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Evol ving Contours of Medieval Indian History

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**First Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar Lecture at Jadavpur University, Kolkata
organised by Bangiya Itihas Samiti Kolkata on 24 February 2017**

I am extremely happy to see this great initiative undertaken by the *Bangiya Itihas Samiti, Kolkata* in instituting a Lecture series in memory of the colossus among India's historians, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, and am very grateful for inviting me to inaugurate the series. I am conscious that it is an extraordinary honour and that a mere 'thank you' is a very inadequate expression of gratitude for it. I do hope at the end of it you will not think of it an error of judgment on the part of the Samiti's authorities.

Since Jadu Nath Sarkar was a medievalist par excellence in the discipline of history I propose to trace in this lecture the evolution of the contours of this branch of the discipline over the past six or seven decades in India. I would be obliged to do this in broad strokes of thematic and methodological alterations that have marked this evolution instead of making out a list of old and new books; a good librarian would do a much better job of it. Selective references here are meant to be merely illustrative and are far from the ambition of being exhaustive.

I

Let us begin with the very notion of 'medieval' in history. The notion is clearly not indigenous to the traditions of history writing in India but an importation. A very late importation from Europe when the era designated as

medieval had long been dead and gone both in Europe and in India. In Europe the formulation of the tripartite Ancient/Medieval/Modern first appeared towards the end of the seventeenth century, in 1688 to be precise, though it was preceded by considerable discussion; its origins lay in theological context before its transfer to mundane history.¹ Enlightenment Europe had first set its self-image in terms of rationality, defined as modernity; it then created modernity's and rationality's 'other', the 'medieval' equated with irrationality, religiosity, superstition. 'Medieval' had no legs of its own to stand on, but was merely un-modern, as it were. If the modern age was the age of enlightenment, medieval was the 'dark age.' Doesn't the equation of 'medieval' as the un-modern and irrational continue in our everyday parlance down to the twenty-first century when we condemn persons with an 'unscientific' or 'irrational' bent of mind as 'so medieval'?

The tripartite division of historical time spread out to the rest of the world with the expansion of Europe. Its intellectual constructs followed in the footsteps of its trade, flag and arms and not necessarily owing to their innate superiority but to the altered power relations. In India a different version of this tripartite division was first introduced to history writing by James Mill in 1817-18 as we all know: the Hindu, Muslim and British periods. This was in some ways a paradigm shift which has been one of the most durable interventions in the study of India's history. The assumption underlying the shift was the same, derived from the Enlightenment/Dark Age dichotomy. Prior to the British colonial intervention here, eternal darkness of religious superstition reigned supreme. Religion was the single key to unraveling India's long past. In order to appreciate the significance and durability of this shift, I need to make a quick, perhaps a bit too quick review of the modes of historiography of the "Hindu" and the "Muslim" periods.

II

Contrary to Mill's assumption, early Indian consciousness of the past was articulated in a wide spectrum of modes. The almost obsessive preoccupation of the greatest European thinkers with the absence of any social, economic or real political change, except change of dynasties, and the absence of a sense of history among ancient Indians remained dominant through the eighteenth, nineteenth and a good part of the twentieth century. We are all very familiar with the oft repeated strictures, or at times laments, of giants among European thinkers from Montesquieu, Mill, Hegel, to Karl Marx of how nothing, not even the form of dress had changed in India even over thousands of years; change came only with the trigger of colonialism. The changelessness was embodied in the concept of cyclical time attributed to India, indeed to the whole of the 'Orient' in contrast to linear time of the 'Occident'. This was an emphatic denial of history to the 'Orient'.

¹ Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing*, Oklahoma, 1937, pp. 16, 172, 348.

The notion of cyclical time is a dead issue now as is the notion of changelessness for these have been blown to bits by numerous Indian scholars over the past many years. Philosopher Arvind Sharma is contemptuously dismissive of cyclical time calling it ‘so lopsided as to be misleading’ and conclusively asserting: ‘The Hindu notion of time is not a monochrome but a mosaic; it is too complex to be described merely as cyclical.’² Anindita N Balslev, argues that the idea of cyclical time, far from being the single characteristic of Hindu intellectual tradition ‘can hardly be identified as the view of any particular school of Brahmanical philosophy or even an issue for debate in polemical literature’ and emphasizes ‘great diversity of views’ in Hindu philosophical traditions.³ V S Pathak in 1966 and more recently Romila Thapar in 2013 have demonstrated not only the existence but a vast range of perceptions and notions of the past in early India. History had been seen in many different ways in early India sometimes intertwined with religion, sometimes independently of it. If Pathak had explored the Vedic and the Pauranic literature, fascinatingly extending it to *caritas* (biographies), Thapar investigates a vast span of primary sources from Vedic corpus, the epics, inscriptions, dramas, Jaina and Buddhist canonical texts and chronicles besides the enormous secondary literature on historical traditions in several civilizations.⁴ Both highlight the great distinction between the Western and the Indian perceptions of the past. Interestingly, Thapar has always insisted on the use of the term ‘Early’ instead of ‘Ancient’ to avoid the trap of the European tripartite Ancient/Medieval/Modern division.

If the enormous range of modes of treatment of the past in Ancient India has been so powerfully highlighted, in medieval India we enter a slightly more constricted view of history, although by no means a stereotyped, uniform view. The history practiced in India’s medieval centuries was intimately linked to Islam, interestingly without becoming a branch of Islamic theology. The birth of Islam not only gave a new religion to the world but also a new concept of history, in Tarif Khalidi’s words.⁵ It is not as if the Arabs were illiterate in the pre-Islamic age; they had fine traditions of poetry, genealogy, family history and not least accounting so essential to their wide international trading network. But a concept of history was not one of their accomplishments. Islam, from its birth, possessed a world view and the consciousness of a destiny of

² Arvind Sharma, ‘The Concept of Cyclical Time in Hinduism’ in Hari Shankar Prasad, ed., *Time in Indian Philosophy: A Collection of Essays*, Delhi, 1992. P. 210.

³ Anindita N Balslev, ‘Time and the Hindu Experience’ in A Balslev and R N Mohanty, eds, *Religion and Time*, Leiden, 1992, p. 177.

⁴ V S Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, Bombay, 1966; Romila Thapar, *The Past Before Us. Historical Traditions in Early North India*, Ranikhet, 2013.

⁵ Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 115. The great classic work on Arab-Muslim historiography remains of course Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, Leiden, 1952.

encompassing the world before the Day of Judgment. History was a collateral to it. Beginning with historical accounts of the life of Muhammad and the spread of Islam, the notion of a world history evolved along with a strong, very strong commitment to the chronological sequence of events.

As the awareness of the new discipline spread out from the Arab regions to areas outside, identified somewhat derisively as '*ajam* (in contrast to '*arab*) it acquired new dimensions. If it was more inclined towards the social and the civilizational in the Arab world, in the Persian cultural zone of Iran, Afghanistan and to some extent Central Asia, history writing was more of dynastic accounts in accordance with the varying civilizational backdrops of the regions.⁶ India inherited the latter version, for barring the short lived Arab incursion into Sind by the Arab invader Muhammad bin Qasim in 712, the cultural ambience of the more durable state formation in medieval India lay in that region. Persian, as we know, was the language of the court and of the intellectual elites through India's medieval centuries.

Thus the large number of histories written in medieval India, which became the chief source of the subsequent reconstruction of that history, were essentially court chronicles, composed by courtiers who were sometimes mere historians, but often holding an administrative or honorific or some other position in the imperial or other courts. The locus of their attention was understandably the ruler, his conquests and defeats, his administration, his personal strengths and weaknesses, his relationship with the nobility and so on. In other words, the court lay at the heart of their concerns, even as history of a region was for them conceptually part of world history, especially the world where Islam had become dominant.

Islam formed the backdrop of history writing in medieval India. All historians opened their account with encomiums for Allah followed by those for Muhammad, some for the past Khalifas, past sultans down to the current ruler in whose reign history was being written; the chronology that was the norm was the hijri era, with the exception of Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's courtier, friend and historian. The jargon they employed was heavily drawn from Islamic theology and history. An important underlying premise of these chronicles was also derived from Islam: the division of historical time into the pre-Islamic *jahiliya* – ignorance and savagery in the religious not literal sense – and the age of Islam when *jahiliya* was eradicated and true history began. The series of chronicles written in medieval Indian courts began their accounts with the arrival of Islam in India and largely ignored its earlier history, with some few exceptions.

⁶ Bernard Lewis and P M Holt, eds, *Historians of the Middle East*, London, 1964; D O Morgan, ed, *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, London, 1982.

Yet, unlike in medieval Europe, history writing in medieval India was not a branch of theology.⁷ Far from it. In Europe, history written within the premises of the Church by the only literate class, the ecclesiasts, was grounded on the premise that all history unfolds God's will and thus the entire past, present and the future comprised one single, connected whole. There were some other voices too, but the predominant one was that of the church fathers. It was firmly located within the realm of Christian theology.⁸

In medieval India, besides the historians being courtiers, even when some of them like Adul Qadir Badauni were theologians, the historical narrative was a series of unconnected events, each event being a single, independent entity and historical events were pivoted on human will, especially the ruler's will. At best, it was human nature, especially the ruler's nature that was the driver of historical events, not divine will. We thus receive images of weak and strong rulers, liberal and dogmatic rulers and so forth and events during each one's reign unfolded his nature.⁹ A strong ruler like Ala al-Din Khalji went out and conquered a lot of territory and expanded his empire. A weak ruler like Firuz Shah Tughlaq was content with what he had inherited. He was followed by even weaker rulers and Delhi Sultanate went into tatters. As the Mughal empire did in the eighteenth century after the grand era of the Great Mughals came to an end with the death of Aurangzeb. Zia al-Din Barani's classic explanation of the failure of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughalq's as ruler as the inevitable outcome of his nature being 'a mixture of opposites' is still doled out in our textbooks as the standard explanation.

What this mode of historical explanation offered was not a single, but a multiplicity of options to unravel events, for human natures differ with each human being, rulers included.

James Mill, in dividing history into the Hindu and the Muslim periods was to an extent treading a familiar ground of medieval Indian chronicles. Yet, he effected a fundamental transformation in it inasmuch as he completely eliminated the vast range of explanatory options of human nature and substituting for it a single mono causal locus, i.e. the religion of the ruler. In characterizing the history of long periods as Hindu or Muslim, Mill is essentializing all Hindus and all Muslim rulers for whom the only guide to all their actions was their religion. The image of the Dark Age of Europe was being transfixed here. All the varied actions and considerations of great

⁷ Peter Hardy was the one historian who strongly asserted that history for the historians of medieval India was a branch of theology. See his *Historians of Medieval India*, London, 1960.

⁸ Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500*, Manchester, 2011; A Momigliano, ed, *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford, 1963.

⁹ The argument was first presented in Harbans Mukhia, *Historians and Historiography During the Reign of Akbar*, New Delhi, 1976.

numbers of rulers over a long period of history in a vast and varied land are reduced to a single entity.

III

This became and remained the predominant framework of history in India until as late as the 1950s and even 1960s, even as it was being constantly qualified in actual practice by historians. Two major influences were at work: empiricism on one hand and the nature of primary sources, i.e. court chronicles on the other both placed within the framework provided by Mill. Empiricism, a European, especially British construct, insisted on following in the footsteps of the evidence unearthed from primary sources, i.e. chronicles, often termed 'authorities', that were given the attributes of 'objectivity', although their deployment was selective. The historian's imagination was at a discount.

Thus much of history writing as well as history teaching at all levels focused on the narrative of rulers and the nobility. Interestingly there were seldom two books on the same ruling dynasty. Nearly always the first book prescribed for the study of medieval 'Muslim' India was A B M Habibullah's *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, outlining the deeds of the first dynasty, the Mamluks, more popularly though erroneously known as the Slave dynasty; it was followed by K S Lal's *A History of the Khaljis*, which in turn led to Agha Mahdi Hussain's *The Tughlaqs* and so on into the Mughal period where either individual reigns were dealt with in detail, with Akbar as the favoured figure, or a general history of the dynasty, such as R P Tripathi's *The Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* in which each reign comprised a separate chapter. The treatment of history followed a standard format: The problems faced by a new dynasty or a new ruler on enthronement, measures taken to control the nobility, battles fought, rebellions suppressed, administrative measures, deposition or death and the succession of the next ruler or dynasty. The sources for each were the same: mostly court chronicles, supplemented here and there from information derived from elsewhere. Hence, once a book had 'covered' a dynasty or a ruler, there wasn't much space left for another. In a lighter vein, Professor Nurul Hasan used to say that history books written then were all the same; only names and dates were different!

There were some important explorations too in the sphere of economy and culture. W H Moreland's *Agrarian System of Moslem India, India at the Death of Akbar, From Akbar to Aurangzeb* were creditable departures, even as the framework of analysis remained both 'Moslem' and regnal. Trade history, with data sourced from European accounts and documents attracted eminent efforts such as Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan's *East India Trade in the XVII Century in its Political and Economic Aspects*. And Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* was a sort of landmark study outside the dynastic-regnal format.

I have said above that even as 'Muslim' as the analytical category was prominent enough to be often displayed in the titles of their works and of course in the main text, its use was constantly being qualified in subtle ways to dilute the singularity of meaning attached to it by James Mill and later on by

Elliot and Dowson. A B M Habibullah's *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* brings to light the several compromises that lay at the base of the new state and administrative structure that was evolving with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate – compromises between the Muslim conquerors and the pre-existing dominant Hindu groups. Habibullah also noted the quiet seepage of Indian culture into the ranks of the ruling families that were supposedly highly protective of their pure Turkish origins: the veritable tyrant Sultan Balban who placed his pride in his Turkish blood above any other consideration of wealth, position or power did not even seem to notice the very Indian name of his nephew, Malik Chhajju and Muhammad bin Tughlaq's name before his accession to the throne was Malik Junha. Indeed almost all historians of that generation were aware of the limits placed upon the Islamic profile of the state by the fact of sharing of administrative power at several levels with those who had managed it for generations before the Delhi Sultanate was established. R P Tripathi's masterpiece *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration in India*, dealing primarily with the Delhi Sultanate had similar nuancing of the term Muslim recorded in the book's title. For long the debate whether the medieval Indian state was theocratic or not yielded varying answers. It is these varying answers that have been reasserted though with much more extensive research and far greater nuancing in recent works.¹⁰ 'Imperceptibly, but with irresistible progress, an integrated Indo-Muslim society was coming into being and the transformation of the Sultanate, from a Turkish to an Indo-Muslim state was well on its way' noted Habibullah in 1945;¹¹ over six decades later the same perception recurs in the observation of Rajat Datta: 'Fractiousness and political accommodation...seem to have proceeded hand in hand'.¹²

Through all its journey, medieval Indian history writing was essentially centred on the state. The state, equated in history with the ruler and the ruling dynasty, was perceived as the driving force of all events that comprised the entire narrative. Even when economy was under discussion, it was discussed within the regnal or dynastic framework. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's massive amount of work on the reign of Aurangzeb and the fall of the Mughal Empire brought this genre of history writing to its apogee: the phenomenal amount of empirical data that formed the base of his researches has hardly been exceeded yet.

¹⁰ Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge, 1999; Sunil Kumar, *Emergence of the Delhi Sultanate*, Ranikhet, 2007 and Finbarr B Flood, *Objects of Translation. Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*, Princeton, 2009.

¹¹ A B M Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1976 (first published 1945), p. 150.

¹² Rajat Datta, ed, *Rethinking a Millennium. Perspectives on Indian History from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century*, New Delhi, 2008, p. 6.

The focus on the state and the dynasties/rulers carries the impress of the dual intellectual inspiration that we have talked about above: empiricism and James Mill's division of historical time, even when qualified. 'Facts' collected from mainly court chronicles and official documents, with attributed 'objectivity' placed within the template of 'Muslim period' were tantamount to history par excellence in which the character, disposition and/or nature of the ruler and his supporters and adversaries was the driving force of all historical tensions and change. However, if the colonial history writing highlighted interminable atrocities inflicted by Muslim rulers on their Hindu subjects, at the hands of Indian historians the same sources yielded ambivalent evidence, one that also strongly demonstrated what came to be called 'composite culture' was shared at different social, religious as well as political-administrative levels by the Muslims and the Hindus. Allahabad University's Department of History had a galaxy of medieval historians who established the leadership in the discipline with strong assertion of 'composite culture' although other eminent scholars like Professor Mohammad Habib at Aligarh Muslim University added their strong voice to it.¹³ The preoccupation of historians with grand empires and a linear narrative was by and large the norm.

Nearly the same format inhered in the regional histories especially of Bengal, Awadh, and the Deccan.

This was mono-causal historical explanation at best inclusive of some variations within its fold.

IV

The watershed moment came in the decade between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s with the arrival of very assertive Marxist interventions. D D Kosambi's *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* published in 1956 effected a paradigm shift in the categories of analysis of Indian history as a whole, even as its own focus was on Ancient India. It was soon followed by an article by a young historian, Irfan Habib, 'Agrarian Causes of the Fall of Mughal Empire' published in two parts in the long defunct journal *Enquiry* in 1959-60. This was in fact the last chapter of Habib's doctoral dissertation, *The Agrarian System of the Mughals*, published as a book with the same title in 1963. Those of us, like myself studying for graduation and post-graduation at Delhi University between 1956 and 1960, the world view we had inherited especially from Jadu Nath Sarkar holding Aurangzeb's religious orthodoxy chiefly causing the fall of the mighty Mughal empire, saw a new vision of history suddenly and unexpectedly crystallizing and almost overwhelming us. For the first time the liberal religious policy of Akbar and the dogmatic religious policy of Aurangzeb, the strength and weakness of rulers, their personal dispositions and natures were thrown to the margins of history; what came centre stage was the impersonal structure of state, its class nature and its

¹³ See a recent comprehensive work on the 'Allahabad School' by one of its prominent alumni and now faculty, Heramb Chaturvedi, *The Allahabad School of History 1915-1955*, New Delhi, 2016.

inevitable conflict with the class from which it derived its subsistence, i.e. the peasantry. The empire crashed as the impoverished peasantry, unable to bear the increasing burden of economic exploitation, rose in uprisings in many parts of the mainland; the inevitability of the empire's collapse was written into the systemic contradictions, and could not have been averted by a gentler ruler than Aurangzeb.

In 1965, R S Sharma's *Indian Feudalism* made its majestic appearance. Like Habib's work, although on a different terrain, Sharma brought forth the structure of both state and society into the arena of discussion. A threshold had been crossed in Indian history writing taking it long past the colonial paradigm. A lot of received wisdom was being questioned through all periods of Indian history.

One major consequence of this crossing of the threshold was revisiting the historical periodization. Mill's threefold Hindu-Muslim-British classification was rechristened Ancient-Medieval-Modern in 1903 by Stanley Lane-Poole, although the basis and the temporal brackets remained unaltered.¹⁴ The one premise of this division, the religious identity of the ruling dynasty, remained intact and history remained dynasty-centric. Marxist intervention drew historians' attention away to state, social and economic structures where history followed different dynamics than dynastic history did. In the earlier dispensation, Ancient history began as far back as one could go and ended around the death of Harsha in 647, the last eminent Hindu ruler. Medieval India began with either Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasions around 1000 AD or with the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206 down to the death of the last Great Mughal, Aurangzeb in 1707. Modern period commenced with 1765 with the grant of Diwani to the English East India Company in Bengal. The stretches of time between Harsha and Mahmud Ghaznavi or Muhammad Ghuri and one between 1707 and 1765 were the neglected areas, the former somewhat more than the latter. This was the standard periodization followed in the syllabi in history teaching at nearly all levels.

The focus on 'socio-economic history' as this new version came to be popularly known made the existing rigid temporal boundaries suspect and these started getting qualified. Even though the term 'Early Medieval' had been in use in Indian history again mostly in the context of dynastic history,¹⁵ R S Sharma's notion of Indian feudalism redefined it by investing it with a different dynamic, that of redistribution of economic, administrative and even social power at the ground level through the process of feudalisation. The process which, according to Sharma, had begun in the post-Gupta age reached

¹⁴ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India Under Mohammedan Rule (A.D. 712-1764)*, London, 1903. On the opening page itself Lane-Poole observes 'Distinct and clearly marked as the Medieval or Mohammedan period is...', p. iii.

¹⁵ See for example A B Pandey, *Early Medieval India*, Allahabad, 1960, which details the pre-Mughal history.

its highwater mark precisely in the centuries long neglected by historians. This Early Medieval India was succeeded by 'Medieval India' proper, although Sharma leaves any connection between the two hanging. The eighteenth century did not lack studies at the political, social, economic and cultural levels, but the overarching vision was one of decline – a vision interestingly shared by the colonialist, nationalist and Marxist historians. Only recent decades have seen the revisionist image which, starting with C A Bayly's masterpiece, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars* could detect impressive mobility, and even the notion of the 'fall' of the Mughal empire has come in for emphatic revision in later studies.¹⁶ One 'benefit' medieval India derived from this new found fluidity was expansion on both sides of its conventional temporal boundaries. It now comprised a veritable millennium, though with somewhat qualified segments.¹⁷

However, even as the tight temporal boundaries of Ancient/Medieval/Modern became somewhat fluid, the tripartite framework remained intact. Also remarkable is a fact that history still remained by and large state-centred, although it had disengaged itself from dynasty- or ruler-centrism.

