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HISTORY, ANTHROPOLOGY & ARCHAEOLOGY

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## Fascistización Y Militarización De La Religiosidad Popular Los Imaginarios Franquistas 1936-1949

By César Rina Simón

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*Introduction:* En las celebraciones de la Semana Santa, la línea imaginaria que divide lo sobrenatural y lo humano desaparece y las fiestas adquieren un contenido simbólico relacionado con la perpetuación de la comunidad en el tiempo y la articulación de sus hitos identitarios. Los parámetros centrales de la celebración no cambian: culto a la primavera, a la vegetación y al fuego, personificación del dolor de la comunidad en unas imágenes dotadas de sacralidad y participación activa de toda la comunidad en el rito. La fuerza “totalizadora” de la celebración se explica por la participación colectiva y el intercambio de roles sociales que sus miembros experimentan durante los rituales. Debido a la importancia simbólica de la religiosidad “popular”, las instituciones políticas y eclesiásticas, desde las primeras manifestaciones propiciadas por el Concilio de Trento, tratan de redefinir la fiesta en función de sus intereses y convertir el rito en un medio sustentador de su poder o de su explicación del mundo.

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# Fascistización Y Militarización De La Religiosidad Popular Los Imaginarios Franquistas 1936-1949

César Rina Simón

## I. INTRODUCTION

En las celebraciones de la Semana Santa, la línea imaginaria que divide lo sobrenatural y lo humano desaparece y las fiestas adquieren un contenido simbólico relacionado con la perpetuación de la comunidad en el tiempo y la articulación de sus hitos identitarios. Los parámetros centrales de la celebración no cambian: culto a la primavera, a la vegetación y al fuego, personificación del dolor de la comunidad en unas imágenes dotadas de sacralidad y participación activa de toda la comunidad en el rito. La fuerza “totalizadora” de la celebración se explica por la participación colectiva y el intercambio de roles sociales que sus miembros experimentan durante los rituales. Debido a la importancia simbólica de la religiosidad “popular”, las instituciones políticas y eclesiásticas, desde las primeras manifestaciones propiciadas por el Concilio de Trento, tratan de redefinir la fiesta en función de sus intereses y convertir el rito en un medio sustentador de su poder o de su explicación del mundo.

El nacionalcatolicismo del Nuevo Estado franquista llevó a cabo un importante proceso de fascistización y militarización de las manifestaciones de la religiosidad “popular”, al tiempo que las autoridades eclesiásticas aprovecharon la connivencia con las instituciones políticas para purificar de “impurezas” folclóricas o espontáneas sus celebraciones. El objetivo que nos proponemos en nuestro análisis es el de reconocer los mecanismos de control y las tensiones entre los imaginarios diferenciados del franquismo, así como explicar los métodos de resistencia de los promotores y participantes en la religiosidad “popular” a través de su propia composición heterogénea y transversal.

La simbiosis entre rituales y significados políticos, militares y religiosos permitió la rápida implantación del Nuevo Estado en base a discursos dicotómicos y esencialistas dotados de sacralidad. Nos referimos al mito de la Cruzada; de la Pasión, Muerte y Resurrección de la Patria; del pecado, castigo, perdón y Redención del pueblo español; del esencialismo

católico e historicista de Menéndez Pelayo; del culto sagrado a la figura del Caudillo como agente de la providencia –reforzado por la vinculación del líder con imágenes religiosas y reliquias–; de la memoria omnipresente de los mártires –caídos por Dios y por España–; de los modelos femeninos de madre y esposa; y, en último lugar, del papel de la religión como legitimadora del sistema político, educativo y social.

La connivencia política y religiosa del nacionalcatolicismo se escenificó en el campo simbólico de los rituales de la religiosidad “popular” en torno a tres actuaciones: recatolización del espacio público, militarización y fascistización de las celebraciones y purificación de los elementos heterodoxos y festivos. El objetivo de la instrumentalización política, militar o eclesiástica de las celebraciones era el de vincular la historia de la nación al catolicismo y a las nuevas instituciones con el pasado imperial e inherente del pueblo español. De esta forma, la apropiación de la cultura devocional de las comunidades facilitó la articulación de un “consenso” duradero entre las diferentes culturas políticas del franquismo, elemento clave para comprender el asentamiento de la dictadura.

Las celebraciones religiosas facilitaron la legitimación del Nuevo Estado y articularon el orden de representatividad de la dictadura en la participación de las autoridades en procesiones, cultos y romerías. Muchas imágenes religiosas recibieron títulos, honores y condecoraciones militares, en el intento de las instituciones de vincular el alzamiento, la guerra civil y la dictadura con los referentes devocionales más venerados y con una serie de hitos representativos que comenzaron a jalonar el espacio simbólico urbano de cruces y monumentos a los caídos.<sup>1</sup>

El historiador Emilio Gentile ha incidido en el proceso de legitimación de las instituciones a partir del uso y la conducción de las formas de religiosidad que son consideradas más tradicionales, elementos propios de una “religión política.”<sup>2</sup> En el caso del General

<sup>1</sup> Vid. MORENO SECO, Mónica: “Creencias religiosas y política en la dictadura franquista”, en *Pasado y Memoria. Revista de Historia Contemporánea*, 1(2002), pp.5-53.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. GENTILE, Emilio: *Les religions de la politique. Entre la démocraties et totalitarisme*. Paris, Seuil, 2005; LINZ, Juan J.: “The Religious Use of Politics and/or the Political Use of Religion: Ersatz

Franco, se produjo una sacralización de la actividad política del Caudillo a través de su vinculación con una serie de ritos, símbolos y manifestaciones de apoyo. En definitiva, la religiosidad “popular” dota de sentido sagrado a la sociedad, extiende su espacio a partir de ceremonias, aúna voluntades individuales en torno a sus símbolos y moviliza a la comunidad gracias a su sustrato colectivo, sensual, festivo y barroco.

A grandes rasgos, encontramos en la Semana Santa tres categorías de usos públicos de los rituales. Por un lado, la significación eclesiástica, que concibe las celebraciones como manifestaciones de la consustancialidad del catolicismo en el pueblo español, pero éstas, por su complejidad cultural, adquieren formas heterodoxas. El objetivo de las instituciones eclesiásticas sería el de purificar dichos ritos y conducirlos hacia un catolicismo practicante. Otro nivel es el político, caracterizado por los intentos de apropiación y resignificación de las celebraciones en clave ideológica, a partir de representaciones y símbolos. En este sentido, el uso político de las fiestas se diversificará entre aquellos que conectan las procesiones y el culto a las imágenes con el catolicismo ortodoxo y conservador y aquellos que las consideran como manifestaciones “puras” de un pueblo que ha plasmado su idiosincrasia en la religiosidad “popular” al margen de la Iglesia. De esta forma lo explicaba el antropólogo Isidoro Moreno:

“La Semana Santa, como fenómeno cultural de fuerte enraizamiento y participación popular, ha sido objeto, de forma constante, de intentos de utilización, e incluso de manipulación, en beneficio tanto de intereses personales como de grupos (...). Desde las décadas centrales del XIX, y sobre todo, a lo largo del siglo XX, (...) se ha venido dando un proceso de apropiación de los cargos directivos de cofradías populares por personas de la burguesía media y alta, cuya extracción social no responde a la composición de la cofradía, pero que han aprovechado el prestigio y popularidad de ésta como palanca de adquisición de status y de ampliación de relaciones sociales, (...) que pueden ser muy provechosas para progresar en la esfera de los negocios, ascender en el mundo político conservador o simplemente codearse con quienes tradicionalmente han pertenecido a los estratos sociales elevados.”<sup>3</sup>

En último lugar, nos encontramos con los múltiples comportamientos de los miembros que participan en las celebraciones, basados en

sensaciones, tradiciones y memorias que tienen cabida en un abanico amplio de manifestaciones de dificultosa concreción para el método historiográfico. El problema radica en medir y valorar hasta qué punto la simbiosis entre religiosidad “popular” e instituciones nacionalcatólicas respondió a un modelo consciente y voluntario o bien a las circunstancias históricas. Es decir, tratar de reconocer la dirección ascendente y descendente de la construcción del imaginario franquista y las motivaciones de los individuos que participaban en las manifestaciones de la religiosidad “popular” para aceptarlo o rechazarlo.

El análisis de la legislación franquista no refleja la porosidad de los rituales ni de los diferenciados modelos historicistas de comprensión de la nación, el estado o la religión. La militarización y fascistización de la religiosidad “popular” respondió, como desarrollaremos a lo largo de estas páginas, a las disputas por el control de la memoria metahistórica de la nación española y su vinculación imaginaria con el catolicismo de Trento. La apropiación de los ritos permitió consolidar una historia mitificada que vinculara la religión con la intrahistoria del pueblo español. Dicha apropiación no fue unidireccional, sino que se vio motivada por las tensiones de representatividad entre las instituciones del franquismo y los miembros de la comunidad.

## II. RESIGNIFICACIÓN DE LA SEMANA SANTA DURANTE LA GUERRA CIVIL

“El pueblo cree lo que ve como previo paso para creer en lo que no ve; y si ve a las autoridades rindiendo culto Católico a Dios, si ve a las fuerzas armadas presentando armas al Santísimo Sacramento, si ve el esplendor del Culto Católico Español (...), cree efectivamente que aquello a lo que se rinde Culto exterior es a la verdad.”

José Pemartín.<sup>4</sup>

El conflicto bélico brindó la ocasión de afianzar los vínculos entre los valores militares, la tradición liberal-conservadora nacionalista y el pensamiento neocatólico, que durante la II República se habían sentido “desplazados” del proyecto social y político. Los ritos colectivos son actos fundamentales para la representación simbólica de los modelos políticos y religiosos al basar su fuerza en una numerosa participación, que refuerza la veracidad del discurso o acontecimiento que se está celebrando. Del mismo modo, facilita que el concepto de autoridad se presente como un modelo legítimo y justo por todos aceptado. De esta forma, tal y como expresará Emile Durkheim: “una sociedad no está constituida tan solo por la masa de individuos que la componen, por el territorio que

Ideology versus Ersatz Religion”, en MAIER, Hans (ed.), *Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships*, vol. 1, Londres, Routledge, 2004, 107-124; GEERTZ, Clifford: *La interpretación de las culturas*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> MORENO, Isidoro: *La Semana Santa de Sevilla: Conformación, mixtificación y significaciones*. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 1982, pp. 203-204.

<sup>4</sup> PEMARTÍN, José: *¿Qué es lo nuevo?* Santander, Aldus Artes Gráficas, 1938, [1937], p. 85.



ocupan, por las cosas que utilizan, por los actos que realizan, sino, ante todo, por la idea que tiene sobre sí misma.”<sup>5</sup> Es por esto que los significados y las funciones de los ritos escapan al análisis formal o cuantitativo y superan con creces la propia materialidad del evento. Su fuerza radica en la simbolización que despliegan y el consenso que generan a su alrededor. En este sentido, la Semana Santa supondrá un rito colectivo fundamental, sobre todo en la España meridional, donde el régimen franquista encontrará un altavoz en el que escenificar su simbolismo.

La guerra civil y la Cruzada fueron presentadas como el cumplimiento del destino histórico y religioso de la nación española, como la inmolación de la Patria –enferma desde el siglo XIX. “¿Cuáles son los enemigos de España? Los enemigos de España son siete: el liberalismo, la democracia, el judaísmo, la masonería, el capitalismo, el marxismo y el separatismo.”<sup>6</sup> - y su sacrificio colectivo. La santificación y recuerdo de la sangre derramada actuaron durante la dictadura como memoria palingénica de la Pasión, muerte y Resurrección de la Patria. La violencia, de esta forma, tuvo un importante carácter purificador. La sangre redimía de los pecados de la nación y purificaba su historia, devolviéndola al camino que la providencia le había reservado. “El ejército y el pueblo español unen su sangre a la sangre de los cruzados, a los torrentes de sangre derramados por España en sus luchas seculares contra los enemigos de la civilización cristiana añadiendo un nuevo y áureo eslabón a esta cadena roja de sacrificios que nuestra Patria, la gran mártir y la gran sacerdotisa de la historia, ha realizado en defensa de los grandes ideales de la humanidad.”<sup>7</sup>

El régimen pretendía fijar en la memoria aquellos acontecimientos más significativos para borrar de forma maniquea el pasado republicano. Enseñaban y moralizaban, rodeados de ostentación y un potente aparato publicitario, una memoria ideologizada. La función de los nuevos iconos fue el de crear un espacio simbólico y maniqueo entre el espectador y los poderes públicos, de tal manera que la sociedad en su conjunto los entendiera y respetara. Escudos, banderas, desfiles militares y fotografías del Caudillo alteraron el imaginario de las ciudades, así como sus celebraciones y rituales. De esta manera, las fiestas civiles y religiosas fueron revestidas de una retórica que alternaba lo fúnebre y lo castrense. Así ocurrió el 16 de julio de

1938, en la ciudad de Cáceres, donde las instituciones eclesiásticas, políticas y militares se reunieron para conmemorar a la Virgen del Carmen –nombrada Patrona de la Armada en *BOE*, 14/07/1938<sup>8</sup> -, con ofrendas florales a los mártires y discurso del Jefe provincial de FET y de las JONS. Estos actos conmemorativos tenían un perfil configurativo de la escenografía del régimen, así como un potencial totalizador utilizado por las instituciones para identificar los significados religiosos “populares” y los políticos.

El 18 de julio de 1940, el General Franco recibió la Cruz Laureada de San Fernando. En el acto afirmó que:

“Si la vida de España ha de ser milicia, necesita de las virtudes militares y del espíritu de disciplina. Es el Ejército espejo en que la nación se mira (...). Disciplina, que es nervio de las virtudes castrenses; disciplina, que ha de ser el alma de toda una nación (...). Esa es la disciplina: uno que manda, con su empleo responsable ante las jerarquías superiores, cuando no ante el supremo juicio de la Historia, y otros que, ciegos, le siguen y obedecen, como siguieron a Fernando e Isabel, como siguieron a nuestros caudillos en las tierras remotas de América y como me seguiréis vosotros.”<sup>9</sup>

Las autoridades competentes en las provincias –Gobierno Civil, Consistorio y Obispado- regularon las manifestaciones de la religiosidad “popular” en clave marcial y limitaron en las mismas cualquier atisbo de espontaneidad o sensualidad. Dentro de este espacio de significación debemos comprender el componente simbólico religioso de las instituciones franquistas, fundamental para la construcción del nuevo imaginario social. Las fachadas de las iglesias simbolizaron esta alianza al grabar sobre las piedras de sus muros el nombre de los caídos en la “Cruzada” nacional. La legislación franquista, polimórfica y sincrética, ante las dificultades por articular un modelo de Estado que englobara las diferentes facciones afines a la sublevación, se decantó por la articulación de un discurso personalista –en la figura de Franco- y dicotómico como respuesta al entramado simbólico republicano. “Franco, Salvador de España, de Europa y de toda la civilización, es uno de los hombres que Dios descubre a los pueblos en los momentos decisivos de

<sup>5</sup> DURKHEIM, Emile: *Las formas elementales de la vida religiosa*. Buenos Aires, Schapire, 1968, [1912], p. 394. Vid. MOSSE, George L.: *La nacionalización de las masas. Simbolismo político y movimientos de masas en Alemania desde las Guerras Napoleónicas al Tercer Reich*. Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2005, [1975]; BOX, Zira: “Secularizando el Apocalipsis. Manufactura mítica y discurso nacional franquista: la narración de la Victoria”, en *Historia y Política*, 12 (2004), pp. 133-160.

<sup>6</sup> Del libro oficial de las escuelas nacionales a partir de 1939, MENÉNDEZ RAIGADA, Albino G.: *Catecismo Patriótico Español*. Salamanca, Tipografía de Calatrava, 1939.

<sup>7</sup> *El Noticiero*, 18 de septiembre de 1936.

<sup>8</sup> *Patria*, 16 de julio de 1938, p. 1: “La república creyó, en su maldad, que podría arrancar del corazón de los navegantes la devoción de la Virgen. Vano intento, porque los marinos, más desligados del resto de los hombres de las costas terrestres y en constante contacto con los elementos, necesitan de una fe y de un ideal religioso simbolizado en una vocación.” Palabras del Ministro de Agricultura, Raimundo Fernández Cuesta.

<sup>9</sup> *Extremadura. Diario católico*, 19 de julio de 1940. Palabras que correspondían con las de José Antonio, cit. en *Patria*, 25 de septiembre de 1938, p. 16: “No hay más que dos maneras de vivir: la manera religiosa y la manera militar y, si se quiere, una sola. Porque no hay religión que no sea una milicia, ni milicia que no esté caldeada por un sentimiento religioso.”

su historia (...). Franco es un hombre, faro de una época, de los que no se pueden prodigar muchos en un mismo siglo, porque sencillamente no caben en él.”<sup>10</sup>

Durante la primera Semana Santa después de la sublevación del General Franco, en 1937, se escenificaron una serie de ritos relacionados con la guerra y el apoyo de la Iglesia a la Cruzada. Las procesiones, esta vez, salieron a la calle para conmemorar la muerte de Cristo y a todos los mártires que la guerra estaba subiendo a los altares en nombre del nacionalcatolicismo. “La primera Semana Santa, celebrada en nuestra ciudad después de la victoria de Franco, ha sido testimonio tan prodigioso y encendido de devoción y fervor (...). Granada sigue siendo la ciudad de siempre, y que su hondo misticismo y fervor se han acrisolado y depurado en estos años, en que enmudecieron.”<sup>11</sup> En la participación comunitaria en las procesiones y en su esplendor se medía el apoyo de las ciudades sublevadas a la causa del General Franco.<sup>12</sup> Así lo entendía el diario ABC, fiel a la República, en su edición madrileña, al anotar el estrepitoso “fracaso de la Semana Santa en Sevilla.” Explicaba la noticia que pese a los gastos contraídos y las primas por atraer visitantes, las celebraciones no habían convencido a los turistas.<sup>13</sup>

Las autoridades franquistas aspiraron a convertir la Semana Santa en una muestra de su política de recristianización y de salvaguarda de las tradiciones católicas. “Se ha operado el milagro (...), la España liberada ha retornado a su tradición, que es su fe. Su fe en Dios y su fe en la Patria; fe en la grandeza de su destino y en la continuidad de su historia.”<sup>14</sup> Especial significación militarista y fascistas adquirieron las celebraciones de la Semana Santa de 1937 en Sevilla, las primeras tras el triunfo de la sublevación en la ciudad. Fue, no cabe duda, el primer ensayo general de

apropiación de los ritos colectivos en aras de la legitimación del Nuevo Estado.

La Semana Santa en Málaga de 1937 no celebró su programa habitual de procesiones. El 7 de febrero, las tropas del Comandante Queipo de Llano y del Duque de Sevilla habían tomado la ciudad. Los vencedores fueron recibidos como “salvadores” por parte de las instituciones religiosas, que proyectaron para ese año una Semana Santa más penitencial e íntima, protagonizada por un Vía Crucis el Viernes Santo que purificaría la ciudad y vincularía la muerte de Cristo a la de los combatientes por la Cruzada. El acto se tornó en una acción de gracias por el “rescate” de la ciudad por las tropas franquistas y una señal inequívoca de la protección providencial del solar peninsular.<sup>15</sup> El espacio ultrajado durante la “barbarie roja” recuperaba su significación sagrada y patriótica con el Vía Crucis. Las imágenes religiosas escogidas para dicho culto manifiestan la funcionalidad de la religiosidad “popular” en la configuración social del imaginario franquista. La Virgen de los Servitas, imagen de una Hermandad “seria”, representaba los nuevos comportamientos festivos basados en el silencio y la actitud castrense, y el Cristo de la Buena Muerte – imagen calcinada en una de las oleadas iconoclastas-, reflejaba la recatolización de la ciudad y la simbiosis entre Iglesia y ejército, manifestada en la vinculación de la imagen con la Legión desde su fundación.<sup>16</sup> La purificación simbólica también llegó al barrio obrero de El Perchel, donde las imágenes recuperaron el espacio público. “¿No habremos de hacerle llegar (al trono de Dios) el incienso de nuestra penitencia?”<sup>17</sup>

Los símbolos y ritos religiosos recuperaron el espacio urbano acompañados del imaginario bélico y falangista. “Las obras responden a los sanos principios de la religión y la moral cristiana.”<sup>18</sup> El Nuevo Estado no dejó margen para las disidencias y trató de homogeneizar desde Burgos los iconos y los discursos

<sup>10</sup> *Patria*, 2 de octubre de 1937.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> BOLIN, Luis Antonio: “Granada y la Unidad de España”, *Patria*, 2 de enero de 1938, p. 9: “No es simple azar de la guerra, sino designio cetero de la Providencia y revelación del destino que ha de seguir España, el hecho de que las ciudades que pesaron más en la formación histórica de nuestra Patria y en el logro de la Unidad española, se pronunciaran desde el primer instante por nuestro Alzamiento, como para marcarle orientación y servir de columna vertebral a sus ímpetus patrióticos y redentores.”

<sup>13</sup> *ABC*, 27 de marzo de 1937, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Palabras de Antonio Valdivia en *Boinas Rojas*, 28 de marzo de 1937. La jerarquía eclesiástica concentró sus esfuerzos en la posguerra en implantar el descanso dominical y la asistencia a misa. PLÁ Y DENIEL, Enrique: Carta Pastoral de Entrada en la Archidiócesis de Toledo, “La Restauración Cristiana de la Diócesis de Toledo”, 15 de abril de 1943, en *Escritos Pastorales*. Madrid, Dirección Central de la Acción Católica Española, 1946, p. 161: “Acudid, pues, todos, por lo menos los días festivos, hombres y mujeres, jóvenes y niños (...), pero que no haya desproporción entre hombres y mujeres, porque de la Santa Misa necesitan cuantos tienen un alma redimida por Cristo.” A ello le sumaba la escucha activa de la Predicación y la participación en el Sacramento de la Comunión.

<sup>15</sup> Seguimos los acontecimientos de Málaga a partir de RICHARDS, Michael: “Presentando armas al Santísimo Sacramento: Guerra Civil y Semana Santa en la ciudad de Málaga, 1936-1939”, en EALHAM, Chris y RICHARDS, Michael (eds.): *España fragmentada. Historia cultural y Guerra Civil española*. Granada, Comares, 2010, pp. 277 y ss. Vid. WOOLSEY, Gamel: *Málaga en Llamas*. Madrid, Temas de Hoy, 1998.

<sup>16</sup> FERNÁNDEZ, Ricardo: “La Legión y el Cristo de la Buena Muerte”, en *Sur*, 17 de abril de 1938: “Pasa la Legión, majestuosa, sublime, encarnación de la virilidad nimbada por el sacrificio (...) Altivos, gallardos, precedidos del Banderín del Cristo de Lepanto cruzan la ciudad escoltando a su Patrón (...). Toques de clarines que suenan a combate (...). Legión mil veces victoriosa que en el ayer de África y en el hoy de nuestra cruzada evidencias que no en balde eras la de Millán Astray, (...). Legión de héroes anónimos que años más tarde cruzabais el estrecho para salvar una Patria y una Civilización.”

<sup>17</sup> VERA, Luis: “Madre Dolorosa”, en *Boinas Rojas*, 20 de marzo de 1937.

<sup>18</sup> Boletín Oficial de la Junta de Defensa Nacional de España (BOJDNE), 9/1936. Vid. FRANCO, Francisco: *Palabras del Caudillo. 19 de abril de 1936. 31 de diciembre de 1938*. Barcelona, Edic. Fe, 1939, p. 177.

para alcanzar una mayor proyección social. Las cruces entraron a formar parte de la “normalidad” del imaginario público, así como las misas castrenses, los “te deum”, el rezo de Rosarios colectivos, las procesiones y la salutación en la entrada y salida de la escuela con un “Ave María Purísima, sin pecado concebida.”<sup>19</sup> Así sucedió con el Cristo de los Favores, crucero granadino situado en una plaza del barrio del Realejo, cuya vinculación con la religiosidad “popular” iba en detrimento. En la Semana Santa del año 1938, cuando “ya amanece España”, volvía a salir a la calle su cofradía.<sup>20</sup>

### III. FASCISTIZACIÓN Y MILITARIZACIÓN DE LA RELIGIOSIDAD “POPULAR”

“Estos obispos que levantan los brazos dócilmente durante las grandes desfiles del fascismo, son ellos los que a fin de cuentas lo destruirán”

Manuel Chaves Nogales, 5/06/1938.<sup>21</sup>

La escenificación pública de la Semana Santa sufrió un proceso paulatino de militarización –desfiles, banderas e himnos- y de fascistización –simbólica y retórica-, favorecido por una nueva legislación más restrictiva de las diócesis con la estancia en la calle de las hermandades. Los ritos religiosos se confundieron con desfiles militares, juras de bandera y cruces en recuerdo de los caídos. La omnipresencia de las cruces transformó los espacios públicos y privados, vinculando la Pasión y muerte de Cristo con el sufrimiento y entrega de los caídos por la salvación nacional.

“Entre la Madre de Dios y la madre de los héroes de España se ha establecido para siempre este sagrado parentesco de los que sufren (...). Después del Viernes Santo, viene el Domingo de Gloria. Después de la muerte de los héroes, viene la gloria de su morir fecundo y de su resurrección futura. El dolor es sólo transitorio. Lo definitivo es la alegría del triunfo celestial (...). Tal es el momento actual de nuestra Patria.”<sup>22</sup>

En el año 1939, como bien explicara Michael Richards, “todas las esferas de la vida se vieron teñidas por un nacionalismo y un catolicismo extremo”<sup>23</sup>, simbolizados en la figura omnipresente del Caudillo. Durante la guerra civil y las conmemoraciones de la

Victoria, “la nación española existió con más intensidad que nunca” y el nacionalismo del Nuevo Estado “se había tragado a España”, afirmaba Ismael Saz, que analizó cómo durante la inmediata posguerra y aunque de una forma superficial o meramente retórica, los nacionalistas fueron más fascistas y más católicos que nunca.<sup>24</sup> Los falangistas se presentaron como fervientes católicos y tradicionalistas, así como las élites católicas legitimaron y sacralizaron a las nuevas instituciones, concentradas en la figura del Caudillo.

En el siguiente epígrafe, utilizamos el concepto de fascistización para definir la asunción de una serie de ritos, símbolos y comportamientos inspirados en la estética del fascismo europeo y de la Falange Española, que dotaron de un nuevo significado a las manifestaciones de la religiosidad “popular”.<sup>25</sup> La fascistización no entendida como un modelo político totalitario inspirado en los planteamientos mussolinianos, sino más bien como un proceso o acercamiento que, como explicara Ismael Saz, “conduce a determinados sectores de la derecha clásica –sea ésta reaccionaria, conservadora, radical e incluso liberal- que ante el desafío de la democracia (...) adopta una serie de elementos cuya novedad y funcionalidad es claramente imputable al fascismo.”<sup>26</sup> No nos referimos, por lo tanto, a un modelo fascista definido, sino a un estado que combina una tradición nacionalcatólica y conservadora con los principios radicales del ideario fascista. Esta simbiosis dentro del falangismo quedó recogida en el punto 25 de su ideario: “Nuestro movimiento incorpora el sentido católico de gloriosa y predominante tradición en España para la reconstrucción nacional.” Sin embargo, el mismo punto advertía la necesidad de mantener repartidas y diferenciadas sus atribuciones, “sin que se admita intrusión o actividad alguna que atente a la dignidad del Estado o a la integridad nacional.”<sup>27</sup> Para José Antonio Primo de Rivera, el Nuevo Estado debía mantener el espíritu religioso de la patria española, pero

<sup>24</sup> SAZ, Ismael: *España contra España. Los nacionalismos franquistas*. Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2003, pp. 159 y ss.

