

Story of Civilization

Part - I



विद्यया ऽ मृतमश्नुते



एन सी ई आर टी
NCERT

Arjun Dev

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

PART I

Textbook in History for Class X

ARJUN DEV



राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद्
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The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) has been preparing and publishing school textbooks and other educational material for children and teachers. These publications are regularly revised on the basis of feedback from students, teachers, parents and teacher educators. Research done by the NCERT also forms the basis for updating and revision.

This textbook is based on the National Curriculum Framework for School Education – 2000 and the syllabi prepared in accordance with it. However, in view of the recommendation of the panel of historians constituted by the Ministry of Human Resource Development, the Executive Committee of the NCERT, in its meeting held on 19 July 2004, decided that, from the academic session 2005-06, the pre-2000 books of history will be restored with appropriate modifications in line with the existing curriculum. It was also decided that the textbooks of all other subjects will undergo a quick review for bringing necessary changes, wherever required. In pursuance of this decision, the earlier history textbook for Class X *The Story of Civilisation Vol-II* has been modified. The content of the present textbook *Social Science Part-I* covers the chapters 14-16 from the above book. Unit IV of the revised social science syllabus is covered by this book. We hope that this revised edition will serve as an effective medium of teaching and learning. We look forward to your suggestions to enable us to further improve the quality of this book.

New Delhi
January 2005

SECRETARY
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Preamble

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizen:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

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CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Part IV A (Article 51 A)

Fundamental Duties

Fundamental Duties – It shall be the duty of every citizen of India —

- (a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
- (b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
- (c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- (d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;
- (e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
- (f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
- (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures;
- (h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
- (i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
- (j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;
- (k) who is a parent or guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

CHAPTER 1

The Heritage of India

THE heritage of India is the result of developments in the social, economic, cultural and political life of the Indian people over a period of thousands of years. You have already read briefly about these developments. In this chapter, you will read about some aspects and features of these developments which are important for an understanding of India's heritage.

The Land and the People

Two basic components of this heritage, which have at the same time shaped this heritage, are the land, the natural and physical environment of India, and the people who have inhabited this land. The generations of people who have inhabited India during various periods of her history have interacted with their physical and natural environment. They have also interacted among themselves. Through these processes of interaction—between people and their natural and physical environment and among themselves—the people have created their history, their social, economic, cultural and political life. These processes of interaction have been going on for thousands of years, bringing in changes in the life of the people. The world of man, therefore, has never been stationary.

India is a vast country. It extends for nearly 3000 kilometres from Kashmir in the north to Kanyakumari in the south and for

the same distance from its western-most parts to its eastern-most parts. Nature has made it into a distinct geographical entity. The Himalayan ranges in the north and the sea in the east, west and south separate it from the rest of the world. The people inhabiting the country from very early times as well as people of other parts of the world have viewed it as a single integral and distinctive unit.

These geographical features, however, while making her a well-defined unit separated from the rest of the world, have not become a barrier to contacts with the rest of the world. Since the time of the Old Stone Age, people from neighbouring as well as distant regions have been coming into India through the mountain passes and the seas and making India their home. The people of India have been formed as a result of these migrations over thousands of years. They are the descendants of groups of people belonging to almost all the 'racial stocks' of mankind and their admixtures who made India their home. The main 'racial types' which have gone into the making of the Indian population are the Proto-Australoids, the Palaeo-Mediterraneans, the Caucasoids, the Negroids and the Mongoloids in their varying degrees of mixtures. In historical times, the ethnic groups which have come to India and made India their home include the

Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans), the Persians, the Greeks, the Kushanas, the Shakas, the Hunas, the Arabs, the Turks, the Africans and the Mongols. During the past few hundred years, many Europeans have also made India their home. All these 'racial' and ethnic groups have intermingled with one another and few of them can be recognized in their original form. Thus, India has been a crucible of various 'races' and ethnic groups. They have all contributed to the making of Indian history and culture.

The migration of people into India has been a major factor in the development of various aspects of India's life and culture since pre-historic times. In historical times, the importance of this factor is conspicuous in almost every period of India's history. The people from other cultures and civilizations have brought with them their own traditions which got intermixed and integrated with the pre-existing traditions. Similarly, people of India have gone to other parts of the world and various elements of culture carried by them have intermixed and have been integrated with the pre-existing cultures there. During the past 2000 years, the influence of various elements of Indian culture has been particularly evident in many countries of Asia.

The vastness of the country and the great variations in its geographical features —land forms, natural resources, climate and others—have provided the bases for a great variety in ways of living from very early times. The mountains and the river systems have been an important factor in the emergence of a number of distinct cultural zones within the country. The Vindhya ranges, for example, divided India into north and south with the people of the Indo-European family of languages

predominating in the northern, and those of the Dravidian family of languages in the southern parts of the country. These factors, however, have not made any part of the country isolated from the other parts. The physical barriers between different parts were not insurmountable even in early times when means of travel were not developed. They did not prevent the movement of the people from one part of the country to another. Despite the Vindhya ranges, for example, the movement of people from the north to the south and vice versa has been going on from very early times. Thus while geographical factors have deeply influenced the emergence of distinctive ways of living of people in different parts of the country, the interaction between them has been going on. The availability of different natural resources in the country has also furthered links between its diverse parts. These factors have helped the processes of both unity and diversity. The historical development of the country has brought the people together and has led to the growth of a common culture to which all parts of the country have contributed. At the same time, each part of the country has developed its own distinct identity. Because of this, the historical and cultural development of India is often described as one of unity in diversity and the culture of the country as a whole a composite one comprising distinct parts. It has never been a monolith.

As mentioned above, people of all parts of the country have contributed to the emergence of a common culture. No particular part or region of the country has been the main centre or source of Indian culture, and different regions during different periods have played a leading role—setting new trends and influencing

developments in other parts of the country. This has been true as much of political history as of other aspects of historical development. The first major political power arose in northern India with its centre in the region around modern Patna. In the subsequent centuries, powerful kingdom and empires were built in north-western India, the Deccan and the south. The Turkish Sultans and the Mughal emperors ruled over large parts of India with their centre at Delhi and, for some time, at Agra. In the eighteenth century, the Marathas, after setting up their kingdom in western India, built a vast all-India empire. In this context, it is important to remember the concept of the *chakravartin* ruler which was developed in India in ancient times. This ideal envisaged political unification of the entire country.

Another feature of India's culture has been that it did not develop into a finished form in any period. Throughout her long history, India's culture has been changing and developing due to internal factors and contacts with other cultures. This process of change and development continues. The culture of India, as of any other country, is not a fixed entity. Many aspects of culture, if they retard further progress, get discarded, others are changed, sometimes beyond recognition; some others continue to survive and remain important, while many new elements are added.

A remarkable feature of Indian historical and cultural development has been its continuity. This continuity has few parallels in the history of other civilizations. For example, the cultures of some of the earliest civilizations in human history left little evidence of their influence over subsequent cultural developments of the countries in which they had developed. In India, on the

other hand, some elements of the Harappan culture continue to exist to this day.

It is interesting to know the story of the name of our country. The ancient Indians referred to their country as 'Jambudvīpa' or the continent of the Jambu tree. The ancient Persians referred to our country as the land beyond the river *Sindhu* (*Indus*). They, however, pronounced it as 'Hindu'. The word spread westward and the whole country came to be known by the name of its river. The Greeks called it 'Inde' and the Arabs 'Hind'. In medieval times, the country was called 'Hindustan' from the Persian word. The English called it 'India' from the Greek 'Inde'. The present name 'Bharat', derived from the ancient usage, means 'the land of the Bharatas', an ancient Indian tribe.

Before studying the development of a few selected aspects of India's culture, it may be worthwhile to recapitulate broad features of Indian historical development.

The Ancient Period

You have read in an earlier chapter that India was one of the oldest centres of the prehistoric cultures of the world. India was also the cradle of one of the earliest civilizations in history — the Harappan culture. The Harappan culture was the first urban culture to emerge in India. Many of its features distinguished it from all its contemporary cultures in other parts of the world, and made it distinctly Indian.

Larger in extent than any of its contemporary civilizations, it was spread over parts of Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, western Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat and had links with some other parts of India as well as with contemporary civilizations in West Asia. After its decline, India did not have cities for about a thousand years. However, all that this

civilization had built was not forgotten and many of its features became a part of the Indian culture in the subsequent years.

The next major phase in ancient Indian history is the Vedic age which began with the coming of the Indo-European speaking people (the Indo-Aryans) and ended in about seventh century B.C. Initially, this phase marked a reversal in some respects. For example, it marked the end of city life, reversal to a pastoral economy and the predominance of a tribal system of political organization. However, with the knowledge and use of iron technology, it saw the beginning of the spread of agriculture throughout the country. It thus laid the foundations of a civilization in all parts of the country, whereas the Harappan culture had been confined to parts of north-western India. The culture that began to emerge during this phase was the result of the intermixing of the Indo-Aryans with the pre-existing inhabitants of India. It is interesting to remember that some elements of the culture of this period have survived over a period of 3000 years and continue to be a part of Indian culture today.

The next phase, covering the period from about the sixth century B.C. to about 200 B.C., is marked by far-reaching changes in almost every aspect of life in India. This period saw the spread of agriculture over large parts of the country, the rise of cities and the formation of states. The period also saw the rise and decline of the first all-India empire in Indian history. This period is important not only for political unity but also for cultural unity. Two major religions—Jainism and Buddhism—which arose in the sixth century B.C. left a lasting influence on Indian life and culture. These religions also influenced religious beliefs and practices which, grouped together, are

known as Hinduism. Hinduism as it developed, included many Vedic beliefs and practices but had many other features which distinguished it from the religion of the Vedas. This period saw the spread throughout the country of beliefs and practices associated with Hinduism, including Vedic religion, as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Alongside these, a large number of other beliefs and practices also continued. The Varna system, the system of social organization popularly known as the caste system, which had arisen in the Vedic Age now became well-established and gradually became the dominant form of social organization throughout the country. This form of social organization was peculiar to India. The rise of cities, crafts and trade also furthered the process of cultural unity. This process is best exemplified by Ashoka. He unified almost the entire country under one empire but renounced the use of war as state policy. Instead he declared the victory of righteousness as the real victory. In him we also find a change in the ideal of kingship. Ashoka, in one of his edicts, said, "Whatever exertions I make, I strive only to discharge the debt that I owe to all living creatures". Most of his inscriptions spread over different parts of the country are in Prakrit, which seems to have become the *lingua franca* of the country, and in Brahmi script, the earliest known Indian script, and mother of most Indian scripts. However, in areas where the language and script were different, the Ashokan edicts were inscribed in the local language and the local script. Though he himself became a Buddhist, Ashoka made no effort to impose it on others. In one of his edicts, he said, "One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it

over all other religions, does injure one's own religion most certainly".

The next phase in ancient Indian history covers the period from about 200 B.C. to about A.D. 300. This phase is extremely important for the changes that took place in economic and political life, and significant developments in various aspects of culture, including religion, art and science and technology. In economic life, this period is significant for advancement in India's international trade, both by land and sea routes, and the emergence of crafts and towns, unknown to earlier phases of ancient Indian history. In political life, large parts of north-western, northern and western India were ruled by dynasties of non-Indian origin. These were the Indo-Greeks, the Shakas, the Parthians and the Kushanas. These political contacts facilitated developments in the economy mentioned above and brought India into close contact with the cultures of Central and West Asia and with the Graeco-Roman world. This interaction played an important role in the flowering of Indian culture during this phase. Most of the foreign rulers of Indian territories adopted one or the other Indian religion. A significant event was the growth of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism, which the Kushana ruler Kanishka patronized, and the development of the great Buddhist art associated with it. In the Deccan and the south, a number of states emerged, including the powerful kingdom of the Satavahanas. These states also developed close trade relations with other parts of the world. There was significant progress of Buddhist art in the Deccan, and the beginning of Tamil literature in the south. India's first contact with Christianity is believed to have taken place during this period, though it was many centuries later that

Christianity came to have a significant following in India.

The last phase of the ancient period of Indian history starts in early fourth century A.D. and ends in about the eighth century. The Guptas built a large kingdom during this period which remained powerful for about a century. In the Deccan and the south, there were two major kingdoms during this period — of the Pallavas and of the Chalukyas. In some respects, this was also a period of reversals, which witnessed a gradual decline of towns and trade, of strong centralized states, and the beginning of the system of land grants. These developments, according to some scholars, mark the beginning of feudalism in India. Some of the finest achievements in various fields of culture — art, architecture, literature, philosophy, science, technology — can, however, be dated to this period. Because of these achievements, this period is often described as the classical age of Indian civilization. In religion, this is a period of decline of Buddhism and the rise of Brahmanical religion or Hinduism as we know it today. Idol worship became popular and building of temples on a large scale started in the south and the Deccan as well as in the north. Art inspired by Buddhism also continued, particularly in sculpture and painting. Great progress was made in literature, both religious and secular, in Sanskrit which also became the language of the courts in most parts of the country. Tamil literature also made great progress and the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, made lasting contributions to it. In spite of the dominant position of Sanskrit in most parts of the country, this period marks the beginning of many modern Indian languages as well as distinct scripts in different parts of

the country. The period is also important for some of the most significant advances in science and technology. Most of the major works in astronomy, mathematics and medicine belong to this period.

By the time the ancient period of Indian history came to a close, India had developed a culture which was marked by features that have characterized it ever since.

The Medieval Period

During the medieval period, some of the achievements of the ancient times were carried forward and new and magnificent structures were built on those foundations. Many new elements appeared in Indian society which influenced the growth of various aspects of culture.

The period from the eighth to the twelfth century in political life is dominated mainly by the presence of a large number of states. The bigger ones among them tried to establish their supremacy in northern India and the Deccan. The main contenders in this struggle for supremacy were the Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas. In the south, the most powerful kingdom to emerge during this period was that of the Cholas. The Cholas brought about the political unification of large parts of the country but the general political picture was that of fragmentation, particularly in northern India. The process of decline in trade and of urban centres had continued. In social life, there was greater rigidification of the caste system than before. In some respects, the period was characterized by stagnation and insularity. Seen as a whole, however, the situation was not so dismal. Some of the most splendid temples in India were built, in a variety of regional styles, during this period, both in the north and the south. The period is also important for the growth of

modern Indian languages. Architecture, sculpture, literature, and philosophy flourished under the patronage of the Chola kings. Trade and cultural contacts with the countries of South-East Asia received an impetus in the Chola kingdom. New trends towards cultural unity also emerged during this period. One of these trends is associated with the name of the philosopher Shankaracharya who set up his *mathis* or monasteries in different parts of the country. The other was the beginning of the Bhakti cult throughout the country. It had originated with the Alvars and Nayanars, the Vaishnavite and Shaivite saints, in southern India. In the following centuries, this cult became a major feature of the religious life of the people in most parts of the country.

It was in this period that India's contact with the new religion of Islam began. The contacts began late in the seventh century through the Arab traders. Later, in early eighth century, the Arabs conquered Sind. In the tenth century, the Turks emerged as a powerful force in Central and West Asia and carved out kingdoms for themselves. They conquered Persia but, in turn, their life was deeply influenced by the old and rich Persian culture. The Turks first invaded India during the late tenth and early eleventh century and Punjab came under Turkish rule. Another series of Turkish invasions in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century led to the establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi. Within a few centuries after the rise of Islam in Arabia, it became the second most popular religion in India with followers in every part of the country.

The establishment of the Sultanat of Delhi marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of medieval India. Politically,

it led to the unification of northern India and parts of the Deccan for almost a century. Its rulers, almost from the time of the establishment of the Sultanat, succeeded in separating it from the country from which they had originally come. The Sultanat disintegrated towards the end of the fourteenth century leading to the emergence of a number of kingdoms in different parts of the country. Some of these, for example, the Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms, became very powerful. In society, the period is important for the introduction of new elements—the Turks, the Persians, the Mongols and the Afghans, besides the Arabs who had settled down in some coastal regions—into India. There were important changes in economic life also. Trade and crafts received a stimulus and many new towns arose as centres of administration, trade and crafts. New elements of technology were also introduced during this period.

Culturally, this period marks the beginning of a new stage in the growth of India's composite culture. It saw the introduction of new features in art and architecture of India and their diffusion to all parts of the country. The architecture that developed during this period was the result of the synthesis of the traditions of Central Asia and Persia with the pre-existing Indian styles. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, distinctive styles of art and architecture also developed in the regional kingdoms, which had emerged with the disintegration of the Sultanat. During this time notable advances were made in the development of languages and literature. Modern Indian languages, which had started developing earlier, became major vehicles of literature. These languages were enriched by the Bhakti

saints and this gave the literature of these languages many common features. Two new languages—Arabic and Persian became a part of India's linguistic heritage. Of these, Arabic was mainly the language of Islamic learning. For literature and in its widespread use, Persian was more important. In many areas, it replaced Sanskrit as the court language and throughout the country, along with Sanskrit, it became the language of learning. Historical writings for the first time became an important component of Indian literature. Under the influence of Persian, new forms of literature such as the *ghazal* were introduced.

The period saw two great religious movements, besides the spread of a new religion. The Bhakti movement which had started many centuries earlier, spread throughout the country. Significantly, the Bhakti movement, best represented by Kabir and Nanak, disapproved of religious narrow-mindedness, superstitions and observance of formal rituals. The Bhakti saints condemned caste inequalities and laid stress on human brotherhood. The other was the Sufi movement. The Sufis, or the Muslim mystics, preached the message of love and human brotherhood. These two movements played a leading role in combating religious exclusiveness and narrow-mindedness and in bringing the people of all communities together. Sikhism began to emerge as a new religion based on the teachings of Guru Nanak and other saints.

The growth of a composite culture reached its highest point under the Great Mughals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Mughals built an empire which once again brought about the political unification of a large part of the country.

Like Ashoka earlier, Akbar, the greatest of the Mughal emperors, followed a policy of *Sulh-kul* ('peace with all'). He said, "The various religious communities are Divine treasures entrusted to us by God. We must love them as such. It should be our firm faith that every religion is blessed by Him, and our earnest endeavour to enjoy the bliss of the evergreen garden of universal toleration. The Eternal King showers his favours on all men without distinction. Kings who are 'shadows of God' should never give up this principle". Some of the finest specimens of Indian architecture and literature belong to this period. A new significant art form was painting which flourished under the patronage of the Mughal court. Influenced by the Persian traditions, the Mughal painting developed into a distinct Indian style. It later spread to other parts of the country in various regional styles. Another significant development was the emergence of a new language—Urdu—which became the *lingua franca* of the people of the towns in many parts of the country.

The Modern Period

The eighteenth century marks the beginning of the modern period of India's history. Politically, the period saw the decline of the Mughal empire and the rise of a number of small and big independent states in different parts of the country. None of these states was able to replace the Mughal empire which had politically unified a large part of the country for about 150 years. In spite of this, however, the process of the growth of a composite culture continued. This is evident from the new schools of painting which arose as a result of the influence of the Mughal painting, literature in various Indian languages, including

Urdu, and the continuing process of the coming together of people belonging to different communities.

This period, when looked at in the context of changes taking place in some other parts of the world, is one of stagnation. You have read before about some of the developments that had been bringing about far-reaching changes in the social, economic, cultural and political life of Europe. Significant advancements had taken place in the field of science, and soon new technologies were to further transform the social, economic and political life in many countries of Europe. The process of colonization of vast areas of the world by a few European countries had been under way since the sixteenth century. Changes of a comparable nature failed to take place in India, as also in other countries of Asia and Africa. There was also no awareness of the importance of the changes taking place in Europe in spite of contacts with European traders, missionaries and others. From about the middle of the eighteenth century, the conquest of India by Britain began. It was completed in a few decades and by the middle of the nineteenth century, the entire country was under the direct or indirect rule of the British. For the first time in her history, India came under foreign rule. She was ruled by foreigners who had not come to settle but to rule in the interest of their mother country. A new system of exploitation of one country by the dominant classes and groups of another country came into being. Under the new conditions created by foreign rule, the people of India were awakened and this awakening expressed itself, finally, in the struggle for independence, the end of imperialist exploitation of India and the building of a new India. From the early decades of the nineteenth

century, various social, religious, cultural and intellectual movements took root which aimed at removing the state of stagnation of Indian society. These movements were influenced by the modern democratic, humanistic and scientific thought and played an important role in promoting national consciousness and in laying the foundations of a new phase in India's cultural development. The nationalist movement united the Indian people on a new basis. It recognized and cherished the unity in diversity and the composite nature of India's culture as its unique feature. The nurturing of this feature was an integral part of the nationalist movement's objective of building an independent, united and forward-looking India. You will read about some aspects of the developments that took place in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Chapters 15 and 16.

The historical background discussed in this section provided the broad context for studying the development of a few aspects of culture which are described in the following sections.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The story of Indian art begins with Harappan culture. You have seen that the Harappans were great builders, skilled in town planning. The houses with the various facilities, the granaries, the Great Bath, show how skilful and efficient the people were in construction. The terracotta and stone images, the bronze figure of the dancing girl and the artistic seals reveal the exquisite workmanship of the artists.

Mauryan Period

The next stage of Indian art begins with

the Mauryan period. It was a period of economic prosperity, important development in religious thinking and practice and also one of remarkable artistic achievements. Megasthenes, who came to India as the ambassador of the Greek ruler Seleucus, described the palace of Chandragupta Maurya in glowing terms. It was large and luxurious and built of carved wood. The earliest stone buildings were based on wooden models.

The monolithic pillars of Ashoka on which are inscribed his famous edicts are



Rampurva Bull Capital

the great monuments of the Mauryan age. Some scholars trace these pillars to the influence of Persia. The most striking feature of these pillars is the finely carved capital with magnificent animal figures. We are all familiar with Sarnath lion capital which forms part of India's National Emblem. The Rampurva Bull capital is one of the best specimens of animal sculpture. The polish and smoothness of these pillars are amazing.

Another artistic achievement of this period is the famous stupa at Sanchi. In every stupa there was a small chamber in which a casket with relics of the Buddha or the Buddhist monks were placed. The surface of the stupa was generally built of bricks with a thick layer of plaster. The stupa was crowned by an umbrella of stone. The monument was surrounded by a fence with a path provided for *Pradakshina* (circumambulation). The original stupas

were enlarged and beautified from time to time. The Sanchi stupa which still stands intact is a well-preserved and splendid monument. A number of lesser stupas and other buildings such as monasteries and rest-houses are found in and around the main stupa.

The stupa at Sanchi as it stands today has stone railings and gateways around it. These were added later after the Mauryas. The gateways are a very striking feature. There are four gateways at the four cardinal points and they contain very lively and beautifully carved panels. In these panels are depicted events from the life of the Buddha and details from the *Jataka* stories. They also depict a landscape of trees and floral designs, groups of animals and birds, beautiful figures of *yakshas* and *yakshinis*, and men and women. Thus the Sanchi reliefs present the story of the Buddha and provide glimpses into Indian life through



Sanchi Stupa

clear, simple and dramatic scenes.

The Buddha is depicted in these panels not through his image but through the use of various symbols; for example, the horse represents his 'renunciation', the 'bodddhi' tree his enlightenment.

Gandhara and Mathura Schools of Art

The next important stage in the growth of art is associated with the name of Gandhara in the north-west. By this time the worship of the image of Buddha had become common. After the Greek invasions and during the period of the Kushanas, many artists from West Asia had settled down in the north-west of India. They were deeply influenced by the Graeco-Roman art. Mahayana Buddhism encouraged image worship. The Kushana kings, particularly Kanishka, encouraged the Gandhara artists to sculpture themes from Buddha's life and the *Jatakas*. The distinctive school of art which grew here is called the Gandhara school of art. A large number of the images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced.

Another school of art to develop in the early centuries of the Christian era is that of Mathura. From the beginning of the Christian era, Mathura became an important centre of artistic activities and the figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were produced there. The fine qualities of indigenous art traditions were preserved and improved upon by the Mathura sculptors. The images produced here became the models for the succeeding generations of artists.

This was also the period of the growth of art in Amaravati, developed under the Satavahana kings. Like the stupa at Sanchi, there was a great stupa in Amaravati in the lower Godavari valley. The stupa has

disappeared but many of its fine pieces are still intact in various museums. Many bas-relief medallions and panelled friezes decorated the stupa. These, like the stupa at Sanchi, depict events from the life of the Buddha and the *Jataka* stories. One of these depicts the story of the taming of the elephant by the Buddha. A rogue-elephant was let loose to kill the Buddha while he was walking along the streets of Rajagriha. The panel shows the elephant rushing



Bodhisattva, Gandhara

through the streets, the panic it caused, the reactions of men and women and finally the elephant kneeling before the Buddha. The climax is portrayed subtly and the magic of the story is brought out by a single panel.

There are a number of other places in this region where Buddhist remains have been discovered. The excavations at Nagarjuna-konda before that site was submerged in the waters of the Nagarjunasagar dam have added to the treasures of the Buddhist art.

The Gupta period saw the flowering of ancient Indian culture. One of the significant developments was the beginning of the Hindu temple. An example of this is the



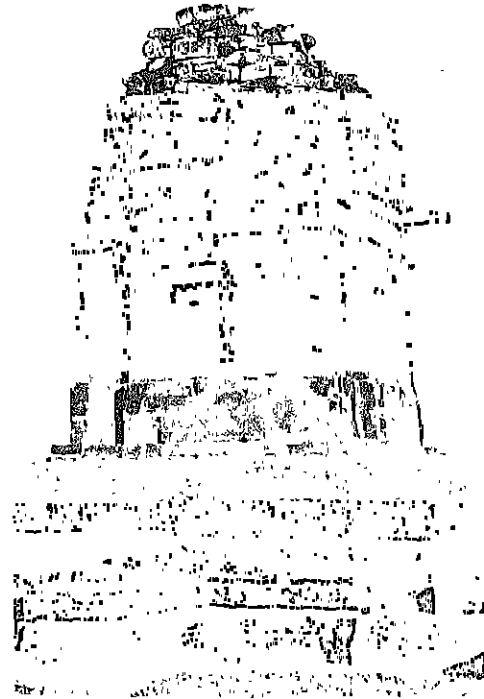
Anaravati medallion depicting the taming of the elephant by the Buddha

temple at Deogarh which was a small shrine-room where the image of the god was placed. The *varahavata*r depicted in the Udaygiri cave is a very impressive one. The simple and lovely Buddha images from Sarnath are an evidence of the skill of the sculptors of the Gupta period. Some of the caves of Ajanta and Ellora also belong to this period.

The Hindu temple which began in this period had a simple square as its ground-plan.

