major dispensaries and the ability to read and write in English along with knowledge of one vernacular language (Education Department, Govt. of Madras, 1898). They sanctioned the revised scheme in October 1937. They made the duration of the training one year (Education and Public Health Department, 1937). The first nine months at specified hospitals, followed by three months, training for all candidates at the Government General Hospital, Madras. To take care of the training in Madras, the position of pharmacist was approved. At the end of the training, they held a test at Madras General Hospital in the Department of Medicine. Overtime, they limit the number of candidates to five in each training center (Department of Education and Public Health, Madras Government, 1938; Department of Education and Public Health, Madras Government, 1948). In 1948, there were seven teen compounders training centers and the number of trainees at public institutions each year was seventy (Department of Education and Public Health, 1938).

In the office of the President of Bombay, there were no rules regarding computer training (Training of Compounders, 1930). Those who passed VI level in an English language school were eligible for admission. However, the qualifications for adopters vary from state to state. In Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, they issued a certificate after a year of training at a specialized medical school. The training of compounders in the United States began in 1928 at six centers: Allahabad, Banaras, Lucknow, Agra, Meerut, and Bareilly. At the entry level, graduation was the VIII class of the well-known English School with ten months of training. In Nagpur, in the central provinces, the titles were similar to those of the united provinces. In Punjab, there was no standard training program for compounders. There has been talk of a dispenser and dresser class center with a two-year course at Amritsar Medical School. Amritsar Medical School was established in Lahore in 1864, which moved to Amritsar in 1920. The college took special care both in medical education and patient care. They developed the school to the level of Medical College in 1943; they laid the foundation stone by Lt. Col. Nawab Khijar Tiwana, Prime Minister of Punjab on 1st February 1944. From Medical Records (1886-7), they reported that in the Presidency of Bombay, Goanese compounds from Goa were rented in a private area Dispensaries. They were selected because they knew English well and were better equipped to do dispensary work. So, it is clear from the above discussion that in pre-independence India, the situation regarding the functioning of the pharmacy remained dire. Although high-level medical care was provided by the hospital's assassins and assistants, they did not pay enough attention to upgrade the lower-level medical services. Trained breeders had to ‘work like dumb cows’ to keep their masters happy for fear of losing jobs (Acharjee, 1940). The producers were not paid and their wages were very low. But they did a lot of work ranging from the manufacture, production, manufacture and sale of drugs and chemicals to acting as laborers, laboratory assistants, anaesthesiologists, surgical assistants, nurses and clerks in

hospitals and medical centers (Indian Journal of Pharmacy, 1944). Despite having enough training and skill, they were looked down up on as masters. To work for their grievances, the organizers organized themselves into various organizations such as the All-India Compounders and Dispensers' Association (AICDA), All Bengal Compounders' Association (ABCA) etc. Finally, the Pharmaceutical Society of India accepted the compounds as joint members with different organizations like Bengal Pharmaceutical Association, the Indian Pharmaceutical Association and the Indian Pharmaceutical Congress Association who assisted the compounds on a large scale. We provide a brief account to these two compounders' organizations below.

All India Compounders and Dispensers' Association (AICDA)

This movement was started in 1920 by some coalition of affiliated provinces (Bahadur, 1941). It held the first annual general meeting of the organization in lucknow in February 1921. The third conference was held in Delhi in 1923, chaired by Colonel Lieut JN Walker, IMS (Chief Medical Officer), at which the provincial organization was transformed into the All-India Compounders and Dispensers' Association (AICDA), which became a Registered Society on 3rd March, 1925. Raj Bahadur, former Secretary General of the United Provinces Compounders' Association, became General Secretary of AICDA. The organization continued to appeal to the cause of compounders' year after year and issued decisions that proved to be effective.

All Bengal Compounders' Association (ABCA)

Sri Karuna Kumar Acharjee of Dacca Mitford Medical School started the ABCA in Calcutta in 1929 (Mukherjee, 1994). At first, it did not work well because of a lack of proper guidance. As a result, the future of the ABCA was bleak. The confusing thinking about the prospect of emigration was fixed during Col. Ram Nath Chopra interviewed the man presided over the ABCA (Indian Medical Gazette, 1934). The annual meeting of the ABCA was held in January 1934, where it was transformed in to the Bengal Pharmaceutical Association (BPA). BP A had abroad vision and continued to introduce compounders. However, after the seventh meeting in Aligarh in October 1933, AICDA and ABCA began working together. Eventually, both adopted the Indian and Eastern Chemist, as their official method (Singh, 1996). In this context, it should be noted that the Indian Pharmaceutical Association (IPA) has done an excellent job for producers and pharmacists who have not been fortunate enough to receive formal pharmacy training.

Qualified Indian Chemist and Druggist

During the seventeenth century in England, apothecaries separated shops (Matthews, 1962; Trease, 1964; Poynter, 1965; Matthews, 1980). They gained some recognition as medical professionals in the eighteenth century. Gradually, they form two types of apothecaries. Category-I was interested in the practice of medicine and Category-II interested in pharmacy. In time, from phase II, pharmacists and drug users emerged who gained practical knowledge of the pharmacy. In the early nineteenth century, they formed the Pharmaceutical Society of India. In the year 1842, this community established a school of pharmacy. In course of time, the teachers got recognition from the University of London (Fish, 1963).

Madras Medical College started pharmacy in the later part of the nineteenth century. Before discussing the history of classes of pharmacists and classes of drug doctors, it can be said that the

situation of pharmacy in the Portuguese era was much better than in all of colonial India (Cordeiro,1963). The doctors came from Portugal and had to associate with a pharmacist. In 1846, a medical school was established in Goa, where there was also a pharmacy. Prior to independence, a Goa school offered a three-year diploma at a pharmacy. However, Portuguese experts made up a very small part of the entire sub-continent.

In British India, the advent of medical prescriptions dates back to1860. Pharmacy classes begin at Madras Medical College (Department of Education, Govt. of Madras, 1866). In colonial India, it was the first time that students had received formal training in order making and integration. It also instructed the mon how to prepare the main pharmacopoeia compounds and everything related to dispensary work. Here it should be mentioned that British Pharmacopoeia was published in 1864. This was the first attempt to harmonize drug standards. A pharmacopoeia in its modern technological sense, a guide book. A compilation, and published by a government authority or medical organization. However, the Pharmacy class continued until the end of the1861-2 session. Then, because of other issues, the pharmacy class was cancelled. But again, it started in April 1866.

However, the term ‘Chemist and Druggist’ was borrowed from the British. These skilled personnel were trained scientifically during second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, the class of' Chemicals and Drugs' began in 1874 (Srinivas Varadan, 1954). However, in the Tamil Nadu Archives, Annual Report of Madras Medical College per session, 1879-80 (Department of Education, Government of Madras, 1880) and 1880-1 (Department of Education, Govt. of Madras, 1881) mentioned about the examination of chemists and druggists. The 1887-8 reports wrote that, ‘students who have completed two years’ curriculum appeared before the Board and passed successfully (Department of Education, Government of Madras, 1888). In 1894, the Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions noted, a 'certificate' from a pharmacist and drug doctor' was issued in Madras to a student studying full-time studies of material medica, chemistry, chemistry and practical pharmacy (Medical College Pharmaceutical Journal). 1894). Initially, the study of ‘chemists and drug users’ was one year (Department of Education, Government of Madras, 1898). Gradually, it was extended to two years and after that, the entry level qualifications changed from a secondary school examination to a matriculation (Department of Education, Government of Madras, 1893). Later, many changes were made to the pharmaceutical and drug rehab process. But the study found little popularity and suggested termination of studies. But it did not happen and continued for a while at the beginning of the three years (Records, 1893). The course attracted a few students but despite so many obstacles, chemistry and drug dealers remained active and eventually received government sanctions to continue at Madras Medical College as a permanent subject (Local Self Government, Govt. of Madras, 1924). A ‘chemistry and drug use’ course was re-introduced at Vishakapatnam Medical College in 1937 (Brad field, 1938). In reviewing medical education at Madras Medical College, in 1940, the name of the Diploma course in ‘Chemicals and Drugs’ was changed to Diploma in Pharmacy. The duration of the study was two and a half years (Department of Education and Public Health, Government of Madras, 1948). The study was recognized by the Indian Pharmacy Council in 1957 (Minutes of the Pharmacy Council Meeting, 1957) and the contribution of pioneers such as Prof. A N Ratnagiriswaran, Prof. K S Srinivasa Varadan and Prof S. Rajagopal Naidu, who have been the pillars of the Pharmacy in the Province of Madras, have made great strides (Singh,1998).

During the colonial period, it was not as easy to do pharmacy as it is today. In India, to regulate and bring some order to the state of pharmacy operations, others qualified chemists and druggist at Madras Medical College organized and built a community. The society began in 1923 under the name 'The Pharmaceutical Association' (Chemist & Druggist, 1928 and Pharmacy in India, 1928). In 1925, it changed its name to 'The Pharmaceutical Society of India' (PSI). The Society aims to establish a common education system in order to obtain a degree as a pharmacist and to have a compulsory registration of a pharmacist and to regulate Indian pharmacies (Pharmaceutical Society of India, 1929). A. N. Lazarus was a distinguished Secretary of the Society. To expand the work of a better project, he published society's magazine 'The Pharmacist', in July 1939, and K. Venkatapathi Naidu as an editor. The Society plans to organize an All-India Pharmaceutical conference and exhibition in Madras in January 1940 (Chawhan, 1939). Undoubtedly, PSI was the oldest organization of its kind. In colonial India, his place of work remained the President of Madras, because, with the exception of Madras, he did not conduct training for pharmacists in any other part of India. Outside of PSI, in order to protect commercial interests, pharmacists and drug dealers set up their own corporations. These organizations protect the interests of pharmacists and drug addicts.

City and State Level Chemist and Druggists' Associations (CSLCDA) formed various organizations to different Presidents of India. Calcutta Pharmacists and Druggists form the Calcutta Chemists and Druggists' Association on 30 November 1920 (Chemist & Druggist, 1921). In the city of Madras, Pharmacists and Drugs founded the 'The Chemists and Druggists' Association' in 1926, and began its publication- The Journal of the Chemists and Druggists Association, Madras, from October 1961 (Siramulu, 1961). In Bombay, the Chemists and Druggists' Association started in 1925 (Gupta, 1925). However, the Chemists and Druggists' Association of Delhi began in 1935 (Gupta, 1935). All these organizations sought to protect the interests of the chemical and drug use during World War II.

All India Federation of Chemists and Druggists (AIFCD)

The cataclysmic effect of World War II greatly influenced the basic interests of pharmacists and druggists to a large extent. The Indian government under the Défense of India Rules, passed the Drugs Control Order, 1943 (Indian Journal of Pharmacy, 1963). According to this order, no retailer or retailer can sell a drug at a higher price than stated under the order schedule. Even entry for new comers was banned. This order affected all categories of retailers to a large extent.

To resolve the matter, he convened an assembly in Bombay in January 1944, under the chairmanship of S. Lalchand Dadha. They formed the All-India Association (Souvenir, All India Chemist and Druggists' Federation, 1946). The following year, another conference was held in Calcutta and the All-India Chemists and Druggists Federation was held. Later, representatives from Bombay, Delhi, Madras joined the Federation (Gupta, 1945). They made Sir Hari Shankar Paul the first President of this Federation. Some years later, the Federation became known as the 'All India Federation of Chemists and Druggists' (AIFCD). The biggest problem for the Federation was drug prices and an average of twenty-five percent on the retail price. But that was not the end. Much

more has been done and it can no doubt be said that AIFCD has provided an effective platform for drug traffickers since its inception (Indian Journal of Pharmacy, 1950).

In India, drugs continued to be traded for over a century. With the advent of qualified pharmacists, the idea gradually changed and is now considered a mixture of trade and industry. Pharmacists, distributing pharmacists, pharmacists and pharmacologists who are remnants of the colonial era, hopefully they will be called pharmacists and retail stores will be described as pharmacies.