<sup>25</sup> Sobre el predominio político de Falange hasta 1945 y los intentos de la Iglesia por contrarrestar ese poder Vid. MORADIELLOS GARCÍA, Enrique: *La España de Franco (1939-1975). Política y sociedad*. Madrid, Síntesis, 2000, p. 69 y ss.

<sup>26</sup> SAZ CAMPOS, Ismael: *Fascismo y franquismo*. Valencia, Universitat de Valencia, 2004, p. 86. Vid. ANDRÉS-GALLEGO, José: *¿Fascismo o Estado católico? Ideología, religión y censura en la España de Franco, 1937-1941*. Madrid, Encuentro, 1997; THOMÀS I ANDREU, Joan Maria: *La Falange de Franco. Fascismo y fascistización en el régimen franquista: (1937-1945)*. Barcelona, Plaza & Janés, 2001; SAZ CAMPOS, Ismael: “Franco, ¿caudillo fascista? Sobre las sucesivas y contradictorias concepciones falangistas del caudillaje franquista”, en *Historia y política*, 27 (2012), pp. 27-50.

<sup>27</sup> *Doctrina e Historia de la Revolución Nacional Española, FET y de la JONS*. Barcelona, Editora Nacional, 1939, p. 15. Los 27 puntos programáticos de Falange Española –exceptuando el último-, fueron incorporados a la norma del Estado tras el Decreto de Unificación del 19 abril de 1937.

<sup>19</sup> BOE 8/03/1938: se declaran festivos los días de precepto y el descanso dominical. BOE 10/04/1937: establece la salutación en las escuelas. BOE, 10/03/1940: se disponen como días festivos las fiestas religiosas más señaladas. BOE, 14/07/1940: se prohíbe el trabajo en los domingos y en el resto de festivos religiosos.

<sup>20</sup> *Patria*, 14 de abril de 1938, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> CHAVES NOGALES, Manuel: *Crónicas de la guerra civil*. Sevilla, Espuela de Plata, 1991, [1936-1939], p.74.

<sup>22</sup> ARRESE, Domingo: “Dolorosa”, en *Faro de Vigo*, 31 de marzo de 1939.

<sup>23</sup> RICHARDS, Michael: *Un tiempo de silencio. La guerra civil y la cultura de la represión en la España de Franco, 1936-1945*. Barcelona, Crítica, 1999, p. 8.

era necesaria mantener la división de ambos organismos para evitar “intrusiones o maquinaciones de la Iglesia, con daño posible para la dignidad del Estado o para la integridad nacional.”<sup>28</sup>

A partir de 1945, con la caída de las potencias del Eje, el régimen borró paulatinamente los símbolos y manifestaciones que pudieran recordar la vinculación de la España nacional con Hitler o Mussolini y se centró en la narrativa historicista del nacionalcatolicismo. En este sentido, Manuel Azaña apuntó el 6 de octubre de 1937 en sus *Diarios Completos* que en España no había cabida al fascismo entendido como fenómeno político determinado. “Hay o puede haber en España todos los fascistas que se quiera. Pero un régimen fascista no lo habrá. Si triunfara un movimiento de fuerza contra la República, recaeríamos en una dictadura militar y eclesiástica de tipo español tradicional. (...) Sables, casullas, desfiles militares y homenajes a la Virgen del Pilar. Por ese lado, el país no da para otra cosa.”<sup>29</sup>

Si bien el falangismo pugnó por espacios de representatividad y poder en la dictadura con tradicionalistas, militares, conservadores y católicos, su programa de estado, a diferencia del fascismo italiano o el nazismo alemán, no se alejó del fenómeno religioso o de la legitimación divina.<sup>30</sup> Uno de los primeros actos de confraternización entre las autoridades militares, eclesiásticas y falangistas se celebró el 2 de diciembre de 1937 en el monasterio burgalés de Santa María de las Huelgas. El acto consistió en el juramento ante Dios de “servir y enaltecer a España” del Caudillo, los obispos de Madrid, Santander, Logroño, Pamplona, Salamanca, Tuy, Vigo, Astorga y Coria, encabezados por el Cardenal Gomá, los consejeros nacionales –entre los que se encontraba Pilar Primo de Rivera– y otras autoridades. En el juramento se comprometían a: “Ante Dios juro darme en servicio, exactitud y vigilancia, con milicia y sacrificio de la misma vida, a la grandeza imperial de España. Juro emplearme por entero en la misión encomendada en los Estatutos de Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS, para mantener el rango inmortal de la Patria. Juro lealtad al Caudillo, fidelidad extraordinaria a su mando, custodia a su

persona y entregarme en hermandad cristiana a los demás...”<sup>31</sup>

La simbiosis entre nacionalcatolicismo, simbología fascista y elementos propios de la religiosidad “popular” se concretó en un escenario de asimilación colectiva por el cual la Pasión, Muerte y Resurrección de Cristo se presentaron como metáfora de la propia muerte y resurrección de España. “España fue martirizada y crucificada, con crímenes alevosos, con incendios de iglesias (...), con desenfreno feroz y destructor. (...) Mas después de su crucifixión ha llegado para España su *Resurrexit*.”<sup>32</sup> El General Franco había rescatado a la nación del Calvario y a partir de la cruz, los mártires y el orden militar, se disponía a devolverle su destino imperial y evangelizador. “Ha terminado la Pasión de España, casi al mismo comienzo de los días cargados de dramatismo simbólico que la cristiandad dedica a la Pasión del Redentor. España, como Cristo, sufrió todos los dolores y todos los escarnios. Toda ella fue llaga de martirio y sus carnes quedaron rotas y en su costado, indemne, el comunismo dio la brutal lanzada por donde han manado ríos de sangre caliente, joven, rica.”<sup>33</sup>

La comunión entre nacionalcatolicismo y religiosidad “popular” dejó su huella en los símbolos y representaciones de la Semana Santa. Si bien la participación de bandas militares e insignias civiles y castrenses habían desfilado en las procesiones desde mediados del siglo XIX, durante el primer franquismo la simbiosis entre elementos patrióticos, militares y religiosos superó el significado festivo y musical, convirtiéndose en un entramado imaginario y memorialístico de legitimación y perpetuación del régimen a través de los iconos de la religiosidad “popular”. Símbolos falangistas y políticos fueron bordados en mantos y estandartes y la propia estética de las procesiones en la calle se dotó de una escenificación militar. La bandera nacional, icono aglutinador de las tradiciones políticas del franquismo, tomó el espacio simbólico de las calles e incluso modificó la estética de los pasos de Semana Santa. El historiador del arte Andrés Luque Teruel ha apuntado cómo a partir de 1939, en Sevilla, se sustituyeron los exornos florales coloridos y silvestres por un sobrio monte de claveles rojos, que sumado al dorado del paso y al rojo de los faldones –tela de terciopelo que oculta el trabajo de los costaleros hasta el suelo– daban como resultado la imagen del emblema nacional. Si bien las carencias económicas favorecían la compra de flores más económicas, como el clavel, la identificación de los pasos cristíferos con los colores nacionales

<sup>28</sup> PRIMO DE RIVERA, José Antonio: “Puntos iniciales”, en *Obras*, Madrid, Editorial Almenas, 1971, pp. 92-93. Vid. “Introducción” de BOX, Zira, *España, año cero...*

<sup>29</sup> AZAÑA, Manuel: *Diarios completos. Monarquía, República, Guerra Civil*. Barcelona, Crítica, 2000, pp. 1168-1169.

<sup>30</sup> Sin embargo, sus relaciones con las instituciones eclesiásticas, a partir de las celebraciones de la Victoria, fueron cada vez más tensas. La importancia del hecho religioso para el ideario falangista radicaba en la tradición imperial de la patria, que había destacado en su historia por la defensa acérrima del catolicismo. La prensa manifiesta las divergencias entre las diferentes familias políticas del franquismo. Diarios falangistas, como *Patria*, daban más prioridad a las noticias militares y a los acontecimientos europeos, mientras que los católicos, como *Extremadura*. *Diario Católico*, colmaban sus titulares con referencias religiosas.

<sup>31</sup> *Patria*, 3 de diciembre de 1937, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> PLÁ Y DENIEL, Enrique: *Escritos Pastorales...*, vol. II, pp. 229-230.

<sup>33</sup> *Ideal*, 25 de marzo de 1937, en HERNÁNDEZ BURGOS, Claudio: *Granada Azul. La construcción de la “Cultura de la Victoria” en el primer franquismo*. Granada, Comares, 2011, p. 210.



respondía a una estrategia de ideologización y asimilación de la divinidad con los símbolos del Nuevo Estado.<sup>34</sup>

Fruto de esta vinculación religiosa-castrense se fundó en febrero de 1939 en Málaga la Cofradía Nacional de los Mutilados del Cristo de los Milagros, en torno a la imagen de un crucificado que había sido mutilado durante los ataques anticlericales de 1936 en la Iglesia del Sagrario. Dicha hermandad la formaban veteranos y lisiados de guerra, conjugando procesionalmente su dolor y problemas físicos con los del Cristo Mutilado, en un claro paralelismo entre los soldados de la Cruzada y la propia representación de Dios. "A esta visión [la del Cristo Mutilado en procesión] que conturbará el ánimo de la muchedumbre, habrá que añadir la que ofrecerán los devotos Caballeros Mutilados que acompañando al augusto símbolo de una Divinidad escarnecida, serán ejemplo heroico de una abnegada humanidad doliente."<sup>35</sup> La imagen del Cristo se había salvado de la combustión total, lo que dio pie al desarrollo de una importante milagrería en torno a su talla. La Hermandad de los Mutilados escenificó en las salidas procesionales un riguroso orden militar. Sus hermanos no vestían túnica ni capuchón, sino una capa encima del uniforme militar o del de Falange. La estación de penitencia se convirtió en un desfile de lisiados, de condecoraciones y de mártires entregados a Cristo. La imagen del crucificado mutilado purificaba el espacio, militarizaba el rito y, sobre todo, mantenía vivo en el recuerdo la polarización del país y la memoria de aquellos que habían luchado por la "ciudad de Dios." Tras la primera estación de penitencia del Cristo Mutilado en 1939, Millán Astray declaró que "ese Cristo que los rojos, lo mismo que a España, habían mutilado, pero que no habían podido arrancarle ni el corazón, ni el alma, ni la cabeza, solamente mutilarlo como a nosotros (...). Hemos tenido la suerte de derramar nuestra sangre y dar parte de vuestros cuerpos por la Patria. Sois los más gloriosos después de los muertos. Hemos sacado en procesión a ese Cristo aclamado por la multitud por las mismas calles y plazas que lo mutilaron."<sup>36</sup>

Las imágenes fueron saludadas al modo fascista por el ímpetu de las autoridades del Nuevo Estado y la confusión generada tras la Victoria entre

celebraciones religiosas y paradas militares. La fascistización de los ritos se constató en el encuentro entre las imágenes y las masas, entre la guerra civil y la Victoria, entre el caos y la destrucción republicana y el orden y religiosidad del franquismo. Las autoridades nacionalcatólicas se homenajearon en cada acto religioso público y contribuyeron en la asimilación del personaje central a celebrar, Cristo, y el personaje que emulaba dicha Pasión y permitía la perpetuación del rito: el general o líder destacado. La Semana Santa se convirtió en la oportunidad para celebrar el régimen, confundiendo procesiones y rosarios vespertinos con entierros de falangistas y misas de campaña. Además, desde los púlpitos de templos y pregones cofrades, se exhortaba un modelo de vida "virtuoso" inspirado en la contención social en el día a día de los ciudadanos. Dicha "moralización" se coló en las escuelas, en los hogares, definió el modelo de comportamiento, las costumbres y las tradiciones que se debían mantener o desechar.

La consecuencia directa de la fascistización y militarización de la religiosidad "popular" durante la posguerra fue la pérdida creciente de espontaneidad en los desfiles, la consideración de la Semana Santa como una fiesta religiosa e institucional, no "popular". La religiosidad cofrade se confundió con el exhibicionismo de las nuevas autoridades y la simbiosis entre la deidad y el Nuevo Estado, así como con la ortodoxia católica. "Por Dios y por la patria –afirmaba el delegado de fiestas del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla ante las celebraciones de la Semana Santa del año 1937- nos hallamos entregados en estos momentos en cruenta lucha. La preciada sangre de nuestros hermanos riega el solar sobre el que va edificándose la nueva España. En el horizonte aparecen ya dibujados los contornos de nuestra ejemplar victoria (...). Y así debería ser la Semana Santa de este año, una oración colectiva en un ambiente de religiosa austeridad y militarizada disciplina."<sup>37</sup>

El saludo fascista estuvo presente en las celebraciones de la Victoria y en las procesiones y fiestas del primer franquismo.<sup>38</sup> La Iglesia, como institución, salió reforzada de la Victoria, pese a las tensiones dialécticas que mantenía con el Nuevo Estado por el control simbólico de la educación, el espacio y el tiempo de la nación. La "inflación" de religiosidad se caracterizó por una mayor asistencia a los cultos en los templos, el aumento de vocaciones religiosas, la construcción de seminarios e iglesias en nuevos barrios, el impulso de Acción Católica, etc.

<sup>34</sup> Vid. LUQUE TERUEL, Andrés: *Juan Manuel Rodríguez Ojeda. Diseños y bordados para la Hermandad de la Macarena, 1900-1930*. Sevilla, Jirones de Azul, 2011; *Patria*, 17 de marzo de 1940, p. 3: "Todo el esplendor y la belleza de nuestros pasos llevan prendida el alma ingenua y poética de este pueblo que ha sabido morir por Cristo-Señor sabiendo que era la más bella y natural manera de morir por España."

<sup>35</sup> *Sur*, 2 de abril de 1939. Vid. BRISSET, Demetrio E., "Ejército y rituales religiosos. Dos estudios de antropología política en la España actual", *Gazeta de Antropología*, n. 27 (2011).

<sup>36</sup> *Sur*, 8 de abril de 1939. El último desfile procesional de esta imagen se produjo en 1976, portando a sus pies el bastón de mando del Caudillo.

<sup>37</sup> Palabras pronunciadas el 20 de marzo de 1937, en PASTOR, Álvaro, ROBLES, Francisco y ROLDÁN, Manuel Jesús, *Historia de la Semana Santa sevillana*. Sevilla, Jirones de Azul, 2012, pp. 337-338.

<sup>38</sup> *BOE*, 4/04/1937: obligatoriedad para los civiles de saludar con el brazo en alto cuando suene el himno nacional, el de Falange Española o el de la Comunión Tradicionalista. Se derogó en *BOE*, 11/09/1945, aunque su práctica se mantuvo durante toda la dictadura.

Durante el primer franquismo fueron habituales que los días de fiestas religiosas significativas se hicieran cuestaciones "Pro-Seminario", lo que favoreció la entrada de nuevos seminaristas y la construcción o ampliación de los mismos. Del mismo modo, cabe destacar la condena de ciertas manifestaciones recreativas como el carnaval –prohibidos en la zona nacional en *BOE*, 5/02/1937- y los espectáculos de variedades. Sin embargo, la intensa campaña de recristianización de la patria obtuvo resultados variables, con profundas diferencias regionales. Destacamos como ejemplo la diócesis de Málaga, por la escasa participación de la comunidad en las festividades eclesiásticas.<sup>39</sup>

La religiosidad "popular" más romántica, localista o regionalista quedó restringida ante el proceso de militarización de los desfiles procesionales y los esfuerzos de purificación del rito llevado a cabo por las instituciones eclesiásticas. Se prohibieron los aplausos, las ovaciones a los saeteros y otras manifestaciones "folclóricas" no intelectualizadas de espiritualidad. Todos aquellos comportamientos que escaparan al control de la doctrina fueron arrinconados como expresiones de devoción "inculta" y "desviada." La simbiosis escénica militar y fascista de las procesiones dio mayor vistosidad a las procesiones –al desfilar bandas militares e instituciones y lucir las cofradías insignias castrenses-. Sin embargo, no cabe duda que las manifestaciones de la religiosidad "popular" perdieron en espontaneidad y alejaron a amplios sectores de las cofradías. Una Semana Santa jerarquizada, estricta y controlada por las instituciones, reglamentada, donde nazarenos, público y costaleros guardaban la compostura, "sin blasfemias ni detalles de Cabalgata."<sup>40</sup>

En definitiva, tal y como ha sintetizado el historiador José Hurtado Sánchez, "los militares supieron aprovecharse de una Iglesia que había renunciado a su función profética y se había aliado con el nuevo régimen para reafirmar y consolidar su papel de salvadores de la patria."<sup>41</sup> Y más en ciudades como Málaga, Granada o Sevilla, que había sufrido la destrucción iconoclasta durante la II República y en los primeros compases de la Guerra Civil. En este sentido, la gestión del miedo favoreció la simbiosis ritual y la apropiación y resignificación de las manifestaciones "folclóricas" en actos de conmemoración y asimilación al régimen. Del mismo modo, en ciudades muy estratificadas cultural y socialmente en barrios y éstos, a su vez, identificados en cofradías e imágenes religiosas, la extensión del imaginario del Nuevo Estado también

pasaba por marcar su orden de representatividad e introducir sus símbolos en la religiosidad "popular".

#### IV. CONCLUSIONES

La apropiación de los rituales festivos facilitó la identificación de la sociedad de posguerra española con el régimen y la recatolización del país emprendida por la Iglesia, así como la participación "imaginaria" en el dolor y el sufrimiento de la Patria. El nacionalcatolicismo asimiló la Pasión, muerte y Resurrección de Cristo y los Dolores de María con la Redención de España. En este contexto, las imágenes con mayor devoción adquirieron una especial significación en la construcción de la memoria franquista en las comunidades locales.

El saludo fascista en las procesiones, las misas de campaña o la memoria de los mártires articuló una vinculación providencial entre las autoridades políticas y la deidad. "La sangre de los que cayeron por la Patria no consiente el olvido, la esterilidad ni la traición."<sup>42</sup> Mediante la guerra civil y la Victoria, la historia de España purgaba sus pecados y reemprendía su destino universal. Las instituciones franquistas, en base a un recuerdo dicotómico del pasado republicano, se presentaron como las perpetuadoras del rito. Franco a nivel nacional, Millán Astray en Málaga o Queipo de Llano en Sevilla, se vincularon a las hermandades y favorecieron la legitimación y el consenso en torno a la dictadura, así como el control simbólico de comunidades muy diversas.

La participación de las instituciones en las procesiones dotó al Nuevo Estado de tradición, arraigo y pasado. Si bien la dictadura supuso una novedad en el devenir de la historia de España, se esforzó en presentarse como el fruto de una continuidad histórica que soportaba sobre sus hombros el peso del destino marcado por la providencia. La utilización simbólica de la religiosidad "popular" permitió que las instituciones crearan una realidad "imaginada", dotada de un significado idealizado. De esta forma, el Nuevo Estado trató de colectivizar el consenso y memoria a partir de una cosmovisión sacralizada que legitimara y dotara de "normalidad" a las instituciones de la dictadura. A la construcción de símbolos, discursos y memorias le siguió su posterior dotación de contenido y significación para, finalmente, extenderse en la sociedad a partir del control del espacio, del tiempo y de las conmemoraciones.<sup>43</sup> Sin embargo, el proceso de consenso y asentamiento de la dictadura fue el fruto de múltiples variables ideológicas, memorias y símbolos que confluyeron en la cosmovisión del régimen. La construcción de la memoria franquista distó de ser un proceso unidireccional o estático; más bien, se basó en las tensiones y luchas por el control simbólico del

<sup>39</sup> MORENO SECO, Mónica: "Creencias religiosas y política en la dictadura franquista...", p. 23.

<sup>40</sup> *ABC de Sevilla*, 21 de marzo de 1937.

<sup>41</sup> HURTADO SÁNCHEZ, José: *Cofradías y poderes. Relaciones y conflictos. Sevilla, 1939-1999*. Sevilla, Castillejo, 2000, p. 94.

<sup>42</sup> *Patria*, 4 de abril de 1939, p. 1

<sup>43</sup> BOX, Zira, *España año cero...*, pp.17-48.

espacio y del tiempo de las diferentes familias del Nuevo Estado.

A partir de 1942, el régimen fascistizado del General Franco comenzó a modificar sus prácticas públicas y el despliegue de simbología falangista. Los rituales de legitimación del Nuevo Estado borraron paulatinamente las significaciones fascistas en aras de la reproducción de unos principios políticos y sociales más cercanos al conservadurismo, el autoritarismo y el nacionalcatolicismo. Una de las explicaciones que la historiografía ha desarrollado para comprender la extraordinaria prolongación en el tiempo de la dictadura fue sus dotes camaleónicas para adaptarse a la coyuntura internacional. Sin embargo, como apuntara Enrique Moradiellos, “a pesar de todos los cambios más o menos profundos operados en el franquismo, hubo un elemento permanente y constante que nunca sufrió menoscabo alguno: el enorme grado de concentración de la autoridad omnímoda en una sola mano y persona.”<sup>44</sup>

Las jerarquías católicas, una vez celebrada la Victoria junto a militares y falangistas, trataron de marcar los límites de representatividad entre los actos religiosos y los militares con el objetivo de recuperar su preponderancia simbólica en la sociedad. El resultado de las tensiones por el control de la religiosidad “popular” provocó la merma de comportamientos “espontáneos” en las procesiones, así como el aumento del espacio de representatividad dedicado a las instituciones políticas, religiosas y militares. Esta situación politizó la participación en las hermandades y alejó de la fiesta a las generaciones siguientes, que vieron en las celebraciones de la Semana Santa un recurso del imaginario franquista.

El interés por el control de la religiosidad “popular” fue decayendo con el paso de los años, sin perder un lugar central en las representaciones del nacionalcatolicismo. La bibliografía y los archivos gráficos muestran cómo se produjo un reseñable retroceso en la participación en las procesiones y en el público que las contemplaba en buena parte de las ciudades españolas. Sin lugar a duda, la utilización política de la religiosidad “popular” había mermado el interés de las nuevas generaciones por las procesiones. La década de los sesenta y setenta fueron especialmente duras para unas celebraciones que, asimiladas a la dictadura, habían perdido su significación socio-cultural con la comunidad, su vinculación con el barrio y su importancia socializadora en las identidades colectivas. Así mismo, la renovación eclesial del Concilio Vaticano II y el surgimiento de comunidades cristianas “de base” en barrios obreros apuntaban a la superación de las festividades de la Semana Santa por carecer de fundamentos dogmáticos y de comportamientos espirituales, así como por

representar una galería de vanidades donde las élites políticas y eclesiales de la dictadura desplegaban su legitimidad.

A partir del proceso de transición política, se produjo un reseñable crecimiento del fenómeno de la religiosidad “popular” en buena parte de la península, cuyas causas trascienden a los límites de nuestro estudio. Sin embargo, cabe apuntar que las celebraciones de Semana Santa se fueron despojando de simbología franquista y, paulatinamente, el fenómeno recuperó “espontaneidad” y su significación como elemento aglutinador de la comunidad, el barrio o la identidad de una ciudad o una región. En este sentido, el periodista Juan Teba destacaba que la Semana Santa sevillana de 1980 se celebró como “una fiesta de siete días, una explosión felizmente recuperada sin consensos ni discursos previos.” Una celebración de “nuestro pueblo” que “ya no presenta ante sus pasos a los hijos distinguidos del sistema anterior cargados de medallas y honores fantasmales.”<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> MORADIELLOS GARCÍA, Enrique: *El franquismo...*, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> *Hoja del Lunes*, 7 de abril de 1980.



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## Authorial Intention in the Middle Ages an Overview Based on *the Golden Legend* by Jacobus De Voragine

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**Abstract-** Until the first decades of the twentieth century, hagiography was seen with mistrust by historians. Its pious aims and fabulous content made us resistant to include them on the list of reliable documents. The methodological innovations that followed thereafter increased the confidence of historians in it and hagiography has become more and more integrated to the testimonies employed by historical analyses. However a problem about the status of the documentation persisted: the doubt concerning the recognition of the performance of authorial intention in the composition of unsigned narratives that originated themselves from relatively unknown writers or whose content seemed to repeat, without any originality, an earlier tradition. This problem was particularly significant in the treatment historians gave to the most widespread medieval hagiographical work, *The Golden Legend*. Written in the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and based on ancient hagiographical material compiled by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, the work was an immediate and booming success – with about a thousand Latin manuscripts coming from various regions of Western Christendom. Here we intend to discuss the existence of authorial intention in its composition in a twofold manner.

**Keywords:** *medieval history, hagiography, authorship, historiography.*

**GJHSS-D Classification :** *FOR Code : 0219999*



AUTHORIAL INTENTION IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND OVERVIEW BASED ON THE GOLDEN LEGEND BY JACOBUS DE VORAGINE

*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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**Abstract-** Until the first decades of the twentieth century, hagiography was seen with mistrust by historians. Its pious aims and fabulous content made us resistant to include them on the list of reliable documents. The methodological innovations that followed thereafter increased the confidence of historians in it and hagiography has become more and more integrated to the testimonies employed by historical analyses. However a problem about the status of the documentation persisted: the doubt concerning the recognition of the performance of authorial intention in the composition of unsigned narratives that originated themselves from relatively unknown writers or whose content seemed to repeat, without any originality, an earlier tradition. This problem was particularly significant in the treatment historians gave to the most widespread medieval hagiographical work, *The Golden Legend*. Written in the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and based on ancient hagiographical material compiled by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine, the work was an immediate and booming success – with about a thousand Latin manuscripts coming from various regions of Western Christendom. Here we intend to discuss the existence of authorial intention in its composition in a twofold manner. First, we will criticize one of the historiographical trends that, between the 1960s and the 1990s, was most directly responsible for the dissolution of the notion of authorship in medieval documentation: the studies related to popular culture or folklore. Second, we will discuss how Jacobus de Voragine, despite using archaic material that he was mostly limited to copying, was capable of producing new meanings and functions proper to the interests of the then relatively young Order of preachers.

**Keywords:** medieval history, hagiography, authorship, historiography.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Over the last three decades *The Golden Legend* has become the object of a growing number of studies and debates amongst specialists from all around the world. Many reasons justify the attention given to this collection of saints' Lives composed in the last third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine. We could point to the not insignificant role that it played as an instrument of social communication:

an elevated expression of rhetoric of its time,<sup>1</sup> *The Golden Legend* was a powerful didactic tool both in the schools of novices and in the preaching to the lay people.<sup>2</sup>

Constituted by polyphony of themes, narratives and temporalities, *The Golden Legend* contains centuries of Christian tradition while at the same time bears witness to changes proper to its own time. It can be said that the 13<sup>th</sup> century bore the most palpable fruits of the passage from a civilization of liturgy to a civilization of norm. One of these fruits was the elaboration of large compilations of documents, amongst which *The Golden Legend* is included.<sup>3</sup> These works brought together and redirected the meanings of the previous Christian tradition and built up their own conception both of the Christian past and of its future. As a witness of past and present, the importance of *The Golden Legend* also projects itself to the future. It is not by chance that the work, which experienced a great success in the following centuries, has received still greater attention since the advent of the printing press, which is partly situated in the ramifications of the process of systematization from which it results. In the context of the ample organisation of the Christian tradition, *The Golden Legend* became the major source of hagiographic imagination, which locates it at the origin of the modern Western Christian imagination.

