

## CHAPTER IV

# SOCIETY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE

### 1. Survey of Social Life

Since continuity is the keynote of Indian life and thought, the division into historical periods is largely a matter of convenience. This is especially true of the country's social life. The political vicissitudes of empires and states made little difference to the social system which was grounded in village communities and virtually frozen into castes. "The main principles of government", observed Rapson, "have remained unchanged throughout the ages.... All governments have been obliged to recognize an infinite variety among the governed of social customs and religious beliefs, too firmly grounded to admit of interference". "The day when the Government attempts to interfere with any of the more important religious and civil usages of the Hindus" warned L' Abbe Dubois, "will be the last of its existence as a political power".

Whether interference was possible or not, only a few Muslim rulers attempted it. Those who had grown up under the prevailing social system, conformed to the main usages; the rulers were impressed by the rigidity of the social customs of a people who politically were so indifferent to change. These rulers were too few and the environment was too powerful to permit interference except occasionally and for a limited and temporary purpose. The Mughal rulers were not generally interested in conversion as a means of social change. One of the most powerful and assertive emperors, Akbar projected the concept of a state religion, a synthesis as it were.

A synthesis was in process, moreover, and it could be seen at all levels in Bengal. There one Muslim power after another had imposed its will and later the entry into trade of a number of western powers resulted in increased tension. Islam at the lower social levels was transformed beyond recognition. "In manners and customs and in the daily routine of religious duties", summed up Prosanto Kumar Sen, "the bulk of the Muslims in the villages followed pretty much the same lines as Hindus with only this difference that certain other customary religious duties... were supposed to justify their existence as followers of the Prophet. The Hindus... followed their ordinary routine of social and religious duties, more or less mechanically, indulging in forms and rituals that... had long ceased to convey any meaning except that they had come to be regarded as the hallmark of Hinduism. They would never scruple to pay semi-divine honours to Muslim saints, thereby adding some more quasi-deities to the already overcrowded pantheon of the ignorant and the unlettered".

In the courts of Hindu Rājās and Muslim kings, knowledge of religious and mythological subjects was diffused in a fashion by poetic and musical competitions. At the higher level, the reform movements of Caitanya, Kabīr and Nānak were deeply influenced by the spirit of Islam, while recognized Muslim poets sang the praises of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa or of Kālī without having to leave their community.

In the South, the Muslims as rulers were either subordinate to the central administration at Delhi or they made adjustments with the neighbouring Hindu states. Where Muslims formed communities under other regimes, as in Calicut, they adjusted themselves and gained positions of power.

The advent of European traders created a new situation. The Portuguese had political ambitions, and also a policy of conversion to Christianity. But by the middle of the 18th century, the Portuguese smitten by their own policies, wrote themselves off as an influence in India. The others, beginning with trading interests, offered little encouragement to Christian missionaries and were indifferent to Christianizing till much later—and then it was more by economic inducements than by force. “In my last journey to Madras”, recorded L’ Abbe Dubois, “I became acquainted with many converts who regularly changed their religion twice a year and who, for a long while, were in the habit of being six months Catholics and six months Protestants.”

**Social Legislation.** Of the indigenous governments, only the Marāṭhās exercised the right of the state to interfere in the customs of the people. The Peśwās had legislated about marriage and the sale of girls, temperance, excommunication and readmission into a caste. “The Peshwas issued orders”, observed Mahadev Govind Ranade, “prohibiting alliances by way of marriage between second cousins. . . . As between caste and caste, they held the balance evenly, even when the interests of Brahmin priests were affected”.

**Social Structure.** Around 1761, India presented a state of anarchy with the power of the Mughal emperor greatly diminished and several indigenous and foreign elements contending for the right to govern in his name. There were numerous people in military service; linked with the military establishment and providing employment in the civil services were an array of clerks, revenue assessors, etc. At one end, there were the high officials, military chiefs and courtiers; at the other, professional and religious men who were maintained by the courts. A notable feature of the economy was the employment of large number of persons in domestic service. It was only along the coast where a thriving merchant class existed that some independence could be found, and this was mostly on the western coast where political conditions were rather more or less stable. In the interior, the merchants were forced to live simply, just as the courtiers had to indulge in ostentation.

**Impact of the West.** The influence of modern ideas worked through

three different instruments—the British Government, Christian missions, and English education. The first of these had a direct effect since, in time, the administration took on more and more the characteristics of foreign rule and shed those of an indigenous power. Between the missionaries and the educationists, there was always the conflict whether conversion would bring progress and broader outlook or that education would lead Indians to Christianity.

A less direct factor, and one that operated differently in different parts of India, was the influence of the British community itself on Indian communities. Sir Thomas Munro, speaking of Madras and South India generally, did not believe that the Indian with his meagre wants could be tempted to emulate western ways of living. Lord William Bentinck, coming to Bengal after a term as Governor of Madras, was impressed by the change he noted. Indians in the cities, he observed, were spending their money not on ceremonies and religious rites alone but more and more on entertaining the British and entertaining like the British.

In western India, however, the impact was much stronger. The centre of activity was the city of Bombay which, because of its isolation and the heterogeneous society it held, developed a life of its own. It is a curious fact that the city which was valued as a refuge against the political upheavals that disturbed the mainland of Mahārāshtra and was regarded till 1818 as beyond their pale, should have developed into the powerful centre of progressive movements which extended throughout western India.

The existence of an outside authority which could hold the balance helped at the outset the progressive elements in society. For a spell the ties between English radicalism and enlightened India were strong. Between 1830 and 1893, 'Protestant Hinduism' carried every thing before it, though it had been forced to accept progressive legislation as permissive. From the British, Indians learnt first the value of organization and then the importance of agitation. There was a difference in approach on political and social questions which manifested itself in time. The Indian National Congress, which first met in 1885, in its early sessions dealt with practical questions. But it was not brought into being to remedy the evils. Out of the all India forum that it provided arose better appreciation of a national platform for social reformers which the Indian National Social Conference created two years later. The political movement soon found its theoretical basis in the demand for freedom, assuming practical form only when confronted by the acts of the government. In contrast, the social movement arose out of difficulties that were being felt at that time. It assumed theoretical importance only when confronted by the opposition of orthodoxy and of the government.

**National Consciousness.** With these two organizations meeting regularly every year and developing closely together, whether in harmony or conflict, the national outlook gained prominence. The English language

press which was under Indian ownership pursued national policies and stressed the same trend; while the British-controlled press in India contributed greatly to widening public interest. A great deal was contributed by members of the services who took the initiative in forming cultural, literary and research institutions and, while opening up the outside world to Indians, encouraged regional and language studies in India. By these exertions were fostered interests beyond the immediate environment and the coming together of men with similar tastes and pursuits. The growth of newspapers in Indian languages helped to develop simpler literary forms to reduce the gap between the spoken and written language, which in all Indian languages was a common feature.

While the political movement threw off splinter groups and provoked other parties, the social movement gave rise to the women's movement, to trade union activities, to scheduled castes associations and to a temperance movement which later championed the prohibition of alcoholic drinks. It was also the precursor of the social welfare organizations which came into being in the second decade of the 20th century. It must be added that it was C. Sankaran Nair, a social reformer, who speaking as Congress president in 1897, first called for a strictly "secular government, in thorough sympathy with liberal thought and progress". Out of sustained attempts to have a women's section of the Social Conference grew the All India Women's Conference (January, 1927), which steered clear of politics and concentrated mainly on educational and social work.

Mahatma Gandhi's political work brought women out into public life. The second World War with its introduction of rationing and increased secretarial work opened up employment opportunities to the women of the middle classes and their response was quick enough. Mahatma Gandhi in his programme of social reform picked out the outcastes of Hindu society and concentrated attention on their disabilities. This approach differed from the one adopted by the earlier reformers who had held that the solution of the outcastes problem lay in the destruction of caste system.

Though by undertaking social legislation several princely states had demonstrated that Hindu society could acquire a central authority to regulate customs and pass laws, in British India the government hovered for nearly a decade on the verge of codification of Hindu law. The need, however, had been demonstrated in many ways and it was felt for three reasons. First, the selection of texts from various commentaries on the code of Manu had not always been enlightened. Secondly, the reliance of the law courts on interpretation had resulted in greater conservatism. Thirdly, on matters of women's inheritance, marriage and the rights of married women, the law as applied by the law courts and British judges was a combination of ancient Hindu and Victorian English conservatism. To give an instance, Hindu law nowhere recognized the enforcement of a husband's conjugal rights; but when the principle of "restitution" was

brought up, Hindu orthodoxy instantly absorbed it, even though it was an intrusion of Anglo-Saxon practice.

In contrast to the readiness with which legislation improving the status of women was enacted, the attempt to secure for individual members of the Hindu joint family as personal property the earnings they made when specially trained for a profession, took nearly forty years to succeed—first mooted in 1891, the idea was not accepted before 1928. The move to give women property rights was likewise resisted on the ground that it would destroy the Hindu joint family which, with caste, is the distinctive feature of Hindu society. The Government of India, on the other hand, demonstrated how quickly it could act when it was interested in a measure even affecting the joint family by the passing of a law which secured for the convert from Hinduism his share in the family property.

The exigencies of politics and the strivings after a modern industrial economy have worked during the period under review to lessen prejudices, to make desirable many things that had not been tolerated before, and to effect the close inter-relation between groups and regions. However, while this process can be seen at work almost continuously, another element leading to a different direction is also discernible. Muslim reform movements, when anti-British in character, tended to reinforce orthodoxy, and if pro-British, to promote isolation from the majority community. In spite of all that truly nationalist Muslims could do, the Indian Muslims became as it were a third force, the ultimate consequence of which was the partition of India.

## 2. Social Institutions and Reforms

If the British had withdrawn from India in the early 19th century, their rule, short-lived and precarious, would have hardly left any perceptible social and cultural influence on Indian society. After the battle of Kirkee in 1817, British rule became politically steadier than ever before and there opened, in the words of the contemporary historian, Henry T. Prinsep, 'an era of peace' which inaugurated a series of reforms of which the most vital and controversial was the abolition of Sati.

**Sati.** In the early years of 19th century, Sati was mainly confined to Bengal. In Hooghly, Nadia and Burdwān which formed a part of the Calcutta division, the largest number of Satīs took place; in Ghāzipur (now in Uttar Pradesh) and Shāhābād (now in Bihār) the practice was by no means uncommon and from the twenties of the 19th century it began to show an uptrend. In western India, with the exception of southern Konkan where the number of Satīs varied annually between 27 and 40 upto 1827, the practice was rare. In southern India, only Ganjām, Masulipatam and Thanjāvūr (Tanjore) had fairly large Sati occurrences. In

Rājputāna, the Punjab and Kashmīr the practice was confined mainly to women of high caste. In Delhi, where Charles Metcalfe had the Mughal tradition to back him, the practice was stopped. In Aligarh and Āgra Satī seldom occurred. In foreign settlements like Goa, Serampore, Chinsura and Chandernagore the rite was prohibited and only a few cases occurred. In the six divisions of Bengal, the number of Satis approximated more than three-fourths of the total in British India, the annual variation from the year 1815 to 1828 being between 378 and 839. The practice was found among all castes, though in districts like Nadia, Vārānasi (Benares) and Shāhābād most of the Satis were confined to the Brāhmaṇas and Rāj-pūts. Among the princely families, the sense of pride and heroism elevated the Satī into a noble act. But, on the whole, the rite was practised by women whose husbands belonged to the middle and lower middle classes. The position of women in the Hindu system, the plurality of wives in some cases (especially among the *Kulin* Brāhmaṇas), the prospect of enforced austerity after the husband's demise, social convention, strong local feeling in favour of the rite, the malevolent intentions of the Brāhmaṇas, the antiquity and adoration of the practice were factors contributing to the the continuance of Satī.

It took the British authorities more than thirty years to abolish Satī. A regulation framed in 1812 laid down that the government did not think it desirable to abolish the rite but had decided to 'allow practices in those cases in which it is countenanced by their religion and prevent in others in which it is by the same authority prohibited'. Girls under sixteen, women pregnant or under the influence of drugs or with infants in arms were to be restrained from performing Satī.

The checking of the practice, the presence of a police officer on the spot and his dissuasive efforts, mild punishments in cases of irregularity, and the preparation of Satī lists every year formed the main elements of the official policy. Certain clauses for the prevention of 'illegal satis' appeared in the circulars issued to police officers for their guidance. But the number of Satis did not diminish. On the contrary, it was felt that official cognizance of the rite through the presence of a police officer tended to support the practice. In the circumstances, it was thought proper to take less notice of the rite. And though in certain years, for example 1822-24, the number of Satis diminished, at no time did they reach the figures of 1815.

The Court of Directors would have liked to see the end of the practice, but they left the whole question to discretion of the Governor-General. The Evangelicals in England—Wilberforce and Lord Teignmouth in particular—had evinced interest in the abolition of Satī in 1813 on the basis of the information supplied to them by the Serampore missionaries, William Carey and William Ward who had employed persuasive and propaganda techniques for the prevention of Satī through the *Friend of India* and the *Periodical Accounts*. Rammohun Roy published his tracts in 1818—

20, making the point that the rite of Satī was not enjoined by the Śāstras. This material was used by the Serampore missionaries to shatter the generally accepted view that Satī was an integral part of the Hindu religion. Orthodox Hindu opinion against the abolition was advocated by Radhakanta Deb, and Bhawani Charan Banerji

When Lord William Bentinck took up the question of Satī, he found that the abolition had been recommended by the judges of the criminal courts. To be on the safe side, he addressed letters to 49 officers seeking their views on the possible effect of the suppression—whether it would provoke an adverse reaction in the army. Reassured by the majority view that no harm would ensue, he passed Regulation XVII on December 4, 1829 'declaring the practice of Satī or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, illegal and punishable by Criminal Courts'. Similar legislative measures were enacted soon after in Bombay and Madras.

The opponents of abolition voiced their protest and took their case to the Privy Council, but the appeal was dismissed in 1832. Rammohun Roy was in England then and he submitted valuable evidence showing that the cause of abolition had behind it the support of the experienced and enlightened officials of the East India Company. Satī was virtually stopped in the princely states through their rulers' cooperation. However, nearly thirty more years had to pass before it could be declared illegal in these states.

**Infanticide.** Infanticide was mainly confined to the Rājput̄s of Vārānasi, Kāthiāwār and Kutch, Jabalpur and Sāgar. Sir John Malcolm noticed it in Mālwa where it was limited to "some Rajput chiefs of higher classes". In Kāthiāwār and Kutch as also in Rājputāna the practice was very common. In the former areas it owed its origin to the Jahreja migrations from Sind. Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Būndi were the principal places in Rājputāna where the practice was of frequent occurrence; that was because the Rājput̄s were too proud to give their daughters in marriage to men of a humbler status. In the Punjab, in districts like Jhelum and Rāwalpindi and in some states like Mandi and Jammu and Kashmīr, the practice was prevalent. Under special circumstances the Sikhs also killed their infant daughters; the act was performed in secrecy through strangulation or starvation of the child or the application of *acoud* (probably juice of the *ak*) to the nipples of the suckling mother.

Infanticide was due primarily to the deplorable position of women in Hindu society, the burdensome dowry system and compulsory lavishness in expenditure on marriages, the exorbitant demands of *cāraṇas* (bards and genealogists), the difficulty of finding suitable husbands, and the Rājput̄ sense of honour and pride. For parents to have unmarried daughters was a plain neglect of religious duty and a social shame.

Since infanticide, unlike Satī, had no religious sanction behind it and militated against the laws of nature, British policy in this regard was clear

and precise. But its enforcement was indirect, as infanticide was practised largely in the princely states, and was based on reasoning, exhortations, fines, imprisonment, and in certain cases, depositions. Both in Bengal and western India, engagements were entered into with local chieftains and landlords; literature on the criminality of the rite was circulated, prizes offered for anti-infanticide essays, and fines imposed for breaches of the engagements. In 1795, infanticide was declared by Bengal Regulation XXI to be murder, and the Regulation was extended to the 'new provinces' in 1804. In 1813, it was noticed that the practice persisted in secrecy. It was calculated that in Kāthiāwār in 1834, out of 174 Jahreja infants only 44 were females. In 1837, the proportion was 60 out of 183, and in 1841 it was 232 out of 506. On November 28, 1843, the Government of Bombay informed the Court of Directors that during 1841, not a single instance of infanticide had come to the knowledge of the Political Agent. In 1851, the government was able to claim that there 'is now in Kutch a continued approximation of the sexes'. In the Punjab the same method of persuasion, fines and entering into engagements with local rulers was followed. There was, besides, some special legislation. These measures reduced infanticide and relaxation of the rule of hypergamy as also the pressure of public opinion eradicated it entirely.

**Slavery.** Slavery, recognized both by Hinduism and Islam, was of two kinds, domestic and predial, but to these must be added the *nautch* girls and prostitutes. It was prevalent in Mālwa, Malabār, Dacca (Bānglādesh), the territory of Delhi and the presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Predial slavery was particularly in vogue in Bengal, Madras, Assam, Coorg and southern Bombay. In 1812, it was estimated that one-sixth of the population of Sylhet (Bānglādesh) consisted of slaves, mostly the descendants of insolvent debtors; in Kām rūp 12,000 slaves were released after its cession to the British. Large numbers of slaves migrated from Rājputāna as fugitives from Marāṭhā oppression. Slaves were exported to Poona and the Deccan where they fetched high prices and brought in large profits to the Marāṭhā Brāhmaṇas. It was calculated that in Dacca the number of slaves accounted for one-sixth of the whole population. Sir John Malcolm noticed slavery in Mālwa, where it was limited mainly to females. T.H. Baber computed the number of domestic slaves in the southern Marāṭhā country as 15,000. In Cochin the number of slaves was 12,000. While most parts of the Deccan had domestic but no agricultural slavery, Dubois found both the varieties in Malabār. In 1819, it was estimated that there were 82,000 slaves in Kanara and 1,00,000 slaves in Malabār. Jacquemont found slavery in northern India, especially in the Punjab and Kashmīr. In 1841, Sir Bartle Frere estimated the number of slaves in British India (as then constituted) as eight to nine millions.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the Arabs and "several foreign European seafaring people and traders" purchased and collected children



of both sexes in a clandestine manner and exported them overseas. This traffic in slaves was attacked by Lord Cornwallis (1789) in a proclamation. Another proclamation in similar terms was issued by the Madras Government in the following year. Through private merchants and commercial houses and the hired agents who were offered rewards, the offenders were convicted, tried before the Supreme Court, Calcutta, and sentenced. In 1811, Regulation X was passed by the Bengal Government for preventing the "importing of slaves, either by land or sea, into any of the territories under the Presidency of Fort William". This Regulation was given wide publicity and a corresponding communication was also made to the local governments of Bombay, Java, the Prince of Wales Islands, Mauritius, and Ceylon and to the Resident of Fort Marlborough. Local magistrates were satisfied that Regulation X proved effective in preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries into the districts included within their limits. Traders who imported slaves into British territory were apprehended, especially those from the hill country. In the districts of Bareilly, Morādābād, Kānpur, Farrukhābād, Etāwah, Āgra, Aligarh and Sahāranpur the traffic in slaves was prohibited.

Regulation III of 1832 laid down that "all slaves removed for the purpose of traffic from any province, British or foreign, into any province subject to the Presidency of Fort William or from one province so subject to another subsequently to the enactment of Regulation X of 1811, should be considered free". Their sale within the district was left untouched. There was open defiance of this rule in Calcutta; children were hawked about in the streets. According to this Regulation the purchase and sale of slaves even from one district to another was made a penal offence. And lastly, Act V of 1843 provided that the civil courts should not take cognizance of claims to slaves, a measure which abolished the right of slavery and ultimately paved the way for the total eradication of this social evil. Similar measures were adopted in the state of Travancore which issued a proclamation in 1855. Slavery now began to disappear in British India, to which alone the Act of 1843 applied, and all trade and possession of slaves was finally prohibited by the Penal Code of 1860.

The British Government followed the policy of non-intervention in regard to caste and family, and the changes that have marked these institutions are attributed for the most part not to any governmental action but to factors of a sociological nature. The missionary zeal for social reforms, western ideas of humanitarianism and equality, religious movements such as the Brāhmo Samāj in Bengal and the Ārya Samāj in the North, and movements of a secular character like the Indian National Social Conference, the Depressed Classes Mission and the Servants of India Society brought about such progressive measures as the prohibition of child marriage and polygamy and removal of the ban on widow remarriage.

**Child Marriage.** In respect of child marriage, the first step was the Act of 1860 which dealt with the age of consent and consummation and not with the marriage ceremony itself; it raised the age for consummation of marriage in the case of girls to ten. In 1891, the age of consent was raised to twelve for girls and in 1925 to thirteen for married girls and fourteen for unmarried ones. In 1929, the Child Marriage Restraint Act, known as the Sarda Bill after its mover, Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, was passed. It penalized parties to a marriage where the girl was below fourteen or the boy below eighteen years of age. The law came into force in 1930. The census of 1931 showed that there was an orgy of infant marriages and the law was regarded as anti-religious. The Act could not be effective because of the lack of machinery for enforcing its provisions, and also because it was in conflict with the opinion of the generality of the people. By the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955, the minimum age limit for the bridegroom was fixed at eighteen years and for the bride at fifteen.

The raising of the age of marriage among the educated classes has been effective largely due to education, economic pressures, and the break-up of the joint family system. The lower castes are generally anxious to adapt their usages to those of their superiors as a means of enhancing their own social prestige.

**Joint Family.** The Gains of Learning Act of 1930 weakened the collectivist basis of the joint family system and the extent of self-acquisition has been widened. The legislative measures on inheritance and the marriage rights of women have exercised a tremendous influence on the joint family and carried forward slowly, though perceptibly, the work of disintegration which had been initiated originally by the judiciary in its administration of Hindu law. Consequently, social barriers are being swept away, though in some areas they remain impregnable. The feeling for collaterals has diminished, though for one's son it may not be so. The woman, at last, has emerged as an individual personality and has thus affected the constitution of the joint family in many ways. In 1951 the Census Commissioner wrote: "Families do not continue to be joint according to the traditional custom of the country and the habit of breaking away from the joint family, and setting up separate households is quite strong". Among the lower castes separation takes place even during a father's lifetime, largely on account of limited accommodation. Due to the force of migrations, the extension of communications and the growth of an individualist spirit the institution of joint family no longer remains inviolate.

**Caste.** Except for a few years when the caste *cutchery* was maintained as a special court for the adjudication of caste matters, the British, by and large, maintained neutrality in matters of caste, which they regarded as the steel frame of Hinduism. In the early years of the 19th century, under the pressure of western ideas and missionary propaganda, the

transgressions of caste were so numerous, especially among the students of the Hindu College and the Medical College, Calcutta, that the contemporary missionary and legislator anticipated the crumbling of the ancient institution within a measurable time. But their expectations proved wrong. The only legislative enactment which has had a direct bearing on the caste system was the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850): it laid down that any law of usage which inflicted forfeiture of the rights of property or which might be held to affect any right of inheritance by reason of anyone being deprived of caste should not be enforceable in the courts of law in British India. This Act protected converts either to Christianity or Islam from forfeiting rights in consequence of change of creed. In 1933, an act for removing caste tyranny was passed in Baroda; its object was to impose legal restraints on further divisions of castes and subcastes.

English education, modern civilization, growth of industry, greater mobility, voyages overseas to western countries, and reform movements like the Self-Respect Movement and the Indian National Social Conference have made short work of an ancient institution. Brāhmaṇas have been deprived of their immunity from capital punishment. The judicial system has impaired the caste *pañcayats* and councils. Hindus have become accustomed to wearing leather cross-belts and playing football. The prejudice against biscuits, artificial ice, soda-water and other aerated drinks has weakened and no longer exists in case of water taken from municipal pipes, or during railway travel and voyages overseas. There has been a certain amount of weakening of restrictions against eating, drinking and marrying anyone outside one's caste or subcaste. On the whole, the restrictions of caste have been very substantially relaxed among the educated classes and in cities and towns, while they are still observed by the rural masses and influence the life and character of the people. Recently, attention has been drawn to the increased influence of caste in certain areas of public life i.e., education, selection for posts, promotions, general elections and elections to *pañcayats* and municipalities. However, it is hoped that adult franchise, the industrial revolution which the Five-Year Plans are helping to bring about, education and the legal rights given to the Harijans may remove some of the obnoxious features of the caste system.

The missionaries, the Ārya Samāj by its *śuddhi* activity, the Depressed Classes Missions, the Servants of India Society and the Indian National Conference mobilized public opinion and took various measures for the eradication of untouchability. Mahatma Gandhi undertook a fast in 1932 in order to secure adequate political representation of the untouchables and roused the conscience of his countrymen against the injustice of untouchability. In states like Travancore proclamations were issued to admit untouchables into temples. But subsequently, the Bill for

their entry into temples had to be withdrawn in the face of overwhelming adverse opinion. In Madras, the Civil Disabilities Removal Act (1938) was passed. In Thanjavūr, temples and shrines were thrown open to all. Under the Constitution the practice of untouchability in any form is forbidden and there is provision of special safeguards for scheduled castes and tribes. Enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability is an offence punishable according to law (Article 17 of the Constitution). There is a reservation of seats for the scheduled castes in the Lok Sabhā and in the state legislative assemblies. The Constitution has also provided for the reservation of appointments for the scheduled castes in the services of the Union and state governments.