Cave Architecture

The development of the cave architecture is an important phase in the history of Indian architecture. More than a thousand caves from about the second century B.C. to tenth century A.D. were excavated in different parts of India. Most of them are Buddhist; some are Hindu and Jain. Beautiful *chaityas* (worshipping halls), *viharas* (monasteries), *mandapas*, *rathas* and cave temples have been cut out of rocks. The stability and permanence of the rock attracted the patrons to encourage the building of enduring monuments and dedicate them for religious purposes. The rocks were turned into lovely shrines with pillared halls and living-rooms decorated with sculpture. This is an amazing evidence of



Gupta Temple, Deogarh

the extraordinary skill and patience of the craftsmen and mastery that they acquired over the hard rock.

The earliest rock-cut temples were excavated in western Deccan in the early years of the Christian era. The first monument of this period is the Chaitya at Karle. It has a fine hall with highly polished and decorated pillars and a vaulted roof.

The second phase of rock architecture produced some exquisite creations. The growing popularity of image worship in



Budha Preaching, Sarnath

Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism stimulated building activities. The cave temples of Ajanta, Elephanta, Ellora, the *mandapas*, the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram, and the Kailasa temple at Ellora are some of the great achievements of this period. The size of these monuments, the infinite variety of themes from Mahayana Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, the colossal images of the Buddha, the magnificent panels depicting all aspects of life — these strike us when we visit the caves of Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta. Some of the excellent sculptures in these caves were executed under the patronage of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

In the Elephanta caves we see the magnificent 'trimurti'. The very idea of a colossal image of three aspects of the godhead is grand. The excellence of the details is revealed if we study each of the faces carefully.

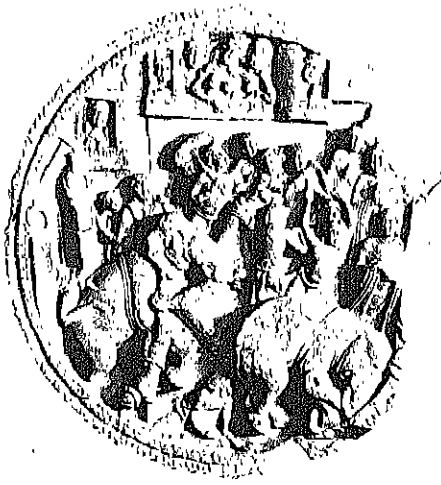
There are 27 caves in Ajanta. They contain the finest paintings of the ancient times in India. Some of the caves contain extraordinarily beautiful images of the Buddha, scenes from his life and from the *Jataka* stories.

At Ellora there are about 35 caves with fine sculptures. Some of the dramatic events from Hindu mythology captured the attention of the sculptors who have immortalized them. The greatest work here, the Kailasa temple, is a contribution of the Rashtrakutas. This temple, which has been hewn out of a massive rock, is an example of the daring resourcefulness and love of beauty of the sculptors of the time. The temple is elaborately adorned with figures and decorations. In all its details it is like a structural temple, but it is a gem of rock-cut architecture.

The artistic progress of the Gupta age continued for centuries and spread widely. The Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the

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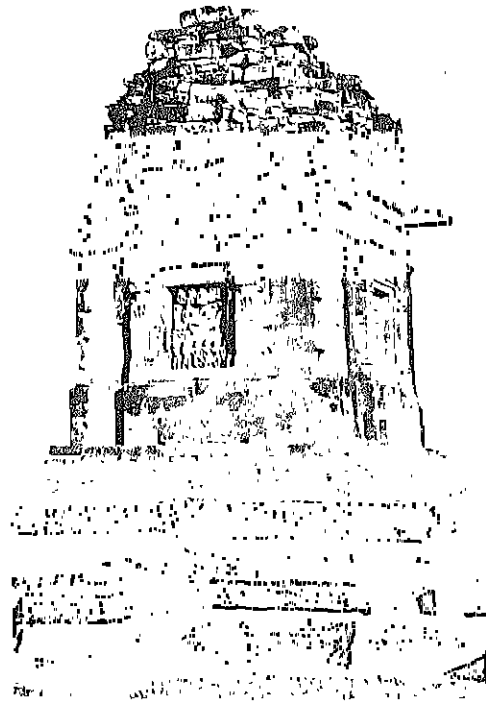
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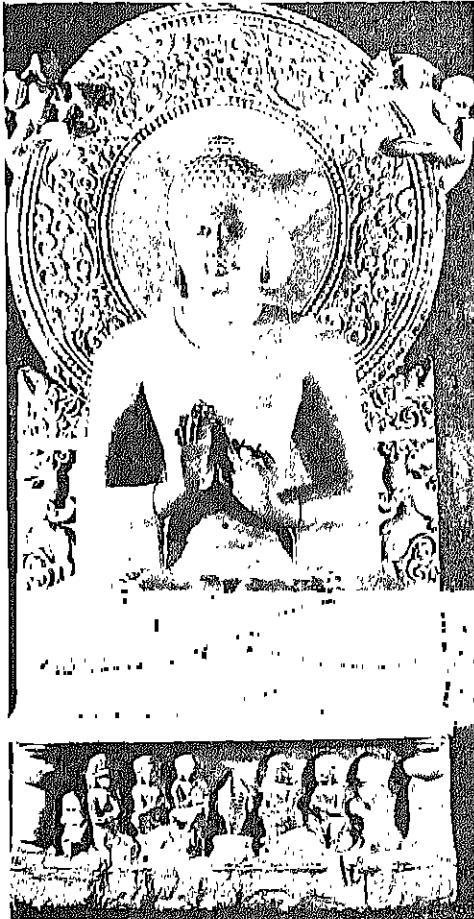


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Facade of an Ajanta Cave

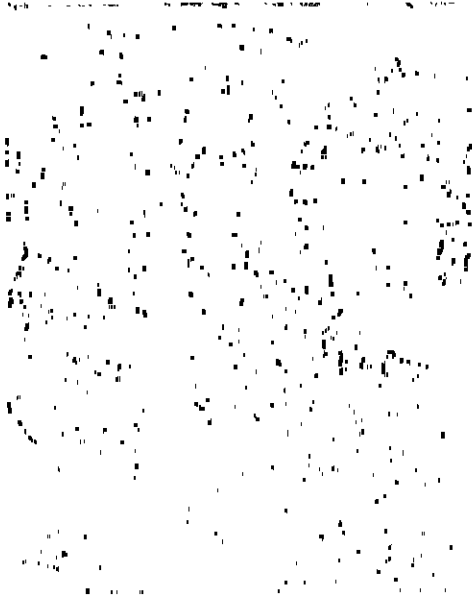
Pallavas of the Deccan and southern India added magnificent monuments, both caves and structural temples.

Both the rock-cut and structural monuments of the Pallavas are magnificent specimens of architecture. The Mandapas at Mahabalipuram are excavated halls with finely carved pillars and panels.

The splendid panel called the 'Descent

of the Ganga' in Mahabalipuram is a unique rock-cut sculpture. The story of Bhagiratha's penance to bring down the Ganga is the theme of the panel.

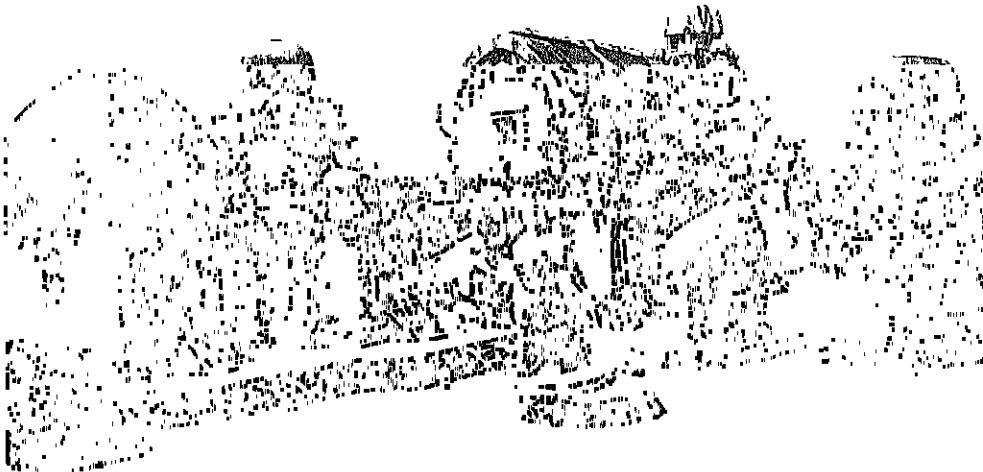
The Rathas of Mahabalipuram are well known. The 'Ratha' is a shrine carved out of a single rock and it looks like a structural temple. These Rathas are named after the Pandavas. When you look at these Rathas,



Kailasa Temple, Ellora



Descent of the Ganga, Mahabalipuram



The Rathas, Mahabalipuram

you find that each one of them is different in shape and size.

The Structural Temples

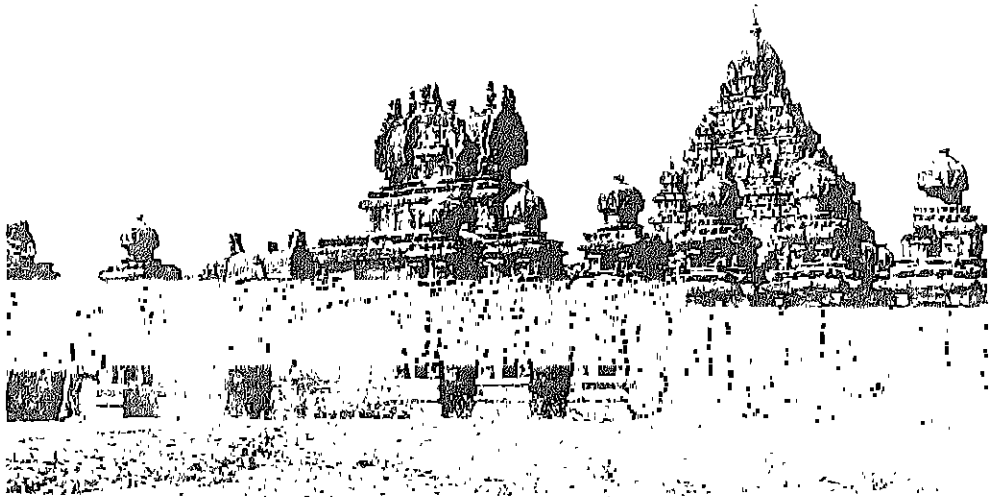
The Pallavas built a number of structural temples also. The most famous of these is the 'Shore temple' at Mahabalipuram. It is located on the sea shore and hence it has been called the 'Shore temple'. The twin towers of this temple set in a picturesque background, make it an enchanting sight on a moonlit night. Kanchipuram was the capital of the Pallavas and numerous temples were built there. Two of them stand out prominently. The Kailasanatha temple with its lovely *vimana* and the numerous panels depicting Shiva as Nataraja is a fine specimen of Pallava art. The Vaikunthaperumal temple is noted for its *vimana* and the series of panels depicting the history of the Pallava dynasty.

The Cholas with their capital at Thanjavur were great builders. The greatest temple of India, the Birhadeeshwara temple at Thanjavur, was built during the reign of Rajaraja Chola. The most striking

feature of this temple is its *vimana*. It is about 65 metres high and is built in such a way that its shadow does not fall on the ground. The grace and grandeur of the *vimana* have not been excelled by any other such creation. The pillared halls and the sculptures are fine specimens of Chola art. In one of the halls, the various dance postures mentioned in Bharata's *Natyashastra* are shown in sculptures. In the walls of the inner shrine there are a number of fine paintings.

Many other famous temples were built in the south. The Pandya rulers encouraged the building of high outer walls with entrance gateways topped by *gopurams*. Attention was now concentrated on the *gopurams* rather than the *vimana* or the *shikhara* above the main shrine. The artistic glory of the *gopuram* became so popular that it became a special characteristic of south Indian temples. The *gopurams* of Kanchi and Madurai temples can be seen from long distances.

The Hoysala rulers of Mysore were great patrons of art. Magnificent temples were



Kailasanath Temple, Kanchipuram

built in Belur, Halebid and other places. These temples are noted for the profusion of manifold pillars with rich and intricate carvings. The delicately carved friezes, the minute details of the panels depicting gods and goddesses, are like the work of the jeweller rather than of the sculptor.

The Bronze Sculpture of the Cholas

Starting during the late Pallava period, the bronze sculpture reached heights of glory during the Chola rule. The image of Nataraja (the Lord of Dance) is a superb masterpiece of the Chola bronze sculpture. The grandeur of its conception, its symbolism, its artistic excellence and its charm have impressed connoisseurs throughout the world. There are many images of Nataraja

in different dance poses. The bronze sculptures were one of the most significant contributions of the Cholas to Indian art.

North Indian Temples

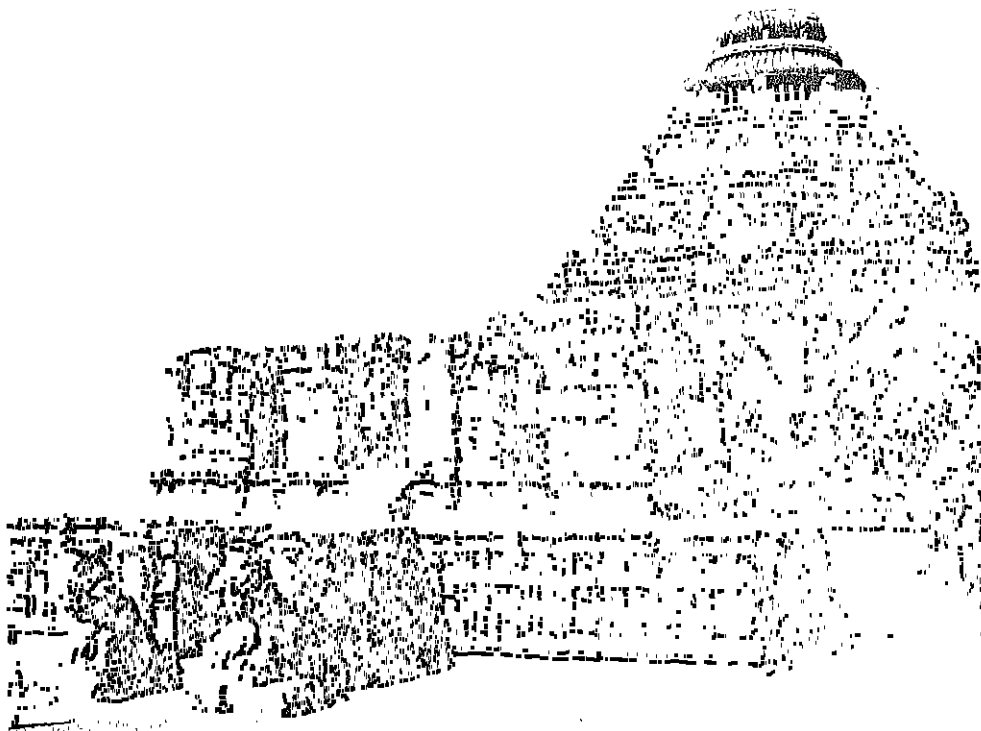
As in southern India, several styles of temple architecture developed in northern India.

Some of the most magnificent temples were built in Orissa. The Lingaraja temple of Bhubaneswar is located in an extensive area, with a number of subsidiary shrines. The spire of the Lingaraja temple is about 40 metres high and is very impressive. The immense spire is curved and has a rounded top. Though there are many similarities between these and the temples in the south, the differences in style are striking.

The sun temple in Konarak, popularly



Bronze Image of Nataraja



Sun Temple, Konarak

known as the 'black pagoda', perhaps because of the black stone used, is unique in design. Since it is dedicated to the sun god, the whole temple is designed as a chariot with twelve massive wheels drawn by seven horses. Each wheel with its rich carvings is a masterpiece. The human and animal figures carved out in black stone are most lifelike. The poses of dancing *apsaras* depicted in sculptures are studied by dancers even today and are brought alive by them in their performances. The theme of several of these sculptures is amorous.

The Chandella rulers of central India built the great temples of Khajuraho. The *shikhara* of these temples is graceful and refined and is adorned with sculptures.

The style of the *shikhara* varies from that of the others. The sculptures in Konarak and Khajuraho are some of the finest in India. They are full of life and vitality.

The Jain temples at Mount Abu are the finest monuments of the Solanki kings of Gujarat who were great patrons of art. The prosperous trade brought in wealth that was used for building Hindu and Jain temples. The Abu temples are very attractive because of the delicate and intricate carvings in white marble.

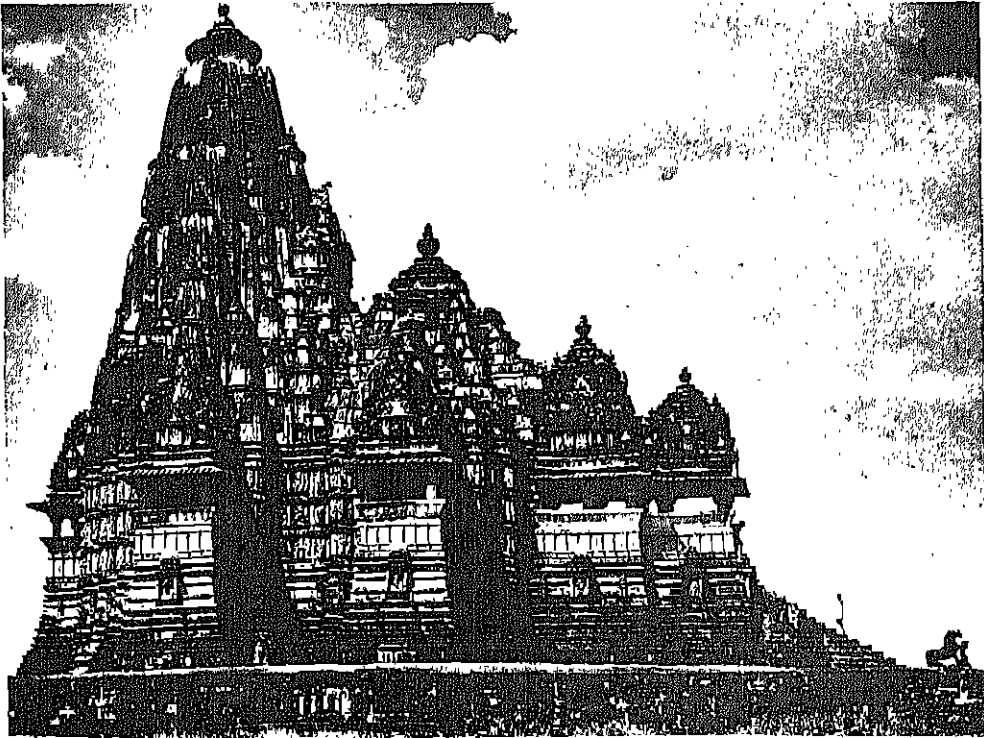
New Elements in Medieval Art and Architecture

The coming of the Turks inaugurated a new era in the history of Indian architecture, the Turks brought with them architectural ideas

developed in Persia, Arabia and Central Asia. When these new rulers started erecting religious and secular buildings such as palaces and mosques, they came into contact with the traditions that had already been developed in India. The interaction of these two traditions resulted in a new synthesis of architectural styles. The rulers of the Sultanat were great patrons of architecture and under them the process of synthesis started. It continued with many regional variations in the different kingdoms. During the Mughal period, the flowering of this synthesis took place and some of the greatest monuments of India were built. Based on the interaction of the two traditions, a unique Indian style of architecture was developed in this period.

Before we describe this development, it may be useful to see the distinctive features of the Islamic architecture which were to play an important part in the development of a new style in Indian architecture.

These features are clearly seen in the standardized architecture of the mosque and the mausoleum. The mosque consisted of a large, rectangular open courtyard surrounded by arcades on all four sides. The *mihrab* which faces Mecca indicates the direction to the prayer. The call to worship was made from a tall tower or minaret. In some mosques there were many minarets. Another characteristic feature was the arch in the gateway and other places. The dome was another prominent feature of the mosque and the mausoleum.



Kandariya Mahadeo Temple, Khajuraho

The chief decorative element was sculpturing the building with geometrical designs and lettering in calligraphic style. Some of these features were new to Indian architecture. The ancient Indian buildings were decorated with beautiful carving and sculpture while the Muslim buildings were marked by simplicity and lack of adornment. When the new buildings began to be erected, the two styles were gradually synthesized into a new and unique style.

Architecture under the Sultanat

The Turkish rulers utilized the services of the local designers and craftsmen who were among the most skilful in the world. The new fusion that started to take place avoided the extreme simplicity of the Islamic architecture and the lavish decoration of the earlier Indian architecture.

Among the first buildings to be erected were the mosques at Delhi and Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din Aibak. The mosque built in Delhi was called the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. It measured about 70 x 30 metres. The central arch of this mosque which is decorated with beautiful sculptured calligraphy still stands and is about 17 metres high and about 7 metres wide.

The successor of Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, was a great builder. He further extended the mosque. He also completed the building of the Qutb Minar which had been started by Qutb-ud-din and now stood in the extended courtyard of the mosque. This is a tower rising to a height of about 70 metres and is one of the most renowned monuments of India.

The next important buildings belong to the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He enlarged the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque still further and built a gateway to the enclosure of the mosque, the Alai Darwaza. Decorative



One of the arches of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi. The Iron Pillar, belonging to the Gupta period, can be seen in the front

element was introduced to beautify the building. He also started building a minar which was designed to be double the height of Qutb Minar, but the project remained unfulfilled.

The Tughlaqs who came after the Khaljis concentrated on the building of new cities in Delhi like Tughlaqabad, Jahanpanah and Ferozabad. A number of buildings were erected which differed in their style from the earlier buildings. Massive and strong structures like the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq and the walls of Tughlaqabad were built. The buildings of the Tughlaq period were significant from the point of view of the development of architecture. They were not beautiful but massive and very impressive.



Qutb Minar, Delhi

Architecture in the Regional Kingdoms

The regional kingdoms, building on the achievements of the previous period, developed their own distinctive styles of architecture. The process of synthesis continued in these kingdoms also and resulted in the construction of some of the finest buildings in India.

In Bengal were built the Adina mosque and the tomb of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah at Pandua and the Dakhil Darwaza and Tantipara mosque at Gaur. The oblong shape of many structures and the peculiar style of roof constructions were some of the distinctive features of the regional architecture of Bengal.

In Jaunpur, the Sharqi kings built an impressive monument, the Atala mosque. A huge massive screen covers the dome. The walls and the ceilings are decorated with many ancient Indian designs like the lotus.

The rulers of Gujarat built many structures notable for their grandeur and the excellence of their carving and other decorative forms. Ahmad Shah, the founder of Ahmedabad, built the Tin Darwaza and the Jami Masjid. The finest building in Ahmedabad is the Sadi Saiyyid mosque popularly known as the Jaliwali Masjid. The delicacy of the work is evident from the screens. Mahmud Begarha built the imposing Jama Masjid at Champaner.

The buildings at Mandu developed a distinctive style of their own under the Sultans of Malwa. Here were built the Jama Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal and a number of tombs. The buildings of Malwa have wide and imposing arches and the windows are gracefully decorated. The tomb of Hoshang Shah is made entirely of marble, the first of its kind in India, and is delicately decorated with yellow and black marble inlay work.

The rulers of Kashmir also built many beautiful buildings. Timber, stone and brick were used in the Jama Masjid completed by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. The turret is a striking feature of the mosques of Kashmir and recalls to mind the Buddhist *pagodas*. The tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin's mother, built entirely of brick and glazed tiles, has been designed in the Persian style.

The Bahmani Sultans in the Deccan erected a number of buildings in a distinctive style at Bidar and Gulbarga. They borrowed from the styles of Persia, Syria, Turkey and those of the temples of southern India. The Jama Masjid in Gulbarga is

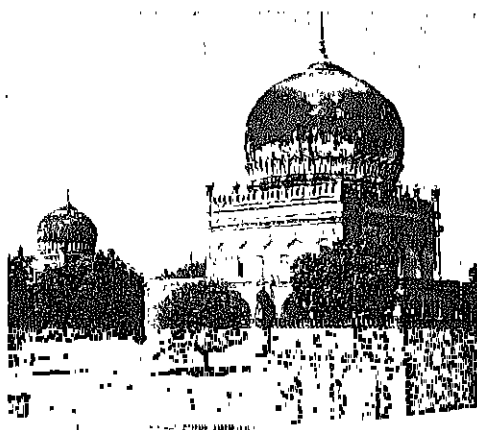
quite well known. The courtyard of this mosque is covered with a large number of domes. It is the only mosque in India which has a covered courtyard. Instead of minarets, there are domes at the four corners and a fifth and bigger one above the prayer chamber. The absence of decorative work does not mar its grandeur. There are two groups of tombs. The first group has the tombs of the first two Sultans and shows the impress of the Tughlaq architecture. The second group called the *half gumbad* or 'seven tombs' shows the influence of Persian and ancient Indian styles. Bidar also has a number of tombs. The tomb of Sultan Ahmad Shah Ali is richly decorated with beautiful paintings. The finest monument at Bidar is the *madrasa* of Mahmud Gavan, the great minister of the Bahmani kingdom for many years. It is a three-storeyed building and has two towering *minars* at the front corners.

After the Bahmani kingdom was split up, many other buildings, such as the Mehtar Mahal and the Ibrahim Rauza, were erected in the new principalities. The Gol Gumbaz, which is one of the largest domes in the world, at Bijapur, and the fort of Golconda, which is one of the strongest in India, and many tombs in Golconda also belong to this period.

These regional kingdoms, in the north and the south, played a significant role in the development of a common culture.

The Vijayanagar kingdom in the south which arose in the fourteenth century and was destroyed in A.D. 1565 also had a number of achievements in architecture to its credit. Only the ruins remain to tell the story of their past magnificence. The best examples of the Vijayanagar architecture were the Vithalswami and Hazar Rama temples at Hampi. The former has three

gopurams and a number of highly decorated pillars. The pillars of the latter were richly carved as were the inner walls and depicted scenes from the *Ramayana*.