## II. A PATH REVISITED

My work on *The Golden Legend* resulted in a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of São Paulo

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the relationship between civic rhetoric and hagiography by the time of *The Golden Legend*, see Miatello (2013).

<sup>2</sup> Boureau (1984), p.24 was the first that, breaking with the Bolandist tradition of attributing the collection of legends with a merely private function, stated that *The Golden Legend* was written to serve as a manual for preachers, especially Dominicans, in the elaboration of sermons.

<sup>3</sup> *The Golden Legend* is one amongst many other hagiographical collections in the period, living alongside other kinds of collections. Their composition involved compilation, systematic organisation and rewriting of the material in question. This movement was particularly notable with regard to normative compilations, whose best known example is certainly Gratian's *Decretum*.

in 1998.<sup>4</sup> There I attempted to understand a central problem of the work: Jacobus de Voragine's option to focus on martyrial sainthood. This predilection led him to fill the text with the lives of ancient saints at a time when not only the context of the Persecutions rested on a very remote past but also the reformed Roman Church – where the election of the saints had taken place since the previous century – demonstrated larger interest on saints who had distinguished themselves by the use of their intellectual weapons. This seemed to me contradictory to the choice made by Jacobus de Voragine. As will be seen below, this contradiction is just apparent.

By that time, academic research on medieval History was going through a transition from the "History of Mentalities" to Cultural History. So the problem of the relationship between levels of culture became much more significant. In such context, I became a constant reader of studies that debated folkloric culture, popular culture and popular religion during the Middle Ages.<sup>5</sup> My approach to *The Golden Legend* was thus impelled by the conviction, shared by this historiographical trend, that hagiography was a privileged witness to the relationship between folkloric and learned culture.

My interest in the document therefore was mediated by a very specific theoretical orientation that was based in some important presuppositions, the most comprehensive of which was the direct and objective reading of the documentary evidence. The mediation between the document and its interpretation was of a purely theoretical kind. One could identify an element of folkloric origin by the strangeness it could provoke in the modern reader or by its similarities to themes recurrent in the collections gathered by folklorists in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in rural and traditional communities in Europe and in other parts of the world. Once identified, these elements were read in isolation or they were put in contrast to the contents of the 'learned' work in which they resided, as evidence of a specific cultural reality. Thus one went on with the cultural and sociological classification of the evidence based on the identification of contents (learned/folkloric) and forms of specific transmission (written/oral). This way of conceiving the plurality of the evidence found in the documents was related to two other ideas: that the 'written culture' during the Middle Ages was generally more permeable to the 'oral culture', and that the period did not actually recognise the role of the author, since every work was conceived as being primarily the result of a collective production both from its resort to authoritative texts and

to the more or less spontaneous absorption of information from different cultural sources. In short, this kind of approach consisted in an interpretative system that framed new temporal and sociological distinctions by adopting as references an extreme *longue durée*<sup>6</sup> and great cultural blocks, pushing into the background the specific time of production and diffusion of the text and its limited local and social insertion.

This kind of approach was preferred partly also because there had been no satisfactory critical edition of the manuscripts of *The Golden Legend* until then. This only came about in 1998 with the publication of the text established by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni.<sup>7</sup> My research was thus carried out based on The Golden Legend edited by Theodor Grässe. Since its appearance in 1846, this edition had become a reference for all subsequent studies of the text of Jacobus de Voragine.<sup>8</sup> However, the success of the Grässe edition for about a century and a half helped to overshadow *The Golden Legend's* rich and complex manuscript tradition.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, it contained several other problems, the most serious being the lack of historical criteria for choosing which branch of the textual tradition (composed of more than a thousand Latin manuscripts) should be best regarded.

The appearance of the Maggioni edition broke up with this tradition and gave significant prominence to a historical approach to *The Golden Legend*. With regard to the Latin tradition, it broke with the exclusive resort to Grässe's edition by calling attention to the historical dimension of each manuscript or group of manuscripts. By means of the study of the oldest manuscript tradition, Maggioni renewed the possibilities for a historical approach to the documentary tradition. In relation to the vernacular editions, the work of Maggioni allowed textual interest to go beyond the devotional and the taste for the marvellous. The intervention of the writers, who for centuries introduced additions and amendments to the material chosen by Jacobus de

<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the strong conservatism attributed to folkloric culture allowed the interpretation of the evidence by comparison between documents produced in very different periods, usually separated by long spans of time, as we have shown above.

<sup>7</sup> Iacopo da Varazze (1998). See also Maggioni (1995).

<sup>8</sup> Jacobi a Voragine (1969). Grässe's edition was based on the Ebert edition of 1472.

<sup>9</sup> As Maggioni (1998), p.XIV showed, Jacobus de Voragine altered his text a couple of times. Moreover, between the first and the final versions, the text was already being transformed by means of its public circulation and the subsequent intervention of several copyists. "Il lavoro di questa ricerca, qui ha riguardato i settanta codici più antichi, ha dimostrato l'esistenza di almeno due differenti stadi redazionali (qui indicati come LA1 e LA2) e ha permesso l'identificazione di due testimoni dell'ultima redazione che, essendo stati prodotti in luoghi corrispondenti per spazio e tempo con le diverse fasi della biografia di Iacopo da Varazze, attestano l'autenticità della redazione stessa." In this last case, the manuscripts were produced in Bologna between 1272 and 1276 and in Genoa between 1292 and 1299.

<sup>4</sup> Almeida (1998). Up to the time of writing, this text is still the only doctoral thesis of History written in Brazil dedicated to the study of *The Golden Legend*.

<sup>5</sup> See Le Goff (1967), Schmitt (1976), Schmitt (1981), Schmitt (1984), and Boglioni (2012).

Voragine, was valued as a product of a historical process. In order to define the history of the successive versions of the work established both by Jacobus de Voragine and by those that first altered it, Maggioni's edition advanced in the knowledge of the intention of the author and in the recognition of questions of his own time at *The Golden Legend*. Therefore Maggioni's edition became a hallmark to the historical studies of *The Golden Legend*.<sup>10</sup>

Between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s, when hagiography received a definitive place among the documents worthy of the attention of historians thanks to several advances both in theoretical and in methodological fields, this genre immediately established itself as a privileged witness to the relationship between learned and folkloric culture due to its peculiarity as an object of the faith of the common people.<sup>11</sup> It was then conceived that this relationship was developed by means of conflicts between different systems of meanings that were supposed to be characteristic of the history of both society and Christianity throughout the middle Ages.

Although less vigorously, such approaches to the hagiographical genre continue up to now. This is clearly shown by the 2010 congress held in Verona, whose acts (appeared in November 2012) would become a posthumous homage to one of its most illustrious participants, Pietro Boglioni, professor of the Université de Montréal and famous scholar of "popular culture", who died in 2011. The subject of the meeting – the connection between hagiography and popular culture – attracted researchers like Paolo Golinelli, Gábor Klaniczay, Edna Bozoky and Didier Lett.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the dynamism attested by the group that met in Verona, such studies lost the prominence they had had between the 1970s and the 1990s.<sup>13</sup> This waning first came about due to the internal criticism arising from the very evolution of cultural studies. Second, it also came about from outside by means of a series of methodological questions raised<sup>14</sup> about the way such folkloric elements could be identified in the documents. How can one distinguish the use made by

Christian writers of literary *topoi*<sup>15</sup> from the description of evidence of folkloric origin? How can one prove that evidence scattered throughout our sources that don't seem to fit to the (in our view) expected thinking of medieval clergymen are part of a common cultural system? Taken that is possible, one still needs to prove the sociological nature of this system, demonstrating if, and how, the distinctions are linked to conflicts or to dissonant social identities. How can we effectively sustain that what seems eccentric to us in these texts was so regarded by those who wrote them? In sum, if it is not possible to claim for the medieval period a homogenous cultural landscape and a society devoid of conflicts, then there is doubt if the place where folkloric culture studies locate the social and cultural divisions is at all pertinent.

Pietro Boglioni believed that *The Golden Legend* compiled an unparalleled number of episodes of folkloric origin.<sup>16</sup> In fact it is possible to find in the text sparse elements and episodes that seem to be out of place in comparison to the reverence and doctrine that we expect to see applied to the domain of sainthood. During my doctoral studies, these elements attracted my attention, as also did what seemed to me to be a tendency of the miracle towards magic.<sup>17</sup> I asked myself if the representation of sanctity in *The Golden Legend* – deeply rooted in the material exuberance of the body of the saints, that endured the unbearable, and of the body of the devotees, whose intercession had the power to re-establish them – was deploying elements from a competitor cultural system for the sake of preaching in

<sup>15</sup> These elements, attributed to the living of a folkloric nature in a Christian context, are from diverse provenances: biblical 'magic' (such as the flowering of sticks), cult of the Roman gods, episodes of undocumented origin related to 'magic' and animistic 'cults'.

<sup>16</sup> Thinking specifically about the folkloric tale, Boglioni (2001), p.130 stated that "*The Golden Legend* undoubtedly stands out as the largest repertoire of tales, fables, legends, romance, and narrative times produced by the West and perhaps by the whole of world literature."

<sup>17</sup> I distinguished magic from miracle on the basis of the subject of belief. In the case of the miracle, the actions of the subject qualify the event as a consequence of the exercise of the will of a creator. In the case of magic, the actions of the subject qualify the event as part of the nature of things and their relationship. Between these two poles, I qualified the narratives of *The Golden Legend* from the standpoint of a group of texts which marked the 1990s. Amongst these Thomas (1991), p.35 stood out, stating that, with the beginning of Christianity, the Church put itself as the wielder of the "most powerful magic" and took the realization of miracles as the most efficient form of demonstrating its monopoly on the truth. It became permissive towards magic as long as it was maintained under its control (Thomas (1991), p.52-53). The same relationship between the combat of effectiveness, permissiveness and Christian magic is highlighted by Cardini (1982), p.20, 22-23. During the early Middle Ages the Church showed itself to be little concerned with the ongoing pagan resistance to conversion, considering magical beliefs as harmless, which permitted the continuity of the therapeutic chantings and divinatory practices (Cardini (1982), p.27). Today it seems to me fundamental to reassess this point of view by considering, for example, the profusion of miracles at a distance that take place in *The Golden Legend*. They lead us to a different kind of event which seems to me to refer to the field of the miracle proper.

<sup>10</sup> Evidently we cannot forget the role played by the Université de Montréal Symposium of 1983 in this process (whose acts were published by Dunn-Lardeau (1986)) which put researchers from different linguistic branches of the tradition face to face. Despite the presence of some historians, literary studies dominated the meeting.

<sup>11</sup> Particularly in terms of *The Golden Legend*, at least two examples are worth mentioning: the position that the theme occupies in the important work of Boureau (1984) and its presence at the congress dedicated to Jacobus de Voragine held in 1998. See Bertini Guidetti (2001), especially the contributions from Vauchez (2001) and Boglioni (2001).

<sup>12</sup> Golinelli (2012).

<sup>13</sup> Situation recognized and lamented by Boglioni (2001), p.115-116.

<sup>14</sup> Künzel (1992) remains a pungent criticism of the methodology that allowed the identification of the evidence for folkloric culture in medieval documents.



order to attract and keep the attention of the listeners. Would martyrdom be thus represented in such a privileged position due to the demands of popular religion?

By that time I was inclined towards the magical and folkloric interpretation of the document. Nevertheless, I later started asking myself to what extent episodes regarded as “of little learning” could be effectively taken as being related to a folkloric origin. This question derived naturally from my conviction that the treatment given by Jacobus de Voragine to the legends he compiled should be read as an authorial exercise, even though this interference obeyed different criteria than those that characterise authorship in the modern world. I also asked whether the text revealed antagonisms of a cultural kind, such as “materialism versus spiritualism” and “magic versus miracle”, bearing in mind the possibility of a deliberate option made by Jacobus de Voragine for a text in which the narrative tension rested upon a sequence of fantastic events. The essential element communicated by *The Golden Legend*, and which guaranteed its power of attraction, rested upon its most immediately apprehensible, descriptive level of what was being told?

*The Golden Legend* was written based on liturgical, biblical, hagiographical, doctrinal, and historical texts hailing from different periods and regions. The resort to such diverse sources explains by itself the formal differences between the legends and the tone of each narrative that can be more or less reverential, according to its source, author and aims. So the variations that cause us estrangement can be attributed to the diversity of the sources employed. Finally, this diversity does not exist in an autonomous way, drawing its meaning from the alternation between martyrdom and miracle that unifies the stories. By means of these two types of events the didactic exposition of the high values that the work wishes to highlight (renunciation, obedience and poverty) is realised.

Alain Boureau helps us to reconsider this point when, as he criticizes the approach to the Christian legend as a literary genre, he states that the legend itself does not consist of its form. On the contrary,

“The reality of the form comes in fact from the content that was surreptitiously introduced (holiness, virtues, canonisation, exemplarity). [...] There is then a considerable difference between a genre, a simple form and a functional norm institutionally formulated, applied globally to forms, contents and uses. [...] We would not know therefore how to dissociate the legend its content: sainthood. It seems thus necessary to speak about a diffuse and mobile collection of legends rather than about distinct genre and species. [...] The true field of the legend is made up of the ensemble of accounts produced in a religious context and intended for a religious interpretation [...] the medieval religious legend

is not a simple form, but a convergent bundle of complex narrative modes. It seems arbitrary to separate the narratives of the religious men from the lay ones. [...] But it is nevertheless necessary to maintain this occasionally weak boundary in order to reaffirm that the medieval religious legend proceeds from a pious act of interpretation prepared for the practice of biblical reading, the *lectio divina*.” (Boureau, 2004, p.16-19)

Despite Alain Boureau's more specific concerns, his idea that the unity of the “diffuse and transitory collection of legends” rests on its contents allows us to affirm that the divergent elements are subordinated to a common logic, defined by the dynamic of salvation/condemnation. Thus the divergent, disruptive or unexpected evidence does not necessarily indicate the existence of competing cultural systems. It would preferably act as a means of identification among the text, the author/narrator and the reader/listener, who would unite themselves in the respect for the doctrine and in the rejection of elements that, according to a secular tradition, diverge from it and are regarded thus as worthy of contempt, derision or condemnation.

The ability to produce identity, to integrate within a community of values might be more efficient than the dispersion provoked by a focus on recrimination or by strategies of persuasion. Repeating in a sermon a recognised ancient reproach for the worship of ancient gods like Apollo may not have had any moral effect due to the absence of the object of cult, but it might have had the sociological effect of cementing a common conscience, of strengthening and of producing identification. Denying the existence of these so-called folkloric elements would undoubtedly be an error. However, their profusion needs to be explained by returning to the author and to the overall sense of the work in which they appear. After all, the logic of the conflict upon which the text was composed might emerge from specific needs required by the audience of the sermon. Hence the actual time of the composition of *The Golden Legend* and the choices of its author<sup>18</sup> must

<sup>18</sup> “So what does an author do? He composes, he deals with, he assembles, he combines, he writes down, he puts in order, he splits, he forges, he weaves, he interlaces, he compresses. But above all he speaks and he writes. Or rather, he takes up the pen, he scribbles, he works the page. He can lie if he is a pagan author, to whom everything is permitted. He invents little, he never creates. And evidently, he also never authorizes, a concept that would be better to be sought in the *doctor/docere* family. The verbs related to the notion of author are focused on the production of the work, with a deployment of handcrafted metaphors which remind the scholar that his act belongs to the dominion of labour and of the well-done work.” (Bourgain, 2001, p.374). In the specific case of *The Golden Legend*, Maggioni (1998), p.XX wrote: “The legendary of Jacobus de Voragine is actually a work of compilation mostly made up through the reworking or through epitomes of previous works [...] Take for example the case of the quotation from Daniel 11:31-32 in Advent 98 where all of our testimonies attest “*et desolationem templi*”: it is basically a corruption of the text of the *Vulgata* “*in desolationem et impiam*”, but the way Jacobus de Voragine employs the quotation seems to presuppose

be taken into account, at least in part, when considering this evidence regarded as disparate.

Therefore seems necessary now to consider the lives of the saints assembled by Jacobus de Voragine from a different viewpoint from that of the logic of the relationship between levels of culture. Any approach to the legends must firstly take into account that their appearance as a "pious act" produced a fundamental unity to the global comprehension of the text and of its constituent elements. Accordingly the diverse aspects of the martyrdom in *The Golden Legend* have to be approached bearing in mind three general aspects of the saintly register: the remote past of martyrdom and its place in the Christian tradition, the approach of this tradition by the Dominican order and its textual expression.

### III. UNITY AND UNIVERSALISM UPDATED

Established in Late Antiquity, the theology of the Christian martyrdom changed little in the following centuries. The most significant change in its history was the identification between martyrdom and the ascetic life that took place since the end of the third century, significantly when the Persecutions were already waning.<sup>19</sup> Of the 153 chapters of *The Golden Legend* exclusively dedicated to saints' lives, 91 end with the ordeal of the saint, turning the martyr into the largest sub-category of sainthood in the work.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, if we consider the legends in which sanctity is built on the basis of the ascetic profile of the saint, we can affirm that all of them foster the "martyrological" sainthood whether it be from its bloody or ascetic character. From this point of view, we can clearly see the author's intention acting on the establishment of the unity of the work. What remains to be understood is the reasoning behind this choice.

The impact that the martyrs had on late antique Christian communities was soon amplified by the effect of the learned texts that, by pondering upon them, were responsible for the appearance of a real theology about the subject. The martyrs allowed members of the Christian community to be seen as successors or those continuing the essential acts of Christ and of his disciples – preaching and complete submission to God that culminated in a bloody death.<sup>21</sup> Thus the martyrs offered tangible support to the idea that history had a

Christian meaning.<sup>22</sup> If we consider that in these centuries the Christian communities did not possess firm bases for an identity (whether it be of an ethnic, political, linguistic or doctrinal nature) capable of producing a single community, the election of the memory of the martyrs' ascetic renunciation proposed to the Christians then the possibility of unity based on a history and in a way of life.<sup>23</sup> As we hope to show, it is in the ancient sense of martyrdom as an element of representation of Christian unity that rested Jacobus de

<sup>22</sup> This evidently situates the Bible both as a historical narrative and as a source for the interpretation of History. It is significant that the legends of the saints were further developments of a peculiar form of care with the martyrs' memory. The founding gesture of the legends is the election of the martyrs' day of death as the date in which they should be read in public. Jacobus de Voragine is particularly careful with the exactitude of the dates, always exposing a doubt or a contradiction when necessary, whether due to uncertainties in the sources or due to liturgical praxis.

<sup>23</sup> The prominence given to the martyrs still had other cohesive virtues. It favoured the dialogue with the Jewish tradition by incorporating the teleology of suffering and the idea of expiatory death developed in the books of the Maccabees and the logic of the opposition between punishment and reward presented in the book of Daniel. It also allowed a dialogue with the Greek tradition by developing a heroic type imbued with a way of life similar to that of the ascetic philosophers (Hadot (1999), p.333-380) and by affirming the idea of the eternity of the spirit. For the Greco-Latin and Old Testament heritages which converged to the Christian martyrdom, see Baumeister (1991), p.XI-XXVI. Evidently this approximation demanded some additional efforts. For example, Auerbach (2007), p.19 showed that Christianity was capable of adopting the normative principles of ancient rhetoric at the same time that it subverted them. Thus humility, a low element in the eyes of ancient traditional rhetoric, became integrated into the sublime style. This change of content of the elevated speech corresponded therefore to a significant change of the value system, demonstrating a real transformation of the ancient world. It is not our aim here to explain how this took place. But it is important to note that the greatest example of humility in this conception proceeded from the martyrs, who surrendered themselves entirely to God's love by submitting themselves to the slanderous death and resisting injustice. So the *gloria passionis* integrated the most elevated forms of ancient culture: "*In the Fathers of the Church, the conception of a simultaneously humble and sublime style, embodied in the Sacred Scriptures, is not constituted in a theoretical way: it imposes itself, so to speak, due to the circumstances, to the situation in which it found itself. The conception took shape during the course of the polemic with learned pagans that laughed at the Christian books' defective Greek and low realism; in part also, due to the discomfort that the reading of these books caused in those Christians well educated in the schools of rhetoric*". Evidently the rhetorical praise of the martyrdom does not explain by itself the components of the hagiographical narrative; it only bears witness to the process of the emergence of new values that was conceived in a learned milieu that elevated the martyrdom to the sphere of the sublime, without the need to appeal to notions of folkloric origin. Hence the *gloria passionis* is related to an internal dialogue within this learned milieu in the course of the apologetical debate and of the Persecutions.

that the corrupted reading of the Vulgata is the authentic reading of *The Golden Legend*.

<sup>19</sup> *The Golden Legend* reproduces this identification in an exemplary manner. In the midst of the constellation of narrative forms and types of saints from which it is constituted, we can clearly distinguish the similarities between the lives of saints and the lives of the ascetics. On the comprehension of the ascetic – and consequently monastic – life as martyrdom, Baumeister (1991) evokes two central texts from the Christian hagiographic tradition, *The Life of Anthony* by Athanasius of Alexandria and the *Life of Martin* by Sulpicius Severus.

<sup>20</sup> Vauchez (1988), p. 112.

<sup>21</sup> See Markus (1990).

Voragine's primary interest in the martyrological ideal.<sup>24</sup> The lives of martyr saints preserve the memory of Christian unity both in history – when the scene of martyrdom synthesises earthly conflicts opposing saints and tyrants and points, despite the death of the saint, towards the forthcoming Christian hegemony – and in eternity – manifested in miraculous events, which were conceived as irruptions of the hereafter.

In the final third of the thirteenth century, the record of this ancient function of the lives of the martyrs and the ascetics suffered small alterations resulting from the general situation of the Dominicans and the direct action of the author Jacobus de Voragine. The idea that there existed an authorial intention guiding the selection of hagiographical material is reinforced by one of the episodes of the legend of the founding saint of the order to which Jacobus de Voragine belonged. In this legend, Saint Dominic emerges as a curious mixture of martyr and ascetic. The importance of the profile of the martyr to the Dominicans becomes evident in the saint's desire for martyrdom, even if disguised by his declaration of unworthiness for such an honour. Without avoiding the road where he exposes himself to get in touch with his heretical adversaries, Saint Dominic answers to their questioning on what he would do if they captured him with the intention of murdering him:

"I would ask you not to take me from this life at a stroke, but little by little, cutting off my limbs one by one, in small pieces, and after I am mutilated in front of my own eyes, that you tear out my eyes and leave me abandoned in some solitary place where no-one can help me, so that without succour, my agony would be prolonged; and, if you do not want to comply with this request, then I ask you to kill me in the manner it best suits you."<sup>25</sup>

This imaginary martyrdom, proof of abnegation and profound humility, certainly helped compose the prestige of a character whose limited projection in life created problems to the establishment of the profile of a

founder of an Order with great responsibilities and powers such as the Dominican order was. The example shows the effectiveness of the martyrological model for precisely locating where the Dominican authority lied then.

The legends of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic are clear in attributing to the advent of these two saints the character of a truly historical inflection. Their births are prophesied and will make way to a welcome restoration that will lead mankind to a renewed age, one that is superior in the history of the Christian faith. This new age, however should take place in the recovery of the records (both textual and spiritual) of fullness of the past.<sup>26</sup> If the legend of Saint Francis does not translate into words the intensity of the saint's interior desire for martyrdom, as it happens with Saint Dominic, it certainly does that in the palpable form of the stigmata.

It has already been noted that Jacobus de Voragine almost completely ignored the saints that appeared between 993 and 1255.<sup>27</sup> In this period, his work elects only six characters: two from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Saint Bernard and Saint Thomas of Canterbury) and four from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Saint Francis, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint Dominic and Saint Peter Martyr). This option clearly excluded from its collection royal saints and monk saints, especially Cluniacs. We see here once again that the activity of compilation does not exclude the possibility of important and calculated alterations to the compiled material. The recovery of the past gives way to updating processes that are worth investigating. The legends of the six saints of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries as compiled by Jacobus de Voragine reproduce the essential facts from the ancient and late antique legends. They deal with ascetics committed to voluntarily poverty and mostly targets of persecution, in the course of which they quite often show a gift for preaching.

The narrative content of the ancient legends is organised based on a complementary dynamic of events: persecution/martyrdom and martyrdom/miracle. The scenario of the martyrdom is public and grandiose. The saint, placed between the crowd that watches him and the tyrants that flog him, preaches the doctrine that is his weapon against injustice and error. On this stage the tyrant is defeated completely by the sermon and the

<sup>24</sup> It is also possible to look at the question from a complementary point of view. *The Golden Legend* is prodigious in recording the collection of the martyred bodies by members of the Christian community in order to bury them. These martyrs, generally rejected by their pagan families and tortured by their governors, found sense and rest in a new kind of community. The appropriation of the bodies of the martyrs helped to forge a new kind of society, a Christian one. The tomb brought forth the space of a new society in the same way that his body, given up to divine will, transformed the value and behaviour system of the ancient world as it crossed its spaces. For the spatialization of the Christian community, see Lauwers (2005). For the participation of the martyrs' tombs and the ascetical renunciations in the process of formation of a *single* Christian community, see Brown (1981) and Brown (1988).

<sup>25</sup> Iacopo da Varazze (1998), p.721: "*Rogassem uos ne repentinis me subito perimeretis uulneribus, sed paulatim et succesius membra singula mutilantes, deinde ostensis coram meis oculis detruncatis membrorum particulis, ipsos etiam oculos eruentes ad ultimum semiuivum laceratumque corpus sic permitteretis in suo sanguine uolutari, uel prorsus ad libitum necaretis.*"

<sup>26</sup> The Dominicans didn't expect to reach their targets of renewal by breaking with tradition. On the contrary, they strongly established themselves in it. The best known example is the way the friars adopted the model of the saints' lives of the Desert Fathers (*Vitae patrum*), something which becomes very clear already in the chosen title of their own lives: *Vitae fratrum*. According to Boureau (2004), p.76-78, the ascetic model of the Desert Fathers offered the Dominicans the possibility of an institutional identity which permitted them to escape both from the traps of the apostolic model – to which were associated many heretical groups – and from the model of the primitive Church, that could be then understood as a defence of the unrestricted preaching by laymen.

<sup>27</sup> Boureau (1984), p.39.

death of the saint is overcome by miracles that testify to resurrection and eternity. On the one hand, the miracles of the martyrs are as necessary to the story of their passion as is the doctrinal speech by which tyranny is opposed and the multitude is converted. Martyrdom, on the other hand, offers the hagiographer the opportunity to set forward the doctrine by means of the sermon of a saint. But if this sermon is fashioned on the description of the dynamic of relationship between heaven and earth testified to by miraculous events, it is also about earthly relationships.<sup>28</sup> Through these, the Dominican shows that it is possible and necessary to question the legitimacy, both earthly and from above, of the powerful that rule here and now.