**Widow Remarriage and Women's Rights.** The agitation for widow remarriage which Rammohun Roy started culminated later in a legislation brought forward by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. A Widow Marriage Association was started as early as 1861 in Bombay and the Ārya Samāj put the remarriage of widows on its list of social reforms. The Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment Act) of 1929, the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act of 1937, the Hindu Marriage Disability Removal Act of 1946, the Special Marriage Act of 1954, the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 and the Hindu Succession Act and Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act of 1956 have given equality to Hindu women in matters of marriage, adoption and inheritance. Some enlightened measures, like the Anti-Dowry Act (1939), were passed in Sind and a marriage bill was introduced in Bombay for the prevention of bigamous marriages. By the Special Marriage Act of 1954, which permitted civil marriage to all Indians, the age of marriage was fixed at twenty-one years for the bridegroom and eighteen for the bride. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 enforced monogamy, and introduced judicial separation, nullity and divorce. The main provisions of the Act correspond with those of the Special Marriage Act, except that in Hindu marriage the age limits were kept at eighteen years for the bridegroom and fifteen for the bride. The Hindu Succession Act (1956) introduced inheritance rights for women in equal degree with men, though it withheld from the daughter the right to claim partition of the family dwelling place. The law relating to adoption gave Hindu women the right to adopt and also rights relating to minority and guardianship. Divorce is conditioned by the provision insisting on three years of marriage, and while the civil marriage law contemplates divorce by mutual consent, the Hindu marriage law gives no such latitude.

### 3. Religious Movements

#### (i) Muslim Religious Movements

From the point of view of their nature and scope the Muslim religious movements of the period may broadly be considered under the following categories: movements that were religious in form but political in content; religious movements with emphasis on educational programmes; religious movements organized mainly in order to combat Christian missionary activities; religious movements concerned chiefly with theological controversies within the fold of Islam; movements for reorientation of religious thought under the impact of western ideas; and movements for purely moral and spiritual uplift.

Before these individual religious trends are discussed, reference should be made to Shāh Walīullah of Delhi (1703–63), a seminal personality in the religious life of the Indian Muslims during the 18th century. He realized the need of reinterpreting Islamic thought in the light of reason. He translated the *Qurān* into Persian and made it available to the Persian-speaking public. His two sons, Shāh ‘Abdul Qādir and Shāh Rafī‘ud-dīn translated it into *Hinduvi* and placed the main source of Muslim religion within the reach of all Indian people. Besides, he and his sons encouraged the study of the traditions of the Prophet and prepared commentaries on standard collections of *aḥādīth*. He was thus responsible for that revival of religious learning which found expression in several religious movements of the time.

**Wahabi Movement.** The Wahābī, the Farā‘īdī and the Khilāfat movements of this period were, in fact, religious in form but political in content. In 1821, Syed Ahmad of Rāe Bareli (1786–1831)—a disciple of Shāh ‘Abdul Aziz, eldest son of Shāh Walīullah—visited Mecca and came under the influence of Wahābī ideology. On his return to India he set up a permanent centre at Patna and started a movement for the reform of Muslim religious life and restoration of their political power. His two distinguished disciples—Shah Muhammad Ismail and Maulana Abdul Haiy (both of whom belonged to the house of Shāh Walīullah)—consolidated the religious teachings of their master in a book known as *Sirāt-ul-Mustaqīm*. The successors of Syed Ahmad published a good deal of literature in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in order to propagate their ideology.

**Fara‘īdi Movement.** The Farā‘īdī movement was started in Bengal by Ḥājī Shari‘atullah of Farīdpur. In Eastern Bengal the movement, particularly in its anti-British content, found ready response. Ḥājī Shari‘atullah suspended the observance of the Friday and ‘Īd prayers on the ground that India had become *dār-ul-ḥarb* since it was under the political suzerainty of the British. He demanded solemn pledges from his disciples to lead an abstemious life and carry on a struggle against the political

domination and economic exploitation of the foreigners. His son, Dudu Miyan (1819–1860) asserted the equality of mankind and proclaimed that since the earth belonged to God, no one had the right to occupy it as an inheritance or levy taxes upon it. The Farā'idi movement lost much of its vigour after the death of Dudu Miyan in 1860.

**Khilafat Movement.** The *Khilāfat* movement, started in 1919, was religious in spirit, but it assumed a political complexion and linked itself with the Indian freedom movement. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the 'Ali Brothers', Hakim Ajmal Khan and the '*ulamā*' of Deoband and Firangī Mahal zealously participated in the movement and used religious terminology in order to propagate their views.

Of the religious movements that turned into educational channels, the movements initiated by the '*ulamā*' of Deoband and the Nadwah-ul-'*Ulamā*' of Lucknow deserve particular mention.

**Deoband.** The founders of the Dār-ul-'*Ulūm* of Deoband considered it necessary "to resuscitate classical Islam" in order to improve the spiritual and moral condition of the Muslims. The failure of the Revolt of 1857 ultimately turned them to seek the uplift of the Muslims through religious education. The leading divines of the Dār-ul-'*Ulūm* gave a broad and tolerant concept to religion of their followers and created political awakening by means of religious exhortations. Maulana Husain Ahmad held that religion did not constitute any basis for separate national individuality and that the Hindus and Muslims of India were one nation. The views he held were faithfully propagated by Muslim religious organizations like the *Jami 'at-ul-'Ulamā'i-Hind*.

**Nadwah-ul-'Ulama'.** The Nadwah-ul-'*Ulamā*' was established at Lucknow in 1894 in order "to recast Muslim educational system, develop religious sciences, reform Muslim morals and put an end to theological controversies within the fold of Islam". Under the guidance of Maulana Shibli, who looked after the affairs of the Nadwah for some time, a new school of religious scholars sprang up and it played an important part in Muslim religious life by developing the study of religious sciences. The Dār-ul-Musannifin of Azamgarh which has published a number of outstanding religious works is an offshoot of the Nadwah and is run mainly by its alumni.

**Other Religious Groups.** In the latter half of the 19th century three religious groups appeared—the Ahl-i-*Hādīth*, the Ahl-i-Qurān and the Barelwī. The leaders of these religious trends confined themselves exclusively to theology and theological controversies.

The most outstanding figure amongst the Ahl-i-*Hādīth* was Maulana Syed Nazir Husain (*d.* 1902), whose seminary at Delhi was one of the greatest centres of instruction in *Hādīth* in India. He advocated recourse to *Hādīth* as the chief source of guidance and discouraged adherence to the juristic schools.

The leading figure among the Ahl-i-Qurān was Maulana Abdullah Chakralwī. He laid greater emphasis on direct recourse to the *Qurān* in all matters than on seeking guidance from the Traditions of the Prophet or the formulations of the jurists.

The founder of the Barelwī school, Maulana Ahmad Riza Khan, preached revival of many of those religious practices which were trenchantly criticized by Maulana Ismail and others of his school of thought. He condemned the Wahābī approach towards religion as heretical. In the latter part of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the conflicts between the Barelwis and the Deobandīs divided all religious-minded Muslims into two hostile camps.

**Movements against Christian Missionaries.** One of the most threatening problems of the period which created a stir in Muslim religious circles was the Christian missionary propaganda which was carried on with the support—open and secret—of the British officials in India. Many eminent scholars turned to production of *munāzirah* (religious disputations) literature in order to combat the Christian proselytizing activities.

**New Scholastic Movements.** Apart from the Christian missionary activities, the impact of western ideas and civilization posed a great challenge to Muslim religious thought. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–98) was the first to react to this new situation. He fought medieval obscurantism through his journal *Tahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* and advocated a rational approach towards religion. He rejected *taqlid*, or blind adherence to religious law, and asked for a reinterpretation of the *Qurān* in the light of reason to suit the new trends of the time. In his *Lectures on Islam* he rebutted the theories propounded by Christian missionaries. Amongst those who followed Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's example of reconstructing religious thought in Islam, Syed Ameer Ali, author of *The Spirit of Islam*, stands out pre-eminently in the history of Muslim religious thought of the period.

There were others who sought the reorientation of Muslim religious thought in a way different from that of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; in this context the names of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958) and Muhammad Iqbal (1873–1938) are particularly noteworthy. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was deeply influenced by Maulana Jamalud-din Afghani (*d.* 1897), Mufti Abduh (*d.* 1905) and Maulana Rashid Riza (*d.* 1935), and he enthusiastically broadcast through his journals, *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balagh*, the same spirit of religious enquiry and dynamism which the Afghani and his school of thought had tried to infuse in the Middle East. The Maulana's greatest contribution to Muslim religious thought is his incomplete commentary on the *Qurān*, which marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Muslim exegesis. Commending a natural, direct and unsophisticated approach to the study of the *Qurān* he declared all attempts at resolving the conflict between religion and science as irrele-

vant—scientific problems, according to him, were not the real domain of religious scriptures.

Muhammad Iqbal, who had made an intensive study of western and eastern religions and philosophies, emphasized the need for a reconstruction of Muslim religious thought in the light of the problems posed by the modern world. He looked upon religion as a powerful factor in the evolution of a man's personality and the betterment of human society. Criticizing those ascetic elements of religious thought which made man parasitic and indolent, he preached a life of self-assertion and self-realization. "The moral and religious ideal of man is not self-negation but self-affirmation", he declared. Iqbal's thought had a very deep impact on the contemporary Muslim religious attitudes.

**The Qadiani Movement.** Towards the end of the 19th century a new religious movement was initiated by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (*d.* 1908) from Qādiān, in Gurdāspur district, and it soon took the form of a new sect in Islam. The main thesis of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, apart from the claims he made for himself, was that modern industrial and technological progress ought to be regarded by the Muslims as a part of God's purpose and should be given religious recognition,

**Movements for Moral and Spiritual Uplift.** The purely religious and spiritual movements of the Indian Muslims during this period centre on three great figures—Shah Ghulam Ali of Delhi, Maulana Ashraf Ali of Thanā Bhawan in Sahāranpur district, and Maulana Muhammad Ilyas of Delhi. The influence of Shah Ghulam Ali reached distant parts of the Muslim world and scholars from the Arab countries joined the circle of his followers. Maulana Ashraf Ali contributed materially to the dissemination of religious knowledge. Maulana Muhammad Ilyas set up a centre for moral and spiritual instruction at Delhi, near the tomb of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn Āuliya, and started brisk religious activity. His movement spread to different Arab countries and his followers went far and near in small groups, reviving the religious spirit among Muslims.

## (ii) Hindu and other Religious Movements

**Ramakrishna Mission** The Ramakrishna Mission was inaugurated by Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902) in May 1897, with the following objectives: (a) to bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedānta as illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna; and (b) in conjunction with lay disciples, to carry on preaching, philanthropic and charitable works, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine.



The first of these objectives finds its embodiment in the Ramakrishna *Math* initiated by Ramakrishna himself, with his young monastic disciples as a nucleus, during the last years of his life; while the second objective finds expression in the Ramakrishna Mission, started by Swami Vivekananda eleven years after the Master's passing away.

The headquarters of the Ramakrishna *Math* and Mission are at Belur, a small town on the right bank of the Ganga, about five miles from Calcutta. This centre was established in 1898 by Swami Vivekananda after his return from the West. The Ramakrishna *Math* is a registered religious trust dedicated to the nursing of the inner spiritual life of the monastic members of the movement; while the Ramakrishna Mission is a charitable society registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 and dedicated to the expression of the inner spiritual life in outward collective action in the service of man. Though legally two distinct entities with separate funds and finances, the Ramakrishna *Math* and the Ramakrishna Mission are virtually a single body: the members of the *Math* form the principal workers of the Mission, the trustees of the *Math* form the governing body of the Mission, and the Belur *Math* is the headquarters of both. At the back of these principles of the Ramakrishna Mission there are, as their sanction, certain significant spiritual experiences of Ramakrishna, besides the teachings of the Upanisads and the *Gita*, and the great examples of the Buddha and Jesus. The one idea that haunted Vivekananda during his *Parivrajaka* (wandering) days was how to make the Vedanta practical, how to bridge the gulf between *Paramārtha* and *Vyavahāra*, between the claims of spirituality and the practical work-a-day life of the world. The genius of Swami Vivekananda lies in his formulation of the scheme of practical Vedanta through his famous Doctrine of Service—the service of all beings, looking upon them as the Divine or as sparks thereof: the good of self is reconciled with the welfare of the world: therefore, the service of *jiva* is the worship of *Siva*. Service of man in this spirit uplifts both the giver and the receiver of service; it helps to manifest the Divine within man. This attitude at once removes all distinctions between the sacred and the secular. Work is worship; life itself is religion. The Ramakrishna Mission has been in existence for over 75 years; starting from very humble beginnings, it has developed into a world-wide organization working in a wide variety of fields of human service. Even though the members of the Ramakrishna Mission are deeply religious and steeped in Hinduism, they feel one with the followers of all other religions and prophets. True to the spirit of Hinduism and Ramakrishna, the Ramakrishna Mission is not a proselytizing body, nor is it a sect within Hinduism itself. The Mission's work abroad is simply the propagation of the universal principles of Vedanta and the spreading of true ideas about India and her catholic culture. It does not seek to transplant the

American or the European from his Christian soil to that of Hinduism. It believes that the philosophy of Vedānta will make a Christian a better Christian and a Hindu a better Hindu. The increasing demand from various parts of the world for workers of the Mission is a clear evidence as to the genuineness and need for this kind of missionary enterprise.

The Mission is the pioneer in India of organized voluntary social service activities. Its famine relief works in Murshidābād in 1897, and the relief organized during the first outbreak of plague in Calcutta in 1898-99 form great landmarks. These have been followed up year after year by other relief activities during calamities such as famine, flood, earthquake, fire, and the recent refugee movements.

There were over 138 branches of the movement in 1961; of these, 102 were in India and the rest in foreign countries, including Pākistān, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, Fiji, Argentina, the United States, England and France. The centres in India, Ceylon, Burma and Singapore run educational, cultural and philanthropic institutions. In 1961, there were 12 indoor hospitals with 1,013 beds and 68 outdoor dispensaries, treating annually 27,816 and 37,02,969 patients respectively. About 43,402 boys and 18,129 girls studied in the Mission's schools and colleges. The *Math* and the Mission have brought out a large number of publications on Vedānta and the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda thought in English and in various Indian languages. They publish three monthlies in English and five in Indian languages from India and one English monthly each from England and America. For its finances, the movement depends mainly on voluntary contributions from the public; this is supplemented by State grants in India, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore and Fiji.

**The Brahmo Samaj.** The Brāhmo Samāj is the name of the Theistic Society founded by Raja Rammohun Roy (1772-1833) in Calcutta on August 20, 1828, and its history is intimately bound up with that of the career of Rammohun Roy.

*Rammohun Roy.* Rammohun Roy received in his boyhood the traditional education of the country and soon attained remarkable proficiency in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. Later in life he learned English, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The study of Islamic theology first shook his faith in the popular idolatrous forms of Hindu worship and made him a life-long admirer of the uncompromising monotheism of Islam. Subsequent acquaintance with the Upaniṣads, the *Brahma Sūtras* and the *Gītā* convinced him that the concept of the unity of Godhead constituted the essence of Hinduism, and the current idolatrous worship was an aberration of later growth. He came to have profound respect also for the moral precepts of Jesus Christ.

Rammohun Roy was fully alive to the challenge that had come to India in the form of western civilization and felt strongly the need for a new philosophy, which would, without sacrificing the genuine spiritual

heritage of India, absorb and assimilate the modernism imported from the west. He warmly advocated the introduction of western science and technology into the educational curriculum of India and became a pioneer of English education and enlightened journalism in this country. He laid the foundation of political agitation in India and appeared publicly as a champion of the exploited Indian peasantry. In fact, he conceived of religion not as a narrow personal creed but as an all-comprehensive elevating principle operating in every sphere of individual, social and national life. The creed of the Samāj was declared to be universal theism based on strictly monotheistic principles and its worship could be joined by anyone irrespective of his religious affiliation. Rammohun Roy, however, gave a decidedly Hindu character to the Brāhmo form of worship, which at this stage consisted of readings from the Vedas and the Upaniṣadas, a sermon and devotional music.

*Debendranath Tagore* The Brāhmo Samāj received a solid organizational machinery from Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905). He established, in 1839, the Tattvabodhinī Sabhā, the declared objective of which was “the extensive propagation of “Brāhmo Dharma”. Rituals and ceremonies of the Samāj were now drawn up, the most prominent being the system of initiation and the form of divine service. Upto 1866, Debendranath remained the accredited leader of the Calcutta Brāhmo Samāj, which maintained and carried forward the best traditions of the days of Rammohun Roy. A remarkable doctrinal change that occurred in Brahmoism during this epoch was the abandonment of the belief in the infallibility of scriptures. Debendranath laid a more pronounced emphasis on *Bhakti* or devotion in his exposition of the Śāstras and ultimately came to stand on the ground of qualified monism (*Viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*). While the Brāhmo Samāj may be said to have retained that position there are many Brāhmos who take their stand on *Bhedābheda*vāda or *Dvaitādvaitavāda*. Under Debendranath Tagore’s inspiring leadership the Samāj played a distinguished role in sponsoring social reforms such as widow remarriage, spreading education, developing the Bengālī literature through its organ the *Tattvabodhinī Patrikā*, and vigorously opposing the efforts of Christian missionaries to gain converts from the ranks of the Hindus.

*Keshub Chandra Sen.* The next phase of the Brāhmo movement is dominated by the dynamic personality of Keshub Chandra Sen (1838–84), who joined the Samāj in 1857 and became for a few years the right-hand man of Debendranath Tagore in the field of mission-work. Differences arising from a conflict of two radically different temperaments soon led to a parting of the ways. Debendranath Tagore, as a reformer, was for a slow and cautious move. Keshub Chandra Sen, having imbibed more of western culture and Christian influence advocated a much more aggressive programme. In 1865, the pro-

gressives led by Keshub Chandra Sen withdrew from the parent body and in the following year (November 11, 1866) the dissenters established the Brāhmo Samāj of India. The parent body henceforth came to be known as the Ādi Brāhmo Samāj. The new wing proceeded to carry out its programme of spiritual and social reform and achieved striking success within a short period. The two Indian tours of Keshub Chandra Sen in 1864 and 1868 did much to foster the sense of spiritual and national unity among Indians and his visit to England in 1869 carried the message of the Brāhmo Samāj to the West. The Samāj now adopted a much more radical and comprehensive scheme of social reform, including the programme of complete abolition of caste distinction. It gave strong support to female education and female emancipation and its activities led to the formation of the Indian Reform Association in 1870 and the enactment of the Native Marriage Act of 1872. Doctrinally, a much greater emphasis now began to be laid, presumably due to Christian influence, on the sense of sin, the spirit of repentance, and the efficiency of prayer. The universality of the theism of Keshub Chandra Sen and his followers became much more pronounced than that of the earlier leaders, and great religious systems of the world like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Buddhism were studied with great respect. The infusion of *Bhakti* or devotional fervour into Brahmoism made it "a practical religious culture, sweet and soothing to the human heart". Finally, Keshub Chandra Sen's doctrine of 'God in conscience' "developed the moral side of faith by bringing human conduct within the domain of man's spirituality." The sympathetic and respectful attitude which he had displayed towards all faiths early in his career ultimately led him to a very rich and comprehensive synthesis of religions towards the close of his days, he proclaimed this under the title of "New Dispensation" (*Nava Vidhān*) on January 25, 1880. This synthesis he explained as "Faith in a Living God" and the several religions of the world as interpretations, diverse and fragmentary, but mutually complementary rather than exclusive.

**Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.** The second schism of the Brāhmo Samāj occurred on May 15, 1878, when a band of Keshub Chandra Sen's followers left him to found the Sādhāran Brāhmo Samāj mainly because first, their demand for the introduction of a democratic constitution in the Samāj was not conceded; secondly, they could not see eye to eye with their leader on the question of *ādeśa* or Divine Command, and thirdly, Keshub Chandra Sen's daughter was married to the prince of Cooch Behar, allegedly in violation of the provisions of the Native Marriage Act of 1872, which he himself had done so much to get passed. The founders of the new body framed a democratic constitution based on universal adult franchise. It was declared in the Bengālī organ of the Samāj in 1882 that the Brāhmo Samāj was about to establish a "world wide republic" and that this all-comprehensive attitude was the

special attraction of the Samāj. This new body has proved up till now the most powerful and active branch of the Brāhmo Samāj in the country. **Prarthana Samaj.** The Prārthanā Samāj (Society of Prayer), an offshoot of the Brāhmo Samāj, was founded in Bombay in 1867. Unlike the Brāhmos in Bengal, the followers of the Prārthanā Samāj neither then nor subsequently looked upon themselves "as adherents of a new religion or of a new sect outside and alongside of the general Hindu body, but simply as a movement within it". The leaders concentrated on social reform, upon "works" rather than "faith". They were staunch theists in the Vaiṣṇavite tradition of Mahārāshtra, made famous by popular saints such as Nāma-deva, Tukārāma and Rāmadāsa. They devoted their attention mainly to social reform—inter-dining, inter-marriage, remarriage of widows and improvement of the lot of women and the depressed classes. They established night schools for the poor, a widows' home, a 'Depressed Classes Mission' and other useful institutions of this kind. In this way the Prārthanā Samāj became the centre of many social reform activities in Western India.

**Arya Samaj.** The Ārya Samāj was founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–83). He was born in a small town in Gujarāt. Even as a boy he doubted the divinity of the Hindu idols. The death of a younger sister further led to a searching of heart with regard to the problems of life and death. He ran away from home, and wandered throughout India for many years in search of a Guru. At last in Mathura he found a blind teacher named Swami Virajananda, under whom he studied the Vedānta. In 1863 he started preaching his doctrines and twelve years later he formally established the Ārya Samāj in Bombay.

Swami Dayanand regarded the Vedas as eternal and infallible and laid down his own interpretation of them in his book *Satyāratha Prakāśa*. He disregarded the authority of the later scriptures, such as the Purāṇas, and considered the Epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—as literary treasures and nothing more. He condemned idolatry and rejected not only the hereditary system of caste but also denied the authority or superiority of the Brāhmaṇas. He denounced untouchability, and held that the study of the Vedas and other scriptures should be open to all. Caste was given an ethical and occupational interpretation, in the manner of the Buddha. Animal sacrifices, long pilgrimages and ablutions were rejected.

The social work of the Āryā Samāj was courageous and praiseworthy. It struggled against child marriage and fixed the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls at 25 and 16 respectively. The subjection of women to an unequal status was decried. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged, along with the remarriage of widows. In times of national calamities such as earthquakes, famines and floods, the Samāj has done much commendable work. The opening of orphanages and widows' homes has meant a new lease of life for the distressed. The leaders of the Ārya Samāj from the

very beginning were alive to the supreme importance of education. But the question of the system of education to be followed led to sharp differences. One section of the Samāj, called the '*Gurukula* Section', advocated the adoption of the ancient system of Hindu education. They established their principal institution at Hardwār, where boys are trained on the lines suggested in the Hindu codes. The other group, called the 'College Section', recognized the value of English education, and spread a network of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic schools and colleges both for boys and girls throughout the country.

The Ārya Samāj was also a defensive organization for protection against external attacks. In order to counteract missionary activities, it started the *Śuddhi* movement for the reconversion of those Hindus who had been willingly or forcibly converted to Islam or Christianity. They could now be readmitted to Hinduism after passing through a ceremony of purification.

The Ārya Samāj, though founded in Bombay, found its true home in the Punjab, and later spread far and wide over the whole of North India. Swami Dayanand's work after his death in 1883 was continued by a band of eminent followers. Even today the spirit of the Samāj is active both in towns and villages.

**Theosophical Society.** In the Theosophical Society we have yet another Hindu revivalist movement. It was founded in New York in 1875 by Madame H.P. Blavatsky (1831-91), a Russian lady, and an American Colonel named H.S. Olcott (1832-1907). As originally propounded, the Society had three main objects: to establish a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity; to promote the study of comparative religion and philosophy; and to make a systematic investigation into the mystic potencies of life and matter, which is usually called occultism.

In 1879, Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to India and established their headquarters at Adyar, a suburb of Madras, in 1882. Here they came into contact with Buddhism and Hinduism. Colonel Olcott remained President of the Society till his death in 1907, when Mrs. Annie Besant succeeded him. She was the first theosophist who preached the wisdom of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the *Gītā*, "and turned theosophy into something specifically Hindu". She believed that a revival and reintroduction of India's ancient ideals and institutions could solve most of her problems. With a view to providing Hindu religious instruction, she founded the Central Hindu School at Vārānasi in 1898, and this developed later into the Benaras Hindu University. She rose to fame as the creator of the Home Rule League in 1916, and the next years she was elected President of the Indian National Congress.

**The Akali Movement.** Among Sikh reformist movements, the most important was the Akālī. The Akālīs claim for themselves "a direct institution" by Guru Govind Singh. In the present century, their great achievement was the passage of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act in 1925. The Act enabled

the Sikhs to take over control of the *Gurdwāras* from the hereditary *Mahants*.

#### 4. Education

**Indigenous Schools.** Towards the end of the 18th century there was a fairly wide network of indigenous educational institutions. These were broadly of two types: the schools of higher learning, which included Hindu *tols* or *paṭhaśālās*; and the Muslim *madrāsahs*, and the indigenous elementary schools, both Hindu and Muslim. The Hindu schools were mostly attended by boys and generally excluded the untouchable castes and girls, except in a few areas. The Muslim schools—*maktabs*—were usually attached to the mosques. Along with the boys a few girls also attended them at a young age, but in richer families the practice was to educate them at home. The chief merits of the system were its universality (almost every village had a school and the bigger villages and towns had several), its adaptability to local environment, and the vitality and popularity it had acquired by centuries of existence under a variety of economic conditions and political vicissitudes.