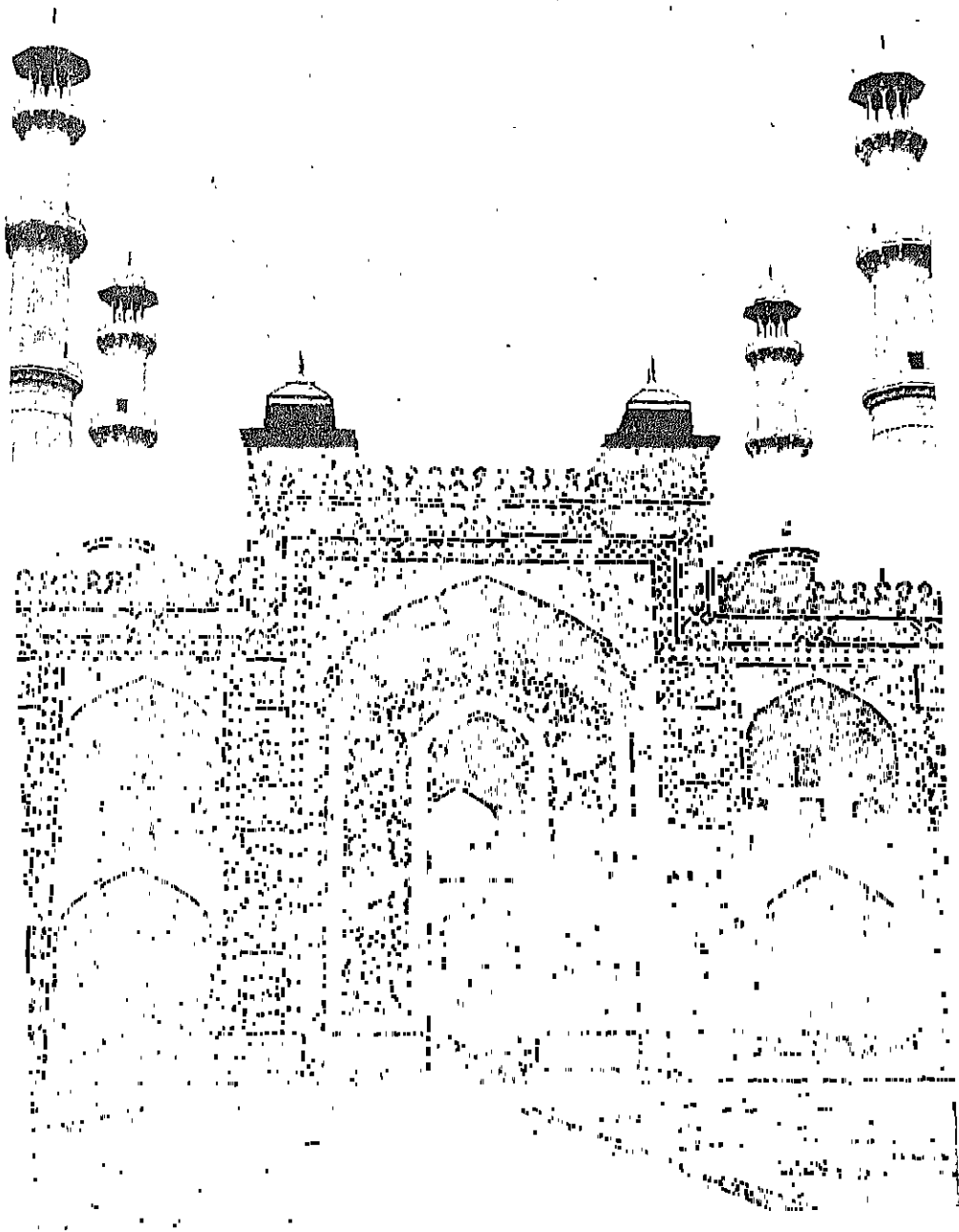


Tomb at Golconda

The Mughal Architecture

The process of synthesis was completed under the Mughals and the new architecture which had started taking shape with the establishment of the Sultanat reached the pinnacle of glory. The achievements of the Mughal period are the finest in architecture as well as in other fields of culture and can be very well compared with any preceding age in Indian history.

Babur and Humayun, the first two Mughal kings, erected a number of buildings with the help of Persian architects and these, now in ruins, are not very impressive. Humayun had to flee the country in the face of the rising power of the Afghan ruler, Sher Shah Suri. There was a short interregnum of Afghan rule before Humayun recovered the Indian territories for the Mughals. The most important build-



Akbar's Mausoleum, Sikandra

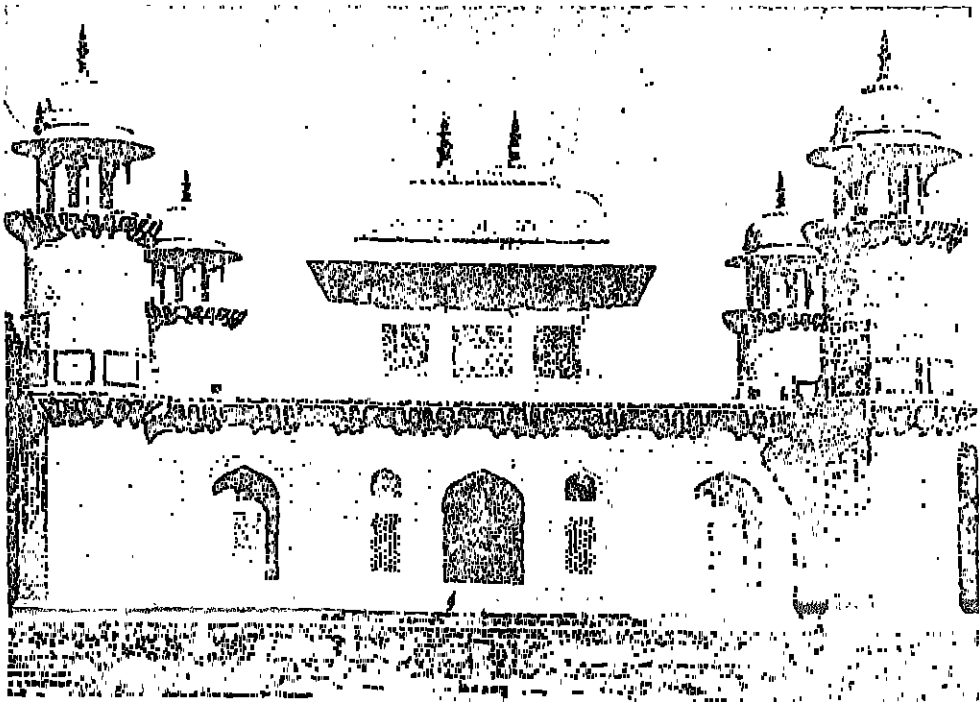
ing erected during the Afghan interregnum is the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram. The mausoleum is a well-proportioned building and stands in the middle of a tank.

The Mughal architecture, properly speaking, began in the reign of Akbar. The first important building of Akbar's reign is Humayun's tomb at Delhi. In this magnificent tomb, the Persian influence is very strong, particularly in the construction of the dome. However, unlike the Persians' use of bricks and glazed tiles, the Indian builders of the tomb used stone and marble. The two significant features of the Mughal architecture are also evident here — the large gateways and the placement of the building in the midst of a large park. The

tomb provided many architectural ideas for the building of the Taj Mahal later.

The next important buildings erected under Akbar were the forts at Agra and Lahore. He built his palace within the Agra fort. Many new buildings were constructed in the fort and perhaps the old ones altered by Akbar's successors. However, the parts attributed to Akbar's reign were built under the strong influence of the ancient Indian style and have courtyards and pillars. For the first time in the architecture of this style, living beings — elephants, lions, peacocks and other birds — were sculptured in the brackets.

The crowning achievement of the reign of Akbar was the building of his new capi-



Tomb of Humayun, Agra

tal at Fatehpur Sikri, about 40 kilometres from Agra. The buildings at Fatehpur Sikri have been built in a variety of styles making it one of the most magnificent capitals in the world. It had a circumference of over 10 kilometres. Even now there exist a number of magnificent structures in Fatehpur Sikri. The arch of the Buland Darwaza is about 41 metres high and is perhaps the most imposing gateway in the world. The tomb of Salim Chishti built in white marble is exquisite in its beauty. The building popularly known as the palace of Jodha Bai was built in the style of ancient Indian architecture. The Jami Masjid shows the influence of the Persian style. The cloisters surrounding it have a large number of domes and rooms. The Diwan-i-aam and the Diwan-i-khas are remarkable buildings and their planning and decoration have a unique Indian style. Birbal's house is profusely sculptured with beautiful patterns. Another notable building is the Ibadat-Khana or the 'House of Worship' where learned people belonging to various religions gathered together and discussed questions of philosophy and theology in the presence of the emperor. Then there is the Panch Mahal, a five-storeyed building modelled perhaps on the Buddhist *viharas*.

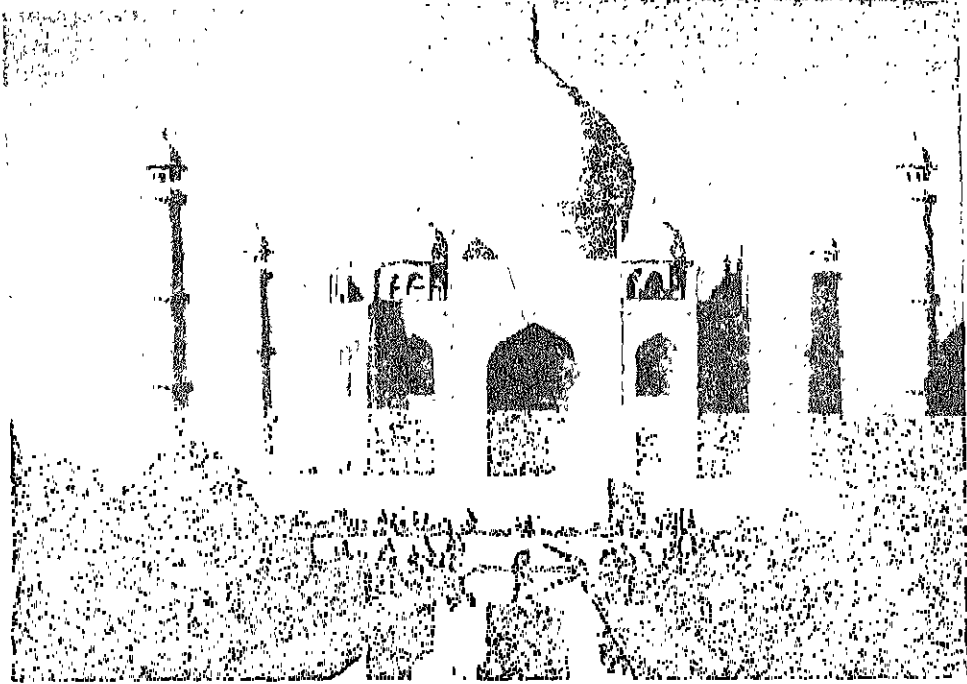
During the reign of Jahangir, the mausoleum of Akbar was constructed at Sikandara. This is a magnificent monument in many ways. After a long time, the *minar* became architecturally significant here. It has beautiful arches and domes. But the whole structure, as Ferguson suggested, is inspired by the Buddhist *viharas*. Jahangir also extended the palace buildings in the Agra fort and built the beautiful tomb of Itmad-ud-daula, the father of Nur Jahan. The tomb was built in marble and is notable for its beautiful coloured inlay work.

Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan built a beautiful mausoleum for her husband at Shahdara near Lahore.

The greatest of the Mughal builders was Shah Jahan, the successor of Jahangir. His reign marks the highest development of Mughal architecture. Some of the finest monuments of our country were built during his reign. Under him we find an exceedingly liberal use of marble, delicate decorative designs, a variety of arches and beautiful minarets. The list of Shah Jahan's buildings is very large—the completion of a large number of buildings in the Agra fort, the city of Shahjahanabad and the Red Fort of Delhi with its many buildings, the Jama Masjid at Delhi, the Taj Mahal and many others. Only a brief description of these buildings is possible here. The Diwan-



Entrance Gate, Agra Fort



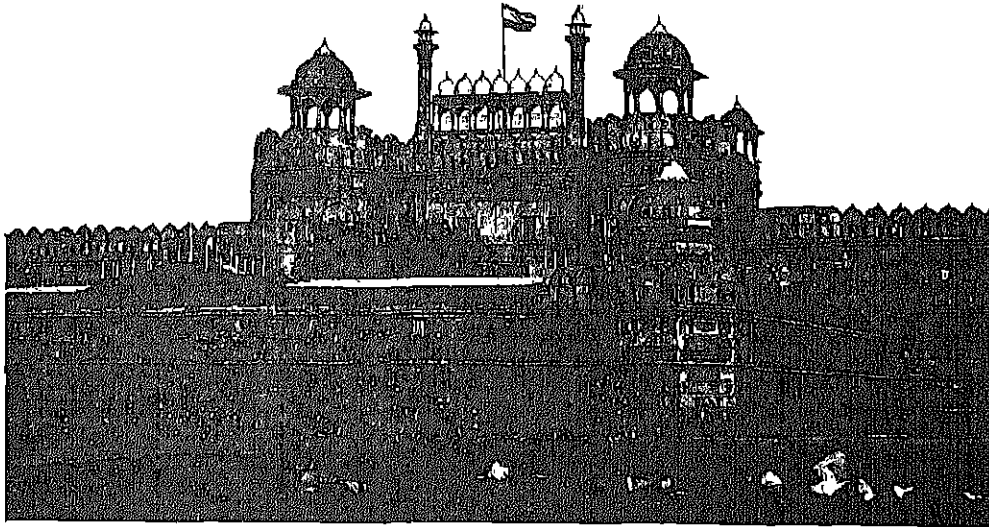
Taj Mahal, Agra

i-aam and the Moti Masjid in the Agra fort are built mainly in white marble with beautiful coloured inlay work. The Diwan-i-khas and the Diwan-i-aam in the Red Fort are richly decorated and are works of great beauty. The Diwan-i-khas rightly bears the inscription: *Agar firdaus barrooe zaminast—haminasto haminasto haminast* (if there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is here, it is here). The Red Fort has become associated with the history of our country during the past 350 years and it is here that the national flag was unfurled on the day after India became free. The Jama' Masjid at Delhi with its imposing domes and minarets is the most famous mosque in the

country and one of the finest in the world.

The most magnificent of Shah Jahan's buildings is the Taj Mahal built in memory of his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. It represents India's culture at its best and has been aptly described as 'the dream in marble'. It is remarkably well conceived and all its parts — the gateways, the central dome, the elegant *minars*, the delicate decoration, the inlay work in coloured marbles and precious stones, the lovely gardens surrounding it and the fountains in front — have been perfectly executed.

The only notable buildings of the reign of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, are the Badshahi mosque at Lahore and the



Red Fort, Delhi

Moti Masjid at Delhi. The period after him is one of general decline.

A significant contribution of the Mughals, especially Jahangir, was the laying of gardens. Some of the finest gardens were laid by him in Lahore and Srinagar.

The new style of architecture had a significant influence on the construction of Hindu temples and the secular buildings of the Rajputs during this period.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING IN INDIA

As in architecture, the cultural heritage of India in the field of painting is very rich. The first and the most creative period of the art of painting extends from the first to the seventh centuries of the Christian era. Of this the richest heritage is that of the Ajanta

paintings. Many murals which once decorated the walls of the Ajanta caves have disappeared due to neglect and the ravages of time.

The paintings of Ajanta depict various themes. There are those which depict the pomp and splendour of the royal courts and the romance of love and the joy of feasting, singing and dancing and the man-made world with luxurious products, buildings, textiles and jewellery. Some depict the world of nature—vegetation and flowers, animals and birds. Many themes depicted are from the Buddha's life and the *jataka* stories. All the scenes depicted are full of vitality. The figures are drawn with admirable skill. The intense human appeal gives the message of the unity of life depicted through the panorama of all forms of life. Every form receives the equal attention of the artists and the various worlds of

painting combine to give a fuller picture of real life. The medium through which this is done is the line. In the West what is achieved with colour is achieved with line in India. The line used by the Ajanta artists is unique, sweeping over vast areas with firmness and rhythm. It can accomplish with equal

skill the calm and serene Buddha and the restless eager crowds in a dance or a market-place. This style in ancient times spread to Central Asia and is evident in wall paintings and in paintings on wooden panels.

In northern India, the frescoes at Bagh are the best survivals, most of the others



Bodhisattva — Ajanta Painting

having been lost to us. The tradition of painting continued for some time in other parts of India, e.g. at Badami, Kanchi and Ellora. It later spread to Sri Lanka where the beautiful frescoes at Sigriya seem to be directly related to the traditions of Ajanta.

Gradually the art of wall painting died, though the art of book-illumination continued, particularly in Jain texts.

The next great era in the art of painting was ushered in by the Mughals. The Mughals brought with them the traditions

of Persian painting. Humayun brought with him to India two pupils of the great painter Behzad. They came into contact with their counterparts in India and under Akbar the synthesis of the two styles was encouraged. He gathered together a number of painters from Persia, Kashmir and Gujarat. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions a number of artists — Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyid Ali, Miskin, Daswant, Basawan, Mukand and many others. They illustrated manuscripts like the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* and



Palace Scene — Ajanta Painting

Babar Nama. Individual pieces were also painted. By the end of Akbar's reign, an independent Mughal style of painting had been developed.

Jahangir himself was a great connoisseur and patron of painting. Under him the Mughal school of painting was fully developed and made remarkable progress. The painting was no longer confined to book-illumination. Portrait painting and depiction of subjects drawn from life and nature became popular. Some of the finest painters in this period were Nadir, Murad, Bishan Das, Manohar, Govardhan, Mansur and Farrukh Beg. Writing about his own knowledge of painting in his autobiography, Jahangir says that he could distinguish between the work of each noted painter even if a painting was the product of joint work. The competence and skill of the Indian artists are evident from the incident which Sir Thomas Roe, who came to the court of Jahangir, mentions. The artists of Jahangir's court made several copies of a painting which Roe had presented to the emperor on the same day. The copies were so perfect that Roe found it difficult to spot the original.

Thus in the course of a few decades, fine works of painting were created. The development continued under Shah Jahan. Dara Shikoh, son of Shah Jahan, was a great patron of painting. With Aurangzeb, the art declined in the Mughal courts.

With the withdrawal of court patronage many artists went to different parts of the country and influenced the development of new schools of painting. Two of the most important schools of painting that thus emerged were the Rajasthani and the Pahari schools. The subjects of the paintings of these schools were drawn from the epics, myths and legends and love themes.

LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

India's heritage in languages and literature is one of the richest in the world. Through the many centuries of India's history, many languages have grown and have influenced one another. Some of the languages that were spoken in India in ancient times and had a rich literature have become extinct; others remain important. For example, Sanskrit, though no longer a spoken language, is still a language of many religious rituals and of literature. However, the old languages have left their mark on the languages which we speak today and which began to develop towards the close of the ancient period. These languages have bequeathed a very rich literature to us.

Languages

Besides many small groups, there are two main groups of languages — the Indo-European or Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian. Most of the languages spoken in the northern parts of India belong to the former group and those of the southern parts to the latter. However, these two groups have not developed in isolation from each other.

You have read about the Harappan script which has not yet been deciphered. We also do not know what language the Harappans spoke. Sanskrit was the language of the Indo-Aryans who came to India and belongs to the Indo-European group of languages. Sanskrit was gradually standardized and given a highly scientific grammar by Panini, the great grammarian, in about fourth century B.C. Sanskrit was the language of religion, philosophy and learning and was used by the upper castes, the brahmanas and the kshatriyas. The common people spoke a number of dialects which are called Prakrits. Buddha, as you already know, preached in

the language of the people. Buddhist literature was written in Pali, one of the Prakrits. Ashoka had his rock and pillar edicts inscribed in the popular languages.

Among the Dravidian languages Tamil is the most ancient. The others developed during the first millennium of the Christian era.

Though Sanskrit again became the predominant language of learning in the period of the Guptas, the Prakrits continued to develop. The various spoken languages that developed are called *Apabhramshas*. These formed the basis of the modern Indian languages which developed in the various regions of India during the medieval period.

During the period of the Turks and the Mughals, as you have read before, two new languages — Arabic and Persian — entered India. Of these Persian is more important. It was the court language for hundreds of years and continued to be used widely right up to the nineteenth century. A rich tradition of Persian literature grew in India during this period and led to the growth of a new language — Urdu — based on the dialects of Hindi and drawing much of its vocabulary from Persian. It became the common language of towns all over northern India and the Deccan and developed a very rich literature in poetry and prose.

Throughout the course of the development of Indian languages, various foreign languages have played a significant part and helped Indian languages to enrich their vocabulary. This happened as a result of close contacts with the cultures of many peoples outside India.

Thus the languages that we speak today have a long history behind them. There are eighteen languages which have been mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Consti-

tution of India. In addition to these, hundreds of other languages are spoken by people in various parts of the country. This variety of languages has made India a multilingual country. The languages spoken today have grown over a period of centuries and have influenced and enriched one another.

Ancient Indian Literature

The earliest known work of the Aryans in India was the *Rig Veda* which is a collection of 1028 hymns in Vedic Sanskrit. Most of the hymns are in praise of different Vedic deities and were intended for recitation at the *Yajnas* or sacrifices. Many of them are beautiful descriptions of nature. Some of the most enchanting are addressed to *Ushas*, the goddess of dawn, like this one:

In the sky's framework she has gleamed with brightness: The goddess has cast off the robe of darkness. Rousing the world from sleep, with ruddy horses, Dawn in her well-yoked chariot is arriving (*Rig Veda*, i, 1.113)

The *Rig Veda* was followed by three more Vedas — *Yajur Veda* which gives directions for the performance of the *Yajna*, the *Sama Veda* which prescribes the tunes for the recitation of the hymns of the *Rig Veda*, and the *Atharva Veda* which prescribes rites and rituals. After the four Vedas, a number of works, called the *Brahmanas*, grew which contained detailed explanation of Vedic literature and instructions. The *Aranyakas*, which are an appendix to the *Brahmanas*, prescribed certain rites and also laid the basis of a body of more philosophical literature. It was the Upanishadic literature which dealt with questions like the origin of the universe, birth and death, the material and spiritual world, nature of knowledge and many other questions. The earliest Upanishads are the

Brihad-Aranyaka and *Chanddogya*. The Upanishads are in the form of dialogues and express the highest thoughts in simple and beautiful imagery. Another body of literature to grow in the early period was the Vedangas which, besides rituals, were concerned with astronomy, grammar and phonetics: One of the most outstanding works of this period was a classic on Sanskrit grammar, the *Ashtadhyayi* by Panini.

All these works were in Sanskrit. They were handed down from generation to generation orally and were put to writing much later.

The two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, were developed over a period of centuries and were perhaps put to writing in their present form in the second century A.D. The *Mahabharata* contains about 100,000 verses and is the longest single poem in the world. Besides the main story of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, a number of other interesting stories are woven into this epic. The *Blagvad Gita*, a later addition to the *Mahabharata*, enshrines a philosophical doctrine and in it are described the three paths to salvation, viz: *Karma*, *Gyan* and *Bhakti*. The *Ramayana*, the story of Rama, is shorter than the *Mahabharata* and is full of interesting adventures and episodes. These two epics have influenced the thinking of millions of people for centuries.

This period abounds in both religious and secular literature in Sanskrit. The *Purnas* are important, for they were the main influence in the development from early Vedic religion to Hinduism. There were many other *shastras* and *smritis*. The *shastras* contained works of science and philosophy. For example, the *Arthashastra* by Kautilya was a treatise on the science of governance. There were *shastras* on art,

mathematics and other sciences. The *smritis* dealt with the performance of duties, customs and laws prescribed according to *dharma*. The most famous of these is the *Manusmriti*.

The early Buddhist literature was in Pali and consists of two sections. The *Suttapitaka* consists mainly of dialogues between the Buddha and his followers. The *Vinayapitaka* is concerned mainly with the rules of the organization of the monasteries. The *Milinda-panha* is another great Buddhist work consisting of dialogues between the Indo-Greek king Menander and the Buddhist philosopher Nagasena. Another great Buddhist work consists of hundreds of *Jataka* stories which became the subjects of Buddhist sculpture and are popular all over the world for their wisdom. Later many Buddhist works were written in Sanskrit. Of these the most famous is the *Buddhacharita* or 'Life of Buddha' by Ashvaghosha.

The period beginning a little before the reign of the Guptas ushered in the glorious period of Sanskrit literature, particularly secular. This was the greatest period for the growth of poetry and drama. The great writers of this period are well known—Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bharavi, Bhartrihari, Bana, Magha and many others. Of these, Kalidasa is known all over the world. His works — the *Kumarasambhava*, the *Raghuvamsha*, the *Meghaduta*, the *Abhijnanashakuntalam* and others — are unrivalled for their poetry and style. Bana wrote the *Harshacharita*, a biography of King Harsha, and *Kadambari*. Among the other famous works of the period are Bhavabhuti's *Utter-Ramacharita*, Bharavi's *Kirtarjuniya*, Vishakhadatta's *Mudra Rakshasa*, Shudraka's *Mricchakatika*. Dandin wrote the *Daskumaracharita* or the

'tales of the Ten Princes'. The subjects of these and other works were political events, romances, allegories, comedies and philosophical questions. Besides these, there was also a growing body of philosophical literature. The most famous of these in the later period are the great commentaries of Shankaracharya. There were also great collections of tales and stories. The most famous collections are the *Panchatantra* and the *Kathasarit-sagar* which have been translated into many languages all over the world.

The four Dravidian languages — Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam — developed their own distinct scripts and literature. Tamil is the oldest of these with its literature going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. According to tradition, three literary gatherings or *Sangams* were held at which many sages and poets recited their compositions. This body of literature consists of many themes like politics, war and love. The famous works of this body of literature include the *Ettutogai* ('Eight Anthologies'), the *Tolkappiyam* (a work of Tamil grammar) and the *Pattuppattu* ('The Ten Songs'). Thiruvalluvar wrote the famous *Kural* which, in verse, deals with many aspects of life and religion. The *Silappadikaram* and the *Manimekalai* are some of the other most famous works of early Tamil literature

Literature in the Medieval Period

In the early medieval period in northern India, Sanskrit continued to be the language of literature. This is the period of the works of two writers in Kashmir—Somadeva's *Kathasarit-sagar* which we have already mentioned and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. The latter, a history of Kashmir, is a work of great importance as this is

the first proper historical work in India. Another famous work of this period is the *Gita Govinda* by Jayadeva, which is one of the finest poems in Sanskrit literature. As we have said before, this was the period when the *Apabhramsha* languages had started developing into modern Indian languages. One of the earliest works in an early form of Hindi was *Prithviraj Raso* by Chandbardai. This work which marks the beginning of bardic literature deals with the heroic deeds of Prithviraj Chauhan.

In the southern parts, this period saw the flourishing of Sanskrit literature. We have already mentioned the philosophical commentaries of Shankara. Another important Sanskrit work of this period is Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva-charita*, a biography of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI. However, this period is more important for the growth of literature in the Dravidian languages. Nripatunga wrote a great work of poetry in Kannada called the *Kavirajamarga*. For a few centuries, the Kannada literature was deeply influenced by Jainism. Pampa wrote the *Adipurana* and the *Vikramarjuna-Vijaya*, the former dealing with the life of the first Jain *tirthankara* and the latter based on the *Mahabharata*. Ponna wrote the *Shantipurana*, a legendary history of the sixteenth *tirthankara*. Another great Kannada writer was Ranna, a contemporary of Pampa and Ponna. Two of his famous works are the *Ajitaipurana* and the *Gadayuddha*. Pampa, Ponna and Ranna are known as the Three Gems of the early Kannada literature. Kamban wrote the *Ramayana* in Tamil. In Tamil, this was the period of the composition of the great hymns of the Alvars and the Nayanars. The hymns of the Alvars are collected into the *Nalayira-Divya Prabandham*. Some of the Nayanar works

are the *Thiruvvasagam*, the *Thirunanavaram* and the *Thiruttondattogai*. Telugu also produced great religious and secular literature in this period. This included translations of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, works of grammar, science and other secular literature. Literature in Malayalam also started growing.