V

By the 1980s the world was changing again and Marxism was losing its hold. Besides the shortcomings of Marxist theory, especially its determinist underpinnings that were getting to the surface, the pitfalls of its often uncritical application to Indian history were also becoming visible. R S Sharma's notion of Indian feudalism, though presented as a Marxist exercise with data from Indian sources, was a virtual copy and paste job of Henri Pirenne's construction of the origin and decline of feudalism in Europe, even as Pirenne was patently hostile to Marxism. Marx and Engels saw trade consistent and compatible with all modes of production instead of assigning it the role of transforming any of them. Indeed, Engels perceived the growth of trade in Eastern Europe from the late fifteenth century onwards as the rise of 'second serfdom', the equivalent of feudalism, and there is ample literature by now that the revival of trade in that regions was the harbinger of refeudalisation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸ Trade-feudalism dichotomy was

¹⁶ To mention just a few of the best known: C A Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen, Bazaars. North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge, 1983; Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*, New Delhi, 1986; Rajat Datta, *Society, Economy and the Market: Commercialisation in Rural Bengal, c. 1760-1800*, New Delhi, 2000; Seema Alavi, ed, *The Eighteenth Century in India*, New Delhi, 2002..Peter J Marshall, ed, *The Eighteenth Century in Indian History: Evolution or Revolution?*, New Delhi, 2003.

¹⁷ Rajat Datta, ed, *Rethinking a Millennium*.

¹⁸ Frederick Engels, Letter to Karl Marx, December 15, 1882. For an abstract see https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1882/letters/82_12_15.htm Some sample readings: Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the*

central to the Pirennean construct as it was to Sharma's Indian feudalism. Interestingly this was at a time when the 'Pirenne thesis' had long been abandoned by European historians.¹⁹ Irfan Habib's alternative explanation of the fall of the Mughal empire had a similar European model, that of Maurice Dobb's and that when Dobb's model itself was under severe questioning.²⁰

Ninth to the Nineteenth Century. Princeton, N.J., 1961; Tom Scott, ed. *The Peasantries of Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*. London and New York, 1998.

¹⁹ At a time when feudalism was still being viewed essentially as a lord-vassal relationship, the major Belgian historian of the 1920s and 30s, Henri Pirenne had propounded the very challenging alternative of looking at it as an economic and social system generated by the disruption of trans-European trade as the Arabs occupied the two entry points to the Mediterranean, Alexandria in the East and Gibraltar in the West and controlled main trading routes with the occupation of Sardinia in the heart of the Sea. This disrupted the flourishing European economy characterized by cash, trade and urban culture and turned it inwards into a 'natural economy' in a dichotomous relationship with 'exchange economy.' With the reoccupation of the Mediterranean by the Crusaders and European combatants around the eleventh century trade revived and feudalism declined. The thesis is reproduced in several of Pirenne's writings such as in *Medieval Cities, Their Origin and the Revival of Trade*, tr. F D Halsey, New York, 1956 (first published 1926); *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, tr. J E Clegg, London 1958 (first published 1936); *Mehmet and Charlemagne*, tr. B Miall, London, 1939. This trade-feudalism dichotomy is also at the heart of Sharma's *Indian Feudalism*. Interestingly, neither Marx nor Engels saw trade as the driving force of a change in the mode of production. By the 1950s, many a hole had been poked into the 'Pirenne thesis', especially in the trade-feudalism dichotomy. See Alfred F. Havighurst, *The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis Criticism and Revision*, Boston, 1958. Long before, Marc Bloch had already decided that the 'Natural Economy or Exchange Economy' was 'a Pseudo-Dilemma', in his *Land and Work in Medieval Europe*, tr. J E Anderson, London, 1967, the title of an essay, the original published when he was Professor at Strasbourg between 1919 and 1936. But Professor Sharma went ahead and carbon copied it in the Indian context.

²⁰ Habib too had adapted Dobb's version of the decline of feudalism in Western Europe even as it had been subjected to a memorable international debate in the early 1950s. Dobb had visualized the collapse of feudalism in the flight of the peasants from the countryside to the newly emerging towns. See his *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London, 1972 (first published 1946), and the subsequent debate in various journals in the early 1950s later put together in a book, *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*,
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Looking back, it appears that Sharma and Habib were replicating Henri Pirenne and Maurice Dobb respectively rather than Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

There was then also the problem of empirical data. Sharma's entire structure of feudalism was derived from land grants made by rulers to intermediaries; often no distinction between revenue and land grant was noticed which could be fatal to the construct. Besides, the assumption that a whole feudal system was brought into being through administrative fiat was a bit on shaky ground; interestingly here Sharma traverses a different terrain from Pirenne whose 'feudalism' evolved at the ground level with the decline of long distance trade and not through administrative orders of rulers. In the massive international debate that followed Indian Feudalism and the challenge to it ('Was There Feudalism in Indian History?') Sharma did try to make amends to this lacuna, but owing to the nature of his data, the problem remained unresolved.²¹

Habib's neat but grand construction of a peasant-zamindar alliance against the jagirdars in the inevitable class struggle was also derived from evidence of court chronicles, administrative documents, all of which are normative in nature, and foreign travellers' accounts etc., and is premised upon common economic interests on each side. Normative information is seldom a reflection of the ground reality. In the revised version of his *Agrarian System* he does add some supportive evidence from Brindavan which is not in the Persian language. But the overarching economic argument overlooks other ties of a social nature, like caste, which cut across the economic alliance of Habib's vision.²² For, this historical explanation too was mono-causal at best.

VI

At any rate, by the 1980s and 1990s, new problematics were emerging which Marxism was theoretically inadequately equipped to deal with. The Positivist/Marxist insistence of the objectivity of 'facts' and that of history itself was under scrutiny. 'Facts' indeed were recorded in human memory first and then subsequently retrieved on paper, were thus imperfect candidates for

introduced by Rodney Hilton, London, 1976. See also Harbans Mukhia, 'Maurice Dobb's Explanation of the Decline of Feudalism in Western Europe – A Critique' *The Indian Historical Review*, VI, 1-2, 1979-80, pp. 154-184.

²¹ First carried out in his 'How Feudal Was Indian Feudalism?' in the special double issue of *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12, 2-3, 1985 edited by T J Byres and Harbans Mukhia, also published as a book, *Feudalism and Non-European Societies*, London 1985; subsequent new and updated version, *The Feudalism Debate*, ed, Harbans Mukhia, New Delhi, 2000.

²² R P Rana, 'Agrarian Revolts in North India during the late 17th and early 18th centuries', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 18,3-4, 1981, pp. 287-326; Surajbhan Bhardwaj, 'Peasant-State Relation in Late Medieval North India (Mewar): A Study in Class Consciousness and Class Conflict' (forthcoming), *The Medieval History Journal*, 20,1, April 2017.

the status of objectivity. The certitude of Positivism and Marxism began to yield to ambivalence and respect for plurality of versions. The new themes that began to emerge in the discipline from the 1990s but picked up far greater pace as well density at the turn of the century were by their nature susceptible to multiple ways of looking at them. These themes were in the area of culture: perceptions whether of the past or of cultural constructs like gender, mythology, ecology, habitat, love, courtly cultures, notions of time and space, the unmentionable theme of sexuality, identity formation of regions or communities, you name it. One exercise in 1999 had constructed a gender identity of the Mughal polity in its heyday; masculinity was the chief attribute of this identity displacing other solidarities like those of religion, sect, region etc.; this was followed up by another in 2015 and perceived 'an expansion of the feminine presence in the (eighteenth) century's political and cultural space.'²³ The sources and the databases also saw an enormous expansion. A major departure has been in the registering of literature as history. Historians had earlier treated literature as a **source** of history clearly establishing a hierarchy between the two. Recent very innovative endeavours have established literature as an embodiment of an alternative vision of history, contrary to the one given to us by court chronicles. Excellent works have powerfully brought home to the professional historians the ever expansive nature of the discipline.²⁴ What would have been dismissed as 'vague' subjects down to the 1970s such as medieval mindscapes, time, space, society and 'man' drew some imaginative historians like a magnet.²⁵ Rajat Datta, ed, *Rethinking a Millennium* undertakes a concerted exercise in reviewing much of received wisdom on many different issues of medieval history. Indeed, every new theme, every new question is a review and revision, even displacement of much of received wisdom; questioning, including self-questioning, after all is the very premise of the unending renewal of knowledge.

Caste, until recently almost universally viewed as a legacy of ancient ages in India, constant and inflexible segment of Hindu religious and social ideology, was explored in its long history of the practices amalgamated under this label and how these were interconnected with changing contexts of social

²³ Rosalind O'Hanlon, 'Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India', *Journal of Social and Economic History of the Orient*, 42,1, pp. 47-93; Urvashi Dalal, 'Femininity, State and Cultural Space in Eighteenth Century India', *The Medieval History Journal*, 18,1, April 2015, pp. 120-165.

²⁴ Francesca Orsini and Samira Sheikh, *After Timur Left. Culture and Circulation in Fifteenth Century India*, New Delhi, 2014 which also brings into focus the long neglected fifteenth century in India; Sandhya Sharma, *Literature, Culture and History in Mughal North India, 1550-1800*, New Delhi, 2011; Allison Busch, *Poetry of Kings. The Classical Hindi Literature of Mughal India*, New Delhi, 2011;

²⁵ Eugenia Vanina, *Medieval Indian Mindscapes. Space.Time.Society.Man*, New Delhi, 2012.

hierarchies and political power over the long-term. Its author also sees caste as an involuted and complex form of ethnicity and explains why it persisted under non-Hindu rulers and in non-Hindu communities across South Asia.²⁶ Themes of domesticity, power and individuality at the level of the imperial households were opened up and were followed by the investigation of the households at the ground level.²⁷ At each level, the complex interrelations and interactions of political and social structures and hierarchies, cultural mores, issues of gender, economy and not least sexuality were seen to be at play. In the midst of pervasive patriarchy, women, mostly individuals, were able to create or enlarge spaces allotted to them by the dominant 'structures.' Within the household, a host of relationships subsisted besides the 'normal' ones of parents, children, their spouses and offspring; 'non-wives' were a feature too in several such houses and these were not affairs on the sly but in the full face of 'society'. The 'norm' was getting defied, yet, the defiance was absorbed within its outline.²⁸ A similar exploration of relationships between Indian women and British men in the early days of India's colonization was made in a yet unpublished doctoral dissertation.²⁹ All of these connections with native women - whether as mistresses, mothers of the children, servants or housekeepers of the British men, had sexual element common to them and were part of the men's households.

Ecology and migrations captured the imagination of some young scholars who have given us valuable works located in medieval Rajasthan.³⁰ If money has normally been regarded as medium of trade, its value as a medium of rituals in life cycles such as birth, marriage and death.³¹ Regional identity formation partakes of all the myriad aspects of social differentiation, ecology,

²⁶ Sumit Guha, *Beyond Caste. Identity and Power in South Asia, Past and Present*, Leiden, 2013.

²⁷ Ruby Lal, *Domesticity and Power in the Early Mughal World*, Cambridge, 2005; Munis D. Faruqi, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504-1719* Cambridge, 2012. Indrani Chatterjee (ed.), *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia*, New Delhi, 2004; Kumkum Roy ed, *Looking Within, Looking Without: Exploring Households in the Subcontinent through Time*, New Delhi, 2015.

²⁸ Leslie C Orr, 'Non-wives and their networks in medieval Tamil Nadu' in Kumkum Roy, ed, *Looking Within; Looking Beyond*, pp. 299-320. The networks in this case are a-sexual.

²⁹ Ruchika Sharma, 'Conjugal, Concubinage and Domesticity: Native Woman and the British Male in Early Colonial Bengal', JNU, 2010.

³⁰ Mayank Kumar, *Monsoon Ecologies: Irrigation, Agriculture and Settlement Patterns in Rajasthan during the Pre-Colonial Period*, New Delhi, 2013; Tanuja Kothiyal, *Nomadic Narratives: A History of Mobility in the Great Indian Desert*, New Delhi, 2016.

³¹ Prasannan Parthasarathi, 'Money and Ritual in Eighteenth Century South India', *The Medieval History Journal*, 19,1, 2016, pp. 1-20.

governance, social norms, regional specificities like tribal presence, war, pastoral culture, metropolitan culture induced by mobility whether through trade or pilgrimage and so forth, depending on each region.³²

While crafts have been studied fairly extensively in the context of medieval India for long, the interplay of caste, gender and state at the level of artisanal communities in eighteenth century western Rajasthan opened up new complexities to the researcher's keen eye.³³ This was followed up with a study of widow remarriage in 'craft-societies' by the same author.³⁴ We have been pleasantly reminded that histories of the period (and beyond) were written outside of the court too; these comprise the history in the vernacular.³⁵ Popular literature as history has received appropriate scholarly attention too.³⁶ An exploration of the sixteenth century legend of Padmini's various transmissions and transformations in India's far off regions down to the national movement in Bengal according to the needs of the regional elites, caste groups and intellectual leaders brilliantly combines insights from literature, history and the ever changing socio-political contexts.³⁷ We are still waiting for in-depth research on popular images of historical figures and events. The habitual dismissal of these as bazaar gossip from the high pedestal of the academia is not only unjust to both but also lets these images be often distorted.

If the less tangible social and cultural history, including the history of emotions and mindscapes has been a major draw for the medievalists in the twenty-first century, the imperial court has also had its share of some very interesting works from early medieval India³⁸ to the Mughal courts. We have already come across the stimulating work on the Mughal princes.³⁹ That the court was a cultural ecumene with poetry as its marker is the picture we receive from a recent publication;⁴⁰ the patronage and efflorescence of Sanskrit at the

³² Samira Sheikh, *Forging A Region. Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, New Delhi, 2010.

³³ Nandita P Sahai, *Politics of Patronage and Protest: The State, Society, and Artisans in Early Modern Rajasthan*, New Delhi, 2006.

³⁴ Nandita P Sahai, 'The "Other" Culture: Craft Societies and Widow Remarriage in Early Modern India', *Journal of Women's History*, 19,2, Summer 2007.

³⁵ Raziuddin Aquil and Partha Chatterjee, eds, *History in the Vernacular*, Ranikhet, 2008.

³⁶ Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur, eds, *Popular Literature and Pre-Modern Societies*, New Delhi, 2008.

³⁷ Ramya Sreenivasan, *The Many Lives of a Rajput Queen*, Ranikhet, 2007.

³⁸ Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*, Cambridge, 2006.

³⁹ Munis D. Faruqi, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504-1719* Cambridge, 2012.

⁴⁰ Rajeev Kinra, *Writing Self. Writing Empire: Chander Bhan Brahman and the Cultural World of the Indo-Persian State Secretary*, New Delhi, 2016.

imperial court between 1560 and 1660 as an integral element of governance is the theme of another,⁴¹ following an earlier exploration in the context of Persian.⁴² The extraordinary interest of some of the highest Mughal nobles like Danishmand Khan, patron of the French doctor François Bernier, in mid-seventeenth century, in the current state of Western philosophy is brought home to us, reinforced with the assertion, ‘With Gassendi’s work rendered in Persian even before it was properly available in French, and the monistic pantheism of the Upanishads and Dara Shukoh already in France and England even before Spinoza’s *Ethics* were published, what more dramatic evidence could there be of intellectual globalization in the 1660s’.⁴³

I conclude with a short list of fascinating research themes in medieval India underway; the list is unfortunately confined to the work in progress of young scholars located at the Centre for Historical Studies, JNU. It is my regret that owing to retirement from JNU over a dozen years ago, my access to research in progress in other universities is rather limited.

□ Power and legitimacy in regional state formations: looking at regionalization as regional assertiveness and consolidation and not as a spin-off from imperial decline (Kashmir, Bengal, Awadh and Kerala).

□ Warfare and empire building: looking at war as political tool of the empire and its varieties in relation to differences in ecology, topography and social contexts.

□ Caste and community: *jatis* as the bedrock of communities and community-consciousness, exclusion and marginalization, caste-based protest movements.

□ Gender and domesticity: marriage, concepts of honour and chastity (*ān* and *maryādā*) in the domestic sphere, domesticity as a patriarchal construct.

□ Politics of sexualities: harem, *Janānī-deorhī*, concubinage, contract-marriages.

□ Plebeian and popular devotion/religiousities: Vaisnavism and Natha Pantha as exemplars of both.

□ Brahmanical literary traditions: Mithila, Maithili and the construction of a Brahmanical Regional Identity.

□ Literary cultures and regional identities: regional examples: Braj, Maithili and Bangla in the 17th and 18th centuries.

□ Travel narratives: reversing the ‘gaze’: travellers from India observing the Occident.

□ Tribes to peasants: forests, adivasis, peasantization in Jangal Mahals/Jharkhand.

⁴¹ Audrey Truschke, *Culture of Encounters. Sanskrit at the Mughal Court*, New Delhi, 2016.

⁴² Muzaffar Alam, ‘The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 32, 2, 1998, pp. 317-49.

⁴³ J Ganeri, *Lost Age of Reason: Philosophy in Early Modern India, 1450-1700*, London, 2011.

□ Ecology and institutions: land, weather and revenue; fluviality and circulation; famines and dearth.

□ The transition to colonialism in the 18th century: multiple aspects, but largely looking at the political economy.

And last as well as least, the book called *the Mughals of India* by a non-descript historian did seek to break free of the mould that had shaped medieval Indian history writing in its author's early years of a researcher's journey by trying to open some doors that had never beckoned anyone before.

I started by suggesting that 'medieval' is a mere derivative of the 'modern' which in turn was a given, 'out there', in C A Bayly's words,⁴⁴ for everyone to see and no questioned asked. That was so until three odd decades ago. No longer. Today, the very notion of 'modernity' is in a shambles the world over, facilitated by the globalization of the academia. A telling comment on this sea change are two statements by the same eminent intellectual, S N Eisenstadt, some three decades apart. Writing in 1966, he had stated definitively: '...historically, modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America from the 17th century to the 19th'; by 1998 he was to declare 'that there is only one modernity is a fallacy'.⁴⁵ It is hard to come across 'Modernity' in the singular now;⁴⁶ 'modernities' is the more commonplace substitute for it now with various qualifying pre-fixes like 'multiple', 'early', 'Islamic', 'subjective' etc. etc. If 'modernity' itself is under questioning, its offspring, 'medieval' can hardly go unscathed.

One of the major problems with 'modernity' was its inevitable provenance in space and time, i.e. in Western Europe from the 17th century onward. The implication that the modern world that we inhabit was essentially created by Western Europe; the rest of the world was merely reshaped in its image and not of its own volition. This view is hardly seen with any respect anywhere now.⁴⁷ We have moved to a perspective which looks at the world of ours as a continual and cumulative process of evolution to which every society and every civilisation has contributed something throughout history whether it is crops, crafts, techniques, trade, ideas, ideologies, religions, cultures,

⁴⁴ C A Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*, Oxford, 2004, p. 11.

⁴⁵ S N Eisenstadt, *Modernization, Protest and Change*, Englewood-Hall, NJ, 1966, p. 1; idem, Introduction (with Wolfgang Schulchter) *Daedalus*, 127, 3, Summer 1998, Special Issue on *Early Modernities*, p.2.

⁴⁶ Frederic Jameson queries it in *A Singular Modernity. Essay on the Ontology of the Present*, London, 2009 (first published 2002).

⁴⁷ For a scathing criticism, Jack Goody, *The Theft of History*, Cambridge, 2006 and to some extent, Jack Goody, *Capitalism and Modernity*, Oxford, 2004 among a host of works on the theme.

administration, aesthetics,... the list is endless. In this perspective the tripartite Ancient/Medieval/Modern with its West European provenance loses its all-pervasive relevance. At any rate the brand of 'modernity' the 18th to 21st century world carries for us is unlikely to find acceptance in say the 22nd or the 23rd century. Clearly, just as a new tripartite division of historical time was envisioned in Europe in 1688, perhaps a still newer category of analysis of history, a new concept of division of time would evolve. Hopefully.

But surely the discipline is now imbued with a new vision and a new dynamism. A new threshold is being crossed in the study of history in India as elsewhere. As one belonging to a generation now standing at the exit gate, I should be tempted to assume that all good history writing now belongs to the past and much is left wanting in the work of the younger historians. However, it gives me much greater joy to acknowledge that history writing as a whole in India (as elsewhere in the global academia) and of medieval India in particular has shed its simplicities of binary categories embedded in systemic analysis and seeks to capture all the great complexities in the hands of young scholars and enormously enlarged the discipline's space. History has never been as beautiful before.

I apologise for an inexhaustive survey even of the vast canvas of themes and methodological innovations that have emerged over the decades; besides, with regret I have had to confine it to the literature published in the English language. It is a pity that much of the training of my generation imposed severe limitations on access to a dynamism of much larger dimensions that marks the work in the Indian languages.