**Efforts of East India Company (1780-1813).** Warren Hastings established a *madrāsah* at Calcutta in 1781 “to conciliate the Mahomedans of Calcutta” and “to qualify the sons of Mahomedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the State.” Similarly Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Vārānasi, founded a Sanskrit College there in 1792 with the object of “endearing our Government to the native Hindus” and of providing “a nursery of future doctors and expounders (of Hindu law) to assist European Judges”. The Company declined to do anything beyond the maintenance of these two institutins. Meanwhile, educational enterprise of an entirley different kind was being evolved by the missionaries. They started elementary schools for the humblest strata of society, including the untouchable castes. They also established schools for teaching English which was slowly beginning to come into prominence.

**Educational Experiments (1813-1854).** The Charter Act of 1813 required the Company to set apart “a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year” for “the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India”.

Lord William Bentinck adopted English as the official language of the government, and Lord Hardinge decided, in 1844, to give employment under the government to Indians educated in English schools. The success of English education was thus assured and it made tremendous progress in Bengal between 1813 and 1854.

In Bombay, the developments were somewhat different. A Sanskrit College was established at Poona in 1821. But Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay (1819-27), was in favour of instruction based on a study of three languages. The Native Education Society of Bombay, established in 1822 mainly at his instance, started a large number of schools for teaching English as well as Indian languages, trained up teachers, and published a large number of books in Indian languages. But ultimately, English was adopted as the sole medium of instruction at the collegiate stage. Till the end of the secondary stage, however, both English and modern Indian languages were continued as media of instruction.

James Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was the first to levy a cess on land revenue for the spread of mass education. With the proceeds of this cess and an equal grant-in-aid from government funds, he established a large number of primary schools in selected villages. He also organized a good system of inspection, which included a visitor in each *parganā*, a *zila* visitor in each district, and a visitor-general for the province as a whole.

Three other developments of this period deserve notice. The first was the great upsurge in missionary activities. Pioneer work in almost every field of education was done by the missionaries of this time. The second important development was the establishment of medical, engineering and law colleges, which marked a beginning in professional education. But the most significant event was the official sanction accorded to the education of girls, for which Lord Dalhousie offered the open support of government.

**Wood's Despatch of 1854.** Sir Charles Wood's Despatch declared emphatically that the main objective of educational policy should be the diffusion of "the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe" through the medium of English as well as the modern Indian languages. It suggested that education departments should be created in all provinces, that universities be set up in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, or in any part of India where a sufficient number of institutions needed for their establishment were already in existence, and that below the universities there should be a network of institutions which would include colleges, high schools teaching through English or modern Indian languages, and primary schools, most of which would be the indigenous elementary schools assisted by suitable grants-in-aid. The Despatch also emphasized the development of private enterprise, missionary as well as Indian, through a proper system of grant-in-aid, and suggested the training of teachers in normal schools, the conferment of government jobs on educated persons, and increased attention to the development of education among young girls and women.

In the next 50 years the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854 were slowly and steadily implemented. Education departments were



created in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and the Punjab in 1855. When new provinces were formed at a later date, they too had education departments. In the period between 1855 and 1902 these departments were particularly active. Their first task was to establish and maintain government educational institutions at all levels. But an even more important responsibility was to supervise and aid institutions conducted by other agencies such as local bodies and voluntary organizations. In 1897 the Indian Education Service was organized to cover the seniormost posts. Since recruitment to the Service took place in England, these posts went mainly to Europeans while Indians held all the lower posts in the departments.

**Indian Private Enterprise.** The Indian Education Commission of 1882 recommended that the government should maintain only a few colleges, secondary schools and other essential institutions and that the rest of the field should be left to private enterprise. This recommendation was accepted. The missionaries adopted a policy of voluntary restriction on the expansion of their educational activities, deciding to maintain only a few good institutions; they were meant primarily for the Christians but were open to all. Thus it was private enterprise that provided the bulk of the growing number of colleges and secondary schools which the country needed.

**University Education.** In accordance with the recommendation of the Despatch of 1854, the universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta were established in 1857. Their functions were restricted to giving affiliation to colleges, holding examinations and granting degrees. In 1882 the University of Punjab was established on a slightly different pattern. The University of Allahābād came five years later, meeting the needs of northern and central India.

The teaching of arts and sciences at the university level thus became a function of colleges. In 1857 the total number of colleges was 27. In 1901-2 this number went up to 195, with a total enrolment of about 23,000 students. Many of these colleges were managed by Indian private enterprise. As many as 179 of them with nearly 20,000 students were colleges for the liberal arts and law and only 16 were professional colleges—4 for medicine, 4 for engineering, 5 for teaching and 3 for agriculture. English was the medium of instruction and the study of modern Indian languages as subjects was generally neglected, except to some extent in Madras.

**Secondary Education.** Secondary education expanded fast during this period and by 1901-2 the total number of secondary schools in the country grew to 5,124 with 5,90,129 pupils. Almost all of them were 'unilateral', academic institutions which prepared students for the university entrance examination. Another characteristic of the secondary schools of this period was that they were conducted mostly by Indian

private enterprise. As government grants to these schools were meagre, secondary education mainly depended for financial support on fees and donations, and could be kept going because the teachers agreed to work on low salaries.

**Primary Education.** Most of the indigenous schools died out during this period, either through competition with government schools or through neglect. The most important event of this time in the field of primary education was the levy of a local cess or rate for education, recommended in the Educational Despatch of 1859. By 1882, this levy was imposed in all areas except those (such as Bengal) where the permanent settlement of land revenue created a legal obstacle. When municipalities began to be established in towns and cities, they also contributed money for primary education. Further, grants-in-aid from state funds began to be sanctioned to supplement local funds. All these measures increased the resources available to primary education and led to its expansion. The Indian Education Commission recommended the transfer of primary education to local bodies. This measure led to an immediate gain by way of the availability of additional funds. However, since the resources of the local bodies were inelastic and restricted, the transfer of control acted ultimately to the disadvantage of primary education and held up further progress.

As compared to the indigenous schools which dominated the scene prior to 1854, the new type of primary schools registered a certain degree of qualitative improvement. By 1901, the primary teachers were better qualified and a fair percentage of them were trained. The schools were now provided, wherever possible, with buildings of their own. They were also better equipped and used printed books. Their curriculum was broader, and though mainly academic, it now included kindergarten or "object lessons", history, geography, hygiene, agriculture, science and physical exercises. Better methods of teaching were generally adopted and, on the whole, the standard of teaching showed improvement. The readiness of these schools to admit girls and scheduled caste students gave them another distinct advantage over the indigenous ones. But as these schools merely replaced the old indigenous institutions, the rate of overall progress in mass education was almost negligible. In fact, there is reason to believe that the percentage of literacy for men in 1901 was even lower than that in 1835.

**Period of Transition (1901-1921).** Lord Curzon convened the first conference of Directors of Public Instruction in 1901 and initiated an era of educational reform based on its decisions. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed on the advice of a Commission set up two years earlier. It enabled the universities to assume teaching functions, constituted syndicates for the speedier transaction of business, provided for stricter conditions of affiliation and periodic inspection of colleges, and defined

the territorial jurisdiction of the different institutions. This led to a substantial measure of qualitative improvement in higher education without adversely affecting the tempo of expansion.

With the passage of the Act, the government began to sanction larger grants-in-aid for the development of universities. It was announced in 1913 that additional universities would be established and that all universities would be financially assisted to undertake research and teaching activities. By 1921 the number of universities in India increased to 12, the seven new ones being Banaras, Mysore, Patna, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow and Osmānia. The number of colleges increased from 191 with 23,000 students in 1901-2 to 229 with 59,000 students in 1921-22.

The same series of events was virtually repeated at the secondary stage. Government secondary schools were largely improved through such measures as the strengthening of staff and the provision of hostels—they were meant to serve as models for private enterprise. The government tightened its control by increasing the inspection staff and by insisting that every secondary school must seek recognition from the department—aid or no aid, the conditions of recognition were fairly strict. The expansion of secondary education was even more rapid than in the earlier period of *laissez-faire*: from 5,493 schools with 6,23,000 students in 1901-2 to 7,530 schools with 11,06,803 students in 1921-22. Attempts were made in this period to diversify secondary education, provide vocational courses, and reduce the domination of English by adopting the modern languages of India as media of instruction. But the success achieved was very limited and the major defects of secondary education noticed in the earlier period continued to persist.

The government strove to expand primary education by giving larger grants-in-aid to local bodies, but it also laid great emphasis on improvement of quality. For this purpose the salaries of teachers were raised, the curricula were widened, and the training of teachers as also the adoption of better methods of teaching were stressed. The Bombay legislature was the first to pass a law introducing compulsory primary education in urban areas in 1918. This example was followed by several other provinces which enacted similar laws. Owing partly to the larger financial support made available by the government and partly to popular enthusiasm, the expansion in the field of primary education was very great, the number of primary schools rising from 93,604 in 1901-2 with 30,76,671 children to 1,55,017 in 1921-22 with 6.1 million children.

It was in this period that the concept of national education was first put forward by a number of great leaders such as Mrs. Annie Besant, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Mahatma Gandhi. They held that the system of education, as it then existed, was unhelpful and even antagonistic to national development. A national system of education for India, they said, should be subject to Indian control, and it should foster love of the motherland.

Freed from the domination of English, it should emphasize technical and vocational education and try to build up the national character. A number of institutions of national education such as the Kāśī Vidyāpīṭha and the Jāmi'ah Millīyah Islāmiyah were established in order to realize these ideals and they worked independently of the official system.

**Education under Indian Control (1921-47).** From 1921 to 1947, education was under Indian control in the sense that it was, under the new Act, a provincial subject administered by a minister responsible to the provincial legislature. There was an unprecedented expansion in university education. The number of universities increased to 20 in 1947. The number of arts and science degree colleges rose to 297 and that of intermediate colleges to 199. The professional colleges also increased to 140—16 of engineering, 42 of teachers training, and 82 others. The total enrolment at the university stage rose to 1,93,402, which was nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times the enrolment in 1921. From the qualitative point of view also, several reforms were introduced, based largely on the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19). Unitary, teaching and residential universities were established at Allahābād, Vārānasi, Hyderābād, Aligarh, Lucknow, Dacca and Annamalai, and teaching functions were assumed by most of the universities. An Inter-University Board was established and inter-collegiate and inter-university activities were started. Research was also developed; military training was introduced in some universities, residential facilities for the students were increased and steps taken to look after their health.

There was, however, no attempt to select the right students for admission and the provision for scholarships was very limited. A large number of unfit students who should have been diverted to other pursuits were admitted to universities, while a good number were deprived of higher education because of poverty. The colleges of general education dominated the scene and scientific, technical and professional education remained woefully inadequate. The system was too examination-ridden to be really educative. The number of pupils per teacher was excessively large, while the salaries of teachers were low. Provision for libraries and laboratories was meagre. By 1935 the problem of educated unemployment assumed serious proportions and, in spite of all that was done, it continued to be more and more serious.

The developments in secondary education were similar. The number of high schools rose to 5,297 and that of middle schools to 12,843. The total enrolment at the secondary stage rose to 29,06,921, which was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that in 1921. From the qualitative point of view, a definite gain was the adoption of the modern Indian languages as media of instruction, though English continued to be studied as a compulsory subject. Another gain was the improvement in the training of teachers and the starting of a large number of technical, commercial and agricultural high schools. On

the other hand, there was the predominance of academic schools, the dominance of the university entrance requirements, the low salaries and the generally unsatisfactory conditions of service for teachers, non-selective admissions leading to the inrush of unfit students and the absence of an adequate system of scholarships for the support of promising students.

In the field of primary education, the progress was considerable. Most provinces passed compulsory education laws and also introduced it in a few selected urban and rural areas; the power of local bodies over primary education was increased; the salaries of teachers were raised and the arrangements for their training improved. The number of schools increased to 1,72,661 or nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that in 1921-22. In spite of this expansion, only about 35 per cent of the children were enrolled in the age-group 6-11; and in the age-group 11-14, the enrolment was as low as 9 per cent. Moreover, because of shortage of funds, the system continued to be predominantly academic, in spite of attempts to introduce extra-curricular activities. With a view to changing this academic character of the system and making it less costly Mahatma Gandhi propounded in 1937 his scheme of basic education. It was accepted by the Congress ministries in principle, but they were in office only for a very short time and the scheme did not go beyond the experimental stage.

Two of the promising achievements of this period are to be found in the field of women's education and the education of the backward classes. In 1947, the total number of girls under instruction was 42,97,785 of whom about 20,304 were in colleges of general education, 2,903 in colleges of professional education, 6,02,280 in secondary schools, 34,75,165 in primary schools, 56,090 in special schools, and 1,41,043 in unrecognized institutions. Equally creditable were the results of the spread of education among the backward classes. Following the lead given by Mahatma Gandhi, the popular ministries allowed very liberal educational concessions to the backward classes in general and the scheduled classes and tribes in particular. Consequently, education spread rapidly among these classes, although they had still a long way to go. This period is also conspicuous for the small beginnings made in the programmes of adult education. The movement, however, could not be organized on a mass scale and its progress varied from province to province.

Thus by 1947, the modern system of education created by the British was nearly 150 years old. Its main contribution was to bring Indians into contact with scientific and industrial development, as well as the thought and the social and political philosophy of the west. This contact had in many ways a vivifying effect. It freed the Indian mind from the "thralldom of old-world ideas" and initiated a renaissance in Indian life, which led to a scientific and critical study of our cultural heritage and to the rediscovery of our ancient arts of painting, architecture and sculpture. It also resulted

in the enrichment of modern Indian languages and the development and revival of humanistic trends. Finally, the awakening of political consciousness and the struggle for freedom which culminated in the attainment of independence in 1947 can also be largely traced to the social forces released by modern education.

### 5. Literary Activities

**Assamese.** Assam came under the British East India Company in 1826. The years succeeding British occupation, which was gradually consolidated, correspond to a turning point in the history of Assamese literature. This was initially provided by two American Baptist missionaries; they were the Rev. N. Brown (1807-86) and O.T. Cotter. They came to Assam in 1836. With the publication of the *Bible*, translated into Assamese by Atmaram Sarma, in 1813, from Serampore, the modern era of Assamese literature began. Besides the Rev. Brown and O.T. Cotter, other Baptist missionaries who made efforts to lay the foundation of modern Assamese literature were M. Bronson, A.H. Danforth, C. Barker, W.M. Ward, Hesselmeier and A.K. Gurney.

These American missionaries were not literary men in the strict sense of the term. With a view to popularizing the message of the Christ, the missionaries considered it essential to approach the people through the medium of their own tongue. They translated this objective into action within a brief span of three months not only by trying to learn the language of the people as assiduously as they could, but also by producing the first Assamese primer for use in the schools they established.

The redemption of Assamese language, long eclipsed by the use of Bengālī, came at the hands of the American Baptist Mission; they gave the language of the people a due share of recognition in the institutions they established. In fact, the American Baptist Mission is the torch-bearer of the new age in Assamese literature. Without a recognized language, how can there be a recognized literature? W. Robinson, an American Baptist missionary, published a grammar of the Assamese language from Serampore as early as 1839.

The publication of this Assamese grammar encouraged further researches in the subject; it led to the publication of the Rev. N. Brown's *Grammatical Notes on the Assamese Language*. This served as an authentic linguistic document till the publication of *A Few Remarks on the Assamese Language* by Anandaram Dhekial Phukan. Dhekial Phukan's contribution to the redemption of the Assamese language from eclipse is no less great than that of the American Baptist missionaries. Hemachandra Barua's (1835-96) Assamese grammar that first saw light in 1859 was followed by his Anglo-Assamese dictionary *Hemakoṣa*

in 1900. It is a posthumous publication. M. Bronson's (1812-83) *Anglo-Assamese Dictionary* is a stupendous work that contains about 14,000 words. In fact, Jaduram Barua is the real pioneer of Assamese lexicography; he compiled his dictionary as early as 1839, the manuscript of which was presented by the compiler to the British administrator of the time, Col. Jenkins.

The American Baptist Mission started a monthly periodical called *Arunodaya* in 1846. Under its inspiration a group of writers in Assamese emerged. The *Arunodaya*, the printing press which was established by the missionaries in Sibsagar together with the schools established by them helped to bring the fruits of western science, literature and education within the reach of a considerable section of the population. The ultimate restoration of the Assamese language to its legitimate place and the publication of the *Jonāki*, a journal, in 1889 by a group of Assamese in Calcutta, the principal figures behind which were C.K. Agarwala (1867-1938) and L.N. Bezbarua (1868-1938), gave real progress to Assamese literature after the spell of fade-out it suffered in the post-Ahom literary period.

The last quarter of the 19th century and the subsequent years had been an era of unequalled enthusiasm for Assamese literature. A wave of literary upheaval, optimism, newness of subject-matter and techniques came in its wake. The new type of drama as the *Bhramarāṅga* (1888), translation of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, ousted the old *nāṭaka*-form of the Vaiṣṇava school. The new poetry of the English romantic type came to take the place of the old *kāvya*-form, noted for panoramic patterns. Together with the new drama and poetry, the novel, the essay, the short story, the autobiography, etc. made their powerful impact. We must remember that Nidhi Levi Farwell who is said to be the first convert to Christianity in Assam and was a collaborator with Bronson in his compilation of the *Anglo-Assamese Dictionary* is a pioneer in the strict sense of the term in the field of modern Assamese literature and historical research.

Bholanath Das (1858-1929) and Ramakanta Chaudhury (1846-89) are the two pioneers in the use of the blank-verse in Assamese poetry. Over and above this, Bholanath Das is a pioneer in the innovation of the new lyric to be followed by lyricists like Ratneswar Mahanta (1864-93), Baladev Mahanta (1850-95), K.K. Bhattacharya (1853-1937), P.N. Gohain-Barua (1871-1946), Hiteswar Barbarua (1871-1939) and a host of others.

It was during this period that a few historical and social dramas as also a few farces were written. Important playwrights of the period were Hemachandra Barua and Gunabhiram Barua (1837-95), Benudhar Rajkhowa (1872-1935) and P.N. Gohain-Barua. The drama has extended its limits and we have playwrights like J.P. Agarwala (1903-51), Atul

Hazarika, L.D. Chaudhury and Pravin Phukan who have added a new dimension to the drama. Raghu Chaudhury, A.G. Rai Chaudhury, Nalini Devi, and Jathi Durva are outstanding poets in this generation.

The three well known personalities of the romantic school in Assamese literature are L.N. Bezbarua, C.K. Agarwala and Hema Goswami. Besides making contributions to poetry of the new school, the contributions of the first to the drama and the essay and of the last to historical research are considerable. The contribution of Rajani Bardoloi (1867–1939) to the novel is as great as that of B.K. Kakati (1894–1952) to the essay.

The development of modern Assamese literature like any other literature is a continuing process. In the contemporary age new forms like the radio-drama, *belles lettres*, revolutionary poetry, etc. have come in to enrich a literature that saw its meridian splendour under the auspices of our saint-poets like Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) and Mādhavadvea (A.D. 1489–1596) and many others of the Vaiṣṇava school.

**Bengali.** The first writer of power and elegance in the mid-18th century was Bhāratacandra Rāya (*d.* 1760), a court poet of Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia. Bhāratacandra's principal work is a trilogy entitled *Annadā-maṅgal*. Literary prose in Bengālī originated, towards the close of the century out of the necessities of administration. The earliest prose works of any merit were written, under the aegis of William Carey (1761–1834), a Baptist missionary, by some of his assistants in the College of Fort William (established in 1800). The best of such writers were Ramram Basu (1757–1813) and Mrityunjaya Vidyalankara (1762–1819). A much better writer was Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) who, unlike the others, was not primarily a translator. His *Vedāntagrantha* (1815) is perhaps the most lucid work of early Bengālī prose.

The Baptist Mission of Serampore started the first Bengālī newspaper, a weekly named *Samācāra Darpaṇa* (1818). It was almost immediately followed by a host of periodicals published from Calcutta.

In 1839, Persian as the official language of administration was replaced by English at the higher level and Bengālī at the lower level. This gave a tremendous fillip to the cultivation of Bengālī prose. The father of literary prose in Bengālī, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820–91), produced his first book before the next decade was over.

Modern Bengālī literature has been an outcome of the impact of English education on the receptive Bengālī mind. The first as well as one of the greatest of modern Bengālī writers was Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1824–73). He knew many languages, European and Indian, and his *magnum opus*, *Meghanādavadha-kāvya*, an epic poem in nine cantos (1861), bears evidence of his first-hand acquaintance with Homer, Virgil, Dante, Milton, Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and others. Michael Madhusudan Dutt also wrote



plays for the Bengālī stage which had just come into existence. Bankim-chandra Chatterji (1838–94) created the novel in Bengālī and has held his place as one of the best writers of modern fiction. The polish and mobility he gave to literary prose set the standard for all the later writers. Debendranath Tagore (1817–1905), son of Dwarakanath Tagore (1794–1846), a friend and supporter of Raja Rammohun Roy, was in the middle decades of the 19th century, a central figure from whom various national movements drew inspiration and support. In the second half of the century, Debendranath Tagore's house became the centre of almost all cultural and progressive activities that have left their stamp on Bengālī (and to some extent Indian) life and thought of the present day.

The youngest son of Debendranath was Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), the greatest literary genius of the time and one of the greatest poets and creative artists. Swarnakumari Devi (1855–1932), a daughter of Debendranath Tagore, was the first notable woman writer in Bengālī.

Rabindranath Tagore dominated the literary and cultural field in Bengal for more than half a century. He raised the Bengālī language and literature to such a high level that little scope was left for other writers to make original contributions of their own. Nevertheless, some writers escaped Tagore's influence. One of them was the novelist, Saratchandra Chatterji (1876–1938), whose popularity surpassed that of any other writer in Bengālī. During Tagore's life-time and after, a number of powerful writers in prose and poetry appeared. This has extended the horizon of Bengālī literature, and some of the writers continue to produce literature of high quality.

**Gujarati.** The modern period in Gujarātī literature begins with Dalpatram Dahyabhai (1820–1898) and Narmadashankar Lalshankar (1833–1886). Dalpatram was primarily a teacher and reformer, who used verse as his vehicle. He was a consummate prosodist with a sense of humour. Dalpatram's younger contemporary Narmadashankar was a great pioneer who emphasized the positive values of western culture and stressed the spirit of individuality and respect for the human personality. He was deeply concerned with personal love and freedom and love of the motherland.

In 1887 Narsinhrao B. Divetiya's (1859–1937) *Kusumamālā* established the western lyric as the principal form of poetic expression in Gujarātī. Balashankar, Manilal Nabubhai Dvivedi (1851–98) and Sursinhji Gohil (1874–1900), who wrote under the pen-name 'Kalāpī' used the Persian *ghazal* also with great effect. Folk-song asserted itself through the exquisite songs of Nanalal and *bhajans* of Khabardar, the most outstanding of Pārsī poets. Manishankar 'Kant' specialized in delineating situations of spiritual crisis in polished and terse prose.

'Kant', Nanalal and Balvantrai (1869–1952) are the three notable poets of the age. Nanalal, the greatest lyric poet of modern Gujarātī, wrote

impassioned prose with a certain rhythm, a sort of *vers libre*. Balvantrai, on the other hand, invested the current metres with some of the characteristics of English blank-verse. He also stood for structural compactness and asked for a hard core of thought in poetry. As a writer of virile prose and delicately touching poetry, he inculcated a sense of artistic integrity in the new generation.

By 1930, a new generation of poets under the influence of Gandhism, began to sing full-throatedly of national freedom and universal brotherhood. Progressivism came by the middle of the thirties. For a time the Sun, the Moon and the stars were blacked out and the themes were centred on the exploited working class and the hapless destitute. But by 1940 the poets began to look again for images of beauty. The poets of the forties, Rajendra and Niranjana, achieved pure lyricism and also evinced a new and keener awareness of reality.

Govardhanram Tripathi's (1855-1907) four-decker *Saraswatticandra* is regarded as the greatest classic that modern Gujarātī has produced. The central theme of this modern Purāṇa is the quest for the national self. The writer places his faith in the man of letters with a social conscience. K.M. Munshi's (1888-1971) historical novels have vastly enlarged the scope of fiction writing. Ramanlal Desai wrote some novels of contemporary social life; his *Divyacakṣu* gives a naturalistic picture of the 1930 movement. The late thirties and forties witnessed the advent of two young novelists: 'Darshak', who is essentially a socio-political thinker, and Pannalal Patel who has excelled in the regional novel. Iswar Patlikar is another novelist of note and his main interest is in social documentation.

Short story achieved a compelling charm in the hands of Gaurishankar Govardhanram Joshi ('Dhumaketu') in the late twenties. Ramnarayan Pathak, who wrote in a naturalistic vein, is another master of the Gujarātī short story.

Gujarāt had an indigenous tradition of folk-drama, *Bhavai*. Attempts at emulating western playwrights began in the eighteen-fifties. Ramanbhai's *Rāt-no Parvat* (1914) is the best dramatic work in the language. Munshi wrote both Puranic as well as social plays. Munshi and Chandravadan Mehta have a sense of the stage and their plays form, an invaluable part of the amateur's repertoire. Umarwadia and Yashvant Pandya wrote a number of exquisite short plays. The one-act play has also been utilized as a potent vehicle of expression.

Gujarātī is rich in critical writings with a fine awareness of the aesthetic element. Navalram Lakshmiram, Anandshankar Dhruva, Balvantrai and Ramnarayan Pathak, among others, have contributed largely to this *genre* of literature.