In *The Golden Legend*, the passage from the martyrological to the ascetical sainthood is very subtle. One of the differences between them is that the tyrants are removed from the context of the ascetic passion and other enemies are chosen instead to combat with the saints. Such are the heretics that torment Saint Dominic and Saint Peter the Martyr, such are the fools that beat Saint Bernard and Saint Elizabeth. Among the six saints of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, we have two whose deaths were interpreted as martyrdoms. Saint Thomas of Canterbury was killed by allies of King Henry II of England for supporting the "freedom of the Church" (specifically the interests of the papacy in England) and Saint Peter Martyr or Peter of Verona, assassinated by the heretics he was trying to persuade. The others are ascetics who reach the doorsteps of martyrdom whether by the intensity of their desire, as in the case of Saint Dominic, or by the radical commitment to every kind of privation, as in the case of Saint Elizabeth and Saint Bernard, or by the profound identification with Christ, as it happens with Saint Francis in the case of the stigmata of the Passion. All of these legends have important peculiarities, but they also share the fact that they reproduce a system that, adopted by the ancient legendary, lends itself perfectly to the context of the young mendicant Orders, especially those of the Preachers.

Preaching, passion (martyrial or ascetic) and poverty are common to ancient and recent legends compiled by Jacobus de Voragine. The material he chose allowed him to treat themes very dear to his Order: the freedom of the Dominicans to preach before any authority, the excellence of mendicant poverty and the supremacy of the papal authority in doctrinal and political issues. The ancient material compiled by him places the Dominicans as critics of power and protectors of the order by their defence of the Church against heresy and lay potentates. The absence of confrontation between saints and tyrannical powers in

the ascetic legends is counterbalanced in the formal level of the text by the deliberate refusal of the author to include royal saints in the collection. We can detect here the expression of mistrust and disengagement of the Dominicans from earthly authorities but also the repercussion of their firm adhesion to the Roman Church.

Jacobus de Voragine has in mind a tense, morally and legally hierarchical relationship between the Church and the secular authorities. His choices within the hagiographical tradition show the efforts of the Dominicans to justify historically their autonomy in relation to the traditional clergy (above all monastic) and the authority of their order on earth, based on the mission attributed by God to a founder who is a model of self-renunciation and in the unrestricted support of the Church, identified to the papacy. At last, the martyr saint shows himself as a metaphor of the Preachers themselves, since they lead with humility and win by their example and doctrine.<sup>29</sup> In this way, hagiography performs a dual role: it bestows identity on a new Order and it represents it as a historical inflexion. The appearance of the Preachers unfolds a new phase in the history of Christian unity: the one which gives way to the full emergence of a Christian society under the leadership of the pope supported by the preaching friars.

Jacobus de Voragine informs his audience by means of a legion of characters chosen from the most diverse regions of Christendom. His method does not permit the local environment to dominate his characters. The saint's playing field is the world split by good and evil, by the logic of merit and reward. His hagiography without personalism is part of his efforts to adapt the collection to the requisites of the Dominican praxis. Already in 1215, Saint Dominic had increased the preaching territory of the Order, thus fulfilling the universal character that the authorization to preach everywhere given by the pope already implied.<sup>30</sup> By the time of Jacobus de Voragine, the drive for a universal approach to hagiography led him to texts disengaged from local tones, where the interests of landlords and local families could be heard. Therefore *The Golden Legend* assembles the ancient material because it escapes these liabilities. Thus the choices of Jacobus de Voragine respect the imperatives of the will of universal communication and of universalising. The ancient form chosen by him imprints his work with a universalism convenient to the Dominican praxis. It is

<sup>28</sup> The established secular power is never put into question. Thus, for example, the Empire is never questioned. The same doesn't hold true with its representatives whether they are princes, kings or emperors.

<sup>29</sup> This Dominican expression of *The Golden Legend* is also indirectly attested by the very success of the work shown by its first favourable reception amongst the Preachers. For an interpretation which raises the value of the injunctions of time present in *The Golden Legend*, see Airal di (1988).

<sup>30</sup> In 1220, St. Dominic expanded the territory of the Preachers also to 'pagan' lands in the North and the East of Europe, in Asia and in the Near East. See Vicaire (1978) p.104.



therefore evident that the compilation is not only a combination of material but an activity capable of updating it even without altering the content in any substantial way.

Until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the papacy, despite its control over canonisation that was then established, still refrained from regulating or even controlling local cults. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, this situation rapidly changed.<sup>31</sup> In order to do so, papal control over sanctity extended itself as far as the composition and advertisement of hagiographical material. The papal canonisation had as one of its main consequences the insertion of the saint into a universal family, allowing him to belong to a universal faith and not just that of some local groups. In the same way that in Late Antiquity the martyrs were deployed for the discursive construction of a single community, the example of the martyrs and ascetics in *The Golden Legend* favoured the establishment of a single and universal Christian society placed under the legal authority of the pope. It was for this project that the Dominicans – according the legend, by divine election – were established as historical craftsmen.

Jacobus de Voragine's compilation is not the fruit of the archaism of its author, but rather the systematisation of the Dominican representation of the ancient martyr. It is not by chance that the work became a basis for the subsequent imaginary of sainthood. In a conscious dialectic between time and eternity, the legends compiled by the hagiographer bring the prestige of "immutable" virtues to the historical Dominican action. From this point of view, the choices made by Jacobus de Voragine within the tradition of the lives of the saints show his entire scope. In the same way, it becomes clear the vast consequences of the "compilations" appeared in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, for long held as minor works for being considered mere appropriations and copies of tradition.

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## Devolution Plan: New Insights for Actualizing Local Level Empowerment

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**Abstract-** This paper is written with aim to point out the local level hurdles and socio-cultural factors responsible for mal-functioning of Devolution Plan. The authors have their professional impression on the basis of empirical data from local level community interactions that development of any nation or region is only possible when there is a distinct demarcation between development activities and interventions to be managed by top developmental intelligentsia or by just enhancing local level participation and sense of ownership. Historically, the province of Punjab witnessed a local level self-reliant approach to manage its livelihoods. The same if revitalized could help bring people realize that they have control over their resources (both social and natural) and they are capable enough to plan for the improvements in their livelihoods according to the ever-changing socio-environmental conditions. The local government concept is not new to the land rather it has a long history; devolution plan is merely a new approach into it. The barriers described in current papers debar realization of true and effective local level development, self reliance and social empowerment through meaningful decentralization.

**Keywords:** *devolution, decentralization, empowerment, caste.*

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*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# Devolution Plan: New Insights for Actualizing Local Level Empowerment

Dr. Abid Ghafoor Chaudhry<sup>α</sup>, Aftab Ahmed<sup>σ</sup> & Haris Farooq<sup>ρ</sup>

**Abstract-** This paper is written with aim to point out the local level hurdles and socio-cultural factors responsible for mal-functioning of Devolution Plan. The authors have their professional impression on the basis of empirical data from local level community interactions that development of any nation or region is only possible when there is a distinct demarcation between development activities and interventions to be managed by top developmental intelligentsia or by just enhancing local level participation and sense of ownership. Historically, the province of Punjab witnessed a local level self-reliant approach to manage its livelihoods. The same if revitalized could help bring people realize that they have control over their resources (both social and natural) and they are capable enough to plan for the improvements in their livelihoods according to the ever-changing socio-environmental conditions. The local government concept is not new to the land rather it has a long history; devolution plan is merely a new approach into it. The barriers described in current papers debar realization of true and effective local level development, self reliance and social empowerment through meaningful decentralization.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of local government was not new in Pakistan as the historical evidences<sup>1</sup> suggest that local government concept has been featuring

<sup>1</sup> Local Government is not new to Pakistan or South Asian perspective rather it dates back to pre-Mughal times. The ancient rulers basically established this system to control the masses and devise an organized system of revenue collection. The British reached India in 1609 with commercial objectives. The East India Company established the institution of local government in the year 1688, when it setup a municipal committee in Madras. In 1765, the Company virtually gained both the rights of collecting revenues, and running the civil administration. At that time, the company introduced a modern system in urban areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa since its activities were restricted to these towns. As a part of their administrative policy for both revenue and civil affairs, the British tried to maintain the *Punchayat* system, particularly the villages' assemblies. As the system in various part of the subcontinent was highly diversified, a uniform system of local government institutions could not be introduced. So, the British has to accept different systems of local government in various regions of India. The British followed the Mughals' strategy of not disturbing the existing system too much, especially in rural areas, where they ruled indirectly.

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Indian sub continent since Mughal reign. Later, British colonial rule also retained it with bringing major alterations and making it according to the requirements that suited British rule.<sup>2</sup> Since partition, various military setups used this important institution for their vested interests. The innovation of Musharraf reign was in theory a promise ensuring local empowerment of people through decentralization but in practice it also turned out to be vehicle of enhancing military-bureaucracy's rule over masses of Pakistan. It was not different from the previous local governments (Basic Democracies by Ayub Khan and Local Governments in Zia period) that were experienced in Pakistan after partition.

Local Government plan focused on five fundamental objectives. It included devolution of political power; decentralization of authority; de-concentration of management functions; diffusion of the power-authority nexus; and distribution of resources.

<sup>2</sup> The historical record shows that the most significant phase in the development of local government in India began with Lord Ripon's resolution of 18 May 1882. Ripon realized that the following political and social changes had developed as a result of western education: the emergence of western educated class familiar with democratic norms; the emergence of demand for democratic institutions to grant basic rights to Indians; the emergence of political parties and socio-cultural organizations; the emergence of a class in cities eager to participate in political institutions. In response to Lord Ripon's resolution, the Punjab District Board Act was passed in October, 1883 in 1904, Lord Curzon, a staunch believer in centralization, set aside all the local institutions in the name of administrative efficiency. On 20 August 1917, a policy decision was made by the British government to ensure the participation of Indians in all branches of Administration. The government of India took certain crucial and significant decisions for the development of local self-government. In this respect, the following suggestions were made:

- People should be trained to manage their local affairs through local government.
- Substantial elected majorities should prevail in both municipal and rural boards.
- Chairman of local bodies should be elected, although non-officials can be appointed where necessary.
- Franchise rule should be liberalized.
- Nominations should be retained only to ensure representation of minorities and
- Punchayat* should not be integrated with District Boards; instead, a corporate village life should develop in the length and breadth of the entire country.

Under the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, the local government was transferred to the Provinces through an Act passed in 1920 with the hope of speedy local development through the involvement of the local population. With the advent of provincial autonomy under the government of India Act of 1935, popular ministers succeeded in the provinces and brought an increased measure of self government.

Essentially, the new system is aimed at creating an enabling environment in which not only the people participate in the community welfare but also own their decisions and become the masters of their own destiny. This system as a matter of fact, functions within the provincial framework and without any interference from the centre.

The two main features of local government ordinance were treated as the hallmarks of devolution of power stated by National Reconstruction Bureau. Among these were the empowerment of people and decentralization of authority to the local tiers. Before launch of this mega developmental shift, to bring more transparency, all previous political parties were banned to nominate their candidates (the same move was done by Zia in 1985 national and provincial level elections). The aim of empowerment of people was planned to be actualized through a head of district, Tehsil and union councils through an elected public representative to whom all public offices at district level were made accountable. The head of district government was formally declared as a head of all public offices. This shift embraced heavy criticism on behalf of technocrats and even bureaucracy (which was evident due to the fear of loss of power and authority).

## II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### a) Local Government System: Historical Background

If the case of local government system is studied in historical perspective few important scholastic works can be of prime importance to connect the current local government system of Pakistan with historical forces that influenced this system in one way or the other. Importantly, Richard W. Gable as cited by Inayatullah (1972) commented on the negative functions that have been produced by the local government in the South Asian scenario especially in India and Pakistan. He states further:

*Traditional local government in the sub continent was either destroyed or allowed to decay by the British colonial rulers (Inayatullah, 1972).*

Inayatullah further quoted the scholastic contribution of Gable who also worked on the local government system in British India due to mal-functions performed by local government institution in British India. He says:

*Local government declined in British India and district administration was established and strengthened (Ibid: 1972).*

It was replaced by an administrative pattern designed to aid and abet colonial rule. So long as the basic objective of collection of revenue and economic exploitation was met, the administrative machinery was considered efficient. To this end, the British strengthened district administration in the sub-continent because it was the best means of ruling imperial India

through a handful of men. The British officers in each district became absolute rulers with unlimited powers and control over revenue, police and judicial functions. The attitude of the British government has been captured in the following statement regarding the colonizers view of local government. Harold F. Alderfer (1964) referred that colonial power incubated the provincial administrative structure in the disguise of merely to increase their colonial powers and control over the people. He states that colonial powers therefore deliberately undermined the local leadership which was a genuine and culturally accepted phenomenon. He is of the view:

*As a general rule, colonizing powers upon gaining sovereign rights in foreign places have concentrated upon establishing national and top provincial administration to carry out their political, economic and social objectives. They have either neglected the local field, being satisfied to accept local leadership if found to be cooperative, or have half-heartedly tried to remake local institutions in their own image. As a result, these colonial governments, even when ultimately independent and manned by native officials and personnel, tend to be centralized in the national colonial and provincial capitals (Alderfer, 1964).*

Gable as cited by Inayatullah (1972) states:

*Not only was the colonial administration authoritarian and centralized but it was also not interested in getting nearer to the people. Unfamiliar and cumbersome procedures were introduced by the British district officers when they took to dealing with revenue and criminal cases instead of the village officials. This made it almost impossible for a poor rural citizen to get justice (Inayatullah, 1972).*

He adds further:

*In short, the years of colonial rule in the subcontinent were marked by the complete suffocation of local government because from this time onward a villager could never be sure of success of bad cases made the new arrangement very popular particularly with those seeking injustice". All administrative activity became crystallized at the district level, where the Queen's representative could exercise central control (Ibid: 1972).*

### b) Devolution of Power: A Local Empowerment and Decentralization Pledge

The Devolution Plan was launched in March 2000 by the then Federal Government to serve as the focal point for local governance and development (Asian Development Bank: 2004). An item wise detailed version was presented in the month of May 2000 for in-depth deliberations. Finally, the government proved and implemented it on August 14, 2000 while terming it as Local Government Ordinance 2000 (Government of



Pakistan: 2000). The Devolution Plan advocated decentralization of the government structure and service management, improving effectiveness and efficiency of main public services by bringing their management closer to the people, creating potential for participatory monitoring, and enabling it to better address to social needs and impartial accountability to the public (World Bank: 2004).

The then president of Pakistan (Mr. Musharraf) unveiled his government's 'Local Government Plan' intended to build genuine democratic institutions and empower the people at the grassroots. Chaudhry and Chaudhry (2011) stated that:

*Empowerment of the people through the introduction of district governments commonly referred to as devolution of power has undoubtedly been the most significant and sensitive initiative of the present regime. Significant in the sense that it brought about the biggest restructuring of the public sector organizations in Pakistan through a paradigm shift in favour of the directly elected local government institutions. It is sensitive, as this initiative has perhaps triggered more controversies than any other policy of Musharraf government. Indeed, the Local Government plan presents a great opportunity for decentralizing the Government structure and service management by enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of key public services. (Chaudhry & Chaudhry, 2011).*

The main objectives were political devolution, administrative decentralization, and the redistribution of resources to local governments. In Musharraf's words:

*The basic issue is to empower the impoverished and make the people the master of their own destiny. We want to introduce essence of democracy and not sham democracy, which promotes the privileged. Devolution will bring far-reaching consequences and will change [the] fate of the country.*

Chaudhry and Chaudhry (2011) further describe that:

*In the devolution plan, following justifications have been given as the basis for the Local Government structure: non-use, misuse, and abuse of political and administrative system which led to institutional crisis resulting in collapse of political and administrative systems; corruption in political and administrative system; political system has been hijacked by political families, as it has not functioned under the political parties; administrative set-up was control-oriented rather than service-oriented. The government this time around has indeed changed Pakistan's decades' old colonial system of running political and administrative affairs based on a colonial ethos of control rather than service by devolving powers at the local level. Pakistan did witness local bodies' elections in the past but each time, unstable national political system amongst other factors led to*

*its collapse. Under the devolution plan, Local Government elections were held in five phases covering all districts of the four Provinces from December 2000 to June 2001.*

With its focus on individual rights and freedom, the principle of devolution of power was of an important liberal value as it promised local populations to get hold over what they thought of development. It included local planning, strategizing their developmental priorities and launching it in their desired and preferred manner. The task of 'devolution of power' was assigned to National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB).<sup>3</sup> The NRB proposed devolution of power to three local tiers, these were, District, Tehsil, and Union Council.

The head of District, Tehsil or union council was termed as *Nazim* and the deputy was termed as *naib Nazim*. The vision of decentralization was devolved to district *Nazim* under his jurisdiction. Twelve departments called group of offices by LGO 2001, devolved to the district government are as follows:

1. *District coordination:* Coordination, human resource management and civil defence;
2. *Agriculture:* Extension, livestock, farm/water management, soil conservation, soil fertility and forests;
3. *Community Development:* Community organization, labour, social welfare, sports, culture, cooperative and registration;
4. *Education:* Primary and secondary schools, colleges, technical education and special education;
5. *Finance and planning:* Finance and budget, planning and development, accounts, enterprise and investment promotion;
6. *Health:* Public health, basic and rural health, child and women health, population welfare, district and Tehsil hospitals;
7. *Information technology:* Development, promotion and database;
8. *Law:* Legal advice and drafting;
9. *Literacy:* Literacy campaigns, continuing education and vocational education;
10. *Executive magistracy;*
11. *Revenue:* Land revenue and estate and excise and taxation; and,

<sup>3</sup> NRB collected information, conducted workshops and seminars, and evolved a new structure with some revolutionary changes. The major emphasis of the policy makers and planners was on: devolution of power; reduction of influence of the bureaucrats; improvement of police departments and an end to misuse of power by the police force and functionaries; guarantee of participation of the people in the decision making process; guarantee of civil provisions (services) to the common man.

12. *Work and services:* Spatial planning and development, districts roads, and building, energy and transport.

### III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

Methodology refers to the structure of procedures and transformational rules whereby the scientist shifts information up and down this ladder of abstraction in order to produce and organize increased knowledge. Thus defined "methodology" can be distinguished from research techniques in that the latter term is useful for referring to the pragmatics of primary data collection, whereas methodology denotes the "logic-in-use" involved in selecting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data, and relating these data to theoretical propositions. In practice, the practical problems of using particular techniques of data gathering cannot be entirely separated from the examination of their logic-in-use. Any methodological discussion then must include some reference to techniques.

#### a) *Locale*

The current study was conducted in Union Council of Sacha Soda in Tehsil and district of Sheikhpura district of the Punjab province. The life of this Union Council is characterised by big political players who acted as middlemen in the local power structure. Sheikhpura District lies roughly between North latitudes 31.0 degree and 32.5 degree and East longitudes 73.5 and 74.42 degree. Its shape is roughly that of trapezoid with a triangular off-shoot to the west from the Southwest corner. The village Sacha Soda is 18 km from Sheikhpura city towards North West.

#### b) *Methods*

Data collection was done through the exploratory method while using main techniques of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and key informants.

#### c) *Observational Method*

To collect information from the respondents, the research team was properly trained and was especially asked to be vigilant in the field during the phase of data collection. It was also done to with a perspective to take notes of the observations made during the data collection.

#### d) *Focused Group Discussions*

The research team conducted one FGD per district that involved stakeholders from both public and private sector also including the NGOs staff. This method was helpful in a way that I used to get loads of information in short span of time as compared to other techniques. The importance of Focus Group Discussion is also stated by Dick (1998) in the lines below:

"Focus groups are a method particularly suited to preliminary research where some time-economy is a need, and where a more structured approach may be premature. It is common for the group session to be audio-taped (or sometimes videotaped) for later analysis, though that is not my preferred option. Focus groups are a method of group interviewing for obtaining qualitative data. It is not so much a research design as a data collection method" (Dick, 1998).

The way of conducting focused group discussion was very interactive in which members were very keen to participate. In a sense, it also provided a forum to the senior representatives to speak up and share their experiences. This method served four important functions which were as under:

1. Firstly identification of the respondents who had been involved in similar activities;
2. Secondly, the preference was given to respondents, who were somehow involved in skills trainings or knowing the importance of the process;
3. Thirdly, the necessity of knowledge about development and community organization in their local terms; and,
4. Fourthly, their willingness to share their experiences was the basic condition during core group operation.

### IV. RESULTS

#### a) *Devolution in Sacha Soda and Main Hurdles*

In my personal view, national level picture is often reflected at the local level. If corruption and injustice prevails at higher level same is diffused to the local level automatically.

#### b) *Caste Based Politics*

The local government elections<sup>4</sup> really mobilized the public especially the politicians in order to bring forth the candidates of their own choice (mostly their sons and nephews) who were supposed to strengthen the influence of these already powerful politicians. The prevailing myth among the power holders was:

*It is foolish to vacate any position for your opponents. If you want to survive then fix your opponents so that they may not be able to raise their heads even in hundred years.*

Although this view might be understood as a proverbial while reading but when it was actually operationalized in the village life, it brought horrible results and consequences for the village life. As

<sup>4</sup> The elections in 2005 were eye witnessed by me in three different places; firstly, Lahore (as invited by an NGO who was monitoring the electoral process), Secondly, Sheikhpura district level and thirdly, village Sacha Soda. In fact the city represents typical Punjabi culture that surrounds by the caste and determined by the local power holders in line with the national level politicians.

mentioned in lines, above that the village local power holders were very much concerned about supporting their candidates to come in the scenes as the elected candidates later on add strength and indispensability in the village life. According to the view of the general public, the local level elections are always very violent and bloody. It is because the public overtly support and oppose their candidates. This support and opposition is very much evident in their daily life. In village, one has to clearly distinguish the *dhara* with which one affiliates, otherwise, the issues of a person's group affiliation remains in question. Local level elections were also bone of contention because one could see divisions even in the biradari and extended families. The local level power holders very artistically used the mutual misunderstanding of village community for their purposes. It was essential for the villagers that with whatever *dera* they were affiliated, they had to accept its supported candidate in oncoming elections.

The major force that decided supported candidate was the person from one's own caste or the caste with which there were relations based on reciprocity basis. It was observed that during national and provincial elections, the two most powerful groups of village (Ranas and Gujjars) worked for success of their respective candidates. For instance Ranas canvassed for candidate who was from Rajput origin and manipulated elections in strengthening the position of their candidate in village. Similarly, Gujjars worked for the candidate from their caste and also managed to get the desired results. The exercise of both groups was successful as they got their candidates won from village. The strategy opted by candidates contesting election for National Assembly or Provincial Assembly was also to a greater extent taking benefits from existing sense of affiliations among villagers and thus molding into their favour. Many villagers also knew that it was always difficult to meet their candidates after winning elections for their problems but it was again a psychological satisfaction that lied with villagers as somebody from their own caste was occupying seat. The same caste bond was very much functional during 2005 local elections as Dogars worked for their candidate throughout district to get their candidates elected. The case was different in local elections as electoral votes for positions of district *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* were casted by elected members of local bodies but it was taken as a matter of prestige as one's own candidate was elected. Therefore, Dogars worked for promotion of their candidate as district *Naib Nazim*. The Ranas were very active during elections for the seat of district *Nazim*. As a token of District Nazim's support, Rana group reciprocated and voted for him. The Rana group manipulated the local elections as they managed their candidate to get elected as *Nazim* and their supported candidate on the seat of *Naib Nazim* in the Union Council of Sacha Soda.

Similarly, Virak group was also active in local level elections as they worked for the Tehsil level and remained successful in electing both their supported candidates on the premier seats of Tehsil from their own caste. The sitting *Nazim* for Tehsil Sheikhpura and the *Naib Nazim* were from same caste group as that of Viraks. In fact, it was important to note that the situation in village was not only replicated at union, Tehsil, and district councils but also at National and Provincial assemblies. The villagers compared a case within the village and outside the village in a very interesting way by stating that '*Kam Howey na Howey, Member Saada Ay*<sup>5</sup>'. It was imperative for the villagers that somebody whom they knew personally was representing them and may be approached for help in time of need especially during any inter caste conflict within the village.

The villagers reported that no considerable developmental work was carried out at the Union Council level. The villagers had accepted that nobody after election fulfils the promises often made during the elections under many excuses. The community viewed that it was always the influential land owners who demanded support from the lay men in the village as recognition of their services during the daily life. The question that why the villagers usually casted their votes after their *deraydars* was simply because villagers easily approached them during their problems and thus used their influence in fixing their issues. The *deraydars* on the other hand, acted as middlemen between the contesting candidate during elections and voter community to cash their vested interests.

In the lines to follow, I have worked out few important case studies that highlight the main hurdles that were hindering smooth pace of newly evolved concept of district government. While describing the case studies, it may seem beyond the scope of local bodies and its issues in the village but for sure having an indirect effect on working of this new system to benefit lay men residing in the village.

#### c) *Disharmonized Pace of District Assemblies*

The seats for the women representation in the new system were thirty three percent of the total seats. The purpose of doing the same was to empower women at local level by participating in the local decision making process. It is observed that the women representatives usually remain absent from the sessions as their role was only to help winning the women seats. These female candidates usually refrained from attending the session, unless, there was something very important and crucial going on in the session like no confidence or budgetary session. Another hurdle observed in the district assembly session, that it

<sup>5</sup> We are not concerned with the developmental work, we are happy that person from our caste is occupying the seat.

introduced various committees<sup>6</sup> whose functions were to make sure the smooth sailing of different chapters under the district assembly's jurisdiction. The idea of all proposed committees was to make sure that the business of the district government was progressing in progressive way and direction. The situation on ground was desperate as majority of the committees after being formulated have not met once whereas the Zila Monitoring committees (ZMCs) were not finalized. If one looks at the functions of ZMCs, clear understanding is received that the functions are very much important and they play as back bone in the new devolution setup. The vested interests of groups occupying seats in district assembly clashed with various committees and its functions due to constitution of those committees were delayed. The interest groups attempted to make sure that required quorum for the business of committee remains incomplete so that no work progress could be made. I tried my utmost to see the names of 'Farm Produce Market Committee' but I was told that it was confidential. I also talked to the personnel from local government department who were also emphasizing that developmental work was not done according to the requirements as laid down in the law but in such pressure scenario one had to keep silent to save the bread and butter of his kids and family.

#### d) Citizen Community Boards (CCBs)

The new Local Government System also provided for setting up of Citizen Community Boards<sup>7</sup> (CCBs) in every local area to boost participatory development. The purpose was energizing the community for development and improvement in service

delivery through voluntary, proactive and self help initiatives and to take up the welfare of the handicapped, destitute, widows and families in extreme poverty. CCBs were conceived to be vehicles of promoting participatory development among the public in the local areas through groups of non elected citizens may, through voluntary, proactive and self help initiatives under the new system. On the basis of empirical information<sup>8</sup>, it can be said with confidence that this was the most affected area where the whole devolution concept was made dysfunctional. In reality, the process of registering CCBs was too long and technical as any other government business. There were only five percent examples where the CCBs were given developmental funds regarding their submitted projects. The CCBs were not in the priorities of the any district government that I visited during my stay in district and Tehsil administration.

