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MAQDUMS OF PONNANI: THE PIONEERS OF ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEMS IN MEDIEVAL KERALA

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This study depicts about the presence of Islam in Kerala and it has provided a fertile ground for the easy and smooth penetration of Islam in Kerala. They obviously received royal patronage from the local Hindu Rajas and chieftains, who were greatly benefited by the international trade carried on by the new comers. The Muslims were treated by the local Rajas as their guests and gave them all facilities to build mosques and other lifelines in various parts of Kerala. Further more, the arrival of the *Maqdums*, learned scholars family from south Arabia to the coastal regions of Tamilnadu, *ma'bar*, Kochi and Ponnani has opened some new pages in the history of Kerala. Zainuddin Maqdam first and Zainuddin Maqdam second nurtured the systems for Islamic higher education in medieval Kerala. Various trends in Islamic higher education process were put forward by the *Maqdums* which paved the way for socio-religious and educational enlightenments of Kerala Muslims in succeeding years.

Keywords: Cheraman Perumal, Malik Ibn Dinar, Maqdums, Zainuddin Maqdam, Ponnani, Dars, Thookkuvilakku, Kerala

Muslims. With the rise of Islam in Kerala, the evolution of Islamic knowledge concept and education methods also came with them. It was the impact of the *Maqдум* families in Kerala that the credit of origin and spread of traditional Islamic educational systems and higher education concepts of Islam disseminated in Kerala. The *Maqدums* has introduced a well-knit system of curriculum and syllabi in respect of all ages and classes. The subjects taught in *Dars*, the first higher education centre of Muslims in Kerala, were in accordance with the psychological balance of different age groups of students. Faith and religious knowledge were the basic concept of education in Islam. *Maqدums* of Ponnani has constructed an elaborated system of schemes for higher education. About 101 works of 74 authors were used as the text books in *Dars*. The main subjects being taught are Mathematics, Arithmetic, Astronomy, History, Logic, Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Law, Geometry, Medicine, Meteorology, Minerology, Alchemy, Metaphysics etc. *Maqدums* had prepared very wide schemes of curriculum and syllabi which included sports, games, swimming, Gardening, stitching etc as envisaged by Al Ghazzali. It is explicitly clear that the uncommendable role of *Maqدums* of Ponnani especially Zainuddin Maqدum 1st and Zainuddin Maqدum 2nd in moulding the shape of Islamic higher education systems in Medieval Kerala.

Maqدums and Their Views on Education

Kerala is the first land where Islam has made its Presence in Indian sub-continent. According to authentic sources, Islam had reached Kerala even in the time of the holy Prophet himself.¹ It is beyond doubt that the love chants of early pious missionaries rather than the deafening sounds of weapons won the heart of the land for Islam. Islam was able to influence the minds of people in Kerala. The Islamic culture and the life style of Muslim propagators attracted the Keralites. While some of the people embraced Islam directly, others assimilated the values and ideals of Islam to their own religion. They reformed and renovated their religion inspired

¹ CN Ahmed MouIavi and K-K.Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathya Mappila Sahitya Paramaryam* (Glorias Heritage), Calicut- 1978, (Mal), PP. 102-130

by the teachings of Islam as they found no other way to defend Islam.²

It was Islam which lighted the golden lamp of social reformation in Kerala. The newcomers taught the majority here how to eat and dress up properly. Evidently, the majority people of Kerala had no idea about dining together before the advent of Islam. The new religion made its way to this lush slice of land breaking the dark walls of inequality and untouchability. Hence, quite naturally, the Kerlaites viewed Islam as a great civilization came crossing the ocean to civilize their life style rather than mere faith. It was Islam which the avenues of freedom and emancipation to the restless down trodden mass who were suffering from the atrocities of the upper class. They began to enjoy the pleasure of love and freedom after entering the new religion. Islam has begun a great liberating mission that the Christianity brought by St. Thomas failed to realize. If a *Pulayan* embraced Christianity he had to live as a *Christian Pulayan*. There was no change at all from the state prevailed before. If the same person embraced Islam he will be known as Muslim only with no nickname. In the case of Brahmins too the condition was the same. There are no fences of discrimination and separation between them. This beauty of equality which was till then unknown to the Kerlaites attracted them profoundly- They embraced Islam enmasse. William Logan has recorded in his *Malabar Manual* that 50000 Hindus embraced Islam between 1870 and 1880.³

Dr. C.K. Kareem, the eminent historian, describes the style of reformation that Islam has introduced in these words: It was the dressing style of the Musalman the most fashionable in the earlier days. Hindus of all castes including *Namboodiries* used to wear *Konakam*, single *mundu*. A few wore *melmundu*. None put on *Khamees* or shirts. The capes, turbans, shirts, *Lungi*, chappals separated Muslims from others. Since it was not healthy or a pleasant experience to wear capes and turban in the tropical region of Kerala they began to shave their head. Thus they became the most civilized people who enjoyed high social status and

² Roland E. Miller' *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A Study in Islamic trends* Orient longman, 1976, pp. 47-48

³ William Logan, *Malabar Manuel*, Vol. II

recognition in the society of Kerala. Those were the days when the women were not allowed to cover their chest. Only the Muslim women used to wear bodice which kept the breasts upright.⁴

The renaissance values and message of equality Islam put forward made the Muslims respectful in Kerala. The Muslims got the status and prestige in Kerala that other religionists couldn't attain. The Hindus offered all facilities and amenities to build Mosques anywhere they liked and propagate Islam. It was the Hindus who provided facilities to build many of the mosques. The Zamorin rulers of that period accorded full freedom to Muslims. As a result the Muslims enjoyed freedom that they didn't find even in Muslim countries. Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam, the first historian of Kerala, says: "The *Qadis* and *Mu'addins* (One who calls for prayer in *Masjid*) were paid from the state exchequer. The Govt. made all facilities for Muslims to put into practice their law among themselves. The Govt. didn't allow anybody to skip *Jumua* (Friday congregation). It is usual to punish and impose fine on those who skip *Jumua*. If any Muslim committed an offence which warrants capital punishment he was hanged with the prior permission of the Muslim leaders and handed the dead bodies to the Muslims."⁵

Maqdam depicted here the facilities and allowances the Muslims enjoyed under the Hindu rulers here, The Muslims lived here so freely under non-Muslim rulers. It was the love and the message of inter-religious friendship put across by the Muslim missionaries made them so respectful. The respect and admiration showed by the Hindu hosts to the guest Muslims is a model for India for ever. But today, whenever the Muslims get some facilities from the side of the administration, some people make loud cries accusing of appeasement of minority. To them the Kerala of Zamorine is a model to be imitated. In Kerala, the festive spring of peace and tranquility prevailed from the advent of Islam upto the invasion of Portuguese.

The historians unanimously state that the trade relations of the Arabs with Kerala and the missionary works of Malik ibn Dinar and his followers laid foundations of Islam in Kerala. Malik ibn Dinar and his followers who reached Kerala for the dissemination

⁴ Dr. C.K Kareem, *Muslimkalum Kerala Samskaravum*

⁵ Shaikh Zainuddin Maqdam, *Tuhfathul Mujahidin*, Vol.III, C. Hamza, (mal), P.61.

of Islam set up early *Masjids* in Kerala. They appointed *Qadis* in those *Masjids* to teach and propagate Islam to the local public.⁶

Malik Ibn Dinar and his friends adopted scientific ways of calling People of Islam in Kerala. It can be called the first phase of social renaissance of Kerala.⁷ Theirs was the system of establishing *Masjids* first and thereupon teaching out the social fabric. Most of the early *Masjids* were built on the seas shores and the river banks. This can be seen in the light of the trade relations of the propagators, the necessity of water for ablution for daily prayer and the tenets of Islam that insist on cleanliness and purity. The quick growth of Islam in Kerala is due to the readiness of the early missionaries to make social contacts by erecting *Masjids* wherever they reached and render help to the helpless and the hopeless of the nearby people. The trade relations with the Arabs brought huge financial advantage to Kerala. In short the assistance of the Arabs and Muslims caused the full-blown development of the land. The King *Cheraman Perumal's* embracing Islam was a great impetus to the subjects.⁸ Umar ibn Suhrawardi in his *Rihlthul Muluk* introduces early *Qadis* and *Masjids* in Kerala.⁹

Thus the early delegation came to Kerala under the leadership of Malik ibn dinar. Malik Ibn Dinar is the first ever known name of the Islamic Missionaries in Kerala. Then Islam began to spread into various places. The traders continued to disembark here from many parts of the world. Thus, Kozhikode, Veliyankode, Tirurangadi, Thanur, Ponnani, Parappanangadi, Paravanna, Kakkad, Thikkodi, Kannur, Edakkad, Payayangadi, Mayyayi, Chemmalode, Valappattanam, Nadapuram, Kochi, Vayppu, Pallippuram etc and the neighboring places started to develop because of the presence of Muslim settlers.¹⁰

⁶ Muhammad Ibn Umar Suhrawardi, *Rihlat-ul-Muluk*

⁷ Dr. Hussain Randathani, *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, P.94

⁸ Archeological Exhibition of Madras, 1948, *Arakkal records and coins, Arakkal Rajavamsham*, Munshi, M. Abu Baker, Souvenir, Muslim League Kannur District, P. 131, Maccan (Manuscript, Madras Oriental Library)

⁹ Muhammad Ibn Umar Suhrawardi, *Rihlat-ul-Muluk*, P.18, Quoted by C.N Ahmed Maulavi, K.K. Muhamed Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila Sahithya Parambaryam (Glorious Heritage of Mappilas)*, Al Huda Book Stall, Kozhikkode, 1970, P.127

¹⁰ C. Hamsa, *Tuhfatul Mujahidin*, Trans (Mal), P.87

Maqдум Family (1467 Ad)

The credit for introducing the name of Imam Al-Ghazzali in Kerala according to the available sources goes to Zainuddin Maqдум the first and his family. It was Zainuddin Maqдум the first who hails from renowned scholar family that initiated the spiritual and educational renaissance in Kerala.

The Arabic word *Qadima* means to serve. The word *Maqдум* is derived from this root word which means those who are served. As per the genealogy the *Maqдум* family reaches to Abubakr Siddiq (RA), the first Khalifah of Islam. It was through Abdulla, the son of Abubakr Siddik the root reaches Abubakr Siddik (RA). One of the forefathers of *Maqдумis* who set out from the south Yemen settled in *Ma'bar* (Coromandal-Tamil Nadu) and another in Kayalpattanam (Tamil Nadu). It is believed that they came from Yemen to India in *Hijrah* 6th century, 12th century AD.¹¹

Sheikh Ahmad al Ma'bari the first grandfather of Zainuddin Maqдум settled in Kochi where they lived teaching Islam. His son Aliyyul Ma'bari is the father of Zainuddin Maqдум 1. Though we don't have the genealogy from Zainuddin Maqдум first upto Caliph Abubakr, the genealogy of Sheikh Muhammed Iyasuddin Karkkari (Keeykkara-Tamil Nadu) whose descendent settled in Kayalpattanam is available to us.¹²

Zainuddin Maqдум the first was born in *Hijrah* 871 (1467 A.D.) in Kochi to *Maqдум* family. His full name was Abu Yahya Zainuddin Ibnu Sheikh Ali ibn Sheikh Ahammed Al Ma'bari. His ancestors came to India from Yemen. To understand the impact of the teachings of Imam Al-Ghazzali among Kerala Muslims it is essential to explore the roots of the *Maqдум* family who settled in Ponnani and disseminated the rays of Knowledge here. One of the forefathers of *Maqдум* who started from south Yemen of Arabia settled in *Ma'bar* south to Kayalpattanam facing Srilanka. *Ma'bar* which is now known as Coromandal is situated on the southern most part of India.¹³

"*Ma'bar* is the real land of *Maqдум* the first. Later his father settled in Kochi. *Ma'bar* which situated between Kayalpattanam

¹¹ Dr. Hussain Randathani, Op.Cit,P.418

¹² Ibid., P.419., See Appendix No. V, Table V

¹³ Sheikh Shihabudeen Yakoot, Al-Hamavi (d.626 A.H) *Mujmul Buldan*, Vol. II, P.72

and Colombo (the capital of Sri Lanka) has been densely populated from the time immemorial".¹⁴ Sheikh Ahammed Ma'bari, the forefather of Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam the first migrated from Kayalpattanam and settled in Kochi. He led the Islamic missionary activities in Kerala. On this account the family was highly respected in Kerala. Through them a number of people embraced Islam in Kochi. Zainuddin Maqdam the first was born in Kochi. Zainuddin Ibrahim al Ma'bari one of the sons of Ahmmmed Ma'bari was appointed as the *Qadi* of Kochi. It was at this time a few Muslim leaders from Ponnani reached Kochi and contacted with the *Maqdam* family. They invited Zainuddin Ibrahim to Ponnani to assume the charge of *Qadi* and spiritual guide of the Muslims there. Accepting the invitation Zainuddin Ibrahim went to Ponnani in 1481 AD.¹⁵

Zainuddin Ibrahim started his religious educational activities based at *Thottungal Masjid* in Ponnani.¹⁶ The thoughts of Imam Al-Ghazzali had influenced this family by traditional Islamic Education to a great extent. Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam the first learned the primary lessons of Islam from his father Ali al Ma'bari in Kochi. When his father died in his fourteenth year his Uncle Sheikh Ibrahim took him to Ponnani. He learned Holy Quran, Grammar, Jurisprudence and Sufism from his uncle. Since Zainuddin showed keen interest in worships and learning his uncle sent him to Kozhikode for higher studies. Under the guidance of Abubakr Faqrudin Ibnu Ramadan Ashaliyati, the great *Qadi* of Kozhikode and a famous scholar in Islamic Jurisprudence, other Islamic sciences and *Tareeqath*, Zainuddin learned Jurisprudence, *Usulul Fiqh* and *Thasawwuf* with great attention. He continued his studies for seven years under this great scholar.

On completion of the studies in Kozhikode, Zainuddin went to Makkah to learn more where he learned *Hadith* and *Fiqh* from Allama Ahmad Shihabuddin Yemeeni. Besides, he studied the famous work titled *Faraidul kafiya* (Law of Inheritance) written by Imam Sardafi. From Makkah he left for Egypt to continue his studies at Al- Azhar University. He was the first Keralite scholar

¹⁴ Konganim Ibrahim Musliyar, Ponnani. *Qasidatul Maqdamiyah*.

¹⁵ Shaikh Zainuddin Ibrahim, the first *Qazi* of Ponnani

¹⁶ Dr. Hussain Randathani, Op.cit. P.111

who studied at Al Azhar.¹⁷ He was given the official authority to report *Hadith* from. He was lucky enough to learn from a number of world renowned scholars at Al Azhar such as Qazi Abdu Rahman Al Adami of Makkah, Imam Jamaludheen Suyuthi (d. 1506 AD), Imam Sayyid Muhammad Assamhudi (d. 1508 AD), Imam Sayyid Abubakr Al-Adrami (d. 1509 AD), Imam Sayyid Abubakr Al-Idrusi (d. 1511 AD), Imam Hafiz Muhammad Assaqawi (d. 1496 AD), Imam Afifudheen Abdullah (d. 1540 AD), Imam Ahamed bin Umar (d. 1523 AD), Imam Qazi Jamaludheen Mohammad Al-Hadrami (d. 1524 AD), Imam Abdu Rahman bin Ali (d. 1495 AD), Sheikh Qutubdheen (d. 1528 AD), Sheikh Sabith (d. 1563 AD) etc. Thus he became a world famous scholar. Most of his masters were the *Ihya Ulumuddin* followers of *Shafi'* School of Jurisprudence. Traditionally the *Shafites* subscribed to the views of *Hujjathul Islam* Imam Al- Ghazzali. Zainuddin Maqdam studied the works of Imam Al-Ghazzali like, *Fathihathul Ulum*, *Mizanul Amal*, *Ayyuhal Walad*, *Keemiya sa'ada* etc. It is reported that Sheikh Zainuddin was influence by the philosophical thoughts and spirituality of Imam Al-Ghazzali.¹⁸

Zainuddin Maqdam understood that only through the spiritual practices, of the *Sufi* orders one can have the real *M'rifath*, the knowledge of God. He came to this conclusion from the works of Imam Al-Ghazzali.¹⁹ He learned the *Taswwuf* of Imam Al-Ghazzali from his teacher Sheik Qutubuddin. The teacher persuaded him to join *Qadiri* and *Chisti Tareeqath*. Without stopping there, Zainuddin Maqdam learned more about other *sufi* orders and subsequently joined *Shaduliya* and *Suhravardi tareeqaths* as well.²⁰

Zainuddin Maqdam came back to Ponnani mastering all the Islamic Sciences. Within a short span of time he became the spiritual guide of Malabar Muslims. He took initiative to build the grand *Jumua Masjid* of Ponnani. He also could win the heart of many people to Islam in no time. Under his leadership Ponnani became the centre of Islamic learning in Kerala.²¹

¹⁷ Ponnani Valiya Palli Juma'ath Committee, *Maqdamum Ponnaniyum*, Op.Cit. P.112

¹⁸ Ibid,p.p. 112-113

¹⁹ Imam Al-Ghazzali, *Thya Ulumid-Din* Part III, pp. 118-121

²⁰ Abdul Aziz Maqdam, *Maslakul Adkiya* (Arab) pp. 43-49.

²¹ Ibid. P. 114

The low class people of Kerala had no right to learn those days. The *Maqdots* invited them to Islam and began to teach them. After the completion of formal education all the students were made to sit around a big suspended lantern (*Thookku Vilakku*) in the *Masjid* which was equal to convocation of modern times.²² Interestingly this custom continues even now. Students from far off places including foreign countries rushed to Ponnani to attend his class where the thoughts and methods of Imam Al-Ghazzali were taught. Qadi Shihabuddin Ahammed Al Kalikoothi (d. 1552 AD) the uncle of Qadi Muhammed the renowned scholar, author of note worthy books like *Fathul Mubeen* (War Song in Arabic Language) and *Muhyuddin Mala* (Arabic- Malayalam), *Sufi* and the freedom fighter who fought against Portuguese under Zamorin, had his higher studies at Ponnani.²³

Zainuddin Maqdotum was influenced by the works of Imam Al-Ghazzali like *Ihya ulum-id-Din*, *Mukhtasirul Ihya*, *Bidayathul Hidayah Fathihathul Ulum*²⁴ who returned from Egypt after perusing higher education under world famous scholars and spiritual leaders.

Ponnani: The Centre of Early Islamic Religious Movements in Kerala

Zainuddin Maqdotum, who reached Ponnani in 1510 AD inspired by the teachings of Imam Al-Ghazzali who strongly instructed that no scholar has right to stay away from the religious duty of imparting knowledge to the next generation. With the support of the people of Ponnani he established a grand mosque in Ponnani and started a *Dars* therein a higher Islamic learning centre. This is the beginning of the systematic Islamic learning in Kerala.²⁵

The *Dars* Education System in Kerala²⁶

As soon as the demise of his uncle and teacher Sheikh Ibrahim Maqdotum, Zainuddin Maqdotum Ist became the *Qadi* of Ponnani Mosque. He established a *Dars* there where he himself was the chief tutor. Students came from far off places including foreign

²² See Appendix No.1X (2)

²³ Ibid. P. 115

²⁴ Shaheed, *Maqdotum Kudumbam* (Mal) IVth Edn. P.19., Muhammad Parannoor, *Ammavinte Nervazhi*, (Mal), trans. *Adqiyah*, Zainuddin Maqdotum, p. 17

²⁵ Ponnani Valiya Palli Juma'ath Committee, *Maqdotumun Ponnaniyum*, Op. Cil. P. 114

²⁶ Islamic Religious Education Centre attached with the Mosque

countries like Java, Sumatra, Malaya, Ceylon and Egypt to study under him.²⁷ Considering the curricula of this system of education it has been comprehensive by covering both religious science and secular subjects, *Quran*, *Tafsir* (exegesis), *Hadith* (tradition), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Tasawwuf* (mystical science), *Nahy* (grammar), *Sarf* (morphology), *Aqida* (faith), *Bayan* (rhetorics), *Adab* (literature), *Mantiq* (logic), *Hisab* (mathematic), *Uclaidis* (uclid), *Tibb* (medicine) and *Falsafah* (philosophy) form the curriculum. Analyzing the features of curricula eminent academician and scholar V. Mohammad (d.2008) observes that 'Curriculum included all subjects that would help the material, moral and spiritual well being of man.'²⁸

One of the outstanding features of this system is that duration of this course took ten to fifteen years. The books were taught in a sequential manner. The first text book was known as '*Path Kitab*' or '*Asharah Kutub*', which literally means ten books. It deals with faith (*Aquaid*), moral science (*Akhlaq*) and Islamic mysticism (*Tasawwuf*). Then grammar book, such as *Alfiya*, *Zanjan*, *Ajnas* were taught. *Alfiyah* was a collection of thousand verses on grammar. After that books on Prophetic tradition such as *Mishkat al Masabih*, *Sahih al Bukhari*, *Sahih al Muslim* were taught. *Ihya Ulum id-Din*, *Fathihatul Ulum*, *Ayyuhal Walad* of Imam al-Ghazzali (1058 - 1111 AD) and *Adkiya* of Zainuddin Makhdum I as spiritual science text and *Fathal Mui'n* by Shaikh Zainuddin Makhdum (1532-1618 A.D.) were also taught as jurisprudence text book. At a later stage *Tafsir Jalalain* (Commentary of twin *Jalals* on Quran) was taught. Some of the subjects taught were Arabic languages, literature, grammar, rhetorics, geometry, astronony, arithmetics, logic, philosophy, medicine, history and sufism. Some of the text books were *Uqlaidis* (Euclid) in geometry, *Tashrihal Afaq* in Astronomy. *Tashrih al Mantiq*, *Sharah Tahdhib Qulubi* and *Mulla Hassan* in logic, *Maibad* in Philosophy and *Al- Rahmat* in medicine. But in many *Darses* all these subjects were not taught. Generally the syllabus was confined to Arabic grammar, *Quran*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*.²⁹

²⁷ Shaheed, Op.cit. P. 21

²⁸ V. Muhammad, *Mappila Education* (Mal.), Farook College, *Silver Jubilee Souvenir*, 1974, p. 117.

²⁹ Dr. Kamal Pasha, *Muslim Religious Education, Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspectives*,

The second notable feature of the *Dars* system was a simple mechanism of its functioning. The construction of the mosque was double storied probably the reason for the construction of the two storied mosques was to provide accommodation for students. Students from the neighbouring villages were also accommodated in the mosque. Mosques served as classroom as well as hostel. Food was provided by the villagers and each family adopted a student. Poor families offered breakfast, dinner or supper so the food and accommodation was not a problem. Generally the students lived on the first floor of the *Juma' Masjid* and ground floor was used for prayer and teaching.³⁰

It is believed that the religious learning would be incomplete without a few years' study at Ponnani. The learning took place sitting under the suspended lantern (*Thukku Vilakku*) in the Ponnani mosque. The students who studied in other learning centers too came here for the final touch up so as to register honour and respect to the grand mosque of Ponnani.³¹ Thus the *Dars* of Ponnani turned out to be the biggest seat of learning not only in Kerala but also at the world level. The rays of wisdom spread from here within a short period to the whole world. The *Masjid* won the title the Capital City of Knowledge.

People began to approach Ponnani not only for religious education but also for religious decrees, amicable and satisfactory solutions for political and social disputes, personal -family, problems, and civil- criminal issues. True to the tradition, Ponnani retained this position under the Sheikh Zauddin Maqdam the Second and all the other *Maqdamis* who followed Zainuddin Maqdam the first. This is how Ponnani began to be known as the *Makkah* of Malabar and the Little *Makkah* of Kerala. Thus, for the Muslims of Kerala Ponnani has become the great religious center after *Makkah*. The great works, prose, poetry and *fatwas* of the world renowned scholars get translated here and they were earnestly taught to the students.