Gandhiji (1869-1948) imparted new life to Gujarātī prose, as indeed to all literary activity. A vast number of articles and notes apart, he wrote *Hind Swarāj*, *Ātmakathā*, *Dakṣiṇa Africana* *Satyāgrahmo Itihāsa*, and

*Ārogyani chāwī*. The simplicity of his prose style has all the fullness of a rich soul, breathing love and charity, earnestness and resoluteness. Some of his associates have put Gujarāṭī language under a perpetual debt. Kaka-saheb Kalelkar, who adopted Gujarāṭī as the vehicle of his literary expression, is acknowledged as a master of prose. Kishorlal Mashruwala, an original thinker, wrote in a chaste and direct style. Mahadeva Desai's diaries, especially the first volume, will be cherished as an immortal document.

**Hindi.** In course of the years between 1761 and 1843, Hindī poetry lost its originality and genius. 'Bharatendu' Harish Chandra (1846-1884), 'Father of Modern Hindī Literature', drew out poetry into the open sunshine of social life. The process was continued by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi (1870-1938), a moralist by nature and a reformer in practice; he raised the general moral tone of Hindī poetry and struck a decisive blow to the long-standing *Khaḍīboli-Brajabhāṣā* controversy by exposing the absurdity of adopting different media for prose and poetry. He was supported by two great poets-Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay 'Hari Audha' (1865-1946), renowned for his *Priyapravāsa*, and Maithilisharan Gupta. This was an era of revival when the poets drew freely from the rich treasures of ancient Indian culture. Social, political and economic problems were taken up with a keen interest and a note of national regeneration was struck. Outstanding poets of this school are Makhan Lal Chaturvedi, Balkrishna Sharma 'Navin' and Ramdhari Singh 'Dinkar'.

Over-emphasis of the moral aspect led to neglect of the natural human impulses. A strong reaction found expression in *Chāyāvāda* of Jaya Shankar Prasad, the other important exponents being Surya Kant Tripathi 'Nirala', Sumitra Nandan Pant and Mahadevi Varma. Jaya Shankar Prasad's *Kāmāyanī* is an epic portraying the eternal struggle of the human soul against the background of the modern age.

After Prasad's death in 1937, *Chāyāvāda* began to decline in the face of leftist ideology which found expression in two rival trends of contemporary Hindī poetry: one is progressivism (*Pragativāda*), which can be defined as people's poetry directly inspired by the Marxian philosophy; the other is called experimentalism (*Prayogavāda*) or new literature, which looks upon experiment or constant quest as the essence of life and literature.

Many socio-political and historical reasons may be given to explain why Hindī drama does not have the same rich unbroken tradition as Hindī poetry. The first original drama in the real sense was *Nahuṣa Nāṭaka* (1857), written by Gopal Chandra, father of 'Bharatendu' Harish Chandra. Actually, it is the son and not the father to whom the Hindī drama owes its beginning. He made successful experiments in all the existing forms of the dramatic art. By effecting a compromise between the techniques of the Sanskrit and the western drama, he produced the modern Hindī play which he brought to the stage under his own direction. His plays strongly

reflected cultural revival and brought about harmony between the essential elements of the *rasa* of the Sanskrit drama and the 'conflict' of the western play.

Like other prose forms, the novel also is a product of the modern age. Taking Prem Chand (1880-1936) as the most important landmark, we can easily demarcate three stages in the development of the Hindī novel: pre-Prem Chand Hindī novel, Prem Chand and his contemporaries; and post-Prem Chand Hindī novel, i.e., the contemporary Hindī novel. Inspired by the sociopolitical ideas of Mahatma Gandhi in India and by the artistic ideals of western masters like Leo Tolstoy and Charles Dickens, Prem Chand wrote with a purpose. The post-Prem Chand novel is characterized by historical, psychological and progressive factors. Newer forms are being devised such as the novel of 'local colour'.

Both in theory and practice literary criticism in Hindī has developed steadily on modern lines in course of the past 40 years. The tradition of original thinking in the realm of poetic philosophy was revived by Acharya Ramachandra Shukla in the first quarter of the 20th century. He effected a healthy synthesis between ancient Sanskrit poetics and modern western criticism.

**Kannada** By 1761, the creative impulse of the age of Cikkadevarāya Wodeyār (1672-1704) had become a spent force. Evidently the weakness and lack of spirit which characterized the later hereditary rulers of Mysore cast its reflection in the literary sphere as well. Under Haidar 'Alī and Ṭīpu Sultān there appears to have been little royal patronage for Kannāḍa writing. We find little work of significance produced during the later half of the 18th century in Kannāḍa. An important exception was Jagannath-adāsa's (c. 1775) *Harikathāmṛtasāra* which extols Viṣṇu and propounds the *Dvaita* philosophy.

Creative literary activity in Kannāḍa reached the low-water mark by the latter half of the 18th century but revived at its close. Prose came to the forefront. Kempu Narayana's *Mudrāmañjūṣā*, the earliest historical novel (1823), and Devachandra's *Rājāvalikathe*, a store-house of traditional information about the Jaina religion, poets and rulers, and Krishnama-charya's *Hosagannada Nudigannadi* (1838) belong to this period. The year 1881 represents the starting point of the renaissance in modern Kannāḍa. English was taking a firm root in the educational system of all the Kannāḍa regions and there developed a modern prose style which eschewed archaisms in grammar and syntax and avoided the burden of recondite and compound-laden Sanskrit vocabulary. Poetry too followed suit. In most of the writings, the life and sentiments of a modern and modernizing secular society came to be the main theme in preference to the old stories and episodes of the Epics and Purāṇas. Even the old theme came to be viewed in a new perspective. At first, for about two or three decades, the Kannāḍa men of letters busied themselves with translations and adap-

tations from English and the more progressive Indian languages like Bengālī. Later on, the mind of the writer inevitably began to probe and play on the life around him, in the village and the town; the complex social and political problems of the Kannaḍa region claimed his attention and fired his creative imagination.

We may begin with 'Muddana', even though his principal writing was in old middle Kannaḍa. 'Muddana' was one of the pseudonyms assumed by Nandalike Lakshminaranappa (1870-1901). His most important work is the celebrated *Rāmāśvamedha*, written in chaste old Kannaḍa prose. Lakshminaranappa wrote another work in old Kannaḍa prose, the *Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa* besides a poem in middle Kannaḍa, the *Rāmapaṭṭā-bhiṣekam* (the latter under the pseudonym 'Mahalaksmi'). He was also the author of some *Yakṣagāna* works like *Kumāravijaya*.

Kannaḍa poetry, which had not produced any work of great significance for more than two centuries, took a new lease of life in this period though it flowered a little later than modern prose and drama. Pioneers like Panje Mangesa Rao (1874-1937), H. Narayana Rao (1863-1921) and S.G. Narasimhachar (*d.* 1911) began to use middle and even modern Kannaḍa and popular metrical forms. Their work was mostly translations of short pieces from English. Govinda Pai often uses learned diction, but his poems are characterized by deep feeling and original similes. His masterpiece *Golgotha*, which portrays the last day of Jesus Christ, has the qualities of an epic fragment.

The scholar-poet who gave Kannaḍa poetry a conscious modern direction was undoubtedly B.M. Srikanthayya ('Sri') (1884-1946); his *Inḡliśa Gītagalu* (a metrical rendering of selected English lyrics) ushered a new epoch in the twenties, particularly after the publication of its enlarged edition (1926).

D.V. Gundappa (*b.* 1888) is a noted thinker, critic and writer on contemporary affairs, in addition to being an established poet. His *Maṅku Timmana Kagga*, consisting of nearly a thousand reflective stanzas arranged on one comprehensive pattern, is justly famous.

K.V. Puttappa ('Kuvempu') who belongs to a younger generation, is a versatile genius and one of the foremost Kannaḍa authors of the present day. Poetry of every kind—lyrical, narrative and dramatic, devotional, secular and even satirical—has continued to flow from his pen. P.T. Narasimchar is another major poet belonging to the same generation. His poems, mostly lyrical, are infused with rare thought and chiselled feeling. D.R. Bendre (Ambikatanaya Datta) is a name to conjure with wherever Kannaḍa is spoken.

One of the new types of literature which made an immediate appeal to the ordinary reader was the novel which first entered Kannaḍa through Bengālī. It was M.S. Puttanna (1854-1930) who for the first time wrote remarkable novels rooted in the soil and steeped in racy Kannaḍa idiom.

His best work, *Mādidduṅṅo Mahārāya* (1915), gives a vivid and fascinating picture of the social and the court life of the times of Krishnaraya Wodeyar III. In the north Karnāṭaka region, Kerur Vasudevācārya (1866–1921) was a devotee of the fiction form. His novels like *Indirā* are mostly social, though he has a historical novel too, the *Yadumahārāja*, based on the founding of the Mysore dynasty.

Since the twenties of this century, novels have been coming out in a steady stream from scores of novelists—only a few of them may be named here. K.S. Karanta is one of the major figures and his *Marali Mannige* (“Back to the Soil”), depicting the life and toils of three generations, has some unforgettable women characters who fought against poverty and neglect. Set in the south Kanara district, it reveals the varying moods of Nature. They almost play the role of a major character in this great novel. Among the other novels of Karanta *Comana Duḍi*, *Devadūtaru* and *Beṭṭada-Jīva* may be mentioned. Karanta is a remarkable person, gifted with many-sided talent. He has written and directed plays and operas and has even acted in them. Single-handed, he has produced an encyclopaedia and a dictionary. He made a close and practical study of the *Yakṣagāna*.

A.N. Krishna Rao and Basavaraja Kattimani are two very popular and prolific novelists who have cultivated the field of the social novel. Their works depict many facets—ugly as well as attractive—of several strata of life; and they are not afraid to probe into the dark recesses of contemporary society. T.R. Subba Rao is a novelist of considerable power and is more at home in dealing with historical themes. Mirji Annarao too is a novelist of note; his *Nisarga*, which deals with the tragedy of a village girl’s extra-marital love, needs special mention. Devudu Narasimha Sastri’s keen imagination plays with penetration on ancient themes.

In the field of the short story as in that of the lyric, Kannāḍa may well claim to have made a mark of its own, at least as regards quality. Masti Venkatesa Ayyangar is the supreme master here. Some of his short stories stand comparison with the best in any language.

The drama was one of the first literary forms to spring to life in the new age. Chamaraja Wodeyar (1881–94) was a great patron of this art; even a theatre bearing his name was established. Sanskrit plays were translated and adapted, the stage versions invariably containing a number of songs. The most gifted of this band of dramatists was Basavappa Sastri (1843–1891) whose Kannāḍa rendering of Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is justly famous and holds the field to this day.

Then came on the scene, in the early ‘twenties of this century, the phenomenal T.P. Kailasam. A gifted actor well acquainted with the English stage, Kailasam set out to revolutionize the drama in Kannāḍa. He portrayed in his plays the foibles and problems of contemporary middle-class society and made daring use of colloquial speech with a heavy mixture of English expressions.

Among the other dramatists who have written in a more literary and conservative manner is 'Sansa', whose *Vigada Vikramarāya* is an unusually powerful and compact historical play dealing with an episode taken from Mysore history; he followed it up with other plays of a similar type.

**Kashmiri.** The closing decades of the 18th century and virtually the whole of the 19th were marked by continual spurts of fresh creative activity in Kashmiri poetry. While the traditional, religious and secular styles held the field throughout this period, new and varied forms made their appearance, mainly under the influence of Persian poetry, but also through contact with the newly developing literatures in the other North Indian languages. Paramananda of village Matan (1791-1879) was the chief devotional poet of this period. He wrote allegorical narratives on Hindu religious themes; and among his leading works are *Rādhāsvayamvara*, *Sudāmācaritra*, and *Śivalagan*. Both in content and form these are of the highest excellence after the work of Lal D e'd. The Kashmiri version of *Rāmāyaṇa*, by Prakash Rama of Kurigam, is a work of purple patches and combines the two diverse strains of religious devotion and folk-lore. Towards the close of the 19th century, Krishna Razdan of Vanpoh composed popular devotional poems in the tunes of rural folk-songs and ballads.

Among the Muslim poets of this period the best known is Mahmud Gami (d. 1855). The influence of Persian, coupled with the fusion of the lyric and the narrative, now encouraged a trend towards adaptations from the various forms of Persian poetry, as also translations. Among Mahmud Gami's chief works are *Yūsuf-Zuleikhā*, *Khusraw-Shīrīn*, and *Lailā-Majnūn*. Other noteworthy Muslim poets of this period are Rasul Mir, Wahhab Pare, Maqbul Shah and Waliullah Mattu. Wahhab Pare translated the *Shāh-Nāmāh* of Firdausī, while Maqbul wrote *Gurist-Nāmāh*, a satirical poem depicting the miserable lot of the Kashmiri peasantry. Rasul Mir rejuvenated Kashmiri lyric on the Persian pattern. The close of the century was marked also by progress in song and *ghazal*, and witnessed the birth of a distinctive type of comic-satiric ballad called *Ladī-Shāh*. Lastly, it was about this time that J.H. Knowles rendered into English a collection of Kashmiri folk-tales and proverbs.

From the death of Paramananda to the appearance of Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur's (1885-1952) first lyrics in the early twenties, Kashmiri poetry passed through a phase of comparative barrenness. Mahjur ushers in the modern age. This period saw the forceful impact of new influences from several quarters—the growth of Indian nationalism, knowledge of western thought and literature, and new developments in the literatures of other modern North Indian languages. Mahjur's work embodies many of these new strains, while he also harks back to the best traditions of older Kashmiri secular poetry. Mahjur lived his life as a petty revenue official and was accorded due recognition as a national poet only towards the end of his life. He was followed by Abdul Ahad Azad (1905-1948), a village

teacher by profession. Azad wrote with a socialistic bias and is not inferior to Mahjur either in inventive genius or in his command over the language. Other well-known poets of the present time are Daya Ram Ganju, Zinda Kaul and Ghulam Hasan Beg 'Arif'.

The present phase has, moreover, thrown up a group of writers who may be called "progressive". Among these the prominent ones are Dinanath Nadim, Rahman Rahi and Nur Muhammad Roshan. Finally, very recent years have been marked by the emergence of a halting type of literary prose and of new literary forms such as the drama, the novel and the short story.

**Malayalam.** At the beginning of the period under review and for nearly a century, Malayālam literature was dominated by the *Kathākali* form of dance-drama. Though Kuñcan Nampiyār, the first great poet to take literature to the common people through his *Tullals* (popular narrative poems), was still living—he died in 1765—the impetus of the *Tullal* movement had ended with his retirement. The *Kathākali*, patronized by the royal courts and the feudal nobility, was artificial in its literary form, conventional and ornate in its language. Though a large number of works were produced during this period, only one writer of outstanding eminence deserves to be mentioned. Ravi Varman Tampi (1783–1863) was important not only as an author of *Kathākali* masterpieces, but as one who created a bridge between the medieval and the modern period. He brought about a change in the diction of the *Kathākali* and in this way anticipated the literary style of the century that followed.

With 1861 Malayālam enters a new era. Two factors contributed to it. A new system of education had taken root in Kerala in the early decades of the 19th century through the activities of missionaries. Secondly, the establishment of Madras University in 1857, which extended its activities to Kerala, gave a fresh impetus to literature. Under the leadership of Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampuran, a renowned Sanskrit and Malayālam poet and scholar, the Travancore government of the time entered on a planned programme of developing the language by the production of suitable text-books for all classes. Apart from his work as president of the Vernacular Text Book Committee of Travancore, Kerala Varma also deserves mention as the author of the poem *Mayūra Saṁdeśam* and for his translation of *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa with which Malayālam entered into a great era of translation of Sanskrit classics.

Side by side with this development directed from Trivandrum there was an even more significant movement which was centred in the Granganore palace. It was a literary revolution that the Granganore school of poets achieved under the leadership of poet Venmani and his son. The Venmani school, as it is now called, broke the domination of Sanskrit and developed a popular diction which took literature to the masses. Among the notable literary figures of this school, apart from Venmani, were Kunnikkuttan



Tampuran, the translator of the *Mahābhārata*, and Kochchunni Tampuran, both of whom were also notable writers in Sanskrit.

In 1846 a Protestant missionary, Benjamin Bailey, published a Malayālam-English Dictionary, supplemented a few years later by an English-Malayālam dictionary. But it was the German scholar Herman Gundert of the Basel Mission who in 1872 endowed Malayālam with an authoritative lexicon, based on a comparative study of the Dravidian languages. Though elementary grammars had also been produced by workers in the mission field, a comprehensive and authoritative work of the grammar of Malayālam had to await the publication of *Kerala Pāṇinīyam* by A.R. Rajaraja Varma (1898). Rajaraja Varma not only provided Malayālam with an authoritative grammar but undertook also the difficult task of standardizing Malayālam metres.

Rajaraja Varma was a path-finder in several new fields of poetic expression. His introduction to Kumaran Asan's (1871-1924) poem *Nalini* may be regarded as the starting point of modernism in Malayālam with freedom from Sanskrit forms and traditions. With Kumaran Asan and Vallathol Narayana Menon, this movement gained momentum and dominated Malayālam in all spheres of activity. Vallathol, a writer of the old school and translator of *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa* in Malayālam verse, established his claim to a leading position in contemporary literature. Drawn by the nationalist movement, he brought into literature the spirit of national awakening. Asan also was a scholar of the old school, and he was moved by deep social urges. These two writers may be said to have brought about a literary revolution in Malayālam. Another writer who contributed significantly to the movement was Ullurs Parameswara Iyer who attempted to reconcile the classical with the modern spirit.

By the thirties a new spirit of revolt began to manifest itself. The leader of this group was Channampuzha Krishna Pillai, a poet of high lyrical quality, but pessimistic in his approach to life. The growth of symbolism was a marked feature in the literature of this period. Of this school G. Sankara Kurup is the outstanding representative. In recent times, poetry is struggling to find new forms and methods of expression and may be said to be dominated by experimentalism.

Modern prose literature in Malayālam is not a development from its old traditions. It is the outcome of the work of the Text Book Committee and the new educational policy. Its growth was powerfully helped by the journals and magazines which sprang up in different parts of Kerala. Because of these factors, prose style as it evolved, was modelled on English. Novels and short stories soon began to appear. They were mostly translations or adaptations from English; but with the appearance of O. Chantu Menon's *Indulekhā*, a social novel reflecting the conditions in the Nayar society of the time, the romantic novel may be said to have attained maturity in Malayālam. The immediate development was,

however, in the field of historical romance. It found a master in C.V. Raman Pillai, whose *Mārttaṇḍa Varma* and *Rāma Rāja Bahādur* are classics in this genre. Others who followed this path are Appan Tampuran, K.M. Panikkar and Kappana Krishna Menon.

The course of the national movement helped to popularize historical novels, but soon the novel of social analysis began to assert itself. A group of talented writers, Takali Sivasankara Pillai (*Randidnagazhi*, *Chemmin*) Kesava Dev (*Otayil Ninnu*), Mohammed Bashir, Cherukad (*Muthassy*), P.C. Kultikrishnan, Sukumaran and others built up realistic social fiction on a firm basis. In the field of short story also there were notable developments; many writers of talent, among whom may be mentioned Thakazhi, K.T. Mohammed, D.M. Pottakkad and Lalitambika Antharjanom, have helped to make the short story a vital feature of contemporary Malayālam literature.

The growth of drama is another significant feature of modern Malayālam. A decisive trend started with Kerala Varma's translation of *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, and in the years that followed the tradition of the Sanskrit drama held sway. But with the new spirit in literature Ibsen, Chekhov and others began to exercise a dominant influence. Dramatic works in Malayālam have grown fast during the last two decades—they combine a live social background with progressive economic urges.

**Marathi.** In the period 1761–1818, the old traditions of Marāṭhī poetry continued. The songs of Śivadīna Kesarī (1698–1774), who belonged to the Nātha sect of saints, have an appeal even today.

Mahīpati Buva Tahrabadkar (1715–90) wrote biographies of devotees in verse and the theme of Marāṭhī poets, such as Bhīmaswāmī and others at Thanjāvūr in the South, was the cult of Rāmadāsa (1608–82). Nirañjana Mādhava (1703–1790) wrote in verse biographies of saints on *Advaita* philosophy and three books on prosody. Moropant (1729–1794), was a towering personality—he enriched the classical style, composed his *magnum opus*, *Ārya Bhārata*, and wrote several smaller works of great literary merit such as *Kekāvali* and *Samśaya Ratnamālā*. There was also an efflorescence of *Povādās* (ballads) and *lāvaṇīs* (amorous songs). A host of *Sāhirs*, prominent among whom were Rama Joshi, Prabhakar, Anant Phandi, Honaji Bala, Sagan Bhau and Parashuram gave vent to the thrill of the Marāṭhās in the reappearing glory of the Peśwā's court. In *lāvaṇī*, they gave free expression to love and other pleasures.

Writings in prose were mostly confined to *Bakhars* (chronicles of historical events, past and present). A unique work was the incomplete autobiography of Nānā Fadnavīs. The first Mārāṭhī grammar and the first Mārāṭhī dictionary appeared in 1829.

The pioneers in new prose were Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar (1810–46) who started the daily paper *Darpana* (1831) and the periodical *Digdarśana* (1841) and Bhau Mahajan (1815–90) and Joshi who founded

*Prabhākara* and *Jñyān Candrodāya*. These were followed by the thought-provoking writings of Krishna Hari Chiplunkar (1844–78), Vishnubuwa Brahmachari and Gopal Hari Deshmukh *alias* Lokahitawadi (1823–92) which roused people to a new consciousness of their heritage. These early efforts yielded a rich harvest in the writings of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar (1850–82). He founded the *Kesari* (1881) which later on attained all-India importance under Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856–1920). Chiplunkar's contemporary Gopal Agharkar (1856–95) directed his powerful pen towards social reform. Jyotiba Phule (1827–90), the first non-Brāhmaṇa writer, was a class by himself. He advocated equality and reorientation of religious customs. Many essayists and treatise writers followed—the greatest among them was Lokamanya Tilak. Others in the line included S.M. Paranjape (1864–1929), N.C. Kelkar (1872–1947) and V.D. Savarkar (1883–1966).

A new trend in satirical and humorous writing was introduced by S.K. Kolhatkar, and was further developed by Ram Ganesh Gadkari and C.V. Joshi.

About 1925 the old form of essay yielded place to the short and light essay; and by 1947 this light essay became well established under writers of repute such as N.S. Phadke and V.S. Khandekar. Other forms like philosophical treatises, biographies and autobiographies also developed in this period.

A masterly touch was given to the novel by Hari Narayan Apte (1864–1919). His historical novels e.g. *Uṣāhkāla* are a living monument of contemporary Mahārāshtra. His social novels like *Mī* are infused with idealism which has played a significant role in Marāṭhī thought and life. After Apte, the novel developed in great strides and portrayed all aspects of life in Mahārāshtra.

Marāṭhī drama had its origin in religious celebrations. In 1861 an original play by Vinayak Rao Kirtane (1840–91) on the death of Madhav Rao Peśwā appeared. This literary form attained its maturity in the work of Annasaheb Kirloskar (1843–85). His three plays, *Śakuntalā* (1880), *Saubhadrā* (1882) and *Rāmarājya-viyoga* (1884), not only laid the foundations of Marāṭhī drama but were a high water-mark of achievement. Social and historical dramas gradually developed. The years between 1915 and 1925 saw the hey-day of Marāṭhī drama when a number of authors wrote plays with a strong popular appeal.

A revolution in Marāṭhī poetry was ushered in by K.K. Damle *alias* Keshavsuta (1866–1905), whose influence continues to permeate Marāṭhī poetry to this day. He wrote in a subjective vein, intense with lyrical beauty and impassioned thought. He created new norms in the poetry of love, nature, social consciousness and neo-mysticism.

By 1930 a group of poets known as *Ravi Kirāṇa Maṇḍal* popularised many traditions of simple Marāṭhī poetry and invented new patterns of content

and prosody. Prominent among them are Madhav Tryambak Patvardhan *alias* Madhav Juliyān and Yashvant Dinkar Pendharkar *alias* Yashvant.

**Oriya.** For a century from 1751, Oṛiyā literature followed the path laid down by the poets of the first half of the 18th century, who in turn drew inspiration from the later Sanskrit *kāvya*s. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and *Bhagavad-Gītā* were the invariable sources of material. The earlier ornate style, based on a play of words, yielded place to melodious Vaiṣṇavite poetry with its skillful treatment of human emotions. Typical of the period are *Bidagdha Cintāmaṇi* of Abhimanyu Sāmanta Simharā (1757–1807) and *Campū* of Kavisurya Baldeva Rath (1789–1845). A departure from the literary practice of the day appears in *Catura Vinoda*, a humorous prose work, *Samara Taraṅga*, a war poem by Brajanātha Badajenā (1730–1800), and the lyrics of the blind saint Bhima Bhoi (1855–95), who recorded the tenets of Mahimā Dharma, a form of 19th century Buddhism.

In the middle of the 19th century, contact with the West through English education brought about a radical change in Oṛiyā literature. Radhanath Ray (1849–1908), the father of Oṛiyā poetry, made full use of ideas imbibed from western literature. His *Cilikā* has made him immortal as a nature poet. His *Mahāyātrā*, written in blank verse, reveals the influence of Virgil, Dante and Milton. Another product of liberal education was Madhusudan Rao (1853–1912), founder of the Brahmo movement in Orissa. His works, which breathe the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, have remained for over seven decades models for students of literature. A third luminary was Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843–1918), who developed Oṛiyā prose and gave a faithful account of rural life. In the realm of folk literature, he was followed by Nand Kishor Bala and by Gopala Chandra Praharaja, who distinguished himself further by producing the monumental *Bhāṣā Koṣa*, a multi-lingual dictionary. The two brothers, Ramasankara Ray and Gaurisankara Ray, were pioneers in drama, fiction and journalism. Visvanatha Kara and Nilamani Vidyaratna gave stimulus to literary effort through their magazines.