The Growth of Greco – Arabian Medicine in Delhi Sultanate

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Greco - Arabian medicine come to India with the Muslims. It was quite new to this country and underwent many modifications and was enriched by the addition of many Indian drugs and clinical tests here. Barani gives us an account of the physicians or Alai period and also providers some information on the medical activities in brief or Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Shams Siraj Afif and the author of *Sirat-e-Firoz Shahi* throw some light upon the working of Firuz Shahi Hospitals and his keen interest in medical science. In the meanwhile, the level of medicine was raised in the Deccan and many other states.

While Indian systems of medicine was at its zenith in the East, the Greeks were busy in advancing medical knowledge in the West. As a result of unremitting diligence and prolonged experience, the Greeks had promoted the knowledge of *materia medica* through successive stages of development. Several hundred useful and tested Indian drugs were included in their material medica. Dioaeorides in his Herbal specifically states that the following plants were brought from India for medical purpose : *Kardamomum* (I.5), *Nardoa* (I.6), *Malabathrum* (I.11), *Kostos* (I.15), *Calamus aromaticus* (I.17), *Agallochon* (I.20), *Nascaphthum* (I.22), *Bdellion* (I.80), *Aloe* (III.25) and *Indikon* or Indigo from Indian reeds (V.107)

As to minerals, India was the land of gems and gold. In the book or Pliny's *Natural History*, which deals with precious stones (Book XXXVII), a great many are said to be products of India. It is often doubtful what stone is intended by Pliny's description but we can recognize diamonds, opals and agate among those enumerated

The Greeks were not content with borrowing known Indian drugs only, but they subjected new ones to therapeutic measures such as application of leeches and antidote of snake-bite, etc. In the book of Celsus, there are excellent accounts of lithotomy and cataract operation, which were developed and practised by the ancient Hindu medical experts and described in *Susrutasamhita*.

Following the decline of Greco-Roman culture, the light of science was kept burning chiefly in the Islamic Empire. The commercial relations of India and Arabia date back to remote antiquity (even before the rise of Islam) as it has been proved on philological and other grounds. The names of several Indian products like Indian sword, camphor, sandal and aloes wood are found in pre-Islamic poems. In the first part of his book (*Kitab-ul-Saidala*) al Biruni discusses the words *Saidana* and *Saidala* and says that they come from the Indian word *jendel* which was corrupted into sandal in Arabic and which refers to the world-famous aromatic tree of India. The traditions current among the Muslims are that Adam descended from Paradise to Indian soil and received his lint revelation in this country. Some of the Indians also are said to have been seen in the company of the Prophet and some of them are said to have settled down in Mesopotamia during the early part of the Umayyad regime (Siddiqi).

But while their intellectual unity was forged in the heyday of Abbaside Caliphs, Ayurvedic medicine was introduced. A number of renowned Indian Vaidyas were invited to Baghdad and several Ayurvedic treatises were translated into Arabic such as *Susruta-samhita* was translated into Arabic as *Kitab-shataasoon-al-Hind*. Anyhow, the Arabs appear to have got much respect and love for Indian culture as well as medicine.

Greco-Arabian medicine came to India, with the Muslims, underwent suitable modifications according to local conditions of India and the temperament of the people and was enriched by the addition of many Indian drugs, particularly from the plentiful herbal products of India.

When Muslim rule was established in India, Hindu scholars became eager to know the innermost details of the Muslim civilization. A Brahmin of Banaras, named Bhojar, approached Qazi Rukn-u-ddin and learnt from him the art and literature of the Muslims. The Qazi in turn learnt Sanskrit from Bhojar and translated from Sanskrit into Arabic a book called *Haud-ul-Hayatr* (reservoir of the water of life).

¹ Rapson, E.J. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 362 (1955)

Unfortunately, the historical details of the growth of Unani medicine in India are not available, though historians have discussed about the history of Greco Arabian medicine in other parts of the world. It is disappointing to find that the history of the latter in India has received hardly any attention by the historians and scholars. The limited sources in this regard are scattered in various historical and medical works which were composed during the Muslim rule in India

Thus, Ziyauddin Barani, the famous historian of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, states under the heading, *An Account of the Physicians of Alaid Period*, in the following manner :

"There were physicians in the Alai period whose genius and accomplishments in the treatment and cure of diseases could be well compared with those of Galen and Hippocrates. Such physicians as flourished in the reign of Alauddin have not been seen in any age or period. He mentions the master physician (Ustad-ul-Atibba), Maulana Badruddin Dimishqi, who occupied an esteemed position during the entire Alai period. The physicians of the city always studied the tibbi books from him. God had blessed him with such a skill in the art of healing that only by feeling the pulse of the patient he could correctly diagnose the disease and cure it. He had such a proficiency in medicine that if the urine of some animals was brought before him he recognized it and said smilingly that the urine of various animals was intermixed in the bottle. "

'Next to him, in diagnosing from the pulse and urine, nobody else in the city was equal to Maulana Hamid Motram. God, the Great had given him such an eloquence that his exposition of the *Canon* (of Avicenna) and *Qanooncha* and other medical treatises before his students was such that his high eloquence and keen insight made them bow their heads before him. Besides proficiency in medicine, he had ample knowledge of mysticism (*tasawwuf*) and possessed the gift of divination and performing supernatural acts.'

Another physician of Alai period who deserved to be called mater of medicine was Maulana Sadruddin, son of Maulana Husamuddin Marikali, who had versatile knowledge, unique prudence and sagacity. Both father and son were proficient in medicine. Maulana Sadruddin had the power of intuition, he could diagnose the disease at the first glance and correctly estimate the equanimity or disorder of the patient's temperament in accordance to which he used such treatment as would soon cure the patient '

'The Yamani physician, Ilmuddin, Maulana Aizzuddin Badayuni and Badruddin Dimishqi were all physicians of the Alai period, who had attained great proficiency in medicine and its practice. Similarly, the Nagories, the Brahmins and the Jats were in the city. Thus, Mah Chandra, Tabib, Jaja, physician and surgeon, and Ilmuddin, oculist, were unrivalled throughout the

length and breadth of India. Their proficiency was such that they could diagnose the patient at the first sight and treat him successfully².

During the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlag there were not less than 70 hospitals in Delhi alone and 1, 200 physicians were enrolled as State employees. The king himself was well experienced in the treatment of various diseases and cured a large number of patients. Only a few years ago, a rare Persian medical manuscript, bearing the name *Majmu-e-Diyae* (collections of Diya), has been traced out by Hakim A.W. Zuhoori, which was composed by Diya Muhammad Mubarak during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, It is derived from *Majmu-e-Shamsi*, compiled by Khwaja Shumsuddin Mustaufi .

In the preface of this manuscript the author states how Muhammad bin Taghlaq ordered to shift the capital from Delhi to Deogarhi (Daulatabad) in consequence of which the subjects marched out in thousands from Delhi to Daulatabad, suffering terribly in their long journey and thousands died on the way owing to fatigue, starvation and diseases Firuz Shah Tughlaq, the successor of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, was well versed in medical science. He was also a good bone-setter and was keenly interested in ophthalmology and prepared a collyrium composed of the skin of black snake and other drugs. It was known as *Kuhl-e-Firuz Shahi* and proved effective in many diseases of the eye. Under the dictation a medical work called *Tibb-e-Firuz Shahi* was also compiled. It deals with the description and the method of treatment of several diseases, which were not mentioned in the Avicenna's *Canon* and *Dhakhira* of al-Jurjani. Unfortunately, this book is not so far traceable. It could throw light on the development of medical system of those days

Foundation of a Hospital

According to Shams Siraj 'Afif : The Sultan, in his great kindness and humanity, established a hospital for the relief of the sick and afflicted, whether natives or strangers. Able physicians were appointed to superintend it, and provision was made for the supply of medicines. The poor afflicted persons went to the hospital. The doctors examined them and applied their skill to help regain their health. Medicines, food and drinks were supplied to them for the public benefit; he endowed some richly cultivated villages with them at the expense of the treasury, to provide their expenses. The sum of thirty-six lakhs of *tankas* out of the revenues of the kingdom were appropriated for the payment of the wages and 4,200 afflicted persons received monthly allowances³.

The fourth chapter of *Sirat-e-Firuz Shahi* deals with the simple drugs as well as compound medicaments which were kept in the hospital. From the account it also appears that Firuz Shah personally visited and treated the patients. He had ordered that everyone suffering from insanity should be captured, chained and kept in the hospital and treated with medicines

² Barani, Z., *Tarikh-e-Firuz Shahi*, Persian, Calcutta, pp. 362-363

³ Afif, S., *Tarikh-e-Firuz Shahi*, Persian, pp. 353-54

prescribed by himself which were tried in the and found useful. He also commanded that they should be provided with special diet which was also recommended by the Sultan himself. From this book, it also appears that he had established mobile well as fixed hospitals and appointed competent physicians for each of them⁴.

Unfortunately, the details about the working of the hospitals, established in India during medieval period, are not available.

Tamurlame (Tamurlang) ordered that each city of his realm should be provided with at least one mosque, one school, one *Saray* (guest-house) and one hospital.

Mansur bin Muhammad bin Yusuf Ilias compiled two noteworthy works during the rule of Sultan *Zain-ul-Abidin*, the ruler of Kashmir (A.D. 1422-1472), (i) *Kifaya-e-Mujdhidya*, dedicated to Sultan *Zain-ul-Abidin*, deals with general principles, drugs and methods of treatment and (ii) *Tashrih-e-Mansuri*, a collection of anatomical knowledge of the same period.

According to Elgood, Mansur's fame in the West rests upon his anatomy. But in Persia, he is also known as the author of two other works : (i) *Chiysia* (the aid) and (ii) *Safaya-e-Mujahidya* (Sufficiency of Mujahid).

Sultan *Zain-ul-Abidin* also employed Sri Bhat, an accomplished Indian physician, well versed in every branch of medicine, and his personal influence was great on the politics of his time.

Unani Tibb in Bahmani Kingdom

Meanwhile, in the Deccan, the interest of Bahmani government in medicine was heightened in the reign of Alauddin II. Alauddin Ahmad's reign is notable for the large hospital he erected in his capital. A number of villages were endowed to this institution from the revenues of which were paid the cost of medicine and food of the patients. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians were employed in this hospital and it can be inferred from this that it was open to patients irrespective of caste and religion. In this connection it may be mentioned for about the last four years of his life the Sultan suffered from a festering wound in one of his shins, and if the account of the Marathi *Gecrucharitra* is to be believed, the Sultan got some relief from the aid of Nrisimha Sarasvati, famous in his time as a saintly person and revered by people to this day. It is said that the Sultan, despairing of cure for his ills, as a last resort went to the swami who himself visited the royal patient in his capital and cured him⁵.

The Golden Period in Medical History of Gujarat In the time of Muzaffar Shah, Shihab bin Abdul Karim compiled two memorable medical books : (i)

⁴ Siddique, M.Z., *Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature*, Calcutta, p.XXXV, 1959.

⁵ Majumdar and Others, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Vidya Bhawan, Bhatnagar, Bombay, p. 260, 1960.

Tibb-e-Shahabi and (ii) *Tibb-e-Shifa al-Khani*. The former deals with the basic principles of medicine and treatment. The author states that the Hindus had great confidence in his (author's) treatment and were ever grateful to him, the latter compilation deals with the diseases, etiology, symptoms, diagnosis and the principles of treatment. It was compiled by the author in the behest of Muzaffar Shah.

Sultan Mahmud Shah of Gujarat founded a department of translation for rendering famous Arabic and Sanskrit compilations into Persian. Among the noteworthy translations during this period the following may be mentioned : *Tarikh-e-Ibn-e-Khallikan*, *Mishkat-Sharif* and the Vedic work of Vagbhat (*Astangahrdaya*). Muhammad bin Ismail Asawali Asili composed *Shif-e-Mahmudi* which is a collective translation of important and famous Sanskrit work of Vagbhat⁶.

Firishta tells us that Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa also erected a hospital at Shadiabad (Mandu) in A.H. 849 (A.D 1445) and he made an endowment of some villages for covering the expenses of medicines and other essential requirements. Maulana Fazlullah entitled 'Hakim-ul-Hukama' was appointed to look after the afflicted and lunatics in the kingdom.

Lodi Period

Mian Bhawa, one of the greatest Amirs of the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodi of Delhi (A.D 1499. 1528), contributed a book on medicine in A.D. 1512 known as *Madan-ul-Shifa Sikandar Shahi* on the basis of more than a dozen of authoritative Indian medical books. The work was dedicated to the Sultan. It has been recognized as one of the most important works on the subject. The work contains a preface and three chapters. The preface deals with the definition of medical science and fundamental principles. The author also explains the reasons on account of which he composed it. The first chapter is about the preliminary principles of the treatment according to *Ayurveda*. The second chapter discusses the anatomy of the human body. The third chapter comprises the signs and symptoms of the ailments and their cure.

Medical Aid under Adil Shahi Period

With the decline of the Bahamindes, the kingdom of the Deccan became disintegrated and several independent states sprang up, and ultimately five separate and independent kingdoms came into existence.

(1) The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah in s.n. 1489. It remained independent till A.D 1588 when it was absorbed by Aurangzeb.

During the rule of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Muhammad Qasim Firishta, the famous historian, compiled his medical treatise, *Dastur-ul-Atibba* or *Ikhtiyarate-Qasimi* (probably in A.D. 1590), which deals with the Indian medicine generally. This book was written before the composition of his

⁶ Zuhoori, A.W., *Tibb-e-Shifa Mahmud Shahi, Humdard Sihhat*, Urdu Delhi, pp. 3-7, 1961

famous history, *Tarikh-e-Firishta*. The author states the causes on account of which he compiled it as follows :

The writer of these pages, Muhammad Qasim, entitled as Hindu Shah, commonly known as Firishta, studied the noble science of medicine as deeply as possible and spent a part of his valuable life on it. After the perusal of the books on the subject commonly used in Iran, Turkey and Arabia, his mind turned towards the study of the works of the Indian physicians. He found their theories as well as their practice of medical science extremely well founded. He, therefore, thought it necessary to compile a book dealing with their medical principles and their application and with their system of treatment of diseases which at the outset appeared to be strange. For, there were many Muslim friends living in this country who had no through knowledge of the ever-changing climate of this country nor were they well aware of the system of treatment followed by Indian physicians. In this book therefore he mentioned the properties of drugs and of the victuals and their names which were difficult to pronounce. Thereby he also wanted to leave behind something by which he might be remembered. Verse :

*It is in short work which may remind of me
Because the life does not continue for ever*⁷

(2) The Nizam Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was founded by Malik Ahmad, who assumed Independence in A.D. 1487. It was finally conquered and annexed by Shah Jahan in A.D. 1636.

Burhan Nizam Shah was famous for this patronage of arts and sciences including medicine. Hakim Wali of Gilan was one of the able and well experienced physicians attached to his court. He compiled three medical books : (1) *Taqwim-ul-Abddn* which is the translation of Ibn-Jazla's work; (2) *Risala-e-Hifz-e-Sihhat* and *Taqwim-ul-Amraz*. The first of these was not available but the last two, dedicated to the Sultan, are preserved in the different libraries of Hyderabad. During the reign of a Martaza Nizam Shah, Zain-ul-Din Samani had set up a dispensary (i.e. pharmacy) in Ahmadabad, in which the compound medicaments of every type were open for sale.

During this period, Rustam Jurjani compiled the famous book, *Dhakhira Nizam Shahi* (A.D. 1547) which, divided in two volumes, is mainly based upon Ibn-e-Baitar's work and also presents the compiler's personal observations and experiences. In this work, along with the drugs indicated for curing ailments, those that induce diseases were also mentioned. There are 19 chapters in the first volume dealing with the actions and properties of simple drugs and the second volume contains a similar account of compound medicaments.

Medical Relief During Qutub Shahi Period

The Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda was founded by *Qutub-ul-Mulk* in A.D. 1512 and subverted by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1687. The double storeyed hospital which has a square courtyard was established during the reign of

⁷ Muhammad Qasim Firista, *Tarikh-e-Firista*, pp. 109-110

Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah V for the sake of the sick and the diseased . The medicines were provided free to the poor and hakims were deputed to look after the afflicted. There were suitable and complete arrangements for the treatment of the indoor and outdoor patients. It was also used as a residential college for imparting medical education. During his reign the most distinguished and highly esteemed personality was Mir Momin. Many places in Hyderabad districts and localities still bear his name, c.g. Mir Ka Daira, Mominpet, etc.

(1) According to available records, the only medical compilation is *Rasale Miqdariya* (the journal of weights and measures) but recent researches in this field have disclosed another book named *Ikhtiyarat-e-Qutub Shahi*, which contains explanatory notes and criticisms of *Ikhtiyarat-e-Badie* of Ali bin Husain Ansari of Persia.

(2) In the meanwhile, Shamsuddin Ai Husain al-Jurjani (famous oculist) translated *Taxkirat-ul-Kahhalin* (notebook of the oculists) of Ali bin Isa. It was his master, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, who had ordered him to do it.

(3) Hakim Shamsuddin bin Noor-uddin composed a treatise on special diets and drinks giving their actions and properties called *Zubdat-ul-Hukama'*, which is dedicated to Abul Muzaffar Sultan Qutub Shah. In his preface, the author points out that the food forms the primary basis of health, its proper use promotes health and its misuse lays the foundation of different ailments.

(4) Abdulla Tabib composed a medical treatise known as *Tibb-e-Farid*, which deals with the principles of preservation of health and treatment of simple and compound diseases by means of simple drugs and foods . This work is dedicated to Sultan Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah and is named as *Farid*, being unique of its own kind.

Treatment of Haematuria by Simple Drugs.

The author states for blood in the urine the best simple drug is *anjabur*. According to Ghafqi, it acts best as decoction, but Ibn-e-Baitar states that it is effective in any form, decoction, syrup or as powdered root bark.

(5) Hakim Taquiuddin Muhammad bin Sadruddin Ali flourished during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah, who compiled a book entitled *Miza-i-nul-Tabai*, with special reference to the disposition and temperament of the people of the Deccan. The finalized composition was then named after the Sultan, who had patronized its preparation.

(6) Hakim Nizamuddin Ahmad Gilani joined the court of Sultan Abdulla Qutub Shah at Hyderabad after the demise of Mahabat Khan. The full details of his life and works have not been authentically recorded but glimpses of his activities can be had from his two manuscripts : (i) *Majmu-e-Hakim-ul-Mulk* and (2) *Shajara-e-Danish* Besides his literary works, he laid down the foundation of a small township, being popularly known as 'Hakimpet, and a beautiful garden at the foot of the hill which is known as 'The Mount of Light'.

(7) During this period, Ismael bin Ibrahim Tabrezi composed *Tazkirat-ul-Hukama* but the details about this compilation and its author are not known to us up to this time



Takle's 'forged' story of Savarkar

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The Week (24th Jan 2016) has published 13 pages article of Niranjana Takle on Savarkar, questioning his eligibility for 'Bharat Ratna'. The author thinks relevance of the issue in changed political state of affairs in the country. He has gone behind his ideological predecessors and contemporaries in context of 'misleading', 'illogical', 'unhistorical', 'prejudiced' writings about Savarkar. He has either simplified everything inconvenient to his thesis or straightly fallacious. Though he makes-believe that he has accessed and referred National Archives of India and archives of Hindu Mahasabha and other related material but he hasn't gone through essential literature and crucial sources. What he has referred ritually is 'Shamsul Islam' as his Bible. His other indications are not only doubtful but also erroneous.

The basic argument of the author begins with Shiv Sena's demand and agitation for Bharat Ratna for Savarkar. The author not only opposes to this demand but tries to prove that Savarkar was nothing to do with patriotism; he was not only communal but offending person in Gandhi assassination. He was a 'Lamb' and 'Lionised' by RSS, BJP and their alien organizations. Author criticises Savarkar as a 'Lamb', since he has applied for royal clemency 6-7 times, released after 13 years on his repeated request, he was given very lighter work there, no harsh treatment was given in Cellular Jail as discussed in the country, he has appreciated more than he deserved etc etc. This is the deliberate attempt to defame a great social revolutionary without understanding his thoughts and deeds, writings and speeches.

Emblematic arguments

'Negationism' has become the common phenomenon among the Indian intellectuals from decade's especially leftist, ersatz secularist, and so called progressive celebrity authors in our country. This insincerity has been experienced by the country numerous times. Niranjana Takle style authors,

JNU professors feel proud to abuse Savarkar from last 50 years. They splotch him for his 'Two Nation Theory', his 'Hindutwa', and so called involvement in Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, even after apex court crystal clear verdict. Most of them read only secondary and tertiary sources and made their annotations.

Why the Saga of 'Mercy Case'?