Hidayathul Adkiya

edited by Asghar Ali Engineer, Ajanta Publication, New Delhi, 1995, P.135

³⁰ Dr. Kamal Pasha, Op.cit, P.134

³¹ Edgar Thouston, *Castes and Tribes of outh India*, New Delhi, 1975 (Report), Vol.V, P. 462

Adkiya which is being taught in *Darses* at *Masjids* is an authentic source for spiritual elevation as far as the students of *Shafi'* school are concerned. The early *Masjids* of Kerala functioned following the true traditions of the prophet. Just as *Masjid* was the centre of day to day affairs for Muslims during the time of the prophet the same practice was retained in Ponnani. Even before the arrival the *Maqdam* family, there were *Masjids* and *Darses* in many parts of Kerala like Kochi, Ponnani, Kozhikode and Thanur. However, as Professor Sayyid Moideen Shah says, the arrival of *Maqdam* family is the reason to expand the *Dars* system of educations wider.³²

Zainuddin Maqdam was able to convert the hearts of millions of Muslims through his world famous work of poem titled *Hidayathul Adkiya ila Thareeqil Auliya* which was written based on *Ihya Ulum-id-Din*, the magnum opus of Imam Al-Ghazzali.³³ This poem highlights the teachings of Imam Al- Ghazzali asserting that one can come across the divine reality by strictly observing the mystical ways of *Sufis*.

The name of Imam Al-Ghazzali is specially mentioned in the *Adkiya* of Zainuddin Maqdam I. Many of his enlightening thoughts are included in it. This proves that the influence of Imam Al-Ghazzali in the Islamic curriculum of Kerala was broad and extensive. Zainuddin Maqdam says about Imam Al- Ghazzali in his *Adkiya* thus:

"*Twalih Ahi Ihya'a Ghazzali tanal
Fihi Shifa min Kulla Da'in A'dala*"³⁴

Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam - the Second (938/1028 -1524/1619 A. H/A. D.)

Ahmad Zainuddin Ibnu Muhammad Al-Ghazzali who was popularly known as Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam the second was born at Chombal in 1524 A.D. After completing primary religious studies, he went to Makkah and studied 10 years there. He learned under a number of world renowned scholars. He mastered *Quran*, *Fiqh* and other Islamic subjects. His most famous teacher was Shihabuddin Ibnu Hajarul Haithami, the author of *Thuhfa* the

³² Prof. Syed Moideen Shah, *Islam in Kerala*, P. 43

³³ Sheikh Zainuddin Magdum I, *Hidayathul Adkiya ila Thareeqil Auliya*, Trans. (Mal), Muhammad Parannur, P.17

³⁴ Muhammad Parannoor, Op. Cit. P. 161, See Appendix No.X

reputed reference book on Islamic Jurisprudence of Imam Shafi'i. Zainuddin Maqdam the second was Haithami's beloved student. After mastering the Islamic arts he entered the spiritual path. He also mastered in Islamic spiritual science (*Sufism*).³⁵

He became the prominent sheikh of the *Qadiriyya Tareeqath. Sufism* was much distorted in those days in the world and Kerala also. Nevertheless, Sheikh Zainuddin Maqdam the second, as his forefathers, followed the uncorrupted *Sufi* path of Imam Al-Ghazzali. He was an authority in all the branches of Islamic knowledge as a result of his mastering and deep knowledge in the *Hadith* literature, the scholars of Makkah called him *Muhaddith* (Expert in *Hadith*). Zainuddin Maqdam the second studied the works of Imam Al-Ghazzali like *Ihya ulum-id-Din*, *Fathihathul Ulum*, *Mizanul Amal*, *Mishkathul Anwar*, *Minhajul Abideen* etc on his own and from the mouth of his teachers, Sheikh Imam Shihabuddin Ahamed bin Hajar Al-Haithami (d. 1566 A.D.), Sheikhul Islam Izzuddin bin Abdul Aziz Assumari of Makkah, Abul Hassan As-siddique Al-Baqari, Allama Wajeehuddin Abdu Rahman bin Ziyad of Makkah, Sheikhul Islam Abdu Rahman bin Safah were the prominent teachers of him.³⁶ His most adored teacher Haithami came to Ponnani and stayed and taught there for a while. According to historical sources Haithami brought a piece of stone when he came to Ponnani which can be seen at Ponnani *Masjid* even now. A *Fatwa* on Islamic jurisprudence issued by Haithami from Ponnani is discovered now.³⁷

Zainuddin Maqdam the second who came back to Ponnani from Makkah mastering all the Islamic Sciences occupied in teaching and propagating the message of Islam. He was a great scholar, historian, *sufi*, orator, writer, social reformer, teacher, lover of humanity and more over a perfect nationalist. *Thuhfathul Mujahideen*, the book penned by him is considered a valid and authentic source in Kerala history.³⁸

However, the Maqdam of Ponnani were the high priests of the establishment of Islamic higher education systems in medieval

³⁵ Shaikh Zainuddin Maqdam II, *Irshadul Ibad*, *Awibathul Ajeeba* (Arabic tra.)

³⁶ C.Hamsa, Op.cit, P.18

³⁷ Ponnani Valrya Palli Juma'ath Committee, Op. cit., p. 122

³⁸ Ibid.p. 123; Iman Al-Ghazzali. *Mektubat Al-Ghazali (Nasihatul-Muluk)*, Leller No. 13, 16, 18

Kerala. Their educational ideas of inclusiveness of all branches of knowledge became relevant to human life towards the end of 19th century, left behind the means of energy that transferred to Chalilakath Kunja Ahamed Haji to enter into the field of next reformation of Islamic education system in Kerala. Maqdam's style of Higher education scheme was the result of the inclusiveness of International programmes of Islamic educational system accepted by the Muslims of Kerala, but the world of Muslims too, that was the reason why the pupils from many parts of the world drained to Maqdam's residence at Ponnani to attain and assimilate new horizons of Islamic higher education style in medieval times.

Many scholars and activists led the Muslim community learning lessons from Maqdam's, leading figures of socio-political leaders in later times, Mamburam Thangal, Fazal Pookoya Thangal, Umar Qasi, Makhthi Thangal, Vakkom Abdul Khadir Maulavi etc were also influenced by the educational views of Maqdam's. Maqdam's era was a shining page in the history of Kerala Muslims. This blessed family of learned scholars always been on the fore-front of Kerala Muslim Enlightenment. Their unquestionable spiritual leadership, loyalty to the nation and scholarships gave them immense strength and energy to the coming generation. Maqdam family taught new vistas of learning not only Keralites but the world at large.

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**THE EUROPEAN MERCHANT AS ‘THE OTHER’ OF THE
‘INDIAN’ MERCHANT: REORIENTING THE MUGHAL
COURT'S PERCEPTION AND POLICY RESPONSE IN THE
FIRST HALF OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

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There is of course, no dearth of historiography on various aspects related with Indian and European maritime merchants. One of the important debates centres on Mughal ruling elite's policies towards the European merchants which was thought to be one of the reasons why Europeans, particularly the English were able to acquire an upper hand in trade in the course of time at the expense of the Indian merchant. It raised a question mark on the role of the Mughal king and court which is supposed to have followed practically a ‘free trade’ and concessional policy towards the European merchants. However, this view was not questioned and dealt with directly, but was rather sidelined with historians arguing that the reason of ultimate triumph of Europeans lay ‘elsewhere’ and not in Mughal state’s policies with regard to trade.

¹ In another debate, W.H. Moreland blamed the so- called ‘absolute despotism of the Mughal government’ for the

¹ Irfan Habib, *Merchant Communities in Pre-colonial India*, in James D. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350-1750*, (CUP, 1990), p. 399.

vulnerability of Indian commerce.² It was strongly contested by Ashin Das Gupta and others on the basis of rare evidence of confiscation of mercantile wealth by the Mughal government.³ However, the dominant image of an Indian merchant remains, as he himself states, as that of an insecure merchant⁴ (except a few very big merchants) who did not enjoy the patronage of his state⁵ and had to deal with ‘absentmindedness’ of the powerful Indian governments along with their sporadic interference in the world of overseas trade.⁶ Thus an image was created of a merchant as one who was relatively powerless vis-a-vis the European merchants and their coercive practices in the era of ‘contained conflict’ (to borrow a term from Sanjay Subrahmanyam).

Also, the discussion on the role of Mughal state did not move beyond it working as a retributive power avenging the piratical activities of the Europeans in the High seas by confiscating their goods and occasionally imprisoning the Factors on land, as the only way it sought to protect the interests of the Indian merchants.⁷ Ashin Das Gupta, who on one hand says that Mughal Empire never had a serious interest in maritime trade and terms the Mughal emperor ‘absentminded,’ also writes in the same stretch that the ‘Indian merchant lost when the Mughal state lost.’ The reason why he never lost was not only due to the ‘little arrangements’ (at the customs house and local courts), as he alleges, but also because the Mughal Emperor actively protected their interests *vis-a-vis* the European merchants during the seventeenth century. And even when the Mughal governors, concerned about either their own trading interests or the falling revenues of their port,⁸ colluded with the European merchants in

² W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, (London, 1920), p. 248-50.

³ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian merchants and the Decline of Surat c.1700-1750*, (Delhi, 1994), pp. 89-90.

⁴ *ibid*, p.134.

⁵ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Trade in Indian Ocean*, in ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I, c.1200-c.1750, (Delhi, 2009), p.422.

⁶ *ibid.*, p.422.

⁷ Aditi Govil, *Mughal Perception of European Maritime Supremacy and Piracy*, *IJMMS*, vol. II, issue 1 (11), 2012, p. 148.

⁸ Aditi Govil, *Mughal Perception of English Piracy-Khafi Khan’s Account of*

the latter half of seventeenth century, as Farhat Hasan alleges,⁹ it was still the local powers who worked in the latter's favour, not the Mughal Emperor.

One aspect of this interaction which has hitherto not been catered to by the historians is the nature of their response towards the European merchants, which was impacted by their sense of separation between the European and the Indian merchants. Scholars have not paid adequate attention to the sense of 'difference' that informed Mughal policies towards the European merchants. As is well known, by the time the Mughals established their rule, the Portuguese had already established a near monopoly on the inter-Asian trade, enforced by first, issuing *cartaz* (or passes), by which they imposed restrictions on the personnel and armaments allowed on the ship, and, second, through piracy. Hence the idea of a merchant body working as a pressure group was not new to the Mughal ruling elite. Quite obviously then, the overwhelming and intimidating presence of the Portuguese and their dominance of the maritime trade was one of the factors that shaped the Mughal perception and policies towards the English. In all probability, the experience of Mughal ruling elite with the Portuguese, who had introduced an element of 'force' in the maritime commerce of the high seas, was responsible for their wary attitude towards the English merchants. The presence of the Portuguese also prevented the Mughal officials from developing better trade relations with the English initially.¹⁰

But this was not the sole factor. The indigenous merchants were unequivocally against the admission of another European company in the trade of Indian Ocean. In 1612, Middleton was also refused trade at Dabul (Dabhol) not because of Portuguese instigation but ostensibly because, as Hawkins himself states, that Surat merchants had made declaration at the court that the

the Plunder of Ganj –i – Sawai and the negotiations at Bombay, 1694, PIHC, Kolkata Session, 2001, p. 182.

⁹ Farhat Hasan, *Conflict and Cooperation in Anglo-Mughal Trade Relations during the Reign of Aurangzeb*, JESHO, Vol. XXXIV, p.360.

¹⁰ Foster, William (ed.) *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, (hereafter *EFI*), Oxford, 1906, pp. 12-13.

encouragement to English would mean ruin of trade of Gujarat.¹¹ Having had the experience of Portuguese piratical activities, the Surat merchants were wary of letting any other European trading Company into maritime trade of the high seas.¹² And this fear was not unfounded. The English also resorted to piratical activities against the Mughal shipping on the Western coast. They began to issue passes to unprotected Indian vessels as early as 1613.¹³ The king also allowed the English to trade in Mughal dominions, but he also took care to not let them settle and build a factory or even buy a house.¹⁴ It is evident that one of the major components of Mughal response towards the English and other European merchants was the safeguard of the trading interests of the Indian merchants. Till about 1630s, roughly speaking, the Mughal administration perceived the English as petty merchants, foreign and inferior. During this period, the Mughals outright rejected the English claim to a superior status based on their political connections with the ruler of England. Hawkins' 'embassy' and later Edward's 'embassy' (who having supposedly brought a letter from King James expected a 'better treatment') had failed miserably in getting privileges for English merchants at Surat.¹⁵ Linked with their desire to gain acceptance in the Red Sea trade,¹⁶ even if by force,¹⁷ was the desire to get permission for settlement in Surat which was a principal port on western coast, from where the Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade was carried on. Jahangir was fully aware that Surat had become a place of contention between the English and the Portuguese merchants.¹⁸ In 1618, Roe drafted proposals for a

¹¹ *ibid.*, pp.258, 266.

¹² Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 2 vols., ed. Syud Ahmad, (Aligarh, 1863-4), p.274-5,1614, 9th R.Y.

¹³ *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, ed. F.C. Danvers and W. Foster, (London, 1896), (hereafter *Letters Received*), vol.i, p.307.

¹⁴ The permission to settle at Surat i.e. having a factory was not yet given (for details see *EFI*, 1624-29, pp. 20-21, 310).

¹⁵ *Letter Received*, vol.i, p.26.

¹⁶ William Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615-1619*, (hereafter *Embassy*), (Delhi, 1990), p.308.

¹⁷ *EFI*, vol.i, p.22.

¹⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* , pp.274-5.

nishan which was submitted to prince Khurram. It included a demand to allow him to land with ‘arms’ to defend against Portuguese, which was rejected by the prince. Further, his demand for complete freedom of trade throughout the Empire was completely ignored by Khurram. In the (revised) *nishan*, therefore, Roe had to agree not to build any house in or about Surat without obtaining permission from Jahangir. They could only rent a house for merchants’ residence and storing merchandise. In fact, in 1617 when the news regarding a ship reportedly containing building material (reportedly for a Factory at Swally) reached Prince Khurram, an embargo was placed on their trade and they were not allowed to unload that ship. Also, their goods were not to be passed unchecked. Roe took an undertaking that the English were to live at Surat according to laws and regulations of the Empire.¹⁹

An important instance of active protection of Indian merchants’ interests, vis-a-vis the ‘foreign’ English merchants, comes from the Red Sea trade dispute in which Thomas Roe played an important role. In 1618, the English East India Company, under the initiative of Roe decided to participate in the trade to Red Sea, in order to enhance its profits from the Indian Ocean.²⁰ In 1618, the English dispatched *Anne* to Mocha. Encouraged by the profits, in 1619, another ship *Lion* was dispatched to the Red Sea.²¹ (This trade ‘the ambassador (Roe) told the Company, in reaching home, ‘in tyme may be enlarged by the English, and will be the life of Surat and Persia trade). The English decision to participate in the Red Sea trade created quite an uproar among the Surat merchants, who in alliance with the local authorities, seized the English factories and prevented them from buying merchandise from the merchants of Gujarat. When the Factors started their investments for the fleet expected in the autumn, a general boycott was organized, and they were plainly told that unless they would undertake to abandon the Red Sea traffic, they ‘should not buy a yard of calico for that purpose.’ When the English took the matter

¹⁹ *Embassy*, pp. 485, 415, 481n.

²⁰ *ibid.*, pp.307-08.

²¹ *EFI*, p.xiv.

to Ishaq Beg, Governor of Surat, he flatly refused to help them.²² They were specially prevented from buying linen or making big investments in buying for the lading of *Lion*, and when they suspected that they were buying linen from several adjacent places, they called a meeting of all brokers in Surat and surrounding places and decided not to 'buy and sell' any commodity to English. Not only Surat and Nausari, but the Governors of Broach and Baroda were also informed that the English were to be boycotted as per the orders of the Prince finally prohibiting their linen investments in Ahmedabad and confined them to Broach only. The English had to agree to not making any investments in the Red Sea until further orders came from the Prince.²³ The Surat merchants, in fact in alliance with the local authorities, seized the English Factories and prevented them from buying merchandise from the merchants of Gujarat. Consequently, Thomas Roe was forced to take the matter to the Mughal court. In response to his petition concerning the blockade of the Red Sea, Prince Khurram issued a *nishan*, which forbade them from trading between Gujarat and the Red Sea on the ground that their participation in the Red Sea trade was ruining the Gujarat merchants. The *nishan* prohibited the English from trading between Gujarat and the Red Sea since this was the only avenue of overseas trade left to the Indian merchants in the wake of the advent of European Companies.²⁴

Yet another instance which reinforces the Mughals' policy of actively safeguarding the interests of Indian merchants is shown through the controversy over the coral trade. It was a major item of import from the Red Sea²⁵ (although most part of coral that they sold at Surat was brought by land to Bijapur.²⁶ The merchants of Surat did not want the English merchants to bring in large quantities of coral in Surat.²⁷ Khurram's *nishan* also forbade the

²² *Embassy*, p.52.

²³ *EFI*, vol.i, p.134-35.

²⁴ Farhat Hasan, *Two Official Documents of Jahangir's Reign relating to the English East India Company*, P. 333, Indian History Congress, Amritsar Session, 1985, (cyclostyled).

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ *EFI*, 1624-29, p.258.

²⁷ *EFI*, vol.i, p.54.

English from importing coral, again on same ground.²⁸ When the Governor and merchants of Surat wrote a joint petition to the Prince for a *nishan* to forbid sale of coral to the English merchants and their further trade in that commodity on the pretext that it was against their interests,²⁹ it was accepted. The *nishan* is significant because it would seem from it that the Mughal court did make a distinction between the India and the foreign merchants and believed that the Indian merchants, being their subjects, deserved a more favourable treatment than the foreign English merchants.³⁰ A sense of identification with the Indian merchants, reinforced by a sense of difference with the English is clearly suggested from the *nishan* of Prince Khurram.

The European merchants, no doubt, like all other merchants of his domain were treated fairly and were protected from any arbitrary act.³¹ To take an example, in the case of indigo, which was monopolized in 1633, Anglo-Dutch combined opposition made the monopoly difficult to sustain by boycotting its purchase. Consequently, on the intervention of Governor of Surat, who was worried about the falling revenues of the port, on 14th April, 1635, the English received the imperial *farman*, dissolving the indigo monopoly, and its sale once again became open to all. It was, however, only through the mediation of important nobles at the imperial court, that they could get the imperial orders revised. As it is, it was in the already existing spirit of competition, rather than monopoly, the latter of which was not a norm in the Mughal Empire. Similarly, in 1636 when the Emperor received complaints from Dutch about attempts of Saif Khan, to monopolize the stock of indigo in his district,³² a *farman* was issued by the Emperor on

²⁸ F.Hasan, *Two Official Documents of Jahangir's Reign*, p.333.

²⁹ *EFI*, 1618-21, p.131.

³⁰ William Biddulph, one of the factors of the English Company at the Mughal court found 'the prince and all generallye tenderinge their own peoples goods and complaints before our shutes and benefitts.' *EFI*, vol. i, p.174.

³¹ President Methwold's Diary, Jan. 22-Apr. 6, 1636, (Surat Factory Records, IOR, London, vol.i, p.491; *EFI*,1634-36, p.157). I am grateful to Prof. Farthat Hasan for this reference.

³² *EFI*,1634-36, pp. 11, 70-73, 157n.

Feb.22, 1636, reiterating that indigo monopoly had been taken off and that no one could monopolize indigo in an unauthorized manner. These were however, acts of justice on part of the Mughal state, not of unwarranted concession that would harm the interests of the Indian merchants.

On the other hand, another *farman* of 1636 shows that the Emperor would also not let the foreign merchants harm the trade of Mughal ports. Shahjahan wanted the heads (principals) of both English and Dutch factories to be accountable for the activities of their merchants. The *farman* said that the Dutch and English must always keep a deposit of Rs.12 lakhs at Surat and that the Principals of both nations must always remain in Surat and must not go aboard their ships at any time. The *farman* further sought to regulate their movement and activities by ordering that the 'English & Dutch must not resort to any other ports in the Mughal Empire. They were also not allowed to bring ships to any other place except Swally Hole (Swally Marine), where it 'shall not be lawful for them to build any frigates.'³³ The fact that the *farman* (although could not be implemented in full effect), clearly brings out the perception of the Mughal king of the European merchants.

To conclude, the Mughal state, was not 'absentminded' as we are led to believe, nor the Indian merchant so 'unprotected'. The Mughal state, while dealing with the European merchants, did not confine to only avenging for the piratical activities of the Europeans. It went much beyond. In the period under purview, it not only made a difference between the Indian merchant, and the 'foreign' European merchant, whose interests were to be given preference over the European 'other', but also actively safeguarded them.

³³ *EFI*,1634-36, pp.157, xvi.



COMMUNAL ACCORD OF MUSLIM LEAGUE: A CASE STUDY OF BENGAL

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Fazl ul Haq was a strong leader of Krashak Proja Party in East Bengal. In 1940's Haq recognized Jinnah's authority at the all-India level. But for the most part, after the Lahore Conference, Haq found out ways to keep his distance from Jinnah and the Muslim League. What followed were unexplained absences from key meetings and conferences. On 18 June Linlithgow noticed Haq's behavior and wrote to Herbert: "I have seen Fazl ul Haq... can't but admire the skill with which he had contrived to avoid Azad's conference at Delhi and Jinnah's in Bombay."¹ Haq in fact organized a conference between Abul Kalam Azad and Muslim premiers to initiate talks with the Congress but left Sikandar Hayat Khan, premier of Punjab, to attend the conference and went to meet his daughter instead.² When Jinnah wanted to convene a meeting to discuss Muslim League's stand on the war, Haq suggested Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy's names to Jinnah. He said that he would remain in Bengal but should Jinnah need his help he would readily offer it. Writing to Herbert on 1 October,

¹ Linlithgow to Herbert, 18 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

² Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

Linlithgow again observed that whereas Nazimuddin was present at the Delhi deliberation on Britain's promises after the war, Haq was "elsewhere engaged." In another conference in November, Haq absented himself from an "important meeting" Laithwaite noted in his letter to Carter.³ Unless it was for the issues Haq was interested in, he abstained from Muslim League meetings or conferences where he would have to represent the Muslim League. Getting rid of the Muslim League would not be easy for Haq though, and not least because the Muslim League would not let go of him. Haq was a Leaguer himself and he needed the Bengal League colleagues in his coalition party to run the state and ward off opposition. The attacks from the Hindu Mahasabha disheartened Haq because he had gradually been leaning towards the belief that it was the only Hindu organization that mattered. But until he realized that and even after he did, Haq knew that any kind of opposition could destabilize his ministry and he could not risk ignoring them, be it from individuals like Sarkar or the Krishak Proja Samity or the Congress. Sarkar, almost instantly after his resignation from the ministry in December 1939, turned into a notorious critic of the ministry that he had been part of for three years. He called Suhrawardy's budget a "hoax." In fact an ex-finance secretary who listened to the debate in the House expressed to Herbert privately that Suhrawardy "out-classed not only his predecessor Sarkar but any finance member within memory."⁴ To Haq's relief the bill got passed despite criticisms. Sarkar also sought protection from Haq against wrong allegations and threatened to reveal secrets if protection was not given.⁵ These may have been indirect gestures to get back into Congress but Haq had to bear the brunt of it.⁶ Even a year after Shamsuddin Ahmed's resignation, Haq was dealing with the disgruntled proja members

³ Laithwaite to Carter, 18 November 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. The meeting was held on 16 November evening. On the same day Haq attended a meeting in the morning where he was mainly an observer.

⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 March 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

⁵ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24 February 1940.