Colonial Modernity and the Beginning of Pharmaceutical Education

The British invasion of India and with it the introduction of western medicine and pharmaceutical education is undoubtedly a historically significant event. To pave the scientific supremacy in the Indian soil was nothing but a colonial mission which ultimately in course of time drastically altered our traditional health care system to a great extent (Supe, 2016).

The Western medical system is making its introduction to the European sub-continent. With the introduction of a new medical system in India, it has naturally followed the emergence of pharmacy houses to meet the needs of western medicine and other resources. India became a major market for British producers, a lucrative business destination. Understandably, European pharmacists and drug experts also find this world promising to do their job. Gradually, the Indian economy and social development are completely under the control of the British economy (Singh, 2014). It attracted them to places where the population was large enough to make a profit. The British population was concentrated in large cities and suburbs. Both civilian and military personnel and their families became the main customer of European drug dealers. Other than that, there was no pharmacy where ordinary people could reduce their needs.

It should be mentioned here that in colonial India there were many instances of chemical stores. Since there were no drugs or drug laws in the country, there were no restrictions on the opening of drug stores. The drug situation and the effectiveness of the pharmacy remains a major concern. Emphasizing, there were no proper legal restrictions on drug control and pharmacy performance. There was a flaw in the import and sale of drugs. The situation regarding the operation of the pharmacy was deplorable. To my surprise that the dispensing of prescriptions was carried out by compounders, who had a very low level of preliminary education and training. The absence of adequately qualified pharmaceutical personnel compounded the sad state of affairs. This situation disturbed the people who love the community as it exists. In such a socio - political climax, the present author feels to present a detailed sketch of the development of medical education in British India.

Madras Presidency

The beginning of medical education in British India began at Madras Medical College in the year 1860 (Department of Education, 1866). For the first time, students are systematically learning how to do instructions and integrate. The Pharmacy class continued until the end of 1860-61, and throughout the period 1861-62. There has been an ‘un authorized termination of the pharmacy class. They point to this omission in the General Hospital Examination Report of January 1866. However, the pharmacy class, which had declined, was renewed and resumed in April 1866. Madras Medical College had three departments; the Central Department qualified for job training. Doctoral degrees from the University of Madras, the Second Department qualified for the field of ingredients, and the third or lower Departments qualified for hospital assistants. However, students in all these classes have enjoyed there sources of the Pharmacy class (Department of Education,

1866). The latest third-grade center would prove to be useful for students who aspire to qualify as pharmacists and drug addicts. It did not take long for the formation of pharmacy and drug classes at Madras Medical College. In an unwritten article, they summarize those studies began about 1874 (Varadan, 1954). Annual reports of sessions 1879-80 (Department of Education, 1880) and 1880-81 (Department of Education, 1881), discussed the testing of pharmacists and drug doctors. In 1894, the Pharmaceutical Journal and Transactions referred to, a "chemist and drug doctor' s certificate" issued in Madras to a student studying full courses of Materia Medica, chemistry, chemistry and active pharmacy at Medical College (Pharmaceutical Transaction., 1894). In the beginning, the Chemists and Druggists course was one year, and it lay no examination. In course of time, entry qualifications had been reviewed (Department of Education, 1898). But the Chemical and Drug class was not popular. As a result of the proposed termination of the class (Department of Education, 1903). But the class continued for a while, continuing to be allowed for three years or a year at a time. Despite so many upheavals, the Chemicals and Drug category continued to operate and received Government sanctions to continue at Madras Medical College on a permanent basis. In 1937, a class of Chemicals and Drugs also began at the College of Medicine, Vishakapatnam (Bradfield, 1938). In 1940, they changed the name of the course to Diploma in Pharmacy. This study was the only such study in colonial India.

Bengal Presidency

In1881, in Bengal, it made the official provision of education and testing of compounders (Indian Medical Gazette, 1881; Municipal Department 1882). Section 23 of Act 6 of 1881 obliged the owner of a drug store to hire a man whose drug knowledge had been tested. The rules of education and testing of compounders were planned, and arranged for the opening of classes in Calcutta, Patna, Dacca and Cuttack (Department of Education, Department of Education, 1882). Entering the class room, they discovered that the student should read and write English, read the instructions correctly and write the instructions on the labels. Up on successful completion, the baptism can did ate received a certificate that enabled him to compile and produce European medicine. Overtime, for the purpose of integrated awareness classes were relocated to Kalimpong Hospital and Hazaribagh Hospital (Municipal Department, Department of Medicine, December 1886). A women's coordinator class was established at Campbell Medical School, Calcutta (Municipal Department, Department of Medicine, April 1899).

The above discussion marks the beginning of intermediary education in Bengal, and the training program improved in 1928 (Government of West Bengal Notification, 1928). The course was made of two years' duration and entry qualification was raised to matriculation. There has been a general awareness of the high quality of Medical Education in Calcutta. The importance of improving medical education and its industrial value was emphasized by several comments and editorial documents published during 1920-21 (Indian Medical Record, 1920, 21). In 1920, the University of Calcutta introduced the M.Sc in Applied Chemistry and Pharmaceutics as a specialist since 1940 (Rakshit, 1940). Another development was the establishment of the School of Chemical Technology in Calcutta by a medical enthusiast, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh. He made a significant contribution to the medical and social sciences of his time. In his professional career, Ghosh was a

late beginner. Forty-two years old, he graduated from chemistry at Manchester University (1912). He worked as a pharmacist in the Department of Pharmacies, Government of India, Madras (1912-18). Here tired early and established the School of Chemical Engineering in Calcutta. The school was located in Bowbazar and also used the resources of St. Paul's College. Recommended work in Pharmaceutics (Indian and Eastern Druggist, 1922). This encouraged Ghosh to desire to associate with his school and the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain (Ghosh, 1922). At one point, the school ceased to function and Ghosh' pioneer work in medical education was unsuccessful.

Bombay Presidency and the Provinces

In the Office of the President of Bombay, there were no general rules regarding the qualifications and training of moderators. In Bihar and Orissa, laws were en acted in 1926 to certify compounders after one year of training at certain schools and medical centers. The same was true in Assam. In the United States, a program of co-ordinators began in 1928 at six centers: Allahabad, Banaras, Lucknow, Agra, Meerut and Bareilly. In Punjab, there was no standard training program for compounders. In Nagpur, in the central provinces, the training was for one year (Report of the Drug Investigation Committee, 1931).

Degree Level Programme

Degree level pharmaceutical education in India began in 1932. In addition, the Diploma in Pharmacy, introducing the Degree Course in Pharmaceutical Chemistry, was recommended to oversee Pharmacy production and drug suspension and drug control. Prof. Madan Mohan Malaviya was inspired by these institutions and founded Medical Education at Banaras Hindu University in 1932 (Pandit and Prasad, 1931). He was born in1861 and died at the age of eighty five. Since his boyhood he was distinguished from others by his important role in Indian independence and faith on Hindu nationalism. In his later life, his contribution changed his popularity as Mahamana. He was President of the Indian National Congress four times. He is remembered world wide as the founder of the largest Asian residential university in Varanasi, Banaras Hindu University, in 1916. However, the responsibility for organizing medicine education at Banaras Hindu University fell to Mahadeva Lal Schroff, who was born in 1902 in Darbhanga., known as the maker of pharmacy education in India. He was not legally trained as a pharmacist, but he had the ability to understand and vision to provide realistic and practical guidance not only in pharmacology but also in organizing the work of Pharmacy in India. He was instrumental in the development of pharmacy and medicine education, particularly in India (Srivastava, 1970). Banaras Hindu University (BHU) founded the College of Technology, with the Department of Medicine in 1939. Initially, the department did not own the building, but eventually the University made arrangements for a new building and the Department relocated to it in July 1940 (Banaras Hindu University, 1940). It established the beginning of medicine studies at the University of Andhra in 1926. We may follow Walt air in 1937 (Rangaswami, 1959). The main teachers who accompany these courses are Professor T. R. Seshadri, M L Khorana, S Rangaswami. In September 1938, the University of Madras instituted a two-year degree course leading to a B. Sc degree. The Madras Medical college began studying for a degree in Chemistry and Drugs in 1939. In 1946, a separate Department of

Medicine was accredited at Madras Medical College and entrusted the department with the teaching of Pharmaceutics, Pharmaceutical Chemistry (Srninivasa Varadan, 1954-55).

During early forties, the Department of Chemical Technology under the University of Bombay [6], developed as an important centre for the study of medicine and research. (Department of Chemical Technology, 1985). The University of Punjab introduced the Bachelor of Pharmacy Degree Course in Lahore in 1944. Dr. Khem Singh Grewal, Professor of Medical Sciences at King Edward Medical College [7], was instrumental in establishing nmedical education at the University of Punjab (Punjab University Proceedings, 1942).; Bhatnagar, 1969) In 1947, with the establishment of the Lallu bhai Motilal College of Pharmacy [8] in Ahmadabad, the first full-fledged Pharmacy College in India (Patel, 1959) emerged. Thus in this radical way, the seeds of pharmaceutical chemistry gain edits momentum in the colonial era.

Conclusion

The theoretical understanding of the present paper lies within the framework of science-society and history. In such a backdrop, the present paper portrays socio-historical developmental consequences of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education in British India. The discussion reveals that to initiate their supremacy, British rulers introduced western medicine as a new scientific weapon. This scientific penetration undoubtedly strengthened the foundations of the British rulers to a great extent. In such a historical moment, institutionalization of pharmacy and pharmaceutical education came as a new colonial discourse. At the end, the author hopes to say that the three hundred years of British rule made this subject an important profession in independent India. In addition to thinking as a profession, in the context of life and civilization, pharmaceutical industry stands synonymous to human existence. This industry is one of the most vibrant and fastest growing segments of the global economy. In the present era, this industry is engaged in the health protection of the entire world. At the end it is expected that further research, comprehensive understanding and discussion will create a deeper understanding of this spleen did science in its entirety.

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Notes

[1]Calcutta Medical College was established on 28th January 1835 by Lord William Bentinck. It is the oldest medical institute teaching western medicine in Asia.

[2]Materia Medica is concerned with the study of drugs used for treatment of disease. The term originated from the work of Greek physician Pedanius Discords in the1st centuryAD.

[3]Campbell Medical School which was renamed from Sealdah Medical school on 1st December 1873. After independence of India, it was renamed as Nil Ratan Sarkar Medical College in 1950.

[4]Kalimpong is a hill station situated in the Darjeeling district. It was an important place for missionary interactions particularly in the context of education and health.

[5]Hazaribagh city is situated in the state of Jharkhand. It was a district head quarters during the British period. It became a cantonment in 1790 and continued till 1884.

[6]The University of Bombay was established in a historical moment of 1857. It is one of the oldest and premier universities in India.

[7] King Edward Medical College was named after Edward VII, the eldest son of Queen Victoria. He was the king of the United Kingdom. This college established in 1860. It is the second oldest educational institution in British India. On 12thMay, 2005, it became King Edward Medical University.

[8]Lallu bhai Motilal College of Pharmacy (LMCP) was established in the year 1947 by Ahmadabad Education Society. It was the first full-fledged pharmacy college in India. The college was named after late Seth Shri Lallubhai Motilal.

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Conscientization of Dalit Women in India: A Study in Historical and Political Discourse

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Abstract

The researcher has attempted to study the conscientization of Dalit women in India's historical and political backdrop. Conscientization is a post-Marxist theoretical concept propounded by Paulo Freire, an educational theorist from Brazil. The term denotes a critical awareness or consciousness of either a person or any group/community about their real position in society. Conscientization is achievable through a process of relentless contemplation, consideration, and activities towards its realization. Dalit women's critical understanding of their social reality or conscientization does not take place in a day. Their conscientization is perceptible in the Dalit feminist movement that takes both time and tide to gain its current momentum. Being critically conscious of the social reality, Dalit feminists started to form their standpoints. There are ample testimonies in Indian history and polity to substantiate the view that Dalit women were unaware of their caste subalternity and gender subalternity but during the 1990s they started their struggle separately and independently to establish their rights.