According to so called progressive activist and likeminded writers and activist Savarkar was the burning inspiration behind all Hindu schools like RSS, BJP and their allied organizations and it would be happiest event if Savarkar would have died then and there in cellular jail, at Port Blair in Andman island. They could have chanted his songs, could build big statues and would have tried to award Bharat Ratna without hesitation provided that he would have died there without further release. Is this not the reflection of brutal minds hiding behind the mask of so called intelligentsia in the country? Savarkar has been mocked as 'Mafee Veer' (Mercy Gallant), 'Sandas (Toilet Gallant) Veer' by all leftist forums without realizing a single night in any jail, it is really humorous that still they earned right to blot a man who spent 11 years in hell like celluler jail, who was ousted for 27 years from politics.

The first stand on mercy case

Savarkar's petitions for his release from Andman for his 50 years life imprisonment has become a historical document. One can't reject this fact. This has been written in his own book 'My Deportation' in 1927, however Mr. Niranjan Takle bluntly rejects. Has he really gone through the book? A special chapter has been spent on this issue? If by all means he tries to come out of the hell like jail and wants to do something for the society, won't we consider it the heroic deed?

¹ His work for Hindu community can be doubted, debated, discussed. One can express his or her differences with activities, thoughts, political ideology. But when we completely deny his right to live with his own ideology we are again sending him in Celluler jail after his death. This is the worst punishment he got from his fellow countrymen. No nation in the world has observed such iniquitous minds. Why Savarkar return to India alive and earlier, this is the throbbing question for his ideological rivals. These thinkers have already crossed all intellectuals' limits in misinterpreting Savarkar. However they satisfy themselves by connecting his relations with RSS and BJP and making impression that he was the ideological father of this organization. Actually most of the politicians, thinkers have nothing to do with past Savarkar they are actually fighting with present Savarkar's so called descendents or successors. They interpret Savarkar by observing today's socio religious, political behavior of BJP and RSS.

¹ Richard John Bonney, Three giants of South Asia: Gandhi, Ambedkar, and Jinnah on self-determination, 2004, Media House, New Delhi

Require to relook towards the Freedom Movement

One should relook towards freedom fight after 69th year of independence. Savarkar was a revolutionary till 1911. He wrote 'War of Independence 1857' in 1907 at the age of 23. He published his book in Holland and dispersed in the world. He wrote the book to inspire all Indians Hindus and Musalman youth. The book became the Holy Bible of all revolutionaries in the nation. He glorified Bahadur Shah Zafar, Rani Lakshmi Bai, Nana Saheb, Bakht Khan, Moulavi Ahmed Shah. He was the first writer who clearly stood for freedom fighters of 1857. He also advocated that this was the movement for democracy and for liberty. He had no objection in seeing Bahadur Shah Zafar in Delhi chair during the revolt, in 1907.

During his imprisonment Savarkar comes to know the other dimensions of the freedom struggle. He keenly observed tripartite struggle among British, Hindu and Musalmans in India. After Morley Minto Act in 1909 and Montague Chelmsford Act 1919 Act, government was ensuring about responsible government. Before Muslim League (1906) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was demanding parity, threatening about democracy². The same demand was carried out by Justice Syed Amir Ali, Barrister Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Dr. Alama Iqbal, Choudhari Rehmat Ali and others till 1947. Separate electorates were agreed in the Act of 1909 to Muslims because of their self announcement that they are the separate nation. It was approved great Congress leader Lokmanya Tilka in 1916 in Lucknow. This demand has to increase in short future. During Gandhian era Khilafat movement was created a huge and cry among the Indians. Aggressive demands of Shoukat Ali and Mohammed Ali for reunification of sliced Turkey, Hizrat from India to Kabul by thousands of Indian Musalmans, religious sentiments fired by fundamentalist, Moplah rebellion in Kerala... these all political developments were observed by Savarkar. Indian National Congress was a secular organization. But Muslim Leagues demands were increasing annually. From Simon Commission to 1937 'parity' was the only demand of Muslim League. Muslim League wanted to make Hindu majority negligible. 23 percent Muslims were demanding 50 percent reservation in legislative councils, execution, police and military; Congress was ready to give 40 percent. On this historical background one can refer to Savarkar. Since this background is inconvenient to so called secularist this has been always hidden.

Since Savarkar was unable to participate in political activities he was restrained to only Ratnagiri district. During 1937 to 1943 he was elected as president of Hindu Mahasabha. One can understand his political stand for Non Musalmans. This is the most important historical period to understand why Savarkar was ousted from all streams of this nation while admirers of the British Crown, active supporters of the government are widely accepted and eulogized.

² Peter Clarke, Allen Lane, Life of Sir Stafford Cripps , The Penguin Press

What was Savarkar's stand?

First, he was the first person who stood for political rights of the majority Non-Muslims in this country. He counter argued to the demand of parity by League. Non Muslims or Hindus are in majority in the country. Is it their fault? He was of the opinion that his parliament will be secular. It won't see your religion, caste, category.²³ percent Muslims will have equal rights, minorities religion, organization, culture will be protected, funded; the most important think he shared about reservation of seats in legislative councils in the population ratio. He was the first man who proposed **One Man One Vote formula** to the nation. Mr. Takle smartly neglects to these facts and come directly to 1937 and says that Savarkar has first proposed two nation theory. If Muslims were saying in one voice that they are the different nation then what about rest of the Indians? Were they not a nation? Surely they were. Savarkar stood for them. All intellectuals in this country are successfully hiding these facts from decades.

Hindutwa?

Other very important thing debated regarding his definition of Hindu. Once his stand is set, political direction is set he defines about his community. Does he have no right to do that? Why we expect that all religious people should come in his umbrella of Hindu religion? He only defines Hindu...whose forefathers are born in this country, and whose religion has taken birth in this land he is Hindu...this was the simple definition of Hindu not Indian. Those who are not Hindus they are Indians and being Indians they will have all rights equal to Hindus. But we are misinterpreting this man from last seven decades.

Love of Military: Urgent need of the country

Not only Takle even Y. D. Phadake and other writers accuse Savarkar for his love for military or militarization of the country. Savarkar has been always blamed on this issue. Was it really not the issue of this country? One must understand that military education was priority demand of the Congress from its inception. Savarkar was appealing to Hindu Youth for military recruitment for further course of the country. But it has misinterpreted by Takle. He writes that Savarkar was against Indian national Army of Subhash Chandra Bose. Is this the research?

Dubious and Divisive?

Mr. Takle accuses Savarkar for his cooperation with British during Quit India Movement. I want to ask Mr. Takle that is the parameter to evaluate a person...all those who were cooperating to British role were divisive...dubious... it's really shameful... what level we can degrade ourselves for falsification of the history. One must understand that even Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was not only against Congress and Gandhi but he was Labor Minister in the government and appealing to fellow countrymen to break down this movement with all possible ways³... can Takle says now that

³ M.C. Chagla; *Roses in December*, 1973

his role was also dubious and divisive. Moreover Mahatma Gandhi was travelling village to village for recruitment of youth in British Army...was his role was dubious...divisive. Every member of Congress during early years begins their speech with "I....the most loyal and humble citizen of the Crown..." were their role was also dubious(?)...ridiculous conclusion.

One more thing Mr. Takle needs to understand that Mahatma Gandhi was never intended to start Quit India Movement. It has been fully clear even in any renowned book one need not to go for National Archives for these simple facts. What one can say about this factual inaccuracies and misleading statements by Mr. Takle.

Last and worst one... Since the court has acquitted Savarkar in Gandhi's assassination case still we believe that he was accused... we don't believe in court? We quote Nehru, Patel for our support. Why the government not appealed against Savarkar in higher Court? Was it not possible for the government? Are we going to believe in Jimmy Nagarwala... and not on Court... Nowadays everybody is referring to J. L. Kapur commission. What was the legal status of the commission? Critics are ignorant about court and they have least knowledge of legal procedure.

Savarkar was a rationalist as well as social revolutionary. We never discuss his essays on elimination of castes, his essays on scientific fervor, religious scriptures, about beef and meet. Mr. Takle rushes to connect his name with BJP, RSS, K. B. Hedgewar and Golwalkar. Savarkar had nothing to do with these organizations. Rarely do they believe in his thoughts.

Whether Bharat Ratna award should be given to Savarkar or not this can be debated in the country. Wasn't he not beyond such awards? Was he really suffered during the entire life for such medals? One cannot agree with all his thoughts as it's true with other stalwarts too. At least sincere debate... fair discussion is expected from well esteemed periodicals.

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Non-Brahmin Movement in South India: Role of the Malayalis (1880s to 1920s)

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Non-Brahmin Movement was a socio-political movement of far-reaching consequences. It was an epoch-making and path-breaking event in the history of India, with particular reference to Southern India, with due emphasis on the Madras Presidency. It tried to dismantle the monopolistic socio-religious, politico-economic position enjoyed by the Brahmins, who constituted a little more than three percent of the population. In fact, the 19th century presented a picture of socio-economic and political imbalance. In the 20th century there arose the need for correcting the imbalance. The attempt to correct the imbalance took the form of a movement, which assumed the name- Non-Brahmin Movement. The naming of the movement as such was only to bring out a kind of awakening and unity among the affected sections in South India. For the emergence of this movement the Christian missionaries, the British Government, the depressed class people (Adi-Dravidas) Native Tamil scholars and the Malayalis had made their contributions. In this paper an attempt is made mainly to look in to the role played by the Malayalis in the initial stages for the emergence of non-Brahmin Movement in South India.

On the Kerala Coast, non Malayali Brahmins-Tamil, Telugus and Marathas- had appeared in increasing numbers from the early eighteenth century in the corridors of power like Government Secretariat and Palace¹. Affected by this since 1880s the anti-Brahmin feeling was given vent to South India by G. Parameswaran Pillai (1864-1903) and his friends. G.

¹ P.Janardhana Panicker, A Short History of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1970.p.217.

Parameswaran Pillai a Travancorean and a Nair by Caste was the first to air the anti-Brahmin feeling in Kerala. By the 1880s a small percent of Western educated Nairs emerged in Travancore, but this group was excluded by non-Malayali Brahmins, who dominated both in Maharaja's Palace and in the administration. This microscopic minority Brahmins, particularly non-Malayali Brahmins wanted to keep all other sections under their control and through royal support they suppressed the emergence of this small group of Nairs who began to attack this clique².

It had been a Tamil Brahmin by name V.Ramiengar, the Dewan of Travancore under Vishakhram Tirunal who was responsible for the expulsion of G .Parameswaran Pillai from Travancore to Madras in 1882. A campaign against Brahmin dominance was conducted in the Press of Madras City, besides public meetings and petitions to the authorities in Travancore. The tone of agitation, however, remained silent and was to be revived by other groups at the turn of the century and thereafter. The young Nairs of the 1880s were friends and relatives of other Nairs, who were to use the anti-Brahmin war cry in similar circumstances in Madras City in the decade of the first World War.

During the years from 1817 to 1914, with one year exception, the Dewan of Travancore were non- Malayali Brahmins and from 25 to 30 percent of the positions in Government Service were also held by non-malayali Brahmins. The rulers of Travancore and other Kshatriyas in Kerala were deeply reverential to Brahmins. In Parameswaran Pillai's youth, there were more than 40 free feeding houses meant exclusively for Brahmins costing four lakhs of rupees a year to maintain³. In 1882, while still a student in the Collage of Trivandrum, Parameswaran Pillai began to give vent to such grievances, Doubtless, he was very much influenced by his teacher's⁴ and immediate seniors, who had formed a Malayali Social Union and then a Malayali Sabha to discuss the problems of Nairs. He began to attack the Brahmin Dewan V. Ramiengar and his alleged policy of employing non-Malayali Brahmins at the expense of Malayalis and criticised and exposed this in leading Dailies.

By 1891 there were more than 1,500 Malayalis in the Madras city. The majority of them were Nairs. Among the rising young Nairs in Madras at the time were C. Sankaran Nair (1857-1938), K.P Raman Menon(1866-1942) and T.M Nair(1869-1919)¹. Since 1887, Parameswaran Pillai began a campaign

² Robin Jeffrey, 'A note on the Malayali origins of Anti-Brahmin in South India', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, June 1977, pp 256-257

³ Robin Jeffrey, *The Decline of Nair Dominance*, New Delhi, 1994.pp.99-101.

⁴ Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai(1855-1897) was also a teacher to Parameswaran Pillai in Maharaja's College, Trivandrum. In this College Prof. Pillai taught Philosophy & History to his students. His theories on non-Brahmin (Dravidian) glory were instructed to G. Parameswaran Pillai. For nearly 20 years Sundaram Pillai influenced the students who passed through this College.

of scathing attack on the Travancore Government in the Journal Madras Standard. There was widespread resentment among the educated classes against the Government policy of importing persons from outside, particularly Tamil Brahmins to hold the important posts in the Public service even when persons with similar qualifications were available inside the State. The resentment of the people against this policy found concrete expression in the 'Malayali Memorial' submitted to the Maharaja on 1st January 1891⁵, petition which was signed by 10,028 persons belonging to all Castes and creeds drew the attention of the Maharaja to the exclusion of the educated natives from the higher grades of public service and pleaded that rulers be enacted to provide them with a fair quota of Government appointments⁶. The 'Malayali Memorial' agitation served its purpose in rousing the political consciousness of the people. The Malayali Memorial as the popular name implies, was finally developed around the Travancorean theme, but it was anti-Brahmin feeling that rallied around the Nairs. The organisers of the Memorial managed to mute the anti-Brahmin theme as much as they did demonstrate the importance of leadership in determining the way in which all ostensibly spontaneous social grievances was formulated. The memorial was circulated throughout Travancore¹⁰. Nevertheless, the revolt of the Non-Brahmins indicated that there was all intellectual awakening among the masses, which challenged the dominance of the Brahmins.

G. Parameswaran Pillai and others have made known in Madras City the intensity of long standing anti-Brahmin feeling in Kerala and its utility for elites seeking wider political support. Parameswaran Pillai's later career did little to alter his earlier views about Brahmin dominance. In 1892 he took the Madras Standard on a ten year lease, and in 1895 he converted it from a tri-weekly to a daily. His career as a daily newspaper editor was short. In 1895, he was convicted of plagiarism in connection with his two books, Representative Men of South India and Representative Indians, and in 1899 he was convicted of defamation. In both cases, the plaintiffs were Tamil Brahmins. G. Parameswaran Pillai's conviction encouraged the Malayalis to continue his path. Another leading Malayali in the Madras city was C. Sankaran Nair. He was the first non-Brahmin who presided over the Indian National Congress in 1897. He also expressed the ill-treatment by his Brahmin friends inside the Congress. He says in his memories, 'on our journey to the north to attend the congress meetings our Brahmin friends would often ostentatiously avoid our company when taking the meals. This is done by Brahmins in the North only in the case of low Castes. They would also tell us we were Sudras, which in North India meant a low Caste....it was denial of

⁵ In the same year Prof. Sundaram Pillai, who was the teacher of G.

Parameswaran Pillai published his famous poetic drama Manonmaniyam at Trivandrum in which he highlighted the Non-Brahmin (Dravidian) glory which touched the hearts and minds of the non-Brahmins of south India.

⁶ A. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History, Madras, 1991. Pp.300-301

equality by high Caste Brahmins to the lower Castes”⁷. He also contributed for the non-Brahmin awakening in South India during 1910’s.

The most commendable work that Dravidian (non-Brahmin) Association did was the publication of two books in 1915 which had tremendous influence in awakening the non-Brahmins. The first and foremost among the two books was written by C. Sankaran Nair namely Dravidian Worthies. Another book Non-Brahmin Letters was published by Parameswaran Pillai’s brother in law, S.K Nair, a veteran orator with anti-Brahmin views. These books emancipated the elite non –Brahmins of Madras city. S.K Nairs’s Non Brahmin Letters was published from the press of C. Karunalkara Menon’s Indian Patriot. C.Karunakara Menon, a veteran journalist and patriot, was another non-Brahmin who prognosticated the launching of the non-Brahmin movement, through a spate of letters, numbering 21 in all, conveyed the aspirations of certain caste groups which he deemed should from the principal aim of the non-Brahmin movement. These letters were concerned about the position and the desires, of certain non-Brahmin Caste groups in the Madras Presidency. According to one letter “unlike the Brahmins who act in concert and realise the importance of education the non-Brahmins mesmerized by the strictness of Manu are the victims of their own sense of inferiority. If they are even to become important in the public life of the Madras Presidency they must organise a movement to unite the Dravidians and must establish a National College employing Dravidian languages⁸.

Another Malayali who advocated the non-Brahmin glory was Dr. T.M. Nair⁹. In the Madras city corporation he worked as a member. T.M. Nair and Parameswaran Pillai were close friends. In 1877 Parameswaran Pillai, stayed with T.M.Nair in London, both of them went there for the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria influenced by G. Parameswaran Pillai and also gifted with an intellectual and practical mind. Dr. Nair started a monthly journal namely Antiseptic the first medical journal in the Madras presidency. He was also editor of the Journal Madras Standard for some years. He was more involved in Congress activities. In 1902 he delivered a lecture on Nationalism and Congress. In 1907 he was the President of the Chittoor and

⁷ K.P.S. Menon, C. Sankaran Nair, New Delhi, 1979, p.33

⁸ Quoted by Saroja Sundararajan, March to Freedom in Madras Presidency 1916-1947, Madras, 1989, p.60

⁹ Dr. T.M. Nair was born in 1868 in Tharavad, Kerala. He started his education in Palghat and completed his MA at Presidency College, Madras. He started his medical studies in Madras but went to England in 1889 and completed M.B C.M. in 1894, then went to Edinburgh University and took his MD. Thereafter, he went to Paris and carried out research work in Ear, Nose and Throat (ENT) specialties. He returned to Madras in 1897 and established a lucrative practice as ENT specialist. K.V Ezhilasarasu, Neethikachi Thalivar Dr.T.M Nair Valvum Thondum (Tl.), Madras, 1989, pp1-30

North Arcot district conferences¹⁰. But he was defeated in the imperial Legislative Council elections in Madras in January in 1910 by his supporters in the Congress. Like this in 1916, Dr. Nair was the candidate for the imperial legislative Council, Delhi, from the Madras Legislative Council. It was understood that the congress did not elect Dr. Nair, because he was a non-Brahmin. On the other hand two Brahmins namely B.N Sharma and V.N Srinivasa Sastry were elected. The injustice done by Congress to Dr.Nair - in fact those who supported him secretly defeated him- made him turn his attention for communal representation¹¹. Meanwhile, the Congress and the home Rule Movement vehemently opposed the idea of communal representation¹². Hence, Dr. Nair was forced to oppose these two parties and worked against them¹³.

The second half of the 19th century was a turning point in the history of the Brahmins of the then Madras Presidency. They enhanced their positions in the social setup by gradually filing up the great majority of administrative and educational postings. By their learning, their services became more and more indispensable to the government which depended upon the bureaucracy, mostly constituted by this Brahmin Caste. The non-Brahmin communities, who constituted the majority of the population in the Presidency, could find a few jobs in the government due to lack of proper English education. The rise in literacy must be one of the reasons for the non-Brahmin caste Hindus making their presence felt in Madras politics. Dr. T.M.Nair realised that it was the proper time for the non-Brahmins to join the British and to replace the Brahmin to join the British and to replace the Brahmin both in politics and administration. With this purpose, he was trying to unite the non-Brahmin to compete with Brahmins effectively.

From the time of Nair's second defeat, the Non-Brahmin leaders of the Presidency began to read a pattern of systematic Brahmin domination into vicissitudes of the electoral outcomes. The significance of the outcome of the elections of 1916 was immensely great. The defeat of the non-Brahmin stalwarts served as a catalyst to organise a non-Brahmin party. Non-Brahmin gentlemen of position and influence both in Madras and in the mofussil met at a conference at the Victoria Public Hall in Madras city on 20th November 1916¹⁴ and resolved to take measures to start a company for publishing a newspaper advocating the cause of the non-Brahmin community and also to form a political association in order to advance, safeguard and protect the interest of the same community. Accordingly a joint stock company was

¹⁰ A.S .Venu, Dr.T.M Nair,Chinna Kanchipuram, 1992,pp 14-15.

¹¹ Indhu Rajagopal, The Tyranny of Caste, Sahibabad, 1985, p.36.

¹² V.Geetha & S.V Rajadurai, 'One hundred years of Brahminitude, arrival of Annie Besant', Economic and Political Weekly, July 15th 1995, p. 1768

¹³ Rangaswami Parthasarathi, A hundred years of Hindu, Madras, 1978,p.20

¹⁴ K. Veeramani (ed.), Justice Party Platinum Jubilee Souvenir, Madras, 1992, p.18

started under the name 'South Indian People's Association' for conducting a daily newspaper in English, Tamil and Telugu respectively, and a political association was also formed under the nomenclature of "The South Indian Liberal Federation" whose purpose was to promote the political interests of the non-Brahmins¹⁵,"

Dr. T.M. Nair's great powers of organisation and advocacy were fully utilised for the formation of the South Indian Liberal Federation (herein after SILF). It is more appropriate to say that he was the 'heart and brain' of the Federation rather than its 'architect'. Much of the masonry work was done by his ablest co-founder, P.Theagaraya Chetti. None-the less Dr. T.M.Nair was the leading light of the non-Brahmin movement. Though the historic document, 'the non-Brahmin manifesto' was issued under the signature of P.Theagaraya Chetti in his capacity as the secretary of the SILF, the militant tone in which the document was set reveals that it was the mighty pen of Dr. T.M.Nair which prepared the instrument.