⁶ Edward Benthall, 20 February 1940. p18. N N Sircar told Benthall that Sarkar had taken to "spinning" and was anxious to get back to the Congress. Gandhi had a soft corner for Sarkar but he had to "expiate his sins for the present."

in the Assembly. Idrish Ahmed of the KPP for instance not only criticized the finance bill, especially the provision of taxation on sales proceeds, but he also asked his party men not to support the bill. Haq was uncharacteristically patient with criticisms and more than willing to be transparent, but it did not reap any result. The Congress also played the usual blame game. Its many criticisms pertaining to the oppression of Hindus was dealt with firmly by Nazimuddin.⁷ The Congress deputy leader, Santosh Kumar Basu criticized the Secondary Education Bill and decried the criminal neglect of compulsory education. By December the protests against the Bill assumed alarming proportions. For instance in Hazra Park, Calcutta, in a meeting called by Congress, ten thousand people gathered to voice their concerns. When the Assembly started session again after the Easter holiday Satyapriya Banerjee and Iswar Mal, both Congressmen, felt it was shame that whereas other provinces had imposed prohibition, Bengal had failed. Haq patiently explained that the goal could only be reached by stages, and through persuasion and education.⁸ In November, when Suhrawardy proposed a tax on sales proceeds (under the Finance Bill) the Congress resorted to furious agitation. However Suhrawardy stood strong and ensured that the Government motion was carried. The Finance Bill was referred to a select committee by 73 to 120 votes. Haq was again reminded that without Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy he would not be able to hold on to power. Despite his personal dislike for them, Haq knew that they were both competent and it helped that Herbert also thought the same. There was symbolic value, not just administrative reasons, in projecting that the coalition ministry stood firmly and loyally behind Haq. With closing balance reduced from 155 to 72 lakhs, 1940 started with the news of Bengal's budget deficit going viral. This precipitated attacks from all quarters. Acute food shortages in many parts of the province were made worse by scarce rainfall and

⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 17 January 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

⁸ Ibid., 27 March. Haq also pointed out that Bengalis, Hindus or Muslims, were not addicted to alcohol. The non-Bengalis consumed alcohol and if they left then there would be no problem. He also suggested as a joke that the other solution was that everyone should convert to Islam as the religion prohibited consumption of alcohol. This was a very different Haq, a man who clearly wanted to reconcile.

irrigation woes. Matters came to a head when Birbhum district in the west was faced with famine. The jute cultivators and the money lenders came up as new political forces.⁹ Addressing the budget deficit by levying a sales tax on jute became impossible, and the money lender's bill went through lengthy amendments in the Assembly. Though nothing like the strikes Haq faced when he first took office, when 15,000 workers from the scavenging and cleaning department of the Calcutta Corporation struck work on the question of increased wages, Haq's ministry was neck deep in problems already. Then there was unexpected alliance between Bose and the Muslim League in the Calcutta Cooperation, the breakdown of which exacerbated the communal divide in Bengal.¹⁰ Bose's arrest in July 1940 made the environment more volatile. Before his arrest he had started a satyagraha for the removal of the Holwell monument which had coalesced into an anti-Government agitation. After Bose's arrest the agitation became uncontrollable as the satyagrahis now demanded his release. In all, the political situation in Bengal was such that Haq would have to tread carefully and a wise act would be to bring some semblance of stability to a very unstable province by standing strong with his Bengal League colleagues. Caught between being an administrator and an ambitious politician, Haq realized that 1940 was the year for preparation, not results. Haq would have to wait till 1941 to achieve his goals. Even those like Herbert, who had a fairly good idea what Haq's goals were, did not know how Haq would realize them given the political mess in Bengal. Herbert was well aware that Haq's support of the British war aims was his way of gaining ideological ground that was different from the League's but he still worried for Haq. In a letter to Linlithgow on 22 June he wrote: "What Haq will really do if he leaves League - only he knows - or maybe even he doesn't know."¹¹ Linlithgow, who had been impressed with Haq's leadership replied saying, "I continue to

⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 February 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

¹⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 April 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL. Herbert wrote, "instead of Hindus coming together a pact took place between the Muslim league and Subhas Bose." The European group declined to support Muslim League which made this unlikely coalition possible.

¹¹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 June 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

watch with amusement the activities of Fazlul Haq.”¹² Clearly, support for the war did not safeguard Haq’s position for good; it only bought him some extra time in which to figure out his politics, perhaps until the next election, due at the end of 1941. As for his efforts at reconciliation with the Hindus, they had come to nothing. Haq must have believed that his personal diplomacy, his calm and patience would pay off sometime later but he did not know when. With these two political steps yet to prove successful, despite having taken steps to express his individuality and independence outside the Bengal League, Haq did not dare to break away from the League. It would have meant political suicide given that the election was not due to till end of 1941 and he did not yet have a back-up alliance party. The Coalition ministry formed in 1937 embodied many strained relationships that came to a head in 1941, caused by many of the contingent political decisions Haq took after assuming office. The most significant of these was his embrace of the Muslim League ideology. Distancing himself from the the Bengal League would also mean disavowing loyalty to the idea of Muslim solidarity based on religion alone. In 1937 the nuanced difference between Haq’s and Jinnah’s political ideas were not resolved, it need not have been, in 1940 these irreconcilable differences surfaced and 1941 they threatened to disrupt Haq’s politics. The war had played a pivotal role in bringing out in the open the clash of interest between Jinnah’s and Haq’s politics. Haq’s politics had always encompassed religious as well as regional identity, though between 1937 and 1939 they had not been pronounced explicitly by Haq. These differences made a parting of the ways imminent, but everyday politics of Bengal in 1941 dictated the twist and turns of this historic political clash. The year began with difficult discussions in the Legislative Assembly regarding bills. Haq started the February session amateurishly asking Legislative Assembly members to just believe that he wanted to improve, for instance, the Secondary Education bill. Sarkar retorted saying that it was difficult, given that “extreme volatility” marked the nature of his promises.¹³ The Calcutta

¹² Linlithgow to Herbert, 16 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, IOL.

¹³ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 4 January 1941.

University senate also opposed the Bill.¹⁴ Mookerjee gets to the bottom of the Hindu opposition. Though Hindus were a minority, 80% of school going population was Hindu and 80% of total expenditure on secondary education was borne by Hindus. This made it rational for Hindus to want to retain their dominance over the secondary Education Board.¹⁵ Heated debate followed every time the bill was tabled. Nalini Sarkar also said that even in cursory reading it became clear that the motive of the bill was to obtain control over secondary education, not to improve it.¹⁶ Accusations of a similar kind were made against Haq's government pertaining to the Municipal Bill as well. In Sarkar's address before the Calcutta Ratepayers' conference he claimed that the purpose of the Calcutta Municipal amendment bill was to curtail the autonomous powers of the corporation. The other bill that raised violent debates, but was passed, was the Sales Tax bill. The debate was mostly concerned with how the raised money would be spent. The Congress objected to almost every clause and demanded its referral to a select committee. Oddly enough, even from within, the coalition party members who had requested Haq to jettison the bill demanded exemption after exemption. Despite all this, with the support of the European party the bill was passed. Though an event such as this provided the ministry with much needed oxygen, repeated blows weakened the Bengal Government. A series of challenges were thrown before Haq when a communal riot broke out in Dacca which claimed the lives of 21 Muslims and 6 Hindus and injured 157.¹⁷ From March to July, sporadic riots broke out damaging Haq's ministry more and more.¹⁸ Cases of arson, loot and plunder were reported almost daily.¹⁹ Neither specific causes behind these riots could be identified nor enough arrests made as marauding bands dispersed immediately. There was also fear of the

¹⁴ Ibid., 26 January.

¹⁵ Syama Prasad Mookherjee, *Leaves from a Diary* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1993). p44-45.

¹⁶ *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 13 July 1941.

¹⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 2 March 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

¹⁸ *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12 July 1941.

¹⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 5 April 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

riots spreading to other parts of the province. Herbert himself visited Dacca in May when peace was restored temporarily and reported to Linlithgow that “ill feeling still exists.” It was after his visit that a decision was taken to appoint a committee to enquire into the Dacca riots. Despite such intervention violence continued unabated in Dacca. In June after Rathjatra, a Hindu festival, stabbing incidents were reported. No community could be called victim with certainty. These riots in Bengal accentuated, as riots often do, the uncritical use of the communal card by politicians. The riot issues became easy sites on which opposition battles against Haq and his ministry could be staged. The environment was already communally charged. Legislative Assembly members called almost every bill “communal” at one time or the other.²⁰ Interestingly, Sarkar alleged that the Calcutta Municipal bill would infringe on the fundamental rights of every citizen, Hindu, Muslim or Christian and hence it had “communal control motive.”²¹ The Communal Award had already become a staple subject of critique. At a meeting in Shradhanand Park, Mookerjee urged Hindus to prepare for struggle to protest ., See also 13 July 1941 against it.²² The Bose-League Pact in the Corporation, instead of ushering in a ‘new era’ in the wider sphere of Bengal politics underwent severe strain.²³ S N Banerjee, a Hindu Mahasabha leader, in a speech at Dinajpur dwelt on the miserable plight of Hindus in provinces with Muslim ministries. This being the situation before the riots broke out, immediately after news of Hindu casualties spread, all issues acquired communal overtones. For instance, the Mahasabha wanted to get properly enumerated in the census. Haq made some comment about Mookerjee’s “ill advised statements.” The census being a central issue, Haq’s comments as a provincial minister was unwarranted. But the Hindu Mahasabha, not willing to miss an opportunity to discredit Haq and his Muslim regime, as they saw it,

²⁰ CIO’s Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, 1935-1944, R/3/2/55.

²¹ Amrita Bazar Patrika, 4 January 1941.

²² Ibid., 13 January.

²³ Ibid., 19 January. 12 members of Bose group wrote to the Secretary of their Association saying “ it is no longer possible for us to work hand in hand with the Muslim League party.” The group also pointed out that unlike the Muslim League they had not gained at all from the coalition.

demanded his resignation.²⁴ What the Hindu Mahasabha did not know was that by virtue of the fact that Haq “genuinely” wanted to see a British victory in the war, Herbert would not dispose of him so easily.²⁵ Herbert’s support for Haq was only circumstantial and the riots in any case had so many deleterious consequences for Haq that he could not count on Herbert to be his vanguard in all quarters, chiefly within the Bengal Muslim League. These riots indicated to Haq the fast erosion of his own power within the coalition ministry. Haq could no longer just blindly rely on the ministry. He would have to administer law impartially.²⁶ There was also evidence that the riots were not always spontaneous, some of them may have been orchestrated. Herbert wrote, “There is no evidence but prominent citizens know far more than they pretend, and I am told that a man who was ‘wanted’ was observed entering the precincts of Nawab of Dacca’s spacious residence. Enquiry Committee meets tomorrow...”²⁷ The possible involvement of the Nawab, a Muslim League stalwart, was only the beginning of the trouble. Haq probably did not even know of this incident, but he knew, just as Herbert did, that the riots caused ill feeling between himself and the Dacca group. Herbert also knew that it was a good deal more than “ill feeling” because the Dacca group not only tried to “out maneuver” Haq on many counts, they also accused him of incompetence. They made the wound deeper by pointing out that those arrested on “bailable offences were released on bail since Nazimuddin resumed the Home department portfolio.”²⁸ This kind of talk started making the rounds within the Bengal League circles, more so as the Muslim League became stronger. Haq’s services

²⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 March 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

²⁵ Herbert to Linlithgow, 5 May 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL. Herbert wrote in his report that on the war depended the future of the Muslims and Haq considered himself a “greater rallying point and mass orator than Jinnah.”

²⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 2 March 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

²⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 9 July 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

²⁸ Herbert to Linlithgow, 24 July 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

were less critical for the success of Muslim League's mass contact program and he remained an outsider to the Muslim League affairs. Haq's political sagacity was at its highest in 1941. He had realized that he would have to capitalize on the war to keep the British on his side. But apart from that nothing was going quite right for him. He was being torn between the hard core political groups; the Hindu Mahasabha accused him of being communal and the Muslim League of not being pro-Muslim enough. He had been both in the past, but had now devised a new kind of identity politics, which was neither communal nor secular.²⁹ The difficult part was to stick to it. Haq complained to Herbert that his "hot-headed" followers forced him to act against his wishes and in fact he was "compelled to issue violent statements" to keep his partymen happy." On another occasion, by trying to stop the Pakistan Day meeting in Calcutta organized by Muslim League, as that would have aggravated the communal situation, Haq tried to perform his balancing act but it came to nothing as the meeting was still held.³⁰ Haq was not one to take such open insults lightly, especially if it meant losing power.³¹ In the past he had dealt with similar kinds of impunity from KPP leaders rather harshly but Muslim League leaders were stronger opponents. By the summer of 1941 Haq was ready to embark on an impossible and daring path, that of severance from the League. What Herbert had said of Haq, "I believe that Fazlul Haq as a strong man may accomplish what many others have not dared to attempt," was about to come true.³² Fortunately for Haq, the bone of contention between him and the League loyalists was his unwavering desire to help the British in their war effort, an issue that the Muslim League could not politicize much. In May 1941 Haq went to Shimla to meet Lord Linlithgow to advise him on the formation of a national government at the centre and in the provinces to stimulate war

²⁹ Sana Aiyar, "Fazlul Huq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 6 (2008).

³⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 25 March 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

³¹ There is evidence that Huq had digested similar insults from opposition parties though. But placating them, at any cost, was part of Huq's larger plan.

³² Herbert to Linlithgow, 10 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, India Office Records Library, London, IOL.

effort. He also suggested a round table conference of Indians from all communities where India's political situation would be discussed. The Bengal Provincial Muslim League immediately passed a strongly worded resolution condemning this individual move by Haq and declared Jinnah their leader. Haq, on his part issued a statement clarifying that it was not his intention to act over the head of the League. It is true that the "facile manner" in which Haq repudiated his actions was "characteristic of Mr Fazlul Haq," but it may be argued that this was the first of many times when Haq's clarification had more a diplomatic twist to it than a genuine desire not to be misunderstood.³³ Haq's new stand was to profess loyalty towards the Muslim League, divorced from the overarching leadership of Jinnah. Haq's next move somewhat clarified his politics. In July the expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council and the formation of National Defense Council were announced. Haq, like Chief Ministers of other provinces, joined these councils as an ex-officio member and this did not go well with the Muslim League.³⁴ Following Jinnah's orders, ministers from Punjab and Assam resigned from these councils. Haq however refused.³⁵ Open disagreement with Jinnah had been in Haq's cards for a while but he was waiting for the right opportunity. Given Jinnah's rising popularity, no time was a good time, but Haq kept his calm and faced the severest of blows in a calculated manner. Herbert saw what was coming. He wrote in his report: "Haq has been chafing against League domination and would prefer to stand firm and remain on the Defense Council even if that meant break with the League." Herbert and Linlithgow played important roles in this historic stand-off between Jinnah and Haq. Interestingly, despite having caused this standoff they both remained quiet bystanders. Haq was on his own facing the wrath of Jinnah and his followers, but he would probably not have wanted it any other way.³⁶ When

³³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 10 July 1940, Linlithgow Papers, India Office Records Library, London, IOL.

³⁴ Brayden to Porter, Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, R/3/2/5.

³⁵ CIO's Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, 1935-1944, R/3/2/55.

³⁶ Haq had a big following himself in Bengal and he depended on them for success.

Haq faced a volley of accusations for joining the National Defense Council, he was only doing what was expected of him and other Chief Ministers. Herbert at the provincial level or Linlithgow at the national level could have clarified this, but they did not. On 7 August 1941, Herbert wrote in his report that the Chief Ministers of provinces enjoying democratic selfgovernment had “joined with the consent of their colleagues” but the problem was that the Secretary of State, in his address, also expressed that he was glad that “regardless of party leaders and in defiance of party discipline patriotic Indians” had come forward to work for India's defense.”³⁷ Herbert inferred correctly that the Muslim League would interpret the sentence as an insult to their authority over their party members and hence Haq's or Sikander Hayat Khan's joining the Council would be seen as an insult to the League. However even a week after nothing was done to correct Muslim League's impression. Carter, secretary to Herbert pointed out that since the speech was made in the Parliament in the House of Commons it had to be found out if the SOS could say something to deny what his statement implied.³⁸ In fact, at the end of August Herbert acknowledged that Linlithgow ought to solve the tension between Jinnah and Haq but no solution was actually sought.³⁹ Attacks against Haq became more vehement. There were demonstrations organized by Muslim League members against Haq. By end of September the question of British responsibility was all but forgotten. On 21 September, Herbert wrote that it would be “unwise to ban the Muslim League meeting” against Haq, because first, Nazimuddin had promised to keep the demonstrations peaceful, and secondly, the Muslim League should not infer that the Governor was siding with Haq.⁴⁰ It is important to note here that Haq may have taken stock of how Herbert and Linlithgow behaved but he would not have them bring about an understanding between himself and Jinnah/Muslim League. Haq was cautious but

³⁷ Herbert to Linlithgow, 7 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

³⁸ MO Carter to Laithwaite, 14 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

³⁹ Herbert to Linlithgow, 22 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

⁴⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 21 September 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

happy to be fighting this battle with Jinnah and his loyalists alone. The battle was not easy and it was being fought simultaneously on two fronts, within Bengal and outside Bengal. Haq could not have prepared for the repercussions his actions had in Bengal but he dealt with them very well. Haq's acceptance of office in the National Defense Council was seen as an act of defiance by the Muslim press. The debates on Haq's actions became so acrimonious that he had to resign from the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League in September. Students of Islamia College protested and Muslim League meetings were about to be held to publicly shame Haq. It was rumored that that the 13 September Working Committee meeting moved a no-confidence motion against Haq." During August and September, Haq's relationship with his Muslim League colleagues hit an all time low and Herbert worried for the stability of the ministry. However, Haq had a surprise for his new opponents. In early August, Sarat Bose appeared for defense in a civil suit before the high court in 81 which it was suggested that Suhrawardy in 1940 had improperly communicated to a plaintiff information regarding the fixation of a minimum price for jute before it was publicly announced by Government. This led to a concentrated attack on Suhrawardy until 18 September when prorogation of the Assembly by Herbert prevented the noconfidence motion from being moved.⁴¹ In all probability Herbert prevented the no confidence motion with the sincere understanding, and he discussed this with Haq on 21 September, that with such motions one never knew "what to expect." Herbert explained to Haq that the motion could be about Suhrawardy's personal integrity but it could also be about the administration in which case Haq's cabinet would get implicated and his ministry could fall.⁴² What Herbert found out only a few days later, when he wrote to Linlithgow, was that the confidence motion was tabled "on the connivance of Haq."⁴³ Haq had long been concerned by the growing power of Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy, who he knew had also been

⁴¹ CIO's Note on political development in Bengal since the introduction of 1935 Act, 1935-1944, R/3/2/55.

⁴² Herbert to Linlithgow, 21 September 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴³ Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL

instrumental in organizing Muslim League demonstrations that sought to vilify Haq for joining the National Defense Council. The no-confidence motion in the Assembly, whichever way it played out would have accomplished for Haq the end of his uncomfortable and stifling experience in the coalition ministry. This was essentially not a good thing because Haq had no constructive back-up option. The opposition had not made it any easier to pass the Secondary Education Bill or the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill over the summer and the communal situation in Dacca had not returned to normal. Haq was really walking on a tight rope. The noncommittal attitude of the British made Haq's position even more precarious. Yet, like never before, Haq stayed firm on his stand which must have been because of the experience he had garnered from his long years in Bengal politics. There was still a lot of uncertainty but by October it was clear that Haq had at least taken his revenge against Suhrawardy. Herbert understood that Muslim Leaguers in Bengal had started to "realize that they [had] overstepped the mark."⁴⁴ The demonstrations against Haq had not been successful. There was no clear indication from Herbert that in case of dissolution of ministry, which seemed immanent, Haq would not be called to form another ministry. This group also knew that Haq had developed ties with the opposition. Given all this the only unfortunate course left before Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and Tamizuddin was to try and convince Haq that the working committee meeting on 13 September was not convened to discuss a no-confidence vote against Haq.⁴⁵ They said "we can assure you that we never entertained any such intention." Haq responding with great maturity said that he was prepared to let the incident be closed. Haq added what many interpreted as clarification bordering on reconciliation, that it was not his intention to drive a wedge between Muslims of Bengal and that he never questioned the "authority" of the Muslim League to "take decision on important

⁴⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁵ Huq's Correspondence with Colleagues, 17 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL. What ulterior motive this group had in trying to make matters right with Huq is not clear but the tone of the letter reflects strength of Huq's position as Chief Minister despite his strained relations with Jinnah and the central Muslim League.

All-India issues, involving Muslims of India, including those of Bengal.”⁴⁶ A K Ghuznavi, a Bengali zamindar, saw in Haq’s statement a “somersault.”⁴⁷ Referring to Ghuznavi’s statement Linlithgow wrote to the Secretary of State, after Zetland, Leo Amery, that he derived some kind of “unkind amusement” and he hoped that Haq’s “acrobatic feat will be rewarded by a smooth passage for the Chief Minister at the forthcoming meeting of the Muslim League, though I doubt if Jinnah will be at all anxious to make things easy for him.”⁴⁸ Both Ghuznavi and Linlithgow overlooked Haq’s consistent effort to offer his loyalty to the party instead of the leader. Haq’s plans of forming a new coalition with the Hindus could not come to fruition with a disgruntled Muslim electorate in Bengal and the Muslim League, not Jinnah yet, had caught their imagination. Also, they overlooked that Haq recognized Muslim League’s rights to officiate on “all-India issues” not provincial ones. Linlithgow was wrong in assuming that Haq’s speech had put the ball in Jinnah’s court. In trying to placate Haq, Bengal Leaguers proved that their lessons on subservience had been wasted on Haq. The bigger battle that Haq had to fight was outside Bengal; the opponent, much stronger than Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy, was Jinnah. Haq’s refusal to resign from the Defence Council was an open challenge to Jinnah’s authority over provincial leaders. Jinnah issued a statement threatening disciplinary action.⁴⁹ Though this did not deter Haq from his stand, he worried about his precarious position in the forthcoming All India League Working committee meeting on 24 August. In the end he stayed away from it. In a letter to Liaqat Ali Khan in September, apart from explaining how his position as Premier of a province with Muslim majority demanded of him decisions that Jinnah could not well comprehend, he also reiterated that Bengali Muslim Leaguers had no problems with his joining the Defense Council.⁵⁰ Haq carefully explained how his decision to

⁴⁶ Haq’s Correspondence with Colleagues, 17 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁷ Ghuznavi to Laithwaite, 18 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁸ Linlithgow to SOS, 24 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁴⁹ MO Carter to Laithwaite, 14 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL.

⁵⁰ Herbert to Linlithgow, 6 & 7 August 1941, MSS EUR F125/41, Linlithgow Collection, IOL. Herbert knew that Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy supported

remain in the Council was in no way a threat to Muslim solidarity in Bengal which was an important concern for him. But finally, he could not help but protest against the “autocracy of a single individual,” because the “Bengali race” revolts against it.⁵¹ Through these famous lines he gave a definite framework to his identity politics which was informed by both religious and regional solidarity. Haq’s revolt also did a fair amount to unsettle Jinnah’s political plans for a Muslim India. Haq did not even attempt to reconcile with Jinnah despite massive protest. The working committee of the Muslim University Muslim League for instance condemned Haq’s actions and asked him to apologize to Jinnah.⁵² Haq could not be bothered about what was happening outside Bengal. Haq resigned from the Council in late September but not with a view to winning back the Muslim League’s favor. In October in a letter to a Muslim Leaguer, Sultan Ahmed, Haq, while hoping for his endorsement said “If you want to put down the Hitlerism of Jinnah why don’t you force Sikander Hayat to be more manly?...”⁵³ While campaigning for himself Haq became acutely aware of the audacious political path he had chosen to tread and knew that among Muslim leaders in India he was peerless. While standing tall before Jinnah took courage, negotiating with Muslim Leaguers in Bengal required tact. Haq won both battles. The prorogation of the Assembly end of September and its scheduled meeting at the end of November gave Haq two months in which to work out a political alternative, because it had become practically impossible to continue with a Muslim League-led Coalition Party ministry and it was in that context that the first quarter of December, 1941 assumed importance. A split in the Muslim League was a definite outcome but how that would work out for Haq was not known to anyone. Haq may have hoped for the best but he had to know that the worst could mean the end of his political career. The “political grasshopper” took the biggest risk of his political life in December, and to judge by its immediate

Huq’s decision to remain in the the Council but would not “stand against Jinnah openly.”

⁵¹ The Statesman, 12 September 1941.

⁵² Muslim University Gazette, 15 October 1941.

⁵³ Huq to Sultan Ahmed, 16 October 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

outcome, he emerged victorious. On 29 November in a cabinet meeting called urgently by Herbert, Haq declared that as leader of the Coalition Party it would be “wholly unconstitutional” to enter into negotiations with parties in opposition. When it was confirmed that the truth was somewhat different, in a meeting of the cabinet on 1 December, all the Bengal League ministers tendered their resignations to Haq. Haq’s ministry came to an end with the split in the Bengal League. Even on this day Haq was not sure if he would be called to form the ministry.⁵⁴ M A H Ispahani, a close confidante of Jinnah, seemed to believe in “chances” that the Bengal Muslim League would be called to form the Government.⁵⁵ In a telegram to the Secretary of State, Leo Amery, Herbert wondered if Haq retained the confidence of the Coalition Party or “whether a new leader, probably Nazimuddin will be elected.”⁵⁶ On 5 December, Muslim League ministers like Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and the Nawab of Dacca issued press statements explaining why they resigned. Their allegation that Haq had double crossed them also seemed completely plausible given that two days back Haq had accepted the leadership of the new Progressive Coalition Party (PCP), yet another coalition party of Hindus and Muslims. Haq’s first ministry officially came to an end. Sikander Hyat Khan could still not believe that Haq would pull through. He urged Haq to place himself entirely in “Jinnah’s hands” or retire from politics.⁵⁷ There was something to that advice, because Haq’s new leadership role still did not ascertain for him a position as second Chief Minister of Bengal but Haq paid no heed to it. There was tremendous satisfaction in having broken free from his circle of colleagues like Nazimuddin and Suhrawardy. The greatest testimony however to Haq’s impudence was a few telegram exchanges with Jinnah, after months of indirect interaction through the Press and other Muslim leaders. On 6 December Jinnah wrote:

⁵⁴ Herbert to Linlithgow, 5 December 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁵⁵ Shila Sen, *Muslim Politics in Bengal, 1937-1947* (New Delhi: Impex India, 1976). p132. (Jinnah as I knew him, 1946, p46). Ispahani came from a well off business family. He was trained in law. He studied in Cambridge but on coming back to Calcutta, he joined his family’s business. The Ispahanis contributed generously to the Muslim League.