Madhusudana Das (1848–1934) did not write much but he was the founder of the Utkal Union Conference of 1903, and a song he composed on the Oṛiyā movement is on the lips of millions even today—it has earned him a niche in the literary history of Orissa. The Satyavādī group of writers are the product of the nationalist movement of the early 20th century. They are outstanding both for public activities and literary work. During 1901–20, *Kāvya* writers like Gangadhara Meher and Chintamani Mahanti, many lyricists, story writers, dramatists, essayists and critics further enriched Oṛiya literature.

After 1921, Oṛiyā literature was strongly influenced by Gandhian philosophy and the ideas and techniques of Rabindranath Tagore. In the field of research the *Prācī Samiti* has rendered signal service by bringing to

light a number of ancient works, which they have reissued with scholarly introductions.

Since 1937 Oriyā literature has made rapid strides by absorbing the literary trends in other Indian states as also by contact with world thought. The outlook of novelists, short story writers and playwrights has widened considerably. They expose social evils. They take great interest in politics, social science, psychology and psycho-analysis. Scientific discoveries are a subject of frequent discussion. Men and society in their stark reality find expression in literature. In poetry, the traditional techniques have rapidly vanished and a new one has appeared. Certain novelists have centred their attention on tribal life.

**Panjābi.** Panjābī poetry has a long history and each verse-form has a tradition of its own. The latest period may be said to open with the *Hir Rānjhā* of Wāris Shāh (1766) which has been recognised as a classic. The earliest specimens of prose in Panjābī are *janam sākhis* (biographies of Gurus), *bacans* (sayings) and *parmāraths* (commentaries on scriptures). *Giān Ratnāvālī* by Bhāi Maṇi Singh (d. 1737), *Prem Sumārg*, said to have been written by Guru Govind Singh (1666–1708), *Pāras Bhāg* by Addan Shāh (18th century) and *Sikhān De Rāj Dī Vithiā* by Shardha Ram (19th century) are the only important works representing the development of prose.

Modern Panjābī literature begins with the establishment of the Christian mission at Ludhiāna which set up the first printing press in the Punjab, cast Gurmukhī type and started the first Panjābī newspaper. A Panjābī grammar was issued in 1838. Rev. J. Newton was entrusted with the task of preparing a dictionary of the Panjābī language, which was published in 1854. However, it took many years to recover from the effects of the political change that had come over the country and to assess western values at their true worth. The first reaction had been to cooperate with the English rulers. The protagonists of this view eschewed political activity and confined themselves to cultural and educational matters. The result was the birth of the Singh Sabhā Movement.

Bhai Vir Singh (1872–1957), rightly called the father of modern Panjābī literature, has been generally regarded as the best product of the Singh Sabhā Movement. His novels *Sundari*, *Vijay Singh* and *Bābā Naudh Singh*, celebrated the chivalry of the Sikhs and the excellence of their religion. To the reader of today these appear somewhat insipid; their place is not in literature but in history. Bhai Vir Singh's long poem, *Rānā Sūrat Singh*, appeared in 1905 and was the first successful attempt at blank verse in Panjābī. Another poet who followed the same literary style was Puran Singh (1882–1932)—he introduced free verse into Panjābī. A notable contemporary of Bhai Vir Singh was Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876–1954).

The rising tempo of Indian nationalism, represented in the Punjab by the Ghadar, Akālī and Communist movements, lent a new colour and

tone to Panjābī literature. The stress was shifted from the religious and the cultural to the national and the political. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Hira Singh Dard caught this spirit and expressed in their poetry the inner urge of the people. With Mohan Singh (*b.* 1905) and Amrita Pritam, Panjābī poetry grew more progressive. To quote the words of Harbans Singh; "Their work is characterised by a steadily growing intellectual consciousness, but it reveals at the same time a vehemently imaginative insight." Other important poets of this tradition are Bawa Balwant, Santokh Singh Dhir, Takht Singh, Harbhajan Singh and Prabhjot Kaur. Pritam Singh Safir stands apart from this group on account of his highly involved subjective approach. Neki and Misha too are traversing new ground.

In the domain of fiction, Nanak Singh and Jaswant Singh Kanwal are very popular. Narindarpal Singh has broken fresh ground in his historical novels. Amrita Pritam and Kartar Singh Duggal, Surindar Singh Narula and Sethi are trying to take the novel out of old grooves. Sant Singh Sekhon, Duggal and Kulwant Singh Virk are the leading short story writers. In the field of drama, I.C. Nanda blazed the trail, with Sekhon and Balwant Gargi following in the next generation with a higher standard of excellence. Harcharan Singh, R.L. Ahuja and G.S. Phul are some other playwrights of note.

Gurbakhsh Singh has considerably enriched the Panjābī prose through his books and his magazine *Preet Laḍī*. Puran Singh, Teja Singh and Kamla Akali are some other builders of Panjābī prose. Sant Singh Sekhon is the leading figure in literary criticism, but Gopal Singh Dardi, Kirpal Singh Kasel and Attar Singh have also achieved eminence in this field. G.B. Singh and Pritam Singh have done original research in tracing the origin and development of the Gurmukhī script. Mohan Singh has written the first scientific history of Panjābī literature.

Journalism has also played a distinguished role in the development of Panjābī literature. The *Pañja Daryā*, the *Panjābī Duniā*, the *Ārstī*, the *Ālocnā* and *Sāhitya Samācāra* are the leading literary journals. Panjābī Sahitya Akademi, Ludhiāna, and Kendri Panjābī Lekhaka Sabhā, Jullundur, are working in their own way for Panjābī. The establishment of the Panjābī University is expected to prove an important step towards the promotion of Panjābī literature.

**Sindhi.** Sindhī literature started with poetry. The earliest poems that the Sindhīs have been able to lay their hands upon date back to the 14th century A.D., and they are seven *bayts* of Mamoi saints predicting the future of Sind. Then there are a few *bayts* by Qāḍī Qāḍan (*d.*A.D. 1551). The 16th century produced a great *Ṣūfī* poet—Shāh ‘Abdul Karīm (1536–1622).

Towards the end of the 17th century, Sind produced its greatest poet—Shāh ‘Abdul Latif (1689–1752). The subtle *Ṣūfī* thoughts, Sindhī folk tales,

characterization, graphic description of scenes and beauties of language combine to give him a pre-eminent place in Sindhī literature. He introduced *Wāī*, a form of *Kāfi* in Sindhī poetry.

By the time *Shāh* died, Abdul Wahhab (1739–1826), better known as Sachal, was already thirteen. He composed over one lakh verses and was second of the well-known trinity of Sindhī poets, the first being *Shāh* and the last Sami. Bhai Chainrai (1743–1850), popularly known as Sami, was the first known Hindu Vedantic poet of Sind who has to his credit nearly 15,000 verses in the form of *ślokas*. Among the Hindu *Śūfis* Bhai Dalpatram (1769–1841) stands unsurpassed. Rohal, a disciple of the martyred *Śūfi* *Shāh* 'Ināyat (*d.* 1718), was both a *Śūfi* and Vedantic poet. He wrote *Bhakti Rasa* poetry in Hindī in addition to Sindhī and Sarāikī. Both Abdul Qadir Baksh 'Bedil' (1814–72) and his son Muhammad Muhsin 'Bekas' (1859–81) were *Śūfi* poets of high order. The former was a prolific writer who has no less than eighteen Sindhī and Persian books of both prose and poetry to his credit. He wrote copiously on mystic and spiritual subjects.

Although Sindhī poetry started with *dohās*, *sorathās* etc., it could not escape the influence of Persian poetry in form and thought for long. *Ghazal* was introduced in early 18th century and was soon followed by *rubā'i*, *qaṣīdā*, *mathnawī* etc. The subject matter too changed from mysticism to romanticism and revolved round *gul-wa-bulbul* and *sham'-wa-parwānah*. Khalifo Gul Mohammad 'Gul' (1809–1856) was the first Sindhī poet to have composed a *Diwān*. Among others who followed him in this field the most famous were Mulla Mohammad Qasim (1806–1881), Hidayat Ali 'Najafi', Sayyid Mohammad Fazil (1836–1900), Diwan Lilaramsing Khaki, Sayyid Ghulam Mohammad *Shāh* 'Gada' (1826–1904), Mīr Abdul Hussain 'Sangi' (1850–1924), Shams-ud-din 'Bulbul', Mirza Qalich Beg (1853–1929), Muhammad Bakhsh 'Wasif' (*b.* 1892), Hayat Shah 'Hafiz' and Lekhraj 'Aziz'. Thabit Ali Shah (1740–1810)—elegy writer, Hafiz Haji 'Hamid' (1832–1897)—composer of poems based on Sindhī folk tales and Muhammad Hashim 'Mukhlis'—satirist, are those who contributed materially to the development of Sindhī poetry. Faqir Sadiq, Mīr Janullah Shah, Ramzan, Manthar, Misri Shah and Dharamdas are some of the well-known *Kāfi* writers of the last two centuries. Specific mention may here be made of Kishinchand 'Bewas' (1885–1947) who composed bulk of his poems on Nature and other subjects as against the traditional love-lyrics. The present century marked a further development in forms—blank verse made its appearance in the third decade and was soon followed by sonnet and triolet.

Sindhī prose is comparatively of recent growth. The earliest prose writing is said to be the Sindhī translation of *Qurān Sharīf* by Akhund Azīzullah in A.D. 1746, followed by the translation of the Gospel of St. Mathews in 1825. Thereafter, some more books on Christianity were published. The British conquered Sind in 1843 and their contribution to the development

of Sindhi literature has been remarkable inasmuch as not less than 15 books (including 4 of grammars and 5 dictionaries) were published by them before the 19th century was over.

Sindhi had no fixed script before the middle of the 19th century. After the British conquest, it was decided in 1853 to have Arabic characters for Sindhi. An alphabet of 52 letters was adopted and a sum of ten thousand rupees sanctioned for publication of Sindhi books in that script. In a year's time, about 10 books (text-books and others translated from other languages) were published. This was followed by a large number of translations from the English classics. Several dictionaries and grammars—prominent among them being *Sindhi Sarf Ain Nahwu* by Miyan Mohammad and Pribhdas Anandram (1860), *English-Sindhi Dictionary* by Lakshman Vishnu Paranjpye (1868) and *Sindhi Vyutpatti Kosha* by Jhamatmal Narumal (1886)—were published. Between 1864–70, Diwan Kewalram Salamatrai wrote *Sookhri Gálhyun ji, Gul and Gul Shakar* (1905), Parmanand Mewaram's *Sindhi-English* (1910) and *English-Sindhi* (1933) dictionaries. Besides, books on religion, folk-tales of Sind, art, science, biography, history, geography and arithmetic were also published. Some of the distinguished writers who enriched Sindhi prose were Munshi Udhoram, Munshi Pribhdas, Diwan Lilaramsingh Lalwani, Kauromal Khilnani, Dayaram Gidumal and Mirza Qalich Beg who has about 300 books to his credit.

Playwriting in Sindhi commenced at the end of the last century. Mirza Qalich Beg made a start by writing *Lailā Majnūn* (1880) followed by *Khurshed* (1887) and *Śakuntalā* (1896). R.B. Kauromal translated King Harṣa's Sanskrit drama *Ratnāvali* (1888) into Sindhi. Mirza Qalich Beg translated most of Shakespeare's dramas in the first decade of the present century while Thakurdas Nagrani, Bherumal Mehrchand, Jetmal Parsaram, Bhag Singh Advani and Usman Ali Ansari also translated some of Shakespeare's dramas. Other European dramatists, such as Ibsen, Sheridan etc., were introduced to the Sindhis by Nanikram Mirchandani, Shewa Singh Ajwani and Khanchand Daryani. Daryani wrote a large number of original dramas as well—the popular among them being *Gulāb-jo-gul* (1920), *Zamīndāri Zulum* (1928), *Ratnā* (1924), *Zamāne ji Lahar* (1929) and *Bukh jo Shikār* (1932). Kishinchand 'Bewas' too tried his hand at playwriting in poetic style. Lilaram Makhijani wrote many original plays including *Nai Sujāgi* (1937). M.U. Malkani has many original dramas and one-act plays to his credit. Ahmed Chagla, Udham Jhangiani and Lekhraj 'Aziz' have also enriched Sindhi drama.

Sindhi novel had a humble beginning. It started with translations from other languages. Works of Sarat Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore; Munshi Prem Chand, Krishan Chandra etc., were translated in Sindhi. Jagat Advani was responsible for most of the translations.

Many original novels in Sindhi were also published. Mirza Qalich Beg's *Dilārām* (1888) and *Zeenat* (1890) and Pritamdas Hakumatrai's *Ajib*



*Bhet* (1892) belong to the last two decades of the 19th century. Lalchand Amardinomal's *Choth jo Chand* (1905), Bherumal's *Anand Sundrikā* (1910) and *Mohini Bai* (1917), Dr. Gurubkhani's historical novel *Nūr Jahān* (1915), Abdul Razzaq's *Jahān Arā* (1931), Nirmaldas Fatehchand's *Dalūrai jī Nagari* (1944) rank among some of the best novels of early 20th century. Shewak Bhojraj's *Āshīrvād* (1933) and *Dādā Shyām* (1934), Assanand Mamtora's *Shāir* (1941), Guli Kripalani's *Ithād* (1941), Ram Panjwani's *Qaidi* (1943) and *Latifā* (1945) and Naraindas Bhambhani's *Mālhin* (1942) and *Vidhvā* (1943) are some of the popular original novels belonging to this century.

The short story, in its beginnings, dealt mostly with religious themes and emphasized moral values. With the establishment of Sindhī Sāhitya Society in 1914, it took rapid strides. Lalchand wrote *Hūr-Makhi-a-jā* (1914) and *Kishini-a-jo Kasht* (1917) on social and historical subjects. Bherumal's *Prem-jo-Mahātam* (1914) threw light on family life and Nirmaldas Fatehchand's *Sarojini* had Hindu-Muslim unity as its theme. Nanikram Mirchandani's *Dharamrāi-jī-Vahī* (1915) and *Jiwat-jo-Jas* (1915), Jethmal's *Chamrā posh joon Ākhānyoon* (1923), Amarlal Hingorani's *Ado 'Abdul Rahmān* (1930) and Usman Ali Ansari's *Panj* (1937) also occupy an important place in this field.

The freedom movement after the World War II and Mahatma Gandhi's Quit India Movement too had their impact on Sindhī short story which depicted the tyranny of the British rule. Popular among such short stories are Uttam's *Shikast* (1944), Kirat Babani's *Āzādī-a-jo-Sad*, Gobind Malhi's *Gham-jī-Kahāni*, Lachhman Rajpal's *Qaumi Sipāhi* and Shaikh Ayaz's *Safed Vahshī* (1947).

The early essayists in Sindhī were Mirza Qalich Beg, Kauromal Chandanmal and Kewalram Salamatrai. Dayaram Gidumal, Sadhu Hiranand, Parmanand Mewaram, Jethmal, Lalchand, Bherumal and Wadhmal Gangaram wrote essays on religious, philosophical, literary, patriotic, *Śūfi* and social subjects. Naraindas Malkani, Lekhraj Aziz, Tirth Basant, Haru Sadarangani and Chetan Mariwalla are other well-known essay writers.

Literary criticism is the product of late 19th century. Fazil Shah's *Mizanush-Shar* (1875), Hotchand Gurbukhani's *Muqaddamah Latifi* (1923), Khalil's *Ilm-e-Uruz*, Hakim Fath Mohammad Sewhani's *Āftāb-e-Adab*, Agha Ghulam Nabi's *Sachal Sarmast* (1933), Muhammad Siddiq Memon's *Sindhī Adab jī Tārīkh* (1937), Daud Pota's *Shah Karīm* (1937), Bherumal's *Sindhī Bolt-a-jī Tārīkh*, (1941) Lutfullah's *Tadhkirah Lutfi* (1943), Naraindas Bhambhani's *Shāh joon Sūrmyoon* (1944) and Lekhraj Aziz's *Gul-wa-Khār* are some of the notable contributions to this branch of Sindhī prose.

**Tamil.** At the end of the 17th and during the 18th century, attempts at synthesizing earlier philosophical and grammatical works crystallized

in the form of original works such as *Pirayoga Vivekam*, *Ilakkaṇak-kottu*, *Ilakkaṇa Vilakkam*, and commentaries on grammar such as Śivajñāna Svāmigal's *Pāyira Virutti* and *Cūttira Virutti* and monumental commentaries by Velliyambala-t-tambirān and Śivajñāna Svāmigal on works of philosophy. Christians also entered the field of controversy and wrote excellent prose works. In the 18th century Constantinus Beschi (1680–1746) composed *Tembavani* (1724), an epic on the life of St. Joseph. His *Aviveka Pūrṇa Guru Kathai*, noted for its simple style and satire, paved the way for the short story of the Tamilland. The eclectic school of philosophy—*samarasa*—was responsible for the great works *Aviroda Untiyār* and *Oṭuvilolukkam* for which Cidambara Svāmigal wrote commentaries in simple and charming prose. The translation of the *Bible* also began.

In the 19th century, *Terukkūttu* or street drama was written by scholars like Ramaccandira Kavirayar. Mythological subjects were rendered in musical *kīrttanais* in the form of drama as in the case of *Rāmanāṭakakīrttanai* or in the form of stories recited in popular expositions called *kālakṣepam*. A Tamil college was established within Fort St. George for publishing ancient classics as well as new works. *Pañcatandiram* in prose by Tandavaraya Mudaliyar, and *Vinotaracamañjarī*, a collection of essays by Viraswami Chettiyar may be mentioned in this context. The number of schools and colleges increased and more and more books came to be published. Attempts were made to project the language to the world at large through English by R. Caldwell (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*) and G.M. Pope (translation of *Kuraḷ*, *Nālaḍiyār* and *Tiruvācakam*). The classics were rescued and published by Damodaram Pillai and D. Swaminatha Aiyar. Contact with the West resulted in the production of plays and novels. *Pratāpa Mudaliyar Caritram* by Vedanayakam Pillai (1824–89) is the first novel in Tamil. Poetry continued to revel in the Pūraṇas. The work of Minaksisundaram Pillai is notable. In eclectic philosophy one finds the mystic and simple voice of the universal poet-saint Ramalinga Swamigal (1823–74); he also wrote prose of epic grandeur. Arumuka Navalar (1822–76) with his colourful writing, became the father of modern prose.

The 20th century kept up the old strain but English education made more and more scholars turn to research and creative writing in Tamil. P. Sundaram Pillai's (1855–97) *Manonmaṇiyam*, a drama in verse, is very popular. Rajamaiyar's novel *Kamalambal Carittiram* is noted for characterization and local colour. Maraimalai Adigal wrote in sweet and simple prose, scrupulously avoiding Sanskrit words. Journalism, which started in the 19th century, came close to real literature under Tiru-vi-ka (V. Kalyana Sundaram). Subrahmanya Bharati (1882–1921), the great national poet created a new rhythm and style. The modern short story starts with V.V.S. Iyer and becomes well established in the writings of Pudumai-p-pittan. The historical novels of R. Krishnamurti

'Kalki' and the social novels with a purpose of M. Varadarajan may also be mentioned.

The dawn of independence has given a new life to Tamil writing. Dramas depicting the glories of kings like Rājarāja the Great and patriot-chieftains who raised the standard of revolt are popular. Radio-play is a recent development. The *Tamil Encyclopaedia* is a monumental achievement. Rajagopalachari has reinterpreted to the common man, in simple prose, the message of the Upaniṣads, the *Gītā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, Nammalvar, Tirumular and Ramakrishna Paramhansa. Essays—literary, historical and scientific—are being published.

**Telugu.** Chinnaya Suri (1808–62) and Kandukuri Viresalingam (1848–1919) are the two stalwarts who inaugurated the modern period in Telugu language and literature. While Chinnaya's contribution is confined mainly to the preparation of a comprehensive grammar and laying the foundations of Telugu prose in its present form, there is practically no branch of literature on which the influence of Viresalingam is not felt even today. Though primarily a religious and social reformer, his literary output was rich and varied. His was the first novel in Telugu, the first play, the first research thesis on the lives of Telugu poets, the first autobiography and the first book on popular science. Using his pen as an effective weapon in his relentless struggle against ignorance and superstition, he made the prose of Chinnaya evolve into a more flexible and powerful medium.

Outstanding among Viresalingam's younger contemporaries were Chilakamarti Lakshminarasinhā, Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Dharmavaram Krishnamacharlu, Gidugu Venkata Ramamurti, Gurajada Appa Rao, the twin poets Tirupati Sastri and Venkata Sastri, C.R. Reddy, K.V. Lakshmana Rao and Panuganti Lakshminarasimha Rao. Some of them were pioneers, each in his own way. Ramamurti championed the cause of spoken Telugu, while his friend Appa Rao wrote a remarkable play, *Kanyāśulkam*, which proved that "the gulf between the language of the pen and the language of the tongue" could and should be bridged. Appa Rao was an innovator in two other fields also. Drawing his inspiration from folk songs, he introduced a new metre into Telugu verse called *mutyālasaram* or garland of pearls—this brought to his poetry the limpidness and charm of his prose. His other achievement was the writing of the first collection of short stories in Telugu in their modern form.

Different and yet significant is the contribution of C.R. Reddy. His *Musalamma Marañam* was a bold experiment in the selection of a new kind of subject for poetry, contrary to the conventions of the past, while his *Kavitva Tattva Vicāram* was the first long essay in modern literary criticism. He was also the first writer on economics in Telugu. Of equal importance is the work of Lakshmana Rao, who initiated historical research in Andhra. His books on Indian history are models of critical analysis and lucid exposition.

Strictly speaking, the twin poets Tirupati Sastri and Venkata Sastri may not be regarded as pioneers, but their influence is widespread and abiding. With their impressive flair for extempore versification they brought literature to the popular stage and to the market-place.

By this time Telugu literature was a wide stream, receiving new waters along its course, and gaining in width as well as depth. The list of those who contributed to its progress is a long one, but among the poets of this middle period mention may be made of Rayaprolu Subbarao, the first romanticist in Telugu poetry, Krishna Sastri, a superb lyricist, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, a prolific writer of uneven merit, and Nanduri, a rare composer of songs. More or less of equal stature are Basavaraju Appa Rao, Abburi, Nayani Subbarao, Shivasankara Sastri, Vedula Satyanarayana, Bapiraju, Rami Reddi, Umar Ali Shah and G. Joshua, all of whom have struck a new and personal note and used a new idiom. Pingali Lakshmikantam and Katuri Venkakesvara Rao, neo-classicists, stand slightly apart. Prominent among those who produced poetical works on traditional lines are Sesha Sastri, Ramaswami, Etukuri and Tummala. In spite of the traditional forms which he adopted, Ramaswami was an iconoclast who challenged the old order of society and its sectarian outlook.

Prose writing also forged ahead during this period. Mutanuri Krishna Rao, the great editor of *Kṛṣṇa Patrikā*, gave it a broad sweep and a new vigour. Chinta Diksitulu and Gudipati Venkatachalam led a band of brilliant short story writers; Munimanikyam, Mokkaapati and Bhamidipati established themselves as masters of the humorous story and the skit. P.V. Rajamannar published a number of first-rate one-act plays. Unnava Lakshmi Narayan produced an outstanding novel *Mālapalle*, imbued with the Gandhian spirit of revolt—the work was banned by the government of the time.

In the late thirties a great swerve was given to the even flow of modern Telugu literature by Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (Sri Sri for short). He brought a new awareness of social values to poetry. A daring innovator, his is a strident voice with no inhibitions. His influence is wide and he has many imitators, but among all his followers only his nephew Arudra merits particular mention.

Telugu has, a rich and progressing literature. Once primarily under the influence of Sanskrit, then of English and Bengālī, it is today in living contact with the main streams of world literature and has acquired a world outlook. Of late, revivalistic tendencies are coming to the fore, but these may prove to be only a passing phase. From Viresalingam to 'Sri Sri,' Telugu literature has steadily moved forward with the times.

**Urdu.** The origin of Urdū may be ascribed to the period of the development of modern Indo-Aryan languages, which began about A.D. 1000; and Khadī-Bolī, which was dominant around Delhi when the Muslims came, formed the basis of Urdū.

In A.D. 1206, when Delhi became the capital of the new Muslim empire, local dialects were in a state of flux. The Muslims quickened this change and growth. The expansion of Muslim power in northern India naturally influenced the entire Apabhraṁśa group. Many borrowed words from official Persian were incorporated probably by the Hindu employees. Mutual intercourse between the newcomers and the Indian people necessitated the use of a mixed vocabulary which could be understood by both.

This form of speech was first known by the exotic names of Hinduī, Hinduwī, Hindī, *Zabān-i-Dihli* (the language of Delhi), *Zabān-i-Hindustān* (language of Hindustān), *Zabān-i-Urdū-i-Mu'allā* (the language of the exalted camp), Urdū (camp), *Rekhta* (literally, mixing several things to produce something new), Indostān and Hindustānī. Thus, as a result of Muslim settlement, a new language with varying names but with a common morphology appeared in all the cities of the upper Gaṅgā Doāb for everyday use. Amīr Khusraw of Delhi (A.D. 1253–1325) was the first to employ consciously and proudly the racy indigenous Urdū or *Zabān-i-Dihli* for literary purpose. Its use by the *Šūfis* took the language of Delhi to the Deccan and gave it a new home. Under the patronage of Bahmani (A.D. 1347–1538), Golconda (1512–1687) and Bijapur (A.D. 1510–1686) rulers, Urdū became a literary as well as popular language in the Deccan and absorbed distinct local influences. In the North, Urdū literature came into full blossom during the period of political decadence in the early 18th century, when Persian lost ground. Distinguished poets like the mystics Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān Mazhar (A.D. 1699–1781) and Khwājah Mīr Dard (A.D. 1720–84), the social satirist Muḥammad Rafī Saūdā (A.D. 1713–80), the lyricist Mīr Taqī Mīr and the *mathnawī* writer Mīr Ḥaṣan (A.D. 1727–86) raised the Urdū language and its poetry to near perfection and set standards for posterity in *ghazal* (lyrical poem composed of self-contained couplets with a single metre and mood), *qasīdā* (panegyric) and *mathnawī* (a long amorous or mystical narrative poem). Muhammad Nazir (A.D. 1740–1830) portrayed in his poems the life and feelings of the people. Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (A.D. 1796–1869) sang of life in all its phases, and was perhaps the most cosmopolitan and original poet in Urdū. *Mushā'irahs* or symposiums, in which poets recited their verses before a cultured and critical audience, also gave great impetus to Urdū.