Soon after the publication of the manifesto, the SILF launched three daily newspapers to voice the grievances of the non -Brahmins. Endowed with an initial capital of one lakh of rupees, the Association purchased a printing press and brought out the first issue of the Justice, their official organ in English on 26 February 1917. It was soon followed by the Dravidian in Tamil and the Andhra Prakasika in Telugu. These papers apart, the Malayalam weeklies of Kerala Sanchari, Keralodayam and Malayali played a prominent role in spreading the message of Non-Brahmin movement among the people of west coast. Dr .T.M. Nair offered himself to be the honorary editor of the journal Justice. His training as a political worker in the Liberal Party England under the leadership of Gladstone, his journalistic experience as the editor Antiseptic, a medical magazine; and his masterly grasp of Indian politics made him an invaluable asset both to the party and of the Journal.

On March 14, 1917, under the auspices of the Muthlapet Muslim Anjuman, at Victoria Public Hall Dr. T. M. Nair delivered a lecture on the topic 'our immediate political outlook'¹⁶. The address gave a bugle call to action, the leaders of the non-Brahmin party made strenuous effort in setting up branches throughout the Presidency and organising conferences. After two years of the emergence of the SILF (Justice Party) T.M.Nair went to London and, on 17th July 1919, he died there. The service of Dr. T.M Nair to the emergence of the SELF is unforgettable. On Dr. T.M. Nair, Prof. P. Rajaraman registers. "The era of Dr. T.M Nair which witnessed a steady and unstinted growth and development of the SILF forms a significant Chapter in the history of Non-Brahmin Movement in Southern India¹⁷. After the demise of Dr. Nair the role of Malayalis in the non-Brahmin movement came to an end.

¹⁵ P.Rajaraman, The Justice Party A Historical Perspective, Madras, 1988, p.78

¹⁶ Dr.T.M.Nair, 'Our Immediate Political Outlook', reprinted in K.Veeramani (ed.), Justice Party golden Jubilee Souvenir, Madras, 1968,p.108

¹⁷ P.Rajaraman, op.cit, p.159

Since 1880s the Western educated Nair elite in Travancore had sown the seed on Non-Brahmin emancipation and it sprouted during 1910s, in the Madras city by Malayalis. The founder was G.Parameswaran Pillai, but a group of Malayalis like C.Sankaran Nair, C.Karunakara Menon, S.K Nair and and Dr. T.M.Nair worked for the progress of this Non-Brahmin Movement. The impact was the emergence of SILF later called Justice Party and it grabbed power during the elections of 1920s in the then Madras Presidency.



The Real Role of Lord Śrīkr̥ṣṇa in Bhāgavata Purāṇa -A Spiritual Study

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Introduction:

Agni, Brahma, Padma, Brahma-Vaivarta, Viṣṇu and *Bhāgavata Puraṇas* treat of the life of Kṛṣṇa. The *Brahma* and *Padma Puraṇas* have devoted several chapters to this subject. *Brahma-Vaivarta, Viṣṇu,* and *Bhāgavata Puraṇas* have devoted whole sections and books to the description of *Kṛṣṇa - Carita*. God Śrīkr̥ṣṇa was *Lila-Purushothama*, the sportive form of God. He was a all of world (*Yogesvara*). He was a *Prema-Murti*. Lord *Rāma* was a *Maryada Purushothama*. He was an ideal son, an ideal brother, an ideal husband, an ideal friend and an ideal king. He can be taken to embody all the highest ideals of man. He led the ideal life of a householder in order to teach humanity. *Kṛṣṇa* was a man of action. He was a history-maker and righter of wrongs. He stood for justice and righteousness. His policy was to defend the oppressed from the oppressor. He was a master of super-physical powers. He was a man of knowledge and a world-teacher. He was a divine musician. He was the Lord of Yogis. He was the friend of *Arjuna* and *Uddhava*. His immortal teachings to *Arjuna* and *Uddhava* on Yoga, Bhakti and Jnana are unique. Even now they stir the hearts of the readers and goad them on the spiritual path and instill peace into their hearts. Lord *Kṛṣṇa* was the greatest *Karma Yogin* of all time. He held up the torch of wisdom. He was an embodiment of wisdom and selfless action. He combined in his life all that is best, highest, purest and the most beautiful, sublime and grand in heaven and earth. He was all love for the cowherd-boys, cows, and the *Gopis*. He was the friend and benefactor of the poor and the helpless. He was a versatile genius. The *Brahma* through his own mouth asserts –Oh, what a good fortune, Oh, what a good fortune it is for the cowherd Nanda and *vraja*'s prisoners as they have a pal who is the omnipresent undying *Brahman* in fullness and is

endowed with the paramount sacredness. “*aho bhāgyamohou bhāgyam nanda vagopo bragouksyam*

yanmtraṁ paramānanda pūṇam Brahman sanātanam”¹

Again, in the same way, Arjuna says in the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa* is the Supreme personality of Godhead, the Ultimate Abode, the Purest and the Absolute.

“*param brahma param dhāma pavitraṁ bhavān
puraṣaṁ śāśvataṁ divyam ādi-devam ajaṁ vibhum*”²

The unique texts respectively *Bhagavadgītā* is called as *brhmavidyā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* calls³ itself a *Purāṇa*, having the respect of similarity with the *Vedās*, and at the close of book XII *Vyāsadeva* declares thus,

“*saravedāntasāraṁ hi śrībhāgavata purāṇamiṣyate
tadrasāmṛatatgutsya nānytra syādratiḥ kṛcit*”⁴

-‘The sacred *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the quintessence of all *Vedānta* scriptures, and the individual who undergo quenched by the nectar-like taste of it will never seek delight in any other treatise.’ Therefore, we find that both – the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* are to be hold as *vedāntic* works and *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* is to be regarded and the highest *Brahman* therein.

The Role of Śrīkrṣṇa:

It might be identified after studying of the *Bhagavadgītā* that it teaches us all about the immanence and transcendence of God (*Īśvara*). He is the creator (*sṛṣikarta*), preserver (*smitikarta*) and destroyer (*layakarta*) of the cosmos. The characteristics this powers to *Śrīkṛṣṇa* the God (*Bhavāna*), who instructs *Arjuna* by assuming the role of the higher *Brahman*. The witness of this fact lies lucidly in the *Vibhūtiyōga* in this text where *Śrīkṛṣṇa* refers Himself as the greatest *Brahman* as being *Vāsudeva* of the *vṛṣṇis*, says thus-

“*Prahlādaś c’āsmi daityānām kālāḥ kalayatām aham
mṛgāṇām ca mṛg ’endro ’haṁ vainteyaś ca pakṣiṇām*”⁵

-Among *Daiyyas* I am *Prahlāda*, among calculars I am Moment, among animals I am the Lion, and among birds I am *Garuḍa*.’-This ‘I’ being the Greatest Spirit or the Soul Absolute.’In this connection we cannot forget another important summit that all case–ending forms of the personal pronoun *asmat* in the *Bhagavadgītā*. For example, ego (*aham*),mine(*mama*) etc., if re-altered by the equal case-ending forms of the noun-stem *Brahman*, will be understood as yielding the same meaning, thus showing the identity of the

¹ The Bhāgavat, 10.14.32

² Tapasyāsānanda, S., The Bhagavadgītā – The Scripture Of Mankind With The Text In Roman Script and Translation. Sri Ramkrishna Math, Madras, 2009, 10.XII

³ The Bhagavat, 1.4.40- “*ivam bhāgavataṁ namo purāṇam brahma-samatam*”

⁴ The Bhāgavat. 12.13.15

⁵ Prabūpāda, S., bhagavad-Gita As It Is, 10,XXX,The Bhakti Vedanta Book Truth,Mumbai,2004, p.541

previous shapes with the latter ones. The tribals devotees of Tripura like *Jamātiā*, *Murāsing*, *Noatiā* and *Tripurī* of Hindu schools of Vaiṣṇavism are so completely absorbed with the idea of a personal Supreme God that they underlines that that God is also *Bāsudeva* who dwells in *varaj's Vaikuntha Loka*. He is to be allied with Brahman of the vedāntic idea. It is may be supposed here that each sectarian religion may be regarded as general by its aficionados. We observe that the enthusiasts (*bhaktas*) of *Ganesh*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Mahevara*, *Rāma*, *Hari* and other deities regard their worshiped Gods and Goddesses as liberation of the *Absolute Brahman* or *supreme Self* in India. There is no harm or annihilate in cherishing various types of religious notions of the Supreme Godhood, provided the fans (*bhaktas*) do not become responsible to intolerance or narrow-mindedness especially in religious matter. Therefore, *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* should not be condemned at all, since they look upon *vāsudeva* as known with the Paramount Absolute Self materializing in human form that called an *Avatāra*.

The view of common man that when Lord Śrīkrṣṇa or the Supreme Self (*Highest Bhagavān*) penetrated *Daivaki's* womb for a birth as a human being, the gods *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* *Mahesvara*, *Nārada* and others worshipped Him says,

“*bivoṣi rupānyavvoudha Ātmana kṣemāyo lokosy carācorasy
sttva uppannāni sukhāvāhāni satyambhadrāni mujnaḥkhalānām*”⁶

- ‘O God, you, who are the intelligent Self (*budhiman ātman*), assume time after time, for the good of the changeable and unchangeable earth (different) forms made of the purified or goodness quality (*sattva-guṇa*), which bring wellbeing to the virtuous (people), but catastrophe to the wicked –doers.’ It is necessary to remember a most summit stated in the *Bhagavadgītā*,

“*avajānanti mām mūḍhā mānuṣīm tanum āsritam
paraṁ bhāvam ajānanto mama bhūta mah'eśvaram*”⁷

-It is the unwise man who despise *Me* when clad in human manifestation, not knowing *My* Absolute feature that *I* am the immense God of creatures.’ God the utmost personified Himself in earth inform of human being when He feels it is necessity. The *Bhagavadgītā* says,

“*ajo 'pi sann avyay'ātmā bhūtānām īśvaro 'pi san
prakṛtiṁ svām adhiṣṭtāya sambhavāmy ātma-māyayā
yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata
abhyutthānam adharmasya tad'ātmānam sījāmy aham
paritraṇāya sādḥūnām vināsāya ca duṣkṛtām
dharma samsthapan'ārthāya sambhavāmi yuga yuga*”⁸

⁶ The Bhāgavat, 10.2.29

⁷ Tapasysānanda, S., The Bhagavadgītā – The Scripture Of Mankind With The Text In Roman Script and

Translation. Sri Ramkrishna Math, Madras, 2009, 9.XI, p.215

⁸ Ibid, 4.VI-VIII, Pp.105-107

- ‘Though birth-less and death-less, and the Lord of all creatures as well, yet I (the Eternal Being) take birth by *My* inherent mysterious power—*ātma māyayā*, employing the pure (*sattva*) aspect of my material nature (*prakṛti*). Whenever there is decline of religion (*dharmā*) and ascendance of irreligion (*adharma*) then, O scion of the Indian race! (*Bhārata- vaṁsa*) I manifest (incarnate) *Myself* in a body. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of religion (*Dharma*), I am born from age to age.’ *Śrīgopal* (God)’s parents- *Vasudeva* and *Daivaki* accepted their son (*Śrīkrṣṇa*) as none but the *Highest Brahman* personified. In the chapter X.III of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has totally dealt with this master where in a *sloka Vāsudeva*, in a worshipful tribute, assumed,

“*tvamasya lokasya bibhorirkṣisurgṛhehavaṭīnorhasi mamākhileśvar rājanya samjñā ’sur-kouti yuthapainirbuhyamānā nihanīṣyase camuh*”⁹

- ‘O almighty Lord of the cosmos, you have been born in my house with the target of shielding the earth and you will destroy the armies drawn up in battle—array who against us by *kotis* of demon like leader going by the name of royal persons (or worries of the *kṣatriya* race).’ Mother of *Kṛṣṇa Daivaki* also knew her son *Kṛṣṇa* to be the Highest Divinity and at his birth declared thus, “*bisvaṁ yadetad svatanou niśanate*

*yathā ’vakarśaṁ puraṣṭi papou bhavān
bibhati souahyaṁ mam garbhagouha
bhūdahou nṛlokasya bidamvanam hi tad*”¹⁰

- ‘Because you, the greatest *puruṣa*, at the end of the Ultimate dissolution, hold this cosmos in your own body giving (each component of it) its place in it, therefore the same Yourself entered my womb,-Oh, this is a mockery or joke with the world of people.’ Once more, *Brahma* in his worship of *Kṛṣṇa* after having a sight of *Kṛṣṇa* in *vṛndāvana* used such epithets for *Him* as are applied by the *Upaniṣads* to *Brahman*. On seeing *Kṛṣṇa* *Brahma* says,

“*ekasatu ’mātmā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ
satyaḥ svayaṁ jytirnanta ādyaḥ
nityohakṣarohjasra sukhou niranjanḥ
pūrṇādvayou mukta upadhī uhamṛtaḥ*”¹¹

- ‘Lord is One, the Highest Self, the oldest *Puruṣa*, the True or the Real, Self shining *Light*, *Endless*, *Primordial*, *Eternal*, *Indestructible*, enjoying perpetual happiness, *Untinged* (for *Unblemished*), fully second-less, free from *Limitations* and *Immoral*.’ *Śrī Rāmakrishna* says that Lord (*Bhagavān*) the Supreme Spirit by his Omnipotence manifests his godliness by assuming human form in flesh and blood. Thus He at times comes into view on earth as a personification of *Himself*, and such a greatly powerful person is called God-embodied (*avatāra*). It is by tradition believed by Hindu that Divine manifestation is a fact of facts. Divine worship can be paramount realized by

⁹ The Bhāgavat, 10.3.21

¹⁰ Ibid,10.3.31

¹¹ Ibid,10.14.23

people through the grace of appears to life (an *avatāra*) in person, or through their love of the Divine personification during his absence. It seems fairly exact to talk that God the Almighty incarnates Himself often in those persons like *Hari*, *Rāma* and *Śrīcaitanya* who are greatly in love with the Divine. In human society, all man, in a means, is an *avatāra*, a manifest power formed from Divine oomph. Every single one incarnation (*avatāra*) is *divine* messengers and at the bidding of the Supreme Self they emerge on earth to quell the disturbances created by the irreligious people (*adhārmic mānuṣ*) at ageing time-space, and graciously establish religious peace and preserve security of social life. Human being can even attain salvation if he can take refuse in an *avatāra*, or follow his teaching even after his disappearance from the universe. The incarnations are saviours of the world and they lift the evil of ignorance or *māyā* or *adhyāsa* from the eyes of their devotees and make them realise the almighty infinite. It is God (*Īśvara*) who personifies *Himself* in human appearance only to create the followers meet *Him* directly and converse with *Him* and enjoy *His* participate (*Lila*) and think His syrupiness (*mādhurya*) śsacredness (*pabitrata*). In this connection, in the episode of *śiśupalavada* in the tone of Nārada poet *māgha* says to *Kṛṣṇa*,

“*nijoujasouggā-sayituṃ jagad-
druhāmupājihīthā no mahītaḥ yadi
Samāhitairpya-nirupitastataḥ padaṃ
dṛaśḥ syāḥ kathamīś mādrīśyam*”¹²

- ‘ O God(*Īśvara*), if you did not return on this earth as a incarnation (*avatāra*) to demolish those who had formed nuisance, then how (else) could you become an object of vision to those like myself, as you cloud not be understood even by those who are sunk in meditation.’ Again, *Guḍiḥya vaiṣṇava* literatures states that the Absolute Divinity is unintelligible even to those who are intensely engaged in meditation, but when He goes down on the world in human form as an incarnate (*avatāra*) He can directly be seen by the devotees. The sight of the incarnations (*avatars*) is the sight of God. Sri Ramakrishna says on incarnations, “The God–man like *Śrīkrṣṇa* act and behave to all appearance as common men, while their heart and soul are absorbed in the highest in far beyond the region of *karma*.”¹³

It is states that the immeasurable are the manifestation (*avatāras*) of *Hari* (Lord) who is the container (*ādhāra*) of the purity quality (*sattva guṇa*) in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*¹⁴. Soon after, *Jayadeva* in his *Gītagovinda* (1200 A.D.) also asserts this *avatara*. According to this *Purāṇa*, *Buddha*, *Dhanvantari*, *Dattātreya*, *Kapila*, *Nārada*, *Nara-nārāyaṇa*, *Prithu*, *Vyāsa*, etc. were regarded as incarnations (*avatars*). Nevertheless, this script expresses the view that all other incarnations are either glories (*kalās*) or parts (*amśas*) of the uppermost

¹² *Māgha*, *Śiśupalabada*,1.37

¹³ Nikhilānanda, S., *The Gospel of Rāmakrishna*, Originally Recorded in Bengali by M, Śrī Rāmakrishna Math, Madras, 2007, p.234

¹⁴ *The Bhāgavat*,1.3.26

Puruṣa, but *Śrīkṛṣṇa* is God(*Īśvara*) Himself. The thought of the re-emerge (*avatāra*) of God on earth tells again us of the well-known canto of the *Brahmasamhitā* which asserts,

“*Īśvaraḥ paramaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ saccidānanda vigraḥ
Anādi- arādir- govindaḥ sarvakārana- kārnam*”¹⁵

-‘The Supreme Lord (*yathātha Īśvara*) is Govinda *Kṛṣṇa* whose self consists of existence, intelligence and bliss (respectively *Sat, Cit, Ānanda*) who is *Himself* without a beginning, but who is the beginning of all and He is the cause of all causes.’ Again, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, we perceive that the conception of manifestation or incarnation *Kṛṣṇa* as the *Absolute Brahman* is at the present being illustrated by references to certain noteworthy passages. After having related the words of *Brahma* of praise addressed to the newly-born *Kṛṣṇa*. *Sukadeva* says, king *Parikṣit* about *Kṛṣṇa*’s full Divinity. In This *Purāṇa*¹⁶ *Sukadeva* says that king should identify this *Kṛṣṇa* to be the *Ātman* of all *ātman*s and *Ātman* appears on world as if *He* has assumed a human form through the control of His own ignorance(*māyā*) for the benefit of the cosmos. To those who have recognized *Kṛṣṇa* in this cosmos in His truthfulness, all objects, portable and importable, have the frame of the Lord (*Bhagavān*) Himself i.e. *Kṛṣṇa* and they are nothing else. The true quintessence of all creatures pertains to a cause. Lord *Kṛṣṇa* is the cause of all causes. So, all are *Kṛṣṇa* and *Kṛṣṇa* is all. To those resorts to the raft in the form of the lotus like feet of *Kṛṣṇa* of sacred fame which are the shelter candid or immense people, the world’s the great ocean of experienced (*byvahāric*) life seems to them as a footmark of calf and the great space (like *vaikūṇṭha*) is their space and the creature that is called adversity is not theirs. Therefore, we come across that there is Absolute Identity of Lord *Kṛṣṇa* with Absolute Being or God *Himself*. In King *Yudhirṣṭir*’s fire sacrifices (*rājasūya yañja*)¹⁷ were present kings, queens, sages, and famous members of *brāhmana*, *kṣatriya*, *baiśya* and *sūdra*. These gathering men could not make a decision as to who was the worthiest personage there, who deserved to accept the great honour of adoration, because there were immeasurable highest and venerable persons in *rājasūya yañja*. Herein it was then proposed by *Sahadeva*, one of the five brothers (*panchapanāṇḍava*) was completely aware of the omnipresence of *Kṛṣṇa* that the supreme honour of reception should go to *Kṛṣṇa*. In the gathering, the views advanced by *Sahadeva* were as follows that the eternal and enduring *Kṛṣṇa*, the Lord of the *sattvatas*, deserves to be regarded as the worthiest. *Kṛṣṇa* as Lord really stands for all gods and goddess and for all places, spaces, weath and others creatures. This world has *Him* for its *Self* and all sacrifices also have *Him* for their souls. Fire (*teja*), sacrifice (*naibya*) hymns (*mantras*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and contemplative union (*yoga*) are all pertain to *Him*. He (*Kṛṣṇa*) is one (*eka*). There is no second (*advaita*) except *Him*. This cosmos

¹⁵ The *Brahmasamhitā*, 5.1

¹⁶ The *Bhāgavat*, 10.14.55-58

¹⁷ The *Bhāgavat*, 10.74,19-24

has its *Ātman* in *Him*. So, *Sahaveda* utter like this, ‘O members of the assembly! *Kṛṣṇa* is this un-born One, having depending on *Himself* alone. He creates everything, maintains and kills. All human beings long for happiness (*sukha*) defined as religion (*Dharma*) and other righteous path from Him, after having performed various types of undertaking through *His* grace. So, the principal respect (*ekanta śradvā*) should be bequeathed on the Absolute *Kṛṣṇa*. If that is done, honour will be regarded as being shown to all Beings and to the *Ātman*. A man wishing for the absolute imperishable result (*phala*) of giving a gift (*dāna*) should offer it (such gift) to *Kṛṣṇa*, the Peaceful (*śānta*), the Full (*paripūraka*), who does not consider others as different from *Himself* and who is the Self of all creatures. *Sahadeva* addressed gathering people in the ‘*Rājasūya yañja*’ that *Kṛṣṇa* was no other than *Brahman Himself* who is affirmed as the Soul (*Ātman*) of the cosmos. Like this speeches is lays in some well-known verses in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

Kṛṣṇa is protector in troubling situation in virtuous means. For example, the departure of *Kṛṣṇa* for *Dvārikā*, pancapāṇḍava’s mother *Kuntī* expressed her heartfelt thankfulness to *Kṛṣṇa* for saving her family, relatives and *pancapāṇḍavas* from harm. In course of her address to *Him* in a prayerful eulogy she recognized Him as God Personified.¹⁸ Again, what said out of that address, the substance (*drabya*) of only a few words is here given in her own words¹⁹, “*Kṛṣṇa* is the prehistoric *puruṣa*, Higher than the *prakṛti* and the controller of that *prakṛti*. Although *He* is fully present in all Beings outwardly *He* is not realized as such. This is so because *He* keeps *Himself* covered behind the veil of his own *māyā*.” She felt sorry that “It was not possible for a woman like herself to fully compeered the greatness of *Kṛṣṇa* who came down on earth to bestow loving devotion (*bhaktiyoga*) to Lord on *paramahamsas* and passionless munis.” Once more, *Kuntī* says, “A person who is favoured by *His* visit will have no more birth to suffer from:” So, she salutes *Him* in this following means, “Salutation be to *Him* whose only possession is the one (devotee or *bhakta*) who possesses nothing and from whom all the three *guṇas* (i.e. the three means of life, viz., *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*) have receded, who delights in his own self, who is tranquil, and is the given of Supreme liberation (*Kaivalya*) from bondage.” It might be observed herein the worship of *pancapāṇḍava*’s mother *Kuntī* of *Kṛṣṇa* she establishes *Kṛṣṇa* with the highest Lord or highest *Brahman* (*sarvacca īśvara*) without being able to fathom the so-called human activities of *His*.