#### e) Bottom Up Planning and Ownership Incentive System

According to the new System, the development expenditure from Local Fund should not be less than twenty five percent<sup>9</sup> of the Funds. The development budget according to this system was to be prioritized in accordance with the bottom-up planning system and not less than twenty five percent of the total development budget be reserved for the schemes initiated and identified by the Citizen Community Boards. Under the new System, CCBs<sup>10</sup> may receive from a local government matching grants up to eighty percent of the budgeted amount of an approved development scheme by depositing its share of the cost of the Scheme.

<sup>6</sup> These committees included:

- Elect committees of the Zila Council for monitoring the performance of the District Government;
- Ensure the Monitoring Committees of the Zila Council perform their functions in a non-intrusive manner without interfering in the day to day working of the relevant offices of the District Government and do not assume a command and control role;
- Review the Monitoring Committees' quarterly reports on the performance of the District Government;
- Elect an Ethics Committee (Code of Conduct Committee) which shall be responsible for enforcing the code of ethics for regulating the conduct of the members of the Zila Council;
- Elect an *Insaaf* Committee which shall facilitate access of the people to the Member Inspection Team of the High Court for redressing their grievances;
- Elect a Sports and Culture Committee which shall promote sports and cultural events in the district and youth participation in healthy pursuits;
- Elect the members of the Zila Council for representation in the District Public Safety Commission;
- Elect a Zila Accounts Committee;
- Constitute Farm Produce Market Committee under the relevant law;

<sup>7</sup> A CCB may raise funds through voluntary contributions, gifts, donations, grants and endowments for its declared purposes without compromising the larger interest of the community. It may also receive project-based cost sharing support from any local government. A CCB will be a non-profit organization and its income and assets are allowed to be used solely for the attainment of its objectives and no portion of

the income is to be paid by way of dividend, profit or bonus to any of its members or contributors. The accounts of the Board will be subjected to audit. In case of dissolution or de-registration of a CCB, its assets will pass on to the local government which contributed towards creation of these assets or funds and it will continue to be used for community welfare.

<sup>8</sup> During meetings with officials of Federal Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development (MoLG&RD), National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment, Akhtar Hamid Khan Center for Rural Development and Municipal Administration (AHKCRD&MD), and through the practices of the official facilitating the process of registering the CCBs.

<sup>9</sup> Note: (\* The words 'Fifty Percent' substituted through amendment in LGO, 2001 by the respective provincial governments.)

<sup>10</sup> There were many examples where the provisos of the prescribed law were severely damaged. For example, the district assemblies of districts of Attock and Gujrat which are famous for the most powerful figures of PML (Q) residing there did not allocate anything for the CCBs. Soon after the elections in the 2005, I happen to attend a series of training workshops organized by NCHD under their capacity development program that works in close coordination with city and district governments. During the lecture there was an interesting question raised by one of the staff of NCHD about the discrepancies that lie in the budgets of districts of Attock and Gujrat. The Resource person from DCTE said that '*he is sure that when both of the districts ensure to implement the LGO 2001 in letter and spirit that would be the day when one can say the LGO 2001 is fully implemented in Pakistan*'.



The process specified for the CCBs for making developmental projects and thus participating considerably in the development of their area was made so difficult and lengthy that the people usually lost their commitment level in pursuing the funds for the concerned departments. The lack of proper training about administering the registration, proposal process really made the idea beyond one's access. In some places, though NCHD was reported to imparting the training to the CCBs' officials as per their statement but I saw that all promises of NCHD as mere statements for the sake of creating their nuisance value among the government and its donors with no concrete difference made on ground. I happened to attend the training workshop of the trainers known as the District Program Coordinator (DPC) and District Program Manager (DPM) to conduct the training in their respective districts. The whole training component for the DPCs and DPMs were not comprehensive and was so lengthy that the staff itself started criticizing that under these conditions, how can the villagers who do not know the technicalities may empower themselves to meet the requirements to apply for the funds.

The promise of bottom-up planning and ownership incentive was proved to be just a statement of words. The few genuine CCBs in village Sacha Soda were also curious in knowing how to complete the requirements for the developmental projects. The CCBs were keen to submit their portion in the proposed project budget that is twenty percent of the total amount requested from the government. The new district governments proclaim that through CCBs, a community can submit their respective development project at any time but in reality the projects submission date is the month of March of each financial year. The projects submitted earlier were delayed until month of March.

Youth Welfare Organization, Sacha Soda was one of the CCBs that submitted a project proposal. This organization basically comprised retired people from education and health departments along with young people as field force. The respective CCB was aiming to start a medical dispensary in the village. The project was submitted to Sacha Soda Union Council which was refused on basis of shortage of funds. After getting refusal from UC's office, same was submitted to Tehsil Council where project was again rejected under the justification that once a project submitted and getting refused at any level may not be resubmitted for funding at another level. This treatment also violated the provisions provided under the law that clearly stated 'Funds for CCBs are available with each Local Government at District, Tehsil/Town and Union level. CCBs are free to approach all sources of funding.'

#### f) *Endangered Theme of Participatory Development*

The approach<sup>11</sup> of Participatory development though an attractive promise made by the devolution plan believes in four building blocks, those are: organization; resource mobilization; linkages and networking; and capacity building as emphasized by one official from Devolution Trust for Community Empowerment (DTCE). In real, the basic core of participatory development seriously lacked in Sacha Soda as no spade work what so ever was done in the village to organize scattered community to start development process to improve the living conditions of village people. Officials were neither visiting village nor it was reported by villagers about any official visiting the village or contacting villagers. Not to speak of lay men residing in village, even the UC's newly elected staff was unable to organize the community to commence basic and most needed development work in village that included the pavement of streets, arrangements of light polls in the streets (that also served as a gift to the cattle thieves), getting the sanction of a girls high school, making the basic health unit operational, to provide a new link road for villagers in order to have a swift communication between the farm and market, etc.

#### g) *Union Council to Control villagers and opponents*

While having conversations with the staff of UC, none of them was found to be having a basic understanding of the devolution plan and its spirit. For majority of staff, elections were a kind of continuation of the old BD system introduced by Ayub Khan. The villagers' view was not even different as those of staff of UC. The most interesting thing that came into notice was the influential groups forming their own election panels<sup>12</sup> in which candidates were nominated from all considerable allies of a specific group so that representation of each considerable group within one *Dhara* is ensured.

The picture on ground was portrayed that only *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* were influential in matters related

<sup>11</sup> The methodology suggested by DTCE was the basic realization of the need to organize scattered community to raise among them a need for collective work for the general welfare and betterment of facilities in any community. There was an understanding during the applications of '*Bottom-Up developmental approach*' that organized groups can better identify the developmental needs of any specific community. It was believed that the village communities were already organized therefore only lip services was dedicated to this important factor.

<sup>12</sup> It was done so because of the following requirements laid down in the election procedures. There shall be a Union Council (UC) in each Union comprising thirteen following members elected directly:

- i. Six Muslim members, elected to general seats, including two reserved for women;
- ii. Four members, elected to seats reserved for peasants and workers, including two reserved for women;
- iii. One member elected to a seat reserved for minority communities; and
- iv. Union Nazim and Naib Union Nazim elected as joint candidates:



to UC and rests of members were only supposed to nod their heads in agreement. While handling with the official procedures, *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* often remained absent from the village because of their essential presence in the District and Tehsil assembly sessions. The decisions of the council were held mostly at the *Dera* of Ranas because of Mr. Rana being the *Nazim*. The code of conduct required the sessions and meetings to be recorded for the sake of record maintenance which was not maintained under the belief that somebody in the evening would prepare the minutes of the meetings. The UC did not encourage the establishment of CCBs in the village because of the fear of other influential groups coming in the picture and thus establishing their role in the pursuits of the council. Besides, the UC was supposed to establish the monitoring committees to look into the matter of UC which was deliberately delayed because of having the confident and reliable members of these bodies with the elected staff in order to reduce the very much possible opposition and resistance from the general public. Sacha Soda's Union Council was supposed to elect an *Insaaf* (justice) Committee responsible for the selection of the panel of Conciliators of *Musalihat Anjuman* (mediation committee) for out of court amicable settlement of disputes. These important bodies were formulated in order to suppress the voices that could have risen against interests of Ranas in the village.

The night when the results for UC were being announced, there was a sense of dissatisfaction among most of the voters because of controversial results. Majority of the voters started whispering that results were rigged because on polling day, there were bandits of Rana group rooming in the village with threatening and warning messages for villagers. On the same day during polling, there was a dispute due to which polling was stopped for an hour as the presiding officer asked all polling agents of contesting panels to vacate polling station because of the pressure being built on the election staff by the polling agents.

#### *h) Fabrication of Union Council's Administrative Powers and Functions*

All UCs under the devolution plan were required to make sure that the following functions<sup>13</sup> were being done in time and its required spirit:

The picture in real was desperate, because till august 2006 majority of the official work was still to be done. Only birth incidences were recorded as it was previously happened in same office. The current and

previous office failed to maintain the record and conduct activities under its powers. While having a look on the proposed functions of a UC, it could be easily inferred that proposed functions of UC were not acted upon. In fact, the voters in particular and villagers in general were ignorant of functions and powers of UC because nobody told them about it. Although complete details of the voters were present in office, but it was also available with all influential groups at their *Deras* where after election, the voters were asked to take vows of casting votes for their groups. In extreme cases, the vows were not believed by the respective groups as the results of the election presented a different story.

The secretary of UC was supposed to carry out all major activities with the advice of *Nazim* but he was

- 
- ii. To identify deficiencies in the delivery of services and make recommendations for improvement thereof to the Tehsil Municipal Administration;
  - iii. To register births, deaths and marriages and issue certificates;
  - iv. To make proposals to the Union Council (UC) for levy of rates and fees specified in the Second Schedule of Local Government Ordinance, 2001 and to collect such rates and fees within the Union;
  - v. To establish and maintain libraries;
  - vi. To organize inter-Village or Neighborhood sports tournaments, fairs, shows and other cultural and recreational activities;
  - vii. To disseminate information on matters of public interest;
  - viii. To improve and maintain public open spaces, public gardens and playgrounds;
  - ix. To provide and maintain public sources of drinking water, including wells, water pumps, tanks, ponds and other works for the supply of water;
  - x. To maintain the lighting of streets, public ways and public places through mutual agreement with the Tehsil Municipal Administration;
  - xi. To arrange facilities for the handicapped, destitute and poor;
  - xii. To provide protection against stray animals and animal trespass, and to establish cattle pounds;
  - xiii. To regulate grazing areas;
  - xiv. To assist the relevant authorities in disasters and natural calamities, and assist in relief activities, including de-silting of canals;
  - xv. To co-operate with the public, private or voluntary organizations, engaged in activities similar to those of the Union;
  - xvi. To execute the projects of the approved Union Annual Development Plan by contracting out to the private sector in the manner as may be prescribed and to obtain support of the Tehsil Municipal Administration or District Government for such execution; and
  - xvii. To assist the Village Councils or, as the case may be, Neighborhood Councils in the Union to execute development projects.
  - xviii. To assist the relevant authorities in disasters and natural calamities, and assist in relief activities, including de-silting of canals;
  - xix. To co-operate with the public, private or voluntary organizations, engaged in activities similar to those of the Union;
  - xx. To execute the projects of the approved Union Annual Development Plan by contracting out to the private sector in the manner as may be prescribed and to obtain support of the Tehsil Municipal Administration or District Government for such execution; and
  - xxi. To assist the Village Councils or, as the case may be, Neighborhood Councils in the Union to execute development projects.

<sup>13</sup> To collect and maintain statistical information for socio-economic surveys;

- i. To consolidate village and neighborhood development needs and prioritize them into union-wide development proposals with the approval of the Union Council (UC) and make recommendations thereof to the District Government or Tehsil Municipal Administration, as the case may be;

of the view that when *Nazim* would ask to do things only then he could do something. The important work tasks were incomplete which included the genuine desire of the youth to develop a public library where they can sit and consult each other for their studies. Not to speak of establishing a library, space for the same was not even allocated. UC was also supposed to cooperate with the voluntary organization which was taken as only a pastime that if the members were available only then they gave time to the staff of these concerning organizations. For instance, Sacha Soda village was famous for cricket clubs because of the high fervour of youth in the game. UC was continually requested to allocate some money to develop the play ground of village but each time it was announced that there was shortage of funds which caused problems in developmental work.

People were of the view that excuse may be true with somebody somewhere else but with sitting *Nazim* and *Naib Nazim* it was not true as *Nazim* belonged to Rana group which was the most influential group in village. In addition, he was in the good books of city administration especially *Nazim* as well as had good terms with sitting MNA who was from his own caste. It was in view of villagers that *Nazim* was making them understand that Rana group was indispensable in village. They added further that voters especially those who did not vote him would remain same throughout the turn. According to head of Gujar group, this situation would not lead to good sign because of fact that whosoever would win next elections would only be benefiting his group not the whole of village. He said that tradition set by Ranas would ruin integrity of the village.

#### *i) Business Conduct of the Union Council*

First session of UC after its election and on commencement of first session of every year the Union *Nazim* was supposed to address the UC and inform Council about his plans and programs for New Year and performance of the Union Administration during the preceding year. In addition, UC was supposed to regulate its business in accordance with the by-laws made by it. The UC was required to meet at least once in every month. All decisions of the UC were meant to be taken by resolutions passed by a simple majority of its total membership. All meetings of UC were to be presided over by Union *Nazim* and, in his absence, by the *Naib Union Nazim* or, in absence of both Union *Nazim* and *Naib Union Nazim* or where a motion for recall of Union *Nazim* or *Naib Union Nazim* has been moved, by a member elected by the UC from amongst its members present in the meeting. The quorum of the meetings of UC was mandatory to be fifty-one percent of its total membership. The meetings of UC shall be open to public, unless UC, by a resolution, decides to hold any meeting in camera. The minutes of the

meetings of UC shall be recorded and maintained by an official authorized by UC.

The instructions for code of business of UC were feasible and democratic in nature. But these were made impossible because the political life of not only Sacha Soda but also other villages in neighborhood were also erected along the same lines. The meetings of UC were supposed to be open to the residents of village but mostly informal sessions were conducted at Ranas' *Dera* which was not a place where anybody could dare to come except *Dera* members. The session usually lacked attendance of women members which was compensated by taking the signatures on plain paper sheet next morning under the belief that they were from same panel, and also there was no point in disturbing the females in the evenings especially when they were supposed to be busy in household chores.

#### *j) Manipulation of Devolution Plan by the Influential*

The startling thing in devolution plan was that it increased the influence of power holders to a large extent. On other hand, the federal government introduced minimum educational qualifications (i.e. graduation) for the candidates who were contesting national assembly elections. The conviction for doing same was that these old politicians are corrupt and looted assets of country therefore there should be a yardstick which could help in debarring them to join the new assembly. The candidates who were disqualified in the new criteria made their minds to indulge in the newly evolved district government system in which power and authority was more than that of MNAs or MPAs while preparing their sons and nephews ready for new 'graduate assembly'. These two reasons enabled the elders of families going after district or Tehsil elections and their youngsters for national or provincial assemblies.

Before I talk about Sacha Soda, an example is worthy of quote from Kharian Tehsil as represented by the opponents group as one sitting and occupying the district assembly and the other in Tehsil. The case<sup>14</sup> presents a gloomy picture of no work done in Tehsil because of the opponents. Even one road was witnessed by me that was classical picture of conflict between opponents' parties. The said road was under jurisdiction of Tehsil Kharian of Gujrat district. There was

<sup>14</sup> The road mentioned was important from defense point of view that linked the road from Sargodha to Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Not being the main road from Sargodha to Sarai Alamghir (Gujrat district), this road was mainly used in the war times when most of the heavy war equipment was deemed to move to the close border areas. The road also provided a link to the surrounding villages to Lala Musa city of Gujrat district. Due to bad and demolished patch of more than ten kilometers, the road became a best looting spot for criminal groups that occupied road from 6pm in the evening till 7am in the morning. Similarly in case of medical emergencies, so many precious human lives were lost due to this bone of contention. The last end of road which was in the Gujrat Tehsil was constructed while leaving that portion of the road which came under jurisdiction of Tehsil Kharian.



an issue of a road construction under consideration of Tehsil administration who expressed their helplessness as having no developmental budgets. The district *Nazim* wanted voters of Tehsil learn a lesson from it and to refrain from voting their opponents party in next elections. In this mess, rural masses were facing lot of problems.

In village Sacha Soda, where conflict was deeply rooted in the cultural life of people is also wide with a number of similarly examples as cited above. As link road from Sacha Soda to Phularwaan (a town at a distance of 15 kilometers) was also a bone of contention between power groups of the village. The road was not maintained after it was once constructed. Regarding the local transport, people and general public were really concerned about the road as it became notorious for looting even in day times. Due to badly damaged road, it was impossible for public vehicles and other local transport to move swiftly due to which it was so easy for local bandits and other wanted criminals to loot and plunder there. The evidences led to loss of many lives, raping passenger women, kidnapping young girls who travelled from there, etc. Though road was just a link road that linked Farooqabad city to Sangla Hills (another town at a distance of 28 Kilometers). The presence of main Sargodha Lahore road and railway track from Faisalabad to Sheikhpura really made the road comparatively unimportant as town of Sangla Hills was accessible by train and said road became a mere link road connecting villages to the agricultural market of Farooqabad city. The transport load was also lessened therefore the road was even desolated and deserted in day times. There was only one Police check post in Sacha Soda village where the patrolling police was supposed to search criminals and other matters. From the check post up to Sangla Hills, there was no single check post or Police station therefore the area served as a paradise of bandits where there was no concept of law, only the local *Deraydars* along with their bandits ruled the area and made decisions that suited them and their groups.

#### k) Union Monitoring Committees (UMC)

Devolution plan devised the establishment of the monitoring committees to look into the functions of the government at all tiers. For a long period of time the UMCs were not enacted as per the fears of the council about the role of the monitoring committees. There was a strong sense of feeling among the people of the village that the monitoring committees were to stop doing anything illegal in the village. It took them so long to understand that the functions of UMCs were only to look into matters of UC with a consultative role to play while based on three principles of Mutual respect and patience, participation and mutual cooperation. The positive role of UMCs in the law was to ensure accountability. The provincial district offices were often

threatened about bad consequences in order of disobedience of any order. The Executive District Officer (EDO) of works and services department was mostly threatened because his office was supposed to look into the roads and related matters. EDO education was also threatened to transfer teachers in the school of Sacha Soda by the *Dera* allies of Rana group.

The powerful *Nazims* from all three tiers were successful in horrifying the provincial government officials in doing and taking up things in accordance with their directives. One of the EDOs in Sheikhpura was harassed by stating that your provincial government will take two days to reach the district and ask about case whereas in district you will be a past story in just two hours. This statement seemed to me as more than true as I during the last eleven years' contact with the village and power groups have witnessed. Mostly, I found people especially the government officials to avoid developing controversies with district, Tehsil or the union councils because of the factor that they were working in government set up that introduced the devolution plan. It was often recommended by government officials to accept demands of the newly evolved devolution system to save one's own skin.

## V. DISCUSSION

Development is enhancing people's options to have better control over their lives to progress ahead without posing a threat to natural resources. This is especially to ensure that natural resources continue to provide upcoming generations means of sustainable survival. Development is not what was once termed by mere standards of economic growth. It is put people first by making them recipients of progress. It is to enhance efficiency of human society for insured progress. It is only possible with the effective participation of communities in their own decision making. Sustainable development has to employ local resources so that outside dependence is avoided. The communities and people have a better understanding of their problems and solutions. They have an understanding of resources to be utilized for proper trouble shooting without endangering social fabrics or natural cycles. People at grass root level can best utilize their natural and human resource to plan, implement, and thus eradicate their problems. With minimal support from government and development agencies along with their actors they can bring long term remedies for their livelihood issues. Critics have also questioned the meaning of development implied in modernization theory (Frank, 1967; Todaro, 1985; Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284).

In past, development process was only concerned with the growth related indicators without a mention of how much damage and exploitative harvest of natural resources was done. International scholastic view on development and its ultimate meanings

particularly its strict economic interpretation has been questioned:

*During the 1950s and 1960s many third world countries achieved growth targets identified by United Nations, suggesting that they were indeed evolving. Yet the standard of living for most people in these nations did not improve (Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284)*

Similarly, Neubeck and Glasberg add:

*This contradiction between the growth of wealth production and the stagnation of poverty called into question the conventional meaning of development. It showed that development existed for some people but not others in these nations. Moreover, such inequality could be found in the 'developed' nations of the West as well. How, then, do we measure development? (Neubeck & Glasberg, 1996:284)*

According to Alkire and Deneulin, the perception of development is a matter of multidimensional conceptions which needs attention for more clarity and vividness.

*The word 'development' has as many meanings as there are listeners. For some, development means more material prosperity: owning money, land and a house. For others, development concerns liberation from oppression. Some see development as a new word for neo-colonialism, and despise it. For still others, development is a holistic project of personal social and spiritual progress. In many contexts we speak of the 'development' of a child or the 'development' of new software as if development completes something as yet unfinished. But this too is simplistic, for in certain ways 'developing' countries are more mature than 'developed'. So the term is ambiguous and value laden. This textbook aims to present a people-centered meaning of development which is relevant to all countries, and to show its implications for development practice in many areas (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009).*

Still many development experts visualize the term according to their vision as it is accepted in statement listed below:

*Regardless of any particular normative framework, many would view 'development' as a multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral process, involving social, economic and political change aimed at improving people's lives (Cowen & Shenton, 1996; Preston, 1996; Rist, 1997).*

As regards the village, the government departments viewed 'development' that meant number of tractors, threshing machines, harvesters, installation of tubewells, increase in yield per acre, bags of synthetic fertilizers used, amount of pesticides sprayed per acre,

and total sum of profit earned out of produce sale, etc. During this process, care for the damage of rural ecology, air pollution due to fumigations, underground water contamination, conservation of natural resources including forest regions, soil compaction, land erosion, soil erosion, etc were only given a lip service. The agriculture extension staff interpreted refusals from farming communities to adopt modern technology in terms of the conservatism, fatalistic attitudes, and laggard behaviour. The farmers who could not use these modern techniques were graded as anti-development and reported to be lacking interest in national development. The reasons expressed for non-adoption were elaborated to be illiteracy, resistant personalities, and unwillingness to change. Farmers of such background were thought to be a burden over regional and national economies.

On the other hand, the social damages of development process were also ignored or termed as only for time being. It was thought that when the economic prosperity would enter the society, it would further help in creating awareness about such issues. All this turned out to be a far dream because social and cultural factors given meagre important and these resulted in putting all the development efforts in a halt. Side by side, the indigenous notions were only labelled as backwardness and primitive as if consulting cultural mind would result in complete disaster. It though happened to be a disaster but not by a use of it rather because of its ignorance. Development models, experts, agencies, and respective governments do not care for cultural norms because no such planning phase emphasized its utility or criticalness. Thus people were not made a part of development rather they were told to be sitting and watching for the results promised by development activity. This thing without making people participate in this whole exercise made people lose their confidence over their livelihoods therefore they started demanding more from the development agencies. This process was manipulated by the people who were influential, powerful, politically active and wealthy made benefits for them and their allies. The segments of society that lacked resources especially financial or having insufficient resources to adopt mechanization were never made a part of this development initiative. This thing created a sense of hatred among the people and even multiplied the incidences of conflict and violence within rural areas. Because people in rural areas have a strong faith that development practice must not be uneven if it has to be accepted by all strata of society. When such doubts arise in people's mind, then there starts an unending story of failures in development process, bumpy success stories from communities and usually one group becomes actively reaping the offerings made by development agencies.

It is also observed that development agencies are unaware of the historical factors that often engage



experts and local community into a blame game with former complaining non-cooperation from certain groups of society and the later doubting their opponents to be direct beneficiaries. Rural societies that are already fragmented into various groups based upon different castes, economic classes, power faction have to be dealt accordingly. Most of the anthropologists like Doorman (1991) have already pointed out such weaknesses in the planning phase of agriculture related project launched by agencies or governments. The lack of employing 'anthropological approach' ensue lack of participation, mistrust, rise of conflict within local communities. The designated 'anthropological approach' effectively targets these sorts of issues well before time any project is launched in a community.

A collaborative approach adopted by development experts and agencies could simply raise the probabilities of winning cooperation, earning community's trust, enhancing social participation and creating a sense of ownership among the recipients of such activities. It simply means winning people is development. People want to get hold of their lots at all costs. They always doubt those who attempt to transgress their vicinities without their prior permission or intruding over the shoulders of some non-representative coercive elements in the locality. Development launched through such ways is always rootless and issueless in succeeding stages that merely benefits few while disregarding the rest of society.

The new devolution plan was aimed to bring the devolution of power from concentrated sources to local level and sources. The second aim of the plan was to bring decentralization in especially four fields; those were Administrative, Fiscal, Authority, and Political power. Based on the field information and thorough interaction with key informants among the villagers, policy makers and devolution launching agencies I am of the view that this important and democratic in nature idea was not dealt professionally. The International Crisis Group (ICG), in a report released in March this year, strongly criticized Islamabad's efforts at political devolution. The report said that:

*The devolution plan had served to strengthen the military rule of President Musharraf when compared to Ayub Khan's Basic Democracy Scheme in 1960s and Zia-ul-Haq's Local Bodies scheme in 1980s. Government policies had undermined established political parties and drained authority from the provinces, while doing little to devolve power, improve service delivery, reduce corruption or establish accountability at the local level, said the ICG review (ICG 2004).*

The report further comments:

*Devolution is not working in its true sense, centralization is there, and it needs to devolve power*

*so that people could get benefit at the grassroots level. The officials of federal ministry of Local Government and Rural Development are critical of various points of political, institutional and administrative devolution besides fiscal decentralization for local governments. The decentralization and devolution of power to local bodies have been issues of contention in Pakistan since they were introduced in 1999 under the Musharraf's radical reform agenda to promote good governance in the country. Critics of devolution plans, however, have expressed concerns, saying decentralization had not empowered people; rather it had helped to legitimize the power of unelected military governments. The devolution program, as a whole is good. But, it is not going to deliver unless local bodies have the decision making power to use funds and undertake development schemes.*

I happened to attend the views of speakers at a Round-Table. The round-table came up with the following observations:

*It was held that provincial government would become weaker since much of its power would be given to district governments. Devolution of power means transfer of powers from Centre to provinces and further to lower tiers, but depriving the provinces of whatever they have runs against the existing federal system. Or, is it that we are moving towards a unitary form of government? If it is so, the government should do it openly and initiate a debate on this crucial issue. It was noted that party-based political system and elections provide the best order of checks and balances. Non-party system, on the contrary, creates divisions along tribal, ethnic and linguistic lines. A viable system of checks and balances cannot be evolved through bureaucratic machinations or game of numbers. The formation of about 20 monitoring committees may complicate a problem rather than solve it as they would be at loggerheads with each other.*

The administrative tussle is feared to ensue also in exercise of the mayor's powers. While a mayor may want to have a 2/3rd majority of the district assembly to remove a police chief, the latter would try to have 1/3+1 members of the assembly with him to abort any move for his removal. It seems that the plan falls short of dealing with such issues properly. Huge resources would be required to run elections for the winning elections of *Nazims*. In earlier understanding the elections were meant to be Party-less elections that would have further enhanced the role of money and mafia in body politic. Keeping in view that the Senate and the National Assembly are proposed to have a role in approving the election and removal of mayors as well as district assemblies, the question arises as to whether local government be a concurrent subject in the



Constitution. The elections in 2005 were claimed party-less but severe influence was recorded during the election in which the major political parties were overtly favouring the candidates as their own on both the electronic and print media. While there was a dire need for women's emancipation and protection of their rights, the proposal for 50% women's representation at the Union level certainly lacks touch with ground realities. The question, then, is why women's representation is 20% at the district level? And what would be their representation at the provincial and federal levels? It appears that the plan rests on wishful thinking, unsubstantiated expectations and illusions. For instance, it says, people would pay taxes happily and rather give donations to the kitty. Such notions can be termed only as 'over-simplification of a complex issue'.

## VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Devolution Plan was one of the most dramatic, historically connected and revolutionary in its laboratory tests. The plan genuinely meant to empower the people at grass roots but when put in practice certain major defects and faults were found and deprived the people of its fruits and benefits. Overall, the devolution took place from provinces to districts but the same exercise was required from federal to provincial level as well. The new system created a government in each district investing in it most functions, which were previously performed by the provincial government. But in real the government of every provincial department was replicated in the districts whose result was not only extra cost but also duplication of work and overlapping authority which all combined inevitably cause delays, corruption and harassment to the public. The system introduced in the name of good governance and devolution has given only further impetus to expanding governments in defiance of the rule, by now universally acknowledged 'the smaller the government, the better'. A district now has thirteen or more departments, each headed by an official of the same rank, called Executive District Officer (EDO) and pay as a Deputy Commissioners they have displaced.

Local government elections were contested on non-political basis and later on Nazims joined political parties. District and Tehsil Nazims aspired to become candidates for other public positions. Moreover, they concentrated on allocation of maximum development fund and ignoring other areas of the district. No mechanism was provided for Conflict Management which was one of the most important aspects of Good Governance. The ultimate aim and objective of good governance was to create a conflict free satisfied society and in case if conflicts aroused, there had to be a perfect system of conflict management. The Local Government Ordinance 2001 provided for only the District Mushawarat (consultative) committee, which was

a forum for the Tehsil Nazim and Zila Nazim to meet every month and resolve the disputes. The disputes aroused between union councils, Tehsil councils, within local government, within District Nazim and District Coordination Officer, but no other effective or permanent forum was available for the resolution of such disputes. In short, devolution plan was good with regards to the idea but when implemented was manipulated by the already in power groups. The same political families at the districts level contested elections and thus found another office for social exploitation.

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## Decline of the European Entrepreneurship in the Tea Plantation Industry: A Case - Study of the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri District (1933 - 1960)

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**Abstract-** Tea plantation industry in India was originally initiated and developed by British enterprises. The management of the estates of various Sterling and British Rupee Public Limited tea companies were vested on the British Managing Agency Houses of Calcutta. They played an important role in converting either a personal lease or proprietary estate into a public limited company. In the tea plantations, the major collieries – commanding greater capital and larger mining rights – were joint – stock firms and 89 per cent of these were controlled by Europeans, mostly British, managing agencies. With the impact of 1930's World – wide economic depression, the colonial firms fell from grace and made a hasty retreat from India. In this juncture, the European tea Companies were also affected by some acts which were implemented after the independence of India such as Minimum Wages Act (1947), Factory Act (1948), Plantation Labour Act (1951). This grave situation compelled the European planters to think whether they would retain their business in India or not? As a result the European tea companies began to shift their business in South Africa, Uganda, and Rhodesia after selling their gardens to the native Indians. Thus an attempt have been made here to draw a pen – picture on the decline of European entrepreneurship of the tea plantation industry in the tea growing areas of Bengal such as Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

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# Decline of the European Entrepreneurship in the Tea Plantation Industry: A Case – Study of the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri District (1933 – 1960)

Supam Biswas<sup>α</sup> & Kalidas Roy<sup>ο</sup>

**Abstract-** Tea plantation industry in India was originally initiated and developed by British enterprises. The management of the estates of various Sterling and British Rupee Public Limited tea companies were vested on the British Managing Agency Houses of Calcutta. They played an important role in converting either a personal lease or proprietary estate into a public limited company. In the tea plantations, the major collieries – commanding greater capital and larger mining rights – were joint – stock firms and 89 per cent of these were controlled by Europeans, mostly British, managing agencies. With the impact of 1930's World – wide economic depression, the colonial firms fell from grace and made a hasty retreat from India. In this juncture, the European tea Companies were also affected by some acts which were implemented after the independence of India such as Minimum Wages Act (1947), Factory Act (1948), Plantation Labour Act (1951). This grave situation compelled the European planters to think whether they would retain their business in India or not? As a result the European tea companies began to shift their business in South Africa, Uganda, and Rhodesia after selling their gardens to the native Indians. Thus an attempt have been made here to draw a pen – picture on the decline of European entrepreneurship of the tea plantation industry in the tea growing areas of Bengal such as Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling districts.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Tea plantation industry in India was originally initiated and developed by British enterprises. It was started on a commercial scale in India after the British monopoly of trade in tea with China was abolished in 1833 and wild tea plants, indigenous to Assam, were found in the early part of the nineteenth century<sup>1</sup>. In *Jalpaiguri* there were 18 Sterling tea companies and 33 British Rupee Public Limited tea companies. These companies employed agents or secretaries in Calcutta to implement the policies and programmers formulated by the Board of Directors in London<sup>2</sup>. The management of the estates of various Sterling and British Rupee Public Limited tea companies were vested on the British Managing Agency Houses of Calcutta. They played an important role in converting either a personal lease or proprietary estate into a public limited company<sup>3</sup>. As the Managing Agents were the

organizers of the companies, they kept control over the companies and continued to manage the estate on behalf of the company on a commission. In some cases they bought the controlling shares of the companies that now owned the tea estates. In some cases these grants were sold to the agency houses by the private individuals themselves generally for two reasons. Either they could not afford to wait for the profits from the investment which would take seven to ten years to come or they found the price offered by the agency houses too attractive to resist. These estates or grants were converted into joint – stock companies under the control of the agency houses. The original lease remained a shareholder of the company. The above was another process through which the British owned tea estates came under the control of the Managing Agency Houses. Whether registered as Sterling joint – stock company incorporated in London or as Rupee joint – stock company incorporated in Calcutta, all the British owned companies in North – Eastern India dominated by British capital had their management entrusted to one or other of the Calcutta based Managing Agency Houses. In fact the head office of a tea garden could almost invariably give an indication whether it was controlled by British managing agents or by others<sup>4</sup>. *Ellenbarrie* and *Manabarrie* Tea Estate in Jalpaiguri *Duars* were established by a Calcutta Bank manager, a Darjeeling planter and a sub – manager of the Land Mortgage Bank and later came to be managed by Duncan Brothers<sup>5</sup>. The Hansqua Tea Estate was established by Mr. Arthur Currie in the 1865. Mr. Currie sold this property to Messrs R.D. Hamilton and C. F. A. Deney in 1913. Mr. D. F. Clive was the manager of this garden from 1913 to 1917. Following some misunderstanding Mr. Deney sold his interest to Mr. Hamilton in 1916 and left to his own country England in the very next year. Mr. Hamilton was also established another Tea Estate namely Gaya Ganga Tea Estate in the year 1916 and appointed his nephew Mr. A. Robertson as the manager of the garden. Since then Mr. Hamilton along with his nephew continued to reside at Gayaganga Tea Estate. The factory of both the garden was established in the year 1926. Duncan brothers formed the Hansqua Tea Co. Ltd. and purchased the Hansqua Tea Estate from Mr. A. Robertson in 1934 along with the Gaya Ganga Tea Estate<sup>6</sup>.

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Beside the white tea planters, the Indian tea planters also played a pivot role in introducing the tea plantation industry in North Bengal. Among the Indian tea planters the Bengali lawyers ranked first. Apart from the Bengali lawyers, there were also other Bengali people residing in Jalpaiguri town<sup>7</sup> and a very few of them in Siliguri belonged to various profession<sup>8</sup> like Zaminders, Jotedars, timber merchants, ex - tea garden employees, Bankers, money lenders, Government professionals, labour suppliers of numerous tea estates<sup>9</sup> who also played a major role by introducing tea estates singlehandedly in Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling district respectively<sup>10</sup>. All of them migrated here from various parts of undivided Bengal for the sake of administrative and economic interest. The formation of Jalpaiguri district in the year 1869 opened up some new opportunities on a hitherto unprecedented scale<sup>11</sup>. The local residents of *Jalpaiguri* district could not respond effectively to the new opportunities. Hence all the positions were filled up by the immigrant population from rest of Bengal as well as from outside. A nebular social stratification began to take shape there since that period which indeed made the platform for the rise of the Bengali entrepreneurs of the *Jalpaiguri* town<sup>12</sup>. The Jalpaiguri Gazetteer is clear about this fact and it reads that "After the formation of Jalpaiguri district with its headquarter at *Jalpaiguri* town and sub divisional headquarter at *Alipurduar*, the district began to attract educated Hindu gentry from various parts of East Bengal. The administration needed clerks and lawyers. Once the clerks and lawyers came and settled down there, their needs attracted doctors and teachers. .... Thus a process of urbanization set in." <sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, as a newly formed district obviously Jalpaiguri had a special attraction for the lawyers. To affix the land – revenue in the newly formed Jalpaiguri district as well as civil suits on land and attestations of land – titles shot up the demand for pleaders. They were sought out by the *Jotedars* zealous to defend their claims. Moreover, fresh demands were also come from various European Tea Companies of having a law agent in order to deal with the legal matters mainly in connection with land. It resulted in the migration of a number of qualified pleaders in *Jalpaiguri* from various districts of East Bengal. It is true that in this process those who come to Jalpaiguri were earlier retained by the Bhutan Government for the Bengal – Bhutan boundary demarcation. It helped them a lot to establish them as a successful lawyer towards the *Jotedars* as well as to the European Tea Companies. That an environment such as this should favour legal practitioners was no wonder. Almost all of the first groups of Bengali pleaders were the law agents of the European Tea Companies. This experience actually helped them to establish tea estate of their own in future<sup>14</sup>. They started with very small capitals which they could

gather. Practically it was an association of poor men determined to do a big thing<sup>15</sup>.

So from this perspective we can say with confidence that in pre – independence days, the control and ownership of tea estates in North Bengal were under the subservience of both the European and Bengali tea planters. Except the Bengali community we could not find any other Indian community put their step in this economic venture majorly before independence. The Marwaris during that period entered the tea business, not indeed as producers but as purchasers of tea from small village growers for sale to local tribal people<sup>16</sup>. Though the ownership of a few European tea estates in Darjeeling hill were began to transfer to the non Bengalis (among them the Marwaris, Gujratis ranked first) during the World economic depression of 1930's but no serious changes took place in field of ownership as a whole until 1947. Since independence especially 1960's we find a dramatic change in the history of the tea plantation industry of North Bengal. Most of the tea estates run both by the Europeans were began to sell to the Indians. However, though the process received its momentum since 1960's but it was actually commenced during 1930's. Hence I have started my paper from the year 1933. Further, I have fixed the time period up to 1960 because according to the Assam Tea Directory Hand Books in between 1960's approximately 98 per cent tea estates were came under the possession of the Indians among them the Marwaris and Gujratis played the most exordium role<sup>17</sup>. Thus an attempt has been made to make a paper on the decline of the European entrepreneurship of the tea plantation industry in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri district.

An analysis of the rupee companies listed in Investor's India Year Book 1911 revealed that the seven European managing agency houses like Andrew, Yule and Company, Bird and Company, Dunlop and Company, Shaw, Wallace and Company, Williamson, Magor and Company, Duncan Brothers and Octavia's Steel and Company controlled 55% of jute companies, 61% of the tea companies and 46% of the coal companies. However, in case of jute Andrew Yule and Company, Bird and Company alone controlled fourteen out of twenty-nine rupee companies, and their control increased by the decade 1910-20<sup>18</sup>.

One can say that when a company was registered in India, the capital had been predominantly raised from Europeans (and a small group of Indians) who were living in India or who had lived in India in the recent past and had close connections with India. However, it is not true that when a company was registered in London, the capital came predominantly from the residents of Britain. This is obvious when one looks at the history of most of the tea companies under the control of British managing houses. The tea estates were organized into companies after they had already been worked, at least partially, for some years and an



estimate of the profits that were likely to be made by the companies had been arrived at. Many of the sterling companies managed by the managing agency houses were closely held, and their shares were not quoted on the stock exchange<sup>19</sup>.

The British mercantile presence on the eve of World War I was truly staggering. Most of the tea plantations were managed by Britons. The larger of these were organized along joint – stock lines and 96 per cent of such companies had boards that were exclusively British. At first glance, matters seemed somewhat different in the coal industry: only 47 per cent of the firms were managed by non – Indians<sup>20</sup>. However, in the tea plantations, the major collieries – commanding greater capital and larger mining rights – were joint – stock firms and 89 per cent of these were controlled by Europeans, mostly British, managing agencies<sup>21</sup>.

1947 a much greater divide in business history than it was reality. The standard argument run as follows. By creating formidable barriers to the entry of 'natives', colonial firms maintained an oligopolistic position eastern India up to 1947. These barriers were created and efficiently maintained because of a milieu that allowed Anglo – Saxon businessman to reap the benefits of their bonds of racial affinity with the rulers of the land. With the snapping of such bonds in 1947, the colonial firms fell from grace and made a hasty retreat from India. Unfortunately, this argument has factual problems. Although some British managing agencies packed up after 1947, many others remained. Even in 1960 Calcutta had Andrew Yule, Gillanders and others that were still under British control and the expatriate community continued to enjoy the privilege of sunbathing in exclusive whites – only swimming clubs, even preventing Indian entry into the hallowed premises of the Bengal club right up to the late 1960s.

The structure of development of tea estates particularly to its ownership and management pattern took place when the Capital Issue Control Act was implemented in 1947. This provided that all joint – stock companies operating in the country whether registered in India or abroad will have to obtain official permission for bonus issue of all types of securities ( shares and debentures ) and in certain cases the authorities had the right to refuse the permission for capital issue . The joint - stock tea companies faced with difficulties in declaring bonus and getting permission for capital issue. Under this situation, some of the tea estates owned by foreign companies transferred their ownership to Indian hands who were either Indian rupee companies or agency houses whether Indian or non – Indians .The changes in structural development of tea industry received further momentum when the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act , 1947 and Export Import Control Act, 1947 were also implemented. The foreign tea companies were restricted to earn foreign exchange and were compelled to take

official permission to import any commodity. They were supposed to be guided by the rules and regulations of the act which specified the conditions of payments (like cash, instalments or long term credit ) under which goods could be imported and also decided the countries from where the commodities could be purchased by specifying the foreign exchange. The Acts, thus, established the ways of restricting a competition among the foreign companies, of securing domestic market for local producers and of utilizing the foreign exchange in the most rational manner. In view of the above, some of the foreign companies faced difficulties in expanding tea cultivation and thereby production and desired to sell their tea estates to the Indian nationals. The Indians subsequently converted them into different types of ownership viz. public limited, private limited and property concerns. Henceforth, they came under the management of mainly Indian agency houses, board of directors, managing partners and individuals<sup>22</sup>.

The European tea companies were also affected by the Minimum Wages Act, 1947 and the Factory Act, 1948. The Minimum Wages Act provided that wages in tea plantation industry were to be fixed and notified by the respective Governments from time to time. The Factory Act contained various provisions limiting the permissible hours to work of a factory labour. The foreign companies which mainly dominated the tea plantation industry thus feared the possibility of low production of tea under the implementation of these acts, and found unprofitable to run business in India after meeting all the expenditure<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, incessant interceptions like protest, *gheraos* created by the tea – garden labourers in attaining their demands and of course the slogan "*Bilati Malik London Bhago*" (white tea planters Go Back London) given by the same group along with the railway workers union, share croppers (*Bhag Chas*) during the *Tebhaga* movement (demanding two – third share instead of the customary one – half as their produced crops) in Dooars region compelled the European planters to think whether they would retain their business in India or not?<sup>24</sup> As a result the European tea companies began to shift their business in South Africa, Uganda, and Rhodesia after selling their gardens to the native Indians<sup>25</sup>. These Indians began to form the limited liability companies under the management of mainly Indian agency houses and board of directors.

The foreign tea companies thus realized that their gardens might not be profitable and changed their ownership and thereby management. The foreign companies were badly hit due to Industrial Development and Regulation Act of 1951. They were required to register with the corresponding government agencies and to obtain licence permitting them to operate. Official licenses were made compulsory if a new industrial project was launched. In certain cases, the authorities



were given the power to refuse registration or declare the license invalid. Moreover, the authorities assumed the right to inspect the activities of all the private enterprises. In the case of unsatisfactory management (chronic financial loss, instability, violation of national interest or threat of national unemployment), the authorities had right to take them over for a few years. The foreign owned tea estates which were mainly dominated the tea industry, apprehended nationalization and decided to change their ownership to Indian hands<sup>26</sup>. The Tea Act of 1953 restricted cultivation of tea in India and export of tea from India. The foreign tea companies thus felt further handicapped on account of this act.

Structural changes in the tea industry began to take place rapidly from 1956. During the period between 1956 and 1975 important legislations and policies like Industrial Policy Resolution 1956; Companies Act 1956; Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act 1969; Second Five Year Plan 1956 – 1961 ; Third Five Year Plan 1962 – 1967; Fourth Five Year Plan 1969 – 1974 and Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1973 were introduced. These had crucial bearing on the course of major industries. Tea being one of the major organized industries, the implementation of those legislation and policies led to far reaching changes in the structure.

Apart from Foreign Exchange Regulation Act of 1973 which stated that foreign tea companies should be converted into Indian tea companies with Indian participation not less than 26 per cent of the equity of the company, the major activities of all those legislations and policies were to prevent private monopoly, managing agents and concentration of economic powers. As a result, the tea industry where there was a monopoly of foreign companies and managing agents controlling a large number of tea estates, area, production, buying, broking and distribution of tea had undergone significant changes particularly in its ownership and management pattern. The number of tea estates under the foreign companies 508 comprising 7 per cent of the total tea estates in India and it was reduced to 276 in 1975 accounting for 2 per cent of the total tea estates. This indicated the fact that the share of the tea estates under the foreign companies had diminished in both absolute and relative terms. Most of them were in dire straits. Revenue from their staple product like tea had disappeared. They were actually strapped for cash and working capital. They could not establish any cartel like control over prices output, or entry. And they were being buffeted not only by unprecedented global events that beyond their comprehension and reactive ability but also by Indians who were determined to enter their domain directly or via the bourse. Companies like Andrew Yule, Goodricke could manage to weather the storm. But other famous firms like McLeod, Gillanders Arbuthnot, Duncan faced serious takeover threats in many of their concerns<sup>27</sup>.

The companies that survived the 1930s and 1940s and fought off Indian intrusion remained after 1947 and were reasonably prosperous until the mid 1960s when they were finally sold to Marwaris, Gujratris. The ones that packed up did not do so because the Raj had come to an end. They were inefficient, cash – strapped managing agencies that had lost the battle in the 1930s and early 1940s in the economic, not the political arena. Deeply in debt, these companies were bought up by their old Banias. For examples, we can mention that Duncan's Group was bought up by Mr. Keshav Prasad Goenka; MacLeod Russel by Mr. Radha Kissen Kanoria<sup>28</sup>.

To clarify the scenario some examples are given below-

## II. LONGVIEW TEA ESTATE

This tea estate was incorporated on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1879 by James Warren and Company Ltd. (formerly known as Planter's Stores and Agency Co. Ltd.) who had been looking after the management of the company as secretary and treasurers, registered on 31<sup>st</sup> January, 1950<sup>29</sup>. In 1970 the ownership of this tea estate was transferred to Dagapur Tea Co. Ltd., Jalpaiguri, a private company incorporated in the year 1933 under Indian Companies Act 1913. The Daga family has also promoted other industrial enterprises including Deepak spinners Ltd, Deepak Industries Ltd and continental profiles Ltd<sup>30</sup>.

## III. BAGDOGRA TEA ESTATE

This tea estate was incorporated by E.F. Southern and Others<sup>31</sup>. It was sold to Late Maithan Das Agarwala in 1956. He along with his son Sri Ajit Prasad Agarwala formed Terai Tea Co. Ltd This company now possesses 8 tea estates under its management. However, all these estates were sold both from the British and Bengali tea companies.

## IV. LOHAGARH TEA ESTATE

This tea estate was incorporated by Octavious Steel Company Ltd. Later its ownership was transferred to National Indian Traders Pvt. Ltd in 1960's. Their head office was at 49, Steeple House B.B.D. Bag, Kol-1. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1976, the ownership of this tea estate was further transferred to Maithan Das Agarwala<sup>32</sup>.

## V. ATAL AND SINGHTON TEA ESTATE

These two estates were incorporated by Andrew Yule and Co. Ltd. It was primarily a managing agency who made their money in trade or as labour contractor in tea estates. Andrew Yule started in trade and entered the fields of coal and steamships before they took up the jute industry. Later they started their venture in tea industry<sup>33</sup>. Their first venture in tea industry in the Terai region was the Atal Tea Estate and Singhton Tea Estate

in Darjeeling hill. Later this two estate was purchased by Sri N.C. Goenka, a trader from Kurseong in 1947<sup>34</sup>.

#### VI. CHUNIAJHORA T.E., JAYANTI T.E., PHANSKHOWA T.E., BHATPARA T.E.

These four tea estates lying in the border area of Bhutan were incorporated by McLeod Russel India Ltd, a group of William Magor and Company with its head office in London. Two Englishmen namely Captain J.H. Williamson and Richard Boycott Magor based in Calcutta formed a partnership firm namely Williamson Magor and Company to service the requirements of tea estates in North – East India under the flagship of McLeod Russel and Company. The office was originally at 7 new China Bazar Street, Calcutta before they moved to Four Mangoe Lane in 1894 where the company is still located today. It was renamed as

Williamson Magor and Company Ltd.<sup>35</sup> When it changed its status to a limited company in 1954 Brijmohan Khaitan, an East Indian merchant who used to the tea estates of this company with fertilizers and tea chests, was asked to join the board of the company in 1963 and he became the Managing Director of the Company in 1964. In 1967 the Guthrie family in U.K. sold their all shares in the McLeod Russel group which included the Makum and Namdung Tea Companies to the Khaitan family, making the Macneill and Magor group. In 1992 Macneill and Magor group was renamed as Williamson Magor and Company Ltd. It was originally incorporated as Ever Ready Company India Pvt. Ltd on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1998. The company's tea is marketed under the registered Elephant trade mark. The present Managing Director of the company including the tea estates is Aditya Khaitan

<sup>36</sup>

More examples relating to the context mentioned above are given below –

Name of the Tea Estate	Earlier owner	present owner
1. Bhagatpur T.E.	Arbuthnot Gillanders	Bhagatpur Tea Co.
2. Ranichera T.E.	McLeod Russel and Co.	Nirmal Kumar Jhunjhunwala
3. Raimatang T.E.	Wallace Tea Co.	Kanoi Brothers
4. Marionbarie T.E.	Longview Tea Co.	Jayashree Tea & Industries (Birla Group)
5. Belgachi & Panighata T.E.	Devenport & Co.	Dalmia & Sharaff Group, Kolkata
6. Ord Terai T.E.	Duncan Brothers	Tarachand Agarwal
7. Putin barie T.E.	Do	Bangalore Pesticide Co.
8. Joy Birpara T.E.	Andrew Yule and Co.	Mehata and Brothers (Gold Brew Agro Industries Ltd.)

It is true that a large number of foreign tea companies after went back to their own country a few of them further put their steps in India like Goodricke Tea Company which has its main head quarter in London. After went back to England this company further incorporated in India on 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1977 and the certificate of commencement of business was obtained on 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1977. It was formed to take over the Indian business and assets of eight sterling tea companies comprising 17 Tea Estates. in terms of the scheme of amalgamation sanctioned by the Calcutta High Court the company acquired the Indian undertakings of the sterling companies as a going concern with all their assets and liabilities as at the close

of business of 31st December. Now it has eight tea companies like The Assam – *Dooars* Tea Company Limited, *Hope* Tea Company Limited, *Lebong Chulsa* Tea Company Limited, The Darjeeling Tea Company Limited, *Chulsa* Tea Company Limited, *Leesh River* Tea Company Limited, *Dengrajar* Tea Company Limited, *Meenglass* Tea Company Limited. These are amalgamated with the Goodricke tea Company since 31<sup>st</sup> December 1977. However, some examples are given below to help the readers to know that how many tea estates which were worked earlier under Indian management are now being owned and controlled by this foreign tea Company<sup>37</sup>.

Name of the Tea Estate	Previous Lease	Present Lease	Date of Transfer
1. Gendrapara T.E.	Assam - Duars Tea Co. Ltd.	Goodricke Group	09/ 08/1980
2. Luxmipara T. E	Assam – Duars Tea Co. Ltd.	Goodricke Group	09/08/1980
3. Dalimkote T.E.	Meenglass Tea Co. Ltd.	Goodricke Group	09/08/1980
4. Patibari T.E.	Leeshriver Tea Co. Ltd.	Goodricke Group	09/08/1980
5. Hope T.E.	Hope Tea Co.	Goodricke Group	09/08/1980
6. Aibheel T.E.	Chalsa Tea Co. Ltd.	Goodricke Group	09/08/1980

(Source: Touji Department, District Magistrate Office, Jalpaiguri)

Question may be arise that why most of the European tea estates were sold only to the non –

Bengalis, not to the Bengalis whereas till then a large number of Bengali tea planters were there. To cite an

example we can mention the Sonali Tea Estate as a case – study. This tea estate was established in 1906 by a Sterling Company named “The Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Company”. Up to 1960 Sonali was a division of Bagrakot Tea Estate which was founded in the year 1876 38. Sonali was then known as the Saongaon Division of Bagrakot Tea Estate. In 1960 it was sold to an Indian managed Tea Company the “*Great Gopalpur Tea Company*” (Regd. No. 21692) in exchange of Rs. 2 lakhs. Since then it acquired a separate identity and began to run with a new name. The owner of the Bagrakot Tea Estate Shri B.C. Ghosh renamed the estate with his daughter’s name ‘Sonali’. The garden had a total area of 1174.63 acres of which 458.16 acres were under tea. It had no its personal factory within the garden premises and hence all teas produced in the garden were sold to the nearest factory of Good Hope Tea Estate controlled under the name of the Duncan Goenkas. As the years went on, the *Gopalpur* Tea Company faced some financial problems to run the garden due to the fall of tea price in 1970’s and most of its shares were sold to khemka brothers namely Mr. Bijay Kumar khemka and Mr. Krishna Kumar khemka. Since their period the garden was mortgaged to the United Bank of India (U.B.I.) and the khemka brother’s fled away from the garden silently before the Durga Puja in 1973 39.

It is indeed hard to cite other examples particularly in regard to the transfer of ownership of European gardens to the Bengalis. Several reasons were responsible for this situation –

Firstly, the Bengali tea planters always fought against the British Government either to set up their own gardens or even to set up their own economic identity by establishing various tea associations like “Indian Tea Planter’s Association” (ITPA) in Jalpaiguri town and “Terai Indian Planter’s Association” (TIPA) in Matigara, Siliguri. What is more interesting is the recognition of the Indian Planters’ own Associations like *ITPA*, *TIPA* by even the ruling British planters against whom the founder has waged a persistent *Jehad* right from the moment of its birth against the mechanization of British influence. They could not deny the popularity of these Associations in spite of their bitter feeling towards it 40.