The period of the Sultanat of Delhi saw a great advance in the growth of modern Indian languages and literature. *Braj Bhasha* and *Khari Boli*, forms of Hindi, began to be used in literary compositions. Many devotional songs were composed in these languages. Heroic literature was written in Rajasthani, which was akin to Hindi and Gujarati. The famous ballad *Alha Udal* and the *Vishaldeo Raso* belong to this period. The literature in other modern Indian languages was also growing. Mulla Daud wrote perhaps the oldest poem in Awadhi language called *Chandayana*. Commentaries on ancient scriptures, however, continued to be written in Sanskrit.

Persian was the court language of the Sultanat. Because of its literature many Persian words became part of the vocabulary of Indian languages. A very notable contribution of the Turks was in the field of historical literature in Persian. In ancient India, there was no tradition of historical writing. The Turks introduced the Arab and Persian traditions of historical writing in India and with them we get a fairly systematic account of Indian history beginning with the Sultanat of Delhi. There were many historians in this period. Ziauddin Barani wrote the *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* which gives a detailed account of the reigns of the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs. He also wrote a work on political theory called the *Fatawa-i-Jalandari*. Perhaps the most outstanding literary figure of this period was Amir

Khusrau. He was a poet, historian, mystic and composer of music. He was also a disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya. He wrote the *Ashiq*, the *Nuli Sipahr*, the *Qiranal-Sadayan*, the *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and several works of poetry. He symbolizes the composite culture which was growing under the new impact. He took great pride in his being an Indian and praised India as the 'Earthly Paradise'. He praised India's fauna and flora, its beauty, its buildings, its knowledge and learning. He believed that in many respects the essence of Hinduism resembled Islam. He considered *Hindawi*, the Hindi spoken around the region of Delhi, his mother tongue and composed many verses in it. He composed a number of bilingual quatrains and verses in Hindi and Persian. The healthy tradition started by him continued for centuries after him.

The regional kingdoms provided a great stimulus to regional languages and literature. The Sultans of Bengal, Gujarat and other states patronized local languages and literature. Bhakti saints preached in the language of the people. Many of them like Kabir were great poets. There were two main forms of Hindi in this period—Bhojpuri and Awadhi. Kabir wrote in Bhojpuri and his *dohas* or couplets have become a part of the folklore. Malik Muhammad Jayasi wrote the *Padmavat* in Awadhi. The famous *Ramacharitamans* by Tulsidas was also written in Awadhi in this period. There were many other poets of Awadhi in this period. For example, Qutban, a disciple of the Sufi saint Shaikh Burhan, wrote the *Mrigavati*.

Literature in other languages also developed in this period. In Bengali the *Ramayana* by Krittivasa and the hundreds of lyrics by the famous poet Chandidas were written under the patronage of the

rulers. With Chaitanya, the tradition of writing devotional songs began. Narasi Mehta wrote devotional songs in Gujarati and Namdev and Eknath in Marathi. There were important developments in Kashmir under Zainul Abidin, under whose patronage many Sanskrit works like the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajatarangini* were translated into Persian.

Under the Vijayanagar kingdom, Sanskrit literature continued to grow. However, this was an important period for the growth of Telugu literature. Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest of Vijayanagar rulers, was also a Telugu and Sanskrit writer. He wrote the *Vishnuchittiya*. There were many poets in his court, the most famous of whom was Allasani Peddana who wrote the *Manucharita*. Dhurjati wrote the *Kalahasti Mahatamya*.

As in art and architecture the Mughal period also saw great developments in literature. Many Mughal emperors and members of the royal family were great men of letters. Babar, the first Mughal ruler, was one of the pioneers of Turkish poetry and also the author of a very valuable autobiography in Turkish, *Babar Nama*, which was later translated into Persian. Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humayun, wrote the *Humayun Nama*. Jahangir, the great connoisseur of painting, wrote his autobiography, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. Aurangzeb also was a prolific writer and the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah 'Zafar' was a notable Urdu poet.

Hindi literature made significant progress during Akbar's reign. Tulsidas, who has already been mentioned, and the famous saint Surdas wrote in this period. Keshavdas, a great poet, wrote on themes of love. Rahim's *dohas* or couplets are extremely popular in many parts of the

country. It was also in Akbar's time that the great Sanskrit work on styles of writing, the *Alankarashekhara* by Keshava Misra, appeared.

This was a period of many notable writings in the Persian language. Abul Fazl wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar Nama*. *Ain-i-Akbari* gives details of Indian customs and manners, religions and philosophy, economic conditions and almost every other aspect of life. As a historical work, it is perhaps unparalleled. Abul Fazl's brother Faizi was a great poet of Persian and was responsible for the translation of many Sanskrit works into Persian. Akbar had started a whole department for translation of works like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Atharva-Veda*, the *Bhagvad Gita* and the *Panchatantra*.

Many important historical works were produced under the emperors after Akbar. Some of the most important historians of this period were Abdul Hamid Lahori, Khafi Khan, Muhammad Kazim and Sujjan Rai Bhandari. Literature in modern Indian languages also continued to grow. The famous book of Bihari Lal called the *Satsai* in Hindi belongs to this period.

One of the most significant developments during the medieval period was the birth of the Urdu language. This new language soon developed one of the richest literatures as a modern Indian language. It produced great poets like Wali, Mir Dard, Mir Taqi Mir, Nazir Akbarabadi, Asadullah Khan Ghalib and, in the twentieth century, Iqbal and others. Urdu prose also developed early in the eighteenth century when the translation of most of the historical works from Persian and Sanskrit into Urdu began. At the same time many original prose works in Urdu were written like Muhammad Husain Azad's *Darbar-i-*

Akbari. The Urdu novel was one of the earliest to develop in the Indian languages. Urdu became the language of the urban people of northern India and the Deccan and is one of the best examples of the growth of a common culture.

MUSIC AND DANCE

As in architecture, painting, languages and literature, signs of growth and synthesis are visible in the evolution of other aspects of culture. Governed by almost the same basic ideas, the music and dances of India developed a very rich variety on the foundations laid in the ancient times. The earliest traditions of Indian music can be traced back to the Vedas which prescribed the pitch and accent for the chanting of Vedic hymns. The music of the Vedic chant survives to this day. The earliest known treatise of Indian music, dance and drama is as old as second century B.C. This is Bharata's *Natyaśāstra*. Much of the musical terminology used till today is derived from Bharata's treatise. Another major work composed over a thousand years later was Matanga's *Bṛhaddēśi*. The concept of *rāga* was discussed at great length in this work. A thirteenth century work, Sarṅgadeva's *Saṅgita-ratnākara*, mentions 264 *ragas*. Indian music, both vocal and instrumental, developed with seven basic notes and five others. A variety of string, wind and drum instruments were later invented. Music has, from times immemorial, been one of the most cherished arts of India. Besides providing patronage to musicians, many rulers themselves were accomplished musicians. We see, for example, Samudragupta's coin in which the king himself is shown playing on the Vīna. Music was also associated with the wor-

ship of gods and goddesses and in its perfection it has received the same devotion as worship.

The medieval period witnessed further developments in music. Music was not a part of the original Islamic tradition (though the form of recitation of the Quranic verses is musical), but it developed under the influence of the Sufis and became a part of court life. Many new forms and instruments were developed. Amir Khusrau, about whose contribution to literature and historical writing you have read, is believed to have invented some of these musical instruments. He was the originator in India of the early form of the popular musical style known as *Qawwali*. *Khayal*, one of the most important forms of Indian classical music, is also believed to be his contribution. Then there are the legendary figures of Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, and his queen Rupamati in the sixteenth century. They were not only accomplished musicians but also introduced many new *ragas*. The most notable figure in music in medieval India was Tansen, the court musician of Akbar. His attainments in music have become a legend and his memory is deeply cherished by every musician to this day. The patronage of music continued at the courts of rulers in the eighteenth century and the traditions evolved through the centuries were kept alive. The contribution of the Bhakti and Sufi saints in the development and promotion of music is very important.

The growth of Indian classical music has been a major force of India's cultural unity. For hundreds of years, most of the words and themes of the Indian classical music have been derived from Hindu mythology but some of the greatest masters of this music have been Muslims. It is inter-

esting to mention here the *Kitab-i-Nauras*, a collection of songs in praise of Hindu deities and Muslim saints, which was written by a seventeenth century ruler Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Both in vocal and instrumental music, two main classical styles have evolved—Hindustani and Carnatic. Some of the greatest figures in Carnatic music were Purandaradasa, Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syamasastri whose compositions continue to dominate Carnatic music even now. These two styles have many things in common and each has a variety of forms. The rich heritage of classical music that has come down to us has been further enriched in the hands of masters in India today and has won admirers all the world over. Besides classical music, Indian people have developed rich traditions of folk music.

Indian dance has also developed a rich classical tradition. It has become the medium of expression of emotions, of telling a story and of drama. The story of Indian dance can be seen in the temple sculptures of ancient and medieval times. The popular image of Shiva in the form of Nataraja symbolizes the influence of this art form on the life of the Indian people. It received the patronage of emperors and kings as also of the common people. Some styles of classical dance that have evolved through the centuries are Kathakali, Kuchipudi, Bharat Natyam, Kathak and Manipuri. All these styles have developed over a long period of time. Practically every region and area in the country has also developed rich traditions of folk dances. The rich variety in music and dance forms, classical and folk, is a major component of India's cultural heritage.

Through their music and dance, Indian people have expressed their joys and sor-

rows, their struggles and aspirations, and a myriad other emotions. While at work and during their hours of leisure, they have danced, sung and played music. These art forms have been inspired by life and in turn have enriched life.

In this chapter, only a few components and aspects of India's cultural development have been described. Indians throughout their history, made significant advances in various fields of knowledge such as science and mathematics, medicine and surgery, and philosophy. You have read about some of the achievements in these fields in earlier chapters of this book (Vol. I). Some of the great names in Indian science, mathematics, medicine and surgery are Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, Charaka and Sushruta. A prominent figure in the field of science in the sixteenth century was Fathullah Shirazi. In all these fields, India's achievements reached other countries. Many works of these men of science were translated by the Arabs and through the Arabs they reached the Europeans. You are already familiar with the story of the Indian numerals. Indians also benefited from the scientific achievements of other cultures, particularly in astronomy and, in medieval times, also in medicine. Science in India failed to keep pace with scientific development in some other parts of the world only from about the sixteenth century when modern science began to develop in Europe. In technology, this situation came even later. The comparative backwardness of Indian science and technology grew more acute as science and technology made rapid progress in the West. This, as you have seen, had disastrous consequences.

In philosophy also, India made signifi-

can't advances in ancient and medieval times. Many distinct schools of philosophy grew, both idealist and materialist. In later times, however, there was too much emphasis on writing commentaries on earlier philosophical works rather than developing new thinking. Though India's heritage in this area of intellectual life is of great importance and has been a significant influence in philosophical writings in other countries, the neglect of certain developments in philosophy had a negative effect on Indian intellectual life. These developments, particularly of scientific, humanistic and rationalist thinking, began to be imbibed in Indian intellectual life in the nineteenth century.

This in brief is the story of Indian cultural development through the ages. Through the long years, people living in India and those coming to India intermingled with each other. They developed

a rich and dynamic culture always ever-growing through its internal evolution and through contacts with other cultures. Many streams of thought, belief and expression originating elsewhere have mixed with the ever-growing streams in India and coalesced to form the ocean of Indian culture. Many streams of faith and religion, of styles of architecture and art, and of languages rich in literature have developed during the course of centuries. In its variety Indian culture is one of the richest in the world. All the diverse streams have developed in this country and are Indian. This richness has come about as a result of the freedom which every region and community has enjoyed to develop its genius and through their mutual interactions. It also needs to be remembered that the culture of any country is a dynamic and ever-growing entity which needs to be further developed and enriched by every generation.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. Name the many groups of people who came to India and settled down here from about 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1800.
2. Name one important work of each of the following persons:
Bana, Kalidasa, Ashvaghosha, Panini, Abul Fazl, Jahangir, Amir Khusrau, Kautilya, Thiruvalluvar, Kamban, Pampa, Tulsidas, Ziauddin Barani, Kalhan.
3. How did the temple architecture begin in India? What were the main features of its development in the southern parts of India? Name some of the important temples of the ancient and early medieval periods.
4. What were the languages of literature in ancient India? How did the modern Indian languages develop?

Things to Do

1. On an outline map of India, show the places where important monuments of the ancient and medieval periods are found.
2. Visit the monuments belonging to the same or different periods and try to find out differences in style.

3. With the help of your teacher, prepare a list of about 100 words belonging to other languages which have become a part of your mothertongue.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. Why do we say that the heritage of Indian culture is very rich? Has it something to do with its diversity? If so, is it desirable, in your opinion, to have such a diversity of culture? Why? Or why not?
2. What lessons do you learn from India's cultural heritage?
3. What are the main contributions of the medieval period to religion, art and architecture, literature and languages?
4. Is it true that the characteristic feature of Indian culture in different periods of India's history has been 'unity in diversity'? Study more intensively any one period of history and discuss concretely whether this is true or not.

CHAPTER 2

Indian Awakening

Many changes were brought about by the Renaissance, the Industrial Revolution and the socio-political revolutions which laid the foundations of the modern world in Europe. These changes led to the growth of rationalism and scientific thinking, a vast increase in the production of goods, increasing participation of people in the government of their countries and a growing realization of human equality and respect for the dignity of the individual. Indian society during the same period was, however, still living in its old ways, largely uninfluenced by these developments. It had stagnated and had to pay the price of stagnation when it failed to resist the onslaught of British imperialism.

Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century

Each village produced almost all its bare necessities of life. Its relationship with other parts of the country for its economic needs was limited. The techniques of agriculture also had not significantly changed for hundreds of years. Local crafts and agricultural operations were carried out with the help of simple tools. The economic bonds that unite a country were weak. Towns and cities had developed as administrative, pilgrimage or commercial centres. The industries produced luxury or semi-luxury goods with the help of simple tools. These

goods were produced mainly for the urban population or for exports.

Indian merchants traded with other countries and made vast profits. These profits, however, were not used to develop industries. Technological improvements were not introduced. Some changes were beginning to take place as a result of internal and foreign trade. For example, the domestic system had begun. In course of time, these forces might have become strong enough to bring about fundamental changes. However, before this could happen, India fell a prey to British conquest, and processes of internal change in India, however slow, were disrupted.

The economic stagnation was accompanied by a similar stagnation in the social sphere. The social system of the Hindus was predominantly based on the caste system which had arisen in ancient times. In course of time, it had undergone many changes, but its hereditary and unequal basis had remained unchanged. The caste system was one of the most important causes of social disunity. There were hundreds of castes and sub-castes in the country which led to the fragmentation of society. The sense of belonging to a caste or sub-caste was strong. A large part of the population was considered by the people of higher castes as 'untouchable'.

The life of the Hindus, in theory, was governed by the Dharmashastras which

prescribed different rights and duties for different castes. But there were several evil customs and practices which had become a part of the Hindu social system, such as *sati*, infanticide, child marriages, and belief in superstitions. The status of women in society had deteriorated. A widow's life particularly if she belonged to a 'higher' caste, was miserable. She could not remarry even if she became a widow during her childhood.

The Muslims were also divided by caste, ethnic and sectarian differences. The backward economic system, together with a social system lacking in cohesion and equality, retarded the forces of progress. The political system presented an equally dismal picture. Political loyalties were primarily local or regional. The Mughal empire had declined after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. India was divided into a number of small and big states fighting against one another. The Marathas who emerged as the strongest power in India after the decline of the Mughal empire had no conception of a united Indian nation. Their conception of nationality was narrow and limited, and they thought of dominating over other parts of the country rather than welding them into a nation. The concept of 'nation' as we understand it today had not developed.

It was in such conditions that the European trading companies, active in India since the early seventeenth century, started interfering in the political affairs of the country. Taking advantage of the political, economic, and social weaknesses of Indian society, the British were able to conquer India.

IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON INDIA

The conquest of India, was undertaken by the English East India Company established in A.D.1600

for purposes of trade with India. In 1765, after the Battle of Buxar, the Company received the right to collect the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The British power gradually increased and within a period of about 50 years, it had emerged as the supreme power in India.

With the expansion of the British empire in India, the influence and the privileges of the Company declined and those of the British government increased. The Industrial Revolution had already begun in England and the power of the new class of capitalists was on the increase. The empire increasingly served the interests of this new class, and India became a vast market for the consumption of manufactured goods and a source for raw materials. Thus, in a matter of a few decades, the character and purpose of the British empire in India underwent an important change. After the suppression of the Revolt of 1857, the Indian empire passed to the British Crown and the British government became the paramount power in the country. Those states which were under the Indian princes were not sovereign as the British government enjoyed vast powers over them. Thus, in about a hundred years, the entire country passed under British control.

The British conquest had many important consequences for Indian society because of its impact on the economic, social and political system of the country. The Indian people, under the impact of British rule and as a reaction to it, started movements for the reform and modernization of Indian society, as well as for putting an end to foreign rule.

Impact of British Rule

A significant result of the British conquest was the political and administrative unification of India even though under and in the interest of foreign rulers, and the

establishment of a uniform rule of law. While this was, no doubt, done to serve the imperialist interests of Britain, it became a factor in the rise of modern India.

The economic policies of the British government in India had even more significant consequences as they resulted in the disruption of the traditional Indian social and economic relationships. New social classes arose. In the areas where the Permanent Settlement was introduced a new class of landlords, some of whom were very rich, was formed which regarded land as their private property and aimed at obtaining the maximum monetary gain out of it. They did not cultivate the land themselves. The cultivators were mere tenants with no rights and could be evicted by the landowners. In areas where the Ryotwari System came into force, the peasant was the owner of the land but his life was miserable. He was very often heavily in debt and in the clutches of the money-lenders who, eventually, came to control the land and its produce.

The land revenue assessment was made according to the size of the holdings and the revenue demand was fixed in terms of money, whatever the actual produce. The collection of fixed revenue in cash had a far-reaching consequence — agricultural production was no longer for use in the village only and much of it was sent to the market for sale. The production for sale in the market led to specialization of cultivation. Crops which could fetch a higher price in the market were grown in areas suitable for their cultivation. With the increase in the demand for raw materials to feed the industries in England, cash crops began to be grown. The specialization and commercialization of crops further undermined the self-sufficiency of the village.

The peasants now depended for many of their needs on the market outside the village. The new revenue systems led to peasant indebtedness and the commercialization of agriculture worsened it further. They also contributed to the problem of landlessness.

The British conquest also led to the ruin of Indian industry and trade. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, India was the principal supplier of cotton textiles to England and other countries of Europe. With the growth of the cotton industry in England following the Industrial Revolution, and with growing restrictions on imports into Europe, the policies the British government pursued destroyed Indian industry. Within a few decades, India was reduced from the position of a principal exporter to that of one of the largest consumers of foreign products. It produced raw materials to feed the British industries. Restrictions were imposed on the growth of Indian industries. The Indian traders had been eliminated from the foreign trade of India. Gradually, they were reduced to a minor position in internal trade also. Internal trade between different parts of the country also suffered a decline. The development of the means of transport and communication, particularly of railways, was designed to facilitate this process and to destroy the traditional pattern of the Indian economy. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a few modern industries began to be developed in India. The principal among these were cotton, jute, and coalmining. Though the growth of these industries was lopsided and many restrictions were imposed on them, the beginning of modern industry was a landmark in Indian history.

In the early nineteenth century, some

British administrators of India were inspired by the liberal ideas popular in the West at that time, and tried to introduce them in India. This was reflected in some of the social legislation of the British government in India, and in the introduction of modern education. Some of the important measures taken were the abolition of sati, ban on infanticide and granting the legal right to widows to remarry. The educational system was reorganized and though it was done with a view to training people for clerical and other lower services, it brought the educated people into contact with the modern ideas of democracy and nationalism. The beginning of the Press, in spite of the severe restrictions placed upon it from time to time, helped progressively to spread modern ideas to a large number of people.

Another effect of the British rule was the emergence of new social classes in India which played an important part in the awakening of the people. A significant development was the emergence of a middle class. People of this class received modern education and became interested in public services. With the beginning of modern industry, a class of industrialists as well as of big and small traders also started growing. There were also the money-lenders in the villages. Another significant group which emerged was that of professional people who constituted the intelligentsia—officials, lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, technicians and others. This group, mainly drawn from the new social classes mentioned above, was very important in the society. It was more liberal in outlook because it drew its position and strength from professional competence rather than hereditary privilege. By reason of its acquaintance with the intellectual

currents in other parts of the world, it became the leading group in the demand for modernization.

Some other classes also became important in course of time. The British rule created a vast mass of landless peasants. The movements of the landless for tenancy rights and against exploitation, and movements of peasants began to surface. The industrial working class became socially significant later—in the twentieth century.

The British conquest thus had a far-reaching impact on the Indian society. It was as a result of this impact and as a reaction to it that the people of India started examining their social set-up in order to reform it and to lay the foundations of modernization. The nineteenth century saw the rise of a series of religious and social reform movements. They paved the way for the growth of national consciousness and a national movement aiming at the independence of the country and reconstruction of society.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

Social and religious reform movements arose among all communities of the Indian people. In religion, they attacked bigotry, superstition and the hold of the priestly class. In social life, they aimed at the abolition of castes, child marriage and other legal and social inequalities.

Rammohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj
Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was the central figure in the awakening of modern India. Basing himself on a rational and scientific approach and the principle of human dignity and social equality, he was



Raja Rammohan Roy

the first to take the lead in the direction of social reform and had been called the 'father of modern India'. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Persian and English and knew Arabic as well as Latin and Greek. He had mastered ancient Indian and European philosophy as well as the ideas of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, and combined in himself all that was best in the philosophies of the East and the West. Deeply devoted to the work of religious and social reform, he founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

In religion, he condemned polytheism and idol worship, and propagated the concept of 'one God of all religions and humanity'. His religious ideas had assimilated elements from Islam, Christianity, the Upanishads and modern European

liberal philosophy. He advocated a rational approach to religion and advised people to read the scriptures themselves and not depend on the intermediary brahmanas. For this purpose, he translated ancient Indian works on religion and philosophy into Bengali.

Rammohan Roy attacked the caste system. He campaigned to persuade the government to abolish *sati* and child marriage. He stood for equal rights for women, advocated the right of widows to marry and the right of women to property. He stood for modern education and the introduction of English education for the propagation of science in India. All his efforts were devoted to the spread of modern knowledge and to the modernization of Indian society. He justified his views not merely on the basis of ancient scriptures but by the light of reason and humanitarian principles and was prepared to break with tradition. He had imbibed the humanitarian ideas of the 'age of reason'. For example, he said: "If mankind are brought into existence, and by nature formed to enjoy the comforts of society and the pleasure of an improved mind, they may be justified in opposing any system, religious, domestic or political, which is inimical to the happiness of society, or calculated to debase the human intellect". He was an internationalist and supported the cause of freedom everywhere. When the uprising in Naples to unify Italy failed in 1821, he cancelled all his social engagements. He celebrated the success of the 1830 Revolution in France and condemned the conditions of people who were suffering under British rule in Ireland.

The work started by Rammohan Roy was continued by the organization he had built—the Brahmo Samaj. The Samaj was

the first attempt by Indians in the nineteenth century to reform Hindu society. It did signal work in the field of removal of caste distinctions and improving the condition of women, particularly widows. Although there were many dissensions in the Samaj, it won a large number of adherents and became an important influence in the life of Bengal. Under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen, the work of the Samaj expanded throughout the country and as many as 124 institutions were set up in different parts of India.

Another outstanding reformer in Bengal was Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91). A scholar of great depth, he dedicated himself to the cause of the emancipation of women. It was due to his efforts that legal obstacles to the marriage of widows were removed through a law in 1856. He played a leading role in promoting education of girls and started and helped the setting up of a number of schools for girls. Vidyasagar was also the leading figure in promoting modern Bengali language and prepared primers for teaching it.

Spread of the Reform Movements

Similar movements soon started in other parts of the country. After Bengal the most important region where the movement for reforms spread was western India. The most significant activities of the various organizations in western India were in the field of women's education, widow remarriage, raising the age of marriage, condemnation of caste barriers and idolatry. In 1867, the Prarthana Samaj was founded in Bombay. The social and religious reform activities of the Prarthana Samaj were similar to those of the Brahmo Samaj. Many national leaders like Mahadev Govinda Ranade (1842-1901) joined it.

Ranade was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, but his greatest passion was social reform. As a judge in Poona, he took an active part in the activities of the Sarvajanic Sabha which was a leading organization for mobilizing public opinion. An all India organization, the Indian Social Conference was formed in 1887. Ranade was the soul of the Conference and served as its General Secretary for 14 years. Under Ranade's leadership, the Conference worked as a secular organization and campaigned for various reforms aiming at modernization of Indian society. Some of the demands of the Conference were the abolition of caste, intercaste marriages, raising of the marriageable age, discouragement of polygamy, widow remarriage, women's education, improvement in the condition of the so-called outcastes, and settlement of religious disputes between Hindus and Muslims by the appointment of Panchayats. Ranade was a great intellectual and took a broad view of the problems. He was convinced that the nation needed to progress in all spheres of life — social, educational, political and economic. He said: "You cannot have a good social system when you find yourself low in the scale of political rights nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges, unless your social system is based on reason and justice. You cannot have a good economic system when your social arrangements are imperfect. If your religious ideas are low and grovelling, you cannot succeed in the social, economic or political spheres. This inter-dependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature". Under his leadership, the work of social reform was made more broad-based and was extended all over the country.

The leading role in the awakening of the

oppressed castes in Maharashtra was played by Jotirao Govindrao Phule. He was popularly known as Mahatma Jotiba Phule. He questioned the supremacy of the brahmanas and the authority of the scriptures. In 1873, he organized the Satyashodhak Samaj to mobilize the so-called lower castes and other oppressed sections in a movement for equality, and played a leading role in the spread of education of girls, particularly of the oppressed castes. Similar movements arose in other parts of the country. Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919) pioneered the movement in support of widow remarriage and girls' education in Andhra. Shri Narayana Guru (1854-1928) led the movement against caste oppression in Kerala. In 1903 he founded the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (SNDP) to carry on the work of social reform, the awakening of the oppressed castes and to promote among the people fraternity without distinctions of caste and religion.