Key Words: *Conscientization, Dalit, women, history, politics, society, movement, feminism*

1. Introduction:

The researcher has attempted to study the conscientization of Dalit women in India's historical and political backdrop. Conscientization is a post-Marxist theoretical concept propounded by Paulo Freire, an educational theorist from Brazil. The term denotes a critical awareness or consciousness of either a person or any group/community about their real position in society. Conscientization is achievable through a process of relentless contemplation, consideration, and activities towards its realization. Dalit women's critical understanding of their social reality or conscientization does not take place in a day. Their conscientization is perceptible in Dalit feminist movement that takes both time and tide to gain its current momentum. Being critically conscious of the social reality, Dalit

feminists started to form their standpoints. There are ample testimonies in Indian history and polity to substantiate the view that Dalit women were unaware of their caste subalternity and gender subalternity but during the 1990s they started their struggle separately and independently to establish their rights.

The researcher in this paper has not used 'Dalit' as a referential term for all the oppressed sections of the society because the meaning of this term has extended to refer to all who are "living outside the boundary of the village or landless farm-labourers, workers, the suffering masses, and nomadic and criminal tribes" (Limbale 30). The term has been used from the caste dimension to refer to those who are considered untouchables by Hindu society.

2. Conscientization and the Dalit women context:

Professor Margaret Ledwith in her book *Community Development* defined conscientization as "a process whereby people become aware of the political, socio-economic and cultural contradictions that interact in a hegemonic way to diminish their lives" (Ledwith 97). This definition demands one to be analytic about the hegemonic thought in the existing social and political context. Even though the Preamble of the Indian Constitution declares the goals to achieve social economic and political justice, equality, and liberty of every citizen irrespective of race, caste, class, religion but in reality, the provisions to ensure the aforementioned goals are very restricted to limited boundaries and needless to say, hegemonic social and political thought is very much in action. To achieve the goals mentioned in the Preamble of the constitution, one must first be aware of his or her current position. In the context of Dalit women in India, it becomes imperative to explore India's historical and political background before independence. Though Dalit women became politically active against their marginalized position by organizing themselves and establishing different organizations during the 1990s, the journey started before independence.

2.1. Three streams of Dalit women's conscientization:

Conscientization of Dalit women can be perceived in three different streamlines: Dalit feminist activism; Dalit women's writings or autobiographies; and Dalit theoretical formulation (Tamalapakula n.p). Theoretical insight demands critical reading of existing history and understanding Dalit women's lived experience of life. In this regard, the possible way to formulate a theoretical basis is the writings or autobiographies of Dalit women. Self-perception and understanding of a Dalit woman as a Dalit woman remained unspecified till Dalit women started writing for them and about them. There lies the importance of autobiographies, semi-autobiographies, novels, and poems by Dalit women writers.

2.2. Dalit women's literature:

Dalit women's literature is the reflection of their self-perception and conscientization. Existing literature shows that Dalit women writers have navigated a journey of about fifty decades from around 1970 till now and have been addressing the interplay of caste, colour, community, and gender in different short stories, autobiographies, poems, and essays. Dalit women's literary discourse started with Savitribai Phule's literary journey. Then came the generation of those women who were directly associated with the Ambedkarite movement, like Baby Kamble, Santabai

Kamble, Santabai Dani. They were followed by modern, fearless writers like Urmila Pawar, Kumud Pawde, and Jyoti Lanjewar. Finally, contemporary neo-Buddhist writers Shilpa Kamble, Pradnya Pawar, and Chaya Koregaonkar also developed their consciousness and awareness about their reality as 'Dalit' and as 'woman' with new perceptions. Due to social exclusion and backwardness, Dalit women could not access the world of literacy and education for a long time. But once they started, they have gradually become politically thorough and matured in their creative skill. In the literary discourse of Dalit women in India, Marathi literature first came into notice with Santabai Kamble's *Majya Jalmachi Chittrakatha* (*The Kaleidoscopic story of my life*) in 1983, The Weave of my life (Aaidan) by Urmila Pawar in 1988, Prisons We Broke (Jine Amuche) by Babytai Kamble in 1987. The life narratives of these Dalit women disclose the exploitation, marginalization, and social exclusion of mostly the Mahar women, the largest Dalit community of Maharashtra. Within a very short period in the southern part of India Tamil, Telegu, and Malayali Dalit women writers, such as Palanimuthu Sivakami, Gogu Shyamala, Vijila Chirappad were also coming up to contribute to the Dalit feminist discourse of India and unravel the saga of oppression.

3. The saga of oppression: ordains of *Manusmriti*:

The saga of oppression and subjugation can be dated back to the period of Veda in the Hindu religion. In the Chaturvarna Vyavastha or four-fold division of society depicted in *Manusmriti* which is believed to be the words of Brahma, a large number of people belonging to other castes do not find their place within this hierarchical schematic structure. They are, therefore, called Panchama (Fifth order) or Chandala, Avama (coloured), Antyaj (low born), etc (Hutton 64 & Srinivas 63-69). *Manusmriti*, known to be the earliest scripture in Hindu mythology on brahminical dharma, provides some clues about the status of women as a whole. In some places, there are few references to sudra women. *Manusmriti* is regarded as the rule book ordained by God for people of the Hindu religion. Seemingly, *Manusmriti* gives women a place of honour but at the same time, women have been made the very structure on which the honour of the individual as well as a community depends and thereby limiting and belittling their existence. Ambedkar and in the later period, many Dalit feminists critiqued that *Manusmirti* denies the basic human dignity to Dalit in general and Dalit women in particular. The rules and norms formulated by Manu lead to the exploitation and marginalization of Dalit women in different spheres of life. Even after the emergence of feminism, they are the least receiver in terms of education, employment, health, and nutrition. In the name of conserving the purity of the Hindu religion, the condition has not changed much even today.

4. Feminism in India:

As in the West, feminism also came in India in three waves. Feminism India started withholding the hands of men, to be specific, some native social revolutionaries and unconventional British rulers. They began with abolishing the age-old heinous custom of 'Sati' (Gangoli 16). The second wave commenced with Gandhiji's Quit India movement in 1915 with a large number of women taking active participation in the movement. Dalit women were also part of many independent women organizations at that phase. In this period of colonization, the traditional caste-based society of India was divided (in 1931 Census) by British rulers into five sections; Advanced, Intermediate,

Other Backward, Primitive and Depressed (Rege 24) which kept the caste-hierarchy undefeated and had a great impact on the class structure of the society. Rege argues that these divisions consolidated the brahmins more as a class. Women remained superfluous and susceptible to exploitation as the purity of women was often more important than anything else and the attitude to gender was influenced by caste and class considerations (Rege26). Finally, the third phase came with independence (Kumar 83).

4.1. Women's movement in the pre-Independence era:

It was roughly during the 1920s that the women's movement emerged in India. In India, the women's movement emerged as a composite of nationalism and colonialism. Even during that point in time, the women's movement did not have any feminist bent. It was moulded by the zeal of nationalism and movement for Independence. The term mainstream feminism which is in vogue now is the product of the mainstream women's movement which started during the colonial period. It was influenced by first-wave western feminism of the 19th and early 20th century which focused on the political and legal issues for women's liberation. Indian feminism echoes western feminism in the post-independent period by emphasizing the social and political rights of women at home and in the workplace as well. The movement being intractable and imperceptive becomes a prerogative of a certain class and caste of the society.

4.2. Women's movement in the post-Independence era:

Gradually, mainstream feminists realized that Indian feminism was contextually different from western feminism. So, after the independence women started to mobilize and involve themselves in different movements like land rights, legal rights related to dowry, divorce, rape, and other women issues. For example, there were movements such as the Sahada movement in Maharashtra related to land rights of tribals, the Chipko movement in Uttarakhand against deforestation, and the Nav Nirman movement in Gujarat against the excessive price hike. These were some movements during the 1970s where women largely participated but with differences in their interests. They even started to raise questions regarding the power structures and different forms of patriarchal relationships in society. During the 1980s differences and disputes in interest and identity among different existing women organizations became very obvious, especially regarding the issue of rape. Organizations like the Communist Party of India's women's front, All India Women's Congress, National Federation of Indian Women pronounced divisive articulations regarding the category 'woman', and accordingly, a tension was created relating to the justifiable and legitimate feminist issues. From this tension among different feminist perspectives different names were entitled to different groups according to their distinctive ideologies, namely, radical feminists, socialist feminists, and Marxist feminists. But, right from the nationalist movement to later social reform movements that India witnessed during the 1970s and 1980s, there was a common tendency to conceal the caste issue as it was led by mainly educated upper caste and middle-class women. They were concerned about issues and agendas related to them only. Mainstream feminism influenced by the notion of 'universal sisterhood' of western feminism addressed the category 'woman' conceptualizing it as a whole without acknowledging the fragmentations within the category. Rege rightly puts it in her argument that the historical struggle of Dalit women being lower caste people

had been "ignored in a historiography which was dominated by narratives of nationalism" (Rege ws 41). Later, mainstream feminists did the same job of camouflaging whenever there was a caste-gender intersection under the disguise of universal sisterhood. Naturally, the struggle of Dalit women cannot be located in the normative historiography directed by mainstream feminism but rather in the history of non-brahmin movements and the movements by real marginalized women. Rege in the revolutionary article entitled "Dalit women talk differently: A Critique of 'difference' and towards a Dalit Feminist Standpoint Position" argues that 'white feminists' (Rege ws 39) had a very strong influence on mainstream feminists in India. Ignoring the pre-colonial connections of caste, gender, and class mainstream feminists only attempted the 'Saidian framework' (Rege ws 39) of colonial domination and failed to notice the role of women "in non-brahmin movements and movements by or on behalf of women" (Rege ws 39). Mainstream feminists overlooked the issues of Dalit women the way western feminists overlooked the issues of black women.

5. Dalit women in Phule/Ambedkarite movement:

With progressing time, the process of conscientization of Dalit women started to take place first in Maharastra holding the hands of Jotirao Phule, and his wife Savitribai Phule. They for the first time brought the wave of Dalit liberation and justice by publishing the saga of oppression and subjugation by the Marathi Peswas in their mother tongue. In that sense, they were the first Dalit activists to run several girls' schools, orphanage homes and begin the first civil marriage and establish the organization Satya Sadhak Samaj. Dr.Ambedkar played a major role in this process of reshaping thoughts. It is only in the twentieth century that the efforts of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar who himself was a Dalit, made the Dalit community conscious of their humiliation and autocracy thrust on them. Like Phule, Ambedkar too recognized that sexual control and gender regulation are central to caste stratification. He became active in 1920 in the Indian Polity. Phule and later Ambedkar critiqued 'brahmanical patriarchy' on the ground of "caste radical's" stance of "caste respectability" and "sexual purity" (Rao 52). Rao uses the term "caste radical" for those upper caste orthodox extremists who believed that it was their duty to protect the caste system as proposed by the brahmins. Phule's establishment of a home for upper-caste Hindu women and Satyashadhk Samaj were a protest against this 'brahmanical patriarchy'. This was a kind of rejection of the brahmanic hegemony or "caste power" (Rao 52) by the Satyasadhok activists. They initiated many cultural practices and rituals without acknowledging brahmin hegemony. Dr. Ambedkar also provided moral support to such egalitarian ideologies of Satyashashadhok. He supported Satyashadhok marriage and threw challenges to Brahmin hegemony (Rao 52).