In the reign of Shāh 'Ālam many notable poets migrated to Ouadh. The Urdū which developed here tended to be ornate, a deliberate stylization which was also a kind of sterilization of experience. Much, however, was done to refine the language. Mir Babar Ali Anis (1802–74), who excelled in the art of writing *marthiās* (elegies), is noted for the chastity and effortless charm of his style.

The upheaval of 1857 and its failure not only changed the map of India

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but also Urdū literary standards. Altaf Husain Hali (1837–1914), the harbinger of the modern movement in Urdū, wrote on subjects such as hope, justice and patriotism, and thereby represented a conscious new trend in Urdū poetry.

Urdū poetry has been responsive to all stages of national historical development. It embodied the national aspirations in the poems of Brij Narain Chakbast (1882–1926), Durga Sahai Suroor (*d.* 1910), Hasrat Mohani (*d.* 1951), Muhammad Ali Jauhar (*d.* 1931) and others. Muhammad Iqbal (1873–1938) discussed contemporary problems, cultural conflicts and social turmoils in the *ghazal*, which was originally meant only as a vehicle for lyrical and philosophic themes.

The period 1936–1946 was one of revolt and experimentation. A new direction was given to old poetic forms and many new forms were attempted in order to develop social consciousness through literature.

The Urdū poet of today tries to catch the vision of a new India with a wide range of reference. The contemporary school of Urdū poetry is stimulating and humane and is full of life and charm. It preserves and develops the tradition of liberalism, initiated by Mir and Ghalib.

The development of Urdū prose has been slower than that of poetry, and needed the stimulus of western education to give it vitality and force. The *munshīs* of Fort William College (founded in 1800) tried to attain a style familiar but not coarse. Ghalib's letters are in a style both natural and fascinating. But a new tradition of plain and matter-of-fact prose was created by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898). Contemporary writers are producing prose of all kinds—journalism, essays, criticism, scientific works, lectures and addresses, edited texts, novels, short stories, radio features, religious literature, pen-portraits, reportage and humorous writings. Among the present-day Urdū writers, the names of Krishan Chander, Sajjad Zaheer, Ismat Chughtai, U. N. Ashk, K. A. Abbas, Firaq Gorakhpuri, Tarlok Chand Mahrum, Arsh Malsiani, Josh Malihabadi and Sahir Ludhianavi deserve mention.

**Sanskrit.** The learned traditions of Sanskrit continued in the beginning of the 18th century under the patronage of numerous small principalities spread all over the country. Commentaries produced during this period have a secure place in the curriculum of studies in their respective branches, for instance, in grammar the works of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa and Vāsudeva's commentary *Bālamānoramā* on the *Siddhāntakaumudī*. It is to Upaniṣad Brahmayogin of Kāñchī in the 19th century that we owe the systematic commentaries on the 108 Upaniṣads. Serfoji (1800–32) of Thanjāvūr, who organized also the Sarasvatī Mahal Library there, Svati Tirunal (1812–47) of Trivandrum, poet and music composer, and Nanjaraja of Mysore gathered around them a large number of Sanskrit writers. The *maṭhas* of *Advaita Viśiṣṭādvaita* and *Dvaita* persuasions in Mysore and the Tamil region

fostered the growth of philosophical dialectical works. In Andhra, the *zamīndārs* and Brāhmaṇa landlords kept up Sanskrit activity. All over western and central India, wherever the Marāṭhās were in power, Sanskrit was actively cultivated. So it was also in the princely states of Rājputānā. In Kashmīr, the historic home of Sanskrit, Maharaja Ranbir Singh used Sanskrit in administration and brought into being a great number of new Sanskrit works, including translations from Persian. Vārānasi continued during this period not only to maintain its hoary tradition of Sanskrit learning but played the role of the most important venue of new Sanskrit activity through the establishment of the Sanskrit College by the British rulers in 1792. Mithilā and Navadvīpa sustained their activities in *Navya-nyāya* and Dharmaśāstra; Navadvīpa had its devotional poetry also. It was in Bengal that modern legal compilations such as *Vivādārṇavasetu* and *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava* were compiled by Sanskrit pundits to help British administrators; the seeds for the modern study of Sanskrit were also sown in Bengal. Two monumental productions of Bengal in the 19th century are the lexicon-cum-thesaurus *Śabdakalpadruma* of Radhakanta Deb (1784–1867) and the *Vācaspatya* of Taranath Tarkavacaspati.

Sanskrit literature produced in this period covers all branches, not excepting the Vedas. Dhira Govinda Sharman (19th century) wrote the *Atharvan-rahasya* on the *Atharva Veda*. Medical and veterinary works, histories of local chiefs, and biographies of scholars and merchants were written; a Sanskrit lexicon of Persian administrative terms called *Yavanaparipāṭi-anukrama* by Dalapatirāya (1764) was produced. It may be noted that there were also some women writers in Sanskrit.

Although at first, unmindful of indigenous education, English-educated Indian scholars like Rammohun Roy as well as Englishmen like Macaulay were opposed to continuing Sanskrit education, the British eventually started Sanskrit Colleges in Vārānasi, Calcutta and Poona. Their main purpose was to endear themselves to Indians and create a body of scholars helpful in the country's administration. Meantime, the so-called 'discovery of Sanskrit' by Sir William Jones and the translation of *Śākuntala* and the *Gītā* by him and Wilkins led to a rapid growth of interest in Sanskrit studies among Europeans and Americans. Several princely states also established Sanskrit colleges and a series of Sanskrit publications. All over the country, the government instituted surveys and collected Sanskrit manuscripts. Sanskrit gradually became part of the general school and university curriculum. An intensive study of the difficult Śāstras along traditional lines in Sanskrit colleges and a critical and historical study in the universities helped to revitalize the language in the modern period.

Writers in Sanskrit did not fail to take note of the new turns in history with the advent of the Europeans. On the eve of this period, the *Ānandarāṅgavijaya-campū* of Śrīnivāsa Kavi (1752) and the *Sarvamānya-campū* of Rāmacandra described the political conflicts of Chanda Saheb, the

French, the English, and others in the South. Another *campū*, the *Sarva-devavilāsa* (c. 1800), described the city of Madras as it was growing under the British. On the consolidation of British power over the whole country, certain distinct literary trends were witnessed in the field of Sanskrit. On the occasion of the Delhi Durbar, poems and plays were produced on the British rulers—Queen Victoria, Edward VII, George V and Mary. Warren Hastings collected Sanskrit eulogies from pundits in defence against his impeachment. The best works in this class of composition were the historical accounts upto the founding of the Indian empire: e.g. *Āngrejacandrikā* by Vinayaka Bhatta (1801), *Itihāsatamomaṇi*, *Rājāṅgala-mahodyāna* (1894) and *Āṅglarāmarājya*. At Calcutta, Vārānasi and elsewhere, English grammars in Sanskrit were written,—*Īṅlāṅḍīya-vyākāraṇasāra* and *Īṅlāṅḍīya-bhāṣā-vyākaraṇa* (1847). This trend continued through the first World War, which was the subject of Bukkapattanam Srinivasacharya's *Āṅglā-Jārmāni-yuddhavivarāṇa* to the abdication of Edward VIII (*Yadvyṛddha-sauhārda* (1937), by A. Gopala Iyengar. One of the main motives for Sanskrit study by missionaries and pious Christians was to make use of it for the propagation of Christianity among Indians; as part of the endeavour in this direction, some twenty-five Sanskrit versions of the *Bible* or parts of it or of Christian theology were produced from Serampore and Calcutta. The orthodox pundits reacted unfavourably to the social changes and produced a continuous polemic literature in Sanskrit, from the earliest to recent times, against the un-śāstraic nature of sea voyage, widow-remarriage and post-puberty marriage. Finally, thanks to the study of English literature, and through English other European literatures, new development came upon this ancient language which began to take to new forms and themes and methods of treatment.

The last category starts with translations of European classics, noteworthy among these being Sanskrit renderings of Shakespeare, which were some of the earliest of the Indian translations, and scientific and philosophical treatises. While essays, biographies, travelogues and other literary forms were attempted in Sanskrit, it may be said that the most prolific was the minor poem and the short lyric, as also the one-act play and the short story. This new endeavour in Sanskrit had for its medium Sanskrit journals and literary periodicals which were started in different parts of India. Sanskrit journalism has persisted and lived through to the present times when weeklies e.g. *Saṁskṛta Bhavitavyam* from Nagpur and even a daily was attempted in Sanskrit from Poona.

Of still greater significance is the impact of the national awakening in the country on Sanskrit scholars and writers. With the fresh critical and historical evaluation of Sanskrit and Indian culture of which it was the vehicle, modern Indians came to have a definite self-image which acted as an inspiration in the great national upsurge that was sweeping the country. Many patriotic poems were sung by Sanskrit poets. Progressive



and constructive Sanskritists wrote even new comprehensive codes or Smṛtis embodying modern and scientific ideas (e.g. *Mānava Dharma Sāra* by Bhagavan Das and *Viśveśvara Smṛti* by V.N. Reu). Of the new movements, the Ārya Samāj gave an impetus to Sanskrit study and writing; the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement to the study and interpretation of the Upaniṣads, *Advaitavedānta*, *Yoga* and *Bhakti*; Rabindranath Tagore created a deeper appreciation of Sanskrit poetry, and Sri Aurobindo of Kālidāsa and the Vedas. In the galaxy of the fighters for the country's freedom was Balagangadhar Tilak, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, who gave, besides researches on the Vedas, his interpretation of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* as a gospel of *Karma-yoga*. In fact, thanks to this and the work of Annie Besant and later of Mahatma Gandhi, the *Gītā* became the greatest spiritual book for modern India. While there were many Sanskrit biographies and poems on national leaders and events in the national struggle, it was the personality of Mahatma Gandhi that was responsible for the most conspicuous Sanskrit writings of this class, e.g., the epic *Bhāratapārijāta* by Swami Bhagavad Acharya and *Satyāgraha* and *Svarājya Gītā* by Kshama Rao, who also wrote poems on medieval saints and short stories with contemporary social themes.

The growth in the regional languages and literatures—the spoken tongues—has had its share in infusing new life and activity into Sanskrit. Apart from well-known old classics like the *Kural* in Tamil, which were rendered into Sanskrit, distinguished modern writers in the regional languages such as Tagore have also been translated by Sanskrit writers. Even Urdū poetic forms and metres have been adopted by Sanskrit poets—Mathuranatha Sastri for instance. All this goes to show that, as in the past, in modern times too, Sanskrit has been alive to impacts and ready to assimilate and enrich itself.

**English.** Foremost among the pioneers of Indo-Anglian literature stands Raja Rammohun Roy (1772–1833) a master of effective prose in English. The first to deserve mention among Indo-Anglian poets are Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809–31), Kashiprosad Ghose (1809–73), Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1827–73) and the sisters Aru and Toru Dutt (1856–77). Romesh Chandra Dutt (1848–1909) is now mainly remembered as the verse translator of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the 'Locksley Hall' metre.

Manomohan Ghose's (1867–1924) earliest verse appeared, along with that of Laurence Binyon, Stephen Phillips and Arthur Cripps, in *Primavera* (1890). His mature work is contained in *Love Songs and Elegies* (1898) and in the posthumous volume *Songs of Life and Death* (1926). *Immortal Eve* and *Orphic Mysteries* marked the height of his achievement as a poet in English.

Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950), the younger brother of Manomohan, is unquestionably the most outstanding of the Indo-Anglian writers. His *Col-*

*lected Poems and Plays* came out in 2 volumes in 1942. His poetic *magnum opus* is *Sāvitrī* (1954), an all but complete epic in 24,000 lines. Of his prose writings, the most impressive is *The Life Divine* (1939–40), which outlines his metaphysics in language of marvellous purity and sonorous richness.

Essentially a Bengālī litterateur, Rabindranath Tagore's affiliations to Indo-Anglian literature are hardly less important. *Gītāñjali*, *The Gardener* and *The Crescent Moon*, though originally in Bengālī, could be regarded as fresh creations in English. Some of Tagore's prose works—*Sādhanā* (1913), *Personality* (1917), *The Religion of Man* (1932)—were also originally written in English. Poet, dramatist, novelist, actor, musician, painter, patriot, educationist, Tagore is the image of the 'universal man'.

Sarojini Naidu's (1879–1949) *The Golden Threshold* (1905), *The Bird of Time* (1912) and *The Broken Wing* (1917) and the posthumously published *The Feather of the Dawn* (1961) excel in rendering familiar things with a touch of colour and romance. Her brother, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, is a prolific writer but not a poet of very high order.

The poets of today come under various groups. There are the lyricists of the spirit: the Aurobindonians—K.D. Sethna, Dilip Kumar Roy, Nirodbaran; there are the traditionalists—Fredoon Kabraji, Armando Menezes, J. Vijayatunga; there are the experimenters and rebels—Manjeri Isvaran, P.R. Kaikini; there are the 'new' poets—Nissim Ezekiel, Dom Moraes, P. Lal, K. Raghavendra Rao, Mary Erulker and A.K. Ramanujan. Compared to Indo-Anglian poetry, Indo-Anglian drama seems to be almost insignificant. Since the nineteen twenties and thirties, however, Indo-Anglian fiction has won a niche for itself in contemporary literature. Jogendra Singh and A. Madhaviah have given us a few novels each. K.S. Venkataramani's *Murugan the Tiller* (1927) and *Kandan the Patriot* (1932) are alike distinguished by their idealism, variety and richness of characterization as also by the quality of their writing. Shanker Ram's *Love of Dust* takes us to the South Indian village where tradition, although weakened, still uneasily rules men's hearts. K. Nagarajan's *Athawar House* and *Chronicles of Kedaram* (1961) concentrate on life in a small town in South India, and one can see how stresses and strains develop in families as a result of the inexorable invasion of western values.

Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935), *Coolie*, *Two Leaves and a Bud* (1937), *Across the Black Waters* (1940), *The Big Heart* (1945), and other novels take us to the heart of the 'underdog'—the many varieties of under dogs—in our midst. R.K. Narayan is less 'engaged' than Anand as a novelist, but he is the better artist. His principal works are *Swami and Friends* (1935), *The Bachelor of Arts* (1937), *The English Teacher* (1945), *The Dark Room* (1938), *Mr. Sampeth* (1949), *The Financial Expert* (1952), *Waiting for the Mahatma* (1955), *The Guide* (1959), and *The Man Eater of Malgudi* (1961).

Like Anand and Narayan, Raja Rao too is a good short story writer, and some of the pieces in his collection, *The Cow of the Barricades and Other Stories* are among the best in the genre. Bhabani Bhattacharya is both short story writer and novelist and his novels *So Many Hungers* (1947), *Music for Mohini* (1952), *He Who Rides Tiger* (1954), *A Goddess Named Gold* (1960), and *Shadow from Ladakh* (1966) show a continuing mastery of the craft of fiction. Of other novelists, mention must be made of Khushwant Singh (*Train to Pakistan*, 1956 and *I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale*, 1961), Balachandra Rajan (*The Dark Dancer* and *Too Long in the West*), Manohar Malgonkar (*Distant Drum*, 1960), and Menon Marath (*The Wound of Spring*, 1961).

Of the women novelists, Kamala Markandaya has already given us three novels, *Nectar in a Sieve* (1954), *Some Inner Fury* (1957) and *A Silence of Desire* (1961). Other women novelist are Santha Rama Rau, Shakuntala Srinagesh, Attia Hosain, and Nayantara Sahgal.

Jawaharlal Nehru's *An Autobiography* (1936), *Glimpses of World History* (1939) and *The Discovery of India* (1946), Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* (1951) and *A Passage to England* (1959) have achieved international fame. The present day literary scene in India is not unpromising. A journalist like N. Raghunathan ('Vigneshwara') has raised his weekly jottings under the heading *Sotto Voce* (1959) to the level of literature—literature that reaffirms the imperishable values of the traditional Indian way of life. Other journalists like Pothan Joseph, K. Iswara Dutt, M. Chalapathi Rau and Frank Moraes can hold their own with the best in England or America. And essayists like R. Bangaruswami, R.K. Narayan, and several others have shown that the Indian writer too can deploy humour, wit, and satire to good effect.

## 6. Science and Technology

At the time of the advent of the European nations, scientific activity had practically ceased in India. The system of education which was highly scholastic in character with emphasis on grammatical and logical niceties was confined to a small section of the upper caste Hindus and Muslims. The renaissance of science in modern India was the outcome of British influence on Indian society. This was largely the result of the introduction of the teaching of English purely for practical purposes which started in 1813. From 1813 to 1854, the aim of education through the English medium was to impart liberal education. In 1857, three universities were established in the country in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.

The first institution for imparting engineering education was started as far back as 1824 in Bombay. This was followed by an industrial school

in Madras in 1840. The first engineering college of the modern type was established at Roorkee in 1847. Special impetus to science education was given by the creation of 'Chairs' in government and private colleges from 1906 onwards.

The first World War spotlighted the importance of scientific education and research. In June 1917, post-graduate classes in physics, chemistry, applied mathematics and experimental psychology were started in the universities, and all post-graduate studies were centralized. In 1919, post-graduate classes in applied physics and applied chemistry were also started.

Seventeen new universities were established between 1916 and 1947. The number of universities at the dawn of independence was 20. Besides these, there were five Boards of Education, 496 arts and science colleges and 140 colleges for professional and technical education.

**Growth of Learned Societies.** In addition to the development of scientific education, the revival of science in India from the end of the 18th century was due to three main agencies, namely, the learned societies, the scientific officers in various services and survey departments of the Government of India and provincial governments, and the specialized institutes which were set up for research in different disciplines.

Amongst the societies that came into existence, the foundation of the Asiatic Society (later known as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal) in 1784 by Sir William Jones was a landmark in the revival of the study of science in India. During the first century of its existence, the Society provided a commodious building for meetings, library, and various collections including ancient coins and seals and helped the formation of archaeological, ethnological, geological and zoological collections of museums. Through its efforts the Indian Museum at Calcutta was founded in 1856. The period 1884 to 1900 was one of great activity in the history of the Society in so far as biological investigations were concerned.

The Agricultural Society of India was founded in Calcutta in 1920; it was renamed later as the Royal Agri-Horticultural Society of India. In Madras, a society called the Madras Literary Society and an auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland was started about 1833. The Society issued a journal under the name *Journal of Literature and Science*, renamed in 1834 as *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. It was issued irregularly and finally stopped publication in 1894.

Early in the 20th century scientific societies began to be formed mainly for conducting meetings and conferences and for publishing research papers and reviews in their publications. The Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science established in 1909 has for its objective the cultivation of science in all its departments both with a view to its advancement by original research and its varied applications to the arts and amenities of life. The Indian Science Congress Association established in 1914

discusses at its annual sessions the progress of the various disciplines of science. The period after 1931, especially after the World War II, saw a marked increase in the growth of societies. In addition to societies which had an all-India character, a number of regional societies were also started in different parts of the country. The total number of scientific societies in India at the dawn of independence was 59, out of which 9 were for physical sciences, 11 for medical sciences, 14 for biological sciences, 15 for engineering and technological sciences and 10 of a general nature.

**Services and Surveys.** The East India Company did not employ any scientists as such and almost all scientific work in India was, therefore, carried out by medical men, Royal Engineers, and civil or military officers interested in science, mainly in their spare time. Since 1763 medical services for the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were established and finally came the Indian Medical Service. Though primarily a military service, it was able to release the surplus military personnel for employment in civil medical work in hospitals, dispensaries, jails, asylums and medical institutes. Officers from this scientific corps were also utilized in organizing many other activities such as chemical examiner's work, botanical, zoological, and marine survey work, opium department and the mint. As it was very expensive to employ all the medical personnel from Great Britain, training of Indians was started to serve as auxiliary medical personnel. A college was established for this purpose in Calcutta in 1835. Public health organisations in India date back to 1859 when a Royal Commission appointed to report on the sanitary state of the army recommended a 'Commission of Public Health' for each presidency to supervise and improve the sanitary conditions of the general population and the cities, to prevent epidemics and to provide drainage and water supplies. A Sanitary Commissioner and Statistical Officer to the Government of India was appointed in 1869. This office was merged into that of the Director General of Indian Medical Service in 1889. A Central Advisory Board of Health constituted in 1937 stimulated the development of provincial organisation to deal with problems like nutrition, malaria, school health etc.

The need for surveying the Indian sub-continent was felt as early as 1793 and the Trigonometrical Survey of the Peninsula of India was established in 1800—this was expanded later on in 1818 as the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Topographical and revenue surveys were all grouped together in 1817 and later consolidated with the Trigonometrical Survey as the Survey of India under the Surveyor General in India (1879).

Some geologists had been employed for survey work since 1818 and this ultimately led to the establishment of the Geological Survey of India in 1851.

Meteorological observations were commenced from 1796 at the Madras observatory founded in 1792, from 1824 at the Survey office building at

Calcutta, from 1875 at the Alipore observatory and from 1841 at the Colaba observatory, Bombay. A central authority to direct and collate the work of observers all over the country was created and a Meteorological Reporter for the whole of India was appointed in 1875 when the Meteorological Department was established.

With the foundation of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens (now the Indian Botanical Gardens) in 1788, the possibility of carrying out botanical studies was created and in course of time the Botanical Survey of India was founded in 1889. Zoological and anthropological research started under the impetus of the Asiatic Society in 1841, gained momentum with the foundation of the Indian Museum in 1856. The launching of the two journals, *Records* and *Memoirs of the Indian Museum* in 1907 materially advanced the cause of zoological research and ultimately led to the establishment of the Zoological Survey of India in 1916.

Hydrographic work was started by officers of the Bombay Marine from the establishment of the East India Company to 1832. The explorations covered not only the Indian Ocean but also the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the China Seas. This work was taken up by the Indian Navy and continued till 1862 when the Indian Marine Survey Department was established. At the instance of the Asiatic Society, marine biological investigations were also added to marine work and in 1875 the Indian Coastal Survey was established.

A separate Department of Fisheries was created in 1870 and valuable investigations were carried out on the fisheries of the rivers of India and on marine fisheries along the entire coasts of India and the results were published.

An Archaeological Department was created in 1862. It carried out a survey of the monuments and antiquities of northern India, Bombay and Madras.

**Specialized Science Institutes.** Coeval with the development of university education in science, a number of specialized applied science institutes were established by the government and through private donations for carrying out research work. Of these, a large number were devoted to agriculture and allied sciences, medicine and public health. Among the former, the most important was the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa (Bihar) which was established in 1903. This was followed by the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dūn (1914), Tocklai Experimental Station (1911) and the Sugarcane Breeding and Research Station at Coimbatore (1912). The Imperial Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore was established in 1920 to carry out research in dairy husbandry and to develop the dairy industry on proper lines. The Allāhābād Agricultural Research Institute, Naini (1923), Institute of Plant Industry, Indore (1924), Indian Central Cotton Committee Technological Laboratory, Matunga (1924), Indian Lac Research Institute, Rānchi (1925), Imperial Institute

of Sugar Technology, Kānpur (1936), Forest Research Laboratory, Bangalore (1938), Sheela Dhar Institute of Soil Science (1940), River Research Institute (1943), Institute of Agricultural Statistics (1945), and Central Rice Research Institute (1946) were established for conducting advanced researches in their respective fields.

The earliest organization for dealing with medicine was the Imperial Bacteriological Laboratory established in 1890. It was moved to Muktesar in 1893 and was named in 1925 as the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research. The Haffkine Institute, Bombay was started in 1899 as a plague research laboratory, but gradually anti-rabic pharmacological and biochemical researches were included in its activities. The other institutes in this group were the King Institute of Preventive Medicine, Guindy, Madras (1903), Pasteur Institute of Southern India, Coonoor (1907), King Edward VII Pasteur Institute and Medical Research Institute, Shillong (1917), Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine (1921), Pasteur Institute, Rānchi (1929), All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta (1932), Bengal Immunity Research Institute and Indian Institute for Biochemistry and Experimental Medicine (1935), and Central Drugs Laboratory (1937).

The Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta (1932) was the first organisation in the country for statistical research, and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, for fundamental investigations. The Government Textile Institute, Kānpur (1914) and the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kānpur (1921) were the two important institutes set up for technological research in textiles, and oils and fats respectively. The Central Water and Power Research Station, Poona (1937) was a unique set-up created for undertaking research on irrigation and power.

The institutes which were engaged in research in several disciplines were the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (1911), and the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta (1917).

