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AN EXPLORATION OF THE ASPECTS OF MUGHAL COURT'S PERCEPTION OF EUROPEAN GEOGRAPHY

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The knowledge of Mughals on geography is not accorded much importance, much less its perception of Europe's geography because it is deemed unimportant and inconsequential when compared with European achievements in geographical discoveries and their consequent mastery over the world. And consequently, this issue has hitherto not been dealt with in detail. On one hand, the rise of Europe as the centre of world commerce is attributed to its dominance over the *New World* (emphasis added) towards their west and High Seas towards their east which gradually led to the shift in economic balance between Europe and Asia by the end of seventeenth century and Europe ultimately emerging as a frontrunner in the supposed 'race' of civilizations.¹ All major Islamic empires are visualized as lagging behind Europe in eighteenth century, described summarily as 'cultural failures'.² This essentialist comparative approach leads to negligence of how major Islamic kingdoms made sense of contemporary geography and conceived of their own place in it. Especially when it is evident that Ottomans certainly had world-embracing ambitions in the sixteenth century³ and Mughals, virtually, also laid

¹ M. Athar Ali, *The Passing of empire: The Mughal Case*, Modern Asian Studies, 9, 3, (1975), p. 387.

² *ibid.*, p.390; See also Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline", Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review, 4 (1997-8), pp. 33-34.

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Empires between Islam and Christianity 1500-1800*, (Delhi, 2018), p. 157.

a claim to 'world-rule'.⁴ Works such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* served to highlight the world-view that treats the Europe as a yardstick with which to judge other civilizations, which were then 'labelled' progressive or regressive accordingly. This is reinforced by the categorization of 18th c. as a dark age by the imperialist historians.⁵ Euro centrism sets the tone for the imaginative experience of the eastern empires and has shaped the meaning of their experiences and knowledge systems to the extent of setting the standard of validity for them. The dominant discourse therefore demeans and subordinates the 'other' knowledge systems. When the Western construction of hierarchy of knowledge is approved, the argument along the lines of the 'west and the rest' follows. As a natural corollary to it, Eastern knowledge systems and attitudes are disregarded. This type of analysis also risks the denial of historical contextualization of the intellectual and structural specificities. To rectify these disproportionate portrayals, the cultural diversity of any two given civilizations must be understood and acknowledged. It may therefore be proposed that alterity, a recent streak in post-colonial historiography, can aid the recognition of 'difference' between two or more cultures and their systems of thought and would bring justice to the discourse.⁶

It is therefore essential to understand how the Mughal cultural and intellectual legacy was informed and, in turn, created a particular type of knowledge system which shaped their notion of the European 'other'.

It must be made clear at the very beginning that before eighteenth century, direct evidences are very rare. And therefore, we have to supplement it in a considerable measure with the indirect references, take the visual cues into account along with a careful perusal of the foreign traveller's accounts. We may begin with a brief discussion of the influences on the knowledge system of Mughals with regard to Europe's geography.

Mughal notions of the physical world were influenced by the knowledge of geography in the Islamic world, which was largely based on Greek learning. Similar to the Islamic world, Greek philosophers found an equally eminent place in the knowledge system of the Mughals alongside the learned men of Islam. Ptolemy's *Geographia* had been translated in Arabic in 9th century. Ptolemy's works included topography of Europe, Africa, and Asia

⁴ Ebba Koch, *The Hierarchical Principles of Shahjahani Painting*, in Meenakshi Khanna (ed.), *Cultural History of Medieval India*, (Delhi, 2007), p. 215.

⁵ See Burton Stein, 'Eighteenth Century India: Another View', in Meena Bhargava, (ed.), *Exploring Medieval India, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Culture, Gender and Regional Patterns*, Vol. II (New Delhi, 2012), p. 339.

⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe : Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (New Jersey, 2008) (New edition), p. xiii; See also, Kurasa, Fuyuki, *The Ethnological Imagination Cross-Cultural Critique of Modernity*, (London, 2004), p. 13.

that was more detailed and extensive than any other before him.⁷ It was the median text for the Euro-Islamic world until the 15th century when Europe rejected Ptolemy's earth-view once and for all. Early Arab and Persian geographers also, particularly al-Batany, a Syrian Arab, (who also finds a mention in Abul Fazl)⁸ and al-Khwarazmi, a Persian, wrote on the geography and culture of Africa, South-eastern Asia and northern Asia on the Greek model.⁹ Abu Yusuf Yaqub al Kindi (d. C. E. 873-4), an Arab with an Aristotelian influence, used translation of Ptolemy's work for his geographical work 'Description of the Inhabited Part of the Earth' (*Rasm al-mamur min al-ard*) (mentioned by Masudi). His pupil, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al 'Tayyib Sarakhsi's (d. C. E. 899) geographical work titled "*Kitab al-Masalik wa'l Mamalik*" (Book of Routes and kingdoms) etc. was also almost entirely based on Greek works on geography.¹⁰ The text *Hudud al 'Alam* (lit. 'The regions of the world'), an anonymous work (perhaps written in Afghanistan), forms a complete description of the world as known to the Muslims of the 10th century C. E., is also based on Ptolemaic geographical concepts. It is a Persian monograph, compiled in 372 A.H. / 982 C. E. and its manuscript was copied in 652/1258 by Abul-Mu'ayyad 'Abd al-Qayyum ibn al Husayn ibn 'Ali al Farisi.¹¹ Although the author had read the works of several Arab geographers also, the only authorities cited in the book are Greek, viz. Aristotle and Ptolemy.¹² He gives information about the islands in the Western Ocean (and Canary islands) and on the 'isles of Brittania' based on Ptolemy's description, along with some minor additional information. Britania, among a few others was mentioned as an island.¹³ Like all other Arab Geographers (as also by the ancient Greek geographers), he accepts the division of the world into three parts- Asia (*Asiayat al-Kubra*), Europe (*Yurup*), Libya. Asia occupies two-third; Europe, one-quarter, Libya occupied one-twelfth of the inhabited world.¹⁴ The inhabited world covered 1/9th in northern quarter, of which the western most town was termed *Sus al aqsa*, (also mentioned by Abul Fazl)¹⁵ the uninhabited world covered the rest part. The author divides the world into 51 countries (*nahiyat*), of which five were situated south of the equator, forty-

⁷ J. Lennart Berggren and Alexander Jones (eds.), *Ptolemy's Geography*, (Princeton, 2000), p. 3.

⁸ Abul Fazl 'Allami, *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. Col. H. S. Jarrett. vol. ii, (Calcutta, 1949), p. 22.

⁹ E. Honigmann, *Die Siegen Khmata*, Heidelberg, 1927, pp. 112; cf. *Hudud-al-Alam, the regions of the world: A Persian Geography, 372 A.H. - 982 A.H.*, tr. V. Minorsky, ed. C.E. Bosworth, (London, 1937), pp.3-4.

¹⁰ *Hudud-al-Alam*, pp. 8,18.

¹¹ *ibid.*, v.i., p.166.

¹² *ibid.*, resp. fol. 2a ult., 4a 20 and 5a 9.

¹³ *ibid.*, p.54-60.

¹⁴ Istakhri, p.43; cf. *Hudud-al-Alam*, f.37 b, p.33, 82.

¹⁵ Abul Fazl, *Ain i Akbari*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, (Calcutta, 1894), vol. iii, p. 54.

five to the north of it and one (Sudan) on the line of the equator.¹⁶ The belief that the area of Asia was twice as big as the other regions of the world put together, is shared by him with other authors also, such as al Beruni.

The knowledge of the European world found in such works as *Hudud al-Alam* crucially shaped Mughal perception of the geography of Europe. These works were accessible to the Mughal scholars and elites, and were also taught in the *madararas* and private education.

Ptolemy's ideas were challenged by Al Beruni in 11th century. He criticized those who 'only imitated him.'¹⁷ He wrote in Arabic a number of books on geographical and astronomical subjects. These writings included accurate determination of latitudes and longitudes, and geodetic measurements. Through contacts with merchants, Al-Beruni also collected some information on European countries. Concerning Eastern Europe, he consulted Bulgarian or Khwarazmian merchants. He is the first among Muslim geographers to mention the names of the river Angara and of the population of Baykal region in eastern Siberia, as also gives account of the Scandinavian Warangians, Northern Europe, and the Ice Sea north-east of Europe. During Akbar's reign, his works also were much read and valued. He does provide a lot of useful information on Europe that must have found its way to the Mughal scholars and ruling classes. Prof. Irfan Habib argues that 'the level of the transmission of classical Greek knowledge in the Indian subcontinent had been in decline ever since Al-Biruni wrote his magnum opus *Kitāb al-Hind*.'¹⁸ However, it is quite evident from the Mughal texts, such as *Ain-i-Akbari*, that ancient Greek philosophers' theories and concepts had since long been incorporated in a significant measure already and continued to be much in demand. Greek knowledge was internalized into the Islamic system and transmitted through the works written by the Muslim scholars.

The Mughals' concepts on geography were therefore clearly influenced by the Graeco-Arab works on Geography. In the Islamic geographical tradition the entire inhabited globe was seen as divided into seven climes, called *Hafti-*

¹⁶ *Hudud-al-Alam*, p. 33.

¹⁷ He suggested that Ptolemy could have made factual errors concerning the longitude and latitude. He says 'now we find a crowd of places, which in the (Ptolemaic) 'Geography' are indicated as being to the east of other places, actually situated to the West of the others named, and vice versa. He takes into consideration the alterations caused by environmental changes while determining afresh the latitudes and longitudes and would not blame the ancient geographers for their errors; E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, Eng. tr., (London, 1910), p. 161.

¹⁸ Irfan Habib, *Reason and Science in Medieval India*, in D. N. Jha (ed.), *Society and Ideology in India, Essays in honour of Prof. R. S. Sharma*, Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1996, pp. 165-66.

Iqlim, largely based on the Aristotelian-Ptolemaic concepts.¹⁹ An example of it is *Haft Iqlim* of Amin Ahmad Razi,²⁰ which was completed in 1593 C.E., and then *Haft Kishwar* (which was based on *Haft Iqlim*). Mughal scholars continued to employ this system, with its celestial spheres and epicycles, sometimes using it in a variant form called *Haft Kishwar*, which was a Persian conception. Each region in it however, comprised a large empire or civilization.²¹ European countries were believed to be located in the seventh clime, but except for Russia and occasionally Austria and Hungary, the names of the countries were not mentioned.²² Abul Fazl mentions latitudes and longitudes of some places of Europe such as Tarrakunah, Jenua, Rumiya, Spain etc. and places them in seven climes.²³ Jahangir, displaying his faith in the Graeco-Arab geography, repeatedly talks about the seven climes while referring to Indians cities.²⁴ Talking about his expansionist plans, he writes in a couplet that ‘Let an emperor take the kingdoms of a *clime* (emphasis added).’²⁵ Shahjahan’s first teacher, Mulla Qasim Beg Tabrezi, who was probably one of the translators of *Majmua’-h-i-Buldan*, a stupendous work on geography, also followed Graeco-Arab concepts of geography. Aurangzeb, when he wrote to Rana Raj Singh that ‘regulations of my great ancestors, who are so much esteemed by the worshipful ones, will cast lustre on the *four-cornered inhabited world*. (emphasis added).’²⁶

¹⁹ Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia*, vol. I, (New York, 2006), p. 285.

²⁰ A.A. Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, 3 vols., (Tehran, 1943). A copy of *Haft Iqlim* is also available in National Archives of India, Delhi.

²¹ Josef W. Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, vol. I, p. 158.

²² Murtaza Hussain Bilgrami, *Hadiqat al-Aqalim*, lithographed edition by Nawal Kishore, (Lucknow, 1879), pp. 493-500.

²³ Abul Fazl, *Ain i Akbari*, vol. iii, p. 94, 100-101.

²⁴ The Jahangirnama, Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India, Translated, edited, and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, (New York, 1999), pp. 129, 202, 206, 273, 331, 376.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.33.

²⁶ For the text of the *nishan*, see Kaviraj Shyamaldas, Udaipur, n.d; Mr. Vinod, ii, pp. 419-20 n. cf. M. Athar Ali, *Mughal India: Studies in Polity, Ideas, Society and Culture*, preface by Irfan Habib, (Delhi, 2006), p.64. Arabic-Islamic geographers believed that the sphere that represents the entire world is divided into four quarters by the equator and a meridian. Because the land-masses extend over 180 degrees at the equator, only one of the two northern quarters is inhabited (the “*rub’ al-ma’mūr*”). This quarter is then further divided into seven climates. Also see Christoph Mauntel/Klaus Oschema/Jean-Charles Ducène/ Martin Hofmann, *Mapping Continents, Inhabited Quarters and The Four Seas. Divisions of the World and the Ordering of Spaces in Latin-Christian, Arabic-Islamic and Chinese*
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Apart from the received textual knowledge, fragmentary information on contemporary Europe was available to the Mughal elites through the missionaries and travelers as well as the European envoys who visited the Mughal court. There are instances in European accounts of their being inquired by the Mughal nobility and kings about their countries. The Mughals first came into contact with the Portuguese Jesuits, who came from Goa and Akbar, reportedly, sometimes held discussions about Europe with them. The Jesuits, whom Akbar had summoned at Fatehpur in 1579 C. E., presented to him an Atlas, which the archbishop of Goa had sent as a present. They wrote that, 'he was greatly pleased to see them.'²⁷ And on receiving it, he enquired from them the position of Portugal and his own empire on the map. With its help, Father Monserrate is also reported to have satisfied Akbar's curiosity as to the distance between Portugal and India.²⁸ It was through contact with Europeans (*danishwaran-i-rasti*) that Abul Fazl came to know of the New World, and he devotes some space in his book on its discovery. He was aware that the Europeans had discovered the Americas (describing it as *jazeera-i-farakh o farawan*, lit. wide and abundant island), and calls it *Alam-i Nau*, the New World.²⁹ But, apart from this rough idea, it was not recognized in Mughal knowledge system as the 'fourth' continent. Even so, the textual knowledge among Muslim scholars was mainly confined to the Eastern Europe.³⁰ They occasionally evinced some interest in West European countries, but their knowledge of these countries was fragmentary and at best, insufficient and incomplete as their source of knowledge was exclusively derived from the conversations they had with the Europeans in India.³¹

By the first decade of seventeenth century, the trading companies of different European nations, apart from the Portuguese, also started settling in the Mughal Empire. Consequently, their interaction with these diverse European merchants expanded and their knowledge about the Western

Cartography in the Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries. A Critical Survey and Analysis, JTMS 2018; 5(2), p. 304.

²⁷ Fr. A. Monserrate, *Commentary on his Journey to the Court of Akbar*, tr. J.S. Hoyland, ed. S.N. Bannerjee, (London, 1922), p.28.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p.126.

²⁹ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. H.S. Jarret, (Calcutta, 1894), vol. iii, p. 42.

³⁰ Father Jerome Xavier composed in 1609, a work called *Adab-us-Saltanat* (pride of kings). (Ms. at School of Oriental Studies in London). This work, dedicated to Jahangir, contained information on Christianity, Roman kings and Plutarch (*Tarjuma-i-Plutarko*, *Maqulat-i-Plutarko*), Cicero (*Ba'ze muqaddamat-i- Marko Tulio*), cf. E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, (London, 1932), p.215.

³¹ William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, (New Delhi, Reprint, 1985), pp.64, 82.

European nations also started increasing. During Jahangir's period, the Western European monarchs had started sending embassies to the Mughal court. By the 17th century, the Mughal court had a fair idea of Europe and Europeans. Partly, their ideas had developed from their interactions with the English merchants visiting the Mughal court such as Thomas Kerridge and William Hawkins with whom Jahangir held frequent conversations about the countries of the west, particularly England. Jahangir, reportedly, even wished to see Roe's country.³² In 1617 again, Roe writes that 'I rode to court to visit the king, who questioned about the booke of maps.' He further writes about the Mercators great book of Cosmography that 'the same month, he (Jahangir) sent for the map-booke, and no man could reade nor understand it, therefore, it was returned.'³³ Terry, in his account, also recounts the same episode. They both presumed that Jahangir returned it because he seemed upset at finding his share not as much as should fall to him in accordance with his self perception as the conqueror of the world and therefore returned it on the pretext that no one understood its language.³⁴

This explanation seems problematic because atlases, globes and maps of Europe were imported and gifted to the Mughal kings and nobility by the Europeans which suggests their acceptability and popularity.³⁵ In fact, globes formed an important item of import to India to meet the growing demand for this item among the Mughal nobility. The English factors sent globes as presents to the Mughal Emperors, princes and nobles.³⁶ And this interest was not confined to receiving globes as gifts only. Their maps were put to different practical, artistic and other uses. For example, many European maps and topographical views of the sixteenth century may be seen as the sources for figural elements found in the *Khamsa* pages.³⁷ Raja Jai Singh Sawai (1699-1743) of Jaipur asked for maps, globes and books on astronomy from the Jesuits³⁸ when he built observatories. Tavernier (1640-67) who took a detailed note of the education in the centres of higher learning at Benaras, mentions the

³² *ibid.*, pp. 64, 212.

³³ Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-19*, ed. W. Foster, pp. 381-2.

³⁴ Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India, &c., 1616-19*, (London, 1777), p. 367.

³⁵ A. J. Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture, A.D. 1498-1707*, (Delhi, 1982), pp. 35-6, 148; M.C. Beach and Ebba Koch (eds.), *King of the World: The Padshahnama. An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library*, (London, 1997), p. 139.

³⁶ W. Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India, 1618-21*, (Oxford, 1906), p. 21; *EFI*, 1646-50, (London, 1914), p. 338.

³⁷ Gregory Minnisale, *Painting Awareness: A Study into the Use of Exotic Cultural Traditions by the Artists of the Emperor Akbar's Khamsa of Nizami*, (SOAS, London, 2000), p. 164.

³⁸ E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 133-4.

use of the globe by them in this seminary.³⁹ As Joseph Schwartzberg wrote, taking an example of representation of a geographic globe in the Mughal painting "Jahangir embracing Shah Abbas," by Abu al-hasan, "there can be no question that the general shapes of the portions of Asia, Africa, and Europe indicated on the globe derive from European maps."⁴⁰

It would also be worthwhile here to discuss the globe's transformation from a European 'object' to a Mughal 'subject'. In a major way for the Mughals, the globe entailed a visual experience.⁴¹ For them the globe was deemed as not exclusively 'European' as its spherical shape had since long that was accepted in the traditional Graeco-Arab system.⁴² It also contained an imagery of celestial and terrestrial world, this world and that world.⁴³ Consequently, they

³⁹ V. Ball (ed.), J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, (London, 1889), p.182.

⁴⁰ Joseph Schwartzberg, *Geographical Mapping*, in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (ed.), *The History Of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies, Volume Two, Book One*, (London, 1992), pp. 408-9. Also see Ebba Koch, *The Hierarchical Principles of Shahjahani Painting*, p. 215; Catherine Asher and Cynthia Talbot, *India before Europe*, (Cambridge, 2006), p. 158.

⁴¹ For a detailed study of the globe in the Mughal court, see Sumathi Ramaswamy, *Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 49, Issue 4, October 2007, pp. 751-782.

⁴² *Hudud al Alam*, p. 50. In the ancient Greek world, the idea of a spherical earth appeared with Pythagorus in 6th c. B.C.E. and this idea had strengthened by 4th c. B.C.E. with Aristotle providing empirical evidence for it. Thereafter, the knowledge of the Earth's global shape gradually began to spread beyond the Hellenistic world. In the Islamic world also, it was accepted that the earth was spherical, turning on two poles (*falak muhit-ast bar vaygardan bar du qutb*), the North Pole and the South Pole. The Earth was conceptually divided into four parts by two circles, of which the one is called Horizon (*da'irat al-afaq*) and the other Equator (*khaff al-istiwa*). In his Atlas, Al Beruni also portrayed the shape of the earth as round.

⁴³ Josef W. Meri (ed.), *Medival Islamic Civilization*, vol. 1, p. 652. Zakariya al Qazwin's book *Ajaib al Makhluqat wa gharaib al mawjudat* written in Arabic in 13th c. is mostly derived from Yaqut's *Majma ul Buldan*. It was translated into many languages and was one of the most read works in the Islamic world, contains both celestial and terrestrial cosmography. It seems to have been popular in India as well, as we find its rendition in paintings in 1571 in Bijapur, in Akbar's atelier (and then again in 19th century). Also see Thomas Arnold, *Indian Miniatures, The Library of A. Chester Beatty*, ed. J.V.S Wilkinson, (Delhi, 1936), p. 26; and, Emily Savage Smith, *Celestial Mapping*, in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography, Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies, Volume Two, Book One*, (The University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992), pp. 34, 42-3, 47-9. Also see, Sotheby's, *A Life-Size Mughal Portrait of the Emperor*
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never quite accepted the globe as only a 'physical' depiction of terrestrial boundaries. Rather it became an important symbol for fashioning of king's imperial self in the Mughal paintings.⁴⁴ They refashioned it in a manner as to lay claim to the divine mandate for a universal dominion.⁴⁵ The marking of territories shown in the globe given to them by Europeans perhaps did not dispel their belief in imaginary division of the earth as given in Ptolemy. It is no wonder then that the territories shown in globe in the paintings are not always demarcated. In one such painting by Abul Hasan, in 1615, shows Jahangir sitting on a throne with his feet resting on a globe on a golden stand.⁴⁶ In yet another painting of 1620 by Bichitr, Jahangir is holding a globe.⁴⁷ The geographical divisions in all these are rendered unimportant and the globe becomes a single interconnected space over which the Mughal rulers, from Jahangir to Aurangzeb⁴⁸ claimed both temporal and spiritual rulership.⁴⁹ It was thus also an escape from the territoriality of the globe. Conversely, in the instances where maps are delineated, the outlines are fairly accurate.⁵⁰ Moreover, these remained confined to use for artistic purposes

Jahangir Holding a Globe in Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures, Sale, LN5617, (London, 1995), p. 79; M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, Washington D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1981, Smithsonian Institution, p. 203.

⁴⁴ See for example, 'Album of Jahangir: The Emperor Jahangir Standing on a Globe,' in Thomas Arnold, *Indian Miniatures, The Library of A. Chester Beatty*. Also see 'Shahjahan Standing on a globe,' dated 1629, signed by Hashim, Stuart Cary Welch et al, *The Emperors' Album: Images of Mughal India*, ((The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988), pl. 62.

⁴⁵ Munis D. Faruqi, *The Princes of the Mughal Empire, 1504–1719*, (New York, 2012), p.17. Also see, M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, p. 203; Sotheby's, *A Life-Size Mughal Portrait of the Emperor Jahangir Holding a Globe*, p. 74-83.

⁴⁶ A. K. Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time*, (Calcutta, 1978), pp. 217-19.