Ambedkar always emphasized the need to educate the womenfolk for the true emancipation of the Dalit community. He articulated the hegemony of hierarchical Hindu social order and deprivation of Dalits through his journals *Mook Nayak* and *Bahishkrit Bharat*. His perception of women's emancipation was articulated through his speech addressed to women in different events, like, Mahad Satyagraha in 1927, the All India Dalit Mahila Parisad in 1942, etc. His writings and speeches moved Dalit women so much so that Dalit women started to come out with a fighting spirit to establish their assertions. He believed that the measure of women of any particular community is that of that community. He also made Mahad remarkable in the history of the anti-

caste movement by taking "a resolution to burn the Manusmriti, which held women and Sudras in contempt and imposed immoral rules that amount to treating them as lower than animals"(Pawar and Moon 120). Dalit women began to take an active part in campaigns and protests against the Hindu order led by Babasaheb. In 1930 in the Nashik Kalaram Temple Satyagraha, a huge number of Dalit women built their Samatasainik Dal under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and challenged the state force.

5.1. Dalit women and the Devdasi system:

He always strived for a respectable life for Dalit women. This is very much evident in his great effort to make the Dalit women conscious of the degrading practice of "murali or devdasi or vaghyamuralya (ritual dancers)" (Pawar and Moon 92). This is a practice of dedicating young girls mainly among "Mahar, Mang and Kunbi and so-called nomadic communities who were married off to the God Khandoba at his temple in Jejuri in fulfillment of a vow" (Rao 61). They were gradually compelled to religious prostitution. A lot of controversies persisted during the late 19th century and early twentieth century over the issue of inheritance of property in case of the death of a man leaving no legitimate male offspring but having illegitimate offspring and Murali daughter (Rao 64). Rao argues that this social custom of 'devadasis' did not end up with sexual servitude only; it raised questions about female inheritance and finally gave privilege to patrilineal inheritance (Rao 64). 'Muralis' recognized the cause of their degradation within Hinduism and their community as well. They made Dalit males accountable for their demeaning condition. Muralis like Shivubai Wallad Laxman Jadhav –Sonkamble expressed anger and anguish through her letter published in *Somwanshi Mitra* on 1st December 1908 (Pawar 93). She made the fathers and the male customers accountable for those Dalit girls who were thrust into such ignominious custom and made "sexual labor" (Rao 65).

Ambedkar remarked,

> "The greatest progress we have made is to be found amongst our womenfolk. Here you see in this conference these 20,000-25000 women present. See their dress, observe their manners, and mark their speech. Can anyone say that they are untouchable women?" (*Report of the All India Depressed Classes Conference* 28-29).

5.2. Ambedkarite neo-Buddhist women:

Conversion to Buddism is one of the major attempts to bring a change in the cognizance of society. Though Ambedkar led Dalit women's movement for liberty from economics, political, educational, social deprivation assuming the Hindu caste system as the very root of Dalit servitude, Dalit women are still in bondage. He promoted conversion to Buddhism as a path to freedom in 1956. This converted sect is known as neo-Buddhists and "Ambedkar founded this sect as a means to counter casteism and sexism in India" (Hibbs ii). Had it been only the question of the bondage of the caste system, conversion to Buddhism could have liberated Dalit women from their century-old servitude. Religious conversion cannot save converted Dalit women from economic deprivation. Various Government policies to empower Dalit women economically by providing reservations and subsidies failed. According to the observation of the Dalit Solidarity Network.

"Dalit women often work in modern slavery and are key targets for trafficking. They are often used as debt slaves in brick kilns, garment industries, and agriculture. 98% of those forced into the dehumanizing work of manual scavenging, removing human waste by hand, are also Dalit women. Dalit women may also be born into temple prostitution as 'Devadasis' (sex slaves) in India or be branded prostitutes in Nepal due to their caste status" (https://idsn.org/key-issues/dalit-women).

So, they are part of the modern system of slavery.

In the Indian context, caste being both a system of production and reproduction (Chakravarty 27) Dalit women started to realize that they are most oppressed in the domain of sexuality and religion. Lucinda Ramberg in her research work "Casting Religion and Sexing Gender in South India" on the relationship between religiosity and sexuality talks about the religious and sexual subjectivity of Dalit women who fall outside the accepted belief of womanhood and religion. To her Dalit woman is not a single subject position evolved within structural violence of brahmanical patriarchy taken up so far by Dalit feminist scholars. She draws the attraction towards Ambedkarite Buddhist women, Matangi pujari, 'vamp woman' or sex worker. Religion and sexuality are the two agencies operating both inside and outside the scheme of caste and gender in Dalit women's life.

6. Mainstream Dalit movement and Dalit women:

Dalit women might be a part of the Dalit movement on a larger scale but there had been no conscious effort to achieve liberty from the male counterparts from the anti-sexism stand point. The Dalit community itself was impervious to change in the question of the status of Dalit women within the community. Dalit women were neither given any space in the decision-making process in the upper caste women-dominated female organizations nor male-dominated Dalit organizations. Dalit women were generally discouraged "to speak up about their issues in Dalit gatherings referring it as Dalit nuisance, diversion, and distraction of the larger concern of the Dalit movement" (Nelavala 19). In post-independent India, during the era of the social reform movement in the late 1970s and early 1980s, several rebellious organizations appeared. Some of these organizations were "Shramik Mukti Sanghathana", "Satyashodhak Communist Party", "Shramik Mukti dal", "Yuvak Kranti Dal" (Rege WS- 42). Except for these organizations, Dalit Panthers was another notable organization in Bombay to fight against caste oppression and discrimination. But very unfortunately this institution was set up by Namdeo Dhasal and J.V Pawar gave 'a token inclusion' (Rege WS-42) to Dalit women in their organization, where the other organizations were giving equal importance to Dalit women. The distinct issues and challenges of Dalit women remained unaddressed by the Dalit Panthers movement as Rege pointed out in her essay "in both their writings and their program-the Dalit women remained encapsulated firmly in the roles of the 'mother' and the 'victimized sexual being'" (Rege WS42). Therefore, a large section of Dalit women remained outside the process of change of social perception which gradually took the shape of a movement. From the point of view of this movement, women can be divided into three categories: women from the Nomadic castes or tribes, non-neo-Buddhist Dalit women, and women in the Ambedkarite movement.

7. Mainstream feminism and Dalit women:

The concept of the universal sisterhood of western feminism lost its significance in the Indian context during the 1990s. Until the 1990s the issues and agendas of mainstream feminism are not recognizing the issues and concerns of Dalit women as their concerns. Dalit women activists understood that in 1972 when several feminist organizations took up the case of a tribal girl Mathura's rape in police custody and protested against the verdict of the court that acquitted the accused, they only campaigned to bring fore the issues of violence against women neglecting the linkage between caste- hierarchy, and patriarchy. Numerous Dalit literary texts were coming up mostly by Dalit women writers showcasing their anger and protest over the concept of universal sisterhood. Their point of anger or protest was mainly because of their challenges, their deprivations were not getting any place in mainstream feminism. The concept of the universal sisterhood of mainstream feminism again proved to be a hollow concept when upper-caste women vehemently protested against the policies for backward classes recommended by the Mandal Commission 1990. Feminists who stood up for the justice of Mathura now stood up against the implementation of the Mandal Commission Report. This ambivalence in the attitude of mainstream feminism invited retrospection on their claim of working for 'women' because it inevitably unmasked their inherent connection with brahmanical hierarchy. Upper-caste women in this issue proclaimed that they could not compromise with the welfare of the nation "by using the rhetoric of merit" and represented themselves as "non-submissive", "assertive" and "feminist subjects" (Tamalapakulan. p). The feeling of "otherness" of Dalit women among the 'other' remained unrealized and ignored by mainstream feminism. Mainstream feminists always contended for loyalty towards the perspective of gender "cutting across classes and castes" (Paik 40). But, the interplay of caste, class, colour, community, gender has a direct impact on Dalit women's lives and gives birth to Dalit feminism.

7.1. Formation of autonomous Dalit women organizations:

In Bangalore, in 1987, on international women's Day, the first national-level meeting of Dalit women was held. In this meeting comparisons were drawn between Dalit women and Black women and international solidarity was established. Ruth Manorama, a Bangalore-based Dalit social activist has drawn special attention to the practice of 'untouchability' and the intersectional praxis of class, caste, and gender in the context of Dalit women in India. After that, during the 1990s different autonomous Dalit woman organizations were established at both regional and national levels to establish a Dalit Feminist standpoint. To strengthen their voice, impact, and influence, Ruth Manorama, formed a pan-India organization National Federation of Dalit woman (NFDW) in 1995. This organization represents Dalit women both at the national and international levels. United Nations fourth world conference held in Bejing in 1995 was a watershed event for Dalit women as they lent their voice and activism and shared their vision and goals of emancipation and empowerment on the international level for the first time (The Wire). NFDW worked in the "Advisory Group" of the conference and motivated grassroots women activists to mobilize. NFDW argued that "the atrocities against women were not isolated instances of crime but a result of systemic caste-based violence" (The Wire). Some other notables are *Dalit Mahila Sangathana*

formed in Maharastra in 1995; Dalit Mahila Samiti was formed in 2002 in Uttar Pradesh for building the Dalit women's movement stronger. All these aspects radically moulded the shape of the Dalit women's movement since the 1990s.

7.2.21st century and further developments:

With the beginning of the 21st century several NGOs, groups come up across the country to assert their identity and human rights as an aftermath of conventions, workshops, and conferences held by NFDW. In 2001 NFDW took part in the "World Conference against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance" in Durban and drew the concerns of Dalit women at the global level. In 2006, NFDW and National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) collaborated to assemble politicians, activists, scholars to exchange knowledge and support the causes of Dalit women. The declarations made in the Delhi conference are carried on the international platform of the First International Conference on the Human Rights of Dalit women in Hague Netherlands. NFDW once again emphasized the three axes of discrimination of Dalit women, caste, class, and gender. The Hague conference marked an epistemological shift to a Dalit feminist standpoint (Rege 45). This conference was a stepping stone in building an international network and solidarity. Their goal was to reach a common declaration to achieve the human rights and dignity of Dalit women keeping in view "the systemic discrimination, violence and impunity" (The Hague Declaration). Different workings groups were formed to discuss issues like "temple prostitution or devdasi system, rape, torture, manual scavenging and how assault and rape reinforce social dominance over the whole Dalit community" (Mehta n. p). Legal systems and land rights, wages, housing are also discussed as some vulnerable areas for discrimination and marginalization. The Dalit Mahila Samiti, another Dalit feminist organization with over 1500 women is a glaring example of Dalit women's conscientization. Dalit women are coming forward to lead their movement against all odds. Before the 1990s Dalit women were not confident of their capacity to fight their struggle alone. Gradually, Dalit women created a separate identity and emerged with a distinct women's movement, termed Dalit feminism. Before Mayawati, the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh no Dalit woman was seen in any politically significant position. But from 2002, Dalit women leaders started to become more organized by making their goals and objectives better and more focused with organizations like Dalit Mahila Samiti which was officially established in 2003.

7.3. Dalit womanism:

Alice Walker in her book *In Search of Our Mothers' Garden: Womanist Prose* (1983) first coined the term 'womanism' (The Leaflet). She defines womanism as racial, cultural, sexual, national economic, and political consciousness of the concerned category of women (The Leaflet). Dalit feminist activist Dr. Cynthia Stephen views that Dalit womanism instead of Dalit feminism is the more appropriate term but the term Dalit womanism in India is yet to be specified because of the upper-caste favouritism of the term 'feminism in the discipline of Women Studies in India. She finds it crucial for the theoretical formulation of Dalit feminism. As she says, "Dalit womanism will be broad enough to include the experience not only of the Dalit women in general but also sensitive enough to provide space for the expression of the diversity of the experiences of religious minorities, tribal and ethnic identities who are presently termed, subaltern. Once the process begins,

there can be no stopping it" (Stephen n.p). "Dalit womanism asserts that Dalit women have the right to be seen as subjects and not as objects, who play an active role in the betterment of not only themselves but also their whole community" (dalitdastak.com). Conscientization of Dalit women can result in the empowerment of Dalit women. Educational and economic empowerment of Dalit women is the need of the time. Dalit women have a long way to go towards emancipation because they are facing three social axes of caste, class, and gender at a time as elaborated by Uma Chakravarty, a feminist historian in her book *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*. The establishment of organizations like the National Federation of Dalit Women (1995) is an attempt to create a separate space for themselves where the three-fold oppression is recognized and worked upon to snatch due dignity and self-respect.