Secondly, the Bengali tea planters like Jogesh Chandra Ghosh, Sashi Bhushan Neyogi, Tarini Prasad Roy had a major role in India’s Freedom Struggle by affording all sort of assistance to the freedom fighters or even with the participation in the *Swadeshi* movement 41. So we could see that from the very beginning a monstrous tussle was there in between the European and Bengali tea planters.

Thirdly, though a large number of Bengali tea planters were there but they were not in a position to buy another tea estate on account of their weak financial condition and feudal life style 42. The drastic fall of tea price in 1970’s and 1980’s hit their tea estates badly.

They had no reserve fund at all to survive their tea estates from this financial depress condition. So, under the circumstances it was really impossible for them to buy another tea estate owned by the Europeans rather surviving their own tea estates.

This opportunity was engulfed by the Marwari, Gujrati traders as a whole during the economic depression in 1930’s and most importantly after independence. Their relation with the European firms as managing agents or as a broker brought to them the opportunity of buying the tea estates from the European companies. The European tea companies often appointed a guaranteed broker, colloquially “Banian”, usually remunerated with a one percent commission on sales, who had to guarantee the trustworthiness than other Indian businessmen who dealt with the firm. Sometime the relation between the guaranteed broker and the European firm were far closer than the simple relationship. For examples, Goenka group were closely related with the Duncans; Tarachand Ghanshyamdas itself became Banian to Wallace Tea Company; Radha Kissen Kanoria was closely related with the McLeod and Co. from 1887 43. Timberg observes that where opportunities were less or competition potent, they moved less rapidly. Their migration were rapid to those fields which formed, in the words of Timberg, a “commercial vacuum” and where the indigenous population were neither well organized nor provided with the other requisites to exploit the new trading opportunities opened up by the British 44. This type of privilege was available in the tea industry of North Bengal since independence but the Bengalis, the pioneer tea planters among the Indians after the British could not grab the opportunity due to their financial weakness. In addition to that the long – absence of any Indian merchant in the tea industry of North Bengal actually helped the Marwaris to buy the tea estates from the foreign tea companies 45. Lastly, the most notable feature about this community is that they always present themselves as a closed – knit community anywhere in this vast country. They used to take good care of each other, provided food and shelter to those who would come later to try their luck 46. Sometimes they would even collectively contribute a small amount of money so that one newly arrived could start a business of one’s own 47. Due to this attitude this community now stands as the major owner of tea estates not even in North Bengal but across the all over India.

Now once again looking back to the rhythm wherefrom we started we may possibly conclude that particular socio – economic condition made the platform behind the transfer of ownership from the Europeans to the Indians of the tea plantation industry in the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri district. Their (Marwaris, Gujratis) relation with the European firms as managing agents or as a broker brought to them the opportunity of buying the tea estates from the European companies.



Furthermore, the cooperating mentality of this community to the new comers belonged to the same community in any form and of course the organizational mastery in Indian business since the British period was itself a prime advantage to the rise of Marwari, Gujrati traders in the tea – plantation industry of North Bengal.

Lastly it is important to mention here that the advent of the non – Bengalis as a trader not as a planter has severely affected the tea industry as well. The profit oriented outlook of the new comers has resulted in the increase of crop at a low cost but the quality of tea has deteriorated to a great extent. Strike, lock - out become a nominal feature of the tea industry. They systematically stripped off the gardens of their assets, drained the surplus and siphoned it off to other industries situated in Bombay, Delhi and Rajasthan. The commercial approach of quick back return of the new traders has been the fundamental spot of weakness in the tea industry of North Bengal.

## VII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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## The International Connections of Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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*Introduction-* For the past one thousand years militant Islam has been battling West European civilization or imperialism. Today, pax Americana, the forebear of pax Britannica (American and British peace) have continued with the war, then, at first, it was called the crusades and Jihad: today nothing has changed. The 21<sup>st</sup> century opened with the bombing of the World Trade Centre buildings in New York, US by Arabs and Muslims a la George Bush Jnr., President of the United States of America in a post attack briefings of the joint session of congress. Bush thereafter vowed that the world was not going to be the same again. That outburst marked the declaration of the war against terror which claimed the independence and sovereignty of first the Afghans, Iraqis, Somalis and is now threatening the Iranians (Persians), Syrians, and anybody who is caught in the crossfire.

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTIONS OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN NIGERIA IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



# The International Connections of Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Uji, Wilfred Terlumun<sup>α</sup> & Or Tserakaa, Terhemba<sup>σ</sup>

## I. INTRODUCTION

For the past one thousand years militant Islam has been battling West European civilization or imperialism. Today, pax Americana, the forebear of pax Britannica (American and British peace) have continued with the war, then, at first, it was called the crusades and Jihad: today nothing has changed. The 21<sup>st</sup> century opened with the bombing of the World Trade Centre buildings in New York, US by Arabs and Muslims a la George Bush Jnr., President of the United States of America in a post attack briefings of the joint session of congress. Bush thereafter vowed that the world was not going to be the same again. That outburst marked the declaration of the war against terror which claimed the independence and sovereignty of first the Afghans, Iraqis, Somalis and is now threatening the Iranians (Persians), Syrians, and anybody who is caught in the crossfire.

Western imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had dislocated Moslem societies from Hejaz ul Islam (Saudi Arabia) to the Levant, Persia and elsewhere. From the 1920s western imperialism toppled Arab governments and propped up their puppets. The chief magistrate of Mecca Hussein bin Ali was overthrown by Sheikh Majlis (parliament) to confirm him as the new Shah of the new dynasty-the rise of the progressive government of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq was as evanescent as lightning and as it vanished Mossadeq vanished with it. The Shah's son Mohammed Reza Pahlevi was reinstalled by 1953 until his defeat by the 'mad' Mullahs of Tehran in 1979. The theocracy of Ayatollah Khomeini (which endures to this day) began the exporting of Islamic fundamentalism to other countries; in Lebanon the Shiite militant group Hezbollah under the leadership of Sheikh Fadlallah was born. In Iraq sectarian dissension and strife was promoted. This was the period when Nigerian Moslems were recruited and trained in Iran and elsewhere. On coming back they would spark all sectarian violence all over Northern Nigeria.

There was the rise of Mahamadu Marwa Aka Allah ta tsine or maitatsine and his violent followers who caused mayhem starting from 1980 to 1985. Victor Elaigwu explains the phenomenon of maitatsinism that

Maitatsine is a generic term for religious disturbances which plagued Northern Nigeria between December, 1980 and April, 1985. In Kano (December, 1980), Bulumkutu (October 1982) Rigasa (October 1982) Jimeta-Yola (February-March 1984) and Gombe (April 1985) maitatsine militants unleashed terror and destruction on men and property in an unbridled display of religious bigotry and fundamentalism.

The places mentioned above are shanty towns, underdeveloped and populated by miserable residents. This was during the austerity measures of the inept Shagari administration. The religious violence witnessed during this period can be explained against capitalism in an imperial hierarchy which has the US at the top in what is theoretically referred to as Central Imperial States (CIS) including the EU and Japan: coming second is the Newly Emerging Imperial Powers with Russia China and India as members; thirdly are the Semi-Autonomous Client Regimes (SACR) Brazil, South Africa, South Korea, Taiwan, Argentina, Saudi Arabia Chile, Bolivia and lastly Client Collaborator Regimes (CCR). Then, Independent States such as revolutionary Cuba and Venezuela; Nationalist states of Sudan, Zimbabwe, Iran, North Korea. Furthermore, we have "contested Terrain and Regimes in the inherent contradictions of capitalism-recession, inflation, stagflation, depression and boom and all other factors that make rise and fall poverty, prosperity and back to poverty, what is referred to, by the so-called experts as the cyclical downturns in western capitalism almost always marked by a depression. Islamic fundamentalism is against the profit motive which is the backbone of capitalism. They therefore fight.

## II. WHAT IS ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM?

The roots of fundamentalism of any hue lies in the heightening of emphasis on religion and ethnic culture which leads, humanity into narrow, exclusive and often violent or hostile groups. Fundamentalism means adherence to the basic beliefs or tenants of a religion or ethnic culture. There is this story from a religious violence episode in Kano which aptly sums up the viewpoint, where Barde reports that:

The protesters disguising as Islamic faithful, attacked and hacked down anybody that is not fluent in Hausa-Muslims, Christians or animists. For instance... the criminal's ways of identifying who is a Moslem or not was to ask the victims to pronounce "Gyero" a Hausa

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word for millet. One's ability to pronounce the word or otherwise was the factor that determined one's fate<sup>4</sup>.

Such is the character of a fundamentalist, in this instance an Islamic fundamentalist. There are many others who can be more intolerant and they are found even in the Christian religion. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Catholic Church struggling with its twin foes of revolution and continuing reformation with its protestant zealotry made policies that smacked of fundamentalism under Pope Pius IX (1846-78). Pius began the revolutionary year 1948 as a moderate liberal. However the event that followed turned him into a reactionary, whose hallmark became vigorous opposition to anything that smacked of modernism, republicanism, liberalism, socialism, or nationalism. His Papacy is exemplified by his two most celebrated acts: the syllabus of errors (1864) in which he condemned nearly all modern movements in religion, politics, society and the intellectual world: and the calling of the ecumenical council, Vatican I, in 1869-1870 which promulgated the dogma of Papal infallibility in matters of faith and doctrine.

Back to the question-what is Islamic fundamentalism? The answer would be that the adherence or call to the adherence of the basic teaching of Islam must be followed with death as punishment for refusal. Another question and that is what are the basic tenants of Islam? Again the answer would be short. The introduction of Sharia as contained in the Al Koran. Once you fail Jihad becomes the next option. Moreover Islam justifies violence. According to Brigadier S.K Malik of Pakistan:

Terrorism is "infinitely superior and more effective than conventional warfare because in Islam a war fought for the cause of Allah" ...all means and forms are justified and righteous. Terrorism is the quintessence of the Islamic strategy of war ...terror is not a means of imposing decision upon the enemy it is the decision we wish to impose on him.

In Islam, the above assertion is tenable because Islam is a religion of conquest. The desert Arabs who struck out at the Greco-Roman and Persian worlds in the middle of the Seventh century became, by conquest and by choice, the cultural heirs of These World. Peters aptly summarized Islamic history from its early and later periods that:

The economic, intellectual and spiritual vitality of the Moslem world, particularly between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, is a remarkable part of the rise of Islam. To some extent it is just as remarkable as the appearance of the faith itself, the achievements of Mohammed, and the great early conquests. A religion of desert Arabs created armies, generals, and caliphs, plus a genuine cultural revolution that transformed once and for all, not only the southern and the eastern parts of the old Roman Empire, but the ancient Persian (Modern Iran) world as well, and extended beyond to the Caucasus, India and even South East Asia, where conquest went

and religion followed, language went too. The Arabic speaking world as the world of Islamic belief, and beneath that belief lies a formidable culture that culture shaped the golden age of Islam and later provided for western Europeans many of the scientific and philosophical tools and economic institutions that contributed to the numerous changes in European society in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Today, the Islamic fundamentalists, now internationalized, are weeping and asking for the return of this long lost golden age. Like Marus weeping over the ruins of cartage, but cartage did not return, the same goes for the Islamic fundamentalists.

### III. THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTION: THEN AND NOW

When Arab armies under Amr.B.al-'As conquered Alexandria in September 642<sup>9</sup> the "muezzins call in the west was sounded. This would by the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century successfully dislocate Christian standing in the whole of North Africa. It was from these episodes of Arab conquests that the Western Sudan in which Nigeria is a part was accomplished. Moslem brotherhoods like the Almoravids, Almohads and the Sufi orders would cross the Sahara desert into the Western Sudan where the British prevented their heirs from dipping the Koran into the Atlantic Ocean a la Ahmadu Bello (the late premier of the defunct Northern Region of Nigeria). The early and later Moslems in African were of three types under the dissection of the Sufi orders. According to Rev. Fr. IgbaVishigh (op):

"The first category comes under Muslims of militant resisters and ideologies, such as the Somali Chief Muhammad Abdullah Hassan and al Hajj 'Umar from Futa Toro in Senegal. The second category comprises five moderates who taught mysticism, carried on Jihads, and instituted social reforms. They are Usman Dan Fodio, (Northern Nigeria), The Algerian Amir "Abd al Qadir, a Libyan reformer, Muhammed 'Ali al Sanus, and ShaykhUways al Barawi, of the East African Bandir coast and Zanzibar; ShaykhMa'ruf, of Moroni in the Comoro Islands, between Madagascar and Mozambique. The third category includes a Mauritanian, ShaykhMa'al-Ayhayn, a conservative Sufi leader founder, relatively, little affected by the changes that go on in the world.

Truly, their heirs want a reversion to a state of society where the modern world would have no part to play. In the case of Nigeria, Usman Dan Fodio led a Jihad. The first instance of Islamic violence against the majority of the people of what is Northern Nigeria.Usman was influenced by Khalwatiyya through his Teacher, Jubril bin 'Umar. It has been the norm, and Dan Fodio's son Ahmadu Rabah (Bello) would continue with the foundation of caliphate where a marauding



band under the guise of religion seized power. To this Rev. Fr. IgbaVishigh (op) asserts that:

“Starting from the revolution of Usman Dan Fodio to the present, Muslims in Nigeria have assumed the role of a character in the affairs of politics and administration. Therefore when religious issues are being discussed, Islam here again assumes the official position. Added to this situation, the frequent religious riots tend to put off any attempt at dialogue. There is a psychological fear created by Islam and Muslims in Nigeria, whereby attempts at dialogue, between Christianity and Islam are completely put at some distance.

The psychological fear created by Islam grew into resistance. Reprisal attacks followed, such that, eruptions in the far North where mayhem was caused by Islamic fundamentalists often met with the same responses from the people of the Middle Belt and South. Burn a Church in Kano, burn a Mosque in Gboko and killing easterners in the far North attracts killing far Northerners in the eastern part of Nigeria. The situation grew to such levels of genocide that even the reconciliatory moves of the Vatican were rebuffed by high Church authorities in Nigeria. Rev. Fr. Igba Vishigh (op) comments that:

During the religious riots that took place in Bauchi and Katsina States respectively, the Vatican secretariat for Non-Christian religious notified high church authorities in Nigeria for a meeting between Muslims and Christians. The church authorities in Nigeria rejected this. Saying that they are mourning for the lives of their brothers and sisters killed in the said riots.

#### IV. RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA 1980-2004

In 1980, Zaria, in Kaduna state experienced religious violence in May. In December, Kano took its turn in the lineup of Northern cities to be torched by the Islamic fundamentalists. 1982 followed with mayhem in October in Borno, Kaduna and Kano. The worst crisis to be perpetrated by the Islamic fundamentalist came in 1984, in Yola where the Maitasine riots had spread. About 2,000 people died and over 17 million naira property damaged. Musa Makaniki, the leader of the maitatsine in Yola escaped but not with his houses which were bombed by the forces of Lt. Col. C.C. Iweze, Commanding Officer of 15 Mechanized Brigade on Monday 5<sup>th</sup>, 1984.

The religious riots would continue throughout the 1980's and 1990's. Not even the night of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was spared. As humanity was preparing for the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Moslem fanatics were pillaging and causing mayhem, in July 1999 in Kano. The dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century witnessed the same scenarios in Hadejia, Jigawa state, in December 2000. In May, there

were such riots in Jos (the Christian hub of Central Nigeria) they repeated in September 2001. The eruptions twice in Yelwa, Plateau State in July 2002 seem to be an aftermath of the Jos and the Bassa riots of May 2002. There has been a continuing upsurge in the number of such religious confrontations in 2004, Shendam, Langtang, Wase, Kanam, BakinChiawa all in Plateau State were affected.

#### V. ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS IN NIGERIA AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL SPONSORS

Today, there seem to be nothing that is going on in the Islamic world that is not having effects on the Nigerian State. I was in Kano the first Friday of the starting of the Gulf War and there was this visiting Imam, Ayatollah AmidZanzani, the Chief Judge of Iran. The Babangida Regime rolled out Armoured Tanks that kept plying the route from Triumph Publishing Company Headquarters to Ibrahim Taiwo Road cutting through Bello Dandago Street to join the market; this effectively cordoned off Central Mosque where the visiting Iranian “lawgiver” was presiding over the Friday Jumat Prayers. Anti-American slogan filled the air, the Central Market besides the Main Road I priced a life sized framed Photography of Imam Khomeini the price was cheap. Later I read reports of Jubilation in Kano when the Islamic fundamentalists bombed the World Trade Centre Buildings in New York, that azure morning of September 11, 2001. This jubilation in Kano would be turned into anger in Maiduguri and elsewhere over the anti-Islamic cartoons in faraway Northern Europe, many fellow citizens lost their lives and property in the ensuing so called cartoon riots. This is unfortunate. That would be a personal opinion. Bello Damagun, a Director of the Daily Trust Newspaper holds a different opinion which is influenced by N300, 000 of Al Qaida money which is likely to have come from heroin sales from Afghanistan (the bastion of Islamic fundamentalism where the ‘mad’ Mullah Omar held the court with his Taliban cohorts who cherish. The reverse to early caveman life, repulsive, a revulsion, vexations, obnoxious and absolute negation of what the civilized world has taken over 1,000 years to accomplish would go down the drain? This is possible if the Islamic fundamentalists are not stopped by moderate Moslems and others. In Nigeria the threat is real because we have the Nigerian Taliban. Tajudeen Suleiman reports that;

“On September 29, 2004 an Islamic fundamentalist group, which models itself after the Afghanistan Taliban, attacked two villages in Yobe State, killing four policemen and two civilians. Where seven Christians were reported kidnapped. The Nigerian Police which launched a counter attack on the militants, later claimed to have killed 24 of them and recovered 22 assault rifles and large quantities of ammunition in

December, 2003 with attacks on Police Stations and public buildings in the towns of Geidam and Kanamma in Yobe State. They occupied the two settlements for several days, raising the flag of Afghanistan Taliban movement over their camps.

The story of Islamic militancy in Nigeria would form another paper, so let us move forward. These Nigerian Moslem fundamentalists receive money and materials from abroad. The first incidence of Islamic fundamentalist took place in 1962 in Kano where Muhammudu Marwa was arrested on the order of Emir Sanusi, tried, sentenced and later deported to his native Cameroon. He would resurface in Kano in 1966 to continue with his activities which would culminate into Kano religious mayhem of 1980 known to history as the maitatsineriots. The Aliens participation in this mayhem was as follows:

Niger Republic	162
Chad	16
Cameroon	4
Mali	2
Upper Volta (Burkina Faso)	1

To the consternation and disbelief of tribunal members, only six people had I.D. Cards as required by law. A list of 18 fundamentalists caught showing their names, nationalities, identity cards where applicable and monies received from them are as follows:

1. AmoumanceWarighlaye Niger Republic I.D Card No. 1499560
2. Ibrahim Edji – family card
3. AttahirAbubakar – I.D. Card No 1499560 and N340
4. Shaibu Alou - I.D Card No 15170 and N168
5. AbdullahiAbdukari (50,000 Francs)
6. HarunaYaro (30,000 Francs)
7. AlhassanGoumar – I.D. Card No 864945 and N158
8. AlahirHaliru – I.D. Card No 126217 and N239
9. Alhassan Don Age – N2.57k
10. Alhaji Dan Aman N90.00
11. Mohammed Abdullahi – N11.00
12. Unclaimed – N340.00
13. Mohammed Musa – Niger Republic Bus Ticket from Onitsha to Jos and N11
14. Ibrahim Abdi Niger Republic
15. Amamadu Aga – N143,000 Francs and N10.50)
16. SumailaDansuleman – N327
17. AmumaniFarizlay – N247
18. LovaliMamman – I.D. Card No 791995

These fanatics pour into Nigeria from neighbouring countries whenever the minaret calls for Jihad. In the case of the Kano riots Israeli connection was alleged. This was the position of S.G. Ikoku's postulation which is stated that;

It is on record that Chief Obafemi Awolowo in a broadcast over Radio Oyo on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1980, stated that he (Chief Awolowo) was committed to bringing down the Federal Government, and argued that

to bring down a government before election is due will require foreign assistance; the foreigners who would agree to assist one in such a venture must be one's friends; and that Chief Awolowo's foreign friends are known to be Israelis. Therefore, he argued, the Israelis must have brought in the arms that maitatsine used.

Whether this is true or not the Shagari Government which treated this disturbance with levity was overthrown and with renewed vehemence the fanatics continued their activities. Let us look at the international connections of the Moslem Students Society (MSS) in Nigeria since after the civil war. The tribunal reports on this group that;

"This militant students organization with headquarters in Lagos, is believed to have been set up, with the active encouragement of Gumi and JNI (Jama'tuNasril Islam Arabic for society for the victory of Islam) to propound extreme religious views in furtherance of JNI's objectives. Its executive members particularly in its branches...are known to the extremists...to have no belief in the Nigerian constitution, do not recognized the existence of the Federal Government... have a firm belief in the ultimate attainment of an Islamic state in the country; through an Iranian type revolution. The most militant of the MSS appear to be its Deputy Chairman, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky... on 20<sup>th</sup> August 1980, El-Zakzaky was reported to be circulating in the Northern States, pamphlets captioned, "Fadakarwa ga musulmin Nigeria" (calling on Moslems in Nigeria) in which he condemned the Nigerian Constitution for being anti-Islamic, called for an Islamic Revolution and urged Islamic students to rise against the Federal Government. He also demanded the recognition of the Sharia Law. El-Zakzaky is reported to have visited on several occasions, and he recently returned from Iran where he was said to have received training in planning and executing student's unrest.

This is the background of the Nigerian Taliban which was formed by University and Polytechnic Students in Maiduguri 2000 with membership from all over the country. The influence of Al Qaida would further boost the activities of Islamic fundamentalists.

Osama bin Ladan (an Engineer with Computer Skills) and Ayman Zawahiri, (an Egyptian pediatrician) came to form the Al Qaida which is preaching the gospel of terrorism all over the world today their atrocities include the London train station bombing of 2003 and 2005 as well as the Bali bombing of 2004 all financed by all sorts of financiers from oil Sheiks in the Gulf to heroin Lords in Afghanistan and they are spreading the money all over the world. Recently, it was reported in the Nigeria press that the Federal Government of Nigeria on January 16, 2007 arraigned Damagun in an Abuja High Court on a three count charge of receiving from Al Qaida N300, 000 to lure, recruit and train Nigerians in Mauritania for terrorism. Damagun is a Director of an influential Moslem

Newspaper in Northern Nigeria; which serves as a mouthpiece for Moslem views: which may be contrary to mine. The internationalization of Islam and its confrontation with Pax-Americana is responsible for the rise of Islamic fundamentalism all over the world. During the Cold War era where bipolarity emerged in the world, the arms race, regional conflicts, the propping up of right wing dictatorships, the assassination of Populist leaders were the order of the day. In Afghanistan for 10 years the Russians (USSR) and Americans confronted each other. The last Soviet soldier, General Akhromeyev left in tears. This was the period that Al Qaida was conceived. Prior to this sad episode was the assassination of Dr. Mohammed Mossadeq in Iran in 1953, ostensibly in fear of the rise of the free officers in Egypt in 1952 led by the 4 Colonels Mohammed Neguib, Anwar Sadat, Zachariah Moheiddin and Gamel Abdel Nasser. They overthrew King Farouk, later in the decade King Faisal of Iraq was overthrown by Field Marshall Abdel Karim Qassim in 1959. This was at the height of the Cold War which the majority of Arab Moslems sided the USSR. The Arabs generally would not forgive USA for the creation of the state of Israel and war continued till 1973. A war which further buttressed the fact of Israel being an American surrogate state the Policemen of the Middle East to protect oil wells and water ways. The rise of Sadat as a pro US ally; the conversion of Saddam Hussein from his Ba'athist belief to the gospel of free capitalist enterprise led to heightened popular Arab Moslem fundamentalism. The triumphant return of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini back from exile in 1979 and the fall of the house of the Pahlevis whose patriarch wandered all over the Western world, sick and without an abode only to die in Egypt was a great setback to US geo-political aims in the Gulf. This, the US checked by supporting Iraq's Saddam Hussein in 8 year Iran vs Iraq war and when Kuwait failed to fulfill its promise to bankroll this war cost totaling about \$30 billion. Saddam rolled out his tanks annexing Kuwait as an Iraqi province, storming Norman Schwarzkopf would return to his area as head of the allied forces. It is sad to note that Japan bankrolled the US war cost during the Second Gulf war without any problem. It was in the course of the Gulf War that Moslem anti-Americanism would grow. The Mujahedeen (freedom fighters) all over the Moslem world were called for a Jihad against infidels (Allied forces stationed on Saudi Arabian soil).

That is one outcome of Arab/Islamic dissension of Western imperialism. On the other hand it started in Egypt in 1952 and gave birth to the ideology of Pan-Arabism which Nasser championed. When Colonel Gaddafi of Libya overthrew King Idris in 1969 an heir to Nasser's Gaddafi's trademark. In Nigeria, Alhaji Ismaila Idris admits to this fact in a report;

Alhaji Ismaila Idris of 096/3 Dodo Street, Jos, (witness No 53) who gave his occupation as teaching

and preaching of Islam on behalf of IZALA whose full names he gave as IZALA TU Bidia Walkamatu Sunna admitted that he visited Libya in 1980, after the Id El Fitri celebration, with 39 other Nigerians, for an Islamic Conference. He said the, Libyan Embassy in Lagos financed the trip. He said he went again with 4 other Nigerians on 3rd September, 1980 and came back on 28<sup>th</sup> September, 1980. Again the Libyan Embassy paid for the trip.

Libyan foreign policy was based on Pan-Arabism. It was greatly promoting terrorism and insurrection wherever possible. It is only the declaration of war on terror by US President George Bush Jnr in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 bombings. Where he vowed that the world was not going to be the same again that Qaddafi and his cohorts now seem to change.

Today the US has gone berserk impeaching the sovereignty and independence of Afghanistan and Iraq declaring territoriality and overlordship. All this against the known and accepted conventions and articles of the UNO, the EU, the AU which recognize the sovereignty of independence states and makes it an offence to interfere in the internal affairs of member nations. Pax-Americana has changed all that and Islamic fundamentalists all over the world are joined in fighting Pax Americana. The Sunni and Shia divide has been joined. There is a report that:

"A strong will among the Arabs and the Middle East leaders to unite against America and British attempts to sow division among them has fortunately borne fruit in Riyadh according to pundits. It also produces a strong Saudi/Iranian alliance beginning to work to end the bloodbath in Iraq and correct mistakes the US committed in the war torn country.