⁵⁶ Herbert to Linlithgow, 1 December 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL

⁵⁷ Linlithgow to SOS, 8 December 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL

“Prima facie your action is highly improper in joining miscellaneous groups in Bengal Assembly... I call upon you to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against you as member of Working Committee and Council of All India League.” Jinnah gave Haq 48 hours in which to reply. This was a much mellowed response as compared to Jinnah’s orchestrated attack on Haq three months previously. Somewhat secure in his new position and yet not willing to lose the goodwill of the Muslim constituency, Haq replied that the present party elements were exactly like they were in 1937 and reformed in 1939.⁵⁸ To this Jinnah replied “statement embodied in your telegram is contrary to facts and documentary evidence,” and gave Haq one more day, yet again, to respond satisfactorily.⁵⁹ Within two days of receiving this telegram Haq formed his new cabinet, and then, much more secure than he was a few days before, Haq did not reply to Jinnah at all. On 11 December Jinnah informed Haq that he was unworthy of membership in the Muslim League. It had been difficult for Haq to resign from KPP in 1937 after years of close association. With the Muslim League, Haq’s relationship had been neither long, nor close, but because the Muslim League support was invaluable to him, he was perhaps relieved to not be the one to resign from it first. In the next chapter we will see how Haq’s relationship with Muslim League entered a new phase and how that impacted his political career. While Haq’s politics continued to remain contingent in nature, the course of the war, especially after Japan’s entry, and its various implications, would test the limits of Haq’s politics.

⁵⁸ Linlithgow to SOS, 8 December 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.

⁵⁹ Linlithgow to SOS, 9 December 1941, L/PJ/8/651, IOL.



PARTITION OF INDIA WITH REFERENCE TO GANDHI'S THEME OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

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The partition of India was a serve blow to the leaders of the Indian congress who tried to avert it till the terns for preserving unity seemed unacceptable to them¹. The strongest reaction to partition came from Gandhi who had worked for communal harmony for decades. He had brought a large number of Indian Muslims into the National movement by linking griennces about the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire with the nationalist outrage following the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar in April 1919 and the imposition of martial law in Punjab. The Khilafat and Non-cooperation movement brought forth Muslim participation on a scale which the congress never managed to achieve after this. This withdrawal of the movement in early 1922 was followed by the outbreak of communal conflicts in many parts of north India stretching from Kohat to Calcutta between 1922 and 1926. The critics of Gandhi think that the use of a religious issue like Khilafat was dangerous since it encouraged extra-territorial loyalties and Pan-Islamic

¹ Nanda, B.R., 'Nehru, the Indian National congress and the partition of India, 1935-47' in Philips and Wainwright (eds). *The partition of India : Policies and Perspectives, 1935-47*, London, 1970

tendencies among Indian Muslims.² It has also been argued that Gandhi's collaboration with Ali brothers led to Muslim mass mobilisation within India for achieving objectives within India. Secular and Marxist historians consider the use of religion in politics a 'double-edged weapon' and therefore have regarded this strategy³ as fraught with dangerous consequences. Gandhi believed in spiritualizing politics⁴ and did not consider it essential to separate religion and politics as in the western conception of secularism. He believed in communal harmony and in Hindu-Muslim unity. His ideas and personality appealed to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who began as a radical Pan – Islamist and became a supporter of composite nationalism. Azad was a Muslim who believed in communal harmony and the need to preserve the unity of the country. His role and personality is frequently contrasted with that of the westernised Jinnah who was an unconventional Muslim fighting for the rights of Muslims and a separate state using appeals to religion⁵. The argument has been advanced that it was the emphasis on secularism and modernity that led to the failure to deal with the specific grievances of the Muslim community. It is difficult to accept this in so far as the problem was really about uneven development, economic grievances and sharing of power rather than hard secularism or communitarian identities. In so far as communitarian identities are concerned the Gandhian emphasis on Hindustani in the Devanagiri script had very little impact on the cultural politics of the Hindu speaking states. This was not a matter that could be understood primarily in terms of the secular religious divide or the modernity and tradition

² . Minault, Gail, *The Khilafat Movement : Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilisation in India* – New York, 1982

³ . Sumit Sarkar, *'Popular' Movements and 'Middle Class' Leadership : Perspectives and Problems of a 'History from Below'* Calcutta, 1983

⁴ Ajaz Ahmad, *Lineages of the Present : Ideology and Politics in Contemporary South Asia*, London, Verso, 1995 and T.N. Madan, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds : Secularism and Fundamentalism in India*, OUP, Delhi, 2003

⁵ Francis Robinson, *separatism among Indian Muslims : The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge, 1974 and Orsini Francesco, *The Hindu Public sphere 1920-40 : Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*, New Delhi, Oxford, 2002]

distinction. The politics of language did play a role in the alienation of the Muslims of North India. Gandhi, Nehru and Bose despite their differences as well as moderate nationalists and progressive writers were all in favour of Hindustani but could not make much headway⁶. The ideas of Gandhi were misunderstood by many and the message of communal harmony and removal of untouchability were also regarded with suspicion by orthodox and even moderate Muslims. Some Muslims felt this was a subtle way of consolidating the Hindu vote bank and reducing the bargaining power of the Muslim community⁷. There was some after the Khilafat Non-cooperation movement was withdrawn and the Ali brothers were upset by Gandhi's withdrawal of the movement. The concept of Ramrajya was not a Hindu ideal as far as Gandhi was concerned though it might have sprung from within the Hindu tradition. Many orthodox Muslims regarded this as an unacceptable ideal and preferred to express themselves in an Islamic idiom. The existence of separate electorates and fears of Hindu consolidation ensured that the Muslims never supported the Congress in sufficient numbers during the period that led up to independence and partition. After the Gandhi – Ambedkar pact of 1932 the reserved seats for the depressed classes led moderate nationalists and Hindu nationalists to enhance their influence among the depressed classes and thus to work for Hindu consolidation especially in Bengal. The essentialist understanding is that Pakistan was the product of long lasting difference between Hindus and Muslim.

After M.A. Jinnah took up the leadership of the League the situation changed⁸. He came out with a new idea that India consists of two nations, Hindu and Muslim from this the two nation theory was developed. The Muslim League put forth a demand for a separate state in its Lahore Resolution of March, 1940. Even though the resolution did not use the word Pakistan or make any reference to the two-nation theory, it did emphasize on the

⁶ William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India*, Foundation Books, Delhi, 2005

⁷ Joya Chatterjee, *Bengal Divided : Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932-47*, Cambridge, 1994

⁸ T.N. Kaul, *My Years through Raj to Swaraj*, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1995, p-65

demarcation of territories and territorial readjustment on religious basis. Gandhi was very upset by the propaganda of the two-nation theory was developed. The Muslim League put a demand for a separate state in its Lahore Resolution of March, 1940. Even though the resolution did not use the word Pakistan or make any reference to the two-nation theory, it did emphasize on the demarcation of territories and territorial readjustment on religious basis. Gandhi was very upset by the propaganda of the two-nation theory when the A.I.C.C. met in Bombay in the year 1940, Gandhiji took the opportunity to express his views on partition on 16-9-1940.

“It is worse than anarchy to partition a poor country like India whose every corner is populated by Hindus and Muslims living side by side. It is like cutting up a living body into pieces. No one will be able to tolerate this plain murder. I do not say this as a Hindu. I say this as a representative of Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and all. I would say to my Muslim brethren, ‘cut me to pieces first and then divide India. ‘You are trying to do something, which was not attempted even during the Muslim rule of 200 years. We shall not allow you to do it.’” Gandhiji was very upset by the propaganda of the two – nation theory. He tried his level best to convince the League and particularly Jinnah. He met Jinnah on September 9, 1944 in a friendly atmosphere the talks lasted for eighteen days but without result, inviting Gandhiji’s remark.

“It was a test of my patience. I am amazed at my patience, however it was friendly talk.”⁹In his speech at the A.I.C.C. Delhi 14-6-1947, he said;

“You will no doubt agree that no one could be as much hurt by the division of the country as I am. And don’t think that anyone can be as unhappy today as I am. But what has happened has happened..... The working committee has on your behalf accepted partition. Now we have to consider what our duty is. If you want to throw out the resolution you can do so. But you cannot make any changes in it. And this decision has been taken jointly by the

⁹ ‘Gandhiji on Partition’, selected and compiled with an Introduction by Bharti Mazumdar, Published with the financial assistance received of India, 2002 p-1

¹⁰ Gandhi on Partition, p-28

congress, the Muslim League and the British Government.”¹¹ He expressed his views in discussion with visitors on 17-7-1947 at New Delhi.

“The British have not partitioned the country. It has been done with the consent of the Muslim League and the congress. The leaders had no other alternative. They thought it was better to partition the country so that both the parts could live happily and peacefully rather than let the country go to pieces. About this I did hold a different view. My view was that no-one could take an inch of land by resorting to violence and murder. Let the whole country be reduced to ashes..... But though nonviolence is a creed with me, it is not with the congress..... It is true that I had believed that our Satyagraha struggles were based on non-violence, only lately I realized that it was not true. I admit my mistake.”

At a prayer meeting in New Delhi on 12-9-1947, he said :
“Just because the country has been divided into India and Pakistan, it does no benefit us to slaughter the Muslims who have stayed behind. The government of Pakistan has forgotten its duty. I shall appeal to Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah who is the Governor General of Pakistan to desist from such politics. I would tell him that the Hindus and Sikhs have remained in Pakistan to serve him. Why are the Hindus and Sikhs scared now? Because they are afraid that they and their wives would be abducted. They are in danger and so they are fleeing..... Should I say that Hindus and Sikhs of Delhi and those who come from outside should become barbarians because Muslims are becoming barbarians?

“The people of Pakistan resorted to ways of barbarism and so did the Hindus and Sikhs. And so, how could one barbarian find fault with another barbarian? That is why I would like to appeal to all of you to save Hinduism and Sikhism. Save India and Pakistan and thus save the whole country. I would like you to return evil with good.....

“The Muslims wanted Pakistan and they have got it. Why are they fighting now and with whom are they fighting? Because they have taken Pakistan do they want the whole of India too? That will never happen. Why are they killing the weak Hindus and

¹¹ Gandhi on Partition, p-30

Sikh? Let both the governments come to a mutual agreement that they have to protect the minorities in their countries.”

In the July, Mr. Atlee became the prime Minister of the labour Party Government in Britain¹². At the end of the same year, central and provincial assembly elections were held in India. The congress and the league came out as the principal political parties in India. The league got 428 of the 482 reserved Muslim seats (in 1937, the league had got only 108 seats). The congress contested the elections with the promise of getting independence from the British Raj and maintaining the unity of India. The league fought the elections on the promise of getting independence not only from the British Raj but also from the Hindu Raj and getting Pakistan for them. The cabinet Mission was sent by the British government to resolve the issues of the formation of the interim government and the framing of the constitution. The congress accepted the recommendation of the cabinet mission, but later refused to accede to parity with the league in the interim government or to compulsory grouping of the 6 Muslim provinces. The league also accepted it, but afterwards rejected it really because of the congress refusal, but outwardly on the ground that the mission did not recommend the creation of a sovereign state for Muslims and refused to participate in the Interim Government to be formed. In protest, it celebrated 16th August, 1946 as the ‘Direct Action Day’, which resulted in widespread Hindu-Muslim riots. Calcutta was plunged into an orgy of bloodshed, murder, loot and arson. Within three days, according to an estimate, 5000 persons were killed and 15,000 persons were wounded in the famous Calcutta carnage. Majority of the persons killed and wounded were Hindus. Violence went on unabated. The police, mostly consisting of Muslims were silent spectators and, at times, abettors to crimes only when the Hindus started retaliation in desperation, the riots were brought under control on the fourth day. The viceroy, Lord Wavell, visited Calcutta on 25 August, 1946 when the signs of massacre, looting and arson were still clearly visible. Instead of taking the League government of Bengal to task, the viceroy said that the League should be involved in the Interim Government to avoid incidents like those that took place in Calcutta. After the Calcutta carnage,

¹² The idea of Indian as a nation by Meera Chandhoke, p-48, 49

violence suddenly broke out in Noakhali on 29 August, 1946 and in Tipperah district on 15 October, 1946. Murder, rape, arson that and forced conversions were committed on a large scale. Again, most of the sufferers were Hindus. Amidst this violence, on 2 September, 1946. Nehru was installed as the Prime Minister (then called Vice President). Among the victims of the Calcutta carnage, there were hundreds of men from Bihar who had gone there for earning their livelihood. On hearing the news of their massacre and looting and the atrocities committed on Hindus in Noakhali, the Hindus of Bihar started retaliation on the Muslims in a big way. The curious result of the retaliation in Bihar was that the Muslims attacks on Hindus in Calcutta and Moakhali were reduced. The League joined the Interim Government when Noakhali and Bihar were burning and bleeding under the fie of its direct action. It nominated five members on 26 October, 1946. Its intention in 'joining the government was to act as a brake on the congress and alos to strengthen its position in administration. Now the coalition government was formed of the two parties with two different goals, one to unite, and the other to divide. This difference was leading the country to the final divide¹³. communal riots continued in the Punjab violence could not be controlled. Thwarted by the league, opposed by the league ministers in the Interim Government and abandoned by the provincial officials, Khizr Hayat Khan, the Chief Minister of Punjab, resigned on 2 March, 1947. The Punjab came under the Governer's rule. Such was the situation in which Lord Mountbatten came to India as the viceroy with the task of winding up the British Raj in India by 30 June, 1948. he held inter views with the leaders of the congress, the league, the Sikh community, the rulers of the princely states, and the Governors of all the provinces. He took stock of the existing situation of the entire country. he came to the conclusion that the situation had so deteriorated that it was beyond proper & remedy; that the emotional excitement was at its worst and opinions stood in an uncompromising conflict; that the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan of India and the establishment of Pakistan were inevitable; and that the proposal to partition should

¹³ Gopal Ram, Ed. Islam, Hindutva and congress Quest. New Delhi : Reliance Publishing house, 1998, p-157-158

come from the Indian leaders and not the British Lord Mountbatten soon discovered that he had no choice. Jinnah was obdurate that the Muslims would settle for nothing less than a sovereign state. he found himself unable to move Jinnah from his stand. Indian unity needed positive intervention in its favour including putting down communal forces with a firm hand. This the British chose not to do. They, in fact, took the easy way out. A serious attempt at retaining unity would involve identifying with the forces that wanted a united India and countering those who opposed it. Rather than doing that, they preferred to too both the sides into friendly collaboration with Britain on strategic and defence issues. Ram Gopal say in Islam, “Under pressure from the league’s organized massacre of Hindus in the government work from inside as an equal partner of the Interim Government, the congress felt that there was no alternative but ‘partition.’ It was, however, not ready to cede to Pakistan large areas of the Punjab and Bengal having Hindu majority. Mountbatten discussed the matter with Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel and got their approval for the partition.”

Lord Muntbatton’s formula was to divide India but retain maximum unity¹⁴. The country would be partitioned in such a way that the limited Pakistan that emerged would meet the goals of both the congress and the league to some extent. The League’s goal of Pakistan would be conceded to the extent that it would be created and the congress goal of unity would be taken into account to make Pakistan as small as possible. The princely states would be free to be independent or join India or Pakistan. In such a situation in which Nehru and Patel accepted the proposal for partition, Gandhi came back to Delhi from the riot-hit areas of Bihar and in answer of Maulana Azad’s question about the acceptance of the partition by the congress said:

“if the congress wishes to accepts partition, it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Now will I, If I can help it, allow the congress to accept it.”

Gandhi tried hard with the support of Maulana Azad to avoid the itended partition. He discussed the matter with the congress leaders and Lord Mountbatten a number of times without success.

¹⁴ The Idea of India as a nation by Neera Chandhoke, p-51

Gandhi was bitter and accused his followers of betraying him for the sake of power. he made a final attempt to avoid the partition by proposing to the viceroy that the Interim Government be dismissed and Jinnah be invited to form Government at the centre by choosing his ministers even if all of them were Muslims. Mountbatten wanted the approval of the CWC, but the CWC rejected the proposal. Gandhi's final attempt to avoid the partition failed. Sardar Patel was of the opinion that Gandhi must bear a part of the blame because it was he who had conceded the right of self-determination to the Muslims and had made a hero of Jinnah expressing his views on the Lahore Resolution, Gandhi had said :

“I know no non-violent method of compelling the obedience of eight crores of Muslims to the will of the rest of India, however powerful a majority the rest may represent. The Muslims must have the same right to self-determination that the rest of India has, we are at present a joint family. Any member may claim a division..... But I do not believe that Muslims, when it comes to a matter of actual decision, will ever want wivisection. Their good sense will precent them. Their self-interest will deter them. Their religion will forbid the obvious suicide which the partition would mean.”

The Gandhi-Jinnah meeting took place on 9 September at jinnah's residence in Bombay¹⁵ and continued till 26 September, with brief intervals Gandhi visited Jinnah's residence as many as fourteen times and several letters exchanged between the two leaders during that period. The fact that the talks continued for so long and in addition, the photographs of the two leaders smiling and cordially greeting each other, which the newspapers carried from day by to day, created new hopes among the public that perhaps, at last, a settlement was around the corner. On 24 September, Gandhi wrote a letter to Jinnah in which he said he could recommend to the congress the acceptance of the claim of separation on the following basis.

“.....I proceed on the assumption that India is not be regarded as two or more nation, but as one family consisting of members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones i.e. Baluchistan, Sindh, NWFP and that part of the Punjab where they

¹⁵ I.H. Quershi (1974), struggle for Pakistan, Karachi Press

are in absolute majority and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in absolute majority..... The areas should be demarcated by a commission, approved by the congress and the league. The wishes of the inhabitants of the area demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population.... if the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination..... There shall be a treaty of separation, which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs. Defense, Internal communications, customs, commerce and the like.”

As riots spread to other cities and the number of casualties escalated, the leaders of the congress party¹⁶, who had initially opposed partition, began to see it as the only way to rid themselves of the troublesome Jinnah and his Muslim league. The opinion of the congress leaders was changing fastly. Sardar Patel, who had, addressing a public meeting in Lucknow, once observed :

“The earth may split and the heavens may fall, but India will not be divided” had fallen in line with the partition group¹⁷. When Lord Mountbatten suggested that partition might offer a solution to the present difficulty, he found Sardar Patel receptive to this. In fact, Sardar Patel was half in favour of partition before Lord Mountbatten appeared on the scene. he was convinced that he could not work with the Muslim League. Again, Azad describes the role of Patel in “India Wins Freedom.” : “It would not perhaps be unfair to say that Vallabh Bhai Patel was the founder of Indian Partition.” Patel was very amenable to Lord Mountbatten’s charm and the power of his personality. Privately Mountbatten always referred to Patel as a walnut- a very hard crust outside but soft pulp once the crust was cracked. Azad continued :

“I was surprised when Patel said whether we liked it or not, there were two nations in India. He was now convinced that Muslim and Hindus could not be united into one nation. It was better to have one clean fight and then separate than have bickering everyday. I was surprised that Patel was now an even greater

¹⁶ Transfer of power in India by V.P. Menon, 1957, Princeton University Press

¹⁷ Crises in the Indian subcontinent partition can it be undone? by Lal Khan, Wellred Publication, 2007, p-69, 70

supporter of the two-nation theory than Jinnah. Jinnah may have raised the flag bearer was Patel.” When Patel was convinced, Lord Mountbatten turned his attention to Nehru. Again according to Azad :

“Jawaharlal was not first ready for the idea and reacted violently against the idea of Partition. Lord Mountbatten persisted till Jawaharlal’ opposition was worn down step by step. Within a month of Mountbatten’s arrival in India, Jawaharlal, the firm opponent of Partition had become, if not a supporter at least acquiescent to the idea. I have wondered how Jawaharlal was won over by Lord Mountbatten. He is a man of principle but he is also impulsive and amenable to personal influences. I think one factor responsible for the change was the personality of Lady [Edwina] Mountbatten. She is not only extremely intelligent but has a most attractive and friendly temperament. She admired her husband very greatly and in many cases tried to interpret his thoughts to those who could not at first agree with him¹⁸.” Maulana Azad felt,

“Instead of removing communal fears, partition would perpetuate them by creating two states based on communal hatred.” Why Azad favoured a united India reflects his far-sightedness. He visualised that the non-Muslim majority areas in Bengal and Punjab would never agree to be included in Pakistan and, if forcibly included, would revolt and, thus, in the circumstance, Pakistan would be a weak and small country. Therefore, he preferred to live in India along with the nationalist Muslims to tie the congress tongue to charge the Muslims disloyal to the congress Government.

Chiefs of staff on Defence of India and Pakistan

The Prime Minister on February 20, 1947, had also said :

“Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June, 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance. It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for¹⁹.” considering the defence

¹⁸ A.K. Azad, India wins Freedom (Calcutta : orient Longmans, 1959., p-185

¹⁹ I.A. Sherwani (ed.), Pakistan Resolution to Pakistan, 1940-47 (Delhi : Daya publishing House, 1985) p – 220-21

implications of the partition scheme, the chiefs of staff (India) on April 1, 1947, resolved²⁰

- (a) We consider that if Pakistan and Hindustan are to have separate defence forces the combined total of these forces must inevitably be greater than that of defence forces designed to serve India as a whole, since the administrative overheads' must be duplicated and there is no flexibility.
- (b) Pakistan covers all the important land frontiers of India and the Army and Air forces required to defend Pakistan from external aggressors are virtually the same as those required to defend India as whole.
- (c) It will be impossible for Pakistan to maintain defence forces of the proper size.
- (d) Hindustan could raise and maintain the forces she needs for her own purposes without difficulty, except in the case of the higher rates in the RIN.
- (e) We consider that the proposal to have separate defence forces for Pakistan and Hindustan is economically wasteful and quite impracticable, since Pakistan is in fact quite incapable of maintaining the forces required.