8. Conclusion:

To conclude, present India can see conscientization of Dalit women in the three streams of writings, activism, and theoretical formulation; at the same time they are using different digital platforms, social networking sites to invigorate Dalit women from all sections of society. There are already some existing websites like Dalit women 'Caucus' and 'Savari' which are used as an assembly to speak about gender-related issues related to Dalit women. In 2006, a special network for Dalit women solidarity started with Dalit women activists and academicians called Dalit Women's Network for Solidarity (DAWNS). Thenmozhi Soundararajan an Indian-American Dalit feminist activist takes the movement to another level. She uses the digital media to be specific "the art of cross-media storytelling to speak about casteism within Indian diaspora" and to protest "against caste-related sexual violence and other human rights violations against them" (wikipedia.org). She is a Dalit artist though working from America relentlessly trying to spread messages to the world through translating "stories across platforms that include social media posts, professional photography, and security training for its participants among others" (the guardian.com). Indian Dalit feminist activists can use unique ways of art to highlight their pangs and pains. They can use other art forms including literary texts as a weapon to fight back.

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A Review on Open Air Defecation post Swachh Bharat Abhiyan in Tamil Nadu: Prevalence and Determinants

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Abstract

Open Air Defecation has been an immortal evil in most of the developing countries with its impact ranging from socio-economic to health aspects. This issue becomes severe when it calls for public health interventions especially when the women and children of the rural households are prone to the dangers associated with the practice. The cause of the problem is also quite wide and deep. It ranges from economic constraints to restrictions to behavioural change. The immediate and the long-term effect of this practice often falls in the health domain. The people practicing this evil existence are not only prone to contacting diseases but also can be instrumental in spreading the same to others. The problem gets coupled when the burden falls on Below Poverty Line (BPL) families. The loss of health due to the spread of diseases leads to the loss of school days, labour days and wage opportunities. This review paper focuses on the prevalence of Open-Air Defecation (If still in practise), the socio-cultural and economic determinants for practicing Open Air Defecation and the impact of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan in India, with Tamil Nadu in particular.

Key Words: *Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, Open Air Defecation, Open Defecation Free, Latrines.*

Exordium

India's advancements in technology, business, health, economy and upliftment of the downtrodden despite the growing population, slum growth, illiteracy, etc., have been impressive.[1]On the other hand, Open Air Defecation (OAD), improper waste disposal, water contamination, and water pollution still remain a major problem in India.[2] OAD on open ground, near water reservoirs paralyses development, reduces life expectancy and causes innumerable health problems. Defecating in the open pollutes drinking water, spreads disease by flies and insects, ingested worms, spread of diseases that affect the intestine preventing the body from absorbing the required calories and nutrients, these are the examples of how human health is affected.[3] Protection and promotion of human health are the main intention of the sanitation system. Malnutrition, Anaemia, Malaria etc., are few of the diseases caused due to the lack of proper sanitation. Cleanliness and hygiene are keys to a healthier lifestyle. The idea of proper sanitation helps prevent the contact of

faeces by humans, this can be ensured by construction of pit latrines, dry latrines, septic tanks etc. In this paper we will review on the following question, why does OAD remain a stand out in India? Why OAD is still practiced post SBA? Does the social, cultural, economic or behavioural change influence or challenge OAD in India? Isn't the dignity and safety of people who practice OAD at risk? What impact has SBA made?

Methodology

A Review on the impact of SBA in Tamil Nadu; prevalence and determinants of OAD in India was done by critically analysing secondary data's such as research papers, articles from newspapers, data provided by the government, books, etc. 'Swachh Bharat', 'OAD', 'health impacts', "prevalence' are some of the keyword used while searching the data base. Data or articles after the implementation of SBA (i.e.; after 2014) was taken to study the impact and prevalence of OAD. Men and women of all age groups were selected for the study with its main focus on the rural areas of Tamil Nadu.

Objectives

1. To estimate the prevalence of OAD in rural India if still in practice
2. To understand and evaluate the impact of SBA
3. To review multiple articles on OAD and its health/social impacts
4. To compile various suggestions and recommendations made by studies to halt OAD
5. To elicit the underlying determinants

Open Air Defecation - India

OAD refers to people who defecate in the open, or people who relieve themselves despite the availability of *latrines* built for them. In India, around 65,000 tonnes of faeces are defecated into the environment. OAD causes a variety of respiratory issues, as well as worm infection and diarrheal diseases. Water-borne infections, vector-borne diseases, malnutrition, stunting and gender-based violence, and visual and olfactory pollution are among the major problems caused by OAD.[4] Poor sanitation has a severe influence on women and children, stifling nation's development and resulting in shorter life span of people.

Sanitation Programs

India is a country with various cultures and religions, has a total population of 1.37 billion, 68.68% belong to rural areas and 31.14% belong to the urban area.[5] 80% of the urban households have latrines, whereas only 69% of the rural population have access to latrine facility. The remaining percentages of the population use community toilets or relieve themselves on open fields. Latrine facilities in rural areas were increased from 1% in 1981, 11% in 1991, 22% in 2001 and to 32.7% in 2011. During this period many programs such as Central Rural Sanitation program in 1986, total sanitation campaign in 1999 and Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan in 2012 were initiated to eradicate OAD.[6] Central Rural Sanitation Program (CRSP) was the first initiative to tackle sanitation, the objective was providing privacy and dignity for women and improve the standard of life.[7] The aim of the program was to improve the sanitation of the rural population by 25%.[8] The Government replaced

the CRSP as the Total Sanitation Campaign (TSC), the TSC was inefficacious despite their stress in behavioural changes and demand for latrines. The campaign advertised about the ill effects of uncleanliness.[9] In 2012, the TSC campaign was renamed Nirmal Bharat Abhiyan (NBA) with the goal to provide improved facilities for the rural population by 2022.[10] SBA initiated under Prime Minister Narendra Modi on October 2nd 2014, the mission aimed at eradicating OAD with a slogan "One step towards cleanliness".

Swachh Bharat Mission

Indian Human Developmental Studies (IHDS) data collected during the period 2011 - 2012 by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) and University of Maryland saw that 40% of the 40,000+ household in India that defecated in the open, 60% to the rural population defecated in the open. The data collected also showed that 55% of the scheduled caste, 60% of the scheduled tribes and 30% forward caste had defecated in the open, although there was an overall improvement when compared to the data collected during 2004 - 2005.[11] Hence to accelerate Universal Sanitation, Swachh Bharat Mission was launched. The mission's goal was to eliminate OAD between 2014 and 2019, which could only be achieved by building household and community latrines and educating people about the benefits of using latrines. The Swachh Bharat mission's goals included building latrines that are subsidized for individuals living below the poverty line (BPL), converting dry latrines into affordable sanitary latrines, and constructing drains, pits, and proper waste disposal systems.[12]

Swachh Bharat Mission has made some progress over the years. Firstly, dedication and commitment coming from the highest level in a government, secondly through behavioural change and thirdly, ODF status is verified by monitoring the usage of latrines built, whereas earlier it depended on the number of latrines built. Fourth more staffs were hired and deployed to educate about the effectiveness of a healthier lifestyle. Over 2 lakh villages, 201 districts, and 5 states were proclaimed ODF in October 2017. There had been significant development as of December 2018, with over 5 lakh villages, 580 districts, and 27 states/union territories. Since 2014, over 100 million latrines have been built, 6,03,177 villages, 706 districts, and 36 states/union territories have been proclaimed ODF, according to the SBA website. The Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation enhanced government aid to ensure that assistance for building household latrines and meeting the needs of people with disabilities was prioritised.[13] The website for 'Jal Jeevan Mission' by the Department of Drinking Water and Sanitation gave data that 17,86,71,105 rural household present, of which 3,61,26,620 rural household are provided with tap connection which roughly 20.2% the number of household taps keep improving each day.[14]Phase II of the Swachh Bharat Mission is in progress which will ensure that ODF behaviours are sustained and safe management of solid and liquid waste management.[15]

Review on the Impact of SBA

India: India is home to the world's second largest population has also been the home to world's largest population that defecates in the open. Poor hygiene conditions and insanitary disposal of human excreta leads to mortality in our country.[16] India contributed to nearly 600 million from the total 1 billion people who had no access to latrines and the mission would help in eradicating

OAD.[17] According to census data from 2011, only 32% of rural households had toilets, and other research revealed that even fewer people utilised them. According to the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation, 90 million latrines have been constructed, with rural sanitation up to 98 percent in 2018 from 34 percent in 2014.[18] The National Statistical Office (NSO) disagreed with these claims from the government although there was a great progress with latrine facility use at rural areas. The NSO discovered a shift in behaviour as a result of SBA; only 3.5 percent of those with access to toilets did not use them, demonstrating that SBA was effective. A Survey conducted in January 2019 in the states of Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh revealed that more residents in the states owned a toilet than in 2014.[19] Despite improvements in the use of latrines, studies have showed that ODF was still a long way off in many of the states that had declared themselves ODF. Many states had declared ODF, however the research identified a discrepancy in Jharkhand (42%), Rajasthan (34%), Karnataka (30%), Madhya Pradesh (29%), Andhra Pradesh (22%), and Maharashtra (22%). In Gujarat, which was proclaimed ODF in October 2017, a quarter of rural households lacked access to latrines.[20] Saikat Dey's study on Polempur villagers, published in the IJRAR-International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews, revealed that a substantial number of villagers suffered from numerous diseases as a result of poor sanitation. some villagers did not have access to latrines hence the practice of OAD, leading to flies acting as carriers as well to infectious diseases. The data also showed that 50% of the villagers suffered from dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera and typhoid. Especially, Women were vulnerable due to this practice, when they did not avail latrines during their monthly bleeding[21]. The Print reported in May 2020 that the SBA had allocated Rs.12,000 to members whose names were on the recipient list, but the villages said that the money had not reached them or that they did not know how to withdraw it. The village headman, on the other hand, stated that people do not use the money handed to them for the construction of houses or latrines, but rather deposit it in their bank accounts.[22]

Tamil Nadu : In Tamil Nadu around 2 lakh latrines in 2014-2015, and 22 lakh latrines in 2017-2018, indicating that sanitation has improved**.** Swift and speedy construction of latrines in both urban and rural areas of the states was intended to raise awareness and urge people to abandon the practise of defecating in the open.[23] Some of the positive impacts of SBA were that 800 women in Tamil Nadu were foot soldiers for the effectiveness of total sanitation. Around 500 women in Salem helped the district administration in constructing latrines. Gold coins were given to 10 people who constructed latrines in Karaikal Municipality. Transgenders were also included by the Trichy corporation who build its first ever transgender toilet. Self-help groups of many districts were a part of sanitation.[24]

Studies were conducted to understand the reason for the prevalence of OAD in Tamil Nadu. Studies show that people still practice OAD is either habitual or linked to walking. People defecate in the open as maintenance and construction of latrines are an economically issue. People preferred OAD with company as it drew way for a chit chat. Women preferred OAD over latrines as it gave them free space and ventilation whereas the latrines made them feel supressed to the confined space.[25] Eighty percent of people defecate in the open in districts like Ariyalur, Dharmapuri, Villupuram, Perambalur, and Tiruvannamalai.[26] Sampath Kumar Srinivasan in his study on the panchayats in