⁴⁷ Linda York Leach, *Mughal and Other Paintings from the Chester Beatty Library*, (London, 1995), p. 388-9.

⁴⁸ Because Aurangzeb believed that he was the lord of three-quarters of the world, and for this reason, he carried as his particular ensign a golden globe, and had it in his seal. S. N. Sen (ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, (Delhi, 1949), p. 235. Also see, Emily Savage Smith, *Celestial Mapping*, p. 42, 50.

⁴⁹ Sotheby's, *A Life-Size Mughal Portrait of the Emperor Jahangir Holding a Globe*, p 79.

⁵⁰ 'Jahangir's Dream of Shah Abbas's Visit', Pl. 12 in R. Ettinghausen, *Painting of Sultans and Emperors of India*, (N. Delhi, 1961). Also see Silvia Crowe, Sheila Haywood, Susan Jellicoe and Gordon Patterson, *The Gardens of Mughal India*, (Delhi, 1973), unnumbered plate facing p. 90. As Abul **Kanpur Historiographers ISSN 2348-3814, volume-8, 2021** Page | 9

only. And as Emily Savage Smith says, ‘terrestrial globes were introduced by Europeans but celestial globes remained important in Mughal court under the influence of Arab and Islamic science.’⁵¹

The response, however, was not uniform and there are some stray examples of disinterest also. Danishmand Khan,⁵² a Mughal bureaucrat employed by Shahjahan (and later, by Aurangzeb), for example, learnt geography, among other things, from Francois Bernier who was under his employment. However he never showed any interest in enquiring about the place he came from i.e. Europe. Even a noble of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Qubad Beg, *Diwan* in Deccan, who perhaps visited Europe (*Firangistan*) towards the end of the seventeenth century and spent sufficiently long period of time in Europe, mentions nothing about geography of Europe in his account of his visit to Europe. Nor does he make any reference to the European knowledge of geography.⁵³ In 1717, Mr. J. Surman, an English ambassador (on behalf of the United East India Company) to the court of Emperor Farrukh-siyar, gave a map of the world to the latter, but nothing is known about his response to it.⁵⁴ Let us have a look at the pertinent section of a rather long speech of Aurangzeb in 1661, as Bernier reports, that ‘the former rebuked his erstwhile teacher:

"What did you teach me? You told me that the whole of Franguistan (Europe) was no more than some inconsiderable island, of which the most powerful monarch was formerly the king of Portugal, then the king of Holland and afterwards the king of England. In regard to the other sovereigns of Franguistan,⁵⁵ such as the king of France and that of Andalusia, you told me

Hasan’s inscription read, it represented emperor’s triumph over both worlds, M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, p. 203.

⁵¹ Emily Savage Smith, *Celestial Mapping*, pp. 45-9.

⁵² Mulla Shafi Yazdi Danishmand Khan was an Irani noble under Aurangzeb. See M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, (reprint, 1970), pp.167, 179.

⁵³ *Khulasat ul Afkar*, f. 347a. Abu Talib provided this information as a part of the biography of a contemporary scholar-administration. cf. Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perception of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, (OUP, Karachi, 1998), p.40, 66 n.

⁵⁴ C.R. Wilson, *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal: Being the Bengal Public Consultations for the First Half of the Eighteenth Century*, (Calcutta, 1911), vol. ii, part. 2, p. 46-7.

⁵⁵ *Firangistan* was a term used to describe Europe. Shafi, writing in eighteenth century, also used it to describe ‘whole of Europe.’ Muhammad Shafi Warid, ‘*Ajaib al Buldan*, Pers. Ms. Ousley 213 (Bodlien Library, (Oxford London),ff. 22b-25b). It was also called ‘*Yuraf*’ as used by Abd al-Latif. Abd al Latif Musawi Shustari, *Tuhfat al Alam*, Pers. MS. Elliott. 382. (MS. Sources, Bodlein Library, London), f.118a. cf. Gulfishan Khan, *Indian Muslim Perception of the West during the Eighteenth Century*, p. 122.

*that they resembled our petty Rajas, and the potentates of Hindoustan eclipsed the glory of all other kings; that they alone were Humayons, Ekbars, Jehan-Guyres, or Chah-Jehans; the Happy, the Great, the conquerors of the World, and the kings of the World; and that Persia, Usbec, Kachguer, Tartary, and Catay, (Cathay). Glory be to God! What knowledge of geography and history you displayed!”*⁵⁶

Although this much cited statement of Aurangzeb on the education of Mughal princes quoted by Bernier leads us to believe that Aurangzeb was serious about the alleged misinformation on the greatness of European nations imparted by his erstwhile teacher, it seems strange that while this incident took place sometime after Aurangzeb’s accession, it was a few decades later in 1693, that a unique curriculum-*Dars-i-Nizami* was put up by Mulla Nizamuddin Sahalavi, with his support. It was ‘in response to a growing demand for more information on Graeco-Arab rationalism, based on works of Aristotle, Plato, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, Al Beruni et al’.⁵⁷ Even this syllabus laid much emphasis on Greek logic and reasoning and except for rationalism did not address any of the alleged lacunae cited by Bernier in Aurangzeb’s speech. We must also take note of Bernier’s own derision of education of Mughal princes,⁵⁸ to which later Manucci also agrees.⁵⁹

Bernier’s reporting of speech of Aurangzeb carries the derision of greatness of Islamic kingdoms and ridicule over Mughals’ depiction of Europe as an ‘inconsiderable island’. This notion seems to be a carryover from a similar opinion by European factors in Jahangir’s period.⁶⁰ It is generally agreed nowadays that the foreign travellers’ accounts create a ‘discursive framework that is particularly amenable to a later colonial case.’⁶¹ Also, their depictions are not ‘simple and transparent acts of translation unconnected to the questions of power.’⁶² Eugenia Vanina opines that by the end of 16th and beginning of

⁵⁶ F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, 1656-68*, tr. A. Constable, 2nd ed. revised by V.A. Smith, (London, 1916), pp. 155-56.

⁵⁷ Ms. No. AMC-158, IOLR, London. I am indebted to late Prof. I.G. Khan for this reference.

⁵⁸ Bernier, p. 144-5; Also see, Aniruddha Ray, *Francois Bernier’s Idea of India*, in Irfan Habib (ed.), *India-Studies in the History of an Idea* (Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal, 2004), p. 177.

⁵⁹ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708*, vol.ii, tr. William Irvine, (London, 1907), p. 401.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 300. Also see W. Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, p. 92. A letter was supposedly written to James I by Jahangir but was never delivered. (F. C. Danvers, *Letter Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, vol.iii, p.285 fn. (Appendix).

⁶¹ Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed, European and British Writing on India, 1600-1800* (Delhi, OUP, 1995), p. 2.

⁶² Sanjay Subrahmaniam, *Europe’s India: Words, People, Empires, 1500–1800*, (Cambridge, 2017), p. xii; S.J. Tambiah, “What Did Bernier Actually
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17th century, negative attitudes of European visitors discernibly gained momentum.’⁶³

Nevertheless, the fact remains that no sustained attempts were made to bring European geographical notions and their new geographical discoveries into the existing framework of knowledge. In the works of Mughal elites also, we find a similar faith in Graeco-Arab geography, coupled with lack of any further information about Europe. Sadiq Isfahani’s work, *Shahid-i-Sadiq* (1647) was also based upon Ptolemaic geography.⁶⁴ Irfan Habib observes, that he ‘did not give any contemporary information to fill the sheets for Europe; and not a very illuminating passage on *Yangi Duniya* (the Young World), found in one of the manuscripts of his work (in Bodleian Library, London), is probably a later interpolation.’⁶⁵ They stuck to the idea of three continents till eighteenth century when more direct contact with Europe and Europeans evolved and more information was consequently acquired on world geography.⁶⁶

Due to the geographical discoveries in the 15th-16th centuries, the Europeans developed an expanding notion of space, and could see, at least before the advent colonialism, that Europe was not the centre of the universe. Such an expansive notion of space is generally absent in Mughal India. For most Mughal scholars and elites, their own Empire was the centre of the cosmos. Such allegorical paintings as of ‘Jahangir Preferring Sufi over Kings’ depict it in a clear and emphatic manner.⁶⁷ They knew of the existence of the other worlds, as well, but assigned to their own empire a place of pre-eminence. The other Asian empires-the Safavids, the Uzbeks, the Ottomans-could claim a secondary position, but Europe was, in their knowledge of the geography of the world, a marginal and an insignificant place, unworthy of scholarly interest.

Say? Profiling the Mughal Empire,” Contributions to Indian Sociology, 32, (1998), p. 362.

⁶³ Eugenia Vanina , *Roads of (Mis)Understanding: European Travellers in India (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century)*, Indian Historical Review, 2013 40: 267, p. 290.

⁶⁴ The work is described by Irfan Habib in ‘*Cartography in Mughal India*’, Medieval India-A Miscellany, vol. iv, 1977, p. 151-55.

⁶⁵ Irfan Habib, *Reason and Science in Medieval India*, p.170.

⁶⁶ Ahmad bin Muhammad Bihbahani, *Mirat al Ahwal-i-Jahan numa*, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, University Collection, No.182, ff. 124b-129a.

⁶⁷ Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, (New York, 1971), pl. 26, p. 129. Also see M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, p. 203.

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THE RISE OF THE GOND KINGDOM OF GARHA MANDALA IN EASTERN NARMADANCHAL

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The main feature of the tribes is their primitive culture, dependence on the environment and traditional work efficiency and there is less urge for development in them, but the Gond society has been a pioneer tribe in adopting change and making its new cultural political identity. Gonds use the word 'koytor' for themselves. The word Gond is used by the non-tribal class. The word Kond means mountain in Telugu, it can also mean that the Gond living on the mountain. It is divided into Dhurwa, Agaria, Rajgond-classes. The ruling society of Eastern Narmadanchal is called Rajgond who have refined and modified their basic social organization and culture with the influence of Hindus and Rajputs. Fuchs clearly says, 'Due to the cultural influence of the Hindus, Rajgond and Khareliya Khatolia joined the upper class, but the general or strong Gonds were recognized only in the lower strata of Hindu society.' The rulers of Garha were ambitious as well as social. They were also aware and receptive to the historical environment. Fuchs found four classes of Gonds in Mandala which are clearly influenced by the Hindu varna system.

1. Devgond: These Gonds eat very pleasant food.
2. Suryavanshi Rajgond: They trace their origin to the Sun. It is worth noting that the Rajput Kshatriyas have all the old clans, 'Suryavanshi' and 'Chandravanshi'.
3. Suryavanshi Devgarhi Gond: These are Suryavanshi Gonds only, but their place of origin is considered to be Devgarh.
4. Ravanavanshi Gonds: Ravana dynasty Gonds consume beef and sacrifice pigs and drink alcohol.

It is clear from the above classification of Fuchs that the Raj Gonds were a branch of the Gonds who were following the Hindu Kshatriya society to attain a high social status and declared themselves to be nobles from the other Gonds¹. Wills clearly states that ‘the Gonds of the Garha Mandla region came under the influence of Brahmanical-Hinduism and adopted many of its points.’

The conclusion is very clear that these kings, emerging from the tribal society, adopted every contemporary practice which they thought was superior, to legitimize the nature of the royal society and make themselves acceptable to the common class. Grierson also agrees with this argument. In fact, in social and political life, instead of opposing sanskritisation and assimilation², this tribal group adopted it and declared itself as superior. G.S. Ghurye gave this fact even more logical form: “From studying the conditions of many tribes it is known that the tendency of attaining higher status has increased in them. In attaining a high level in the caste system, they have suffered even if they have suffered inconvenience and loss related to their ancient customs.” A similar example is the Bauri (depressed Adivasis of West Bengal who consider themselves to be Brahmins).

The Rajgondos made themselves politically empowered using foresight, valor and sharp intellect and adopted Hindu mythological culture to gain public approval (which was essential for a smooth, smooth running of the state). Even taking this yagyaopavit, worshiping Hindu gods and goddesses and giving up beef, Hislap says that the Rajgonds first sprinkle water on the woods with which they cook food, to purify them. There must have been a double pressure on this ruling class, firstly to prove its superiority in front of the common man and secondly, to make Hindu religious people allies in the governance, both these tasks were difficult. The governance was not possible without Hindu allies and hence they had to change and refine themselves. If on the one hand the rate of change among the Rajgonds was very rapid, then on the other hand there is a sense of stability of tribal culture among the Madiya and Mudia people of Bastar. The rest are found between the two levels. This variation in development levels is based on the geographical isolation of regional groups, the state of civilizational exchange, and the resources of the environment. Shri Ram and Bhadrakali are mentioned in the sanads and prashasti of these rulers, not only this, the noble Brahmins performed Hindu rituals for them and also accepted Dakshina, which is a symbol of their social acceptance. The construction of a house among the Gonds is related to omen and bad omen, after choosing a suitable place to build a house, a festival is celebrated, ducks and chickens are also sacrificed there. For house construction, local materials are used soil-grass, straw, wood, bamboo, cow

¹ Fitz-Edward Hall, ‘On the Kings of Mandala, as Commemorated in a Sanskrit Inscription now First Printed in the Original Tongue’, Journal of the American Oriental Society, Seventh Volume (New Haven: 1862), pp. 1-23

² Grierson, Sir George Abraham, ‘Linguistic survey of India’, volume-5, New Delhi, 1929

dung. Chicken dung is also made at home. The walls are made straight and smooth, paintings of birds, elephants, bulls are also found on the walls. His art is unique. Earning livelihood is a self-supporting system, but there are many complications in their life, there are only two means of earning livelihood, farming and collecting forest produce, on the basis of time cycle, they grow two crops. Paddy, kodon, kutki, oilseeds, rice, maize are ciari crops while wheat, gram, rye, lentil, linseed are their crops.³

Agricultural work is basically for subsistence, economic profit and loss, not for buying and selling. Shifted agriculture was also in vogue but was banned in 1867. Despite this, shifting cultivation continued in Surguja, Jaspur, Shahdol, Mandla, Betul, Chhindwara, Coorg, Rejan. Surguja, Jaspur, Bastar continued to cultivate this system for a long time. They have empirical knowledge of climate. The collection of forest produce is also the source of their livelihood, grass, various useful leaves, Harra, Bahera, Amla, honey, gum, Sal seeds, Mohline leaf, Mahua, Chironji, Lakh, Tendu, are collected and sold by women. And in return, at present these people buy oil, salt, jaggery, cloth. Women also make bamboo articles. Ropes are also made from many types of grass. Traditionally, animals were raised for transportation and meat, they made the necessary tools themselves. Every village had an agariya (blacksmith). They wear cotton clothes, men wear dhoti in the lower part, bandi on top and a headgear is tied on the head. And the Gamchha which is called Pichora is kept on the shoulder. Wool is also obtained from animals. Gond women are artistic, wear bangles, sari up to the knee, put on a shoulder and get tattooed on the body, not only have religious and social importance of the tattoos, it is also believed that it also contributes to keeping the body healthy. Their hairstyle is also very interesting, they make buns in an artistic way with utmost cleanliness and use the shoulders. They also collect combs with great interest⁴.

More or less in every society man first creates culture, then gradually culture starts creating it, culture not only constitutes the emotions but also affects the body composition. Culture is both static and dynamic, every human group has a culture, but its specificity, variation and expression is different in every group, according to Shyamacharan Dubey, human needs can be divided into three categories - primary, dependent and organization-balance. related requirements. For their fulfillment, various institutions and organizations are formed and "to understand the composition and formation of culture, it is very necessary to understand the various aspects of these institutions and the

³ W. Henry Sleeman, 'History of the Gruha Mandala Rajas', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume VI, No. 68, August 1837, pp. 623-648

⁴ Alexander Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82', Archaeological Survey of India Report, Volume XVII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884), pp. 46-55

complex relations of thoughts and behavior types.", and is created from natural resources provided by nature, with an emphasis on liberty and equality. D.N. Mazumdar also says, "The characteristic of primitive culture was that it gave great importance to social equality." In these tribal organizations, members are bound by mutual tradition, their political, social structure is based on mutual trust and participation. Is. "It is necessary to develop relations of interdependence among the members of the group. The marriages of Gonds are decided on the basis of physical strength and ability to work hard. The marriage of Rajgonds takes place according to the Hindu system, but among the Gonds, the Baiga, or Guniya, performs this function. Widow marriage is also prevalent, generally widow sister-in-law is married to brother-in-law. But if a widow marries someone other than her brother-in-law, her relationship with the former husband's house is broken.

In the Gonds, naturally the dead person is burnt and after ten days 'Dashmani' is practiced⁵. Religion is one of those elements of culture which is found everywhere in the Gond society, it is found in its simple form, they have many deities like- Dulhadev, Narayan Dev, Suraj Dev, Mata Mai, Thakur De And, Khair is the mother, Ghanshyam Dev and Bagheshwar. They also believe in Hindu deities. Badadeva is their chief deity. Baiga are their priests to whom they provide wine, eggs, chicken, cloth as dakshina. Bhariya i.e. the priest gets the worship of Hindu gods and goddesses done and they have prestige among the Rajgonds. Among the Gonds, those who work as exorcists are Pardhan Antyaj. Trishul is offered on Bade Mahadev situated in Panchmarhi. Khanderdev has a special place in Chhindwara district.

In the form of a mass festival, the Madai (a wide form of the Haat) is paramount, here along with the purchase of goods, there is also a youth-girl introduction. Madai is organized from January to April at many places from

⁵ Remark- The family is the only institution among the Gonds, which introduces the future generations to their traditions, culture, environment, the society is patriarchal but women are also given importance. Gotra (Bsand) is also given importance in Gond society. Gotra is an exogamous group, that is, there is no marriage relationship in a gotra. In addition, a gotra has only one hypothetical ancestor, has a number and membership of the gotra is innate. The most popular gotras among the Gonds are Markam, Maravi, Netam, Tekam. Totemism is also found in the Gonds i.e. these people also believe in totem. They also follow the kinship system, it maintains effective control over the members of the society, lineage, succession and authority are determined by kinship. Marriage system is also very important in rhinoceros, some prohibitions related to marriage are found in them, such as marriages do not take place. But the children of maternal uncle and aunt get married. "In the Gond tribe, marriage is considered best and necessary among cousins, Phupher brothers and sisters, which is called 'Dood Latana' (Milk Return). In marriage, the will of the parents is given utmost importance.

Mandla to Bastar. The most popular is the Madai of Narayanpur in Bastar district. In this, buying and selling of goods, worshipping the goddess with drums and playing cards and Abalator dance (at night) is done. Women are respected in tribal society. She is considered valuable because she cooperates financially with men, so her social value automatically increases, child marriage or widows are not included in this. Although the place of men is prominent in the Panchayat or social organization, but in the religious field, the position of women remains lower than that of men.

Art- Nature and environment have influenced and developed the art of Gonds. They make pictures of elephant, horse, human, their art also has aesthetic decoration and religious, magical side. Music and dance are also important in the life of Gonds. In Songs of the Forest, which is a composition of Alvin and Hivale, Gond poems have been described as transparent and sentimental.

In fact, on social and religious occasions, these people enjoy group dance and music. For a long time the outside society was not familiar with these arts, but the desire to truly recognize tribal life and the constant contact changed the situation and the warriors Alvin, Hivale (Songs of the Forest - Alvin and Hivale) and Arthur (The Blue Grove - W.G. Arthur, a composition based on the songs of the Oraon tribe) introduced these arts to the outside world. In their simple life, along with music and dance entertainment, men and women develop the feelings of equality, discipline, organization and collective unity. Dance training is given in youth homes among the Gonds. Karma dance is very popular. Both men and women take part in this, this dance is not performed in the rainy season, Timki, Thali, Mandar are musical instruments. Saila is also a form of dance in which only men participate. Legends and fables, plays, proverbs, riddles, folk tales, dental tales are also a part of his life. Pardhans sing story-songs for the Gonds and it is a ritual. His literature is completely oral and prose, poetry, stories, lectures are remembered, this unwritten literature has been transferred only through experience, intellect and experience. The basic plot has always been the same; the language flexibility has always existed. Songs composed in verse are generally songs of dances. Similarly, many types of puzzles are also prevalent among the tribes.

It is necessary to get this detailed information about the Gonds so that the history of this zonal state, which came in the process of becoming a state from a tribal clan, can be understood in the right perspective. There are many complications in the process of becoming a state from this clan, which on one hand is bound by Gondi traditions and customs, on the other hand it has also been a challenge to get public approval. In finding solutions for these, many myths clearly leaned towards Hindu society and active cooperation of Hindu religions (like Brahmins, Lodhis, Kurmis, Pansaris etc. were given importance), even the basic population structure changed.

The rise of this Gond state in Narmadanchal is a unique event. This state has got its name and identity not by the name of the state of Gonds, but on the basis of a particular place i.e. Garha city. Sanskrit sources call it the Garha

state, Akbarnama refers to Gadha-Katanga (Katanga is a small village near Gadha) and English and Marathi sources refer to it as Gadha-Mandla.

The Sanskrit inscription of Ramnagar⁶ is the most important source in knowing the overall genealogy of the rulers of Garha-Mandla. It is situated on the banks of river Narmada at a distance of 20 km from Mandla city (which is present day Madhya Pradesh). In this Sanskrit article, starting from Yadavrai, Hridayshah has been described as the last ruler and a total of 54 rulers have been given. Its shortcoming is that it does not give the date of accession of any ruler. Its first English translation was done in 1825 by A.D. Fell.

The rise of this Gond state in eastern Narmadanchal is a unique event. This state has got its name and identity not by the name of the state of Gonds, but by considering the place specific, ie Garha city, as the basis. Sanskrit sources call it Garha State, Akbarnama also mentions Gadha-Katanga (Katanga is a small village near Gadha) and English and Marathi sources address it as Gadha-Mandla⁷.

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By considering the facts of scholars, including Phal, Edward Hall, Cunningham and Sleeman on the basis of logic and examining them from the factual indications received from the Gond states of Akbarnama, Parmar of Damoh, Chandel of Rath, Deogarh and Chanda, it is known that The Gond power came into existence only after the end of the rule of the Kalchuris of Tripuri. Practically also it is not possible to have a Gond capital at Gadha very near Tripuri. The date of the accession of Gorakshadas is considered to be 1460, if the 45 names before him which are given in different lists (Ramnagar inscription, ward, Gadheshnrupavarnam) can be a logical culmination that the Gonds attained power and attained the position of Rajgond. After doing this, according to tradition, the Brahmins added the names of some rulers to the ruling class as the approval of the very ancient dynasty, or some of these 45

⁶ E. Fell, 'Sanskrit Inscriptions; With Observations by H. H. Wilson', Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, and Sciences, and Literature of Asia, Volume XV Serampore: The Mission Press, 1825, pp. 432-469.