The latest attempts by King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and President Ahmedinejad of Iran would be a most welcome development because, the Sunnis are led the Saudis and the Shias by Iran. Already the two sects are engaged in inter-caine warfare in Iraq. This is threatening to conflagrate into a full blown civil war. Iran is also the sponsor of terrorism just like the Saudis sponsor fundamentalism. They both blow and are blowing hot and cold with the same breath including here in Nigeria.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

In the first place Nigerian borders are two porous and illegal aliens pour into country where they perpetrate all sorts of criminality from banditry to brigandage. The immigration services must be strengthened in this direction. Then, the Chief Aliens Officer must intensify intelligence and counter-intelligence efforts to check saboteurs. In this direction, a two-way approach to strengthening internal security is suggested. In the first approach, the urban centres are our focus and every street shall have a perfect or an

official of whatever name. A group of streets would form a precinct under a leader; precincts in a local government area councillorship ward would combine to form a Local Government Security Council with a prefect or an official of any designation. On the other hand the rural areas which are in scattered homesteads have in every house a household head they would group at the kindred level under a leader. Then at the Local Government Councillorship Ward level would go to form the Local Government Security Council. Their heads would meet from time to time to review the security situation in the Local Government, and report to the DPO and SSS. Finally internal collaborators no matter how highly placed and with immunity must be brought to book. A situation where the former Governor of Kano State, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi was celebrating while Kano burned (just like Nero did over Rome to persecute the Christians) so that Christians and other non-Moslems elements would be wiped out in Kano and was not punished till today even when found guilty by the Tribunal of inquiry must not be allowed to reoccur.

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## Неизданные ассы Ольвии с типами “Афина - колесо”

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*Introduction-* Л.с. Голова Афины в аттическом шлеме влево, перед ней дельфин. Изображения глубоко вдавлены и окаймлены высоким ободом. Верхние части их и рельефа с изображением Афины находятся на одном уровне.

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# Неизданные ассы Ольвии с типами “Афина - колесо”

В. П. Алексеев<sup>α</sup> & П. Г. Лобода<sup>σ</sup>

Литые монеты – ассы “Афина - колесо”

Дадим описание этих монет и комментарии к ним.

## I. Анэпиграфный асс

**Л**.с. Голова Афины в аттическом шлеме влево, перед ней дельфин. Изображения глубоко вдавлены и окаймлены высоким ободом. Верхние части их и рельефа с изображением Афины находятся на одном уровне.

д. – 55 x 54 мм, в. – 77,1 г, высота гурта – 6 x 5 мм (рис.1 : 1).

Аналогии – Анохин 1989 : 104, № 5 (76,61 г) ; Нечитайло 2000 : 15, № 28 (82 г) ; Пиворович 2009 : 70, № 2 (61 г).

В свое время А.Н. Зограф считал такие монеты фальшивыми (1951 : 125, примеч. 1). Однако после находок подобных монет в ходе раскопок в Ольвии (в. – 62,01 г и в. – 57,54 г) подлинность их стала неопровержимой и теперь общепризнана (Карышковский 1988 : 41). Старший номинал этой серии был найден на о. Березань (там же, 42,47 – в. – 275,6 г). П.О. Карышковский разделял мнение об очередности выпусков ассов с Афиной и определении их эмитентов : первые, анэпиграфные эмиссии отливались от имени полиса, вторые – от имени эпонима Павсания, третьи – от Павсания, ставшего тираном (там же, 48). Однако продолжительность первых двух выпусков им была существенно сокращена, т.к. количество их монет сводилось в его время к считанным единицам. В настоящее время число таких монет не только значительно возросло (см. табл. I, II), но и появился асс с Афиной с новым именем на ободке колеса – Х..ΑΠΙΠ. (см. Пиворович 2009 : 69, в. – 295 г). Все это вызывает необходимость увеличить длительность первых двух эмиссий ассов с Афиной. Реконструкция исторических и политических событий в Ольвии в первой половине V в. до н.э., как внутренних, так и внешних, проведенная Ю.Г. Виноградовым с использованием нумизматических данных (1989 : 111-116), убеждает нас в правильности представленной им даты начала выпуска первых, анэпиграфных ассов с Афиной – самое начало V в. до н.э.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>В данной статье мы придерживаемся датировок всех выпусков ассов с Афиной, анэпиграфных и эпиграфных, предложенных и обоснованных Ю.Г. Виноградовым (см. ниже).

О.с. Колесо с широкими четырьмя спицами, которые в перекрестии образуют прямые углы, а нижние части спиц в местах перехода к широкому ободу закруглены. Поверхность между спицами выпуклая. На середине гурта имеется острый выступ в виде узкого рельефного пояса.

Бронза. Гемиобол. Монета покрыта толстым слоем темнозеленой патины с редкими краснокоричневыми пятнами.

Рассматривая параметры анэпиграфных ассов с Афиной на табл. I (№№ 1-3, без дополнительных деталей между спицами колеса), возникает вопрос – каким образом, по каким признакам ольвиополиты определяли номинал для младших ассов этой группы ?

Многие нумизматы признают, что в Ольвии номиналом старших ассов в V в. до н.э. являлся обол для всех их групп (Зограф 1951 : 125 ; Карышковский 1988 : 47).

Вследствие того, что оболочки в группе анэпиграфных ассов отличаются резкими перепадами в своих весовых показателях (см. табл. I, 1-4), поэтому их веса не могут служить надежными ориентирами для выяснения соотношения их к величинам младшего номинала. Вместе с тем, размеры диаметров этих номиналов обладают в основном стабильностью, большей устойчивостью, ибо лишены контрастов в своих величинах. Диаметры старших ассов находятся в рамках 70-80 (85) мм, а младших – в границах 40-50 (55) мм, т.е., грубо говоря, почти в два раза меньше (см. табл. I). С учетом этого наблюдения и того, что старший номинал общепризнан в качестве оболы, то номинал, диаметр которого примерно вдвое меньше диаметра оболы, может быть назван “гемиоболом”. Перейдем к рассмотрению двух групп эпиграфных ассов.

## II. Эпиграфные ассы I-ой группы

Л.с. То же, но широкий обод несколько возвышается над рельефным изображением головы Афины.

О.с. То же, но спицы колеса в перекрестии образуют “шарик”. По широкому ободу с середины правой его стороны ретроградно помещена большими буквами надпись – ΕΠΙΠΑΥ[ΣΑ].

Бронза. Обол.

д. – 79 мм, в. – 293 г, высота гурта около 10 мм (рис. 1 : 2).

Л.с. То же.

О.с. То же.

Бронза. Обол.

д. – 81 x 79 мм, в. – 278 г. (рис. 1 : 3).

Аналогии – Пиворович 2009 : 69, № 1 (д. – 69 x 70 мм, в. – 295 г).

Публикуемые ассы представляют собой старший номинал одной из разновидностей эпиграфных литых монет Ольвии с Афиной.<sup>2</sup> Существует вариант представленных ассов, на котором его надпись показана не ретроградно, а нормативно (см. Нечитайло 2000 :

На сегодняшний день нам известно восемь ассов старшего номинала с отмеченными вариантами их надписи (см. табл. II, 1-8). Все они были отлиты в период 485 – 480 гг. до н.э., когда Павсаний, будучи эсимнетом мольпов, выполнял роль городского эпонима (Виноградов 1989 : 111, 112, 114). Назовем эту группу ассов для удобства изложения своих наблюдений I-ой группой. Старшие номиналы этой группы отличаются в своих параметрах той же особенностью, что и старшие ассы анэпиграфной группы. Размер диаметров колеблется, за редким исключением, в основном в узком диапазоне – от 70 до 80 мм, т.е. преобладает некая стабильность, в весовых показателях – неустойчивость, разница между ними иногда достигает 187 г (см. табл. II, 1, 8 – 464,9 г, округляя 465 г – 278 г). Вместе с тем в рассматриваемой группе ассов наметилась и тенденция к образованию определенной зоны весовой устойчивости (см. табл. II, 3-8, веса в которой концентрируются возле веса 285 г). При этом обращаем внимание на то, что некоторые старшие номиналы анэпиграфных ассов и I-ой группы эпиграфных обладают весьма высокими весами, близкими соответственно к 400 г и 300 г (см. табл. I, II). Чем были вызваны такие их высокие показатели ? В нумизматической литературе появились определения таким старшим номиналам ассов с Афиной различных групп в виде терминов – “диобол” (Карышковский 1988 : 47), “тетробол” и “пентобол” (Нечитайло 2000 : 15, № 29 ; 16, №№ 31-35 ; 17, № 36 ; Пиворович 2009 : 69, №№ 1,2 ; 71, № 1 ; 72, №№ 1, 4 ; 70, № 1). П.О. Карышковский, исходя из общепринятого определения старшего номинала ассов как “обола” и среднеарифметического веса ассов с надписью ΠΑΥΣ,

равного 122 г,<sup>3</sup> назвал анэпиграфный асс с весом 276 г (275,6 г) “диоболом”. Различие в весе этих ассов он объяснял тем, что ольвиополиты сперва исходили из реальной стоимости бронзы и серебра – 118,5 : 1, а позже упростили данное соотношение до 100 : 1 (Карышковский 1988 : 47). Однако ему не были известны анэпиграфные ассы с весами 398 г и 393 г (см. табл. I, 1, 2), номиналы которых определить, исходя из обычных весовых исчислений затруднительно. Неизвестны ему были и веса старших номиналов ассов с именем ΠΑΥΣ... 195 г – 175 г – 155 г (см. табл. III, 1-3). Наряду с этим отмечаем особо – размер диаметров старших ассов как анэпиграфных, так и эпиграфных оставался стабильным – в рамках 70-80 мм с несущественными отклонениями (см. табл. I, 1-3 ; табл. III, 1-22). В связи с этим возникает вопрос – как при почти одинаковых диаметрах и весьма разных весовых показателях могут существовать “диоболы”, “тетроболы” и “пентоболы” ? Каковы критерии для таких определений ? В такой ситуации возникают труднопонимаемые и парадоксальные случаи.<sup>4</sup> Как же в реальной жизни ольвиополиты практически могли отличать такие номиналы один от другого, имеющие почти равные размеры своих диаметров ? Взвешивать эти монеты, конечно, не могли, т.к. это полностью бы противоречило самой функциональной предназначенности монеты. Нам кажется, что возникающая данность вынуждает нас, во-первых, отказаться от приведенных выше определений старшим номиналам ассов с Афиной, во-вторых, признать крупные ассы с диаметрами 70-80 мм, независимо от их веса во всех группах ассов в Афинной только “оболлами”.

В связи с этим необходимо выяснить, почему при примерном равенстве диаметров оболлов анэпиграфных и эпиграфных ассов I-ой группы (с именем эпонима Павсания) существуют значительные различия в их весах (см. табл. I, 1-3 ; табл. II, 1, 2, 7, 8) ? Думается двумя причинами – дешевизной меди в период выпуска монет этих групп (см. Карышковский 1988 : 37) и отсутствием строгого контроля за нерегламентированным, а, в сущности, произвольным

<sup>2</sup> Вариантами этих монет являются однотипные ассы : с надписью ΕΠΙΚ... (см. Бурачков 1884 : 37, № 3 ; Анохин 1989 : 14, 104, № 6, в. – 127 г) и с новым именным сокращением на ободке колеса (см. выше).

<sup>3</sup> Максимальный вес асса этой группы П.О. Карышковскому был известен в размере 136 г (2003 : 58, табл. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Так, в группе анэпиграфных ассов диобол определен как номинал, имеющий 275,6 г (см. Карышковский 1988 : 47), а пентобол – 398 г (см. Пиворович 2009 : 70, № 1), но диаметры их почти одинаковы – см. соответственно : 79 мм и 74 x 75 мм. Сравним вес указанного диоболом 275,6 г и веса тетроболов ассов в эпиграфной группе,

равных 285 г (см. Нечитайло 2000 : 15, № 29) и близких ему весов 293 г и 295 г (табл. II, 3, 4), мы обнаруживаем, в принципе, их весовое равенство. И, наконец, эпитафный тетрабол с весом в 285 г оказывается тяжелее пентобола с весом 175 г (см. Нечитайло 2000 : 15, № 29 ; 17, № 36).

отбором количества медного сырья для литья данных монет (Алексеев 2010 : 129). В рассматриваемый период времени (от начала V в. до н.э. до начала тирании Павсания – 480 г. до н.э.) старшинство номинала определялось не величиной веса, а, в первую очередь, размером диаметра монеты. Количество меди, выделяемое для производства монет старшего номинала, не находилось в строго выдержанной или примерно сбалансированной пропорции, по отношению к весу младшего номинала. Дифференцирующим фактором в определении величины номинала служил размер диаметра монеты.

Л.с. То же.

О.с. То же и надпись также ретроградна.

Бронза. Гемиибол.

д. – 60 x 57 мм, в. – 87,5 г. (рис. 1 : 4).

Аналогии – Карышковский 1988 : 42, рис. 5, № 1 (коллекция С.В. Страшного, д. – 47 мм, в. – 66,71 г).

Существуют подобные ассы и с нормативной надписью имени эпонима Павсания на ободе колеса (см. Нечитайло 2000 : 15, № 27, д. – 45 мм, в. – 67 г ; Анохин 2011 : 34, № 162, д. – 64 x 66 мм, в. – 81,5 г). Таким образом, общее число ассов с двумя вариантами указанной надписи, известных нам, составляет четыре

д. – 40,6 мм, в. – 77,6 г, высота гурта – 9 x 7 мм. (рис. 1 : 5).

Публикуемому ассу младшего номинала близкой аналогии не удалось обнаружить. По характеру его надписи (сокращенное до четырех букв имя "Павсаний" без предлога "эпи") данный асс следует отнести к группе эпитафных ассов, которую мы определяем как "2-ю группу". Монеты этой группы были выпущены в период, когда Павсаний обрел власть в качестве тирана – 480-470 гг. до н.э. (см. Виноградов 1989 : 111, 112, 114, 120). Представленный асс обладает рядом специфических особенностей, которые определяют его уникальность. Во-первых, хотя форма сокращенного имени в виде четырех букв ПАΥΣ соответствует таковой на ассах 2-ой группы, но порядок их в надписи на данном ассе представлен в ретроградном виде, как на ассах 1-ой эпитафной группы. Во-вторых, если диаметр публикуемого асса – 40,6 мм – соответствует размерам диаметров 2-ой группы – 40-37 мм (см. Карышковский 2003 : 447, табл. VIII, 2, 4 ; 448, табл. IX, 1, 4, 5 ; Нечитайло 2000 : 17, №№ 37-39), то его вес – 77,6 г – не свойственен весам младших номиналов своей 2-ой группы (43-23 г, см. Карышковский 2003 : 59, табл. 25), а близок весам младших ассов 1-ой группы эпитафных ассов (см. табл. II, Б-1-4). Таким образом, можно заключить, что рассматриваемый асс содержит двойственные

экземпляра (см. табл. II, Б-1-4). Определяя номинал публикуемого асса и других младших ассов 1-ой группы эпитафных ассов из предложенного нами критерия (размера диаметров), мы видим, что здесь возникает контрастность в величинах диаметров между старшими и младшими номиналами в разной степени. Некоторые диаметры младших номиналов (45-47 мм) почти в два раза меньше диаметров старших (88-71 мм) (см. табл. II, Б-3,4 и А-1-8). Диаметры монет других младших ассов (60 x 57 мм и 64 x 66 мм – табл. II, Б-1,2) в арифметическом выражении менее резко отличаются от диаметров старших номиналов (меньше всего на 15-19 мм), однако в действительности визуально все же вполне заметно различие величины их диаметров. Поэтому и в данном случае допустимо определять их номиналы как "обол" и "гемиибол".

Перейдем теперь к рассмотрению асса младшего номинала из 2-ой эпитафной группы и его особенностей.

### III. Эпитафный асс 2-ой группы (переходный этап)

Л.с. То же.

О.с. То же, но между спицами помещены буквы, начиная сверху правой стороны, идущие против часовой стрелки – ПА[Υ]Σ, т.е. ретроградно.

Бронза. Монета покрыта густым слоем твердой патины черного цвета. Гемиибол.

признаки : форма в надписи сокращенного имени ПАΥΣ... и размер диаметра соответствуют нормам ассов 2-ой эпитафной группы, а ретроградный характер воспроизведения этой надписи и вес – нормам 1-ой эпитафной группы ассов. Вследствие этого представленный асс может восприниматься как связующее звено между двумя группами эпитафных ассов.

Вследствие того, что критерием, дифференцирующим старшинство номиналов между ассами с Афиной мы определили не вес, а величину диаметров, то номинал рассматриваемого асса, имеющего диаметр в размере 40,6 мм, следует определить как "гемиибол", как и все младшие номиналы с именем ПАΥΣ, обладающими диаметрами в 45-30 мм (см. Карышковский 2003 : 59, табл. 25). Для П.О. Карышковского, желавшего определить номинал для младших ассов этой группы, критерием служил весовой показатель. Поэтому, исходя из среднего арифметического веса старшего номинала, оболы этих монет (122 г), он считал младшим номиналом для ассов этой группы будут те монеты, вес которых составляет 1/3 или 1/4 части этого оболы (Карышковский 1988 : 42, рис. 5, №№ 2,3 ; 47). Однако



в его время максимальный вес обола составлял 136 г (см. 2003 : 58, табл. 22), а оболы с весами 195-175-155 граммов той же группы ассов (см. табл. III, №№ 1-3) ему были неизвестны, как и вес представленного здесь младшего асса – 77,6 г.

Публикуемый асс младшего номинала, по дошедшим до нас сведениям, был найден совместно с ассами того же номинала, содержащими надпись ЕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑ в ретроградном виде. Исходя из этого факта, можно заключить, что какое-то время ассы 1-ой и 2-ой групп в денежном обращении Ольвии, вероятно, функционировали параллельно.

После обретения Павсанием власти тирана характер выпусков старших ассов – с Афиной и сокращенным его именем в форме ΠΑΥΣ – существенно меняется, хотя и постепенно. Если до него веса крупных анэпиграфных ассов приближались к 400-м – 300-м граммам, а веса эпиграфных ассов того же номинала после получения Павсанием должности эпонима начал снижаться с 464,9 г до 278 г (см. табл. II, А-1-8), то в период правления его тираном веса таких ассов находились в диапозоне – 195 – 112 г (и даже несколько ниже – см. табл. III, №№ 1-20). Диаметры же старших ассов при этом оставались в основном неизменными, в районе 80-70 мм (см. табл. I, II, III). Эти явления стали следствием, по нашему мнению, двух взаимосвязанных процессов – процесса подорожания меди к началу правления Павсания в качестве тирана и ужесточения им контроля над выделяемым количеством этого металла для литья монет. Так, в шкале весов старших и младших номиналов 2-ой группы эпиграфных ассов минимальный вес в каждом из этих номиналов стал почти вдвое меньше максимального (см. табл. III, 1-26 и в работе Карышковского 2003 : 59, табл. 25), чего не наблюдалось в группе анэпиграфных и 1-ой группе эпиграфных ассов с Афиной (см. табл. I, II). Это явилось свидетельством образования допустимых пределов отклонений весов для каждого номинала, т.е. возникли границы в норме колебаний весовых показателей. Веса же старших номиналов в 195 г и 175 г следует понимать как этапы процесса постепенного становления данного “весового стандарта” (табл. III, №№ 1,2 и №№ 3-20), а веса ниже от 108 г до 92 г (табл. III, №№ 21-26) как следствие, вызванное объективной причиной – нехваткой медного сырья (или средств для его приобретения?). Не исключается при этом и чисто человеческий фактор – умыкания металла недобросовестными мастерами-монетариями для своих нужд. Рассматривая шкалу весов старшего номинала ассов 2-ой группы, выпущенных при тиране Павсании, мы замечаем, что на срединном участке этой шкалы, в зоне от 155 г до 112 г происходит концентрация, возрастание “кучности” весов.<sup>5</sup> Поэтому

<sup>5</sup> Вследствие того, что В.В. Нечитайло не дал показания индивидуальных весов пяти ассов, а только сведения о весах крайних

средним весом ассов 2-ой эпиграфной группы будет являться вес 125 г (ранее он составлял 122 г – см. Карышковский 1988 : 47). Думается, что образование “весового стандарта” в указанных границах и соблюдение его не могли произойти без надлежащего контроля, установленного тираном Павсанием.

Косвенно на обретение предполагаемого весового стандарта в период тирании Павсания могут указывать веса последующих выпусков ассов с изображением Горгоны. Так, амплитуда весов этих ассов происходила в рамках от 138 г до 105 г (76 экз) (см.

Карышковский 2003 : 58, табл. 23), а ассов с Афиной и ΠΑΥΣ от 155 г до 112 г (18 экз., табл. III, №№ 8-20). Само количество ассов с Горгоной, приходящееся на их выпуски в зоне с амплитудой весов от 138 г до 105 г – 76 экз. ! – указывает на закономерность образования весового стандарта. Убывание от него весов при выпусках с Афиной 2-ой группы ассов и Горгоной происходило аналогично (см. табл. III, №№ 21-26 ; Карышковский 2003 : 58, табл. 23) и, думается, по сказанным выше причинам.

С какой целью был создан предполагаемый “весовой стандарт” при тиране Павсании ? Думается для экономии средств, которая вела к упорядочению в монетном деле Ольвии и, в частности, для упрощения процесса обмена ассов на кизикины. Значительные колебания весов анэпиграфных ассов и 1-ой группы эпиграфных до тирании Павсания создавали трудности для проведения операций по обмену указанных монет. Курс кизикинов в Ольвии в рассматриваемое время был очень высок (Зограф 1951 : 126), а стоимость меди была условной и изменчивой. Установлено, что бронзовые ассы в Ольвии были аналогичны по своей функции милетскому мелкому серебру. К концу V в. до н.э. в Греции (и, вероятно, в Ольвии) ratio между бронзой и серебром составляло отношения 100 : 1 и 120 : 1 (Карышковский 1988 : 46, 47). Поэтому вес литых обол с Афиной, приравненных в Ольвии серебряным оболам Милета, колебался между 121 г и 116 г (или с небольшим превышением веса) (Карышковский 1988 : 47). Вследствие же того, что милетский серебряный обол соответствовал электровой гемигекте Кизика (там же, 48), то и последняя могла быть приравнена к ольвийскому медному оболу, старшему ассу (средний вес ассов 2-ой эпиграфной группы с Афиной по новым данным составлял 125 г). Образовавшийся “весовой стандарт” (несмотря на некоторые колебания его показателей) в период правления Павсания в качестве тирана служил неким нормативным ориентиром при обмене на (100 г и 155 г – см. 2000 : 16, 17,

№№ 31-35 ; см. нашу табл. III, №№ 3-7), поэтому веса всех этих ассов в ряду их представлений можно приблизительно дополнить примерно такими величинами – 155 г – 145 г – 135 г – 120 г – 100 г.

кизикины, а гарантом этого норматива служило его имя на этих ассах в виде сокращения "ΠΑΥΣ". Такие ассы с гарантированным весом было проще и надежнее обменивать на гемигекты Кизика, как и позже ассы с Горгоной, т.к. при этих выпусках соблюдался ранее созданный весовой норматив (см. выше и Карышковский 2003 : 59, табл. 24, №№ 2-7).

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Таблица 1 : Параметры анэпиграфных ассов с Афиной

Table 1 : Parametres of unepigraphic aeses with Athena

Старший номинал А				Младший номинал Б			
№№	Диаметры мм	Веса гр	Источники	№№	Диаметры мм	Веса гр	Источники
1	74x75	398	Пиворович 2009:70, №1	1	50	82	Нечитайло 2000:15, №28
2	85	393	Нечитайло 2000:14, №26	2	55x54	77,1	Публикуемая монета
3	79	275,6	Карышковский 1988:47; Анохин 1989:104, №4	3	40x44	76,61	Анохин 1989:104, №5
4	69x65	140,233	Алексеев 2008:72, №4, Между спицами колеса наложенные разной величины два диска	4	?(43?)	62,01	Карышковский 1988:41
				5	42	61	Пиворович 2009:70, №2
				6	?(40?)	57,54	Карышковский 1988:41
				7	50	78	Нечитайло 2000:16, №30, между спицами колеса «шарики»

8	45	59,6	Алексеев 2008:72, №3 между спицами колеса «шарики»
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Таблица II. Параметры 1-й группы эпиграфных ассов с Афиной и надписью ΕΠΙΠΑΥΣΑ

Table II. Parametres of 1st group epigraphic aeses with Athena and abbreviation ΕΠΙΠΑΥΣΑ

Старший номинал А				Младший номинал Б			
№№	Диаметры мм	Вес гр	Источники	№№	Диаметры мм	Вес гр	Источники
1	78x81	464,9	Алексеев 2010:130, табл. II, №5	1	60x57	87,5	Публикуемая монета
2	88x86	362,67	Анохин 2011:33, №160	2	64x66	81,5	Анохин 2011:34, №162
3	71	295	Пиворович 2009:69, №1, но с именем Χ.ΑΠΠ.. (ретроградно?)	3	45	67	Нечитайло 2000:15, №27
4	79	293	Публикуемая монета	4	47	66,71	Карышковский 1988:42, рис. 5, №1
5	75x78	285	Нечитайло 2000:15, №29				
6	78	282	ч. колл.				
7	80x77	280	ч. колл.				
8	81x79	278	Публикуемая монета				

Таблица III. Параметры старших ассов с Афиной из 2-й группы эпиграфных ассов с надписями ΠΑΥΣ

Table III. Parametres of senior aeses with Athena of 2nd group epigraphic aeses with abbreviation ΠΑΥΣ

№№	Диаметры мм	Вес г	Источники
1	70	195	Алексеев 2010:130, табл. II, №7
2	72	175	Нечитайло 2000:17, №36
3	78/75	155	— // — 17, №35
4	69/70	?	— // — 17, №34
5	70/75	?	— // — 16, №33
6	73/75	?	— // — 16, №32
7	78/75	100	— // — 16, №31
8	?	136	Карышковский 2003:58, табл. 22
9	?	134	— // —
10	98/70	131	Пиворович 2009:71, №1
11	?	129	Карышковский 2003:58, табл.22
12	?	127	— // —
13	?	125	— // —
14	?	123	— // —
15	?	121	— // —
16	?	120,83	Анохин 1989:104, №8
17	?	119	Карышковский 2003:58, табл.22
18	?	118	— // —
19	?	116	— // —
20	?	112	— // —
21	66/70	108,95	Алексеев 1997:105, рис.1; 109
22	68	107,5	Пиворович 2009:69, №2
23	?	107	Карышковский 2003:58, табл.22
24	?	102	— // —
25	?	97	— // —
26	?	92	— // —



















*Надписи под рисунком /*

**Рис. 1:** Ольвийские ассы первой трети V в. до н.э. типа «Афина-колесо»

№1 - анэпиграфический гемиобол, №№2,3 – оболы с надписью ΕΠΙΠΑΥΣΑ, №4 – гемиобол с той же надписью, №5 – гемиобол с надписью ΠΑΥΣ (все надписи ретроградны)

*Inscriptions to Figure 1*

**Fig. 1:** Olbian aeses of first third V century BC "Athena-wheel" type

№1 - unepigraphic hemiobol, №№ 2,3 – obols with abbreviation ΕΠΙΠΑΥΣΑ, № 4 – hemiobol with the same abbreviation, № 5 – hemiobol with abbreviation ΠΑΥΣ (all inscriptions are retrograde)



# GLOBAL JOURNALS INC. (US) GUIDELINES HANDBOOK 2014

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- Please note the criterion for grading the final paper by peer-reviewers.

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- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
- Consequences, including definite statistics - if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account quantitative data; results of any numerical analysis should be reported
- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

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### Approach:

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The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



## Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
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- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
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### Approach

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- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

### Approach:

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<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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