Namakkal, Perambalur and Pudukkottai districts in Tamil Nadu showed that People restricted the use of toilet either due to lack of water or cultural barrier and economical barriers.[27] Rakesh Kumar in his studies on the rural households of Perambalur district point out that 41.5% are unaware of public toilet facility, 15.3% defecate in the open due to inadequate supply of water at home, 16.9% defecate outside as the toilet space is congested, 16.6% defecate outside as a habit, 10% defecate in the open as they are financially not stable and 0.4% were discriminated from using latrines based on their caste.[28] A comparative study of rural parts of Tamil Nadu and Bihar showed that people defecated in the open because it was convenient and accessible. Economic constraints also played a role in not owning a toilet.[29] The National Statistical Office (NSO) conducted a survey between July and December 2018, the study was done in some of the states that had declared to be ODF even before the survey began, Tamil Nadu being one of the states that contradicted the survey by the National Statistical Office, a gap of 37% was found, meaning that 37% of Rural Households did not have access to latrines.[30]

Newspaper reports on Tamil Nadu:

The Times of India on November 2018 reported that 98% of the rural population had access to latrines. According to the Government of Tamil Nadu, 31 of the 32 districts were declared ODF, the urban population is not far behind. Many Central Government Agencies had contradicted these claims, including the National Family Health Survey which claimed that two of five people defecated in the open. Many Researchers had denied the Government data as exaggerated. The number of latrines had increased but the usage of these latrines had not increased. A study also showed that the district with high literacy rate do not defecate in the open, whereas district with low literacy rate had people who did not use the toilet that were constructed for them.[31] According to an article published in the Hindustan Times on October 3rd, many community latrines are either closed or unmaintained, forcing individuals to defecate in the open.[32] On March 5th, 2020, dtnext reported on the bad architecture of latrines, as well as poorly lighted latrines, which were a serious issue when it came to women's safety. According to a study published in the Bio-Med Central Journal, women who defecate in the open are prone to the danger of sexual abuse.[33] It was also stressed that latrine neglect can lead to urinary infection.[34]

Occurrences in India after the implementation SBA

- Two teenage girls were raped in Uttar Pradesh's Baudan District on the 27th of May 2014, as both the teenager had to go out to defecate in the open due to lack of toilet facilities. [35]
- On the 5th of November 2018, a young girl being raped in Dharmapuri was reported in the Times of India. The girl had stepped out to use the toilet thus uncovers to the world how latrines built far from home are unsafe for women.
- On November 2018 an elephant attacked a vegetable vendor when she went to relieve herself.[36]

- On the 25th of September2019, two Dalit children were beaten to death for defecating in the open, the father of the children said he did have a toilet at home.[37]
- On February, 2020 a Dalit man who worked at Villupuram was lynched for defecating in the open. [38]

Discussion:

The above review of the articles, journals, papers published have emphasised the prevalence of OAD yet again after the implementation of SBA. The cause of the problem of OAD is wide and deep. Economic constraints, behavioural changes, maintenance of latrines and water supply are the main reason for OAD still prevalent in many districts and states. People practising this evil are prone to contacting diseases caused due to OAD and also act as instruments for spreading the same. Some other reason as found in various studies are poverty, lack of financial aid, maintenance of toilets, single pits, sharing latrines with their family due to cultural issues and behavioural change.[39] Discrepancies in data by the government, fake beneficiaries that were in place to loot money, lack of water, community toilets that were shut, low quality raw materials for construction, lack of space and latrines that were favourable to the old and disabled were other reason for the prevalence of OAD.

Conclusion

SBA has borne fruit by reducing the number of people that have been defecating in the open and spreading awareness on the ill effects of OAD. The main reason for the impacts is because of the active participation from the highest level of the government. Due to societal, economic, and behavioural constraints, ODF is still a long way off in many states. Poverty, lack of room, inadequate ventilation, water scarcity, the necessity to go a long distance to use the latrines built for them, and physical hurdles are all reasons why people still defecate in the open. Cleaning septic tanks, using quality raw materials will also have a major impact on people not using latrines. Public awareness of OAD's negative impacts must be propagated extensively by SBA. Monitoring to avoid corruptions and ensuring that people do not use the money or latrines for other purposes. Stringent laws and penalties would also help in achieving ODF status.

Suggestions and Recommendations

The Primary goal should be **educating people** on **sanitation** and the importance to **hygiene to** help in reducing OAD. People need to understand the **benefits** of using a **latrine** than defecating in the open.

- **Constructing latrines** that are **cost efficient** and built with **quality raw material**. **Lack of space** and **poor ventilation** lead to a **behavioural change** of people defecating in the open.
- **Single pits** were the **major problem** in many studies conducted, single pits require **undecomposed sludge** that had to be cleared manually or the use of expensive machines.

Twin pits were **recommended** by the government which allows cleaning on pit and while using the other.

- **Physical Barriers** such as **lack of space, travelling** a long way to use the facility, **paths** to the latrines are rough**, nothing to hold while squatting or getting up** for the **old**. **Paths** to the latrine must be accessible as they would have a huge **impact** on the **visually impaired, wheel chair users** etc**. Water pumps, landmarks, lockable doors** need to be set up to ensure **safety and privacy** for users.
- **Elderly** and **persons with disabilities** need to be considered **while constructing latrines**. **Implementing staff** need to be aware on ways to **build** latrines that are **accessible** and low cost for the older people and disabled.
- **Women** are more prone to **sexual violence** while defecating in the open, several nationwide campaigns were held to stop such harassments. **Construction of private toilets** for every household would help women avoid **travelling long distance** to defecate at night and prevent sexual violence.
- **People in charge** of various departments also need to take **care** on the **usability** of latrines at **public places**. Lack of cleanliness and maintenance lead to *OAD.*
- **Monitoring** construction of latrines by people who have received money from the governments, as well as **ensuring** people who are eligible for **beneficiaries receive** the **government aid.**
- **Water scarcity** is another problem that people face, people **use** latrines that are built by them or for them **during monsoon but defecate** in the open during **summer**. Solving water problem would also have a major impact on OAD
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ABREVIATION

ODF	-	OPEN DEFECATION FREE
SBA	-	SWACHH BHARAT ABHIYAN
UNICEF	-	UNITED NATION INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND
IDHS	-	INDIAN HUMAN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
NCAER	-	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF APPLIED ECONOMIC RESEARCH
CRSP	-	CENTRAL RURAL SANITATION PROGRAM
TSC	-	TOTAL SANITATION CAMPAIGN
NBA	-	NIRMAL BHARAT ABHIYAN

SLWM - SOLID LIQUID WASTE MANAGEMENT

NSO - NATIONAL STATISTICAL OFFICE

IJAR - INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF RESEARCH AND ANALYTICAL REVIEWS

WHO - WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION

SBM - SWACHH BHARAT MISSION

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Language, Culture and Biodiversity: Issues Concerning North East India

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Abstract:

The concept of bio-diversity emerged as one of the central concerns in the end part of the 20th century to understand issues of utilization as well as sustainability which is intricately linked with concept of cultural diversity. This concept is also created unique niche to address the right and knowledge system of the Indigenous people across the globe and thus leading to the importance of language which is the key for transmission of such huge knowledge systems. The present paper is an attempt to explore the such linkages between bio-cultural diversity and languages taking North East India as a wider context and citing multiple examples from the state of Arunachal Pradesh, which is one of the bio-diversity hotspots having large number of Indigenous people who are still having close ties with their surrounding ecosystems.

Key Words: *Bio-diversity, cultural- diversity, conservation, legal regime, tribe, indigenous people, knowledge systems, edible plants.*

Introduction

Biological Diversity as a conceptual construct emerged in the latter part of the 20th century. The transition from wildlife conservation to the conservation of biological diversity took place during this period. The passage of the Convention on Biological Diversity in 1992 and the widespread acceptance of the Convention signalled the emergence of the discourse of conservation and sustainable utilization of biodiversity at the international level. Subsequently the importance of cultural diversity also has been widely recognized as an intrinsic chord in promoting biodiversity conservation and the bedrock for the maintenance and transmission of traditional ecological Knowledge. Bio-cultural diversity is not uniformly distributed and most of it is concentrated in the humid and semi-arid tropical and subtropical regions concentrated in around 34 major hotspots which account for over 90% of world's biological and cultural diversity (Conservation International 2010). It also has been widely recognized that mountains are home to most of the planet's bio-

cultural diversity and it is important to develop a nuanced approach to address these realities (Stepp et al 2005 and Turin 2005).

The emergence of the global bio-cultural diversity conservation regime

Bio-diversity conservation in the formal western sense started probably with the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park, though conservation of wildlife has been an age–old phenomenon. The transition to a holistic bio-cultural approach started with the passage of the Convention on Biological Diversity in 1992. The three pillars of the CBD are the conservation, sustainable usage of biodiversity and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits from access to biodiversity/ biodiversity-based knowledge. The CBD is important for it recognizes the rights of indigenous people over their knowledge, innovations and practices and calls upon parties to the convention to respect preserve and maintain such knowledge, innovations and practices relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity. Article 8j of the CBD focuses on benefit sharing provisions and stipulates that benefit sharing can be accomplished through the utilization of knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities. These articles (8(j), 10 (c) 11 and 15) talk about the importance of Indigenous/ local communities and their knowledge systems along with the need to incorporate these knowledge systems into the management of biological resources and promulgate a system of access to and benefit sharing from biodiversity-based knowledge (CBD 2007). There was also an acknowledgement of the importance of linguistic diversity which is reflected in the preamble to the CBD and also in the CBD working papers that outline the linkages between linguistic and biological diversity and acknowledge the importance of language as a vehicle for the transmission of biodiversity-based knowledge systems. (CBD 2004). Thus, today the international legal regime is firmly rooted in the interconnectedness of biological and cultural diversity with language being looked at as the medium of transmission of these knowledge systems. The following paragraphs will trace the evolution of this process in the context of the Greater Himalayan region in general and North-east India in particular.

The setting of north-east India:

North -east India comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland. Mountains and hills cover most of Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Sikkim and about half of Tripura, one-fifth of Assam and nine-tenth of Manipur. The northern part of the region is a part of the eastern Himalayan region but the rest of the region comprises of a series of hill ranges, which merge into the Arakan Yoma.

According to the 20011 Census of India, the total population of the north- east is 45,772,118 with more than 80% living in the rural areas. Overall, tribal account for over 27.7 % of the total population of this region. However, in Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland, scheduled tribes comprise more than 60% of the population. This gives these states a predominantly tribal character.

The primary mode of subsistence is shifting cultivation, a land use practice that is in many ways one of the major reasons for the maintenance of the mosaic landscapes of forests interspersed with *Jhum* i.e shifting cultivation fallows. The area also is extremely rich in faunal resources and houses representative fauna from the Indian, Malayan and the Palearctic realms, that are also critically endangered (Chatterjee 2006).

North-east India is linked to the rest of India through a very narrow 21 km long corridor called the chicken's neck which passes through West Bengal in eastern India. The region is ethnically distinct from rest of India with *swidden* cultivation being the primary land use. This region was by and large lightly administered in the colonial era, especially in the hill states, which resulted in a geographical and political isolation from the rest of colonial India. Thus, just after India's independence, as the rule of the central government was strengthened, the result was that many isolated hill communities became involved in separatist movements. This forced the central government to address the social, political and economic grievances and the real difference that exists between the so-called mainland and this region. The process followed was through amendments to the Indian Constitution such as the creation of the Sixth Schedule and the incorporation of article 371. This process covered the whole gamut of natural resource management, but remained largely a paper exercise and thus failed to meet the aspirations of the people of the region (Hazarika 1996, Saikia 2003).

Bio-cultural diversity of north –east India:

This region is arguably the richest among all the different parts of India. It is a part of two major bio-diversity hotspots namely the Himalayan and the Indo-Burma (Conservation International 2010). It is also a part of the Himalayan hotspot of linguistic diversity (Turin 2007 and Ved 2007, UNESCO 2010). There are over an estimated 600 languages spoken in the Himalayan region and North-east India accounts for quite a few of them though there is considerable overlap about the figures. It ranges from figures of 325 (Ved 2007) to over 200 living languages (Turin 2007) to UNESCO's atlas coming up with a figure of 107 living languages. The fact of the matter is that while there are differences in methodological prescriptions between these studies all of them agree on the fact that there exists a large number of spoken or living languages. As linguistic diversity is a well accepted proxy indicator for cultural diversity one can very well imagine the scale of cultural diversity that is being talked about here.