⁷ W. Henry Sleeman, 'History of the Gruha Mandala Rajas', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume VI, No. 68, August 1837, pp. 623-648.

kings are fictitious and some will be local vassals or rich generals or zamindars whose names were added to the above genealogies. The independent power of the Gonds starts from the time of Gorakshadas and Kharji.⁸

Connecting the links of the establishment of the Garha-Mandla state is a very difficult task, many legends and superstitions are associated with it, even a story has been given in the Mandla District Gazetteer, according to which the daughter of a farmer and the love of a snake and the connection of Dhanushah. Born and this child became the king of Mandla. The same fact is proved from Slimana, Ramnagar inscription, Gadheshnripavarnanam respectively that Yadavraya was the founder king but no historical facts are found about him. The establishment of the Gond kingdom can be ensured only when concrete evidence is available about the rulers, in the folklores, the original person has been described as a Gond. 'Pultsyavanshi' is written on the coin of Sangramshah. This dynasty belonged to Ravana and the Gonds associate themselves with Ravana. Abul Fazl also refers to the rulers of Garha as being of low clan. It is clear that these rulers of Gadha were Gonds. After Yadavrai, Kharji, Gorakshadas, Sukhandas and Arjundas became kings in this order. The Ramnagar inscription mentions Sangramshah as the son of Arjundas. The exact date of the accession of the above four rulers is not available, the accession of Sangramshah took place between 1510 and 1513. Therefore, after examining and reasoning many facts, the date of Kharji's sitting on the throne can be fixed around 1440⁹. After Kharji, Gorakshadas ascended the throne, then his son Sukhandas or Sangindas ascended the throne around 1480 AD. He was a king of sharp intellect, he made a strong army and cooperated with various people. There were many other small kings and rayas in this region. Sangindas can be credited with the early conquests and formation of the kingdom. His successor was Arjundas. Who ascended the throne in about 1500 AD. Abul Fazl clearly writes that Arjundas was 40 years old at that time. Arjundas had two sons - the eldest Amandas or Amandas and the junior Jogidas. Amandas was a defiant and disobedient prince, Arjun Das got angry with his actions and kept him in prison, but even this did not change any change in Amandas. Due to the bitter relationship between father and son, Amandas fled and went to the shelter of the Baghel ruler of Rewa, Vir Singh. King Vir Singh Dev not only gave him shelter but also gave him the responsibility of his short son. Amandas also displayed bravery and good

⁸ Alexander Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82', Archaeological Survey of India Report, Volume XVII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884), pp. 46-55

⁹ Fitz-Edward Hall, 'On the Kings of Mandala, as Commemorated in a Sanskrit Inscription now First Printed in the Original Tongue', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Seventh Volume (New Haven: 1862), p. 1

behavior. Arjundas was very upset by this whole incident and he decided to hand over the throne to his younger son Jogidas. Jogidas did not accept this succession plan of his father.

Seeing the father contrary to his interests, Amandas returned to his home state and killed the father, Arjundas's two Vishwastra courtiers informed Amandas's refugee Veerasingh Dev about his behavior as well as inspired him to win the Garha kingdom¹⁰. Veer Singh Dev prepared a large army and reached Gadha. Amandas expressed his inability to fight his refugee and repented of his act before him and expressed his embarrassment to God and the people. Vir Singh Dev handed over the throne of Gadha to him. Amandas ascended the throne sometime between 1510 AD and 1513 AD, he assumed the title of "Maharaja Shree Raja Amandas Dev". Amandas proved to be a brave and diplomatic ruler, he took advantage of the immediate political instability and the process of emergence of provincial states and expanded the state. There is no contemporary evidence of a definite boundary line of state expansion. The extent of the state at that time was about 475 km from east to west and 390 km from north to south. Amandas made good relations with the immediate powers with great understanding and tact, ended the enmity and made himself strong. Tarikh-e-Salatin-e-Afgana reveals that Amandas had a cordial relationship with Ibrahim Lodi. He was always indebted to the Baghel ruler of the North-East, Vir Singh Dev and was always benevolent by expressing his respect towards him. He helped Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat in his victory at Raisen. She also got friendship. He also maintained cordial relations with the small states of the south of his kingdom.

Sangramshah gave stability, splendor, and identity to the Gond kingdom, established the Gond kingdom in the deep forest region with his foresight, courage and diplomacy. He strengthened the forts of Chauragarh and Sigorgarh, built a building near the fort, built a lake named Sangram Sagar and Bajnamath. Ramnagar inscriptions and Gadheshnripavarnanam say that Sangramshah had 52 bastions. Here the fort means a territorial unit and not a fort. He also displayed talent in literature, he was a scholar of Sanskrit language, it is believed that the poem 'Rasratnamala' is his creation. He also called scholars from Mithila region and settled in his kingdom. Gold, silver and copper coins of his period are also available. Wills rightly says that "he was above all his predecessors, only his daughter-in-law Durgavati enjoyed equal power among his successors".

Dalpatishah and Durgavati:-

Sangramshah had two wives – Padmavati and Sumati. As is clear, the son of Sangramshah was Dalpatishah and the word 'Padmavatimay' is found in the inscription of this Dalpatishah. Mother is said to be 'My', so there is no

¹⁰ Alexander Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82', Archaeological Survey of India Report, Volume XVII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884), pp. 46-55

difficulty in considering Padmavati as the mother of Dalpatishah. Dalpatishah and Durgavati were married in 1542 AD. Abul Fazl categorically states that "She (Durgavati) and Rath and the daughter of the Chandel king Salbahan of Mahoba married her with Dalpati, the son of Amandas. Although he (Dalapati) was not of a good family, yet he was prosperous and the condition of King Salbahan was not good, so Salbahan had to do this marriage." In the folklore also Durgavati is described as Chandelvanshi¹¹. The caste highness of the Chandelas also increased the prestige of the Gond dynasty and led to their acceptance of Hinduism. On the basis of modern discoveries and arguments, it is believed that he ascended the throne in 1543 AD. In 1545 his son Veeranarayana was born.

There are two major events of his period, in one, the Zamindar of Partabgarh Pandaria, who was a person of Lodhi caste, revolted in 1546, then after defeating him, a self-caste person named Shamchand was given the zamindari there. Second- An Afghan named Umar Khan Rahilla laid siege to the fort. But the result of the circle is not mentioned anywhere. Possibly from the point of view of security, Dalpatishah chose Singorgarh for the capital, this fort is located on the Bhandar mountain range of Vindhyaachal and also gets its name Sinhadurg. He died suddenly in the beginning of 1550 AD. There is no description of the cause of death or any such conflict that would throw light on it, but it was an unexpected blow to the state of Gadha-Mandla. In addition to local sources for the description of Durgavati's period, the writings of Abul Fazl play an important role in providing date-wise details about the queen.

The young and inexperienced queen decided to protect the inheritance of her husband and the succession of the young son, in which Aadhar Singh Kayastha and Maan Brahmin advised her and ruled the kingdom herself by placing the minor Veeranarayana on the throne. Abdul Fazl further writes that he did great things with foresight. When the queen took over as the patroness of Veeranarayana, her kingdom was stable, but the political environment around it was turbulent, which also affected her, but the relations between the neighboring states in general remained fine. . First of all, the Baghel state of North East, where Virbhanu, son of Veer Singh Dev was sitting on the throne in Rewa, Veer Singh Dev is the same king who had given protection to Aman Das. The boundaries of Garha and Rewa states were shared, but still there was no rivalry or animosity between these states. On the south-eastern border was the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, in the south-west was the Muslim sultanate of Berar and just to the south was the Gond kingdom of Chanda, the Miyana-Afghan (who were headed by Muin Khan in the Hoshangabad region) at Raisen and the throne of Delhi. But the Survansh was in control.

In the Malwa region of the north-west of the Garha state, there used to be conflict between the Rajputs and the Afghans. Sher Shah appointed Shujaat Khan as the governor of Malwa. As soon as Sher Shah died, he declared

¹¹ Keshav Singh Vimal, 'Kshatrani Durgawati', published by department of History, V.S.S.D. College Kanpur, 2018, introduction

independence, in 1556 his son Baj Bahadur ascended the throne. His uncle Fatah Khan died in the initial raid and returned to Sarangpur. As soon as he entered the fort, he collided with the Gond army at the end of a pass, his soldiers were taken captive by the Gonds. In the struggle with Baj Bahadur, the queen did not get any benefit of conquering the area, but the light of her valor spread all around. His subjects revered him as a protector and guardian. At the same time, the Haihayavanshi ruler of Ratanpur, Kalyan Sahai, visited the Mughal court in 1563, so far after the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556, Akbar's power had been strengthened. The behavior of Baj Bahadur and Kalyan Sahay made the queen apprehensive, so she decided to strengthen and secure the capital and made her capital at Chauragarh in the western part of the state on the inaccessible high peak of Satpura. The king's tales of victory over Baj Bahadur and the prosperity of the queen And Kalyan Sahay's visit to the Mughal court increased the interest of the emperor even more towards the Garha-state. Legends tell that Gopa Mohapatra and Narhari Mohapatra, two scholars of Akbar's court, visited the Garha-Mandla kingdom, both scholars told Akbar the saga of the state's prosperity and splendor. Probably Aadhar Singh Kayastha who was the Diwan of Garha also visited the Mughal court.¹² Full details of this Garha-Mandla invasion are found in the historical sources of Mughal period. After the Second Battle of Panipat in 1556, Akbar followed an expansionist policy. After defeating Baj Bahadur in 1562, Malwa province became a part of the Mughal Empire. This was the north-western border of the Garha kingdom, on the north-eastern border was Abdul Majeed Asaf Khan, the Mughal Subedar of Kada-Manikpur. The northern border of Garha also touched the Mughal territory, so it was a political necessity to conquer that state and merge it into the Mughal Empire, which was further intensified by the prosperity of the Garha Mandla state. Abdul Majid Asaf Khan, the Mughal Subedar of Kada-Manikpur defeated Raja Ramchandra of Rath. Now its boundaries started touching the state of Garha Mandla.

It is written in the Ramnagar inscription – Prahitahkarai bachayva asapafkhanstato ragna¹³. That is, there was an attack for tax collection. This cannot be justified at all, when Garha-Mandla was not a part of the Mughal Empire at all, then there could be no basis for collection of tax. The reality is that the ambition to expand the empire has neither logic nor moral basis.

On the orders of the emperor, Asaf Khan gathered cavalry and proceeded towards Damoh, this place is in the north near Jabalpur. Probably many small and big chieftains had joined Asaf Khan's army by then and its number

¹² Fitz-Edward Hall, 'On the Kings of Mandala, as Commemorated in a Sanskrit Inscription now First Printed in the Original Tongue', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Seventh Volume (New Haven: 1862), pp. 1-23

¹³ E. Fell, 'Sanskrit Inscriptions; With Observations by H. H. Wilson', Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, and Sciences, and Literature of Asia, Volume XV (Serampore: The Mission Press, 1825), pp. 432-469

increased. Surprisingly till now the queen was unaware of Asaf Khan's attack. Abul Fazl also writes that the queen was in a state of neglect. The queen and her soldiers were astonished by the news of Asaf Khan reaching Damoh, at that time the queen and her soldiers were in Singaurgarh fort near Damoh and they did not have time to deal with this disaster. Even with only 500 soldiers, the queen decided to fight. Dewan Aadhar Singh Kayastha tried to make the queen aware of the reality, but the queen decided to face the enemy firmly, she moved towards the Mughal army, Asaf Khan also reached Damoh and started making military arrangements. The queen's counselors advised her to stop for a while and regroup the army, the queen also understanding the situation, decided to go to the dense forests of the west along with the army. After some time she reached towards the southeast at a place called Narhi (Narai). It was a very difficult place. There are high-rise mountains all around and there are also two rivers, it was very difficult to enter and exit from here. Abul Fazl also narrates, "There were high mountains around this place and a river named Gaur in front. On the other hand was the fierce river Narmada. The road to the village was very narrow and inaccessible due to the ravines of the river." This move of the queen was unexpected for Asaf Khan. Leaving a military detachment in Garha, he went towards his goal i.e. the queen's halt, that inaccessible forest area and sub-divisions made his task difficult. Rani Durgavati came to know about the arrival of Asaf Khan in the forest area, she addressed her soldiers and officers and made it clear that she would fight, no matter what the outcome, those who wanted to leave her could go. The spirit of valor and honor of the queen inspired the soldiers too and they too became war-oriented. The next day a small force of Mughals captured one end of that valley. The queen immediately decided to fight and instructed her soldiers to be patient till the enemy entered the valley so that the enemy would be trapped in that narrow valley. The queen's strategy and courage won, she consulted her trusted counselors, according to the queen, the enemy should be attacked again in the darkness of the same night, otherwise it would be difficult to win with Asaf Khan and artillery, but the queen's allies did not support his view. The next day Asaf Khan fortified with artillery, all the queen's apprehensions turned out to be true. The queen, her son Veerantarayana Shamskhan Miyana and Mubarak Biluch fought the battle with great valor. When Veerantarayana was injured, he was safely taken out of the battlefield. Even now the queen continued to fight with the same enthusiasm, but the queen riding on the elephant Sarman became the target of the enemy's arrow. There is no clear evidence of whether the injured queen died from her own dagger or not, the tombs of the queen and her elephant are still on the same battle site. Asaf Khan was victorious and in the words of Abul Fazl, "Asaf Khan got a thousand elephants and a lot of property in his hand and he got the right over a vast area."

After this important victory, Asaf Khan captured Gadha, but the capital, Chauragarh, was still out of the Mughal suzerainty and the injured Raja Virnarayan was there. Even after the victory, it was not easy for Asaf Khan to

conquer Chauragarh, one, he was located on an inaccessible mountain in the region, the second route was also not safe, he first established and arranged himself in the fort and then proceeded towards Chauragarh. as before It has also been written that in view of the inaccessible condition of Chauragarh, considering it as safe, there was a huge wealth of Gond kings, greed and curiosity about this treasure was in the soldiers of Asaf Khan.

Raja Veeranarayana had become physically fit by now and he had made preparations from the military point of view too, but he was aware of his limitations as compared to the Mughals. Nevertheless, that young brave son of Veer Mata, being familiar with the situation, thought it appropriate to face the enemy and was ready to fight with the army present there. The Mughals conquered Chauragarh, Raja Veernarayan attained martyrdom, the women of the fort committed Jauhar, Kamalavati, the daughter of the Raja of Puragarh and the sister of Queen Durgavati, was alive, and was sent to Akbar's harem.

This was a great achievement for Asaf Khan and from Chauragarh he got immense wealth which included gems, pearls, gold coins, solid gold etc. In 1564 AD, the kingdom of Garha Mandla completely came under the Mughals. Both Rani Durgavati and her son were the masters of brave, courageous and belligerent personalities. The young queen successfully ruled the kingdom by declaring her minor son as the king, she was a skilled administrator. She did not get disturbed even by the news of Asaf Khan's approach (up to Damoh), she determined to face the enemy patiently. Appreciating her bravery, Abul Fazl also says that she always went hunting and hunted animals with a gun. She was not distracted by any impending crisis, she would never deviate from the path of duty. Her defeat also gave her completeness and after attaining her martyrdom, she became immortal in history as a heroine, her bravery and fearlessness are the source of inspiration for the people. In addition to the above established beliefs, it can also be evaluated from another point of view, the queen did not pay much attention to the establishment of a quick and efficient intelligence system, she got the information of the arrival of Asaf Khan when she reached Damoh. With the news of the arrival of the enemy's army, her soldiers, showing indiscipline, went to the safety of their families without the permission of the king, thus the neglect of the intelligence system and the inability to establish discipline had ensured the defeat of the queen.¹⁴

The most positive and decisive aspect of the queen was that her kingdom was geographically inaccessible, dense forests, rugged mountain ranges, overflowing rivers, lack of means of transport, the Gonds living in these suburbs who were loyal to the queen, all this was done by the enemy. On the other hand, the queen herself was a brave hunter and went to the jungles to hunt lions, apparently she was familiar with these forest areas, she took

¹⁴ Alexander Cunningham, 'Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces and Lower Gangetic Doab in 1881-82', Archaeological Survey of India Report, Volume XVII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1884), pp. 46-55

advantage of this geographical knowledge in the battle of Narai, but she fought the war for a long time. And in that war, he did not plan to deviate the enemy in his area. He made this war a question of prestige, he himself chose imminent defeat and death, that too after thorough deliberation, according to the concept of his Rajput pride, he chose honorable death, certainly it is a matter of pride and courage. But in the formation of the state and to provide stability to it, it is always more preferable to have a calm, diplomatic mind and a momentary retreat or find some other way for long-term permanent gains. Taking a tough decision after the battle of Narai, the queen should have ended the war by attacking in the night, but the queen consulted her counselors who refused to do so, even her trusted followers refused to attack, The queen could not control anyone, she herself did not show perseverance. Perhaps he himself had doubts about the complete success of his plan. The queen should have given a new direction to her struggle by using a long-term guerilla warfare style instead of direct fighting with her small incomplete army. She could not understand the real intention hidden in the cover of the visit-offering of Akbar's scholars Gop Mohapatra and Narhari Mohapatra who came to the court (that they have come to estimate his prosperity and the fighting ability of the state), his advisory board under normal circumstances. Helps her and also gives the right advice, but in times of crisis, she could not show the right direction to the enthusiasm and courage of the ardent queen, she opposed the queen's decision to fight, but what strategy should be made by not fighting, how to defeat the enemy. That group could not give any concrete plan on how to be removed from the goal or how to keep the queen and her son King Veer Narayan safe, the acceptance of defeat is visible in their attitude, the queen even after long experience of rule. Depends on this advisory group. All these were ignorant of the politics of the whole of India outside the Garha-Mandla kingdom, were in the illusion of their own safety, they did not know about Akbar's strong expansionist policy, which he was considering as a question of his prestige and talent. It was only one step of Akbar's strong expansionist policy in which there was no place for regional autonomy. The Garha kingdom could not form a strong defense with its neighboring states, although they had stable, hostile relations with the neighboring states. He had to face Asaf Khan's attack alone, there were no relations or treaties to help him, this is also a diplomatic flaw. With the arrival of Babur in India, the importance of artillery was established, even during the time of Sher Shah, artillery had played an important role. The aura of power and splendor of the Garha-Mandla kingdom is visible from 1500 AD. But he could not establish artillery in the long period till 1564, at the same time Burhanpur located in present Nimar of Madhya Pradesh was ruled by the Farooqui Sultans. Farooqui and Gond were two different regional powers in about the same period, cannons of Farooqui Sultans are found, 'Goa' is engraved on a giant cannon, meaning she came from Goa, the artillery was also Portuguese, clearly Farooqui Sultan was not only conscious about artillery but Established it and also got Portuguese cooperation, while the Garha kingdom does not seem ready or eager for any

such work and the historical mistake that the queen got from the traditional Rajput war system, that is, riding on an elephant, fighting the enemy and easy for the enemy. To become a target, this mistake proved to be decisive in this war as well. The queen and her son Veerantarayana were very courageous, fearless and extraordinary heroes, who fought with all their strength, vigor and perseverance even against the imminent death and got the honorable death of the hero. With his death, the struggle for the Garha Mandla kingdom ended and the queen became a symbol of valor, courage, vitality and intelligence, which is an inspiration for generations to come. She is an example to all those women who do not give up and keep the torch of struggle burning even in the most difficult moments of life. This is the story of a devoted wife, who ran her husband's kingdom after an untimely death and a mother determined to protect the right of the son, which is written with these values in a new environment in a new light in every age. Till now the history of Garha Mandla is an interesting saga of the gradual rise of the Gond kings, but after the Mughal invasion, complications are seen in it and two power centers are also visible, one nominally the successor of King Veerantarayan and the other Mughal Subedar. After Queen Durgavati and King Veerantarayana, Chandrashah got the throne, this was the brother-in-law of the queen, that is, the younger brother of King Dalpati Shah. The Mughal authority was also protected by declaring the gentle, simple-tempered Chandra Shah as the king, he was naturally less ambitious, practical intelligence and status quo maintainer. After the death of his brother, he also maintained relations of peaceful harmony and cooperation with his minor nephew and his patron Queen Durgavati. In return for his succession, he had to give ten strongholds to the emperor whose names- Raisen, Karubag, Kurwai, Bhopal, Rahatgarh, Makadai, Chakigarh, Barigarh, Garh Gunaur and Bhauraso! In Ramanagara inscription and Gadshantapavarnanam, praises have also been written for Chandrashah. But in reality Chandrashah was neither Shri Maharajadhiraj nor Shri Maharaja Shri Raja, but he was only a zamindar under the Mughal emperor Akbar, this also indicates Abul Fazl. Chandrashah's younger son Madhukar Shah was very ambitious. Chandrashah, who followed the policy of gentle and non-intervention, was murdered by Madhukar Shah.¹⁵ The poet Vitthal Dixit also writes in Gadshantapavarnanashloka that Chandrashah was killed, further the sin of Madhukarshah has also been written in sign language, possibly because of the desire to get the throne, Madhukar Shah killed his father and elder brother.

¹⁵ Fitz-Edward Hall, 'On the Kings of Mandala, as Commemorated in a Sanskrit Inscription now First Printed in the Original Tongue', Journal of the American Oriental Society, Seventh Volume (New Haven: 1862), pp. 1-23
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AN ANALYSIS OF LOCKE'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

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Abstract:

Locke believes that we acquire all knowledge through sense-experience. Locke under the profound influence of the rationalist thinker Descartes, accepts that what we directly receive through sense-experience are only simple ideas' Nevertheless, he attempts to account for our knowledge of the material world by introducing the 'complex ideas' of substance, modes and relations, which are formed out of the 'simple ideas' through the rational operations of the mind. One of Locke's epistemological objectives is to validate scientific knowledge in its two essential prerequisites, namely material substance and causal connections. Locke said that sometimes we do not observe the relation or difference between two ideas and indirectly establish a relation between the two. But such a process requires the intervention of other ideas. It is for this reason that knowledge is called demonstrative. This is rational or logical knowledge and is also self-proved or indisputable but its probability is not as definite or as obvious as that of intuitive knowledge. For that reason it is not immediately accepted by reason. The paper reveals that Locke treats only intuitive and demonstrative knowledge as real and definite, because other forms of knowledge cannot even be strictly said to belong to the realm of knowledge.

Keywords: Sensations, reflections, tabula rasa, a posteriori.

The main objective of John Locke's theory of knowledge is that we can acquire knowledge through experience. Locke believes that human mind at birth is like a tabula rasa, a blank sheet. External things leave impressions upon mind in the form of sensations.

Man's knowledge according to Locke depends upon experience. Sensations and reflections provide the material of our knowledge. All knowledge is gained by these two processes. Sensations take on the shape of ideas in the mind. Hence knowledge is the name given to the relations between various ideas. "The relation may be of agreement or disagreement, similarity or dissimilarity. This relation is established differently in the case of different ideas and for this reason Locke has accepted different forms or kinds of knowledge."