**Organization of Industrial Research.** Prior to World War I and even in the years that followed, industrial research in India did not attract the attention it deserved. The Indian Industrial Commission suggested in 1919 the establishment of a Chemical Services Committee which, in turn, proposed the creation of an All India Chemical Service to which were to be assigned the duties of assisting in the coordination of industrial work in progress in the provinces. It was decided to bring into being the Central Industrial Intelligence Research Bureau; this was to act as a central clearing house of industrial intelligence, to keep abreast of industrial developments both in India and other countries and to be in a position to give information and advice to industrialists and persons seeking industrial openings. The Industrial Research Bureau, as it was subsequently named, was thus established in 1934. The Government of India recognized the necessity of giving *ad-hoc* grants to scientific institutions as also

for establishing a central industrial research institute. The outbreak of the World War II in 1939 brought to the forefront the need for a strong and well staffed industrial research institute. Many sources of supply of finished products were either entirely stopped or much curtailed and it was soon realized that if India was to be industrially self-sufficient and an effective source of war supplies, the establishment of a central research organization was essential. The Industrial Research Bureau was, therefore, kept in abeyance and the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research was created in 1940. The activities of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research were supplemented by the Industrial Research Utilisation Committee which was set up by government in 1941 to advise on ways and means for the commercial development of the processes evolved under the auspices of the Board.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was set up as an autonomous body registered under the Registration of Societies Act (Act XXI of 1860). The Council directed attention to the planning of research to meet the post-war needs. Twenty-two Research Committees were set up to draw up plans and examine schemes submitted by the laboratories and other institutions. Plans for the establishment of national laboratories for undertaking research in physics, chemistry, metallurgy, fuel technology, glass and ceramic technology were finalized, and approval was also given to set up research institutes for roads and buildings.

**Review of Progress.** Thus at the end of the 19th century, a good measure of scientific work was being done in the surveys and relevant departments of the government. Private societies also made some contributions in basic research in the field sciences. Five universities had been established but there was no provision for research. There were practically no science institutes. However, towards the end of the century, a few pioneering scientists such as J.C. Bose and P.C. Ray started investigations and published papers, paving the way for the development of scientific research in the country.

The first half of the 20th century witnessed rapid advance in science and technology mainly in three directions. University education was re-oriented with increasing facilities for post-graduate teaching and scientific research. A large number of research institutes were established both on private initiative and under government sponsorship. The number of scientific societies of a general as well as specialized type increased, with a consequent rise in the tempo of meetings and conferences and publication activity. In the forties, the importance of accelerating the progress of applied research was realized. All these developments stimulated the growth of science and technology. Worthwhile contributions have been made in the fields of agricultural sciences, anthropology, archaeology, botany, chemistry, engineering, geology, geography, mathematics and statistics, medicine, physics and meteorology. The contributions of



Srinivasa Ramanujam in mathematics, P.C. Mahalanobis in statistics, C.V. Raman, M.N. Saha, K.S. Krishnan and H.J. Bhabha in physics, S.S. Bhatnagar in chemistry, J.C. Bose in plant physiology, Birbal Sahni in paleobotany and T.S. Venkataraman in agricultural sciences earned international recognition.

Organised industrial development began in India in 1854 when foundations for the cotton mill industry were laid in Bombay. This was soon followed by the jute industry around Calcutta in 1855. Coal mining also progressed around this time. The greatest fillip to Indian industry came in 1922 when the policy of discriminating protection to indigenous industry was introduced. Several industries developed rapidly and a large number of new industries came up such as steel, sugar, cement, glass, industrial chemicals, soap, *vanaspati*, light engineering goods etc.

The second World War created conditions for the starting on a modest scale of several industries such as ferro-alloys, non-ferrous metals like aluminium and antimony, chemicals like soda ash, caustic soda, chlorine and superphosphate, diesel engines, pumps, bicycles, sewing machines and certain types of machine tools. Major impetus of the war was felt in the medium and small scale sectors of industries such as light engineering goods, pharmaceuticals, cutlery etc. In the immediate post-war years there was considerable new investment activity leading to the establishment of industries like rayon, automobiles, ball and roller bearings, carding machines, ring frames and locomotives.

**Scientific and Technical Manpower.** During the period 1910-47 there was a remarkable increase in the out-turn of post-graduate scientists. The average annual out-turn which was only 77 during 1910-14 increased to 588 during 1935-39 and reached 901 in 1947. The average out-turn of engineering degree holders which was 114 during 1915-19 increased to 1,057 during 1945-47. At the time of independence, India produced 930 engineering and 320 technology graduates. The average out-turn of diploma holders which was 340 during 1915-19 increased to 1,513 during 1945-47. The annual admission for diploma courses in engineering and technology in 1947 was 3,700 students and the number of institutions which offered facilities for education was 53. Facilities for advanced training and research at post-graduate level were meagre in the field of technology and almost non-existent in the engineering sector.

**Scientific Journals.** By about the middle of the 19th century, the Asiatic Society of Bengal started publishing papers on zoology, botany, anthropometry, physics, meteorology, chemistry, geology and medical sciences. At the turn of the century, eight scientific periodicals were being published. At the time of independence the number of scientific periodicals had increased to 135. Of these as many as 33 (25%) were in the field of medicine, 22 in agriculture and forestry, 19 in general science and 16 in engineering. In the field of basic sciences—physics, chemistry, botany

and zoology—the total number of periodicals did not exceed 10.

**Expenditure on Scientific Education.** The expenditure on university education and colleges (arts and science, engineering, technology and professional courses) which stood at Rs. 35 millions in 1937-38 increased to about Rs. 75 millions in 1946-47. The science departments of the universities were spending about Rs. 18 lakhs annually for teaching and research just prior to independence. The earliest figures available of central government's expenditure on scientific research are from 1929-30 onwards. The expenditure which was around Rs. 7.5 millions during that year increased to Rs. 24 millions when the country attained independence.

The position of science and technology just prior to independence may be summarized as follows. While there was ample recognition of the need for organizing scientific research, little progress was made in mobilizing the scientific and technical resources of the country and in harnessing science to the promotion of material welfare. Science and technology were largely the concern of the talented few in the universities and institutions founded by private benefaction. As many as nine men of science had won international recognition by being made Fellows of the Royal Society (London) and one of them had been awarded the Noble Prize.

The most notable contributions made in universities were in physics, chemistry and mathematics. Research in biological or geological sciences had not, on the whole, developed well and facilities for engineering and technological research were extremely meagre. The government bestowed attention to research on food crops, public health and improvement of raw materials for export. Such research was largely uncoordinated and unrelated to the realistic needs of the country. The country was entirely dependent on foreign sources for all the products of applied science and research.

There were three major agencies fostering research, viz. the Indian Council of Medical Research, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. There were 22 scientific research organisations of which six were engaged in survey work, ten on agricultural research, five on medical research and one on problems of irrigation and power. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research was the only organisation which undertook the task of establishing a chain of national laboratories for carrying out scientific and industrial research.

## **7. Cultural and Artistic Activities**

### **(i) Architecture**

The architectural contribution of the British actually began after the revolt of 1857 when their political power was firmly established. It took

the form mostly of country-houses, travellers' bungalows, churches, office buildings, etc. which stand all over the country. Their style represents a mixture of the ideas evolved by the British military engineers and civil architects. The architectural styles of these structures include the Graeco-Roman, Scottish, Gothic, etc. Under the influence of the British, imitations of antique styles appeared all over the country. The architecture of this time generally revelled in ungainly blends of pretentious classic orders, stylistic 'mannerisms' and combinations with Islamic arcades and domes.

When Sir David Ochterlony (1758-1825) was appointed Resident at the Mughal court (1803), there were no buildings in Delhi of a style familiar to British eyes. In England at that time, the craze was for the picturesque, such as a Chinese pagoda in the Kew Gardens and Greek temples in every great park. Great mansions were being designed in the Gothic style. It was not difficult for Ochterlony to adjust to the idea of converting the pavilion at the Shalimar Bagh into a summer residence or for Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe (1785-1846) to adapt the octagonal tomb of Muhammad Quli Khan (brother of Adham Khan, a general and foster-brother of the Mughal emperor Akbar) at Mehrauli for the same purpose. Metcalfe, however, built extensively and laid out elaborate gardens around the tomb at Mehrauli. Although the gardens and his structures are now in ruins, enough can still be traced to realise how extensive the original scheme was. The new buildings grouped around the tomb were built with local stone or stone already carved or reused from the Qutb area. The main house is partly roofed with a fairly elaborate vault, but the roofs of the other buildings are all gone, as these were probably of timber. The detail in these buildings is a mixture of European and Indian styles. Window and door openings are generally arched but the arches are sometimes pointed and sometimes semi-circular. The main room contains the remains of a nicely proportioned fire-place, but the room itself is surrounded by verandahs as a protection from the summer sun. What appear to be servants' quarters have a typical courtyard plan surrounded by rooms.

The site layout was more elaborate. The tomb, the house and the servants' quarters are set in a large rectangular garden which was probably laid out formally. Below the tomb, the ground slopes away sharply and the natural ridge is accentuated by steps and terracing. The entire area appears to have been enclosed by a substantial wall and could be entered by any of the five pairs of gates, set between elaborate gate-posts. Apart from the rectangular garden, the site is laid out in the manner of the English parks, with winding paths, a natural stream dammed to make a lake, and follies scattered around on all the surrounding high points, not only within Metcalfe's walls, but for some distance beyond. The various structures give views of these follies through arched openings. The existing monuments in the area were used as part of the total scheme.

About 1835, Metcalfe House was built by Sir Thomas Metcalfe, Resident at the Mughal court in Delhi, north of the existing city. This also shows Indian influence, but certain details here and in the Mehrauli structures betray the European origin of their builders. This is also true of the houses built in the new suburb of Delhi which sprang up with wide tree-lined streets and large bungalows set in spacious compounds. These often featured a revival of European styles such as Gothic, but adapted to Indian conditions. A solid structure of individual rooms in the English tradition was surrounded by verandahs to help protect the house from the sun and to provide outdoor living areas for summer evenings. Because of the lavish use of land, even large houses could be built with a single storey and the typical Indian detail of a flat roof. At the time Metcalfe was building in Delhi, houses in Bombay were being built to suit the climate—long and low with verandahs and thatched roofs. In Calcutta, however, mansions were erected in imitation of the houses of the rich in England with a classical facade, small balconies and large windows which had to be shuttered against the sun.

Public buildings and churches erected by the British throughout India were built in a variety of styles, which were, in most cases, completely unsuited to Indian conditions. No attempt was made to merge the structures with the Indian scene. Certain commercial buildings in Bombay, built in a Gothic revival style, do have pseudo-Indian domes added, but this was due to a fondness for decoration. As in England, Gothic was the style most often selected for ecclesiastical buildings, but there are exceptions such as the St. James Church in Kashmīri Gate, Delhi, built by Col. James Skinner (1778–1841) in the classical style. The church was consecrated in 1836 by Bishop Daniel Wilson.

Two areas of building activity, in the hill-stations and in the civil lines and cantonments of the plains, reflect British-Indian architecture in its purest form. In the hill-stations, it was possible to build almost exact replicas of English houses and public buildings, since the climate was suitable and building materials similar. Pitched roofs were necessary for draining rain and snow, which must have made the British feel immediately at home. The hill-stations retain much of their original character. The cantonment areas and civil lines were built under different conditions as the heat of the summer was the major factor in the design. The buildings, which do have a British atmosphere in spite of flat roofs and verandahs, are simplified versions of the revivalist architecture of the suburbs and are generally cool, comfortable and pleasant in appearance.

In December 1911, King George V proclaimed the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. The decision to build a new city marked the peak of the British power. It was felt that the new capital of the British empire in India should be built on the basis of careful architectural planning of commensurate majesty. In 1912, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, deputed

Sir E. Lutyens, "the best man to choose in the Empire" as suggested by the Royal Institute of British Architects, together with J. Bordie, City Engineer of Liverpool, and Captain George Swinton, Chairman-elect of the London County Council, to select a site for the central buildings. They recommended the Raisina hill, a slight elevation south of Delhi, as the ideal site. The principal structures comprised the Legislative Council building, offices of the Secretariat, the Viceroy's house, the quarters of the staff, the Viceroy's Bodyguard, the Comptroller, the Surgeon and the Military and Private Secretaries. In addition, there was the whole lay-out of roads, pools, fountains and gardens. All these were envisaged to be completed in a limited period of four years. In 1913, Sir Herbert Baker joined Lutyens as collaborator, to allow a division of labour, and be responsible for the Legislative Council building and the Secretariat, while Lutyens concentrated on the Viceroy's house.

The founding of New Delhi was a measure of imperial policy towards the ideal of establishing a monumental architectural expression of British imperial might. "It must not be Indian or English, nor Roman, but it must be Imperial", suggested Baker. Lutyens felt that "the Moghul was the style for India, if it was not dreadfully expensive." However, the transfer of the capital of India to New Delhi gave Lutyens a chance scarcely ever offered to an architect. There was much extravagance and some sacrifice of comfort to outward grandeur, some pretentious borrowing of Islamic pavilions and Buddhist railings, some imitation of Hindu ornaments and brackets. Yet it must be said that Lutyens added the refinement of ancient Indian architecture to the ostentation and magnificence expressive of the imperial majesty and power. Lutyens' team brought about a new conception of planning. In the design of the Viceregal Lodge (now known as Rashtrapati Bhavan) and the Council Chamber, no less than in the planning of New Delhi, there is ample proof of the tremendous contribution made by Lutyens.

The Central Secretariat complex, extending from the Viceregal Lodge is even today one of the best examples of large scale urban design for boldness of conception as well as actual realization. The architectural integrity of the whole complex, besides its harmony in scale and composition, is a tribute to its great architect, Sir E. Lutyens.

The Viceregal Lodge presents the peculiar English splendour, expressing, perhaps for the last time, the "spirit of aristocracy in the language of a dwelling." Taking its stand on proportion alone, which is its ornament, it stands imposingly on solid rock and extends 335.28 metres from the west ends of the Secretariat blocks. It is 192.024 metres wide 161.544 metres deep from the east to west and measures 941.832 metres round its plinth. It occupies a total area of 19,549.586 square metres inclusive of the internal courts. Built in brick, it is faced externally with dull red and creamy buff Dholpur sandstone. The floors and roofs are of rein-

forced concrete. Marble paving is used for floors. The structure encloses 285 rooms of various sizes meant for different uses. Here, Lutyens adopted the prominent features of Indian domestic architecture to fulfil the practical purpose of creating cool interior spaces by leaving a large part of the main floor area out of doors, at places directly open to the sky, and replacing the usual dusty, cramped, balconies with deep, lofty, shaded verandahs ideal for summer living.

The Viceregal Lodge is a building of palatial grandeur, "immense but not cumbersome" and having an "iron discipline" in its facade, yet soft and alluring, vibrating with the play of light and shade along the colonnades and presenting a picture of complete quiet and order. The dome is a dominating element over the external design due to its proportion in relation to the facade and the contrast of its smooth, curved surface with the light and shade of the grand colonnade.

The beautifully proportioned Jaipur column, stands slightly west of the exact centre of the Viceroy's court. This column rests on a red sandstone base, is all white excepting the bronze of the lotus flower, and has a six-pointed star perched on the top, completing the total height of 44.348 metres.

In New Delhi, Lutyens developed the arch-form to "a degree of solemnity as a memorial to those of a whole sub-continent, who have fallen in war." It stands at the junction of roads at the other end of the Central Vista. The main tunnel, 9.144 metres wide, bridges the processional path with passages only 1.219 metres wide, allowing pedestrians through at right angles to it. Exquisitely framed behind it is the memorial erected to King George V in 1930. This is east of the War Memorial Arch, popularly known as India Gate, and lies at the junction of six roads with a wide expanse of green area spreading around and encircling it. Within this green area is a rectangular pool. A second raised circular pool stands in the centre of the bigger pool and the monument rises from its surface. The figure of King George V faced west. The base is red sandstone and the upper part is creamy white up to the top but for the red *chajjā*. The statue has recently been removed by the Government of India. The figure of the King was of marble. When in position, it commanded attention due to its architectural setting and the arrangement of the strong, yet soft, lines of the stone structure, relieved by water-sprays and the reflection below.

The fountains flanking India Gate deserve mention as amongst the finest designed by Lutyens, including "the lotus fountains" in the garden of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The large house of the Gāikwār of Baroda, with its very wide wings (at an angle of 57° to the horizontal), is another interesting contribution by Lutyens to the architecture of New Delhi. On the ground floor, each wing contains three square rooms of the same size together with an open

court and square hall of similar shape and area. The visual relationship between the forms of the long vestibule across the axis and the circular saloon at the pivot of the plan is as pleasing as the white stone treatment of the saloon.

The outstanding examples of late baroque-style Christian churches in Goa deserve special mention besides the Cathedral at Simla, many old churches in Madras and the St. Paul's Cathedral at Calcutta built by Bishop Wilson at his own expense. Calcutta provides many other examples. Ochterlony's monument at Calcutta is a rare combination of architectural styles, with an Egyptian base, Syrian column and the Turkish metal cupola on the dome. It was built to commemorate the successful completion of the British campaign in Nepal in 1816. Victoria Memorial, the noblest monument in Calcutta, is built of white Jodhpur marble. The Belvedere—National Library—is a magnificent Italian renaissance mansion with double rows of Doric and Corinthian columns and a triple arch gateway used by successive Viceroys of India. These two fine architectural specimens stand as massive tributes to the years of Britain's imperial glory.

Here we must mention Walter George's architectural contribution to New Delhi. Perhaps he was the last in the tradition belonging to the Lutyens' school. Having come to India in 1914 to help with the drawings of the new city, he served and lived there "to the end" (1962). He worked for a decade as the senior representative of the Lutyens' team and gave profound proof of his keen knowledge of Indian architecture and building materials. The buildings of St. Stephen's College and Kashmir House, besides several other structures, stand as imposing monuments to his personality and to the unique simplicity and serenity of his architectural design.

## (ii) Painting and Sculpture

In the state of instability following the collapse of the Mughal empire, painting and sculpture steadily declined. Some painters sought the protection and patronage of rulers of the secluded Himālayan hill-states. Some drifted South and came under the protection of the Thanjavūr court. This exodus eventually crystallized into local and regional schools of painting.

During the Mughal period and even afterwards, sculpture had never been a popular form of artistic expression. Architecture in terms of palaces, mosques and tombs enjoyed court patronage and only as decorative and architectural embellishments sculpture used to be practised in a limited sense. Perhaps the South was an exception, where temple building and carving of deities in wood, bronze as well as stone continued as before. In Orissa and Bengal, flourished two local schools, which too were extensions of the earlier tradition.

In Delhi and Lucknow a number of painters continued to practise their art even at the close of the Mughal period. Their productions were, however, mostly based on degenerate old art forms and were devoid of real merit.

The emergence of Kāngra painting during this time is a landmark in the history of Indian art. This Pahārī school has been regarded as an offshoot of the Rājput miniature painting. But Kāngra painting has come to be identified with an individuality—it is distinguished by lyrical appeal, delicacy of linear rhythm and rich harmony of colour. The earlier Mughal school and to a lesser degree the Rājput, under the influence of the Mughal court, were concerned with court life and its pageantry, and were, therefore, aristocratic in character; the art of Kāngra on the other hand, mirrors the charming details of the people's every-day life, their work, recreation and religious ceremonies, and their simple faith. The Vaiṣṇavite legends also afforded inexhaustible material for pictorial depiction. With consummate skill the Kāngra painter wielded his brush to produce some of the best miniature paintings. The treatment of cattle, the favourite companions of Kṛṣṇa, and the rural scenes that make the background, indicate a knowledge and awareness of nature hardly surpassed in the history of art.

Of special interest are the miniatures illustrating the group of Indian melodies known as the *Rāgamālā* and the romantic aspect of the art, denoting the *Nāyikas* and *Nāyikās* of the Indian classics. The painters of Kāngra were equally at home in pictorial depiction of the sentiments of lovers in different seasons and months.

Kāngra art penetrated the Himālayan range from Kashmīr to Garhwāl. Guler, Jammu, Basoli, and Tira-Sujanpur were the principal centres. It degenerated about the middle of the 19th century.

The style of the miniatures was exploited also in larger mural compositions in temples and palaces. Examples of these are still extant in temples in Nūrpur and in the palace of the Rājā of Rupi in the Kulu valley and in the Rang Mahal palace in Chamba.

The Sikhs took over the waning Kāngra art but the refined style of the school was reduced to ornate superficiality under their patronage.

Marāṭhā painting was distinguished by robust figures and loud colours. In Thanjāvūr a regional style developed, predominantly influenced by mannerisms of the late South Indian art. Baroque in element, the Thanjāvūr school is interesting in its own way. At about the same time, Cochin rulers embellished the interiors of their palaces with mural decorations, exuberant in style, the themes covering episodes from the Purāṇas as well as domestic scenes. The Mattāncheri palace murals are still in a good state of preservation.

Fresco painting of a superior technique, popularly known as the Jaipur style, was in vogue well into the 19th century in the palaces and temples of the Rājputanā nobles.



Folk traditions in art had a great measure of vitality in the early years of British rule. Bengal and Orissa continue to uphold the folk art traditions even today.

By the end of the 18th century, Indian art gave in to new fashions brought by foreigners. The result was a curiously hybrid taste in the arts and architecture. Painting and sculpture of decadent styles began to be taught by the British in the newly established government schools of art and quite a few talented Indians became adepts in the current style of painting, sculpture and portraiture. Rājā Ravi Varma of Travancore gained much reputation in this period by his paintings of mythological subjects and portraits.

Towards the close of the 19th century, a reaction commenced against the staleness of the degenerate arts. Abanindranath Tagore conscientiously tried to recreate a national art style. He and his pupils experimented in techniques employed in Mughal and Rājput miniatures, Ajanṭā frescoes, scroll and *paṭa* paintings of Bengal, and even in other oriental paintings such as Japanese and Chinese. For subjects they delved into the Indian classics and mythology. With his foremost disciple, Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath Tagore spread the gospel of the new artistic faith far and wide in the country. The so-called Bengal school, with centres in Calcutta and Shānti Niketan, wielded great influence on the other art schools in the sub-continent. Naturally enough, the exponents of the school tried to copy and imitate old masterpieces of Indian art, aiming at revival, but broke away to stronger modern inspirations as soon as the romantic renaissance phase came to an end. In the post-Bengal school period, significant contributions were made by Jamini Roy and Amrita Sher Gill. Jamini Roy revitalized traditionalism by exploring fresh aspects of folk art, and giving it a new meaning by the force of his artistic personality. Amrita Sher Gill evolved an Indian style, rediscovered the values of Indian miniatures in the light of her training in Paris and Italy. Yet the most individualistic painter turned out to be the poet Rabindranath Tagore. His very personal idiom is quite outside the conventional standard of judgment.

### (iii) Music

Disturbed times and foreign rule had their adverse effect on music, particularly in northern India. Even under such benevolent Mughal kings as Akbar, Jāhangīr and Shāhjahān who loved and patronised music, no attention was paid to the study of the science of music. Therefore, the kind of systematization that had taken place in respect of Karnāṭaka music was not achieved in the case of Hindustānī music till very recently. Aurangzeb bitterly hated music and tried to abolish every trace of it at

his court. During the reigns of his successors at Delhi (1707–1857), music continued to be cultivated but not with its old vigour. Rājā Sir S.M. Tagore says in his *Universal History of Music* that Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1719–1748), popularly known as Muḥammad Shāh Rangilā, was the last of the emperors to have renowned musicians at his court. Sadarang (Nyamat Khan) and Adarang, the well-known composers of *khayāl* whose compositions are popular even today were at his court. It was also during this period that the *ṭappā* style of singing was brought to perfection by Shouri Mian of Oudh. *Ṭappās* (literally meaning stage) were formerly sung in very crude style by the camel drivers of the Punjab while covering stages of their journeys. A striking feature of the period was the excellent mingling of the Hindu style with the Persian. This gave rise to some new types of music such as *trivata*, *tarānā* and *ghazal*.

The neglect of the science of music during the Mughal period, and the favour shown to Muslim musicians alone gave a setback to the art. The Mughal court musicians began to take liberties with the orthodox traditional melodies. Among the 36 of Akbar's principal musicians mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* only five were Hindus. As a result of this neglect there arose several schools of musical practice, *matas* or *gharānās* which did not agree with one another on the exact forms of the main *rāgas* or their derivatives.

Two attempts were made to bring rationale into this confusion. One was by Mohamed Raza, a nobleman of Patna. According to his own statement, after conferring with all the best artists of that time he wrote in 1813 a book called *Naghmat-e-Asarphī*. Thoroughly dissatisfied with the absurd and meaningless *rāga-rāginī-putra* classifications, he decided to introduce some sort of intelligent principle. He boldly criticized all the four prevalent *matas* (*Bharata*, *Hanumāna*, *Kallinātha* and *Someśvara*) as entirely out of date and laid down his own classification. The principle which he enunciated was that there should be some similarity or common features between the *rāga* and its *rāginīs*. In his book, for the first time, we have the *bilāvala* scale enunciated as the *śuddha* scale of North Indian music. This has now superseded the earlier scales and has become the foundation scale of modern Hindustānī music. It corresponds with the European scale of C major, barring the sixth note which is slightly higher than that of the European scale.

The other attempt in this direction was made by Mahārājā Pratāpa Singh Deva of Jaipur (1779–1801). He summoned a conference of pundits and experts and, in consultation with them, had a standard work of Hindustānī music prepared—it was called *Saṅgīta Sāra*. Unfortunately, the talents available were not of a high order; the book makes reference to a good many Sanskrit authorities without adequate understanding of the material used. Despite this fault, *Saṅgīta Sāra* is a praiseworthy attempt and has a place in the history of Hindustānī music as it records the opinions of the

best available experts of that time. This book also refers to the *bilāvala* scale as the *suddha* scale.