The Arya Samaj

Another movement to reform Hindu society was started by Dayanand Saraswati. He founded the Arya Samaj in 1875. Dayanand was born in a brahmana family of Kathiawar and at a very early age rebelled against idol worship. At the age of 22, he ran away from home. He turned to the Vedas for reforming Hinduism. His most important work *Satyarthna Prakash* was published in 1879. He had met the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and had become familiar with their ideas. He attacked child marriage as being contrary to the Vedas. In his book, he also denounced other established religions. According to Dayanand, the Vedas were infallible and Hinduism should be purified by returning to the Vedas. The achievements of the Arya Samaj in the

field of social and religious reform were significant and perhaps more than those of other contemporary reform movements. The influence of the Brahmo Samaj was limited to mainly the intelligentsia. Some other reformers mentioned earlier questioned the authority of the scriptures. Because of its emphasis on the infallibility of the Vedas and its condemnation of other religions, it is said that the Arya Samaj encouraged revivalist tendencies and was, in its thinking, not so forward-looking in some respects as some other reform movements of the nineteenth century.

The Arya Samaj repudiated the authority of the brahmanas and condemned a number of religious rites and idol worship. It opposed the existing caste system as it was based on heredity, though it was not opposed to the caste system as such. It advocated equal rights for men and women. However, the greatest achievements of the Arya Samaj was in the field of education. A large number of schools and colleges were started, both for boys and girls, all over the country. The medium of instruction in the schools was Hindi, and English was compulsory in the higher classes. The influence of Arya Samaj was most felt in the Punjab where its work in spreading education to all sections and in ridding Hindus of many superstitions was particularly notable.

Vivekananda and the Ramakrishna Mission

Ramakrishna Paramhansa had a tremendous influence on the Hindus. He was a saint who popularized Vedantic philosophy, mysticism and the path of devotion to God. His greatest disciple was Swami Vivekananda (1861-1902). He believed in reviving all the best traditions of Hinduism and not merely the Vedas. After the death of Ramakrishna, he founded the

Ramakrishna Mission to propagate the teachings of his master. The Mission established several educational institutions in the country. During his tour of America, he argued that Vedanta was the religion of all and not of the Hindus alone. Though religion was his mission in life, he was keenly interested in the improvement of all aspects of national life. He expressed his concern for the condition of the people and said that neglect of the masses is a sin. He was impressed by the economic prosperity of the West and the status women enjoyed there. Vivekananda combined in him dynamism and nationalism and greatly influenced the younger generation to take pride in their country.

Annie Besant and the Theosophical Society

The theosophical movement was introduced by Madame Blavatsky in India in 1882 with its headquarters at Adyar in Madras. The supporters of the theosophical movement claimed that theosophy embodied in itself the truths which underlay all religions. Annie Besant came to India in 1893 and became the leader of the movement. In the beginning, she devoted herself to the revival of Hindu religion with its philosophy, rituals and modes of worship. Though her ideas were used by those who were opposed to social reforms in their conflict with the reformers, they helped to impart to the educated Indians a sense of pride in their own country. Her activities in the field of education were more significant. She founded the Central Hindu College at Banaras which she later handed over to Banaras Hindu University. The headquarters of the society at Adyar became a centre of knowledge with a library of rare Sanskrit books.

Annie Besant later threw herself into the work of social reform and politics. She organized the Home Rule League during the First World War. After her detention, she became President of the Congress in 1917. Although the theosophical movement did not enjoy mass popularity, its work under the leadership of Annie Besant for the awakening of the Indian people was remarkable. She wrote: "The needs of India are, among others, the development of a national spirit, an education founded on Indian ideals and enriched, not dominated, by the thought and culture of the West". She thus contributed a great deal to the development of the national spirit of India.

Other Reform Movements

The movements for religious and social reform arose in other communities and other parts of the country. The reform movements in the Muslim community began in the later half of the nineteenth century. These movements developed late among Muslims because the Muslim middle class came later and was weak. The British conquest had dispossessed most of the Muslim jagirdars. These jagirdars could not reconcile themselves to the new situation and shied away from modern education. Many Muslims were skilled workers and were ruined as a result of the economic impact of British conquest. In the Revolt of 1857, the Muslim masses and religious leaders fought against the British. After the Revolt was crushed, the British government took repressive measures against Muslims and regarded them as its enemies, holding them responsible for the Revolt. The British government followed a deliberate anti-Muslim policy and discriminated against them. It also promoted feelings of separateness among them. The remaining;

Muslim jagirdars were feudal in outlook. They lived their lives in the old way, unmindful of the changes that were taking place.

After the Revolt, the need for modernization was increasingly felt by the Muslim community and resulted in the rise of a number of movements. Most of these movements were concerned with imparting modern English education to the Muslim community, campaigning against polygamy and the purdah system and reinterpreting religion in the light of modern ideas. Some of these movements devoted themselves to political opposition to the British government. In many ways, they helped in awakening the people to the need for change.

The beginning was made in Bengal by Nawab Abdul Latif. He founded the Mohammedan Literary Society in Calcutta in 1863 for advocating the learning of the English language and modern sciences. The society started a number of educational institutions throughout Bengal. Soon, however, more widespread movements arose which greatly influenced the Muslim community.

Syed Ahmed Khan and the Aligarh Movement

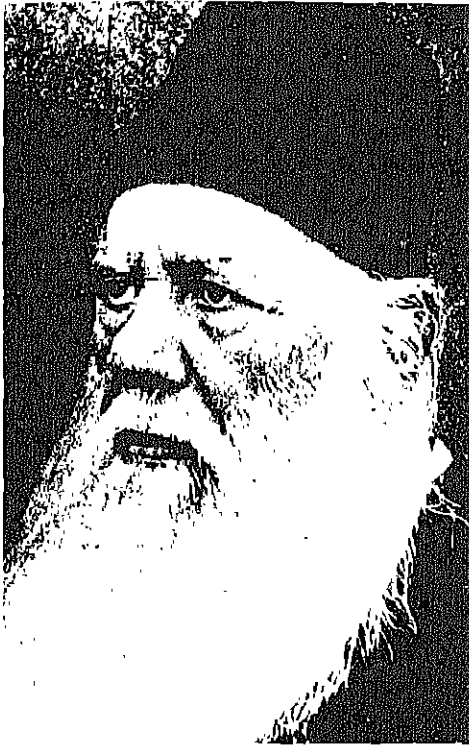
The most influential movement of reform was started by Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-99). Generally known as Sir Syed, he had been in the service of the British government and, like many contemporary reformers, was a supporter of the British rule. He wanted to remove the bitter enmity between Muslims and the British government, to interpret Islam and bring it in conformity with modern science and philosophy, and to persuade Muslims to receive modern education and enter the ser-

vices. In the beginning, he devoted himself mainly to theological questions, re-interpreting Islam and stressing the humanitarianism of Islam. In 1862 he founded the Scientific Society to translate and publish scientific works in Urdu to familiarize the people with modern science. His crowning achievement was the establishment of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in 1875 which later developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. It was because of this that the movement of reform started by Sir Syed is known as the Aligarh Movement. Aligarh Muslim University became one of the most important breeding grounds of new trends in the political, social and cultural life of the Muslims.

In his educational and literary activities, Sir Syed had served all the people of India. Various organizations, including Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj, expressed their gratitude for the work he did. However, he insisted on the cooperation of the Muslims with the British government and looked at all political movements with distrust. Thus when the Indian National Congress was formed, he opposed it. He regarded 'education and education alone as the means of national progress'.

His opposition to the Congress shocked other Muslim leaders who, beginning with moderate reform activities, had joined the Indian National Congress and were working for the building up of a secular movement for national regeneration. One of the reasons for his attitude was his belief that in view of the backwardness of the Muslim community, the Muslim interests would be harmed if they started taking part in political agitation.

Another reason was the extreme upper-class attitude. On the Congress demand



Sir Syed Ahmed Khan

for having elected representatives in the Provincial Legislative Councils and for holding civil service examinations in India (which were then held in England), he said: "You will see that, in one of the necessary conditions of sitting at the same table with the Viceroy, the person concerned should have a high social status in the country. Will the members of noble families in our country like it that a person of lower class or low status even if he had taken the B.A. or M.A. degree and possessed the necessary ability, should govern them and dispose of their wealth, property and honour? Never".

In spite of these limitations, Sir Syed

was, more than any other leader, responsible for awakening the Muslims to the realities of the modern world and preparing them to meet the challenge. He regarded Hindus and Muslims to be one *Qaum* and, using the term in the sense of 'nation', said, "For ages the word *Qaum* has been used for people of a country though they may consist of distinct groups. O, Hindus and Muslims! are you the residents of any other country but India? Surely you live and die on the same land. Remember that Hindus and Muslims are religious terms. Otherwise, Hindus, Muslims and Christians who live in this country are by virtue of this fact one *Qaum*. Now, when all these groups are called one *Qaum*, they should act as such for the common good of the country which is good for all of them."

Other Muslim Reform Movements

There were many other movements which in one way or the other helped the national awakening of the Muslims. Mirza Ghulam Ahmed had founded the Ahmediya Movement in 1899. Under this movement, a number of schools and colleges were opened all over the country, imparting modern education. In religion, it emphasized the universal and humanitarian character of Islam and wanted the establishment of cordial relations by its members with people of all communities.

Another important movement is associated with the centre of a religious school at Deoband near Saharanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It was founded by some Ulema, the Muslim theologians, and their followers who had fought against the British rule in 1857. It was also a centre of political revolt against the British rule, and imparted to its students love for political freedom. When Sir Syed advised Muslims to keep away from the Congress and join

the pro-government Patriotic Association, about 100 Ulema from all over the country and even from Medina and Baghdad issued a *fatwa* forbidding Muslims to join the Association and permitting them to join the Congress. The Deoband school and many similar movements kept alive the spirit of freedom.

There were other more thorough-going movements of social reform amongst the Muslims. These movements worked for the emancipation of women, combated the system of purdah, polygamy and child-marriage. These movements were particularly strong in western and southern India. Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was the most outstanding leader of these movements. He was the first Indian bar-at-law to start practice in the Bombay High Court. Along with other social reformers and national leaders, he was active in the Indian Social Conference of which you have read before. He joined Pherozeshah Metha and others in founding the Bombay Presidency Association to promote common national interests. He was one of the founders of the Congress and its third President.

There were many other leaders belonging to various communities who played an important part in the awakening of Indian society. Behramji Malabari and Pandita Ramabai were two other outstanding leaders who played a leading role in movements for women's uplift. There were reform movements among Parsis initiated by Nauroji Furdonji and Dadabhai Naorji. The Singh Sabhas played a leading role in the spread of education among Sikhs. Later, a powerful movement arose among the Sikhs to put an end to the control of the Gurudwaras by corrupt Mahants.

In the twentieth century, when the nationalist movement under the leadership

of Mahatma Gandhi became a mass movement social reform became an integral part of the struggle for freedom.

Impact of the Reform Movements

As a result of these movements, significant advances were made in the field of emancipation of women. Some legal measures were introduced to elevate their status. The practice of *sati* and infanticide were made illegal. In 1856, a law was passed permitting widow remarriage. Another law, passed in 1860, raised the marriageable age of girls to ten which was a significant advance in those days. Many superstitions also began to disappear. At the close of the century, it was no longer considered sinful to travel to foreign countries and expiatory rituals for being accepted back in the community were no longer thought necessary on one's return.

The reform movements that grew differed from each other in many ways, but they all helped in awakening the people to the need for change. Most of these movements, as you have seen, were religious in character and appealed to one's own religious community. This is understandable. As most of the social evils had become associated with religious practices, these social reform movements had inevitably to be religious as well.

The reform movements contributed a great deal to the birth of Indian nationalism. These were country-wide movements influencing people everywhere and not just in isolated areas. The reform activities united people and the attack on institutions like caste which hampered social unity created a sense of oneness in the people. Therefore, they played an important role in the rise of nationalism.

But most of these reform movements

had certain limitations. The questions to which they gave primacy concerned only small sections of Indian society. Some of them also failed to emphasize or even recognize that colonial rule was basically inimical to the interests of the Indian people. Most of them also worked within the framework of their respective communities and, in a way, tended to promote identities based on religion or caste. Many of these limitations were sought to be overcome during the course of the national movement with which many social and religious reformers were closely associated. Indian nationalism aimed at the regeneration of the entire Indian society irrespective of caste and community. It was no longer necessary to confine the movement of social reform to one's own community. The nationalist movement tackled all social evils on a national basis and did not deal with them community-wise.

The awareness of the exploitative nature of the colonial rule also began to emerge in the later half of the nineteenth century. A pioneer in this regard was Dadabhai Naoroji, who has been referred to in connection with the reform movement in the Parsi community. He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and was thrice its President. He was the first Indian to be elected to British Parliament. He influenced the economic thinking of the intelligentsia through his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. In this book, he exposed the disastrous consequences of British rule on Indian economy. His theory of the British drain of Indian wealth provided the basis of the campaign against British rule. He was loved and respected by the people as the Grand Old Man of India. Besides Dadabhai Naoroji, the other leaders who played a prominent

role in promoting an awareness of the economic exploitation of India by the British were M.G. Ranade, G. V. Joshi and R.C. Dutt.

GROWTH OF EDUCATION

As you have already read, almost all reform movements aimed at the spread of modern education in India because of the part it played in the modernization of society.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the government of the East India Company followed a policy of indifference in the matter of education, which was not regarded as a part of the responsibility of a commercial company. The traditional educational system consisted of small *pathshalas* and *madrassas* in temples and mosques and was confined, besides teaching the three R's, mainly to religious education. This system suffered a decline under British rule. The first efforts at imparting modern education were made by Christian missionaries and individual officers of the Company. The missionaries opened schools and started printing presses. They printed many books. Though they aimed primarily at the spread of Christianity through their educational institutions, they did much pioneering work in the spread of modern education.

Beginnings of Modern Education

Many Indians had started realizing that modern education was necessary to meet the challenge of modern times. They put pressure on the government to start educational institutions. Some advance was made with the help of individual government officials and other Europeans. One of the most important achievements was the

founding of the Hindu College at Calcutta in 1817. Rammohan Roy was associated with the founding of this college along with many liberal Europeans like David Hare. It created a new intellectual climate in Calcutta and was the centre of the most radical movement of the time called the Young Bengal Movement. The leading personality in this movement was Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a Portuguese-Indian youth. He joined the Hindu College as a teacher of philosophy in 1826 at the young age of 17. A whole generation of youth came under his influence and learned to think for itself in a rational and scientific way. He instilled in his students love for independent thinking, liberty and patriotism. He was a poet and expressed his love for India in his poetry.

He was removed from the staff of the college for preaching atheism and, soon after, died. His life symbolized the new intellectual atmosphere which was developing as a result of the beginning of modern education. Indian students were becoming familiar with the revolutionary ideas of the French philosophers and the democratic thought of other countries of Europe. Many Indians had also started schools and colleges for imparting modern education.

The British Government's Educational Policy

The British government, however, was the chief agency in spreading modern education after the initial indifference. One of the reasons for the change was the need for educated Indians in minor administrative posts. With the consolidation of the British rule, the work of administration had increased and it was not possible to get people from England for all jobs. People to man

minor jobs in administration, commercial work and industries were needed. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and other professional people were also required. To meet all these requirements, it was necessary to impart English education to some Indians. The zeal of many British administrators in spreading European culture, which they considered superior to all other, also played a part in the decision to introduce English education. In this, they were supported by many Indians like Rammohan Roy who realized the importance of English education as a means of bringing modern knowledge to the people of India.

The first step by the government was taken in 1813 when it was decided to set apart a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees for education. This immediately led to the controversy between two groups called the Anglicists and the Orientalists. The Anglicists led by Macaulay advocated the teaching of western learning with English as the medium of education. Some Orientalists advocated the encouragement of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic learning, and others wanted the teaching of modern knowledge through local languages. The government ultimately decided in favour of the Anglicists and clearly stated that 'all of the funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language'. Soon after, the use of Persian in the courts of law was discontinued and the government started giving preference to English-knowing candidates for government jobs.

The traditional educational system of the country had suffered as a result of British conquest. This system had assured at least the knowledge of the three R's to a

large number of people. The British government, however, did not take any responsibility to spread education to the people. Consequently, primary education was neglected.

The next advance came in 1854 with what is known as the Wood's Dispatch. Under this Dispatch, the government undertook to pay more attention to the spread of education. Local languages along with English were made the media of instruction at the school stage and English at the college stage. The aim of education as stated by the Dispatch was the spread of western culture; it would seek to foster and promote loyalty to the State among Indian students and prepare them for administrative responsibilities.

It was only towards the end of the century that significant advances took place in the spread of education. By then, the role of Indians themselves in opening educational institutions became important. The Deccan Education Society was established in Bombay and did useful work. The activities of many reformers in the field of education, including the education of women, have already been mentioned.

Influence of Education

In spite of the activities of the missionaries, the British government and Indians and their organizations, education remained confined to a small minority of people. Primary education was neglected and this, combined with the decline of the traditional system of education, led to illiteracy of the vast majority of the Indian population. The promoters of English education had hoped at creating a class of Indians who would be English in their thinking and habits. However, although English education created a hiatus between the English

educated and the rest of the population, it brought Indians into close contact with rational and scientific ideas and with science and technology. Even though it was done to train people for minor administrative jobs, it facilitated the growth of knowledge and the spread of the ideas of democracy, nationalism and, in the twentieth century, socialism. Another important change was that it was not confined to any one caste or sect. It was open to all. However, English education was not an unmixed blessing. The educational system was not designed to promote thinking in the interest of the Indian people and tended to create a group of people who felt themselves to be different and a class apart from the rest of society.

Rediscovery of the Past

Modern education, in course of time, evoked interest in the correct understanding of India's past. Attempts were made to rediscover and re-study the past of India to enhance the understanding of the present. Laudable efforts were made by many European scholars and enlightened government officials in this direction. The first significant beginning was made by William Jones who came to India in 1783 and founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. The aim of the Society was 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.' The Society built up a rich collection of old manuscripts in various languages and published the learned *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. William Jones himself translated Kalidasa's *Abhijnanashakuntalam*. Many other ancient works like the *Bhagavad Gita*, the Upanishads, the Dharmashastras and the Vedas were translated. Useful work was done on ancient Indian history. James

Prinsep, for example, discovered the clue to the inscriptions of Ashoka which led to the discovery of the achievements of that great emperor. Ancient scripts were deciphered and the study of the ancient inscriptions opened new horizons for the study of Indian history and civilization. Preservation of ancient monuments, paintings and sculpture started, and a proper appreciation of Indian art began. The study of Sanskrit was taken up on scientific lines. Scholars from many other countries of Europe, notably Germany and France, were attracted to the study of the ancient art, history and philosophy of India.

To rule India, the British government felt that the knowledge of Indian history, society, religions and culture was necessary. Thus the government encouraged the study of Indian institutions and many European scholars and government officials wrote books on Indian society and history. Some of these works were tendentious and tried to show that the Indian past was one of misery, and British rule, 'a blessing' to the Indian people. They also fostered dissensions between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Much of the new knowledge about India's past gave a sense of pride to the Indian people and helped in their awakening. Many Indian scholars took up the study of Indian history and culture in a systematic way and the appreciation of India from a specifically Indian point of view began. Although some of this led to glorification of everything ancient, it helped Indians regain pride and confidence in themselves and prepared them for the struggle for national independence and reconstruction that lay ahead.

Modern Indian Art and Literature

Although Indian languages were subordi-

nated to the study of English by the British government, their growth was stimulated under the impact of modern ideas. Modern Indian languages which had started growing about a thousand years earlier had become mature and fecund. These languages were further enriched in the nineteenth century. Writers ventured forth into new literary forms and modes such as the novel and the drama. The new development was not merely in the use of new forms but also in content. Novel and drama became increasingly concerned with current problems. Even historical novels and dramas were written with an eye on the present. *Neel Darpan*, the first Bengali political drama, presented the story of the brutality of the English indigo planters. It was banned by the British government. Mythology was increasingly replaced by social and realistic literature. In poetry also there was a change. It was no longer confined to devotional songs, and increasingly adopted secular and national themes. New literature came more and more to be related to the rising national consciousness. By the twentieth century, new forms of literature became fully developed and played an important part in revolutionizing popular attitudes.

There was a revival in the art of painting. The traditions of Ajanta and of the Mughal and Pahari paintings which had been forgotten were revived and developed. Later, trends in art appeared which were largely influenced by contemporary Western styles. The developments in art and literature contributed to the growth of modern culture.

Growth of the Press in the Nineteenth Century

The Press is an important integrating force in society. It keeps people living in one part

informed of the developments in other parts of the country. It is an important medium for the dissemination of information on various problems. It is also a means to mobilize public opinion on important issues of the day. It is a great help in the campaigns for social reform and to influence activities of the state. It can be used as a forum for the expression of popular opinion on matters of public interest.

In India, the growth of the Press started early in the nineteenth century and played an important part in the awakening of the people.

The first newspaper in India was the *Bengal Gazette* started in 1780. However, the real development of the Press came early in the nineteenth century. Rammohan Roy started two papers, *Sambad-Kaumudi* in Bengali and *Miratul-Akbar* in Persian, which were devoted to propagating the case for social reform. Many other national leaders and social reformers were also associated with the growth of the press in India. Dadabhai Naoroji edited *Rast Goftar*, and Ishwar Chandra Vidysagar started *Shome Prakash*. In 1890, an English weekly, the *Indian Social Reformer*, was started in Bombay to propagate social reforms.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many English dailies were started; many of these are still among the popular newspapers in India like the *Times of India* started in 1861, the *Pioneer* in 1865, the *Madras Mail* in 1865, the *Statesman* in 1875. These papers usually supported the British government's policies. There were other dailies which voiced Indian opinion like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* started in Bengal in 1868 and the *Hindu* started in Madras in

1878. There were many newspapers and journals in Indian languages also. By the end of the nineteenth century, about 500 newspapers and journals in Indian languages and English were published in different parts of the country. With the growth of the national movement, the Indian Press also grew and played an important part in rousing the national consciousness of the people. The bi-weekly *Kesari*, a Marathi journal, started by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was one such journal.

The British government passed many Acts from time to time to introduce censorship over the Indian Press. In the twentieth century when the nationalist Press grew stronger, the freedom of the Press was further curtailed. However, in spite of the suppression, the Press played the role of awakening the people to the need for reform, helped in the dissemination of knowledge and became one of the instruments in the growth of nationalism.

The social and religious reform movements were an expression of the awakening of the Indian people. Education, in spite of its limited nature, promoted awareness of new ideas and of the world and nurtured ideas for reconstruction of India. The rediscovery of India's past and the growth of new literature were an expression of the awakening consciousness and contributed to its further growth. All these changes were an expression of the national awakening of India and contributed to its further development. Nationalism came to embody the aspirations of the Indian people for independence and a new order based on democracy and social equality. You will read about this in the next chapter.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. Explain the meaning of the following terms: Domestic System, Anglicists, Orientalists, Sati, Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari System.
2. With which organizations were the following persons associated ?
M.G. Ranade, Rammohan Roy, Derozio, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dayanand Saraswati, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Badruddin Tyabji, Vivekananda, Annie Besant, Nawab Abdul Latif, Keshab Chandra Sen, Jotiba Phule, Sri Narayana Guru.
3. What were the new social classes that arose in India after the British conquest ?
4. Describe the social ills against which the social reform movements were directed.
5. What were the points of controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists ?
6. Describe the main phases in the spread of modern education in India in the nineteenth century. What were the agencies which helped in the spread of English education in the same period ?
7. Name some newspapers which were started in the nineteenth century and which are coming out even today.

Things to Do

1. Arrange the various organizations of social reform in order of their formation and list important leaders associated with each.
2. Write an essay on the life and work of Rammohan Roy.
3. In a scrap book collect pictures and sayings of the leaders of the social reform movements.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. What do you understand by the term 'modernization' ? In what respects was Indian society not 'modern' in the early nineteenth century ?
2. Do you think it was necessary or desirable to mix religion with the work of social reform ? Why ? Or why not ?
3. How far, in your opinion, were the movements of social reform effective in ridding Indian society of social evils ? What social evils do you think need to be combated today ?
4. Did modern education help in the awakening of India ? Discuss.
5. Read Parts III and IV of the Constitution of India on the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy. How far have these two parts imbibed and carried forward the aims of the nineteenth century reformers ?

CHAPTER 3

India's Struggle for Independence

THE heroic struggle waged by the people of India to liberate themselves from foreign rule was the result of the rise and growth of Indian nationalism. Indian nationalism took birth in the nineteenth century as a result of the conditions created by British rule. British rule was intended only to serve the interests of the ruling classes of Britain. This was the cause of the fundamental antagonism between the British government and the Indian people.

The rise of nationalism marks a definite stage in the development of human societies everywhere in the world. The British conquest had disrupted the evolution of Indian society through internal processes. Nationalism, therefore, arose in India, as in other countries which were victims of imperialist conquest, under conditions created by foreign rule. With the growth of nationalism, the demands of the Indian people assumed an increasingly nationalist character. Beginning with the demand to have a share in administration, it developed into the struggle for complete independence. The character of the struggle was also gradually transformed. Beginning with constitutional agitation by small sections of educated people, it gradually turned into a revolutionary struggle, peaceful though not constitutional, of the overwhelming majority of the people of India.

Besides being a struggle for political independence, it also became a struggle for the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of democracy and social equality.

THE REVOLT OF 1857

The people in different parts of India, right from the beginning of the British conquest, never acquiesced in their political subjection. Not a year passed without an armed resistance to British rule in one part of the country or the other. Some of these revolts were those of the Sanyasis in Bengal and Bihar (1763 onwards), of the peasants (Midnapur in 1766, Rangpur in 1783, Mysore in 1830-31, Khandesh in 1852), of the chiefs and other landed sections (for example, those of the Poligars of Ramnathapuram, Sivaganga and other places during 1795-1805, of Velu Thambi in Travancore in 1808-09, of Rani Chinnamma of Kittur during 1824-29, etc.), and of the tribal people (notably of the Bhils during 1817-31, the Kols during 1820-37, the Khasis under U. Tirot Singh during 1829-33, the Santhals during 1855-56, etc.). There were also mutinies, for example, at Vellore in 1806. All these revolts were, however, sporadic and localized and though some of them lasted many years, they did not pose

a serious challenge to British rule. The greatest of the revolts, which shook the very foundations of British rule, occurred in 1857.

The revolt began at Meerut on 10 May 1857, with the uprising of Indian sepoy's of the British armies in India. It was the result of accumulated resentment, which had been growing since the beginning of British conquest, but was triggered off by the greased cartridges incident. In fact the causes were much deeper than this.