¹Simple ideas originate in sensations. Real ideas are similar to external objects and it is this similarity which is the criterion of truth of the ideas. Simple ideas are real because they represent external objects in the mind. Complex ideas formed by the combinations of simple ideas may or may not be true or real. "Yet complex ideas cannot be said to be illusory because the possibility that they may correspond with external objects cannot be denied. Besides, they are formed by combining simple ideas which themselves do represent real external objects."²

John Locke's primary concern is with the problem of epistemology and he is mainly interested in the origin, nature and limits of knowledge. It is his concern to discover which form of knowledge is veridical. As evident from the title of his main work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, his philosophy lay in search concerning human understanding. As the first step to such understanding, he analyzed the origin of knowledge.

Philosophy consists in the real knowledge of things. As Russell has observed, "Before obtaining such knowledge it is essential to find out the extent to which we are capable of obtaining it and even before this we should try to discover the origin of such knowledge so that we can be sure which kind of knowledge is certain and reliable."³

According to John Locke, in the beginning man's mind is a tabula rasa or a blank sheet, similar to dark chamber, an empty cabinet or white paper upon which there is not a single discernible sign or idea. He refutes the notion of the rationalists that God has impressed upon our minds certain innate ideas. "It is natural to ask the question where these ideas come from. In other words if the mind itself is not the source of knowledge, then from where does this knowledge arise. Locke answers

¹ Masih. Y, *A Critical History of Western Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsi Dass Publishers, New Delhi, 1994, edition-1, p. 278

² Dutta Roy, Sudipa, *Empiricism to Scepticism*, Rajat Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p. 26

³ Russel, *History of Western Philosophy*, Geogre Allen and unwin limited, London, 1946, edition-1, p. 556

that experience is the source of such knowledge. It is for this reason that Locke has been called the father of empiricism."⁴

Knowledge that is communicated to the mind through experience is of two kinds, i.e., sensation and reflection. Both are the sources of knowledge. Through sensation we arrive at knowledge of the sensory qualities of objects. Reflections comprehend the mind's own activities such as perception, emotion, belief, thought, reasoning, and volition. These two are the sources of different ideas.

Hence, mind's knowledge is received either through the sense organ or through the mind's action upon sensory experiences. Here it should once again be pointed out that Locke uses the term ideas to indicate that knowledge, which is directly known by the mind. In other words, ideas are the indirect or intuitive subject of direct thought reflection. "Two main kinds of ideas are to be found in the mind that is simple ideas and complex ideas."⁵

1. **Simple Ideas:** - These are the ideas that are received by the mind in the form of sensory or sensitive knowledge. They are of four kinds:-

- I) Ideas originating in a single sense organ:-
Certain simple ideas have their origin in a single sense. They are ideas of colour, form, temperature, taste, touch, smell, sound etc.
- II) Ideas originating in more than one sense organ:-
Such are the ideas of space and time, inertia or motion; they have their origin in the sense of sight and touch.
- III) Ideas originating in reflection:-
In reflection, the mind examines its own actions upon the various ideas presented to it. In such an examination it discovers the presence of such memory functions as remembering, perception and other processes such as comparison, classification, abstraction, conjunction or separation.
- IV) Ideas originating in sensation and reflection:-
Some simple ideas are created by the common functioning of sensation and reflection. Some examples of such ideas are pleasure, pain, force, existence, unity, order, or time.⁶

⁴ Dash, Sudarsan, *Modernism versus Postmodernism*, Rajat Publication, New Delhi, 2000 p. 25.

⁵ Locke, John, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, edited by John W. Yolton, Dent Publication, London, 1961, p. 34

⁶ Dutta Roy, Sudipa, *Empiricism to skepticism*, Rajat Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p. 59.

2. Complex Ideas:-

When simple ideas are put together or arranged according to certain combinations, the result is complex ideas. Locke divides the innumerable complex ideas into the following three classes.

I) Ideas of Modes:-

These are the complex ideas that are not capable of existing of their own accord, but must be supported by substances, some examples, being the ideas of triangle, obligation or murder.

Ideas of modes are of two kinds.

a) Simple Modes:-

In these kinds of ideas, varieties of only one simple idea are involved that is, without including second idea, one solitary idea is repeated in different combinations and in this manner to produce simple mode.

a) Complex Modes:-

Ideas of complex modes are formed by the combinations of numerous simple ideas. "Examples of this type are the ideas of beauty, which is a simple idea in itself. Other examples of such complex ideas are those of running, fighting, murder etc. Social customs and traditions influence the formation of ideas of complex modes."⁷

II. Ideas of Substances:

It has already been pointed out that the ideas of modes or qualities are not self-dependent, but are connected with the idea of some substance. Ideas of substances are themselves complex ideas and are made up of a mixture of numerous simple ideas. Any complex idea of substance necessarily includes the concepts of its ideas. These ideas pertain specific objects which are the basis of various qualities. Hence the idea of substance is representative of a foundation upon which the ideas of colour, weight, density and other qualities are built. It is observed that many of the ideas that we receive from sensation and reflection invariably occur in pairs or groups. From this we conclude that all these ideas pertain to the qualities of the same subject, and we presume that the qualities have existence in some specific substance, which is then given a name. In fact, without imagining the existence of substances, it is difficult to conceive how certain ideas remain together. These qualities must occur in some place, they must have a common ground. Substance is the name given to this basis or common ground. It is believed that the basis of material qualities is material and the substance of spiritual qualities must be spiritual and from this is derived the notion of God who is accepted as the ultimate basis of all substance. To the physiological substances Locke designates the term unthinking or

⁷ Maish, Y., *A Critical History of Western Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass Publisher New Delhi, 1994, edition-i, p. 280

unreflective, not material, while the conscious elements are called reflective because no definite knowledge can be obtained concerning of substances themselves. Locke accepts the possibility that the creator may have given an element of reflection even to the material substance and that we may simply be unaware of it. Hence, it would be better to call it unreflective rather than material. The ideas of infinity, pleasure, supremacy, knowledge, power and existence are conjoined to the idea of God. For example, the term apple is the name given to a substance which has specific qualities of colour, form, taste, smell, etc. "Besides, certain ideas of substance do not depend upon qualities of a substance but appear to be that the basis of a number of objects, example being the idea of a crowd or that of an army. Similarly, the world is composed of numerous substances put together. Substances, therefore, are those ideas for which grammarians use collective nouns."⁸

III. Ideas of Relation:

In addition to the idea of substances and their modifications, our minds possess other ideas that depict the different relations that exist between different objects. These are the ideas of relations. They serve to compare different objects. It is possible to establish some or the other relation between every object of the world. Examples of the ideas of relations are similarity or dissimilarity, causality, etc. The relation of cause and effect is derived from sensation as well as from reflection. With the help of our senses, we perceive that objects change, and that in the process certain qualities and substances come into existence because of certain other qualities and substances. Even in the realm of thought when one simple idea gives rise to another the former is called the cause and the latter the effect. When upon perceiving clouds we immediately think of rain, then the idea of cloud is the cause and that of rain the effect. As Locke has stated that, "Establishing the relation of cause and effect does not require that we should be aware how a particular cause creates the effect. Even in the absence of such knowledge the relation of causality can be established once it has established that a particular object has come into existence by the effort of another. Although science entails the use of numerous relations of space, time, extension, contiguity etc., yet the most important relation is that of cause and effect."⁹

Locke determines, it is clear, the truth or falsity of an idea by the degree of correspondence that it exhibits. Hence, the limits of our knowledge are limited to the sphere of our thoughts, because the

⁸ Thilly, Frank, *A History of Philosophy*, SBW Publishers, New Delhi, 2009, edition-III, p. 314.

⁹ Russel, *History of Western Philosophy*, Geogre Allen and unwin limited, London, 1946, edition-1, p. 568.

meaning of knowledge lies in the correspondence of ideas. There can be no knowledge if there are no ideas. We cannot transcend our experience. Locke therefore is an empiricist. The field of our knowledge is confined to the extent of our perception. Gold, for example, has certain distinct attributes such as the yellow colour, a particular specific gravity, brittleness, but we do not understand sufficiently the relation that each attribute appears to the other, so that even when one attribute is perceived we cannot reduce the nature of other attributes. Gold is not merely a yellow metal for the mere fact a metal being yellow does not make it gold, in the absence of the other attributes. As Locke has observed that, "Our mind is not capable of deducting the attributes of gold from the idea of gold existing in the mind, as it can deduce the qualities of triangle from the ideas of triangle that it possesses. In fact, only the self-evident when known, can satisfy the human mind but knowledge of this kind is limited only to the field of logic and mathematics. Knowledge of this nature not found in the sphere of science."¹⁰

Kinds of Knowledge

The clarity of man's knowledge depends upon the correlation between the ideas in his mind. In the process of correlation of ideas, at times the relation becomes obvious almost immediately but at other times it takes a longer period. On the basis of this Locke has divided knowledge into three kinds:

1. Intuitive Knowledge :

In this type of knowledge the mind perceives the relations between ideas without taking the assistance of other ideas. For example, we perceive almost immediately that there is difference between the ideas of black and white, circle and triangle, three and two. Knowledge of the difference between them is immediate, complete and definite, for there is no need to prove it, and in fact, it cannot be proved. "Such difference is inevitable and self-proved. Locke is of the opinion that the reality and proof of our knowledge depends upon intuitive knowledge."¹¹

2. Demonstrative Knowledge :

Sometimes we do not observe the relation of difference between two ideas and indirectly establish a relation between the two. But such a process requires the intervention of other ideas. It is for this reason that knowledge of the kind is called demonstrative. This is rational or logical knowledge and is also self-proved or indisputable but its probability is not as definite or as obvious as that of intuitive knowledge. For that

¹⁰ Locke, John, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, edited by John W. Yotton, Dent Publication, London, 1961, p. 35.

¹¹ Dutta Roy, Sudipa, *Empiricism to skepticism*, Rajat Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p. 62.

reason it is not immediately accepted by reason. Logic provides demonstrative knowledge in which a conclusion is reached only through reasoning stretching over a number of steps. Knowledge of this kind can be received through induction or deduction, but in either process the various steps have to be as definite as is the case with intuitive knowledge. If this is not so then the conclusion arrived at may not be dependable. As Dutta Roy has stated, "It is for this reason that each step in logic and mathematics is carefully examined before conclusion is reached. In actual fact, Locke treats only intuitive and demonstrative knowledge as real and definite, because other forms of knowledge cannot even be strictly said to belong to the realm of knowledge."¹²

3. Sensitive Knowledge :

Knowledge of the world is derived from the senses. External objects cannot be known either through intuition or through demonstration. Knowledge gained through the sense is called sensitive knowledge by Locke. Knowledge of this kind differs from the knowledge gained through dreams. It differs from illusion and hallucination also because it has greater veracity. "Sensitive knowledge is more than mere possibility, yet it cannot be said to be as certain and definite as either intuitive or demonstrative knowledge. Much of our own knowledge is in the form of intuitive knowledge, while God's knowledge is of a demonstrative kind, but both have veracity and are definite."¹³

The man Criticism of Locke's theory of knowledge is as under:-

1) According to Locke's theory of knowledge, our mind accepts sensation from external objects individually, that is, each sensation impresses itself upon the mind separately. They are later on converted into complex ideas by the actions of the mind. On the one hand Locke holds that experience is the source of knowledge, but on the other hand he indicates that universal and definite knowledge cannot be derived from experience naturally, how the empirical standpoint can provide philosophical knowledge. "In actual fact, as the modern psychological also believe, mere sensation in itself has no meaning in the absence of any mental activity and hence empiricism cannot provide a theory of knowledge without having recourse to rationalism."¹⁴

2) According to Wright, Locke had started out with the intention of providing a theory of knowledge, but he only succeeded in providing us

¹² Maish, Y., *A Critical History of Western Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsi Dass Publisher New Delhi, 1994, edition-i, p. 285.

¹³ Dash, Sudarsan, *Modernism versus Postmodernism*, Rajat Publication, New Delhi, 2000 p. 30.

¹⁴ Locke, John, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding*, edited by John W. Yotton, Dent Publication, London, 1961, p.38.

with a theory of ignorance. Wright makes this comment concerning Locke's theory of representations according to which our knowledge is limited merely to the archetypes, for we never know the object itself. Our ideas are only representatives of external objects not identified with them.

Conclusion:

On the basis of whole explanation it can be concluded that Locke theory of knowledge depend upon experience. Sensation and reflection are the main source of knowledge. The limits of our knowledge are limited to the sphere of our thoughts, because the meaning of knowledge lies in the correspondence of ideas. Locke's Philosophy is the true knowledge of things. He recognizes three modes of knowledge that is institutive knowledge, demonstrative knowledge and sensitive knowledge. Locke adopted a critical attitude towards knowledge and the problem that arise with them thus relate to the origin, the validity and the limits of knowledge Locke conducting his epistemological enquiry propounded a theory of knowledge known as a 'Posteriori' or empirical theory, against a 'priori' theory of the rationalists and help that all knowledge is derived from experience. He believed that –Mind is at first a tabula-rasa-a blank sheet of paper without any writing on it. The mind at first is perfectly empty and whatever knowledge it acquires that is due to the action of external things which leave impression upon it in the form of sensation.

According to Locke sense-experience is the only source of knowledge, which he divides into two kinds that is sensation and reflection. In short to we can say that Locke believes that all knowledge is comes from experience.

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VISHWA GURU SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

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Abstract: Vivekananda was not only a great person but a great founder in himself. He is the shining sun and moon in the golden history of India. Who keeps his identity like a divine gem. His contribution in the restoration of Sanatan Dharma cannot be forgotten in any way. Sanatan Dharma is one such religion of the world which has been illuminating everyone in the light of its supernatural aura and divine effulgence even after passing through various transitional periods from its birth force to modern times. Some basics of this religion are clearly seen in all religions. Swami Vivekananda, Loknayaak Tulsidas, Shankaracharya, Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Dayanand Saraswati, Rajaram Mohan Roy etc. The great sons of this religion have been born from time to time and sacrificed themselves for the upliftment of the society. The appearance of Swami Vivekananda, the personification of such a unique personality, is considered to be one of the greatest wonderful and unforgettable events in Indian history. Which has been a great achievement for all Indians.

Key words: Vedanta, Vishwa Guru, Ram Krishna Mission

Introduction: Swami Vivekananda's life was as bright as a thunderstorm and as swift as a storm. Whatever he has done in his short tenure, it will continue to give direction and speed to the flow of history of the world for many centuries to come. He was endowed with versatility and although he could be described as a great patriotic writer, thinker, orator, human lover, etc., but basically he was an omniscient Brahmavetta ascetic. His life had a double meaning. One for the world and the other for the country. Once he said that Jains, Buddha had a message for the oriental world, in the same way he had a message for the western world. If the western countries want to protect themselves from the dangers of war, competition, nuclear destruction,

economic disparity, etc., then it becomes inevitable for them to adopt the idea of the unity of the world and the divinity of man as propagated by Swami. On the other hand Swami was the harbinger of Indian Renaissance. He was the embodiment of the spiritual soul of India. Therefore, in order to know the characteristics of our national life, we will have to do a deep study of his life and speech in the coming generations.

Swami's work was national as well as international. He was a human lover and had worked tirelessly to establish peace and universal brotherhood on the spiritual basis of Vedantic integrity. As a sage of the highest order, Swami ji was entitled to the direct and inner experience of Brahman, he had collected his thoughts from the same inexhaustible source of knowledge.

Swami Vivekananda revived Hindu religion in India and propagated eternal truths abroad, due to which he is equally respected and respected everywhere in the oriental and western countries. He was born on Monday, 12 January 1863, at 6.49 am, a little after sunrise in the morning. His mother's name was Bhuvaneshwari Devi and father's name was Vishwanath Dutt. His father was an advocate of Calcutta High Court, his family name was Narendranath Dutt. That day of Makar Sankranti was an occasion of great celebration for the Hindu caste and on that day lakhs of devotees were going to offer prayers to Ganga ji. At that time, the prayers of the completely Bhagirathi male and female, flowing near their house, were resonating with the urn of worship and hymns. The Datta dynasty of Calcutta in which Narendranath was born. He was well known for his prosperity, kindness, erudition and independent attitude. His grandfather Shri Durgacharan left home with the desire to attain God only after seeing the face of his first son².

At the age of six, he was sent to study in primary school, but once he came home and uttered some of the abusive words he had learned from classmates, his parents got angry and stopped him from going to school and arranged a separate teacher for him. Some started teaching other children. Soon the development of subtle intellect and sharp memory began to be seen in Narendra. He memorized the entire Sanskrit grammar and a large portion of the Ramayana and Mahabharata with ease. At this age, he became friends with some people who were his friends for life. In 1870, when Narendra was seven years old, he was enrolled in a high school. His extraordinary intelligence soon caught the attention of his teachers and classmates. Initially, he was reluctant to learn English as it was a foreign language, but soon he adopted it eagerly. The school curriculum could make use of his very short time. Therefore, most of his infinite power was spent in external activities. In 1879, his family returned to Calcutta, saving a lot of time for the high school examinations.

¹ Baba Vinoba : Teaching Ideas, All India All-Service Association
Publication Rajghat, Kashi, December 1955

² Brahmananda Swami: Sri Ramakrishna Upadesh, Ramakrishna Math,
Ramakrishna Ashram Marg, Dhantoli, Nagpur, p.-12

Nevertheless, Narendra passed in the first class, meanwhile he had read many high-level books of English and Bengali literature, history was his favorite subject. The happy days of childhood are over. For higher education, in 1879, Narendranath enrolled in the Presidency College, Calcutta. A year later he joined the General Assembly Institution established by the Scottish General Missionary Board. This institution later became famous as the Scottish Church College. Principal of the same college and English He first heard the name of Shri Ramakrishna from the mouth of Hesty Sahib, a professor of literature. Narendra is now a senior; He had grown into an agile, athletic and attractive young man and started taking serious interest in studies.³ For the first two years he studied Western logic. Then he started studying Western philosophy and ancient and ancient history of Europe deeply, his memory power was amazing. immediate social and religious status

He was also associated with the Brahma Samaj, the most important religious movement of that period, and it had a great impact on his early life. After the defeat of the British Empire, English education started in India⁴. As a result, Hindu society came in contact with the intellectual and aggressive European culture. Coming to the address of innovative and active life stream, Hindu youths saw many faults in their society. Before the arrival of the British people, the pace of Hindu society was blocked during the Muslim rule itself, the caste system was divided into high and low, and the priests started controlling the religious life of the common people for their personal interest. Useless superstitions and inanimate customs were mixed with the powerful philosophical ideas of the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita. The zamindars started exploiting the common man and the condition of women had become pathetic. Since the observance of Muslim rule, there had been a lull in every sphere of Indian life - social, political, religious and economic. The emerging western education brought many faults of the society into sharp light. Now with the aim of taking the national life once again on the path of new life, many antiquarian and liberal reform movements emerged.

Brahmo Samaj was one of these liberal movements which attracted the educated youth of Bengal. Its founder Raja Rammohun Roy (1774-1833 AD) boycotted the rituals, idolatry and priestly system of traditional Hindu religion. And called upon the followers to worship the eternal, imperceptible and immortal God, the creator and maintainer of this world-universe. The king was endowed with great intellect, he had studied Hindu-Muslim-Christian and Buddhist scriptures deeply. He was the first Indian who understood the importance of Western intellectual means in solving various problems of Hindu society, he played a very important role in the spread of English

³ Bansal, Nareshchandra: The Chaitanya Sampradaya, Theory and Literature, Vinod Book Store, Agra, P.34

⁴ Chaturvedi, Giridhar Sharma: Vedic Science and Indian Culture Bihar National Language Council, Patna, 1960

education in India, which initially had a detrimental effect on the newly awakening Hindu consciousness, but later on the local culture. Illuminated the glorious legacy.

After Raja Rammohun Roy, he was prominent among the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. Devendra Rao Thakur (1817–1905) who was a great lover of the Upanishads and Keshavchandra Sen (1938–1884 AD) who had great attachment to Christian principles and rituals. Under his leadership, the Brahmo Samaj abandoned many practices of Hindu religion like idol worship. Mainly it was a reformist movement, with special emphasis on women's freedom, remarriage of Hindu widows, abolition of child marriage and spread of education among the masses. In the flow of western ideology, the Brahmo Samaj opposed the authenticity of the scriptures and put rationalism paramount. given importance. This movement was rationalist and liberal in nature and it emerged on the demand of time. Unlike traditional religion, it did not have its origin in the spiritual experiences of the sages. Like other contemporary youth, Narendra also came under the influence of its progressive ideas. and became its members, but later the Brahmo Samaj could not quell the intense spiritual thirst of his heart.

The prayer meetings and bhajans of Brahmo Samaj satisfied Narendra for some time, but soon it seemed that they would not give him any real spiritual experience. The goal of religion is God-realization and they wanted to fulfill this goal. For this he realized the utter necessity of taking education from a person who has seen God himself.⁵

Inspired by this distraction, he went to the human leader of Brahmo Samaj, Devendra Nath Thakur, and before he said anything, he asked- 'Sir, have you seen God?' Devendra Nath was hesitant and said- ' Son your eyes are like yogis! You should practice meditation. While explaining the Jm Magbantepavad (excursion) while discussing samadhi, it was said that such high spiritual experiences result from the purification of the mind and concentration. And especially in modern times it is very rare, they should say - 'It is only Shri Ramakrishna of Dakshineswar I have seen this high state of experience. Go to him and see, then you will be able to understand very well what is samadhi.

Lord Ramakrishna of the present era was born on 18 February 1836 in a small village called Kamarpukur in Hooghly district of Bengal. Sri Ramakrishna's childhood environment and education-initiation were completely different than that of Narendranath, the future holder and propagator of his message. His parents being Brahmins were poor, pious and engrossed in the ancient tradition. sweet This child, endowed with gorge and joy, started growing up in the rural environment of paddy fields, animals, birds and mangoes. When he was six years old, one day, seeing the flight of white herons like snow in the sky covered with black clouds, he had attained samadhi for the first time in his

⁵ Chaturvedi Prabodh: Gita-Prabodh, Gita Prabodh Publications, 16-A Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Allahabad, p.-19

life. Then while meditating on the gods and goddesses, they started having social experience again and again. The clouds of trouble that loomed large over the family as a result of his father's death deepened his spiritual feelings. In the Kali temple of Dakshineswar, as soon as he took up the work of the priest, it was as if the dam of his emotionality broke. Unaware of the intricacies of scriptures and worship practices, Sri Ramakrishna devoted his whole heart to prayer and hymns. The intense desire to see God made him forget about his food, sleep and other bodily needs.⁶ The first meeting between Shri Ram Krishna and Narendra, which took place at Dakshineswar, was very important. Sri Ramakrishna recognized his future messenger within a moment. Narendranath was completely different from the other youths who had accompanied him to Dakshineswar. He did not pay any attention to his clothes and exterior. His eyes were impressive and partly introverted. Which was a sign of his attention span.