An important book of the 19th century is *Rāga Kalpadruma* of Krishnanand Vyas (published in 1842), a large compilation of compositions. Unfortunately, as no notations are given, its value to a practising singer is negligible.

The first person to attempt notations for Hindustānī music was Krishna Dhan Banerjee of Cooch Behar. His book *Gita Sūtra Sāra* contains about a hundred *dhrupads* and *khayāls* set to European notation.

In 1864, the first Indian notation called *Gita Lipi*, prepared by G.L. Chhatre, was published in Bombay. It stands out as a distinct landmark in the history of the early attempts of the educated classes to make the teaching of music simple yet sound.

During the Rājput and Mughal times, the system of *gharānās* arose. John Hower in his *Study of Indian Music* calls it the vilest thing that could have happened to Hindustānī music. This was the direct outcome of the neglect of the science of music. As the practice of music became dependant on tradition from teacher to pupil, each *maestro* tried to pass on his knowledge only to his disciples and kept it hidden from others. These disciples who were mostly sons and relations of the *ustāds* were warned against passing the knowledge outside the family. During the British regime, Indian music was considered barbarous and did not get official patronage. Its decline continued, its outlook becoming more and more narrow. The confusion grew worse confounded and music became the profession of illiterate persons. The credit of taking Hindustānī music out of this mire goes to Bhatkhande (1860–1936) and Paluskar (1872–1921). Bhatkhande gave up his profession as lawyer and started studying all the old śāstric works on music in Sanskrit, as also those in Urdū and Persian. During 1904–09, he toured the whole of India and collected whatever significant material on music was available. He discovered that the South had maintained the old śāstric tradition which was lost in northern India during the Mughal times. He did not, however, agree with Captain Day and other European scholars who held the view that contact with Mughals had been responsible for the deterioration in Indian music. On the contrary, he felt that though the general neglect of the science of music was responsible for the current confusion, contact with Mughals had resulted in the development of many noteworthy features in northern Indian music. He, therefore, devised a system which had for its basis the old śāstraic traditions as expounded in South Indian music and yet preserved its own distinct features. His book is the basic work of the modern Hindustānī music. In addition to this systematizing, he composed *Lakṣaṇa-gītas* in South Indian style and devised a system of notation. It is due to his sustained and selfless efforts that the debris accumulated through the centuries had been cleared and modern Hindustānī music is now set

on a sound scientific basis. Even if some of his statements appear sweeping, and some critics say that he is obsessed by his zeal for compactness and pattern, the value of his contribution cannot be overestimated.

While Bhatkhande was systematizing music, it was being popularized by Paluskar, a disciple of the famous Balakrishnabua Ichalkaranjkar (1849–1926). His knowledge of music was extraordinary, and so was his voice. These assets, in addition to his sincere devotion to the cause, gave a great impetus to the study of Hindustānī music. Due to his constant effort and his sage-like personality; the music which had become the handmaid of *nautch* girls and the like again became a 'Veda' to be respected and studied. He trained up a large number of distinguished disciples, such as Onkarnath Thakur and Vinayakrao Patwardhan. He also devised a notation and wrote several books for the teaching of music. Both the Bhatkhande and the Paluskar notations are in vogue today. It may be noted that Rājā Nawab Ali, a contemporary of Bhatkhande, brought the new outlook to the notice of the Urdū reading public through his book *Ma'ārif-un-Naghmāt*.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) evolved a new style in Bengālī music which has come to be known after him as "Rabīndra Saṅgīta." This is an amalgam of the classical Hindustānī music with the folk music of Bengal. He also experimented with the application of western melody to Hindustānī music.

**Karnataka Music.** The vicissitudes of Hindustānī music did not fall to the lot of the South Indian system. The southern dynasties were consistent patrons of this art. This was so particularly at Thanjāvūr where king Shāhājī and Tulajāji were both connoisseurs and scholars of music. Tulajāji's (1763–1787) *Saṅgīta-sārāmṛta* is a very important text in the history of modern Karnāṭaka music. The Nāyaka as well as Marāṭhā kings of Thanjāvūr were discerning patrons. It is, therefore, not surprising that three great composers, the musical trinity as they are called, should have appeared in the South and flourished in the favourable atmosphere of this area. This was also the golden era for the science of Karnāṭaka music. The scheme of 72 *melas* enunciated by Venkaṭamakhin (17th century) proved a decisive factor in the systematization of this music and paved the way for a new era of variations (*janya rāgas*), the magnitude of which had not been gauged before. According to Venkaṭamakhin himself, there were only 19 *melas* actually in use at his time, but the full scheme of 72 *melas* which he formulated was meant to achieve scientific completeness and to provide for the *destya rāgas* and *rāgas* that might be invented in the future. His prophecy was fulfilled a century later by the three musical geniuses who explored the possibilities offered by the new scheme. The contributions of these three, Tyagaraja (1767–1847), Muthuswami Diksitar (1776–1835) and Syama Sastri (1762–1827), have to be viewed against this background. Of these three jewels, Tyagaraja shines brightest, for, not only was he a

great composer but also a great poet. The era of these three geniuses was one of experimentation in new forms and new interpretations of the old.

The *kṛti*, which is the mainstay of the Karnāṭaka system as *khayāl* is in the Hindustānī system, acquired an entirely new dimension during this age. The *kṛti* of the pre-Tyagaraja period bore the vestiges of *kīrtana* from which this form had sprung and in which words were of primary importance and music only secondary. This position was entirely reversed during the Tyagaraja period. How ideas were bubbling forth and innovations and modifications were thought of in a manner never done before can be seen in the developments mentioned below.

Tyagaraja was the first to introduce *Saṅgati* or musical variation on a set portion of the composition in his *kṛtis*. *Svara-Sāhityas* were introduced by Tyagaraja in his *ghanahrāga-pañcaratna kṛtis* and also by Syama Sastri. Diksitar's *kṛtis* were learned compositions full of technical beauties of *yatis*, etc.

*Javali* had its birth in the 19th century. It is a lighter type of composition, not unlike *thumrī* in Hindustānī music, in the sense that liberties are sometimes taken to lend attractiveness to the tune, and the theme centres on love.

*Tillana* dates back to the 18th century. It is similar to *tarānā* of Hindustānī music, and uses rhythmic syllables instead of words. Brisk and lively, it allows wide scope for fastness of tempo and utterances.

Syama Sastri converted *svarajāti* (started originally as a dance form), into a regular music form with the deletion of passages of *jātis*. It is not surprising that dance forms like *Jātisvaram* were evolved at Thanjāvūr and Kerala which are centres of *Bharata Nāṭyam* and *Kathākali*. Svati Tirumal (1813–1846), the Mahārāja of Travancore, has *Rāgamālikās* amongst his many compositions.

The musical trinity and Svati Tirumal were but four among the scores of accomplished composers of this period. Notable among the later musicians is Maha Vaidyanatha Ayyar (1844–1893), a prodigy and composer of complex pieces like the *Tillana Gaurī Nāyaka* in Kannaḍa, the *Simhanandanatāla* which is the only one of its kind (this is the longest of the *tālas* with 32 *mātrās* and 128 *akṣara kālas*), and the 72 *Melarāgamālikā*, the pride of Karnāṭaka music, in which the 72 sections on the 72 *melarāgas* are set in their order. Patnam Subrahmanya Ayyar (1845–1902), and Ramnad Srinivasa Iyengar (1860–1919), well-known for *varṇas* and *tillanas*, Sadashiv Rao and many other lesser luminaries have continued the traditions set by the trinity and enriched Karnāṭaka music.

**Musical Instruments.** Indian music being vocal in conception had all along tried to impose the ideal of human voice on the instruments too. Most of the instruments were conceived and designed as accompaniments and, therefore, their range of tones has generally been  $2\frac{1}{2}$  octaves, excluding the 'meend'. 'Instruments must speak' was the axiom and if

any instrument failed to produce what the human voice could, it was contemptuously referred to as *Śuṣka Vādyam*—dry instrumentalism. It is interesting to note that Sāraṅgadeva in his *Saṅgīta Ratnākara* refers to instruments to be played solo as *śuṣka* or dry.

During the period under review, a slight shift in this attitude started taking place and the credit for such a change must go to Pundit Ahobal who wrote his *Saṅgīta Pārijāta* towards the end of the 17th century. As Pundit Bhatkhande puts it, Ahobal has placed the entire music world in India under his obligation by giving an exact definition of the twelve notes he used in his book in terms of the lengths of the speaking wire on the *viṇā*. This scientific method has made it possible to understand exactly what he sang and played. What an important landmark this is, can be realized when one compares the work of Sāraṅgadeva (*Saṅgīta Ratnākara* of the 13th century) who is taken as our first and foremost authority on music and whose music is still not clearly understood, as one is not quite sure as to how he tuned the wires of his *viṇā* and adjusted its frets. That the musical instruments can provide an objective standard for notes—apart from merely functioning as a drone—was brought home by Ahobal's ingenious use of *viṇā* in defining notes.

Soon after Ahobal, Govind Dikshit fixed the frets of the southern *viṇā*, so that all the *rāgas* could be played. Prior to this, the frets were movable and their numbers varied.

A large number of instruments particularly of the stringed variety were evolved out of the old forms. Unfortunately, in the absence of any authentic evidence it is impossible to say, with any amount of certainty, the exact time when they were first played or came into vogue. Tradition links names of certain musicians with some of these instruments like *vicitra viṇā* with Abdul Aziz Khan and *Surabahār* with Omrao Khan. There is also some evidence to the effect that *dilrubā*, *esrāj* and *sarod* were evolved during this period and *sāraṅgī* was lifted from its place in the folk music and established as a respectable court instrument.

*Viṇā* has always been the foremost traditional instrument. The first quarter of the 20th century saw the masterly exploits on *viṇā* by Veena Venkataramana Das (1866–1948), Sangameshwar Shastri (1873–1932), Veena Seshamma (1850–1926) and Veena Dhanammal.

The advent of the violin about the year 1800 is an important landmark in the history of South Indian music. Today, no Karnāṭaka concert is complete without the violin. The honour of introducing the western violin into Karnāṭaka music belongs to Baluswami Dikshitar (1786–1858), a brother of the famous composer Muthuswami Dikshitar. Likewise, credit for bringing the flute to the position of an independent concert instrument goes to Sarabha Sastri (1872–1904).

It was inevitable that the new musical instruments, though used as accompaniments, would change the style of vocal music. The very cons-

truction of an instrument, its musical potentialities, tone, etc. suggest certain definite lines of musical development and make it possible for the inventive musician to obtain a new form, or a new interpretation of sound. The *nom-tom* in *rāga-ālāp* of Hindustānī music, the *tanam* in Karnāṭaka music, the *bols* of *tarānā*, the various *gamaks* or graces and other musical accents in both Hindustānī and Karnāṭaka music are obviously based on nuances which appeared in the perfecting of the accompanying instruments.

With the British rule came the western music and their instruments. But the Indians adopted some of them—like violin and clarionet—to suit the demands of Indian music. About 120 years ago, Varahappayya of Thanjāvūr first perceived the possibilities of enriching the Karnāṭaka music by using violin. In South, at least, the violin has ceased to be a foreign instrument. The harmonium which is based on the principle of pianoforte is also a complete Indian adaptation of an essentially western instrument.

Another development of the east-west contact was the introduction of orchestration. In earlier times, we had groups of 5 or 6 instruments playing together as in the *naubat khānā*, *śabda pūjā* or fanfare for announcing royalties. But the orchestra as we know it today is a recent development. It has received its encouragement through film music, light music, military and band music. However, it has still not quite acquired a complete Indian garb. As a result of this development, several new instruments like *kāṣṭha-taraṅg*, *bulbul-taraṅg*, etc. have been developed.

#### (iv) Drama

The story of the Indian stage goes back to the days of the epics *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* when wandering minstrels narrated episodes from them to a vast audience. Since these works celebrated the heroic deeds of two great dynasties (the Solar and the Lunar) from whom all later kings claimed descent, bards at the courts—the later *Sauties*—were also actively associated with these performances. The practice of singing heroic poems dramatically was so popular that professional singers (*Kauśilavas*) came into existence. The Panjābī poem *Hir-Rānjhā* shows that the tradition continues even today. Dramatic recitals of poems gradually established the drama as an independent art. By the 5th century A.D. there were not only celebrated dramatists such as Bhāsa and Kālidāsa but expert critics like Bharata who developed dramatics as a science. Side by side with the court dramas a popular stage also developed. This is evident from the Prākṛt plays of the 10th century and later times.

The advent of the Muslims seems to have affected the course of the Indian drama. Associated as it was with dance and music, the Indian

drama sought shelter in the religious practices. As the local aristocracy went under foreign influence, interest in the drama was confined to the common people. That would have been the stagnation point but for another active and constructive influence. This was the arrival of the European powers and Indian acquaintance with English literature.

It was about the middle of the 18th century and a few years before the battle of Plassey (A.D. 1757) that a happening changed the course of the Indian stage. This was the establishment by the English of a theatre of their own at Calcutta. Within the next two decades, a Russian named Herasim Lebedeff founded a Bengālī theatre. With this event, the modern Indian stage may be said to have come into existence.

The Indian stage under its foreign influences was mainly the creation of the educated classes. Educated Indians, now acquainted with Shakespeare, evolved a stage which was far different from the traditional open-air or the occasional court-hall theatre. A proscenium stage, rolling curtains, change of scenes, less of music and dance—these were the new found features. And from this time Indian dramatists began to write for a theatre of this kind.

Thus the Bengālī theatre established itself in its modern form and its influence spread to other linguistic regions. Marāṭhī and Gujarātī and then Telugu, Kannaḍa and Tamil founded their own theatres. A great event of 18th century was the touring Pārsī company which showed that the theatre could be turned into a commercial venture. Professional companies were formed with able managers and actors of talent. The inevitable change implied in this development was that the plays were now meant for the common people and not purely for an educated audience. Another noteworthy feature was the increasing number of amateur groups.

Today the Indian drama is developing not only under western influence but it also incorporates some of the best features of the traditional art. Indians are now showing intelligent interest in the study of the drama in all its aspects; schools of dramatics are coming into existence; drama academies have been established at the state and central levels to help and guide research and experimental productions; prizes and rewards are offered in search of new talent; and as part of the Tagore centenary celebration, a number of Tagore memorial theatres have come into existence.

This, however, is the city stage. In the countryside, even though the traditional stage is on the wane, the modern stage is not yet welcome. A revolutionary change has come into our approach to the drama. Contrary to tradition, the stage is considered to be the mirror of contemporary and not of ideal life. Instead of the *rasa* theory, Indians now speak of tragedies, comedies, conflicts and climaxes. And what is more relevant, the Indian stage has established itself not only in all the regional languages



but is definitely trying to express itself in the language of the common man as opposed to that of the cultural elite.

#### (v) Handicrafts

In the past five thousand years, various crafts of metal, stone, clay, wood, bone, ivory and yarns became part of the life-stream of Indian culture. Once in a while, this stream changed its course and content to suit periodic influences, absorbed alien elements and even contrary cultures, and yet it maintained all the while its own basic and typically Indian character.

The overwhelming impact of the British economy on that of India during the past two centuries was strongly felt in the area of the crafts. For instance, the highly prized muslim fabric lost its old glory. Carvings of stone and castings of metal sculpture of the higher order gradually became extinct. Even the art of painting had to migrate to the secluded courts of the northern hill states for the patronage of their rulers. Various folk-arts such as the making of dolls and toys, embroideries and earthen-wares were forced out to the remoter villages and then replaced by the products of western machinery.

Of all the Indian crafts, textile has had the widest range of variety. The antiquity of cotton textiles goes back to the days of the Harappan culture and continued through the succeeding ages. The muslim of Dacca with names like *ab-i-rawan* (running water), *shadnam* (morning dew), *bafta* (woven air) was exquisite for its fineness even up to 1800 counts. The muslim proper or *porias* and the figured *jamdans* were special products of Dacca. The *jamdans* with their complicated designs were the most expensive products of the Dacca looms.

India's dream-fabric is the brocade or *kinkhab* worked in gold and silver wires inter-woven with silk yarns in beautiful colours and charming designs. *Kinkhabs* are produced mainly at Varanasi, Ahmadabad, Delhi, Aurangabad, Surat, and Tiruchchirappalli. The Varanasi brocades are admired most. Kashmiri silk fabrics with gold filigree or silk embroidery, Mysore silk *saris* with touches of gold and thirty different varieties of silk fabrics including the most famous figured *baluchar gharwana* prove the fact that Indian weavers mastered their art with silk as efficiently as they did with cotton.

Indians have also excelled in embroidery. The *phulkaris* of the Punjab, *shishdar phulkari* of Kathiawar, the *mochi* work of Kutch, *rumals* of Chamba, *kanthas* of Bengal, the gold embroidery of Agra, Bareilly, Lucknow, Varanasi, Hyderabad and Surat, the *kasuti* needlework of Karnataka, embroidery work of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, and lastly the typical tribal embroidery of eastern India show the wide range of Indian needlecraft.

The art of dyeing cotton is also very old in India. Complicated processes have been evolved to fix up the colours of different shades deep into the fabric by Indian dyers or *rangrez*. It has been stated by William Moor that the Kashmīrīs in Mughal times could use over three hundred tints, but by the early 19th century this number dwindled to sixty-four only. The double dyeing (red on one side, yellow or green on the other) of Rājasthān and tie-dyeing (dyeing of both weft and warp yarns after they are tied with strings so that colour cannot slip into the tied portions of the thread and a pattern is thus obtained by weaving) of Gujarāt, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa are two typical processes of dyeing in which Indian dyers have revealed their ingenuity.

Next to muslin, the most popular Indian textile in foreign markets is its prints or painted fabrics, widely known as calico. Of the calicoes, the *qalamkāri* (work with the help of brush) or *bātik* of Masulipatam in Andhra Pradesh, Chingleput, Madurai, Thanjāvūr, Salem, Kālahasti and Nāgappattinam in Madras (Tamil Nādu) have been most renowned for the very complicated and laborious process of resist, of unsurpassed richness of colour and design. It is quite likely that the *bātik* process now practised so widely in Indonesia was exported from Āndhradeśa. Although the natural pigments used for colour vary from region to region, the block printing method is universally practised in India. *Chhipigars* (block printers) of northern India have excelled in their craft.

Since Mughal times Kashmīrī carpets have been extremely popular. Amritsar, Lahore and Jaipur became important centres of carpet weaving in the 18th century. Āgra carpets have been well known for their durability. Warangal carpets, once hailed in European markets as 'Deccan rugs' were highly appreciated for their fine count of stitches.

Weaving of mats from coloured grasses and cane strips in different designs of floral and animal motifs is a highly skilled art of Midnapore and the 24-Parganas in West Bengal, Agartala in Tripura, and some areas in Tamil Nādu and Kerala.

Another principal medium of Indian crafts is jewellery. As a form of artistic expression it is no less appealing than Indian textiles. Indian jewellers take infinite pains over the pattern even of a tiny nose-ring. There are as many techniques as materials. Shells, horns and beads, not to speak of precious gems, have always been combined to produce fascinating patterns suited to different races and tastes. Cambay in Gujarāt and some places in Mahārāshtra have excelled in the production of beads of both precious and semi-precious stones and faience. Processing of precious gems like diamond, pearls and corals was a brisk trade throughout the country. For enamelling work on gold and silver ornaments of predominantly Muslim taste, North India was better noted. Among the various centres of this art Jaipur and Delhi are still supreme. Intricate designs of silver and gold filigree from Cuttack, Karīmnaḡar (Andhra Pradesh),

Jhānsi, Kharagpur, and Kashmir are highly prized. Welded, beaten and hammered ornaments are still produced by the Indian goldsmith on a vast scale. Tribal jewellery in baser materials is characteristically designed with a bold appeal.

For other types of gold and silver crafts, Kashmir was well known for its 'Gaṅgā Yamunā' or parcel gilt work on *surāhīs* and repousse in flat relief. The repousse work of Gujarāt had a beauty all its own. Artistic hammering work of Cocanāda and Tiruchchirāppalli, high relief repousse of Thanjāvūr, Trivandrum and Madras, excellent workmanship of the original designs of Cuttack silverware, the well-known encrusted *swāmī* work of the South are all superb examples of manual dexterity.

The art of 'Damascening' or *Koftgari*, i.e., inlaying gold or silver wires on metals like steel, iron, bronze, etc., to obtain the desired pattern had its origin in Damascus but was widely practised in India. The chief centres were Kashmir, Siālkot, Jaipur, Alwar, Trivandrum and Bīdar; each had its own individual technique of production and design. *Minākārī* or the art of enamelling on metal flourished at Vārānsi, Delhi, Lucknow, Rāmpur, Alwar and Kashmir. Engraved brasswares come mainly from Vārānsi, Jaipur and Morādābād. The brasswares of Vārānsi are noted for their high excellence. Domestic vessels of the Gondwāna are characterised by their pure traditional forms; products of Ahmadābād and Vārānsi are liked for their delicacy; the large beat and hammered vessels of Nāsik and Poona are known for varieties of fine shapes and forms; Thanjāvūr and Madurai utensils of brass and copper are remarkable for their striking forms and elaborately wrought ornamentation. The manufacture of ornamented arms has also been widely prevalent. No account of Indian metalcraft can be complete without mention of South Indian votive lamps, infinitely varied in shape and decoration, and *dhokra* or *cire-perdu* casting of Bānkura, Bīrbhūm, Purūlia and the Bastar regions.

India has also excelled in stone carving. The art of carving stone images declined with the advent of the Muslims; they extended their patronage to the work of carving architectural pieces in stone and other minor stone crafts. Intricate and excellent *jālī* work done on marble or sandstone betrayed the delicate workmanship of the stone carvers especially of Uttar Pradesh, Rājasthān, Orissa, the Deccan and Mysore. Apart from the endless variations of geometrical patterns, the calligraphic decorations were also practised in stone carving. Marble inlay and mosaic works were other forms of lithic crafts in which India attained high proficiency. Āgra, Mathura, Delhi, Ahmadābād and Jaipur were renowned for the carving and inlaying of coloured semi-precious stones on marble.

The tradition of wood-carving is very old in India. Kashmirī *pinjra* or intricate lattice patterns, ornamented chairs, tables and screens of Amritsar, arabesque designs of Udaki, ebony-carving of Nagina, intricate and elaborate panelling work of Ahmadābād, carved designs of Mysore,

Coorg and Kerala, incised decorations on black wood of Madurai, relief carving of brackets in Bengal, Orissa and Gujarāt, sculpturing of figures specially in the round embellishing the *rathas* in Bengal, Orissa and the South, dolls and mythological figures of Tirupati, *hiṅdolā* or swing of Rājasthān and Gujarāt, and the perforated panels of Mysore are striking. Architectural carvings of Gujarāt, the Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh show the wide range of uses, treatments and techniques of wood-carvings in this country. Ivory, bone and brass inlaying on wood is also a highly perfected art in India.

The history of ivory carving in India is no less than 2,000 years old. For elegance and skill in carving, Mysore and Trivandrum products are highly prized. Murshidābād and Cuttack products, though artistically inferior, suit the modern taste of realistic representation. Amritsar, Patiāla, Ambāla and Ludhiāna produce delicate but durable articles and Murshidābād is justly renowned for minute ornamentation. Hyderābād is another centre of ivory craft. The best work of inlaid ivory may be seen in the Golden Temple of Amritsar. Ivory inlay on shell and horn is characteristic work at some places in the South. Jodhpur is especially known for brilliantly coloured and ornamented ivory bangles.

Different kinds of painted or lacquered articles are also made in various parts of the country. Decorative beads and bangles in shellac are produced in northern India, particularly at Jaipur. Lac bracelets of Pāñch Mahāls in western India, and Indore and Rewa in Madhya Pradesh were once highly prized. Indian lacquered work is best known by its lacquered wooden and papier mache objects, trays and toys. Lacquered work on papier mache of a very fine quality is found in Kashmīr. Bareilly has been well known for its black and gilt furniture, Karnāl for embossed floral work. Muzaffarnagar was once famous for its painted and varnished bows and arrows; Jhānsi, Vārānasi and Lucknow, still produce lacquered wooden toys.

The tradition in toys and dolls goes as far back as the days of the Harappan civilization. What a village woman produces today is essentially timeless. For its least resisting attitude and easy availability, clay has been a favourite medium for poor craftsmen throughout the ages. In toy-making, besides clay, wood has been the choice of folk artists. Dolls are also made from pith and papier mache. The village potter sends his clay products to the local fairs, while pilgrim centres are the best market. Painted toys of baked clay which represent human beings and animals, individually or in a group, are made in Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and south Bihār. Some of the toys are pinched and pelleted after the Harappan tradition while others are moulded. The painted wooden toys are notable for the peculiar way of rendering eyes, nose and hands, along with their abstract colour composition.

Indians took to pottery-making from the earliest times. Throughout

the ages Indian potters proved their great inventiveness in form and design. The painted dish (*sarā*) of Bengal produced by village craftsmen like Rudrapālas and Ācārya Brahāmaṇas on the eve of *Lakṣmīpūjā* is regarded as one of the most beautiful expressions of Bengālī folk-art. Alwar produces a kind of pottery in a thin layer of clay known as *kāghazī* (paperlike). The black pottery of Azamgarh, Ratnāgiri and Madurai is very much appreciated. Kota, Lucknow, Jullundur and Salem produce large quantities of painted pottery.

The leather work of Andhra Pradesh is famous. Perforated and cut out leather dolls are made for showing shadow dances. These dolls are used in depicting mythological stories on screen in shadows, corresponding to the Wayang figure of Indonesia. Murshidābād has a tradition of leather work and Shānti Niketan produces certain decorative objects in this line.