Then again, after the murdering of *Kaṁsa* by *Kṛṣṇa*, Uddhava who, being well-known for his astuteness, acted as the boss among ministers of the *Vṛṣṇis* and was an ideal fan of *Kṛṣṇa* was sent by the later to *Vraja* with the massage to His foster parents, *Nanda* and *Yaśodā* and *Kṛṣṇa*’s beloved *Goppies* that He would very shortly fulfil His promise of a visit to them at *Vraja* by leaving

¹⁸ The Bhāgavat, 1.8.18-47

¹⁹ Ibid, 1.8.18-20,25,27

Mathurā province. The address of *uddhava* to the friends of the *Vrahja* contains passage from which we can ascertain his own views on the essential feature of *Kṛṣṇa*. So *Uddhava* says, “O you fortunate ones (i.e. *Nanda* and *Yośadā*) do not feel dejected, you will see *Kṛṣṇa* near you. He resides in the inside of heart of all creatures (*jīvas*), just as fire (*teja*) does in faggot (*kaṣṭha*). Unaffected by pride as He is, He has none as dear (*priya*), none as high or low (*uccu ba niccu*), and being equal or *sama* (to all) He has none as unequal (*asamna*). He has got none as his father or mother, wife or sons or sisters and others or relative or a stranger. He has no form or no beginning. In this universe, He has no action, good or bad (to do) in his apparent manifold births. He manifests only to do a play (*Lilā*). He appears only to do to save the virtuous. Albeit He the unborn, is except any features, yet in a playful mood (*lilācala*), though being above any play (*lilā*), He takes on the three *guṇas*, viz., harmony (*sattva*), activity (*rajas*) and inertia (*tama*), through them everything generates, conserves and obliterates (*sṛti-smiti-laya*).”²⁰ The *Uddhava* also would like to say that *Kṛṣṇa* was not the son of *Nanda* and *Yośoda* but He was the son-daughter (*putra-putri*), the self (*ātman*), the father (*pitā*), the mother (*mātā*) and the master (*kartā*) of all creatures (*jīvas*). No one could cite anything, seen or heard of, anything that was, is, or will be, either unfixed or fixed, large or small, which is definitely without Him, the imperishable. Because *He* being the Absolute Self (*sarmatātman*) is everything. As a whole all features of *Kṛṣṇa* under *Him* as the *Bhagavadgītā* says, “*Pitā ’ham asya jagato mātā dhātā pitāmahaḥ*”²¹ - ‘I am the father of this universe, the mother, the support and the grandsire.’ It has been mentioned before that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is not only a treatise on loving devotion (*bhakti grantha*) to Lord. Nevertheless, it also serves as an exposition of the *vedāntic* ideas and views on the Supreme Spirit, the *Brahman*. It was in reply to the chief significant theological query as to how the *nirguṇa Brahman* could be explicated as the Supreme Reality by the *Vedas* which are *saguṇa Brahman* i.e. dealing with the boundaries of characteristics. In this connection, the advice of *Kṛṣṇa* to *Arjun* to be above mentioned the three attributes (*guṇas*)-*sattvika*, *rajasika* and *tamasika*, which the *Vedas* deal with. To support his own views on *Kṛṣṇa*’s role in his treatise, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*’s writer creates the incarnated *Vedas* or *srutis* rise the Lord from his sleep at the end of dissolution (*pralaya*) of the cosmos by a prayerful eulogy (*stuti*) telling *His* feature and qualities as the *Highest Brahman* (*Śrīkṛṣṇa*). In 10.87.21 canto of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in the eulogy, we come across the *Vedas* that worship God *Kṛṣṇa* (*Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa*) with respect thus,

“*durbaga ’mātma tattvanigamāya tavāttatnośacrī*
amahāmṛtavbhi parivarta pariśramṇāḥ
na parilakṣanti ke cidapabargamapīśvar te

²⁰ The *Bhāgavat*, 10.46.36-43

²¹ Prabhūpāda, S., *Bhagavad-Gita As It Is*, 9, XVII, The Bhakti Vedanta Book Truth, Mumbai, 2004, p.541

caran asroghamkula samvisṛta gṛhaḥ”

-‘O God(*Īśvara*)! There are very small number people who do not want salvation (*apavarga*) after having gave up home life and having pleased the association of fans(*bhaktas*) acting in the means of a flock of swans(stooping) before your lotus-like feet and after having shaken off (the fatigue of) their labour for plunging into the enormous ocean of nectar like life-story of yours,(for), you have assumed(human) form in order to manifest the unfathomable temperament of the soul(the highest spirit).’

The Vedas- *Rig, Shyam, Yudur* and *Atharva*-here applaud Lord *Kṛṣṇa(Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa)* in human form as the greatest object of adoration by the devotees (*bhaktas*), a fortunate few amongst whom do not like even to attain salvation of any verity(*mokṣa*). Nevertheless, wish to enjoy the eternal play (*Antara Lilā*) of the God. Here, in the place of salvation (*mokṣa*), devotion (*bhakti*) is more worthable to them. The canto under exposition lucidly means that the Supreme Self (*sarbacca ātman*) assumes human manifestations like as those of *Hari, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Chaitanya, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Hajarata Mohammad, Rāmakrishna* and other divine personages whom we call incarnators (*avatāras*) to teach their followers(*bhakta*) in universe the true nature of the Supreme Soul.(*sarbacca ātman*). Nevertheless, it comes into view that the crux of the complete teaching is that the fans(*bhaktas*) should stay in a shelterlessness for admiring the lotus-like feet of their gods and goddesses (*guru*).

*“nāyamātman”pravacanano labhya na medhayā na bahuna śrūtena
yamebāiā br̥ṇute tena labhystasaiṣ ātman bibr̥ṇte tanuṃsvām”²²*

This above mentioned the canto also recalls human beings of the metrical passage which tips-off at the mercy of the supreme soul(*sarbacca ātman*)as the price of the veneration (*bhakti*) show to *Kṛṣṇa* by aficionado(*bhakta*). In other canto, in the same context the same personified Vedas praise the God thus,

*“na ghatata uadbhavaḥ prakṛti-puruṣ
yourubhyayujā bhavantysubhṛtou jalavudvuadvat
tvayi tai me tatou bividhanāmguṇaiḥ
parame sarita ivārṇave madhuni liluyaraśeṣarsāḥ”²³*

-‘O Lord! There cannot take place any birth (of any creature) out of matter (*prakṛti*) or spirit (*puruṣa*) for both of them are explained as unborn (*ajas*)

*“ajāmekām louhita-śukla-kṛṣṇām bahaviḥ prajāḥ
srjamānām sarūpāḥ ajou heykou juṣmānouhnuṣete
jahāteynām bhuktabhugāmajouhanyḥ”²⁴*

But like water–bubbles the life–bearing beings are produced out of a union of both –*puruṣa-prakṛiti*. Therefore, these living beings with their various names,

²² The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,3.2.3

²³ The Bhāgavat,10.87.31

²⁴ Śvetaśvara Upaniṣad, 4.5

fame and qualities enter²⁵ into your Paramount Self (to be dissolved), just as the rivers²⁶ lose their own identity by entering into the ocean, or just as the different juices (of several types of flowers) dissolve themselves into (a single type of) honey²⁷”

In this above mentioning canto *śrīdharasvāmin* declares lucidly that the births (*puṇnāmagana*) of creatures are unreal, but only conditioned (*aupādhika*), since they pertain limitations of qualities or properties. Only in this single canto the *Bhāgavata Purāṇaapurāṇ* implicitly refers to only some significant *upaniṣadic* passages. It may be assumed that the great self or Brahman (*Omnipresent* and *Absolute Ātman*) creates out of Himself the *avatāras* like *Kṛṣṇa* and others previous noted human forms by his own power of illusion or ignorance (*māyā* or *adhyāsa*) to put aside the human beings from the circle of the oppressors on world. Again, the four *Vedas* (*caturvedas*) admire Lord (*Bhagavān*) as being absolutely One (*eka*) and Great Reality (*ekānta satyatā*). Hence, the manifestation (*śṛṣṭi*) of the cosmos is to be regarded as fairly illusory (*sampurna adhyās*). They respect *Kṛṣṇa* like this,

“ *na yadidamagra āsa na bhaviṣyadatou*

mitamantarā tvayi bibhati mṛṣaikarse ata upamīyate draviṇ'jāti vikalpa pathai vitatha manou vilas mṛta mityavayantya vudhaḥ”²⁸

-‘O Lord! Because this world didn’t exist before manifestation (*śṛṣṭi*) and it will not exist in the future after dissolution (*pralaya*). So, it is an ascertained fact that in the in-between or middle phase it wrongly comes out (*atmaprakasa*) to exist in *You* who are Supreme in quintessence. Therefore, the universe is contrasted with the different modification of Gold and other species. It is only the ignorant people who regard as real that which is only unreal and which is only a delusive or mental production.’ The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* also states in a means that *Kṛṣṇa* is Completely Great or Supreme and *His* manifestation (*prakaśa*), presentation (*upathāpana*) and destruction (*pralaya*) of the cosmos are *His* playful actions (*lilāmaya karmas*), resorted to by his power of *adhayās* or *māyā* in this above mentioned canto. The Highest Spirit is a constant and non-dual (*advaita*) unit, in which the cosmos should be thought of in terms of the nonattendance therein of all existences. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, This also states this matter regarded *Kṛṣṇa* in this manner,

“ *ajo 'pi sann avyay'ātmā bhūtānām Īśvaro 'pi san prakṛtiṃ svam adhiṣṭhāya sambhaavāmy ātma-māyayā*”²⁹

²⁵ “*yathā sudīptād pābkādvāsphuliṇāḥ sahasraśaḥ prabhante sarūpāḥ tathākṣarādivividhāḥ soumy bhāvāḥ prajāyantte tatra caivāpiṣanti*”, — The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*,2.1.1,

²⁶ “*yathā nadyaḥ syandamānāḥ samudrehastaṃ gacchanti nāmorupe bihāyo tathā bidvānnāmrupādvimukattaḥ paraparaṃ puruṣamupaiti divyam*” --

The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*,3.2.8

²⁶ *Chandhyakha upanisad*,6.9.1-2

²⁸ The *Bhāgavat*, 10.87.37

-‘though birthless and deathless, and the God of all beings as well, yet *He* (*Eternal Being*)’ take manifests Himself (a *avatār*) by *His* own power (*adhayās* or *māyā*) by resorting to *prakṛti* which is *His* own. Again, Vedanta idea is creation (*sṛasti*) is nothing but superimposition (*adhayās*) or provenance of properties of one thing to another. So, it may prove the adage that Brahman is real and the cosmos is unreal. The present context also states thus,

“ ‘*ātman ba idadmek ivagra āsīd**’

Sadeva souimeyadamagra āsīdekmevādvitīyam#”³⁰

Conclusion:

Universally people may believe that *Śrī Hāri* of *Satya Yuga* was born as human form-*Kṛṣṇa* in the *Dāpara Yuga*. It is true that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* wants to make the real spiritualistic role of Lord *Śrīkṛṣṇa* (*Bhagavān Śrīkṛṣṇa*) as outstandingly magnificent and to teach worldly people to believe by their description of *avatāra Kṛṣṇa* in conceivable backgrounds as identified with the absolute *Brahman*. We perceive *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* employs for Lord *Kṛṣṇa* those features which are applied in the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Upaniṣad to Brahman*. It may be pointed out how delightfully the *Bhāgavata* has mentioned that what is called as *Brahman*, as Paramount Omnipresent Lord (*paramātman*) is the same One Deity (*ekeśvara*) and monotheistic knowledge only leads us to the realization of Eventual Reality or Ultimate Truth(*ekānta satyatā*).

²⁹ Tapasysānanda,S., The Bhagavadgītā – The Scripture of Mankind With The Text In Roman Script and

Translation. 9.,XI., Sri Ramkrishna Math, Madras, 2009,P. 105

³⁰ Taitariya Upaniṣad, 1.1.1, # Chandhyakha Upaniṣad, 6.2.1



Swaraj Party in United Provinces Legislature

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The Swaraj Party created by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru on 1st January 1923 to achieve the twin objectives of securing Dominion states for India on the one hand, and frustrating the imperialistic designs of the British Government in India on the other hand¹. The Swaraj party desires to make it quite clear to the other political parties in the country and the people at large that it is pledged to obstruction against the government and not against any other party in the Legislature. The election manifesto issued by the Swaraj Party clearly, on its entry into the Legislative and provincial councils².

The Swarajist of U.P. Commanded an absolute majority in Legislative council of the central provinces. When the second council met on 15 January 1924, Swarajists effectively used all legislative tricks of the trade such as Budgets, Resolutions, demands for grants, government Bills, etc.

The election to the councils was to be held in November 1924, the Swaraj Party began to make preparations without delay for the coming contest. They issued the manifesto from Allahabad, explaining the policy and programme of the party. They declared at the very outset that the Swaraj Party was the main part of the congress. The party, on entering the Legislative Assembly, would demand the right of framing their own constitution and if this was refused, and they constituted a majority, they would resort to a policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make government through the Assembly and council impossible". The party would also readily accept the invitation of other parties to join with them. "for the

¹ Nanda, B.R.- *Motilal Nehru*- Pg. 149

² *The manifesto issued from Allahabad on 14 October 1923*

purpose of defeating the government on any non-official measure opposed by the government or on an official measure opposed by the inniting party or members". The Swaraj party contest for election in November, 1923 roused great enthusiasm all over the country which seemed to have get over the political inertia- brought about by the sudden suspension of the Non-co-operation movement. Very short time in which the party had to prepare for the contest, its success must be regarded as very remarkable. It routed the moderate and Liberal Party³.

In 1923 the Swarajists had won many seats in municipal boards in anumber of important towns of U.P., including Allahabad Lucknow and Kanpur. In the united provinces Legislative council the Swerajist strength declined from twenty- nine after the 1923 elections to twenty after 1926. Jaikaran Seth Misra had successfully contested united provinces Legislative Council election fresh RaiBareli constituency on a Swaraj Party ticket. Raja Jagannath Balsh Singh of Reshwan had stood as an Independent Candidate. By 1926 the position had changed. The Swarajists no longer commanded the respect of the non-cooperation congress⁴.

The election to the Legislature from the Faizabad Division constituency proved more tumultuous. In July 1926 the situation changed dramatically. Nehru case to know that Sena Ranajay Singh, heir to the great Taluqadari of Amethi in Sultanapur district, wished to contest the Faizabad election⁵.

The performance of the Swarajists in the provincial Legislature during the debate on the Agra Tenancy Bill in 1926 indicated the extent to which the U.P. Congress went, with Gandhi, 'One step at a time'.

In the election of 1924 in U.P. 40 seats went to Swarajists who won every seat wherever they opposed a Liberal candidate; only 8 Liberals, 6 Independent and 43 Land-lords were returned. In U.P., although they were returned in considerable number they did not constitute the largest group⁶. In the legislative Assembly Motilal Nehru, Malviya, Mukandi Lal, Govind Ballabh Pant and many other U.P. Leaders formulated the political programmes of Swaraj Party. The programme amongst the masses included political, Social economic and constructive work as per rules given in manifesto. The Swaraj Party derived its lesson from the history of Irish movement. The Swarajists aim was to bring deadlock in the Legislatures add overthrow the byarchy and provinces through their method of obstruction⁷.

³ *Manifesto, I.A.R., 1923, Vol.II, P.P. 219—20*

⁴ *FR December 1925 - February 1926; The Leader Elections in U.P., 101-21 and 126-48 for UPLC results*

⁵ *AICC 13/1926, Pt. I, MN, 26 July, 1926 Elections in U.P.,34*

⁶ *Proceedings of the Legislative council of the U.P. official Report. XXIX, 355,*

⁷ *Chatterjee, D.K.,C.R.Das and Indian National Movement : A study in his political Ideals, Calcutta, 1965, P.P.159-60*

On 17 March 1924, on a motion by Madan Mohan Malviya the central Legislative Assembly had withheld leave to intro-duce the Finance Bill by 60 votes against 57.

In the Legislative council of the united provinces many of U.P. Leaders as like - Mukandi Lal (Garhwal), Narain Prasad Arora (Kanpur), Hargovind Pant (Almora), Ram Chandra Sinha (Lucknow), Sangam Lal Agarwal, Secretary (Allahabad), Mohan Lal Saxena (Lucknow). Govind Ballabh Pant, Leader (Nainital). Govind Ballbh Pant was a leader of Swaraj Party in U.P. was critical of the performance of Local bodies in respect of the functioning of the departments of health, Sanitation, roads and means of communication. He suggested, "We must delegate all the powers, so far as possible, to the Indian administrator at the top so that he may not require so many checks and counter-checks above himself Nothing short of autonomy can be any avail"⁸.

Besides Nemi Saran of Bijnor strongly pleaded for the improvement of cottage industries. In the united provinces, and Mukandilal insisted upon the separation of Judiciary from the executive. Mohan Lal Saxena criticised the inadequate measures on the part of the Government in respect of consumption of Liquor. He stated : "Did the Government issue any hand bills, leaflets or placards to demonstrate to the people the evil of consequences of this habit?"⁹ In U.P. when the Legislative council reassembled on 11 March 1926 to have discussion on the budget, Pandit Govind Ballbh Pant, leader of Swaraj party in the council said that, "In accordance with the resolution adopted by the All India Congress Committee, the Swarajist members of the council would cease to function as members of the council, except on very special occasions.

He explained that the events of the last five years had established the fact about the mentality of Government'. Leader of Swaraj party in U.P. also added s "Co-opera-tion had only added to the intoxication and infatuation of the bureaucracy and the more it bed on it the greater grew its craving for it". The Government he opined was growing more and more unresponsive to public opinion. Soon after this, the Swarajist members withdrew and the budget discussion pro-ceeded.

When the civil Disobedience movement began many of leading congress man Legislators withdrew from the lime-light. Mukandilal, deputy leader of the U.P. Congress Lagislative from 1926 to 1929, his oxford-educated colleague Anandi Prasad Dube, a prominent member of the Allahabad bar, Jaikaran Nath Mishra, were among the congress notables who held aloof from the agitation. Malaviya Group organized the Independent congress party in 1926 to contest the provincial and Central Assembly

⁸ *Proceedings of the Legislative council of the united; provinces, Vol. XVII, P. 290.*

⁹ *Debates, U.P. Legislative Council, 11 March 1926*

elections against the official congress party controlled by Nehru¹⁰. In the build up to the elections in Legislatures was an important part of the Malviya offensive for the Hindu communal propaganda.