After some time after the first meeting, Swami asked him- Maharaj, have you seen God? Received double-sided answer - Yes, I have seen God. Just as I see you guys but more clearly. God can be seen, spoken to, but who wants Him? People shed their tears for the sake of wife, children, money, wealth? But who cries because of not seeing God, if someone calls him from the heart, then he will surely give darshan. Swami was stunned. For the first time in his life, he had come across a man who could claim to have God-realization. In fact, he was hearing for the first time in his life that the vision of God is possible. He felt that Ramakrishna was speaking from the depths of his inner feelings. His words cannot be disbelieved. On that day Swami returned home confused by his duties. However, there was peace in his answer.

Swami had even more strange experiences when he came to Shri Ramakrishna for the second time. Two or four minutes after his arrival, he started moving towards them and, saying something in a vague voice, started looking at him and then suddenly placed his right foot on his body. With this touch, Narendra saw with open eyes that the walls of the room, the garden of the temple and even the whole world as the universe revolved around itself began to dissolve somewhere, even his own egoism began to merge into the void. It seemed that death was imminent. Terrified, he cried - Oh, what have you done to me? There are parents, brothers and sisters in the house.

One day, when Shri Ramakrishna became submerged, his mind kept on rising. Crossing this gross world consisting of the moon, the sun and the constellations, he gradually entered the subtle world of thoughts. Gradually, the deep idols of the deities also went backwards, then their mind crossed the boundary of the name-formal universe, and finally entered the kingdom of Akhand. Sri Ramakrishna saw seven divine sages sitting there immersed in divine knowledge. These sages seemed to have reached beyond the gods and

⁶ Devraj, Nandkishore : Indian Philosophy, Publisher Uttar Pradesh Hindi Institute, Mahatma Gandhi Marg, Lucknow Edition, 1994, p. 234

goddesses in knowledge and purity. Shri Ramakrishna's mind was astonished at his extraordinary spirituality that he saw that a part of that whole Akhand as if enriched and transformed into an infant. done. The boy very softly put his arm around the neck of a sage and started saying something in his ear. His magic touch disturbed the sage's attention. He looked at the child with his clean eyes. The child said very cheerfully, 'I am going to earth, you will also come, won't you?' The sage also kindly gave his approval and again immersed himself in his deep study. Sri Ramakrishna saw in amazement that a subtle part of the same sage descended on the earth in the form of light and entered the Datta Bhavan in Calcutta. When Sri Ramakrishna saw Narendra for the first time, he recognized him as an incarnation of the same sage. Then he also told that he himself was the god child who brought those sages down to this land.

Sri Ramakrishna was actually a product of Indian soil. Therefore, they were well acquainted with Indian culture but they were ignorant of modern ideology. On the other hand Narendra was the epitome of modernity. His mind was curious, careful and intellectually honest. Before accepting any conclusion, they used to call it the search for its individual proof.

Swami Vivekananda went to America via China, Japan and Canada and probably reached Chicago on 30 July 1893. In Canton he saw some Buddhist monasteries. His attention was specially attracted towards the industrial progress of that country of Japan and the cleanliness of the people and he was surprised like a child to see the incredible wealth and invention of the western world in Chicago. He was very disappointed to know that the General Assembly would not be held before September and no one would be made a representative in it without proper certificate. He was delusional but he surrendered himself to the divine will. They moved to Boston which was less expensive than Chicago. Introducing her in the train Kumari Cathar She was joined by Senvorn, who urged her to receive his hospitality in Woston. Through him Swami was introduced to Harvard University professor John Henry Wright, who gave him a letter of introduction to the President of the Dharma Mahasabha. In his letter, Dr. Wright said about Swami that his scholarship is more than the combined scholarship of all our learned teachers. Swami reached Chicago a few days before the start of the Synod. Unfortunately, the address of the hospitality committee, which arranged for the oriental representatives, was lost to them. After spending the night in a wagon in the goods godowns of the railway, Swami left in the morning to find someone who could help him out of this difficulty. . But getting help for a black man was not easy. Nowadays, tired of searching, dedicating himself to the will of God, he sat on the side of the road. Suddenly a woman looking like a queen came from a splendid building and helped Swami. It was Mrs. George W. Hale. Whose home was his permanent address during the time of Swami's residence in America because the Hale family had gone to his follow-up devotee forest. The Dharma Mahasabha started on 11 September 1893. The huge assembly hall of Aadh Institute was packed with about 7 thousand people

who represented the best culture of that country, representatives of every organized religion from all corners of the world were present on that stage. Never before had Swami addressed such an enlightened and huge gathering. He was terrified when his turn came, he bowed down to Saraswati, the goddess of learning. And "The American sisters and brothers began their speech with these words. Immediately there was a great gaiety from the huge audience and continued for two minutes⁷.

In the year 1899, Swami Vivekananda established Vellurmath, the present headquarters of Ramakrishna Sangh, and after forming a trusteeship from the Sanyasi class of the Sangh, the operation of the Math was handed over to them. The aim of the Math was to train the monks in spiritual practice and as far as possible in all kinds of human service work, but its area remained limited in terms of public programs. After the establishment of Bellurmath, the Ramakrishna Mission Committee ceased to exist as a separate institution. Soon there was a realization of the need to do public interest, educational, charitable and missionary work on a large scale in the Sangh. Therefore, a separate organization named Ramakrishna Mission was formed to run these works and it was registered in 1909 AD. Both sannyasis and householders could be its members. At that time its arrangement was handed over to a board of management, whose members became the trustee of Bellurmath. The branches of both Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission are now spread across India. The members of the monastery mainly practice self-study, prayer, worship and meditation, while the mission workers mainly do public welfare activities.

Swami had realized his greatness. In the last days, all his work was very meaningful and purposeful, he used to say that small trees do not get the opportunity to grow under a huge tree. On 4 July 1902 he meditated from 8 am to 11 am. This was unusual in his routine at that time. In the afternoon he went for a walk with Swami Premanand and told him about the establishment of a Veda school. Going to his room in the evening, he meditated for about an hour. Then he lay down calmly and after some time took two long breaths and got absorbed in the infinite energy. So he proved his statement to be true that I will not cross 40th year. At the time of Maha Samadhi, his age was 39 years 5 months 24 days.

He renounced his mortal body, but his words, spoken to Mr. Eric Hammond in London in 1886, still proclaim his impermanence to everyone - "I may see good in leaving this body of mine and put it in a dilapidated robe." Give up the same, but I will not be indolent. I will continue to inspire men everywhere until this world realizes that it is separate from God, and my desire is to take birth again and again and suffer thousands of sufferings, so that in the

⁷ Ishwar Sharan Das : Vivek Jyoti January-2000 to December-2000
Till Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda Ashram, Raipur

collective form of all souls, my one and only God. I can worship the one who really exists and whom I believe in.

3.2. Introduction to Vivekananda's Vedanta Philosophy

When we study philosophy, we have the knowledge that the whole world is one. Spiritual, physical, mental and vital are not separate from the world. The whole world is one from here to there; the only thing is that it appears different when viewed from different perspectives. Being a strong supporter of Vedanta philosophy, Vivekananda has emphasized that the soul is eternal and all-pervading. There is a consciousness prevailing in the whole world. In this context, the following powers and subhashitas of Swami are noteworthy.

When you consider yourself to be the body, then you are separate from the universe, when you consider yourself to be life, then you are sparks of eternal fire, when you consider yourself to be the Self, then you are the universe.

The world is the manifestation of God.

Defining God is universal because He is the only Supreme Being that we know.

God became man, man will also become God again.

Man never dies, never takes birth Takes. The body dies but it never dies.

There is only one self element in the world, everything is only attitudes.

Knowledge, devotion, yoga and karma are the four paths that lead to liberation. Everyone should follow the path for which he is qualified, but in this age, special emphasis should be laid on Karma Yoga.

Vedic religion and philosophy are the sum of differences. According to him, there is no difference between Dvaita, Vishishtdvaita and Advaita, these three are the three stages of Vedanta philosophy. Whose ultimate goal is the realization of Advaita. Not only this, but Swami ji tells all the religions and philosophies of the world to be inclined towards Advaita in the end.

The concept of education of Swami Vivekananda is completely different according to his philosophy of education. They do not consider education to mean that bookish knowledge in which information is forcefully entered into the child's mind. He has written – If education meant information, then libraries would have been the best saints of the world and encyclopedias would have become sages. He has given the concept of education in this way, "Education is to bring to light the perfection already existing in man." Unable to become powerful. External matter and external means cannot in any way allow knowledge and power to enter into him, but only help in removing the obstacles which are in the manifestation of that knowledge and power, along with the removal of those obstacles. The infinite knowledge and infinite power within him, flowing from thousands of directions, respectively, endows him with all kinds of powers other than the omniscient and world creation duties. Therefore, the specific measures to remove those obstacles should be called education.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LUCKNOW

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Education can be thought of as the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society. Every child is born without culture. Education is designed to guide them in learning, molding their behavior in the ways of maturity and guiding them towards their eventual role in the society. The missionaries were always been instrumental in building up the Indian nation since their coming to India in the field of economy, education, social, health services and many more activities. Right from the presence of Christians in India they made great impact on the society especially on the underprivileged and marginalized section of the society. Western liberal and the nationalistic ideas imparted through western education and the Christian social activities played an important role in the Indian renaissance in the 19th century. Apart from all these significant contribution in Education they played a major role in the removal of all social evils in India.

The British government followed two way approach where it showed to the world that India is a very backward country and they had to work a lot for the upliftment of it and to make them civilised. Second approach was to use the resources of the country both economically and also use human resource to make them like Britsher's or rather make fit for government. They wanted to make Indian as the follower of the British system of life. For this task missionaries played a major role. This idea was also

floated by Macaulay when he said “a class, in English, taste and intellect”. This clearly states that their aim was to make Indian to follow the British culture and education so that they can get cheap workforce and also market for their finished products. This led to the cultural imperialism that was rooted in a devaluation of the contemporary Indian culture.

¹ The Christian missionaries played a vital role in the government plan of civilizing Indian which continued till the revolt of 1857 but later the government distanced themselves from the task of civilizing Indians.

India saw remarkable growth of Christian missionary activities in the first half of the nineteenth century. Alexander Duff initiated the missionary activities by setting up English school in Calcutta in 1830's. The Christian missionaries thus started coming to Bengal to start their activities but it was not on a very regular basis. They carried out their activity of teaching the masses mainly in English language and mostly about western thoughts. They perhaps in disguise tried to convert the masses to Christianity mainly the upper caste Hindus who were more keen in learning western education. They were perhaps joining English school not to learning Christianity but to get access in the government services. The conversion process, however, began with the coming of Portuguese much before the arrival of Britisher in India.

In 1663, the young Prince of Bhusana (in Dacca district) was kidnapped by the Portuguese pirates and later on converted to Christianity by Father D’Rosario.² The Prince later came to be known by the name of Dom Antonio and succeeded in converting many Hindus. This was a darker side of the works of Christian missionaries but one cannot deny their immense contribution in the field of education in India.

Missionaries established many primary schools, which as a result improved education in India. On the model of missionary schools, modern schools were established. All of the schools were operating on a regular basis and following a predetermined curriculum. The school had fixed timing and working days and Sunday was a day off. These schools had a diverse curriculum; subjects like Grammar, History, Geography, and other subjects were covered. These missionaries also arranged for textbooks to be published. As a result of their efforts the scarcity of textbooks were removed. Prior to the coming of missionary schools all subjects were taught by only one teacher but missionaries introduced the system of subjects teachers for this they even opened teacher’s training colleges in various parts of India.

The missionaries activity progressed firstly in South India and later spread in North India since the beginning of 19th century. This was due to the devoted service of William Carey, a cobbler of humble origin, self-taught

¹ Thomas Metcalfe –Ideologies of the Raj, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995 p.34-35

² A.C.Gupta (ed.) – Studies in the Bengal Renaissance, p.448-49.

and dedicated.³ He, with the help of a few zealous missionaries including William Ward and Joshua Marshman, established the well-known Serampore Mission in 1799.⁴ The missionaries establish schools and colleges for boys and girls all in Awadh other parts of India. Apart from education they also performed certain social welfare activities like worked against the practice of sati, infanticide, rigidity of caste system and many more evil practices of the society in India. They continuously put pressure on the Government to abolish inhuman social practices and initiate programme for the welfare of the weaker and needy section of the society.

In the Charter Act of 1813, the restrictions imposed by East India Company on the activities of Christian missionaries were relaxed. This provided an opportunity for the missionaries to increase their activities in India. N Bengal, the missionaries such as Alexander Duff, a missionary from Scotland and many more missionaries which came up in England started their activities in India.⁵ This resulted in a heavy influx of missionaries from the west into India. The missionaries under Charles Grant, John Shore and William Wilberforce and many more other societies began to work for the missionary activities in Bengal and other Provinces. They started to work for the welfare of humanity apart from the work of education and conversion to Christianity. They initiated humanitarian services, basically not only with the view to serve the cause of humanity at large, but with the specific aim of showing to Indians that Christianity was a humane religion and was far superior to any other religion of India and world. Missionaries under Charles Grant worked for the promotion of education and moral and material welfare of the Indians.

The purpose of education was to bring out an individual's ability, understanding and skill to its optimum level. To attain knowledge is just not the objective of education it make a person aware to anything much more deeply, value of thinks and the practical insight of things. Education molds a person's personality to a great extent. The missionary education worked for the growth of the students morally ethically and also development of character. Thereby, developing an individual as a good citizen of the Nation. With advent of English company in India and later after getting political hold they supported missionary activities in India. So after establishment of British rule in India the Christian missionaries became pioneer of English education. They taught Indians the concept liberty, equality and rights. The growth in the English education can be seen after 1833 Charter Act when the government finally decided in favour of imparting education in English. Number of institutions came up in various parts of India. The prominent institutions that were established before 1857 revolt, this period witnessed the highest level of

³ Historical Essays, Research Publications in Social Sciences, Delhi, p.94.

⁴ J.C. Marshman – the Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Vol. II, p.51.

⁵ N.C. Perkinson – East and West, p.197

activities of missionaries, were St. Xavier's College, Calcutta (1835), the Madras Christian College (1837), Hislop College, Nagpur (1844) and St John's College in Agra (1853). The activities of the missionaries however continued even after the revolt of 1857 but they did not get the support of the government as much as before 1857 revolt. Institutions like Wilson College, Bombay, Madras Christian College, Madras, Christ Church College, Kanpur, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, St. Joseph's College, Bangalore and many more just to name a few, came up.

Christian missionary also played a major role in development of female education in India. Their major contribution was to provide education without any consideration of caste creed, wealth and sex. The school for girls was opened in 1819 in Kerala.⁶ The beginning of women education was a major breakthrough in the change in Indian social setup. Isabella Thoburn College popularly known as IT College was the first women's college opened in Lucknow. By 1947, colleges opened by Christians were around 72 and 16 colleges out of them were exclusively for girls. Surprisingly in the first year of independence all 4 schools established by Christians in 1948 were all for the girls. The major contribution of Christian missionaries in India was the wide ranging effect was that they tried to establish an egalitarian society where all are equal.

Annie Besant, however, was very critical of the role of Christian missionaries in India. She was of the view that due to the policies of British education policy, especially the activities of missionaries, was that they took away the Indians from the traditional Indian culture. She said after the entrance of missionaries in India they influenced the masses and they lost interest and pride in their own culture and tradition. It was due to the efforts of Annie Besant the focus now shifted towards Indian cultural traditional, mythology and education.

The activities of Christian missionaries also gradually came up to the region of Awadh better known as United Provinces of Awadh and Agra, later came to be known as United Province. In Awadh the system of education was indigenous in character. The Maulvis and Brahmins taught their religious texts in Madarsas and temples respectively.⁷ English was not taught in any of these schools but there is reason to believe that many wealthy and enlightened Englishmen were gradually realizing the usefulness of western education and its introduction in Awadh. Hence the Christian Missionaries had been slowly endeavoring to promote the study of western knowledge and religion in the province.

The progress of education largely depended on the support of Zamindars and charitable endowments. Thus the promotion of secular education was introduced in Lucknow only with the transfer of kingdoms to the British Dominion.⁸ The major breakthrough in the field of education was initiated by the dispatch of

⁶ George Palackspilly - "Christian Contribution to Education, Language and Literature," *Indian Christian Directory* Kottayam, 2006, p.76

⁷ Story C. A. – Persian Literature – A Biographical Survey, London 1937-39

⁸ Mayhew A. – Education of India, 1926

Home Government in 1854 popularly known as Woods Dispatch, which admitted that imparting education was one of the government's most sacred duties.⁹

The Christian Missionaries were instrumental in the growth of western education in India. So the main task of the missionary was to impart education to all the sections of the society. For this purpose various schools were opened in different parts of Awadh. Schools like St. Joseph's School, Allahabad and Kanpur, St. Mary's School Allahabad and Varanasi, St. John's School Meerut, to name a few. The quality education imparted by these missionaries led to their increase in number of students both boys and girls.¹⁰

Gradually these institutions started covering important areas and specially the capitals of its provinces. Lucknow became the capital of the United Provinces in 1784. During the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula when Lucknow became an important center of art and culture. The Christian Missionaries also got attracted towards this place and their effort were in the form of Christian Educational Institutions. Some of the important educational institutions¹¹ run by Christians in Lucknow are: La Martiniere Boys College, La Martiniere Girls College, Lucknow Christian College, Loreto Convent and Isabella Thoburn College.

La Martiniere Boys School is Lucknow's one of the oldest and important Christian Institution. Established well before independence the institution still stands tall to this day and is in its original condition.¹² This huge monumental building stands on a podium showing the later style of Lucknow architecture. The College is the only School in the world to have been awarded Royal Battle Honours for its role in the defence of Lucknow during the revolt of 1857. The school imparts education for each community of society and have a Chapel and place for worship for other religion.

This building became an institution in the year 1836. At this time there were only few schools in the city except for the Madarsas (Muslim Religious Schools). La Martiniere or La Mart as it is more popularly known was founded by Major General Claude Martin in the early 1800s and is part of the La Martiniere family of schools at Calcutta and Lyon, France. Martin had acquired a large fortune while serving the Nawab of Awadh Asaf-ud-daula and bequeathed his entire estate to establish the school. Major General Claude Martin designed and built this Constantia as his country house. But before his death he wished to change this building into an educational institution. His will outlined every minor detail of the school, from their exact location to the manner of celebrating the Annual Founder's Day.

Today this college is one of the oldest, most prestigious and most competitive institution in India. The school also have boarding facility which houses students from across different parts of India and few also from neighboring countries. The late 19th and early 20th century witnessed the emergence of the school as an exclusive favorite for the landed aristocracy of Awadh. The number of successful

⁹ Nurullah S. & Naik J.P. – A History of Education in India (1926)

¹⁰ Chatterjee S.K. – A Language and Literature of Modern India (1905)

¹¹ A Journey through Lucknow's School and College – Ian Shepherd

¹² File No. 141 of 1914 December, Education Department, : A Proceeding Nos. 18 to 22

pupils passing out from this institution increased substantially and they got high placements all over the world.¹³

This college is a part of La Martiniere Boys School. The Lucknow Girls's School was founded by Ms. Abott in 1869. It was shifted from Moti Mahal to Khurshid Manzil (House of the Sun) in 1876 and came to be known as La Martiniere Girls School. Built between 1800 and 1810 by Saadat Ali Khan for one of his favourite wives Khurshid Zadi, it consisted of a two-storied building with six turrets at regular intervals around its four entrances and drawbridges over the moat believed to be connected to the Gomti.¹⁴

Basically this college was designed for women in Purdah. Even today this college is a girls college thus continuing the tradition. This college has a great contribution in the upliftment of women in educational field. The mission of the school is to provide a holistic education to motivated young women to become confident thinkers and compassionate leaders with a sense of purpose to effect change in the world. The School played a major role in training the youth of today to become educated, disciplined and useful citizens of the world. Thousands who have passed through these schools are deeply grateful for Claude Martin's generosity and foresight. The school still plays an important role of imparting quality education of girls student of all sections of the society and also from all parts of country as it provide boarding facility in the campus.

Another Christian Institution of Lucknow which played an important role in the 20th century is the Loreto Convent College, Lucknow. This school was founded in 1872 and is under the management of the Sisters of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary usually known as the Loreto Nuns. This institute was founded in 1616 by an English woman Mary Ward (1585-1645). This is a group of Nuns who took the task of educating girls as their main work. The 18th century saw the spread in the development of the Institute in England and Europe. It was introduced into Ireland by France Teresa Ball who in 1821 established the first house of Irish Branch there. She called it Loreto, the name by which all subsequent schools spread all over the world are still known.¹⁵

The Loreto Sisters came to India in 1841 and have established schools in many parts of Northern India. Although its prime purpose was to educate Catholic girls, students of other communities were also accepted. The aim of the school is to give its pupils a sound moral education while devoting special attention to their intellectual social and physical development. Loreto Convent Intermediate College aspires to induce in its students a culture that values the capacity to work and think critically and holistically. The mission of the college is encourage students to strive for moral growth, physical fitness, and emotional development in addition to academic accomplishment; to inculcate in the students a thirst for knowledge, a feeling of social justice, and a willingness to obey lawful authority and to inspire and

¹³ Rosie Llewellyn Jones: A Fatal Friendship: The Nawabs, the Britishers and The City of Lucknow, Delhi, 1985

¹⁴ File No. 141/1914 (From the Hon'ble Mr. C.F. De' La Fosse M.A. Director of Public Instructions, United Province to Secretary to Government U.P.

¹⁵ Education reports 1859-71 Vol I, India, National Archives Selection from the Education records of the government of India.

motivate students to achieve their full potential and to use their skills in a socially responsible manner.

Another Christian Institution of Lucknow which holds prominence is the Lucknow Christian Degree College. The founder of this college was Reverend J.S. Messmore. He set up the school in Hussainabad in 1861 which was destroyed in the flood in the year 1870. The foundation stone of this building was laid on 1st May 1883. The old clock in the tower of this building makes it different in appearance from other institutions of the city thus making it unique in itself. Another remarkable feature of this building is that, like a few other institutions of Lucknow this building is more than a hundred years old and thus represents the later style of Lucknow architecture. The college was affiliated to the Calcutta University since it was established before the establishment of the University of Lucknow in 1921. In 1889 the college was allowed to start the classes at the degree level in arts and science. Teacher's Training College was established in 1932 and was named Christian Training College. In the same year Christian College of Physical Education was established.