These were the points which echoed in Menon's mind and he had proposed its solution which later became the foundation stone of the partition. However, Menon added the concept of Dominion status for two sovereign countries-Hindustan and Pakistan. Mountbatten talked with Gandhiji for over ten hours in private at five separate meetings from March 31 through April 4, during which the Mahatma put forth the suggestion he had made a year ago²¹ :

“Mr. Jinnah..... be given the option of forming a cabinet.... If Mr. Jinnah accepted this offer, the congress would guarantee to cooperate freely and sincerely, so long as all the measures that Mr. Jinnah's cabinet bring forward are in the interests of the Indian

²⁰ : Annex II to Mountbatten's "Personal Report" No. 2, April 9, 1947, India office Library, London, L/P.O/433/32 (Mountbatten's Personal Report)

²¹ Record of Mountbatten – Gandhi Interview, April 1, 1947, in N. Mansergh and E.W.R. Lumby, n.3, Vol. X : The Mountbatten viceroyalty. Formulation of a Plan 22 March – 30 May, 1947 (1981) p-69

people as a whole..... sole referee of what is or is not in the interests of India as a whole will be Lord Mountbatten..... Mr. Jinnah must stipulate. On behalf of the League..... that, so far as he or they are concerned, they will do their utmost to preserve peace throughout India.... there shall be no National Guards or any other form of private army.... Within the framework hereof Mr. Jinnah will be perfectly free to present for acceptance a scheme of Pakistan even before the transfer of power, provided, however, that he is successful in his appeal to reason and not to the force of arms which he adjures for all time for this purpose. Thus, there will be no compulsion in this matter over a province or part thereof..... If Mr. Jinnah rejects this offer, the same offer to be made *mutatis mutandis* to congress.” The viceroy staggered on this proposal and asked whether Jinnah would agree to it. Gandhiji replied that he was entirely sincere in his suggestion. Surely, Jinnah might have dismissed this proposal solution could have appealed Jinnah’s ego. However, as the proposal involved the replacement of Nehru as Premier with the Quaid-i-Azam, he was shocked and told Muntbatten that the proposal was ‘unrealistic’ as Gandhiji was away for four months and was out of touch with current events at the centre²². When the talk between Mountbatten and Gandhiji was going on, Nehru met the viceroy on April 1, 1947, and reiterated the congress partition plan. In response to the viceroy’s apprehension of heavy bloodshed in case of implementation of partition plan, Nehru described the continued communal tension and riots, the league’s dangerous activities across the borders of Bengal into Assam and Abdur Rab Nishtar’s active role being played as part of the ‘Direct Action’ Policy. He argued that

“ a decision which was acceptable to most Indians and communities was the only viable one at that hour.” Further when Azad met Mountbatten after Gandhiji, the viceroy said,²³

“If congress accepted Gandhiji’s suggestion partition could still be avoided,” but Nehru and Sardar Patel forced Gandhiji to withdraw the suggestion ²⁴ As a result Gandhiji wrote to

²² MB 191, Interview No. 20 Nehru, April 1, 1947

²³ A.K. Azad, *India wins freedom* (Calcutta : orient Longmans, 1959), pp-187

²⁴ , U.N. Pyarelal, n. 31, pp-79-84

Mountbatten on April 11, 1947, rejecting the proposed plan²⁵ Thus the congress accepted Pakistan, but including only Muslim majority districts. Jinnah, addressing the Muslim journalists in Bombay on March 12, proclaimed :

“Our ideology, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles..... are not only different from the Hindu organisation but are in conflict.... There is no common ground for co-operation.....There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at, but let me tell you this there is no other solution which will discredit and bring honour to our people. Insha Allah (God willing), we shall have Pakistan.”

Mountbatten, expressing his opinion about Jinnah says²⁶ :

“He gave the impression that he was not listening. He was impossible to argue with..... he was, whatever was said, intent on his Pakistan – which could surely only result in doing the Muslims irreparable damage..... until he had met Mr. Jinnah he (Mountbatten) had not thought it impossible that a man with such a complete lack of sense of responsibility could hold the power which he did.”²⁷ However, Jinnah went back thinking the gloomy picture of Pakistan which was taking shape in the viceroy’s mind, and to dispel that shadow, he began to carve other arguments. On April 10, the viceroy declared :

“Mr. Jinnah was a psychopathic case²⁸ Mountain went to London in May 1947, and got the approval of the British Government to his partition plan. Coming back to India, he announced his partition plan, which came to be known as 3rd June plan, to accomplish the transfer of power on the basis on Dominion status to the successor states of India and Pakistan. Both the congress and the league and all the other parties accepted the plan. The British Government passed the Indian Independence Bill, 1947

²⁵ . N. Mansergh and E.W.R. Lumby, n.3, p-927; see also M.H. Shahid (ed.), Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Speeches, Statements, Writings, Letters), (Lahore : Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1967), pp-50-51

²⁶ N. Mansergh and E.W.R. Lumby, N-41, Vol.X, p-190 and “top secret”, Interview, Mountbatten-Jinnah, April 11, 1947

²⁷ Interview, Mountbatten – Jinnah, April 11, 1947

²⁸ .” History of the freedom movement by Tara Chand, New Delhi : Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1992, Vol. 4, pp-532

on 18th July, 1947 and fixed the date of 15th August, 1947 for setting up the two dominions. The rationale for the early date for the transfer of power was that the British could escape the responsibility for the rapidly deteriorating communal situation. Mountbatten later defended the early date on the ground that things would have bloom up under their feet had they not got out when they did. The abdication of responsibility was callous and the speed with which it was done made it worse. The 72 days time-table from 3rd June, to 15th August for the transfer of power and the partition of the country was to prove disastrous. The partition council had to divide officials and assets. The most important thing was the settlement of boundaries between the two states for which a Boundary Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe²⁹.

The Radcliff Award was ready by 12th August public only after the Independence Day so that the responsibility would not fall on the British. The Independence Day witnessed strange scenes. Flags of both India and Pakistan were flown in villages between Lahore and Amritsar as the people of both the communities believed that they were on the right side of the border. The morrow after freedom made many of them alien in their own homes³⁰ Mountbatten reached Karachi on August 13, 1947, and inaugurated the dominion of Pakistan on August 14, 1947. Delivering the message of greetings to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, Mountbatten said :

“Tomorrow two new sovereign states will take their place in the common wealth; not young nations, but bears of old and proud civilisation..... not immature governments or weak, but fit to carry their great share of responsibility for the peace and progress of the world.”

Jinnah was sworn in as Governor – General of Pakistan and Mountbatten as Governor-General of India. Pakistan cabinet was

²⁹ The Partition of India : seen through Gandhi's Eyes' in Ramakant and Rajan Mohan, p-215

³⁰ The Great Divide – Britain – India – Pakistan by H.V. Hodson, London : Hutchinson & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1969, n-54, p-387 and facts are facts : The untold story of India's Partition by Wali Khan (translation by Dr. Sayeda Saiyidain Hameed), New Delhi; Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 1987, N-81, p-167-76

headed by Liaquat Ali Khan. In September, as desired by Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan moved the cabinet to Lahore. After addressing the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the viceroy flew back to New Delhi, and inaugurated the dominion of India on August 15, 1947. Thus, the British Raj came to an end in India leading to the freedom of one-fifth of mankind. Communicating the message of goodwill and greetings from the British crown to the Indian constituent Assembly. Mountbatten, paid homage to Gandhiji as the architect of India's freedom through non-violence and said :

“Your first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, you have a world renowned leader of courage and vision. His trust and friendship have helped me beyond measures in my task. Under his able guidance, assisted by the colleagues whom he has selected, and with the loyal cooperation of the people, India will now attain a position of strength and influence and take her rightful place in the comity of nations”

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected President of the Assembly and the Indian cabinet was headed by the prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who made a famous broadcast at midnight of August 15, 1947³¹ :

“At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom.....

on June 16, 1947 Maulana Azad had said :

“The division is only on the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people, and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition.”

Radcliffe's Boundary Award³² –

On August 13, the Radcliffe Award was ready and made public on August 16, 1947. The terms of reference of either commission were to demarcate the boundaries. “On the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.”

Comment on the Awards – [The times (London, August 18, 1947] Dewan Bahadur S.P. Singha wrote :

³¹ The transfer of power in India by V.P. menon, orient Longmans, 1957, Bombay n.80, p-413

³² appendix XIV (Sir Cyril Radcliffe's boundary Awards)

“It is a one sided award, an most unfair to Pakistan. The principles of the contiguity of majority areas have been completely overlooked.

Abdur Rab Nishtar said :

“It is extremely unfair and unjust to Pakistan and is based on no principles. We believe it is a parting pick of the British.”

Jinnah spoke;³³

“No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent, sovereign Muslim state has suffered injustices. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow that we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensible and even perverse award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial but political award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us.”

The paper further observes that the British purpose of the “wrong, unfair and unjust” award was to fish in troubled waters of weakened Pakistan, which could ever depend on the goodwill and help of the British and the Hindu capitalism and tension between Pakistan and India³⁴. The Kashmir and Indus River water issues are permanent threat of war between the two countries. The motive of the viceroy and Radcliffe was otherwise toward Pakistan. They had planned earlier to accede Kashmir to India and for this purpose they intentionally gave Gurdaspur to India. According to the ‘Instruction’, the district should have gone to Pakistan being a Muslim majority district. This is a good example for Indian and Pakistani’s to realise that the Britisher’s were not their friends as they laid seeds of communal disharmony on the land of Gurdaspur. This finds support on the fact that instead of determining the boundary line according to natural barriers like rivers, mountains, canals or hills, he went from village to village sowing seeds of external discord between the two dominions. However, the resultant boundary gave to East Pakistan was 54,501 sq. miles with

³³ From speech broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Lahore. On October 30, 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah : speeches as Governor – General of Pakistan, 1947-48 (Karachi : Pakistan Publication), pp-32-33

³⁴ The Pakistan Times (Lahore), August 19, 1947

41.8 million population, to West Pakistan 8,03,943 sq. miles and India 32,87,782 sq. miles.

before coming into existence of the two dominions, there were already communal violence, loot, arson, massacre, bloodshed, loss of life and property and continuous disorder and riots, the roots of which. may be said, was the Direct Action Policy of Jinnah. The situation in Punjab and Bengal, due to its plan of partition, was not serious. There was even a Sikh plan to assassinate Jinnah on the day Pakistan was born, but the viceroy brought him back with himself in an open carriage. When they reached inside the Government House, the viceroy said : “Thank God, I was able to bring you back alive.” While the Armed Sikhs in Amritsar began killing every Muslim they could find, the Muslim gangs – many of them ‘police stabbed and gunned down every Hindu and Sikh in Lahore. The entire trainloads of refugees were gutted and turned into rolling coffins and funeral pyres, smokes and flames everywhere in Punjab darkened the skies in bengal. Gandhiji held fast on the Independence day, when all business houses are closed in Calcutta. The Hindu Mahasabha raised black flags against the wivisection of mother India – Akhand Bharat. The Calcutta Muslims fled and hid in panic and crowded in predominanty Muslim areas. General Toker reported³⁵ : “deserted, leaderless, depressed and on the defensive.” However, peace was restored when Gandhiji undertook a fast undo-death recalling to stop killing of the innocents. The Ramazan ended on August 18, 1947, and Jinnah in his Id message rejoiced the establishment of Pakistan³⁶. He, on receipt of reports of mass killing, rake, arson and looting, wept and “his handker-chief furtively often went to his moist eyes....”

The horror stories told by the Hindu and Sikh refugees gave vent to the Sikhs of the Akali sect³⁷ and the Hindu fanatics of the RSS in Delhi to lauch a wave of terror on the morning of September 3, 1947, the day Gandhiji ended his fact in Calcutta. Max Olivier

³⁵ Speeches by Quaid-i- Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan : 3rd June 1947 to 14 August, 1948, (Karachi : n.d.) p-16

³⁶[M.A. Jinnah, “My brother”, in Stanley Wolpert, n.50, p-343

³⁷ Freedom At midnight by larry collins and Dominigue Lapierre, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, Pvt. Ltd., 1981, p-331

Lacamp saw the Hindus looting Muslims' shops and butchering owners and Nehru above their heads "in a white congress cap whirling a lathi, beating the rioters, showering them with curses, trying by his actions to arouse the dozen indifferent policemen behind him." The RSS burnt a Muslim woman at the gate of Nehru's York Road residence "as a protest against their prime Minister's efforts to protect India's Muslims." By the evening of September more than 1000 had died. Nehru in anger called Pakistan "A carbuncle that had settled on the back of India's Body politic."³⁸

On August 17, 1947, just days after the Partition of India, riots broke out in Punjab. The next day, the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan, issued a joint statement pleading for peace and visited the sites of the riots. However, their statement fell on deaf ears, because on January 12, 1948, a train holding hundreds of refugee men, women and children in Gujrat, Pakistan was bombed, leaving no survivors. On January 30, 1948 Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the greatest proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity³⁹ and peace, was assassinated by an anti Muslim religious fanatic. That same year, multiple Hindu-Muslim riots occurred and over 15,000 women were abducted and raped in both countries⁴⁰.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah died of tuberculosis on September 11, 1948. With him died hopes of a secular Pakistan⁴¹. Finally on March 23, 1956, the constitution of Pakistan was passed⁴², based on the principles of Islam. This constitution was passed about six years after the secular constitution of India was passed, on January 26, 1950⁴³. Pakistan suffered another loss with the assassination of its first Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan on October 16, 1951⁴⁴.

³⁸ The future of Pakistan by D.H. Bhutani, Promilla and Company, Publishers, 1984, New Delhi, p-ix (Introduction)

³⁹ Pakistan by Jameel Haque, Milwallkee-Gareth Stevens Pub., 2002, pp-58

⁴⁰ Mohandas Gandhi by Christopher Martin, Minneapolis, Lerner Publications, 2001, pp-101

⁴¹ Freedom at Midnight by Collins, Larry and Dominique, Lapierre, new ed. / Pbr. ed., London, Harper Collins, 1997, p-283

⁴² Jinnah, directed by Jamil Dehlave, Dehlavi Films Productions, 1998

⁴³ Pakistan by Liz Sonneborn, New York, Children's Press, 2013, p-55

⁴⁴ Pakistan by Jameel Haque, p-59

India and Pakistan have thus far fought three costly wars that have scarred the minds of their people and adversely impacted their economies. From April to September of 1965, the first Indo-Pakistani war was fought over the disputed Kashmir province. In 1971, the second Indo-Pakistani war, or the civil war between west and East Pakistan was fought, which resulted in the formation of modern day Bangladesh. In 1999, the third Indo-Pakistani war, the Kargil war, was fought over a glacier marking the border of Pakistan and India⁴⁵. India and Pakistan have never been able to form friendly and stable relations due to the events that occurred during the Partition. Both countries have wasted resources on developing nuclear weapons and fighting unnecessary wars, while their people continue to suffer from the effects of crime, poverty, corruption and illiteracy. The economies of Pakistan and India remain unstable and have failed to fulfil their potential for growth⁴⁶. In Pakistan, decades of martial law and assassinations of democratically elected leaders have stunted the growth of democracy⁴⁷. In India, multiple incidents of religious violence between Hindus and Muslims have put the secular Indian constitution to shame. The governments of both countries have repeatedly squandered their chances at reconciliation. Government propaganda and manipulation of history on both sides of the countries to fan the flames of mutual hatred⁴⁸. Had India not been partitioned, it would have been the largest country population – second on the planet⁴⁹. Resources that are currently being wasted on conflicts and violence could have been channeled toward the prosperity and development of the people and the country. The terrorism resulting from continued hostility between the two countries would not have existed. Peace in the region would have stimulated and promoted economic growth. The principles of coexistence, compromise and

⁴⁵ The Hidden story of Partition and its Legacies by Crispin Bates, bbc. com. accessed 7 Nov., 2017

⁴⁶ Midnight's furies : The Deadly legacy of India's Partition by Nisid Hajari, Mariner Books, Boston, 2016, pp-124

⁴⁷ Shameful flight : The Last years of the british Empire in India by Stanley Wolpert, New York, Oxford UP, 2006, pp-83

⁴⁸ personal interview by the author Zarreen Maveed Usman, 6 oct., 2017

⁴⁹ The Hidden story of Partition and its Legacies by Crispin Bates, bbc. com Accessed 7 Nov. 2017

tolerance that the people of India had demonstrated by living together for a thousand years, before the British sowed the seeds of discord, would once again have thrived and the blood of millions that had been lost in the terrible, unforgettable violence of the partition would have been nothing but a distant “What if.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ 1947 Partition by Kazi Shamsuzzaman, 31 August, 2010, and www.1947partitionarchine.org. Accessed 18 Oct. 2017

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BUDDHISM AND SOCIAL OUTLOOK OF INDIAN SOCIETY

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Today Modern India with all the concern to Buddhism as discussed so far, committed for the Buddhist values. However Indian society at large has failed to bring change in social attitude of average Indian. The social outlook of Indian society is same as was at the time of Independence (i.e., 1947) Hindu protagonists have been carrying on malicious propaganda against the Dalit Buddhists. Buddhist scholar in foreign countries, misled by the Hindu religious and political leaders, have also been casting apprehensions on the Dalit Buddhism launched by Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar. Indeed every country which practice Buddhism has its own interpretation of the religion depending on their life styles and beliefs. Rituals, ceremonies, prayers, mode of worship and customs differ in different countries. Worship of Hindu deities in Buddhist Devalas, employment of Kapurlas to perform priestly duties, pathetic faith in idol worship, invocation of evil spirits and worship of Katargama ceremonies like Bali, Thovil, Sanni Yakuma, Huniyam Rapima, Rata Yakuma, Mahasoma Samayama have no sanction in Buddhism. Even then these beliefs, rituals have been accepted by Buddhist communities according to their traditions in their own countries. Dalit Buddhism of vast

millions of Ambedkarites is based on rationality. The rational has to grow into the spiritual. A spiritual fellowship is the meaning of human history to find out earth and heaven are intermingled. Ambedkar viewed Buddhism from the point of view of the needs of modern India. It is an age of science and humanism. Religion which is insensitive to human ills and social crimes do not appeal to the modern man. Religion which make for division, discord and disintegration and do not foster unity, understanding and coherence, play into the hands of the opponents of religion. Dalit Buddhism is working to weed out unnecessary elements that have cropped up in the Buddhist belief system in all these years. It is trying to occupy the consciousness of an average modern man. Like any other religion (Christianity or Islam) practised by modern societies of different countries, Buddhism has also been practised differently in different countries. In fact, Buddhism has been divided into many schools and sects since the time of Gautama Buddha. It is even believed that the Buddhism was prevalent and dominant religion of Mohenjodaro people in Indus valley civilization. There were many Buddhas however with scanty historical evidences, for ex. Kunakamana Buddha. Even the history of Gautama Buddha was recorded hundred years after his death. Later the Buddhism has been divided into Hinayana, Mahayana, and Vajrayana or Tantrayana. In modern world Zen Buddhism and Lama Buddhism are popular in western world. So what is wrong in calling Dalit belief of Buddhism as Dalit Buddhism? Dalit Buddhism of Ambedkar is aimed to liberate Dalits from the clutches of Hinduism. Ambedkar did not want his people to follow Hinduism. He did not believe in worshipping Hindu gods. He wanted his people to leave Hinduism and embrace Buddhism. If Dalit samaj wants to save itself, it must change the axis of its thought and life. Belief of Religion and God is intrinsic element of human thought. The question is what kind of religion and what kind of God. What requires is a religion of love and brotherhood and God of justice and equality Religious system needs to be capable of responding creatively to every fresh challenge. Buddhism is re-designed in the form of Dalit Buddhism to be capable of responding to the new forms of caste discrimination. It is capable of dethroning the social authority of hegemonic

communities in Indian society. Hindutva is a modernised Hinduism to respond to the new challenges faced by Hindu (read Brahmin) society of modern India. Hindutva forces are methodised to work against the Dalit interests. Hindutva the cultural form of Hinduism rather weakened the social fabric of whole Indian society. The answer clearly lies in Buddhism for the liberation of Dalit masses and to re-construct a cultural world of their own with the ideals of justice, equality and fraternity Ambedkar has contextualised the Buddhism in the Dalit needs. He located the relevance of Buddhism in the Dalit context. The relevance of Buddhism in modern India lies in the service to Dalit society. Modern Buddhism or Dalit Buddhism needs to be Ambedkarised for safeguarding Dalit-bahujan, interests, because Ambedkar wanted to give a doctrinal basis to his religion.

¹ Dalit Buddhism is basically aimed in the construction of positive Dalit identity. The alternative formulation of Buddhism has, thus, to perceive it as a movement for human freedom and as a process for social transformation. In other words, Buddhism is part of the wider struggle against social hegemony, a struggle against caste ideology, untouchability, economic oppressions. Ambedkarism forms the nucleus of Dalit Buddhist identity. The challenge is to deal with the marginalisation of so-called lower castes and their inferiorised self-images which play an important role in constituting their identities. For instance, the Dalit Buddhist identity with an agenda for transforming the existing social structure, if articulated as a religious identity against Hindu casteist identity, could well provide an important strategy for the Ambedkarisation process. The religious identity has the potentiality to annihilate hierarchical order. Hinduism as a religion has served in many ways to legitimise the oppression of the Dalits. Buddhism as a religion of Dalits can provide alternative positive images of Dalit ideals. Cultural inferiorisation of Dalits can be removed with Buddhist identity of Dalits, which aims to provide self esteem. Dalits as a cultural beings have sense of identity. Their cultural context needs to be positive to acquire capacity for self- representation. Dalits are to strive to recover their self-worth by organising and identifying

¹The words unity and integrity of the Nation have been added to FRATERNITY by the Constitution (forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976.

themselves as a religious group, with a specific cultural and historical identity, which also functions as a shared religious ideology. Forming such identities would allow the Dalits as a religious group to conceive that each one of its members possessed to share in the total privilege or deprivation and a role in constituting this identity. Thus ultimately it could lead to the struggle against the forces of domination in the society. In other words, the collective positive identity is expressed by Dalits through concrete cultural struggle rooted in Buddhism, as well as in the consciousness of Dalits who see themselves as individuals representing and embodying a particular cultural tradition bounded by a collectivity of similar lives.² Religious identity of Dalits is to problematise inferiorised identity i.e., Untouchable or lower caste by problematising the whole Hinduism and to construct a new social collectivity based on the Dalit Buddhist identity. This counter-hegemonic and counter-Hindutva voices of the Dalit, Buddhists articulated in terms of anti-Brahmanism. This collective Dalit Buddhist identity conditioned by historical necessities might get reformulated into various cultural codes expressed in the form of identities based on language ex: Telugu Dalit Buddhist, religion ex: Tamilnadu Dalit Buddhist, and gender, depending on Dalits' perception of reality. In cases where Dalit Buddhist collective identity is concretely based on an acute sense of 'relative deprivation' the construction of 'the Other' is not just Hinduism but an entire hegemonic structure and the privileged groups that are perceived as a threat to Dalit individual as well as Dalit as a group identity. It is also informed by Indian history, shaped and developed through changing processes of interaction between the superordinate and the subordinate, articulating discourses of resistance and rebellion. Because Buddhism has always played the role for Dalit liberation. Dalit-Buddhism as an ideology emerged from the dialectic of modern science and Protestantism. It is to acquire legitimacy of religion and God in Dalit life and society. It

² To abolish caste Ambedkar wanted to destroy the sanctity of Sastras. He states: "You must give a doctrinal basis to your religion-a basis that will be in consonance with Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, in sort with Democracy...." see for mere details: Ambedkar, B.R., *Annihilation of Caste*, Thacker, Bombay, 1937, p. 38.

is nothing but religion playing politics of recognition and self-respect for the purpose of Dalit liberation. The emerging Dalit Buddhist identity, though not yet fully elaborated as a collective religious identity, is countering the homogenising Hindu identity and hegemonising brahmanic authority particularly in Maharashtra, Uttarpradesh and some extent in Andhra Pradesh. Dalit Buddhism does not treat Dalits as passive recipients of socio-economic changes administered by dominant groups but are active subjects engaged in constant struggle to define their identities in relation to others. Dalit Buddhism is to retrieve Dalits as subjects of their own history. In this context, the historical moments of change is perceived as confrontations rather than transition. Periyar Rams Swami Naicker the founder of self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu argued?

"can rats ever get freedom because of cats?

can fowl ever get freedom because of foxes?

can Dalits ever get equality because of Hinduism"?³

Ambedkar also asks: can lion be sacrificed by Hindus in their temples? He argued that unless the Dalits become Lions they could not face Hindu cultural onslaught on their identity and privileges. Given this concern it can be argued that unless the victims of the past become active social subjects, they would not in erasing their subordination and become liberated and equal. The construction of the self and its other is thus rooted in the concrete Buddhist ideology and not fixed only in terms of any privileged binary such as upper castes versus lower castes, Brahmin versus Untouchable or Buddhist versus Hindu. But the active social self is Dalit Buddhist and the other is Caste Hindu. Periyar argued, ".you should realise that if all of you are workers, it is because you were all made into Sudras according to Varnashrama Dharma of Hindu religion. Let that pass. If workers are thought of as lowly people, it is because they (Sudras) were thought of as lowly people in Hindu religious dhamma".⁴ Even if any misguided Dalit feels to liberate

³ Idea of collective cultural identity has understood from the book: The Politics of cultural Nationalism by Margurite Barnett, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1976, p. 163.