Existing biodiversity governance systems of north-east India

The biodiversity governance systems are inherently different from rest of India and as stated above has also survived the onslaught of colonial rule as this area was comparatively lightly administered. In many ways it is a bridge between south and south-east Asia and thus these land use systems have a lot of affinity with the land use systems of South-east Asia.

The primary land ownership structure in the north-east has from time immemorial been community owned land, there are numerous examples of community or clan-based ownership in the region ranging across all the hill states, the following examples from many of the states in the region testifies to this fact.

Community lands, including forest areas, have a number of uses, which are reflected in their names. In the Khasi and Jaintia hills of Meghalaya, the functions and purposes of most forests are based on village administration and religious perceptions. Community forests are known as *Law Kyntang*, *Law Adong*, *Law Lyngdoh*, *Law Shnong*, *Law Raij*, *Law Sumar*, *Law Kur*, etc, denoting the usages to which they are supposed to be put (Dutta 2001). Land tenure was not disturbed by the colonial presence in these areas, as only a few areas were acquired outright by the British administration, while most of the smaller territories were treated as though they were beyond the borders of

colonial India (Simon 1996). After independence, the prevailing land tenure and practices were recognized and maintained in the district council legislation.

In the case of Mizoram there are a lot of forests registered as village safety and supply reserves, which in many cases predate the colonial presence in Mizoram (Singh 1996). In the case of Nagaland there are village forests, clan forests, community wildlife sanctuaries (Charles Chasie personal communication & Choudhary 1998). In Arunachal Pradesh there are a host of community-managed areas like the sacred forests of the *Nishis*, the *Anchal* Reserve Forests across the state, monastery forests of Bomdila and Tawang (Sudipto Chatterjee personal communication). Concept of Clan and village lands is found among many Tani group as well as non-Tani group of tribes as evident from various ethnographic studies.

The path to a more bio-cultural legal framework in India

In India forest and wildlife are a part of the concurrent list of the Indian constitution. The oldest law in force with reference to the question of ownership over biodiversity/ forests/ wildlife is the forest act of 1927. There have been a host of subsequent legislation since including the Wildlife Protection Act 1972 along with it's amendments in 2002, the forest conservation act of 1980, the Biodiversity act of 2004 and Forest Rights Act of 2006. These legislations have by and large espoused a very strong guns and guards' approach to biodiversity conservation. The overall thrust has been to protect bio-diversity from the people and not with the people. Though of late things are changing and there are quite a few sections in both the Biodiversity act (Section 41 and the rules framed under the Forests Right act, the wildlife protection act 2002) which are a testimony to this changing mindset (adapted from Choudhary 2006, MOTF 2006, NBA 2005, Upadhyay 2002).

The constitution also acknowledges the different notions of forest ownership and governance structures in Mizoram and Nagaland through article 371 and also confers the ownership and management responsibility of land and forest resources other than reserved forests to autonomous district councils established under the sixth schedule in the states of Meghalaya, Assam, Mizoram. (MOLJ 2007). Thus, though overall thrust still is a very state centric biodiversity conservation regime small but important changes are seeping in, people's conservation initiatives are being acknowledged, the importance of traditional biodiversity-based knowledge systems are also being understood. Bio-cultural notions of conservation appear to be on the anvil and definitely it will be the case. The following paragraphs outline the omissions and commissions of this process as it slowly evolves especially in north-east India.

Discussion:

These laws by and large have not been drafted looking at the diverse linkages and actions that are required for the conservation of bio-diversity, they have put forth a very narrow understanding of the notions of biodiversity conservation, focusing on a very state centric and hierarchical management and acquisition system along with a very peripheral acknowledgement of the cultural linkages of biodiversity usage.

The issue of cultural diversity, which is bedrock of the entire benefit-sharing scenario, is of critical importance. The entire Himalayan region is a hot spot of cultural diversity and it is more so a case in the context of the eastern Himalayas of which north-east India is an intrinsic part. This is understood by the fact that over 400 languages are spoken throughout the Himalayas with most of

the speakers of these languages numbering less than 100,000 speakers (Turin 2007). The legal regimes while they acknowledge the fact that this diversity is important do not really address this issue of crucial importance, for it is a language, which carries all the knowledge associated with the speakers of the language. There is no special provision for the protection of these endangered languages in the biodiversity rich areas and in some cases the different arms of the state pursue different policies in this regard. A good example is the current scenario in the north-east Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, its bio-cultural diversity hotspot located in the eastern Himalayan region and today as a part of "nation building" Hindi the Indian official language has been aggressively promoted in this state. The end result being that Hindi is becoming the lingua franca and the local tribal languages are beginning to have less speakers, in the long run it means a loss of biodiversity-based knowledge as the children of today fail to pick up the language-based knowledge from their forefathers (Moji Riba, Faculty of Mass Communication, Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar, personal communication). The linkages between the linguistic diversity and floristic diversity in the state is highlighted by the fact that there exists a rich nomenclature of plant species in all the tribal languages of the state. Appendix 1 carries a list of timber species along with their local and scientific names in order to give an idea of this biodiversity based cultural n knowledge system. Large number of timber plants known by the tribes are appended along with local and scientific names to supplement the linkages between linguistic diversity and floral diversity in the state (Appendix:I).

A few tribe specific examples can be given here to illustrate the point-taking cue from the food productive or gathering strategy of a tribe called Aka, a small as well as lesser-known tribe living in both West as well as East Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh.

Food gathering is an important part of their occupation and a supplementary source of livelihood. The Akas mainly depend on the nearby forests for their requirement of vegetables, fruits, barks, edible plants and leaves, etc. the collections of forest produce i.e., vegetables, mushrooms, etc falls within the province of womenfolk. Collection of fruits, tree barks, edible plants and others, which involves hard work, were the work of the men. Some of these forest produces are being collected throughout the year, some of which are collected for six months and some of which are collected for only one or two months. The food gathering pursuits among the Akas, however, do not involve co-operative activity as evident among the premier food gatherer communities of the country. Women or girls in small groups, or even individually, collect the vegetables from the forest whenever they need.

The edible plants collected in the month of January includes wild plants locally known as *husa-pendu, mayesi, pesu, pesa,* etc. and the fruits collected are locally known as *syochulje, syotro, kesfjein, emdyin,* etc. Different varieties of mushrooms locally known as *lumeoje, lumeofu, lumeotenta, lumeofusuw, tasile,* etc. are collected by women/girls in the month of February. In this month other vegetables such as banana flower *(wolbu), pedba, methi-troksi, wulochanchi* are also gathered. The same vegetables are used to collect in the next month also i.e., March. The two months i.e., April and May are restricted months and no forest produce are being collected because in these months the plants are not fit for consumption. So, these people fully depend on their *jhum* fields for vegetables in these two months. In the month of June vegetables known as *fumpem,* mushroom *(lumeogji),* bamboos (bjechi) are gathered from the forests. Fruits locally known as *lugi,*

kotocovo, sejilafo syovaji, etc. are collected to meet the food shortage in the month of June. Some species of bamboo such as *sega, mesajo, gedri,* are collected in the month of July and also fruits known as *gejey, syobee, wotro,* are gathered in the same month. No vegetables or edible plants are available in the forest in the months of August and September. So, these people depend on the jhum fields for their requirement of vegetables in these months. Another important edible wild plant locally known as *sim-nekchi* is gathered by these people during the period of shortage in food. Also, there are other edible plants known as *sawo, saje, gudrolu, lumo,* etc. which are collected for consumption during the period of food shortage. Likewise, the Akas collects vegetables, fruits, etc. from the nearby forests round the year (Appendix: II, III and IV). In this process there develops a good deal of relationship with the forest ecology. The forest provides the necessities of these people and in turn these people spare the small plants. Some months are considered as restricted months when they do not collect any forest item (Nimachow and Chaudhuri: 2012:249-50). Similarly, tremendous diversity in the nomenclature of fish species can be found among the Tani group of tribes where we can locate local names of similar fish species are different even among the Nyishi, Adis and the Galos, three major tribes of the state (please see Appendix:V). It is a well-known fact that leaving a few tribes (Apatani, Khampti etc) majority of the tribes are primarily dependent on shifting hill cultivation though they have shown remarkable diversity of crops produced in shifting or jhum fields (Appendix :VI).

It may be added here that bamboo and cane are two floral elements intricately associated with the livelihood strategy of the tribes of Arunachal and this state is known for their species diversity. Tribes are having their own nomenclatures depending on their utilitarian values. For instance, Adis of Damro village use twelve wild varieties of bamboos which are known in their language as Eyom, Tok, Tape, Tabum, Tadol, Tappin, Tagil, Taban, Taboh boik, Taboh borom, Tanil and Tanang. Similarly, they identify seven varieties of canes, such as, Esong, Takat, Tapi, Ramang, Abo, Jeying and Yoyi (Megu:2007:48).

This issue is not being looked at either by the Arunachal State biodiversity board or the National Biodiversity Authority. The approach so far has remained a documentation approach, which works more as a museum narrative rather than the used in conservation / revival of these dynamic traditional knowledge systems. They see the role of local communities as basically being documenters of their traditional knowledge rather than as active managers of natural resources and associated traditional knowledge. A very good example in this regard is the Indian Biodiversity Act and the associated rules which look at the role of the biodiversity management committees only as documenters of traditional knowledge and very marginally as managers.

The norm has been to enable the state to be the major arbitrator for bio- resource collection, fixing benefits and also with a very strong emphasis on knowledge acquisition without the concomitant thrust on knowledge transmission as some of these examples show.

Though some of the laws do recognize the rights over traditional knowledge systems, the tendency to impose a sense of hierarchical importance *vis –a -vis* the formal systems of knowledge is very much the norm. This means that though the rhetoric of rights for traditional / indigenous communities is adhered to in line with International prescriptions, the reality on the ground may be very different. The following example will highlight the point. Section 41 (1) of the Indian biodiversity act provides the space for local communities to manage and conserve local varieties. It

may provide an important incentive for defending and value adding to different forms of *swidden* agriculture. However, if one looks at the actual prescriptions of the state governments in the North-eastern Region where shifting cultivation is the dominant form of land use the tenor is very much to replace *swidden* agriculture with commercial agriculture (Saikia 2003).

Consequently, one can see that the discourse on traditional knowledge and how it has by and large remained highly rhetorical and a very state centric one, where the knowledge is deemed to be important but not the resources that sustain this knowledge. In North-east India where the state does not control in most cases the access to these resources the battle lines have been drawn while on the one hand the government reiterates its commitment about the need to protect traditional knowledge systems on the other hand there are a host of attempts being made to assert control over community-controlled biodiversity rich landscapes. There is also no understanding of how to ensure that this bio-diversity based traditional knowledge systems would be transmitted to the next generation. It is only through the medium of language that this transmission takes place.

The way forward

The state needs to develop a legal regime that addresses this reality may be, through an integration of existing legal prescriptions that deal with language loss and also develop a regime of fiscal incentives to enable the transmission of bio-diversity based knowledge systems to the next generation. The need of the hour is to probably go beyond documentation to more of a system that values and respects traditional knowledge as a living system. The role of language as the key transmission agent needs to be highlighted especially in the biodiversity rich areas of north-east India. The state also needs to ensure that development interventions are planned keeping in mind potential impact on bio-cultural diversity. Last but not the least as the linkages between language, culture and biodiversity are very much in the hands of the community in north-east India, the state should actually think of itself as more of a facilitator rather than as a manager of resources. This would not only enable the state to win the trust of these communities but also at the same time can contribute to the conservation processes in the region.

Conclusion:

This paper explores the narratives of international discourse on the protection and preservation of traditional knowledge systems in particular the linkages between Language, Culture and Biodiversity and looks at how this discourse has evolved in the context of north-east India. The thrust of the paper is to explore and suggest ways and means to develop a more nuanced and grounded legal and policy regime that would recognize and conserve bio-cultural diversity especially in the context of north-east India.