In the field of education it could be said that Lucknow Christian Degree College is running successfully. Over the period of 150 years of its formation the college has provided to the Indian society some great alumni consisting of academicians, politicians, bureaucrats and other distinguished citizens. Important alumni of the college are Zakir Husain the great tabla maestro, Surjit Singh Barnala, Chief Minister of Punjab (1985-87), among prominent personalities of the college. The history of this great institution starts from 18th April 1870, when Isabella Thoburn opened her school with just six girls in a small room in Aminabad Bazaar. A year later the school moved to Lal Bagh. It was a beautiful building which had previously housed the treasurer of the last Nawab of Awadh.¹⁶ The Isabella Thoburn College, was established in Uttar Pradesh State with the noble goal of sharing with women the love for higher education. Quite aptly the motto of the college is "We Receive to Give."¹⁷ The demand for higher education grew and Lucknow Women's College as it was then called began functioning on 12th July 1886 with the Fine Arts and the classes were affiliated to Calcutta University. In 1894, the affiliation shifted to Allahabad University.¹⁸ Ms. Thoburn died in 1901, after an attack of Cholera and this college is named in her memory.

The demand for higher education grew further. In February 1921 Ms Florence Nicole arrived in Lucknow to take the administration of the college. In 1923, the college moved from Lal Bagh to Chand Bagh, once it was royal garden, its present site of 32 acres of land. Over the years the college has made its contribution in the field and upliftment and education of women in India. Some important alumni of the college are novelist Qurratulain Hyder (1928-2007), eminent Urdu poet Ismat Chughtai (August

¹⁶ File No. 141 of December 1914, Education Department. A proceedings No 18 to 22.

¹⁷ Qurratulain Haidar - The sound of falling leaves, Sahitya Akademi, 1994, p. 25.

¹⁸ File No 141/1914 No. F – C.O. - 1/11 –4 (4), dated 4th Amy 1914 (From the Hon'ble Mr. C. F. De La'Fosse M.A. Director of Public Instruction. United Province.

1915-1991), politician Vijayaraje Scindhia (1919-2001) was popularly known as Rajmata of Gwalior and may more.

There were many other institutions established and managed by Christians. St. Agnes' Loreto Day School was established in October 1904 by the nuns who after establishing school in Darjeeling 1872. Christ Church College opened in 1878 to impart education for both boys and girls. Lady Haig laid the foundation stone for Christ Church College on its current site on January 31, 1939. This school was only up to class VIII for many years before becoming an intermediate college in 1967. St. Francis' College was founded in 1885. It was founded with the goal of providing contemporary education to Catholic students while maintaining their "Faith, Language, Script, and Culture," but later on it was opened for all, regardless of religion, caste, or community. Cathedral School was established in the heart of the city in Hazratganj. It started as a humble beginning when in 1885 Nibert, O.F.M. Cap of Tossignano started teaching two boys Issac and Charles Claudius in the priest's house.

The paper tried to highlight the influence of Christian Missionaries on the progress of education in India. Overall, it can be concluded that, while the Christian missionaries failed in their real persuading efforts to join Christianity, but they were successful in bringing about many changes in the locals' mentality through educational activities involving religion, science and technology, gender, and caste. The missionaries activity tried to break the traditional social stratification thereby providing equal rights to each and every segment of society especially in the field of education. Evidences proves that since ancient Indian education was carried out regular although its form and structure of imparting definitely changed but it continuously continued throughout Indian history. But a remarkable change in the Indian education scenario can be seen after the coming of the missionaries. These Christian missionaries have not only carved out a role in modern culture, but have also served as guiding lights in India's modernization process.

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CONTRIBUTION OF RANA BENI MADHO SINGH IN 1857

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The innumerable contribution of Rana Beni Madho Singh and his associates in the great freedom struggle against British imperialist expansion in 1857 is an immortal saga of sacrifice which is an immortal saga of the struggle, wide spread of revolution, influence and regional. There is an attempt to underline the contribution of the general public at the level. It was the contribution of the common people at the local level that gave the revolution of 1857 the form of a decisive revolution of the Indian independence struggle.

In 1857, the foundation of the rebellion was not laid overnight, but it was the foundation stone of the atrocities committed during the reign of the East India Company in India, since the establishment of the company government. Indians had raised their voice against the company's exploitative policies in the past, which came in the form of Santhal movement, opium farmers' revolt, weavers' movement, Chero rebellion, Chakma rebellion etc. But by organizing in 1857, Indians on a large scale supported the British imperialist company. Opposed for the first time exploitation and plunder.

The East India Company had arrived in India as a trading company. Soon the company established its foothold in India and gradually got involved in imperialist expansion. The company benefited so much from India's trade that the British government also gave them a free hand in India, as a result, soon they spread their imperialist activities and found their feet in India. At the same time, the Mughal power in India was on the decline. The states were independent due to the lack of any strong central administration, there was a lack of unity, various states used to fight among themselves, taking advantage of which the company started establishing its feet by interfering in their mutual disputes. The decisive battle of Plassey on 27 June 1757 strengthened the imperialist expansion of the East India Company in India and the Company's power in India began.

In the hundred years from 1757 to 1857, their repression cycle became so harsh that the people of India, who had made all the foreign invaders who had come till now, forced them so much that they, perhaps for the first time in history, organized themselves to fight the oppressive invaders. stood up to fight.

¹ This happened for the first time in Indian history, but Aryans, Huns, Kushans, Turks, Mongols all came to India only as invaders but later all became Indians. While the British came to India, they always considered themselves superior to the Indians. No foreign invader had done as much social, economic exploitation of India as the British did, that is why the Indian people got up to organize a revolution against the British government of the East India Company. The Company's rule was so oppressive that famine and starvation became common in India, which British MP William Flarton wrote, "In the olden days the Bengal countryside was the granary of the nation. In the East this region was a treasury of finished goods, trade and wealth, but our bad governance has worked so hard that within a short span of 20 years many areas of the countryside have become deserted. The fields are not tilled. Wild bushes have grown on many land. Farmers are looted, artisans are persecuted, people have to face frequent famines and the population has started to disappear².

Confirming this in 1798, Lord Cornwallis wrote that one-third of the Company's land in India has become a forest in which only wild animals live. As a result of the organized plunder of the Company, industries were destroyed in India, agriculture and farmers declined, they destroyed silk and textile industries and handloom in a conspiratorial manner, as a result of which the common people, farmers and kings, landlords were all affected. Famine, hunger increased, the people became poor. The attitude of the company government towards the people, strict laws, indifferent attitude towards the public made the public away from them. The people were so stricken that as soon as they got the support of the revolutionaries, they even agreed to sacrifice their lives to get freedom from this painful rule.

Years of patience was broken by the beginning of the revolution in 1857. Discontent spread like a flame. The citizens of the whole country made it their goal to end the British state. This revolutionary war shook the roots of the British rule in India. He did not even dream that how many ruthless, illiterate people would rise up against powerful administrators like him. Every section of the people contributed to the struggle. But the British government always denied that this revolution was fought by the common people. From the very beginning, he presented it like a soldier's rebellion, in which there was no

¹ Pati, Biswamoy (2007). The 1857 rebellion. Oxford University Press. pp. 68–69

² Chakraborty, Kaushik (2007). Decolonising the revolt of 1857: : Colonial Order, Rebel Order, Rebel Vision, and the Shakespearean Weltanschauung of the Bengali Babus. p. 178

contribution to the common public. Not only this, as much as the British and imperialist historians wrote about the revolution in a planned manner, as much as they erased the struggles of Indians and the contributions of the revolutionaries. Presenting this first freedom struggle of Indians as a sporadic military rebellion, eradicating the heroic stories and struggle of the people and revolutionaries portrays the imperialist, exploitative mentality.³

After the rebellion, it was officially accepted that the Bengal Native Army revolted, which resulted in the deterioration of the judicial system. The general public also took advantage of the situation and participated in the rebellion for the sake of their personal interests, due to which the rebellion became widespread. Sensitive observers keeping an eye on the situation in England also criticized the government for calling the conflict on such a large scale only a military rebellion. Put a question mark. On 5 September 1857, Ernest Jones wrote that, "There should be only one opinion in the whole of Europe about the Indian rebellion. It is one of the most just, gentle and necessary rebellions that have been attempted in the world. The Indians revolted against the British rule. Only the sepoys did not revolt, it was by no means a mere sepoy mutiny. It was a combined form of national declaration, religious extremism and soldiers' grievances against the British who occupied India. Indigenous kings, nawabs and native soldiers joined it. The Muslims and the Hindus, forgetting their old religious hatred, joined hands against the Christians. Hate and terror were the motivators of that great rebel movement. A quarrel over a greased cartridge was like a spark that accidentally ignited all the gunpowder. If this spark had not ignited, someone else would have done this work. When he reached the banks of the Jamuna shining in the morning light without any hindrance, he inadvertently captured a critical moment in history and declared the Sepoy Mutiny as a national And turned it into a religious war." Dalhousie and Karl Marx were also in favor of the idea that it was completely unfair to call such widespread protest a military rebellion. He raised the question whether the rebellion in India was a national rebellion.⁴

But many British historians also presented this struggle as a soldier's rebellion. According to him it was a military coup and nothing more. This rebellion was a military uprising against the established authority. Innes wrote that 'any such military uprising could naturally generate a great deal of civilian turmoil and garner support outside the military.' While William Muir wrote that it was necessarily a military coup, the government and its There was a struggle between the soldiers.

With the help of all these and other British historians and officers, the British government tried its best to save its honor by portraying this important event in Indian history as a minor military rebellion and pushing it to the margins.

³ Mukherjee, Rudrangshu (2002). *Awadh in Revolt, 1857-1858: A Study of Popular Resistance*. Permanent Black. p. 130

⁴ Stokes, Eric (1978). *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion*. Cambridge University Press. p. 133

The purpose of these people was to prove that the cause of this widespread rebellion was not the policies and officers of the Company government. This rebellion was neither widespread nor against the British rule. It was spread only by some selfish Indians taking advantage of the dissatisfaction of the soldiers and was confined to the soldiers. These imperialist historians either neglected the contribution of the common people or considered it insignificant as the result of selfishness of some selfish people.

The second opinion which was propounded was that it was a feudal uprising. According to this view, the kings, princes, zamindars displaced from their property in the Company rule, by taking advantage of the revolt of the soldiers, not only revolted themselves to get back their places, lands, but also by instigating the local people and made them rebels. The objective of the freedom struggle of Rana Beni Madho Singh, the hero of the present research topic, who was a talukdar of Baiswara region of Awadh, was also tried to be presented by the British officials as a struggle to get back the lost lands by land acquisition. Rana's invaluable contribution was described as a struggle not for the country, but for the state, but for personal interest.

While historians like Kay, Charlesball and Meleson considered 1857 to be a conspiracy by rebels to expel the British from India, Alexander Duff portrayed it as a Muslim conspiracy.

Indian historians like Dr. SN Sen and Ishwari Prasad described it as a religious war. According to Dr. Sen, 'The struggle that began for religion ended in the form of freedom struggle.' Initially, only a few Indian historians have accepted it as India's first freedom struggle. Dr. Tarachandra considered it as a political movement whose aim was the end of foreign power from India. But according to RC Majumdar among Indian historians, the rebellion was a military rebellion and its nature was not national because at that time there was neither the concept of a nation nor of nationality in India. He did not accept the struggle of 1857 as a freedom struggle. Nor do they accept the notion of a planned revolution given by K, Melson. According to Dr. Tarachandra, this was 'the last attempt of the medieval system to save itself and to regain the lost dignity.' According to Majumdar and Tarachandra, it was a war fought by the kings for feudal rights and not for the national interest. According to Dr. Majumdar, India was neither a nation, nor was this struggle a nationalist one. Participation in this revolution was done for their own personal interests. Dr. Hardikar wrote in reference to Majumdar's thoughts, 'These historians do not see any definite plan, organization and program behind this revolution, there is no fault of these great pundits, the fault is the material on the basis of which they composed their texts. Both these historians (Majumdar and Sen) could not free themselves from the trap of government records. They could get an idea of the revolutionaries' plans and programs only when these revolutionaries' Shiva This was only possible while entering the world, when he would have discovered and brought to light the material that sheds light on the so far underground and unknown revolution side. But instead of doing so, he accepted government records and British writers as his guide.

The nature of the revolution was also not the same in the whole region, it was limited to the soldiers, it became a mass movement and in some places it was reduced to the form of feudal rebellion. Indian writers kept their stand about the revolution very little before independence. For the first time, Syed Ahmed Khan and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar gave their views in the twentieth century. Savarkar saw in this struggle as India's first freedom struggle. This book of Savarkar was banned by the British Government.

While some historians rejected the planned revolution outright, including writers like Thomas and Metcalf, some British historians like Melson presented the Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah of Faizabad and Nana Saheb, Rani Jhansi etc. as the main conspirators and described the rebellion as pre-planned. Apart from Melson, Forrest and Kay were also supporters of this ideology. According to him, Nana Saheb was angry about not getting the pension, that is why he planned and implemented the revolution. Nana not only traveled to different places but also tried to collect various kings through correspondence. According to him, Nana Saheb also wrote a letter to the Emperor of France, Napoleon III, so the rebellion was planned, it was not just a military disturbance but a planned effort of various kings, to regain their power.

Calling the revolution only a soldier's rebellion, a Hindu-Muslim conspiracy or a war for the selfishness of the kings, this is also the result of English diplomacy and conspiracy, which kept historians confused about the nature of this revolution for a long time. Keeping aside the invaluable contribution of the revolutionaries, in the discussion of the nature of revolution for a long time, perhaps valuable facts, evidence, evidences went away from us, which if they were tested in time, then the question of debate on the nature of revolution would not have arisen. Many revolutionaries, warriors could not find a place in the pages of history because no one recorded their contribution. English writers wrote exaggerated tales of the bravery of British soldiers, but their writings on the Indian side are either silent or far from the truth. But it is not easy to cover up reality, it does come to the fore. Although there is little evidence of the contribution of common people in our written history, there are tales of bravery of Indians in folk songs, folk tales, which are prevalent in the area even after 164 years. When we look at the events of 1857 not only through diaries, memoirs and records of English officers, but also by keeping them relative to oral traditions, then all this debate seems to us to be meaningless. Oral traditions are our community record, we cannot ignore them and when our folk songs, aalha, tales narrate the tales of heroism of local level heroes, why should we get wasted in the debate whether the revolution was limited to soldiers or not? We have the answer ourselves, so this concept of determining the nature of revolution proves to be wrong.

Despite this, till 1957, most of the Indian writers confined themselves to this question. Only Shashi Bhushan Chaudhary accepted 1857 as a mass movement. In fact, if it is said that it was a mass movement in which the people gave full cooperation to their leading leaders. Organized movement has a plan and there is no doubt that the revolution of 1857 was the result of a pre-

planned and well organized plan. In which the regional people under the leadership of Nana Saheb participated under the leadership of their leaders. The hero of our research, Rana Beni Madho Singh was also in contact with leaders like Nana Saheb, Ahmaullah Shah, Taty Tope, which is confirmed by their mutual letters. If the Rana was leading at the local level, there was no doubt that he was part of a larger plan. The Rana continued the struggle for a long time in the Baiswara area and was always successful in his plans. They would use guerrilla guerrilla techniques and dodge in the event of defeat. Of course, he had the support and companionship of other leaders, according to which he would have fought the British with big armies.

Although it is true that we do not find any evidence written by revolutionary leaders where we can get to know the outline of the rebellion, but these leaders were in contact with each other. It is also possible that the British government may have erased the evidence of the revolution so that they could prove that this revolution was unplanned and only a military rebellion.⁵

Consensus on any subject is a difficult task, but this dissertation is in support of the concept that it was a mass movement and the leadership of the revolution was in the hands of those who were determined to restore Indian power by making India independent from British rule. Talukdar Nawabi like Rana Beni Madho fought for the restoration of power and for the end of British rule and not only for personal interests.

The revolution of 1857 started from Meerut on 10 May 1857 when soldiers revolted on the question of fat cartridges and killed British officers. Soon the flames of revolution flared up. The aim of the revolutionary was the restoration of Mughal power in Delhi. They wanted to make Bahadur Shah Zafar the emperor of India. Soon the revolution spread all over North India. In Awadh, the spread of the revolution was widespread. Here the general public actively participated in the revolution. The princely states, farmers fought from Khurpi, Kudali. The regional people did not cooperate with the British officials in any way. The Company government also started to fear that their empire was nearing its end, but as fast as the rebellion spread, it was ended in a short period of only one and a half years. The awakening brought by the rebellion in such a short period and the arduous task of shaking the roots of the British government and the invaluable contribution made by the revolutionaries made this revolution an important event in Indian history.

The revolution, however, could not succeed in its objective. Beginning in May 1857 and by December 1858, the British succeeded in thwarting the efforts of all the revolutionaries. But other revolutions that took place in the 19th century, including the revolutions of Central Europe of 1848, the Taiping Revolution of China, all these revolutions could not achieve their immediate objective, but they all emerged on a wider level, awakened the public and made their own contribution. It was successful in shaking the roots of its

⁵ Ram Krishna Gupta (1985), Revenue history of Kanpur, Kanpur, introduction

governments. It is also true that soon they were repressed harshly, but in the history of our country, all these revolutions are famous as a decisive revolution which gave a new direction to the history of the country. All these rebellions awakened the public and showed a new path.

Swami Bhakti had settled in the life of the region, just as Rana Beni Madhav remained devoted to Birjiskadra and Begum, similarly the people of his area also supported him shoulder to shoulder with him. Due to the acquisition of Awadh by the Company, the farmers were brought about in the form of a change in the situation and social, economic, political reasons, the policies of the Company, military reasons, due to which discontent prevailed among the people and the people adopted revolutionary attitude. As a result of this study, it has been presented in this book that the company's policy deficiencies, prejudiced mentality towards Indian society and culture were no less responsible for the revolution. The manner in which the company government attacked the talukdari system is a reflection of this mentality. Company officials believed that a talukdar was a person who, despite not having land ownership, lived like a king in a rural area and exploited the rural people. After the acquisition in Awadh, an attempt was made to destroy it by directly attacking the talukdari system. As a result, both the talukdars and the cultivators turned against them. The bitter relations between the Company government and the talukdars provoked a revolution in the talukdari areas.

while highlighting the personality and works of Rana Beni Madhav Singh, his bravery, courage, fearless personality has been described. Talukdars played an important role in the revolt of 1857. Rana Beni Madho Singh was one of the foremost leaders of the Talukdari army in the Baiswara region. He himself and along with other talukdars of the region were fighting for the re-establishment of Nawab Shahi in Awadh. To achieve this objective, he and the English armies faced many times from 1857-1858. Rana was striving for independence along with the leading leaders of Awadh. He had also prepared a large army and fought at different places with his army as per the requirement. It was the tactics and efficient leadership of the Rana that the revolution in the Baiswara region in Awadh lasted for the longest time. The British officials themselves accepted that as long as the revolutionary activities continue in Baiswara region, it is not possible to establish peace in Awadh. This is the reason that even after recapturing Lucknow by the British, a plan was made to free the Baiswara area from the revolutionaries by making a strategy. On the one hand there was a well-armed British army, which lacked neither money nor experienced generals, on the other hand the armless, inexperienced Indian army, which was mainly equipped with an army of farmers and laborers, it was a man of skillful leadership and tactics like Beni Madho. It was only possible for him that with this army he not only faced the world's leading army but he was also defeated. Rana was not only brave but also clever. He knew that his existence was necessary to keep the flame of revolution alive, so he made every effort not to fall into the hands of his enemies. His effort was

successful from beginning to end. The British army failed to capture Rana Beni Madhav even after several attempts.

There are also many controversies regarding the death of Rana Beni Madho. According to the British government, he died in Nepal itself. But according to Indian sources, Rana returned in the guise of a monk and he also died in India. Thus, in the present research book, we have tried as much as possible to analyze the contribution of Rana Bani Madho in the freedom struggle. The short period of Rana's struggle, from June 1856 to January 1859, has tried to record as much as possible each of the events. An attempt has been made to portray the history writing of Rana's struggle impartially and honestly, being free from the shackles of caste or class across the country. This history is the history of the struggle of our India. Writing on the subject of a brave warrior like Rana definitely gives a feeling of pride and tells how glorious our history is. The revolution ended in just one and a half years. The study of Rana's contribution is also of this short duration. But even in this short period, Rana made an important contribution. We have tried to record each event of this important contribution in a definite chronological order. This is a meaningful way of bringing to the fore the events of the entire history of such an important contribution to this important event of Indian history. There is effort. In the struggle for independence, the lives of countless warriors were sacrificed. It would be a true tribute to give due respect to the valor of these heroes.⁶

A lot has been written about the freedom struggle of 1857 but history is present and every person writes history anew. The history of 1857 remained the history of the stories written by the British for a long time. So it is the duty of every Indian to keep his side on this history till the English propaganda history ends. Until the question related to the nature of the revolution of 1857 becomes irrelevant and the names of the heroes who laid down their lives in the revolution do not reach the people. To fulfill this objective, it is an effort that the contribution of Rana can be fully portrayed and his incomparable contribution can make Indians proud. Many historians, writers have made invaluable contribution in bringing forth the side of the glorious history of India with their invaluable contribution. Today, when more than 160 years have passed since these events, then only the subtlest studies on this subject have remained relevant. For this reason, the representation of contribution in the freedom struggle of the regional history is a very important topic. Only the study and analysis of the events of regional history can introduce us to the real nature of the revolution, the reason for success and failure. That is why the contribution of the local people in the revolution, the contribution of the local leaders, the talukdars and the regional events are relevant.

⁶ Gandhi, Rajmohan (1999). *Revenge and Reconciliation understanding south indian history*. Penguin books. p. 133

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VAISHNAVISM AND ITS ROLE IN INDIAN CULTURE: A FEMINIST UNDERSTANDING

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A major tradition within Hinduism believes in the avatar doctrine, divine incarnations of Vishnu are held in utmost reverence. Be it in the form of Ram, Krishna, Narayana, Kalki, Hari, Vithoba, Kesava, Madhava, Govinda, Sri Nathji and Jagannath. From what started as Bhagavatism coalesced gradually into a predominantly Shri Ram oriented movement, with many sampradayas in its fold ranging from Madhvacharya's Dvaita school to Ramanujan's Vishisht Advaita school. The evolution of Vaishnavism has had a massive impact on how the society as a structure organically developed embracing innovative ideas of spirituality, culture, gender. This paper shall attempt to briefly trace the same while attempting to illuminate on a feminist perspective to understand the gendered notions of devotion that Vaishnavism has inculcated. There is an attempt to understand the gendered nuances of the complex narrative of Vaishnavism to understand how feminist agency has impacted and been impacted by the narratives around Vaishnavism. An attempt has been made to highlight how the Vaishnava culture has impacted the intersectionality of gender, caste identities and emancipation not just in the past but in modern day India as well. Vaishnavism to neo-Vaishnavism-Tracing the latent gendered asymmetry. Vaishnavism centers around a spiritual and religious reverence for Lord Vishnu and later his various incarnations in the human world. The ancient emergence of Vaishnavism is unclear, the evidence inconsistent and scanty. However, according to a recent research (Roshen Dalal, 2010, pp. 146–147)., the origins may be in Vedic deity Bhaga, who gave rise to Bhagavatism. According to Preciado-Solís, the Vedic deities Nara and Narayana form one of the Vedic roots of Vaishnavism.