You have read in the previous chapter about the social and economic consequences of British rule. Peasants had been dispossessed of their lands and artisans had been ruined. The British policy of annexation of territory had led to the dispossession of many Indian rulers. As a result of these, discontent was widespread. Dalhousie, who came to India as the Governor-General, annexed eight new states in the course of eight years of his stay in office. There was also a fear in the minds of many people that the British government was out to forcibly convert them to Christianity. That the British government paid scant regard to the religious beliefs of the Indian people is clear from the use of the greased cartridges. Thus the British government had alienated vast numbers of people -- common people as well as former rulers-- and the resentment had been building up for some time. Lord Metcalfe, who was the Governor-General in 1835-36, had written: 'All India is at all time looking out for our downfall. The people everywhere would rejoice, or fancy they would rejoice, at our destruction. And members are not wanting who would promote it by all means in their power.' A little over 20 years after, the revolt broke out.

The revolt soon spread over northern,

central and eastern India. The rebels declared Bahadur Shah II, the nominal Mughal king, the Emperor of Hindustan. Hindus and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder against the British. The deeds of valour of rebels, like the Rani of Jhansi, Maulvi Ahmadulla, Kanwar Singh, Bakht Khan and Tantia Tope, have become proud legends and have inspired the later generations.

The revolt was suppressed after bitter fighting for over a year, though peace was not restored until 1859. The British rulers followed a ruthless and indiscriminate policy of vengeance. Thousands of people were hanged in Delhi, Lucknow and other places. The inhuman reprisals of the British government provoked resentment even in England. Many Englishmen protested against the barbarities of the British rulers and expressed their sympathy and support for the Indian people. The revolt and its cruel suppression left a legacy of bitterness and hatred amongst the people of India.

The revolt marked a turning point in the history of India. The rule of the East India Company came to an end and the control passed to the British Crown. The British government promised not to annex any more Indian states. The Indian states accepted the paramountcy of the British government and became loyal allies of the British rule.

The revolt made the Indian people more politically conscious than before. The movements of social reform and modernization had already started. These movements gathered momentum. The hold of the Indian princes on the Indian people declined and it was increasingly realized that national independence would be attained through a movement of the people themselves and not under the leadership of the

old rulers of India. The struggle against the rulers of Indian states itself became a part of the national struggle for independence. The most valuable legacy of the revolt was the memory of a united struggle. Soon India was to witness the growth of the nationalist movement aiming at national independence, democracy, social equality and national development.

RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM EARLY PHASE 1858-1905

Nationalism is a phenomenon which appeared in world history after the close of the Middle Ages. Nationalism, was the result of new social and economic forces, which had put an end to feudalism. Nation-states had begun to be formed with definite boundaries, with a definite political system within these boundaries, with the uniformity of laws and with the people inhabiting the state living under the same political, social and economic system and sharing common aspirations. The middle class had played a significant role in the formation of nation-states. In many countries of Europe, like Italy and Germany, nationalism emerged as a powerful force only in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution of 1789 had added a new element to the phenomenon of nationalism. It identified the nation with the people. This meant that, in a nation, the people were sovereign. Wherever, after 1800 or so, new sovereign states have been called into existence or wherever existing states have experienced a violent or abrupt change of political order, they were best explained as conjunction of these two forces

at work — nationalism and democracy.

The growth of Indian nationalism started in the nineteenth century. Political unification of the country, destruction of India's old social and economic system, the beginning of modern trade and industry and the rise of new social classes laid the basis of nationalism. The social and religious reform movements and popular anti-British revolts contributed to the growth of nationalism.

British rule was inimical to the interests of almost all sections of Indian society. The peasants were suffering under the new land-tenure systems introduced by the British. The Indian industrialists were not happy because of the economic policy of the British government. For example, all import duties on cotton textiles were removed in 1882 which harmed the nascent Indian textile industry. The educated people suffered because they were discriminated against. Almost all sections of Indian society realized that their interests were antagonistic to British rule. The people of India became aware of the fact that the development of their country was not possible unless British rule was ended. All these factors forged the people of India into a nation, and this consciousness expressed itself in the struggle for national independence.

Several other factors helped in the growth of national consciousness amongst Indian people. The exploitation of India by the British rulers and the dislocation caused by their policies worsened the condition of the already impoverished masses. There was a series of famines, which took a toll of millions of human lives, due to the indifference of the autocratic British administration. The British government made use of Indian resources to pursue its imperialist

aims in other parts of Asia. The Governor-General (now also the Viceroy) was the supreme authority in the country, responsible only to British parliament thousands of miles away. He was assisted by executive and legislative councils, which consisted of persons, mostly Englishmen, appointed by him. Indian people had no say in the administration of the country. The Indian Civil Service, which ran the administration of the country, also consisted mostly of Englishmen. Though Indians could appear for competitive examinations, it was difficult for them to get selected. The examinations were held in England and few could afford to appear for them.

Another factor was the practice of racial discrimination. Before the revolt of 1857, many Englishmen, officials and others, were not averse to mixing socially with Indians. After the revolt, the feeling of racial superiority grew and everything Indian appeared inferior and barbaric to them. There were exclusive clubs and railway coaches for Europeans where the entry of Indians was prohibited. As Jawaharlal Nehru put it, "India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insult, humiliation and contemptuous treatment." The feeling of racial superiority may be seen from the failure of the Ilbert Bill in 1883. The bill sought to bring Indians and Europeans on par as far as the criminal jurisdiction of courts was concerned and to withdraw the privilege enjoyed by Europeans of being tried by a judge of their own race only. The Europeans launched an agitation against the bill and it was withdrawn.

The British government consistently followed a policy of repression after 1857. Many measures of the government provoked widespread agitation. Two of these were the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 and

the Arms Act of 1879. The former Act imposed severe restrictions on the freedom of the Press and the latter forbade the possession of arms by Indians.

Thus, various factors contributed to the rise of the nationalist movement. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the movement started assuming an all-India form. Beginning with the demand for small concessions, the nationalist movement became a movement for complete independence of India. The American War of Independence, the French Revolution, the wars of Italian unification and the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Paine and of Garibaldi and Mazzini (who were the leaders of the struggle for Italian unification) provided inspiration to Indian nationalists. In the twentieth century, the ideas of socialism and internationalism influenced them.

Early Political Movements and the Indian National Congress

A number of political organizations came into existence in the later half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1851, the British Indian Association was formed in Bengal to represent Indian grievances to the British government. In 1876, Surendranath Banerjea founded the Indian Association in Bengal. Dadabhai Naoroji had started the Bombay Association. Some of the other associations were the Madras Native Association formed in 1852, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajana Sabha set up in 1870 and 1884, respectively. Attempts were made to form an all-India organization. In 1883, Surendranath Banerjea called an All-India National Conference which was described by its President as the first step to a National Parliament. In 1885 was founded the Indian National Congress. In the founding of



Surendranath Banerjee

the Congress, a retired English civil servant, A.O. Hume, played an important part. The Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, blessed the Congress. He thought the Congress would be a good forum for the government to keep itself 'informed regarding the best Indian public opinion.' Soon, however, the Congress was to become a revolutionary organization leading the Indian people to independence.

Even at the first session of the Congress, held in Bombay, under the Presidentship of W.C. Bonnerjee, all regions of India were represented. Persons attending the session

belonged to different religious faiths. The problems that were discussed concerned all Indians, irrespective of their religion, caste, language and region. Thus the Indian nationalist movement, which the Congress represented, was from the start, an all-India secular movement embracing every section of Indian society. It was attended by such eminent persons as Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, W.C. Bonnerjee, G. Subramanya Aiyer, P. Ananda Charlu, Behramji Malabari and N.G. Chandavarkar.

The Congress followed a moderate programme during the first few years of its coming into existence. The aim of the Congress, as outlined by its President, W.C. Bonnerjee, was to 'enable the workers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other' and to unite the people of India for common political ends irrespective of 'differences in respect of race and language, or social and religious institutions'. The Congress held its session once a year and passed resolutions for the consideration of the government. They demanded not independence but representative institutions. Some of the early demands of the Congress were for elected representatives in the provincial and central legislative councils, holding of the Indian Civil Service examinations in India and raising the minimum age of entry, the reduction of military expenditure, the spread of education, industrial development of India, relief in agricultural indebtedness, and the amendment of the Arms Act.

The leadership of the Congress, which included leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, M.G. Ranade, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, R.C. Dutt and Pherozeshah Mehta, had faith in the justness of their demands and in the British government.

They believed that, as soon as the British government was convinced of the justness of their demands, these would be accepted. They wanted not separation but association with Britain. Surendranath Banerjea, for example, said: "It is not severance that we look forward to but unification, permanent embodiment as an integral part of that great Empire that has given the rest of the world the models of free institutions". However, criticism of the government gradually increased at the sessions of the Congress and more radical demands were made. At the second session of the Congress, one speaker said, "Self-government is the arbiter of nature and the will of Divine Providence. Every nation must be the arbiter of its destiny. But do we govern ourselves? No. Are we not living then in an unnatural state? Yes." With the growth of these radical ideas in the Congress, the government became hostile to it. Government servants were barred from attending the Congress sessions. Lord Dufferin referred to it contemptuously as representing a 'microscopic minority' and being unworthy of attention.

In the early period, the Congress was dominated by what were called 'moderates'. Its demands were primarily the demands of the educated middle class and rising Indian industrialists. However, it played an extremely significant role in the early stages of the growth of the Indian nationalist movement. Its emphasis on national unity, its criticism of the drain of Indian wealth, its demand for representative institutions and Indianization of services, its opposition to repressive measures like the Arms Act and its constant underscoring of people's poverty as the basic factor of Indian politics helped to put the nationalist movement on sound founda-

tions. This phase of the movement lasted till about 1905.

INDIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT 1905-1919

Even the moderate demands of the Congress were not accepted by British rulers. The non-fulfilment of demands, combined with the rising awareness among the people led to the growth of a radical wing in the Congress which advanced the movement further. A new phase began in the history of the Indian nationalist movement. New demands were made and new methods of struggle adopted with increased mass mobilization.

Rise of Extremism

At the turn of the century, a new trend developed which has been called 'extremism'. Under the influence of the new trend, the nationalist movement gave up the practice of merely issuing appeals to the government and adopted new radical ways of political agitation. The demands put forward also assumed a more radical character. Several new factors contributed to this.

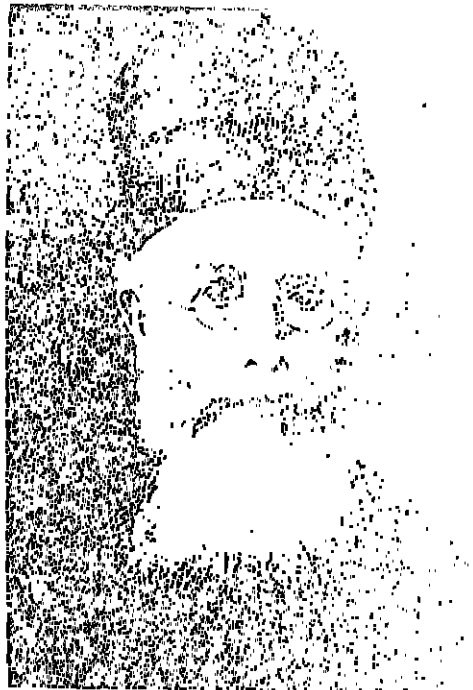
Curzon came to India as the new Viceroy in December 1898. During his period of Viceroyalty, he imposed extremely unpopular measures which intensified the opposition to British rule. He had said that he would assist in the 'peaceful demise' of the Congress. When he left India, the Congress and the nationalist movement were stronger than ever before and had, in fact, assumed new dimensions.

His most unpopular act was the partition of Bengal. The object of the measure was given out as administrative convenience. The leaders could clearly see that it

was actually a measure to divide the people. East Bengal was to be a Muslim majority province and the West a Hindu majority province. The partition was designed to disrupt Hindu-Muslim unity and thus weaken the nationalist movement. However, the effect of the measure belied the hopes of the British government. It provoked an agitation and such angry reaction against British rule that the partition measure had to be annulled.

International events also contributed to the growth of vigorous nationalism. Russia was defeated by Japan in 1905. This was the first victory of an Asian nation over an European nation. Although Japan herself was turning into an imperialist power and the war had been fought for imperialist gains in China, Japan's victory gave confidence to the Indian nationalists in their struggle against Britain. The defeat of Russia was followed by the 1905 Revolution in Russia about which you have read. The revolution had aimed at the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy but had been suppressed. This revolution also influenced the thinking of Indian nationalists.

The group which led the 'extremists' in the Congress consisted of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai. It was usually referred to as 'Lal Bal Pal'. They extolled the past of India in order to inculcate self-confidence and national pride in the Indian people. Tilak had been active in the Congress since 1890. In 1897 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for his 'seditious' writings and speeches. As you have read earlier, he had started a paper, *Kesari*, in Marathi through which he conducted his nationalist campaigns. He revived the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals and made use of them for arousing national



Dadasaheb Naoroji

feelings. He exhorted people to action which, according to him, was the true message of the *Bhagavad Gita*. In this period, the 'extremist' wing came to be more and more concerned with arousing pride in Indian culture. In Bengal, the cult of the goddess Kali was adopted. The 'extremists' condemned the old leadership of the Congress for their praise of Western culture and their faith in the British government.

There was a wide divergence between the views of the 'extremists' and the 'moderates' on the means to achieve political rights. Tilak summed up the difference thus: "Political rights will have to be fought for. The moderates think that these can be won by persuasion. We think that they can only be got by strong pressure". The

'extremist' leaders drew masses into the struggle, particularly in urban areas. The mobilization of the people, particularly the youth, for the struggle was a major contribution of the 'extremists'.

The Boycott and Swadeshi Movements

The partition of Bengal created widespread indignation all over the country. In the turbulent atmosphere that followed, the boycott and the Swadeshi movements started. Swadeshi, literally meaning 'of one's own country', aimed at the promotion of indigenous industries. Along with Swadeshi, boycott of British goods was organized. The Swadeshi and boycott

were powerful instruments directed against foreign rule. They attacked the British rule where it hurt most. About Swadeshi, Lajpat Rai said: "I regard it as the salvation of my country. The Swadeshi movement ought to make us self-respecting, self-reliant, self-supporting and last, not least, manly. The Swadeshi movement ought to teach us how to organize our capital, our resources, our labour, our energies and our talents for the greatest good of all Indians irrespective of creed, colour or caste. It ought to unite us, our religious and denominational differences notwithstanding. In my opinion, Swadeshi ought to be the common religion of the United India." On the boycott move-



Bal Gangadhar Tilak addressing the jury during his trial in 1908 — a painting. He was sentenced to six years' imprisonment at this trial.

ment, he said, "The meaning of the boycott is this.... The primary thing is prestige of the government and the boycott strikes at the root of that prestige. The illusory thing they call prestige is more powerful and potent than authority itself and we propose to do this by boycott.... We desire to turn away our faces from the Government House and turn them to the huts of people".

It was at the height of nation-wide protest movement against the partition of Bengal that the annual session of the Congress was held at Calcutta in 1906. At this session Dadabhai Naoroji sponsored the new programme of the Congress which had been advocated by the 'extremists'. Dadabhai's support for the stewardship of the programme led to its general approval. For the first time, it declared the attainment of Swaraj as the aim of the Congress. Swaraj or self-government was defined as the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies. The Swadeshi and the boycott movements were favoured as the means of resistance. Promotion of national education was declared as an aim of the Congress.

The Swadeshi and boycott movements spread to many parts of the country. Shops selling foreign goods were picketed. Students played an important part in the Swadeshi and boycott movements. Meetings were held all over the country and associations were formed. The government resorted to repressive measures. Meetings were banned, the chanting of the national song *Bande Mataram* composed by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee was prohibited, recognition was withdrawn from schools and grants were stopped, processionists were lathi-charged and various attempts were made to strike terror in the people. However, all the measures of

oppression were of no avail. The popular upheaval was so intense that many people came to believe that the end of British rule was near. It was at this time that Tilak wrote: "Repression is repression; if it is legal, it must be resisted peacefully; but if it is illegal, it must be illegally met". He also gave Congress the slogan "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it". The movement continued into the year 1907. The nationalist newspapers were banned and their editors prosecuted. Many leaders were imprisoned.

In 1907, the 23rd session of the Congress was held at Surat. Here the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' came into conflict. The 'moderates' wanted to modify the resolutions on Swadeshi and boycott passed at the Calcutta session in the previous year. They also wanted to write into the constitution of the Congress a clause that self-government was to be achieved through constitutional means and by reforming the existing system of administration. They were opposed to the intensification of the movement. Tilak tried to capture the leadership of the Congress. There ensued disorderly scenes and the session broke up. The two groups later met separately. Leadership of the Congress remained in the hands of the 'moderate' group. The 'extremists' worked separately until the reunion in 1916.

Meanwhile the repressive measures of the government continued. The repression was particularly brutal in Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab and Tamil Nadu. In 1907 the Seditious Meetings Act was passed to prevent the holding of meetings 'likely to promote disturbance of public tranquillity'. In 1910, the Indian Press Act was passed which gave the authorities wide powers to punish the editor of any paper

'which published matter which in their view was incitement to rebellion'. The government deported people without trial under a century-old law. A number of papers were banned and leaders imprisoned and deported. Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment and deported to Mandalay for two articles which he had published in his paper *Kesari*. His arrest was widely resented and led to one of the earliest strikes in the history of India by the textile workers of Bombay.

Thus in the first decade of the twentieth century, the nationalist movement entered a new phase. More and more people were drawn into it, and they were no longer satisfied by appeals to the government. The association of religion with the movements in some places encouraged communal thinking and proved harmful.

Morley-Minto Reforms

In 1909, the government announced the Morley-Minto Reforms to conciliate the 'moderate' nationalists. In 1861, six non-official members had been added to the legislative council. The council had no powers and only considered matters which were referred to it. The Indian members who were nominated were drawn from the families of princes and big landlords. By the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the membership of the central and the provincial legislative councils was enlarged and non-official Indian members were added. As a result of the movement following the partition of Bengal, the Morley-Minto Reforms introduced further changes in 1909. As usual, the new measures were too little and too late. The memberships of the central and provincial legislative councils were enlarged and a few more elected members were added. However, the elected mem-

bers were not popularly elected. They were elected by landlords and chambers of commerce. Separate electorates were introduced for the Muslims. The introduction of separate electorates was a calculated move in accord with the imperialist policy of 'divide and rule'. Communalism was openly introduced into Indian political life.

The councils had no real powers and were not popularly elected bodies. The 'moderate' leadership welcomed the reforms as constituting an advance but expressed 'its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorate on the basis of religion.' The reforms were condemned by the 'extremists'. Many Muslim leaders condemned the separate electorates. Gradually, even the 'moderate' leaders of the Congress realized the inadequacy and, in some respects, the harmful nature of the reforms. At the session of the Congress in 1909, one delegate said: "We protest against it because it means the partition of the whole living India, an affair much more serious than the partition of the boundaries of Bengal."

The reforms were not meant to be a step in the direction of self-government for Indians. Morley, Secretary of State, who had framed the reforms along with Minto, the Governor-General who had succeeded Curzon, disclaimed any intention of bestowing self-government on India. He said that if these reforms 'led directly or indirectly to the establishment of the Parliamentary System in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it'.

Revolutionary Movement

Along with the open political movements, there arose in the first decade of the twentieth century various revolutionary groups

in different parts of the country. These early revolutionaries, active mainly in Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Punjab, had no faith in constitutional agitations. They believed that by terrorizing British officials, they would be able to demoralize the entire machinery of the government and bring about freedom. After the government suppressed almost all open political agitation and imprisoned a large number of nationalist leaders, the activities of the revolutionary groups were intensified.

The revolutionary groups organized assassination of unpopular police officials, magistrates and approvers, committed dacoities to collect money for their activities and looted arms. Attempts were made on the lives of two Viceroys, Minto and Hardinge. Such movements were organized outside India, in Europe and America also. Of these, the most prominent was the Ghadar (meaning 'mutiny') party. These movements collected money for use by revolutionaries in India, tried to smuggle arms into India and fomented mutinies of Indian soldiers in India as well as those stationed in Burma and Singapore. Although the methods of individual terrorism could not be effective against a mighty empire, the heroism and self-sacrifice of these revolutionaries were a source of inspiration to the people and helped in the growth of popular nationalist feelings.

Formation of the Muslim League

After the Revolt of 1857, the British government followed a policy of 'divide and rule'. Elphinstone had frankly said, " 'Divide et impera' was the old Roman motto, as it should be ours." In the beginning, Muslims were discriminated against. They were kept out of the army and the services. However, when the nationalist movement arose, the policy of the government under-

went a change. The government branded the Congress as a Hindu movement and encouraged the upper class Muslims to start their own separate organizations against the Congress. When the partition of Bengal led to a united protest movement, Curzon himself toured eastern Bengal and addressed Muslims on the advantages that would accrue to them as a majority community in East Bengal. However, at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, a large number of Muslim delegates participated. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who later led the movement for a separate state of Pakistan, was also present. He moved an amendment opposing reservation of seats, which was accepted. Moving the amendment, he said: "The foundation upon which the Indian National Congress is based is that we are all equal, that there should be no reservation for any class or any community, and my whole object is that the reservation should be deleted".

However, in spite of the fact that many Muslims had joined the united nationalist movement, the influence of the communal elements among Muslims became strong. Many leaders still looked for concessions from the government to promote the interests of the newly emerging middle class and upper class economic interests. The leadership feared that, by opposing the British government, the Muslim middle and upper class economic interests would suffer. Another reason was the suspicion which the Hindu revivalism associated with some 'extremist' leaders of the Congress had created in the Muslims.

The encouragement given by the government to upper class Muslims and thus to communal politics is evident from the events which led to the formation of the Muslim League. On 1 October, 1906, a Muslim delegation led by the Agha Khan

met Governor-General Minto at Shimla. The Agha Khan, the religious head of a Muslim sect, was an exceedingly wealthy person. He led a life of luxury, mostly in Europe. Another important leader was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca (now Dhaka). The Governor-General encouraged the deputationists and within three months, on 30 December 1906, the Muslim League was formed. The objects of the League were:

(a) to promote amongst the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of the government with regard to any of its measures,

(b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to the government,

(c) to prevent the rise among Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League.

However, in spite of the 'promotion ... of loyalty' by the Muslim League, more and more Muslims were drawn into the nationalist movement. In 1912, Abul Kalam Azad founded the *Al Hilal* and Maulana Mohamed Ali started the *Comrade* in English and *Hamdard* in Urdu. These papers started by eminent nationalists carried on their advocacy of the popular cause and infused the masses with their fervour. The Muslim League also, in 1913, adopted the goal of self-government for India. In 1913 Jinnah joined the Muslim League. He did so to 'bring the policy of the League into line with the progressive and national aims of the Congress'. The outbreak of the war brought the Muslim masses into the na-



Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

tionalist movement on an even greater scale.

Nationalist Movement during the First World War

When the First World War broke out, the British government declared India an ally and a belligerent. Indian people and Indian resources were used for fighting the war. The strength of the Indian army was raised to 1,500,000 and compulsory recruitment of Indians was resorted to. Millions of pounds were taken from India to be used by the British government for its war expenditure. Indian soldiers were sent to fight in far-off lands.

A large number of Muslims were drawn

into the anti-British struggle during the war. British imperialism was inimical to the Turkish empire which was ruled by the Caliph (Khalifa). The defence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) became an important question for Muslims in many countries. Muslims in India were also drawn into the movement for the defence of Turkey and against the British. Peasant unrest also grew during the war years and peasant movements during this period helped prepare the ground for a mass movement. The nationalist movement grew strong during the war years. Tilak was released in 1914 and in 1916, he formed the Home Rule League. Annie Besant formed another Home Rule League a few months later. In 1916 at the Lucknow session of the Congress, the 'moderates' and the 'extremists' were united. Equally significant was the unity between the Congress and the Muslim League achieved at Lucknow in 1916. According to the pact, the Congress and the League agreed to join their efforts to demand (i) that a majority of the members of the Legislative Councils be elected; (ii) that the Legislative Councils be invested with wider powers than heretofore; (iii) that at least half the seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council be filled by Indians. The Lucknow Pact, as the Congress-Muslim League united programme was called, was an important achievement.

Meanwhile the Home Rule campaign was being intensified. Many 'moderate' leaders like Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das came out in support of Home Rule. Repressive measures followed. The papers mentioned before, *Al Hilal*, *Comrade* and *Hamdard*, were banned. Annie Besant was interned, and her paper, *New India*, was forfeited. The government action enraged the people. Protesting against the repres-

sion, C.R. Das said: "I do not think the God of humanity was crucified only once. Every outrage on humanity at the hands of tyrants and oppressors is a fresh nail driven through his sacred flesh."

The statement of the Secretary of State after the outbreak of war that 'the goal of the British policy is progressive realization of responsible government in India' prompted many nationalist leaders, including Gandhiji, to support the British war campaign in the hope of attaining self-government after the war. Gandhiji later said: "In all these efforts at service, I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality for my countrymen." The reforms that were announced at the end of the war came as a disappointment. The resulting frustration led to an unprecedented upsurge of nationalist sentiments.

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT BECOMES A MASS MOVEMENT, 1919-1927

Gandhiji's Leadership

The nationalist movement grew into a widespread mass anti-imperialist movement at the end of the war. Many factors contributed to this development. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi came into prominence at this time and became the undisputed leader of the nationalist movement. After studying law in England, he had gone to South Africa to start his legal practice. In the struggle against the discriminatory and racialist policy of the government of South Africa, he perfected his philosophy of action. It consisted of non-violent resistance and, when applied to the Indian scene, it served to bring millions of people into the movement for Swaraj. Powerful mass

movements were launched under his leadership. These involved defiance of laws, peaceful demonstrations, boycott of courts, stoppage of work, boycott of educational institutions, picketing of shops selling liquor and foreign goods, non-payment of taxes and the closing of vital business. These non-violent but no less revolutionary methods influenced millions of people belonging to all sections of society and infused in them bravery and self-confidence. Millions now braved the repression resorted to by the government, boldly courted imprisonment and faced lathi-charges and firings. Gandhiji lived the simple life of an ascetic and talked to the people in a language they could understand. He came to be known to the people of India as Mahatma Gandhi.

Gandhiji made social reform a part of the programme of the nationalist movement. His greatest achievement in the field of social reform was the campaign against the inhuman institution of untouchability which had degraded millions of Indians. His other achievement was in the field of cottage industries. He saw in the charkha, the spinning wheel, the salvation of the village people, and its promotion became a part of the Congress programme. In addition to infusing people with the spirit of nationalism, it provided employment to millions and created a large group of people who were ready to throw themselves into the struggle and court imprisonment. The charkha became so important that it eventually became a part of the flag of the Indian National Congress.

Gandhiji devoted himself to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. He regarded communalism as anti-national and inhuman. Under his leadership the unity of the nationalist movement was secured and the

people of India marched on in their quest for independence.