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Appendix: I

Commercial timber species known to the people of Arunachal Pradesh

Local Name	**Botanical Name**
Pajihuta	*Actinodaphne obovate*
Moz	*Albizia lucida*
Satiana	*Alstonia schoaris*
Jutlly	*Altingia excelsa*
Kadam	*Anthcephalus chinensis*
Dewa Chali	*Artoccarpus lakoocha*
Kanchon	*Bauhinia variegata*
Dewa chali	*Atocarpus chinensis*
Kanchon	*Bauhinia variegata*
Bonhingalo	*Beilschmiedia pseudomicropora*
Birch	*Betula alnoides*
Urium	*Bischofia javanica*
Simul	*Bombax ceiba*
Dhuna	*Canaririum bengalense*
Hingori	*Castonopsis indica*
Bogipoma	*Chukrasia tabularis*
Gonsoroi	*Cinnamomum glaucescens*
Hollong	*Dipterocarpus retusus*
Khokan	*Dunbanga grandiflora*
Gondhaki poma	*Dysoxylum alliarium*
Lali	*Dysoxylum gobarum*
Tekra	*Garcinia cowa*
Gomari	*Gmelina arborea*
Chalmugra	*Gynocardia odorata*
Pichola	*Kydia calycina*
Morali	*Macaranga denticulata*
Boramthuri	*Magnolia pterocarpa*
Sopa	*Michelia doltsopa*
Bonsum	*Phoebe Goalparensis*
Mekahi	*Phoebepaniculata*
Poma	*Toona ciliata*

Source: Baishya,Balodi and Pal, 2002:193)

Appendix: II
Fruits gathered from the Forest by the Akas

Local Name	English Name	Scientific Name	How Consumed
Munumu	Bansum	Phoebe spp.	This is a big tree mostly used for timber. On the same time fruits are collected and outer cover of it is consumed in raw form with chilly and salt.
Kotocovo	Wild lichi	--	It is somewhat similar to lichi. It is consumed by removing the outer cover.
Syobolofisin	--	--	Inner portion is eaten.
Neuyi	--	--	Cleaned by water and the whole parts are eaten in raw form.
Syobee	--	--	Outer cover is eaten with chilly and salt.
Luduje	--	--	Outer thorny portion is removed and inner portion is eaten.
Lugie	--	--	Consumed by boiling, raw and streaming.
Gejey	--	--	Consumed by smoked dry.
Kusuwin	--	--	Eaten in raw form and by putting on the bamboo cups.
Kusukabro	--	--	Eaten in raw form and by putting on the bamboo cups.
Lufuje	--	--	Inner parts are eaten.
Wusa	Wild banana	--	Eaten by removing the seeds.
Syotuo	--	--	A kind of fruit, which is soar in taste. And inner portion is eaten.

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Appendix:III
Name of Animals eaten by the Akas

Local Name	English Name	Scientific Name	How Consumed
Fumi	Deer	--	Roasting directly burnt on the fire and also by boiling/frying.
Sucho	Bear	--	-Do-. Not eaten by the women folk.
Fuhu	Wild Pig	Sus domesticus	-Do-
Fumi-cho	Reindeer	--	-Do-
Wofu	--	--	-Do-
Sije	--	--	-Do-
Syofu	Monkey	Macaca radiate	-Do- Not eaten by the women folk
Methifu	Wild mithun	Bos fontalis	-Do-
Fuggi	--	--	-Do-

Wuve	--	--	-Do-
Mujo	--	--	-Do-
Muju	Wild banana	--	-Do-
Pse	Squirrel of big size	Dremomys lokriah	Roasting as well as smoked dry. Not eaten by the women.
Psesinsa	Squirrel	Hylopetis alboriger	Smoked dry, mostly roasting and boil. Not eaten by the women.
Rumo inyigro	Rat (wild)	--	Smoked dry, roasting and boiling. Not eaten by the women.

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Appendix: IV

Birds eaten by the Akas

Local Name	English Name	Scientific Name	How Consumed
Kesajyo	--	--	Roasting, smoked dry, boiling / frying and burning directly on the fire. Consumed by all.
Their	--	--	-Do-
Sujo	--	--	-Do-
Degje	--	--	-Do-
Sewbam	--	--	-Do-
Futuchem	--	--	-Do-
Ledam	--	--	-Do-
Pseglu	--	--	-Do-
Pacho	Parrot	--	-Do-
Sise	--	--	-Do-
Draindradum	--	--	-Do-
Subeau	Wild pigeon	--	-Do-
Subeau-jum	--	--	-Do-
Subeau-kro	--	--	-Do-
Salvo	--	--	-Do- not eaten by the women.
Gudru	Hornbill	--	-Do-

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Appendix:V

List of fish species known and taken by The Nyishi, Adi and Galo tribes of Arunachal Pradesh

Sl.No	Scientific Name	Nyishi Name	Adi Name	Galo Name
1	Aborichthys elongetus Hora	Rimum, Ribb	Ribi	Ribo/ ribii
2	Lepidocephadichthys(Hamilton)	------	Daral	Ringum
3	channa sp.	Tali, Taal	Talum	Taal/taalo/taali
4	Pterocryptis afghana (Gunther)	-------	Beyek	Tami/tami
5	Charias batrachus (Linnaeus)	Ngara	Mager	Magur
6	Batasio fasciolotus Ng	Ngapi, papio	Tapong	Orchin
7	Barilius bendelisis (Hamilton)	Ngub	Taseng	Orpu
8	Barilius bendelisis (Hamilton)	Tapiong	------	Ortak
9	Barilius barna (Hamilton)	Ngapi	------	Orpo
10	Batasiofasciolotus	Ngarang	------	Nare /nara
11	Badis sp.	Ngara, petch	-------	
12	Parachiloglanis hodgarti (Hora)	Nguchar	Beyok	Ngocher
13	Devario aequipinnatus (McClelland)	Ngapi	Tapong	Tapo
14	Mystus vittatus (Bloch)	-------	Narang	Nare / nara
15	Botia rostrata Gunther	------		Rigek
16	Balitora brucei Gray	Ngoku	Beyok	
17	Semiplotus semiplotus (McClelland)	Apatani ngui	Orpe	Orse
18	Glyptothorax sp	Nguli, Ngara	Ngorang Pakbo	Ngora pakka
19	Adehesive apparatus of glyptothorax	Ngara	Ngobel	Ngora pakka
20	Tor putirora (Hamilton)	Tenger, Ngachu	Biksik	Gase
21	Tort or (Hamilton)	-------	Rulbung	Orbo/ ngosi
22	Garra gotyla	Ngapii	Ngoyo	Ngoyo
23	Amblyceps apangi Nath and Dey	Ribii	---------	Tayek
24	Amblyceps apangi Nath and Dey	Ngara	---------	Tayek
25	Amblyceps apangi Nath and Dey	------	----------	Tayek
26	Amblyceps apangi Nath and Dey	------	---------	Tayek
27	Crossocheilus latius (Hamilton)	------	---------	Yirso
28	Aborichthys elongetus Hora	Ribb, Ribii	Ribi	Ribo bili
29	Pareuchiloglanis kamengennsis Jayaram	Ngara	---------	Ngoka pagra
30	Semiplotus semiplotus (McClelland)	Ngoge	Piling	Orse
31	Semiplotus semiplotus(McClelland)	----------	---------	Orse
32	Mastercembelus armatus (Lacepede)	Germe	---------	Germek
33	Batasio fasciolatus Ng	-------	Ngoko	Nare
34	Batasio fasciolatus Ng	-------	Daral	Orsin
35	Aborichthys elongetus Hora	Ribuii	Taseng	Ribo/ribi
36	Barilius bendelisis (Hamilton)	Papio	Gariong	Orpo
37	Barilius bendelisis (Hamilton)	Nguli, Ngage	--------	Orpu
38	Bendelisis barna (Hamilton)		Biksik	Ortak
39	Neolissochilus hexagonolepis (McClelland)	-----	------	Gase/gahe

40	Tor tor (Hamilton)	Ngachu	---------	Orbo /ngosi
41	Neolissochilus hexagonolepis (McClelland)	------	------	
42	Schizothorax richardsonii (Gray)	Ngarang	Kadang/ Ngoying	Kada
43	Schizothorax richardsonii (Gray)	Aarches	---------	Katum
44	Schizothorax richardsonii (Gray)	------	------	Yirso
45	Tort or (Hamilton)	------	Biksik	
46	Cirrhinus mrigala (Hamilton)	Tenger	------	Ngopi
47	Schizothorax sp.	------	Ngoying	
48	Schizothorax sp	Ngori, Ngoring	Kadang	Kada
49	Botia rostrata Gunther	Lichi, Assam Ngai	------	Ordgalo
50	Botia sp.	Kaiya	Ribi	Rani
51	Puntius sophore (Hamilton)	Patches	Orpe	Orpek
52	Neolissochilus hexagonolepis (McClelland)	Ngage	-----	Gase
53	Acanthocobitis botia (Hamilton)	-----	-----	Ringum
54	Aborichthys elongetus Hora	Ribb, Tayek	Ribi	Ribo
55	Bangana dero (Heckel)	Tenger	Ngopi	Ngopi
56	Garra gotyla (Gray)	Ngayo, Ngoka	Ripi	Ngotup
57	Garra annandalei Hora	-----	-----	Ngoyu
58	Garra sp.	-----	------	Ngoyi tuba

Source: Chaudhuri, Das, Sarkar, et al. 2008)

Appendix :VI

Major crops grown by the Galo tribe in shifting cultivation

Serial number	Name of crops grown in jhum field		Utilizing part	Mode of consumption	Cultivating season	Harvesting season	Purpose
	English name	Local name					
1	Brinjal	*Bayom*	fruit	boil	March-April	May-October	Self consumption &commercial
2	Chilly	*Yaluk*	fruit	Raw, boil & dry	April-May	August-December	Self consumption &commercial
3		*Kopii*	fruit	boil	March-April	July-October	Self consumption &commercial
4	Green Onion	*Diilap*	Tuber	Boil & raw	April-May	August-December	Self consumption &commercial
5	Ginger	*Taake*	Tuber	Raw	April-May	November-February	Self consumption &commercial
6	_	*Baak*	Fruit	Boil	April-May	July-October	Self consumption

7	Paddy	*Am*	grains	boil	March-April	August-September	Self consumption	
8	Millet	*Tami*	Grains	boil	April	August-September	Self consumption	
9	Mustard plant	*Geiyi*/*Tuk*	Leaf	boil	March	March-July	Self-consumption &commercial	
10	Beans	*Peran*	fruit	boil	March-April	July-October	Self-consumption &commercial	
11	Ladies Finger	*Bendi*	Fruit	Boil	March	May-August	Self-consumption &commercial	
12	Pumkin	*Patum*	Fruit& Leaf	Boil	March-April	July-September	Self-consumption &commercial	
13	White gourd	*Paar*	Fruit	boil	March-April	August-December	Self-consumption &commercial	
14	Cucumber	*Meku*/*Meb*	Fruit	Raw	March-April	July-August	Self consumption	
15	Bittergourd	*Kelera*	Fruit	Boil	April	July-September	Self consumption &commercial	
16	Colossians	*Enyo*	Tuber	Boil & Roasted	April	October-January	Self consumption &commercial	

Source: Mari Lollen:2009 : 55

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c. Articles in Journals:

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1. Language specific examples must be provided in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or in Roman alphabet.
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3. The translation and the gloss should be placed under the example with proper indentation and alignment (in case of word-for-word or morpheme-by-morpheme gloss).
4. The grammatical categories in a gloss must be abbreviated

For example,

a) adʒ ɔnek brʃt̪i hoyeʧhe.
today lot rain be-pr.pf.3rd
'Today there was heavy shower.'

b) boneder ʧhobi.
sister-gen.pl. picture
'Sisters' picture.'

5. The abbreviations must be given in a separate list.

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