According to Dandekar, Vaishnavism may have emerged from merger of several ancient theistic traditions, where the various deities were integrated as different avatars of the same God. In Dandekar theory, Vaishnavism emerged at the end of the Vedic period, closely before the second urbanization of northern India, in the 7th to 4th century BCE¹. Vasudeva and Krishna, "the deified tribal hero and religious leader of the Yadavas," gained prominence, merged into Bhagavan Vasudeva-Krishna, due to the close relation between the Vrsnis and the Yadavas. This was followed by a merger with the cult of Gopala-Krishna of the cowherd community of the Abhiras at the 4th century CE. The character of Gopala Krishna is often considered to be non-Vedic. According to Dandekar, such mergers consolidated the position of Krishnaism between the heterodox sramana movement and the orthodox Vedic religion. The "Greater Krishnaism", states Dandekar, then merged with the Rigvedic Vishnu. Syncretism of various traditions and Vedism resulted in Vaishnavism. At this stage that Vishnu of the Rig Veda was assimilated into non-Vedic Krishnaism and became the equivalent of the Supreme God. The appearance of Krishna as one of the Avatars of Vishnu dates to the period of the Sanskrit epics in the early centuries CE. The Bhagavad Gita was incorporated into the Mahabharata as a key text for Krishnaism thus paving the way to be acceptable to the orthodox sections of the society. Finally, the Narayana-cult was also included, which further brahmanized Vaishnavism. The NaraNarayana cult may have originated in Badari, a northern ridge of the Hindu Kush, and absorbed into the Vedic orthodoxy as Purusa Narayana. Purusa Narayana may have later been turned into Arjuna and Krishna. This complex history is reflected in the two main historical denominations of Vaishnavism. The Bhagavats, worship Vasudeva-Krsna, and are followers of Brahminic Vaishnavism, while the Pacaratrins regard Narayana as their founder, and are followers of Tantric Vaishnavism. Vaishnavism has often been understood under the bhakti movement broadly whose main focus was upon religion. However, changes in religious practices percolated in socio economic lives of the society as well. Opposing caste, class, gender hierarchies Vaishnavism subtly evolved into neoVaishnavism with the passage of time. Neo Vaishnavism witnessed new and evolved notions of caste, gender and culture in the Indian society. Neo-Vaishnavism and notions of caste and gender The rituals of Neo-Vaishnavism are centered around 'Satra', the prayer house. The word had originated from the Sanskrit word 'Satra', which means a sacrifice lasting from a few days to a year or more. 'Satra' is a complex, which is the center of religious activity of Neo-Vaishnavism. The prayer hall with a religious scripture is called 'Kirtan Ghar.' 'Kirtan Ghar' does not have an idol. Only religious scripture like 'Dasama' of Sankardeva is kept in the 'Kirtan Ghar.' There are four important

¹ Roshen Dalal. (2010). The Religions of India: A Concise Guide to Nine Major Faiths By Roshen Dalal Khangai

scriptures of Neo-Vaishnavism. 'Dasama' (a commentary on the tenth chapter of Bhagavata) and 'Kirtana-ghosa' of Sankardeva and 'Nama-ghosa' and 'Bhakti-ratnavali' of Madhavadeva. Some of the 'Satras' are having idols, which are kept in a separate room adjacent to the 'Kirtan Ghar'. Around the 'Kirtan Ghars' celibate 'Kavaliyas' reside. They devote themselves to the devotion of the satra. While one peruses through Vaishnav ideals it becomes crucial to acknowledge the impact that Vedic Hinduism and the then present milieu had on notions of women and their position within the realms of Vaishnavism. For instance, Women are allowed in the 'Satra' during daytime only. They are not allowed to become 'Kavaliya' i.e., monk. The Charit Puthis also illuminate how there was no willingness of part of Vaishnava Gurus to open any doors in the future either, for women. Furthermore, in the Vaishnava text Kirtana, Shankaradeva himself mentions how one must stay clear of wealth and women. Neo Vaishnavism repudiated notions of caste yet there was a subtle nod to the existing socio caste hierarchies nonetheless (Khangai,2009). Some Bhakti saints for example held high reverence about the Brahmins, Tulsidas, whose 'Ramchritmanasa' has had a profound influence on the North India says, "Pujiya Bipra Shil Guna Hina, Shudra na Guna Gyan Pravina" (Ramcharitmanas, Aryankand) (A Brahmin without character and qualities should be worshipped, but not a Shudra with all the good qualities and knowledge) However, In the domain of religion, the Bhakti saints rejected the discrimination based on the castes, like Madhabdeva says, "The impurest of all castes attains salvation, With but the utterance of lord Rama's name." This is remarkably similar to what Ramananda preached in the North India, "Jat Pat na Puche Koi Hari Ko Bhaje so Hari Ka Hoi" (Hindi) (Nobody should inquire about the caste, anyone who worship Hari, will be accepted by Hari) Similarly, there is a visible preaching of transcending class barriers to uphold social harmony yet various nuances of class as a latent yet important institution. For example, there are instances in Bhakti stories where even Gods are surprised about an economically weaker section women being able to recite shlokas fluently. Thus, revealing a sly assumption of class even playing a role in one's spiritual prowess. Further, one only must carry out a perusal through the Vratha kathas of states like Odisha where Vaishnav tradition and the worship of Lord Jagannath has dominated the cultural scene even till date. Famous folk stories include Lord Lakshmi being banished from the residence of her husband Lord Jagannath owing to her visiting a "Chandalini" a Dalit devotee. The notion of "pollution of one's soul" is talked about here in this context. But then again while this story ends with Lord Jagannath himself acknowledging his mistake, but it still postulates the idea of Femininity within the subtly demarcated notions of an obedient and good wife. The various vrata katha stories in various parts of India further highlight these very intersectional stories of caste and gender but one cannot ignore the status quo that these theorists nonetheless wished to uphold whilst advocating change under the notion of Vaishnavism. Feminist agency and the narrative of Vaishnavism There have been evidence showing how the very idea of

salvation through devotion broadened the horizon for women post the Vaishnav culture (Desai and Krishnaraj,1987). But examining that on a fundamental level reveals otherwise. One witnesses how there is a contrast made between the idea of man versus woman, Monks versus householders and celibacy versus sexually assertive. While men have been bestowed the former categories, it is the women who bear the latter. Thus, women are in a way being confined to the background of domesticity. Under the garb of their over sexual nature their agency and spirituality are being restricted to the domestic circle. The devotional attitude in Vaishnavism is thus gendered. This is often seen in terms of how there is a paucity of women's own writings being employed in Vaishnavism to locate this gendered self. One might indeed come across hagiographical literature and oral narratives by women Vaishnav saints but then again there is a lack of congruence between the two. Stories of women do infact exist within the Vaishnava tradition but even then, their importance is restricted to merely being a part of anecdotal conversations. During the medieval period Assam was inhabited by the caste Hindus and various tribal communities². Although the Hindu communities were there from the initial period but after the emergence of bhakti movement the process of Hinduization started rapidly. The Vaishnava movement of Assam brought about diverse ethnic groups living in Brahmaputra valley viz. Chutiya, Moran, Ahom, Deori, Mishing and the caste Hindus including the Brahmanas into its fold. Vaishnavism opened new vistas for these tribes for a better upward social standing after this conversion. Else it was not unusual for new castes to be integrated into the varna system only to be at the most subordinate level in the same hierarchy. The social status of the backward section improved to a considerable extent except the womenfolk. In this process of amalgamation, the position of the women of matrilineal tribes worsened as compared to their previous status. Their freedom got confined to the household activities. Thus, a gradual crystallization of stereotypical gender imagery in conformity with Brahmanical culture took place, undermining the image prevalent in co-existing egalitarian tribal matrilineal communities, resulting in a lower status for women in the society. The Indic category of renunciation is constructed in radical opposition to that of householder/ worldly life (samsara), by actors and analysts alike. Yet, as an institution, renunciation is also traditionally modelled on householder structures. It is created through an idiom of 'birth' into patriline, albeit generated through 'guru' rather than 'blood' lineages. These contrary facets of renunciation feature in the unusual Bengali Vaishnava phenomenon of joint renunciation of a female male pair. On the one hand joint renunciation is a matter of death to one (householder) patriline and of birth into another (renouncer) patriline. In this sense it is a male-oriented phenomenon, replicating householder structures. On the other hand, Vaishnava renouncers also construct renunciation in opposition to householder

1. ² Ravi.(2019). Neo-Vaishnavism and social harmony in Assam

life, that is, in terms of liminality and transcendence of categories. These characteristics are in turn identified as 'female' and are associated with a high valuation of women. Renunciation has often been considered a conservative or marginal force in South Asian society, although a few scholars have argued for its radical potential among subaltern groups. Studies of female renouncers have shown that the price of greater autonomy conferred by renunciation is often the virtual denial of 'womanhood' itself (Openshaw,2007). There is thus a shift in balance, in which renunciation is feminized in significant respects, with potentially liberating results for women. This suggests indigenous sources for ideas of gender equality or even female superiority, normally assumed to be of 'Western' provenance. This further points to the gendered self that is deeply ingrained in the Vaishnav practices that has consciously pushed women to the margins of the Vaishnava discourse. Tradition of any civilization gets reinterpreted with time so survive in the face of any changes or opposition. For example, the character of Sita in Valmiki Ramayana was quite different from that of Tulsi Das' Ramayana who depicted her as a submissive yet the ideal woman who should act as a testimony and model as to how pious and chaste women should uphold their character. Valmiki Ramayana witnesses Sita questioning the second Agni Pariksha and showing signs of defiance if needed. For example going to the forest with Ram when he had asked her to stay in Ayodhya. Indeed, Vaishnav stories have advocated for a challenge to patriarchy but simultaneously they emerge with the maryada of modesty, respect and obedience to the husband, the father, and the notions of the maryada as defined by these male members. In the medieval period the realm of media comprised of diverse communicative means such as music, play, literature, visual arts etc. Many of these means were utilized by Vaishnava saints to widely let their ideas be known, for example Shankaradeva's plays called Ankiya Nat and Bhaona.³ In these plays, women were excluded from performing and roles of women were played by clean shaven men. It is also seen that in the music of these plays, raginis or female melodies are absent. The roles assigned to female characters were often simplistic, submissive, and secondary to their male counterparts. Thus, a gradual crystallization of stereotypical gender imagery in conformity with Brahmanical culture took place, undermining the image prevalent in co-existing egalitarian tribal matrilineal communities, resulting in a lower status for women in the society (Saharia,2016). Concluding remarks- Reevaluation of Vaishnav ideals in the context of 21st century Indian culture There are notions of rigidity in the Vaishnav thought that the present-day culture of India might not be able to accommodate (Khangai,2012). For example, Sankardeva's standpoint seems to be rigid as he rejects the worship of any Gods other than Narayana. Madhava deva, who became the head of the Neo-Vaishnavism after

³ Jeanne Openshaw (2007) Renunciation feminised? Joint renunciation of female-male pairs in Bengali Vaishnavism, Religion, 319-332

Shankardeva says in his 'Nama Ghosha', which is a collection of his devotional poetry, says, "Those vile and foolish people who try. To compare Thee, Krsna The crowned head of all Gods, with other Gods, Suffer in hell" There is in general a domination by fatalist and escapist tendencies. It proclaims that everything happens according to the will of the God and human endeavor are futile. These tendencies are having advantage and disadvantage both. Advantage is that it helps us to cope up with the drudgery of the life. But the meek submission also adversely affects the industrious spirit. Bhakti movement had not attempted to create rational thinking and the religion of the masses continued to be the religion of superstitious beliefs, only the rituals had become simpler and less violent due to the influence of Neo-Vaishnavism. The simple, innocent, and unquestionable faith in God Narayana that Neo-Vaishnavism had tried to popularize may not appeal to the modern rational mind. In their attempt to popularize Bhakti, the Saints had many times gone overboard. Like there is a story of Ajamil, the Brahmin in the Bhagavata. The story had also found its place in the 'Bhakti Ratnavali' of Madhabdeva.⁴ As the story goes, the Brahmin Ajamil had committed all the possible sins during his life. At the time of his death, he called out to his son 'Narayana, Narayana' as his son was named Narayana. The lord Narayana heard this and came running and emancipated him. Does this indicate that only by mechanical repetition of the name of the God without any devotional feelings is enough? There are many things like this in Bhakti literature which may provide temporary solace to the person who had committed sins, but it may also percolate the idea that whatever you do good or bad does not really matter, so long you take the name of the God. The spread of this idea may encourage the people to be hypocritical, like the traditional Hindi saying goes, "Muh me Ram, Bagal me Churi" (Name of the Rama on the lips, but dagger hidden in the armpit) The idea also does not stand the scrutiny of rationality. The impact of Vaishnav culture in modern day Indian culture, its spirituality and religion are undeniable. It gave birth to various narratives, stories, art forms that inculcated a reconstruction of society on lines of harmony and spirituality. It indeed played a role in redefining lines of gender, class, and caste. While we may critique few aspects of the same, we must remember that it is in the exigencies of the time of that specific time that these notions emerged. Which one cannot fail to appreciate These ideas have indeed evolved from the point in past till today. It is the base of these changes that Vaishnavism provided in the form of ideas which were ahead of its time. Having said that one must be aware of the blanket acceptance of Vaishnava ideas being completely emancipatory for women, and other weaker sections. The gendered notion of spirituality that Vaishnavism has upheld warrants our close attention as well.

⁴ Ravi Khangai. (2012). Neo-Vaishnavism and Social harmony in Assam. Concept of God and Religion

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BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

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Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was born on 23rd March, 1910 in Akbarpur town of Faizabad district. He belonged to the Marwari Vaishya family, but due to the business of iron goods by his ancestors; his family members started writing the surname Lohia. He was the only son of his father Hira Lal Lohia, he was deprived of maternal happiness at the age of two and a half years, so his early upbringing was done by his grandmother. Saryu Devi, a nine of the family, also helped her grandmother in her upbringing. Father Hira Lal could pay little attention in this work because he had taken a vow of service to the nation and he used to spend most of the time in the programs of Congress and national movements. Heera Lal ji also had a close relationship with Mahatma Gandhi. His father and his childhood environment had a great influence on Dr. Lohia's mind. Its environment was free from caste discrimination. People of all castes used to come and go in the family. Due to all these reasons, from the very beginning, the feeling of love for patriotism, attachment to Indianness, affection towards the poor and low class people, hatred towards rigid customs had developed. Vigilance towards injustice and the desire to protest was ingrained in him from the very beginning¹.

At the age of 5, his name was written in the Tandon Pathshala of Akbarpur. Due to his sharp intelligence, he had become a favorite of his teachers and relatives in the very beginning, he studied here till the fourth grade. In the fifth grade he was admitted to Visheshwar Nath High School, Akbarpur. Here he used to participate a lot in sports. It was here that he learned to play the alguza.

¹ K. Gopinath Pillai (1994). Political Philosophy of Rammanohar Lohia: Alternative Development Perceptions. Deep & Deep Publications. p. 68.
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Lohia always came first in his classes, he passed the high school examination from Marwari School, Bombay in 1925. Here he practiced a lot in speaking English and giving good speeches in debate competition. He passed in first class in high school. He went to Kashi University, Banaras to study Inter. There he got a lot of respect from his teachers because of his acumen, scholarship, reasoned speech style, cool, happy, personality. At such a young age, he had raised his voice for the writing of true history. In 1927, he passed the Inter. He went to Vidyasagar College, Calcutta, which was considered the center of national sentiment in those days, to do B.A. In 1929, you passed the BA examination from there. In 1929, with the help of Agrawal Sabha of Bombay, Lohia went to England for higher education. He did not find the environment there conducive to his independent nature. They did not like to study or stay in such a country, which is making their motherland a slave. Therefore, he thought it appropriate to go to Berlin for studies, according to the rules, Lohiyachose the then famous scholar economist Berner Joumbart as his professor director. Prof. Joumbart was very pleased to see Lohia ji's loyalty to his work. Lohia did his Ph.D. from there on the subject of 'Salt and Satyagraha' in 1932. His thesis is no longer available when he returned home with a doctorate degree in 1933².

Lohia was interested in participating in politics since childhood. In this regard, he was influenced by his father Hira Lal. For this, both hereditary character and environment inspired him. In 1918, Hira Lal took him to the Ahmedabad Congress session where he saw all the big leaders of that time. When Lokmanya Tilak died in August 1920, he inspired the students of the school to go on strike and himself led this work. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak, Gandhi entered Indian politics. On the call of Gandhi, young Lohia also gave up studies for a year. In 1924, he accompanied his father to the "Gaya Congress" session. In 1926, he also joined the Gauhati Congress. Wearing khadi clothes was considered a symbol of rebellion in those days, but Lohiyastill started wearing khadi, he was the first non-Bengali youth, who achieved a special place in Bengal politics during the student life of Calcutta. In 1928 he attended the Calcutta Congress session. In the same year, he also became a prominent worker of the All India Congress Youth Organization. He led the students in the movements for the boycott of the Simon Commission in those days. On the same day, he was nominated as a member of the election committee of the youth conference.

Even during his education period in Berlin, he did not shy away from participating in politics. In those days Hitler and Nazism were rising in Germany. The feeling of superiority of the species prevailed there. The German socialists were failing to stop the growing influence of Nazism, it was

² Ram Manohar Lohia as a Doctoral Student in Berlin (1929–1933)". The Institute of Asian and African Studies (IAAW). Humboldt University of Berlin. 2015.

studied closely by Lohia ji. He had never liked the Nazi Party because "in his view it stood on the foundation of caste, community, country and glory." During his stay here, he studied the socialist parties of Europe and their functioning. At the same time, "he had also seen how communist organizations betrayed the socialist goal and the capitalist international supported the suppression of individual liberty by giving solid support to the Nazi Party." Studied the scriptures and determined the events From the test they came to the conclusion that these people have failed in the construction of human destiny and the analysis of the events of history.

From the time of his stay in Berlin, Lohiyaalso kept an eye on Indian political events. To collect the material of research study, he also kept close contact with the events of Indian political movement. At the same time, he also depicted the need for India's independence in front of foreign students. After returning to India in 1933, he started an active political career through the Congress Party.

The year when Lohiyahad to give up one year's studies due to joining the national movement, in the same year he got the opportunity to come near Mahatma Gandhi. In 1920, Gandhi-Lohia met Pt. Nehru in Bombay, while Nehru had gone to Akbarpur in connection with the farmers' movement. Became a member of the election committee, then came in more contact with Pt. Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose. Even during his stay in Berlin, Lohiyaremaind a supporter and admirer of Gandhi's ideas. His dissertation 'Salt and Satyagraha' is proof that he started getting inspiration from Mahatma Gandhi from the very beginning. After coming in contact with an organization called 'Europe Hindustani Sangh' during his Berlin stay, Lohia felt that the time had come to calm the restlessness of the mind and fulfill the dreams of the mind. After 8 August, he went underground and ran the movement effectively. In the beginning, Dr. Lohia wrote bulletins for the agitators. He gave messages to the agitating people of the country through articles named 'Jangju go ahead', 'Prepare for revolution', 'How to become an independent Raj'. A newspaper called 'Kareng or Mareng' was also brought out. To direct the struggle, a secret radio was also established which was called Congress Radio. The committee governing the movement "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia", Achyut Patwardhan, Sadiq Ali, Ramanand Mishra, Mohan Lal Saxena, S. M Joshi, Sane Guru ji, Sucheta Ddapalani, Aruna Asafali etc. Lohiyahas a very strange story of living underground. His name was in the whole country. During this movement, he saw the anti-spirit of the Indian communities. Then he seriously thought about Marxism. While underground, he had inflicted a severe blow on the British Empire in a stinging tongue. Students, laborers, policemen, government servants, farmers and all other men and women citizens, Lohiyagave a great inspiration of direct action through his speeches. On 20 May 1944, the Bombay Police was able to arrest Lohia with great

difficulty. His arrest caused a great blow to the underground movement. He was released from prison on 11 April 1946.³

After being released from Agra jail after a long imprisonment, Lohia went to Goa on 10 June 1946 on the request of his friend Julius Menezes. He had become unwell due to his stay in jail, so he wanted to go there and take rest. There he saw the government committing injustice, tyranny and suppression of civil liberties, so there also he had a desire to oppose injustice. On June 18, while addressing a meeting there, he said that Goa would not be allowed to remain a slave after the British Empire ended in India. This was the first attack of the movement on Portuguese rule in a non-violent manner. He said that my attraction towards this state and its people has brought me here. Goa is a part of Hindustan and I am a Hindustani. All Indians should help the Gomantakis. Newspapers in India congratulated the Goa Movement. Lohiyawas arrested and taken to Panjim. From there it was again brought to the Bombay border and released. They left from there saying that if Goa did not get independence, they would again come to Goa after three months and agitate. In India, Pt. Nehru and Sardar Patel showed disregard for Lohia ji's Goa movement. Mahatma Gandhi was the only person who supported this work of Lohia ji.

On 29 September 1946, Lohia again reached Goa. He was arrested. After a month of excruciating punishment, he was brought to the Indian border and released. He continued to encourage the people for the Goa movement by staying in the border region for a month. He wrote a letter to the people of Goa in which he said, "Don't look at Delhi. Don't expect anything from the United Nations. Five lakh freedom lovers can force the Portuguese administration to bow down. Get arrested, kill, face bullets, but still take out processions and protest. Don't do it Goa is the first European gateway to Asia. We will destroy Europe's power over Asia in Goa." Dr. Lohia had created a new consciousness among the people of Goa and Gandhi had also left a great influence on his work.