⁴ Anaimuthu, V., Periya Ee Ve Ra Sinthanigal. Vol. II, Trichirapalli, Thinkers Forum, 1974, p. 673 (Quoted with modifications to suit Dalit argument).

himself from the Caste problems within Hindu fold, it is not possible and becomes a futile effort, because invocation of a monolithic/unproblematic Hindu identity is not a viable identity given the reality of social philosophy of Hinduism. The danger of failure of Ambedkarism (including his rational Buddhism) lies in confining Ambedkar's critique within the post Enlightenment of binary of rationality versus irrationality and opposing Hinduism merely at the level of philosophical' disputes. The opposition to Hinduism has to be carried out by encountering concrete situations of power relations. In other words, struggle based on Dalit Buddhist identity must become a site of contestation against Hindu ideology. Change of religion is prior condition for the liberation of the Dalits. Dalit Buddhism provides social collectivity on Dalits' own terms. The liberation of Dalits will become an unrealisable dream if they are to remain within the Hindu fold. Given this reasoning, Ambedkar advocated conversion of Dalits to Buddhism. Ambedkar wanted Dalits to enter into relations of power based on religious identity. In displacing the current contradictions within the Dalit communities, the Ambedkarism constructs a distinct Dalit Buddhist past/history Ambedkar's rationalism wants to end unreason and blind faith in the Hindu Gods. He is opposed to worship of Hindu Gods. Ambedkar however was pleading for real faith in God. He meant by real faith, prayer to God through service and work which would be related to the generating of faith in society. Ambedkar has always tried to see that his people do not lose faith in God. Who is that God of Dalits? Ambedkar looked at Gautama Buddha as margadata a great teacher and not as a God. The whole fight of Dalits is against Hinduism and Gods of Hinduism and not against the very concept of belief in God and identities of other religions like Sikhism, Islam and Christianity. The question is not about existence of God but belief in God. Social equality, justice, fraternity are not in opposition to God, but to Hindu Gods. Hinduism as a religion represented by Hindu Gods may not be allowing Dalits to gain social respect and opportunities by forming hegemonic identity, but other religions Sikhism, Islam, Christianity and Buddhism and identity of God in these religions are not opposed to Dalit's interests. Ambedkar had consideration to all these religions before he embraced Buddhism. It shows,

Ambedkar understood the importance of faith in God for the Dalits. He feared that belief in God might land up Dalits again in Hindu fold. His rationalised Buddhism is an outcome of this fear. However, there were many instances that prove that Ambedkar recognised the role of God in the religion provided that God stands for Dalit cause. Dalit Buddhism is a further developed form of rational Buddhism of Ambedkar. Briefly speaking Dalit Buddhism locates itself in the context of Dalit as indigenous tribe lived prior to Aryan invasion to India. They were inhabitants of Indus civilisation and Mohenjodaro was their capital. Their religion was Dhammam or Adi Buddhism, the earliest form of Buddhism. Dalits were the followers of Buddham means God. Buddhism is Adi Buddha the earliest Buddha. Adi Buddha means beginning of enlightenment. Buddham the Dalit God was formless hence not worshiped in the form of any idol. The idol worshipers were dwellers at Harappa who were Dravidans. Therefore Indus civilisation rightly can be termed as Dalit -dravidian civilisation. This brief understanding of Dalit Buddhism makes us to note that Dalits' belief in their own God identified with Buddhism is a historical necessity to strengthen their social bargain capacity in the form of collective religious identity for better social position in the society. The formation of identity is a dialectical process of inclusion and exclusion and a process of constituting the self and other. Absence of positive Dalit identity makes Dalits to identify themselves with Hindu identity. This subordination of Dalit identity to Hindu identity is because Dalit is a political identity not religious. To de-hinduise Dalit identity it needs to be religio-cised by Buddhism. De-Hinduisation of Dalits is possible only through the positive social identity based on Buddhist religion. Dalit Buddhist identity cannot be appropriated by Hindu identity because of two reasons: one Buddhism has identity of world religion, two - identity of Lord Buddham (Adi Buddha) as a God serves Dalit cause. Hindu identity can never be successful because it is fundamentally opposed to Dalit dignity. Hindu identity is to promote Brahminism through the slogan of Hindu unity and to create enmity among oppressed groups. Dalit Buddhism is the inclusion of two identities: Dalit and Buddhist. Dalits need religion of their own and God of their own for spiritualisation of Dalit

Samaj to strengthen alternative cultural forms that aim to demolish Hindu images in the Dalit consciousness and in turn to build strong Dalit politics. Thus the true India or Bharat can be evolved on the strength of SANGAM (the ancient Buddhist name, prior to Gautama Buddha, for the Dalit community or Dalit Samaj) Now the question arises: Is there God in Buddhism? The answer is Big Yes. Then what is the name of the God in Buddhism? All the schools and sects of Buddhism believe that Gautama Buddha is not a God. He is a great teacher for mankind. He showed the path of wisdom, compassion, and reality as essence of life. His philosophy has not born out of context. It is very much in tune with already prevailing Buddhist beliefs. Gautama Buddha revived Buddhism which was in decline at his time. He injected new oxygen into the already existing Buddhism by new orientation. Buddhism of the Gautama Buddha was born out of already prevailing Adi Buddhism. Gautama Buddha rationalised Adi Buddhism and scientised and called it Buddhism. If Gautama Buddha is not a God then who is the God in Buddhism. As earlier said that Buddhism was prevalent as a religion even before the birth of the Gautama Buddha. The Buddhism was even a dominant religion of people of Mohenjodaro in Indus civilisation and their God was Buddham who was Adi Buddha, means the beginning of enlightenment. It seemed that they did not worship Adi Buddha in idols but in symbols and mostly had scared writings in the form of short inscriptions with pictures on the seals. Theravada Buddhism still contains most of the features of Adi Buddhism. That is why Ambedkar had embraced Theravada Buddhism. Gautama Buddha maintained silence on the question of whether God exists or not. But he never said that there is no need of God for man. The Buddha felt that the debate on the existence of God was waste of time and not useful to mankind. But he never said God is not useful to mankind. Everything which is useful to mankind is part of Buddhist belief. If God is useful to mankind then he must be a true God. If God is not useful and harmful to mankind he must be a false God. This is the true understanding of Gautama Buddha's silence on the question of whether God exists or not. Did Ambedkar deny God? Ambedkar denied the importance of Hindu Gods for human society. He felt there is no need to worship God in

Hindu form. He worshiped the Buddha Dhamma as a God. For Ambedkar God is Dhamma the path of enlightenment, that is Madhyama Marga. Dhamma means Middle Path. Is Ambedkar's denial of God coming under the Middle Path. Some scholars misunderstood the whole philosophy of Madhyama Marga which led to wrong interpretation of teachings of Gautama Buddha as well as Ambedkar. Both the prophets of Buddhism indeed never said God is not necessary for mankind. Because denial of God is against the Middle Path of Buddhism. How could they go against middle path, which is the very essence of Buddhism. Gautama Buddha and Ambedkar did not want people to worship Hindu Gods. In the context of Hinduism, Ambedkar said don't worship God but in general he is not against the worship of God. Dalit fight against Varna/Jati Dharma is to do with Hinduism. Dalit question in opposition to God needs to be located in the Hindu context. Dalits' opposition to very belief of God is neither useful to their cause nor in tune with the Middle Path of Buddhism. Dalit success lies in the adoption of Middle Path that is not to believe in Hindu Gods, Hindu social and religious system and Hindu philosophy but at the same time to have faith in the true God, true religious philosophy and true social and religious system true God of Dalits. the true religion of Dalits true society of Dalits. Buddham is the true God: Buddham Sharanam Gachami;, the Dhammam is the true religion: Dhammam Sharanam Gachami Sangham is the true society: Sangham Sharanam Gachami; the To establish Sangham the true Dalit samaj or society, there is a need of Dhammam, the true religious philosophy of Buddham, the true God. At the time of the Buddha, Buddhists recited the tri Sharana. Even Gautama Buddha recited the tri Sharana. When Gautama Buddha recited Buddham Sharanam Gachami' which Buddha he was referring about. It was Buddham - Adi Buddha the God of Gautama Buddha. In other words Gautama Buddha and Ambedkar believed in the worship of true God. Ambedkar did not say not to worship God in his 22 Buddhist's Oaths but said not to worship Hindu Gods. Middle Path is the essence of Dhamma of Adi Buddhism or Dalit Buddhism. Lord Adi Buddha the true God of mankind was very much the God of ancient Dalits since the days of Indus valley civilisation. Pavithra Dhamma was the sacred belief of ancient

Dalits. Sangha was ancient Dalit Samaj. Ancient Dalits realised the true God Lord Adi Buddha by following the path of Pavithra Dhamma. Sangha the ancient Dalit Samaj was religio-political society. We find many Buddhist symbols in the form of pictographic writings of Mohenjodaro people on the seals of Indus civilisation. Pavithra Dhamma was the sacred writing of ancient Dalit Buddhists. Retracing Pavithra Dhamma from the available mesopotamian, Pali, Sinhali sources might help us to re-construct the religious ideas, beliefs and traditions of ancient Dalit Buddhists. The broad understanding of existing Buddhist ideas, beliefs in the Dalit context, make us some extent to trace the religious beliefs of ancient Dalits in the form of Pavithra Dhamma. As it is discussed earlier that the ancient Dalits were followers of Adi Buddha and Pavithra Dhamma the sacred writings inscribed on the seals of Indus and mentioned in the Contemporary Mesopotamian texts.⁵ The major sources are Indus seals and Mesopotamian records to know religion, culture, society, polity and economic life of ancient Dalits. Hindu literature like Rigveda and other Vedas etc are also useful for the purpose. The Mesopotamian records mention the word Meluha for Indus region. The ancient name of the river Indus was Meluha Sindhu is Sanskrit name, given by Hindus (Aryans), who invaded India. Therefore Sindhu civilisation is not right to identify Meluha river civilisation. Recently, hindu historians are trying to dig out mythical Sarasvati river to identify Indus Civilisation. Some historians called it Harappa civilisation just because Harappa was the first site found by the archaeologists. Identity of Sarasvati river civilisation to Indus region is unhistorical. It is an effort to communalise identity of Indus region. Harappa is just a name of one sight and not as important as Mohenjodaro. Harappa civilisation is misnomer widely popularised by some historians because of its similarity with the Hindu word 'Hara'. Harappa is a politicised term given by motivated historians. According to a tradition, Lord Adi Buddha was the God of ancient Dalit tribe whom the Dalits called as Buddham means true God. Ancient Dalit Buddhists believed that God Lord Buddham first created Mother Meluha from whom created first man called Bharat, from their union born the whole

⁵ Viduthalai, 20, January 1948.

humanity of Dalit race, the indigenous people of the land called Bharat. Dalits built great civilisation on the banks of river Meluha (Indus). Intra tribal conflicts cropped up. Dalits fought themselves for supremacy over each other to rule the land of Bharata. Consequently they divided themselves into two groups namely- 'Dalit and Dravidian' They made Mohenjodaro and Harappa as their capitals respectively to rule over the land of Bharat. Aryans the barbaric nomadic tribes from central Asian region invaded the land Bharat and destroyed the great Dalit civilisation. The destruction of Meluha culture or Dalito-dravidian culture forced the dalit and dravidian tribes to migrate different places. Aryans followed the policy of divide and rule. They alligned with Dravidians who became part of Aryan culture and were co-opted into the Aryan social system as Shudra Some of Dalits were captured by Aryans and made them untouchables and some who were untouched by Aryan culture lived in forests and in course of time developed new tribal identities and new religious beliefs. Dalits were forcibly converted to Hindu religion by Aryan rulers. Thus Dalits were divided into numerous castes and subcastes because of Hindu religion. Dalit was originally a Buddhist tribe, split into several castes after forcible conversion to Hinduism. Therefore Dhammam or Adi Buddhism was religion of ancestors of Dalits. Adi Buddhism is acceptance of the will of God Lord Buddham, the Adi Buddha, that is Dhammam, the Adi Dhamma the path of enlightenment or Madhyama Marga (Middle Path) to attain (Sangham) heaven on this earth and in this world. Dalit Buddhists regard Gautama Buddha, Asoka and Ambedkar as the three great prophets of Buddhism. Gautama Buddha developed Buddhism out of Adi Buddhism. His Dhamma is continuity of already prevalent Adi Dhamma of his times. Gautama Buddha is not a moksha data. He is a Margadata. Dalit Buddhists of modern India believe that Gautama Buddha showed Marga (true path) - Adi Dhamma. Modern Dalit Buddhism is the product of Ambedkarism. Ambedkar liberated Dalits from Hinduism to come back to the religion of their ancestors. He declared in the Yeola conference on 13, October, 1935 that he was born a Hindu, but he would not die a Hindu. In the Bombay conference on 30-31, May 1936, he declared that conversion was the only path to freedom for

untouchables. He declared after his conversion to Buddhism, "This conversion has given me enormous satisfaction and pleasure unimaginable. I feel as if I have been liberated from hell".⁶ For Ambedkar Hinduism is hell and Buddhism is heaven on earth. Ambedkarism has contributed for the development of Dalit Buddhism in Modern India.⁷ Buddhism has made tremendous progress in independent India. As against less than two lakh Buddhist population in 1947, India now has around one crore Buddhists. A large number of Buddha viharas have come up in various parts of India. Many Bhikkhus and Buddhist scholars have contributed in the post - Ambedkar era for the growth of Buddhism in Modern India. Buddhist ethics provided a stabilising influence in a world of continual conflict. Buddhism is a vital force for Dalit identity Buddhism became integral part of Dalit identity. Buddhism is becoming recognised in the west as an alternative source of vision and values. The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO) is one such organisation which aims to use Buddhism for the development of Dalits. It differs from the most other Buddhist organisations in respect of commitment to Buddhist ideals in the conditions of modern western industrialised society and also conditions of Indian society The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO) was founded by Ven. Sangharakshita in 1968 as a western sangha. The order of the organisation is very crucial. The order consists of men and women who took refuge to the Trisharana. Sangharakshita is their spiritual teacher. FWBO has established indeed its own tradition, not dependent on, but related to other branches of Buddhism like Dalit Buddhism. Sangharakshita the founder of the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order committed himself to holding the Ambedkar's Dalit Buddhist Movement together, despite vituperative opposition from sections of the Indian press. After 1977 the FWBO, already established in the west, was a prime motivating force sustaining the missionary activity begun by Ambedkar in India. The movement is known as

⁶ . The Mesopotamian records from about 2300 B.C. onwards refer to trade relations with Meluha. Indus civilisation can rightly be called as Meluha civilisation or Dalito-dravidian civilization.

⁷ Ahir, D.c, Buddhism, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1998. p. 114

"Trailokya Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayak Gana', and its main centres are in Pune and Ahmedabad.

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HERO-MYTHS AND COMMUNAL OVERTONES IN COLONIAL INDIA

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The main component that led to the partition was the communalism, the growing discontent between the section of societies. It was prevailed in India since the ancient times, there were many factions always claiming their superiority over the others. But in the British era this problem took a mass shape because the profit oriented British who came to India for trading sought their interests by exploiting the resources available within the country, they never cared for anything except the accumulation of wealth and adding domain to the British imperialism. They found it suitable to divide the people into their own groups therefore making their plan easier as the local king showing hostilities to their own kins could never took a stand to counter British imperialism. The British derived the policy of “Divide and rule” for their sole purpose of gaining more and more wealth. Thus they sowed the seeds of discontent among Hindu and Muslim. Leading them to the partition of the country, actually in 1857 we have seen the great unity between the Hindu and Muslims, the British guessed this threat and followed the policy. They took the advantage of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, lured him of giving assurance

of the advantage of his own community. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan became the staunch supporter of the British and he took his stand against nationalist Congress. Initially the British suspected the Muslim as threat to their rule in India, by seeing their role in the great war of independence, further one more revolt occurred which we know as Wahabi movement. This led British to act against that particular section of society. But the scenario changed dramatically the Hindu section was more advanced than the Muslim and intrinsically the Hindus were the main threat for the British rule, ascertaining this situation they changed their tactics and went to support Muslims. There are various other factors existing in the society responsible for the growth of communalism, the Muslim league played the most important role in the partition of India. The league should be known as the “mother of communalism.” The league was raised as a party to protect the interest of Muslims which later went on saying that the partition is the only solution to the problem of the nation and it should be done in order to protect the interest of the Muslim that should be remain as a minority in the undivided India and this will lead to extinction of their identity. That’s how the two nation theory was born and on which the mass change happened.

“The British were neither the foes of the Hindus nor friends of the Muslims. They set up Pakistan not as a gesture of friendship towards the Muslims, but under the compulsion of their international policies.” -Wali Khan

To look upon the problem of communalism and the formation of Muslim league we must find out the causes that led to these happening, religious happening were not the single reason, because of it being politically motivated. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was once a nationalist he drifted towards communalism, seeing his community’s interest can be enhanced by doing this. The utterances and changing policies of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan clearly indicate the strong political undertones of the communal problem. Syed Ahmad Khan started as an advocate of a united Indian nation and preached Hindu-Muslim unity but later changed his views to become a staunch opponent of the Indian National congress; he fell into line with the British imperialists. Khan started his career as an advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity. He described the Hindus and

the Muslims as ‘two eyes of beautiful bride, i.e., Hindostan. Weakness of any one of them will spoil the beauty of the bride (dulhan)’.

¹ In a speech delivered in 1884 he said, “Do you inhabit the same land?... remember that the words Hindu and Mahomodean are meant for religious distinction- otherwise all person, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation.” Addressing a Panjabi Hindu audience Sir Syed said that, ‘ every inhabitant of India is a Hindu and added, “I am therefore sorry that you do not regard me as a Hindu.” In a speech delivered at, Gurdaspur in 1884 Sir Syed said,” We should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison. If united we can support each other; if not, the effect of one against the other would tend to the destruction and downfall of both.” Contrast with the Sir Syed speech at Merrut on 16 March 1888 where he maintained that the Hindus and Muslims are not only two nations but as two warring nations who could never lead a common political life, should ever the British quit India?” The Muslim demand for separate electorates almost synchronised with the introduction of the system of election in the constitution of local bodies. Speaking in the central legislature in January 1883, on Ripon’s bill for establishment of local self government in the central provinces, Syed Ahmed Khan referred to the vital difference between different Indian races and different religions, the unequal disproportionate progress of education among different sections of the population and expressed the fear that any system of election, pure and simple, would result in the larger community overriding the interest of the smaller community. A true devotee of the Muslim cause, Syed Ahmed Khan was fully aware of Muslim backwardness in the fields of education and politics and came to the conclusion that India was not fit for the introduction of western political institution like representative or responsible government for his community could not get its due share in it. This fear took the form of Hinduphobia and loomed large in all subsequent

¹ Partition stories, mapping communities, communalism and gender; Vinod K, Chopre, Anamika Publishers, 2009; community, communalism and gender, page no. 32

Muslim political thinking. The Anglo Indian administration were quick to work on Muslim apprehensions and strove to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims. The three English principals of M.A.O. college Beck, Morrison and Archbold; gave the pro British and anti Hindu bias to the Aligarh movement. This is how the British imperialists divided Indians in factions to fulfill their interests. Primarily they were antagonistic toward Muslims the Wahabi movement made their suspicion more firm but later on due to the impact of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan they changed their side to the Muslims and tried to make them pro British, making the gulf more wide between Hindu and Muslim. In August 1888 Syed Ahmed Khan set up the United Indian Patriotic Association with the avowed object of countering the Congress propaganda and policy in England and in India and to wean away people from the Congress. This was followed a few years later (1893) by the exclusively sectarian Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence association of Upper India to keep the Muslims aloof from political agitation and to strengthen British rule in India.²

There was one more important factor in the writing of the history that served the imperial cause by forming the approach of Hindu and Muslim communalism. Both the writers of the community always emphasised on the heroic deed of their religion and always claimed superiority over other. It is known as the communal approach of Indian history, also imitated by Indian scholars, fostered the communal way of thinking, such as the ancient period of Indian History was glorified as the Hindu period and the medieval period labelled as Muslim period of Indian history, implying that religion was the guiding force behind politics during the whole of medieval period. True, both the rulers and the ruled, not unoften used religious slogans to suit their material and political ambitions, but it was certainly a distortion of history to infer- as was done by these writers- that all Muslims were the rulers and all Hindus were the ruled. In fact the Muslim masses were as poor, if not more as the Hindu masses and were thoroughly oppressed and exploited by the Muslim rulers and their Hindu collaborators. All the same, this communal approach to Indian

² A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016,

history did foster divisive communal tendencies in Indian politics in the 1st quarter of the 19th century and first half of 20th century.³ This also became an important cause to increase communalism. Later in the decades various other societies formed to foster communalism -

In response to this Sir Syed and Raja Sheo Prasad of Kashi formed the United Indian Patriotic Association (August 1888). The aim of this association was to convey to the British that all communities and aristocrats are not with the Congress, to convey the views of Hindu and Muslim organisations to the British Parliament, and to strengthen the rule of British in India by weaning people away from the Congress. Many people associated with this group were later to be part of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. The mix of these processes and secular organisations being thrown up was described by Surendranath Banerjea and Lokmanya Tilak in the words 'India is a nation in the making', meaning thereby that it is a representation of common interests of Indian people vis-a-vis the colonial power. At this time reformers like Rammohan Roy were asking for abolition of abominable practices like sati. Phule was at this time calling for taking to modern education and women's education. Pandita Ramabai took up the cause of women's education. Phule also laid the foundation of a non-Brahmin movement aimed against the social power of the Zamindar-Brahmin nexus. Later Ambedkar was to pick up the threads of this movement and struggle for the rights of the untouchables.⁴

The British rulers realized the differences between the Hindu and the Muslim elite and embarked on the policy of divide-et-empere (divide and rule). With the formation of the Indian National Congress, they were very uncomfortable with its demands. Sir Syed's opposition to these demands came in handy for them and

³ For an excellent analysis of this aspect see R. Thapar, H. Mukhia and B. Chandra, communalism and the writing Indian History

⁴ Communalism:rise and growth

Balraj Puri, Kashmir Towards Insurgency (Hyderabad, Orient Longman, 1993).

Bipan Chandra, India's Struggle for Freedom (Delhi, Penguin, 1988).

Madhavi Yasin, 'Emergence of Nationalism Congress and Separatism'

D.C. Gupta, 'Indian Nationalist Movement' (Delhi, Vikas, 1970).

NCERT, India's Struggle for Independence (New Delhi, NCERT, 1997).

they encouraged Sir Syed and his elite followers in their communal demands. The British played their cards well and, taking advantage of the Hindu-Muslim divide, they tried to snub the INC time and again. They recognized a group of Muslim Nawabs and Jagirdars as the representative of Muslims (the Shimla delegation), and similarly encouraged the Hindu Mahasabha and RSS. None of the organisations undertook any anti-British agitation, neither were they subject to repression by the British. Thus there are three major factors which resulted in the partition of the country. The first was the British policy of 'divide-and-rule'. The Second was Muslim communalism, representing the interests of Muslim zamindars, Nawabs and other elites. The third was Hindu communalism (RSS, Hindu Mahasabha, and partly through the Congress) which represented the interests of Hindu Zamindars, Brahmins and Baniyas (traditional tradesmen). The religious reform movement also had his impact upto a certain extent on communalism, both the Hindu and Muslim of the 19th century contained some mutually contradictory aspects. These movements were launched to purge Hinduism and Islam of irrational and obstructionist tendencies but this generated some unhealthy tendencies. The Wahabis crusade against all non muslims and aim to establish Dar-ul-Islam was so odious to Hindus as Dayanand's slogan of Aryanisation of India and aim of Shudhhi were unpalatable to Muslims. Even Vivekananda's references to ancient Indian achievements as constituting the real Indian spirit popularized to give a sense of Pride and National Identity to a demoralised nation- created a reaction in the Muslim mind which turned to Western Asian history for a tradition and identity.