Hindu intransigence continued in 1926, the year of elections to the provincial and central legislature. At the end of September that year the Allahabad authorities, having failed to get Hindu. Muslim leaders to come to terms again imposed restrictions on processions. Madan Mohan Malviya who presided over a protest meeting attended by 10,000 Hindus. It was in 1926, too, that the Malviya Group established the communal Hindu campaign on an organized basis at the provincial level. Hindu members in a Legislature or a All India or a provincial Hindu Sabha set up a 'election Boards'¹¹.

Nehru and his Swarajist colleagues themselves gave way under this communal pressure in the end and adopted something of a Hindu communalist position. They argue that the congress stood for complete freedom in matters of religions and for the protection of all religions from the alien bureaucracy. Sampurnand, a Swaraj Party candidate for election from Banaras, declared that, while the Hindu body performed a vital role in the sphere of social and religious affairs, it had no reason to enter into 'politics' for the congress could, and would, protect the interests of all- Hindu as well as Muslim. There was at the same time a move on the part of some prominent Swarajists to dissociate themselves from open Hindu Sabha connections. As late as June 1926 Jyotishankar Dixit, at the time a secretary of the PCC and of the provincial Swaraj Party, resigned his secretaryship of U.P. Hindu Sabha, Swarajists who had been closely associated with the Hindu Sabha such as Sapurnanand and Anandi Prasad Dube. Motilal Nehru's hopes were dashed to the ground; and by a final touch of irony the Agra provincial Hindu Sabha and Malviya men controlling it formed an election board to protest Hindu interests at the very meeting at which the Swarajists had planned to capture the Hindu Sabha and have their nominee elected as president, But Now Swaraj Party became 'as good a Hindu Pody as one could want' and Nehru himself 'a true Hindu' Swaraj party leader of Govind Ballabh Pant gave the statement in legislative council.....

All India congress Committee acting on behalf of the premier and August national body the Indian National Congress had asked the members of Swaraj party in the various Legislatures in India to follow the course laid down in resolution 7(b) passed by the congress at its Kanpur session, The reasons which have constrained the committee at Delhi to take this step, mentioned in the first clause of the first resolution passed by All India Congress Committee were fully explained by the great leader of the Swaraj Party in his momentous

¹⁰ *The Leader* (28 February, 24 and 27 March, 7th April, 9 & 12 May, 28 August 1926).

¹¹ *U.P. GAD 246/1926 and 613/1926 (SRR) 1925-27 and Newspapers Report Kanpur Historiographers ISSN 2348-3814, Volume 7(1) June 2020 Page | 53*

Pronouncement in the Legislative Assembly¹². Govind Ballbh Pant in the Legislative council dis-cussed the position of Kisans and in his speech he describe that agrarian problems should find out a lasting solution. The shylock manner of landlords in realizing rents from their impoverished tenants and the hazardous nature of tenures determined by the Government were so telling on the peasants that Pantji, was inspired to stand up against them in mainly manner. Pantji Marshalled all his wit and wisdom to mould the Agra Tenancy Act, and the rules tramed there under, so that their healing touch reached down the peasants winning their commitment for the Swaraj Party and its leader¹³.

In the meantime the Swarajist were in favour of 'Responsive Co-operation'. By the end of July, 1926, the most influential section of the members of the Legislative council seceded from the congress. Lajpat Rai (from Punjab) tendered resignation from the Swarajya Party in 24 August 1926. Malaviya made a last but effort to unite the different sections of the congress in a conference at Delhi on 11 September 1926. At last the Responsivists and independent congressmen formed a new party, known as the Independent congress party, which issued a manifesto on 28 September, 1926, laying down a policy and programme based on 'Responsive-co-operation. The result of the election in 1926 showed that the old Swarajya Party had been replaced in three district groups. Government of India Act 1919 had introduced the system of diarchy to govern the provinces of British India. This act had a provision that a commission of British India. This act had a provision that a commission would be appointed after 10 years to investigate the progress of the governance scheme and suggest new steps for reform. The appointment was made under section 84a of the Government of India Act, 1919, which provided for decennial reviews of the political situation in India, somewhat reminiscent of the political surveys made by the British parliament into the company's charter. Since the statutory commission was due to 1920, it was rather surprising to find the Tory Government accelerating the date of the commission. The Indian National Congress had been pressing since 1920 for the Round Table conference for revising the constitution, with a view to the early introduction of Dominion Home Rule, but this demand had been consistently turned down by the British Government. The conservative party had never taken kindly to the Reforms of 1919, for which the Liberal Montagu, had been largely responsible though Indians opinion considered them inadequate and unsatisfactory. Since the General election in England was due in 1929, the conservative party found it necessary to appoint the statutory commission in 1927.

The commission was composed of seven members of the British Parliament under the chairmanship of John Simon. As all the seven members

¹² *Statement made in council on March 11, 1925 on behalf of the Swaraj Party before its member walked out of the council*

¹³ *Speech in U.P. Legislative council on July 3, 1926 on an amendment to Agra Tenancy Bill*

of the Commission were British, the congress passed the resolution of December 1927, to boycott the commission at every stage and in every form¹⁴. It was thought that no justice could be expected from this commission. It was welcomed with black flag demonstration, wherever it happened to visit. The members of Swarajya party opposed the competition of the commission in their speeches and writings in and out provincial and central Legislatures. When Simon Commission arrived in India, the entire atmosphere of the country resounded with the slogan 'Simon Go Back'. The demonstrating in Lucknow against the commission were subjected to a gruesome Lathi charge in which Pandit Nehru and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant were seriously hurt. On the day the Simon Commission finally arrived in Lucknow many a large number of demonstrators gathered at the railway station with black flags and armbands. The congress leaders refused to take up the position allotted to them for the demonstration claiming that it was too far from the route the commission would take¹⁵. The Lucknow events Simon had important repercussions in Kanpur city forty five miles away. As the commission reached at Kanpur on 3 December, college students went on strike and joined the anti-Simon demonstration in large numbers. They were so militant that the Kanpur Congress leaders, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Jawaharlal Rohtagi, along with were many others evidently in no position to control them. The cars carrying Simon and his colleagues at one point surrounded by slogan shouting demonstrators, one or two were hit by stones. Motilal Nehru, the Liberal leaders Sapru and Annie Besant issued a call for a complete ban in the columns of the nationalist press on all news concerning the Simon Commission and for the social boycott of the commission all who co-operated with its, The Liberals had never been so angry before. In the U.P. Legislative council a resolution condemning the Simon Commission. The Liberal Leader C.Y. Chintamani, Nehru, Pant the leader of Swaraj Party were involved in the clasher and they were very much against the commission and its action⁶. But it noted also that 'the Hindu community as a whole is in favour of the political boycott of the Simon Commission. After the death of Punjab congress leader Lala Lajpat Rai the condolence meetings, which served at the same time as meetings agitation for a more complete boycott of the Simon Commission, were held all over the Northern India .

The reception to the appointment of the all-white statutory commission which was announced simultaneously by the British Prime Minister in parliament and the viceroy of India on 8 Nov. 1927 was extraordinary in its nature. The prominent leaders of the extreme right of Indian politics regarded the exclusion of Indians from the commission as a direct insult to the intelligence of India and jointed hands in denouncing its constitution and procedure and advocating its boycott, Moderates and extremists, Swarajists and no-changers and some of the loyalists-all stood on the same platform.

¹⁴ Jayakalan, N. : *History of the freedom movement*, Pg. 67-69

¹⁵ JN estimated the distance to be ¼ miles, *Pioneer* (2 December 1928).

Protest Meetings were held in almost all the towns and cities, throughout the country, in order to record their emphatic protest against the commission. The reaction of the appointment of the Simon Commission, by prominent leaders of the Legislative assembly, led to a serious debate in Feb-1928¹⁶.

In his presidential address at the Calcutta Congress held in December 1928, Motilal was very much critical of the Simon Commission. The Congress passed a resolution in connection with hartal observed by various communities of India against the statutory commission¹⁷. The reaction of the Swarajists towards the Simon Commission was of the same magnitude as that of the Indian National Congress. Undoubtedly, the proposals of the commission were utterly unacceptable to the congress, member of Swaraj Party and other political parties, including Muslim League. There was so much agitative mood in the central Assembly that a member cried out 'Burn it', Gaya Prasad Singh said, "perform its funeral ceremony". Ziauddin called it an, "unimaginative uninspiring and unsympathetic".

In an atmosphere of hatred and hostility and distrust and disappointment the Simon Commission published its Report in May 1930, with some important recommendations.

¹⁶ *Debates, The legislative Assembly Vol. I-II 1928 P.P. 312 ff*

¹⁷ *The Report of the Indian National Congress, Madras session, 1927*
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Non-cooperation Movement in Kanpur

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It can be said in earnest that the year 1919 was a watershed in the annals of the freedom movement for it saw the rise of Gandhi on the national scene and he was effectively carving out his philosophy of Satyagraha. Gandhi described it as follows: "I have also called it love-force or soul force. This force is indestructible. He who uses it perfectly understands his position. It can also be called more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance. The force of arms is powerless when matched against the force of love and soul."

¹ And Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1909 defined it as follows:

"It is essentially defensive in its nature and it fights with moral and spiritual weapons. A passive resister resists tyranny by undergoing suffering in his own person. He pits soul force against brute force; he puts the divine in man against the brute in man; he pits faith against injustice; right against wrong"² Satyagraha was not only an appeal to the British constitution, it was also an appeal to the British conscience. In 1908 Gandhi defined it as 'self imposed suffering of an acute type, intended to prove justice of the cause, and thus bring conviction some to the minds of Colonialists.'³ As Gandhi himself admitted Satyagraha was undertaken after the methods of petitioning etc. had been exhausted, and in order to draw public attention to a grievance that was keenly felt and in order to draw public attention to a grievance that was keenly

¹. Anthony J. Parel (ed.) Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and other Essential Writings cited in 1997, Page No. 1

². P.C. Bamford, History of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movement, Delhi, 1925 [1974] Page No. 1

³. S.R. Mehrotra, Towards, India's Freedom and Partition, Delhi, 1979, Page No. 137

felt and resented by the (Indian) community. But it was not entirely uninfluenced by developments outside South Africa, notably those in Ireland, England and India. Gandhi was a keen observer of events and movements in foreign lands. Gandhi was a keen observer of events and movements in foreign lands. He saw the struggle of the Indians in South Africa not as an isolated venture, but as a part of a wider, international movement. Gandhi was not interested in Chauvinistic nationalism - he aspired to a universalism that soared above narrow political goals.⁴

The British Raj appointed in 1917 what is known as the Rowlatt committee to "investigate and report on the nature and extent committee to" investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India" and "to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them. Rowlatt Act deprived the suspected persons even forms the ordinary rights and privileges of trial and defence provided under the law. It was a big disappointment and of scorn to the Indians as it discarded the fundamental principles of justice and violated the constitutional rights of the people at a time when there was no danger to the state.⁵ Saifuddin Kitchlew the famous congress leader of Punjab while delivering a speech at Jalandhar on 1 April, 1919 had described the Rowlatt Bill as a 'Kaala Naag' (black cobra) and it aims to destroy and ruin our coming generation. He asked people to obey the words of Mahatma Gandhi and make an all round hartal on 6 April as the people of Amritsar had done on 30 March, 1919.⁶

By appointing the Rowlatt committee, the government wanted to assume necessary powers to combat during the post war period a resurgence of revolutionary activity which it anticipated.

While Gandhi and others were busy contributing to the governments was efforts in different ways and hoping of "a new order to things" without trouble and disorder, the people were trying to resist the offensives of the Raj and its domestic allies in different parts of the subcontinent.⁷ On the recommendation of Rowlatt committee, Government of India drafted two bills to replace the defence of India Act. Despite widespread opposition of all the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative council, except one, who was a members of the Viceroy's Executive council, one of the two bills giving the government draconian powers- the right to arrest, search and imprison any person without trial to establish special courts etc. became a law on 18 March, 1919. The popular view of the Rowlatt Act was summed up in the slogan 'na appeal, na dalul, na vakeel. (No appeal, no argument, no advocate).

⁴. David Hardiman, Gandhi in his time and Ours, Delhi, 2003, Page No. 16

⁵. S.R. Mehrotra, op. cit, page no. 139.

⁶. Taufique Kitchlew, Selected works and speeches of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Delhi, 1999, Page No. 65.

⁷. Suniti Kumar Ghosh, India and the Raj (1919-47), Glorys Shame and Bondage, Calcutta, 1989, Page No. 185.

Suniti Kumar Ghosh further says that in a letter written in June, 1919, Gonthi observed that "economic distress, political repression and an awakening among the masses had caused unrest of a deep-seated character" all over the world. Speaking of India he said that 'It is an all-round unrest due to repression famine and causes.' What was his panacea for it? He wrote ".....If the rapidly widespread growth of Bolshevism which is attacking one nation after another in Europe was to be successfully arrested in India and even possibility of its finding a congenial soil safeguarded against, it was necessary that the people of India shall be reminded of the legacy of their civilization and culture, which is comprised in one word 'Satyagraha' - the highest mantra one can know of.

The Non-cooperation Movement was finally inaugurated on August, 1, 1920. The movement had practically based itself on an entire gamut of Gandhian ideals and I was the first and perhaps the last example of a complete Hindu-Muslim solidarity. Many local stalwarts of the city like - Pt. Rambharose Tripathi, poet Balkrishna Sharma 'Neveen' and others gave up their teaching profession and became full time freedom fighters. Narayan Prasad Arora who had joined the nationalist activity as a full time activist in 1916 only resigned from his post as headmaster of Marwari college.⁸

The first boycott movement in Kanpur was started in October 1920 after the Calcutta session (4-8 September, 1920) of the Indian National Congress. It was attended by leaders like Murarilal Rohatgi, Ganesh Shanker Vidhyarthi, Ram Prasad Mishra and Maulana Hasrat Mohani from Kanpur. The resolution regarding the progressive Non-violent non-cooperation when was opposed by the leaders like Madam Mohan Malaviya, Bipin Chandra Pal, C.R. Das, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Motilal Nehru and Annie Besant, who supported by the leaders of the United Provinces, the chief amongst them were Motilal Nehru and Ganesh Shanker Vidhyarthi. Leaders like Malaviya, Jinnah, Motilal and Lajpat Rai were also quite nervous about Gandhiji's mass mobilization fearing it would unleash a force that would be difficult to control. Their fears were compounded by his efforts to forge a Hindu-Muslim front, making religious identity as the fulcrum of nationalism.⁹

The city Congress committee had appointed a sub-committee to conduct and supervise the work of the Boycott movement. Cloth worth crores of rupees was seized and effectively stopped its sale. In his enterprise of the city Congress the local cloth merchants and brokers gave their full support to the movement.¹⁰

⁸. Kanpur Ka Itihaas, Op. Cit, Page No. 14

⁹. Shabnum Tejani, Indian Secularism : A social and intellectual History 1890-1950, Rani Khet, 2007, Page No. 178.

¹⁰. Lakshmikant Tripathi (ed.), Abhinandan Granti, Narayan Prasad Arora, Kanpur, 1951, Section IV Page No. 27-28

Jawaharlal Nehru was in support of picketing when he visited Kanpur and his consent for the same made the masses more enthusiastic and boycott was now being carried in full swing. Stalwarts of the local congress committee like Krishna Dutt Paliwal and Mannilal Awasthi were the leading lights of the movement. Slogan glorifying patriotism and nationalist songs were rendered and sung by them so as to galvanize the masses. Along with the picketing there was also a great zeal for organizing public bonfires of foreign clothes. The Satyagrahis enthusiastically carried this programme going from house to house asking for and collecting foreign made clothes. Both Mannilal and Paliwal were supervising the prominent centre of these leader's activities.

The congress supported Gandhi's plan for non-cooperation with the Government till the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were removed and Swaraj is not attained. People were asked by the leaders to boycott Government run educational institutions and aided schools and colleges, law courts and legislatures and to have a penchant for hand weaving and hand spinning for producing Khadi. These decisions were endorsed at the annual session of the congress held at Nagpur in December 1920. Swami Satya Deo visited Kanpur on 14 October and gave a speech which reflected on the harms British rule had brought on the country. He opened his speech by highlighting the virtues for which the English nation is known yet the Yardstick it applies in India is exactly opposite of it. He said that, "The English Nation can never help any other nation to the detriment of its self interest and selfishness, but where another nation is to be injured anyhow and it has to attain its own object it will go there." His speech also recalled the policy of Mendicancy that was followed by the early nationalists to secure concessions from the Government but all was in vain. The Indians readily rendered their support to Britain with men and money in the War and Lord Hardinge, the viceroy went at great lengths to secure it yet what has happened he asked. Satya Dev was particularly incensed at the Punjab wrong Punjab wrong doings and at the same time highlighted the issue of Khilafat and the injustice done to the Muslims. He made references to Maulana Mohammad Ali, Mahatma Gandhi and Vithalbhai J. Patel as men who have seen the hypocrisy of England and other European nations regarding India. Extolling the people to pursue 'Might is Right' He also urged people to ask many Rai Sahadurs and Rai Sahibs of Kanpur to give up their titles which are nothing but a mark of dishonour. There was a strong need for Hindu Muslim amity and he also praised Murari Lal Rohatgi who gave up his council title. He interestingly called the councils as 'rice to ensnare pigeons.'¹¹

On November 23, 1920 Ganesh Shanker Vidhyarthi (who was editor of the Pratap Newspaper) released the first daily edition. There had been a massive wave of political consciousness amongst the farmers of the United Provinces (Now Uttar Pradesh) and they decided to organize themselves against the landlords (taluqdars and Zamindars) who were resorting to evil

¹¹. Home Police Department, File No. 104N/1920.

practices. Farmers organized under the Kisan Sabha rose in revolt. Brutal firing in Rae Bareilly district led to the death of scores of farmers. This issue was courageously taken up by Vidhyarthi in his Pratap. Incensed at the growing popularity of the newspaper and that it was vociferously taking up the issues of farmers and workers, deeply disturbed the Government and consequently a lot of seditious charges were imposed on the newspaper. Hence the daily edition had to be closed down on July 6, 1921, but the weekly Pratap continued.¹² Displaying of swords by the Muslim volunteers and Seva Samiti workers was a marked feature of the movement and was something which was not very pleasing to the Government. Volunteers justified their action on the ground that after the publication of the new Arms Act Rules, in January 1920, the Mathura Sewa Samiti had advertised that anyone could now possess a sword.¹³

Swords were also being carried by irregular volunteers in demonstrations and in honour of extremist leaders. On the occasion when Maulana Mohammad Ali was passing through the city, a volunteer sat on the box seat of his carriage waving a naked sword in the air. In November 1919, the Muslim volunteers of Agra were reported to be learning drill on Sundays. In the same month the Allahabad Sewa Samiti announced that training in drill was to be given to the Sewa Samiti volunteers as well as to the boy scouts. In May 1920, it was reported that at a private meeting of the Khilafat committee at Kheri it had been decided to prepare uniforms for the Khilafat committee at Kheri it had been decided to prepare uniforms for the volunteers and to give them military training. In the previous month it had been reported that the Muslim volunteers of Kanpur were to do taught drill twice a week and to be used as process servers for the local Muslim tribunal established in connection with the Khilafat agitation.

Gandhi had inaugurated the 'Swadeshi Bhandar' a shop set up by Maulana Hasrat Mohani in the city on January 21, 1920. The biggest centre in U.P. of the sale of indigenous goods. All through his life Mohani remained true to his conviction about using only indigenous goods. He was so particular about it that he once braved a very cold night, shivering at a friend's place, where a soft foreign-made blanket had been by mistake kept on the bed, meant for him. He was too moralistic to disturb his hosts late at night, and too principled to use that blanket against his convictions.¹⁴ This store had Murarilal Rohatgi, Vishwambhar Nath Tripathi and Jawaharlal Rohatgi as directors. These leaders presented addresses glorifying Swadeshi (printed on silk and Khadi clothes) to Mahatma and Kasturba Gandhi respectively.¹⁵ It was

¹². Arvind Arora, *Beesween Sadi Ke Kanpur Ke Prassith Purush Avem Mahilayen*, Kanpur, 1947, Page No.6

¹³. GAD, File No. 604

¹⁴. Muzaffar Hanafi, *Hasrat Mohani* (translated by Khadiya Azeem), Delhi, 2004 Page No. 55.

¹⁵. Lakshmikant Tripathi (ed.) *Op. cit.* page No. 29.