Consequences of the War and Repressive Measures

Apart from Gandhiji's leadership, several other factors led to the growth of nationalist movement into a mass movement. The war expenditure imposed on India had further impoverished the masses. The spread of influenza epidemic took a huge toll of human lives. The war was followed by an upsurge of nationalism in many countries. Three autocracies had been overthrown — Hohenzollern in Germany, Habsburg in Austria and Romanov in Russia. The fall of autocracies had a healthy effect on the political climate of the world. Indian nationalist leaders were also deeply influenced by the Russian Revolution. The Soviet government of Russia proclaimed the right of subject nations to independence and gave up the imperialist gains which the Czarist regime had acquired. All these developments influenced the consciousness of the Indian people and inspired them to plunge themselves into the nationalist struggle with greater vigour.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which became the Government of India Act in 1919, clearly defined the jurisdiction of the central and provincial governments. The central legislature now consisted of two houses with elected majorities. However, the franchise was limited and the legislature had no real powers. In the provinces, a system called 'dyarchy' was introduced. There were elected majorities in the legislative councils, the franchise being based on property qualifications and communal electorates. There were certain provincial subjects which were under the jurisdiction of the legislative councils but the

governors had wide powers of interference and the legislatures were, for all practical purposes, powerless. The reforms introduced were a far cry from the aim of Swaraj and were condemned both by the Congress and the League. The reforms further angered the masses and were condemned as unsatisfactory.

The defeat of Turkey in the war and the dismemberment of the Turkish empire angered the Muslim masses and led to an outburst of popular feeling against the British government.

The British government resorted to repressive measures. In 1919, the Rowlatt Act was passed in spite of being opposed by all Indian members of the legislative council. The Act authorized the government to imprison people without trial. Three Indian members—Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Mazharul Haque—resigned from the council in protest. The Rowlatt Act aroused a wave of popular indignation and led to the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh. All the repressive measures, however, only added fuel to the fire of nationalism.

The Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh

The Rowlatt Act came into effect in March 1919. Voices from all over the country swelled the chorus of protest. On 6 April, there were strikes, hartals, and demonstrations at many places. In Punjab, the protest movement was particularly strong. The government resorted to lathi-charge and firing in many places. On 10 April, two outstanding leaders of the Congress, Dr Satya Pal and Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, were arrested and taken to an unknown place. To protest against the arrests, a public meeting was held on 13 April in Jallianwala Bagh, a small park

enclosed by buildings on all sides, in Amritsar. General Dyer with his British troops entered the park, closed the only exit and, without giving any warning, ordered the troops to fire. The meeting had been peaceful and there had been no provocation. Among those who had come to the meeting were women, children and old persons. The firing lasted about 10 minutes and about 1600 rounds were fired. As the exit, which was a narrow passage, had been closed, no one was allowed to escape. After some time, Dyer left with his troops. About 1000 dead, according to unofficial estimates, and about 2000 wounded persons lay unattended to in the Bagh. The monstrous act provoked unparalleled indignation throughout the country.

Dyer's 'unexampled act of brutality' and 'deliberately calculated massacre' shocked the conscience of many Englishmen.

Immediately after the massacre, martial law was declared throughout Punjab and a reign of terror was let loose. However, the terror failed to crush the movement and the 'moral effect' which Dyer hoped to create failed to materialize. Soon the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements broke out.

Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movements

The Khilafat movement was organized by the famous Ali brothers, Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and others in protest against the injustice done to Turkey after the war. In fact, it became a part of the Indian nationalist movement. The Congress leaders joined in the Khilafat agitation and helped in organizing it throughout the country.

In 1920, the Congress adopted the new

programme of non-violent Non-Cooperation under the leadership of Gandhiji. The aims of the Non-Cooperation movement were to redress the wrongs done to Punjab and Turkey, and the attainment of Swaraj. It was to proceed in stages, beginning with the renunciation of titles, to be followed by the boycott of the legislatures, law courts and educational institutions and the campaign of non-payment of taxes.

It was decided to organize a corps of 150,000 volunteers to carry on the campaign of Non-Cooperation.

The Non-Cooperation movement was a great success. In the elections to the legislatures, about two-thirds of voters did not vote. Educational institutions were de-

serted. A new programme of national education was started. Such institutions as the Jamia Millia and the Kashi Vidya Peeth were established. Many Indians resigned their government jobs. Foreign cloth was burnt in bonfires. There were strikes all over the country. In Malabar, the Moplah rebellion broke out. Hindus and Muslims participated in the movement as one, and scenes of fraternization were witnessed all over the country. Amongst the Sikhs, there was a movement to dislodge the pro-government and corrupt mahants from gurdwaras. Thousands of persons enrolled themselves as volunteers. In the midst of the movement, the Prince of Wales arrived in India. On the day of his arrival on



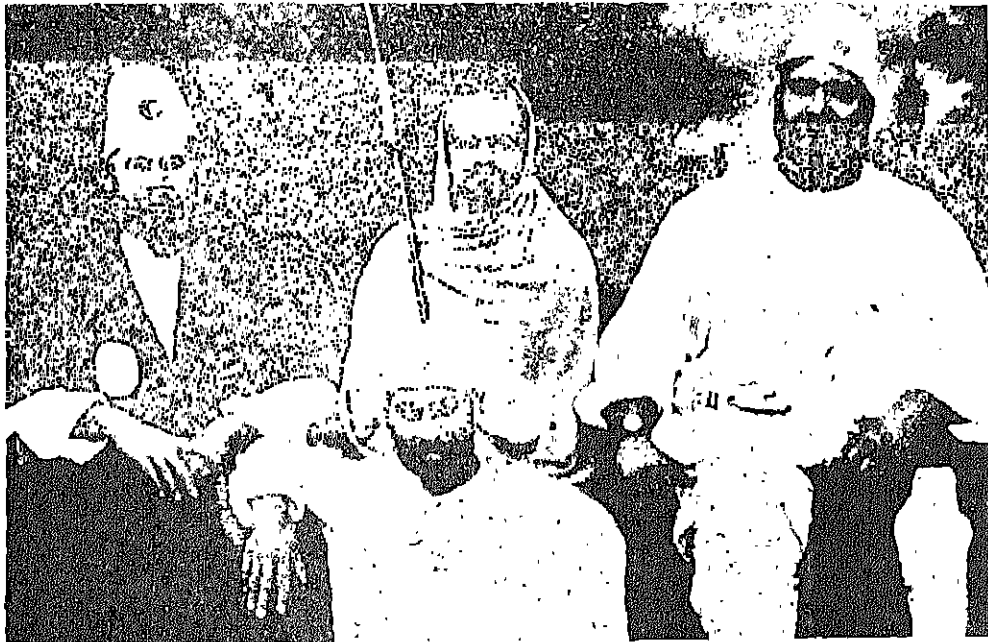
Delegates to Indian National Congress session held at Amritsar in December 1919. Seated on chair, right to left, are: Madan Mohan Malaviya, Annie Besant, Swami Shradhanand, Motilal Nehru (President), Bal Gangadhar Tilak and others. Sitting on the ground, left to right, are: Jawaharlal Nehru, S. Satyamurli and others

17 November 1921, he was 'greeted' by general strikes and demonstrations. At many places, police resorted to firing at the demonstrators. The repression continued and by the end of the year all the top leaders with the exception of Gandhiji were arrested. By the beginning of 1922, about 30,000 persons were in jail.

At the height of the Non-Cooperation movement and the repressive measures of the British government, the annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad in December 1921. The Congress, under the Presidentship of Hakim Ajmal Khan, decided to continue the movement until the Punjab and Khilafat grievances were redressed and Swaraj attained. The mood of the people can be gauged from the fact that,

at this session, many people were no longer satisfied with the slogan of Swaraj which did not mean complete independence. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, an eminent nationalist leader and a leading Urdu poet, proposed that Swaraj should be defined as 'Complete Independence free from all foreign control'. The proposal was not accepted but it showed the dynamics of political consciousness at work in the people.

Early in February, Gandhiji decided to launch a no-tax campaign in Bardoli district in Gujarat. However, in Chauri Chaura (in Uttar Pradesh) people turned violent and set fire to a police station causing the death of 22 policemen. When the news reached Gandhiji, he decided to call off the Non-Cooperation movement. The Work-



Seated on chair, right to left are : Mohamed Ali, Bharti Krishna Tirathji (Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth) and Shaikat Ali. Seated on the ground is Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew. They were tried in 1921 at Karachi and Ali Brothers and Dr Kitchlew were sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

ing Committee of the Congress met on 12 February 1922 and decided to concentrate on the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability.

Those leaders of the Congress who were in jail were unhappy to learn that the movement had been called off. Gandhiji himself was arrested and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. However, he was released within two years and started his constructive programme for the popularization of charkha, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and combating of untouchability. He also took up the cause of the promotion of national education. A section of the Congress led by Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das formed the Congress Khilafat Swarajya Party and decided to participate in the elections to the various legislative bodies which had been boycotted earlier, and to wreck them from within until the demands of the people were met. Subsequently, some of them, led by Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lajpat Rai opposed the policy of wrecking the councils from within and decided to offer Responsive Cooperation to the government.

Communalism and its Dangerous Effects

An unfortunate development after the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement was the growth of communal tension and the occurrence of communal riots. Movements of *tabligh* and *shuddhi* were started which resulted in the growth of communal tension. The *tabligh* movement was started by Muslim communalists to promote conversion to Islam. The *shuddhi* movement was started by Hindu communalists to reconvert to Hinduism persons who had been converted to other religions. Communalism implied the starting of political

movements in the name of promoting the interests of one's own community and protesting against the real or imaginary advantages enjoyed by other communities. It was based on the view that the political, economic, social and cultural interests of the people belonging to different religious communities were not only separate and different from one another but also antagonistic to one another.

However, the communal parties did not advance the interests of their communities. The interests of one community could not be separated from the interests of the entire nation. The communal parties were not concerned with the freedom of the country but wanted to get concessions for the upper classes of their communities. You have already read about the Muslim League which cut itself off from the Congress in the 1920s and started pursuing its communal demands. Meanwhile, several Hindu communal organizations had also been formed. The most important of these was the Hindu Mahasabha which had been formed in 1915. It demanded special privileges for Hindus in provinces where they were in a minority just as the Muslim League demanded special privileges for Muslims in provinces where they were in a minority. Both played into the hands of British imperialism.

These tendencies hampered the nationalist movement. They diverted the attention of people from the need for independence from foreign rule. The communalists belonging to various communities had many things in common. They attached more importance to getting more seats in the legislatures than to the independence of the country. Both looked up to the British rulers for patronage. They did not concern themselves with questions affecting the

common people —poverty, social reforms and equality. They were concerned only with the rights and privileges of the upper classes of their community and were united in their opposition to radical social reforms and changes.

Communal thinking also influenced some sections among the Sikhs. Various caste organizations in different parts of the country also played a disruptive role similar to the one played by the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communal organizations.

Many communal riots occurred in various parts of the country as a result of the activities of communal organizations and the encouragement they received from the British government.

FROM SWARAJ TO COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, 1927-1939

After the calling off of the Non-Cooperation movement, for a few years there were no nation-wide political campaigns or agitations and the constructive programme of Gandhiji was taken up. But soon this lull was over. The Congress adopted the slogan of Complete Independence and a mighty movement known as the Civil Disobedience movement was launched to achieve it. The nationalist movement now assumed a wider character and adopted a comprehensive programme for the social and economic reconstruction of Indian society once independence was attained. Thus the struggle for political independence became a prerequisite for the reconstruction of Indian society.

Next to Gandhiji, the central figure in the new phase of the nationalist movement was Jawaharlal Nehru. After receiving his education in England, Jawaharlal returned to India in 1912. Soon he came under the



Subhas Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru in Calcutta in 1937

spell of Gandhiji and threw himself into the nationalist struggle. His contact with the peasants of Uttar Pradesh, which he developed in the 1920s aroused the deepest emotions in him and made him a life-long champion of the oppressed. He wrote about his experience: "I was filled with shame and sorrow at the degradation and overwhelming poverty of India. A new picture of India seemed to arise before me, naked, starving, crushed, and utterly miserable." This 'discovery of India' made his nationalist thinking all the more intense, and national independence and the struggle to improve people's condition became one to him. In December 1921, he was arrested along with Motilal Nehru, his father, and other nationalist leaders. He was released for a few weeks, then re-arrested and again released early in 1923. Then he went to Nabha, which was a princely state, to observe the demonstration of Akali Sikhs against the corrupt mahants. He was arrested and sentenced after the pretence of

a trial. His experience of Nabha opened his eyes to the other India, the India ruled by the Indian princes. It was no better than British rule and, in many respects, even worse. He became the champion of the rights of the people of the princely states. Within a few years, the movement of the people of these states against the oppression by their rulers became an integral part of the nationalist movement. He became one of the general secretaries of the Congress when Maulana Mohamed Ali was the President.

Another important leader to rise in this period was Subhas Chandra Bose. Educated at Calcutta and Cambridge, he was selected to the Indian Civil Service but, instead, plunged himself into the nationalist struggle. He organized student and

youth associations throughout the country for the strengthening of the nationalist movement and, in 1924, was arrested on the charge of organizing terrorist activities. Jawaharlal and Subhas became the leaders of the radical wing in the nationalist movement and the idols of youth all over the country.

The Simon Commission

In November 1927, the British government appointed the Simon Commission to look into the working of the Government of India Act of 1919 and to suggest changes. The Commission consisted of Englishmen without a single Indian representative. Also its terms of reference did not hold out hopes of anything remotely like Swaraj.

At the Congress session at Madras in



A contemporary illustration depicting the police assault on demonstrators led by Lala Lajpat Rai, protesting against the Simon Commission at Lahore. Lala Lajpat Rai died of the injuries suffered by him during the assault.

December 1927, a resolution calling for Complete Independence was passed. This was the first time that a resolution demanding complete independence had been passed by the Congress. By another resolution, it was decided to boycott the Simon Commission.

The Commission arrived in India in February 1928 and was met with a country-wide hartal. Even the majority of the members of the Central Legislative Assembly boycotted the Commission. Anti-Simon Committees were formed all over the country to organize demonstrations and hartals wherever the Commission went. Peaceful demonstrators were beaten up by the police at many places. Lala Lajpat Rai was assaulted and soon after died. Govind Ballabh Pant received a lathi blow which disabled him for life.

Two other events aroused popular resentment in this period. In March 1929, 31 labour leaders were arrested on the charge of conspiracy. The leaders included three Englishmen who had helped in the organization of the workers' movement in India. They were taken to Meerut and were tried. The trial which lasted four years is known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. Many defence committees were formed all over the country and even in England and other foreign countries. The nationalist leaders provided legal defence to the accused. Some of them were acquitted while others were convicted. The workers' organizations had been growing and played an active part in the nationalist movement. Many British socialists helped in organizing the workers. The British government got scared, and in 1929 issued the Public Safety Ordinance to remove from India persons it considered 'British and foreign communist agents'. The government had also enacted

a law to curb trade union activities.

Another case is known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case. After the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation movement, there had been a revival of revolutionary activities. Four revolutionaries, including Ram Prasad Bismil and Ashfaqulla, belonging to the Hindustan Republican Association had been hanged after their trial under the Kakori Conspiracy case. In 1928, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and others had founded a new revolutionary organization called the Hindustan Republican Socialist Association. On 8 April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt went to the Central Legislative Assembly and threw a bomb at government benches and raised slogans of 'Long Live the Revolution'. There were no casualties and probably none was intended. Bhagat Singh and Dutt surrendered and were taken into custody. Many other members of the association were arrested later and a bomb workshop unearthed. Except for Chandra Shekhar Azad (who was later killed in an encounter with the police), all the prominent members were arrested and charged with the murder of the Superintendent of Police of Lahore also. The prisoners were brutally treated in jail. Jatin Das died after a hunger strike lasting 64 days. Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukh Dev were later sentenced to death. Their execution aroused a wave of indignation all over the country.

Lahore Congress and the Civil Disobedience Movement

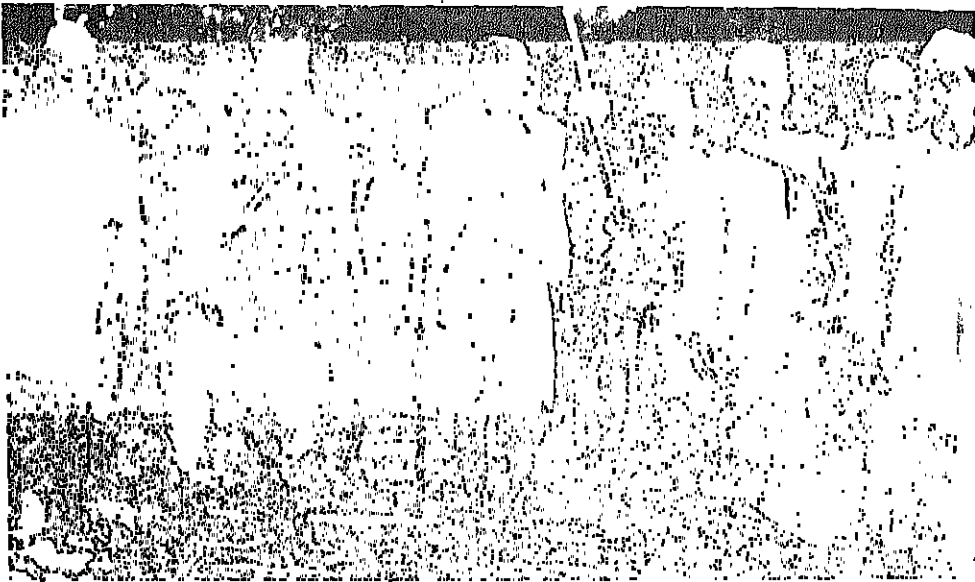
In December 1929, the Congress session was held at Lahore with Jawaharlal Nehru as the President. The Congress declared the attainment of Complete Independence as its aim and decided to launch a Civil Disobedience movement under the leader-

ship of Gandhiji. It was decided to celebrate 26 January as the Independence Day all over the country. On 26 January 1930, meetings were held all over the country and the Congress tricolor was hoisted. The people took the 'Pledge of Independence' at these meetings. The Pledge stated: "The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence. We believe it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognize, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom

is through non-violence. We will, therefore, prepare our selves... for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes."

Because of its significance in the nationalist struggle, 26 January was chosen as the day to mark the birth of the Indian Republic in 1950. So Independence Day of the pre-independence years has become Republic Day in Free India.

The Civil Disobedience movement began with what is known as the Dandi March. Gandhiji, along with 78 of his followers, started from his ashram at Sabarmati on a march to Dandi on the sea-coast on foot and broke the law by making salt. In April, he gave instructions to launch the movement. "Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt, sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops... Foreign cloth should be



Gandhiji, along with his followers, during his march from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi

burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability... Let students leave government schools and colleges and government servants resign their service... and we shall soon find that Purana Swaraj will come knocking at our doors."

As soon as the Civil Disobedience movement started, all the important leaders including Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were arrested. By the beginning of 1931, 90,000 persons were in jail and 67 papers had been banned. In April and May 1930, three dramatic incidents had taken place. At Peshawar, Indian soldiers refused to open fire on the demonstrators when ordered to do so. In Sholapur, martial law had to be imposed to suppress the mass upsurge. In Chittagong, the revolutionaries captured the armoury and there was a pitched battle between the government troops and the revolutionaries.

In January 1931, Gandhiji and some other leaders were released. In March an agreement known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed under which the movement was called off. The government promised to release all political prisoners except those charged with acts of violence. The Congress agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference which had been called to consider a scheme for a new constitution for India.

In 1931, the Congress met at Karachi. It approved the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The most significant contribution of the Karachi session was a resolution it passed on Fundamental Rights and Economic Policy. It outlined a plan for the reconstruction of Indian society after independence, and was to furnish many aims and ideals for the Constitution of India and the social and economic policy of the Indian Republic.

The Civil Disobedience movement was

revived on Gandhiji's return from the Round Table Conference in London, when Lord Willingdon, the new Viceroy, declined to grant even an interview to Gandhiji. Gandhiji was arrested. The movement continued for two years. The repression of the government was more severe than it had been before. By April 1933, about 120,000 persons had been imprisoned. In May 1934 the entire Civil Disobedience movement was called off.

The Civil Disobedience movement had involved millions of people, young and old, men and women, people belonging to all regions and communities. The communal organizations, both of Hindus and Muslims, during this period concentrated on getting more seats in the legislatures and refrained from an active role in the independence movement. They had no substantial following and did not seriously affect the course of the movement.

Influence of Socialist Ideas

In 1920 was founded the All India Trade Union Congress. The trade union movement enjoyed the support of many national leaders. Besides working for improvements in the living conditions of workers, it mobilized the workers in the cause of independence.

The peasants were drawn into the nationalist struggle towards the end of the First World War. The economic grievances of the peasants against landlords and the government inevitably drew them into the nationalist struggle. In 1917-18, Gandhiji launched what is known as the Champaran Movement in Bihar against the indigo planters. During the Non-Cooperation movement, peasants all over the country opposed the heavy land revenue they had to pay and this became an integral part of the

struggle for Swaraj. Later on, many peasant organizations were formed. These organizations participated in the struggle for freedom, campaigned against heavy land taxes and advocated the abolition of the zamindari system. Many nationalist leaders led peasant struggles. The participation of peasants in the freedom struggle helped in making it more broad-based and extensive, and land reforms to alleviate the sufferings of the peasants became one of its important aims.

The ideas of socialism also gradually gained ground in the nationalist movement. The Russian Revolution had made a deep impact on the thinking of the nationalist leaders. Many leaders were socialists in their ideological beliefs and advocated the adoption of socialist policies. The most outstanding of these leaders was Jawaharlal Nehru. He had been influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx and other socialist thinkers and had developed close relations with socialist leaders of Europe. He popularized the ideas of socialism and persuaded the Congress to adopt a radical programme of social and economic reconstruction. Although the Congress was not wholly committed to his idea of socialism, his ideas influenced the policies of the nationalist movement with regard to social and economic matters. With the support of Nehru the Congress Socialist Party was formed in 1934. It worked within the Indian National Congress and advocated the convening of a Constituent Assembly to decide the future of India and the establishment of a socialist society. The Communist Party of India had been formed earlier in 1925 and exercised a powerful influence over industrial workers. It wanted the nationalist movement to be based on the economic demands of workers. Many of its

later leaders came from the Congress Socialist Party and worked in the Indian National Congress.

The States People's Movement

There were about 600 states in India which were ruled over by Indian princes. They covered about one-third of India's territory and about one-fifth of India's population. Many of these states were so small as to be no more than zamindaris. There were some like Hyderabad, which were large and had a population of several million people. These states were allowed to continue after the Revolt of 1857 though they were at the mercy of the British government. As they owed their existence to the British government, they were loyal supporters of the British rule in India. These states were ruled by the princes in a most authoritarian manner. People suffered from extreme economic and political disabilities in these states. They had no civil rights and no law except that of the ruler and had to perform forced labour. While the people were oppressed, the rulers led opulent and degenerate lives. Any attempt at political, social and economic reform in these states was most ruthlessly put down. The nationalist movement could not be fully national unless it concerned itself also with the liberation of the people of the Indian states from the oppression of their rulers. The Congress for a long time did not pay much heed to the sad plight of these people. However, the people in several states organized themselves and demanded civil rights in the states. In 1927 the All India States People's Conference was formed. The Conference focused the attention of the Indian people all over the country on the conditions prevailing in the states. In a statement, the Conference pointed out: "In



Jawaharlal Nehru being taken in a procession in Ludhiana in 1939. The All India States People's Conference which held its session there was presided over by him.

these states, big or small, with very few exceptions, personal, autocratic rule prevails. There is no rule of law and taxation is excessive and unbearable. Civil liberties are crushed. The privy purse of the rulers is usually not fixed and even where it is fixed, that is not adhered to. On the one hand, there is the extravagance and luxury of the princes; on the other, the extreme poverty of the people.

"With the hard-earned money of the poverty-stricken and miserable people, enjoyment is bought and luxury is flaunted by their rulers in foreign countries and in India. This system cannot continue. No civilized people can tolerate it. The whole

argument of history is against it; the temper of the Indian people cannot submit to it."

The Congress gradually veered round to this view and gave recognition to the rights of the people of the states. It declared: "The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection." Thus the ending of the oppressive rule of the Indian princes became a part of the nationalist movement's programme and the aim of building a united India was firmly laid down.

The Nationalist Movement and the World

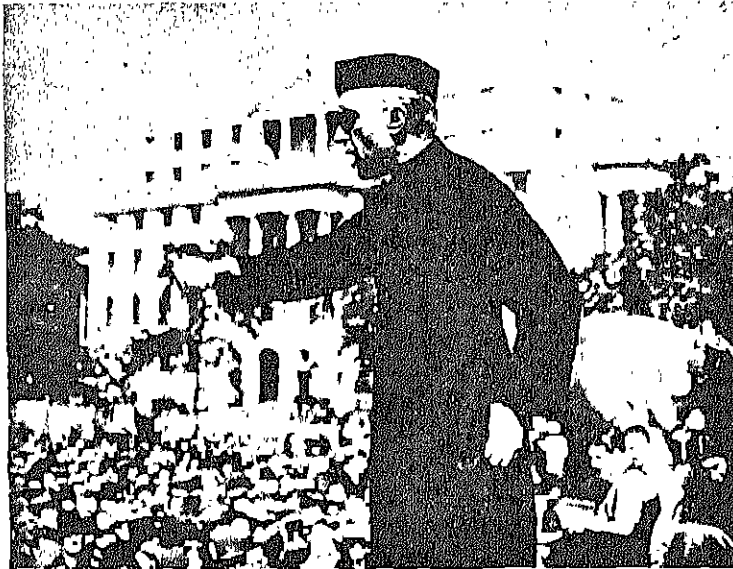
Throughout its history, Indian nationalist movement was intimately connected with developments in other countries. You have read earlier about the influence which the Russo-Japanese War, the First World War and the Russian Revolution had exerted on the nationalist movement. Many people outside India supported the nationalist cause. You have already seen how, as early as 1857, there were groups in England which tried to rouse the conscience of the people of England against the atrocities committed by the British government in India. In the twentieth century, several organizations were established in various countries by Indians with the help of enlightened people there to propagate the cause of Indian independence in those countries. One of the most important of these organizations was the India League in En-

gland which did significant work in mobilizing British opinion against the British government's policies in India. Many British labour leaders actively campaigned for Indian independence.

Our leaders also gradually became aware of the freedom movements in other countries and made common cause with them. Jawaharlal Nehru played an important part in developing the consciousness of the Indian people on international issues. In 1927, when he had gone to Europe, he attended the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, which had been called at Brussels by the well-known scientist Albert Einstein, the writer Romain Rolland and many others. An organization called the League against Imperialism was formed and the Indian National Congress was affiliated to it. The League campaigned for

putting an end to imperialism everywhere.