Similarly the militant nationalists of the early 20th century in their search for 'national heroes' and 'hero-myths' referred to Maharana Pratap, Shivaji and Guru Gobind Singh as national heroes and the Muslim rulers like Akbar, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb as 'foreigners'. The straight logic was that Pratap. Shivaji or Gobind Singh were nationalists because they were Hindus, and Mughal emperors were foreigners because they were Muslims. Besides, it was too much to assume that nationalism of the modern type existed in the medieval period of Indian history. True, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo and later Gandhi ji were strong believers in Hindu-

Muslim unity, but in their writings and speeches they often employed a language, imagery and symbolism unity derived exclusively from Hindu sources (e.g. the slogan of Ram Rajya popularized by Gandhi) had a religious tinge and did create a reaction in the Muslim mind. True, the references to Hindu theology were intended to involve the politically inert masses into the nationalist struggle by explaining to them nationalism couched in a language within their comprehension, i.e., religious phraseology, but it did have the undesired effect of rousing Muslim communal susceptibilities-feelings cleverly exploited by the British rulers. In the absence of any avenues of gainful employment in trade and industry, the British Indian Government was the largest employer to which the educated youth hopefully looked for their means of livelihood. This enormous patronage-in higher and subordinate services-was cleverly used by the ruler and discord among different sections of society. Our nationalist leaders were fully aware of the mischievous character of this bait, but the hunger-rather compulsion-for loaves and fishes blinded them to its dangerous potentialities. Jawaharlal Nehru explained then, "This enormous patronage was exercised to strengthen the British hold on the country, to crush discordant and disagreeable elements, and to promote rivalry and discord amongst various groups anxiously looking forward to employment government service. It led to demoralization and conflict and the government could play one group against the other."⁵

The Imperial administrators right from the Secretary of State in England to the District in India, all were convinced that adequate 'counterpoises' to the growing strength of the Indian National Congress must be found, if the British rule in India was to be stable, One counterpoise thought about was the official acceptance of the principle of separate Muslim electorate, reservation of seats for the Muslim community and election to such seats to be made by separate Muslim electorates. The opportunity presented itself because a new scheme of constitutional reform was being

⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru: The Discovery of India, p.307

considered. Inspired by Principal Archbold of M. A. O. College, Aligarh, H. H. the Aga Khan waited in deputation on Lord Minto at Shimla on 1 October, 1906. The Deputation was described by Maulana Mohammad Ali as a 'command performance'. Mr. Archbold prepared the draft of the Muslim Address acted as a liaison between the Government and Muslim leaders and saw to the success of the deputation to the last detail. The Deputationists expressed sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown, showed grateful appreciation of the British Government's policy of introducing further reforms, but expressed the apprehension that if the principle of 'election' was introduced without conceding reservation seats for the Muslims it would prove detrimental to their interests. The Deputationists demanded reservation of seats for the Muslim Community not only on the basis of their population but on basis of their political importance and their services in the defence of the Empire. Lord Minto gladly accepted the Muslim demand for separate communal electorates. He earned a pat from Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, who wrote on 5 October, 1906, "Your address was admirable alike in spirit, choice of topics and in the handling. It has been thoroughly appreciated here by the Press and the people...It seems as if all had gone excellently Deputation...." In the wake of the fateful Shimla Deputation the Muslim leaders mooted the idea of a Central Muhammadan Association to look exclusively after the interests of the Muslim community. The All-India Muslim League was formerly inaugurated on 30 December 1906. On December 30 1906, the annual meeting of Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at Dhaka under the chairmanship of Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. Almost 3,000 delegates attended the session making it the largest-ever representative gathering of Muslim India. For the first time the conference lifted its ban on political discussion, when Nawab Salim Ullah Khan presented a proposal for establish a political party to safeguard the interests of the Muslims; the All India Muslim League. Three factors had kept Muslims away from the Congress, Sir Syed's advice to the Muslims to give it a wide berth, Hindu agitation against the partition of Bengal and the Hindu religious revivalism's hostility towards the Muslims. The Muslims remained loyal to Sir Syed's

advice but events were quickly changing the Indian scene and politics were being thrust on all sections of the population. But the main motivating factor was that the Muslims' intellectual class wanted representation; the masses needed a platform on which to unite. It was the dissemination of western thought by John Locke, Milton and Thomas Paine, etc. at the M. A. O. College that initiated the emergence of Muslim nationalism. The headquarters of the All India Muslim League was established in Lucknow, and Sir Aga Khan was elected as its first president. Also elected were six vice-presidents, a secretary and two joint secretaries for a term of three years. The initial membership was 400, with members hailing proportionately from all provinces. Maulana Muhammad Ali Jouhar wrote the constitution of the League, known as the "Green Book". Branches were also setup in other provinces. Syed Ameer Ali established a branch of the League in London in 1908, supporting the same objectives. Following were the objectives of the Muslim League:

- To inculcate among Muslims a feeling of loyalty to the government and to disabuse their minds of misunderstandings and misconceptions of its actions and intentions.
- To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India and to represent their needs and aspirations to the government from time to time.
- To prevent the growth of ill will between Muslims and other nationalities without compromising to its own purposes.

Many Hindu historians and several British writers have alleged that the Muslim League was founded at official instigation. They argue that it was Lord Minto who inspired the establishment of a Muslim organization so as to divide the Congress and to minimize the strength of the Indian Freedom Movement. But these statements are not supported by evidence. Contrary to this, the widely accepted view is that the Muslim League was basically established to protect and advance the Muslim interests and to combat the growing influence of the Indian National Congress.⁶ Intellectual support and a cadre of young activists emerged from Aligarh Muslim University. Historian Mushirul Hasan writes

⁶ Establishment of all India Muslim league. *Story of Pakistan*. June 2003. p. 1

that in the early 20th century, this Muslim institution, designed to prepare students for service to the British Raj, exploded into political activity. Until 1939, the faculty and students supported an all-India nationalist movement. After 1939, however, sentiment shifted dramatically toward a Muslim separatist movement, as students and faculty mobilised behind Jinnah and the Muslim League.⁷

Thus, from its very inception the Muslim League was a communal body established to look after the political rights and interests of the Muslim community alone. This character is more or less retained till 1947. The true political ideas of the League are apparent from Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk's speech delivered at Aligarh. The Nawab said, "God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will Lord over it; and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. The only way for Muslims to escape this danger is to help in the continuance of the British rule. If the Muslims are heartily with the British, then that rule is bound to endure. Let the Muslims consider themselves as a British army ready to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives for the British Crown. For About a decade after 1913 the Muslim League came under the influence of progressive Muslim leaders like Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Mazhar-ul-Huq, Syed Wazir Hussain, Hussain Imam and M. A. Jinnah (then a nationalist). From 1920 to 1923 the activities of the Muslim League remained suspended. However, the appointment of the Simon Commission (1927-30) and the Round Table Conferences at London (1930-32) that followed again brought the Muslim League into activity. By 1934 M.A. Jinnah, now a communalist, became its undisputed leader. The Communal Award (1932) of the British Government further widened the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims."⁸

As we can see that there was political unity upto certain extent as there happened the Khilafat movement after the World War 1. The campaign of Khilafat movement ended in 1922 and then the

⁷ The Indian economic and social history review, Hasan, Mushirul (March 1985). "Nationalist and Separatist Trends in Aligarh, 1915-47".

⁸ A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, Growth of Communalism and partition of India, page no. 430

communalism broke out resulting in mass destruction in the form of riots. There are instances when Muslims agitated in the form of withdrawal from the secular and nationalist politics and joined the league having the political motivation of serving own community interest. At the leadership level, the proportion of Muslims among delegates to the Congress party fell sharply, from 11% in 1921 to under 4% in 1923.⁹ Later on there were communal riots as we see in United provinces, Major riots broke out in numerous cities, including 91 between 1923 and 1927 in Uttar Pradesh alone.

“Three waves of riots in Calcutta ... disturbances the same year in Dacca, Patna, Rawalpindi and Delhi; and no less than 91 communal outbreaks in U.P., the worst-affected province, between 1923 and 1927.”¹⁰

. The first elections for the provincial legislative councils under the Government of India Act 1935 were held in 1937. The Muslim League contested the elections to various legislative bodies but achieved moderate success out of the 485 reserved Muslim seats, the League could capture only 110 seats. Even in the Muslim-majority provinces of the Panjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Bengal and Sind the League was trounced by rival Muslim parties. The Congress party gained an absolute majority in Bombay, Madras, U.P., Bihar, Orissa and the Central Provinces and was the largest single party in the NWFP. The Congress decided to accept office in July 1937. The Muslim League hoped to form coalition ministries with the Congress in provinces like Bengal, Assam and the Panjab and desired the Congress to take League ministers in U.P. and Bihar. The Congress, consistent with its principles and policies and being non-communal outlook and policies-liberating of the country and amelioration of the condition of the masses advised Muslim League members to sign the Congress pledge and become its members, if they desired to accept responsibilities of office. Mr. Jinnah interpreted these moves of the Congress as a calculated policy against the league. He levelled 'sweeping and fantastic' allegations against the Congress ministries

⁹ Brown, Judith M (1985). *Modern India: The Origins of an Asian Democracy*. Oxford University Press. p. 228

¹⁰ Sumit Sarkar (1989) [First published 1983]. *Modern India: 1885–1947*. Macmillan. p. 233.

dubbed the Congress a Hindu organisation out to crush all minorities. He came to the conclusion that the Muslims could expect neither justice nor fairplay from the Congress ministries. In 1938 the Muslim League appointed a committee under the chairmanship of the Raja of Pirpur to report on the oppressions of the Muslims in what it called "Hindu Congress Provinces". The Pirpur Report fabricated cases of alleged horrible atrocities perpetrated on the Muslims by the Hindus. The Report also observed the conduct of the Congress Government seems to substantiate the theory that there is something like identity of purpose between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha... We Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy, a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindu who look forward, after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of a purely Hindu Raj" The general attitude towards the Congress was, "The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of a majority." The Muslim League observed a 'Day of Deliverance and Thanks-giving' when the Congress ministries resigned in October 1939 over the war issue. The Two-Nation Theory and the Pakistan Movement. The poet and political thinker Mohammad Iqbal is thought to be the originator of the idea of a separate Muslim State for the Indian Muslims and is believed to have given the necessary emotional content to the movement. Inspired the spirit of Pan-Islamism Iqbal declared at the Allahabad session of All India Muslim League held in 1930, "I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement...I would like to see the Panjab, North- West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India." The idea of separate homeland for Muslims to be called Pakistan took a definite shape in the mind of a young under-graduate at Cambridge, Rahmat Ali. He visualized the

Panjab, N.W.F.P. (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan as the national home of the Indian Muslims and he coined the word Pakistan in 1933. The word Pakistan was formed by taking the initials of the first four and the last of fifth. Rahmat Ali maintained that the Hindus and Muslims were fundamentally distinct nations. He wrote, "Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles. They extend to the minute details of our lives. We Muslims and Hindus, do not interdine; we do not intermarry our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different." The most unequivocal declaration of the Hindus and Muslims as separate nationalities was made by M. A. Jinnah at the Lahore session of the League in March 1940, "They (Hindus and Muslims) are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures... Two yolk together, two such nations under a single State, one of a numerical minority and the other as a majority must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State." Demanding the partition of India, the Muslim League passed the resolution: "It is considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.." This resolution did not specify the areas in the proposed state of Pakistan. In 1942 Jinnah explained to Professor Coupland that Pakistan would be "a Moslem State or States comprising NWFP, the Panjab, and Sind on the one side of India and Bengal on the other". He did not mention

Baluchistan and Assam, nor did he claim Kashmir and Hyderabad. However, in a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission on 12 May 1946, the Muslim League demanded "the six Muslim provinces (Panjab, NWFP, Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal, Assam) shall be grouped together as one Group." Thus the Lahore session of the Muslim League gave it an ambition and a programme. Henceforth the demand for Pakistan became as much an article of faith for the Indian Muslims as their holy book, the Koran.

Rahmat Ali influenced the development of the idea of Pakistan much more deeply than has been acknowledged by historians. He not only invented a beautiful name for the country but also converted a large group of people to the concept of separation. He was also the first Muslim to present a detailed case for Indian Muslim nationhood. The main channel of his influence was the young student class, both in England and India. It felt the impact of his ideas and let him inspire its imagination. The founders and leaders of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation were all his followers. Some of them wrote a large number of articles in the Urdu papers of Lahore in favour of Rahmat Ali's Pakistan in 1937 and 1938, when the Muslim League had not yet made up its mind whether to ask for any kind of division or not. The word Pakistan was at this time in use in the Punjab, where both Hindus and Muslims employed it, but in different and opposite contexts. The Hindus used it as a synonym for communalism; Gulshan Rai's articles in the Civil and Military Gazette, when referring to Muslim communal feeling or reactionaryism, employed the term "Pakistani mentality". The Muslims, on the other hand, used it as a slogan that stood for freedom, separation, and the right of self-determination.¹¹

British imperial policies in India provided a congenial climate for the emergence, growth and popularity of communal organisations. A communal organisation though primarily organised to promote the interests of a particular community also indirectly promoted British imperial interests apart from serving the personal ambition of opportunistic leadership. This was not only true of the Hindu Mahasabha but also of the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and the

¹¹ Origin and Development of the Idea of Pakistan Abridged Version of History of Partition of India , K.K.Aziz, publication Muslim Deeni Mahaz, 2016, Origin and development of idea of Pakistan, Page no. 135

All India Depressed Classes Federation. The genesis and early history of the Hindu Mahasabha are clouded in obscurity. In 1910 leading Hindus of Allahabad decided to organise an All-India Hindu Mahasabha. In 1911 the Panjab Hindu Mahasabha organised a Hindu Conference at Amritsar. The Hindu Mahasabha setup its headquarters at Hardwar and used to organise the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference at Hardwar on the occasion of important Hindu fairs. The communal riots particularly in the Malabar coast and Multan that followed the suspension of the first non cooperation movement in 1922 caused heavy losses to the Hindus both in human lives and properties. A section of the Hindus decided to organise the Hindus in self-defence. Explaining the rationale of the Hindu Mahasabha, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya explained that the Mohmedeons and the Christians had been carrying on proselytizing activities for centuries; the majority of the Muslims of India were converts from Hinduism, he added. To check this process, it was necessary to organise a Hindu Mission. Malviya further explained that as a countermove to the Muslim league putting forward exaggerated claims for Muslim representation in the elected bodies, it was necessary to organise the Hindus to get a fair deal for their community. Thus “shuddhi and sangthan” became the watchwords of the Hindu Mahasabha in the early years of its existence. Malviya also emphasised the socio-cultural mission of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Indian National Congress being a political organisation, Malviya added, it could not deal with social, cultural and non-political spheres. The Hindu Mahasabha was organised to remove the social abuses in Hindu societies like child marriage, casteism, untouchability etc. as such Malviya emphasised, that the Hindu Mahasabha did not in any way clash with the Congress but was planned to supplement and strengthen the Indian National Congress. The tall claims of the Hindu Mahasabha as a socio-cultural organisation were hardly less hypocritical than similar claims put up by the Muslim League, the Akali Dal and other communal organisations. Under the leadership of V. D. Savarkar who became the President of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1938 and was re-elected again and again, the Mahasabha developed a political programme. Sore at the Muslim appeasement policy of the Indian National Congress, Savarkar popularized the concept of

Hindu Rashtra. Savarkar maintained that India was a land of Hindu having only one nation i.e. the Hindu nation. The Muslims must accept their position as a minority community in a single Indian State, of course being promised just treatment and equal political rights on the basis of 'one man, one vote.' On the question of a national language, Savarkar upheld that according to democratic practices the language of the majority must prevail. After the death of V. D. Savarkar, Dr. S. P Mookerji became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and imparted it a more nationalist outlook. The Hindu Mahasabhas never gained that popularity with the Hindu Masses as the Muslim League did with the Muslims in India. All the same, against the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, it raised the slogan of Akhand Hindustan. The Hindu Mahasabha's theme of a Hindu race, Hindu culture, Hindu civilisation and Hindu Rashtra in India did harden the Muslim League's attitude and made it more suspicious and more determined to demand Pakistan. It must, however, be said, in all fairness that the Muslim League was determined to be the first ever communal organisation to come into existence; the communal poison proved infectious and the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal came into existence as a counterpoise to one another.¹²

¹² A new look at modern history, B.L. Grover and Alka Mehta, S Chand publication, 2016, Growth of Communalism and partition of India, page no. 434-435-436

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NEW TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS INCLUDING TERRORISM & UNILATERALISM

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In the recent time many new issues have engulfed the International Politics. These issues are potent socio-economic and politico- cultural forces with a capacity to alter the course of global politics. These include climate change, global warming, capacity of MNC to sale GMO (Genetically Modified Products) at global level, increased inequality after globalization, problems of island and small countries etc. These issues have changed the discussion at the global forum. In this respect the problem of terrorism has emerged as the potent negative force in true sense at the international level. Terrorism represents Non State Actors (NSA) which has affected almost all the aspects of national and international politics. Its impact is hard to fathom. It can only be stated that International Politics of the contemporary time entirely differs from the International Politics of previous phase of cold war when nation states were at conflictful stage, now the nation states and non state actors are at war. It appears highly difficult for the nation states to deal with it in successful manner. Problems of

piracy by sea pirates has also emerged a serious threat to global economy and nation states and their citizens¹. These are new trends in the International Politics. Unilateralism and proactivity by certain nation states have also been observed in the global sphere suggesting that new trends are new in the sense that no nation state had ever thought about these, they also lacked a well organized and coherent strategy to deal novel problems. The problem of terrorism is not specific to any particular country, almost all the countries have experienced it in some measure but the contemporary phase of terrorism appears to have started after the collapse of USSR on 25th December 1991².

Thereafter a new surge emerged in the field of terror tactics, at the group level. It had ideological foundation of religion. These organised groups emerged as potent force at the global level; even Taliban, a terrorist organisation captured power in Afghanistan in 1996. In due course with its sheltering help al Qaeda related terrorists attacked USA on 11th September 2001. This phase of terrorism has relied on the fundamental base of anti-Americanism (anti USA). Its main target is to target US as a nation state. "Terrorism, as it stands today, is strongly perceived as terrorism against America, the so-called American war against terrorism, rather than terrorism against the world. Consequently, the political parameters that govern the ability of governments and communities to take proactive measures are adversely affected." Anti-Americanism feature although has now been diluted to certain extent as many states now face the challenge of terrorism. Though fundamentalist terrorism with religious overtones has definitely targeted USA and its allies. In the recent time fundamentalist terrorism has spread in many parts of the world and in many cases has developed nexus with the criminal and drug trafficking organization³.

¹ Paul D'Anieri, *International Politics: Power and Purpose in Global Affairs*, Cengage Learning, 2013, 29

² J. C. Johari, *International Relations and Politics: Theoretical Perspective*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1985, 14

³ . Robyn Eckersley, *Environmentalism and Political Theory: Toward an Ecocentric Approach*, SUNY Press, State University of New York, 1992, 22-23

Emergence of IS (Islamic State) and Boko Haram in effective manner show that contemporary terrorism is in the process of evolving in new direction where anti Americanism will not be diluted but local and regional issues, nations, local – community structures will be attacked. Boko Haram has not only threatened the Nigerian society but also the neighbouring countries. Its working culture is antifeminist as it has captured young girls in Nigeria and tortured them. Boko Haram and Pakistan Taliban exhibit a new feature of development phase of terrorism where they help to structure the hierarchy in the terrorist organization with decentralize terrorist network.

They have openly accepted their allegiance to IS and have accepted their superior hierarchical structure. In response IS too responded when “the Islamic State (IS) group welcomed a pledge of allegiance made by the Nigerian jihadist organisation Boko Haram,” This state of terrorism is not a sudden development. The fundamentalist terrorism has political aims. It is by nature political because all fundamentalist groups want to dislodge the political regimes. USA was their natural target. This aspect appeared explicitly when al Qaeda attacked USA on 11th September 2001.

A critical study shows that “political terrorism is a distinctive disorder of the modern world. It originated as a term and, arguably, as a practice, less than two centuries ago and has come into the spotlight of global conflict in our lifetime. Whereas both organized and irregular (or guerrilla) warfare began with the human race, political terrorism emerged as a concept only in 1793. As a political strategy, it is both new and original.” Its current phase is therefore more political, fuelled by perverted religious ideologies. Their major success in last century was seen “in Irish Treaty of 1928 and Terrorist Brigade of the Russian Socialists-Revolutionists.” Their modern form is seen in Taliban, al Qaeda, Islamic State and Boko Haram. Terrorism in any form has brought several problems to the contemporary human civilization. It is quite difficult to measure in exact amount the extent of destruction. Its adverse impact is manifold affecting all the aspect of the human existence. The terrorist way of working has become completely anti human. The killing actions of IS in Iraq have shown that

terrorism can cause immeasurable impact of negative nature on the humanity⁴.

The nature of terrorism in this respect shows certain alterations. “While the basic motive of terrorism—the use of violence to achieve political ends—has not changed, the tactics are more menacing than ever. Submachine guns and lightweight, high-powered plastic explosives have facilitated killing, and the range of potential victims also has increased. Terrorists, who might once have showed concern that no bystanders be injured or killed, have made it clear through their actions that everyone and everything is a possible target.” The emergence of IS and its affiliates in the world suggest that terrorism of political-religious nature have moved into a new phase and “certain groups have been able to demonstrate superior risk-adjusted capability over time periods of approximately several years.” The problem of terrorism has impacted the world order in significant manner. In fact this new trend of International Politics has become the major problem of nation states.

United Nations Organisation (UNO) had taken note of this problem in the wake of Israel-Palestine conflict. Since then UN “General Assembly has focused on terrorism as an international problem since 1972. In the 1970s and 1980s it addressed the problem through resolutions. During this period the General Assembly also adopted two counter-terrorism related conventions: the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons in 1973 and the International Convention against the Taking of Hostages in 1979.” This phase of terrorism widely differed from the fundamentalist terrorism which expressed itself in 1990s which in due course took the form of international terrorism. In this background “in December 1994 the Assembly once again redirected attention to the issue of terrorism through a Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism. A supplement to this Declaration established an Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism in 1996. Since the adoption of this Declaration the Assembly has been addressing the terrorism issue consistently.” These efforts at UN

⁴ Richard Devetak, Anthony Burke, Jim George, An Introduction to International Relations, Cambridge University Press, 2011,3

level have continued, “since 1997, Member States have completed work on three specific counter-terrorism instruments, covering specific types of terrorist activities: the 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings, the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and the International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.”

Security Council by its Resolution No. 1373 has attempted to control the financing aspect of the terrorist groups. Resolution states that “all States should prevent and suppress the financing of terrorism, as well as criminalize the wilful provision or collection of funds for such acts. The funds, financial assets and economic resources of those who commit or attempt to commit terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts and of persons and entities acting on behalf of terrorists should also be frozen without delay.” These efforts at world body level have been supported by nation states at their domestic level but containment of terrorism has defied all restraining efforts. US has established Home Land Security department after the 9/11 attack, still within USA terrorist activities have taken place thereafter. “The fact remains that there have been at least 60 Islamist-inspired terrorist plots against the homeland since 9/11, illustrating the continued threat of terrorism against the United States.” It shows that terrorism is yet to be controlled by the nation states. The global efforts at institutional and nation level have not yielded the sufficient dividends in its containment. The problem of terrorism has a definite relationship with the foreign policy behavior of USA. It had armed the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan in the wake of USSR invasion in December 1979.

These insurgents after the withdrawal of USSR forces emerged as arch enemy of USA. USA had also not controlled the emergence of Taliban, largely supported by Pakistan. USA treated Pakistan as Front Line State even after the withdrawal of USSR forces from Afghanistan. It could not control the Saudi Arabia in its relationship with orthodox religious elements. These factors in cumulative manner led to emergence of terrorism in its current form. This analysis analyses the foreign policy behavior of USA and infers that USA policies were an important root cause of

emergence of terrorism in the world. Its foreign policy has also shown unilateralism in the International Politics. Unilateralism can be defined as the unilateral behavior of only one power in the world, behaving as the sole custodian of the global events. In contemporary time behavior of USA is usually taken as unilateralism⁵.

After the fall of USSR the nature of International Politics went complete change. The bipolar world was transformed into unipolar world. USA took advantage of the emerging global situation. Its economic and military power was recognized as the superior one which it utilized further for its benefits. Unilateralism concept was supported by two major units.

At the ideological level 'End of History' like concepts were propounded which established that capitalism was the only mode of survival in economic terms. Francis Fukuyama proclaimed that "what we may be witnessing in not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." This particular ideological leadership was identified with USA. The Washington consensus of 1989 had placed the ideological discussions in the neo liberal framework. The dissolution of USSR was a major catalyst in this respect. The developments in the final round of discussions in UNCTAD commonly known as Uruguay round of discussion led to establishment of WTO on 1st January 1995. Thus ideological base of unilateralism was translated into economic sphere providing more power to USA.

The establishment of Globalisation in this phase has become a major achievement of US policies. USA benefitted much from these developments at psychological-ideological level which found expression in economic sphere most. The second base of U S unilateralism can be found in its increased military power. It had no rival like the cold war when USSR and USA stood at the level of balance of terror. After the fall of USSR, balance was broken.