Mahatma's first visit to the Kanpur city. Three exhibition were organized at Balika Vidyalaya, Sarsys Ghat and Phoolbagh respectively by the Swadeshi Swarajya fund league. The same year on October 14, Gandhi revised the city and gave a speech at city's parade ground. The following is the translation of his speech-

Brethren, if you will please pressure a little order my voice may reach all brothers. You will excuse me for my inability to speak standing. It gives me great pleasure to see such a vast gathering, but at the same time. I am not going to conceal my grief, my dear brethren, because we Hindus and Muslim want to get the Khilafat question, settled, which means that we are going to engage in a contest with mighty Empires of Europe, we want the Punjab injustice to be undone so that such incidents may not recur, and we want Swaraj in India, and I must confess before you that Swaraj is impossible for us so long as we do not acquire the capacity even to manage a large concourse. Touring throughout India I have observed that we do not possess organizing capacity. My first lesson in organizing such a huge meeting is that we may be able to work quietly. All of you, my brethren should bear in mind that if we want to carry on the administration of India ourselves we should develop as much capacity and administrative ability as the English possess. I have seen a vaster enemy than the gathering before me just now. I would tell you, brethren the first thing is opposition with the sword, but at present I am not going to oppose with the Swarj; rather I want to get this work done through non-cooperation. I want a discipline even more rigid than military discipline. If you cannot acquire that discipline I am sure you cannot get Swaraj. I would therefore ask all brethren to consider how we can carry on our work in this vast gathering. We should bear in mind in the first place that those who are not connected with the management should not speak. God is kind and merciful towards us; we are on the path of truth and so no serious accident happens to us and no one is killed-out it also happens that people die in such gatherings. If we want to get the Khilafat question settled and the Punjab question settled and to introduce Swaraj in India, there should be sincere affection between Hindu and Muslim. Lip friendship will gain nothing for us. There should be heartfelt love between them. Just as it is to be found in two sons of the same mother. Our next duty is to realize that one lakh of Englishman cannot continue to rule over us with the help of aero planes. They will over us because of our help. If we withdrew our aid from it, the government would sink today. Therefore we have decided that we do not possess the power of the world. Therefore we have also issued a manifesto and the Central Khilafat Committee, the Muslim League and the congress have decided; we do not want the murder of a single Englishman; we do not want Government buildings to be burnt. If we want to burn anything it is our own heart; remove, it is our own body. If we want to sacrifice anything, it is our heart. When we acquire the power of sacrifice, we will be able to this Government. We have also decided this and all of you brethren know, the congress, Muslim League and Khailafat committee have all come to the conclusion and all have said that

we should cease helping Government. We should hence forth accept no aid or favour from Government. This is our heritage. This is the way to do that thing well, so we have decided that Governments schools and colleges run with Government money, Government courts, Government Legislative Councils are forbidden for us. On account of our slavery we have left Swadeshi and so we should take Swadeshi as our duty.

Citizens and leaders of Cawnpore, I therefore appeal most respectfully to you that If you have the good of your country at heart you should bid good-bye to ease and luxury and sacrifice yourselves. This proposition is so clear for you, my people of Cawnpore, that you will not care what other parts of India are or are not doing and will discharge the duty with which you have been entrusted.¹⁶

Kanpur responded to Gandhi's call with much vigour. The Rashtriya Kanyakubja Vidhyalaya which was established as a centre for national education during the movement stands as a testimony to city's brush with nationalism. Its founder was Pt. Mannilal Awathi who had resigned as headmaster of Kanyakubja college. Murari Lal Rohatgi resigned his membership of city Municipal board Murari Lal Rohatgi also gave up his title of 'Rai Bahadur'.¹⁷

Gandhi again visited the city on August 8, 1921. His visit gave a boost to the already going movement. Many leaders were arrested. Narayan Prasad Arora was given six months' imprisonment and was sent to Agra jail. Jawahar Lal Rohatgi too were arrested and sent to the jail for the first time in December 1921. He was sent to Lucknow Central Jail and given an imprisonment of 18 months. His associates in jail included - Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, J.B. Kripalani, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mahadev Desai, Purshottam Das Tandon and others.¹⁸ Dev Narayan Pandey a congress activist was among the front ranking agitators in the Non-cooperation Movement and was arrested in 1921 for giving a seditious speech against the British government.¹⁹

The All India congress committee, meeting at Bezwada on 13 March, 1921 passed resolution calling upon all workers to concentrate their attention chiefly on (i) collecting one crore of rupees for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. (ii) Enlisting a crore of members and (iii) Introducing 20 lakh charkhas (Spinning wheels) into Indian household - all this before 30 June, 1921.

A brief mention should also be made of a firebrand congress activist Hamid Khan who had entered the nationalist agitation at the young age of 19 in the year 1919. He served six months in Jail in city's nai Sadak area. he also

¹⁶. Rekha Trivedi (ed.), Gandhi Speaks on Non-Cooperation in U.P., Lucknow, 1988, Page No. 13-16

¹⁷. Kanpur Ka Itihaas, op. cit, Page No.13

¹⁸. Arvind Arora, Kanpur Ka Prassith Purush, Op. Cit. pp. 47-48.

¹⁹. S.P. Bhattacharya, Swatantra Sangram Ke Sainik (Ministry of Information, U.P.), Lucknow, 1968, Page No. 361

went to Nagpur in the year 1923 to participate in the 'Flag Satyagraha' and was subsequently arrested and was given a rigorous imprisonment of one year in the Nagpur central Jail.²⁰

The hysteria generated by Non-Cooperation Movement in the city was amazing and at par with some of the other cities in the United Provinces. It had accepted the entire gamut of Gandhian programme and the greatest success was visible in the boycott of Government school and colleges. The boycott of foreign cloth was perhaps the most novel features in Kanpur and this continued at a rapid pace until the country achieved Independence in 1947. Students in large numbers left these institutions. The Tilak Swaraj Fund was also handsomely contributed in Kanpur and popularization of Khadi took place. But above all the most promising and novel feature of the movement was Hindi-Muslim unity (which sadly was not to be repeated afterwards).

The episode of the burning of 22 policeman at Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur forced Gandhi to call off the movement. Voices of dissension rose in the congress and Kanpur also felt sad and defected at the sudden call of withdrawal. The congress party for time being was in the margins and revolutionary groups started becoming active in the city.

²⁰. Arvind Arora, Op. cit, p. 175.

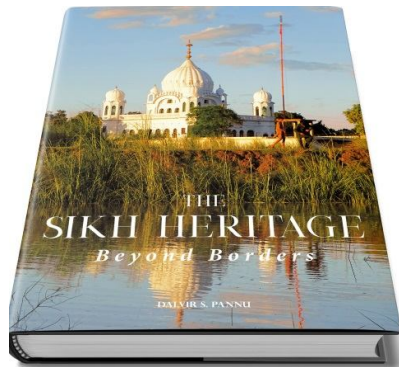
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Book Review

THE SIKH HERITAGE: BEYOND BORDERS

Authored by Dalvir Singh Pannu

Prof. Sidra Shafi

Department of English

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The zest and inspiration of research was nurtured in the heart of Dr. Dalvir Singh Pannu which encouraged and motivated him to pen down, “*THE SIKH HERITAGE: BEYOND BORDERS*” by his long standing passion for unearthing the narratives of Sikh historical and religious places displaced during the India-Pakistan partition of 1947. The bloodshed, pangs, miseries of the departed souls during process of partition were agonized by meeting desertion from the sacred and historical memorials. Today, these priceless monuments stand out as a symbol of the peaceful and harmonious past lives of people sharing a heritage whose affinities range beyond physical borders and territories. The most glaring aspect is that Dr Dalvir has dedicated this book to Guru Nanak on his 550th birth anniversary which is celebrated across the globe in November, 2019. The father of Sikhism, Guru Nanak was a great humanitarian, a brilliant scholar and a devout missionary who

spent his entire life discoursing on and pursuing the conception of one true God. He holds universal reverence for breaking the barriers of class, caste and communities.

The book on the Sikh heritage dedicates one chapter each to the 84 sites that it documents, transporting readers to the past by narrating the detailed history of each marvel that the author and his team photographed throughout Pakistan. This book is the culmination of decade-long fieldwork of finding and exploring the heritage sites, alongside analyzing multiple Janamsakhis (hagiographical accounts). The author's process of doing extensive analysis and cross-referencing with other sources enables readers to comprehend Sikh history, by posing inquiries, applying critical thinking, and investigating hundred sources. He includes a multitude of primary sources and Gurumukhi inscriptions, translated into English, to increase local and international heritage-lovers; understanding of these sites and to help and preserve their beauty and histories through his writing. Sainly heritage has always been considered as a hub for social and communal attraction in societies for their growth and development. Its significance cannot be denied at all. Dr. Dalvir has penned down this onerous task to take the responsibility on his shoulders and presents an very compact and comprehensive visual narrative of Sikh Sacred Places whether they are in a good a or bad condition; being braved of negligence. The current volume of this book pertains to the pictures of the Sikh sacred places located in district Lahore, Sheikhpura, Nankana Sahib, Kasur, Narowal and Sialkot.

The description of Gurdwara Janam Asthan at Nankana Sahib has been discussed in detail. The various pictures cover the inner interior of the Gurdwara including well and ancient tree where Sikhs were burnt alive on 20th February, 1921. The inscriptions on the ceiling and walls narrate the story of ancestral heritage. The aerial view of the Gurdwara Complex evinces the serenity and peacefulness as placid religious center. The Gurdwara was built to commemorate the site where Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, settled after his missionary work for his rest of life. There were certain other pictures which reflect the young students learning Gurbani and Gurmukhi from their teachers. It describes their daily routine practice in every morning at Gurbani Santhiya Class where Sikh youth used to practice the correct pronunciation of Sri Guru Granth Sahib. It is worth appreciating that the author has very skillfully presented the blend of historical and religious expeditions and events through pictorial sketch of the holiest sites of the Sikh religion. It imparted the preaching of Guru: peace, harmony and the message of universal brotherhood. It was his mandate as he believed in equality between castes, religions and presented the concept of "oneness of God" meaning there is only one God. The scholarly tour to Bale Da Khooh with Mr. Pannu satiated the folk desire of readers and takes the flight of historical venture while narrating the momentous events regarding progression of language. It emphasized on the identity of Bala and Janamsakhi. How the giant well was renovated on the grant provided voluntarily by Misaldar Ranjit Singh and the zeal and zest of

community service in its construction, is well sketched. The affixation of framed photograph at a shrine in Shikarpur, Sindh displaying Guru Nanak seated on a mat with a tree looming above his head as a canopy enlightens the souls of worshippers who visit it for ziarat. The visit to Gurdwara Sacchi Manji is known for its historic significance at Haft Madr. It is presenting a scene of ruins. Unfortunately, it remained unattended and all the holy relics (cot, shoes, walking stick) have been either destroyed or vanished.

In district Sheikhpura, there is a Gurdwara named Sucha Sauda which is an illustration of Baba Nanak's generosity and desire to serve humanity at any cost. The elegant white tinted structure of Gurdwara is the center of attraction for tourists and worshippers. The interior view of main hall is too praiseworthy. Gurdwara Babe di Ber in Sialkot is the epitome of meeting between Baba Guru Nanak with Faqeer Hamza Ghaus Sarkar. The inner hall of ceiling with abraded painting decorates the pictorial view of above stated meeting in a charismatic way. There is another picturesque meeting between Guru Gobind and Punj Piyare at Shri Anandpur Sahib during the Khalsa Initiation in 1699. The graphic view of the author of book is commendable. The wall painting actually attained a historical significance due to its best quaint artwork. These pictures clearly captured the spacious chamber of Gurdwara and many plaques are telling the stories of pre-partition donations being affixed on the walls. The aerial view of the building is a conspicuous piece of photography which netted the historic *beri tree* located in the premises of Gurdwara. The adjacent graveyard owned the mausoleum of Hamza Ghaus Sarkar which evidently affirms the strong affinity between Baba Guru Nanak and Hamza Ghaus Sarkar. It further preaches a lesson to Muslims and Sikh community to maintain peace and stability in the society by promoting interfaith harmony. The descriptive details of another Gurdwara Manji Sahib at Deokay, Pasrur is another example of strong communion between Mian Mithu faqeer and Baba Guru Nanak. This place is enlightened with the everlasting lamps of spirituality. The portraits of Gurdwara Nanaksar in the village of Bhinder is mourning over its debris. The interior view of ruins of Gurdwara has been waiting for its worshippers to get it restored to its original interior. A Gurmukhi inscription inside Gurdwara Nankar is not legible now because of the deteriorated condition of the building which has been converted now into the storage room.

It is pertinent to appraise the pictorial description of Alpa situated in Kasur; worth appreciating. The disfigured architect, ramped paintings on the walls and unavailability of any inscriptions of plaques at this structure cannot define the further details about the building. Gurdwara at Chunian district Kasur where Guru Arjan visited and helped people to assuage their hardships and problems in order to combat natural disaster; has been illustrating the historic stories/events for centuries. The floral designs on the interior ceilings reflect the stories of remnants of Guru Hargobind. Some pictures focused the floral patterns of dome which certify the glorious historic elevation of this building. Gurdwara Janamasthan Guru Ram Das at Chuna Mandi Lahore is an

exemplary symbol of beautiful architect and a place of worship. It is worth mentioning that the author has discussed 40 pictorial descriptions of Gurdwaras located in district Lahore, each a marvel at its own, owing to Pakistan is considered as the center of religious hub for Sikhs. It is satisfying to delineate that this book is comprehensive in content to address and quench the thirst of readers within short span of time. It is pertinent to add here that this book not only delivers and narrates the pictures but also it gives a complete description and details related to different sacred places of Sikh Heritage. The book has a very detailed index at the end of the book which will impress librarians, and the entries have almost equal number of Muslim names as that of Sikh. It shows how much the author struggled to maintain the balance of Sikh and Muslim narratives in the work. The end notes and bibliography is very detailed, and will provide a vital resource to the history researchers. The Gurmukhi verses and inscriptions are translated in English to make it easy for international academicians

The study of this book enlightens the souls of readers while taking them into the realm of sacred culture of Sikhs that awards vitality to the cultural notions and soothes the inner core of soul. It transforms its readers on the wings of virtual flight to get the maximum taste of purity and sacredness. It would be appropriate to articulate that this (book) is a Heritage of Punjab. It is the religious legacy. It is the culture of Sikhs. This tells about the co-existence between Muslims and Sikhs and Hindus. The time these two cultures had spent altogether before partition. It is evident of their cordial relationships too. Because everybody loves saints. The saintly love and heritage is always been honored by the Punjabis. Therefore, this is the capaciousness of the Punjabi culture and society to live a reverent life and to maintain a liaison with other religions. So the Punjab is a secular and liberal land, one can see that the rural Punjab is always peaceful, placid and serene whereas the suicide attacks are the urban phenomena and rural life is still counted as peaceable; it is an existing fact that the cultural hubs are always the rural areas. The cities are polluted with the politics, religious secularism, communal riots and dogmatic maneuverings are the order of the day. But rural Punjab is always helping, interdependent, following caste system interlinked with saintly heritage. Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh sacred book contains poetry of Baba Farid, Ashlok of Baba Fareed as well. Along with practicing full time dentistry, the author has fervor for Sikh heritage around the globe. Believing that each historic and religious site has a story to tell. This book has a unique and everlasting contribution to Sikh Heritage focusing on saintly legacy. I tend to convey my heartiest congratulations to Dr. Dalvir Singh Pannu for this very positive contribution in the cultural heritage of literary world.

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Book Review

Punjab: An Anatomy of Muslim-Sikh Politics

Authored by Akhtar Hussain Sandhu

Dr. Pargat Singh

Chairman, Sikh Education Council, UK.

& Gurpreet Singh Rehal UK.

The realities of partition and the roles of congress leaders in the violent foundation of the Indian State in something that Indian history has failed to reconcile, the effects of which are evermore present today in terms of the second class status of religious minorities and lower castes. Looking at the present predicament of Sikhs within India, many in the Diaspora look back at history and find it difficult to appreciate why the Sikh leadership did not opt for a Sikh State or reach a settlement with the Muslim League to avoid the partition of the province - this book goes a long way to answering that question. Dr Sandhu agrees with Sikh Historiography in that Sikhs failed to make use of their privileged position in negotiations with the British to benefit their community despite having the most to lose. History is testament to the fact of how being in a weak negotiating position can lead to failure to reach a settlement, and the Sikhs of Punjab are one such example for which they paid a heavy price. The failure of these negotiations continue to be the existential crisis of survival that Sikhs face.

Dr Sandhu identifies many reasons for the failure, chief among them was that leadership failed to have a realistic look at the situation and come to an agreement on what would be achievable under the prevailing circumstances. Sikhs were not in a majority in any area of Punjab and were not a party to negotiations at the all India level. There existed an antagonism between the Sikh landed aristocracy and the Akali Dal which further weakened the communities' negotiating power by the latter not utilising the formers links with the imperial administration. Dr Sandhu enlightens the reader on how the repeated threats of violence by the Akali Dal to prevent partition lead to a breakdown of trust with both the British and Muslim

League. The sure way to avoid the partition of Punjab necessitated negotiations with Muslim League being the sole representative of the majority community of Punjab. Negotiations with all stakeholders would have presented the limits of the alternative options which were available.

Retrospectively, the Sikhs should have had much common ground with the Jinnah, for they both feared the same thing – in the words of John Stuart Mill ‘tyranny on the majority’. Dr Sandhu opines that a Pakistan with a federal setup and additional representation of Sikhs in the national legislature and army would have made the Sikhs a potent force in Pakistan but the Sikhs failed to explore this possibility despite efforts made by Jinnah. Jinnah campaigned for the idea of Muslim self-determination based on hopes and horrors, he maintained flexibility in his approach ensuring the unity of Muslims behind the idea. On the other hand, the Akali Dal’s re-demarcation of borders for the Azad Punjab met resistance from those Sikhs left on the wrong side of the proposed border. The Akal Dal was rather dismissive of these groups and pacified them with false promises rather than seek solutions. It also appeared to be more concerned with its position and perception within the Sikh community rather than focusing on getting solid concessions from the other stakeholders. The Akal Dal’s focus on the Azad Punjab scheme which had been rejected by Congress and lack of contingency planning could only spell catastrophe. Dr Sandhu paints a picture of weak Sikh leadership, unable to keep pace with changing developments and unable to recognise and respond to the threats of Hindu Communalism, in particular how the Congress sought to divide the Sikhs and eliminate them as a political force.

The book also touches on rural politics of the Punjab, where relations between Sikhs and Muslims was one of peaceful coexistence, but how these relations were unable to counter the tide of religious nationalism fermenting in the cities.

“Using primary sources, including police intelligence reports, Sandhu’s work studies the pre-partition politics of Punjab and specifically Muslim-Sikh politics. Sandhu analyses the strength of Sikh leadership and contrasts this with Congress and the Muslim League counterparts, scrutinising the relative negotiating positions, demands and missed opportunities. Identifying key weaknesses within the Sikh community, and its internal political and class divisions, Sandhu explores why the demand for Azad Punjab was ultimately untenable and how Congress sought to eliminate Sikhs as a political force. Positing what Sikh inclusion within Pakistan may have looked like, Sandhu’s exceptional work is considered timely as communalism in South Asia rears its head once more.”

“Whilst there are many books on Partition, this book is the first of its kind in that it offers a glimpse into Sikh-Muslim relations from the Western Punjabi perspective. In examining the causes of partition Dr Sandhu opines that not

only did Punjab lack a charismatic leader that could unite all the communities but that the national parties also lacked Punjabi leaders that could work for the interests of Punjab. Also, the Central Congress leaders did not allow autonomy of provincial leaders to decide on provincial matters. This has been a lasting legacy of the Congress in India which ultimately led to the Anandpur Sahib Resolution in Eastern Punjab as an effort to resolve state-centre relations.”

“This splendid work by Prof. Sandhu is a welcome work on an internationally neglected topic, Muslim-Sikh politics. The wide use of primary sources, in particular, police intelligence reports is an important addition to the study of pre-partition politics of Punjab and comes at an opportune time with the recent opening of the Kartarpur corridor.”

"The book may benefit from including details of the Rikab Ganj affair (precursor the Gurdwara Reform movement) which weakened the prestige of the Sikh aristocracy in the eyes of the Panth as sole representatives of the Sikh community. The Sikh aristocracy was too submissive to the wishes of the Government and acted in their interests rather than build a consensus within the Panth and reach a settlement with the British. Raja Sir Daljit Singh along with prominent members of the Chief Khalsa Diwan sought instead to silence dissenting voices. The Rikab Ganj affair ultimately resulted in the leadership of the community passing to more progressive groups."

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Event

International Mother Language Day in support of the Punjabi language

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International Mother Language Day in support of the Punjabi language was celebrated in Oxford by the Punjabi diaspora in the UK through discussions, poems, music, dance and food. Nuzhat Abbas (Oxford) welcomed the invited guests and participants to the 9th year of this celebration in Oxford. Prof Pritam Singh (Oxford) highlighted the significance of mother tongue in developing creativity and originality and referred to the positive contribution of mother tongue expertise in developing multilingual skills which have come to be recognised in scientific research as valuable in preventing Alzheimer's disease. Waqas Butt (Stoke on Trent), Kulwant Kaur and Kanwal Dhaliwal (Southall), Gural Singh(London), Razia Ismail and Harmeet Singh Bhakna (Birmingham), Abdul Rehman (Slough), Munib Anwar (East London) and Prof Iftikhar Malik (Oxford) also contributed to the day's events which finally concluded by a music session led by singers Asif Virani, Saman Lodhi and Basharat Baig who were assisted by Prince Abbas on Tabla.