When the Japanese invasion of China started in 1931, the people of India extended their support to the people of China. The 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of fascism in Europe, particularly in Germany and Italy where the fascist parties came to power and destroyed even the elementary liberties of the people. Democracy and freedom all over the world were endangered even more than under the old imperialism when the fascist countries started planning conquests. The Indian nationalists understood the danger which fascism posed to the peoples of the world. The Congress opposed fascism and supported the peoples struggling against it. The fascists of Spain were supported by Hitler's Germany in their revolt against the democratic government of Spain. The other



Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a public meeting in support of the Spanish Republicans at Trafalgar Square, London, 1938

countries of Europe were indifferent to the civil war in Spain and the bombing of innocent people in Spanish villages and towns by German planes.

The Spanish civil war had aroused the conscience of the people everywhere and warned them of the danger which fascism presented. An international brigade of volunteers formed by ordinary citizens of the world fought shoulder to shoulder with the Republicans in Spain. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was in Europe at the time of the civil war, visited Spain and extended the support of the Indian nationalist movement to the people of Spain in their hour of need. When Mussolini, the fascist dictator of Italy, expressed a desire to see Jawaharlal Nehru, Nehru refused to see him. He also had no illusions left regarding the democratic professions of Western countries. They had betrayed Spain and were soon to betray Czechoslovakia and hand it over to Germany. Jawaharlal Nehru said about the governments of Western countries when they betrayed Czechoslovakia: "History long ages hence will remember this infamy and will not forgive them".

Under Jawaharlal Nehru, the cause of freedom and democracy in other countries became dear to the Indian people struggling for the independence of their country. This fraternity with the oppressed peoples all over the world was to become the basis of independent India's foreign policy. At the same time, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Indians fighting for independence learned that their conflict was with the British government and not with the British people.

Constitutional Developments

The British government promulgated the Government of India Act on 2 August 1935. This Act envisaged an All-India Federation

of British Indian Provinces and Indian states and the establishment of provincial autonomy in the federating provinces. At the centre a central legislative assembly and a council of states were to be formed. The Indian princes were to be given disproportionately high representation in the two houses at the centre. The provision regarding the formation of the federation never came into operation and the new constitution was introduced only in the provinces.

The Nationalist Movement, 1935-39

In April 1936, the Congress session was held at Lucknow under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1934, the Congress had demanded the formation of a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise to decide the constitution for India. In December 1936, at a special session, the Congress in a resolution rejected the Government of India Act of 1935 and stated that the Constitution that had been imposed on India was against the declared will of the people. It reiterated its resolve regarding the Constituent Assembly.

Although the Congress condemned the Government of India Act, it decided to participate in the elections to the provincial legislatures which were to take place in 1937. The *Election Manifesto of the Congress* demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly. It also advocated land reforms to save the peasants from ruthless exploitation, equal rights for men and women, and improvement in the condition of workers.

The elections were held in 1937 and about 15.5 million people cast their votes. Besides the Congress, many other parties including the Muslim League participated in the elections. The Congress swept the polls in most parts of the country. In six provinces, it won an absolute majority and

in three other provinces, it emerged as the single largest party. There were 482 seats reserved for Muslims. Of these, the Muslim League, which claimed to represent all the Muslims in India, won only 108 seats. In four provinces, including the North-West Frontier Province where Muslims constituted the majority community, the League failed to secure a single seat. In that province, the nationalist movement under the leadership of the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, secured significant victories and the Muslim League, which wanted to divide the nationalist movement on the basis of religion failed to have any influence there.

After the elections, the question of forming ministries in the provinces arose. Many leaders were opposed to the forming of ministries by the Congress. However, it was decided by a majority vote to form ministries wherever the Congress had a majority. In July 1937, on the assurance of the Viceroy that the governors would not interfere in the administration, the Congress formed its ministries in six provinces -- United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Madras and Bombay. In the North-West Frontier Province and Assam, the Congress formed its ministries later and, in Sind, a ministry was formed with the support of the Congress.

These ministries took some important steps immediately after coming to power. Political prisoners were released and bans on newspapers were lifted. Important steps were also taken in the field of education.

In 1938 the Congress with Subhas Chandra Bose as its President expressed its total opposition to the scheme for a federation at the centre proposed by the British government and prepared to launch a movement to gain independence immedi-

ately. It was proposed that the British government be presented with an ultimatum to agree to independence, failing which a movement would be launched. But the following year the radical and the moderate sections of the Congress were divided on this issue, and Subhas Chandra Bose decided to contest against the moderate candidate for Presidentship at the Tripuri session of the Congress. This was the first time that the office of the Congress President was contested. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected President but was asked to form the Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. The two leaders could not agree and Subhas Chandra Bose resigned. He later formed the Forward Bloc to mobilize radical elements in the country.

Indian Nationalist Movement during the Second World War

In September 1939, the Second World War broke out and the British government declared India a belligerent. Indian opinion was not sought and by a unilateral decision, India was made a party to the war.

As soon as the war was declared, the Congress clearly stated its attitude. It condemned the aggression committed by fascist countries — Germany and Italy and their ally, Japan — and expressed its sympathy with the victims of aggression. Britain, which claimed to be fighting for freedom, had destroyed the freedom of the Indian people and had dragged India into the war. The Working Committee of the Congress in a resolution stated: "The people of India have, in the recent past, faced grave risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot

associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her, and such limited freedom, as she possesses, taken away from her".

The Congress demanded the establishment of an Indian government responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly and the promise that independence would be given as soon as the war was over. The British government did not agree even to this. In November 1939, the Congress ministries in the provinces resigned because it was now clear that Britain was pursuing her own imperialist ends in the war. Another similar offer by the Congress in 1940 was also rejected by the government.

In October 1940, the Individual Satyagraha was launched by Gandhiji.

Selected individuals broke the law by making anti-war speeches in public and offered themselves for arrest. Vinoba Bhave was chosen as the first person to offer the Satyagraha. Soon the Individual Satyagraha became a nation-wide movement. Within six months, about 25,000 persons were in jail.

The movement was progressing when Germany attacked the U.S.S.R., and Japan attacked the U.S. naval station at Pearl Harbor, and started advancing in South-East Asia. These developments led to the widening of the war into a world war. In January 1942, the Allied countries, including U.S.A., the Soviet Union and Britain, issued the United Nations Declaration. The Atlantic Charter which had been issued by the

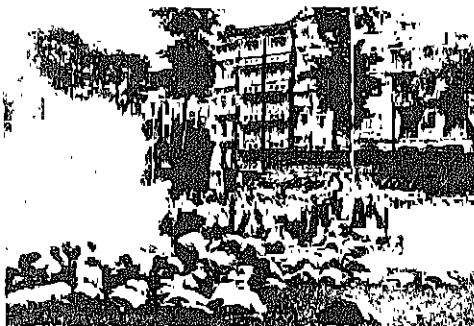


Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on 7 August 1942. The historic 'Quit India' Resolution was passed at this meeting on 8 August 1942.

United States and Britain in 1941 was agreed to by all members of the United Nations. This Charter declared: "They (the United Nations) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". The Prime Minister of Britain, Winston Churchill, however, declared that the Charter did not apply to India but was concerned with those countries of Europe which had been occupied by Germany.

Nationalist leaders including the President of the Congress, Abul Kalam Azad, and Jawaharlal Nehru were opposed to fascism and condemned it as the enemy of the freedom of peoples everywhere. They expressed their sympathy and support for victims of fascist aggression. The Indian nationalist movement pledged to fight against fascism side by side with the United Nations but this could happen only if the Indian people were in control of the government of their country. Many countries, allies against fascism, put pressure on the British government to concede the demand of the Indian people.

In March 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came to India to hold talks with the Indian lead-



A scene of tear-gassing of demonstrators in Bombay on 9 August 1942

ers. However, the talks broke down as the British were not willing to promise independence even after the war was over and rejected the Congress proposal for the formation of a national government during the war.

After the failure of the talks with Cripps, the Congress prepared to launch the third mass movement against British rule. (The first was the Non-Cooperation movement and the second the Civil Disobedience movement.) In August 1942, Gandhiji gave forth the slogan 'Quit India'. The Congress passed a resolution on 8 August 1942 which stated that the 'immediate ending of British rule in India' was 'an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and the success of the United Nations'. The Congress resolved to launch a mass civil disobedience struggle on the widest possible scale 'for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence', if the British rule did not end immediately. The day after the resolution was passed, the Congress was banned and all the important leaders were arrested.

The arrest of the nationalist leaders provoked a wave of indignation among the people. 'Quit India', the pithiest call to action, resounded throughout the country. There were spontaneous demonstrations at many places, and people resorted to the use of violence to dislodge the foreign rule. The government used police and army to suppress the movement. Hundreds of persons were killed and over 70,000 arrested in less than five months. Despite the government's ruthlessness, the struggles continued throughout the period of the Second World War.

In 1941, Subhas Chandra Bose had escaped from India and had reached Germany. He carried on activities for India's

freedom from there and made broadcasts exhorting the people of India to overthrow British rule. In July 1943, he came to Singapore. Rash Behari Bose, an Indian revolutionary who had escaped from India to Japan in 1915, had set up the Indian Independence League. After the Japanese had defeated the British in South-East Asia, the Indian National Army was organized from among the Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese. Subhas Bose took over the leadership of the Indian Independence League and reorganized the Indian National Army (Azad Hind Fauj) to liberate India from British rule. On 21 October 1943, he proclaimed the setting up of the Provisional Government of Free India. In 1944, three units of the INA along with the Japanese troops moved into the Imphal-Kohima region of north-eastern India. The attack was, however, repulsed. Even though the attempt to liberate India failed, the activities of Subhas Bose and the INA served to strengthen the anti-imperialist struggle in India. It may, however, be remembered that both Germany and Japan were aggressor countries with ambitions of world domination. The Indian nationalist movement had never viewed them as friends in its struggle for freedom and its sympathies, from the very beginning, had been with the victims of the German aggression in Europe and of the Japanese aggression in Asia.

The Demand for Pakistan

You have read earlier about the rise of communal parties. These parties were organized on the basis of religion and claimed to be working for the promotion of the interests of their respective communities. In reality these communal parties played into the hands of the British rulers and

hampered the cause of freedom. During the period when the nationalist movement was at its height, these parties were swept away and failed to get the support of the people. The Muslim League fared badly in the elections of 1937. So did the Hindu communal organizations. However, soon communalism raised its head again, this time in a more sinister form and led to tragic consequences for the people of India.

The new development in communal politics in India was the propagation of what is known as the 'two-nation theory'. According to this theory, the Muslim League led by Jinnah claimed that India consisted of two separate nations — Hindus and Muslims. Politics based on this theory led to tragic incidents and ultimately the partition of the country.

The 'two-nation theory' was a total falsification of the entire history of the Indian people. In medieval times, Hindus and Muslims had developed a common culture. They were one people. In the nineteenth century, before, during, and after the Revolt of 1857 they had fought as one people to free themselves from foreign rule. In the twentieth century, when the national movement became a mass movement, people of both communities, Hindus and Muslims alike, suffered repression as one people and one nation. The nationalist movement was a struggle of the entire Indian nation involving all the communities living in India. Now the 'two-nation theory' attacked the entire basis of Indian nationalism. The Hindu communal leaders also advocated this theory by asserting that only Hindus of India constituted the nation.

In 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, the demand for a separate state of Pakistan was made. It was based on



A scene of anti-British protest in Bombay during the mutiny of the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy in 1946

the 'two-nation theory'. The Muslim League demanded "that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign".

The demand for a separate state was opposed by large sections of Muslims who were against any separatist demand. Many nationalist leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who had always been in the forefront of the national movement, stoutly opposed the demand for a separate state as anti-national and detrimental to the interests of Muslims and the people of India as a whole. Many Muslim organizations were also opposed to the demand for a separate state and fought against communal tendencies and for the freedom of the Indian

people. Of these the more prominent were the Khudai Khidmatgar in the North-West Frontier Province organized by the veteran leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, popularly known as 'Frontier Gandhi', the Watan Party in Baluchistan, the All-India Momin Conference, the Ahrar Party, the All-India Shia Political Conference and the Azad Muslim Conference. These organizations, along with the Congress, led a large number of Muslims in the struggle for independence.

The Muslim League was encouraged by the British government to press its demand for a separate state and played the game of British imperialism which had the effect of disrupting and weakening the movement for independence. When the Congress withdrew from the provincial governments in protest against British attitude to the demand for independence, the Muslim

League celebrated the event by observing what it called the 'Deliverance Day', and tried to form ministries in the provinces although they did not have a majority in any provincial legislature.

Nationalist Upsurge after the Second World War

The Second World War was fought in the name of freedom and democracy by the countries of the United Nations. The conscience of vast multitudes of peoples had been stirred by the war against fascism. The demand for independence of colonial peoples swelled to a crescendo after the war. The peoples of Asia and Africa charged forward in a crowning bid for independence. The political climate of the world had changed. In this general world-wide struggle against imperialism, the struggle of the Indian people shone forth unique and exemplary.

The war had changed the entire picture of the world. The old imperialist countries—Britain, France, Holland and others—had been weakened by the war. They were no longer powerful enough to withstand the onward march of the nationalist movements. Britain was no longer the world power it had been for centuries and her supremacy was gone for good. The U.S.S.R., which had suffered most heavily during the war, emerged stronger. Many countries of Europe, which had been occupied by Germany, had become socialist after the defeat of Hitler's Germany. Thus in the war while fascism had been destroyed, imperialism had also received heavy blows.

In Britain itself, the Conservative Party, which was opposed to the demand for the independence of India, lost heavily in the elections. The war-time Prime Minister,

Winston Churchill, who had disclaimed any intention to 'preside over the dissolution of the British Empire' was no longer the Prime Minister. There were many people in the Labour Party, which had come to power under the leadership of Attlee, who were opposed to the continuation of British rule over India. Conditions were ripe for the end of imperialism in India.

In India the resentment against British rule ran at a high pitch at this time. Indians had suffered a great deal during the war. The British government had shown callous indifference to the famine-stricken people during the terrible famine that had raged in Bengal in 1943 in which three million people died. At the end of the war, all this pent-up resentment broke out in dealing a final blow to foreign rule.

In November 1945, three officers of the Indian National Army were tried at the Red Fort in Delhi. They were charged with the 'crime' of conspiring against the King, that is, the British empire. They were defended by the barristers among the nation's leaders. But they were sentenced to transportation for life. The sentences which were later revoked provoked widespread popular upsurge all over the country. The armed forces were also affected. Thousands of ratings of the Royal Indian Navy revolted. There were demonstrations, strikes and hartals all over the country. The British government saw the writing on the wall: It was no longer possible to hold the Indian people in subjection.

Achievement of Independence, 1947





In February 1946, the British government sent the Cabinet Mission to India to hold discussions with Indian leaders. The British Prime Minister announced his

government's willingness to grant independence to India. The Cabinet Mission proposed the formation of a Union of India in which provinces would be grouped in four zones with their own constitutions and enjoying autonomy except in matters of foreign policy, defence and communication. It also proposed the formation of a constitution-making body, not elected by the people, but by the provincial legislatures on the basis of communal electorates. The members from the Indian states were proposed to be appointed by the rulers of Indian states. The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission proposal regarding the constitution-making body. Although the

Congress had earlier insisted on a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, it agreed to the Cabinet Mission proposal in order to avoid any delay in the achievement of independence. In July, the elections to the Constituent Assembly were completed. The Congress had won 201 out of the 210 general seats, the Muslim League won 73 out of 78 seats reserved for Muslims. The Muslim League boycotted the Assembly and pressed on with its demand for a separate state of Pakistan. The princes also boycotted the Assembly. Meanwhile the people of the states pressed for the integration of the states into a united India. On 2 September

AUGUST 1947

The Statesman Supplement

| THE DOMINION OF INDIA | | THE DOMINION OF PAKISTAN | |
|---|---|---|--|
| GOVERNOR-GENERAL | PRIME MINISTER | GOVERNOR-GENERAL | PRIME MINISTER |
|  |  |  |  |
| <small> LORD MOUNTBATTEN </small> | <small> PANDIT NEHRU </small> | <small> MR. M. A. JINNAH </small> | <small> MR. LIAQUAT ALI KHAN </small> |

MILESTONES ON THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

In this article written for The Statesman Supplement Mr. Jinnah's views on the recent political history of India are given in a pattern of light and shadow, as distinguished by the hopes of freedom during the past while he was today

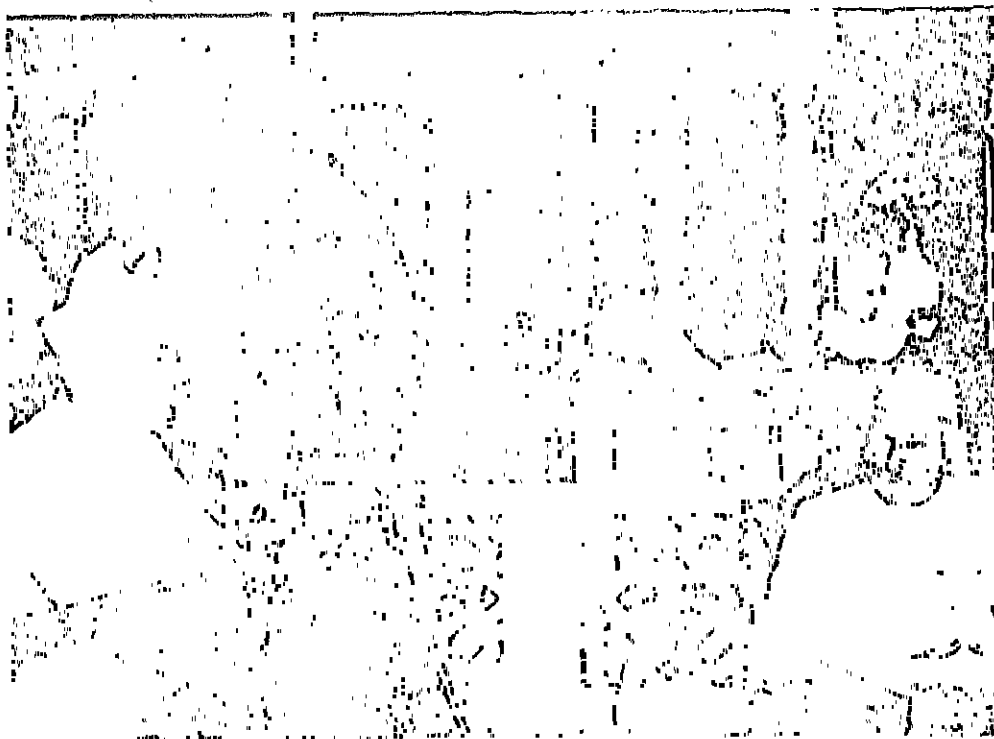
1946, the Congress formed the Interim Government which was headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. Later, the Muslim League also joined the Interim Government.

On 24 March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Viceroy of India and the British government announced that it would transfer power to Indian hands not later than June 1948.

On 3 June 1947, Mountbatten presented a plan for the division of India into two independent states -- the Indian Union and Pakistan. The Indian states were given the right to decide their own future. Partition

was completed and power was transferred to the two States of India and Pakistan. Pakistan comprised West Punjab, East Bengal, Sind, and the N.W.F.P.

On 15 August 1947, India became independent. Unfortunately, the victory of the glorious struggle of the Indian people for independence was tainted by ugly happenings immediately before and after the achievement of independence. Millions lost their homes, several thousand persons were killed. Gandhiji had been touring the riot-affected areas bringing solace and comfort to the people. On the day India became independent, he was in Calcutta which had



Jawaharlal Nehru making his famous 'Tryst with Destiny' speech in the Constituent Assembly on the eve of India's independence

been ravaged by communal rioting. He came to Delhi only after communal violence had ceased there. He was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic on 30 January 1948.

Building the New India

The Constituent Assembly had set itself the task of preparing a constitution of free India. It started meeting on 9 December 1946. The Drafting Committee under the chairmanship of Dr B.R. Ambedkar completed its work on 26 November 1949. The constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950 when India became a Republic. Every year we celebrate 15 August as the Independence Day and 26 January as the Republic Day.

The task of the Assembly was outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech moving the Objectives Resolution in the Assembly on 13 December 1946. In the Resolution that he proposed, the Assembly expressed its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic comprising British India, Indian states and other territories 'willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India'. In the Independent Sovereign India, the Assembly declared that 'justice, social, economic, and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action' shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India.

On 14 August 1947, while addressing the Constituent Assembly, which functioned also as the Parliament of Free India, Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, spoke these memorable words: "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full

measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that, at this solemn moment, we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." He spoke about the aims and dreams which awaited realization and the future 'that beckons to us now'. "That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges that we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but as long as there are tears and suffering so long will our work not be over.

"And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible; so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

In the name of the Assembly he appealed to the people of India "to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill will or blaming others. We have to build the noble

INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

THIS Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to draw up for her future governance a Constitution;

WHEREIN the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the Independent Sovereign India, shall be a union of them all; and

WHEREIN the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter according to the law of the Constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom; and

WHEREIN all power and authority of the Sovereign Independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government are derived from the people; and

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and

WHEREIN adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

WHEREIN shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and

THIS ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.

This is the text of the Resolution unanimously adopted by the Constituent Assembly of India on the 22nd January 1947.

India's Charter of Freedom adopted by the Constituent Assembly on 22 January 1947

mansion of free India where all her children may dwell".

Thus began the effort to build "the noble mansion of free India". The first task was to complete the unification of India. Many rulers of the princely states were dreaming of establishing independent states of their own. However, as a result of the movement of the people of the states and the able stewardship of Sardar Patel, they acceded to India. In February, 1948, the people of Junagadh, whose Nawab had fled to Pakistan, voted for accession to India. The people of Jammu and Kashmir had been keeping up the agitation against autocracy as a part of the national movement. After the invasion by Pakistani raiders, the Maharaja of Kashmir and Shaikh Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference which had been leading the popular struggle in Kashmir, requested India to accept the state's accession on 26 October 1947. The formal accession of Hyderabad to India took place in November 1949. By the end of 1949, the work of the integration of princely states had been completed and they were merged in different states of the Union.

The only Indian territories which were still under colonial rule were the French possessions — Pondicherry, Karakal, Yanam, Mahe and Chandernagore — and the Portuguese possessions — Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Goa, Daman and Diu. The French possessions became a part of India by 1954 and the Portuguese possessions by 1961 when Goa was liberated. With this the liberation of all parts of India from colonial rule was finally completed.

With independence, a new era opened in the history of the Indian people and the struggle to build a new and prosperous India, began in right earnest and continues.

India's national movement was a glori-

ous struggle. Through this struggle, the people of India challenged the mightiest empire in the world and became independent. The movement drew together millions of people, men and women, belonging to different religious, regional and linguistic groups. It was a struggle which united all the people of India as nothing had united them before. Unity of the people of different religions, castes and creeds was the first fruit of the resurgence. The disruptive communal forces, instigated by imperialism, were overcome and the Indian people threw off the foreign yoke. This unity was the best hope for the success of the struggle. Under the leadership of great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad, this unity was forged. The courage of standing up to the brutal repression which the people displayed and the solidarity they achieved in the face of divisive power is our most cherished heritage.

There were other features of our struggle which make the heritage an even prouder one. On the whole, it was a peaceful non-violent struggle. No country and no people can fight for or maintain its own freedom while remaining indifferent or opposed to the freedom of others. While freedom-loving peoples supported our struggle, we supported the cause of freedom everywhere. Whether it was the peoples of Asia and Africa, who were trying to free themselves from foreign rule or the peoples of Europe whose freedom was endangered by the rise of fascism, the cause of freedom in every country we valued as our own cause. Friendship for all peoples with a stake in their freedom became a unique tenet of our foreign policy in the pre-independence days and so it has remained ever since.

Another aspect of the national movement was its aim to reconstruct our society on the basis of secularism, democracy and social equality. The Indian people realized that the backward social system could not be destroyed and a new one suited to the needs of people built, unless the people were freed from the yoke of imperialism.

Thus the struggle to reconstruct Indian society and economy required first of all the overthrow of foreign rule. Our nationalist movement was greatly inspired by the ideas of socialism. With the achievement of independence, an even greater struggle of building a new prosperous India with a just social order started.

EXERCISES

Things to Know

1. What were the basic and immediate causes of the revolt of 1857? What were the main centres of the revolt? Name some important leaders of the revolt.
2. What were the differences between the 'moderates' and the 'extremists'? Why were the 'extremists' more popular than the 'moderates'?
3. What were the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation movements? Name some important leaders of these movements.
4. What did the slogan of Swaraj mean? How was the slogan of Complete Independence different from it? When and where was the slogan of Complete Independence adopted?
5. What was the states people's movement? Why and how did it become a part of the nationalist movement?
6. What was the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Second World War?
7. When was the Muslim League formed? Describe briefly the policies of the Muslim League from 1906 to 1940. When was the formation of a separate state of Pakistan adopted as the aim of the Muslim League?
8. How were the Cabinet Mission's proposals different from the proposals made earlier by the British government during the Second World War? Why were they accepted by the nationalist movement?
9. Write notes on the following: Partition of Bengal; Lucknow Pact of 1916; Simon Commission; 26 January 1930; Ghadar Party; India League; League against Imperialism; the Indian National Army; the Meerut and Lahore Conspiracy Cases; Civil Disobedience Movement.

Things to Do

1. Read Jawaharlal Nehru's autobiography and prepare an essay on his attitude towards the following: Non-Cooperation movement; communal parties; Indian princely states; Fascism; Socialism; nature of British imperialism; his vision of Independent India.
2. Prepare a chart of the nationalist movement from 1858 to 1947 showing the main stages in the growth of the movement. The chart should show the year, the main event or events, the aims and policies and the important leaders.
3. Display on wall-papers important resolutions of the Indian National Congress, for example, the resolutions on Complete Independence and Quit India.

Things to Think about and Discuss

1. What do you understand by the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism'? When, in your opinion, did India become a nation? Give arguments in support of your answer.
2. It is said that the constitutional reforms introduced by the British government from time to time were always too little and too late. Discuss the statement relating the constitutional changes — Morley-Minto Reforms, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the Government of India Act of 1935 — with reference to the nationalist movement.
3. Discuss the character of the communal parties and the role played by them during the struggle for independence.
4. In the light of what you have read about revolutions in a previous chapter, do you think the Indian nationalist movement was a revolutionary movement? Substantiate your answer with arguments about the political, social and economic policies of the nationalist movement.
5. You have read in the previous chapter about various reform movements of the nineteenth century. Was the nationalist movement an advance on the nineteenth century reform movements as regards modernization of Indian society? Give arguments in support of your answer.
6. Discuss the attitude of the nationalist movement in India towards developments in other parts of the world, particularly towards the nationalist movements in other countries and towards fascism.
7. Write an essay on the heritage which the nationalist movement has bequeathed to us.