⁵ Nabil Fahmy ,Terrorism is the world's problem , conference "Strategies for the War on Terrorism: Taking Stock" ,Duke University School of Law , April 7-8,2005 159

US continued to increase its power. One major policy decision made by USA decided not to dissolve the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) although Warsaw pact, its counterpart was dissolved after the end of cold war in July 1991. USA promoted the continuation of NATO. It was in its interest. USA was the founder member of NATO in 1949, which is now comprised of 28 member states. After the fall of USSR, USA attained the status of only super power. NATO's existence helps the USA most because "If diplomatic efforts fail, it (NATO) has the military capacity needed to undertake crisis-management operations. These are carried out under Article 5 of the Washington Treaty - NATO's founding treaty - or under a UN mandate, alone or in cooperation with other countries and international organizations." This particular article of the Washington Treaty establishes the collective security framework which provides extra military power and strength to USA. Its military power is contributed by its own military which is highly skilled and advanced military structure, with additional strong support from NATO. This makes unilateralism of USA a realistic concept as it has strong foundation of military power. USA has widely used this power in its foreign policy activism. Historically USA was always in favour of NATO's continuation as a regional military organization. After the London summit in 1990, NATO had passed the London Declaration. Cold war had ended by the mid summer of 1990. USSR was on the verge of collapse. In this background US President George Bush Senior stated that "London Declaration will bring fundamental change to every aspect of the alliance's work." US had analysed that in changed international political conditions NATO will be of much help to it. It has used NATO in its Afghanistan attack since 2001. US received benefits from its existence. One classic example of US unilateralism can be observed in case of Iraq⁶.

US attacked Iraq in 2003. USA was firmly determined that Saddam Hussein's regime must be dislodged. UN Security Council resolution No. 1441 was debated on. 8 November 2002 but US was of firm opinion at policy level that regime should be removed.

⁶ Jessica Zuckerman, Steven P. Bucci, James Jay Carafano, 60 Terrorist Plots Since 9/11: Continued Lessons in Domestic Counterterrorism, Special Report 137 on Terrorism

“This was in direct contrast to the inclusive leadership style of the first Bush Administration in the Gulf crisis of 1990-1991. Here the Administration was declaring its unilateral right to decide the legitimate goals of the collective and the means by which to achieve them.” The attack on Iraq was initiated with sole aim of removal of Saddam Hussein in which it succeeded. Though at international level there was opposing voices but no force including UNO was in position to restrain USA from attack. The authority of UNO came under great stress after the attack. The attack has left imprint at the mass psychology at global level.

The world public opinion also recognized the US unilateralism. There is impression among the people at different parts of the world that USA follows unilateral behavior, multilateral activism is rarely observed. “The perception that the U.S. does not take the interests of other countries into account when making foreign policy decisions remains widespread. Only in Kenya (74%), Israel (67%), India (57%), China (57%), Germany (56%), Japan (51%) and Brazil (51%) do majorities say the U.S. takes a multilateral approach.”

In Muslim countries image of USA is quite low. In these countries US attack on Iraq was considered as an act of unilateralism. “In the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, fewer than a quarter in Lebanon (23%), Jordan (23%), Egypt (21%), Pakistan (20%) and Turkey (17%) say the U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries. The U.S. receives more positive marks in Indonesia; 43% believe the U.S. takes a multilateral approach, but about half (49%) say the U.S. does not consider the interests of other countries when making foreign policy decisions.” The emergence of such perception at mass level that US foreign policy reflects unilateralism not the multilateralism show that US needs to improve much on this count.

Proactivity is another novel trend in the International Politics. Proactivity involves the preemptive action by nation state in order to contain the emerging threat on its interest. United States of America has used this in its foreign policy operation. The attack on Iraq was a proactive action. It had concluded that continuation of Saddam Hussein in Iraq will undermine its interest in long term in the region. This inference was based on the Iraq’s behavior in

Gulf War 1990-1991 and tense relations with Iraq. For USA it was an essential step to dislodge the regime in Iraq though peaceful means were not completely exhausted. It is a classic example of US proactive behavior which has come under criticism. “An unanticipated by-product of US unilateralism was the detrimental effect this had on the credibility of its belated assertion of a right to act as a leader of the international community on this issue. Since November 2001, the Administration had been building its case against Iraq and, by January 2002, had already asserted its willingness to act unilaterally to prevent ‘rogue’ states from acquiring WMD. In threatening unilateral action if the international community did not follow its lead on the score, the Administration showed its unwillingness to compromise and to take the views and interests of other states into consideration.”¹⁴³

The proactive behavior in the world is observed in case of Israel too. It can attack the Palestine based terrorist outfit Hamas, when it feels that situation demands for the same. China too has used proactivity in its relation with India where it has intruded within the Indian territory with sole objective of putting pressure on India to remain confined within its sphere of influence. Its proactivism aims to restrict India not to emerge in the International Politics. Its foreign policy behaviour with respect to South China sea also falls in the same category. Chinese proactive behavior shows “that China has become more assertive, revising its grand strategy to reflect its own rise (and) seem a world apart from China's previous strategy, set in the 1990s, of a ‘peaceful rise,’ which emphasized regional economic integration and multilateral confidence building in an effort to assuage the fears of China's neighbors during its ascendance to great-power.” Ukraine has emerged as a classic example of proactivity where European Union with tactic support of USA and Russia both have exhibited the proativity. Russia even went to extent of controlling the Crimea in aggressive manner because it thought that loss of Crimea will reduce its trade and military influence, because it is Russia’s main channel for trade communication to outside world⁷.

1. ⁷ Naunihal Singh, *The Evolution of International Relations*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 2002 ,13

There are several other new trends in the International Politics which are in the process of emerging. These novel trends emphasise that International Politics can never remain a static affair, it will exhibit dynamism in consistent manner. This feature makes the discipline highly fluid, difficult to comprehend and finally difficult to predict.

This feature places much stress on the decision makers of every nation state but they are always in search of finding out the new trends in the sphere of interstate interaction. The recent example of proactively is obtained in the behaviour of Saudi Arabia which attacked “Houthi fighters of Yeman. Saudi troops clashed with Yemeni Shi'ite Houthis, who emerged as the most powerful force in the Arabian Peninsula's poorest country when they seized Yemen's capital last year. The Houthis are allied with Saudi Arabia's regional foe Iran, and backed by army units loyal to longtime ruler Ali Abdullah Saleh, who was pushed out three years ago after ‘Arab Spring’ demonstrations.”

The proactivism is supported by logic when “the Saudis (said) their aim (was) to restore President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi, who left the country last week.” The proactivism emerged in this background as an important trend in international politics. The other equally important new trends in the discipline have their own impact on dynamics of international politics hence, they need to be investigated with in deep manner, moreover any new such trends need to be indentified in advance so that a proper policy framework can be developed by the nation states⁸.

The discipline of International Politics has evolved in gradual manner. Its initiation can be seen in Greece city where city states were present. The presence of Alexander, The Great who had a big ambition to conquer the world exhibited the state expansionism and imperialism in ancient time. Roman state also exhibited dynamics of International Politics. The major change in the nature of international politics was observed, in 1648 when treaty of Westphalia was concluded. There after European countries

⁸ Andrea Radasanu, Montesquieu on Ancient Greek Foreign Relations: Toward National Self-Interest and International Peace Political Research Quarterly, 66:1, 2013, 4

behaved as nation states. The scholarship in the discipline of International Politics also emerged with due course. Many philosophers have contributed in the evolution of the discipline. The role of different theories in the development of the discipline is quite important. These theories have helped in the establishment of the discipline in the independent manner.

The contemporary theories of the discipline have a rich tradition. They depend much upon the ancient thoughts. These different theories vary from idealism to realism. There emerged a great debate upon their status and relevance. Gradually new theories have been presented. Theory of constructivism, Feminism, Marxism, critical theory is major contributions in the field. There is also presentation of several theoretical approaches to deal with the rational behavior of the actors, the nation states. Game theory, bargaining theory, decision making theory are included in this class. These have brought new ideas about the nation states' interactions with plausible explanations. These also provide a framework which the nation states use during their interactions with other nation states.

The discipline of International Politics has shown new trends in constant manner. Unilateralism alters the behaviour of nation states. It puts a blockade on the growth of multilateralism. The fact of unilateralism is directly related to USA. It has the capacity to hold the military power of exclusive excellence which puts it on the top position. It acted in Iraq and other places in unilateral manner. Unilateralism is also observed in its policy of climate change which confronts the developing nations and the world at large. Terrorism is the most serious threat to human civilization. It has full potentiality to destroy the contemporary civilization. Its different dimensions have emerged in the recent time. From cyber terrorism to narco terrorism are its different variants. Pro activity is also new trend in the domain of International Politics. This has been followed by USA, China, and some other country even Saudi Arabia's attack on Yemen to eliminate the Houthi rebels falls under pro activism. The new trends have continuously emerged in the discipline.

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SOCIAL CLASSES REFLECTED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF CHAMBA

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The present study seeks to explore the social classes in early medieval Chamba ranging in time from A.D.700-A.D 1200. Apart from looking at the references to social classes, the paper shall also try to understand how social classes existed at pan-national level, in relation to each other.

There are many inscriptions in Chamba which refers many classes in the society One of the earliest inscription which refers to different social groups is Sungal copper-plate inscription. The charter was issued by Vidaghdavarmanⁱ (A.D.960)ⁱⁱ. In one of the boundaries of the donated land, we have references of boundary of an agrahara, generally belongs to Brahmins, which reflects the existence of the Brahmin class. Then it also speaks about the Brahmin as a recipient but this Brahmin is different from other Brahmins. It has been come from outside. Brahmana Nandu, son of Deedu, whose grandfather had come from Kurukshetra, the famous place of pilgrimage near Thanesar), the brahmin student of the house of Kasyapa was given land as an *agrahara*

¹.In the context of demarcating the boundaries of the donated spaces it refers to the following social groups:

The Brahmanas formed the apex of *astadasa-prakrityas* and the low and untouchables castes viz. Medas, Andrakas, Dhibaras, Fishers and Candalas formed the bottom of the social hierarchy. Apart from this, the administrative officials were: *Raja*², *Rajanaka*³, *Rajaputra*⁴, *Rajamatya*⁵, *Rajasthani*⁶; the Bureaucratic apparatus: *Kumaramatya*⁷, *Sarobhanga*⁸, *Prantapala*⁹, *Visayapati*¹⁰,

¹ The details of the boundaries are :“Be it known unto you, that in the above named village of Sumangla (there) is one *bhu* of land, Seri by name, of which the boundaries are these : on the east side the rent free land (*agrahara*) of (the village) of Patala, on the south side the limit is known as “the great slope”, on the west side the limit known as prahabhaga. One *bhu* (of land) thus bounded, together with the houses and kitchen gardens situated thereon. Further in that same village (there) is another half *bhu* (of land) Lavala by name, of which the boundaries are: on the east side the precipice, on the south side the large rock, on the west side the rivulet() Majvalika by name, on the north side the limit of the path to the pasture ground of Puskari. Half a *bhu* thus bounded together with above described *bhu* (to wit) one and a half *bhu* as far as its limits, grass grazing and pasture-ground, together with fruit trees and with the water courses and channels, with approaches, ingress and egress with fallow land cultivated land, with (the fines for) ten offences.”

² abbreviation of *Rajaputra* (Rajput); as a cavalry soldier or a *Rajput*. Sircar, D.C., *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi-7, 1966, p. 269.

³ Title of feudatory rulers or of the nobility often a feudatory is smaller than a Rajan. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁴ originally ‘a prince’, titled of prince and subordinate rulers; sometimes also used in the sense of a ‘Rajput’ often explained as a ‘horse-man’. *Ibid*, p. 272.

⁵ The king’s minister; sometimes used to indicate the ministers of the feudatory rulers. *Ibid*, p. 271.

⁶ *Rajasthaniya* (an officer who carried out the object of protecting subjects) *Ibid.*, p. 273.

⁷ The status of a prince; an officers’ cadre mainly composed of the Junior members of the royal family *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁸ A leader of forces; an officer of the military department; possibly a military governor *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁹ Warden of the marches; the governor of a province or guardian of the frontiers *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁰ Governor of a district called visaya. *Ibid.*, p. 378.

*Nehelpati*¹¹; The forces :Chiefs of Elephants; Chiefs of Horses; Chiefs of Camels; Others : *Gamagamika*¹², *Khasa*¹³, *Kulika*¹⁴; Superintendent of Customs; Superintendent of Forests; *Khanaraks*; District officials: *Catas*¹⁵; *Bhatas*,¹⁶ Kutumbi.¹⁷ Even in the list of the witnesses to the grant, we have references to landed classes: *Bhagika* or landowners; *Bhogika* or landholders.

Next we have, Spurious-Sai copper plate inscription of Vidagdha varman (plate XVIII)¹⁸.The king Vidaghdavarman made the donation of land to a Barahmana Kalasi-sarman of the house of Atri.¹⁹

Further, Kulait copper-plate inscription,²⁰ issued by Soma varman. The land was donated to a brahmana of the house of Kasyapa. It intends to be an *agrahara* land.

The Chamba copper-plate inscription²¹ also gives us the references of many different social groups in the context of demarcating the boundaries of the donated land. The land was donated by Somavarman and Asata. It refers to: *raja*, *rana*, royal minister, *rajput*, *gamagamika*, *khasa*, *brahmana*, *kshatriya*, *vaisya* and *sudra*.

The last is the Thundu copper-plate inscription.¹⁵ The charter was issued by Asatavarman. It speaks about the land grant to a

¹¹ Official designation of uncertain import; probably the governor of a territorial unit *Ibid.*, p. 216.

¹² an officer incharge of regulating the people's entrance and departure into cities. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

¹³ Military officers.

¹⁴ According to D.C.Sircar kulika is probably meaning mercenary soldiers of the Kullu valley Sircar,D.C.*op.cit.*,p.165; But D.R.Bhandarkar regards kulika as the Zamindar. Kula,also means land cultivated by two ploughs with six bulls on each.This suggests that a kulika owned more land than could be directly tilled by one family.Therefore,the kulika could be easily turned into a landlors living on rent and services rendered to him, R.S.Sharma,Early Medieval Indian Society,Kolkatta,2007,p.8.

¹⁵ Irregular soldiers. Sicar,D.C. *op.cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁶, a soldier' *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁷ a cultivator; an agriculturist householder. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁸ *Ibid*,plate xvii,no.16,p.169.

¹⁹ Kalasi-sarman belongs to the house of Atri.

²⁰ Vogel,J.Ph.*op.cit.*,plate xxiv,no.24,p.182.

²¹ *Ibid*,plate xviv,no.25,p.187.

Brahman (kasyapa gotra) of the name of Jasu who lives in the village of Thundu. It intends to be an *agrahara* land.

Brahmanas, who are frequently mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions belongs to different sub-castes, were patronized by the rulers. This is clearly reflected through the inscriptions that the Brahmanas were invited from the pilgrimage centers like Kurukshetra and belongs to very high schools, were given grants of land, which would enabled them to become major land owners, control over rural and natural resources as well as of Brahmanical learning and practice. Besides these, there are some inscriptions where we are not providing the references to the social classes other than Brahmanas.

Apart from this, there are inscriptions which also refer to different classes which articulate their aspirations through the writings of inscriptions. In this context, we have references to *Ranas* and *Rajankas*. The *Ranas* are mentioned in the Sungal copper-plate inscription,²² and Chamba copper-plate inscription²³. The status of the *Ranas* is not explained by the land charters. However, they appear to be landed generator who are aspiring to be a part of political set-up.

Besides these, the references to the *Rajankas* are found frequently in the fountain inscriptions. The inscriptions are : Svaim image inscription of *rajanaka* Bhogata²⁴, Sarahan prasasti,²⁵ Naghai fountain inscription of the *rajanaka* deva-prasad,²⁶ Salhi fountain inscription of *rajanaka* Ludra-pala,²⁷ Fountain inscription of *rajanaka* Naga –pala²⁸, Narayana image inscription of *rajanaka* Naga-pala²⁹, Tur image inscription(no.19),³⁰ Sungal copper-plate inscription Chamba copper-plate inscription. After the analysis of inscriptions, we found that the *Rajankas* were the territorial chieftains, who were attached to the soil and controlled the loyalty

²² *Ibid.*,plate xvii,no.15 p.164.

²³ *Ibid.*,plate xviv,no.25 p.187.

²⁴ Vogel,J.Ph.*op.cit.*,platexiii,no.19,p.150.

²⁵ *Ibid.*,plate xv,no.13,p.152.

²⁶ *Ibid.*,plates xxi-xxii,no.22,p.178.

²⁷ *Ibid.*,plates xxxi & xxxii,no.33,p.216.

²⁸ *Ibid.*,plate xxx,no.32,p.209.

²⁹ *Ibid.*,plate xxix,no.30,p.207.

³⁰ *Ibid.*,plate xix,no.19,p.174.

of their people, perhaps belonging to the same clan.

Besides these, there is emergence of new class in the state from A.D. 940 i.e. the Kayastha class.

Table. Details of the new class during the Early Medieval Chamba

S.NO.	Name of the Land Charter	Reference to Kayastha
1	Brahmour Copper-Plate Inscription ³¹	<i>kyastha</i> Ja[sata] (Writer of legal documents)
2	Sungal Copper-Plate Inscription ³²	<i>kayastha</i> Sukhraj (Writer of legal documents).
3	Spurious Copper-Plate Inscription ³³	<i>kayastha</i> Bhattacharya (Writer of legal documents)
4	Kulait Copper-Plate Inscription ³⁴	<i>kayastha</i> De (vapa?) (Writer of legal documents)
5	Chamba Copper-Plate Inscription ³⁵	<i>kayastha</i> Sivapa & Manna. (Writer of legal documents)
6	Thundu Copper-Plate Inscription ³⁶	<i>kayastha</i> , Manna & Sivapa, (The son of Devapa). (Writer of legal documents).

Further we get encountered with the class of artisans. In many of the iconographic objects, we have the name of the artisans which bear the name of the craftsman. Gugga, the most famous of all, signed four brass images as Karmina Gugga i.e. Lakshana Image Inscription,³⁷ Ganesh Image Inscription³⁸, Nandi Image Inscription³⁹ and Sakti Image Inscription.⁴⁰ We have also found the references of the other artisans and masons in the inscriptions i.e, Carpenter(*badoi*) Kamlone and stone mason(*sutradhar*) Deva in

³⁷ *Ibid.*, plate x, no. 5, p. 141.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, plate x, no. 6, p. 142.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, plate x, no. 7, p. 143.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, plate x, no. 8, p. 145.

the Luj fountain inscription (A.D.1105-06)⁴¹; *Sutradhar* Sabhaga in Narayana Image Inscription of Rajanka Nagapala⁴²; Tyaga and Bhagira in Fountain inscription of Rajanka Nagapal(A.D.1159-61)⁴³; Janilaka in Sai fountain inscription(A.D.1169 or 1225)⁴⁴; Sahaja and Gugga in Salhi fountain inscription of Rajanka Ludrapala (A.D.1170)⁴⁵.The reference of this artisan class suggests that artists as a class were respected in the area and were given a status in society that was emphasized through inscriptions. Moreover, the analysis shows that the Sutradharas were engaged in three important tasks:-

- (i) building temples (ii) Carving stone sculptures, and (iii) engraving inscriptions on stones-slabs and copper plates.

They were certainly the most important of the artists. They played a major role in the temple-towns as they were the centers of art,cultural and political activities. After the analysis of the inscriptions, we are confronted with numerous grammatical mistakes especially in the fountain inscriptions, which make us to know about the standard of their formal education.

(II)

Apart from the above social classes, we have also found the political classes in the inscriptions. About whom one of the earliest reference in the inscriptions that we have belongs to the period datable to 700 A.D³.The inscriptions were engraved on the base of the statues were got created by the orders of Meruvarman⁴,namely:Lakshana Devi⁴⁶, Ganesh⁴⁷, Nandi⁴⁸ and Shakti⁴⁹, which speaks about the geneology of the king⁵⁰.The Nandi

⁴¹ *Ibid.*,plates xxvii & xxviii,no.28,p.205.

⁴² *Ibid.*,plate xxix,no.30,p.208.

⁴³ *Ibid.*,plate xxx,no.32,p.213.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*,plates xxxiv & xxxv,no.35,p.237.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,plates xxxi & xxxii,no.33,p.224.

⁴⁶ Vogel,J.Ph,*Antiquities of Chamba*,part 1,Archeological Survey of India,Govt.of India,1994 plate x, no.6,p.142.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, plate x,no.7,p.143.

⁴⁸ *Ibid* plate x,no.8,p.145.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*,p.140.

⁵⁰ The royalty namely:Aditya varman,Balavarman and Divakaravarman cronologically belongs to the house of Musuna.

image inscription⁵¹ of Meruvarman inform us that the king “had made himself a temple like unto Mount Meru. The titles used for him in one of these inscription is *sri*⁵² and in another inscription *maharaja*.⁵³ This clearly reflects the intentions of Meruvarman. However the social hierarchy found roots, contrived by the competing genealogies of the chieftains and a marked use of titles from honorific “*Sri*” to “*Maharaja*”. The titles of the rulers viewed here only as indicative of the relative status of the agent as one who wielded more authority from among the various other agents.

Apart from this there are several Image inscriptions which are engraved on the images of the various Goddesses namely: Bhagvati (Devi Ashtabhuji)⁵⁴, Bhagvati⁵⁵, Sakti⁵⁶ are indicative of the fact that royalty was trying to link itself with the local deities and often tried to integrate them in the larger brahmanical pantheon. This was the act of the diffusion of ritual-based power relations among the royal and elite groups.

The class of vassals or *samantas* existed in Chamba. Gum image inscription⁵⁷ is the source from where we get the first reference of a subordinate of Meruvarman on the basis of paleography the inscription is datable to seventh century. The inscription was issued by Samanta Asadhadeva. The purport of the Gum inscription to built at temple dedicated to Sankalisa in the midst of Sivapura. The inscription clearly⁵⁸ tells us that Asadha was a subordinate of Meruvarman. Asadha addressed Meruvarman with the epithet “*sri*”. The term *pad-kamal kisalya sriten* on the inscription reflects that Asadha deva was resorting to the lotus like feet of Sri Meruvarman (the scion of the house of Mosuna and Surya & worshipper of Shiva).⁵⁹ The term is reflecting the relation

⁵¹ Vogel, J. Ph., *op. cit.*, plate x, p. 144.

⁵² *Ibid.*, plate x, p. 142.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, plate xii, no. 12, p. 150.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, plate xix, no. 19, p. 145.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, plate x, no. 8, p. 145.

⁵⁷ Vogel, J. Ph., *op. cit.*, plate xi, p. 145.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145-7.

between the sovereign and the subordinate.⁶⁰ Other inscriptions i.e. Tur Rock Inscription(no.10),⁶¹ Tur rock inscription of Thakkika(no.17)⁶² also mentions the class of samantas.

The major points emerging out the discussion may be summarized as follows:

To begin with the society, especially the rural society was stratified one. Variety of the social classes existed on the basis of the brahmanical norms and at the same time the way they are reflected e.g.in Sungal copper-plate inscription and Chamba copper-plate inscriptions, living in the same social space, where they are interacting with each other.

Secondly, that the existing social order might has also been disturbed aspect in the village community by the coming of the people from outside i.e the Brahmanas of high schools. This was how the society cope up with the disturbance, this needs to be studied.

Thirdly, that there were different political classes, who were also articulating their social aspirations through the description of genealogy.

⁶⁰ According to J.Ph.Vogel, Asadha was the feudatory chief of Meruvarman. Vishwa Mohan Jha has given the terms, like *pada-padm-opajivin, raja-pad-opajivin, pada-prasad opajivn* etc.as on indication of the growing feudalization of officials.He has given that relation between the sovereign and his principal *mahamatya* is denoted by the term at *pada-padm-opajivin* which means subsisting on the kings' lotus like feet. Fleet translated *pada padm opajivin* as feudatory; But according to V.N.Jha, *samantas* were quite simply subordinate rulers, tributaries, or, chiefs and not feudatories.Samanta hierarchy was created by the integration --- and not by feudal decentralization of the various types of *samantas*; If we look at pan-India ,by the end of the 5th century A.D,*samanta* came to be used as a subordinate ruler. See. Jha, V.M.(2002).*Feudal element in the Caulukya state: An attempt at Revolution*,in book *The Feudal Order* by D.N.Jha. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, p.212-218; Chaudhary, Radhkrishna (1982). *Economic History of Ancient India*. Delhi: Janaki Prakashan, p.83.

⁶¹ Vogl, J .Ph. *op.cit*, plate xii,no.10,pp.147-48.

⁶² *Ibid.*,plate xixa,no.17,p.172.