In works of communal unity

The year 1946 was a year of great misfortune for India. The Congress decided to set up an interim government. At first the Muslim League also accepted this plan but later non-cooperation. The program of direct action was decided on 16 August. The Cabinet Mission also failed to arrive at a good solution. At first the Muslims talked about cooperating in the Interim Government, but in the end they came to direct action. Uttar Pradesh Communal riots broke out between Hindus and Muslims in the country and the cities of Bihar. After returning from Goa, Lohiyaengaged in pacifying the communal riots. There he tried for caste unity even by risking his life. He also went to Noakhali with Gandhi. Even when people stopped, they did not miss to go to places in extreme danger. Following Gandhi's orders, Lohiyaconducted unity and relief

³ R. Lohia, The Conquest of violence, Congress Socialist, 9 April 14 May, 28 May & 4 June 1938, Collected Works of Dr Rammanohar Lohia, vol. 8: 402–417

works in the riot-hit areas of Calcutta. Lohia then came to Delhi from Calcutta and worked for communal unity with unprecedented enthusiasm.

Lohiyahad come very close to Gandhi at the time of Goa movement, efforts for communal unity and partition of India, but unfortunately Gandhi was assassinated at this time, so the union of these two great men could not give any new direction to the country. The Congress Socialist yesterday was still working within the Congress, but now it has become difficult for him to do so. After Dr. Lohia's return from Goa, Nehru ji asked Lohia and Jai Prakash Narayan to become the General Ministers of the Congress organization, but this work could not be done due to some conditions of Lohia ji. After this the distance between Lohiyaand Nehru ji kept increasing. The reason for increasing the distance was also that after independence, instead of using Congress as a weapon to create a socialist society, the Congress elite was trying to make it an election machine, since 1946 there should be no internal parties in the Congress. Was being As a result, the idea of leaving the Congress started growing in the Socialist Party⁴.

The Congress was continuously disregarding the goals of the Samajwadi Party. At the same time, the differences between the two organizations were increasing continuously, after the death of Gandhi, it became impossible to stop the partition. Therefore, in the Nashik conference of March 1948, it was decided to run a socialist party separate from the Congress and then started as a new party. Dr. Lohia became the main worker and policy maker of the new socialist party. He gave a new slogan of shovel, jail and vote to the new party. world tour

In 1949, the World Federal Government was going to be held in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, Lohia was chosen to participate in India. In those days, he was in jail in connection with the Nepal movement, but he was released to go to Sweden. Dr. Lohia, in his speech there, could be liberated from the possibility of a world war. It was here that he told the importance of the fifth pillar of the world organization. From Stockholm, he went to Germany where he met the leader of the German Socialist Party, Dr. .Kurtschumacher. Wherever he got an opportunity to express his ideas in Germany, he pointed to the failure of European socialism. From Berlin he went to Paris, while giving a speech on the radio, the economic inequality prevailing in the world on the basis of labor-labor From France, he also went on a tour of England, West Africa and countries of South West Asia. He also went to Israel, from where he returned home via Egypt on November 15. He was very impressed by the national spirit and hard work of the people of Israel. Happened.

In 1951, the International Conference of Socialists was going to be held in Frankfurt city of Germany for the first time after the war. Lohiyaleft for India to participate in it on 3rd July. His speech given there as observer was very important. In which he deeply hurt the communist system and described it as dangerous as capitalist. The whole conference was influenced by the ideas of

⁴ Onkar Sharad (1972) Lohia. Lucknow, Prakashan Kendra. p. 103

Lohia ji. From Frankfurt he went to Yugoslavia. He was very much influenced by the small machine plan there. From there America, Hawaii, returned to India via Hong Kong, Malaya, Thailand, Malaysia, Lanka and Japan. Describing this excursion, he said that "there are actually two worlds, one from Rome to Honolulu, one with clean comparatively adequate food and There is good houses. The other world from Tokyo to Cairo which is dirty, hungry and with bad houses." To remove this distinction, he suggested three measures: "Restricting the population, establishing another social ownership as private industry." Business cannot compete with filth and disease Kaate, and the invention of the third small machine, which will cost less capital and which can give work to more people.

In March 1952, Lohia went to Rangoon to attend the founding conference of the Asia Socialist Conference. This fulfilled his dream of an Asian socialist organization. Here he threw light on the poverty of the countries of Asia and gave inspiration for unity. On April 15, 1964, Dr. Lohia set out for a world tour through eastern countries. In America, he was invited to speak in a university, his ideas were satyagraha by the American people by entering an American hotel. They got arrested there. After that he traveled all over North America. During this tour, he also visited most of the countries of East Asia.

In June 1965, Lohiyavisited Germany, Russia and Afghanistan. During this visit he met prominent socialist leaders of these countries. He also met Frontier Gandhi in Kabul and invited him to come to India. Wherever Dr. Lohia went for a tour, he tried to understand the life of the people closer and better. Lohiyawas of a very rebellious nature, he always had a desire to retaliate against injustice. There was a strong feeling. In February 1936, he got the booklet 'Swarajya Kya and Kaise' published. It was immediately confiscated as soon as this book was printed, but he somehow escaped arrest, his first arrest was in Calcutta in May 1939. There was a case against him but in the end he was released. During the second Mahayu, the British government had become very upset with Lohia ji, so he was arrested from Swarajya Bhavan in Allahabad on 7 June 1940. He was accused of giving provocative speeches. Prosecution was imposed. He was tortured a lot by the police this time. Lohiyawas opposed to the aid given by India to British imperialism in this second war, to stop it he was planning to run a satyagraha with civil disobedience For this he was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment on 1 July 1940. Gandhi revolted against it and asked why rigorous imprisonment in political matters? He was again released on 4 December 1947. When Sir Stafford Cripps When he came to India to negotiate with the public, Dr. Saheb vehemently opposed him. He said that the British government would not voluntarily surrender its empire.

When he was arrested from underground during the Quit India Movement, he was taken and imprisoned in the Lahore Fort. New types of torture were given to harass them. Referring to his tortures from prison, he was tortured till insomnia, he wrote to the leader of the Labor Party of England, Prof. Laski had received a letter. In his prison experiences, he wrote that "I was kept

awake day and night. The longest Jagar was of 10 days. When I was falling asleep, he would either make me stand up or drag me round the rough ground, which would peel off my shoulders and palms. From there he was released on 11 April 1946. He was arrested twice in the efforts of Goa Movement. He was arrested for the first time on 19 June 1946 but was brought to the Indian border and released. He was arrested for the second time on 29 September 1946.⁵ This time he was released on the border of India after a month of torture. His first arrest in independent India took place on 25 May 1949 in Delhi when he was protesting in front of the Nepal Embassy and was sentenced to one month. In the last days of 1949, he had to go to investigate the firing at Rewa on a mob opposing the partition of Vindhya Pradesh. While visiting the area, he was arrested on 7 January 1950 on the charge of possibility of breach of peace but was released on the border of Uttar Pradesh. On 16 May 1951, there was a peasant movement in Mysore. When Lohiyawent there, he was arrested on the night of 14 June 1951 in the waiting room of the railway station itself, but he had to go abroad, so he was released on 21 June. In 1954, the Uttar Pradesh government had increased the canal rates due to which there was great dissatisfaction among the farmers. In those days Lohiyatoured the whole of Uttar Pradesh and challenged the people to fight for freedom of speech. "Dr. Lohia explained to the public that suffering is dangerous and it is necessary to fight." In connection with the movement, he was arrested on July 4, 1954 in Farrukhabad under special law. He sent a hevius corpus writ to the High Court against his arrest, in which he raised the main question of 'the immorality of arrest for speech and recognition of the fight for his rights'. He was sent to Naini Jail from where he served Prime Minister Pt. Nehru. (Wrote a letter to the President. His writ was heard. The difference of opinion between the two judges was heard by the third Justice Agrawal. This writ was accepted and Lohiyawas released on 28 August 1954. In April 1955, He was arrested in Manipur, where he was treated indecently in jail. But after hearing the Havius Corpus Writ, he was released by the Commissioner of Justice. But he was again arrested at the gate of the jail, which was met in the Lok Sabha in a big way. There was uproar. On the second application, he was again freed by the Commissioner of Justice. In May 1957, there was a movement of civil disobedience all over the country. In which a large number of people made arrests. Lohiyawas also arrested on 2 November 1957 at the door of the cell-tax office in Lucknow. He did not want to go to court, so he was tried in jail itself. He was forcibly tied to a chair in the prison court. His writ of heavies corpus was rejected in Allahabad High Court but it was accepted by the Supreme Court. He was released from jail on 23 December 1957. He was deeply pained by the barbaric treatment of the prison which caused him heart disease.

⁵ R. Lohia, The Russian Trials, Congress Socialist, 9 April & 7 May 1938, Collected Works of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, vol. 8: 395–401

He was arrested on 25 November 1959 in Seema Pradesh in connection with the Urvasiyam entry. But was brought to Dibrugarh and released. On April 17, 1960, he was arrested in connection with the agitation at the Circuit House in Kanpur. On 8 August, Lohiyawas arrested during the Patna bandh. Due to this arrest, he could not participate in the ongoing Kutch dispute in Parliament. His last arrest took place on July 11, 1966, during the Uttar Pradesh Bandh at Agra station but was not in Allahabad. He was released by the Ecourt. Dr. Lohia This is a symbol of his fighting nature and the spirit of opposing injustice.⁶

In 1957, Dr. Lohia contested in the Chakia Chandoli parliamentary seat of Banaras district but was defeated by the Congress candidate. In 1962, he stood in the general election from Phulpur constituency in Allahabad district where he competed with Pt. Nehru. For the first time on the basis of the principles of politics, Pt. Nehru had to face in the elections. is not invincible.

Lohiyacontested mid-term elections for Lok Sabha from Farrukhabad in 1963 where he defeated former Union Minister Dr. Keskar by eighty eight thousand votes. On the day of his entry into the Lok Sabha, he was warmly welcomed by the opposition members and on the same day the public also greeted him in the general meeting to be held at Ramlila Maidan in Delhi. In 1967, he reached the Parliament by winning the general election from Kannauj region. Earlier people thought that he would create chaos in the Parliament but he soon made an important place in the Parliament with his arguments and controversies. It was Lohiyawho made Parliament a place to demonstrate the will of a normal life. He also argued that the Lok Sabha is an important tool for the development of a country. He has raised many important questions related to the general and lower class people in the Parliament. Such a contradiction appeared from the official figures of per capita income and general poverty that Even the government had to be ashamed. For the first time, the picture of the real economic condition of the country came openly in front of the country. In the Lok Sabha, he always used to come with latest and reliable information related to the facts, regarding the question of Dharmateja and Stalin's daughter Svetlana. Presented the outline of the Indian economy in front of the country Whether it is a question of writing ancient history, whether it is the life of a rickshawman, whether the food policy of the country, whether it is a question of the country's border, whether it is the question of the country's border, whether it is the return of the army. He always fought in the Lok Sabha on such questions for the public. He took up small government works like mink court, small car scheme, diamond necklace etc. in the people's court in the Lok Sabha.

He was also accused of obstructing the proceedings of the Lok Sabha but he never cared about it. He tried to give new dimensions to the functioning of the Lok Sabha and suspend good traditions. After being expelled from the Lok Sabha in 1964, he came out in public to criticize the Speaker and stressed the need for a free debate in the Lok Sabha. He challenged the government's

⁶ Ram Manohar Lohiya, Guily men of India's partition, B. R. Publication, p.92
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incompetence by bringing a motion of no-confidence against the government. It was through his efforts that it was possible for the members to speak in their mother tongue in the Lok Sabha, because before that it was the tradition to speak in the house in English or Hindi only. His Lok Sabha Life and works had a good effect on the public psyche in the country. It was also said in his praise that- "When he was elected, there was an apprehension in some areas that he would be a barrier M.P. rather than a builder, but during his four-year Lok Sabha membership, Lohia not only destroyed this fear but also created a niche for himself. Made a place of prestige and made himself a serious, purposeful, alert parliamentarian.

Dr. Lohia was unwell for a few days, on 30 September 1967, his prostate was operated on in Delhi. This work was done in Willington Hospital under the supervision of his trusted friend Dr. Lal. At first the operation seemed successful, but after a few days the condition worsened and then went on getting worse. In the end, the ruthless hands of time lifted this priceless heritage of humanity from the earth on 12 October 1967. When the country started needing him fast, then he left, he was a yogi, leaving behind neither family nor any kind of his property. Came alone, stayed alone and left alone showing humanity a new path.

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EMERGING TRENDS IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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International Relations and International Politics are usually treated as synonymous with each other. There is frequent emphasis by the scholars of the discipline not to make any distinction. Many scholars believe that at fundamental level both have no serious distinction and International Politics is political aspect of the International Relations. This problem has been caused due to inadequate definition of the word relations in technical sense. This shortcoming has emerged as main problem in understanding the difference between International Relations and International Politics because “the term ‘relations’ has various meaning. It implies contacts, connections, associations, and also action and reaction. This means that an action on the part of a group (state or government), directed towards another group, does not constitute a relationship unless the other group reacts. All other things- contacts, connections, and associations- have their significance only when this relationship between action and reaction exists. If this action-reaction relationship is taken to be the core of international relations, then perhaps international politics may be identified with international relations. Since the chain of actions and reactions between states is essentially about matters which are politics is concerned with power struggle and power struggle is unmanageable without action-reaction relationship at the political level. Thus the conclusion would seem justified that the political aspect of international relations is international politics. This is now treated a narrow understanding of the disciplines.

¹ This approach has now received much criticism, group of scholars have

worked over this definitional challenge and have contributed widely to make a distinction between both. They are convinced that International Relations differ from the International Politics. They accept the basic premise of distinction that “the term ‘international relations’, in fact, describes all aspects of relations between countries and peoples, political and non political, peaceful or warlike, legal or cultural, economic or geographic, official or non official.” For International Politics they accept the Hans J. Morgenthau’s contention that “the concept of power as the theoretical core of international politics (and) all politics is a struggle for power.”

Padelford and Lincoln (1954) starts with a distinction between International Relations and International Politics. “In the broadest sense, the field of international relations comprises myriads of contacts among individuals, business organisations, cultural institutions, and political personalities of many different countries. International Politics lies in “the core of contemporary international relations.”² Grayson Kirk (1947) continues the same theme. In his opinion International Politics deals “with those forces which mould the foreign policies of national states, the manner in which they are exercised, and the influences which limit their effectiveness.”¹³ Thus in brief it can be surmised that International Politics “consists of political relationships of states” in which the role of power becomes crucial with no role of moral forces because at ground level “in international politics, post war utopianism became a hollow and intolerable sham, which served merely as a disguise for the interests of the privileged powers.” International Politics in this background if looked as interstate interaction with power centric view, makes up the central core of International Relations. This viewpoint limits the dimension of International Politics, whereas the scope of International Relations becomes quite wide. This view point is extended by scholars who take a power-cooperation view. They concentrate on the concept of power and emphasise that International Relations and International Politics differ from each other on many counts, but power is the main boundary line of difference. Schleicher believes that “the very fact that international society affords so few examples of non resistance to the exercise of power, and that power plays such an important role in that society, indicates that oppositional tends to predominate over creative international behavior. Oppositional behavior, conflict, and politics do not entirely crowd cooperation off the international stage, international relations and international politics are not synonymous.”

This viewpoint is hotly contested by others. Some scholars include the violence and war within the study of international relations thus modifying its

¹ K. J. Holsti, The Concept of Power in the Study of International Relations, Background, Vol. 7, No. 4, Feb, 1964, 179

² Grayson Kirk, The study of International Relations in American Colleges and Universities, 1947, 10, quoted in Norman J. Padelford, George A. Lincoln, International Politics: Foundations of International Relations, The Macmillan Company, 1957, 4

dimension of cooperation. In their opinion “the study of international relations involves how wars are fought, their causes, the complex issue of deterrence, the effects of shifts in balance of power, strategy and tactics, the political impact of nuclear weapons, and even the ethical questions suggested by the idea of a ‘just war’.” This approach has not received much acceptance at the intellectual level. Many scholars have proposed their viewpoint in classical terms. “John Burton, for example, conceives of international relations as a system of peaceful communication whereby states consciously and in their own interest would like to avoid conflict because the costs of conflict are too high.” Whereas, “Robert Purnell would treat international politics as nothing else but those aspect of politics concerned with disagreement, competition, rival claims and various outcome arising from a desire for change in the relations of those special collective entities we call states.” John Burton and Robert Purnell also take the classical view of distinction of the term.

This viewpoint although has emerged as the more acceptable among scholars. It helps them to comprehend the discipline in more effective manner. The echo of this scholarship is obtained in leading thinkers of the discipline who attempts to differentiate both terms in technical manner. A major exposition of difference between International relations and International Politics has been attempted by Cecil V. Crabb, Jr. He has taken a more pragmatic and fundamental view to make a distinction between two related, overlapping but often confusing concepts. Cecil V. Crabb, Jr views International Relations as a kind of force in the global politics which possess its own techniques, methods which are useful in the establishment of community feeling, where as the International Politics is more focused on the existence of state. This viewpoint requires the power, which thus becomes an important component of the International Politics³. This view is founded on the goal attainment, survival concept of the nation state. International Relations involve “influences and forces that bear on goal formulation and policy-making by states that shape the context with on which these processes take place; techniques and machinery of policy formation and execution; methods, procedures and institutions by which conflict among states may be resolved; and methods, procedures and institutions by which a sense of community and common purpose among state may be created and translated into steps designed to fulfill shared goals. Whereas International Politics (involves) how the state is maintained; how it formulates goals; how it evolves methods and programmes for achieving goals; process by which it reevaluates and modifies old goals and formulates new ones; how it attempts to overcome obstacles in the path of goal fulfillment; how it cooperates and conflicts with other states, as it endeavours to achieve the goals.” Raymond Platig furthers this contention and expounds the core of the subject dimension of

³ E H Carr, International Politics: Idealism vs. Realism, in Frederick H. Hartman(ed.) Readings in International Relations, McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1952,10

International Relations which explicitly establishes International Relations as a distinct field of study in comparison to International Politics. International Relations may include the “forms: the interactions of governments of sovereign states take many forms, all of which are of concern to international relations as diplomatic, military, economic; political systems: the interaction of the governments of two or more sovereign states can be said to take place within a multi-state system for most purpose; actors: In addition to many governmental and nongovernmental actors, based within the territory of a single sovereign state, there are also many international groups that play a direct role in multinational political system.” Another basic premise of distinction is that International Relations are wider concept than International Politics. The scope of international relations is larger than International Politics because it includes in its ambit all types of relations which may span from state to non state actors, organizations etc. International Relations take different forms which may encompass from diplomacy to environmental issues, from military relations to human rights issues. In this respect the inclusion of non state actors as important component in International Relation has been conceptualized by some scholars. In the present world order the role of non state actors have increased substantially. The role of non state actors has expanded the scope of International Relations because the behavior of these actors “can have a significant impact beyond national boundaries; indeed, the cumulative effects of their actions can have profound consequences for the international system⁴. Thus, although states continue to be the most important international actors, they possess a declining ability to control their own destinies. The aggregate effect of actions by multitudes of non state actors can have potent effects that transcend political boundaries. These may include such powerful or highly visible non state organizations as Exxon, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, or the Palestine Liberation Organization, and even shadowy ones such as the al Qaeda group that claimed to have carried out the 9/11 terrorist attacks.”

It suggests that as long the new issues will emerge at the global level, these will find their place within the domain of International Relations. It is so because many issues are difficult enough “to be resolved due to their multidisciplinary nature, pure global nature with no expected solution.”¹²³ Many new issues have also emerged in the international political scene as climate change, global warming, problems of island and small countries, pollution including problem of haze terrorism, new approaches with regard to human rights, GMO crops, human cloning etc. these issue are critical to human survival and transcend the national boundaries. These issues require therefore a close interaction at the governmental level. Nation states participate to find out the resolution of these adversely impactful problems of

⁴ C. P. Sachleicher , International Relations: Cooperation and Conflict, PHI, New Delhi, 1963, , quoted In J. C. Johari, International Relations and Politics: Theoretical Perspective, 1989, Sterling Publishing House, New Delhi, 1989, 9
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the contemporary time. They have come closer on discussions on global warming and climate change by carrying on negotiation in COP framework. They have also established Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), an intergovernmental institution to study the climate change problem at the global level. These developments are to be treated as the part of the International Relations.

They are new addition to this domain of study. For this new scholarship has emerged in the International Relations which have studied the new environmental changes with potential to threat the global ecosystem. Their main concern is that biosphere is under constant pressure due to anthropogenic activities. It has global dimension and there is urgent need that nation states should cooperate to defuse the challenging threat. This idea is related to Green Political Theory and Ecologism but it has expanded at the level of interstate behavior. Keohane, Haasm have concentrated on the environmental multilateralism in order to understand the problem in the global perspective.

They place more emphasis on the intergovernmental agreements to resolve the issue. Eckersley (1992) developed multidimensional approach towards the environmental crisis and its relationship with International Relations. Eckersley analyzing the emancipator perspective has established that this problem is equally caused by the capitalist western countries and communist countries. "Indeed the international nature of environmental degradation has lent force to the broader claim by emancipatory theorists that the modern ecological crisis is the quintessential crisis of *industrialism* rather than just Western capitalism. Industrialism encompasses the state capitalism of communist nations as well as the largely privately controlled market capitalism of Western nations, both of which are seen by emancipatory theorists as resting upon the ideologies of growth and technological optimism. This ecological critique is therefore concerned to emphasize the shared expansionary ethos of both West and East."¹²⁴ This contention emphasises that global ecological crisis is caused by all countries; hence a cooperative solution needs to be found out. This approach therefore requires that environmental issues should become an important component of International Relations studies. This perspective establishes that International Relations widely differ from International Politics on the basis of scope. More over its scope is larger and cooperation with an institutional arrangement framework is an important feature of the International Relations which International Politics may lack. Associated with this inference is power concept of the International Politics, if ecological resources decline substantially adversely affecting the resources of nation states. In that situation the nation states may resort to use of power, its accumulation in terms of ecological resources. This will push the environmental issue in the realm of International Politics. Hence it can be surmised that newly emerging issues in the world may be included in International Relations and International Politics both on the basis of their

behavioural pattern but for the present they are included in the domain of International Relations.

In conclusion it can be stated that both differs with respect to concern for power and interests which dominate in International Politics and International Relations is a wider concept than International Politics. Finally, “it is conventional to differentiate the discipline of International Relations from the subject matter of international relations by the use of upper and lower case respectively. As Chris Brown (1997) puts it, ‘International Relations’ is the study of ‘international relations’. *International politics* is used here as a synonym of international relations. It does, however, have the advantage of highlighting the political dimension of relations that are international.” This is a major difference on which the difference between both rests.

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 citizens. 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 1991. 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 organization⁵.

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

⁵ . J. C. Johari, International Relations and Politics: Theoretical Perspective, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1985, 14

have shown that terrorism can cause immeasurable impact of negative nature on the humanity⁶.

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.

⁶ Mahendra Kumar, theoretical aspects of International Politics, Shiv Lal Agrawal publishers, Agra, 1981,16